From sacred site to monumental sanctuary: how the perception and manipulation of the landscape affected religious experience in Iron Age Central Adriatic Italy

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Abbreviations

Modern Italian regions mentioned in the text:

BO	Bologna, Emilia-Romagna
RA	Ravenna, Emilia-Romagna
FO	Forli, Emilia-Romagna
CE	Cesena, Emilia-Romagna
RN	Rimini, Emilia-Romagna
PS	Pésaro, Marche
AN	Ancona, Marche
MC	Macerata, Marche
AP	Áscoli Piceno, Marche
TE	Téramo, Abruzzo
AQ	L'Áquila, Abruzzo
CH	Chieti, Abruzzo
PE	Pescara, Abruzzo
PG	Perúgia, Umbria
TR	Terni, Umbria
RI	Rieti, Umbria

Camerino Museum	Museo Civico di Camerino
Chieti Museum	Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Chieti
Cíngoli Museum	Museo Archeologico Statale
Anc Mus	Museo Nazionale delle Marche, Ancona
Offida Museum	Museo Archaeologico "Guglielmo Allevi"
Pigorini Museum	Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnologico Luigi Pigorini
Villa Giulia	Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome

From sacred site to monumental sanctuary: how the perception and manipulation of the landscape affected religious experience in Iron Age Central Adriatic Italy

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Abstract of thesis

This thesis explores the sacred landscape and ritual practices of Iron Age people living in the Marche and bordering regions of Central Adriatic Italy. It achieves this by examining the evidence of votive deposits of figurines and pottery in contexts associated with particular 'natural' features of the landscape, namely, water sources, caves and mountain peaks. Phenomenologies of these places/sites are constructed in order to understand how people using them perceived their landscape and manipulated it in order to meet their religious needs. The relationships between these places and the broader landscape are assessed, where 'landscape' means the physical landscape of this Central Adriatic region, which includes the patterns created by geology, vegetation and climate, as well as by human settlement, such as sites of habitation, cemeteries and routes of communication.

Issues regarding how to use phenomenology and whether it is a valid methodology are addressed. Investigation is made into the interrelationships between the landscapes of Iron Age Central Adriatic Italy, the material culture pertaining to religion and the people who interacted with these, in order to write a history of the religion of the 'Picenes'.

The conclusions drawn are that 'natural' landscape features were integral to the religious experiences and practices of the Iron Age communities here and that they largely appear to have been locales for rituals associated with the fertility of the people and land, and of people's safe passage through the landscape.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: approaches to the study of religion in Iron Age Central Adriatic Italy

Comparatively little is known about religion in Iron Age Central Adriatic Italy. The principal aim of this thesis, which is the first analysis in English of that subject, is to increase our knowledge of the subject by exploring how people's religious practices affected and were affected by their environment. This introductory chapter outlines the reasons for choosing the subject, region and time period under discussion and gives an explanation of the title and other key terms that will be used throughout the thesis. It then goes on to explore the methodologies used, to define the region and describe its topography, including the subdivision of 'natural features' into caves, water and peaks, and to discuss the available evidence types for Iron Age religion.

1.1 Parameters of the thesis

"the landscape tells - or rather is - a story"
Ingold 1993:153

Why might we be interested in the religion of people living in Iron Age Central Adriatic Italy? What and how can we learn about that religion from its physical manifestations in the landscape?

Traceable interrelationships exist between subject (person), object and landscape (place) (Gosden 1994; Thomas 1996; Bradley 1998b; 1998c; Knapp and Ashmore 1999:2). The life history of every subject, object and place is a different coloured thread and these threads interweave to form tapestries (Appadurai *et al* 1986). Each colour of thread can be woven into many tapestries, any one life history interweaving with many others. The weaving of the threads with one another represents the interrelationships between every subject, object and place. Testing the theory that distinctive natural features of the landscape played a key role in Iron Age religion in Central Adriatic Italy, this thesis examines the interwoven threads that form a part of a tapestry of the physical landscape of Italy. The part of the design which is of interest is that part of the tapestry in which the period circa 900 to 268 BCE is depicted and

specifically, the patterns pertaining to religion. To identify and examine the interrelationships associated with religion, a phenomenological approach is used. This explores the interrelationships between the natural features in the Central Adriatic landscape and the subjects and objects that interacted with them. Subjects may have been priests, shamans, worshippers or initiates, who engaged in rituals and held beliefs; the objects may have been the divinity that was the object of their devotion, the artefacts used in the rituals, or the rituals themselves; the place, the sacred site, such as a cave or spring, or an altar by a small temple. It should not be inferred from this choice that religion is perceived as the most important locus of human interactions. Rather, religious experience[1] is just one outcome of particular subject-object-place interrelationships. However, religion is considered to have value as an arena in which to observe subject-object-place interrelationships because it includes:

- variations in numbers of people involved
- practices (e.g. veneration) and beliefs
- social, political, economic and spiritual aspects.

Central Adriatic Italy includes the modern regions of Marche, northern Abruzzo, eastern Umbria, southern Emilia-Romagna and the state of San Marino. This area largely corresponds with ancient Picenum (Augustan *regio* V), but also includes its 'boundary zones'. These boundary zones are included because definition of Iron Age boundaries is arbitrary, being extremely difficult to identify with any accuracy, particularly when it is unrealistic to speak of specific, named regions for much, if not all, of the Iron Age. Eastern Umbria (the Apennine zone) and the area north of Pésaro are the most controversial areas to be included, since they have strong historical identities as Umbria and the *ager Gallicus*, but are included because they share common cultural features with the rest of the region in the Iron Age[2] (Maps I-II).

Central Adriatic Italy is an archaeologically rich, but particularly understudied area, so the current work both introduces the region to an English-reading audience and complements current work on Samnium and Umbria[3]. Those scholars who have published work in English on this geographical area have covered the wealth of evidence for the Neolithic to Bronze Age periods, as well as the evidence for the

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[1] Defined further in 1.2.
[2] Discussed further in 1.3.
[3] Principally, the Gubbio, Iuvanum and Sangro Valley projects. See also note 4.

Palaeolithic, but discussion and debate about the Iron Age material is long overdue, particularly in light of the recent and ongoing surge of interest in Picenum amongst Italian archaeologists[4]. The recent *Piceni popolo d'Europa* exhibition has raised the region's profile, bringing to light the rich body of archaeological evidence available for the Iron Age and Roman periods, including a quantity of votive material. These data provide an opportunity to analyse change and continuity in the region. The 900-268 BCE time period adopted here both addresses this issue and explores the initial impact of the Roman conquest of the region. Difficulties encountered when studying Central Adriatic Italy are the lack of contemporary literary material describing life in the region and poor documentation of much of the archaeological material. However, the situation is beginning to improve, with current archaeological fieldwork in the region following more rigorous practices[5]. Formal analysis of literary and epigraphic sources (including basic etymology) is used where applicable: a body of contemporaneous epigraphic material exists, but the literary sources post-date 268 BCE and are treated with extreme caution.

Two recent publications, the catalogues *Luoghi degli Dei* (covering sites in Abruzzo and Molise) and *Acque, Grotte e Dei* (sites in Emilia-Romagna, Marche and Abruzzo), have introduced the rich body of evidence for religion in Central Adriatic Italy to the scholarly field, but as yet no work on this topic exists in English. These catalogues of material allow for many and varied interpretations, with the understudied nature of the region meaning that as yet there is no established methodological orthodoxy. This opens up the further possibility of applying interdisciplinary methodologies to a new body of material and to a debate that is in its formative stages.

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[4] Notably, the Soprintendenze of Emilia-Romagna, Marche and Abruzzo, with their input into the Picene exhibitions. Other key figures who have studied these regions' pre- and protohistory include: Barker 1972; 1981; Radmilli 1975; 1977; Whitehouse 1992; Skeates 1992; 1997a; Malone *et al* 1994; Oakley 1995; Dench 1995; 1997; Cocchi Genick 1996a; 1996b; Di Fraia and Grifoni Cremonesi 1996a Lloyd *et al* 1997; Campanelli *et al* 1997; Pacciarelli 1997; Lloyd and Faustoferri 1998; Bispham *et al* 2000; Bradley 2000a; Naso 2000; Bell *et al* 2002. General discussions of Iron Age Italy are rare, Ridgway and Ridgway 1979, Hackens *et al* 1984 and Pallottino 1991 being the main publications in English for this period. Some discussion of the Italian Iron Age is included in general introductions to the European Iron Age (Champion *et al* 1984; Collis 1984).

[5] Fieldwork is performed under the auspices of the Soprintendenze of Marche and Abruzzo and includes projects in the Attiggio area (Riva and Pretzler), Potenza valley (Vermeulen) and Salinello valley (d'Ercole).

Some general points also need to be addressed here. The current Italian names for settlements, localities and features such as rivers, mountains and caves are used throughout, since the focus of this work is on the pre-Roman period. Use of modern names avoids the Roman bias that might result from using Latin names, some of which are known for the places under discussion. Where reference is made to Graeco-Roman sources, or where discussion is of Roman or Latin settlements, both the Latin and Italian names are given. The exceptions to this are in the use of 'Picenum' and 'Picenes' as labels for the region and people under discussion. The boundaries and name(s) of the Iron Age territory are unknown, so the only ancient name we have for the region is Picenum, given by the Romans. 'Picenum' should not be equated with the geographical Augustan region, but be read as shorthand for 'Central Adriatic Italy' (cf. Franchi dell'Orto 1999).

The name 'Picenes' is preferred over 'Picentes', as an anglicisation of the Italian term 'Piceni' which is in current usage (Franchi dell'Orto 1999; Naso 2000). 'Picentes' is sounder etymologically, since *Picentes/Pikentinoi* is the only name used by the Graeco-Roman literary sources (fig 1.1), although this may be a moot point since this does not appear to have been the name used by the cultural group in question (2.6). The bogus term 'Picenes' is therefore favoured to reflect this, rather than focusing on the southern cultural group identified in the migration myth of the 'sacred spring' (*ver sacrum*) that comes to us via Graeco-Roman sources[6]. It is only used at all because 'Central Adriatic peoples' is too unwieldy[7]. Use of Picentes is further complicated by Strabo, who differentiates between 'Picentinoi' and 'Picentes' (5.4.2, 5.4.13; fig 1.1). He mentions an offshoot tribe called the Picentes, who were deported from the Adriatic and whose region extended as far as the river Silaris, which separated old Campania from Lucania (5.4.13). He states that

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[6] A group of young people set out from Sabinum, with a woodpecker as a guide, and settled in the region that became known as Picenum: *Picena regio, in qua est Asculum, dicta, quod Sabini cum Asculum proficiscerentur, in vexillo eorum picus consederat* (Festus p 235 Lindsay). See also Strabo 5.3.1 C 228; 5.4.12; 5.4.2 X 240; Florus 1.14.2; Pliny *NH* 3.110-111 (10.40); Silius Italicus *Punica* 8.439-442; Festus 212M L. For other Italic sacred spring myths see Varro *RR* 3.16.29; Strabo 5.4.2, 5.4.12; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.16.2, 1.16.4; Livy 22.9-10; 33.44.1; 34.44.1; Ovid *Fasti* 3.95-6; Virgil *Aen* 7.750; Pliny *NH* 3.98; Juvenal 3.169; 14.180; Servius *ad Aen* 7.684; 7.697, 11.785; Festus p43L, p150L, p519-20L. For discussion of these myths and ther implications, and for further bibliography, see Dench 1995; Naso 2000.

[7] 'Central Adriatic peoples' has its own problematic connotations, since 'Central Adriatic culture' is one of the terms traditionally applied to the area's material culture, erroneously equating material with an homogeneous socio-cultural group (Cianfarani *et al* 1978; Suano 1991; Dench 1995:189, 194).

Pontecagnano (*Picentia*), the metropolis of the Picentes, was destroyed by the Romans when the populace sided with Hannibal in the Punic wars. Preference of 'Picenes' also avoids any confusion created by the identification of this community.

Source	**Reference to People**	**Reference to Region**	**Context**	**Date** (of described event)
Polybius 2.7-8		*Πικεντίνην*	Gaius Flaminius' distribution of land from which Senonian Gauls had been ejected: 'the territory in Gaul known as Picenum'	232 BCE
Cato *Orig* 43P		*agrum Picentium, ager Gallicus Romanus*	Defines border at *Ariminum* (Rimini)	[234-149 BCE]
Varro *RR* 1.2.7		*agrum Picentium; ager Gallicus Romanus*	Discussion of wine production, based on Cato *Origines*	[116-27 BCE]
Varro *RR* 1.50.2		*in Piceno*	Method for harvesting grain	
Diodorus Siculus 37.2.2	*Πικεντῖνοι*		Samnites, Lucanians, Nolani listed as *poleis* and *ethne*	
Cicero *Brutus* 57		*agro Gallico et Piceno*	Flaminius allows distribution of land here to individual settlers	232 BCE
Cicero *De Senec* 4.11		*agrum Picentem et Gallicum*	Q Fabius Maximus tries to oppose Flaminius' actions (*supra*)	228 BCE
Strabo 5.4.13	*Πίκεντες*	*Πικεντίνων οικεῖ*	An offshoot tribe of the Adriatic Picentines who established the town of *Picentia* (Pontecagnano). Having sided with Hannibal they were dispersed by the Romans, so now they live in villages. A group of these Picentes, transplanted by the Romans, live in the fortified trading post of *Poseidonia* on the Tyrrhenian coast.	<>207 BCE
Strabo 5.3.1	*Πικεντῖνοί*		Sabine colonists	
Strabo 5.4.2	*Πικεντῖνοι*	*Πικεντίνην*	Discussion of Adriatic region	
Livy 9.19.4-5	*Picentibus*		List of Central Italic peoples who were either the powerful friends or defeated enemies of Rome	319 BCE
Livy 10.11.7-8	*Picentium, Picentibus*		New allies of Rome	298 BCE
Livy summary of Bk 15	*Picentibus*	*Piceno*	Picentes defeated and granted peace; colonies sent to *Ariminum* (in Picenum).	268 BCE
Livy 22.9.3		*agrum Picenum*	Hannibal rests in Picenum, following defeat at Spoleto.	217 BCE
Livy 27.43.11		*Picenum*	Q Claudius changes direction to Picenum in attempt to defeat Hannibal and Hasdrubal.	207 BCE
Silius Italicus *Pun* 8.424		*Picenae telluris alumni*	Curio leads "the men of the Picene land" into battle	207 BCE

Pliny *NH* 3.110-111	*Picentium*	(*quinta regio*) *Piceni*	Picenum is *regio* V, formerly very densely populated, with 360,000 Picentines making vow of allegiance with Rome	299/8 BCE
Pliny *NH* 3.38	*Picentes*	*Picentium*	Listing regions and peoples of Italy	
Pliny *NH* 14.37		*Piceno agro*	Reference to wine-producing districts	
Florus 1.14	*Picentes*		Ascoli as principal centre of region	
Appian *BCE* 1.39	*Πικεντῖνοί*		Italic peoples' declaration of war on Rome (Social War)	90 BCE
Appian *HC* 11.3		*Πικεντίνην*		
Claudius Ptolemaeus *Math Geog* 3.1		*Πικεντίνην*		
Publius Aelius Phlegon *Paradox*, frag 29.1		*Πικεντία*, *Πικεντίνον*	*Picentia* was Etruscan? (*Turrenias*) polis, *Phelegon Pikenton*	
Festus L212M		*Picena regio*	Picus sets out from Sabinum and founds *Asculum*	
CIL IX.512		(*in*) *piceno*	Dedication to *deae ancariae* at Ascoli	

Fig 1.1 Graeco-Roman literary and epigraphic references to the people and region of Picenum

The temporal period under discussion covers the Italian Iron Age, from ca 900 to 268 BCE[8], although the focus is on the sixth to fourth centuries, when a cultural landscape is most clearly recognisable in the region. The period 900 to 268 is referred to in the text as the 'Iron Age' and has been further divided, by Lollini, into periods Picene I to VI (1976; see Naso 2000:9):

I = 900-800 BCE
II = 800-700 BCE
III = 700-580 BCE
IV A = 580-520 BCE
IV B = 520-470 BCE
V = 470-385 BCE
VI = 385-268 BCE

Lollini's phases provide useful divisions for managing discussion of the 650 year time period, though their particular use is for marking changes in material culture. Some caution must however be exercised, since visible changes in material culture do not directly represent socio-cultural changes[9].

[8] All dates are BCE, unless stated otherwise.
[9] Issues which are further addressed in Chapter 2.

The features that traditionally differentiate the Iron Age from the Bronze Age are the introduction of new materials, principally iron, and the emergence of homogeneous cultures (Naso 2000:45). The flaw in this definition is that it is prejudiced in favour of archaeologically visible material and at this point it becomes clear how arbitrary the current definitions of temporal periods are. 900 does not stand out as the year in which everything changed in Picenum, even if we could place the creation of any one object in 900. This thesis will follow the current academic conventions regarding time periods but also allow for anomalies within the archaeological record of the region which contradict these conventions. The beginning of the Iron Age might be stated as "the tenth to ninth centuries", Toms' reassessment placing it at 960 (2000:94)[10]. With this in mind, pre-900 material is not discounted out of hand in the chapters which follow.

1.2 Definitions: a summary of key terms used

> "Grove, spring, rock, mountain acquires a sacred character whenever it is identified with some form of divine manifestation or with an event of overpowering significance"
> Tuan 1974:146

For clarity, the meanings of recurrent terms found in this thesis are outlined here, principally the terms which occur in the title.

Perception is understood not only as the visual, but including all senses (Hall 1969; Siegel 1970:39; Bloomer and Moore 1977:1, 35; Butler 1990; Nettleton and Watson 1998:1; Hubbard 2002:97-123). Material evidence for sacred sites and monumental sanctuaries is used to identify the behaviour of the people who interacted with these places, in order to understand how those people perceived their religious landscape: what was the impact of demarcating the site as sacred (be it through deposition or monumentalisation) on their perception of the wider landscape? and on individual or group identity? A phenomenological approach allows exploration of how a modern observer's perceptions can be applied to understanding a landscape. Manipulation is taken to mean construction, votive deposition, physical evidence of activity (for example, bone concentrations might reflect a sacrificial site) and removal (cutting down trees, adapting caves).

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[10] Although her assessment is based largely on scrutiny of Etruscan material culture.

'Sacred', 'cult' and 'religious' are used interchangeably throughout the thesis to refer to places (locales), objects, actions (including rituals) and behaviour which can be interpreted as having a non-secular aspect and, specifically, an aspect which connects them with religious experience (defined below)[11]. The nature of these actions etc. may vary according to context, hence the need to preface them with 'sacred' etc. These adjectives are often used as shorthand or to flag a point for discussion and so tend to highlight a premise of, or conclusion to, an argument. The common element of 'sacred', 'cult' and 'religious' is that they pertain to veneration of controlling superhuman powers, where these include: numinous or animistic deities as well as those with a complex life history and mythology (usually anthropomorphic); spirits, which may be in essence human (e.g. the spirits of ancestors) or numinous; the 'spiritual', i.e. anything engendering belief in the 'other'; and propitiation of the divine (Edlund 1985:21; Ellen 1988:231; Guthrie 1993:39-41, 177; Boyer 1996:89-90)[12].

'Religious experience' is the interaction of some or all aspects of religion, where religion is taken "to refer to belief, practices and institutions directed towards deities or other supernatural beings" (Whitehouse 1992:2-3). In this context, religious experience may be created by human interaction with a sacred site or by the desire to engender a particular experience through manipulation of a site and thus an individual's perceptions of it (with power-knowledge implications). Belief in the supernatural (the 'other') is implied in the aspects of a site that define it as sacred (*infra*), but religious experience may also lead to alterations in belief that cannot be identified by the modern observer. Existing beliefs may also precondition an individual towards a particular set of experiences and these are almost impossible for us to identify. Experience is therefore preferred to belief, since it is more measurable.

Religious experience is the experience generated by human interaction with a sacred site, including, but not exclusively, religious ritual practices[13]. These practices could be private or public religious rituals, such as festivals and rites of passage. However,

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[11] Cult is used interchangeably with religion, although it more often refers to practices than it does to belief (Whitehouse 1992:2-3; Carver 1993:v).
[12] See also Park (1994:33) for some collected definitions of religion, all of which might be applied to Iron Age Central Adriatic Italy.
[13] Ritual being the "performative aspect of religion" (Whitehouse 1992:2-3), the purpose of which is the "demarcation of boundaries" (Skeates 1992:573).

the way a site was perceived could have generated an experience without the need for further rituals. For example, emotions of awe, fear or comfort engendered by a specific environment could lead to the equation of the place with the divine, and so become interpreted as a religious experience (Edlund 1985:22; 1987:62). It is therefore also a religious belief or practice inspired by the perception of landscape features or by sensations of the spiritual in the subject-object-place interrelationship, where the 'subject' is the human agent(s), such as the worshipper or priest/ess, the 'object' is the object of veneration or votive (which may not always have a physical manifestation, for example, ancestral spirits) and the 'place' is the sacred site.

The examples of ancient religious practice which often leave discernible imprints in the archaeological record do so because they tend to have been repeated: they are either rites of passage or seasonal, cyclical events (Skeates 1991:122; Whitehouse 1992:3; Carver 1993:v-vi; Gosden 1994:89). Rituals would have been practised at different times and for different reasons within families, or amongst individual settlement groups, whilst some festivals might have included a wider geographical community (Gosden 1994:6; Bradley 1998c:88-90). So it was common for rituals to have an audience (ancestors, spirits, living people) (Skeates 1992:547).

Various additional methods could be used to catalyse religious experience. Few are identifiable archaeologically, but many comparative anthropological examples exist. These methods include: various forms of asceticism, such as fasting, sleep deprivation, discomfort, self-inflicted pain, modification of bodily functions; sensory deprivation; meditation; music, in particular rhythmic drumming; repeated rhythmic movement, such as dancing or pacing; performance or drama; physical exertion; and use of psychotropic substances, which could be ingested or burned and inhaled (Huxley 1937:232-3, 247; Lewis 1989:34; Skeates 1992:428-30; Murray and Tecusan 1995; Goodman *et al* 1995; Sherratt 1997:389-92, 405-17; forthcoming, 15-18)[14]. These methods are all psychoactive, intended to alter an individual's perception or state of consciousness[15], which results in the "dissolution of self-boundaries" (Ludwig 1990:17) for the "cultivation of an intimate emotional relationship between the

[14] See Ludwig 1990:13-17 for discussion of the cognitive, emotional and physiological effects of these methods.

[15] "An altered state of consciousness for a given individual is one in which [s/]he clearly feels a *qualitative* shift in his [or her] pattern of mental functioning" (Tart 1990:1-2).

worshipper and...divine being" (Huxley 1937:234). The purpose of this communion would be to benefit the individual or the social group and might include: guidance through a period of transition, problem-solving, resolution of conflict, or reaffirmation of beliefs or values (Tart 1990:1-8; Ludwig 1990:9-23). Through the combination of rituals and psychoactives religious experience was generated and beliefs compounded and developed (Skeates 1991:122).

A 'sacred site' is defined as any place where a natural geological or ecological feature can be identified as a setting for religious practices (actions and behaviour)[16]. The broad categories of such features are: water, caves, mountains, deserts and woodland or forest groves (cf. Edlund 1985:21-2)[17]. Within this context, a sacred site is any place where phenomena[18] generated religious experience and engendered a belief in the 'other' (Tuan 1978:84). Such sites can only be recognised phenomenologically[19], unless they are still in use, known from an oral or written record, or yield material data indicative of their cult use, so it is sometimes difficult to prove their sanctity in anything other than empirical terms. Derks' definition of a cult place is helpful here:

> "I consider the consciously experienced presence of a ritual focus to be a necessary condition for regarding a spot as a cult place... cult places are spaces intended for the worship of one or more cosmological powers, separate from the profane world, in which members of the cult community regularly gather in order to perform their personal or collective rituals before a ritual focus" (Derks 1998:133)[20].

Phenomenology permits exploration of the experienced ritual focus, which enables identification of sacred sites. Certainly sacred space was "continuously differentiated and replete with symbols, sacred centres and meaningful objects" (Relph 1976:15) and many of these phenomena are archaeologically visible[21]. All of the sites discussed in this thesis include material evidence of religious practices, namely votive deposits (1.5), evidence of sacrifice, or religious architecture (altar, temple). This enables the validity of a phenomenological approach to the study of ancient religion to be tested,

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[16] What Smith refers to as "the locale for knowledgeable action" (Smith 1994:58-9).
[17] Further clarification of 'natural features' is needed here. They are broadly categorised as water, rock/mineral and flora, which can exist without human manipulation.
[18] In philosophy, a phenomenon is the object of a person's perception; it is what the senses or the mind notice (Pearsall 2001:1393). This definition should be assumed throughout the thesis.
[19] In other words, they can be identified because they can be perceived by human consciousness and are objects of direct experience, both key aspects of phenomenology (Pearsall 2001:1393). See also 1.3.
[20] Derks' term "cult places" is also used here as an umbrella term for 'sacred sites', 'sanctuaries' and their permutations.
[21] Edlund observes that the "fragmentary remains of dwellings and burials, weapons and pottery" often create difficulties in establishing "criteria for the features that distinguish a place or group of material as 'sacred'" (1985:22).

since the material data provide epistemological evidence for religious practices in addition to the empirical evidence for religious experience and belief.

A 'monumental sanctuary' is a temenos that includes extensive architectural features, notably an altar and temple constructed from wood and mudbrick or from permanent materials (fired clay, volcanic rock, stone), such as the sanctuary of Dea Cupra (Cupra Marittima). It will usually also include subsidiary buildings, such as an additional temple or shrine, an oracle, treasury, *cavea* or portico[22]. The precinct boundary may also be monumentalised with boundary stones (*cippi*), a ditch or a wall. A temenos without a temple building is categorised as a sacred site because it has limited monumentalisation (perhaps only an altar or boundary stones) and is therefore defined by landscape features. This thesis explores the range of sacred sites in Central Adriatic Italy, which range from votive deposits or sacrificial sites, through all degrees of monumentalisation, for example, artificial caves (rock-cut structures) or extensions to natural caves; isolated altars, small temples and shrines (cf. Glinister 1997:61-4). 'Sacred sites' and 'monumental sanctuaries' represent two ends of a spectrum, but a temporal progression should not be assumed, since varying degrees of monumentalisation occur in contemporaneous sites. The key distinction between a sacred site and a monumental sanctuary is that a sacred site has no temple building, but a sanctuary must have one.

The sacred sites discussed in Chapters 3 to 5 (see also Map I; Appendix I) are categorised into three main types: water, caves and mountains[23]. These three types are further subdivided by variations in the geological and/or ecological composition of the landscape of which they are a part. These three categories, and no others, are selected for analysis because several examples of sacred sites with one or more of these as their focus have been identified throughout Picenum. Topographic analysis suggests that water was a feature of all sacred sites, but only sometimes the dominant cult focus. 'Water sites' are also comparatively difficult to identify except where there is evidence of monumentalisation. Caves are a widespread phenomenon in the gorges and mountains of the region, and their cult use is comparatively well preserved in the

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[22] See Derks 1998:133, note 5 for comparable definitions of sites in Roman Gaul; and Coldstream 1977:317-27 for early monumentalisation of Greek sanctuaries.

[23] Edlund observes that these three types of natural feature also acted as the principal foci of Etruscan "holy places" (1985:26); also that they tended to be closely connected with Etruscan urban settlements.

archaeological record. Like the rest of Central Italy[24], a distinctive feature of the Picene landscape is the mountains, always visible and contributing to the climate and ecology of the region. Most architectural evidence for peak sanctuaries is found in the Apennines. These sanctuaries tend to be associated with the western slopes of the Apennines rather than with the eastern and so are traditionally designated 'Umbrian'. However, since most are found in the boundary zone between Umbria and Picenum they are worth investigation. Groves are excluded from this discussion because the only known example is the *lucus Pisaurensis* (3.4.1) and the archaeological evidence is insufficient to warrant the inclusion of groves as a category. No examples of desert are found in Italy, but it could be argued that plains should be included, since these too are a distinct natural feature. However, they are excluded on the basis that there is no evidence that they had any intrinsic value as sacred sites, but were instead used as practical locations for the building of temples and sanctuaries. Examples of temples and sanctuaries in the plains are widespread throughout Picenum, but nearly all date to the Roman period and tend to be associated with urban centres, e.g. the temple of Apollo at Urbisaglia (*Urbs Salvia*) (Migliorelli 1999:13).

The division of sites into water, cave and peak could be seen as arbitrary, since these features tend to overlap across sites. For example, the Grotta del Re Tiberio (Riolo Terme) is a cave but water is also a significant cult focus here. Where multiple natural features are present at a site, discussion of that site is included in all relevant chapters, but with the emphasis on the predominant feature, where this can be ascertained.

On the whole it is assumed that the natural feature around which each sacred site evolved represented a portal to the 'otherworld', the place where a superhuman power resided and could be best manipulated (Seneca *Epistulae* 41.3). This world can be described as 'other' because it was removed from space and time, as defined by Leach:

> "If "I" am to survive after death as some sort of "other being", then this "other being" must be located in some "other world" in some "other time". The most fundamental characteristic of such "otherness" is that it is the reverse of ordinary experience... The "other world" may be above the sky, below the sea, in the mountains, in the forests, across the bay, across the desert. The only thing that can be said about it is that *it is not here and now*!" (Leach 1976:71-2 in Whitehouse 1992:138, my emphasis; cf. Skeates 1991:127-8; 1997b:81; Gosden 1994:78; Sherratt 1997:404).

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[24] 'Central Italy' applies to Etruria, Latium, Sabinum and Campania; the other Adriatic regions mentioned are Samnium, Apulia, Daunia, Magna Graecia and Illyria.

The otherworld was physically and temporally removed from the lived-world[25] so water courses, water sources and caves all acted as places of transition, portals that linked the lived-world with an underground otherworld (underworld) (Bloch 1960:127; Leach 1961:124-36; Whitehouse 1991:196; 1992:139; Buxton 1994:94, 105-8; Tilley 1994:109; Brady and Ashmore 1999:126-7); mountain peaks marked the place where earth and sky met and may have been conceived of as "the home of the gods" (Tuan 1974:70-3, 118; Buxton 1994:85-6; Park 1994:247); and groves were spaces that marked the boundary between the lived-world and the otherworld of the wilderness[26] (Boas 1938:102). This otherworld was not only a place for humans, an afterlife or the place inhabited by ancestral spirits, as implied by Leach; it was the place to which any dead thing went and from which everything was reborn. For example, the sun set and rose from there; the year ended and spring began from there; the crops withered back into the ground, but the nourishment for seed sown into the earth came from there (cf. Neumann 1963:45; Anati 1986). The otherworld was therefore bound up with the cycles of birth, maturity, death and regeneration of people, animals and plants.

A further note regarding 'ancestor cult' is relevant here. 'Ancestor cult' is understood as the propitiation of dead ancestors, so as to avoid inciting the anger of their spirits and subsequent retribution on the living, or to make amends for this (Ahern 1973:154-5; Fortes 1976:13; Turner 1977). This has the further implication that elders were shown respect whilst living, so that they did not seek revenge in death for ill treatment. Children were also an important part of the cycle of regeneration, because the ancestors had to be sure that the lineage would continue. So children had to be cared for well and be groomed to take care of their parents, who would be the next ancestors (Ahern 1973; Fortes 1976; Turner 1977:11-12; Reynolds and Tanner 1983:173). This goes some way to explaining the high incidence of cult activities associated with human fertility, death and regeneration (Anati 1986:11-12; van Straaten 1986:33-6).

To summarise, the principal characteristics of the otherworld , equatable with Leach's "other world", are that it was: (i) inhabited by immortal, superhuman agents,

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[25] The everyday world of normal human activity; see 1.3 for its usage in philosophy.
[26] *tesca*, see Varro *LL* 7.9.

(ii) atemporal, or encompassing past, present and future, (iii) the seat of regenerative and of destructive power, e.g. to regulate fertility, health, wealth, death, and (iv) had some definition in space, usually conceived of as underground or in the sky, and accessed through portals in the natural landscape, such as caves, springs and mountain tops (Leach 1976:81-2; Skeates 1991:122; Whitehouse 1992; Gosden 1994). As such, each sacred site in Iron Age Central Adriatic Italy was a place for veneration, propitiation and expiation or purification. Some were also locales for ceremonies, broadly categorised as "rites of passage" and "rites of intensification" (Chapple and Coon 1942; van Gennep 1960; Gosden 1994:89; Spaeth 1996:51-2).

Finally, 'landscape'[27] is the physical environment, comprised of and affected by geological, ecological and climatic features, termed 'natural features', as well as humanmade adaptations (for example, trees cleared for pasture, settlements). The landscape should be understood as a dynamic entity, with its own life history; integral to the activities taking place in it, not a backdrop to them (Boas 1938:101-3; Cosgrove 1984:35; Bender 1993:1; Smith 1993; Tilley 1994:56, 206; Ucko 1994:xviii-xix; Knapp and Ashmore 1999:1-2; Hubbard 2002; Winchester *et al* 2003; cf. 1.5.1). People are *part of* the landscape and both affect it and are affected by it.

The 'landscape' is a term which foregrounds 'place' and moves the focus of analysis from 'the human agent' as subject to 'the human agent within space' as the subject. So, the implications of the subject-object-place grouping are: that the implicit subjectivity in the designation of 'subject' to the human agent represents the recognition that, being people, it is inevitable that we shall perceive the world from a human perspective; but that the 'subject-object-place' should be understood as a single entity, with a temporal dimension. 'Landscape' has a different meaning to 'place': a place is a distinctive microcosm of the landscape where intense human intervention occurs, i.e. it is the site of repeated action and a centre of "felt value" (Relph 1976:3, 29, 35; Tuan 1977:4, 73, 138, 148; Eyles in Gregory and Walford 1989:109; cf. Casey 1996). Places are mutable, dependent on different human perceptions of them at any given time. There is clearly a strong temporal aspect to the ways in which they are perceived and used (manipulated) by people, which not only

[27] Attention is also drawn to a recent summary of the literature made by Knapp and Ashmore, which is most in line with the author's current thinking (1999:1-30). Their discussion also comprehensively references the salient bibliographic material (1999:21-30).

allows these changes in definition, but also allows different subject-object-place interrelationships to co-exist spatially and temporally. So, the landscape *tells* a story because it physically reflects human perceptions and manipulations through time, but it *is* a story because the interrelationships between landscape and people are dynamic and creative.

The relationship of sacred sites and sanctuaries to the landscape is a significant aspect of their definition and of their role in society, which introduces questions not only of interconnectivity (including intervisibility), but also of the nature of the subject-object-place interrelationships in the context of the socio-cultural identities of the people inhabiting the region. In other words, phenomenological analysis of the sacred sites within their immediate landscape can begin to tell us about a) the nature of religious practice and experience at individual sites, b) the relationship of individual sites to the wider landscape, c) the relationship between this landscape and the territory of the people using the sites, d) the identity and social organisation of the communities occupying the region.

It is to methodologies underpinning phenomenology and landscape that we now turn in more detail.

1.3 Methodology

> "Any human intervention on nature involves its transformation into culture, although that transformation may not always be visible, especially to an outsider... To reveal the meanings in the cultural landscape requires the imaginative skill to enter the world of others in a self-conscious way and then *re*-present that landscape at a level where its meanings can be exposed and reflected upon."
>
> Cosgrove in Gregory and Walford 1989:123

An accepted way people's perceptions can be explored is via their behaviour, which is often revealed in the archaeological record by the symbols they leave behind (material culture, including environmental and textual evidence). Discussing anyone's perceptions is a contentious issue, so a phenomenological approach is adopted as the best available methodology to attempt this (although the nascence of cognitive archaeology as a discipline introduces another for the future). Phenomenology has a strong postmodernist aspect, with its basis in multiplicity. This approach does not seek to give definitive explanations, but to introduce possibilities of interpretation

which may not be revealed by material data alone. Phenomenology and spatial theory share some common ground, whilst remaining two distinct approaches, so are appropriate to use in conjunction with one another. Landscape archaeology is also used here in conjunction with phenomenology, tempering the approach with quantitative analysis. Social anthropology is used, to a lesser extent, for ideas about religion, small scale societies and social organisation. The following methodological discussion focuses on the application of phenomenology in philosophy, archaeology and geography, including case studies. This discussion also serves to explain some of the terminology used throughout the thesis.

Landscape archaeology, spatial theory and phenomenology have been used to analyse monumental sanctuaries (Tuan 1974; 1977; Bloomer and Moore 1977; Rykwert 1988; 1996; Bradley 1993; Gosden 1994:99; Grima 2001). It is more difficult to apply the methodology to topographical features, since the boundaries of these are not usually as clearly defined as those of architectural space. Caves exhibit the clearest definition, followed by peaks and finally water, which is the most problematic feature to define. However, since there is very little evidence for monumentalised sanctuaries in Iron Age Picenum the majority of this study explores phenomena of the natural features integral to sacred sites. This is in order to understand why they were locales for religious experience and rituals and how they influenced the architecture of sacred buildings. Patterns in the architecture of monumental sanctuaries appear to reflect the natural features around which some, if not all, originiated. For example, the columns of a temple could represent trees and symbolise an ancient grove (Evans 1901:3; Rykwert 1996; Barkow *et al* 1992:572). Physical symbols like these imply continuity from worship at natural features through to monumental sanctuaries but, more importantly, they illustrate the deeply ingrained significance of natural features to religious practices. This study therefore explores the physical, mental and emotional experiences of sacred sites in Iron Age Central Adriatic Italy, in order to gain a clearer understanding of the ways in which specific phenomena were perceived and manipulated.

"Phenomenology is a reasoned inquiry which discovers the inherent essences of appearances", an appearance being anything of which one is conscious (Stewart and Mickunas 1990:3). Formally developed as a philosophical movement by Husserl, it is

a rejection of Cartesian dualism, in so far that it treats consciousness as pertaining to both mind and body, and of logical positivism. The following basic themes characterise phenomenology: a return to the traditional tasks of philosophy (the Platonic concept that "philosophy begins in wonder", an attempt to understand the nature of the cosmos and humanity's position in it, separate from both science and theology, rather than handmaiden to either); the search for philosophy without presuppositions (all content of consciousness is valid data for investigation, whether or not it proves to be "real": the task of phenomenology is to *describe* the essences of phenomena, then to explain their various levels of meaning and their interrelationships); the intentionality of consciousness (consciousness is always directed towards an object, it is "consciousness of..." or "thinking about..."); and the refusal of the subject-object dichotomy ("consciousness of..." does not allow us to be singularly objective in our observations and explorations of the world, but essentialism prevents excessive subjectivity)[28]. The problems of Husserl's eidetic science/essentialism have been in part overcome by the development of existential phenomenology, and the work of Heidegger and others who developed the concept of being-in-the-world. Given that phenomena are things that the human senses or mind notice, it is impossible to avoid a degree of subjectivity, but in existential phenomenology, the subject (or 'I' or 'ego') is part of the lived-world and therefore *part of* the experience (cf. Schutz 1972:105; Gosden 1994:82). In spite of differences between individuals' relationships with phenomena, "intersubjectivity", the condition in which people "experience the world as something whose significance we share with others", is achievable (Schutz 1972:139; Layton and Ucko 1999:11).

> "The phenomenological method, as it has developed in geography, begins with the phenomena of the lived world of immediate experience, including actions, memories, fantasies and perceptions, and seeks to clarify these in a rigorous way by careful observation and description" (Relph 1976, preface).

Phenomenology in human geography developed out of the works of Heidegger and Schutz[29] and has largely been related to urban contexts and architecture, or applied to the debate over space and place. The key figures who embraced it, notably Relph,

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[28] Essentialism is the search for and expression of the set of characteristics (essences) which make things what they are.

[29] Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* (*Being and Time*) (1927) being his most influential work. Schutz 1962, 1970, 1972; Schutz and Luckmann 1973. Moran's *Introduction to phenomenology* (2000) provides one of the most complete accounts of the evolution of phenomenology as a philosophy and of its key advocates.

Tuan, Cosgrove, Ley, Moore, Lowenthal, from the mid 1970s onwards, remain widely quoted and it is they who made phenomenology accessible to the archaeologists, such as Tilley, who have adopted it. The quote from Relph (*supra*) has relevance here because it highlights the importance of detailed observation and recording, which are fundamental to field archaeology. Within the phenomenological approach in geography structuralist dichotomies still seem to remain, especially notions of inside/outside with regards to the body, dwelling and urban centre/periphery. Some of these also continue to be addressed in archaeology, but often within a more holistic approach, such as investigating the relationship of specific monuments within the landscape, in order to learn about both them and the people for whom they were significant[30].

Phenomenology has not perhaps had the uptake amongst archaeologists that might have been expected from a philosophy so closely related to post-processualism. Tilley remains its key advocate amongst writers of archaeological theory, but has been joined by others such as Yates (Bapty and Yates 1990:153-204), Edmonds (Bradley and Edmonds 1993) and Bradley (1993; 1997c). The attraction of a phenomenological approach is, as it is for the geographers, centred on interpretation of landscapes and issues of place, locality and space within those landscapes, but with less application to urban contexts[31]. Until now this approach has been adopted primarily by British archaeologists, whose work has centred on prehistoric[32] Britain and Northern Europe. To give an example, Tilley's discussion of Gwal y Filiast in the Preseli Mountains reveals how a site might be interpreted, and also shares some parallels with the archaeological landscape of Picenum[33]:

> "Isolated from other monuments and furthest from the coast (17km away) it is situated towards the top of a steep slope running down to the river. The large capstone dips from west to east down towards the river, and the chamber entrance also faces east down the slope... standing at the site, the roar of the water below may be heard. Just at the point where the monument is located the river descends with white water down a series of rapids. Upstream and downstream the water is calm. I want to suggest that the monument is located precisely here because of the presence of rapids below. It is interesting to note

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[30] For example, Tilley's analysis of Mesolithic burial sites in the Black Mountains, in which he explores the living/dead, inside/outside dichotomies in relation to the local landscape (1994:136-41); or Richards' investigation into the relationships between hearth, house and landscape at Barnhouse (Tilley 1993:159-172), with its emphasis on domestic/(pre-)urban, private/public.

[31] For the debate on place and space see Relph 1970; 1976; Tuan 1971; 1977; Buttimer and Seamon 1980; Cosgrove 1984; 1989; 1999; Tilley 1994:14-17; Soja 1989; 1996; Lefebvre 1991; Dear and Flusty 2002; Hubbard 2002; for place/locality, Tilley 1994:17-20.

[32] Broadly, Mesolithic to early Iron Age.

[33] E.g. the Grotta Sant'Angelo and associated caves, by the Salinello waterfall (Civitella del Tronto) (4.5).

> in this connection the importance of rapids in rivers in many systems of mythological thought as constituting doors or openings to the underworld." (Tilley 1994:109).

Here it is not only the position of the monument on a precipitous edge next to rapids which is of significance, but also the commonality of mythological association (with the underworld). Whilst Tilley's theoretical work in particular remains controversial amongst archaeologists[34], the use of phenomenology as a methodology for approaching prehistory also has its advocates[35]. Phenomenology has the potential to increase our understanding of the symbolism and means of communication within groups and to allow us to begin to recognise certain behaviours in ancient communities that might further our understanding of how they structured their societies. It partly achieves this by allowing us to investigate and to explore different, non-semantic means of communication[36], hence its uptake by prehistorians and its application predominantly to preliterate societies. However, it does not have to be applied solely to preliterate societies and part of the aim in using phenomenology as an approach is to take it further and bridge the gap between prehistorians and historians, by looking at post Bronze Age societies.

The difficulty for archaeologists, not faced by geographers to the same degree, is that of evaluating the experiential responses in the context of long dead peoples. The advantage for them is that they have a body of material evidence to analyse as part of the landscape and architecture which comprise the 'macroscale' of evidence, if not of cultures. Whereas work in geography has made the application of phenomenology to landscape, architecture and urban contexts relatively straightforward in archaeology, there is no similar tradition for investigating material culture. Interpretation is particularly difficult given the live debate over how to use material culture, notably items such as stone and metal objects, and pottery, to form interpretations regarding production, trade, exchange, power, state stratification and so forth (e.g. Hodder 1991; Bradley 1993; Tilley 1993). The aim in a phenomenological approach is not, as stated above, to find and give "the meaning" to the evidence, but to provide a plausible

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[34] See Brück 1998:23-36.

[35] Notably, the recent works of Bradley, *opp. cit.*, Whitehouse 1992; 2001 and Gosden 1994.

[36] For example, the transportation and erection of a megalithic monument, such as the capstone of Gwal y Filiast, was a physical (visio-spatial and bodily-kinaesthetic) response (whether voluntary or incited) rather than a written or verbal (linguistic) response. The archaeological imprint made by these behaviours increases our understanding of some of the people of the past and allows us to investigate them in alternative ways, broadening our means of evaluation. See Gardener 1993 on multiple intelligences.

interpretation, testable, and, ideally, inspirational to the next scholar (cf. Relph 1976, preface). New evidence might come to light at any time, and this is especially true of Picenum, where fieldwork has been poorly documented.

> "Most of our skills, perceptions and forms of communication with others are bodily, as is our general awareness of the world. I have tried to emphasise the link between awareness and skill, in that most of our perceptions of the world arise in our course of action and help shape that action. Both action and perception are temporal, arising from our place within the world, which derives in turn from the social twists given to our biological being. A different biology would render up a different world, but the bodily form we have does not just create one world for us, but can be shaped socially in myriad ways. Until we can understand what the body can do and the basis that it forms for our lives we will have only a very partial notion of the creation of history.
>
> A concentration on the human forms of involvement with the world necessitates not just a study of the human body or material culture, but rather how people and the world meet and combine." (Gosden 1994:194).

People experience everything via the body - it was and is the constant in everything we do. The haptic sense, which combines the sense of touch (skin) with experience of an object or place (kinaesthesia), is the only sense to engage 'feeling' and 'doing' together (Siegel 1970:39; Bloomer and Moore 1977:1, 35). So, the body is also the medium through which all interactions with 'the other' take place; it is the tangible boundary between identities, where behaviour constructs the perceived aspect of identity (Merleau-Ponty 1962:138-9; Merleau-Ponty *et al* 1968:268; Ricoeur 1965; Cunningham 1976:95; Bourdieu 1977:89-94; 1990:25, 55, 70-3; Moran 2000:13; Fowler 2000:112-6). Self-conceptualisation is largely internal and intangible, although it may be manifested in physical form (self-representation), and creates the behaviour which leads to perceived identity. The body and its adornment act as the physical expression of identity. Although the body can be manipulated in many ways and although each is different, there is a degree of biological similarity which provides a baseline from which identity can emerge. Identity is a combination of 'what is significant to me' and 'how am I different from', a dichotomy which is well represented by our own physicality. The human body has scarcely changed in thousands of years, so we can begin writing about past peoples via bodily experiences (Ellen 1988:231). People are all similarly structured biologically, with the same set of organs, systems (circulatory, respiratory, nervous, lymphatic), and basic shape or parts; differentiations are caused by nuances in shape, size, flexibility, health, mood and so on, by age, disabilities and gender (Whitehouse 2001:161). By cataloguing these aspects of ourselve when we engage with a landscape and material culture, we can begin to bridge the gap between ourselves and past people.

The chief criticism to be levelled against phenomenology as a methodology is that any phenomenological account is inherently subjective and cannot ever provide an irrefutable explanation of events, because the modern observer is intrinsic to the description. If we accept that there is no Truth and that what we can hope to achieve when investigating the past is to construct plausible stories and so expand the body of knowledge on a given topic, site or people, this issue is overcome[37]. Subjectivity is avoided because phenomenology must describe things as they appear to consciousness (Moran 2000:6) and because the subject-object dichotomy is removed by the synthesis, or mutually creative relationship, of mind and body, which creates a psychophysical entity (Merleau-Ponty *et al* 1968:268; Hegel in Gosden 1994:67; Jensen 2000:58).

Within phenomenological analysis, certain features may act as barometers: human beings all have a broadly similar biology, geological formations are relatively static (particularly if we are observing the landscape in order to learn something about past people), and so on (Whitehouse 1992; 2001; pers. comm.; Fowler 2000:112; Betts, in press). The graduations on these scales are largely measurable: human biology is affected by physical and emotional[38] factors (cf. Whitehouse 2001:161); karstic cave formations are all different, despite requiring specific geological conditions to occur. As human beings, we can only perceive and describe the world from a human perspective, hence Merleau-Ponty's argument that the body is "the universal measurement" (Merleau-Ponty *et al* 1968:268). So, in any archaeological investigation taking a phenomenological approach, the archaeologist's psychophysical make-up is also the universal measurement.

As the body of knowledge increases, comparative studies can be made and we can assess whether any commonality exists. Subject-object-place relationships can be explored as we describe different combinations under different conditions (Gosden 1994:11, 34, 77; Thomas 1996:159). For example, if a young man returned victorious from a battle and deposited his bronze sword in a fast-flowing river on a bright summer's day, a vast number of permutations of this scenario exist, some conscious

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[37] Essentialism can also be understood as another Truth quest and in this capacity must be rejected.
[38] The effects of these are much more difficult, and often impossible, to identify archaeologically than physical factors are.

factors, others unconscious (though all still within consciousness?), pertaining to the man, the river and the sword, but also to the peripheries of these – to the broader landscape, the climatic conditions, the social group of the man and of his vanquished enemies, and so forth. We cannot possibly hope to see the whole picture of any scenario, whether in the past or present, and it is this hard fact which we need to swallow. We cannot see the whole picture, so we cannot necessarily link anticipated or likely experiences with motivations and beliefs of the subject. However, we can observe the behaviour engendered by the experience and use these observations to describe the ritual and, perhaps, some of the cultural implications. The more observant we are, the more detailed our descriptions will be, hence the recognition of the importance of both the psychophysical and subject-object-place relationships. Material culture (including human remains) may represent either subject or object (or both), so almost inevitably provides the starting point for phenomenological descriptions of past societies or individuals. Increasingly more sophisticated techniques for recognition of human manipulation of the landscape (geophysics, geoarchaeology, GIS etc.) have broadened this evidential base.

The leveller with regards to behaviour has most recently been ascribed to a (more or less) uniform level of biological composition. If specific biological responses occur at the point of interaction between the psychophysical human being and the object-place, these can be quantified and phenomena better described. As Fowler states, a "biological similarity is not a social or cultural similarity" (2000:113), but it does introduce possibilities, what Butler calls "regulatory fictions" (1990, paraphrased by Fowler 2000:116). Another way to express this is that: $x + y = xy + z$. One result of any subject-object-place relationship (x) will be to create an experience (y) (for the subject at least and arguably, depending on circumstance, for the object) and that this experience will often generate behaviour (xy). Behaviour can have a physical dimension, so biological similarities create parameters for behaviour. The impact of behaviour on the lived-world (z) stretches through time and space and for this reason is often visible in the archaeological record (Gosden 1994:15). The more difficult discovery to make is how and in what ways social and cultural factors create nuances in biologies and behaviours. A further issue here is in our use of comparative material: trends in human behaviour occur across broad geographical and temporal

areas, but should be treated with caution and categorised, like everything else, as possible rather than probable outcomes.

The key issue addressed here is how past peoples experienced and understood the world, specifically, the religious landscape of their own locality/ies and the individual sacred sites within it. Humans are part of and integral to the creation, alteration and destruction of the landscapes we inhabit. Phenomenology, as utilised by geographers and archaeologists, looks not only at the physical relationship between people and their landscape, but at how the landscape is experienced and how this contributes to the experience of existence (being-in-the-world). For this reason, phenomenology is a useful methodology to apply to discussion of the religious landscape and experience of the people of Picenum.

1.4 Definition and topography of 'Picenum'

> "The territory occupied by a semicivilized tribe is usually defined only by natural features, but its inhabitants and their neighbours know quite well within what territorial limits their rights and prerogatives extend. The natural boundary might be a sacred rock, tree, river, or lake which cannot be crossed or passed without the risk of supernatural sanctions. Such natural boundaries are relatively rare, however. More often the boundary is marked by an object – a stake, portal, or upright rock (milestone or landmark) – whose installation at that particular spot has been accompanied by rites of consecration"
>
> van Gennep 1960:15

Given that landscape is such a major focus of this study, an introduction to the geology, climate and ecology of the region provides crucial context. The salient characteristics and variety of the landscape are described below, with explanation of how this offers scope for the thesis, particularly in relation to the neighbouring regions[39]. In light of this, a definition is needed of the region of Picenum in the context of this thesis. Firstly, it should be noted that definition of Iron Age regional boundaries is arbitrary, since no territorial boundaries can be recognised. The most plausible explanation for this is that 'the Picenes' cannot be described as an homogeneous group. 'Picenum' is therefore used as a shorthand for the area of Central Adriatic Italy inhabited by separate communities of people who had a distinct Iron Age material culture. It seems likely that a loose socio-cultural group with

[39] Full descriptions of the geology and ecology of the region have been made elsewhere, so only the aspects which have direct relevance to the current study are included here; see Vita Finzi 1969; 1978; Delano Smith 1979; Barker 1981:11-23, Skeates 1992:100-133 and Naso 2000:11-18 for more detailed accounts.

several points of shared culture and practices inhabited the area throughout the Iron Age and into the Roman period, but that within this socio-cultural group individual, unique, communities existed (see Chapter 2 for discussion). Chapters 2 to 6 go some way to define these communities, viewed through the lenses of landscape and religion. The short hand 'Picenes' continues to be used for them throughout, since the individual names of the communities are unknown.

The region of Picenum, lying between the Central Apennines and the Adriatic Sea, is dominated by mountains, steep-sided hills and limestone gorges, the distinctive formations of these being amongst the most striking details of the landscape of the area. The Apennine mountain chain, notably the Monti Sibillini, Monti della Laga and Gran Sasso, constitutes the backbone of Central Adriatic Italy, forming natural western and southern boundaries (Maps I-II). The Adriatic sea forms the opposite boundary and between them these two features are responsible for the region's climate and water supply. The mountains of Picenum are not particularly high, the highest being M Vettore (2476m asl), and do not dominate to the same extent as those of the Samnite territories to the south. The Apennines of Picenum, as well as M Cónero (572m asl) are formed of limestone, clays and sandstone, with the Monti della Laga and parts of the Monti Sibillini constructed almost solely of sandstone. The mountains of the Gran Sasso are again limestone, but formed in huge blocks, giving a very different feel to the landscape and territory to the south of Picenum and seeming to create a natural southern border to the region. Within the Gran Sasso, the peaks of the Corno Grande (2912m asl) and Corno Piccolo (2655m asl) stand tallest. Under the northern side of the Corno Grande, the Calderone, is the only Apennine glacier (the southernmost in Europe). The chain of the Monti della Laga is oriented NE-SW and presents two sides with differing climates and structures. The eastern side, which is more humid and cold than the western, slopes down towards the river plains of the Vibrata, Salinello, Tordino and Vomano; the western side, in the territories of L'Áquila, Rieti and Áscoli Piceno, falls off into the Lago di Campotosto, the Tronto valley and the gorges carved by this river in the territory of Áscoli. Water from rain and snow-melt collects in the mountain plains, the bigger ones having regular, seasonal rivers, which disappear into swallow-holes or caves in the valley floor.

The numerous natural caves found in these mountains are created by karstification and the perennial underground streams which have been formed and sustained by rain water trapped in the limestone (Skeates 1992:104; Agostini and Coltorti 1999:6; cf. Rackham and Moody 1994:24-5). These emerge as springs, usually at the foot of the mountains, where limestone meets the impermeable rocks of the foothills (600m asl) (Skeates 1992:105). Below the Apennines, low (600-100m), tabular, steep-sided hills formed first of Upper Miocene clays and sandstone, then of blue-grey Pliocene clays and clay marls, dominate the region to the narrow coastal plain (Conta 1982:15-16; Skeates 1992:102; Malone *et al* 1994;130; Naso 1999:5). Gorges and river valleys intersect these hills, from the Idice in the north to the Vomano in the south (see also Naso 2000:14-15). Their water courses emerge from narrow alluvial valleys in the Apennines and widen out as they cross the lowlands and pour into the Adriatic[40]. The coastal plain consists of a narrow band of sandy beaches, becoming broader and pebbly around the river mouths. Erosion in the second millenium BCE created this coastal strip, although the shoreline would have been a more irregular shape than it is now, since much was submerged after the Neolithic, as the sea level began to rise (Delano Smith 1979; Skeates 1992:101; Agostini and Coltorti 1999:6). The river mouths had already begun to silt up by the late Eneolithic (Copper Age) and Bronze Age, due to deforestation and the subsequent hillside erosion (Skeates 1992:103; Agostini and Coltorti 1999:6).

The gorges which dominate the region's landscape are plate limestone or conglomerate and also tend to incorporate cave complexes. A typical gorge has sheer walls, with rock-screes beneath them. Its floor, along which the river flows, is covered with gravel, alternating with abrupt dams of limestone boulders. Broad-leaf trees and *maquis* are found next to the water courses, the present species being comparable to those of the Iron Age (Delano Smith 1979; Coubray 1999:7).

The semi-enclosed intermontane basins of Abruzzo and Molise are not found in this region, but the depression to the north of Camerino, with its soft sand and clay floor cut into ridges by the upper sections of the rivers, marks the separation of the Adriatic lowlands from the beginning of the Monti Sibillini (Skeates 1992:105). This central

[40] Only the Nera, flowing westwards and joining the Tiber, debouches into the Tyrrhenian Sea.

part of the region, which forms a rectangle, the corners of which are Camerino, Fabriano, just south of the peak of the M Valmontagnana and the Gola di Sentino, coastal Porto Recanati and Porto S Giorgio, is geologically the least impressive, being mostly lowland plain and providing a contrast with much of the region. The majority of identified Iron Age and Roman settlements were here (Map II). The combination of steep-sided hills and intersecting gorges gives the landscape of Picenum an extremely distinctive appearance, not found anywhere else in Italy. This distinctiveness is a significant characteristic by which the region under discussion is defined.

The climate of the region has changed little since the Neolithic: it has the hot dry summers and cool winters characteristic of the Mediterranean, with most rainfall occurring in the spring and autumn (Delano Smith 1979). Along the coast the temperature range is limited, with little rainfall, low humidity and good visibility, due to breezes from the Apennines and the presence of the sea. Both temperature and rainfall increase further inland. Reaching the mountains, the temperature decreases as altitude increases, with snow on the higher mountains as early as November and late as March, being found in pockets all the year round on the Gran Sasso. The cloud cover can remain quite dense in the mountains and reach as low as 300m asl as late as April, sometimes bringing high humidity. Bright sunshine and clear blue skies abound for about half the year, particularly on the plains, but also in the mountains; June and July see drought in most lowland areas. The current level of water management in the region is high: a number of dams have created or altered lakes, particularly in the central part of the region (MC[41]); hydraulic stations have altered the currents of the major rivers, so they are torrential inland, but slow-moving, containing scarcely any water, as they near the coast. This management of some of the main lakes and water courses marks the principal difference between the Iron Age and modern ecological landscape (Delano Smith 1979; cf. Osborne 1996:57-63).

The creation of a number of national parks and protected areas (M Cónero, Gola della Rossa, Gola di Frasassi, M Valmontagnana, Monti Sibillini, Monti della Laga, Gran Sasso) has meant a patchy increase in forestation, but still only approximately sixteen percent of the former tree cover remains: although much of this deforestation occurred progressively through the Neolithic to Roman periods, clearly a significant proportion

[41] See Abbreviations for regional codes.

of the damage has been done during the past century. Little of the archaeobotany of the region has been studied, so it is difficult to gain an accurate picture of the ancient flora, other than by comparison to other regions of Italy and of that now growing there (Skeates 1992:114-15). Holm oak (*quercus ilex*) and hornbeam (*carpinus orientalis*) were the dominant species between the coast and 500m asl, with the inclusion of elm (*ulmus*), deciduous oak (*quercus pubescens*), beech (*fagus sylvatica*) and coastal pine (*pinus*). Noteworthy of the lower order flora is *ephedra major*, traceable to the Cenozoic Era, which is found on the walls of the Frasassi gorge. Between 500m and 1000m mixed deciduous forest, with dense canopy and undergrowth and a variety of shrubs and lower level flora would have been common[42]. Fir (*abies*), beech, spruce (*picea*), pine and juniper (*juniperus*) are found in open woodland between 1000m and 1900m, after which flora is restricted to Alpine vegetation, species particular to Picenum and the surrounding area being fritillary, Apennine wormwood and eidelweiss (Skeates 1992:117-20; Coubray 1999:7-8; Naso 2000:17)[43].

A brief summary of the effect of human impact on the topography of the region contributes to contextualisation of the examples of Picene sacred sites and sanctuaries discussed in Chapters 3 to 5. Insufficient environmental analysis has been carried out during fieldwork in the region to ascertain the subsistence base of the Iron Age populations, but the hilly topography provides a variety of conditions of terrain, as well as climate, with opportunities for short-distance transhumance, stock-keeping and agriculture (Rellini 1931a; Barker 1981; Bonomi Ponzi 1982:137-9; Dench 1995:123-4; Naso 2000:16). The nature of the landscape lends itself more readily to arboriculture than to arable farming and this is borne out by the limited archaeobotanical data (Luni 1988:38; Coubray 1999:6-8), although Strabo refers specifically to the area immediately to the north of Ancona (within the city's territory) as being extremely productive for vines and wheat (Strabo 5.4.2). This may reflect the intensification of particular types of production after the Roman conquest but it seems that polyculture was practised in the region prior to Romanisation. Evidence of vine cultivation has been found throughout the region and of olive cultivation in the area of

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[42] Including: oak (*quercus pubescens, quercus petraea*), elm, lime (*lilia*), hop-hornbeam (*carpinus betulus*), maple/sycamore (*acer*), ash (*fraxinus*), beech, apple (*malus sylvestris*), hazel (*corylus*), sweet chestnut (*castena sativa*) and fern; willow (*salix*)and alder (*alnus*) along river banks (after Skeates 1992:118).

[43] The variety of fauna in the Iron Age would have been vast, but see Skeates 1992:129-33 for excavated faunal remains of the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods.

Tortoreto (AP) (Coubray 1999:8; cf. Strabo 7.5.10). A variety of grains and pulses from the excavations at Colfiorito and Celano, as well as from Bronze Age contexts of some of the caves in Picenum, have been identified as wheat, millet, barley, corns and beans (Pacciarelli and Sassatelli 1997:15; Lucentini 1997:36-7; Coubray 1999:7). These give an indication of the types of crops which may have been grown, or at least consumed, in Iron Age Picenum[44].

It has been argued that much of the Central Adriatic landscape was given over to pasture for transhumance farming practices (Rellini 1931a; Barker 1981:26; Bonomi Ponzi 1982; Uncini 1995:55). Whilst the evidence for this is inconclusive, the incidence of spindle whorls, loom weights and so forth, as well as miniature ovine and caprine zoomorphic figurines (amongst others) shows that pastoralism was part of subsistence practices during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. It seems likely based on this and the topographic evidence[45] that short-distance transhumance was practised, even if long-distance transhumance was not (cf. Dench 1995:116-19; Horden and Purcell 2000:84-5). Trade in perishable items would also have been short distance, but this would allow exchange in the boundary zones, perhaps reaching as far as the Po valley (since this was on the established trade route) and Campania[46] (cf. Torelli 1993:100-1). A proportion of the adult population would have been engaged in trade and transhumance, meaning that members of the communities were often absent (cf. Horden and Purcell 2000:86)[47].

With so little research into settlement patterns and demographics accomplished for Picenum, it is currently impossible to ascertain the size or distribution of the Iron Age population, but excavations of cemeteries provide some insight into distribution of populations for given periods (Map II; 2.3-4)[48]. Throughout the first millennium the region's prime assets in which to trade and by which to construct an identity

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[44] See also Skeates 1992, Appendix 3 for evidence of plant remains, largely grains and other foodstuffs, pertaining to the Neolithic and Eneolithic.

[45] The landscape of mountains, hills and lowlands. Human activity in the Neolithic created areas of mountain pasture, possibly for use in transhumance farming, although it is impossible to tell whether this would have been short- or long-distance (Skeates 1992:163).

[46] A passage from Varro shows that by the first century a transhumance route reached from Apulia to Samnium (at least), passing through former Oscan speaking territories (Varro *RR* 2.1.16). It is probable that at least part of this route existed prior to this.

[47] So, transhumance had an impact on social organisation, even if children played a dominant role in herding (Varro *RR* 2.1.10; see also Dench 1995:118).

[48] Clearly mortuary populations do not correlate directly with living populations, so establishing population sizes is even more problematic (Morris 1987:207).

perceivable to the broader Mediterranean and Europe, were its economic and special resources[49]: the port at Ancona, harbours at Pésaro, Numana, Porto di Fermo or Porto S Giorgio, and Cupra Marittima; a seaward boundary on the principal trade route from the Baltic, through central and eastern Europe, Greece and the Near East; land-based trade routes intersecting from east to west and north-south to Rome, Etruria and west central Europe; fresh water supplies from the gorges dissecting the entire region, also from lakes and underground springs; Adriatic sea salt, fish and a supply of locally crafted amber artefacts.

Natural boundaries exist throughout Picenum: any of the gorges and river valleys cleaving the landscape between the Apennines and the Adriatic could have represented a territorial boundary, whilst the mountains and sea were dynamic, monumental boundaries. It seems likely that each river valley marked territorial boundaries between communities throughout the Iron Age, although interaction between these communities was clearly extensive, as indicated by the movement of locally made artefacts throughout the region (2.3-5). This interaction may have been based on the dynamics of similarity and difference between the communities. Arguably, the interrelationships which developed between each community and its environment were similar to those of the neighbouring community, due to the shared topography, climate and ecology. Whilst these interrelationships created parallels between communities that would have encouraged them to have close interactions with one another, they remained individual communities, since they were physically separated from one another by the gorges. These topographic boundaries to the north and south would have created a situation where each community recognised its neighbour as 'other' and so accentuated differences between them as part of its own self-definition[50]. It seems likely that the territorial boundary zones created by the gorges and river valleys were neutral, since they also served as excellent routes of communication between the Adriatic and the Apennines, the tracks and roads which ran parallel to the impenetrable valleys facilitating short and long distance trade, exchange and communication (van Gennep 1960:19; Skeates 1992:517-21, 529; Naso

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[49] By Smith's definition: "special resources and economic assets (ports, trade routes, water supplies, minerals, etc)" (1986:94).

[50] Compare Hodder's study of the Baringo District of Kenya which shows that on the one hand interaction, including movement of artefact types, existed across tribal boundaries, whilst on the other, clear material culture distinctions were being maintained, he argues, in order to justify inter-group competition (largely for resources) (Hodder 1978; 1982:55, 58).

1999:5; Naso 2000:15-16). The evidence of long distance trade throughout the Iron Age and throughout the region (2.3, 2.5) suggests that these territorial boundary zones would have been melting pots of cultural stimuli and may partially explain the diversity, in material culture at least, between the communities of the different river valleys. Nevertheless, the monumental topography to the east and west of the region physically bounded these communites into a socio-cultural group which *we perceive* as distinct from other communities inhabiting Central Adriatic Italy.

In summary, the distinctive topography of Central Adriatic Italy includes highly visible natural boundaries which, whilst also acting as important routes of communication between communities, allow definition of the region for discussion in Chapters 2 to 6, however arbitrary further research proves these boundaries to be. It also provides an insight into the organisation of communities within Picenum.

The inconsistency of the Graeco-Roman sources (Strabo 5.4.2; Pliny *NH* 3.110-111; Ptolemy 3.1) in their descriptions of the territorial boundaries of historic Picenum and Umbria is perhaps indicative of the continued fluidity of these boundaries throughout those regions' history. Mountains, whilst seemingly impenetrable from afar, are actually localities of communication and in some cases represent early settlement sites of Italic populations (Malone *et al* 1994:92-3, 126-30; Horden and Purcell 2000:80-2). The Vomano river, which is overlooked by the mountain of M Giove (Penna S Andrea), may mark a territorial boundary or the centre of a boundary zone (5.3.6). Historically, the Tronto valley was Picene and the Aterno may have marked the southern coastal boundary, so if this intervening area was a boundary zone which acted as a neutral point of interaction or meeting place for communities, the Vomano would have been physically central to this. Inland, the Vomano and Aterno almost meet, with the named mountain populations occupying the region south-east of this boundary, and with the Sabines to the west[51].

The historic northern boundary is equally difficult to define. Strabo records Ravenna, Rimini, Senigállia, the Esino, M Cíngoli, Sassoferrato (*Sentinum*), the Metauro and

[51] Sabine territory being the area within a northern boundary of the river Nera, western boundary of the Tiber and southern boundary of the Anio. Its centres were at *Nursia*, *Amiternum* and *Reate*, with other major centres at *Cures*, *Eretum*, *Trebula Mutuesca* and *Forum Novum*. The main roads here were the Via Salaria which bound the region to Picenum and the Via Cecilia (*Trebula Mutuesca*) (Bonghi Jovino 1974:66).

Fano as marking the former Adriatic boundary between Italy and Celtica (5.2.10), so again, we find a boundary zone rather than a single dividing line. As implied by Strabo here, the northern boundary is also difficult to ascertain due to the existence of the *ager Gallicus* and the extension of Umbria's north-eastern border to include the part of this south of Ravenna (Strabo 5.2.10) or Rimini (Pliny *NH* 3.112) within the Augustan *regio* VI. Pliny also asserts that the Gallic coast (*Togatae Galliae*) began at Ancona, suggesting that the *ager Gallicus* reached between Rimini and Ancona on the coast (cf. Livy 22.44.3; 28.38.13; 30.1.9). The inland boundaries are more difficult to establish, but the evidence of Gallic cemeteries (BO) and a Celtic temenos on M Bibele (BO) suggest that the *ager Gallicus* reached at least this far north (cf. Zuffa 1979:143). North of Bologna the Celtic presence intensified, but several different tribes occupied the North Italian territories[52]. The *ager Gallicus* seems to be distinct in so far as it was inhabited predominantly by Senonian Gauls, although it has been suggested that Bologna was occupied by the Boii (Polyb 1.6.6, 2.17.7; Zuffa 1979:141-2; Williams 2001:201)[53]. Further south, Gallic influence is visible in the valleys of the Misa and Sentino, from Senigállia to Sassoferrato, the route of the Protoflaminia, which might mark the southern boundary. The presence of Celtic, Picene and Etruscan material culture in this area (e.g. BO 1) might suggest that this was another boundary zone, occupied by Etruscans, Umbrians, Celts and Picenes, from at least the fourth and possibly as early as the sixth century, though it is more difficult to ascertain the extent to which the people here defined themselves with respect to these *koinai*. The Esino is the crucial natural boundary feature here, possibly marking the northernmost boundary of Picenum and the southernmost of the *ager Gallicus* and subsequently marking an Umbrian boundary. In what may be an adaptation of the Picene *ver sacrum* myth, Silius Italicus states that Picus founded Áscoli Piceno (*Asculum*), but that his people took over the territory around the Esino (*Aesis*) from the Pelasgians (*Punica* 8.438-9, 443-5). He goes on to say that this river belonged to both Picenum and Umbria, which might reflect the river's being formerly part of Picenum and clarify how Pliny arrives at his inclusion of Jesi, Cíngoli and Attiggio within Umbria.

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[52] It is beyond the scope of this work to discuss the Celtic presence in Italy at length, but see Williams (2001) for most recent discussion.

[53] Its appropriation by Rome in the third century might further suggest that it was not part of Picenum, or at least not conceived as such by the Romans (who also referred to the *agrum Picen(ti)um*, see fig 1.2).

The natural western boundary of historical Picenum was formed by the Monti Sibillini (Map IIb). Strabo notes the principal Umbrian towns to the right of the Via Flaminia between Otricoli and Rimini as Terni, Spoleto, Assisi and Camerino (5.2.10). The roughly rectangular area created by Otricoli, Gubbio, Sassoferrato and Antrodoco to the east of these therefore seem to represent a marginal area where communities were influenced by aspects of culture from both the eastern (Picene) and western (Umbrian) territories. For example, with the exception of Cupra Marittima, the evidence for the goddess Cupra (who was worshipped in both Picenum and Umbria) occurs in this area, notably at Fossato di Vico (Ve 223), Cupramontana (Pliny *NH* 3.111) and Colfiorito (Po 2)[54].

In conclusion, the Central Adriatic region described as 'Picenum' within this thesis is an arbitrarily defined area that includes all the Iron Age communities which the archaeological and linguistic evidence suggests shared a common cultural landscape. It also includes some marginal communities which share features of both this and other cultural landscapes, notably those of the historical Umbrians, Illyrians and Senonian Gauls. The boundaries are defined by monumental natural features which would have played a significant role in defining the landscape and territories of the Iron Age inhabitants of the area. The Adriatic sea forms a clear eastern boundary, whilst mountains predominate in definition of the southern and western boundaries, notably, the Gran Sasso to the south and Monti Sibillini to the west. The northern boundary is the most difficult to define, which seems to be reflected in the contentions of the historic period, principally the historicised antagonsim between the 'Gauls' and Italic peoples, the movement of Italy's northern border and the extension of the Augustan region of Umbria (*regio* VI) to the Adriatic coast. The northernmost part of the Central Apennines, where they border Etruria (at Marzabotto), is taken as the absolute north-western boundary, with a line then drawn across to the Adriatic along the Vena del Gesso Romagnola, an Apennine mountain ridge spanning the 25km area between Bologna and Ravenna. This ridge is dissected by the river valleys of the Lamone at Brisighella (RA), the Sintria, a little after Zattaglia (comune di Brisighella), the Senio near Borgo Rivola (comune di Riolo Terme, RA), the Santerno near Borgo Tossignano (BO) and by the Sillaro near Gesso (BO). This change in

[54] Ve = Vetter 1953; Po = Pocetti 1979. See Chapters 3 and 5 for full discussion of evidence for Cupra and her worship.

topography in the north of the region may in part account for the cultural complexity which we have recognised in the area between the Vena del Gesso and the Esino; it is partly for this reason that such a far northern boundary has been drawn. This allows for comparative analysis of sacred sites throughout this northern area, which increases our understanding of the organisation of communities there.

Finally, 'boundary' should not be equated with 'barrier': these features were highly visible points of reference, but they were also routes of communication between the different cultural landscapes which we recognise as belonging to broad socio-cultural groups (again, arbitrarily named as 'Picene', 'Umbrian', 'Etruscan' etc.). Communication includes the physical movement of people, artefacts and ideas, allowing interconnectivity of the different cultural landscapes. Many places on the boundaries were intervisible, which reflects our human propensity to favour the visual and perceive with the eyes. The extent to which this is true of sacred sites is one of the areas of investigation within Chapters 3 to 5.

1.5 Types of material evidence available for recognising religion in Picenum

This section focuses on issues of definition and identification of votive material, commonly, miniature pottery vessels, bronze votive figurines and terracottas, but including other archaeological evidence, epigraphic material and literary sources. Whitehouse's archaeologically recognisable contexts for religious ritual are useful here, since they enable identification of votive material found at sacred sites in Iron Age Picenum (Whitehouse 1992:3; cf. Thomas 1996:154ff, especially 182).
The most common archaeological identifiers of sacred sites in Picenum can be ranked as follows, based on Whitehouse's contexts for religious ritual (Whitehouse 1992:3, a-e):

1. *contextual information suggesting symbolic rather than utilitarian function, e.g. groupings of objects in votive deposits (b)* and *occurrence of non-viable versions of utilitarian objects, e.g. miniatures, examples made of unsuitable materials or apparently deliberately broken (e)*

Largely represented by votive deposits of single or multiple objects in unusual locales. The most widespread objects are miniature pottery vessels or bronze

anthropoid figurines, followed by terracotta figurines and anatomical ex-votos[55], then full-size and deliberately broken artefacts (pottery or bronze).

2. *artefacts or monuments for which it is difficult to find a utilitarian function (a)*
Particularly bronze anthropoid figurines and anatomical ex-votos, although all of the votive objects listed also fall into this category; any monument which cannot be described as having a function associated *predominantly* with residence, subsistence, political organisation or burial (cf. 2.2). This category includes partially monumentalised sites, such as a cave, *temenos* or temple. Function may alter according to context, so in a particular locale a utilitarian object may have a non-utilitarian function, for example, a pot deliberately broken or placed upside down in a pool or cave (e.g. 3.2.4; 4.3.2).

3. *investment of time and energy in excess of that required by utilitarian considerations (c)*
This rarely occurs in Iron Age Picenum, but includes monumentalisation of a natural feature, such as redesigning a cave interior, building a peak sanctuary or a shrine at a water source (3.3.1; 4.6.4; 5.3.3). This category might also be applied to the investment of time and energy in manufacture of votive objects and to the investment in ritual activity at a sacred site. The latter is probably the most widely occurring but difficult to identify and is another area where phenomenological study of the site contributes to our understanding. For example, a votive deposit excavated from a cave identifies the site as having had a sacred function on at least one occasion. If a phenomenological study is made of the cave, from entrance to place of deposition and back[56], an assessment of the time and energy expended by one individual can be made. This benchmark assessment can then be elaborated to include a variety of factors, such as the additional time/energy investment required if twenty people made the same journey, or the journey was made twenty times; and if accompanying rituals or apparatus were incorporated, such as spending the night in a particular area of the cave, or wearing a costume.

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[55] A hybrid of Fenelli's definitions, where "'ex-voto' suggests the idea of an offer to the divinity in exchange for a favour; the anatomical votive is more specifically the representation of a part of the anatomy, human or animal, offered to the divinity" (Girardon 1993:33; see Fenelli 1975).
[56] Ideally, the journeys between settlement and sacred site would also be included, to provide evidence of the time/energy investment of people within their total environment, but the paucity of evidence for settlement in Picenum currently makes this unviable.

4. *use of special raw materials, e.g. rare, hard to work or visually appealing (d)* (see also Thomas 1996:154ff, especially 182)
Amber, ivory or bronze artefacts, of which incidence is high, but largely in burial contexts (Strong 1966:1-2,10-11; Malone *et al* 1994:166). This is arguably a preservation issue, in terms of both environmental conditions and clandestine excavation or chance find.

The categories a) and b) together provide the most common locales for identification of sacred sites discussed in Chapters 3 to 5 and c), d) and e) can be considered as sub-sets of these, dependent on context. Further description of the types of contexts pertaining to (a) is presented in 1.3 and of objects pertaining to (b), below (1.5.1-4; refer also to Appendix I)[57]. 'Votive' is used to describe any artefact which appears to have been deposited because it was intrinsic to the religious ritual. By this definition the artefact must have fulfilled one of the roles described by Whitehouse (1992:72 a-e).

1.5.1 A note on the value of material culture studies

> "If archaeology is anything it is the study of material culture as a manifestation of structured symbolic practices meaningfully constituted and situated in relation to the social. This relationship is active, and not simply one of reflection."
> Tilley 1989:188 in Barrett 1991

Whilst material culture provides archaeologists with a body of evidence to study, this statement explains why it is useful. It applies to an even greater degree in the context of votive material, since the purpose of analysing votive material is to try to understand the symbolic practices of, in this case, the people inhabiting Iron Age Picenum and so to understand something of their society. Material culture is not a static cultural marker: it plays an active role in contributing to human identity, although it cannot be used as an identifier for a particular archaeological culture or socio-cultural group (Hodder 1982; Tilley 1989:188; Barrett 1991:1-2; Gosden

[57] A note of caution: these categories are inevitably arbitrary. Not only is there some blurring between them and several sites fall into multiple categories, but some exclusions are contentious, such as the Capestrano warrior, or excluding monuments associated with political organisation, when it could be argued that all sanctuaries fall into this category. Categorisation is a useful tool rather than an absolute and it should be noted that few, if any, aspects of life in Iron Age Picenum fell into a single category, for all of the people interacting with those things and places.

1994:34, 77; Jones 1997:106-7, 118, 126). For this reason it is crucial to explore questions of religious experience in Picenum by examining the *place* as well as the *things*, as stressed above (1.2). Material culture has an active life and sometimes many identities during that life, which are formed of many of the same components as those of the people who make and interact with it (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986; cf. Bradley 1998b:33). This concept is a useful starting point from which we can use analysis of votive material to understand the practices which generated and were generated by the religious experiences of people in Picenum.

Sacred sites and sanctuaries catalyse the memory and belief aspects of human identity (1.2, 2.2), and in many of these situations artefacts take on specific functions: they are used within rituals, resulting in their becoming mnemonics – the crystallisation of a subject-object relationship (Bradley and Edmonds 1993:13). As already stated, it is often the context rather than the artefact itself which generates significance: identical objects may have entirely different meanings in different locations or situations (Brewer and Pears 1993:25; Thomas 1996:180). So, the connections made by the three-way relationship of subject-object-place act together to generate meaning and redefine identity, aspects of which become embedded in a further kaleidoscope of identity systems. These connections are dependent on the personal histories and knowledges of each person, thing and place involved, both physical and symbolic, so the potential variety of further meaning generated is myriad (Bourdieu 1977; Ingold 1986:269). These connections are also dynamic forces, with the items to which they pertain being continuously engaged in the socio-cultural environment (Gosden 1994:34, 49, 77; Thomas 1996:159). One of the other outcomes of this behaviour is the effect on those people who are excluded, particularly where the generation of collective identity codes is aimed to develop the community identity (Thomas 1996:169). This is a powerful means not only by which to establish hierarchies, but also to mark significant phases within the group's evolution, be they rites of passage, seasonal festivals or responses to crises. Exclusion may be deliberate or not, may depend on certain circumstances and may be applied not only to people but to things and landscapes[58]. The power structures created by inclusions and exclusions are

[58] For example, see 4.8 on the potential for access to particular areas within caves to be restricted during ritual use, perhaps to specific people, such as those being initiated.

mutable, either temporally or in relation to other subject-object-places, particularly where they pertain to rites of passage.

1.5.2 Full-size and deliberately broken artefacts

Very few examples from the Iron Age fall into this category, which should be seen largely as a Bronze Age phenomenon. Four broad groups are recognisable: complete full-size pottery vessels (impasto and wheel-turned), complete, full-size articles of personal adornment (e.g. fibulae) and arms (e.g. swords, cf. 2.3) and two groups of deliberately broken artefacts, pottery and bronze artefacts. The first two groups are entirely dependent on context and cannot be used in isolation as identifiers for sacred sites. They are included here for completeness, with the assumption that where they occur this is with other clearly votive objects, or in a particularly restricted locale, such as deep inside a cave. Utilitarian artefacts, particularly vessels, may have had a ritual function related to activities in the lived-world. For example, a storage jar may have been used to offer a tithe to the ancestral spirits (cf. Rouse 1902:41, 56)[59]. Sometimes these artefacts were deposited whole, but at others they were deliberately broken, as part of the ritual, or subsequent to it. Deliberately broken artefacts are therefore assumed to have a cult function, since the action of breakage puts them beyond use, removing them from the physical and temporal lived-world (Coldstream 1977:332; Sherratt 1997:404). The largest group of deliberately broken artefacts is full-size pottery vessels. The other group is arms, usually offensive weapons. Preservation of archaeological contexts sometimes makes it difficult to assess whether a pot was deliberately broken or if this was a result of the passage of time. Arms are easier to recognise, but are discovered less frequently, partly due to variation in context. In Picenum, deliberately broken vessels have been excavated from caves and water sources (lakes and marshland), whereas arms have been recovered only from water sources (rivers and lakes)[60]. The other noteworthy point here is that full-size or deliberately broken pots and miniature vessels (1.5.3) occasionally occur in the same context, particularly in caves (e.g. Grotta Sant'Angelo, M Bibele).

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[59] For ancient and comparative examples of offerings of tithes and first fruits see: Ovid *Fasti* 4.820-5; Rouse 1902:17-18, 41-6, 52-6, 354-6, 370; Frazer 1993:463-4. First fruits include: foodstuffs, such as the first ear or sheaf of wheat harvested or a cup of the first wine to mature, flowers, wreaths, locks of hair and the first born (usually domesticated animals, but myths of sacrifice of human first borns abound, cf *ver sacrum*). A tithe is a proportion (usually 10%) of a harvest, a gift, the spoils of war, etc.

[60] A phenomenon which was widespread across central and northern Europe throughout the European Iron Age and in other periods (see for example Cunliffe 1993; Bradley 1998b:1-42; Derks 1998).

The Bronze Age to Iron Age transition is not completely clear cut, since some sacred sites show evidence of probable continuity from the second to first millennium: for example, the Grotta Sant'Angelo (Civitella del Tronto) was significant in the Bronze Age and earlier, but also had a religious function in the Iron Age and Roman periods. Continuity is a somewhat contentious issue given the broad time periods under discussion: if a site fell out of use for 150 years it is difficult to assess whether it was reinstated after this period due to the life history of the place (represented by the natural feature, deposited artefacts and folklore) or discovered in its own right (due to the site's phenomena). Typology of artefacts also has a role to play here. For instance, most Bronze Age pottery vessels are unlikely to have survived for use in the Iron Age (the concept of an 'antique' Bronze Age pot seems rather alien), whereas a bronze sword may have been a coveted item. So, the bronze swords deposited in the Pescara river may have been deposited once they served no practical function or were considered obsolete, *or* because they were highly prized, with this action taking place during either the Bronze or Iron Age. Ultimately, one is reliant on context to enable arrival at plausible conclusions, since the relative value Iron Age people placed on artefacts is unknown, as is how these values varied between individuals and groups.

1.5.3 Miniature pottery

One of the most widespread types of votive objects found in Picenum is miniature impasto pottery vessels and other miniature objects[61], broadly categorised as: (a) drinking vessels, (b) other containers for consumables, (c) objects associated with consumption and (d) objects without a function associated with consumption. (a) includes two-handled and one-handled cups, cups with no handles and beakers; (b) bowls, dishes, vases; (c) ladles, lids, pot stands; (d) heaters or incense burners, spindle whorls, loom weights, pendants and 'phallic objects', also interpreted as schematic anthropomorphic figurines (Baldelli 1997:162-71).

These vessels are rarely more than 10cm high, sometimes smaller, and seem broadly comparable to the full-size vessels used in Picenum, as known from grave goods, although full-size vessels are both impasto and wheel-turned (Baldelli in Franchi

[61] Abbreviated throughout the text to 'miniature vessels', which should be taken to include both containers and the other objects listed here, all of which are examples of impasto pottery.

dell'Orto 1999:232, cat 359). This would suggest that the miniature vessels were deliberate reproductions of utilitarian vessels, with the implication that they were therefore non-utilitarian and instead specifically intended for ritual use. It also seems likely that miniature vessels were symbolic of their full-sized counterparts, with the shape of the miniature vessel implying its symbolic function[62]. In other words, a cup shape should be equated with liquid, a dish with food (cf. Sherratt 1997:388). Whilst some vessels, such as the bowls, may conceivably have had an everyday use, the range of artefact types indicates that they had a specifically ritualised function and were probably purposely made for this. Miniaturisation seems to serve a similar function to the deliberate breakage of full-size vessels, putting them beyond everyday use, into the realm of the 'other'. They also act as mnemonics for their full-size counterparts, for the uses and contents with which these were associated. These seem to have been broadly concerned with food, drink and intoxicants (e.g. wine, incense). Skeates makes a similar comparison between prehistoric axe-pendants and axes, suggesting that the pendants are derived from the larger, functional axes or adzes, their miniaturisation condensing the meaning or cultural value of these items (1995:288-9; see also Ellen 1988). His discussion of the sacralisation of axe-pendants might also be transferred to miniature pottery vessels, since the process of sacralisation can be described as a rite of passage (Skeates 1995:289; Tambiah 1984).

Within the four broad categories, (a) is predominant and cups with no handles are the most numerous within this sub-group. So, miniature cups continued to symbolise drinking vessels in so far as they were used to hold consumable liquids, such as water, milk or wine, which may have been used as the solvent for an intoxicant. This liquid may have been drunk, poured as a libation (i.e. 'drunk' by the deities or spirits), or used in purification or other rituals, depending on its properties and symbolism. The cups may also have been used for collecting liquids, such as rainwater or stillicide water in caves[63] (4.3.1), which may have had some subsequent ritual function. It is even possible that the miniature vessels were deposited empty, with their shape signifying their function and therefore their contents, as a more permanent symbol of libation, food and drink for the ancestral spirits and other divinities.

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[62] Compare Whitehouse's synopsis of Hodder's work on cultural symbols (Whitehouse 1992:7).
[63] Stillicide water being the constant trickle and continual dripping of water in karstic caves.

Miniature pottery vessels have a broad date range of the ninth to fourth centuries, although Neolithic and Bronze Age examples also exist[64]. Where miniature vessels are found they tend to occur in spatial and temporal concentrations, e.g. Sant'Andrea (Cupra Marittima) (Baldelli 1997:162; 3.3.2). In contrast, the 100 miniature pottery vessels from M Bibele (3.2.4; 5.3.2) have been dated to a range of the fifth to fourth centuries (Vitali *et al* 1997:135, 137-9, 151-3). It should also be noted that there is some variation in quality between deposits of miniature vessels. For example, those from Grotta del Re Tiberio (4.3.1) and those from various provenances in the vicinity of Camerino (held in Camerino Museum) are very fine, whereas it is more common for the vessels to be coarse and roughly made, such as those from M Bibele and Cupra Marittima.

1.5.4 Bronze votive figurines[65]

The majority of the anthropoid bronze figurines known to have been found in Marche or Umbria are in the Villa Giulia in Rome, with the rest scattered throughout museums and private collections across Emilia-Romagna, Marche, Umbria and Abruzzo. No full catalogue of these figurines exists, although Colonna's *Bronzi votivi umbro-sabellici* provides a good starting point, largely covering the material in the Villa Giulia. The *Piceni popolo d'Europa* exhibition catalogue describes twenty-seven figurines, which is a small proportion of those found in the region. *Acque, Grotte e Dei* includes full catalogues of the figurines excavated from specific sites[66], which highlights the benefit of carrying out extensive excavation of Iron Age sacred sites. The provenance of many bronze figurines from Picenum is unknown, or limited to the approximate location, such as the nearest town or village, or the farm or estate where the figurines were found (cf. Edlund 1987:80). This makes it extremely difficult to associate all the figurines with their locales of deposition and means that the identity of several sacred sites may be irretrievable. Nevertheless, the subject of a future study in the region would be to marry the evidence of rough findspots of

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[64] A small number of spoons, or ladles, have been recovered from Neolithic sites in southern Italy, almost exclusively from ritual contexts (Whitehouse 1992:73-5), which might suggest continuity in ritual use of miniature artefacts.

[65] This section includes only bronze figurines outside burial contexts. Within burial contexts other bronze figurines occur, notably double headed bulls (found in the area between the rivers Tenna and Tesino, particularly in the Grottazzolina cemetery (Franchi dell'Orto 1999:267, cat 545)) and anthropoid figurines (such as those from Ripatransone (now in Ripatransone Museum), which were part of pendants.

[66] Grotta del Re Tiberio (Riolo Terme), M Bibele (Monterenzio), Montefortino di Arcévia, Grotta Sant'Angelo (Civitella del Tronto); Grotta del Colle (Rapino).

figurines to phenomenological data for the landscape features and the comparative database, in order to identify potential sites for survey or excavation. So many of the figurines have been casual finds, cast up by ploughing or discovered caving, that the potential for further sites to be identified is high. Despite these difficulties, where findspots have been recorded it becomes clear that bronze figurines should be associated with sacred sites and religious practice rather than with other site types (Edlund 1987:80). The deposition of bronze figurines as grave goods was minimal: the only examples are a single figurine found in Tomb 83 Servici (Novilara) and a burial in the Grottazzolina cemetery (Lollini 1976:174 fig 23). Otherwise, all known examples from Picenum were found in unmonumentalised sites or identifiable sanctuaries. It cannot be proven that all these unmonumentalised sites were sacred sites, given the paucity of archaeological evidence for settlements, including market places and areas of subsistence/manufacture. For example, some figurines in some circumstances may have been considered amuletic and cast in fields as part of a ritual to protect crops. This would classify the act as a religious act by an individual, which would make the figurine itself a votive and therefore 'religious', but the locale would remain profane: by Derks' definition this would exclude the place from being a sacred site (Derks 1998:133). The significance to the current study of an association between deposition of figurines and natural feature is therefore stressed once again.

The figurines were either cast (with schematic or detailed features) or plate cut from sheet bronze (schematic only). Most have single- or double-pronged feet, suggesting that they were made specifically to stand upright, perhaps sometimes in bronze lids like that found in Tomb 14, Pitino di S Severino (Franchi dell'Orto 1999:90, fig 64, cat 433). The absence of other artefacts from their excavated contexts suggests that this was not the only use of the figurines and also that they may have been attached to perishable objects or monuments. Dating of the figurines is done largely by typology and archaeological context, so the date ranges tend to rather broad, the full range being the sixth to fourth century (ca 525-375), with the majority datable to the fifth century (Moscatelli 1977:193). Increased complexity and superior artisanship should not be taken as indicators of later dates: the schematic figurines cut from sheet bronze (e.g. Montefortino di Arcévia) have tended to be considered the earliest type, but this is under revision, with some scholars attributing them to a later, fifth to fourth century phase (3.3.1).

Bronze votive figurines fall into broad categories, with extensive further variations, descriptions of which can be found in the analyses within Chapters 3 to 5. For example, there are five types of schematic bronze worshippers (beyond male, female and androgynous worshippers), including worshippers with long clothing and two pronged feet and worshippers with long clothing and feet together, with single solid prong (Vitali *et al* 1997:135; see also 3.2.4, note 20). These variations suggest that bronze figurines were manufactured in a number of different workshops in Picenum, Umbria and Etruria and that some were probably the work of independent individuals (cf. Richardson 1983). So saying, few figurines found in Picenum were manufactured in Etruscan workshops and production of most figurines seems to have been concentrated in the Apennine Umbro-Picene boundary zone (cf. Bradley 2000a:68-71; Appendix I). Annibaldi has hypothesised that there were two localised centres of production (one in Marche and the other in Umbria) but notes that the artisanship is more-or-less indistinguishable for the two variations. The level of continuity across the region, particularly in schematic bronzes, shows that most of the bronzes were generic and one assumes some degree of communication between individual artisans and/or workshops. It is extremely difficult to assess nuances in design across time, given the difficulty of dating and paucity of strong contextual data. Taking the previous example, was the variation between two-pronged feet and single-prong with feet together a temporal variation, a variation in technique between individual artisans, or a variation in technique between workshops? A more detailed data base could provide further evidence for the identities and social interaction of people within the region, which clearly has a bearing on the functions of the figurines and on the use of sacred sites and sanctuaries.

The largest category of bronze votive figurines is of figures in the gesture of offering or supplication, categorised here as 'worshippers'. It appears that schematic bronzes almost exclusively fall into this category and many detailed bronzes do also. One assumes from the attitude of these figures that they represent humans rather than deities, supplicating the deities, ancestral spirits or other divinities believed to inhabit or oversee the territory (cf. Rouse 1902:363). The argument for these figurines being deposited as part of a ritual of supplication to ancestral spirits is the weakest, since few examples have been found in burial contexts. However, this may be partly a bias

in preservation, or a misunderstanding of locale. For example, a large concentration of bronze votive figurines was excavated *beside* the cemetery on M Bibele, so it might be that rather than being deposited in individual burials these figurines were placed to oversee the cemetery[67]. Finds of bronze sheet schematic figurines have been more widespread in Umbria than in Picenum (e.g. Colfiorito, Norcia, Nocera etc.; compared to Appennino, Montefortino, Pitino di S Severino) (Annibaldi 1964:95). These are exclusively representations of nude men and women wearing long dresses, datable to the fifth century. It seems likely that these figurines were made from scraps of bronze left over from the manufacture of other artefacts, such as the arms and ornamentation found amongst grave goods throughout the region. However, it is unclear whether a direct relationship between those artefacts and the figurines was intended by the artisans.

The next largest category is 'warrior figurines', often referred to in the literature as 'Mars', although it is unclear from the figurines themselves whether all should be referred to as belonging to a generic warrior type, all as 'Mars', or some as generic and some Mars (cf. Bendinelli 1920:264-5; Landolfi 1988:361; Bradley 1997a:115; Naso 2000:236). On the whole, this type dates to the fifth century and is represented by detailed figurines, the exception being a schematic bronze from Cagli; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:86, fig 58, cat 366). Warrior type figurines with the following characteristics have been found throughout Marche and the Umbrian Apennines: slender body, spear held aloft in the right hand, helmet with tall crest, armour with some detailed embellishments, usually the shoulders and skirt fringes; or sometimes nude, with the crest fixed directly to his head and arms wide open in the lower part of the body (Annibaldi 1964:94; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:234, cat 363-5; Vitali *et al* 1997:140-1). Any of these might be interpreted either as a human warrior or as Mars (or equivalent deity). The distinction is particularly blurred where we find figurines of Etruscan artisanship for which the Mars interpretation might be favoured, since an 'Etruscan Mars' may also have been a 'Picene warrior (god)'. Further to this, the warrior image is extremely strong in the evidence for Iron Age culture in Picenum and so appears to have been an important symbol to the people of the region (2.3). It is therefore unclear to what extent the warrior figurines represent humans or deities.

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[67] The Capestrano warrior may have served a similar function (Berggren 1990:23-36; Whitehouse and Herring 1999:4).

The so-called 'Minerva' figurines might also be included in the category of 'warrior figurines' and may represent human female warriors (whether actual or idealised) rather than the goddess: in other words, the warrior/Mars arguments also stand for warrior/Minerva (cf. Rouse 1902:90-1). Only the very specific attributes, the crested helmet, aegis and spear (e.g. the Apiro figurine, Franchi dell'Orto 1999 cat 367), might force this argument in favour of a warrior goddess rather than human representation, which may in turn force at least some of the male representations into the category of deity rather than human. However, a figurine designed as a representation of Minerva in an Etruscan workshop may have represented 'the female human warrior' in Apiro, so both interpretations remain valid. Not only are there numerically less known 'Minerva' figurines than there are 'Mars', they are found in an area of more limited diffusion: Fabriano, Fossato di Vico, Apiro (found together with a male warrior figurine), Fermo, Passo di Treia and a schematic figurine from Ancarano di Norcia (Annibaldi 1964:95; Colonna 1970:41-2, tav 16.54, tav 17-18. 58).

These male and female warrior figurines show that the martial image was important to the Picenes and the high incidence of figurines on major routes of communication and in areas important for subsistence and trade, particularly in the Umbro-Picene boundary zone, indicates that those routes were protected by these sacro-symbolic warriors (whether they were representions of people or of 'Mars' and 'Minerva').

Comparative evidence which suggests that some of the warrior figurines could be interpreted as deities is found in the presence of a number of 'Hercules' and 'Jupiter' figurines in the region (Landolfi 1988:361; Naso 2000:237). Jupiter (or Iovis, Veiovis) is identified by his bolt of lightning (Colonna 1970:38, tav 12.44; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:239, cat 388; Naso 2000:238), Hercules (Hercle) by his club and lion skin (Franchi dell'Orto 1999:235-7, cat 370, 377-8). It is difficult to find an alternative identification for these two figurine types, although it may be noteworthy that very few representations of Jupiter have been found, whilst Hercules occurs in

large numbers[68]. Hercules shared many attributes with Mars, including an association with war and as a protector of crops, cattle and of travellers (especially traders and possibly those engaged in transhumance) (Coarelli 1984:78; Dench 1995:122). He is known from numerous representations (figurines, vase and tomb paintings) to have been a popular Italic deity (Dench 1995:122; Bradley 1998a). The low incidence of Jupiter figurines might suggest that the sky god was recognised amongst the Picenes, but not necessarily as their principal deity, or else that representation of the chief god was tabu. It seems that familiarity with the Etruscan pantheon of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva partially influenced the representations of these deities in Picenum, even where the figurines were manufactured in Picenum rather than Etruria. The possiblity remains that representations of deities was rare, possibly tabu, in Picenum: Hercules was a demi-god and may therefore have been excluded and as we have seen, very few figurines which can be unquestionably identified as deities occur in the region[69]. Comparison of bronze votive figurines from Umbria with those from Picenum reveals a similar distribution: numerous representations of Hercules, a few of 'Minerva' (second half of fifth century) and a few of Jupiter (late fifth to early fourth century). In addition, schematic, generic warriors with crested helmets have been found in northern Umbria, whilst schematic male and female worshippers were found at Gualdo Tadino and female worshippers or haruspices at Nocera Umbra (Stefani 1935; Colonna 1970; in Villa Giulia, pers. obs.).

1.5.5 Terracottas

Votive objects made from terracotta tend to occur later than the other types of votives described, largely dating from the third to second centuries. Terracottas lie at the end of our time period, predominating in the Roman period. Many terracottas can be dated as late as the second century CE, so attention must be paid to context in order to remain within the temporal parameters set out above. Terracotta votives occur at each type of natural feature and in comparable distributions at cave, peak and water sites. The sites where they have been found also show evidence of cult use in the Roman period, with the peak and water sites having all been monumentalised around the second century (e.g. San Vittore di Cíngoli, 3.4.3; Montefortino di Arcévia, 3.3.1; 5.3.2). This category of

[68] Colonna describes fourteen Hercules figurines from Marche and Umbria (1970).
[69] Etruscan influence would suggest that the Picenes were familiar with Juno, but she appears to be unrepresented amongst the figurines.

votives might therefore be taken as indicative of continuity of sites beyond the Iron Age and also of monumentalisation.

Terracotta votives fall into four categories: zoomorphic figurines, anthropomorphic figurines, anthropomorphic heads and anatomical ex-votos. Scholars tend to categorise the final three groups together, since they all pertain to the human body and span roughly the same time period as each other. This categorisation also reflects a tendency to assume that all terracotta votives should be associated with 'healing' (and water) and that the majority of anthropoid examples represent humans rather than deities (Girardon 1993; 3.1).

Zoomorphic figurines are far less widespread in Picenum than the other three groups and date a little earlier, usually from the fourth to second centuries. These figurines are more difficult to date than the other terracottas, since some Bronze Age examples are also known: the somewhat generic nature of both the Bronze Age and Iron Age examples exacerbates this difficulty. The representations are often schematic, although all are quadrupeds and most seem to be ruminants. Where a particular characteristic seems stronger this is used to describe the figurine, i.e. porcine, ovine, bovine, taurine, caprine, equine, canine or ursine (Landolfi 1997:177-8, fig 14; fig 3.4). The figurines measure between 4cm and 9cm from nose to tail and stand about 3-5cm high. Zoomorphic figurines tend to be representations of complete animals, standing upright and facing forward, although eight examples of lower legs and hooves were excavated at the *lucus Pisaurensis* (3.4.1). The complete figurines have no features to suggest that they were attached to any other object and so appear to have been manufactured specifically for votive deposition. This is not implausible since domesticated livestock were an expensive investment in terms of Iron Age subsistence, leading to two possible explanations for the presence of zoomorphic votives: either they were sacro-symbolic substitutes for sacrificial victims or they represented the object requiring religious ritual, in other words, deities were propitiated in order to ensure that livestock were protected (from disease, attack and theft) and fertile (Rouse 1902:298; Serchioni 1959:143; Coldstream 1977:332).

The manufacture and dedication of zoomorphic figurines appears to have been a local practice, although it finds parallels in Late Geometric Greece (800-700 BCE), for

example, at the Samian Heraion (Rouse 1902:75-7, 298-301; Coldstream 1977:332-3). The introduction to Central Adriatic Italy of anthropoid terracotta figurines was arguably also a direct result of the Greek colonisation of Italy. However, the earliest examples of anatomical ex-votos from Picenum date to the late fourth century, which suggests that this type of terracotta votive was introduced from Central Italy, since ex-votos were prevelant in these regions from the fifth and fourth centuries (Bradley 2000a:264)[70].

The majority of these figurines fall into three further types: Greek *kourai*, which it might be assumed were introduced to Picenum from Magna Graecia; females with swaddled babies; females with long clothing and often veiled. It is unclear whether these female figures were intended to represent women and/or goddesses, but the paucity of male figurines is striking. The figurines occur in both religious and burial contexts, for example, Tombs 8 and 32, Montefortino di Arcévia (Museo Nazionale delle Marche, Ancona), Grotta Maritza (Miari 1997:109-110, figs 1-4) and San Vittore di Cíngoli (Landolfi and Baldelli 1997:182, fig 2). The date range of the terracotta figurines is from the fifth to second centuries, but most of the older figurines have been found in burial contexts. To an even greater extent than the 'worshipper' figurines, these examples appear to represent supplicants, the predominance of female representations suggesting that they symbolise concerns with gynaecological health, such as fertility, menstruation, pregnancy, survival of childbirth, or successful child-rearing (cf. Jackson 1988:94-6). Further, it is possible that some cult activities and/or sacred sites were the domain of women, either related to these aspects of female health, or to fertility and fecundity more generally (e.g. Montefortino di Arcévia, 3.3.1; Grotta del Colle, 4.6.3).

The distinction between this group of terracotta votives and the next, anthropomorphic heads and busts, is blurred, as is the distinction between the heads and anatomical ex-votos. Heads also occur in both religious and burial contexts, often with figurines and often with anatomical ex-votos (but only in religious contexts in the latter case), which goes some way to explaining why these three categories are so often grouped together. Like the figurines, heads tend to be female and it is difficult to assess which may be representations of women and which goddesses. The date range is also broad, predominantly the fifth to second centuries, although examples exist outside this period (e.g. heads of *kourai* from Camerino). The majority of the heads include detail of the

[70] For example, from the sanctuary of Mater Matuta at Satricum (Smith 2000:137; Bouma 1996).

hair and of some kind of headdress: a veil, diadem, garland or headband. It is possible that the veiled heads represent *kourai* or that the headdress could be a *polos*, indicative of a priestess or goddess[71], which might again link them to a female cult.

Terracotta representations of human body parts are typically referred to as anatomical ex-votos; eyes, ears, hands, feet, breasts and reproductive organs dominate the examples from Iron Age Picenum[72]. Ex-votos have been variously interpreted as dedications (i) in order to seek protection from or a cure for an ailment, disease or injury, (ii) to thank the deities for avoidance or cure of an ailment, disease or injury, or (iii) to ask for, or offer thanks for, fertility (De Laet and Desittere 1969:17; Potter 1985:34; Girardon 1993:32)[73]. They are usually discovered within the confines of monumental sanctuaries, which are often extra-urban, and usually then described as healing sanctuaries. Numerous examples of anatomical ex-votos exist from Picenum, but few from Iron Age contexts. Those which can be included have a *terminus post quem* of the fourth century (Picene VI), but a *terminus ante quem* of the first century or later, such as the examples from *lucus Pisaurensis*, Montefortino di Arcévia, Grotta del Colle (Rapino) and Grotta Maritza (Museo Oliveriano in Pesaro (sala III, section 1); Landolfi 1997:176, fig 9; d'Ercole *et al* 1997:101-2, figs 22-5; Miari 1997:111, figs 13-14). Figurines of swaddled babies and of women holding swaddled babies arguably fall into the category of anatomical ex-votos since they fulfil criterion (iii), but it should be noted that a swaddled baby figurine also occurs in a burial context, Numana, Tomb 86 (Anc Mus), which never happens with the more typical anatomical ex-votos. Like the other anthropomorphic terracottas, anatomical terracottas occur in each type of sacred site. A social anthropological study by Reynolds and Tanner aids interpretation here. They argue that religion

> "contributes in many diverse ways to people's health, survival, and reproductive fitness. It provides the conventional phraseology for decision-making with regard to biological processes (and thus biological outcomes). It provides the options and suggests which course to take, i.e. whether and when to engage in sexual activity, whether to rear or abandon a child, etc. It acts as an advisor on human parental investment" (Reynolds and Tanner 1983:261; see also Anati 1986:11-12; van Straaten 1986:33-6, 40; cf. Girardon 1993:30).

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[71] The headdress worn by a goddess, particularly by Aphrodite (Pausanias 2.10.5).
[72] For general discussion of these types of ex-votos see: Fenelli 1975; Girardon 1993:33-4.
[73] These are not mutually exclusive and combinations may have been at work on occasion.

This allows both male and female involvement in rituals associated with human health and fertility and might place anatomical ex-votos and the female representations within the same group (cf. Skeates 1994:206)[74].

To conclude, in Central Adriatic Italy marked changes in the type of artefacts included in votive deposits throughout the Iron Age are visible. Full-size pottery is found throughout the Iron Age, although examples are more common in Picene I, reflecting an apparent continuity from the Bronze Age and possibly earlier. Miniature pottery is widespread in the sixth to fourth centuries, although late Bronze Age examples are known, with a hiatus between the ninth to sixth centuries. Bronze figurines are found only in the sixth to late fifth centuries. This temporal overlap with the deposition of miniature pottery may be one indicator that the sixth and fifth centuries mark a significant period in the creation and presentation of 'Picene' identities. Terracotta figurines, including heads and busts, were introduced in the fifth century but, as we shall see, rarely occur in the same contexts as the bronze votive figurines, suggesting that they reflect more extensive economic contact with other areas of Italy, but did not usurp the existing votives (De Cazenove 2000:76; Bradley 2000a:202). Bronze votive figurines and miniature vessels fell out of use by the end of the fourth century and from the early third century anatomical ex-votos dominate the votive material, alongside the other terracottas.

The role of votive artefacts must also be considered if their interrelationships with the subject (worshipper, priest etc.) and sacred site are to be understood. Some votives may have been amuletic, whereas others had a practical role in the rituals. For example, anatomical ex-votos seem to be models of the object necessitating a ritual; miniature vessels seem to be active participants in the ritual; bronze votive figurines seem to be models of those involved in the ritual (e.g. worshippers), objects of the ritual (e.g. warriors who may need protection) and also representations of those whose assistance or protection is sought (e.g. warriors, deities). This highlights a distinction between types of amuletic votives: some seem to represent the object of protection, whilst others seem to represent the performer of the ritual and others the protector. The concept of votives as *payment*, where the offerings fulfilled a *contract* made between the worshipper and the deities, should also be considered (Bradley 1987:361). In this

[74] Full discussion of this, including alternative explanations, can be found in Chapter 3.

situation "[t]he worshipper made a specific request and promised to provide a particular offering if that request was granted" (Bradley 1987:361, citing Henig 1984:32-3). The offering of first fruits or tithes might fall into this category, as could the deposition of bronze figurines, given their comparatively high value in terms of material and effort involved in their manufacture.

The clearest distinction between terracotta votives and the material discussed in 1.5.1-3 is that they appear to be models of *objects of* ritual rather than objects which were *part of* religious ritual. For example, livestock needed protecting, so a model of a cow was dedicated to the deities; an injured foot needed healing, so an anatomical ex-voto of a foot was dedicated. In contrast to this, a bronze figurine of someone in the attitude of supplication was a generic means of making a request of the deities, or payment in fulfilment of a request; likewise, the dedication of a bronze figurine of Hercules was *part of* a ritual requesting Hercules to protect the livestock, or payment to him for doing so; miniature vessels were in some cases used for making offerings or libations as *part of* the ritual. Ambiguities remain nonetheless: a terracotta cow may also represent a sacrificial victim, which gives it a very different role to the example above (and also raises issues of 'value'), so context and the life history of each artefact remain key issues (1.5.1).

The extent to which different types of votives represent or reflect changes in religious practice is therefore a question addressed by this thesis, whilst awareness of the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record is maintained. An unquantifiable proportion of material deposited as votive is archaeologically invisible. Most of this would be organic remains, which have left no trace, and metalwork that has been reused, recycled or displaced since the Iron Age. This highlights once again the relevance of taking a phenomenological approach to this topic.

1.6 Summary

The parameters of the thesis and archaeological evidence for Iron Age religion in Central Adriatic Italy have been described here. To summarise, votive deposits of full-size and miniature pottery, bronze figurines and terracotta objects clearly identify the natural features of water, caves and mountains as intrinsic to the sacred landscape of the region. These sacred sites were favoured over monumentalised temples and

sanctuaries, but where those are known they also have a strong relationship to natural features. This is one indicator that the communities inhabiting Central Adriatic Italy should be described as distinct from those beyond the geological boundaries used to define the region. Central Adriatic Italy will therefore also be referred to as 'Picenum', reflecting a broadly recognisable geographical area, defined by geological boundaries and a distinct material culture. In line with this, 'Picenes' is used as a catch-all term for the various communities inhabiting the area who, if not all part of the same socio-cultural group, can be identified as distinct from the communities north of the Vena del Gesso, south of the Gran Sasso, east of the Adriatic coast and west of the Apennines, by their archaeologically identifiable behaviour, surviving material culture and written languages. It is argued in Chapter 2 that their social organisation, settlements, burial customs and relations with visitors to the region, notably their trade relations, mark further distinctions, with the focus on sacred sites and sanctuaries in Chapters 3 to 6 accentuating these. This discussion of the salient aspects of the lived-world of the Iron Age populations is therefore considered essential grounding for investigation into the sacred landscape of Picenum.

Chapter 2

Picene society and culture: settlement and social organisation

> "Sacred landscapes are manifestations of world-views which populate a geographical area with a distinctive array of mythical, religious, or spiritual beings or essences. Each culture brings its own ideas to bear on the land it inhabits and, consequently, any analysis of sacred landscapes or the sacredness of place is a part of the analysis of how cultures conceptualize and classify (i.e. bring order to, and make sense of) the natural world"
>
> Saunders 1994:172

> "shared habitus engenders feelings of identification among people similarly endowed. Those feelings are consciously appropriated and given form through existing symbolic resources"
>
> Bentley 1991:173

Several Italian published works discuss the archaeological evidence for Picene society and culture, collating the excavation reports in order to present an account of Picene material culture, with an emphasis on material from burial contexts, and then using this to make an analysis of social organisation, settlement structure, relations with other populations, trade, technology and religion. The most recent and comprehensive of these works are Naso's *I Piceni*, which includes a fairly comprehensive bibliographic survey of Italian publications concerning Picenum, and the *Piceni popolo d'Europa* exhibition catalogue, which includes contributions from experts on the Iron Age region and includes extensive black and white and colour plates of the material, many of these reproducing earlier plates from the Marche Museum guides (e.g. Lollini 1989). These go some way towards supplementing Cianfarani's work on Central Adriatic cultures (1970; *et al* 1978), Landolfi's *I Piceni* and Lollini's 1976 publication, which otherwise remains the most comprehensive diagrammatic account of Picene material culture. Edited volumes, such as *La civiltà picena nelle Marche* (Dardari 1992), and the journal *Picus* flesh out some of the more general analyses by discussing particular sites or aspects of Picene society. This body of literature provides the backbone to the analysis of Picene society and culture presented here.

2.1 Introduction: questions of 'Picene' identity

No discussion of human interaction with their landscape can take place without considering who those people were - how they lived, what they valued, how they perceived themselves, how they portrayed themselves to each other and to the other cultural groups with whom they were in contact, and how other cultural groups

perceived them. These pre-requisites are considered here under the umbrella term, identity[1]. Why is identity important and to whom? We cannot be sure how the consciousness of Iron Age people compares with our own and so cannot make assumptions that identity mattered to them. Nevertheless, the archaeological record reveals extensive ritual practices pertaining to burial and religion, and highly crafted artefacts, notably bronze articles for personal adornment, suggesting that who they were and how they appeared to others was relevant to the communities of Central Adriatic Italy. The role of written language also has a place in this discussion. What can be discovered about the identities[2] of the people who inhabited, perceived and manipulated the landscape of Picenum from 900 to 268 BCE?

A group's identity need not be deliberate and conscious, but can equally be the accumulation of an infinite range of factors, or subsystems, both witting and unwitting, which weave together to form the tapestry of constructed identity (Wells 1980:4; also Jones 1997:26)[3]. The threads of life history that survive are only a sample of those that were woven into tapestries. For example, the incidence of burial assemblages is far greater than that of any other Picene context, making insight into the burial populations unrepresentative of the population as a whole (Morris 1987:202, 207; Osborne 1996:65-6). Nevertheless, these threads are rich and varied and part of some of those tapestries of the best artisanship and of the highest quality threads have survived to provide pictures of some of the people inhabiting the region (Thomas 1991:39-40).

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[1] Identity is concerned both with self-conceptualisation and with the way an individual or group is seen by others, 'perceived identity' (Jones 1997:xiii). It is therefore concerned with both a sense of belonging and with differences, with specific aspects of life which are made distinct from those of the next person or of neighbouring groups (Smith 1986:14, 30; Gosden 1994:113). Identity is therefore oxymoronic, concerned with creating boundaries between people, for the sake of creating a recognisable sense of commonality within the group (Dench 1995:22-3; Jones 1997:28). Some aspects of identity are consciously selected (subjective identity), but a number are unconsciously formed by the systems (habitual identity) (de Vos 1982:9; Yinger 1983:ix; Jones 1997: 62).

[2] A significant feature of identity is that it can be multiple: individuals will have a variety of identities, dependent on context (Bourdieu 1977:72; Bradley 1997b:54; Jones 1997:85).

[3] The model of cultures as an integrated series of subsystems was developed within 'new archaeology', primarily by Binford 1962; 1965 and Clarke 1972; Clarke and Chapman 1978. Examples of systems or subsystems are: topography and climate of environment, type of subsistence, clothing, customs, economics, politics, religion, language etc. A list of aspects of identity cannot be exhaustive, but for further discussion (including seemingly contentious terms) see: Cohen 1974:xvi-xvii; Wells 1980:4, 80-1; de Vos 1982:9; Smith 1986:2-4, 13-14, 26, 46, 93-5; Pallottino 1991:32; Earle 1991:5, 10 (for factors within political and environmental systems); Thomas 1991:39-40; Gosden 1994:47; Jones 1997:26, 28,40; Megaw and Megaw 1998:293, fig 1. Note that I am not following Smith's definition of identity (1986:14).

It is not possible to conveniently isolate the subsystems affecting identity, or to rank them in order of importance; rather we must consider the "webs of interconnections between people and things" (Gosden 1994:34). Change in social formation is a more subtle process, arising from the complex interplay of people with people, as well as people and things, i.e. anything that survives as material culture data, and territory (landscape or environment) (Gosden 1994:24, 34, 145; Knapp and Ashmore 1999:2; cf. 1.1; 1.3). Few interrelationships have left permanent physical imprints, but both the landscape and material culture contain and represent the majority of those that survive. Combined with the less tangible imprints of experience, perception and belief, as catalysed by religion, these will provide some insight into the identities of the communities[4] of Iron Age Picenum.

With regard to questions of social organisation and state formation in Picenum, the Iron Age was a period of change, which culminated in the 'Romanisation' of the region. The establishment of Roman settlements from the mid-third century, imposing the physical and political infrastructures of the Roman state on the region, curtailed the earlier stages of Picene state formation. Social organisation does not equal identity, but is integral to shaping group, as well as individual, identities. So, this chapter considers *whom* we are investigating and *how* those people were organised within the geographic region defined in 1.4. The following hypotheses for Picene social organisation are mooted:

1. At least two socio-cultural[5] groups dominated the region, in the north and south.
2. These socio-cultural groups consisted of smaller, independent, communities, physically focused on the river valleys intersecting the region.
3. These communities were based on a non-urban tribal structure.
4. An intensification of social organisation and the earlier stages of state formation[6] occurred in the sixth to fifth centuries, noticeably in the south.

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[4] Where a community is defined as a group of people bound by place and/or by shared ethos or behaviour. Usually people living in a locale, bound in part, but not necessarily exclusively, by kinship or clan ties, focused on a particular settlement (e.g. village) or collection of dispersed settlements (e.g. farms), or on a cemetery or sacred site. A comparative example of those bound by shared ethos or behaviour is the 'war-making horde' (Thomson 1949:11-13).

[5] A collection of communities occupying a wider geographic region, loosely bonded by a shared culture (e.g. customs, social organisation, tabus).

[6] The danger in using the term 'state formation' is that it implies a progression that will almost inevitably result in an association with urbanisation as a goal. 'Social organisation' is therefore preferred and henceforth will be used to describe all social organisation of Picenum's populations,

5. Populations throughout Picenum valued a 'warrior ideal' throughout the Iron Age, which affected the structure of their society.

In order to test these hypotheses this chapter examines the evidence pertaining to settlement (habitation and subsistence), burial and interregional relations, although these components should not be seen in isolation but as parts of a coherent whole. Discussion of the evidence for religion is minimal, since this is the focus of the rest of the thesis. Ultimately, testing of these hypotheses contextualises the investigation of religious practices and experiences in Picenum. The discussion is also prefixed by an introduction to the theoretical debate on Iron Age social organisation (and how current theory might be applied to Picenum), since this colours most of the published work on social organisation and state formation. This debate also provides a suitable starting point from which to discuss the concept of the 'warrior ideal'.

2.2 Social organisation and the neo-evolutionary model

> "Societies are seen as complexes of symbolic and conceptual codes. Each individual partakes of these codes and is shaped by them, but does not have full control of any of them. Creation is as much a social force, deriving from the broad changes in symbolic forms, as an individual act. Cultures are thus social products rather than deriving solely or mainly from the genius of individuals abundantly imbued with the spirit of their time."
>
> Gosden 1994:47

The inherent problem with the linear model, described in archaeology as the neo-evolutionary model[7], is the implicit 'progression' from social discontinuity to continuity, chaos to order (Rowlands 1998:66). It is hypothesised that the communities of Picenum remained organised in a broadly tribal system until the urbanisation of the region by the Romans. It is entirely possible for sophisticated social structures to exist without becoming either urbanised (an implicit factor of 'progression' to the state) or numerically dominant (a feature of many states) (Smith 1986). Rather than being rejected outright, a modified neo-evolutionary model, with a less linear structure, is accepted here, taking into account two points made by Kristiansen (1991:16) and Gosden (1994:6, 192). One of Gosden's criticisms of the

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including the indicators of state formation. This is based on Cherry's definition of the state as "a specific form of permanently stratified, hierarchical socio-political organization characterized by a high degree of internal heterogeneity and the existence of economic and political special interest groups, notably a managerial elite enjoying the benefits of effective concentration of coercive force and maintained by negative reciprocity in commodity, energy and information flows" (1978:411).

[7] For development of this model see Sahlins 1958; 1963; 1987; Service 1962; 1975; Renfrew 1982; Renfrew and Cherry 1986. It was first challenged by Hodder 1986, then Shanks and Tilley 1987, Ch 6. For most recent discussion and criticism see Earle 1991:xi; Kristiansen 1991:16; 1998:71-3; Gosden 1994:2, 144-5; Bradley 2000a:17.

neo-evolutionary model is that, rather than being linear, change was a gradual process, with lived-in or functional time based around the identity of any particular social group. For example, religious rituals might be practised at different times and for different reasons within families, or amongst individual settlement groups, whilst some festivals might include a wider geographical community (Bradley 1987; 1998b:88-90; Gosden 1994:6). The scale and pace of interaction may have encouraged change over varying lengths of time and this would also have varied from place to place both within Picenum and also between Picenum and other regions. Gosden's notion of a temporal structure is useful for scrutinising the finer points of the evidence for the Picenes, looking at the changes within the region, in addition to the continuities (Gosden 1994:192; see also Pallottino 1991:30). It is then possible to reconcile some of the recent concepts of gradual change, varying spatially and temporally throughout the region, with nuances in the neo-evolutionary model, such as allowing tribal communities to co-exist with simple and complex chiefdoms within a broad and arbitrarily defined territory (Earle 1991; Kristiansen 1991; 1998; Gosden 1994; Baldelli 1999a:56)[8].

The evidence to support this conclusion is presented below, and is based around the five archaeologically visible locales of social organisation (after Bradley 2000a:57):

- settlement (including subsistence)
- cemetery, burial
- sacred site, sanctuary
- public meeting place
- market, port

These locales serve functions categorised as: residence, subsistence, manufacture, trade and exchange, religious ritual, politics and administration, protection from attack, burial. Some overlap of functions and locales exists, for example, a settlement will be a residence, but may also have a role as a public meeting place and place of manufacture, trade and exchange.

Although the evidence for Iron Age settlements is fragmentary, the case for villages is stronger than that for towns, partly because one would expect urban centres to have

[8] This multiplicity within the neo-evolutionary model is further illustrated by Leach's observation that there are more than fifty types of chiefdom (Leach 1979).

left a more visible mark on the landscape (as the Roman towns in the plains have done). It is noteworthy that stone building materials were readily available in Picenum, but were rarely used in construction during the Iron Age. In addition to the abundant limestone (quarries have been found on M Cónero and in the Pésaro area), travertine was available at Áscoli Piceno and a white tufa, specific to Picenum, Umbria and Venezia, is recorded by Vitruvius (*De Archit* 2.7; Dall'Aglio *et al* 1992; Naso 2000:18). So, there is no physical reason why the Picenes should not have constructed urban centres and monumental sanctuaries on the scale found in Etruria, or in the Umbrian peak sanctuaries. However, urbanisation is not a prerequisite for sophisticated levels of social organisation and the lack of archaeological evidence for the urbanisation of Iron Age Picenum should not lead us into the trap of assuming simplistic social organisation. Parallels with this can be found in Samnium, whose communities played a dominant role in the Social War, despite their non-urban structure (Bradley 2000a:31; cf. Cornell 1995:345-6). So, it will be argued that life in Picenum primarily centred on the settlement, with the cemetery and sanctuary central to a community becoming a ritual focus, and the public meeting places, markets and ports becoming social, political and economic foci, at particular times, and with the central authority having a role in maintaining harmony in the region, via communication with other central authorities.

Whilst 'central authorities' are difficult to define precisely in Iron Age Picenum, some further contextualisation is possible. Whether the structure of a society is kinship based or subsistence based, a central authority will emerge, although it may not be stable. Power, might, ability, knowledge, achievements, wealth, age and/or gender are the factors most likely to affect the selection process (whether this is self-selection or election by the group, achieved or inherited authority). The presence of a central authority and of some level of social hierarchy in Iron Age Picenum is suggested by three bodies of evidence: a series of monumental inscriptions that include mention of 'princes' or 'elders' (Appendix III; 2.6); numerous 'princely burials' that include bronze and other grave goods, many of which are within monumental tumuli (2.3); and sanctuaries (Chapters 3 and 5). It is noteworthy that each of these belongs to the ritual sphere.

The other notable feature of these three bodies of evidence is that monuments predominate in each. All of these 'monuments'[9] are strong visual symbols with a ritual function, which represent power and knowledge: they create or underline the distinction between self-representation (and self-conceptualisation) and relationship to others. The need for numbers of people to participate in the construction of these monuments would have created the perception of a group identity, which was visible to, but excluded, outsiders. People who were not involved in the projects would be seen as, and see themselves as, outside the group, since their knowledge and understanding of the monuments was limited (although this does not mean that all would remain permanently excluded). The construction of tumuli and stone monuments in cemeteries such as Campovalano, Capestrano, Novilara, Numana, Belmonte Piceno and Penna S Andrea, also fall into this category. The scale of construction was smaller than for urbanisation, which is one indicator that Picene communities remained organised on a broadly tribal system (kinship- or clan-based), with localised concentrations of wealth and resources, throughout the Iron Age[10].

The motivations for these numbers of people to act together to implement a common project would have varied: they may have volunteered or been coerced, they may have included inhabitants of one, or more than one, community. In most cases, particularly where human and economic resources had to be pooled, key individuals are likely to have been involved in the organisation, although this does not mean that they were leaders at other times, or in other situations. These individuals may have been the wealthiest, the most powerful, or the most respected people - the elders, the priesthood, the idealised warriors etc. - from one community, or from several communities. In other words, monumentalised public spaces (which include sanctuaries) might indicate that a community had a central authority, although this should not be equated with a fixed or stable hierarchy. For example, a new tribal leader might have persuaded or coerced the tribe into monumentalising a sacred site, but this might have been motivated by a desire to demonstrate his/her power or to consolidate his/her position and may represent an isolated event. Cherry's application of the dendritic system[11] to state formation describes managerial elites buffering

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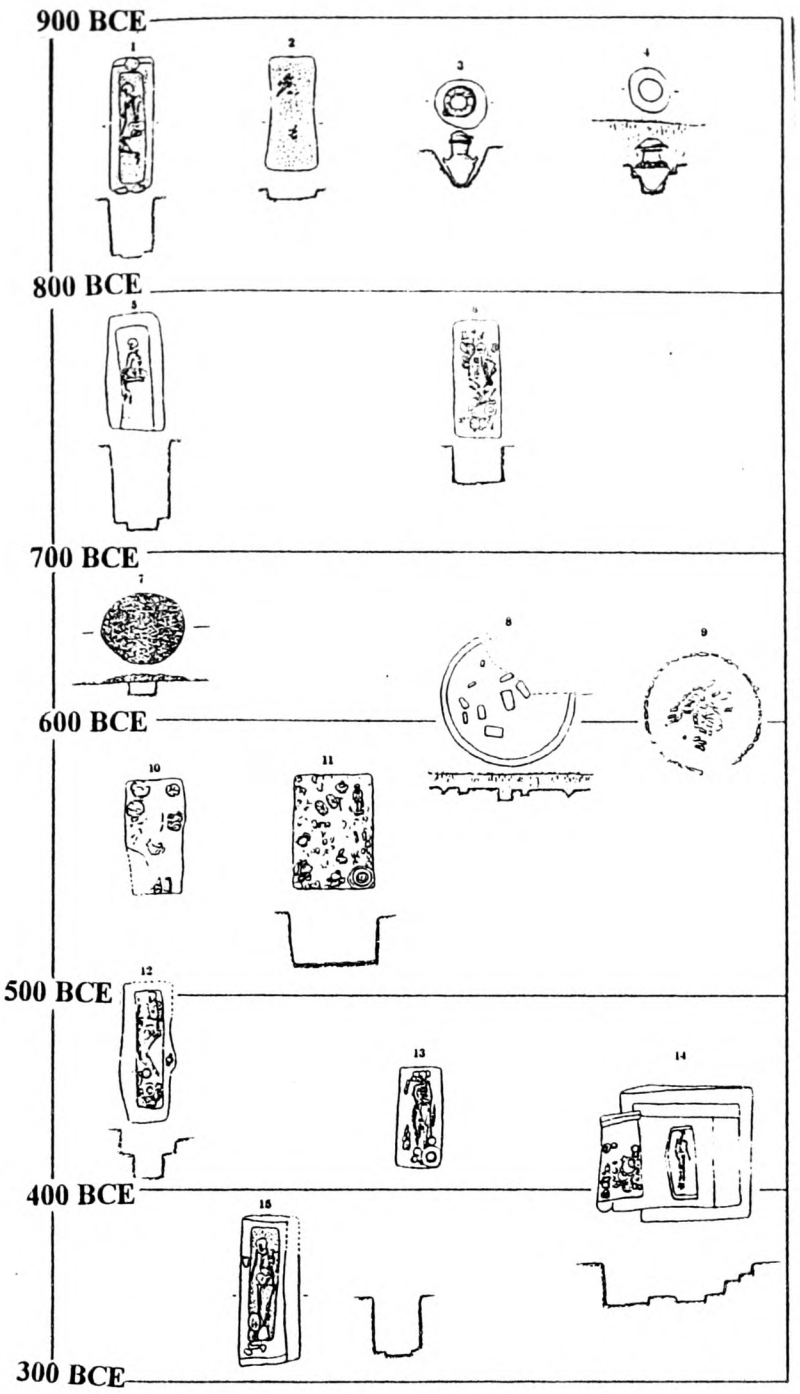
[9] See Whitley 1998:322.
[10] For discussion of the dynamics between economic wealth and chiefdoms see Cherry 1978; Wells 1980; Renfrew and Shennan 1982; Renfrew and Cherry 1986; Renfrew 1986; Bradley 1993.
[11] The exploitation of a peripheral area by means of a linked system of nodal points, centred on a primary town, which is usually a port (Collis 1984:21).

themselves from instability and collapse by large energy inputs, achieved through storing the energy as "monumental architecture, bureaucracy, sumptuary goods etc" (Cherry 1978:425-6). This model might suggest that where monumentalisation occurs in Picenum, notably, several cemeteries of the seventh century and the sanctuaries of the fourth century, the initial stages of state formation should be identified. They might equally indicate that central authorities were engaged in inter-regional competition, hence the monuments being at sites arguably shared by multiple communities. The concentrations of sumptuary goods in particular cemeteries in Picenum may indicate that the dendritic system was active in pockets within the region, but the low levels of monumentalisation and lack of urbanisation suggest that the issues of instability were never overcome. In juxtaposition with Picenum, the dendritic model works particularly well for Etruria, with evidence of buffering at the increasingly large, urbanised centres such as Veii and Cerveteri, in terms of monumentalisation and sumptuary goods, especially in burial contexts (Barker and Rasmussen 1998:151-3, 156; Haynes 2000:88-95; 204-20).

2.3 Cemeteries, 'weapon burial ritual' and the 'warrior ideal'

> "In societies with martial traditions there are often specific, ritualised forms of behaviour with material culture, especially weapons"
>
> Roymans 1996:16-17

Throughout pre- and protohistory burials were largely invisible, so the archaeologically visible burials found in Picenum from the ninth century onwards, with inhumation favoured over cremation, represented a public act (Map II; fig 2.1). Numerous factors related to identity were at play: the selection of the burial site, the physical action of preparing it and the impact of this on the landscape; the preparation and storage of the body whilst this was carried out; the choice of grave goods, how these were selected and obtained; who performed the ritual; who attended the burial; what happened after the burial. Funerals and burials were therefore not only rites of passage for the deceased, but also for the other individuals who participated. They were loci for the creation and/or reinforcement of personal and cultural identities (of all parties concerned) (Morris 1987:202; Thomas 1991; Parker Pearson 1999:72-94; Whitley 2002:227). Grave goods played an important symbolic role: they identified the deceased, their family and community to anyone who attended *or heard about* the burial. The story of the burial would have contributed to the family and/or community



1 Tomb 139 Colle Cardeto, Ancona
2 Tomb 1 Giulietti, Numana
3 Tomb 7 Colle Cardeto, Ancona
4 Tomb 52 Quagliotti, Sirolo-Numana
5 Tomb 14 Colle Cardeto, Ancona
6 Tomb 92 Servici, Novilara (Plate 2.5)
7 S Maria del Campo, Fabriano
8 Davanzali, Sirolo-Numana
9 Tomb 5 contrada Bura, Tolentino (fig 2.4)
10 Tomb 1 Sant'Egidio, Tolentino
11 Tomb 2 Campli
12 Tomb 225 Davanzali, Sirolo-Numana
13 Tomb 22 contrada Settedolori, Tolentino
14 Tomb 185 Quagliotti, Sirolo-Numana
15 Tomb 506 Davanzali, Sirolo-Numana

Fig 2.1 Typology of Picene burials (after Landolfi 1988:365 tav 2)

identity as much as the burial rites and may have been embellished over time. This raises the issue of authenticity and demonstrates that power lay within the ability to tell stories and perpetuate myths. However, the value placed on the grave goods is a crucial part of this. Where these represented wealth or status, this reflected on the perceived identity of the individual and anyone associated with them (Parker Pearson 1999:94). Where grave goods were associated with a specific function, such as arms, they acted as signifiers of a person's identity, although these cannot be taken in isolation.

Votive deposition at burial and sacred sites marks the end of (a phase of) the life of an artefact, so it seems to reflect the values and beliefs of the community or individuals involved in the ritual (Bradley 1998b:33-4). Whilst the archaeological record may not always reveal whether these rituals were acts of free will or coercion, in either case they reflect the values of at least some members of a community. The higher the

incidence of a specific practice, particularly where this is measured against the geographical extent of the practice, the more likely it is to reflect the values of the majority of community members (and less likely it is to be a result of coercion). Given these parameters, it seems that the 'warrior ideal'[12], exemplified by 'weapon burial ritual' (or 'rite'), was valued by the Picenes and may reflect a significant aspect of their social organisation (Härke 1990; 1992:226; 2000:377; Whitley 2002:218).

Typically described as 'warrior graves', 'princely burials' or 'chariot burials', several burials with rich grave goods[13] occur throughout Picenum, throughout the Iron Age (although predominantly from the seventh to fifth centuries) (Lollini 1989; Naso 2000:120 fig 10). An early example of weapon burial ritual was found in Tomb 78 of the Misericordia cemetery at Fermo. This eighth century cremation in a biconic vase was accompanied by a Fermo type antenna sword with an embossed sheath, a bronze pectoral with embossed decoration, and an iron fibula, all manufactured locally (Franchi dell'Orto 1999:197-8 cat 100-102; Naso 2000:67)[14].

By the seventh century rich inhumation burials were made in the cemeteries of central Picenum at Fabriano (S Maria in Campo), Tolentino (S Egidio) and Pitino di S Severino. The type of weapon burial ritual accompanying these burials was diverse. For example, Tomb 20 Grottazzolina and a tomb at S Egidio contained wheels of two-wheeled chariots, showing parallels with Etruscan princely burials of the orientalising period (e.g. the Tomb of the Chariots, Populonia), whereas the three tumulus burials at Fabriano included defensive bronze arms (three locally manufactured shields with embossed human, animal and geometric designs, two composite helmets made in northern Picenum, a pair of greaves and a Vetulonian bronze belt), offensive arms (two axes and two javelins), two Central Italic *kotylai* with feline decoration, and imported Etruscan bronze-ware (Lollini 1976:146 fig 17; Haynes 2000:100-103; Naso 2000:101-5, 107). Such burials represent the 'warrior ideal', which is distinct from 'being a warrior' and is not confined to the male gender. The term 'weapon burial

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[12] "un'etica guerresca" (Frey 1999:23).

[13] Whilst it appears that the archaeologically visible grave goods, largely bronze, iron and ceramic objects, were (on the whole) high value items, we should remain aware that other, organic, grave goods, which have not survived archaeologically, may have had equal or even higher value.

[14] A comparable burial from Quattro Fontanili, whilst more elaborate, indicates that the 'warrior ideal' was present in Etruria from the eighth century (Close-Brooks 1965; Potter 1976: 65-6; Barker and Rasmussen 1998:78-9, fig 29).

ritual' is adopted here since it makes none of the assumptions regarding elite social status, which are inherent in the other terms.

In his discussion of the Central European Iron Age Roymans notes that "(i)n the epic texts, martiality is not an objective in itself, but is part of more comprehensive patterns of social interaction between groups" (1996:13). The 'weapon burial ritual' tombs that emerged in Picenum during Picene I-II, continued through Picene III (the orientalising period) and flourished in Picene IVA-B could be seen as reflective of such an ethos. In other words, the arms present within 'warrior' burials were symbolic beyond the martial role. The warrior ideal can be identified in Picenum's archaeological record by the incidence of arms and banqueting equipment in burial contexts, the comparatively high incidence of artistic representations of warriors and horses (cf. Franchi dell'Orto 1999:246 cat 407-410) and by the prevalent bronze 'warrior' figurines (1.5.4). This raises issues of biases in preservation and excavation, in light of which we should beware of attributing too great a significance to 'weapon ritual burial'. However, the very fact that these assemblages survive *is* significant: the objects deposited as grave goods are all high value items in terms of effort-expense involved in their manufacture and their deliberate deposition seemingly indicative of a desire to show respect for or to immortalise the deceased and/or their representatives, or to appease ancestral and other spirits (Parker Pearson 1999:94). A great deal of variation occurs between Picene weapon burials and it is rare for a burial to contain a single artefact attributable to 'weapon burial ritual'. A number of the richest burials were eventually covered with a monumental tumulus and tend to occur in cemeteries which had the longest use, for example, Novilara, Sirolo-Numana, Pitino di S Severino, Belmonte Piceno, Campovalano and Capestrano. The question then is why were some people buried with extensive grave goods? Broadly speaking, the rich 'weapon burial ritual' graves spanning the seventh to fourth centuries contain a range of offensive and defensive arms, including bronze or iron swords, spear heads, axes, maces and daggers; bronze helmets, shields and heart protectors with incised decoration and, more rarely, body armour (usually greaves), chariots (of which only the wheels tend to survive) and horse-bits (Lollini 1989:figs 12, 20, 35-6; Franchi dell'Orto 1999: 73-85, 112-22, cat 158, 162-4, 176-92, 449, 453; Naso 2000:82, 113-14, tavv 7-9, 15-17, 20-6, 30-5, 37-41). The banqueting equipment comprises artefacts largely of Picene, Etruscan and, later, Greek manufacture and includes iron

or bronze firedogs, spits, meat hooks (creagra), tripods, bronze and ceramic drinking vessels (kraters, oinochoe, etc.), often with moulded decoration, buckets (situlae) and cists (Marconi 1935; Lollini 1989 figs 13, 15, 18, 27-34; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:122-6, cat 150-75, 204, 321-3; Naso 2000:113, tavv 26, 36, 42, 53-60; fig 2.2). It is these burials that reflect the warrior ideal most strongly.

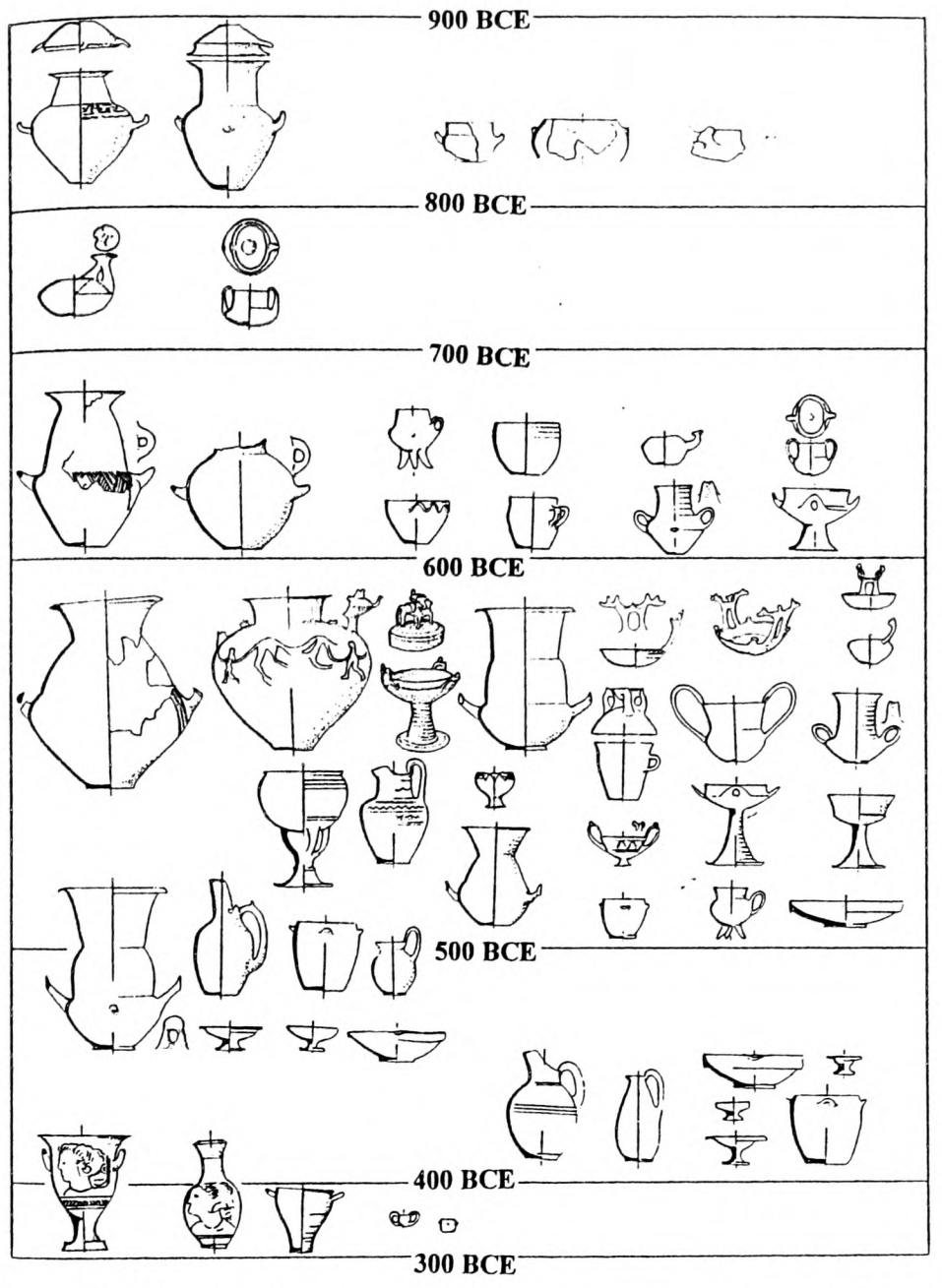


Fig 2.2 Typology of Picene pottery, notably biconic urns and banqueting equipment (after Landolfi 1988:367 tav 5)

These burials were less elaborate than those of seventh century Etruria and show as many differences as similarities in terms of funeral rites, burial architecture and grave goods; for example, the Picenes favoured inhumation and the Etruscans cremation. The wealth of orientalising material entering Etruria in the seventh century and its effect on Etruscan society is well documented (Rathje 1979; 1983; 1990; Barker and Rasmussen 1998:118-31; Haynes 2000:47-133). This wealth and the status that accompanied it catalysed monumentalisation of the region: the settlements became urbanised and the cemeteries were characterised by 'princely tombs', large tombs and tumuli arranged randomly, each containing a range of high value grave goods. Bronze

arms, banqueting equipment, Attic ceramics and bronze vessels were amongst the grave goods, as well as artefacts that served no practical function, such as an oversized gold fibula found in the Regolini-Galassi tomb (Cerveteri) (Gran Aymerich 1979; Cristofani 1996a:91-3, fig 24; Barker and Rasmussen 1998:234-5, fig 89; Haynes 2000:77, fig 57)[15]. An aristocracy was born out of the warrior ideal in Etruria, but this did not happen on the same scale in Picenum. One of the more significant outcomes of the orientalising period to emerge for Picenum is that despite the region's contacts with Etruria, it is not absorbed into the Tyrrhenian thalassocracy. That Etruria was westward-looking may be a partial explanation, as may be the emergence of Umbria as a geographical region, but Picenum cannot have been seen as presenting any threat to the region[16]. The orientalising period was important in Picenum for what the region did not become.

The ability to deposit varying quantities and qualities of arms and banqueting equipment as grave goods reflects wealth differentiation within the region, sometimes within a single community (e.g. Novilara, Numana, Fabriano) and sometimes between communities (e.g. Moie di Pollenza and Tolentino) (Naso 2000:82, 101). For example, the grave goods from the Belmonte Piceno cemetery are, on average, richer than those of its neighbours, yet a higher incidence of burials displaying 'weapon burial ritual' occurs at nearby Grottazzolina (Marconi 1935; Naso 2000:127-9, 183-4; Map IIb). Artefacts associated with 'weapon burial ritual' do not prove the existence of an elite, although they suggest some social differentiation, nor do they prove that the wealthier members of a community were the central authority. However, there appears to be a direct correlation between rich burials, routes of communication and trade, with the most sumptuous grave goods occurring in burials belonging to cemeteries (and therefore settlements) at geographically important nodes of exchange, such as Pésaro-Novilara, Ancona and Sirolo-Numana, Cupra Marittima, Pitino di S Severino and Matelica (Villa Clara). For example, the settlement at Pitino di S Severino occupied a naturally fortified position overlooking the Potenza valley and the route of the later Via Flaminia, Tolentino occupied a strategic position in the

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[15] Cremation followed by interment in a chamber tomb with great quantities of high value grave goods would have been a highly visible and effort-expensive ritual, so, by Binford's principle, the Etruscan 'princely tombs' are at the top of the effort-expense scale: "the higher the social rank of the deceased, the greater the corporate involvement in the funeral, and the greater the amount of energy expended in the interment ritual" (Barker and Rasmussen 1998:123; see Binford 1972).

[16] For discussion of the possibility of the earliest Umbrian territories reaching to the Po valley and Adriatic coast, and including parts of Etruria, see Bradley (2000:20-2).

fertile hills above the Chienti and Fabriano (S Maria in Campo) dominated the Fossato di Vico pass (Naso 2000:122). This suggests that the attributes of the idealised warrior were valued throughout the region, with individual communities seeking to portray this image of themselves to their neighbours, whilst trade wealth enabled those communities, and probably particular individuals and families within them, to achieve this (Marconi 1935:270; Moscatelli 1977:193; Percossi Serenelli 1981:138; Luni 1996:343). This would have had the cumulative effect of impacting on the perceived identity of the Picene socio-cultural group to their regional neighbours, probably because the populations of these regions valued a similar ideal, which may be a result of the actual aristocracy present in Etruria and contacts with Greece (Marconi 1935:270). Trade and exchange between Picenum and other regions seems to have catalysed and facilitated this behaviour (2.5). Routes of communication such as the Esino/Sentino, Potenza and Chienti valleys carried artefacts, wealth and the warrior ideal from the Adriatic coast to the Apennines. It seems likely that as many 'warrior burials' belonged to wealthy merchants as to the 'central authority'.

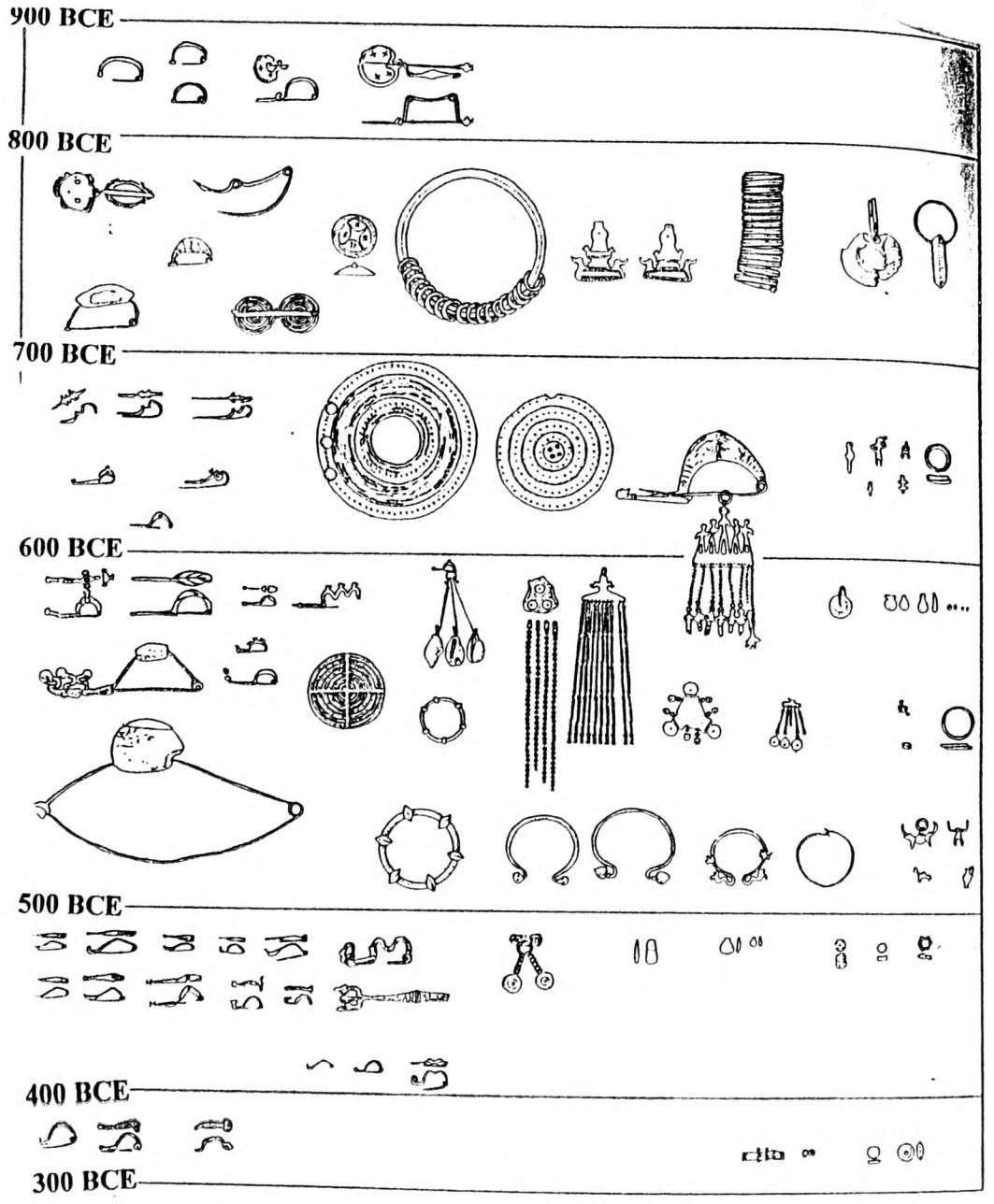


Fig 2.3 Typology of Picene articles of personal adornment (after Landolfi 1988:368 tav 6)

Whitley notes that in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the biographies of high value objects (usually of precious metal or unusual material) intertwine with the biographies of the heroes, raising or reinforcing the status of both (Whitley 2002:221). Parallels can be seen in Picenum, with the prevalence in burial contexts of effort-expensive bronze artefacts (elaborate pendants, 'heart-protectors' (*dischi-corazza*), rings (*anelli*), vessels with moulded decoration, and arms) (fig 2.3) and the widespread use of good quality Baltic amber, the value of which was based on its properties, symbolism and on the distance it travelled (Strong 1966:1, 10-11; Thomas 1996:154-5, 182)[17]. This is a further indicator that people engaged in manufacture and trade in Picenum developed the warrior ideal.

Kristiansen has recently argued that leather armour could have been worn underneath the delicate bronze body armour and helmets found in burials (2002). The example of a composite helmet of the Novilara type, with remains of organic material lining the inside, illustrates his point (Naso 2000:tav 41). Damage to skeletons, armour and weapons is rarely noted in descriptions of Picene burials, but the incidence of undamaged arms and skeletons without traumatic injuries appears greater than those showing signs of battle[18]. A rare example of an injury is the lesion in the skull of the individual buried in Tomb 90 (Servici) at Novilara. S/he was buried with a spear and dagger, but is one of only two individuals with traumatic injuries, indicating that s/he was not part of an organised army. This suggests that fine bronze arms and banqueting equipment belonged to high status individuals, were awarded as prizes to high achievers, or were traded/exchanged as luxury items, and that the examples from burials had a ceremonial or symbolic function (Spivey and Stoddart 1990:129). Incidence of one or two daggers and spears should perhaps be categorised separately given the likelihood of most adult members of a community owning arms as means of protection against predators and hostile individuals. This highlights the blurring of the pastoral/martial role, which is also indicated by the bronze votive figurines (1.5.4; *infra*).

If 'weapon burial ritual' identifies the 'warrior ideal', rather than 'a warrior', what did it represent? Arms and banqueting equipment owe their association with the image of

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[17] Amber beads were amongst the artefacts described in Homer (*Odyssey* 15.460; 18.295).
[18] This is one of the issues addressed by current work on arms from Central Italy (Burns pers. comm.)

the warrior largely to Homeric epic, to the *Iliad* in particular[19]. Whilst there is much in the behaviour of the Homeric characters that undermines the perfect warrior image, heroic values are clearly stated (*Il* 1.141-221). There is also a noticeable emphasis on the types of artefacts that the warrior is expected to value, an obvious example being Agamemnon's gifts to Achilles (*Il* 9.145-8). It is probable that Greek colonists and those involved in trade brought the Homeric epic to Italy in the eighth century and that this permeated to Picenum[20]. The grave goods deposited in the 'weapon burial ritual' symbolised the qualities of *kudos* – honour, bravery, courage, peak physical fitness - and *xenia*, which comprise the warrior ideal (Frey 1999:23).

Another aspect of the Picene warrior ideal to be influenced by the Homeric tradition was the use of tumuli[21] (monumental circular burial mounds covering one or more *fossa* burials, e.g. S Maria in Campo) and circular burials (one or more *fossa* burials encircled by stones, e.g. Fossa) (d'Ercole 1999b:67 fig 46; Schickler 1999:28; Landolfi 1999a:74-6; Naso 2000:101). Examples of tumuli and circular burials have been found in Picenum at Novilara (eighth century), Casalecchio di Reno, Sirolo-Numana, S Maria in Campo (Fabriano) (three tumuli dating to 700-650), Matelica (Villa Clara), M Penna di Pitino S Severino, Tolentino (fig 2.4), Moie di Pollenza, Campovalano, Fossa and Capestrano (seventh century) (d'Ercole 1999b:67; de Marinis and Silvestrini 1999:76-8; Sgubini Moretti 1999:79-81; d'Ercole 1999a:81-3; Baldelli 1999b:83-5; Naso 2000:82, 101, 110-21,134-7, 165 fig 14, 167 fig 15). Several of these were accompanied by a stone statue (e.g. Casalecchio di Reno, Sirolo-Numana, Capestrano) or anthropomorphic stelae, amongst which are twenty-three inscribed stelae, representing all but four examples of Picene written language (Marinetti 1985; Colonna 1992)[22].

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[19] Frey equates the rich burials of the seventh century with "un'aristocrazia forse non differente da quella che si trova rappresentata nei poemi di Omero" (1999:21).
[20] Homeric scenes were often depicted on Attic pottery, but one of the earliest examples from Central Italy is a vessel from Tomb 297, Monte Abetone necropolis, Cerveteri, dating to the second quarter of the seventh century, which appears to show Helen appealing to Menelaos (Haynes 2000:53-5, fig 35).
[21] In the *Iliad* Hera promises a suitable burial for Sarpedon, "with a tumulus and a stele" (*Il* 16.458).
[22] Evidence for the warrior ideal in written language is explored in 2.6.

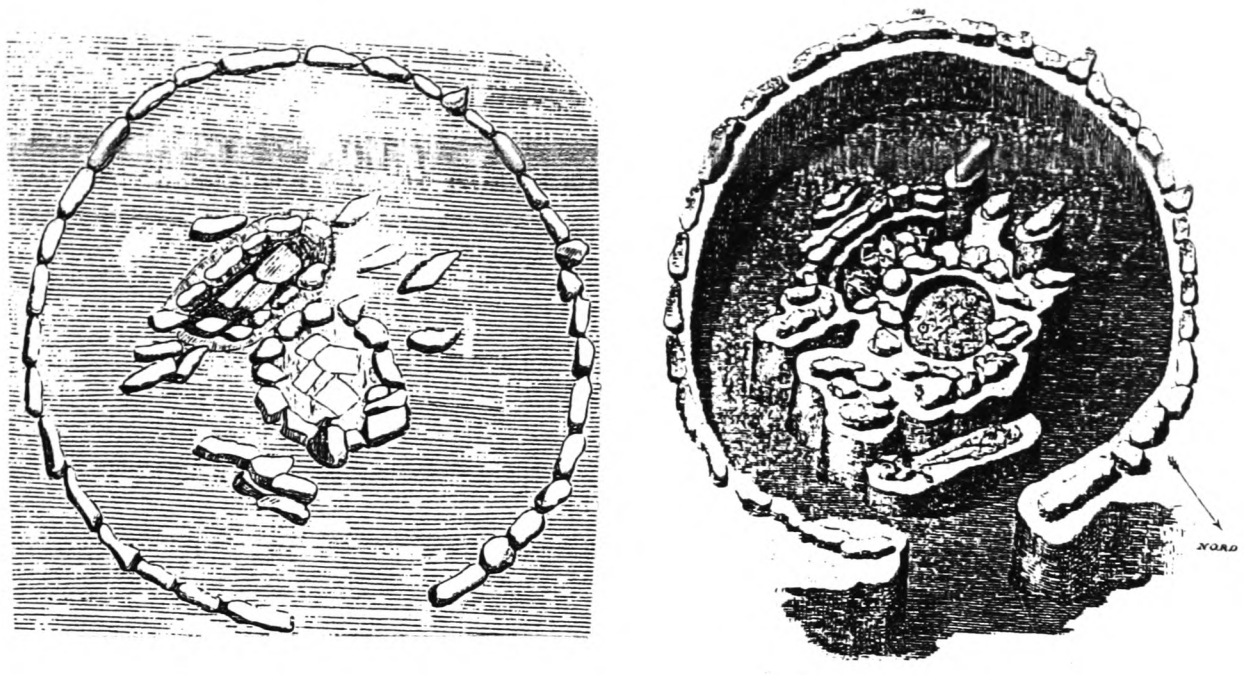


Fig 2.4 Seventh century tumulus burial, Tomb 5 contrada Bura, Tolentino (after Naso 2000:165 fig 14) See also fig 2.1 (9)

The organisation of the cemeteries to include tumulus tombs and circular burials, both enclosing several *fossa* burials, implies that the local communities for each of these cemeteries were relatively close-knit, since both effort and expense were put into the burials. The incidence of tumulus burials across a wide geographic area (notably central and southern Picenum, Central Italy, especially Etruria, and west central Europe) is indicative of the extent of communication across Europe and the Mediterranean by the seventh century, whilst the existence of different burial types alongside one another (e.g. Fabriano, Moie di Pollenza), exemplifies the autonomy and diversity of individual Picene communities. For example, tumulus burials were adopted in the Potenza/Chienti area in particular, yet the two cemeteries at Fabriano show distinct differences from one another (fig 2.5; cf. Suano 1991:66).

Sacramento	**S Maria in Campo**
1.5km N of Fabriano	3km NE of Fabriano
12 *fossa* burials	3 individual tumulus tombs
Bronze articles for personal adornment; locally made ceramics	Bronze offensive and defensive arms; Etruscan bronze-ware and 8 locally made vessels
700-520 BCE	700-650 BCE

Fig 2.5 Comparison of the two Fabriano cemeteries (after Naso 2000:101)

The presence of tumulus burials with stone statues in the Württemburg region, between the Danube and the Rhine valley, on the coast of northern Picenum and in the river valleys of central and southern Picenum suggests that the adoption of this

practice followed the amber trade route (cf. Frey 1999:19 figs 9-10). For example, the European tumulus burials from Württemburg date from the Early to Late Halstatt, (ca 700-450), so are contemporaneous with the burials in Picenum. The tomb architecture and grave goods show extensive parallels with the Italic burials (Wells 1980:15). The amber objects in each burial were the products of Mediterranean workshops and the only items not local to the Württemburg region (Herrmann 1970). Several comparisons have also been made between the Capestrano warrior and the Hirschlanden and Glauberg statues, since they show some stylistic similarities and were all found associated with tumuli on the amber route (Zürn 1970; Wells 1980:77; Frey 1999:18-23; Schickler 1999; Herrmann 1999; fig 2.6).



Fig 2.6 Reconstruction of the Hirschlanden statue *in situ* on tumulus (after Leonberg and Schultzen in Zürn 1970:68, fig 35)

Meanwhile, burial practices and grave goods amongst Picenum's neighbours developed in similar, but distinct, directions[23]. For example, tumulus and circular burials are found to the south (e.g. at Guardiagrele and Celano), but grave goods show some variation, including triple-disc heart protectors and châtelaines, as well as local styles of swords, belts, fibulae and pendants (Cianfarani 1969 tavv 9, 19, 27-8, 31, 36-7; d'Ercole in Franchi dell'Orto 1999 cat 565; Suano 1991:70 fig 3; Marchegiani 1999:71, 83, 90-1). Examples of bronze and ceramic vessels with moulded animal décoration, similar to those from Picenum, and imported vessels, such as Rhodian wine jugs and Daunian pottery, also occur in these burials, indicating that trade routes continued southwards, with artefacts largely restricted to the sub-Apennine lowlands (Cianfarani 1969 tavv 42-3, 76; Suano 1991:67-8). It is possible that burial practices were influenced by those in Picenum and Sabinum, since cemeteries developed here slightly later than those in northern and central Picenum. Like those of Sabinum,

[23] For discussion of Etruscan tumulus and chamber tombs see Cristofani 1978 figs 33-5; Gran Aymerich 1979; Colonna and von Hase 1984:fig 11; Barker and Rasmussen 1998:234-5, fig 89; Haynes 2000 figs 53, 65, 79-80.

bodies were buried in an extended position (e.g. Tomb 40 Val Fondillo at Opi, Tomb 434 Alfedena, Tombs 8 and 9, Loreto Aprutino), whereas Picenes tended to be flexed (e.g. Tomb 92 Servici, Plate 2.1) (Cianfarani 1969 figs 7-9; Suano 1991:66; Franchi dell'Orto 1999 cat 107; Marchegiani 1999:90).



Plate 2.1 Tomb 92 Servici (Pigorini Museum). See also fig 2.1 (6)

The two best-recorded Umbrian cemeteries dating to the ninth and eighth centuries are at Colfiorito and Terni (the Acciaierie cemetery). The grave goods are indicative of an 'Umbrian culture', more specifically of a 'Terni-Colfiorito facies', which was influenced by the material culture of the Sabine and Latial areas, revealing that communities immediately west of the Apennines were westward looking, whilst those east of the Apennines were influenced by the Adriatic (Bonomi Ponzi 1991:144). This

provides further evidence that the Apennines acted as a boundary, although, as we shall see, they became less of a boundary to communication of goods and ideas as the Iron Age progressed. The seventh century saw more Umbrian cemeteries come into use, with numbers of grave goods, including imported artefacts, increasing. Etruscan influence is visible in the grave goods found in the cemeteries associated with Amelia, Todi, Bettona, *Arna* and Colfiorito, as well as in the burial architecture of the chambered tombs at Otricoli (Bonomi Ponzi 1996; Bradley 2000a:46).

It appears that the weapon burial rituals of Picenum reflected the values of honour, courage and loyalty to the social group, which are intrinsic to the warrior ideal, so where these rituals occur it is implied that the deceased had these qualities. S/he may have had an actual martial role, or may merely have demonstrated these qualities; or the mourners may have been creating an association between themselves and these qualities. In other words, the artefacts of the weapon burial ritual are likely to have been *symbols* of status, based on particular qualities and/or achievements. This interpretation of weapon burial ritual as symbolic supports the hypothesis that cemeteries belonged to individual family groups or clans, mooted by Naso with respect to Novilara, Sirolo-Numana, and Fabriano, rather than 'chiefs' (Naso 2000:79-82, 101). It is almost certain that some members of Picene society had an actual combat role, for a certain period of their lives, but this would not necessarily have been active at death (Roymans 1996:13-14). The bronze votive figurines of warriors, or 'Mars', highlight the active interrelationship of 'warrior' and 'farmer', the same individuals fulfilling both roles when required (1.5.4). These were vital members of the community, who protected and sustained it through their physical health and therefore ability to guard people, crops and livestock against attack from, primarily, the forces of nature (famine, disease, predators), but also from other communities (Frazer 1931:397-402; Dench 1995:122).

In summary, the material culture from burial contexts suggests that the martial image was highly esteemed in Iron Age Picenum, but that there was not necessarily a direct correlation between the grave structure and the status or role of the person therein (cf. Härke 1990; 1992). This works in two ways. On the one hand, someone who was not a warrior may have been elevated to 'warrior status' in death by their wealth, by their strength of character or deeds, or popularity, in life, or because social mores dictated

that this be so. For example, community politics surely necessitated that any high status individual, whatever their strength or weakness of character, should receive full honours in death[24]. On the other, someone who had been a warrior might not have been interred with a 'weapon burial ritual' (Härke 1990; 1992). This interpretation also encourages us to look beyond grave goods as indicative of sex, to their being indicative of gender[25]: not only might a woman have fought in her own right, a woman who was not a warrior might still gain the respect of her community from showing bravery in other respects, or not displaying *hubris*. Burying someone as a warrior makes "ideological claims about status, hierarchy, authority and gender" (Whitley 2002:227). The Capestrano warrior may be evidence of the applicability of the 'warrior ideal' to both men and women (Whitehouse and Herring 1999). It seems most likely that Iron Age societies, including those of Picenum, idealised the warrior for his/her bravery and perfect physique and so presented this image in the burials of well-respected community members (Roymans 1996:13). This ideal may have permeated Picenum through contacts with Greece, Illyria or Etruria, including the oral epic tradition. The Greek warrior ideal appears to have been a male identity and if we pursued the literary sources of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* we might see this as applicable only to men. However, although it suggests a bias in favour of men, the archaeological evidence from both Greece and Picenum suggests that a woman could also achieve the warrior ideal. For example, in Greece the opposition in burial assemblages was between adult males and children (both boys and girls), with women falling into both categories (Whitley 2002:227). In Picenum, both women and men were buried with chariots, suggesting that chariots were indicative of status and gender (Naso 2000:120, fig 10). The existence of both male and female warrior figurines and of female (as well as male) burials with arms in addition to articles of personal adornment provides further evidence that the warrior ideal applied to women as well as to men (Dumitrescu 1929:12; Colonna 1970; Franchi dell'Orto 1999; Whitehouse and Herring 1999:5).

2.4 Settlement, subsistence, trade, technology and production

> "The placement of settlements affects how the local environment is used and the flows of material within and between regions. The density and arrangement of human groups, and

[24] "A Macedonian king was, by definition, a warrior (even if he wasn't) and had to be buried accordingly" (Whitley 2002:219).
[25] Where gender is defined as "the cultural interpretation of sexual difference that results in the categorisation of individuals, artefacts, spaces and bodies" (Gilchrist 1999:xv).

> the connections between them, underlie all aspects of life. Density, arrangement and connection arise from the nature of past structures and help create future social formations"
>
> Gosden 1994:24

Commercial intercourse increasingly appears to be a more workable model than migration or diffusion for interaction between communities and wider socio-cultural groups in Europe and the Mediterranean[26]. As will become clear through analysis of the archaeological record, communities in Picenum influenced and were influenced by other communities and cultures via commercial interaction, rather than migrating populations imposing cultural change on them.

Very few Picene settlements have been uncovered, so we are compelled to rely largely on cemeteries to provide clues to the density and distribution of settlements and evidence for subsistence, technology and production in the region, despite the pitfalls of this approach. Burial evidence is therefore included in this section, where it aids understanding of settlement structure. 'Settlement' should be understood primarily as an inhabited place including buildings used for human accommodation, but it is believed that each settlement also included a territory where burial, farming and some manufacture was carried out[27]. It is assumed that cemeteries were located within easy reach of settlements, but understood that one cemetery may have been shared between several communities (2.1). Locations and dates of settlements and cemeteries are indicated on Map II and in Appendix II.

2.4.1 Picene I and II, 900-700 BCE (early Iron Age, including 'Villanovan'[28])

As we have begun to see, the physical landscape of Picenum dictated the nature of settlement and social organisation, also the region's interrelations with the rest of the

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[26] For discussion and summary of the migration/diffusion models in archaeology see Binford 1962; 1965; Renfrew and Bahn 1991:407-11 and Jones 1997:17-25.

[27] Some cult places may also have fallen within these territories, but this will become apparent in Chapters 3 to 5.

[28] The period 900-720 is also known as the 'Villanovan' period after Giovanni Gozzadini's 1853 excavations of an early Iron Age cemetery on his land at Caselle near Villanova, east of Bologna (Barker and Rasmussen 1998:60; Haynes 2000:4). 'Villanovan' is a recognisable material culture, visible in cemeteries throughout Picenum and Etruria (Cerveteri (*Caere*), Tarquinia, Veii, Orvieto (*Volsinii*) and Vulci) and in the organisation of early Iron Age communities in villages. The burials in the cemetery near Villanova were characterised by cremations, deposited in biconic or hut urns, accompanied by bronze grave goods of particular types, such as crested helmets, lozenge-shaped belts and antenna swords (Franchi dell'Orto 1999:63 figs 42-4; Haynes 2000:12-13 figs 9-10). The burials did not represent a new people settling in the Bologna area, but were indicative of the spread of cremation across Europe and Italy at this time. Villanovan material culture is preceded by 'Protovillanovan', which shows some of the same characteristics and spanned the Bronze Age to Iron Age transition.

Mediterranean and Europe, from the beginning of the Iron Age and earlier (Bietti Sestieri 1999:37). Ninth century settlements and cemeteries tended to be coastal and paracoastal, developing on routes of communication, principally, the Adriatic coast and the river valleys. Four river valleys acted as routes of communication from the coastal settlements, across the region and through mountain passes: the Esino valley across the plain of Fabriano to Fossato di Vico, the Potenza valley to Bocchetta della Scurosa, Passo Cornello and Passo del Termine, the Tronto valley to the Velino valley along the Via Salaria, and the Vomano valley to the Passo delle Capenelle (Moscatelli 1984a:17; Uncini 1995:13, 57).

The oldest identified Picene settlement at Moscosi di Cíngoli, on the bank of the Musone, was established in the middle Bronze Age and continued in use until the ninth century; it was resettled from the seventh to fourth-third centuries. A wooden structure and finds of sub-Apennine and Protovillanovan pottery[29], carved bone, horn and antler artefacts, terracotta spindle whorls, loom weights, zoomorphic figurines and 'wheel' ornaments, bronze daggers and an axe identify the late Bronze Age phase of the site (Cíngoli Museum; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:185-9 cat 14-45). The structure on the edge of the settlement seems to have been part of a production area for the carved artefacts, indicating that local manufacture was taking place in specialist areas by the end of the Bronze Age, although it seems unlikely that these were being traded (Silvestrini 1999a:45-6; Franchi dell'Orto 1999 cat 21-31).

The cemetery at Pianello di Genga is roughly contemporaneous with the later Bronze Age phase of Moscosi di Cíngoli (ca 1200-900) and has been variously attributed to the territories of Etruria, Umbria and Picenum (Spivey and Stoddart 1990:141-2; Malone *et al* 1994:127; Vanzetti 1999:47-53; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:189-91; Naso 2000:40, 42). The cemetery can be described as 'Protovillanovan', since cremations in biconic urns predominate, whilst several types of fibulae, pottery vessels, 'wheel' ornaments, pins, razors and other bronze articles of personal adornment and toilet predominate amongst the grave goods, rather than the characteristic Villanovan style arms (Lollini 1976:121; Vanzetti 1999:47-53; Naso 2000:40). The cemetery is a striking example because it contained over 500, and probably closer to 2000, burials, which was a very large number at a time when settlement sizes were probably small

[29] See Malone *et al* 1994:9-11, 130-3 for blurring of the distinctions between later phases of the Bronze Age and pottery types in Picenum.

(Malone *et al* 1994:127; Vanzetti 1999:47). This and the absence of rich burials or hierarchical structuring have led to the conclusion that the cemetery was shared by a number of Apennine communities in the area (Malone *et al* 1994:127). The location of the cemetery at a crossroads of the Central Italic communications network (in terms of both trade and transhumance farming practices) supports this conclusion.

These examples of later Bronze Age settlement suggest that individual communities in Picenum were relatively small and self-sufficient, but that part of their populations was (seasonally) mobile, resulting in positive inter-group interaction, such as shared cemeteries and trade/exchange. This picture remained broadly similar for many communities in the ninth and eighth centuries, although several Bronze Age settlements were abandoned during this period, only to become re-established in the seventh century (e.g. Moscosi di Cíngoli, Pievetorina) (Malone *et al* 1994:130; Silvestrini 1999b:166-7; Naso 2000:145). Settlement patterns shifted to favour the coast as a result of increasing levels of contact with communities that were more than a day's travel away (ca 50km) (Laurence 1999:81). This heralded the beginning of the Picene Iron Age and with it, increasing wealth differentiation, initially exemplified by the appearance of Villanovan material and of weapon burial ritual at Numana and Fermo.

Fermo is usually referred to as a Villanovan settlement, based on the incidence of cremations and of these types of artefacts, but on closer scrutiny the site is neither predominantly Villanovan, nor the only place in Picenum to yield this material (Peroni 1992). The Iron Age hilltop settlement occupied the site of the modern cathedral and would have overlooked a broad territory, which included the Adriatic. Fermo's importance as a settlement is indicated not only by its early foundation date and its paracoastal location, but also by its three cemeteries, in the localities of Mossa (NE), Misericordia (W) and Solforana (NW) (Drago Troccoli 1999:62; Naso 2000:65 fig 5). Excavations of the settlement yielded quantities of locally made ceramics, as did the cemeteries, whilst metal artefacts were recovered from less than fifty of the 534 burials (Baldelli 1996). Bronze arms and ornaments, of both Villanovan and local types, were amongst these finds (Lollini 1976:128-9; Drago Troccoli 1999:63-4 figs 42-4). A comparable situation is found at Numana, where most of the pottery was locally made and found in the settlement, whilst metal artefacts were found in larger

numbers in burials (Lollini 1956; 1968; Naso 2000:53-8). Only one of the 190 burials dating to the first half of the ninth century was a cremation, the rest being inhumations buried with locally produced artefacts, predominantly manufactured from bronze and iron (Lollini 1956; 1989:10-11, fig 4; Naso 2000:52-3). Axes, 'spectacle' fibulae and spirals, which were used as decorative elements of bracelets, armlets, fibulae, pectorals and pendants, were the predominant locally made bronze and iron artefacts in this period (Lollini 1989:9; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:192 cat 61; Naso 2000:59-61). The cremation (Tomb 52, Quagliotti) is the oldest burial excavated at Sirolo-Numana and included a pin from Bosnia, a pin and a razor made at neighbouring Sirolo, a Sabine knife and a dagger (Lollini 1976:121-3, fig 1; 1989:11; Naso 2000:51). The burial therefore has more in common with those of Pianello di Genga than with the Villanovan burials at Fermo. However, the pin from the eastern Adriatic and Villanovan artefacts amongst the grave goods accompanying some of the inhumations indicate that the harbour at Numana was in use from the beginning of the Iron Age, with artefacts being traded, even if customs were not.

The volume of pottery found in the settlements at Fermo and Numana, compared to that from the cemeteries, indicates that pottery fulfilled a practical role in life which it was not expected to continue to the same extent in death, whilst metal objects were considered to be of high value and appropriate for deposition, in some cases, almost as soon as they were obtained. It seems that Villanovan style arms were transported to Picenum via the coastal route from Pésaro-Novilara, to Ancona, Sirolo-Numana, Fermo-Porto S Giorgio and Cupra Marittima, then inland to M S Pietro (Osimo), suggesting that the practice of cremation was introduced along the same routes, directly from the Bologna area (Naso 2000:53-8). The presence in Picene burials of locally made arms, articles of personal adornment and pottery, the most widespread example of which is the Picene *cothon* (fig 2.2), alongside Villanovan artefacts, indicates that local inhabitants adopted practices and artefacts from neighbouring communities, but were largely manufacturing and trading their own material. Independent Picene customs are also evident from the presence of inhumation burials in the Misericordia and Mossa cemeteries, alongside the Villanovan type cremations, from the ninth to seventh centuries (Lollini 1968; Baldelli 1996; Drago Troccoli 1999:62-3).

Whilst little is known about the settlement at Fermo, extensive excavations throughout Ancona and the Cónero promontory have revealed settlements on the Colle Guasco, Colle dei Cappuccini and Colle Cardeto, as well as at Sirolo and Numana. The mountain and coast seem to have catalysed the settlement of this area and made Ancona a commercial and industrial town in the pre-Roman period (Moretti 1945:32; 2.4.2).



Plate 2.2 View of M Cónero and Monte dei Corvi from Numana

M Cónero lies on the coast, forming a promontory that reaches out to the Adriatic, and is the only mountain on the eastern side of Picenum (Plate 2.2). Its secondary peak, Monte dei Corvi (236m asl) is visible to its north, whilst Ancona lies 10km to the northwest. The mountain is still a major landmark, visible from the Adriatic, for miles up and down the coast and inland from Jesi (in the plain) and hilltop Cupramontana. It would have been even more visible during the Iron Age (i.e.

without modern construction). It held an ostensibly impenetrable position, overlooking the sea and the eighth century port in the bay of Numana (Naso 2000:91). The peak was not only visible but had good visibility itself, was covered with dense woodland and *maquis* (which even now reach to the shore), and was rich in water courses, so its foothills were an ideal site for human habitation (Dall'Aglio *et al* 1992:32; Gaggiotti *et al* 1993:226; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:196 cat 89). On the opposite side of the mountain to Sirolo-Numana, the hilltop settlements at Ancona had the benefit of a further harbour and the Pennocchiara river (its course now covered by the Corso Mazzini) flowing parallel to the south of the Iron Age settlements, its marshy, reed-filled mouth debouching into the Adriatic below the Colle Guasco (Mariano 2000:32). The foothills were more convenient sites than M Cónero for settlement and trade, whilst still allowing the inhabitants to retreat to the mountain if necessary. There is no evidence for a hill fort, but this remains possible, given the comparative evidence from Umbria and the Samnite territories.

The mountain of M Cónero was integral to the occupation of the region in all periods, due to its natural features and, perhaps, to the physical statement it made to the outside world. The broad-based pyramidal mountain was highly visible to people approaching from all directions: from within Picenum, elsewhere in Italy and via the Adriatic. Any seafarers from North Italy, the eastern Adriatic, Greece and the Near East who approached the Adriatic coast of Italy would have seen the mountain and been able to use it as a landmark to make their arrival in what eventually became the principal port of Picenum. Such a visible landmark was not necessary for identifying the harbour, but would have made it much easier to do so. It could be easily described and recognised by seafarers and because of this would have catalysed the establishment of the area around Ancona as the hub for trade and exchange between Picenum and the rest of the Mediterranean (Landolfi 1999b:60-2). It also marked the beginning of the inland trade route with Umbria and, to some extent, Etruria and Tyrrhenian Italy, and would have been visible inland to those returning to the coast.

The Iron Age settlements at Ancona emerged in the ninth century, although that on the south-west slopes of Colle Cardeto was built over a Bronze Age site (Mariano 2000:32; fig 2.7). The site on the Colle di Cappuccini yielded Protovillanovan material (ceramics, spindle whorls, loom weights and zoomorphic figurines, fig 3.10)

and the earliest Iron Age remains, including a ninth century inhumation burial and an altar (Lollini 1959:52, fig 5; 1989:7-11; Gaggiotti *et al* 1993:226; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:194-6 cat 72-92; Naso 2000:54). Arms were amongst the grave goods accompanying a burial on the Colle Cardeto, an eighth century Fermo type antenna sword (Lollini 1989:9 fig 3; Naso 2000:56-8). An antenna sword was also amongst the grave goods of a burial at Ponte Vomano, with a locally made sheath, providing another example of the extent of mobility of bronze arms during the eighth century, in this case, down the coastal route from Fermo to the Vomano (Franchi dell'Orto 1999:193 cat 63).

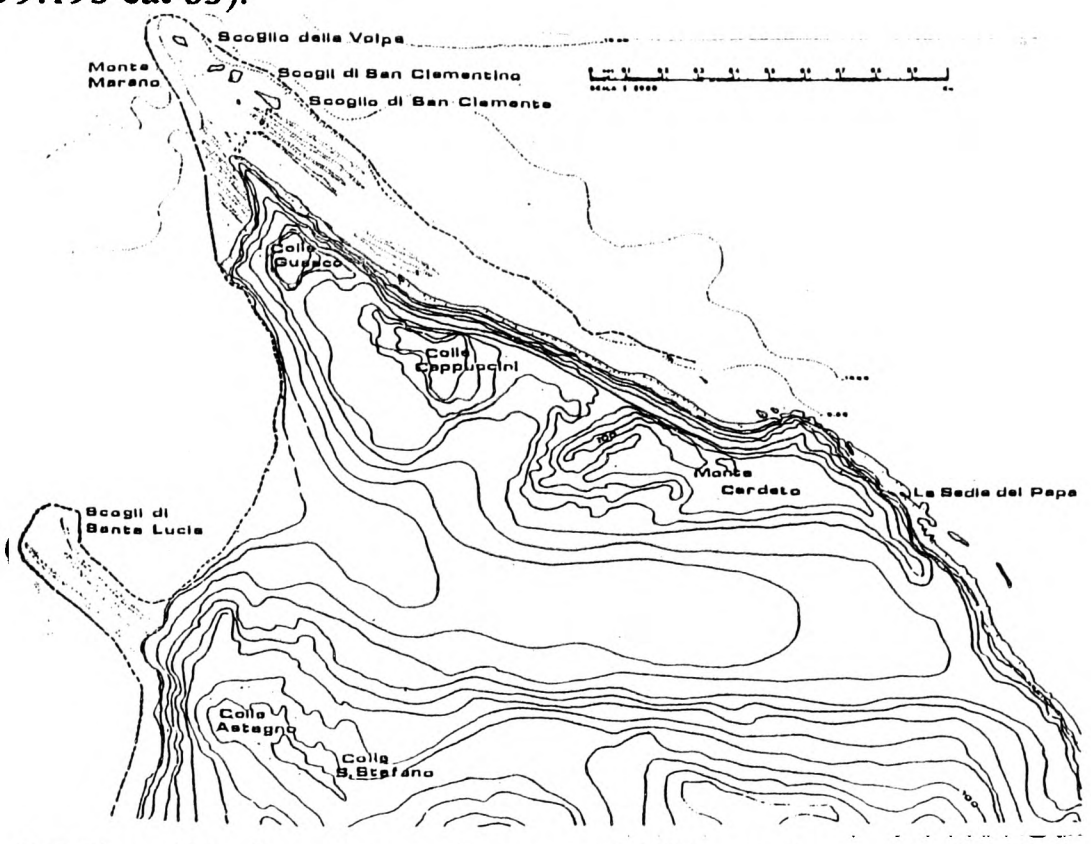


Fig 2.7 Plan of the Iron Age settlement at M Cónero-Ancona (after Valletta, in Dardari 1992)

Fermo controlled a large territory (ca 100ha), whilst the settlements at Numana and on the Colle dei Cappuccini and Colle Cardeto formed a territory occupying the Cónero promontory. The longevity of both territories is an indicator of population stability, which seems to account for the comparatively large burial populations. The number of cemeteries focused on a single settlement centre at Fermo suggests that the cemeteries belonged to different families or clans (Drago Troccoli 1999:62). The rich burials seem to belong to key figures within each clan, with the different groups within the community both vying for social distinction and status, whilst maintaining a degree of equilibrium. A similar organisation of the Ancona and Sirolo-Numana cemeteries would explain why several settlements coexisted for so long there. Social organisation within these two territories therefore seems to have been tribal, but their coastal location gave them an economic advantage, certainly in terms of acquiring high value, non-perishable artefacts, which could be used to display the warrior image beyond

those communities and arguably raise their status within the region of Picenum. In other words, they controlled the coastal trade routes and the dissemination of these and other, perishable, goods inland.

The eighth century saw development of the interior, with new settlements and territories developing in the valleys of the Potenza, Chienti, Fiastra and Tenna and their surrounding areas, accompanied by weapon burial ritual and movement of locally made pottery and metal artefacts (Moscatelli 1984a:17). For example, the *cothon* spread from Ancona to Moie di Pollenza; axes of the Novilara type were also found at S Costanzo; 'spectacle' fibulae in burials at S Costanzo (Tomb 2), Monteroberto and M S Pietro (Naso 2000:59-61). Workshops emerged at Offida and Ripatransone, crafting bronze artefacts, whilst clay for ceramics was obtained largely from the Aso and Vibrata river valleys, concentrating pottery manufacture there (Naso 2000:60-2). A kiln dating to the eighth and seventh centuries has been identified at Acquaviva Picena (Silvestrini 1979:314; Baldelli 1982:143).

2.4.2 Picene III-V, 700-385 BCE

During the seventh and early sixth centuries resources seem to have been directed towards ritual contexts rather than into the monumentalisation of buildings, since there is no evidence for Picene settlements from this period (Bradley 1993). Wealth seems to have accumulated in the region, culminating in the flourishing of 'Picene culture' in the sixth to early fourth centuries. This was marked by increased production of locally manufactured artefacts (bronze, iron and amber in particular), the intensification of votive deposition at cult places (Chapters 3 to 5) and the emergence of written language in parts of the region. More settlement data have survived archaeologically for this period, for example, at Pésaro, S Costanzo, Montedoro di Scapezzano, Ancona, Matelica, Moscosi di Cíngoli and Cupra Marittima.

More is known about Iron Age Ancona than about any other Picene settlements, due to extensive excavations of the town and to the longevity of its prehistoric phases (Lollini 1956; 1976; 1998; Naso 2000:255-60). Although inhabited earlier, the settlement on the Colle dei Cappuccini dates largely to the sixth and fifth centuries, at which time it fell out of use and a new settlement emerged on the Colle del

Montagnolo, on the site of a Bronze Age settlement (Lollini 1998, in Naso 2000:257). In addition to Picene material, Greek artefacts dating to the fifth and fourth centuries indicate that the Greek merchants in the Adriatic found a market here (Landolfi 1991b). Syracusans wishing to exploit the port and trade in amber with the Baltic and Aegean founded the colony of *Ankon* on the Colle Guasco in 380 and established a permanent Greek presence in Ancona. The Greek town became a centre for the production of Attic ceramics, purple dye, wool and cosmetics (Mercando 1976:161; Mariano 2000:33; Naso 2000:260).

Inland, Moscosi di Cíngoli was resettled in the seventh century and remained a significant Picene settlement until the fourth or third century (Silvestrini 1999b:167). The 1995 excavations revealed a paved area 12 x 5m, with post holes and terracotta roof tiles indicating the presence of a superstructure (Silvestrini 1999b:167; Franchi dell'Orto 1999 cat 577-81). The apparent absence of a hearth and domestic material makes further interpretation difficult. The levels below this yielded crude bricks, *dolia* and Certosa type fibulae, suggesting that the building was either a house or public building in its fifth century phase. A large carbonised area yielding a deposit of miniature pottery seems to have been an area of production, rather than the pottery being a votive deposit (Silvestrini 1999b:166; Franchi dell'Orto 1999 cat 572-6). Several kilns were also excavated, suggesting that Moscosi retained its role as a centre of manufacture.

Both the Bronze and Iron Age phases of Moscosi yielded some evidence for subsistence of the people here. Bones of domesticated animals (ovicaprines, porcines and bovines) show that meat and dairy produce were part of the diet of the Bronze Age community, whereas barley and wheat were staples of the Iron Age community (Silvestrini 1999b:167).

Montedoro di Scapezzano was another coastal settlement, ca 20km south of Pésaro and inhabited during the seventh and sixth centuries. This village was destroyed in the mid-sixth century, although its cemetery continued in use into the fifth (Baldelli 1999c:169). It appears to have been largely a centre for pottery manufacture, judging by the number of kilns excavated, many of them containing supports for turning clay vessels (Baldelli 1999c:169-70; Franchi dell'Orto 1999 cat 597-9). Comparable supports

have been found at sites throughout Emilia-Romagna, indicating that the people of Montedoro had as much in common with the populations there as with those further south, notably Moscosi di Cíngoli (Baldelli 1991:75).

Located in one of the largest lowland areas of the region of Picenum, the territory of Pésaro was bounded to the east by the Adriatic and the north by the Foglia river. The area inhabited by the Picenes, and occupied from 184 BCE by the Roman colony of *Pisaurum*, was rather insalubrious, the high water table and clay soil causing it to become marshland for much of the year (Peruzzi 1990:76-7; Borca 2000:76-8; Lissoni and Unnia 2000:66). Nevertheless, this northerly plain was one of the few areas of Picenum that was good for arable farming as well as for fruit cultivation (cf. Strabo 5.4.2). Archaeobotanical evidence for this area[30] reveals a fertile region in which cereals and fruit trees, including apple, pear and olive, were cultivated during the fifth to first centuries (Luni 1988:38). Pésaro seems to have been an important hub throughout its history: the Roman Via Flaminia appears to have been built over an Iron Age road that followed the coast from Rimini through Pésaro, turning inland at Fano (*Fanum Fortunae*), and an inland road network led from Pésaro to Urbino and on into Umbria (Uncini 1995:13, 57; Laurence 1999:22). These good connections were useful for trade and exchange at a crossroads between the regions of Picenum, Transpadana and Umbria, in which Etruscans (Marzabotto, Casalecchio di Reno, Bologna), Greeks (at Spina and Adria), Senonian Gauls (M Bibele) and, later, Romans were also present (Spivey and Stoddart 1990:58; Cristofani 1996b; Luni 1999a:145-7; 1999b:143-45; Landolfi 1999c:147-50; Naso 2000:180-1; Williams 2001:196-7; cf. Borca 2000:77; cf. 3.3.1).

Marshes are generally considered insalubrious places, but Vitruvius argues that "if these marshes are along the sea, they face towards the north, or between the north and east, and if they are higher than the sea-coast" it is reasonable for towns to be built in them (Borca 2000:77-8). Dykes need to be cut so that when the sea swells the salt water overflows into the marshes and the salt kills, or prevents the birth of, the disease-carrying marsh creatures. Vitruvius cites *Altinum*, Ravenna and *Aquileia* as examples of extremely salubrious towns, despite being surrounded by the Gallic marshes, and Pésaro can be included amongst these (Borca 2000:76-8). The advantages of marshes were that they protected the settlements situated in them by acting as an impassable natural

[30] In the vicinity of the settlements of S Veneranda, Candelara, Ginestreto, Montecicardo and Farneto (Luni 1988:45).

defence. This was particularly important for settlements like Pésaro, whose location by the sea made them well placed to engage in trade and for communications, creating centres of wealth, which may then have been vulnerable to attack (Borca 2000:80-1).

Two rectangular buildings excavated in Pésaro, partially covered by parts of the Roman town wall, provide some of the best evidence for accommodation in Iron Age Picenum (Luni 1982-3; Franchi dell'Orto 1999 fig 127). The buildings were constructed on virgin soil, with the high water table making strong foundations a necessity. Building A measured 12 x 6m and building B 10-11 x 5-6m, with walls 1.1-1.2m tall (Luni 1999c:168; Naso 2000:220). The construction of the buildings' superstructure - stone walls surmounted by wattle and daub, with a pitched terracotta tiled roof - and finds of Attic ceramics (black-gloss, black- and red-figure), local, handmade impasto pottery, Daunian ceramics and fibulae, suggest that these buildings were houses (Luni 1982-3; 1984; 1999c; Franchi dell'Orto 1999 cat 586-96; Naso 2000:220-3; cf. fig 2.8). The presence of Attic pottery emphasises the relationship between Pésaro and the other coastal settlements of Spina, Adria, Ravenna and Ancona, indicating that the entrepôt was amongst the stopping places for Greek merchants during the late sixth to early fourth centuries.

The coastal settlement of Cupra Marittima, situated 1500m north of the modern town, on the Torrente Sant'Egidio (south of the Menocchia river), was the only other pre-Roman port in Picenum and seems to have been an important centre from at least the eighth century[31] (Gaggiotti *et al* 1993:283; Naso 2000:85). Amber fibulae like those from Novilara have been found at Cupra Marittima, suggesting that the settlement may have had a role as a port by the eighth century (Naso 2000:85, 131-2). Imported Daunian geometric (seventh century) and subgeometric (sixth century) ceramics have been found in particular concentrations at Cupra Marittima and Ancona, another indicator that Cupra Marittima functioned as an Adriatic port (Naso 2000:178). A number of excavations have been carried out in the town itself and in the surrounding area, notably at San Martino in Grottammare, bringing to light a Picene cemetery, parts of the Roman colony, the sanctuary of Cupra, which was rebuilt by Hadrian in

[31] There are a number of ancient references to the Picene settlement of Cupra Marittima: Pliny *NH* 3.13, Pomponius Mela 2.4, Dionysius of Halicarnassus 3.51, who mentions the port of Cupra, Strabo 5.4.2, who mentions the sanctuary of Cupra, and the inscriptions '*ornetur dedicatione artocria populo cuprens dedit*' and '*(pop)ulo c(uprensi) dedit*' (Colucci 1779:20-1); the site is also marked on Peutinger Table (Colucci 1779:4).

127 CE, and a number of votive deposits (Naso 2000:131, 238; Baldelli 1995:161-2; *CIL* XI.5294). Evidence indicates that Cupra was the principal deity of the Picenes, and she appears to have also been significant in Umbria, given the number of inscriptions that name her[32]. Some assertions have been made that Cupra was an Etruscan deity, but this is largely based on Strabo (5.4.2) and circumstantial evidence used to prove this, such as an Etruscan presence in Picenum from the seventh to fifth century, the use of Etruscan architectural forms in the sanctuary of Cupra at Cupra Marittima and the discovery there of a male figurine in Villanovan dress (Fortini 1981:30; Colonna 1993:10-11; Baldelli in Franchi dell'Orto 1999:232 cat 360; Naso 2000:239-40). The presence of a settlement, sanctuary and harbour throughout the Iron Age suggests that Cupra Marittima was an important Picene centre and visited by foreign merchants and sailors, including Etruscans (Fortini 1981:30; Percossi Serenelli and Frapiccini 2000). As such, it may have been one of the settlements to develop into a town, but the Roman town has obliterated any earlier structures (Fortini 1981; Colonna 1993; Gaggiotti *et al* 1993:283-5).

2.4.2.i Colfiorito and Picene contact with Umbria

We have a little more evidence for Umbrian settlement types than for Picene in this period, with the principal distinction apparently being the use of hill forts (Bonomi Ponzi 1985:207; Oakley 1995:139-2; Bradley 2000a:54-5). In this respect Umbria shows more similarities with the Samnite territories than with Picenum. Traces of huts and pottery fragments show that several of the Umbrian settlements which eventually became Roman towns had their origins in the final Bronze Age, notably Amelia, Spoleto and Gubbio, possibly Assisi and Bevagna (Bradley 2000:42). Bronze Age hill forts, identified on M Ansciano, in the Piediluco basin and in the Apennines near Colfiorito, seem to have given way to new lowland settlements (Gubbio, Terni and Colfiorito) in the early Iron Age (Bradley 2000:44)[33]. Post holes excavated at the sites of Colfiorito and the Rocca di Spoleto have shown that there were single, fairly extensive, settlements, with the people living in huts (Bradley 2000:44). Umbrian settlements followed certain geographical considerations: most developed in the basins and river valleys south-west of the Apennines and were situated below 500m

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[32] These are discussed in Chapter 3.

[33] Compare the first phase of settlement at Narce, a Bronze Age hill fort (permanent hilltop settlement), accompanied by a temporary camp in the valley bottom (Potter 1976:315-16).

asl[34], usually on the boundary between the rich agricultural lowland plains and the upland forest and pasturage. They were also often near long-distance communication routes, where these crossed rivers or one another (Malone *et al* 1994:128-9; Bradley 2000:48-53).

Colfiorito lay on one of the principal roads leading towards M Acuto, en route to the Potenza valley, and was intersected by the road to the Chienti valley (Moscatelli 1984a:12; Bonomi Ponzi 1985:204, fig 12.2, 212). A large cemetery dating from the ninth to the fourth or third century, with over 248 inhumation burials, initially identified the settlement (Bonomi Ponzi 1982:140). The cemetery had two distinct phases. From the ninth to seventh centuries a single pottery vessel and a few articles of personal adornment accompanied the burials, indicative of little social stratification or conspicuous consumption. During the seventh century the situation changed, as the community felt the effects of the orientalising period, with *dischi-corazza* and arms, particularly Latial-type swords, occurring in some burials (Bonomi Ponzi 1982:140; 1996). The second phase of the cemetery saw a shift in the type of grave goods, as Picene artefacts such as amber and ivory necklaces, silver rings and fibulae, pottery and bronze vessels, and arms, became widespread from the sixth century; as well as red- and black-figure Attic ware, imported via Picenum (Bonomi Ponzi 1982:142). Weapon burial rituals occurred largely in male burials, exemplified by spears and banqueting equipment. This adoption of weapon burial rituals and the overall increase in wealth displayed via burials has led Bonomi Ponzi to the conclusion that during the sixth century the entire territory of the Plestini evolved as a non-urbanised state-organised society, based on a *pagus/vicus* structure, with corresponding aristocratic socio-political organisation (1985:213)[35]. The number of cemeteries around Colfiorito, as well as the sanctuary of Cupra, which emerged during this period (3.2.2), suggests that the territory was large and comprised a number of communities, but there is nothing to indicate that an aristocracy assumed socio-political authority. Rather, Picene material culture continued to travel west along the Potenza and Chienti valleys, with a route of communication developing right through to the plain of Colfiorito and joining the Umbrian road network. The merchants who introduced

[34] The 'lowlands' are below 500m asl, the 'uplands', anything above 500m asl.
[35] This settlement structure is questioned by Dench (1997) and Bradley (2000a:65).

these goods to the people of Colfiorito also seem to have brought worship of Cupra with them[36].

The numbers of graves excavated from Umbrian cemeteries may also give us some insight into the social organisation of the living populations. The cemeteries at Terni have yielded the most graves, with Acciaierie containing several thousand; 200 graves have been found at Todi, 248 at Colfiorito. In contrast to these examples are the twenty chamber tombs from Otricoli and the four burials from Malpasso (*Tadinum*). These variations in numbers appear to suggest that social organisation varied between communities. The large numbers of archaeologically visible burials may suggest that the communities here were larger, with larger territories than elsewhere, or perhaps that a number of communities shared a single burial site. It might also reflect local variation in priorities, with burials gaining importance in some communities, but other projects, such as monumental building, taking priority over burials in other communities (e.g. Otricoli, Bradley 2000a:46). This evidence implies that each community remained autonomous, indicating that Umbrian social organisation had much in common with Picene.

On the whole, the western Umbrian sites tend to show more material cultural links with their Etruscan, Faliscan and Latin (Tiber valley) neighbours than with eastern Umbria. This pattern can also be traced between northern Picenum and South Etruria, southern Picenum and Sabinum, and also northern Samnium and southern Picenum and seems to reflect some of Hodder's observations of the Baringo District (Hodder 1978; 1982:55, 58). Artefacts cross the boundaries between socio-cultural groups, if only for use in burial contexts, and this helps to create distinctions between communities within the same socio-cultural group, creating north-south and east-west divides. Material culture was therefore used both actively and passively in justification and manipulation of inter- and intra-group relations, which may have been dependent on both the temporal context and the power relations between individuals and/or groups (Gosden 1994:65-6; Jones 1997:112-13; see also Hodder 1982; Shennan 1989). In the process of intra- or inter-group exchange each exchange action involves a person and thing in an encounter or separation, where the identity of each is renegotiated; it is part of this network of relationships that is recognisable in

[36] This argument is taken up in Chapters 3 and 5.

the archaeological record (Weiner 1992:33; Thomas 1996:162)[37]. This process can be seen at work in Colfiorito, which lay in the boundary zone between Umbria and Picenum. Evidence that this boundary was renegotiated during the Iron Age is provided by the shift in grave goods from Etruria and the rest of Central Italy to artefacts from Picenum, many of which were made in that region, whilst the rest were imported via the Adriatic.

2.4.3 Picene VI, 385-268 BCE

Dench's work on the territories to the south of Picenum and Bradley's on Umbrian identity contribute to our understanding of the cultural groups within Central Adriatic Italy from the fourth century onwards (Dench 1995; 1997; Bradley 1997; 2000)[38]. A large body of work discusses the Celtic presence in North Picenum, but tends to concentrate on the Celts' 'occupation' of the region, rather than investigating their relationships with those already settled there[39].

Between the end of the fourth century and beginning of the third the number of archaeologically attested settlements decreased throughout the region, probably as a result of the beginnings of Roman interest in the region (Moscatelli 1984a:17-18). Those that stand out are the Celtic settlements at Pianella di M Savino (M Bibele, Monterenzio) and Montorso di Genga, and cemeteries at Montefortino di Arcévia, Cagli, Serra S Quirico, S Filippo di Osimo, Filottrano and Moscano di Fabriano, which include Celtic artefacts amongst the grave goods, including ritually destroyed arms, e.g. M Bibele (Zuffa 1979:140; Mercando 1979:163; Vitali 1991:80-7). The majority of these settlements and cemeteries were concentrated in the far north of Picenum and in the upper Esino, Musone, Potenza and Chienti valleys (Map II) and flourished from the end of the fourth and throughout the third century (Zuffa 1979:141). Several Celtic burials accompanied by iron arms, dating to the third century, have been found in the Vena del Gesso, suggesting that the Celtic presence in Picenum was largely

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[37] I use the singular because exchange does not require the presence of two living humans. It includes the deposition of an artefact, where this is part of an active exchange with the beings within an otherworld, be these ancestral spirits, deities etc. The life of a thing continues because whilst it has been deliberately removed from the human sphere, the subject-object relationship continues: human action placed it there and also an artefact always has the potential to be rediscovered, e.g. by archaeologists.

[38] For other recent discussions of ethnicity and state formation in Italy see Cornell and Lomas 1997; Herring and Lomas 2000. Salmon makes cursory observations about the Picenes (1967:49).

[39] Most recently, Grassi 1991; Frey 1992; Mansuelli 1992; Kruta 1992; Agostinetti 1992; Williams 2001.

confined to the north-eastern Apennine and sub-Apennine zone (Brizio 1896:5; Zuffa 1979:147).

Gold and bronze torques are amongst the most distinctive Celtic artefacts, as well as particular iron sword and helmet types, whilst Grottazzolina and Certosa type fibulae occur in several 'Celtic' burials (Zuffa 1979:148-9; Lollini 1989:46-9). The assemblages of Picene, Celtic and Etruscan artefacts, often including black- and red-figure Attic ceramics, indicate that weapon burial ritual continued throughout the fourth and third centuries, e.g. at M Bibele and Montefortino (Brizio 1896:4-12; Zuffa 1979:149; Mercando 1979:164-5; Williams 2001:200-1). For example, Tomb 2 Montefortino contained a Novilara type helmet, an iron La Tène sword, two spears, an iron spit, a bronze strigil, two rings, painted and impasto pottery (Brizio 1896:6). So these burials indicate a stronger cultural relationship between central Europe and Picenum, rather than a 'Celtic occupation' of the region, with La Tène artefacts and burial styles becoming widespread south of the Po valley (Williams 2001:199-201). The argument against Celtic occupation of Picenum is further strengthened by the Senones being amongst the Italic warriors who fought the Romans at *Sentinum* in 295 BCE (Mercando 1976:160-1; Zuffa 1979:152).

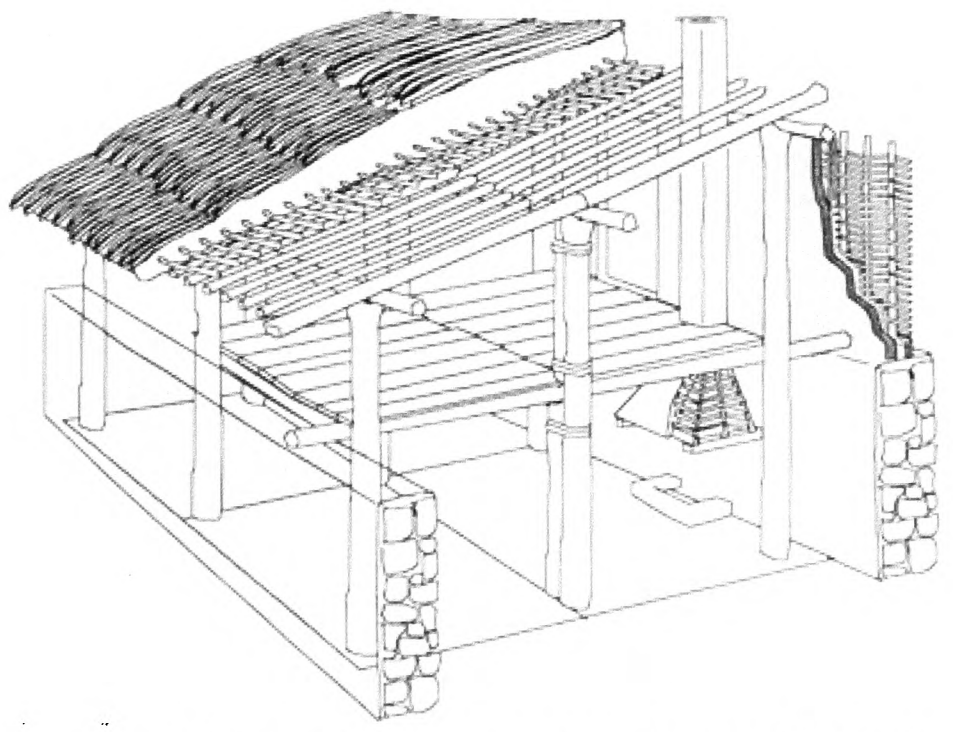


Fig 2.8 Reconstruction of House 14, Pianella di M Savino (M Bibele), showing distinct comparisons with building B at Pésaro (after Vitali 1987 fig 8)

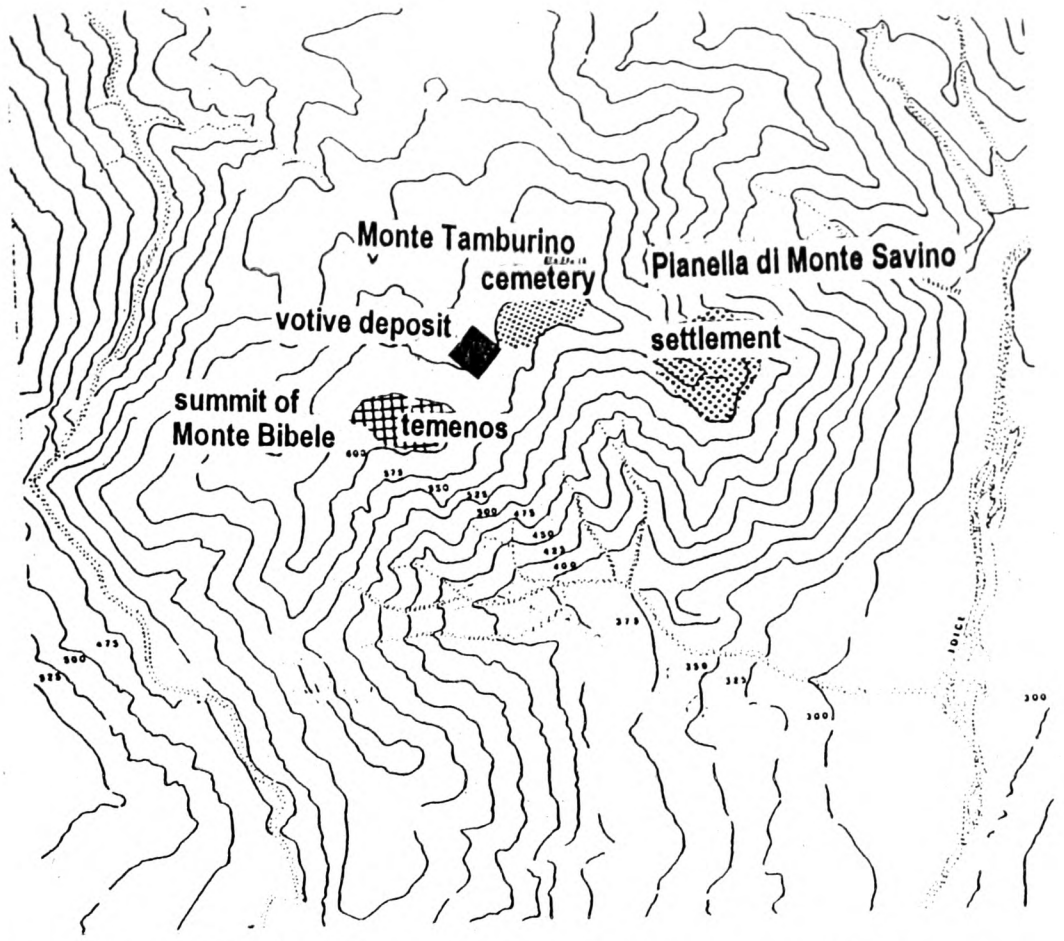


Fig 2.9 Plan of Monte Bibele, Monte Tamburino and Pianella di Monte Savino (after Vitali 1991)

The settlement on Pianella di M Savino occupied an area of 800m^2 and was located in a prominent position on the eastern submontane ridge of M Bibele, overlooking the Idice valley (Vitali 1987:105, tav 1; fig 2.9). It was inhabited from the first half of the fourth century and destroyed by fire in the second century (Vitali 1997:127-8). The square houses were stone built, surmounted by wooden structures, and intersected by roads and utilitarian buildings, such as workshops, so Pianella di M Savino was broadly comparable to earlier Picene settlements, notably Pésaro (Vitali 1987:111-20, figs 6-8; fig 2.8). However, some houses were more elaborate and a large channel had been constructed on the peak, to collect rainwater. This area also included fewer areas of manufacturing (Vitali 1987:121).

A cemetery dated to the fourth and third centuries was located on M Tamburino, and a fourth century Celtic temenos on the summit of M Bibele, both apparently associated with the settlement (Vitali 1991; Vitali *et al* 1997:127-8; 3.2.4; 5.3.2; fig 2.9). The bodies were buried in extended position, many with vast quantities of pottery at their feet and arms on their left hand side, swords and spears that had been bent in half to put them beyond use (Vitali 1991:80-7). The position of the skeleton and deposited vessels suggest that there was some continuity of local burial practices, from the sixth century through to the third, given the comparable examples from the Montericco cemetery in Imola (e.g. Tombs 59, 70, 72) (Eles Masi 1981:25-141). The other grave goods within the 200-300 burials at M Bibele included La Tène fibulae, *kylixes* (in male burials), *skyphoi* (in female burials), an Etruscan bronze mirror and strigils

(including one with an Etruscan inscription), implying that relations between the Celtic settlers and Etruscans in the Bologna region were amicable (Vitali 1987:122-7). The evidence for a Picene population appears weaker, but a votive deposit near the cemetery suggests that one was present (3.2.4).

Overall, the evidence from fourth and third century Picenum suggests that the region's populations continued to absorb aspects of other cultures, with the further implication that this included the settling of Celts north of the Chienti river. Picene communities in the south continued to share more common features with the cultures to their south, particularly in terms of language and political organisation (2.6). For example, Oscan and north-Oscan dialects, then Latin, became the adopted languages, influenced by the people of Campania and Sabinum in particular (Adiego Lajara 1992:63). Formal magistracies had emerged in the Samnite territories, e.g. *Curino* (Alfedena), and Umbria, e.g. Gubbio, by the third century and continued to develop until the first century, recorded in inscriptions such as the Tabula Bantina and the Iguvine Tables (Poultney 1959; Buck 1974; La Regina 1976:219).

2.5 Trade, exchange and communications

> "We should consider viewing of landscape as a crucial element in the ancient experience of travel. The traveller's gaze depended on a series of signs that indicated the location in the landscape of physical and human presences, but also on a system of signs that pointed to the nature of the socio-economic activity associated with that landscape"
>
> Laurence 1999:148

This reference is made with regard to the urban landscape of Roman Italy, but applies to the Iron Age landscape of Picenum and its neighbours. Physical and human presences are visible in the Iron Age landscape as unpaved roads, trackways[40], sanctuaries (peak sanctuaries being the most highly visible), settlements, cemeteries (particularly where these included monumental tumuli); and also as people engaged in practices which caused them to travel across the Picene landscape, such as farming, collection of water, trade, manufacture, rituals (burial, worship).

[40] Often through mountainous areas and used for movement of animals from one area to another (transhumance) and, perhaps, for movement of people in times of war or crisis (Varro *RR* 2.2.9-10; cf. Sallust *Cat* 57; Suet *Iul* 31; *Aug* 16.3; Tacitus *Hist* 3.40).

The sea is an excellent communications channel and judging by the incidence of sporadic Villanovan artefacts, such as the helmets in burials at Fermo and the male 'warrior' figurine from Cupra Marittima, this coastal sea route was probably in use from the ninth century. The material evidence from settlements, and from burial contexts in particular, indicates that trade and exchange were integral to life in the region and do not appear to have been restricted to particular sectors of the population or to particular communities[41]. Whilst it remains possible that the coastal sea-route was controlled first by the Etruscans, then by the Greeks, this seems overly simplistic and fails to take into account the variety of artefacts being transported between Pésaro-Novilara, Ancona, Sirolo-Numana and Cupra Marittima, which were, broadly, locally made Picene artefacts, Daunian ceramics, a range of Etruscan artefacts, such as bronze and ceramic vessels, and Attic black- and red-figure wares. Colonna has proposed a coastal route, both by sea and by road, leading from the Greek entrepôt of Spina to Vasto and inland to Cumae (on the Tyrrhenian coast), which seems a likely communications route, although we should remain sceptical of his attribution of it to the Etruscans (1993:8-10, fig 1). The absence of Greek ceramics in Picene burials of the early period is further evidence that the region favoured contacts with the Adriatic, whilst Greek trade favoured the Tyrrhenian seaboard until the mid-sixth century (Collis 1984:60; Ridgway 1992; Lucentini 1999:58-60; Luni 1999b:145; Landolfi 1999c:148-9). Most Greek artefacts have been found in burials at Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Vulci and Veii, which seems to be a reflection on the strategic geographic position of these settlements, which potentially controlled access to the Tiber and to the Colline Metallifere. Greek wine *kraters* and other drinking vessels predominated and from the mid-eighth century Etruscan imitations of these Greek vessels, as well as Villanovan types, also occurred amongst grave goods in southern Etruria (Barker and Rasmussen 1998:77).

The eighth century saw a dramatic increase in commercial activity, Apulian kraters with geometric decoration occurring throughout the Adriatic region. Over the next two centuries commercial activity increased in the Adriatic and Central Europe, aided by the establishment of emporia such as Spina and Massilia (Frey 1999:18). Picene fibulae of the three-button type occur widely in the Adriatic region, in Illyria (modern

[41] Skeates argues that fairly efficient communications networks existed in the region by the Neolithic, especially between groups living in the same province (1992:516). He goes on to discuss the dispersal of goods throughout the region, from the Neolithic to Eneolithic periods, presenting a convincing argument for extensive local trade (1992:516-29).

Slovenia and the Isonzo basin), northern Italy and Etruria (Lollini 1976:136; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:19-20, fig 9). Seventh century rounded helmets with brim and feather decoration from Picenum have been found in Etruria. Another type, with composite crest, has been found in Picenum and Illyria (Slovenia) (Frey 1999:20). The surviving material culture from Illyria shows distinct parallels with that from Picenum, particularly objects for personal ornament and armour (Dunăreanu-Vulpe 1925; Wilkes 1992:231-4; Naso 2000:89). The eighth century fibulae and pins of Eastern Adriatic type found in Picenum show that trade with Illyria was mutual and further evidence of Illyrian contact might be found in the North Picene inscriptions (Whatmough 1968: 207, 212; 2.6).

After pottery, bronze and iron, the predominant surviving material from which Picene artefacts were made throughout the Iron Age was amber. The Greeks referred to the Po as the 'river of amber', an allusion to the amber route from the Baltic to the Aegean, which passed through northern Italy, and to the centre of production of amber artefacts at Frattesina, which was one of the few active centres in the late Bronze Age (1300-1200) (Malone *et al* 1994:140; Williams 2001:26). It has been suggested that a name like *Picentes* derived from words for pine resin, i.e. *pix/piceo* (Latin), *peuke* (Greek), given that amber is pine resin (Mostardi 1977:33).

Amber is not often found deposited in raw form, but usually incorporated into objects of ornamentation, or carved into zoomorphic or anthropomorphic figurines, e.g. an amber lion decorated a fibula from Belmonte Piceno (Franchi dell'Orto 1999 fig 78, cat 351). The richest amber deposit in the region was found in the Novilara tombs of the eighth and seventh centuries and included jewellery, with arched fibulae with nodules of amber in various forms and of great dimensions[42]. Fibulae with amber are attested in numerous locations across southern Picenum, in South Italy, at Bologna (*Felsina*), in the middle of the eastern Adriatic coast and in Liburnian contexts (Wilkes 1996:225; Naso 2000:89). In the seventh century locally crafted amber pendants with geometric shapes and figures were becoming common in Picenum, especially along the stretch of coast (Naso 2000:90, see also130-3). The amber route of the protohistoric period led from the remote regions of Northern Europe (Baltic) to the Aegean and its presence in Picenum, from the final Bronze Age, in the shape of

[42] Such as an example from Fossombrone, which is 12cm long and 7cm wide, with a pebble in the middle of the amber (Marchegiani 1999:62).

locally crafted artefacts, is evidence not only of exchange of prestige goods, but of trade in raw materials with transalpine Europe (Champion 1984:219; cf. Horden and Purcell 2000:346)[43]. Whether this was a direct process or happened in several stages over a long time frame is unclear from the available evidence.

This also shows that the eastern seaboard of Picenum not only formed a geographical boundary; it also acted as a communication channel that encouraged the mobility of people and/or artefacts throughout the Adriatic and beyond. This has the twofold effect of illustrating the oxymoronic nature of boundaries as physical barriers and locales of interchange and of highlighting the probability that the inhabitants of Picenum included a number of different cultural groups (cf. Leach 1954:292).

It has also been argued that the movement of amber across Europe was closely related to the rise of social hierarchies (Renfrew and Shennan 1982; Champion 1984:219). The prevalence of high quality Baltic amber in the Adriatic region shows that it was highly valued, perhaps for its amuletic properties, since it was made largely into personal ornaments, many of which were then deposited as grave goods. Other sources of amber were available, but were either of lower quality (Sicily) or not true amber (Apennines), so it seems that the attractions of Baltic amber were its quality and, perhaps, the long distances it had to travel to reach the Adriatic region (Strong 1966:1-2; Wilkes 1992:225). Picenum was part of the trade route and became an important centre for production of amber artefacts, so if mercantile wealth defined social hierarchy in the region, the amber trade is likely to have contributed to this.

2.6 The role of Picene languages in social structure and identity

What can investigation into the languages used in Picenum tell us about identity and social organisation? Writing is a deliberate, ritualistic, act. The presence of Picene inscriptions on permanent media, in cemeteries, makes this seem particularly true of Picene writing. By developing their own written languages, and particularly by creating and erecting visible, permanent, monumental, inscriptions, communities in the north and south of the region introduced a new aspect of self-definition in the late

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[43] Amber objects were discovered in Bietti Sestieri's excavation of the settlement at Frattesina di Fratta Polesine (Rovigo) and parallel those found at other FBA sites: Bismantova (Emilia-Romagna), Allumiere (S Etruria) and the Lipari islands (Naso 2000:90). Braccesi claims that the Mycenaeans transported raw amber from the Northern Adriatic to the Aegean during the second millennium BCE, suggesting that these people introduced high-grade amber to the people of Picenum (Naso 2000:92).

sixth century, which points to a degree of social differentiation. The use of written languages within a measurable geographical region highlights the boundaries of that self-definition, if only within specific contexts (or identities).

At least three languages were used within the region of Picenum: Lejeune's 'Gaulish' in Emilia-Romagna, possibly used by the Senonian Gauls (sixth or fifth to third centuries); so-called 'North Picene' in the Novilara region (late seventh and sixth centuries); and 'South Picene', found largely between the Ete Morto and the Aterno/Pescara (sixth to fourth centuries) (Whatmough 1968:207-57; Duval *et al* 1985; Marinetti 1999:135)[44]. The most significant languages bordering Picenum seem to have been Umbrian to the west (by the third century) and Oscan in Samnite territory to the south (fourth to second centuries)[45]. Understanding of both Picene languages, particularly of North Picene, is limited, with the work of Marinetti (1985) and Adiego Lajara (1992) dominating the reading and interpretation of South Picene[46]. Some of the grammar is discernible but few words can be unquestionably translated, leading to some speculative interpretations. Nevertheless, a few words merit discussion and the broader issues of the existence and form of the inscriptions, the media on which they occur, their dates and contexts have some significance when attempting to establish identities of people in the region. The salient points of these aspects are noted in figure 2.10 and Appendix III, which should be referred to throughout this discussion. Photographs and sketches of the inscribed objects can be found in Marinetti (1985).

Twenty-three of the surviving inscriptions were made on local stone, apparently designed to be permanent markers and intended for public display (for example the largest stele, AP 3, stands 2.12m high), whilst the remaining four are on portable objects: the cover of a ceramic ciborium (TE 4), a bronze bracelet (CH 2) and two bronze helmets (BO 1, BA 1). Archaeological context has not been accurately recorded in many cases, but most appear to have been associated with burials. For

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[44] See also Whatmough 1968:220-1 for examples of other languages present in the region.

[45] That is not to say that these languages were either the most widespread after Latin, rather that we have more surviving examples of these than of any other Italic languages; or that they were confined to Umbria and Samnium. We have 20 Umbrian inscriptions: on coins, building inscriptions, the Iguvine Tables, a helmet, a plate, some funerary stelae, the Mars of Todi and another bronze statue; more examples of Oscan texts: dedications, graffiti (Pompeii), legal texts, tomb inscriptions, the Agnone Tablet, *cippus Abellanus*, *Tabula Bantina* and Capuan *iovile* inscriptions.

[46] See Eichner (1993) for a summary of the history of research into South Picene, Oscan and Umbrian.

example, *PID* 344 was found in the Servici cemetery, AP 3 and AP 6 were found in the vicinity of the cemetery at Belmonte Piceno, TE 5-7 were in the cemetery on M Giove (Penna S Andrea) and AQ 2 was inscribed on the Capestrano warrior statue, which was associated with Tomb 3 in the cemetery (Brizio 1903:101; Moretti 1936-7; Cianfarani 1970:44; La Regina 1981; 1986; Whitehouse and Herring 1999:1-2; Naso 2000 tav 70). These monumental inscriptions are often found alongside an anthropomorphic representation, such as the heads on the Penna S Andrea stelae (5.3.6) or the scenes of hunting and warfare on the Novilara stelae (which number five if we include the example without writing) (Marinetti 1985:184; cf Whitley 1998:315-6). The Penna S Andrea stelae (TE 5-7) carry the longest inscriptions found and contain the greatest number of recognisable words (Marinetti 1985:5-6; Stuart-Smith 2000:95; 5.3.6).

Identifier[47]	**Provenance**	**Date**	**Object type**	**Discussed words**
PID 343	Novilara (S Nicola di Valmanente?)	mid-sixth century	Funerary stele	**parten ús polem isairon, isperion, soter, sotris, vilatos**
PID 344	Novilara (Servici)	end of seventh century or beginning of sixth century	Funerary stele	
PID 345	Novilara (S Nicola di Valmanente)	mid- to second half of sixth century?	Stele	**kesoteri**
	Novilara, Belmonte or S Nicola di Valmanente	second half of fifth century?	Stele	
BO 1	Bologna	end of fourth/beginning of third century	Bronze helmet	**eriminú spolitiú**
MC 1	Loro Piceno	sixth century	Stele – sun dial?	**apaes, púpúnis nír**
MC 2	Mogliano	fifth-fourth centuries?	Stele	**apais pompúnies**
AP 1	Aquaviva Picena	fifth-fourth centuries?	Stele	Includes a name?
AP 2	Castignano	fifth-fourth centuries?	Stele/cippus	**púpúnum, apaiús**
AP 3	Belmonte Piceno	fifth-fourth centuries?	Stele	**nír?**
AP 4	Falerone	fifth-fourth centuries?	Stele	**taruis petrúnis** Etruscan or Italic name: *Taruis Petronius*
AP 5	Servigliano	fifth-fourth centuries?	Stele	
AP 6	Belmonte Piceno	fifth-fourth centuries?	Stele	
TE 1	S Omero	fifth-fourth centuries?	Grave stele	**púpún[nír?**

[47] For North Picene PID = Whatmough 1968; South Picene, by province.

TE 2	Bellante	fifth-fourth centuries?	Stele, with standing anthropomorphic figure in relief	
TE 3	Bellante	fifth-fourth centuries?	Stele	
TE 4	Campovalano (tomb)	first quarter of sixth century or mid-sixth century	On lid of a ceramic urn	
TE 5	Penna S Andrea	fifth century	Grave stele, with anthropomorphic head in relief. Made from local stone.	**safinús** (nom pl), **safinas tútas** (gen s) **trebegies titúí**
TE 6	Penna S Andrea	fifth century?	Grave stele, with anthropomorphic head in relief. Made from local stone	**safinúm nerf**
TE 7	Penna S Andrea	fifth century?	Stele of local stone.	**okreí safina[ ]nips toúta** Same inscription runs on 3 sides.
AQ 1	Casteldieri	fifth-fourth centuries?	Stele	**pom-**
AQ 2	Capestrano	beginning of sixth to mid fifth century	Statue/grave marker	**ma kuprí koram opsút ani[ni]s rakinelís pomp[úne]í**
AQ 3	Casteldieri	fifth-fourth centuries?	Stele	
RI 1	Farfa – Cures	fifth-fourth centuries?	Cippus of local limestone	**toútaih** (dat/abl s)
CH 1	Crecchio	fifth-fourth centuries?	Stele	**maroúm**
CH 2	Chieti?		Bronze bracelet	**ombriíenakren**
BA 1	Canosa di Puglia	end of fourth/beginning of third century	Bronze helmet	**úlúßerna**

Fig 2.10 A summary of North and South Picene linguistic evidence (based on Whatmough 1968:215-8, Marinetti 1985, Adiego Lajara 1992:20; Naso 2000:224-9, 230-4)

The two types of Picene inscriptions have so far been found scattered through the northernmost and central to southern parts of the region, and into Sabine territory. The majority of monumental South Picene inscriptions were found in locales c 20km inland, equidistant from the Adriatic coast and the submontane edge of the Apennines, running parallel to these from Loro Piceno to Capestrano (Map III). From the north are one of two helmet inscriptions (BO 1) and the only four examples of 'North Picene' (the Novilara stelae). Barely any evidence of written language has been discovered between Pésaro and Macerata, surprising given the level of settlement in and mobility of goods between Ancona and environs and the Esino, Musone and Potenza valleys (Whatmough 1968:220-1). It is likely that written language was used

throughout the region, but communities between the Foglia and the Ete Morto wrote only on impermanent media[48] and chose not to establish monumental inscriptions. These clear geographical distinctions raise questions regarding the extent and nature of written language use in Picenum, particularly whether or not two or three distinct socio-cultural groups emerged in the region during the late seventh and sixth centuries. North and South Picene are very distinct and disparate languages, but it seems unlikely that communities throughout Picenum could not communicate verbally with each other, particularly given the level of trade contacts with people outside the region by this period.

The most striking feature of the Picene languages is that they are not just differences in dialect, but completely distinct from one another, sharing no common root. North Picene is non Indo-European, although a few words may be transliterations of Greek, whilst South Picene is Indo-European and part of an Umbro-Sabellic dialectic continuum covering the area between Etruria and Campania, including Sabinum, Umbria and Picenum (Marinetti 1985; Adiego Lajara 1992; Naso 2000:233-4; Rix 2002; Penney pers. comm.; fig 2.10)[49]. The presence of two distinct linguistic identities in a region whose communities shared a material culture highlights the difficulty in using physical symbols to identify populations (Morris 1998:4-6). The phenomenon lends support to the hypothesis that Picene communities were organised on a tribal system and that one of the key factors affecting the region was its relationship with the Adriatic and those who utilised that sea route.

This is best exemplified by the Novilara stelae, which are inscribed with both writing and pictorial representations of men, humanmade objects and animals, in scenes of conflict (Plate 2.3). These scenes tell us at least as much about the people of Novilara in the orientalising period as the inscriptions do. Two (*PID* 343, 345) are particularly elaborate, with pictorial scene on one side and writing on the other side of the stelae. The depiction of shields in *PID* 345 might suggest that these 'wheels' are in fact miniature shields and a further representation of the warrior ideal (cf. Skeates 1995).

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[48] E.g. bark, papyrus, possibly ostraka.
[49] Giacomelli reserves judgment and suggests merely that **polem** belongs to an Indo-European language (1959:104).



Plate 2.3 The Novilara stelae: a) stele of the ships b) *PID* 343 c) *PID* 344 d) *PID* 345

Each of the Novilara stelae with the wheel in this apical position also has a border of spiral and zigzag patterns, which could be interpreted as waves within a decorative border (cf. Grima 2001:56-8). Water features highly in the scenes themselves, so it seems likely that the spiral patterns represent water and probably the sea, given that the stelae were erected in coastal locations. Comparison with the spiral patterns on Maltese Mesolithic architecture reveals that the design was widespread throughout the Mediterranean and Whatmough notes the parallels between this design and that on architectural fragments from Nesazio in Istria, suggesting that the people who left the Novilara stelae were connected with the Illyrians (Whatmough 1968:207, 212; Grima *ibid*). The incidence of the spiral pattern on monuments in coastal settlements suggests that on a phenomenal level in the human psyche spirals represent water and/or that artistic ideas were amongst the artefacts traded throughout the Mediterranean (Thomas 1996:159).

The importance of the sea to the people who inscribed the stelae is also apparent in the subject matter and only through analysis of the images can any conclusions be drawn about who the epigraphers of North Picene might have been. *PID* 344 is fragmentary and only patterns and two words are recognisable. Similarly, the other fragmentary stele includes two complete and two partial words, but these are surmounted by the scene of a figure on a horse facing another animal, the stance of which suggests that it is being attacked or hunted (Franchi dell'Orto 1999 cat 403). These animals may represent animals encountered by the people who created the stelae. Lions and bears would have been present in Italy, so it remains unclear whether the scenes represent local incidents or travel abroad, or if they are mythical or purely artistic.

Understanding whom the figures represent would allow firmer conclusions to be drawn. The two central figures may be Novilarans or Illyrians, since they wear conical helmets, ostensibly of the same type as those deposited in Molaroni Tomb 131 and Servici Tombs 2, 16 and 30 (Novilara) and also in Vermo, Dolensko, Pizzughi and Trieste (Dunăreanu-Vulpe 1925; Marinetti 1985:22; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:201 cat 109). Similar figures recur in the pair of boats depicted on the uninscribed stele from S Nicola in Valmanente. It has been suggested that the boats depicted on this stele represent Greek trading ships in a skirmish with Illyrian pirates, but are the two boats attacking the ship or each other? (Braccesi 1977:128-34; Naso 2000:227, 312).

The strongest evidence for the figures representing Novilarans is the North Picene language, which is distinct from the Indo-European languages of Greece, Illyria and Central Europe. Close contact with the Greeks is certain and would explain the adoption of some of their vocabulary, but North Picene appears to be a locally developed alphabet and language[50], which is so distinct from the languages of the people with whom they came into contact in the Bronze and Iron Ages that we might infer that the sea was a more significant communication channel than the Apennines for the populations around Novilara long before the Iron Age. This could further explain why their written language had little in common with South Picene, despite the approximate contemporaneity of the languages and geographical proximity of the

[50] Compare the Etruscans' use of the Greek alphabet.

communities[51]. Shared material culture shows that the communities using North Picene and those using South were not isolated from one another, but the dynamics of language and artefacts remain independent, so there appears to have been a deliberate attempt to preserve a separate identity (Naso 2000:25). This leads to the conclusion that the identity *Picentes* or *Pikentinoi* cannot be applied to the populations of the entire region. Further, the occupation of the area north of Ancona by the *Senones* and its subsequent inclusion in Augustan Umbria suggests that the people using North Picene were historically distinct from the rest of the Central Adriatic region and that they may have had, or been perceived by the Romans to have had, more in common with the territory of the lower Po valley than with the Central Adriatic area.

The South Picene alphabet emerged as North Picene fell out of use and survived until the fourth century, when Oscan replaced it. It shares common features with the runic alphabets of Northern Europe and with Etruscan, which is unsurprising given the level of contact between the region and mainland Europe throughout the Iron Age, although highlights further the particularity of North Picene. Some of the distinctive features of Etruscan – the equation of 'g' and 'c' and the missing 'o' – do not occur in South Picene, suggesting that the alphabet developed separately. The writing of South Picene on permanent media appears to have been an exclusively ritualistic act.

The words **safinús** (Sabines) and **toúta** (community) identify South Picene as Sabellic, with similar words occurring in Oscan and Umbrian (Marinetti 1985:31)[52]. South Picene seems to share more common features with Umbrian than with Oscan, although it is not a direct predecessor of either (Marinetti 1985:42; Meiser 1987:105-6; Adiego Lajara 1992:103-16). The occurrence of **ombriienakren** (CH 2) suggests that the author of this South Picene inscription acknowledged the region as distinct from their own, perhaps before Umbrian had developed as a written language, and was in contact with its people, who they perceived as belonging to another collective (Marinetti 1985:40-1; Stuart-Smith 2000). Counter to this, the **(agre tlatie) piquier**

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[51] Giacomelli states that North Picene seems to show substantial Etruscan characteristics and could be derived from Etruscan, or an Illyrian dialect (1959:99-100). Illyrian, as defined by H Krahe in 1930, was an historical linguistic unit of limited geographical area, corresponding to an Indo-European language from Europe *or* specifically used in Italy, being the language of a population of the shoulder of the Adriatic (including Dalmatia and the Balkans), which presupposes a linguistic influx down the Adriatic coast of Italy (Illyrian influence is apparent in Messapian) (Marinetti 1985:21-2).

[52] Evidence that South Picene belonged to the Sabellic rather than the Latin group can be found in the use of 'f' rather than 'd' in **mefiín** 'middle' (MC 1, AP 3): mefiin = /mefje:n/ < *medhye(y)-en (Adiego Lajara 1992:48).

martier in the Iguvine Tables (Vb.9) has been identified with Picenum (Marinetti 1985:40). The issue of dating the Iguvine Tables means that this really doesn't tell us any more than the Graeco-Roman sources of the first century, other than to lend support to Livy's references to the existence of the Picenes in the third century (fig 1.1) and to the sanctity of the woodpecker to Mars[53]. However, it does appear to show that relations between Picenum and Umbria continued to be close (as we would expect), although it is unclear from the reference here whether the territory was within or outside the jurisdiction of Gubbio.

The probability of accentuation of the relationship and distinction between Umbrians and Picenes is furthered by the retention of Safin- identity within South Picenum, as exemplified by the references to **safin-**in TE 5-7. It is now universally accepted that the South Picene **safin-**, Oscan **safinim** and Latin *Sabinus*, *Samnium* and their cognates are directly related and refer to the populations of the central Italian swathe of Sabinum, southern Picenum, the Vestine, Marrucine and Paelignian territories and Samnium, though this is likely to have varied according to context (i.e. to the identity presented under given circumstances)[54]. The words that seem to reflect social organisation in this area are listed in fig 2.10.

Toúta is another key word, found in TE 5 and 7 in connection with the adjectival **safin-**, and in one other South Picene inscription (RI 1)[55]. Broadly translated as 'community' or 'people', the term also occurs in Oscan, Umbrian and the minor dialects, and appears to have been in use in written form from the sixth to third centuries (Prosdocimi 1978; Rix 2000:199)[56]. It is not always found in conjunction with **safin-**, and its specific meaning seems to have changed over time. The **safin-**

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[53] The presence of **kvestur** slightly earlier in the text (Va.23) shows that Latinised (names for) magistracies had entered the Gubbio region by this point, which is further evidence for a date of the third century or later. See also Bradley's discussion of Wilkins' work on the possible archaising of the language of the Iguvine Tables and his comment that the spelling and lettering suggest a date of the third to second century (Bradley 2000:12-13).

[54] Dench presents by far the most comprehensive and rigorous discussion of these terms (1995:Ch 5; cf Marinetti 1985:35).

[55] RI 1 corresponds alphabetically, morphologically and lexically to the rest of the South Picene inscriptions (Marinetti 1985:37).

[56] Western IE **teuta*: Umbrian **tuta**, Oscan **touto**. Occurs as **tote, totaper, toteme** (Iguvine Tables VIa), **túv(tíks)** (Ve 13-15, 107), also **v púpidiis**, the chief magistrate **med túv** (Ve 13-14); **touto, toutico** (Tabula Bantina 2; 4); totai, toutai (Ve 218) – bronze tablet from Rapino (Marrucine and Vestine), c250 BC (dated via the letter forms (the long vowels found here also occur in Umbrian and South Picene); **toticu** (adjective from **touta**) (Ve 222) – Volscian, from a bronze tablet found at Velletri. See also Rix 2000:196-210.

toúta seems to be a larger community than the later Oscan ones, implying that the meaning changed as state organisation developed[57]. In the South Picene inscriptions **toúta** seems to refer to a territory, largely because it is found in conjunction with **safin-**[58]. This does not explain why the Safin community do not identify themselves north of the Vomano, despite the adoption of the written South Picene language in the area between the Vomano and the Tenna[59]. The inscriptions may be a further indicator that the area between the Vomano and the Aterno was a boundary zone, where communities were influenced by cultures to the north (Picene), south (Samnite) and west (Sabine, Umbrian), which is demonstrable in cemeteries such as Campovalano and Capestrano (Suano 1991).

The South Picene inscriptions surely belong together as a group, since they are quite formulaic, with several words repeated across a wide geographical area, notably **nír**, **nerf** and **vepet-**, which occur throughout the epigraphic region. The omnipresence of **nír**, **nerf**, coupled with the formulaic nature of the inscriptions may provide some clues not only to social organisation within Picenum during the sixth and fifth centuries, but also to the identity of the people responsible for the inscriptions. The implication in **safinúm nerf** is that these were key figures in the community, but they could have been elders, leaders, priests, or even the scribes. Poultney argues for the Umbrian **nerf** to be elders, since they are found in opposition to the youth (1959:244-5)[60]. The significant feature in terms of state organisation within Picenum is that with **nerf** in the accusative plural, we have a reference to the elders (or other influential figures) of this Safin community, which may be either the community of Penna S Andrea or of a wider area[61]. Only in TE 6 do we find the plural, 'elders', which complements the idea of Penna S Andrea being a public meeting place for Safin tribes, inferring that the **nerf** are the elders of several communities (again, of an unspecified geographical area, though arguably corresponding to the area covered by South Picene). Although **safin-** does not occur in the inscriptions outside this area, the

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[57] A number of later Osco-Umbrian references to **toúta** refer to more specific, localised communities: **tota iouina**, **tota tařinati**, **ocri fisi(o)** (Iguvine Tables); or **touta marouca**, **ocri tarincri** (Rapino bronze) (Marinetti 1985:36).

[58] Salmon describes the Oscan *touto* as the political and administrative unit of the Sabellians generally and of the Samnites especially, stating that "The *touto* was the unit that possessed corporate existence and it was evidently larger than the average *civitas*" (Salmon 1967:78-9).

[59] The absence of **safin-** in the inscriptions north of the Vomano may equally reflect an evidential bias.

[60] Iguvine Tables Via.30, 39. In South Picene the nominative singular is **nír** (MC 1, AP 3, TE 1). The word is related to the Greek ανη (Adiego Lajara 1992:63).

[61] See *infra* for further discussion of **nír**, **nerf**.

very existence of further South Picene inscriptions, and more specifically, the use of **nír**, **nerf** and a handful of other words found in relatively disparate locations, suggests that Marinetti's hypothesis is correct in so far as the area from the Tenna to the Pescara was in some way bounded[62]. This boundary is not necessarily regional however, since language is as likely as material culture to leak into boundary zones, thus explaining the appearance of South Picene in locations outside but immediately bordering the historical region (CH 1-2, AQ 1-3, RI 1). The peculiarity then is that, evidentially, this does not occur at the northern and Umbrian boundaries; in fact, why is there no epigraphic evidence north of Loro Piceno?[63]. Elsewhere, we find **nír**, a significant individual in the community of Loro Piceno, Belmonte or S Omero. The text of MC 1 and AP 3 is broadly similar, with the **nír** being the deceased; TE 1 is different, but so little of the text can be translated that it is difficult to compare it with the others. It is possible that in each case **nír** is found with **púpúnis** (MC 1, AP 3?, TE 1)[64].

Púpúnis appears to be a name, although it is unclear from the inscriptions whether this was a family name or the name of a broader community or socio-cultural group. La Regina was the first to argue that **púpún-** might be the ethnic of the Picenes but etymologically it is difficult to equate **púpún-** and *picen-* (Marinetti 1985:8, 35; Naso 2000:231). The contraction of the –eos ending to –is is further evidence for a Sabellian language, but **púpúnis** translates best as Poponius. This is not dissimilar to names scattered throughout several more of the inscriptions: **pompúnies** (MC 2), **apúnis** (AP 3), **pom-**? (AQ 1), **pomp[úne]í** (AQ 2); names also occur in AP 1, 4-5, TE 1, 4-5, 7, CH 2, with Titus and Petronius recurring[65]. The genitive plural **púpúnum** (AP 2) shows that more than a single individual used this name and the presence of **púpúnis** with **nír** indicates that we might be dealing with a senior family

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[62] The other examples of words found throughout this area are: **púpún-** (Loro Piceno to S Omero), **vepet-** 'grave'? (Loro Piceno to Farfa), **qup-** 'lies' (Loro Piceno to Belmonte), **petro-** 'Petronius' (Falerone to S Omero), **titu-** 'Titus' Acquaviva, Penna S Andrea), **fitias-** (Belmonte Piceno, Penna S Andrea), **mefiín** 'middle' (Loro Piceno, Belmonte Piceno).

[63] All the South Picene inscriptions were located in the centre of the region, on a north-south axis (i.e. away from the mountain and coastal areas). There is also an element of clustering: MC 1-2; AP 3-6; TE 2-3; TE 1, 4; TE 5-7. Both of these may reflect biases in selection of excavation sites and so are not discussed further, though the possibility of these locations being meaningful remains.

[64] The presence of **nír** and **púpúnis** in MC 1 makes the adjective **púpúnio-**. **púpúnis** is the nominative singular, from ***poponyos** (MC 1, AP 3?); this would in turn establish **apúnis** as being from **aponyos** (AP 3) (Adiego Lajara 1992:43, 46).

[65] La Regina argues for **púpúnis** in TE 6, but the word is too broken to be certain, so is excluded here (1981:132).

or kinship group in southern Picenum. This might further explain the use of the related names (MC 2, AP 3, AQ 1-2), these being descendants of members of the kin group who have married exogamously. The presence of a handful of recurring names in the inscriptions is a peculiar feature and the most obvious explanation is that they represent members of a group or groups with either high status, wealth, or the skill of writing. If we cannot easily make the distinction between personal, family and socio-cultural group names, this may indicate the lack of distinctions present between these identifiers for the period and region under discussion, i.e. that Picenum continued to be a region populated by tribes. The people who erected these monumental inscriptions might then have been members of a kin group who inhabited the southern part of the region, who used the same, or a similar, spoken language as was used elsewhere in the region. That language was not developed as a written language by more than this one group, or perhaps by two groups, the **púpún** and a Safin community, who were not **púpúnis**, further south[66].

Another word found in connection with **púpúnis** *et al* is **apaes** (MC 1), **apais** (MC 2), **apaiús** (AP 2), which shows contextual similarities to **nerf** and so possibly means a specific sector of the community. In MC 2 **apais** appears to be a praenomen, but this does not fit elsewhere. This may further reflect a blurring of the distinction between personal and group names. The plural is found in AP 2, where it seems to belong with **púpúnum**, 'of the Popones'. The repetitive nature of MC 1 allows the possibility that the **apaiús** are similar to the **nerf**. It is unclear whether there is any significance in the term's restriction to use in the inscriptions north of the Tronto (Map III; fig 2.10).

The only further evidence for social organisation identifiable in the South Picene inscriptions is **maroúm** (CH 1), which Rix has argued is a misspelling of the Umbrian magistracy **maro, maronis** (Rix 2000). If this interpretation is correct, this is the only possible example of a magisterial office found in South Picene. The presence of **okrikam** on the other side of the stele lends support to this interpretation, since the **okrei**, meaning the peak or *arx* within a **toúta** (see also TE 7), also occurs in the Iguvine Tables, as a place where rituals were practised by a person holding a particular office (Rix 2000:227-8)[67]. The implication of this is that South Picene

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[66] Even without accepting La Regina's inclusion of **púpúnis** in TE 6, the **púpún**- could also have been Safinús.
[67] **ukre** Va.15, **okre** Va.19, **ocre** VIa.23.

developed as a written language in order to establish political offices, probably as a result of a similar development in Umbrian social organisation. It seems that this social structure did not permeate the rest of Picenum.

Regional differences in the spelling of South Picene words seem to reflect sub-zones within the Vomano-Aterno boundary zone (fig 2.11), with the endings used north of the Tronto distinct from those south of the Aterno and with some overlap around Téramo and Chieti.

Fig 2.11 indicates that more than one individual or group of people was involved in physically making the inscriptions and that even with a common written language, the region of South Picenum was not homogenous. These groupings of endings map onto the approximate areas where **púpún-** and its derivative names were in use and the references to Safinús were found: **púpún-** is not found much beyond the Tronto and Safinús occurs where the various endings overlap. This seems to reiterate the point that the Safinús refer to a wider community and that **púpún-** represent a more localised population or populations, perhaps a descent group within the tribe.

Macerata (?) <í> (?)
---------- River Tenna
<úi>?
Áscoli <-úm> <-um>; <í>; <eíh>
---------- Tronto
<í>
<-um> (TE 4) Téramo <-om>; <e>; <oh> (TE 1)
---------- Vomano
Téramo
<-úm> <-om>; <í>/<e>?; <úí>/<úi> <eí>
---------- Aterno
AQ 2 (?); <í>; (?)

Chieti <-om>/<-úm>; <e>; <-oh><-eh>

<- **Cures** <-om>; <í>; (?)

L'Áquila (?); <í>; <-oh><-eh>

Fig 2.11 Possible regional differences in the spellings of South Picene words (after Adiego Lajara 1992:40-54, 78-9)

It seems that the sixth to fifth centuries saw the Central Italic regional boundary zones consolidating and specific territorial boundaries being drawn and that these catalysed the definition of identities amongst populations in these areas. So, the populations

around the Vomano might have seen themselves as having originated in the territory to the south, justifying the presence of their kin in either territory and forging alliances with the people of both. Along the Tronto, the populations could pride themselves in belonging to the area, but still trace their links back to their Safin neighbours and so maintain good relations. The incursion of the Senonian Gauls in north Picenum might support this scenario, concentrating the Safin mythology south of Ancona.

Linguistic development in Picenum was happening alongside the changes in settlement and ritual practices - including burial and types of votive deposition in caves (Chapter 4) - adoption of new materials and technological techniques and increased mobility through trade, which occurred during the Bronze Age to Iron Age transition. Although very little can be said about them, particularly about 'North Picene', the evolution of two distinct written languages in the region is a curious phenomenon, indicating that the extent of cultural diversity was such within Picenum that it was possible for at least two regionally specific languages to evolve without the area ever being considered a bounded territory by the populations within it. Nonetheless, the evolution of an independent language is the best argument for definition of some territorial boundaries. South Picene shares some features with both Oscan and Umbrian, but it remained a separate language, apparently specific to the region between Macerata and Rieti (Adiego Lajara 1992:63-4).

2.7 Conclusions

In summary, the scant evidence we have for Picene settlement suggests that communities were organised into villages, with family cemeteries located on the slopes of the hills surrounding the sub-Apennine and coastal lowland settlements. Centres of habitation were also centres of production of pottery and bronze artefacts, for both daily and ritual use. Houses and public buildings of the sixth to fourth centuries were rectangular, with wooden-framed superstructures and tiled roofs. Comparative evidence of Etruscan and Umbrian buildings suggests that these structures replaced huts (Barker and Rasmussen 1998:169-72; Bradley 2000a:44-5). Subsistence was based on an agricultural economy, including arable farming, arboriculture and pastoralism. Weapon burial rituals were practised throughout the Iron Age, with the seventh to fifth centuries seeing the greatest incidence of these. This period corresponds to the height of local production of bronze and amber

artefacts and trade with Europe and the Mediterranean, via the Adriatic. Several people or communities in the region therefore accumulated wealth and this appears to have been channelled into burial rather than settlement contexts, suggesting that social organisation was broadly tribal. The area south of the Vomano may have been the exception to this. The prevalence of artefacts associated with the warrior implies that this was a valued image in all areas of life, particularly the ritual sphere.

The northern half of Picenum, from the Vena del Gesso to the Chienti valley, was distinct from the south, in terms of outside contacts. The area north of the Esino shows the most variation, with, for example, Etruscan towns (Marzabotto, Casalecchio di Reno), Greek imports and Celtic material culture and people present alongside the Picenes, largely in the fifth to third centuries. South of the Chienti, cultural contacts with Umbria, Sabinum and the Samnite territories seem strongest, most evident from the distribution of South Picene inscriptions. The *ver sacrum* myth of a group of Sabines migrating to Picenum and establishing themselves as the *Picentes* around the Tronto valley appears to be a myth applied to the Safinús and probably developed by them, although only the Graeco-Roman version survives.

Exploration of the religious landscape in the following chapters is a lens through which to explore the structures of these Picene communities and identities further. Beginning with sites associated with water, then exploring the sacred use of caves and, finally, peaks, we can begin to understand how their perceptions of the physical landscape affected the lives of the Picenes.

Chapter 3

Places of deposition, transition and communication: water as a cult focus

Nullus enim fons non sacer[1]
Servius 7.84

3.1 Introduction: phenomenological aspects of water in Central Adriatic Italy

> "The rivers flow as ever, parts of the pattern, liquid threads numinous and alive, with their legends, their stories, their physical presence ready to be recalled."
>
> Brewster 1997:4

Water in its multifarious forms was an inherent aspect of probably all cult places in prehistoric and Roman Italy, although the connection cannot always be proven archaeologically (Faustoferri pers. comm.). A quantifiable number of types of water exist and existed in the past and further to this, a number of effects and properties pertaining to each type of water can be identified, many of which are suited to propitiation or ritual use (e.g. purification). These types of water are broadly categorised as pertaining to the lived-world, 'normal water', and to the otherworld, Whitehouse's 'abnormal water' (1992:133). 'Normal water' is any life-sustaining body or source of surface water where the water is ostensibly colourless and tasteless; generally, freshwater lakes and pools, rivers, streams and associated water courses, freshwater springs and rain (Holland 1961:6, n10, n19, n42; cf. Pliny *NH* 31.37). Fast-flowing normal water, particularly from springs, was used in purifcation rituals, as was the sea (Parker 1983:226-7; Dowden 2000:52). In contrast, 'abnormal water', which is defined fully in 4.1, is water which has colour, taste or smell, is volatile (e.g. rapids, waterfall, thermal or gaseous springs), is stagnant, or causes illness (Edlund 1987:54-5; cf. Pliny *NH* 31.31).

The archaeological record for Picenum shows that particular types of artefact were deposited in water contexts throughout a broad geographical and temporal area (archaeologically invisible deposits are a separate issue). Water could provide the physical cult focus of the site (e.g. Lago di Cíngoli, Plate 3.2), be associated with or part of another natural feature (e.g. caves), or be integral to an architecturally

[1] 'There is no spring that is not holy.'

elaborate sanctuary (e.g. Temple of Hercules, Vomano; Montefortino di Arcévia). This chapter explores the phenomenology of water in the cult places[2] and broader landscape of Picenum during the first millennium BCE. More specifically, it shows how this methodology can be used to add detail to the fragmentary picture of the region's sacred landscape. It begins with analysis of the effects and properties of water that can be described as phenomena and then examines the sacred sites of Picenum where people have left physical signs that they recognised the ritual or symbolic value of water. These signs fall into three broad categories: votive deposition, monumentalisation and artistic representation[3] (cf. Thomas 1996:159; Bradley 1998c:88).

Water is affected by climate and geology, making it an element which transforms the surface relief (Norberg-Schulz 1980:35; Edlund 1987:54). It is therefore a substance which lends itself to phenomenological analysis, having altered comparatively little during the period of human interaction with it (1.4). Mountains and hills define space because they add to the macroscale of the landscape, but water features add to the microscale. They emphasise the sense of place created by peaks, ridges, plateaux, slopes, ravines, valleys and basins, adding to the mystery of landscapes such as gorges and caves. The exceptions are large expanses of water: seas, lakes and floods add to the macroscale (Norberg-Schulz 1980:35-7). When water adds to the macroscale, particular kinds of locales are generated by the interrelationships of geological formations and bodies of water: in Central Adriatic Italy this might be an island, point, promontory, peninsular or bay. Variations in surface relief generate a series of named microcosms to which water is often a key contributor: plain, valley, basin, gorge, plateau, hill, mountain. Water not only provides contrast but accentuates features by its own properties of permeation and erosion. It also contributes to a sense of place and orientation, as natural places within places are formed (1.2). The effect of human interaction with (including manipulation of) many of these microcosms creates further distinctions between them, sometimes highly visible (such as introducing grazing animals, or building a settlement), others more subtle (such as a single votive deposit). These effects tend to be less visible in 'normal water' contexts than on land, due to the properties of depth and fluidity. All the places created by surface relief

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[2] Sacred sites and sanctuaries.
[3] See 2.6 and Grima 2001 for the use of spiral patterns in temple architecture to represent water.

possess distinctive phenomenological characteristics, which water can accentuate or alter. A plain feels open and expansive, but water can create sensations of boundedness, as in the plains which are bordered by the Adriatic sea and cleaved by the rivers emerging from gorges throughout Central Adriatic Italy. As we have seen, the river valleys of Picenum acted as both barriers and corridors (1.4; Chapter 2), creating impressions of both boundary and mobility or motion. A valley is emphasised when it is 'underlined' by a river, such as the Torrente Castellano where it passes through Áscoli Piceno (Plate 3.1), and the image of a basin is strengthened by a lake, such as the Lago di Cíngoli (Plate 3.2) (Norberg-Schulz 1980:37). These sensations can be broadly categorised as associated with openness, expansiveness, enclosure and boundary.



Plate 3.1 Torrente Castellano at Áscoli Piceno (AP) (July 2000)



Plate 3.2 Lago di Cíngoli (MC), view from south-west to east (March 2001)

The most significant features of water, particularly in a sacred context, are its intrinsic and functional mutability. Water features can be broadly categorised as mobile or still[4]: fast-moving rivers and waterfalls embody the dynamic forces of nature; the ostensibly still, flat surface of a pool or lake has the dematerialising effect of reflecting the sky and the world back to themselves, in colour (cf. Seneca *NQ* 1.2.2, 1.2.7). These are overly simplistic distinctions however, since the physical form of any water feature can change according to a wide range of factors, broadly, climatic and ecological. Water sites are more strongly affected by changes in climate than the other natural features under discussion. Rivers can flow slowly, rainfall, current or wind fracture the smooth surface of a lake. Water's physical form can also be seen to vary within a single locale: for example, an underground spring (Plate 3.3a) disgorges into the Sentino river where this flows through the Frasassi gorge (Plate 3.3b). The spring is faster moving than the river (whatever the season) and its colour stronger, since the minerals (calcium carbonate and manganese) are more concentrated here. The flow of the river itself will vary, sometimes slow-moving, so that its surface becomes mirror-like and reflective; in the winter and spring months it will be faster-flowing as the ice on the mountains melts at source. Swollen by this and heavy rains the colour will also change, as the riverbed is disturbed. At other times, the nature of the riverbed (in places filled with boulders), the movement of fish, overhanging

[4] Although, really, no water is completely still, unless frozen.

vegetation, wind or rainfall will disturb the surface, creating myriad plays of light, sound and ripple patterns.



Plate 3.3a Thresholds: 'solid water' emerges as a mineralised spring, Frasassi gorge (AN) (March 2001)



Plate 3.3b Sentino river, Frasassi gorge (AN), view upstream (July 2000)

Life concentrates around normal water, particularly rivers and streams, where the hum of insects is a constant feature in the summer months. Such aspects are reminders of water's life-sustaining quality, and whilst these may not have been interpreted as sacred in and of themselves, they may have been recognised by the Iron Age populations as symbolic of divinities (be these animistic, numinous spirits, nymphs, gods or goddesses). This activity around normal water, at specific times of year, not only contrasts with the comparative quiet of the winter months, but particularly with the environment of abnormal water (4.1). Where this is underground the differences are even more acute: there is usually no light to reflect on the surface, seasonal climatic changes are less obvious and few living creatures inhabit these areas, bats and invertebrates being the most common in this region. Vegetation will be of a completely different nature, where there is sufficient light for it to exist: lichens and mosses instead of grasses, flowering plants, shrubs and trees (Crinella 1997:61). The underground water features of caves are almost exclusively 'abnormal' and represent or embody powerful supernatural forces, with their cult associations intrinsically bound with the cave locale (Buxton 1994:108, note 128; Brady and Ashmore 1999:127; cf. Virgil *Aeneid* 6.241 ff; see 4.5 for further discussion). Springs and waterfalls are the exception, since they straddle both realms, often marking a physical and symbolic boundary between the lived-world and the otherworld (Theodoratus and LaPena 1994:24). Waterways (rivers, streams) could represent passageways to or through the otherworld, particularly where they flowed underground or through steep sided, narrow gorges where the cleft rock could seem like the inside of the earth. Many of the gorges in Picenum show this characteristic and often have specific places where they can be accessed, so it is quite easy to become trapped next to the water if one follows the river for any distance.

Both caves and mirrors have been conceived of as portals to the otherworld, so the reflective surface of pools and lakes in particular, but arguably of all water features, acts as a mirror. When associated with a cave this symbolism is all the more powerful. These corridors and places where water linked the lived-world with the otherworld were liminal zones, because they were "ambiguous and chaotic" places, "alien to culture", and therefore subject to divine, rather than human, control (Borca 2000:81). If rites of separation from the lived-world involved purification rituals (washing, cleansing) which had to be carried out in liminal places, then the phenomena of these waterways,

waterfalls and springs juxtaposed with gorges and caves fulfilled these criteria (van Gennep 1960:20). The indeterminate boundary between land and water within marshland may have been perceived in a similar way, particularly when compared to lakes and rivers, whose clear edges give definition to both the water feature and to the surrounding land (Norberg-Schulz 1980:37; Borca 2000:74-5, 81; Horden and Purcell 2000:186-8). Marshland is 'abnormal' because it is neither water nor land, with the water often brackish and undrinkable (e.g. the *lucus Pisaurensis* 3.4.1; M Bibele 3.2.4; Borca 2000:75). A further example of abnormal surface water is precipitation, when it takes 'solid' form, i.e. snow, ice and perhaps mist and fog, which are features of many peak and upland sites for at least four months of the year (5.1).

Larger expanses of water, particularly in 'unstable' contexts, notably flood, drought (included as being an absence of water), storms (precipitation) and the sea are also likely to have had an impact on religious experience, although propitiation of these contexts is difficult to identify archaeologically. Whilst both precipitation and the sea have significant life-sustaining qualities, they also have a dangerous and destructive aspect, which is shared by flood and drought, the ability to extinguish life (Seneca *NQ* 3.30.3-4; Parker 1983:226-7). They would therefore have warranted propitiation, particularly where they were perceived as prodigies. Flood has the added connotations of altering the lived landscape, closing routes of communication (or necessitating waterborne transport) and temporarily engulfing places (Horden and Purcell 2000:310-12). It would perhaps have been disorientating and frightening, if only on the practical level that it severed ties with parts of the human landscape, leaving individuals or groups stranded, destroying food supplies (either growing or in storage, including animals). Drought would not have had the same effect of 'loss of place', but was arguably more detrimental at a subsistence level. Against a background of potential drought and flood, water becomes a powerful symbol of fertility, whilst the elemental forces behind these phenomena, as well as behind storms and becalming at sea, would require propitiation (Norberg-Schulz 1980:27).

Recognition that water is fundamental to human survival and health has caused it to be seen as a symbol of regeneration and rebirth, an element of fertility and a magical and therapeutic substance for many cultures past and present (Susini 1975:322; Edlund 1987:54; Bernabei and Grifoni Cremonesi 1995-96:332). It was therefore venerated for

its symbolism and its properties, but also used in purification and other rituals, which were directly connected to the water's particular properties (Parker 1983:226-7; Edlund 1987:58; Theodoratus and LaPena 1994:24). For example, oracles were associated with some thermal and mineralised water features, arguably due to the psychoactive properties of the water (Seneca *NQ* 3.20.5; Hale *et al* 2003)[5]. 'Healing sanctuaries' were associated with others (e.g. Terme di Cotilia 3.4.3; Acquasanta Terme). Here, water was bathed in or drunk because it was believed to have therapeutic properties, which might be curative, restorative or preventative and concerned with disease, injury, fertility or general health (Varro *LL* 9.69; Pliny *NH* 31.4-5, 59-62; Seneca *Letters to Lucilius* 41.3; *NQ* 3.1.2; 3.15.4; 3.20-21; 3.24; Vitruvius *De Archit* 1.2.7; 8.3.4-5, 17). It is these various properties of normal and abnormal water that have encouraged identification of 'agrarian cult' and 'healing sanctuaries'. Both of these are unsatisfactory terms that require elucidation and redefinition.

'Healing sanctuary' is a term that has often been applied to the Hellenistic sanctuaries of Campania, south Etruria and in the environs of Rome, such as Fregellae and Ponte di Nona, usually monumental extra-urban sanctuaries with a water source (pool or spring), that have yielded deposits of anatomical ex-votos (Coarelli 1984; 1987; Crawford and Keppie 1984; Edlund 1985; Jackson 1988:159-63; Potter 1989; Girardon 1993; De Cazanove 2000:75). Their purpose was to receive the requests and thanks of the sick for cures. It has traditionally been believed that anatomical ex-votos were specifically associated with healing sanctuaries and that their deposition could be a response to existing ailments or a preventative measure (Jackson 1988:161). Whilst this might often have been the case in the monumentalised sanctuaries of Central Italy, the association has recently been questionned (De Cazenove 2000:76; Glinister pers. comm.). Deposits of anatomical ex-votos in Picenum occur near water and in caves, as well as in peak sanctuaries, often places where other types of votive depositions were made previously (4.5-6; 5.3.3), so it seems that anatomical ex-votos may have had a different function here[6]. So, whilst there is evidence that a water feature with healing, or healthful, properties was the focus of some sacred sites and

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[5] Compare the oracle of the nymph Albunea whose cult was associated with a sulphurous spring near Tivoli (Boas 1938:186, 195-206)

[6] Compare Satricum (Bouma 1996; Smith 2000).

sanctuaries in Picenum (e.g. Terme di Cotilia 3.4.3)[7], the term 'healing' is expanded here to encompass all aspects of fertility and regeneration (Anati 1986:10).

Cunliffe has defined 'agrarian cult' as the sacrifice of animals, cereals or food/drink (Cunliffe 1993:26). This is exemplified in the archaeological record of Picenum by concentrations of bones or other organic remains (often burnt) and by storage vessels, sometimes covered with a stone slab and often containing organic residues such as grain or pulses (Cunliffe 1993:26; Bernabei and Grifoni Cremonesi 1995-96:357; Grifoni Cremonesi 1996b:332; Pacciarelli and Sassatelli 1997:13). As we shall see, examples of these have been found in water, cave and peak sites in Picenum, dating from the Neolithic to Iron Age. The concerns of agrarian cult are supposedly the fertility and fecundity of crops, livestock etc. and apparently originated in the Neolithic, as people made the transition to farming (Bradley 1998:199; Grifoni Cremonesi 1996b:332). The votive deposits are therefore thought to have been made at significant times of year, such as seed sowing, harvest and onset of winter (Lucentini 1997:36-7). The votive deposition of zoomorphic figurines, full-size and miniature pottery vessels and other full-size objects such as spindle whorls and loom weights at sacred sites in Picenum may be attributable to this cult practice, particularly if, as in early Iron Age northern Europe, concerns with fertility and food became paramount as a result of changes in farming practices (Bradley 1998:199).

The current trend espoused by Italian archaeologists suggests that agrarian and mortuary cults both made use of dedications in/to/at water in its various forms (Bernabei and Grifoni Cremonesi 1995-96:332, cf. Brady and Ashmore 1999:137-8), although clearly neither are exclusive and both appear to also have strong associations with caves (cf. Neumann 1963:45)[8]. Caves and water features acted as places for ritual propitiation of the regenerative forces, since their distinctive physical structure both created physical foci for social action within the landscape and imbued them with symbolic

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[7] See also Pliny *NH* 31.59; Seneca *NQ* 3.25.8. Note also the Greek sanctuaries associated with the medicinal use of water, such as that of Asclepios at Epidaurus and Apollo at Delphi (Lambrinoudakis 1994:225-31; Ginouvès 1994:237-43); cf. Pausanias 4.31.4, 8.19.2-3, 6.22.7.

[8] This is not the forum for further discussion of the symbolism of caves as representing the feminine, "great mother" etc., merely to highlight that the regenerative cycle of which earth and water are key elements is the lifecycle of all living things, which sprout from the earth, are nurtured by and die back into the earth, a cycle which was surely transparent to peoples who relied on their ability to recognise the annual seasonal cycle for their subsistence (something which is lacking in the modern western psyche).

representations of these forces. As we shall see (4.3-4.6), similar vessels have been found deposited in both cave contexts and at water sources (by or in rivers, waterfalls and lakes).

Bernabei and Grifoni Cremonesi have begun to collate a typology of material found in association with water in its various forms and although most refers to Bronze Age and earlier material, the following groups remain in the Iron Age, and some in the early Roman period: basins for collection of water, vessels deposited near water, votives or depositions in vessels, miniature vessels, vessels with vegetal remains, upturned vessels, and possibly artificial holes and broken stalactites (1995-96:350, Tav 1). To these groups can be added bronze votive figurines, artefacts associated with subsistence (loom weights etc.), articles of personal adornment, bronze swords and other arms, anatomical ex-votos and architectural features, such as the hypogeum beneath the church of S Maria Assunta di Rambona (Nestori 1981:125). It is common for more than one type of artefact to be found at a cult place. For example, miniature vessels and bronze votive figurines were found at M Bibele (3.2.4; 5.3.2). Many types of votive deposit are archaeologically invisible, for example, casting grain or fruits into running water, so an evidential bias remains when considering the relationship between symbols of human action and water.

As Bernabei and Grifoni Cremonesi note, no methodical study of agrarian cult has been made, so there is no systematic survey of the contexts in which material (particularly pottery) is found, the particular elements of ritual, the recurrence of types and kinds of deposit, or differences across temporal period or culture (1995-96:333). Whether or not the material pertains to agrarian cult or to something more specific to water, their questions apply and should be borne in mind. In addition, they suggest that any such work should seek to establish whether or not there is any relationship between the pottery and the various types of water, looking at such aspects as forms of vessels, their manufacture and use, their arrangement with regard to the water, the connections with other related cultural phenomena such as hearths, pits, presence of vegetal remains and the presence of human remains (Bernabei and Grifoni Cremonesi 1995-96:333). These, and other, relationships are recorded throughout this thesis, wherever possible. One of the main problems in attempting this study is the lack of appropriate recording for these vessels during excavation, notably of typology,

number and the position in which they were lying when excavated. It is also likely that the material we have now is only a fraction of that which was recovered, given the incidence of chance find and clandestine excavation. However, as scholarly interest in this region increases and new projects win funding, this shortcoming can be rectified.

In summary, it is hypothesised that the transition from votive deposition of miniature and full-size vessels and zoomorphic figurines to deposition of anatomical ex-votos, at some cult places in Picenum, marks the continued importance of fertility and regeneration in the beliefs of the Iron Age populations. These beliefs encompassed both the people and the livestock and plant foods that sustained them (Anati 1986:10). Different water features and their properties caused different aspects of these beliefs to be emphasised and it is these differences which are the subject of the following analysis.

Water sites lend themselves to categorisation, with geology generating the conditions required for perceptibly distinct types: pools, lakes, springs, rivers etc. The rest of this discussion is therefore arranged by type of water feature, with comparisons between these being made in the conclusions. Abnormal water in caves is excluded here, since it is part of the cave locale and as such, is included in Chapter 4.

3.2 Wetlands: lakes, pools and marshes

Throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages, votive deposition, particularly of full-size pottery, miniature impasto vessels and bronze figurines, was common at wetland sites. Lakes in intermontane basins are the most difficult of these areas to excavate, yet some have yielded evidence of cult practices, albeit largely from the late Bronze Age. Perennial and seasonal pools and marshlands, as well as river floodplains, are more forthcoming, since several have either dried up since prehistory, or remain seasonal, drying up in the summer. Horden and Purcell observe that "[w]etlands resemble forests... in their normality" (2000:188). By this they mean that wetlands were a part of the landscape in everyday use, but this does not mean to say either that these water features should necessarily all be classified as normal water, or that they were not also places of transition. Indeed, Horden and Purcell continue: "They are also like the woodlands in their internal variety, and even more kaleidoscopic in that that variety is

more prone to intra-annual fluctuations" (*ibid*). Lakes and perennial pools were permanent, though not static, features of the landscape, whereas the mutability of seasonal pools and floodplains (being both land and water) made them literal and symbolic places of transition. If waterways could represent paths to the otherworld, a seasonal water feature might also be interpreted as a portal. It also has the practical aspect of generating a beneficial water supply and ecosystem at certain times of the year, countered by the 'sinister' aspect of that water disappearing at the times when it is most needed. This feature alone might be reason enough for wetlands to have been places of propitiation.

It is difficult to find evidence of votive deposition directly into expanses of normal water, notably rivers or lakes, but this reflects biases in preservation and selection of excavation sites. A bronze figurine of 'Mars in assault', dating to the second half of the fifth century was found in the Tiber at S Martino near Todi in 1710, but we cannot be certain that it was deposited in the water in antiquity (Falconi Amorelli 1982:32-3, Tav IV, 4). Graeco-Roman literary sources provide comparative evidence that such deposition occurred: we find accounts of Hercules encouraging communities to abandon human sacrifice for sacrifice of effigies, in Rome and at Terme di Cotilia (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.38.2), and of the casting of coins into the lake at Fonti di Clitumno (Pliny the Younger *Letters* 8.8). We have few actual examples from Central Adriatic Italy of votive deposition in wetlands, the principal ones being a number of large late Bronze Age pottery vessels recovered from the Lago di Cíngoli in the 1980s (now in the museum at Cíngoli) and the deposits of bronze swords from Abruzzo, recovered from the Pescara river and Lago del Fucino (d'Ercole 1997b:72)[9]. These are Bronze Age deposits and so detailed analysis is beyond the scope of the current discussion, although both are believed to have been ritually deposited and reveal that a Bronze Age precedent was in place, which might have continued into the Iron Age. A large deposit of votive bronze figurines and miniature pottery vessels has been excavated from a pool or marsh near M Bibele and this provides the best current example from Central Adriatic Italy of an Iron Age votive deposition made in a wetland context.

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[9] Comparable types of material, dating to the European Iron Age La Tène period (fifth century BCE to first century CE) have been excavated in Britain (Bradley 1998b:156-71). See also Stevens, forthcoming.

On the other hand, we find several examples of a lake providing the cult focus of a site, where such evidence takes the form of monumentalisation and/or votive deposition beside the water. This and the examples noted above might suggest that more votive deposition into the water occurred than we currently have evidence for.

3.2.1 Cupra and water

Two centres for the cult of Cupra are known from Picenum, at Cupra Marittima and Cupramontana (5.3.4). The name is preserved in those of the two towns, testaments to the cult's continuity into the Roman period, but probably reflecting a much older cult. Cupra (**kubar**) seems to have been the principal deity of the Picenes and/or Umbrians, and as such is arguably an ancient Italic goddess[10]. At Cupra Marittima the identity of the goddess is confirmed by both literary and epigraphic sources (Ciotti 1964:fig 9)[11]. There appear to have been at least three cult centres to Cupra here, the principal one being a temple on the hill overlooking the town. The Roman period remains of walls under the church of S Martino near Grottammare appear to mark a second temple (Dall'Osso 1915:183). The votive deposit from Sant'Andrea (Cupra Marittima) appears to be associated with a spring and with Cupra (Baldelli 1997a:161-71).

Cupramontana lies on one of the principal roads from Ancona to Fossato di Vico and Umbria. Cupra is further attested in the Apennines, in the Umbro-Picene boundary zone, on the modern border between Marche and Umbria: an inscription from Fossato di Vico, and an inscription amongst the votive deposit of bronze figurines found in the excavations at *Plestia* near Colfiorito (Annibaldi 1964:96; Ciotti 1964:100, 105, fig 10). She may also have preceded Venus as the deity worshipped at the sanctuary at Villa Fidelia (Spello) (Bradley 2000a:177). The inscription from Fossato di Vico was incised on a bronze sheet wrapped around and fixed to a terracotta cylindrical rim. Use of the Latin alphabet has dated this Umbrian inscription to the first century (cf. Iguvine Tables), and it reads: *cubrar matrer bio eso / oseto cisterno n C V / su maronato IIII / u l uarie t c fulonie* (Stefani 1940:172)[12]. It may not be possible to

[10] The Iguvine Tables make references to Cubra; also Mars and Jupiter (Bradley 1998a).
[11] Strabo 5.4.2; Pomponius Mela 2.65; Pliny *NH* 3.113; Silius Italicus *Punica* 8.433.
[12] "Here at the spring of mother Cupra this cistern was dedicated in 105, by the magistrates Varius Lucius son of Varius and Fullonius Gaius son of Titus".



Fig 3.1 Dedicatory inscription to Cupra and cistern from which dedication to Cupra was recovered, prov. Fossato di Vico (after Stefani 1940:171 figs 1 and 5)

identify exactly what the inscription was attached to but it provides evidence of the continued worship of Cupra by the inhabitants at Fossato di Vico into the Hellenistic period. It also seems that dedication of the cistern by the *marones* Varius and Fullonius to the goddess seeks her protection of their water supply, the cistern having been filled by a natural spring (*bio*) (Ciotti 1964:106)[13]. The inscription was recovered from a hollow in the rock, which had been lined with *cocciopesto* and which had a funnel-shaped cavity at the bottom. The remains of two cisterns were discovered near this same hollow (Stefani 1940). Roman period cisterns have also been identified at the church of S Martino (Grottammare) and at the sanctuary at Colfiorito (*Plestia*), so there appears to be a direct relationship between the worship of Cupra and the supply and storage of water (Ciotti 1964:109). Buxton makes the pertinent point that whilst "springs, perceived as pure and ultimately mysterious, are a constituent of ideal landscapes... (i)t is not, I think, a common human belief that access to the sacred can be gained through a cistern" (1994:109). Nevertheless, cisterns have been found in excavations of Greek temples and sanctuaries and several Graeco-Roman sources have commented on the medicinal use of rainwater, particularly from cisterns (Hellman 1994:275-8)[14]. It seems, therefore, that by the Hellenistic period the water from the sacred springs of Cupra was being collected in cisterns for ritual use, whether this was in purification rites or for practical applications resulting from the spring water's therapeutic or curative properties.

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[13] A comparable inscription was discovered in 1926 by the spring at S Eraclio on the Via Flaminia near Foligno. Here, the magistrates (*maronesi*) Foltonius and Petronius sought protection for the spring: *bio opset / marone / t foltonio/ se ptrnio* (Ciotti 1964:106 n 15).

[14] On the purity of rainwater and recommendation of water from cisterns in medicinal use, see: Atheneus 2.46d; Pliny *NH* 31.31; Vitruvius *De Archit* 8.2.1; Celsus 2.18.12; Columella 1.5.1-3. Also, Hellmann for purification of precipitation by the sun (1994:274-5).

In each case the inscription links Cupra with the 'mother': either she herself is described as 'Mother Cupra' or her cult is attended to by the matrons (mothers) of the settlement attached to the sanctuary. A similar situation is found in the second century inscriptions from the *lucus Pisaurensis* (3.4.1). Strabo identifies Cupra with Hera for her aspect as 'mother goddess' (Strabo 5.4.2). The survival of the goddess' name and profusion of her cult suggest that Cupra was the principal deity in Picenum (Gaggiotti *et al* 1993:285; Polidori 2000:377)[15]. No other deity's name from Iron Age Picenum is known, although it is probable that other named deities were propitiated, Hercules, Jupiter, Minerva and Mars (or their equivalents) all being possibilities (cf. 1.5.3; Bradley 1998a). The maternal connection encourages associations with fertility and the natural world, which seem to have continued to be significant aspects of cult practices throughout Iron Age Picenum, notably in cave sites but arguably at water sites also. Mostardi and Naso suggest that Cupra was particularly associated with springs (Mostardi 1977:49; Naso 2000:239). This in part accounts for Cupra's Graeco-Roman association with Hera/Juno, Aphrodite/Venus, Bona Dea and Feronia (Colucci 1779:25, 28; Dall'Osso 1915:68; Dumitrescu 1929:165; Allevi 1940:97; Latte 1960:60; Mostardi 1977:33; Fortini 1981:28-31; Colonna 1993:18-25).

Dumitrescu speaks more generally about Cupra as an anthropomorphic deity who represented "la forza della natura che si perpetua all'infinito" (1929:165) and equates her with a primitive form of Venus, whose human form the Picenes depicted in pendants. This argument is taken up by Naso who attributes the seventh century ivory and amber seated female figurines from Pianello di Castelbellino (at the foot of Cupramontana) and Ascolano to Cupra, in the guise of a fertility goddess (2000:241). It is possible that the 'Minerva' figurines were intended to represent her, since they too are widespread and there is a proven connection between warrior attributes and fertility. A further parallel between these two goddesses is found in the Celtic and Roman association of Minerva with therapeutic water (Susini 1975:324; Cunliffe 1985). The named and anthropomorphised Cupra may represent the female counterpart of the so-called 'Mars'. An inscription of the imperial period, from Cupra Marittima, identifies 'Mars Cyprius', which seems to marry the two principal Picene

[15] Ciotti questions Cupra's 'Picene' origins. She may have been the same, or syncretised with, the goddess Κύπρα, Κύπαρα found in Sicily (at Terravecchia di Cuti), which is not unfeasible given the maritime traffic around Italy which could link Sicily to the Adriatic coast (Ciotti 1964:108). Prosodcimi refers to her simply as "picena per eccellenza" (Franchi dell'Orto 1999:14).

deities (*CIL* XI.5805[16]; Colonna 1993:19, n 55). It is noteworthy that some dedications to Cupra were found alongside warrior figurines, for example, at Colfiorito. The Capestrano warrior may be another example, if **kuprí** is a reference to Cupra (Appendix III, AQ 2). Similar associations between Cupra or Feronia and Hercules are also known, particularly south and south-east of the Tronto valley (Torelli 1993:103-4; Colonna 1999b:91). The similar attributes of Mars and Hercules have been noted (1.5.4), suggesting that these two identities, or their visual representations, may have evolved from a single god.

3.2.2 Colfiorito (PG)

The Iron Age temple dedicated to Cupra was near the site of the small church of S Maria di Pístia in the plain of Colfiorito, situated between Foligno and Camerino. From the Pleistocene, a large lake had covered the seven small karstic valleys or plateaux which are now visible in the plain of Colfiorito (Ciotti 1964:102; Bonomi Ponzi 1985:201-3). By the Iron Age this huge lake had reduced into two large basins, forming the marshes at Colfiorito (to the south) and the lake in the plain of Casone (to the north), which can probably be equated with the *lacus Plestinus* referred to by a number of ancient sources (Livy 22.9.4; Polyb 3.87.2; Nepos *Hann* 43; Appian *Hann* 9.11). The ring of low, undulating hills and small mountains which comprises the sides of the basin is still clearly visible, although the lake has dried up. The higher mountains of M Pennino and M Acuto, M Profóglio and M Cavallo are visible beyond the basin. The plain of Colfiorito, which was formed by the marshes and lake, was on major communications route between Picenum and Umbria and seems to have acted as a meeting place and centre for exchange between different populations (Ciotti 1964:102; Bonomi Ponzi 1985:204, fig 12.2)[17]. This perceptibly flat, extensive plain forms a quite different landscape to most of Picenum and seems to represent an Umbro-Picene boundary zone[18].

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[16] This inscription was found in 1781 at the church of S Pietro Apostolo, on the Chiascio river near Gubbio, and reads: [*m*]*arti cyprio* / [*l i*] *avolenus arvulus signum* / *marmoreum ex voto posuit et* / *aedem vetustate con* / *refecit adiecto pronao et* [*co*].

[17] Ciotti notes that the area is still used by merchants and today farmers selling produce are to be found lining the road which leads across the plain (Ciotti 1964:102-3 note 8; Bispham pers. comm.).

[18] The evidence also suggests that the plain and mountain slopes were cultivated during the Iron Age and Roman periods (Bonomi Ponzi 1985:203-5).

The temple was located near two contemporaneous Iron Age settlements (2.4.2.i), leading Bonomi Ponzi to the conclusion that the sanctuary was a 'federal' sanctuary, being the cult focus for the non-urbanised Plestine state (Bonomi Ponzi 1982:142; 1985:213). This seems probable since the deity propitiated here was Cupra, ostensibly an important deity of Iron Age Picenum and Umbria (Ciotti 1964:101). The foundation of the sanctuary simultaneously with the archaeologically visible settlements, on a major communications route, lends further support to her hypothesis. However, the sanctuary was sited on the shores of the lake and this provided the cult focus.

In the early 1960s excavations of the sanctuary brought to light three Umbrian inscriptions cut into bronze sheets: 1) **cupras matres pletinas sacr[u**..., 2) **[cupr]as matres p[letinas**..., 3) **cup[ras**... **]as matres pletinas sacru esu** (Ciotti 1964:101-1; Po 2 in Bradley 2000a:288)[19]. It is difficult to ascertain the form and function of these bronze sheets, although the first, where the inscription is carried over four separate pieces, could have been wrapped around terracotta or wooden cylinders like the inscription from Fossato di Vico (3.2.1). A rich votive deposit of black-gloss pottery, and a number of bronze schematic, anthropomorphic figurines of the 'warrior' and 'worshipper' types were found scattered throughout the site, in the same excavations (Ciotti 1964:104). These finds have dated the beginning of the sanctuary to the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century, with the Roman material giving a probable end date of the first century CE. No evidence of earlier use of the sanctuary site has come to light as yet. The sanctuary is significant because it identifies Cupra as one of the deities worshipped here in the Umbro-Picene Apennine zone. Cupra is well-represented in the Apennine chain, as well as deeper into Picenum, particularly at nodes of communication, where routes crossed and where trade and exchange took place. As described here, Colfiorito was one of these areas, so it seems that Cupra may have had a role as protector of these places of transition. Whether she was protector of the community or of the travellers is unclear, but her cult seems to have spread along communications routes, which indicates that mobility was a contributing factor to the tenacity of her cult. It is hypothesised that the evolution of her cult in these areas began with the people engaged in early exchange and transhumance, but

[19] "I am *sacrum* and belong to mother Cupra of Plestia".

then became fixed at this nodal point through monumentalisation (i.e. with a temple or sanctuary and inscriptions naming the goddess) as the wealth of people whose lives revolved around these communications routes increased. This was clearly a gradual process, continuing until at least the second century CE (based on the Hadrianic restoration of the sanctuary of Cupra at Cupra Marittima, 3.6.2) (Mostardi 1977:130). It is more difficult to ascertain the earlier phases of her cult, but votive material shows that it was well established by the end of the fifth century.

Testing this hypothesis with respect to the cult of Cupra at Colfiorito, the lake would have been a vital water supply for both the inhabitants and visitors (human and animal), and the position of the sanctuary implies that one of Cupra's roles here was to protect this. The later dedication of the cistern at Fossato di Vico seems to support this suggestion, although the evolution of cult centres in the boundary zone suggests that Cupra's role went further than this. It is unclear from the available evidence whether her primary role was as protector of the community or of the water supply, but perhaps the two are so interconnected that it is unnecessary to try to make a distinction. There may have been issues of rights of access to the water, since the interests of the itinerant population had to be balanced against those of the community. The success and stability of a community is dependent on both its resources and its good relations with its neighbours and those passing through its territory. The difference here between Cupra as an identifiable, i.e. named, deity and the evidence of cult at other water sources is that Cupra appears to have had higher status than the other deities of springs and wetlands for whom we find evidence in the region. One might infer from this that other sacred sites with water as a focus were locales of more localised cult practice, but this does not appear to have been the case. As we shall see, all identifiable water features in the region have a physical, geographical relationship to either a monumentalised sanctuary or communications route (usually a road) and place of meeting and exchange[20].

Although the Umbrian inscriptions identify Cupra, the Romans, whose *municipium* of *Plestia* was established to the south-east of the sanctuary (near the further of the two Iron Age settlements), equated the cult with that of Feronia. This was presumably a

[20] This phenomenon finds parallels in the territory of Metaponto (Magna Graecia), notably, the sacred spring at Pizzica and monumentalised sanctuary at S Biagio (Edlund 1985:24-5).

syncretism of the two goddesses here, despite the fact that Cupra's cult continued to be celebrated by the Romans at Cupramontana (probably until the first century BCE) and at Cupra Marittima (until at least the second century CE). Feronia was purportedly a deity of the Sabines (Varro *LL* 5.74) whose propitiation has been widely attested in southern Umbria (Bradley 1998a), so she was distinct from Cupra in the minds of at least some of the Central Italic populations. In Roman religion Feronia was traditionally associated with both water sources and groves, notably with the *fanum* and *lucus Feroniae* in the Campus Martius in Rome, which may have included temple C in the Largo Argentina (Livy 1.30.5, *CIL* V.8307) and with the *lacus Feroniae* near Capena (Livy 1.30.5; 26.2.8), where terracottas of swaddled babies and anatomical ex-votos have been found (Le Glay 1986:280). The equation of Cupra and Feronia seems primarily to have been based on the association of both with water and in particular, with the establishment of Feronia's cult beside lakes and springs.

It seems that there was no specific relationship between the worship of Cupra and the type of natural feature which provided the cult focus of her sanctuary, although it is clear that natural features were prominent in selection of her sacred sites: for example, Cupra of the sea (Cupra Marittima) and of the mountain (Cupramontana). The relationship of the sanctuary at Colfiorito with anthropogene landscape features (roads, settlements and, arguably, cultivated areas) and with a natural feature (the lake) reflects the different facets of the goddess. She was the deity who represented and protected the Plestine community, the 'mother of the Plestini', and she mediated between the community and the natural world. The lake was a key feature of the Plestine territory, one of the landscape features which constructed and delineated it, and which provided a secure water supply. It could also flood, which would have had both destructive and beneficial aspects, creating uninhabitable wetlands or the threat of disease (malaria in particular), especially since part of the area was marshland, but also increasing the seasonal fertility of the area (Borca 2000:76-82; Horden and Purcell 2000:320-22). So, Cupra seems to have represented (here at least) the bountiful and terrible aspects of nature and within this had aspects connected with fertility and with protection of the community.

To explain and be convinced of a potential association of the sanctuary at Colfiorito with Feronia we need to look to other comparable sites. It is hypothesised also that in

some Picene communities the cult of Cupra became syncretised with, or absorbed by, that of Feronia, particularly in the southernmost area of Picenum and its boundary zones. If this hypothesis stands, it may be possible to identify further cult places in Picenum that were formerly dedicated to Cupra.

Like Cupra, Feronia is one of the few deities propitiated in Central Adriatic Italy whose name is known to us. She had a strong association with water (lakes, springs and mineralised or thermal springs) and with the feminine and, related to this, with healing and fertility. Within Picenum and its boundary zones, archaeological evidence for her cult has been found at Pésaro (*lucus Pisaurensis*), Borgo Tufico, Civita di Bagno, Loreto Apurtino, and *Trebula Mutuesca* (Torelli 1993:100-1; Alvino 1997:29). Feronia's cult was monumentalised[21], but it is difficult to assess whether this is a result of bias of excavation or preservation, or whether there is a direct correlation between named deities and monumentalisation (probably both). Her cult was widespread from the second half of the fourth century onwards and so reflects the continuum of Latin and Roman acculturation sweeping Central Italy in the third century. However, the archaeological evidence reveals that each of these sites had an earlier Iron Age phase, implying that acculturation here meant the syncretism of Feronia with Cupra.

3.2.3 Pool/standing water (including marshland): Civita di Bagno (AQ)

Excavations in the early 1980s at Civita di Bagno near S Vittorino, near the Roman *municipium* of *Amiternum*, uncovered a Hellenistic temple dedicated to Feronia (Coarelli and La Regina 1984:24). The goddess was identified by an inscription brought to light by the excavations. The surviving temple architecture, most of which is now in the Museo Archeologico in Chieti and the rest at *Amiternum*, consisted of a number of Corinthian capitals and parts of a frieze decorated with cupids and garlands, which have dated the structure to the early first century (Coarelli and La Regina 1984:24, 153; Gianfranco Consorte pers. comm.). It is possible that the temple was built to serve the new town of *Amiternum*, but the parallels with other temples to Feronia in southern Picenum and its boundary zones suggest that although there was probably a strong connection between sanctuary and *municipium*, the temple was

[21] Like Cupra's, with temples, sanctuaries and inscriptions.

constructed on an Iron Age sacred site. This identification is made on the basis that the temple was built next to a pool and mineralised spring, which appear to have constituted the cult focus of the shrine, and also that an important Sabine settlement existed at *Testruna*, near *Amiternum*, prior to foundation of the Roman *municipium* (Bonghi Jovino 1974:66; Coarelli and La Regina 1984:10; 4.6). The temple at Civita di Bagno was situated in a southern boundary zone between Picenum and Sabinum, directly in line with a number of other sites identified with Feronia, although these all appear to have been in Sabine territory. The principal topographic differences between this and the other sites sacred to Feronia are that Civita di Bagno lay on the Aterno river, east of the Via Salaria, whereas the other temples of Feronia lay on the Velino. The presence of a South Picene inscription (RI 1) at Cures, which marks the western end of this line of sites (Map III), indicates that at least part of the local Picene population frequented this area and so are likely to have engaged with the cult of Feronia. The identification of Feronia and the natural features of pool and mineralised spring, which acted as the cult focus of the shrine at Civita di Bagno, make the site comparable with the sanctuaries at S Vittore di Cíngoli, Colfiorito and, perhaps, the *lucus Pisaurensis*.

3.2.4 M Bibele (Monterenzio, BO) (see also 5.3.2)

Standing water is one of the more difficult water features to identify either phenomenologically or archaeologically, since it is more prone to change over time than the other types of water under consideration. The pool at Civita di Bagno has survived, largely due to the spring that feeds it, and monumentalisation of the site was extensive enough to leave an archaeologically visible imprint. The only other identified example of a cult place with a pool as its focus is in the far north of Picenum, on M Tamburino, a peak of M Bibele[22].

Excavations carried out by the Comune di Monterenzio and the University of Bologna between 1989 and 1995 in the locality of M Bibele (fig 2.9) revealed evidence of extensive Iron Age occupation, despite the area's considerable disturbance in more recent times (Vitali 1991:89). The sacred site of interest here is marked by a

[22] Discussion of the temenos is taken up at 5.3.2, since M Bibele can also be described as a peak sanctuary. See 2.4.3 for discussion of the settlement and cemetery. The sacred site on M Tamburino will be referred to as 'M Bibele', since this is the synecdoche used to identify the site in all published works.

substantial votive deposit comprised of 195 bronze votive figurines, over 100 miniature pottery vessels and a number of full-size pottery vessels dating from the late Bronze Age to the fifth century (Vitali 1994:261-3). The deposit of figurines and vessels occupied an elliptical area of 108m² (nearly one third of the size of the cemetery), in a stratum of clay and organic matter, reaching 35cm depth at the central point (Vitali 1994:263; fig 3.2). This natural depression, which showed traces of roots of reeds and other plants, was formerly a pool, open to the sky, the water brackish and unsuitable for drinking (Vitali 1991:86; Vitali 1994:264; Vitali *et al* 1997:127). The pool was located at a height of 575-600m asl, approaching the highest point of the mountainous ridge, and the whole site is bounded by the Idice and Zena rivers and their tributaries, one of which probably fed the pool. Its open and exposed location means that the pool would have been well-lit and strongly reflective, largely reflecting the sky, and also the vegetation growing within it.

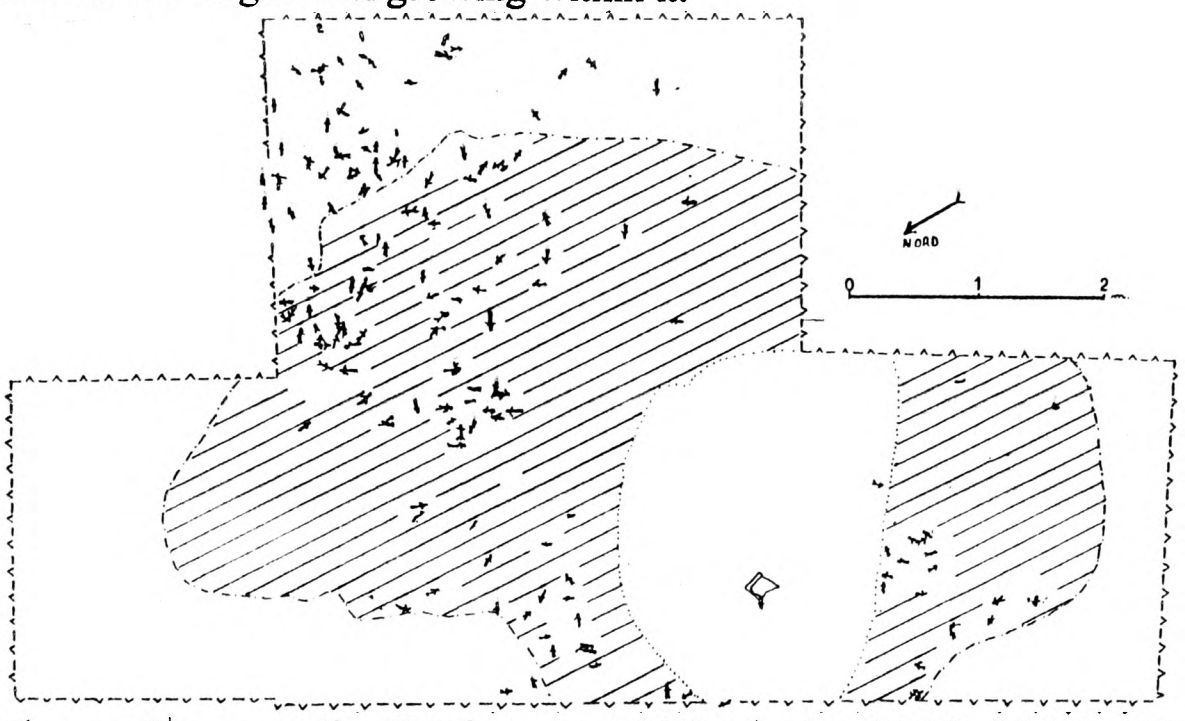


Fig 3.2 Findspots of bronze votive figurines, prov. M Tamburino (M Bibele) (after Vitali 1994 fig 1)

There is strong evidence that the pool was the cult focus of the site in the Bronze and Iron Ages. The soft clay bottom strata of the depression contained fragments of Bronze Age impasto pottery vessels[23]. These had abrasions on their surfaces, which seem to have been caused by the action of moving water (Vitali *et al* 1997:127-8). The vessels were deposited in the pool, either complete, with some vegetal contents (comparable to finds from the Lago di Cíngoli, 3.4.2), or having first been deliberately broken. Full-size ceramics from the fifth century Iron Age deposit also

[23] The walls of rounded jars with a rim and pinched tongue, the walls of vessels with a horizontal corded pattern, bases and a cylindrical handle (Vitali *et al* 1997).

appear to have been deliberately broken before deposition, given that they were found alongside intact miniature pottery vessels, also with carbonised organic remains (Vitali 1991:89; Vitali 1994:263-4). Arguably, friction caused by the water or weight of debris may have broken the full-size pottery whilst leaving the sturdier miniature vessels intact, but the comparative evidence of deliberate breakage, particularly where water is an associated context, favours the cult use explanation (e.g. Lago di Cíngoli). The extent of the carbonised area also suggests that the figurines were deposited in the marshy shallows of the pool (only one figurine was recovered from the clay), whereas the pottery was deposited in the deeper water.

The bronze figurines were otherwise scattered throughout the deposit, but were most concentrated in the eastern area (Vitali 1994:261, fig 1; Vitali *et al* 1997:129, fig 2; fig 3.2). This might suggest that both deposits were dumped in the water when the number of artefacts became too numerous or outmoded (cf. Jackson 1988:160; Glinister 2000:54), perhaps having originally been associated with the earlier phases of the cemetery, since there were no other structures nearby. However, the presence of a mixture of banqueting equipment and more domestic materials[24] within the deposit weakens this explanation. The bronze figurines fall broadly into a single type[25], which can be subdivided into 144 male worshippers, including one with an offering dish, 33 female worshippers, 5 of uncertain identity and a single example of a warrior with crested helmet, javelin and shield (Vitali 1994:264; Vitali *et al* 1997:134-5). The figurines were probably of Etruscan or Umbrian manufacture and date to the fifth and fourth centuries (Vitali 1991:86). Guidi records some of the miniature pottery vessels[26], all of which have been dated to a range of the fifth to fourth centuries (Vitali *et al* 1997:135, 137-9, 151-3). The figurines have pronged feet, showing that they were intended to be stood upright, and traces of wood remain on some (Vitali

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[24] Pendants in bronze thread, a fragment of bronze panel, two iron rods from the top of a candelabrum, a terracotta spindle, a lower piece of a grinding stone made from tefrite leucite, a series of small tefrite grinding stones, small river pebbles and two fragments of *kylix* handle of Volterran black-gloss ware, the last datable to the final decade of the fourth to first decade of the third century (Guidi in Vitali *et al* 1997:135).

[25] Divided by Guidi into five sub-types: (i) schematic worshippers, more or less filigree and ithyphallic, with pronged feet (109 examples), (ii) schematic worshippers with 'equine' faces (12 examples); (iii) schematic worshippers with feet together and one prong, with body less accurately depicted than in types (i) and (ii) (23 examples, two variations), (iv) schematic worshippers with long clothing and two pronged feet (28 examples), and (v) schematic worshippers with long clothing and feet together, with single solid prong (5 examples) (Vitali *et al* 1995:135).

[26] 1 bowl, 1 flat dish, 1 beaker, 11 cups, 31 vases.

1994:264; Bradley 2000a:72-3). The absence of human remains in this area suggests that the rituals were not part of the burial rites, so a sacrifice to propitiate the ancestral spirits of those buried in the cemetery seems likely. It seems that the figurines represented either the living human worshippers or the ancestors. The earliest burials have been dated to the last decade of the fifth century, but the cemetery's use increased throughout the course of the fourth century (Vitali *et al* 1995:133). Whilst the M Bibele figurines may have been manufactured solely for the purpose of being cast into the pool, it seems more likely that they had been on display elsewhere since their manufacture and were redeposited in the pool, possibly during the fourth century. They could have been on display in private household shrines, or even on graves in the cemetery. The single zoomorphic figurine and single warrior are the noticeable exceptions amongst the worshipper figurines, which implies that the worshipper figurines represented members of the community, whilst the warrior represented an actual or, more likely, a mythical ancestor or founder of the community (Vitali 1994:263; cf. Berggren 1990; Whitehouse and Herring 1999:3-4).

The visual effects of the action of depositing pottery and bronze figurines must have been very different, which might suggest that they served different purposes. The miniature pottery vessels were much simpler to make than bronze figurines in terms of ease of access to raw materials (it is possible that they were made from clay from the pool) and the degree of skill required to form them. Whilst it has been argued that miniaturised artefacts served a symbolic function, miniature pottery vessels could still be utilised as containers, which the broken full-size vessels could not (Bertani 1997:81, Vitali *et al* 1997:130; cf. Skeates 1995:288). They represented everyday objects used in consumption and could be used for this purpose on a micro-level, which might suggest ritual consumption of food and drink. At M Bibele it is unclear who the consumers were: worshippers, divinities or spirits of the dead ancestors who occupied the cemetery. The vessels were cast into the water, so it seems that the pool was perceived as a portal between the lived-world and the otherworld. During the day, or by moonlight, the sky would have emphasised the reflective surface of the water and its mirror-like or divinatory properties. The brackishness of the water would categorise it as abnormal, since it would have tasted bitter, which might in turn have enhanced the association with the otherworld, particularly the world of the dead. Indeed, the location of the cemetery beside it would suggest that the pool was

conceived of as an entrance to the underworld (Taube 1992:189, 194-7; Brady and Ashmore 1999:137; 1.2).

The pottery was deposited in the depths of the pool, whereas the bronze figurines were found largely in the marshy shallows, indicating their different ritual function. Bronze is a highly polished and reflective amalgam and as such, shares some of the visual phenomena of water (Malone *et al* 1994:166). The visual effect of the figurines being cast into the pool is likely to have been dramatic: where each bronze figurine met the water, amongst the reeds, the two materials would have enhanced one another, as the fluid, shining and reflective qualities of each was mirrored by the other. When the figurines fell into the pool they would have broken the mirror, sinking under the water and entering the otherworld, but at the margins. As each figurine sank silently out of sight into the pool it would have created ripples on the surface, which would pinpoint the place of entry long after the figurine disappeared. This would have been the final action of a potentially longer ritual, representing the end of the mortal life of each figurine.

A comparable archaic Roman tradition of deposition of anthropomorphic figures into water existed in the annual festival of the *argei* (the *Sacra Argeorum*), in which corn dolls were cast into the river Tiber, in place of an older tradition of human sacrifice:

> "And lest the people should feel any scruple at having neglected their traditional [human] sacrifices, he [Hercules] taught them to appease the anger of the god [Saturn] by making effigies resembling the men they had been wont to bind hand and foot and throw into the stream of the Tiber, and dressing these in the same manner, to throw them into the river instead of the men, his purpose being that any superstitious dread remaining in the minds of all might be removed, since the semblance of the ancient ritual would still be preserved" (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.38.2)[27].

The Roman rite immediately followed the Lemuria, with the purpose of expelling hostile spirits to avoid their retalliation and to release the land from pollution (Harmon 1978:1446-59; Holland 1961:313-15; Nagy 1985)[28]. The deposition of bronze figurines into the pool on M Bibele might therefore have symbolised the human sacrifice which appeased the ancestral spirits of those buried in the cemetery,

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[27] See also Plutarch *Quaest Rom* 86; Livy 1.21.5; Ovid *Fasti* 3.791-2, 5.603ff, 5.621ff; Varro *LL* 5.45ff.
[28] Frazer records a Slavonic ritual where effigies and puppets are thrown into waters during Lent to aid fertility and the return of spring and to prevent infection (Frazer 1957:404-9).

whilst the pottery represented food offerings or tithes, given to the spirits as part of fertility rites[29].

3.3 Springs

Freshwater springs can be considered apart from thermal and mineralised springs (3.4). It seems that they were considered to be "religiously powerful", with regenerative and healing powers, as well as a direct connection with fertility of the land (Buxton 1994:109-10; Anati 1986:10; Edlund 1987:60-1). In practice, as running water, springs are unlikely to have carried infectious diseases, whereas still water may have done, particularly if it was used by large numbers of people for rituals (Reynolds and Tanner 1983:231-2). Like the wetland sites, bronze figurines were deposited at springs, with notable examples from Apiro, at the spring of the Musone, but also near Lago di Cíngoli, and from the sanctuary of Montefortino di Arcévia, at the Nevola spring (Landolfi and Baldelli 1997b:180; Landolfi 1997a:172). In Picene VI and the Hellenistic and Roman periods these deposits of bronze figurines and of pottery vessels (usually miniature or black-gloss) tended to give way to terracotta ex-votos of body parts and anthropoid statuettes. These variations in the type of artefacts deposited raise the question of whether the meaning of these cult places changed during the Iron Age. As we shall see, bronze figurines and pottery vessels occur across all types of sacred sites in Picenum and are not confined only to water locations. It is most likely that water sites were propitiated for the particular properties of the water and in many cases the curative properties may have been recognised. To assess whether the correlation between deposit type and water feature can be taken any further, and if any trends can be identified, specific examples of sites with a spring require exploration.

3.3.1 Montefortino di Arcévia (AN) (see also 5.3.3)

The sanctuary at Montefortino di Arcévia nestles between the mountains of S Angelo (752m asl) and Pelato (593m asl), at the source of the river Nevola, a tributary of the Misa. Although the site can be described as a peak sanctuary, i.e. a sacred site in a high place (5.1), the spring was arguably its cult focus (Landolfi 1997a:173-4). The

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[29] The tradition of human sacrifice or blood-letting at funerals or grave sides is found throughout ancient Mediterranean cultures and was said to have been the origin of gladiatorial games (Tertullian *De spectaculis* 12).

sanctuary, a possible temple building preceded by a votive deposit, was located near a Gallic cemetery above the modern village of Montefortino (2.4.3; Plate 3.4). The earliest burials date from the sixth century and the sanctuary from the sixth to first centuries (Landolfi 1997a; De Maria 1999:341). The site is comparable to M Bibele, insofar as we find a topographic connection between the sacred site and the Gallic cemetery (500m between them) during the third to second century phase (De Maria 1999:341). In addition, both the Montefortino and M Bibele sites are also on low peaks of similar height (below 600m asl) and in both cases water was a cult focus of the site.



Plate 3.4 View of the Nevola from Montefortino (April 2001)

The first phase of both sites is marked by votive deposits of miniature pottery vessels and bronze figurines. The impasto pottery vessels that were recovered from the Nevola spring site date from the sixth to fourth centuries and include three covers or lids, two beakers, a jar and an Attic-style *krater* (Landolfi 1997a:178-9). These are all roughly manufactured representations of items whose full-size counterparts would have been in use in the area, the Attic *krater* being of slightly later date (fifth to fourth

century), finer than the rest and providing evidence of contact with the Greek trade network (cf. Franchi dell'Orto 1999:279-80, cat 619). The range of pottery represented is varied, but it is uncertain how many more miniature vessels were deposited, since depositions may have been made into the spring, and over what time frame. The vessels all represent containers for storage, cooking or consumption of liquid, with the possible exception of the jar, which could equally have contained solid foodstuffs. The lids would have been for jars, so the same possibilities apply. So, a direct relationship between the water of the spring and the vessels' contents, or symbolised contents, seems probable. Beakers could have symbolised drinking water, the *krater*, wine, and the jar or jars (if we extrapolate the lids to belonging to jars), drinking water or a water-based foodstuff. The intended consumers could have been the deity of the spring or the ancestral spirits of those buried in the cemetery.

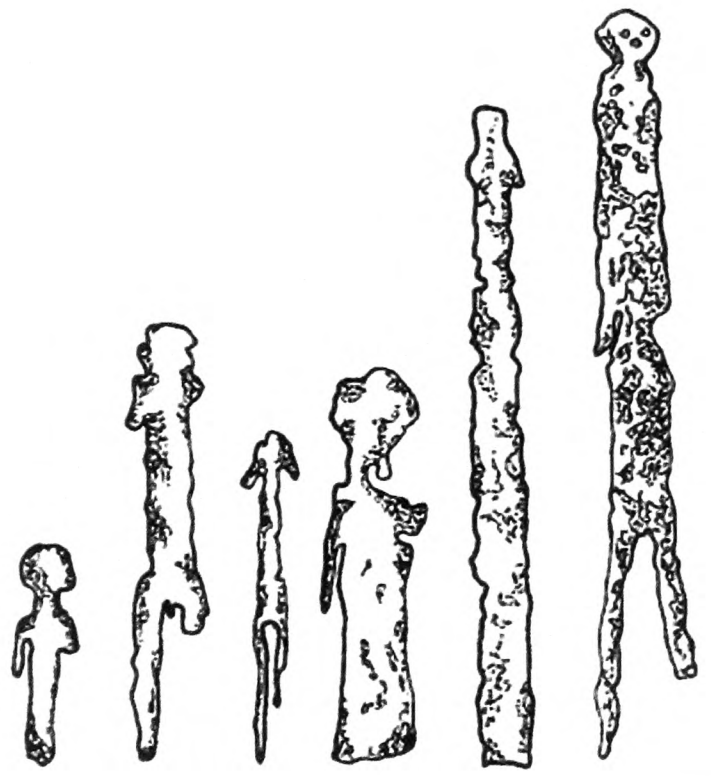


Fig 3.3 Schematic figurines cut from sheet bronze, fifth to fourth centuries, prov. Montefortino di Arcévia (Anc Mus)

At Montefortino, the figurines were schematic and cut from sheet bronze; at M Bibele they were schematic, three-dimensional figurines (Colonna 1970:111, tav 79, 340; Vitali *et al* 1997:134-5; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:239, cat 382-6; fig 3.3). Dating of the figurines is problematic. Colonna's date range of the sixth to fifth centuries was followed until recently, but a later range of the fifth to fourth centuries is currently favoured by some, so it is unclear if the figurines were deposited contemporaneously

with, or subsequently to, the pottery (Colonna 1970:111-13; Landolfi 1997a:173-6; Baldelli in Franchi dell'Orto 1999:235; Landolfi in Franchi dell'Orto 1999:239; Naso 2000:245).

Of the eleven figurines from Montefortino, two are visibly male, two probably female and the rest are of indeterminate sex[30]. One is a warrior figurine, holding a shield on his/her left arm; of the rest, most of the arms have broken off, so there may have been other warriors and/or they may be representations of worshippers. That the warrior figurine is androgynous, whilst the sex of others is indicated, is once again reminiscent of the Capestrano warrior and other Central Adriatic figures of the type, with the implication that the warrior(s) here served a similar role to them (Whitehouse and Herring 1999:3; 2.3; 3.2.4; 5.3.1). It has been suggested that the Montefortino figurines follow an Umbro-Latial tradition and prove contact with Tyrrhenian Italy during this period (Colonna 1970:112-4; Landolfi 1997a:174; De Maria 1999:341; Naso 2000:245). Montefortino is not far from the pre-Roman Adriatic-Apennine road network, so contact is possible, but the deposition of figurines of Umbro-Latial manufacture does not mean that beliefs from west of the Apennines were also adopted (Colonna 1970:109, 111; Uncini 1995:54)[31]. Baldelli argues that the warrior figurine from Cagli closely resembles that from Montefortino, since the shield is of comparable design and was fixed to the figurines in the same way (Baldelli in Franchi dell'Orto 1999:235). This is convincing, as is his argument that the figurines were manufactured in a north Umbrian workshop, given the incidence of stylistically similar figurines in the Apennine area. The connection between warrior figurines, the Apennines and routes of communication is discussed in 5.3.1 (cf. 1.5.4), but the protective role of the sacro-symbolic warriors may have been an aspect of worship at Montefortino.

The miniature pottery vessels and bronze votive figurines near the cemetery at Montefortino might indicate that they, like the deposit on M Bibele, were associated with ancestor cult, although they were found on the peak, near the spring, rather than

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[30] Landolfi argues that three are male and three female, but this is on the basis that those wearing long clothing are female; since one of the male figurines wears similar clothing this cannot be taken as indicative of sex (Landolfi 1997a:174).

[31] Montefortino overlooked the Protoflaminia, which was a Roman consular road built in 290-220 over a pre-existent Umbro-Picene road, so contact is extremely likely (Uncini 1995:95).

associated directly with the cemetery. The Nevola spring has characteristics distinct from those of the pool on M Bibele: it is an example of fresh, running, normal water and seems most likely to have been propitiated for its life-sustaining, regenerative and purifying properties. A connection between the spring, the votives and the cemetery therefore remains possible, but the characteristics of the spring would suggest that this water feature had a different function to the pool, associated with the well-being of the living rather than of the dead, and could mean that a different set of beliefs affected religious practices here.

If the remains on the peak above Montefortino of an *opus quadratum* wall of travertine blocks are part of a temple, this was unlike the Celtic temenos on M Bibele (5.3.2) and more closely resembles the Umbrian peak sanctuaries like that on M Torre di Maggiore (Brizio 1896:3-13; Landolfi 1997a:174). The deposit of terracotta votives and comparison with M Torre di Maggiore date the sanctuary's second phase to the third to second centuries, although the votives were found near the spring, outside the wall[32]. The terracottas include representations of a left hand and wrist, two veiled female heads, one unveiled female head and two busts, one female and one male; also the two-dimensional head of a ruminant, possibly ovine (Landolfi 1997a:176-8, figs 8-14). The hand may be an anatomical ex-voto, but could also have been fitted into some kind of socket, so may have been part of a statue[33]. Black-gloss pottery was amongst the other finds, and a fibula dating to the first century, the last indicating that the sanctuary continued in use after the second century, although no more terracotta votive deposits were made. Deposition of pottery vessels continued into the Roman imperial period (Landolfi 1997a:173-4).

The second phase of the sanctuary may mark a change in function, since it is quite distinct from the first phase. The latest possible date for the bronze votive figurines is the fourth century and there is no further evidence of cult use of the site until the third to second centuries, marked by a small deposit of terracotta ex-votos and a possible temple building. Propitiation at the spring may have continued in the intervening period but, if so, has left no trace. Further figurines could have been deposited in the

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[32] This does not mean that the wall is not part of a temple building, since terracotta votives were often disposed of in ritual pits once they were too numerous (Jackson 1988:160; Glinister 2000:54, note 1).
[33] The scale of the hand would make the statue approximately 60cm tall (if standing).

spring and washed away, or votive deposits of organic material made, either of which would be in keeping with veneration of the ancestors or of a spring (1.2; 3.1).

The transition from votive deposits of bronze figurines to terracottas between the fifth and third centuries is apparent in Umbrian sanctuaries and, as we shall see, common to cave sites in southern Picenum[34] (Bradley 2000a:173, 175-7). Bradley argues that, in Umbria, this marks a change in religious practices after the Roman conquest of the region, but that it also reflects a shift from effort and wealth expended making bronze votives to those expended in urban construction and, broadly-speaking, a transition from peak sanctuaries to urban temples (M Torre Maggiore being an exception) (Bradley 2000a:173-4). Landolfi makes a similar argument for Montefortino, that the second phase of the sanctuary is a result of Romanisation of the area, as it became part of the *ager Gallicus*, with the votive material of black-gloss pottery and terracotta votives being typically 'Central Italic'[35] (1991:219-34; 1997:174). This is a plausible, but incomplete, explanation. Acceptance of 'Romanisation' as an explanation for change in religious practices here is dependent on this being taken to mean a gradual process of adoption, rather than imposition of Roman practices as a result of conquest (cf. 3.4.1). The evidence from Montefortino shows no specifically Roman influence, rather, a range of external influences. For example, the bronze figurines of the sanctuary's first phase may have been manufactured in western Italy or the Apennines, but their reprentations (warrior, worshippers) and deposition are characteristic of Picenum. The second phase finds Umbrian architecture, Central Italic votives and Celtic burials. This range of cultural markers indicates that Montefortino was well-connected, with different people and artefacts passing through, and some staying, suggesting that the community here was cosmopolitan, either in what we would see as its ethnic composition, or in its adoption of artefacts and practices. It is unsurprising then that the sanctuary shows parallels with the largely Gallic sacred site of M Bibele, the peak sanctuaries of Umbria and the Central Italic 'healing sancturies'. Nevertheless, the religious practices here seem to be specific to the site and a better explanation than "la romanizzazione dell'*Ager Gallicus*" or even

[34] This phenomenon can also be seen at Grotta Bella, near Ameria (Monacchi 1986; Bradley 2000a:172).
[35] i.e. Etrusco-Latial-Campanian.

'adoption of Central Italic practices' is required for the second phase of the site (Landolfi 1997a:174).

The terracotta votives are largely female representations, of either worshippers or a goddess, which may relate to the association of springs with female divinities (Seneca *NQ* 3.14.2-3; Brewster 1997:13; Landolfi and Baldelli 1997b:181). If so, this might indicate a refinement or re-emphasis of the cult between the first and second phases of the sanctuary, with the association between the spring's life-giving and regenerative properties and the female ability to give birth being anthropomorphised. This does not exclude the spring's association with ancestor cult, although it may make this less likely, particularly in the second phase. Naso claims that the cult of the spring at Montefortino shows characteristics typical of the cult of Cupra and although he fails to argue the case and cites no specific evidence for this, the evidence of propitiation of the spring, with a possible female association, in addition to the fact that Montefortino was a node of communication, does allow the possiblity (Naso 2000:239; cf. Colfiorito 3.2.2). Susini has suggested that lipped vessels from burials of the Roman imperial period were characteristic of the cult of Bona Dea which, if correct, might indicate syncretism of Cupra with Bona Dea here (1966:89, 107-8; Landolfi 1997a:174). Further investigation and comparison with other water and peak sites is required if we are to test this hypothesis.

3.3.2 Sant'Andrea (Cupra Marittima, AP)

A deposit of 1000 miniature pottery vessels and clay objects was excavated from the Picene cemetery at Sant'Andrea, with the nearby spring of the Fosso di Sant'Andrea providing an apparent cult focus (De Maria 1999:341). These parallels with Montefortino warrant exploration, particularly in light of the proven propitiation of the goddess Cupra at Cupra Marittima.

Various dates have been suggested for the votive deposit, with an eighth and seventh century range currently favoured (Guzzo *et al* 1994:250-1; De Maria 1999:341). The presence of two-handled cups, jars and biconical vases, largely employed for funerary rituals, has led to the hypothesis that the site was associated with the cult of Cupra, particularly rituals associated with water, purification and the rites of passage between the world of the living and the dead (Guzzo *et al* 1994:251-2; Baldelli 1997a:162; De

Maria 1999:341). The association with funerary rituals and the otherworld has been made on the basis that the vessels, particularly the biconic vases, are similar in date and type to those discovered in Picene tombs at Cupra Marittima, Grottammare and Ripatransone, although it is not uncommon for miniature pottery vessels to be found amongst the grave goods in Picene tombs, e.g. Spinatoli (Percossi Serenelli 1989:125ff in Baldelli 1997a:162).

Sant'Andrea is an interesting example because it suggests some continuity of death-related cults between different communities across the region (M Bibele, Montefortino, Cupra Marittima), but there is still no real evidence that either this sacred site or Montefortino was associated with Cupra. What these cult places do highlight is the perceived connection between death and springs, which may also have included funerary rites, the otherworld (probably an underworld), ancestor cult and the regenerative and purifying qualities of normal spring water. As we shall see, this finds parallels in several of the caves containing evidence of Picene cult use.

3.4 Mineralised and thermal springs

Freshwater springs can by and large be described as 'normal water', although several emerge from rock fissures or caves, whereas mineralised and thermal springs are better described as 'abnormal water' sources. Many of these are potable, but also share unusual features which give them a further ritual function, this often being associated with cult use beyond the basic water/fertility relationship. Various Roman sources describe as curative water which has a particular taste or some remarkable property (Varro *LL* 9.69; Pliny *NH* 31.4-5, 59-62; Seneca *Letters to Lucilius* 41.3; *NQ* 3.1.2). Seneca's list is particularly interesting, since it broadly mirrors the range of anatomical ex-votos found, particularly, in Central Italic sanctuaries: *quaedam enim oculos, quaedam nervos iuvant; quaedam inveterata et desperata a medicis vitia percurnat; quaedam medentur ulceribus; quaedam interiora potu fovent et pulmonis ac viscerum querelas levant; quaedam supprimunt sanguinem. tam varius singulis usus gustus est* (*NQ* 3.1.2)[36]. The anatomical ex-votos that can be clearly identified as

[36] "For example, some cure the eyes, some the sinews; some completely cure ailments that are chronic and given up by doctors. Some heal sores; some, when drunk, relieve internal pain and alleviate complaints of the lungs and bowels. Some stop bleeding. Their individual uses are as varied as their taste."

sometimes relating to these ailments are: eyes, intestines, uteri, hands and feet, of which all but intestines are known from Picenum.

The thermal and mineralised springs of Picenum can be subdivided into the following types: thermal, sulphurous, ferruginous and salsoiodic, with some of the mineralised springs also being thermal (Conta 1982:39)[37]. The calcium carbonate content of many water sources is also high, since these emerge from the karstic rock of the region's mountains and hills. Concrete forms where this highly calcified water mixes with volcanic rock, petrifying material such as tree roots which rest in, or are cast into, the shallows (Pliny *NH* 31.29; Seneca *NQ* 3.20.3-4). The springs tend to be comparatively well-recorded, since many have continued in use as healing shrines in the Christian era. For this reason, it is not uncommon to find evidence for ancient sacred sites beneath several churches in the region, such as the church of S Maria di Rambona, the abbey of SS Vitale e Ruffino (Amandola) and the abbey of SS Benedotto e Mauro (Terme di Cotilia).

Most of these sites show evidence of temple structures dating to the Roman period, but it is probable that some, if not all, also represent unmonumentalised Picene sites with an oracular nature (cf. Cianfarani *et al* 1978:18). For example, the spring near SS Benedotto e Mauro is sulphurous and may have been a sacred site in the Iron Age; at S Venanzo in Camerino is a mineralised spring. At Acqua della Santa, Loreto (*Lauretum*) Apollo Laureus was venerated at a fountain and laurel grove. Another shrine to Apollo, the *Fanum Apollinis*, was established near Morrovalle (3.5km east of Macerata), north-east of the Roman town of *Pausulae* (modern S Claudio al Chienti). The identification with Apollo is from an altar inscribed with a Latin dedication to the god: *Maxima Nasia cuius nominis Apoline dat* (Moscatelli 1984a:169). Just west of here, in the vicinity of S Lucia, was an ancient mineralised spring (Moscatelli 1984a:176). This scattering of evidence for propitiation of the cult of Apollo during the Roman period, arguably connected in each case with a

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[37] Seneca categorises 'abnormal springs' into three types – sulphurous (*NQ* 3.15.4, 3.20-21), thermal (*NQ* 3.24) and poisonous (*NQ* 3.25.1-2) – and discusses the various properties of these, particularly of sulphurous water, which he claims causes frenzy (*NQ* 3.20.5). It appears from this that the fumes from sulphurous water caused an altered state, the "frenzy" of guardians of oracles, such as the Cumaean Sibyl, who prophesied from a chamber deep within a cave overlooking the sulphurous lake Avernus. The sources associate a number of oracles with water features in their descriptions, but not all of them sulphurous. A future project might be to analyse the properties of these (cf. Hale *et al* 2003).

mineralised spring, might lead us to hypothesise that these mineralised springs were propitiated by the local inhabitants prior to this. Apollo was known in Central Italy for his attributes as god of healing and of the Sibylline oracle, further suggesting that the waters of the mineralised springs of Picenum were recognised for their healing or oracular properties (Weinstock 1971:12; Cianfarani *et al* 1978:18). There is no evidence that Apollo was worshipped by the Iron Age communities, but some of his traits, particularly his associations with oracles and abnormal water were shared by Hercules. The bronze figurines and later temples alongside water courses are evidence that Hercules was worshipped as early as the fifth century for his attributes as a 'force of virility, force of nature, prince of fertility and fecundity of all thermal waters' (Ginouvès 1994:238). It is possible that sites attributed to Apollo in the Roman period were also previously dedicated to Hercules (cf. Terme di Cotilia 3.4.3).

Further south, in the Tronto valley, the thermal mineral springs at Acquasanta Terme were propitiated in the Roman period and Conta notes the presence of a grove (Conta 1982:39-40). The mineral content of the Tronto here is similar to that of the Sentino, with manganese, iron oxide and calcium carbonate identifiable by the ferruginous rock and grey-blue water, but the spring also contained sulphurous compounds (Conta 1982:39; pers. obs.). Acquasanta Terme is located on the edge of the Sibillini mountain range, not far from the pass through Arquata del Tronto and the Via Salaria, so at communications node on the border of Picene, Sabine and Umbrian territories. We might expect Hercules (3.5.1), Feronia or Vacuna (3.4.3) to be associated with the sacred site, but no dedication to any of these deities has been found. The anatomical ex-votos now held in Áscoli Museum were casually excavated and plundered during the nineteenth century, from a site near to the modern town. This deposit is unusual because it contains eyes and ears, which are rarely found in Italic contexts, although they are more common in Greek areas (Galeazzi and Giacometti 1982:191). Continuing downstream, a ferruginous and sulphurous spring has been identified at Castel Trosino, where Áscoli Piceno's Roman aqueduct had its source (Conta 1982:40 n 92). Few sacred sites have been identified in the Tronto valley, although several Roman period temples and sanctuaries were built there after the first century, e.g. on the Torre di Annunziata overlooking Áscoli Piceno, in the town itself and at nearby Monterinaldo (Conta 1982:38-41; Gaggiotti *et al* 1993:290-1). This later monumentalisation and the number of mineralised springs and tributaries associated

with the river make it very likely that these water sources were propitiated, but without the types of votive deposition we find elsewhere.

3.4.1 *Lucus Pisaurensis* (Pésaro-Novilara, PS)

In the eighteenth century Annibale degli Abbati Olivieri discovered a substantial amount of archaeological material in a field on his property, 3km to the south west of Pésaro, just beyond the limits of the Roman colony of *Pisaurum*. His estate lay in the 'Sotto le Selve' locality, in the vicinity of the Chiesa e Borgo di S Veneranda, and on the Genica and Carignano rivers. A series of inscriptions (written on stone *cippi*) to various deities were found at the site, as well as a number of terracotta and bronze votives (zoomorphic figurines, heads or busts and anatomical ex-votos), currently held in the Museo Oliveriano in Pesaro (sala III, section 1), as well as (unspecified) metal objects and coins. The anatomical ex-votos have been dated to a range of the second to first centuries BCE and include terracotta and bronze representations of reproductive organs and swaddled newborn babies. The heads date from the second century BCE to second century CE, whilst the zoomorphic ex-votos date from the fourth to second centuries BCE and are representations of domesticated animals. The numismatic evidence shows that the site was frequented until the reign of Constantine. The physical grouping of the two types of votives and the inscriptions is significant to our understanding of the formalisation and typology of the site. The ex-votos were discovered near the Carignano, the variety of, and time span covered by, the material suggesting that they were deliberately deposited where they were found[38]. This relationship implies that the river was the cult focus of the site, although it has also been asserted that the site was a sacred grove (Cresci Marrone and Menella 1984:43). One possibility is that the material was dumped here; the other, that it belonged to a sanctuary with an unmonumentalised precinct, so existence of a grove is a possibility, but impossible to prove archaeologically at this time. A number of questions need to be addressed: which features define the *lucus Pisaurensis* as a sacred site? what was the function of the sanctuary? how did it relate to the surrounding landscape and the settlement at Pésaro?

The site of the *lucus Pisaurensis* could easily have been reached from all main road arteries and would have been visible to those travelling along these and approaching

[38] It is possible that some votive deposits (of either type, or both) were made in the water, but have not been recovered. Compare Montefortino 3.3.1; 5.3.3.

Pésaro from the sea. This would especially have been the case if the site had included a temple building or other monument, as is indicated by the presence of the inscriptions, or if it had included a tract of woodland. It is less likely that anyone visiting the site would have had a clear view of the sea or of the roads, given the location on low ground and the presence of trees, which would have obscured the view. This would have caused anyone entering the site to be able to distance themselves from the lived-world and focus on the sacred site, whilst remaining able to identify the place from the outside. A visitor to the site would also have been able to hear and, with an onshore breeze, smell the sea, although whether they noticed either of these phenomena might have depended on from which direction they were approaching the site[39]. They would, however, have been able to both hear and smell the Carignano spring and river, which still contains salts of iodine and bromine (Galeazzi and Giacometti 1982:191). Like other forms of naturally occurring mineralised waters, the smell would have been overpowering and unpleasant, although it is possible that visitors became accustomed to it. The Carignano would also have been recognisable by its yellowish brown colour, caused by the minerals. Description of the river would have provided a useful mnemonic for the site and may have been part of an early mapping process. These unusual qualities seem to provide the best phenomenological explanation for the perception that the site of the *lucus Pisaurensis* was sacred, but detailed discussion of the material evidence is needed in order to test this theory and to explore others.

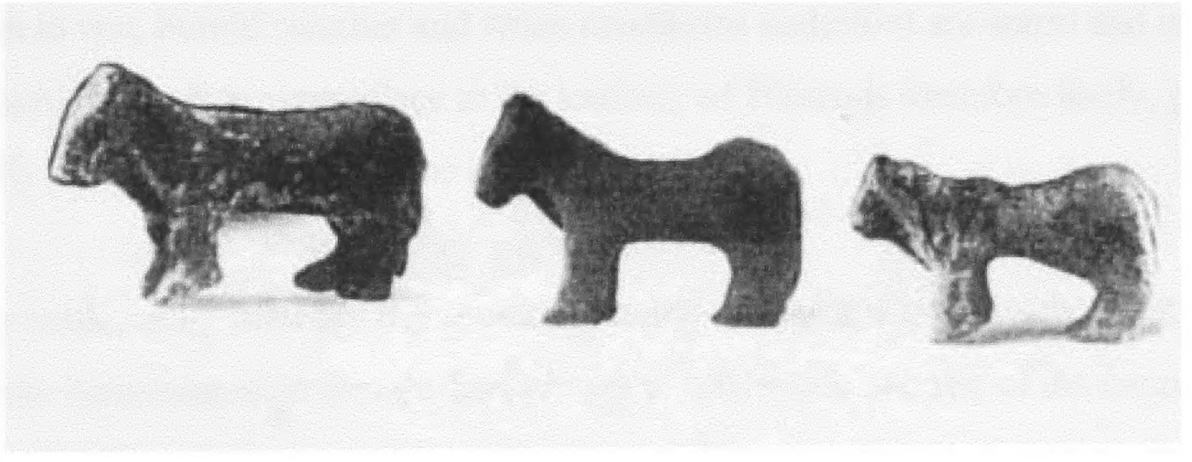


Fig 3.4 Terracotta ex-votos of bovines (after Luni 1988)

The range and concentrations of ex-votos and dedications indicate clearly that the area described as the *lucus Pisaurensis* was a sacred site. The variety of both types of material and their time span make alternative explanations for the site difficult, although

[39] If approaching from one of the coastal roads or from Pésaro itself it is unlikely that this would have been a noticeable feature, but if travelling from the west, more likely.

it may have had the additional function of being a formal and secular meeting place, a *conciliabulum* (Degrassi 1957:47). The zoomorphic ex-votos include thirteen clay figurines of bovines and eight legs of sheep, pigs and oxen (fig 3.4). The bovine figurines average 7cm from nose to tail and are fairly simplistic, showing very little depiction of detail (rough ears, eyes, snout, feet and tail). Comparable figurines have been found in excavations on the Colle dei Cappuccini (AN), at Fontevecchia di Camerano (AN) and at Carsioli (AQ)[40]. The legs, in each case the lower leg, below the knee, show much more detail, with both the parts and shape of the leg and hoof depicted. They each also have a small hole through the top, one on either side, so they may have been parts of wooden models of complete animals, or individually suspended in trees at the shrine, or hung around the neck (of a person or animal?) as amulets (cf. Jackson 1988:158-9, fig 43; de Cazanove 1993:111; Pliny *NH* 16.199, 235). These votives have been interpreted as having some correlation with agricultural and pastoral activities in the area, perhaps to request or give thanks for the health of the livestock (Luni 1988:45). This seems to have been because the antiseptic and disinfectant properties of the Carignano were recognised, even if these were attributed to a supernatural being of the river. The waters are rich with salts of bromine and iodine, which can be used as bactericidal, fungicidal and virucidal agents and are often used for the treatment of certain disorders in livestock, particularly foot rot (sheep and goats), foul-in-the-foot (cattle) and equivalent bacterial infections afflicting pigs[41]. These disorders are most common in wet, humid weather and when conditions underfoot are warm and wet. That such disorders were commonplace in the territory of Pésaro is therefore likely, given the unusually marshy conditions of the terrain.

Can any relationship between the zoomorphic and anatomical ex-votos be identified, or do the two types represent two distinct phases in perception and use of the *lucus Pisaurensis*? The slight temporal overlap between the two groups of votives, in the second century, is evidence that the site remained continuously in use from Picene VI until the foundation of *Pisaurum*. The change of emphasis from protection of livestock to issues directly concerning human health may be indicative of a shift from Gallo-

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[40] Finds from AN are in the Museo Nazionale delle Marche, Ancona and those from Carsioli are in the Villa Giulia, Rome.

[41] Solutions of iodine are still used as antiseptics by livestock farmers, particularly to control mastitis, and treatment with an antiseptic and antibiotic remains the usual treatment for bacterial infections of the feet and hooves. Cf. also Virgil *Georgics* 2.298-9, 440-51.

Picene to Roman influence in this area, involving the arrival of people from Central Italy and probably some degree of cultural exchange[42]. Whether this means that the Picene community adopted new beliefs as a result of increased contact with these people, or that these people were already settling in the Pésaro area and engaging in their own religious practices, it seems that any multiplicity of beliefs coexisted for a time. The change in votive types does not mean that the Picenes stopped keeping domesticated animals or that they ceased to practise transhumance farming, rather that the colonists brought new ideas or beliefs with them, or possibly just the means to make or import anatomical ex-votos (cf. Montefortino, 3.3.1). The obvious feature that animal and anatomical votives have in common is an association with health and protection. These are extremely broad terms and require further examination[43]. The later terracotta votives found in the *lucus Pisaurensis* are very specific, pertaining predominantly to women and, given the incidence of uteri and swaddled babies, to their fertility. Galeazzi and Giacometti have identified the waters of the Carignano as being good for gynaecological health, again, on account of the salso-bromo-iodic mineral content (1982:191; cf. Soranus 3)). These votives suggest that the antiseptic effect on humans of the river water was recognised by the second century (perhaps by the colonists), but the absence of anthropomorphic representations before the second century does not mean that these qualities were unknown to, or unexploited by, the Picenes. This does not, however, explain why the zoomorphic ex-votos cease to be found after the second century. One possibility is that the Picenes had traditionally taken their livestock into the water to bathe their feet and that this became inappropriate or impractical once the site became monumentalised or came under the jurisdiction of the new settlers (it may no longer have been possible to take the animals to the spring). The evidence of the ex-votos alone is insufficient to provide information about the existence of a priesthood or the degree of formalisation of the site, but that of the inscriptions needs to be taken into account.

Fourteen *cippi* dedicated to twelve Central Italic deities (*CIL* I^2.368-81, *ILLRP* 13-26) were discovered in the same locality as the votives and may have been boundary markers for a *temenos Pisaurense* (Cresci Marrone and Mennella 1984:4). The inscriptions have been given a *terminus post quem* of 184 BCE (foundation of the colony

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[42] This may have predated the foundation of the colony of *Pisaurum*, since the whole area had been under Roman hegemony, following the Roman victory at *Sentinum* in 295 BCE.
[43] The associations of deities named on the *cippi* have some bearing on this.

of *Pisaurum*), although earlier dates are possible, given the techniques used in their incision (Cresci Marrone and Menella 1984:45). *Cippi* from Tor Tignosa (*ILLRP* 10-12) and altars from Veii (27-31) are the closest parallel examples we have to those from the *lucus Pisaurensis*. These have been dated to the first half of the third century, possibly earlier (Cresci Marrone and Mennella 1984:44). The technique for inscribing the letters varied across the Pésaro inscriptions, revealing that they do not belong to a single votive occasion, but to a more gradual process, spanning the third to second centuries. Nevertheless, eight of the inscriptions (*CIL* I².368-75), dedicated to Apollo, Salus, Fides, Juno, Juno Lucina, Mater Matuta, Marica and the Novensides, were probably carved by a single stonemason, using the '*a cordone*' technique. The same eight *cippi* share monumental typology, are strictly aniconic, seem to have belonged to a single dedicated structure, or series of structures, and their dedicators are unnamed[44]. Cresci Marrone and Mennella have suggested that these are perhaps characteristic of an original, archaic *temenos Pisaurense* (1984:45). Whilst these eight *cippi* represent monumentalisation of the sacred site and its transition to a sanctuary (1.2), the evidence of the zoomorphic ex-votos show that they do not mark the beginnings of cult use of the site. Nor do they seem very likely to predate the Roman conquest[45], since the deities named are of Latin or Sabine origin and the texts are Latin, which suggests these inscriptions and the first anatomical ex-votos and terracotta busts are contemporaneous (Cresci Marrone and Mennella 1984:46-7; Bradley 2000a:297; cf. Varro *LL* 5.74). The named deities are variously associated with oracles, healing, childbirth, fertility (in particular) and marshland (Livy 27.37.2; Horace *Carm* 3.17.6-8; Claudian 1.259-60; Martial 13.83.1-2; Ovid *Met* 15.716; Plutarch *Mar* 38.1, 39.4; Coarelli 1984:369-79; Cresci Marrone and Menella 1984:49-50; Peruzzi 1990:76-7)[46].

The remaining *cippi* (*CIL* I².376-81), dedicated to Diana, Feronia, Juno Regina, Mater Matuta and Liber and incised in triangular section, are more likely to date to the period after the foundation of the colony of *Pisaurum*, since one (*CIL* I².378) mentions *Pisaurese*. They are therefore beyond the scope of this discussion. However, one noticeable feature of the second group of *cippi* is that of the five with named dedicators,

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[44] Compare the twelve altars at Lavinium (Ross Holloway 1994:129-35; Cornell 1995:66-7, fig 5, 109).
[45] Meaning that they date to the period between 268 and 184 BCE.
[46] The Novensides are the exception, but these are the "deities of the new settlers", presumably a catch-all reference for deities brought by the Central Italic settlers, or perhaps their guardians in this period of transition (Varro *LL* 5.74).

four are women or groups of women. This and the dedications of the shrine in favour of goddesses parallel the female bias in the terracotta votives. All twenty of the busts are representations of veiled females, apparently images of the *matrones Pisaurenses*, who may have been priestesses of the shrine or initiates of the cult[47]. This development of the shrine in the Roman period seems to stem from its earlier associations with women's gynaecological health, as witnessed by the anatomical ex-votos.

It seems that the *lucus Pisaurensis* is something of a misnomer for the sanctuary near Pesaro[48]. The term *lucus* is used nowhere in the inscriptions, nor by any ancient sources. The only archaeobotanical evidence for trees is for fruit trees, which indicates that trees were integral to the site, but this cannot distinguish whether these were a part of Picene food production or a sacred grove. There is evidence of fruit being included amongst votive offerings in both the archaeological record of Picenum and in Graeco-Roman literature. For example, remains of wild apples and pears from the Neolithic period were found in the Grotta Sant'Angelo (Castelletti 1996:295-304; Di Fraia and Grifoni Cremonesi 1996c:341; cf. Apuleius *Florida* (vol II, fasc 2) 1.1-12). A further comparison is found in the carbonised remains of immature quinces, as well as some cornelian cherry and other fruits, recently discovered in the excavations of the sanctuary on M Pallano (Sangro valley) (Bispham pers. comm.). The possibility therefore remains that the fruit trees beside the Carignano were part of a sacred grove, but the cult focus of the site was the mineralised river.

Based on the epigraphic and archaeological evidence alone it might be concluded that the site was a Roman healing sanctuary, dating from the late third or early second century, used by Roman occupiers of this northern part of Picene territory. It might further be concluded that the meaning of 'healing sanctuary' in this case was a sanctuary to Juno, in her various aspects as protector of women in childbirth, and to a variety of other archaic deities with more general fertility associations. Such an explanation is not implausible given the extensive body of comparable votive, literary and epigraphic evidence from Lazio, but it does not explain why the colonists perceived the physical

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[47] The two dedications by matrons at the *lucus Pisaurensis* are to Juno (*CIL* I²·378) and Mater Matuta (*CIL* I²·379), which follows an established Roman tradition of matrons having a public role in the worship of both deities (Peruzzi 1990:71; Smith 2000:150).

[48] Degrassi was the first to make reference to the site as a *lucus* (1957:46) and the term has been perpetuated by Luni (1988:45), Gaggiotti *et al* (1993:199), Peruzzi (1990:113) and Cresci Marrone and Menella (1984:42).

site as sacred to these deities, nor how it was perceived by the pre-conquest Picene community. In order to approach these issues we need to look beyond literary and epigraphic sources and material culture and begin to establish some quantifiable features of the place, by which we mean the site under scrutiny in the wider context of its immediate landscape (or locale). When this is done for the *lucus Pisaurensis* we find that there is a natural feature important to the site, but that it is the Carignano spring and river, rather than a sacred grove. The mineral content of the water has genuine medicinal properties, but we need to use this information to help us understand why the site was sacred to the people of the area from the fourth century, not to colour our analysis of the remaining evidence. By identifying phenomena of the site we discover that the physical attributes which bridge the gap between the modern observer and the ancient peoples (both Picenes and Romans) who used the site, which provide the meanings common to the thoughts of different minds, are principally the pungent smell and yellowish brown colour of the Carignano, which signify its antiseptic properties.

3.4.2 S Vittore di Cíngoli and Apiro (MC)

In addition to deposition of full-size pottery vessels in the Lago di Cíngoli in the twelfth to tenth centuries, cult centres developed in the area around the lake throughout the Iron Age (De Maria 1999:341). A 'healing sanctuary' at S Vittore di Cíngoli was in use from the late sixth century, its focus apparently the sulphurous spring of the Musone (Moscatelli 1984a:177). A miniature black-figure Attic *lekythos* (ointment bottle), datable to the end of the sixth century, provides the earliest evidence for propitiation at the spring. This import is also evidence that the site was on a route of communications with the Adriatic coast. The fifth or fourth century terracotta veiled female head, which has been described as a goddess wearing a *polos*, may provide further evidence for the cult association with water, given the association of female deities with springs (Landolfi and Baldelli 1997b:181; Marchegiani 1999:43; cf. 3.3). Votive material dating to the third to second centuries was also found at the spring. This material broadly parallels that found at the other sites under discussion, particularly Montefortino, consisting of terracotta statuettes and the bronze figurine of a person in the gesture of offering (now in the national archaeological museum in Florence) (Naso 2000:237-8). Naso the attributes the spring at S Vittore di Cíngoli to Cupra, largely due to the presence of the figurine wearing a *polos*, since this feature was an attribute of Aphrodite (cf 3.2.1; 3.6.1), but

also on the basis of broad similarities in the object-place interrelationships of bronze votive 'worshipper' figurine, terracotta female representations and spring, to which we might add communications route (road or waterway) (Naso 2000:239).

The archaeology of the site between the third and first centuries shows that the settlement came under Roman administrative control, as we would expect. Epigraphy from this period also confirms that the sanctuary was associated with water cult, so it is thought that the site continued in use into the early Roman period and that the spring was connected with the Roman settlement of *Cingulum* (Cíngoli) or *Plalina.* Eighteenth century excavations brought to light the remains of the Roman temple, with the ruins of a sacral-bath complex with a mosaic pavement, basins for water collection and a system of canals. These excavations uncovered epigraphic evidence of both a formal religious guild and of the sacrality of the natural spring, so the site may have been an extra-urban sanctuary for *Plalina* (possibly S Vittore) (Pliny *NH* 3.111; Paci 1988:51-69; De Maria 1999:342).

Two warrior figurines were found by the spring of a tributary of the Esino at Apiro, to the north of Lago di Cíngoli (Dumitrescu 1929:160). They are stylistically reminiscent of Greek figurines, but Dall'Osso notes that the male warrior's curved dagger is of Picene type, suggesting that they were made locally (1915:104). This could explain why the figurines bear a stronger resemblance to Athena-Minerva and, arguably, to Ares-Mars, than other figurines found in the region. This synthesis of Greek and Picene styles is fitting for an area where local technologies and foreign cultural influences had been complementing each other for over 350 years (Chapter 2). Deposition of a pair of figurines whose attributes dichotomise them may have served the same ritual function as the androgynous warrior(s) found by the spring at Montefortino, whether or not they were intended to be perceived as Cupra-Minerva and Mars. As the cult focus of these rituals, the spring represented a source of life and fertility that was embodied in the mutual and opposite pairing of the male and female figurines (cf. Brindley 1984:96).

3.4.3 Terme di Cotilia (RI)

A similar pairing is found in Apollo and the principal Sabine deity, Vacuna. Vacuna shares attributes with Feronia and her cult can be identified in a corresponding

geographical area, immediately to the south-west of Picenum. She was associated with groves and water (particularly lakes and springs), and also with healing (Frazer 1931:432-3; Alvino 1997:27). Various Graeco-Roman sources identified her with Bellona, Minerva, Victory and Diana, suggesting a further aspect as a warrior goddess and highlighting further parallels between her and Cupra[49]. A number of sacred sites attributed to this goddess have been found in the region of Rieti, along the Via Salaria and so in the southern boundary zone of Picenum. The cultic focus of each site is a water feature, although the specific feature varies from one to another. Most of these sites date to the second to first centuries and later and are therefore beyond the scope of the current discussion, but the sanctuaries at Paterno (*lacus Cutiliae*) and Terme di Cotilia, both between Cittaducale and Castel S Angelo, are the two sites east of Rieti with certain Iron Age antecedents.

The Terme di Cotilia is named after a vast Vespasianic bathing complex, but excavations have revealed that this was formerly a sanctuary to Vacuna. Pliny describes the cold waters of Cotilia as "very suitable for the stomach, sinews and the whole body" (*NH* 31.10), highlighting the healing properties of the water. A basin cut into the rock collects the strongly calcareous water, which still smells extremely pungent. It seems unlikely, given the evidence of propitiation at other mineralised water sources, that the Vespasianic complex represents initial cult activity at the site. It is worth noting that the pungent smell of the water becomes much less noticeable after staying in Terme di Cotilia for a few hours. The source of the icy waters at Terme di Cotilia is a spring of the Velino river (Conta 1982:39-40 n 89). At Paterno there is a lake - the Lago di Paterno, equated with the *lacus Cutiliae* mentioned by Varro (*LL* 5.71) - and a spring, dedicated to Victory, who has been equated with Vacuna. The site, which also seems to fit the descriptions of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.15) and Seneca (*NQ* 3.25.8), shows some clear topographic parallels with S Vittore di Cíngoli, sharing the double cult focus of lake and spring. Like so many of the other sites, it is located on a prime commercial communications route, in this case between territories.

Dionysius also describes the sacred enclosure on the island and alludes to the rituals practised there. Alvino claims that the sacrifice which took place on the island was

[49] Cited by Frazer 1931:432-3.

originally a human sacrifice: a man's head was cut off and cast into the water in honour of Jupiter and Saturn, whilst his entrails were offered to Apollo. Hercules purportedly put an end to these rites by substituting the human victim for a wax image (Alvino 1997:27). The story parallels that of Hercules encouraging the Romans to make the corn doll *argei* to cast into the Tiber (Dion Hal 1.38.2), as well as the activity taking place at the pool at M Bibele (3.2.4), so it appears that ritualised casting of anthropomorphic representations into expanses of water (still or running) was geographically widespread. This is in keeping with the Celtic practice of 'ritually killing' artefacts, often arms (predominantly swords and helmets), and depositing them in water (Vitali 1991:79-80; Roymans 1996:29; Bradley 1998b:5-9).

3.5 River, gorge, ravine

There is very little evidence for deposition in running water. This is largely due to the nature of the water: its depth and the current and continual flow of water mean that artefacts are easily carried downstream out of context, but also sink irretrievably into the silt. These features also make running water a difficult context for excavation and it may be that in many cases votive deposits were organic, such as the *argei* being cast into the Tiber (3.2.4). The two most striking examples from Central Adriatic Italy of this type of deposition are the mid- to late Bronze Age sword deposits in the Pescara, and similar deposits made in the Fucine lake. A number of parallel deposits are known from the Celtic world, arms deposited in a river or marsh as a votive offering, perhaps on a warrior's retirement (Bradley 1998b:156-71; Roymans 1996:29-31). The evidence for marshes acting as a focus for cult activity in Picenum has been discussed and shows that votive deposition was not the only form of ritual practice, and that votives were not restricted to a single type. We have seen the deposition of miniature pottery vessels and bronze figurines, as well the erection of inscribed *cippi* and temple buildings (Marica at the *lucus Pisaurensis*; cf. Minturnae).

On the whole, the evidence for cult activity emerges beside rather than in running water, as is the case for lakes, but we must assume that this is an evidential bias.

3.5.1 Hercules sanctuaries associated with rivers and gorges

Evidence for the worship of Hercules (*Hercle*) occurs in southernmost Picenum and Oscan-speaking territories (of the Samnites, Paeligni, Marrucini etc.) rather than in

Picenum and Umbria. For example, sacred sites and sanctuaries dedicated to Hercules have been identified at S Ippolito di Corfinio, Alba Fucens, Celano and several on the Via Salaria and in the Gola di Antrodoco (Cianfarani 1978:84-7; Coarelli and La Regina 1984:87; Torelli 1993:111-15; Campanelli *et al* 1997:184-202). He is usually identified via distinctive bronze figurines, male figures depicted with a lionskin over the left arm and brandishing a club in the right hand. For example, over 100 of these figurines were found at Corfinio, whilst a dedicatory inscription to Hercules identified this as a sanctuary to the demi-god (Campanelli *et al* 1997:184-202; Bradley 1998a). These figurines appear to have been inspired by Greek and Etruscan figures of Hercules, rather than emphasising particularly Italic features, so these attributes are clear identifiers of the demi-god rather than reflections of a Central Italic penchant for Hercules the warrior (Bradley 1998a). Colonna lists only sixteen figurines of Hercules from Umbria and Apennine Etruria (dating to the late sixth and fifth centuries) (1970). Compare this with the more common 'warrior' figurines and the wealth of 'worshipper' figurines and Hercules seems to have been less popular in Picenum and Umbria than he was elsewhere in Italy, particularly immediately south of Picenum. His figurines tend also to be found either in isolation or collections of various types, so it is difficult to identify sites specifically dedicated to him. From the second century the cult of Hercules can be traced via epigraphic evidence, the most notable examples being the Oscan *cippus Abellanus*, which identifies a sanctuary to him, and the Agnone tablet, which mentions him amongst its list of deities. There are also other Oscan dedicatory inscriptions from Agnone and Superaequum (Ve 220). The use of Latin epigraphy does not seem to alter the picture: only thirty five inscriptions from Picenum, Umbria and Etruria mention Hercules (Bradley 1998a).

Hercules seems most commonly associated with springs, as at Corfinio (Bradley 1998a); also with trade in later (Latin) inscriptions, which might account for his recurrence on routes of communication (roads and waterways). The variety of epithets for Hercules which occur throughout the region shows that his worship was multi-faceted (e.g. Hercules Cerealis (Agnone tablet), Hercules Victor at Superaequum), emphasising his aspects as warrior, patron of transhumance pastoralism and of agriculture, of trade etc. Given the topographic association of his cult with inland routes of communication south of the Tronto valley, it seems that Hercules was considered protector of the transport and trade of salt. This hypothesis is supported by

an inscription from Alba Fucens (*CIL* IX.3961), a dedication by a guild of salt merchants (*cultores Herculis Sala(rii)*) (Coarelli and La Regina 1984:87; Torelli 1993:114-17). It appears, therefore, that one of the reasons that we find fewer representations of Hercules in Picenum than elsewhere in Central Italy is that the roles attributed to him were assumed by Cupra and the sacro-symbolic warrior figures (or 'Mars') in that region (5.3.1).

3.6 Sea

> "[The sea] unites the Mediterranean conceptually as well as topographically. It is no barrier to communications, but the medium of all human intercourse from one region to another"
>
> Horden and Purcell 2000:133; cf. 1.4

Travel by sea was faster and, assuming safe passage, cheaper, than by land. If people were to benefit from the sea as a medium of human intercourse and the economic wealth that could bring they had to understand and respect it. Storms could cause the sea to be volatile, destructive and dangerous and without appropriate winds a ship could be becalmed (3.1). There is evidence that the sea was propitiated in the coastal communities of Picenum, notably those that evolved as safe harbours. Many lines of visibility bound both mainland and islands to each other in a way that was not encountered in places inland (Horden and Purcell 2000:126). Coastal enclaves such as Pésaro, Ancona and Cupra Marittima acted as funnels of people and goods between the Adriatic and the hinterland, not only of Adriatic Italy, but across the Apennines and the Alps, deeper into Italy and Europe. It is unsurprising then that two of the most architecturally elaborate sanctuaries from Picenum are found on coastal promontories: the fourth century temple to Aphrodite Euploia (Ancona) and the temple to Cupra (Cupra Marittima), whose Hadrianic ruins now predominate (Moretti 1945:58).

3.6.1 Temple of Aphrodite Euploia, Colle Guasco, Ancona (AN) (see also 5.4)

The foundation of the Greek city of *Ankon* in the fourth century (2.4.2) was accompanied by an aetiology and cult of a goddess of sea-faring (Euploia means 'good voyage'), marking a dramatic shift in the self-represented, and probably actual, identity of the inhabitants of the area (cf. Moretti 1945:21). This was accompanied by the construction of a monumental sanctuary unlike anything the Picenes had seen before in Central Adriatic Italy. Annibaldi's excavations under and around the

cathedral of S Ciriaco revealed a number of *opus quadratum* limestone blocks belonging to the foundations and walls of one phase of the temple, as well as several columns (Annibaldi 1961; 1965; Bacchielli 1983:219-20; Naso 2000:257-8). Bacchielli has proposed that the the remains display features of Doric architecture of the end of the fourth century, namely, a temple with six columns at the front, ten along the sides and a *cella* behind the pronaos (Bacchielli 1983:220-3; 1985:106-37 in Naso 2000:258; Gaggiotti *et al* 1993:230). More recently, Luni has suggested that the columns are of the Corinthian order and that the temple remains therefore belong to a Roman temple dating to the second century (Luni 1995:193-6, in Naso 2000:257-8)[50]. So little survives of the columns and their bases, and nothing of the capitals, that this identification is tenuous, particularly given Juvenal's first century CE reference to the Doric temple (*Satires* 4.40). In either case, whoever built the temple relied on local limestone from M Cónero and on ostensibly Greek architectural styles and practices. The effect of a gleaming white stone temple, with its ordered geometry contrasting with its surrounding landscape, the natural curve of the bay, the peak of the Colle Guasco and beyond them the deep blue of the Adriatic, must have been an imposing sight. The temple stood just below the peak of the Colle Guasco, on a promontory overlooking the Adriatic, the port, and both the Picene settlement and Greek city. Like most Greek temples it faced south-east, so from this elevated position the *pronaos* witnessed the sunrise, whilst the sun set into the Adriatic behind the temple (Bacchielli 1983:223). The sun's rays would have reflected off the smooth white masonry, making the temple highly visible for miles around, the sunlight symbolising the power of the goddess, but also of the Syracusan colonists. Moonlight may also have reflected off the surfaces, ensuring that the presence of the goddess was felt at all times. This property of reflection would also have had a practical function, enabling the temple to act as beacon to those approaching Ancona from the sea and guiding those sailors towards the harbour. Only when sailors really needed this guide did she fail them: during a storm or a cloudy night, when the sea was treacherous or navigation impossible, the temple became less visible, with little light to reflect. It is possible that at such times torches or lamps were lit on the Colle Guasco, to guide sailors past the rocks below the promontory.

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[50] Compare Moretti, who suggests that the remains are part of the Trajanic temple of Venus (1945:58).

Even if local people were involved in its construction, the temple made a strong statement about the Greek presence and redefinition of the place (with the foundation of the city *Ankon*). The Greek usurption of this part of Picene territory, which had always been visible from the sea, due to the Cónero promontory and the only good natural harbour, at Numana, compelled it to become more integrated with the seascape and interconnected maritime community. It is unclear whether it was merely a Greek outpost or served to better integrate the Picenes with a maritime community of which they were already a part, as displayed in the material record, with orientalising and actual eastern Mediterranean artefacts supplementing and forming part of their *koinê*. However, the name of the deity is irrefutably Greek and is in and of itself unusual since written records of named deities were rare in Iron Age Picenum. Aphrodite Euploia protected the seafarers (traders) who approached Picenum, granting them safe passage perhaps not only into harbour, but also for the next part of their journey, into a very different (if not hostile) country from their homeland. She would also have been a good advertisement for Picenum: people could come here to trade and know that they would be well-received; they would know what they could expect, particularly given the presence of an entire Greek *polis* here. The temple's ever-present reminder of Aphrodite Euploia's guardianship of the harbour would therefore have been intended to bring comfort to sailors and merchants who utilised the sea as a communications route, although the symbolism for the native Picene communities may have been very different. Whilst it is possible that the Greek colony was welcomed by some of the Picenes, perhaps the central authorities and people engaged in trade who could see the advantages of increased economic wealth and better communications within the Mediterranean, others may have been displaced.

Water was intrinsic to the presence of this cult and the definition of the sanctuary at Ancona, and at first sight the overall message seems very different to that of the spring, lake and pool sites found inland. An example of emporic religion, the sanctuary of Aphrodite Euploia served a broad economic, political and social function, being at a Mediterranean communications node. The goddess was worshipped as a guardian of travellers, notably those engaged in trade and exchange. The role of this sanctuary and attributes of the goddess therefore find more parallels in Picenum than we might expect, i.e. with the sacred sites and sanctuaries near inland

roads and waterways, such as Colfiorito (3.2.2), Montefortino (3.3.1), S Vittore di Cíngoli (3.4.2) and Terme di Cotilia (3.4.3). The sanctuary of Aphrodite Euploia also shows parallels with the peak sanctuaries and with the Roman period riverside and roadside temples of Hercules along the Via Salaria, Vomano river valley and south of Picenum (3.5.1). The primary distinction between the sanctuary of Aphrodite Euploia and the inland sites is the role of water. In the Picene sacred sites water was *part of* cult activity and symbolic of the beliefs which generated these religious practices there, whereas the sea was propitiated indirectly, via the medium of Aphrodite Euploia, and there is no evidence that water was part of the cult activity (although it is likely to have been in some form). The other comparable element of the Greek sanctuary and Picene sites is the association between water and female divinity, which leads us to question why Aphrodite was the chosen deity at Ancona[51]. The mythology of this goddess' birth from the sea may be one explanation, but it is also possible that an element of syncretism was involved here.

One assumes that the Syracusan colonists would have preferred an amicable relationship with the local Picene communities, which is likely to have been achievable given the outward-looking perspective of the people living around Ancona before the arrival of the colonists, since they were already engaged in trade with the merchant commuity (2.3; 2.5). One way of bridging the gap would have been to adopt a local deity as guardian of the harbour and there is reasonable evidence that Aphrodite Euploia could have been just this, a syncretism with Cupra (Colonna 1999a:11, fig 6). The comparable evidence of Cupra Marittima is arguably the strongest and this is supported by the presence of other Picene sanctuaries to Cupra in the vicinty and the identification of Cupra with communications routes. Etymology provides a further clue, since the name Cupra seems related to the Sabine *ciprus* (Varro *LL* 5.159) and the Latin *cupio-ere* (desire), which identify Venus (Colonna 1993:19; cf. Bradley 2000a:177)[52]. Juvenal clearly equates Venus and Aphrodite when he writes: *ante domum Veneris, quam Dorica sustinet Ancon* (4.40) and it seems likely that the Greek colonists would have been aware of this correlation between Aphrodite and Venus, given the level of contact between Greece and Italy throughout

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[51] Particularly if we follow Seneca's statement that all water was female, apart from the sea (*NQ* 3.14.2-3.
[52] See 3.2.1, n16.

the Iron Age. Further parallels between Aphrodite and Cupra may have been recognised, if Friedrich's argument for the liminality of Aphrodite is followed. He suggests that Aphrodite was a liminal goddess because she was characterised by a series of opposites and "contradictory properties" (Friedrich 1978:133; van Straaten 1986:38). Van Straaten goes on to suggest that these properties could apply to fertility goddesses, for example, the tension between nature and culture, or between the ability to nurture and to destroy, attributes which seem fitting for Cupra (van Straaten 1986:38-9; Buxton 1994:100-102). These contradictory properties are also reminiscent of the "lovely and duplicitous" sea, which aids trouble-free, fast voyages but also destroys ships in storms (Buxton 1994:100). The sea, and the sea-shore in particular, was a liminal zone, a boundary to land and territory, yet a gateway to others. The sea-shore could be a place of safety, but of potential hostility if it was the shore of an unfamiliar land. In cult, purification rituals, such as the bathing of cult statues, took place at the sea-shore, the sea marking the transition between polluted and pure (Buxton 1994:102). This is another example of purification rituals taking place at the margins[53].

There is no evidence for an earlier structure beneath the excavated temple under the cathedral of S Ciriaco, but two bronze votive figurines were found elsewhere on the Colle Guasco (Naso 2000:238). These provide the only evidence for the probable sanctity of the Colle Guasco site before the arrival of the Greeks, since their date range of the fifth to fourth centuries means that they are likely to predate the temple structure. The figurines are of Etruscan and Hellenistic manufacture and whilst they are stylistically distinct from the other figurines so far described, they share some common features, such as the elongated body and androgynous representation of the worshipper figurine. The headdress of this figurine suggests that it may be female, since this is a feature common to the terracotta female heads and busts found in the region (cf. Montefortino 3.3.1, *lucus Pisaurensis* 3.4.1, S Vittore di Cíngoli 3.4.2). The headdress can also be identified as a Greek *polos*, so this feature and the Hellenistic figurine are further evidence that Greek influence was present in Ancona before the Syracusan colony was founded, even if that influence was the permeation

[53] Other examples are the bathing of the Magna Mater at Ostia (Livy 29.14.5-14; Ovid *Fasti* 4), *nauigium Isidis* and nocturnal processions to sea in cults like Bona Dea, now attested in a new unpublished inscription from Carthage (Bispham pers. comm.).

of Greek artefacts rather than people (De Maria 1999:342; 2.4.2). Deposition of the figurines would seem to have been connected to the peak site of the Colle Guasco promontory, but since the Pennocchiara river flowed around the base of the hill and into the Adriatic on the north-western side, the association with Cupra here may have been with both the normal water source (as we might expect) and perhaps also with the sea.

Whilst a connection with Cupra cannot be proven, the temple of Aphrodite Euploia would have been visible to Picene communities up and down the coast and, inland, along the river valleys of the Esino and the Musone. It may even have been visible from Montefortino (3.3.1), the sanctuary of Cupra at Cupramontana (5.3.4) and would certainly have been more visible than the sanctuary of Cupra at Cupra Marittima, to those approaching from the Adriatic. The temple would therefore have, at this time, visually usurped the established sanctuaries of Cupra, encouraging the perception (whether conscious or unconscious) that the new deity was more significant and powerful than the existing cult. The balance may have been in part redressed by the monumentalisation of Cupra's sanctuaries at Cupramontana and Cupra Marittima.

3.6.2 Cupra Marittima (AP)

Worship of Cupra seems to have been at its most intense within the environs of Cupra Marittima and the site of the sanctuary of Cupra shows some parallels with the cult of Aphrodite Euploia at Ancona (Mostardi 1977:122, 129; Colonna 1970:tav 75). There is evidence of widespread activity in the locale of Cupra Marittima and Grottammare - cult, burial and settlement - and the whole site is only a few miles north of the Tronto valley; like the Esino valley, a significant area of Picene settlement (Colonna 1993:4, 10). Located on a topographically unassuming stretch of coast, the sanctuary and Roman temple of Cupra occupied a small hill slightly inland, overlooking the Picene settlement (Mostardi 1977:129; Gaggiotti *et al* 1993:285). The sanctuary's location on the margins of sea and settlement was therefore similar to that of the sanctuary at Ancona (5.4). Although the Roman period remains are more extensive, there is some evidence for an Iron Age temple, notably, part of the foundations, visible to the south of the site, and the pedestal of a column. Several "cult vessels",

predominantly globular jugs and small bowls, a bull figurine and the bronze figurine of a female worshipper holding an offering dish (patera) were amongst the finds[54].

This temple, constructed from the readily available local stones, limestone, travertine or white tufa, would have dominated the coastline, despite being on such a low hill, since the coastal plain was extremely flat. It seems likely that the temple was located here because Cupra Marittima provided a safe harbour and was a place for contact between travellers and the local population (2.4.2). The Roman remains of the temple at Cupra Marittima, a 25m stretch of wall, suggest that the temple faced the sea, so orientation towards the east seems to carry the same significance here as for the sanctuary of Aphrodite Euploia, even if the effect was less impressive (Gaggiotti *et al* 1993:284-5)[55]. Like the temple of Aphrodite Euploia, the temple would have been highly visible to sea-farers. In conjunction with the evidence that Cupra Marittima was a port throughout the Iron Age, this might suggest that the Picene sanctuary was also visible from the sea and that Cupra had a role as guardian of sea-farers. The harbour at Cupra Marittima was less physically obvious than M Cónero and Ancona, but further south and therefore likely to have received a large number of visitors, if only as a cabotage for Greeks and Etruscans ranging the Adriatic. It also remained Picene when Ancona developed into a Greek urban centre (Colonna 1993:5, 12).

When the Romans rebuilt the sanctuary they equated Cupra with the Bona Dea and with Juno, ostensibly due to her epithet 'Mother' and because women were particularly associated with her cult (Dall'Osso 1915:68; cf. Cresci Marrone and Menella 1984:53; 3.2.1). It seems likely then that Cupra was recognised by the Romans here for her aspects as a goddess of fertility and of women's health and if her sanctuary grew up around a water feature, the cult focus may have been the freshwater spring on the hill or the nearby Menocchia river, rather than the sea (Mostardi 1977:49). The estuary of the river by which the temple and settlement of Cupra Marittima were situated would have been saline, giving the waters antiseptic properties. These have a clear, though not exclusive, role in gynaecological health,

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[54] The site was excavated in 1727 and the findings published by Colucci in 1779, so reports are less complete than we might wish.

[55] An Hadrianic inscription (127 CE) describing the restoration of the goddess' temple was also found here (Gaggiotti *et al* 1993:285; *CIL* IX.5924)

which seems in keeping with the other sacred sites which had water as a cult focus, particularly springs and any mineralised water.

One of the difficulties with interpreting the cult of Cupra is that our understanding is coloured by the Latin inscriptions found in Cupra Marittima, belonging to later phases of the sanctuary. Mostardi asserts that the inscriptions '*Veidia T L auge et Iulia C L urbana Mag Veneri D*' (*CIL* IX.5295, found in 1733) and '*ornetur dedicatione artocrea / Populo cuprensi dedit*' (*CIL* IX.5309) provide evidence for a *collegium* of young priestesses (*Cuprales*), presumably consisting of the freedwomen of Cupra Marittima, which finds parallels in the inscription from Colfiorito (3.3.2; Mostardi 1977:50-2). Mostardi has also explained the presence of the large bronze rings (*anelli*) in only the female sixth to fifth century Picene tombs in the area of Cupra Marittima and Grottammare as representative of the cult (1977:53), an idea taken up by Naso (2000:241; cf. Allevi 1940:32). It seems that the cult of Cupra flourished here over a long time period (seventh century BCE to second century CE), and for this reason appears to have been an important aspect of Picene religion.

The sanctuary at Cupra Marittima was also located at an important node of communications. The harbour and settlement's proximity to the Menocchia and the coastal road allowed access to the Adriatic sea routes, the Aso and Tronto river valleys and the Via Salaria (Colonna 1993:4; Uncini 1995:13). Evidence from Picenum and the Samnite territories of the relationship between Hercules, rivers, roads and the salt trade is extensive, particularly for the Hellenistic period (Coarelli and La Regina 1984:84-132; Torelli 1993:113-17; 3.5.1). A similar relationship between Cupra and the salt trade may begin to explain her presence along major trade routes across the region. It seems that worship of Cupra was concerned with trade and communications and with specific water features. A perceived relationship between the goddess and salt encompassed both spheres. Salt water has antiseptic properties and would have been used as a literal and symbolic purifying agent, appealing to Cupra's role as a protector of women, health and fertility (Parker 1983:226-7). She was also a guardian of travellers and it is feasible that at Cupra Marittima one of her primary roles was to protect the salt trade (Fortini 1981:30). Cupramontana may be the only site dedicated to her which did not have a water feature as its cult focus, but it is possible that the salt-filled Adriatic was a focus here (5.3.4). Within her role as

guardian of trade Cupra would have been concerned with the supply and transportation of salt, given the presence of her sanctuaries on the coast and along inland routes of communication, which reflects both her bountiful and protective aspects. The incidence of temples to Hercules on roads and waterways suggests that his role was more specifically as guardian of its transportation, although these distinctions seem to reflect different beliefs of these deities' worshippers, since Cupra can be identified in Picenum and eastern Umbria, whereas Hercules (and Feronia) are found south of the Tronto, their shrines becoming widespread in the locality of the Pescara (Coarelli and La Regina 1984:84-134; van Wonterghem 1984; Torelli 1993:103-4; Colonna 1999b:91). This common relationship between Hercules and Cupra/Feronia has led Torelli to marry these deities, particularly amongst the South Picenes, Samnites and Sabines (1993:100-4; 113-15).

3.7 Conclusions

It is suspected that water was present at all cult sites in Iron Age Central Adriatic Italy. Where material evidence survives, there is much scope in new archaeological projects in the region to investigate the phenomena further, using a checklist like that proposed by Bernabei and Grifoni Cremonesi. The currently available evidence suggests that at some cult places the water itself was perceived as sacred in nature (notably, in caves), whereas at others it had a (partly) utilitarian function within the rituals (water-side temples).

An inherent problem in the investigation of the cultic use of water is that ritual use of water can only be identified where human cultural intervention was present. In other words, we cannot identify places where water was propitiated without human manipulation of the landscape, even if this manipulation was slight, such as the votive deposition of a single artefact. Deposition in water is also difficult to identify in Central Adriatic Italy, other than where this occurs in cave contexts (Chapter 4). The Pescara and Fucino sword deposits and Lago di Cíngoli vessel deposits are the only known examples from direct water contexts. Little evidence for monumentalisation of sacred sites has been uncovered in the region but, where it has, the type of manipulation of site is varied. Particularly associated with water we find monumentalised sanctuaries at Ancona, Montefortino di Arcévia, Cupra Marittima and near Montorio al Vomano. Most of these monumentalised sites are 'open sites'

which are near to or beside water, usually a river, lake or spring, such as the temple of Cupra at Colfiorito, the temple of Hercules on the Vomano, or the sanctuary at Montefortino, by the Nevola spring. The water at these open sites surely had a practical function, which may have been partially ritual, but the cult place may also have been located here so that the water feature was an aspect of veneration. The best evidence we have of this is the comparative evidence of the Roman literary sources and monumentalised water features of the Roman period, such as the spring of Juturna at Pratica di Mare (Lavinium) (Ross Holloway 1994:129). Another division appears to exist: the open sites which include normal water lay on arterial routes through the region, were visible and were probably used by comparatively large numbers of people, perhaps for (inter)community-wide rituals, given that monumentalisation takes organisation and human labour; whereas the 'closed sites' (usually caves) include abnormal water, even where they are near normal water (e.g. Grotta del Re Tiberio, 4.3.1; Grotta Sant'Angelo, 4.5) and are invisible, requiring guidance or specific knowledge to locate. This does not exclude the closed sites from being locales for community-wide activity, but means that this activity could have been more regulated than that at the open sites. Many of the sites appear to mark boundaries, between territories, between the lived- and otherworld, between the sacred and profane. Water marks both routes through (rivers, gorges) and stopping points in (springs, waterfalls) the Central Italic landscape, integral to the social organisation of the region and its relationship with its neighbours.

The evidence of later inscriptions at some water sites indicates that women had a prominent role in Picene religion, ostensibly due to interrelationships between water, Cupra and fertility and/or gynaecological health. The possibility that the cult of Cupra was maintained by priestesses highlights the capacity for women to fulfil specific public roles, and so be of value, within Picene society, an impression which is supported by the extent of rich female burials within the region.

Chapter 4

Places of deposition and transition: cult use of caves and underground (abnormal) water

4.1 Introduction

The mountain peaks and rocky crags of Picenum are rich in caves and rock shelters, which tend to be spatially constrained by the cliff face and often also by a steep frontal talus (cf. Straus 1979:332). These caves occur in groups, rather than in isolation, scattered along the lengths of the gorges, particularly the Gola di Frasassi, but also the Salinello. They have also been found in the region of M Vettore, M Sibilla and the Lago di Fucino and in the north, both caves and a number of rock-cut structures have been located in the mountains above the Marecchia valley, notably in the Vena del Gesso (Map Ia). These caves are distinctive features of the landscape, although not necessarily highly visible. This is a result of the combination of their specific geological settings and internal physical shape, defined by the structure of the cave walls. The incidence of preservation of signs of human use is high in comparison with other natural features and can be broadly categorised into domestic, religious and ritual use, such as food preparation, settlement or shelter, propitiation of deities, initiation, sacrifice and burial. Cult use of caves seems to have taken place in peripheral zones, beyond the limits of the settled landscape, but in areas where natural resources retained their traditional importance and secular human activity took place.

The terms 'caves' and 'cave sites' are used here to describe natural and artificial rock-cut structures, categorised by Whitehouse as underground gallery systems, caves, rock shelters, crevices, tombs and hypogea (1992:1). These may be grouped further as 'natural caves and cave systems', 'smaller natural caves, rock-shelters and rock crevices and fissures' and 'artificial rock-cut structures' (Whitehouse 1992:23-5). 'Cave' also includes the use of the cave opening only, and of the interior (usually associated with burial or religious practices)[1].

[1] Although tombs and artificial rock-cut structures are included within the definition of cave sites, burial contexts are excluded from the discussion, as per 1.2.

Caves are good sites for excavation because "they repeatedly provided permanent [and temporary] shelter for human groups, and they serve as fairly permanent post-depositional containers for the material residues of those human occupations" (Straus 1979:333). A number of factors should, however, be borne in mind when assessing the archaeology of cave sites. Decisions whether or not to use a cave would have been affected by "solar exposure, overlook, winds, insects, season, purpose of intended cave utilisation, access to water, fuel, food and other resources" (Straus 1979:333). A number of these factors may have affected the perception of a particular cave site as a sacred site and its utilisation for religious practices. Many caves used for occupation were seasonal, being cold, wet and draughty at certain times of year; in particular, those on the higher points were good vantage points but unsuited to winter occupation (Straus 1979:333)[2]. There were some caves which would never have been suited to occupation or storage, notably those which remained damp for all or most of the year, a common occurrence amongst the caves of Picenum, due to their karstic formation. They have been formed by rainwater which, charged with carbon dioxide from the atmosphere, dissolves the calcium carbonate in the porous limestone, creating a propensity for stillicide formations (concretions). A second product of this is to cause most natural drainage to be underground, creating pools and watercourses in many of the caves. These watercourses tend to create the springs that emerge from the smaller mountains and their foothills (at around 500-600m asl). The waters of these springs are often hot and mineralised, such as those emerging from underground caves at S Vittore Terme (in the Gola di Frasassi), Acquasanta Terme (AP) and Terme di Cotilia (AQ). Whilst these factors restricted the suitability of some caves for settlement or shelter, they may have been considered as advantageous to caves that functioned as sacred sites, contributing to the production of desired effects in their visitors. For example, pools of stillicide water filled the Grotta Lattaia (near Belvedere, TR), making it unsuitable for occupation, but this water was intrinsic to the cave's sacred function (4.3.3).

Most caves displaying evidence of sacred function have been found in locations unsuitable for occupation, usually because they are relatively inaccessible and tend to

[2] Whilst this point was realised in the context of Palaeolithic hunter-gatherer societies, it remains applicable to later societies, if to a lesser extent, since bone evidence from Italian sites shows that wild fauna were still consumed at cave sites (Skeates 1997b:83; Whitehouse 1992:130).

be damp and cut off from natural light (Bradley 1993:29). Whitehouse further categorises them as follows: 1) larger natural caves and cave systems with long, restricted and tortuous approaches, dark and cramped internally, very damp; variable in form, with a single chamber approached through a single entrance, or complex, with more than one chamber or gallery, frequently on more than one level, sometimes with more than one original entrance; 2) smaller natural caves, rock-shelters and rock crevices and fissures, sometimes suitable for occupation, but many having produced evidence of use for burials or other cult purposes; sometimes modified by human action; sites remote or in hidden locations, but not particularly difficult to access the interior; 3) artificial rock-cut structures, both standard rock-cut tombs and some more complex humanly built structures; access to interior not difficult, though site entrances may have originally been hidden (Whitehouse 1992:23-5, 61). Most Picene Iron Age sites fall into the first category, for example, Grotta del Re Tiberio, Grotta Sant'Angelo and Grotta Maritza.

Much of this chapter draws on the work on caves in prehistoric Italy by Whitehouse, Skeates, d'Ercole, Radmilli and Grifoni Cremonesi. Whilst the majority of their studies concentrate on the Neolithic to Bronze Age periods in areas of Central and Southern Italy, these provide an invaluable basis for work on caves in Iron Age Picenum. Their work on Neolithic to Bronze Age material is referenced for background to the period currently under discussion and may provide evidence for continuity of use throughout the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods. The material evidence for use of cave sites in the Iron Age is much less than for earlier periods, partly because the caves were no longer used for settlement and were used only occasionally for burials. Nevertheless, where material evidence is found this tends to be associated with religious practice, suggesting that caves retained their aspect as sacred sites throughout the first millennium BCE[3]. Certain evidential biases should also be noted here. It has been mooted that caves show comparatively good archaeological preservation, but excavation tends to have been carried out in the accessible caves and parts of caves, such as the entrance and first chamber (e.g. Grotta del Re Tiberio). This is partly due to the expense, techniques and expertise involved in excavating the less accessible caves, but also due to the conflicting modern uses of caves. The caves in the gorges of the Vena del

[3] This is not the forum for discussion of continuity of cult practices from the Neolithic through to the end of the Iron Age, and possibly later, but such a discussion is within the scope of future work.

Gesso, Marche and northern Abruzzo are used recreationally by cavers and are natural beauty spots. Some have been opened up as tourist attractions, notably the Grotte di Frasassi (Sentino), and great care is taken to avoid damage to the concretions. So it is not always possible, or desirable, to excavate the region's caves or parts of its cave systems. Given the propensity for votive deposition in bodies of water above ground (ponds, lakes etc.), it seems likely that deposits were made in the pools and underground lakes that occur in karstic caves. Few of these deposits are recoverable. The other major evidential problem is that a large proportion of Picene and Roman material has been removed in clandestine excavation, which has also tended to result in disturbed stratigraphy for other periods (Whitehouse 1992:35; d'Ercole 1992a:265).

Other causes of disturbance to the material or stratigraphy include: fluctuations in the water table, flooding, karstic resurgence, rockfall, landslide, surface cone deposits, periglacial processes, sedimentation, erosion or burrowing animals, in both the prehistoric and historic periods (Straus 1979:333-5). These are a particular problem for cave mouth sites, where an entire site can be lost due to combined rock and water movement, leaving its material irretrievably mixed up on the talus (Straus 1979:336). This may account for the majority of known caves in Picenum being underground gallery systems located in the sides of the gorges and in the mountains. In addition, material from different periods of occupation of a cave site easily becomes intermingled, since sediment is very slow to build up in these sites. For these reasons François Bordes has argued that detailed stratigraphic control is especially important in the excavation of cave sites (Bordes 1975 in Straus 1979:334). It is therefore unfortunate that this has rarely occurred in the excavations of cave sites in Picenum[4]. We are therefore compelled to rely heavily on the finds of material culture within cave sites, what Straus describes as 'horizontal data' (1979:337). Iron Age and early Roman artefacts are clearly recognisable, but caution needs to be maintained when interpreting bone and other organic material.

Stratigraphy and material culture are not the only forms of evidence to be found inside caves: the restricted locales of cave sites may have contributed to a tightly controlled

[4] Most caves were first excavated in the nineteenth century, during which period few excavators were concerned with stratigraphy. Scarabelli's excavations in Emilia-Romagna are the exception. The stratigraphy has been better recorded in the more recent excavations of the Grotta Sant'Angelo (Civitella del Tronto) and Grotta Maritza.

locating of activities of differing character, within the same cave. The configurations of features within a cave, such as walls, ceiling, boulders, talus slope, drip line, concretions, and the exposures of differing areas of the cave to winds, rain, sunlight, drips, underground water flow, heat or cold, may have had an effect on the repetition of certain activities within specific parts of the cave, for instance, the placing of bowls on deliberately truncated stalagmites to collect water from the stalactites above in the Grotta Scaloria (south-east Italy) (Whitehouse 1992:70). Very often the layout of the cave, especially of an underground gallery complex, was modified and additional structures built, to further control access to particular parts of the cave and, in turn, to the experiences and knowledge brought about by these, a pattern that occurs in formal humanmade monuments (Bradley 1993:29; 4.6.4). These modifications might include alterations of the cave shape, especially of the opening (Grotta Sant'Angelo (Civitella del Tronto)); graves and other pits excavated in rock deposits or the floor of the cave itself (Grotta dei Piccioni); stone structures, including dry stone walling (Grotta di Ciccio Felice, Grotta di Porto Badisco), circles of stones (Grotta dei Piccioni); and modifications to stalactites or stalagmites, usually truncation (Grotta Scaloria) (Whitehouse 1992:70). The focus of analyses of caves has been on their internal structure and contents, which may be a result of the relatively good preservation of material culture within caves, compared to other natural features, but their external architecture and occupation of physical space in the wider landscape, particularly if located amongst other caves, is equally significant.

One of the most important characteristics of caves, particularly of those used for religious practices, is that both they and the deposits made in them were located in natural places, hidden from view (Bradley 1997c:30). The landscape of which they are a part gives the caves this quality: often they are situated within a second, less restricted, locale such as a gorge or mountain, an encapsulated microcosm of the wider landscape. Whitehouse argues that the seclusion of caves gives them an aspect of secrecy that is part of the religious practice (Whitehouse 1992:137). This seclusion works on a double level in Picenum. The caves themselves are very restricted, only visible and accessible to those to whom the location is known. The caves tend to be located in mountains overlooking gorges (the caves of the Vena del Gesso) or high up the steep, internal rock faces of gorges, which are secluded from the surrounding landscape (e.g. Grotte di Frasassi, Grotta Sant'Angelo). In other words, the internal

structure (locale) of the gorge is invisible from the hills and lowlands outside it. Tuan describes the effects of this as "disembodied consciousness and earth-bound identification" (1974:28). The gorge shelters the visitor, making it conceptually a place of safety, with a visible beginning and end and distinct natural features (a river, vegetation, sheer walls). Tuan goes on to suggest that these features engender a fascination for travellers and "excite emotions that are widely shared" (1974:28). The little evidence we have for Picene settlements suggests that these were located in the lowlands and on hilltops and so were physically separated from the gorges (e.g. Novilara-Pésaro, Moie di Pollenza, Ancona, Moscosi di Cíngoli, Tortoreto). So, a sacred cave site might have been physically near to a settlement or route of communication (road or waterway) in terms of distance, but separated by a change in landscape feature, the differential usually being marked by height/depth (e.g. Grotta del Re Tiberio, Grotta Sant'Angelo). Tuan suggests that the vertical elements in the gorge landscape (the sheer walls) evoke a sense of striving and a defiance of gravity, whereas the horizontal elements are reflective of acceptance and rest (1974:28). Identification of the cult use of many caves located high up in the walls of the Central Adriatic gorges supports this concept. These caves were considered sacred and it is likely that a sense of striving and of attainment of the goal (reaching the cave) was part of the religious experience. This also applies to caves near mountain peaks, such as those of the Vena del Gesso. In Picenum the horizontal elements of the gorge focus on the river, which would have been a source of fresh water, often mineralised by the springs emerging from the karstic caves (e.g. the Salinello). These horizontal elements would therefore have tended to represent aspects of the lived-world, providing a contrast with the otherworldly vertical elements.

Paradoxically, although the cave locations were hidden, the natural features that housed them could be very visible. For example, the Salinello gorge and Grotta Sant'Angelo cave complex are invisible from the nearest modern settlements of Ripe and Civitella del Tronto, although these are hilltop settlements, above the gorge, but the shape of the rock formation and tree cover can identify the gorge (Plate 4.9)[5]. Likewise, the caves on M Sibilla and M Vettore are far from habitation, part of the

[5] Features that would have existed in the Iron Age.

mountain locale[6]. The visible, and more easily identifiable, larger landscape feature may have contributed to the mapping process for those who had knowledge of and a desire to access the caves, since the actual caves tended to be well hidden and difficult to access (Grifoni Cremonesi 1996b:323; Skeates 1997b:83; cf. Whitehouse 2001:162-3). Identification and orientation are primary aspects of being-in-the-world and in order to orientate him/herself a person needs both to know where s/he is and to identify with the environment (Norberg-Schulz 1980:19). The paradox of landscape feature visible to the whole community juxtaposed with the hidden sacred site, access to which was permitted to a specific sector of the community, also reflects a power dynamic. Perhaps the landscape contributed to feelings of respect and awe engendered in the wider community for those people who gained access to the site, for example, priests or initiates. In other words, everyone in the community knew that a sacred cave existed and could identify its approximate location because the ridge of the gorge was visible, but only particular individuals could enter the locale and engage in an active relationship with the sacred site.

An important difference between the internal and external architecture of caves is that in the Iron Age very little of the external structure was modified. The most common modification that can be described as external (although it is better described as liminal) is the widening of the cave mouth. This lack of modification has the effect of making caves extremely static features in the wider landscape, which means they may be recognisable over extended time periods[7]. This may go part way to explaining why caves enjoyed such prolonged continuity of use, particularly in their sacred aspects, despite their hidden locations. Most adaptations were made to the internal structures of caves, particularly in smaller natural caves and crevices (Whitehouse 1992:23). This may have been partly because this was easier to achieve than adapting the external structure and/or because it was easier to conceptualise the internal shape. In both cases, structural alterations demonstrate the human ability to manipulate the natural landscape at will. Whether wholly artificial structures or adaptations to pre-existing structures, humanmade places remain related to nature, and this occurs in three ways: 1) the agent has to complement the given situation by adding what is

[6] Suggesting that Skeates' argument for the proximity of caves and settlement applies more to his studies of the Piana del Fucino and less to the mountainous areas of Marche and Abruzzo (Skeates 1997b:84).
[7] Unless affected by geological movement, as outlined above.

'lacking'; 2) the agent has to symbolise their understanding of nature (including him/herself); 3) the agent wants to make the natural structure more precise, in order to visualise his/her understanding of nature, and achieves this by building (emulating) what s/he has seen (Norberg-Schulz 1980:17). With respect to caves, modifications achieve 1), artificial rock-cut structures achieve 3) and perhaps the interaction with either type of structure fulfils 2).

As highlighted in 3.1, another common feature of cave sites is their close relationship with water, which in most cases seems attributable to the landscape factors described above. The gorges of Picenum contain a river, stream or other running water, often including a waterfall; a mountain cave site often includes a spring and will also see a higher incidence of precipitation, as either rain or snow, owing to the low cloud level and lower temperatures. Inside, karstic caves tend to be unusually wet, containing or being the point of emergence for underground springs, including thermal, bubbling or mineralised springs, or for dripping water, which collects in pools or forms stalagmites, stalactites and blades. Whitehouse has developed a typology of underground water: carbonated/aerated, gaseous or sulphurous, violently moving, 'solid', i.e. stalagmites, stalactites, blades, curtains, veils and clusters, and still pools in caves (Whitehouse 1992:61-5, 132-3; Crinella 1997:61), to which we should add mineralised[8], although this might arguably be included in one of the other categories listed, either 'sulphurous' or 'solid'[9]. Abundant evidence also exists for deliberate water-related activities in caves, for example, the collection of stillicide water dripping from cave roofs and walls in natural hollows, artificial basins and pottery vessels; or deposition of artefacts in or close to water sources (Whitehouse 1992:62; see also 3.2.4, 3.5).

Surface and/or normal water features (as described in 3.1) seem largely to have had a sacred aspect linked to their cleansing, curative and salubrious properties, i.e. their practical uses, which can also be extrapolated to mean ritual purification. Underground water shares none of these features and played a vital part in

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[8] For example, the spring in the Frasassi gorge, which contains calcium carbonate, manganese and iron oxide (Plate 3.3a).

[9] Although Whitehouse's typology refers specifically to underground water, it can also be applied to bodies of water found in the wider landscape of Picenum and is the typology of 'abnormal water' referred to in 3.1. See 3.2.4, 3.4. and 3.5.1 for examples. See also the description of the Salinello below (4.7), which is included within the categories violently moving, carbonated/aerated, mineralised and still.

perpetuating the images of caves as places of liminal activities and inversion of the norm. The economic importance of caves and of underground abnormal water is minimal (Buxton 1994:104). The water which sustains life should be cold, clear and potable, whereas underground water was variously hot, coloured by a high mineral content, bitter-tasting, or solid, yet still recognisable as water (cf. Whitehouse 1992:133). Some caves were traditionally used for occupation and although this does not seem to have been the reality in Iron Age Picenum, there was a strong parallel between the cave and the hut in so far as both provided shelter. However, the liminality of caves may have been accentuated by the transition to built accommodation: huts were geometric structures, with clearly defined boundaries and point(s) of ingress/egress, whereas caves were of "anomalous and ambiguous shape" (Buxton 1994:108). In Graeco-Roman mythology caves were for outsiders. They were the birthplace of heroes, monsters and elements such as the winds[10]; the locales of activities outside the moral codes of society, usually illicit sexual encounters; they were lived in only by monsters; they gave access to the sacred, particularly to the dead, by providing an entrance to the underworld (Neumann 1963:174-5; Buxton 1994:105-8).

The liminality of both caves and abnormal water gains another dimension when the cave entrance is considered. Here, the cave is open, and therefore accessible, and in many cases the entrance is wide, with the first part of the cave a chamber at ground level with the opening, which can be used for shelter (e.g. Grotta del Re Tiberio). Abnormal water often occurs here, pouring from the rock or emerging as a spring, but is better described as 'above ground' than underground. The therapeutic properties of mineralised water may have been recognised because the water was conceptually a spring. For example, the concentration of calcium carbonate transforms water inside a cave into 'solid water' (Plate 4.6), but the increased movement of water with the same mineral content, as it emerges from the ground in or near the cave entrance, means that it *resembles* normal water (Plate 3.3a), so the therapeutic properties may have been perceived as more dominant than the 'abnormality' (e.g. Acquasanta Terme).

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[10] This finds an ethnographic parallel amongst the Maya of Guatemala: "All the great saints and *nuwal* ancestors live in Paq'alib'al. Their spirits live there in the center of the mountain. This is also where the south wind is born. Strong rains come from this cave because that is where the clouds are formed. There is always the sound of wind coming out of the cave because this is where the ancients live." (Christenson, forthcoming 4).

One of the striking features of sacred cave sites in Picenum is that they cannot be grouped by type as water sites can. Repeated Iron Age cult use of caves appears to have been restricted to larger natural caves and gallery cave systems[11]. Votive deposits have also been found in fissures and crevices, but these tend to be not only at cave openings, but also at sites where further votive deposits occur inside the cave systems (Grotta del Re Tiberio; cf. Grotta Bella, Grotta Lattaia). In addition, the votives from these fissures are often attributable to the Hellenistic period rather than to the Iron Age (Grotta delle Marmitte, Grotta del Ciccio Felice). Chance finds of miniature pottery and full-size vessels have been found in some rock shelters (Vena del Gesso) and these seem to represent isolated deposits by individuals. However, preservation of material in these locales is likely to be far less than it is in larger cave systems due to the physical properties of the rock shelters. Even if the deposits were made by individuals, it is unclear whether this action was part of the wider cult activity taking place in the cave landscape, or a private act of devotion. The comparative uniformity in the ways caves were used as sacred sites throughout Picenum is in itself remarkable. In order to explore the phenomenon, the chapter examines the extensive body of work concerned with the cult use and symbolism of caves, and of the meaning of votives and other material culture from cave contexts. The clear physical delineation of caves also permits detailed phenomenological investigation. This chapter is therefore organised as follows: analysis of the geography and architecture of cave sites in Picenum and of the votive material from them; a phenomenological excursus of a sacred cave site in Picenum, the Grotta Sant'Angelo; and discussion of the symbolic subject-object-place interrelationships within these caves.

4.2 Patterns in the cult use of caves in Picenum

The caves in Picenum that have yielded evidence of cult use are largely confined to the far north, far south and to the gorges of the central region (Map I). They can be grouped geographically as follows: Vena del Gesso group, Grotte di Frasassi (Sentino gorge), Salinello group and North Abruzzo group.

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[11] Rock-cut hypogea could be included in this chapter, but the Picene examples fit better into other chapters, notably the hypogea at Rambona, for which water seems the stronger focus, and the basins in the Montefeltro region, which are all found on mountain peaks.

The time frame over which human activity can be identified in individual caves within Picenum is often extensive, reaching from the Upper Palaeolithic[12] through to the Roman period, and often beyond, with several caves being converted into early churches[13]. An investigation into how the archaeological material differs across periods is one way by which to understand how perceptions of caves might have changed. Bernabei and Grifoni Cremonesi's typology of Neolithic to Bronze Age material found in association with water (cited in 3.1) can also be applied to caves, in combination with a typology, specific to caves, that has been developed by Grifoni Cremonesi: recurrence of a particular artefact type, basins for collection of (abnormal) water, vessels deposited near (abnormal) water, votives or depositions in vessels, miniature vessels or other miniature artefacts, vessels with vegetal remains, upturned vessels, hearths with remains of meal or animals, burials or human remains, red ochre, art, artificial holes, circles of stone, broken stalactites, stalagmites and blades and adaptations of the cave's natural structure (Bernabei and Grifoni Cremonesi 1995-96:350, tav 1; Grifoni Cremonesi 1996a:307; Grifoni Cremonesi 1996b:334-5). Of these, the finds which identify caves as having held a sacred function during the Iron Age tend to be deposits of miniature pottery vessels and occasional full-size vessels[14], and also single or multiple deposits of bronze votive figurines, anatomical ex-votos and terracotta figurines. Examples of these artefacts have been discovered throughout the region, from the Grotta del Re Tiberio in the north to the Grotta Maritza in the south. Concentrations of finds range in intensity, with miniature pottery vessels or bronze votive figurines predominating, often in large numbers.

Some patterns in the ritual use of these caves can be identified. The Neolithic levels have tended to yield evidence of cult use, namely circles of stones (Grotta Sant'Angelo) and full-size vessels ostensibly for collecting rainwater (Grotta Pertosa) or for making offerings of fruits, grains and pulses (Grotta Sant'Angelo, Grotta Latronico) (Pacciarelli and Sassatelli 1997:15). Cult use is less apparent during much of the Bronze Age, when burials were made in a number of caves, such as Grotta del Re Tiberio, Tanaccia di Brisighella, Grotta Sant'Angelo and Grotta a Male. Deposition of perishable offerings in

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[12] For example, M Cónero (Ancona), which was inhabited in the Palaeolithic. Limestone from this cave was quarried in the Roman period and several Latin graffiti have been found on the walls. There is no evidence that this cave system was ever held sacred (Lollini 2001:28; Dall'Aglio *et al* 1992).
[13] For example, the Grotta di S Eustachio, San Severino was converted into a Church of S Eustachio. A Late Neolithic engraved stone slab was discovered in the same cave (held in the Museo Archeologico 'Giuseppe Moretti', San Severino Marche) (Allevi 1940:32-3).
[14] Which can be categorised according to Bernabei and Grifoni Cremonesi's system.

covered or upturned full-size vessels continued throughout this period, often at the same sites as the burials (Grotte di Frasassi, Grotta Sant'Angelo). The late Bronze Age to Iron Age transition saw burials become infrequent, whereas cult use increased. By the sixth century votive deposition of miniature pottery was widespread and deposition of covered full-size vessels occasional. Evidence for the cult use of caves then continued throughout the Iron Age and into the Hellenistic period, in the form of bronze figurines, terracotta figurines and anatomical ex-votos. The extent to which this represents continued cult use of the sites or sporadic use in specific time periods is uncertain (Appendix I). The decline in burials, or deposition of human remains, in caves in the late Bronze Age and apparently disparate types of votive objects present in the Iron Age suggests that the perception of caves changed between the Bronze and Iron Ages, miniature pottery vessels being the only artefact group to occur widely in both periods.

4.3 Caves of the Vena del Gesso (Emilia-Romagna)

The Apennine spur of the Vena del Gesso contains numerous caves, many of which have been excavated, largely under the auspices of the Soprintendenza dell'Emilia-Romagna, in the area around Imola (BO and RA). The period of use and the function of these caves vary. Eneolithic and Bronze Age material has been excavated from most and is generally associated with human burial and accompanying rituals. A handful of caves have yielded evidence that reveals their use in different parts of the Iron Age, broadly, the Late Bronze Age to Iron Age transition and the sixth to fourth centuries. Some Roman and Medieval material has also been excavated, for example, from the Grotta della Lucerna. Much of the material from these excavations is held in the Museo Giuseppe Scarabelli in Imola, Scarabelli having overseen the first, and sometimes only, excavations undertaken in the caves. Bronze figurines, pottery fragments and sporadic finds of complete miniature and full-size pottery vessels have been found throughout the Vena del Gesso, such as the fragments of undecorated impasto pottery from the Grotta a Nord Est di Ca'Piantè and the bronze figurine from the Borgo Rivola, found outside the Grotta del Re Tiberio, on the opposite bank of the Senio (Sassatelli 1981:343, VI 8; Map Ia). These have often been washed out of context by the underground water systems emerging as rivers, streams and rivulets throughout the mountains. Nevertheless, the archaeological evidence from the region indicates that the Iron Age communities there closely associated themselves with the watercourses and other routes of communication across the mountains and were familiar with several of

the many caves. This section focuses on the Grotta del Re Tiberio, which is the best example from this area of a cave used for cult practices during the Iron Age, the Grotta dei Banditi and the Grotta della Tanaccia di Brisighella, although the Iron Age levels from this last site are poorly recorded.

4.3.1 Grotta del Re Tiberio (Riolo Terme, RA)

Close to M Bibele is the karstic tunnel, gallery and cave complex of the Grotta del Re Tiberio, in which two bronze figurines and several deposits of stylistically similar miniature pottery bowls, dating from the sixth to fourth centuries, were discovered (Mancini *et al* 1957:71, n16; Bertani 1996a note 9; Bertani 1997:79, 87-8).



Plate 4.1 Monte Mauro and the entrance to the Grotta del Re Tiberio (reproduced from M. Ercolani, Speleo GAM)

The entrance to the Grotta del Re Tiberio is situated a short way off the summit of Monte Mauro, the highest peak of the Vena del Gesso (515 m asl) (Plate 4.1). The mountain, which also houses several other caves, would have been a distinctive landscape marker for the cave, although from the valley the entrance itself is barely visible amongst the *maquis*. Located 90m above and to the south of the Senio river, this cave complex had a strong physical relationship to water features, with underground streams running through it and concretions filling the gallery and second chamber. A mineralised spring in the cave entrance appears to have been one sacred focus of the site, since most of the miniature pottery vessels were deposited here, in fissures and artificial niches in the rock (Mancini *et al* 1957:71; Bermond Montanari 1987:288; Vitali 1991:86; Bertani 1994:51; Bertani 1997:85).



Plate 4.2 View of Borgo Rivola pass from the Re Tiberio cave mouth (reproduced from M. Ercolani, Speleo GAM)



Plate 4.3 The entrance chamber of Grotta del Re Tiberio, showing the niches and small basins (date/s unknown) (reproduced from M. Ercolani, Speleo GAM)

The cave is reached through a narrow, and sometimes steep, limestone walled pass, the Borgo Rivola (Bermond Montanari 1987:288). As the visitor completes the climb and, breathless, breasts the ridge, the wide cave entrance suddenly comes into view. Immediately one is met by the sight of the opening surrounded by niches, in which the vessels were placed together, apparently to collect the water as it poured in rivulets down the walls. Looking back, the site commands a spectacular view of the valley and Borgo Rivola pass below (Plate 4.2). The cave opens directly into the first chamber and further deposits of miniature vessels were made inside this chamber, in artificial niches and basins and in the cave floor (Plate 4.3). Mineral rich water, filtered by the porous limestone, runs through the walls of the chamber and collects in the basins (Bermond

Montanari 1987:288; Marabini 1995; Bertani and Pacciarelli 1996:432). Its mineral content makes the water blueish-white in colour and it somewhat resembles milk or semen in both colour and consistency (cf. Whitehouse 1992:28). Dependent on the time of day and of the year, sunlight would sometimes stream into the cave entrance, reflecting off the water and causing light to dance around the cavity. This would also have the effect of lightening the space. The sound of running water would be ever present, echoing in the semi-enclosed space and accentuated by it. These effects are specific to this particular environment and would have been perceived as such by the people who used the site ritually, however conscious that perception was[15]. Even in the cases where the biological responses of the senses to these (and other) environmental effects were the same for the people who visited the site in the Iron Age as for those who visit now[16], the intentions and beliefs bound up with the visit may have been very different. The material evidence of bowls left for collection of water in a cave context and resembling milk or semen finds several parallels in the archaeological and ethnographic record, which indicate cult use, associated with the regenerative forces of fertility, both female and male, and with the underworld (Calzoni 1940:301; Whitehouse 1992:28; Skeates 1994:206; Brady and Ashmore 1999:127). Semen represents a bond between male and female, milk between mother and child, so anything white may become a symbol for these bonds (Tuan 1974:26). That more than 300 vessels were found at the site suggests that even if the water was used for further rituals, this took place at the same site, perhaps deeper inside the cave (Plate 4.4).

A wide opening at the back of the first chamber leads into a horizontal gallery, which runs for 50-55m (Bermond Montanari 1987:288). Stalagmites and stalactites fill this gallery, but it remains wide enough to pass through comfortably. At 50m it is joined by a second chamber, 15m in diameter (Bermond Montanari 1987:288; fig 4.1). The cave system then continues for another 4km, via two small apertures in the rear of the second chamber, but this part does not seem to have been used in prehistory. Carboniferous limestone and gypsum are the principal geological components of the cave, with iron oxides having formed pockets of ochre in the walls.

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[15] Dependent on factors such as physical impairment, which might be naturally occurring (e.g. blindness) or deliberately created as part of the ritual (e.g. banging drums would muffle the sound of the water).

[16] The variables here are infinite, see Whitehouse 2001:161; Betts, forthcoming.



Plate 4.4 Part of the deposit of 300 stylistically similar miniature pottery vessels found at the cave entrance (reproduced from Bertani 1997)

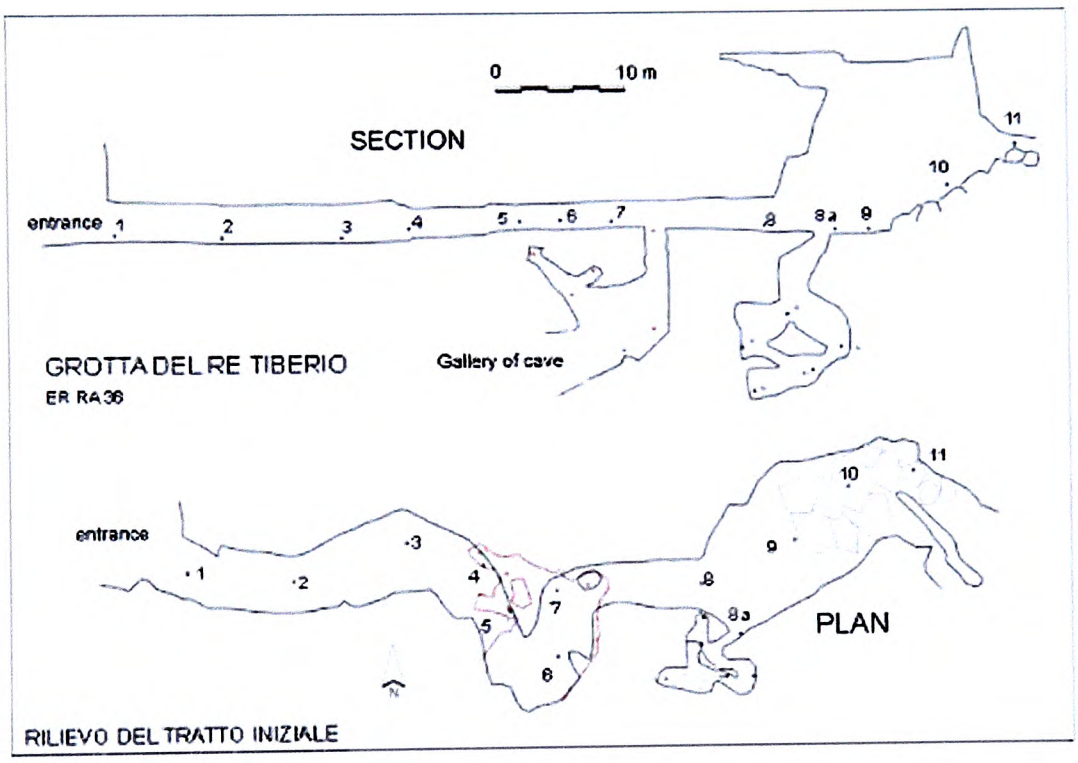


Fig 4.1 Plan and section of the Grotta del Re Tiberio (after Speleo GAM Mezzano)

Beginning with Tassinari's excavations in 1865, several legitimate excavations have been undertaken of the Grotta del Re Tiberio, making this one of the better-recorded caves in Picenum[17]. Initial excavations of the cave were carried out at three different points within the system: just inside the entrance, 50m inside (where the gallery and second chamber meet) and halfway along the gallery (Tassinari 1865:484; Bertani 1996,

[17] Riccardo Lanzoni carried out excavations from 1923 to 1935. Then, in 1942, Antonio Veggiani opened a test trench. After an eight-year interval the Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Emilia Romagna, the Gruppo Speleologico Faentino and the Speleo GAM Mezzano recommenced exploration of the caves. It has not been possible to prevent clandestine excavation and this has overshadowed the official excavations throughout the same time frame.

note 1)[18]. These excavations yielded material from the middle and late Bronze Age and from the sixth to fourth centuries (Tassinari 1865; Scarabelli 1872:54; Bertani 1996, fig 3, note 6)[19]. The second recorded excavation, which revisited Tassinari's trenches, yielded numerous further miniature pottery vessels, which Scarabelli later records as numbering over 200 (Scarabelli 1887:66 in Bertani 1996). Two seasons of excavation by Zauli Naldi discovered further miniature vessels, fragments of black-gloss ware and *terra sigillata*, fragments of bronze, iron and glass, bones, the first of the bronze figurines and a Roman coin, demonstrating that the cave continued in use until Picene VI or later; also an extensive burnt layer 2m further inside the chamber, where the material was of Medieval date[20] (Zauli Naldi 1869:9; Bermond Montanari 1987:290; Bertani 1996).

Excavations continued during the next 60 years, under the auspices of Scarabelli, then Lanzoni and Mansuelli (Scarabelli 1872:51, 54-56; Veggiani 1957, figs 4-5; Bertani *et al* 1994:51; 1996; Bertani and Pacciarelli 1996:430)[21]. Veggiani was fortunate to recover much of the material from clandestine excavations of a fissure 10m inside the entrance of the first chamber, on the lefthand side (Veggiani 1957:668).

The earliest Iron Age material found in the Grotta del Re Tiberio consists of the deposits of impasto vessels excavated by Tassinari in the gallery and entrance to the second chamber and by Scarabelli in an area just inside the cave entrance, at a depth of -2.91m to -3.26m (Scarabelli 1872:54). This initial phase has been dated to the beginning of the sixth century (Bertani and Pacciarelli 1996:431). The evidence for cult use of the cave is much stronger for the Iron Age than for the Bronze Age, since so much of the material culture is unquestionably votive. Cult use of the cave is certain by the end of the sixth century, given the prevalent votive deposits of miniature vessels and the presence of the female bronze figurine. Over 300 miniature pottery vessels were found at different points in the first chamber of the cave, as well as three bronze figurines, the exact findspots of which went unrecorded.

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[18] Subsequent excavations have been biased in favour of the first chamber, presumably due to the wealth of finds there and the ease of excavation compared to the gallery and second chamber, which are more difficult to access and require illumination.
[19] Unfortunately, the findspots of this material went unrecorded, making it impossible to ascertain any patterns in the distribution of material.
[20] The recorded finds are several crucibles, cut slabs and a copper tube.
[21] Most of the finds from these excavations were donated to the Museo Giuseppe Scarabelli di Imola, although some from Lanzoni's excavations in 1923 remain in the Lanzoni family's possession.

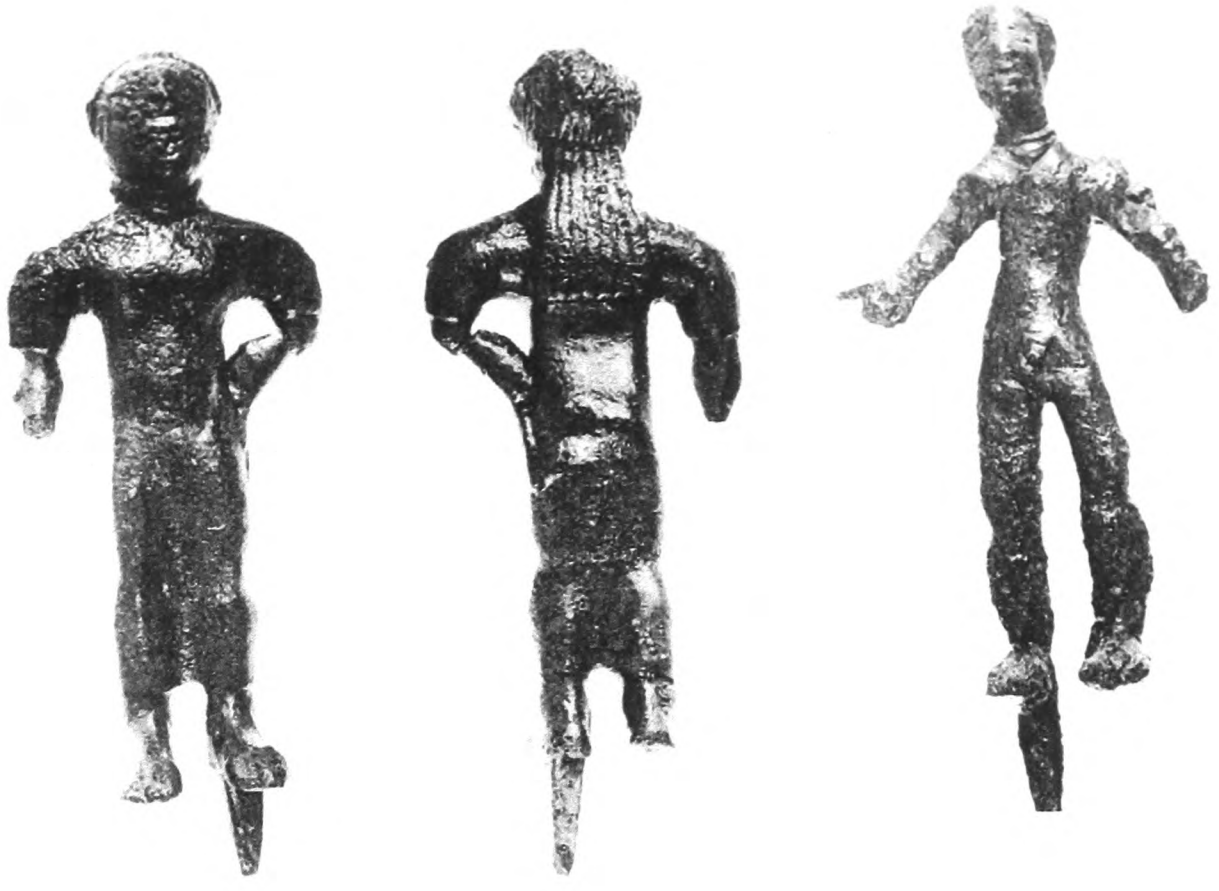


Plate 4.5a Female figurine of Marzabotto type, dated to the end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century, prov. Grotta del Re Tiberio (BO) (reproduced from Bertani 1997)

Plate 4.5b Male figurine, dated to th end of the fifth or first half of the fourth century, prov. Grotta del Re Tiberio (BO) (Veggiani 1957, fig 5; Bermond Montanari 1987:290; Vita 1991:86; Bertani and Pacciarelli 1996:431; Bertani 1997:90)

One male figurine was found by Lanzoni, so in the first chamber, whilst the female figurine, discovered in Zauli Naldi's preliminary exploration, is likely to have been found in the gallery (Bertani 1996). Sassatelli catalogued the third figurine, but it has received little other mention, given its late Hellenistic period date (Veggiani 1957; Sassatelli 1981:343 V.6; Bertani 1996:431, nn. 927, 929).

Both Iron Age anthropomorphic figurines are represented in the posture of making an offering (Bertani 1997:90, nn 63-4; Plate 4.5). Each wears a torque around their neck, the male figurine also wearing an armlet on his left arm. Examples of bronze torques have been excavated from sixth century burials in the region, largely from Belmonte Piceno (Franchi dell'Orto 1999 fig 100, cat 552). The local artisanship of these reveals them to be as much a feature of Picene ornamentation as of Celtic, so we might question Vitali's assertion that the figurines represent Celts (Vitali 1991:86, Bertani 1997:81). The third figurine wears a cloak and offers a patera with his right hand, which suggests that cult use of the cave was similar in the second century to its use in the late sixth and fifth. In addition to these and the figurine from the Borgo Rivola (4.3), a figurine similar

to the female worshipper was found upstream from the Grotta del Re Tiberio, at Ca'di Rondino, under the road that follows the Senio (Veggiani 1957; Sassatelli 1981:343 V.6; Bertani 1996:431,cat. L, nn. 927, 929). The presence of these stylistically similar figurines in the locality of the Senio valley suggests that they were deposited in connection with the watercourse, by people using the mountain paths created by the inland waterways of the Vena del Gesso (Map Ia). Like many of the Iron Age bronze figurines from Picenum, those from the Grotta del Re Tiberio have pins extending from their right (male figurine) and left (female figurine) foot, so they could have been stood upright in niches in the cave (if this is where they were deposited). The presence of these figurines, and others in the Vena del Gesso, demonstrates certain continuity in the cult associations of water and votive figurines, at different types of natural feature. Comparison of the evidence from the Grotta del Re Tiberio and M Bibele also shows that the type of water did not perceptibly affect the type of votive objects being deposited, although these were being utilised in different ways (cf. Thomas 1996:180).

Further to this, the votive bronzes are scarcely mentioned in the excavation reports of the Grotta del Re Tiberio, but Bertani considers the possibility that far more were present than the two well-preserved figurines found by Zauli Naldi and Lanzoni, on the basis of passing comments made by Scarabelli and Orsoni (Bertani and Pacciarelli 1996:432). Scarabelli notes that a few bronzes were found amongst the residue of many other objects extracted in clandestine excavations and there are a number of bronze fragments recorded amongst the finds of the earlier excavations. Based on the evidence of crucibles and burnt areas on the walls of the cave, it is believed that the site was used as a workshop for melting and casting in the Medieval period and Orsoni specifically mentions "idoletti di bronzo" amongst the objects being melted down (Scarabelli 1872:6; Orsoni 1890)[22]. The implications of this evidence are that numerous bronze votive figurines were deposited in the Grotta del Re Tiberio, perhaps in concentrations, although not to the same extent that the miniature vessels were. This is not implausible, given the comparative evidence from M Bibele, where the deposits of figurines and miniature vessels occur in concentrations by type. It might also account for the poverty of bronze figurines from other cave sites, given how many of the caves across the region show evidence of Medieval use.

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[22] Molten bronze has a temperature of about 1000°C, depending on the proportions of metal in the allo (Mattusch 1996:10, note 12).

The miniature vessels, datable to the sixth to fourth centuries, imitate domestic tableware: for example, those with roughened surfaces parallel Umbrian style beakers, those with two vertical handles may represent Etruscan *kantharoi* (Bertani and Pacciarelli 1996:431; Bertani 1997:80, 82). These two types of vessel predominate amongst the miniature vessels and their full-size counterparts are represented amongst the full-size pottery, which includes: locally manufactured domestic pottery, fragments of Attic red-figure ware, painted Etruscan *skyphoi* and Etruscan black-gloss ware. Glass, spindle whorls and pieces of tile have also been found in Iron Age contexts, all of these domestic finds occurring in both the first chamber and the deeper recesses of the cave (Bertani and Pacciarelli 1996:431). The numerous bowls, locally made from washed clay, are homogeneous with respect to their dimensions and manufacture, which contrasts with the homologous miniature vessels found throughout Picenum. The few imported ceramic objects, notably the vases, mortars and covers, have a markedly more functional nature than either the locally made pottery or the miniature vessels (Bertani and Pacciarelli 1996:432-3).

With the exception of the cache found by Scarabelli near the entrance, the examples of full-size impasto pottery were found in the deeper recesses of the cave and for the most part represent vessels associated with the storage and preparation of food. Bertani suggests that these vessels were used during religious ceremonies (Bertani and Pacciarelli 1996:433). As noted above, his hypothesis has validity due to the unsuitability of karstic caves for human occupation (4.1). Concretions fill the gallery of the cave and it seems likely that these full-size vessels and at least some of the miniature vessels were deposited in connection with these, a pattern which occurs throughout Central and South Italy in both the Bronze and Iron Ages (Calzoni 1940:301; Malone 1985:135; Whitehouse 1992; Grifoni Cremonesi 1996b:327-9; Bertani 1997:81). However, no miniature vessels have been excavated from the gallery and second chamber of Grotta del Re Tiberio, although this may be merely a result of the poor excavation of the deeper regions of the cave[23]. Without further excavation of the area we must therefore assume that the absence of miniature vessels from the gallery and second chamber, contrasted with the hundreds deposited in the first chamber, means that the two

[23] Tassinari carried out a single excavation in the second chamber, by torchlight; the two excavations in the gallery were undertaken by Tassinari and Scarabelli (Bertani 1996). Zauli Naldi's initial explorations may have reached into these areas, but this is unrecorded.

areas of the cave had distinct ritual functions. Perhaps two or three completely separate rituals took place, the one at the cave mouth and in the first chamber, the other/s in the gallery and/or the second chamber. Grifoni Cremonesi highlights the difficulties in interpretation of the specific rituals or beliefs which this material culture symbolised, suggesting that both rituals associated with agrarian cult, namely the fertility of the earth and funerary rituals, may be interwoven aspects of a single belief system (1996a:307-8). The cyclical relationships between life (particularly fertility, fecundity) and death (regeneration) and between water, earth, flora and fauna are comprehensible, but only a few of the interrelationships between these, the multifarious votives and the cave landscape can be hypothesised[24].

In all the excavations the miniature vessels were discovered only at the entrance to and in the first chamber of the cave, and always in large concentrations. As noted, this suggests that different parts of the cave had different functions, with the first chamber used as a place to collect the mineralised water as it emerged from underground. Rellini was the first to suggest that miniature vessels were associated with a cult of beneficial water (*acque salutari*), Bertani adding that the bowls here might have been used for collecting water and then for pouring libations in subsequent rituals (Rellini 1916; Bertani 1997:81). This highlights an apparent dichotomy, where the spring near the cave opening might have been perceived as normal water, with life-sustaining and purifying properties, but the underground and solid water inside the cave perceived as abnormal, associated with the otherworld, but also with fertility and regeneration. This first chamber and the emergent water, whether from the spring or the water streaming down the cave walls and into the niches, basins and miniature vessels, was a liminal zone, the place where abnormal water began to make the transition to normal water, where the otherworld met the lived-world. For the people participating in the rituals, the chamber was an antechamber to the cave proper, with its long, concretion-filled gallery, second chamber and mysterious further passages and galleries of which some of them were aware but into which they could or dared not venture.

Torches or lamps would have been required for much of the journey through the 50m long gallery and to illuminate the second chamber. The first chamber, whilst

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[24] For discussion of these interrelationships see Gimbutas 1974, Eliade 1978.

recognisably part of the cave, was well lit by daylight and easy to access, daylight connecting it to the lived-world. Conversely, the cave structure and abnormal water connected it to the otherworld. If any part of the Grotta del Re Tiberio was used for 'public' rituals, in other words, for rituals involving numerous members of the local community or communities, this first chamber would have been a key locale. The visibility of the cave's location near the peak of the highest mountain in the area increases the likelihood of community-wide knowledge and, therefore, use of the site although access to different parts of the site was probably strictly controlled (cf. Christenson, forthcoming 6, 8). The more confined, internal areas of the cave permit the involvement of fewer people in the rituals, or at least restrict access and so create hierarchy. For example, more people could fill the gallery than they could the first chamber, given the length of the gallery, but they would be forced into a convoy, thus creating a spatial hierarchy. In other words, if the priest/ess led the devotees from the first chamber into the gallery, those at the front would become the most important, whilst those at the back would then be the least important, in terms of access to the rituals. The shape of the first chamber creates no natural hierarchy, although one could have been imposed, depending on the placement of socially important individuals, or if the cave opening and gallery entrance were accentuated. This highlights the significance of the interrelationships between the place, the people occupying that place and the manipulation of other objects, namely physical artefacts and rituals.

Analysis of the distribution of the miniature vessels in the first chamber of the Grotta del Re Tiberio may therefore contribute to our understanding of the perception of this space. Most deposits were made in niches near the entrance, at the points of easiest access, where daylight and contact with the lived-world were strongest. Concentrations of deposits were also discovered in the floor at the back of the chamber, at the darkest point, close to the entrance of the gallery. This seems to signify the awareness of a transition from secular to sacred and possibly the different sacred function of artefacts that are typologically the same and were ostensibly acting in the same way (as deposited containers). So, the vessels in the niches may have been collecting mineralised water, probably for use in further rituals deeper inside, or outside, the cave, whereas those deposited on the floor represented offerings (Bertani 1997:81). Clearly human agents were manipulating these actions, since the niches and

basins were humanmade[25]. The position, size and frequency of the niches dictated where and how many vessels could be placed, so most deposits were encouraged to b made near the entrance, with the numbers and size of niches, and therefore also of vessels, decreasing further into the chamber.

Residues in several of the miniature vessels seem to confirm that some of the pots were used as containers for offerings. The exact findspots of these pots have by and large not been recorded so it is difficult to identify with certainty any correlation between the areas of the cave where offerings were made and areas where the pots were used to collect water. Amongst Lanzoni's finds, so apparently from excavations near the cave entrance, were five pots, each of which contained a bronze object (Veggiani 1957:673-4). Vessels containing red and yellow ochre residues were found in a fissure 10m inside the first chamber (Bertani 1996). Two of the miniature vessels excavated by Scarabelli contained traces of red ochre, as did one vessel from the clandestine excavations. Pieces of red and yellow ochre were recorded by Veggiani, these presumably also having been found in the clandestine excavations (Veggiani 1957:670-2). Organic residues have been found in several other vessels from the excavations near the entrance, in the first 11m, and at the rear of the first chamber.

Carbonised residues have been recorded in several of the pots (e.g. nn. 228, 311, 328 382, 416, 440, 573) and analyses carried out by Casali on behalf of Scarabelli in 187 revealed a fatty residue in a few others (Bertani and Pacciarelli 1996:432)[26]. These organic traces may represent sacrifices or offerings made as part of an agrarian cult (cf. 3.1), food offerings to ancestral or other spirits, or psychotropics used as part of the rituals in the cave, possibly initiation ceremonies or rites of passage (4.8; cf. Christenson, forthcoming 3, fig 4). Analysis of the residues may identify some of the substances and shed light on their role(s), but no chemical analysis has as yet been undertaken. Several of the vessels containing organic remains were deposited in area of the cave where stillicide water ran down the walls. If the water symbolised the regenerative elements of milk or semen (Tuan 1974:26), it is probable that they

[25] It has been impossible to ascertain whether the niches were carved in the Bronze Age or Iron Age phases. An Iron Age date is favoured, since the niches were clearly in use then and there is no evidence of their use during the Bronze Age. Nevertheless, it is possible that Bronze Age deposits were perishable, so an earlier date cannot be discounted.

[26] Scarabelli had wanted to learn whether the pots could be used as crucibles, but when heated the cla fused (Bertani and Pacciarelli 1996:n1).

represented offerings from the harvest, or first fruits. The offering of foodstuffs and other objects finds parallels in Mayan Guatemala, where one seventeenth century account of a sacred cave described a cult statue "surrounded by offerings of money, plantains and other fruits, candles, pots of maize, honey, and little dishes of incense" (Christenson, forthcoming 3). The presence of candles amongst the Mayan offerings introduces the possibility that the greasy residue identified by Casali and Scarabelli may have been lamp oil or fat.

Red ochre occurs in ritual contexts, particularly burials, in the Eneolithic and Bronze Ages and is traditionally interpreted as symbolising blood (Skeates 1992:421-3; Grifoni Cremonesi 1996b:333-4), so it is possible that the pots filled with ochre were offered as a symbolic blood sacrifice[27]. If these vessels were placed where they would also collect water the effect of them filling and then overflowing would have been spectacular, the water dyed red by the ochre and pouring down the cave walls like blood. Alternatively, the ochre may have been used as part of the rituals carried out in the cave, perhaps being painted onto the initiates, priests or worshippers who were involved in the ceremonies here[28]. Ochre adheres better to the skin when mixed with oily substances than it does when mixed with water, so this might provide a further explanation for the greasy residues in some of the pots (*supra*). It is also possible that ochre was recognised for its medicinal properties, given that it was used in Roman medicine (Pliny *NH* 35.34). Whatever its purpose(s), the ochre was in all probability obtained from the cave rather than being brought in from elsewhere. If the ochre had to be dug out from the cave walls this gives another dimension to the spatial perspective of the cave. The actions of depositing vessels containing organic substances grown in or obtained from the lived-world and to collect stillicide water are internal-looking: the perspective is from the lived-world moving towards and looking into the otherworld of the cave. If ochre was collected from inside the cave and deposited near the cave mouth, the perspective would have shifted so that the subject became part of the cave environment, moving and looking outwards. The subject underwent a reversal, becoming part of 'the other' (cf. 4.7). It is appropriate then that the materials collected from the cave interior, the ochre and the stillicide water, were 'abnormal' substances that had symbolic value and a ritual use.

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[27] Compare also the Eneolithic human skull whose cheek bones were stained with cinnabar, applied directly to the bone (Pigorini Museum, prov. unknown).
[28] See Pliny *NH* 35.30 for use of red and yellow ochre as pigments for painting.

The final example of material preserved in miniature vessels is bronze, the best example of which is a beaker with a small bronze ring wedged inside it (cf. Veggian 1957:673-674). The four remaining examples of bronze within vessels cannot be identified and may be objects or merely fragments of bronze. It is argued that all fiv examples represent offerings of bronze, although it is unclear whether bronze was offered as an inherently high value commodity, or for specific associations, such as ring being an identifier of a particular person or community. It is worthy of note that Lanzoni's excavations nearest the cave entrance yielded the largest quantity of bron material found in the Grotta del Re Tiberio, namely, the 5 bronze-containing vessels the female votive figurine, a number of finger rings and some unidentified bronze fragments. These may have been overlooked by the Medieval smelters and so not as unique as they appear, but they nevertheless seem to indicate that particular types of offering were grouped together in specific areas of the first chamber of the cave.

In summary, the evidence of various types of contents suggests that the pottery had multiple functions, some vessels containing offerings and others collecting stillicide water, but more precise analysis of the contents is required if we are to draw further conclusions regarding their nature and functions. It is possible that the contents of each of the vessels were used during the rituals, the evidence for collection of stillicide water and of red ochre being the strongest to support this hypothesis. A sample of each may also have been left as a propitiatory offering to the divinity of th cave.

Perhaps because so many different excavations have been made of the cave, by so many different excavators, a phenomenology of the Grotta del Re Tiberio's internal landscape is apparent, as indicated by fig 4.1. Only the first series of excavations explored the deeper recesses of the cave, the point where the gallery is joined by a second chamber. Given that Tassinari's excavations were fruitful, it would be helpfu to know the reasons for lack of subsequent excavations in the second chamber: was this purely an issue of ease of access and comparatively unfavourable working conditions?[29]. Only two excavations were undertaken in the gallery and both

[29] Several of the students participating in the excavation of the Cova d'es Carritx (Menorca, see 4.7) found crawling through the gallery to the second chamber so unpleasant that they declined to excava in this area. Their reasons varied from finding the journey difficult and/or frightening, working in a restricted space oppressive and/or intimidating, and/or the temporal and spatial disorientation caused

excavators (Tassinari and Scarabelli) chose for their trench sites an approximate mid point of the gallery. The overwhelming majority of excavations took place in the firs chamber and even here a bias in favour of trenches at or near the entrance can be observed. After this, the area from the entrance to a depth of 11m inside the chamber saw the most activity; one or two trenches were opened in the centre of the chamber and three at the back of the chamber. This last is most fascinating because Mansuelli and Lanzoni coincidentally chose the exact location for their trench as Scarabelli had nearly a century before, close to where Zauli Naldi uncovered signs of Medieval use of the cave.

These choices of front, middle and rear of different areas of the cave system reflect conscious or unconscious decisions by the excavators to work at focal points within the cave, notably, the most central and liminal zones. It is noteworthy then that each trench revealed evidence of human use of the cave, which might suggest a degree of temporal continuity in the privileges given to different parts of the cave, from the Bronze Age to the twenty-first century (although the motivations of those concerned differed widely). A certain amount of pattern repetition is inevitable: it is unsurprisin that so many excavators chose sites near the front of the first chamber, given the volume of material excavated there by their predecessors, but this may also be reflective of the ease of access to this part of the cave. It is also noteworthy that the earliest excavations disclosed the earliest signs of human use of the cave. The validity of tracing these patterns is called into question if we note the relationship between the biases in choice of trench and our understanding of the material and internal landscape of the cave. In other words, the overwhelming majority of finds have been miniature pottery vessels, but this may be purely a result of the majority of excavations having been made in the front portion of the first chamber. If similarly extensive excavations were undertaken elsewhere in the cave, such as in the front portion of the second chamber, a different type of material culture might be found to dominate. Only further excavation of the site can test the validity of these observations.

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hours spent working in the dark distressing. Some even suffered from nightmares. (Whitehouse and Herring pers. comm.). It is possible that similar emotional responses were engendered amongst members of Tassinari's team, although the gallery of the Grotta del Re Tiberio is not as restrictive as Cova d'es Carritx.

In conclusion, the observed subject-object-place interrelationships in the Grotta del Re Tiberio indicate a phenomenological bias here that would be useful to compare with other cave sites, through observation and further excavation. In addition, the Vena del Gesso has yielded isolated signs of possible religious practices, in the form of miniature and full-size pottery, in rock shelters, fissures and near water sources associated with the caves. For instance, a miniature ovoid beaker, stylistically similar to many of the miniature vessels from the Grotta del Re Tiberio was a chance find in rock shelter under the Rocca di Monte Mauro, along with a few fragments of impasto pottery (Bentini 2003). Excavation of this site may reveal further deposits, but this single vessel seems to have been deposited deliberately inside the rock shelter, next to a water source (a rivulet), a further indicator of the interrelationship between human agent, miniature pottery (object) and cave/water (place).

4.3.2 La Grotta della Tanaccia di Brisighella (RA)

The Tanaccia is a natural karstic cave which opens on the north face of the Monte Rontana, about 2km west of Brisighella and 5km south east of the Grotta del Re Tiberio (Scarani 1962:253; Farolfi 1976:175). The 2km long cave complex was formed by an underground stream, which drained into the Lamone river. Three concretion-filled interconnected chambers form the internal structure of the Tanaccia although a rockfall has now blocked access to the second and third chambers (Massi Pasi and Morico 1997:20). The wide cave entrance is flush to the cliff face and opens immediately into the first chamber, all at the same level. The chamber is 8m high, 12m wide and the visible length is 14m (Farolfi 1976:175). At the back of the chamber the opening narrows to form a narrow, straight gallery 8m in length, which is blocked by a slab of gypsum (Scarani 1962:255, fig 2). To the right of this is a deep fissure that leads into a longer, sloping passageway (Farolfi 1976:175). Daylight can reach inside the first chamber, but is lost as one begins to descend the passageway to the gallery that leads to the second chamber. The second chamber is larger than the first, but has a much lower ceiling (Farolfi 1976:175). Excavations have not been undertaken beyond the first chamber due to the difficulty of access.

Initial explorations of the cave were made by Mornig in 1934 and 1935, but Scarani's 1955-6 excavations have been the most thorough (Scarani 1962:253; Farolfi 1976:176). Clandestine excavations may be responsible for the lack of Iron Age and

Roman material (Farolfi 1976:241). Scarani opened three trenches outside the cave opening and in the first chamber (Massi Pasi and Morico 1997:20). The excavations inside the cave revealed two undisturbed layers, the first of which was 60cm thick and contained Iron Age material, the second of which was 2.70m thick and contained Eneolithic to Bronze Age material (Scarani 1962:255-7; Farolfi 1976; Massi Pasi and Morico 1997:20). A 60cm sterile layer separated the two archaeological strata, indicating that the site fell out of use for a period in the Bronze Age (Farolfi 1976:176, 243; Massi Pasi and Morico 1997:20). The finds seem to suggest that the site saw two phases of continuous use: from the Eneolithic to the final ancient Bronze Age and from the middle Bronze Age to the Roman period. Material pertaining to the earlier phase predominates, this phenomenon being reflected throughout Picenum (Farolfi 1976). Amongst the pottery finds are nine one-handled cups, both full-size and miniature, one of which was deliberately deposited upside down (Farolfi 1976:182-207, figs 3-15). The principal difference between deposition of miniature pottery in the Bronze Age and its Iron Age deposition (the sixth to fourth centuries in particular) seems to be that the earlier deposits occur in lower numbers, with the pottery being treated similarly to full-size vessels (e.g. placed upside down), whereas they occur in large numbers in the later deposits (4.3.1).

The Iron Age material from the first layer in the Grotta della Tanaccia largely comprises of pottery: fragments of wheel-turned pottery, complete wheel-turned vessels and complete impasto vessels. Amongst these are several coarse, red impasto, truncated *dolia* (middle Bronze Age to Iron Age), corded jars, a fragment of a biconic vase, *olle* of late Apennine type, a polished red impasto *olla*, which shows traces of turning, and a bowl (Scarani 1962:257; Farolfi 1976:209-19, fig 14.8, 10, 12, 14, fig 17). A fine, red impasto container of analogous artisanship and contemporaneous with the *olla* and bowl was found in a niche to the left of the gypsum slab which seals the righthand corridor at the back of the cave (Scarani 1962:256). It is probable that if the slab were removed further evidence of activity would be revealed (Scarani 1962:257). Two miniature vessels were found in this layer, a two-handled cup and a jar, both of which probably date to the late Bronze Age to Iron Age transition.

The majority of the material culture was deposited towards the back of the chamber, in a location comparable to that of certain Re Tiberio deposits (Scarani 1962:254

(area B-C)). B marks the findspot of several fragments of wheel-turned Iron Age pottery. The evidence from Tanaccia therefore further indicates that the area at the back of the first chamber, immediately before the cave shape and structure alters, was conceived of as a liminal area by the Iron Age users of these caves, although the majority of the material is not overtly religious, being storage containers. The presence of the two miniature vessels and the container in the niche at the back of the cave are the strongest indicators of the continued veneration of the site during the Iron Age. This veneration may have been continuous from the mid-ninth to sixth or fourth centuries, but the finds are too sporadic to be sure. It is unclear whether the container could have been collecting stillicide water, as at the Grotta del Re Tiberio, or if it contained an offering, but the overall parallels with Re Tiberio are striking. The proximity of the Tanaccia di Brisighella and the Grotta del Re Tiberio permit the hypothesis that the two sites were used by the same people, which might further suggest that these people used the other caves in the area. Alternatively, different groups may have been using the different sites, but their geographical proximity means that these groups would have known each other and possibly shared common practices and beliefs. Whichever group of people was using the cave, the absence of miniature vessels suggests that the Tanaccia was viewed differently to the Grotta del Re Tiberio, which can be explained by the absence of running water at the Brisighella site. However, the high incidence of jars, *dolia*, *olle* and other storage vessels at both sites suggests that the two caves had some similar function. This may have been the preparation and consumption of a ritual meal or dedication of foodstuffs to the deities of the caves.

4.3.3 Grotta dei Banditi (RA)

The Grotta dei Banditi is situated around 20m below the crest of the western peak of M Mauro, in a south facing gypsum mass, and overlooks the Sintria river valley (Bentini 2002). A straight path, which seems to have developed from a prehistoric track, leads from the cave in a westerly direction (Bentini 2002). The entrance, which is partially obstructed by an ancient rockfall, leads directly into a chamber that is oriented south-north, 9m in length, an average of 4.6m in width and 3m high in the centre (Bentini 2002). Like the Grotta del Re Tiberio, several niches of varying shapes and sizes are carved into the walls of this chamber. Some of these niches and the entrance hall of the chamber are filled with small concretions, but no miniature

vessels have been found here (Bentini 2002)[30]. To the west of this chamber is another trapezoidal chamber. This is 4.3m wide at the opening, but after following the natural shape of the gypsum mass for 5.5m it becomes restricted and slopes suddenly (Bentini 2002). This chamber was also manipulated in antiquity, with niches and ledges in the walls and a 2m long dry stone wall constructed in the southern section (Bentini 2002). This wall appears to date to the ancient Bronze Age (Bentini 2002 tav 2, D).

The cave has been the subject of clandestine excavations, which have disturbed much of the stratigraphy, leaving Bronze Age material mixed up with Medieval (Bentini 2002). Official excavations were undertaken by Giovanni Battista De Gasperi in the early twentieth century, and by Bentini and the Gruppo Speleologico Faentino in 1973. Both teams worked only in the first chamber of the cave, with Bentini's trench reaching from just inside the entrance, a few metres inside the chamber, to the point at which light was lost (Bentini 2002).

Like the Grotta del Re Tiberio and other caves of the Vena del Gesso (Farneto, Serafino Calindri), the Grotta dei Banditi fell out of use at the end of the ancient Bronze Age (Bentini 2002). It came back into use in the late Bronze Age (twelfth to ninth centuries). Little Iron Age material has been recovered from the site and what has been discovered was located a short way inside the cave, in the disturbed superficial layers[31]. A compact loam layer between -1.3m and -1.5m yielded fragments of brown and blue-black Iron Age pottery, a rough splinter of selce, a sandstone bowl, various animal bones and two fragments of Medieval pottery. Fragments of Iron Age red impasto pottery were found at -0.85m in Section V. A miniature vessel was amongst the finds, suggesting some cult use of the cave, but since this is the sole example it is uncertain if the niches in the Grotta dei Banditi served a similar purpose to those in the Grotta del Re Tiberio. Roman material dating from the second to first century until the third or fourth century CE has been interpreted as series of votive offerings at a healing spring, which has now dried up, but this interpretation is entirely unsubstantiated (Bentini 2002). Overall, it seems that

[30] Bentini argues that some of the niches date to the Medieval period: namely, a series cut higher up into the wall, on a level with each other. His argument is based on the metal tool marks and size of the concretions in these niches (Bentini 2002, note 5).

[31] The evidence from the Iron Age and subsequent periods is fragmentary and may reflect a decline in use of the cave, but the amount of stratigraphic disturbance suggests that human disruption of the site is more likely, probably largely from clandestine excavation.

the site was severely disturbed during or after its Medieval phase, which makes analysis of the earlier phases very difficult. Nevertheless, sufficient Iron Age material has been found to show that the cave was in use in the sixth to fourth centuries and the comparable evidence of the Grotta del Re Tiberio and other caves in Picenum would suggest that this use could have been cultic.

In summary, the Vena del Gesso was an area of intense human activity, from the early Bronze Age to the late Roman period. The earlier human use of the caves here was ritual in nature and after the hiatus between the ancient and middle Bronze Ages this ritual activity seems to have been religious, as demonstrated by votive deposition of full-size and miniature pottery vessels and occasional bronze figurines. It is possible, but unproven, that more bronze figurines were deposited in the sixth to fourth centuries, with Medieval use of the caves and clandestine excavation providing likely explanations for their absence. The cave architecture and abnormal water features were the catalysts for this religious activity. At the centre of this activity seems to be the well-being of the community, since storage, preparation and consumption of foodstuffs are represented by the votive deposits, both full-size and miniature. These deposits therefore appear to symbolise a hope for fertility and fecundity (Calzoni 1940:301; Whitehouse 1992:28; Cocchi Genick 1996b:331; Brady and Ashmore 1999:127). Pottery was deposited in different areas of the large natural cave systems and in rock shelters throughout the Vena del Gesso, so there is a clear perceived relationship between cave architecture (particularly the protective shape which is shared by the rock shelter and chamber with wide opening) and human domesticity. Bronze figurines have been found scattered throughout the gorges of the Vena del Gesso, in caves and other contexts (5.3.1)

The perceived relationship between the abnormal, stillicide, water features of the Grotta del Re Tiberio seems to have been related to fecundity and fertility, given the comparative evidence from the Grotta Lattaia and caves elsewhere in the region. In the Grotta Lattaia the high calcium carbonate content causes the water dripping from the cave walls and forming concretions to be white and similar in appearance to milk. The ex-votos found here were predominantly models of breasts and figurines or dolls, so these appear to have been deposited for their connection with water, in this case very specific to the cave environment (Calzoni 1940:301-2; Whitehouse 1992:28; 4.8). These two aspects of cult activity have a common root in regeneration, which links the use of

these caves with the earlier ritual practices based around human death and burial. It seems likely that caves were conceived of as portals to the otherworld, whether this was the realm of spirits or the source of life and death (Leach 1961:124-36; Neumann 1963:45; Whitehouse 1991:196; 1992:139; Buxton 1994:94, 105-8; Brady and Ashmore 1999:126-7, 137). In the lived-world farming sustained the population. Caves provided an antithesis to this and became places of symbolism. They represented the place to which the dead would go and from where the new crops would come, so religious practices that hoped for renewed fertility took place there, and probably also in the fields and pastures.

4.4 Grotte di Frasassi (AN)

The evidence for Iron Age use of the caves of the Sentino gorge near Frasassi is extremely scarce, but some reference needs to be made to them given their extensive use during the Upper Palaeolithic, Neolithic and, particularly, throughout the Bronze Age (Grotta del Mezzogiorno, Grotta dei Baffoni, Grotta di Frasassi, Grotta del Prete), and their significance to the landscape of Picenum. Comparable in frequency to the caves of the Vena del Gesso, but geographically very different, more than fifty caves line the 3km long gorge, many of them having revealed signs of human cult use and occupation. The most well known of these caves is the Grotta di Frasassi[32], geologically the oldest cave in the gorge, from which human bones and impasto pottery have been excavated (Crinella 1997:23; Pacciarelli and Sassatelli 1997:16). Some of the vessels were deposited upside down, whilst others contained organic remains. It is possible that some of these vessels had bound mouths and once contained a quantity of liquid, but no analysis of the organic residues has been undertaken (Pacciarelli and Sassatelli 1997:16). A bronze dagger and faience button of exceptional quality were also recovered from the cave, as well as fragments of pottery of twelfth to eighth century date (Pacciarelli and Sassatelli 1997:16; Lucentini 1997:49, nn 19-20).

[32] Otherwise known as the Grotta della Madonna di Frasassi or Grotta del Santuario, named after the early nineteenth century chapel built inside it.

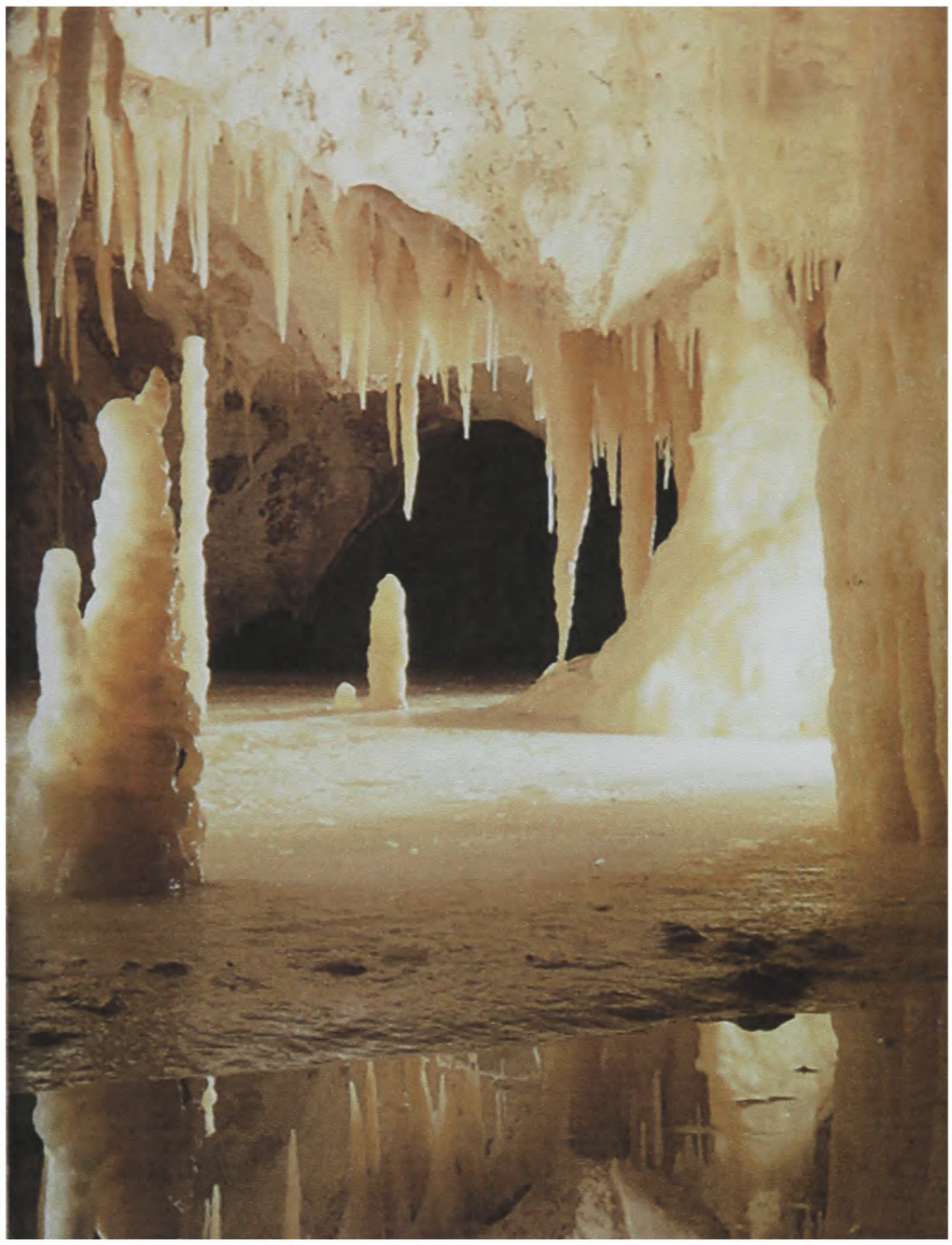


Plate 4.6 An example of 'solid water': concretions in the Grotta Grande del Vento, Grotte di Frasassi (reproduced from Crinella 1997:fig 6)



Plate 4.7 The 'Emerald lake' in the Grotta Grande del Vento (reproduced from Crinella 1997:fig 42)

The Grotte di Frasassi name has become synonymous with the caves of the entire gorge since the discovery of a vast cave system, the 13km long Grotta Grande del Vento, which is now one of the region's primary tourist attractions (Crinella 1997:23; Lucentini 1997:36). The gorge, which cuts through the sheer walls of limestone between M Valmontagnana and M Giugno, is characterised by permeable karstic rock, filled with crevices and fissures, so the caves are a labyrinth of underground watercourses, tunnels, lakes, pools and concretions. Sulphurous water leaches up into the caves, dissolving the chalk, which then reforms as pure white crystalline deposits of anhydrite (Plate 4.6) (Crinella 1997:47). The cave floors are in many places so close to the water table that crystalline anhydrite lakes also form, as well as bright blue pools of mineralised water (Plate 4.7). Underground mineralised springs emerge at various points into the Sentino, turning the water grey-blue with their manganese-rich water (Plate 3.3a). The internal physical structure of the caves that is created by the abnormal water features and particular chemical reactions is therefore extremely varied and unusual. The caves would have been largely unsuitable for human occupation and their symbolic value seems great, particularly cult use related to abnormal water.

The gorge is highly significant to the territorial geography of the region: the Sentino is a tributary of the Esino and shares its name with *Sentinum*, the site of the great battle between the Umbrians, Gauls and Romans, to which it supplied water. Two of the principal routes between the Picene coast and Umbria followed the line of the gorge: to the north was the Senigállia road and to the south the road from Ancona to Fossato di Vico (Uncini 1995:(13), 21, 56). The area was unquestionably a well-used route of communication throughout prehistory and for at least the later part of the Iron Age, although the gorge itself was impassable (Lucentini 1997:36, 38). So, it is surprising that, given the extensive use of caves elsewhere in the region from the sixth to second centuries, the Grotte di Frasassi do not appear to have been much used in this period. Evidence of prehistoric use of the caves has been found throughout the gorge, the material now being in the Ancona Museum, but archaeological excavation has been sporadic and most explorations of the caves have been undertaken by the region's mountaineering clubs and speleological groups (Crinella 1997:32, 37). We cannot be certain that the caves were not used, since votive deposits may have been largely of perishable material, or the Iron Age material may have been lost to casual finds and

clandestine excavation, leaving only pottery fragments such as those from the Grotta di Frasassi. The part of the gorge around S Vittore delle Chiuse, where the Mezzogiorno and Baffoni caves are situated, is the principal thermal area in the Ancona region. This has led to suggestions that a Roman settlement grew up around the thermal spring (Lucentini 1997:38).



Plate 4.8 Entrance to the Grotta del Mezzogiorno in the M di Frasassi (S Vittore delle Chiuse, AN) (March 2001)

The caves of the Sentino gorge share several characteristics and subject-object-place interrelationships with the caves of the Vena del Gesso. The Grotta del Mezzogiorno is situated just below the peak of one of the foothills of the M di Frasassi so, like the Grotta dei Banditi and Grotta del Re Tiberio, it is recognisable from a distance by the prominent mass of the mountain, if one knows that a cave is located there (Plate 4.8). The Grotta del Mezziogiorno has two parts to it. The largest is a section with two chambers that have constant temperature and humidity, which joins the Grotta di Frasassi complex and from which no archaeological data have been discovered. The other is a single, long chamber filled with the concretions and stillicide water characteristic of the Grotte di Frasassi, from which material culture dating from the middle Bronze Age to Roman period has been recovered (Lucentini 1997:36). This is indicative of the preponderance for caves containing abnormal water features to be used as sacred sites, although it is possible that the larger section was unidentified in antiquity. Evidence that agrarian cult was practised in the late Bronze Age or Picene I

is suggested by the burnt remains of grain and pulses found in a series of small holes at an unspecified location inside the cave[33]. Lucentini has suggested that this burnt sacrifice is indicative of rituals associated with supplication of the deities, to request a successful growing season, rather than to give thanks for the harvest (Lucentini 1997:36-7). Either explanation is plausible. A hearth was also found nearby, but has not been accurately dated: Neolithic, Bronze Age and Roman dates have all been suggested (Lucentini 1997:36-7). A sterile layer separates this material and the later contexts, which contain fragments of Apennine pottery (Lucentini 1997:37). So, as with so many of the region's caves, the evidence for cult use of the Grotta del Mezzogiorno is strong for the mid- to late Bronze Age, but less certain for the Iron Age.

The entrance to the Grotta di Frasassi is wide and well lit. The structure of the cave has altered since antiquity: a perennial spring once emerged from a fissure to the right of the cave entrance and the first chamber was filled with stalactites that have now been completely destroyed (Lucentini 1997:39). A passage leads from the back of this entrance chamber into a second, larger chamber (the so-called 'Salone'), which has a low ceiling and is internally divided by tunnels and fissures.

Numerous human bones dating to the Bronze Age were excavated from the first chamber, with Iron Age pottery fragments 20m along the passageway (Pacciarelli and Sassatelli 1997:16; Lucentini 1997:39-40). The majority of the material from the Grotta di Frasassi was discovered at the back of the 'Salone' and consisted of impasto pottery for domestic use (Lucentini 1997:47-9). These vessels ranged from containers for holding liquid – a two-handled cup, a beaker and a jug – to *olle* similar to those from the Tanaccia di Brisighella, including a miniature jar of ninth to eighth century date (Lucentini 1997:40, 48-9, nn 18, 21-2, 26; cf. Farolfi 1976:206-7, figs 14-15). The remaining pottery has been dated to the middle and late Bronze Age; only the beaker may have been earlier (Lucentini 1997:47-9). The small dagger and faience button were found in this chamber, but nearer the opening (Lucentini 1997:41).

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[33] Lucentini has identified the grain as being of a type often found in contexts datable to between 1200 and 800 BCE (1997:36-7).

In summary, several of the caves of the Gola di Frasassi contained full-size domestic pottery datable to the late Bronze Age-Picene I. Given their deposition in karstic caves containing dramatic concretions and stillicide water features, the function of these vessels appears to have been cultic. Hopes for a successful agricultural year provide the most obvious explanation for these deposits, with the cave representing the portal to the otherworld where regeneration of life is managed (see 4.8). It is striking that there is scarcely any evidence for continued cult use of these caves into the Iron Age after c800. This may be because different types of sacred sites became favoured in this area of Picenum: the monumentalised sanctuaries at Montefortino di Arcévia, Cupramontana, possibly Ancona, and the Umbrian peak sanctuaries all lie on the same axis as the gorge, intervisible and interconnected by the roads that joined the Adriatic coast with Umbria (Uncini 1995:21, 56; Chapter 5)

4.5 Grotta Sant'Angelo (Civitella del Tronto, TE)

The Grotta Sant'Angelo is located in an area of Picenum that arguably marks the beginning of the southern boundary zone, between Áscoli Piceno and Téramo. It is one of six known caves in the Salinello valley near Civitella del Tronto, which show continuity of use or occupation from the Neolithic onwards.

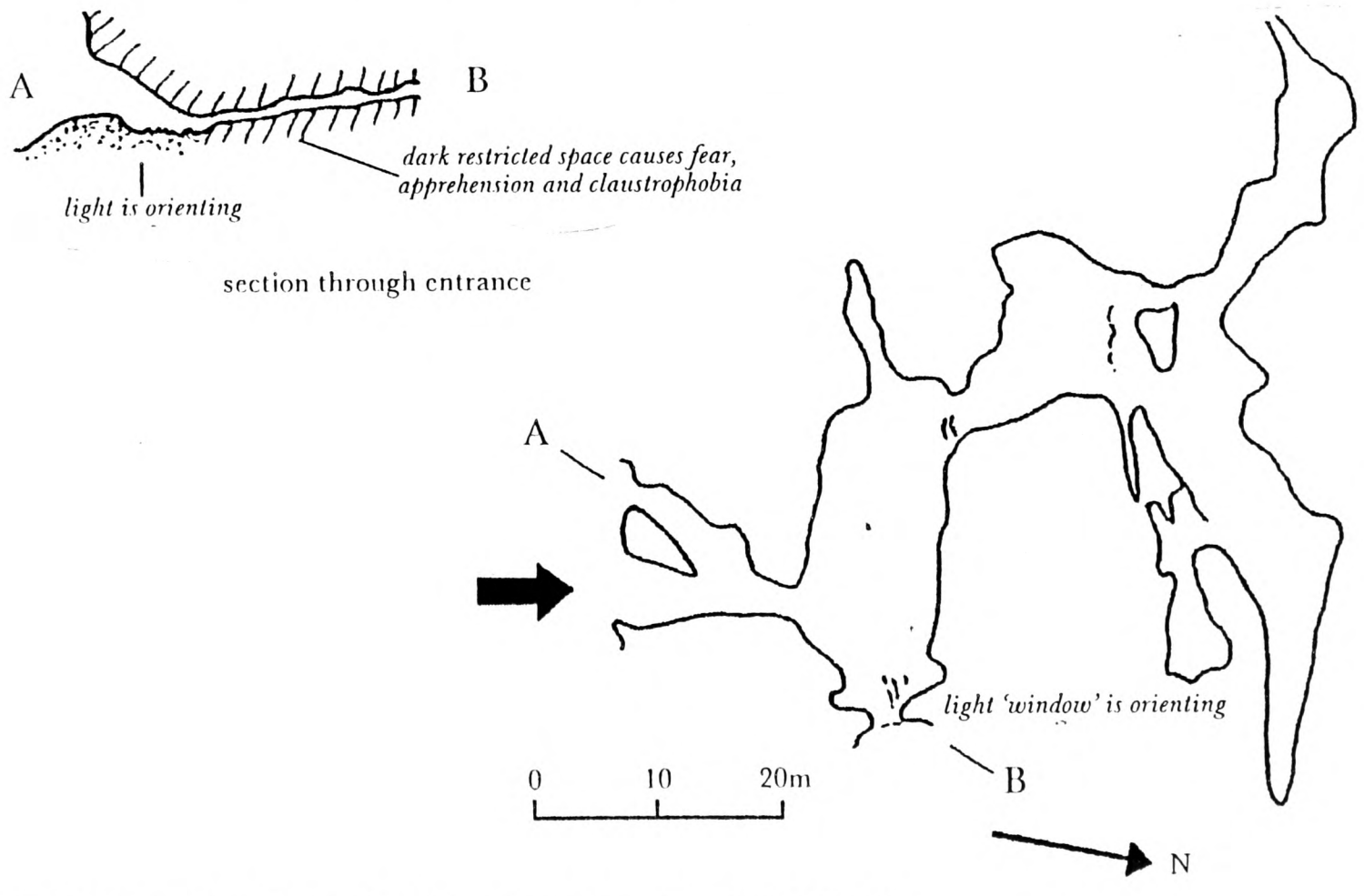


Fig 4.2 Plan of the Grotta Sant'Angelo (after d'Ercole 1997a:52)

The site is a large, labyrinthine, natural limestone cave system divided into two principal sections, totalling c100m in length (fig 4.2). It has two access corridors leading into a large elliptical chamber (c25 x 10 x10m), which has a domed ceiling and is illuminated by a 'window' in the front wall. The main entrance corridor is 16m long and has been enlarged on the lefthand side to make a cave that was divided up and used as hermitages (Di Fraia and Grifoni Cremonesi 1996b:11). This is the only cave to have such a large, well-lit chamber and was the only one likely to have been used at any time as a living space, perhaps as a shepherd's camp (Barker 1972:176; also Di Fraia and Grifoni Cremonesi 1996b:13). It is not possible to climb up to the window from the outside of the cave or to use it as a point of access, but it is accessible from inside the chamber. Its orientation is restricted by the rock face, but is approximately north-east facing, towards the lowland end of the gorge. The window is visible from the outside of the caves (Plate 4.11), but is not obviously part of the Grotta Sant'Angelo. Its effect on spatial awareness of the site is extraordinary. The passageway leading from the main cave entrance to the chamber is quite spacious, but is long and takes a few minutes to pass through, even though a walkway has now been erected for the visitor. One has the sense of passing deep into the cliff. When one emerges into the airy chamber, illuminated by daylight from the 'window', the sensation of being reconnected with the outside world one has just left (or believed to have left) is both unexpected and orienting. This sense of orientation is increased by the ability to climb up to the window and look out at the gorge, realising where it fits into the external view of the cliff face. The architecture of the church, fashioned from the cave walls, has a strong effect on one's perception of the space, making it more difficult to imagine how the chamber was structured and experienced in prehistory.

In the opposite wall to the entrance of the large chamber is a narrow fissure which acts as a doorway and opens into a narrow passageway leading to a room full of large stalactites, the 'Grotta oscura' (Di Fraia and Grifoni Cremonesi 1996b:11; d'Ercole 1997a:53). This second section is more irregular and disjointed and beyond the reach of daylight, but it is still a large, relatively open space. The gallery, including the part filled with stalactites, is 100m in length, with a steep gradient of 20% (d'Ercole 1997a:53). Most other cave systems in the gorge are much narrower and more difficult to access, although the mouth of the cave next to the Grotta Sant'Angelo was enlarged in antiquity. Only one other cave, a rock-shelter, is as well lit and open as the

first chamber of the Grotta Sant'Angelo, but this has wide opening and reaches to a depth of only 2m.

Most of the material from the Grotta Sant'Angelo was recovered from the second section, some from the larger cave and a number of bronze figurines and terracotta ex-votos scattered amongst the complex of caves. Information from the Archeoclub d'Abruzzo suggests that some of the bronze figurines from the Grotta Sant'Angelo were found on a ledge in the smaller entrance passage, at the point where the patch of daylight from the cave mouth is lost (see also 4.7).

Excavations of the caves were first carried out in 1871 by Concezio Rosa, who discovered a total of 44 caves in the region of the mountains of Campli and Fiore (Di Fraia and Grifoni Cremonesi 1996b:12-13; d'Ercole 1997a:50). Specific excavations of the inside of the Grotta Sant'Angelo were subsequently carried out by Antonio Radmilli in 1965-68, revealing Neolithic, Eneolithic and Bronze Age layers (Radmilli 1975). An amateur excavation by the Gruppo Archeologico Teramano in 1972 found a tomb belonging to the historic period, of which little is known. Excavations in the 1990s were carried out by the Soprintendenza d'Abruzzo, as part of preparations for establishing the site as a tourist attraction within the Monti della Laga National Park. The material recovered in these excavations is again largely attributable to the Neolithic, Eneolithic and Bronze Age, although only the Bronze Age material has been published fully (Di Fraia 1996a:129-80).

There is evidence of ritual, and probably sacred, use throughout these prehistoric levels (Radmilli 1975:392; Whitehouse 1992:30-32; Di Fraia 1996b:181-9; Di Fraia and Grifoni Cremonesi 1996c:341; d'Ercole 1997a:50). Most recently, Di Fraia has suggested that cult use is indicated by the absence of lithics (suggesting that the cave was not used for food preparation), difficulty of access, absence of Bronze Age metal artefacts and presence of clearly votive objects (Eneolithic vessel covered with stone, the Bronze Age hollows and presence of human remains) (Di Fraia 1996b:181-9). The remains of wild apple and pear from the Neolithic period which were found in the cave might also represent votive offerings (Castelletti 1996:295-304; Di Fraia and Grifoni Cremonesi 1996c:341).

In addition to the material found in the Grotta Sant'Angelo, excavations of some of the other caves in the gorge brought to light a variety of material that has been interpreted as cultic. Much of this has been attributed to the late Bronze Age, such as miniature pottery vessels, vessels for collecting stillicide water and vessels deliberately deposited upside down (Cocchi Genick 1996b:323; d'Ercole 1997a:53). Analogous finds have been made in the Grotta dei Piccioni (Bolognano), where two miniature pottery vessels were found with the biconic vase. The discovery of a number of bronze votive figurines and anatomical terracottas in the deeper recesses of the cave revealed that the Grotta Sant'Angelo continued to have a sacred function in the fifth to third or second centuries (d'Ercole 1997a:53)[34]. Unfortunately, much of the excavated material has never been thoroughly catalogued or studied and is not on public display, other than some items in the Museo Archeologico di Campli; some of the material of unknown provenance in the museum at Téramo and in the recent exhibition in the museum at Áscoli Piceno may, however, also be from the Salinello site. Given the earliest dating of bronze figurines to the late sixth century, it is possible that the site fell out of use between the late Bronze Age and Picene III, but the evidence for overall continuity in cult use of the site from the Neolithic to Middle Ages remains.

4.6 North Abruzzo group

The karstic cave systems of North Abruzzo are geologically similar to the other caves in Picenum, being filled with concretions. Those that show evidence of human use differ from the caves discussed so far, since they nearly all consist of a single, easily accessible chamber. The nature of the finds is the other feature that makes the North Abruzzo group of caves distinct from the central and northern examples. Terracotta votives were deposited in the Grotta delle Marmitte, Grotta di Ciccio Felice, Grotta Maritza and Grotta del Colle, indicating that several of these caves continued in use into the Hellenistic period, or that this was their main period of cult use. Miari has suggested that these votives indicate that water was present in these caves and that they were deposited as part of rituals associated with beneficial water and fertility (Pacciarelli and Sassatelli 1997:17; cf. 3.4.2). The Grotta del Ciccio Felice, Grotta Maritza and Grotta del Colle lie

[34] Additional information provided by the regional office of the Archaeoclub d'Italia in Pescara, some of whose members were involved in the excavation of this material.

between the Aterno and the Fucino basin and are therefore outside the region of Picenum, but are included for comparison, since they are on the boundary.

4.6.1 Grotta delle Marmitte (Ofena, AQ)

The Grotta delle Marmitte belongs to the Capranica cave complex, which is located 750m asl on the M La Serra (Miari 1997:105). This 5m wide and 4m high single-chambered cave is named after the series of cylindrical pits in its walls and floor, which resemble the niches in the Vena del Gesso caves. These pits measure an average 50-80cm depth and 30-50cm diameter and votive deposits may have been made within several of them (Miari 1997:105). The cave was excavated in the 1960s by the Istituto di Antropologia e Paleontologia of Pisa University, who discovered a votive deposit dating from the fourth to first centuries, in one of the pits at the rear of the cave (Miari 1997:105). This pit had been covered with a tile, whilst another had been encircled with stones (Grifoni Cremonesi 1969). The votive deposit consisted of Etrusco-Campanian ceramics and a first century lamp; a small bronze ring; fragments of terracotta heads, amongst which was a female head, with detail of veil, centrally parted hair, earrings and necklace; and anatomical ex-votos of eyes, hands, one leg, feet and reproductive organs (male and female) (Terrosi Zanco 1966:285; Grifoni Cremonesi 1969; Miari 1997:105). The presence of the first century lamp would suggest that artefacts were deposited in the pit over a comparatively long time frame, the earliest date for any of the votives being the fourth century, with a second or third century date seeming the most likely for the majority of artefacts, given the similarity in typology to the other North Abruzzo caves (4.6.3-5). A comparatively high incidence of female representations is found, along with a particular range of body parts represented by the anatomical ex-votos. This pattern recurs in other nearby caves (*infra*).

The Grotta delle Marmitte consists of a single chamber but, like the Grotta del Re Tiberio and Tanaccia di Brisighella, the back of the cave was selected as a place for deposition. This is further evidence of a propensity of people to make offerings at liminal points in caves and is indicative of a phenomenological continuum. It is surprising that so little evidence of human use of the pits has been found and this may reflect differences in types of votive deposit, the shape of the pits lending themselves

to deposition of grains and other foodstuffs, since they resemble natural storage jars. Further exploration of the cave is necessary in order to test this hypothesis.

4.6.2 Grotta del Colle (Rapino, CII)

The Grotte del Colle opens in the north-east side of the Maiella, at the foot of M Pologne (500m asl), with the most impressive opening of any of the Picene caves (d'Ercole *et al* 1997:91). The 15m high arch of rock opens into a vast, stalactite-encrusted chamber, 40m wide, 60m deep and varying from 4-12m in height (d'Ercole *et al* 1997:91, fig 1). A tunnel leads from the righthand side of the cave opening to a high pavement, beyond which the cave is blocked[35]. Continuous use of the cave throughout the Upper Palaeolithic to the Hellenistic period is possible, although evidence of prehistoric use is sporadic (d'Ercole *et al* 1997:98, 96, nn 1-9. A red-black fine impasto *kotyle* is the earliest of the Iron Age finds, attributable to the second quarter of the seventh century (d'Ercole *et al* 1997:98-9, n10. Most material dates to the sixth to fifth and third to second centuries and is largely votive in nature.

Excavations of the cave began in the nineteenth century, a jasper intaglio with an image of Zeus enthroned being amongst the first finds (now in the Museum at Ancona) (Galli 1938-9:3-11; Coarelli and La Regina 1984:155; d'Ercole *et al* 1997:92). The most extensive excavation was a clandestine excavation, which was carried out in 1932, on the lefthand side of the cave, just inside the entrance. Amongst the finds recovered from this excavation were a bronze statuette, the so-called 'Rapino goddess', several terracotta votives, including a terracotta cockerel (now lost), some bowls and coins (Galli 1939:247, fig 9; d'Ercole *et al* 1997:92-3). Subsequent excavations during the 1950s and 1990s revealed comparatively little about the Iron Age use of the cave, but interpretation of all the excavated material has continued during this time. The sixth and fifth century artefacts are not intrinsically sacred, but their deposition with the female figurine suggests that the entire deposit was made for religious purposes (d'Ercole 1992b:269; d'Ercole *et al* 1997:99-102; Appendix I). If a gender bias is accepted, the incidence of objects for adornment might further suggest that the cult was associated with women.

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[35] Like the Grotta Sant'Angelo, a church (possibly of Lombard date) was built inside the chamber (d'Ercole *et al* 1997:91).

The figurine has a clearly defined female physique and wears a dress with a hooded shawl and a torque around her neck. Her feet are bare. She stands with feet a shoulder width apart and holds both arms outstretched. In her right hand she holds a shallow bowl, the same size as her palm, supporting this with her thumb. Her left hand is held flat and a second object may have originally rested on this. Despite these details, the facial features are crude: a prominent nose, full mouth and roughly incised circles for eyes (see also d'Ercole *et al* 1997:99, n 13).

Based on the reference to **Regenai Peaai Cerie Iovia** in the *tabula Rapinensis* (Ve 218)[36], Galli identified the female figurine with the goddess Cerfia, an Umbro-Sabellic synonym for Ceres and (possibly) Cupra (Galli 1939:232-3, 243; Cianfarani *et al* 1978:84; 93). As a liminal goddess with a mythology connecting her to both the lived-world and the underworld, associated with human and agricultural fertility[37], Ceres would not have been out of place in a sacred cave (Ovid *Fasti* 1.667-71; Cianfarani *et al* 1978:83-4; Spaeth 1996:22-79). No particular feature of the figurine suggests that she was intended to represent a goddess and the outstretched arms seem rather to indicate that she was a devotee or priestess making an offering, particularly as the dish she proffers has much in common with the actual examples of miniature pottery vessels found in so many of the Picene caves. This does not preclude the figurine representing a priestess of Cerfia-Ceres (Cianfarani *et al* 1978:84).

The *tabula Rapinensis* was a *lex sacra* related to the cult of Giove and Giovia, and possibly to an oracle of the **tota Marouca**[38]. The Grotta del Colle has been associated with this oracle, since oracles were often found in caves and this is the nearest cave to Rapino that shows signs of human cult use (Cianfarani *et al* 1978:81-4). The bronze figurine and intaglio of Zeus have contributed to this hypothesis (Cianfarani *et al* 1978:81-2l; d'Ercole *et al* 1997:95). Further, La Regina has identified the cave with a sanctuary of Giove in which the priestesses of Ceres supervised ritual prostitution (Cianfarani *et al* 1978:81-4; d'Ercole *et al* 1997:95). The complementary attributes of

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[36] An inscription in the Marrucine dialect.
[37] Her name comes from the Indo-European stem ***ker-*** "to grow, cause to grow, nourish" and we find **Ammaì Kerríiaí** (*Nutrix Cerealis,* Nurse of Ceres) and **Flussaí Kerríiaí** (*Flora Cerealis*, She Who Flowers of Ceres) both mentioned in Agnone tablets (Spaeth 1996:33-4).
[38] Cianfarani has identified the fortified settlement at Civita Danzica with the **tota Marouca** and published the myth associated with it: Maruca, the daughter of Ruta, was in love with Tase, who had killed the three sisters Ruma, Tatu and Sepiana (Cianfarani 1956:323).

Ceres and Giove reflect the mutuality of male and female roles in fertility, which ritual prostitution would have expressed (cf. Brindley 1984:96; Moore 1988).

The few Bronze Age vessels found in the Grotta del Colle show typological similarities with vessels found in the other caves in Picenum, namely, cups and bowls (d'Ercole *et al* 1997:92, fig 1, 96, 98, nn 7-9). The presence of stalactites in the cave suggests that these vessels may have been used for the collection of stillicide water[39]. The absence of artefacts from the late Bronze Age to early Iron Age transition is unusual in this respect, the seventh century *kotyle* being the next known vessel to have been deposited in the cave. The largest concentration of finds is the Hellenistic period terracotta heads and anatomical ex-votos, which suggest a revived or continued association between the cave and stillicide water. The mineral content of the water has not been fully analysed, but calcium carbonate and iron oxides are apparent, whilst one would expect sulphates and possibly manganates to also be present, given the karstic formation of the cave. The terracottas consist of a rectangular 'mask' with human face, part of an anthropoid bust, four anthropoid heads, each with hair or veil depicted, and a right hand, right foot and an uterus (d'Ercole *et al* 1997:100-102, nn 20-8). The base of a ciborium and a miniature jug, both black-gloss, were found with the terracottas (d'Ercole *et al* 1997:102, nn 30-1). There is no clear pattern in the types of terracotta votives represented in the cave, although this may be because only some of the finds from the clandestine excavation were recovered. If, however, these finds are representative, this and the high incidence of terracotta busts might suggest that the stillicide water was recognised and propitiated for its healthful qualities, but that this was generic (cf. Miari 1997:103). There may be a relationship between the incidence of female representations amongst the votives and the presence of stillicide water in the cave (representing milk or vaginal/seminal fluid). In other words, one aspect of cult use of this site may have been related to gynaecological health (including fertility). The presence of seams of ochre amongst the stalactites in the walls of the Grotta del Colle furthers this image of human reproduction, since it is arguably symbolic of uterine blood, but there is no evidence that the ochre itself was used (contrast the Grotta del Re Tiberio). This hypothesis would be strengthened if the

[39] D'Ercole *et al* suggest that the vessels were used to collect rainwater (1997:96).

connection between the 'Rapino goddess' and the priestesses of Ceres could be proven, since worship of Ceres was bound up with chastity and gynaecological health[40].

Conclusions about the sacred nature of the Grotta del Colle are inevitably incomplete, given that a proportion of the finds from the clandestine excavation remain missing and due to some disturbance of the cave's stratigraphy[41]. It is possible to deduce that the cave was used throughout the Iron Age, although not necessarily continuously, and that this use was cultic. The stalactites and stillicide water appear to have been the most significant physical features of the cave, although the possibility remains that the chamber itself was used as an oracular shrine, possibly in a later phase. Only one example of miniature pottery was recovered from the cave, this being contemporaneous with the terracotta votives. So this cave differs from the more northerly caves in the region because its cult use peaked in the third century, rather than in the sixth to fourth centuries. The Grotta del Colle also differs from most of the Central Adriatic caves in use during the Iron Age because it consists of a single chamber with vast opening, rather than a chamber and gallery system. It may be deduced from this that between Picene IVA-V and the Hellenistic period different architectural features of caves gained symbolic value and that the physical structure of a cave affected the type of cult activities that took place there. An element of continuity remains nonetheless, since the artefacts from the Grotta del Colle were discovered in a liminal zone of the cave, near, and to one side of, the cave opening (cf. Grotta del Re Tiberio, Grotta dei Banditi). The findspots suggest a perceived connection between the liminal aspects of a cave environment (points of access/egress, of light/dark), a requirement to propitiate the deities or spirits of the cave (ritual) and the experience of the cave by its visitor(s) during Picene IVA-VI and possibly during the early Roman period. It is uncertain whether the artefacts were deposited by people on their way into or out of the cave, or if this was the furthest point of the cave reached by these people. Further research may enable us to establish if there was any correlation between temporal period and extent or manner of cave use.

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[40] The use of *agnus-castus* also played a significant role here (Mills 1992:9-14).
[41] Caused by the flooding of the cave by a stream in the 1890s and partial collapse of the cave in the 1990s (d'Ercole *et al* 1997:92, 95).

4.6.3 Grotta di Ciccio Felice (Avezzano, AQ)

The Grotta di Ciccio Felice opens onto the lower slopes of M Salviano, approximately 4km from Avezzano (Radmilli 1956:32 fig 1; Miari 1997:105). It is larger than the other North Abruzzo caves and distinct from them because a rockfall has divided it into two interlinked chambers (fig 4.3). Both chambers have revealed evidence of extensive human use, particularly the larger chamber, part of which was monumentalised. The opening of this chamber faces south-west, the shape of the rock face obscuring the view both of and from the cave. This chamber is around 9m in width and a maximum of 5m deep. Access to the second chamber is through a very narrow and short passageway in the southern wall (trench b) (Miari 1997:105).

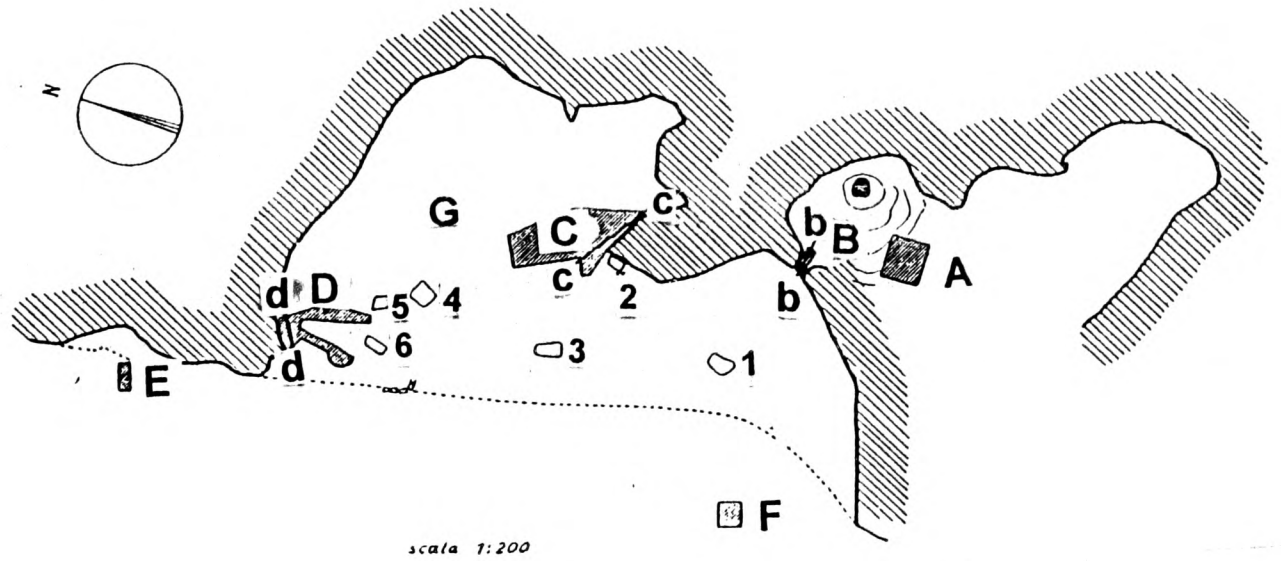


Fig 4.3 Plan of the Grotta di Ciccio Felice (Avezzano, AQ). A-F denote excavation trenches; 1-6 are the squared masonry blocks (after Radmilli 1956 fig 2)

As with the so many caves, the Grotta di Ciccio Felice has been the subject of clandestine excavation and it is known that numerous fragments of early seventh century pottery, miniature pottery, Hellenistic period ceramics, terracotta votives and anatomical ex-votos were removed during the 1940s and 1950s, largely from along the western wall and from the ravine at the rear of the large chamber (trench D) (Radmilli 1956:31; Cianfarani *et al* 1978:78-9; Miari 1997:105). Great quantities of ceramics dating from the end of the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic and Roman periods have been found on the ground below the cave and on the slope of M Salviano, showing that the cave was in use for an extensive period, comparable with the other caves of North Abruzzo (Miari 1997:105). Radmilli's 1956 excavations were the only legitimate excavations to be carried out here, but these revealed similar material to that recovered from the *clandestini*. Much of the material from both chambers was of Hellenistic and Roman

date, but the most notable feature was the monumentalisation of the large chamber: six squared limestone blocks had been cut and placed in two rows, apparently leading from the second chamber to the chasm at the rear of the chamber (fig 4.3). Several anatomical ex-votos were deposited in the chasm (trench D), suggesting that the blocks represent a deliberately constructed ambulatory or shrine, a rare feature of Central Adriatic caves[42] (Miari 1997:105). The ex-votos show that the shrine was used in the third to first centuries, perhaps for incubation rites, and it might have been in use as early as the seventh century (Radmilli 1956:52; Cianfarani *et al* 1978:79). The structure, with its associated votive deposits, seems indicative of a specific cult function related to the natural cave structure. It is possible that this aisle led from the chasm to the smaller chamber, which might suggest a ritual comparable to the cult of Aesclepius, where the devotee deposited an ex-voto in the chasm, in hope that his/her ailment would be cured, or hope for a child fulfilled, and then followed the avenue to the smaller chamber (Comella 1982-3; Miari 1997:107). The second chamber lends itself to an incubation ritual, since the devotee would have to pass through the narrow passageway, into the second chamber, to which daylight was inaccessible. The masonry blocks become closer together as one approaches the chasm, which is suggestive of a funnelling motion towards the rear of the chamber. The blocks near the opening to the smaller chamber (trench b) are so far apart that they do not direct the devotee towards the opening. It seems then that someone visiting the cave would initially have been directed from the entrance to the second chamber and would then have followed the avenue.

The anatomical ex-votos and terracotta votives are themselves comparable to those from the Grotta del Colle and Grotta Maritza. More specifically, the recovered votives are: anatomical ex-votos of eyes, hands, feet and reproductive organs (male and female), statuettes of women and togate men, two rectangular 'masks', a fragment of, probably, a swaddled baby and a bovoid sculpture (Radmilli 1956:48; Terrosi Zanco 1966:282-3; Miari 1997:105). The other finds were black-gloss Etrusco-Campanian drinking vessels, mostly *kylikes* and *skyphoi*, fragments of containers and vessels used for transportation of foodstuffs, such as *olle* and amphorae, a glass perfume jar (first century BCE-CE) and bronze *as* (second century) (Miari 1997:105). The only other finds, the fragments of seventh century pottery, were found in the excavations carried out near the western wall

[42] The only other example is the cave on M Cónero, but during the Roman period this was principally used as a limestone mine, so is not directly comparable (Dall'Aglio *et al* 1992)

of the larger chamber, which may suggest that only this part of the cave was used during the earlier Iron Age.

The selection of trenches is comparable with the caves of the Vena del Gesso, with A-D at key points inside the cave, at the thresholds. Once again, each of the trenches yielded material culture, so there appears to be a correlation between the perceived thresholds of the cave and human activity within them. Whilst this activity takes opposite forms (deposition and excavation), it implies some level of cognitive as well as experiential similarity between the Iron Age visitors to the cave and the archaeologists.

4.6.4 Grotta Maritza (Avezzano, AQ)

The excavations of the Grotta Maritza, a cave in the north-west side of M Praticello, 50m above the Piana del Fucino, revealed more or less continuous use from the Upper Palaeolithic to Roman periods (Cianfarani *et al* 1978:79; Miari 1997:103). Like the Grotta del Colle, the cave consists of a single chamber, 6m deep and 2m wide, with an opening facing the north-west (Miari 1997:103). The material identified as characteristic of Ortucchio[43] culture, datable to the end of the Neolithic, is separated from Bronze Age material by a layer of sterile soil, thus marking a break in use of the site during the Eneolithic (Radmilli 1983:261 fig 13). It seems that the site then remained in use continuously from the Bronze Age to Roman period (Radmilli 1983:261 fig 13, 263). A votive deposit of fourteen Hellenistic period terracottas was made in a layer of red-brown earth at the top of the rocky deposit that forms a ledge at the cave opening (Miari 1997:103). This deposit included male and female figurines and heads, a rectangular male 'mask', three figurines of swaddled babies (third to second centuries), and ex-votos of a left hand and foot (fourth to first centuries) (Miari 1997:103-111). Miari has interpreted the cult associations of the female terracottas and swaddled babies with human fertility, the anatomical ex-votos with health (Miari 1997:105; cf. Girardon 1993:30). Certainly the propensity in the Grotta Maritza for votive deposition of swaddled babies, female statuettes and busts, is indicative of a relationship between the cave and gynaecological health, which may be further related to the presence of stillicide water. The similarities between the deposits at Grotta Maritza, Grotta del Colle and *lucus Pisaurensis* indicate that the mineral content of some bodies of water was recognised as

[43] Named after the Neolithic material from the Grotta di Ortucchio.

beneficial to health and that these qualities may have been attributed to deities. There seems to be little to connect gynaecological health or human fertility directly with the ex-votos of feet and hands that are found in both the Grotta Maritza and Grotta del Colle, although the *lucus Pisaurensis* (3.4.1) provides a comparison. Iron oxide is found in the caves and has antiseptic and other medicinal properties, as pitch, which might be used for treating injuries to the hands and feet, but without further chemical analysis it is impossible to catalogue the medicinal value of the accessible mineral compounds in the two caves.

The material from the Grotta Maritza greatly mirrors that found in the other North Abruzzo caves, suggesting that the communities in this area shared common religious practices and beliefs, at least with respect to the dedication of terracottas. The typology of the terracottas suggests that this was a result of direct or indirect Greek cultural influences, but however the practice arrived in this area, it was localised to the Vomano-Pescara region of Central Adriatic Italy (Miari 1997:103). The proximity of the North Abruzzo caves to one another also suggests that they could have all been used by one community or by several neighbouring communities. The latter seems more likely for this cave group than it does for the Vena del Gesso group, since no single mountain range links the caves and they are geographically more disparate. The primary geomorphological features linking the North Abruzzo caves are the Aterno and Pescara rivers, which meet immediately north of Corfinio. Caves with a single chamber are more usual here than the caves associated with other gorges in Central Adriatic Italy, which are nearly all extensive gallery systems, with a large and accessible first chamber and less accessible second chamber (4.3.1-4.5). So, distinctions in cave architecture, votive material and period of Iron Age use are apparent, with the Vomano marking a clear north-south division. This therefore seems to indicate either that communities with very different identities to those of the majority of the region inhabited the area south of the Vomano, or that these groups were influenced more greatly by the communities to their south and west. In either case, this seems to confirm that the Vomano-Pescara area marks a Picene territorial boundary. D'Ercole has taken this a stage further and suggests that the Grotta delle Marmitte was used by the Vestini, the Grotta Maritza by the Aequi, the Grotta del Colle by the Marrucini and the Grotta di Ciccio Felice by the Marsi (Miari 1997:105). These communities and territories were emerging in the fourth to third centuries and it is possible that part of their self-definition incorporated the sacred cave

sites. Miari summarises Reggiani Massarini's alternative hypothesis, that transhumant pastoralists deposited votives in the caves as they made their journeys around the mountains (Reggiani Massarini 1988:66; Miari 1997:106)[44]. This explanation would certainly explain the continuities in the types of terracotta votives deposited, but does not recognise the variations.

In summary, the Iron Age material from the North Abruzzo caves is almost entirely votive in nature and consists primarily of terracotta figurines and ex-votos. This cave group is distinct from the other groups in Picenum, providing further evidence that the area between the Vomano and the Aterno was a boundary zone, with religious practices in the southernmost caves of Picenum influencing or being influenced by those of the communities of the Pescara river valley. The votives from these caves mirror the votives from several of the sacred water sites, such as S Vittore di Cíngoli and S Ippolito at Corfinio. This has encouraged the interpretation that the rituals at these caves were associated with health and fertility, particularly with chthonic aspects, which seems to be directly related to the beneficial qualities of the water passing through the karstic caves. The white, mineral rich water also seems to have been a powerful symbol of human fertility, which explains the high incidence of votives of swaddled babies, male and female reproductive organs and, arguably, of images of women. Storage vessels, such as *olle*, predominate where pottery has been found in the caves. These are also thought to be associated with fertility and may have contained offerings of seed, grain or first fruits (Miari 1997:107).

Like the caves of the Vena del Gesso, the Sentino and the Salinello, the votive deposits were made in specific areas of the North Abruzzo caves, namely liminal areas such as the cave entrance, rear of the cave and niches or pits in the walls and floor. It is recognised that this may reflect a bias of the excavator when siting a trench, but even if that is so, the phenomenological implications are interesting. Now that consideration has been given to both the Iron Age material culture of the Central Adriatic caves and the physical and practical features which made the caves stand out as special natural places (4.1), it is a useful exercise to undertake a phenomenological exploration of one of the region's caves. The following account of the Grotta

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[44] One of the principal *tratturi* still in use today leads from L'Áquila to Foggia, part of it following the line of the North Abruzzo caves (Latini 2000:20-2).

Sant'Angelo provides a starting point for further analysis of how the caves might have been perceived in order to become sacred sites and survive as such for extensive periods of time.

4.7 A phenomenology of the Grotta Sant'Angelo (Civitella del Tronto)

The account describes an initial partial exploration of the Grotta Sant'Angelo, approaching through the second entrance[45], and is prefaced by a brief description of the cave's setting.



Plate 4.9 View of Ripe and the Salinello gorge, from Civitella del Tronto (TE)
Cave well hidden, difficult to get to (need for a guide), instilling feelings of excitement and awe

The series of caves and underground galleries of which Grotta Sant'Angelo is the largest, nestle in the tree-lined, limestone gorge of the Salinello, on the Montagna dei Fiore, near modern Ripe. The gorge is visible from the neighbouring town of Civitella del Tronto, a Medieval town that may rest on an earlier Picene settlement, on the route between Áscoli Piceno and Téramo (Plate 4.9)[46]. From here the gorge appears as a double-peaked ridge, with the higher mountains providing a backdrop,

[45] This passage was chosen over the main corridor because it has not been adapted to cater for tourists, with lighting and walkways. I'm largely using the parameters Whitehouse applies to her account of the Cova d'es Carritx, Menorca and Grotta di Porto Badisco: "I shall describe the experience in the present day... based on my own sensations and emotions, and from the point of view of a first-time visitor for whom the experience is completely unfamiliar." (2001:163).
[46] A Picene settlement has also been identified at Tortoreto (Franchi dell'Orto 1999 fig 39).

those most distant, the Monti della Laga, being snow-covered for most of the year. The wall of the gorge that houses the caves is heavily crenulated, making it visually distinctive (Plate 4.10). The six cave openings are largely confined to a single rock face, which is the most accessible and also overlooks both the gorge and the river.

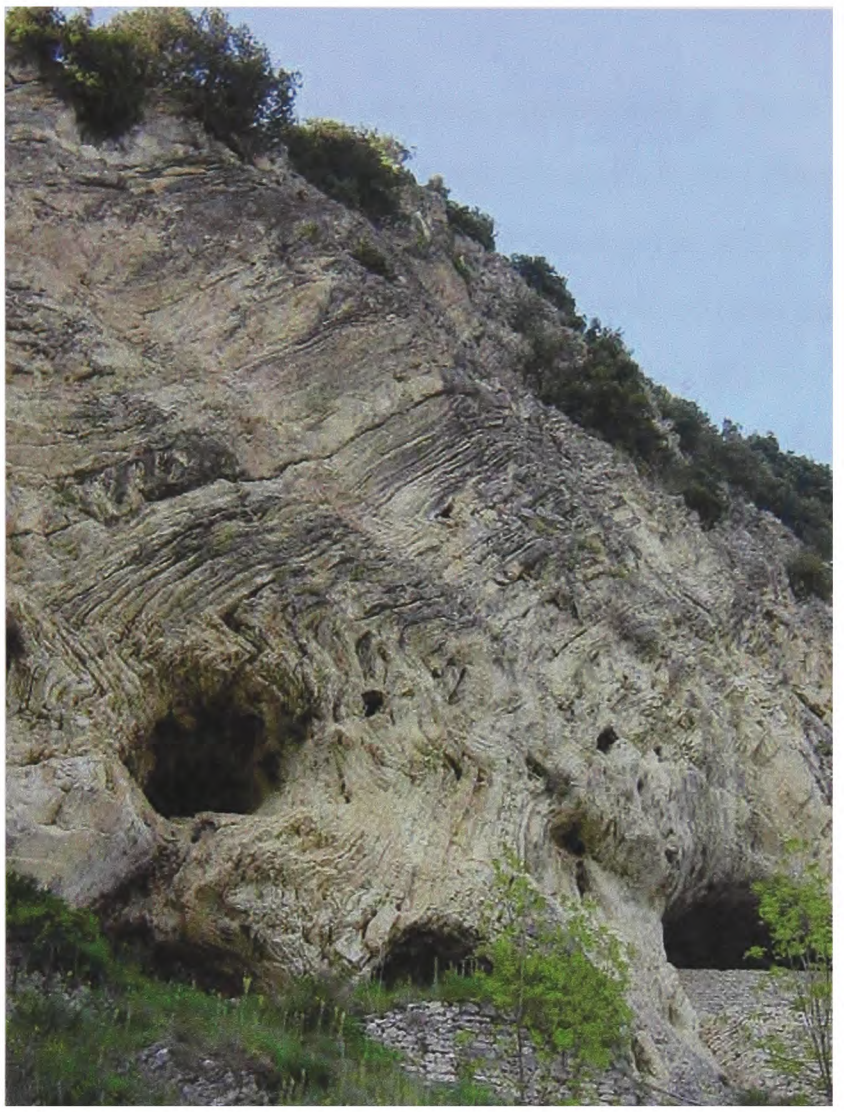


Plate 4.10 Wall of the Salinello gorge (TE), showing cave openings
At cave entrance need to stop and climb or crawl in (crossing threshold), creating sensations of fear, also anticipation and awe

The caves are only a few metres above and to the north of the point where the Salinello emerges from the mountains. This is much like other rivers in Picenum in appearance, with blueish mineralised waters and filled with limestone rocks, but here the shallow waters pass through a narrow channel of rock and, as a waterfall, cascade noisily but steadily, into a deep pool some 10-15m below. From this pool the sky-blue waters flow through another narrow channel of rock into a deeper pool, vivid aquamarine in colour, with large limestone boulders visible in the depths. The rate at which the water enters this second pool causes it to effervesce. Where the water runs into this aerated pool the rocky riverbank is highly crenulated, like the cliff face which houses the caves. From here, the water again becomes a stream, now shallow, and running very slowly along the riverbed, past the caves and

out of the gorge towards the modern agricultural lowlands. The whole site is extremely striking, with the features described acting as mnemonics for it. At the very least, the Salinello would have been used for drinking water and bathing, but may also have held a lustral function, particularly given the evidence for cult activity in the caves.

The cave entrance is a circular, chiselled opening, approximately 1m in diameter. One must stoop to get inside, and then scramble over a slope of rock, leaving the entrance slightly above the interior floor level (Plate 4.11). Inside, the space soon gives way to a fairly narrow corridor, although it remains large enough to walk in, if stooped (and under 2m in height). Little sound penetrates the cave, the most noticeable being that of one's breathing, made louder by the acoustics of the confined space. A low ledge 4m along the passage must be scrambled up to enter the next part of the corridor. If one looks back to the entrance from here, it and daylight are barely visible (Plate 4.12). Daylight is lost extremely quickly, partly as a result of one's body blocking out any light entering the depths of the cave ahead. This is a crucial area of the cave, the transition between light and dark marking the boundary between the lived-world and otherworld. It is a liminal zone between light and dark, the known and unknown, the secular and sacred.

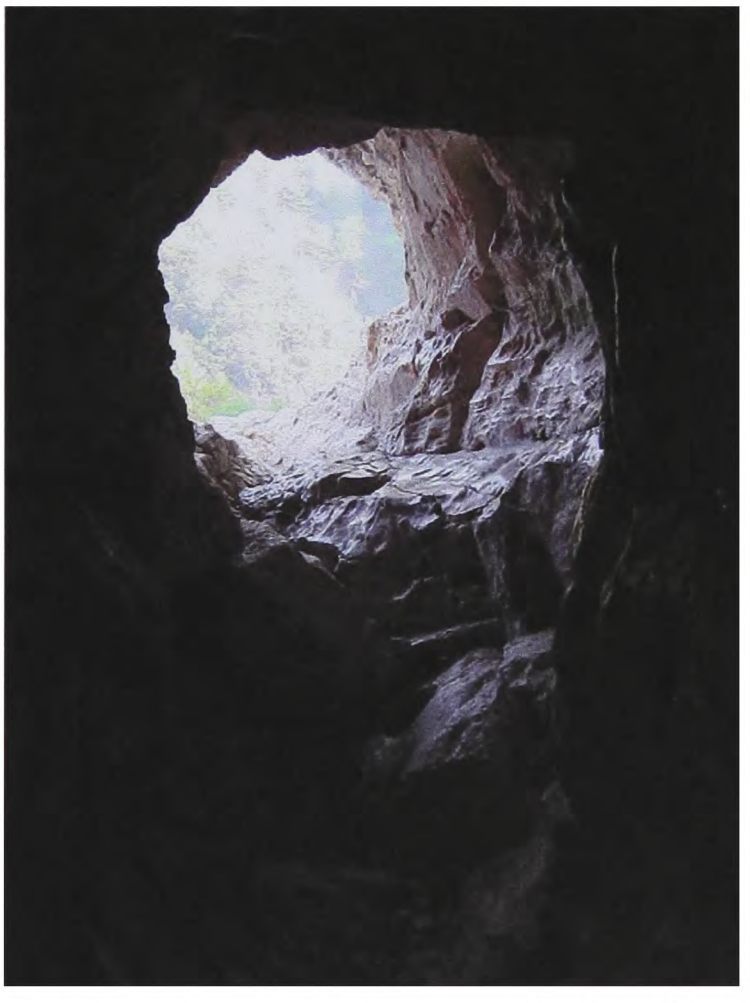


Plate 4.11 Secondary opening of the Grotta Sant'Angelo, from immediately inside
Daylight, visible on turning to the entrance, is orienting and illuminates the first part of the cave

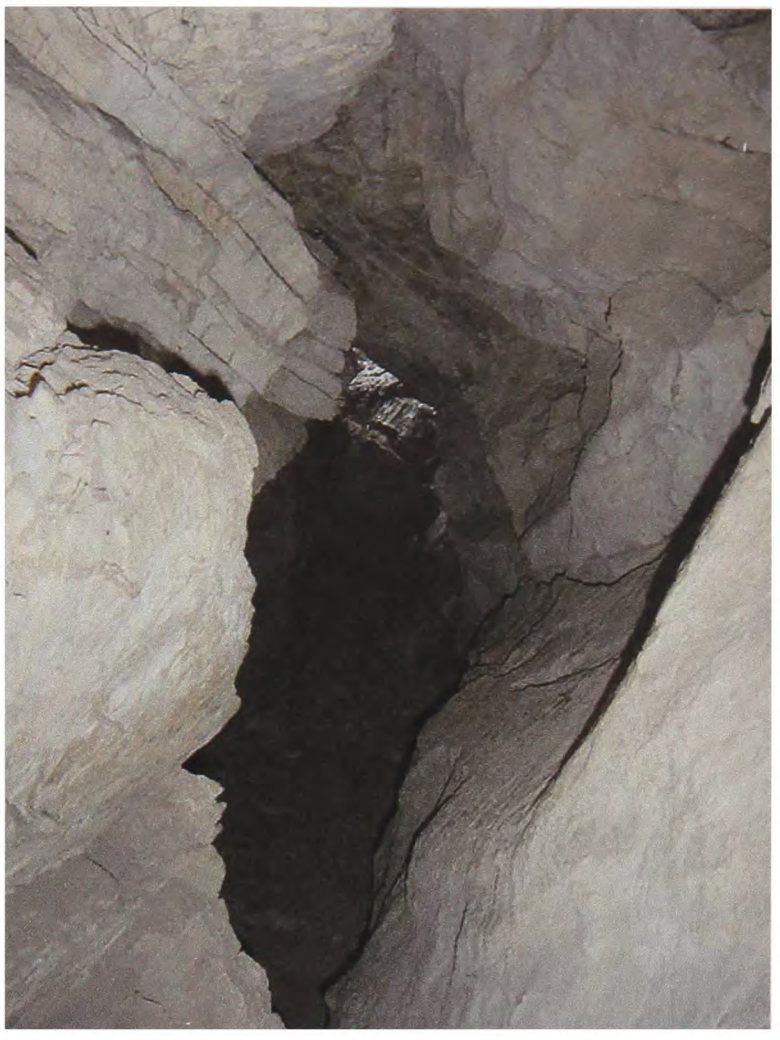


Plate 4.12 Looking back to the entrance from the point at which light lost (illumination result of camera flash)
Restriction of movement and removal from source of daylight causes sensations of pain, fear or apprehension, and claustrophobia

As one scrambles up the ledge all limbs are in contact with the floor and walls of the passage and are all helping to move around in the space. The combination of darkness and confined space emphasise the physicality of the cave experience, with the body being the medium through which this takes place. The texture of the cave walls is largely smooth, with rough edges, and the floor is very uneven. It is easy to get a purchase on the surfaces, but one remains cautious about where to put both hands and head, being aware that the surrounding rock is hard and possibly sharp, and that there are large cobwebs in which to become entangled. With no natural light entering this far, the temperature has cooled, although it is not uncomfortable, and the scent of the air is damp and musty. An increase in adrenalin is noticeable, but not severe: a combination of apprehension and anticipation. This and the cold cause body hairs to rise, further accentuating the physical experience. Apprehension comes from a fear of the unknown, which is perhaps a fear of injury from the physical structure, also perhaps from wildlife within the cave. Sounds are muffled, other than those associated with one's body, which are intensified: notably breathing, heartbeat (which is also felt more strongly) and frictions of clothing and limbs against rock. It is no longer possible to see where the corridor goes, so one no longer knows if it is safe: there is a concern that one

might fall or become stuck. The lack of light reduces the ability to orientate oneself or way find and distances become difficult to judge. The corridor narrows suddenly another few metres on, although it is still passable, for a large adult with difficulty, for a small adult, or child, with reasonable ease, although crawling. The space has become very dusty and crawling means one quickly becomes covered in detritus; breathing becomes slightly more difficult. The passage narrows again and at this point one turns back, uncertain of what is beyond - possibly a sudden drop -, but realising that it should only be attempted with a better knowledge of the cave plan, or with a guide.

As one retraces the route to the entrance, daylight becomes visible (Plate 4.12). It is possible to make out a lighter patch near the entrance, but the rest of the passage is totally dark. 2m or so from the entrance the circle of light through it seems very bright (Plate 4.11). This is a reversal of the transition from known to unknown, as the lived-world is re-identified. However, as one moves upwards into the light and emerges, blinking, from the cave, the gorge seems unfamiliar, as if roles have been reversed: when one enters the cave it seems strange, eerie, too dark and confined, but on return to daylight this seems too bright and exposed, with an element of sensory overload and disorientation. In comparison to the cave interior, the air seems fresh and clean; sounds, clearer and more varied in pitch. After a few minutes the familiarity of the scene of the gorge reasserts itself. So, one's sense of place may be unbalanced by an exploration of the cave interior, causing the emergence from the cave mouth to be disorientating, rather than familiar: the 'initiated' goes through a reversal, where the security of the familiar is temporarily undermined.

This brief account highlights a variety of sensations and perceptions experienced by one individual on a specific occasion. These experiences are open to variables related to physiology, personal history and external factors connected with the cave, all of which will vary according to the individual concerned and the circumstances of the visit. For example, a taller person would see a slightly different view of the cave mouth and scene beyond on emerging from the cave, because lines of sight would vary. One would experience the cave differently making the visit for a second time, or with another person, or at night, with chanting and burning incense, and so on. Further experiments could be carried out varying all conceivable external factors, also drawing on comparative examples of ritual use of caves, but to what extent do physiological variations impact on the individual experience?

As discussed (1.3), one experiences everything via the body. So, if a person was ill or injured, what differences did this make to their experience of the journey into the cave? It is probable that the physical difficulties with breathing and movement would have been enhanced, and that these would have intensified feelings of apprehension and disorientation, making the experience more intense than for a well person. Clearly, a wider sample of responses to cave sites is required if we are to discover whether or not certain conditions elicit specific responses, but there is good evidence here that it is possible for someone far removed from the cultures of those who used these sites, and held them sacred, to experience some of the sensations which those people might have done. Although he does not give a phenomenological account of a cave visit, Skeates has the following to say:

> "[d]uring the Neolithic caves might have been regarded as intrinsically special, and even sacred, places because of the remarkable natural features that they housed, which would have potentially provided a great source of symbolism. They are often dark, cool, and damp, and these attributes, combined with the presence of concretions and other unusual natural features, could have *and still do* create an awe-inspiring atmosphere – a sense of 'otherness'" (Skeates 1991:127, my emphasis).

One area for further research would be to take a sample of people and analyse the extent to which such physiological nuances alter the specific human experiences of caves like the Grotta Sant'Angelo. These two lines of enquiry - involving biological and external factors - might then be combined to assess the extent to which the differences in sensory and emotional responses to the cave are evoked and the possible impact of these on religious experience.

As a starting point we might compare this account to the generalised features and experiences described by Whitehouse (fig 4.4, *infra*).

The two accounts broadly agree, and whilst this may be due partly to shared belief systems or approaches to this investigation, I would argue that it largely a result of the similarity of environment (cf. Whitehouse 2001:162). Both cave systems described follow a similar pattern, with similar restrictions in shape and size, light and other physical aspects; I suggest that it is these features that evoke the specific emotional and sensory responses recorded above. The predominant general patterns to emerge are: a move from orientation to disorientation; and feelings of apprehension, awe and

excitement throughout, though the degree of these may fluctuate. Pain, discomfort and breathing difficulties are the most common physical symptoms.

Feature of Grotta di Porto Badisco & Cova d'es Carritx (as described by Whitehouse)	**Experience (after Whitehouse)**	**Grotta Sant'Angelo**	**Plate (in text)**
Cave well hidden and difficult to get to, need for guide	Excitement, awe	Not well hidden or difficult to access, because incorporated within national park and signposted, but both excitement and awe experienced, as a result of both landscape features and finding cave complex	Plate 4.9
Removed from one's everyday environment, in territory that is either totally unfamiliar or visited only on special occasions	Excitement, awe, apprehension	Yes, both feature and experience	
May involve physical difficulty in getting there	Fatigue, breathlessness, (heat exhaustion)	Yes, reasonably rough and steep terrain	
At cave entrance need to stoop, and climb or crawl in (crossing threshold)	Fear	Yes, though fear accompanied by excitement and awe	Plate 4.10
Daylight visible on turning to entrance	Orienting, impediment of vision (as look into cave)	Yes, and enough light reaches the first part of the cave to illuminate it	Plate 4.11
Evidence of human activity contributes to feeling of awe	Awe	No, although this is experienced on entering the first chamber of the Grotta Sant'Angelo, with its evidence of human activity; feelings of awe are created by the shape, texture and environment of early parts of cave	
Restriction of movement and removal from source of daylight	Pain (at times), fear	Yes, apprehension and claustrophobia	Plate 4.12
Journey through cave	Fear/Apprehension	Yes, apprehension overrides sense of awe, but also some excitement	
Darkness	Disorientation, accentuation of hearing, smell, touch; sense of timelessness	Yes, hearing and touch especially affected; sense of time particularly confused	
Echo/absorption of sound	Disorientation	No experience of echo (too confined), but absorption of sound means acutely aware of sense of hearing	
Smell of decaying animals/humans	Nausea	N/A	
Movement of rodents	Eerie	N/A	
Feeling of hard, sometimes sharp, rock all around, damp, dust.	Pain (at times)	Yes, dust causes discomfort (breathing, skin)	

Fig 4.4 A comparison of features and experiences of sacred cave sites

4.8 Sacro-symbolism of caves and their material culture

The experiences described in 4.7 are fundamental to Whitehouse's analysis of movement through a cave as a rite of passage: disorientation causes someone to be out of place and time, which are descriptors of ritual (Lévi-Strauss 1978:21, 25); fear sharpens the senses and is an important aspect of initiation and rites of passage; the movement between light and dark, with its aspects of liminality, symbolises the passage from ignorance to knowledge, rebirth, secrecy, the passage to the otherworld (Leach 1976:81-2; Turner 1977:38; Skeates 1991:127; Whitehouse 1992:137, 140). The Grotta Sant'Angelo is a physically liminal place on a number of levels. The gorge is located in a probable boundary zone, between Áscoli Piceno and Téramo (4.7, Map Ia). It appears to lie on the periphery of Picene habitation, since no evidence of Picene settlement has been found in the gorge, whilst several settlements are known close by (Áscoli Piceno, possibly Civitella del Tronto, the settlement associated with the Campovalano cemetery, Tortoreto). It is a microcosm for the wider landscape, with a comprehensive ecosystem of water, vegetation, fauna, minerals and shelter, with the caves visually focused inwardly on the gorge. The cave itself contains a number of liminal areas, with thresholds occurring at the two entrances, between the sections and within the sections, where accessibility changes. Variations in height, size and light are caused by narrowing of passageways, ledges and by obstacles such as stalactites and pits (fig 4.2).

Whitehouse discusses the symbolism of crossing thresholds as one passes from one section of a cave to the next, arguing that the most significant is the cave entrance (2001:166). This is borne out by the evidence of votive deposits associated with the thresholds and particularly with the entrances of many of the Picene caves. Changes in light and possibly temperature or sound may mark further thresholds or accentuate the existing physical ones. For example, there are at least four places in the Grotta Sant'Angelo where natural light is lost/regained: the two cave mouths, the 'window' in the first section and the corridor between the first and second sections. The first chamber of the Grotta del Re Tiberio is well lit, but the level of illumination decreases as one moves from the entrance deeper into the cave, in line with the lessening number and sizes of niches. The votive deposits at the rear of the first chamber seem to have marked the threshold where the cave structure changes (becoming more restricted), daylight is completely lost, the temperature drops and sounds change, with

the emphasis shifting from the sounds of the lived-world, such as birdsong, to those of the trickling internal water systems, the breathing and physical movement of the visitors to the cave and echoes of both.

The internal structures of the caves north of the Vomano lend themselves to different levels of ritual. In each case the first chamber is large and well-lit and bears a strong resemblance to a monumental building, particularly that of the Grotta Sant'Angelo with its window to the open air, high up in the wall. They could have held a large number of people, as later transformations into Christian churches demonstrate, and could have been used for more public rituals. The second section could have been used for more private or intense rituals, where individuals or small groups of people, as part of initiation rites, or possibly seeking cures for health problems, were led into the corridor (sometimes narrow and restricting) and on to the second section, which often included dripping stalactites that may have been used in the rituals. If this were portrayed as gaining access to the mysteries of the cave, the sensations described above would again have been experienced with some intensity.

All these features indicate that caves in Picenum were perceived as sacred because they physicalised the boundary between the normal and abnormal, the lived-world and otherworld (1.2). The description of the otherworld as a place occupied by deities or spirits seems to be understood most easily through the medium of death, although this need not be the only route to conceiving of it. A journey through a cave is an experience that causes perceptions of being removed from space and time, and there may be some fear of death in this, due to the cultural mythology of these features in particular societies, but this only makes the cave an even better tool for rites of passage and for deliberate manipulation of spiritual experience (for example, the Maya in Highland Guatemala (Christenson, forthcoming)). It seems that traditions for the underworld may have evolved from the use of caves for cult practices (cf. Whitehouse 1991:196; 1992:139). The physical attributes of caves give them "a sinister aura because, being concealed from view, they were difficult to access and both space and light were restricted in them" (Whitehouse 1991:196). This sinister aspect has traditionally been appropriate for the underworld, with its associations with death, ancestral spirits and omnipotent deities (Saunders 1994:175). The karstic limestone caves, such as the Grotta dei Baffoni or Grotta Sant'Angelo, lend themselves to these

associations. Their internal landscape is unusual, varied and dramatic, a combination of static and animate forces, labyrinthine galleries and chambers created not only by the rock of the cave but by awesome concretions, crystalline lakes and clear pools, and streams of water. Amongst the Maya, whose caves are similarly structured, this abnormal water is considered ritually pure, and given the prevalence of votive deposits in the Italic caves, it is plausible that a comparable belief existed amongst the people who visited these caves from the prehistoric to Hellenistic periods (Brady and Ashmore 1999:127).

Perhaps the greatest problem when exploring the use of caves as sacred sites in the Iron Age is whether the sensations and experiences provoked by the unusual natural features were still the driving force behind the cult use of caves or whether the emphasis had shifted. We cannot be certain, based on the fraction of material evidence alone, if the people using these caves during the Iron Age experienced them in the way recorded above, and if they did so, whether this had a direct impact on their belief system and the ritual activities they practised within them. Whether or not the caves remained in continuous use from the late Bronze Age, there is no reason to suppose that users of the sites in the Iron Age were less open to an altered perception caused by the specific environmental factors pertaining to the sites, which evoked particular physical, and therefore also, emotional responses. It is probable that the sensations of disorientation, awe and apprehension dissipated in proportion to the degree of familiarity with cave sites, although this might have taken different lengths of time or numbers of visits depending on the individual concerned. One might expect the intensity of these responses to have depended on the belief system of the visitor. In other words, if a community treated a cave as a sacred site because the people believed it was a portal to an otherworld, the physiological and emotional experiences of someone visiting for the first time, as an initiate in some right of passage would surely be more acute than they would for the individual(s) who conducted the rituals. The comparatively plentiful evidence of cemeteries suggests that the Picenes did have some belief in an otherworld (if not necessarily in an afterlife), perhaps the same as that inhabited by their deities, so it is possible that caves continued to be conceptualised as portals to this.

A ritual function connected with the otherworld appears borne out by the deposition of miniature pottery vessels in caves and burial contexts. The purpose and form of the rituals performed in these locations may have differed, particularly over different time periods. However, this might suggest that artefacts such as miniature pottery vessels, designed specifically for ritual use, could vary in symbolism, depending on context (cf. Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986; Thomas 1996:180). As noted in 1.5.3, a variety of miniature vessels are represented and these most often occur in caves and cemeteries (or associated with cemeteries). The clearest examples of this are the deposits from the Sant'Andrea locality of Cupra Marittima (3.3.2) and M Bibele (3.2.4; 5.3.2). At both sites, miniature pottery vessels were found in a single deposit, on the edge of the cemetery, and dated to the seventh to fourth and fifth to fourth centuries respectively. Further to this, miniature pottery vessels from the Mercolini and Spinétoli cemeteries near Offida (AP) are strikingly similar to a cup and a vase excavated from the Grotta Sant'Angelo. The examples from Offida have been dated to the sixth to fourth centuries and are slightly better worked than the earlier vessels from the Grotta Sant'Angelo. A larger deposit of stylistically similar vessels, which also dates from the sixth to fourth centuries, was excavated from the Grotta del Re Tiberio (Bertani 1997:87-8). These examples and others demonstrate that miniature pottery continued to be deposited in caves and burials for a large proportion of the Iron Age and also that the form and style of the vessels did not vary dramatically from the late Bronze Age through to the fourth century. There is also no conclusive evidence that the Bronze Age vessels did not remain in use in the Iron Age (d'Ercole 1997a:60).

The image of the ritual sacralisation of miniature objects highlighted in 1.5.2 (Skeates 1995:289) is befitting to the cave environment, since the physical structure and liminal nature of the cave lends itself to the performance of a rite of passage for both people and objects. This combined liminality of place and object has inspired further interpretations of the function of miniature vessels in caves. As miniature representations of everyday artefacts, they have been associated with fertility, or agrarian cult, since they could have been used for offering of seeds or first fruits[47]

[47] This has some traditional associations with the chthonic gods - for instance, in the Greek myth of Demeter and Persephone and the Roman festival of the Lemuria, when offerings of the first fruits were made to the spirits of the ancestors (*manes*) - and could therefore be interpreted as being appropriate to

(Bernabei and Grifoni Cremonesi 1995-96:357-8). Full-size vessels containing grain or other plant remains are also often found in cave or water locations.The miniature vessels may have been placed in cave and burial contexts as containers for libations or offerings, or they may have been used for taking sacraments to aid communion with the spirits; in either case, the spirits being either those of the deceased or deities, which may have had an association with ancestral human spirits (both inhabiting the otherworld).

Vessels associated with 'agrarian cult' were clearly not the only objects placed in caves, and may not have been directly related to water or fertility as a part of a water cult, although the apparently strong relationship between caves and water seems to have been recognised by those using them for cult practices in prehistory (cf. Neumann 1963:46-7). Vessels similar to those deposited in caves were also deposited by and in water sources, but lack of preservation of these means that the evidence is biased in favour of cave locations, with their relatively more secure contexts. The open miniature pottery vessels found in caves may also have been used for collecting water, which Tambiah sees as crucial not only to the initial rite but also in the maintenance of the potency of ritualised artefacts (Skeates 1995:289; see also Bertani 1997:78-88). Whitehouse notes the appropriateness of cave water for use in cult:

> "I suggest that the waters of the cult caves were particularly appropriate for cult use because in a variety of ways they represent water behaving as water shouldn't. In particular, they represented transition and marginality: moving, dripping, liquid water becoming gas (steam), solid (stalagmites), bubbling or foaming, or still." (Whitehouse 1992:133).

The presence of miniature pottery vessels in the stalactite-filled second section of the Grotta Sant'Angelo suggests that the abnormal water here was also being venerated or used in rituals (cf. Bertani 1997:81, 85). These rituals may also have been practised in other caves in the region, the Grotta del Re Tiberio being one of the most likely examples (4.3.1). It is clear that the deeper parts of the Grotta Sant'Angelo held a ritual function in the late Bronze Age and that the practices here may have carried through into the early part of the Iron Age (dependent on how long the miniature vessels were in use). The presence of later anatomical ex-votos here provides perhaps the best evidence for continuity in ritual use of this part of the site.

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a cave location.

Whitehouse suggests that abnormal water was more likely to have a primary role and be the subject of veneration, e.g. whitish stillicide water represents breast milk or semen or both (Whitehouse 1992:134). If this were the case, the occurrence of anatomical terracottas inside the Picene and, particularly, the North Abruzzo caves, would suggest that these ex-votos were associated with issues of fertility and perhaps with gynaecological health, rather than 'healing' *per se*. It is less clear whether the belief that the sites were important for healing was specifically due to the abnormal water features of the caves or if there was any connection with the cave itself. If there were specific connections between the type of ex-voto and the type of abnormal water in the Grotta Sant'Angelo these are less obvious than they are in other caves, such as the Grotta Lattaia. The vibrant blue of the Salinello is caused by a comparatively high manganate and copper sulphate content. Manganese is vital for human brain function and also relieves menstrual cramps, whereas copper sulphate may be used to treat external wounds, whilst being poisonous if consumed. It is feasible that the water in the caves or the Salinello itself was recognised as having these properties and venerated as a result. The deposition of anatomical ex-votos in particular suggests that, at the Grotta Sant'Angelo, water from the caves might have been either washed with or drunk as part of a healing ritual. Without knowing the function of the earlier pottery vessels, it is unclear whether different properties of the water were recognised in different periods. The comparative example of the Grotta Lattaia shows ex-votos and miniature pottery vessels being deposited in the same context, which might suggest the ritual functions of these two types of votive were part of the same act of worship or sacrifice.

One of the most notable differences in cave deposits between the Bronze and Iron Ages, particularly after the seventh century, is the decrease in full-size ceramics with incised decoration and increase in representations of the human form, initially as bronze figurines and later also including anatomical ex-votos. The prevalence of anthropomorphic figures throughout the height of the Picene period suggests an increase in the perceived significance of humans and/or anthropomorphised deities. The incidence of bronze figurines in caves throughout Picenum varies widely between isolated examples and multiple deposits, across a time period of the late sixth to early fourth centuries. Styles also differ, with figurines varying from schematic to detailed representations. Deities are difficult to identify and it is probable that all the figurines from caves represent humans, either worshippers or mediators (e.g. priest/ess or

shaman) (Whitehouse 1992:142). Many figures, including the 'Rapino goddess', are portrayed making gestures of offering and could therefore be either representations of priest/esses or worshippers. It is unclear in either case whether the representations were intended to be of individuals or generic. Examples have been found at Grotta Sant'Angelo, Grotta del Colle, Grotta del Re Tiberio, and also at Grotta Lattaia.

The presence of the large deposit of bronze figurines near the cemetery on M Bibele encourages the suggestion that anthropomorphic representations were also associated with the otherworld and in some contexts might act as substitutes for human burials. More broadly, both figurines and ex-votos acted as 'body signifiers' and whilst their meaning could change according to context, their role in the ritual use of caves in the Iron Age was related to the *physicality* of the cave journey. It is unfortunate that more precise locations and positions of figurines and ex-votos found in caves have not been recorded and hoped that they will be in the future. This would enable us to establish whether or not these anthropomorphic objects were left at specific places in the cave: places where the body is in direct contact with cave surfaces; or where light, sound, temperature and so on, change; or at points in the journey where particularly frightening or extreme experiences occurred. The evidence we do have infers that this may have been the case. In the Grotta Sant'Angelo a bronze figurine was discovered on the ledge where a passageway narrowed and light was lost (4.5). At the Grotta Maritza a collection of terracotta figurines and ex-votos was discovered in a crevice in the rock at the cave entrance, the first and most significant threshold, being the place where light is lost and awe, anticipation and fear of the unknown at its height (4.6.4). The whole cave experience intensifies one's awareness of one's body. Further effects on the body may be added to this: the ritual itself, which if it is a rite of passage is by nature linked to changes in physiological status (be it birth, adulthood, marriage or death); deliberate alteration of physical appearance, with costume or other body adornment, growing or cutting of hair etc.; and an altered state of consciousness (1.2). The deposition of the anthropomorphic representations would vary in meaning not only with the specific design of the object, but with the place and time in which it was deposited. For example, anatomical ex-votos might be left outside the cave entrance in hope that an ailment would be cured once the journey into the cave had been made; or a figurine placed at a particular threshold in the cave might represent the transition to a new state of being.

4.9 Conclusions

Caves that can be interpreted as sacred sites in use during the Iron Age tend to have been used, perhaps continuously, since the Upper Palaeolithic (and often continue to be used through the Roman and into the Medieval period). Those that were abandoned were largely those used for settlement, whereas those interpreted as having a sacred function tend to show greater continuity of use (e.g. Grotta del Re Tiberio, Grotta Sant'Angelo). The evidence of the caves in Picenum shows that they tend to be spatially distinct from settlements, but close to them. They tend to include or to be near water of some kind, which may in turn have a cult aspect either intrinsic to or separate from that of the cave itself. The Picenes deposited miniature pottery vessels, which may have contained offerings of the first fruits, incense or sacrament, or been used for collecting water. Better analysis of the contents is needed to determine what was being deposited or collected. Other organic material, that has not left a mark in the archaeological record, may also have been left in caves.

A possible scenario for the rituals at caves such as the Grotta del Re Tiberio:

The normal water from the spring may have been used in purification rituals which then allowed the subject to enter the deeper parts of the cave. Perhaps the rituals were carried out in deep winter and some of this water was taken inside the cave so that its power of regeneration would awaken the dormant spirits of the otherworld so that spring would return. Then miniature vessels were filled with the semen-like stillicide water from the gallery of the cave and re-deposited in the niches in the first chamber so that spring water running down the cave walls could intermingle with it and fertilise the seed. In the autumn people would return with jars filled with the first fruits of the harvest, grain, pulses and wine from the first pressing, and leave them deep inside the cave in thanks offering to the otherworld spirits who had blessed them with a good harvest.

Deposition of pottery suggests that the Picenes continued the prehistoric use of caves for cult practices, but they also left votives that demonstrate their increasing interest in the human form, namely, bronze figurines and terracotta votives. This fascination for the human form is found throughout their material culture, particularly in items of personal decoration (2.3-4).

Further to this, the presence of votives in caves might be connected with the physicality of the cave experience. For example, were artefacts left at points of the cave where the visitor was in physical contact with the cave architecture, such as the entrance or narrow passageways? It is hoped that findspots of artefacts will be better recorded in future cave excavations, so that this hypothesis may be tested further. It would be useful to know if bronze anthropoid figurines were deposited at points of a cave where the physical contact between subject and cave landscape was greatest.

It is uncertain who was using the caves, whether or not they became used as part of organised religion, and whether or not they were restricted to use by individuals and/or small groups. It seems likely that in either case, there would have been some individuals with privileged knowledge of the sites. Some caves with very notable features, like the Grotta di Frasassi, may have been popularised and visited by people from farther afield, whilst others, such as the Grotta Sant'Angelo, were used in localised initiation ceremonies. Whether or not this happened depends very much on the relationships between the different intra- and inter-regional communities. Each cave group in the region displays different features to the next, particularly with regard to their material culture, whilst the excavated material from within each group shares common features. It seems that some commonality in the perception of caves existed throughout the region, but distinctions in ritual practices, and possibly in belief, are apparent in the different river valleys (cf. Whitehouse 1992:178).

Whilst there would have been some variations in the experiences of a cave, according to sex, size, weight, age, degree of health, position in the hierarchy, number of visits to this (or another) cave and other prior knowledge (whether fact or myth), the sensations resulting from biological similarities were perhaps enough to account for some continuity of perceptions of caves throughout the region. The types of material data found in caves for the Iron Age and early Roman periods in Picenum suggest both a degree of continuity in the ways caves were utilised and perhaps in the ways they were perceived. The physicality of the journey into a cave, however long that journey is, is a powerful experience that alters perception. The evidence of human representations deposited as votives in caves throughout Picenum suggests that the people using these sites believed that a relationship existed between the human form, unusual places in the landscape and the divine. The presence of these representations

in other natural contexts, notably in or near water and in high places such as mountain peaks and promontories, demonstrates that this interrelationship was perceived to exist beyond caves. Further research is needed to question to what extent different perceptions engendered different beliefs (or vice versa).

Chapter 5

Places of intervisibility and interconnectivity: mountain peaks, high places and submontane zones

5.1 Introduction

A peak may be defined as any rocky promontory that can be viewed with an upward gaze, and which is physically distinctive because it projects (out or up) from the landscape of which it is a part. It is may be the single highest point of a mountain, but this is a relatively rare feature: mountains tend to have a series of peaks, and the highest point is not necessarily the smallest area (Rutkowski 1986:73). A peak is identifiable because it is demarcated within the landscape by being surrounded by an expanse of air or sea or by a flat backdrop, such as a cliff face[1]. So, mountain peaks, hilltops, cliffs, outcrops and promontories may all be included within the term 'peak'. Within this chapter they are broadly categorised as 'mountains' (1000-1900m asl and >1900m asl) and 'high places', which are further divided into 'submontane zones' (500-999m asl), 'hilltops' (100-499m asl) and 'cliffs, outcrops and promontories' (variable heights). These categories are defined by the broad changes in vegetation that occur at these heights (1.4), since these and the geology of the mountains and high places create distinctive terrains within the region of Picenum. Buxton defines an *oros* as between 113m and 2900m asl in his discussion of mountain sites in Greece and this range can be applied to Picenum (Buxton 1994:81). This definition means that the measurements used to distinguish between mountain peaks and high places are somewhat arbitrary and in Picenum we find that some 'high places' are distinct enough from the surrounding landscape to be termed 'mountains'; for example, M Cónero and M Giove (Penna S Andrea). One of the difficulties with categorising by height above sea level is that this fails to take into consideration the differential between experienced 'ground level' and the peak. For instance, the Roman colony of Piano di Falerone is ostensibly in a plain, but is at a height of 224-227m asl, whereas the peak of Cupra Marittima is only 119m asl due to the differential caused by its

[1] Compare the evidence from Crete, where visibility from associated settlements was a defining factor for choosing a peak location: "These requirements locate peak sanctuaries on prominent ridges and hilltops rather than on the highest summits of a massif, which is often not visible from the valley floor" (Rackham and Moody 1994:179).

coastal location. For these reasons, the definition of 'peak' stated above describes the phenomena of all mountains, high places and promontories and overrides the subdivisions.

The archaeological evidence for some peaks in Picenum being cult places is wide-ranging and consists of concentrations of bones suggesting a sacrificial area, bronze votive figurines and other votive material, and a variety of architectural remains. This chapter, which is divided by peak type, synthesises the evidence for religious activity on peaks throughout Picenum. Brief comparisons are made with the Umbrian mountain peak sanctuaries, which tend to have been more carefully excavated and recorded than peak sanctuaries in Picenum and several of which can be identified very clearly by monumental sanctuary remains. Comparatively few of the Picene peak sites that have been identified archaeologically are situated on mountains and few existed in isolation. Most either had a water feature as a cult focus (e.g. M Bibele, Montefortino di Arcévia) or were the locale for a cave site (e.g. Grotta del Re Tiberio, Grotta dei Banditi). Several of the peak sanctuaries have therefore already been discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 and their significance as nodes of communication highlighted. The emphasis here is on the phenomenological aspects of these features that identify them as sacred sites in their own right.

5.2 Mountain peaks (1000-2912m asl)

Mountains dominate the topography of Picenum, with the Central Apennine ridge comprising the entire western boundary (1.4). Mountains are visible throughout the whole region, providing a constant backdrop to the hilltops, lowland plains, coastal tracts and open ends of the gorges. The only places where they are invisible are the interiors of the gorges and forests. The tallest mountains (those over 1900m asl), such as M Vettore or those of the Gran Sasso, are snow-covered for most of the year, their majestic and numinous presence ever on the horizon (cf. Tuan 1974:70-1; Swailes 2001:1, 15). At times, particularly when they are far off from the point of viewing, the mountains seem impenetrable, but when one is amongst them they become a less solid boundary and it is clear that there are passable at many points (cf. Swailes 2001:1). The primary routes of passage in the Iron Age were the passes through Scheggia, Fossato di Vico, Camerino/Piano di Colfiorito, Arquata del Tronto and the Gola di Antrodoco, with the Roman consular roads of the Via Flaminia and Via Salaria

emphasising most strongly the accessibility of the mountains. The Apennines were both a boundary between Picenum and western Italy and a gateway to Umbria and the Tyrrhenian coast. In the south, the Gran Sasso and the Maiella acted as barrier and gateway to Samnium and the other mountain communities. These mountain passes were therefore liminal areas, thresholds between the familiar and the unfamiliar: between communities or socio-cultural groups, and between different landscapes. For example, the river valleys and hills define the landscape of Picenum, whereas Umbria is predominantly flat. It may be partly for this reason that the mountains and, more specifically, peaks, held importance as sacred sites. Mountains have been recognised as sacred sites in many cultures, commonly, as the home of the chief of the gods, since mountain peaks mark the physical point where heaven and earth meet (Tuan 1974:70, 118; Rutkowski 1986:91; Buxton 1994:85-6; Park 1994:247)[2]. Low cloud cover causes the mountain peaks of the Apennines to be shrouded in mist for much of the year, physically blurring the distinction between earth and sky (Seneca *NQ* 1.5.11). Peaks, particularly mountain peaks, are more prone than other environments to extremes of weather, from high winds, lashing rain or snow storms to fierce sunshine (Horden and Purcell 2000:80). Lightning is also likely to strike and be seen to strike peaks, which seems to account for the association between mountains, Jupiter (or his equivalent) and lightning (Seneca *NQ* 2.41-5; 2.58.3; e.g. M Giove 5.3.6). Where no belief that it was, or led to, the abode of Jupiter can be attested, the peak nevertheless represented something mysterious, augmenting fear, commanding special attention, and promoting the mystical idea (Veggiani 1984:13; Rackham and Moody 1994:193). This phenomenological argument is supported by the strong archaeological evidence that religious rituals took place on several of the peaks in Central Italy.

One of the aspects of a mountain that makes it so daunting to climb is its illusory, deceptive qualities. One can scrutinise the summit from the ground, but perception of the distance, height and the shape of the mountain can alter many times as one climbs, the twists and turns necessitated by the steep and uneven terrain causing an element of disorientation. The peak may seem to be in sight, but once nearly reached, it levels and it becomes apparent that there is still further to go. Often what seems to be the

[2] Commonly, a male deity such as Zeus or Jupiter, or a female 'Great Mother' such as Cybele, both of whom were worshipped on Mt Jouctas and Mt Ida (Scully 1979:12, 15-16).

peak transpires to be a ridge or step, and one soon learns that there are several peaks either to climb or to avoid. From a distance a mountain looks broadly pyramidal, its physical area apparently diminishing to a point, but in reality it is a micro-environment, sharing the features of the lowlands, such as plains or meadows, springs, streams, lakes, forests, caves, valleys and outcrops, but at higher altitude. These micro-environments create a sense of place, whilst altitude creates the boundary: the limits of the landscape are always closer than in the lowlands, since there is always an edge or a steep drop, the marker for which is the wider expanse of air and sky that envelopes the climber (Horden and Purcell 2000:80). The combination of sudden, long drops and greater wind speeds at altitude (over 1000m asl) creates a sense of vulnerability, an impression that one has a tenuous foothold on the ground, perhaps because the sensation of being in the sky becomes acute (Swailes 2001:23-4; Plate 5.1). This sensation diminishes when the mountain is wooded, since the sky is less visible, the movement of the air less noticeable and the boundaries of place demarcated more clearly.



Plate 5.1 Summit of M Cucco (PG), 1560m asl, view towards south-east (March 2001)
sense of vulnerability caused by the sudden drop-offs and increased windspeeds

The new sensation of place, which is created by the physical aspects (perceived predominantly through the visual, aural and haptic senses) of the mountain landscape, is accentuated by the kinaesthetic experience. The effort involved in climbing the

mountain usually increases as one moves higher, since the terrain, overall, becomes actually and perceptibly more steep and difficult[3]. The cumulative effect of climbing is that one's legs begin to ache, through use of different muscle groups to those used on the 'flat', and one's breathing becomes more laboured as the air thins, both of which intensify the perception of climbing. Changes in the oxygen levels and air quality have a number of effects: first the air seems cleaner and more pleasant to breathe than that below[4], so one breathes more deeply, which has the effect of both relaxing and strengthening. As one ascends higher, the combination of deeper breathing and decreasing oxygen levels causes increasing light-headedness, resulting in some disorientation. This is noticeable only on the tallest of the Apennine mountains and in the Gran Sasso. Combine this with the low cloud cover and/or extreme weather conditions and the setting becomes more disorientating and forbidding, since cloud has illusory qualities and the conditions reduce visibility (Seneca *NQ* 1.5.3; 1.5.11). This is a feature peculiar to mountain peaks, that cannot be ascribed to the other high places and submontane zones, so these different types of peaks may have held a variety of symbolism and engendered different beliefs in the people of Picenum. The Umbrian peak sanctuaries of the Central Apennines provide a contrast with the Picene peak sanctuaries and are relevant to this discussion (5.2.3).

5.2.1 **Peaks of the Monti Sibillini, Monti della Laga and the Gran Sasso** (1900-2912m asl)

The majority of mountain peaks in Picenum belong to the Monti Sibillini and Monti della Laga, whilst those of the northern Gran Sasso are attributable to the Samno-Picene boundary zone and those of the Central Apennines to the Umbro-Picene boundary zone. The last have revealed considerable evidence of sacred sites and are usually described as 'Umbrian peak sanctuaries' on the basis that, by the third century, the central Apennine area shared more features with Umbrian culture than with Picene; for example, the Iguvine Tables from Gubbio were written in Umbrian. Most of the mountains in the Umbro-Picene Apennine zone are 1000-1900m asl and none are taller. This highlights a contrast with the mountain ranges to the south, most

[3] With the exception of any level areas, as noted above.
[4] An aspect more acutely felt in the twenty-first century, with the permeation of pollution, but likely to have been noticeable in antiquity as the air would still have been fresher out of the valleys, moving more freely.

of which are over 1900m asl and none of which have yielded archaeological evidence of Iron Age use. The upper reaches of these mountains, which belong to the Gran Sasso, were snow-covered all year round, making them undesirable for permanent settlement and creating a natural boundary (although these areas may have been utilised as summer pastures) (1.4; Horden and Purcell 2000:81, 85). M Vettore dominates the valleys of the Tenna, Fluvione and Tronto rivers and is the tallest and most visible mountain peak in southern Picenum. M Sibilla, 8.5km to the north of M Vettore, was one of the highest (2175m asl) and geologically the most distinctive of the region's mountains, being formed from pink and white limestone, with seams of quartz. It has been suggested that the ring of pink rock which crowns the mountain may have been seen as symbol of the divine, possibly of Cybele or the Magna Mater, particularly given the presence of the Grotta delle Fate a few metres below the summit (Allevi 1940:33; Croci 2000:158; cf. Scully 1979:15).

The comparative inaccessibility and extreme weather conditions of these highest mountain peaks seem to account for the lack of archaeological excavation and evidence for cult use here, whilst the comparative evidence from Crete suggests that peak sanctuaries were never established at these heights (Rutkowski 1986:74-5). That does not mean that these mountains, or deities associated with them, were not venerated (Allevi 1940:33; Croci 2000:158). The material record suggests that these mountains, whilst accessible to travellers, were the greatest barriers to cultural exchange, given the time and effort involved in transporting artefacts and ideas across them. The upper reaches had minimal economic value, although farming may have been carried out on the lower slopes and transhumance routes taken across these. The highest mountain zones of Picenum therefore seem to have marked boundaries between communities and between the socio-cultural groups of Picenum and the Samnite territories, but also between the lived-world and otherworld. It will be argued (5.2.2-3) that similar patterns, but with significant distinctions, are apparent in the 1000-1900m asl mountain zones, and that these distinctions were caused by the different phenomena relating to the height, formation and vegetation of these landscapes.

5.2.2 M Primo (com. di Pioraco, MC) 1299m asl



Plate 5.2 M Primo, com. di Pioraco, facing north-west. Note the ostensibly tabular summit

M Primo looms above the Potenza valley and the plains to the south of Pioraco and north of Camerino, one of several highly visible mountains in this Apennine area and the only mountain in Picenum to yield Iron Age evidence of cult use (Plate 5.2). The plains are part of the lowlands that run to the Piano di Colfiorito, interspersed only by the masses of M Vermenone and M Igno, bordered by M Pennino and M Acuto[5] to the west and the Monti Sibillini to the east. The Roman settlement of *Prolaqeum* (Pioraco) was situated at the mouth of a gorge, at the confluence of the Scarsito and the Potenza, and was a node of communications, with the *via Prolaquense* (a branch of the Via Flaminia) passing though en route to Nocera Umbra (*Nuceria*) (Gaggiotti *et al* 1993:256; Uncini 1995:13, 57)[6]. Excavations on the mountain revealed a late Bronze Age store, perhaps part of a settlement, as well as Iron Age phases of settlement, showing that the locality of Pioraco was inhabited before the Roman town was founded (Landolfi in Franchi dell'Orto 1999:239; Naso 2000:40, 238). This further suggests that the Picene inhabitants used a path through the mountains before the Roman road was built (Uncini 1995:13, 57). A deposit of bronze votive figurines

[5] See Cenciaioli 1996 for discussion of the Umbrian peak sanctuary on M Acuto.
[6] The proto-Flaminia also ran close by, taking a route through the pass of the Piano di Colfiorito not far to the south-west of M Primo.

and concentrations of animal bones located above the settlement and just below the summit of M Primo, reveal that the mountain also had a role as a peak sanctuary, the animal bones seemingly marking a sacrificial site (Naso 2000:40, 238; Landolfi 2002). The physical relationship of M Primo to the surrounding landscape appears to have provided the impetus for the use of the mountain as a cult place. It looms over Pioraco (to the south-south-east), although it does not stand out particularly if approaching the Roman settlement from a northerly direction, where the region is mountainous. M Primo would therefore have been visible to anyone travelling the routes to the south-east to south-west of Pioraco and crossing the border region between Picenum and Umbria (Map I-II).

Three bronze figurines were discovered in the deposit on the mountain. Landolfi attributes the two schematic, but three-dimensional, warriors to Colonna's 'Nocera-Umbra' type, which dates them to the sixth to fifth centuries (Colonna 1970:100-3; Landolfi in Franchi dell'Orto 1999:239). The worshipper belongs to the 'Segni' group and has been dated to the fifth to fourth centuries (Landolfi in Franchi dell'Orto 1999:239). A fifth century date for the deposit therefore seems likely, given that all three figurines were found in the same context. Whilst the deposit is small, it shows similarities with other peak deposits of bronze figurines, namely the presence of warrior and worshipper types (M Bibele, Montefortino di Arcévia).

Bronze figurines were deposited at a number of peak sites within Picenum, Umbria and Etruria (Appendix I), but evidence for large-scale or repeated sacrifice has been found nowhere else in Picenum. Instead, comparisons with sacrifices on Cretan peaks may be made; for example, the Plataeans carried wooden effigies to the summit of Mt Kithairon and burnt them as votives to Zeus and Hera (Pausanias 9.3). Here we might also compare the symbolic human sacrifices made on M Bibele and at Terme di Cotilia. Like the Cretan mountain tops, the landscape of M Primo lends itself well to being a sacrificial site: at a distance, the summit appears as a plateau, whilst the ostensibly symmetrical sides of the pyramidal limestone mountain give it a rather two-dimensional appearance (from the south side), which accentuates the plateau (Plate 5.2). This structure makes a convincing natural altar: the smoke and flames from sacrificial fires would have been highly visible over a great distance, from the settlements at Pioraco to Camerino. This effect is further enhanced by the play of light

on the summit, which falls on an otherwise invisible dip, lighting up the summit and leaving the majority of the mountain in shadow[7]. The presence of concentrations of livestock bones suggests that animal sacrifices were being made on M Primo, ostensibly to protect the inhabitants of the settlement on the mountain, who are likely to have been engaged in pastoral activity and making use of transhumance routes in the mountains of the Potenza valley. Several different communities probably made use of these routes, given the proximity of the settlement to historical Umbria (Bonomi Ponzi 1982:137-8). So it seems that both the deposits of warrior figurines and the animal sacrifices were made in hope for the protection of the settlement, its people and livestock, which might be threatened by neighbouring communities, bandits or predatory animals (Malone *et al* 1994:145, 152). This scenario finds parallels in Minoan Crete and elsewhere in Picenum (Rutkowski 1986:93-4; 5.3).

In conclusion, the sacred site on M Primo is the only identified Picene peak sanctuary to be located above 1000m asl and is also the only peak site to yield evidence of animal sacrifice. It seems unlikely that this was the only such site in the region and this evidence may reflect a bias of preservation. In addition, the claim that this is the only mountain peak site in Picenum is based on the categorisation of the site as a mountain because it is taller than 1000m asl and covered in its upper reaches by the firs and pines characteristic of open woodland. In order to assess how the site on M Primo contributes to the picture of a Picene sacred landscape it will be compared with the mountain peak sanctuaries of Umbria, since these fall into the same category, as per 5.1, but also with the submontane sites of Picenum, such as M Bibele, M Valmontagnana, M Cónero and M Giove, which show some of the characteristics of mountains (5.3). One other feature of M Primo that makes it distinct is the presence of a settlement, largely contemporaneous with the sacred site. This shows that despite the site being the highest peak sanctuary in the region, the interrelationship of religion and settlement was as significant as that of religion and phenomena specific to the peak, such as its proximity to the sky. This supports the hypothesis that interrelationships between the economic and sacred value of the landscape were perceived to exist, based on the phenomena of the landscape that were caused by height variations (5.2.1). This also highlights the manipulative nature of human

[7] Observed in mid-spring, at ca 10.00am/fourth hour of daylight.

religion, since the highest, most barren and inaccessible places appear to have been attributed to deities, whereas the parts of the landscape that could be used for habitation, agriculture and/or pasture remained the domain of people (Rutkowski 1986:93-5). The evidence from M Primo for sacrifice and votive deposition at the edge of, and just above, the settlement indicates that divine guardianship was sought and that these deities were believed to be in an otherworld above and beyond the settlement (i.e. on the mountain peak or in the sky).

5.2.3 Umbrian peak sanctuaries

This phenomenon is seen nowhere so clearly as in the so-called Umbrian peak sanctuaries, which dominated the Apennine ridge from the late sixth to second centuries (Monacchi 1984:79; Malone *et al* 1994:145; Frapiccini 2000:161, 164). Uncini names the mountains Nerone, Cátria, Cucco, Strega, Maggio, Penna, Appennino, Nero, Pennino and Merlana as Umbrian *loca sacra* (1995:26-7). People settled on the lower, wooded slopes of these mountains, leaving the peaks to the deities who lived there. Like M Primo, the peaks were too exposed and barren of resources to be permanently occupied by human populations, as oak and beech gave way to the fir and pine forest of the upper reaches, with alpine vegetation and bare rock dominating the peaks of the tallest mountains, such as M Pennino.

Votive deposits of bronze figurines were made at some of these *loca sacra* (e.g. M Nerone, M Cátria) and on the lower peaks of the western Apennines where, later, monumental dry-stone temple complexes were built, for example, on M Torre Maggiore (TR) and M San Pancrazio (TR) (Bradley 1997a:112-14). The deposits of bronze votive figurines find many parallels in Picenum, but fewer examples of monumental peak sanctuaries have been identified there. The *loca sacra* were the mountains marking the boundary between Picenum and Umbria and may therefore have been used by both socio-cultural groups, or at least by the communities living in the Apennine submontane zone, whereas peak sanctuaries belonged specifically to the local (Umbrian) communities. For example, M Ansciano seems to have been the peak sanctuary for the settlement at Gubbio (*Iguvium*), M Subasio (Colle S Rufino) for Assisi or Spello, M Torre Maggiore for Terni (*Interamna Nahars*) or *Carsulae*, M San Pancrazio for Otrícoli (Malone *et al* 1994:92, 145; Bradley 1997a:120-1; 2000a:66, 171). This association between peak sanctuary and settlement has led Bradley to the

conclusion that Umbrian peak sanctuaries, like those of Minoan Crete, were an integral part of state formation. He argues that peak sanctuaries were designated spaces for ritual activity, where the rituals would have acted like social glue, creating delineated groups, which then led to increasing social organisation and community identity (Bradley 1997a:122; 2000a:67-8). The situation in Picenum seems somewhat different, with peak sanctuaries associated with routes of communication and near to cemeteries rather than settlements. Only the sanctuary on M Giove fulfilled a comparable role to the peak sanctuaries of the western Apennines (5.3.6).

Both roles appear to have been fulfilled by the *loca sacra*. These peaks towered above the mountain passes running between Picenum and Umbria, routes along which travellers would have sought divine protection. These passes, like that which followed the Sentino gorge and passed through Scheggia, bounded by M Cátria and M Cucco, were awesome and terrifying, sheer cliffs of limestone towering on either side, channelling a traveller's view ever onward (Uncini 1995:27). This landscape still creates a sense of complete isolation, from human civilisation and from the landscape of settlement: nothing can be seen but rock and the sky, nothing can be heard except echoes, so all sense of time and place disappears. It is this sensation of separation from the lived-world that made the mountain passes liminal spaces and places of transition, more so than the mountains themselves.

The sanctuary of Apennine Jupiter (*Iovis Penninus*) was a *loca sacra* overlooking the Sentino gorge and Scheggia pass, on the peak of either M Cátria or M Cucco (Uncini 1995:27). It seems likely that rituals were carried out in these peak sanctuaries a few times a year, on very specific occasions, but the role of the sanctuary would have been multifaceted (Rutkowski 1986:91). On the one hand, the deity would protect travellers, largely merchants, who made use of the mountain passes to transport their goods; on the other, s/he would protect the herders and their flocks travelling the tracks that followed the mountain ridges (Rutkowski 1986:87-8; Uncini 1995:27). The rituals would have been concerned with the climate, which affected both the ability to use the mountain paths and also the ecology that sustained the livestock and people making use of the mountain environment for (part of) their subsistence (Rutkowski 1986:87-8; Malone *et al* 1994:129; Horden and Purcell 2000:80-7). They would also have been concerned with developing and maintaining good relations between the

communities occupying the Apennine submontane zones, which all benefitted from the economic wealth generated by the mountain environment and the merchants travelling between eastern and western Italy. This appears to have been the role of the *locra sacra* in social organisation, which would have involved the Picene communities as much as the Umbrian (cf. Malone *et al* 1994:144, 152).

5.3 High places (1): submontane zones, cliffs, outcrops and promontories (500-999m asl)

The distinction between the mountains and submontane zones of Picenum is based on the broad change in vegetation that occurs at 500m asl and also in the geological changes at 600m asl (1.4). Most of the peak sanctuaries in the region fall into this category, which finds parallels in the peak sanctuaries of Minoan Crete (Rutkowski 1986:74-5). One of the striking aspects of this division is that whereas most Umbrian peak sanctuaries were established on mountains, Picene peak sanctuaries with comparable material culture tended to be established in high places between 500 and 800m asl.

The archaeological record for the area between the Esino river valley and the Vena del Gesso shows this to have been a cosmopolitan part of Picenum, throughout the Iron Age. It is not always clear whether the people who inhabited this region were from different places, or if the variety was in material culture alone. In either case, the evidence that this was an important area for trade and communication is strong. The river valleys, road network, harbour at Ancona and entrepôt at Pésaro were crucial to the influx of artefacts and ideas and their dissemination throughout Picenum, Etruria, Tyrrhenian Italy and Europe more widely. Water was a significant cult focus on these and other routes, partly due to the need for drinking water amongst the itinerant and static populations and partly due to the cult of Cupra, which appears to have spread along these routes of communication because she had, or acquired, an aspect as their guardian (cf. Edlund 1985:23). The rest of this chapter explores this connection further, assessing the extent to which Cupra can be identified with communications routes, but without water. It also explores the other protector of the Apennine passes and associated routes, the sacro-symbolic warrior, or 'Mars'.

Numerous bronze votive figurines have been recovered from peaks throughout Picenum, with warrior figurines predominating (Appendix I). It is unusual for these to be discovered in association with a particular context, although this may be largely due to their being casual finds. Where a context has been identified, this tends to be a water feature, cave or temple, with other material culture present, namely full-size or miniature pottery, or terracotta votives. Some of these sites were discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, whilst the remainder are included here. A brief survey of the finds of bronze figurines from peak sites will highlight the extent of Iron Age use of peaks as sacred sites and provide some comparison with the more established sites.

5.3.1 Bronze votive figurines from peak sites

Single and multiple deposits of bronze figurines have been found on peaks in Umbria, Etruria and the Samnite territories, as well as in Picenum. One of the best known Etruscan examples is the deposit of 650 bronze figurines excavated from M Falterona (1654m asl), immediately to the north-west of Picenum (Bendinelli 1920:247-8; Colonna 1970:31; Steingräber 1981:69-71 in Edlund 1985:26; Edlund 1987:56-7)[8]. Although the deposit is larger and on a taller mountain peak than the Picene examples, this is noteworthy because it seems to reflect a practice that was widespread in northern Picenum. The largest number of deposits of bronze figurines is found in the mountainous area of the Vena del Gesso, some of them in caves, alongside other types of material culture (4.3). The regions of Pésaro and Ancona have also yielded a number, whilst the incidence of figurines in the Macerata and Áscoli Piceno regions is sporadic. Further south, figurines of Hercules dominate the archaeological record, but many of these were found at lowland sites, associated with a water feature (usually with a spring), rather than on peaks (Bradley 1998a:5; 3.5.1). Isolated examples of Hercules figurines have been found across Picenum and Umbria, on peaks and near water, and occasionally one or two examples of Hercules figurines have occurred with one or two warriors (Bradley 1998a:2). It is possible that both types fulfilled a similar protective role, since both epitomised (male) physical prowess, and the presence of Hercules figurines in Picenum, even if they were unusual, is evidence that

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[8] The deposit included worshippers, one Hercules figurine and zoomorphic figurines; also terracotta ex-votos, coins, arrow heads, fragments of iron weapons and unspecified pottery (Richardson 1983:385; Edlund 1987:56;). A 50x30m lake (Lago degli Idoli) appears to have been the cult focus of the site, so the assemblage of peak, lake and figurines bears some resemblance to M Bibele, which is a day's walk to the north-east of M Falterona.

Hercules was known to the people here, as we would expect (Bradley 1998a:3). It is unknown who deposited these figurines and under what circumstances, but in some cases these votives may have been made by people from other areas, who were travelling through Picenum, or Picenes who had acquired figurines of Hercules when travelling further south.

Male and female worshippers predominate in the deposits of the most northerly area, between Bologna and Senigállia, along the river valleys of the Bologna, Ravenna and Forli regions (Colonna 1970; Sassatelli 1981:343-5). Sixth and fifth century dates can be attributed to most of these figurines, so the practice of deposition may have predated the settlement of Celtic populations in this area. Some of the female figurines may have been misidentified, since it has been assumed that long clothing identified women, which is not necessarily the case.

The deposit from the western and southern sides of a hilltop near Cagli, consisting almost entirely of warrior figurines, marks a shift from predominantly worshipper figurines to, usually isolated, warriors (Bendinelli 1920:222). The deposit of 13 warriors here is exceptional (Bendinelli 1920:223; Gaggiotti *et al* 1993:203-4). Most of the warrior figurines were found in the localities of Isola di Fano, Cagli, Sassoferrato, S Fortunato di Genga, Fabriano and Fossato di Vico (Colonna 1970:39-48, 51-4, 56-61). Annibaldi argues that this topographic distribution of the warrior figurines suggests that Mars was the favoured deity of the pastoral peoples of the Apennine chain, in his guise as warrior, protector of the crops against the scourges of nature and as protector of the flocks and transhumance routes (Frazer 1931:397-402; Annibaldi 1964:95; cf. Bradley 2000a:74)[9]. Throughout the regions of Pésaro and Ancona we find deposits of single warrior figurines, sometimes amongst a group of worshippers. The possible meanings of this distribution are discussed in detail elsewhere (3.2.4; 3.3.1), but if they were not representations of Mars, the single warriors seem to have symbolised a leader, founder or ancestor of each of these communities, who fulfilled the same roles as the god. The figurines tend to have been deposited on peaks at boundaries, where the landscape changed dramatically, and on routes of communication, namely roads, mountain paths and waterways, particularly at crossing

[9] Note here the parallels with Hercules, see *infra*.

points. The implication here is that warrior figurines were sacro-symbolic representations of 'real' warriors, whether those were Marses, ancestors or the current leader(s) of a community, which were deposited at thresholds in order to protect those communities and anyone travelling between places. The figurines of Hercules from the south seem to have fulfilled a similar role and once again this seems to reflect the different beliefs and preferences of the communities there.

It is surprising that so few figurines have been found in the region of Áscoli Piceno given the mythology associated with this area, which highlights the pitfall of tracing these patterns: the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record. However, given the wealth of material evidence from the southern regions of Picenum, namely, rich burials, monumental inscriptions (South Picene) and Roman period remains, it seems likely that more bronze figurines from the region would have been identified if they had been deposited there. Further to this, the South Picene inscriptions were found south of the Potenza, whereas bronze figurines have been found in concentrations to the north of this river. Perhaps these distinct types of deposit reflect different practices amongst communities north and south of the Potenza, though both connected with the guardianship of the Picene communities. Although the meanings of the South Picene inscriptions are difficult to ascertain, the monumental inscriptions on stone acted as markers and named social structures, which appears to fulfil a similar role in the delineation and guardianship of territorial boundaries as the deposition of warrior figurines did. Alternatively, the South Picene inscriptions may be indicative of greater social stability in the Tronto valley and surrounding areas. If this were the case, the need for travellers to deposit figurines to watch over their journey might have been less.

In summary, the evidence of bronze votive figurines from peak sites such as Cagli, Sassoferrato and Gualdo Tadino, as well as M Bibele and the sanctuary of Montefortino di Arcévia, highlights a perceived relationship between changing topography and cult, with many of these changes perhaps marking territorial boundaries (Maps I, II). One reason the figurines were deposited in these liminal areas seems to have been to protect those boundaries and the people travelling across them (Malone *et al* 1994:141; cf. Bradley 2000b:154-5).

5.3.2 M Bibele (Monterenzio, BO) 600m asl (see also 3.2.4)

> "The location of Bologna is important: it is situated on the boundary between the Po Plain and the Apennines, on the natural route running along the northern edge of the Apennines from Rimini to Milan, later through the Emilia of the Romans. Bologna is also located at the head of an imposing passage through the Apennines connecting the Po Valley with Tuscany."
>
> Wells 1980:131

A striking aspect of the votive deposit at M Bibele is its association with the pool and probably with the cemetery. The peak (575m asl) seems incidental to the rituals being practised here. The material data from the settlement, cemetery and votive deposit are all attributable to the fifth and fourth centuries, although Vitali has argued that the settlement may pre-date the fifth century, based on the use of natural local stone for the buildings (Vitali *et al* 1997:133). This dating supports the hypothesis made in 3.2.4 that cult use of the site was centred on ancestral cult and the cemetery, since the votive material is associated with the dead population rather than with the settlement.

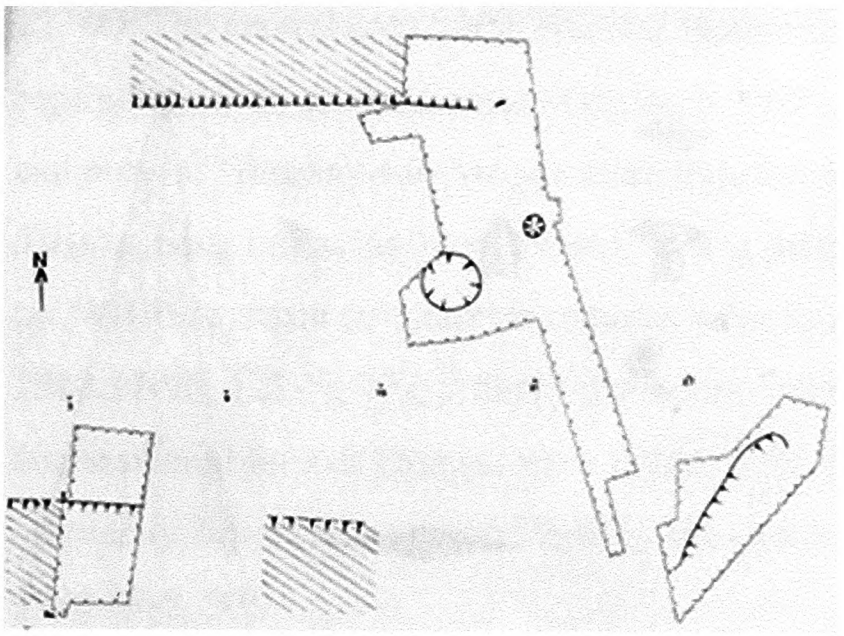


Fig 5.1 Plan of the Celtic temenos on M Bibele, fourth century (after Vitali)

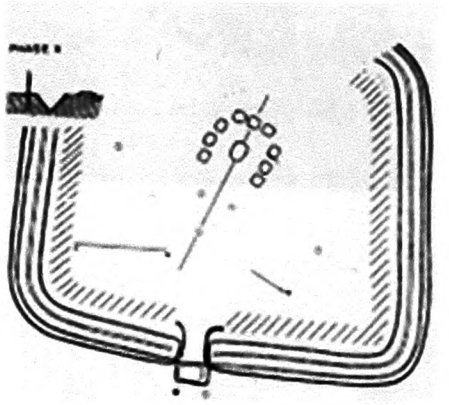


Fig 5.2 Plan of the fourth century phase of the Belgic sanctuary at Gournay-sur-Aronde (after Brunaux 1987)

Vitali argues that the structure of the settlement changed at the end of the third century, corresponding with the cemetery's peak period of use (Vitali *et al* 1997:133). The sacred site did not share the increased activity of the settlement and the cemetery, but the Celtic temenos on M Bibele (600m asl) came into use during the fourth century. The sanctuary consisted of a rectangular temenos demarcated by a ditch on all sides, possibly with a wooden structure in the centre (fig 5.1). The ditch was 2m

deep and contained faunal remains, strata of carbonised vegetal matter and fragments of iron arms (Vitali 1991:93, fig 13). Within the temenos was a circular hole, with traces of combustion and ash at the bottom. This site shows distinct parallels with Celtic sites in France and Belgium, particularly with the fourth to first century Belgic sanctuary at Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux 1988:12-16; fig 5.2). Like the temenos on M Bibele, the sanctuary at Gournay-sur-Aronde was associated with a settlement and a pool. It was situated on the slope of a valley, just inside the *oppidum*, and near one of its entrances, 50m from a pool formed by a stream (Brunaux 1988:13). The structure of the sanctuary was also similar, with the fourth century enclosure demarcated by a ditch 2.5m wide and 1.80-2m deep, a central pit surrounded by nine further pits, and a wooden temple and palisade (Brunaux 1988:12-13; fig 5.2).

The central pit contained the remains of sacrificed cattle, whilst the surrounding pits contained weapons and "other objects", largely pottery vessels (Brunaux 1988:13-15, 122-4). The central area of the site was mounumentalised at the end of the third or beginning of the second century (Brunaux 1988:15-16). Both the sacrificial remains and arms at Gournay-sur-Aronde were transferred from the pits into the ditch, after decomposing or having been burned, so it is probable that a similar situation occurred on M Bibele, since comparable remains were found in the enclosure ditch (Brunaux 1988:87-90, 122-7). The primary distinction between the two sites is that dismembered human remains were found in the ditch at Gournay-sur-Aronde, ostensibly deposited as part of fertility rites associated with ancestor cult (Brunaux 1988:87-8, 90).

The Celtic, or Gallo-Picene, sanctuary on M Bibele should probably be associated with the fourth to second century phase of the settlement, but appears to have also had a more outward-looking role than the sacred site marked by the votive deposit. The votive deposit seems to have been very localised, probably specific to the cemetery (and, by association, to the settlement) and is less likely to be a feature of the wider socio-cultural context than the temenos. Both Picene articles of adornment and Umbrian ceramics have been found in the tombs, so it appears that a Celtic population became integrated with the Picene community in the settlement's fourth to second century phase (Vitali *et al* 1997:134, 138). From the evidence of Picene, Umbrian and Celtic material at the M Bibele site and of the sanctuary's proximity to a road leading

to the Adriatic and into the heart of Etruria, it might be inferred that the temenos was not only visible to travellers along this road, but that it was designed to be seen (Vitali 1997:133). It seems that the sanctuary on the summit of M Bibele served a similar purpose to the Umbrian peak sanctuaries, acting as a boundary marker and meeting point for the four predominant cultural groups of the area. As such it would also have protected the different groups using this communications route. Vitali suggests that the votive deposit on M Bibele was related to the trans-Apennine route that predated the Protoflaminia, since a further three votive deposits have been identified close to the road, at Peglio (740m asl), Ronta and M Giovi (Vitali *et al* 1997:133-4). Whilst this seems incongruous with the specifics of the M Bibele votive deposit, this is in keeping with the evidence of the temenos and of votive deposits of bronze figurines, particularly of 'warriors', found at other peak sites in Picenum (5.2.2-3).

In conclusion, two distinct cult places existed on M Bibele, possibly used by different people within the community and serving different functions, whilst ostensibly both connected with ancestor cult. This connection with ancestor cult may be attributed to the dates of the two sites: although both sites may have been in use during the fourth century, this was the period when the pool fell out of use, whilst the temenos was established. The deposit of miniature pottery vessels and bronze figurines was associated with the pool and cemetery and this subject-object-place unit appears to have been related to the appeasement or propitiation of the ancestors. The temenos was established contemporaneously with the settlement on Pianella di S Savino and seems to have been the site for rituals more concerned with the success of the community, including fertility rites. The transition from votive deposit of Italic figurines and Picene miniature pottery to monumentalised sanctuary comparable to that at Gournay-sur-Aronde implies that the Celtic community introduced their beliefs to the area (Vitali 1991:79). This does not mean that the Umbro-Picene members of the community were excluded, rather, that they took a secondary role in the establishment of the sanctuary. The subject-object-place interrelationships of the temenos suggest that religious practices here were concerned with the position of the settlement and its relationship with the wider landscape and its communities, a phenomenon that is also found in areas of Picenum without such a strong Celtic presence.

5.3.3 Montefortino di Arcévia (AN) 553m asl (see also 3.3.1)

About 40km inland from the Adriatic coast, the site of Montefortino overlooks the Misa-Nevola valley and views the larger mountains to the south-west. Immediately to the north-west, the site is overshadowed by the formidable presence of the thickly wooded M S Angelo and M Pelato. As argued in 3.3.1, the spring seems to have been the cult focus, rather than the peak, although if the *opus quadratum* wall above the spring does belong to the temple, this would suggest that by the third century the community had constructed a more visible sanctuary[10]. It is probable that the temple architecture was visible from the settlement at Monte Croce Guardia di Arcévia, and would certainly have been visible from the road and the Misa river valley (Landolfi 1988:361). The extent of visibility would have depended on factors such as the size of the structure, presence of reflective surfaces or brightness of colour and use of fires to act as beacons (smoke, light) (Horden and Purcell 2000:125). Use of travertine for the surviving walls suggests that this structure would have been visible, though would not have reflected light to the same extent as limestone.

In summary, it appears that by the third century the community using the site of Montefortino had established a more visible presence on the communications route of the Misa valley, which may have been in response to the increased traffic between Umbria and the Adriatic. The spring continued to be propitiated and it is unclear whether the temple was part of the same or a new cult here. Comparison with other peak sites addresses this question.

5.3.4 Cupramontana (AN) 505m asl

Pliny (*NH* 3.111), Ptolemy (3.1.52) and an Antonine inscription '*pueri et puellae alimentari Cuprenses Montani'* (*CIL* IX.5700) bear witness to the association of Cupra and the 'mountain', which survives in the modern name of the town of Cupramontana. The presence of the *cuprenses* at Cupra Marittima (*CIL* IX.5309) indicates that there may also have been a sanctuary of Cupra in Cupramontana, which seems to have been confirmed by the discovery behind the church in the Piazza IV Novembre of a Hellenistic temple (third to first century) constructed from large tufa

[10] If this was not a temple, it may have been a hill fort, comparable to that on M Pallano (Sangro valley, Abruzzo), which would have delivered a similar message in terms of advertising the community's presence on Montefortino.

blocks (Annibaldi 1964:96; Gaggiotti *et al* 1993:222-3; Polidori 2000:377). This temple is situated on the summit of the hill, so all the evidence points to a peak sanctuary of Cupra, where the peak, rather than a water feature, was the topographic focal point of her cult.

The hill of Cupramontana occupied a strategic position on the edge of the Apennine submontane zone, overlooking the Esino and Musone river valleys, the nearest known Picene settlement at Pianello di Castelbellino and one of the main roadways between Ancona and Fossato di Vico. It appears, then, that the cult of Cupra flourished at Cupramontana not just because there was a hill there, but due to the physical relationship of that hill with the rest of the landscape. Travelling inland from Ancona, along the Esino valley, the terrain became increasingly hilly. The site of Cupramontana marked the point where the vegetation changed to deciduous woodland and a few miles to the west was the gorge of the Sentino, which marked a further dramatic change in the landscape, where limestone replaced the sandstone and clays of the hills. The sanctuary to Cupra at Cupramontana may have fulfilled a similar protective role to the peak deposits of bronze figurines, situated on a peak partly because this precedent had been set by the custom of, probably localised, votive deposition on peaks. Indeed, a single warrior figurine, datable to the sixth or fifth century, was found amongst a deposit of ceramic material in the contrada Follonica (Cupramontana) (Polidori 2000:377). We have also seen that Cupra's sanctuaries were usually placed near a normal water feature, on well-used routes of communication and at transport nodes (Chapter 3), so why was the sanctuary at Cupramontana on the hilltop rather than by the Esino, say, at Castelbellino or the mouth of the gorge?[11] Once again, the change in topography seems to be the key. From Cupramontana, both the Adriatic sea and the Apennines, or more specifically, the Apennine passes leading from Picenum to Umbria, were visible. The peak sanctuary of Cupra would have been visible to anyone travelling inland from Ancona across the lowlands and to travellers emerging from the Sentino gorge. The sanctuary therefore marked a midway point, interconnecting the east coast and the western Apennines, intervisible to anyone passing through the region between Ancona and Umbria, along the Esino valley. The sense of interconnectedness would have been

[11] Note here, Naso's proposal that the ivory figurines from Pianello di Castelbellino were representations of Cupra (2000:241; 3.2.1).

further accentuated if the fourth century temple of Aphrodite Euploia in Ancona could be seen from the sanctuary at Cupramontana. Such interconnectedness would have resonance if one of Cupra's aspects was to oversee the salt trade (3.6.2), particularly since the Adriatic was visible from Cupramontana, linking the source of the salt with one of its trade routes. This raises the question of whether a pre-Hellenistic temple existed at Cupramontana and lends credence to the hypothesis that the temple of Aphrodite Euploia was built on an existing sacred site dedicated to Cupra (see also 5.3.5). If these sites were unmonumentalised, sacrificial fires or beacons may have made them intervisible in their earlier phases, but since both the peaks of Cupramontana and Colle Guasco have been built on extensively from the fourth or third century onwards, no evidence of these remains.

In conclusion, the sanctuary of Cupra at Cupramontana seems to have evolved there due to particular topographic features of the landscape and Cupra's role as protector of travellers, particularly of people involved in trade. Above all, she was the guardian of the Picene (and western Apennine Umbrian) communities, so the physical presence of her sanctuaries was a constant reminder of her presence. Integral to this was her liminality: Cupra was a goddess of contradictions, with the power to destroy as well as to nurture and protect, so her sanctuaries also acted as a reminder to propitiate the goddess, to avoid catastrophe.

5.3.5 Monte Cónero (Ancona, AN) 572m asl (see also 3.6.1, 5.4)

We have seen that the area of Ancona and M Cónero was one of intense human activity throughout the Iron Age, with settlements and cemeteries lining the headland from the mountain to the promontory of Colle Guasco, in addition to the harbours at Numana and Ancona (2.4; Plate 2.2; fig 2.7). Whilst the urban temple of Aphrodite Euploia dominates the archaeological record for Iron Age religion in Ancona, sporadic examples of Picene cult activity have also been found (Moretti 1945:30; Gaggiotti *et al* 1993:229-30; Naso 2000:258-60). The earliest Iron Age evidence of religion in the M Cónero-Ancona area is the ninth century stone altar from the Colle dei Cappuccini (Franchi dell'Orto 1999:196 cat 89). So, we have evidence of both animal sacrifice and votive deposition from two prominent hilltops on the headland. Given the longevity of Picene occupation of the M Cónero-Ancona area and evidence of worship here, it is hypothesised that the mountain was considered sacred and the

religious practices identified on the Colle Guasco and Colle dei Cappuccini associated with it. This is on the basis that evidence exists of worship on other peaks, including an association between the cult of Cupra and peak sites. It is possible that M Cónero was considered the abode of the goddess, but uncertain if there was a sanctuary here, since the military installation on the summit prevents excavation. A sanctuary on the peak of M Cónero would have made a strong statement to the local and visiting populations, but it is suggested that whilst rituals may have been carried out there, the cult centres remained on the headland (see also Colonna 1993:8-9).

5.3.6 M Giove (Penna S Andrea, TE) 762m asl

The sanctuary on the summit of M Giove, near Penna S Andrea, has yielded material attributable to the period from the end of the seventh to the beginning of the second century (d'Ercole 1986:131-5; Spanu 1996:301-2). The remains of a temple have been identified, so it seems that this was another highly visible peak sanctuary, particularly since the summit of M Giove is the highest peak in the area (d'Ercole 1986:131). Like Cupramontana, it marks the place where the geology and vegetation changed, at the beginning of the submontane zone of the Gran Sasso. Amongst the finds from the sanctuary on M Giove were a schematic anthropomorphic figurine cut from a scrap of sheet silver and the only example from Picenum of a figurine of Veiovis (Franchi dell'Orto 1999 cat 387-8). Neither figurine has been dated, but comparison with other sheet cut figurines permits a date anywhere between the seventh and fourth centuries for the silver figurine, whereas a date in the second half of the sixth or fifth century seems likely for the Jupiter figurine. These finds indicated that the sanctuary and the cemetery further down M Giove were contemporaneous (2.6; *infra*).

The view from the summit of M Giove of the surrounding landscape is rather different to that from most peak sites in Picenum, with the sanctuary being c200m above most other peak sanctuaries and therefore having the most in common with M Primo. The haze of distant mountains occupies the mid horizon, all of these appearing much lower than they are; below them lies a circuit of hills, broken only by a tree-lined ridge of M Giove reaching out towards the north-west (Plate 5.3). The entire view appears more uniform and less intense than most in northern and central Picenum and makes a stark contrast with the awesome landscape of the Gran Sasso to the south-west. The mountain slopes evenly away on all sides and overlooks the Vomano



Plate 5.3 View north-west from the summit of M Giove (Penna S Andrea) (April 2001)

valley, which cuts a swathe from a source on the Monti della Laga-Gran Sasso boundary to the Adriatic coast just to the south of Roseto degli Abruzzi. It is the widest river in southern Picenum, north of the area of Pescara, and forms a formidable natural boundary, cutting a deep valley through a largely mountainous region. Nearly equidistant from the mountain ranges and the Adriatic, M Giove overlooks the valley and surrounding territories and would have been highly visible to all the communities in this southern boundary zone. The three inscribed stelae from the cemetery are further indicators that this was a boundary region and Marinetti suggests that this was due to the proximity of the road that became the Via Salaria (1985:38).

The stelae were made from local stone and two were decorated in the upper part with the simple relief of a stylised, ovoid, humanoid head with incised eyes and mouth, with a relatively long South Picene inscription below (Cianfarani *et al* 1978:141, tavv 20-1; Marinetti 1985; Spanu 1996:302; Appendix III; fig 5.3). All have been dated to the fifth century, but not adequately translated (Spanu 1996:302). The stylised faces are androgynous and may have been intended to represent masks, as has been suggested for the Capestrano warrior (Cianfarani *et al* 1978:141; Whitehouse and Herring 1999:3).

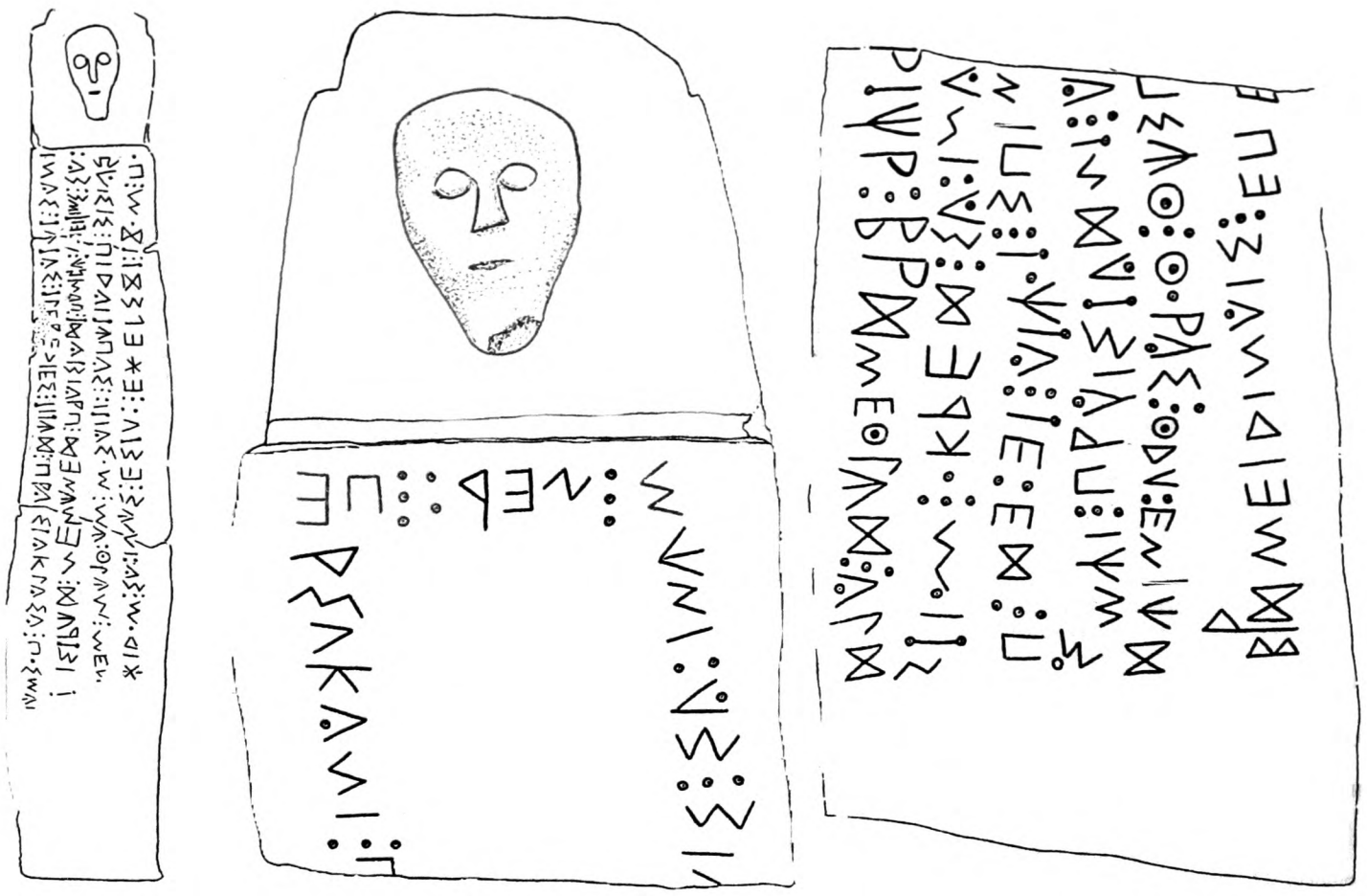


Fig 5.3 Inscribed stelae TE5-7 (l-r), prov. Penna S Andrea. See Appendix III for transcripts of the inscriptions.

The consensus reached by scholars of the South Picene inscriptions is that the M Giove stelae refer to the Safinús and to a boundary zone between Picene and Sabine/Samnite territory, where two different socio-cultural groups were represented (Cianfarani 1978:141-2; La Regina 1981:132; Marinetti 1985:35; Dench 1995:182, 201)[12]. Dench's argument that at some point the Sabines, Samnites, and people from at least a restricted area of South Picenum, identified themselves, in some contexts at least, by the broad *nomen* of Safinús, and that this socio-cultural group contained the sub-groups known from Graeco-Roman sources as Picentes, Curetes, Vestini (and possibly others) seems the most valid (Dench 1995:204). The evidence from peak sanctuaries in northern Picenum points to cultural overlap and interaction between the local Picene, Umbrian and Celtic populations, with a probable focus on shared religious rituals, which were used to bind them politically and to state their identities to other occupants (whether inhabitants or travellers) of the area (3.3.1; 3.6.1; 5.3.1-3; cf. Malone *et al* 1994:144). The rituals bound up with the sanctuaries, if not the

[12] Most of this discussion centres on the long, non-repeating inscription, TE5, although the fragmentary TE7 would also have been longer. The second fragmentary stele, TE6, shortly predates the other two. Prosdocimi's initial interpretation suggested that this was part of an 'heroic' text, on the basis of the morphology of the accusative plural **nerf**, celebrating (**persukant**) the principes of the Sabines (Marinetti 1985:139-140).

religious beliefs themselves, may have been an effective method of developing and maintaining a community that included a number of people from other geographical areas, where the cultural identities of these people were preserved. Dench compares the structure of the Safin community with the religio-political bond of the Latins, where the Safinús were the allied Picene communities in the south of the region, as well as communities from the surrounding area, perhaps reaching to the Pescara and Rieti, who used South Picene as a formal written language. The presence of a peak sanctuary, cemetery and inscriptions in associated contexts suggests that the whole of M Giove could be described as a sanctuary and that its function was as much political as religious.

The fact that the cemetery was in use from the end of the seventh to the beginning of the second century, longer than most other known Picene cemeteries, supports this theory. This cemetery is unusual because it spans a time period that includes the flourishing of Picene material culture, the linguistic transition from South Picene to Oscan dialects and adoption of Latin, and the period of Roman conquest (2.5-6). Their survival, and through such a period of change, suggests that the sanctuary and cemetery were important to the communities here and reflected a strong community identity.

The main period of use of the cemetery on M Giove was from 580 to 268 and it is probable that the figurines were deposited in the sanctuary in the sixth or fifth centuries, with the temple building developing in the fourth and third centuries (d'Ercole 1986:131-5; Spanu 1996:301-2). The grave goods consisted entirely of articles for personal adornment and toilet (Spanu 1996:302). It has been hypothesised that the cemetery was exclusively for women, from a particular group within one or more of the local communities, who were buried here because they had an integral role in the religious practices at the sanctuary, i.e. priestesses, perhaps comparable to the *cuprenses*, or temple prostitutes (Spanu 1996:302; 3.2.1-2). This might mean that **nerf** (TE 6) refers to them (2.6). However, no skeletal analysis of the remains has been undertaken and the assertion that the burials are all women is based on the grave goods. An alternative explanation is that the cult disallowed weapon burials. If the sanctuary and cemetery were shared by a number of communities in this boundary

zone, a ruling that the presence of arms violated the sanctuary would be one way of diffusing any inter-group tensions.

Further evidence that the sanctuary and cemetery should be considered together is found in the reference to the **okreí safina**, "the peak (*arx*) belonging to the Safin community", which seems to be associated with the **toúta** (TE 7)[13]. The area to which **okreí** refers is unclear: it could refer specifically to the summit of M Giove and to the sanctuary there, or to the whole mountain ridge. In either case, it does identify the mountain as a meeting place, where religion may have been the medium through which the local territorial boundaries were maintained. The reference to **safinúm nerf** (TE 5) suggests that these key figures in the Safin community performed the rituals in the sanctuary and/or were buried in the cemetery.

M Giove marked a threshold, its cemetery and sanctuary acting as portals to the otherworld, whilst the mountain was a locale representing the physical boundaries between communities and between the lowlands and the Gran Sasso. It oversaw routes of communication that ran east-west along the Vomano and possibly north-south, as a mountain path between the coast and the Gran Sasso. The cemetery and sanctuary on the mountain belonged to the otherworld of the supernatural, perhaps marking the burial place of the elders of the Safin community, who may have been spiritual leaders rather than the 'warrior' leaders of the individual communities of the area surrounding the Vomano. The naming of the Safinús appears to have been in recognition of the common ancestry or culture of the communities in and around the Vomano valley, this identifier existing alongside community names that are unknown to us. Safin- is not found in any of the other South Picene inscriptions, which suggests that the name or association meant less north of the Vomano, whilst its etymology binds the people here with the historical Sabines, suggesting that the communities of the Vomano valley were largely south- and westward looking in their affiliations (cf. 4.6).

[13] Also **safinas túta**s in TE 5.

5.4 High places (2): hilltops, cliffs, outcrops and promontories (100-499m asl)

Very little of Picenum's physical landscape lies below 230m asl, other than the river valley floors and the strip of coastal plain, so it is unsurprising that few examples of peak sanctuaries are known from lower hilltops and promontories and that those which have been identified are situated on the coast. The land below 500m asl would have played a significant role in subsistence, since it was some of the most fertile and best suited to agriculture and included deciduous trees suitable for building and carpentry (1.4; cf. Buxton 1994:83-5). Most settlements were located between 230 and 500m asl (Map II, Appendix II). The evidence for sacred sites discussed so far suggests that where divine assistance was sought for the protection and promotion of the health and fertility of people, crops and livestock, water features were the most significant cult foci. Where propitiation of these has been identified, the water feature has been found to be associated with human settlement, largely on hills and in the lower submontane zones (ca 230-650m asl).

The two sanctuaries identified in the 100-499m asl zone owe their location on peaks to their cult associations with water. The most northerly is the temple to Aphrodite Euploia (140m asl); the southern is the sanctuary of Cupra at Cupra Marittima (119m asl). It has been argued that the marginal nature of the two sites and the contradictory elements of the goddesses Cupra and Aphrodite together explain the presence of these sanctuaries (3.6.1-2). The principal similarities and differences between the two sites are shown in fig 5.4.

Ancona	**Cupra Marittima**
Aphrodite Euploia (= Cupra?)	Cupra
Adriatic Sea	Adriatic Sea
Pennocchiara river	Menocchia river
	spring?
M Cónero (mountain)	
Colle Guasco hilltop and promontory	Colle Morganti hilltop
Temple faced south-east	Temple faced north-east
Associated settlement (M Cardeto to Colle Guasco, Colle dei Cappuccini, Colle del Montagnolo)	Asssociated settlement (Cupra Marittima)
Associated cemetery (Colle dei Cappuccini)	Associated cemetery (Cupra Marittima-Grottammare)
Harbour (centre for trade)	Harbour (centre for trade)

Fig 5.4 Comparison of notable landscape features of the sanctuaries of Aphrodite Euploia (Ancona) and Cupra (Cupra Marittima)

land	**sea**
inward looking	outward looking
solid	liquid
fresh/normal water	salt/abnormal water
closed (land, river)	open
height (peak)	depth
stability	motion
settlement	wilderness
culture	nature
home	other

sea-shore and sea are both liminal areas

Fig 5.5 Apparent dichotomies created by the coastal location of the sanctuaries at Ancona (Colle Guasco) and Cupra Marittima

In addition, certain dichotomies are created by the coastal location of these sanctuaries (fig 5.5). These dichotomies are reflected in the contradictory nature of Cupra (and Aphrodite) and the seemingly disparate strands of her cult (i.e. her roles as fertility goddess and protector of travellers and trade). As a fertility goddess she had the power to nurture and destroy, which was exemplified in the contradictory nature of the sea. This also highlights why the goddess and the sea were liminal: the seashore was the threshold, the point where boundaries blurred, but rites of transition took place in liminal *areas*. So, these dichotomies suggest that the sea and land were in opposition, but this need not be the case. For example, both provided direct and indirect means to subsist, through agriculture, pastoralism and fishing, and through trade and exchange. For travellers, the land was as much a liminal area (a place of transition) as the sea was, perhaps more so if it was a foreign land. Consequently, the two aspects of Cupra's cult have more in common than first appearances suggest.

The situation of her sanctuaries on peaks, particularly those of the Colle Guasco and Colle Morganti, but also Cupramontana, made Cupra visible to her worshippers but also enabled her to observe them. As a visibly high place, the peak placed Cupra in a physically protective position and symbolised her power, authority and guardianship. The deposition of warrior figurines on other peaks suggests that these sacro-symbolic warriors fulfilled a similar role.

In summary, it appears that whilst water was intrinsic to Cupra's role and to the functioning of her cult, peaks were a significant feature of her sacred sites,

particularly where she was propitiated for her aspect as protector of travellers. This was at its most acute at Ancona and Cupra Marittima because at these places all her roles met. She was guardian of both the Picene communities and foreign visitors, travelling into and out from the harbours at Ancona (and Numana?) and Cupra Marittima. She also oversaw a variety of journeys: trade across the sea and through Picenum, but also journeys from illness to health and through the cycles of birth, growth, maturity and death surrounding the farming calendar and human lives. Water was vital to these journeys and so remained the dominant natural feature of Cupra's cult. However, the topographically marginal location of her sanctuaries at Ancona and Cupra Marittima highlight one other aspect of her worship, the role played by climatic elements in fertility and protection of travellers.

Rain and sunlight were needed for effective growth and fair winds and currents for easy sea travel, whilst storms of rain and wind disrupted both growth and travel, particularly by sea (cf. Snodgrass 2000:172-3). The location of Cupra's sanctuaries on peaks may therefore have symbolised the goddess' ability to control these elements, since they came from the sky and peaks, even the low coastal peaks of Colle Guasco and Colle Morganti, were physically closer to the sky than any other natural landscape feature (Rutkowski 1986:88, 93; 5.1). The temple of Aphrodite Euploia would have accentuated this relationship between sky, elemental forces and peaks still further, since the monument rose higher than the peak. This would have had deeper resonance if the peak of M Cónero was believed to be the abode of Cupra (5.3.5).

The orientation towards the east of the temples at Ancona and Cupra Marittima accentuates the interrelationship of peak, sanctuary and sun, perhaps because the sun's movements were more predictable than those of the other elements. In the case of the temple of Aphrodite Euploia, it seems that a Greek tradition was being followed. It is unclear if the Roman restoration followed the plan of the Picene sanctuary of Cupra, so we cannot be certain that the association between Cupra and the sun was made by the Picene communities (Scully 1979:44-5; Gaggiotti *et al* 1993:285; cf. Allevi 1940:29-32, 75; Mostardi 1977:52-3). Nevertheless, the situations of the coastal sanctuaries of Aphrodite Euploia and Cupra seem indicative of a relationship between Cupra's cult and powerful elemental forces.

5.5 Conclusions

> "[signs of boundary are] not placed along the entire boundary line. Like our boundary posts, they are set only at points of passage, on paths and at crossroads"
>
> van Gennep 1960:17

The range of heights at which peak sancutaries were located shows that height was not the only factor distinguishing these sites as cult places, although the height of the peak appears to have influenced the type of sanctuary occupying it and the religious practices occurring there. Peaks could be used for both localised cult, relating to the well-being of a community, via fertility and/or ancestor cult (such as the votive deposit on M Bibele) and for cultural statements revolving around the triumvirate of religion, politics (with regard to definition of territorial boundaries) and trade/economics (e.g. M Giove). The choice of site seems to have depended on its place in the landscape in relation to arterial routes and natural boundaries, and on its own notable physical features and intervisibility with the surrounding area; for this reason, it is probable that the sites were intrinsic to the organisation of Picene society from as early as the seventh century (cf. Malone *et al* 1994:144, 152; Horden and Purcell 2000:124-5). Even the highest peak sanctuaries were easily accessible to people for whom the mountain environment was part of the settled landscape, although there is no evidence of worship on peaks above 1700m asl. Most 'high places', the submontane zones, cliffs and promontories included a water feature, which in many cases also acted as a cult focus. The interrelationship of high place (i.e. visible vantage point), water feature and communications route seems to account for the longevity of materially visible cult places such as M Bibele, Montefortino, Ancona and Cupra Marittima, although this is only part of the picture.

Bronze votive figurines provide the earliest evidence for the sanctity of peaks, namely the figurine from Cupra Marittima and the schematic leaf bronze votive figurines found on M Primo and at Montefortino, probably datable to the end of the seventh to early sixth century. Votive figurines and pottery continued to predominate until the fourth century, although this could easily be a bias in the material culture preserved. Figurines attributable to the Hellenistic period have been found at a few sites, such as M Nerone and M Cátria (Frapiccini 2000). There is no evidence for monumentalisation of any of the sites between the ninth and fourth centuries, so it

seems that they relied on the visibility and distinctiveness of their topographic features for identification, natural features, which were their foci. Multiple aspects of the landscape were at play: the peak itself, a water source, such as the Vomano, the spring of the Nevola or the pool on M Bibele, perhaps a grove of trees. Several of these sacred sites were restored or monumentalised for the first time after the Roman conquest, such as the sanctuaries of Cupra, and new peak sanctuaries emerged, such as the temple at Sassoferrato Civitalba and sanctuary on the Torre di Annunziata (Áscoli Piceno) (Massa-Pairault 1979; Verzar 1979; Landolfi 1990). The relationships and contradictions between architecture and the physical landscape seem to have been emphasised by these monumental sanctuaries, increasing the intervisibility and, therefore, the interconnectedness of those sites. The precedent for this was set by the foundation and/or monumentalisation of sacred sites in the fourth and third centuries, such as the Celtic temenos on M Bibele and the temple of Aphrodite Euploia, but it seems likely that several of the earlier Picene sacred sites were intervisible, notably those on routes of communication.

Travel within a landscape enables people to see the 'bigger picture': the interconnectedness of places is recognised and points of reference are learned, making the landscape become familiar. Vision lengthens and interconnectivity is achieved by developing a wider visual perspective, which is part of the mapping process. Places that are perceived as interconnected gain positive imagery and lose negative symbolism, becoming part of an individual's lived-world, rather than part of the otherworld. Peak sanctuaries, particularly if monumentalised, encouraged this perception of interconnectedness and the mapping process, allowing people to move confidently within the landscape. Whilst the rituals performed at peak sanctuaries may have been concerned with maintaining the harmony between people and nature, the sanctuaries themselves represented the power of humans over the 'other', which included the wilderness, or untamed nature (Edlund 1985:23).

Landolfi asserts that all sacred sites were located next to points where traffic was forced to pass by and that votive deposits were therefore a development out of trade/exchange (1988:361). Certainly, the sacred sites and sanctuaries that have been identified on peak sites throughout Picenum were all located next to land, river or sea routes and occupied dominant positions overlooking them. Many seem to have been

territorial boundary markers, and may have functioned as neutral meeting places, serving both a religious and a socio-political function, for example, the temenos on M Bibele and sanctuaries on M Giove and at Cupra Marittima[14]. The formation of nuclei comprised of a settlement, cemetery and sanctuary created distinct identities for several communities in Picenum. So, even without urban centres, the Picene communities made themselves recognisable to the other cultural groups in the region. It was also important that the sanctuary was visible from the settlements that it served, whether it had a physical structure or was recognised by the natural features of the landscape. All monumental sanctuaries identified as Picene are located on prominent hilltops, within view of the lowlands and often of the sea, and all seem to be associated with a settlement and/or cemetery[15]. This is interesting because the majority of this monumentalisation occurred during the fourth to second centuries, when the Picenes were purportedly in decline. The catalyst for monumentalisation was the presence of other cultural groups. For example, the temple to Aphrodite Euploia on Colle Guasco was almost certainly built by the Syracusan settlers, whilst the Celtic sanctuary on M Bibele is likely to have been constructed by the Senonian Gauls or Boii living amongst the population there. It is possible that the Picene sacred sites were taken over by these groups, but it seems likely that in some cases the two cultures amalgamated aspects of their religious practice or beliefs, so the actions were co-operative rather than hostile.

A range of cultural influences is apparent, ranging from Picene, Umbrian, Celtic, Etruscan and Greek to, later, Roman. This suggests a fluidity of cultural exchange, occasionally aggressive, but a degree of homogeneity in religious belief, such as use of votives (particularly figurines and terracottas), use of peaks and propitiation of water features. None of the votive material from peak sites in Picenum is specific to Picene culture, but finds parallels in several Umbrian and Central Italic sacred sites. Likewise, worship of Cupra seems to have been shared by Picene and Umbrian communities. In conclusion, the predominant interrelationships that can be identified

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[14] Compare Swailes' observations that "field churches punctuate the [transhumance] routes, giving definition to the spatial structure of the landscape by making thresholds between spaces, and creating visual foci at junctions. The tratturi pass the high places at strategic points of intervisibility" (2001:2).
[15] Compare Bronze Age Crete, where the peak sanctuaries seem to be in remote and inaccessible terrain, but in the middle Bronze Age were an integral part of the settlement pattern. Rackham and Moody claim that each sanctuary appears to have belonged to a unique political territory and could be reached within three hours walk from the main settlement (1994:179).

in Picene peak sanctuaries are between subjects from a variety of cultural backgrounds, routes of communication (land and water) and cross-cultural exchange of artefacts, building styles and belief (evidenced by worship of Cupra and her syncretism with Graeco-Roman goddesses). In addition, there is a strong relationship between peaks, water features and the female (Cupra and/or priestesses and/or female worshippers), which appears to be related to the apposition of wilderness and fertility (cf. Edlund 1985:24-5).

Chapter 6

Conclusions

> "What matters, then, is not the authenticity of the historical record, much less any attempt at 'objective' methods of historicising, but the poetic, didactic and integrative purposes which that record is felt to disclose. History in this sense must tell a story, it must please and satisfy as narrative, it must be all of a piece... It must also educate"
>
> Smith 1986:25-6

This thesis has introduced the subject of Picene religion, observed via the part it played in creating the Iron Age landscape of the region. Votive deposition of artefacts has been shown to occur at places that can still be distinguished as places due to specific combinations of physical features, both 'natural' and resulting from human interaction. As such, these locales hold the potential for detailed phenomenological study. Specific interrelationships between the features of the physical landscape, the archaeologically identifiable material culture (the votives) and the people of Picenum have been hypothesised, to tell a story of religious belief and practice. Phenomenological analysis of the locales has contributed to this, attempting to understand how the Picenes perceived their landscape and through this, the lived- and otherworld, via their manipulation of it. It is acknowledged that many of their practices have left no archaeological trace, so investigation of the interrelationships between votive deposits and particular, cult, places, is only the beginning of a more complex story.

It is concluded, on the basis of these observations, that the landscape was integral to the Picene worldview, and the particular combinations of its features were perceived as sacred sites, predominantly as locales for ritual activity. Five aspects of the perceived landscape, which affected religious experience, are identified:

1. Picene religion was concerned with the subsistence and stability of communities, catalysed by new agricultural practices and nucleation of settlement, which is most visible in the creation of cemeteries
2. an increased awareness of, or interest in, the human form catalysed the manufacture and deposition of votive material and, arguably, the rituals to which this pertained
3. water was a feature of all cult places

4. places of transition (thresholds) were significant features of all cult places
5. mobility of people and goods catalysed development of a sacred landscape.

All types of votives described in 1.5 were deposited at all types of sites and the same types of votives occur widely throughout the region, with some stylistic differences. The vessels represented by miniature pottery vessels are similar throughout the region, whereas the bronze figurines show the most variety and the terracotta ex-votos the least. Votive deposition occurred at specific periods of the Iron Age: the bronze figurines were a feature predominantly of the later sixth and fifth centuries, corresponding with the richest burials, the height of Picene material culture and use of monumentalised written language in the south. Miniature pottery was a feature of sacred sites, particularly of caves, in the late Bronze Age, but most widespread during the sixth to fourth centuries, again, broadly corresponding with the flourishing of 'Picene culture'. Full-size objects were deposited consistently throughout the Iron Age and either side of it, in some ways mirroring the inclusion of grave goods in burials. Other than zoomorphic figurines, which occur from the late Bronze Age, terracotta votives were a feature of cult places only in the Hellenistic period and as such mark the transition to the Roman period in Picenum.

Based on the use of natural landscape features and the material evidence of votives, religion in Iron Age Picenum seems to have been bound up with the life-process, what Kerenyi describes as "the biological approach to religion" (1962:56; cf. Reynolds and Tanner 1983:261). This concept is also found in the conclusions to *The Rites of Passage*, which seem a suitable starting point for the current investigation:

> To constants of social life are added "particular and temporary events such as pregnancy, illnesses, dangers, journeys, etc. and always the same purpose has resulted in the same form of activity. For groups, as well as for individuals, life itself means to separate and to be reunited, to change form and condition, to die and to be reborn. It is to act and to cease, to wait and rest, and then to begin acting again, but in a different way. And there are always new thresholds to cross: the thresholds of summer and winter, of a season or a year, of a month or a night; the thresholds of birth, adolescence, maturity and old age; the threshold of death and that of the afterlife – for those who believe in it" (van Gennep 1960:188-9).

If boundaries structure human lives and crossing thresholds facilitates change, by identifying some of the boundaries and thresholds in the lives of the people of Central Adriatic Italy the associated rituals can be explored. Thresholds are not single points, but are areas of transition from the known to the unknown: the transition from

summer to winter, night to day etc. is marked by a series of changes rather than by a singular moment. A temporal transition is also implied, from the present to the future. Sacred sites and sanctuaries were liminal places where the secular and the divine met. They were locales for activity associated with the fertility of the land (and the temporal transitions implied by this) and with transitions of human life, such as illness to health, pregnancy to motherhood, rites of passage between childhood and adolescence or life and death, because they were set apart from the lived-world (Anati 1986:10-12; van Straaten 1986:30-41; Park 1994:250). "Rites of passage" pertain to individuals and involved separation from the lived-world, a change of state and reintegration into society, in a new role, whereas "rites of intensification" pertain to the whole group (Chapple and Coon 1942 in Spaeth 1996:51-2; van Gennep 1960). This activity was marked by symbols and imagery, which often took the form of votive deposits: offerings in storage jars to signify the seasonal, agricultural transition between summer and winter, a warrior figurine to mark danger of war. These examples illustrate that crossing the threshold was a two-way process. Votives could be made in hope of, or to avoid, a particular future event or outcome, or else to give thanks for a successful outcome, just as the sacred sites where they were deposited had points of access and egress. Thresholds also marked the transition from the lived-world to the otherworld. Caves, water and mountains all acted as portals between these worlds, with the psychophysical experiences of interaction with those landscape features generating religious experiences (Merleau-Ponty *et al* 1968:268; Park 1994:246).

Decorative figures of people used in pendants and warriors on bronze vessels, bronze votive figurines (largely of people rather than deities), statues and monumental stone stelae in stylised human shape and/or with anthropogene head or figures represented all seem to reflect a growing fascination for the human form, which happens alongside inhumation burials in marked cemeteries. This was also visible in less direct forms, such as the development of written language and some monumental construction: deliberate manipulation of spaces, which reflect the orientations, or movements of the human body (Bloomer and Moore 1977; Tuan 1977; Bradley 1998b:90-1). This marks an intensification of the subject-object-place interrelationship, with physical objects increasing in both quantity and scale, which reflects greater human activity and is reflected in the landscape by more visible

remains, either because they make a strong physical mark (burials, temples) or because they have been deposited in a place which indicated that some aspect of the landscape was integral to the interrelationship.

This focus in Iron Age Picenum on people's awareness of themselves might also explain the blossoming of a more archaeologically visible religion. The development of the cult of Cupra provides the strongest evidence for a belief in anthropomorphic deities, whilst the bronze figurines of warriors probably represented deities, whether this was Mars (based on the comparative evidence of figurines of Veiovis and Hercules) or the spirit of an ancestor. This anthropomorphism was still part of a religion concerned with human health and fertility, including that of the crops and livestock.

Perceptions arising from bodily experience of these places may have imbued them with divinity, but the divine then communicated through people's psychophysical relationships with particular features of the landscape, which were shaped by their experiences and perceptions of the lived-world (Ellen 1988:231; Guthrie 1993:177). For example, people may have entered the Grotta Sant'Angelo because they visually arranged the openings in the cliff face as a human face, thus anthropomorphising the cave complex (Guthrie 1993:61, 201; d'Ercole 1997a). Psychophysical experience of the cave engendered a gamut of sensations and emotions (4.5; 4.7) and these were then developed into a belief system, formed from interrelationships between existing cognitive patterns. So, the perception that (i) the dark cave interior represented the earth, (ii) the earth was the place from which life-sustaining plants grew and (iii) the place where the dead were laid to rest, and (iv) a respect for one's dead relatives, led to an ancestor cult based around fertility. The problem then is not that we cannot experience places in the same or a very similar way to the Iron Age people who interacted with them, but that we do not have the same cognitive patterns to apply to them (Schutz 1972; Layton and Ucko 1999). All we can do is to develop the widest possible knowledge base in order to test a variety of cognitive variables. Social anthropology is one aspect of building this knowledge base. Archaeology is another, since by studying the environmental factors affecting past people and observing their material culture, settlement patterns and so forth we can recognise at least some of

their cognitive processes and values. It will be interesting to see how cognitive archaeology develops as a discipline over the next few years.

Specific features of the landscape identify sacred sites, creating a map of the sacred landscape of Picenum and of the region more generally. The distribution of sacred sites largely matches the settlement pattern, following the coast and river valleys, particularly the river valleys of the Vena del Gesso and the Cesano/Misa, Esino and Potenza/Chienti (Maps I-II). The principal difference is that the sacred sites tended to occur in more liminal areas than the settlements, although often near to cemeteries, at the edge of the sub-Apennine zone.

Water seems to have been the natural feature that was the focus of religious practice, whereas the cave or peak provided the context for religious experiences. Context affected the type of ritual practices and is evidence of different beliefs within and/or between communities, and over time. The divisions of water, cave and peak have proven to be arbitrary, since water is a feature of all sites, caves can be in cliffs in gorges or on mountains and mountains rarely seem to have been propitiated in their own right. For example, no water feature has been identified on the peak of M Giove, but the sanctuary directly overlooked a river valley.

Caves stand apart from peak and water sites. Seemingly very different religious experiences and practices occurred in cave locales, though these were part of the same belief system concerned with the cycles of fertility, regeneration, rebirth etc. of people and their environment. They stand out as locales of more intense rituals, perhaps with more privileged participants.

Warrior figurines have largely been found on mountains and in submontane zones, i.e. peak sites with a water feature as a cult focus, often near or associated with a cemetery and on a communications route (used for trade and probably for transhumance). They are not found in caves, so if cave were used for rites of passage, including that to warrior status/adulthood, representations of the warrior seem to have been tabu. Warrior figurines therefore seem to be sacro-symbolic guardians and protectors of travellers, including the dead (travelling to the otherworld), which could be taken as evidence that this belief system emerged from an older shamanic tradition

that was influenced by the late Bronze Age and Iron Age oral tradition of heroic warriors (partly based on the Homeric tradition). Both male and female warriors are represented and some figurines are androgynous. This suggests that the male and female genders were considered to be of more or less equal status (there are a few more male representations of warriors, but this could be an evidential bias). Further, the indeterminate gender of some warrior representations makes it more likely that these representations were of guardian deities or spirits (arguably ancestral spirits), rather than actual people. The Picenes may have identified Mars and Minerva with these in the fifth century, when the figurines were prevalent, but identification could equally have been made by outsiders, such as the Greeks and Etruscans, whom we know already had a named pantheon by this time.

The prevalence of the warrior ideal and examples of written language in cemeteries suggests that a large amount of Picene ritual practice was bound up with death/the dead and it seems likely that ancestor cult was widespread in the cemeteries, as well as in the water and cave contexts identified in Chapters 3 and 4. An area for further research could be to investigate the relationship of cemeteries and landscape, to identify any patterns.

Political or territorial boundaries and arterial routes appear to have been factors in defining cult places, but the significance of a specific natural feature seems to have varied between sites. For example, the sporadic finds over a long time frame suggest that activity at the Grotta Sant'Angelo involved localised ritual practice, whereas M Bibele seems to have involved the whole community, with its large votive deposits and later temenos, close to a cemetery and settlement. The evidence points to a broad north-south divide between the Iron Age communities of Picenum, accentuated by the Gallic presence north of the Tenna and the Safinús south of the Tronto, but further variations are likely, broadly following the river valleys. For example, few votive deposits have been identified in the Tronto valley, but the presence of numerous mineralised and thermal springs and monumentalisation of the area in the Roman period suggests that this was also an area of intense cult activity. Further, the number of types of natural feature is limited, allowing a broad categorisation of sites: those that were 'public' or 'outward looking' (peaks, sites on arterial routes, groves) and those that were 'private' or 'enclosed' (caves, gorges, groves). It is argued that all

were liminal, marking actual or perceived boundaries, between the lived-world and "otherworld" or between communities.

In contrast to much of Central Italy, the region of Picenum contains very little evidence of monumental sanctuaries. The majority of architectural remains are of urban temples of the Roman colonies, as well as a handful of urban and extra-urban sanctuaries, such as Sassoferrato Civitalba, built as a monument to commemorate the victory over the Gauls, Umbrians and Picenes. The only known monumental Picene sanctuaries attested in the archaeological record are those at M Bibele, Montefortino di Arcévia, Ancona, Cupra Marittima and M Giove. Each of these was a peak sanctuary and the sporadic evidence of bronze votive figurines from each site suggests that although monumentalisation began in the fourth century, the sites were cult places before then. This evidence suggests that in the fourth century resources began to be channelled into monumentalisation of sacred sites, rather than into the manufacture of votive artefacts and tumulus burials. Rather than marking the decline of Picene culture then, the fourth century may have marked a new stage in social organisation.

> "Landscapes... carry symbolic meanings that are not so wholly innocent as might be first thought. Created landscapes can be assertions of power – over nature or over neighbours – and our cognition of landscapes is selective and sometimes deliberately distorted in pursuit of our own interests." (Penning-Rowsell 1986:115 in Muir 1999:212).

By the Hellenistic period female representations dominate the votive material. This may be a result of the type of votive, i.e. terracotta figurines of females and anatomical ex-votos (most of which could apply to men or women). This period witnessed the monumentalisation of Cupra's cult, so the female bias may be reflective of new forms of worship of that goddess. Various dedications to Cupra dating to the Roman period show that women followed, or were priestesses of, her cult, but this does not exclude men from her worship. The "complementarity and mutuality, inter-dependency, and co-operation", rather than the dichotomising, of male and female roles is a common theme running through the evidence for Picene religion (Moore 1988; Skeates 1994:206).

Finally, does phenomenology help? Can my experience of a site compare to that of a Picene? Should it? The primary issue seems to be resolution of objectivity with

subjectivity and whether it is possible, or even desirable, to separate the intuitive or emotive response from the physiological. In combination with the study of material culture, landscape archaeology, geophysical survey and GIS, I believe that the phenomenological approach has a role in the interpretation of prehistoric religion and in understanding our own relationship to the past.

Physical experiences are fairly universal, so it could be argued from the evidence of the cult places of Picenum that both emotional and cognitive experiences of the phenomena of these places were shared by the Iron Age people, whilst for us, only the emotional experiences are universal. The difficulty is that we cannot fully understand the cognitive experiences, because we do not know the beliefs, prejudices, knowledge, interpretations, etc. of Iron Age people (cf. Shanks and Tilley 1987). Layton and Ucko highlight that the problem for archaeologists is that they cannot apply Schutz's 'intersubjectivity' to dead people unless they take a structuralist approach in which they identify universal elements by observing material (artefacts, landscapes) and applying cognitive oppositions (Schutz 1972:139; Layton and Ucko 1999:11-13). I argue that the universality of human psychophysical experience, knowledge and understanding creates an enduring *habitus* (cultural discourse) that enables intersubjectivity to be achieved through experience of the interrelationships of certain phenomena of the landscape and the human body and emotions (Bourdieu 1977). The near universality of the psychophysical human identity throughout the period from the Iron Age to the present leaves the way open to explore the cognitive (and socio-cultural) distinctions between the people of Iron Age Picenum and ourselves, in recognition that the past largely has meaning for us because it helps shape our own identities and cognitive approaches. The task now is to hone our phenomenological skills in order to test further the universality of the psychophysical human being and to understand why we bring the meanings to material culture and the landscape that we do.

Appendix I: Gazetteer of cult places in Central Adriatic Italy, noting natural features and votive material

Site ID	name of site	region	river valley	site type	natural feature(s)	votive material (BVF = bronze votive figurine)	dates
1	Marzabotto	BO	Reno	sacred site		worshipper (8 f, 22 m), Hercules (Colonna 1970 tav 34.125-6, 65.207; Sassatelli 1981)	6th-4th centuries
2	Bologna	BO	Reno	sacred site		worshipper (2 m), warrior (Colonna 1970:41; Sassatelli 1981)	6th-4th centuries
3	Monte Bibele, Monterenzio	BO	Idice	sacred site; temenos	pool, peak (575m, 600m)	full-size pottery; >100 miniature pottery vessels; BVF: worshippers (33 f and 144 m), warrior, 5 ?, 1 zoomorphic (Vitali *et al* 1997)	late 5th-3rd centuries
4	Grotta del Re Tiberio, Riolo Terme	BO	Senio	sacred site	cave with solid and mineralised water, spring	Full-size pottery; >300 miniature pottery vessels; 3 worshipper BVF; organic residues (Sassatelli 1981; Bertani 1996)	12th-2nd centuries
5	Borgo Rivola	RA	Senio	isolated find	spring, peak	warrior BVF (Sassatelli 1981; Bermond Montanari 1987:285)	6th-4th centuries
6	Rocca di M Mauro	RA	Senio	sacred site	cave	miniature pottery	6th-4th centuries
7	Ravenna	RA	Ronco	isolated find		BVF (Sassatelli 1981)	6th-4th centuries
8	Pediano	RA	Santerno	isolated find	submontane peak	worshipper (f) BVF (Sassatelli 1981; Bermond Montanari 1987:285)	6th-4th centuries
9	Casola Valsenio	RA	Senio	isolated find	peak	*leoncini* BVF (Sassatelli 1981)	6th-4th centuries
10	Ca' Rondino	RA	Senio	isolated find	peak	worshipper (f?) BVF (Sassatelli 1981; Bermond Montanari 1987:285)	6th-4th centuries
11	Fondo Poggiale	RA	Lamone	isolated find	peak	worshipper (m) BVF (Sassatelli 1981; Bermond Montanari 1987:285)	6th-4th centuries
12	Castellina, Brisighella	RA	Lamone	isolated find	peak	worshipper (f) BVF (Sassatelli 1981; Bermond Montanari 1987:285)	6th-4th centuries

Site ID	name of site	region	river valley	site type	natural feature(s)	votive material (BVF = bronze votive figurine)	dates
13	Grotta della Tanaccia di Brisighella	RA	Lamone	sacred site	cave with stillicide water	full-size pottery, minature pottery, bronze weapons (Massi Pasi and Morico 1997)	12th-1st centuries (+ earlier phase)
14	Grotta dei Banditi	RA	Sintria	sacred site, with some monumentalisation	cave with solid water	full-size pottery; miniature pottery (Bentini 2002)	12th-1st centuries (+ earlier phase)
15	Modigliana	RA	Marzeno	isolated find	peak	warrior (f) BVF (Sassatelli 1981; Bermond Montanari 1987:285)	6th-4th centuries
16	Villa S Varano	FO	Montone	isolated find	submontane peak	BVF (Sassatelli 1981; Bermond Montanari 1987:285)	6th-4th centuries
17	Terra del sole	FO	Montone	isolated find	submontane peak	worshipper (f) BVF (Sassatelli 1981; Bermond Montanari 1987:285)	6th-4th centuries
18	Castrocaro Terme	FO	Montone	sacred site	mineralised spring (salsoiodic)	full-size pottery; worshipper (f, m) BVF (Sassatelli 1981; Bermond Montanari 1987:285; Miari 1997)	5th-4th centuries
19	S Vittore	CE	Savio	isolated find	peak	BVF (Bermond Montanari 1987:285)	6th-4th centuries
20	S Vito	RN	Uso	isolated find		BVF (Bermond Montanari 1987:285)	6th-4th centuries
21	Rimini	RN	Marecchia	sacred site	sea	worshipper (f, m) BVF (Sassatelli 1981)	6th-4th centuries
22	S Fortunato	RN	Auso	isolated find		warrior (Sassatelli 1981; Bermond Montanari 1987:285)	6th-4th centuries
23	Verucchio	RN	Marecchia	isolated find	submontane peak	worshipper (m) (Sassatelli 1981; Bermond Montanari 1987:285)	6th-4th centuries
24	Villa Ruffi, Covignano	RN	Ausa	sacred site		worshipper (2 f), warrior, Hercules BVF (Colonna 1970 tav 1-2, 11.21; 455; Sassatelli 1981; Bermond Montanari 1987:285)	6th-5th centuries

Site ID	name of site	region	river valley	site type	natural feature(s)	votive material (BVF = bronze votive figurine)	dates
25	*lucus Pisaurensis*, Novilara-Pésaro	PS	Carignano	sacred site and subsequent shrine	mineralised river (salso-bromo-iodic); grove?	terracotta votives; 14 dedicatory inscriptions (Falconi Amorelli 1982; *CIL* I^2.368-81, *ILLRP* 13-26)	4th-1st centuries
26	Novilara	PS	Arzilla trib.	isolated find		worshipper (m) BVF (Colonna 1970 tav 23.80; Naso 2000:237)	6th-4th centuries
27	Carpegna	PS	Foglia	isolated find	peak (695m)	BVF (Naso 2000:237)	5th century
28	Montefelcino	PS	Metauro trib.	isolated find	peak (310m)	warrior BVF (Naso 2000:239-40)	6th-4th centuries
29	Orciano	PS	Cesano trib.	isolated find	peak (264m)	warrior BVF (Naso 2000:237-8)	6th-4th centuries
30	Isola di Fano	PS	Metauro trib.	sacred site	lowand	worshipper (4 f, 2 m), athlete, warrior, Hercules (2) BVF (Colonna 1970:7; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:87 fig 60, 235-8 cat 368-77)	1st half of 5th century
31	Castagna	PS	Cesano	sacred site		miniature pottery	6th century
32	Senigállia	PS	Misa	sacred site	sea	anatomical votives	3rd-2nd century
33	Marina di Montemarciano	PS	Esino	sacred site	sea	anatomical votives	3rd-2nd century
34	Corinaldo	PS	Nevola	possible cult statue		bronze statuette (Moretti 1924)	500-480 BCE
35	Castelleone di Suasa	PS	Cesano	isolated find	hilltop (206m)	worshipper (?) BVF (Colonna 1970:I)	6th-4th centuries
36	M Nerone	PS	-	peak sanctuary	peak (1525m)	worshipper (f), young man BVF (Frapiccini 2000)	6th-4th centuries
37	Cagli, loc. Coltona	PS	Burano	peak sanctuary	hilltop (276m)	worshipper (2), warrior (13) BVF (Colonna 1970 tav 4.5, 15.52, 16.57, 25.90, 26.92-3, 27.94, 28.110, 113, 29.114-15, 119.32, 35.137; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:233-5, cat 362-6)	5th-4th centuries

Site ID	name of site	region	river valley	site type	natural feature(s)	votive material (BVF = bronze votive figurine)	dates
38	M Cátria	PS	-	peak sanctuary	peak (1702m)	worshipper (m) BVF (Frapiccini 2000)	6th-4th centuries
39	Colle dei Cappuccini, Ancona	AN	Pennocchiara	sacred site?		altar, zoomorphic figurines (Franchi dell'Orto 1999:195-6 cat 80-1, 89)	10th-9th centuries
40	Colle Guasco, Ancona	AN	Pennocchiara	sacred site(?) and subsequent temple of Aphrodite Euploia	sea, river, promontory (140m)	worshipper (2) BVF (Naso 2000:237-8, tav 77)	5th-1st centuries
41	Ancona	AN	Pennocchiara	Temple of Diomedes			4th/3rd century
42	Montefortino di Arcévia	AN	Nevola	sacred site, possible sanctuary	spring, peak (535m)	worshipper (9?) and warrior (1?) BVF; full-size pottery; miniature pottery; terracotta votives: left hand with wrist, 3rd-1st centuries; 2 veiled female heads, two female heads and the upper part of a male figurine, 3rd-2nd centuries; 1st century fibula (Colonna 1970 tav 78.340; Landolfi 1997:176-7, figs 8-13; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:239 cat 382-6)	6th-1st centuries
43	Civitalba di Sassoferrato	AN	Sentino	isolated find; temple?	peak (524m)	warrior BVF (Colonna 1970:48; Naso 2000:237, 245)	5th century; 2nd century
44	Pantiere di Castelbellino	AN	Esino	sacred site?	river (113m)	Hercules BVF (Colonna 1970 tav 3:11, 13; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:89 fig 63, cat 378)	5th century
45	Cupramontana	AN	Esino	temple	submontane peak (505m)	BVF (Polidori 2000:377)	5th-1st centuries
46	Staffolo	AN	Esino	isolated find	submontane peak (499m)	warrior BVF (Gentili 1949; Colonna 1970:13)	6th-4th centuries
47	San Fortunato di Genga	AN	Esino	sacred site?	peak (401m)	warrior (2) BVF (Colonna 1970:67, 74)	6th-4th centuries

Site ID	name of site	region	river valley	site type	natural feature(s)	votive material (BVF = bronze votive figurine)	dates
48	Grotta del Mezzogiorno	AN	Sentino	sacred site	cave with mineralised water	full-size pottery; grain/organic residues (Lucentini 1997)	12th-1st centuries (at least)
49	Grotta dei Baffoni	AN	Sentino	sacred site	cave	full-size pottery (Lucentini 1997)	12th-9th centuries
50	Grotta di Frasassi (Santuario)	AN	Sentino	sacred site	cave with solid water, mineralised spring	full-size pottery (Lucentini 1997)	12th-8th centuries (+ earlier phase)
51	Abbazia di San Vittore delle Chiuse, S Vittore di Terme	AN	Sentino	temple?	mineralised river		3rd-1st centuries?
52	M Valmontagnana	AN	Esino	sacred site?	peak (930m)	warrior (2) BVF (Colonna 1970:47, 134)	6th-4th centuries
53	Fabriano	AN	Esino	isolated find	peak (325m)	warrior BVF	6th-4th centuries
54	Attiggio	AN	Esino	isolated find		warrior BVF (Naso 2000:237, 247)	6th-4th centuries
55	Fossato di Vico	PG	Chiáscio tib.	sanctuary	spring	'Minerva' figurines, dedication to Cupra (Colonna 1970:42, tavv 17-18)	6th/5th to 3rd centuries
56	Apiro	MC	Esino trib/Musone	sacred site	spring	male and female warrior BVF (Franchi dell'Orto 1999:234-5 cat 367)	2nd half of 5th century
57	S Vittore di Cíngoli	MC	Musone	sanctuary	mineralised spring	Full-size pottery; worshipper BVF; terracotta votives; 3 miniature Greek vases; three female heads with headdress, 5th-4th century, 1 female torso wearing heavy dress and cloak, 3rd century (Landolfi and Baldelli 1997:182, figs 1-2)	6th-1st centuries

Site ID	name of site	region	river valley	site type	natural feature(s)	votive material (BVF = bronze votive figurine)	dates
58	Lago di Cíngoli	MC	Musone	sacred site	lake	full-size pottery	12th-9th centuries
59	Acqua della Santa, Loreto (*Lauretum*)	MC	Musone	shrine	fountain, laurel grove	dedicatory inscription to Apollo Laureus (Moscatelli 1984a)	Roman
60	S Claudio di Chienti	MC	Chienti	temple			Roman?
61	Colfiorito (*Plestia*)	PG		temple	lake, marsh, spring (775m)	worshipper, warrior BVF, dedicatory inscription to Cupra (Colonna 1970:253, V.)	6th-1st centuries
62	Church of S Maria di Assunta, Rambona	MC	Potenza	rock-cut hypogeum	stillicide water, hilltop		?
63	Borgo S Lucia	MC	Aso	shrine	mineralised spring		Roman
64	*Fanum Apollinis*, Morrovalle	MC	Aso	shrine		inscribed altar (Moscatelli 1984a)	Roman
65	S Severino	MC	Potenza	sacred site	river (300m)	worshipper (m), Hercules BVF (Colonna 1970:317, 498)	6th-4th centuries
66	M Primo, Pioraco	MC	Potenza	sacred site	peak (1299m)	warrior (2), worshipper (f?) BVF, animal sacrifice (Franchi dell'Orto 1999:238-9 cat 379-81; Naso 2000:237-8)	10th-2nd centuries
67	S Venanzo, Camerino	MC	R di S Luca (Chienti trib.)	sacred sited	mineralised spring		
68	Pievetorina	MC	Chienti trib.	peak sanctuary	peak (475m)	worshipper (2 m, 1 f) BVF (Colonna 1970:318, 323)	6th-4th centuries
69	Porto S Giorgio	AP	-	isolated find	sea	warrior BVF (Naso 2000:247)	6th century
70	Rapagnano	AP	Ete Morto trib.	sacred site	hilltop (314m)	BVF	6th-4th centuries
71	Cupra Marittima	AP	Menocchia	Temple	sea, hilltop (119m)	warrior BVF (Franchi dell'Orto 1999:232 cat 360)	6th BCE-2nd CE
72	Sant'Andrea, Cupra Marittima	AP	Menocchia	sacred site	sea, spring	>1000 miniature pottery artefacts (Baldelli 1997; Franchi dell'Orto 1999:87 fig 59)	7th-5rd centuries

Site ID	name of site	region	river valley	site type	natural feature(s)	votive material (BVF = bronze votive figurine)	dates
73	San Martino, Grottammare	AP	Tesino	temple	river		
74	Amándola	AP	Tenna	isolated find and possible sanctuary of Cupra		BVF	6th-4th centuries
75	Aso S Giovanni, Montefalcone	AP	Aso	temple	spring (Acqua Amara)		Roman
76	Appennino di Visso	AP	Chienti trib.	sacred site	peak (798m)	warrior BVF (Naso 2000:237)	6th/5th century
77	Acquasanta Terme	AP	Tronto	sanctuary	mineralised spring		
78	S Maria a Vico	TE	Vibrata	sanctuary			
79	Grotta Sant'Angelo	TE	Salinello	sacred site	cave; river, waterfall	BVF; miniature pottery; full-size pottery (Di Frai and Grifoni Cremonesi 1996; d'Ercole 1997a)	12th-2nd centuries
80	S Bernadino	TE	Salinello	sanctuary			
81	Montório al Vomano	TE	Vomano	temple of Hercules	river		Roman?
82	Penna S Andrea (M Giove)	TE	Vomano	sacred site	peak (762m)	worshipper and Veiovis BVF (Franchi dell'Orto 1999:88 fig 61, 239 cat 387-8)	7th-2nd centuries
83	Abbey of SS Benedotto e Mauro, Terme di Cotilia	RI	Velino	temple	sulphurous spring		
84	Lago di Paterno (*lacus Cutiliae*)	RI	Velino	shrine	spring	dedicatory inscription to Victory (Vacuna)	Roman
85	Trebula Mutuesca, Rieti	RI	Velino	temple?		terracotta votives	4th-3rd centuries
86	Gola di Antrodoco	RI	Aterno	temple		Dedication to Hercules	3rd-1st centuries
87	Grotta A Male, Assergi	AQ	Aterno tributary	sacred site?	cave	full-size pottery, arms (Miari 1997)	12th-9th centuries

Site ID	name of site	region	river valley	site type	natural feature(s)	votive material (BVF = bronze votive figurine)	dates
88	Civita di Bagno, S Vittorino	AQ	Aterno	temple	pool, mineralised spring		3rd-2nd centuries
89	S Ippolito di Corfinio	AQ	Aterno	sanctuary of Hercules	lake	Hercules BVF (Colonna 1970 tav 124:496, 125:508; 532; Campanelli *et al* 1997)	6th-4th centuries
90	Penne	PE	Tavo	sacred site/peak sanctuary?	lake, peak (438m)	Hercules (2) BVF (Colonna 1970 tav 107.448; 590)	6th-4th centuries
91	Loreto Aprutino, Colle Fiorano	PE	Tavo	sacred site		warrior (m), Hercules (9) BVF (Staffa 1998)	6th-4th centuries
92	Montebello di Bertona	PE	Tavo	peak sanctuary?	peak (615m)	Hercules (2) BVF (Colonna 1970 tav 9.11, 87.376)	6th-4th centuries
93	Grotta del Colle, Rapino	CH	-	sacred site	cave	impasto dolia, amphora handle, fragment of Apulian black-figure ware (4th century) bronze torque, bronze boiler (6th century), iron pendant (6th-5th century), two fibulae (fifth century); female BVF; terracotta votives: hand, foot, uterus; 3 female (?) heads with elaborate hair or head covering (poor preservation of faces), 3rd-2nd centuries and fragment of head; 3rd century rectangular mask (Colonna 1970:407; d'Ercole 1992b:269; d'Ercole 1992b:269d'Ercole *et al* 1997:100-2, figs 20-8)	6th-2nd centuries (+ earlier phase)
94	Grotta delle Marmitte	AQ	Tavo	sacred site	cave with solid water	terracotta votives (Miari 1997)	3rd-2nd centuries
95	Grotte di Ciccio Felice	AQ	Pescara	sacred site with some monumentalisation	cave with solid water	full-size pottery; miniature pottery; terracotta votives (Cianfarani *et al* 1978:78-9; Miari 1997)	Bronze Age to 1st century

Site ID	name of site	region	river valley	site type	natural feature(s)	votive material (BVF = bronze votive figurine)	dates
96	Grotta Maritza, Avezzano	AQ	Pescara	sacred site	cave with mineralised water	terracotta votives: 1 hand, 1 foot, 4th-1st centuries; female head with veil, 3rd century; female head, 3rd-2nd century; male head, 2nd century; rectangular mask, 3rd century; 3 swaddled babies, 3rd-2nd centuries; 1 female figurine with dress and veil, 2 further figurines wearing draped clothing, probably male, all 3rd-2nd century (Miari 1997:109-111, figs 1-14)	4th-1st centuries (+ earlier phase)
97	Gualdo Tadino	PG	-	sacred site	spring, peak (536m)	worshipper BVF (Colonna 1970:316, 338)	6th-4th centuries
98	Nocera Umbra	PG	Topino trib.	sacred site	peak (520m)	worshipper (5 m), warrior BVF; other bronzes (Monacchi 1984)	6th-4th centuries
99	M Acuto	PG	Scarsito	peak sanctuary	peak (1300m)	full-size pottery; 1 miniature vessel; worshipper (5 m, 1 f), warrior (5), 2 bovine, 3 ovine, 3 porcine BVF; bronze ex-voto, arm ex-voto, 2 male figurines (Cenciaioli 1996)	6th-4th centuries
100	Colle di Rufino, M Subasio	PG	-	peak sanctuary	peak (1275m)	worshipper, warrior BVF (Colonna 1970:75).	6th-4th centuries
101	Villa Fidelia, Spello	PG	T Chiona	temple of Venus	hilltop		Roman
102	Grotta Bella	TR	Nera	sacred site	cave	BVF; miniature pottery; full-size pottery; terracotta votives (Monacchi 1986)	12th-1st centuries (+ earlier phase)
103	M Torre di Maggiore	TR	Nera trib.	peak sanctuary	peak (1133m)	BVF (Bradley 2000a:173-5)	5th-2nd centuries
104	M San Pancrazio	TR	Tévere trib.	peak sanctuary	peak (1059m)		5th-2nd centuries

Appendix II: Gazetteer of Iron Age settlements and cemeteries in Central Adriatic Italy

site ID	name of site	region	river valley	settlement	cemetery	dates
1	Bologna	BO	Reno		x	5th
2	Casalecchio di Reno	BO	Reno		x	7th
3	Monte Bibele	BO	Idice	x	x	4th-2nd
4	S Martino in Gattara	RA	Lamone		x	6th-3rd
5	Piazza Armi, Faenza	FO	Lamone	x		6th-3rd
6	Verucchio	RN	Marecchia	x		9th-6th
7	Pésaro	PS	Foglia	x		5th-3rd
8	Novilara	PS	T Arzilla trib	x	xx	8th-6th
9	Roncosambaccio di Fano	PS	Metauro trib.		x	
10	M Giove di Fano	PS	Metauro trib.	x	x	8th-4th
11	S Costanzo	PS	Metauro trib.	x	x	8th-4th
12	Serrungarina	PS	Metauro		x	
13	Canavaccio di Urbino	PS	Metauro		x	
14	Isola di Fano	PS	Tarugo		x?	5th
15	Fossombrone	PS	Metauro		x?	8th
16	Senigállia	PS	Misa	x		8th
17	Montedoro di Scapezzano	PS	Cesano	x	x	7th-mid-6th & 8th-5th
18	Pergola	PS	Cesano		x	7th
19	Cagli	PS	Burano		x	4th-3rd
20	Falconara Marittima	AN	Esino	x		
21	Monte Croce Guardia, Arcévia	AN	Misa	x		12th>
22	Montefortino di Arcévia	AN	Nevola		x	4th
23	Pianello di Genga	AN	Esino	x	x	12th-9th
24	Molino	AN	Esino		x	5th
25	Pianello di Castelbellino	AN	Esino	x	x	6th-5th
26	Monteroberto	AN	Esino	x		8th
27	Trivio di Serra S Quirico	AN	Esino		x	
28	Serra S Quirico	AN	Esino		x	4th
29	Colle de Montagnola, Ancona	AN	Pennocchiara	x		5th-

site ID	name of site	region	river valley	settlement	cemetery	dates
30	Colle Guasco, Ancona	AN	Pennocchiara	x		4^{th}-
31	Colle dei Cappuccini, Ancona	AN	Pennocchiara	x	x	11^{th}-5^{th}
32	Colle Cardeto, Ancona	AN	Pennocchiara		x	12^{th}-10^{th}; 8^{th}-5^{th}
33	Fontevecchia di Camerano	AN		x	x	11^{th}-9^{th}; 4^{th}-3^{rd}
34	Sirolo	AN		x	x	9^{th}-4^{th}
35	Numana	AN		x	x	9^{th}-4^{th}
36	M S Pietro (Osimo)	AN	Musone	x	x	9^{th}-4^{th}
37	S Filippo di Osimo	AN	Musone		x	4^{th}
38	Rotacupa	AN?				
39	S Paolina di Filottrano	AN	Musone	x		12^{th}-4^{th}
40	Filottrano	AN	Musone		x	4^{th}
41	Montorso di Genga	AN	Esino	x		4^{th}-3^{rd}
42	Moscano di Fabriano	AN	Esino		x	4^{th}
43	Fabriano	AN	Esino	x	xx	$10^{th}/7^{th}$
44	Attiggio	AN	Esino	x		9^{th}>
45	Villa Clara, Matelica	MC	Esino		x	7^{th}-6^{th}; 4^{th}-2^{nd}
46	S Vittore di Cíngoli	MC	Musone	x		4^{th}-1^{st}
47	Torrone di Cíngoli	MC	Musone		x	
48	Moscosi di Cíngoli	MC	Musone	x		12^{th}-9^{th}; 7^{th}-3^{rd}
49	Bachero di Cíngoli	MC	Musone	x		12^{th}-9^{th}
50	Recanati	MC	Musone	x	x	8^{th}; 6^{th}-5^{th}
51	Montecassiano	MC	Potenza	x	x	
52	Rotacupa di Macerata	MC	Potenza		x	
53	S Maria in Selva di Treia	MC	Potenza	x		
54	Passo di Treia	MC	Potenza	x		8^{th}
55	Moie di Pollenza	MC	Potenza	x		8^{th}

site ID	name of site	region	river valley	settlement	cemetery	dates
56	Montefrancolo, Moie	MC	Potenza		x	9th
57	Pitino S Severino	MC	Potenza	x	x	7th-4th
58	Stigliano di S Severino	MC	Potenza		x	
59	M Primo, Pioraco	MC	Potenza	x		12th-5th
60	Tolentino	MC	Chienti	x	x	8th-4th
61	Casone	MC	Chienti		xx	7th-6th
62	Porto S Elpidio	MC	-	x	x	8th
63	M Lumirano di Montegranaro	MC	Ete Morto	x		
64	Mogliano	MC	Ete Morto		x	
65	Torre S Patrizio	MC	Tenna	x	x	8th
66	Rapagnano	MC	Ete Morto trib.		x?	6th
67	S Ginesio	MC	Fiastrone		x	4th
68	Cessapalombo	MC	Fiastrone	x	x	4th-3rd
69	Camerino	MC	Chienti		xx	6th-3rd
70	Maddalena di Muccia	MC	Chienti		x	
71	Pievebovigliana	MC	Chienti trib.	x	x	6th-2nd
72	Pievetorina	MC	Chienti trib.		x	8th-7th
73	Taverne di Serravalle	MC	Chienti		x	7th
74	Colfiorito	PG	Chienti	x	xxxxx	9th-3rd
75	Fermo	AP	Tenna	x	xxx	9th-5th
76	Ponte Ete	AP	Ete Vivo		x	7th
77	Torre di Palme	AP	-		x	6th
78	Grottazzolina	AP	Tenna		x	6th
79	Montegiorgio	AP	Ete Morto trib.		x	8th
80	Torchiaro di Fermo	AP	Ete Vivo trib.		x	
81	Belmonte	AP	Tenna		x	10th-6th
82	Monterubbiano	AP	Aso		xx	
83	Montefiore	AP	Aso		x	
84	Montelparo	AP	Aso trib.		x	6th
85	Massignano	AP	Aso		x	
86	Cupra Marittima	AP	Menocchia	x	x	8th-6th
87	Grottammare	AP	Tesino	x	xxx	6th
88	Ripatransone	AP	Tesino		xxxxx	8th
89	Cossignano	AP	Tesino	x	xx	
90	Rotella	AP	Tesino	x		8th
91	M Renzo, S Benedetto del Tronto	AP		x		12th
92	Acquaviva Picena	AP	T Ragnola	xx	xxx	10th-5th

site ID	name of site	region	river valley	settlement	cemetery	dates
93	Offida	AP	Tesino trib.	x	xx	9^{th}-5^{th}?
94	Castignano	AP	T Chienti		x	$10^{th}/8^{th}$
95	Marsia, Roccafluvione	AP	Fluvione	x		12^{th}
96	Monsampolo	AP	Tronto		xx	10^{th}-5^{th}
97	Spinatoli	AP	Tronto		x	8^{th}
98	Castorano	AP	Tronto trib.		x	9^{th}-5^{th}
99	Colli del Tronto	AP	Tronto		xx	9^{th}-8^{th}
100	Castel di Lama	AP	Tronto	x		
101	Martiniscuro	TE	-	xx		
102	Colonella	TE	Tronto	x		
103	Controguerra	TE	Tronto		xx	
104	Belvedere	TE	Tronto	x		
105	S Anastasia	TE	Tronto	x		
106	Poggio Civita	TE	Tronto	x	x	
107	Torretta	TE	Vibrata	x		
108	Corropoli	TE	Vibrata		x	
109	Delfico	TE	Vibrata	x		
110	Ravigliano	TE	Vibrata	x		
111	Mindoli	TE	Vibrata	x		
112	Torano Nuovo	TE	Vibrata		x	
113	Cartagna	TE	Vibrata	x		
114	S Egidio	TE	Vibrata		x	
115	Case Veldon	TE	Salinello	x	xx	
116	Masseria di Giacomo	TE	Salinello	x	x	
117	Piana d'Ischia	TE	Salinello	x	x	
118	Tortoreto	TE	Salinello	xxxx	xxx	
119	S Omero	TE	Salinello		x	
120	Civitella del Tronto	TE	Salinello		x	8^{th}
121	Il Castello	TE	Salinello	x		
122	Colle Troia	TE	Salinello	x	x	
123	Campovalano	TE	-		x	8^{th}-4^{th}
124	Campli	TE	T Fiumicino		x	10^{th}-2^{nd}
125	Piane a Canfora	TE	T Fiumicino		x	
126	Colle Melatino	TE	-	x		
127	Teramo	TE	Tordino	x	x	9^{th}
128	La Cona	TE	Tordino		x	
129	Cologna	TE	Tordino	x		
130	Canzano	TE	-		x	
131	Guardia di Vomano	TE	Vomano		x	
132	Ponte Vomano	TE	Vomano		x	8^{th}
133	Basciano	TE	Vomano		x	
134	Penna S Andrea	TE	Vomano		xx	7^{th}-2^{nd}

site ID	name of site	region	river valley	settlement	cemetery	dates
135	Atri	TE	Gallo		xx	
136	Loreto Aprutino	PE	Tavo		xx	
137	Montebello di Bertona	PE	Tavo		x	
138	Civitella Casanova	PE	Nora trib.		x	
139	Nocciano	PE	Pescara		x	
140	Bazzano	AQ	Aterno		x	7^{th}
141	Fossa	AQ	Aterno		x	7^{th}
142	Calascio	AQ	-		x	
143	Barisciano	AQ	Aterno		x	12^{th}-9^{th}
144	Ofena	AQ	-		x	7^{th}
145	Capestrano	AQ	Pescara trib.		x	
146	Caporciano	AQ	-		x	10^{th}-9^{th}
147	Colle del Telegrafo, Pescara	PS	Pescara	x		
148	Torre Passeri	PS	Pescara		x	7^{th}

Appendix III: transcriptions of the Picene inscriptions[1]

North Picene[2]

PID 343 (Franchi dell'Orto 1999:cat 402)
mimniś erut gaareśtadeś
rotnem úvlin parten (?)úś
polem iśairon tet
šut tratneši krúś
tenag trút ipiem rotneš
túiś qalú iśperion vúl
teś rotem teú aiten tašur
śoter meri/pon kalatne
niś vilatoś paten arn
úid baleśtenag andś et
šut l/iakut treten teletaú
nem polem tišu śotriś eúś

PID 344
-úpeś
mresveat

PID 345
pa śatigot
kešoteri
amdet nk
[----]k[----]

Franchi dell'Orto 1999 cat 403

tiperaše raiup bav[
[---]ipš [----------]

South Picene[3]

BO 1
erimínú *or* erims spolítiú

MC 1
apaes qupat esmín púpúnis nír mefiín veiat vepetí

MC 2
apais pompúnies vepetín esmín

AP 1
?]raieimúm titúm anaimúm aúdaqúm esmín údiíns uv[e]petí[n]

---

[1] In standard text, for clarity.
[2] After Agostiniani (in Franchi dell'Orto 1999:140-2).
[3] After Marinetti 1985, revised 1999 (in Franchi dell'Orto 1999:138-9); Adiego Lajara 1992; Rix 2002; also Stuart-Smith 2000, for AP 4 and CH 2.

AP 2
A) matereíh patereíh qolofitúr qupíríh arítih ímih puíh
B) púpúnum estufk apaiús adstaíúh súaís manus meitimúm

AP 3
apúnis qupat [esmín (púpúnis?)] nír mefiín [-]e—út aterd[---] udí [---] fítias estas amgenas d[I]kdeintem atím epie[?]

AP 4
] taluis petrúnis

AP 5
noúínis petieronis efidans

AP 6
]*s* heries [

TE 1
petroh púpún [is ní]r e súhúh suaipis eheulí de[-----]nu puúde pepieh[?

TE 2
postin viam videtas tetis tokam alies esmen vepses vepeten

TE 3
]- titienom --[?]aí[?

TE 4
apies esum

TE 5
sidom safinús estuf eśelsít tíom povaisis pidaitúpas fitiasom múfqlúm mefistrúí nemúneí praistaít panivú meitims safinas tútas trebegies titúí praistaklasa posmúi

TE 6
]nis safinúm nerf persukant p[

TE 7
A 6.]rtúr brímeqlúí alí/ 5. ntiom okreí safina[/ 4.]nips toúta tefeí p/ 3. osmúi praistaínt a[
B 1. brímeidinais epe[2. o?]psúq qoras qdufeniúí

CH 1
deiktam h[...]lpas pimoftorim esmenadstaeoms upeke[---]orom iorkes iepeten esmen ekúsim raeliom rufrasim poioúeta iokipedu pdufem ok[r]ikam enet bie/ [b?] múreis maroúm [u]elíúm uelaimes staties qora kduíú

CH 2
]imeh ufaniom ombriíenakren postiknam putih knúskem dúnoh defia úflfú[ ] titúh tefeh

AQ 1
]mitah h[--]lpa/oih [35?]mínoh homanah molk[t]a[h 30? k]aúieh kaúieis puqloh praistaít po*m*[6/12?

AQ 2
makupríkoramopsútaninisrakinevíipomp[ ] í
ma kuprí koram opsút aninis rakinelís pomp[úne]í

AQ 3
?----]-ah selah pimpíh----?/?----]m –oharme proiose p[----?/?-----]oiús boúuediín haligatú[----?

RI 1
praistaíúh nekar esmak toútaih [] esmik vepetí[n -?-]oeue o[p]esaguom []ms im fítias úm[--- ---es]meí u[epeteí ---]-mo [?]]pimí adede[?

BA 1
úlúßerna

Miscellaneous inscriptions[4]

Po 144
From Nocera, mid-6th century.

bruties esum

Po 145
From Vico Equense, mid-6th century.

ievies esum : p[-]les :adaries

Ve 227
Found south-west of Amiternum. Lajara suggests a possible South Picene-Sabine connection, since the inscription shows South Picene features, eg: the postposition in 'poimunien' (1992:117-8).

mesene flusare poimunien atrno aunom hiretum

Ve 240
On statuette from Staffolo, written in South Picene alphabet, but language closer to Umbrian.

cais paiz variens/ iuve zalseçure

[4] In Marinetti 1985, after Morandi 1974.

Vetter 1943:31
From Fiordimonte (Macerata), written in South Picene alphabet, but Umbrian 'r', so closer to Umbrian.

[...]issoiorutiauronpum

Vetter 1931:26
On terracotta tile from Ortona (Chieti). Inscription shows Oscan and Umbrian characteristics, but authenticity doubted.

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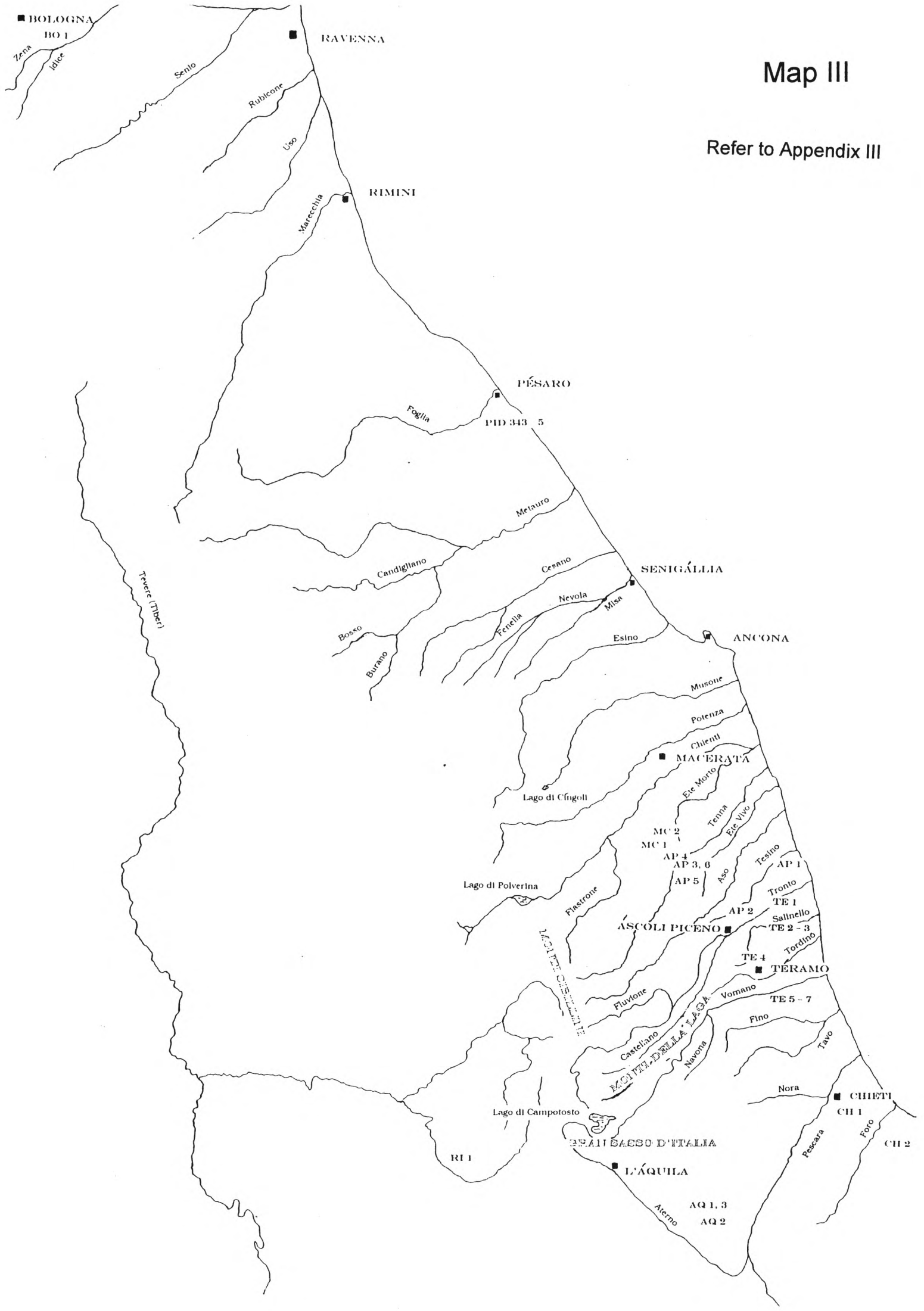
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Map III

Refer to Appendix III



Map IIb

0 10 km

ANCONA

MACERATA

ÁSCOLI PICENO

TÉRAMO

PESCARA

CHIETI

L'ÁQUILA

RIETI

ADRIATIC SEA

Misa
Esino
Musone
Potenza
Ete Morto
Chienti
Ete Vivo
Tenna
Aso
Menócchia
Tesino
Vibrata
Salinello
Tronto
Fiastrone
Nera
Tordino
Vomano
Saline
Mavone
Tavo
Nora
Velino
Pescara
Foro
Atérno

Map IIa

○ settlement or cemetery

Refer to Appendix II
for site names

Relief

2000 metres
1500 metres
1000 metres
500 metres
250 metres
0 metres

0 10km

BOLOGNA
RAVENNA
FORLÌ
CESENA
RIMINI
S. MARINO
PÉSARO
ADRIATIC SEA

Reno
Zena
Idice
Santerno
Senio
Lamone
Montone
Ronco
Savio
Rubicone
Uso
Marecchia
Ausa
Foglia
Tévere (Tiber)
Foglia
Metáuro
Metáuro
Arzilla
Cesano
Candigliano
Cesano
Misa
Burano
Esino
Musone

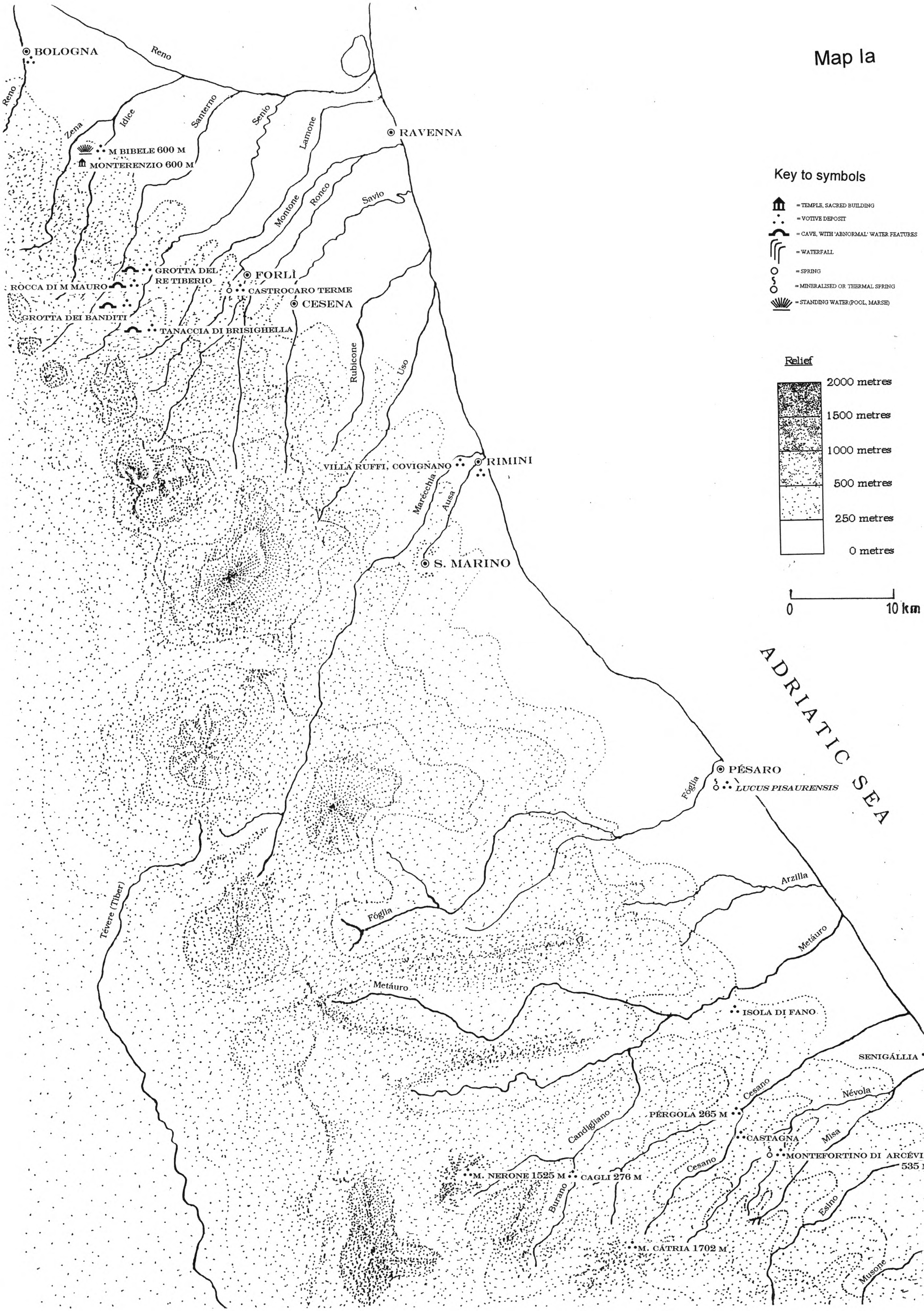
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 21 22

Map Ib

0 10 km

MARINA DI MONTEMARCIANO
ANCONA
140 M
M. CÓNERO 572 M
Misa
Esino
PANTIERE DI CASTELBELLINO
CUPRAMONTANA 505 M
ADRIATIC SEA
Musone
S.FORTUNATO DI GENGA 401 M
GROTTE DI FRASASSI
Sentino
S. VITTORE DELLE CHIUSE
M VALMONTAGNANA 930 M
M. CUCCO 1566 M
GUBBIO 811 M
Ásola
Potenza
MACERATA
S.M.ASSUNTA DI RAMBONA
S CLAUDIO DI CHIENTI
S SEVERINO
Ete Morto
S.VITTORE DI CÍNGOLI
APIRO
LAGO DI CÍNGOLI
FOSSATO DI VICO
GUALDO TADINO 536 M
RAPAGNANO 314 M
Chienti
Tenna
Ete Vivo
Aso
119 M CUPRA MARITTIMA
SANT'ANDREA
S MARTINO, GROTTAMMARE
Menócchia
M. PRIMO, PIÓRACO 1299 M
NOCERA UMBRA 520 M
COLLE DI RUFINO, M SUBASIO 1275 M
S VENANZO, CAMERINO
Flastrone
Tesino
Vibrata
M. ACUTO 1300 M
Chienti
PIEVETORINA 475 M
ASÓ S GIOVANNI MONTEFALCONE
Salinello
ÁSCOLI PICENO
Tronto
S.M.PISTIA COLFIORITO
APPENNINO DI VISSO 768 M
GROTTA S.ÁNGELO
TÉRAMO
Tordino
M. SIBILLA 2175 M
Vomano
TEMPLE OF HERCULES, MONTÓRIO AL VOMANO
M. GIOVE, PENNA S.ANDREA 762 M
Nera
Salino
ACQUASANTA TERME
LAGO DI PENNE
LORETO APRUTINO
PESCARA
MONTEBELLO DI BERTONA 615 M
Tavo
Tronto
Mavone
M. TORRE MAGGIORE 1133 M
Nora
CHIETI
Velino
GROTTA DELLE MARMITTE
GROTTA DEL COLLE
GROTTA A MALE
Foro
LAGO DI PATERNO
(LACUS CUTILIAE)
CIVITA DI BAGNO, S.VITTORINO
L'ÁQUILA
TERME DI COTILIA
TEMPLE OF HERCULES,
M. S.PANCRÁZIO 1059 M
RIETI
GOLA DI ANTRODOCO
TREBULA MUTUESCA
Pescara
Aterno

Map Ia


BOLOGNA
Reno
Reno
Zena
Idice
Santerno
Senio
Lamone
RAVENNA
M BIBELE 600 M
MONTERENZIO 600 M
Montone
Ronco
Savio
GROTTA DEL RE TIBERIO
FORLÌ
ROCCA DI M MAURO
CASTROCARO TERME
CESENA
GROTTA DEI BANDITI
TANACCIA DI BRISIGHELLA
Rubicone
Uso
VILLA RUFFI, COVIGNANO
RIMINI
Marécchia
Ausa
S. MARINO
ADRIATIC SEA
PÉSARO
Fóglia
LUCUS PISAURENSIS
Arzilla
Tévere (Tiber)
Fóglia
Metáuro
Metáuro
ISOLA DI FANO
SENIGÁLLIA
Cesano
Névola
PÉRGOLA 265 M
Candigliano
CASTAGNA
Misa
MONTEFORTINO DI ARCÉVIA 535 M
Cesano
M. NERONE 1525 M
CAGLI 276 M
Burano
Esino
M. CÁTRIA 1702 M
Musone
Key to symbols
= TEMPLE, SACRED BUILDING
= VOTIVE DEPOSIT
= CAVE, WITH 'ABNORMAL' WATER FEATURES
= WATERFALL
= SPRING
= MINERALISED OR THERMAL SPRING
= STANDING WATER (POOL, MARSH)
Relief
2000 metres
1500 metres
1000 metres
500 metres
250 metres
0 metres
0
10 km