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Investing in Religion

Religion and the Economy in Pre-Roman Central Italy

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Studies of the role of religion in a range of pre-industrial economies make it possible, and helpful, to assess the distinctive elements of this subject in ancient Rome by comparison with practice elsewhere. This chapter accordingly surveys the economic significance of Etrusco-Italic sanctuaries in the period preceding the Roman Republic. Beyond providing an analogy for later centuries, however, it suggests that many of the economic aspects of Roman religion were actually shaped by developments in the Archaic period (*c.*580–480 BC). The characteristic features of Archaic sanctuaries developed in response to a combination of Mediterranean-wide and local circumstances, and arguably met the needs of their communities so successfully that they had a lasting influence on the form and function of their Roman counterparts. This review furthermore indicates that the city of Rome may have had a precocious ability to capitalize on piety. As a result, this chapter contributes to discussions of Roman religious economics by reconstructing their broader historical and theoretical contexts, with 'Roman' referring to both a place and a period.

The range of evidence now available for early sanctuaries makes them a useful case study for exploring the economic force of religion in pre-Roman Italy. In the years since the 1960s, excavations have provided new information about religious sites and rituals at Rome, Pyrgi, Gravisca, Satricum, and Tarquinia, among others, and publications of finds and collections continue to permit further study. Yet the limits of this evidence are considerable. Although Etruria was once a highly literate culture, scant textual evidence has survived and the onus falls on archaeology to yield information about religion, the economy, and society. Greek and Roman authors can be mined for relevant material, but their accounts are often biased or anachronistic. It is also necessary to balance the fact that Etruscan cities had their own rituals, institutions, and aesthetics with evidence of shared social and political

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elements to avoid giving a misleading impression of coherence in data drawn from different times and places. The result is often a model informed by both classical and anthropological archaeology rather than a set of quantifiable data, and economic studies are no exception.[1]

With these cautions in mind, this chapter will analyse the economic role of sanctuaries in Archaic Etruria and Latium. The Archaic period saw unprecedented investment in sanctuaries after a long history of religious activity that saw cult sites marked and augmented over the course of many centuries. During the sixth century BC, temples were built in Rome, Satricum, Tarquinia, Pyrgi, and Veii, and rituals were enhanced with buildings in places such as Lavinium and Gravisca. Sanctuaries increased in size and prominence and became some of the most significant features of settlements and landscapes. The monumentalization of Archaic cult sites thus marks the sixth century BC as a turning point in the history of religious activity in early Italy and the resources accorded to it. The first two sections of this chapter will survey the consumption, production, and exchange of commodities at these flagship sanctuaries. The following two sections consider what conditions may have prompted new investment in cult sites at this time. Finally, it will be suggested that the results set the stage—almost literally—for the conduct of sanctified Roman business.

Tangible Commodities

Excavations and new analyses are continually informing reconstructions of the nature of Archaic sanctuaries and the resources committed to their creation, maintenance, and activities. It has long been clear that one of the largest categories of expenditure, and hence a logical starting point to assess consumption, is construction. Temples differed architecturally from other structures and the shrines that preceded them through distinctive combinations of high substructures, columns, and exuberant terracotta roofs. Although details of walls often remain unclear owing to the use of perishable building materials, even the bases and roofs of these buildings represent considerable expense. For example, reconstructions of the Archaic Capitoline Temple in Rome estimate that between 28,000 and 32,000 m^3 of dressed stone were used in the foundations alone; the labour and skills required for the quarrying, transport, and interlocking placement of the stones establish that the

[1] cf. Perkins (2014: 64).

substructure itself was an immense architectural project.[2] The timbers and woodwork that supported the roofs of Archaic temples required mature trees and skilled carpenters, and tiles were another outlay. The roof tiles for the Temple of Castor in Rome, for example, required an estimated minimum of 25 tons of clay, while the Temple at Satricum would have used approximately 17 tons, and the decorative elements at the edges of most temple roofs would have increased such totals further.[3] The mud bricks and *pisé* of temple walls, stucco on walls and columns, and the paint that coloured them all should also be added to tallies of the resources invested in Archaic temples. Cult buildings were an expense, but as offerings to secure favour and a means of gaining renown they may also have been seen as investments.

The objects that were ritually deposited in sanctuaries represent ongoing consumption. Etrusco-Italic votive items include vases, tableware, *aes rude*, weapons, jewellery, figurines, weaving implements, musical instruments, anatomical votives, and architectural models, sometimes inscribed with words referencing giving (in Etruscan, *mulvani-* and *tur-*), divinities (*ais-*, *flere*, and specific names of gods and goddesses), and the name of the donor. The quantity and quality of these dedications are significant. The so-called Archaic deposit at Satricum contained approximately twenty thousand artefacts,[4] and more than thirty thousand miniature vessels have been found at the north-east cult site at Pratica di Mare (Lavinium).[5] Expensive bronzes are also attested. More than forty-six bronzes with imagery referencing aristocratic activities including war, hunting, and banqueting were immersed in a swamp shrine at Brolio,[6] and fourth-century BC dedications of free-standing statues such as the Mars of Todi and the Chimera of Arezzo probably had earlier correlates. Such dedications mark sanctuaries as substantial consumers of art and repurposed goods.

Sacrifices are another form of religious consumption, the conduct of which is indicated by archaeological remains and artistic depictions. Some Etruscan altars had vertical channels suitable for carrying liquid offerings to chthonic deities, while rites of fire are suggested by images such as a relief on a Chiusine cippus and a painted panel from Caere.[7] Wine, blood, plants, and incense may all have been offered to the gods as well as meat. The Ricci hydria, thought to

[2] Hopkins (2016: 99). [3] Rendeli (1990: 139). [4] Waarsenburg and Maas (2001: 45).
[5] Fenelli and Guaitoli (1990: 185). [6] Romualdi (1981).
[7] For an overview of altars in Etruria between the seventh and fourth centuries BC, see Menichelli (2009). Cippus from Chiusi: Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 634, pre-520 BC. Panel from Caere: The 'Campana Panel' from the Banditaccia necropolis at Caere, *c*.550–525 BC. 1.24 m high. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Collection Campana 1863. For other sacrificial images in Etruscan art, see Cristofani (1995b: plates XIX–XX).

have been made by a Greek or Greek-trained artist living in Etruria and working for a wealthy Etruscan client in Caere,[8] shows part of an animal being cooked on an altar, and zooarchaeological analyses at sanctuaries including Tarquinia, Pyrgi, and Poggio Colla have so far identified offerings of tortoises, molluscs, fish, birds, foxes, badgers, dogs, sheep or goats, pigs, horses, and cattle.[9] The level of meat in Etruscan diets has yet to be clarified, but the use of animal sacrifice to redistribute protein to the community should not be overlooked. Another resource that may have been removed from circulation at sanctuaries, albeit in small numbers, is people. While many of the literary sources cited in discussions of human sacrifice in early Italy were written by Greek and Roman authors later than the events they describe,[10] some burials in sanctuaries suggest ritual killing. At the Pian di Civita sanctuary at Tarquinia, Individuals 5 and 9 were buried next to and partially under new structures, possibly as 'construction sacrifices', and Individual 10, whose bones identify him as a male in his thirties and probably a foreign sailor, may have been a prisoner of war who was ritually killed and buried.[11] The scale of such activities is likely to have been small and disproportional to their significance.

If we turn from consumption to production, evidence of kilns and metallurgy in some sanctuaries suggests that cult sites could have dedicated artisans and workshops. Kilns have been found at the Archaic sanctuaries of Montetosto, Monte Li Santi, the Sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars at Lavinium, and the Pian di Civita plateau at Tarquinia, and wasters suggest there were once kilns at Pyrgi.[12] Ceramic production could have included roof tiles, architectural terracottas, and votives. The double kiln at Lavinium may have been used to make the hundreds of loom weights present in the building north-east of the altar complex, presumably a venue for weaving that may in turn have provided textiles for the matrimonial rites observed at the sanctuary.[13] Excavations at Gravisca have uncovered the remains of at least fifteen furnaces, wells, a number of small metal objects, and iron, copper, and lead slags that together indicate a long sequence of metallurgy,[14] presumably for

[8] Warden (2008: 121, 125). The vase was found in the Banditaccia necropolis at Caere, dates to *c.*540–530 BC, and is in the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia.

[9] Rafanelli (2013: 571).

[10] e.g. Livy 22.57.1–6; Plutarch, *Marc.* 3.4; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.7.35.

[11] Bonghi Jovino, Mallegni, and Usai (1997); Bonghi Jovino and Chiaramonte Treré (1997: 41, 100–2, 58–60); Bonghi Jovino (2008: 33–7; 2010: 165–6, with fig. 4 showing the location of the burials); De Grummond (2016: 146–9, 159–65).

[12] Sassatelli, Melis, and Ciaghi (1985); Edlund-Berry (2011: 355); Potts (2015: 138–9, 143) with references.

[13] Gleba (2008: 187).

[14] Fiorini (2001: 136–7); Fiorini and Torelli (2007: 79–88; 2010: 30–1).

offerings, trade, or the cult buildings. Similarly, iron slags have been found on the *arx* at Satricum, near the Temple of Mater Matuta, in multiple stratigraphic layers with a concentration in the seventh and sixth centuries BC.[15] The possible products can be gauged by the iron objects found close by in Votive Deposit I: an exceptional range and number of tools, weapons, shafts, rods, spits, nails, rings, and ornaments signal the high status of the sanctuary, and there is also evidence of copper working.[16] In Etruria, hundreds of pieces of worked antler have been found at the Pian di Civita sanctuary in Tarquinia with geometric shapes and consistent 4-mm-thick cross sections that could identify them as *sortes* for a divination rite.[17] If they were produced at the sanctuary for ritual use, then this is another example of a sanctuary capable of contributing to its own material needs.

It does not automatically follow, however, that these were closed cycles of production and consumption. Literary and archaeological evidence suggests that some sanctuaries hosted fairs and markets and as such played a role in local, regional, and even international trade. As part of an account of conflict between the Romans and Sabines in the time of the Roman king Servius Tullius (traditionally 578–534 BC), Dionysius of Halicarnassus offers this description of the sanctuary of Feronia:

> To this sanctuary people used to resort from the neighbouring cities on the appointed days of festival, many of them performing vows and offering sacrifice to the goddess and many with the purpose of trafficking during the festive gathering as merchants, artisans and husbandmen; and here were held fairs more celebrated than in any other places in Italy.[18]

The arrest of Roman traders at the festival became a rationale for war.[19] Merchants have also been connected with the celebrated Etruscan sanctuary of the Fanum Voltumnae. During his account of campaigns against the Volsci and the Aequi, Livy reports that the Romans received intelligence from traders that a hostile league of Etruscan *principes* was assembling at the sanctuary;[20] for this to be plausible, the traders must have been at the shrine or in contact with colleagues who had been. These historical asides are tantalizing but far from definitive. Archaeology offers more circumstantial evidence for exchange, although it is worth noting that attempts to distinguish

[15] Nijboer (1998: 259). [16] Nijboer (1998: 263). [17] De Grummond (2016: 149–51).
[18] *Ant. Rom.* 3.32.1. English translation by E. Cary (Loeb text, 1937).
[19] See also Livy 1.30.5. [20] Livy 6.2.2.

between evidence of contact, gift-giving, trade, and exchange in pre-monetary economies are not straightforward and such distinctions may be anomalous.

In Latium, the first monumental temple was built at Rome in the space known as the Forum Boarium. The sanctuary arose on a low, riverside site next to the Tiber River that provided a natural landing area for ships coming from the coast and pausing at Rome or travelling upriver to Veii, Antemnae, Fidenae, and Crustumerium.[21] Connections with major roads are likely to have increased the appeal to travellers: here ended the Via Salaria, bringing salt and transhumant herds to local exchanges, while one of the principal roads between Etruria and Campania passed close by and may have motivated the construction of Rome's first bridge, the Pons Sublicius.[22] The significance of this area as a point of contact with outsiders may also be reflected in a range of myths and legends about the area that feature heroes, kings, and Greeks or other figures from the east. Aeneas, Evander, and Hercules were all linked with the locale in stories such as that of the battle between Hercules and Cacus over cattle that in turn evoke the use of the land as a general crossing point for people, goods, and animals.[23] International imports are evident from the eighth century BC onwards in sherds of late Geometric, Euboean, Cycladic, and Corinthian ceramics, as well as Ischian and Cumaean imitations of Corinthian styles.[24] Finds of carved amber, bone pendants, sheet-bronze figurines, a range of Greek ceramics, alabaster vases, and sherds inscribed with Latin and Greek names indicate that the site had become an international sanctuary by the Archaic period. A *tessera hospitalis* from the mid-sixth century gives more personal insight. On the back is the name *araz silqetenas spurianus*,[25] suggesting either visits by Etruscan aristocrats, as the Spurinna were a significant family at Tarquinia, or wider commercial contacts if the dedication was a trading token left by Araz of Sulcis in Sardinia.[26] There are thus clear indications that the site received goods and worshippers from outside Rome.

Like the Forum Boarium, Satricum was a highly accessible site situated at the intersection of important trade routes, including pathways running north and south between Caere and Campania and also east into the interior of Latium.[27] The Astura River, arguably the most important river in Latium

[21] Similarities with ceramics from Veii also suggest that travellers used the river as a route into Etruria, rather than viewing Latial ports as final destinations: Beijer (1995: 61). The existence of a sixth-century BC port at the Forum Boarium is the subject of scholarly debate: while Coarelli (1988: 113–27) argues in favour, Säflund (1932: 175) and Smith (1996: 180–1) offer another view.

[22] On the topography of the Archaic Forum Boarium, see Coarelli (1988); Pisani Sartorio (1989); Smith (1996: 179–80); Coarelli (2007: 307–8). On roads in the area, see Coarelli (1988: fig. 22).

[23] Livy 1.7.4–7; Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.193–270.

[24] La Rocca (1982: 47–8); Holloway (1994: 165–7).

[25] *CIE* II.2.8602.

[26] Cristofani (1990: 21); Glinister (2003: 138).

[27] Pellegrini (2002: 91).

south of the Tiber,[28] connected the settlement to the sea. Finds in tombs and the Archaic votive deposit include imports from Greece, Egypt, Rhodes, and the Levantine–Cypriot and Baltic regions as well as Corinthian and Proto-Corinthian wares, along with a wealth of artefacts in gold, silver, gilt silver, faience, ivory, and amber.[29] The Temple itself also provides evidence of contacts beyond Latium, as petrographic and stylistic analyses of the tiles placed on it in *c.*535 BC reveal that the roof was imported from Caere, presumably by sea.[30] Exchange, as opposed to contact, may be indicated by the discovery of two metallic weight standards at the site. The first weight roughly corresponds to a Roman–Oscan pound and dates to the second half of the seventh century BC.[31] The second is one gram short of an Italian or Campanian pound and was found in the Archaic votive deposit along with a small balance.[32] Weight standards could have been used in reciprocal or redistributive exchanges and do not necessarily signify a market system, but it has been suggested that the unusual quantity of metal artefacts and evidence for manufacturing at Satricum 'may indicate an Italian exchange mechanism based on commercial exchange with fixed correlations for the value of different metals'.[33] Finds of weights in other sanctuaries—for example, at Olympia in Greece and Francavilla Marittima in southern Italy—have been interpreted as a sign that certain sanctuaries could have guaranteed the value and content of fixed measures. Such practices potentially foreshadow the storage of weight standards in the Temple of Castor and Pollux at Rome.[34]

The Etruscan sanctuary of Pyrgi also clearly had contacts beyond Etruria. The cult site lay on the Tyrrhenian coast and was connected to the city of Caere further inland by a monumental road.[35] In 1964 excavations in the Monumental Sanctuary uncovered three gold tablets inscribed in Etruscan and Phoenician/Punic. The texts record the dedication of a structure to Uni/Astarte by the Caeretan leader Thefarie Velianas.[36] The tablets date to *c.*500 BC, roughly contemporary with Temple B, and nail holes around their sides suggest

[28] Nijboer et al. (1999–2000: 170). See also Attema, de Haas, and Tol (2011: 53).
[29] Beijer (1995: 58–9); Bouma (1996: i. 185–6).
[30] Lulof (2000: 211 with n. 13; 2006); Winter (2009: 537).
[31] Nijboer (1994; 1998: 303–4). It weighs *c.*267 g and has lost weight owing to corrosion and scratching. The Roman–Oscan pound weighs *c.*273 g.
[32] Nijboer (1998: 303–6). The weight is corroded and weighs *c.*340 g. The Italian or Roman–Attic/Campanian pound weighs *c.*341 g.
[33] Nijboer (1998: 306–7).
[34] Nijboer (1998: 306); see also Maggiani (2012) and Biella (2019) for other examples of weights from Etrusco-Italic sanctuaries (including Caere, Gravisca, Chianciano Terme, and Tarquinia) and discussion.
[35] The site has an enormous bibliography; for general reference, see Colonna (1970).
[36] *CIE* II.I.4.6312–16.

that they may have been attached directly to the cult building.[37] The bilingual inscriptions are often linked with Aristotle's later description of commercial treaties between the Tyrrhenians and the Carthaginians,[38] and the tablets anticipate a Phoenician audience and imply that a Phoenician scribe was present in the sanctuary or its vicinity. The strongest sign of trade, rather than contact, is a collection of nine silver *tetradrachms* excavated at the rear of Temple A. The coins date to approximately the mid-fifth century BC and were issued by Attica, Leontini, Messana, and Syracuse. The fact that these types of coins did not circulate in Etruria has given rise to proposals that Greek coins were hoarded at the sanctuary as a form of bullion.[39] In this scenario the sanctuary and its environs had separate exchange mechanisms, and the cult site assumes a significant role in long-distance trade. The coins have also been viewed as remnants of the legendary wealth of the sanctuary looted by Dionysius I of Syracuse in 384 BC.[40] Such riches have led the excavators to suggest that the sanctuary served as one of Caere's treasuries from *c.*460 BC onwards,[41] a situation with closer parallels in Greece than currently known in Etruria.

These select examples indicate that Etrusco-Italic sanctuaries probably had significant economic functions. Some would have focused on local needs and others been part of regional or international networks. Their most important functions, however, may have been even less quantifiable, as will now be shown.

Intangible Commodities

Etrusco-Italic sanctuaries were also centres for the production, consumption, and exchange of less tangible commodities. The seafaring and astronomical information that enabled maritime exploration, the myths and rituals that directed religious action, and the writing transmitted by scribal schools may all be regarded as sanctuary assets.[42] As venues for elite display, sanctuaries played a vital role in the creation and maintenance of status. These spaces thus functioned as repositories of knowledge and power.

[37] Heurgon (1966); Colonna (1970: 597–604); Pallottino (1970).
[38] Aristotle, *Politics* 3.5.10–11.
[39] Baglione (1985); Colonna (2005: 2194); Nijboer (1998: 60, 63).
[40] Diodorus Siculus 15.14.3–4. [41] Baglione et al. (2015: 227).
[42] Pappa (2015: 55). On scribal schools, see Wallace (2008: 26).

The practice of giving an item to a god removed it from circulation and established sanctuaries as places for conspicuous consumption. By dedicating only items that they could afford to be without, worshippers turned lavish offerings such as statues and buildings into public statements of wealth. Inscribed objects could continue to advertise their generosity long after the fact. At the Campo della Fiera Sanctuary near Orvieto, an inscribed statue base records the religiosity and disposable income of a freedwoman named Kanuta from the *gens* Laracena.[43] The Pyrgi plaques, nailed to a doorjamb or wall, kept the magnanimity of Thefarie Velianas on permanent display. Piety could thus proclaim fortune and reinforce status.

Status was inherently relative. Gifts to the gods can be interpreted within a wider context of ancient gift-giving, as evident in Etruria and Latium as it was in contemporary Greece. Select artefacts in funerary and domestic contexts carried inscriptions that identify them as gifts between aristocrats and memorialize the names of their donors. Studies of gift exchange in pre-monetary cultures and the literary evidence from Archaic Greece suggest that the objects given derived prestige from both their intrinsic worth and their value as a marker of social ties.[44] Such exchanges were often viewed as social contracts creating debts to be discharged in future, functioning as stored capital. The Roman model of votive activity encapsulated in the formula *do ut des* ('I give so that you may give')—if applicable in Etruria—appears to have extended relationships between people to relationships with the gods. Votives asked the deity to reciprocate or showed that they had discharged their obligation, and thereby made relationships with the gods palpable.[45] It has been argued that human, noble, and divine were not distinct categories as much as a spectrum of existence in Etruria,[46] and votives that fostered expensive obligations could signal a privileged position on it.

Status may also have been displayed at sanctuaries in the conflation of religious and political leadership. Much of the evidence that priests and priestesses were elite members of Etrusco-Italic society postdates the Archaic period, but there are indications of continuity with earlier practice. In Etruria, epitaphs identify individuals who were both priests (most often *cepen* in Etruscan, attested from the seventh century BC) and magistrates (often titled *zilath*).[47] The inscribed sarcophagus of Laris Pulenas at Tarquinia, dating to the third century BC, identifies him as a priest of the cults of Catha, Hermes,

[43] Stopponi (2011: 42).
[44] Morris (1986); Mauersberg (2015); and Moser and Smith (2019: 5, 8–9) for central Italy.
[45] Becker (2009: 88–9). [46] Warden (2009: 209).
[47] For overviews, see Lambrechts (1959); Haack (2003); De Grummond (2006: 34–9).

and Pacha, the author of a work on haruspicy, and holder of magisterial offices,[48] while the cinerary urn of Arnth Remzna of Chiusi, also dated to the third century BC, names the occupant as a *zilath* and depicts him wearing the hat of a haruspex.[49] The wall paintings of the Tomb of the Funerary Bed in Tarquinia, dating to *c.*460 BC, offer earlier evidence with the pointed hats worn by haruspices lying on a couch;[50] as painted tombs at Tarquinia probably belonged to an elite minority, this may show that religious offices were held by those with high social status during the fifth century BC. In Latin sources, Cicero describes religious duties being handed down between noble families and records a second-century BC decree of the Roman Senate ordering elite families to perpetuate the body of Etruscan religious lore known as the *etrusca disciplina*.[51] If a theocratic elite led activities at sanctuaries, then the exercise of religious power would have further reinforced their status.

Other activities can be entertained in reconstructions of sanctuary affairs. Spectacles are thought to have been as important in Etrusco-Italic religion as its Greek and Roman counterparts, and Livy's description of a festival with actors that took place in 403 BC has been interpreted as a reference to federated games at the Fanum Voltumnae.[52] Livy also writes that leaders from all over Etruria came to the sanctuary to discuss military campaigns and arrange civic affairs.[53] These activities are likely to have facilitated the exercise of power and the displays of status entwined with it. The more tangible elements of sanctuary business no doubt fed into this arrangement as well. It has been suggested that the rulers of Satricum used their control over both the cult and local industry to conduct ritualized exchanges and amass prestigious goods,[54] with the sanctuary's wealth representing both personal and institutionalized hoarding. It has also been proposed that Greek coins were found at Pyrgi but not in its hinterland, because economic regulation was instituted there by those who benefited from the protection of local agricultural production, the trading of its surplus, and the possession of imported items that could be purchased with that surplus—namely, landowning elites.[55] Such reconstructions posit that sanctuaries traded metals, crops, animals, pottery, and textiles, along with economic, social, and religious power. The system that may have facilitated this range will now be explored.

[48] *CIE* II.I.5430; Jannot (2005: 7). [49] *CIE* I.1192. Turfa (2005: 263–5).
[50] Steingräber (2006: 139–40). [51] Cicero, *Ad fam.* 6.6; *De div.* 1.92.
[52] Livy 5.1.5; Camporeale (2010: 158); Warden (2012: 95). [53] Livy 4.23.5; 4.25.6–7; 6.2.2.
[54] Waarsenburg and Maas (2001: 52–3). [55] Nijboer (1998: 60–3).

Archaic Rationales

A symbiotic relationship between religion and trade has been recognized in contexts well beyond pre-Roman central Italy. In ancient Asia Minor, Greece, and Egypt, there is evidence that religious sites benefited from, and may have actively exploited, a tendency for exchange to happen in their vicinity. Similar situations have also been found in societies far from the Classical world. This has led anthropologists, ethnographers, and sociologists to assert that religion can play a useful role in regulating market systems in the absence, or limited presence, of governmental oversight in pre-industrial societies.[56] The conduct of trade in such contexts is integral to this model. Studies have argued that, when fewer pre-existing social relationships exist between trading partners, there is a risk that one side will take advantage, and exchanges will be unequal or unfair. Encounters with unfamiliar trading partners furthermore have an inherent risk of misunderstandings and volatility. This higher risk of fraud, inequality, and danger is fertile ground for actions that promote trust. Here widely recognized rituals can create a standardized set of expectations and behaviour that function as a *lingua franca* for interaction. Exchanges that occur under divine oversight could use the gods as witnesses and guarantors: the possibility that fraudulent transactions may be punished with divine retribution meant that ritual observance could generate a degree of trust that is valuable, and even marketable, in an uncertain world.[57] Religion can thus serve as a mechanism for facilitating productive exchange, and sanctuaries can become desirable commercial spaces.

The fact that scholars have recognized a connection between religion and trade in chronologically and geographically disparate settings raises the question of why Etrusco-Italic communities seem to have invested so much in this relationship during the Archaic period. Changes affecting communities around the Mediterranean undoubtedly provided a spur. While contact between different Mediterranean cultures had long occurred through warfare, intermarriage, travel, and trade, archaeological evidence suggests that the movement of goods and peoples across long distances sharply intensified between the second half of the eighth and the end of the sixth centuries BC. The increasing circulation of luxury objects from the Levant, Anatolia, Egypt,

[56] Torelli (1986: 47); Smith (1996: 147); Garraty (2010: 24–5); Demetriou (2012: 233–5). Horden and Purcell (2000: 432–3) note the relationship but doubt whether it was deliberately cultivated. For particular case studies beyond the ancient Mediterranean, see Bohannan and Bohannan (1968), Nigeria; Hudson and Van de Mieroop (2002), ancient Near East; Abbott (2010), Arizona.

[57] Smith (2001: 21); Glinister (2003: 143–4); Garraty (2010: 24–5).

and western Asia through parts of Italy, Greece, Phoenicia, and Iberia around the seventh century BC is reflected in the common description of the period as 'Orientalizing', and there is also evidence that people travelled more extensively: the correspondence between names on pots dedicated at Gravisca and names recorded at Naukratis indicates the movement of sailors and traders, as does the discovery of an Etruscan text on lead at Pech Maho on the Languedoc coast, and pilgrims such as the Etruscan king Arimnestus appear to have travelled to wealthy Greek sanctuaries to make dedications.[58] Artisans are likely to have travelled between workshops, and the westward spread of new technical skills in bronze work, goldsmithing, ivory-carving, and gem-cutting, as well as the use of moulds, particularly during the period of the Assyrian conquests of Syria–Palestine, also indicate the movement of craftsmen and technology.[59] Permanent migrations are suggested by the considerable number of Greek, Carthaginian, Phoenician, and Etruscan colonies. The mobility of the seventh and sixth centuries BC is thus likely to have seen knowledge, languages, and stories circulating alongside objects.[60]

Sociological models would suggest that this increased contact between members of different cultures resulted in systems for managing, and benefiting from, such encounters. Many Hellenic communities seem to have capitalized on the opportunities offered by a religious framework. For example, it has been suggested that the exceptional wealth of the Heraion on Samos in the late eighth and early seventh centuries BC stemmed from dedications by emissaries of high-ranking individuals from Egypt, Cyprus, and the Near East.[61] These offerings could have been prompted by a wish to acknowledge the hosts' customs, signal good intentions, and build confidence that was subsequently used in the conduct of additional, often commercial, interactions.[62] The topography of the sanctuary also seems to have been significant. Rather than being placed in a settlement, the sanctuary stood 6 km to the east on the coast, near the

[58] Pausanias 5.12.5; Gran-Aymerich (2009); cf. Smith (1999: 189); Horden and Purcell (2000: 438–60). Names at Gravisca and Naukratis: Moretti (1984); Torelli (1982); Smith (1996: 145); Möller (2000: 166–81). Pech Maho: Lejeune, Pouilloux, and Solier (1988); Cristofani (1995a: 132–3); Gras (1995: 159–61); Malkin (2011: 166).

[59] Burkert (1992: 21–5); Ciafaloni (2006); cf. Smith (1996: 73). The story of the Veientine sculptor Vulca who undertook commissions in Rome (Pliny, *HN* 35.157) may recall similar movements, but is not direct evidence for them, nor is the tale of Demaratus, a Corinthian trader and nobleman who left Corinth to settle in Etruscan Tarquinia (Livy 1.34): Ridgway (2012).

[60] On horizontal social mobility, see Ampolo (1976–7). On mobility more generally, see Cristofani (1996) and Riva (2006: 111).

[61] Kyrieleis (2006; 2009: 140–1) with references.

[62] Kyrieleis (2009); cf. Gregory (1980: 644) on how some votives are 'manifestly a vehicle for the expression of relations between men', and Osborne (2004: 2) arguing that votives 'establish a particular model of reciprocity which has a profound effect on all exchange'.

marshy mouth of the Imbrasos River, where there was an area suitable for landing flat-bottomed Greek ships.[63] In *c.*560 BC a dipteral temple (the so-called Temple III) replaced an eighth-century building and a seventh-century shrine.[64] Within a decade the temple had been destroyed. Its replacement (Temple IV), begun in *c.*530 BC and located 40 m to the east, became renowned for having the largest known floor plan of any Archaic Greek temple.[65] Contact, wealth, and investment in religious infrastructure seem closely linked.

Further up the Ionian coast, the Artemision at Ephesos also offered favourable commercial conditions. The Archaic Temple of Artemis, completed in *c.*550 BC, drew pilgrims, royalty, sightseers, and merchants who traded and made votive offerings. 'Ephesian ware', found only in Ephesos and Sardis, indicates a special relationship with the Lydian empire, and gifts such as Corinthian aryballoi and Phoenician leg plates decorated with symbols of the Egyptian gods Bastet and Hathor can be traced back to mainland Greece and the Levantine coast.[66] Many of these visitors made use of the nearby harbour and 'holy port'.[67] The harbour was central to Ephesos' role as a gateway between the Aegean Sea and important land routes across Anatolia, including the east–west Laodicea road, the northern road to Smyrna, and the road to Sardis and Galatea in the north-east.[68] Its topography conferred sufficient wealth and influence for the city to be relocated more than once in response to the silting-up of a useful landing site. Again, a sanctuary and port underpinned a renowned Archaic centre of trade and religious tourism.

Archaic Egypt offered traders another sacred environment for conducting business. Naukratis was one of the earliest ports in the region. Excavations indicate that a mixed population of Greeks, Egyptians, and possibly Phoenicians resided in the settlement on the Canopic branch of the Nile prior to its transfer to Greek control shortly after 570 BC.[69] Its charter specified that non-Greek merchants were required to pass through Naukratis to carry out trade with Egypt and thus gave the settlement a pivotal role in Archaic maritime commerce.[70] Pottery demonstrates connections to Cyprus, Phoenicia, Cyrene, and Etruria as well as Greece and Egypt.[71] At least twelve Greek city

[63] Kyrieleis (1981: 9); see also Strabo 14.1.14.
[64] Barletta (2001: 108, 121).
[65] Young (1980: 72–6); Sacks (1995: 210); Barletta (2001: 121).
[66] Scherrer (2000: 44, 212).
[67] Ramsay (1901: 167); Zabehlicky (1995: 201–2); Stanley (2007: 143); Murphy-O'Connor (2008: 10, 18).
[68] Treblico (1994: 308).
[69] Villing and Schlotzhauer (2006b), with bibliography.
[70] Herodotus 2.179. Note that the traditional view of Naukratis as the first and only port in Egypt has recently been overturned by exploration of the harbour town of Herakleion-Thonis, also located on the Canopic branch of the Nile (Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006a: 5).
[71] Naso (2006); Villing and Schlotzhauer (2006a: 7).

states subsequently contributed to the architectural enrichment of the town and its port by financing a number of sanctuaries and temples.[72] Sanctuaries known from either remains or dedicatory inscriptions include those of Aphrodite, Hera, Apollo, and the Dioscuri, as well as the Hellenion, common to all the colonizing *poleis*.[73] These religious structures appear to have dominated the Archaic settlement, as no clear traces of contemporary houses, streets, and public architecture have yet been found;[74] sanctuaries were clearly a priority for traders and those financing building activity.

These Aegean and Egyptian examples have comparanda at Corinth, Corfu, on Sicily, and in Magna Graecia.[75] Monumental temples and divinely protected marketplaces thus appear to form a network in the Archaic period, one that people in central Italy may not just have been aware of but actively have tried to join through the construction of sanctuaries with temples, imagery, and deities that were remarkably congruent to those being built further afield.[76] Temples of Mater Matuta at Rome and Satricum, Uni/Astarte at Pyrgi, Artemis at Ephesos, and Hera at Corfu and Samos may have offered visitors a religious environment that was both recognizable and flexible. Similarly, the popularity of Herakles–Melqart at these sites may also have been more than coincidental. Hercules was worshipped at sanctuaries in the Roman Forum Boarium, at Pyrgi, Caere, Praeneste, through southern Italy, and along the Adriatic coast in his polyvalent capacity as a companion of female goddesses, a traveller to distant lands, and a protector of sailors, herders, and merchants wherever they encountered wilderness, thieves, monsters, and generic danger.[77] Herakles–Melqart and Athena–Artemis–Astarte are, moreover, thought to have been the quintessential deities of early Mediterranean religion.[78] People approaching a monumental sanctuary, marked out by relatively familiar architecture, were thus also likely to find it associated with the worship of a familiar, or at least translatable, figure. The great sanctuaries of Archaic Latium and Etruria can thus be viewed as participants in a system where cult facilitated contact.

[72] Herodotus 2.178.
[73] Möller (2000: 94–113, 200–2).
[74] House and streets are present but may date from the Ptolemaic period or later (Möller 2000: 118–19).
[75] Potts (2015: 107–11).
[76] Potts (2015: 112), with references.
[77] Glinister (2003: 143); Schwarz (2009: 245–6, 259); Malkin (2011: 119–41). In Italy, statues and acroterial figures of Herakles and Athena decorated temples at Rome, Caere, Veii, and Satricum: Lulof (2000).
[78] Bonnet (2005).

Privileged Space

Yet, while peer-polity interaction undoubtedly played a role in the prominence accorded to sanctuaries during the sixth century BC, local economic and social conditions must also account for the particularities of this phenomenon in central Italy. It is now well established that Etruria and Latium were not passive imitators of others' activities and changes, and developments must partly stem from local circumstances. The role of Etrusco-Italic sanctuaries within their communities should, therefore, also be considered.

Cult sites functioned within much broader systems of trade and exchange. The economies of Etruria and Latium were based on contrasting natural resources and political systems, and individual cities had their own economic ties with other communities in Italy and abroad that reflected geography, personal aristocratic connections, and specialist industries. Sites of production and exchange developed near harbours, natural resources, and elite residences.[79] Gravisca and Pithekoussai were ports now conventionally described as *emporia*; Lago dell'Accesa and Acquarossa processed nearby ores and metals; and Poggio Civitate hosted a range of craft activities near lavish accommodation. Sanctuaries accordingly appear to have been one, but not the only, type of economic centre in the seventh and sixth centuries BC.

The prominence of sanctuaries in the archaeological record nonetheless indicates that they were privileged spaces. In the Orientalizing period, economic surpluses were displayed at funerals and then interred. In contrast, Archaic wealth was often invested in temples and sanctuary infrastructure. Scholars have offered two contrasting explanations for this shift. The first holds that monumental sanctuaries were a tactical redeployment of elite resources, transferring wealth from the world of the dead to the community of the living via conspicuous religious euergetism.[80] The second sees monumental sanctuaries as signs of the decline, rather than the maintenance, of elite authority. Here the new cult sites represent community appropriation of cult following the loss of power of a figure or group that had formerly amalgamated religious, political, and social leadership.[81] There is insufficient evidence to prove either scenario, but, regardless of whether the change

[79] Nijboer (1998: 340–1).

[80] e.g. Bietti Sestieri and De Santis (2000: 29); Riva (2005: 213); Izzet (2007: 227).

[81] e.g. Coarelli (1983–5: i. 56–65); Colonna (1985: 53); Damgaard Andersen (1993: 85–6); Smith (1996: 19, 86–7); Marini Calvani (2001: 567); Camporeale (2004: 132). On the discrepancy between these two hypotheses, note Pollock (1999: 181) in the context of Mesopotamian architecture: 'Ideologically, monuments embody *at one and the same time* an expression of control over the labor of the people who constructed them and a sense of working together for the community.'

represents investment by a few or by a wider section of the population, the result is a prioritization of religious space.

Justification must have stemmed in part from the benefits conferred. Although workshops can be identified at some economic centres along with weights and measures that suggest market exchange,[82] to date there are no Archaic versions of later Roman fora or *macella*, of ordered spaces set aside for commercial or civic activities. Marzabotto offers alternatives in the form of wide, covered pavements suitable for stalls, and parts of houses that accommodated workshops and businesses. Some cities, such as Veii and Caere, had open spaces that presumably could be used for a range of activities including markets.[83] If cities did not have dedicated spaces for public business, then sanctuaries may have fulfilled a civic need. Festivals would provide merchants with large clienteles. Sanctuaries may, moreover, have offered elites an opportunity to justify their privilege at a time when a growing middle class might have been challenging traditional social dynamics.[84] If those with power could offer temples and dedications that would foster divine goodwill and promote cities, serve the public by mediating with the gods as priests, and also provide a framework for facilitating business, then sanctuaries could benefit more than one part of the population.

Spaces that combined religious, economic, and ceremonial functions may have proved so useful in western central Italy that they developed into a distinctive and lasting urban feature. In an overlooked passage, Albert Nijboer has suggested that the form and function of sanctuaries such as Pyrgi and Satricum mark them as 'incipient fora'.[85] The architectural elements of these sanctuaries formed a set that was repeated in the centuries that followed. At Pyrgi, the north sanctuary was monumentalized in *c.*510 BC with the construction of Temple B and an enclosure with a large arcaded entrance. On the south side of the temple stood the 'Building of the 20 Cells', a long row of rooms with a function that remains unclear.[86] A similar arrangement combining a temple and colonnaded space can also be seen in the late sixth century BC at Satricum, where the courtyard buildings surrounding Temple II were replaced with a number of rectangular columned buildings described as *stoai*.[87] Both of these examples may foreshadow the classic temple and portico elements of later Roman fora. The ability of a temple and buildings to provide a consecrated space where ritual, political, and commercial activities could occur arguably had long-lasting appeal.

[82] Nijboer (1998: 297–338).
[83] Steingräber (2001: 26).
[84] Proposed for Greece by Morris (1986: 13).
[85] Nijboer (1998: 333, 49–50).
[86] For an overview and reconstruction of the remains, see Colonna (1984–5).
[87] Maaskant-Kleibrink (1991: 105–8; 1992: 139–42).

The precocious development of the Forum Boarium and the Forum Romanum at Rome may signal that the city played an important role in the development of monumental, sanctified space. The Archaic Forum Boarium was a flood-prone valley and port with temporary industrial buildings.[88] It was also, from *c.*580 BC, the site of the first known podium temple in central Italy.[89] Monumental sanctuaries and meeting places under the protection of the gods appear to have been a concomitant development in central Italy, Sicily, and Magna Graecia during the first half of the sixth century BC, and the date of Rome's first temple places it at the forefront of this change in Rome, Latium, and further afield.[90] Later historians gave the Forum Boarium a colourful history that included the eponymous cattle trade and even the first Roman gladiatorial games.[91] In contrast to this outward-looking and dynamic space, the Forum Romanum appears to have remained architecturally conservative between the land reclamation project that created it at the end of the seventh century BC and the construction of the first monumental temples there at the start of the fifth. The Temple of Saturn was dedicated in 497 BC and the Temple of Castor in 484 BC, closely followed in the Forum Boarium by the twin temples at S. Omobono.[92] But, whereas the temples in the Forum Boarium faced the approaching world, those in the Forum Romanum turned their backs on it. This change may mark a transition in such spaces that began after the sixth century BC and produced archetypal urban fora.

The urbanization and reorientation of landmark sanctuaries away from coastlines and harbours at this time may reflect changes in trade and politics. During the fifth century BC, international exchange continued to decline, in some places, in favour of interregional trade, and settlements became increasingly occupied with domestic concerns. Satricum was subject to Volscian incursions,[93] and in 384 BC Dionysius I of Syracuse sacked Pyrgi.[94] Conflict with the Gauls and Sabines may have further encouraged reform of sacred communal spaces at Rome. By the early fourth century BC the Forum Romanum hosted temples, shops, and judicial and commemorative activities, and had become a stage for elite participation in politics, religion, and law: the difference with monumental sanctuaries in the preceding centuries consequently may be one of location rather than of form or function.

[88] Hopkins (2014: 36–7).
[89] Potts (2015: 90–1, 144–5), with references.
[90] Potts (2015: 107–17).
[91] Valerius Maximus 2.4.7.
[92] Livy 2.21.2, 2.42.5; Hopkins (2016: 146–52).
[93] Gnade (2002).
[94] Diodorus Siculus 15.14.

Conclusion

This overview of the economic significance of sanctuaries in Archaic central Italy has set out a model rather than a set of quantitative data. It suggests that, although the consumption and production of resources may have been a long-standing part of religious activities in pre-Roman Italy, the economic significance of sanctuaries changed during the Archaic period. It posits that changes in the form and function of cult sites at this time can be attributed to three intersecting factors: increasing volumes of trade and ways of managing resultant risk; the construction of temples at places of contact and exchange elsewhere around the Mediterranean; and adjustments in the actions and attitudes of those with economic power during a period of social and political change. Together these factors turned religion, and particularly cult sites, into a significant economic force. Sanctuaries became privileged places for the exchange of tangible and intangible commodities, and may have established a template for the site and conduct of similar activities in fora and other spaces in the centuries that followed. As such this model may go beyond providing a point of comparison for Republican and imperial practices by actually outlining their background and rationale: while the scale and complexity of the religious economy may have changed in the Roman period, the social, cultural, and theological elements of the underlying model may have not.

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