

ACCOMMODATING THE DIVINE

The Form and Function of Religious Buildings

in Latial and Etruscan Settlements

c.900-500 B.C.

Charlotte R. Potts

Lady Margaret Hall

Volume 1: Text, Tables, and Bibliography

Thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil.

School of Archaeology, University of Oxford

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the changing form and function of non-funerary cult buildings in early Latial and Etruscan settlements in order to better describe and understand the advent of monumental temples in the archaeological record. It draws on a significant quantity of material excavated in the past forty years and developments in relevant theoretical frameworks to reconstruct the changing appearance of cult buildings from huts to shrines and temples (Chapters 2 to 4), and to place monumental examples within wider religious, topographical, and functional contexts (Chapters 5 to 7). This broader perspective allows a more accurate assessment of the extent to which monumental temples represent continuity and discontinuity with earlier religious architecture, and furthermore clarifies the respective roles of Latium and Etruria in the transformation of cult buildings into distinctive, prominent parts of the built environment.

Although it is possible to find many different accounts of religious monumentalisation in existing scholarship, this thesis holds that traditional narratives no longer accurately reflect the archaeological evidence. It sets out a sequence of developments in which early religious architecture was a dynamic, rather than conservative, phenomenon. It demonstrates that temples were not the inevitable product of a natural progression from open-air votive deposition to monumentality, or simply an imported concept, but rather a deliberate response to the opportunities offered by an increasingly mobile Mediterranean population. It also contends that Latium played a more important role in formulating the characteristic components and functions of central Italic temples than previously thought. This thesis consequently offers a new account of early religious architecture in western central Italy as well as an alternative interpretation of its monumentalisation.

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*He aha te mea nui o te ao?
He tangata, he tangata, he tangata.*

(‘What is the most important thing in the world?
It is people, it is people, it is people.’)

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CHRONOLOGY

The standard chronology for the periods of Etruscan culture relevant to this thesis is as follows:¹

Iron Age/Villanovan	1000/900-750/700 B.C.
Orientalising	750/700-600 B.C.
Archaic	600-475/450 B.C.

The standard chronology for early Latium is approximately as follows:²

Latial period 1	1000-900 B.C.
Latial period IIA	900-830 B.C.
Latial period IIB	830-770 B.C.
Latial period III	770-730 B.C.
Latial period IVA	730-630 B.C.
Latial period IVB	630-580 B.C.

All dates should be prefixed with $\pm$ 25 years.

¹ De Grummond and Simon 2006: vii.

² Smith 1996b: xii, see also 21-3.

INTRODUCTION

Religious buildings are central to histories of ancient architecture. While this can largely be ascribed to the prominence of their remains in the archaeological record, it also reflects the variety of ways in which religious buildings dominated early settlements. Their construction affected the appearance of towns and landscapes; the activities that occurred in and around them were closely connected to religious beliefs and the economy; and the resources involved in their creation and maintenance demonstrated the authority and priorities of certain individuals and communities. These factors allow religious architecture to be studied as either a corpus of structures displaying technical and artistic achievements or, alternatively, as a diagnostic tool for assessing how ancient societies functioned and changed. The ability of histories of religious architecture to be histories of both buildings and people means that they are now referenced in a variety of scholarship ranging from archaeology to anthropology and social and religious histories, and as such have an impact far beyond the formulation of architectural typologies.

The frequency with which religious architecture is incorporated into studies of the ancient world means that it is important to review regularly the presentation of these buildings in academic discourse, and in particular the effect of new evidence and perspectives on traditional narratives. In the last four decades there have been important new excavations and insights relevant to histories of early central Italy. This thesis holds that these changes justify the re-examination of customary conceptions of pre-Roman cult buildings, including sacred huts, shrines, and early temples. The following chapters demonstrate that it is now possible, and necessary, to develop an

alternative account of the changing form and function of these buildings that reflects the full range of archaeological evidence.

This introductory chapter contextualises the analyses of old and new data that comprise the main body of this thesis. The first section of the introduction outlines recent changes in the study of pre-Roman Italy; the second reviews previous studies of early Latial and Etruscan cult buildings; and the third sets out the aims, approach, and intended contribution of this thesis. It thus lays the foundation for the following detailed examination of the process by which cult buildings in Latium and Etruria passed from obscurity to monumentality.

THE STUDY OF PRE-ROMAN ITALY

In the last forty years our knowledge of pre-Roman Italy has been transformed by a wealth of new excavations, artefact studies, and interdisciplinary analyses. The systematic excavation of settlements including Luni sul Mignone, Ficana, and Marzabotto, for example, now allows Etruscan scholars, long reliant on information from cemeteries and burials, to examine evidence of the living alongside that of the dead.³ Standard narratives about Etruscan buildings and architectural decoration have been revised as a consequence of data from sites such as Poggio Civitate and Acquarossa.⁴ New excavations of sanctuaries at Tarquinia, Veii, Gravisca, and Pyrgi have given form to cult sites and practices that were previously reconstructed from literary texts, and have been paralleled by landmark conferences and publications on votive deposits that have made available unprecedented information on Etruscan gods

³ For example, Hellström and Wieselgren 1969 and Meyers 2003 (Luni sul Mignone); Rathje 1983 and Fischer-Hansen 1990 (Ficana); Govi 2007 and Bentz and Reusser 2008 (Marzabotto).

⁴ For example, Damgaard Andersen 1993a and Winter 2009.

and rituals.⁵ The result is a wider, deeper understanding of Etruscan civilisation that is being regularly supplemented and refined.

The study of sites and communities in Latium has been similarly affected by a number of recent projects. In Rome, works ranging from coring in the Forum Romanum to analyses of the clay used to fashion Archaic architectural terracottas and the discovery of early structures near the Palatine hill have led to the revision of longstanding accounts of the city's origins and development.⁶ Excavations at Osteria dell'Osa, Lavinium, and Satricum have also provided new data about funerary practices, social order, sanctuaries, and metalwork.⁷ Recent analyses of Latial votive deposits have revealed important information about continuity and discontinuity in religious practice, and archival research has seen the publication of early twentieth-century excavations that had been effectively 'lost'.⁸ The current generation of scholars is consequently able to draw on a considerably enlarged, if heterogeneous, body of archaeological evidence.

The range of questions that can be asked of this evidence has also significantly expanded. New theoretical perspectives and methodologies mean that it is now possible to complement traditional typological studies with approaches used in landscape archaeology, cognitive archaeology, and the archaeology of ritual and religion. In the 1960s the assumption that ancient mentalities were inaccessible from an archaeological point of view was overturned with the rise of 'new archaeology' and

⁵ Including Bonghi Jovino, Chiaramonte Treré et al. 1997 (Tarquinia); Colonna 2001 and Bartoloni 2006b (Veii); Fiorini 2005 (Gravisca); Colonna 1972 (Pyrgi); Bartoloni, Colonna et al. 1989-1990 (votive deposits).

⁶ For example, Ammerman 1990 (coring); Ammerman, Iliopoulos et al. 2008 (architectural terracottas); Carandini and Cappelli 2000 and Carandini and Carafa 2000 (structures near the Palatine).

⁷ For example, Bietti Sestieri 1992a (Osteria dell'Osa); Castagnoli 1979 (Lavinium); Gnade 2002 and Gnade 2009 (Satricum); Waarsenburg and Maas 2001 and Nijboer 1998 (metalwork).

⁸ Bouma 1996 (votive deposits); Ginge 1996 ('lost' excavations at Satricum).

its claims that almost all aspects of society could be studied through material culture given an appropriate theoretical framework.⁹ The successive development of post-processual archaeology, characterised by the idea that material culture is a signifying system, legitimised the adoption and adaptation of interdisciplinary approaches to the study of archaeological remains.¹⁰ The incorporation of explicit theory into archaeological thought also laid the foundations for the development of cognitive-processualism, in which artefacts can be studied as expressions of how people understood their environment and their place within it.¹¹ As the complex reality of individual and collective beliefs, and their expression in material form, is likely to vary from culture to culture and period to period, there is now also growing recognition that it is important to design any archaeological study in response to the particular geographical, historical, and cultural conditions of relevant artefacts.¹² There has accordingly been a growth of studies with aims and methodologies that draw on developments in the social sciences. Recent analyses of the ritual landscapes of Etruria, the relationship between ethnicity and archaeological remains, and the significance of mitochondrial DNA represent the varied research that is now part of the archaeology of early central Italy.¹³

The framework in which such studies of pre-Roman Italy are now conducted has furthermore changed. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it was standard practice to interpret all material in western central Italy pre-dating the Roman Republic as Etruscan artefacts; any material prior to the fourth century B.C. was

⁹ Binford and Binford 1968.

¹⁰ For example, Wilkins 1996, Bertemes, Biehl et al. 2001b, Insoll 2004, and Kyriakidis 2007 summarize past views that religion is an archaeologically unapproachable subject and outline subsequent theoretical revolutions.

¹¹ Renfrew 1985; Renfrew 1994; Renfrew 2005.

¹² Insoll 2004: 92-3.

¹³ Riva and Stoddart 1996 (ritual landscapes); Gnade 2002 (ethnicity); the collected reports in *Etruscan Studies* 4 (1997) and Perkins 2009 (DNA).

traditionally considered eligible for inclusion in Etruscan handbooks, while later material was often designated Roman. Over the past forty years it has become increasingly clear that the interpretation of all early central Italic material as a unified body of Etruscan, or Etruscan-dominated, data, can no longer be archaeologically justified. Instead, there is growing acceptance that by the beginning of the Iron Age it is possible to recognise distinct and lasting material and cultural variants in the archaeological record.¹⁴ Latium and Etruria emerge as separate archaeological cultures, incorporating further local variations, for which regional studies are not only appropriate but required.¹⁵ The benefits of setting regional studies within broader contexts have also been strongly advocated. As foreign objects and inscribed names are part of the material culture of Latium and Etruria, and hence establish that they were not isolated regions, it is useful to analyse internal developments within wider social, historical, and economic networks. Early Italic studies are now consequently characterised by a growing number of regional studies that incorporate a Mediterranean perspective.¹⁶

This combination of new data, new questions, and new interpretive frameworks has created both the opportunity and need for new syntheses. In the last twenty years the archaeology of entire periods and regions has been revised in works by predominantly Italian and Anglophone scholars. For example, Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri has used burials at Osteria dell'Osa and other sites to trace emerging social complexity in Iron

¹⁴ Bietti Sestieri 1992a: 233ff.; Grandazzi 1997: 92-108; Cornell 1995: 33; cf. Holloway 1994: 15 and Smith 1996b: 42.

¹⁵ As argued by, for example, Cornell 1995: 151-72. More strongly, with regard to early Rome, the rejection of Etruscan influence in favour of a model of long-term indigenous development has been particularly advocated by Carandini 1997 and Carandini and Cappelli 2000. Debate on this subject is ongoing, with a lengthy bibliography, and is mentioned here only to illustrate that the idea of Etruscan hegemony is no longer held by all. On the definition and significance of an archaeological culture, see Clarke 1968: 12.

¹⁶ For example, Smith 1996b; Bernardini and Camporeale 2004; Riva 2006; van Dommelen 2006.

Age Latium.¹⁷ Tim Cornell and Christopher Smith have combined historical and archaeological data to produce new accounts of early Rome and Latium.¹⁸ Sybille Haynes has produced the definitive account of Etruscan civilisation using a detailed examination of archaeological material.¹⁹ Vedia Izzet has attempted a similar review of Etruscan society by exploring the cognitive processes behind the creation of Etruscan artefacts.²⁰ Lastly, the catalogue of the Venice-Bologna exhibition on the Etruscans staged in 2000, edited by Mario Torelli, assembled work by a number of different scholars to offer a comprehensive account of the discipline at the turn of the millennium.²¹ These syntheses reflect the potential of recent excavations and approaches to overturn long-held assumptions and generate new interpretations of the past that will in turn create additional areas of study.

This thesis aims to build on these opportunities and respond to a similar need. Its focus, however, is not on Etruscan or Latial society as a whole, but rather on one element of these cultures which forms an important part of broader syntheses. Religious architecture is one of the most prominent and enduring elements of the early archaeological record. In the last few decades a number of new examples and relevant parallels have been published, and there have also been changes in the way in which such material is interpreted. Although some of these new data have been incorporated into broad surveys, there has been a tendency to use them to illustrate traditional, and now outdated, interpretive models. As these models contribute to the formulation of a larger model, in this case frequently a new account of pre-Roman Italy, the accuracy

¹⁷ Bietti Sestieri 1992b; Bietti Sestieri 1992a.

¹⁸ Cornell 1995; Smith 1996b.

¹⁹ Haynes 2000; Haynes 2005.

²⁰ Izzet 2007.

²¹ Torelli 2000b.

of smaller models is relevant not only for histories of religious architecture but also for wider reconstructions of settlements, religion, society, and the economy.

For example, the monumentalisation of early religious architecture, or the construction of temples, is regarded by many scholars as a key diagnostic tool for assessing a settlement's level of urbanisation. The act of construction has been read as a transfer of resources, investment, and authority. The finished buildings are regularly associated with state formation, the institutionalisation of religious rituals, and the expression of civic identity. In these ways religious monumentalisation is regularly interpreted as a sign of other, less archaeologically visible, changes, and has been woven into social and political histories. The development of the canonical Etrusco-Italic temple has also been used to exemplify aspects of the relationship between Rome or Latium and Etruria. As discussed below, Roman temples have long been presented as derivations from Etruscan prototypes. They have thus contributed to the conception of Roman architecture as a combination of Etruscan and Hellenic practices, and also to the image of Rome as a city that inherited many of its features from relatively sophisticated Etruria. The robust study of religious architecture is thus an essential component of accurate and wider histories.

PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP ON EARLY ETRUSCO-ITALIC RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

While Etrusco-Italic cult buildings feature in many discussions of ancient architecture, the majority of analyses have concentrated on structures built after 500 B.C. Such treatises typically begin their surveys either at the very end of the sixth century B.C.,

with the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline hill;²² or in the third century B.C., when Italic temples increasingly demonstrate the influence of Hellenistic forms and can be productively analysed in relation to Republican politics;²³ or alternatively in the reign of Augustus, when it is possible to examine the significance of imperial patronage and messages.²⁴ When these works refer to religious buildings that predate their surveys they customarily posit that Roman temples derive from Etruscan prototypes, as stated by Vitruvius (*De arch.* 4.7.1-5), with slight modifications under Greek influence.²⁵

The traditional use of texts to reconstruct the history of Etrusco-Italic religious architecture arguably corresponds to the way in which literary sources have dominated many studies of Etrusco-Italic religion. In both situations the lack of texts prior to the third century B.C. means that reconstructions have relied on discussions by much later authors, and it is widely acknowledged in turn that these authors seldom represented the views of the women, slaves, immigrants, the illiterate and the poor who are likely to have formed a large proportion of the populace. Many religious exegeses based upon literary sources have thus been specialised in scope and contestable in narrative.²⁶ Similarly, many histories of early Italic architecture have drawn heavily on Vitruvius, although his handbook was completed after 30 B.C., and have possibly misread his descriptions of important buildings. For example, Brown has argued that Vitruvius' use of the term *tuscanicus* to describe certain buildings does not imply that these buildings were Etruscan – the adjective *tuscus* or *etruscus* was used instead for

²² For example, Stamper 2005.

²³ For example, Ziolkowski 1992; Gros 1996; cf. Orlin 1997.

²⁴ For example, Schollmeyer 2008.

²⁵ Although note that the alternative content of Lake 1935 suggests that this argument is characteristic only of works since the 1960s, such as Wheeler 1964: 89-90; Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970: 38, 156; Ward-Perkins 1977: 13-4; Sear 1982: 12, 30; Ramage and Ramage 1995: 28; Jannot 2005: 105-6; cf. Kleiner 2010: xxxvii.

²⁶ Beard et. al. 1998: 1.10-18 give a critical summary of the history of scholarship on Roman religion.

Etruscan practices (for example, *De arch.* 1.7.10) – but rather that they were simply of a style that appeared old-fashioned by the Augustan period.²⁷ Such potential misreadings have led to a long-held belief that the rules and proportions of Etruscan temples are securely attested. Archaeological studies reveal a more complicated reality.

There is also a significant body of scholarship on Etrusco-Italic temples prior to the fifth century B.C. that is not interested in their actual appearance. These studies have focused on the socio-political aspects of early religious buildings and sanctuaries, exploring their role in maintaining or subverting hierarchies in Etruria, their interaction with Greek and other cultures, and their significance for Etruscan urbanisation.²⁸ In these analyses temple plans and decorations are subordinate to the existence of the sanctuary as a self-contained phenomenon; the architectural grammar of these sites is less relevant than their topography, patrons, and economic activities. This thesis holds that accurate interpretation of the physical fabric of these sanctuaries can both calibrate and enrich these studies.

Actual archaeological studies of cult buildings in early Latium and Etruria can be subdivided into two groups. The first is composed of excavation reports and publications of individual sites, for example those published in journals such as *Archeologia Laziale*, *Studi Etruschi*, and *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*. Although these works are numerous, and their interpretations are generally informed by comparisons with other finds and analyses, the focus of these studies remains upon individual examples. In contrast, the second group assembles and organises the

²⁷ Brown 1972: 342-3; cf. also Cornell 1995: 167-70.

²⁸ For example, Torelli 1982b; Cornell 1995: 108ff.; Zifferero 1995; Zifferero 2002.

primary data to offer overviews of material from wider regions and periods. The key works in this group all date to the last forty years, when scholarly interest in early sanctuaries burgeoned as a result of new excavations and the simultaneous transformation of the field. As this thesis advocates regularly reviewing such works, it is useful here to briefly summarise their characteristic approaches and arguments.

One of the first attempts to summarise the wealth of recent discoveries relating to pre-Roman religious spaces was *Enea nel Lazio*, the catalogue of an exhibition held in Rome in 1981.²⁹ This volume included descriptions of a number of early Latial cult sites including Ardea, Cori, and Gabii, but largely omitted synchronic and diachronic analyses of their features. In 1985 a growing interest in Latin and Etruscan sanctuaries was signalled by the publication *Santuari d'Etruria*, the catalogue of another exhibition, in Arezzo. This volume, edited by Giovanni Colonna, categorised Etruscan cult sites on the basis of their topography, with classifications such as urban and extra-urban sanctuaries, and seamlessly incorporated the Latin sites of Satricum and Ficana. One section briefly reviewed the development of cult buildings and argued that temple architecture was a product of urbanisation and the concomitant rise of civic religion.³⁰ Two years later, Ingrid Edlund's publication *The Gods and the Place: Location and Function of Sanctuaries in the Countryside of Etruria and Magna Graecia (700-400 B.C.)* examined the archaeological and literary evidence for Etruscan sanctuaries. Material from Latium and periods of Roman rule was referenced as well as sites in Etruria, and the structure was again determined by topography rather than chronology or geography. These three works represent the state of the subject in the late 1980s: the regular presentation of pre-Roman data from central Italy as Etruscan, a preference for

²⁹ Castagnoli 1980 is earlier but is too cursory to be useful.

³⁰ Colonna 1985a: 60.

topographical typologies, and the combined use of historical and archaeological material to produce a coherent narrative.

After a lack of dedicated studies of religious architecture in the 1990s, syntheses published in the last ten years display a different approach.³¹ Books on the archaeology of early Etruria, Latium, and Rome have increasingly featured substantial chapters on the physical evidence for sanctuaries and temples. In 2006 Colonna used excavations at Pyrgi as a springboard for a wide-ranging discussion of Etruscan ‘sacred architecture’ in a book about Etruscan religion.³² This chapter examines altars, shrines, precincts, and temples, and is organised in such a way as to present the architecture of Tuscanic temples as an amalgamation of elite houses and open-air precincts or *sacella*.³³ Chronological developments are a sub-theme that begins with an endorsement of Varro’s claim that shrines first appeared during the reign of the Roman king Numa.³⁴ Colonna subsequently interweaves buildings known only through literary sources, such as the *aedes* of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitoline hill, with archaeological evidence which is undermined by references to structures that are no longer thought to have served a religious function, such as the building on the Piazza d’Armi at Veii and the walled area in the courtyard at Poggio Civitate.³⁵ In 2007 Izzet furthered the study of Etruscan temples that she had begun in 2000 by

³¹ With the exception of Jannot 2005 (building on Jannot 1998), which arguably presents a similar approach to the studies of the 1980s. Here Satricum again plays a leading role in the discussion of Etruscan cult buildings, and sanctuaries are divided accordingly to topography. The changing appearance of cult buildings, however, is addressed within a chronological framework: Jannot 2005: 98-124.

³² Colonna 2006.

³³ Colonna 2006: 148, 154.

³⁴ Colonna 2006: 146.

³⁵ Colonna 2006: 147-8, 151. No finds of an unambiguously religious character can be associated with the Piazza d’Armi building; those known to date (namely impasto, bucchero, Attic pottery, spindle whorls, spools, a loomweight, a small terracotta disc and a die) are more likely to indicate domestic, rather than religious, activities: see Winter 1978b: 143-4; Torelli 1982c: 124; Rowe 1989: 116; Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 135. No finds at all have been associated with the structure in the courtyard at Murlo; in Phillips 1992: 9, the excavator notes that the walls of this structure are too slight to have supported a roof and proposes that it may have functioned as a stock pen.

including a chapter on sanctuaries in her survey of Etruscan society.³⁶ Noting that previous studies had not explored possible links between the appearance of temples and the meanings they carried, this chapter explores the ways in which temple architecture was implicated in ‘the rhetoric of difference.’ Here practicalities are subordinate to theoretical considerations: for example, the placement of architectural terracottas over the ends of exposed wooden beams is claimed to have been driven by a wish to counter the danger of visual and communicative ‘seepage,’ rather than a wish to protect the ends of the beams from damaging rain. Similarly, the argument that temples were decorated with gorgons, satyrs, and maenads because the liminal character of these subjects rendered them appropriate for religious buildings overlooks the fact that these subjects also appeared on a range of other buildings with non-religious functions. Thus while recent studies of Etruscan religious architecture have started to move away from topographic typologies, and away from the incorporation of Latial material, there is still a lack of detailed, chronological, and straightforward analyses of the relevant archaeological evidence.

In 2008 the dominance of Etruscan studies was partially offset by Gabriele Cifani’s publication *Architettura romana arcaica: Edilizia e società tra monarchia e repubblica*. This assemblage and interpretation of the archaeological evidence from Rome and nearby settlements includes a review of the evidence for the development of religious buildings. Like Colonna, Cifani’s chapter begins with the literary sources and uses them to supplement and complement the archaeological data, and includes problematic interpretations of the structure on the Piazza d’Armi at Veii and also the

³⁶ Izzet 2000; Izzet 2007: 122-42.

courtyard complexes at Poggio Civitate and Acquarossa.³⁷ Unlike Colonna, however, the overriding structure is chronological and focused on Latium. Cifani argues that the S. Omobono temple in Rome represented the realisation of the temple as a distinct architectural category, and was also the first instance of the ‘Tuscanic’ style, distinguished from its Etrusco-Italic predecessors by the assimilation of Greek forms.³⁸ Subsequent Roman temples were thus presented as the product of combined Etruscan, Latin, and Greek influences.³⁹ This brief treatment is currently the extent of archaeological studies of a variety of Latial cult buildings using data from the last half century, and no work has compared and contrasted them with similar developments in Etruria.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THIS THESIS

This thesis aims to complement and build on previous studies by exploring three inter-related questions:

1. When and where did non-funerary religious buildings start to look different from other types of architecture?
2. Does the nature and rate of such change differ between Latium and Etruria?
3. What information is there in the archaeological record that might to help to account for this change?

The chronological and geographical parameters of this thesis mean that these questions are largely concerned with the monumentalisation of central Italic cult

³⁷ Cifani 2008: 288-9. To date no finds of a clearly religious nature have been made at Poggio Civitate or in Buildings A-D in Zone F at Acquarossa; these buildings are discussed in detail in Chapters Three and Four of this thesis.

³⁸ Cifani 2008: 290.

³⁹ Cifani 2008: 290.

buildings. The defining qualities of monumental architecture are generally held to be permanence (achieved through the use of construction techniques intended to last for more than one generation), high visibility (either through being able to be seen from a distance or decorated in a distinctive style), centrality (occupying a topographically significant position), and limited distribution (with rarity in their immediate surroundings conferring special status).⁴⁰ This thesis concurs with architectural theorists that monumentality is also a relative phenomenon that can only be assessed through comparison with contemporary buildings.⁴¹ As a building can appear monumental in one context but non-monumental in another temporal or geographical setting, the form and function of any building must be evaluated with reference to its own time and place. This definition has guided the approach of this thesis and differentiates it from previous studies.

In contrast to architectural typologies that traditionally examine the arrangement of a building's columns and internal walls, the first part of this thesis analyses how the exterior of cult buildings resembled or differed from other structures over the course of the ninth, eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries B.C. This focus on exteriors can be rationalised in part by the nature of the archaeological evidence: while foundations and architectural terracottas have survived relatively well in the archaeological record, perishable wooden columns and mud-brick walls mean that the reconstruction of interiors often requires significant speculation. It is equally a reflection of the ambiguous accessibility of temple interiors. It is possible that only a select few were able to see and experience the inside of religious buildings, but exteriors were visible

⁴⁰ Trigger 1990: 118-9; Moore 1996: 139-40; Pollock 1999; Rous 2010: 7.

⁴¹ Trigger 1990: 127; Thomas 2007: 208, 210; Rous 2010: 7.

to all who lived in communities and visited them.⁴² The study of exteriors also allows analysis of the relationship between cult buildings and the physical fabric of their surroundings, and particularly how changes in religious architecture altered the appearance of sanctuaries and settlements. In short, it allows an assessment of their monumentality.

The second part of this thesis also differs from other studies by going on to examine wider settings for religious monumentalisation. Whereas Chapters Two to Four place temples within broader architectural and decorative contexts, Chapters Five to Seven analyse relevant ritual, topographical, and functional conditions. The examination of these secondary contexts is required in order to attempt to combine description with understanding, as these contexts are often cited as rationales for the architectural changes set out in the first part of this thesis. Some of these rationales can now be shown to be speculative, and others incorrect. It is thus important to rigorously review the archaeological evidence that may indicate not only how monumental temples came to possess a distinctive formal vocabulary, but also why they did so.

Arguably the strongest difference between this thesis and earlier studies is the geographical frame of reference. Previous scholarship that examined material from both Latium and Etruria made no distinction between them. Here, in recognition of the fact that Latium is now understood to have had its own archaeological culture, data from western central Italy is divided into Latial and Etruscan examples and the two samples are compared and contrasted at every stage of analysis. This thesis consequently tests the potential of regional studies for understanding architectural

⁴² Cf. Trigger 1990: 126; ;Moore 1996: 92-3; Pollock 1999: 178. The accessibility of temples in early Italy is also questioned by Smith 2001: 20.

change and for challenging longstanding narratives about the relationship between Rome, Latium, and Etruria. This approach thus simultaneously reflects recent changes in the field of pre-Roman Italic studies and the need to assess monumentality within its own domain.

Finally, it remains to account briefly for the decision to end this analysis at the end of the sixth century B.C. This is not an uncommon boundary for studies of early Latium and Etruria, given the changing interpretive landscape that accompanies the introduction of the Roman Republic. With regard to architectural histories, this point coincides with the completion of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline hill in Rome,⁴³ and the beginning of a period for which the archaeological evidence is both relatively generic and scarce. From this point onwards, architectural terracottas fall into a more standardised floral system,⁴⁴ and no artefact or monument in Rome can be securely dated to the fifth century with the exception of Attic pottery.⁴⁵ It seems that the features that differentiated Etrusco-Italic temples from other structures had largely been established by the end of the Archaic period; the introduction of Hellenistic elements from the third century B.C. seems to have been employed more to differentiate temples from one another than from non-religious buildings.⁴⁶ This thesis accordingly ends where many studies of Etrusco-Italic religious architecture begin, and as such offers a bridge between pre-Roman and Roman phenomena.

⁴³ Thought to have been dedicated in the first year of the Republic, and ascribed to 509, on the basis of literary sources including Liv. 2.8.5-8, 7.3.8; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72; and Polyb. 3.22.

⁴⁴ Winter 2009: 1-2.

⁴⁵ Cornell 2005: 55-6, citing Ryberg 1940: 51-81 and, on Attic pottery, Meyer 1980.

⁴⁶ Cf. Lipka 2009: 12, 29.

CHAPTER I. IDENTIFYING RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

Analyses of ancient religion require a high degree of terminological and methodological self-awareness.⁴⁷ Different studies adopt definitions of religion, ritual, and associated phenomena; inquiries into conditions in one culture must be wary of the influence exerted by investigations into another; and research in the social sciences can validate and repudiate broader analytical frameworks. Case studies in the archaeology of religion are accordingly required to use terminology and approaches suitable for the evidence and experience of religion in both general and specific contexts. This chapter will set out a culturally and chronologically appropriate definition of religious buildings and a methodology for identifying them in the archaeological record, designed in response not to conditions in antiquity, the western Mediterranean, or even Italy, but those in Latium and Etruria between 900 and 500 B.C.

I.1. DEFINING RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

Although researchers in the social sciences agree that the construction and use of sacred spaces are central to religious practice,⁴⁸ there is currently no scholarly agreement on the defining characteristics of an Etrusco-Italic religious building, either for all periods and regions or for specific chronological and geographical contexts.⁴⁹ A

⁴⁷ Tatum 2006: xi.

⁴⁸ Kilde 2007 gives a short but useful survey of critical approaches to the study of religious spaces.

⁴⁹ The default definition has long been the criteria proposed by Colonna 1985a: 60, which are unsustainable on numerous grounds, such as his insistence that temples possess a square or quasi-square plan (ignoring the existence of round temples). Winter 1978b: 141 offers an alternative definition of temples as ‘...buildings which show clear evidence of a religious nature, such as associated votives or altars, or which, due to their position on the acropolis of the city or within a temenos wall, are set aside from the other buildings of the city. In addition, sites of buildings which agree with placement of temples mentioned by literary sources, and buildings with inscriptional

strict formal definition is arguably inadvisable given the knowledge that the architectural elements of almost all buildings changed between the ninth and fifth centuries B.C. in response to the adoption of new construction techniques, and a functional definition similarly risks overlooking considerable changes in the composition and organisation of communities, and potentially by extension their religious activities, over the same period. It is more apposite to define religious buildings in a way that allows changes in the form and function of relevant buildings to be traced through time while acknowledging their basic unity. Consequently, for the purposes of this thesis, religious buildings are defined as buildings with a close physical or conceptual connection with activities that are primarily religious in nature. These activities are in turn defined as attempts to interact with, and potentially exert some influence over, supernatural or divine forces.⁵⁰

The terms religious building and cult building are hereafter used interchangeably to describe any type of religious architecture. Religious architecture thus refers to the collective body of religious buildings or cult buildings, in which particular examples may take the form of huts, shrines, or temples. The differences between these forms are discussed in detail in Chapters Two, Three and Four but essentially derive from a combination of construction techniques and architectural features: a hut has a thatched roof, wattle-and-daub walls, and can be erected with relative ease; a shrine is a more solid and permanent building than a hut and frequently possesses a tiled roof; and a temple is distinguished from a shrine by the presence of a podium and monumentality. Sacred huts, shrines, and temples are distinguished from other structures with the same

identification...’ As discussed in Chapter Six of this thesis, however, the position of Latial and Etruscan temples does not always accord with these topographical criteria.

⁵⁰ Cf. the definition of behaviour that defines votive deposition given by Osborne 2004: 1.

features by evidence that they were used more for the performance of religious rituals than domestic, commercial, or funerary activities.

I.2. IDENTIFYING RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

Defining religious buildings as buildings with a close physical or conceptual connection with religious activities means that the identification of the former requires the identification of the latter. Proximity to evidence of contemporary rituals is essential for the identification of the earliest cult buildings, which are frequently architecturally ambivalent, and is more generally necessary due to the limited usefulness of later written sources in establishing helpful criteria: no extant ancient text offers a credible checklist of elements common to all religious buildings or ceremonies, and it is unrealistic to expect Latial and Etruscan cult buildings to have always included, and then retained, an inscription identifying their sacred role. It is thus necessary to rely on the archaeological record to provide both the objects of study and a mechanism for their identification. This mechanism is a recognisable, material language of religion and ritual.

Prior to the late 1980s it was not uncommon for archaeologists to label any artefact that was less than fully understood as a ‘ritual’ item.⁵¹ Since then, the increasing theoretical sophistication of the social sciences used to study the archaeology of religion has produced a vibrant body of literature on the expression and recognition of religion in general and specific contexts.⁵² A fundamental principle is the likelihood that in any society in which the repetition of set actions is part of religious practice,

⁵¹ Richards and Thomas 1984: 189; Whitehouse 1996: 9; Demoule 2001: 280.

⁵² The bibliography is extensive, but for a general overview of the field, see, for example, Bertemes, Biehl et al. 2001b; Insoll 2004; and Kyriakidis 2007.

there is a reasonable chance that traces of these actions will be preserved in the archaeological record. The fact that ritual behaviour tends to be one of the most conservative and formalised of all human activities increases the likelihood of long-term, repeated actions, as does the knowledge that rituals could be a means of transmitting collective memory, and thus consciously valued and maintained by the communities in which they occurred.⁵³ Religious rituals and artefacts may thus have passed information from one generation to another and functioned akin to a language. This language could possess its own formal logic, evolve over time, and be read by those familiar with its vocabulary and syntax.⁵⁴ The complex reality of individual and collective beliefs, however, and their expression in material form, varies from culture to culture and period to period.⁵⁵ There is thus no universal ritual language or list of criteria for recognising religious activity. Accordingly, the challenge for archaeologists is to devise a context-specific methodology for identifying relevant evidence in the archaeological record.

It is important to note here that Italic and Greek archaeologies of religion are different, and reinforce the idea that cult sites require identification through the use of a methodology particular to each geographical, historical, and cultural setting. For example, while Greek religious buildings were distinguished from other structures partly through the use of architectural terracotta decorations on their roofs, it is now accepted that architectural terracottas in central Italy appeared on the roofs of houses, workshops, tombs, and cult buildings.⁵⁶ Similarly, the *temenoi* that feature in many discussions of Greek sanctuaries often have no equivalent in excavations of central

⁵³ Whitehouse 1996: 9; Kyriakidis 2005:, 32-3, 44-5, 48.

⁵⁴ Cf. Bertemes and Biehl 2001a: 16 arguing that the same principles apply in reconstructing religious practices, trade, economy, and social life from archaeological data.

⁵⁵ Bertemes and Biehl 2001: 13; Insoll 2004: 92-3; contra Renfrew 1985: 25.

⁵⁶ Damgaard Andersen 1993a; Winter 2009.

Italic religious sites; regardless of whether this absence is accurate or simply a reflection of old excavation practices, *temenoi* are not a helpful criterion for recognising sanctuaries in Etruria or Latium.⁵⁷ Cult statues do not seem to have been integral to all Italic religious sites in all periods, and the presence and placement of altars also differ from Greek customs. These points are discussed in further detail in the course of this thesis but are sufficient to establish that the central Italic archaeological record should be assessed against central Italic criteria.

I.2.1. Central Italic criteria

Excavation records for Etruria and Latium are dominated by temples, sanctuaries, altars, votive deposits, and representations of divinities, dedicants, and offerings. Many of these material correlates for religious action have long been catalogued and studied typologically.⁵⁸ As part of the rise of processual, post-processual, and cognitive-processual archaeologies, archaeologists and art historians have recently begun to examine such material in an attempt to identify common features.⁵⁹ The markers of religious activity in known religious contexts may then also be sought in less secure contexts. Studies of Latial votives, Etruscan altars, central Italic sanctuaries, and excavations of both isolated buildings and sizeable settlements make it possible to identify three signs of religious activity that may indicate potential religious buildings: podia, altars, and votive deposits.

⁵⁷ Note that Edlund 1987: 137-8 and Damgaard Andersen 1998,i: 158 assume *temenoi* of some sort must have existed, at least in Etruria, despite an absence of evidence. *Temenoi* do not, however, feature in the definition of Etruscan sanctuaries proposed by Edlund-Berry 2011: 9.

⁵⁸ Significant surveys include Comella 1981; Steingraber 1982; Richardson 1983; Colonna 1985a; Bartoloni 1987a; Edlund 1987; Bouma 1996; Comella 2005; and Steingraber and Menichelli 2010.

⁵⁹ For example, Bouma 1996 and Whitehouse 1996. cf. also Kyriakidis 2005: 43 on the search for 'patterns of common denominators.'

A. Podia

The prominence of temples in the archaeological record is in reality the prominence of podia. As I will discuss in detail in Chapter Three, these substructures differ from terraces and platforms by being clearly demarcated from the ground on all sides and providing entry to a surmounting building that occupies all, or very nearly all, the horizontal surface of the substructure. Their incorporation into Etruscan and Latial religious buildings during the sixth century BC marks the emergence of temples as a distinct architectural form in both the urban landscape and the archaeological record. Podia subsequently become a defining feature of Etrusco-Italic temples.

B. Altars

As I will discuss in Chapter Five, histories of Italic cult typically place altars at the centre of ritual practice.⁶⁰ They could take a wide variety of shapes, heights, and media, be temporary or permanent, and portable or fixed. Such variation complicates the identification of altars in the archaeological record, as rudimentary altars are often physically indistinguishable from outdoor hearths, and monolithic blocks may represent statue bases as easily as altars;⁶¹ it is hence advisable to corroborate the identification of early altars with reference to other signs such as the nearby presence of votive deposits, collections of bones and ashes assembled with unusual care, and efforts to set the structure apart from its surroundings. Later examples appear to clearly differentiate between altars designed for fire sacrifices and those intended to receive liquid offerings.

⁶⁰ For example, Pfiffig 1975: 71.

⁶¹ Shoe 1965: 94. cf. the typologies developed by Steingraber and Menichelli 2010. The problematic identification of very early examples is evident in the interpretation of circular layers of earth and clay found Area Alpha of the Pian di Civita site in Tarquinia as potential Villanovan altars: Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 166-7.

C. Votive deposits

The composition of votive deposits is highly variable. Archaeologists are accordingly unlikely to attribute a religious character to a deposit based on just one of the following features, but an assemblage with multiple markers, comparable to similar material from other sites with a known religious context, may indicate cult activity.⁶²

Inscriptions

Artefacts inscribed with the name of a deity or verb denoting dedication suggest that the artefact had a religious function at some time in its history.⁶³ While inscriptions are more common in later periods, the existence of approximately 1,000 examples from central Italic sites dating between the seventh and the fifth centuries B.C. is a useful reminder that this appears to have been only a relatively, not completely, text-less environment.⁶⁴ For example, a seventh-century graffito found on an Italo-geometric plate fragment in the Esquiline burial ground is widely regarded as the earliest known inscription from Rome,⁶⁵ and there are approximately twenty other Roman examples that can be dated to the seventh or sixth centuries B.C.⁶⁶ Inscribed objects from other sites include a bucchero kylix from Satricum carrying the name of Laris Velchianas,⁶⁷

⁶² Bouma 1996, i: 26-9; Osborne 2004: 4. Judgment must always be exercised – the collection of carefully arranged, inscribed pottery shards that form Monte Testaccio in Rome meet multiple criteria for cult activity but are clearly not religious in nature.

⁶³ On reading these histories as ‘cultic biographies,’ and also the likelihood that it was the use of an object, rather than its form, that conferred a sacred or profane character, see Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986; and Whitehouse 1996: 11-3.

⁶⁴ Cornell 1991: 8-9 with references.

⁶⁵ Wiseman 2008: 1-2.

⁶⁶ Such as the rhythmic lines on the Duenos Vase, which formed part of the Villino Hüffer deposit from the Quirinal hill, and also the inscribed *cippus* beneath the *Lapis Niger* in the Forum Romanum. See Wallace 1991: 127.

⁶⁷ Gnade 2009: 194, catalogue no. 633 with bibliography. Two fragments were found; one was lost in World War II, the other is now in the Museo di Villa Giulia, inv. 126126.

and a dolium rim from the *casa del recinto* at Roselle recording a dedication by one Venel Rapale.⁶⁸

Exceptionality

A ritual function is often ascribed to artefacts that are markedly different from others found in settlements and deemed non-essential for survival.⁶⁹ The characteristic difference can be determined by functionality, for example when pottery has a perforated or very thin base that renders it unsuitable for regular use. Alternatively, it can be based upon the labour or material involved in its manufacture. Pieces of carved amber, ivory, and bronze found at the sanctuary of S. Omobono are typically understood as the votive remnants of a cult with wealthy patrons.⁷⁰ Exceptionality can also apply to care in deposition. An assemblage of vases found in the area between the Temples of Concordia and Vespasianus-Titus in the Forum at Rome, for example, is more likely to have been a votive deposit than a refuse dump due to the extreme care taken to protect each item by placing lumps of *tufo* around the parts most liable to breakage.⁷¹

Miniature items

Arguments about non-functionality have also led to miniature vessels from the Iron Age and Archaic period being identified as votives, although miniatures are also found in funerary and settlement contexts where they may have had a religious or non-religious role.⁷² A significant number of miniature pots dating from the tenth to the sixth centuries B.C. formed part of the open-air deposit at the Laghetto del

⁶⁸ *TLE*² 917; Bocci Pacini 1985: 54, 56, Fig. 21 A7, Grosseto, Museo della Maremma, inv. R870.

⁶⁹ Bouma 1996, i: 26, citing Bulgarelli 1980: 141.

⁷⁰ For example, by Pisani Sartorio 1989a: 45-6, 53-4.

⁷¹ Bouma 1996, iii: 84.

⁷² Bouma 1996, i: 26-7.

Monsignore at Campoverde;⁷³ the relationship between these miniatures and full-sized vessels found at the site is the subject of on-going study.⁷⁴

Ash, charcoal and/or burnt faunal or floral remains

It is not uncommon for archaeologists to interpret carbonised remains of foodstuffs as evidence of burned offerings.⁷⁵ The evidence that many early settlements suffered fire damage, however, means that caution is advisable in equating carbonised remains with sacrificial rites. Given that it is also problematic to draw archaeological distinctions between foodstuffs burned with the intention of making an offering to a supernatural power, the detritus from a meal that happened to follow a religious ceremony, and traces of everyday cooking, other markers of religious activity also need to be used to identify sacrificial remains.

Figural representations

Figured material may represent a deity or a worshipper. Examples from the period under discussion include a 5cm-high bronze-sheet figure from the acropolis at Satricum, dated between c.625 and c.525 B.C.;⁷⁶ a 1.96m-high terracotta statue of Minerva Tritonia excavated at the Eastern sanctuary of Lavinium;⁷⁷ and an over-life-size *tufu* head with a wreath of bronze leaves found at the Celle sanctuary at Civita Castellana.⁷⁸ The difficulties in distinguishing between figures with a primarily artistic function and those with a religious purpose, for example those serving as offerings to

⁷³ Kleibrink 1997-1998.

⁷⁴ For example, the research currently being carried out by Tanja van Loon at the Groningen Institute of Archaeology, as part of a doctoral thesis entitled 'Defining the Ritual, Analyzing Society. The social significance of material culture in pre-Roman cult places of central Italy (ca. 900 - 400 BC).'

⁷⁵ As illustrated by the identification of finds near the Sanctuary of Vesta in the Forum Romanum: Bouma 1996, iii: 78-81.

⁷⁶ Gnade 2009: 112, catalogue no. 67 with bibliography.

⁷⁷ On the history of the sanctuary see Castagnoli 1979 and Bouma 1996, iii: 48-9 with references. The statue is discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis.

⁷⁸ Colonna 1985c; Comella 1986: 183. The statue is discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis.

the gods, are well-known, and the situation is further complicated when such finds are made in religious precincts.⁷⁹ These issues are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five.

Location

Artefacts in non-funerary contexts may have had a religious function if they were found on a podium, near an altar, or as part of a careful deposition within a sacred precinct. Location may thus aid in the identification of a religious artefact, but the possibility of circular arguments that a religious artefact indicates a religious context and a religious context indicates a religious artefact must also be kept in mind.⁸⁰

This list demonstrates that the archaeological evidence from early central Italy does not always easily lend itself to categorisation as religious or non-religious data. The cautious use of multiple markers, however, does produce a feasible methodology for identifying (relatively) religious spaces. The lack of an absolutely uniform material culture in this period also emphasises the need to assess exceptionality within the context of each site, settlement, and region.⁸¹ New excavations thus legitimise the re-evaluation of existing criteria for identifications as much as new theories, and can also encourage the development of new analytical frameworks.

I.3. CONCLUSIONS

Although religious items in early Latium and Etruria may often have been set apart by their use rather than their form, careful study of the archaeological record can reveal

⁷⁹ Bouma 1996, i: 28; cf. Stewart 2003: 228ff. discussing the fluid boundaries between ‘art-signum’ and ‘cult-signum.’

⁸⁰ Cf. Whitehouse 1996: 12ff.; Bertemes and Biehl 2001a: 17.

⁸¹ Kyriakidis 2005: 49.

features that may, in certain combinations and contexts, indicate the performance of religious rituals. The presence of these features within or close to a building in turn allows that building to be identified as a potential example of religious architecture. These principles guide the collection and analysis of data in the following chapters of this thesis and allow the study of religious buildings that both predate, and are contemporary with, the emergence of a specialised architectural vocabulary for religious buildings in the sixth century B.C.

CHAPTER II. PREDECESSORS AND PROTOTYPES: SACRED HUTS

The concept of prehistoric ‘sacred huts’ appears in many socio-historical narratives about early Italic religious architecture. For example, it is present in arguments that monumental temples are the culmination of a sequence of religious buildings on one site that may be traced back to an original Bronze or Iron Age hut. It is also implicit in reconstructions of Bronze Age and Iron Age societies where elite families resided in multi-functional huts that sheltered religious, civic and domestic activities. The following review of the evidence for the existence of Latial and Etruscan huts located in the immediate vicinity of, or enclosing, evidence of ritual behaviour, will examine the extent to which the concept of sacred huts can be archaeologically validated.

Part 1 of this chapter will review the evidence for religious practices that preceded possible examples of sacred huts and the setting for their introduction. Parts 2, 3, and 4 will then explore whether the first discernible buildings at religious sites appear to have adopted particular plans, roof decorations, or positions within their settlements that distinguished them from huts with dissimilar functions. Each part will begin with an overview of the feature in question to establish the context in which possible differentiation may have occurred, and then proceed to analyse the theories and evidence for its role in the realisation of a distinctive form of religious architecture.

II.1. FROM ABSENCE TO PRESENCE

Architecture was not a timeless or inherent element of Italic religion. The votive assemblages that form the primary archaeological evidence for non-funerary cult in

the Neolithic, Bronze, and early Iron Ages indicate that there was a long tradition of religious activity in Latium and Etruria occurring in underground spaces and open-air settings with no discernable buildings. It is hence useful to begin this study by placing the first potential examples of religious architecture into the wider context of prehistoric rituals.

Data on very early religious activities in western central Italy is admittedly uneven. Although many votive assemblages from Latium have been widely studied and published,⁸² there are few Etruscan comparanda; of the more than 200 Etruscan votive assemblages currently known from all periods, relatively few date prior to the fourth century B.C., while those in museum collections are often no longer entire and suffer from a lack of detailed provenance as well as an absence of excavations in the vicinity of the original find.⁸³ Nevertheless, it is possible to recognise general patterns in the form and location of Neolithic and Bronze Age cult sites in both areas. Underground spaces such as caves, crevices, and rock shelters demonstrate evidence of funerary and non-funerary Neolithic rituals,⁸⁴ and there are also signs that cults developed around ‘abnormal water’ like stalagmites, stalactites, hot springs, and pools of still water.⁸⁵ These characteristics remain visible in the evidence from the middle Bronze Age (c.1700-1300 B.C.).⁸⁶ Finds from this period at the Sventatoio cave in Latium included vases containing traces of wheat, barley seed cakes, and parts of young animals including pigs, sheep, and oxen, as well as burned remains of at least three children.⁸⁷ The open-air veneration of underground phenomena is also implied by the discovery

⁸² For example, Gierow 1964-1966: 11-13; Lowe 1978; Bartoloni 1989-90; Guidi 1980a; and most importantly, the synthesis by Bouma 1996.

⁸³ MacIntoshTurfa 2006: 90.

⁸⁴ Whitehouse 1992: 23-86.

⁸⁵ Whitehouse 1992: 61-5; Whitehouse 1995: 84.

⁸⁶ Guidi 1989-1990: 409.

⁸⁷ Guidi 1989-1990: 406-7; Kleibrink 1997-1998: 448.

of ceramic fragments from all phases of the Bronze Age around a sulphurous spring near the Colonelle Lake at Tivoli.⁸⁸ Other evidence of cult activities at prominent points in the landscape, such as mountain tops and rivers, suggests that rituals began to lose an underground orientation during the middle Bronze Age.⁸⁹ By the late Bronze Age (c.1300-900 B.C.) natural caves no longer seem to have served ritual or funerary functions. Ceramics continued to be deposited near springs, and a new practice arose of placing cereal offerings in holes and pits within settlements.⁹⁰

From the tenth century the archaeological evidence for votive activity in Latium and Etruria diverges. While the only known site of cult activity in Etruria during the tenth century is the Pian di Civita plateau at Tarquinia, votive assemblages dated to the tenth and ninth centuries have been found at the Latial sites of Campoverde, Minturno, Cassino, Satricum, and Monte Cavo.⁹¹ Significantly, finds at the Laghetto del Monsignore spring near Campoverde also indicate continuity with the older practice of depositing pottery near water sources.⁹² Food continued to be buried in hut compounds, and by the Iron Age (c.900-700 B.C.), the majority of cult places appear to have been located within settlements.⁹³

This brief survey of early votive deposition illustrates three salient, yet often overlooked, points for histories of religious architecture. Firstly, votive deposition in underground spaces and open-air settings disproves the argument that ancient worshippers felt an inherent desire to house deities in structures similar to their own; 'sacred' huts were not an automatic complement to 'profane' huts. Secondly,

⁸⁸ Guidi 1989-1990: 409.

⁸⁹ On cult sites at mountains, trees, groves, and rivers, see Edlund 1987: 45-62.

⁹⁰ Whitehouse 1995: 86.

⁹¹ Guidi 1980a: 149-53 Bouma 1996, i: 88.

⁹² Maaskant-Kleibrink and Forsten 1992: 108; Bouma 1996, i: 41ff., 52-4, 81.

⁹³ Guidi 1989-1990; Whitehouse 1992: 86.

underground and open-air votive assemblages negate the argument that all rituals took place within homes or multi-functional buildings before temples emerged as a distinctive architectural type in the second half of the sixth century.⁹⁴ Thirdly, the lack of evidence for man-made structures at open-air sites such as the Laghetto del Monsignore suggests that the transition from underground to surface activity did not perpetuate a model of religious activity in which rituals, or their foci, required privacy or enclosure. These points affect reconstructions of the form and function of the earliest forms of religious architecture as well as the rationale for their introduction.

Much scholarship on Italic religion offers a straightforward explanation for the introduction of religious architecture. Cult practices are held to have evolved in a manner that saw them gradually incorporated into the built environment, and huts, ‘*oikos* shrines,’ and stone temples are presented as stages in a natural progression towards monumental forms.⁹⁵ The implication that votive deposits represent an early stage in the life-cycle of a cult site with an inevitable culmination in monumental architecture, however, is not supported by archaeological or literary evidence. It is clear that many cult sites in Archaic and Republican central Italy, even those in urban contexts, never carried monumental temples. In Rome the Volcanal and the Ara Maxima of Hercules remained open-air sanctuaries until the late Republic, and revered groves and springs often kept their natural forms.⁹⁶ Religious spaces with and without buildings accordingly appear to represent two different, rather than sequential, forms of cult site, and votive deposits may in fact represent a relationship between deities,

⁹⁴ Contra. Damgaard Andersen 1997: 352-3.

⁹⁵ For example, Quilici 1979: 132, 199, 208, 311; Cancik 1985-6: 258-60; Edlund 1987: 37; Bouma 1996, i: 1; Smith 1996a: 80.

⁹⁶ Plin. *HN* 12.2; Varro *Ling.* 5.49.; Cancik 1985-6: 258; Kellum 1994. For a list of sacred groves in Rome see Platner and Ashby 1929: 317-9.

dedicants, and religious space that is essentially different from that posited by scholars of religious architecture.

In reality the archaeological evidence for the precise relationship between votive deposits and religious architecture at sites that come to possess both is unclear. The conflicting reconstructions of early cult practices at Satricum illustrate some of the basic problems.⁹⁷ In 1896 excavations on the acropolis uncovered a sizeable assemblage of votives near an Archaic wall. The artefacts are collectively known as Votive Deposit I and have not yet been published in their entirety; the dating of the earliest pottery to the eleventh or tenth century is based upon a study of the technology and morphology of the miniature containers held in the magazines at the Villa Giulia,⁹⁸ while ongoing debates surround the chronology of the sixth-century finds, the location of the deposit, and the dating of the nearby structures.⁹⁹ In the ninth and eighth centuries a hut stood next to the deposit. In the seventh or early sixth century a small stone building, Temple 0, was built on the site of the earlier hut. This was shortly followed by a larger building, Temple I. The basic construction sequence is not challenged by debates over high and low chronologies; the contentious issue is the relationship between Temple I and the votive deposit. Some hold that Temple I was built over the deposit and closed it. Others argue that Temple I occupied a smaller ground plan, with the easternmost wall serving as the boundary of an unroofed enclosure around the open-air deposit. In this scenario the votive deposit remained uncovered and in use for approximately five centuries until the construction of the larger Temple II.

⁹⁷ See Bouma 1996, i: 54-65, 100 n.365 with bibliography for the history of reconstructions; also summarised by Smith 1999b: 460-1.

⁹⁸ Bouma 1996, i: 81 with n.264.

⁹⁹ Summarised by Smith 1999b.

The debate is further complicated by the ambiguous nature of the votive deposit itself. A lack of defined stratigraphy means that Votive Deposit I may be either a primary or a secondary deposit.¹⁰⁰ A primary deposit, compiled from a long succession of open-air dedications, would emphasise that votives and religious architecture stem from heterogeneous forms of ritual activity: votive activity would have occurred for two centuries prior to the construction of the first building, which was built next to, rather than atop, the offerings and presumably left them exposed to the elements;¹⁰¹ if Temple 0 housed some form of focus for cult activity, then votives were not deposited around that item; and, if the building faced the water feature at the centre of the settlement and had an open-air precinct to the rear, then votives were placed out of sight of any occupant or visitor. These possibilities, however, could be discounted if the votive assemblage was a secondary deposit formed by items removed from display elsewhere. The first hut at Satricum thus illustrates a number of contested issues about prehistoric Latial cult and signals that the form and function of this and other similar ‘sacred huts’ require detailed investigation.

II.2. ARCHITECTURE

Hut remains, primarily in the form of different combinations of post holes, sunken pits, shallow debris layers and drainage or foundation channels, are documented throughout protohistoric Etruria and from the eighth century B.C. in Latium.¹⁰² This section will review the general characteristics of these buildings, summarise the theories that have led scholars to posit that some had dedicated religious functions, and then evaluate these claims against the archaeological evidence.

¹⁰⁰ On the debate see Bouma 1996, i: 65 and Smith 1999b: 462-4.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Cristofani 1978: 67; Stibbe 1981: 20; Heldring 1984: 99.

¹⁰² Bartoloni 1985: 175-202 discusses the archaeological remains.

II.2.1. Hut architecture

The number and range of building remains in Tyrrhenian Italy makes it clear that the hut, or *capanna*, was the dominant architectural form of the Iron Age. Although the term is used to describe a variety of structures, it is generally understood to refer to simple buildings of round, oval or rectangular shape, with four or six internal posts, wattle-and-daub walls and thatched roofs (Fig. II.1).¹⁰³ Projections on the inner walls of some larger oval and rectangular huts suggest a division of interior space into two units (Fig. II.2). A step or post holes identify the location of the door, typically in a short side, and in Latial huts the arrangement of post holes around the door often suggests a covered porch (Fig. II.3). Such buildings were made of local and non-fabricated materials and were well-suited to the needs of semi-sedentary communities.¹⁰⁴

Reconstructions of hut superstructures draw on a wide range of archaeological evidence. The most commonly cited source for their appearance is the body of cinerary urns found in Latium and Etruria from the tenth to the eighth centuries B.C. (Fig. II.4). Comparison between these impasto and bronze containers and the remains of contemporary architecture has led to the epithet ‘hut urns.’ The correlation is not without criticism, however, and the methodological issue of deducing the form of housing for the living through comparison with the forms of housing for the dead, in different media and as stylised miniature designs, remains unresolved.¹⁰⁵ Another source of information is the study of shepherds’ huts built in rural Tuscany and Latium

¹⁰³ At Satricum, Lavinium, San Giovenale and Tarquinia there is evidence that huts in the same settlement differed in size and shape, with no identifiable progression over time towards rectangular plans. There is evidence, however, that a certain form was preferred by some communities, for example rectangular ground plans at Ficana, and oval ground plans at San Giovenale: Bartoloni 1985: 177.

¹⁰⁴ Brandt 2001: 411.

¹⁰⁵ Wikander 2001: 270-1 for a critique.

in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Fig. II.5), as their ground plans closely replicated those of protohistoric huts and consequently offered suggestions for reconstructing their ancient counterparts.¹⁰⁶ Other evidence about the feasibility and resource requirements of different types of superstructure comes from work by experimental archaeologists.¹⁰⁷

All of these studies agree that wooden posts formed the basis for the shape of the walls and roof. Spaces between the upright posts were filled with compacted natural materials such as reeds and straw, and then covered with a layer of clay. The overhanging roof was thatched and probably inclined between 45 and 60 degrees.¹⁰⁸ Comparison with cinerary urns has led some to suggest that huts had windows, and one scholar has hypothesised that huts with floors sunk into the earth, like the large edifice at Luni sul Mignone (Fig.II.6), may even have had two stories.¹⁰⁹ Debate is largely confined to technical details such as the means of securing wall supports to roof beams. Those who follow the reconstructions of Cozza and Barnabei believe that each post in the wall directly supported a roof joist, with the resulting instability offset by doubling all the elements on the inside and the outside of the hut (Fig. II.7).¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Erixon 1932, translated and re-published as Erixon 2001; Close Brooks and Gibson 1966; Bartoloni 1985: 181.

¹⁰⁷ An adequate form of shelter with the number of posts indicated by extant holes could have been erected by one specialist with three assistants in two to four weeks. See Bietti Sestieri and De Santis 2000: 86-9 and Bietti Sestieri and De Santis 2001 on the experimental reconstruction at Fidenae, esp. p. 217; on manpower; Cifani 2008: 265.

¹⁰⁸ For reconstructions of hut roofs see Damgaard Andersen 2001.

¹⁰⁹ Hellström 2001: 166 proposes that the hut at Luni sul Mignone had two stories for the following reasons: (i) no evidence of hearths were found on the dugout floor, suggesting cooking occurred either outside or on a raised floor; (ii) the position of the cave, c.2.5m above the dugout floor, would have required stairs or a ladder to be used to access its interior, and it is presumed that an internal floor across the dugout would be a more satisfactory solution; and (iii) the reconstructed roof creates a distance of 13m from the floor of the dugout to the ceiling, which is thought would be reflected in a grand staircase descending to the floor; the lack of any evidence for a staircase is thought to be inconsistent with the monumentality of the interior space as a whole. These last two points may be countered by an alternate reconstruction of the roof, so the suggestion of two-storied huts can only be endorsed with caution.

¹¹⁰ Barnabei 1893: 202-8 presents Cozza's reconstruction.

Critics have preferred to endorse an alternative reconstruction by Davico, in which the roof joists are connected rigidly to horizontal supports along the top of the walls and further supported by a large post in the centre of the hut (Fig. II.8).¹¹¹ Overall, huts within settlements seem to have differed from one another in size, shape, and possibly cosmetic details, within the confines of a similar building style.

The only exception to this uniformity-in-variation that has been identified to date relates to the remains of particularly small pits, often approximately 1.5-3.0m in diameter, containing lumps of charcoal, pieces of bone, a few ceramic sherds and, on occasion, grinding stones and plates. The presence of small post holes around the circumference suggests they were protected from the weather. These finds and the frequency with which such pits are located next to the remains of larger huts have led to their functional identification as cooking sheds.¹¹² Beyond the distinction between cooking sheds and other, larger huts, however, there is no evidence that differences in hut architecture reflected corresponding differences in function. If some and not all huts served ritual or prestigious multi-functional purposes, then they do not seem to have possessed distinctive architectural markers.

II.2.2. Sacred huts: theories and assumptions

A number of assumptions have led to the idea that sacred huts existed, and in turn to many huts beneath temples being identified as examples of early religious architecture. The general assumptions are that ancient literary references to sacred huts are accurate; that topographical continuity is a likely indication of cultic continuity; and

¹¹¹ Davico 1951, supported by Puglisi 1951, and Cifani 2008: 265, all based on the remains of a square hut with post holes in the centre found on the Germalus at Rome. Bartoloni 1985: 181-4 summarises both reconstructions.

¹¹² Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, i: 92 and ii: 120-2.

that the presence of infant burials near some huts signals a sacred structure. It is useful to examine each of these arguments in turn.

Sacred huts in literature

One of the most commonly cited pieces of evidence for the existence of sacred huts is the body of later literary references to such structures. The ‘hut of Romulus’ in the centre of Rome is a famous example, thought to have taken the form of a traditional hut of sticks and reeds with a thatched roof that was, according to ancient authors, repeatedly rebuilt in the same style and regarded a sacred structure (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.11; cf. Cass. Dio. 48.43.4).¹¹³ This venerated Roman monument has never been archaeologically identified.¹¹⁴

A similar association between straw roofs, wattle-and-daub walls and religious architecture is evident in Ovid’s treatment of the Temple of Vesta in the Forum Romanum in the *Fasti* (6. 261-82). Ovid’s description of the temple in his own day explained its circular form as the petrification of an earlier sacred structure deliberately designed to imitate the shape of the Earth.

*quae nunc aere vides, stipula tum tecta videres,
et paries lento vimine textus erat.*
...
*forma tamen templi, quae nunc manet, ante fuisse
dicitur, et formae causa probanda subest.
Vesta eadem est et terra...*
...
*par facies templi; nullus procurrit in illo
angulus, a pluvio vindicat imbre tholus.*

¹¹³ Cf. Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, ii: 122 arguing that the Temple of Vesta was round because it deliberately imitated the form of ancient round cooking sheds/huts, and there may have been a religious connection between concepts of fire, cooking, storage and religious protection of foodstuffs.

¹¹⁴ Literary sources seem to place the hut on the southwest corner of the Palatine near the *Scalae Caci* (Varro. *Ling.* 5.54; Plut. *Rom.* 20.4; Dio Cass. 53.16.5; Reg. Cat. Regio X).

(‘The buildings which you now see roofed with bronze
You might then have seen roofed with thatch, and the walls were
woven with tough osiers.

...

Yet the shape of the temple, as it now exists, is said
To have been its shape of old, and it is based on a sound reason.
Vesta is the same as the Earth...

...

The form of the temple is similar: there is no projecting angle
On it; a dome protects it from the showers of rain.’)

(Ov. *Fast.* 6. 261-2, 265-7, 280-2).¹¹⁵

There are records that fire consumed the Temple several times, for example in 241 B.C. (Livy. *ep.* 19; Oros. 4.11.9; Ov. *Fast.* 6.437-54; Dion. 2.66; Plin. *HN.* 7.141; Val. Max. I.4.5), causing the structure to be repeatedly rebuilt, presumably in the round shape known from coins, sculptural depictions and excavations of the imperial substructure. Unlike the hut of Romulus, however, the Temple of Vesta was reconstructed in a range of materials reflecting advances in building technology, with the retention of a circular plan the only connection to the alleged sacred hut.

Other references question whether a primitive sacred hut may be less a recoverable reality than a common conceptual archetype. Both Vitruvius (2.1.6) and Lucretius (5.1011 ff.) use the image of a primitive hut to express ideas about the human condition and the social significance of architecture. There is also evidence that the sacred hut was not a purely Italic motif. Pausanias records a Delphian belief that that the first Temple of Apollo was fashioned from laurel boughs and thus must have resembled a hut (Paus. 10.5.9). Further afield in space and time, anthropological and ethnological studies of the erection of traditional huts made from reeds, bamboo and straw in modern Japan during Shinto festivals have shown that the huts function as a means of commemorating ancestors and facilitating reflection upon history, continuity

¹¹⁵ Trans. J. G. Frazer (Loeb edition); cf. Fest. (ed. Lindsay) p.320; Plut. *Num.* 11.

and change in ways that closely recall the way in which they are used by Vitruvius and Lucretius.¹¹⁶ As the widespread cultural significance of primitive huts in rituals may be motivated by values instead of a pre-existing architectural reality, literary depictions of sacred huts must be regarded as less reliable sources of evidence for early religious architecture than archaeological remains.

Topographical continuity

Some scholars have interpreted the traces of huts beneath temples at Satricum, Rome, Ardea and Gabii as archaeological corroboration of the literary evidence for sacred huts. The assumption that topographical continuity is a likely indicator of cultic continuity, however, may be contradicted by the same literary tradition. The passage in which Ovid describes the historical form of the Temple of Vesta also states that the site was formerly occupied by *intonsi regia magna Numae* ('the mighty *regia* of unshorn Numa') (*Fast.* 6.264). If the customary translation of the term *regia* as either a palace or a multi-functional elite residence is followed, then even if the same rituals may have taken place in the *regia* of Numa and the later Temple, there is an essential difference between a palace, with connotations of a building in which a variety of functions are performed under the auspices of a political, social and religious leader, and a temple, which can be conceived of as the home of a deity and primarily exists to fulfil a religious function.

The concept of regal or elite residences as topographic precursors to public temples is apparent in the theory that the Regia, Domus Publica and the Vestal buildings were all originally part of a Roman regal palace. It has been suggested that the proximity of the public cults of Mars, Ops Consiva, Vesta, and the Lares and Penates in the Roman

¹¹⁶ Egenter 1994: esp. pp.12, 35-44, 66-9.

Republic derives from their earlier unification within a palatial complex where the king may have fulfilled the role of a warrior and provider of wealth and worshipped the gods of the hearth and store-room.¹¹⁷ The overthrow of the monarchy in the late sixth century would have seen the royal palace divided into separate buildings where public representatives continued to worship the same gods on the same sites. In this theory continuity of place and ritual are off-set by changes in building identification. It is also instructive to note that the description in the literary sources of the construction of the Temple of Juno Moneta in 344 B.C. on the site previously occupied by the house of M. Manlius Capitolinus (Livy. 7.28.4-6);¹¹⁸ this demonstrates that a residence could be replaced by a temple, and thus that the same piece of land could pass from domestic to religious use, further questioning the notion that topographical continuity can be equated with functional continuity.

The literary accounts do not necessarily reflect the state gradually encroaching on elite residences. Rather, they can be seen as signs that balancing the worship of the gods with the demands of the Roman citizenry led to houses being dismantled to allow the construction of temples, and temples being demolished for political or civic advantage.¹¹⁹ Urban land use was essentially variable; cemeteries, for example, could be converted into religious precincts, as happened outside the Porta Collina to build a Temple of Honos (Cic. *De Leg.* 2.58), or covered over and turned into luxurious private gardens, just as the burial ground on the Esquiline became the *horti* of Maecenas (Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.7-15).

¹¹⁷ Coarelli 1983, i: chapter one, esp. 56-78; largely endorsed by Cornell 1995: 240-1.

¹¹⁸ As noted with comment by Smith 1996b: 163 with n. 42.

¹¹⁹ Exemplified by the saga of Cicero's house set forth in his speeches and letters, including *Dom.* 100, 111, 115-6, and *Red. sen.* 18. See also Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2007: 207-9, 211.

Although these examples are drawn from events in one congested city, the concept of topographical continuity informs interpretations of the archaeological remains at sites throughout Latium and Etruria. Sites where finds have been analysed alongside architectural histories have established that that topographic continuity is not a sufficient rationale for assuming a corresponding functional continuity. For example, the stratigraphy in Hut D, in Zone 4a, at Ficana, is marked by numerous slag finds beneath a layer which contained cooking stands, spindle-whorls, loom-weights and bobbins. This is plausibly interpreted as evidence that Hut D served as a smithy and later a dwelling with no visible architectural alterations.¹²⁰ There is no reason to assume that different considerations applied for changes to or from religious structures. Evidence that the function of huts could change without a corresponding change in architecture establishes that finds must thus be treated as the primary evidence of function in protohistoric contexts.

Infant burials

It is not uncommon in older excavation reports to find examples of infant burials located near or around a *capanna* cited as evidence that the structure was a sacred hut. The term *suggrundaria* has been used to describe the Latin practice of burying children under the eaves,¹²¹ and there is abundant archaeological evidence for the practice at Rome, Ficana, Lavinium and Ardea, the majority from Latial Periods III and IV.¹²² Funerary rituals are religious per se, in that they seek to affect relationships with those in the spirit world. Analysis of the chronology and topography of infant burials, however, has indicated that Latin examples of *suggrundaria* are not reliable

¹²⁰ Jarva 2001: 191-93.

¹²¹ Based on Fulg. *Expositio sermonum antiquorum* 7 (p.560). For a discussion of this use of the term, see Gjerstad 1953: 152-3, n.3; for a recent example of such use see Becker 2007: 288.

¹²² Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, i: 94 on the challenges of identifying and dating infant burials in Latium.

evidence that a structure had a religious function. The placement of infant burials around large huts with high status artefacts instead suggests that aristocratic families surrounded their residences with examples of *suggrundaria* to define and reinforce their control of a section of space within a settlement.¹²³ Infant burials can thus be interpreted as indicators of an elite, residential *capanna* rather than a sacred hut.

Etruscan scholars are divided over whether the relatively poor evidence for infant burials in Etruria prior to the Archaic period should be interpreted as examples of *suggrundaria* or sanctified foundation rituals. The significance of the archaeological evidence for child burials at Tarquinia is particularly contested.¹²⁴ The few known examples indicate that it was customary to bury children younger than 5.5 years beneath the eaves of residences until the early seventh century, after which separate cemeteries for perinatals become increasingly common. As there is insufficient data to allow the intentions behind Etruscan infant burials to be hypothetically reconstructed, their placement near a building cannot automatically be taken as evidence that the structure had a religious function.

It has been rightly suggested that literary representations, topographical continuity, and infant burials, as well as differences in dimensions, decoration, and orientation, should all be regarded as working hypotheses for further excavation instead of categorical evidence for either the existence or the identification of sacred huts.¹²⁵ Artefacts consequently become the most significant form of evidence for identifying activities and architectural function. As discussed in Chapter One, ritual activities may

¹²³ Bietti Sestieri and De Santis 1985: 39-41; Smith 1996b: 78.

¹²⁴ For example, Becker 2007: 288-92 prefers a non-religious explanation for the Tarquinian evidence, while Bonghi Jovino, Chiaramonte Treré et al. 1997: 158-90 interpret the burials as evidence of ritual practices. Prayon 1975: 149-81 summarises the evidence for infant burials in settlements.

¹²⁵ Crescenzi and Tortorici 1984: 347; also argued by Bouma 1996, i: 94-101.

be indicated by votive deposits, cult statues, miniatures, and evidence of sacrifice or possibly ritual dining, although these last two are extremely difficult to distinguish from profane domestic activities. Assessments of ritual finds rely on evaluating the normality of artefacts in light of other finds from the same structure and settlement, and hence site-specific analysis is preferable to a list of generic criteria. It is thus appropriate to proceed to reviewing the evidence for the most commonly cited examples of sacred huts in light of these cautions.

II.2.3. Sacred huts: evidence

Table 1 lists commonly cited examples of potential sacred huts in Latium and Etruria along with descriptions and previous interpretations of each structure. The ratio of Latial to Etruscan sites (4:1) reflects the tendency for examples of prehistoric Etruscan architecture to be older, isolated discoveries rather than the products of systematically excavated settlements. This situation means that while histories of Etruscan ritual practice frequently focus on the limited evidence from Tarquinia and Veii, reconstructions of Latin religious architecture can draw on evidence from Rome, Satricum, Ardea, Anagni, Gabii, and Lavinium (Figs. II.9-II.19).

Table 1: Commonly cited examples of ‘sacred huts’

Site	Description	Illustration	Finds	Previous Interpretations
Latium				
Rome: The Regia	11 oval huts measuring approx. 3.5 x 3m, dated between Latial Period IIB or III and the late seventh century, ¹²⁶ beneath the later Regia.	Fig. II.9	Fragments of cooking equipment, wattle-and-daub, storage jars, bones and carbonised seeds; an infant burial dated to Latial Period IIB or III beneath the earliest structure.	1. Refuse pits.¹²⁷ 2. Cooking sheds.¹²⁸ 3. Huts.¹²⁹ 4. Early religious buildings associated with Vesta, based on their topographical proximity.¹³⁰
Rome: The Sacra Via	1 rectangular hut measuring approx. 8 x 5m with two internal supports and two external posts, dated to Latial Period IIIB, near the proposed site of the <i>Lucus Vestae</i> . ¹³¹	Fig. II.10		1. Various presented as part of the architectural histories of the sanctuary of Vesta, the precinct of the <i>Domus Regia</i>, or the lower reaches of the Palatine.
	Enlarged by the addition of two small rooms to the east and west; central room is thought to have been emphasised by the construction of a bench and an external portico, 750-700 B.C. Destroyed and abandoned c.700 B.C.		An infant burial in a neck-handled amphora, <i>enchytrismos</i> , dated to the late eighth century B.C. A second <i>enchytrismos</i> burial after the site was abandoned.	1. Infant burial as a foundation deposit.¹³² 2. Second infant burial as a sign of the area’s sanctification.¹³³ 3. A structure associated with the <i>Lucus Vestae</i> due to topographical proximity.¹³⁴

¹²⁶ Boni 1899: 220-23; Brown 1967: 51-52 (11 huts); Brown 1974-5: 19; Brown 1976; Holloway 1994: 54-5 (10 huts).

¹²⁷ Ammerman 1990: 627ff. interprets the remains as rubbish pits or similar rather than huts on the basis of their small size, the finds, and his calculation that the Forum basin was located 2m below the groundwater level and consequently must have been flooded at least twice every year.

¹²⁸ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, i: 94.

¹²⁹ Brown 1967: 51-52; Brown 1976; Scott 1993: 162-3.

¹³⁰ Holloway 1994: 55. Cf. Smith 1996b: 52 n.27 suggesting that the ‘huts’ beneath the Regia ‘were probably animal pens.’

¹³¹ Cifani 2008: 124-5, 268, Figs. 108 and 240, with bibliography.

¹³² Cifani 2008: 125.

Rome: Southwest corner of the Palatine	3 Iron Age huts, the largest measuring approx. 4.9 x 3.6m, near the later site of the Temple of Magna Mater. Phases range from the eighth century to the second half of the seventh century. ¹³⁵	Fig. II.11	Several tombs and infant burials discovered nearby (one tomb dated to Latial Period I, pre-dating the construction of the huts; two infant burials underneath the later Domus Flavia dated to the seventh century).	1. Residential; proximity to later temple merely reflects a long history of settlement in the area. ¹³⁶
Satricum: Acropolis	4 huts (also known as pits) beneath the later Temple of Mater Matuta, all dated to the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. Pit 1/Hut 1 is elliptical, measures 6.88 x 4.38m (1m deep). Pits 3 and 4 1.5-2m diameter. ¹³⁷ Pit 1 in close proximity to a votive deposit assembled from the 10 th century. ¹³⁸	Fig. II.12	Pit 1: three destruction layers and a further two layers containing charcoal, ceramics and bone; an 8-cm-thick layer of carbon, probably a hearth; a deep rectangular indentation filled with sand, charcoal fragments and small pieces of <i>impasto grossolano</i> . Pit 2: a rare fragment of a Late Geometric cup. Pits 3 and 4: of <i>tufo</i> stones arranged around charcoal patches with cooking remains and pottery debris. A few pebble-lined pits were found in the immediate vicinity.	1. Pit 1 as a sacred hut with a <i>mundus</i> . ¹³⁹ 2. Pit 1 as a residence. ¹⁴⁰ 3. Pit 2 as a residential hut with high-status occupants. ¹⁴¹ 4. Pits 3 and 4 as cooking sheds. ¹⁴² 5. Pebble-lined pits as possible infant burials. ¹⁴³

¹³³ Cifani 2008: 125.

¹³⁴ Cifani 2008: 124-5, 268, Figs. 108 and 240, with bibliography.

¹³⁵ Bibliography on the Palatine huts includes Vaglieri 1907; Gjerstad 1966: 45-9; Pensabene 1995: 455; Coarelli 2007: 133-4; Cifani 2008: 265.

¹³⁶ For example, Cifani 2008: 265-8.

¹³⁷ See Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, ii: 123 and Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995: 130 on the ninth- and early eighth-century huts as small, simple structures covered with thin thatch straw roofs, compared with the larger, more solid huts of the late eighth and seventh centuries.

¹³⁸ This deposit, known as Votive Deposit 1, currently awaits republication. For a brief overview, see Bouma 1996, i: 81-3.

¹³⁹ For description of the pit and the history of its interpretation see Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, i: 90; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991: 68ff.; Bouma 1996, i: 75, 94-101 with bibliography.

¹⁴⁰ Bouma 1996, i: 94-101. cf. Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995: 130 on the finds as indicators that cooking and eating took place within the hut, like the others on the acropolis, and thus all are likely to have sheltered similar activities.

¹⁴¹ Waarsenburg 2001: 181.

¹⁴² Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987:i, 91-2.

¹⁴³ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, i: 90.

Ardea: Colle della Noce	2 huts and <i>fossa</i> tombs dated to the late ninth century, beneath the later Temple of Castor and Pollux. ¹⁴⁴	Fig. II.13		1. No ritual character. ¹⁴⁵
Anagni: S. Cecilia	2 huts (Structure 1: oval, Structure 4: rectangular) dated to Latial Period IV, near early votive deposits dated from the eighth to the sixth centuries B.C. ¹⁴⁶	Fig. II.14	Structure 1: post-holes, fireplaces, pottery fragments, and food and faunal remains. Structure 4: a floor of <i>terra battuta</i> , a fireplace, animal bones and remains of pottery.	1. Structure 1 as a as a shelter for purifying and working clay. ¹⁴⁷ 2. Both Structure 1 and 4 as residences. ¹⁴⁸ 3. Both Structure 1 and 4 connected with the nearby cult. ¹⁴⁹
Gabii: Eastern sanctuary	1 hut, dated to the late ninth or early eighth century B.C., beneath the later temple, near contemporary tombs and a votive deposit with contents ranging from the seventh to the second century B.C. ¹⁵⁰	Fig. II.15		1. Hut as part of a small settlement with nearby tombs; no relationship with the sanctuary. ¹⁵¹
Lavinium: Northeast cult site	7 huts of various shapes (A-G), dated from the late ninth to the mid-seventh centuries B.C., around <i>fossa</i> tombs and near seventh-century votive deposit.	Fig. II.16		1. Residential; no connection between the habitation area and cult site. ¹⁵²

¹⁴⁴ Bouma 1996, iii: 10-11 with full bibliography.

¹⁴⁵ Crescenzi and Tortorici 1984: 347.

¹⁴⁶ Bouma 1996, iii: 10-11 with full bibliography.

¹⁴⁷ Bouma 1996, iii: 10-11 with full bibliography.

¹⁴⁸ Gatti 1988: 226.

¹⁴⁹ Bouma 1996, iii: 11, referring to Gatti 1988.

¹⁵⁰ Zaccagni 1978: 44-6.

¹⁵¹ Guaitoli 1981: 163.

¹⁵² Fenelli 1984: 331.

Etruria				
Veii: Piazza d'Armi	2 sets of postholes, one around a tomb and one around a larger area enclosing the tomb and a smaller pit. ¹⁵³ The tomb is dated between 940 and 810 B.C. but it has not been proven that the tomb and second set of postholes are contemporary.	Fig. II.17	Tomb: the body of a 25 or 30-year-old man, carbon dated to the period between 940 and 810 B.C., as well as a bronze strap, perhaps from a fibula, and fragments of impasto vases dated to the early Iron Age. Smaller pit: burned animal remains, deer horns and ceramic fragments.	1. A sacred hut with unusual funerary contents, and a hearth.¹⁵⁴ 2. An open-air precinct centred on a burial.¹⁵⁵
Tarquinia: Pian di Civita	1 large elliptical hut (TP 671), measuring approx. 6.80 x 2.80m, dated to the eighth century B.C., ¹⁵⁶ near a small natural depression with deposits (TP 263) and an area with later infant and adult burials.	Fig. II.18, II.19	Within the hut: an oven.¹⁵⁷ Around the hut: pits containing fragments of impasto pottery and a small four-legged animal, possibly a bull or a pig; also a bronze leech fibula with incised decoration.¹⁵⁸ Within the depression: sherds of impasto pottery, animal bones, cultivated grape pips, emmer; subsequent layers of charcoal, ashes, pottery fragments and pieces, often tips, of deer antlers.¹⁵⁹	1. Some form of service hut for the nearby depositions.¹⁶⁰ 2. A clearly non-residential function.¹⁶¹

¹⁵³ For the publication of the tomb and its interpretation, see Bartoloni 2006a: 57-82.

¹⁵⁴ Bartoloni 2006a: 57-82.

¹⁵⁵ Bartoloni 2006a: 57-82, esp. p.60 suggesting the demarcation may have foreshadowed the later use of the area as a ritual space.

¹⁵⁶ Locatelli 2001; Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 167.

¹⁵⁷ Note that the oven is interpreted as such by the excavators but its location and finds have not been clearly published.

¹⁵⁸ Geroli 2001; Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 167.

¹⁵⁹ On the depression as a site of ongoing open-air ritual activity: Bonghi Jovino 1986: 84-5, 89-93; Bonghi Jovino, Chiaramonte Treré et al. 1997, esp. p.158-60; Haynes 2000: 25-8.

¹⁶⁰ Sgubini Moretti 2001: 30-32; Bartoloni 2006a: 51.

¹⁶¹ Sgubini Moretti 2001: 22, 32.

Huts enclosing ritual activities

A survey of the finds from each site reveals that none of the Latial or Etruscan huts offer clear evidence of architecture enclosing ritual activities. Excavations within the walls of each hut have failed to yield evidence of votives, miniatures or clear dedications. The abundance of localised evidence for food preparation and consumption, such as small animal bones, carbonised seeds, charcoal, and ashes, may be traces of domestic hearths rather than activities related to animal sacrifices or ritual dining. It is necessary, however, to recall that ambiguities in the archaeological record may well reflect a lack of distinct divisions between ritual and non-ritual spheres in everyday life at this time. Reconstructions of prehistoric central Italic communities with discrete sacred huts must consequently remain a possibility rather than being categorically rejected.

The lack of unambiguous religious finds is also significant for assessing the model of central Italic temple development in which elite groups amalgamated political and religious leadership of their communities within multi-functional structures. In contrast to the concept of discrete sacred huts which may have housed exclusively religious material, the scenario of multi-functional residences suggests collections of heterogeneous finds of which a few may preserve traces of ritual behaviour. The lack of any clear religious artefacts means that this model cannot be verified by extant archaeological evidence from either Latium or Etruria.

A further impediment to the concept of elite multi-functional residences in prehistoric Etruria comes from the study of a number of large and prestigious buildings known from sites such as Luni sul Mignone, Sorgenti della Nova, San Giovenale and Calvario

(Tarquinia). Excavations of these structures have suggested that they are more likely to have served as houses for multiple families engaged in regular domestic tasks than as multi-functional elite residences. For example, the large, semi-subterranean hut excavated at Luni sul Mignone in the early 1960s is one of the largest prehistoric buildings yet discovered in central Italy (Fig. II.6).¹⁶² Excavators have proposed that two internal levels and a small cave offered approximately 320m² of floor space. Finds include remains of grindstones, portable cooking stands, milk boilers, bowls, jars and bone fragments which together indicate that food was prepared and consumed inside. Loom-weights, spindle-whorls and terracotta spools suggest cloth production, while rounded pottery discs have been interpreted as game tokens. A cultic function has also been proposed but no objects of a possibly religious nature, such as figurines, have been found. It is not inconceivable that the hut housed a leader and his family. On the basis of the local tradition of Apennine Bronze Age housing with likely multi-household buildings, however, the identification of the building as the shared home of a number of leading families is preferable.¹⁶³ As a comparison, it has been suggested that 10 hearths in the hut from Monte Ravello reflect the number of resident families.¹⁶⁴

If the tabulated examples and buildings such as the hut at Luni sul Mignone are representative of wider architectural patterns, then there is presently no evidence from central Italy of ritual activities occurring within prehistoric huts.

¹⁶² On the reconstruction and interpretation of the hut see Hellström and Wieselgren 1969, ii and Hellström 2001.

¹⁶³ Hellström 2001: 169.

¹⁶⁴ Hellström 2001: 166, 169.

Huts near ritual activities

The topographic descriptions of the ten speculative sacred huts reveal that all are located near or beneath other sites of religious activity. Without evidence of associated ritual activities, the identification of the huts beneath the Regia, along the Sacra Via, on the southwest corner of the Palatine, and on the Colle della Noce at Ardea as Latial sacred structures is based solely on the concept that topographic continuity is a likely indicator of cultic continuity. The hut at Satricum is the only example from either Latium or Etruria of a hut beneath a later temple that is also located in close proximity to a contemporary votive deposit. The earliest material in the votive deposit dates to the tenth century and thus predates the construction of the hut by one, if not two, centuries.¹⁶⁵ The sacral quality of the deposit is not disputed. It does not, however, automatically identify the nearby hut as a religious building. While its location means it may have functioned as the house of the deity worshipped by the dedicants using the nearby religious area, or as a storehouse for implements associated with the deposition of *ex-votos*, or as the residence of a religious official, it may also have been an aristocratic home that happened to neighbour the religious precinct. A thorough analysis of the hut pit has concluded that there is insufficient evidence to identify it as a sacred hut.¹⁶⁶

A careful review of the interpretive history of the Latial huts indicates that those most familiar with the archaeological evidence, frequently the excavators themselves, have tended to reject the identification of the remains as examples of religious architecture. More responsibility for disseminating the possibility that these structures are sacred

¹⁶⁵ Bouma 1996, i: 54ff.; 81-3 with n.264.

¹⁶⁶ Bouma 1996, i: 94-101. cf. Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995: 130 on the finds as indicators that cooking and eating took place within the hut, like the others on the acropolis, and thus all are likely to have sheltered similar activities.

huts lies with other scholars, particularly social historians, who have based their arguments on the assumptions that literary references are accurate, that topographical continuity may signal cultic continuity, and that the presence of infant burials signals a sacred structure.

The two Etruscan huts in Table 1 are located near votive deposits and irregular burials. The remains of the first hut, on the Piazza d'Armi plateau at Veii, comprise a *tomba a fossa*, a hearth and two sets of postholes that the excavators have speculated represent either an unusual sacred hut or an open-air precinct centred on a burial (Fig. II.17).¹⁶⁷ The tomb contained the body of a 25 or 30-year-old man, carbon dated to the period between 940 and 810 B.C., as well as a bronze strap, perhaps from a fibula, and fragments of impasto vases dated to the early Iron Age. The choice of inhumation is unusual in Veii at this time, and known examples tend to be oriented to the east or northeast, rather than the northwest-southeast alignment of this tomb. The lack of *corredo* finds and the surrounding postholes further accentuate the anomalous character of the burial. A small pit to the northwest of the tomb but within the line of the postholes was found to contain burnt animal remains, deer horns and ceramic fragments, and has consequently been interpreted as a hearth. A few postholes encircling both features led the excavator to hypothesise their enclosure within an elliptical hut or a further precinct. The unusual burial, the hearth and the walling in or off of the immediate area encourage the hypothesis that the tomb was a site of ritual activity.¹⁶⁸ It is important to note, however, that it has not been proven that the tomb and the larger postholes are contemporary, and it is equally possible that a burial site was later built over to create a structure with no associated significance.

¹⁶⁷ For the publication of the tomb and its interpretation, see Bartoloni 2006a: 57-82.

¹⁶⁸ Bartoloni 2006a: 60 suggests the demarcation may have foreshadowed the later use of the area as a ritual space.

The second Etruscan example, a large elliptical hut from Tarquinia, has been identified within an assemblage of scattered limestone pavements and more than 200 postholes that constitute the earliest evidence of settlement on the Pian di Civita plateau. The hut is dated to the eighth century, and consequently interpreted as an example of Iron Age architecture (Fig. II.18, II.19).¹⁶⁹ It is useful to summarise briefly the topographic details and references to other structures that have led to its interpretation as a cult building.

The centre of the Pian di Civita complex (Fig. II.19) is a small natural depression, labelled TP 263 on site plans, which contained sherds of impasto pottery, animal bones, cultivated grape pips, and emmer. Subsequent layers of charcoal, ashes, pottery fragments, and pieces of deer antlers have led to the depression being interpreted as a site of ongoing open-air ritual activity.¹⁷⁰ Clay found in the depression means it is possible that the depression was originally, or perhaps persistently, a source of water.

On the western side of the depression was an archaeological site, today known as area *alpha*, in which an eight-year-old boy with a skull deformity was buried during the ninth century. Rather than cremation or placement within a special structure or trench, the body was inhumed by being placed directly on the ground and covered with a mixture of clay, ashes and sections of deer antlers.¹⁷¹ Three infants were buried in a

¹⁶⁹ Locatelli 2001; Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 167.

¹⁷⁰ Bonghi Jovino 1986: 84-5, 89-93; Bonghi Jovino, Chiaramonte Treré et al. 1997, esp. p.158-60; Haynes 2000: 25-8.

¹⁷¹ It is relevant to the interpretation of both the depression and the burials to note that the deer antlers are not necessarily cultic. There is evidence that horn-working was an important technological and productive activity in the eighth and seventh centuries at a range of Etruscan and Latial sites including Luni sul Mignone, San Giovenale, Bolsena Gran Carro, Acquarossa, Ficana, Satricum and Fidenae: see Bonghi Jovino, Chiaramonte Treré et al. 1997: 126-7. The presence of deer antlers of any size or coherence may represent contamination from productive activities or, more likely, be an example of everyday objects whose value, in either economic or perceived social terms, led to their re-purposing as votive or funerary objects. Perhaps the antlers functioned as a suitable accoutrement for masculine burials, as the antlers were a secondary sexual characteristic of male deer.

similar manner at the site during the second half of the eighth century.¹⁷² In the third quarter of the eighth century a man was buried to the north of the site in a shallow ditch; the placement of part of an Euboean water jug above his head has led to speculation that he was an Euboean Greek sailor.¹⁷³ No buildings are associated with area *alpha* in the ninth or eighth centuries.¹⁷⁴

The proximity of the hut (TP 671) to the cult site (TP 263) has led to its identification as some form of service hut for the nearby depositions.¹⁷⁵ The excavators hypothesize that its large size, approximately 6.80 x 2.80m, signals that it did not have a normal residential purpose,¹⁷⁶ although they also draw parallels with the large huts at Luni sul Mignone and Sorgenti della Nova, which are not thought to be religious structures. They further argue that the presence of cultic huts at Ardea, Gabii, Lavinium, Velletri and Satricum establishes a viable precondition for recognising a sacred hut at Tarquinia.¹⁷⁷ As few, if any, of these parallels can be identified as sacred huts based on the criteria of traces of ritual activity, the Tarquinian example must be assessed on its own merits, of which the strongest argument for a cultic identification remains topographical proximity.

The evidence from Veii and Tarquinia may indicate structures associated with ritual activities with a non-infant funerary element hitherto unknown in the Latial examples. There is no unequivocal evidence that the Etruscan huts are religious; they may, as at

¹⁷² On the child and infant burials (individuals 59A, 180A, 180B, 180 C, 226A and 293) dated to the ninth, eighth and early seventh centuries, see Bonghi Jovino 1986: 89-91; Bonghi Jovino, Chiaramonte Treré et al. 1997, esp. p.41, 100ff., 158-62; Bonghi Jovino 2008: 33-7.

¹⁷³ Bonghi Jovino, Mallegni et al. 1997; Bonghi Jovino, Chiaramonte Treré et al. 1997: 165.

¹⁷⁴ Although a small hut (TP 496) measuring c.2.8 x 2.2m was built there in the tenth century B.C.: Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 163.

¹⁷⁵ Sgubini Moretti 2001: 30-32; Bartoloni 2006a: 51.

¹⁷⁶ Sgubini Moretti 2001: 22, 32.

¹⁷⁷ Sgubini Moretti 2001: 32.

Tarquinia, be located near likely sites of ritual activity, such as the veneration of unusual sources of water, but the totality of the circumstantial evidence allows only for the possibility, rather than the certainty, that the buildings themselves had a ritual function.

II.3. ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION

Hut superstructures are absent from the archaeological record. As discussed above, reconstructions draw on a range of secondary evidence in a variety of ancient and modern media, and in particular upon the cinerary urns and small architectural models known as ‘hut urns’ and ‘house urns.’ This section will discuss the theory that these ceramic and metallic containers approximate, if not document, contemporary architecture, and the resultant claims that some huts may have been decorated with distinctive religious motifs.

II.3.1. Thatched superstructures

A number of ceramic and metallic containers dating from the tenth to the seventh centuries B.C. found in Latium and Etruria are now typically described as ‘hut urns’ and ‘house urns.’ Many scholars hold that their plan and elevation have a close resemblance to buildings that stood at the time of their manufacture, and furthermore that the added and incised decoration on some models can be read as evidence for the ornamentation of real buildings.

Such perceptions have been significantly encouraged by studies of later Etrusco-Italic architectural terracottas. Noting the lack of early terracotta roof decorations in Greece, some scholars have attempted to identify precursors for the form of seventh-century

Etruscan architectural terracottas in the indigenous decorative traditions of central Italy.¹⁷⁸ Resemblances between decorations on urns and seventh-century architectural terracottas, for example between crossed roof poles on a hut urn from Cerveteri (Fig. II.20) and acroteria from Poggio Civitate (Fig. II.21), are frequently cited as evidence that cinerary urns accurately document contemporary architecture.¹⁷⁹ The correlation is not without criticism, however, as justification for deducing the form of housing for the living through comparison with the forms of housing for the dead, in different media and as stylised miniature designs, is seldom forthcoming,¹⁸⁰ while other scholars believe that the urns were designed to evoke store-houses, cooking-sheds, or temples rather than dwellings.¹⁸¹ The value of urns as secondary evidence for early superstructures thus remains debatable.

Reconstructions of hut superstructures based upon the shape and decoration of cinerary urns have proposed a mixture of functional and decorative features. Of the 125 cinerary urns with discernable roofs, almost all are hipped and more than three-quarters incline between 35 and 49 degrees.¹⁸² The thatched roofs of prehistoric huts are thought to have been of a similar design, and to have been held in place by vertically-placed logs that crossed one another along the ridge line, as represented, for example, on a bronze urn from Civita Castellana (Fig. II.22), although it has also been

¹⁷⁸ For example, Bianchi Bandinelli 1972: cat. no. 124, Roma Antiquarium Forenze, inv. n. 139; Edlund Gantz 1972: 188-94; Fullerton 1982: 25 with n.122; Rystedt 1983: 159-63, 291-2, pl. II: 14; Phillips Jr. 1984: 416; Phillips Jr. 1985; Damgaard Andersen 1993b: 55.

¹⁷⁹ For example, Rystedt 1983: 161-2.

¹⁸⁰ As critiqued by Wikander 2001: 270-1, arguing the urn decoration had more in common with ceramic canons than real buildings; cf. Leighton 2005: 369 noting similar geometric decorations on hut urns, bronze and wooden artefacts, and later tomb interiors, with the suggestion that similar designs may also have appeared on textiles.

¹⁸¹ As temples: Müller-Karpe 1959: 88ff.; as store houses: Oelmann 1929; as dwellings: Gierow 1964-1966: 73; cf. Leighton 2005: 370 noting house urns may refer to either the deceased's former dwelling or an anticipated house in the afterlife.

¹⁸² Damgaard Andersen 2001: 246-8.

suggested that the urns externalize interior beams for decorative effect.¹⁸³ Forty percent of the cinerary urns have plastic decoration, of which the three principal types resemble horns (34 percent), animal, perhaps bird, protomes (5 percent), and human beings (1 percent).¹⁸⁴ These have similarly been regarded as indications of actual practice, particularly as representations of acroteria carved from the ends of cross-pieces or arranged along the ridgepole. Masks attached to canopic urns, such as the example from the Necropoli di Tolle in the Museo Civico Archeologico in Chianciano Terme (Fig. II.23), have also been interpreted as signs that Iron Age households may have suspended masks from their roofs as apotropaic devices or in relation to an ancestor cult.¹⁸⁵ Some scholars have thus used urns to reconstruct both roofs and the religious practices that occurred beneath them.

It has also been suggested that rooftops were enlivened by a range of colours and patterns. Some scholars have interpreted the decorated roofs of particular hut urns as a sign that thatched roofs may have been covered with painted clay (Fig. II.24).¹⁸⁶ The feasibility of this practice, given the increase in the weight of the roof, has been questioned,¹⁸⁷ and countered with a reference in Vitruvius (2.1.3) to hut builders who, *posteaquam per hibernas tempestates tecta non potuerunt imbres sustinere, fastigia facientes, luto inducto proclinatis tectis, stillicidia deducebant* ('when in winter-time the roofs could not withstand the rain, they made ridges, and smearing clay down the sloping roofs, they drew off the rain water').¹⁸⁸ Motifs present on the sides of some hut urns, such as the *anatre* or sun-birds punched into the metal sheets of a bronze hut urn

¹⁸³ Sundwall 1925: 53; Gierow 1964-1966, i: 34; Bartoloni 1985: 184; Bartoloni, Buranelli et al. 1987: 135-43; Damgaard Andersen 1998, i: 111; Leighton 2005: 369.

¹⁸⁴ Damgaard Andersen 2001: 248 with n.26.

¹⁸⁵ Winter 1977: 24; Winter 1978a: 31-2 with n.7; Phillips Jr. 1984: 415-6; Phillips Jr. 1985: 7; Colonna 1986: 424; Damgaard Andersen 1993b: 54.

¹⁸⁶ Bartoloni, Buranelli et al. 1987: 138, Damgaard Andersen 1998, i: 128 with cat. no. 73.

¹⁸⁷ Colonna 1986: 392; Wikander 2001: 271.

¹⁸⁸ Damgaard Andersen 1998, i: 128. Translation by F. Granger in the *Loeb Vitruvius* (1931).

from Vulci (Fig. II.25), have also led to proposals that hut exteriors may have been similarly decorated. The external walls of a reconstructed Villanovan hut at Bologna accordingly carry painted geometric panels (Fig. II.26), as do the walls of a similar hut at Fidenae, decorated with patterns made using a wooden comb (Fig. II.27).¹⁸⁹ In Latium, Boni's reconstruction of the Hut of Romulus in Rome similarly carried geometric designs including a swastika and a labyrinth (Fig. II.28).¹⁹⁰

It is relevant to note here that few reconstructions of hut superstructures reflect the strong regional differences displayed by cinerary urns. Hut urns from Latium, and to a certain extent from Veii, frequently stand less than thirty centimetres high, have circular plans, and emphasise the depiction of structural elements such as beams (for example, an urn from Vigna D'Andrea at Velletri), porches (an urn from Marino Campofattore), side windows (an urn from Tomb 129 at Osteria dell'Osa), and double doors (an urn from Tomb 16 at Pratica di Mare) (Fig. II.29). Their Etruscan counterparts are larger and prioritise art over architecture, with roof-beams resembling bird antefixes (such as an urn from Vulci Osteria, Fig. II.25), relatively more incised decoration, and the use of metal foil (as on an urn from Tomb 1 at Poggio alla Guardia).¹⁹¹ If funerary urns document contemporary buildings, then it is possible either that Etruscan huts carried greater decoration than those in Latium, or that containers for the dead resembled a different type of building in each region, such as homes in one and store-houses in another. These must remain unverifiable hypotheses.

¹⁸⁹ On the hut in the Margherita Gardens at Bologna, see Carroli and Nardin 1998; Leighton 2005: 368. On the hut at Fidenae, see Bietti Sestieri and De Santis 2001: Fig. 8e; Leighton 2005: 368-9.

¹⁹⁰ Rykwert 1972: 174, as a counterpoint to claims made by Wikander 2001: 270 that scholars have not interpreted decorated urn walls as evidence of real practice; cf. Leighton 2005: 367. Note also the suggestion in Guidi 1980b: 367 that the motifs could represent membership of kinship or other groups.

¹⁹¹ Bartoloni 1985: 175-7, 201 discusses regional differences.

II.3.2. Religious decorations: theories and assumptions

The concept that hut urns replicate contemporary architecture has led to arguments that religious motifs on the urns document religious decorations on real buildings. The identification of religious motifs in either case, however, is not straightforward, and further complicated by the fact that it is not clear whether hut urns document buildings with a special function or features common to virtually all buildings. The idea that many huts may have had exterior decorations with religious connotations is consequently far more common than the idea that sacred huts may have been set apart by distinctive motifs.

Ancestral cults

Some scholars have speculated that hut decorations signify ancestral cults on the basis of two hut urns which carry small sculpted figures on their lids. The first is a 26.8cm-high reconstructed impasto urn on which a plastic figurine, little more than six centimetres high, appears in the gable above the door (Fig. II.30).¹⁹² The figure has male genitalia, ears, nose, and no clothes save a cap-like hat that was fashioned separately. The apparent lack of attributes has seen the figure interpreted as an ancestor.¹⁹³ The second urn, today in Ascona, has roof details evoking female torsos with outstretched arms and a schematic figurine in a similar pose above the door (Fig. II.31).¹⁹⁴ The ‘ancestors’ on both urns are thought to be protecting the huts, or possibly their contents, from an elevated position.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Rome, Museo Preistorico Etnografico L. Pigorini, inv. 105755; Damgaard Andersen 1993b: cat. no. 22 with bibliography.

¹⁹³ Damgaard Andersen 1993b: 28-9.

¹⁹⁴ Ascona, Galleria ‘Casa Serodine;’ Damgaard Andersen 1993b: cat. no. 23 with bibliography.

¹⁹⁵ Colonna 1986: 392; Damgaard Andersen 1993b: 29; Torelli 1997: 37.

A perceived correlation with contemporary architecture has produced arguments that hut superstructures may have carried similar figures. Anachronistic evidence is frequently cited to support this hypothesis, most notably the sculpted terracotta acroteria from the ridge-pole of the seventh-century courtyard complex at Murlo (Fig. II.32). The almost ubiquitous links drawn between urns with sculpted figures and the Murlo acroteria are an integral part of arguments that Archaic architectural terracottas draw on indigenous decorative traditions.¹⁹⁶ A fourth-century house model from Capua with a representation of a head placed on the gable is also often referenced (Fig. II.33) as an example of the form roofs may have assumed if the masks attached to canopic urns document ancestral masks displayed on contemporary huts.¹⁹⁷ The two hut urns, the Murlo acroteria, and the fourth-century house model have thus supplied elements for reconstructing sculptural programmes of lost, thatched roofs.

The interpretation of these figures as evidence for ancestral cults relies upon further hypotheses. The first stems from considerations of the quantity of extant hut urns. The low incidence of hut urns in tombs uncovered to date has been explained as the restriction of such urns to tombs of the *pater* or *mater familias*. The grave goods in these tombs are not differentiated from others with the exceptional inclusion of a small terracotta figurine and a hut urn or an *olla* with a roof-shaped lid. The figurines do not have sculpted attributes and are thus thought to signify the deceased or ancestors rather than deities. The combination of figurine and hut urn has consequently been interpreted as an emphatic representation of the family house with the *pater* or *mater familias* and, by extension, reference to an ancestral cult.¹⁹⁸ The second hypothesis builds on the proposed identification of the sculpted figures as ancestors to argue that

¹⁹⁶ For example, Edlund Gantz 1972: 188-94; Damgaard Andersen 1993b: 29; Torelli 1997: 37-8.

¹⁹⁷ Damgaard Andersen 1993b: 54-5, Fig. 65.

¹⁹⁸ Damgaard Andersen 1993b: 17; opposed by Gierow 1983: 13-4; cf. Leighton 2005: 370.

ancestral figures are unlikely to have appeared on huts without the existence of corresponding ancestral cults.¹⁹⁹ Iron Age huts with sculpted ancestral figures thus become the missing link between the figurines on hut urns and the figurines on later Orientalising complexes like Murlo, which are often interpreted as ancestors,²⁰⁰ and also between sculpted figures in funerary and non-funerary contexts. It is unclear, however, whether scholars believe that all huts within settlements resembled the urns and observed an ancestral cult in décor and practice, or, on the contrary, whether such reconstructions relate only to the huts of those who came to occupy tombs containing hut urns. The value of extending these hypotheses beyond the corpus of funerary ceramics into reconstructions of real architecture hence remains debatable.

Religious motifs

Some scholars have argued that the use of particular motifs on cinerary urns was driven less by ceramic conventions than a wish to use designs relevant to ritual and intangible spheres.²⁰¹ Urn designs are thus presented as part of a decorative canon that is likely to have found expression in other, now lost, media, and as records of images deemed suitable for burial rites and spaces. Bird images may refer to the perception of birds as messengers between visible and invisible worlds that leads to their use in augury. Discs have possible solar connotations. Swastika designs may be cosmic or refer to quadripartite divisions of space, similar to those known from later Etruscan cosmology. Boats, too, may have had a religious connotation, similar to the role they assume in Egyptian depictions of the afterlife.²⁰² The suggestion that bird, disc, swastika, and boat motifs may have appeared in settlements as religious markers

¹⁹⁹ Damgaard Andersen 1993b: 53-6.

²⁰⁰ For example, by Rathje 2004-2007: 180.

²⁰¹ For example, Müller-Karpe 1959: 96; Edlund Gantz 1972: 192.

²⁰² On the religious significance of birds, discs, and swastikas: Leighton 2005: 374-5. On boats: Edlund Gantz 1972: 191. On horns and birds: Müller-Karpe 1959: 48, 87ff.

cannot be verified. None of these decorations necessarily signal that hut urns document a form of sacred hut, or that all huts carried decorations with religious significance.²⁰³

The roof as a pre-eminent zone

Scholars who connect hut urns with later architectural terracottas in order to reconstruct an indigenous decorative tradition often present the roof as a pre-eminent, possibly sacred, decorative zone.²⁰⁴ A review of the motifs painted and incised on the walls of many urns, however, demonstrates that the roof is only one decorative field.²⁰⁵ Traces of paint survive on approximately ten urns, but the perishable nature of the material means the original effect may well have been lost.²⁰⁶ One urn in Tarquinia is recorded to have been painted with white anthropomorphic and geometric designs that have now faded and disappeared (Fig. II.34).²⁰⁷ Similarly, an urn from the Forum Romanum is recorded to have once carried the white and red colours familiar from Corinthian and Etrusco-Corinthian pottery.²⁰⁸ A number of urn walls also carry incised, schematic designs that may represent people (Fig. II.35).²⁰⁹ Those resembling standing figures generally appear on hut urns and biconical urns dated to the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. Seated figures tend to be concentrated above the handles of biconical

²⁰³ Leighton 2005 notes that the motifs on hut urns also appear on bronze and wooden objects, and probably also cloth, and are hence likely to have had a more general, decorative significance. Cf. Sundwall 1925 arguing that the motifs came from the artisans' imaginations, and Flusche 2001: 175-7 proposing that volute acroteria have the non-religious function of signalling the high status of aristocratic house occupants.

²⁰⁴ The concept of the roof as a heroic or sacred zone is expressed most clearly by Torelli 1997: 37, 142. cf. also the emphasis on decorated internal pediments in Etruscan tombs, particularly the use of the pediment as the sole decorative field: Leighton 2005: 371.

²⁰⁵ Wikander 2001: 270-1.

²⁰⁶ Leighton 2005: 367.

²⁰⁷ Hencken 1968, i: 61, fig. 48f; Leighton 2005: 367.

²⁰⁸ Bartoloni, Buranelli et al. 1987; cat. no. 124, Roma Antiquarium Forense inv. no. 139; cf. Leighton 2005: 367 noting that white or yellow decorations seem to have been more common than white and red.

²⁰⁹ Hencken 1968, i: 29-30; Buranelli 1983: 131; Damgaard Andersen 1993b: 24-7; Torelli 1997: 30; Leighton 2005: 361. Opposed by Gierow 1964-1966: 78, n.7.

urns and date from the middle of the eighth century, and have also been linked to images of seated banquets or enthroned royalty that may have entered circulation in the Orientalising period.²¹⁰ The idea that hut urns accurately document the roofs but not the walls of contemporary buildings must therefore stem from an assumption that sculpture was the most prestigious type of decoration. If this assumption cannot be justified, then the idea of the roof as a unique decorative zone can also be challenged.

II.3.3. Religious decorations: evidence

The lack of primary evidence for hut roofs in the archaeological record precludes detailed assessment of the extent to which hut urns document physical realities. Attempts to correlate details of urn decorations with the remains of specific huts are also largely futile, as hut urns from the tombs at Osteria dell'Osa, for example, cannot be linked to individual dwellings, and models found in votive deposits near architectural remains may or may not imitate the superstructure of a particular building.²¹¹ The external decorations of potential sacred huts accordingly remain hypothetical.

II.4. LOCATION

If the first buildings at religious sites appear not to have been differentiated from other structures by their architecture or exterior decoration, might their location have set them apart and communicated that they served a religious function? This section will review the topography of hut compounds in Latium and Etruria prior to c.700 B.C. and

²¹⁰ Damgaard Andersen 1993b: 24-7 for a catalogue, interpretation and dates.

²¹¹ Significant building models have been found at Satricum and Velletri. On the earliest Satricum model, dated to c.725-700 B.C. and thought to depict a thatched roof (Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, inv. 11609), see *CLP*: 30ff.; Damgaard Andersen 2001: 250-1. On the late Archaic model from Velletri (Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, inv. 12641), see Staccioli 1968: 41-3, cat. no. 32; Staccioli 1989-1990: 94-5, Fig. 1.

theories that the location of sacred huts within them was determined by religious and environmental imperatives. These hypotheses will then be tested against the location of potential sacred huts.

II.4.1. Hut compounds

Etruria

Hut compounds in Iron Age Etruria were seldom located on the same sites as their Bronze Age counterparts. Excavations and in-depth analysis of settlement trends in areas such as the Albegna and Fiora valleys suggests that by the tenth century, or the late Bronze Age, the majority of Etruscan settlements consisted of hamlets and farms occupying *tufo* outcrops, each typically a few hectares in size, with inconspicuous cemeteries placed on slopes below the habitation levels.²¹² In the ninth and eighth centuries populations migrated from these outcrops to plateaux that were at least ten times larger with sizeable areas of land suitable for cultivation.²¹³ The dead were accorded new prominence, as burials now occupied hilltops around each plateau and effectively kept the deceased part of the community in constant sight.²¹⁴ The plateaux selected for settlement offered improved access to raw materials, such as mineral ores in the Tolfa mountains, the Colline Metallifere, and the Montecatini-Val di Cecina area, as well as communication routes along early roads, rivers, and the sea.²¹⁵ Veii, Tarquinia, Cerveteri, Vulci, Vetulonia, and Populonia were all coastal plateau settlements, while Volterra, Chiusi, and Orvieto were the products of the same processes further inland. By the ninth century the number of major Etruscan sites had

²¹² Miari 1987; Attolini, Cambi et al. 1991; Bietti Sestieri 1992a: 30-2; Hoekstra 1996-7: 55-6; Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 53-8.

²¹³ Bietti Sestieri 1981: 253; Bietti Sestieri 1992a: 37; Pacciarelli 1994: 251-3; Pacciarelli 2000: 104-9, 120-36; Bonghi Jovino 2005: 30; Carandini 2006: 200.

²¹⁴ Hoekstra 1996-7: 56.

²¹⁵ Torelli 1981b: 58-67; Damgaard Andersen 1997: 346, 373.

shrunk from approximately fifty to just over ten, and a range of smaller communities had clustered around each centre in an early form of settlement nucleation.²¹⁶

The organisation of buildings and spaces on each of the large plateaux has been debated. Reconstructions of general patterns have ranged from proposals that the area was divided into the territories of several small, independent villages, each with its own cemetery, to those where a whole plateau was collectively occupied with several large empty spaces serving common functions between buildings.²¹⁷ The limitations of the archaeological evidence, where chronological phases are often based solely on surface finds and lack the support of systematic excavations, have led to sites such as Veii being reconstructed according to both models on the basis of the same pottery fragments.²¹⁸ On a smaller scale, systematic excavations of the hut compounds in Area D at San Giovenale and Area B at Acquarossa have suggested that the placement of huts and roads in these settlements followed the landscape rather than any orthogonal plan.²¹⁹

Latium

Settlement and funerary data in Late Bronze Age Latium suggest a gradual relocation of settlements away from sites that had been selected for their natural advantages, such as proximity to natural resources and water, towards those with greater defensive potential.²²⁰ Pottery and bronze artefacts indicate that Lavinium, Ardea, Tivoli, Palestrina, and some sites in the Alban Hills were inhabited from this stage.²²¹ The

²¹⁶ Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 60-5.

²¹⁷ Ward-Perkins 1961: 20-5 (independent villages); Guaitoli 1982 (collective occupation); Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 65-8.

²¹⁸ Berardinetti, De Santis et al. 1997: 318-9; Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 65-8.

²¹⁹ Östenberg 1975: 12; Bietti Sestieri 1992a: 37-8; Donati 1994: 4-5; Izzet 2007: 171.

²²⁰ Pacciarelli 1979: 274; Smith 1996b: 34.

²²¹ Ampolo 1980: 48 with references; Bietti Sestieri 1992a: 47; Cornell 1995: 32.

resulting settlements appear to have been more numerous and more dispersed than their Etruscan counterparts, and also less densely populated; excavations at Rome and the Alban Hills suggest that settlement spaces may have been occupied by different groups with their own necropoleis, each several hundred metres from their neighbours.²²² Subsequent centuries saw the continued use of many Late Bronze Age sites, a concentration of older settlements, and relatively limited population shifts, all in contrast to the migrations of contemporary Etruria.²²³ Settlements in the Alban Hills gradually declined, while those on the coast and plain grew in line with the development of river and land routes into Sabine territory and between Campania and Etruria.²²⁴

During the ninth and eighth centuries the settlement pattern altered as villages began to coalesce into larger nucleated settlements.²²⁵ Communities around Osteria dell'Osa came together to form a new settlement on the site of later Gabii, while hut compounds were built at Satricum, Lavinium, and Rome. Population growth drove the expansion of established settlements and the foundation of new sites including Antemnae, Crustumerium, and Fidenae. Traces of fortifications in the form of simple earthworks around hilltops at Lavinium, Ficana, Castel di Decima, and Laurentina Acqua Acestor have been dated to the eighth and seventh centuries.²²⁶ By the early eighth century settlements in Latium followed a similar hierarchy to those in Etruria and possessed comparable attributes.²²⁷

²²² Cornell 1995: 54-55; Smith 1996b: 35.

²²³ Bietti Sestieri 1992a: 47-50.

²²⁴ Bietti Sestieri 1992a: 72-5 with Fig.3.17; Cornell 1995: 55.

²²⁵ Discussed, for example, by Cornell 2000, especially p.212.

²²⁶ Gualtoli 1984: 368-70; Fischer-Hansen 1990: 121.

²²⁷ Bietti Sestieri 1992a: 73.

II.4.2. Religious sites: theories and assumptions

The location of putative sacred huts has been ascribed to both religious and environmental factors. Theories that huts were supplements to rites at far older cult sites, particularly those connected to the veneration of natural phenomena, or alternatively were sited to reflect the ritual primacy of hilltops, hint at religious determinants. In contrast, the argument that religious architecture was restricted to settlements and avoided in rural settings suggests a contextual determinant. The scant evidence for any sacred huts in Latium or Etruria means that these determinants can be critiqued as hypotheses rather than interpretations of extensive data.

Religious imperatives: Sites of ancient nature cults

One model of central Italic religion presents religious architecture as an accessory gradually acquired by areas used for the worship of natural phenomena. A temple was preceded by a shrine or hut, which followed the deposition of votives and the performance of sacrifices, all beginning with an original tree, spring, or mountain top that possessed sacred qualities.²²⁸ Some cult sites attracted settlements and developed into urban sanctuaries, while those that did not remained rural shrines.²²⁹ In both cases rituals continued without transposition, and thus topographical continuity is thought to account for the location of all Etruscan and Latial religious architecture.

As discussed at the start of this chapter, central Italic cult sites exhibited three broad phases of development between the Neolithic period and the Iron Age. In the first

²²⁸ Harmon 1978: 1453-4; Edlund 1987: 35-7, 144 and references in n.95 above; cf. also Ziolkowski 1992: 271-5, 308 linking many mid-Republican temple foundations in Rome to Archaic sacred sites. Such an idea may be derived from accounts in later Roman texts: Romulus was thought to have founded the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitoline beneath a sacred oak tree (Liv. 1.10; *Monumentum Ancytenum* 4.19), while a pair of sacred myrtle trees were reputedly connected with the Temple of Quirinus (*Monumentum Aneyranum* 4.19).

²²⁹ Edlund 1987: 42-3.

phase, the Middle Bronze Age (c.1700-1300 B.C.), rituals occurred in underground caves or places orientated towards underground space. The second phase, in the Late Bronze Age (1300-900 B.C.), saw the rise of open-air cult sites, typically at natural springs outside settlements, as well as the burial of food offerings in ditches or pits within villages. In the third phase, during the Early Iron Age (900-700 B.C.), cult sites were located within settlements.²³⁰ These transitions from underground to open-air sites, and from natural or rural to settlement settings, as well as the movement of Etruscan population centres during the Bronze and Iron Ages, precluded the development of central Italic cult sites equivalent to the Greek Erechtheion or Eleusis where rituals had been observed for hundreds of years.²³¹ Campoverde and Satricum are exceptional examples of cult sites that remained in use through the Bronze and Iron Ages,²³² yet neither one was incorporated into a settlement that later became a city. The majority of potential sacred huts accordingly do not represent the architectural adornment of far older cult sites.

Religious imperatives: The sacred role of the arx

Some scholars have suggested that Etruscan and Latial settlements were founded according to the Bronze Age practice of *auspicia*, or divination by bird-watching. Hilltops consequently assumed great ritual significance as customary observation points. By extension, the *arx* or highest point is thought by some to have functioned as the ritual centre of any community and thus to have been a natural site for cult buildings.²³³ The tendency for many Greek temples to be built on the highest points of their settlements, most famously the Parthenon on the Acropolis in Athens, may also

²³⁰ Guidi 1989-1990; Whitehouse 1992: 86.

²³¹ Jannot 2005: 74.

²³² Bouma 1996, i: 91 with n.328.

²³³ Torelli 2000a: 197-8; Malnati 2008: 78.

have contributed to the idea that hilltops were some of the most sacred ritual spaces in Greco-Italic religion. In apparent corroboration of this idea, the Capitoline Temple in Rome was constructed on a prominent hilltop overlooking the community, and the hut on the *arx* at Satricum is the strongest candidate for a hut-like form of religious architecture in western central Italy.

The tendency for Latial *arces* to serve as settlement nuclei, however, means that the location of the sacred hut at Satricum is more likely to derive from the location of the space used for all activities in the Iron Age community than any ritual determinant. The defensive advantages of hilltops and their proximity to water sources saw the *arces* in Satricum, Ardea, and Lavinium inhabited from the eighth century onwards, presumably occupied by the dwellings, economic activities, and religious rituals that characterised daily life.²³⁴ While the expansion of the settlements in later times may have resulted in the *arces* being accorded special status on account of their longstanding use, there is no evidence that hilltops were reserved only for religious activities. Later evidence in fact points to a preference for placing cult buildings away from hilltops: the first known cult buildings in Rome, namely the Regia and the temple in the S. Omobono sanctuary, were not built on the heights of the Capitoline or Palatine hills, but on the lowlands of the Forum Romanum and the Forum Boarium.

Environmental imperatives: Settlement patterns

The location of religious architecture has also been explained as the product of environmental, rather than ritual, factors. This theory proposes that rural sacred places were marked with votive deposits, altars, and enclosures, but cult buildings were the preserve of settlements, where they represented older cult sites that had been

²³⁴ Guaítoli 1984: 377; van't Lindenhout 1997: 308.

incorporated into settlements or established *ex nihilo* within them.²³⁵ Religious buildings hence served a specific, settlement-driven purpose, rather than being an incidental product of an evolutionary sequence, and this political or civic purpose overshadowed any practical function such as the housing of a cult statue or the storage of *ex-votos*.

This theory can be supported by archaeological evidence. Potential sacred huts are found in hut compounds, and the continued performance of votive rites long after cult buildings had been destroyed or fallen into ruin, for example at Veii, Pyrgi, and Gravisca,²³⁶ also indicates that the buildings were more incidental than integral parts of religious experience. The location and function of cult buildings may thus have been driven by non-religious imperatives. Caution is necessary, however, in reconstructing general patterns from the location of the known evidence. Hut compounds have attracted more excavators than rural cult sites, the position of which may have been lost if unmarked by substantial architectural remains. A lack of excavations in the vicinity of rural votive deposits discovered prior to the twentieth century has also compromised analysis of their settings and any surrounding structures. Accordingly, the disjunction between votive deposition and architecture at certain sites is stronger evidence of an environmental determinant than the restriction of possible sacred huts to hut compounds.

II.4.3. The location of sacred huts: evidence

The lack of any unambiguous examples of sacred huts means that hypotheses about the location of religious architecture can only be tested on data of uncertain relevance.

²³⁵ For example, Edlund 1987: 92, 144.

²³⁶ MacIntoshTurfa 2006: 92, n.14.

It is useful, however, to consider whether possible sacred huts corroborate or refute the concept of topographical determinants. Corroboration may set up scenarios for comparison with later, more secure evidence, while refutation would further question the justification for interpreting certain huts as examples of early religious architecture.

Veneration of natural phenomena

Satricum and Tarquinia may offer two examples of sites where Iron Age huts were built near natural features that were the focus of earlier rituals. At Satricum the possible sacred hut was one of many Iron Age structures arranged in a roughly semi-circular pattern around an open space (Figs. II.36, II.37). At some point during the eighth or seventh century B.C. a *lacus* or water basin with a diameter of approximately 12m was constructed in this open space.²³⁷ On the basis of the discovery of fine-grained loam in a depression beneath the *lacus*, and also the placement of small votive assemblages around this central area in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C., one of the excavators has hypothesised that the *lacus* was produced by the artificial modification of an older, natural spring with ritual significance.²³⁸ A connection with the contemporary votive deposits at the water source in nearby Campoverde has also been drawn.²³⁹ In Etruria, the cavity in the bedrock (TP 263) at the centre of the complex on the Pian di Civita plateau at Tarquinia may also have once been revered as a water source or notable geological feature. Finds near the cavity that have been dated to the late tenth century include the foundations of a hut (TP 496) measuring c.2.8 x 2.2m; a small pit (TP 121) containing a grape seed fragment; traces of an oven (TP 430); and small groups of ceramics that have been interpreted as votive assemblages.

²³⁷ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995: 127; Meyers 2003: 53-4.

²³⁸ Maaskant-Kleibrink and Forsten 1992: 108; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995: 127-9.

²³⁹ Maaskant-Kleibrink and Forsten 1992: 108; Bouma 1996, i: 133.

Significantly, the excavators at Tarquinia have proposed that hut TP 496 was not a sacred hut but a place for storing tools; their preferred candidate for a sacred hut is the larger TP 671, built in the ninth century. Thus, although the evidence for early ritual activity at Satricum and Tarquinia is ambiguous, it allows for the possibility that some early religious architecture in both Latium and Etruria may have been constructed close to older cult sites focused on natural phenomena.

Position within hut compounds

Few possible sacred huts have been found in contexts that allow assessment of their position within hut compounds. Excavations at Satricum, Veii, Ficana, and Tarquinia, however, do permit some significant observations. As mentioned above, at Satricum the hut with the potential religious function was simply one of many Iron Age structures arranged around an open space (Figs. II.36, II.37). This space appears to have functioned as the central point of the acropolis during the Iron Age, and its topographical primacy was reinforced in the seventh century with the construction of a *lacus* or water basin and the extension of the main road up from the plateau that may have followed the course of an earlier Iron Age path.²⁴⁰ The idea that the central space gained additional prominence due to its proximity to a possible sacred hut, however, is questionable, as the Iron Age settlement on the Piazza d'Armi at Veii was also characterised by the confluence of a hut compound, open area, access road, and water reservoir (Fig. II.38),²⁴¹ while groups of huts at Ficana and the Calvario area of Tarquinia were likewise distributed around an open central space (Fig. II.39).²⁴² It is thus a matter of debate whether the location of central areas may have been determined by the location of religious buildings, or alternatively whether the location

²⁴⁰ Meyers 2003: 53-4.

²⁴¹ Stefani 1944; Maaskant-Kleibrink and Forsten 1992: 109.

²⁴² Meyers 2003: 49-51.

of religious buildings reflected a desire for proximity to central areas and non-architectural infrastructure.

The topography of the hut compound at Satricum may also be indicative of the relative locations of potential cult huts and other buildings. Plans of the compound at Satricum (Figs. II.36, II.37) accord the possible sacred hut no particular geographical prominence and suggest no attempt to remove the hut from its surroundings by positioning it away from the settlement or, alternatively, above it. Furthermore, the possible sacred hut, NIR hut pit 1, is smaller than the nearby hut *theta* and the discrepancy only grows during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. In short, the potential sacred hut in the most well-known hut compound was not the most central or largest structure in the settlement, and there is no evidence of topographical differentiation.

II.5. CONCLUSIONS

This review has demonstrated that there is no unambiguous evidence for the existence of sacred huts in central Italy during the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. in either Latium or Etruria. This suggests that the influence of the concept in modern scholarship is consequently disproportionate to the reality that can be reconstructed from the current archaeological evidence.

Yet the search for an identifiable form of religious architecture in the Iron Age does reveal three factors that are relevant for histories of Latial and Etruscan cult buildings. If we briefly allow that topographic continuity may in fact indicate functional continuity, and thus that some of the huts discussed above did have a religious

function, then their similarity to other structures means it can be argued that huts associated with the performance of religious activities were not architecturally differentiated from other buildings in a settlement. There thus seems to have been no need at this time to develop distinctive markers for religious architecture, or at least none strong enough to survive in the archaeological record. Related to this is the conclusion that where it is possible to reconstruct the architecture of possible sacred huts within the surroundings of other huts, for example at Satricum, it is clear that the hut that comes to sit beneath a later temple was not the largest or dominant structure in a settlement.²⁴³ Larger, perhaps more prestigious huts occupied a greater proportion of land and represented a greater investment of resources than those in the immediate vicinity of votive deposits. Finally, the topography of hut compounds at Satricum and other sites shows that the potential sacred huts were not central points of organisation. Plans indicate that the conglomeration of huts at each site was grouped around a small pond or natural water basin that seems to have been a significant, and perhaps the oldest, site of religious veneration. Settlements in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. may consequently be reconstructed with a lack of distinctive religious architecture and the subordination of possible sacred huts to other buildings and features.

²⁴³ On the topography at Satricum, see Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, ii: 108ff.; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991: 68-9, illustrated by Figs. 10 and 15; Waarsenburg 2001; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995: 127. On Veii, see Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, ii: 109-11, 125, 127-8, 135 and Bartoloni, Acconcia et al. 2005.

CHAPTER III. SHRINES AND TEMPLES: ARCHITECTURE

The architectural transformations of the seventh century, often described as the change from huts to houses, generated a range of building types that some scholars have associated with a corresponding specialisation in ritual activities. Some cell-like structures with one room have been interpreted as *oikos* shrines; some buildings with multiple adjacent rooms are thought to have been venues for ritual banquets; and some courtyard complexes have been cast as political sanctuaries or residences where the inhabitants observed familial cults. The archaeological evidence for religious activities associated with any of these building types, however, is not straightforward.

This chapter will review the study of seventh-century buildings and examine whether it is possible to identify any preferred plan for structures that sheltered and complemented religious rituals during the seventh century B.C. It will then contrast this inquiry with the relatively straightforward identification of religious buildings during and after the sixth century B.C. permitted by the introduction of a distinctive, religious architectural marker, namely podia. As such this chapter explores the emergence of a formal architectural vocabulary for Etrusco-Italic religious buildings and identifies when and where cult buildings became architecturally differentiated from other structures within settlements.

III.1. SHRINES AND SANCTUARIES

Studies of seventh-century architecture suffer from problematic descriptions of both the form and function of different building types. This section will offer a brief formal

analysis of these buildings and then examine the possibility that any or all types may be regarded as potential forerunners of sixth-century religious architecture.

III.1.1. Seventh-century architecture

Although the architectural changes of the seventh century B.C. in Latium and Etruria are not linear or uniform, it is clear that round, oval and rectangular *capanne* with wattle-and-daub walls and thatched coverings were gradually replaced by rectangular structures with stone foundations and tiled roofs. From the middle of the century plans of the new buildings were regularised to the point where it is possible to identify three main types. The names of these types, however, vary both within and between different scholarly traditions, with the result that a rectangular, roofed building thought to have a religious function can be variously labelled an *oikos* shrine, a proto-temple, or a temple, and a more elaborate building may be described as a *Breithaus*, a *casa a vani affiancati*, a courtyard building, a *palazzo*, a *regia* or an elite residence. Labels which describe the shape of a building rather than functions that it may or not have performed arguably enable more accurate analysis of both facets and any relationship between them, and it thus appropriate to begin this chapter by offering a new, but hopefully more useful, set of terms to describe the three dominant types of seventh-century building.²⁴⁴

Cell-like structures

Histories of central Italic architecture frequently use the term *oikos* to describe single-room structures that resemble rectangular huts but are built of sturdier materials. Although the term also commonly denotes a Greek household, it has been deployed as

²⁴⁴ Cf. the typology developed by Cifani 2008: 92 with different terminology e.g. ‘*casa a vani affiancati*’ instead of ‘linear buildings.’

a short, if potentially misleading, way of describing a structure with a rectangular plan, sometimes with an interior division to differentiate two areas, and a porch; foundations of *opus quadratum*, or squared stone; walls of sun-dried bricks or wooden frames filled with rubble; and a roof of clay tiles. A building excavated on the Piazza d'Armi at Veii is typical (Fig. III.1). For reasons of clarity the term 'cell-like structure' will henceforth be used to describe buildings with the ground-plan and construction technologies that have previously been judged to characterise *oikoi*.

The need to quarry and cut stones and source appropriate wood meant that these structures represent a far greater investment of resources, time and knowledge than their Iron Age predecessors.²⁴⁵ For example, whereas the roof-carrying beams of huts had an average length of 2.40-3.60m, and a maximum of 4.20m, cell-like structures and their variants tended to use beams ranging from 4.5-6m long.²⁴⁶ Greater care was also required in the selection of beams to carry the weight of the tiled roofs.²⁴⁷ In architectural terms the cell-like structure resembles a second-generation oblong hut; the similarities in plan, if not roofing aesthetics, would have been clear in settlements where the two versions existed simultaneously.

Linear buildings

Linear buildings, also known as *case a vani affiancati*, are an agglutinative form of cell-like structure that appear in the archaeological record from the latter half of the seventh century. Such structures are characterised by an elongated, linear plan with one or more rooms on either side of a central, often rectangular, space and a portico across one of the long sides. Some typologies describe these buildings as 'broad-

²⁴⁵ Brandt 2001: 411.

²⁴⁶ Mganini and Rathje 1985: 164, 174; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991: 95-99; Brandt 2001: 411.

²⁴⁷ Rendeli 1990: 139, Brandt 2001: 411.

fronted houses', with their entrances located along the length of the building, in contrast to 'short-fronted houses,' which are orientated towards a short side of their ground plan. Classic examples of linear buildings are Edifice 5 at Ficana (Fig. III.2) and the building uncovered near the *domus regis sacrorum* in Rome (Fig. III.3).

Courtyard complexes

Courtyard complexes, also known as *palazzi*, further extend the plan of linear buildings into large complexes with rooms arranged on up to four sides of a central courtyard. Finds frequently indicate that the structures were inhabited by wealthy, elite families; many have associated out-buildings with evidence of productive activities such as workshops with kilns. Etruscan examples include the buildings at Murlo (Fig. III.4) and Acquarossa (Fig. III.5), with the most well-known Latial examples excavated at Satricum.

The need to adopt a nomenclature for seventh-century buildings that distinguishes form from function is well illustrated by the problematic interpretation of seventh-century architectural models. Ten such models are currently known from Archaic votive deposits in central Italy.²⁴⁸ Some have frontal columns, others have roof-tiles, and a few seem to have indications of architectural terracottas. One, from Velletri, has two rooms (Fig. III.6).²⁴⁹ The votive context has led to the ten models being interpreted as miniature temples.²⁵⁰ Another, larger group of architectural models is drawn from funerary contexts from the first half of the seventh century onwards. These small buildings have architectural decorations and have been interpreted as representations

²⁴⁸ Staccioli 1968; Damgaard Andersen 1993a: 75.

²⁴⁹ Museo di Villa Giulia inv. 12641; Staccioli 1968: 41-43, no. 32, tav. 38-9.

²⁵⁰ For example, Säflund 1993: 122-3, 136, who interprets them as models of sacred wedding-*thalamoi*, connected to the worship of a goddess linked with brides. Cf. Staccioli 1968: 67-8 interpreting the models as *thesauroi*.

of private houses and, on occasion, *thesauroi*. Comparison with contemporary life-size architecture suggests that any of the models may represent a house or a religious building.²⁵¹ The fact that scholars have derived the identification of these models from find contexts rather than distinct architectural aesthetics emphasises the ambiguous relationship between architectural design and functionality in this period. In such conditions it is necessary to examine the arguments that cell-like structures, linear buildings, and courtyard complexes can all be regarded as potential forerunners of sixth-century sacred architecture. The next section accordingly summarises and critiques these theories.

III.1.2. Shrines and sanctuaries: theories and assumptions

There is no agreed list of criteria that seventh-century buildings may be assessed against in order to be securely identified as religious architecture. Instead, similar to ‘sacred hut’ theory, some assumptions about the significance of certain types of evidence have led to claims that religious buildings can be recognised at particular sites. The assumptions are that rectangular buildings beneath later temples or with architectural terracottas are a form of early shrine; that elite meals may be examples of ritual dining; and that residential complexes with an area set aside for possible ritual activities can be understood to foreshadow atrium houses with *lararia*. It is useful to briefly explore each of these arguments.

Oikos shrines

Cell-like structures beneath monumental temples are often interpreted as religious buildings due to the theory that topographical continuity is a sign of functional continuity. To date, this argument has been used to identify *oikos* shrines at Gabii,

²⁵¹ Damgaard Andersen 1993a: 75. cf. Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995: 130.

Velletri, Satricum, and Veii. Unfortunately the automatic interpretation of rectangular buildings beneath later temples as examples of earlier religious architecture has seen the study of cell-like structures dominated by the concept of the *oikos* shrine, and also limited discussions of the possibility of examples of round religious architecture. The interpretation of cell-like structures as shrines at sites with no immediate topographical link to later monumental temples was long based on the presence of architectural terracottas. As discussed in Chapter One, excavations in the later half of the twentieth century determined that workshops, houses, funerary chapels, and shrines could all carry architectural terracottas in the Orientalising and Archaic periods.²⁵² Evidence of ritual activities, as indicated by finds, has consequently become a preferable justification for assigning a building a religious function regardless of the site's subsequent function. The lack of evidence for ritual activity of any kind in or near the buildings most commonly interpreted as *oikos* shrines, the discovery that temples were built over domestic residences at Volterra and Cerveteri,²⁵³ and the literary tradition described above in which there is a historical memory of variable patterns of land-use, all suggest that the evidence for these cell-like shrines must be carefully reviewed.

Ritual dining

The contexts and significance of ritual dining in antiquity have long been important and popular subjects of interdisciplinary discourse. Particular attention has been paid to Greek banquets and *symposia*, and as part of this scholarship a close link has been proposed between ritual dining and Greek religious architecture. It is thought that Greek cultic activity prior to the eighth century B.C. often took the form of a sacrificial meal consumed by aristocrats gathered within a building. The earliest public

²⁵² Damgaard Andersen 1993a; Winter 2009.

²⁵³ Damgaard Andersen 1998, i: 163.

cults, with temples and sacrifices, were consequently derived from these older buildings and practices.²⁵⁴

Scholarly attention has recently refocused on the role of ritual dining in Archaic central Italy. It has been effectively argued that banquets served as one of the main forms of aristocratic self-representation in Etruria and Latium during the Orientalising and Archaic periods.²⁵⁵ Under the influence of the Greek theoretical model, however, the archaeological evidence for communal dining, feasting and banqueting has sometimes been interpreted as evidence of ritual dining, both in works analysing the banquet motif and in interpretations of archaeological sites. Raised internal areas become benches for ritual meals; fragments of drinking vessels become evidence that a room was used for feasting; and carbonised bones and ash become animal sacrifices. The tendency for benches and raised areas to characterise storage spaces as well as dining rooms,²⁵⁶ and particularly the likelihood that regular elite dining used a superior class of ceramics and involved the cooking of meat, make it very difficult to distinguish archaeologically between detritus from ordinary consumption or production and the remnants of unusual, possibly ritual events. Attempting to draw a distinction between these categories may even introduce an anachronistic dichotomy between sacred and profane dining.²⁵⁷

The archaeozoological study of faunal assemblages in ritual contexts does not currently provide a definitive means of identifying ritual deposits in the archaeological

²⁵⁴ Drerup 1969: 123-8; De Polignac 1994: 7.

²⁵⁵ Rathje 1983: 21-6; Small 1994; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2003.

²⁵⁶ As noted by Zaccaria Ruggiu 2003: 155-9, esp. 157; Terrenato 2004: 529. cf. also Östenberg 1975: 19.

²⁵⁷ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995: 130-1 with the further question of whether the consumption detritus from Satricum came from households in residence for the full year, as opposed to seasonal occupancy related to transhumance.

record.²⁵⁸ The majority of such scholarship has historically concentrated on the analysis of bone deposits from known ritual contexts rather than exploring the remains as evidence for sites of sacrificial or religious activity. The publications of the finds at Tarquinia and Satricum are exceptional in including detailed archaeozoological studies. Other scholarship derived from these reports, however, frequently seems to interpret the findings from the prior assumption that they are ritual deposits. The present state of archaeozoological publications and analysis with regards to ancient Italy consequently adds to cautions against interpreting any burned animal deposits as evidence of ritual dining in the absence of an independent verification that the site served a religious function, for example an altar, votives, dedicatory inscriptions, miniature vessels, or luxury items that appear to have been deposited with unusual care.

Lararia

Lararia, or household shrines, are typically illustrated with reference to archaeological remains in the early imperial towns of Pompeii and Herculaneum. No examples from the Republican period are currently known, nor do references in extant ancient literature establish that there was a long-standing, widespread tradition of *lararia* or even that this was the preferred everyday term for such structures.²⁵⁹ Nevertheless, some histories of religious architecture present the Etruscan sites of Murlo and Acquarossa as the earliest examples of complexes containing areas set aside for the observance of ancestral cults, citing areas separated from other parts of the complexes (Figs. III.7, III.8).²⁶⁰ The areas cited are separated from other rooms in the complex. There are no clear signs of ritual activities associated with these areas and their

²⁵⁸ Discussed by Halstead and Isaakidou 2004 with bibliography.

²⁵⁹ Beard, North et al. 1998, ii: 102.

²⁶⁰ Principally, *ThesCRA* iv: 262, s.v. “Lararium (Etruria)” (A. Comella).

functional identification is based on their topographical relationship to the rest of the complex; for example, the placement of the small area in the courtyard at Murlo, in front of a rectangular room, has been interpreted by some scholars as an early version of the atrium-*lararium-tablinum* layout present in some imperial houses.²⁶¹ If topographic grounds are regarded as insufficient for functional identifications, then the interpretation of these structures as *lararia* must remain hypothetical.

III.1.3. Shrines and sanctuaries: evidence

Tables 2, 3, and 4 summarise the relevant archaeological evidence for assessing the number of cell-like structures, linear buildings, and courtyard complexes connected with religious activities in Latium and Etruria.

²⁶¹ *ThesCRA* iv: 262, s.v. “Lararium (Etruria)” (A. Comella); Torelli 1983: 481-2; Torelli 1985: 29-30.

Table 2: Cell-like structures with alleged ritual functions				
Site	Description	Illustrations	Finds	Previous Interpretations
Etruria				
Tarquinia, Pian di Civita: Building <i>beta</i>	6.5 x 11m, with walls of upright ashlar blocks and irregular stonework in a style reminiscent of contemporary Phoenician and Levantine architecture. Early seventh century B.C. ²⁶²	Fig. III.9	Beneath the north wall: an infant burial with impasto ceramics. Inside: a raised platform with two channels leading outside to the central depression. In front of the entrance, two trenches containing: (i) a cast-bronze axe head, a shield of sheet bronze, and a <i>lituus</i> (all broken); goat and pig bones; dish fragments; miniature jars; and a bucchero chalice; (ii) pieces of more than ten ceramic plates and two drinking vessels.	1. A sanctuary. 2. A regal residence. 3. A <i>regia</i>. 4. A priest's house. 5. An official meeting place, analogous to the Roman <i>Curia</i>.²⁶³
Roselle: <i>Casa del recinto/Casa a tondo</i>	Square exterior but circular interior plan, cut directly into the rock with a floor of beaten earth, mud brick walls, and a thatched roof. Built in the second quarter of the seventh century B.C.; destroyed in the last quarter of the seventh century B.C.	Fig. III.10	Generally: loomweights, spindle whorls, <i>rocchetti</i>, pottery and animal bones. At the rear of the precinct: an imported dolium rim incised with the words <i>min[i] mulvanik[e] venel rapales laiven[asi]</i> (Venel Rapale (or from Rapale) has dedicated me to Laivena).²⁶⁴	1. A sanctuary to Vesta.²⁶⁵ 2. A type of <i>palazzo</i> with an affiliated sacred function, comparable to the Roman <i>Regia</i>.²⁶⁶

²⁶² On the excavation and its interpretation, see Bonghi Jovino 1986: 81-117; Bonghi Jovino, Chiaramonte Treré et al. 1997: 55-62; Haynes 2000: 27; Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 168.

²⁶³ For the range of interpretations, see Bonghi Jovino 1991: 171, n.2; Leighton 2004: 72.

²⁶⁴ *TLE*² 917; Bocci Pacini 1985: 54, 56, Fig. 21 A7, Grosseto, Museo della Maremma, inv. R870.

²⁶⁵ Colonna 1986: 426; Donati 1994: 2-3.

²⁶⁶ Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 102.

San Giovenale: Acropolis	Semi-subterranean square building, approx. 5 x 5m, around a natural crevice lined with clay that suggests the depression once contained water. Oriented to cardinal points. Reconstructed internal height of between 1.2 and 1.7m. Last third of the eighth century B.C.; may have been used until the early seventh century B.C. ²⁶⁷	Fig. III.11	Within: domestic pottery, spindle whorls, bronze objects, deer antlers and bones, all perhaps originally supported on rock cut shelves around the walls.	1. A spring sanctuary, possibly dedicated to a female deity resembling a 'mistress of the animals'. ²⁶⁸
San Giovenale: Pietrisco River	A rectangular building measuring 11 x 5.15m with <i>tufo</i> foundations, walls of stone or mudbrick, and a tiled roof; interior divided into two areas. Pre-540 B.C.	Fig. III.12	Rear internal area: a bench on three sides, a fragment of a brazier, pieces of fine tableware pottery including goblets and an amphora, and a hearth. Front internal area: coarse ceramics, such as storage jars; 48 inscribed sherds in and around the building, several with drilled holes at the base, carrying both graffiti and votive inscriptions; loom weights, spindle whorls, glass beads, animal bones, <i>fibulae</i> , and bronze and iron pins. Exterior: two large basins cut into a <i>tufo</i> block.	1. A multi-functional structure that served for both habitation and cult. ²⁶⁹ 2. Exterior basins may have been used for laundry, wine-making or a ritual function such as libation. ²⁷⁰ 3. A purifying boundary marker or a customs house for the nearby bridge. ²⁷¹
Veii, Piazza d'Armi	A rectangular building measuring approx. 8 x 15m, with wattle-and-daub walls and one or two internal pillars supporting a tiled roof decorated with architectural terracottas. Oriented to the southwest; c.600 B.C.	Fig. III.1	Impasto, bucchero and Attic pottery, spindle whorls, spools, a loomweight, a small terracotta disc and a die.	1. The earliest known example of temple architecture in Etruria. ²⁷² 2. A domestic building. ²⁷³

²⁶⁷ Olinder 1981; Chellini 2002: 39-41.

²⁶⁸ Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 109; Chellini 2002: 40-1.

²⁶⁹ Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 110.

²⁷⁰ Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 110.

²⁷¹ Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 110 with n.614-5, citing a poster by Y. Backe-Forsberg presented at the conference 'From Huts to Houses: Transformations of ancient societies,' in Rome, September 1997.

²⁷² Among others, Colonna 1985a: 53, 58-9; Haynes 2000: 127; Camporeale 2004: 134; Jannot 2005: 100.

²⁷³ Winter 1978b: 143-4; Torelli 1982c: 124; Rowe 1989: 116; Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 135.

Falerii Veteres, Celle sanctuary in the necropolis: 'Oikos' <i>alpha</i>	Rectangular building measuring 3.6 x 6.2m, with only foundations of <i>tufo</i> ashlar blocks preserved. Oriented to the southwest. Dated to 600-550 B.C. based on sculptural finds in the vicinity rather than stratigraphical analysis.	Fig. III.13	A life-size head in <i>peperino</i> with remains of a crown of bronze leaves, with two statues of seated, winged lions nearby, all variously dated between 600 and 500 B.C. ²⁷⁴ Votives were found in scattered places, some from the seventh century but the majority from the fourth century B.C. onwards. ²⁷⁵ Exterior: a channel leading to a basin, and two <i>cuniculi</i> .	1. A cult building with a cult statue.²⁷⁶ 2. Possibly the sanctuary of Juno Curite mentioned by Ovid (<i>Am.</i> 3.13.1ff.).²⁷⁷ 3. Part of a funerary sanctuary.²⁷⁸ 4. A heroic cult place.²⁷⁹
Gravisca	Phase 1, c.580 B.C.: a rectangular building measuring c.4.7 x 3.13m, oriented to the southwest, with two internal rooms; pebble foundations and mud-brick walls. Partially reconstructed in c.570 B.C. (Phase 1a). Phase 2, c.550 B.C.: the plan was significantly extended to create an elongated cell-like structure, measuring c.10.3 x 3.13m, oriented to the southwest. Destroyed c.530 B.C.; a new building was constructed in a different location.	Fig. III.14	Inscriptions with <i>ex-votos</i> from an upper level record dedications to Aphrodite.²⁸⁰ From c.550 B.C. a well and the walls of other structures were located in a courtyard near the building.²⁸¹	1. A cult building dedicated to Aphrodite.²⁸²
Veii, Portonaccio, Building I	6.2 x 9m. Oriented southwest. c.550-525 B.C.	Fig. III.15	Foundations held votive inscriptions to Men(e)rva and other offerings. Proximity to an altar (later enlarged) and <i>bothros</i> .	1. A cult building.²⁸³ 2. Uncertain.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁴ Colonna 1985c: 111 dates the statues as a group to the first half of the sixth century, in contrast to Comella 1986: 183 who dates the female head to c.500 B.C. See also Massa Pairault 2006: 250, n.36, who has suggested that the head is that of a male *iuvenis triumphans*; and Harari 2010: 95.

²⁷⁵ Comella 1986: 153-6, 181-3.

²⁷⁶ Colonna 1985c: 111-2.

²⁷⁷ Discussed by Comella 1986: 185-7. On the cemetery context see also Harari 2010: 95-6.

²⁷⁸ Prayon 1989: 444.

²⁷⁹ Harari 2010: 96.

²⁸⁰ Torelli 1977: 402ff.; Fiorini 2005: 183.

²⁸¹ Fiorini 2005: 185.

²⁸² Torelli 1977; Fiorini 2005: 182-3; Fiorini and Torelli 2010: 30.

Cerveteri, Valle della Mola	A structure measuring 9.5 x 7.5m is thought to lie above an earlier, comparable Late Archaic building.	-		1. A cult building. ²⁸⁵
Pyrgi, South sanctuary, Edificio <i>beta</i>	6.5 x 5.5, with two rooms of unequal size, a portico <i>in antis</i> , a door off-centre, and a line of blocks against the façade, presumably an outdoor bench. External walls of blocks, internal walls of rubble, and a roof decorated with architectural terracottas. Oriented to the southwest; c.530-520 B.C. (demolished mid-fourth century B.C.). ²⁸⁶	Fig. III.16	Buried beneath the left room: a pair of gold earrings. Buried beneath the right room: an Ionic <i>olpe</i> .	1. A shrine dedicated to Cavtha and Suri. ²⁸⁷
Poggio Buco	Incomplete documentation, illustration and publication of the site prior to damage from modern agriculture. ²⁸⁸	-	Scattered <i>tufo</i> blocks, pieces of mudbrick walls, tiles of different sizes, <i>pozzi</i> and early Archaic architectural terracottas.	1. A temple. ²⁸⁹ 2. Uncertain. ²⁹⁰
Acquarossa, Zone C, Building F	Approx. 14.9 x 7.04m with two internal areas. Mid-sixth century. ²⁹¹	Fig. III.17	-	1. An <i>oikos</i> shrine or temple with <i>pronaos</i> . ²⁹² 2. Uncertain. ²⁹³

²⁸³ Colonna 2001: 39.

²⁸⁴ Damgaard Andersen 1998, i: 137.

²⁸⁵ Nardi 2001: 158.

²⁸⁶ Colonna 2000: 267; Colonna 2006: 149.

²⁸⁷ Colonna 2006: 149.

²⁸⁸ Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 80-1.

²⁸⁹ Pellegrini 1898: 431.

²⁹⁰ Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 80-1.

²⁹¹ Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 15.

²⁹² For example, by Torelli 1981b: 175, Fig. 21.

²⁹³ Strandberg Olofsson 1984: 82 n.101.

Punta della Vipera	Few remains but reconstructed by the excavators as a single room measuring c.11.8 x 7.8m, with an anteroom 3.8m deep. Orientated to the southwest. Dated to c.535 B.C. by the excavators, ²⁹⁴ but a date of c.505 B.C. has also been proposed.		An Archaic inscription to <i>[men]ervas</i> on a bucchero fragment dated to 575-500 B.C.; ²⁹⁵ another two inscriptions dated to c.500 B.C. ²⁹⁶	1. A religious building, possibly a 'Temple of Menerva.' ²⁹⁷
Latium				
Satricum: Acropolis	10.60 x 6m on the outside and 9.60 x 4.80m on the inside, built on a foundation of <i>tufo</i> blocks. Orientated to the south towards the <i>lacus</i> at the centre of the settlement, and situated in front of an open-air, walled votive deposit. ²⁹⁸ Two column bases in front of the south entrance may have been built at the same time or represent a later embellishment; c.590-580 B.C. ²⁹⁹	Fig. III.18		1. A religious building. ³⁰⁰
Gabii: Eastern sanctuary	Rectangular structure fronted by a large platform and erected within the angle of two walls surrounding a votive deposit, together with a <i>pozzo</i> , a channel and a large pit accessed by steps; c.570 B.C. ³⁰¹	Fig. III.19	Sealed beneath the building: votive deposits from the late seventh or early sixth century. Generally: votives testifying to a continuous use of the site from the seventh to the second centuries B.C.	1. A religious building. ³⁰²

²⁹⁴ Torelli 1965; Torelli 1967: 337.

²⁹⁵ Marchesini 1997: cat. no. 96.

²⁹⁶ Marchesini 1997: cat. nos. 121, 192.

²⁹⁷ Torelli 1965; Winter 2009: 403.

²⁹⁸ The open-air, walled deposit is sometimes referred to as a *sacellum*; the deposit itself may be labeled *stips* 1. The cell-like structure is sometimes referred to as Temple 0.

²⁹⁹ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991: 83-5 on the history of the reconstructions.

³⁰⁰ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991: 83-5; Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 198.

³⁰¹ Guaitoli 1981: 163-9.

³⁰² Guaitoli 1981: 163-9.

Lavinium: Altar complex	An extended rectangular structure with a portico, built c.550 B.C., sited to the northeast of the contemporary altar complex. Destroyed by fire prior to 450 B.C. and subsequently rebuilt, enlarged and equipped with two kilns to the south.	Fig. III.20	First phase: primarily domestic pottery. More than 200 loom-weights found there can be dated to the Archaic phase of the building. ³⁰³	1. A building with select rooms used to store votives and ceramics.³⁰⁴ 2. A structure closely connected with the activities at the sanctuary, although in an undefined capacity.³⁰⁵ 3. A sanctuary building associated with textile production.³⁰⁶
Velletri: SS. Stimate	Three walls from a building oriented east-southeast to west-northwest. Excavators associate the early walls with ceramic fragments from the late Orientalising or early Archaic period, but architectural terracottas suggest c.535-510 B.C.	Fig. III.21	Four <i>pozzi</i> , architectural terracottas, and scattered items such as spindle whorls, sherds and a miniature vase. ³⁰⁷	1. A religious building with a single <i>cella</i> and a hypothetical <i>pronaos</i>, or alternatively an <i>oikos</i> shrine.³⁰⁸ 2. Uncertain.
Ficana: Building A in Zone 4A	5.5 x 4.3m with two <i>antae</i> . Oriented east-west, with a possible entrance in the east side. End of the seventh-early sixth century B.C. ³⁰⁹	Fig. III.22		1. A <i>sacellum</i> with <i>ante</i>.³¹⁰ 2. A domestic dwelling.³¹¹

³⁰³ Gleba 2009: 80.

³⁰⁴ Bouma 1996, iii: 50 with bibliography.

³⁰⁵ Giuliani 1981: 169-71.

³⁰⁶ Gleba 2009: 80.

³⁰⁷ Bouma 1996, iii: 112-3 with bibliography.

³⁰⁸ Mancini 1915: 68; Colonna 1984: 402; Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 201-4.

³⁰⁹ Cifani 2008: 208-10 with references.

³¹⁰ Torelli 1996: 60.

³¹¹ Jarva 2001: 191-3.

Table 3: Linear buildings with alleged ritual functions				
Site	Description	Illustrations	Finds	Previous Interpretations
Latium				
Rome: The Regia	Four different phases of modifications and reconstructions between the first stone building in the late seventh century and the beginning of the Roman Republic, all with courtyard and portico.	Fig. III.23	Southern room: a circular hearth. Courtyard: wells and a cistern. Unknown: a pottery fragment incised with the word <i>rex</i> . ³¹²	1. Not a home but a sanctuary that imitated the form of a home. ³¹³
Rome: The house on the Sacra Via	Five aligned rooms with two <i>alae</i> open to a courtyard facing the <i>Lucus Vestae</i> to the north. Third quarter of the seventh century.	Fig. III.3	Central room: a bench is hypothesised around three walls. ³¹⁴	1. Somehow connected with the <i>Sacrarium Martis</i> and the cult of the Lares. ³¹⁵ 2. Connected with an early cult of Vesta. ³¹⁶ 3. A venue for ritual dining and cultic activity similar to a Greek <i>hestiatorion</i> . ³¹⁷
Ficana: Zone 5A	Three seventh-century phases. In its most extensive form, during the second half of the seventh-century, the building measured 12.4 x 5.8m with two rooms, a tiled roof, and an area to the south closely connected with the building resembling a portico. ³¹⁸	Fig. III.2	Finds from Rooms A and B: predominantly ceramic or linked to spinning. Portico area: two associated rubbish pits, containing burnt wattle-and-daub; Pit I held a range of burnt ceramics including an elaborate banqueting service.	1. An elite house with no evidence of ritual dining. ³¹⁹

³¹² Serv. *Aen.* 363: *in radicibus Palatii finibusque Romani fori*; Serv. *Aen.* 7.153; Cass. Dio fr. 6.2; Sol. 1.21; Tac. *Ann.* 15.41; Ovid. *Fasti* 6.263-4; Plut. *Numa* 14.1; Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.15. *LTUR* iv: 189-92, s.v. "Regia" (R. T. Scott). On the sherd and graffito: *GRT* 1.9, Roma Antiquarium Forense inv. C86 T.G.G. 1100B.

³¹³ Coarelli 2007: 84. cf. Brown 1976: 11, 'it was, in effect, simply a more regal version of the house of its day... the *Regia* in short was a *fanum* in the shape of a *domus regia*.'

³¹⁴ Cifani 2008: 124-5 with bibliography.

³¹⁵ Cifani 2008: 124-5, Fig. 108.

³¹⁶ Cifani 2008: 268.

³¹⁷ Cifani 2008: 288. cf. Zaccaria Ruggiu 2003: 243-8 on the bench as evidence for ritual dining.

³¹⁸ On the excavation of the site and the finds, see Rathje 1983.

Table 4: Courtyard complexes with alleged ritual functions				
Site	Description	Illustrations	Finds	Previous Interpretations
Etruria				
Narce: Monte Li Sante	Two perpendicular wings of a courtyard house arranged around an open central space. ³²⁰ Western wing measured roughly 35m long and was formed by five rooms. Late sixth century B.C.	Fig. III.24	Western wing, Room A: a deposit of iron firedogs and pincers, an impasto plate with a deliberately broken rim, and a brazier, all sealed by <i>tufo</i> blocks; a <i>pozzetto</i> of <i>tufo</i> slabs, covered with tiles; an altar of <i>tufo</i> slabs with a limestone cornice; animal bones in black-glazed cups, including miniatures; and an enclosure containing votives, some ceramic. Western wing, entrance to Room A: a votive deposit with terracotta figurines (dating from the early fifth century), coins, bovine skulls and anatomical votives surrounded by a circle of <i>tufo</i> blocks. Western wing, other rooms: an elliptical kiln. East of the complex: a large basin and a further two kilns dated to the late Archaic period, with finds that indicate the firing of tiles and possibly the manufacture of figurines.³²¹	1. Room A is believed to have been used for ritual sacrifices and dining within a larger sanctuary complex. ³²²

³¹⁹ Rathje 1983: 9, 10, 26; Pavolini, Algreen-Ussing et al. 1990: 109.

³²⁰ For a summary of the excavations and find see Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 69-71.

³²¹ Benedetti and De Lucia Brolli 1996: 434-5 discuss the kilns.

³²² Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 71.

Montetosto	Approx. 54 x 54m square courtyard house complex; the ancient road between Caere and Pyrgi runs to the north of the site and separates the courtyard house from a seventh-century tumulus; c.525 B.C	Fig. III.25	General: two phases of architectural terracottas dated to the mid-sixth and early fifth centuries, pottery, and a small number of as yet undated female terracotta statuettes. In the courtyard: a rectangular platform measuring 1.5 x 1.5m which has been identified, but not securely, as an altar base.³²³ Northern corner of the complex: a rectangular depression accessed by steps, and a similar area nearby with a moulded socle.	1. An elite residence. 2. A political sanctuary.³²⁴ 3. A site to honour the dead in the nearby tumulus. 4. A place connected to Herodotus' account of the games organised by the inhabitants of Caere to expiate the execution of Phocaeen prisoners after the battle of Alalia (Herod. 1.167).³²⁵
Murlo (Poggio Civitate) ³²⁶	Orientalising Period Southern Building/OC3: three rooms in a linear plan; c.675 B.C. Lower Building/OC1: 8.5 x 38.5m with an uncertain number of rooms; excavators have proposed a two-storey reconstruction; c.660 B.C. Southeast Building/OC2: three rows of internal columns but no walls, resembling a Greek stoa.	Fig. III.4	Southern Building: a cup dated to c.675 was found on the floor of one room; no tiles but early canopic head antefixes were found in the vicinity. Lower Building: Elaborate roof tiles; notably rich finds of local and imported pottery, bronze figurines and ivory. The dates of the finds indicate that the building was constructed c.660 B.C. Southeast Building: elaborate roof tiles; a stack of unfired tiles; crucible fragments with finished and partly worked pieces of bone and ivory. A kiln was discovered to the west.	1. Residential complex with a workshop.

³²³ Colonna 1985b: 193.

³²⁴ Edlund 1987: 71.

³²⁵ Connected with Herodotus' account: Torelli 1983: 487-88, 490; Colonna 1985b: 194-5; Torelli 1985: 32; Camporeale 2004: 135.

³²⁶ The excavation and interpretation of the site has generated an enormous bibliography. For summaries see Nielsen and Phillips 1985: 64-9; De Puma and Small 1994, Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 63-9 with bibliography; De Grummond 1997: 25-36.

	Archaic Period Upper Building: 60 x 61.85m; rooms of different sizes arranged around four sides of a central courtyard with an internal portico to the north, south and east. Postholes indicate that a small structure stood on the eastern side of the courtyard. Late seventh or early sixth century.	Fig. III.4	Upper Building: a wealth of architectural terracottas (over two hundred fragments from at least twenty life-size terracotta statues, a considerable number of acroteria, antepagamenta, antefixes, friezes, lateral simas, raking simas, protomes) and a range of pottery.	1. A form of proto-sanctuary with a tripartite division of rooms at the end of a large courtyard, elaborate architectural terracottas, and finds attributed to ritual dining.³²⁷ 2. A federal sanctuary.³²⁸ 3. A meeting hall.³²⁹ 4. A place for ancestor worship.³³⁰ 5. Residence of an elite leader.³³¹ 6. A <i>palazzo</i>.³³² 7. A multi-functional community centre, akin to an early forum.³³³
Acquarossa: Zone F, Buildings A-D	Buildings around three sides of an open central courtyard containing a portico on the northern and eastern sides. ³³⁴ c.550 B.C.	Fig. III.5, III.18	General: elaborate architectural terracottas. Building C, central room: <i>tufo</i> supports for benches. Building A, entrance from courtyard: a trench with contents (including roof-tiles and carbonised wood) that have variously been identified as refuse, remnants of an altar, and sacrificial remains.³³⁵	1. A domestic, albeit elite, complex; those who connect the trench with the tripartite division of rooms in Buildings A and C and the dining area to the side of the columned doorway in Building C link the proposed ritual activities with family cult.³³⁶ 2. A sacred or civic complex.³³⁷ 3. A space used only for feasts and public and ceremonial activities.³³⁸

³²⁷ For example, Colonna 1985a: 53 interpreting the enclosure in the courtyard as a *tempietto*. Also Nielsen and Phillips 1985: 66; Colonna 1986: 423-4; Izzet 2007: 127. (challenged by Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 66 and Rathje 2004-2007: 127).

³²⁸ Phillips 1992: 80-1; Edlund 1987: 92.

³²⁹ Nielsen and Phillips 1985: 68-9.

³³⁰ Ancestor worship: Torelli 1985: 29, 31.

³³¹ Torelli 1983: 477-82; Spivey and Stoddart 1990: 73; Sinos 1994: 113.

³³² Colonna 1986: 425-6, 434; Camporeale 2004: 58.

³³³ De Grummond 1997: 36-8.

³³⁴ For description and reconstructions of the building see Östenberg 1975; Wikander 1985; Haynes 2000: 139-40.

³³⁵ The trench has not yet been officially published by Margareta Strandberg, but measured c.2.75m long x c.1.15m wide and contained a mixture of roof-tiles and carbonized wood (see *Acquarossa VI.1*, Fig. 52, on the presence of Type II antefixes). On the interpretation of the contents as sacrificial remains, see: Torelli 1981b: 87; Säflund 1993: 62 and Haynes 2000: 140; cf. Rohner 1996: 128. For the possibility that the finds are remains of an altar, see: Östenberg 1975: 25-6.

³³⁶ Coarelli 1983: 61; Torelli 1985: 30; Haynes 2000: 140.

Latium				
Satricum: Acropolis	Several courtyard houses. 600-540 B.C.	Fig. III.26	One architectural terracotta.	1. Venues for elite, formal dining with banqueting rooms and perhaps pantries.³³⁹ 2. Elite, residential houses.

³³⁷ Wikander 1981: ii, 123.

³³⁸ Säflund 1993: 60-2.

³³⁹ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, ii: 139.

Table 2 shows a relatively even distribution between Etruria and Latium of cell-like structures with evidence of religious activities. The finds at Tarquinia, Roselle, and San Giovenale are strongly suggestive of ritual behaviour, while the lack of finds connected with the structure at Piazza d'Armi in Veii makes its frequent presentation as an example of seventh-century religious architecture less credible. There are two examples of cell-like structures likely to have been associated with ritual activities in Latium, namely Satricum and Gabii, and a third, at Lavinium, that may have had a supporting role for activities at the nearby sanctuary.

The lack of known Etruscan examples of linear buildings reflected in Table 3 can be largely explained with reference to the lower number of systematically excavated settlement sites. The archaeological evidence from the Latial linear buildings does not enable any to be confidently interpreted as potential sites of religious activity. The ambivalent interpretation of the significance of this form in histories of religious architecture results largely from the nature of one salient structure, the Roman Regia.

The architectural history of the Regia site is relatively straightforward. Excavations of the building in the Roman Forum northwest of the Temple of Vesta have not yet been fully published but indicate four different phases of modifications and reconstructions between the first stone building in the late seventh century and the beginning of the Roman Republic (Fig. III.23).³⁴⁰ The first building of *tufo* foundations and mud brick walls resembled a linear building with two small rooms separated by a corridor opening to an enclosed trapezoidal courtyard. A portico between the rooms and the courtyard has been proposed. The southern room contained a circular hearth,

³⁴⁰ For construction histories see Brown 1967: 51-6; Brown 1974-5; Holloway 1994: 62-3; *LTUR* iv: 189-92, s.v. "Regia" (R. T. Scott).

interpreted by some as the hearth that received the ritual blood from the *Equus October* (on the rite see Fest. 190 L; Plut. *q. Rom.* 97). Over time the courtyard was extended to the north. The linear plan was discarded in the second phase of c.570 B.C, but returned on the opposite site of the complex in the third phase, dated to c.530 B.C. A portico again softened the transition between the rooms and the courtyard, in which the first altar may have now appeared on the western side. The location of the rooms relative to the courtyard shifted once more at the end of the sixth century, this time to the south. This layout was retained henceforth for all subsequent rebuildings with the addition of a further portico. The remains have been identified as the remnants of the Regia due to the close correlation between their position and descriptions of the site by Roman authors, as well as the discovery of a pottery fragment incised with the word *rex*.³⁴¹

Significantly, if there was no literature associating the Regia with ritual activity then the building is likely to have been interpreted as an elite house. The accoutrements of the courtyard, with wells, a cistern, and, if the literary sources are correct, an altar open to the sky (Fest. 439L; Macr. *Sat.* 1.15.19, 1.16.30), evokes the practical and religious functions of the atrium in later Roman houses. The hearth is likewise a regular domestic find. The literary evidence, however, has led to the awkward argument that the building was not a home but a sanctuary that imitated a home.³⁴² If the weight of the literary evidence is accepted as sufficient justification to interpret the building as a ritual venue, then the resultant archaeological conclusion must be that

³⁴¹ Serv. *Aen.* 363: *in radicibus Palatii finibusque Romani fori*; Serv. *Aen.* 7.153; Cass. Dio fr. 6.2; Sol. 1.21; Tac. *Ann.* 15.41; Ovid. *Fasti* 6.263-4; Plut. *Numa* 14.1; Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.15. *LTUR* iv: 189-92, s.v. "Regia" (R. T. Scott). On the sherd and graffito: *GRT* 1.9, Roma Antiquarium Forense inv. C86 T.G.G. 1100B.

³⁴² Coarelli 2007: 84. cf. Brown 1976: 11, 'it was, in effect, simply a more regal version of the house of its day... the Regia in short was a *fanum* in the shape of a *domus regia*.'

whatever religious role this structure fulfilled did not demand or produce a distinctive architectural form.

The courtyard complexes with alleged ritual associations set out in Table 4 offer further evidence that domestic and religious buildings did not use different plans in the seventh century B.C. Architectural histories are dominated by evidence of Etruscan courtyard houses as the region developed both the earliest and most extensive expression of the form. Of all the examples, only finds from Narce and Montetosto attest to ritual behaviour, if the terracotta statuettes at the latter are viewed as potential *ex-votos*.

As with linear buildings, however, one site repeatedly appears in histories of religious architecture with a significance that is disproportionate to the relevant archaeological evidence. Since 1966 ongoing excavations at Murlo (Poggio Civitate³⁴³) have uncovered several buildings and a cemetery on a nearby hill. Different structures have been identified as a workshop, a seventh-century Orientalising structure, and, built over the Orientalising structure, a sixth-century Archaic courtyard complex known as the Upper Building (Fig. III.4).³⁴⁴ Built in the late seventh or early sixth century, the courtyard complex measures 60 x 61.85m and is thus the largest building excavated in Etruria to date. The ground plan shows rooms of different sizes arranged around four sides of a central courtyard with an internal portico to the north, south and east.

³⁴³ Rowland 1994 has demonstrated that the correct form of the name of the site is Poggio le Civitate; however, I follow Edlund-Berry 2011: 9, n.21 in choosing to use the more common name for the sake of convenience and cross-referencing with other scholarship.

³⁴⁴ The excavation and interpretation of the site has generated an enormous bibliography. For summaries see Nielsen and Phillips 1985: 64-9; De Puma and Small 1994; De Grummond 1997: 25-36; MacIntosh Turfa and Steinmayer 2002. The most comprehensive survey is offered by Phillips 1992: 5-49.

Postholes indicate that a small structure with light walls, too slight to support a roof,³⁴⁵ stood on the eastern side of the courtyard. The most famous finds from Murlo in this period are a wealth of architectural terracottas. Over two hundred fragments from at least twenty life-size terracotta statues have so far been found along with a considerable number of acroteria, antepagamenta, antefixes, friezes, lateral simas, raking simas, protomes and a range of pottery. The courtyard building was torn down in the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. The majority of the architectural terracottas were buried in several dumps with the remainder widely scattered, and the whole complex was subsequently levelled before an *agger* was raised over the site of the former west wing.

The form and function of the different buildings at Murlo are central to many interpretations of the development of religious architecture in western central Italy. The Archaic courtyard house is frequently thought to resemble a form of proto-sanctuary with a tripartite division of rooms at the end of a large courtyard, elaborate architectural terracottas, and finds attributed to ritual dining.³⁴⁶ The acroterial statues have been interpreted as *numina*, ancestors, and deities, while the size of the complex and its rural location have seen it identified as a federal sanctuary, a meeting hall, and a place for ancestor worship;³⁴⁷ one theory holds that the courtyard house was an elite residence with a gentilicial cult centred on the small structure in the courtyard in a

³⁴⁵ Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 66; Winter 2009: 153.

³⁴⁶ For example, Colonna 1985a: 53; Nielsen and Phillips 1985: 66; Colonna 1986: 423-4; Izzet 2007: 127.

³⁴⁷ On the acroteria, see Edlund-Berry 1992. As political meeting place: Phillips 1992: 80-1; Edlund 1987: 92. As a meeting hall: Nielsen and Phillips 1985: 68-9. Ancestor worship: Torelli 1985: 29, 31. As residence of an elite leader: Torelli 1983: 477-82; Spivey and Stoddart 1990: 73; Sinos 1994: 113. As *palazzo*: Colonna 1986: 425-6, 434; Camporeale 2004: 58. As a multi-functional community centre, akin to an early forum: De Grummond 1997: 36-8.

manner that foreshadows later Roman *lararia*.³⁴⁸ The fate of the complex is often presented as an example of ‘ritual destruction’ and further evidence that the building had a sacred function.³⁴⁹ These arguments have contributed to wider hypotheses about the emergence of rural Etruscan sanctuaries, the succession of domestic and religious buildings, the relationship between sanctuaries and commercial workshops, and the origins of ancestor worship and *lararia* in Roman atrium houses. Compared with other sites, however, the only truly distinctive feature of the site at Murlo is its scale (Fig. III.27). The floor area and the number of architectural terracottas surpass other known sites, but there are Etruscan and Latial comparanda for the general layout and attributes. Any assessment of the site’s sacred functions must consequently take account of similar material elsewhere. As there are no clear examples of ritual behaviour indicated by finds, and no literary tradition to balance the lack of archaeological evidence, Murlo should not be ascribed a central role in the development of Italic religious architecture unless it is to highlight the ambiguity of such forms in the seventh century.

III.1.4. Significance

This review may have created the impression that there is no discernible pattern in buildings associated with religious activities in western central Italy in the Orientalising and early Archaic periods. Finds indicate that rituals occurred in, or close to, buildings with a variety of ground plans, and there is insufficient data to assert that different buildings met the religious needs of different groups. If it is possible to draw

³⁴⁸ The exterior of the small structure measured approximately 5.5 x 8m: De Grummond 1997: 25. Phillips 1992: 9 notes that the walls are too slight to have supported a roof, and proposes that the structure was either an open-air *templum* or pen to hold sacrificial animals. On a potential link with later *lararia*, see *ThesCRA* iv: 262, s.v. “Lararium (Etruria)” (A. Comella); Torelli 1983: 481-2; Torelli 1985: 29-30.

³⁴⁹ Principally argued by Phillips 1992: 49, and Edlund-Berry 1994.

any tentative conclusion from the known examples of religious architecture in Latium and Etruria – and the lack of excavated Etruscan settlements means arguments must remain tentative – then it is an acknowledgement of the apparent preponderance of cell-like structures amongst buildings with ritual associations.

Table 5: Potential examples of seventh-century religious architecture		
Cell-like structures	Linear buildings	Courtyard complexes
Satricum	Rome: Regia	Montetosto
Gabii		Narce
Tarquinia		
Roselle		
San Giovenale: Acropolis		
San Giovenale: Bridge		

For all that the concept of *oikos* shrines may seem outdated, the archaeological evidence suggests that it was not uncommon for religious buildings to have simple rectangular ground plans with one or two rooms despite the availability of other building plans.

The relatively simplicity of cell-like structures next to linear buildings and courtyard complexes is clearly demonstrated by plans of Satricum and Acquarossa. At Satricum a cell-like structure with likely religious associations was surrounded by courtyard complexes (Fig. III.26), while in Acquarossa ritual activity is hypothesised for the courtyard complex near a smaller cell-like structure (Fig. III.17). If Satricum and Acquarossa reflect regional architectural patterns, and this can only be a cautious proposal, then by the beginning of the sixth century in Latium, and the middle of the

sixth century in Etruria, cell-like structures did not receive the greatest investment of land or construction resources within settlements. Sites of religious activity were either architecturally overshadowed by courtyard complexes or contained within them, and their elusive architectural form makes their identification entirely dependent upon traces of religious actions preserved in the archaeological record.

III.2. TEMPLES

This review of the archaeological evidence for early religious architecture has so far established that it is possible to associate some examples of cell-like structures, linear buildings, and courtyard complexes with the performance of ritual activities during the seventh and early sixth centuries, or the Orientalising Period. Discerning this association on the basis of finds rather than architectural form has suggested the dominance, but not a monopoly, of cell-like structures in the religious landscape.

During the sixth century B.C. temples emerge as a distinct architectural form in both the urban landscape and the archaeological record. This change is affected by the construction of podia beneath buildings with a predominantly religious function, effectively distinguishing them from other structures and establishing podia as one of the first distinctive religious elements in Etrusco-Italic architecture. The significance of this change, however, has largely been overlooked to date. The following section will explore the importance of podia for architectural histories, demonstrate that they can be recognised in Latium before Etruria, and argue that the context for their introduction deserves renewed consideration.

III.2.1. Temple architecture

The similarities between the Regia at Rome, the house along the nearby Via Sacra, and the building in Zone 5A at Fidenae,³⁵⁰ or alternatively between the courtyard complexes at Narce and Acquarossa,³⁵¹ suggest that there were no appreciable architectural differences between relatively sacred and profane spaces in seventh-century Latium or early sixth-century Etruria.³⁵² The inherent architectural ambiguity of the period is moreover illustrated by the problematic interpretation of seventh-century votive models as representations of the houses of the living, the dead, and the divine, as discussed above.³⁵³ The absence of distinctive architectural or artistic markers to indicate building function requires buildings associated with religious activities to be identified on the basis of artefact evidence which itself may take ambiguous forms. Careful evaluation of votives and faunal assemblages in the light of finds from comparable contexts produces the short list of structures that can be regarded, within the limits of problematic terminology, as shrines (Table 5).

The introduction of podia is arguably the factor that transforms such shrines into temples. Although there is no typological rule against using the two terms interchangeably, each may carry connotations of size, content, and worshippers, producing a conceptual uneasiness with describing a room within a primarily residential complex as a ‘temple,’ or using the word ‘shrine’ to describe a monumental building atop a flight of steps. The presence of a podium moves architectural histories

³⁵⁰ The house on the Sacra Via: Cifani 2008: 124-125 with bibliography. Edifice 5A at Fidenae: Rathje 1983 and Pavolini, Algreen-Ussing et al. 1990: 109.

³⁵¹ For evidence of religious activities at Narce see Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 69-71. The bibliography on Acquarossa is extensive; for summaries see Östenberg 1975; Rystedt 1985; Haynes 2000: 139-40.

³⁵² The presence of architectural terracottas on buildings with residential, funerary, civic, and religious functions is now widely recognised; see Damgaard Andersen 1993a and Winter 2009: 567-70.

³⁵³ Staccioli 1968: 67-8 interprets the models as *thesauroi*; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995: 130 summarises the contrasting interpretations of the model from Satricum; Damgaard Andersen 1993a: 75 prefers to interpret the models as private houses.

out of functional ambiguity into structures characterised by a strong, easily recognisable marker. For all that architectural typologies often prefer to identify temples on the basis of their superstructures, the customary list of temple features including frontal orientation, a columned entranceway, a tripartite division of interior space, roof-top statuary, and architectural terracottas, becomes meaningless upon comparison with the buildings of seventh-century Latium and Etruria, where they are common.³⁵⁴ A podium does not become an intrinsic feature of a religious *aedes*, but it is a distinctive one.³⁵⁵

Scholarly consideration of temple substructures, however, has seldom extended beyond brief references to derivation from Etruscan predecessors. It is thus necessary to preface the following analysis of their chronological and geographical development by proposing a new, and long overdue, definition of podia and a means of identifying them in the archaeological record.

III.2.2. Podia: terminology and identification

There is no agreed definition of a podium as an architectural element. In archaeology the term has come to signify either the low wall surrounding the arena within an amphitheatre upon which seats were placed (following the usage in Latin literature e.g. *Juv. Sat.* 2.147: *omnibus ad podium spectantibus*), or else a relatively solid masonry foundation upon which a temple was erected. In general literature it has become a

³⁵⁴ As Damgaard Andersen 1998, i: 166 notes, the characteristics of a temple have not been well-defined. Colonna 1985a: 60 is the most often cited, although his insistence on a square or quasi-square plan makes no allowance for round temples. Examples of structures with these characteristics include: Hut A on the southwest corner of the Palatine in Rome (two holes outside the entrance suggesting a covered porch on wooden posts); the ‘*oikos*’ building at Pizzardi in Veii (frontal orientation); Buildings A-C in Zone F at Acquarossa (tripartite division of interior space); and the courtyard complex at Poggio Civitate (Murlo) (rooftop statuary and architectural terracottas); none of these sites have yielded unambiguous evidence of religious activity. See also the discussion in the Methodology chapter of this thesis.

³⁵⁵ Cf. Marius’ decision to forego a podium when building his victory temple to Honos and Virtus on the Velia for fear it would interfere with the taking of the public auspices (*Fest.* p. 466.36-468.3 L).

form of shorthand for any raised platform, large or small, intended to support one or more items. As scholarly confusion with terms such as platform, terrace, *krepidoma* and stereobate has compromised the identification and analysis of podia, it is useful to begin with a working definition based on function and aesthetic effect.

I propose that a podium is a distinctive type of raised substructure which must be negotiated to enter a surmounting building or superstructure. Specifically, the superstructure must occupy all, or very nearly all, the horizontal surface of the substructure. A large discrepancy between the size of the superstructure and the substructure, or else the complete absence of a superstructure, means that the substructure serves as a platform, rather than a podium. Similarly, substructures erected on sloping land to construct flat bases for one or more smaller superstructures may be regarded as terraces, rather than podia. Such a definition simultaneously looks downwards, to a clear demarcation from the ground around the full extent of the substructure, and upwards, to the walls and columns of a contiguous building.³⁵⁶ The elevation of a true podium building is thus clearly distinguished from that on a platform or terrace, and requires the viewer to interpret the substructure and superstructure as a unified piece of architecture, rather than two separate construction projects where the substructure plays a secondary role.

A definition that focuses on the relationship between substructure and superstructure rather than decoration also recognises the nature of the relevant archaeological evidence. At many central Italic sites the state of preservation of the substructures is variable: some are essentially complete with finds that indicate their use, while others are represented by a few original courses and sections of fill incorporated into

³⁵⁶ Cf. Vitr. *De arch.* 5.6.6 defining podia in *scaena* in relation to surmounting columns.

successive remodelling projects. The essential difference with the bases of earlier ‘*oikoi*’ or ‘*sacelli*’ is however clear. Column bases no longer sat directly on the ground, and those wishing to enter the building required stairs. A survey of early podia in Latium and Etruria with sufficient evidence to enable reconstructions indicates that podia varied in dimension, shape, orientation, and decorative detail, following no discernable chronological or geographical pattern (Table 6). Excavators have proposed designs ranging from a Greek-style *krepidoma* with steps on all four sides, for example at Temple B at Pyrgi, to lateral stairs incorporating a tribunal, as found on the Temple of Castor at Rome, as well as the more common flight of stairs between two masses of masonry centrally arranged on one side. There is sufficient evidence to establish that some podia carried ornamental mouldings. Moulded blocks of *nenfro* found at Orvieto are thought to have decorated the podium of the Belvedere Temple, where the pale colour would have stood in decorative contrast to the darker tuff facing the rest of the temple,³⁵⁷ and mouldings on the two phases of the podium at S. Omobono show increasing complexity over time.³⁵⁸ The majority, however, are likely to have been relatively plain.

The proposed criteria also clarify the architectural and aesthetic differences between buildings often described as podium structures. Temples I and II at the Ara della Regina site in Tarquinia were not podium temples, as the artificial terrace (55 x 31.5m) built for Temple I extended far beyond the walls of the superstructure (27 x 12.2m), and the enlargement resulting in Temple II (44 x 24.8m) on the same terrace should again be understood as compensation for the terrain rather than an attempt to

³⁵⁷ Izzet 2000: 42-3.

³⁵⁸ Colonna 1991: 57.

produce a structure with a unified elevation.³⁵⁹ The edifice (4.8 x 9.6m) beneath the ‘*sacellum*’ (3.6 x 6.2m) in the Celle sanctuary at Civita Castellana was a platform rather than a podium.³⁶⁰ Structures B and D on the acropolis at Marzabotto, carrying mouldings and frontal staircases typical of podia, did not carry superstructures and consequently can be regarded as platforms rather than strict podia.³⁶¹ The earliest securely identified podium in central Italy is found at the S. Omobono sanctuary in the Roman Forum Boarium, and it is this temple, dated to c.575 B.C. on the basis of finds including Attic, Laconian, and Ionian cups, votive material, and architectural terracottas,³⁶² that marks the advent of the distinctive form of religious architecture known as the Etrusco-Italic temple.

III.2.3. Podia: evidence

Table 6 lists the known examples of podia in central Italy dated prior to c.450 B.C. that accord with the definition used in this paper.³⁶³ The twenty-one examples come from thirteen sites in Latium and eight sites in Etruria; two represent second construction phases at sites with an earlier podium. Their dates are derived from associated archaeological evidence such as site stratigraphy, pottery, and mouldings that enable dating on stylistic grounds, as well as from architectural terracottas when it is possible to establish a connection with a contemporary superstructure through evidence of walls or columns. Coins can also be useful for correlating dates and

³⁵⁹ Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 175-6.

³⁶⁰ Comella 1986: 177-81, 223-4 with bibliography.

³⁶¹ Structures B and D have been variously presented as monumental altars, precincts, elevated *temenoi*, and *sacelli*: Steingraber 1982: 107-8; *ThesCRA* iv: 312, s.v. “Sacellum (Etruria e mondo Italico): Etruria” (A. Comella); Jannot 2005: 73; Colonna 2006: 140-1; Govi 2007: 21-2.

³⁶² Gjerstad 1962; *ENL*: 124-49 on the votive material; Ioppolo 1989; Colonna 1991; Mura Somella 2000: 7-20 in particular regarding the dating of the ceramics.

³⁶³ Further examples are possible, indeed probable, as the presence or absence of podia is often not mentioned in excavation reports and cannot be discerned from published drawings or photographs. The problem is also noted in Damgaard Andersen 1998, i: 161 n. 699.

reconstructions, and in some cases it is possible to find foundation or dedication dates preserved in literary records.

Table 6: Central Italic podium temples dated prior to c.450 B.C. (by geographical region)

No.	Site	Date	Remains	Dimensions	Orientation
Latium					
1	Rome, Forum Boarium, S. Omobono (possibly a Temple of Fortuna), Phase 1 ³⁶⁴	c.575 B.C.	Seven courses of ashlar masonry, the second with a torus moulding.	10.3m square; 1.7m high, with a staircase of possibly seven steps at the front.	SW
2	Satricum, Acropolis, Temple I ³⁶⁵	c.540 B.C.	Four courses of ashlar blocks with a torus crowning moulding.	27.43 x 17.1m (but only 16.5m at rear).	SW
3	Ardea, Acropolis, Temple of Juno Regina ³⁶⁶	c.540 B.C.	Only one course extant.	Original size hypothesized at 39.5 x 25.3m.	SW
4	Rome, Forum Boarium, S. Omobono (possibly a Temple of Fortuna), Phase 2 ³⁶⁷	c.535 B.C.	Three courses of <i>tufo</i> , with a double moulding on three sides.	13.2 x 11.54m, 1.61m high. Wide staircase with four steps.	SW
5	Ardea, Forum, the Casarinaccio temple ³⁶⁸	Late sixth century B.C.	Three courses of <i>tufo</i> with different profiles of the upper round in different parts of the podium.	Perhaps 35 x 23.35m; preserved height is 1.82m.	SW
6	Rome, Capitoline, Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus ³⁶⁹	c.510 B.C. (dedicated 509)	Podium built of blocks of <i>cappellaccio</i> . 14 courses preserved in the SE corner, but two are thought to be later additions.	Measurements vary, between 60-62.16m long x 51-53.50m wide. An original height of c.3.60-3.75m is proposed.	SE
7	Rome, Palatine, Building N ³⁷⁰	c.525-475 B.C.	Four courses of <i>cappellaccio</i> .	10.5m long.	NW-SE

³⁶⁴ See n. 362 and Cifani 2008: 165-73 with bibliography.

³⁶⁵ Satricum 1986: 60-2; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991: 91; Knoop and Lulof 2009: 32-5.

³⁶⁶ Stefani 1944-1945; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 124; Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 147-8.

³⁶⁷ Gjerstad 1962; Ioppolo 1989; Pisani Sartorio 1990: 113; Colonna 1991.

³⁶⁸ Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 124; Shoe 1965: 84-6.

³⁶⁹ Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 118-9; Cifani 2008: 85-109 with bibliography.

³⁷⁰ Pensabene 1993: 24, 36-8; Pensabene 1995: 457; Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 176.

8	Rome, Forum Romanum, Temple of Saturn ³⁷¹	c.500 (dedicated 498) B.C.	Two parallel podium walls in <i>cappellaccio</i> are buried in the present podium.		N
9	Satricum, Acropolis, Temple II ³⁷²	c.500-480 B.C.	Four courses of <i>tufo lionato</i> .	33.9 x 21m.	NE-SW
10	Signia, Acropolis, Temple of Juno Moneta ³⁷³	c.490 B.C.	Built in <i>opus siliceum</i> of local limestone.	40.8 x 25.3m.	S
11	Rome, Forum Romanum, Temple of Castor ³⁷⁴	c. 490 (dedicated 484) B.C.	Constructed in <i>cappellaccio</i> .	Archaic podium measures 27.5 x 37.4m; 3.5m high.	NE
12	Norba, Minor Acropolis, 'major temple' ³⁷⁵	'Late Archaic'	Polygonal masonry; base of wall dividing cella from <i>pronaos</i> is preserved.	22.8 x 12.90m.	NW-SE
13	Norba, Minor Acropolis, 'minor temple'	Early fifth century B.C.		16.5 x 8.16m.	SW
Etruria					
14	Pyrgi, Temple B ³⁷⁶	c.510-500 B.C.	<i>Tufo</i> podium in <i>opus quadratum</i> . Four courses largely preserved.	29.65 x 20.1m.	SW
15	Veii, Portonaccio Temple ³⁷⁷	c.510-500 B.C.	<i>Tufo</i> blocks. North wall preserved.	18.5m square.	E

³⁷¹ Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 119.

³⁷² Colonna 1984: 404; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991: 105; Knoop and Lulof 2009: 35-6.

³⁷³ Coarelli 1982: 177-8 with 396 for bibliography; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 127.

³⁷⁴ Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 61-79, esp. p.75; Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 181.

³⁷⁵ The two podia at Norba are not well published; their inclusion in this table is based upon material displayed in the Museo Archeologico in Norma.

³⁷⁶ Colonna 1972 esp. p.282; Melis 1985; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 132.

³⁷⁷ Colonna 1985a: 101; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 132.

16	Vulci, Forum ³⁷⁸	c.510-500 B.C.	Five courses of ashlar <i>tufo</i> blocks, lined along the perimeter with nenfro during the fourth century.	42.6 x 28m; 2.4m high.	SW
17	Orvieto, Belvedere Temple ³⁷⁹	Early fifth century B.C.	Ashlar <i>tufo</i> .	21.91 x 16.9m (but only 16.30m at front).	SE
18	Marzabotto, Acropolis, Temple C ³⁸⁰	c.500-475 B.C.	Round river stones faced with travertine.	18.2 x 21.4m; reconstructed height of 1.55-1.83m.	S
19	Vulci, Fontanile di Legnisina ³⁸¹	Early fifth century B.C.	Large ashlar <i>tufo</i> blocks. Three courses preserved on the south side to a height of 1m; two courses preserved on the north side.	c.17.6 x 25m.	SW
20	Marzabotto, urban area, Temple of Tinia ³⁸²	480-470 B.C.	Scanty remains, one course.	Building: 35.5 x 21.75m.	N-S
21	Pyrgi, Temple A ³⁸³	c.455 B.C.	Ashlar with eight courses preserved.	34.33 x 23.98m.	SW

³⁷⁸ Sgubini Moretti 1993: 72; Moretti Sgubini 1997: 154.

³⁷⁹ Andrén 1939-1940: 166-86; Colonna 1985a: 80-3; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 131.

³⁸⁰ Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 131; Bentz and Reusser 2008: 60.

³⁸¹ Massabò 1985: 17-20; Massabò 1988-1989; Sgubini Moretti 1993: 108-10.

³⁸² Govi 2007: 23-5; Bentz and Reusser 2008: 54-6.

³⁸³ Colonna 1972: 23-47.

The division of the twenty-one examples into Latial and Etruscan groups reflects growing scholarly challenges to the interpretation of all Latial material predating the foundation of the Roman Republic as Etruscan artefacts. The extent of Etruscan power in Archaic Rome is now debated; Etruscan presence does not denote Etruscan dominance, and factors such as the Etruscan ethnicity of certain rulers, attested by the literary tradition, may have been incidental in a city that was open to external elements but cultivated an independent identity.³⁸⁴ Recognising that the archaeological record does not reveal agency allows for the analysis of regional developments within a larger architectural and artistic *koine* and a more geographically accurate description of significant phenomena. Topographical patterns can then be interpreted as expressions of particular agents and their concerns in ways that account for all aspects of the physical data.

Organising the evidence for early podia in Etruria and Latium by chronology and geography highlights hitherto overlooked regional contrasts. As mentioned above, the earliest securely identified podium in western central Italy is located in the Roman Forum Boarium. Fragmentary remains suggest that a 1.7m-high podium crowned with a half-round moulding was constructed in c.575 B.C. A second phase saw the podium rebuilt and decorated with a double moulding on three sides in c.535 B.C. (Fig. III.28). The second and third chronological examples also come from Latium. In the middle of the sixth century a podium measuring 27.43 x 17.1m was built to support the so-called Temple 1 at Satricum.³⁸⁵ Together with the new superstructure of one rectangular room and an anteroom surrounded on three sides by columns, the use of a podium on the site of the former ‘*oikos*’ marked the accession of a distinctive form of religious

³⁸⁴ Cornell 1995: 151-72 on ‘the myth of “Etruscan Rome”’; Smith 2000: 30.

³⁸⁵ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991: 91; Knoop and Lulof 2009: 32-5.

architecture. One course of *tufo* blocks suggests that the Temple of Juno Regina on the acropolis at Ardea also received a podium that can be dated by architectural terracottas to c.540 B.C.³⁸⁶ The reconstructed substructure was larger than those at Rome and Satricum, with dimensions of 39.5 x 25.5m, and it is tempting to speculate that the increase signals a growing technical confidence or competitive spirit on the part of the architect or builders.

By contrast, the earliest securely identified podia in Etruria are dated to the end of the sixth century. A low podium was constructed beneath Building A at Portonaccio in Veii in c.510-500 B.C. The substructure of Temple B at Pyrgi, also dated to c.510-500 B.C., has been reconstructed to resemble a Greek *krepidoma* measuring 20.10 x 29.65m (Fig. III.29).³⁸⁷ The spoliation of *tufo* blocks at the site may have caused an artificially low reconstruction of the substructure,³⁸⁸ but there is sufficient evidence that the *krepidoma* elevated the ground floor of the superstructure with respect to its surroundings for it to be considered an example of a building in Etruria displaying the architectural characteristics of a podium.

The introduction of podia in Etruria proper coincides with comparable developments in other forms of Etruscan religious architecture. Structure B at Marzabotto, variously dated between 520 and 500 B.C., is an artificial platform measuring 4.10 x 4.10m with a staircase in the centre of the southern side and no surmounting superstructure (Fig. III.30). The discovery of a *pozzo* in its centre holding animal bones, as well as a raised basin on the adjacent ground, suggest that the platform was a space for ritual

³⁸⁶ Stefani 1944-1945; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 124.

³⁸⁷ Colonna 1972; Colonna 1985a: 127-31; Melis 1985.

³⁸⁸ Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 132.

activity.³⁸⁹ The shape and decoration further allow for the possibility that this type of structure served as a formal or conceptual prototype for podia in subsequent Etruscan temples. But regardless of whether the earliest examples of Etruscan podia are the temples at Veii and Pyrgi or the raised platform at Marzabotto, as some who prefer a looser definition of the feature may argue, the available evidence indicates that podia appear in Latium approximately 50 years before they are recognisable in Etruria.³⁹⁰

III.2.4. Form and function

Podia are traditionally presented as an Etruscan architectural form that became part of the canonical Etrusco-Italic temple.³⁹¹ Those who hold that Latium, and particularly Rome, was subject to Etruscan rule during the Archaic period will find no threat to this concept in the fact that podia in Latium appear to predate those in Etruria. The challenge posed by English scholarship to consider Latial developments as independent phenomena, however, cannot be overlooked. It is thus appropriate to review current hypotheses about the origins of these substructures in an attempt to clarify whether podia were Etruscan features and, if so, why they were first realised in Latium.

Funerary tumuli

One group of scholars has suggested that podia were derived from Etruscan funerary tumuli. From the first half of the seventh century Etruscan aristocrats built conspicuous tumuli, or burial mounds, to commemorate deceased family members and

³⁸⁹ *Pozzo*: Gozzadini 1865: 11 and Tav. 5 no. 4; *pozzo* contents: Gozzadini 1865: 12-3.

³⁹⁰ cf. Damgaard Andersen 1998, i: 193-7 concluding that temples (as defined by applying multiple criteria excluding podia) appear in Latium approximately half a century earlier than in Etruria, with the caveat that the religious building at Gravisca is Greek rather than Etruscan.

³⁹¹ For example, Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970: 38, 48; Colonna 1985a: 60-1 (derived from the form of Etruscan houses and tombs); Ramage and Ramage 1995: 28-31; Jannot 2005: 73; Stamper 2005: 8. cf. Cifani 2008: 295 arguing an influence from the Greek *stylobate*.

visually emphasise their dominance over the land and community. Tumulus I and II in the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri illustrate the placement of the burial mounds atop carved *tufi* bases with cylindrical cornices. Each of these tumuli, with respective diameters of 31m and 40m, was surrounded by a narrow ditch that could be crossed using a fixed ramp with stairs, a structure described in many publications as a podium (Fig. III.31).³⁹² Such ‘podia’ were joined to the base of the mound by small arches, tunnels, or blind doors that spanned the ditch and emphasised the demarcation of the tumulus from the surrounding space.³⁹³ A resemblance to the podia of later Etrusco-Italic temples can be discerned in the monumental bases accessed by single flights of stairs, while a conceptual link between tumuli and podium temples may also have existed in the use of the stairs to access a raised area for religious purposes, as finds from the top of tumuli indicate the performance of rites above the burial chambers.³⁹⁴

Monumental altars

A second hypothesis interprets podia as monumental altars. This idea draws on the resemblance between podia and the mouldings of carved tumuli bases, rather than the stairs used to link those bases to non-funerary ground, and also on similarities between podia and platforms such as Structure D at Marzabotto. Both the tumuli bases and the platforms were decorated with mouldings, and were raised from the surrounding ground and accessed by single flights of stairs. The concept of the Etruscan tomb as altar further links the tumuli to the platforms.³⁹⁵ As a result of these similarities, some

³⁹² As in Prayon 2010: 86.

³⁹³ Prayon 1975: 81-2.

³⁹⁴ Rosi 1927: 65-6; Colonna 1986: 398; Colonna 2006: 142; Izzet 2007: 93; cf. Prayon 2010. Note also Colonna 1985a: 60 and Colonna 2006: 138 arguing that tumuli may have been appropriated by emerging states and gradually turned into symbols of civic religion. The transition from a private (burial) to a public (religious and civic) context remains problematic, but see Riva 2010.

³⁹⁵ Those who connect podia with tumuli bases have further cited the resemblance between domed tumuli covers and round altars, such as that at the Grotta Porcina necropolis at Vetralla, as evidence

scholars have argued that podia came into being to differentiate religious buildings from their profane surroundings by serving as monumental markers of the boundary between sacred and quotidian space.³⁹⁶ Podia with mouldings thus resembled elaborate pedestals that raised temples out of the profane world, just as carved bases isolated tumuli. This argument does not account for the construction of podia within religious precincts unless the land within sanctuary boundaries was considered profane.

Augury

A third hypothesis proposes an alternative derivation from the ritual demarcation of the earth by augurs to establish a space freed from spirits and thus suitable for consecration to the deity of the future building.³⁹⁷ As this demarcation is usually envisaged as a series of straight lines, the augural markings are thought to have established the shape and orientation of a square or rectangular podium. Round podia presumably validate the existence of non-linear augural lines associated with the setting of city boundaries like the *pomerium*. It is also thought that high viewpoints may have facilitated the taking of *auspicia*. Augury and podium temples must consequently be regarded as synchronous developments. Relevant to this discussion is an old, and often overlooked, proposal that augury and the auspices may have been of Latin or Sabine, rather than Etruscan, origin.³⁹⁸

All three of these hypotheses can be challenged by the observation that different forms of non-funerary religious architecture existed in Etruria and Latium well before the

that both facilitated ritual sacrifices. See Prayon 1975: 81-5 and Prayon 2010; cf. Åkerström 1934: 78-84.

³⁹⁶ For example, Kähler 1970: 19; Izzet 2000: 42; cf. Jannot 2005: 102.

³⁹⁷ *ThesCRA* iv: 142, s.v. “Aedes (mondo Italico)” (M. Torelli). A similar idea is expressed in Kähler 1970: 19, Colonna 1985a: 60, Gros 1996, i: 122-5, and Cifani 2008: 290 relating the shape of podia to the form of a *templum* or *auguraculum*.

³⁹⁸ Smith 1875: 174.

advent of podium temples. Evidence of religious activity at sites such as Building *beta* on the Pian di Civita at Tarquinia, at the *Casa del recinto* at Roselle, in the so-called spring sanctuary and in the rectangular building near the Pietrisco River at San Giovenale, and also at Temple 0 at Satricum, clearly establish that communities possessed alternative spaces for religious rites in which podia played no part. These shrines resembled the superstructures of Etrusco-Italic podium temples more closely than piles of tumuli earth and arguably fulfilled a closer ritual function than spaces for the performance of open-air rites; for all that podia may have resembled monumental altars, Etrusco-Italic temples were not altars; the altar was a separate structure, frequently placed at a different orientation to the temple, and accessible to the view of all in contrast to enclosed temple interiors. The fundamental question about podia is hence not whence podia derive their decoration, but why the need to introduce such substructures to religious architecture was felt in the sixth, but not seventh, century B.C.

III.2.5. Beyond ritual

The existence of non-funerary religious structures predating the construction of podium temples shows that podia were not the sole means of conferring religiosity upon a building. Thus while similar designs may have had a ritual significance elsewhere, there is no imperative to seek a ritual origin for the form or function of podia. Indeed, given the evidence that embellishments such as mouldings and the motifs typical of architectural terracottas were used widely in Etruscan culture irrespective of building or spatial function before the late sixth century,³⁹⁹ it is possible that the use of similar mouldings on tumuli bases, platforms, and later podia was

³⁹⁹ On architectural terracotta mouldings and motifs see Winter 2009: 573-6; trends seem to have been linked to fashions in other media, particularly vase-painting, rather than building function.

simply fashionable. Additional support for the idea that temple substructures may not have had an exclusively religious function comes from Roman evidence that podia gradually came to serve a variety of civic and commercial functions. The substructure of the Temple of Castor was rebuilt and repurposed through the late Republic, with a tribunal added to the frontal stairs in the second century B.C. and the incorporation of twenty-five small chambers. These spaces may have been used in association with the Temple's imperial role as the official repository for weights and measures, although finds of assorted make-up and extracted teeth in a secondary drain from a chamber on the west side of the Temple suggest that this particular room was later occupied by a beautician-cum-dentist.⁴⁰⁰ The podium of the third-century B.C. northern temple at S. Nicola in Carcere was likewise designed with a series of small chambers; the limited height of 1.5m means they may have been used to store equipment related to the nearby vegetable market.⁴⁰¹ The central temple of the same complex also had rooms in the podium that are likely to have sheltered *tabernae*.⁴⁰² Lastly, a vaulted chamber measuring 10m x 3m uncovered beneath the stairs of the Temple of Saturn has been identified as the Aerarium, or public treasury, based upon literary descriptions of the Temple's banking activities (Paul. *ex Fest.* 2L; Solin. 1.12; Macrob. *Sat.* 1.8.3).⁴⁰³ Such designs and finds show that podia either did not retain, or never had, a rarefied religious purpose. Together these points reinforce that form should be considered separately from function and considerations of the rationale for temple substructures may go beyond ritual demands.

⁴⁰⁰ Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 56, 109-11; *LTUR* i, 242-5, s.v. "Castor, Aedes, Templum" (I. Nielsen). The podium of the Temple of Vesta also contained an area that may have been used to store valuable documents and artifacts: Boni 1900: 163-5; *LTUR* v, 125, s.v. "Vesta, Aedes" (R. T. Scott).

⁴⁰¹ Claridge 1998: 249.

⁴⁰² Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 110-11.

⁴⁰³ Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 119. The long-standing use of temples as treasuries indicates that there was no strong dividing line between religious and 'commercial' activities, hence caution is advisable in arguing that ancient religious space was ever fully exclusive.

The context for the construction of Rome's first podium temple accordingly requires analysis. The deity honoured with the construction of the Archaic temple is thought to have been Mater Matuta, based upon later literary references to the foundation of such a temple in the area by Servius Tullius, king of Rome from 578 to 534 B.C. (Livy. 5.19.6, 33.27.4; Ov. *Fast.* 6. 477-480, 569-572, 613-626).⁴⁰⁴ An absence of extant references to the podium or the rationale for its construction means that external and internal catalysts must both be considered.

Greek inspiration

The Greek equivalent of central Italic podia was the *krepidoma* or stereobate. Both archaeology and the Greek tradition trace the earliest expression of many Greek monumental forms to Corinth and its hinterland. It is difficult to identify the earliest example of a Greek *krepidoma*, but it is possible that it first found expression in stone in Corinth, where other innovations such as tiled roofs and the regular frieze of the Doric order also emerged. If the *krepidoma* developed as part of the emergence and codification of early Greek, typically Doric, temple architecture, then the form may be dated to the late seventh or early sixth century B.C.⁴⁰⁵

The fact that significant developments in religious architecture may have occurred in Corinth and Rome at approximately the same time might suggest increasing Greek influence in Latium or, more likely, a simultaneous elaboration of construction methods and religious aesthetics in Greece and western central Italy. Other links between Servius Tullius, the Forum Boarium, and Corinth can be noted. Scholars have argued that Servius adopted pro-mercantile policies similar to those of contemporary

⁴⁰⁴ On the ambiguous and problematic ethnicity of Servius Tullius, see Cornell 1995: 130-50 and Smith 1996b: 151.

⁴⁰⁵ Barletta 2001: 39, 52-3, 79-83.

Greek tyrants, including the development of the Forum Boarium as a Tiber port and its attendant cults of Mater Matuta and Portunus, two deities connected with trade and Corinth by their assimilation to Ino-Leukothea and Palaimon.⁴⁰⁶ The terracotta plaques decorating the pediment of the first-phase Temple depicted a winged Gorgon flanked by crouching felines, similar to the motif displayed on the front of the Temple of Artemis on Corcyra, erected in a Corinthian colony located on commercial trade routes.⁴⁰⁷ Even if the Greek *krepidoma* or peristyle were inspirational, however, it is important to note that the single flight of stairs and the mouldings of the substructure in the Forum Boarium cannot be described as Greek forms.

Near Eastern stimuli

The extent of Near Eastern influence on Greek and Roman architecture in this period is difficult to determine. It is possible that particular methods of stone-working were copied from, or inspired by, Phoenician and Egyptian practices.⁴⁰⁸ Remains of the White Temple at Uruk demonstrate that Sumerian mud-brick temples were being erected on raised platforms by the fourth millennium B.C. By the third millennium such platforms had developed into the series of stepped terraces known as ziggurats.⁴⁰⁹ Although the terraced design differed sharply from Italic podia, there may have been a conceptual resemblance in regarding the temple upon the platform as the home of a god that could only be entered by religious professionals. The theological and practical significance of ziggurat design has been long debated, generating a long list of not incompatible hypotheses: suggestions include a desire to invoke the mountains associated with Sumerian migrations; the imitation of an elaborate altar; the provision

⁴⁰⁶ Mertens-Horn 1997; Coarelli 2007: 308.

⁴⁰⁷ Mertens-Horn 1995; Winter 2002-2003: 230; Winter 2009: 191-2.

⁴⁰⁸ Waelkens, DePaepe et al. 1990; Ratté 1993; Barletta 2001: 18, 151.

⁴⁰⁹ Bertman 2003: 194.

of a raised point for celestial observations (Diod. Sic. 2.9.4), or for gods during their descents from the heavens (Hdt. 1.182); and, more prosaically, a means of protecting shrines from frequent flooding.⁴¹⁰ By the time that trade routes between the Near East, the Aegean and the Mediterranean become visible in the archaeological record, ziggurats had evolved into steeply-terraced pyramids with no visual resemblance to Italic podia.

The absence of a clear external prototype in Greece or the Near East allows podia to be interpreted as independent Italic designs. Local factors may in turn explain their introduction in Rome.

Socio-political imperatives

The competitive nature of those living in Archaic Rome, particularly with regards to surpassing other communities' building projects, should not be underestimated. For example, it is possible that the Tarquin dynasty adorned Rome with structures that were designed to eclipse comparable buildings in Tarquinia with an impression of majestic grandeur.⁴¹¹ The first podium temple may have monumentalised Roman identity and stimulated imitation by other settlements. This scenario does not deny Etruscan agency, but offers an explanation for why this architectural development began south rather than north of the Tiber.

Topography

The Forum Boarium was a riverside centre of international and interregional commerce. As Tiber Island divided the river into two bridgeable channels, the

⁴¹⁰ Bertman 2003: 197.

⁴¹¹ I am grateful to Dr. Sibylle Haynes for this suggestion.

shallower water and adjacent lowland to the east formed a natural landing point for ships pausing at Rome and Veii or travelling upriver to Antemnae, Fidenae, and Crustumerium. Such favourable topography was further improved by proximity to major roads: here ended the Via Salaria, bringing salt and transhumant herds to local exchanges, while one of the principal roads between Etruria and Campania passed close by and may have motivated the construction of Rome's first bridge, the Pons Sublicius.⁴¹² International imports are evident from the eighth century onwards in sherds of late Geometric, Euboean, Cycladic, and Corinthian ceramics, as well as Ischian and Cumaean imitations of Corinthian styles.⁴¹³ The construction of a podium temple, oriented towards river-borne travellers, may have been designed to attract and welcome potentially lucrative visitors in an emphatic, impressive, and ritualised style. The use of a significant substructure to increase visibility and lower the chance of flood damage to the wooden columns of the superstructure would thus have had multiple benefits.

The limitations of the archaeological evidence mean that these scenarios can only be speculative. The suggestion that the first podium temple represents a response to local Roman concerns, however, reflects the corpus of relevant evidence more accurately than the conflation of Etruscan mouldings with Etruscan cultural and architectural supremacy.

III.2.6. Significance

Although podia are but one element of many grand and imposing buildings, the study of their development arguably has the larger effect of redefining the significance of the

⁴¹² On the topography of the Forum Boarium see Coarelli 1988; Pisani Sartorio 1989b; Smith 1996b: 179-80; Coarelli 2007: 307-8.

⁴¹³ La Rocca 1982: 47-8; Holloway 1994: 165-7.

sixth century B.C. for histories of central Italic religious architecture. The evidence for buildings with associated ritual activities in the seventh century, characterised by a variety of plans and lack of architectural markers to identify their primary function, establishes that the importance of the sixth century lies in the emergence of a recognisable religious architectural form, due principally to the introduction of podia. The common attribution of this change to the Etruscans is simplistic and does not accord with the location of the archaeological evidence or the growing scholarly recognition of the differences between Latial and Etruscan civilizations. The alternative proposal that podia were a Latial, or even Roman, phenomenon suggests that the conception and realisation of cult buildings in early Italy may represent more innovative responses to local, and perhaps prosaic, concerns than previously thought.

III.3. CONCLUSIONS

This review of the evidence for buildings with an apparent connection to religious activities during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. has clarified a number of important points for histories of Etrusco-Italic religious architecture.

Firstly, the different theories used to account for the emergence of temples in the archaeological record during the sixth century B.C. are, in reality, theories about the development of distinctive architectural markers. Other types of buildings had previously sheltered religious activities and been located in close proximity to them, and thus temples do not represent the first desire to give rituals an architectural setting. The significance of the sixth century instead lies in the development of a distinctive form of religious architecture. The use of podia to differentiate religious buildings from the surrounding built environment demonstrates a new perception of these

buildings as idiosyncratic structures and a desire to communicate this difference to viewers. The mechanisms of this fundamental change in the conception and expression of religious architecture have not, however, received a great deal of scholarly attention.

Secondly, this change can justifiably be described as the advent of monumental religious architecture in western central Italy. As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, architectural theorists have argued that monumentality is a relative phenomenon that can only be assessed through comparison with contemporary buildings; relative rarity, high visibility, and the use of construction techniques that are intended to last for more than one generation are further monumental characteristics. From the sixth century onwards the religious character of particular buildings is attested by distinctive architectural markers that confer heightened visibility and differentiate them from structures with other functions. The fundamental difference between religious buildings in the sixth century and their predecessors in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. is thus the adoption of a monumental architectural style.

Thirdly, and finally, it is now possible to challenge the traditional presentation of this change as an Etruscan phenomenon. As discussed above, the features that are customarily held to characterise temple architecture, such as a frontal orientation, a columned entranceway, and a tripartite division of interior space, are all common elements of buildings with a variety of functions in seventh-century Latium and Etruria. It is podia that distinguish the architecture of sixth-century religious buildings from other structures. The archaeological evidence indicates that podia were incorporated into religious buildings in Latium before Etruria and thus that a distinctive form of temple architecture first developed south, rather than north, of the

Tiber. Increasing recognition of Latial culture and civilisation means that it is no longer possible to interpret all material in Latium predating the foundation of the Roman Republic as Etruscan artefacts. It is consequently necessary to consider whether temples were first built in Latium by Etruscans, and, if so, why they chose to do so outside rather than inside their primary territory; or, alternatively, whether temples were the product of a Latial rather than an Etruscan mindset. Any plausible explanation must account for the location of the archaeological evidence.

Yet architecture was not the only element that influenced the external appearance of a building. The previous chapter examined the possibility that Iron Age huts had decorated thatched roofs, and later temples are known to have featured roof-top statuary and brightly painted terracotta revetments. The next chapter will consequently examine the process by which cult buildings in Latium and Etruria gained distinctive external decorations and whether this predated or post-dated comparable developments in religious architecture. This chapter thus forms part of a larger investigation into the changing appearance of religious buildings relative to other structures.

CHAPTER IV. SHRINES AND TEMPLES: ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION

An integral part of the transition from 'huts' to 'houses' in the seventh century B.C. was the adoption of a new roofing system using wooden beams and terracotta tiles instead of traditional thatch. The two elements of the new system formed an integrated unit, with special tiles designed and positioned to protect the perishable wooden roof beams from rain, wind, and fire; many also carried painted and moulded decorations that have encouraged study of their form as well as function. The disappearance of wooden trusses and supporting mud-brick walls from the archaeological record means that thousands of these durable tiles and architectural terracottas now comprise the primary evidence for the size, form, and decoration of early Etruscan and Latial superstructures.

In the last seventy years a number of excavations have yielded new information about the distribution of the decorative elements of these roofs in Etruria and Latium, and in particular about the different types of buildings on which they appeared. It is clear that architectural terracottas were initially placed on a wide variety of buildings, unlike their Greek counterparts, but gradually became the preserve of religious architecture. This chapter will examine the nature and location of these roofs, their iconography, and rationales for their restricted use. As such it will offer a detailed analysis of the process by which architectural terracottas became a means of differentiating cult buildings from other structures during the sixth century B.C.

IV.1. TILED SUPERSTRUCTURES

Tile production appears to have begun in central Italy by the middle of the seventh century B.C. and can be associated with significant changes in society and economy. With an approximate weight of 60 kilograms per square meter for tiles⁴¹⁴ and up to 85 kilograms per square meter for the supporting roof beams,⁴¹⁵ the downward and outward pressure of tiled roofs had to be countered with strong, preferably stone-based, walls following rectangular or square plans, the careful selection of timbers to span greater distances, and specialized craftsmen to make, fit, and repair the roofs. All of these factors imply more sedentary communities than hut architecture, a growing technical infrastructure, and an ability and readiness to invest in the greater capital expense of a tiled roof.⁴¹⁶

The ceramic components of the new roofs served both practical and decorative functions (Fig. IV.1). Broad pan tiles carried water rainwater off the slopes while their joins were covered by semi-cylindrical cover tiles. Ridge tiles protected the intersecting slopes. Revetment plaques protected rafters and eaves, simas served as gutters, and antefixes covered the exposed ends of wooden beams and cover tiles. Acroteria and pedimental decorations offered additional opportunities for artistic expression. Roofs formed by the interaction of these elements ranged from relatively plain to lavish and elaborate, and reached their peak in terms of quantity, quality, and diversity during the sixth century B.C.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁴ Wikander 1986, iv: 133 with references calculates a weight of 50-70 kilograms per square metre; MacIntosh Turfa and Steinmayer 1996: 2 estimate 60 kilograms.

⁴¹⁵ Damgaard Andersen 1998, i: 119.

⁴¹⁶ Wikander 1988a: 49-55; Wikander 1993: 121-5; Nijboer 1998, esp. p.73-5, 188-90; Brandt 2001; Wikander 2001: 271-2; Winter 2009: 535.

⁴¹⁷ Winter 2009: 1-2.

The introduction of these roofs affected the appearance of settlements in more ways than a visible increase in the use of terracotta. Increased protection from fire has been linked to greater building density.⁴¹⁸ Roof shapes changed as hipped thatched canopies were replaced with two-faced terracotta covers, and the high pitch of thatched roofs, customarily between 45 and 60 degrees, was lowered to 10 or 20 degrees for tiles.⁴¹⁹ Painted and sculpted ceramic decorations may have further accentuated differences. Some early terracotta roofs were decorated with white-on-red paintings reminiscent of Corinthian and Etrusco-Corinthian ceramics, for example at Caere, and later figured friezes along rooflines carried dark red or white backgrounds with relief elements set off by black outlines.⁴²⁰ An increased use of polychrome decoration on ceramic vases also appears to have been paralleled by the increased use of such schemes on ceramic roof tiles.⁴²¹ Significantly, tiled roofs did not gain an automatic monopoly; evidence for the continued use of thatched roofs in certain situations instead suggests that the skylines of settlements featured a mixture of shapes, forms, and colours for many centuries.⁴²² The following sections will examine the extent to which the location and details of the new roofs followed discernible broad patterns.

IV.2. DECORATIONS FOR RELIGIOUS AND NON-RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

Seventy years ago it was thought that architectural terracottas only appeared on the roofs of religious buildings. The differences between thatched and tiled roofs were interpreted as a reflection of building function: thatched roofs covered houses and relatively profane structures, while decorative roof tiles signalled the existence of an

⁴¹⁸ And perhaps to have thus contributed to urbanisation: Wikander 1988b: 207; Winter 2009: 1.

⁴¹⁹ Damgaard Andersen 2001: 245, 248. The difference in pitch may help to identify whether a hut urn depicts a thatched or tiled roof.

⁴²⁰ Winter 2009: 573-5.

⁴²¹ Winter 2009: 573-5.

⁴²² On the enduring use of thatched roofs in Italic settlements see Damgaard Andersen 1998, i: 111.

Etrusco-Italic cult building.⁴²³ In the late twentieth century excavations at Etruscan sites such as Murlo and Acquarossa proved that some workshops, houses, civic buildings, and funerary structures also carried terracotta antefixes, simas, acroteria, and frieze plaques.⁴²⁴ Scholars have consequently developed wider criteria for identifying building function, based principally upon artefact evidence, and the application of these criteria to the archaeological record has generated a new model of the relationship between building function and architectural décor.⁴²⁵ It is now widely accepted that terracotta roof decorations appeared on a range of central Italic buildings in the seventh and early sixth centuries B.C. but gradually became a hallmark of sacred and civic architecture, and from c.560 B.C. the tiled roofs of domestic residences settled into plain, relatively undecorated forms.⁴²⁶

For all that there are thousands of extant architectural terracottas, however, the evidence on which this new model is based is not extensive. Relevant data for assessing the relationship between tiled roofs and building function is necessarily restricted by demanding criteria: (i) the presence of a sufficient range of tiles to assert that any remains come from a roof, rather than a votive context removed from the site of original display or alternatively a workshop representing a point of manufacture;⁴²⁷ (ii) evidence for a building of relevant date with a recoverable ground plan; and (iii) crucially, finds that indicate the type of activities which occurred within that building at the time that it carried that particular form of decoration. The relative rarity of

⁴²³ Exemplified by the title and contents of André 1939-1940.

⁴²⁴ See, for example, Wikander 1981 and Phillips 1992.

⁴²⁵ For example, Damgaard Andersen 1993a.

⁴²⁶ The principle reference for this chronology is Damgaard Andersen 1993a: 84-6, and, for Acquarossa, Wikander 1988a: 119ff., esp. 122-3. Andersen's conclusions are echoed by Winter 2009: 567, 569, among others.

⁴²⁷ On the re-use of architectural terracottas as votives in Latial contexts, see Bouma 1996, i: 242-7. On architectural terracottas in necropoleis as possible secondary deposits, see Winter 1978a: 54, n.95. On the architectural terracottas decorating the roof of the workshop at Murlo, see Winter 2009: 52-4 with Ill. Roof 2-2.

situations that meet these criteria is seldom recognised. The majority of architectural terracottas lack sufficiently detailed excavation histories to link them with specific buildings or finds. Some must also be excluded as their function is more ambiguous than their context. For example, tiled roofs found in necropoleis at Il Monte near Chiusi, Ara del Tufo near Tuscania, Il Sodo below Cortona, and near the Cuccumelletta tumulus at Vulci, are thought to have decorated buildings sometimes described as funerary *naiskoi*.⁴²⁸ With scant or no evidence for the buildings involved, and even less evidence of activities performed within them, it is not clear whether these buildings were used for the display of bodies (and associated rituals), the housing of cemetery personnel (denoting a residential function), or the provision of paraphernalia such as flowers, libations, or incense (which may have had a commercial element). It is thus difficult to state that these buildings had an exclusive funerary function although they were found in a funerary context. My research suggests that fewer than twenty-five central Italic buildings outside the settlement of Acquarossa can be associated with specific roofs and finds indicative of function prior to c.510 B.C. All are listed in Table 7.

The problem of Acquarossa

At this point some readers may question the omission of the evidence from Acquarossa and furthermore argue that developments at this Etruscan settlement clearly illustrate multiple aspects of the synchronic and diachronic relationships between architectural decoration and building type. Acquarossa has indeed had a pivotal role in many such discussions and cannot be ignored. The site was arranged

⁴²⁸ For example, Winter 2009: 570. cf. Damgaard Andersen 1993a: 81-4 treating terracottas found in funerary contexts as evidence for 'mortuary chapels.' On finds of human head antefixes in necropoleis, see Winter 1978a: 51-5 with n.95. On the remains of a building between the tumulus and fossa graves at the Cuccumelletta site in Vulci, see Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 142 with references.

over a plateau measuring approximately 32 hectares and is estimated to have had at least 4,000 inhabitants (Fig. IV.2).⁴²⁹ Excavations in sixteen zones have identified approximately 75 buildings dating from the middle of the eighth century to the late sixth century B.C.⁴³⁰ and established that those buildings exhibit three different phases of architectural decoration.⁴³¹ Phases One and Two, beginning in c.640 B.C., were marked by the widespread use of painted terracottas and two types of revetment plaques that appear on small buildings with finds, for example cooking stands, that appear to indicate their domestic nature.⁴³² In Phase Three, dated to the middle of the sixth century, architectural decorations disappeared from domestic residences and a new decorative system characterised by moulded forms was confined to Buildings A and C of the courtyard complex in Zone F (Fig.III.17). This process, in which architectural decoration initially appeared on a wide range on buildings but was later restricted to a large and prominent complex, is commonly interpreted as evidence that architectural decoration originally decorated private houses but became the preserve of public, usually sacred or civic, structures. One site is thus thought to illustrate a broader trend now recognised across central Italy.

I would argue that there are two, often overlooked, problems with using developments at Acquarossa to illustrate a growing specialisation in the use of architectural decoration. The first is the customary presentation of Buildings A and C as religious or

⁴²⁹ Persson 1994.

⁴³⁰ The official number of buildings at Acquarossa remains problematic, as noted in personal communications from Örjan Wikander. In 1994, 41 buildings had been identified in excavated zones, while an additional 32 were indicated by trial trenches: Persson 1994. Buildings A-D in Zone F are counted as four separate buildings in this quantification. Wikander 1993: 87-99 notes the discovery of a further 10 roofs without house-walls, which may or not may not indicate an additional 10 buildings.

⁴³¹ Wikander 1988a: 121-6.

⁴³² For the possibility that cooking stands may in fact indicate ritual dining, see Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995 discussing the evidence from Satricum; although I believe that this is unlikely to have been the case at Acquarossa.

civic structures.⁴³³ As discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, the presence of features such as a columned portico, a tripartite layout in one area, and a room with a raised surround resembling a bench are not necessarily indicative of a cult building. No finds of a clear religious or public nature have been made in Building A or C, nor is there any literary evidence from a contemporary or later date to counter suggestions that the complex served a domestic or multi-functional purpose. A strict reading of the evidence cannot recognise more than the restriction of a new type of decoration to a large, expensive courtyard building of indeterminate function.

The second problem is closely related to the first and concerns the interpretation of Buildings A and C as ‘public’ structures.⁴³⁴ The adjectives ‘public’ and ‘private’ are frequently invoked to describe the types of buildings on which architectural terracottas appear and disappear. ‘Public’ is often regarded as a synonym for sacred and civic, while ‘private’ becomes an epithet for domestic residences. Comparable distinctions between functional categories such as domestic and religious may be anachronistic, but later evidence for the existence of relatively distinct religious, domestic, commercial and funerary spaces, corroborated by literary records and property law, at least establishes that such categories came to exist and raises the question of how, why, and when such distinctions arose.⁴³⁵ The further characterisation of these spaces as either public or private, however, is more problematic. Apart from the longstanding issue of whether public and private were antithetical categories or opposite ends of a wide spectrum in various ancient societies, the recognition of public and private building types in Archaic Etruria and Latium implies the existence of communities

⁴³³ Cristofani 1978: 66-7, 133-4; Torelli 1981b: 83-7; Torelli 1982a: 225-6.

⁴³⁴ Descriptions of Buildings A and C at Acquarossa as ‘public’ include Wikander 1988a: 123, 126 and Winter 2009: 541. cf. Flusche 2001: 171 describing the courtyard complex at Murlo as ‘public.’

⁴³⁵ See, for example, Festus p.348. 22-350. L., particularly 34f, and Rüpke and Gordon 2007: 8-9.

with collective identities and a degree of central authority. Artefact evidence may identify a building used for religious activities but a judgement as to whether the building was used by a family, a clan, a group with shared interests, a socio-economic class, or the wider community is far more difficult.⁴³⁶ The quality and quantity of the artefacts may suggest certain inferences; stronger judgements require the support of other evidence. Arguments that architectural terracottas increasingly become the hallmark of public buildings thus require reference to other scholarship about social structure, identity, and governance that is all too often lacking.

I believe that these problems justify the exclusion of the buildings at Acquarossa from Table 7. This does not mean that developments at Acquarossa cannot shed light on the changing use of architectural terracottas, a point to which I will return shortly, but rather that they are not as helpful in establishing the relationship between architectural decoration and building function as other examples. The following sections will analyse the distribution and nature of these examples to explore how architectural terracottas became one of the defining characteristics of a religious building in Latium and Etruria.

IV.3. THE RESTRICTED USE OF ARCHITECTURAL TERRACOTTAS

In Table 7 the examples of buildings with tiled roofs and finds indicative of building function are arranged by both region and the predominant role of the building. There are 22 buildings with 23 different roofs; 10 are located in Latium and 12 in Etruria. The division of the buildings into Latial and Etruscan examples may at first seem unusual. Indeed, there is archaeological evidence that the workshops responsible for

⁴³⁶ C.f. Damgaard Andersen 1993a: 77 arguing that civic buildings are likely to have existed in Etruria because there are literary references to several magistrates.

terracotta production used similar manufacturing techniques and were organised in comparable ways across western central Italy, and also that by the second half of the sixth century workshops undertook commissions across regional boundaries,⁴³⁷ for example the ‘Etrusco-Ionian’ roof of the Temple of Mater Matuta at Satricum which petrographic analyses suggest was made at Caere and imported, perhaps by sea.⁴³⁸ Such evidence has unfortunately tended to disincline scholars from attempting to make detailed distinctions between developments in Latium and Etruria.

There is evidence, however, of a significant disparity between the Latial and Etruscan evidence. The earliest tiled roofs in central Italy date from c.650-625 B.C. and are found on buildings in Rome and its environs. These roofs are made from local clay, have little or no decorative details, and cover buildings that seem to be unusually large or prestigious, including the structures built on the later site of the Roman Regia. The first tiled roofs with exuberant decorations appear in central Italy shortly after, this time on domestic buildings in Etruria. Comparable decorations can only be recognised in Latium from c.585 B.C. and then only on buildings of a likely sacred or civic nature, despite clear evidence of access to, and use of, Etruscan tiles.⁴³⁹ The significant point is that architectural terracottas in Latium appear to have been restricted to certain buildings from the moment of their introduction, whereas architectural terracottas in Etruria initially appear to have been deemed suitable adornments for any and all buildings in a settlement, including workshops and those situated in cemeteries. This suggests that those commissioning such roofs in Latium saw architectural terracottas as a way to distinguish and differentiate particular buildings within a settlement in a way that was unparalleled in early Etruria.

⁴³⁷ On manufacturing techniques and workshop organisation, see, most recently, Winter 2009: 511-38.

⁴³⁸ Lulof 2000: 211, n.13; Lulof 2005; Lulof 2006: 240, n.19; Winter 2009: 537 (Roof 6-1).

⁴³⁹ Winter 2009: 7-47.

It is also relevant to note that some scholars have suggested that the earliest tiled roofs in Italy, and particularly those in Rome, may have been restricted to buildings with religious or civic functions.⁴⁴⁰ Although there is evidence that structures were built on a number of different hills, known terracotta roofs appear to have been clustered around the Roman Forum, the Forum Boarium, and the Capitoline hill.⁴⁴¹ If the buildings beneath the Regia had a similar function to what followed, and the roof thought to have decorated the Curia Hostilia did indeed do so, and moreover if the house on the Sacra Via did have a function that reflected its proximity to the area thought by some to have been connected to the early kings of Rome, then it may be correct to suggest that architectural terracottas only ever appeared on sacred and civic buildings in Latium. This scenario would mean that the new scholarly model of the relationship between architectural terracottas and building function, in which decorated roofs gradually become the preserve of religious buildings, only really describes developments in Etruria. While this is an intriguing hypothesis, and one not unrelated to arguments advanced elsewhere in this thesis, I believe that the lack of evidence for the function of these early Roman buildings means that it is only possible to argue that architectural terracottas appear to have been restricted to certain buildings in Latium, the precise function of which is often ambiguous.

What is clear is that architectural terracottas are largely confined to certain or probable religious buildings by the end of the sixth century B.C. in both Latium and Etruria. Charts 1 and 2 plot the 22 buildings by date and function. The roofs of the Temple of Apollo at Veii, Temple B at Pyrgi, and the Temple of Mater Matuta at Satricum all demonstrate the ornamental use of ceramic tiles and roof sculptures that typified

⁴⁴⁰ For example, Winter 2009: 554.

⁴⁴¹ Winter 2009: 554.

religious buildings at that time. Such information is of only limited use, however, for assessing the changing appearance and prominence of religious buildings within their architectural surroundings and thus addressing the questions at the heart of this thesis. This section of the chapter has essentially provided a backdrop or context for a more detailed assessment of the changing distribution of architectural terracottas within specific settlements. The value of such micro-analyses will now be explored in case-studies of Satricum and Acquarossa.

Satricum

The acropolis at Satricum offers the chance to trace the changing appearance of a single religious building, securely identified by votive deposits, in relation to nearby structures. At the beginning of the sixth century B.C. this religious building, known as Temple 0, resembled a shrine. It was not distinguished from other structures by the presence of a podium, and it may have been architecturally overshadowed by the nearby courtyard buildings A and C that appear to have occupied similar if not greater spaces (Fig. III. 26). The roof of Temple 0 does not appear to have been tiled and is usually referred to as Roof 1. At this time, however, there are indications that two other buildings on the acropolis had tiled roofs. Courtyard Building A had a plain tiled roof.⁴⁴² Building H, identified as a house by the presence of domestic pottery,⁴⁴³ had a cell-like plan and flat pan tiles, a double-volute acroteria, and perhaps an early skylight.⁴⁴⁴ All three buildings were levelled in c.540 B.C. as part of a larger building programme across the whole acropolis.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴² Winter 2009: 11-12.

⁴⁴³ Winter 2009: 69.

⁴⁴⁴ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991: 86; Winter 2009: 69.

⁴⁴⁵ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, i: 59, 100; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991: 91.

The rebuilt acropolis included a new religious building constructed on the site of its predecessor. This new building, Temple 1, featured a tiled roof known as Roof 2 or the ‘Etrusco-Ionian’ roof (Fig. IV.3). This roof was ornamented with architectural terracottas including a central acroterion, possibly a representation of Herakles and Athena; antefixes resembling female heads wearing diadems, disk earrings, and painted necklaces; a figured frieze with pairs of mounted archers moving to the left and perhaps a chariot procession moving to the right; and a soffit painted with palmettes between inverted half-lotus flowers.⁴⁴⁶ In contrast to this riot of imagery the rebuilt and enlarged courtyard Building A appears to have had a plain tiled roof;⁴⁴⁷ no decorations in this period can be connected with a building other than Temple 1. Subsequent destructions and reconstructions confirm the restriction of terracotta decoration to the religious building.

The key issue in this narrative is the function of the buildings on the acropolis. Although only Temples 0 and 1 appear to have had an immediate connection to nearby votive deposits, some scholars have suggested that other buildings may also have served a predominantly religious purpose, for example as venues for ritual dining.⁴⁴⁸ If the buildings were indeed subsidiary religious structures, then they may be categorised as buildings with a ritual connection that do not visually communicate their religious function through external terracotta decoration. Satricum could thus represent the restriction of architectural terracottas to temples rather than all religious or sanctuary buildings.

⁴⁴⁶ Winter 2009: 559. For the relationship between the roofs and the building phases, see Knoop 1987: 209ff. and Knoop and Lulof 2009.

⁴⁴⁷ Winter 2009: 558-9 and Roof 5-1.

⁴⁴⁸ As possible subsidiary religious buildings: Winter 2009: 559. As venues for ritual dining: Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, ii: 135.

Acquarossa

It has already been noted that the gradual restriction of architectural terracottas at Acquarossa to the large Buildings A and C cannot simply be described as a comparable move to differentiate religious buildings from their surroundings. There is no evidence that ritual activities took place in the courtyard complex, and a lack of finds means that the function of the buildings remains ambiguous. Regardless of this uncertainty, however, it is clear that the way in which architectural terracottas went from decorations found on a considerable number of buildings in the settlement to ornaments found on just one complex does echo developments at Satricum. Just as the Temple of Mater Matuta became the exclusive location for architectural terracottas at Satricum, the courtyard complex at Acquarossa was differentiated from neighbouring structures by an unusually decorative superstructure.⁴⁴⁹ This does not mean that the Temple and the courtyard complex served a similar function. Rather, it suggests that the few settlements in which the roofs of a number of buildings can be traced over time point to the increasing use of roof ornamentation to highlight one particular structure or area.

It is tempting to extend these findings into a proposition that architectural terracottas become a means of conferring prominence on particular spaces that happen to have a religious function in Latium but a more ambiguous character in Etruria. There is a clear desire to distinguish certain areas from the rest of their settlements. I would thus suggest that a topographic dimension may be a valuable addition to the current scholarly model of the relationship between building function and architectural décor.

⁴⁴⁹ Winter 2009: Roof 4-5.

IV.4. THE RESTRICTED USE OF PARTICULAR MOTIFS

The evidence indicates that architectural terracottas had largely become the preserve of religious buildings by the end of the sixth century B.C. They frequently adorned temples but seldom houses, and seem to have appeared on buildings in central areas of their communities. This naturally leads to the question of what was depicted on or in this terracotta medium. When architectural terracottas became a defining characteristic of relatively religious buildings, did they retain motifs that had formerly appeared on a range of buildings or did they always use different motifs from non-religious buildings?

Current scholarship offers two contradictory answers to this question. One school of thought, principally illustrated by the work of Vedia Izzet, holds that Etruscan religious buildings were always distinguished from other structures by particular imagery. It advocates a semantic interpretation of architectural decoration and argues that terracottas were deliberately designed to communicate particular messages. Their placement is thought to have been prompted by a desire to delineate a religious sphere and emphasise its distinction from others at potential points of seepage or confusion,⁴⁵⁰ while their role as boundary markers is reflected in the imagery they adopt: gorgons, satyrs and maenads were popular because of their liminal status, and particular myths were selected due to the way they highlighted issues of negotiation and mediation.⁴⁵¹ It has also been argued that antefixes may have taken the form of heads because such designs stimulated engagement with viewers and generated a subconscious

⁴⁵⁰ Izzet 2007: 132-9; and, with regards to similar decoration on Greek temples, in Benndorf 1873: 64 and Marconi 2007: 215ff.

⁴⁵¹ Izzet 2007: 134.

confrontation that further encouraged the perception of religious space as separate and worthy of respect.⁴⁵²

A contrasting interpretation of temple decoration, exemplified by Nancy Winter, notes similarities between the motifs painted and sculpted on temples and the decoration of other artefacts found in contemporary domestic, funerary, commercial contexts. Table 8 summarises the decorative motifs traced by Winter across all central Italic architectural terracottas. Characterised by geometric and floral designs, animals, and various forms of procession, the resemblance to Greek decorative canons is clear, and has been explained by the circulation of goods and craftsmen around the Archaic Mediterranean.⁴⁵³ Comparison with decorations on ceramics, metalwork, jewellery, ivories, and stone also reveals that the motifs are not regulated by medium.⁴⁵⁴ A close association with vase-painting is particularly discernible in suggestions that human head antefixes, for example, were inspired by the handles of similarly decorated Corinthian vases,⁴⁵⁵ or that temple pediments had black backgrounds in imitation of Attic red-figured pottery.⁴⁵⁶ The productive relationship between pots and architectural terracottas may also have encouraged cross-fertilisation if reconstructions of workshops as one-stop shops making anything from small pots to complete tiled roofs are accurate.⁴⁵⁷ Some scholars have extended this answer into an argument that terracotta decoration may have been a meaningless fashion statement with designs for

⁴⁵² Izzet 2007: 135.

⁴⁵³ Winter 2009: 574-5, 577-81. Cf. also Rathje 1995: 173-4 and Rathje 2004-2007: 179 comparing the banquet represented on the frieze plaques at Murlo with depictions of a royal banquet in Neo-Assyrian palaces, particularly at Nimrud; or von Mehren 1997: 227 arguing for a pan-Mediterranean iconography. On the circulation of Archaic craftsmen, see Smith 1998.

⁴⁵⁴ Winter 1977: 23-4, noting similar effects on the antefixes from Poggio Civitate and bronze masks from Chiusi; Smith 1998: 46.

⁴⁵⁵ Winter 1978a: 29-30.

⁴⁵⁶ Winter 2009: 575.

⁴⁵⁷ Winter 2009: 535-8, with bibliography. Finds indicate that the workshop at Murlo (Building OC2), dated to the Orientalising Period, sheltered a variety of crafts including textile work, bronze casting, and tile manufacture, with each assigned its own distinct area.

antefixes, volutes, or animals following artistic trends.⁴⁵⁸ Herakles and Athena acroteria, for example, may simply have been fashionable in selected decades.⁴⁵⁹ This perspective allows that roof decoration may have no communicative or religious function at all.

Table 9 summarises the subjects depicted on the architectural terracottas of buildings of a known or potential religious function in Latium and Etruria dated prior to approximately 510 B.C.⁴⁶⁰ As set out in the Methodology chapter at the start of this thesis, the criteria for interpreting a structure as a religious building is either the presence of a podium or close proximity to a contemporary votive deposit, with the additional requirements here that a sufficient selection of tiles must exist to indicate a complete roof, rather than potential votive re-use, as well as associated architectural remains with finds or other evidence of function. Twenty-three roofs meet these criteria and exhibit a number of shared motifs. Volutes, sphinxes, Gorgoneions, female head antefixes, processions, felines, horses, and lotus flowers are not restricted to one region and can generally be regarded as common motifs for central Italic religious superstructures. By way of comparison, Tables 10, 11, and 12 survey designs on the roofs of likely houses, workshops, and buildings within cemeteries, where the last are of uncertain function but provide useful comparanda. Female heads, volutes, and processions are again common, as are felines and floral designs. Just as Winter has argued,⁴⁶¹ it does not seem possible to identify different sets of images as distinctive religious, domestic, commercial, or funerary decorations.

⁴⁵⁸ As suggested by Lulof 1997: 107, n.10.

⁴⁵⁹ A possibility noted by Lulof 2000: 212 and Winter 2005b: 247.

⁴⁶⁰ Based on the information collected in Winter 2009.

⁴⁶¹ As in Winter 1978b: 53.

It should be acknowledged, however, that images of female heads, felines, and processions were parts of complete roofs which covered spaces and actions, and it is possible that this setting conferred a meaning on particular motifs that differed from their meaning in other contexts. For example, a female head may have had a different significance on the end of a roof beam from when it appeared on a vase covering the join between body and handle. Architecture may also have also affected appearance and thereby meaning. Roof dimensions led to the repeated use of images from the same mould, for example at Acquarossa, where the monumental area was decorated with a minimum of forty-three identical copies of the revetment plaque known as Type A (showing a procession to the right), ten copies of Type B (with a procession to the left), eighteen copies of Type C (a banquet scene), and sixteen copies of Type D (a dancing or revel scene) (Fig. IV.4).⁴⁶² Duplication means it is likely that the scenes would have appeared to viewers as long friezes which potentially affected how they were understood by those familiar with them in other situations.⁴⁶³ Acknowledging that context may have conferred meaning hence advocates combining the study of motifs with architectural plans, chronologies, and cultural phenomena to gain a fuller understanding of their use.

The Temple of Mater Matuta in Rome is a useful case-study for such an approach. As the first known podium temple in central Italy it offers the opportunity to compare the use of a distinctively religious substructure with an associated roof. Significantly, it also allows the composition of this roof to be assessed in relation to the roofs of other nearby buildings, and thus to test whether it is possible to discern an additional

⁴⁶² Strandberg Olofsson 1984: 78.

⁴⁶³ Strandberg Olofsson 2006: 125. But it is also important to note that the display of these plaques in the Museo Nazionale Etrusco at Viterbo demonstrates that figures from the same moulds were painted with different designs, creating the impression that the figures were not all the same and represented different individuals.

difference between sacred and civic decoration in a region where architectural terracottas were confined to particular buildings from the moment of their introduction.

The Temple of Mater Matuta in Rome

The so-called Temple of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium at Rome was constructed in c.580 B.C. While its use of a podium substructure was unprecedented, the choice of a tiled roof was not. The linear building on the Sacra Via first had a tiled roof almost 70 years earlier,⁴⁶⁴ and structures on the site of the later Regia had had tiled roofs for approximately forty years. In c.580 B.C. the decorations on the roof of the south building at the Regia site would have been familiar to viewers, and included disc acroteria, antefixes with Gorgons' heads, and revetment plaques showing birds, felines, and a bull-headed man (Fig. IV.5).⁴⁶⁵ A contemporary roof found near the Lapis Niger, possibly from the Curia Hostilia, also appears to have enlivened the skyline with Gorgon antefixes and a painted frieze of armed riders and felines.⁴⁶⁶ The roof of the Temple of Mater Matuta multiplied the number of these images in Rome with further processions of felines, a Gorgon, and a possible bull acroterion (Fig. IV.6).⁴⁶⁷ Yet their arrangement on the Temple was at this time unique. The crowning mouldings of the revetment plaques were new and, more strikingly, the felines and Gorgon were displayed on the first closed pediment in central Italy.⁴⁶⁸ The design of the Temple roof thus appears to have been formulated within a common visual language but expressed with a slightly unusual, perhaps Greek, accent.

⁴⁶⁴ Winter 2009: Roof 1-1.

⁴⁶⁵ Winter 2009: Roof 3-2. On interpretations of the bull-headed man or 'minotaur,' see Cristofani 1987a: 97; Torelli 1997: 113; Winter 2005a: 354.

⁴⁶⁶ Winter 2009: Roof 3-1.

⁴⁶⁷ Winter 2009: Roof 3-6, 556.

⁴⁶⁸ Mura Somella 2000; Winter 2009: 191-2.

The possibility that the linear building on the Sacra Via, the structure on the site of the later Regia, the building near the Lapis Niger, and the Temple of Mater Matuta all had comparable religious and/or civic functions was discussed earlier in this chapter. It may also be significant that all but the residence on the Sacra Via date to the period described by literary tradition as the reign of Tarquinius Priscus (616-579 B.C.).⁴⁶⁹ Indeed, some scholars have argued that the similar decorations on the Temple of Mater Matuta and the ostensible Regia and Curia Hostilia can be attributed to shared royal or aristocratic patronage. The pediment of the Temple of Mater Matuta has received particular attention as a possible royal commission. Its resemblance to the pediments of the Temple of Artemis in Corfu and the Athenaion in Syracuse has prompted scholars to consider connections between the three settlements.⁴⁷⁰ Literary records suggest that all three hosted members of the House of Bacchis exiled from Corinth in the mid-seventh century B.C., and have led modern scholars to propose that the temples were thank-offerings commissioned by local Bacchiads to celebrate the fall of their political enemies in Corinth in c.583 B.C.⁴⁷¹ The well-spring for their comparable motifs may have been the Corinthian Temple of Apollo, known to all before their exile.⁴⁷² The Bacchiad who lived in Rome was, accordingly to Livy, Tarquinius Priscus (Livy. 1.34). It is thus possible that he commissioned more than one monument with decorations reminiscent of his homeland. Further examples of connections to Corinth may be the use of Gorgon motifs, as Medusa was the mother of Pegasus, the symbol

⁴⁶⁹ Martinez-Pinna 1990-1991: 132-5; Winter 2009: 579. On the possibility that such a figure, let alone one that ruled between these specific dates, may have never existed, see the general discussion by Cornell 1995: 119ff. on Rome's early kings. Literary accounts of Tarquinius Priscus' life include Livy 1.34-9 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.46-72.

⁴⁷⁰ For example, Mertens-Horn 1995; Winter 2002-2003; Winter 2005a.

⁴⁷¹ Mertens-Horn 1995; Winter 2002-2003; Winter 2005a.

⁴⁷² Winter 2005a: 354. Note that feline head water spouts may also reflect Bacchiad workshops referencing elements of the *perirrhanterion* located in front of the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, another Bacchiad construction project: Winter 2002-2003: 229.

on the Bacchiad coat of arms,⁴⁷³ and processions of felines commonly appeared on Corinthian and Etrusco-Corinthian pottery.⁴⁷⁴

If this scenario is correct, then the guiding principle for the ceramic decorations on the roof of the Temple of Mater Matuta was the expression of commonalities rather than difference. Connections to Corinth and other Bacchiad construction projects, principally temples, were emphasised, as were connections with familial and political fortunes. In Rome the patronage of a number of important buildings would have been evident. This suggests that there was not a strong desire to differentiate the Temple in Rome from other structures by the use of distinctive motifs, but rather that it was distinguished from the Curia and Regia buildings by the use of a podium and a closed pediment. A religious identity thus appears to have been manufactured or conferred by architecture rather than architectural decoration.

This review of the evidence for the use of particular imagery indicates that there was no simple or lasting correlation between certain designs or motifs and building function. In any period or settlement it is unlikely that viewers could have identified a religious building by its possession of a specific roof element, such as revetment plaques decorated with chariot processions, and there is no evidence that patrons and artisans used different pattern books or sets of moulds for religious, residential, commercial, and funerary structures. When architectural terracottas came to function as religious markers at the end of the sixth century B.C. this accordingly represents the restricted use of a generic set of designs rather than the restricted use of special motifs.

⁴⁷³ Mertens-Horn 1995: 270.

⁴⁷⁴ Cristofani 1987a: 97; Cristofani 1990a: 53; Downey 1995: 20; Winter 2005a: 354.

IV.5. RATIONALES FOR RESTRICTED USE

It is now timely to consider why architectural terracottas were gradually restricted to the roofs of religious buildings over the course of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Scholars have obliquely offered a variety of explanations for this development that range from ritual and political imperatives to the increasing imitation of other cultures. This is fundamentally a debate about the significance of architectural terracottas, although it is seldom expressed as such; about the significance of such decoration for patrons, viewers, and communities, locally and across the Mediterranean.⁴⁷⁵ The different possibilities can be summarised as follows.

Religious imperatives

The restriction of architectural terracottas to particular buildings during the course of the sixth century, with an eventual concentration on religious structures, may represent an increasing conception of terracotta ornaments as religious symbols appropriate for religious buildings. The widespread use of architectural terracottas in Etruria prior to the mid-sixth century may even reflect a perception of these buildings as somewhat religious or worthy of religious imagery prior to the emergence of a distinctive form of religious architecture.⁴⁷⁶ This explanation is particularly favoured by scholars who hold that temples appear in the archaeological record in the sixth century B.C. due to the disintegration of earlier elite power structures that integrated social, political, and religious leadership,⁴⁷⁷ and thus that terracotta was a suitable decoration for multi-

⁴⁷⁵ On cross-cultural comparanda see Castriota 1992: 209ff. (processions on revetment plaques); Stibbe 1992-1993 (similarities between the sanctuaries at Satricum and Sparta); Marinatos 2000: 48ff. (gorgons); and Marconi 2007: 214ff. (gorgons).

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. Winter 1978b: 57 arguing that antefixes resembling human heads may have originally represented 'the protectress of family life,' but lost this significance by the late Archaic period.

⁴⁷⁷ For example, Coarelli 1983: 56ff.; Torelli 1983: 32; Colonna 1985a: 53; Damgaard Andersen 1993a: 85-6; Smith 1996b: 19, 86-7; Torelli 2000b: 567; Camporeale 2004: 132. cf. Izzet 2007: 128 on how 'the new model incorporates a stronger sense of communal activity in ritual practice.'

functional residences that hosted rituals alongside other activities before their observance was relocated to dedicated temples.

This argument is undermined, however, by archaeological evidence from Etruria. When tiled roofs begin to be produced in Etruria in the second half of the seventh century, they do not seem to have been automatically applied, much less exclusively applied, to structures that already served a religious function. Table 5 of this thesis lists likely example of seventh-century religious architecture as indicated by evidence for the performance of religious activities. The Orientalising and Archaic phases of the cult building on the Pian di Civita plateau at Tarquinia are accompanied by plain tiles and the isolated find of an antefix dated to c.585 B.C.⁴⁷⁸ This suggests that the building lacked lavish ceramic decorations for a long period in which they were in use elsewhere. Similarly, the seventh-century cult building at Roselle known as the *Casa del recinto* was apparently undecorated, and the only terracottas found at San Giovenale, where two cult buildings have been identified, are limited to elements of a few plain roofs and one decorated revetment plaque that cannot be attributed to any building.⁴⁷⁹ Although this evidence is sparse it suggests that cult buildings were not a decorative priority in Etruria despite the availability and use of architectural terracottas in the region. Any long-standing Etruscan perception of architectural terracottas as religious decorations is thus difficult to substantiate.

Political imperatives

An alternative explanation for the restricted use of architectural terracottas focuses on the interests of building patrons. Some scholars have argued that many of the motifs

⁴⁷⁸ Winter 2009: 3.C.1b, 560.

⁴⁷⁹ Winter 2009: 558.

found on architectural terracottas can be read as an ‘iconology of power.’⁴⁸⁰ Depictions of banquets are thought to reference aristocratic dining;⁴⁸¹ felines possibly evoked Assyrian royal portraiture; Herakles may have been connected with the self-representation of tyrants and political leaders;⁴⁸² and chariot processions could have signalled the ownership of prestigious equipment that was eventually integrated into the glorious Roman triumph.⁴⁸³ In short, the artisans who designed architectural terracottas drew on a combination of indigenous and oriental arts to create images that symbolised religious, civic, judicial, and military power.⁴⁸⁴ Architectural decorations thus broadcasted the source and extent of the occupants’ authority.

The gradual concentration of these motifs on cult buildings would consequently suggest the increasing, relative authority of those connected with religious architecture. To my knowledge this theory has not been explicitly expressed but it is an implicit corollary. Whether this represents the transfer of authority to the gods, temple patrons, or religious personnel remains unclear.

‘Hellenisation’

It has also been suggested that architectural terracottas were gradually restricted to religious buildings after c.530 B.C. following exposure to the Greek concept of temples as distinctive, privileged structures.⁴⁸⁵ It is probable that the earliest terracotta tiles in the Mediterranean were manufactured as decorations for a temple at Corinth;⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸⁰ Lulof 1997: 103. cf. Torelli 1997: 87-121.

⁴⁸¹ Rathje 2004-2007: 178-9.

⁴⁸² Bruun 1993; Strandberg Olofsson 2006: 124. Cf. the theory that the Perseus myth may also be linked to aristocratic power via references to initiation: Jameson 1990: 215-6; Lulof 1997: 103 with n.66.

⁴⁸³ Torelli 1997: 99-110.

⁴⁸⁴ Bruun 1993; Pairault Massa 1992: 36-59; Menichetti 1994; Torelli 1997: 87-121; Rathje 2004-2007: 177, 180; Roth-Murray 2005.

⁴⁸⁵ Damgaard Andersen 1993a: 86.

⁴⁸⁶ Discussed by Sapirstein 2009.

it is possible that many technical aspects of production spread from Greece; and the continuity between designs on Greek ceramics and central Italic terracottas does point to a pervasive Greek influence. Architectural terracottas in Greece were moreover restricted to temples. It is therefore unsurprising that some have interpreted the increasing restriction of architectural decorations to central Italic temples as a form of Hellenisation. Yet the relative influence of Greek and earlier indigenous, perhaps Villanovan, traditions on Archaic art and architecture in central Italy is the subject of ongoing debate.⁴⁸⁷ While some scholars argue strongly for Greek influence, others have suggested that the Etruscan tiled roof was an entirely independent development,⁴⁸⁸ and it has even been suggested that Etruscan innovation may have stimulated the adoption of tiled roofs in Greece.⁴⁸⁹ Additional influence on the distribution or location of these elements is just as contestable.

I would like to suggest an alternative possibility that emerges from the consideration of comparable developments in central Italic religious architecture. Chapter Three of this thesis demonstrated that temples emerged as a distinctive architectural form during the course of the sixth century B.C. in Latium and then in Etruria. This indicates that a conception of temples as distinctive buildings was developing alongside, or perhaps prior to, the idea that they should have unique roof decorations. The restriction of architectural terracottas to religious buildings can thus be seen as a parallel development to, or reinforcement of, the idea that temples should look different from other types of building. The transition from the widespread use of tiled

⁴⁸⁷ The main points of the debate are summarised by Wikander 2001, and well illustrated by the comment in Leighton 2005: 375, on Greek Geometric vases as possible inspirations for the birds painted in the Tomb of the Ducks at Veii: 'One might suggest that the local interest in Greek geometric representations of birds was due to the long-standing importance of birds in the indigenous context.'

⁴⁸⁸ Ridgway and Ridgway 1994.

⁴⁸⁹ Williams 1980.

roofs in Etruria to a confinement to particular areas may thus also represent the imitation not of Greek, but of Latial, customs. The use of architectural terracottas in Latium appears never to have been as extensive as it was in Etruria, and it is in Latium that temples were first architecturally distinguished from surrounding structures. Different perspectives on the development of a distinctive external appearance for religious buildings in Latium and later in Etruria will be considered at length in the following chapters.

IV.6. CONCLUSIONS

This review of the changing relationship between terracotta decoration and cult buildings in central Italy has demonstrated an increasing perception of elaborate roofs as decorations particularly suited to religious architecture. It has also identified regional differences in the gradual restriction of architectural terracottas to the roofs of religious buildings. Ceramic architectural decoration in Latium appears to have been restricted to certain buildings from the moment that the technology was introduced, in contrast to Etruria where it was initially widespread and only later confined to cult buildings. This suggests that the deployment of such decorations in Etruria may have followed a precedent established in Latium.

This chapter has also clarified that religious buildings were not always decorated with designs or motifs that did not appear elsewhere. Instead, imagery that had appeared on the roofs of houses, workshops, shrines, and in cemeteries simply became confined to the roofs of temples. It thus seems that the patrons, designers, and artisans responsible for decorating the tiled roofs of buildings in western central Italy did not always possess a conception of religious buildings as a special type of structure, worthy of

distinctive decoration, but that the idea of a dedicated religious aesthetic originated and matured during the course of the Archaic period.

These findings are significant for the larger subject of this thesis as they confirm an evident transformation in the form and conception of religious architecture in the sixth century B.C. Just as podia were differentiating cult buildings within settlements through the use of distinctive architecture, as discussed in the previous chapter, the increasing restriction of terracotta roof decorations to the same buildings reinforced this distinction through art. Art and architecture were thus both employed to give religious buildings a truly monumental appearance in ways that became characteristic of Etrusco-Italic temples in subsequent centuries.

It is also possible to recognise a broad pattern with regard to the location of these changes. The previous chapter demonstrated that the earliest podia in western central Italy have been found in Latium, the very earliest in Rome. Rome and Latium also appear to have been forerunners in the use of architectural decoration to differentiate specific, and possibly religious, buildings from other structures. References to the Etruscan origin of the Etrusco-Italic temples can hence no longer be understood to describe the geographical region in which such temples first appeared.

The first part of this thesis has consequently established the nature and regional location of a metamorphosis in religious architecture during the sixth century B.C. The second part will examine possible explanations for this change by analysing the type of sites at which it occurred, evidence for the religious function of these buildings, and the role of monumental religious architecture in Archaic Italian and Mediterranean communities. Chapters on these subjects will continue to test traditional architectural

histories against new evidence and will also assess the value of religious buildings for reconstructing social and economic histories. This thesis will accordingly now turn from analysing the form of these buildings to considering their fundamental purpose.

Table 7: Buildings in Latium and Etruria with architectural terracottas and finds indicative of building function, prior to c.510 B.C. (excluding Acquarossa)			
Religious Building	Possible Religious Building	Possible Residence	Workshop
Latium			
Rome, S. Omobono sanctuary, Temple of Mater Matuta I, c.580 B.C. ⁴⁹⁰	Rome, Forum Romanum, the Regia 1, c.620 B.C. ⁴⁹¹	Ficana, Building in Zone 5A, c.610 B.C. ⁴⁹²	
Rome, S. Omobono sanctuary, Temple of Mater Matuta II, c.530 B.C. ⁴⁹³	Rome, Forum Romanum, the Regia 3, south building, c.585 B.C. ⁴⁹⁴	Satricum, Acropolis, Building H, c.580 B.C. ⁴⁹⁵	
Satricum, acropolis, Temple of Mater Matuta, Building 0. The 'Etrusco-Ionian' roof, c.540-530 B.C. ⁴⁹⁶	Rome, Forum Romanum, the Regia 4, south building, c.530 B.C. ⁴⁹⁷		
Satricum, acropolis, Temple of Mater Matuta, Building 1. The 'Campanian' roof, c.530-510 B.C. ⁴⁹⁸			
Satricum, acropolis, Temple of Mater Matuta, Building 2. The 'Late Archaic' roof, c.510 B.C. ⁴⁹⁹			
Etruria			
Punta della Vipera, 'Temple of Menerva' c.530 B.C. ⁵⁰⁰	Tarquinia, Ara della Regina: Temple I, c.555 B.C. ⁵⁰¹	Poggio Civitate (Murlo), OC1, c.630-620 B.C. ⁵⁰²	Murlo, OC2, c.630 B.C. ⁵⁰³
Pyrgi, Temple B c.510-500 B.C.	Tarquinia, Ara della Regina: Temple II c.530 ⁵⁰⁴	Veii, Piazza d'Armi c.580 ⁵⁰⁵	

⁴⁹⁰ Winter 2009: Roof 3-6.

⁴⁹¹ Winter 2009: Roof 1-2. On all roofs from the Regia, see Downey 1993; Downey 1995.

⁴⁹² Winter 2009: Roof 1-4

⁴⁹³ Mura Somella 1993; Mertens-Horn 1997; Winter 2009: Roof 5-4.

⁴⁹⁴ Winter 2009: Roof 3-2.

⁴⁹⁵ Winter 2009: Roof 2-26.

⁴⁹⁶ Lulof 1997: 87-90; Winter 2009: Roof 6-1. On all roofs from the Temple of Mater Matuta at Satricum, see also Knoop 1987; Knoop 1997.

⁴⁹⁷ Winter 2009: Roof 5-5.

⁴⁹⁸ Knoop 1987: 71-167, 186-216; Lulof 1997: 91-4.

⁴⁹⁹ Lulof 1997: 94-101.

⁵⁰⁰ Winter 2009: Roof 6-3.

⁵⁰¹ Winter 2009: Roof 4-7.

⁵⁰² Winter 2009: Roof 2-3.

⁵⁰³ Winter 2009: Roof 2-2.

⁵⁰⁴ Winter 2009: Roof 5-11.

⁵⁰⁵ Winter 2009: Roof 4-1.

Veii, Portonaccio, Temple of Apollo, c.510-500 B.C.	Montetosto courtyard complex, c.520 B.C. ⁵⁰⁶	Poggio Civitate (Murlo), Upper Building c.575 B.C. ⁵⁰⁷	
Veii, Portonaccio, 'sacellum' of Athena/Menevra. Roof 1: c.535 B.C. ⁵⁰⁸ Roof 2: c.505 B.C. ⁵⁰⁹		Roselle, Casa dell'Impluvium, c.550-480 B.C. ⁵¹⁰	

Table 8: Winter's evolution of decorative motifs in architectural terracottas⁵¹¹

Date	Type and influence	Motifs
640/620-600 B.C.	Painted decoration, indigenous designs.	Birds, horses, geometric designs.
630 B.C.	Mould-made decoration, imported Corinthian? designs.	Feline heads (waterspouts), female heads (antefixes), possibly <i>potnia theron</i> .
600-580 B.C.	Painted decoration, imported Western Greek designs.	Guilloche, scale patterns, anthemias.
590/580-540 B.C.	Mould-made decoration, imported Corinthian and Attic designs.	Rows of animals (e.g. felines, stags, griffins, dogs chasing hares), galloping horse riders, banquets, chariot processions, departing warriors, armed riders.
550-540 B.C.	Mould-made decoration, imported East Greek designs.	Floral designs (e.g. palmettes, anthemias, star-flowers).
540-510 B.C.	Painted decoration, imported East Greek designs.	Meanders with boxes filled with birds or star-flowers; animal scenes or centaurs, departing warriors, chariot processions, floral designs.
530-510 B.C.	Mould-made decoration, imported East Greek designs.	Chariot races, meanders with birds and star-flowers.

⁵⁰⁶ Winter 2009: Roof 6-8.

⁵⁰⁷ Winter 2009: Roof 3-8.

⁵⁰⁸ Winter 2009: Roof 7-1.

⁵⁰⁹ Winter 2009: Roof 7-2.

⁵¹⁰ Donati 1994; On the finds, see Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 100 with bibliography. Winter 2009: Roof 1-22.

⁵¹¹ Based on Winter 2009: 573-5.

Chart 1: Buildings in Latium with architectural terracottas and finds indicative of building function, prior to c.510 B.C.

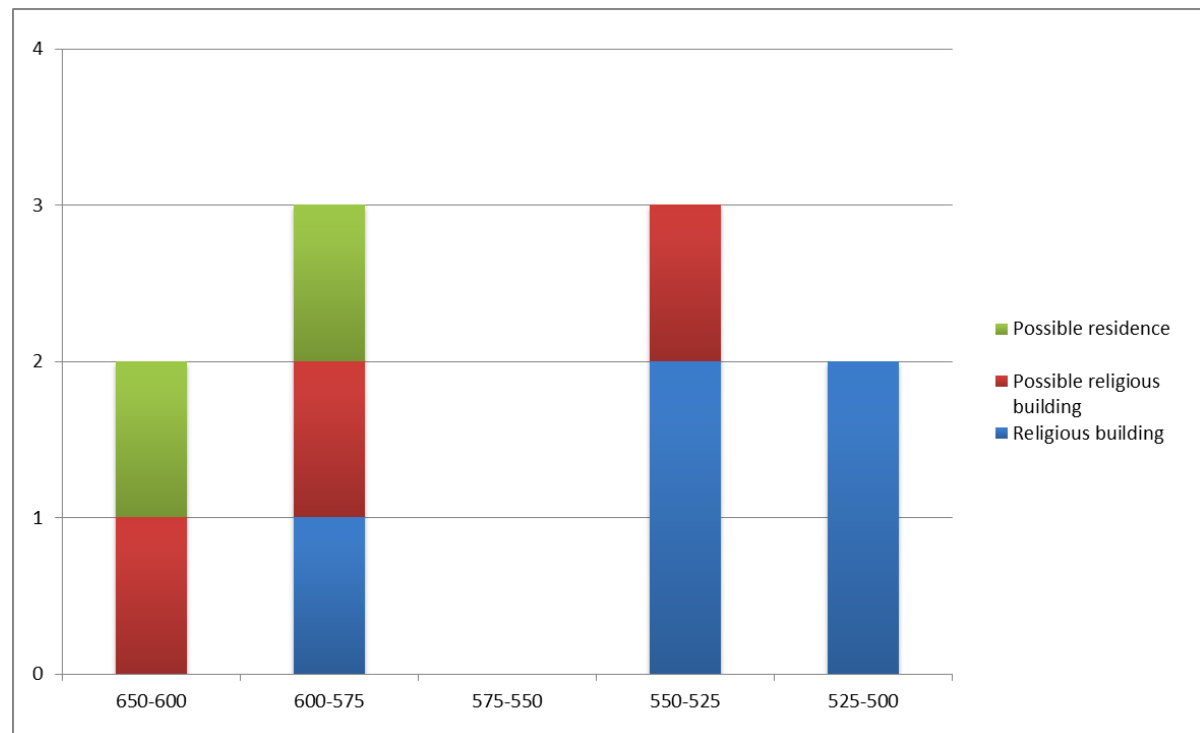


Chart 2: Buildings in Etruria with architectural terracottas and finds indicative of building function, prior to c.510 B.C. (excluding Acquarossa)

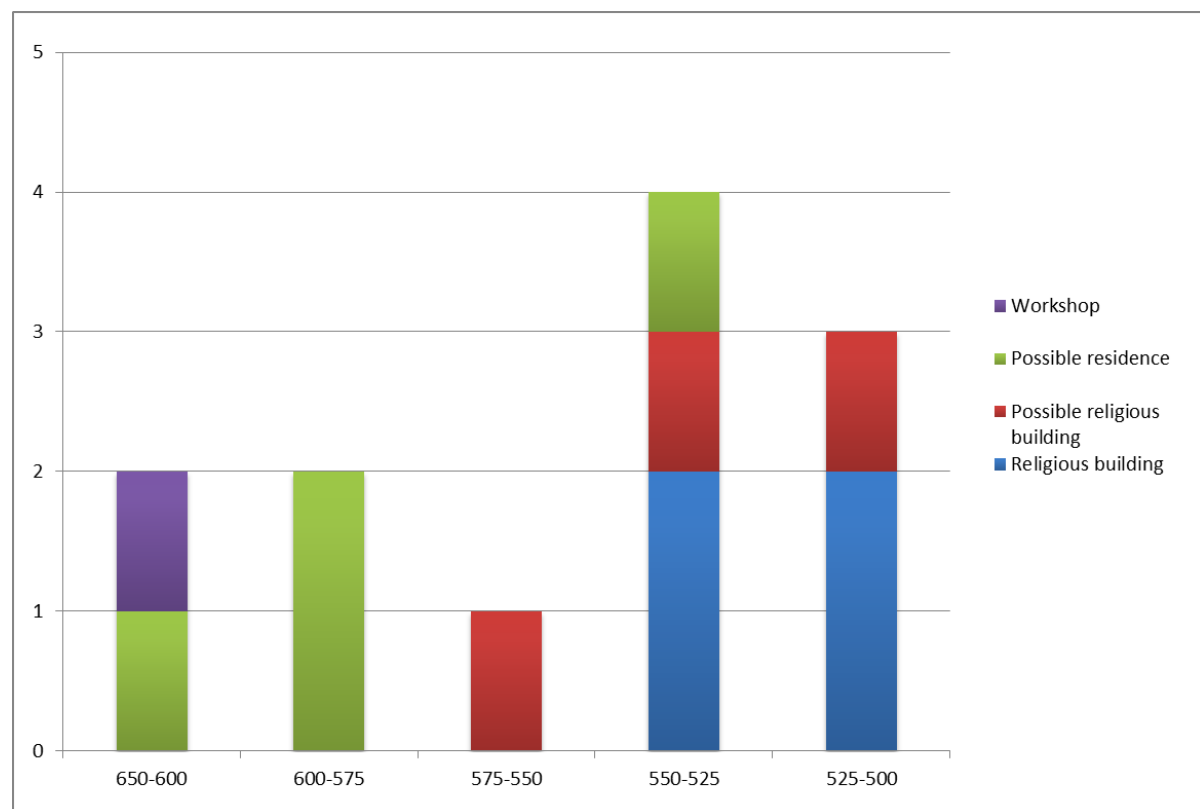


Table 9: Motifs on buildings with a known or possible religious function, prior to c.510 B.C. ⁵¹²

NB: Italics indicate less certainty

Site	Acroteria	Central acroteria	Antefixes	Revetment plaques	Raking simas	Lateral simas	Antepagamenta
Latium							
Rome, S. Omobono sanctuary, Temple of Mater Matuta I, c.580 B.C.	<i>Bull, cord with lotus finial</i>			Felines; scales, tongues			Felines, gorgon
Rome, S. Omobono sanctuary, Temple of Mater Matuta II, c.530 B.C.	Sphinxes, volutes	Herakles and Athena; Bacchus and Ariadne or Leucothea and Palaimon	Female heads	Chariot processions; painted scale pattern; concave tongues. Lateral: concave tongues; meander, swans, star-flowers		Feline water spouts; concave tongues	Felines, gorgon
Satricum, acropolis, Temple of Mater Matuta, Building 0. The 'Etrusco-Ionian' roof, c.540-530 B.C.	<i>Sphinxes</i>	Herakles and Athena	Female heads		Tongues; mounted archers; possible departing warriors		
Satricum, acropolis, Temple of Mater Matuta, Building 1. The 'Campanian' roof, c.530-510 B.C.		Winged female	Female heads; Gorgons; palmettes		Guilloche; <i>tongues</i> ; <i>half-lotus</i>		Perseus chased by Gorgons
Satricum, acropolis, Temple of Mater Matuta, Building 2. The 'Late Archaic' roof, c.510 B.C.							
Rome, Forum Romanum, the Regia 1, c.620 B.C.	<i>Horns</i>						

⁵¹² Following Winter 2009 where applicable.

Rome, Forum Romanum, the Regia 3, south building, c.585 B.C.	Discs		Gorgons	Strigils, bull-headed man; felines; meander; bird	Strigils; guilloche		
Rome, Forum Romanum, the Regia 4, south building, c.530 B.C.	<i>Sphinx</i>	<i>Athena</i>	Female heads		<i>Chariot procession</i>	Feline water spouts; concave tongues, felines	
Etruria							
Punta della Vipera, 'Temple of Menerva' c.530 B.C.			Female heads	<i>Concave tongues</i>	Meander; stepped pattern; <i>volute finial</i>		
Pyrgi, Temple B c.510-500 B.C. ⁵¹³	Females, horses, riders		Female heads, satyrs, negroes				Horses, riders, felines, hydra
Veii, Portonaccio, Temple of Apollo, c.510-500 B.C. ⁵¹⁴	Turms/Hermes, Hercle/Hercules with hind, Aplu/Apollo, Letun/Leto with child; ram's head	<i>Herakles and Athena</i>	Female heads; Gorgons, Acheloos, satyrs				
Tarquinia, Ara della Regina: Temple I, c.555 B.C.				Bulls; banquet ; departing warriors and riders			
Tarquinia, Ara della Regina: Temple II c.530	<i>Sphinx</i>			Chariot processions			
Veii, Portonaccio , 'sacellum' of Athena/Menevra. Roof 1: c.535 B.C.		<i>Herakles and Athena</i>		Meander; floral design	Tongues; floral design		

⁵¹³ See Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 87 with references.

⁵¹⁴ See Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 133 with references.

Veii, Portonaccio , 'sacellum' of Athena/Menevra. Roof 2: c.505 B.C.			Female heads	Tongues; floral design (lotuses and volutes)			
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Table 10: Motifs on buildings with a potential residential function, prior to c.510 B.C.⁵¹⁵

NB: Italics indicate less certainty

Site	Acroteria	Central acroteria	Antefixes	Revetment plaques	Raking simas	Lateral simas	Antepagamenta
Ficana, Zone 5A, c.610 B.C.			Plain plaque				
Satricum, Acropolis, Building H, c.580 B.C.	Double volutes						
Poggio Civitate (Murlo), OC1	Double volutes; <i>horns</i>						
Veii, Piazza d'Armi c.580			Female heads	Strigils, departing warrior scene with chariot; chariot processions	Strigils; XI pattern with boxes		
Poggio Civitate (Murlo), Upper Building c.575 B.C.	Seated and standing human figures; real and fantastic animals (including gorgons, centaurs, sphinxes, a griffin, and a hippocamp)		Gorgoneions	Banquet; seated assembly; cart processions; horse race	Strigils dogs and hares; guilloche; panther or leopard heads	Strigils; rosettes; feline-head waterspouts; female heads	Gorgoneion
Roselle, Casa dell'Impluvium, c.550-480 B.C. (<i>undecorated tiles</i>)							

⁵¹⁵ Following Winter 2009 where applicable.

Houses at Acquarossa: Phase 1A , c.640-620 B.C.	Protomes of a griffin head or lion head		Cut-out triangular hole	Horses, birds, curvilinear and geometric designs			
Houses at Acquarossa : Phase 1B, c.620-600 B.C.	Pelta-shaped volute; antithetical animals		Cut-out triangular hole	Horses, birds, curvilinear designs			
Houses at Acquarossa: Phase 1C: 600-580 B.C.			Two cut-out triangular holes	Seated figure		Ram's head	
Houses at Acquarossa: Phase 2A, c.600-580 B.C.	<i>Gorgon between leopards</i>		Two cut-out triangular holes or palmette	Double guilloche	Tongue pattern above anthemion		Rooster
Houses at Acquarossa: Phase 2B, c.580-560 B.C.			Half-rosette	Tongue; single guilloche; dog and rider; departing warriors	Strigils; single guilloche; procession of armed riders		
Houses at Acquarossa: Phase 3A, c.560-540 B.C., excluding Building A-D in Zone F (<i>undecorated tiles</i>)							

Table 11: Motifs on buildings with a potential commercial function (workshops), prior to c.510 B.C. ⁵¹⁶

NB: Italics indicate less certainty

Site	Acroteria	Central acroteria	Antefixes	Revetment plaques	Raking simas	Lateral simas	Antepagamenta
Murlo, workshop, OC2, c.630 B.C.	Double volutes; <i>horns</i>		Female heads			Feline-head waterspouts	

Table 12: Motifs on buildings found in funerary contexts, prior to c.510 B.C. ⁵¹⁷

Site	Acroteria	Central acroteria	Antefixes	Revetment plaques	Raking simas	Lateral simas	Antepagamenta
Tuscania, Ara del Tufo, c.570-560 B.C. ⁵¹⁸				Strigils; departing warriors	Tongues; procession of armed riders		
Tuscania, Ara del Tufo, c.560-550 B.C. ⁵¹⁹	Seated person and rider		Female heads	Tongues; chariot processions with Herakles wrestling the Nemean lion and Cretan bull; banquets; dancers ⁵²⁰	Tongues; armed riders		

⁵¹⁶ Following Winter 2009.⁵¹⁷ Following Winter 2009.⁵¹⁸ Winter 2009: Roof 4-3.⁵¹⁹ Winter 2009: Roof 4-6.⁵²⁰ The same moulds were used for the friezes on Building A, Zone F at Acquarossa: Winter 2009: 233.

CHAPTER V. RITUAL ACCESSORIES: ALTARS, CULT STATUES, AND TEMPLES

Religious buildings, altars, and cult statues are often conceived of as complementary, if not indivisible, elements of republican and imperial cult sites. The design and function of religious architecture have been ascribed to their interaction, with the result that it is not uncommon for one to be used to explain the presence of the other: buildings served to shelter cult statues, which were aligned with external altars to provide sightlines between the gods and their worshippers. Together the three components shaped ritual space and made communication with the divine intelligible and tangible.

Yet these three elements were not inherent parts of all ancient religious rituals and venues. There is no evidence of dedicated religious buildings, altars, or cult statues at the water sources that received some of the earliest votive deposits in central Italy, such as the spring at Campoverde,⁵²¹ and the arrangement of accumulated votive offerings and statuettes in caves such as the closed deposit of the Caverna delle Stipe similarly suggests that no image was accorded particular prominence or accompanied by a permanent altar.⁵²² Proposals that some Iron Age residences hosted ritual meals do not theorise the complementary presence of cult statues and open-air altars,⁵²³ nor do suggestions that Greco-Roman temples developed from aristocratic banqueting halls.⁵²⁴ If the resulting impression of an era without cult statues and prominent altars is correct, then histories of religious architecture must consider the evidence for the

⁵²¹ Bouma 1996, i: 41ff., 52-4, 81.

⁵²² Rellini 1920: 19-25 with Fig. 1; Chellini 2002: 25-6.

⁵²³ Damgaard Andersen 1993a: 84; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995: 130-1; Damgaard Andersen 1997: 352-3.

⁵²⁴ Drerup 1969; De Polignac 1994: 7 and n.13; Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 390-2, 395.

introduction of such features and their influence on the form and function of relevant cult buildings.

This chapter will accordingly examine the archaeological evidence for pre-Republican altars and cult statues in Latium and Etruria. It will explore the problematic conception and identification of these ritual accessories, and identify the quantity and nature of those that can be connected with cult buildings. The significance of altars and cult statues as religious markers, or potential means of distinguishing cult buildings from other structures, will also be considered. Finally, it will evaluate the theory that the introduction of altars and anthropomorphic cult statues stimulated the construction of monumental temples. As such it will assess the extent to which the canonical trinity of altar, cult statue, and temple can be archaeologically recognised in Archaic Latium and Etruria.

V.1. ALTARS

V.1.1. Form and identification

Histories of central Italic cult typically place altars at the centre of ritual practice.⁵²⁵ As places for gifts and sacrifices to a deity they served as ceremonial foci and offered a tangible way to interact with the divine. The use of many for the presentation of food and liquids such as oil, wine, and milk can also be linked to a wider use of victuals to communicate with gods and ancestors.⁵²⁶ The flexibility of these concepts means altars could take a wide variety of shapes, heights, and media, be temporary or permanent, and portable or fixed. Domestic hearths could serve as altars when portions of meals were offered to household gods (Serv. *Ad Aen.* 1.730), and the placement of

⁵²⁵ For example, Pfiffig 1975: 71.

⁵²⁶ Jensen 2008.

quadrangular, stone libation altars next to tables with food for the dead in Etruscan tombs reflects a distinction in instrument more than form or concept. The argument that ancient authors used terms such as *ara*, *altaria*, and *mensa* interchangeably further reinforces that altars were an important, but inherently adaptable, ritual accessory.⁵²⁷

Such variation establishes that a functional rather than formal definition of altars is appropriate, and thus that context plays an important role in identifying altars in the archaeological record. If altars are understood to be structures with the primary purpose of receiving and/or displaying tangible offerings to supernatural forces, then it is possible that outdoor hearths may represent rudimentary altars; it is the perception of the users and their resultant behaviour, rather than any physical characteristics, that are likely to have distinguished hearth from altar. Similarly, searches for dedicated or consecrated structures with rectangular, monolithic forms may produce objects that could have been either statue bases or altars.⁵²⁸ The emphasis accordingly falls upon nearby finds of votive deposits, collections of bones and ashes assembled with unusual care, and efforts to set the structure apart from its surroundings, as signs that a particular structure may have been perceived and used as an altar.

There is little clear evidence for altars in central Italy prior to the seventh century B.C. The close physical resemblance between rudimentary altars and hearths at this time complicates their identification, and it is legitimate to question whether strict functional, conceptual, or temporal distinctions between the two existed in all periods. Circular layers of clay and earth found in Area Alpha of the Pian di Civita site in Tarquinia have been tentatively identified as Villanovan altars on the basis of their

⁵²⁷ As discussed by Bowerman 1913: 4-5.

⁵²⁸ Shoe 1965: 94.

shape and the presence of unspecified ceramics.⁵²⁹ Conversely, numerous small circular pits containing charcoal, bones, and a few ceramic sherds found amongst the Iron Age hut compound at Satricum have been interpreted as cooking pits for adjacent, larger huts.⁵³⁰ Traces of meals shared with families cannot be distinguished from those shared with gods without a detailed knowledge of cultural dining practices,⁵³¹ and in the absence of such information it must be concluded that burnt circles outside huts are as likely to signify food preparation as cult. Later Roman authors also appear to have envisaged their ancestors building temporary turf altars (Tert. *Apol.* 25.13; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12.118; Hor. *Carm.* 3.8.4; Ov. *Fast.* 2.645) for which there is, by their nature, no archaeological evidence; images of such altars in later art may accurately represent older practices or equally be a conventional method of indicating that the scene took place in an ancestral past.⁵³²

In contrast, substantial altars are evident in Latium and Etruria in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Libation altars in Etruscan tombs such as the Tomb of the Five Chairs at Cerveteri (650-600 B.C.) show the use of quadrangular stone forms in architectural settings (Fig. V.1), while the so-called Altar of Grotta Porcina (600-550 B.C.) and the first three structures at the sanctuary of the 13 Altars at Lavinium (from c.550 B.C.) demonstrate the use of monumental altars at open-air Archaic cult sites (Figs. V.2 and V.3).⁵³³ Remains from a variety of sites include traces of red pigments,⁵³⁴ ornamental

⁵²⁹ Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 166-7.

⁵³⁰ Similar internal features have also affected histories of religious architecture, for example in the conflicting classifications of the pit beneath Hut 1 at Satricum as a *mundus* or a hearth that have contributed to debates over whether the hut served a primary religious or domestic function, or a mixture of both as an occasional venue for ritual meals: see Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, i: 90; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991: 68ff.; Bouma 1996, i: 75, 94-101 with bibliography.

⁵³¹ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995: 131 citing Goody 1982.

⁵³² Cf. Colonna 2006: 136 suggesting that boulders and rocks symbolised the threshold between the worlds of the living and the dead in Etruscan art.

⁵³³ *ENL*: 169-71; Castagnoli 1959-1960: 145 and Shoe 1965: 100, noting also that fragments of a fourteenth, unexcavated altar are thought to predate Altar 13 and thus the first phase of site may have

mouldings,⁵³⁵ and figured friezes,⁵³⁶ and secondary evidence also suggests that some altars were decorated with chequerboard designs achieved by paint or the use of coloured stones (Fig. V.4).⁵³⁷ With regard to the reconstruction of attendant rites or ceremonies, finds of animal bones coupled with images in artworks, such as a Campana Panel from Cerveteri (Fig. V.4) and a relief on a Chiusine cippus (Fig. V.5), indicate rites of fire. Altars with vertical channels between the altar surface and the ground, or from ground level into the earth, are thought to have carried liquid, particularly blood, for chthonic deities. Small hollows in the surfaces of other altars, particularly those within tombs, are equated with liquid libations. It is possible, however, that many structures could be used as both offering tables and venues for multiple types of sacrifice, many of which left no trace.

V.1.2. Altars and religious buildings

Many reconstructions of late republican and imperial Roman temples include an altar placed on axis in front of the building's podium.⁵³⁸ The external location is thought to have been dictated by the desire to burn sacrificial offerings in a place where smoke could ascend directly to the deity without despoiling temple interiors.⁵³⁹ The position of the altar was in keeping with the temple's frontal orientation, and its ideal scale was commensurate with the temple in order that the two elements would form an indivisible, architecturally harmonious unit appropriate for the majesty and dignity of

included four, rather than three, altars. The stepped altars at Marziana and Tolfa likewise date to the first half of the sixth century B.C.: Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 100, 102.

⁵³⁴ Traces of red paint were found on the lower part of Altar IX: *ENL*: 169.

⁵³⁵ Shoe 1965: 94 ff.

⁵³⁶ As on the altar at Grotta Porcina where the frieze included representations of cattle, felines, horses, and floral decorations: see Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 100; Colonna 1993: 331-4 with Tav. IV.

⁵³⁷ For example, on the "Campana Panel" from the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri, dated c.550-525 B.C. (see Fig. V.4). Cf. Pfiffig 1975: 72 suggesting that the combination of chequered designs and bulging profiles produces an appearance reminiscent of rustic altars formed by piles rocks and pebbles.

⁵³⁸ For example, Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970: 37; Stambaugh 1978: 572; D'Ambra 1998: 67; cf.

Pfiffig 1975: 71: 'während es Altäre ohne Tempel gibt, ist ein Tempel ohne Altar undenkbar.'

⁵³⁹ Pfiffig 1975: 72.

the deity.⁵⁴⁰ It follows that rituals at the altar were performed under the direct gaze of gods and onlookers as public spectacles.⁵⁴¹ This section will investigate whether it is possible to recognise a similar relationship between altars and the built environment prior to the Roman Republic and, if so, when and where this situation arose.

V.1.2.1. Evidence

Speculation that early rituals were primarily performed within the homes of community leaders implies that altars, either in the form of hearths or dedicated, raised structures, were once part of particular huts and courtyard complexes. As discussed above, the lack of evidence for prominent external altars in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. suggests that such features were not part of putative sacred huts. The most elaborate courtyard complexes from the seventh and sixth centuries also lack evidence of permanent altars. Despite some scholars' claims that the observance of gentilicial cults in elite Archaic residences foreshadows the later presence of *lararia* in Roman homes,⁵⁴² to date no altars have been found at Poggio Civitate or Buildings A-D in Zone F at Acquarossa that could be associated with either familial or communal rites. The majority of permanent Etruscan and Latial altars dated prior to 500 B.C. are in fact found in cemetery contexts and sanctuaries without cult buildings.⁵⁴³ In this respect the construction of the altars at Grotta Porcina and Lavinium recalls the literary descriptions of the Ara Maxima (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.40.6; Ov. *Fast.* 1.581) and the Ara Saturni (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.34.4), built respectively without and prior to related temples.⁵⁴⁴ It thus appears that significant, permanent altars were known and

⁵⁴⁰ cf. Livy 1.53.2-3. See Yavis 1949: 55 and Price 1999: 58 for Greek parallels.

⁵⁴¹ Vitr. *De arch.* 4.5.1; Stambaugh 1978: 572. cf. Burkert 1985: 87 for Greece.

⁵⁴² *ThesCRA* iv, 262, s.v. "Lararium (Etruria)" (A. Comella); cf. Torelli 1983: 481-2.

⁵⁴³ See Damgaard Andersen 1998, i: 154 on the cemetery context of a high number of Etruscan altars, in contrast to the absence of known altars in Latial cemeteries.

⁵⁴⁴ On the Ara Saturni see Coarelli 1983, i: 199-210; Coarelli 2007: 63; Cifani 2008: 111-2.

used in early Italic cult but were not regarded as essential components of homes or religious complexes.

The limited evidence for altars connected with religious buildings further supports this hypothesis. Table 1 summarises the thirteen known examples of Latin and Etruscan altars connected with religious buildings between the ninth and early fifth centuries B.C. While it is possible that erosion, rising water levels, spoliation, and less sophisticated excavation techniques have affected remains and their recognition at various sites, larger altars are likely to have left at least traces of foundations; the general lack of known, permanent altars near cult buildings is likely to reflect reality. Structures B and D at Marzabotto are included among the eleven Etruscan examples due to their composition and concordance with the position of altars at other sites. The thirteen altars range in appearance from the circles of rocks in the south sanctuary at Pyrgi to the monumental features on the acropolis at Marzabotto. Although the sample is small, careful analysis of the style, position, and visibility of the altars may reveal commonalities. If so, it is possible that the concept of a unified building and altar was adopted from elsewhere as a fully developed and satisfactory custom. Alternatively, a lack of commonalities may indicate a process of experimentation inspired by indigenous or foreign practices.

V.1.2.2. Style

Marcattili has proposed that altar forms gradually progressed from piles of rubble to elaborate, monumental and quadrangular stone forms under Hellenic influence.⁵⁴⁵ It is theorised that more sophisticated building techniques saw huts and hearths replaced with rectilinear cult buildings and altars, and altars with Greek plans becoming more

⁵⁴⁵ *ThesCRA* iv, 171, s.v. “Altare (mondo italico)” (F. Marcattili).

common in a range of sanctuaries.⁵⁴⁶ The thirteen altars in Table 1 include three with an apparent connection with single-room shrines, four with courtyard buildings, and six located near podium temples. As a group they show no correlation between building and altar styles and no recognisable trend towards Greek types.

The first observation to be made is that altar size was not always relative to the cult building. For example, the altar next to Temple C on the acropolis at Marzabotto was nine times larger than that which accompanied the similarly-sized podium temple in the Fontanile di Legnisina sanctuary at Vulci. Secondly, no plans seem to have been restricted to particular settings, as altars with a raised approach are found both inside Edificio *beta* at Tarquinia, in the form of a ramp, and outside on the acropolis at Marzabotto, as flights of stairs. No painted decorations have been noted on any of the thirteen examples but Structure D at Marzabotto carries decorative mouldings including a base Etruscan round, cut back in an oval, and a projecting crowning moulding (Fig. V.6).⁵⁴⁷ A fourth note concerns the evidence from Pyrgi of an apparent discrepancy between the generally cosmopolitan, monumentalised character of the site between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C and the elaboration of its altars. The only altars found in the main sanctuary are a small cylindrical altar and parallelepiped block tucked between the monumental temples (Fig. V.7),⁵⁴⁸ while in the southern part of the site, simple rubble altars formed by circles of stones were assembled near new buildings as late as the fourth century B.C. (Fig. V.8).⁵⁴⁹ Regardless of whether a larger altar in the main sanctuary has disappeared under rising water levels, the presence of such basic altars indicates that these forms remained valued long after more

⁵⁴⁶ For example, *ThesCRA* iv, 171, s.v. “Altare (mondo Italico)” (F. Marcattili).

⁵⁴⁷ Shoe 1965: 90.

⁵⁴⁸ Colonna 2006: 144.

⁵⁴⁹ Colonna 2006: 132-6.

impressive designs had been introduced to the region.⁵⁵⁰ Such considerable variation in altar styles contradicts the theory of a progression towards uniformity and the idea that all sought to imitate a particular external model.

V.1.2.3. Alignment and orientation

The placement of an altar on the axis of an associated cult building extended the symmetry of the building into a forecourt or open space in Greek and later Roman temple complexes.⁵⁵¹ In Greece the arrangement was further codified with the distance between the altar and the temple typically equalling or exceeding the width of the temple.⁵⁵² Both temple and altar customarily faced east with steps on the west of the altar, an arrangement that suggests altar users faced east, away from the temple, and in the same direction as the cult statue.⁵⁵³ This scenario, however, is inapplicable to Archaic central Italy, as plans of the sites listed in Table 1 reveal that altars and cult buildings were normally sited and oriented independently of one another.

The placement of an external altar to one side of a cult building rather than directly in front of it appears to have been common Etruscan practice. At Pyrgi the two altars in Area C were located alongside, rather than in front of, Temple B, and the two temples on the acropolis at Marzabotto alternated with Structures B and D instead of forming axial pairs (Fig. V.9). It was also not unusual for an altar to be oriented in a different direction to the nearby shrine or temple. Many Etruscan scholars have stated that an eastern orientation was preferred for altars, in contrast to cult buildings that faced a

⁵⁵⁰ Colonna 2006: 136 attributes the ongoing use of rubble altars to religious conservatism.

⁵⁵¹ Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970: 37, 63; Rüpke and Gordon 2007: 141.

⁵⁵² Yavis 1949: 116.

⁵⁵³ The exact relationship between an officiating priest, a cult statue, and a crowd of onlookers in terms of sightlines, however, must remain speculative, as there is nothing to indicate that the priest did not turn around at certain points or that onlookers did not hold a variety of positions.

range of directions,⁵⁵⁴ the majority of the latter with entrances towards the southeast and southwest.⁵⁵⁵ An absence of evidence such as altar steps means it is impossible to confirm the direction of the officiant at many early sites, although the eastern orientation of the altar complex at Lavinium offers significant support for an eastern preference in rituals.⁵⁵⁶ The altar associated with the first phase of the temple in the S. Omobono sanctuary at Rome appears to be the sole instance of an altar placed on the external axis of a cult building (Fig. III.28), while the altar within Edificio *beta* at Tarquinia is the only example of an internal axial arrangement (Fig. III.9).⁵⁵⁷

At many sites the construction of an altar and cult building with contrasting orientations appears to have been roughly contemporary. Stratigraphy does not suggest that altar orientations were consistently determined later than, and in deliberate contrast to, earlier temples, or vice-versa; a lack of axiality cannot simply be attributed to the different views of later generations. At the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii it is possible to trace the chronological relationship between two altars, a shrine, and a podium temple, with dates derived from both architecture and small finds (Fig. V.10).⁵⁵⁸ In the second half of the sixth century B.C. a small cylindrical *bothros*-type altar and Building I, interpreted as a shrine, were built in the eastern part of the sanctuary.⁵⁵⁹ The altar was located approximately eight metres away from the entrance of Building I and off to one side. In c.510 B.C. a large podium temple was built at the

⁵⁵⁴ For example, Pfiffig 1975: 72; *ThesCRA* iv, 166, s.v. “Altare (Etruria)” (A. Comella); contra. Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 103.

⁵⁵⁵ van der Meer 1979: 50. cf. Aveni and Romano 1994. contra. Damgaard Andersen 1998, i: 162.

⁵⁵⁶ Castagnoli 1959-1960: 145. Vitruvius also expresses a (later) preference for an eastern orientation for altar and officiants, facing into the temple and towards a cult statue which itself faced west: *De arch.* 4.5.1.

⁵⁵⁷ Note that an axial arrangement depends on the reconstructed location of the southern edge of features TP 11 and TP 614.

⁵⁵⁸ See Colonna 2002: 148-50 and Fig. 6.

⁵⁵⁹ The fill from the foundations contained nothing later than the third quarter of the sixth century B.C.: Colonna 2002: 150. For the altar see Bouma 1996, i: 230; *ThesCRA* iv, 169, s.v. “Altare (Etruria): Altare per libagioni” (A. Comella).

opposite end of the sanctuary. The temple faced the centre of the complex but was not aligned with respect to either the altar or Building I. Between c.450 and 350 B.C. the eastern end of the sanctuary was transformed by the replacement of Building I with two new porticoes and the construction of a stepped, winged altar that overlapped part of its predecessor. The new altar was oriented away from the temple and was not aligned with any other structure. Through two centuries of construction and reconstruction the sanctuary lacked a permanent altar on the axis of an associated cult building, and developed a layout with no topographical association between the podium temple and the monumental altar. The apparent perception of the two features as distinct entities reinforces the suggestion of similar practices at other Etruscan sites. The axial alignment of the first temple and altar at the S. Omobono sanctuary in Rome was thus arguably a product of their Latial location.

V.1.2.4. *Visibility*

In contrast to the highly visible altars in many reconstructions of later Roman practice, rituals at six of the thirteen altars under examination would have been obscured from the gaze of passers-by. On the Pian di Civita plateau at Tarquinia the location of the altar deep within Edificio *beta* effectively shielded it from view. In its earliest form this altar resembled a bench⁵⁶⁰ and it is possible that a desire to continue activities related to this phase determined the location of the subsequent, enlarged structure. The courtyard complex at Narce also sheltered an altar within Room A. At Montetosto, Gravisca, and the Roman Regia altars were located outside but in courtyards and thus set apart from spaces beyond the walls, effectively restricting sight of the attendant ceremonies to those permitted entry to the complexes. Finally, at Fontanile di

⁵⁶⁰ Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 168.

Legnisina the altar was located outside the temple but enclosed within the walls of a narrow rectangular precinct (Fig. V.11).⁵⁶¹

The (in)visibility of an altar may be attributed to the nature of the related rites or their desired social effect. The former of these has been invoked, for example, by one scholar with the proposal that the altar at Fontanile di Legnisina was obscured due to its use in rites for Vei, commonly assimilated to the goddess Demeter with her Mysteries, based on the discovery of two *ex-votos* to the goddess in a nearby votive deposit dated between the fourth and first centuries B.C.⁵⁶² On a more general level it is not uncommon to equate internal altars with bloodless sacrifices and external altars with burnt offerings.⁵⁶³ This principle, however, does not seem applicable to the internal altars at Tarquinia and Narce. At Tarquinia a conduit (TP 30) led directly from the altar into the cavity that was the focus of ritual activities (TP 263). Although it is possible that the altar served for libations involving oil or wine, the excavators propose that it carried blood from animals slaughtered on the altar (Fig. III.9, V.12).⁵⁶⁴ At Narce the presence of firedogs, pincers, a brazier, and animal bones near the altar strongly suggest the practice of faunal offerings in the context of ritual dining and meat consumption.⁵⁶⁵ Many of the external altars in the sample also appear to have been designed for liquid offerings. It is unlikely that the early cylindrical altar sunk into the ground at Portonaccio (Fig. V.13), the well at the centre of Structure B at Marzabotto, and the vertical channel in the altar within Area C at Pyrgi were designed with the primary objective of providing raised surfaces for fires and braziers. Such

⁵⁶¹ Sgubini Moretti 1993: 109-10.

⁵⁶² Colonna 2006: 143. On the votive deposit see Sgubini Moretti 1993: 109-10.

⁵⁶³ Such an equation is made by Rüpke and Gordon 2007: 141, with reference to Near Eastern practices discussed by Gladigow 1994.

⁵⁶⁴ Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 168.

⁵⁶⁵ De Lucia Brolli 1990: 67-8.

evidence cautions against automatically equating altar locations with particular rites. This significant point negates the premise that altars were located outside temples in order to prevent smoke, soot, and ash from polluting the interior, as well as the idea that external altars drew attention through the arresting use of fire.⁵⁶⁶ It is a distinct possibility that liquid sacrifices were of greater importance than previously thought and that animal sacrifices were more concerned with blood than flesh.⁵⁶⁷

The alternative suggestion that some altars were concealed as a form of social manipulation is plausible but cannot be archaeologically tested. Gilhus has suggested that concealing the mechanics of death may have protected the dignity of highly formalised animal sacrifices, and the omission of scenes of blood-letting and slaughter from artistic depictions of the ceremonies may indirectly confirm the low visual currency of such moments.⁵⁶⁸ It is also possible that limited visibility reinforced hierarchical distinctions between those who witnessed offerings and those who did not. The widespread presence of votive offerings in many Archaic sanctuaries signals that individuals could establish their own tangible lines of communication with the divine. If the act of making an offering was not in itself a privilege, then regulating the knowledge and view of particular types of offering may have conferred exclusivity. In either scenario the number of sites with relatively hidden altars demonstrates that it is anachronistic to reconstruct all rites near cult buildings as public spectacles.

It is relevant here to note that an eventual rise in the number of prominent altars before temples does not necessarily signify the communalisation of religious practice. It has

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. Yavis 1949: 80. Note also the description of the altars of Terminus and Juventas *inside* the Capitoline Temple in Rome by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.69.5, although it is unclear what type of offerings were made there.

⁵⁶⁷ Cf. Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 103 discussing the use of Etruscan altars for libations, votives, and bone deposits rather than rites of fire.

⁵⁶⁸ Gilhus 2006: 118; cf. Scheid 2007: 266.

been suggested that temples and public or state cults were products of a process in which rituals emerged from the confines of aristocratic residences. Cults observed by leading families were thus relocated beyond the walls of lavish homes and brought into the community where rituals could be seen by, and performed for the benefit of, all.⁵⁶⁹ As discussed above, however, there is no clear evidence that altars were located within residences prior to the development of dedicated cult buildings. Votive deposits in caves and springs also contradict the theory that homes or multi-functional buildings were the primary locations for cults before the Archaic period,⁵⁷⁰ as do the monumental altars without cult buildings discussed at the start of this section. A rise in the number of temples with altars may therefore be evidence of a concentration of religious practice, rather than its communalisation, similar to the change from privileging those who *witnessed* a ritual to those who *performed* one.

V.1.2.5. *Regional variation*

The relatively high number of Etruscan cult buildings with altars means that many of the above findings reflect Etruscan, rather than Latin, practice. Much about Etruscan religion remains unknown and the extrapolation of altar rites from altar remains is necessarily highly creative. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the conditions in which these altars were constructed and used may always have differed from those known for later Roman religion. It has been claimed that that it was a particularly Roman custom to cook parts of sacrificial animals,⁵⁷¹ which may explain the unsuitability of the majority of known Archaic altars for burnt offerings; the depiction

⁵⁶⁹ For example, Coarelli 1983: 56ff.; Torelli 1983: 32; Colonna 1985a: 53; Damgaard Andersen 1993a: 85-6; Smith 1996b: 19, 86-7; Torelli 2000b: 567; Camporeale 2004: 132. cf. Izzet 2007: 128 on how 'the new model incorporates a stronger sense of communal activity in ritual practice.'

⁵⁷⁰ For example, finds at the Sventatoio cave in Latium: Guidi 1989-1990: 406-7; Kleibrink 1997-1998: 448; or around a sulphurous spring near the Colonelle Lake at Tivoli: Guidi 1989-1990: 409. More generally, see Edlund 1987 and Chellini 2002 on cult sites in Etruria; and Bouma 1996 on cult sites in Latium.

⁵⁷¹ Wissowa 1912: 418; Bouma 1996, i: 223.

of altars with fires on the Campana Panel and Chiusine cippus could accordingly represent the burning of grain or fragrant plants. Interestingly, Ovid describes such rites as part of his evocation of a time when the gods were unaccustomed to animal sacrifices (*Fast.* 1.343-4: *ara dabat fumos herbis contenta Sabinis, et non exiguo laurus adusta sono*, ‘The altar would smoke, content with just the scent of Sabine juniper, and the laurel would burn up, crackling loud’⁵⁷²), and evidence from Latial cult sites shows that while parts of sacrificial animals were directly exposed to fires from the Iron Age onwards, the practice only became widely popular in the Republican period.⁵⁷³ It is thus possible that the burning of sacrificial meat upon altars was either a predominantly post-Archaic phenomenon in central Italy, or never an essential part of Etruscan rituals. Discrepancies in altar alignment and orientation relative to cult buildings may also have been an Etruscan convention. Obscured altars may additionally have been used for divinatory rites, which are thought to have been more common in Etruria than Latium and involve greater levels of privacy and secrecy than civic sacrifices.⁵⁷⁴

These speculations again confer regional significance on the atypical material from the S. Omobono sanctuary in Rome. If current excavations confirm that the site possessed an external altar placed on the longitudinal axis of the first temple, then the S. Omobono remains represent the earliest known example of an arrangement that became characteristic of subsequent Roman sanctuaries. Associations between the Archaic temple’s architectural sculpture and Bacchiad exiles from Corinth have led

⁵⁷² Trans. Beard, North et al. 1998, ii: 154.

⁵⁷³ Bouma 1996, i: 228-37. Before this rites of fire customarily involved the cooking of meat placed in jars: Bouma 1996, i: 223-6.

⁵⁷⁴ Scheid 2007: 263.

many scholars to evaluate the site in light of Greek comparanda,⁵⁷⁵ and it is possible that the relationship between the cult building and altar should be drawn into these analyses. The second phase of the building reveals a less than wholesale adoption of Greek altar protocols with the incorporation of the altar into the enlarged podium (Fig. III.28).⁵⁷⁶ The sanctuary in the Forum Boarium may accordingly moderate between Greek and Etruscan cult sites.

This survey has shown that Latial and Etruscan cult buildings were not distinguished from surrounding structures by the placement of altars in front of their façades during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Plans of the relatively few known sanctuaries with both buildings and altars demonstrate that the two features were usually scaled and orientated independently of one another, rather than forming an architecturally inseparable unit, and were located without concern for sightlines between officiants and spectators. The nature of divine spectators in such situations consequently requires examination and will be addressed next.

⁵⁷⁵ For example, Mertens-Horn 1995; Winter 2002-2003; Winter 2005a.

⁵⁷⁶ Colonna 1991: 53 with Fig. 2a-b.

Table 13: Altars within or near contemporary, non-funerary religious architecture

Site	Description	Illustrations	Architectural Context	Altar Orientation	Building Orientation
Altars associated with single-room structures					
Tarquinia, Pian di Civita, Edificio <i>beta</i>	First phase: a raised area resembling a bench or altar against a wall with one side of large stone blocks. Early seventh century B.C. Second phase: incorporated into a larger platform or altar of irregular stone blocks, measuring 4 x 3.2 x 0.7(h) m (TP 11), and preceded by a ramp (TP 614). First half of the sixth century.	Fig. III.9, V.12	Placed inside and against the back wall of Edificio <i>beta</i> . Internal altar axially aligned with the entrance and external votive pits. ⁵⁷⁷	E-W	E
Veii, Portonaccio sanctuary: Altar A	A small cylindrical altar and <i>bothros</i> formed by four blocks stacked vertically and joined by lead; the surface was crossed by a large water channel. c.530 B.C. ⁵⁷⁸	Fig. V.13	Open-air and possibly related to Building I (Building G in earlier plans), built at approximately the same time. Not aligned with Building I.	Circular form	SW
Pyrgi, southern sanctuary: Altar <i>theta</i>	Foundations only. Possibly constructed in <i>opus quadratum</i> of red tufo with a parallelepiped form. ⁵⁷⁹ c.525 B.C.	Fig. III.16	Open-air location in front of the entrance to the southern room of building <i>beta</i> , constructed c.525 B.C. and interpreted as a shrine. ⁵⁸⁰ Axially aligned with entrance to the southern room of building <i>beta</i> .	Possibly NE-SW	SW

⁵⁷⁷ Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 170. See also n.557 above.⁵⁷⁸ Colonna 2002: 149.⁵⁷⁹ Colonna 2006: 137.⁵⁸⁰ Colonna 2006: 137, 148-9.

Altars associated with courtyard complexes					
Rome, The Regia: courtyard	A single block near the western wall of the courtyard, roughly on the axis of the door in the east wall, has been interpreted as possibly part of the foundations of an altar. c.540-530 B.C. ⁵⁸¹	Fig. III.3		Unclear	N/A
Narce, Monte Li Sante, courtyard complex: western wing, Room A.	An altar of <i>tufo</i> slabs with a limestone cornice on the base. Late sixth century B.C. if contemporary with the building.	Fig. III.24	Placed inside Room A, which is believed to have been used for ritual sacrifices and dining within a larger sanctuary complex. ⁵⁸²	Unclear	N/A
Montetosto, courtyard complex: courtyard	A rectangular platform measuring 1.5 x 1.5m which has been identified, but not securely, as an altar base. ⁵⁸³ c.525 B.C if contemporary with the building.	Fig. III.25	Open-air location within the courtyard of a building variously interpreted as an elite residence, a political sanctuary, ⁵⁸⁴ a site to honour the dead in the nearby tumulus, and a place connected to Herodotus' account of the games organised by the inhabitants of Caere to expiate the execution of Phocaeen prisoners after the battle of Alalia (Herod. 1.167). ⁵⁸⁵	Unclear	N/A

⁵⁸¹ Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 180 without citation.

⁵⁸² Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 71.

⁵⁸³ Colonna 1985b: 193; cf. Colonna 2006: 145 stating that the courtyard contained 'one or more altars.'

⁵⁸⁴ Edlund 1987: 71.

⁵⁸⁵ Connected with Herodotus' account: Torelli 1983: 487-88, 490; Colonna 1985b: 194-5; Torelli 1985: 32; Camporeale 2004: 135.

Gravisca, Edificio <i>Alpha</i> : room D, feature 10 a ⁵⁸⁶	The southwest side of a rectangular feature formed by pebbles and rocks; in the successive phase a rectangular chest holding burned earth and fragments of animal bones (interpreted as a <i>bothros</i>) was placed on top. Between the late sixth and early fifth century B.C.	Fig. V.14	Placed beneath the floor of later Room D in Edificio <i>Alpha</i> .	Unclear	N/A
Altars associated with podium temples					
Rome, Forum Boarium: S. Omobono	First phase: c.575 B.C. Reconstructed to c.1.3 square metres. Second phase: incorporated into the enlarged temple podium. c.535 B.C. ⁵⁸⁷	Fig. III.28	Phase 1: Open-air location in front of the Temple, thought to have stood c.2.3m from the steps of the podium. ⁵⁸⁸ Reconstructed as SSW-NNE, in front of the temple almost exactly parallel and on axis.	Possibly SSW-NNE	SSW
Marzabotto, Acropolis: Structure B	4.1 x 4.1m enclosure with a surface area of 17 square metres accessed by a flight of stairs on the southern side. A well more than 6 metres deep was located in centre of the structure and held animal bones, ⁵⁸⁹ and a basin originally stood to one side of the base. 1.2m-high external walls made of river stones without mortar. c.525-500 B.C. ⁵⁹⁰	Fig. III.30	Open-air and located more than half-way along the western wall of structure A, interpreted as a likely peripteral podium temple, ⁵⁹¹ with a similar orientation. Located next to, not in front of, the associated building, more than half way down the long side, but with a similar orientation.	N-S	S

⁵⁸⁶ Pianu 1991: 195 confuses this altar with another (feature 41 alpha) found in courtyard F of the same building. It is correctly identified as 10a by Fiorini 2005: 125.

⁵⁸⁷ Colonna 1991: 53 and Fig. 2a-b.

⁵⁸⁸ Colonna 1991: 53.

⁵⁸⁹ Pozzo: Gozzadini 1865 11 and Tav. 5 no. 4; *pozzo* contents: Gozzadini 1865 12-13.

⁵⁹⁰ Malgieri 2007a: 21.

⁵⁹¹ Malgieri 2007a: 21.

Pyrgi, main sanctuary: Area C	A monolithic cylindrical altar, c.0.90m in diameter, with a vertical channel. c.510-500 B.C. ⁵⁹²	Fig. V.7	Open-air location within a precinct (with details of its demarcation, such as walls and wall-height, unknown) immediately adjacent to the northern side of Temple B, unaligned with the front western line of the <i>krepidoma</i> .	Circular form	SW
Pyrgi, main sanctuary: Area C	A monolithic rectangular block, measuring 3 x 2.6 x 0.2m, of irregularly trapezoidal peperino. c.510-500 B.C. ⁵⁹³ Interpreted as an altar base, ⁵⁹⁴ but also possibly a statue base. ⁵⁹⁵	Fig. V.7	Open-air location within a precinct (with details of its demarcation, such as walls and wall-height, unknown) immediately adjacent to the northern side of Temple B, unaligned with the front western line of the <i>krepidoma</i> .	Unclear	SW
Marzabotto, Acropolis: Structure D	9.2 x 9.1m enclosure accessed by a flight of stairs on the southern side. 1.2m-high outer walls decorated with a profiled moulding in travertine. Inner area 0.87m high. c.500-475 B.C.	Fig. V.6	Open-air and located to the southwest of Temple C (dated c.500-475 B.C.). Located next to, not in front of, the associated building, but with a similar orientation.	N-S	S
Vulci, Fontanile di Legnisina	A <i>nenfro</i> base with cornice and partial superstructure. Early fifth or fourth century B.C. Measurements – approx. 1 x 1.5m?	Fig. V.11	Open-air location within a walled precinct, to the southeast of the podium temple. Located in front of the associated building but off to one side and at a different angle.	ESE	SSW

⁵⁹² Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 102; Colonna 2006: 144.

⁵⁹³ Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 102.

⁵⁹⁴ Colonna 2006: 144.

⁵⁹⁵ Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 88.

V.2. CULT STATUES

Many accounts of early Roman religion written prior to the late twentieth century theorised that the world's supernatural forces were originally envisaged as animistic powers, diffused through nature, which were slowly superseded by the concept of anthropomorphic gods and goddesses. Representations of the divine accordingly passed through different stages including aniconism, fetishes in the form of inanimate objects, and anthropomorphic figures; both conceptual and artistic anthropomorphism were presented as relatively late developments attributed to the influence of other cultures.⁵⁹⁶ This evolutionary model of religion has now been largely discounted due to changes in anthropological theory as well as evidence that words for 'god' and 'goddess' were part of Indo-European, and thus pre-Roman, vocabularies.⁵⁹⁷ Yet the concept of a gradual change in the representation of the divine has proved surprisingly resilient. As Iron Age votives at lakes and groves suggest that natural phenomena were once sufficient manifestations of a petitioned power to stimulate ritual activities,⁵⁹⁸ and as there is both archaeological and literary evidence that cult statues were commonplace by the later Roman Republic,⁵⁹⁹ the central issue is now the date and rate of change from natural to man-made, or manufactured, ritual foci. This section will investigate claims that this change occurred prior to the fifth century B.C. by exploring the archaeological evidence for the form and use of pre-Republican cult statues. The results of this analysis will then be used to evaluate the theory that the

⁵⁹⁶ Variants of this idea appear in works ranging from early Christian apologists for idolatry to early twentieth century classicists, as discussed by Stewart 2003: 66-9. cf. Donohue 1988: 121-50. With specific reference to early central Italy see Colonna 1985a: 23-4, 60; Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 219; Beard, North et al. 1998, ii: 1-4.

⁵⁹⁷ Beard, North et al. 1998, ii: 2.

⁵⁹⁸ See n.570 above.

⁵⁹⁹ Martin 1987 offers a synthesis and catalogue of late Republican Roman cult statues with a securely attested context or use.

introduction of anthropomorphic cult statues and altars for their worship was responsible for the monumentalisation of central Italic cult buildings during the sixth century B.C.

V.2.1. Definition and identification

The primary challenge in tracing the emergence of cult statues in the early archaeological record is one of identification. A variety of figured objects in terracotta, bronze, ivory, bone, and, very occasionally, wood,⁶⁰⁰ have been dated to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. The majority of these figures can be attributed to religious contexts such as votive deposits or the external decoration of cult buildings. Scholars have attempted to develop criteria for determining which, if any, of these figures can be interpreted as cult statues, using factors such as size, media, position, and role in ritual activity.⁶⁰¹

The problems encountered in drafting and applying any criteria for differentiating a cult statue from any other figured artefact, however, reveal significant debate as to what actually constituted an ancient cult statue. The definition and nature of cult statues has been particularly contested in studies of Greek art, archaeology and religion, with ambiguous results leading to the suggestion that cult images may have been a relative category of ancient art without a stable identity,⁶⁰² where any one work could be simultaneously understood as an artwork, a votive, and a focus for ritual

⁶⁰⁰ For example, the wooden head with traces of gold leaf representing Ati Velarunas, the eponymous occupant of a tomb in Vulci: Prayon 2006: 49-51.

⁶⁰¹ Summarised and discussed by Mylonopoulos 2010: 6-10; cf. Stewart 2003: 91; Kyriakidis 2005: 46-8 and Hölscher 2010: 108.

⁶⁰² Stewart 2003: 186-91; Mylonopoulos 2010: 4-5. cf. Maximus 8.3 and Donohue 1997: 31: '...both the term and the idea of the cult image should be abandoned. The concept of the cult image is a modern formulation, developed in specific intellectual contexts and derived from specific lines of ancient discourse, and it is a notion that confuses and limits our understanding of Greek practice.'

activity. Cult statues can be interpreted as a form of votive offering to a deity,⁶⁰³ and it is possible that votive statues assumed the role of cult images in certain situations.⁶⁰⁴ A considerable degree of fluidity also emerges in attempts to formulate emic Italian criteria. There is no clear definition of a religious statue in later Roman literature, where terms such as *statua*, *signum*, *simulacrum*, *effigies*, and *imago* often seem to refer to a form of representation rather than a specific function.⁶⁰⁵ A lack of precise knowledge about the nature of cult statues in even republican and imperial contexts hence further complicates the parameters of the search for earlier examples.

Test cases for these debates, as well as studies of Italic cult statues that do not refer to such challenges, frequently feature one or more of three Archaic statues that are widely regarded as potential examples of early Latial and Etruscan cult images. The first is a statue of Minerva Tritonia from Lavinium, the second the so-called Venus of Cannicella from Orvieto, and the third is the head of a figure from the Celle sanctuary at Civita Castellana. The following review of the evidence for and against the identification of each statue as a cult image will demonstrate that early Italic cult statues may have been just as multivalent as their Greek counterparts.

The statue of Minerva Tritonia from Lavinium has been presented as a cult image in a variety of books and exhibitions. At 1.96m high the statue was the largest and most complete find of a group of terracotta figures excavated at the Eastern Sanctuary of the settlement in 1977.⁶⁰⁶ The goddess is represented wearing sandals, a chiton, and

⁶⁰³ Mylonopoulos 2010: 4.

⁶⁰⁴ Stewart 2003: 190; cf. Donohue 1997: 36. The function of the statue of Athena Parthenos has been debated in this context, in studies of Greek cult statues; while it may be the secular counterpart of the statue of Athena Polias (Rask 2011: 89, n.3, Nick 2002 has argued that it was also a focus for ritual activities.

⁶⁰⁵ Stewart 2003: 185-91; Estienne 2010.

⁶⁰⁶ On the history of the sanctuary see Castagnoli 1979 and Bouma 1996, iii: 48-9 with references.

armour including an Attic helmet, an *aegis*, and a shield decorated with crescent moons and serpents (Fig. V.15). A three-headed snake winds around her right arm while a Triton stands to her left. Traces of pigment noted at the time of excavation suggest that the statue had a white dress, yellow hair, and red and yellow armour, with the Triton painted red and the snake offset in blue.⁶⁰⁷ It is possible that the Greek details and Triton were inspired by a particular cult statue found in the sanctuary of Athena Alalkomenai in Boeotia, where legend held that the goddess was born and raised near the local river Triton.⁶⁰⁸ Alternatively, literary references to Tritonian Pallas as a patron deity of Troy (Verg. *Aen.* 2.615-6) and the worship of this goddess at Lavinium (Strabo 6.1.14) may indicate that the statue was designed to express the connection between the two settlements later drawn in the *Aeneid*. These considerations offer plausible, if circumstantial, support for the idea that the statue may represent a deity that received cult at Lavinium and further that the statue may have been thought to embody that deity and thus function as a cult statue.

The context in which the statue was discovered, however, cautions against according it particular prominence. The deposit in which the statue was found contained fragments of a considerable number of other statues, many of significant size, ranging in date from the early fifth to the early second century B.C. (Fig. V.16).⁶⁰⁹ The fifth-century date of the statue of Minerva Tritonia is hence not exceptional.⁶¹⁰ The presence of a helmet and *gorgoneion* on at least one other statue also shows that it was not the sole representation of Minerva (Fig. V.17). Moreover, no attempt appears to have been made to separate the statues of the goddess from those of other young

⁶⁰⁷ Bruto and Avilia 2009: 10.

⁶⁰⁸ Castagnoli 1985: 10-1.

⁶⁰⁹ *ENL*: 188.

⁶¹⁰ Castagnoli 1979: 4.

women, presumably dedicants, in a way that would accord with different rites for cult images and votive offerings.⁶¹¹ The statue is hence interpreted as a cult statue based on its unusual size and an ambiguous literary reference, and there is every possibility that it was simply a substantial, lavish statue with a comparable function to many others found in the same deposit.

Turning to Etruria, the small statuette known as the ‘Venus of Cannicella’ is considered one of the strongest candidates for an early Etruscan cult statue due to its unique style and setting.⁶¹² The 0.765m-high naked female figure is badly damaged and missing its left arm and lower legs but was clearly formed by an undated reworking of an Archaic Greek marble *kouros* (Fig. V.18). The rarity of female nudity in Etruscan art prior to the Hellenistic era marks the statue as unusual, as does the use of a hairstyle more common to male figures.⁶¹³ The position of the right arm, resting near the genitals, is also suggestive of poses adopted in other statues of Venus and thus plays an important role in identifying the subject of the representation.⁶¹⁴ The location of the statue within the sanctuary, however, is accorded equal significance in identifying the statue as a recipient of cult. The Cannicella sanctuary was located on an artificial terrace within a necropolis and has yielded, to date, the remains of buildings, roof tiles, four stone altars, a votive deposit, and water features including basins, a channel, and a well.⁶¹⁵ A cylindrical altar found near the statue has been variously dated between the sixth and the third centuries B.C. (Fig. V.19).⁶¹⁶ On the altar surface a raised surround delineates three sides of a quadrangular area that opens

⁶¹¹ *ENL*: 188-9.

⁶¹² Pfiffig 1975: 265-6; Colonna 1987; Cristofani 1987b; De Grummond 2006: 111.

⁶¹³ Banti 1973: 123, 188.

⁶¹⁴ Simon 2006: 47 also connects this gesture with Oriental prototypes.

⁶¹⁵ Andrén 1968; Banti 1973: 123.

⁶¹⁶ Andrén 1968: 14; Damgaard Andersen 1998, i: 154.

towards part of the upper cornice with two small holes. Two depressions in the rear side of the surround are suggestive of fittings for an anthropomorphic figure. The altar is frequently illustrated in the company of a small rock attached to two feet, one of multiple finds at the sanctuary related to marble statues (Fig. V.20). The publication of these items as a set has arguably created an artificial association between the altar, the feet, and the statuette to suggest that the altar originally carried an image of the goddess to which rites were directed.⁶¹⁷ The placement of this possible assemblage within the sanctuary is also problematic. The weathering of the statuette and the presence of a hole in the head for a *meniskos*⁶¹⁸ suggests that the statue was displayed in the open air rather than one of the buildings. While this does not preclude the interpretation of the figure as a cult statue, it suggests that the standard image of a cult statue residing in a building with an altar is inapplicable and allows for other possibilities.

At Celle, near Civita Castellana, the discovery of a *tufo* head wearing a wreath of bronze leaves or *stephanos* has been interpreted as the remains of the sanctuary's cult image (Fig. V.21).⁶¹⁹ Like the Cannicella site, the Celle sanctuary was located near a necropolis and included a building decorated with Late Archaic terracottas along with a number of water features.⁶²⁰ Since its discovery scholars have associated the site with the settlement's patron goddess Juno Quiritis.⁶²¹ La Rocca has proposed that the head belonged to the cult statue of the goddess, and Colonna has further suggested

⁶¹⁷ For example, Andr n 1968: 4-5 and Tav. XVI.

⁶¹⁸ Andr n 1968: 11.

⁶¹⁹ Hus 1961: 91, no. 1, pl. 40.

⁶²⁰ Summarised by Colonna 1985c.

⁶²¹ Comella 1986: 185; for ancient sources linking Falerii with Juno Quiritis see *RE* X: 1123, s.v. "Juno" (C. Thulin).

that the statue was displayed inside the known building, the entrance to which could have been flanked by two statues of seated winged lions also found at the site.⁶²²

As with the previous two examples, however, the identification of the head as part of a cult statue can be challenged. Firstly, it is not agreed that the head is that of a female; it has been suggested that the head may in fact represent an *iuvenes triumphans*.⁶²³ Secondly, as the exact find spots are unknown, it is possible that both the head and the lions may have been votives or, more probably, part of tomb decorations in the nearby necropolis of Vigna Rosa.⁶²⁴ Tomb 13, alternatively known as Tomb LXXIV, in this necropolis furthermore carried a sculpture of a sphinx that is reminiscent of the Celle head (Fig. V.22); the fragment may have been originally displayed as part of a funeral throne.⁶²⁵ Thirdly, there are chronological problems with reconstructing a situation in which the Celle head stood inside the known building. Colonna's dating of the head and the sculpted lions to the early sixth century implies that a religious building stood at Celle from the early sixth century, well before the first Late Archaic architectural terracottas indicating a roof appeared at the site.⁶²⁶ An alternative and plausible dating of the head to c.500 B.C. by Comella may resolve the perceived incongruity.⁶²⁷ It is thus less than certain that the Celle head was part of the cult statue of Juno Quiritis and stood inside her shrine.

The problematic interpretation of the statue of Minerva Tritonia from Lavinium, the Venus of Cannicella from Orvieto, and the head from the Celle sanctuary at Civita Castellana thus demonstrates that it is difficult to identify any likely cult images in the

⁶²² Colonna 1985a: 111. On the lions, see Hus 1961 92-3, nos. 4 and 5.

⁶²³ Massa Pairault 2006: 250, n.36. Harari 2010: Fig. 26 also captions the head as a *kouros*.

⁶²⁴ Harari 2010: 95 judges that they 'were certainly re-employed' from the necropolis.

⁶²⁵ Hus 1961: 92, no.3; Cozza and Pasqui 1981: 126-8, nos. 26-7; Harari 2010: 96.

⁶²⁶ Damgaard Andersen 1998, i:155.

⁶²⁷ Comella 1986: 183.

archaeological record of Archaic Latium and Etruria. They usefully illustrate, however, the assumptions and paradigms of some modern scholarship, and also support the possibility that traditional understandings of cult statues may be anachronistic for reconstructions of cult practices in pre-Republican Italy. With this in mind it is now appropriate to turn to an evaluation of related claims about the relationship between early cult statues and contemporary cult buildings.

V.2.2. Cult statues and buildings

It has often been said that shrines and temples were built to house divine images;⁶²⁸ that temple frontages included wide doors to create sightlines between the cult statue and external altar;⁶²⁹ and that the orientation of Etruscan cult buildings was driven by a wish to allow the gaze of the cult statue within to fall on the earthly equivalent of their celestial territory.⁶³⁰ This section will challenge these claims by reviewing the surprisingly congruent archaeological and literary evidence that cult buildings did not always contain representations of the divine. Possible explanations for this absence will then be explored before considering the effect on reconstructions of likely building functions.

V.2.2.1. Archaeological evidence

Excavations of Archaic Latial and Etruscan sanctuaries have not revealed any unequivocal examples of a venerated object or cult statue inside a religious building. Mechanisms for their display, such as bases, are similarly absent. Yet numerous anthropomorphic figures with a direct connection to religious buildings are known in

⁶²⁸ For example, Colonna 1985a: 24. cf. Brown 1961: 13 and van der Meer 2010: 1, the latter noting the contemporaneity of monumental religious structures and anthropomorphic representations of deities, but not drawing an explicit connection.

⁶²⁹ Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2007: 206. Cf. Staccioli 1989-1990.

⁶³⁰ Prayon 1991; MacIntosh Turfa 2006a: 83-4; MacIntosh Turfa 2006b: 73-4. Cf. Mansuelli 1979: 364.

the form of roof decorations. Figured acroterial statues first appeared on a variety of Etruscan buildings at the start of the sixth century B.C. as likely symbols of the owner's wealth and authority. Early examples from Poggio Civitate include the cut-out acroterion of a rider on a horse from OC1, dated to c.595 B.C.,⁶³¹ and the set of statues in the round from the roof of the subsequent Upper Building, dated to c.580 B.C.⁶³² The later set includes at least ten representations of bearded, seated males with wide-brimmed hats; nine smaller seated figures thought to have been females; four human figures that stood or walked along the ridgepole; and six figures wearing helmets or the hats of the type later associated with the Roman *flamines* (Serv. *Ad Aen.* 2.683; 8.664; 10.270). All are commonly interpreted as ancestors rather than deities.⁶³³ Sphinxes, a centaur, a griffin, a hippocamp, felines, a boar, a ram, and a bull appeared among at least thirty-two animal statues. As discussed at length in Chapter Four of this thesis, such decorations gradually became the preserve of religious buildings, and increasingly featured anthropomorphic divinities and heroes with recognisable attributes. The artistic and technical sophistication of later acroteria is evident in the over-life-size statues from the roof of the Portonaccio temple at Veii (Fig. V.23), dated to c.510 B.C. and believed to depict the fight between Apollo and Herakles over the hind of Keryneia.⁶³⁴

The close resemblance or visual fluidity between terracotta acroteria, votive statues, and potential cult images is evident in the interpretative history of some well-known acroteria from both Latium and Etruria. The Herakles and Athena acroterion from the

⁶³¹ Winter 2009: 106-8, Ill. 2.13.3 and Fig. 2.18.

⁶³² Summarised most recently by Winter 2009: 194 ff. in association with Roof 3-8.

⁶³³ For example, Damgaard Andersen 1993b: 55; Haynes 2000: 120 ('heroized ancestors'); Rathje 2004-2007: 180. But cf. Edlund-Berry 1993: 120-1 suggesting that the acroteria represent *numina*, with the caution that the distinction between divine and human was not always clear at this time.

⁶³⁴ On the manufacturing of these acroteria see Winter 2009: 517.

S. Omobono sanctuary in Rome (Fig. V.24) consists of two terracotta figures with a restored height of approximately 1.4m.⁶³⁵ They were colourfully painted with a black pigment for Athena's hair, a golden brown colour for the lion skin, and red-brown paint for Herakles' skin, the sole of Athena's boot, and the fabric of the goddess's mantle.⁶³⁶ The pair were long interpreted as a dedication displayed within the sanctuary precinct on account of their size and medium.⁶³⁷ The discovery and restoration of the bases that attached the figures to the roof, however, led to their reinterpretation as acroterial statues.⁶³⁸ The statues of Herakles, Apollo, and other figures found at the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii at the beginning of the twentieth century were similarly reconstructed as displays within the temple precinct until the recovery of their acroterion bases, as were the ridge-pole acroteria on the Temple of Mater Matuta at Satricum.⁶³⁹ The readiness of modern scholars to interpret these anthropomorphic representations firstly as possible dedications or votives, and secondly as architectural decorations, thus reinforces the challenges of drawing etic or visual emic criteria for identifying cult statues discussed above.

The number and distribution of well-preserved acroterial statues establishes that deities and heroes were commonly represented in anthropomorphic form in the second half of sixth century B.C. The first recognisable divinities amongst Etruscan bronze votive statuettes are datable to the same period,⁶⁴⁰ and the presence of a fragment from an Athenian vase with an anthropomorphic depiction of Hephaestus, dated to c.565

⁶³⁵ Winter 2009: 5.E.1.A (Rome, S. Omobono).

⁶³⁶ Winter 2009: 379-80.

⁶³⁷ For example, Cristofani 1987a: 7-41; Cristofani 1990b: 33.

⁶³⁸ Mura Somella 1993. On the bases see Winter 2009: 386-7.

⁶³⁹ The statues at Satricum: Lulof 1993: 281 and n.23. The statues at Portonaccio: Edlund-Berry 2008: 83.

⁶⁴⁰ Richardson 1976: 128; Richardson 1983: xiv, 338; Damgaard Andersen 1998, i: 148, 158.

B.C., at the Volcanal in Rome⁶⁴¹ further indicates the development of an anthropomorphic iconography of the gods in central Italy. Late Archaic sanctuaries were accordingly likely to have contained a variety of representations of divinities atop religious buildings and in their vicinity. It is not a simple step, however, to move from an anthropomorphic iconography of the divine to the reconstruction of idolatry.⁶⁴² The ability to fashion statues in different sizes and media clearly existed, as did buildings suitable for their shelter. What circumstances might then explain the absence of evidence for statues inside religious buildings during the sixth century B.C.?

Loss of evidence

It is possible that a false impression of absence has been generated by the removal of portable statues to other contexts. The manufacture of cult statues in perishable media or valuable metals that were later recycled must also be considered. Wood was once thought to have played a significant role in ancient religious art as the preferred material for Greek *xoanon* statues, as antiquated and crudely-executed recipients of cult. This definition is now regarded as a modern construct. Whereas the term originally signified the work of a highly skilled artisan and came to describe splendid images of the divine at the end of the fifth century B.C., it thereafter referred to images of any age, media, or style until the specialised use of the term to describe a cult statue spread in the third and second century B.C.⁶⁴³ Wooden images of deities are known to have existed in Greece, including the olive-wood statue of Athena Polias at Athens (Athenagoras, *Leg.* 17) and an over-life-size statue of Hermes in Arkadia

⁶⁴¹ Beard, North et al. 1998, ii: 22.

⁶⁴² Note Rüpke 2006: 221-2 automatically equates acroteria with the presence of anthropomorphic cult statues.

⁶⁴³ Donohue 1988.

made of juniper wood (Paus. 8.17.1-2), and Pausanias' description of at least sixty wooden statues of gods and goddesses attests that wood was a common medium for representing the divine.⁶⁴⁴

In contrast, the rendering of Italian cult statues in non-ceramic media is relatively unclear. Pliny's chronology for representations of the divine in different materials is contradictory: on the one hand the statement that images of the gods dedicated in sanctuaries were formed of wood or clay prior to the conquest of Asia (*HN*. 34.16) seems to confirm the existence of early wooden representations; but claims that bronze statues of Heracles and Janus in Rome had been dedicated during the regal period (*HN*. 34.16), and that the first divine image in bronze was a statue of Ceres made in 485 B.C. (*HN*. 34.9), illustrate the inconsistencies. None of Pliny's statements expressly refer to cult statues rather than images used as votives or architectural decoration. Statues that were bronze, gilded, chryselephantine or acroliths are unlikely to have survived intact and may have been deliberately employed as a means of differentiating cult images from architectural decorations. It is more likely, however, that the absence of such objects in the archaeological record corroborates the literary descriptions of buildings without cult statues in a practice comparable to other aniconic Mediterranean religions.

Aniconism

An absence of divine images in seventh and early sixth-century religious buildings may indicate aniconic cults. The term aniconism encompasses a broad range of cult practices and may describe the veneration of a non-figural object or a divine presence without figuration. So-called material aniconism pertains to the worship of non-figural

⁶⁴⁴ Bennett 1917.

objects that signify the presence of invisible deities in a way that identifies and characterises them.⁶⁴⁵ Ancient authors including Xenophon (*Mem.* 1.1.4), Theophrastus (*Char.* 16.4), and Pausanias (1.44.2) variously interpret rituals involving such objects as harmless or prestigious, rather than relics of a primitive or degenerative age, and demonstrate that the introduction of anthropomorphic cult images did not necessitate the eradication of their non-figured counterparts.⁶⁴⁶ Greek examples include the sacred stones of Achaia and Megara (for example, Paus. 7.22.4) and the three tapering stone pillars worshipped in the Geometric and Archaic Temple B at Kommos on Crete, with their Syro-Palestinian antecedents and Phoenician parallels.⁶⁴⁷ Non-figural objects or ‘fetishes’ are also thought by some to have played a role in early Roman religion, for example in the form of a hearth fire for Vesta (*Ov. Fast.* 6.295-8), a lance for Mars (*Livy.* 24.10; *Gell.* 4.6.1-2), and a flint for Jupiter Lapis (*Fest.* 92).⁶⁴⁸ These objects are often associated with early religious buildings in evolutionary models that equate the rise of podium temples with the introduction of anthropomorphic cult statues.⁶⁴⁹ This theory cannot be archaeologically verified: there is no evidence of bases or niches for such objects in early shrines, nor is the evidence for cult statues stronger at sites with podium temples.

Rituals without any representations of the divine at all have been described as examples of ‘empty-space’ aniconism.⁶⁵⁰ A clear conception of divine power without physical representation is characteristic of Judaism, Islam, and Persian

⁶⁴⁵ Mettinger 1995: 19-20.

⁶⁴⁶ Steiner 2001: 80-9; Gaifman 2005; Stewart 2008: 300-1; Gaifman 2010; Rask 2011: 91.

⁶⁴⁷ Shaw 1989.

⁶⁴⁸ For example, Dumézil 1970: 27-8; Colonna 1985a: 60; contra. Rüpke 2006: 222 who believes these objects were used in front of anthropomorphic cult statues.

⁶⁴⁹ For example, Colonna 2006: 146.

⁶⁵⁰ Mettinger 1995: 19-20. For Greek examples see Gaifman 2005: 170-95.

Zoroastrianism,⁶⁵¹ while in Buddhism and some Near Eastern religions the absence of an image is highlighted by the use of framing devices such as empty thrones.⁶⁵² Recent scholarship on Minoan and Mycenaean depictions of the divine has argued that the distinction between a richly developed pantheon and iconographic specificity also existed in antiquity. The sacred objects, animals, and figures that populate Greek Bronze Age artworks are now thought to have functioned as general religious signifiers rather than ways of indicating specific gods, creating a ritual atmosphere instead of portraits or narratives.⁶⁵³ Herodotus also noted the lack of images in Persian cults (*Hist.* 1.131) while Philostratus (*VA.* 5.5) and Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 3, 30-1) recorded the absence of cult statues in the Phoenician-Punic shrine of Hercules-Melqart at Gades despite a developed anthropomorphic iconography.⁶⁵⁴ Excavations of Cretan ritual sites have provided no evidence of a primary cult statue in any period of antiquity.⁶⁵⁵ Between the twelfth and tenth centuries B.C. characteristic urban shrines instead took the form of ‘bench sanctuaries’ in which a stone platform against a wall displayed votives and offerings;⁶⁵⁶ the close resemblance to the first phase of Edificio *beta* at Tarquinia with its internal bench-altar is striking. The use of ashlar masonry piers interspersed with a fill of fieldstones to realise the walls of the structure at Tarquinia is often described as a Phoenician technique, while Near Eastern parallels have also been drawn for the building’s plan.⁶⁵⁷ The varied material culture of Etruscan settlements cautions against extending Near Eastern parallels for Tarquinia into a suggestion that Phoenician and Etruscan, much less central Italian, religion had

⁶⁵¹ Ross Taylor 1931: 308.

⁶⁵² Gaifman 2010: 67.

⁶⁵³ Blakolmer 2010.

⁶⁵⁴ Mettinger 1995: 87-100.

⁶⁵⁵ I am grateful to Simon Price for discussions of this subject.

⁶⁵⁶ Prent 2005: 188-200. Sites with bench sanctuaries include Karphi (catalogue A.6), Chalasmenos (A.17), Vronda (A.21) and, from c.750 B.C, the Temple of Apollo at Dreros (B.32).

⁶⁵⁷ Magness 2001: 81; most recently mentioned by Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 168.

common elements. It can be read, however, as an encouragement to look beyond mainland Greece for Etruscan and Latial comparanda.

V.2.2.2. *Literary evidence*

The writings of later Roman authors including Plutarch, Varro, and Festus represent a tradition of antiquarian research which has been mined by modern scholars to reconstruct various aspects of early Italic history.⁶⁵⁸ The accuracy, and hence reliability, of these sources is a matter of ongoing debate,⁶⁵⁹ but it can be productive to compare the impression they provide with the relevant archaeological material.

One of the key texts about the relationship between religious architecture and cult statues appears in Plutarch's *Life of Numa*. In his discussion of the Pythagorean aspects of Numa's rule, Plutarch claims that

‘during the first 170 years of their history, though they [the Romans] built temples and established holy shrines, they did not undertake to make an image, since it was not holy to liken exalted things to baser things nor to come in contact with the divine by any other means than the intellect (*Num* 8.8).’⁶⁶⁰

As Roman historians variously dated the foundation of Rome between 754 and 728 B.C.,⁶⁶¹ the passing of 170 years would equate to approximately 584 or 558 B.C. Plutarch's statement hence implies that seventh and early sixth-century cult buildings lacked images of the gods, and the first statues in Rome were roughly contemporary with the construction of the temple in the S. Omobono sanctuary in the Forum

⁶⁵⁸ For example, the first volume of Coarelli 1983 on the Archaic Forum Romanum. For a general overview of the written sources, see Cornell 1995: 1-26.

⁶⁵⁹ Discussed by, for example, Smith 2000: 17-8; Cornell 2005.

⁶⁶⁰ Trans. Pollitt 1983: 6. The same interval of 170 years between the founding of Rome and the introduction of cult statue appears in a quotation of Varro by Augustine (*De Civ.* 4.31); presumably Plutarch and Augustine are both drawing on a common source, either Varro or his sources.

⁶⁶¹ Varro dates the founding of Rome to 754 B.C.; Cato to 751 B.C.; Fabius to 748 B.C.; and Cincius to 728 B.C. On the problems of early Roman chronologies, see Cornell 1995: 72-3, 399-402.

Boarium at Rome. Interpreting this passage or similar citations as historical proof, however, is not straightforward. It is doubtful that Plutarch had any direct evidence for the activities of a king who may or may not have ruled eight centuries earlier, and the majority of stories associated with Numa appear to stem from a desire to attribute many of Rome's religious practices to a founder other than Romulus.⁶⁶² Nevertheless, it is significant that Plutarch has no hesitation in stating that representations of the divine were not a part of early rituals or cult buildings but belonged to a secondary phase of religious practice. A shrine or temple without a cult statue must thus have seemed plausible.

Another relevant text concerns the commissioning of an image of Jupiter from the Veientine sculptor Vulca. Pliny, quoting Varro, records that the contract was fulfilled by a terracotta statue painted the customary red (*HN*. 35.157: *Vulcam Veis accitum, cui locaret Tarquinius Priscus Iovis effigiem in Capitolio dicendam; fictilem eum fuisse et ideo miniari solitum*, 'Vulca was summoned from Veii to receive the contract from Tarquinius Priscus for a statue of Jupiter to be consecrated in the Capitol, and that this Jupiter was made of clay and consequently was painted with cinnabar'⁶⁶³). The Latin is ambiguous, as without an article it is not clear whether Vulca was asked to make *the* statue of Jupiter, or *a* statue. The other details allow for both possibilities. As both the Herakles acroterion from S. Omobono sanctuary and a contemporary example from the Portonaccio sanctuary demonstrate the application of an additional red-brown pigment to the original terracotta as a means of signifying male skin,⁶⁶⁴ and furthermore as traces of other colours are evident on roof plaques and a number of

⁶⁶² Beard, North et al. 1998, ii: 4.

⁶⁶³ Trans. H. Rackham (Loeb Classical Library, *Pliny IX*, Books 33-35).

⁶⁶⁴ The Herakles from S. Omobono: Winter 2009: 379. The Herakles from Portonaccio: Winter 2009: 501.

Archaic statues, it is clear that the simple use of paint on the Capitoline statue does not mark Vulca's creation as a cult statue. The phrase *in Capitolio* is also unclear. The passage continues with a mention of the terracotta quadrigas placed on the temple *in fastigio* and the attribution of a famous terracotta statue of Hercules in the Forum Boarium to the same artist. The phrase *in fastigio* is usually understood to mean the roof of the temple and consequently to indicate that the quadrigas were architectural decorations akin to the contemporary ridgepole acroteria on the Portonaccio temple at Veii. As a temple is mentioned only in the clause concerning the quadrigas, it is possible that the statue of Jupiter was to be dedicated in a precinct on the hill or on a temple's roof; either space may have warranted the description *in Capitolio*. It is thus conceivable that Vulca's expertise was required for a work other than a cult statue that stood inside the first Capitoline temple.

Plutarch and Pliny consequently suggest that images of the gods became part of Roman religion in approximately the mid-sixth century B.C. Significantly, they do not state that these images were placed within buildings or were foci for rituals and offerings. In this respect the literary sources affirm the ambiguity in the archaeological record.

This survey of the limited evidence for early cult statues acknowledges the possibility of a division between ancient artistic and religious sensibilities. The emergence of an anthropomorphic iconography of the gods in approximately the mid-sixth century B.C. does not appear to have been accompanied by the placement and worship of cult statues within religious buildings. Analogous situations in other ancient cultures also raise the possibility that objects became ritual foci relatively late in the history of Italic religion. Later Roman representations of the divine ranged from the naturalistic

to the non-figural, including the presence of a fire, rather than a cult statue, within the Temple of Vesta, which may further suggest that the role of anthropomorphic cult statues in Italic religion has been overstated. An evaluation of their effect on the form and function of religious architecture is now in order.

V.3. ALTAR, CULT STATUE, AND TEMPLE

So far this review has shown that while the theoretical model in which religious buildings, altars, and cult statues explain one another's presence and function may be accurate in other, later contexts, it cannot easily be substantiated in Archaic central Italy. The scarcity of altars in front of temples makes their central role in rites directed at a cult statue improbable, and the questions surrounding the existence of cult statues and their placement further undermine claims that the primary purpose of shrines and temples was to accommodate venerated images of the divine. Instead, the three elements appear as distinct entities, realised in no order and according to no template. Substantial altars and cult statues thus emerge as optional accessories for religious buildings rather than prerequisites or necessities.

The widespread absence of cult statues and frontal altars in this period requires the ritual function of cult buildings to be reconsidered. It has been claimed that the possession of an altar and a cult statue differentiated a temple from a treasury in the Greek world, with the statue signifying that the building was the house of a god, as opposed to a treasury, which housed votive offerings but no cult statue and revealed its concern with the mortal world by bearing the name of its dedicators rather than a god.⁶⁶⁵ In the alternative setting of early central Italy, it is clear that cult statues and

⁶⁶⁵ Rups 1986: 247; cf. Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 392.

altars did not mark all religious spaces: rural votive deposits at sites such as the Laghetto del Monsignore near Campoverde⁶⁶⁶ and the swamp at Brolio⁶⁶⁷ testify to rituals carried out in spaces without permanent altars or architecture, and Etruscan tombs hosted rites for the deceased surrounded by representations of mythical beings and animals with transcendental significance.⁶⁶⁸ The evidence from Etruria and Latium offers alternative criteria for identifying particular structures as cult buildings. The proximity of certain buildings to votive deposits and altars strongly suggests a ritual purpose; the deliberate steps taken to visually demarcate the same buildings and differentiate them from other structures indicate an atypical function; and the use of podia and architectural terracottas in subsequent Republican temples also fosters a connection between early and later sanctuary buildings with such features. Although each of these observations is circumstantial, together they corroborate the religious character of certain buildings in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. The fact that Latial and Etruscan cult buildings cannot be identified by the presence of a cult statue and altar positioned in front of a building's façade makes it clear that these features would signify a building where a particular *type* of ritual was observed, rather than a generic cult building.

Yet the development of a distinctive style for cult buildings through the course of the sixth century B.C. demonstrates that they were, or gradually became, functionally or conceptually different from other buildings within and without sanctuaries. Scholarship on the emergence of Greek temples has traditionally attributed rectangular ground plans, columns, and an orientation towards an external altar to the

⁶⁶⁶ Bouma 1996, i: 41ff., 52-4, 81.

⁶⁶⁷ Romualdi 1981.

⁶⁶⁸ Haynes 2000: 151. The bibliography on the subjects and significance of Etruscan tomb painting is extensive; for a recent overview, see Steingraber 2006.

presence of anthropomorphic cult statues, with the result that the history of religious architecture has become bound to the history of divine representation.⁶⁶⁹ The translation of this idea to Etruria and Latium would imply that the monumentalisation of Archaic cult buildings, and the concomitant development of a distinctive formal vocabulary for temple architecture, can be correlated with the introduction of a particular type of cult image. The similarity between, on the one hand, the dates suggested by Varro and Plutarch for the introduction of cult statues and, on the other, the date of the first S. Omobono temple with podium and apparent frontal altar, does suggest that cult-receiving images of the gods and podium temples both appeared in central Italy between approximately 575 and 510 B.C. The absence of evidence for cult statues within temples means that the precise relationship between these developments must remain restricted to hypothetical scenarios.

The likelihood that the introduction of anthropomorphic cult statues stimulated a particular temple style may be assessed by examining comparable developments around the Mediterranean. The Egyptians, Mesopotamians, and Hittites regarded temples as houses for cult statues.⁶⁷⁰ Alternatively, cult buildings without a primary representation of the divine characterised the religions of the Minoans, Mycenaeans, Israelites, and all periods of Cretan history.⁶⁷¹ Rooms used for the performance of rituals at Tarsus and Beycesultan demonstrate the use of altars, fireplaces, and posts, rather than cult statues, as ritual foci in pre-Hittite Anatolia;⁶⁷² these rooms were distinguished from other structures by their form and decoration, marked by limited access, and include examples of internal altars axially aligned with the entrance to the

⁶⁶⁹ *RE Suppl.* 5: 497-8, s.v. "Kultbild" (V. Müller); Burkert 1985:88-9; cf. Donohue 1997: 32.

⁶⁷⁰ Burkert 1985: 88.

⁶⁷¹ Burkert 1985: 88; cf. Sporn 2002: 343-56.

⁶⁷² Wasilewska 1993: 480-8; cf. Collins 2005: 36.

room.⁶⁷³ The Hebrew Temple in Jerusalem was one of the most celebrated aniconic cult buildings in the ancient world. Reconstructions of the Temple are reliant upon reports in the Old Testament, which reports that the innermost room of the first Temple, built by King Solomon in the tenth century B.C., housed the Ark of the Covenant above which God could appear as light (1 Timothy 6:16; Psalm 104:2; cf. Exodus 33:20). This room was reconstructed in the second Temple but remained empty from the time of its inception in c.516 B.C. to its destruction in A.D. 70 as a testament to the loss of the Ark during the Babylonian destruction of its predecessor (cf. Tac. *Hist.* 5.9.1).⁶⁷⁴ These two buildings represent considerable investment in religious architecture without an anthropomorphic representation of the divine or, in the case of the second Temple, a tangible object of worship. Cult statues thus did not always play an essential role in decisions to dedicate particular buildings to religious practice or, more importantly, to design these buildings in such a way that they would appear dissimilar to other structures.

The fact that the development of a distinctive style for ancient religious buildings did not always correspond to the presence of a cult statue suggests that architectural forms and decoration may have been the product of conditions outside, as well as inside, certain buildings. Recent studies of early European material culture from the perspective of cognitive psychology and neuroscience have theorised that the production of visually complex objects was a means of creating, asserting, and maintaining social bonds between viewers and owners.⁶⁷⁵ The use of visual complexity in establishing and reinforcing relative socio-political positions

⁶⁷³ Wasilewska 1993: 482-5.

⁶⁷⁴ Mettinger 1979: 24; Schiffman 1991: 45; Mettinger 1995: 19; Keel and Uehlinger 1996: 104.

⁶⁷⁵ Wells 2008, esp. p.131-42.

accordingly became particularly important in times of cultural or political change.⁶⁷⁶

The elevation and isolation of cult buildings achieved by podia, the gradual restriction of architectural terracottas to religious buildings, and the expansion of temple ground plans until they dominated their communities are all attention-focusing devices that transformed cult buildings into monumental, visually complex objects. It is thus possible that the conspicuous design of these buildings was intended to meet the needs of the surrounding community rather than a god housed within.

V.4. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has shown that altars, cult statues, and temples appear to have been relatively independent elements of ritual activity in Latium and Etruria prior to the fifth century B.C. Rather than integral components of temple complexes that effectively activated cult buildings, altars were often built in spaces without architecture. Those that were placed near a cult building display no consistent proportional relationship to the building and were often oriented in a different direction, while efforts were furthermore taken to shield some altars from the direct gaze of any cult statue that may have stood inside the building as well as the eyes of passers-by. Altars thus did not function as religious markers, clearly identifying that the building they stood before had a dedicated religious function, but were tools for communicating with the divine that were essentially disconnected, in a conceptual and often physical sense, from architectural settings.

Ironically, cult statues are somewhat intangible in the archaeological record of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. It is difficult to identify any of the many extant

⁶⁷⁶ Wells 2008: 137.

figured objects from the period as foci for ritual activities, and attempts to formulate etic and emic criteria upon which such identifications may be based also reveal significant ambiguity in the very concept of a cult statue. In the light of earlier religious practices, however, ranging from open-air votive deposition to the possibility of shared meals with a ritual component, an absence of clear evidence for cult statues may actually be less surprising than presence. Reconstructions of monumental temples with cult statues and aligned altars may be appropriate for the late Roman Republic but anachronistic in the Archaic period, where they are sought in the belief that Italic ritual was inherently unchanging and conservative. The problematic nature of pre-Republican cult statues may thus encourage contemplation of other possibilities including new degrees of flexibility and innovation.

The archaeological and literary evidence concur that altars, cult statues, and religious buildings did not form a consistent ritual unit in Archaic Latium or Etruria. The introduction of such a trinity of features thus cannot easily explain religious monumentalisation. The circumstances of this discrepancy, however, allow for the possibility that architectural innovation represents a response to conditions beyond immediate cult sites, or beyond the immediate requirements of cult practice, similar to those that spurred comparable developments elsewhere in the Mediterranean. The following chapter will examine the location of Archaic cult buildings to assess the role of religious and secular topographies in their monumentalisation. The findings will then be assessed within wider networks to offer a new perspective on the form and function of Archaic temples.

CHAPTER VI. RITUAL TOPOGRAPHIES: LANDSCAPES, CITYSCAPES, AND TEMPLES

The construction of monumental temples and sanctuaries during the sixth century B.C. changed the appearance of cult sites and settlements in Archaic Tyrrhenian Italy. The relationship between monumental cult buildings and their settings, however, is not well understood. As will be discussed below, it has been variously argued that the placement and orientation of Archaic temples was influenced by the terrain, pre-existing cult sites, ritual geography, and the requirements of those within settlements. It has also been less than clear whether religious monumentalisation followed recognisable topographical patterns, particular to each region, culture, or religion, or alternatively varied according to local needs and customs. Thus, although the archaeology of landscapes and settlements has become an increasingly common element of Latial and Etruscan studies, the religious dimension of these landscapes and cityscapes requires further analysis.

This chapter will accordingly examine the topography of early monumental temples in Latium and Etruria both in terms of their position in the landscape and in relation to features such as votive deposits, roads, and other buildings. The first part of the chapter will present an overview of the organisation and characteristics of settlements in central Italy in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. to establish the context for the introduction of the first monumental temples. The second part will examine scholarly claims about the location of Archaic cult buildings, which will then be tested against the archaeological evidence in part three. What at first appears to be great diversity will be shown to represent a variety of responses to the same concern, namely a desire

to be accessible to visitors, travellers, and an increasingly mobile population. The fourth and final part will use these findings to argue that it may be timely to review traditional typologies for cult sites that are based upon topographical relationships with urban centres.

VI.1. SETTLEMENT TOPOGRAPHY c.700-500 B.C.

The incorporation of landscape archaeology into Etruscan and Latial studies over the last three decades has generated new data and models for reconstructing regional settlement hierarchies, population densities, and interaction with the physical environment. It is now possible to recognise broad, if complex, patterns in the location and organisation of settlements as well as changes to those patterns over time. At the risk of over-simplifying these patterns, this section will briefly summarise apparent changes in the location and layout of Latial and Etruscan settlements during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. to provide a framework for analysing contemporary religious topography.

VI.1.1. Latium

The number and nature of settlement centres in Latium underwent significant change during the seventh and sixth centuries.⁶⁷⁷ Prior to the seventh century, migrations away from the Alban Hills and toward the Latial plains had effectively concentrated people at sites such as Rome, Satricum, Lavinium, Palestrina, Ficana, Fidenae, La Rustica, Laurentina, and Castel di Decima, with a cluster of settlements along the Tiber;⁶⁷⁸ funerary data also suggests the presence of significant settlements at Velletri,

⁶⁷⁷ For a more detailed discussion of this process see Bouma and van't Lindenhout 1996-7: 96-7.

⁶⁷⁸ Smith 1996b: 54.

Tusculum, Ariccia, and Frattocchie.⁶⁷⁹ This pattern changed during the seventh century as the relative decline and growth of certain sites produced a more even distribution of the population across Latium. Settlements such as La Rustica, Laurentina, Castel di Decima, Antemnae, and Frattochie almost disappeared, while those along the Tiber and near the Alban Hills expanded.⁶⁸⁰ This pattern was reinforced at the end of the sixth century as Rome, Gabii, Tivoli, and Palestrina grew increasingly powerful at the same time that Satricum, Ficana, and Valvisciolo entered terminal decline. The overall pattern can be summarised as a consolidation of earlier trends, with some long-inhabited sites developing into primary centres arranged relatively evenly over the plains.⁶⁸¹

These primary centres may have been formed by processes similar to Greek synoecism.⁶⁸² For example, discrete communities around the Castiglione Lake, such as Osteria dell'Osa, seem to have unified during the seventh century to produce the new site of Gabii.⁶⁸³ At Rome the population which had previously occupied scattered hut compounds appears to have undertaken the draining, infilling, and paving of the future Forum Romanum, a project of such scale as to imply some unity of labour and purpose.⁶⁸⁴ Signs of an increase in burials and occupation densities across Latium suggest that an expanding population may have been a significant trigger for the agglomeration of such communities.⁶⁸⁵ Growth in size also appears to have been paralleled by a growth in relative power, as a decline in evidence for the occupation of

⁶⁷⁹ Bouma and van't Lindenhout 1996-7: 96.

⁶⁸⁰ Bouma and van't Lindenhout 1996-7: 96.

⁶⁸¹ Bietti Sestieri 1992a: 49-50; Smith 1996b: 86, 99; Bouma and van't Lindenhout 1996-7.

⁶⁸² Cf. Peroni 2000 and Vanzetti 2002: 38 arguing that the process may be more accurately described as 'the imperceptible fusion of neighboring sites.'

⁶⁸³ Quilici 1976; Bietti Sestieri 1992a; Smith 1996b: 245; Smith 1997: 209.

⁶⁸⁴ Ammerman 1990; Smith 1996a: 100-3; cf. Grandazzi 1997: 157-9. On the formation of Rome as a process of synoecism, see Guidi 1982.

⁶⁸⁵ Smith 1996b: 99-100.

certain areas indicates that the new primary centres may have absorbed previous competitors or dependents, for example in the possible redistribution of Ficana's land between Rome and Lavinium, or the annexation of Satricum by Ardea.⁶⁸⁶

The most prominent features of these larger settlements were town walls and defences. At Ardea, Satricum, and Lavinium the populations erected *aggeres*, or earth banks retained by two walls, at the edge of settled areas which lacked natural defences.⁶⁸⁷ Such monumental works represent considerable investments of resources; one scholar has calculated that the construction of the north-eastern *agger* at Ardea may have taken 200,000 working days, or six years of work for 100 people, for the digging alone.⁶⁸⁸ This was surpassed by the series of terraces built down the slopes at Valvisciolo, which may be considered the greatest known fortifications in the region.⁶⁸⁹ Such fortifications generally enclosed more than 40 hectares of land that was thinly occupied, crossed by one or more road, and included a physically distinct *arx* that retained its original defences and traces of older occupation.⁶⁹⁰ There is also evidence that some settlements instituted various forms of formal, centralised open space during the seventh and sixth centuries. These spaces, such as the Forum Romanum, may have served political, commercial, or multi-functional purposes.⁶⁹¹ There are no known Etruscan parallels for such areas: no open spaces have been uncovered yet at Marzabotto,⁶⁹² while speculation surrounds the extent of the open

⁶⁸⁶ Evidence and hypotheses discussed by Bouma and van't Lindenhout 1996-7: 101-2.

⁶⁸⁷ van't Lindenhout 1997: 302-7 with bibliography.

⁶⁸⁸ Gualtoli 1984: 370.

⁶⁸⁹ Quilici Gigli 1990; Smith 1996b: 255.

⁶⁹⁰ van't Lindenhout 1997: 310.

⁶⁹¹ On the creation of the Forum Romanum, see in particular Ammerman 1990: 641-5.

⁶⁹² Although excavations currently underway east of the Temple in Regio I may prove fruitful in this regard.

space with cistern on the Piazza d'Armi acropolis in Veii.⁶⁹³ Other trends include the gradual distinction of productive areas from residential neighbourhoods and a marked increase in water management infrastructure such as drains and cisterns.

VI.1.2. Etruria

Field surveys have indicated that Etruria developed a clear settlement hierarchy during the seventh and sixth centuries. The plateau settlements of the Iron Age, established following the general abandonment of Bronze Age and Proto-Villanovan sites, retained their prominence and continued to increase in size, population, and trading activities. By the Archaic period each occupied approximately 200-300 hectares of land and had become a primary centre surrounded by smaller sites such as Acquarossa and Civita Castellana (Fig.VI.1).⁶⁹⁴ Other, secondary centres between the Arno and the Tiber rivers included Fiesole, Volterra, Arezzo, Cortona, Chiusi, Perugia, Populonia, Vetulonia, and Roselle. Settlement nucleation occurred in both southern and northern Etruria but with less differentiation between larger and smaller centres in the north.⁶⁹⁵

Reconstructions of Etruria's settlement hierarchy have been more straightforward than reconstructions of each centre's territory and relationship with the surrounding landscape. The use of mathematical models and Thiessen polygons has produced inconsistent results (Fig. VI.2), and without a means of establishing which, if any, is

⁶⁹³ For example, Colonna 1986: 426 and Izzet 2007: 179-80 arguing for an open public space on the Piazza d'Armi. Meyers 2003 has identified central open spaces within settlements as important points of access and primary organisation; these open spaces are not, however, formal fora in any sense. But note also Izzet 2007: 179 suggesting that such spaces may have existed but left no physical traces.

⁶⁹⁴ Judson and Hemphill 1981.

⁶⁹⁵ Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 143-9.

correct, detailed analyses must give way to general observations.⁶⁹⁶ Large centres continued to occupy prominent plateaux with access to water and proximity to arable land, raw materials, or trade routes. Most were sited approximately 10 kilometres from the sea with connections to the coast achieved through the construction of entrepôts: Gravisca serviced Tarquinia, Pyrgi was connected to Cerveteri, and Regisvilla was the port of Vulci. The decline of many smaller settlements during the seventh and sixth centuries has been attributed to the expansion of the primary centres, by conquest or attraction, culminating in the formation of the twelve city-states of the famous Etruscan League.⁶⁹⁷ Each of the new territories is thought to have measured between 500 and 1500 square kilometres,⁶⁹⁸ although their borders remain a subject of scholarly dispute and the interpretation of any rural phenomena as territorial markers remains doubtful.

Study of the internal organisation of early Etruscan settlements has long suffered for want of evidence as no Etruscan site of the seventh and sixth centuries has been excavated in its entirety. Claims about the internal organisation of Etruscan settlements were historically based upon funerary data, as it was believed that the towns for the dead imitated those for the living.⁶⁹⁹ Since the mid-twentieth century excavations of settlements such as Acquarossa and Luni sul Mignone have offered comparative data, although the layout of many sites must still be reconstructed from remains of varying quantity and quality, with scant stratified material to establish

⁶⁹⁶ Spivey and Stoddart 1990: fig. 17; Damgaard Andersen 1997: 343; Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 175; Leighton 2004: fig. 17 for an excellent map of all the different territories proposed for Tarquinia. For the similar problem in Latium, compare the conflicting reconstructions of Bouma and van't Lindenhout 1996-7, Figs. 3 and 4 and Cornell 1995: 206, Fig. 22.

⁶⁹⁷ Torelli 2000a: 195-6.

⁶⁹⁸ Torelli 2000a: 196.

⁶⁹⁹ Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 65, 140; Izzet 2007: 165 with references.

chronologies and balance the effects of continuous occupation.⁷⁰⁰ The majority of small-scale topographical analyses now draw on material from approximately 20 sites across north and south Etruria dated between the eighth and second centuries B.C.⁷⁰¹

Many studies of Italic town planning have been disproportionately dominated by the orthogonal layout at Marzabotto (Fig. VI.3). After decades of disputes about whether Etruscan examples were indigenous developments or imitations of Greek practice, it is now widely accepted that such organisation was characteristic of new foundations rather than older settlements such as Veii.⁷⁰² Arguments that Etruscan cities were laid out according to augural dictates, which may have been geometrical and thus related to orthogonal plans, are evidently inapplicable to sites established prior to the sixth century, as they tend to be organised organically and in response to the terrain rather than a grid; whether such dictates were undeveloped or sporadically applied in earlier times is unclear.⁷⁰³ The use of distinct areas for economic activities, however, is attested in Etruria as it is in Latium. The rapid introduction of specialist technologies for gold-working, bronze-working, iron-working, and ceramic manufacture during the Orientalising period led to the appearance of specialist craftsmen and dedicated industrial areas in towns, ports, emporia, sanctuaries, and elite homes.⁷⁰⁴ These settlements were seldom fortified; the only significant defensive system in Etruria

⁷⁰⁰ Wikander and Roos 1986.

⁷⁰¹ Izzet 2007: 169.

⁷⁰² Donati 1994: 5; Damgaard Andersen 1997: 348; Steingraber 2000: 293-5; Izzet 2007: 171, 175; cf. Riva 2010: 3-4.

⁷⁰³ Cf. the suggestion by Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 92-3 that the *etrusca disciplina* were composed as late as the first century B.C., at least in the form known to Greek and Roman writers, to retrospectively account for events.

⁷⁰⁴ Spivey and Stoddart 1990: 56; Damgaard Andersen 1997: 350-1; Izzet 2007: 173-4 with references.

during the Archaic period known to date is the four-kilometre-long polygonal masonry wall around Roselle.⁷⁰⁵

VI.2. THE LOCATION OF RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE: THEORIES AND ASSUMPTIONS

The appearance of monumental sanctuaries is frequently presented as one of the principal changes in Archaic Latial and Etruscan topography.⁷⁰⁶ The placement of these new temples, both within settlements and more generally in the landscape, is commonly held to have been guided by one or more of the following principles. The first is the phenomenon of functional and topographic continuity. According to this idea, monumental temples were built at pre-existing cult sites and often represent the culmination of a construction sequence that passed from a hut to a shrine and finally a temple. The second principle is a preference for elevated sites that gave temples maximum visibility, desired either for the deity associated with the temple or the community that it served. The third principle, cited most often in Etruscan scholarship, holds that temples were located and orientated according to the rules of religious geography, for example augury. While it is possible that all three principles may have been observed in the placement of a temple on a hilltop that had a long history of cult observance and was sited within its settlement according to cosmological rules, the majority of discussions of religious topography do not endeavour to reconcile the three assertions. This section will describe these principles and place them within the wider archaeological, ritual, and historical contexts examined in Part One of this thesis.

⁷⁰⁵ Canocchi 1980.

⁷⁰⁶ For example, Cornell 1995: 112; Izzet 2007: 126-30.

Monumentalisation of pre-existing cult buildings

Just as an evolutionary model of central Italic religion has been used by some scholars to explain the location of possible sacred huts (see section I.2.2), the position of sixth-century monumental temples has occasionally been ascribed to the ongoing and immovable veneration of a sacred site, possibly beginning with the worship of a natural feature such as a tree or water source, that gradually received architectural elaboration.⁷⁰⁷ As the settlement history of central Italy saw few settlements, let alone cult centres, remain in use from the Bronze Age to the Archaic period, such continuity would arguably have been exceptional. Yet continuity may have been a factor on a reduced timescale, as votive evidence indicates that the rupture between Bronze Age and Iron Age cult sites appears to have been followed by a period of relative stability in which many Iron Age centres received Archaic depositions.⁷⁰⁸ It is thus possible that Archaic monumental temples were sited in accordance with pre-existing cult places, even if those cult places lacked the antiquity of Greek comparanda such as Eleusis or the Erechtheion at Athens.⁷⁰⁹ It is also relevant to note that any such continuity in central Italy was generally temporary, as the creation of many *ex-novo* sanctuaries in the fifth and fourth centuries again precluded the development of an enduring, fixed ritual landscape.⁷¹⁰ Thus while topographic continuity should be regarded as exceptional over the span of the first millennium B.C., an influential role is possible in the period under discussion.

⁷⁰⁷ For example, Harmon 1978: 1453-4 arguing that the location of shrines was determined by sacred sites already in existence; and Edlund 1987: 35-7, 144 on Etruscan continuities. cf. also Ziolkowski 1992: 271-5, 308 linking many mid-Republican temple foundations in Rome to Archaic sacred sites.

⁷⁰⁸ Gjerstad 1966: 245; Bouma 1996, i: 89-93.

⁷⁰⁹ Jannot 2005: 74.

⁷¹⁰ Bouma 1996, i: 93-4.

Elevated sites

Scholarship on Archaic religious topography also commonly presents hilltops as favoured sites for monumental temples. As discussed in Chapter Two in relation to the location of potential sacred huts, some scholars have suggested that the desire to take *auspicia* from high points gave the *arx* great ritual significance in Etruscan and Latial settlements and established the *arx* as a natural site for religious ceremonies and cult buildings.⁷¹¹ The construction of the Capitoline Temple on a hilltop overlooking the centre of fifth-century Rome appears to corroborate this concept, as does the much later advice of the Roman architect Vitruvius, writing in the Augustan period, to build the temples of protective deities on sites that command a view of the greater part of any settlement (Vitr. *De arch.* 1.7.1). The perceived importance of placing Etruscan cult buildings on similarly elevated sites is also evident in modern arguments that temples were sited and oriented to allow the gaze of the cult statue within to fall onto the territory for which the deity was responsible.⁷¹² There is furthermore an idea that monumental temples functioned in part as highly visible symbols of a patron's or community's piety.⁷¹³ Elevated sites arguably increased the prominence of such symbols in the eyes of human and divine onlookers and made a significant statement about identity and divine favour. The pre-eminence of raised sites is thus argued for on a variety of grounds.

It is important to note, however, that the defensive advantages of hilltops had seen many previously occupied by the mixture of dwellings, economic activities, and

⁷¹¹ Torelli 2000a: 197-8; Malnati 2008: 78; cf. Jannot 2005: 73.

⁷¹² Prayon 1991; MacIntosh Turfa 2006a: 83-4; MacIntosh Turfa 2006b: 73-4. Cf. Mansuelli 1979: 364.

⁷¹³ Colonna 1985a: 60; cf. the comparable argument for the Greek world by Burkert 1988: 43-4, which has undoubtedly influenced the perception of similar developments in central Italy.

religious rituals that characterised daily life, particularly in Latium.⁷¹⁴ The *arces* at Satricum, Ardea, and Lavinium were inhabited from the eighth century B.C. as settlement nuclei, and while expansion of the settlements in later times may have resulted in the *arces* being accorded special status on account of their longstanding use, there is no evidence that hilltops were always reserved for religious activities. Any ritual justification for the placement of temples atop the highest area of any settlement must thus have come into being at a particular, post-Iron Age time in response to particular circumstances.

Religious geography

Some scholars have further proposed that Etruscan temples were sited in accordance with ritual geography. Such a system is known in part from the writings of Roman authors who recorded an Etruscan belief that the sky could be divided into sixteen different regions with corresponding deities (Plin. *HN*. 2.55.143; Cic. *Div*. 2.18.42; Serv. *Ad Aen*. 8.427; Mart. Cap. *De nuptiis*. 1.45-61) (Fig. VI.4), and who also wrote that the Etruscan priests known as *haruspices* divided the world according to the cardinal points of the compass (Frontinus 25-30, after Varro⁷¹⁵). There is also archaeological evidence that the Etruscans possessed a ritual conception of space. A life-size bronze model of a sheep's liver discovered near Piacenza in 1877 has been dated to the third or second century B.C. and interpreted as a soothsayer's teaching aid (Fig. VI.5). Incised lines divide the surface into forty-two irregular segments containing the names of different deities: sixteen appear on the upper side, twenty-four around the centre; and two below. The northern Etruscan script and the well-

⁷¹⁴ Guañtoli 1984: 377; van't Lindenhout 1997: 308.

⁷¹⁵ Campbell 2000: 9.

attested use of animal livers in Etruscan divination have been taken as strong indications that the model reflected, and now represents, Etruscan cosmology.⁷¹⁶

The application of these concepts to Etruscan town planning may be evident at Marzabotto.⁷¹⁷ Studies of the geometrical relationship between the orthogonal street system and the *auguraculum* on the settlement's acropolis have suggested that the town was laid out according to a diagonal line, starting from the *auguraculum*, which coincides with sunrise and sunset during the summer and winter solstices (Fig. VI.6). The ritual geography that arguably dictated the layout of Marzabotto may also have determined the location of the town's temples. Recent excavations in Block 5 of Region 1 have uncovered a peripteral temple dated to c.475 B.C. and assigned to the god Tinia on the basis of the nearby discovery of a small *olla* with a votive inscription (Fig. VI.7).⁷¹⁸ Significantly, the location of the temple within the street plan matches the space associated with Tinia in cosmologies reconstructed from the Piacenza liver.⁷¹⁹ It is thus conceivable that Etruscan temple placement could have been linked to, if not determined by, the relationship between the ritual ordering of the sky and the presiding deity. Opportunities for such congruity may only have existed in newly founded settlements, however, as a comparable situation is unknown at any older site.

This brief review suggests that these three principles – a desire to monumentalise pre-existing cult sites, to build on elevated spaces, and to physically manifest cosmological patterns – were not timeless. Rather, they appear to be guidelines that were the product of particular periods and cultures outside Archaic central Italy. The

⁷¹⁶ Haynes 2000: 277-8; Izzet 2007: 166; Malnati 2008: 76-84.

⁷¹⁷ Morpurgo 2007; van der Meer 2010: 2 cites the layout of Marzabotto and Gravisca as evidence that the cosmological divisions on the Piacenza Liver were known and had practical application as early as the fifth century B.C.

⁷¹⁸ Malgieri 2007b: 25.

⁷¹⁹ Malgieri 2007b: 23.

following section will test this impression, as well as the abstract plausibility of the principles, against the archaeological evidence.

VI.3. THE LOCATION OF RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE: SITES IN CENTRAL ITALY

Advances in settlement archaeology over the last fifty years now allow cautious assessments of the relationship between some cult buildings and votive deposits, roads, water sources, and elements of the natural landscape. This section will examine the placement of five of the first monumental temples in Latium and Etruria in terms of these relationships to ascertain whether they followed a recognisable pattern.

VI.3.1. Latium

The first known monumental temple in western central Italy was built in the S. Omobono sanctuary in Rome in c.580 B.C. The second such temple was built at Satricum approximately twenty-five years later. Both predate the known use of similar architecture in Etruria and hence do not appear to be imitations of northern practice. Both sites are moreover notable in the history of Latial religion for the unparalleled wealth of the votive deposits that precede monumentalisation. The following analysis of their topography will consider the placement of the temples within their settlements and also whether both their architectural precocity and their wealth may have stemmed from their position within the landscape.

Rome

The possibility that Rome was arranged as a set of relatively distinct hut compounds prior to the seventh century B.C was mentioned earlier in this chapter. Votive deposits on a range of hills testify to a wide distribution of ritual activities, perhaps reflecting

the location of various habitations, and establish an early religious topography that can be compared with later periods. The oldest known votive assemblage on any of the seven hills or interim lowlands is the deposit beneath S. Maria della Vittoria on the Quirinal.⁷²⁰ Hundreds of objects there, including miniature and full-sized impasto and bucchero pottery, jewellery, iron lance heads, pieces of bronze, weaving items, a male statuette, charcoal, ashes, and several animal bones, have been dated between the ninth and sixth century, with a concentration in the seventh; a continuation into the Hellenistic period has also been proposed. An absence of architectural remains has seen the site interpreted as part of an open-air sanctuary that was never monumentalised.⁷²¹ Up to three centuries of ritual activity at Rome are thus attested prior to the construction of the settlement's first temple.

When Rome's first podium temple was constructed in the Forum Boarium in c.580 B.C., the oldest votive deposits at Rome, located on the Quirinal, Palatine, and Capitoline hills, apparently lacked any form of religious architecture,⁷²² and the Regia resembled a typical elite residence. The first podium temple was furthermore constructed on a site with no clear evidence of earlier votive deposition.⁷²³ It thus does not appear that the inhabitants of Archaic Rome were guided by the principle of progressively elaborating and monumentalising pre-existing cult sites through the different stages of open-air deposition, a hut, a shrine, and finally a temple. Instead, they appear to have regarded votive depositions and religious architecture as heterogeneous, rather than sequential, forms of ritual activity.

⁷²⁰ On the assemblage and its interpretation, see Bouma 1996, iii:73-4 with references.

⁷²¹ Gjerstad 1966: 377.

⁷²² On votive deposits on the Palatine, see Bouma 1996, iii: 86-8 with references. On votive deposits on the Capitoline, see Bouma 1996, iii: 75-8 with references.

⁷²³ Scattered finds of objects such as a millstone are likely to be signs of occupation rather than sacrifice or ritual deposition; Ioppolo 1989: 29 alternatively suggests the millstone signals that grain was used during animal sacrifices.

The Forum Boarium was not an elevated site. Its lowland, riverside position was enhanced by proximity to the Tiber Island, which divided the river into two bridgeable channels (Fig. VI.8); with the shallower water and adjacent lowland to the east, the area became a natural landing point for ships pausing at Rome and Veii or travelling upriver to Antemnae, Fidenae, and Crustumerium.⁷²⁴ Connections with major roads are likely to have increased the appeal to travellers and traders: here ended the Via Salaria, bringing salt and transhumant herds to local exchanges, while one of the principal roads between Etruria and Campania passed close by and may have motivated the construction of Rome's first bridge, the Pons Sublicius.⁷²⁵ Such natural infrastructure brought the Forum Boarium, and thereby Rome, into contact with broader interregional and international networks. With 100 kilometres of navigable water enabling passage from the coast to inland Latium, Etruria, and the western lands of the Sabines, the Tiber River was one of the main communication routes of central Italy.⁷²⁶ Its importance for the movement of goods is demonstrated by the fact that settlements with a direct connection to the Tiber are the only Latial find spots for vessels of early Greek type other than Satricum.⁷²⁷ International imports in the Forum Boarium are evident from the eighth century onwards in sherds of late Geometric, Euboean, Cycladic, and Corinthian ceramics, as well as Ischian and

⁷²⁴ Similarities with ceramics from Veii suggest that travellers used the river as a route into Etruria, rather than viewing Latial ports as final destinations: Beijer 1995: 61. Note that the existence of a sixth-century port at the Forum Boarium is the subject of scholarly debate; while Coarelli 1988: 113ff. argues in favour of a port, this has been challenged, for example by Säflund 1932: 175; see also Heurgon 1973: 551 and Smith 1996b: 180-1.

⁷²⁵ On the topography of the Archaic Forum Boarium see Coarelli 1988; Pisani Sartorio 1989b; Smith 1996b: 179-80; Coarelli 2007: 307-8. On roads in the area see Coarelli 1988: Fig. 22.

⁷²⁶ Holloway 1994: 171.

⁷²⁷ Beijer 1995.

Cumaean imitations of Corinthian styles.⁷²⁸ An auspicious position between the river and the settlement thus turned the area into Rome's first international market.

The significance of the early Forum Boarium as a point of contact with outsiders may also be reflected in a range of myths and legends about the area that feature heroes, kings, and Greeks or other figures from the east.⁷²⁹ Aeneas, Evander, and Hercules were all linked with the area, in stories such as that of the battle between Hercules and Cacus over cattle that in turn evokes the use of the land as a general crossing point for people, goods, and animals (Verg. *Aen.* 8.193-270). Interestingly, there was also a mythical chronology in which the cattle trade, and presumably the market, preceded the rise of the city-state, as Romulus was thought to have carefully included the Ara Maxima, Hercules' monument to his victory over Cacus, within the first *pomerium* (Livy. I.7.3-15; Tac. *Ann.* 12.24).⁷³⁰ There was thus a later readiness to envisage a cult site in an area characterised by the presence of visitors, travellers, and traders as important part of pre-urban Rome.

Finds associated with the first podium temple, the Temple of Mater Matuta, confirm that the Forum Boarium had extensive external contacts in the Archaic period. Small-scale excavations around the podium and altar have identified seven strata predating the first building containing a millstone, a few ceramics, fragments of daub, ashes, charcoal, a large number of animal bones, and a potsherd with an Etruscan graffito in Caeretan chirography (*CIE* II.2 8601) (Fig. VI.9).⁷³¹ Finds from the area immediately behind the podium provide stronger indications that the site had become an

⁷²⁸ La Rocca 1982: 47-8; Holloway 1994: 165-7.

⁷²⁹ Coarelli 2007: 307-8.

⁷³⁰ Although this depends on equating Romulus' 'fortifications' with the first *pomerium*: Grandazzi 1997: 148-59.

⁷³¹ On the finds at the site: Ioppolo 1972; Ioppolo 1989 and Tavs. III-IV; *ENL*: 124-49; Glinister 2003: 138.

international sanctuary: carved amber, bone pendants, sheet-bronze figurines, a range of Greek ceramics, bronze fibulae, weaving implements, alabaster vases, vegetal and animal remains, and sherds inscribed with Latin and Greek names form a rich votive assemblage matched only by votive deposits at Satricum (Fig. VI.10). The presence of an inscribed ivory lion bearing the name *araz silqetenas spurianus* (CIE II.2 8602) is frequently highlighted for its rarity and significance, with the name suggesting either the patronage of Etruscan aristocrats, as the Spurinna were a significant family at Tarquinia, or wider commercial contacts if the dedication was made Araz di Sulcis of Sardegna (Fig. VI.11).⁷³² The potsherd with Etruscan graffito is dated to the last decades of the seventh century and the lion plaque to the mid-sixth century B.C.⁷³³

On the edge of the existing settlement, in a space that could be looked down upon from the surrounding hills, Latium's earliest temple is unlikely to have been a geographical or visual touchstone for Rome's inhabitants. It did not monumentalise a site with significant votive deposits or pre-existing cult buildings, nor was it located on elevated terrain. Its placement and orientation towards the river instead suggests that its form and location were designed to welcome and attract water-borne visitors in an emphatic, impressive, and ritualised style (Fig. VI.12).

Satricum

The Temple of Mater Matuta on the acropolis at Satricum appears to be a classic example of topographical and functional continuity. A votive deposit that began in the tenth century B.C. was accompanied by an Iron Age hut; the hut was later replaced with an Archaic shrine; and in c.550 B.C. the building sequence culminated in a

⁷³² Glinister 2003: 138 favours the Tarquinian translation and interprets the ivory lion as a *tessera hospitalis*. For general bibliography on the lion plaque see GRT: 21.

⁷³³ GRT: 21.

monumental podium temple (Fig. VI.13). These developments undeniably represent the placement of a monumental temple at a pre-existing cult site and progressive architectural elaboration.

The Temple was also located on an elevated site. Both it and the buildings that preceded it, however, were part of a larger conglomeration of structures that had occupied the acropolis⁷³⁴ since the Iron Age (Fig. II.36). Although the function of these structures has been debated, excavators have identified remains ranging from huts, cooking sheds, and refuse pits dating to the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.,⁷³⁵ to cell-like structures, linear buildings, and courtyard houses built in the Archaic period.⁷³⁶ Regardless of whether these buildings were permanent residences, seasonal accommodation,⁷³⁷ or reserved for activities related to the sanctuary,⁷³⁸ it is clear that the placement of the Temple amongst them did not isolate it in an elevated position. Sixth-century viewers on the lower plateaux of the Poggio dei Cavallari and the Macchia Santa Lucia⁷³⁹ would not have looked up to the temple standing in splendid isolation, although the use of architectural terracotta decorations on the roof of the temple and no other building would have ensured that it could be distinguished from nearby structures.⁷⁴⁰ The construction of the monumental temple on the acropolis thus did not necessarily signify a desire to assign the temple an exclusive, pre-eminent space, but may instead represent a ritual dimension of a process that can more broadly

⁷³⁴ I follow Smith 1999b: 457, n.19 in choosing to describe this area as an 'acropolis' for the sake of clarity and convenience, despite objections to the term by Maaskant-Kleibrink 1997: 160, n.2.

⁷³⁵ On the huts, see Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, ii: 123 and Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995: 130. On the cooking sheds and rubbish pits, see Maaskant-Kleibrink and Dubbelink 1985; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, i: 92 and ii: 120-2; Nijboer, van der Plicht et al. 1999-2000: 170.

⁷³⁶ Discussed most recently by Stobbe 2009.

⁷³⁷ As proposed, in relation to the huts, by Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995: 131.

⁷³⁸ Such as ritual dining: Maaskant-Kleibrink and Forsten 1992: 138-9.

⁷³⁹ On the sixth-century occupation of these areas, particularly the construction of an Archaic road, see Gnade 2002: 5-29.

⁷⁴⁰ See the discussion of the changing use of architectural terracottas in Chapter Four of this thesis, including detailed analysis of the changing rooftops of Satricum.

be regarded as further entrenchment on long-occupied land. In short, Temple 1 was built on an elevated site, but so were many other buildings.

The placement of the podium temple in relation to other features also suggests that isolation was less important than proximity to infrastructure that facilitated visits. Excavations have established that the acropolis was connected to the lower plateaux by at least one major road that approached from the northwest (Fig. VI.14). The road passed in front of Votive Deposit 1 and was originally constructed out of volcanic pebbles, but was rebuilt in the Archaic period, possibly at the same time as the construction of Temple 1, in *tuffo* slabs.⁷⁴¹ Below the acropolis this road may have joined another from Campoverde, connecting Satricum and the Alban Hills, as well as another Archaic road to the southwest that was monumentalised in the late Archaic period (Fig. VI.15).⁷⁴² The apparent connection between the road and the monumental temple suggests a desire to construct an impressive, functional approach.⁷⁴³ The Temple also stood near, and indeed faced, a water basin or *lacus*. The construction of this feature has been dated to the eighth or seventh century B.C. and may have replaced an older, natural spring, indicated by the discovery of fine-grain loam in a depression beneath the basin.⁷⁴⁴ While a purely ritual function cannot be ruled out, it is possible that the water basin was also a practical means of providing water for

⁷⁴¹ Bouma 1996, ii: 22-39.

⁷⁴² Remains of this monumentalisation include parallel walls that stretch for a distance of at least 140m, made of the same type of *tuffo* blocks used to construct monumental Temple II. See Gnade 2002: 9-29.

⁷⁴³ The placement of the road, its connection with the Temple, and the presence of architectural terracottas from Temple II in fill used in another, later rebuilding has led some scholars to suggest that the road had a sacred character, akin to a *via sacra*: Smith 1999b: 459; Glinister 2000: 56-7. cf. Bouma 1993: 296. I am not sure that the evidence proves a religious intent rather than the prosaic use of material available on-site and known to provide roads with good drainage (cf. the use of ceramic fragments as fill in the Roman military road, discovered in the Netherlands in 2007, that is thought to have run between the forts at Fectio and Traiectum). Note that the late Archaic road on the Poggio dei Cavallari at Satricum also contained a layer of ceramic fragments from roof tiles and pottery: Gnade 2002: 39.

⁷⁴⁴ Maaskant-Kleibrink and Forsten 1992: 108; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995: 127-9; Meyers 2003: 53-4.

activities associated with the sanctuary and for visitors.⁷⁴⁵ Comparison with the cistern next to the monumental Archaic temple at Segni, measuring c.21.5m in diameter, and the sizeable pool or *piscina* next to the Temple of Apollo at the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii, also suggests a desire to provide more than a token amount of water. The provision of water thus appears to have been an important part of sanctuary infrastructure.

Moving now to the broader issue of who may have used the roads and water basin at Satricum, there is evidence of a long tradition of visitors or external contacts at the site prior to the construction of the first monumental temple. Like the Forum Boarium next to the Tiber, Satricum was situated at the intersection of important trade routes, including pathways running north and south between Caere and Campania and also east into the interior of Latium.⁷⁴⁶ The Astura River, arguably the most important river in Latium south of the Tiber,⁷⁴⁷ connected the settlement to the sea. The benefits of such a position are evident in the fact that Satricum is the only Latial settlement outside the Tiber valley with evidence of international exchange comparable to Campania and Etruria.⁷⁴⁸ Although contacts on a regional and interregional scale can be found during all periods of settlement and cult activity at Satricum, there is evidence of a particularly international material culture at the site during late eighth and seventh centuries. Material found in tombs and the oldest votive deposit on the acropolis includes imports from Greece, Egypt, Rhodes, and the Levantine-Cypriot region. Finds of Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian wares are otherwise unknown

⁷⁴⁵ Cf. Maaskant-Kleibrink and Forsten 1992: 127-8 suggesting that the water basin was no longer considered sacred in and of itself by the sixth century B.C., and may have been used largely for purification.

⁷⁴⁶ Pellegrini 2002: 91.

⁷⁴⁷ Nijboer, van der Plicht et al. 1999-2000: 170.

⁷⁴⁸ Beijer 1995.

beyond the Tiber area and have particular significance given the rarity of imports and copies of Greek-campanian pottery in Latium despite an increase in comparable material in Etruria.⁷⁴⁹ The high economic standing of the cult site during the seventh century is also attested by the number of artefacts made from iron, copper alloys, gold, silver, and gilt silver buried in Votive Deposit 1.⁷⁵⁰ People, as well as objects, were drawn to the acropolis: dedicants attested by votive inscriptions included those from Etruria (Lars Velchaiana) and Latium (Poplios Valesios).⁷⁵¹ Contributions made of faience, ivory, and Baltic amber contributed to one of the richest votive assemblages in central Italy.

These visitors and their wealth may have been attracted to the acropolis by more than a simple wish to pay their respects to the resident deity. A number of finds in the vicinity suggest the nearby presence of trading activities and local manufacturing. For example, two metallic weight standards found on the acropolis have been linked to the development of fixed metallic monetary units as a form of currency.⁷⁵² The first weight, found in a settlement context dated to the second half of the seventh century, corresponded to the Roman-Oscan pound. The second, discovered with a small pair of scales in Votive Deposit I, equalled a Campanian pound. Finds of an unusually high number of iron axes, iron slags, raw iron, *aes rude*, kilns, and evidence of bronze production make it likely that local goods formed part of the traded items.⁷⁵³ It has been suggested that the impetus for such trade, as well as the means of its regulation,

⁷⁴⁹ Beijer 1995: 58-9.

⁷⁵⁰ Bouma 1996, i: 185-6.

⁷⁵¹ The Lars Velchiana inscription appears on a bucchero bowl designed for libations, and is dated to c. 620-580 B.C.: Bagnasco Gianni 1996: 306-8, nos. 299-300. On Poplios Valesios, see: Bremmer 1982; Glinister 2003: 139. For a brief and recent overview of inscriptions at Satricum more generally, see Colonna 2009.

⁷⁵² Nijboer 1998: 302-7.

⁷⁵³ Maaskant-Kleibrink and Forsten 1992: 106-7; Nijboer 1998: 309-11. Note that the iron slags at Satricum are the earliest signs of iron-working in Latium: Smith 1999b: 471 n.97.

may have been the ritualised exchange strategy of a group of Satrican *principes*.⁷⁵⁴

Large dynastic tumuli at Satricum contained numerous ceramics and bronze vessels among their grave goods and testify to the presence of powerful family clans. If an elite group controlled the cult and local industries, then the votive deposits associated with the temple would simultaneously represent personal and institutionalised hoarding as well as the coalescence of significant economic and religious activity.⁷⁵⁵

By the time that monumental Temple 1 was built in the mid-sixth century the sanctuary's economy appears to have become interregional rather than international. The last known *princeps* had been interred in c.620 B.C. and it is possible that the sudden, widespread appearance of standardised vase forms previously restricted to elite contexts reflects the rise of a larger section of the community.⁷⁵⁶ Votives in this period included an increased number of Etrusco-Corinthian vases, known to have been produced in small quantities and distributed only in the north and hence indicative of strong northern contacts, together with metal artefacts that were almost exclusive to Etruria. The cult place had also begun receiving a growing number of metal, stone, and organic deposits.⁷⁵⁷ Dedications of pottery and non-ceramic items were rare in Latium, and their presence at Satricum and S. Omobono in Rome reinforces the regional prominence of these cult sites. International contacts appear to have decreased but are still attested by votive vases that are unique in central Italy but have parallels in Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Rhodos.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁴ Waarsenburg and Maas 2001.

⁷⁵⁵ Cf. the usual interpretation of burials as personal hoards and votive deposits as institutional hoards: Nijboer 1998: 59.

⁷⁵⁶ Waarsenburg and Maas 2001: 54.

⁷⁵⁷ Bouma 1996, i: 158.

⁷⁵⁸ Bouma 1996, i: 157

The fact that the vast majority of imported vessels and non-ceramic items at Satricum were found in a cultic context instead of a funerary or settlement setting indicates that the sanctuary played a central role in attracting and amassing wealth from as early as the eighth century B.C.⁷⁵⁹ There is thus evidence that the construction of Temple 1 occurred against the backdrop of an established cult economy and, significantly in the light of comparable developments in Rome, at a site with a longstanding tradition of external contacts. The wealth that these visitors brought with them, or were at least prepared to leave at the site, is distinctive in Latium and can only be paralleled by the votive deposit found in the Forum Boarium at Rome. These sites are also the first two known in Latium to construct monumental religious architecture. The following section will examine comparable developments in Etruria to see if this connection is more than a coincidence.

VI.3.2. Etruria

At the end of the sixth century B.C. monumental Etruscan temples were built in the coastal emporion at Pyrgi, the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii, and the forum at Vulci. Traditional typologies of cult sites would stress the difference between these locations, with one extra-urban, one extra-mural, and one urban setting. A typology based on the character and function of the spaces in question, however, would identify all three as highly accessible sites well-situated for external visitors and trade.

Pyrgi

Pyrgi was an emporion sanctuary connected to the city of Caere. Although a small number of prehistoric finds indicate that the site was frequented over a long period, presumably as a landing point for those approaching Etruria from the western sea,

⁷⁵⁹ Galestin 1992: 101; Bouma 1996, i: 153, 164; Nijboer 1998: 311-3.

there are no traces of settled occupation prior to the sanctuary's foundation in the sixth century.⁷⁶⁰ The construction of the first temple in c.510 B.C. thus does not represent the architectural elaboration of a pre-existing cult building, nor the monumentalisation of a site where there had been a sequence including an open-air votive deposit, a hut, and a shrine.

The position of Temple B within the limits of the site is interesting (Fig. V.7A). The road to Caere, built in the first half of the sixth-century B.C. and thus prior to the temple, does not appear to have affected the placement of Temple B. The 10-m wide road ended at the blank wall of the sanctuary enclosure and visitors coming from inland were required to deviate to the east to reach an entrance. Once inside the walls, those arriving from Caere were not greeted by an impressive temple façade but by the rear and side wall of Temple B. After the construction of Temple A in c.455 B.C. visitors would have passed between the two monumental temples with the impression of arriving through the back door presumably doubled. Temple B was thus not designed with reference to the view of visitors approaching from Caere. Instead, the Temple was oriented directly out to sea (Fig. VI.16). Although the shoreline of the ancient settlement is now lost due to rising water levels, it is assumed that the Archaic site possessed a harbour. It is also hypothesised that Archaic Pyrgi may have been not just a sanctuary but a settlement, albeit one focused on the sanctuary; the construction of the road prior to the Temple, and the way that fortifications are implied in its name (in Greek, *Pyrgoi*, 'the towers'⁷⁶¹) implies extensive investment in the area. Within this area, and particularly within the limits of the sanctuary currently known through excavations, Temple B and, in time, Temple A were not set apart by placement on an

⁷⁶⁰ Colonna 1981: 13-20.

⁷⁶¹ Greek sources referring to the site by this name include Diod. Sic. 15.14.3 and Strabo 5.2.8.

elevated site or acropolis. Instead, they appear to have been constructed along with the rest of the northern part of the sanctuary on a low clay platform that is likely to have provided a level foundation rather than religious distinction. Temple B was a harbour-side, and thus effectively lowland, temple, similar to the Temple of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium at Rome.

The particular impetus for the construction of Temple B, and perhaps a related settlement, may be connected to two of the sanctuary's most famous features. The first is a set of three gold tablets inscribed in Phoenician/Punic and Etruscan and dated to c.500 B.C. (Fig. VI.17). The text records the dedication of a temple to Astarte/Uni by Thefarie Velianas, a Caeretan leader, and provides a likely context for the origin and attribution of Temple B.⁷⁶² The international significance of the dual translation is confirmed by evidence that Phoenician and Greek merchants traded or resided at the port. The second feature of note is the sanctuary's reputation as a repository of fabulous wealth. In 370 B.C. Dionysius of Syracuse successfully attacked Pyrgi in order to replenish his depleted treasury and departed with a thousand talents of coins, a rich collection of votive statues, and many of the accumulated spoils of Etruscan piracy (Diod. Sic. 15.14.3-4; Serv. *Ad Aen.* 10.184). The site's cosmopolitan character, the vast quantity of coinage mentioned in historical accounts, and the additional discovery of nine silver tetradrachms dated to c.440 B.C. and earlier at the sanctuary, combined with the observation that such coins were not circulated in central Italy in this period, has led to the suggestion that Greek coins were accepted and hoarded at Pyrgi as a form of bullion.⁷⁶³ Nijboer has proposed that the use of separate exchange mechanisms for the sanctuary and inland sites implies economic regulation, which

⁷⁶² Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 90; Haynes 2000: 176-7.

⁷⁶³ Colonna 1985a: 139-41; Nijboer 1998: 60, 63.

may have been instituted by those who benefited from the protection of local agricultural production, the trading of its surplus, and the possession of imported items that could be purchased with that surplus, namely a land-owning elite.⁷⁶⁴ The use of a highly accessible religious site to attract and facilitate commerce for the benefit of an elite group thus echoes reconstructions of activities at seventh-century Satricum, while the water-side, lowland placement of the monumental temple in the landscape evokes the topography of the Roman Forum Boarium.

Veii: Portonaccio

The foundation of the Portonaccio temple at Veii was contemporary with that at Pyrgi. Akin to the Forum Boarium at Rome, the site of the new sanctuary was not an elevated part of a settlement, but rather a natural platform below the plateau of Veii that was sufficiently low to enable people living in the settlement to gaze straight over the architectural terracottas on the roof of the temple. The platform was located next to the Piordo River that ran south towards Rome, and close to a road that is thought to have been connected to one of the principal routes to the Tyrrhenian coast, perhaps via the Veian salt mines (Figs. VI.18. VI.19).⁷⁶⁵ This site was selected despite the presence of an *arx*, known today as the Piazza d'Armi, on the plateau, and also a central area where the different roads onto the plateau are likely to have converged. Its selection thus represents a deliberate preference for a non-elevated position.

The Portonaccio site did however have a long occupation history: there are signs of ninth-century huts beneath Altar F; a stone terrace wall, and perhaps a small building, have been dated to the seventh century; Building I, winged altar F, and two porticoes

⁷⁶⁴ Nijboer 1998: 60-3.

⁷⁶⁵ On the road system around Veii see Ward-Perkins 1957. On the Veian salt mines, see Smith 1996b: 179-80.

were built in the third quarter of the sixth century; all preceded the construction of monumental Temple A and a rectangular pool, or *piscina*, in c.510 B.C. These buildings were also complemented by votive deposits. Dedications to Menrva, Artimi, and Turan date from the early sixth century and are comparable to those at S. Omobono and Lavinium, particularly in the high number of Archaic bucchero offerings and the varied ethnicity of dedicants known from inscriptions.⁷⁶⁶ The Veientine royals Velthur and Karcuna Tulumnes deposited two bucchero jugs (*CIE* II.2.1 6454, 6419; *TLE* 36.38), while the Vulcian leader Avile Vippiennas, thought to have been a friend of Mastarna/Servius Tullius, dedicated a bucchero chalice (*CIE* II.2.1 6456; *TLE* 35). Other names reveal dedicants from Chiusi, Cerveteri, and Ischia di Castro.⁷⁶⁷ Interestingly, many of the aristocratic offerings predate the construction of Temple A. Thus, like Satricum, a pattern of significant external contact appears to predate the erection of a monumental temple at Portonaccio.⁷⁶⁸

The choice of an accessible, rather than defensible, site that was near a road or transport route into and out of a settlement, and furthermore deliberately renounced an elevated viewpoint, recalls the topography of monumental temples at Rome and, to a certain extent, Pyrgi. In many ways it is tempting to interpret such sanctuaries as gateway controls, enabling divine and human regulation of people and goods passing through particular settlements. Comparison with similar situations in medieval Europe highlights the importance of gateway controls for levying customs and taxes, particularly in regions where territorial borders were not patrolled, and the frequent

⁷⁶⁶ On prominent dedicants, including a member of the Tulumnes royal family, see MacIntoshTurfa 2006: 98-9.

⁷⁶⁷ On prominent dedicants see Haynes 2000: 205, MacIntoshTurfa 2006: 98-9 and Briquel 2008. For a list of the votive inscriptions see Colonna and Maras 2006, entries 6397-6479.

⁷⁶⁸ Colonna and Maras 2006: 11.

placement of churches at such points.⁷⁶⁹ It is also possible that the provision of water via water basins or pools would furthermore have been attractive to travellers. In such situations the construction of a monumental temple would have emphasised the desired route and provided an opportunity for visitors to pause, rest, and ask the gods for divine oversight of their journey or business.

Vulci

The third Etruscan temple built at the end of the sixth century was located near the centre of the plateau occupied by Vulci (Fig. VI.20). Like Caere, Vulci was located on a river, in this case the Fiora, with a separate port on the coast to take advantage of maritime trade. The port at Regisvilla (Regae) was founded in c.525 B.C. and laid out according to a grid plan occupying approximately 20 hectares; unlike Caere, with its port at Pyrgi, to date no traces of religious monumentalisation have been identified there.⁷⁷⁰ The first monumental temple in Vulci's territory was located within the plateau settlement in an area that later became a Roman forum. The area was relatively flat, in contrast to the distinctive elevated site to the north of the plateau, now known as Area I, where a north gate was later built in the city walls. There is no suggestion that the monumental temple was located on the site of an earlier votive deposit or near an existing sanctuary. It was, however, placed in a position that later lay beside a major road that ran across the plateau from the western gate to the river. Although this basalt road was constructed in the second century B.C., it has been hypothesised that it consolidated an older route to a sixth-century complex of rooms and industrial spaces excavated on the bank of the Fiora that may represent an

⁷⁶⁹ Keene 1976: 71.

⁷⁷⁰ Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 167; Nijboer 1998: 60-1.

Archaic river landing.⁷⁷¹ It is thus possible that the temple was positioned to be accessible to all those using Vulci's most important artery in a way that a temple on the *arx* could not.⁷⁷² Apparently, given the choice of building a temple that could be seen from afar or one that could be easily visited by those concerned with river-born travel and presumably trade, the inhabitants of Vulci chose the latter.

The decision to site the settlement's first monumental temple in the middle of the plateau, in contrast to the coastal building project at Pyrgi or the changes below the plateau at Veii, may reflect Vulci's different economic and political character. During the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Vulci produced bronze-work, jewellery, and ceramics of pre-eminent quality.⁷⁷³ By the sixth century it had become one of the most powerful economic and political centres in the Mediterranean and the fourth largest primary centre in Etruria, occupying approximately 90 hectares.⁷⁷⁴ It is thus likely that the layout of the settlement and the priorities of its inhabitants were at least partly shaped by its role as a broker of international and interregional trade. Just like Rome, Satricum, Pyrgi, and Veii, Vulci thus appears to have positioned its monumental religious architecture with reference to the concerns of external contacts, such as travellers and traders, and prioritised accessibility.

This review had so far examined the topography of the earliest monumental temples in Latium and Etruria. Before moving on, I would like to round out the discussion by considering comparable, but slightly later, developments at one more site. Iron Age and Orientalising cult buildings at Tarquinia have played an important role in earlier

⁷⁷¹ Sgubini Moretti 1993: 34 Fig.18, 68-9; Moretti Sgubini and Ricciardi 2001: 179.

⁷⁷² Note that Colonna 1985a: 67 and Jannot 2005: 75 propose that the acropolis at Vulci carried an Archaic temple; I find the evidence for such a structure unconvincing.

⁷⁷³ Sgubini Moretti 1993: 41-6; Haynes 2000: 160-4.

⁷⁷⁴ Judson and Hemphill 1981: 195-6, Table 1.

chapters of this thesis, and the site also produced the largest temples in Etruria, Temple III and IV on the Pian della Regina, during the fourth century B.C.⁷⁷⁵ Archaic construction at Tarquinia is arguably highly relevant for assessing sixth-century patterns in ritual topography. In the Iron Age and seventh-century B.C. the architectural focus of the plateau appears to have been concentrated on the Pian di Civita (Fig. VI.21). It is here that cult activities appear to have been performed for many centuries, perhaps from as early as the Villanovan period, and here that Edificio *beta* was built with walls of upright ashlar blocks and irregular stonework in a style reminiscent of contemporary Phoenician and Levantine architecture during the early seventh century B.C.⁷⁷⁶ From the tenth to the sixth centuries this Area Sacra also featured a series of walls, kilns, and burials.⁷⁷⁷ Yet, when the large shrine known as Temple 1 was built at Tarquinia in the first half of the sixth century B.C., it was built not on the Pian di Civita but on the Pian della Regina to the southeast. At its largest Edificio *beta* measured 8.5 x 11m; Temple 1, built while the area around Edificio *beta* remained in use, measured 12 x 26.5m, and was subsequently enlarged to generate an Archaic superstructure measuring 24.8 x 40.5m. In the fifth century B.C. the function of the Area Sacra appears to have been radically changed, with the cavity at the centre of the cult covered by a major street, new drains constructed across earlier open spaces, and the construction of a completely new building with several rooms.⁷⁷⁸ In contrast, the third Ara della Regina temple expanded again to occupy a terrace of 36 x 77m. The movement of architectural investment and resources from the Civita to the Regina cult site during the sixth-century accordingly appears to represent a significant and long-lasting shift in the settlement's religious geography.

⁷⁷⁵ Bagnasco Gianni 2011.

⁷⁷⁶ On the excavation and its interpretation, see Bonghi Jovino 1986: 81-117; Bonghi Jovino, Chiaramonte Treré et al. 1997: 55-62; Haynes 2000: 27; Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 168.

⁷⁷⁷ For a recent summary see Bonghi Jovino 2010a.

⁷⁷⁸ Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 173.

The layout of the settlement on the Civita and Regina plateaux is largely unknown. The small number of excavated structures, including a few buildings, a shrine, a gate, and short stretches of ancient roads, effectively preclude accurate assessment of the relationship between, on the one hand, the Area Sacra and Ara della Regina temples and, on the other, seventh- and sixth-century houses or central spaces.⁷⁷⁹ Excavations in the southeast corner of the terrace at the Ara della Regina are however gradually placing the construction of the temples into a broader topographical context.⁷⁸⁰ It is clear that the symmetry of the large terrace constructed in the fourth century B.C. was disrupted by the inclusion of an altar (*alpha*) and an unroofed precinct (*beta*) in the southeast corner (Fig. VI.22). These two structures were apparently built over, and aligned with, a sixth-century wall (24) built of local *macco* and *nenfro*. The south face of the wall was decorated to resemble polychrome masonry while the north side of the wall, facing the altar and the precinct, was left rough. An empty *macco* container resembling a sarcophagus and measuring 1.6 x 0.55m was also found beneath altar *alpha*.⁷⁸¹ The excavators have hypothesised that this container was connected to the cult of Tarchon, the legendary founder of Tarquinia.⁷⁸² Significantly, however, the orientation of these Archaic features does not appear to have exercised a decisive influence; the disjunction between the altar, precinct, and the later podium demonstrates that a new layout was desired, perhaps to appeal to visitors approaching from the south.⁷⁸³ It thus appears that the Pian della Regina possessed structures, possibly religious structures if the principle of cult continuity is invoked, prior to the construction of Temple 1, and consequently that the relocation of architectural

⁷⁷⁹ For a map of the known remains, see Leighton 2004: Fig. 13.

⁷⁸⁰ On the excavations see Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 174-7 and Bagnasco Gianni 2011.

⁷⁸¹ Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 176.

⁷⁸² Bonghi Jovino 2001: 47-9; Bonghi Jovino 2008: 41, Fig. 45; Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 176; cf. Torelli 1982c: 123; Jannot 2005: 77.

⁷⁸³ Bonghi Jovino 2009: 16, 20.

investment on the plateau represents the elaboration and reorientation of extant architecture.

In some ways the changing ritual topography at Tarquinia is reminiscent of developments at the Forum Boarium at Rome. At Rome the location of the first monumental temple did not accord with earlier or traditional cult sites, but seems to represent a desire to invest in a new, highly accessible site that was visible to people approaching by water. At Tarquinia the move to the Ara della Regina site appears to signal a wish to invest in a building visible to people living in surrounding settlements and approaching by customary land and water routes from the south, and preparedness for older cult spaces and buildings to fall into decline. Developments at these two sites hence suggest that factors other than cult continuity were important in the placement of early monumental cult buildings. At Pyrgi, Veii, and Vulci, lowland accessibility appears to have been particularly important. Satricum is the only site where the first monumental temple in a settlement was built on an acropolis and atop a recognisable sequence of pre-existing cult buildings, and hence can be regarded as exceptional rather than normal (Table 14). This is not to deny that subsequent temples elsewhere were constructed on elevated sites or on sites with evidence of earlier votive activity, but rather to demonstrate that other, hitherto less acknowledged, considerations appear to have guided the position of the first known examples.

Table 14: Characteristics of the sites where the earliest monumental temples were built in Etruria and Latium		
	Relatively elevated site	Relatively lowland site
Evidence of pre-existing cult activity	Satricum	Portonaccio (Veii)
No evidence of pre-existing cult activity		Forum Boarium (Rome) Pyrgi Vulci

Interestingly, the orientation of many of these cult buildings reinforces the theory that interaction with external contacts played a decisive role. Although analyses of religious topography in early central Italic settlements are frequently hampered by a paucity of evidence for settlement organisation, it is possible to recognise a broad pattern in the orientation of some of the first monumental temples relative to their immediate community. The Temple of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium at Rome turned its back on Rome's hills and the Forum Romanum, to face down the Tiber River. The front of the Temple of Mater Matuta at Satricum is unlikely to have been directly visible to people approaching along either of the known Archaic roads, but rather from the water feature in the centre of the acropolis or, from further afar, the course of the Astura River. Temple B at Pyrgi faced away from Caere and out to sea. The Temple of Apollo in the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii also looked to the river that ran south towards Rome rather than the plateau above. Together these temples suggest that the eyes of visitors may have been a greater priority than the eyes of the immediate community. Both orientation and placement thus indicate that monumental temples may have themselves been part of an infrastructure related to external contact and interaction.

VI.4. AN ALTERNATIVE TYPOLOGY?

These findings lead me to suggest that it may be timely to consider revising the traditional typology for ancient cult sites. Cult sites are regularly classified as urban, extra-urban, or rural based upon the relationship between the cult site and a settlement in what is effectively an urban-centred typology.⁷⁸⁴ They are also examined within, but seldom across, these categories, despite the fact that many aspects of ancient cult do not reflect such distinctions. For example, the Archaic cult sites in the Forum Boarium at Rome and on the acropolis at Satricum stand out amongst all Latial votive assemblages for the nature of their offerings, the wealth of their visitors, and their synchronous periods of renown and decline, but are seldom analysed together as they represent different relationships with settlements. Satricum fits no category of a settlement-led typology, as a lack of urban features precludes its identification as an urban cult site, but centuries of habitation also differentiate it from emporion sanctuaries such as Pyrgi. Emporia themselves are a problematic category in settlement-led typologies. Classification systems that distinguish cult sites from one another on the basis of their relationship to population centres may consequently risk obscuring important similarities in order to impose a modern perception of what was significant for religious practice.

This review of the topography of religious monumentalisation in sixth-century Latium and Etruria has not established a definitive link between monumentalisation and placement within a settlement. In some ways this is unsurprising: not all urban religious sites were inescapably monumentalised. The form of the Volcanal, the Ara Maxima, and sacred groves and springs in Republican Rome demonstrate that cult

⁷⁸⁴ For example, Edlund 1987: 41; Jannot 2005: 75.

sites could operate without temples in the largest metropolis, while the construction of thirteen grand altars near Lavinium and Temple B at Pyrgi shows that the countryside and emporia could also carry august structures. Yet scholars have often assigned urbanism a defining role in the form and location of monumental religious architecture,⁷⁸⁵ and the tenacity of the idea that a fundamental link existed between religious monumentalisation and urbanism is also evident in the description of some sites as border or frontier sanctuaries, where monumentalisation is attributed to the role of such sanctuaries in defining the extent of a settlement's territory and authority.⁷⁸⁶ A preoccupation with urban settings, urbanism, and urbanisation has thus arguably coloured not just the classification of some cult sites but also explanations for their appearance.

The settlements that built the first monumental temples in Latium and Etruria did not follow a standard template or copy one another. Some chose to invest in architecture in the centre of their communities; others preferred to build their first temples on the low edges of their settlements; and at least one chose to construct a significant cult complex by the sea, well away from the city. They are all nevertheless linked by their decision to erect monumental cult buildings and furthermore to position those buildings with an evident concern for accessibility and potential interaction with travellers. A topographical typology that would reflect these similarities, as well as the evident commonalities between the users of the cult sites at the Roman Forum Boarium and Satricum, would not be based on proximity to urban space, with all the inherent difficulties of identifying when a settlement should or should not be regarded as urban. Instead, it would be based upon the quantity, quality, and historical pattern

⁷⁸⁵ For example, Edlund 1987: 92, 138, 144; Jannot 2005: 74.

⁷⁸⁶ Edlund 1987: 41-2; Zifferero 2002; Izzet 2007: 187-193 on such sanctuaries as 'ritual halos.'

of visitors or users at the site, assessed by votive objects where known, and upon the relationship of the cult site to potential new visitors, as suggested by position. For example, cult sites with a long history of use and high accessibility could be regarded as sites favourable to contact. Sites that appear inaccessible, perhaps by placement atop a dedicated acropolis, and have no evidence of earlier votive activity could arguably represent discouragement of contact and widespread use. Classifying cult sites as either pro-contact or anti-contact, and also whether they appear to reinforce existing patterns or aim to establish new ones, may also increase the utility of typologies for reconstructing the wider function of features such as monumental temples. The following chapter will explore the viability of this proposition for understanding changes to the cult sites of western central Italy and comparable developments around the Mediterranean. It will thus test the extent to which an alternative typology may describe the placement of these sites and also account for their precocious development.

VI.5. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has established that the earliest monumental temples in Latium and Etruria were not always placed at pre-existing cult sites or in elevated positions, nor consistently sited in a way that confirms the existence of a distinctive Italic set of guidelines on cult topography. Rather, the available evidence, albeit limited, demonstrates a divergent range of practices that ranged from the architectural elaboration of a pre-existing cult site on an acropolis, as at Satricum, to the foundation of a new cult site on the seashore many kilometres from a primary settlement, as at Pyrgi. Traditional typologies would emphasise the difference between these urban, extra-mural, and extra-urban sites. All, however, are situated and oriented in a way to

prioritise accessibility and contact with visitors and travellers. This consistency suggests that traditional typologies are not as helpful as they could be for identifying and interpreting the changing appearance of cult sites in Archaic Italy, as recognising what joins, rather than what divides, these cult sites is arguably the key to understanding why all chose to construct comparable forms of religious architecture during the sixth century B.C. – the subject of the next and final chapter.

CHAPTER VII. THE FUNCTION OF MONUMENTAL RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

The evidence collected in the previous chapters of this thesis has shown that the appearance and prominence of central Italic religious architecture changed significantly between the ninth and fifth centuries B.C. Technological changes can be linked to the use of more permanent materials and roofing systems. The incorporation of podia and the increasingly specialised use of architectural terracottas saw a distinctive visual aesthetic develop for temples that differentiated them from other buildings. They also became a focus for investment, dominating their settlements, and were frequently constructed at sites that were highly accessible rather than defensible. These developments occurred at different dates in Latium and Etruria but resulted in a largely standardised set of architectural, decorative, and topographic features for central Italic temples that can be recognised in many cult buildings constructed in subsequent centuries.

This thesis has so far paid more attention to the form and arrangement of monumental religious architecture than to its function. In part this is due to the inherently problematic nature of identifying precise building functions in early Italy, using archaeological evidence with a tendency for ambiguity and a general absence of contemporary, relevant literary information. It is clear, however, that not all of the functions of later Roman temples, as described by literary sources, can simply be retrospectively assigned to their Latial and Etruscan predecessors. Few Archaic cult buildings functioned as conspicuous landmarks on the highest point in their settlements, and many appear not to have sheltered cult statues that received sacrifices

at external altars. Evidence of votive depositions that pre-date and post-date the presence of cult buildings at sites such as Pyrgi, Veii, Orvieto, and Gravisca furthermore makes it clear that architecture was not integral to ritual practice.⁷⁸⁷ But if temples did not meet essential religious needs, then what purpose was served by their construction? And, more importantly, why did sixth-century communities decide to invest great resources in building monumental temples rather than maintaining relatively modest shrines?

This chapter will explore old and new answers to these questions. It will begin by comparing and contrasting modern scholars' explanations for the appearance of monumental temples and sanctuaries in central Italy during the sixth century B.C. with the evidence collected in earlier chapters of this thesis. It will then argue that the significance of the placement and orientation of these temples may have been previously underestimated in reconstructions of their function. A survey of comparable developments elsewhere in the Mediterranean will go on to establish a connection between contact, cult, and architectural investment that reinforces recognisable patterns in central Italy. The chapter will consequently offer a rigorous review of the relationship between the form and function of cult buildings in early Latium and Etruria as well as a new rationale for Archaic religious monumentality.

VII.1. EXPLANATORY MODELS

Scholarship on ancient religious architecture contains a variety of different explanations for the use of monumental forms. One school of thought holds that

⁷⁸⁷ On the discrepancy of votive deposits and cult buildings at Pyrgi, Gravisca, Veii (Portonaccio), and Orvieto (Cannicella), see: Colonna 1985a: 130; Edlund-Berry 1994: 20-4; Bouma 1996, iii: 109; Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 277; MacIntoshTurfa 2006: 92.

monumentality was a discrete formal development with no effect on the timeless functions of cult buildings. Another has suggested that temple construction was stimulated by broad socio-political changes with vague connections to religion. Still others argue that monumentality was the product of a significant change in building function. Comparing each of these hypotheses with the archaeological evidence reveals a number of important discrepancies.

VII.1.1. A natural development

One account, which may be termed the evolutionary model, holds that monumentality is the natural product of all architectural design. Just as monumental houses performed much the same role as earlier residences, monumental temples are thought to have met the same needs and performed the same functions as their architectural predecessors. The change from huts to shrines and monumental temples is thus explained as a change in form, driven by technical innovation and user demand, rather than function.⁷⁸⁸

The timeless functions for cult buildings implied in the evolutionary model are to some extent universal and can hence be plausibly applied to the ritual and social contexts of early central Italy. For example, the most basic and frequently cited rationale for religious architecture is the creation of shelter. Whether the beneficiary is held to have been a cult statue, a collection of *ex-votos*, items for sacrifices and banquets, or a combination of all three, there is a common perception that buildings met a new or increased need to protect ritual material.⁷⁸⁹ The walls and roof may have

⁷⁸⁸ Those who have suggested that huts, ‘*oikos* shrines’ and stone temples represent pauses at different points in a natural process of monumentalisation include Cancik 1985-6: 258-60; Edlund 1987: 37; Bouma 1996, i: 1; and Smith 1996b: 80.

⁷⁸⁹ As implied, for example, by Bouma 1996, i: 1.

been intended to protect this material from theft, open gazes, or the weather, or could equally have been a means of keeping particular objects separate from their surroundings. By sheltering a representation of a god, or items given into their care, a cult building may hence be envisaged the “house” of the deity.

A related interpretation perceives temples as a form of divine real estate. Cult buildings could be constructed to entice the gods to become part of the community by offering them a dedicated place to reside. Buildings with religious markers could also render the gods a tangible presence in the everyday life of the settlement, and signal to viewers that the gods had accepted this invitation and become part of the community, akin to landlords.⁷⁹⁰ Later Roman law codified such an association between the sacred and property by defining the holy with reference to words and distinctions found in property law.⁷⁹¹ In this manner cult buildings could themselves function as manifestations of the divine.

It is also possible that every cult building was conceived of as a magnificent votive. Architecture committed part of a settlement’s land and resources to the worship of the gods and offered a durable, highly visible symbol of piety,⁷⁹² while structures built in fulfilment of vows were testaments of divine aid and favour. Temples as thank-offerings are well known in the Roman Republic, for example the Temple of Honos, built in Rome in 234 B.C. by Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus following a vow made during the Ligurian War (Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.61), and expanded with an additional shrine to Virtus in 205 as the result of a vow made by another general, M. Claudius

⁷⁹⁰ Horden and Purcell 2000: 429; Rüpke 2006: 216-7; cf. the Greek practice of *hydrys*: Pirenne-Delforge 2010: 128-9, 141.

⁷⁹¹ Rüpke and Gordon 2007: 8-9.

⁷⁹² Colonna 1985a: 60 (a symbol of civic religion); cf. the comparable argument for the Greek world by Burkert 1988: 43-4.

Marcellus, following his victories at Clastidium, in Cisalpine Gaul, in 222, and at Syracuse, in 211 (Livy. 29.11.13, 27.25.7; Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.123). The resultant Temple of Honos and Virtus was a public, monumental commemoration of Marcellus' martial prowess and his special association with Virtus, and it is possible that temples in other places and periods fulfilled a comparable function.

None of these functions is restricted to particular building shapes or sizes, and there is nothing to indicate that these were not important considerations for the financiers and users of sacred huts, shrines, and temples. The evidence presented in the previous chapters of this thesis, however, has demonstrated that distinctive, monumental temples were not always the natural outcome of successive improvements to extant cult sites, but more often the result of deliberate choices by temple patrons as to the design, decoration, and particularly the placement of their investments. It is hence possible that the commitment of substantial resources to a change in building form may also have been intended to achieve a corresponding change in effect or function.

VII.1.2. Socio-political changes

Many scholars have argued that the first monumental temples in central Italy were manifestations of particular socio-political changes. In contrast to the evolutionary model and the idea of timeless religious functions, these alternative models claim that the function of cult buildings, like their appearance, was time-sensitive. Monumentality is hence linked with either the character of contemporary society or the concerns of the agents responsible for temple construction.⁷⁹³

⁷⁹³ Cf. Lefebvre 1991: 73; Harvey 1990: 77; Purcell 2006: 23 posing 'the perennial question as to whether what we can see is the most important thing, or a tracer or something less visible but more

Elite fortunes

Two popular explanations for the appearance of temples in the Archaic landscape have claimed that monumental temples represent the changing fortunes of local elites, albeit in different ways. One model explains investment in religious buildings during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. as a tactical redeployment of elite resources. The decline of lavish burials in the archaeological record is thought to represent a widespread aristocratic decision to transfer wealth from the world of the dead to the community of the living via conspicuous religious euergetism.⁷⁹⁴ Another model interprets the construction of monumental temples as signs of the decline, rather than the maintenance, of regal and elite authority. Here the new temples represent community appropriation of cult following the loss of power of a leading figure or group who had formerly amalgamated religious, political and social leadership of their community.⁷⁹⁵

Such divergent hypotheses are likely to have developed due to the unsurprisingly scant evidence for the name, position, and motives of the agents responsible for the construction of monumental temples. Only three Archaic central Italic temples can be connected with particular patrons. In Etruria, the construction of Temple B at Pyrgi can be associated with both an individual and an ostensible purpose. Gold tablets discovered in the temple precinct record the dedication of a temple or sanctuary to the goddess Uni-Astarte by Thefarie Velianas, ruler of nearby Caere, “in the third year of

significant.’ On monumental architecture as a more general socio-cultural phenomenon, see Trigger 1990 and Moore 1996.

⁷⁹⁴ For example, Bietti Sestieri and De Santis 2000: 29; Riva 2005: 213; Izzet 2007: 227.

⁷⁹⁵ For example, Coarelli 1983: 56ff.; Colonna 1985a: 53; Damgaard Andersen 1993a: 85-6; Smith 1996b: 19, 86-7; Torelli 2000b: 567; Camporeale 2004: 132. cf. Izzet 2007: 128 on how ‘the new model incorporates a stronger sense of communal activity in ritual practice.’ On the discrepancy between these two hypotheses, note Pollock 1999: 181 in the context of Mesopotamian architecture: ‘Ideologically, monuments embody *at one and the same time* an expression of control over the labour of the people who constructed them and a sense of working together for the community.’

his reign, in gratitude to the goddess, his protectress.⁷⁹⁶ The text is dated to the end of the sixth century and is thus contemporary with Temple B. Two temples in Latium were also associated with particular agents by Roman literary tradition. The original Capitoline Temple was thought to be the product of a war-time vow by the Roman king Tarquinius Priscus and construction efforts mobilised by the later king Tarquinius Superbus (Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 3.69.1-3; 4.61; Livy. 1.55-56). The Temple of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium was likewise associated with royalty, in this instance by ascribing the dedication or consecration of the Temple to the Roman king Servius Tullius (Livy. 5.19.6; Ov. *Fast.* 6.480; cf. Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 4.27.7, 4.40.7); some modern scholars, however, have claimed that the foundation and construction of this temple may be attributed to the preceding king Tarquinius Priscus.⁷⁹⁷ The evidence, such as it is, thus assigns rulers and tyrants a leading role in the production of monumental temples.⁷⁹⁸ Yet the limitations of this evidence are considerable. It is not clear whether the person who dedicated a temple also initiated and funded its construction, nor who owned it or used it. It cannot be proved that the Roman kings vowed and dedicated their temples for the same reason as an Etruscan leader. The evidence regarding sixth-century agents is hence insufficient to confidently extrapolate general patterns about the rationale for monumentalising all religious buildings in Latium and Etruria.

⁷⁹⁶ Translation of bi-lingual inscription *TLE* 873-5, *KAI* 277 by Haynes 2000: 176. On specifics of the translation, see Colonna 1989-1990. On the dialect as Phoenician rather than Punic, see Schmitz 1995.

⁷⁹⁷ For example, Martinez-Pinna 1990-1991: 132-5; Mertens-Horn 1995; Winter 2009: 579.

⁷⁹⁸ Cf. Burkert 1996: 24 on similar patterns in other Mediterranean cultures.

Urbanisation

Another common claim regarding the significance of temples within sixth-century settlements is that they are qualitative markers of urban or urbanised communities.⁷⁹⁹ The grounds for this interpretation appear to involve a conception of temples as community projects, realised by a large workforce for the benefit and use of all, which serve as foci for a shared cultural identity akin to their Greek equivalents. The material components of the Sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars at Lavinium, however, reveal that a monumental temple was not an inherent part of shared cult, while the dedication recorded on the gold tablets from Pyrgi clearly associate the sanctuary with the local ruler of Caere rather than its constituents. Some scholars have also cited temples as examples of monumental communal or public architecture when assessing the degree to which a settlement possessed the characteristics of an urban community formulated by theorists such as Gordon Childe.⁸⁰⁰ The public element of this identification is less than secure: it is unknown if Latin and Etruscan temples were open to, or owned by, the wider community; and while some sites may have extensive votive deposits, the lack of clear evidence for the primary location and display of those votives raises the possibility that those who left offerings may not have entered a temple during their visit, and thus that votives and buildings may have served both different needs and different communities of worshippers.⁸⁰¹ The idea that temples were a natural outgrowth of urban conditions and shared identities can hence be strongly challenged.

⁷⁹⁹ For example, Colonna 1986: 433; Cornell 1995: 108; Zifferero 1995; Cornell 2000: 212 on temples as indicators of ‘city-states’; Izzet 2007: 123, 181.

⁸⁰⁰ Childe 1950; Cornell 2000: 212; discussed by Osborne 2005: 6.

⁸⁰¹ Cf. other challenges to the idea of temples as public architecture by Smith 2001: 20-1, Rüpke 2006: 222.

Attempts to link the construction of monumental temples to particular financiers and users are accordingly hampered by a lack of direct evidence. It may be more useful to this analysis, however, to make a closely related enquiry. Reformulating the question in a way that reconnects the agents to the products brings to the fore the question of why any king, elite group, or civic community chose to build a temple rather than another type of structure. A desire for monumentality could have been equally fulfilled by a tomb, house, or town hall.⁸⁰² This observation clarifies that temples represent a conscious choice on the part of the agents rather than a default outcome.⁸⁰³ An explanatory model for the popularity of temples must thus account for the decision to erect temples instead of other structures.

VII.1.3. Functional change

The possibility that the form of cult buildings was closely connected to contemporary religious practice has led some scholars to propose that the construction of monumental temples represents a significant change in building function.⁸⁰⁴ As discussed in previous chapters, it has been claimed that the monumentalisation of religious architecture was stimulated by the need to shelter anthropomorphic cult statues,⁸⁰⁵ and that particular details, such as podia and frontal porches, were designed to meet augural requirements.⁸⁰⁶ Little Archaic Latial or Etruscan theology, however, is securely attested, and there is significant archaeological evidence that rites and cult buildings were in fact regarded as separate phenomena. Votive deposits confirm that

⁸⁰² Burkert 1988: 42.

⁸⁰³ Izzet 2007: 121-4.

⁸⁰⁴ Cf. Frank Sear's interpretation of Roman architecture as 'space shaped by ritual.'

⁸⁰⁵ For example, Colonna 1985a: 24. cf. Brown 1961: 13 and van der Meer 2010: 1, the latter noting the contemporaneity of monumental religious structures and anthropomorphic representations of deities, but not drawing an explicit connection.

⁸⁰⁶ Those who link podia with augury include *ThesCRA* iv: 142, s.v. "Aedes (mondo Italico)" (M. Torelli); Kähler 1970: 19, Colonna 1985a: 60, Gros 1996, i: 122-5, and Cifani 2008: 290 relating the shape of podia to the form of a *templum* or *auguraculum*.

many central Italic cult sites were devoid of dedicated religious buildings,⁸⁰⁷ and while finds at sites such as the Laghetto del Monsignore near Campoverde or the Caverna della Stipe arguably represent rituals that occurred prior to the earliest sacred huts,⁸⁰⁸ the placement of votives in the ruins of sanctuary complexes including Pyrgi, Gravisca, and Portonaccio makes it clear that architecture was never a prerequisite for ritual activity.⁸⁰⁹ Similarly, the absence of shrines and temples at numerous cult sites with altars, for example the sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars at Lavinium,⁸¹⁰ suggests that cult buildings were optional components of ritual practice that enhanced, rather than transformed, communication with the divine. In reality there is no archaeological evidence of a particular ritual function for cult buildings, nor a particular one for monumental religious architecture that could not be performed by huts or shrines.

It has also been argued that temples may have been connected with ceremonial, non-votive rituals that by their nature are absent from the archaeological record. Monumental temples could thus signal changes in the performance or use of such ceremonies as well as their setting.⁸¹¹ The Roman king Servius Tullius may have constructed shrines and temples to Fortuna as part of a wider programme that exploited his special relationship with the goddess as a means of legitimising his rule and displaying divine favour.⁸¹² Some scholars have linked the construction of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline hill with the

⁸⁰⁷ For example, the discovery of more than 47 bronze objects dated to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. in a swamp at Brolio: Romualdi 1981. For a general overview of relevant Etruscan cult sites, see Edlund 1987 discussing cult sites at groves, lakes, and mountain tops, and Chellini 2002 on cult sites associated with springs. On votive deposits at Latial cult sites, see Bouma 1996.

⁸⁰⁸ On the finds at Campoverde, see: Bouma 1996, i: 41ff., 52-4, 81. On the Caverna della Stipe, see: Rellini 1920: 19-25 with Fig. 1; Chellini 2002: 25-6.

⁸⁰⁹ See n.787.

⁸¹⁰ *ENL*: 169-71; Castagnoli 1959-1960.

⁸¹¹ For example, Murray 2011; cf. Welch 2006: 499-500 on the monumentalisation of the Temple of Saturn in Rome.

⁸¹² Coarelli 1988: 253ff., 301ff.; Cornell 1995: 146-7; Linke 2010: 190.

institutionalisation of cult practices likewise emphasising a special relationship between a Roman king and a powerful deity.⁸¹³ The inspiration for ritually connecting a ruler to the divine may have come from Near Eastern, and to a lesser extent, Greek practices; it may not be coincidental that a long tradition of monumental temples also existed in the Near East.⁸¹⁴ This hypothesis plausibly places developments in central Italy within the larger cultural context of the Orientalising and Archaic Mediterranean. It does not account, however, for the continued use of monumental temples across what can be broadly categorised as regal and Republican contexts. If temple architecture deliberately fostered connections to the sacred power of a king, how were these connections re-appropriated by the aristocracy or wider community? The continued construction and use of monumental temples with the same architectural and decorative language in contrasting political situations means that this particular type of architecture is unlikely to have expressed a singular message about its patrons other than generic power or piety.⁸¹⁵ The significant resources committed to altering the form and placement of existing shrines, however, suggests that religious monumentalisation was intended to deliver an important message and/or fulfil an important function. The following section will demonstrate that contemporary archaeological evidence supports the reconstruction of a targeted message and a specific function.

⁸¹³ For example, Linke 2010: 188-92.

⁸¹⁴ Cornell 1995: 146-7; Linke 2010: 191.

⁸¹⁵ This argument does not deny that monumental architecture could be used and perceived differently by people other than its makers, but merely questions that architecture possessed an inescapable and unalterable message that would have affected the possibility of such re-use.

VII.2. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CROSS-CULTURAL CONTACT

The evidence collected in Chapter Six of this thesis demonstrated that the first monumental temples in Latium and Etruria were built at sites of regular contact with outsiders. During the course of the sixth century B.C. monumental temples appeared at harbours and landing posts in Rome and Pyrgi, settlements located along navigable inland rivers like Satricum on the Astura, and roads at the base of plateaux that carried cities such as Veii.⁸¹⁶ Many appear to have been deliberately built on sites with no earlier evidence of cult activity and in places that offered high accessibility and proximity to water rather than visibility from afar. The overwhelming orientation of these temples away from their settlements and towards water or land approaches further implies consideration of external factors. Together these circumstances suggest that contact with outsiders played a significant role in stimulating religious monumentality. Analysis of the rationales for temple construction must accordingly consider the nature of these contacts and the potential extent of their influence on the form and function of central Italic cult buildings.

VII.2.1. Mediterranean trade c.750-500 B.C.

The chronological parameters of this thesis, from approximately the ninth to the early fifth centuries B.C., frame a period of dramatic change in the level and nature of interaction between different Mediterranean cultures. While contact had long occurred through warfare, intermarriage, travel, and trade, archaeological evidence suggests that the movements of goods and peoples across long distances sharply intensified between the second half of the eighth and the end of the sixth centuries B.C. The sea

⁸¹⁶ Cf. Horden and Purcell 2000: 392 arguing that ‘nodal points’ in ‘the geography of connectivity’ are not exclusively located on coastlines, and also p.435 reiterating that ‘religious geography makes little distinction between settlement-types.’

appears to have played a central role in this process by both creating and supporting a network of direct and indirect exchanges between highly-connected settlements.⁸¹⁷

The increased circulation of goods is clearly visible in the archaeological record. The distribution of Euboean pendent-semicircle *skyphoi* across the Levantine coast and central Mediterranean; the presence of Cypro-Phoenician bowls in Latial Praeneste; the dedication of Etruscan bronzes and bucchero in Greek sanctuaries; and the inclusion of Egyptian ostrich eggs, decorated with painted low-relief carvings, among the grave-goods of Etruscan tombs, all testify to a desire to possess, and the ability by some to access, foreign goods (Fig. VII.1).⁸¹⁸ Objects and motifs associated with Anatolia, Egypt, and western Asia are thought to have been held in particular esteem. The ownership of such objects by dominant groups in Greece, Italy, Phoenicia, and Iberia is today interpreted as a sign that the seventh century B.C. possessed a common ‘Orientalising’ material culture.⁸¹⁹

There is also evidence that people travelled more extensively. The correspondence between names on pots dedicated at Gravisca and names recorded at Naukratis indicates the movement of sailors and traders,⁸²⁰ as does the discovery of an Etruscan text on lead at Pech-Maho on the Languedoc coast (Fig. VII.2).⁸²¹ Pilgrims such as the Etruscan king Arimnestos appear to have travelled to wealthy Greek sanctuaries to

⁸¹⁷ Gras 1995; Horden and Purcell 2000, esp. Chapter IX; Demetrious 2006; cf. Sherratt and Sherratt 1993 and Braudel 2001.

⁸¹⁸ On these and other examples, see Rathje 1979; Burkert 1992: 15-18; Ambrosini 1999; MacIntosh Turfa 2001; Gran-Aymerich 2002; Bernardini and Camporeale 2004; Riva 2005.

⁸¹⁹ The bibliography on the ‘Orientalising phenomenon’ is extensive; for a recent discussion and theoretical perspectives, see Riva and Vella 2006. On the problems of continuing to describe this evidence and the period with the word ‘Orientalising,’ see Purcell 2006.

⁸²⁰ Moretti 1984; Torelli 1971; Torelli 1982b; Smith 1996b: 145. cf. Möller 2000: 166-81.

⁸²¹ Lejeune, Pouilloux et al. 1990; Cristofani 1995: 132-3; Gras 1995: 159-61; Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 139.

make dedications.⁸²² Mercenaries who served in Egypt and other Near Eastern kingdoms returned to Greece and offered the gods tokens of their exotic experiences.⁸²³ Artisans are likely to have travelled between workshops,⁸²⁴ and the westward spread of new technical skills in bronze-work, gold-smithing, ivory-carving, and gem-cutting, as well as the use of moulds, particularly during the period of the Assyrian conquests of Syria-Palestine, also indicates the movement of craftsmen and technology.⁸²⁵ Permanent migrations are suggested by the considerable number of Greek, Carthaginian, Phoenician, and Etruscan colonies.⁸²⁶ The mobility of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. is thus likely to have seen knowledge, languages, stories, and biographies circulating alongside objects.⁸²⁷

This period of high connectivity was accompanied by dramatic changes in the culture and built environment of many Mediterranean societies.⁸²⁸ At the same time that those with economic and socio-political authority were acquiring exotic goods, new forms of community organisation seem to have emerged and generated proto-urban and urban structures.⁸²⁹ Polytheism, a maritime orientation, and political systems based around city-states all became common.⁸³⁰ Aristocratic lifestyles were marked by a shared set of values and practices concerned with *Selbstdarstellung*, self-

⁸²² Paus. 5.12.5; cf. Smith 1999a: 189 and Horden and Purcell 2000: 438-60. Cf. also the dedication of an anchor at Gravisca by Sostratos of Aegina, described by Herodotus as the most successful merchant of all time (Hdt. 4.152.3).

⁸²³ For example, Pedon from Ionia who dedicated an Egyptian statue in his home sanctuary after serving the Egyptian king Psammetichos in the seventh century B.C.: Kyrieleis 2009: 140.

⁸²⁴ The story of the Veintine sculptor Vulca who undertook commissions in Rome (Plin. *HN*. 35.157) may recall such movements, but is not direct evidence for them.

⁸²⁵ Burkert 1992: 21-5; Cialfoni 2006; cf. a more cautious assessment by Smith 1996b: 73.

⁸²⁶ The tale of Demaratus, a Corinthian trader and nobleman who left Corinth to settle in Etruscan Tarquinia (Liv. 1.34), evokes such migrations.

⁸²⁷ On horizontal social mobility, see Ampolo 1981. On mobility more generally, see Cristofani 1996 and Riva 2006: 111 with bibliography.

⁸²⁸ van Dommelen 2006: 135; Purcell 2006: 21. Cf. Sherratt and Sherratt 1998, and Tanner 2003: 124 discussing 'interregional relationships in the Mediterranean as crucial structural settings in explaining particular local patterns of development.'

⁸²⁹ Riva 2005.

⁸³⁰ Demetriou 2006.

representation.⁸³¹ The expression and perpetuation of exclusive status is thought to have been a central preoccupation. Consequently, distinctive forms of houses, tombs, and dining equipment were appropriated to reinforce prestigious identities. The result was the creation of a seemingly pan-Mediterranean ideological, and to some extent material, *koine*.⁸³²

Yet extensive long-distance contacts did not transform the Mediterranean into an entirely uniform culture. For all that elite groups cultivated a common aristocratic identity, based on the use of foreign goods and customs to confer prestige in life and death, the mechanisms for exploiting *orientalia* were geographically specific.⁸³³ Figured Greek vases were imported to Etruria and treated as funerary accessories.⁸³⁴ The alphabet was imported from the Near East and transformed into a variety of local scripts.⁸³⁵ The royal connotations of lions in Assyrian art were recognised by Greek and Etruscan artists who adopted the felines as powerful symbols despite having never seen them in the flesh; in Etruria great cats acquired an especially thanatological significance.⁸³⁶ Such regional differences signal that increased contacts between Italy and Greece, Anatolia and the Levant did not represent straightforward acculturation. Instead, local modes of reception could confer local significance, or foster a process in which interaction between host and guest cultures yielded entirely new, hybrid meanings.⁸³⁷

⁸³¹ Tanner 2003: 140; Riva 2006: 112.

⁸³² Riva 2005: 208.

⁸³³ Riva 2005: 203.

⁸³⁴ For an overview see Rasmussen and Spivey 1991: 132-50.

⁸³⁵ Cristofani 1979; Bonfante and Bonfante 1983: 52; Haynes 2000: 65-9.

⁸³⁶ As discussed in detail by Brown 1960.

⁸³⁷ van Dommelen 2006: 136-40.

VII.2.2. Architectural ‘Orientalisation’?

These circumstances justifiably raise the question of whether the monumentalisation of central Italic cult buildings was stimulated by exposure to Near Eastern architecture. Settlements in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Syria had a tradition of monumental cult buildings long before the first millennium B.C. Variations in the appearance, scale, and materials used to construct these temples, however, preclude recognition of a definitive ‘Near Eastern-type.’⁸³⁸ It is thus necessary to consider whether Latin and Etruscan elites desired cult buildings resembling those of a particular area as another way of associating themselves with the Oriental cultures that were the reference points for luxury and power in central Italy during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.⁸³⁹

Mesopotamian temples

Mesopotamian temples are some of the earliest monumental buildings in architectural history. Approximately twenty temples at Uruk have been dated to the fourth and third millennia B.C, and in the following two thousand years religious structures were also erected in Ur, Tell al-Ubaid, Nippur, and Chogha Zanbil.⁸⁴⁰ These temple complexes were characterised by a succession of gates, courtyards, and rooms that created a hierarchy of internal sacred space within a ground plan ascertained by divination and hence symbolic of cosmic order.⁸⁴¹ Externally they were demarcated from their surroundings by high buttressed walls or placement atop a ziggurat,

⁸³⁸ Cf. the observation by Purcell 2006: 25-6 that ‘the Orient’ or the ‘Near East’ never existed as one recognisable entity.

⁸³⁹ Those who interpret the Orientalising movement as a conscious desire to imitate the Near East include Cristofani and Martelli 1994; Delpino and Bartoloni 2000; Delpino and Flourentzos 2000; Naso 2000; contra. Purcell 2006.

⁸⁴⁰ Labat 1975: 389ff.; Shaw 1999.

⁸⁴¹ Pongratz-Leisten 2004: 254-5.

interpreted by some as metaphors for the mound of earth that rose from the flood waters in Mesopotamian cosmology (*Epic of Gilgamesh* 11.136-56).⁸⁴²

The Temple Oval complex at Khafājah is a well-studied example of Mesopotamian religious architecture.⁸⁴³ Precincts including an altar, wells, craftsmen's stalls, storerooms and priestly accommodation were spread over approximately 8000 square metres, all enclosed within, and elevated above, an oval wall (Fig. VII.3). At the core of the complex lay a central courtyard with side rooms and a staircase to an upper platform. Comparison with similar sites and literary records suggests that the platform supported a cult room containing a divine 'bedroom' with a bed and facilities for washing and dressing the cult image. Careful consideration may also have gone into the location of the Temple Oval. Standing 30m from one of the town's gates, popular sites for markets in Old Babylonian literature, it is possible that the temple played a leading role in Khafājah's economy by acting as a focal point for visitors and traders.⁸⁴⁴ At the time of its construction Mesopotamia was a temple society with a temple economy, where architectural prominence was a tangible expression of concentrated wealth, power, and learning.⁸⁴⁵ The Temple Oval is thus likely to have dominated and affected its surroundings visually, politically, and economically.

Egyptian temples

Egyptian cult temples also combined cosmologically significant architecture with a leading role in their settlements. The great cult temples of Ptah in Memphis, Horus in Heliopolis, and Amun-Ra in Thebes emerged as the foremost sites of Egyptian

⁸⁴² Bertman 2003: 194-7; Pongratz-Leisten 2004: 253.

⁸⁴³ On the excavations and reconstructions see Delougaz and Jacobsen 1940.

⁸⁴⁴ On the topography of the Temple Oval see Delougaz and Jacobsen 1940: 137-9. On production and economic activities in the Temple Oval, see Pollock 1999: 124ff..

⁸⁴⁵ Pollock 1999: 91, 124-34, 177.

worship during the New Kingdom (1550-1069 B.C.).⁸⁴⁶ Their characteristic ground plan consisted of a succession of symmetrically-arranged rooms that grew smaller and darker towards the innermost shrine, all initially accessed by means of a monumental gateway, or pylon, through a mud-brick wall that separated the complex from its surroundings (Fig. VII.4).⁸⁴⁷ This layout referenced the Egyptian myth of creation, as did temple decoration, and also allowed resident deities to process through temples in a straight line during certain rituals.⁸⁴⁸ Additional processional ways lined with statues, particularly sphinxes, extended beyond the temple to further weave religion into urban topography.⁸⁴⁹ Temples were also central to the political, social, and economic life of Egyptian settlements and the state. As seats of government they administered lands and regulated the conduct of communal life; as religious centres they facilitated the worship of the gods and a ruler who was both deity and priest; and as venues for the fulfilment of socially-determined roles they reinforced existing hierarchies in the human and divine realms.⁸⁵⁰

Temples in Syria and the Levant

A number of temples in Syria and the Levant are often grouped together in architectural typologies due to their use of a common floor plan. The ‘Syrian long-room’ type featured a frontal courtyard, a porch or portico, two inner rooms and an elevated rear internal section, typically with a niche.⁸⁵¹ The recently excavated Temple at ‘Ain Dara (c.1300-740 B.C.) is a typical example,⁸⁵² with a rectangular plan measuring approximately 20 x 30m containing a columnar porch, an antechamber,

⁸⁴⁶ Atiya 2006: 99-101; Verner 2002: 5-9 (Memphis); Murray 2002: 67ff. (Thebes).

⁸⁴⁷ Assman 2004; Wilson 2010: 787-8.

⁸⁴⁸ Wilson 2010: 789 ff.

⁸⁴⁹ Assman 2004.

⁸⁵⁰ Wilson 2010: 782; Szpakowska 2010: 507, 511-2; Spencer 2010: 269-70.

⁸⁵¹ del Olmo Lete 2004.

⁸⁵² For the plan and decorative details see Monson 2000.

and a main hall in which a ramp led to a dais with a shallow niche (Fig. VII.5). The mud-brick and wooden superstructure was arranged on a 2.5m-high basalt platform engraved with images of creatures including lions and sphinxes. Remnants of basalt reliefs suggest that the superstructure was decorated with similar images of felines, gods, and unidentified creatures with clawed feet, possibly eagles. Additions after 1000 B.C. included the placement of piers in the temple doorways and façade, the addition of reliefs and a stele in the rear of the main hall, and the construction of a multi-storied hallway around three sides of the building to create an ambulatory. A staircase flanked by depictions of a sphinx and two lions connected the temple porch to an open courtyard containing a large basin. The numerous representations of lions and the images of mountain gods on the dais in the inner hall have led the excavator to suggest that the temple was dedicated to Ishtar, the Babylonian goddess of fertility, love, and war who was also the consort of the mountain god.⁸⁵³

Many temples that used the Syrian long-room plan are also known to have incorporated distinctive secondary details such as towers, pillars, and side rooms, creating 'hybrid temples' where imported forms were adapted to meet local religious needs.⁸⁵⁴ The Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem is thought to exemplify hybridism, although the design and execution of the building is known only through literary accounts. Descriptions of the plan and measurements of the tenth-century building echo the long-room type (1 Kings 6). There are also indications of exposure to the architectural traditions of other regions. King Hiram of Tyre was the primary supplier of timber and craftsmen for the project (1 Kings 5: 1-18), while the stonecutters came from Byblos and a Tyrian artisan, Hiram, was responsible for the bronze work (1

⁸⁵³ Monson 2000.

⁸⁵⁴ Monson 2000.

Kings 7:13-37). These Phoenician contacts may have embedded the Temple in the architectural traditions of the wider region.⁸⁵⁵ The interior of the finished temple was decorated with wooden carvings of flowers, palm trees, and cherubim or winged creatures, sometimes envisaged as sphinxes, all overlaid with gold (1 Kings 6: 14-35; 2 Chronicle 3:10-13); the use of decorations from the common repertoire in a temple serving a monotheistic faith, without a cult statue, arguably represents the flexibility of such symbols and imagery to serve the expression of divergent beliefs.

... and in Italy?

The extent to which these different Near Eastern temples influenced the design of central Italic cult buildings is debateable. Increased contact with eastern practices is often thought to have had a transformative effect on Greek religious structures, stimulating the construction of substantial open-air altars and temples to shelter cult statues.⁸⁵⁶ The Twenty-Sixth Dynasty of Egypt (c.682-525 B.C.) has been cited as a potentially crucial influence on the development of the Greek colonnaded temple, offering foreign visitors views of finished and unfinished building projects with rows of columns and painted decoration, all realised in stone.⁸⁵⁷ Egyptian expertise in the cutting, lifting, and fitting of large stone blocks is also likely to have transformed Greek architectural technology; for example, the Egyptian method of tying adjacent blocks to one another by iron clamps was also adopted in Greece.⁸⁵⁸ The impact of travelling craftsmen has also not been underestimated. From the end of the ninth century B.C., and particularly during the Assyrian conquests of Syria-Palestine during the eighth century, there are suggestions of westward refugee migrations in the

⁸⁵⁵ Schmidt 1899.

⁸⁵⁶ Burkert 1992: 20; Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006: 8.

⁸⁵⁷ Boardman 1999: 148; Spawforth 2006: 23-4.

⁸⁵⁸ Barletta 2001: 151; Spawforth 2006: 24.

archaeological record.⁸⁵⁹ It is hence possible that such architects and skilled labourers found new homes in Greece and Italy and began to produce works that combined eastern techniques with local decorative conventions.

Etruscan archaeology offers evidence for the selective use of eastern construction techniques and architectural types that turns this possibility into a probability. The use of pilasters interspersed with sections of smaller stones to construct walls 29 and 43 of the early seventh-century Edificio *beta* on the Pian di Civita plateau at Tarquinia is recognised as an example of the eastern Mediterranean, and particularly western Phoenician, masonry technique *murs a piliers*.⁸⁶⁰ A complex in Etruria, serving Etruscan needs, could thus employ eastern technology. Etruscan cemeteries also offer valuable evidence for the architectural relationship between central Italy and the Near East during the Orientalising period. In the seventh century B.C. aristocratic Etruscan families began to differentiate their tombs from those of others through the construction of *tumuli*, or burial mounds, above elaborate chamber tombs.⁸⁶¹ Their basic form consisted of a mound of earth atop a cylindrical stone drum with decorative mouldings; the larger examples, still visible in the Banditaccia necropolis in Cerveteri and the Monterozzi and Doganaccia necropoli in Tarquinia, were up to 15m high and 40m in diameter (Fig. VII.6).⁸⁶² Comparable forms of *tumuli* had previously been used for royal and noble burials in Lydia and Phrygia.⁸⁶³ A famous example from Gordion, known today as the Great Tumulus or ‘Midas Mound,’ measured 53m high and approximately 300m in diameter when it was erected in the

⁸⁵⁹ Burkert 1992: 21-5.

⁸⁶⁰ Ciafaloni 2006; Bonghi Jovino 2010a: 168.

⁸⁶¹ Naso 1998; Riva 2010: 125-34.

⁸⁶² Haynes 2000: 72.

⁸⁶³ Cf. Naso 1998 discussing possible ‘Oriental’ antecedents.

late eighth-century B.C. (Fig. VII.7).⁸⁶⁴ The rapid and widespread adoption of *tumuli* burials among the Etruscan aristocracy clearly demonstrates familiarity with Anatolian architecture as well the ability to construct imitations.⁸⁶⁵ The first monumental Etruscan temples, however, were not built for a further one or two centuries and did not follow Anatolian, Mesopotamian, or Egyptian plans. Etruscan architects consequently appear to have preferred to draw on eastern inspiration for the appearance of funerary rather than non-funerary religious structures.

The likelihood that contact with the Near East had different effects on Greek and central Italic architecture is consistent with the idea that the reception of ‘Oriental’ influences was regionally specific.⁸⁶⁶ Interaction could produce imitation, adaptation, or inspiration, with variations between cultures and also communities within each culture. As cross-cultural contacts in Italy occurred within this wider Mediterranean framework of connections and responses, it is useful to consider how patterns of monumentalisation in Latium and Etruria compare to those in other areas. The following section will accordingly survey the construction of significant cult buildings in other parts of the Mediterranean to discover if the factors surrounding the emergence of monumental temples in central Italy were unique.

VII.3. RELIGIOUS MONUMENTALISATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

The period and places in which monumental cult buildings appeared in central Italy have significant parallels elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Although it is not common to study the monumentalisation of religious architecture in ancient cultures, or to do

⁸⁶⁴ Young 1981: 79-190, 271-2.

⁸⁶⁵ Cf. Colonna 1986: 397 proposing Syro-Hittite inspiration for some *tumuli* mouldings at Cerveteri.

⁸⁶⁶ Cf. Rathje 1979: 147, 179 noting that Oriental influence was more extensive in Etruria than Greece.

so using distinctions between shrines and temples similar to those employed in this thesis, the considerable body of scholarship on Greek temples, for example, offers valuable comparanda. This section will review when and where it is possible to recognise important temples in mainland Greece, Hellenic Asia Minor, the Nile Delta, Magna Graecia and Sicily and their potential relationship to one another.

VII.3.1. Temples in mainland Greece

The process by which Greek temples developed an autonomous architectural form is one of the most discussed topics in Greek archaeology. Much debate has focused on the point at which temples came to carry a full colonnade or *peristasis*, one of the defining features of significant Greek religious buildings. Like podia in Italy, the widespread adoption of this stylistic feature was roughly contemporary with the codification of other characteristics of subsequent Greek temples, including an eastern orientation, a gabled roof with an elaborate decorative system, and the presence of an *opisthodomos* or rear room behind the *cella*.⁸⁶⁷ The combination of these elements into a coherent, distinctive form of colonnaded temple can first be recognised in Achaia, Aitolia, and Phokis between 630 and 600 B.C.⁸⁶⁸ The Temple of Apollo at Thermon (Fig. VII.8), the Temple of Hera at Corcyra (Corfu), and Temple B1 at Calydon exemplify this development.⁸⁶⁹ The rapid spread of this new architectural form saw the next one hundred years become a more prolific period of temple building in mainland Greece than any of the subsequent seven centuries.⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶⁷ Vink 1995: 113-4. Note also that the canonical elements of the Ionic order are not attested prior to the second quarter of the sixth century; Barletta 2001: 84.

⁸⁶⁸ Vink 1995: 114; cf. Barletta 2001: 154.

⁸⁶⁹ Barletta 2001: 82-3.

⁸⁷⁰ Spawforth 2006: 25.

The timing of this development is thought to be directly connected to the emergence of the Greek *polis* as a social, political, and geographical unit.⁸⁷¹ The decision to invest in the construction of a communal temple is interpreted as the emphatic rejection of investment in palaces or dynastic tombs, and hence as a rejection of monarchy and tyranny by an autonomous citizen body.⁸⁷² Religion, in short, took the place of earlier authorities. Temples were set up to signal the permanence of the new system and to transform economic and artistic surplus into prestigious monuments that obviated rivalry among the citizenry.⁸⁷³ They also fulfilled a variety of other functions within this system: as *anathemata* they honoured the gods; as landmarks they signalled a community's wealth and power; and as ritual *foci* they were emblems of common identity.⁸⁷⁴

The discrepancy between this framework and the context of the innovative late seventh-century temples described above is noteworthy. The regions of Achaia, Aitolia, and Phokis are thought to have been far less progressive in socio-political and cultural terms than areas such as Attica, undermining arguments of a connection between the emergence of a distinctive temple style and contemporary politics.⁸⁷⁵ Their location along the borders of the Corinthian Gulf along which Greek colonists sailed to Italy may be more significant.⁸⁷⁶ Archaeologists have assigned Corinth a leading role in the development of early Greek architecture, associating the settlement with innovations in roof tiles, the proto-Doric and Doric orders, and investment in

⁸⁷¹ Burkert 1988: 32 with bibliography; Spawforth 2006: 22, 26, but contra. the observation on p.34 that only approximately half of all known Greek city-states appear to have possessed colonnaded temples. This explanation is also used to account for the lack of exclusively religious structures in settlements prior to the seventh century B.C.: Vink 1995: 97-106; Barletta 2001: 52.

⁸⁷² Burkert 1988: 42.

⁸⁷³ Burkert 1988: 43.

⁸⁷⁴ Burkert 1988; Spawforth 2006: 26-7, but contradicted by p.30.

⁸⁷⁵ Vink 1995: 114.

⁸⁷⁶ Cf. Sherratt and Sherratt 1998: 336 noting that the main pan-Hellenic sanctuaries were often located at strategic points on long-distance maritime routes.

urban religious monumentality.⁸⁷⁷ In the seventh century B.C. successive oligarchs and tyrants exploited Isthmian traffic and trade to turn Corinth into one of the wealthiest of all Greek settlements.⁸⁷⁸ Commercial relationships with other centres were complemented by the founding of numerous overseas colonies in Sicily, Corfu, and Albania, as well as a stake in the new settlement of Naukratis.⁸⁷⁹ By the sixth century B.C. Corinth was renowned for its trade, wealth, and public monuments, three factors that are likely to have been closely connected.

VII.3.2. Temples in Asia Minor

East Greek architects were responsible for some of the largest and most famous of all Greek temples. The *Artemision*, or the Archaic Temple of Artemis at Ephesos, was built on a site that appears to have had a long tradition of innovative religious architecture: remains of a shrine dated to the eighth century B.C. include the period's only certain *peripteros* as well as the earliest examples of column bases associated with a religious building.⁸⁸⁰ Debris from the destruction of this building in the seventh century B.C. included an ivory plaque with an image of a griffin and the Tree of Life, carved in a North Syrian style, indicating the Near Eastern contacts that were a hallmark of the era.⁸⁸¹ The shrine's celebrated marble successor was completed in c.550 B.C. with funding from King Croesus of Lydia (Hdt. 1.92.1). An international connection appears again in the traditional attribution of the new design, characterised by two rows of peripteral columns and a *hypoethral* cella or courtyard open to the sky,

⁸⁷⁷ Young 1980: 23-6; Rhodes 1987; Winter 1993: 12-17; Morgan 1994: 138-9; Lawrence and Tomlinson 1996: 66; Spawforth 2006: 20, 24; Winter 2009: 1. cf. Bozzoni 2006: 24-5 on the significance of religious architecture in Korkyra/Corfu, itself a Corinthian colony. The early development of the sanctuaries at Isthmia and Perachora in the Corinthia may also be linked to prominent, accessible locations: Morgan 1994: 128, 132.

⁸⁷⁸ Salmon 1984: 132-54; Murray 1993: 146-7; Forsdyke 2005: 71-4; cf. Thuc.1.13.5 and Strabo 8.378.

⁸⁷⁹ Cerchiai, Jannelli et al. 2004; Nielsen and Roy 2009: 265.

⁸⁸⁰ Bammer 1990: 156; Scherrer 2000: 44-6; Barletta 2001: 33.

⁸⁸¹ Bammer 1990: 153 and Fig. 29.

to the Cretan architect Chersiphron and his son Metagenes (Vitr. *De arch.* 7. preface. 16; Plin. *HN.* 7.38.125; 36.21.95). External contacts, wealth, and technical expertise thus form the setting for the construction of the renowned Archaic cult building.

The sixth-century Temple of Artemis drew pilgrims, royalty, sightseers, and merchants who traded and made votive offerings.⁸⁸² ‘Ephesian ware,’ found only in Ephesus and Sardis, indicates a special relationship with the Lydian empire,⁸⁸³ and gifts such as Corinthian *aryballoi* and Phoenician leg plates decorated with symbols of the Egyptian gods Bastet and Hathor can be traced back to mainland Greece and the Levantine coast.⁸⁸⁴ Many of these visitors made use of the nearby harbour and ‘holy port.’⁸⁸⁵ The harbour was central to Ephesos’ role as a gateway between the Aegean Sea and important land routes across Anatolia, including the east-west Laodicea road, the northern road to Smyrna, and the road to Sardis and Galatea in the northeast (Fig. VII.9).⁸⁸⁶ Its topography conferred sufficient wealth and influence that the city relocated more than once in response to the silting up of a useful landing site.⁸⁸⁷ The *Artemision* thus effectively turned Ephesos into a centre for trade and religious tourism.

Further down the Ionian coast, the Heraion sanctuary on the island of Samos hosted two famed Temples of Hera. Similar to the developments associated with the Ephesian *Artemision*, in c.560 B.C. a dipteral temple (the so-called Temple III)

⁸⁸² Murphy-O'Connor 2008: 18.

⁸⁸³ Scherrer 2000: 44.

⁸⁸⁴ Scherrer 2000: 212.

⁸⁸⁵ Zabehtlicky 1995: 202 notes that the term ‘holy port’ was used in both ancient and modern literature, for example Kreophilos cited in Athenaios’ *Deipnosophistai* 8.361e (=8.62).

⁸⁸⁶ Ramsay 1901: 167; Treblico 1994: 308; Stanley 2007: 143.

⁸⁸⁷ Zabehtlicky 1995: 201-2; Murphy-O'Connor 2008: 10, 18.

replaced an eight-century building and a seventh-century shrine.⁸⁸⁸ Within a decade the temple had been destroyed. Its replacement (Temple IV), completed in c.530 B.C. and located 40m to the east, became renowned for having the largest known floor plan of any Archaic Greek temple.⁸⁸⁹

The topography of the Heraion suggests that proximity to water was more important than an urban location. The sanctuary was built on marshland near the mouth of the Imbrasos River and connected to the settlement of Samos, approximately six kilometres to the east, by a broad ‘sacred road’ (Fig. VII.10).⁸⁹⁰ The presence of an area suitable for landing flat-bottomed Greek ships near the river mouth raises the possibility that many visitors arrived directly from the sea.⁸⁹¹ Water-borne trade was responsible for Samos’ legendary prosperity, facilitating the import of textiles from inland Asia Minor and exchanges with other trading centres in Egypt, Greece, and around the Black Sea.⁸⁹² The peak of the island’s naval power and wealth coincided with the construction of monumental Temple IV on the shore, facing the sea that arguably supplied the majority of its funding and its users.⁸⁹³

VII.3.3. Temples at Naukratis

Naukratis was one of the earliest ports in Egypt. Excavations indicate that a mixed population of Greeks, Egyptians, and possibly Phoenicians resided in the settlement on the Canopic branch of the Nile prior to its transfer to Greek control shortly after

⁸⁸⁸ Barletta 2001: 124.

⁸⁸⁹ (320 x 160 ft); Sacks 1995: 210. On the construction in general, see Young 1980: 72-6.

⁸⁹⁰ Kyrieleis 1981: 9; Gates 2003: 202.

⁸⁹¹ Kyrieleis 1981: 9; cf. Strabo 14.1.14.

⁸⁹² Forsdyke 2005: 60-2.

⁸⁹³ Gates 2003: 215; Forsdyke 2005: 60-2.

570 B.C.⁸⁹⁴ Its charter regulated that all non-Greek merchants were required to pass through Naukratis to carry out trade with Egypt and thus gave the settlement a pivotal role in Archaic maritime commerce (Hdt. 2.179).⁸⁹⁵ Pottery demonstrates connections to Cyprus, Phoenicia, Cyrene, and Etruria as well as Greece and Egypt.⁸⁹⁶ At least twelve Greek city-states subsequently contributed to the architectural enrichment of the town and its port, financing a number of sanctuaries and temples (Hdt. 2.178). Sanctuaries known from either remains or dedicatory inscriptions include those of Aphrodite, Hera, Apollo, and the Dioscuri, as well as the *Hellenion*, common to all of the colonising *poleis*; a reference by Herodotus to a Temple of Zeus has not yet been corroborated (Fig. VII. 11).⁸⁹⁷ These religious structures appear to have dominated the Archaic settlement, as there are currently no traces of contemporary houses, streets, and public architecture,⁸⁹⁸ providing traders with an emphatically Greek, sacred environment for conducting business.

The rationale for these monumental temples is unclear. While Herodotus records that different states built different temples, with the Samians financing the Temple of Hera and the Milesians erecting the Temple of Apollo, dedications reveal that they were used by Greeks from many regions.⁸⁹⁹ Interestingly, a cup dedicated to Aphrodite is inscribed with the name Rhoikos; it is tempting to speculate that this was the same architect who worked on the design of the monumental Samian Heraion (Temple III)

⁸⁹⁴ Villing and Schlottzhauer 2006 give a useful history of the site with bibliography. The earliest datable pottery from the site is a fragment of a Corinthian vase from c.625 B.C.: Boardman 1999: 121, Fig. 138; the earliest Athenian vase has been dated to c.610 B.C.: Boardman 1999: 125, Fig. 142. On the Egyptian population see von Bissing 1951: 33ff.; Boardman 1999: 131; Möller 2000: 192-6, 214.

⁸⁹⁵ Although note that the traditional view of Naukratis as the first and only port in Egypt has recently been overturned by exploration of the harbour town of Herakleion-Thonis, also located on the Canopic branch of the Nile: Villing and Schlottzhauer 2006: 5.

⁸⁹⁶ Villing and Schlottzhauer 2006: 7; Naso 2006.

⁸⁹⁷ Möller 2000: 94-113, 200-2.

⁸⁹⁸ Möller 2000: 118-9.

⁸⁹⁹ Boardman 1999: 130; Möller 2000: 200.

with one Theodoros (Hdt. 3.60; Pliny. *HN*. 36.90;⁹⁰⁰ Vitruvius. *De arch.* 7. preface. 12).⁹⁰¹ It has been suggested that the buildings may have hosted ritual meals that served to reinforce communal Greek identity⁹⁰² and that they were trading centres;⁹⁰³ they may also have been a means of staking their patrons' claims to a share in the governance of the site.

VII.3.4. Temples in Magna Graecia and Sicily

The foundation of Greek colonies in Magna Graecia and Sicily between the eighth and the sixth centuries B.C. brought Greek concepts and structures to Italy.⁹⁰⁴ In the mid-eighth century B.C. Euboean Greeks established a trading centre on the island of Pithekoussai, modern Ischia. Its good harbour and proximity to mainland Italy attracted settlers from Greece, Etruria, and Phoenicia who advanced the settlement's cosmopolitan and commercial character.⁹⁰⁵ Cumae was founded between 750 and 725 B.C. and rapidly followed by Greek colonies at Zankle (Messina), Rhegion (Reggio Calabria), Naxos, and Syracuse. By the second quarter of the seventh century the colonies themselves began to send out settlers. Metapontion, Poseidonia (Roman Paestum), and Dikaiarcheia (Roman Puteoli) are likely to have further disseminated Hellenic practices and identities during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.

Religion played a significant role in the identity and organisation of these colonies. The *oikist* who led colonial expeditions was invested with sacred authority by the Delphic oracle and became the link between the settlers, their city of origin, the site of

⁹⁰⁰ With Pollitt 1990: 181, n.2.

⁹⁰¹ Boardman 1999: 132. A large quantity of mugs and cups found in the sanctuary of Hera also have exact parallels in the Samian Heraion and were produced from the same clay: Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006: 6, citing analysis by Hans Mommsen.

⁹⁰² Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006: 6.

⁹⁰³ Roebuck 1951: 212.

⁹⁰⁴ For a chronology and overview of Greek colonies in Italy see Cerchiai, Jannelli et al. 2004.

⁹⁰⁵ Ridgway 1992.

the new colony, and the divine.⁹⁰⁶ On arrival in new lands, sacred flames from the public hearth of the mother-city would be transferred to the new settlement (*Etymologicum Magnum* 694.28). Sacred precincts were demarcated and indigenous cults developed around heroised *oikists*.⁹⁰⁷ The role of religious architecture in the colonisation process, however, is less straightforward. It is clear that colonial foundations did not always involve the construction of a monumental temple. Settlers at Pithekoussai had no immediate tradition of monumental cult buildings in mainland Greece to draw on in the mid-eighth century B.C., and the site has not yet yielded evidence of such a local initiative. Temples instead appear to have been relatively late features of colonial settlements in Sicily and Magna Graecia. Temples R, S and the predecessor of building C on the acropolis at Selinunte;⁹⁰⁸ the Temples in the Sanctuary of Demeter Malaphoros and at Triolo N;⁹⁰⁹ and the Temple of Apollo in Syracuse,⁹¹⁰ all date to the first half of the sixth century B.C. The thirty-year construction of the first Temple of Hera at Poseidonia only began in c.550 B.C.⁹¹¹ Greek colonial temples are thus unlikely to have been local stimuli for their Latial and Etruscan equivalents. Instead, monumental religious architecture appears to have been a concomitant development in central Italy, Sicily, and Magna Graecia during the first half of the sixth century B.C.

The function of monumental temples in Greek colonial settings has been particularly contested. In 1984 François de Polignac influentially argued that Greek communities were generally defined by the combination of cults at the heart of, and on the borders

⁹⁰⁶ Malkin 1987: 17ff.

⁹⁰⁷ Malkin 1987.

⁹⁰⁸ Marconi 2007: 77-9.

⁹⁰⁹ Marconi 2007: 79-81.

⁹¹⁰ Dinsmoor 1950: 75; Barletta 2001: 70.

⁹¹¹ Pedley 2005: 170.

of, their territories, and that the construction of extra-urban sanctuaries represented the domination of a defined territory.⁹¹² This concept has since been challenged by scholars examining eighth-century and non-colonial developments as well as those re-evaluating colonial paradigms.⁹¹³ Malkin, for example, has argued that colonial shrines were often constructed prior to the concept of defined territories and that patronage of the sites caused the creation of roads that in turn generated the concept of sovereign territories.⁹¹⁴ Sacred topography may thus have been a contributory factor in, rather than a product of, *polis* formation.

VII.3.5. Architectural ‘Hellenisation’?

The regions reviewed in this section have been predominantly Hellenic in location or culture. Whereas the previous section considered the possibility that the monumentalisation of central Italic cult buildings was stimulated by exposure to Near Eastern architecture, it is now appropriate to evaluate the likelihood that monumentalisation was instead stimulated by exposure to Greek architecture.

Two important, and hitherto largely overlooked, points can be made about the theory that central Italic temples were built in response to, or imitation of, Hellenic antecedents. The first is chronological. The archaeological evidence indicates that Greek temples assumed a coherent, autonomous architectural form that differentiated them from other buildings and marked them as religious structures, and was furthermore adopted in more than one place, during the first half of the sixth century B.C. Earlier temples may be recognised in the regions bordering the Corinthian Gulf

⁹¹² Polignac 1984, modified by De Polignac 1994. For the same concept in Italy, see Zifferero 1995; Molinos and Zifferero 1998.

⁹¹³ For example, Morgan 1994: 107; Malkin 1996.

⁹¹⁴ Malkin 1996.

in the late seventh century B.C., but colonists leaving these areas do not appear to have constructed similar buildings in new settings; Greek temples only appear to become a significant part of Greek culture during the course of the sixth century B.C. This development is thus, by and large, contemporaneous with similar developments in central Italy and particularly in Rome and Latium.

The second point is colonial. Excavations at the coastal site of Gravisca, approximately six kilometres from the city of Tarquinia in Etruria, have to date uncovered a sequence of buildings spread over approximately 1000 square metres. The earliest structures at the site date to the late seventh century B.C. and take the form of huts and wells. In c.580 B.C. a small rectangular structure was erected and subsequently enlarged, destroyed, rebuilt, and surrounded by a variety of other buildings, wells, altars, and votives during a number of building phases. Finds of Attic and eastern Greek pottery, Greek lamps, and Greek inscriptions suggest that the complex initially contained one or more sanctuaries frequented principally by Greeks worshipping goddesses such as Aphrodite.⁹¹⁵ The volume of dedications increased from the middle of the sixth century and, as discussed earlier in this chapter, included inscribed names found also at Naukratis.⁹¹⁶ Over the course of successive enlargements and rebuilding of the structures associated with votive deposits and altars during the course of the sixth century B.C., however, there are no known traces of a monumental Greek temple. Developments at Gravisca thus indicate that Greek presence, Greek cults, and Greek cult buildings do not seem to have automatically

⁹¹⁵ From c.510 B.C. growing evidence of Etruscan visitors and Etruscan cults suggest that the site had become predominantly Etruscan. The earliest Etruscan inscriptions at the site, however, date from c.560 B.C., and thus suggest that the sanctuary may have had an international character even in its earliest phase: Damgaard Andersen 1998, iv: 44-6. On the site more generally, see Haynes 2000: 172; Fiorini 2005; Fiorini and Torelli 2010.

⁹¹⁶ See n.820. Torelli 1983: 482-3 also stresses connections between the cult buildings at Gravisca and Naukratis.

produced Greek temples, or any temples at all, much less a form of temple that was imported to central Italy and imitated by settlements in Etruria.

The monumentalisation of cult buildings in Latium and Etruria is consequently unlikely to have been prompted by a desire to imitate Greek practice. Religious monumentalisation instead appears to have been a deliberate choice, first exercised in Latium, in response to a particular set of conditions and circumstances that involve engaging, rather than imitating, outsiders, as discussed below.

VII.3.6. Connectivity⁹¹⁷

This survey has so far demonstrated that temples emerged as an autonomous type of architecture in many Mediterranean cultures during the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C. Different architectural traditions produced different plans and elevations but were all employed in the adoption of a monumental, widely comprehensible visual language that set temples apart from other types of buildings. This new language appears to have been formulated and enthusiastically employed in places where significant numbers of people came into regular, relatively peaceful contact, either as locals and outsiders, hosts and visitors, or buyers and sellers. Many studies have focused on distinctions between these sites and the applicability of various labels such as trade sanctuaries, *emporia*, marketplaces, territorial markers, and cosmopolitan centres. It is arguably more important in this context to note all that were highly-trafficked venues for the construction of innovative forms of religious architecture. Moreover, all can be connected by their apparent cognisance of how

⁹¹⁷ I have deliberately refrained from using the term ‘peer polity interaction’ in this discussion due to the frequency with which it is treated as an answer rather than a theoretical model requiring further investigation. Imitation does not happen in a vacuum, but has significant causes and effects; I believe that analyses of these factors would effectively cease if they were simply presented as an example of peer-polity interaction, regardless of the inherent utility of the model. This problem is discussed by Renfrew and Cherry 1986: 7.

their local form of religious architecture could be perceived as part of a wider network.

Such considerations may be recognised in the use of familiar architectural decorations. I would like to propose that the different exteriors of these Archaic temple approximated dialects of a common architectural language. All had gabled roofs and a number of frontal columns. Monsters and beasts such as gorgons, sphinxes, felines, and bulls were prominently displayed.⁹¹⁸ Most notable was the widespread use of imagery connected with Heracles and a female goddess, often described as Mater Matuta, the Mistress of the Animals, or *potnia theron*. In Italy, statues and acroterial figures of the couple decorated temples at Rome, Caere, Veii, and Satricum.⁹¹⁹ Shared patronage may account for some similarities: for example, identical decorations on the pediments of the Temple of Mater Matuta in Rome, the Temple of Artemis in Corfu, and a temple in Syracuse have been read as signs that all were commissioned by Bacchiads, who have also been linked to the Temple of Apollo at Corinth.⁹²⁰ The repeated use of the same elements, however, may have been prompted by more than Archaic convention. At any site visitors from a number of different regions would have been able to quickly and easily identify which buildings were temples and understood that cult buildings, and cult practices, were valued by their hosts.

Another consideration of external perspectives may be evident in the use of familiar types of deities. The gods and goddesses to whom these monumental temples were

⁹¹⁸ On cross-cultural comparanda for architectural decoration, see Castriota 1992: 209ff. (processions on revetment plaques); Stibbe 1992-1993 (similarities between the sanctuaries at Satricum and Sparta); Marinatos 2000: 48ff. (gorgons); and Marconi 2007: 214ff. (gorgons).

⁹¹⁹ Lulof 2000.

⁹²⁰ Mertens-Horn 1995; Winter 2005a: 354; Winter 2009: 150.

dedicated are remarkably congruent. Buildings for the worship of Mater Matuta at Rome and Satricum, Uni-Astarte at Pyrgi,⁹²¹ Artemis at Ephesos, and Hera at Corfu and Samos may have offered visitors a framework for ritual practice that was both recognisable and flexible. Similarly, the popularity of Hercules-Melqart at the same or comparable sites is also likely to have been more than coincidental. Hercules was worshipped at sanctuaries in the Roman Forum Boarium, at Pyrgi, Caere, Praeneste, through southern Italy and along the Adriatic coast in his polyvalent capacity as a companion of female goddesses, a traveller to distant lands, and a protector of sailors, herders, and merchants wherever they encountered wilderness, thieves, monsters and generic danger.⁹²² Herakles-Melqart and Athena-Artemis-Astarte are thought to have been the quintessential deities of early Mediterranean religion.⁹²³ People approaching a monumental temple with relatively familiar external decorations were thus also likely to find it associated with the worship of a familiar, or at least translatable, figure.

This idea by no means implies extensive syncretism. The deities at these sites are unlikely to have represented interchangeable variants of a maternal goddess and male son-consort archetype or to have lacked local, individual attributes and personalities.⁹²⁴ Instead, these specific male and female deities are more likely to have functioned as symbols of participation in a shared, polytheistic Mediterranean culture in which willing visitors could draw connections between different members of many pantheons. Such a situation moves beyond problematic conceptions of the

⁹²¹ Winter 2009: 553.

⁹²² Glinister 2003: 143; *LIMC* IX.1 Supplementum: 245-6, 259, s.v. “Herakles/Hercle” (S. J. Schwarz).

⁹²³ For example, Bonnet 2005.

⁹²⁴ Cf. Bouma 1996,i: 262; Goodnick Westenholz 1998: 81; Smith 2008: 243-73; van der Meer 2010: 1.

Mediterranean as a ‘sea of faith’⁹²⁵ to posit a ‘sea of many faiths’ in which multiculturalism, or multi-regionalism, could be accommodated and mediated through polytheistic structures. This pragmatic view of religion at sites of contact also raises the possibility that the wrong element of the equation between cult and contact has previously been over-emphasised. Instead of attempting to identify a language of Mediterranean cult, it may be that cult figures, cult décor, and cult buildings were part of a language of Mediterranean contact.

VII.4. RELIGION AND CROSS-CULTURAL CONTACT

It has often been noted that ancient ports and sites of significant external contact featured a wealth of religious symbols.⁹²⁶ The sociology of ancient contact and trade has recognised and accounted for the prominent role of religion in such settings and also the particularities of this relationship in central Italy.⁹²⁷ The role of religious architecture, however, has received considerably less attention. This section will accordingly proceed from a review of the mechanisms connecting religion and cross-cultural interaction to the theology of trade and the function of monumental religious architecture in this system.

VII.4.1. Religion as a foreign policy

As well as mediating relationships between communities and their gods, religious rituals are known to have played a significant role in mediating relationships between

⁹²⁵ Woolf 2005.

⁹²⁶ For example, Coarelli 1988; Smith 1999a: 181.

⁹²⁷ At least, in studies of pre-modern trade conduction in a substantivist, rather than formalist, framework. In the ancient world: Smith 2001; Kyrieleis 2009. More generally: White 1991.

different central Italic communities.⁹²⁸ Rites could create and emphasise solidarity. Shared observance of the *Feriae Latinae* on the Alban Mount united the towns of the Latin League (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.49), and comparable ceremonies are likely to have consolidated relationships between those who gathered at particular times in the grove of Diana at Aricia and the Sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars at Lavinium.⁹²⁹ Rites could also emphasise division and subjugation. An enemy's tutelary gods could be asked to defect to the victor's city through *evocatio deorum*, a form of ritualised conquest famously enacted as part of Rome's defeat of Veii in 396 B.C. (Livy. 5.21, 22.3-8), while the importation of the cult of Magna Mater during the Second Punic War represented the belief that a new deity could indirectly bestow victory over a foreign foe (Livy. 29.11.6, 29.14.5-14). The role of religion in structuring foreign policy was later formalised in Rome with the institution of the *fetiales* as a priestly college, charged with ratifying treaties, making formal proclamations of war and peace, and advising the Senate on external relations (Livy. 1.24; 1.32; 31.8.3).⁹³⁰ Religion thus offered a way to structure, formalise, and express interactions between different communities.

It is important to note, however, that there is likely to have been a significant difference between contacts involving official representatives of political communities and contact between individuals representing themselves or commercial interests. Finds in the vicinity of the earliest monumental temples in central Italy, such as two metallic weight standards corresponding to Roman-Oscan and Campanian

⁹²⁸ Cf. Horden and Purcell 2000: 459 on this as a Mediterranean practice; and Lemos 2001 on the similar use of cult to reinforce cultural links between different Aegean communities during the Iron Age.

⁹²⁹ Cornell 2000: 219-20.

⁹³⁰ Beard, North et al. 1998, i: 26-7 with bibliography.

pounds on the acropolis at Satricum⁹³¹ or the Greek coinage at Pyrgi,⁹³² suggest contacts of a more commercial than diplomatic nature, as does the topography of other sites of religious monumentalisation, characterised by practical concerns such as high accessibility more often than prestigious visibility. The risk of volatile encounters and misunderstandings may have been particularly high in such settings. As discussed in the next section, it is possible that this risk could be partially offset by a particular form of ritualised contact designed to assuage anxiety and maximise success.⁹³³

VII.4.2. Religion as a business model

Studies of ancient trade broadly offer two different conceptions of exchange in pre-industrial societies. ‘Modernist’ or ‘formalist’ approaches hold that modern methods of economic analysis can be fruitfully applied to ancient cultures provided that non-material benefits are suitably quantified. Notions of competition, price maximisation, and the economy as a separate exchange mechanism may feature in such accounts. In contrast, ‘primitivist’ or ‘substantivist’ studies contend that ancient societies must be analysed within their own, non-capitalist frames of reference. The hoarding of precious metals, for example, may thus represent attempts to acquire prestige or social capital rather than purely economic advantage. Debate over the accuracy of each view was a traditional feature of economic anthropology but is now largely confined to

⁹³¹ Nijboer 1998: 302-7.

⁹³² Colonna 1985a: 139-41; Nijboer 1998: 60, 63.

⁹³³ Cf. Burkert 1996: 24-5 on temples as a general means of reducing anxiety and potential aggression in a number of different contexts; and, more generally, on the integrative force of shared rituals, Wach 1944: 39-44.

classical history and archaeology, where the fundamental issue has become whether social behaviour determined, or was determined by, market needs.⁹³⁴

The role of religion in ancient transactions has typically been studied within a substantivist framework. While it is generally agreed that there was nothing inherently ritualised about ancient economic exchange,⁹³⁵ the symbiotic relationship between religion and trade in certain circumstances has prompted recognition of religion as a business model in pre-industrial societies.⁹³⁶ Widely-recognised rituals could create a standardised set of expectations and behaviour that functioned as a *lingua franca* for cross-cultural interaction, and divine oversight could partially offset the inherent dangers in encountering and engaging with unknown individuals. The precise details of this model varied between cultures and periods in world history but the Samian Heraion, the acropolis at Satricum, the harbour-side sanctuary of Pyrgi, and the Roman Forum Boarium illustrate elements of the model as it appears to have existed in the Mediterranean between the ninth and sixth centuries B.C.

To begin in Greece, the exceptional wealth of rich votive offerings from Egypt, Cyprus, and the Near East dedicated in the Samian Heraion during the late eighth and early seventh centuries B.C. has attracted analysis of their origins and purpose.⁹³⁷ Studies have suggested that high-ranking individuals from remote countries sent luxurious items, for example pieces of Syrian and Assyrian furniture, in the care of emissaries to be dedicated in prominent Greek sanctuaries.⁹³⁸ These actions were

⁹³⁴ Sherratt and Sherratt 1998: 330-1.

⁹³⁵ Although it has been argued that the fundamentals of economic exchange could be ritualised at certain moments as a mechanism for creating or negotiating different forms of power: Smith 2001: 20.

⁹³⁶ Torelli 1986. cf. Smith 1996b: 147. Horden and Purcell 2000: 432-3 note the relationship but doubt whether it was deliberately cultivated.

⁹³⁷ For example, Kyrieleis 1993; Baumbach 2004; Kyrieleis 2009.

⁹³⁸ Kyrieleis 2006; Kyrieleis 2009: 140-1 with references.

prompted by the wish to acknowledge their hosts' customs, signal good intentions, and build confidence that was subsequently used in the conduct of additional, often commercial, interactions.⁹³⁹ In central Italy, finds in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Mater Matuta at Satricum indicate extensive trading activity and the local manufacture of bronze and iron goods.⁹⁴⁰ It has been suggested that a group of *principes* at Satricum cultivated ritualised exchanges involving the sanctuary, under the guise of diplomatic gift-giving, in order to stimulate and regulate local commerce.⁹⁴¹ Such theories elide the common distinction between the seventh-century practice of aristocratic gift exchange and sixth-century marketplaces under the protection of the gods by proposing that both represent different points on a spectrum of business conducted under religious auspices.

Pyrgi and the Roman Forum Boarium offer two examples of sites with closer resemblances to divinely-protected marketplaces. At Pyrgi the combination of historical accounts referring to vast quantities of coinage (for example, Diod. Sic. 15.14.3-4) and the discovery of nine silver tetradrachms dated to c.440 B.C. and earlier, when such coins were not circulated in central Italy, has given rise to the suggestion that Greek coins were hoarded at the sanctuary as a form of bullion.⁹⁴² The sanctuary and its hinterland thus appear to have possessed separate exchange mechanisms and are likely to have been subject to economic regulation.⁹⁴³ The ability of those who regulated transactions to draw upon donations at the sanctuary if needed must have been attractive in light of the earlier practice of burying economic surplus

⁹³⁹ Kyrieleis 2009; cf. Gregory 1980: 644 on how some votives are 'manifestly a vehicle for the expression of relations between men' and Osborne 2004: 2 arguing that votives 'establish a particular model of reciprocity which has a profound effect on all exchange.'

⁹⁴⁰ Maaskant-Kleibrink and Forsten 1992: 106-7; Nijboer 1998: 302-7; Waarsenburg and Maas 2001.

⁹⁴¹ Waarsenburg and Maas 2001; cf. Smith 2006: 150-3.

⁹⁴² Colonna 1985a: 139-41; Nijboer 1998: 60, 63.

⁹⁴³ Nijboer 1998: 61.

in funerary chambers.⁹⁴⁴ Another benefit of this type of infrastructure was its means of insuring or legitimising commercial exchanges by divine sanction.⁹⁴⁵ The popularity of the Roman Forum Boarium as a meeting place for traders is thought to partly derive from the oversight of Heracles, by whom later Roman merchants swore at the conclusion of contracts with the words *hercle* and *mehercule*.⁹⁴⁶ The possibility that fraudulent transactions would be punished with divine retribution meant that ritual observance could generate a degree of trust that was valuable, and even marketable, in an uncertain world.⁹⁴⁷

The concept of religion as a business model may accordingly account for much of the religious symbolism found in ancient ports and trading posts. Yet a distinction between the role of religious architecture and religious ceremonies in this model is seldom drawn despite the ability of the former to speak directly to the relevance or irrelevance of ritual *mores* in spaces hosting economic transactions. While invocations and oaths have left no trace, the perceived value of interacting within a religious context is clearly evident in the repeated investment in monumental temples. Regardless of the agent responsible for their construction, it is clear that temples were desired or deemed valuable at sites of contact. It is thus timely to return to a consideration of the likely functions of Archaic religious architecture.

VII.4.3. Cross-cultural contact and religious monumentality

Architecture was not a prerequisite for ancient marketplaces and trading posts. Commercial sites could be enhanced by the provision of shelter, places to store or

⁹⁴⁴ Discussed by Smith 2001: 20.

⁹⁴⁵ Glinister 2003: 143-4.

⁹⁴⁶ LIMC IX.1 Supplementum: 245, s.v. “Herakles/Hercle” (S. J. Schwarz).

⁹⁴⁷ Cf. Smith 2001: 21.

display goods, and ways to secure animals and materials from damage or loss, but all served to attract traders and customers rather than meeting essential needs. Two questions consequently arise: why did people erect monumental buildings at sites of contact, and why were the overwhelming majority of these buildings religious?

Cross-cultural contact and monumental architecture

An Archaic relationship between monumentalisation, trade, and ritual could have built upon an older Italic relationship between monumentalisation and economic activity. The complex at Poggio Civitate in Etruria illustrates the architectural investment that was made during the seventh century at an inland site ideally located for large-scale commercial exchange. Its proximity to the Miniera mines, the Ombrone river, and the major centres of Vetulonia, Roselle, Chiusi, Arezzo, and Volterra, meant that Poggio Civitate could have functioned as a distribution point for timber, grain, iron, and bronze moving out of the area and being bartered.⁹⁴⁸ The ridge-top location conferred both visibility and defensibility. These factors have seen the complex interpreted as a meeting-point, often for activities of a federal character. The commercial applications of the site's topography, architecture, and finds, however, may account more accurately for the nature of many gatherings. A concern with security rather than comfort is evident in the resemblance between the plan of the complex and that of later Roman *macella*, both having rooms that communicate with the courtyard rather than each other, and limited and narrow access into the courtyard arguably used for processions and common rituals.⁹⁴⁹ Workshop production at the site has been well-studied. The discovery of seven inscribed ivory fragments in debris from the Lower

⁹⁴⁸ MacIntosh Turfa and Steinmayer 2002: 11-12.

⁹⁴⁹ MacIntosh Turfa and Steinmayer 2002: 14-18.

Building (OC1) may also be significant.⁹⁵⁰ Their original appearance as carved ivory plaques can be ascertained by comparison with similar finds from S. Omobono and a tomb on the Carthaginian Byrsa.⁹⁵¹ Such plaques are thought to have functioned as *tesserae hospitales* used to identify the bearers to foreign associates.⁹⁵² The non-votive nature of the inscriptions further suggests a commercial, rather than religious, context. These factors do not entirely preclude a residential function. Instead, they suggest that the person or group in authority at Poggio Civitate may have built their reputation, as well as their monumental complex, on their dominance of local trade.⁹⁵³

The decline of such complexes in the late seventh and early sixth century was followed by investment in the construction of monumental temples. The widespread decision not to rebuild multi-functional courtyard buildings but to erect religious alternatives, and moreover to invest sufficient resources to ensure that these new religious buildings would be dominant structures within their settlements, represents either reprioritisation or the pursuit of the same ends by different means. Archaeological evidence suggests the latter.

Cross-cultural contact and monumental religious architecture

The earlier survey of comparable developments around the Mediterranean indicated that the sixth century B.C. saw the widespread establishment of meeting places and marketplaces under the protection of the gods. At Corinth, Naukratis, Samos, and Ephesos temples were a feature of sites where large numbers of people from different communities and cultures encountered one another in religious and commercial

⁹⁵⁰ Wallace 2008.

⁹⁵¹ MacIntosh Turfa and Steinmayer 2002: 21.

⁹⁵² MacIntosh Turfa and Steinmayer 2002: 21; Wallace 2008: 75.

⁹⁵³ MacIntosh Turfa and Steinmayer 2002: 23; cf. Arafat and Morgan 1994: 118.

contexts. The construction of the S. Omobono temple in Rome, the enlarged and elaborated Temple of Mater Matuta at Satricum, the Portonaccio temple at Veii, and the Temple of Uni-Astarte at Pyrgi brought Latium and Etruria into this network by creating places where contact and trade could take place near a monumental cult building. The blend of local and foreign features in these buildings and the choice of deities to whom they were dedicated further reinforce the idea that their patrons were deliberately attempting to foster links between these Etrusco-Italic temples and their overseas counterparts. Regardless of whether these patrons were powerful individuals, elite dynasties, or community bodies, they thus appear to have appreciated, and manipulated, a growing connection between religious architecture and commercial activity.

The idea that monumental religious architecture may have been part of a deliberate attempt to manipulate contact with outsiders necessarily engages with the ongoing debate about the nature of Archaic central Italic trade. While many scholars agree that the acquisition and exploitation of wealth was central to the development of elites and subsequent civic communities,⁹⁵⁴ opinions vary as to the attitudes towards, and mechanisms for, that acquisition. One group holds that foreign objects were widely desired for their aura of glamour and luxury.⁹⁵⁵ Another presents the view that trade and foreign contacts were perceived as dangerous, potentially subversive forces requiring regulation and separation from daily life.⁹⁵⁶ The middle ground is held by those who believe that powerful figures favoured trade for the profit and luxury goods that conferred status, but sought to control its accessibility and conduct as a means of

⁹⁵⁴ For example, Peroni 1979: 14-16; Damgaard Andersen 1997.

⁹⁵⁵ For example, Riva 2005: 203-4.

⁹⁵⁶ Torelli 1981a: 75-7; Glinister 2003: 143-4; cf. Sherratt and Sherratt 1998: 338.

restricting elite membership.⁹⁵⁷ The development of monumental religious architecture in central Italy is highly relevant to this debate. The nature of temple construction seems to signal a desire to engage with ritualised trade, while temple topography, and in particular the tendency to build temples on sites distinct from those previously prominent in cult, appears to reflect considered thought as to where it would be desirable for such engagement to occur. The lack of comparable structures at every meeting-place and boundary further indicates targeted monumentalisation. The fact that some agents chose to create their sanctified marketplace outside an urban centre, for example at Pyrgi, while some situated them well within a settlement, as happened at Vulci, and still others chose not to be incorporated into this growing economic network at all, is also unsurprising given the evidence that central Italic centres had a propensity to develop individual political, economic, cultural, and artistic identities. It is probable that some agents welcomed trade while others were more wary. A common architectural language could thus have been invoked in circumstances that differed according to local concerns.

The fact that some agents in Latium appear to have desired to become part of an inter-regional economic phenomenon prior to their equivalents in Etruria questions the opinion of some scholars that Rome and Latium were reliant on Etruria for access to trading networks. It is clear that the natural resources and economy of Etruria overshadowed those of Latium and offered straightforward mechanisms for participating in local and international trade.⁹⁵⁸ Yet historical references to the pro-mercantile policies of figures such as Servius Tullius, including actions such as the striking of bronze coinage (Plin. *HN*. 33.43), may recall an eager engagement with

⁹⁵⁷ For example, Arafat and Morgan 1994: 113; Nijboer 1998: 59, 61-2; cf. Smith 1998: 48, and also Tanner 2003: 124 discussing broadly-based 'corporate elites' versus 'exclusionary elites.'

⁹⁵⁸ Bartoloni 1987b; Smith 1996b: 120, 226.

trade despite debatable recording of the precise mechanisms by which this was accomplished.⁹⁵⁹ It is hard to explain the topography of Rome's earliest temple, and indeed the first known podium temple in central Italy, without hypothesising a connection with external contacts.⁹⁶⁰ Etruria may have been the wealthier and more artistically sophisticated of the two regions in question, but Latium may have been the more politically and internationally astute.

VII.5. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter began by reviewing the heterogeneous explanations for religious monumentality found in current scholarship and the problems of reconciling them with the archaeological record. It then demonstrated that while attempts to identify the motives for monumental temple-building in central Italy are often hampered by an unsurprising paucity of information, it is possible to develop an alternative account of religious monumentality that can be supported with material evidence. The suggestion that monumental cult buildings enabled settlements in Latium and Etruria to embed themselves in a wider network of cross-cultural contact and divinely-protected marketplaces is consistent with the architectural, decorative, religious, and topographical patterns identified in the earlier chapters of this thesis. It also places communities and building projects in western central Italy into a wider Mediterranean context of which influential agents seem to have been highly cognisant.⁹⁶¹ The result is a reconstruction of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., based on empirical evidence and historical interpretation, as a time in which interaction with others may

⁹⁵⁹ Cf. Cornell 1995: 109, 146. Crawford 2003: 68-9 criticises the specifics of Pliny's claim.

⁹⁶⁰ Cf. Colonna 1979: 230 noting that Roman and Latial markets open to the outside world in Latial Period IVB (c.630-580 B.C.).

⁹⁶¹ Cf. Terrenato 2011: 240-1.

have prompted less imitation than inspiration and, in some sense, collaboration for mutual benefit.

The function of Archaic temples in this account is closely related to their form. A monumental cult building marked a place where people were welcome to gather and interact peacefully. By representing and manifesting the divine it visibly sanctified the surrounding space and communicated the oversight of a deity. Monumentalisation thus arguably put the same primary function of a shrine or sacred hut, namely the demonstration of divine presence, to different use, in this case the pursuit of international business. Although it is beyond the chronological scope of this thesis, it is also arguably possible to recognise the subsequent longevity of a productive connection between religious monumentality and regular contact in the later development of sites such as the Fanum Voltumnae (Livy. 6.2.2) and the Lucus Feroniae (Livy. 1.30.5; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.32.1).⁹⁶² It is thus possible that developments in Archaic central Italy were not merely the background for later Roman practices, but their foundation.

⁹⁶² The latter site is summarised by Edlund 1987: 87. See also Horden and Purcell 2000: 434.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has examined the archaeological evidence for the development of religious buildings in early central Italy and consequently revised traditional narratives about the extent to which Etruria influenced Italic religious architecture. As such it has offered a new perspective on the development of a particular type of building, and also on the relationship between Rome, Latium, and Etruria from the ninth to the sixth centuries B.C. The latter part of the thesis, in which the construction of monumental temples in central Italy is compared with similar developments elsewhere, provides additional insight into interactions between different Archaic communities. This study of cult buildings has thus arguably advanced studies of Latium and Etruria in both Italic and Mediterranean settings.

This concluding chapter recapitulates the arguments made in the main body of the thesis and sets out the significance of those arguments for histories of ancient architecture and society. It also contextualises this study with regard to other research. Finally, it assesses the strengths and limitations of the topic and opportunities for further research.

The changing form of religious architecture

The first half of this thesis demonstrated that ancient religious architecture was a protean phenomenon. Three chapters analysed the ambiguous evidence for Iron Age sacred huts, the range of different buildings types associated with ritual activities in the seventh century B.C., and the emergence of a separate architectural language for religious buildings during the Archaic period. Detailed analyses of foundations and

roofs revealed that as changes in technology and society led to the widespread use of more permanent building materials and rectangular plans, the physical fabric of central Italic settlements was also increasingly marked by the use of particular architectural forms and decorations to differentiate cult buildings from other structures, setting them apart in a form of architectural consecration.

These chapters established three important points. Firstly, early central Italic religious architecture was dynamic rather than conservative. Changes in plans, foundations, elevations, and decorations saw the exteriors of cult buildings transformed between the early eighth and late sixth centuries B.C. Innovation was thus as much of a hallmark of religious design as any inherited tradition. Secondly, in relation to the problematic relationship between sacred and profane spaces in antiquity, it is clear that a need was increasingly felt to distinguish cult buildings visually from their surroundings. This need appears to have been absent in the Iron Age but strongly felt in the Archaic period. Precinct boundaries, if they existed, seem to have been regarded as insufficient separators; buildings closely associated with the gods came to look starkly different from those associated with mortals. Cult buildings thus represent the existence of the sacred as a distinct conceptual category by the sixth century B.C. Thirdly, the repeated importance of Latium in developing and establishing a separate architectural language for cult buildings is clearly signalled in the archaeological record. It is no longer accurate to state that many of the defining features of Roman or Etrusco-Italic cult buildings, such as podia, were inherited from Etruscan predecessors, unless 'Etruscan' is simply read as shorthand for 'a time long ago.'⁹⁶³ The evidence suggests that settlements in Latium took the first steps to

⁹⁶³ Cornell 1995: 167-70 discusses the Roman tendency to describe something particularly old or revered as 'Etruscan.'

differentiate cult buildings from other structures, and that their methods for doing so spread to other regions and became a template for cult buildings constructed in subsequent centuries. Developments in Archaic Latium, and particularly Rome, thus appear to have had a lasting effect on urban form and the tangible elements of Italic religion.

Rationales for change

The second half of this thesis examined wider settings for religious monumentalisation. Based on the premise that temples were not a default option for architectural projects, three chapters explored possible reasons why temples were constructed instead of palaces, tombs, or secular community buildings. It was shown that the introduction of anthropomorphic cult statues and associated rites at this time is difficult to substantiate, and that the repeated placement of Archaic temples at lowland, highly accessible sites suggests that regular contact with outsiders is more likely to have stimulated change than alterations to rituals. It was furthermore demonstrated that the architectural effects of such contact cannot simply be read as ‘Orientalisation’ or ‘Hellenisation.’ Instead, the construction of monumental temples at a number of different sites around the Mediterranean during the first half of the sixth century B.C. suggests that religious architecture was widely perceived as a useful tool for attracting and managing desirable encounters. These chapters thus culminate in the suggestion that Latial and Etruscan temples were built to facilitate the inclusion of these regions in broader economic, religious, and social networks.

This argument brings the topic of religious monumentalisation in early central Italy into the purview of a number of other studies and disciplines. The sociology of ancient trade is particularly relevant, and strong links can be made to White’s theory

of the ‘middle ground,’ in which trade-based contact could produce mutual accommodation, rather than acculturation or assimilation.⁹⁶⁴ Similarly, the monumentalisation of ancient Mediterranean cult sites may be usefully examined as a test case for hybridity, or the idea that interaction creates social spaces which take on new meanings for those who use them, which has become a research theme in cultural, and particularly post-colonial, studies.⁹⁶⁵ The increasing use of network theory to model and interpret developments in comparable spaces and time frames may also offer useful parallels and avenues for further investigation.⁹⁶⁶ Lastly, interdisciplinary studies of the ways that people construct and use sacred spaces have advocated that interpreters seek to understand the material culture of these spaces in light of the cultural, theological, and ideological elements that imbue them with meaning.⁹⁶⁷ This thesis has been guided by this challenge and as such can be read as an archaeological case study of the creation and manipulation of religious space. It hence has much potential for illustrating theoretical models in the social sciences as well as understanding developments in early central Italy.

Limitations and possibilities

This thesis, however, also has limitations. While it has established that significant architectural changes appear to have occurred in Latium before Etruria, it has not identified the agents of this change; Latium is thus a setting rather than a specific set of people. It is not impossible that Etruscans in Latium were responsible for the emergence of temples as a distinctive architectural form. If this is true, then additional studies are required to account for the Latial, rather than Etruscan, location of these

⁹⁶⁴ White 1991 (analysing interaction between Europeans and Native American Indians).

⁹⁶⁵ Young 2003; van Dommelen 2006, for example, has examined the relevance of cultural hybridity for understanding developments in Iron Age and classical Sardinia.

⁹⁶⁶ Malkin, Constantakopoulou et al. 2009; Malkin forthcoming.

⁹⁶⁷ For example, Hamilton and Spicer 2005; Kilde 2007; McCauley and Lawson 2007.

changes. Reconstructing the external appearance of religious architecture also arguably fails to significantly increase our understanding of ancient religious beliefs and rituals. The ceremonies that are likely to have created and conferred meaning for and on these buildings have not been examined in this analysis and remain a potential subject for research by others such as religious historians. Most importantly, this synthesis of the archaeological evidence is both extensive in scope and yet a snapshot of current knowledge and theories. It is notoriously difficult to maintain accuracy at both micro- and macro-levels in synchronic and diachronic analyses across a big canvas, a big timescale, and in this case with big buildings.⁹⁶⁸ Discerning a coherent image in a mosaic of old and new excavations of individual buildings and settlements is ever subject to contradiction by the introduction of a new structure or site. This thesis thus represents the analysis of information readily available at the time of writing, and new data will undoubtedly require new studies.

It remains to emphasise that this thesis offers a suggested interpretation of the form and function of early Italic cult buildings rather than a definitive judgement. Its central argument can be supported by archaeological evidence, and is a more accurate reflection of that evidence than many of the accounts found in current scholarship. Perhaps in histories of ancient architecture, as in religion, the task is not to seek certainty but rather to construct a framework that can make sense of the available evidence. The framework built in the course of these seven chapters presents monumental religious architecture as means of facilitating effective and beneficial encounters, not just between mortals and gods but also communities and cultures. It can thus be understood as a phenomenon that is fundamentally tied to, and a indeed mechanism for fostering, contact and interaction.

⁹⁶⁸ Nixon 2002: 196.

ABBREVIATIONS

Journal abbreviations follow those used in *L'Année philologique*.

Classical references are abbreviated in accordance with S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.) (1996) *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (Oxford).

<i>ArchLaz</i>	<i>Archeologia Laziale</i>
<i>CIE</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum</i>
<i>CLP</i>	(1976) AA. VV. <i>Civiltà del Lazio primitivo, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Roma, 1976</i> (Rome).
<i>ENL</i>	(1981) AA. VV. <i>Enea nel Lazio: Archeologia e mito. Bimillenario Virgiliano: Roma, 22 settembre-31 dicembre 1981, Campidoglio, Palazzo dei Conservatori</i> (Rome).
<i>Deliciae Fictiles I</i>	(1993) E. Rystedt, C. Wikander, and Ö. Wikander (eds.) <i>Deliciae Fictiles. Proceedings of the First International Conference on central Italic Architectural Terracottas at the Swedish Institute in Rome, 10-12 December 1990</i> (Rome).
<i>Deliciae Fictiles II</i>	(1997) P. S. Lulof and E. M. Moormann (eds.) <i>Deliciae Fictiles II. Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Archaic Architectural Terracottas from Italy held at the Netherlands Institute in Rome, June 1996</i> (Amsterdam).
<i>Deliciae Fictiles III</i>	(2006) I. E. M. Edlund-Berry, G. Greco, et al. (eds.) <i>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</i> (Oxford).
<i>From Huts to Houses</i>	(2001) J. R. Brandt and L. Karlsson (eds.) <i>From Huts to Houses: Transformations of Ancient Societies. Proceedings of an international seminar organized by the Norwegian and Swedish Institutes in Rome, 21-24 September 1997</i> (Stockholm).
<i>GRT</i>	(1990) M. Cristofani (ed.) <i>La grande Roma dei Tarquini: Catalogo della mostra, Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 12 giugno - 30 settembre 1990</i> (Rome).
<i>KAI</i>	(1966-1969) H. Donner and W. Röllig (eds.) <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> , 2nd ed., (Wiesbaden).

- LIMC* (1981-1999) AA. VV. *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich; München).
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