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## Latin colonization in Italy before the end of the Second Punic War

Termeer, Marleen Katrien

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# **Latin colonization in Italy before the end of the Second Punic War**

Colonial communities and cultural change

Marleen K. Termeer

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rijksuniversiteit  
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# Latin colonization in Italy before the end of the Second Punic War

Colonial communities and cultural change

## Proefschrift

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Prof. dr. L. de Ligt

Prof. dr. C. Smith

To my parents



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Amsterdam, 28 March 2015





Figure 1.1. Map showing colonial foundations in Italy before 134/33-121

# 1. Introduction

This thesis aims to throw new light on a subject that is old, in many ways. The main subject are the Latin colonies that were founded by Rome before the end of the First Punic War (264-241 BC),<sup>1</sup> and specifically their role in processes of cultural change. The analysis will focus on the period between the end of the Latin War (340-338), when Rome definitively assured its supremacy in Latium, and the end of the Second Punic War (218-201), when Rome acquired its status as a Mediterranean power by defeating Hannibal. In this period, Rome established its dominance on the Italian peninsula, and this rather early episode is fundamental for our understanding of Roman history; the dynamic developments in Rome and Italy in this period are inextricably linked to Rome's rise as a Mediterranean power.<sup>2</sup> Recognition of the importance of the colonies in these developments is old as well. Cicero already thought it 'worth while to remember the carefulness of our ancestors, who established colonies in suitable places in such a manner that guarded them against all suspicion of danger, so that they appeared to be not so much towns of Italy as bulwarks of an empire'.<sup>3</sup> And Niccolò Machiavelli, interested in what the Romans had to teach about the establishment of power, claimed that 'nothing could have contributed more to the safety, strength and profit of the state' than the presence of the colonies.<sup>4</sup>

While attention for the colonies goes back a long time, this thesis offers an innovative way of studying them. The main question is how the colonies contributed to processes of cultural change on the Italian peninsula in this crucial period of Rome's history. While this is not a novel question in itself, it must be cast in new terms. In part, this is the result of recent revisionist research of the Latin colonies, which has questioned many traditional ideas

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<sup>1</sup> The addition BC will be omitted in the rest of the text: all dates are BC, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Millar 1989, 140: 'This period cannot, therefore, help being a central problem in Roman history.'

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2.27.73: 'est operae pretium diligentiam maiorum recordari, qui colonias sic idoneis in locis contra suspicionem periculi conlocarunt ut esse non oppida Italiae, sed propugnacula imperi viderentur.'

<sup>4</sup> Machiavelli, *Disc.* II.6: 'una colonia (...) posta in su le frontiere di coloro veniva ad essere guardia de' confini romani, con utile di essi coloni, che avevano quegli campi, e con utile del pubblico di Roma che senza spesa teneva quella guardia. Né poteva questo modo essere più sicuro, o più forte, o più utile (...).'

about local realities in the colonies, and the ways in which these related to Rome.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the traditional conceptualization of the colonies' role in cultural change, as romanizing communities that contributed to the spread of Roman culture, is in need of correction and refinement. In this thesis, I argue that this model is theoretically flawed, and that in practical terms it represents part of the picture at best. It is imperative to also investigate non-Roman influences that were important in the colonies, and to allow for local creativity and developments. I will show that the Latin colonies were dynamic environments that contributed to processes of cultural change through interaction with Rome and with other cultural groups.

In order to understand the role of the colonies in cultural change, a crucial first step is to understand how local realities were shaped and developed over time. We have to think anew about what it means to be a Latin colony in the period before the Second Punic war for two main reasons. First, an important point of departure for this thesis is the recent criticism of the long influential image of the colonies as 'miniature Romes', that copied the topography and institutions of the mother city and thus spread the Roman model throughout the Italian peninsula.<sup>6</sup> A major achievement of recent contributions is the high level of attention placed on local realities in the colonies and possible variations between them,<sup>7</sup> and these findings will be integrated in the analysis. In addition, a problem which has thus far not been acknowledged sufficiently, is that the colonies have mostly been studied in rather static terms. Even though it is widely recognized that in this period both Rome itself and Roman dominion in Italy developed rapidly in political, social, economic and cultural arenas,<sup>8</sup> dynamics in the colonies and in their relation to

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<sup>5</sup> Important contributions are Crawford 1995; Bispham 2006; Bradley 2006; Pelgrom 2012; Pelgrom and Stek 2014. See section 1.2.2.

<sup>6</sup> Some remarks in this direction by Torelli 1988, 65-66 = Torelli 1999b, 14-15; more elaborately, Fentress 2000; Bispham 2006.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Fentress 2000; Coles 2009; see further section 1.2.2 below.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Cornell 1989, 391: 'During the period of the Italian wars between 338 and 264 B.C. the Roman commonwealth was internally transformed. It was at this time that the characteristic political, social and economic structures of the classical Republic began to take shape'; cf. Cornell 1995, 369-373. On political and institutional developments in Rome itself, mainly in the fourth century: Hölkeskamp 2011 [1987]. Culturally, the third century saw an acceleration of monumentalization in Rome, the progressive influence of Hellenistic culture among the Roman elite and, as far as we can see, it seems to have been an important period in which the Romans created their own past; see e.g. Cornell 1995, 390-398; Hölkeskamp 2006; Davies 2013,

Rome have received little attention. An important aim of this thesis, therefore, is to provide a comprehensive overview of the different dynamics that shaped local realities in the colonies.

Moreover, the question of cultural change goes beyond local realities in the colonies. While recent research has made clear that the traditional model of the role of the colonies in cultural change is problematic, it has done little to provide new ideas or models in this regard. We therefore need to investigate what local variety means for the way in which we can conceptualize the role of the colonies in processes of cultural change. In summary, the goal of this thesis is twofold. First, I aim to identify and qualify the dynamics that were important in shaping the colonies: in what ways was Rome important, and which other influences and dynamics can we recognize? Second, I will investigate broader effects of the colonial foundations: how did they participate in and contribute to processes of cultural change on the Italian peninsula?

In other words, local realities in the colonies will be studied in order to understand their role in and contribution to more general processes of cultural change. This interaction between local and 'global' continues to be an important concern in modern society, and my approach will be informed by globalization theory. The main reason for this is the added heuristic value that a globalization perspective offers in terms of understanding the dynamic dialogue between local developments and larger scale processes of change. The use of such a modern concept to study ancient realities may easily be criticized for being a fleeting fashion, and this approach of course shows the signs of the times in which it was written. However, I believe that a globalization perspective actually allows us to highlight aspects of Latin colonization that have long remained concealed, allowing a comprehensive vision of local and global developments. Of course, the decision to found a colony was taken in Rome, and Rome was a strong political and military force, and progressively so. However, the actual developments that followed this decision resulted from a mixture of active decisions (mostly by the colonial elite) and of daily practices by members of the colonial community, both of which interacted with a broader world than just Rome.

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specifically 441-443 on public building. On Hellenistic influences: e.g. Zevi 2003; Humm 2005, ch. 10.

A study of local developments in the colonies and the way they contributed to cultural change also addresses the nature of Roman dominion and imperialism in Mid-Republican Italy.<sup>9</sup> To an extent, this involves ascertaining to what degree and in what ways Rome manipulated local realities in the colonies, and hence how colonies manifested themselves. More generally, however, developments in the colonies contributed to the subsequent configuration of Roman Italy, also when the settlements were not designed in Rome. In this context, it is quite possible that new cultural developments took place in the colonies that did not copy a model that was already present in Rome. In this thesis, I hope to show that developments in the colonies, under a range of influences, helped shaping the effects of Roman dominion in Italy.

In this introduction, I first present the colonies under research in more detail in section 1.1 to make clear exactly which colonies are the subject of study, and what basic information we have about them. Next, in section 1.2, I discuss the historiography of the study of the colonies and their role in processes of cultural change, in order to point out where this thesis aims to make a contribution. In section 1.3, the main themes of the thesis and the general research design will be set out.

## **1.1 The Latin colonies**

The colonies that form the subject of this research are all the Latin colonies that were founded before the end of the First Punic War, except those that lost their colonial status in 338. All Latin colonies in existence in the period between the Latin War and the start of the Second Punic War are thus included, which permits the recognition of patterns and helps to avoid unjustified generalizations (see section 1.3). This adds up to a total of 28 colonies, listed with their foundation dates in table 1.1 (see also figure 1.1).<sup>10</sup> The most comprehensive ancient source for the list of colonies given in table 1.1 is Livy. Through his report on the failure of twelve colonies to supply troops to the

---

<sup>9</sup> In general, see Eckstein 2006. Cf. Stek 2014, 38 on ‘the conception of Roman colonization in the imperial project’.

<sup>10</sup> The passages in the written sources that mention the foundation of these colonies are listed in appendix 1. The dates given in table 1.1 are derived from Salmon 1969, 110-111; these will be used throughout. Some of these dates are not completely certain, but this is not of central importance to this research.

Roman army during the Hannibalic War in 209, and his subsequent notice of the colonies that did contribute, he gives a convenient list of the colonies then in existence.<sup>11</sup> The majority of these 28 colonies were founded after 338, in the late fourth and third centuries. The seven colonies founded before 338 will add an element of comparison to the analysis: although, according to Livy, they apparently belonged to the same category of colonies, their foundation took place earlier, and Roman interference in the fourth and third centuries may have been less direct.

Even though the list in table 1.1 can be found in many handbooks of the Roman Republic,<sup>12</sup> in many ways it is still unclear what it means to group these settlements together as ‘Latin colonies’. Especially in recent years, the exact meaning of the term Latin colony in the Middle Republic has been the subject of debate. Not only has the validity of the term itself been called into question, but the circumstances and goals of the colonial foundations in general have also been widely debated. This focus has produced questions as diverse as: the colonies’ legal status in relation to Rome; their military strategic role in Roman expansion in Italy; the way in which the foundation of the colonies relates to the coeval struggle of the orders in Rome; their role in the romanization of Italy; and more recently, their development as local communities.<sup>13</sup>

These last two questions lie at the heart of this thesis, and will be discussed throughout. It is important, however, to be aware of the contributions that have been made in other fields. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the first three questions in detail, they will briefly be

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<sup>11</sup> Livy 27.9.7-14 and 27.10.1-10 respectively; further discussion in ch. 3. Of the colonies mentioned by Livy, I do not include Cremona and Placentia, both founded in 218, as the interval between founding and the end of the Second Punic War (201) is too limited to be able to study significant cultural developments.

<sup>12</sup> In addition to Salmon 1969, 110-111, see e.g. Cornell 1995, 381; Rosenstein and Morstein-Marx 2006, map 5; and figure 1.1, taken from The New Pauly online (adapted from Wittke and Olshausen 2014). On the historiography of these lists, see Pelgrom and Stek 2014.

<sup>13</sup> This problem of fragmentation in research has now been put on the agenda explicitly by Pelgrom and Stek 2014, 33: “This fragmentation in colonization studies still dominates the research field today. (...) Notwithstanding the obvious importance of many new study in these realms, the impact on the general understanding of Roman colonization and significance for understanding Roman imperialism has yet [to] be fully appreciated. This is only possible by adopting a more holistic approach, and drawing together the historically diverged lines of enquiry in colonization studies.” In this article, Pelgrom and Stek discuss these different perspectives more elaborately, with particular attention to the very specific perspective taken by Salmon in his *Roman colonization under the Republic* (Salmon 1969).

Foundation date	Colony
Tarq. S. / 495	Signia
Tarq. S. / 393	Circeii
492	Norba
442	Ardea
383	Setia
382	Sutrium
382	Nepes
334	Cales
328	Fregellae
314	Luceria
313	Saticula
313	Suessa Aurunca
313	Pontiae
312	Interamna Lirenas
303	Sora
303	Alba Fucens
299	Narnia
298	Carseoli
291	Venusia
289	Hadria
273	Paestum
273	Cosa
268	Ariminium
268	Beneventum
264	Firmum
263	Aesernia
244	Brundisium
241	Spoletium

Table 1.1. List of colonies included in the research, with their foundation dates as given by Salmon 1969, 110-111

dealt with here. The main goal of this section is to provide a brief *status quaestionis* on the discussion of what a Latin colony is in juridical terms (section 1.1.1) and in what circumstances they were founded (section 1.1.2). As will become clear, colonial realities are often complex, and it will therefore be necessary to develop a well-defined terminology for a coherent analysis (section 1.1.3).

Before discussing these issues, it is important to describe the conditions for the use of the terms ‘colonies’ and ‘colonization’. These terms belie a highly

varied spectrum of historical realities and experiences that go well beyond the differences in meaning between ancient and modern colonization.<sup>14</sup> While modern associations can perhaps not be ignored,<sup>15</sup> I will use these terms throughout only as descriptive terms, based on the Latin term *colonia*.<sup>16</sup> The word indicates a body of *coloni* ('peasants'), and we should understand the *colonia* therefore first and foremost as a collectivity of people.<sup>17</sup> They were sent out to a place where they started a new life, interacting in various ways with people who were already there, and forming different new communities (see chapter 3).<sup>18</sup> I aim to investigate exactly what the effects of this migration were, and thus what the phenomenon of Latin colonization entailed.

### 1.1.1 Juridical status

In studies of Roman Republican history, the question what a Latin colony is has mainly been discussed in juridical terms, focusing on the legal status of the colonists and the colonial communities, and their relationship to Rome. Much of this scholarship remains fundamental, but it is important to note that recent contributions suggest that the situation in the fourth and third centuries was probably more dynamic than has previously been allowed for. In what follows, I give a brief overview of traditional debates and recent critiques and adjustments, in order to create a clear starting point for this research.

First of all, the colonies founded by Rome and Italy have long been divided into various groups, depending on the date of their foundation and their juridical relationship to Rome (see figure 1.1). The first group consists of those colonies that the written sources report to have been founded in the period before the Latin war (340-338). Much remains unclear about the juridical status of this group, and their relations to Rome.<sup>19</sup> Passing over the colonies attributed to the earliest part of the regal period, which are generally

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. Tsetskhladze and Hargrave 2011.

<sup>15</sup> Tsetskhladze and Hargrave 2011, 179: '[...] let us be content to accept that words such as 'colonisation', 'colony', etc. can only be approximations, necessary but imperfect, prone to comparative confusion, burdened with great weights of meaning and inference even just in the period of High Empire, never mind across the millennia.'

<sup>16</sup> Greek texts mostly use the term ἀποικία; see appendix 1.

<sup>17</sup> See Salmon 1969, 15.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Sommer 2011, 185-186 for the different possible realities that lie behind the observation that a colony is a collectivity of people, both in terms of numbers and composition of settlers.

<sup>19</sup> See Chiabà 2011.



relegated to the mythical realm, it is now thought that the colonies reported during the reign of the last king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus (traditionally dated: 534-509) and during the Early Republic may in fact reflect a historical reality.<sup>20</sup> However, their foundation may not have been the result of initiatives taken by the Roman political body. It has been hypothesized that after the *foedus Cassianum* of 496, the Latin League may have been partially responsible for their foundation.<sup>21</sup> As a result of recent hypotheses on the socio-political developments in Early Republican Latium, it has also been suggested that individual warlords and/or *gentes* may have been important in the foundation of these colonies,<sup>22</sup> leaving open the question of how their actions related to the political process in Rome.<sup>23</sup>

After the conclusion of the Latin War, the relationships between Rome and the towns of Latium were redefined.<sup>24</sup> Based on the passages in Livy discussed above, it can be concluded that seven of the colonies founded before 338 retained their status as colonies (Signia, Circeii, Norba, Ardea, Setia, Sutrium and Nepes).<sup>25</sup> Livy sorts them together with a group of colonies founded by Rome after 338, indicating they had the same status in relation to Rome: together they form the group of colonies studied in this thesis. These colonies are known as Latin colonies, because their citizens had the Latin status (see below). They are generally seen as semi-autonomous communities that were independent from Rome in internal affairs, although Rome could interfere in exceptional cases, a proviso perhaps regulated in the constitution of the colonies.<sup>26</sup> An important implication of this independent status is that colonists

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<sup>20</sup> See Cornell 1995, 15, 319; Forsythe 2005, 190. For the specific case of Signia, see Cifarelli 1993.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. Alföldi 1963, 368-369; Salmon 1969, 41.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. Càssola 1988, 17; Torelli 1999b, 17-18; Bradley 2006, 169; Chiabà 2006.

<sup>23</sup> The implications for our conceptualization of the colonies themselves and their relation to the city of Rome are briefly discussed in Termeer 2010a; Attema et al. 2014 discuss relevant archaeological evidence.

<sup>24</sup> But see Fraccaro 1956 [1934], 107 for the possibility of a more ambiguous division between the periods *before* and *after* 338 - yet another reason to include the colonies founded before 338 in this research.

<sup>25</sup> The colonies that did not retain their colonial status after 338 were mostly integrated into the *ager Romanus*, as happened to many towns in Latium. See Cornell 1995, 347-352.

<sup>26</sup> Gabba 1994 [1978], 39; Galsterer 1976, 89, n. 163. This autonomy has for example been recognized in the fact that the colonies minted their own money: Galsterer 1976, 90. See chapter 4. The possibility of Roman interference is illustrated by the reinforcements that Rome

from Rome lost their Roman citizenship upon joining a Latin colony.<sup>27</sup> They became citizens of the local community, and therefore they could not be Roman citizens at the same time.<sup>28</sup> It is clear that after 338 the initiative for the foundation of these Latin colonies was taken in Rome: they were sent out from Rome, headed by magistrates who were specially appointed for the task, the colonial triumvirs (see appendix 1).

The category of semi-autonomous Latin colonies can be contrasted with the so-called Roman colonies (*coloniae civium Romanorum*), that were inhabited by Roman citizens (see figure 1.1). The difference can be explained in reference to the size and location of the colonies: Roman colonies were often small garrisons, thought to be manned with around 300 colonists, and they were mostly located on the coast, or in locations that bordered directly on Roman territory and could thus be governed from Rome.<sup>29</sup> The Latin colonies were much larger (numbers of male settlers probably range from 2500 to 6000<sup>30</sup>) and were more distant from Rome, and therefore necessitated their own government.

The Latin colonies, then, are formally independent from Rome, although at least part of the population consists of former Roman citizens (see chapter 3 on the composition of the population). This formal independence is generally thought to have gone hand in hand with a firm loyalty to Rome, an idea that is closely connected to the Latin status of the colonists.<sup>31</sup> Although the exact significance of the Latin status is difficult to grasp,<sup>32</sup> it is generally perceived of as located *in between* the Roman citizenship and the allied status.<sup>33</sup> An important juridical element here is the regulation of the legal interaction

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sent to several colonies sometimes more than a century after their original foundation (see Gargola 1995, 98-101).

<sup>27</sup> Mommsen 1887-III.1, 52-53; Salmon 1969, 55.

<sup>28</sup> For the inconceivability of double citizenship in this period, see e.g. Mommsen 1887-III.1, 47-49; Salmon 1955, 72-73.

<sup>29</sup> Salmon 1969, 16; Laffi 2003, 42. On the number of inhabitants: e.g. Galsterer 1976, 46; Gargola 1995, 56, n. 24.

<sup>30</sup> See Cornell 1995, 381, table 9 for a list of estimated numbers of settlers, based on the few cases for which Livy provides information. See Pelgrom 2012, 22-42 for a balanced discussion of the reliability of these numbers.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. Salmon 1955, 69.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. Sherwin-White 1973, 96: 'What was the legal form by which these were joined to Rome is most obscure.'

<sup>33</sup> E.g. Mommsen 1887-III.1, 607, see also 661; Sherwin-White 1973, 96, 99-102; Galsterer 1976, 89; Günther 2009, 427.

between Latins and Roman citizens. The *ius Latii* would provide certain ‘privileges’ in the form of the *ius conubii*, the *ius commercii*, the *ius migrandi* and the *ius suffragio*, which somehow regulated, respectively, the right to marry a Roman citizen, the right to trade under the guarantee of Roman law, the right to move to Rome and possibly receive the Roman citizenship, and the right to vote in Rome.<sup>34</sup> These rights have been understood traditionally as originating from the pre-existing cultural and political bonds (the *foedus Cassianum*) between Rome and the original Latin towns, which were now extended to the Latin colonies.<sup>35</sup> However, while the exact significance and scope of these rights have always been under discussion,<sup>36</sup> their role in defining the relationship between Rome and the Latin colonies in the Middle Republic has been further problematized in recent research,<sup>37</sup> and the role of the *foedus Cassianum* has been challenged.<sup>38</sup> Based on these recent contributions, an alternative scenario is that these rights developed only during the fourth and third centuries, when several of the problems they aim to regulate were first encountered.<sup>39</sup>

These uncertainties demonstrate the fragility of our knowledge about the juridical status of the Latin colonies in the fourth and third centuries. It is important to realize that the general picture sketched above is based largely on evidence from the second and first centuries or later. The legal situation in the earlier period is mostly assumed to have been the same, arguing that ‘what evidence there is reveals a similar pattern’.<sup>40</sup> However, several elements of the general picture have recently been called into question for the fourth and third centuries. Most fundamentally, Michael Crawford has suggested that a clear categorization of colonies may well be a later development, and that many

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<sup>34</sup> Humbert 1978, 98.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. Salmon 1955, 74; Galsterer 1976, 86-87; Humbert 1978, 102. This is not generally accepted, however; an overview of the discussion is given by Humbert 1978, 98-102.

<sup>36</sup> See Mommsen 1887-III.1, 638-641; Salmon 1955, 71; Sherwin-White 1973, 108-116; Galsterer 1976, 92-100; Humbert 1978, ch. 3.2.

<sup>37</sup> In general, Coşkun 2009, 31-155 (= part B); see also Broadhead 2007, 153. On the *ius migrandi*, e.g. Broadhead 2001; on the *ius commercii* Roselaar 2012a; on the *ius conubii* Roselaar 2013.

<sup>38</sup> Coşkun 2009, 31-34.

<sup>39</sup> See e.g. Coşkun 2009, 111-113.

<sup>40</sup> Quote from Gargola 1995, 58, see also p. 51. See Coarelli 1992, 23 for the fourth and third centuries as a period when the essential structures of the conquest and integration of Italy were developed, and subsequently remained largely the same.

‘experimental’ forms of colonization may have existed.<sup>41</sup> This also means that the distinction between Latin and Roman colonies may not have been developed fully in the Middle Republic - in fact, there are many instances in the sources where a Latin colony is called a *colonia romana* or *colonia populi romani*, including the passage in which Livy ‘lists’ the Latin colonies during the Hannibalic war.<sup>42</sup> These observations tie in rather nicely with the more dynamic approach to aspects of the *ius Latii* noted above. What it meant to be a Latin colony - or colonist - was being defined in the period under study.

While it is important to realize, therefore, that the concept of ‘the Latin colony’ and its legal position in relation to Rome as discussed above may not yet have been developed fully in the fourth and third centuries, I would still suggest that some distinction between Roman and Latin colonies must already have been in place.<sup>43</sup> When we look at local realities in the colonies, it is striking that none of the Roman colonies produced coinages of their own in the third century, while sixteen of the Latin colonies under study here do (see chapter 4).<sup>44</sup> In addition, it remains true that Latin colonies were generally larger, and located in more remote areas (see figure 1.1).<sup>45</sup> If only because of this, a new local community, largely independent from Rome, must have been created when the colonists arrived. Who were part of these local communities, and how they were organized, will be further investigated in chapter 3.

### 1.1.2 The context of foundation

As we have seen above, the connection between the foundation of the colonies and Roman expansion on the Italian peninsula has long been clear. The colonies had an important military role in Rome’s conquest of Italy,<sup>46</sup> and various strategic roles have been suggested. The colonies would have served to protect

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<sup>41</sup> Crawford 1995; Bispham 2006.

<sup>42</sup> Bispham 2006, 82-85.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. the brief remarks by Laurence 1998, 104.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Bandelli 2002, 34-35: he identifies Ariminum and Firmum as Latin colonies based on the fact that Livy mentions them in his list of loyal colonies (27.10.1-10), that they have ‘latin’ magistracies and their own coinage production.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Pelgrom 2012, 59 for the observations that the walled areas of Roman colonies are always small. The same can be seen in the overview of plans of colonial settlements in Lackner 2008, 384-397.

<sup>46</sup> E.g. recently Broadhead 2007.

the area of Roman domination;<sup>47</sup> they are thought to have functioned as a barrier between different enemies of Rome, which were thus prevented from making alliances;<sup>48</sup> and they kept the local population docile.<sup>49</sup> Again, loyalty to Rome is an important overarching precondition:<sup>50</sup> a colony ‘had an important role in the activities of the Roman state, for it was to provide local government loyal to the founding city, maintain good order in its territory, and raise its quota of soldiers to serve in Roman armies’.<sup>51</sup> While the traditional focus has been on the colonies as guard posts in Central Italy and contributors to the Roman army, recently, their potential contribution to the Roman navy has also been pointed out.<sup>52</sup>

From a socio-economic perspective, it has been suggested that a different way in which the colonies helped the Roman military is that they attracted the urban poor, who were not eligible for military service in Rome. In the colonies, however, they became propertied citizens, and could thus serve in the army.<sup>53</sup> Yet, whether or not the colonists indeed were mainly recruited from the urban poor is a debated question (see chapter 3).<sup>54</sup> This socio-economic perspective also draws our attention to broader social dynamics in Rome that may have influenced the foundation of the colonies. Both for the period before the Latin War and later, the foundation of colonies outside the *ager publicus* may have been a way to prevent these public lands, traditionally in the hands of the patrician *gentes*, from being distributed into private allotments among the population.<sup>55</sup> From a Roman perspective, a combination of incentives is thus well conceivable: military guard posts were necessary, but the way in which these were devised may well have been in the interest of the Roman patricians.

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<sup>47</sup> Fraccaro 1956 [1934], 113.

<sup>48</sup> Toynbee 1965, 85; see also Coarelli 1992, 27, stressing the importance of roads connecting the colonies to Rome.

<sup>49</sup> Salmon 1955, 64.

<sup>50</sup> E.g. Galsterer 1976, 60.

<sup>51</sup> Gargola 1995, 98.

<sup>52</sup> Torelli 2011.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Salmon 1955, 65, n. 10: ‘a device for enabling Rome to obtain the martial services of her proletariat’.

<sup>54</sup> E.g. Càssola 1988, 7, 15 argues that only *assidui* (propertied citizens, eligible to serve in the army) could join the colonies.

<sup>55</sup> Bandelli 1999; Smith 2006, 244.

The decision to found a colony must have been the result of a political process in Rome, in which certain groups or families had their own interests.<sup>56</sup>

Rome's progressive expansion on the Italian peninsula ensured that colonies were founded in very different places and circumstances: the colonists encountered a range of different realities when they arrived at their place of destination. Of course, the pre-colonial situation was never static; contacts and relations between different groups of people already were important before the arrival of the Romans.<sup>57</sup> This existing variety was caused by at least three different factors. First of all, the patchwork of different cultural traditions in pre-Roman Italy survived to a certain extent, even into the Roman Empire. Colonies were sent out to areas as diverse as Campania, where Greeks had previously settled and founded the strong urban centre of Neapolis; Etruria, with its large urban centres; Samnium, where hillforts and sanctuaries served as central places; and the *ager Gallicus* on the margins of the Po plain. Second, these places not only vary hugely in terms of urbanization and cultural traditions, they also had different histories in relation to Rome. Contacts between Rome and several Etruscan cities, both hostile and friendly, extend into the regal period, and this is true for contacts between Rome and Campania as well (perhaps to a somewhat lesser extent). Exchange with areas further inland, such as Samnium, or further away, towards the Adriatic coast, had been much less intensive. Colonists arriving in Suessa Aurunca probably found a world with which they were much more acquainted than those that were sent out to Ariminum. A third factor that affected colonial realities is the level of pre-existing settlement at the particular spot where the colony was founded. It is now clear that many colonies were added to existing settlements, which may have been large, thriving communities as seems to be the case, for example, in Paestum. Other colonies, however, seem to have been founded largely *ex novo*: Cosa is the classical example.<sup>58</sup>

While neither the Roman incentives for colonization nor the various pre-colonial realities are the main subject of this thesis, they affected dynamics at a local level, and in this sense they will be part of the analysis. They are not the

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<sup>56</sup> See for an interesting analysis of internal Roman politics in this regard Coles 2009, ch. 2.

<sup>57</sup> See, recently, Bourdin 2012.

<sup>58</sup> The different character of Paestum and Cosa, both founded in 273, has been widely noticed, see recently Laurence et al. 2011, 40-45.

only factors to be taken into account, however. In section 1.3, additional factors that were important in shaping colonial realities will be further discussed.

### 1.1.3 Terminology

In order to coherently describe and analyse local realities in the colonies, different elements and influences that contributed to them are taken into consideration. In order to avoid confusion in the analysis, it is important to use a consistent terminology. In this section, I define the most important recurring terms.

This thesis studies the effects of Latin *colonization*. As noted above, this should be understood in simple terms, without any ideological baggage: colonization is understood as the movement of groups of people, resulting from the initiative of Rome. The term *colony* will be used in a rather broad sense. We have seen that the term should in principle be understood as a collectivity of people. However, as I am interested in local developments after the foundation of the colony, I use the term to indicate all local realities that developed after the foundation of the colony.

These local realities concern people, first of all. The *colonial community* refers to all the people that are part of these local realities. The *colonists*, or *settlers*, are those inhabitants of the colony that arrive at the moment of foundation, while the *indigenous population* are those who are already present before the foundation, and remain afterwards - the conventionality of this practice will be discussed in chapter 3. While the indigenous population need not be indigenous to the place in strict terms - they may have arrived through earlier migrations - I prefer to use this term because I apply the term *local population* to the totality of inhabitants of the colonies: settlers, indigenous population and any later additions (see further theoretical remarks in chapter 2). The local population thus forms the colonial community. It is true that the members of the local population may not all have been citizens of the juridical community created through the colonial foundation, but they are an important constitutive part of local realities (see section 3.2).

A second important element in creating local realities in the colonies is the way the physical settlement was shaped. As will be discussed more elaborately in chapter 3, the colonies in the third century were not always densely inhabited settlements, and much of the local population may have lived

dispersed in individual farms or in small villages in the countryside. The colonies generally do have a *central settlement*, however, which had a central place function. Many of these settlements show traces of urban planning. I will refer to these central settlements as *towns*, not as cities. The surrounding countryside will be defined as the town's *territory*, in the sense that the two were economically interdependent and the local population probably moved through both. Again, juridical arrangements are difficult to reconstruct: the traditional idea that each colony had a large territory over which it had jurisdiction may be problematic.<sup>59</sup> Finally, it seems plausible that each colony interacted with its *regional environment*, a term that I use in a rather loose sense to indicate an area that was close enough to the colony to allow for regular contact. Olivier de Cazanove has drawn attention to the possibility that the Latin colonies played a role in fixing regional borders, arguing in particular that such fixed borders did not exist when the colonies were founded.<sup>60</sup> The regional environment of the colonies could therefore include a variety of cultural and/or political groups with which the colonies could interact.

## 1.2 Defining the problem

The main goal of this thesis is to understand the role of the Latin colonies in processes of cultural change. This has long been an important research interest, but as in other debates on the Latin colonies discussed above, perspectives have changed considerably in the last thirty years or so. Crucially, ideas about the role of the colonies in cultural change are strongly dependent on the way the colonies themselves are conceptualized. In this section, I discuss the historiography of these two questions in order to indicate where this thesis aims to make a contribution.

In brief, we can say that the majority of past academic research on this subject saw the colonies as small mimetic centres of Roman culture that contributed to the romanization of Italy. The most important elements of this traditional view will be discussed in section 1.2.1. This idea has been challenged in more recent contributions, in which the variability of local colonial realities has received greater attention. These more recent approaches will be discussed

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<sup>59</sup> See Pelgrom 2012, ch. 5; the issue will come back in chapter 3.

<sup>60</sup> De Cazanove 2005.



in section 1.2.2. As I shall argue in section 1.2.3, while the conceptualization of cultural change implied in the traditional view is problematic, the more recent focus on local realities entails the risk of obfuscating the larger picture. If we wish to understand the role of the colonies in processes of cultural change, it is important to highlight patterns in the dynamics that shaped the colonies as local communities.

### **1.2.1 The romanizing colony**

The long-standing approach of viewing the importance of the colonies in relation to Rome's conquest of Italy has had profound effects on the way the role of the colonies in cultural change has been conceptualized. This line of argumentation views the colonies not only as establishing Roman dominance in distant parts of Italy, but also as introducing Roman and Latin culture into these areas. This results in a very simple model of cultural change: the colonies themselves were Roman, and their mere existence in remote areas of Italy rendered them important instruments of romanization.<sup>61</sup> In the *Cambridge Ancient History* of 1989, this is described as follows:<sup>62</sup>

As well as being military strongholds, these colonies were romanized enclaves in which Latin was spoken and the Roman way of life was practised; as such they contributed more than any other single factor to the consolidation of the conquest and the eventual unification of Italy under Rome.

Generally, the romanizing effect of the colonies is seen as a by-product, and not the main goal, of their existence.<sup>63</sup> Just by being Roman enclaves in culturally different areas, the colonies would have automatically spread 'the Roman way' within the borders of their own territory and beyond, thus, as in the statement quoted above, contributing to the unification of Italy under Rome.

In addition, the colonies are thought to have 'destructured' existing political, social and economic organization.<sup>64</sup> One important element is the

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<sup>61</sup> See already Mommsen 1976 [1854-55], I, 452, focusing on *latinization* (see below).

<sup>62</sup> Cornell 1989, 368. Other, earlier examples are Sherwin-White 1973, 99; Fraccaro 1956 [1934], 114; Salmon 1969, 54.

<sup>63</sup> E.g. Fraccaro 1956 [1934], 114; Toynbee 1965, 105; Salmon 1969, 54. Contra Pareti 1963, 62.

<sup>64</sup> E.g. Gabba 1994 [1985], 192; Torelli 1995.

perceived urbanizing effect of colonization.<sup>65</sup> In non-urbanized parts of Italy, the colonies would have introduced the urban form, while in parts of Italy that had already been urbanized, they represented an early form of *Roman* urbanism.<sup>66</sup> Helmut Galsterer even holds that even when the military function of a colony is not immediately clear, it may well be that the colonies were intentionally founded in order to urbanize a region.<sup>67</sup> Connected to this idea of urbanization as romanization is the suggestion that the local population needed to be introduced into this new urbanized world. Thus, Galsterer suggests that through the presence of the colonists, the local population was ‘educated’ in the juridical and political constellation installed by Rome.<sup>68</sup>

The romanness of the colonies is also thought to have been expressed in the design of their institutions and urban centres. Rome is viewed as the urban archetype: ‘(...) the founders sought to duplicate the *urbs Roma* and the *ager Romanus* in certain of their political, cultic, and legal aspects (...)’.<sup>69</sup> An important text informing this view is a passage in Aulus Gellius (16.13.9), where the emperor Hadrian describes the colonies as miniature versions or images of Roman magnificence and majesty - the passage is often paraphrased to define the colonies as ‘*simulacra Romae*’.<sup>70</sup> Even though it is imperial in date, the text has been interpreted a very literal sense, meaning the urban planning of the colonies would have included elements that were directly copied from Rome, such as the *curia-comitium* complex, and the *Capitolium* temple.<sup>71</sup> This idea has often influenced the interpretation of archaeological remains in the

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<sup>65</sup> E.g. Toynbee 1965, 114; Torelli 1979, 196; Coarelli 1992, 24; Lomas 2004, 209. Cf. Hingley 2005, 77-87 on the discourse of urbanization in relation to colonization.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Sewell 2010 on the formation of Roman urbanism.

<sup>67</sup> Galsterer 1976, 61-62

<sup>68</sup> Galsterer 1976, 60. See also Gargola 1995, 82: ‘The order outlined by the colonial commissioners (...) was expected to function in the Roman fashion.’

<sup>69</sup> Gargola 1995, 71. The roots of this view go back to 19th century scholarship at least: cf. Beloch 1880, 154: ‘Die innere Organisation der Colonien ist natürlich nichts anderes als ein Abbild der Zustände der Mutterstadt.’ In the work of Beloch, the focus lies on the political and administrative organization of the colonies; cf. Beloch 1926, 489: ‘Die Verfassung der Colonies latinischen Rechts war ein Abbild der Verfassung der Mutterstadt.’

<sup>70</sup> The original passage in the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius (16.13.9) is ‘(...) amplitudinem maiestatemque populi Romani, cuius istae coloniae quasi effigies parvae simulacraque esse quaedam videntur (...)’. Cf. e.g. Galsterer 1976, 60: ‘Sie wurden in Sprache, Verwaltung und Recht wahre *simulacra* Roms.’

<sup>71</sup> Thus Salmon 1969; more recently Gargola 1995, 83.

colonies, perhaps most explicitly so in Cosa.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, the foundation rituals of the colonies would have been the same as Rome's, including the ploughing of a *sulcus primigenius* and the placing of the first fruits.<sup>73</sup> Again, these elements were 'recognized' in the excavations at Cosa.<sup>74</sup> Thus, Cosa has long been used as something of a type site, an exemplum of *the* Latin colony.<sup>75</sup>

In this conceptualization of the romanizing colony, there is a close connection between 'the Roman way' and Latin culture. In addition to Latinity as a juridical status, discussed above, cultural Latinity has also been important in conceptualizations of the colonies. This idea goes back to Mommsen, for whom the cultural bonds between Rome and the Latins are at least as important as the legal ties.<sup>76</sup> In his *Römische Geschichte*, he focuses on Rome as part of the Latin 'nation', claiming that Rome's political and military expansion brought about the growth of this nation, at the cost of others still present in Italy. The colonies play an important part in this process.<sup>77</sup>

Die zahlreich durch ganz Italien zerstreuten Einzelassinationen und Kolonialgründungen sind nicht bloß militärisch, sondern auch sprachlich und national die vorgeschobenen Posten des latinischen Stammes.

While Mommsen's (19<sup>th</sup> century) nationalist terminology has not been widely adopted, this interplay between Roman expansion and the spread of Latin language and culture has remained an important theme in research.<sup>78</sup> Importantly, it is thought to have contributed to the cultural unification of the Italian peninsula, even before political unification became reality after the Social War, as can be seen from the following combination of quotes:<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> E.g. Richardson Jr 1957 on the curia-comitium complex in Cosa and Rome; further discussion of this subject in chapter 3. More generally, see Brown 1980.

<sup>73</sup> E.g. Stambaugh 1988, 244.

<sup>74</sup> Brown et al. 1960, 9-14.

<sup>75</sup> See Salmon 1969, appendix to ch. 1 (pp. 29-39). Gargola 1995, ch. 4, in a general description of the urban layout of the colonies, repeatedly refers only to Cosa as an example.

<sup>76</sup> Mommsen 1887-III.1, 607: 'Zwischen Inland und Ausland besteht von je her ein Zwischengebiet, das freilich nicht Inland, aber in Rechts- und Wehrgenossenschaft mit dem Inland dauernd verknüpft und also auch nicht Ausland ist, rechtlich abgegrenzt durch das äusserliche Moment der Staatsverträge, aber in seinem Anfängen und in seinem Kern ruhend auf der durch die Natur gegebenen Gleichheit der Sprache und der Sitte.'

<sup>77</sup> Mommsen 1976 [1854-55], I, 452.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Sherwin-White 1973, 96-99.

<sup>79</sup> Bernardi 1973, 66 and 67 respectively.

Roma (...) arrivò a unificare la Penisola dando alla sua azione politica un'impronta appunto Latina (...)

Le colonie latine fondate (...) da Roma, anche più e meglio di quelle romane (...) sortirono lo stesso effetto in tutta la Penisola, tanto da prepararne l'unificazione culturale, premessa a quella politica realizzata nel 90-89 a.C., quando venne estesa agli Italici la cittadinanza romana.

Thus, the romanizing/latinizing colony was conceptualized as an important factor that contributed to the cultural unity of the Italian peninsula under Roman rule, which in turn would explain the allies' demand for Roman citizenship during the Social War - the cause of the war according to Appian.

More practically, this close association with Latin culture means that the romanizing effect of the colonies is often recognized in the adoption of material culture that is thought to originate in Latium. Various Latial elements have been recognized in the colonies, such as walls in polygonal masonry, *arulae* (small altars) and votive terracottas in the Latial tradition, or black gloss pottery from the *atelier des petites estampilles*.<sup>80</sup> It has been noticed, however, that Latium may be too strict a geographical unit to relate these elements to, as Latium itself participated in a broader cultural *koine* in the Early and Middle Republic. Mario Torelli identifies this *koine* as Etrusco-Latial-Campanian, and states that the colonies were 'responsible for the exportation of the culture of the *koine* to the entire peninsula well beyond the historical boundaries of its formation and development'.<sup>81</sup> While this is an important nuance, the general idea of the colonies as instruments in the distribution of Latin and Roman culture remains important in modern research.<sup>82</sup>

### **1.2.2 Revisionist research: the colonies as local communities**

In recent research, several problems with the idea of the 'romanizing colony' have been identified, which render the conceptualizations described above of both the colonies themselves (as 'miniature Romes') and their role in cultural change (as romanizing agents) problematic. In addition, some contributions

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<sup>80</sup> For all of these elements, see Sisani 2007, 87-89 and chapters 3 and 5 below.

<sup>81</sup> Torelli 2006, 86-87.

<sup>82</sup> As two recent contributions to handbooks of the Roman Republic show: Oakley 2004, 25-26 regards the colonies as instrumental in spreading Latin language and culture throughout Italy; Patterson 2006, 608 claims they are modelled on Rome.

have pointed out the variability of local realities in the colonies, and the different roles the colonies may have played in processes of cultural change. Both of these elements will be discussed in this section, starting with the main critiques on the traditional image.

First of all, the image of the Latin colonies as ‘miniature Romes’ is problematic.<sup>83</sup> It relies heavily on the description of the colonies by Gellius, which does not imply the standard interpretation of a direct copying of the physical aspects of Rome.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, the view expressed in Gellius is one from the imperial period, when a colony may have been something quite different than in the Middle Republic.<sup>85</sup> It has been convincingly shown that much of the interpretation of the archaeological remains at Cosa was led by the wish to confirm the ‘Gellian image’, instead of being an independent corroboration.<sup>86</sup> The extent to which the colonies were uniformly designed, therefore, has been exaggerated (see below). Similarly, the placing of the first fruits as a standard ritual in colonial (or town) foundations is based only on allusions in ancient sources to this ritual as part of the foundation of Rome.<sup>87</sup> The ploughing of the *sulcus primigenius* was certainly important in representations of urban foundations in the imperial period, but we do not know whether it happened in the Mid-Republican colonies as well.<sup>88</sup> More generally, it has been pointed out rightly, I think, that ‘to privilege the Roman-looking aspects (...) may be to lose part of the picture of colonial identity’ - as said before, other factors were important in shaping colonial realities as well.<sup>89</sup>

A second problem is historiographical in nature, and concerns the problem whether we should expect the colonies to have been romanizing agents, based on later developments on the Italian peninsula. As we have seen above, the romanization / latinization of Italy has long been conceived of as a way in which the Italian peninsula was unified under Roman dominion, a necessary precondition for the allies’ demand for Roman citizenship during the Social War reported by Appian. The historiographical background of this

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<sup>83</sup> One of the first to argue this was Mario Torelli: Torelli 1988, 65-66 = Torelli 1999b, 14-15.

<sup>84</sup> See Bispham 2006, 78-79.

<sup>85</sup> See Crawford 1995, 190-192; Bispham 2006, 79-80; Bradley 2006, 162-164.

<sup>86</sup> Fentress 2000.

<sup>87</sup> E.g. Plut. Rom. 11.

<sup>88</sup> See Bispham 2006, 74-75, with n. 8.

<sup>89</sup> Bispham 2006, 75.

narrative of Italian unification and the related problems have been discussed by Henrik Mouritsen.<sup>90</sup> In brief, he argues that the idea that legal and political integration needed to have been preceded by cultural assimilation was influenced by 19th century nationalism. As Mouritsen puts it:<sup>91</sup>

Without a common national identity Roman enfranchisement could not possibly have been an allied request; in that case it would have run directly counter to their national interests. Roman-Italian unity therefore became the logical implication of the acceptance of Appian's version of the 'Italian question'.

In his book, Mouritsen goes on to argue that Appian's version of the 'Italian question' is not necessarily what happened at all, and that the Social War may well have been a war of independence for the allies. More important here, however, is that even if Appian's account of the Social War is correct, the conclusions drawn by Mommsen and his contemporaries about cultural assimilation and national unity in the preceding period are not a logical or necessary precondition. Instead, an important incentive for the allies to demand Roman citizenship may have been the wish to share in the profits of empire and to have a say in future decisions.<sup>92</sup> The romanizing colony, then, is an image that seeks to explain a development of cultural convergence in Italy which now appears less marked than has traditionally been thought.

In addition to these critiques of the traditional image, it is important to acknowledge that over the last thirty years or so, various nuances and corrections to the image of the romanizing colony have been made. Importantly, Jean-Paul Morel has pointed out that there were no particularly close links between the colonies and Rome in terms of trade.<sup>93</sup> Elaborating on this observation, he has noted that different colonies may have played a different role in 'radiating' Roman culture - those in Samnium, for example, remained isolated as far as artisanal production is concerned.<sup>94</sup> This also means that he recognized *different* local realities in different colonies. A similar concern with variety in colonial realities can be recognized in the work of Mario Torelli, who, through various local or regional case studies, has

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<sup>90</sup> Mouritsen 1998.

<sup>91</sup> Mouritsen 1998, 25.

<sup>92</sup> E.g. Erdkamp 2011, 142.

<sup>93</sup> Morel 1988.

<sup>94</sup> Morel 1992b, 142.

demonstrated the variety of Roman impact at a local level, pointing out, for example, the possible enlistment of the indigenous population in the colonies, and continuity of local cults (see chapter 3).<sup>95</sup> Such attention for the different effects of the Roman conquest and colonization may also be recognized in the regional focus of several recent studies on colonization and romanization.<sup>96</sup> However, these studies generally continue to see the colonies as ‘part of Rome’, focusing on the (destructuring) impact of the foundation, the adoption of the Latin language and the kinds of Latin cultural elements discussed above.<sup>97</sup> A comparable focus on the colonies as essentially Roman settlements can be seen in research that uses the colonies as case studies for larger ‘Roman’ themes, such as the early development of Roman urbanism or the forum in the Roman world.<sup>98</sup>

At the same time, some other recent contributions have focused more exclusively on how the Latin colonies functioned as local communities.<sup>99</sup> This research has partly been historiographical in nature, highlighting the problems in previous research that we have seen above. In addition, drawing in part on Torelli’s work, it has been stressed that the colonies may have developed to a certain extent independently from Rome, and that elements of the local population and culture may have persisted after the foundation of the colony. In addition, the ways in which local realities were shaped has received more attention, including a more nuanced consideration of the role of Rome. For example, Ed Bispham has stressed that the significance of Rome in the colonies could be constructed from below - by the settlers themselves - and was not necessarily the result of a standard Roman policy.<sup>100</sup> Amanda Coles has drawn attention to the individual interests and experiences of the colonial triumvirs (see chapter 3).<sup>101</sup> Jeremia Pelgrom has suggested that the foundation of the colonies had a less disrupting effect on pre-colonial settlement patterns than has been assumed, and an important implication is that the traditional stress

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<sup>95</sup> See e.g. the various articles collected in Torelli 1999a and a succinct summary of his views on p. 3.

<sup>96</sup> E.g. Bandelli 2002 on the Adriatic coast; Grelle 2007 on Apulia; Sisani 2007 on Umbria.

<sup>97</sup> Most explicitly so: Sisani 2007 on Narnia, pp. 85-89.

<sup>98</sup> Respectively Sewell 2010; Lackner 2008.

<sup>99</sup> E.g. Fentress 2000; Mouritsen 2004; Bispham 2006; Bradley 2006; Coles 2009; Pelgrom 2012. See also Bispham 2012 on the example of Antium, a Roman colony.

<sup>100</sup> Bispham 2006, specifically 85-92.

<sup>101</sup> Coles 2009, ch. 3.

on the urbanizing role of the colonies may be too narrow-sighted.<sup>102</sup> Thus, in these works, there has been a tendency to downplay the cultural impact of Rome, even though Rome remains, of course, the military and political force behind the colonial foundation.

The present work builds further on these recent contributions, but it takes a different perspective, returning to the question of how the colonies contributed to cultural change. If the image of the colonies as miniature Romes is problematic, the romanizing function of the colonies also needs reconsideration.

### **1.2.3 A renewed focus on cultural change**

While recent revisionist research has made some important contributions to the way we think about local realities in the colonies, quite a few questions remain.<sup>103</sup> Most importantly in the present context, recent reconsiderations of local realities in the colonies have so far done little to adjust our view on the colonies in processes of cultural change in an Italy wide context. At the same time, these recent revisions do call for a renewed study of the role of the colonies in cultural change, especially because there are more general problems with the model of the romanizing colony as well.

The theoretical problems, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 2, can be summarized as follows. The basic idea that a rather static Roman (or Latin) culture was present in Rome, and was transferred first to the colonies, and then spread further on the Italian peninsula is problematic. Rome was developing rapidly in the period under study, which in itself problematizes such a static Roman culture. Moreover, one of the accomplishments of the ongoing romanization debate is that it has shown the dynamic nature of Roman culture, which was continually constructed through discourse and practice. It is thus simplistic to see the colonies purely as ‘receivers’, or passive intermediaries in the distribution of Roman culture. In addition, the ways in

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<sup>102</sup> Pelgrom 2012. This is now further investigated in the context of the Landscapes of Early Roman Colonization project, directed by Tesse Stek. This project aims explicitly at examining the possibility of ‘multiple-core’ settlement organization, which ‘would presuppose different mechanisms of cultural change by fragmenting the traditional monolithic city-state model and de-centering urban centres as the only loci of societal and cultural development’ (<http://landscapesofearlyromancolonization.com/research-project/>, consulted 28 July 2014).

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Bispham 2006, 91 for a call for further research.



which realities in the colonies interacted with surrounding areas needs more thought: an automatic ‘radiation’ from the colonies to surrounding areas is hardly satisfying as an explanation.<sup>104</sup>

Of course, there can be no objection to the idea that the colonists introduced cultural elements that they took from Rome or Latium in their new hometowns. However, I shall argue that this is not the only input in the colonies that we need to consider, and that new developments may actually have taken place in the colonies. This is another important corrective to the traditional model of the romanizing colony. The stress on the Roman impact of the colonies in the traditional model can partly be explained by the fact that most accounts of colonization focus on the moment of foundation, without considering subsequent developments.<sup>105</sup> I shall argue that it is important to investigate such local developments in the colonies if we wish to understand the ways in which they contributed to large scale processes of cultural change.

Because of this, part of the analysis in this thesis will further investigate how local realities in the colonies were shaped. As discussed above, several recent contributions have posed this question, and their insights will be important to my analysis. However, I wish to add something to their work. An important point that these recent contributions have made is that there is variability between colonial realities, and that there is not one standard model according to which the colonies were organized. While this is an important observation, at the same time it increases the risk of fragmentation in (future) research and in our image of the colonies. This may be correct, in the sense that local realities in the colonies *were* quite diverse, but it becomes problematic if we wish to understand more about the Latin colonies in a general sense. There is a risk of throwing out the baby with the bathwater here: after all, the colonies remain a specific category of settlements that were shaped to a considerable extent by the arrival of the colonists and interference of Rome. An important question in my analysis, therefore, is whether we can identify any

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<sup>104</sup> The idea of romanization as a unidirectional transfer of a ‘superior’ Roman culture onto willingly receiving indigenous people has long been criticized, partly under the influence of post-colonialism: e.g. Webster and Cooper 1996, Van Dommelen 1998, Terrenato 2005.

<sup>105</sup> E.g. Gargola 1995, 75-82 carefully describes the tasks of the Roman triumvirs in shaping the new community, but gives little attention to the subsequent tasks of the local magistrates and the way they may have performed these.

patterns in the dynamics that were important in shaping colonial realities, in terms of the importance of Rome, local developments or other influences.

### **1.3 Colonial communities and cultural change**

Broadly stated, this thesis aims to investigate the effects of Latin colonization at both the local level and peninsular level. These two levels are inextricably connected. Local realities were shaped under a range of influences, and it remains to be studied in which aspects Rome was important. At the same time, local dynamics in the colonies helped to create a ‘Roman Italy’, not designed on the drawing boards of the Roman senate, but developed through local practices, and as the result of interaction both with Rome and with others.

My point of departure will be the colonies themselves. By understanding and qualifying the dynamics that were important in shaping local realities in the colonies, we can work towards an understanding of how the colonies actively participated in and contributed to processes of cultural change. In doing so, the term ‘cultural change’ used in the title of this thesis should be understood in a rather broad sense: what is attempted here might also be called ‘a holistic account of change’.<sup>106</sup> Cultural change is not limited to any specific realm in society; we cannot separate ‘the cultural’ from the rest. Rather, the idea that the way society works at large is culturally constituted is an important principle from which the analysis proceeds.

Because of this, the analysis will focus on those aspects of local realities in the colonies that are shaped in interaction with the outside world. It is important to examine the make-up of the colonial population, in as far as possible, in order to understand the input that may have come from different groups within the community. Various other characteristics of the local community, such as its institutional organization or the cultic landscape, may inform us about the importance of Rome and other influences in shaping local realities. They will be further investigated in order to tease out the various connections that were important in shaping local realities in the colonies, which, in turn, must have affected the ways in which the colonies contributed to cultural change.

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<sup>106</sup> Cf. Woolf 2014, 46.

These questions and considerations fit rather well within the broader recent scholarly interest for processes of integration and identity formation in the Roman Republic.<sup>107</sup> In this context, it has been pointed out that Roman colonization, together with other kinds of migration and deportation, may have played a role in the growing integration throughout Italy in the Republican period.<sup>108</sup> Against this background, I aim to study the colonies as *loci* of cultural change: what happens in the colonies *contributes* to the cultural changes taking place in Italy in the period of Roman expansion. Of course, the colonies are not the only places where change happened,<sup>109</sup> but the movement of people that created a new community must have been an important trigger of change.<sup>110</sup>

### 1.3.1 Theory and method

In order to study local realities in the colonies in relation to large scale processes of cultural change, my approach to the colonies will be informed by globalization theory. As I will argue in more detail in chapter 2, part of the problem with traditional models of the role of the colonies in cultural change lies in the way in which cultural change is conceptualized on a theoretical level. I have suggested above that changes at the local level and at a larger scale level should be understood in reference to each other. This need to combine scales of analysis is an important concern in globalization studies, and globalization theory provides a conceptual apparatus to deal with these two levels of analysis. Most importantly, it allows for the local and the global level to interact without requiring necessarily that local realities become more uniform. From this perspective, it is important to combine the study of local developments in the colonies and developments that take place at a larger scale. The analysis starts from the colonies themselves, asking how they were shaped physically and socially. I will investigate both how local developments are influenced by external factors, and how they contribute to larger scale cultural change.

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<sup>107</sup> See e.g. the various contributions to Roselaar 2012b.

<sup>108</sup> Pina Polo 2006, 200-201. He stresses that in this process, local identities remained important and the process of integration did not necessarily lead to cultural homogenization.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Torelli 1999d, 108: 'the growth of urban centres was not an exclusively 'political' phenomenon (...).'

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Lomas 2004, 207: 'Indeed, there can be no doubting the impact of a colonial foundation on a community.'

The thesis is structured around three distinct ways in which the local colonial communities were shaped, each of which will be discussed in a separate chapter. Each of the chapters draws on its own set of source material. Chapter 3 deals with the formal shaping of the colony. Based on a combination of written, epigraphic and archaeological sources, it will analyse the institutional and physical interventions at the moment of foundation and later, and discuss the people responsible for these interventions and the influences that affected them. Chapter 4 shifts attention to the ways in which the colonies presented themselves to the outside world, focusing on the coinages they produced. In chapter 5, the focus will be on the religious practices of the inhabitants, in order to study the effects of colonization beyond the elite. The main source will be votive material, which is the most important category of material that allows us to include non-elite members of the colonial communities in the analysis.

In general, the source material used includes both written and material sources. I combine these two categories purposely, as each gives different kinds of information about the dynamics that shaped the colonies. Of course, the identification of the settlements under study as colonies is based on information from the written sources. In order to be able to analyse local developments in the colonies, however, the written sources only provide limited information, and it is imperative to include material sources in the analysis. As a result, this thesis will draw mostly on archaeological and numismatic material, with some attention for the relatively rare epigraphic and written evidence that is available. In combining these sources, it is important to be aware of the need to study the Mid-Republican colonies as much as possible on their own terms. This means that the written sources, which all are of a later date, need to be treated carefully, and that the chronology of the material sources needs to be considered.

The choice of these sources has been informed by the wish to extract as much information as possible from all available sources, using each for questions on which they hold relevant information. Moreover, as we cannot expect all colonies *a priori* to have looked the same or to have developed in the same way, wherever possible, material from all 28 colonies under study will be integrated in the analysis, although inevitably some offer more information than others. It will not do to take a few colonies as type sites: there is too much

variety in local realities. This means that we deal with a rather broad spectrum of source material, and as a consequence I only use published material, although it should be noted that there are large differences in the quality and quantity per site. Working from the general overview of sources in the colonies, relevant case studies will be selected and meaningful analytical groups will be created. However, extrapolation from one colony to ‘the colonies in general’ will be avoided.

Each chapter will discuss the relevant dynamics between local and global that helped shaping colonial realities. An important goal of these analyses is to be able to understand in more detail which processes and influences were important in shaping the colonies, and how connections were made. I aim to qualify when and where Rome was important in shaping local realities, and under what circumstances other influences were dominant. In this way, a more general image will be created of the ways in which the colonies contributed to processes of cultural change.

### **1.3.2 A prospect of the argument**

Finally, let me give a brief prospect of the arguments I make in this thesis as a whole and in the separate chapters. This thesis aims to make a contribution to the important historical question of the role of the Latin colonies in processes of cultural change in Mid-Republican Italy. The basic premise is that Rome sent out colonists to remote places in several parts of the Italian peninsula, and that these people formed new communities. In order to understand the role of the colonies in cultural change, it is important to understand who were the inhabitants of these communities, and how they interacted with the outside world.

First of all, in chapter 2 I discuss the theoretical backgrounds of my approach to the colonies, in order to position this research within the wider debate on cultural change in the Roman world and in Roman Italy in particular. I show that the traditional models of cultural change in Republican Italy (most importantly romanization and hellenization) are unsuitable to understand the multifaceted developments that are taking place on the peninsula. Although the romanization debate has been successful in problematizing traditional models of cultural change, the strong focus on local realities in recent contributions entails the risk of losing larger scale developments out of sight. A globalization

perspective allows us to study how different influences in the colonies contributed to cultural change both at a local and at a larger scale level, and it offers models to conceptualize the interaction between these two scales of analysis. An important task is to establish which influences were important in which realms, and who were the agents of influence.

This perspective will be put to practice first in chapter 3. The first part of this chapter demonstrates that there is indeed evidence that the colonies often functioned independently from Rome, which means that local decisions were important in shaping local realities. From this starting point, several influences that were important in formally shaping colonial realities are investigated. We will see that Rome was important during the foundation mostly because it provided the experience on which the founders drew in creating a new community. However, there are no clear indications that Rome functioned as the model for the resulting shape of the colonies. Other influences and later developments, which must have been initiated by the local administration rather than the founders, also had an effect on the formal shaping of local realities.

In chapter 4, the relation between decisions taken at a local level and large scale processes of cultural change comes more clearly into focus. In this chapter, I argue that the production of colonial coinages was the result of local decisions that were influenced by a range of external factors. Both the circumstances in which coinage was produced and the formal characteristics of the coinages are influenced by a range of connections. I show that the minting practices of different colonies were influenced by different models, which vary both according to place and through time. Often, the colonies follow regional practices, but there are also examples in which they creatively adapt them and thus create new forms of coinage. In exceptional cases, they introduce Roman models in remote areas. We thus see a spectrum of possible local practices, which imply that the coinage producing colonies presented themselves to the outside world in quite different ways. These different local practices did, however, contribute to an important large scale development that is related to Roman expansion: the monetization of large parts of Italy.

The last analytical chapter, chapter 5, looks at the effects of colonization beyond elite decisions, by focusing on votive practices. Traditional research has mainly focused on votive material that could be associated with Rome, which

has been interpreted in terms of cultural identity. Instead, I will argue that the local meaning of this material should in most cases not be thought about in terms of ethnic or cultural identity, but rather in terms of cultic and social concerns. Nonetheless, the spectrum of votive material present in the colonies shows a clear interaction with a wider world: local concerns in the colonies created demand that was solved by tapping into large scale networks of production and exchange.

In this way, the three analytical chapters discuss various developments that followed the colonial foundations. They investigate the dynamics that shaped the colonies at a local level, while at the same time they explore how this relates to the broader Italian context in which the colonies functioned. The conclusion will pull various threads together, coming back to the questions asked above: which influences were important in which realms, and who were the agents of influence. It thus gives an overview of the potential influences that helped shaping the colonies, and the ways in which these were locally accommodated. In this way, it provides a new view on the role of the colonies in cultural change.

## 2. Theory and approach

### 2.1 Introduction

In order to identify the effects of colonization at both the local level and large scale level, my analysis will focus both on the colonies as local communities and as participants in and contributors to large scale processes of cultural change. In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical underpinnings of this dual approach, and the ways in which it relates to previous research on the colonies and cultural change in Republican Italy. The discussion will involve important theoretical themes that are to a certain extent interconnected, including colonization, imperialism, cultural change, romanization and globalization. The respective historiography of each of these themes is huge, and the goal of this chapter is not to give a full overview of how debates have developed. Rather, the aim is to position the present research within these theoretical debates, and to explain why the adopted approach helps to understand the colonies and their role in cultural change.

In this chapter I develop what might be called a ‘globalization perspective’ to Latin colonization. The essential advantage such a perspective offers is a conceptual apparatus to study local realities and developments in relation to larger scale processes without any *a priori* need for them to be or become uniform. More specifically, it invites the explicit investigation of the ways in which the colonies related to and participated in various processes of cultural change. This also means that globalization as a theoretical model allows a flexible assessment of the role of the mother city, Rome. As we have seen in the introduction, there has been considerable debate over the level of Roman input and direction during the colonial foundation and the degree to which Rome manipulated later developments in the colonies. A globalization perspective means that local realities in the colonies will be studied *in relation* to Rome, without seeing them exclusively as either Roman or local. It also allows room to investigate the relations of the colonies to processes of change that are less directly related to Rome.

The main problem with the existing images of the role of the colonies in cultural change lies in the way they are (implicitly) theoretically conceptualized. Because the colonies were founded by Rome, they have been



traditionally been regarded as small centres of Roman culture, contributing to the romanization of Italy. As we have seen in the introduction, recent research has shown that this image of the colonies overestimates the degree to which these colonies were uniformly designed. Moreover, this image of the colonies is rather static, focusing almost exclusively on the moment of foundation, and it leaves only a very passive role to the colonies, as ‘receivers’ of cultural elements from Rome. This also assumes that some kind of monolithic ‘Roman culture’ was present in Rome, requiring only a simple transfer to the colonies for them to be (culturally) Roman as well. In this chapter, I argue that these elements are problematic and need adjustment, and that a globalization perspective helps to do so.

First, in order to understand the role of the colonies in cultural change, it is important to investigate how they functioned and developed as local communities. This means that we have to look at how both Rome and others affected local developments, and how these influences were locally accommodated. Such attention for local elements has been central to recent developments in postcolonial theory and romanization, and in the theoretical framework developed below I will draw on some of this work. As will become clear, however, an exclusive focus on the local is problematic if we wish to understand the role of the colonies in larger scale patterns of cultural change. In addition, therefore, the colonies need to be studied as participants in and potential contributors to cultural developments that do not necessarily centre on Rome: the colonies are part of several networks of exchange that need to be further investigated. Third, the role of Rome and Roman culture should be studied in more dynamic terms. As discussed in the introduction, the Middle Republic was a very dynamic period in which Rome, both culturally and institutionally was developing rapidly. If we understand culture in a dynamic sense as constructed through discourse and practice, what happens in the colonies may have contributed to these developments.<sup>111</sup>

In brief, then, I argue that we can best understand the colonies and their role in processes of cultural change when we study them as local communities

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<sup>111</sup> Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2007, 364, arguing that to see how conquest transforms cultures, it is important to ‘allow room for a negotiation and dialogue between central and local, and an acknowledgement that the price paid for the ‘universalization’ of the central identity is its own transformation.’

interacting with a larger world. At both levels, Rome is a powerful and influential player, but other actors and developments are important as well. For the colonies themselves, the importance of Rome and the role of various actors in shaping the community will be investigated in the subsequent analytical chapters. Importantly, the way we conceptualize the role of Rome in processes of cultural change in Italy in the period before the Second Punic War is not self-evident, and depends on the theoretical outlook taken. This issue will come back throughout this chapter.

While some aspects of the globalization perspective formulated in this chapter have been adopted, or even developed (for the ancient world) in debates on colonization and romanization,<sup>112</sup> I prefer to use the term globalization for two reasons. First, it puts more focus on the interaction between local and global, which I think is important in the context of this research. Second, it minimizes the risk of terminological confusion. As discussed in the introduction, the Latin colonies are the result of colonization in the sense that groups of people were moved through the initiative of one powerful player, but modern ideological associations of the term colonization are not necessarily at play; what it means to be a Latin colony is an important question throughout this thesis.<sup>113</sup> As founder of the colonies, Rome was of course the prime mover of any change that happened in the colonies, but it is important to investigate her role in subsequent developments, and to give due attention to other factors that were at play.

The chapter is structured as follows. In section 2.2, I discuss traditional models of cultural change that have been important for the study of Republican Italy, and have thus influenced existing images of the colonies. Most attention will be devoted to the - by now - multiform concept of romanization, but the concept of hellenization is important as well, and the way these two relate to each other and to the 'pre-Roman' Italic world. The discussion serves as a background to the subsequent elaboration of a globalization perspective to the colonies; I will signal elements in these discussions that will be important in this study, and equally identify problems with these models which call for a new conceptualization of the role of the colonies in cultural change. In section

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<sup>112</sup> As noted e.g. by Gardner 2013.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Terrenato 2005 on colonialism as a 'deceptive archetype' in Roman Italy; the issue is discussed in more general terms by Tsetschladze and Hargrave 2011 and Sommer 2011.

2.3, then, I will elaborate the globalization perspective in more detail. This includes a brief discussion of what globalization is, especially in the context of the ancient world. I will focus, however, on how the conceptual apparatus of globalization stimulates the analysis of the colonies' role in processes of cultural change. In section 2.4, finally, I discuss how this perspective affects my approach to the colonies.

## **2.2 The colonies and cultural change: traditional models and challenges**

This section discusses the most important models that have shaped previous research into cultural developments in Central Italy during the Middle Republic, with specific attention given to their effects on conceptualizations of the colonies. Central concepts in this regard are 'romanization' and 'hellenization'. Both concepts have been the subject of elaboration and critique, initially caused by the evolving appreciation of Greek and Roman culture, which no longer hold an inherently superior and desirable position.<sup>114</sup> As a result, several adaptations and alternative models have been proposed in recent years. Importantly, in both cases, there is growing attention for spatial and chronological differentiation, rendering these overarching models increasingly more problematic. In a way, the adoption of this globalization perspective is a direct reaction to this problem of overarching models. At the same time, much of the most recent developments in debates on romanization and hellenization are already informed by globalization theory. For both reasons, it is important to discuss these models before elaborating on the globalization perspective.

I will treat the models of romanization and hellenization separately in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 respectively, because each has a clearly defined discourse of its own. Of course, this divide is somewhat arbitrary if we aim to understand general changes in Mid-Republican Italy - this is one of the reasons why I think a globalization perspective is a more helpful analytical tool for the study of the colonies. Working towards a more holistic view, in section 2.2.3, I discuss recent attempts to describe the interaction between romanization and hellenization. This will lead to a more general discussion of the problems and

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<sup>114</sup> See Curti et al. 1996 for an overview; this specific observation is made on p. 181.

challenges of these models for the analysis of the role of the colonies in cultural change.

### 2.2.1 Romanization

The term romanization was initially used to express the idea that Roman culture - an apparently unproblematic category - did not only spread through the movement of people (migration), but that the conquered also adopted Roman culture, thus contributing to its distribution (diffusion). Francis Haverfield is often cited as the key figure in the development of the concept, and its implied acculturation principle,<sup>115</sup> but we find a similar use of the verb *romanisi(e)ren* already in Theodor Mommsen's treatment of Roman expansion in Italy in his *Römische Geschichte*.<sup>116</sup> Although there are some ancient written sources in which a similar process is described,<sup>117</sup> the concept of romanization is largely a modern construct. Since Mommsen, it has been widely applied, discussed and criticized. By now, it is a problematic concept in several respects, not in the least because it means different things to different scholars, and it is variously used as a descriptive term, applied as a heuristic tool and discussed as a historiographical construct. As far as studies of Roman expansion in Italy are concerned, we will see that the term has been used in two rather different ways, related to different academic research traditions.

As discussed in the introduction, cultural convergence in Italy was an important premise for Mommsen to understand the political integration that was fought for in the Social War. His term *Romanisierung* - used interchangeably with *Latinisierung* - can be understood as the spread of the Latin language and customs in Italy. This development should, according to Mommsen, be understood as the result of the *Natur der Verhältnisse* between the Latin 'nation' and the other peoples of Italy: '(...) mit dem Lateinischen Volke gewannen auch dessen Sprache und Sitte in Italien zunächst das Prinzipat und

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<sup>115</sup> The key publication being Haverfield 1912. See e.g. Webster 2001, 209; Gosden 2004, 104, for stress on the originality of the acculturation principle in Haverfield's concept of romanization.

<sup>116</sup> E.g. Mommsen 1976 [1854-55], I, 452: 'Es ist schon darauf hingewiesen worden, dass in dieser Epoche [i.e. the Republican period until the end of the Samnite Wars] die Nachbarländer, das südliche Etrurien, die Sabina, das Volskerland sich zu romanisieren anfangen (...).' Le Roux 2004, 287 mentions an earlier use of the term in the early 19th century, but does not give references.

<sup>117</sup> Tac. *Ger.* 34; Strabo 5.2.15; discussed by Le Roux 2004, 307-310.

fingen bereits an die übrigen Nationalitäten zu untergraben' - thus already implying a concept of acculturation.<sup>118</sup> This has interesting consequences for the way Roman domination on the peninsula is conceptualized: while Rome in the period before the Social War was not interested in politically or administratively uniting Italy, in Mommsen's account the cultural element is the strongest force in creating unity on the peninsula, and this view was widely adopted. In the historiographical debate on romanization, however, it has been pointed out that these ideas show strong influence of German and Italian 19th century nationalism.<sup>119</sup>

Two important observations can be made about the role of the colonies in this traditional model of romanization in Republican Italy. First, it excludes, in a way, the colonies themselves: the colonists are not the people that are romanized. The colonies are regarded as dispersed parts of Rome, and therefore culturally and institutionally the same as Rome. This view remains influential until the present day: recently, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill stated: 'There is never a surprise to find the inhabitants of the *ager Romanus* or the citizens of the colonies speaking Latin, following Roman law, Roman political institutions or Roman customs'.<sup>120</sup> Second, in this model, the colonies were seen as important agents of romanization, because as outposts of Rome, they brought more people into contact with Roman culture (see section 1.2.1).

These ideas, however, become problematic in view of more recent developments in the romanization debate, which lessen the dichotomy between migration and diffusion as underlying dynamics of change. It must be said that reflections on this original model of romanization have been rather slow to develop, and they have done so mostly in the context of the archaeology of the western provinces, and mainly - though certainly not exclusively - by British scholars. Many of the contributions made by them are significant in the present context, and I will discuss these below. It is important however, to note

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<sup>118</sup> Mommsen 1976 [1854-55], I, 452.

<sup>119</sup> As discussed in the introduction, the work of Mouritsen 1998 is important in this context. On Mommsen and his Prussian context: Linderski 1984, 133-139 and Overbeek 2005. Similar observations were made recently by Stek 2014, 33, who points out that the situation for Roman Italy is, therefore, somewhat different than for the Roman provinces, where Haverfield's concept of romanization was clearly influenced by contemporary imperialism: see e.g. the various contributions in Webster and Cooper 1996.

<sup>120</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 79.

beforehand that this romanization debate has had only limited impact in the Italian academic world, where the term romanization is used rather differently.<sup>121</sup> I will return to this towards the end of this section.

From the 1980s onwards scholars started to re-evaluate existing ideas on Roman imperialism and the established model of romanization.<sup>122</sup> Such re-evaluations and deconstructions were mainly developed in the context of, and are often clearly inspired by, post-colonialism.<sup>123</sup> In close connection to historiographical analyses that focused on the ways in which modern imperialism and colonialism had affected the original model of romanization, the model continued to evolve as several adaptations to the model of inevitable diffusion were proposed. When the automatic adoption of a ‘superior’ Roman culture was no longer accepted, scholars first started to develop models to explain *why* and *how* Roman culture was accepted and adopted by the conquered.<sup>124</sup> A next step was to point out the dynamic nature of Roman culture itself, being constituted through discourse and practice. In the course of this romanization debate, several new questions were raised and research was done that are also relevant in the present context.

A first issue that is relevant here is the intentionality of the Romans in imposing certain cultural models. It is important to stress that for the Mid-Republican period, scholars now generally agree that there was no active Roman policy of romanization or cultural imperialism.<sup>125</sup> For the specific case of the colonies, already in 1971 William Harris stated that ‘assimilation was not in any case among the conscious purposes of Roman colonization in the third century’.<sup>126</sup> If Roman culture was not imposed, it becomes important to investigate the motives and choices made by the local populations that came into contact with Rome.

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<sup>121</sup> Cf. Versluys 2014, 3-4 on the British orientation of the romanization debate, and differences with various ‘continental’ traditions.

<sup>122</sup> E.g. Linderski 1984; Mattingly 1997.

<sup>123</sup> E.g. Webster and Cooper 1996; Van Dommelen 1997; Terrenato 2005.

<sup>124</sup> An early contribution is Jan Slofstra’s model of processes and mechanisms of interaction: Slofstra 1983.

<sup>125</sup> Already Torelli 1979, 196; recently Sisani 2007, 18.

<sup>126</sup> Harris 1971, 98. Harris’ statement may be taken to be very significant, as he is famous for his refusal of the concept of defensive imperialism, in favour of a deliberate expansionist Roman policy. For an overview of the debate on the nature of Roman imperialism: Eckstein 2006.

An important step in this regard has been the model of self-romanization, which stresses the agency of the local population in *choosing* to adopt Roman culture because it could bring advantages both in their interaction with the Romans and within ‘native’ society.<sup>127</sup> While the advantage of this model is its stress on the agency of the local population, it has rightly been criticized for being elitist and for continuing to see Roman culture as intrinsically attractive.<sup>128</sup> Another problem is that it again suggests an overarching model, while the stress on the motives and choices of local populations most probably means that we can expect different reactions and effects in different cases. This high degree of differentiation in the reactions to Roman conquest and Roman presence has been pointed out for Italy in the Mid-Republican period by various scholars.<sup>129</sup> In this context, Tesse Stek has underlined the importance of physical proximity between Roman and Italic people as a trigger of cultural contact and cultural change.<sup>130</sup>

In this context, the fundamental question has been raised as to what do we mean by the terms ‘Roman culture’ or ‘the Romans’?<sup>131</sup> In an expanding empire including ever more people who came to consider themselves as Romans, how can we define ‘Roman’? At this point, it is useful to make a distinction that will be important in this thesis: that between Roman influence recognized by the modern researcher, and Roman identity perceived by people in the past.<sup>132</sup> On the one hand, we can use romanization as an *etic* category, as a process of cultural change that modern researchers can recognize, and which they therefore can study. For specific areas in specific periods, it can be quite possible to establish which objects, institutions and models of architecture and art may be connected to Roman influence. It has to be noted though, that this is still a challenge in Republican Italy: large parts of Italy in the period before the Roman expansion can be considered as part of a cultural *koine* in which similar

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<sup>127</sup> The term is already used by Sherwin-White 1973, 222; it was firmly put on the map by Millett 1990, who gives a summary at p. 212: ‘Romanization has been seen as largely indigenous in its motivation, with emulation of Roman ways and styles being first a means of obtaining or retaining social dominance, then being used to express and define it while its manifestations evolved.’

<sup>128</sup> E.g. Webster 2001, 214-216.

<sup>129</sup> E.g. Van Dommelen and Terrenato 2007b; Stek 2009, 220.

<sup>130</sup> Stek 2009, 220.

<sup>131</sup> An early contribution is Freeman 1993, esp. 443-444, focusing on ‘Roman material culture’.

<sup>132</sup> See Bradley 2007, 300; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 103.

cultural practices were shared,<sup>133</sup> and many of the new cultural developments were inspired by Greek examples (see below on hellenization).<sup>134</sup> Rome was also part of this *koine* and shared in many of these new developments, but it was not necessarily the main influence on all other parts of Italy.

On the other hand, romanization can equally be approached as an *emic* category, in which it refers to people in the past identifying themselves as Romans. From such a perspective, it is important to ask whether or not objects were perceived as Roman.<sup>135</sup> In this context, different ways in which objects could be manipulated and invested with meaning have been discussed in the romanization debate.<sup>136</sup> Objects that we now recognize as associated with Roman influence, therefore, were not necessarily perceived as such by users in the past. This also means that what *was* perceived as Roman was in flux. Greg Woolf's enlightening way of describing this was that the progressive expansion of the Roman empire caused more people to 'join the debate' of what it meant to be Roman.<sup>137</sup> All of these people influenced what was perceived as Roman culture.<sup>138</sup>

As in the case of self-romanization, the elite is thought to have been particularly important in this process, both in the creation of an empire-wide elite culture in the imperial period<sup>139</sup> and in the process leading up to a 'shared' Roman culture in Republican Italy.<sup>140</sup> The cultural consequences of Roman expansion for lower social classes may have been quite different.<sup>141</sup> At the same time, it is important to realize that, while it is often more difficult to trace the reactions and attitudes of other groups in society, this does not necessarily

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<sup>133</sup> See Torelli 1978; Torelli 2006, 96-97.

<sup>134</sup> See Morel 1992b, 126; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 17-28.

<sup>135</sup> E.g. Woolf 1998, 32 on the difference between the adoption of a certain architectural form and the way in which it is subsequently used and experienced.

<sup>136</sup> E.g. cultural bricolage ('a process in which new cultural items are obtained by means of attributing new functions to previously existing ones'; Terrenato 1998, 23); creolization ('adaptive synthesis, in which Romanized material culture could be used in ambiguous ways, simultaneously creating new identities and maintaining key aspects of pre-Roman belief and practice'; Webster 2001, 217).

<sup>137</sup> Woolf 1998, 11: 'Becoming roman was not a matter of acquiring a ready-made cultural package, then, so much as joining the insiders' debate about what that package did or ought to consist of at that particular time.'

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Hingley 2010, 59.

<sup>139</sup> See Hingley 2005, 69-71; Woolf 1998, 56-60.

<sup>140</sup> See Hingley 2005, 54.

<sup>141</sup> As noted e.g. by Terrenato 1998; Terrenato 2005.



imply that they were not involved in any developments beyond the local.<sup>142</sup> Even when research does not focus on cultural change ('becoming Roman'), but on what seems to be a status quo ('being Roman'), therefore, 'Roman' was not a fixed entity, and multiple Roman identities could exist at the same time.<sup>143</sup>

With this focus on the variety of local manifestations of 'romanness', the concept of romanization becomes problematic, to the point where the term romanization has come under attack. Some now only use it in a weak sense, indicating the changes that coincide with Roman expansion.<sup>144</sup> Others reject the concept of romanization altogether, because they prefer to focus on local developments and identities.<sup>145</sup> In the archaeological research of Republican Italy, this has triggered a wide interest in the diversity of effects of Roman expansion, from a bottom up perspective, and mainly through landscape archaeology.<sup>146</sup> As discussed in the introduction, in research that specifically deals with the colonies, more attention has been given both to local developments in the colonies and to the impact of non-Roman people already present in the areas where the colonies were founded.<sup>147</sup> However, the problems of such a focus on local realities have also been pointed out: it runs the risk of losing sight of the power of Rome (with the possibility of accompanying violence and repression), Roman intentions and Roman institutions.<sup>148</sup> This is an important cautionary observation for the research of the colonies. In the context of Mid-Republican Italy, it is clear that Rome was a progressively more powerful military and political player, signing treaties, conquering parts of Italy, and founding colonies.

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<sup>142</sup> Cf. Alcock 2001, 227.

<sup>143</sup> Revell 2009, preface and ch. 1, specifically p. 9-10.

<sup>144</sup> E.g. Terrenato 2001, 1: '[i]t is only our generation that is beginning to appreciate the variety of responses that romanization elicited among the various ethnic groups, social classes, genders, spheres and even within the same person in different conjunctures in his or her life.'

<sup>145</sup> Van Dommelen 1998, ch. 1 on postcolonialism; Van Dommelen 2004, 49-50 on the rejection of the concept of romanization; Mattingly 2010, 285. A focus on the local reactions to Roman expansion in Republican Italy can be found in various contributions to Van Dommelen and Terrenato 2007a.

<sup>146</sup> E.g., recently Attema et al. 2010.

<sup>147</sup> E.g. Terrenato 2005, 68: 'Even the colonies founded by Rome are now viewed in a very different light. Rather than massive settlements of 'Romans' in 'native' lands, what went on in most cases was mainly a political and territorial reorganization, largely involving non-Roman people already residing in the area, and carried out by the central power with the co-operation of native elites.' Somewhat more cautiously, Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 79: 'Internally, they found themselves in dialogue with the existing traditions and culture of the population of their area'.

<sup>148</sup> E.g. Williams 2001; cf. Eckstein 2006, 576-577, Hingley 2010, 70.

Against this background, the traditional view of the colonies as unproblematically Roman settlements that helped the diffusion of Roman culture is no longer tenable. As indicated above, the difference between migration and diffusion becomes less meaningful: even if the colonists emigrated from Rome (which is not necessarily true for all of them), the colonists did not passively transfer Roman culture, but were active in its construction and perpetuation, with possibly a special role for the colonial elites. It is important, however, to realize that the colonial elites were also in contact with other (allied) communities in Italy, which may have been of influence as well (see section 2.2.3).<sup>149</sup> A complicating factor, as we have seen in the introduction, is that the colonies were politically independent settlements, and the degree to which they regarded themselves as part of Rome requires further investigation (chapter 3). It is necessary, therefore, to explore the ways in which the colonial communities were shaped and how they manifested themselves in Republican Italy.

Another crucial observation regards the role of Rome. While it is important not to underestimate Rome's power and use of force (see above), at the same time, we should be careful to qualify Rome's role in shaping local realities in the colonies and larger scale processes of cultural change in Italy. In terms of power, Rome is of course a major player in Mid-Republican Italy, but not the only factor of significance. In a recent analysis of the dynamics of alliances during the Second Punic War, Michael Fronda has analysed local considerations in detail, and while Rome is often *a* factor to reckon with, it is not always decisive: other alliances and/or internal factions at a local level could be more influential.<sup>150</sup> Interestingly, this shows that the 'decentring of Rome', as it has been called,<sup>151</sup> is something that is not only important in archaeological approaches to Republican Italy, but also in historical approaches. Moreover, as discussed in the introduction, Roman institutions and Roman culture were in flux in the period under study. Even if everything that happened in the colonies could be directly associated with Rome, they would still be dynamic. We can conclude that the colonies are instrumental *both* in establishing and showing Roman power in Italy, *and* places where local

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<sup>149</sup> For contacts between colonial elites and other Italic communities: Patterson 2012, 223.

<sup>150</sup> Fronda 2010.

<sup>151</sup> E.g. Stek 2014, 35.

manifestations of romanness were developed, while at the same time other concerns and identities could be important as well.

This ‘double identity’ of the colonies can also be framed as the result of looking at the colonies through two different lenses, which can be defined as two distinct conceptualizations of romanization. The idea of the colonies as places where local manifestations of romanness could develop is clearly in keeping with insights of the romanization debate sketched above. In contrast, a focus on the colonies as instruments of Roman power in Italy places more stress on the way decisions taken in Rome affect both local realities and the manifestation of Rome in Italy.

Interestingly, these different ‘lenses’ seem to coincide with an important division in the way in which the term romanization (*romanizzazione*) is used in different academic traditions. A particularly important distinction in the present context is that between the UK-centred romanization debate discussed above and the use of the same term in Italian academic discourse. In the Italian academic context, romanization is less explicitly theorized than in the Anglophone debate. *Romanizzazione* is often equated with the moment of Roman conquest or incorporation into the Roman state and the imposition of new institutions and social and economic structures, including the foundation of colonies.<sup>152</sup> Much more than in the romanization debate as sketched above, in the Italian academic world the institutional and political aspects of early Roman expansion have remained in focus, and are seen as fundamental, underlying any cultural changes.<sup>153</sup>

This does not mean that cultural elements at a local level have not received any attention; the work of Mario Torelli in particular remains essential for understanding the variety of effects that Roman interference could

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<sup>152</sup> This stress on economic and social transformations is clear, for example, in Torelli 1999d, 89, although he is more nuanced on chronological developments. In general, however, the foundation of a colony is often seen as the fulfilment of romanization, as is clear, for example, from the following quote from Antonacci Sanpaolo 1999, 47-48: ‘(...)la romanizzazione della Daunia, che si espleta con la deduzione della colonia latina di Luceria e con un foedus per ciò che concerne Tiati (...)’. Cf. the remarks in Curti et al. 1996, 183-187.

<sup>153</sup> E.g. Grelle 2007 focuses almost exclusively on the institutional, social and economic developments. Cf. Sisani 2007, 24: ‘Il presente lavoro ha come oggetto il fenomeno storico complesso costituito dalla conquista e dalla romanizzazione dell’Umbria antica, analizzato soprattutto nell’ottica della strutturazione politico-istituzionale, premessa necessaria allo sviluppo dei processi acculturativi.’

have at a local level.<sup>154</sup> However, it is important to note that even when this variety is acknowledged, Rome remains the main framework of interpretation: while it is recognized that Rome could have different effects locally, these effects are still related to Rome.<sup>155</sup> The question whether certain institutions or objects would have been perceived as Roman - which is an important concern of the Anglophone romanization debate - is seldom asked, and implicitly it is mostly positively answered (see chapter 5 for this issue in terms of anatomical terracottas). Such an *emic* perspective on romanization has even elicited some strong criticism for diminishing the impact of Rome.<sup>156</sup> To the mind of Filippo Coarelli, for example, the rejection of the concept is simply impossible, because '*la romanizzazione non è un'ipotesi, è un fatto*'.<sup>157</sup> The statement is an understandable result of a specific understanding of romanization, and it can be read as a critique of the lack of attention for structural political and institutional change in the romanization debate. At the same time, however, it shows the profound gap between the different concepts of romanization used in the academic debate.

In conclusion, the Anglophone romanization debate has tended to stress the discursive and practical constitution of romanness at a local level, while in Italian scholarship the focus lies on the large scale developments that accompanied Roman expansion on the Italian peninsula, both institutionally and culturally. The apparent incompatibility between these two concepts of romanization is an important point of departure for the theoretical framework developed in this chapter. Each of these concepts has its merits and its shortcomings, and I will try to combine the strengths of both. As already noted, the focus on local developments is crucial to identify the different effects of Roman expansion, yet it runs the risk of losing sight of larger scale developments.<sup>158</sup> On the other hand, the focus on structural changes accompanying Roman expansion results in a rather uniform image of the effects of Roman expansion, that disregards local variety and the different

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<sup>154</sup> E.g. the various articles collected in Torelli 1999a.

<sup>155</sup> Sisani's discussion of the colony of Narnia is a case in point: Sisani 2007, 85-89.

<sup>156</sup> See, rather polemically, the 'nota introduttiva' by Filippo Coarelli in Sisani 2007, 9-11 and the introduction by Sisani (pp. 15-25).

<sup>157</sup> Coarelli in Sisani 2007, 11.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Revell 2009, 10-15, who approaches this problem through Giddens' structuration theory. See note 206 below.

effects of Roman expansion in different parts of the peninsula.<sup>159</sup> Moreover, it is less attentive to changes that may have occurred that were not caused by Rome. Before moving on to develop a model in which both perspectives can be combined, I will now first discuss another important process of change in Republican Italy that may have affected local realities in the colonies.

### **2.2.2 Hellenization**

Roman expansion was not the only process to affect the cultural outlook of the Italian peninsula in the Mid-Republican period. In the same period, various cultural models from the Greek world were adopted in Italy and in Rome itself; a process that has been called hellenization. As in the case of romanization, the term and the concept of hellenization have increasingly been problematized.<sup>160</sup> At the same time, the adoption and adaptation in Italy of cultural elements and styles that were first developed in the Greek world is unmistakable, and this was part of the reality in which the colonies operated. In this section, I briefly discuss the ideas on hellenization that are important in the context of this study of the colonies.

While trade contacts between Greece and Italy extend to the Late Bronze Age, the foundation of the first Greek colonies in southern Italy in the eighth century was the start of a permanent Greek presence on the Italian peninsula.<sup>161</sup> The dynamics of interaction between these Greek settlers and the other inhabitants of the peninsula have been studied in increasingly more nuanced terms.<sup>162</sup> Like romanization, hellenization is in essence an acculturation model which was originally developed from the assumption that the inherent (superior) quality of Greek culture was enough explanation for its

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<sup>159</sup> While there is a rich body of local and regional research on the consequences of Roman expansion in Italy, it is seldom used to modify the general framework which is already in place.

<sup>160</sup> See the recent contribution of Prag and Crawley Quinn 2013, 3-10.

<sup>161</sup> In recent years, there has been debate over the appropriateness of the term 'colonies' for these settlements. An important contribution is Osborne 1998; see Tsetskhladze and Hargrave 2011, 161-162 for a brief overview of recent contributions. I use the term in the same way as for the Latin colonies - implying the movement of people, but not more than that.

<sup>162</sup> The bibliography on this is huge and growing, but in the context of this research, it is worthwhile to mention Osborne 1998, who discussed the character of Greek colonization (see ch. 3), and Malkin 2002a, who investigates interaction between Greeks, Etruscans and local elites in the Bay of Naples by using the concept of 'middle ground', which will be discussed further below.

adoption by other peoples.<sup>163</sup> As a result, some of the questions treated in the section on romanization are important in drawing out aspects of the concept of hellenization as well: what exactly is meant by Greek models, how were they adopted and why, and what did they mean to their new users?<sup>164</sup> Several more dynamic models of interaction have been suggested.<sup>165</sup> In general terms, it is important to realize that in the period under study, the central and southern parts of the peninsula already had a long history of contact and exchange between the Greek towns of Magna Graecia and surrounding Italic peoples.

Against this background, interaction with the Greek world must be regarded as an important influence on cultural developments in both Central Italy and Rome in the period of Roman expansion and before - at least from an *etic* perspective.<sup>166</sup> In the period under research, models and styles derived from Magna Graecia spread throughout Central Italy in fields as varied as pottery production, triumphal painting, sculpture and coinage.<sup>167</sup> We will see this influence in the colonies most clearly in chapter 4 on the colonial coinages. Rome was not necessarily a central player in the networks of exchange that caused these changes.<sup>168</sup> Instead, the broader modes of interaction between Rome, Central Italy and the Greek world were dynamic in this period, and

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<sup>163</sup> E.g. Veyne 1979 on the hellenization of Rome, specifically p. 8. Gallini 1973, 177 notes this implicit notion of the superiority of Greek culture present in the concept of hellenization.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Coarelli 1996; Hodos 2014.

<sup>165</sup> Hodos 2014, 27-29.

<sup>166</sup> Coarelli 1996, 15: 'In realtà, la stessa formazione di una cultura italo-romana è inseparabile, fin dalle sue prime origini, da modelli ellenici, la cui presenza sul suolo italiano precede la stessa fase dell'insediamento coloniale arcaico.' On Hellenistic influences in late fourth century Rome, focusing on the figure of Appius Claudius Caecus: Humm 2005, ch. 10. This view is relatively recent: until the 1960s or 1970s, Rome was seen as a rather isolated community in the period before the Punic Wars, indifferent to cultural developments in Greece and southern Italy (see Wallace 1990, 278-279 for an overview). Important contributions that have led to the present consensus are AA.VV. 1973 and Zanker 1976.

<sup>167</sup> Morel 1989, 479-483; Coarelli 1996, 41. Wallace 1990 is skeptical about the possibility to draw the conclusion of strong Greek influence in Rome based on the available evidence. This skepticism is reserved exclusively for the case of Rome, as Wallace admits that other towns and regions, such as Praeneste and Etruria did experience a strong Greek influence. Although Wallace may be right to call for caution in some cases (e.g. the *Ficorini cista*), it seems exaggerated to minimize the hellenization of Rome *because* Greek influence may have arrived in Rome indirectly in some cases. Moreover, Zevi 2003 gives some convincing examples of direct contact between Rome and the Greek world in this period.

<sup>168</sup> In contrast, a second phase starting with the second Punic War (218-201) is much more centred on Rome and the effects of Roman conquest in the East; see Morel 1989, 493; Coarelli 1996, 41-42.

Greek cultural elements could be adapted and locally accommodated in different local contexts, possibly invested with new meaning.<sup>169</sup>

At the same time, interaction with the Greek world was an influential incentive for Rome's self-definition in the third century. First of all, cultural integration into the Greek world was probably important for Rome in the Mediterranean field of powers.<sup>170</sup> This idea has been elaborated by Fausto Zevi, who has stressed the active effort made by Rome in late fourth and early third century to join in the Mediterranean-wide Greek world.<sup>171</sup> In addition, interaction with the Greek world must have had effects on the articulation of 'Romanness'. Erich Gruen, for example, has stressed that the question of how to deal with Greek influences became more pressing in a period 'when the Roman elite felt compelled to articulate national values and to shape a distinctive character for their own corporate persona', a process that he thinks took place largely in the third and second centuries BC.<sup>172</sup> This reminds us again that Rome, or Roman culture, was constantly being negotiated in the period under study.

All this is important for the study of the colonies in two main ways. First, it has been suggested that the organization of Roman colonization in itself shows Hellenistic influences. According to the traditional model of Roman colonization, the colonial settlement and its surrounding territory were organized through urban and rural divisions (see section 1.2.1), which are elements that had been developed in Greek colonization. More specifically, the urban layout of many Latin colonies may have been inspired by urban developments in the Greek world, especially in the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia and Sicily.<sup>173</sup> If such urban and rural divisions are indeed present, therefore, it would follow that the form colonization took is in itself is an

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<sup>169</sup> In this regard, Veyne 1979, 3, 13 suggests that before Rome became a Mediterranean power, the reason for the adoption of certain artistic models may have simply been fashion or curiosity, with little attention given to the Greek origin of these models; a similar argument is made by Wallace 1990, 286, discussing the introduction of the cult of Aesculapius.

<sup>170</sup> Curti 2001, 21.

<sup>171</sup> Zevi 2003.

<sup>172</sup> Gruen 1992, 1. He adds that this chronological span could be expanded in either direction, in certain cultural aspects.

<sup>173</sup> Curti 2001, 19; cf. Sewell 2010.

aspect of the hellenization of Rome and Central Italy (see sections 3.4.2 and 3.4.3 for further analysis).<sup>174</sup>

Second, however, the brief summary of the debate on hellenization in this section should caution against the traditional idea that Rome and the colonies played a central role in the hellenization of large parts of Central Italy.<sup>175</sup> Following this argument, there were direct contacts only between Magna Graecia and the ‘Mid-Republican *koine*’ in Etruria, Latium and Campania, while Rome would have been responsible for introducing Hellenistic models in other, more remote parts of Italy.<sup>176</sup> In view of the above discussion of long-term contacts between Greeks and Italic peoples, however, this can no longer be the standard model; Hellenistic cultural elements were adopted in different parts and localities in Italy at different moments, and likely for different reasons.<sup>177</sup> This also implies that we have to rethink the position of the Latin colonies in processes of hellenization. An important conclusion that can be drawn from the discussion above is that Hellenistic cultural elements do not necessarily arrive in the colonies via Rome: the colonies may have their own position in the wider networks of contact and exchange between the Greek and Italic worlds. If we want to understand local developments in the colonies, interaction between the colonies and the Greek world without Roman interference needs to be further investigated.

### 2.2.3 Theoretical challenges

While the debates on romanization and hellenization are to a large extent informed by the same kinds of questions and concerns, the discourses have to a large extent remained separate. However, in studies of cultural change in Republican Italy, attempts have been made to relate these two processes to each other. In recent years, moreover, both models have progressively become more problematic, as other influences and local accommodations have received more attention.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> As suggested by Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 80.

<sup>175</sup> E.g. Coarelli 1996, 39; see Hingley 2010, 56.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. Torelli 1978.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. Stek 2013, 341.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Prag and Crawley Quinn 2013, 2-3.



Traditionally, the simultaneity of Roman expansion and the process of hellenization in Central Italy has placed a strong focus on the agency of Rome to explain hellenization. Though chronologically problematic, it has been suggested that the hellenization of Rome enabled the subsequent spread of Hellenistic models *by* Rome as an integral part of a larger process of romanization (see above). Recently, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has proposed a more sophisticated model of the relationship between romanization and hellenization, in which both of these concepts still play a role.<sup>179</sup> First of all, he argues that “Greek’ and ‘Roman’ are not strictly parallel as types of cultural identity: while the ‘Greek’ is defined precisely by its hellenic culture, the ‘Roman’ is defined by political structures’.<sup>180</sup> This means that changes can be seen as hellenizing in their content and romanizing in their cause at the same time. In addition, the Greek models and their meaning for Rome change constantly. Instead of the two phase development with first a period of hellenization and then a phase of romanization, Wallace-Hadrill proposes a model in which they constantly alternate and reinforce each other.<sup>181</sup> Thus, the impact of Greek culture on Rome is one of the influences that transformed both Rome and the empire.<sup>182</sup>

However, this model still leaves some of the specific circumstances of Central Italy in the Middle Republican period unaccounted for.<sup>183</sup> First, hellenization did not necessarily occur through Rome, but may have been caused by other contacts. This means that the central role of Rome in Wallace-Hadrill’s model is problematic: people in other places, such as the colonies, may have first introduced Hellenistic models into a world that was politically directed by Rome. In addition, the relation between romanization and

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<sup>179</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 26-27.

<sup>180</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 27.

<sup>181</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 27 uses an anatomic metaphor to illustrate this: ‘(...) it is as if hellenisation and romanisation represented the two phases of the circulation of the blood. If hellenisation is the diastolic phase, by which blood is drawn to the centre, romanisation is the systolic phase, that pumps the oxygenated blood back to the extremities. It is not enough to have one single, prolonged phase of the one, followed by a similar, single, long phase of the other, because the two need to alternate constantly, to keep the system alive.’

<sup>182</sup> See also Edwards and Woolf 2003.

<sup>183</sup> For comments to Wallace-Hadrill’s model similar to the ones presented in this paragraph: Versluys 2014, 9 and 16. To do justice to Wallace-Hadrill, it should be stressed that he does give attention to the local in the third chapter of his book ‘Roman Italy: between Roman, Greek and local’ (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, ch. 3); see also Wallace-Hadrill 2007, 363-371.

hellenization needs to be discussed with more explicit attention for the role of non-Roman and non-Greek inhabitants of the Italian peninsula, what we may - for convenience's sake - denote as the Italic world.<sup>184</sup> As discussed, it would be mistaken to see them as passive receivers of Roman or Greek elements: not only could they actively join the debate on what was Roman or give new meanings to Hellenistic models, but their own variegated traditions were also elements in the mix of cultural change in Italy.<sup>185</sup> Attention for 'Italic input' has been growing over the last twenty years or so, but it has for understandable reasons not resulted in similar overarching models of cultural change like romanization and hellenization. This should not distract us, however, from its importance.

Cultural change in Republican Italy, therefore, is very difficult to capture through a single model, or even with a combination of models.<sup>186</sup> If we wish to understand the role of the colonies in processes of cultural change, it is theoretically flawed to take a perspective that favours any one influence. Both romanization and hellenization have an *a priori* interest in a specific field of cultural change: that which is derived from Rome or the Greek world, or that in which objects or practices come to be perceived of as Roman or Greek. Of course, I do not deny Roman influence in the colonies, or the importance of Greek models. However, I am mainly interested in the different effects of colonization, both in terms of creating local realities and causing new dynamics in large scale networks. At a local level, influences from Rome and the Greek world, and objects and practices that came to be perceived as such may have been important, but the analysis is not restricted to them. Moreover, we need a perspective that relates these local developments to large scale processes of change.

In sum, the overarching models of romanization and hellenization and the way they interact do not result in satisfactory conceptualizations of the colonies and their role in processes of cultural change. The effects of Roman

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<sup>184</sup> See recently Stek 2013.

<sup>185</sup> See, most explicitly, Van Dommelen and Terrenato 2007b and various contributions in the same volume. The interaction between various cultural traditions and social developments has been studied and analysed in considerable detail for the area around Brundisium and the Salento district by Yntema 1995; Yntema 2006.

<sup>186</sup> Cf. Stek 2014.

expansion could vary considerably between regions and even localities.<sup>187</sup> Changes in the domains of architecture, sculpture and representation were often influenced by Hellenistic models that did not necessarily arrive from Rome, and pre-Roman traditions may have affected the mix in various places to a different extent. As noted by Nicola Terrenato, this heterogeneity is important for our understanding of the way Rome exercised power: ‘the heterogeneity of Roman Italy in itself seems to have fascinating implications: it entails a different notion of how the empire was formed, and, above all, kept together’.<sup>188</sup> Rome therefore was not the only motor of change, and certainly did not manipulate or shape change in all its details.

In this thesis, I am interested in how the colonies functioned within these dynamics. What influences were important in shaping local realities, and how do the local realities relate and contribute to large scale processes of change? In the remainder of this chapter, I develop a globalization perspective to the colonies in order to overcome the limitations of the traditional models of change. Such a perspective accommodates the main theoretical challenges discussed in this section: the variety of influences at a local level, and the relation between local and large scale developments.

### **2.3 A globalization perspective**

As we have seen above in the discussion on romanization, a recurring problem in theorizing the Roman Empire is that of scale.<sup>189</sup> How do we relate local realities and identities to large scale developments? A globalization perspective helps to study these two scales in relation to each other, while at the same time it does not make any *a priori* assumptions about the influences that were important at a local level.

A central point of departure in adopting this perspective is that it is important to study the colonies as local communities: it is at the local level that actual changes happen.<sup>190</sup> However, in the colonies it is very clear that these changes happen in the context of a range of influences of broader processes - Roman expansion is the most obvious, but another is, for example, the

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<sup>187</sup> As argued explicitly by Stek 2009, 220.

<sup>188</sup> Terrenato 1998, 25.

<sup>189</sup> As noted by Gardner 2013, 8; cf. Witcher 2000, 214-215.

<sup>190</sup> This is also important in post-colonial studies; see e.g. Van Dommelen 1998, 29-31.

monetization of large parts of Italy in the fourth and third centuries (see chapter 4). A globalization perspective offers an interpretive framework to study these dynamics, explicitly aimed at understanding local realities in relation to global developments. It provides models to conceptualize interaction between local and global developments. These models do not *a priori* place an emphasis on the origin of influences, but focus on how they are accommodated at a local level. At the same time, a globalization perspective allows for power differences between different players, which means that a powerful, structuring role of Rome can be included in the analysis without the implication that Rome determined all local developments.

An additional consideration is that many recent developments in the study of the Roman world already seem to be informed by globalizing world views.<sup>191</sup> Specifically for Republican Italy, Tesse Stek has recently noticed that concerns in many recent contributions, such as questioning static boundaries, decentring and fragmenting the motor or causes of change, and the attention for connectedness and connectivity, are all central elements of modern globalization.<sup>192</sup> In these circumstances, it is perhaps not strange to opt for a globalization perspective to the Latin colonies; if our thinking is informed by these modern concerns it seems better to be explicit about it. At the same time, however, it is important to be clear on the advantages such a perspective has to offer.

While the main reason for adopting this perspective therefore is its heuristic value, it is also important to consider whether the use of a globalization perspective is appropriate in the context of Mid-Republican Italy: is globalization not an exclusively modern phenomenon? I start out in section 2.3.1 by briefly considering this question in general terms. In section 2.3.2, I continue to discuss both the appropriateness of a globalization perspective for Mid-Republican Italy and the colonies in particular, and the advantages of such a perspective to solve the theoretical challenges identified above.

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<sup>191</sup> Pitts and Versluys 2014, 20.

<sup>192</sup> Stek 2014, 39.

### 2.3.1 Globalization

The concept of globalization has been developed in relation to developments in the modern world: in different disciplines of the social sciences, including economy, political sciences, sociology, geography, anthropology and history, it serves as an umbrella term under which the consequences of increased connectivity and communication on a global scale are studied. It is consequently a very broad and contested concept, and the definition of globalization varies between disciplines and fields of study.<sup>193</sup> While this variety in interpretations may be problematic, it is also important: it means that all kinds of questions can be meaningfully cast in terms of globalization (at least in the opinion of the scholars working in these different disciplines). There is however, a general consensus on a few aspects: globalization involves increasing connectivity on a global scale and deterritorialization, which means that local worlds are penetrated by distant forces and through increased mobility. This causes trends of standardization and homogenization, but at the same time there is unevenness in the impact of globalization; in a cultural sense, the mixing of various global flows causes heterogeneity. These dynamics also cause the reconfiguration of social relations and political institutions.<sup>194</sup>

In order to use the concept of globalization for the study of the colonies, it is first of all important to establish whether the concept is appropriate and applicable in this historical context. This issue is, again, contested. While various scholars of globalization in the modern world see it as a phenomenon that is closely associated to modernity, others have argued that it is a long-term historical process with deep historical roots; modern globalization would then be an ‘acceleration’ of existing processes that cause globalization.<sup>195</sup> Alternatively, Justin Jennings, dealing with archaeological manifestations of globalization, suggests that it is not one long-term process, but that various periods of globalization can be recognized in world history.<sup>196</sup> The Hellenistic and Roman periods have also been suggested to be such periods of globalization (or accelerations of globalization), even if not all characteristics of modern

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<sup>193</sup> For a brief and insightful overview: Nederveen Pieterse 2009, chapter 1.

<sup>194</sup> Cf. Jennings 2011, 30-31; again on pp. 123-141.

<sup>195</sup> As discussed by Nederveen Pieterse 2009, 28; see the various contributions in Øystein and Scham 2006.

<sup>196</sup> Jennings 2011 for the idea that ‘globalization has occurred many times in history’ (p. 1), visualized in figure 1.2 on p. 9.

globalization apply.<sup>197</sup> Indeed, the relationship between local and more general developments in the Roman world has been conceptualized in various recent articles as a form of globalization.<sup>198</sup> However, the applicability of this term to the Roman world is not generally accepted.<sup>199</sup> Let us briefly consider the debate for this specific case, which is most relevant in the present context.

There are several reasons to recognize the Hellenistic and Roman periods as periods of globalization. Martin Pitts and Miguel John Versluys list a series of characteristics that would support this claim: ‘increased connectivity, the existence of a common market, the domestic impact of market integration, the idea of belonging to one world, a stress on the local as a part of global developments, the universalisation of the particular in combination with a particularisation of the universal, relatively dramatic time-space compression, and cosmopolitanism.’<sup>200</sup> Moreover, the qualification would not be completely foreign to contemporary appreciations of what was going on, as is shown by the famous passage in Polybius, where he suggests that in the period after the Second Punic War, the Mediterranean became a more connected unity:<sup>201</sup>

Previously the doings of the world had been, so to say, dispersed, as they were held together by no unity of initiative, results, or locality; but ever since this date history has been an organic whole, and the affairs of Italy and Libya have been interlinked with those of Asia and Greece, all leading up to one end.

However, not all agree that globalization is the right term to describe these developments in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. An obvious point of critique is that developments were not *global* in a literal sense.<sup>202</sup> This to me seems

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<sup>197</sup> As noted by Pitts and Versluys 2014, 17-18. Of course, Horden and Purcell 2000, has been fundamental in stressing the importance of connectivity in Mediterranean history (cf. Morris 2003); however, they do not use the concept of globalization.

<sup>198</sup> E.g. Terrenato 1998; Witcher 2000; Hingley 2005; Pitts 2008; Mattingly 2010; various contributions to Whitmarsh 2010; Sommer 2013.

<sup>199</sup> The issue is thoroughly discussed and answered positively by Pitts and Versluys 2014. More sceptical comments e.g. in Naerebout 2006-2007; Greene 2008; Morley 2013.

<sup>200</sup> Pitts and Versluys 2014, 17.

<sup>201</sup> Polybius 1.3.3-4: ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων χρόνοις ὡσανεὶ σποράδας εἶναι συνέβαινε τὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης πράξεις διὰ τὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιβολάς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς συντελείας αὐτῶν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς τόπους διαφέρειν ἕκαστα τῶν πεπραγμένων. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν οἶονεὶ σωματοειδῆ συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν, συμπλέκεσθαι τε τὰς Ἰταλικὰς καὶ Λιβυκὰς πράξεις ταῖς τε κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς καὶ πρὸς ἐν γίνεσθαι τέλος τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἀπάντων. Polybius here explicitly speaks about the period after the start of the Second Punic War; I will come back to this issue below.

<sup>202</sup> E.g. Naerebout 2006-2007, 154; Greene 2008, 79-80.

more of a terminological quibble, and not directly relevant to the question of whether we can use the conceptual apparatus of globalization for the ancient world. More to the point are comments that point to the different characters of the ancient and the modern worlds: it has been pointed out, for example, that compared to the modern world, the ancient world was less economically differentiated and did not experience increased connectivity and space-time compression in any significant way.<sup>203</sup> This critique is important for the study of the colonies,<sup>204</sup> and it will be important in the analysis to investigate how contacts between the colonies and the wider world were established. It has also been argued that for understanding ‘the distant entering the local’ we do not need globalization, as we have other concepts that help us conceptualize such developments.<sup>205</sup> It is exactly on this point that I disagree.

While I recognize that the use of the term globalization for the study of the ancient world is not straightforward, the critiques discussed above do not withhold me from using it. I am quite convinced by the list of characteristics that Versluys and Pitts use to argue for the Hellenistic and Roman periods as periods of globalization. The situation for Mid-Republican Italy is slightly different, of course, but it participated in the Hellenistic world (see above), and was part of an emerging Roman world (see further in section 2.3.2). The points of critique listed above do not seem fundamental: they mainly focus on different degrees and different forms in which change took place, but they do not deviate from the core of the matter: that local worlds are penetrated by distant forces, and react in different ways. The main reason for adopting a globalization perspective to the colonies, however, is not because I think it *describes* the situation in Mid-Republican Italy so well, but because in

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<sup>203</sup> Naerebout 2006-2007, 165; Morley 2013: ‘I remain stubbornly sceptical of the usefulness of the term, and not just because I remain completely unconvinced that the adoption of the mule and the construction of a few roads represents time-space compression in any meaningful or useful sense...’.

<sup>204</sup> Note, however, that the low level of space-time compression may be relative: the impact of increased connections, however insignificant they may seem to us, may still have been high. Cf. Jennings 2011, 20.

<sup>205</sup> Naerebout 2006-2007, 165-166. The examples he gives of other concepts that would be capable of doing so are not convincing: he suggests that ‘real unity’ was only brought about by nation states in the 19th century, and that the localism and particularism in the period before that precede true globalization; how any of this would help studying the distant in relation to the local in antiquity is unclear to me. For studying interdependence, he suggests to resort to acculturation and world history, both of which, again, do not explicitly theorize the relationship between local and global.

globalization theory, and especially in studies of globalization and culture, a conceptual apparatus exists that facilitates an understanding of local developments in the colonies and large scale developments in Italy in relation to each other.<sup>206</sup> It helps to solve the theoretical problems identified in section 2.2, where we noted a clear contrast between approaches that emphasize large-scale processes of culture development and approaches that focus on local developments and identities.<sup>207</sup>

### **2.3.2 A globalization perspective to the colonies**

In this section, I further explain why I feel a globalization perspective is both appropriate and helpful specifically to the study of the colonies, and I discuss the implications for the ways the colonies will be conceptualized. We have seen above that Polybius identifies the Second Punic War as the period when the world started to become a connected whole. Here, I argue that on the Italian stage, this process started in the period leading up to the Second Punic War. The colonies are important localities in this process, because the foundation of a colony introduced a local reality into a larger world, or intensified and changed the nature of existing contacts.

As we have seen in section 2.2.1, heterogeneity is an important characteristic of Roman Italy, and one which in itself informs us about the way in which Roman rule operated. The various ways in which Rome established its primacy in Republican Italy, through a combination of land annexation, alliances, and the foundation of colonies must have played a role in this. This not only caused a situation where local identities must have remained important, it also means that there was not one monolithic state structure that dictated the kinds of contacts that happened.<sup>208</sup> As we have seen, both local

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<sup>206</sup> Relations between (cultural) changes at different scales have recently also been studied by using the concepts of structure, agency and practice: see Revell 2009 and Gardner 2013, 19, who uses it explicitly as an alternative to globalization theory. While I certainly see the value of such an approach in order to study various scales in relation to each other, I think it is less suitable for the question of how the colonies contributed to cultural change: I do not see how it could accommodate the variety of connections that were important in shaping local realities in the colonies, and it does not encourage the investigation of the nature of these connections.

<sup>207</sup> Cf. Hodos 2010, 8.

<sup>208</sup> Cf. Jennings 2011, 17 on state structures that 'have a tendency to try to limit interregional connectivity by exchange restrictions and the levelling out of local differences through centralized planning'.



traditions and Hellenistic influences could affect local realities, without any necessary Roman intervention.

At the same time, Roman expansion and military activities caused an intensive movement of people over the peninsula, not in the least through the foundation of colonies.<sup>209</sup> This movement of people in itself is a motor driving connectivity in Republican Italy: it has been noted that ‘globalization and migration are twin subjects’.<sup>210</sup> The idea of the movement of people through colonial foundations as an important way of making connections is not new: it has been argued that colonial expansion can also be seen as the start of modern globalization, and in this context, it is similarly stressed that although this was a major catalyst of change, it was not the only factor.<sup>211</sup> Especially when physical proximity must have been an important cause of cultural change, the movement of people is significant. If the period of Roman expansion in Italy, therefore, marks the start of a period of increased connectivity in Italy, the effects would be especially strong in the colonies. Many of the members of these communities were recently resettled, and therefore were connected to other parts of the peninsula, and local realities were influenced by various large scale developments which were, however, locally accommodated.

In this context, an advantage of a globalization perspective is that it does not make *a priori* assumptions about the origin of the global developments in which the colonies participate. It enables a focus on different networks that connected people and facilitated cultural transformation.<sup>212</sup> This means that the various connections that were influential in the colonies need to be investigated. As a result, we can study the colonies as local communities without neglecting the importance of Rome as the founding city: this is one of the connections that helped shaping local realities and identities.

A second important way in which a globalization perspective helps to understand the colonies as local communities contributing to cultural change is that it does not require developments at the global and the local scale to be uniform, while they can still be connected.<sup>213</sup> Localities may partake in large

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<sup>209</sup> See Pina Polo 2006; Erdkamp 2008.

<sup>210</sup> Nederveen Pieterse 2009, 34.

<sup>211</sup> Jennings 2011, 26-27.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. Hodos 2014, 30.

<sup>213</sup> Cf. Malkin 2003, rejecting a model of ‘arborism’ in which developments at the local scale are always derived from larger scale developments.

scale developments, but develop their own cultural forms to do so - as is clear, for example, in the modern world from the many local varieties of hip hop music.<sup>214</sup> Similarly, global changes related to the process of Roman expansion do not necessarily have the same effects in all localities. The advantage of such a perspective will become clear, for example, in the analysis of the colonial coinages in chapter 4. While the variation in these coinages has been noted, analysis has focused on recognizing either Roman or other influences. A globalization perspective allows to study these coinages as local accommodations of different coinage traditions, while at the same time it is clear that the incentive for production in most cases clearly comes from Rome.

Thirdly, it has been recognized in globalization studies that homogenizing elements exchanged at a large-scale level may be locally adapted and given meaning in different ways, a phenomenon that has been named 'glocalization'.<sup>215</sup> The local is changed in the process, but the way in which it changes depends on previous traditions. By taking such a perspective to local realities in the colonies, we are forced to ask what objects or practices mean at a local level, instead of relating their meaning automatically to their place of origin. At the same time, these different local accommodations do not cancel the large scale patterns of distribution of similar objects or practices, but they do invite further investigations of the processes of exchange and the dynamics that lie behind the large scale patterns. In chapter 5, I will argue that adopting such a perspective to votive material in the colonies results in new insights into the colonies' role in processes of cultural change compares to the traditional approach which interpreted specific types of votives in exclusive reference to Rome.

A final advantage of globalization theory is that power differences are integral to the concept. The inclusion of local worlds in large scale networks plays out differently for different social groups, dependent on their power position.<sup>216</sup> At a local level, this means that elites have greater choice in the

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<sup>214</sup> See Nederveen Pieterse 2009, 62-63.

<sup>215</sup> The famous example is McDonalds: while the global presence of local branches of McDonalds has been seen as a sign of the homogenization of global culture (McDonaldization), branches in different countries actually adopt different strategies, and the way a McDonalds dinner is perceived varies enormously between countries. See Nederveen Pieterse 2009, 51-54 for a brief summary.

<sup>216</sup> As noted e.g. by Pitts 2008, 494.

construction of their identities than non-elites, who have more limited resources for cultural consumption.<sup>217</sup> As a result, different social groups are likely to make different choices in adopting and adapting existing cultural elements. This will come into focus in particular in chapter 5, while the analysis in chapters 3 and 4 focuses mainly on the (decisions of the) elite.

At a large scale level, we should be aware that using the model of globalization brings with it certain assumptions of how Roman imperialism worked;<sup>218</sup> it assumes that there was room for local developments in the colonies. As noted by John Tomlinson in a work on cultural imperialism, while imperialism implies the *intended* spread of cultural elements from one centre, '[g]lobalisation may be distinguished from imperialism in that it is a far less coherent or culturally directed process'.<sup>219</sup> This assumption needs proof before we can continue with the analysis, and this is an important goal of the analysis in chapter 3.

From the above, we can extract two main facets of analysis that are important if we wish to study the colonies in terms of globalization, and which will be further developed in section 2.4. First, the ways in which the colonies are connected to large-scale developments need to be further investigated: what are the connections, and how are they constituted? In this regard, it may be helpful to conceptualize the colonies as being part of several coexisting networks, each of which affects local realities in different ways. In each of these networks, the colonies are constituent elements, shaping large scale developments. Different integration in these networks creates different local realities in the colonies, while they are still part of the same large scale developments.

Second, it is important to realize that a globalization perspective is about more than connections and connectivity alone. It also offers ways of thinking about the effects of increased connectivity at a local level: local realities and identities. At this level, we need to incorporate both considerations of power and institutions, and different local traditions in the colonies, or at least the areas where they were founded. In brief, we need to study the effects at a local level of the different networks in which the colonies were involved.

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<sup>217</sup> Pitts and Versluys 2014, 15.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. Stek 2014, 31.

<sup>219</sup> Tomlinson 1991, 173-179; quote on p. 175.

## 2.4 Approach

As I hope to have made clear, applying a globalization perspective to the colonies urges us to ask combinations of questions that have not received (enough) attention in previous studies of the role of the colonies in cultural change. There are two sets of questions that are particularly important: those that ask about the ways in which local realities are integrated in various networks, and those that ask about the ways in which the colonies act as active contributors to cultural change by adapting models at a local level, either in form or in meaning. In this final section, I discuss these two sets of questions in more detail, with specific attention for the ways in which they affect my approach to the colonies.

### 2.4.1 Connections and networks

If we want to investigate different connections that were relevant in the colonies, the *process* of connection is significant. It is important to know how connections were made, both in terms of the physical possibilities for connectivity, the agents involved, and in terms of power structures.<sup>220</sup> This helps to understand both the way in which local realities in the colonies were influenced, and the way local developments, in turn, fed back into large scale developments. As discussed above, Rome was not the only factor of importance in both these processes in the colonies, which may be included, for example, in Mediterranean trade networks.

In order to conceptualize different connections that were important in the colonies, it is helpful to think of the colonies as being integrated into several cultural and economic networks.<sup>221</sup> At least one of these networks is centred on Rome: through the foundation, a very obvious connection is created between colony and mother city - although the effects of this connection still need to be investigated. However, this connection to Rome is only one factor in shaping the local realities in the colonies and the interaction between mother

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<sup>220</sup> Cf. Morris 2003 on 'Mediterraneanization' as a model inspired on globalization. Patterson 2012, 216 also notes that it is important 'to investigate the nature of the links between different Italian communities'.

<sup>221</sup> The use of networks as a heuristic tool is not new in studying increasing connectivity in the Mediterranean; see, e.g. Malkin 2003; Malkin et al. 2007; Collar 2008; Malkin 2011. Formal network analysis is less common, cf. Brughmans 2010.

city and colonies. Through links of various nature, the colonies are involved in other networks, and the centrality of Rome may not always be so clear as in the case of the 'foundation link'. In this sense, network thinking helps to look beyond the intuitive inclusion of the colonies in a network centred on Rome, and instead forces us to think about the various networks of which they were part, and how these came into being, functioned and developed. In the three analytical chapters, I will analyse the connections that are important in shaping the colonies according to the distinct processes that are central in each of these chapters (see the introduction). If we wish to understand the role of the colonies in cultural change, it is important to understand in which realms Rome provided the model, and in which realms other influences could be similarly, or even more, important.

A second reason why it may be helpful to think about the colonies from a network perspective has to do with the way we conceptualize the spatial aspect of cultural interaction. Carl Knappett has pointed out that in archaeological research, geographical *areas* are often used as an analytical unit, with interaction taking place at the boundaries between various areas.<sup>222</sup> This seems closely related to concepts such as diffusion and acculturation which have been important ways of explaining cultural change in Italy during the period of Roman expansion as a form of romanization. As we have seen, in this framework the colonies were really just distant satellites of the centre of Rome, which would allow for a quicker distribution of Roman culture over the peninsula. However, if we are interested in the colonies beyond their relation to a Roman centre, as places where cultural change could take place, this kind of 'area interaction' approach only captures part of the picture. Interaction with their regional environment was probably important for the colonies, and in this sense, links may have been caused or created by geographical vicinity. However, interaction between localities over larger distances, through the movement of people, objects or ideas, may have been equally important.

In addition, network thinking offers new perspectives to the study of the colonies. Depending on the way in which the nodes in a network are linked, various types of networks can be identified that function according to their own

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<sup>222</sup> Knappett 2011, ch. 2.

dynamics.<sup>223</sup> These various types of networks can also function as heuristic tools: they help us think about a historical situation or process. For example, Irad Malkin has used network theory to create a more dynamic understanding of the development of culture and identities in colonial contexts.<sup>224</sup> He argues that the foundation of Greek colonies throughout the Mediterranean, often at large distances from each other, caused network dynamics that created a ‘virtual Greek centre’, or an overarching Greek identity. In a similar way, in the case of the Latin colonies, we may imagine the foundation of the colonies and subsequent cultural developments to have played an active role in shaping Roman culture and identity.

In this thesis, therefore, networks will be used as a heuristic tool, as a way to conceptualize the different connections that were important in shaping local realities in the colonies. No formal network analysis will be performed, but in chapter 4, I will use some network visualizations to facilitate the analysis of diverse connections that were important in different colonies.

The role of Rome in relation to the colonies may be multiple. Rome may have affected what happened in the colonies directly, but it could also set in motion large scale developments of which the colonies were part: Roman power and institutions were important structuring elements in the world in which the colonies operated. In both these ways, the presence of a powerful Rome will be included in the analysis, helping to see the colonies as local communities relative to larger developments caused by Roman expansion.<sup>225</sup> In both cases, however, it is important to think about the agents and dynamics through which Rome would have been important. How and when did Rome interfere? What was its role as an example for the way the colonies were organized? How important was Rome as the home town of part of the settlers, and as a political and military power that demanded support from her allies (including the colonies) in the form of soldiers? How was Roman power executed? As we have seen in the introduction, in the Middle Republic, Roman state institutions were still developing, and clans and political factions played an important role in

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<sup>223</sup> See e.g. Brughmans 2010, 280 on small world networks and scale-free networks.

<sup>224</sup> Malkin 2003; see also the conclusions of Malkin 2011, specifically pp. 205-206.

<sup>225</sup> Witcher 2000, 222.

Roman politics.<sup>226</sup> This heterogeneity of ‘the Roman political body’ is important when investigating the connections between the colonies and Rome.

An obvious question in this regard is whether and when a Roman identity was important in the colonies: did inhabitants of the colonies feel part of a larger Roman whole, and was this connection important in shaping local realities? The colonists did not have Roman citizenship, or lost it when they joined the colony - in this sense they were not Romans.<sup>227</sup> However, identification with Rome may have shaped local decisions and the way the colonies presented themselves to the outside world.<sup>228</sup> This possibility will be part of the analysis, and it will be important to understand the contexts in which a Roman identity may have been significant. Interestingly, it has been observed in general terms that cultural identities may become more meaningful and be played out more actively in situations of stress.<sup>229</sup> In a study of colonies that were founded at the edges of the world in which Rome dominated, moreover, it may be significant that cultural identities are often shaped predominantly at the boundaries, in relation to other groups that are perceived to be different.<sup>230</sup>

A central aim of the analysis will be to identify and qualify different connections that were influential in shaping the colonies. In each chapter, it will be investigated *which* connections are important, and *how* they were made. As we have seen, the nature and significance of these connections may have been different for elites and non-elites, and this difference is incorporated in the research design; while chapters 3 and 4 focus the elites and their decisions, chapter 5 will concentrate on the practices of inhabitants that may have changed their positions in large scale networks of exchange, but not as the result of any conscious strategy.

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<sup>226</sup> Cf. Smith 2006; Terrenato 2007.

<sup>227</sup> Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 443: ‘Roman identity starts with citizenship.’

<sup>228</sup> Before the Social War, Roman citizenship was not widely shared, and under these circumstances people may well have considered themselves Roman without having the Roman citizenship. Cf. Erdkamp 2011, 136-142 for the absence of strong ethnic connotations to citizenship in the Mid-Republican period. Conversely, in the period of the Late Republic and later, when Roman citizenship was ever more widely spread, more restrictive ideas about what it was to be ‘really’ Roman emerged, excluding ‘foreigners’ who nevertheless were, juridically, Roman citizens. See Dench 2005, 96.

<sup>229</sup> E.g. Bispham 2006, 90; Herring 2007, 21.

<sup>230</sup> Jones 1997, 94-96.

### 2.4.2 Studying the local

As we have seen above, the local appropriation of general models is a central concern in globalization studies. In this thesis, I study the colonies as *loci* of cultural change: places where elements of various networks come together, and may be developed. To understand how and why changes take place, it is not enough to look only at the networks of which the colonies were part; as far as possible, we also need to understand how cultural forms and influences are locally adopted and accommodated. In this section, I develop a further conceptual framework in order to study the changes that took place at a local level.

In general terms, two dynamics are important. First, we may be able to recognize local appropriations by looking at formal characteristics of objects: changes in style or iconography, for example, may reveal different influences and local developments, and this is the kind of local accommodation that is most readily recognizable in the material evidence. It is crucial to realize, however, that local accommodation for a considerable part also consists of a process of giving meaning to cultural forms that may be formally indistinguishable. Therefore, wherever possible, we also need to consider how objects and practices would have been perceived.

There are two closely related models of cultural change that help conceptualize these dynamics in colonial contexts. Especially in the study of Greek colonization, under the influence of postcolonialism, the notion of *hybridity* (and various related concepts) has been explored in order to understand cultural change at a local level.<sup>231</sup> In this context, the possible emergence of *new* cultural forms in colonial situations, or more generally in situations of culture contact has been stressed. These can be understood as a result of a process of interaction and negotiation between various groups with different cultural backgrounds. Existing objects could be invested with new meanings, or completely new cultural forms could be developed. Although this concept of the hybridity of culture in situations of culture contact was not a new invention of post-colonialist studies,<sup>232</sup> it has been an important element in

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<sup>231</sup> For a brief summary of post-colonial theory: Gosden 2004, 18-20.

<sup>232</sup> Cf. Webster 2001, 211-212 on Collingwood; Burke 2009.



recent thinking about the local formation of cultural change.<sup>233</sup> However, it has been argued that this concept does not take into account the power differences between colonizers and colonized.<sup>234</sup>

This last problem is further elaborated by a closely related concept that will be helpful in conceptualizing local realities in the colonies: that of the *middle ground*, first used by Richard White in a study of cultural contact between Native Americans and Europeans in the Great Lakes region of North America between 1650 and 1815.<sup>235</sup> This concept underlines the possibility of the introduction of new elements in colonial contexts, not present in the cultural vocabulary of any of the meeting groups, but necessary for them in order to develop a common ground in which to deal with each other. This kind of interaction is important also in conceptualizing how cultural models were negotiated at a local level in the Latin colonies.

Importantly, the concept of the middle ground ‘requires an inability of both sides to gain their ends through force, which is why new conventions for cooperation must develop’.<sup>236</sup> While this may seem a circumstance that does not apply to the Latin colonies, the analysis in chapters 3, 4 and 5 will show that only in some situations can we recognize direct Roman intervention. Of course, the colonists had Rome and the Roman army to fall back on, but in practical terms, they needed to create a workable situation in their new environment, which included in most cases, as we will see, the indigenous inhabitants. It may often have been easier to search for common ground than to stress differences with the risk of escalation. In this sense, the situation in the Latin colonies is comparable to that described by White as ‘an imperialism that weakens at its periphery’, where ‘minor agents, allies, and even subjects at the periphery often guide the course of empires’.<sup>237</sup>

If we accept that the middle ground can be helpful to conceptualize cultural change at a local level in the colonies, it is important to take note of

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<sup>233</sup> See e.g. Van Dommelen 1998, 31. Cf. Hodos 2006, 17: ‘the focus of hybridity studies rests upon the active construction of local identities in contact situations.’

<sup>234</sup> E.g. Webster 2001, 211.

<sup>235</sup> White 1991. Applications to the ancient world can be found in Malkin 2002a; Gosden 2004, 104-133.

<sup>236</sup> Hodos 2006, 7, quoting in the first part White 1991, 52. Cf. Nederveen Pieterse’s axis of asymmetric / symmetric power relations in shaping patterns of hybridity (Nederveen Pieterse 2009, 118).

<sup>237</sup> White 1991, xi.

some important observations made by White. First of all, he shows that the middle ground is dynamic, and does not exist immediately upon arrival of the colonists. In the case studies elaborated by White, the middle ground is substantially expanded in a time period of 30 years: more common conventions had been created in this period of time.<sup>238</sup> This means that in the analytical chapters, it is important to take a diachronic perspective. It is impossible to arrive at one definitive characterization of the ways in which the colonies contributed to cultural change. Rather, we will see a range of different options,<sup>239</sup> and an important goal of the analysis is to recognize patterns in space and time in the ways in which the colonies were shaped and interacted with the outside world.

A second important point stressed by White is that the interaction between different groups does not mean that the middle ground is a place free of (armed) conflict, or that common ground was always easily found: much of the search for new common conventions may mainly be needed in order to deal with conflict or problems in interaction that had to be negotiated.<sup>240</sup> Even when force is used and people are suppressed, this does not stop the middle ground from existing, as long as some sort of contact continued as well.<sup>241</sup> Considering interaction between various groups at a local level therefore does not imply that they were equal in terms of power, or that they were always interacting on friendly terms. White even underlines that the kind of mediation that results from interaction between various groups can be understood as a form of (imperial) power.<sup>242</sup>

Finally, we should consider that the search for a middle ground, or commonly understandable symbols, is not always successful. Common conventions may be mainly external in form, casting your own message in a (symbolic) language that is hopefully understandable to the other. In this sense, White's middle ground can be combined well with the symbolic construction of

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<sup>238</sup> Compare White 1991, 75-82 with 82-90.

<sup>239</sup> A similar problem is noticed by Nederveen Pieterse 2009, 78 about the creation of a theory of hybridity: 'it would have to prove itself by giving as neat as possible a version of messiness, or an unhybrid categorization of hybridities'.

<sup>240</sup> As shown by White through two case studies of sex and violence: both created problems in cultural interaction, and therefore needed to be negotiated (White 1991, 60-93).

<sup>241</sup> See Nederveen Pieterse 2009, 144.

<sup>242</sup> White 1991, 33-34.

community described by Anthony Cohen, who underlines that it is often shared symbols, not necessarily shared meaning, that is constructive of community.<sup>243</sup> In the context of the Latin colonies, it was perhaps easier than in the Great Lakes region to find such shared symbols: as we have seen above, there is a long history of contacts between different groups on the peninsula before the foundation of the colonies, and both Rome and most of the rest of Italy had been undergoing increasing contacts with the Greek towns in the south.<sup>244</sup> The role of other influences than those from Rome and from the indigenous population in the creation of new cultural forms is therefore an important part of the analysis.

These considerations will be important in my conceptualization of local developments in the colonies. It is important to stress, however, that the goal of the analysis is not to give a detailed analysis of local dynamics for each of the colonies. To be able to describe and qualify the middle ground in each of the colonies, more detailed sources and contexts would be needed.<sup>245</sup> What we are able to recognize are the results of decisions or practices of dominant groups in the community, which may be the result of interaction with other groups. Moreover, the outcomes of such internal dynamics are more important to understand how the colonies interacted with the outside world than the internal dynamics themselves. The aim of this thesis is not to study one colony or locality in all its complexity; rather, I will study those aspects of local realities in the colonies that may inform us about their broader role in cultural change in Italy.

This means that I will be interested in local identities in specific colonies to a limited extent, and only in as far as they help to understand the decisions and practices that are constitutive of large-scale developments. In doing so, it is important to realize that in the study of the colonies, the local cannot be understood as ‘a particular bounded space with a set of close-knit social relationships based upon strong kinship ties and length of residence’, as it has been used in the sociological tradition.<sup>246</sup> In the study of the colonies, local

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<sup>243</sup> Cohen 1985.

<sup>244</sup> This phenomenon is described by Gosden 2004, 26, table 3a; 32-33; 41-81 as ‘colonialism in a shared cultural milieu’. See p. 33 for the possibility of a fluid relationship between the middle ground and colonialism within a shared cultural milieu.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. Rabinowitz 2008.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. Hodos 2010, 14.

applies to a community of people that has only recently been formed, with no strong traditions particular to that specific community. The 'local' in the colonies may be far more dynamic and less homogeneous than in the traditional use of the term, with different input from the settlers and the local population. Indeed, the stress on stability and homogeneity in the traditional definition of the local has been seen as problematic in a more general sense. Tamar Hodos has pointed out some of these problems, and has suggested instead that '[i]t is, in fact, in the sense of communal interaction in a shared space that 'local' finds its working definition'.<sup>247</sup> When we use this definition for the local in the study of the colonies, their more dynamic nature can find a place in the analysis.

In as far as I will be interested in a 'community identity' in the colonies, therefore, it will mostly concern the identity that is created by more powerful groups within the community. In chapters 3 and 4 I will concentrate on the results of active decisions by elite members of the community about the ways in which to present the colonial community to the outside world (I will call this the 'public identity' of the colony), and about the physical and institutional organization of the settlement. Non-elite members contribute to a community identity in ways that are perhaps less conscious and definitely less recognizable. They *constitute* the community, and they are responsible for shaping and recreating it through practice.<sup>248</sup> If large groups within the community share certain practices, these may become recognizable in the archaeological record. In chapter 5, I will discuss one such shared practice which is archaeologically well recognizable: the dedication of votive gifts at sanctuaries. I shall argue that this practice is more likely to reflect various social and/or religious identities than a shared community identity. Nonetheless, these local practices affect the role of the colonies in processes of cultural change.

In conclusion, I will analyse local developments in the colonies in as far as we can recognize their relation to large scale developments in Republican Italy. At a local level, models, objects and practices may be adapted, either in form or in meaning. As discussed in the introduction, this analysis will be divided into three analytical chapters, each focusing on a different way in

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<sup>247</sup> Hodos 2010, 15.

<sup>248</sup> Cohen 1985.

which the local community was shaped. In each of these, both the connections and networks that were important at a local level will be investigated and the ways in which these influences were locally accommodated and given meaning.

### 3. Shaping the colony: settlement and institutions

#### 3.1 Introduction

The foundation of a colony could be remembered throughout the centuries. This is shown by a rather casual remark of Cicero in a letter to Atticus where he describes his trip from Dyrrachium to Rome, via Brundisium (founded 244):<sup>249</sup>

I landed at Brundisium on the Nones of August. My little Tullia was there to welcome me. It was her birthday, and also, as it happened, the foundation day of the colony of Brundisium and of the temple of your neighbour the Goddess of Weal [Salus], a coincidence which attracted popular notice and was joyfully celebrated by the townsfolk.

Unfortunately, Cicero does not elaborate on this first century memory of the colonial foundation. He does not describe the celebrations in detail: we will never know if they perhaps evoked specific events or persons that were seen as pivotal to the foundation.<sup>250</sup> The coincidence he notices between the *dies natalis* of Brundisium and the temple of Salus in Rome is interesting: it may be only that, a mere coincidence, but we might also suspect a causal relationship here between the foundation of the colony and the safety of the Roman people.<sup>251</sup>

Cicero's remarks remind us of our limited knowledge about exactly what happened during a colonial foundation, the ways in which Rome was involved in the process, and its significance in the later history of the colonies. The foundation of the colonies under study here is always mentioned in the sources from a Roman perspective: as we have seen in the introduction, a colony is 'sent out' (the normal verb is *deducere*, sometimes we find *mittere*; see

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<sup>249</sup> Cic. Ad Att. 4.1.4: 'Brundisium veni Non. Sext. ibi mihi Tulliola mea fuit praesto natali suo ipse die, qui casu idem natalis erat et Brundisinae coloniae et tuae vicinae Salutis; quae res animadversa a multitudine summa Brundisinorum gratulatione celebrata est.'

<sup>250</sup> Other references to colonial foundations are limited. In an inscription from Puteoli (CIL X 1781 = ILS 5317 = ILLRP 518) the colonial foundation is referred to, as it records events that date 'ab colonia deducta anno XC'. Laurence 1998, 104 thinks that by emphasizing the anniversary of their foundation, these colonies stressed their Romanness; I would argue that they may just as well be stressing the importance of the local community. The inscription from Interamna Nahars mentioned by Laurence (CIL XI 4170 = ILS 157) which bears the date 'anno post Interamnam conditam DCCIII' is discussed by Bradley 2000b, 12-14; although he argues that Interamna Nahars may have been a Latin colony (see note 254 below), the inscription refers to an earlier (invented?) foundation.

<sup>251</sup> Many thanks to Daniele Miano for suggesting this to me.

appendix 1).<sup>252</sup> What actually happened upon arrival is not so clear. As we have seen in the introduction, elements of the traditionally formulated 'standard procedure' of colonization can be questioned for the period of the Early and Middle Republic, such as the ritual of the ploughing of the *sulcus primigenius*, the offering of the first fruits, and more generally the idea that the colonies were modelled after Rome. However, the deconstruction of this traditional image of colonization has only been followed to a limited extent by a new comprehensive view of the way in which the colonial settlements were shaped. As discussed in the introduction (section 1.2.3), while revisionist research has added valuable insights about aspects of local realities in the colonies, these insights have not yet been integrated in an overall view of the dynamics that shaped local realities in the colonies.

The aim of this chapter is to provide such a new view, concentrating on the active interventions that followed the foundation of the colony. These interventions are mostly the result of conscious decisions taken by the founders or the colonial elites, and for this reason, this chapter focuses on the 'formal shaping' of the colonies. The central questions that arise from the globalization perspective introduced in chapter 2 are, first, which connections were important in the colonies, and, second, how they were dealt with at a local level. An important aim of the analysis will be to understand which influences were important in which realms.

While investigating these questions, it is important to be aware that local realities in the colonies were not a monolithic whole. The foundation of the colony could create *different* new communities. On a formal juridical level, the foundation of a colony created a new community with a clearly defined citizen body and its own institutions. However, if we conceptualize the way in which the colonies contributed to cultural change only by looking at this juridical community, there is a risk of missing other developments. In the new situation created by the act of colonization, other, less formal communities may have developed as well. For example, when settlers and the indigenous population lived together in the same area, even if they were not part of the same juridical

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<sup>252</sup> The only exceptions are Livy 8.23.6, where, from a Samnite perspective, the verb used to describe the foundation of Fregellae is 'imponere' (cf. Dion Hal. 15.8.5); and Vell. Pat. 1.14.8, where the verb 'occupare' is used.

community, they did interact on a more practical level on a regular basis, forming communities of practice (as discussed in 2.4.2; see chapter 5).

In order to investigate the dynamics that were important in shaping the colonies, therefore, it is first of all important to establish - as far as possible - who were the inhabitants of the colonies. The origin of the inhabitants forms a strong influence on local developments in the colonies. In addition, this chapter will investigate several other ways in which the colonial settlements and communities were shaped. The focus will be on institutional, physical and symbolic interventions that were intentionally executed at the moment of foundation and later. Throughout, the aim of the analysis is to understand which decisions were taken by whom, and what connections and influences were important in the decision-making process.

An important point of departure in this analysis is that we cannot assume *a priori* that the colonies were similar in any of these fields. This has to do with the uncertainties about what actually constituted a colonial foundation in the period under study, and the possibility that it changed through time (see section 1.2).<sup>253</sup> In addition, after the foundation, developments in various colonies diverged. A central problem with many existing accounts of colonization is their focus on the foundation as the moment in which the colony was shaped, resulting in a very Rome-centred and temporally isolated idea of what a colony is. However, this event constitutes only part of the construction of these communities. In addition, we should consider two other dynamics that open up room for other influences that may have affected local developments. First, after the foundation the colony not only became an independent community from a juridical point of view, but equally economically and socially part of a regional system. Many of the decisions taken by the colonial elite may therefore have been informed by concerns of a local or regional nature. Second, as the Latin colonies were often added to pre-existing settlements, the settlers found themselves in an environment with many physical and ideological structures already in place, including sanctuaries and cults. These were important formative elements of the colonial settlement as well, even though

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<sup>253</sup> See Pelgrom 2012, *passim*; specifically p. 190: ‘ (...) Roman colonial practices changed over time and did not spring like Athena, full-grown from the head of Zeus.’



their meaning and significance may have changed. In this sense, the colonial foundation was often only one event in a longer history of the settlement.<sup>254</sup>

A second basic observation that has been discussed in chapter 2 is that the role of Rome in relation to the colonies is something to be investigated, rather than taken for granted. In the analysis, we should be careful to qualify ‘Rome’ as precisely as possible. In relation to the colonies, Rome could play many roles, as a hometown, as a political power, as an ally, or as a source of identity. An important aim of the analysis, therefore, will be to investigate how Roman influence in the colonies worked: who were the agents involved, and how was their connection to Rome constituted?

In brief, then, the following analysis will aim to identify and qualify various influences and dynamics that helped to shape local realities in the colonies. In doing so, we need to investigate which influences were important in which realms and how. As discussed in chapter 2, this approach presupposes that the colonies developed to a certain extent independently from Rome, and this in turn brings with it assumptions of how Roman imperialism worked. It is important to substantiate this assumption. In part, the analysis in this chapter and the thesis as a whole will provide underpinning: we will see several instances where we can recognize non-Roman influences in the colonies. In addition, the next section (3.1.1) will show that on the basis of the (limited) information we have from the written sources and some (relatively late) inscriptions, there is already good reason to take local identities and developments seriously. More specifically, Rome was important mainly in specific contexts, and an important aim of the analysis is to understand which contexts these are. This reassessment of the importance of Rome also has to do with the way we conceptualize the concept of ‘foundation’. In section 3.1.2 I discuss in more detail how we can think about the moment of foundation in relation to later developments taking place in the colonies. Based on these considerations, section 3.1.3 will set out the approach taken in this chapter.

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<sup>254</sup> Cf. Bradley 2000b, 16 for similar remarks on Interamna Nahars, which he thinks is a Latin colony. The idea is valuable, even though I do not find the identification of Interamna Nahars as a Latin colony completely convincing (doubts have been expressed also by Andreani and Fora 2002, 26 and Sisani 2002, 136).

### 3.1.1 Colonies between local and Roman

The main aim of this section is to show that the extant written sources present the colonies as communities that developed in part independently from Rome. Of course, the fact that the colonies were founded as independent communities is important in this respect, but the general recognition of this fact has done little to draw attention to local developments in the colonies. Nonetheless, as I will argue in this section, there are some hints in the sources that point to the colonies' independent development.

In what follows, I will present the relevant material. In addition to showing that we have indeed reason to take local developments in the colonies seriously, I will also discuss the nature of the connections to Rome, both at the moment of foundation and later in the history of the colonies. This discussion is already part of the analysis aimed at qualifying the connection to Rome. I will investigate the procedures of foundation in Rome and on the colonial site itself, as well as the intensity of contact between the colonies and Rome in the period after the foundation.

In the majority of studies on Roman colonization, the political and legal procedures in Rome preceding the sending out of a colony are relatively well-defined, although they are mainly based on sources that deal with later periods.<sup>255</sup> From these accounts, it is deduced that the colonial triumvirs were appointed by a consul or a praetor who were thus ordered by a senatorial decree, a plebiscite, or both.<sup>256</sup> It is thought that these triumvirs had to make all of the necessary preparations for the foundation of the colony, such as the enlistment of the colonists, but also were responsible for the design of the colonial constitution, the first census and the appointment of the first priests and the first *comitia* in the colony.<sup>257</sup> Their activities would have taken place within the parameters set by the plebiscite and/or senatorial decree, which could indicate the number of colonists and even the extent of the territory.

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<sup>255</sup> E.g. Hölkeskamp 2011 [1987], 154-155; Laffi 1988; Gargola 1995, chs. 3 and 4.

<sup>256</sup> The most common suggestion - going back to Mommsen - is that both happened, with the plebiscite following the *senatus consultum*: e.g. Gargola 1995, 53; Hölkeskamp 2011 [1987], 154-155. See Laffi 1988 however for the observation that in the majority of cases, only a *senatus consultum* is recorded.

<sup>257</sup> See already Mommsen 1887-II.1, 638. See also Gabba 1994 [1983], 51. Recently, Coles 2009, ch. 3 has stressed the individual agency of the colonial commissioners in shaping the colonies. She gives an interesting overview of the different tasks these men were responsible for (pp. 118-143).

Although the lateness of the sources for this detailed account is generally recognized, it is often assumed that procedures were standardized from 338 onwards, as this is seen as the moment when it was necessary to lay down new practices.<sup>258</sup>

Although this scenario is quite attractive, it does not follow directly from our source material. For most of the colonies founded in the fourth and third centuries, the colonial foundation is only briefly reported in one or more written sources, without information on the procedures followed (see appendix 1).<sup>259</sup> For the period before 338, it has been suggested that colonization in some cases may have had a ‘private’ character, with colonial foundations resulting from initiatives of individual warlords, possibly representing Rome.<sup>260</sup> In this early period, it seems that the people involved in warfare and conquest were often the same ones entitled to settle the lands they had conquered.<sup>261</sup> We may see a similar scenario still with the foundation of Cales in 334, where two of the three triumvirs recorded by Livy were directly involved in the capture of the town.<sup>262</sup> In the case of Venusia, however, Dionysius of Halicarnassus reports that the triumphing general, L. Postumius Megellus, was denied by the senate the right to be part of the foundation team of the colony.<sup>263</sup> Here we may be witnessing a growing influence of the senate on the whole procedure of sending out a colony.<sup>264</sup> In addition, these responsibilities may have shifted again in the third or second century from the senate to the people.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> E.g. Gargola 1995, 51; Hölkeskamp 2011 [1987], 155. Note that this forces Hölkeskamp to assume several omissions and abbreviations in Livy’s account of the foundation of the colonies of Cales, Luceria and Saticula: see his n. 108.

<sup>259</sup> See Càssola 1988, 15-17.

<sup>260</sup> For a brief overview of the debate: Termeer 2010a, 44-46. See recently Chiabà 2011, ch. 1.

<sup>261</sup> Càssola 1988, 15-16; Pelgrom 2012, 16-17; the relevant passages in Livy are 2.48.2 and 4.49.11.

<sup>262</sup> Livy 8.36: Caeso Duillius was consul in 336, when the war against Cales and the Sidicini started; Marcus Fabius may be the same as the imprisoned Roman in Cales who helped the Romans to the victory. Only Titus Quinctius is not mentioned in this context.

<sup>263</sup> Dion. Hal. 17-18.5.

<sup>264</sup> As suggested by Guy Bradley in a lecture held in the ICS Ancient History seminar series in November 2011. He makes the same suggestion in Stek and Pelgrom 2014.

<sup>265</sup> See, e.g. Salmon 1969, 19. Possibly relevant in this context is Festus 276 L ‘*priscae latinae coloniae appellatae sunt ut distinguerentur a novis quae postea a populo dabantur*’; although Salmon’s identification of these *priscae coloniae latinae* as the colonies founded by the Latin League before 338 is widely accepted (Salmon 1969, ch. 2), the passage may refer to a different distinction, between those colonies founded after a senatorial decree and those founded on the people’s initiative; see Weigel 1983, who argues for the involvement of the tribal assembly and places the change between 313 and 296. The relevant passages given by Laffi 1988 keep open

It thus seems that the procedures leading to colonization were not completely static. Moreover, Amanda Coles has recently drawn attention to the political context in Rome in which the initiative for colonization was taken. She suggests that in addition to the military importance of the colonies which would have compelled the senate to mandate their foundation, individuals could profit from colonial foundations as well. In the Roman political context, individuals or coalitions of individuals may have actively campaigned in order to be selected as colonial triumvirs, with their personal goals and intentions affecting the practice of founding colonies.<sup>266</sup> This draws our attention to the fact that after the colonial expedition had left Rome, a new, local reality was created in the colonies, in a process of interaction between the triumvirs, the settlers, and the indigenous population. The individual input of the colonial triumvirs should not be underestimated, therefore: their own goals and connections may have been an important factor in the way the colony was shaped.

The earliest relatively direct evidence we have for a colonial foundation is an inscription from Aquileia which records the actions of one of the triumvirs in charge of the settling of supplementary colonists in 169.<sup>267</sup> From this inscription, we can deduce that this ‘refoundation’ of the colony involved the construction of a temple, giving laws to the community, and a recurring - yearly? - enrolment of a senate.<sup>268</sup> Again, we cannot be sure whether these were standard elements in the creation of a new colony from the fourth century (or even earlier) onwards. It is interesting, however, that according to this inscription, in the second century, this triumvir was responsible for giving laws to the colony: apparently, the arrival of new colonists caused the need for laws which had to be designed newly for the colony. It has been noted more

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the possibility of a later date, especially if we allow for a difference in procedures between Roman and Latin colonies. See, recently, Pelgrom 2012, 91-92.

<sup>266</sup> Coles 2009, ch. 2.

<sup>267</sup> AE 1996, 685: T. Annius T. f. tri(um) uir. | Is hanc aedem | faciundam dedit | dedicauitque, legesq(ue) | composiuit deditque, | senatum ter coptaui. See Ando 2007, 434 and recently Zaccaria 2014.

<sup>268</sup> In the commentary in *l'Année Épigraphique*, two possible explanations for the word *ter* in the last line of the inscription are given: either a new senate was formed in each of the three years during which T. Annius was triumvir, or these three occasions are related to moments in which the census in Rome was taken, in 168, 163 and 158 - with the consequence that T. Annius was no longer triumvir during the second and third time, but by that time possibly was *patronus* of the colony. Zaccaria 2014, 536-537 prefers the second option.

generally that the Latin colonies were probably relatively autonomous in the design of their laws,<sup>269</sup> although it is possible of course that Roman laws were adapted.<sup>270</sup> It should be noted that the mere existence of a separate colonial constitution distinguishes the colonies from Rome, where the *ius publicum* was never codified.<sup>271</sup>

If each of the colonies started a formally independent life after the colonists had left Rome, the next question regards the degree of subsequent contact between the colonies and Rome. The written sources give us some information, although these are biased in the sense that the colonies are almost exclusively mentioned in the context of Roman warfare, when they are relevant to the fate of Rome. This alone may indicate that in more peaceful periods, contacts between Rome and her colonies were less important. In this context, it is striking that in several instances the independence and local identity of the colonies seem to be subject of debate.

The most famous example is Livy's rendering of the 'disobedience' of twelve colonies in 209: Ardea, Nepes, Sutrium, Alba Fucens, Carseoli, Sora, Suessa, Circeii, Setia, Cales, Narnia and Interamna.<sup>272</sup> In Livy's account, their refusal (or inability) to furnish troops and money is interpreted by the consuls as a revolt, and is followed by an emotional appeal to their Roman origins:<sup>273</sup>

They should remind their people that they were not Capuans or Tarentines, but Romans, that they were of Roman descent, and that they had been sent out from Rome into the colonies, and into land taken in war, in order to propagate the Roman race. They owed the Romans as much as children owed to their parents - if they had any sense of duty to, or any memory of, their mother city of old.

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<sup>269</sup> See Galsterer 1976, 90, who notes that 'die latinischen Kolonien über ihre Verfassungsordnung relativ selbständig bestimmen konnten', and gives several examples of the independent political activities of the colonies.

<sup>270</sup> As suggested by Zaccaria 2014, 535-536.

<sup>271</sup> See Ando 2007, 434.

<sup>272</sup> Livy 27.9.7-14. See Bispham 2006, 82-83 for discussion of the same passage, in particular the implications of the opening lines 'triginta tum colonia populi Romani erant' for the lability of the traditional colonial categories of Latin and Roman (see the introduction).

<sup>273</sup> Livy 27.9.10-11: 'Admonerent non Campanos neque Tarentinos esse eos sed Romanos, inde oriundos, inde in colonias atque in agrum bello captum stirpis augendae causa missos. Quae liberi parentibus deberent, ea illos Romanis debere, si ulla pietas, si memoria antiquae patriae esset.'

This conjures up an image where the consuls and senate of Rome still counted on the unconditional support of the colonies, while priorities in the colonies had shifted to preserving their own communities. In the context of the shifting alliances of the Second Punic War, it may well be that these colonies did not necessarily count on a positive outcome for Rome, and opted to choose for the survival of their own community.<sup>274</sup> Interestingly, Rome's reaction is to increase its direct involvement in the colonies: Livy informs us that five years after this event, Rome doubled the levy to be furnished by these colonies, and added an annual tax and a census according to the same formula used for the Romans.<sup>275</sup>

In Livy's account, the refusal of the twelve disobedient colonies leads to unease in Rome about the position of the other colonies, causing the consuls to summon their legates (who seem to have been already present in Rome).<sup>276</sup> It is interesting that Marcus Sextilius of Fregellae issues the reassuring confirmation *on behalf of* all eighteen colonies that they in fact had their troops ready.<sup>277</sup> This means that there must have been contact between these colonies, most plausibly because their legates were all present in Rome. Such mutual contact between colonies is also attested in later periods: in 177, for example, L. Papirius, again from Fregellae, gave a speech in the Roman senate on behalf of the Latin colonists in general,<sup>278</sup> which must be the speech where the colonies complained about emigration of their population to Rome.<sup>279</sup> It is clear, therefore, that some level of contact between the colonies was maintained.

The surprise of the Roman consuls and senate at the colonies' conduct in the 209 episode can be taken to indicate a rather low level of contact between Rome and her colonies in the previous period.<sup>280</sup> This would fit the modest clues we have about the level of contact between Rome and the colonies. In the fourth and third centuries, before the Second Punic War, we know of some

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<sup>274</sup> In this sense, it is quite possible that the colonies acted like many other allies during the Second Punic War; cf. Fronda 2010.

<sup>275</sup> Livy 29.15.

<sup>276</sup> Livy 27.10 with Livy 27.9.7.

<sup>277</sup> Livy 27.10.3: 'pro duodeviginti coloniis M. Sextilius Fregellanus respondit (...).'

<sup>278</sup> Cic. *Brut.* 170. Cf. Patterson 2012, 223.

<sup>279</sup> In 187 and 177, several colonies reported in Rome on the loss of men. Livy 39.3.4; Livy 41.8.6-12; see Pina Polo 2006, 193.

<sup>280</sup> See Pfeilschifter 2006, 126-127.

instances of envoys coming from the colonies to Rome, either because they are mentioned in the written sources, or because events in the colonies, such as prodigies, are known in Rome - these must have been reported by legates.<sup>281</sup> After the start of the Second Punic War, contacts seem to intensify.<sup>282</sup>

It is important to note that the intensity of this kind of contact seems to be similar for the colonies and for other allies.<sup>283</sup> In general, instances of contact are restricted to war situations, emergencies, or special occasions such as the prodigies, and the initiative for contact mostly lies with the colonies. Apart from the example discussed above, the only known occasion in which Rome takes initiative of sorts is after the Second Punic War in 186, when consul Sp. Postumius Albinus, while travelling around Italy to investigate the Bacchanalian affair, found the colonies of Buxentum and Sipontum empty, only eight years after their foundation.<sup>284</sup> As Rene Pfeilschifter has noted, the casual nature of this discovery points to a low level of contact between these colonies and Rome.<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> A full inventory of such instances of diplomatic interaction involving Rome is made by Canali De Rossi 2005; Canali De Rossi 2007; Canali De Rossi 2013. Between 338 and 218 the colonies are involved in the following episodes. In 297, envoys came to Rome from Sutrium and Nepes to announce that the Etruscans wanted peace (Livy 10.14.1-2). In 269, a prodigy at Cales was reported (Oros. 4.4.1). In 223, a prodigy at Ariminum was reported (Oros. 4.13.12). In 218, just after the foundation of Placentia and Cremona, the Boii took up arms, and perhaps they also attacked envoys sent out from Rome to these colonies (Livy 21.25.2-4).

<sup>282</sup> The change can partly be explained by the survival of Livy's books for the period after 218. Early in 216, envoys from Paestum offered golden vases to the Roman senate (Livy 22.36.9), presumably, like earlier envoys from Neapolis (Livy 22.32.4), as a contribution to the war expenses. Prodigies were reported at (amongst others) Cales, Spoletium and Hadria in 214 (Livy 24.10.6-13). In 213 envoys of Cales were present in the camp of the consul (Q. Fabius) in Suessula, where they were put in charge of guarding a prisoner (Dasius from Arpi) and keeping him in custody in Cales (Livy 24.45.9-10). In 212 ten envoys from Beneventum informed the Roman consuls, who had pitched camp in nearby Bovianum, about a grain transaction between Hannibal and Capua (Livy 25.13.8). In 211, a messenger from Fregellae arrived in Rome, but we do not know his messages (Livy 26.9.6). In the same year, a prodigy at Fregellae was reported (amongst others; Livy 26.23.4). As we have already seen, in 209, delegates of all thirty colonies were present in Rome (Livy 27.9.7). In 206, prodigies were reported at Alba Fucens and Fregellae (amongst others; Livy 28.11.1-3). In 204, a prodigy was reported at Setia (amongst others; Livy 29.14.2). In the same year, the magistrates and *decem primi* of the disobedient colonies were ordered to come to Rome (Livy 29.15; see above).

<sup>283</sup> As becomes clear when browsing Canali De Rossi 2005; Canali De Rossi 2007; Canali De Rossi 2013.

<sup>284</sup> Livy 39.23.3.

<sup>285</sup> Pfeilschifter 2006, 114-115. See also Bernardi 1973, 80 for the lack of contact between Rome and the colonies after the foundation.

The refusal of the twelve colonies to deliver troops in 209 of course comes at a very specific and precarious moment in Rome's history, and we should not confuse their inability to deliver troops with complete revolt from Rome; none of the colonies defected to Hannibal when he was near.<sup>286</sup> Looking at the longer term there are only a few other instances of colonies choosing their own path, or even directly rising up against Rome, but they are interesting because of the way they are described in the sources. Before 338, in the early fourth century, the colonies of Circeii and Velitrae already had become allied with the Volscians against Rome.<sup>287</sup> In Livy's Roman eyes, this is all the more contemptible because the colonists originally came from Rome.<sup>288</sup> The Latin War itself similarly is the result of a divergence between the interests of the Latins, including the colonies then in existence, and Rome. After 338, no open revolts are recorded until the rebellion of Fregellae in 125.<sup>289</sup> Although we do not have Livy's account,<sup>290</sup> the clash between Rome and Fregellae must have been fierce,<sup>291</sup> and it is interesting that Cicero mentions the war with Fregellae separately between *seditiones domesticae* and *bella cum sociis*, indicating the ambiguous position of the colonies in relation to Rome.<sup>292</sup> Again, for later writers, the rebellion of a colony causes some confusion, in this case over the question whether the suppression of such a rebellion was a good reason to award a triumph: the answer was no, as no territory was *added* to the empire.<sup>293</sup> A final example is Venusia's taking sides against Rome during the Social War.<sup>294</sup> In this case, modern authors have tried to explain this 'unnatural behaviour' for a colony by pointing out the high number of indigenous people

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<sup>286</sup> Cf. recently Fronda 2010.

<sup>287</sup> Livy 6.13.8 mentions people from Circeii and Velitrae being recognized in a defeated army in 385; two years later, he reports that these two colonies had long been scheming a rebellion (6.21.2-3).

<sup>288</sup> Livy 6.17.7-8.

<sup>289</sup> Sewell 2010, 82-83 suggests that '[t]he constitutional changes of 338 appear to have included mechanisms for securing the loyalty of subsequent colonial foundations'.

<sup>290</sup> The surrender of Fregellae is reported in Livy, *Periochae* 60.

<sup>291</sup> E.g. Amm. 25.9.10: '(...) Fregellanis tunc interneciuus hostibus ad deditiōem compulsis (...). (the people of Fregellae, at that time our deadly enemies, were forced to surrender).

<sup>292</sup> Cic. Agr. 2.90.

<sup>293</sup> Amm. 25.9; Val. Max. 2.8.4.

<sup>294</sup> App. BC 1.39.



that would have been included in the colony (see section 3.2.1).<sup>295</sup> Again, however, when we consider Venusia as an independent community, mainly concerned for its own interests, Venusia's position against Rome does not necessarily have to be explained in such ethnic terms.

On the whole, therefore, these rebellions are quite exceptional. However, we should consider that these clashes with Roman interests are only the most conspicuous instances of colonies going their own way. In many other cases, the concerns and interests of the colonies may have coincided with those of Rome, or would not stand in their way. In some rare instances, we see something of a recognition of the importance of local, civic identities in the colonies, although mostly for the period after the Social War, when they had become regular municipia, and when this local identity goes hand in hand with an appropriation by Rome - one is reminded of Cicero's remarks that all men from the municipia have two homelands, one by birth and one by citizenship.<sup>296</sup> For example, when Pliny the Younger pledges to defend Firmum in a law suit, he writes to Statius Sabinus: 'You can pledge my word then to your people of Firmum, or rather *our* people; their excellent reputation is a sufficient guarantee that they are worthy of my care and attention, added to the fact that there is likely to be nothing but good in the people who can claim a citizen like you.'<sup>297</sup> More famous are Horace's ponderings on his identity as a Venusian, doubting whether he is a Lucanian or an Apulian.<sup>298</sup>

Whereas in these two cases, local or regional identities clearly coexist with a Roman identity, an earlier example shows that to outsiders, the

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<sup>295</sup> E.g. Torelli 1992, 53; alternatively Marchi and Salvatore 1997, 11 hold that this cannot have been the act of the ruling elite, but must have been the influence of other 'anti-Roman forces' in the community.

<sup>296</sup> Cic. Leg. 2.5: 'Surely I think that he and all natives of Italian towns have two fatherlands, one by nature and the other by citizenship. Cato, for example, though born in Tusculum, received citizenship in Rome, and so, as he was a Tusculan by birth and a Roman by citizenship, had one fatherland which was the place of his birth, and another by law (...)' ('Ego mehercule et illi et omnibus municipibus duas esse censeo patrias, unam naturae, alteram civitatis: ut ille Cato, cum esset Tusculi natus, in populi Romani civitatem susceptus est, ita, cum ortu Tusculanus esset, civitate Romanus, habuit alteram loci patriam, alteram iuris (...).')

<sup>297</sup> Plin. Ep. 6.18: 'Proinde Firmanis tuis ac iam potius nostris obliga fidem meam; quos labore et studio meo dignos cum splendor ipsorum tum hoc maxime pollicetur, quod credibile est optimos esse, inter quos tu talis exstiteris'.

<sup>298</sup> Hor. S. 2.1.27-46; for an interesting analysis of the implications for ethnic and regional boundaries in third century Italy, see De Cazanove 2005.

connection between the colonies and Rome was not necessarily so clear. Livy describes how a certain Lucius Rammius, a prominent citizen of Brundisium in the early second century BC, entertained a wide network of contacts, including the Macedonian king Perseus.<sup>299</sup> Perseus tries to implicate Rammius in a conspiracy to poison several important Roman generals, but Rammius tells the Roman *legatus* Gaius Valerius about the scheme, and thus remains loyal to Rome. It is interesting that Perseus thought that he could find a conspirator against Rome in the colony: clearly, he did not think the fact that Rammius was citizen of a Latin colony would stop him from conspiring against Rome (if he was even conscious of the juridical relation between Roman and Brundisium). In fact, in the case of Rammius, there are indications that other connections than a link to Rome may have been important: a Ramius is known from a third century inscription in Thessaly, and is thought to be a member of the same family.<sup>300</sup> Such ties may have informed decisions taken by individuals at a local level just as well as the connection to Rome.

These examples serve to show that local identities and connections to other parts of the outside world beyond Rome were important in the colonies. This does not erase the connection to Rome, yet this connection should be qualified. Indeed, from a Roman perspective, there are some indications that the colonies continued to be considered as special, closer allies, together with some of the Latin towns in Latium (a fact that may partly explain the indignation in our sources when a colony did revolt). This special position is illustrated most clearly by the fact that during and after the Second Punic War, the colonies were the places *par excellence* to send prisoners and hostages.<sup>301</sup> During the war, we hear twice of prisoners being sent to Cales, one time in combination with the allied town of Teanum - a rather practical solution as this was close to the war scene.<sup>302</sup> More significantly, later during the war, in 203, the captured king Syphax, ally of the Carthaginians, was brought to Italy and interned in Alba Fucens, from where he was later transferred to Tibur.<sup>303</sup> It is

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<sup>299</sup> Livy 42.17. For the Messapian background of this man: Yntema 2006, 101.

<sup>300</sup> IG 9<sup>2</sup> 2.858; see Lintott 1993, 7 with n. 3 and 9; Čašule 2012, 220. Thanks to Ed Bispham for bringing this to my attention.

<sup>301</sup> This was noted by Toynbee 1965, 255.

<sup>302</sup> Livy 24.45.9-11 (213; prisoner Dasius from Arpi sent to Cales); Livy 26.14.7-9 (211; Capuan senators sent to Cales and Teanum).

<sup>303</sup> Livy 30.17.1-2; 30.45.4-5.

notable that only a few years after Alba's refusal to send troops, it was selected as the place to send this high ranking prisoner. After the conclusion of the war, Carthaginian hostages were held in several colonies: Norba, Signia, Setia, Circeii and Ferentinum are mentioned.<sup>304</sup> Later in the second century, other hostages were sent to Ardea, Carseoli, and again to Alba Fucens.<sup>305</sup> Although these examples tell us more about the way in which Rome treated the colonies than about the way they perceived and presented themselves, I would argue that this practice must have affected the way the Latin colonies were viewed and perceived by others.

Therefore, we can identify two main trends. In most of the examples above, we see the colonies *act* rather independently, and the link to Rome does not seem to have been always clear to outsiders. However, the colonies are still *conceptualized* by Roman authors as part of Rome, as is clear from the strong condemnations in the sources when the colonies diverge from Rome's interests. In addition, we also see that at an ideological level, the colonies did feel connected to Rome, as they thought it important to report to Rome about prodigies that took place locally. The implications are important. It means that local developments in the colonies are not necessarily shaped by Rome, or even under Roman influence: a range of other influences were important. At the same time, what happens locally in the colonies may have been perceived of as Roman, both by Rome itself and by the inhabitants of the colonies. This means that local developments in the colonies contribute to the formation of what came to be perceived as Roman.

Indeed, evidence for *direct* Roman interference in the colonies is very limited. A building inscription from the sanctuary at Trattiuro Caniò near Setia reads [--- *Post]umiu[s Albi]nus consol p(osuit)*, indicating the involvement of the consul of 110 or 99 (or possibly 186) in the construction of an altar or temple.<sup>306</sup> We know of similar building activities by individuals from Rome in

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<sup>304</sup> Livy 32.2.3-5 (199; Norba, Signia, Ferentinum); Livy 32.26.5-8 (198; Setia, Norba, Circeii).

<sup>305</sup> Livy 39.19.2 (186; Minius Cerrinius the Campanian, sent to Ardea); Livy 45.42.4-5 (167; Perseus of Macedonia and his son Alexander, sent to Alba Fucens; Bithys, son of Cothys, the king of Thrace, sent to Carseoli).

<sup>306</sup> AE 1990, 132 = AE 1996, 398 = AE 1997, 282 = AE 2003, 278; see Volpe 1990, 20-22 (nr. 3) (the early date of late third or early second century suggested by her based on the spelling *consol* is convincingly refused by Gasperini); Gasperini 1997, 269-279; Bruckner 2003, 87-94; Cassieri 2012, 2012, 177; for an overview: Bertrand 2012, 51-52. Haensch 1996, 531-532

the colonies of Aquileia (Latin colony) and Tarracina (Roman colony) in the second century.<sup>307</sup> All of these examples, it has been recently argued, are probably to be connected to private initiatives to strengthen family and patronage ties outside Rome.<sup>308</sup> It seems probable that such personal ties, rather than formal political control, were the main mode of interaction between Rome and the colonies during the Republic. This may be true for the third century as well, even if we should consider the different historical context: the activity of these Roman individuals in the colonies seems to fit in a more general tendency of Roman interference in infrastructure and construction outside Rome from the second century onwards.

In summary, both the (limited) information about what actually happened when a colony was founded, how it subsequently interacted with Rome, and the way the colonies are portrayed in later periods point to relatively varied colonial foundation practices and the further development of local realities and identities in the colonies. It may not always have been realized in Rome, but the colonies developed their own interests, which in exceptional cases could conflict with those of Rome. More often, these local realities and identities probably coexisted and interacted with the realization of being part of a larger, Roman, world. In this context, in order to see the colonies' role in processes of cultural change, it becomes important to know how they were shaped as settlements and communities at a local level. The foundation of the colony set in motion various processes by which the community and settlement were shaped. In the next section, I discuss the ways in which we can conceptualize these.

### **3.1.2 Foundation: event, process, construct**

In AD 1609, the Dutch West India Company ship *Halve Maen*, captained by the English explorer Henry Hudson, arrived on the island Manna Hattan. In the following years, several Dutch merchant ships followed, and a trading station and small fortress was established near modern-day Albany.<sup>309</sup> In 1623, the

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suggests an identification with Sp. Postumius L.f. A.n. Albinus, consul in 186, who travelled around Italy for his investigations of the Bacchanalia affair.

<sup>307</sup> Bertrand 2012, 47-55.

<sup>308</sup> Bertrand 2012, 54-55.

<sup>309</sup> See Jacobs 2005, 31-37 for the early expeditions.

Company decided to install a small colony in the area, which slowly took shape over the subsequent years.<sup>310</sup> In 1625, the decision was made to concentrate the colonists in a single settlement, which came to be located on the island of Manna Hattan and was called *Nieuw Amsterdam*. The colony did well, according to a report written by Pieter Schagen in 1626, based on the observations of the crew of another West India Company ship, *Het Wapen van Amsterdam*. In his report, Schagen mentions that the colonists had bought the island Manna Hattan for 60 guilders. Only 39 years after the foundation, the colony was taken over by the English, and *Nieuw Amsterdam* was renamed New York. When Schagen's letter was discovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was hailed as the 'birth certificate of New York'. In 2009, New York and The Netherlands celebrated 400 years of friendship, commemorating Hudson's arrival.

This famous example shows some of the problems and processes that accompany the concept of foundation. In a practical sense, the setting up of a new settlement always involves a string of decisions and activities, often taking place over the course of a generation or even more. One or more moments during this period may be singled out as symbolically important by performing rituals that strengthen community bonds. However, in the later history of the same place, the relevant moment of foundation may be identified in a different way. In studying the foundation of the colonies, we should distinguish between these three concepts of foundation: a moment symbolically singled out by the new settlers through ritual; the activities that actually helped shaping the settlement and the community, and the later (constructed) commemorations of foundation. The relevance of the foundation can therefore not be easily restricted to one event in which Rome influences realities in the colonies - we should also look at later developments and other influences.

At this point, it is worth looking at Greek colonization for a moment. In this field, the discussion of the substance and relevance of foundation has been carried out in much more explicit terms than for Roman colonization.<sup>311</sup> An

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<sup>310</sup> Jacobs 2005, 41-43.

<sup>311</sup> A good overview of recent scholarly work on Greek colonization can be found in Tsetschladze 2006 and Tsetschladze 2008. The discussion about the importance of foundation is related to a debate on the validity of the term colonization to describe the movement of Greeks in the Mediterranean; see recently Tsetschladze and Hargrave 2011. The discussion is related to the recent focus on Mediterranean networks; cf. Malkin 2003; Malkin 2011.

important article in this regard was written in 1998 by Robin Osborne.<sup>312</sup> He argues that the foundation of early Greek settlements in the West - he rejects the terms colonization - was not 'state-driven' and can better be conceptualized as the result of private initiatives. Only in the fifth and fourth centuries, he sees some examples in the Greek world of colonies where 'the initiative to send a settlement to a specific location is one backed by the citizen body of the 'home' community'.<sup>313</sup> For the earlier period, he stresses the processual nature of becoming a Greek settlement, and the impossibility of (archaeologically) pinpointing a moment when a settlement 'became Greek'.<sup>314</sup> His main arguments for the individual and informal nature of early Greek settlement in the West are the lack of recognizable involvement of the supposed mother cities in the colonies, and the realization that the achievement of planning a settlement is fundamentally the result of co-operative action that need not have been guided by a founder.<sup>315</sup> Only in a later period, Osborne suggests, were traditions of mother cities and individual oikists invented, to the mutual benefit of 'colony' and 'mother city'.

Osborne's thesis provides plenty of food for thought about what we actually mean when talking about a colonial foundation, even if some of his claims seem problematic. Interestingly, he contrasts the private initiatives of the early period of Greek settlements in the West with Roman colonization, which he thus, though not explicitly, presents as state-driven and highly formalized. However, we have seen in the introduction and above that in the period under study here, Roman colonization may have been less formalized than Osborne implies, and deserves some reconceptualization itself.<sup>316</sup> In doing so, two of the issues raised by Osborne are important.

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<sup>312</sup> Osborne 1998.

<sup>313</sup> Osborne 1998, 254.

<sup>314</sup> Osborne 1998, 264.

<sup>315</sup> Osborne 1998, 259-261. E.g. 259: 'In material terms Megara Hyblaia is almost certainly (...) *not* just like Megara' and 260: 'But if mainland Megara did not determine the nature of the contacts which the early settlement enjoyed, then in what sense can that settlement be described as a Megarian 'colony'?'

<sup>316</sup> Cf. the closing remarks of Bispham 2006, 126-127: 'When I first heard a report of the paper that became Osborne 1998, from David Ridgeway, it was couched in the form of 'Osborne telling us not to think of archaic Greek colonization as being like Roman colonization'. The remark is *ben trovato* if not genuine. As far as the early and middle Republic are concerned, if we imagine the creation of Roman and Latin colonies as being less like 'Roman colonization' we will be doing rather well.'

First, his emphasis on the processual development of settlements causes us to specifically consider the significance of the moment of foundation. Was there a moment symbolically singled out that would have added to community identity? And to what extent was the event of foundation (whatever it entailed) essential to the way the settlement took shape? In reaction to Osborne, Irad Malkin has argued for the importance of foundation as an event.<sup>317</sup> Recognizing the fact that a colony, just like any settlement, is dynamic and could experience periods of physical development and re-organization also after the moment of foundation, he does argue for the importance of a foundational period of one generation in which important decisions regarding the settlement's future development were taken.<sup>318</sup> In the case of the Latin colonies, I think this distinction is valid, although it remains to be seen which aspects of the community were shaped in this 'foundational period'.

A second question regards the involvement of the mother city in shaping the colonies. The lack of involvement of the supposed mother cities in the colonies noted by Osborne is mainly based on the diverse pottery assemblages at the colonial sites. However, as we will see also for the Latin colonies, we should wonder if we would expect a mother city to be capable of, or even interested in, managing a colony's trade contacts (see chapter 5).<sup>319</sup> More generally, this touches upon the question of to what extent we can expect the mother city to have designed the future colony. Here the realization that planning a settlement is fundamentally the result of co-operative action becomes important. Even though it is *possible* that the Latin colonies were designed on the drawing tables of the Roman senate, we do not *need* this scenario to understand instances where the foundation of the colony was followed by various kinds of manipulation of the urban landscape. Indeed, it seems more plausible that either the colonial triumvirs in charge of the foundation or members of the new community were responsible for its design.

These considerations about the dynamics of colonial foundations have several consequences for the approach taken to the Latin colonies in this chapter. First, it is important to investigate the impact of the early stages of

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<sup>317</sup> Malkin 2002b, especially 195-196.

<sup>318</sup> Malkin 2002b, 200-207.

<sup>319</sup> Cf. Malkin 2002b, 219 with the important observation that when pots cannot be equated with people, diversity in pots cannot be equated with diversity in people.

foundation (extended to at most one generation) on the settlement and the community, compared to later developments. In doing so, we should be careful not to interpret everything that happened during the first formative period as necessarily designed in Rome: foundation may have happened ‘from below’, from the new colonial community itself as well,<sup>320</sup> and in this context, other connections could be important. Moreover, the relation to Rome may have changed over time, with the first generation of colonists arguably having a more direct relationship to Rome than their descendants. In this context, the concept of the middle ground, introduced in chapter 2, becomes important: in interaction with the environment, new (or altered) conventions and cultural forms may have developed.

### **3.1.3 Approach**

In the previous two sections, I hope to have clarified two things. The first is that we have good reason to suppose that the colonies functioned and developed partially independently from Rome, even though this does not mean that Rome was not important in the minds of the colonists. Second, the colonial foundation must have been important in shaping local realities, both physically and socially, but the importance of the foundation compared to later developments needs to be further investigated.

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to an examination of the local dynamics and external influences that were important in shaping the colonies, institutionally, physically and symbolically. The analysis is aimed at understanding in which realms Rome was important, and in which we can identify other influences. In order to do so, we return to the two main sets of questions formulated in chapter 2. First, it is important to establish which connections affected the shaping of local realities, and how they were made. Second, the ways in which these influences are dealt with locally will receive attention: we will see several examples of local adaptations or accommodations of more general models. In addition, it will be investigated whether local developments in turn contributed to larger scale developments.

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<sup>320</sup> Though not explicitly, this seems to be the idea that informs much of Bispham 2006 as well: he discusses many examples that would have been result of local decisions and practices, both by the political elite and by other inhabitants of the colonies. An example of non-elite practices contributing to cultural change will be discussed in chapter 5.



In this chapter, the analysis will focus on structures (whether physical or social) that were intentionally implemented in the colonies. This means that we will be dealing primarily with developments that are the result of elite decisions in the colonies. The analysis will start in section 3.2 with a discussion of the inhabitants of the colonies. Who was allowed to join the colonies, and what evidence do we have for interaction between settlers and the indigenous population? Next, in section 3.3, I will review the evidence for the institutional organization of the colonies, which provides important information on the relationship between the colonies and Rome. In section 3.4 the focus will be on the settlements themselves, asking what kinds of physical interventions followed the foundation of the colony. In section 3.5, attention will move to cults and sanctuaries. As we will see, sanctuaries were often among the early constructions in the colonies, and as such, they can tell us more about the way physical space was manipulated (or not) in the period after the foundation of the colony. In addition, the introduced cults also contributed to shaping local realities.

The analysis will draw rather heavily on recent research in which certain aspects of local realities in the colonies have been under scrutiny (see the introduction). Where necessary, I will elaborate on these analyses, and I will review the results from a globalization perspective, asking what they tell us about the ways the colonies as local communities interacted with a larger world. In addition, by bringing together a wide range of data about the formation of local realities in various realms, we can start to recognize patterns. An important aim is to establish when and where Rome was important in shaping local realities, and under what circumstances we see the effects of other influences.

## **3.2 Inhabitants**

Communities are made up of people. In order to understand the connections that were important in shaping colonial communities, it is important to understand where these people came from, and this will be the aim of this section. As we will see, it is very difficult to define the body of inhabitants that constituted the colonial communities, especially in juridical terms. In practical terms, however, it is possible to create a sensible image of the various groups

of people that lived together in the colonies (section 3.2.1). These people were not necessarily all citizens of the colonies: we should make a distinction between including people as full citizens in the colonial community (*coloni adscripti*), and the presence of people in another capacity in the town or the territory of the colony. However, such a different juridical status did not impede interaction between various groups. In section 3.2.2 I will explore the practical integration between various groups living in the colonies.

### 3.2.1 Colonists and the indigenous population

The two main questions regarding the make-up of the colonial population pertain to where the colonists came from, and how they related to the original inhabitants of the colonized area.<sup>321</sup> These two questions have been widely debated, and before reviewing the colonial evidence, we may have a brief look at the debate. Following Galsterer, we may take the presence of (former) Roman citizens to be a defining characteristic of both Roman and Latin colonies.<sup>322</sup> However, their proportion within the total colonial population is likely to have changed according to time and place. The colonies founded before 338 in all probability included both Latins and Romans, and in some cases, the written sources report also that other groups were allowed into the colony.<sup>323</sup> Guy Bradley has explained this phenomenon in relation to a world in which ‘individual ethnic identities were not central to behaviour’, where at least some of these early colonies were the result of initiatives taken by individual warlords.<sup>324</sup> Even if Rome was the initiator of these early colonies, the reported inclusion of non-Romans would still fit the strategic reality that emerges from the sources, in which Rome sought different alliances against changing

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<sup>321</sup> As discussed in the introduction (section 1.1.3), I will refer to the people who were already present in the area where the colony was founded as the indigenous population, although I am aware, of course, that they may not be indigenous to the place in the literal sense of the word.

<sup>322</sup> Galsterer 1976, 42.

<sup>323</sup> E.g. Livy 3.1.5-8 and Dion. Hal. 7.14.4, 9.59.1-2 on the inclusion of Volscians in Antium in 467, or - to concentrate on a colony that is included in the corpus studied here, Livy 4.11.3-4 on the local Rutuli in the colony of Ardea, founded 442. The idea that Latins were included fits well in the traditional conceptualization of the early colonies in Latium as a joint practice of Rome and the Latin League, whatever the precise contribution of each; cf. Salmon 1969, ch. 2; Cornell 1995, 301-305. Alternatively, these early colonies may have been the result of individual initiatives, including the personal followers of ‘warlords’ (see section 1.1.1).

<sup>324</sup> Bradley 2006, quote on p.166.

enemies. In these circumstances, these colonies quickly developed as independent communities, following general trends in Latium.<sup>325</sup>

For the colonies founded after 338, it is clear that the initiative for the colonial foundations lay with Rome, and there is a certain consensus that most colonists came from Rome, although it is difficult to establish their relative numbers in quantitative terms.<sup>326</sup> The main question is whether Latins and allies could join the body of colonists, and if so, how large their share in the total population was. Many have suggested that they could join,<sup>327</sup> and an important argument for this is that the colonists sent out to the Latin colonies cannot all have been former Roman citizens, because the Roman population could not have sustained such a high rate of emigration (the nineteen colonies founded between 334 and 263 would add up to a total of some 70,000 adult males).<sup>328</sup>

However, the written sources never mention the inclusion of Latins or allies in the colonies in this period, and it has been argued recently that the growth of the Roman state would make up for the loss of men to the Latin colonies, which means that additional non-Roman colonists were not needed.<sup>329</sup> Therefore, it has been suggested that Latins and allies were only accepted *as a rule* from the late third century onwards, when the written sources give some hints in this direction.<sup>330</sup> While this now seems to be broadly accepted for the allies, some scholars maintain that Latins were accepted in the colonies already earlier on.<sup>331</sup>

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<sup>325</sup> Termeer 2010a.

<sup>326</sup> E.g. Fraccaro 1956 [1934], n. 7; Salmon 1955, 65, n. 10; Sherwin-White 1973, 99; Salmon 1982, 65; Gargola 1995, 64; Günther 2009, 428; Bradley 2006, 171; Roselaar 2011, 528-529.

<sup>327</sup> E.g. Mommsen 1887-II.1, 636-637; Salmon 1969, 56; Bernardi 1973, 66; Galsterer 1976, 51; Gabba 1988, 21; Cornell 1989, 368, 388; Patterson 2006, 608. See Livy 34.42.5. Càssola 1988, 11-12 allows for the possibility that allies were admitted in the colonies, but stresses that this did not occur regularly.

<sup>328</sup> E.g. Cornell 1989, 388; Cornell 1995, 367; Bradley 2000a, 135; Erdkamp 2011, 119-120.

<sup>329</sup> Pelgrom 2012, 33-37; see also Gabba 1994 [1985], 187 who argues for exclusively Roman settlers in the late fourth and early third centuries.

<sup>330</sup> The inclusion of non-Romans in the colonial citizen body is implied in Livy's notice on the recruitment of new colonists for Cosa in 197 (Livy 33.24.8-9); see Erdkamp 2011, 117-119; Roselaar 2011, 528-529. More generally on changes in the procedures accompanying the Roman colonization programme in the course of the third and second centuries: Erdkamp 2011; Pelgrom 2012, 91-95.

<sup>331</sup> E.g. Erdkamp 2011, 119-123, based on the fact that Latins also contributed troops to the Roman army in the early third century (in contrast, he suggests that the *socii* were only included in the colonies (as veterans) from the moment they became a structural part of the

Similarly, the inclusion of the indigenous population in the colonies has been discussed widely. In his account of early Roman colonization, Edward Salmon neatly lists the possible ways of dealing with the indigenous population:<sup>332</sup>

When the colonists were settled in already existing towns there was an immediate problem of adjustment with the natives. These might be simply expelled *en masse*; or some, and perhaps even all, of them might be admitted to the *colonia* with burgess rights therein (this happened in the earliest Citizen colony and was not unknown much later); or they might be permitted to remain as inferior inhabitants of the colony without burgess rights (the *incolae* mentioned in inscriptions as residents, but not citizens, of colonies almost certainly included some of these); or they might be allowed to maintain their political existence in a separate community of their own (instances of ‘double communities’, sometimes physically separated by a wall, are found under both the Republic and the Empire).

For each of the colonies, therefore, two questions need to be answered. The first is *whether* the indigenous population was allowed to stay in the area, or if they were expelled. In this regard, it is commonly suggested that the colonists used the indigenous population for the practical work needed to create a functioning settlement.<sup>333</sup> Recently, Guy Bradley has argued that ‘[t]he absorption of indigenous populations into colonies was not uncommon’, although he notices that this may not have happened in all colonies equally.<sup>334</sup> If this is indeed the case, the second question is *how* the indigenous population related to the newly arrived colonists (see section 3.2.2).

First, therefore, I will review the evidence for the presence of non-Romans in the colonies, differentiating - if possible - between Latins, allies and the indigenous population. I will first discuss the evidence from the written sources, and then continue with other evidence. In the analysis, it is important to keep open the possibility that practices varied between colonies. In addition

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Roman army (p. 123), dated by him to the second half of the third century). Roselaar 2011, 528 argues that the fact that Latins did not need a change in their juridical status to join a colony arguably eased their participation; she stresses, however, that there is no direct evidence for this practice.

<sup>332</sup> Salmon 1969, 25-26.

<sup>333</sup> E.g. Gabba 1994 [1983], 52-53; Galsterer 1976, 51-53.

<sup>334</sup> Bradley 2006, 179, accepted by Coles 2009, 6. Bradley’s conclusion is based on the examples given on pp. 171-177; this evidence will be discussed below.

to chronological development, another variable to reckon with is the location in which the colony was founded: especially for colonies in exposed locations in hostile territories, the settlers are more likely to be mainly derived from the Roman citizen body.<sup>335</sup>

The written sources give some indications of the presence of indigenous people in the colonies, although the context and consequences vary considerably between different cases. An often-used example is the second colonization of Antium in 338, where Livy reports that ‘a new colony was also sent to Antium, with the inhabitants of the town granted leave to be enrolled as colonists themselves if they so wished’.<sup>336</sup> However, we should note that Antium at this time becomes a Roman (not a Latin) colony, and that its location in Latium and its history as a Latin colony may have caused the Romans to be more lenient in this case than in many other cases. Other examples of an indigenous presence in the colonies before the end of the third century, indeed, never imply that these people were necessarily also admitted to the citizen body.

An example of a hostile indigenous population can be found in a slightly problematic passage related to Sora. In 315 Livy describes the activities of the Roman army near Sora, ‘which had defected to the Samnites, killing its Roman colonists’.<sup>337</sup> Apparently, before the colonists were killed, they had shared the settlement with others, who were not so happy about their presence. The passage is problematic because Livy records the foundation of a colony in Sora only in 303, while an earlier colonial foundation is not recorded anywhere.<sup>338</sup> The usual solution is to suppose that a garrison had been sent to Sora earlier on, possibly already after the capture of the town in 343.<sup>339</sup> Also when this solution is accepted, however, it is interesting that Livy confuses a garrison with a colony, and that he mentions the killing of the ‘colonists’ without showing any surprise at this course of events, or at the situation in Sora it implies.

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<sup>335</sup> As suggested by Gargola 1995, 73.

<sup>336</sup> Livy 8.14.8: ‘et Antium nova colonia missa cum eo, ut Antiatibus permetteretur, si et ipsi adscribi coloni vellent’.

<sup>337</sup> Livy 9.23.1: ‘Sora ad Samnites defecerat interfectis colonis Romanorum.’

<sup>338</sup> Livy 10.1.1-2.

<sup>339</sup> Cf. Oakley 2005 *ad loc.* For the 343 events: Livy 7.28.6.

A much more positive attitude towards Rome must have led to the installation of Dasius of Brundisium as commander of a Roman garrison in Clastidium (north of Genua) during the Second Punic War (218).<sup>340</sup> The name is indigenous to the region of Brundisium,<sup>341</sup> and if the selection of this person as commander does not necessarily imply that he was listed as citizen of the colony,<sup>342</sup> it does indicate that the Romans trusted him with the important task of leading a garrison which guarded a large quantity of corn; this turned out to be a poor decision, as Dasius turned over Clastidium to Hannibal for a bribe of four hundred gold pieces. More circumstantially, it has been argued that the 20.000 colonists recorded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus for Venusia must have included the indigenous population - although an alternative explanation is that either Dionysius made a mistake or there is something wrong with the text.<sup>343</sup>

Other indications that non-Romans were present in the colonies always refer to a later period. In the second century, we hear of other instances in Narnia and Fregellae where non-colonists apparently moved into the colony without being part of the citizen body.<sup>344</sup> The well-known *samnites inqolae* inscription from Aesernia, also dated to the second century (see section 3.2.2), points in the same direction.<sup>345</sup> Under Augustus' reign, Strabo describes Ariminum as 'a settlement of the Ombri, just as Ravenna is, although each of them has received Roman colonists'.<sup>346</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> Livy 21.48.9.

<sup>341</sup> See Yntema 2006, 101 and n. 30.

<sup>342</sup> See for a brief overview of this discussion: Roselaar 2011, 542, n. 110.

<sup>343</sup> Dion. Hal. 17/18.5.1-2. Cf. Torelli 1992, 44.

<sup>344</sup> On Narnia in 199: Livy 32.2.6-7: 'Spokesmen from Narnia lodged a complaint that their colonists were not up to the requisite quota, and that certain outsiders had infiltrated their number and were comporting themselves as colonists' ('et Narniensium legatis querentibus adnumerum sibi colonos non esse et immixtos quosdam non sui generis pro colonis se gerere'); on Fregellae in 177: Livy 41.8.8: 'Similarly the Samnites and Paelignians complained that four thousand families had moved from their territories to Fregellae, nor did either community furnish fewer soldiers on that account when the levy was made' ('fregellas quoque milia quattuor familiarum transisse ab se Samnites Paelignique querebantur, neque eo minus aut hos aut illos in dilectu militum dare'). Perhaps a recently published inscription found in Alba Fucens, dated to the middle of the second century, reflects a similar situation: the inscription mentions someone who 'ex Samio efit'. See Buonocore and De Simone 2014.

<sup>345</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3201; for discussion: La Regina 1970-1971, 452-453; Buonocore 2003, 38-39; Pelgrom 2012, 159-160.

<sup>346</sup> Strabo 5.1.11: τὸ δὲ Ἀρίμινον Ὀμβρων ἐστὶ κατοικία, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Ῥάουεννα: δέδεκται δ' ἐποίκους Ῥωμαίους ἑκατέρωθεν.

While it is clear from these passages that non-Romans could be present in the colonies, it is not quite clear yet whether this was normal in the period before the Second Punic War. Moreover, the written evidence mostly indicates the presence of indigenous people in the colonies, but it is less informative about Latins and allies. In a recent article, Saskia Roselaar has examined the question of the presence of ‘Italians’ in the colonies in more detail, drawing on various other bodies of evidence, including archaeological, epigraphic, toponymic and onomastic material in combination with the literary material.<sup>347</sup> Although covering a wider timespan, and Roman as well as Latin colonies, her examination includes various colonies under study here, namely Cales, Fregellae, Luceria, Alba Fucens, Venusia, Cosa, Paestum, Ariminum, Aesernia and Brundisium. She concludes that in most colonies, a combination of the various data point to the presence of non-Roman inhabitants, which may be indigenous people, Latins or Italians. Only in the cases of Cosa and Ariminum is there evidence that (according to Roselaar) might suggest the expulsion of the indigenous population.<sup>348</sup> The material gathered by Roselaar is important in the present context as well, but I will make some corrections and additions. Moreover, I will only partially draw on Roselaar’s work as her approach conflicts partly with that of the present study, especially where the treatment of the archaeological sources is concerned.<sup>349</sup>

In addition to the literary evidence discussed above, it is important to treat the onomastic and linguistic evidence from the colonies in some more detail here. The linguistic evidence is actually less strong than presented by

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<sup>347</sup> Roselaar 2011; pp. 530-534 on the sources, divided there in literary sources; epigraphic evidence; toponymic evidence; linguistic evidence; ‘religious’ evidence; cultural evidence; archaeological and geographical evidence. Some of the evidence she presents was previously discussed by Bradley 2006, 171-177. On archaeological indications for indigenous presence in the colonies, see also Pelgrom 2012, 154, n. 572.

<sup>348</sup> I would assess the evidence from Cosa (strong changes in the settlement pattern after the foundation of the colony) as much stronger than that from Ariminum; cf. the balanced discussion of the evidence from Ariminum on pp. 540-541.

<sup>349</sup> Whereas she considers ‘Greek-style’ terracottas in the votive deposit of Belvedere in Luceria, or continuity in the use of cult places in Paestum as indicative (together with other sources) of the presence of an indigenous element in the local population (Roselaar 2011, 535-536 and 539-540), I would argue that these local traditions may have been taken over or used by the colonists, without necessarily indicating the presence of indigenous people. Therefore, I use these examples to understand the ways in which new realities were created in the colonies (see section 3.5.1 below on Paestum; 5.2.2 and 5.3.1 on the votive material in Luceria).. I also have doubts about the value of the toponymic evidence as an indicator of continued presence of the indigenous population - as does Roselaar herself (p. 539, n. 76).

Roselaar.<sup>350</sup> The total body of evidence can be summed up as follows. There are some Etruscan inscriptions from Telamon near Cosa, but they were found in the area north of the Albegna, where the foundation of the colony had a limited effect overall.<sup>351</sup> Otherwise, we may note three loom weights from Venusia with brief inscriptions in the Oscan alphabet, two of which are dated in the second century, and one in the fourth century or later.<sup>352</sup> Also, a series of eight black gloss bowls and kylikes from Saticula have inscriptions in Etruscan or Oscan - the vases are all dated towards the end of the fourth century BC, which puts them very close to the foundation date of the colony in Saticula in 313.<sup>353</sup> Other than this, the only other possibly relevant linguistic evidence consists of two slightly odd Latin inscriptions from Cales and Paestum, which may reveal non-Latin linguistic influences. The first is an inscription on a black gloss bowl from Cales, reading *a · claudius · c ·*; the editors comment that ‘the absence of *f(ilius)* marks the text as not fully Latin’.<sup>354</sup> The second is an inscription on a marble block from the Santa Venera sanctuary in Paestum, tentatively dated to the second half of the third century.<sup>355</sup> The inscription reads *[- - -i]us · f · cn · venerei / [d]onavit*. The editor, Mario Torelli, gives two possible explanations for the strange letter order in the first line, one of which is that we have a *Cn(aei) f(ilius)* written ‘the wrong way around’ as *f(ilius) Cn(aei)*, a unique solution in the epigraphic record which, Torelli hypothesizes, may show Oscan influence.<sup>356</sup> Clearly, this is very thin ground to tread on, and we may conclude

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<sup>350</sup> The Oscan inscriptions from Paestum and Aesernia that she presents both most probably predate the foundation of the colony, and it has been recently suggested that the one from Aesernia actually comes from either Bovianum or Saepinum. This observation is based on the dates suggested in the recent *Imagines Italicae* (Crawford et al. 2011). The inscriptions mentioned by Roselaar on pp. 540 and 541 respectively are II Paestum 1 (suggested date: c. 300 BC) and II Bouianum or Saepinum not Aesernia 1 (suggested date: c. 300 BC). Note, also, that wherever this last inscription was found precisely, it is inscribed on a golden ring, which means that it was very mobile, so this Oscan inscription reveals little about the find location.

<sup>351</sup> See Roselaar 2011, 539; cf. Celuzza 2002, 109.

<sup>352</sup> Crawford et al. 2011, Venusia 1-3: numbers 1 and 2 are dated c. 200-100 BC; for number 3 it is commented that ‘the material [from the find context] is allegedly fourth century BC, but the lettering does not look so early’.

<sup>353</sup> Crawford et al. 2011, Saticula 1-8; note especially the date of c. 300 of Saticula 7 and 8.

<sup>354</sup> Crawford et al. 2011, Cales 1 and p. 6.

<sup>355</sup> Torelli in Pedley 1993, 195-197.

<sup>356</sup> The other suggested solution is a rather improbable *<C·?> f · C<·>n*, with the praenomen of the father added and a point inserted between C and n in order to have a praenomen of a grandfather followed by n(epos).



that linguistic evidence for the presence of indigenous population in the colonies is virtually absent.

This image changes, however, when we look at the onomastic material. From the analysis below, it will become clear that non-Roman names are found in most of the colonies. While this is relevant information, we need to treat it carefully. The names that are epigraphically attested in the colonies are probably not a representative cross section of the community. In most cases, they can be related to the more elevated classes, while in the case of stamps on black gloss pottery, they most likely represent the potters themselves, who - at least in some cases - may have been itinerant.<sup>357</sup> In addition, the presence of non-Roman names does not necessarily imply that these people were not sent out from Rome: to some extent, mobility in previous periods may already have led to the inclusion of people with non-Roman names in Rome.<sup>358</sup> As far as possible, we need to distinguish therefore between the presence of indigenous population in the colonies, and the presence of Latins and/or other allies. The analysis will focus on the third century material, adding some data and comments to the material presented by Roselaar, and discussing also some material from Firmum<sup>359</sup> In some cases I will discuss later material, limited to the second century, and only when it gives relevant information. Obviously, this later material needs to be treated with more caution than the contemporary material. To avoid confusion, I will use 'classical' Latin spelling throughout.

First of all, we may have a look at the signatures on the black gloss pottery of Cales, the richest onomastic record from any of the colonies for the third century. These inscriptions give us the names of 49 artisans from at least fifteen different families in the pre-Hannibalic period, including both Roman and non-Roman names.<sup>360</sup> One of the names, Anicius, is certainly of

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<sup>357</sup> See, recently, Di Giuseppe 2012, 85-86.

<sup>358</sup> Cf. Bispham 2006, n. 103; Roselaar 2011, 532.

<sup>359</sup> For this material, I agree with Roselaar's analysis along general lines, although her data are not always accurate. See Roselaar 2011, 531-532 for some methodic remarks on the use of onomastic evidence. Importantly, as indicator of the presence of non-Romans, she only uses 'those names that are directly attested as present in non-Latin areas by inscriptions in Italic languages recording them, or by literary sources.' Only a relatively small part of the onomastic material treated by her dates to the third century, while she also includes later Republican material. She includes inscriptions dated before the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC. However, she does not distinguish clearly between the earlier and later material within this corpus.

<sup>360</sup> Di Giuseppe 2012, table 8 (pp. 108-114) gives an overview, with no claim to exhaustiveness. See Pedroni 2001, 64-81 for a list of signatures, with discussion on pp. 90-95. He claims the

Praenestinian origin. Names that are known from Rome seem to be slightly in the majority in comparison to indigenous and non-Roman names. Three of the non-Roman names (Paconius, Soran(i)us and Vitrasius) appear later in the epigraphic record of Cales in magisterial offices. This led Helga Di Giuseppe to suggest that their profitable activity in pottery production may have given these families the economic base to reach such magisterial positions.<sup>361</sup> In addition to these potter's marks, there is some other third century onomastic material from Cales. A third century inscription found near a grave monument just outside Cales mentions, amongst others, a Vibius; this is an Oscan name, and presumably of local or regional origin, as in the second century there are Vibii among the magistrates of Capua.<sup>362</sup> Recently, David Nonnis has proposed that this inscription is not related to the grave monument, and may present a list of magistrates (praetors?) of the colony.<sup>363</sup> A third century votive inscription to Apollo from Cales mentions a libertus named C. Hinoleius, a name to my knowledge otherwise unknown in Republican Italy.<sup>364</sup>

None of the other colonies has yielded a similarly rich record. Some rather abbreviated black gloss stamps are known from Fregellae and Interamna Lirenas, but the related names are conjectural, although the possible presence of a *C(aios) Cal(enos)* in Fregellae is worth noticing, as it may imply movement of people between the colonies.<sup>365</sup> Other third century onomastic material is known from Luceria, Paestum, Ariminum, Firmum and the surroundings of Alba Fucens.

In Luceria, Roselaar notes the Oscan name Magius, most commonly found in Campania, in a late third or possibly early second century inscription.<sup>366</sup> Interestingly, the inscription in Latin, found at a distance of less than 20 kilometers of Luceria itself, mentions *gentiles magiei*, which indicates some

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following names are local or regional: Albanus, Munius, Paconius, Planus, Serponius, Soranus/ius(?), Vitrasius(?). For discussion, see also Di Giuseppe 2012, 88-89.

<sup>361</sup> Di Giuseppe 2012, 88.

<sup>362</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2874 b, with the names Calpurnius, Aprucius and Vibius. The *Vibii* in Capua are noted by Nonnis 2014. Another third century Vibius is known from Paestum, where the name recurs later in the Republic period (Mello and Voza 1968, nos. 140 (second half of the third century), 142 (late republican)). For the grave monument, see Johannowsky 1961, 264.

<sup>363</sup> Nonnis 2014.

<sup>364</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup> 399 (cf. p. 882) = ILS 3214.

<sup>365</sup> See Di Giuseppe 2012, table 8 (p. 112); on the material from Fregellae and Interamna Lirenas, also Antonini 2012.

<sup>366</sup> Roselaar 2011, 536, n. 49.

kind of organization in which *gentes* were important.<sup>367</sup> In addition, a series of early coins produced in Luceria (dated ca. 275) have names inscribed on them, probably of the magistrates responsible for their issuing (see chapter 4, figure 4.17): M. Lavinius, C. Modius, L. Pullius, L. Sextius and Sep. Babbius.<sup>368</sup> Marina Silvestrini has recently discussed these names.<sup>369</sup> Both the name Babbius and the praenomen Sep(pius) are clearly of Oscan origin. The other names are all attested mainly either in Rome itself or in Latium, although Lavinius is rare. It is worth mentioning that Pullius is a name widely attested in the epigraphic record of Praeneste, and that a tribune of the plebs of this name is active in Rome in 248. The plebeian *gens* Sextia produced a consul in Rome in the year 366.

In Paestum, third century epigraphic material is rather scarce. Two third century graffiti on black gloss bowls, reading *P. Nuom(onius)* and *M. Nu(monius)* are early attestations of the Etruscan name Numonius, also known in the later epigraphic record of Paestum.<sup>370</sup> In addition, there are three third century inscriptions of magistrates (see section 3.3.1), but only in two of them are the names preserved well enough to give further information.<sup>371</sup> The first, dated to the central years of the third century, mentions the quaestores Sex. Sextius, L. Tadius, L. Claudius and L. Stadius.<sup>372</sup> Except for Tadius, these names are all quite common but the affiliation of L. Claudius is interesting: the inscription reads Tr(ebi) f(ilius), indicating that his father may be of Italic origin.<sup>373</sup> The second inscription, dated slightly later, mentions other quaestores: L. Manius, M. Fadius, L. Megonius, C. Vibius and O. Bracius.<sup>374</sup> These names are less common, and again one of the names can be related to a non-Roman background: we have seen the Oscan name Vibius above in Cales, and it reappears here.

The only possibly relevant material from Cosa is a dolium stamp with the name Rem(m)ios, dated to the late third or early second century; the name may

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<sup>367</sup> See Silvestrini 2013, 174-175.

<sup>368</sup> Silvestrini 2013, 171-174. For the coins: Rutter et al. 2001, nos. 668 and 669.

<sup>369</sup> Silvestrini 2013, 173-174.

<sup>370</sup> Torelli 1999c, 76.

<sup>371</sup> Mello and Voza 1968, nos. 139, 140, 141; see also Voza 1967.

<sup>372</sup> Mello and Voza 1968, no. 139.

<sup>373</sup> See Greco and Theodorescu 1990, 90.

<sup>374</sup> Mello and Voza 1968, no. 140.

be Etruscan.<sup>375</sup> In Firmum, another third century inscription mentioning the quaestors of the colonies has been found, this time on a bronze plaque (see section 3.3.1).<sup>376</sup> The names mentioned are Terentius, Aprufenius, Turpilius, Albanus, Munatius. It is suggested that Aprufenius is an Italic name, while Munatius would come from Campania.<sup>377</sup>

We have no such official inscriptions - at least from the third century - from the other colonies. Some graffiti on black gloss pottery from Ariminum, dated to the third and second centuries, provides names that have been related to various places in Latium and Central Italy.<sup>378</sup> A Sabinus may plausibly be related to the Sabine area, and the name Ovius is not Roman either; Gino Bandelli relates it to the Sabellic area.<sup>379</sup> However, most of the names, including Ovius, can be related to Latium as well, already in this early period.<sup>380</sup> A recently found loom weight with an onomastic inscription adds the name Volturnius to the corpus, which is Etruscan in origin.<sup>381</sup> For Alba Fucens, no early onomastic material is known from the settlement itself, but it has recently been hypothesized that various *vici* and their magistrates that are known through a series of inscriptions found in the area around the Fucine Lake may have been related to the colony.<sup>382</sup> Most of the magistrates' names can best be related to a Central Italian (Marsic or Oscan) background, but at least three names (Cominius, Septimius, Magius) seem to originate in Rome or Campania.<sup>383</sup> I think a connection to the colony is quite plausible, but even if these magistrates were not related to the colony, the mixture of indigenous and

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<sup>375</sup> David Nonnis, personal communication.

<sup>376</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup> 383 (= IX 5351 = ILS 6132 = ILLRP 593). See section 3.2.2 on the presence of quaestors in various colonies.

<sup>377</sup> Squadroni 2007, 82.

<sup>378</sup> Bandelli 2013, 80-81 gives a brief overview. See also Franchi de Bellis 1995, 377; Bandelli 1988, 109, n. 59.

<sup>379</sup> Bandelli 1988, 110.

<sup>380</sup> Franchi de Bellis 1995, 380-383. She discusses the names Ovius, Rosci[, and Setmis for the early period, and several others for the Late Republic. For the name Ovius, she signals an early appearance in Praeneste (p. 381), and she also notes some linguistic similarities between Ariminum and Praeneste (pp. 379-380). Because of a later attested Ovius Fregellanus, it has also become customary to suggest a link with the Ovii of Fregellae (e.g. Susini and Tripponi 1980, 33; Bandelli 1988, 110; Roselaar 2011, 541). However, in Fregellae the name is only attested from a late period onwards.

<sup>381</sup> Ortalli 2006, 298-299. I do not agree with the date before the foundation of the colony given by Ortalli based on the coins found in the same context - see the discussion in section 4.3.1.

<sup>382</sup> Stek 2009, 169, n. 311.

<sup>383</sup> Stek 2009, 160-162; see Roselaar 2011, 537, n. 61.

foreign names in these inscriptions highlights some of the dynamics in the composition of the population in and around the colonies.

The other colonies have not yielded onomastic material that can be dated securely to the third century. For Venusia, we may add an inscription of generic Republican date to the post-Social War material presented by Roselaar: it mentions a Das. Ludius, whose praenomen (Dasius, Dasmus or Dasus) goes back on the Messapian root Daz.<sup>384</sup> For Aesernia, the evidence is limited to the names of the magistrates mentioned on the second century *Samnites incolae* inscription: C. Pomponius V.f., C. Percennius L.f., L. Satrius L.f. and C. Marius No.f.<sup>385</sup> According to Roselaar, these are all non-Roman names,<sup>386</sup> which seems to be confirmed by the praenomen of Marius' father, No(vius).<sup>387</sup> In the case of Brundisium, there is some informative second century material which may reflect something of the third century reality in this colony, which was founded only in 244. Roselaar notes many non-Roman names in Brundisium in the Republican period, often Oscan rather than Messapian; this implies that the non-Roman element here includes people that are not indigenous.<sup>388</sup> When we focus exclusively on the second century, we see a similar picture of a mixture of Roman and non-Roman names. The analysis of the names found on both the coinage of Brundisium and the amphorae produced in that area in the second century shows that many of the colonists to reach public office had names that come from Rome and Latium, while names from Campania (sometimes Etruscan) and some Oscan names are also attested.<sup>389</sup>

In conclusion, the epigraphic material, though not particularly rich, points to the presence of indigenous people in most of the colonies. In addition, there is some evidence for the inclusion of Latins, in particular in Luceria and Ariminum. How numerous they were remains hard to establish. The evidence

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<sup>384</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3179; see Chelotti 2003, 119, nr. 1. She proposes Dasmus, but also gives Torelli's conjecture Dasus (which, as suggested in CIL, may be a mistake). Silvestrini 2013, 186-187, who erroneously refers to CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3170, proposes Dasius.

<sup>385</sup> The third century inscription with the Samnite name Decitia, mentioned by Roselaar 2011, 541, is rather late Republican or early imperial in date; see Diebner 1979, Is 70 (also referred to by Roselaar, but without making clear why she gives a different date).

<sup>386</sup> Roselaar 2011, 541, with n. 103.

<sup>387</sup> As noted in EDR127776.

<sup>388</sup> Roselaar 2011, 542, n. 111.

<sup>389</sup> Silvestrini 2013, 180-187. The coinage starts during the Second Punic War (see chapter 4), but only begins to bear personal names as a legend in the second century. Large scale amphora production starts in the central years of the second century.

for the presence of other allies is thin: the Campanian names in Alba Fucens and Luceria might point in this direction, but in these cases it seems quite possible that we are witnessing the result of mobility in the period before colonization.<sup>390</sup> Based on this evidence, therefore, the inclusion of allies as settlers in the Latin colonies does not seem normal practice.

It is interesting that two of the more isolated colonies, Cosa and Ariminum, both lack evidence for the presence of indigenous inhabitants in the colony. Perhaps the indigenous population was not left in place here. However, this lack of evidence may also be due to differences in ‘epigraphic habit’: Cosa has not yielded any third century onomastic material, and in Ariminum we only have the graffiti on black gloss pottery. It is interesting, finally, that we meet the indigenous population in the colonies in various roles: we have seen both artisans and magistrates in the survey above. In the next section, therefore, I will discuss in more detail *how* different groups of people present in the colonies related to each other.

### **3.2.2 Colonial communities**

As discussed in the introduction, the presence of people with different backgrounds in the colonies is important because they would have brought with them different traditions and connections. The effects of these different background at a local level also depend on the way in which people interacted: the combined presence of settlers and indigenous population in the colonies may have worked out in a variety of ways. In this section, these dynamics will be examined in more detail. First, we will have a closer look at the body of settlers from a social point of view: who were the colonists sent out from Rome, what was their social status, and why did they leave Rome to start a new life at the edges of the Roman world? Related to this is the question of the stability of the colonial population once the colony was founded.

The social background of the colonists from Rome is of some importance here as it may have an effect on the personal relationships between people from the colonies and from Rome. A central question here is whether the colonists were propertied citizens (*assidui*) in Rome or not, a question obviously related to the issue of Roman military manpower (see section

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<sup>390</sup> Cf. Bispham 2006, n. 103.

1.1.2).<sup>391</sup> Salmon, for example, argues that the move of Roman citizens to Latin colonies ‘did not represent a loss of military manpower to Rome, since for the most part they were lacklands who would not have served in the Roman army anyway’; sending them out and subsequently using them as Latin troops added to Rome’s general armed strength.<sup>392</sup> In contrast, Paul Erdkamp has recently argued that most of the colonists in the pre-Hannibalic colonies must have come from the propertied classes in Rome: he suggests that they were mostly veterans, and that they needed to have military experience in order to be able to fulfil the strategic tasks of the colonies.<sup>393</sup> In a period of population growth, especially the younger sons of Roman *assidui* would be likely candidates to be sent to the colonies, as they risked losing their status as land owners. Most scholars, however, opt for a scenario in which both groups were present in the colonies.<sup>394</sup>

We can see something of this mixed social composition of the colonists in names inscribed on black gloss pottery in Cales, where in addition to the local names mentioned above, one Roman patrician family and seven plebeian family names, including Atilius, have been recognized.<sup>395</sup> It is tempting to relate this Atilius to Marcus Atilius Regulus, who shared the consulship in 335 with Marcus Valerius Corvus, the conqueror of Cales.<sup>396</sup> Even though this Atilius is only mentioned in passing by Livy, a more intimate connection with Cales is hinted at by his agnomen Calenus.<sup>397</sup> This reminds us that family ties between inhabitants of the colonies and Rome must have been common,<sup>398</sup> and such connections were probably important in creating Roman influences in the colonies.

Such family ties are also likely to have heightened mobility *out of* the colonies by the original settlers, as colonists may have inherited property in the

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<sup>391</sup> For a recent summary of the discussion: Pelgrom 2012, 29-32.

<sup>392</sup> Salmon 1969, 55-56.

<sup>393</sup> Erdkamp 2011, specifically 111-112; cf. Càssola 1988, 7, 15.

<sup>394</sup> E.g. Galsterer 1976, 48-49; Gabba 1988, 20; Pelgrom 2012, 30.

<sup>395</sup> Pedroni 2001, 90-95; see also Di Giuseppe 2012, 88.

<sup>396</sup> Livy 8.16.5.

<sup>397</sup> Broughton 1951, 139.

<sup>398</sup> E.g. Beloch 1880, 153, for a close connection between Rome and Latin colonies through friends and family of the colonists; Galsterer 1976, 50, 91; Schlange-Schöningh 2006, 165 on the specific case of Alba Fucens.

*ager romanus*.<sup>399</sup> In more general terms, it is important to realize that the colonies may have struggled to survive. In 199, Narnia sent deputies to Rome to complain ‘that their colonists were not up to the requisite quota’ and asked for a supplement, as did Cosa in the same year’.<sup>400</sup> The Narnians indeed received a supplement, while Cosa had to wait for another two years; similar supplements were also provided to Venusia and Cales in this period.<sup>401</sup> The loss of men in the colonies may of course partly have been caused by the Second Punic War. We should note, however, that Narnia had been among the colonies refusing to send troops earlier on during the war, which in itself may represent a lack of men. This scenario is repeated *a fortiori* in 177, when the Latins as a group complained in Rome about the high level of emigration from their communities.<sup>402</sup> Erdkamp plausibly explains this in a military sense: the colonies were anxious to be able to meet the demands of the *formula togatorum*.<sup>403</sup> It also means, however, that the leaders of the colonial communities took measures to ensure their survival. The resulting arrival of new settlers means that new connections to the outside world were made, or existing connections were reinforced.

For most of the colonies, therefore, the arrival of the colonists must have been the start of a rather dynamic period in which different groups of people lived together in the same area. The way in which this cohabitation was juridically organized is subject of continued debate. The main question has been whether the indigenous population was included in an inferior position, controlled by the colonists, or if they were full members of the community.<sup>404</sup>

We have seen above that in some cases, indigenous names are found as magistrates of the colonies, and in these cases we can be certain that they had been accepted into the juridical community.<sup>405</sup> The earliest example is Sep. Babbius in Luceria around 275, some 40 years after the foundation of the

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<sup>399</sup> Erdkamp 2011, 135.

<sup>400</sup> Livy 32.2.6-7; see note 344 above.

<sup>401</sup> Cosa: Livy 33.24.8; Venusia: Livy 31.49.6; the supplement of Cales is not reported by Livy, but known through an inscription: ILS 45.

<sup>402</sup> Livy 41.8.6-9; see section 3.1.1 above.

<sup>403</sup> Erdkamp 2011, 130. See also Pfeilschifter 2006, 118, where it is stressed that the *formula togatorum* is the way in which Rome systematically interferes among allies: it is fitting, then, that this is a reason for the Latin colonies to contact Rome.

<sup>404</sup> See, e.g. Bradley 2006, 179; Roselaar 2011, 529-530; Pelgrom 2012, 155-159.

<sup>405</sup> Cf. Gabba 1994 [1983], 51, who cautiously suggests that in certain cases, it was possible for local aristocracies to obtain a position in the colonial elite.



colony. A similar period of time elapsed between the foundation of Paestum in 273 and the inclusion of a Vibius in a college of quaestors in the second half of the third century, and we may have another Vibius in a similar position in Cales some time in the third century. Only in the case of Dasius from Brundisium, who was in charge of the fortress of Clastidium in 218, do we have a recorded member of the indigenous elite included in the colony within 30 years of the colonial foundation, although in this case we cannot be absolutely certain that he was a citizen of the colony. In all of these cases, either some non-Romans were included directly with the foundation of the colony, or the colonial administration opened up for members of the indigenous elite after about one generation - possibly when the first members of the colonial families were moving out of the colonies.

However, we do not know how common this was. It is important in this context to consider that the indigenous population was no monolithic whole: hostile and friendly elements or factions may well equally have been present, and perhaps only elite members who were on good terms with Roman families represented in the colonial elites were included. This still leaves open the question of how the remaining part of the indigenous population related to the colony. It has traditionally been thought that the entire group of people living in the colonial territory, including the indigenous population, was governed by the colonial administration, even if the indigenous population may have had a juridically inferior position. Recently, however, Jeremia Pelgrom has questioned this territorial organization of the colonies, and has suggested that the colony had no jurisdiction over the surrounding territory, except for the lands allotted to the colonists (although he leaves open the possibility that even these lots remained part of the *ager romanus*). As an alternative, he tentatively suggests that two completely separate juridical communities co-existed in the same area: the colony itself and the community of original inhabitants.<sup>406</sup>

Although the legal organization must have had an impact on social realities in the colonies, Pelgrom's suggestion does not fundamentally change my approach to the colonial communities, which concentrates on the cultural and social developments triggered by the cohabitation of these different groups of people with different connections to the outside world. Pelgrom suggests

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<sup>406</sup> Pelgrom 2012, chapter 5.

that both of his hypothesized juridical communities may have intermingled and unified in the course of time.<sup>407</sup> This kind of interaction must certainly have taken place, whatever the original juridical solution looked like. The different names on black gloss pottery from Cales are a case in point: in the workshops, people from different backgrounds, probably including both colonists and the indigenous population must have made contact and probably collaborated. In this context, it is interesting that some of them identify themselves as Calenians in the potter's stamps.<sup>408</sup> We have seen another example of interaction in Luceria, where the *gens Magia* put up a dedicatory inscription in Latin, which must be the result of interaction with the colonists. The same can be said about the *samnites inquolae magistri* who similarly put up a dedicatory inscription in Aesernia: although the inscription has mostly been adduced to show that indigenous people were present in the colony, but had their own institutions (see section 3.3.1) and were not included as colonial citizens, the inscription equally shows that these *samnites inquolae* actively participated in the community, communicating their actions in Latin through a rather monumental inscription.

We can thus see how the colonial foundation changed the situation on the ground radically, but did not substitute it for a static and ready-made alternative. As social (not juridical) communities, the colonies must have been dynamic places, where both the settlers and the indigenous population found themselves in a new, unknown environment, which they actively tried to shape. Their input would have been based, obviously, on their own cultural backgrounds, but may have drawn on other models as well. The colonial elite was in a position to make decisions on how the community should be shaped, and some of the fields in which they made these decisions will be further investigated in the remainder of this chapter (see chapter 5 for the non-elite). We should realize, however, that the presence of the indigenous population must have been of influence on these formal decisions: in some cases, it may have been necessary to create a middle ground between settlers and the other inhabitants of the colony.

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<sup>407</sup> Pelgrom 2012, 178, 187.

<sup>408</sup> See Morel 1988, 55.

### 3.3 Institutions<sup>409</sup>

The formal shaping of the community included decisions about institutional organization. Part of these decisions probably were made before the colonists arrived at their destination, and some kind of organization must have been in place before (or at least very soon after) the foundation of the colony. This does not necessarily mean that the institutional organization of the colonies was static and did not change over time. At least in theory, the colonies could decide upon their own institutional organization, which therefore may have differed between colonies, although it is often noted that they do seem to copy Roman institutions along general lines.<sup>410</sup> In this section, I discuss the relevant evidence, including epigraphic material (which mainly consists of inscriptions referring to magistrates), and the archaeologically attested structures in which local political bodies would have met. In both cases, I aim to investigate the relations to the outside world and internal dynamics in the colonies that were important in shaping the local institutional organization. We will see that the institutional organization of the colonies shows local accommodation of general models, both from Rome and from elsewhere.

For both of these categories of evidence, it is important to take the potentially mutable character of institutions in the colonies into account. This means I will refrain from using later evidence as a source for third century realities when there is no clear link, although I will use it sometimes when it seems to clarify or shed a different light on the third century situation. In addition, as discussed above, the colonial community as a whole may have consisted of groups with different juridical statuses, which did not all fall under the same institutions and rules. The colonial institutions that will be examined in section 3.3.1 probably were juridically relevant only to a part of the population living in the colonies. However, this is not to say that the institutional organization of the colony was completely irrelevant to the remaining population: confrontation with this organization and the actions and decisions of the magistrates also affected the lives of other inhabitants.

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<sup>409</sup> I sincerely thank David Nonnis for his help in collecting the epigraphic material presented in this section (see appendix 2) and in finding relevant secondary literature.

<sup>410</sup> E.g. Salmon 1969, 85-86, echoed rather recently in Torelli 2002, 77-78.

### 3.3.1 Epigraphic evidence

The main category of epigraphic evidence that informs us about the institutional organization of the colonies are inscriptions that mention the activities of local magistrates. Before analysing this evidence in more detail, however, I will briefly discuss some pieces of evidence that may bear on the colonial institutional organization as well, although their interpretation is problematic.

First, the so-called Brindisi elogium may imply that the official institutional organization of a colony could be installed only several years after the foundation of the colony. It is an inscription of early imperial date, reading: *Primus senatum legit et comiti[--- / Barbula co(n)s(ulibus). Circum sedit vi[--- / diumque Hannibalis et prae[--- / militaribus praecipuam glor[---*.<sup>411</sup> It obviously refers to a historical individual who was active during the consulate of a Barbula, attested for the years 317, 311, 281 and 230. The identity of this figure is widely discussed, and it may be Appius Claudius Caecus (relevant date: 311), Fabius Maximus Cunctator (relevant date: 230) or a local magistrate of the colony (relevant date: 230).<sup>412</sup> Following the interpretation that this refers to a local magistrate, we would have a situation in which the local senate was chosen locally for the first time fourteen years after the foundation of the colony. Emilio Gabba, who first suggested this, proposes that during the first fourteen years, magistrates were nominated either by Rome or by a local senate (presumably installed at the moment of foundation or even established in Rome prior to settlement).<sup>413</sup> He explains the long interval by the organizational structure required to include some of the local elite in the governing bodies. As has been pointed out repeatedly, the inscription does not give any definitive clues as to the possible subject of the elogium, and it cannot therefore serve as an argument in the discussion in this section. However, Gabba's suggestion does signal the possibility that not everything was fixed institutionally from the moment of foundation onwards.

A second preliminary remark concerns the epigraphically attested presence of *vici* in Cales and Ariminum. From Cales, we have the famous

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<sup>411</sup> AE 1954, 216 = AE 1959, 32 = AE 2003, 353.

<sup>412</sup> I list the main contributions: for Fabius Maximus: Vitucci 1953, Càssola 1962, 290-292; for a local magistrate: Gabba 1958; for Appius Claudius: Develin 1976; Muccigrosso 2003.

<sup>413</sup> Gabba 1958, 100-101.

potter's signature on a black gloss vase: *K(aeso) Serponio(s) Caleb(us) fece(t) veqo Esqelino C S*, dated to the third century.<sup>414</sup> From Ariminum, there are third century inscriptions on black gloss vases that bear inscriptions mentioning otherwise unnamed *vici* and *pagi*.<sup>415</sup> These *vici* and *pagi* must be related to the internal organization of the colonies. The *vici* have traditionally been interpreted as neighbourhoods of the central settlements, but it has recently been suggested that they may be villages outside the centres as well.<sup>416</sup> It is interesting that the *vicus Esquilinus* from Cales presents an active evocation of Rome.<sup>417</sup> However, the traditional inference that the internal (institutional) organization of the colonies was modelled after Rome<sup>418</sup> has been called into question. What we see here may not be the result of triumvirs or even the Roman senate modelling the colonies after Rome, but rather realities emerging from local initiatives by colonists or possibly an administration that felt connected to Rome.<sup>419</sup> Ed Bispham suggests that the *vicus Esquilinus* does not copy the name of a Roman district, but represents 'the re-application of place-names from Rome to colonial geography to produce new toponyms'.<sup>420</sup> It indeed seems plausible that a connection to Rome was created locally.

This brings us to the main part of the analysis in this section, which focuses on the magistrates that were active in the colonies - an important aspect of their institutional organization. I suggest that we see a similar mechanism at work here. Offices for magistrates with Roman titles were created in the colonies, but it was decided locally which offices were created, and how many magistrates for each office were appointed. The importance of

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<sup>414</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup> 416 = ILLRP 1217. See Stek 2009, 134, n. 83 on different suggested dates, oscillating between the late fourth and late third century.

<sup>415</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2897a; CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2897b; CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2899a; CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2899b; CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2899c. See, recently, Stek 2009, 138-145.

<sup>416</sup> Stek 2009, 135-145.

<sup>417</sup> It is not completely certain that the vase was produced in Cales, and that the *vicus Esquilinus* was located in the colony; however, this does seem by far the preferable interpretation. Mingazzini 1958 suggests that the vase was produced in Rome. Later, imperial material shows such use of Roman toponyms in colonies to occur more often. The relevant material is given by Bispham 2000, n. 5; additional comments in Bispham 2006, 87-92. Limited to the colonies studied in this thesis, imperial material with Roman toponyms is known from Ariminum (CIL XI 417, 419, 421), Cales (CIL X 4641) and Beneventum (CIL IX 1569)

<sup>418</sup> E.g. Morel 1988, 60; Coarelli 1995.

<sup>419</sup> Bispham 2006, 91-92; cf. Stek 2009, 133-135.

<sup>420</sup> Bispham 2006, 92.

local input in this regard is shown by the variety between colonies, and by the fact that we see changes over time in various colonies.

A fundamental work for the institutional organization of the colonies is Attilio Degrassi's *L'amministrazione delle città*, first published in 1959,<sup>421</sup> which elaborates on the earlier work of Beloch and Sherwin-White.<sup>422</sup> Based on a collection of epigraphic material from the colonies, he suggested a general structure of the institutional organization of the colonies, which is still largely accepted.<sup>423</sup> Basically, he induced from the evidence that the earliest Latin colonies (of those founded after 338) were always led by two praetores, while the larger colonies of Beneventum and Ariminum, where consuls are attested, are the first colonies to copy the contemporary offices of Rome: in addition to consuls, he mentions praetores, quaestores, censors and aediles. This general structure was accepted by Salmon, who stressed that all colonies had two chief officials - normally praetores - in addition to a less standardized group of lower magistracies, including quaestores, aediles, praefecti and plebeian tribunes in different colonies.<sup>424</sup> As both Degrassi and Salmon note, quaestores are attested in several colonies in colleges of varying numbers: to the colleges of Beneventum (7 quaestores), Firmum Picenum (5), Paestum (4 and 5), and Venusia (at least 3) mentioned by Salmon, we can now add Hadria (2) and possibly Cales (at least 4).<sup>425</sup>

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<sup>421</sup> Degrassi 1971 [1959], specifically 73-74.

<sup>422</sup> Beloch 1926, 489; Sherwin-White 1973, 117-118 (= pp. 110-111 in the 1939 edition). See also Salmon 1969, 86.

<sup>423</sup> See e.g. Torelli 2002, 77-78; Nonnis 2014, 399-400. Lomas 2004, 209 diverges from this structure by suggesting that the Latin colonies usually had a board of four annually-elected *quattuorviri*, but as we will see there is no evidence for this, nor does Sherwin-White 1973, 108-116, to whom she refers, mention such a thing.

<sup>424</sup> Salmon 1969, 86. In earlier articles, Salmon had placed more stress on the diversity revealed by the epigraphic evidence, e.g. Salmon 1936, 55, discussed by Pelgrom and Stek 2014.

<sup>425</sup> See appendix 2; the inscriptions from Firmum, Paestum and Cales date to the third century. The date of the inscription from Beneventum is problematic: as noted by Nonnis 2014, 400, n. 29, linguistic considerations (names in -ios) point at a late third century or early second century date, while the palaeography indicates a date in the late second century: Nonnis suggests that we may be dealing with a copy of an older inscription. The inscription from Venusia dates to the third or second, and that from Hadria to the third, second or maybe even first century. A possible quaestor in Venusia is also attested in Venusia's coinage: a double *nummus* dated to the late third century (HNIItaly 718, dated 210-200) bears the text G.A.Q., which may be a name followed by q(uaestor). See Silvestrini 2013. See Nonnis 2014 for the suggestion that CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2847b from Cales (dated in the second half of the third century) is a list of quaestores.

Although many of these observations are still valid, some cautionary remarks are necessary and lead to a reconsideration of the evidence. The general image sketched above is largely based on epigraphic material with a date range that covers at least the last three centuries BC, and includes some imperial material as well. This obviously causes the risk of missing developments over time. In addition, the corpus of texts on which we can base this analysis has grown since Degrassi's work - the relevant material is collected in appendix 2. In the analysis below, therefore, I will concentrate on the complete body of third century evidence that is now available.

First, however, a more fundamental cautionary remark is necessary. We may ask whether all of these inscriptions (both those used by Degrassi and the recent additions) refer to magistrates *of the colony* in a juridical sense, or whether some of them should be associated with other communities that lived in the same area (see above). The exact provenance of many of these inscriptions is unknown, and we know that other magistrates may have been active both in the urban centres of the colonies and in the surrounding area. The general term 'magistrate' is used in the *samnites incolae* inscription of Isernia and in an inscription found near Hadria which probably shows an activity of the magistrates of a local rural vicus.<sup>426</sup> In the rural *vici* around the Fucine Lake, recently studied by Tesse Stek, we find *duoviri* and *quaestores*.<sup>427</sup> The relationship between these *vici* and the colony of Alba Fucens remains unclear, although an attractive explanation is that the *vici* housed at least some of the colonists. This means that the institutional organization of the colonies may be more complicated than was once thought, including the administration of several groups of people. It is therefore theoretically impossible to relate all magistrates with Roman names in inscriptions found in or near the colonies to the colony as a single juridical entity. This does not mean that an analysis of the corpus of known inscriptions from the colonies is meaningless, however: it identifies the magistrates that were active in the area of the colony, even if we

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<sup>426</sup> *Samnites incolae*: CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3201; the inscription near Hadria: CIL I<sup>2</sup> 1898 (p 1051) = ILLRP 305 (p 325) = D6132b = AE 1896, 12: M(arcus) Petrucidi(us) C(ai) f(ilius) L(ucius) Pacidi(us) P(ubli) [f(ilius)] / aras crepidine(m) colu[mnas] / magistris de alec[torum] sententia].

<sup>427</sup> Stek 2009, 155 on CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2874 (*duovirs*) and 158 on CIL I<sup>2</sup> 388 = CIL IX 3849 (*quaestores*). Further discussion of the *quaestores* (is this a local community mimicking Rome, or are these Roman magistrates?) on pp. 159-162, tending towards the latter option.

cannot be sure that all these magistrates functioned within the same juridical system.

While these remarks serve to caution about the uniformity of institutional organization in a geographical sense, we also have direct evidence that diachronic changes took place. The easiest explanation for the different numbers of quaestores in the two colleges attested in Paestum is that their number grew over time: the inscription with five quaestores is dated slightly later than the inscription with four.<sup>428</sup> In Beneventum, a consul is attested in two different dedicatory inscriptions, one of the third century (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 395; see below) and one of the second century (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 396). The second inscription is particularly interesting, because another side of the same stone also bears an inscription, possibly inscribed later, which mentions a praetor.<sup>429</sup> In this case, either we see a changing name of the leading magistrates of the colony, or consuls and praetores functioned side by side. These examples show that in order to be able to register change through time, it is important to study these sources with close attention for the chronology of the documents.

Taking such a diachronic perspective, the idea that the early colonies were always led by two praetores thus becomes problematic. When we look exclusively at the third century evidence, the number of attested praetores is actually quite low (appendix 2). Only two possible third century dedicatory inscriptions, one from Setia, one from Hadria, mention praetores, and in both cases a later date is not excluded.<sup>430</sup> When we widen our view to include the second and early first century, we find praetores also in Signia, Alba Fucens, Beneventum (all dedicatory inscriptions, the one from Alba *de senatus sententia*), Paestum (on a coin) and Spolegium - a more restricted group than that presented by Degrassi.<sup>431</sup> As the example of Beneventum shows, however,

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<sup>428</sup> Voza 1967, 105; however, Degrassi 1971 [1968], 66 tries to unconvincingly explain the divergent numbers by adding a (hypothetically deceased) fifth person to the 4 person college.

<sup>429</sup> See Torelli 2002, 78-79.

<sup>430</sup> For Setia (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 1517) Volpe 1990, 18 follows the late third century date suggested by Coarelli 1982, 276: 'la più antica iscrizione di Setia (...) prima della fondazione del municipio, probabilmente ancora alla fine del III sec. a. C.', while Zaccheo 1982, 18 suggests a date as late as the early first century. For Hadria (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3292a), Guidobaldi 1995, 196 and Buonocore and Firpo 1998, 750 agree on a date in the late third century, while Bertrand 2012, 65, nr. 8 leaves open the possibility of a date in the early second century.

<sup>431</sup> Signia: CIL I<sup>2</sup> 1504 and Cifarelli et al. 2002-2003, 249-250; Alba Fucens: CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3275; Beneventum: CIL I<sup>2</sup> 396, 1729, 1748; Paestum: HNIItaly 1238; Spolegium: CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3376. The praetores from Ariminum and Aesernia mentioned by Degrassi 1971 [1959], 83 are only attested



we cannot easily presume that praetores were the original highest magistrates in all these colonies: in Beneventum they seem to have been preceded or accompanied by consuls. The idea that the *praetura* was the normal institutional organization of the colonies in the third century, therefore, does not necessarily follow from the evidence. In fact, the two attestations of consuls are both dated more securely to the third century than the earliest praetores: we have one consul attested on a dedicatory inscription from Beneventum and the *cosol pro poplo Ariminesi* on an inscription found in the sanctuary of Diana in Nemi.<sup>432</sup> This is not to suggest that all colonies were originally led by consuls - we simply do not have the evidence to say something about each colony individually.

As already noted by Salmon, the lesser offices attested in the colonies also can not be easily wedged into a general structure. This is especially true when we look at all the pre Social War material, which includes attestations of aediles in Norba and Narnia, censores in Signia and Setia; duoviri in Ardea, Paestum, Ariminum and possibly in Hadria; praefecti in Luceria; and a plebeian tribune in Venusia. Of course, the epigraphic record is not very likely to reflect the full range of offices present in each of the colonies in this early period, which means that the variety between colonies may be deceiving to a certain extent. At the same time, it would also be a mistake to suppose that all these offices were present in all colonies from the moment of foundation onwards. Focusing on the third century, the only 'lesser' office for which we have good evidence is the quaestorship, with epigraphic evidence demonstrating the presence of a college of quaestores in Firmum, Beneventum, Paestum and perhaps Cales.<sup>433</sup> In fact, in this case, we can recognize a certain level of

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on inscriptions post-dating the Social War (see CIL XI, p. 77 on Ariminum; Manni 1947, 166 and Buonocore 2003, nr. 49 (= CIL I<sup>2</sup> 1754) on Aesernia), while the praetor ascribed to Cales by Degrassi (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 1575) is more probably from Cumae, as suggested by Camodeca: EDR073174. These are therefore left out here. The praetor from Interamna Lirenas mentioned by Beloch 1926, 490 (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 1545), and hence by Sherwin-White 1973, 117 is more probably from Casinum, and probably post Social War as well; see Coarelli 2007, 39.

<sup>432</sup> The inscription from Beneventum (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 395) is generally dated to the third century by Warmington 1979, 74-75. The inscription with the consul from Ariminum (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 40) is dated between 250 and 230 by David Nonnis (EDR130135); it has been hypothetically related to the Gallic incursions of 236.

<sup>433</sup> The only other early attestations of other offices than praetor or consul in the colonies are both doubtful. For Norba, a very fragmentary inscription dated to the fifth(!) century may be mentioning a]idil[es (Quilici Gigli 1993, 293-296). For Cosa, Mario Torelli has recently

uniformity between the colonies, which seems to point at some form of mutual contact. Although the number of quaestores differs between colonies, the way they present themselves in inscriptions is similar, always listing all members of the quaestorial college. Moreover, they perform comparable tasks in different colonies. Two formulaically similar inscriptions from Paestum and Firmum both show a college of five quaestores constructing something out of the money collected by fines.<sup>434</sup>

It is clear, therefore, that the institutional organization of the colonial communities was shaped within a general framework that was Roman, with Roman titles for the magistrates and functions that overlapped with those of magistrates with the same name in Rome. However, Rome did not provide a fixed model, and there was room for local interpretation of this general framework.<sup>435</sup> Bispham has already pointed out that the ‘experiment’ with colonial consuls in Beneventum and Ariminum was not repeated:<sup>436</sup> in the same colonies, we find praetores (Beneventum) and duoviri (Ariminum) in later times (see appendix 2). In itself, this already points to the flexibility of colonial institutional organization. Moreover, the fact that these offices could change over time indicates that the institutional organization of the colonies was decided locally. It is not hard to imagine that, according to the size of the population (which, as we have seen above, may have fluctuated considerably over time), more or less magistrates were needed, with their tasks and responsibilities changing accordingly.

Such a dynamic institutional organization may be hinted at as well by two quite similar cases where a magistrate is not indicated with a title, but with a more general designation. Both in the *lex luci Lucerina* and in the *lex luci Spoletina*, a transgressor of the rules outlined within the text is liable to be fined by a *mac[i]steratus* and a *dicator* respectively.<sup>437</sup> On the plausible reading of Silvio Panciera, we should understand the *dicator* at Spoletium not as a

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suggested that the sexviri mentioned in an inscription on a rostrum found near the Aegadian islands come from Cosa (Torelli 2011).

<sup>434</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3151 from Paestum and CIL I<sup>2</sup> 383 from Firmum.

<sup>435</sup> Cf. Sewell 2010, 81, who argues for adaptation instead of replication of the Roman model in the colonies.

<sup>436</sup> Bispham 2006, 88-89.

<sup>437</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup> 301 (Luceria) and CIL I<sup>2</sup> 366a (Spoletium). See Panciera 2006 [1994].

specific office, but as the magistrate who was responsible for the dedication.<sup>438</sup> Thus, he argues, both in the case of Luceria and in the case of Spoletium, the responsible magistrate is not indicated with a precise title, meaning either that any of the magistrates in the colonies could perform this task, or that such a generic term would automatically refer to the highest magistrates in the colonies.<sup>439</sup> Perhaps this was a way to make a sacred law that could survive changes in the institutional organization of the colonies. At any rate, these two sacred laws show a more flexible way of referring to officeholders beyond the exact titles we usually apply as categories of analysis.

In addition to the institutional organization itself, the acts of the magistrates could contribute significantly to the shaping of local realities. Such evidence is particularly available for the actions of quaestores. While most of the inscriptions mentioning praetores or consuls are dedicatory in nature, those involving quaestores are generally building inscriptions. As noted by Degraasi, it seems that the quaestores in the colonies were not only responsible for the local treasury and the imposition of fines, but - as shown by two similar inscriptions from Paestum and Firmum - they could also use the collected money to finance new public constructions.<sup>440</sup> In an inscription from Venusia, dated to the third or second century, we also see quaestores acting in close interaction with the senate in deciding the legal status of land.<sup>441</sup> In this sense, the quaestores are more prominently present in the epigraphic record as *shapers* of the colony than the higher magistrates (e.g. consuls or praetors). In a situation where these large colleges of quaestores were responsible for (at least some) public constructions, aediles may not have been needed. The relatively abundant presence of quaestores in various colonies in the third century, then, may be explained by the fact that in this period the colonies quite literally still had to be constructed.

This image of varying responsibilities for different magistrates in the colonies fits the limited information we have from coins about the organization of coinage production in different colonies (see chapter 4). In the case of

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<sup>438</sup> Panciera 2006 [1994], 913.

<sup>439</sup> Which, for Panciera, were probably praetores: this is probably informed by Degraasi's general structure of colonial offices described above.

<sup>440</sup> See Degraasi 1967 [1967], 147.

<sup>441</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup> 402; for the juridical question, see Crawford 1989.

Luceria, it is plausible that the names on the early cast bronze coins (see section 3.2) are of magistrates responsible for coinage production (see figure 4.17). Maria Silvestrini suggests that these are the leading magistrates of the colony, acting as a collegiate duo.<sup>442</sup> In Venusia in the late third century, we may have a quaestor who is responsible for coinage production, if we accept that the Q in the abbreviation G.A.Q. on these coins is in fact short for quaestor.<sup>443</sup> The same applies to Brundisium in the second century.<sup>444</sup> In the early first century in Paestum, a praetor has his name and function appear on a coin, although this may represent an exceptional situation in Paestum, as nowhere else in the pre Social War coinage of Paestum is a praetor attested.<sup>445</sup> This rather varied spectrum corresponds well to the lack of a fixed institutionalization of coinage production in contemporary Rome: the situation there seems to have been dynamic as well.<sup>446</sup> Crawford suggests that before the Second Punic War, the responsibility of Rome's coinage production may have been in the hands of the censors, while it was in practice possibly carried out by quaestores.<sup>447</sup> In later periods, when the senate decided to have coinage produced, the executive magistrate could be a moneyer, a quaestor, or a curule aedile.<sup>448</sup> Especially in the early period of the third century, it seems unlikely that there was a Roman institutional model for coinage production in place that could be copied in the colonies (see chapter 4).<sup>449</sup>

In fact, in the early third century in Luceria, the evidence points at an original solution, developed locally in the colony. Until the late third century, we have no names of offices or magistrates on coinage produced at the Roman mint. The names on the two early issues from Luceria are therefore exceptional. As these coins clearly postdate the foundation of the colony by

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<sup>442</sup> Silvestrini 2013, 172-173. Note, however, that on one of the issues only one name (M. Lavinus) appears (HNItaly 669).

<sup>443</sup> HNItaly 718. See Burnett 1991, 31.

<sup>444</sup> HNItaly 749.

<sup>445</sup> HNItaly 1238.

<sup>446</sup> Coarelli 2013, 104 suggests that the office of the *triumviri monetales* was introduced in 269 in Rome, but that does not change the fact that other magistrates could be responsible; as suggested by Crawford (see note 448). In any case, some of the colonial production is earlier than 269.

<sup>447</sup> Crawford 1974, 42-43; 616-617.

<sup>448</sup> Crawford 1974, 607.

<sup>449</sup> Similar observations are made by Barreda Pascual 2007, who notes diversity in coinage production in the Latin colonies in Hispania.

some 40 years (ca. 275-270), the organization of their production must have been organized locally. Towards the end of the third century, Venusia shows signs of more active interaction with Rome. The Venusian coin with G.A.Q. has a possible Roman parallel in a quinarius of 211-210 (RRC 86A & 86B) with a Q inscribed, but no other letters. Crawford discards the possibility that the Q in this instance refers to a quaestor, preferring to see the abbreviation of a person or a place.<sup>450</sup> It is noteworthy, however, that this Roman quinarius belongs to the new denarius coinage in which both denarius and quinarius have the dioscuro as reverse type: the same reverse type is used on the Venusian coin with the letters G.A.Q.<sup>451</sup> There may be a connection here between Rome and Venusia, with the new Roman type probably functioning as an example for the Venusian coinage. In this context, it is tempting to suggest that the Q of the Roman coin also refers to a quaestor. While the coinage production by the colonies is not the consequence of Roman input at the moment of foundation, but the outcome of local decisions and practices (see chapter 4), we see here that in the period after the foundation, new connections to Rome could be created.

The institutional organization of the colonies, therefore, shows more variety than has usually been accounted for. The main connection that was important was doubtlessly with Rome: presumably, the most important magistrates were installed at the foundation of the colony by the triumvirs, and their names and tasks were obviously derived from what was customary at Rome. However, the precise institutional organization differed between colonies and must therefore have been decided upon locally. In this context, there was room for local experiments - the consuls of Ariminum and Beneventum are a case in point. Moreover, the model could be adapted to local needs: the number of magistrates in a specific office varied between colonies, and there seems to have been variety in their tasks. Especially when tasks had to be designed for which no clear Roman example was available, as in the case of the monetary magistrates, local solutions were created.

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<sup>450</sup> Crawford 1974, 601. He adds that only in 116 or 115, there is a magistracy indicated more securely on a coin produced at the mint of Rome: in this case a name (M. Sergi Silus) is followed by a Q, which in this position must be a quaestor.

<sup>451</sup> See the comment to HNIItaly 718.

### 3.3.2 Archaeological evidence

Whereas the epigraphic evidence mainly informs us about the existence of specific offices and (some of) the activities of the magistrates, the archaeological evidence gives more general information about the institutional organization of the colonies. In the analysis, I will focus on the ways in which local realities were shaped in interaction with the outside world, by accommodating general models for the local situation in the colonies.

Important information in this regard is given by one specific building type, found in the colonies of Fregellae, Alba Fucens, Paestum and Cosa. In these colonies, similar-looking square structures enclosing a circular, stepped ‘amphitheatre’ have been found, all located within the forum (figure 3.1).<sup>452</sup> These structures are generally identified as the comitium of these colonies: the place where the assembly (of whatever composition) met. In Fregellae, Paestum and Cosa, there is an adjacent rectangular structure, subdivided into one or more rooms - the central, or largest of these rooms is identified as the curia, while the smaller rooms may have served other administrative purposes, such as the housing of the local archive.<sup>453</sup> Although there is some discussion, these structures probably date in all four cases to the first century of the colony (see below). The significance of this observation has been widely recognized, and cannot be underestimated: early in their history, these colonies provided a permanent space for an important part of local politics to take place. In addition to these curia-comitium complexes, it has been suggested for several colonies that traces of a saepta and/or diribitorium (both functional to voting procedures) have been found, in the form of stone-lined pits in the forum. This interpretation is debated, and I will discuss these traces, and the conclusion we may draw from them, in the second part of this section.

The curia-comitium complexes have played a very concrete role in the discussion about the colonies physically copying a Roman model (see the introduction). When the complex in Cosa had just been excavated, it was

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<sup>452</sup> In general: see Gros and Torelli 2007 [1988], 170; Lackner 2008, 258-265

<sup>453</sup> See e.g. Brown et al. 1993, 263.

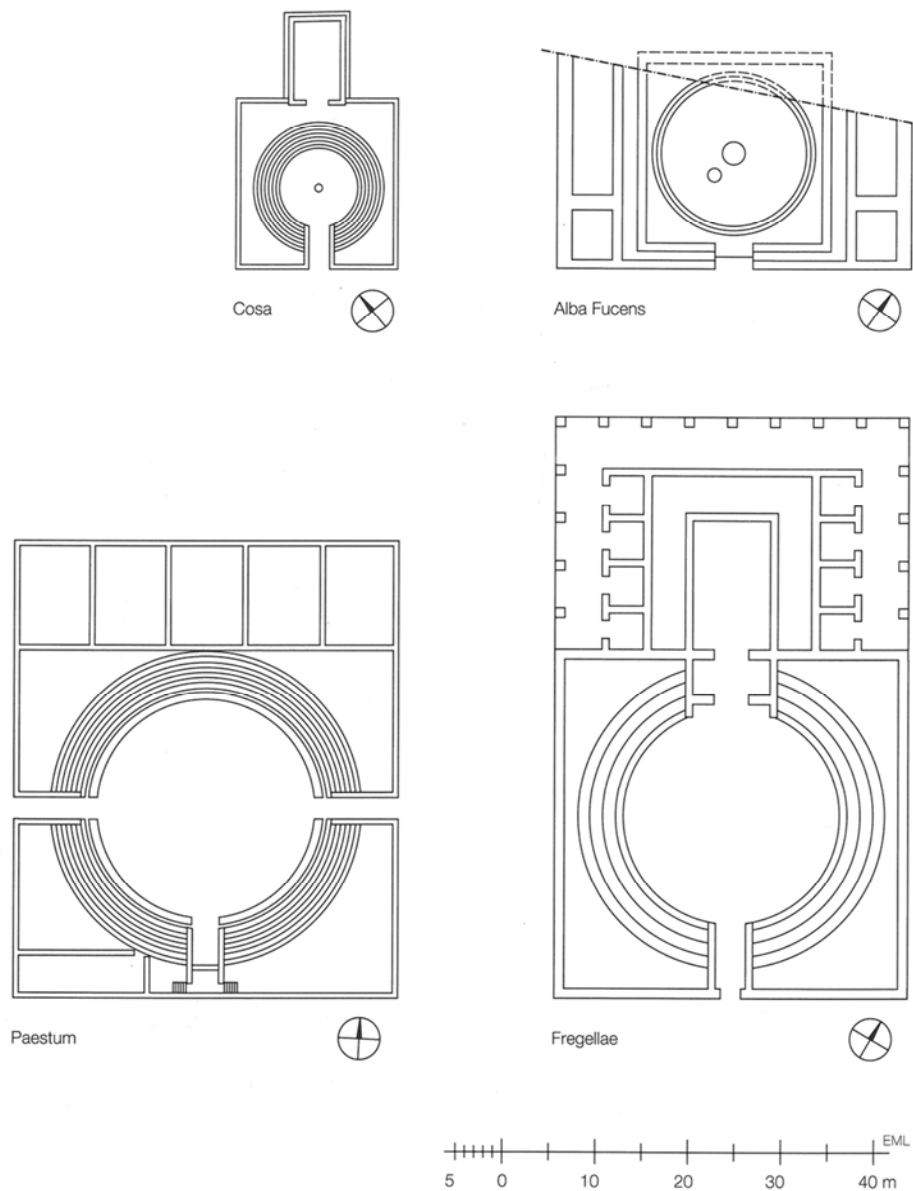


Figure 3.1. Comitia in Cosa, Alba Fucens, Paestum and Fregellae

presented as a way to understand more of what the Roman comitium might have looked like in the Mid Republic - a notoriously difficult question which is also important to our discussion here.<sup>454</sup> From the architectural remains in the Roman forum it is clear that a curvilinear comitium existed at some point between the first half of the fifth century and the early first century, although

<sup>454</sup> Richardson Jr 1957.

we cannot be certain that the preserved curved walls should be reconstructed to form a full circle.<sup>455</sup> While Filippo Coarelli has suggested that the curvilinear comitium was constructed in the third century, and others have suggested an even earlier date, Paolo Carafa reconstructs an irregularly shaped area as the comitium in this period.<sup>456</sup> It is possible, therefore, that there was no circular comitium in Rome in the third century. Indeed, the reconstruction of such a circular structure in Mid-Republican Rome has to some extent been informed by the existence of the comitia in the colonies, risking a certain circularity in the argument.<sup>457</sup> This is not to say that no circular comitium existed in Rome in the Middle Republic; the reconstruction suggested by Coarelli remains compelling. However, caution is required in conceptualizing the modes of interaction between Rome and the colonies.

An important step in this regard has been taken by Jamie Sewell, who for the curia-comitium complexes has argued for the colonies *adapting*, rather than *replicating* the Roman model.<sup>458</sup> Elizabeth Fentress does not believe in a Roman prototype, and suggests that the similarities between the curia-comitium complexes in the colonies can be explained by the fact that each of the colonies was planned in Rome. However, the discussion is still cast in terms of *whether or not* Rome functioned as a model. I would argue that this question is rather restrictive (see also chapter 5). Even if we accept the circular reconstruction of the Roman comitium in the late fourth or early third century, this does not automatically imply that Rome was the (only) model for the colonial comitia. It has been noted that the circular comitium elaborates on a model from the Greek world, where circular assembly halls (*ekklesiasteria*) had been around for a longer time.<sup>459</sup> This model need not have spread necessarily via Rome; indeed, in the case of Paestum, Mertens suggests that the comitium there may have been inspired on demolished *bouleuterion* and other models in the pre-

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<sup>455</sup> For the *termini post* and *ante quos*: Coarelli 1985, 12. On the shape, see Coarelli 1985, 12-13 with n. 5.

<sup>456</sup> Coarelli 1985, 11-21; an earlier date is suggested by Lackner 2008, 263. Amici 2004-2005, 354, n. 7 generally suggests a date in the fourth or third century.

<sup>457</sup> For similar observations, see Fentress 2000, 22-23; Mouritsen 2004, 40. Although in his reply to Mouritsen, Coarelli stresses that a curvilinear structure is clearly attested on the Roman forum (Coarelli 2005, 25-26), he leaves out the chronological uncertainties and the fact that the reconstruction is not necessarily fully circular: cf. Amici 2004-2005.

<sup>458</sup> Sewell 2010, 80-81.

<sup>459</sup> E.g. Coarelli 1985, 11-21; for further references, see Lackner 2008, 263, n. 292. See also Sewell 2010, 36-47, and 62-63 on the differences.



existing Greek colonies.<sup>460</sup> In this context, we should investigate the connections that were important in the colonies in more detail.

Chronology also hints at more complex modes of interaction than an exclusive one-way influence from Rome to the colonies: the construction of the comitium in at least some of the colonies may actually predate the possibly circular phase of the Roman comitium.<sup>461</sup> Interestingly, in traditional Rome-centred accounts of the colonies, this chronological sequence is perceived of as a problem.<sup>462</sup> However, I would suggest that it means that we should see the role of Rome in these developments in a more dynamic way: because of the founding of the colonies, a new interest developed in the construction and architecture of assemblies. Inspiration was found in Greek models, and the resulting architecture was implemented in at least these four colonies, and possibly also at Rome. Whether or not it was *first* used in Rome is not of central importance in this broader development.<sup>463</sup>

For the local significance of these structures, two further observations are important. First, there are differences between the complexes in the four colonies. Sewell has drawn attention to the variety in architectural solutions for the curia buildings.<sup>464</sup> In addition, the sizes of these complexes diverge significantly (see figure 3.1).<sup>465</sup> Eva-Maria Lackner has calculated their capacity: the comitium of Cosa would have fitted 490 individuals; that of Alba Fucens 705; Fregellae 1000 and Paestum 1060.<sup>466</sup> As she notes, there seems to be a general relation to the size of the settlement, with the smallest settlement (Cosa) having the smallest comitium and the largest settlement (Paestum) the

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<sup>460</sup> Mertens 1987, 571.

<sup>461</sup> Coarelli 1985, 20-21, after suggesting a date between 263 and 252 for the construction of the circular comitium at Rome, notes 'il problema della priorità o meno di Roma rispetto ai simili impianti delle colonie latine'.

<sup>462</sup> Coarelli (see previous note) prefers to have Rome as an example: 'sembra comunque probabile che il Comizio circolare di Roma abbia preceduti i simili impianti delle colonie, che quindi si saranno ispirati al modello urbano' (Coarelli 1985, 21). Following a similar reasoning, Torelli 1999c, 48-49 proposes a date in the second half of the third century for the comitia in Fregellae, Alba Fucens, Paestum and Cosa, while Lackner 2008, 263 suggests an earlier date for the Roman comitium, in or slightly after 338. Apparently, none of these scholars is willing to allow for a circular comitium built in a colony before it arrived in Rome.

<sup>463</sup> Contra Coarelli 1985, 21; see previous note.

<sup>464</sup> Sewell 2010, 80-81. He sees this as a reflection of 'the degree to which Roman political institutions could be adapted'.

<sup>465</sup> See Lackner 2008, 264-265, with the comitia printed to scale on p. 261.

<sup>466</sup> Lackner 2008, 265.

largest comitium. However, no constant relation between the size of the town and the comitium can be deduced. This does not come as a surprise, as we may expect rather different relative portions of the population being involved in the political process, as Paestum most probably had many more non-colonists within her walls. Again, the different character of the various colonies is thus evident.

Second, it is important to know *when* these complexes were constructed. Was construction started immediately with the foundation (and thus probably initiated by the colonial triumvirs), or was it a later initiative by the local administration? Obviously, the question does not bear directly on the institutional organization of the colonies from the moment of foundation onwards: an assembly could have met on the forum or any other open field. The example of Norba, where in spite of detailed investigations there are no traces of a curia-comitium complex in the forum, shows that it must have been quite possible to function as a Latin colony without this architectural form. The question is interesting, however, in terms of explaining the similarities between colonies.<sup>467</sup> If the construction of these comitia was indeed the result of a new interest in this kind of ‘political architecture’, it is important to understand who was involved in this development - or how connections were constituted.

One possibility is that Rome was the meeting place for different actors that took these decisions. We can imagine that a relatively restricted group of colonial triumvirs interacted with each other and with architects, most probably in Rome, and in this way created a new norm of building a circular comitium in a newly founded colony. However, if some of the comitia were only built later in the history of the colonies, that would imply that the local administration also was involved in this kind of interaction.<sup>468</sup>

Unfortunately, the known curia-comitium complexes cannot be dated precisely enough to make a definitive choice between these two scenarios, although the first scenario seems more plausible. The complex at Fregellae has not been fully published, and the earliest phase only has a *terminus ante quem*

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<sup>467</sup> Sewell 2010, 83-85 discusses the same question.

<sup>468</sup> Cf. Fentress 2000, 23, who suggests mutual contact between colonies.

in the early second century, when the complex was monumentalized.<sup>469</sup> The date of the complex in Alba Fucens depends on the date of the few associated datable sherds of black gloss bowls decorated with palmettes, found in the foundation layer.<sup>470</sup> In the initial publications, the *comitium* was dated to the late third or early second century BC.<sup>471</sup> More recently, the date has been brought back to the third century, although opinions still differ on the exact date within this century.<sup>472</sup> For Cosa, a date in the first fifty years of the colony proposed by the excavators (based on the stratigraphic relationship with a neighbouring structure) has recently been cast into doubt by Sewell, who has suggested an alternative date in the early second century.<sup>473</sup> However, while his theory of the relocation of the forum in Cosa is attractive, he does not provide definitive evidence for the date, and I prefer a date in the second half of the third century (for arguments, see section 3.4.2 below). In Paestum a date in the early years of the colonies is generally accepted.<sup>474</sup>

In conclusion, I propose that the founding of the Latin colonies triggered an interest in this architectural form that was new for the Roman world, and that was clearly inspired on Greek models. In the colonies, new political spaces had to be created, and it seems that in most cases this was done in the early years of the colony, and therefore possibly initiated by the colonial triumvirs. In order to create these political spaces, a new architectural model was used, which did not necessarily follow an existing example in Rome; other models had an influence as well. If we accept the circular reconstruction of the Roman *comitium* in the third century, this need not have been the first of its kind: it is

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<sup>469</sup> Coarelli and Monti 1998, 59-60.

<sup>470</sup> Mertens 1968, 215-217, figure 13.

<sup>471</sup> Mertens 1968, 216. See also Mertens 1969a, 101. In Mertens 1977, 256 an even later date of the second half of the second century is suggested. For an overview, see also Lackner 2008, 23, n. 44.

<sup>472</sup> Compare Coarelli 1984a, 77; Coarelli 1985, 20-21 with n. 36 (arguing for a date in the early years of the colony) and Mertens 1988, 95; Mertens 1991, 423 (preferring a later date in the second half of the third century). See also Liberatore 2001, 192, who also uses the building material and technique ('*pietra gentile*') to suggest a date in the early third century.

<sup>473</sup> For the early date: Brown et al. 1993, 14-30, specifically p. 26. For the alternative later date: Sewell 2005, 109-11; see also Sewell 2010, 25-33 and 45. Sewell suggests a relocation of the forum of Cosa in the early second century, which demands that the *comitium* was built in its present location only then.

<sup>474</sup> No records exist of the original excavations of the *comitium* in Paestum in the 1930s, but additional investigations have been carried out in the 1950s and 1980s: Brown et al. 1993, 253-295; Greco and Theodorescu 1987, 30-33.

equally possible that the first complexes were built in the colonies and that the model was only later adopted in Rome itself.

The curia-comitium complexes show that - at least in some colonies - permanent structures for local politics were constructed soon after the foundation of the colony. In this light, it is an attractive idea that the pits that have been found on the edges of several colonial fora (figure 3.2), and obviously could serve to set up temporary structures, were dug primarily to allow for the voting to take place on the colonial fora: ropes would have been spanned between the poles set up in these pits to guide and divide the groups of voters, as we know happened in the saepta in Rome. While such an interpretation has been suggested by various scholars for the colonies of Fregellae, Alba Fucens, Cosa and Paestum,<sup>475</sup> it has been the subject of quite some debate in recent years.<sup>476</sup> As the evidence has been reviewed in detail recently,<sup>477</sup> I will limit myself here to a brief discussion of the main conclusions that I think can be drawn from the evidence. In brief, I think it is likely that these pits are part of an organization of the forum for voting procedures, which fits with the idea that the colonies functioned as independent polities. It is difficult, however, to use this archaeological evidence for any more detailed reconstruction of the institutional organization of the colonies. The general practice does inform us, however, about the broader interaction between the colonies and the outside world.

First of all, we need to consider the question whether these pits served to set up a saepta-like structure, or whether they had other functions. As the central square in the settlement, the colonial fora served multiple functions, and all kinds of temporary structures may have been erected there, such as market stalls, seating for the spectators of gladiatorial games or temporary theatre stages.<sup>478</sup> Some of the pits are too large to have held poles, and may

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<sup>475</sup> I give the main contributions. Torelli 1991a discusses all examples, but concentrates on Alba Fucens. On Fregellae: Coarelli and Monti 1998, 56-59. On Alba Fucens: De Visscher and Mertens 1951-1952; Mertens 1969a, 92-96; Liberatore 2004, 110-122, 138-141. On Cosa: Brown 1980, 24-25, 41; Brown et al. 1993, 13-14, 41-44, 119-120. On Paestum: Greco and Theodorescu 1987, figure 2; Torelli 1999c, 48.

<sup>476</sup> See, most explicitly, Mouritsen 2004 and Coarelli 2005.

<sup>477</sup> Lackner 2008, 274-278 and Sewell 2010, 67-79.

<sup>478</sup> See Mouritsen 2004, 63; Lackner 2008, 278.

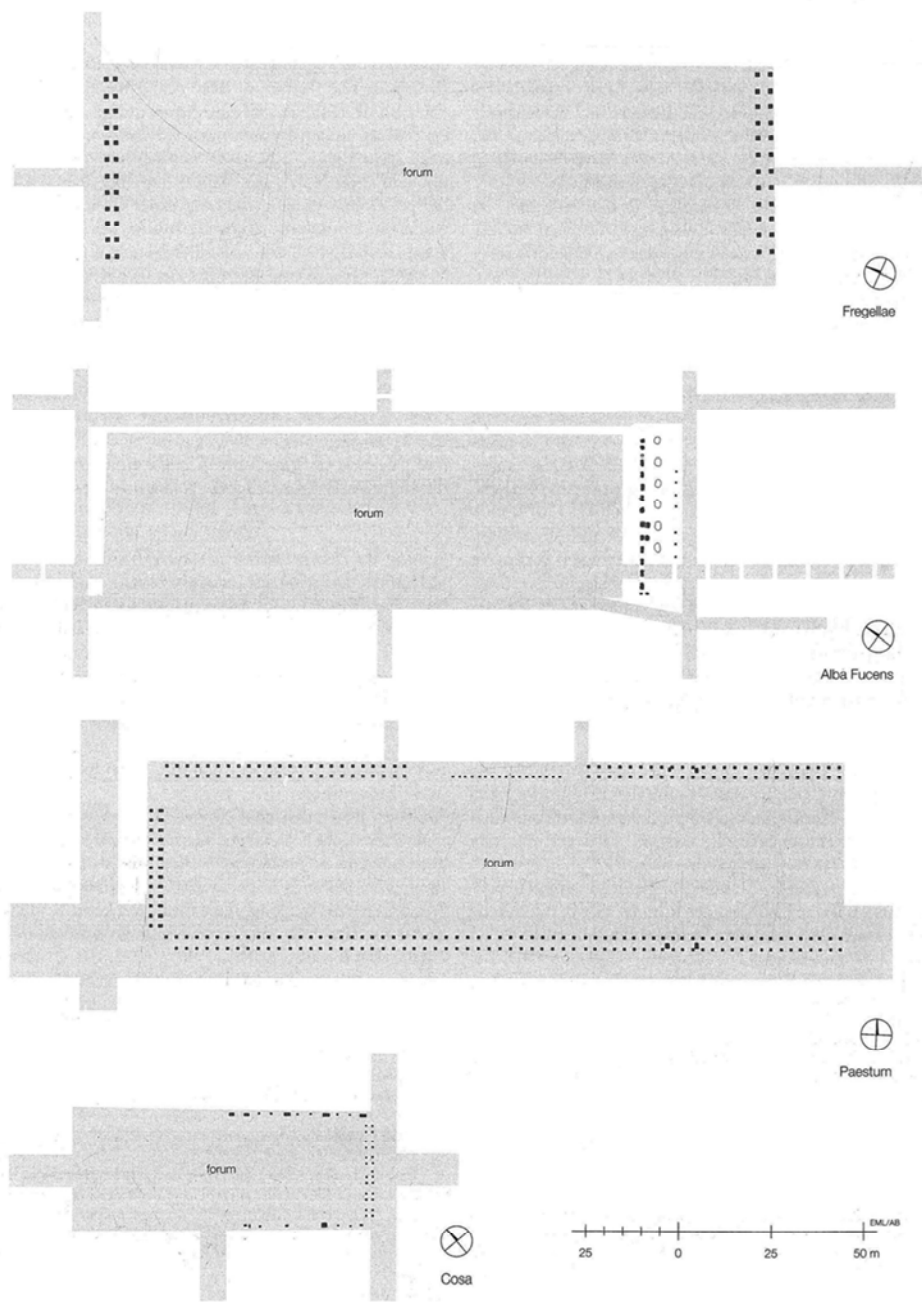


Figure 3.2. Plans showing location of holes in the fora of Cosa, Alba Fucens, Paestum and Fregellae

have served as planting boxes for plants or trees.<sup>479</sup> The question is, therefore, whether the shape or layout of the pits on the forum can give any specific indication that they served for the setting up of a *saepta*. From a ritual point of view, a *saepta* had to be an inaugurated space, and part of the interpretation of the pits has focused on their possible role in giving physical shape to this ritual enclosure. Although conceptually this is an important part of the interpretation of the forum as a *saepta*, it is unclear what such an enclosure must have looked like (or even whether there were any general spatial rules), so it does not help us in physically recognizing a *saepta*. More practically, we may concentrate on the layout of the pits and their relationship to other structures on the forum. In doing so, Sewell has pointed out the relevance of the symmetry in the layout of the pits on the fora of Fregellae, Paestum and Cosa, and the way the location of the *comitium* relates to the configuration of the pits in the cases of Paestum and Cosa (and Rome) (see figure 3.2).<sup>480</sup> While other functions cannot be excluded, therefore, I agree with Sewell's conclusion that 'it seems most likely that the pits were employed somehow during voting procedures'.<sup>481</sup>

This is a cautious conclusion, and that in itself should warn against more detailed interpretations of the layout of the pits in order to infer something more of the internal institutional organization of the colonies. In the case of Alba Fucens, the pits have been interpreted as playing a functional role in a *diribitorium* (where the votes would have been counted), rather than the *saepta* itself.<sup>482</sup> Various scholars have hailed the evidence of the pits on the fora as a way to reconstruct the number of voting districts (*curiae* and *tribus*), and thus the internal institutional organization of the colonies, even suggesting that changes through time could be recognized.<sup>483</sup> However, we must recognize the fact that we do not really know much about the way in which voting was practically organized. In Rome, the same *saepta* could be used to accommodate

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<sup>479</sup> This does not necessarily exclude an interpretation as *saepta*, however: in the interpretation of Brown for Cosa, trees served to demarcate the ritual space of the *saepta* (Brown 1980, 24-25; Brown et al. 1993, 41).

<sup>480</sup> Sewell 2010, 76-78. See also Coarelli 2005, 28 on the importance of the perfect alignment of the pits on both sides of the forum of Fregellae.

<sup>481</sup> Sewell 2010, 79.

<sup>482</sup> Torelli 1991a.

<sup>483</sup> See note 475 above and in particular Torelli 1991a (with recent elaborations on Cosa in Torelli 2011, 275-277) and Coarelli and Monti 1998, 57-59.

voting by comitia with different internal subdivisions.<sup>484</sup> I think it is dangerous, therefore, to project the physical evidence in this kind of detail directly onto the institutional organization. *If* the exact layout of the pits has any bearing on the institutional organization of the colonies, it is worth noting that the spectrum is rather varied, and moreover, that it changes through time. Again, this would mean that no standard institutional organization for the colonies existed beforehand, and that local solutions were developing dynamically.<sup>485</sup>

Finally, it is interesting that, in contrast to the curia-comitium complexes, the evidence of pits on fora is not restricted to the Latin colonies.<sup>486</sup> Similar features, albeit some of later date, have been found in Todi,<sup>487</sup> Cuma, Gubbio,<sup>488</sup> Concordia Sagittaria,<sup>489</sup> Ostra<sup>490</sup> and Cupra Marittima.<sup>491</sup> This evidence throws some doubt on Sewell's claim that 'the function of the pits was a cultural practice derived from Rome'.<sup>492</sup> The fact that we find the same practice also outside the colonies needs to be taken into account, and must mean that we are witnessing more complex cultural connections than just a Roman practice being implemented in the colonies. The implementation of similar structures in non-colonies shows that the structures to which the holes were functional were not necessarily introduced by the colonial triumvirs at the moment of foundation, but could be developed locally as well, as a result of interaction with the outside world.

In conclusion, the archaeological evidence relating to the institutional organization of the colonies shows that Roman and other influences were combined in the colonies. The pits in the fora may be related to voting practices in the colonies. In as far as we wish to give cultural significance to this functional installation, it is important to remember that a connection to Rome

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<sup>484</sup> Cf. Gatti 1999, 228.

<sup>485</sup> The variety is noted by Torelli 2011, 277.

<sup>486</sup> Contra Sewell 2010, 78, who claims that '[t]he only contexts in which stone-lined pits are found in rows on the edge of market-places are Rome and her Republican colonies'.

<sup>487</sup> Bruschetti 1995, 495-496; Bruschetti and Feruglio 1998, 54-59.

<sup>488</sup> For Cuma and Gubbio: Torelli 2011, 275, with references in nn. 27, 28, 29. In both cases, Torelli gives a general date in the Republican period. It would be important to establish the dates of these non-colonial installations in more detail, in order to be able to better understand potential directions of influence.

<sup>489</sup> Di Filippo Balestrazzi 2001.

<sup>490</sup> Dall'Aglio et al. 2012 (non vidi).

<sup>491</sup> Frapiccini 2011.

<sup>492</sup> Sewell 2010, 78

is not the only possible influence, as similar installations have been found in other settlements in Italy as well. In the case of the *comitium-curia* complexes, I have proposed that the colonies were the places for which a new architectural model for an assembly hall was developed. Connections to the Greek world were important in the creation of this model, but it seems to have been further developed in interaction between the colonies themselves and through interaction with Rome. The actors were most likely the colonial triumvirs, who could exchange experiences and ideas in Rome.

### **3.4 The settlement**

The life of a community is to a considerable extent shaped by the physical structure of the settlement. An important element for our understanding of local realities in the colonies is, therefore, the way they were physically shaped.<sup>493</sup> The various ways in which physical space was (or was not) transformed affected the construction of the new communities. In addition, the creation of new physical elements may have been accompanied by rituals that also symbolically reinforced the community. In this section, the analysis will focus on questions regarding how the foundation of the colonies caused interventions in space, and which influences were important in these developments.

I will focus on three types of interventions that must have been important in the physical and symbolic creation of a new community. First, foundation rituals are obviously important in this respect, in as far as new borders were demarcated and new living space was ritually created (section 3.4.1). The subsequent practical spatial organization of a settlement is also relevant: where did people live, and how did this affect previous settlement systems in the area (section 3.4.2)? Third, the organization and urban planning of the central colonial settlement will be discussed (section 3.4.3). An important element in these central colonial settlements were the sanctuaries. These will be discussed separately in section 3.5.

The themes and subjects treated in this section have seen a wave of new interest over the last twenty years or so. In fact, their general treatment is only

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<sup>493</sup> Cf. Sterry 2008, 34-36.



possible thanks to a variety of detailed case studies and more thematic comprehensive studies that have appeared over the last years. My goal here is not so much to give an overview of this body of scholarship, but rather to build further on these different contributions from a globalization perspective, giving attention to how local realities were created in interaction with the outside world.

### 3.4.1 Foundation rituals

The early years after the foundation of the colony must have been both exciting and insecure times for the settlers. It is highly probable, therefore, that a colonial foundation was accompanied by rituals that served both to create a sense of community and to ensure the help and protection of the gods in the creation of the colony.<sup>494</sup> As discussed in chapter 2, in the case of the colonies, ‘local’ applies to a community of people that has only recently been formed, with no strong traditions particular to that specific community. In part, this lack of traditions may have been replaced by the act and the rituals of the foundation of the colony: at this moment, ‘express decisions arbitrating and mediating the social and religious order had to be made’.<sup>495</sup> In general, such rituals are hard to recognize in the archaeological record.<sup>496</sup> There is some evidence, however, for a similar ritual connected to the construction of the defensive walls in two colonies. I will argue that in this ritual, related to the foundation of the colonies, the Roman background of the colonists and/or triumvirs was important.

As we have seen in the introduction, traditional accounts of colonization have emphasized rituals that are known from the foundation myths of the foundation of Rome itself, such as the ritual ploughing of the *sulcus*

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<sup>494</sup> As noted by Gargola 1995, 72-82.

<sup>495</sup> Malkin 2003, 68 on the Greek colonies.

<sup>496</sup> It has been suggested that five similar third century inscriptions (*‘lapis imfosos’*, in one case with the addition *‘[s]ecundo scalas’*) on stones integrated in different places in the defensive walls of Paestum may be related to the laying out of the pomerium of the Latin colony (De Magistris 2007; four of the relevant inscriptions can be found in Mello and Voza 1968, 209-212 (ILP 135 (=CIL X 120), ILP 136, ILP 137, ILP 138), with brief discussion on p. 204; the fifth is CIL I<sup>2</sup> 813 = CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2875). An alternative interpretation is that these inscriptions refer to restorations of the wall in the late third century, when the Hannibalic threat would have urged the additions of steps (the *scalae* mentioned in the inscriptions) and ramps in order to facilitate the use of siege machines (Torelli 1999c, 47).

*primigenius*, and the offering of the first fruits. Recognizing such rituals in the colonies is problematic. In fact, it has been argued in recent research that the ploughing ritual may well be a Late Republican invention - in any case we cannot prove that it happened in any of the colonies.<sup>497</sup> In the only case where an offering of first fruits has been recognized, the interpretation is clearly influenced by the Roman foundation myths: the archaeological remains of a votive deposit on the *arx* of Cosa were interpreted in a highly evocative account by Frank Brown as the offering of the first fruits by the settlers, underneath the *auguraculum*.<sup>498</sup> This particular reading of the evidence is problematic - most specifically, Rabun Taylor has reinterpreted the structure that Brown thought to be the *auguraculum* as a small temple.<sup>499</sup> However, the votive deposit underneath this structure is still of central interest, as it shows the results of a ritual that accompanied the construction of this temple in the early years of the colony. Such rituals most probably strengthened ties within the new community, and served to protect the new physical elements that were constructed in the settlement.

A similar case can be made, perhaps more strongly, for the (rather rare) archaeological evidence for rituals related to the construction or restructuring of defensive walls in the colonies. In most of the colonies founded after 338 where the walls have been well investigated, their erection can be dated to a period not long after the foundation date of the colony (see appendix 3; see further below, in section 3.4.2).<sup>500</sup> Votive deposits associated with these defensive walls probably served first and foremost to protect the wall and its

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<sup>497</sup> E.g. Bispham 2006, 124-125; Ando 2007, 433; see also Stek 2009, 22 and 26.

<sup>498</sup> Brown et al. 1960, 9-18; Brown 1980, 16-17.

<sup>499</sup> Taylor 2002.

<sup>500</sup> In the early period before 338, this does not always seem to have been the case: see Termeer 2010a, 47-48. Exceptions from the period after 338 are Fregellae, where (parts of) the wall may have been constructed only during the Second Punic War, and Paestum, where at least part of the defensive circuit was probably already in place in the period before the foundation of the colony. For Fregellae, Crawford suggests a date of the wall (at least the stretch where excavations have taken place) in the Second Punic War, based on the numismatic evidence (Crawford and Keppie 1984, 33-35). Coarelli still suggests a date for the defensive walls in the early years of the colony: Coarelli and Monti 1998, 54-55. For Paestum, see generally Pedley 1990, 11; more detail, in particular on the typology of the walls, in D'Ambrosio 1990, specifically pp. 86-96. Torelli, however, claims that it is 'probable that, as in other colonies, they largely date back to the first years of the new colony' (Torelli 1999c, 46). Greco and Theodorescu 1990, 91 give a date of the eastern part of the precinct 'au cours de la période de commencement de la colonie latine'.

construction, rather than being related to the foundation of the colony at large.<sup>501</sup> In those cases where the date of the defensive wall lies close to the foundation date of the colony, however, the difference becomes obscured. The construction of the wall demarcated the protected space of the new community. In addition, many inhabitants of the new community, whether they were settlers or indigenous population, must have contributed to the construction of the walls. In this sense, the building of the wall must have been instrumental to community building as well. As a consequence, rituals that accompanied the construction of the wall arguably had a similar ‘foundational’ connotation.

From this perspective the evidence for foundation deposits and other rituals related to the construction of defensive walls may shed some light on rituals that contributed to the construction of the community. It is then interesting that we have evidence for a similar rite connected to the construction of the defensive walls occurring in the colonies of Ariminum and Paestum. In both colonies, a foundation deposit associated with the construction of the defensive walls briefly after the foundation of the colony contains a sacrificed dog. In Ariminum, a deposit containing three local coins (one *semuncia* in cast bronze and two struck bronzes; see ch. 4) and the skeleton of a dog was found in the foundation trench of the defensive wall, in the corner between the wall and a projecting tower.<sup>502</sup> In Paestum, a similar situation was encountered near the *Porta Marina*, in the western part of the wall circuit. The gate most probably dates to the early years of the colony, as it postdates the round tower immediately next to it, which was constructed in the late fourth century.<sup>503</sup> Here, the remains of a dog were found in a natural cleft which partly underlies the gate, underneath a compact layer of stones that served to fill the cleft. Although the date of this deposition cannot be established with certainty, it seems probable that the stone fill is related to the construction of the gate.<sup>504</sup>

It has been noted that the sacrifice of a dog, and especially the deposition in relation to the defensive walls, may have been particularly aimed at the

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<sup>501</sup> An example is the votive material associated with a rebuilding of the *Porta di Masse* at *Alba Fucens*: Liberatore 2001, 189.

<sup>502</sup> Ortalli 1990, specifically pp. 110-11 and figure 1.

<sup>503</sup> Robert 1993, 121.

<sup>504</sup> Thus argues Robert 1993, 122, and I agree. Note, however, that the few ceramic fragments that were found in the cleft mainly date to the sixth and fifth centuries.

protection and ‘guarding’ of the community against foreign dangers.<sup>505</sup> This significance comes back in examples from both the Roman and the Greek world, and is closely related to rites of purification, as is demonstrated by Renaud Robert in his article on the Paestum material.<sup>506</sup> We also have some evidence for dog sacrifices in sanctuaries in the Italic world: in Pyrgi, Satricum and Torre di Satriano remains of dogs were found in votive deposits, and both for Pyrgi and for Torre di Satriano it has been suggested that this sacrifice was related to the closing of the deposit.<sup>507</sup> In addition, there is the passage on dog sacrifice in honour of Hondus Jovius in the Iguvine tablets, where this ritual clearly has a purificatory nature.<sup>508</sup>

Although the same practice with similar connotations was therefore present in different parts of the Italian peninsula, the most attractive parallel comes from Rome itself. Both Robert and Jacopo De Grossi Mazzorin note the possible link with the dog sacrifice which is known to have taken place during the *lupercalia* in Rome. If we follow Liou-Gille’s explanation of the *lupercalia* as a commemoration of various aspects of Rome’s foundation, canine sacrifice in Rome may have played a part in the rites of protection and purification that accompanied the foundation of the city.<sup>509</sup> The discovery of three sacrificed dogs in excavations on the edge of the Palatine hill, close to the gate interpreted as the *Porta Mugonia*, adds to the suggestion, although they are not related to the first phase of the wall,<sup>510</sup> and may even postdate the colonial examples we

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<sup>505</sup> Robert 1993; De Grossi Mazzorin 2008. Smith 1996 discusses dog sacrifices in other contexts, in particular in relation to the Robigalia, aimed at the purification of the land in order to safeguard the harvest (see specifically pp. 80-83). The case study he uses as a point of departure, a dog sacrifice on the Iron Age necropolis of Osteria dell’Osa on the edge of the period II burials, may perhaps be read along similar ‘guarding of the community’ lines.

<sup>506</sup> See specifically Robert 1993, 129: ‘(...) les rites de purification et les rites de fondation ne sont souvent que les deux faces d’un même acte symbolique visant à assurer la cohésion du groupe.’

<sup>507</sup> The examples of Pyrgi and Torre di Satriano are discussed by De Grossi Mazzorin 2008, 73-74 with further references. On Satricum, see Prummel in Bouma 1996-I, 442.

<sup>508</sup> Table IIA 15-44; the sacrifice itself is mentioned in line 20 (see the editions by Poultney 1959, 176-189; Prodocimi 1984, 182); briefly on the dog sacrifice: De Cazanove 2007, 49-51; on its purificatory nature: Rosenzweig 1937, 48-49. Note, however, that the dog sacrifice is not part of the rites taking place around the gates of the city; see Sisani 2001, 99-138.

<sup>509</sup> Liou-Gille 1980, 180-194; she stresses on p. 190 that the dog sacrifice should not be doubted as part of the ritual of the *Lupercalia*; see especially 193-194 for the importance of purification.

<sup>510</sup> On the first phase of the wall, see Ricci et al. 1995. They do discuss dog sacrifices on p. 158, but not related to the first phase of the wall on the Palatine.

have seen above.<sup>511</sup> Interestingly, the only writer to report us on the practice of the dog sacrifice during the *Lupercalia*, Plutarch, obviously did not know what to make of it: he gives two different possible explanations.<sup>512</sup> While early imperial writers stressed the ritual of the *sulcus primigenius*, they do not seem to have recalled the dog sacrifice as an important ritual in the founding of a town.<sup>513</sup>

The dog sacrifices in Ariminum and Paestum, therefore, seem to give us some insight into a religious practice where a dog was sacrificed in order to help protect the town and its community. The dog sacrifice from Rome shows us that this practice was certainly known there. It is most likely, therefore, that the Roman origin of the triumvirs and colonists forms the connection to Rome that caused them to perform this ritual. This does not necessarily mean that the sacrifices in Ariminum and Paestum referred directly to the foundation of Rome. More likely, perhaps, is that we see an application of the same religious practice where a canine sacrifice could help strengthen and protect the community (and its walls) against the outside world. The link with the local community is underlined in the case of Ariminum, where three coins that were produced by the community and wore its name (in the case of the struck bronze coins, with legend ARIM or ARIMN), were added to the sacrificed dog (see chapter 4).

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<sup>511</sup> Carafa 1995, 260 with n. 224. The dog skeletons were found together with complete vases in a thick layer of ashy soil, inside an archaic structure hypothetically interpreted as the bastion of a gate - note, however, that the interpretation as a gate is partly based on the presence of the dogs. The moment of deposition of this layer is not entirely clear to me, nor was I able to find more information on the vases: the deposition may be either archaic in date, or be contemporary to the reconstruction of the structure in *opus caementicium* in the late third or early second century (in n. 224, Carafa describes the situation as follows: 'Questa struttura [i.e. the archaic structure] viene oblitterata e ricostruita in opera cementizia alla fine del III - inizi del II sec. a. C. All'interno di uno dei due ambienti di età arcaica viene depresso uno spesso strato (...)').

<sup>512</sup> Plut. *Rom.* 21.5-8: 'If the sacrifice is a purification, one might say that the dog is sacrificed as being a suitable victim for such rites, since the Greeks, in their rites of purification, carry forth puppies for burial, and in many places make use of the rites called 'periskulakismoι'; and if these rites are performed in grateful remembrance of the she-wolf that nourished and preserved Romulus, it is not without reason that the dog is slain, since it is an enemy to wolves, unless, indeed, the animal is thus punished for annoying the Luperci when they run about.'

<sup>513</sup> As noted by Robert 1993, 123, the foundation myths of Rome do not include any blood sacrifice.

### 3.4.2 Settlement organization and countryside

The question of where people lived is of central importance for our understanding of the colonial communities. Traditionally, it has been proposed that Rome was an important influence on the physical shape of the colonies. According to this perspective, a colony consisted of a small, densely inhabited central settlement surrounded by a centuriated landscape, in which each of the colonists received their own land allotment and most of them lived on farms, while the indigenous population would have been relegated to further away, marginal territories.<sup>514</sup> In this way, Rome would have introduced ‘the urban model’ into the non-urbanized parts of Italy (see section 1.2.1). In addition, the territory would have been organized according to a principle that fitted the ideal model of the self-sufficient soldier-farmer (see below).

This image has proven to be problematic in two respects. First, the ‘urban centres’ may not have been as densely settled as has been thought. Archaeological research of the central settlements often finds only traces of defensive walls and sanctuaries, while domestic architecture is rare and generally there are minimal remains of other buildings that date to the first phase of the colonies.<sup>515</sup> Although this paucity of material is partly due to later construction phases obscuring and even obliterating the early structural evidence of the colonies, it may equally be the case that the colonial settlements were indeed not densely inhabited in the early period.<sup>516</sup> Second, the data assembled through field surveys in the countryside around the colonies do not

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<sup>514</sup> See e.g. Salmon 1969, 38 on Cosa and Alba Fucens; Gargola 1995, 71-72; cf. Pelgrom 2012, 11.

<sup>515</sup> Examples of domestic architecture in the colonies in the first century after their foundation are scarce (see Pelgrom 2012, 55, n. 202, although there are more examples than only the remains in Fregellae mentioned there). Only in Paestum do we have the remains of more than one house from the early period of the colony. The chronology of the houses in Paestum is often hard to establish, but some houses do have a secure third century phase (see below); the *use* of the houses in the third century is, however, hard to discern (see Bragantini et al. 2008, 151-153 for a third century phase of house C; for the other houses discussed in the same book, the third century phase is less clear. See also De Bonis 2008; Robert et al. 2010, 347 for problems with the archaeological record and documentation). The so-called *atria publica* in Cosa (which may be ‘normal’ houses; see Fentress and Rabinowitz 1996, 231-234) date to the early second century (Brown et al. 1993, 57-97). In Fregellae, only one house can be dated to the third century (Coarelli and Monti 1998, 62-65); a similar house has been excavated in Hadria (Guidobaldi 1995, 205-206; Azzena 1987a, 50-53 (nr. 33)). In Cales a house dated to the early colonial period has been only partially excavated (Passaro et al. 1993, 52-53).

<sup>516</sup> See Pelgrom 2012, 55; Laurence et al. 2011, 41 (see below for further discussion).

always seem to fit the image of a regular settlement pattern of small farms (see below).

Clearly, there is room for improvement in the way we conceptualize the colonies as physical settlements. This also involves a reconsideration of the influences that were important in shaping the physical colony. This is important not only to understand the effects of colonization at a local level, but it also helps in examining the relationship between the settlers and the indigenous population; we can thus contextualize the changes and interventions that are in fact recognizable in the central settlements, both at the level of urban planning and the construction of monumental architecture. In what follows, therefore, I will first review the discussion on colonial settlement patterns. As we have seen in the introduction, this has been a dynamic field of research over the last few years, and new data continue to be produced by several survey projects.<sup>517</sup> Against this background, the interventions in the central colonial settlements will be discussed in more detail in section 3.4.3.

In traditional accounts of colonization, the centuriation of the countryside has been seen as an important aspect of the foundation of a colony, both practically and ideologically. On a practical level, it was what determined the settlement pattern in the area: each of the colonists was assigned his own land allotment, and these could be of various sizes according to the various classes of colonists.<sup>518</sup> This was important ideologically, as the colonial *limitatio* brought with it an erasure of the old spatial layout.<sup>519</sup> Very clearly, therefore, this was a way of shaping the new community.<sup>520</sup> Strong ties to Rome are recognized in the procedure: Galsterer, for example, explains the class-related land division as a necessary measure to create the timocratic organization needed in order to build a town ‘of the Roman type’.<sup>521</sup> Another important ideological element is that of the Roman self-sufficient soldier farmer, an ideal character of the Republican way of life. Thus, Gabba argues that the goal of

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<sup>517</sup> Pelgrom 2012, ch. 2.4 and ch.4, with appendices 1 and 2, discusses the relevant data. More recent fieldwork has been done in the surroundings of Venusia (Marchi 2010), Interamna Lirenas (Bellini et al. 2012) and Aesernia (fieldwork by the Leiden-based project ‘Landscapes of Early Roman Colonization’).

<sup>518</sup> Galsterer 1976, 48; Gabba 1994 [1985], 186; Gabba 1994 [1989], 199; Gargola 1995, 87-95.

<sup>519</sup> See, e.g. Quilici 1994, 129; Gargola 1995, 87.

<sup>520</sup> Gabba 1994 [1985], 184-186: he also stresses the social implications when he mentions how this was a way ‘organizzare la vita’ of the settlers.

<sup>521</sup> Galsterer 1976, 48.

centuriation practices was ‘ricreare, fuori della sua area tradizionale e naturale, la tipica struttura agraria romano-italica della piccolo proprietà contadina, autosufficiente perché complementata dallo sfruttamento, agricolo e silvo-pastorale, delle terre comuni.’<sup>522</sup>

The source material for this traditional image is mainly drawn from colonies that were founded in the second and first centuries BC,<sup>523</sup> and in recent scholarship, particularly by Jeremia Pelgrom, the validity of this image for the earlier colonies has been questioned.<sup>524</sup> His review of the survey evidence of the earlier colonies does not confirm a settlement pattern consisting mainly of small farms evenly dispersed over the landscape; while such individual sites are found in the areas around the colonies, they are far too few in number to have hosted the entire colonial population.<sup>525</sup> Moreover, the date and function of the known centuriation systems are subjects of continuing debate: a date in the early years of the colonies is often difficult to prove beyond the assumption that the two events must be related.<sup>526</sup> The dividing lines often are channels or roads and may be primarily related to systems of water management or improved logistics rather than exclusively the distribution of land plots, although both functions may obviously have coexisted.<sup>527</sup> Pelgrom also notes that, while the centuriation systems around Alba Fucens and Norba are measured in the Roman *actus*, in Cales, Luceria, Paestum and perhaps Interamna Lirenas, a non-Roman measurement unit (*plethron* or *vorsus*) was used: these grids are therefore, according to Pelgrom, ‘not easily explained as

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<sup>522</sup> Gabba 1994 [1985], 189.

<sup>523</sup> Gabba’s work quoted above is primarily based on the situation in Cisalpina.

<sup>524</sup> Pelgrom 2012, with Pelgrom 2008. Some remarks in this direction can already be found in Bispham 2006, 76-77. See de Haas 2011, ch. 8 and particularly his concluding remarks on pp. 226-227 for the difficulty of dating the evidence for drainage works and the centuriation grid in the lower Pontine plain: this grid is probably not related to the foundation of the colony of Setia, and while it might be related to the installation of the *tribus oufentina* in 318 (see also Quilici 1994, 127), such a link cannot be established definitively.

<sup>525</sup> Pelgrom 2012, 63-81. Pelgrom includes Roman colonies and viritane distributions in his analysis: this research focuses on the Latin colonies.

<sup>526</sup> See Pelgrom 2012, 117-120. For the importance of colonial foundation dates in more traditional accounts of centuriation, see e.g. Quilici 1994.

<sup>527</sup> For centuriation systems as primarily directed at land reclamation, see already Dall’Aglio 1994, 17. See for a clear example of the importance of drainage works in one of the early colonies Ødegård 1997 on Cales.



Roman interventions'.<sup>528</sup> In addition, he convincingly suggests that both in Rome itself and in the colonies, an elaborate system of land division and property administration developed only from the second century onwards.<sup>529</sup> Pelgrom proposes that it may well be the case that the territory of the early colonies was not centuriated immediately after the foundation, and that the rural population may have lived in small nucleated settlements in the territory of the colony.<sup>530</sup>

Although attractive, this alternative image suggested by Pelgrom still awaits archaeological confirmation.<sup>531</sup> His work is important in the present context, however, precisely because it gives alternatives for the way we conceptualize the impact of the colony on the landscape. It stresses the possibility that local realities and traditions must have affected the colonial realities. As shown by Pelgrom, in colonized areas which were already densely settled before the foundation of the colony, it is often difficult to discern any changes in the settlement patterns surrounding the colonial centres.<sup>532</sup> The impact of the foundation on the rural settlement pattern, then, would be much less profound than has commonly been suggested. This also seems to corroborate the conclusions reached in section 3.2, that the indigenous population often remained present in the area, regardless of whether or not they were juridically incorporated in the colonial citizen body. This is no general rule, however: the case of Cosa does indicate strong changes to the settlement pattern in the period following the foundation of the colony. Within the approximated territory of Cosa, most of the sites of the pre-colonial period disappear.<sup>533</sup> In this case, a new concentration of sites on the north bank of the river Albegna has been interpreted as the result of indigenous people moving

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<sup>528</sup> Pelgrom 2012, 118; see also further on the same page: 'The differences in the unit of measurement used are, I believe, a strong argument against the view that these land divisions were constructed by Roman engineers'. See Pelgrom 2012, 112-113 on the units of measurement; I follow his use of terms, where the *plethron* denotes a 100 foot system based on a foot length of 29,5 cm (the Attic or Roman foot), while the *vorsus* denotes a 100 foot system with a foot length of 27,5 cm (the Oscan foot).

<sup>529</sup> Pelgrom 2012, 86-95.

<sup>530</sup> Pelgrom 2012, ch. 4; see also Pelgrom 2008.

<sup>531</sup> Pelgrom's hypothesis is now being tested by the Leiden-based research project *Landscapes of Early Roman Colonization*.

<sup>532</sup> Pelgrom 2012, ch. 4.3.

<sup>533</sup> Fentress 2000, 12 mentions two surviving sites; Celuzza 2002, 110 does not give any exact numbers.

out of the territory.<sup>534</sup> Again, we see that colonies in different locations found different solutions for creating their new community and dealing with the indigenous population.

This variety is best explained as the result of different local decisions in the colonies, either by the colonial triumvirs or later by the local administration. This may also help to explain the variety in units of measurement. Pelgrom takes the use of local systems of measurement as a sign for lack of Roman involvement in the creation of these schemes, and stresses that they must have developed locally, and perhaps more gradually.<sup>535</sup> I agree, and would stress, more explicitly, that the local initiative for these land division schemes may well be related to the *colonial* administration. This means that colonial interventions are not necessarily carried out in the Roman *actus*, but in the preferred unit used by the people who executed the work. In chapter 4, we will see similar dynamics at work in the production of coinage by various colonial communities.

It now may be clear that interventions in the countryside and settlement organization are of central importance for our conceptualization of the physical realities that developed as a result of Latin colonization. More research is needed on the diverse solutions found in different contexts, and additionally what these mean for discerning where the colonists and indigenous population actually lived.<sup>536</sup> Importantly, however, it is already becoming clear that local administrations were responsible for shaping local realities, and could draw on traditions and expertise that were indigenous, or at any rate non-Roman.

### **3.4.3 Shaping the central settlements**

If, as seems likely, a large part of the colonial population did not live within the central settlement of the colonies, this affects the way in which we understand the date and nature of interventions in these towns. I will discuss interventions in the ‘sacred landscape’ of the colonies separately in section 3.5.1. Here I will focus on the construction of the defensive walls and the planning of the general urban layout. I argue that Roman influence at the moment of foundation could

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<sup>534</sup> Fentress 2000, 12; Celuzza 2002, 109.

<sup>535</sup> Pelgrom 2012, 118.

<sup>536</sup> See notes 102 and 517 above.

be locally adapted in later periods, and that these local developments, in turn, contribute to the development of ‘Roman urbanism’.

To start with the defensive walls, their construction can often be dated on stratigraphical or other archaeological grounds to a period close to the historical foundation date (this is the case for Saticula, Alba Fucens, Narnia, Cosa, Ariminum, Aesernia and Brundisium). For many other colonies, a date similarly close to the colonial foundation is suggested, although archaeological evidence is often absent (see appendix 3). While it is highly plausible that the erection of a defensive wall was among the first concerns of the colonists, we should beware of circular argumentation, and keep in mind that other factors may have influenced the date of construction as well, such as the Roman threat in the period before the colonial foundation. It is interesting, for example, that in the case of Cales the wall in *opus quadratum* is generally dated to the fourth century and in connection with the foundation of the colony<sup>537</sup>, although many earlier publications date it to the previous period.<sup>538</sup> Similarly, in the case of Sora, the date of the wall in polygonal masonry is subject to debate, and oscillates around the foundation date of the colony.<sup>539</sup> It is common to see later adjustments to the construction of the wall (e.g. Alba Fucens), or even stretches of walls that were built some time after the foundation of the colony (possibly Fregellae).

The colonial defensive walls are generally built either in polygonal masonry or in *opus quadratum*. It is interesting that the polygonal masonry (but not the *opus quadratum*) has been interpreted in explicitly cultural terms.<sup>540</sup> It has been interpreted as a typical Latin (rather than Roman) way of building,<sup>541</sup> and as such, it is used as evidence for a strong link to Latium in the

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<sup>537</sup> Ødegård 1997, 223; Pedroni 2002, 53, Lackner 2008, 60.

<sup>538</sup> Johannowsky 1961, 259, afb. 2; Castagnoli 1974, afb. 1; De Caro 1981, 242; Sommella and Migliorati 1988, 42.

<sup>539</sup> Alessandra Tanzilli argues for a date before the foundation of the colony (Tanzilli 1982, 56-64; Tanzilli 2009, 23), while Stefania Mezzazappa relates the construction of the wall to the foundation of the colony (Mezzazappa 2003, 115).

<sup>540</sup> Cf. Lippolis 1999, 6 on the wall in *opus quadratum* of Luceria: c. ‘Il sistema è consueto per le fortificazioni dell’Italia centro-meridionale e particolarmente diffuso nelle aree di cultura apula e magnogreca, rendendo difficile l’individuazione di una specifica matrice culturale della tecnica impiegata.’

<sup>541</sup> See e.g. Adam 1984, 111; Gros 1996, 30; Palombi 2000, 98, n. 16. See Quilici Gigli 2004, 35-37 for a brief historiographical overview. Recently, Jeffrey Becker has claimed that ‘some theorists presumed that the technique derived from Rome and that Roman colonists instructed

colonies. A recent example is Simone Sisani's work on the 'fenomenologia della conquista', in which he takes Umbria as a case study to investigate the dynamics of the Roman conquest and the process of romanization; he identifies this as 'il processo [...] di integrazione socio-politica e di acculturazione delle comunità locali che accompagna e struttura la conquista romana, costituendo la matrice ideale di un impero unificato'.<sup>542</sup> In this context, he discusses the Latin colony of Narnia and its defensive wall which according to him is polygonal in its first phase. He argues that this wall shows 'il marchio di maestranze laziali', as one of a series of 'tratti culturali marcatamente latini' which to him suggest that the indigenous population did not survive their military defeat.<sup>543</sup> In this way, a close connection is suggested between the polygonal building technique used for the walls and the Latin identity of the colonies. The example of Narnia is problematic: as far as I am aware of, all preserved stretches of the defensive walls of Narnia are built in *opus quadratum*.<sup>544</sup> In addition, it seems worthwhile to investigate this claim in a broader perspective, including all of the Latin colonies founded before the Second Punic War.

First of all, it should be noted that the use of polygonal masonry for the defensive walls of the colonies is relatively limited: only 10 out of the 28 colonies here under study have a wall in polygonal masonry, and 15 have a wall in *opus quadratum*, while for Pontiae, Interamna Lirenas and Beneventum no defensive walls are known (see appendix 3). Clearly, therefore, a wall in polygonal masonry was not a standard solution in all of the colonies. The selected option may partly be directed by the type of stone available in the environment - soft tufa lending itself more easily to being cut into the square blocks of *opus quadratum* while hard limestones are more regularly used for polygonal masonry.<sup>545</sup> This pattern is quite clearly discernible for the colonies founded before 338: the colonies located on the limestone ridge of the Monti Lepini (Signia, Norba, Setia) down to the promontory of Circeii have polygonal walls in limestone, while Ardea, Sutrium and Nepesin all have walls in tufa cut

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indigenous people in its execution', without, however, identifying these 'theorists' (Becker 2012, 121). Tombrägel 2012, 21 for the observations that the colonies using polygonal masonry diverge from Rome, where the Servian wall was built in *opus quadratum*.

<sup>542</sup> Sisani 2007. On Umbria as a case study: p. 14. His definition of romanization on p. 15.

<sup>543</sup> Sisani 2007, 85-89.

<sup>544</sup> See Monacchi et al. 1999, 241-252 (nrs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10) and 274-275.

<sup>545</sup> See Coarelli 1982, 388-391.

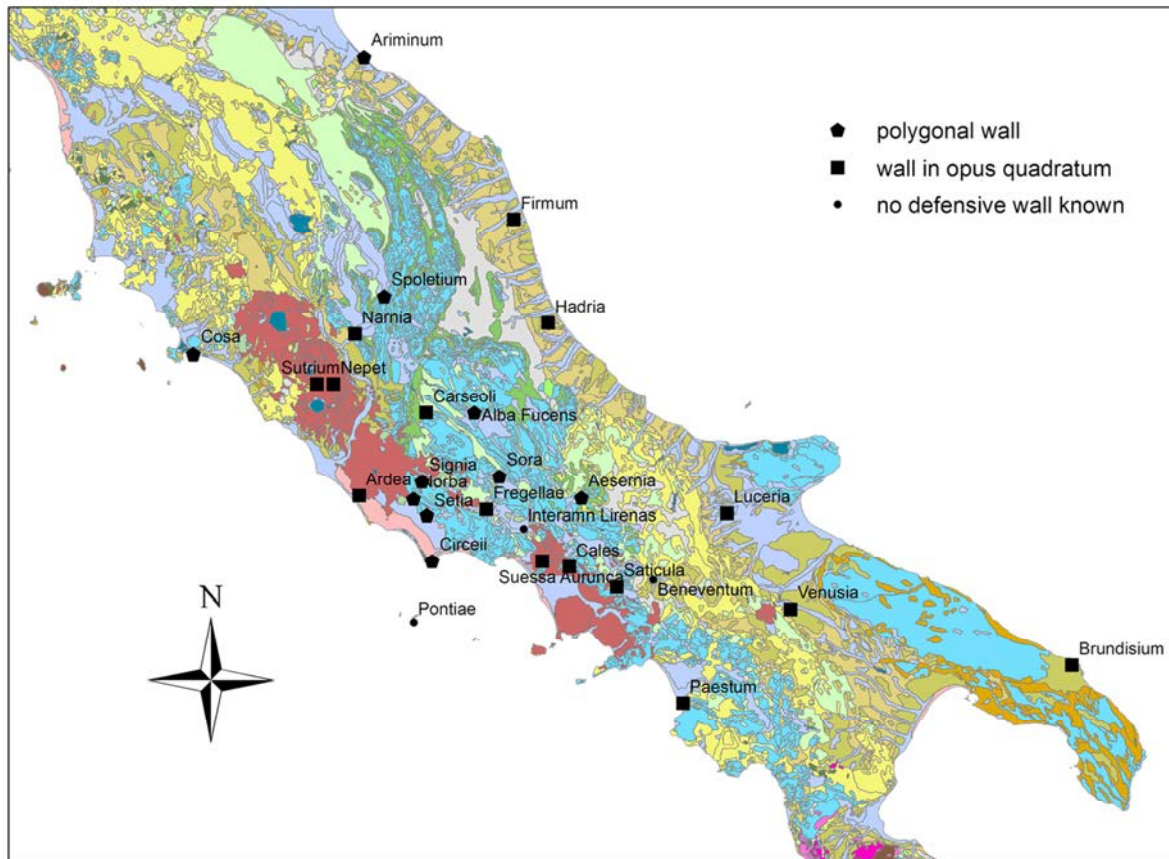


Figure 3.3. Map showing techniques of defensive walls in the colonies, on a geolithological map of Italy

Legend to the geolithological map (only relevant categories listed):

- limestone and dolomite
- volcanic rock (lavas, pyroclastic rock, ignimbrites)
- chaotic sedimentary complexes
- alluvium
- clays
- sand and conglomerate rock
- turbidites and flyschoid units

into *opus quadratum*. However, elsewhere in Italy the type of stone does not seem to be so great a determining factor; figure 3.3 shows that the walls of colonies located in similar geolithical zones can still be built in different techniques (compare, for example, Alba Fucens and Carseoli, or Ariminum and Firmum). At the same time, it is true that some colonies introduce the polygonal technique in their regional environment, as is the case for Cosa. It may still be the case, therefore, that in the cases that this technique was used, it did create a conscious connection to Latium.<sup>546</sup>

<sup>546</sup> At any rate, the elaborate technique used in Cosa and Alba Fucens certainly has a representative function as well as being functional; cf. Tombrägel 2012, 26.

The significance of the use of polygonal masonry, therefore, may have varied through time and depending on geographical region.<sup>547</sup> It is important to realize that we have many examples of pre-Roman polygonal masonry in Italy outside Latium, for example in the Samnite hillforts, or in the Sacco Valley.<sup>548</sup> We deal, therefore, with a rather general model that does not automatically show a connection to Latium or Rome. At the same time, it would be too easy to discard this possibility categorically. Most of the early Italic examples of polygonal masonry in the Samnite area can be classified as first manner (unworked stones piled up),<sup>549</sup> while the more elaborate second, third and fourth manners are rare outside Latium.<sup>550</sup> For the Sacco valley, Andrew Wallace Hadrill has suggested that the use of polygonal masonry was indeed an ideological choice developed in interaction with Rome, but mainly to show *local* pride - the model was given new meaning at a local level.<sup>551</sup> In such a context, the use of this technique in some of the colonies may have changed the significance of the general model. It is tempting to suggest that this technique grew to be recognized (in some contexts) as something typically Latin only with the use of polygonal masonry in Latin colonies outside Latium, rather than having this connotation from the start.<sup>552</sup>

Moving on to the general urban layout of the colonies, the walls give us some additional information about the sizes of the walled areas of the colonial settlements. When comparing these, a first observation is the striking diversity in the sizes of the walled area.<sup>553</sup> This can serve as a reminder that settlement organization probably differed considerably between these colonies. Not only were they founded at different times over a period of almost 70 years, but the landscapes into which the settlers arrived were hugely different as well, with a variety of pre-existing settlement organization in place. In the case of Narnia,

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<sup>547</sup> Cf. Quilici Gigli 2004, specifically p. 38.

<sup>548</sup> Oakley 1995; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 117. I suppose that Jeffrey Becker has this in mind when he claims that 'polygonal masonry is not a Roman technique but an indigenous one' (Becker 2012, 121).

<sup>549</sup> Oakley 1995, 11. The four manners of polygonal masonry were identified by Lugli 1957, 65-81.

<sup>550</sup> Cf. Tombrägel 2012, 24-26 on the 'Schmuckpolygonalmauerwerk' that developed between the fourth and first centuries.

<sup>551</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 119 with n. 114.

<sup>552</sup> This suggestion owes much to the careful analysis and suggestions by Cifarelli 2003, 88-96.

<sup>553</sup> See Lackner 2008, plates on pp. 384-387.

Cosa and Aesernia, for example, the area enclosed by the walls is relatively small. Combined with the few traces of habitation in the third century, at least in the case of Cosa, this leads to the conclusion that most of the population normally lived outside the walls.<sup>554</sup> The central settlement must, in these cases, have served as a safe haven in times of danger for most of the settlers and - possibly - other inhabitants of the area. A contrasting figure comes from the walled areas of Cales or Fregellae, which would have been able to house many more people; however, it is unclear whether these entire intramural areas were inhabited.

The next questions are, then, when the internal layout of the central settlement was organized, how it was used and developed in the subsequent periods, and who was responsible for this. In the development of Roman urbanism research, the colonies - especially those founded *ex novo* - have played a central role, because their foundation caused a group of people from Rome to create a new settlement: as such they mark 'the beginning of the Roman practice of designing and realising urban centres'.<sup>555</sup> An important point of departure in this research is that 'the architectural and planning elements which the colonies share give hints about Rome's strategies and even the ideology behind the design of the colonies', as was recently argued by Jamie Sewell.<sup>556</sup> Clear examples of such shared elements are the rectangular fora known from Alba Fucens, Cosa, Fregellae and Paestum, often located at the crossing of the main roads (entering through the gates) of the town.<sup>557</sup>

While this approach is certainly valuable in the long-term scale of the development of Roman urbanism, in the present context it runs the risk of overemphasizing Roman input. It clearly presents Rome (the city) as the prime instigator of cultural change: it implies a model for the organization of the urban layout in the colonies that could be adopted by the colonial triumvirs and land surveyors, who would have joined the colonists on their journey from

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<sup>554</sup> For more detailed analysis: Pelgrom 2012, 54-61.

<sup>555</sup> Generally, see e.g. Lorenz 1987, ch. 4; Sommella and Migliorati 1988, ch. 1; Gros and Torelli 2007 [1988], ch. 3; Stambaugh 1988, ch. 15. More recently two monographs have been published dealing specifically with the colonies: Lackner 2008; Sewell 2010. Quote from Sewell 2010, 10.

<sup>556</sup> Sewell 2010, 80.

<sup>557</sup> For an overview, see the plates in Lackner 2008, 331-383; on the location: Sewell 2005, 94-95. I leave out the hypothesized fora, which may give a false impression of uniformity between the colonies.

Rome to their new homeland.<sup>558</sup> There are a few complications, however. While a (first) layout can often plausibly be related to the moment of the colonial foundation, it was subject to various other influences. Recently, Amanda Coles has stressed how the colonies can be conceptualized as the result of a combination of an idealized conception of a new Latin city and the local physical reality.<sup>559</sup> Both natural features and pre-existing cultural elements in the landscape must have influenced the way the settlement was shaped on the spot. Moreover, we are dealing with living towns after the foundation that are subject to dynamic modifications to the urban fabric. An urban plan is often hard to date, and is likely to have been formed through a succession of plannings. The early colony of Norba, founded in Latium in 492 BC, is interesting in this respect. Various urban layouts have been recognized here, but all of them postdate the historical foundation date.<sup>560</sup> A large re-organization of the southern part of the settlement, between the Porta Furba and the ‘minor acropolis’ dates to the second century. This reminds us that the local community must have been quite capable of organizing these kinds of interventions in the urban layout itself and without direct Roman intervention.

In this analysis, I will explore some of these more layered formation processes of the colonies. The idea that the colonies were essential to the development of Roman urbanism is, I think, still valid, but we should realize that it became clear what the essential elements were only because new towns repeatedly had to be created, in different circumstances and by different people, with the possibility of temporal changes: the general model was developed through various local experiments. Importantly, ‘Roman’ layouts could only be created outside the city of Rome, in places where no existing city prohibited the creation of a new layout (see below on the exceptional case of Paestum).<sup>561</sup> This ties in with Ray Laurence’s recent discussion of ‘how these new settlements articulated an idea of urbanism *or helped to develop a*

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<sup>558</sup> Salmon 1969, 18-22; Stambaugh 1988, 247-248; Gargola 1995, 75-82.

<sup>559</sup> Coles 2009, 21.

<sup>560</sup> Quilici and Quilici Gigli 1988. More recent research has nuanced the general overview of 1988 somewhat; see Quilici and Quilici Gigli 2000; Carfora et al. 2008.

<sup>561</sup> Cf. Sewell 2010, 10; see also Ziolkowski 1992, 305 on the discontinuity in decision making in Rome as an important factor for the lack of grand-scale urban planning in Rome.



*coherent notion* of what was regarded as a Roman city'.<sup>562</sup> Such an approach leaves more room for local solutions in the colonies that added to the development of what we now recognize as a Roman town.

The analysis here will focus on the few colonies for which we have enough information on the urban layout.<sup>563</sup> It begins with a brief description of Fregellae, for which only limited information is available, and then discusses the cases of Alba Fucens, Paestum, and - most elaborately - Cosa.<sup>564</sup> In all cases, there is evidence for interventions in the urban plan soon after the foundation of the colony. At the same time, each of these towns also shows the influence of local realities and developments: the 'Roman' reality in these colonies was not only created with the foundation, but it also integrated pre-existing structures, and it could be adapted in later periods.

In Fregellae, two layouts with different orientations have been recognized in the settlement area.<sup>565</sup> Part of an orthogonal grid has been excavated in the centre of the town around the forum, and this is probably the oldest layout created in the early years of the colony, based on the dates of the buildings that are located around the forum.<sup>566</sup> Some other streets in town do not fit in this orthogonal grid, however. One street in the centre, dated by a coin find to a period in the late third or early second century, does not follow the orientation of the orthogonal grid.<sup>567</sup> In the northeastern part of the walled area, moreover, a second layout has been identified, with three streets and one

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<sup>562</sup> Laurence et al. 2011, 37-39, focusing on the period between the late third and the first centuries BC (emphasis added).

<sup>563</sup> Only few colonies have been investigated well enough to analyse the developments in urban planning in some detail. See Lackner 2008, who has brought together information on the urban plans of both Latin and Roman colonies in an admirable way, providing uniform plans of all of these colonies (pp. 331-383): this overview shows quite clearly that the suggested urban plans are often rather hypothetical: some traces of internal streets are extrapolated to an orthogonal plan, and a date for the creation of these streets is often lacking.

<sup>564</sup> For Cosa, I will discuss the recent suggestion of changes in the location of the forum in some detail (Sewell 2005; see below). These sites are all discussed in detail by Lackner 2008, respectively on pp. 95-98 (Fregellae); pp. 20-26 (Alba Fucens); pp. 139-144 (Paestum) and pp. 80-86 (Cosa). While in her discussion of the individual sites, Lackner certainly shows sensitivity for chronological developments in the infill of the settlement, such developments are easily overlooked in the plans presented on pp. 331-383. See Termeer 2010b for further comments.

<sup>565</sup> Crawford 1984; Crawford 1985b, 113; Crawford et al. 1985, 78; Crawford 1987a; Crawford 1987b.

<sup>566</sup> For the general developments, see Coarelli and Monti 1998, 55-64.

<sup>567</sup> Crawford 1985b, 113.

large structure following a different orientation from the central grid.<sup>568</sup> This probably means that the entire walled area was not filled and planned at the moment of foundation. While it is possible that the further infill is connected with the arrival of new colonists in the second century, it might also be connected to other moments of population growth in Fregellae, such as the immigration of Samnites and Paeligni in the early second century (see section 3.2.1).

In the case of Alba Fucens, the general layout of the central settlement most probably dates to the foundation of the colony, as both the comitium and the Hercules sanctuary fit into the grid.<sup>569</sup> The forum was planned as an open space from the start: recent test trenches in the eastern part of the forum have not yielded any structural remains.<sup>570</sup> Although the earlier excavations on the forum by a Belgian team have not been published completely, we do know that some early material including black gloss pottery from the *Atelier des Petites Estampilles* and a coin from Canosa dated to ca. 300 BC was found in a levelling layer on the forum.<sup>571</sup> As we have seen above, the comitium was built on the short side of the forum at some point in the third century. In general, therefore, we can conclude that the rather large intramural area of Alba Fucens was organized in plots soon after the foundation of the colony. This general layout was maintained in later periods, although quite naturally, changes were made to plot-divisions and the usage of several plots.<sup>572</sup> It is interesting, however, that the placement of the sanctuary of Hercules possibly continues an older cult place in the same position (see appendix 7): perhaps this older cult place was integrated in the urban layout. As we will see in more detail below, the existence of a sanctuary in such a central position in the settlement was not standard in this period, and may be regarded as a result of the specific local circumstances in Alba.

While for Alba Fucens we observe some of the influence of earlier local realities on the subsequent urban planning of the colony, this is much more evident in the evidence from Paestum. Added to an existing town, the colony of

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<sup>568</sup> Crawford 1985b, 113-114; Crawford 1987a, 76-77; Crawford 1987b, 301.

<sup>569</sup> Lackner 2008, 21, with further references.

<sup>570</sup> Excavation by a team from the University of Foggia (D. Liberatore, pers. comm. 14 May 2010).

<sup>571</sup> Mertens 1988, 94.

<sup>572</sup> See Sommella and Migliorati 1988, 48-49.

Paestum had to find ways to deal with the existing settlement. We have already seen signs of continued use and restructuring of the town walls above. The solution for the layout of the settlement was equally practical: the urban plan of Paestum is based on the Greek grid, created already in the sixth century.<sup>573</sup> This has raised the question of where the incoming settlers lived, and whether there was a spatial divide between the settlers and the indigenous population. The traditional suggestion was that the part of the town east of the modern road SS 18 was a Roman addition,<sup>574</sup> allowing for the hypothesis that the settlers lived in the new, eastern part of town, while the western part would have continued to be inhabited by the indigenous population. Recently, however, it has been established that the eastern part was already included in the Greek town, so the hypothesis of a 'Roman addition' has been invalidated.<sup>575</sup> The only direct evidence we have for third century habitation are (some of) the houses directly to the west of the agora / forum,<sup>576</sup> and the most probable solution seems that the population was not physically divided.

However, the foundation of the colony was accompanied by several interventions in the urban tissue that illustrate which elements were of prime interest during the foundational period. It is interesting, in this respect, that most of the interventions in Paestum took place in the sacred realm: existing sanctuaries were adapted and new ones were built, as will be further examined in section 3.5.1. In addition, the most dramatic change to the urban plan was the creation of the forum in the southern part of the Greek agora. The rest of the agora was perhaps only frequented occasionally after the creation of the forum, and at any rate, it was not the centre of civic life anymore.<sup>577</sup> This function was clearly taken over by the forum, as can be gathered from the

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<sup>573</sup> See Lackner 2008, 140, with further references in n. 20. More recently, also De Bonis 2010, 267. See, recently, Gualtieri 2013, 383 for elements of continuity and change in Paestum's urban layout.

<sup>574</sup> Greco 1988, 82; Greco and Theodorescu 1990, 91; the agora and large sanctuaries would then have been located at the eastern limits of the town in the Greek phase, as is the case in Metapontum.

<sup>575</sup> Cipriani and Santoriello 2012, 34.

<sup>576</sup> See note 515 above. For the houses of Paestum: Bragantini et al. 2008; De Bonis 2008; Robert et al. 2010.

<sup>577</sup> Greco and Theodorescu 1983, 84 note that in the southwestern part of the agora, concretions of rock had formed on top of the fourth and third century remains - most probably due to stagnant water - only to be covered again by structures from the imperial period. Crawford 2006, 65 points out however, that the eastern edge of the agora was certainly used, and the demolition of the *ekklesiasterion* took place only around 200.

construction of the comitium and curia, the stoas and shops surrounding the square, and the presence of the inscriptions of the quaestores we have seen in section 3.3.1.<sup>578</sup> The model of a rectangular forum was clearly important in Paestum.

Cosa presents us with a very different case. The colony was practically founded *ex novo*, which means that no pre-existing structures were incorporated into the settlement. We have seen that the defensive walls are dated to the early years of the colony. However, work must have continued for quite some time: Frank Brown describes it as a ‘continuous process of construction (...) in the middle decades of the third century B.C.’.<sup>579</sup> The layout of the settlement is also generally dated to the early years of the colony, but the actual settlement was slow to develop: few third century traces of habitation have been found inside the town and the earliest houses date to the early second century.<sup>580</sup> While it is possible, of course, that building plots were laid out already in the third century, only to be filled in in the course of the second century, we should wonder about the implications for the third century urban reality. To what extent is the lack of (archaeologically traceable) habitation in the walled area in the third century a coincidence - often explained by the ‘bad circumstances’ of the third century - as opposed to the way it was meant to be? Recently, Laurence has used the case of Cosa, in combination with the written account of the refoundation of Narnia in 199, as an example to sustain his claim that ‘into the second century many colonies were lacking features that we would associate with Roman urbanism - most notably, monumental development and the ability to sustain a population’.<sup>581</sup> While I disagree with his extrapolation from Cosa and Narnia to ‘many colonies’,<sup>582</sup> it is important to

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<sup>578</sup> I am rather surprised to see Ray Laurence describe Paestum - together with Cosa - as ‘a town that failed’, based on Strabo’s description of the town as ridden with pestilence (Laurence et al. 2011, 41-42 with Strabo 5.4.13). Not only does this ignore the evidence of the physical settlement for housing (stronger for the second than for the third century BC), continued intensive use of the sanctuaries and monumental building, it also disregards Paestum’s continued coinage production in the second and first centuries, interpreted by Michael Crawford as munificial issues of the town’s elite (Crawford 1973, 50-56).

<sup>579</sup> Brown and Lawrence 1951, 57.

<sup>580</sup> See Lackner 2008, 81 on ‘das sicherlich gleichfalls zu Beginn konzipierte innerstädtische Straßensystem’; based on Brown 1980, 42; Brown et al. 1993, 120. On the lack of third century habitation: Fentress and Bodel 2003, 14.

<sup>581</sup> Laurence et al. 2011, 41.

<sup>582</sup> See note 578 above for criticisms of this view regarding Paestum.

recognize the possibility that, at least in the case of Cosa, the early colonial settlement was not immediately meant to accommodate many inhabitants in an urban environment.

While the architectural infill of the central settlement took place only gradually, it remains highly plausible that the general layout was designed in the early years of the colony. Recently, Jamie Sewell has convincingly suggested that the original planning of the layout of Cosa was different from the actual archaeological state, especially with regard to the location and size of the forum. Sewell reconstructs an original plan in which the forum was larger and located slightly more to the west on one of the main axes of the town (street 5) (figure 3.5). The forum as it has been found in excavations was executed on a smaller scale, slightly further to the east (figure 3.4).<sup>583</sup> If we must allow time for the original planning to have been adapted, an early date of the original layout is necessary, even if it was probably never fully executed (see below). It is important to realize here that precisely *because* the infill was only slow, the possibility was created to make local adaptations to the original layout. Even without pre-colonial structures already in place, the local population, presumably mainly made up of settlers, apparently had reasons to diverge from the original planning laid out at the moment of foundation.

The question as to when and why this happened is obviously important in order to understand which influences were important for the local development of the colony. Sewell places the change without much hesitation in the early second century, when it can be related to a renewed impact of Rome: a new wave of settlers arrived in 197, and the construction of the temples on the *arx* and the construction of the atrium houses on the forum can be dated to the same period.<sup>584</sup> He tentatively relates this to the changed circumstances of the early second century, when Cosa, no longer a military outpost, had to reinvent itself as a node in trade networks between its hinterland and the Mediterranean. The moving of the forum, then ‘could be interpreted as a[n] compensatory attempt to bring it physically closer to the routes through which

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<sup>583</sup> Sewell 2005.

<sup>584</sup> Sewell 2005, 102: ‘[i]n terms of when the change could have taken place, there is only one historical period of the colony which provides sufficient evidence upon which a discussion can be based (...)’

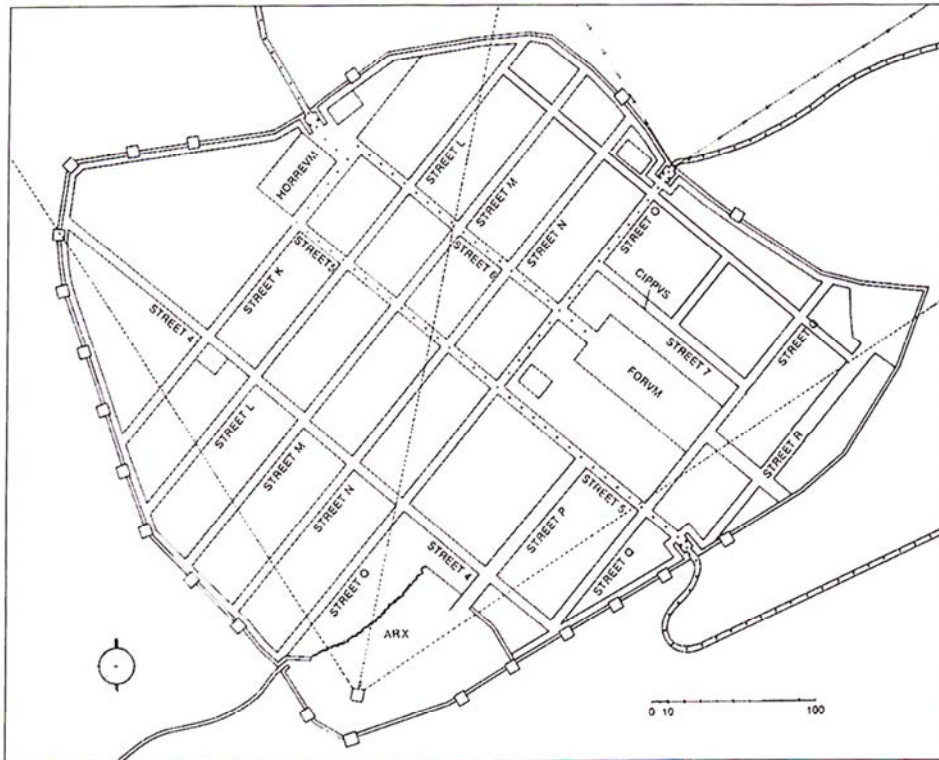


Figure 3.4. Cosa. Urban town plan

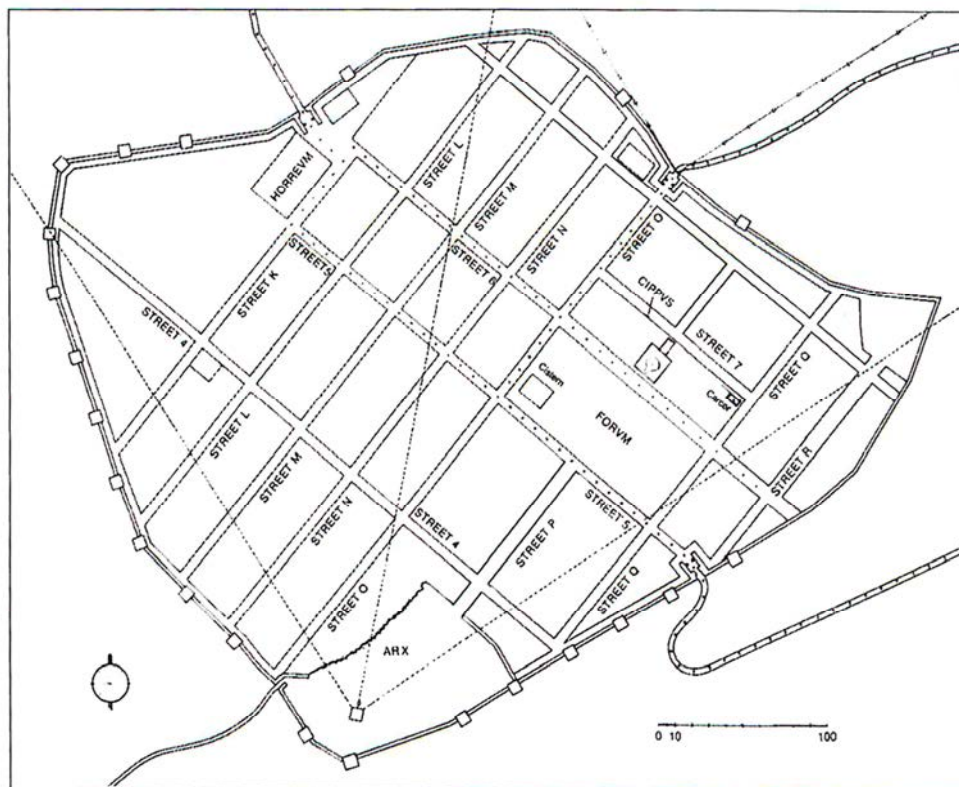


Figure 3.5. Cosa. Hypothetical original town plan as suggested by Jamie Sewell

its lifeblood was flowing'.<sup>585</sup> In addition, he suggests that the arrival of the new colonists changed the political landscape in Cosa and created the need for more domestic space.<sup>586</sup> As explicitly discussed by Sewell, this proposal has some major repercussions for the date of the structures on the forum: in particular the date of the curia-comitium complex. While the original excavators date the complex in the period between 273 and 241, Sewell is now forced to date it to the early second century. He rightly argues that the early date proposed by the excavators is based on thin archaeological grounds, but he is still hesitant to date the first construction of the complex only to the second century, especially in view of the established early date of a similar complex in Paestum. A logical deduction - but one which Sewell is hesitant to suggest ('the author must stop short of stating that this actually took place') - would be that the complete curia-comitium complex was moved.<sup>587</sup>

While I think Sewell's arguments for the existence of a different original layout are compelling, I am less convinced by his dating of the shift, not in the least because of the problems with the date of the curia-comitium complex. Also, the moving of the forum ca. 50 meters within the settlement in order to be closer to the main routes located outside the settlement in the lower plain does not appear to be the most practical way of adapting to an intensified trade network. Sewell does not consider other possible dates, convinced as he is that the early second century is the only period when this change could have taken place. I would suggest that a date briefly after the conclusion of the First Punic War for the execution of the forum (and the curia-comitium complex) is more compatible with the actual archaeological evidence than the early second century date proposed by Sewell, and it can be explained in the historical context as well. I will first discuss the archaeological evidence in more detail, and then conclude with my proposed sequence of events against a broader historical background.

The original date of the curia-comitium complex is based on its structural relationship to a smaller structure to the southeast, which was built later than the curia-comitium complex.<sup>588</sup> The use of this smaller structure was only

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<sup>585</sup> Sewell 2005, 107.

<sup>586</sup> Sewell 2005, 103.

<sup>587</sup> Sewell 2005, 110.

<sup>588</sup> Brown et al. 1993, 26.

short-lived, and its abandonment is dated on the basis of pottery and twelve coins to c. 220; so the curia-comitium complex must have been built earlier.<sup>589</sup> Sewell rightly points out that the date range of the coins, between 340 and 222, only provides a *terminus post quem* for the abandonment of the structure.<sup>590</sup> At the same time, however, if the building was used much longer, it would be surprising not to have any Second Punic War coinage, especially in view of the fact that third century coinage in Cosa is rare; only after the sextantal reduction during the Second Punic War do coins begin to appear more regularly.<sup>591</sup> It does seem, therefore, that this small structure went out of use before or in the early period of the Second Punic War. Consequently, the construction of the curia-comitium complex also should be placed before this date. While this still leaves open the original date between 273 and 241 proposed by Brown, we do need time in which the original lay-out was deserted in favour of the adapted location of the forum. A date late in the First Punic War or slightly after seems most appropriate.<sup>592</sup> The forum, then, would still be among the first structures created in town, and was only later, in the early second century, followed by the atrium houses and the main temples.

These considerations lead me to suggest the following sequence of events. At the moment of foundation, land surveyors must have laid out the general plan of the town, demarcating several land plots for different functions. In the first years of the colony, however, attention focused on the construction of the defensive walls, which is a logical first concern. As we have seen, construction of the defensive walls seems to have continued for quite a while in the central decades of the third century. We should remember that only nine years after the foundation of the colony, the First Punic War started, and part of the Cosan population was most probably involved in fighting.<sup>593</sup> It is easy to imagine that only after the conclusion of the war was there the available time and manpower to construct the forum and the main buildings surrounding it. If

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<sup>589</sup> Brown et al. 1993, 37-38; for the brief period of use of the room, see Buttrey 1980, 32.

<sup>590</sup> Sewell 2005, 109.

<sup>591</sup> For this pattern in the coins finds in Cosa: Buttrey 1980, 32 and Buttrey 2003, 250.

<sup>592</sup> A date after the First Punic War would still allow the argument made by Sewell that the movement of the forum can be partly explained as a reaction to the construction of the Via Aurelia in 241.

<sup>593</sup> See Torelli 2011 for a recent discussion of Cosa's contribution to the Roman fleet in the First Punic War.



the curia-comitium complex was only constructed for the first time after the conclusion of the First Punic War, the unlikely scenario of moving the entire complex can be abandoned.

The question remains, then, why the eventual execution of the forum diverged from the original planning. The only clear result of the new layout is the creation of more room for other purposes in the area to the west of the forum. As we have seen, Sewell suggests that this may have been reserved for new (elite) houses. More plausible, perhaps, is that space was needed for (or perhaps already taken by) additional cisterns, which were built to the west of the forum.<sup>594</sup> Water supply must have been regarded of central importance, perhaps even more so during or briefly after the First Punic War, and to have the cisterns in a favourable position (a flat, low-lying area) may have been enough reason to move the forum, as they would disrupt the originally planned square too much.<sup>595</sup>

These examples clearly indicate the variety in local circumstances, both natural and cultural, encountered by the colonists, and the ways these circumstances were negotiated. While the similarities between colonies show that there was a general model on which the triumvirs could draw, this was applied creatively, depending on local circumstances. In Alba Fucens and Paestum, we have seen that when important structures were already in place, be they streets or sanctuaries, they were mostly incorporated in the urban designs of the colonies. In Cosa, it seems that local developments in the colony itself caused changes to original layout as planned at the moment of foundation, and it is important to realize that this was partly made possible because of the slow infill of the central settlement. The case of the defensive walls in polygonal masonry suggests that such local use of a general model could also lead to changes in the ways in which the model was perceived. In this way, what happened in the colonies contributed to more general developments of cultural change.

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<sup>594</sup> See Brown et al. 1993, 11-13; Sewell 2005, 97-98.

<sup>595</sup> See Brown et al. 1993, 9 on the low, flat area of the forum.

### 3.5 Sanctuaries

In addition to the remains of defensive walls, the best evidence we have for early physical interventions within the central settlements of the colonies is often related to sanctuaries. In some of the colonies founded before 338, sanctuaries predate the first urban layout and perhaps even the construction of the defensive walls.<sup>596</sup> In general, the relatively rich record of early temples and sanctuaries in the colonies (see below) stands in sharp contrast to the paucity of domestic architecture. Sanctuaries must have been of central importance to the creation of the new settlements and the new communities of the colonies, both physically and socially.<sup>597</sup>

These sanctuaries, therefore, are an important source of information about the various influences that shaped the colonial settlements and their communities. Because of the difficulties with assessing the role of the colonists *outside* the central settlement (see section 3.4.2), in this section the focus will be on sanctuaries in the central settlements.<sup>598</sup> These sanctuaries shaped the sacred landscape in the colony because of the cults they hosted and as physical structures: these cult places were often central monumental buildings in the settlement. Both the cultic and the spatial impact will be analysed in this section. The analysis of the cultic aspect will be limited to an investigation of the deities that were venerated in the colonies. I will examine the dynamics that shaped the 'cultic landscape' in the colonies, asking whether the colonists introduced new cults (and which?), and whether existing cults in the local environment continued. The analysis of the spatial impact will focus on the location of sanctuaries in the urban layout.<sup>599</sup> This spatial aspect allows us to investigate the impact of the colonial foundation on the 'sacred landscape' of the settlement, and the ways pre-existing sanctuaries were dealt with.

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<sup>596</sup> See Termeer 2010a, 47-48.

<sup>597</sup> Cf. Bispham 2006, 93; more generally Kaizer et al. 2013b, 1. The idea is also clearly present in Coles 2009, ch. 4 ('Religious Landscape and Community Building'). I illustrate this in detail for the colonies of Norba and Paestum in Termeer forthcoming-b.

<sup>598</sup> See Stek 2009, ch. 7 (especially 7.4 and 7.5) for a discussion of cult places outside the central settlements of colonies (in particular Hadria and Alba Fucens), and related difficulties in interpretation in relation to the colony. For some colonies, this means that well-known and important sanctuaries will not be included in the analysis below: e.g. the Asklepieion of Fregellae and the sanctuary at Santa Venera in Paestum.

<sup>599</sup> Cf. the various contributions in Kaizer et al. 2013a.

In this context, we should realize that cults can be related to the civic community,<sup>600</sup> but also to family groups or private groups,<sup>601</sup> and it is important, therefore, to pose the question of who was responsible for the construction and management of the sanctuaries examined in this section.<sup>602</sup> In this context, it is relevant to note that the available (epigraphic) evidence for the construction of sanctuaries and temples in the colonies indicates that they are mostly public projects.<sup>603</sup> However, this evidence mostly dates to a later period than the sanctuaries here under study. As we do not have any alternative sources, our best guess is that interventions in the major sanctuaries of the colonies - which I will refer to as 'the religious framework' - were initiated by the colonial administration, or at least by members of the colonial elites.<sup>604</sup> At any rate, the central position of these sanctuaries in the colonial settlements implies that they had a major effect on the community as a whole. Of course, this does not mean that the colonial administration controlled every aspect of religion (see chapter 5 for individual cult activities), but I do start from the assumption they were mainly responsible for shaping the religious framework in the colonies.<sup>605</sup>

Both the cultic and the spatial aspect have received ample attention in scholarly research.<sup>606</sup> For the cults, it has been noted that there is diversity between colonies, which means that Rome does not appear to have imposed one religious model. Spatially, however, the idea that Rome functioned as a model remains popular. In section 3.5.1, I will investigate both of these aspects in more detail, focusing on the influences that were important at a local level. I will further qualify the noted diversity in cults by examining which agents and connections contributed to their creation. In addition, I will argue that rules for

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<sup>600</sup> Bendlin 1997, Woolf 1997, Scheid 2005, 125-128.

<sup>601</sup> Scheid 1997, 54.

<sup>602</sup> Cf. Rous 2010, 24-27.

<sup>603</sup> Bertrand 2012.

<sup>604</sup> Cf. Scheid 1997, 55. Even if some sanctuaries were constructed through the initiative of (powerful) individuals in the community, this can still be regarded as constructive of community, in the sense that the construction of these sanctuaries impacted on public space, affecting the community in that way.

<sup>605</sup> Cf. Bendlin 1997, 48.

<sup>606</sup> The work of Mario Torelli is fundamental in this respect: see Torelli 1987=Torelli 1999c, Torelli 1988=Torelli 1999b and his other articles in Torelli 1999a. Other important contributions include Bispham 2006; Lackner 2008, Coles 2009 (chapters 4 and 5). Carini 2009 and Boos 2011 focus on Roman colonies. Andrea Carini is now also studying the Latin colonies in his PhD thesis, supervised by Mario Torelli. See also Termeer forthcoming-b.

the physical placement of the sanctuaries were partly developed in the colonies. An important question is, of course, how different influences from external and pre-existing realities were accommodated at a local level. In section 3.5.2, I will briefly discuss two important examples of pre-existing sanctuaries that were adapted and accommodated in a colonial context.

### 3.5.1 Shaping the sacred landscape

In simple terms, we can recognize two main influences in the sacred landscapes of the colonies. First, the arrival of colonists from Rome and Latium could lead to the introduction of new cults and the installation of related cult places. Second, pre-colonial cult places could continue to be used and visited after the foundation of the colony. In this section, I examine the relative importance of these two influences on local realities in the colonies, and the ways in which they were constituted.

As has been widely recognized, pre-existing cults often have an important place in the Latin colonies, causing a rather high level of diversity between the sacred landscapes of different colonies.<sup>607</sup> When a colony was sent out to an existing settlement, apparently, the colonists only rarely felt the need to terminate pre-existing cult places.<sup>608</sup> While the colonists therefore often adopted pre-existing cult places, these probably continued to be used by the indigenous population as well.<sup>609</sup> At the same time, in several instances this continuity of local cult places goes hand in hand with the introduction of new cults, and in colonies founded *ex novo*, an entire sacred landscape had to be shaped. These new cults may reflect the interests and concerns of the colonists, and if a standard colonial cult existed, we would expect to recognize it here. In the current state of knowledge about sanctuaries in the Latin colonies before the Second Punic War, however, no such standard colonial cult can be

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<sup>607</sup> See the various articles in Torelli 1999a, specifically Torelli 1999b, 42 on the pliability of colonial cults; Bispham 2006, 94; Coles 2009, chs. 4 and 5; Stek 2009, 21-28; Sewell 2010, 80. For the important role of Torelli for this research, and some of the problems in his approach, see Bispham 2006, 79-80.

<sup>608</sup> On the possible exception of the heroon in Paestum, see below.

<sup>609</sup> Cf. Coles 2009, 145 and 153-154 on sanctuaries as places of interaction between locals and colonists.

recognized (see appendix 4).<sup>610</sup> As is now widely recognized, there is no evidence that Latin colonies in the period here under study were normally equipped with a Capitolium temple (i.e. a temple located on the *arx* of the settlement, dedicated to the Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva).<sup>611</sup>

In what follows, I am interested in how these different cult places shaped the colonial settlements. First, I investigate the noted diversity of cults in more detail: how important are local traditions and how important are newly introduced cults by the colonists? For the analysis in this chapter, only the sanctuaries and cults listed in appendix 4 will be considered (the conditions for inclusion are given in the appendix).<sup>612</sup> The list is rather restrictive, because many cults that are only attested in later evidence (mostly epigraphic) are left out. As stressed by Amanda Coles in her PhD thesis, cults may have been introduced late, so it is dangerous to suppose that cults attested in later periods go back to the foundation of the colony.<sup>613</sup>

The overview in appendix 4 confirms the existing image of diversity in the cultic spectrum of the colonies. This image is based mainly on those colonies whose cults have been studied in quite some detail: Paestum, Cosa, Alba Fucens and Fregellae.<sup>614</sup> In addition, the image of diversity is confirmed by some of the colonies founded before 338 in Latium about which we are quite

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<sup>610</sup> Bispham 2006, 113-117 does recognize some deities that recur in the colonies, such as Hercules, Apollo and Diana. Note, however, that the material on which this is based is mainly votive material, and as such difficult to link to the 'religious framework' as defined above. This is also apparent from Bispham's discussion, which focuses on the different roles these deities may have played in different contexts. The presence of Hercules will be further discussed in ch. 5.

<sup>611</sup> See already Torelli 1990, 47; more elaborately Bispham 2006, 92-122; Lackner 2008, 248-250. See recently, also for later periods and the provinces, Crawley Quinn and Wilson 2013. The identification of temples as a Capitolium has often been based exclusively on the idea of the colony as *simulacra Romae*.

<sup>612</sup> The basic information in this table is drawn from Lackner 2008; additional information can be found in the last column of the table.

<sup>613</sup> Coles 2009, ch. 4 gives a diachronic view of the cults introduced in Fregellae, Paestum and Sora; see e.g. p. 162 on the possibility that the cult of Concordia, associated with the forum temple in Fregellae, was only introduced in the second century.

<sup>614</sup> On Paestum: Torelli 1999c, 52-79; Crawford 2006; Coles 2009, 170-182; Termeer forthcoming-b. On Cosa: Torelli 1999b, 39-41; Bispham 2006, 95-105. On Alba Fucens: Torelli 1999b, 32-39; Bispham 2006, 105-108. On Fregellae: Coarelli and Monti 1998, 60 (attribution of forum temple to Concordia) and 61-62; Coles 2009, 156-169. While the cults of Sora (Coles 2009, 182-190) and Ariminum (Bispham 2006, 108-110) have been studied in quite some detail, no cults belonging to the religious framework can be identified in the early period here under study.

well informed, notably Signia and Norba.<sup>615</sup> The cults listed in the appendix can help to establish whether this diversity is mainly caused by the continuity in local cults, or whether the range of newly introduced cults is just as varied. By investigating this, we can qualify the various influences that were important at a local level, and the ways in which they were constituted.

First of all, pre-colonial cult places were an important influence at Ardea, Luceria, Sora, Alba Fucens, Paestum and Spoletium (see appendix 4). It is important to stress that all these examples show active interventions in the architecture of existing sanctuaries after the foundation of the colony, and can thus be seen as part of the 'religious framework'; these examples do not include cult places where continuity is only attested through votive material, which could be explained by people continuing to visit the same cult places without any formal (colonial) intervention. It is also important to acknowledge, however, that some pre-colonial sanctuaries *did not* continue after the foundation of the colony, although it is not always clear whether the colonial foundation formed the real breaking point.<sup>616</sup> This shows that continuity was not an automatism, and was often actively manipulated.

While differences between colonies can partly be explained by the continuation of these different pre-colonial cults, this is not the complete story. The variety is also a consequence of different ways in which the settlers influenced local realities. The information gathered in appendix 4 allows us to observe that the spectrum of cults that were only introduced after the colonial foundation is just as varied as the spectrum as a whole. When we concentrate on the cults that were introduced with or after the foundation of the colony, we can draw up the following list of cults that are relatively certainly established after the foundation: Juno Moneta (Signia), Diana (Norba), Juno Lucina (Norba), Concordia? (Fregellae), Mater Matuta? (Paestum), Fortuna Virilis / Venus Verticordia? (Paestum).<sup>617</sup> It may be clear that no standard can be recognized here, which implies that these decisions were dependent on local or perhaps even factional considerations. For Paestum, Mario Torelli has

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<sup>615</sup> See Termeer forthcoming-b for the case of Norba.

<sup>616</sup> In Cales, for example, architectural terracottas of the temple dated to the fourth century or earlier were found near the theatre, but it is unclear whether this temple continued after the fourth century. In *località* San Pietro, votive material and architectural terracottas of the sixth and fifth centuries were found. See Johannowsky 1961, 263 and Femiano 1988, 45.

<sup>617</sup> Note that these are all female deities, mostly associated with fertility and prosperity.

convincingly argued for a markedly plebeian imprint on the cultic landscape.<sup>618</sup> As he stresses, this may have been a specific feature of Paestum, and we can imagine that other cults were introduced in other colonies because a different politico-religious framework was desired.<sup>619</sup> While it is clear that the introduced cults are often derived from Rome and can have specific Roman connotations, we can now conclude that this connection to Rome was made locally, probably through decisions by either the triumvirs or local magistrates.

In addition to the cults, a second element that deserves consideration is the placement of sanctuaries in the settlement, in relation to the entire urban layout. Again, this is a topic which has received ample previous scholarly attention, especially because the ‘ritual topography’ of the colonies has proven to be fertile ground for the idea of the colonies as miniature Romes. The distribution of cults on the hills of Rome, or more generally the religious connotations of these hills (e.g. the plebeian character of the cults on the Aventine) is thought to have been replicated in the colonies.<sup>620</sup> A central element here is the identification of the *arx*: the hill that was home to the main civic cult and the place from where the urban layout is supposed to have been organized.<sup>621</sup> This approach has been used to ascribe certain cults to sanctuaries, based on their location. The risk of circular reasoning is apparent: the identification of the cults practiced at the sanctuaries in the colonies is often based on the assumption that the religious topography in the colonies would mirror that of Rome, rather than other material giving information on the cult, that would thus (dis)prove this assumption.<sup>622</sup> The approach is

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<sup>618</sup> Torelli 1999c, specifically p. 78.

<sup>619</sup> Coarelli, in Coarelli and Monti 1998, 58, seems to imply that this plebeian outlook may be a general feature of the Latin colonies. While his case for Ariminum is attractive, one other possibly ‘plebeian’ colony to me does not indicate a general rule. The identification and date of a statue of Marsyas at Alba Fucens remain hypothetical (Liberatore 1995).

<sup>620</sup> In general, see Torelli 1990, specifically pp. 43 and 51. Note that he stresses that the image of Rome that was copied in the colonies may have varied between different colonies and different groups within the colony. This parallelism is most intensively sought for Paestum and Norba. On Paestum, see especially Torelli 1999c (= Torelli 1987), see also Torelli 1999f, 47; on Norba, see Gros and Torelli 2007 [1988], 134; Coarelli 1995, 179-180; Coarelli and Monti 1998, 58-59; Coarelli 2000, 287-288. The applicability of this line of thought to Norba is cast into doubt by Quilici Gigli et al. 2003, 322. See also Bispham 2006, 80.

<sup>621</sup> Torelli 1990, 46. Note, however, that the conceptualization and identification of the *arx* is quite problematic; see Lackner 2008, 245, n. 12, and below.

<sup>622</sup> Cf. Crawford 2006, n. 58.

problematic, therefore: it presupposes an *a priori* connection between Rome and the colonies, rather than investigating it.

In what follows, I will analyse the placement of sanctuaries in the colonies in more general terms: not to identify specific cults, but to identify spatial patterns that inform us about the influences and dynamics that shaped local realities in the colonies. Based on the information gathered in appendix 4, I suggest that shared practices between the colonies can be recognized, and that these may have contributed to the development of a new general model.

Again, some previous work on this subject has been done. Most importantly, in her work on fora in the Latin and Roman colonies, Eva-Maria Lackner sketches the development of sanctuaries on the forum in close interaction with sanctuaries located on high points or on the edge of the settlement, especially those on the *arx*.<sup>623</sup> Both locations are important in shaping the sacred landscape of the colonies, she argues: sanctuaries on the *arx* appear predominantly in the earlier Latin colonies, and can therefore be seen as an important formative element in the sacred landscape of most of the Latin colonies founded before the Second Punic War,<sup>624</sup> while a temple was also part of the ‘Grundausstattung’ of the forum.<sup>625</sup> Similar observations have been made by Jamie Sewell, who notes that the major urban sanctuaries of Latin colonies on hilltop sites were often situated on the heights at the extremities of the town.<sup>626</sup> He also recognizes the forum as an important location for sanctuaries in the colonies, although he does suggest that political architecture seems to have had first priority on Latin fora.<sup>627</sup>

Moving on to the analysis, information about the location of known sanctuaries in the colonies, dated before the Second Punic War, is included in appendix 4. Based on this overview, some observations can be made here that are partly complementary to the observations by Lackner and Sewell, but that also cast doubt on some of their claims. First of all, it is clear that in many colonies, we find temples on high, peripheral locations within the walled area,

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<sup>623</sup> Lackner 2008, 245-250.

<sup>624</sup> Lackner 2008, 246-247.

<sup>625</sup> Lackner 2008, 265.

<sup>626</sup> Sewell 2010, 18. He suggests that this practice is derived from a Greek example.

<sup>627</sup> Sewell 2010, 14 and 73.



as noted by Lackner and Sewell.<sup>628</sup> This is the case in Signia, Norba, Ardea, Cales, Luceria, Sora, Alba Fucens, Cosa and Spolegium. In most of these cases, the sanctuary only started after the foundation of the colony, and of course, we know the practice of placing important cults in high locations also from Rome: a connection can therefore be suggested. The cases of Luceria and Spolegium do call for some caution, however: in these two cases, the sanctuary on such a location was already in existence before the colonial foundation, and we may therefore be dealing with a more general cultural practice.

In the specific context of the colonies, the location of these sanctuaries on peripheral hills may be significant also in terms of settlement organization. As discussed in section 3.4.2, many colonists probably did not live inside the central settlement, and as I have suggested elsewhere, focusing on the early case of Norba, the location of the sanctuaries may be related to the establishment of a link between the urban centre and the surrounding countryside, especially in the case of the outward-looking temples of Norba and Ardea.<sup>629</sup> Especially in those cases where the central settlement is not densely inhabited, this means that the sanctuaries - together with the defensive walls - were probably important in creating its function as a central place.

Second, based on the information gathered in appendix 4, we may question the importance of the forum as a location for temples in the colonies in the period here under study. A temple on the forum has been attested in the period before the Second Punic War in Ardea, Fregellae, Sora, and Aesernia.<sup>630</sup> In Ardea, this temple already dates from before the colonial foundation. Moreover, we should note that the early date in the third century of the temples

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<sup>628</sup> I would be cautious, however, in identifying these high locations automatically as the *arx* of a settlement. Side-stepping the definitional problem by following Torelli's definition of the *arx* as the hill that was home to the main civic cult and the place from where the urban layout is supposed to have been organized (see above, with note 621), the question comes up how we can identify the main civic cult (cf. Boos 2011 on the difficulties with the concept of 'polyadic cult' in the Latin colonies). This problem is especially apparent when more than one peripheral hill is equipped with a sanctuary, as is the case in Norba (where since the 19<sup>th</sup> century it is customary to speak of an 'acropoli maggiore' and an 'acropoli minore') and Alba Fucens (where there is no trace of a sanctuary on the hill generally defined as the *arx*). Based on the available evidence, a special role of one of these hilltop sanctuaries is hard to establish, and we may rather conclude that we see a general preference for these high locations along the edges of the settlement as a location for the colonial sanctuaries.

<sup>629</sup> Termeer forthcoming-b.

<sup>630</sup> The temples mentioned by Lackner 2008, 265, n. 318 for Cosa, Paestum and Spolegium date after the Second Punic War.

in Sora and Aesernia has recently been cast into doubt - the date of both temples is mainly based on the profile of the temple podium, and based on associated material from Sora it has now been suggested that the profile dates to a later period than the third century.<sup>631</sup> While this remains to be verified, and a later date of the profile in itself does not exclude the possibility of a previous phase of these temples, it does create the possibility that these temples were later additions to the forum. In that case, the only case where a temple is built on the forum shortly after the colonial foundation is Fregellae.

Indeed, from other colonies we know that a temple was built on the forum only later during the colony's life. In Paestum and Cosa, it is clear that the known temples were only built in the second century, while the temple on the forum of Spoletium was only built in the first century A.D.<sup>632</sup> In Norba, destroyed in the first century B.C., it seems that no temple was ever built on the forum. The two temples in Paestum that were built soon after the foundation of the colony close to the forum (the so-called *tempio italico* and the *piscina*), are spatially not directly connected to the forum, and therefore do not seem to be functionally related.<sup>633</sup> Based on these observations, I propose that the standard of building a temple on the forum of the Latin colonies only developed during the third (and second) centuries, and was not a regular custom in the earlier period. In this case, therefore, no standard model was available, and a new model developed probably in interaction between the colonies (and presumably also with other towns of Italy).

This draws attention to the importance of local decisions in the development of what we now recognize as 'Roman urbanism'. The colonies in which a temple was built on the forum did not so much follow a 'standard' Roman example (whether physical or ideological), but actively contributed to the development of this practice. How exactly we should imagine the interaction between the colonies and other settlements in Italy in this process remains rather vague: we may imagine elements of competition and emulation

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<sup>631</sup> Tanzilli 2009, 43; Tanzilli 2012.

<sup>632</sup> See Morigi 2003, 75-83.

<sup>633</sup> See Termeer forthcoming-b. The *tempio italico* faces towards the South Sanctuary and I have suggested that it was an integral part of it (*contra* Torelli 1999c, 65, who suggests that the *tempio italico* had its own temenos, belonging *de iure* and *de facto* to the forum area); the *piscina* was blocked from the forum by a row of shops and its entrance was probably located to the north.

to have been important. Rome is important in this context mainly because it created the circumstances in which these cities interacted with each other. In this way, local developments contributed to the creation of more general models, in a context of heightened interconnectivity due to Roman expansion.

In conclusion, Rome certainly functioned as a 'source of inspiration' in shaping sacred landscapes in the colonies: some of the cults are directly derived from Rome, and the practice of locating sanctuaries in high locations in town, while perhaps too generic to be of real cultural importance, certainly evokes an important element of Rome's religious topography. These connections to Rome were made, however, through individual choices, and do not seem to have been designed according to a general model. The sacred landscape of the colonies was dynamic, and could witness the introduction of new cults and the construction of new sanctuaries in the period after the foundation and the first generation of colonists. In several colonies, only during this period was a temple built on the forum. Against this background, I propose that this practice came to be recognized as part of Roman urbanism, rather than being strongly connected to a Roman model from the start.

### **3.5.2 Dealing with the local past**

In the previous section, we have seen that pre-colonial sanctuaries often continued after the colonial foundation, and could be actively manipulated through new structural interventions. In general, such interventions can be interpreted as a way in which these existing sanctuaries were given new meaning, so that they became relevant to the new colonial community. Such a process was particularly relevant in those cases where cult places also functioned as *lieux de mémoire*, places linked to the (imagined) history of the community. When a colony was added to an existing settlement, such markers of the local past had to be dealt with. Continuity or discontinuity of these cult places is clearly meaningful, as it shows something of the manipulation of local histories in the creation of the new community - the way these traditions are adapted and accommodated in the context of the colony.

In this section, I will discuss two examples to illustrate this - the only two for which we are able to tease out at least some relevant information. At the Belvedere sanctuary in Luceria, a pre-colonial sanctuary that may have been related to a Greek foundation myth was continued after the foundation of

the colony. In Paestum, the treatment of the so-called heroon - perhaps the cenotaph of the mythical founder of the Greek colony - illustrates how the colonists dealt with this older foundation. Both examples are as problematic as they are well-known. I will mainly concentrate on what they may be able to tell us about the ways in which existing traditions were accommodated to find a place in the colony.

For the case of the Belvedere sanctuary, I draw on the work of Mario Torelli and Maria D'Ercole.<sup>634</sup> The sanctuary is mainly known for its rich deposit of votive gifts (see ch. 5). Based on the presence of architectural terracottas predating the foundation of the Latin colony, we know that before the Latin colony, a cult structure already existed on the Belvedere hill.<sup>635</sup> Among the finds were a life-size terracotta head of Athena - possibly the cult statue - and several smaller statuettes representing the goddess.<sup>636</sup> The presence of this cult in the late fourth and early third centuries is therefore clear. Now, it is tempting to identify this temple as the temple of Athena Ilias in Luceria, mentioned by Strabo.<sup>637</sup> Interestingly, Strabo also mentions that 'old votive offerings' in the temple of Luceria show the dominion of Diomedes in this area.<sup>638</sup> While this may of course be a later invention by Strabo, we do know that the connection between Diomedes and the general area of Daunia has a long tradition: it is already mentioned by the early Greek poets Mimnermus and Ibycus.<sup>639</sup> It may well be possible, therefore, that this 'Trojan link' already existed before the foundation of the Latin colony, and was continued after the colonial foundation.

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<sup>634</sup> Torelli 1999d; D'Ercole 1990a; D'Ercole 1990b.

<sup>635</sup> D'Ercole 1990a, 227; D'Ercole 1990b, 289.

<sup>636</sup> Torelli 1984, 331; D'Ercole 1990a, 227-228; D'Ercole 1990b, 292-293.

<sup>637</sup> Strabo 6.1.14; 6.3.9; the same temple is probably referred to in *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* 79, where it is claimed that the weapons of Diomedes' companions were dedicated here.

<sup>638</sup> Strabo 6.3.9: 'And as signs of the dominion of Diomedes in these regions are to be seen the Plain of Diomedes and many other things, among which are the old votive offerings in the temple of Athene at Luceria (...)' ('καὶ τὸ πεδῖον καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ δείκνυται τῆς Διομήδους ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις δυναστείας σημεῖα, ἐν μὲν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ τῆς ἐν Λουκερίᾳ παλαιὰ ἀναθήματα (...).')

<sup>639</sup> See Russi s.v. Diomede in the *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*. In both cases, a scholiast reports that these poets made this connection: for Mimnermus, a scholiast on Lycophron (see fr. 23 in Allen, A. 1993, *The fragments of Mimnermus. Text and commentary*. Stuttgart); for Ibycus, a scholiast on Pindar (see Loeb edition *Lyra Graeca*, fr. 43).

Mario Torelli takes the argument even further. He suggests that the temple can also be identified with a temple of Athena mentioned in Lycophron, built by the chiefs of the Daunians and the inhabitants of a Δάρδανον πόλιν in the same region.<sup>640</sup> According to Torelli, the reference to Troy here must be related to a Roman presence, and thus to the Latin colony of Luceria.<sup>641</sup> He argues that a local cult of Athena, related to Diomedes, would have been transformed into a Roman cult of Athena Ilias after the foundation of the colony, and that this adaptation entailed the removal of the figure of Diomedes.<sup>642</sup> While I think this last step is problematic, as all the sources that connect Diomedes to Luceria are late, the general image of Roman colonists tapping into existing myths that linked the region to Troy is suggestive. It reminds us of the possibility that even at this rather formal level, the colonists may have tried to find common ground between local traditions and their own imagined past.

The second example shows more concretely how the colonists negotiated between the past of the pre-colonial community and the construction of the new community. At Paestum, the Latin colony was added to a thriving town, originally founded as a Greek colony (probably of Sybaris). A monument in the shape of a cenotaph was located on the agora of the Greek colony.<sup>643</sup> Although no mythological founder of the town is known from the written sources, it is tempting to identify this structure as the heroon of the oikistes of Poseidonia; at any rate, it is safe to interpret the tomb-like structure in the middle of the political centre of the town as referring to some important figure(s) in the settlement's past. No important changes to this monument seem to have been executed in the 'Lucanian' period of the settlement. Briefly after the foundation of the Latin colony, however, some important modifications can be traced. As part of the reorganization of the urban centre, this part of the Greek agora was separated from the Roman forum and became largely destined for habitation (see above). In this process, the heroon was not demolished, but it was walled and covered with earth. The meanings may be multiple. Clearly, the heroon was no longer located in the political centre of the town, and it was removed from

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<sup>640</sup> Lycophron 1126-40.

<sup>641</sup> Torelli 1984, 331.

<sup>642</sup> Torelli 1999d, 96.

<sup>643</sup> See Greco & Theodorescu 1983, 25-33; 74-79; 139-145.

sight.<sup>644</sup> The message that a new order had arrived must have been clear to all. At the same time, an investment was made to preserve the heroon in the Latin colony in an area which was otherwise transformed to a habitation zone. It is hard to establish whether this was done out of respect for the sacred nature of the site in general, or as a gesture towards those still identifying with this past. Whichever of the two, this example shows that in shaping the new community, the local past had to be considered, and could be actively manipulated.

### 3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to clarify and qualify the various influences and local dynamics that were important in shaping local realities in the colonies. In order to understand the role of the colonies in processes of cultural change in Italy, it is important to know which groups were involved and which connections were important at a local level. These questions have been tackled with a focus on the results of conscious elite decisions. One way of conceptualizing the foundation of a colony is to see it as the result of a string of decisions, all informed by a variety of influences. I have investigated some of these, asking who the actors involved were, how they were influenced, and what effects their decisions had within and beyond the colonies. Rome was important, but not all decisive: in this conclusion I will further qualify the role of Rome and of other influences.

The first decision, to send out a colony, was taken in Rome. The appointment of the triumvirs was the result of a political process in Rome, and they were drawn from the Roman elite. The main body of settlers also derived from Rome and Latium; evidence for the inclusion of other allies is very thin. This Roman background of the triumvirs and settlers is the main vector of Roman influence in the colonies, rather than a master plan of what the colonies should look like. There are few signs that the triumvirs were sent off with a very specific design for the colony-to-be-founded, other than the task to create a functioning community that could perform strategic military functions. In doing so, they obviously drew on their Roman background. At least in Ariminum and Paestum the community was ritually protected by the sacrifice

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<sup>644</sup> Cf. Greco & Theodorescu 1983, 84, who claim that the new arrangement was ‘destinato a ridurne al minimo il connotato politico’.

of a dog, a ritual act connected with the construction of the defensive wall and the gates that most probably derived from Rome, even though it is not remembered in later accounts. In some other colonies, defensive walls were constructed in a building technique that had been developed and refined in Latium. In addition, the foundation of the colonies caused new models to be developed: recurring features in the colonial settlements, most clearly the long, rectangular forum, show that founders could draw on a general model that was not simply a physical copy of the situation in Rome. Elements of Roman urban planning were in development, triggered in part by the repeated task of (re)designing settlements.

The triumvirs were probably also responsible for the first design of the institutional organization of the colonies. Again, they drew on their Roman background, resulting in a spectrum of magistrates in the colonies that resembled that of Rome, but with variety between colonies. While Rome functioned as a general model, local adaptations could be made, also in the period after the foundation, when the local administration must have been responsible for this. As a result, the institutional organization of the colonies was not completely static, and when Rome did not provide an example, local solutions were found.

In religious spheres, we similarly see that connections to Rome were mainly made on an *ad hoc* level, and through local initiatives. The introduction of Roman cults should be understood as the result of choices made locally, either by the triumvirs or by colonial magistrates. The choice for specific cults probably depended on the specific concerns of an individual or the community. Such local initiative is probably also the context in which we should understand the *vicus Esquilinus* in Cales. Either the local administration or the inhabitants themselves created an evocation of Rome in the colony.

Not all the new elements that were created after the foundation of the colony result from this connection to Rome, however. The local environment continued to be an important influence as well. Especially for practical interventions, that may have had a less pronounced ideological connotation, local knowledge and practices were used. An important example are the local measurement systems that were used for land divisions that probably date to the colonial period. Most colonies also seem to have drawn on local traditions for the construction of their defensive walls. While in these cases, local

traditions or practices were actively adopted by the colonial administration, the local environment was also important in more passive ways. The settlers had to deal with very different realities on the ground, and these formed an important influence on local realities. The indigenous population mostly kept living in and/or around the central settlement of the colony. However, this was not the result of a standard procedure, but happened through decisions that were adapted to local circumstances, as is shown by the case of Cosa, where a different decision was made, to move, expel or even terminate (part of) the indigenous population.

In most cases, the decision was made to use and/or appropriate local elements, rather than to suppress them. This becomes clear mostly from the continuation of pre-colonial sanctuaries. Again, continuity can be understood in part as the result of practical decisions: the destruction of existing cult places would probably have created problems with the indigenous population. It is likely that religious considerations were important as well: it was wise not to antagonize the local gods, but to integrate them into the colony. As a result, these local cults had to be given a place in the new local environment. In the case of Luceria, we have seen an example of the way in which such local traditions were moulded into something that various members of the colonial community could identify with.

In addition to these influences of Rome and of pre-colonial realities, three other dynamics are important. First, non-Roman external influences could reach the colonies, as we have seen from the influence of the architectural model of the Greek *ekklesiasterion* on the *comitium* complexes. I have argued that this model was not necessarily first implemented in Rome, but may have become important in a context in which new political structures had to be built repeatedly in the colonies. The colonies were part of a wider interconnected world, in which contacts with the Greek world affected decisions taken by the colonial triumvirs or the colonial administration. Importantly, however, Rome remains important here as the most probable place where interaction between different agents responsible for the construction of these complexes in the colonies would have taken place.

Second, different influences could be locally adapted and accommodated in the colonies, and new developments could take place at a local level. We have seen, for example, that the new responsibility of producing coinage was



entrusted to different magistrates in different colonies, which shows that local solutions were developed. The adaptations of the urban plan of Cosa, which I have proposed to have taken place in the late third century, similarly show the significance of local interventions for the way in which the colony was shaped. The accommodation of the cult of Athena Ilias in Luceria is also an example of local accommodation of an influence that came from the local environment.

A third important dynamic is that local developments in the colonies contributed to the creation of models that came to be recognized as Roman. I have suggested that walls in polygonal masonry only came to be perceived as specifically Latin when they were erected outside Latium, in foreign contexts. More practically, a new architectural model was probably developed for the colonies in the case of the *comitia* structures. And again, the practice of placing a temple on the forum was a late development in most of the colonies. It seems, therefore, that this was not part of an existing Roman model, but the colonies contributed to its development.

In conclusion, then, the colonies were dynamic communities, where even institutions and the urban layout were not completely fixed. Several connections and local dynamics were important in the creation of local realities. Rome was an important influence, mainly because it was the hometown of the colonial triumvirs and many settlers. This resonated mostly in the ideological sphere: a connection to Rome was created through foundation rituals, introduced cults and, at least in Caesarea, in toponyms that referred to Rome. A continuing identification with Rome is also clear from the fact that prodigies in the colonies were reported to Rome. In addition, Rome was a resource in more practical terms: in order to create a functioning settlement, offices known from Rome were created in the colonies as well, although the exact organization and responsibilities were decided upon locally. It would be a mistake, however, to see Rome as the only relevant influence in the colonies. The colonies developed to a certain extent independently from Rome, and in practical terms, pre-colonial realities and practices were often adopted and used. In rare cases, we can trace some of the ways in which these various influences were dealt with in the colonial community: efforts were made to transform pre-colonial realities into something that all members of the new community could relate to. In these ways, decisions of the local elites continued

to shape the settlements and communities over time, and could even contribute to what in time came to be perceived as Roman.

## 4. Shaping a public identity: coinage production

### 4.1 Introduction

Out of the 28 Latin colonies founded before the Second Punic War, 16 produced their own coinages over different periods of the third century (see table 4.1 and appendix 5).<sup>645</sup> In this chapter, these coinages will be used as the main source material to study how the colonies presented themselves to their broader regional and supraregional environment. The focus of attention shifts, therefore: while in the previous chapter, I have concentrated on the way the colonial communities were given shape locally, in this chapter I am mainly interested in the way they positioned themselves in relation to the outside world. The main questions as formulated in the theoretical chapter remain the same, however: the analysis will focus on the connections that were important in shaping local coinage production, and the ways in which general models were locally adapted, and thus contributed to cultural change.

The coinages produced by the colonies are a valuable source in this respect, for a combination of reasons. As will become clear, the production of coins was arranged locally in the colonies, and must therefore have been the result of decisions taken by the local administrations (see section 3.3.1). These local decisions affected relations with the outside world in a number of ways. In third century Italy, various forms of coinage coexisted, and the production of a certain kind of coinage would mark the colonies as members of specific groups with associated cultural and economic significance. In addition, the coins themselves travelled, which means that they were manifestations of the colonies to the outside world. Both these elements will be analysed in this chapter: how did existing traditions affect coinage production in the colonies,

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<sup>645</sup> These are: Signia, Norba, Cales, Luceria, Suessa Aurunca, Alba Fucens, Carseoli, Venusia, Hadria, Paestum, Cosa, Ariminum, Beneventum, Firmum, Aesernia and Brundisium. After the Second Punic War only two colonies continued to produce coinage (Paestum and Brundisium), while Copia and Vibo Valentia, both founded in the early second century, also had their own coinages. The catalogue in *Historia Numorum Italy* (Rutter et al. 2001) has been essential to the research in this chapter; I will refer to specific issues by their catalogue number, abbreviated as HNIItaly [number], while references to page numbers will be to HNIItaly, [pagenumber]. Some additional information can now be found in *Imagines Italicae* (Crawford et al. 2011); references will be made to II [entry title]. A convenient concordance list between *Historia Numorum Italy* and *Imagines Italicae* is provided by Burnett 2013, 441-442.

<b>Foundation date</b>	<b>Colony</b>	<b>Coinage</b>	<b>Date of coinage production (HNItaly)</b>
TS/495	Signia	Struck silver	280-275
TS/393	Circeii	-	-
492	Norba	Struck silver	280-273
442	Ardea	-	-
383	Setia	-	-
382	Sutrium	-	-
382	Nepet	-	-
334	Cales	Struck silver, struck bronze	265-240
328	Fregellae	-	-
314	Luceria	Cast bronze, struck bronze	280-270; 225-200
313	Saticula	-	-
313	Suessa Aurunca	Struck silver, struck bronze	265-240
313	Pontiae	-	-
312	Interamna Lirenas	-	-
303	Sora	-	-
303	Alba Fucens	Struck silver	280-275
299	Narnia	-	-
298	Carsioli	Cast bronze	275-225
291	Venusia	Cast bronze, struck bronze	275-225; 220-200
289	Hadria	Cast bronze	275-225
273	Cosa	Struck bronze	273-250
273	Paestum	Struck silver, struck bronze	273-241; 218-200 and later
268	Ariminium	Cast bronze, struck bronze	268-225
268	Beneventum	Struck bronze	265-240
264	Firmum	Cast bronze	264-225
263	Aesernia	Struck bronze	263-240
244	Brundisium	Struck bronze	220-200 and later
241	Spoletium	-	-

Table 4.1. Overview of coinage production by the colonies

and how did the colonies present themselves to the outside world through their coins? In this way, I study the coinages as a way to understand the ‘public identity’ of the colonies: the way they positioned and manifested themselves in the outside world, as a result of decision taken locally.<sup>646</sup>

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<sup>646</sup> Howgego 2005, 17 rightfully cautions that numismatics are not the only way to grasp public identity, and should be connected to other ways of shaping public identity such as public buildings, festivals, sculpture, epigraphy etc. For the colonies, however, these other sources are hardly available; the sanctuaries have been analysed in section 3.5.

There is considerable variety in colonial coinage production, both in quantitative and in qualitative terms. Some colonies did not produce coinage at all, others only in very limited quantities and over a short period of time, while others have an abundant production spanning various decennia (table 4.1). Techniques, metals, weight standards and coin types vary as well. This means that different decisions were made in the colonies amidst a range of regional, Greek and Roman influences. An important aim of this chapter is to further qualify this variety, and to recognize patterns where possible: what were the main factors that influenced local decision-making, and what were the effects on the way the colonies presented themselves to the outside world? At the same time, all these different colonial coinages contributed to an important large-scale cultural change: the monetization of large parts of Italy in the third century. A second aim, therefore, is to study how the colonial coinages were constitutive of cultural change. This also involves a discussion of the developments in the ways the colonial coinages relate to the outside world.

Before proceeding, it is important to note that the potential of the colonial coinages to inform us on these issues has been surprisingly little explored in previous research. Only quite recently has the importance of these coinages for local civic identities been recognized, but without further analysis.<sup>647</sup> Part of the reason for this relative lack of attention seems to be the poor integration of the numismatic discipline in the field of ancient history.<sup>648</sup> This chapter aims to improve this dialogue. Although it will be inevitable at times to enter into rather detailed numismatic discussions, these digressions will always be aimed at taking small steps forward in the broader historical analysis. More fundamentally, the previous lack of attention may be explained as a result of the ill-fitting place of the numismatic data in the traditional discourse on Roman colonization. In traditional handbooks the variety in colonial production is noted, but it is not recognized as a source for further

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<sup>647</sup> Stek 2013, 344 suggests that for the Latin colonies, 'locally constructed identities, as expressed in coinage, epigraphy and cults, will in most situations have been more relevant than their status as a colony related to Rome'. Similarly, Sewell 2010, 80 suggests that '(t)he individual politico-religious identity of many of the Latin colonies is expressed by the coins they minted, which often portrayed images of divinities specific to the town'; see also Torelli 1999f, 96-97 on the specific case of Paestum. Such a direct link between coin types and local divinities, however, cannot be substantiated for the third century (see note 925 below). Gualtieri 2013, 383 mainly stresses the 'romanness' of the coinage of Paestum.

<sup>648</sup> Cf. the remarks by Coarelli 2013, 7-8.

research into the position of the colonies and the dynamics of cultural change in this period. For example, Galsterer in his *Herrschaft und Verwaltung* teleologically regards the independent bronze production of Beneventum, Aesernia and Ariminum as a temporary solution for a period in which Rome was not (yet) able to produce enough coinage.<sup>649</sup> Salmon disposes of the subject by turning it into an occasional anomaly in the otherwise very Roman colonies.<sup>650</sup> More recent handbooks are strikingly silent on the subject.<sup>651</sup> In numismatic literature, specific attention for the colonial coinages is rare;<sup>652</sup> they are (rightly) treated as an integral part of the varied monetary landscape in Italy in the third century. It is interesting, however, that the assumption of the ‘romanness’ of the colonies is often implicit also in numismatic publications: for example, the deities depicted on the colonial coins are often designated with their Latin names, even if they directly copy types of Greek towns.<sup>653</sup>

I think the conclusion is justified that while the traditional image of the colonies as Roman outposts (see section 1.2.1) did not invite or stimulate research into the colonial coinages, a globalization perspective to the colonies invites further analysis, both of the various connections that helped to shape colonial coinage production, and of local decisions and developments. The observation of the variety between colonial coinage productions is only a starting point for further analysis, in which the colonial coinages are studied as a constitutive part of broader developments in contemporary Italy. In order to develop an approach for such an analysis of the colonial coinages, I will first

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<sup>649</sup> Galsterer 1976, 129: ‘(...) vermutlich [ist] auch die eigenständige Bronzeprägung von Benevent, Aesernia und Ariminum zu Beginn des 3. Jhdts. eine Übergangslösung gewesen, die hauptsächlich für den Handel im näheren Umkreis der Kolonien genügend Kleingeld zu liefern hatte.’

<sup>650</sup> Salmon 1982, 65-66: ‘The influence of the surrounding natives occasionally emerges: it can be seen, for instance, in inscriptions from Luceria and Venusia, in coin-weights and types from Ariminum, and in coin legends of Aesernia. But in general life in a Latin Colony from the material point of view was very Roman.’

<sup>651</sup> Colonial coinage is not mentioned by Cornell 1989 in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, although he treats both Latin colonization and early Roman coinage at some length; Staveley 1989, in the next chapter of the *CAH* only mentions that Italian allies retained the right to manage their own economy, i.a. by minting their own coinage (p. 426). Lomas 2004 is silent on the subject, as are Pobjoy 2006 and Patterson 2006. The only exception in a recent handbook is the remark by Stek 2013, 344 quoted in note 645 above.

<sup>652</sup> Exceptions are Burnett 1991; Cantilena 2000c; Cantilena 2001.

<sup>653</sup> See e.g. HNIItaly.

proceed to examine the potential of coinage as a source for public identities and cultural change in more detail (section 4.1.1), and discuss the cultural and political context of coinage production by the Latin colonies (section 4.1.2).

#### 4.1.1 Why coinage?

The first thing to realize in order to see the potential of coinage as a source for cultural history is that coinage is as much a cultural as an economic phenomenon, and that it is capable of establishing and changing relations with the outside world.<sup>654</sup> Coinage is *a form* of money, but certainly not the only one: other objects can perform monetary functions as well.<sup>655</sup> The introduction and use of coinage is therefore never exclusively or even mainly an economic phenomenon. This becomes clear, for example, in the discussion on the origin and spread of coinage in the ancient world at large, where it was confined initially to the Greek world. Before the introduction of coinage, Greek society ‘had taken significant steps towards the use of money’, but other ancient societies similarly had developed forms of money other than coinage.<sup>656</sup> Why then was coinage only successful in the Greek world several centuries after its introduction in Lydia in the late seventh or early sixth century?<sup>657</sup> This has been explained in reference to the specific societal and cultural developments taking place in the Greek world in this period, placing the emergence and spread of coinage in the context of the rise of the *polis*, where various political, social and economic forces intertwined.<sup>658</sup> Moreover, it should be stressed that the introduction and spread of coinage was not just a result of these developments, but an agent in the process.

As for the coinages of the Latin colonies under study here, their economic significance was marginal in most cases: the volume of production was generally low, and in most regions in the third century, colonial coinages accounts for only a small percentage of the total amount of coinage in

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<sup>654</sup> The potential of coinages as a source for economic, political and cultural history has been stressed regularly; see e.g. in general Howgego 1995; on coinage as a source for monetary history, e.g. Kim 2001; on coinage as a source for questions of culture and identity, Howgego et al. 2005.

<sup>655</sup> The main functions performed by money are the following: storage of wealth, medium of exchange, measure of value and a means for making payments.

<sup>656</sup> Howgego 1995, ch. 1 (quote p. 15).

<sup>657</sup> Cf. Howgego 1995, 1-2.

<sup>658</sup> Howgego 1995, 12-18; Von Reden 1997; Kurke 1999; Kim 2001.

circulation.<sup>659</sup> In terms of economic history, therefore, the colonial coinages are quite insignificant. However, for the question of cultural change which is central to this thesis, the situation is rather different. In what follows, I identify four reasons why these coinages are an important source in this context.

First, as noted above, money is culturally specific: the objects that are accepted to perform the functions of money vary.<sup>660</sup> Common acceptance of a certain form of money is a shared cultural value that is important to the construction of a community.<sup>661</sup> As we will see below, distinct forms of money existed in Italy in the period under study, and by producing one of these, the colonies aligned themselves with a specific culture of money. Within such a cultural group, various subgroups can be identified based on the more practical characteristics of coinage, such as weight standards and denominational systems. Although differences in weight standards and denominations were not necessarily an obstacle to exchange (the metal could still be weighed and used for its intrinsic value), they do indicate that coins were not produced strictly with the goal of facilitating exchange.<sup>662</sup> Such practical characteristics of coinage can therefore inform us about the desired interactive qualities and exchange partners the producing communities envisaged for their coinages.

A second important aspect of coinage in the context of this research is its symbolic role as a means to assert civic public identities.<sup>663</sup> By producing their own coinage, communities presented themselves to the outside world. Returning for a moment to the world of the Greek *poleis*, Christopher Howgego has placed their coinage production in a framework of peer polity interaction in order to explain the rapid spread of coinage in the Greek world; he suggests ‘a degree of competitiveness in the decision to assert civic identity by producing a

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<sup>659</sup> See Stazio 1991, 243 for the distinction between the isolated issues of Italic (though not specifically colonial) production and the more continuous Greek production.

<sup>660</sup> Baker and Jimerson 1992, 685; Howgego 1995, 12; Kim 2001, 8.

<sup>661</sup> Hart 2005, 170.

<sup>662</sup> Kim 2001, 18, with reference to Osborne, R. 1996, *Greece in the making: 1200-479 BC*. London, 251-255.

<sup>663</sup> See e.g. Howgego 2005, referring on p. 1 to Fergus Millar’s claim that coinage is ‘the most deliberate of all symbols of public identity’ (Millar, F. 1993, *The Roman near East*. Cambridge, MA, p. 230). See also Katsari and Mitchell 2008 on the way coinages could communicate civic identities in the Roman colonies of Greece and Asia Minor.



coinage'.<sup>664</sup> In the case of the Latin colonies, the fact that the coins usually bear the name of the colony shows a concern to communicate its existence to the outside world. Taken one step further, this role of coinage as a symbol for the community can even be used to suggest the autonomy of the producing community.<sup>665</sup> Although this connection between coinage and political autonomy or sovereignty has often been invoked in numismatic research of the ancient world, it is now clear that this relationship is not universal.<sup>666</sup> In our case, however, it has been widely noted that the active mints of the fourth and third centuries in Italy are always independent communities, many of them allies or colonies of Rome.<sup>667</sup> Although it may go too far to see the coinages of the Latin colonies as a deliberate sign of their 'right to sovereign autonomy',<sup>668</sup> they do confirm the colonies' position *outside* the Roman civic community. They were apparently free to decide whether to produce coinage or not. It is not necessary to consider this 'right to coin' as a privilege granted by Rome to the Latin colonies.<sup>669</sup> Rather than giving Rome such a decisive role, it will become clear that the ultimate decision to mint, and what and how to mint, was made locally. Therefore, these coinages may inform us about the public identity of the colonial community, or at least the way it was shaped by its political leaders.

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<sup>664</sup> Howgego 1995, 16.

<sup>665</sup> The assumption is rather common in numismatic research of early coinage in Italy; e.g. Catalli in AA.VV. 1973, 33; Cantilena 1988, 9.

<sup>666</sup> The traditional assumption of a connection between sovereignty and the production of coinage was problematized for the classical Greek world by Martin 1985 (pp. 11-12 on the origins of the idea, which can be traced back to the political philosophy of the Middle Ages). However, in reaction to his work, several scholars have pointed out that, although the connection is not universal, it is still applicable in certain cases (e.g. Howgego 1995, 41; Meadows 2001; Oliver 2001).

<sup>667</sup> Noted e.g. in Cantilena 1996, 61; see Vitale 1999, 46. Capua only produced coinage at the time of its defection to Hannibal during the Second Punic War. A possible exception is Cumae, *civitas sine suffragio* after 338 (see Livy 8.14), which does seem to have produced two silver issues in the late fourth century (HNItaly 536 and 537). None of the Roman citizen colonies produce their own coinages.

<sup>668</sup> Salmon 1969, 85.

<sup>669</sup> E.g. Cantilena 1988, 151: 'Le colonie erano autorizzate (...) a battere moneta'; Arslan 2006, 43: 'Sembrirebbe prassi costante di Roma, fino alle serie coniate di standard sestantale, il decentramento nelle aree periferiche del proprio dominio dell'emissione della moneta bronzea, per la quale sicuramente non era possibile affrontare i costi e i rischi della distribuzione. Si spiega così la produzione del circolante bronzeo, con tipi locali, sia presso le Colonie, Romane o Latine, sia presso i gruppi umani posti via via sotto controllo'. Cf. Sewell 2010, 80, who applies the same idea to the shaping of identities in the colonies: '(...) particular identities that *Rome allowed* the colonies to shape for themselves' (emphasis added).

Thirdly, money has the capability to create and change social relations. While classical sociologists like Marx, Simmel and Weber have focused on money's capacity to objectify human relations by making all kinds of previously socially circumscribed relations commensurable,<sup>670</sup> recent research has focused more on the cultural embeddedness of money, by which it becomes *part of* the way in which social relations are constructed, in particular between individuals and the community.<sup>671</sup> From this perspective, the significance of coinage is based on two pillars: on the one hand it is produced by an institution which vouches for its value, and on the other hand this value is created and maintained through its continued use by individuals.<sup>672</sup> Coinage is exceptional compared to other forms of money, in that it is stamped with images and text that remind the users of the producers, thus affecting the image of the community constructed by the use of these coins. In this way, coinage can be both the cause and effect of cultural and social change.<sup>673</sup>

This brings us to the last aspect of coinage which is important here. Coins travel and reach other people than the producers, and these users will be able to see the messages they bear. This 'communicative' quality of coinage means that legends and coin types could be used as an intentional representation of the producing community.<sup>674</sup> In our case, the legend usually identifies the community responsible for production, and the language and script used may inform us about the cultural background of those responsible for production, or at least the cultural association they wanted to show.<sup>675</sup> A similar process is likely to have been important in the choice of types and iconography, although this remains to be investigated. In addition to a possible

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<sup>670</sup> For an overview with critical notes: Zelizer 1994, 6-12.

<sup>671</sup> Hart 2005, 171: like other forms of money, coinage can be 'a symbol of our individual relationship to the community'; cf. Maurer 2006, 27: '(...) it is not news to anthropology that money is a social relation, a symbolic system, and a material reality.'

<sup>672</sup> See Hart 2005, 169-170.

<sup>673</sup> See e.g. Baker and Jimerson 1992, specifically 680; Maurer 2006, specifically 27.

<sup>674</sup> See e.g. the various contributions in Caccamo Caltabiano et al. 2004; e.g. Cantilena et al. 2004, 131: 'Il tipo monetale è senza dubbio l'espressione più evidente del processo di significazione teso a connotare la comunità emittente e l'immagine di sé che essa intende promuovere nel momento in cui immetta in circolazione la propria moneta.'

<sup>675</sup> Cf. Papadopoulos 2002, 27 on the way written language does not necessarily reflect spoken language, and can be used ideologically also in the case of coin legends. In the context of Greek colonization in southern Italy, Papadopoulos focuses on the way written language can be used to create relations of dominance; this ties in with my observations below on how the public identity communicated through these coinages is the result of decisions of (part of) the elite.

intrinsic meaning of the types chosen, the selection of common types could also communicate real or aspired cultural associations and may reflect strategies of political or economic rapprochement.

Finally, there are two other factors which affect the cultural and ideological significance of these coinages. First, the intended and actual effective function of the colonial coinages has an impact on the people included in the communities and networks of exchange discussed above, and on the ways in which connections were created. We have seen already that the volume of production was generally low: as in all agricultural societies which functioned largely at a subsistence level, these coinages would not have been used regularly at all levels of society.<sup>676</sup> Specifically for the colonies, it has been suggested that in some cases their coinages were largely symbolic and connected to the foundation of the colony.<sup>677</sup> More generally, however, it is thought that production of coinage in third century Italy was largely related to military activity, either for paying a stipendium or for the distribution of booty (see below).<sup>678</sup> This military context will prove to be important to understand the connections that affected coinage production in the colonies.

Second, it matters who was responsible for the production of coinage within the colonial community. To say ‘the colony’ produced coinages evokes a rather abstract political reality, which may be problematic in the context of the dynamic institutions of the Latin colonies (see section 3.3.1). Because of its role as both an economic and ideological instrument of power, control over coinage production may have been contested within the community, and it can be used to advertise the interests of specific groups.<sup>679</sup> Although such a practice has been suggested for some of the early Roman coins,<sup>680</sup> the instances where we

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<sup>676</sup> Cf. Hart 2005, 166.

<sup>677</sup> See Crawford 1985a, 46-47.

<sup>678</sup> E.g. Crawford 1985a, 36-37; Stazio 1991, 243; Cantilena 1996, 62.

<sup>679</sup> This is clear, for example, in the coin production of the later Roman Republic, in which the types and iconography selected often advertise the personal *gens* of the moneyer. See Crawford 1974, ch. 9; Farney 2007, 248-249: both hold that such ‘private types’ alluding to the moneyer or his family and not exclusively to the state appear only from the 180s onwards: *contra* the next footnote.

<sup>680</sup> These suggestions are all very hypothetical. For example, Vitale 1999, 25 suggests that the silver didrachm with Hercules / She-wolf and twins (HNItaly 287 = RRC 20.1) might be connected to the Fabii, who had Hercules as their protective god, and to the Ogulnii, because the brothers Cn. and Q. Ogulnius had erected a bronze statue of the she-wolf and twins in 296. Similarly, the goddess on the bronze issue with Female head / Lion (HNItaly 276 = RRC 16a-b)

can actually recognize it are rare or even non-existent. However, throughout the analysis in this chapter, it remains important to realize that the public identity created by and shown through these coinages is the result of the decisions of (a part of) the elite that was in control of coinage production.<sup>681</sup>

#### **4.1.2 Context: monetary traditions and Roman expansion**

In order to observe how the colonies positioned themselves in the broader coinage producing world, and to study the influences that affected production practices in the colonies, we need to study the colonial coinages in the context of broader patterns of coinage production in contemporary Italy. The monetary landscape in Italy in the late fourth and third centuries BC was far from uniform and very much in flux. In this context, diverse connections could lead to different practices in colonial coinage production, and developments in the colonies were constitutive of more general processes of change.

Towards the end of the fourth century there were two main monetary traditions in peninsular Italy: in Etruria and Central Italy weighed bronze was used, either in the form of *aes rude* or cast metal bars, with various attested weight standards.<sup>682</sup> In the Greek towns of Sicily and Magna Graecia, some mints in Etruria and in non-Greek communities in Apulia, Campania and Samnium, struck silver coins were produced, often supplemented with struck bronze in the fourth century.<sup>683</sup> These coins are distributed widely in large parts of southern Italy.<sup>684</sup> In the third century, important changes took place in these patterns of production and distribution of coinage. Many new mints

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has been interpreted as Venus and thus may not only present a reference to the Trojan myth of origin, but possibly also to the Fabii, as Fabius Gurges introduced the cult of Venus Obsequens in Rome in 295 and built a temple to her (Taliercio Mensitieri 1998, 76-79 (cf. the involvement of the Fabii in the foundation of Venusia; p. 77); see also the comments by Mario Torelli, in AA.VV. 1998, 198-201).

<sup>681</sup> For an interesting example of how coinage represents deliberate political choices: Williamson 2005, 19. As discussed in 3.3.1, there is some evidence of local magistrates involved in coinage production in the colonies: the names on some early coins from Luceria (HNItaly 668 and 669) have been tentatively identified as magistrates, and the inscription G.A.Q. on HNItaly 718 from Venusia may be the initials of such a magistrate, followed by Q for quaestor.

<sup>682</sup> On the evidence of the establishment of weight standards in various parts of Italy, see Crawford 1985a, 15-16; Crawford 2003a, 67-69. See Burnett 1987, 3 on the focus of distribution of this central Italian heavy metal currency in northern Etruria.

<sup>683</sup> For an overview, see Rutter et al. 2001, 3-7. Specifically on the Campanian and Samnite mints, Cantilena 2000a.

<sup>684</sup> Rutter et al. 2001, 7.

appeared in Central Italy and on the Adriatic coast, while in southern Italy many of the Greek towns ceased minting altogether.<sup>685</sup> In addition, large parts of Italy were now included in patterns of coin circulation for the first time, indicating the introduction of coined money in these regions. In regions like Campania that had a longer history of money use, shifts occurred in the patterns of distribution and the provenance of the coins.<sup>686</sup>

Although other factors may have been important as well, it is clear that these changes were often related to the effects of Roman expansion, both at the level of production and at the level of distribution and consumption.<sup>687</sup> As far as production is concerned, Roman influence took different forms. The appearance of new mints and the activity of existing mints in the third century can often be related to Roman military activity in an area.<sup>688</sup> Such an intensification in coinage production in relation to military activity is a well-known phenomenon in the Mediterranean in this period.<sup>689</sup> The Latin colonies themselves are an example of how Roman interference caused new mints to arise, while simultaneously some local coinages ended after annexation by Rome. In addition, the start of circulation of coined money (not necessarily of Roman production) can in some cases be related to Roman interference, although suggestions in this direction are not always convincing.<sup>690</sup> It has also been

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<sup>685</sup> For an overview, see Rutter et al. 2001, 8-12.

<sup>686</sup> See Crawford 1985a, 37-38; Stazio 1991, *passim*.

<sup>687</sup> See e.g. Rutter et al. 2001, 8 for possible explanations of the disappearance of a large part of the Greek coinages in the south, where Roman interference cannot have been the only relevant factor.

<sup>688</sup> See Crawford 1985a, 1, ch. 3; Howgego 1995, 11; Harl 1996, 34-35; Cantilena 2001, 47. The establishment of this relation often runs the risk of circular argumentation: coinages are dated to a certain period *because* Rome was active in the area in that period. For the colonies, I will investigate some of these hypothesized relationships in more detail. See further below for the relationship between coinage production and military activity.

<sup>689</sup> The rise in production among allies of Hannibal during the Second Punic War is notable.

<sup>690</sup> Vitale 1998b, 160-161 discusses the votive deposits at Vicarello (southern Etruria), Carsoli (territory of Equi) and Teano (territory of Sidicini) where the appearance of coinage in the votive assemblage dates to the late fourth century. She holds that in these cases 'la presenza monetale appare concomitante con il processo di romanizzazione nelle rispettive zone' (p. 161), giving as the relevant dates for this romanization respectively 393 (related to the conquest of Veii?), 298 (foundation of Latin colony of Carseoli) and 303 (alliance between Rome and Teanum). I would say that these data do not completely support the rather direct link suggested by Vitale (coinage appears in all three cases around the same time, while Roman interference predates this in the case of Vicarello, and slightly postdates it in the cases of Carsoli and Teano), but rather point to a more general pattern of changes in coinage distribution taking place in the late fourth century. This is supported by the case of the Valle d'Ansanto, where coinage appears from the late fourth century as well, when no direct link with Rome can be

argued that the assemblages within settlements show differences according to the settlement's relation to Rome.<sup>691</sup> It is clear, therefore, that Roman expansion had a substantial impact on patterns of coinage production and distribution, as Rome was responsible for changing the geopolitical map of Italy, which also affected patterns of connectivity on the peninsula.

We should be aware, however, that this does not imply that monetization and Roman interference should always be linked, or that Rome also had an influence on the actual production. Such claims are regularly made, but may prove to be problematic. For example, Simone Sisani has claimed that the start of coinage production in Umbria was triggered by Roman expansion, and that it closely followed Roman production in terms of coin types and weights.<sup>692</sup> He relates this to hypothesized clauses in the *foedera* between Rome and the allied communities in Umbria. Although I think the observed connection between the start of coinage production in this region and Roman expansion is valid and important, the implication that Rome was also directive in the selection of weights and types is problematic. The claim that the weights used in Umbria exclusively follow those of Rome is questionable,<sup>693</sup> and the overlap in types is more complicated than the Umbrian mints simply following the Roman example (see section 4.2.2). In this way, even in a context in which coinage production may have been triggered by Rome, the results of production may be more locally specific.

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posited (Vitale 1998b, 161). The case of Minturnae (citizen colony of 295) is a more convincing example of a direct link: the coin finds from the river Garigliano include very few coins datable before the foundation of the colony, as noted by Giove 1998, 131; Vitale 2001, 110. See Houghtalin 1985, 69 on the residual coins and Bellini et al. 1998 on the non-Roman coins.

<sup>691</sup> E.g. Vitale 2001, 115-116, on Paestum: 'Le trasformazioni interne alla città ed i suoi orientamenti politici si riflettono nella fisionomia del numerario circolante [i.e. Roman and allied production]: il fenomeno acquista maggiore risalto se messo a confronto con la situazione di altre città di diverso schieramento politico e dei loro territori, dove non penetra moneta romana né dei suoi *socii*.' Cf. Cantilena et al. 1999, 146-151.

<sup>692</sup> Sisani 2007, 103 'La monetazione etrusco-italica in bronzo non è separabile, come già è stato notato, da quella romana, né al livello di tipi né al livello ponderale'.

<sup>693</sup> Compare Sisani 2007, 104-105 and Rutter et al. 2001, 20-21: not all of the weights produced in Iguvium and Tuder can easily be inserted in the series of Roman weight reduction, while this is suggested by Sisani. Note also that Sisani suggests a date early in the third century for these coinages, which he uses as a date when *foedera* between the Umbrian communities and the Romans would have been made. However, this date (associated to the early date for the introduction of the denarius, accompanied by bronze on a sextantal standard) is now largely abandoned.

At this point, we should remember that Roman coinage production was a relatively recent phenomenon in the third century (it had only started in the late fourth century BC), developing itself in a process of trial and error influenced by local and foreign earlier traditions.<sup>694</sup> It would be mistaken to suppose *a priori* that Roman coinage served as an example for other mints active in this period, including the colonies; the Greek towns in the south that had been producing coinage for two centuries often in fact seem to have been more important. Even though we can recognize Roman interference as a cause of changing patterns of coinage production and distribution, the cultural practice of producing coinage, the specific ways in which this was done and the associations these coinages evoked were not necessarily Roman.<sup>695</sup> The spread of coinage production, therefore, is one of these large-scale phenomena which seem to be affected equally by Roman expansion, by Hellenistic models, and by local accommodation, as discussed in chapter 2. Both the cultural significance of the coinages produced by the colonies and their role in constituting larger scale developments throughout Italy require further investigation.

#### 4.1.3 Approach

It is clear that it is important to study the colonial coinages as an integral part of the rapidly developing monetary landscape of Italy in the third century. This context is of vital importance to understand the significance of the choices that were made in the colonies. First, therefore, a general analysis in section 4.2 will be aimed at understanding how different (groups of) colonies positioned themselves in the evolving monetary landscape of Italy, identifying clusters of associated mints in which the colonies were active. Against this background, then, in section 4.3, the role of the colonies in these clusters will be studied in more detail: how were they influenced, what was their role in developments within these networks, and how did they present themselves in this context?

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<sup>694</sup> Burnett 1987, 3-7. For a brief overview of Roman coinage in this period: HNIItaly, 45; Pobjoy 2006, 64-65. For Roman coinage, I follow the dates given in HNIItaly, with the introduction of the denarius in the 2PW. Where necessary, I will add my own discussion of the evidence. The start of Roman coinage itself can be seen as the result of a process of growing Roman self-awareness and self-confidence (cf. Burnett 1987, 16); a parallel process can then be hypothesized for the colonies.

<sup>695</sup> Cf. Crawford 1985a, 42-43: 'The pattern of Italian coinage in this period is complex, moulded in part by Roman demands and in part by local traditions'.

In these two sections, the main questions presented as part of the globalization perspective developed in chapter 2 will be especially pertinent. The general analysis in section 4.2 focuses on the identification of connections that were important in the colonies. For this analysis, it is helpful to think about the colonies as being part of various networks, and I will distinguish three of them. The first is based on forms of money, which I have argued to be culturally significant as a shared value: a community that accepts struck silver coins as money, does not necessarily accept large, cast bronze coins to perform the same function, and vice versa. The question of which monetary tradition was adopted in the colonies is therefore clearly insightful for the way they positioned themselves. A second network will be based on the use of corresponding types, which indicates knowledge and awareness of other coinages and may point to real or aspired cultural associations. The third network is based on the use of similar weight standards and denominations, which would have facilitated the inclusion of the colonies in exchange networks (this will be checked against patterns of distribution). In each network, different contacts may have been relevant, and as we will see, the role of Rome can be different in each network. Links in these networks are not necessarily forged by geographical vicinity, but they may equally be caused by ideological vicinity (e.g. relating to Rome) or functional vicinity (e.g. being able to exchange with the Greek world). Thus, these different networks exhibit some of the different relations that were important in the colonies.

This general analysis will be based on the data on Italian coinage production (metal, technique, denominations, types, dates) as presented in the recent *Historia Numorum* of Italy (HNIItaly). This data is not always easy to interpret, and especially the chronological information is not always generally accepted. However, HNIItaly is the most recent assemblage of all coinages produced in Italy in this period, and has both 'Italic' and 'Greek' coinages, which makes it easily the best source for an analysis of this kind. Problematic cases will be further discussed in section 4.3.

In section 4.3, the colonies themselves, and the decisions made locally will be the starting point of the analysis. The focus will be on the role of the colonial production in its cluster of associated mints, exploring both the way in which the cluster affects the decisions taken in the colonies and the way the colonial production in turn contributes to larger-scale developments. Local or



regional traditions may have affected colonial productions, but at the same time, they may have (further) developed as a consequence of the foundation of the colonies. At this level of analysis, in relevant cases, weight standards, denominations, types and dates will be further investigated, considering archaeological contexts and the significance of individual types. In addition, the question of function will surface regularly, in order to get some idea of the public that would have seen these coinages. To this end, information on the distribution of coin finds will be included in the analysis, in order to examine in which circles the colonial coinages actually functioned (and thus help establish their function) and who would have seen them. Although in theory, the find contexts could add some important information on the ways in which these coinages were used, this kind of information is rare, which means that this source for establishing the significance of these coinages for the people who used them can only be of limited value.<sup>696</sup>

Finally, in both parts of the analysis, an important recurring question will be the (changing) relationship between the colonies and Rome. It may be clear from this introduction that Rome did not impose a uniform monetary system upon the colonies or any of the conquered areas of Rome, and that the impact of Rome on the development of coinages in the colonies involves more complicated modes of cultural interaction than Rome simply serving as an example or even dictating colonial production. However, Rome did influence much of the context in which the colonial coinages were produced. Moreover, coinage production by Rome itself developed rapidly in the third century. Therefore, we should allow for the possibility of a changing role of Rome, and therefore changing relationships between Rome and the colonies. These factors are important both for the local significance of the colonial coinages, and for their role in larger-scale monetary developments.

## **4.2 General analysis: colonial coinages in Italy**

The main goal of this general analysis is to examine in which networks the colonies were active, and how they related to other coinage producing communities, including Rome. For each of the three networks introduced

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<sup>696</sup> Cf. Howgego 2005, 17 for ways of assessing the significance of coinage for other groups than those in charge of production. See section 5.3.4 for coins as votives.

above, general observations about the role of the colonies in the development of coinage production in Italy can be made. In addition, this general analysis will serve as an introduction to the more detailed analysis in section 4.3.

Each of these networks will be discussed separately, as they all pose their own questions and problems. The metal and technique in which the coinage was produced connected large cultural groups with a shared concept of money, but these concepts are themselves subject to change in third century Italy. The types and iconography show cultural associations which may partly overlap with those created by the choice of metal and technique, but which also cross these boundaries and thus create new links, and contribute to new developments. Weight standards and denominations often create smaller-scale networks of exchange within larger groups with a shared concept of money. The three networks thus overlap to a considerable extent. Their separate treatment in this section should be understood only as an analytical tool: it will help to disentangle different factors of influence which affected the practice of coinage production in the colonies.

#### **4.2.1 Shared concepts of money: metal and technique**

As was briefly discussed before, the third century is a very dynamic period in terms of the number and variety of mints that were active. In this section, the role of the colonies in these developments will be examined. The maps in figures 4.1 - 4.3 serve as an accessible tool to display the main developments in mint activity and the variety in selected metal and technique. They help to recognize patterns and the positions of the colonies in them. Some preliminary remarks are necessary, however, about the information shown on these maps and their periodization.

All issues listed in HNIItaly with their attributed suggested dates have been entered into a MS Access database, which has been connected to a Geographical Information System for the creation of these maps. On a practical level, mints with an unknown location were excluded from the GIS, although an approximate location was given to those mints that could be located reasonably well without harming the general picture in case of minor deviations.<sup>697</sup> The

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<sup>697</sup> An approximate location was given to the following mints: Vestini (inserted at a possible location of the mint at Pinna; see Campanelli 2001, 95); Inland Etruria (inserted at random);

division in three periods is based on the dates given in HNIItaly. For most issues HNIItaly offers a date range within which the production is thought to have taken place rather than a specific date. The maps show all mints with a suggested *end date* of production in the period of interest. This means that all mints shown in the maps are thought to have been active in or - in some cases - possibly slightly before the period in which they are shown. There is, therefore, the possibility of a certain temporal delay in what the maps show: for example, production within the date range 230-200 will be shown in the map for 220-150 rather than in the map for 270-220. These complications do not, however, affect the general picture shown in these maps.

The organization of the maps into three periods (320-270; 270-220; 220-150) needs some explanation, as it affects the subsequent patterns we can recognize. The maps show a 'long third century', starting in 320 and ending in 150, in order not to exclude production that affected or was part of the third century reality, but is not dated within the period 300-200. The logic behind the internal periodization is twofold. First, following the date ranges given in HNIItaly, it allows us to see the main developments in coinage production in Italy in the third century in a rather clear way, as many of the Greek mints in the south disappear before 270, while renewed production in the late third century is often related to the Second Punic War, starting after 220. In addition, it also reflects three phases in the development of Roman coinage production, with the position of Rome in relation to the colonies changing: the period between 320 and 270 saw the start of Roman coinage, still experimental in many ways, followed by a period of consolidation and somewhat more intensive production in the middle of the century. After 220, in the period of the Second Punic War, important changes were brought about in Roman coinage production with the introduction of the denarius as the most important element. The main drawback of this periodization is that the disappearance of

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Central Etruria (inserted at random); Meles (inserted near Sepino, which is one of the known provenances and corresponds with its probable location in 'Campania or Samnium' as given in *Historia Numorum*); Frentani (inserted slightly north of Larinum). The following mints are not included in the maps, although they are active at some point in the third century: Akudunniad, Brettii, Butuntum, Campano-Tarentine, Carthaginians in southwest Italy, Graxa, Hyporum, Irnthii, Lucani, Pallanum, Pitanatai Peripoloi, Phistelia, Ursentini. Some of these will be introduced in the discussion below nonetheless, in particular the rather large issues of the Brettii and Carthaginians of the Second Punic War. The map does not include information on the production of cast bronze bars, as none of the colonies produced this kind of money.

the production of silver approximately in the middle of the century is not evident from these maps. Most of the silver production indicated on figure 4.2 takes place before 250/240. As the production in bronze (struck and cast) does not have a similar clear demarcation around the middle of the century, however, and dividing this period would result in short periods suggesting a level of precision that does not match our chronological knowledge, the period 270-220 was left intact.

One more preliminary observation is important, as it affects the interpretation of the patterns recognizable on the maps. The cultural significance of the choice to produce coinage in a specific metal and technique may have changed during the century. In the first two periods (figures 4.1 and 4.2), cast bronze is a distinct category, never produced at the same mint as struck silver (similarly high-value money) except in Rome, and only rarely produced together with struck bronze.<sup>698</sup> Only Rome, Tuder and Ariminum produce both cast bronze and struck bronze in the second phase. However, these two categories do not show any clear signs of being related: while the various denominations of cast bronze all have marks of value which indicate their denomination in relation to the main unit (*as* or *nummus*), the struck bronze does not show any sign of being integrated into the same system.<sup>699</sup> This

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<sup>698</sup> The relationship between cast bronze and struck bronze is a thorny issue in the discussion on early Roman coinage; the co-existence in third century Italy of light, struck bronze issues which were probably fiduciary, and heavy cast issues which were metallist is a well-known problem. Some have suggested that the struck bronzes are metallist as well (e.g. Lo Cascio in AA.VV. 1998, 187) and that the weights may even be related to the cast bronze (Taliercio Mensitieri 1998, 103-110; ‘almeno come ipotesi di lavoro’; Pedroni 1996a, 53-62 *passim*). Others do not see such a relationship (e.g. Burnett 1998, 35). Recently, Bransbourg 2011, specifically 92-99 has argued that such co-existence of two systems is not unthinkable for a relatively brief period. He sees the wide adoption of the Roman sub-libral and semilibral standard later in the third century, with the struck bronzes included as lower denominations, as the ‘solution’ to this problem (p. 100).

<sup>699</sup> Only some of the struck bronze production of Vetulonia and Populonia have pellets which seemingly relate the fractions to a unit (HNItaly 202-205 and HNItaly 184-190 and 195 respectively), but both the chronology of these issues and their relation to the cast bronze system of Rome is completely unclear. For Ariminum, a relationship between the cast and the struck bronze issues has been suggested, but the reconstruction is plainly unconvincing: Gorini 2010 suggests that the struck bronze of Ariminum is the semuncia first of a series including cast bronze denominations on a ‘quadruncial’ standard and then of a series on ‘teruncial’ standard for which the only surviving denomination would be this semuncia. The construction of an otherwise unknown weight standard based on coins without marks of value is in itself problematic; moreover, these struck coins do fit a Campanian tradition (see section 4.3.2).

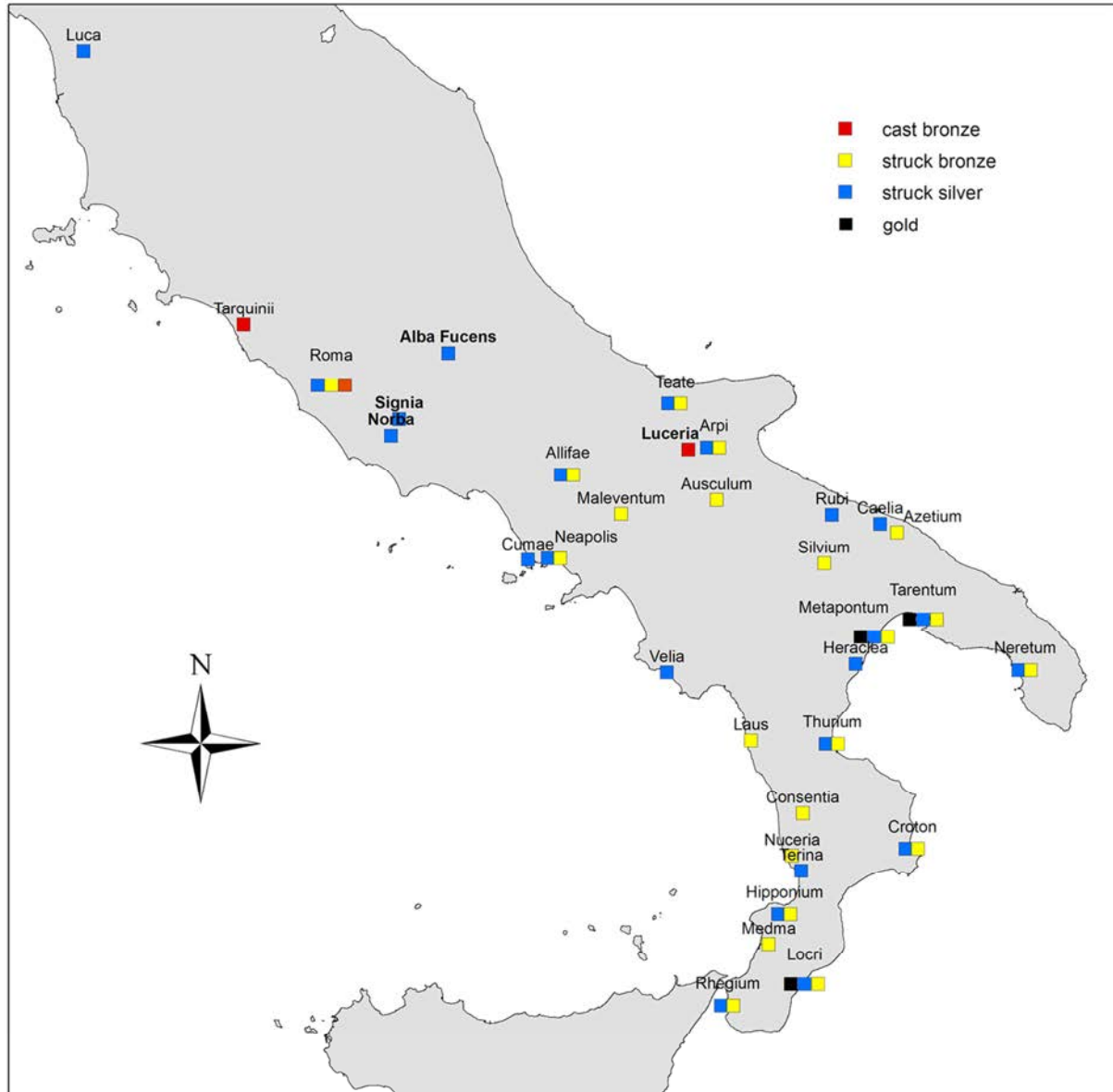


Figure 4.1. Map showing active mints in Italy between 320 and 270, with information on the metal and technique of their coinage production

may have changed in Rome from the middle of the third century onwards.<sup>700</sup> In the last phase (220-150), more mints produce coinage in cast bronze and struck bronze (Rome, Inland Etruria, Luceria, Venusia and Volcei), and in all these cases, the struck bronze also has value marks which show that cast bronze and struck bronze are integrated into the same system.<sup>701</sup> Often, in the same issue, cast bronze is used for the higher denominations and struck bronze for the

<sup>700</sup> Crawford 1985a, 39, 49; repeated in Rutter et al. 2001, 45.

<sup>701</sup> Burnett 1991, 33 relates this use of value marks to the 'Roman monetary model'.

lower denominations. This means that in this phase, cast and struck bronze can no longer be seen as belonging to two different cultural spheres: they are now part of the same concept of money.<sup>702</sup>

With these caveats in mind, we can now proceed to examine the main patterns recognizable in these maps, and make some initial observations on the role of the colonies. In the period between 320 and 270 (figure 4.1) most of the production takes place in the south, where we also find the mints with the largest production, such as Neapolis and Velia in Campania, Locri and Thurium in Bruttium, Metapontum in southern Lucania and Taras in southern Apulia. Struck silver is the main medium of production, often accompanied by struck bronze. There is discussion about the location of the mint of the struck silver and bronze produced in the name of Rome in this period: although its location on the map is Rome, the location of the mint itself may have varied, with Neapolis being a good candidate for at least some of the issues.<sup>703</sup> In any case, 'Roman' production is quantitatively minimal, and it can only be understood in a context which is largely shaped by the dominant Greek towns in the south.<sup>704</sup> Three Latin colonies also produced small issues of silver in this early period: the issues of Alba Fucens, Signia and Norba are dated to 285-275. Michael Crawford has noted their close relationship to Greek coinages.<sup>705</sup> We seem to be dealing here with a situation in which, like Rome, the colonies followed existing Greek traditions - which perhaps reached the colonies via Samnium - but they did so independently (see section 4.3.2).

As for production in cast bronze, only Rome, Tarquinia in Etruria and Luceria in northern Apulia (colony of 314; the attribution is not completely

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<sup>702</sup> This is also the first phase in which we are certain that production in various metals and techniques at Rome is related. See below (section 4.3.3) on Brundisium for an example where the cultural connotation of cast bronze may still have been important.

<sup>703</sup> See e.g. Burnett 1998, 19-20, 32-33; see section 4.3.2.

<sup>704</sup> Thus, eloquently, Alfonso Mele in AA.VV. 1998, 204: 'Quello che si può capire da un punto di vista generale, valutando in modo reale e netto, è che qui noi abbiamo il recupero di un'istituzione che è greca. È qualcosa che nasce in un mondo romano o comunque vicino al mondo romano, ma è qualcosa che, nel momento in cui afferma l'autonomia della forza di Roma, perchè la moneta è questo, significa un'egemonia, testimonia il dialogo con un certo ambiente che è l'ambiente Greco. Senza quell'ambiente Greco quella moneta non sarebbe nata. Non sarebbe nata in quella forma, non sarebbe nata con quel metallo, non sarebbe nata con quei tipi.'

<sup>705</sup> Crawford 1985a, 47.

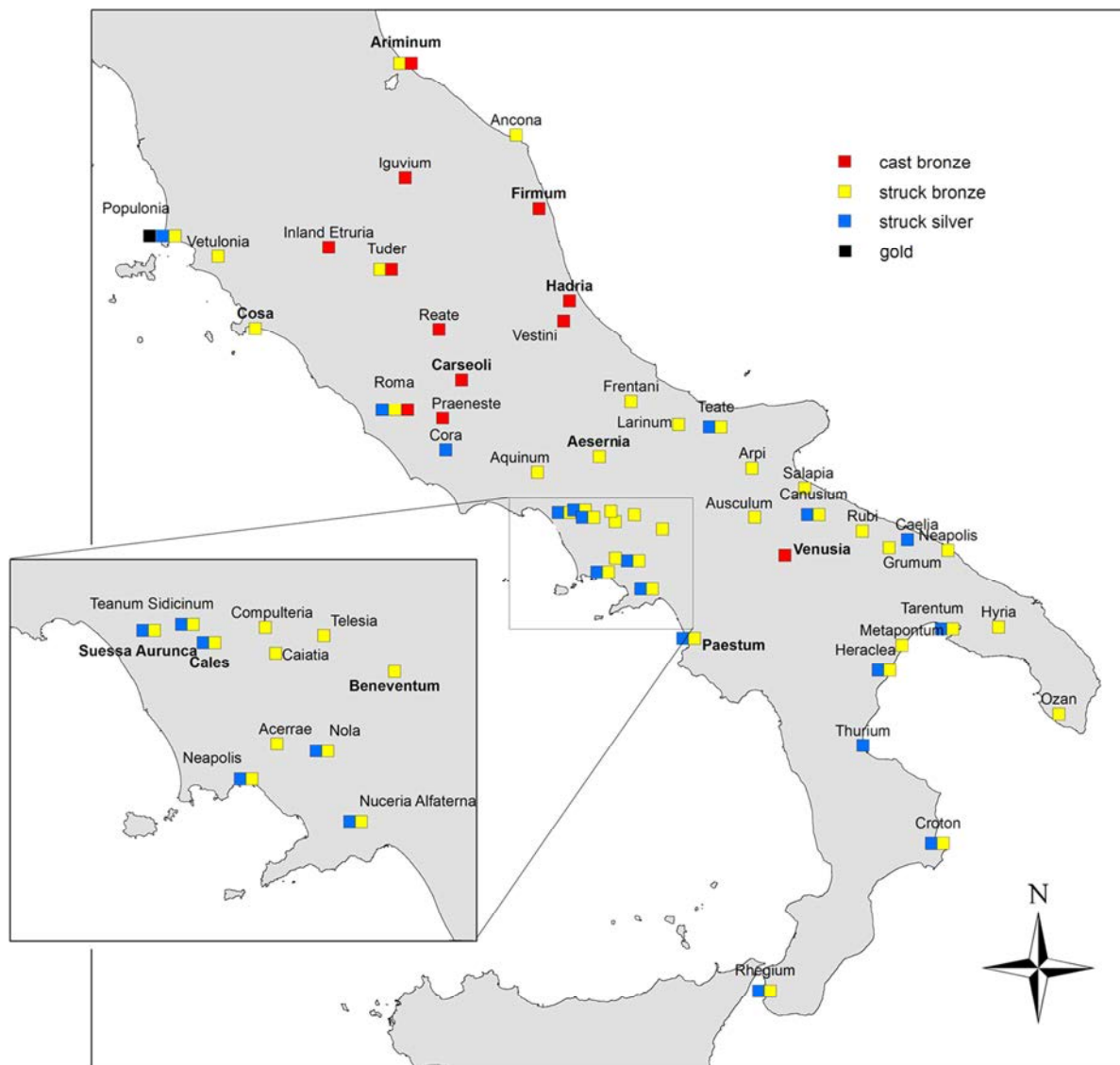


Figure 4.2. Map showing active mints in Italy between 270 and 220, with information on the metal and technique of their coinage production

certain) were active mints before 270. Rome's production is dated slightly earlier than the production at the other two mints (c. 280 against c. 275 for Tarquinia and Luceria): a reflection of the hypothesis that cast bronze coins were a Roman invention, which would then have been adopted throughout Central Italy (see also figure 4.2).<sup>706</sup> We should be aware, however, that the cast bronze coinages are closely related to the more widely spread concept of

<sup>706</sup> Andrew Burnett proposes to see the round cast bronze coins as a Roman invention: 'an amalgam of the central Italian idea of heavy metal currency with the south Italian idea of round coins' (Burnett 1987, 5).

heavy metal currency in Central Italy (see section 4.2.3).<sup>707</sup> For now, the main observation is the obvious deviation in the coinage production of Luceria in cast bronze from the other mints active in the region in the same period. The two issues (HNItaly 668 and 669; also discussed in chapter 3 because they bear Latin names) show that the colony adhered to the Roman and/or Central Italian concept of cast bronze as money, rather than the regional tradition of struck bronze and silver. This immediately raises the question of how this coinage relates to that of Rome and other cast bronze mints. The implications for the position and public identity of Luceria will be further examined in section 4.3.1.

Proceeding to the second phase (figure 4.2), the division of mints producing cast bronze on the one hand, and those producing struck bronze and silver on the other remains clear. Many of the mints in the south are no longer active in this period. Instead, a hub of struck bronze and silver production can now clearly be found in and around Campania, where the colonies of Suessa Aurunca (AR & AE), Cales (AR & AE), Beneventum (AE), Aesernia (AE) and Paestum (AR & AE) contribute significantly to the total number of mints. Because the production of these mints was mostly restricted to one or a few issues, it has been suggested that they may be related to the military contributions these communities made to the Roman army during the Pyrrhic war and/or the First Punic war.<sup>708</sup> These mints are all centred around the highly productive centre of Neapolis. An important question here is how these mints, and especially the colonies, are related to each other, to Neapolis, and to Rome. To the north of Rome, there is now also some production of struck bronze, although it is much less intensive and less clustered. It seems likely that the decision to produce struck bronze at these northern mints may have been the result of a wish to adhere to southern practice, possibly associated with Rome, but this hypothesis needs further examination (see section 4.3.2).

The number of mints producing cast bronze coinages grows in this period. The location of most of these in Central Italy and on the Adriatic coast is interesting: although this area has no previous history of coinage production, the clear clustering shows the importance of the tradition of weighed bronze in these parts. This cluster includes a relatively large number of colonies with

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<sup>707</sup> On the evidence for the establishment of weight standards in various parts of Italy, see Crawford 1985a, 15-16; Crawford 2003a, 67-69.

<sup>708</sup> HNItaly, 8-9. For more in depth analysis, see Termeer forthcoming-a.



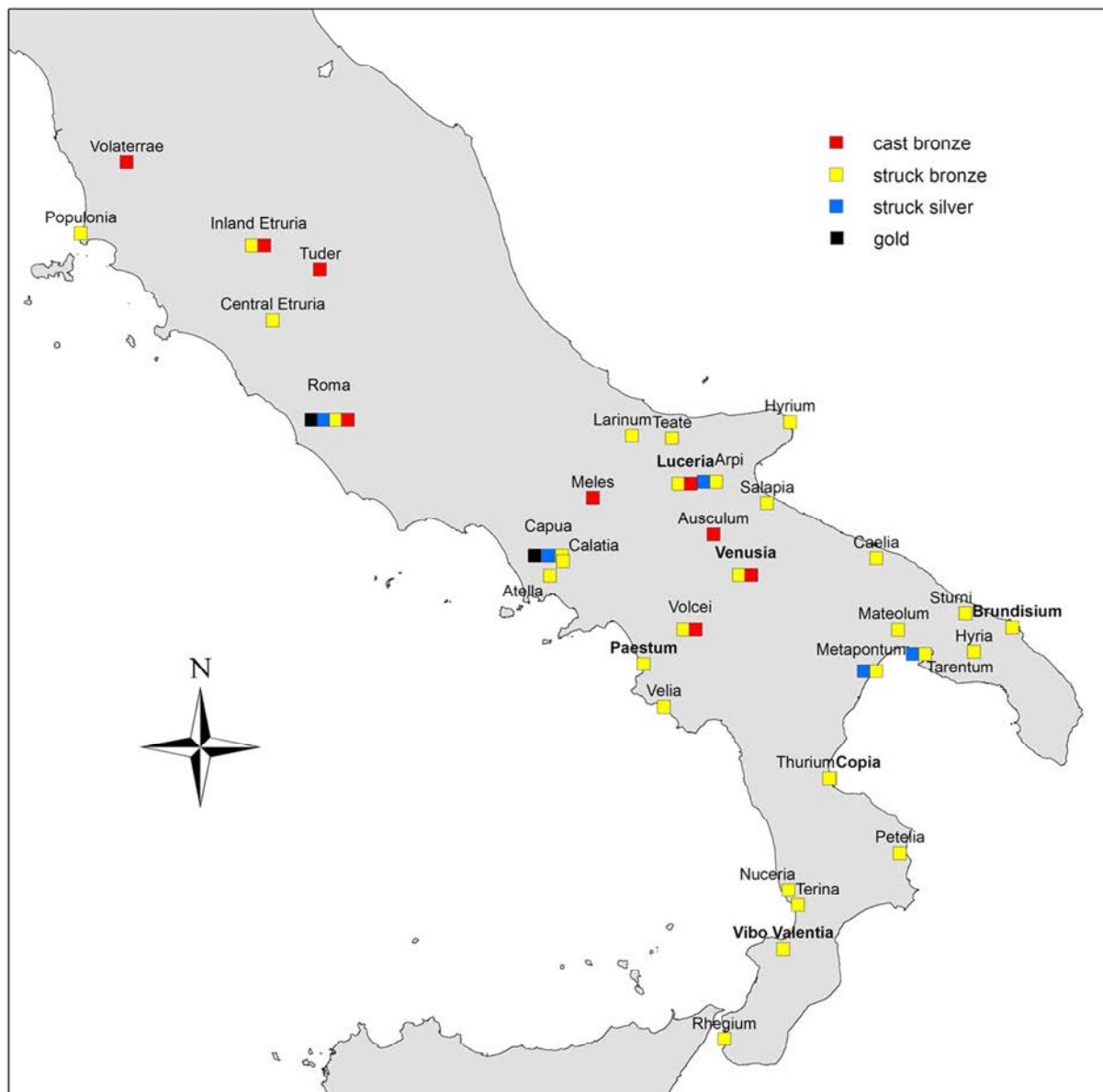


Figure 4.3. Map showing active mints in Italy between 220 and 150, with information on the metal and technique of their coinage production

Ariminum, Firmum, Hadria and Carseoli that are all producing cast bronze. A comparison of weight standards (see section 4.2.3) shows that within this larger area in which cast bronze is the main form of money, there are still regional differences in the practical execution of these coinages, with the colonies falling into different groups. The production of cast bronze at Carseoli is interesting, as nearby Alba Fucens had only a few years earlier opted for the production of struck silver. This difference highlights the importance of local decisions in these processes, and may point to a different cultural orientation of the respective elites in these two colonies. Further to the south, another colony,

Venusia, produces cast bronze in a predominantly struck bronze / silver environment, much like Luceria in the previous period.<sup>709</sup> As in the case of Luceria, this seems to indicate a conscious decision in this colony to follow Central Italian and/or Roman practice rather than to blend in with the regional environment.

In the period from 220 onwards (figure 4.3), the partition between cast bronze production on the one hand, and struck silver and bronze on the other is much less marked. In this period, silver is only produced by Rome, and by some towns during their alliance with the Carthaginians in the Second Punic War (Capua, Taranto, Metapontum, Arpi are on figure 4.3; the production of the Carthaginians, the Lucani and the Brettii also falls in this category, but is not shown on the map as the location of the mint is unclear). None of the colonies now produces silver. The colonies that are still active as mints in this period are all located in the south, and they all produce bronze coinage in a system based on the *as* or the *nummus*. Luceria and Venusia produce both cast bronze and struck bronze in the same issue, with the higher denominations being cast and the lower denominations being struck. Brundisium and Paestum mint only struck bronze, which means that they only produce the lower denominations within the system.<sup>710</sup> This might indicate a more leading role of Rome as an example for the minting practices in the colonies (see section 4.2.3 and 4.3.3). The production of most of the mints that are active in this period seems to be directly related to the Second Punic War.<sup>711</sup>

In general terms, therefore, we see that the colonies are active contributors to developments in coinage production in Italy. The area where they were founded was often important for the later choice of metal and technique. In some cases however, the colonies extended the boundaries of areas in which certain forms of money were produced. Interestingly, this is the case both for the Roman / Central Italian cast bronze which is produced by Luceria in the south, and for the Greek struck silver which is produced by Alba Fucens, Signia and Norba more to the north. In some cases, therefore, the

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<sup>709</sup> Note that the absence of Luceria from the map of the period between 270 and 220 is largely coincidental: its first coinage is dated 280-270 and its second coinage 225-217, which means these coinages ended up in the previous and subsequent period respectively.

<sup>710</sup> This is also true for the struck bronze coinage of two later colonies at Copia and Vibo Valentia.

<sup>711</sup> HNIItaly, 9.

colonies could instigate new practices in their regional environment, but these were not always derived from Rome.

#### **4.2.2 Cultural associations: types and iconography**

The choice of a certain type for a coinage issue must always have been conscious. The reasons for selecting a certain type can be multiple, and some of these considerations will be discussed in more detail in section 4.3. In this section, I will be mainly interested in recognizing patterns in the choice of types, and analyzing the position of the colonies in these patterns. Before starting the analysis, the idea that the use of similar types and iconography at this general level shows significant connections needs some further elaboration and qualification.

Although some types have a recognizable intrinsic significance (see section 4.3), in general, most of the types used on the coinages of colonies and other mints in third century Italy are rather generic. Especially for the cast bronze coinages, it has been noted that often the iconography employed does not appear to be strictly related to the issuing authority, and may have had a more general apotropaic function.<sup>712</sup> Many of these symbols, such as a shoe or a knucklebone, may have had a (religious?) meaning that now largely escapes us (figure 4.4).<sup>713</sup> To a certain extent, this is also the case with the types on struck silver and bronze: the significance of the deities depicted, for example, is often not clear.<sup>714</sup> In such a context, the use of similar types by various mints may be caused by a variety of reasons, depending on the specificity of the type, the prominence of the mints producing coinage with a particular type, and the historical circumstances in which types are copied. For example, when mints opt to copy an ‘iconic’ type of one of the large contemporary mints, they do not necessarily have to be culturally or ideologically inspired, but rather they may

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<sup>712</sup> As suggested by Ercolani Cocchi 2004, 33.

<sup>713</sup> It is striking that many of the symbols that we find on coins are also depicted on the ‘votive discs’ found in southern Italy, for example in Venusia (see Sabbatini 1991, 97-98 for a votive disc depicting: bunch of grapes, crescent, pincers, amphora, three distaffs, bird(?), wheel, spindle, club, trident, corn ear, caduceus, patera (or bread), light bolt, torch(?), ladder, lyre, egg, three knobs, yoke, mirror, genitals). Such a votive disc from Luceria is depicted on figure 5.10.

<sup>714</sup> A link of portrayed deities to local cults has been suggested in several cases, but is often hard to substantiate; see Cantilena 2000b, 252 for Teanum; Burnett 1991, 30 for Venusia. See also Sewell 2010, 80 on the Latin colonies.



Figure 4.4. Two examples of cast bronze coins with symbols. Above: biunx of Luceria with scallop shell / knuckle bone (HNItaly 673). Below: biunx of Hadria with cock / shoe (HNItaly 15)

have sought to profit from the trust put in the production of these larger mints. However, this has cultural implications as well: it shows a familiarity with and acceptance of the type, and it implies a desire to have this coinage circulate and be accepted in the same circles. More generally, we can say that the use of the same type shows a mutual awareness and a shared repertoire of images deemed suitable for use on coins. It is at such a general level that the analysis in this section will take place.

The idea that there were different kinds of images considered suitable for use on a coin is confirmed by a first analysis of the coin types current in third century Italy.<sup>715</sup> If we make a division between cast bronze on the one hand and struck bronze and silver on the other, there is a significant correlation between these two groups and the types used. First of all, there is a rather large group of

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<sup>715</sup> This analysis is again based on the data published in *Historia Numorum*. For all the issues included there, the basic types have been entered into the MS Access database in order to be able to sort and filter. This eased the management of this large amount of data considerably, and allowed the observations I make in this analysis.

simple types which are only used on cast bronze coinage.<sup>716</sup> Many of these types are used only on one or two issues of the same mint, showing that they are locally invented or adopted. At the other end of the spectrum, there are a whole range of types that are never used on cast bronze coinage, but only on struck bronze and silver. Some of these are very specific to one mint or a group of mints, such as the dolphin rider of Taras and some other mints or the man-faced bull of Neapolis and the area around (both will come back in case studies below). More generally speaking, this group includes many deities,<sup>717</sup> such as Ares/Mars, Artemis/Diana, Dionysus/Bacchus, Demeter/Ceres, Poseidon/Neptune, Nike/Victoria, Aphrodite/Venus and Persephone/Proserpina.

The division of types between cast bronze on the one hand and struck bronze and silver on the other is not absolute, however: there are ‘cross-over’ types that are used in both groups. These exceptions may inform us on patterns of interaction that remain hidden when we only focus on the metal and technique in which a coinage is produced. In the analysis, I will first examine the position of Rome and the colonies in the ‘iconographical group’ of cast bronze in order to understand the importance of Rome and other contacts and influences in the colonies. This will be followed by a further examination of the ‘cross-over’ types, as they can inform us about complimentary connections in addition to those that we have seen to be important in the previous section.

In comparison to the struck bronze and silver, Rome has been credited with a more central role in the invention and development of cast bronze coinage (see above). In this context, a strong connection between the colonies and Rome has been recognized in their use of shared types. An important contribution in this regard has been made by Rudi Thomsen in his investigation of the chronology of the Roman *aes grave*: he stressed the ‘great many types’ used in the colonies of Luceria, Venusia, Hadria, Ariminum and Firmum which are also known from

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<sup>716</sup> These are (bronze bars produced in Rome included): acorn (Rome), cicada (Tuder), double axe (Carseoli, Firmum, Vestini, Inland Etruria), hand (Rome, Tuder), knucklebone (Rome, Luceria), palm branch (Iguvium), ram (Tarquinii), shoe (Vestini, Hadria), spearhead (Rome (bronze bar; possibly a forgery), Tarquinii, Tuder, Firmum), sword (Rome), scabbard (Rome), sword & scabbard (Ariminum), tongs (Iguvium), tortoise (Rome, Tuder), branch (Rome), prow (Rome), *rostrum tridens* (Ariminum), sea eagle (Reate), thyrsus (Luceria).

<sup>717</sup> In order to avoid problems with designating deities with either their Greek or their Latin name (see the introduction), I will use both throughout.

Rome, arguing that this can be taken as evidence for Roman primacy in production.<sup>718</sup> In Thomsen's view, this Roman primacy implies that the colonial coinages were issued under Rome's authority. He goes on to argue for Roman primacy in production in comparison with some other Italian mints as well, and notices in particular the close type associations between Rome, Tarquinia, and Tuder.<sup>719</sup> In both cases, Rome would have served as an example for the other mints.

This central position of Rome in patterns of type association is important in the present context, but some further analysis is warranted. A drawback of Thomsen's analysis is that he focuses on Rome (he was interested in the chronology of early Roman coinage), and he therefore concentrates on mints using the same symbols as Rome. Other type associations are not included in his analysis (see table 4.2, where I have listed the symbols discussed by Thomsen separately). In addition, in his analysis of the types used by the colonies, he leaves out most parallels with other active mints on the Italian peninsula,<sup>720</sup> thus clearly privileging the colonies' connection to Rome over other connections that may have been important. In reality, other connections can be recognized as well. Also, it has been noted that no standard Roman repertoire of types was imposed in the colonies.<sup>721</sup>

In what follows, the relationship between the colonies, Rome, and other cast bronze mints will be further investigated with the inclusion of all type parallels that can be found in HNIItaly. This analysis includes all type associations between cast bronze producers in the third century, in order to establish which connections were important in the colonies. All cast bronze issues of the third century are included, without making a chronological division. The main reason for this is that types are not only copied from simultaneously produced coinages, but may also be copied from older coinages

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<sup>718</sup> Thomsen 1961, 244-247.

<sup>719</sup> Thomsen 1961, 251.

<sup>720</sup> He only mentions the use of the scallop-shell on the uncia of the Vestini: Thomsen 1961, 248. The type parallel between Rome and the Vestini based on the type 'head of bull' is problematic, as the attribution of the semis Head of bull / Prow (HNIItaly 359) to Rome is doubtful (see Rutter et al. 2001, 52; already noticed by Thomsen himself in Thomsen 1957, 64).

<sup>721</sup> Cf. Siciliano 1994, 160 on the types of Venusia, Luceria, Vestini, Hadria and Ariminum: although there are some parallel types, '[n]on sembra comunque potersi individuare una chiara unità iconografica, come riflesso del mondo romano organizzato con rigore e metodo: non si rileva una iconografia come sistema, ma piuttosto qualche tema commune su denominazioni diverse.'

	Rome	Luceria	Venusia	Volcei	Ausculum	Meles	Carseoli	Hadria	Vestini	Firmum	Ariminum	Iguvium	Volaterrae	Inl. Etr.	Tuder	Tarquinius	Praeneste
Given by Thomsen 1961-III																	
<b>Anchor</b>	bronze bar							uncia						quincunx, dupondius, as, semis, triens, quadrans, uncia	quadrans (2x)	quadrans	
<b>Apollo</b>	as (4x)	nummus															
<b>Caduceus</b>	sextans (2x)															semuncia	
<b>Corn ear</b>	bronze bar	uncia (2x)															
<b>Dolphin</b>	triens (2x)	teruncius (2x)	biunx (4x)			uncia		teruncius			biunx		dupondius, as, semis			quadrans	
<b>Head of bull</b>									biunx	quadrans							
<b>Horse prancing</b>	bronze bar	nummus															
<b>Horse's head</b>	triens (2x)			triens, sextans, uncia		semuncia											as
<b>Knuckle-bone</b>	uncia (5x)	biunx (2x)															
<b>Pegasus</b>	semis (2x)							quincunx									
<b>Rostrum</b>	bronze bar										uncia						
<b>Scallop shell</b>	semis (2x) sextans (2x)	biunx (2x)	biunx (2x)						uncia		semuncia						
<b>Shield</b>	bronze bar										quincunx	semis					
<b>Spearhead</b>	bronze bar								sextans						uncia (2x)	as	
<b>Sword/scabbard</b>	bronze bar									quadrunx							
<b>Thunderbolt</b>	triens (6x)	quadrunx (2x)			quadrunx, teruncius, biunx, uncia, semuncia												
<b>Trident</b>	bronze bar										teruncius				sextans (2x)		
Not given by Thomsen 1961-III																	
<b>Boar</b>	quadrans (4x)		nummus													as	
<b>Club</b>		quadrans (2x)											dupondius, as, semis, triens, quadrans, sextans, uncia		triens (2x)		

<b>Cornucopiae</b>	bronze bar														as			
<b>Krater</b>					quadrans					quadrans								
<b>Crescents</b>		semuncia (2x)	semuncia (4x) teruncius (2x)			quadrans		biunx			as, semis, triens, sextans (2x), uncia				as, semis, quadrans, sextans, uncia			
<b>Dog</b>	quadrans								as							semis (2x)		
<b>Double axe</b>					sextans			uncia							as, semis, quadrans, sextans			
<b>Eagle</b>	bronze bar																	
<b>Elephant</b>	bronze bar															as		
<b>Frog</b>																		
<b>Hand</b>	quadrans (6x)		uncia (2x)														quadrans (2x), uncia	
<b>Hercules</b>	quadrans		nummus															
<b>Plough</b>																		
<b>Shoe</b>																		
<b>Sol / Sun</b>																		
<b>Tortoise</b>	sextans																	
<b>Wheel</b>	tressis, dupondius, as, semis, triens, quadrans, sextans	quincunx (4x)																
Shared types out of total (without bronze bars)	53 / 104	24 / 30	13 / 14	6 / 6	1 / 2	4 / 8	2 / 4	6 / 14	6 / 8	3 / 4	6 / 12	19 / 28	10 / 34	70 / 88	18 / 24	7 / 12	1 / 2	

Table 4.2. Types used on cast bronze coinages by at least two different mints



that are either still in circulation or have produced iconic types that are remembered. It is important, of course, to know which mint was the first to use a particular type: who copies whom? However, the chronology of most of the issues involved is not very clear, which makes it hard to decide on priority of production in many cases. For this reason, in the analysis below, this information is initially left out, and will only be drawn upon when the temporal priority of one or more mints is reasonably certain.

Table 4.2 provides all the types used on cast bronze by at least two different mints. Some of these types are also used for other coinages in struck bronze and silver, but these are not shown in the table (some relevant cross-links will be treated below). The table gives some additional information: it shows the denominations on which a particular type is used by various mints, and in the last row it indicates how often a shared type was used compared to the total of instances in which a type had to be selected (both numbers represent a count of the obverses and reverses of the entries in HNIItaly: for example, Rome has 52 entries of cast bronze issues, and each of these uses a particular type both on the obverse and the reverse, so there are 104 instances in which a certain type was selected, or 104 ‘potential types’; in 53 cases a type is used which is also known from the cast bronze production of one or more other mints).

The information in table 4.2 has been modelled as a network in figure 4.5. The mints are represented here as nodes in a network. The figure shows the links between various mints: whenever two mints use the same type, the two nodes are connected by a line. The thickness (weight) of the line shows the number of types in common between two mints. In addition, to create these network models, I have calculated the degree centrality of each of the nodes, which is dictated by the number of links and their weight.<sup>722</sup> The degree centrality of nodes is shown by their colour (red representing a high level of connectedness; yellow a low level). Of course, the potential number of connections depends on the size of production; this is why the size of the circles represents the number of ‘potential types’.

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<sup>722</sup> See Knappett 2011, 22; 24. I have used the open source programme *Gephi* (see <http://gephi.github.io/>; consulted 23 July 2014) to create the network visualizations.

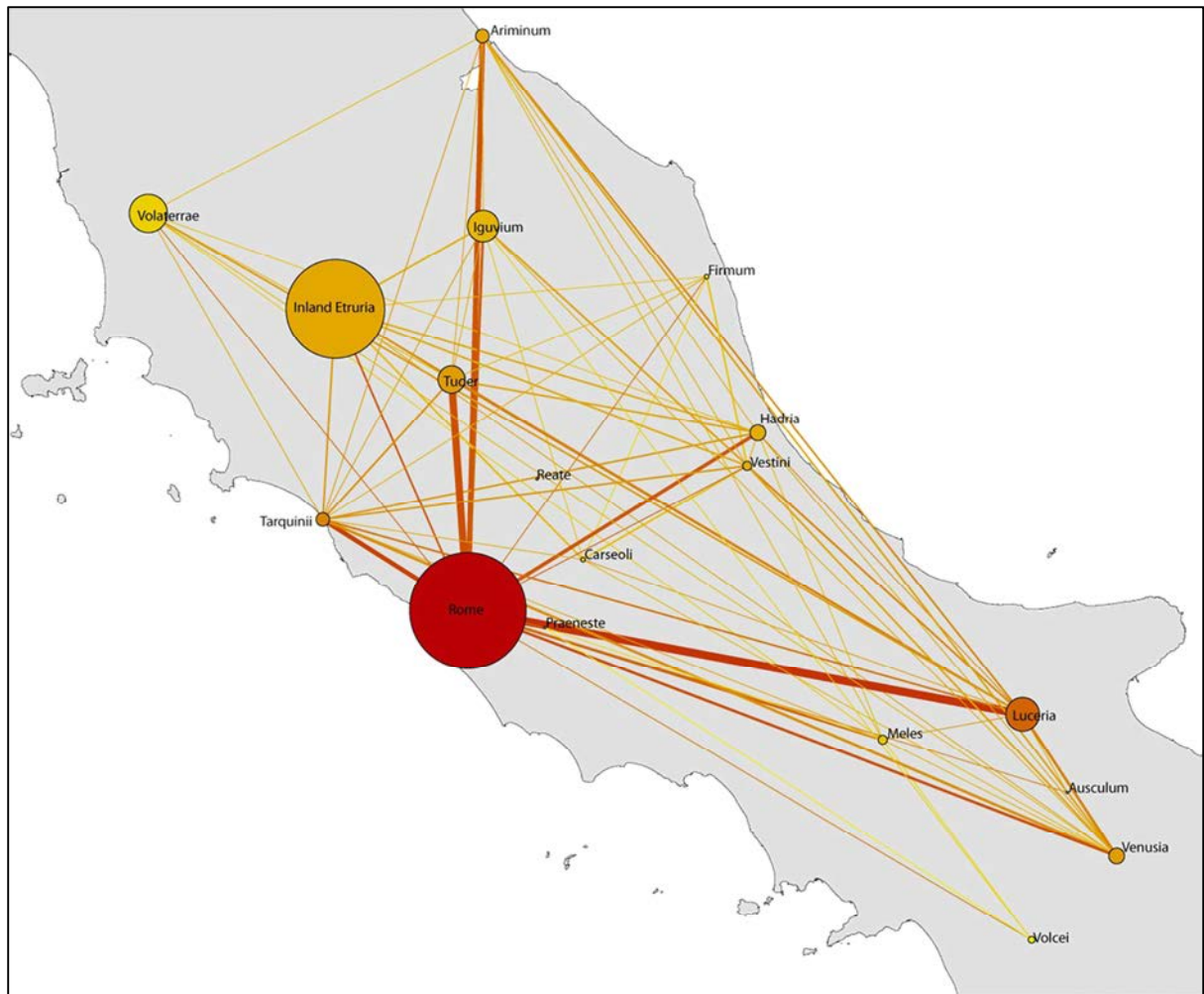


Figure 4.5. Network of shared types between mints of cast bronze coinages

The combination of the tabular and network presentation of the data on typological associations between mints helps to make some relevant observations. First of all, in the table we see that there is little overlap in the denominations that use the same types. The use of these types therefore does not seem to be informed by practical considerations such as the recognisability of a specific denomination. Moreover, figure 4.5 clearly confirms the central role of Rome in these patterns of type association. Although this can be explained to a certain extent by the volume of production in cast bronze by Rome, other factors must play a role as well. For example, in addition to its high productivity, the Roman mint also used many different types (see table 4.2), all of which provide possibilities for other mints to form a link with Rome. In comparison, Inland Etruria has a similarly large number of issues (and thus potential types), but much less variation in types, causing links with fewer other mints, and thus a less central position in the network.

Rome's central position raises the question of chronology: was Rome always the example? Based on the dates given in HNIItaly, this seems to be the case, confirming Thomsen's observations. At the same time, it is important to note that there are also links between mints without Roman involvement - and in these cases Rome cannot have served as the example for other mints. This means that although Rome certainly occupies a central position in the network, it did not direct all connections between mints.

With these observations in mind, we may now proceed to examine the position of individual colonies in this network. To this end, the position of the colonial mints in the network in figure 4.5 is shown individually in figures 4.6 - 4.11. This allows us to see that the colonies take up quite different positions, both in the network as a whole and in relation to Rome. Luceria and Ariminum are both firmly linked to Rome, and this is to a lesser extent also true for Venusia and Hadria. It is interesting that Luceria, which has a lower number of 'potential types' than Inland Etruria and Volaterrae, is much more central in the network, in the sense that it has a lot of connections. This may mean that Luceria was more open to new input than the two mints in Etruria, which may have had stronger local traditions. It also means that Luceria used many different types, just like Rome. Interestingly, this includes types that are unknown in Rome, while they are used by other mints in Italy, such as the club, crescents, and frog (see table 4.2). Although in a less marked way, this is true for Venusia and Hadria as well. In contrast, for Ariminum the link to Rome is more exclusive: all reverse types from Ariminum are also known in Rome, and they are used in combination with one specific local type, the head of a Gaul (see section 4.3.1).

The situation with Firmum and Carseoli is different compared to the other colonies. Rome does not seem to be an important example for the types used: Carseoli has no typological connection to Rome at all, while the only common type between Firmum and Rome is doubtful: the bronze bar with a spearhead from Rome may be a forgery (HNIItaly 261). Firmum has no links with other colonies along the Adriatic coast; the only intercolonial link is with Carseoli (figure 4.9). Both the relation with Rome and that with the other colonies, therefore, seems less strict for these two colonies.

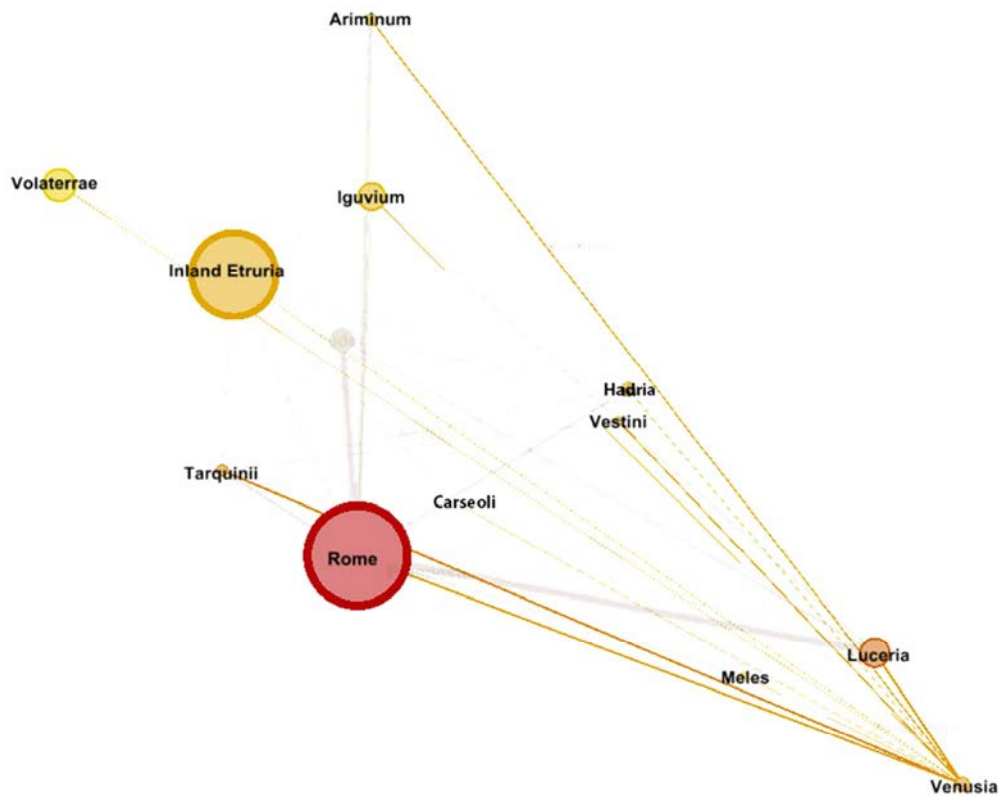


Figure 4.6. Position of Venusia in the network of shared types between mints of cast bronze coinages

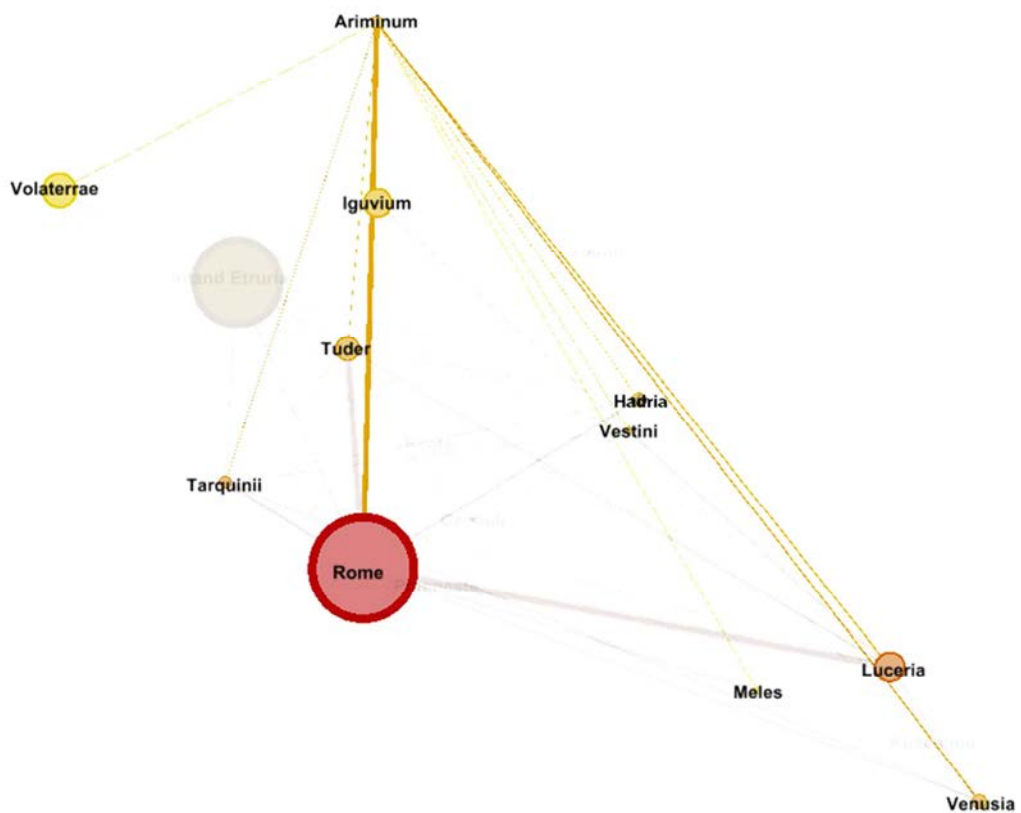


Figure 4.7. Position of Ariminum in the network of shared types between mints of cast bronze coinages

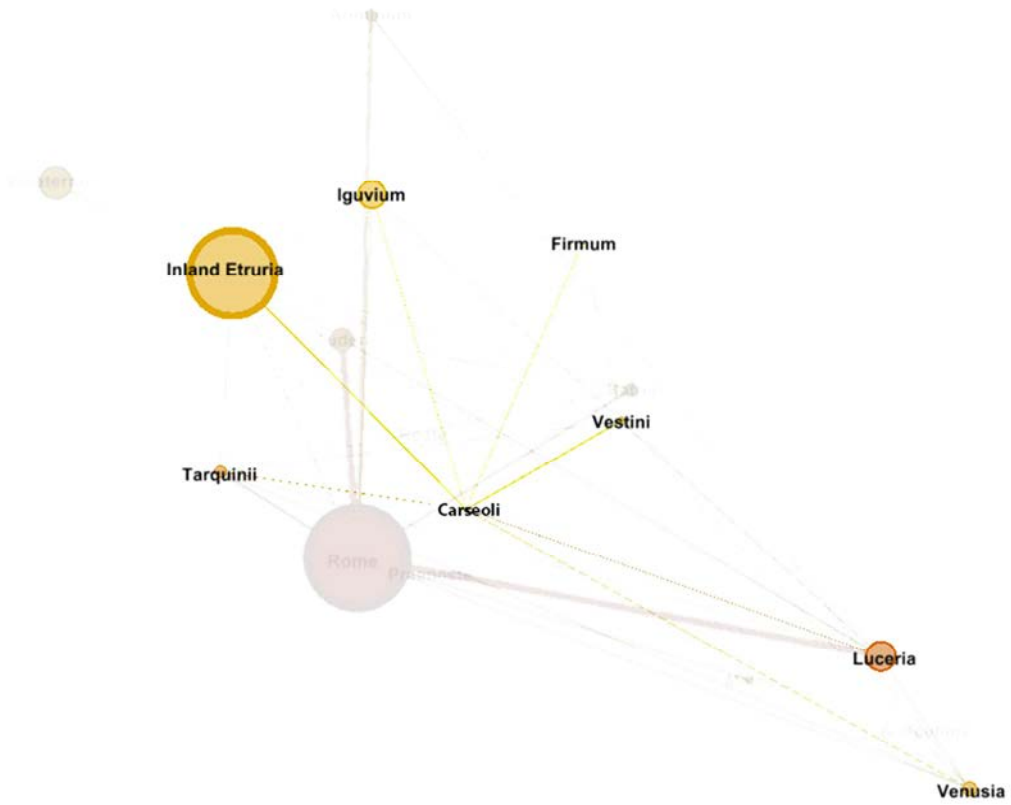


Figure 4.8. Position of Carseoli in the network of shared types between mints of cast bronze coinages

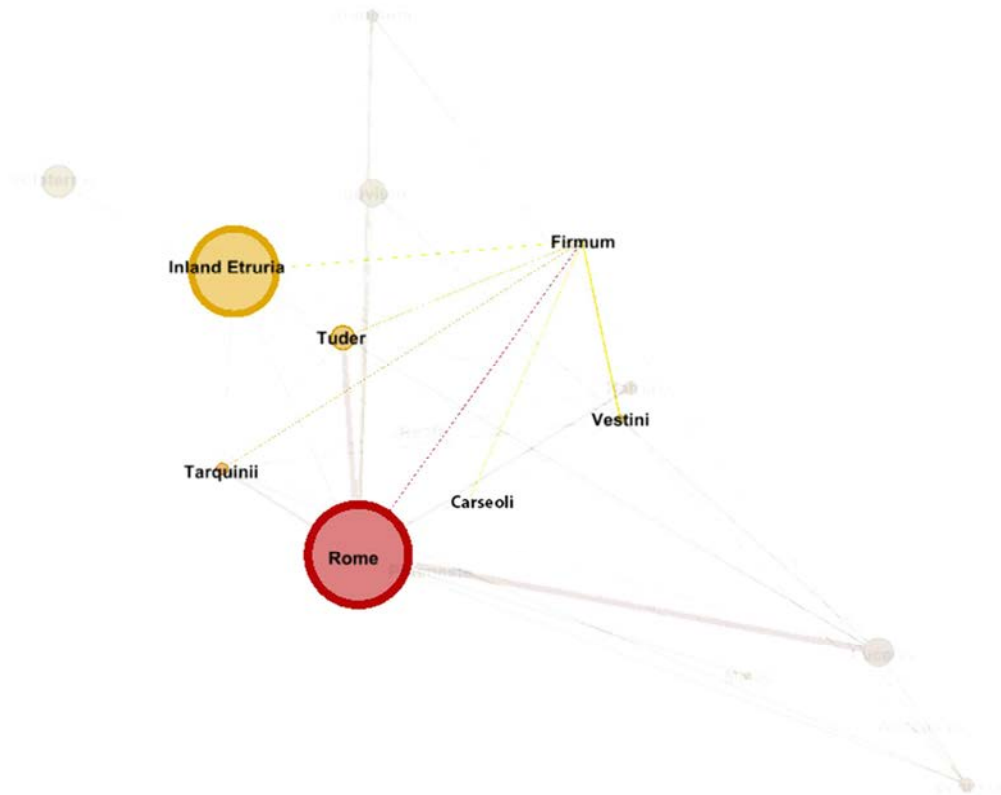


Figure 4.9. Position of Firmum in the network of shared types between mints of cast bronze coinages

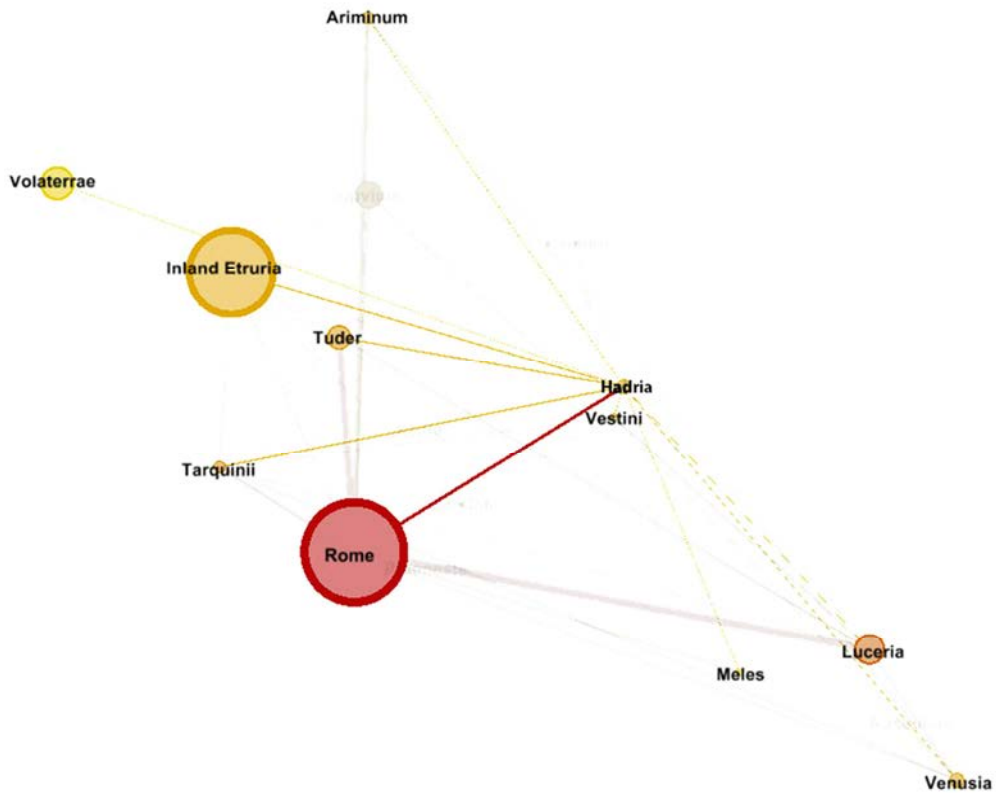


Figure 4.10. Position of Hadria in the network of shared types between mints of cast bronze coinages

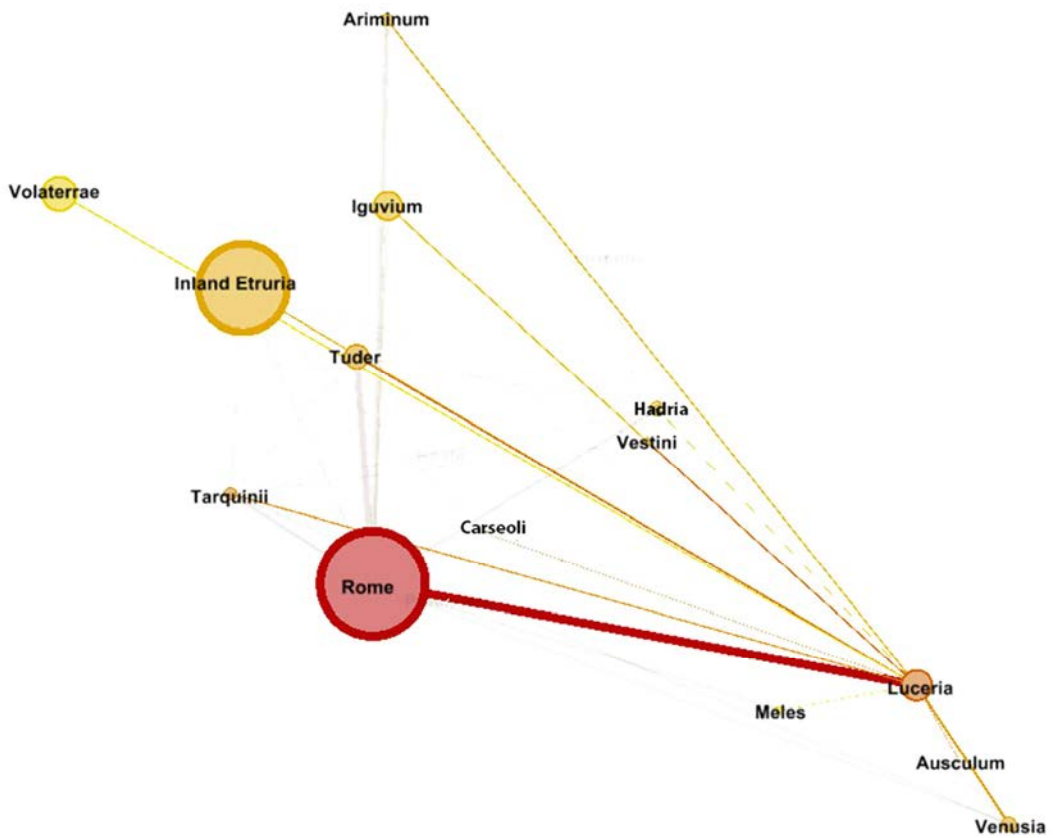


Figure 4.11. Position of Luceria in the network of shared types between mints of cast bronze coinages

Although this might be explained by the limited number of types known from these mints (from both, only a quadrans and a sextans are known), the types that are used point to a more significant explanation. Both these mints use types which are widely used in Italy, but not by Rome: crescents (used at seven different mints) and the double axe (used at four different mints). The first mint to use crescents on cast bronze was probably located in Etruria or Umbria,<sup>723</sup> but the type is also known on struck silver of the Greek towns in southern Italy (see below). The double axe is only used on cast bronze, but it is impossible to establish where it was used first.<sup>724</sup> It thus seems that Firmum and Carseoli ‘moved in different circles’ than the other colonies in the selection of their types, although we should notice that crescents also were used by Luceria and Venusia. While in general terms, Rome is central in this network of cast bronze producers, that does not mean that the colonies automatically followed a Roman example.

In the spectrum of struck bronze and silver production, the role of Rome is rather different. Compared to the Greek mints, both Rome and the colonies are rather late arrivals to this part of the monetary landscape of Italy, and are at least initially minor players in the field of coinage production. Only some of the types on Roman coins are specific to Rome, while otherwise, Rome to a large extent followed traditions developed in the south. This means that Rome was not automatically an important point of reference for new mints starting to produce their own coinages. This less central role for Rome and the predominance of the large Greek mints means that with this group of coins, the position of the colonies relative to each other and to Rome is shaped in different ways than in the case of the typical cast bronze types.

For the struck bronze and silver, an exhaustive analysis of type parallels between all active mints would lead too far beyond the limits of the present study, as there are relatively few colonies among the mints producing struck bronze and silver. Instead, I will draw attention to some general trends, with

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<sup>723</sup> The earliest dates given in HNIItaly are those of Tarquinia (HNIItaly 212, 213, 219): 280-270; Iguvium (HNIItaly 22, 23, 24, 35): 280-240, and, with a high margin of error, Inland Etruria (HNIItaly 64a, b, c): 300-200.

<sup>724</sup> These are the dates given in HNIItaly: Vestini (HNIItaly 20): 275-225; Carseoli (HNIItaly 246): 275-225; Firmum (HNIItaly 10): 264-225 (the later start date is based on the foundation date of the colony); Inland Etruria (HNIItaly 58 a, b, c, d): 300-200.

specific focus on the ‘cross-over’ types which may inform us on different patterns of contact than those already recognized in the section on metal and technique above. One preliminary remark is necessary: an important difference between the mints of the Greek cities and Rome is that Roman coin designs were much more varied than their Greek counterparts, which often remained unchanged during decades or even centuries of coinage production.<sup>725</sup> The choice for one of the iconic types of the large Greek mints (e.g. the corn ear of Metapontum, the tripod of Croton, or the dolphin rider of Taras) may therefore have evoked a more direct reference to these mints than, for example, the head of Athena/Minerva, which was ubiquitously used in southern Italy and also found its way to Rome.

A first interesting group includes types which are used mainly on cast bronze, but also on struck bronze or silver produced by Greek or Etruscan mints.<sup>726</sup> The relevant types are: anchor (used on the cast bronze of Hadria), wheel (used on the cast bronze of Luceria), crescents (used on the cast bronze of Luceria, Venusia and Carseoli), trident (used on the cast bronze of Ariminum and the struck bronze of Paestum), krater (used on the cast bronze of Hadria) and Silenus (used on the cast bronze of Hadria, and together with a boar on a janiform head of the struck silver of Signia) (see appendix 6). In most cases the earliest use of a particular type can be found in the production of struck silver or bronze by Greek or Etruscan mints: this is clear for crescents, trident, wheel and Silenus, while in the cases of anchor and krater it is harder to establish. It is plausible that the use of these types on the cast bronze is the result of familiarity with the products of other production centres. In these patterns of mutual influence Rome is not necessarily leading: for several types independent interaction between Greek and Etruscan towns and the colonies is more likely, as is particularly clear in the case of crescents, which are not used in Rome.

This relative independence of the colonies from Rome, and their degree of integration with the established Greek traditions of coinage production is

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<sup>725</sup> Burnett 1986, 67.

<sup>726</sup> I exclude from this analysis types that are used on struck bronze coins from the late phase (220-150) which belong to the smaller denominations of cast bronze series. For example, the frog occurs on cast bronze from Luceria and Tuder as well as on struck bronze from Luceria and Venusia. A similar situation can be found for the following types: shield (cast bronze Rome (bronze bar), Iguvium, Ariminum, struck bronze Ausculum), fish (cast bronze Hadria, struck bronze Central Etruria), sow (cast bronze Rome (bronze bar), struck bronze Tuder).



also shown by the colonial coinages using types which are common in (parts of) the south, but absent in Roman coinage. These types include a range of deities, such as Artemis/Diana (used in Paestum and Luceria), Dionysus/Bacchus (Venusia), Ceres/Demeter (Norba, Luceria and Paestum), Hera/Juno (Venusia), and Neptune/Poseidon (Brundisium, Luceria, Paestum). The use of these ‘Greek’ types is largely confined to the southern colonies, which because of their physical proximity would have had more intensive interaction with the Greek mints. Against this background, the case of Norba is interesting, as it is located much further to the north and in close proximity to Rome. The head of Ceres/Demeter and the barley ear on the only extant coin from Norba (HNItaly 248) are clearly reminiscent of the iconic types of the Greek mint of Metapontum. This underlines how this isolated issue from an early Latin colony was influenced by southern practices, as we have already seen in the choice of struck silver in this particular colony (see section 4.3.2).

Regional and supraregional influences without any Roman involvement may also be seen in the use of the cock both on struck silver and bronze and on cast bronze. The cock can be associated with Apollo, but also with the Dioscuri.<sup>727</sup> It is striking that this type is used quite a lot by Latin colonies and Roman allies, regardless of the metal and technique they use for their coinages, while the type is not known from Rome. Early usages of the cock can be found in Neapolis (HNItaly 581) and Metapontum (HNItaly 1613), but both issues are rare, which means that they are less likely to have served as an example. The sudden popularity in the third century probably should be explained in a different way. In the first half of the third century, in the area of southern Latium and northern Campania, the cock became a popular type for the struck bronze of many of the local mints (mainly allies of Rome) and the colonies of Suessa Aurunca (HNItaly 449) and Cales (HNItaly 435) (see section 4.3.2, with figure 4.22). The cock was also used on the cast bronze of the colonies of Hadria (HNItaly 15; figure 4.4) and Luceria (HNItaly 669). The issue of Luceria probably predates the Campanian group, and combines the cock with Apollo, like the Neapolitan issue.<sup>728</sup> The combination is rather logical, as we find the

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<sup>727</sup> See Tagliamonte 2004, 112 on a bronze votive cock donated at the Samnite sanctuary of Pietrabbondante, according to him referring to the Dioscuri.

<sup>728</sup> See Thomsen 1961, 107; the other early Lucerian issue (HNItaly 668) uses the same combination of types as the second Roman silver (HNItaly 275 / RRC 15.a-b); see section 4.3.1.

cock more often associated to deities of light.<sup>729</sup> It is tempting to suggest that the cock had a special ‘colonial’ meaning, perhaps connected to its courage in fighting or its vigilance, or to its association with Apollo, although this must remain speculation.<sup>730</sup>

In addition to these rather widespread ‘southern types’, there are also some more exclusive regional types which are adopted by some of the colonies. All these cases will be discussed in more detail in the case studies below (see section 4.3.2 and 4.3.3), but it is important to note them here in order to get an overview of the diverse practices in the colonies. A very clear example is the dolphin rider, an iconic Tarentine type, which is used on the coinages of Brundisium and Paestum. In northern Campania and southern Latium, the man-faced bull was a signature type in the production of Neapolis, and was then used both on the first Roman struck bronze (probably produced in Neapolis), and by various mints in and around Campania in the late fourth and first half of the third century, including the colonies of Cales, Suessa Aurunca and Aesernia (see section 4.3.2). In other colonies, on the contrary, a Roman example was followed. Both the struck bronze of Cosa (HNItaly 210 and 211) and that of Beneventum (HNItaly 440) copy Roman issues, and the same may be true for one of the first issues of Luceria.<sup>731</sup> Finally, the head of Vulcan is used by the colonies Ariminum (HNItaly 8) and Aesernia (HNItaly 430), but cannot be easily related to a regional tradition or a Roman example.

The main conclusion to be drawn is that there is a great variety in the influences that were important in the selection of types by the colonial mints. Coinage production in the colonies was affected by a range of different connections, which depend on the location of the colony, and the traditions to which they wished to adhere. Generally speaking, Rome was a more important point of reference for mints producing cast bronze than for struck bronze and silver. A probable reason for this is that the production of struck bronze and

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<sup>729</sup> Hünemörder 2014.

<sup>730</sup> Cf. Carini 2009 who notices that Apollo is often venerated in colonies.

<sup>731</sup> The Cosan HNItaly 210 copies the types (Mars/horse’s head) of the first Roman silver HNItaly 266 / RRC 13.1 (didrachm); HNItaly 211 those of the Roman bronze HNItaly 278 / RRC 17.1 (Minerva or Coza / horse’s head). Both the struck bronze of Beneventum (HNItaly 440) and the cast bronze of Luceria (HNItaly 668) use the same types (Apollo/horse) as the Roman silver HNItaly 275 / RRC 15. See section 4.3.2 for further discussion.

silver already had much stronger traditions, developed over two centuries of production in the Greek south.

Both for cast bronze and for struck bronze and silver, however, currents developing independently from Rome can be recognized. Interestingly, the cases where Rome seems to be an important point of reference, are mostly those colonies which were geographically particularly remote at the moment of foundation: Luceria and Venusia in case of the cast bronze production, and Cosa and Beneventum for struck bronze. At these mints, the choice of a technique of coinage production which was not common in the regional environment was accompanied by a selection of types used at the mint of Rome, communicating a particular bond to the mother town. In contrast, colonies which were more integrated in their regional environment do not seem to have felt this need, and instead opted for complete immersion in regional developments, sometimes even taking a leading role in these (see also the case studies below). In these cases, the public identity communicated through the coins of these colonies was not 'Roman' at all, but rather aimed at positioning the colony as a (competitive) peer in the region. This combination of observations gives us some important information on the way the colonies functioned in broader cultural developments in Central Italy: as active shapers of the monetary landscape in third century Italy, they partly intensified both existing local and Roman practice and examples, but they also introduced new elements into this developing spectrum.

#### **4.2.3 Exchange groups: weight standards, denominations and distribution**

The last part of this general analysis focuses on exchange groups and the position of the colonies in them. Put in simple terms, the main question here is with whom the colonies chose to be able to interact. The analysis is based on two types of sources. Where possible, the potential for exchange will be examined based on the weight standards of the coinages under study and the denominations in which they are produced. In addition, the distribution of find spots will be used as an indicator for the areas of circulation of the various colonial coinages. The data on distribution of the colonial coinages are based on an inventory of published material (see appendix 7). The analysis will start with the cast bronze coinages, as their weight standards are relatively easy to investigate. The analysis of struck bronze and silver will follow.

All cast bronze coinages here under study are based on a fixed unit, which is usually called the *as* or the *nummus* (in the latest period under study, the lower denominations are often struck). In most cases, the relation of the various denominations to the main unit is indicated on the coin by the use of pellets as marks of value, which allows for the reconstruction of a theoretical *as*-average. There are two different ways in which the main unit can be subdivided: decimal (the *uncia* is a tenth of the main unit, and is accompanied by multiples: *biunx*, *teruncius*, etc.) or duodecimal (the *uncia* is a twelfth of the main unit, while other fractions are a sixth (*sextans*), a fourth (*quadrans*), a third (*triens*) or half (*semis*).<sup>732</sup> Both the (theoretical) weight of the *as* and the way it is subdivided vary considerably between mints, complicating the possibilities for exchange. This variety also shows that no new uniform system was introduced by Rome: older traditions may have played a role, both in the selection of the weight standard and in the subdivision of the main unit.<sup>733</sup>

Figures 4.12 and 4.13 show the variety in weight standards and subdivision of the main unit of cast bronze coinages before and after 220 (the figure is based on the theoretical *as*-averages and approximate dates given in HNIItaly; only mints for which a theoretical *as* average is given are included). The chronologies of the cast bronze coinages are often difficult to establish, which means that chronological differentiation is difficult. The year 220 does seem to be a relevant turning point; before 220, it is clear that there are various groups of mints minting on different weight standards. Only Rome and Luceria produce cast bronze coinage on two different weight standards in this period, while all other mints follow one specific standard. After 220, we can identify more changes in the weight standards used, but there is less geographical differentiation. In the context of the Second Punic War, a series of weight reductions can be recognized both at Rome and other mints.<sup>734</sup>

Starting the analysis, we can first of all note that in the period before 220 (figure 4.12), there are two groups of mints which both produce on a weight standard that is not used in Rome. It is clear, therefore, that we are not dealing with one large exchange group initiated by or centred on Rome. Especially

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<sup>732</sup> For the decimal system: Crawford 1985a, 15.

<sup>733</sup> Pedroni 1996a, 53-62, specifically 61, recognizes the variety, but still relates all weight standards in the colonies - implausibly - to Rome.

<sup>734</sup> For a general overview, see Crawford 1985a, 43-47.

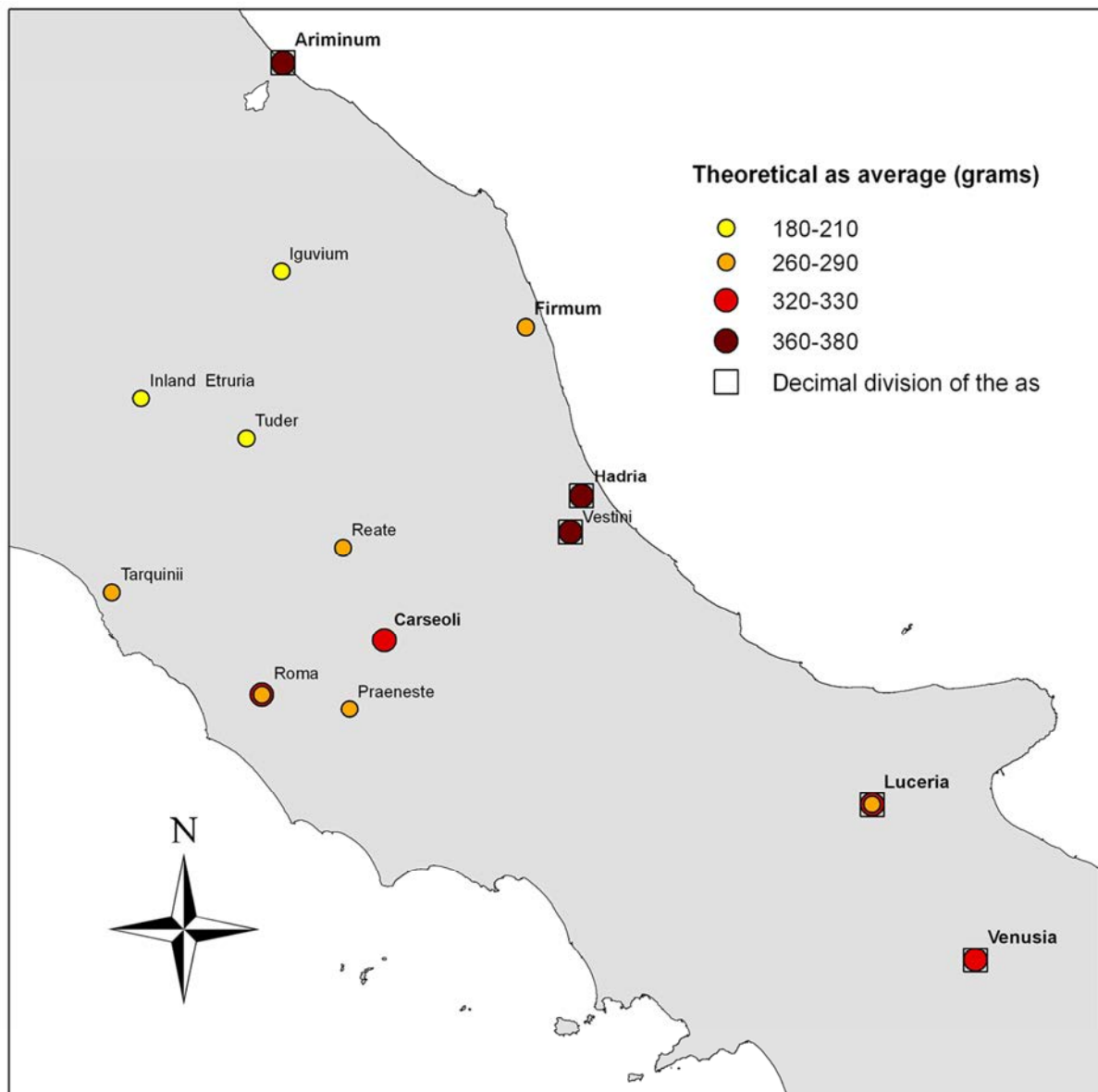


Figure 4.12. Map showing mints of cast bronze coinage before 220, with weight standards and subdivisions of the main unit

interesting is the heavy weight standard in combination with a decimal division of the *as* used by the mints of Ariminum, Hadria and the Vestini on the Adriatic coast: although two colonies are part of the group, their production it does not match Roman production in any way.<sup>735</sup> In previous research, this independence of the colonies vis-a-vis Rome has been noted, and the usual

<sup>735</sup> Guidobaldi 1995, 190 nonetheless thinks that the colony of Hadria functioned as a model for the production of the Vestini: on the production by Hadria she says: 'essa costituì un autentico modello per la monetazione dei contigui Vestini (...)'. The reason for the primacy of the production of Hadria is not clear to me.

explanation is that a local tradition was inherited by the colonies.<sup>736</sup> Some have found such strong local influence problematic: the date of the cast bronze series of Ariminum is still discussed (see section 4.3.1), and it has been argued that it should be dated before the foundation of the colony, because of the different weight standard. For Hadria, a date after the foundation of the colony is now quite generally accepted, and the deviant weight standard is then explained by the strong tradition already present in the area.<sup>737</sup> For now, it suffices to say that local traditions indeed do seem to have been an important influence for those responsible for the production of coinage in these colonies, while the possibility of easy exchange over larger distances was apparently not a decisive factor.

In the other colonies (Luceria, Venusia, Carseoli), the weight standards used are more closely related to Rome:<sup>738</sup> they all use the same ‘heavy’ standard that is also used for the earliest cast bronze issues in Rome (ca. 320 g.), while Luceria also produces coins on the Roman ‘light’ standard (ca. 270 g.). For Luceria and Venusia, this closer connection to Rome corresponds to the high level of contact that we have seen in the typological associations. However, Luceria and Venusia both use a decimal subdivision of the as, which means that while the main unit is produced on the same weight standard, the smaller denominations are less compatible. This lack of practical compatibility may indicate that production on the weight standard of Rome was the result of cultural or ideological, rather than practical considerations.

For the period before 220, therefore, the relatively high level of variety in weight standards and subdivisions suggests an image in which exchange groups are rather local. This can be checked against the distribution of find spots of coins belonging to these various groups, although this information has been gathered only for the colonies (see figure 4.16 in section 4.3.1). The information available is problematic both because of the low numbers of specimens for which an actual find spot is known, and because of the poor accessibility of this kind of material, which means that no claim to

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<sup>736</sup> E.g. Thomsen 1961, 249; Crawford 1985a, 43. See section 4.3.1.

<sup>737</sup> See Azzena 1987b and Campanelli 2001; both react to previous research in which the heavy weight standard was used as an argument for a date before the foundation of the colony,

<sup>738</sup> See Burnett 1991, 31 for the suggestion that the *nummus* in Venusia and the *as* in Rome originally had the same value.

exhaustiveness can be made. However, the general image corresponds with the results of the analysis of the intrinsic information of weight standards and denominations: the use of these coinages has mostly been recorded in the immediate environment, while only for Ariminum is there a wider distribution. It is also worth noting that very few colonial specimens are known to have been found near to Rome.

After 220 (figure 4.13), the Roman production of cast bronze went through a series of weight reductions. The weight standards used by other mints in Italy generally seem to conform to a Roman standard at a certain point in time, and it is usually supposed that Rome now plays a leading role (see section 4.3.3). All of these mints now share the use of marks of value to indicate the denominations, and the lower denominations are normally struck; the colonies of Brundisium and Paestum also produce struck coinages in this system. It should be noted, however, that the subdivision of the *as* in Luceria and Venusia is still decimal rather than duodecimal. All the 'Adriatic' mints have ceased production in this period, while new mints appear in the area around Luceria and Venusia. These new mints are interesting because they do not all follow the same system: Volcei and Meles, where production probably dates to the period of alliance with Hannibal, use a duodecimal division of the *as*, while Ausculum follows the example of Luceria and Venusia and has a decimal division.<sup>739</sup> This means that the only colonies still producing cast bronze coinage in their own name retain a local element in their production, and apparently even exercise influence over the new mint of Ausculum. The production of the two colonial mints now seems to have a wider distribution in southern Italy, with some of the specimens of Venusia even reaching the opposite side of Adriatic coast (see figure 4.29 in section 4.3.3).

In conclusion, before 220 the colonies seem to have produced cast bronze coinages mainly for local use, and exchange groups were regional at best. In these circumstances, Rome was not necessarily an important example to draw on in functional terms. When the Roman standard is followed, therefore, we should understand this in cultural rather than practical terms. In the period after 220, exchange groups became wider and weight standards more uniform,

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<sup>739</sup> The closest link may be to Luceria: see HNItaly 656 for the observation that the *as*-average of individual denominations varies in the same way as at Luceria.

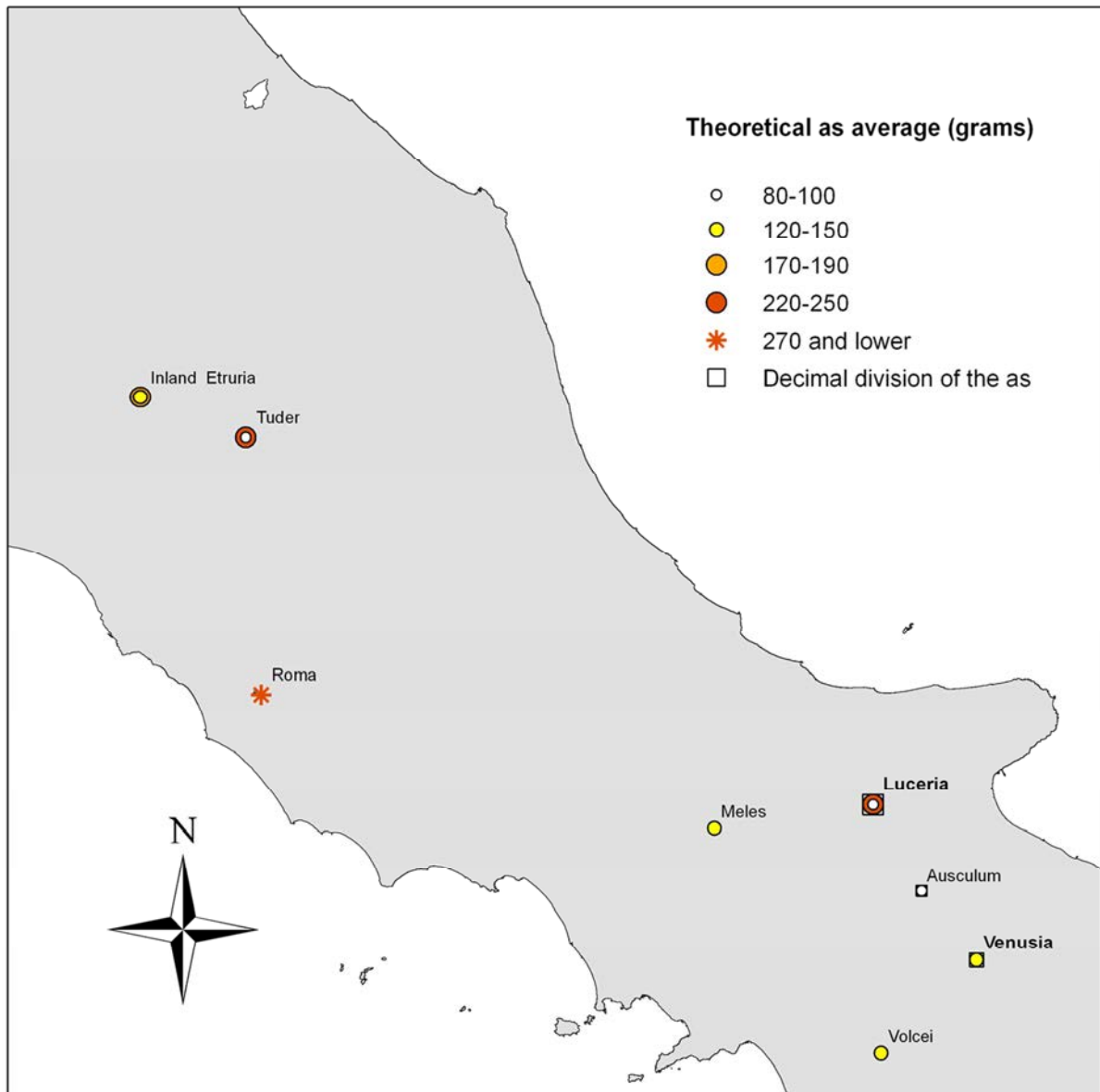


Figure 4.13. Map showing mints of cast bronze coinage after 220, with weight standards and subdivisions of the main unit

with a leading position for Rome. However, in these circumstances some local characteristics of the colonial coinages still continued to exist, indicating the endurance of local traditions in the colonies.

For struck silver, the panorama in third century Italy is less diverse, both in terms of weight standards and in terms of distribution. Except for the Etruscan mints, most silver production in Italy in the third century follows one of three weight standards: the 'Achaean standard' of ca. 7,8 g for a didrachm, used by many of the Greek mints in the south; the 'Campanian standard' of ca. 7,2 g for a didrachm, used by the Campanian mints, some mints in northern Apulia and Rome (for its first three silver issues); and a reduced weight of ca.



6,6 g for a didrachm found both in Rome and at the mints previously following the Achaean standard.<sup>740</sup> The struck silver produced by the colonies generally follows the Campanian standard, although denominations vary. Whereas Cales and Suessa Aurunca in Campania only produce didrachms, the production of the colonies of Signia, Norba and Alba Fucens, located further to the north, is restricted to fractions (obols in Signia and Norba; hemiobols, obols and diobols in Alba Fucens).<sup>741</sup> Unfortunately, we have very little information on the distribution of these fractions produced by the northern colonies: only for Alba Fucens some information is available of silver coins found in the regional environment (see figure 4.19 in section 4.3.2). The situation is somewhat better for Cales and Suessa Aurunca. Most of the silver specimens from these mints with a known provenance are from hoards located at some distance from the production centre, in areas with relatively good connections to Campania (see figure 4.19) This shows that these silver coins could indeed be used across larger areas, and would give the colonies a place in a larger exchange community.

Finally, for the struck bronze coinages of the second phase (see figure 4.2), the analysis of exchange groups is mainly based on distribution, as it is difficult to identify weight standards and denominations. The variation in weights of the small struck bronze coinages is quite high and a standard unit has often not (yet) been identified (this challenge will return in the discussion of the bronze in Campania in 4.3.2). As discussed before, while the later struck bronzes mostly have marks of value, which allows us to understand their denomination and relation to the main weight standard, in the second phase the struck bronze coins do not display such indicators (see section 4.2.1 with note 700). In this phase, the cast bronze and the struck bronze do not seem to have been part of the same system; the simultaneous existence of these two types of coinage in this period may rather be explained by a combination of different cultural backgrounds and different functions.

The only source we have at our disposal, therefore, to understand something more of the exchange groups in which the colonies were active, is the distribution of the struck bronze production (see figure 4.23 in section

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<sup>740</sup> See Burnett 1977; Thomsen 1957, 187-188. This goes back to Regling 1906.

<sup>741</sup> Note that in the same geographical area, Cora produces didrachms at the reduced standard of 6,6 g, possibly slightly later in date than the production of Signia, Norba and Alba Fucens.

4.3.2) and the composition of hoards: when issues are hoarded together, they probably circulated together as well. What all colonies have in common is a rather wide distribution of specimens over Central Italy, showing that these coinages were used over rather large areas. Least widely distributed are the specimens from Ariminum and Cosa, which are also seldom found in hoards together with the southern bronzes. The rather isolated location of these two colonies clearly had an effect on the distribution of their coinages: in both cases, specimens of these coinages concentrate in the northern part of Italy. For the other colonies, the high level of overlap in distribution and common occurrence in hoards is striking. The struck bronze of Aesernia, Suessa Aurunca and Cales, and that of Paestum circulates largely in the same area. In the case of Paestum, this means that its coinage is found almost exclusively north of the colony and in Sicily. The absence of these coinages in the southern part of Italy is conspicuous, and the relationship to areas of Roman control has been noted previously (see section 4.3.2).<sup>742</sup> The area of distribution is largely the same as that of the contemporary Roman bronzes, although the colonial issues are more common on the Adriatic coast.<sup>743</sup> It thus seems plausible that these bronzes were exchangeable, and functioned in the same contexts.

In contrast to the cast bronze production, therefore, the struck bronze and silver integrated the colonies into much larger exchange groups. As will be discussed in section 4.3, these issues often seem related to the military contributions of the colonies to the Roman war effort, and it is probably this context that explains the wider distribution and higher level of compatibility of these coinages. In comparison to the cast bronze coinages, production in struck bronze or silver apparently was much less fragmented, and it allowed interaction and self-representation of the colonies in rather large areas.

### **4.3 Case studies: local and regional coinages**

In this section, the way the colonies manifested themselves through their coinages will be investigated in more detail. The analysis will focus on the ways in which the colonial coinages were shaped through local decisions informed

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<sup>742</sup> Cf. Torelli in AA.VV. 1998, 196-197; Cantilena 2000a, 87.

<sup>743</sup> Cf. the distribution of RRC 16 and RRC 17 (HNIItaly 276 and 278) as mapped by Rosa Vitale in Vitale 1998a, tav. XII and tav. XIII; Vitale 1998b.

both by local concerns and by external influences. The analysis will be organized according to three groups which result from the general analysis. As we will see, within these groups, there remain differences in how each colony chose to present itself.

The first group is centred on the Adriatic coast, where the cast bronze production of both colonies and other mints was triggered by Roman activity, while at the same time it was influenced by a previous tradition of weighed bronze. Second, we will focus on the colonies in Campania, where the regional (Greek) tradition of coinage production seems to have been influential both for the weights and types selected by the colonies. As this region was important in the development of Roman coinage production, it also gives the opportunity to study the interaction between this Greek tradition, the colonies and Rome. While these first two groups primarily provide us with insights into colonial practices in the first half of the third century (possibly slightly later in case of the cast bronze coinages on the Adriatic coast), the third case study focuses on developments in the later part of the third century, during the Second Punic War. Nearly all of the remaining active colonial mints in this period are located in Apulia. In the context of the Second Punic War, the relationship between Rome and the colonies seems to have changed, and we will examine the consequences for the public identity of the colonies.

The groups defined here have received specific attention in past research, yet the implications for the public identities of the colonies and the ways they contributed to cultural change have rarely been treated explicitly (see the introduction to this chapter). Structuring the case studies according to these groups will therefore facilitate the inclusion and consideration of previous research. However, whereas previous research often focused on well-contained regional areas, I will also include more distant colonial coinages in the analysis in those cases where links have been established in one of the above general analyses. In this way, the analysis will focus on networks rather than geographically defined groups (see chapter 2), although it is clear that each of these groups has a geographical core. An investigation of how the more distant colonies related to the core groups can help to elucidate various factors that influenced the decisions involved in coinage production. This means that in the section 4.3.1, on the Adriatic coast, we will also examine the cast bronze coinage of Carseoli. The silver of nearby Alba Fucens, together with the

associated mints of Norba and Signia, will be further examined in the context of the Campanian coinages, as will the struck bronze of Cosa and Ariminum (section 4.3.2). The silver and first phase of struck bronze from Paestum also fit best in the Campanian group, but the later bronze of Paestum, produced during the Second Punic War, will be included in section 4.3.3.

#### **4.3.1 The Adriatic coast and Carseoli**

As we have seen in section 4.2, cast bronze production on the Adriatic coast probably started later than in Rome, and in this case Rome occupies a central position in the network of type associations. At the same time, local traditions in weight standards, measuring systems and types were clearly influential in the coinage production of the colonies on the Adriatic coast. The resulting coinages are different for each colony. In this section, the cast bronze coinages of Ariminum, Hadria, Firmum, Carseoli and the production of Luceria and Venusia before the Second Punic War will be investigated. The main goal is to better understand the significance of the individual coinages at a local and regional level, and to understand which influences were important at a local level.

The most conspicuous group on the Adriatic coast is formed by the cast bronze production of the mints of Ariminum, Hadria and the Vestini, which is characterized by a heavy weight standard (ca. 380 g) and a decimal division of the as. Although there is discussion about the exact origins of this metrology, it probably goes back on an older tradition in the Adriatic region.<sup>744</sup> It has been suggested that the use of this weight standard indicates the presence of a ‘substantial local element’ in the colonial population,<sup>745</sup> but as we have seen in 3.2.1, there is little convincing evidence for this. I therefore prefer a scenario in which the colonists, or at least those responsible for coinage production, chose to adhere to this regional tradition. In any case, we may note that the practice

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<sup>744</sup> Parallels with weight standards in Etruria and Etruria Padana have been noted: see Panvini Rosati 1974, 84; Ercolani Cocchi 1995a, 405, n. 21; Ercolani Cocchi 2004, 38, suggesting a Villanovan origin. Campana 1992-1996, 26 suggests an Umbrian origin. In general on the ‘local tradition’ which would have influenced the colonial production: Thomsen 1961, 249; Crawford 1985a, 43; Campanelli 2001, 97. The local character of these coinages is underlined by the find of a probable mould for the production of the Hadrian coinage at the northwestern border of the modern town: Guidobaldi 1995, 190, n. 8 with more on the excavations on p. 212.

<sup>745</sup> Bradley 2006, 174.

of coinage production in these colonies would have benefitted their integration into a regional economy, and would not have marked the colonies as agents of Rome.<sup>746</sup> This in itself is an important observation that informs us about the public identity of the colonies. By examining the function of these coinages and their types, we can further qualify the way the colonies presented themselves.

Before we can move on to this part of the analysis, however, a brief intermezzo is necessary. In order to study how the colonies presented themselves through their coinages, we have to be certain that these coinages actually belong to the colonies under study. In section 4.2 the dates given follow those presented in HNIItaly, which place the coinages after the colonial foundation date. For Ariminum, however, this date is not generally accepted: it has been argued that the cast bronze coinage predates the foundation of the colony while only the struck bronze would have been produced by the colony.<sup>747</sup> As this obviously has an impact on the analysis in this section, we need to trace the main arguments in this debate, which will turn out to be important for the analysis of the significance of the cast bronze coinage as well.

The chronology of the coinage of Ariminum (figure 4.14) has been the subject of debate ever since its discovery. Since the 1990s, the debate has unfolded with renewed vigour, revolving basically around two questions: first, the date of the cast bronze coinage (before or after the foundation of the colony); and second, the groups responsible for its production.<sup>748</sup> The second question is hotly debated between those in favour of the earlier date, attributing the cast bronze production alternately to early Roman settlers, Gallic Senones or the local inhabitants.<sup>749</sup>

Let us first focus on the chronology. For the struck bronze, a date after the foundation of the colony is generally accepted, on the grounds that it has a Latin legend (ARIM or ARIMN) and presents some formal characteristics similar

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<sup>746</sup> Cf. Ercolani Cocchi 1995a, 407 on Ariminum.

<sup>747</sup> A 'pre-colonial' date for the coinage of Hadria has been suggested in the past, but there is now consensus that the coinage belongs to the colony. See Campanelli 2001, 103, n. 2 for an overview of contributions.

<sup>748</sup> For an overview of earlier contributions to the debate, see Biordi 1984, 251-252; Ortalli 1990, 115-116; Oebel 1993, 64-74. Ercolani Cocchi and Ortalli 2012 give most of the recent bibliography, and an overview of the main arguments of these two authors, who have been active participants in the debate, often reacting to alternative interpretations and chronologies suggested by others (e.g. Bondini 2003, Arslan 2006, Braccesi 2006a).

<sup>749</sup> See Oebel 1993, 54-58 for discussion of the original inhabitants of the area.



Figure 4.14. Coinage of Ariminum in cast bronze and struck bronze. All cast bronze coins have the bust of a Gaul on the obverse. Reverses: teruncius with trident (HNItaly 4); biunx with dolphin (HNItaly 5); uncia with rostrum tridens (HNItaly 6); semuncia with shell (HNItaly 7). Struck bronze with bust of Vulcan / warrior with shield and spear (HNItaly 8)

to the struck bronze production of several colonies further to the south, such as Beneventum and Aesernia (for further analysis, see section 4.3.2).<sup>750</sup> For the cast bronze, however, no such clear clues are available, and the disagreement on its chronology can be taken as a reflection of the lack of conclusive evidence. Nonetheless, a series of secondary arguments has been adduced to argue for a date before the foundation of the colony.<sup>751</sup> The most important argument is the idea that the cast bronze issue must have predated the struck bronze: consequently, when the struck bronze is dated to the early years of the colony, the cast bronze automatically predates the colonial foundation.<sup>752</sup> The main reason why the cast bronze would be earlier than the struck bronze is the fact that they represent different economic and monetary systems: whereas the cast bronze would mainly function as a store of wealth and possibly a means for making military payments, the struck bronze would be used on a more regular basis as a medium of exchange.<sup>753</sup> An additional argument used by some scholars is the lack of a legend on the cast bronze, while one does appear on the struck series of Ariminum and the cast bronze of Hadria and the Vestini.<sup>754</sup>

Other arguments for a pre-colonial date of the cast bronze are more historically contingent, and at this point, the question of the issuing authority becomes important. A central problem here is the significance attached to the standard obverse type of the coinage under study, a male head with long, thick locks of hair, a moustache, and a torque around the neck, generally interpreted as the bust of a Gaul. This type finds no parallels in contemporary coins issued

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<sup>750</sup> The argumentation has not changed since Panvini Rosati 1962, 172.

<sup>751</sup> I focus here on the more recent contributions to the debate. In some of the earlier contributions, the traditional date of the introduction of the denarius in Rome (269) was used to argue for an earlier date of the cast bronze of Ariminum (as cast bronze production disappears in Rome with the introduction of the denarius); see Panvini Rosati 1962, 169 for the main argument; already in this article the argument is excluded from the main analysis in view of the debate on the date of the introduction of the denarius.

<sup>752</sup> The argument is already found in Panvini Rosati 1962, 172, although he does not explain why the two could not be produced simultaneously. It is still used in Ortalli 1990, 117-118, even though in this article the possibility that the two circulated simultaneously is acknowledged, as they were found in the same foundation deposit (see below). Nonetheless, the argument persists in later contributions, e.g. Bondini 2003, 312; Ercolani Cocchi and Ortalli 2012, 357. The chronological succession of the two issues is also accepted as a given by Gorini 2010, 313, even though he dates both issues after the foundation of the colony. See note 700 above for the problems with his seriation and general approach.

<sup>753</sup> See e.g. Ercolani Cocchi 1995a, 407-409; Bondini 2003, 312.

<sup>754</sup> Ercolani Cocchi 2004, 39.

by other mints in Italy.<sup>755</sup> While some have taken this as an indication that the Senones were the issuing authority, pointing out that no signs of defeat can be found in the iconography, others have argued that the type can also be explained as the representation of a defeated enemy.<sup>756</sup> The second interpretation still leaves open several possibilities for the identification of the issuing authority: either the colony, the local, indigenous population, or a group of Romans (/Latins) who were present in the region after the battle of Sentinum (295) but before the foundation of the colony.<sup>757</sup> This last possibility is advocated mainly by Jacopo Ortalli and Emanuela Ercolani Cocchi, who combine a firm belief in a pre-colonial date with a series of considerations which would nonetheless show the 'romanness' of this cast bronze coinage.<sup>758</sup>

Important in the hypothesis of Ortalli and Ercolani Cocchi are some of the find contexts of the cast bronze in Rimini and environs, in which the cast bronze is found together with either the struck bronze of Ariminum or Roman struck bronze coinage. The most significant of these is a foundation deposit of the defensive wall (see section 3.4.1) in which a semuncia of the cast series was found together with two specimens of the struck series and the skeleton of a dog. Based on the material and location of find complex, it is argued that the cast bronze cannot have a Celtic association, and should instead be associated with a Roman authority.<sup>759</sup> This hypothesis is embedded in a broader panorama of the territory of Ariminum before the actual foundation of the colony in 268 as an 'outpost of colonization', based on the archaeological remains which indicate early Roman presence in and around the colonial site.<sup>760</sup> In this context, the close association of the cast bronze with the coinage of Hadria, which has an accepted date soon after the foundation date of the colony in 289, is used to argue for a similar date for the Ariminum cast bronze.<sup>761</sup>

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<sup>755</sup> Ercolani Cocchi 2004, 36-37.

<sup>756</sup> For an overview of arguments, also against the background of what we know about Celtic coinage production: Bondini 2003, 310-311. On the multiplicity of possible interpretations also Ortalli 1990, 113, n. 33 and Catalli 1995, 99.

<sup>757</sup> For the hypothesis of production by the local population who wanted to celebrate their role in the battle of Sentinum: Catalli 1995, 99. Bondini 2003, 313 gives the option of involvement of the local population which would have intermixed to a large degree with the Gauls.

<sup>758</sup> Their main contributions include Ortalli 1990; Ercolani Cocchi 1995a; 2004; Ortalli 2006; Ortalli 2007; Ercolani Cocchi and Ortalli 2012.

<sup>759</sup> Ortalli 1990, specifically p. 117.

<sup>760</sup> See in particular Ortalli 2006, 293-300; Ortalli 2007, 364-366.

<sup>761</sup> Ercolani Cocchi 2004, 39.



Although, as noted before, decisive evidence is lacking, none of the arguments presented above convince me of a pre-colonial date for the cast bronze of Ariminum. The absence of a legend is not unheard of for a colonial coinage: the early coinages of Venusia and Luceria equally lack a reference to the issuing authority (see below). Moreover, I am not convinced that the cast bronze and the struck bronze cannot have been produced simultaneously. As we have seen above, the main argument for this would be the incompatibility of the two economic systems represented by these two coinages. However, I would argue that two coinages with different functions may well have coexisted, *because* they belonged to two different economic spheres. This is corroborated by archaeological assemblages in which these coins appear together, suggesting that specimens of the two coinages circulated simultaneously.<sup>762</sup>

If this possibility is accepted, most of the arguments used by Ortalli and Ercolani Cocchi to argue for Roman involvement in the production of the cast bronze can be used equally for production by the colony itself: the occurrence of these coins in the foundation deposit of the defensive wall and the association with the cast bronze production of Hadria both ‘work’ in this scenario as well.<sup>763</sup> The date is corroborated by the other coins found in association with specimens of the cast bronze series. In a find context in the palazzo Pugliesi, a *biunx* of the cast bronze series of Ariminum (HNItaly 5) was found together with a Roman quadrans of the Roma/Roma series (HNItaly 291), dated to ca. 265.<sup>764</sup> The recent excavations in the palazzo Massani have yielded similar associations: here a *teruncius* of the cast bronze series (HNItaly 4) and a specimen of the struck bronze (HNItaly 8) were found together with the Roman struck bronze Minerva/Horse’s head (HNItaly 278 / RRC 17), dated ca. 260, and two specimens of the Neapolitan bronze with Apollo/man-faced bull (HNItaly 589 / 590 / 591), dated 275-250.<sup>765</sup>

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<sup>762</sup> See Ortalli 2006, 301 and the archaeological contexts of palazzo Massani, presented in Ercolani Cocchi and Ortalli 2012, 360, where both cast and struck specimens appear together for the first time in phase III. The implications for the exact interrelationship between the two coinages need further investigation.

<sup>763</sup> Cf. Parise 1989, 593; Campanelli 2001, 95-96.

<sup>764</sup> See Rutter et al. 2001, 17; for the find context in the excavation of palazzo Pugliesi: Zuffa 1962, 92.

<sup>765</sup> Ercolani Cocchi and Ortalli 2012, 360; 367. The dates here are those given in HNItaly; Ercolani Cocchi gives an earlier date for the Roman bronze (before 269).

Closing this intermezzo, we can therefore continue the analysis with the basic assumption that the cast bronze is a product of the colony of Ariminum.<sup>766</sup> Any remaining doubt about this attribution need not interfere too much with the proposed analysis: even if the cast bronze were the product of a group of ‘pre-colonial’ Romans or Latins, it is probable that they were subsequently involved in the colony as well, forging an association between the coinage and the colony. So how can we qualify the public identity shaped and communicated through these coinages? The combined production of cast bronze and struck bronze shows a heightened awareness of various economic and cultural contexts. As noted before, the heavy cast bronze is not likely to have been used in daily exchange and is more suitable as a store of wealth or as a means to make large payments.<sup>767</sup> Interestingly, the distribution of both issues indeed varies: while the struck bronzes are only known from Ariminum itself and some find spots mainly further to the north, the cast bronzes have a wider distribution in the northern part of the Central Apennines (see figures 4.16 and 4.23). In view of the local metrology and distribution of the finds, it seems probable that particularly the cast bronze coinage had a role to play in the integration of the colony into the broader regional environment.

So how did the colony of Ariminum present itself in this environment? As we have seen above, there is a wide variety of possible interpretations for the bust of a Gaul depicted on the obverses of all cast bronze denominations.<sup>768</sup> This problem of interpretation remains when we attribute the production of the cast bronze to the colony: the coins may either depict a Gaul as the defeated enemy or a Gaul as representation of the inhabitants of the regional environment which were part of the colonial reality. The interpretation is particularly complicated because contemporary coinage in Italy normally does not depict similar foreign ethnic figures. Although the first option seems more plausible in the historical context of continuous animosity between Gauls and Rome in the decades before the foundation of the colony, we should bear in mind that the main clash at the battle of Sentinum was already more than 25 years past when the colony was founded, yet a Gallic presence may have

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<sup>766</sup> See section 4.3.2 for an analysis of the types of the struck bronze.

<sup>767</sup> Cf. Ercolani Cocchi 1995a, 407.

<sup>768</sup> On early representations of Gauls in general: Marszal 2000, 197-200. On their iconography on the coins of Ariminum: Ercolani Cocchi 1995a, 404, Bondini 2003, 307.

persisted in the area.<sup>769</sup> It is impossible to decide between these and other interpretations based on the iconographic representation alone, so we should take both the clashes in the past and the possibility of continued Gallic presence into account when we think about the message that was communicated to the local and regional users of this coinage, and even allow for the possibility of multiple meanings for contemporary users. By using a Gaul as the standard type, this coinage may have communicated a kind of ‘appropriation’ of the former enemy: as a result of previous Roman military superiority, these people could now be appropriated as a symbol of the colony.<sup>770</sup>

The shield and sword and scabbard on the reverses of the quincunx (HNItaly 2) and quadrunx (HNItaly 3) respectively have equally been interpreted within a framework of Roman versus Celtic: most scholars stress that details identify them as Celtic rather than Roman in character.<sup>771</sup> The maritime types on the lower denominations (trident, dolphin and *rostrum tridens* on the terunicius, biunx and uncia respectively) may be related to the importance of the sea in general, and more specifically refer to a marine military function of the colony and /or sea trade.<sup>772</sup> However, the observation in the general analysis (section 4.2.2) that all the reverse types of Ariminum are used on cast bronze (including bronze bars) in Rome puts the ‘Celtic’ details of the shield, sword and scabbard on the reverses of the quincunx and quadrunx somewhat in perspective: although a local rendering is of course possible, the choice of the types does seem to have been influenced by this Roman connection. While this is an influence that seems to have been important at the level of production, it is questionable whether it would have been recognized as Roman influence by the local users of these coins. In conclusion, therefore, both functionally and in the selection of the Gaul as a type, the cast bronze of Ariminum clearly shows that the colony’s main interests in producing this coinage were local. A connection to Rome can be

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<sup>769</sup> For a short overview with references: Ortalli 2006, 286-287. Bandelli 2013, 76 is skeptical about continued Gallic presence in the area.

<sup>770</sup> Something similar happened with the native Americans in the United States, who figure on several 19<sup>th</sup> century US dollars.

<sup>771</sup> E.g. Panvini Rosati 1962, 162-164; Ercolani Cocchi 2004, 36-37; Bondini 2003, 308-309 expresses more caution, but comes to the same conclusion.

<sup>772</sup> E.g. Tramonti 1995, 237. The argument by Ercolani Cocchi 2004, 39 that these types would have made the lower denominations more widely acceptable is not relevant in view of their local distribution.

recognized, mainly in the shared use of reverse types on the cast bronze, but this would probably have carried a much less (if at all) explicit message to the users of these coins.

Moving on to Hadria, it is first of all important to note that its cast bronze coinage is generally accepted to postdate the foundation of the colony.<sup>773</sup> An important argument for this date is the legend in Latin, HAT (see figure 4.4). Of course, this legend would also have signalled the Roman/Latin background of the colonists, at least to those who were able to recognize the Latin script. As in the case of Ariminum, the local orientation shown in the weight standard and decimal division of the *as* is confirmed by the distribution of the finds, mainly in Hadria itself and environs. Moreover, it seems that the similarity to the cast coinage of Ariminum could indeed lead to mutual exchange, as several specimens of Hadria were found in the territory of Ariminum (see figure 4.16). It is clear, therefore, that the coinage of Hadria mainly reached a local and regional audience. The importance of regional interaction is underlined by the fact that the Vestini produced a similar coinage.<sup>774</sup>

Focusing on the selected types, we have seen in the general analysis that there is quite some overlap in the types of Hadria and those of Rome, although most of the shared types between these two mints are also used by other mints, mostly in Umbria and Etruria. In addition, Hadria shares the cock with a rather limited group of mints in Campania (see section 4.3.2), and the shoe with the nearby mint of the Vestini (see figure 4.4). There are also some exclusively local types (figure 4.15), such as the female head in a murex shell and a fish, both of which have been associated to the nearby Adriatic sea.<sup>775</sup> The characteristic facing Silenus head on the obverse of the *as* may also have a local connotation, although the head of a Silenus in profile is also used on the struck bronze of Tuder (HNIItaly 37) and of Metapontum (HNIItaly 1697).<sup>776</sup> However, any such local significance at present largely escapes us. We can only conclude,

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<sup>773</sup> E.g. Azzena 1987b, Campana 1992-1996, 226. Some scholars argue for a date after 268 because of the similarities to the coinage of Ariminum: Parise 1989, 593, followed by Campanelli 2001, 97, 102. Others prefer a date immediately after the foundation of the colony, e.g. Guidobaldi 1995, 190.

<sup>774</sup> Thus La Torre 1996, 44-46; Campanelli 2001, 95.

<sup>775</sup> Campanelli 2001, 99 mentions that the female head in murex shell has been interpreted as a symbol for the birth of the colony.

<sup>776</sup> Campanelli 2001, 98 regards the Silenus as a local type.



Figure 4.15. Local types of Hadria in cast bronze. Above: as with head of Silenus / dog (HNItaly 11). Below: quincunx with female head in murex shell / Pegasus (HNItaly 12)

therefore, that although the people responsible for coinage production in Hadria provided the coinage with a Latin legend and were not ignorant of larger scale trends in coinage production in Italy, the characteristics of the coinage itself and the information we have on its distribution show mainly a concern for the local community and economy - much as in Ariminum.

In the same regional environment, in the colony of Firmum some rather different decisions were made. Firmum stands out for not using either the heavy 'Adriatic' as or the decimal division. It must be noted in this context that only two denominations are known (quadrans and sextans), represented by only a few specimens, which means that it is difficult to establish the exact weight standard and denominational system with certainty.<sup>777</sup> However, the weight of the surviving specimens does exclude the possibility that the cast bronze of Firmum was produced on the same heavy standard used by the other Adriatic mints. Against this background, Rudi Thomsen has pointed out that

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<sup>777</sup> See Parise 1987, 79: only 4 specimens of each denomination are known.

while a decimal division would give an otherwise unknown as-weight of ca 235 g, a duodecimal division gives a weight standard of ca. 285 g, which accords well with the light series of Rome.<sup>778</sup> He therefore prefers the duodecimal reconstruction, and this has been accepted by many scholars.<sup>779</sup>

The difference between Firmum and the Adriatic mints that were previously discussed has been explained by a different make-up of the colonial population; Michael Crawford suggests that the Roman weight standard may have been the result of the ‘injection of a completely alien population into the territory of the Piceni’.<sup>780</sup> As I have argued in section 4.2.3, however, perhaps we should understand the choice of a weight standard in functional rather than ethnic or cultural terms: it tells us more about how the colony positioned itself in the monetary environment than about the cultural background of the people in charge of producing it. While the colonists at Ariminum and Hadria apparently thought it important to be able to exchange conveniently in their regional environment, perhaps this was less important in Firmum. In this light, it is interesting that the three known provenances of specimens of Firmum are the colony itself and its immediate environment, although we can obviously not attach too much emphasis to this (see section 4.2.3). As we have seen in 4.2.2, the types used in Firmum are known from some other mints, and Rome does not seem to have been an important example in this respect. Whether or not the local users would have known that the coinage was compatible with that of Rome, or bore types similar to that of other mints is hard to tell, but the Latin legend with the name of the colony would have communicated an association with Rome.<sup>781</sup>

Further to the south, the mints of Luceria and Venusia created close connections to Rome from their first production onwards: as we have seen in the general analysis, they introduce cast bronze with the same weight standard

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<sup>778</sup> Thomsen 1957, 191 calculated the theoretical as-average both in case of a decimal (235 g) and in case of a duodecimal (282 g) system. He preferred the duodecimal variant in Thomsen 1961, 250; see the overview of the Roman production in Rutter et al. 2001, 45.

<sup>779</sup> E.g. Parise 1987, 84; Catalli 1995, 102-103; Crawford 1985a, 45, Campana 1992-1996, 143. The calculation of an *as* of 288,92 g in HNIItaly, 18 is also based on a duodecimal division of the *as*.

<sup>780</sup> Crawford 1985a, 45.

<sup>781</sup> La Torre 1996, 42-43 claims that the legend of the coinage of Firmum was in Oscan, but this does not seem to be in line with the traces of legend on the existing coins (which are admittedly hard to read). La Torre’s claim is refuted by Rutter et al. 2001, 18.

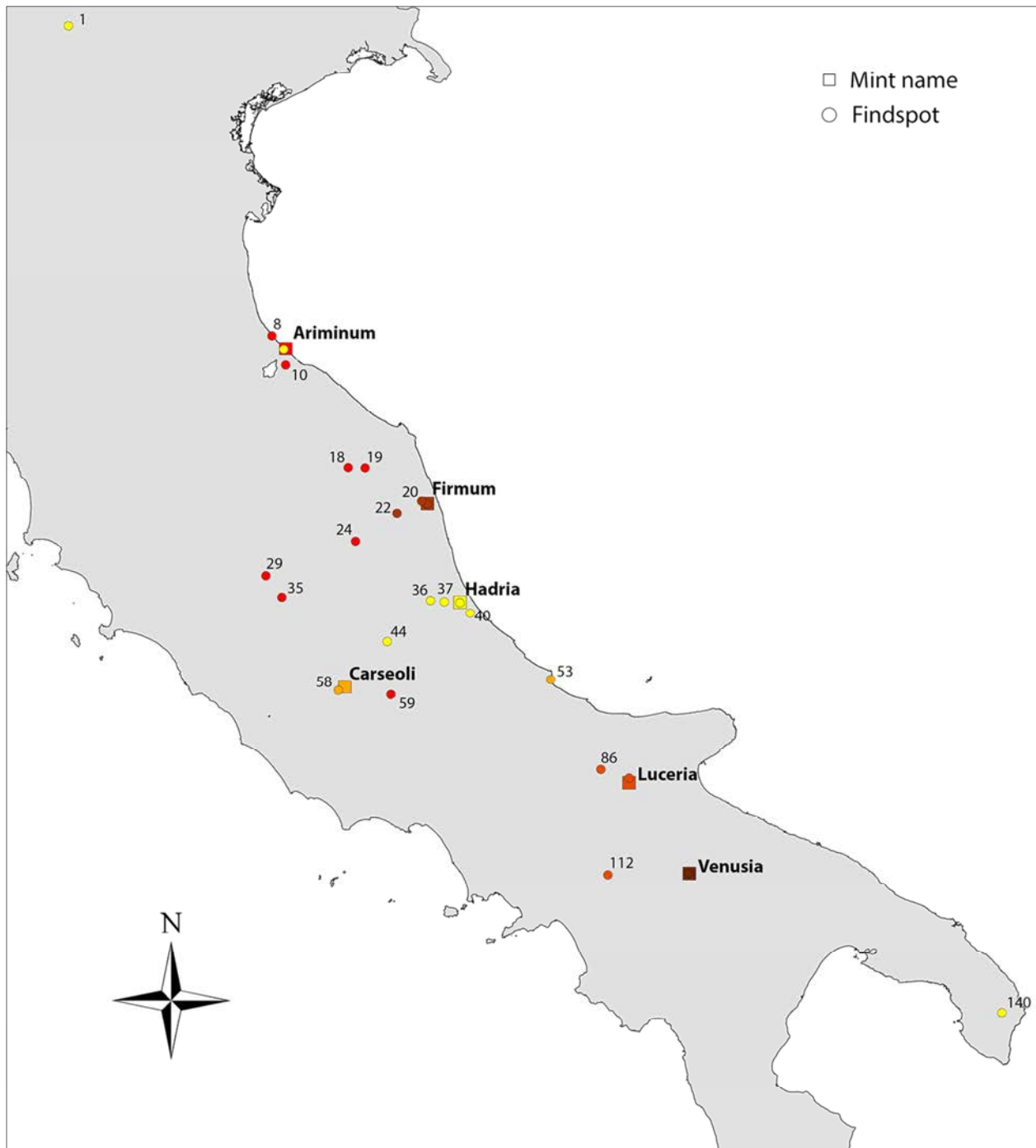


Figure 4.16. Known provenances of colonial coinages in cast bronze before 220. The numbers refer to find spots listed in appendix 7

as Rome and a significant overlap in types in a new regional environment.<sup>782</sup> At the same time, the decimal division of the main unit deviates from the Roman

<sup>782</sup> For some remarks in this direction on Luceria, see already Grueber 1906, 125; see Burnett 1991 and Siciliano 1994 on Venusia.

standard, and would have complicated exchange.<sup>783</sup> Indeed, based on the (very limited) information on the distribution of these early specimens, these coins were mainly used locally (figure 4.16, with appendix 7). In this sense these two colonies can well be compared to the other cast bronze producers on the Adriatic coast. In comparison to the later production (see section 4.3.3), it is interesting that the first issues of these mints do not bear the name of the issuing authority. As in the case of Ariminum, this may be understood against the background of the local distribution of the coinages: the issuing authority would have been clear.

As we have seen in chapter 3, the two early issues attributed to Luceria have a legend in Latin, possibly with the name of the persons or magistrates responsible for minting (figure 4.17). The use of Latin inscriptions on these coins would have signalled the Roman background of the colonies. In this respect, it is interesting that the types of the Lucerian issue HNItaly 668, with the head of Apollo / horse galloping with star, are those of the Roman silver didrachm Apollo / horse (HNItaly 275 / RRC 15.a-b). As discussed above (see section 4.2.3), the other issue, HNItaly 669, uses the same types (Apollo/cock) as a Neapolitan silver triobol HNItaly 581. In both cases, there does not have to be direct influence, and if there was, the direction of this influence remains to be investigated.<sup>784</sup> In general terms, however, we can conclude that the colony not only introduced a new concept of money into the colonized area, but that it also used types that are more common to the Greek tradition of struck silver for the first time on cast bronze coins. The multiple transformative roles of the colony may be clear.

Finally, we can mirror this with the situation in Carseoli. Similarly to Venusia and Luceria, this colony produced cast bronze in a context where struck bronze and silver was well known, judging from the contents of the famous votive deposit (see chapter 5), and the production of nearby mints in Latium and in Alba Fucens. Our knowledge of this coinage is limited, as only one specimen each of a quadrans and a sextans are known. However, the influence of Rome is rather clear: the legend in Latin (CARS or CAR) signals the

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<sup>783</sup> For Luceria: Rutter et al. 2001, 79; for Venusia: Burnett 1991, 30.

<sup>784</sup> See Thomsen 1961, 107, 113 for the suggestion that the Lucerian bronze must have copied the types from the Roman silver; note, however, that in the chronology suggested in HNItaly, the Lucerian issue is earlier (c. 275 against c. 260 for the Roman silver).





Figure 4.17. Early cast bronze coin from Luceria, with head of Apollo / horse galloping. The legend reads C. MODIO CR.F L.PVLLIO L.F (HNItaly 668)

colony as the issuing authority, and the weights of the two known specimens point to a theoretical as-weight of ca. 325 g, corresponding to the heavy standard of Rome, also used in Venusia and for the issue of HNItaly 668 in Luceria.<sup>785</sup> Although we cannot know much about the distribution of the Carseoli production based on the two specimens known, it is probable that we again deal with a local coinage.<sup>786</sup> Similarly to other cases discussed above, Rome was not the only factor of influence in the shaping of the coinage of Carseoli: as noted in section 4.2.2, the types used in Carseoli show the influence of other Italic mints. While thus clearly aligning itself with Rome, the minters of Carseoli also situated themselves within an Italic tradition rather than opting for the Greek association preferred by neighbouring Alba Fucens (see section 4.3.2).

In conclusion, all cast bronze coinages produced by the colonies before ca. 220 were mainly used at a local and regional level. Those colonies that adapted to existing weight standards, such as Ariminum and Hadria, may have had more interest in integrating in the regional environment than those that

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<sup>785</sup> See Campana 1992-1996, 221 for the surviving specimens. In HNItaly (245 and 246) a theoretical as average of 322,68 g is given; probably based exclusively on the known weight of the sextans of 53,78 g (see Campana 1992-1996, 223). Campana only refers to the Roman heavy standard of 327,45 g (p. 221). As in the case of Firmum, the preference for a duodecimal division of the *as* is based on the compatibility with a Roman standard.

<sup>786</sup> Note, however, that no specimens of the coinage of Carseoli are known from the votive deposit: see chapter 5.

introduced new weight standards, such as Firmum. A certain level of contact between various mints is shown by the overlap in types (see section 4.2.2), but an explicit significance of these types can only be surmised for rather specific cases such as the Ariminese Gaul, that was not used anywhere else. While as a whole, the group of mints discussed here is partly responsible for the introduction of coined, cast bronze money in large parts of Apennine and Adriatic Italy, each of them did this according to its own interests and concerns.

#### **4.3.2 Campania and associated mints**

In contrast to the mints in the previous section, the colonies in Campania produce coinage in an environment which has a rich tradition in coinage production. The main question to be examined in this section, therefore, is how the colonies in Campania presented themselves in this context: how important is the connection to Rome when other cultural and economic centres are close by? This question will be investigated first for the silver coinages of the colonies and then for the bronze: I will treat these two categories separately both because of their intrinsic differences (silver is much more rare, and more widely distributed over Italy) and because of our inconsistent level of understanding of the weight systems involved (these can be reconstructed quite well for the silver, while the bronze is harder to analyze). The section will then close with an analysis of how colonies outside Campania relate to this central region.

As noted in section 4.1.3, many of the issues that will be analysed in this section were most probably produced in order to finance local contributions to the Roman war effort. I will argue that this military context may partly explain the long distance connections that develop in this period, where widely dispersed mints produce coinages with the same types.<sup>787</sup> This means that the context in which interaction between different coinage producing communities took place was created by Rome. However, in this context the colonies decided which models to adopt in terms of weight standards and types. In the analysis

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<sup>787</sup> I elaborate on the argument, including non-colonial mints, in Termeer forthcoming-a. One factor that may have affected this development is the practical organization of coinage production: in the same article, I suggest that communities could 'order' coinages from central or travelling mints (although they probably had to provide the metal themselves).

below, I will focus on these local decisions and their implications for the role of the colonies in dynamics of cultural change.

## Silver

As we have seen in section 4.2, the colonies of Cales and Suessa Aurunca in Campania produced silver (HNItaly 434 and HNItaly 447: figure 4.18). In this section, I investigate which connections were important to these colonies. It is important to establish the significance of the connections to Neapolis and the regional environment on the one hand, and to Rome on the other, in order to see how the colonies positioned themselves vis-a-vis Rome and the main regional centre of Neapolis.

The weight standard on which these coins are produced is important in this respect. Cales and Suessa both produce silver on the Campanian weight standard of 7,2 g, which was also used in Neapolis and in Rome, for the first three Roman silver issues.<sup>788</sup> Both for the colonies and for Rome, Neapolis must have set the standard, as it had been in use there for a longer period, and the volume of Neapolitan production was considerably higher than that of Rome or the other Campanian mints.<sup>789</sup> The first of the Roman silver issues (RRC 13 / HNItaly 266) may even have been produced in Neapolis.<sup>790</sup> However, it is interesting that at a certain point in time, Rome diverged from this Campanian standard: the fourth Roman silver issue (RRC 22 / HNItaly 295) was produced

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<sup>788</sup> Nearby Teanum Sidicinum (HNItaly 451 and 452) produces silver didrachms that are very similar to those of Cales and Suessa, on the same standard. The other silver-producing mints in Campania in the period between 270 and 220 are less relevant here: the didrachms of Nuceria Alfaterna (HNItaly 608) are probably later in date, while Nola only produces obols (HNItaly 606, 607).

<sup>789</sup> See Burnett 1998, 34-35 on the low volume of Roman production compared to contemporary Greek and Italic mints. From this perspective, the remark by Coarelli 2013, 8-9 that Rome's dominant role in Italy from the fourth century onwards is underestimated by numismatists, is too rash. While I agree that the legend ROMANO or ROMA shows Rome in the role of commissioner, I am not so sure this indicates 'un'egemonia di fatto e di diritto, che rende del tutto marginali e ininfluenti le funzioni, puramente esecutive, dei centri dove si trovavano le zecche'. The influence on the forms of money adopted by Rome may not bear on Rome's political power, but it does affect the way Rome manifested itself in Italy.

<sup>790</sup> E.g. Burnett 1998, 19-20, 32-33; for Neapolis as the possible place of mint based on metallurgical analysis: Burnett and Hook 1989, 157-158; Hollstein 2000b, 92.



Figure 4.18. Silver coins of Cales and Suessa Aurunca, specimens found in the San Martino in Pensilis hoard. Above: didrachm of Suessa Aurunca with head of Apollo / amphippos (HNItaly 447). Below: didrachm of Cales with head of Minerva / Victory in biga (HNItaly 434)

on a reduced weight of 6,6 g for a didrachm.<sup>791</sup> No coins of this weight are known for the colonies or Neapolis.

In this context, it becomes important to understand the relative dates of these various issues. Did the colonies produce their coinage in the early period, when Rome and Neapolis both used the same weights, or later, when Rome had reduced its weight standard? At present, there is no consensus about this question. As the assigned dates in this case have obvious implications for the position of the colonies in their regional environment and their relationship to Rome, this section will start with a discussion of the date of these colonial

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<sup>791</sup> Burnett 1998, 21 notices a drop in the weight standard of the third Roman issue (RRC 20 / HNItaly 287) as well. See Coarelli 2013, 46-49 for the experimental nature of the Roma/Victory didrachm.

issues and their relationship to the Roman and the Neapolitan silver. It is important to state in advance that I will mainly focus on the relative chronology of the fourth issue of Rome and the colonial silver. Opinions about the absolute date of the Roman silver issues vary considerably, especially as Filippo Coarelli has recently argued to date all of the ‘romano-campanian’ silver issues before 269.<sup>792</sup> For clarity’s sake, I will follow the dates given in HNIItaly for the Roman production, but it is important to note that Coarelli’s downdating does not interfere with the argument made here: we may simply allow the colonies to ‘move along’.

Michael Crawford dates the silver coinages of Cales, Suessa and the closely related issues of Teanum (I will use the term ‘Campanian silver’ for this group) to the end of the First Punic War (ca. 240), when they would have served as a means to distribute booty.<sup>793</sup> This is on all accounts *after* the Roman weight reduction, dated ca. 250.<sup>794</sup> In this chronology, therefore, the colonies followed the regional Campanian weight standard, disregarding the new standard of Roman coinage. This view has been criticized, most clearly by Renata Cantilena.<sup>795</sup> She suggests a scenario in which Rome reduced the weight standard only after the silver production at the Campanian mints had ceased: she dates the Campanian silver between 280 and 272 BC, during the Pyrrhic war.<sup>796</sup> In this chronology, the colonies’ choice of the Campanian standard would be easy to understand, as it allowed them to function in their regional environment as well as in their interaction with Rome. It is interesting, however, that Cantilena’s main point of criticism of Crawford’s date is based on

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<sup>792</sup> Coarelli 2013, ch. 2. This early date is necessary for his suggestion that the quadrigati are the first official Roman silver - produced in 269 according to Pliny (33.44). I find the suggestion attractive, although it leaves very little space for the ROMA silver: on the one hand, Coarelli argues it should predate 269 (p. 49), and on the other that it is later than the ROMANO silver (p. 50), the last of which he dates to ca. 272 (p. 49).

<sup>793</sup> Crawford 1985a, 51.

<sup>794</sup> The first Roman silver on a reduced standard, HNIItaly 295 / RRC 22, is dated 255-245 in HNIItaly. Although this date is admittedly not universally accepted, all alternative dates are earlier, and would thus not change the fact that Crawford’s date for the Campanian silver is later than the Roman weight reduction. The dates given in HNIItaly for the silver of Cales and Suessa (265-240) leave room for both scenarios discussed here.

<sup>795</sup> Cantilena 2000b, 260; Cantilena 2000c, 43-44.

<sup>796</sup> Cantilena 2000c, 45. More or less the same argument can be found in Pantuliano 2005, 358 (on Cales; she refers to the weight reduction of the Greek mints in southern Italy rather than that of Rome) and Vitale 2009, 57 (on Suessa). See, however, Cantilena 1988, 163, nrs. 172 and 173, where she still dates the silver of Suessa around the middle of the third century.

the presumed relationship between Rome and the colonies: she is reluctant to accept a situation in which colonies and allied towns minted on a different weight standard from Rome.<sup>797</sup> For the purposes of my analysis, this argument is problematic: it implies an *a priori* static relationship between Rome and the colonies, while it is precisely this relation that I am examining here. Moreover, the analysis of the mints on the Adriatic coast has shown that it is not completely impossible for the colonies to use a different weight standard than Rome.

In order to understand how the colonies relate to Rome and their regional environment, therefore, we first need to create more clarity on the chronological sequence of these coinages. The main instrument at our disposal is the hoard evidence, as neither the numismatic data nor any historical considerations can be regarded as independently conclusive. An important numismatic consideration which could help to establish the date of the Campanian silver are the close parallels between the colonial issues and the second phase of the silver of Neapolis, which may indicate the contemporaneity of these issues.<sup>798</sup> These parallels are interesting in themselves, and they may inform us about the relationship between the colonies and Neapolis, as will be further examined below. For the establishment of the date of the Campanian silver, however, this numismatic data does not provide conclusive evidence, as the date of this Neapolitan silver is also debated. The main controversy in this debate is the relationship between the silver and bronze coinage of Neapolis. In the third century, Neapolis produced both silver and bronze with a mark ΙΣ. The bronze coins with ΙΣ can be dated quite well, because they were overstruck on - amongst others - the coins of Aesernia, which must postdate the foundation date of the colony in 263.<sup>799</sup> Now, some argue that the use of the same control mark points to contemporaneity in production of the bronze and the silver, which means that the silver must have been produced after 263 as

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<sup>797</sup> Cantilena 2000c, 43-44: 'Inevitabile è dunque il domandarsi se è possibile conciliare il fatto che monete in argento coniate da città e comunità alleate di Roma, e in situazioni collegate a Roma, fossero di peso maggiore (e quindi con maggiore quantitativo di argento) di quelle contemporaneamente in uso non solo in Sicilia e Magna Grecia, ma nella stessa Roma.'

<sup>798</sup> For the silver of Neapolis: Pozzi et al. 1986. The chronological link between the Campanian mint and Neapolis can be found in many contributions, it is made explicit e.g. in Vitale 2009, 54.

<sup>799</sup> These overstrikes were found in the Pietrabbondante hoard (IGCH 1986); see Sambon 1903, 268; Burnett 1977, 111, n. 65.

well, with a suggested continuation of production until the 250s.<sup>800</sup> In contrast, others think that Neapolitan silver production ceased in ca. 270, while bronze production continued afterwards.<sup>801</sup>

The historical arguments are also problematic for the establishment of a chronology, because they are by definition circumstantial. For example, Crawford draws attention to the isolated occurrence of silver production at the Campanian mints, to argue for a special occasion for their production at the end of the First Punic War.<sup>802</sup> An argument for the early date during the Pyrrhic war is found in the distribution of Campanian coins in Apulia and Apulian coins in Campania.<sup>803</sup> Neither argument is convincing in itself. In defence of the early date, it has also been argued that the absence of silver production in the colonies founded after 268 indicates that, in general, colonies did not produce silver coinages anymore at this time.<sup>804</sup> However, the assumption of uniformity in colonial coinage production is not underpinned by any other evidence, and thus cannot be used in this context as an argument for the early date.

The hoard evidence gives some more information, although it is not without its own difficulties either. Silver coins of Cales, Suessa and Teanum are not found in hoards very often. When they are, in most cases they are associated with the later phases of the Roman pre-denarius silver (the later silver issues with ROMANO (RRC 20 / HNItaly 287 and RRC 22 / HNItaly 295) and silver issues with ROMA, including quadrigati), with the latest silver of Neapolis, and - less often - with phase VIII of Tarentum.<sup>805</sup> Although it is

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<sup>800</sup> E.g. Burnett 2006, 41.

<sup>801</sup> Thus, cautiously, Taliercio Mensitieri 1998, 94-97; with more certainty: Vitale 2009, 54. Note that this might fit Coarelli's suggestion of placing all the 'romano-campanian' silver before 269; see his remarks in Coarelli 2013, 141-142, where he still allows for continuation of Campanian silver production until the middle of the century.

<sup>802</sup> Crawford 1985a, 51.

<sup>803</sup> Cantilena 2000b, 259; Cantilena 2000c, 45.

<sup>804</sup> Note that in Cantilena 2000c the problem of the lack of silver production in the colonies founded after 268 is treated as a problem in itself, while in Cantilena 2000b, 259 it is presented as 'proof' of the early date of the Campanian silver: 'All'epoca della prima Guerra punica nelle colonie latine in Campania, come del resto a Neapolis e ad Arpi, non credo che si coniasse più l'argento (...). Prova ne è data anche dalle monetazioni delle colonie dedotte dopo il 268: Ariminum non ha argenti, né Beneventum, né Aesernia.'

<sup>805</sup> The Cales silver is associated with the later Roman issues and the silver of Neapolis in RRCH 34 (Naples), RRCH 36 (South Italy; see Burnett 1978) and RRCH 59 (Ascoli Piceno). Both RRCH 34 and 36 include also 'Campano-Tarentine' specimens, as does RRCH 59 (the 4 specimens of Tarentum are listed as 'Campano-Tarentine' in IGCH 2034). In addition, it is found in the Vulcano hoard (IGCH 2210), where it is associated with Neapolis silver of the IΣ series and

impossible to establish a precise date based on these associations, the general picture points to a date roughly in the middle of the third century. Two hoards found relatively recently during regular excavations change this picture somewhat, however. The hoards of Minervino Murge and San Martino in Pensilis both contain a high percentage of Campanian didrachms without containing any of the late Roman silver. I will discuss these two hoards in more detail in order to see how they contribute to the establishment of a date for the Campanian silver.

First, the hoard of Minervino Murge has a total of 16 silver didrachms, with 6 of Suessa, 3 of Teanum, 5 of Nuceria, 1 of Arpi and 1 of Corinth.<sup>806</sup> The composition of the hoard is an important indication that the Campanian issues circulated together. However, as the majority of this small hoard is made up of the Campanian issues themselves, the date around 300 for the Corinthian stater and early in the third century for the Arpi specimen are of little help in establishing the date of the hoard. The only information that may be relevant is the relatively good conservation of the Corinthian stater, but as it is isolated, we cannot attribute too much importance to this. Indeed, in the original publication, the date of the Campanian issues (there set to 270-260/50<sup>807</sup>) is used as a *terminus post quem* for the burial of the hoard. This fits the context in which this hoard was buried. The coins were found in the lower half of a vase (*brocchetta a fasce*) buried in a house that was abandoned towards the end of the first quarter of the third century.<sup>808</sup> Based on stratigraphic information, together with the date offered for the coins in the hoard, it is

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Tarentine coins of period VIII (see Burnett 1977, 97); see also Pantuliano 2005, 358. The Suessa silver has been found in the Canosa di Puglia hoard (IGCH 2015), together with a silver coin of Nuceria and Roman quadrigati and victoriati, and in the hoard of Minervino Murge, together with the silver of Teanum and Nuceria. Didrachms of Cales, Suessa and Teanum are also present in the San Martino in Pensilis hoard, which will be treated below. The bronzes of these colonies are found in hoards more often, mostly associated with the later Roman issues. However, as it is not a given that the bronze and silver production of the Campanian mints was contemporaneous, I will leave the bronzes out of the argument.

<sup>806</sup> Guzzetta 1993; see for the excavations Corrente 1993.

<sup>807</sup> Guzzetta gives an elaborate discussion of the date of the Suessa silver in particular. The date of 270-260/50 is mainly based on two considerations: the obverse with head of Apollo would be inspired by the head of Apollo on the second Roman silver (RRC 15 / HNIItaly 275), which is therefore used as a TPQ. The Roma/Victory didrachm (RRC 22 / HNIItaly 295) is used as a TAQ because of its different weight. Neither terminus seems convincing to me. I think the head of Apollo is too general as a type to be used in this way. Precisely the relation between the Roman weight reduction and Campanian production is examined here.

<sup>808</sup> Guzzetta 1993, 44.



suggested that the hoard was buried when the house had already been abandoned.<sup>809</sup> According to the excavators, the vase can be dated to the late fourth century (with the period of use obviously extending into the third century).<sup>810</sup> Although the upper half of the *brocchetta* was never found in the excavation, it is stressed that the hoard can be considered to be intact.

If we ignore the suggested date for the Campanian issues, this combination of evidence allows for a burial date at any moment after the first quarter of the third century, although a very late date in the third century is implausible because of the lack of later material.<sup>811</sup> I do not agree with Renata Cantilena, who has used this evidence to suggest that the hoard was buried very soon after or even around the end of the first quarter of the century, implying an early date for the Campanian silver coinages.<sup>812</sup> Her main argument for this is the late fourth century date of the vase that contained the coins. Her suggestion is not convincing however; it does not take into consideration the stratigraphic relationship between the hoard and the house as presented in the original publication (see note 811), and the date of the vase is hardly decisive. Not only can any vase be in circulation for a longer period of time, but we should also consider the fact that the upper part of the vase was missing, while the hoard is considered to be intact. It may thus well be possible that a broken or discarded vase was used to put the coins in at the time of burial. This means that a later date is still possible.

Second, the much larger hoard of San Martino in Pensilis contains 163 silver coins: 77 from Neapolis, 26 'Campano-Tarentine', 17 from Velia, 12 from Cales, 12 from Suessa, 8 from Rome, 6 from Teanum, 2 from Locri, 2 from Hyria and 1 from Thurii. It is the only known hoard which contains both the

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<sup>809</sup> Corrente 1993, 40.

<sup>810</sup> Corrente 1993, 41-42.

<sup>811</sup> The information on the relation between the position of the hoard and the levels of use and abandonment of the house in which it was found in Corrente 1993 is somewhat confused: on p. 27, she clearly states that 'il suo occultamento si ricollega a una fase di abbandono della casa', however, on p. 40 we read 'la sua posizione si ricollega ai piani d'uso e ai livelli d'abbandono dell'edificio'. Strictly speaking, this last version is impossible when we talk about a hoard: its burial is an event that does not allow for an association both with a period of use *and* with a period of abandonment of the house. I therefore presume that the burial is associated to the phase of abandonment, as presented in the first quote, and perhaps cut through the earlier habitation levels.

<sup>812</sup> Cantilena 2000b, 253. She does not discuss the stratigraphic evidence discussed in the previous note.

first and the second silver issues of Rome.<sup>813</sup> Important here is that the close association of the Campanian issues and the late silver of Neapolis is attested by their occurrence together in a hoard (with the exception of Nuceria). In addition, the presence of both the Campanian silver and the first two Roman issues may clarify the relationship between Rome and the Campanian mints. Unfortunately, this hoard does not have a clear contemporary archaeological context.<sup>814</sup>

It is clear that the hoard contains coins of a quite wide chronological range, with the oldest specimens of Neapolis, the Hyrietes, Thurium and Velia dated to the fifth century. However, the bulk of the hoard is roughly from the first half of the third century, and it shows again the common circulation of the second phase of the silver of Neapolis, the Campanian mints and this time also the Campano-Tarentine coins.<sup>815</sup> Something of the relative chronology of the coins contained in the hoard may be revealed by their degree of wear at the moment of burial.<sup>816</sup> The coins of Teanum, Suessa and Cales all stand out because of their good conservation, and were therefore produced probably not long before the burial of the hoard. Burnett suggests that their better preservation in comparison with the latest Neapolitan coins in the hoard may be taken as evidence for a (slightly) later production date.<sup>817</sup> As he argues that the Neapolitan silver production continued into the 250s (see above), he therefore suggests a date for the Campanian silver towards the end of the First Punic War, in line with the date suggested by Crawford.<sup>818</sup> As discussed above,

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<sup>813</sup> See in particular Burnett 2006, 40.

<sup>814</sup> See Ceglia 1999. The hoard was found near a Roman imperial villa.

<sup>815</sup> See Stazio 1986 on the date and distribution of the 'Campano-Tarentine' silver, with some recent additions in Libero Mangieri 2013. A burial date in the middle of the century is consistent with the date of the black gloss bowl in which the hoard was deposited (Morel 5226 b1); see Ceglia 1999, 42.

<sup>816</sup> See Burnett 2006, *passim*.

<sup>817</sup> See also Pantuliano 2005, 359, who also notes the heavier wear of Neapolitan coins compared to coins of Cales in a small hoard reported by Sambon (Sambon 1903, 354; not in IGCH).

<sup>818</sup> Burnett 2006, 41. He also suggests that the absence of the third and fourth Roman silver (RRC 20 / HNItaly 287 and RRC 22 / HNItaly 295) from this hoard can be taken as evidence that they date even later, towards or even after the end of the First Punic War. In combination with the higher volume of production of these issues, this leads Burnett to suggest that the third and fourth Roman issues largely replaced the Italian silver, which ended around this same period (p. 44). These are quite strong conclusions that would imply an interruption of some 30 years (between ca. 270 and ca. 240) in the Roman silver production, based on rather weak evidence: the third and fourth Roman silver do not seem to have been distributed widely in northern

however, the continuation of Neapolitan silver production into the 250s is not generally accepted.<sup>819</sup> In her discussion of the San Martino in Pensilis hoard, Rosa Vitale arrives at a similar relative sequence to that proposed by Burnett, although she holds that the Campanian silver is contemporary to that of Neapolis, instead of slightly later. However, her absolute date of ca. 270 is much earlier, following the ‘early date’ of the Neapolitan silver.<sup>820</sup> It should be noted, however, that the strong weight attached to the end date of 270 for the Neapolis silver by Vitale is not entirely in keeping with the caution with which it has been suggested by others.<sup>821</sup>

Both the Minervino Murge hoard and the San Martino in Pensilis hoard, therefore, show the Campanian silver in association with a somewhat earlier assemblage than the previously known hoard evidence. At the same time, the fact remains that both the late Neapolitan silver and the Campanian issues are regularly found together with the later Roman silver of the second half of the third century.<sup>822</sup> Based on the combined hoard evidence, we can therefore draw

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Apulia in general, which may just as well explain their absence from this hoard (see the distribution maps in Vitale 1998a, tav. IX and X.

<sup>819</sup> It does fit, however, the suggestion by Stazio 1991, 242 that the production of silver in Neapolis only stopped in the middle of the third century, possibly at the end of the First Punic War.

<sup>820</sup> Vitale 2009; specifically p. 54 on the date of the Neapolitan silver. The difference is also clear from the reaction of Burnett to Pozzi et al. 1986 on p. 394 in the conference proceedings. See Vitale 2009, 55, where she qualifies Burnett’s chronology as ‘una lettura ‘ribassista’ delle serie napoletane del II periodo’, and again on p. 57.

<sup>821</sup> See Talierecio Mensitieri 1998, 94-97, and in particular p. 96 where she says about the third phase bronzes: ‘resterebbe da stabilire se è parallelo solo al gruppo di stateri col la medesima sigla ΙΣ ovvero è introdotto alla fine dei didrammi’. It is true that she expresses a preference for the latter option, but she also notes that the bronzes of the third phase often occur together with the silver didrachms of the second phase (n. 273).

The arguments given by Pantuliano 2005 for the date of ca. 270 do not convince: she suggests that the absence of a weight reduction in the silver of Cales means that it should be dated before the introduction of the reduced weight standard of 6,6 g in southern Italy (p. 358; the introduction of the weight reduction in South Italy is quite generally accepted to have taken place some time during the Pyrrhic War. For an exception, see Ross Holloway 1992; critique e.g. by Mattingly 1998), and argues that this is confirmed by the composition of the San Martino in Pensilis hoard, which has no silver on a reduced standard at all (p. 359). However, it is clear that the second phase silver of Neapolis (produced on the Campanian standard of 7,2 g) is still produced after the reduction of the weight standard in Southern Italy. In addition, only the coinages of Locri and the Hyrietes in the San Martino in Pensilis hoard *could* have had a weight reduction. As there are only 2 specimens of each and the Hyria silver is very early as well, the absence of reduced silver cannot in any way be used as a chronological indication.

<sup>822</sup> E.g. RRCH 22 (Benevento), RRCH 34 (Naples), RRCH 48 (Sessa Aurunca) RRCH 59 (Ascoli Piceno). Cf. Johnston 1985, 52: based on the wear, the ROMA didrachms and the last ROMANO one is dated *after* the Neapolis silver. This comes back in the dates given in Rutter et al. 2001.

the following conclusions: 1) the various Campanian issues are mostly found together in hoards, which indicates a strong association in chronology and distribution; 2) the numerous formal similarities between the later Neapolitan silver and the Campanian production are accompanied by a strong association between the two in hoard assemblages (the hoard of Minervino Murge is the only exception where the Campanian issues are not found in association with the Neapolis silver); 3) the associations with the Roman silver vary: the Campanian silver is found together with the ROMA silver and quadrigati and victoriati, with the third and fourth ROMANO issues, and, in the case of the San Martino in Pensilis hoard, with the first and second ROMANO issues. In the late assemblages, they may be surviving pieces from an earlier period, while in the San Martino in Pensilis hoard, the early Roman issues may be considered as ‘survivors’ as well, especially in view of the other examples of early coins in the hoard. The most likely relative chronology, therefore, would place the Campanian silver later than the second Roman issue, and probably contemporary to the third. This would imply a date in the 260s if we follow the suggested chronology of HNIItaly.<sup>823</sup>

Although hard evidence is lacking, I propose that the most probable relative chronology is that Cales, Suessa and the other Campanian mints produced their coinages *before* the Roman weight reduction. The rest of the analysis will be based on this chronology, and I will suggest that this indicates that the colonies were ahead of Rome in a number of respects. Before elaborating on this, it is important to stress that the alternative to the scenarios sketched below is that the colonies produced their coinages after the Roman weight reduction, and therefore on a different weight standard than Rome.

If I am right in suggesting that the colonies produced their coinages before the Roman weight reduction, this means they used the same (Campanian) standard that was also used in both Neapolis and Rome. As we have seen already, Neapolis had a much longer history of coinage production

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Again, if we would follow the new dates suggested by Coarelli 2013, we would arrive at an earlier absolute date.

<sup>823</sup> Or earlier, around 290, if we would follow Coarelli’s suggested date (Coarelli 2013, 44-46). Note that HNIItaly strangely dates the second Roman silver (HNIItaly 275 / RRC 15) around 260, while the suggested date for the third issue (HNIItaly 287 / RRC 20) is ca. 265. In the overview on p. 45 they are both placed in the 260s, with HNIItaly 275 as the earlier issue.

and probably its production in this period was still more prolific than Rome's, although Rome was developing quickly. The next question, then, is how the colonies placed themselves within this 'bipolar' context. We will see that they used elements of different 'models' creatively.

First of all, both Cales and Suessa use a Latin legend, CALENO and SVESANO respectively, which recalls the legend ROMANO on the early Roman coins.<sup>824</sup> These legends would have imparted a local identity because of the use of the name of the community, but at the same time the use of Latin and perhaps the form of the legend underline their connection to Rome. We can contrast this with the allied town of Teanum, which, at least for its silver, used a legend in Oscan, while Neapolis has a legend in Greek.<sup>825</sup> While the Roman or Latin background of the colonies would therefore have been clear, functionally and in terms of types, the connections to Neapolis seem to have been stronger than those with Rome. We have just seen that the hoard evidence illustrates the more consistent co-circulation of the Neapolitan and the Campanian silver. I have also already alluded to the numismatic similarities between Suessa, Cales, Teanum and Neapolis, which will be discussed in more detail now.

To start with the types, we may note possible influences from Neapolis, and interaction between the three Campanian mints. Cales and Teanum have Victory in a biga or triga respectively on the reverse of their silver. Based on the chronology I have just suggested, the theme of Victory only appears in Roman coinage later, on the Roma/Victory issue (the reduced silver issue HNItaly 295 / RRC 22.1), which means that Rome cannot be the example for the colonies here.<sup>826</sup> Possibly, the image of Victory in a chariot was inspired by a Neapolitan triobol with Victory in biga on the reverse (HNItaly 580), which is probably earlier. While Cales and Teanum both use this type of Victory in a chariot, the reverse of the silver of Suessa has a horseman leading a second horse, or *amphippos*, probably one of the Dioscuri (see figure 4.18). In

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<sup>824</sup> The form should probably be understood as an ablative, like the Oscan inscription on the Teanum silver (see II Teanum Sidicinum 1 Coinage). Sambon 1903, 345-346 preferred the reading as an ablative over the option that svesano is short for svesanom < svesanorum. Vitale 2009, 51 gives both options without preference.

<sup>825</sup> See Rutter et al. 2001, 61; 70-71.

<sup>826</sup> More generally, we can note that either the Campanian silver predates the Roman weight reduction and it therefore introduced the Victory theme before Rome did (as suggested here), or Rome was the first to introduce the Victory theme, but then the Campanian colonies used a different weight standard than Rome. In either case, local initiative must have been important.

Syracuse, the combination of chariots, the amphippos, and horses is known to have been used hierarchically, with chariots on tetradrachms, amphippos on didrachms and single horsemen on drachms.<sup>827</sup> The types may therefore be interrelated, and we may suspect that the use of these types for the coins of Cales, Teanum and Suessa is the result of a certain degree of coordination or influence between these mints.

Such coordination or even joint production has also been suggested for these Campanian silver coinages based on more practical considerations. An important element is the common use of Greek capital letters and symbols as marks, presumably used as a means to distinguish between various emissions. Similar symbols are used on issues of Suessa, Cales, Neapolis, Taras and on the Roma/Victory didrachm of Rome,<sup>828</sup> while letters occur on the didrachms of Cales and the drachms of Neapolis and Cales, and on the Roma/Victory didrachm.<sup>829</sup> Especially for these symbols, it has been suggested by Patrick Marchetti that their common use indicates the activity of the same workshops producing these coinages, and he suggests that their production was controlled by Rome. Cantilena objects to the suggestion of Roman control based solely on the use of rather generic symbols, but she does consider the parallelism in the use of symbols as an indication that these issues are chronologically close together.<sup>830</sup> In view of our previous discussion of the chronology of these issues, however, the use of symbols and letters in Rome starts later than in Neapolis and at the Campanian mints. This implies that the colonies in Campania adopted these systems before Rome did, indicating that they were actively taking part in new developments that were not instigated by Rome.<sup>831</sup>

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<sup>827</sup> Caccamo Caltabiano 2004, 28; the hierarchy is confirmed by various other iconographical sources.

<sup>828</sup> Marchetti 1986, 449-452; for a list of symbols and where they are used (including the symbols used for bronze coinages): Marchetti 1986, 450 (tableau II).

<sup>829</sup> Letters are also present on the bronze coinages of Neapolis, Cales, Suessa and Teanum; see below.

<sup>830</sup> Cantilena 2000b, 257-258; Burnett 2006, 43 agrees. See already the reaction by Cantilena to Marchetti's thesis at the conference on Neapolis on p. 467 following Marchetti 1986.

<sup>831</sup> Hollstein 2000a, 10-11 points out a series of similarities specifically between the Roma/Victory didrachm and the Calene silver, such as the use of Greek capital letters, symbols, and the consequent die axis of 6 o'clock. He suggests that Rome is here following Calene practices, maybe even taking over personnel from Cales: 'Vieles spricht dafür, daß den Römern Einblicke in die Arbeitsweise und die technischen Prozesse der kampanischen Münzstätte Cales gewährt wurden. Möglicherweise übernahm die Münzstätte Rom auch erfahrenes Personal aus Cales.' However, such a direct link between the production of Cales and the fourth Roman

In doing so, there seems to have been a high level of contact between the colonies and with Neapolis. The production of Neapolis was most probably contemporary, although the colonial coinages may be slightly later.<sup>832</sup>

This raises the question of how strong the colonies' dependence on Neapolis was: were they in charge of producing their own coinage, or was it simply produced in Neapolis? In order to answer this question, we may have a brief look into some more technical characteristics of these coinages: their metallurgical composition, which is inherent in the metal used, and the fineness of the silver and the precise weights, both of which can be actively manipulated by the minters.<sup>833</sup> Based on an analysis of the trace elements of gold, lead and bismuth in the silver coins of Neapolis (ΙΣ-group), Cales, Suessa, Teanum and Nuceria, these coins are made of silver from different sources.<sup>834</sup> Only Neapolis and Cales show a high level of overlap, which according to Wilhelm Hollstein 'läßt möglicherweise auf eine engere Verbindung der beiden Münzstätten schließen'.<sup>835</sup> In addition, there are slight differences in weight between Cales, Suessa and Teanum,<sup>836</sup> and differences in fineness can be noted as well.<sup>837</sup> In both these respects, therefore, each mint seems to have followed its own practice.<sup>838</sup> This variety in the details of production is hard to reconcile

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didrachm is problematic, as recently noted by Coarelli 2013, 47; he suggests that the Roman system was directly adopted from that of Ptolemaic Egypt, in the wake of the treaty of Rome with Ptolemy Philadelphus in 273.

<sup>832</sup> Cantilena 2000b, 258 suggests that the silver of Cales may be slightly later than that of Neapolis based on the sequence of letters on both coinages; see above for Burnett's suggestion that the Campanian issues are later than those of Neapolis based on their respective wear in the San Martino in Pensilis hoard. However, see Vitale 2009, 55-57 for the suggestion of contemporary production.

<sup>833</sup> Cf. Crawford 1974, 569 on the Roman Republican silver in general. The relatively consistent levels of fineness also seem to confirm this.

<sup>834</sup> Hollstein 2000b, 78: 'eine unterschiedliche Metalversorgung der drei Städte' (i.e. Cales, Suessa and Teanum). A possible explanation for these differences in the silver composition is to suppose that it was the silver from booty that was being re-used: cf. Crawford 1974, 572.

<sup>835</sup> Hollstein 2000b, 77.

<sup>836</sup> Cantilena 2000b, 258-259; see also Vitale 2009, 57, who links these weights to the Roman issues: the silver of Cales would relate to the second Roman issue (RRC 15 / HNIItaly 275), and that of Teanum to the third (RRC 20 / HNIItaly 287), while Suessa would fit between these two.

<sup>837</sup> Suessa and Teanum have the lowest levels of fineness (around 90 %), while levels are higher for Nuceria and Cales, and higher again for Neapolis: see Hollstein 2000b, 76. Note that the figures given in table 2 are modified in the discussion on the same page, due to the problem of 'surface enrichment'.

<sup>838</sup> The situation is therefore different from earlier Campanian production in silver, for which Keith Rutter has identified various die-links and hence suggests a central mint at Neapolis (Rutter 1979, 68-76; 81-86). Cf. Burnett and Hook 1989, 155: they conclude on the basis of

with any form of joint or centrally organized production. On the basis of these findings I would rather suggest that each community was responsible for the production of its own coinage, but that there was a high degree of contact between these communities, or at least between the people who were responsible for local coinage production.<sup>839</sup> This would fit the observed compatibility of the types used by Cales, Suessa and Teanum.

Finally, we should have a look at the possible users of these colonial coinages. As we have seen, the weight standard would have allowed easy exchange in Campania and (northern) Apulia. This is confirmed by the few established provenances (almost all hoards) we have for these coins, which are mostly in Campania and Apulia, with Ascoli Piceno as the only exception to the north, and Lipari (Vulcano hoard) further to the south (figure 4.19).<sup>840</sup> This distribution pattern is not much different from the third and fourth issues of Roman silver (RRC 20 / HNItaly 287 and RRC 22 / HNItaly 295), although these Roman issues did not end up in northern Apulia so often.<sup>841</sup> Both the Roman coinages and those of the colonies would have been part of a varied body of coinages used in these parts. In this context, the Latin legend of the colonial coinages would signal their relation to Rome, but the concept of silver coined money and the types used would probably still largely be associated with the Greek world.

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similar slight differences in the fineness of the south Italian mints in the fourth and third centuries that there was no 'monetary league' which agreed standards of fineness.

<sup>839</sup> Note that the same technical analyses of silver composition and fineness confirm that the Roma/Victory silver is quite different from the Campanian production: its silver has a different composition from all of the Campanian mints (compare Hollstein 2000b, figures 22 and 23 to figures 3-7), and its silver content is higher: with a fineness of ca. 98-99 % it is almost pure silver (Burnett and Hook 1989, 159; Hollstein 2000b, 89-90). This high silver content also means that even though the weight of this issue was lower, there is only a minor difference in silver content between this issue and the Campanian coinages: roughly, a coin of 7,2 g with a fineness of 93 % would contain ca. 6,7 g of silver, while a coin of 6,6 g with a fineness of 98 % would contain ca. 6,5 g. The weight reduction in Rome therefore did not necessarily mean a departure from the Campanian standard, as this Roman silver and the silver of the Campanian mints may still have been used simultaneously in exchange (contra Cantilena 2000c, 44).

<sup>840</sup> Known provenances for Cales are the Ascoli Piceno hoard, San Martino in Pensilis hoard, Napoli dintorni hoard, Paestum, Vulcano hoard, and South Italy hoard; for Suessa again the San Martino in Pensilis hoard, the

Minervino Murge hoard, Canosa di Puglia hoard, Ordona, and Rossano di Vaglio.

<sup>841</sup> See Vitale 1998a: distribution maps tav. IX and tav. X; see note 819 above.



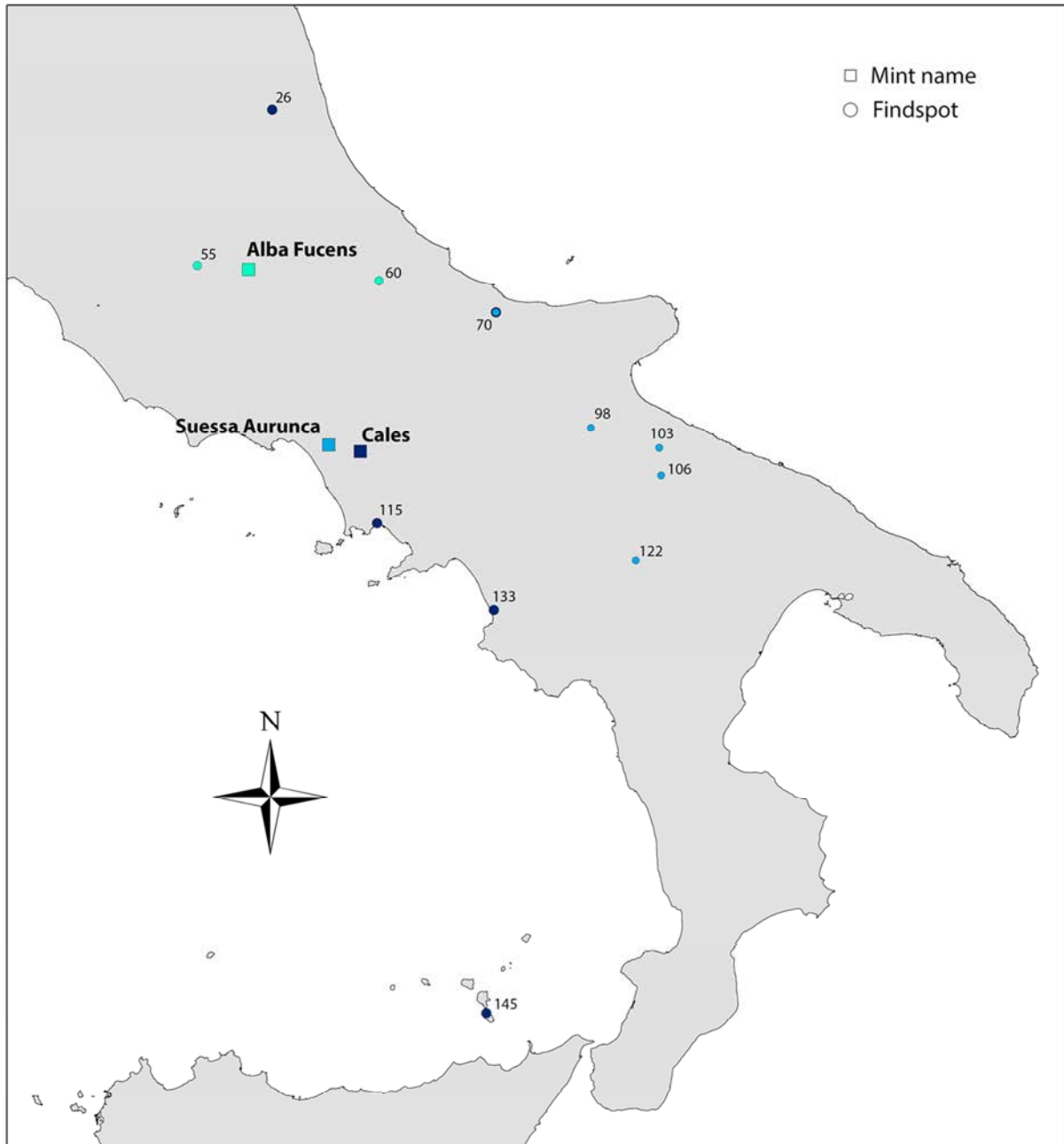


Figure 4.19. Known provenances of colonial coinages in silver.  
The numbers refer to find spots listed in appendix 7

In Campania, the colonies thus can be seen as active and creative contributors to the developments in silver production in this period. Although the reason for coining money may well have to do with the colonies' involvement in Roman military operations (whether it is the Pyrrhic war or the First Punic War, the Victory references seem to support such a view), the characteristics of the coinages examined here reflect a more layered reality. These coinages were shaped according to the demands of the dynamic environment in which the

colonies functioned. On the one hand, they were part of the Roman sphere of influence, as is shown by the legends they chose for their coinages. At the same time, they drew on Greek types and production procedures independently from Rome, and they were in close collaboration with the traditionally important mint of Neapolis.<sup>842</sup> The inventions made in this process, both in practical matters (the use of symbols and letters as control marks) and in the choice of types, probably were adopted by Rome only at a later stage.

## Bronze

In comparison to silver, many more mints in Campania produced struck bronze coinages in the third century, including the colonies of Cales and Suessa Aurunca and, further inland, the colonies of Aesernia and Beneventum. For some issues, several mints in Campania and further away used common types.<sup>843</sup> The colonies of Cales, Suessa and Aesernia all participated in one or more of these common type groups. However, Suessa Aurunca and Aesernia also produced bronzes with other, local types. A fifth colony in this region, Beneventum, did not participate in any of the 'Campanian groups' and produced a bronze coinage with types that refer directly to Rome. In this section, the local production of these colonies and the implications of their involvement in the regional groups will be examined in more detail, including a further analysis of their positioning in relation to Neapolis and Rome.

In order to be able to assess the significance of these different colonial coinages, it is first of all important to be clear on their chronology. The colonies participated in three groups with common types, and some chronological differentiation can be made between them (an overview is given in table 4.3).<sup>844</sup> I will discuss these groups and their chronology first, before moving on to the chronology of the local types. First, Neapolis, Cales and Teanum all produced bronze with the types head of Apollo / man-faced bull with star or lyre (figure 4.20). The combination of these types has a long history in

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<sup>842</sup> This leading role of Neapolis is quite understandable in the historical context: cf. Gabba 1990, 55.

<sup>843</sup> See Cantilena 1988, 154.

<sup>844</sup> See Cantilena 2000b, 257. I discuss these groups and their chronology in more detail in Termeer forthcoming-a.



Figure 4.20. Bronze coin of Cales with head of Apollo / man-faced bull with lyre (HNItaly 436)

Neapolitan production, and the other mints must have copied it.<sup>845</sup> The Neapolitan bronzes in this group, characterized by the star or lyre, have been classified by Marina Taliercio Mensitieri in her phase II of the bronze coinage of Neapolis, which she dated in the period between 317/310 and 270.<sup>846</sup> The bronzes of Cales and Teanum are probably contemporary.<sup>847</sup>

Almost the same type is used by a second, larger group, again comprising Neapolis, Cales and Teanum, augmented by the colonies of Suessa Aurunca and Aesernia, the Campanian allied towns Compulteria and Nola, and the allied town of Larinum, on the Adriatic coast. This time, the man-faced bull is crowned by a flying Victory (figure 4.21). In the Neapolitan bronze sequence, this type is later than the previous one, belonging to phase III, dated 270 - 250,<sup>848</sup> and again, this general date can be used for the group as a whole. A third group produced bronze with the head of Athena/Minerva on the obverse,

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<sup>845</sup> The earliest Neapolitan didrachms (HNItaly 545, 546) already have the man-faced bull, often identified as Achelous: see Rutter et al. 2001, 68. Other mints in and outside Campania also copied the general type, e.g. Irnthii (HNItaly 543), Teanum Apulum (HNItaly 698; while it is suggested there that the issue may belong to Teanum Sidicinum in Campania, in II Teanum Apulum 1 Coinage Teanum Apulum is still seen as the better candidate). HNItaly 438 also uses these types; while in HNItaly it was connected to Malventum (the site of the later colony of Beneventum), this attribution is discarded in II Campania Coinage 2, where the legend is read as a personal name. The first Roman bronze (HNItaly 251 / RRC 1) copies the variant which only depicts the forepart of a man-faced bull on the reverse, while the second (HNItaly 252 / RRC 2) combines the reverse type man-faced bull with the head of Minerva on the obverse (the combination was used earlier on the silver of a number of Campanian mints, such as that of the Campani (HNItaly 477, 478), Hyrietes (HNItaly 539; the name changes slightly in II Hurietes 1), Allifae (HNItaly 459) and Nola (HNItaly 603, 604).

<sup>846</sup> Taliercio 1986, 227-238.

<sup>847</sup> See Pantuliano 2005, 361 for the suggestion that the bronzes of Cales cover a wider date range than just the First Punic War.

<sup>848</sup> Taliercio 1986, 238-245.



Figure 4.21. Bronze coin of Aesernia with head of Apollo / man-faced bull crowned by Victory (HNItaly 431)

and a cock with a star on the reverse (figure 4.22). Neapolis is not part of this group: all mints are located close to each other in northern Campania and southern Latium (Cales, Teanum, Suessa, Caiatia, Aquinum).<sup>849</sup>

The sequence of the Minerva/cock bronzes and the Apollo/man-faced bull crowned by Victory bronzes deserves some further attention. At least two overstrikes are known of a Victory bronze on a Minerva/cock bronze: in Campochiaro, a Victory bronze of Neapolis overstruck on a Minerva/cock coin of Suessa was found, while Pietrabbondante has yielded a Victory bronze overstruck on a Minerva/cock coin of Teanum.<sup>850</sup> These overstrikes show that the Minerva/Cock bronzes either predate the types with Apollo/Man-faced bull crowned by flying Victory, or overlap with them, if we allow for production of the Victory type over a longer period in time.<sup>851</sup> This might well be the case in view of the historical context. It is clear that the Victory bronzes were produced during the First Punic War.<sup>852</sup> This is both shown by overstrikes of this type on a local issue of Aesernia (founded in 263) and by their sheer quantity and indications of hasty production (many overstrikes with clearly recognizable

<sup>849</sup> In Cantilena 1988, 154, Venafrum and Telesia are also listed as producers of the types with Minerva/cock and Apollo/man-faced bull crowned by Victory (Venafrum) or only Minerva/cock (Telesia). The attribution of these coins to these towns has been called into question: on Venafrum, see HNItaly 2660 and 2661 and II Campania Coinage 3; on Telesia see II Campania Coinage 4.

<sup>850</sup> For Campochiaro: Vitale 2009, 63, n. 83. For Pietrabbondante: Sambon 1903, 268; on the Teanum undertype: Cantilena 2000b, 257.

<sup>851</sup> See Luppino et al. 1996, 32 and the hoard evidence and overstrikes presented in Vitale 2009, 66.

<sup>852</sup> See Crawford 1985a, 47-48; Cantilena 1988, 161-164; Stazio 1991, 243.



Figure 4.22. Bronze coin of Cales with head of Minerva / cock (HNItaly 435)

undertypes).<sup>853</sup> Now, if these types were produced for a longer period of time during the war, it is quite possible that the Minerva/cock types were also produced in this context, but for a shorter period of time during the early years of the war.<sup>854</sup>

The local types of Aesernia and Suessa should probably be dated during the First Punic War as well. In the case of Aesernia we can be certain, as its local types must postdate the foundation of the colony in 263.<sup>855</sup> It is more difficult to establish a date for the local type of Suessa, but there are some signs that it is contemporary to the local type of Aesernia: their weight is similar (ca. 7 g) and they are both distributed in a 'Latin' environment, in contrast to the earlier bronze series of Cales and Teanum (Apollo/Man-faced bull with star or lyre); these are lighter and are found mostly in Oscan and Campanian territory.<sup>856</sup>

<sup>853</sup> The overstrike on a local Aesernian issue again comes from Pietrabbondante (Sambon 1903, 268); on the Aesernia undertypes: Burnett 1977, 111, n. 65, which only specifies the Vulcan/Jupiter in biga (Sambon 1903, nrs. 184 ff. = HNItaly 430).

<sup>854</sup> Crawford 1985a, 47-48 suggests a date during the war for both the Victory bronzes and the Minerva/cock bronzes. For the Minerva/cock bronzes, Cantilena 1988, 161-164 also makes the connection to the First Punic War, while Vitale 2009, 66 suggests a date just before the war.

<sup>855</sup> See also Campana 1992-1996, 290.

<sup>856</sup> Vitale 2009, 66. She suggests a date for the local type of Suessa between 275/270 and 265/260; however, the link to the *aes grave* of 300 g is hypothetical (see Taliercio Mensitieri 1998, 103) and the parallel with the local bronze of Aesernia both in terms of weight and common appearance in the Casalvieri votive deposit would rather point to a date after 263. Admittedly, the similarity in weight is not very firm evidence, but there does seem to be some standardization in the weights: for a brief overview, see Termeer forthcoming-a.

TYPES	NEAPOLIS	CALES	TEANIUM	SUESSA	CAIATIA	AQUINUM	AESERNIA	COMPULTERIA	NOLA	LARINUM
<b>Head of Apollo</b> <b>Man-faced bull, star</b>	Symbols Letters	Symbols, letters								
	Greek ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ <i>HNIItaly 582</i>	Latin CALENO CALENO <i>HNIItaly 436</i>	Oscan titanud sidikkinud <i>HNIItaly 454</i>							
Legend language Obverse Reverse										
<b>Head of Apollo</b> <b>Man-faced bull, lyre</b>	Letters Monograms, ΙΣ	Symbols Symbols, letters, ΙΣ	Letters Symbols, letters							
	Greek ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ <i>HNIItaly 582</i>	Latin CALENO CALENO <i>HNIItaly 436</i>	Oscan titanud sidikkinud <i>HNIItaly 454</i>							
Legend language Obverse Reverse										
<b>Head of Minerva</b> <b>Cock, star</b>		Symbols, letters	Symbols							
	Legend language Obverse Reverse	Latin CALENO CALENO <i>HNIItaly 435</i>	Latin TIANO <i>HNIItaly 453</i>	Latin SVESANO <i>HNIItaly 449</i>	Latin CAIATINO <i>HNIItaly 433</i>	Latin AQVINO <i>HNIItaly 432</i>				
<b>Head of Apollo</b> <b>Man-faced bull, crowned</b> <b>by Victory</b>	Letters Monograms, ΙΣ	Symbols Letters	Symbols, letters Symbols, letters	Symbols Letters, ΙΣ			Symbols Letters, ΙΣ	Symbols, letters ΙΣ	Letters Letters	
	Greek ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ or ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ <i>HNIItaly 589 &amp; 590</i>	Latin CALENO CALENO	Oscan titanud titanud <i>HNIItaly 455</i>	Latin SVESANO <i>HNIItaly 450</i>			Latin AISERNINO AISERNINOM <i>HNIItaly 431</i>	Oscan kupeliternum kupeliternum <i>HNIItaly 437</i>	Greek ΝΩΛΛΑΙ <i>HNIItaly 607</i>	Greek ΛΑΡΙΝΩΝ <i>HNIItaly 622</i>
<b>Local types</b>	V		V	V			V			V
Obverse type	(several types)		Head of Mercury Man-faced bull, star	Head of Mercury Hercules strangling Ilion			Head of Minerva Eagle grasping snake			Head of Minerva Horse galloping
Reverse type			Oscan titanud sidikkinud <i>HNIItaly 456</i>	Latin PROBOM SVESANO <i>HNIItaly 448</i>			Latin AISERNIO <i>HNIItaly 429</i>			Oscan (in Latin alphabet) LADINEI <i>HNIItaly 623</i>
Legend language Obverse Reverse							Head of Vulcan Jupiter in biga			Head of Minerva Thunderbolt
Obverse type							Latin VOLCANOM AISERNINO <i>HNIItaly 430</i>			Oscan (in Latin alphabet) LADINOD <i>HNIItaly 624</i>
Reverse type										
Legend language Obverse Reverse										

Table 4.3. Coinages in struck bronze with shared types in Campania and beyond

Following this chronology, we can now proceed to examine how the colonies acted and presented themselves in this rather dynamic (supra)regional context of bronze-producing mints. First of all, we may note that there are clear differences between the first bronze production of Cales on the one hand, and Suessa and Aesernia on the other, indicating a lack of a uniform colonial policy. The first bronze issue by Cales probably predates 270, and followed a Neapolitan example, showing the importance of this mint in economic and possibly also cultural terms for the colony. In fact, Cales did not produce any 'local type' bronzes. In contrast, Suessa and Aesernia both produced their own types, in addition to participating in larger groups (Suessa produced both a Minerva/cock issue and a Victory issue; Aesernia only a Victory issue). It seems that the local types may have been produced at these two mints either at the same time or earlier than the issues part of these larger groups. In all likelihood, all of these issues were connected to military activity of these two colonies in the First Punic War. Elsewhere, I have drawn attention to the 'integrative' effects of coinage production by several communities contributing to the Roman war effort.<sup>857</sup> In this context, it is interesting to study the weights, distribution, and types of the colonies in some more detail. I will start with the local types, and then proceed to the types that are shared with other mints.

We have already seen that the local bronze types of Suessa and Aesernia have similar weights (ca. 7 g), and they circulated mainly in Latin and Samnite territories (figure 4.23). In these areas, therefore, these colonies presented themselves as independent communities. By looking at the legends and types of these issues, we can get a better insight in *how* they presented themselves, and what influences were important in creating this public identity. In both cases, the legend is in Latin, SVESANO and AISERNIO OR AISERNINO (or variant) respectively.<sup>858</sup> In the case of Suessa (HNItaly 448) there is also the word PROBOM on the obverse. As in the case of the silver, the legend in Latin would have created a connection to Rome, while the name of the community would have stressed the importance of the local community. The meaning of PROBOM is

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<sup>857</sup> Termeer forthcoming-a.

<sup>858</sup> See II Aesernia 1 Coinage; it is suggested that the normal ethnic is AISERNINOM OR AISERNINO, and that other forms are errors of engraving. Only the variants AISERNIM, may be a survival of an Oscan form.

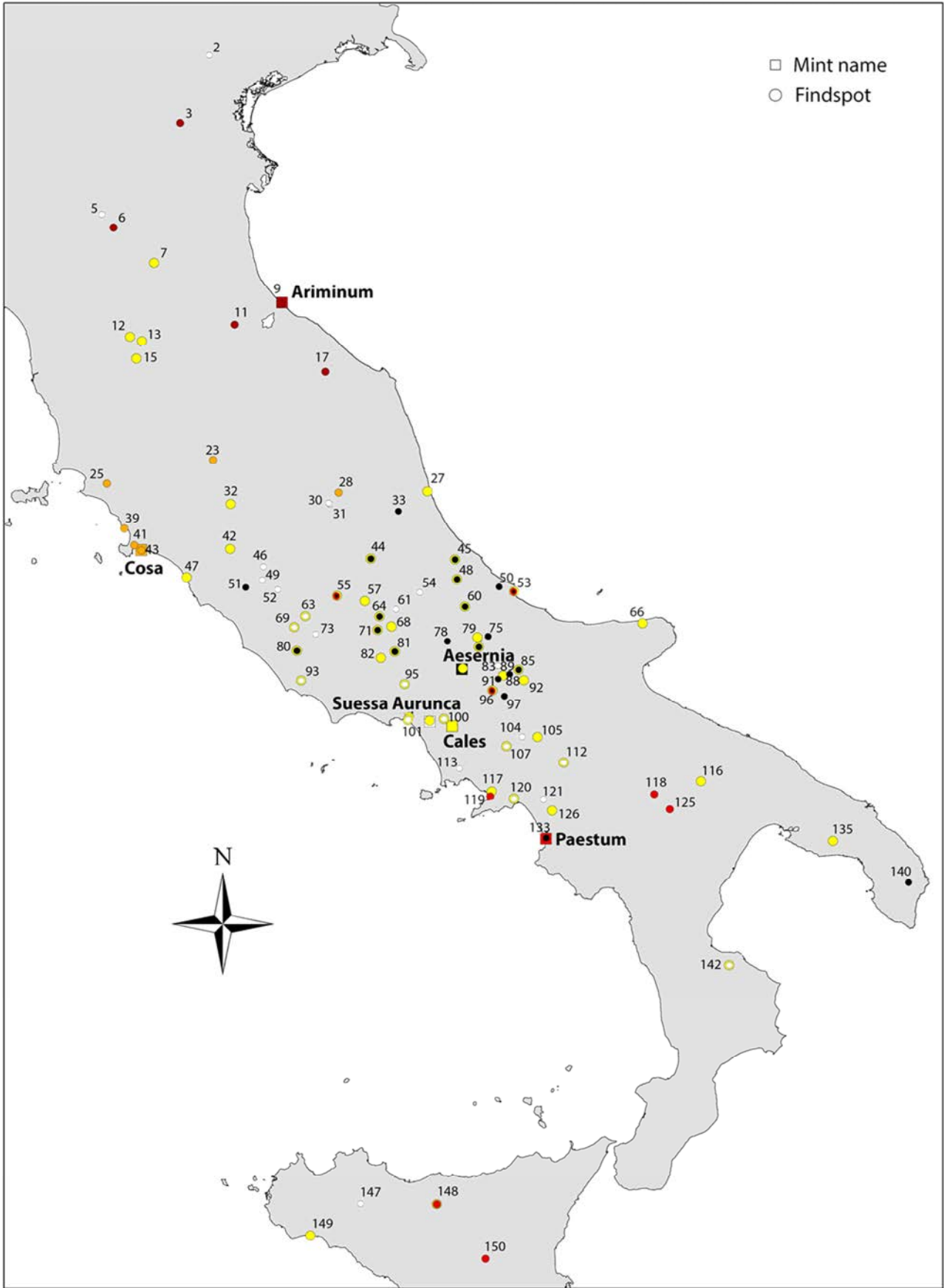


Figure 4.23. Known provenances of colonial coinages in struck bronze before 220. The numbers refer to find spots listed in appendix 7





Figure 4.24. Bronze coin of Suessa Aurunca with local type head of Mercury / Hercules strangling lion (HNItaly 448)

not clear, although it may be a validation of the coin by the issuing authority.<sup>859</sup> A similar text is found on the coinage of Beneventum as well (see below).

Moving on to the types, the local type of Suessa (HNItaly 448) has the head of Hermes/Mercury on the obverse, and Hercules strangling a lion on the reverse (figure 4.24). This combination of types shows different possible areas of influence. Earlier or contemporary use of Hermes/Mercury is attested in Etruria, in Rome and in two other colonies (Signia and Alba Fucens), but also more to the south, in Hipponium, Metapontum, Teanum (near Suessa) and in an issue ascribed to the Frentani.<sup>860</sup> The fight between Hercules and the lion was introduced in the west first in Syracuse, to then be adopted by Heraclea, Taras and several other mints in Lucania, Samnium and Apulia.<sup>861</sup> The use of this type by these southern mints has been explained in the context of the Second Samnite War, as a reference to (a desire for victory in) the struggle against the common enemy Rome, while at the same time carrying a philotarentine message.<sup>862</sup> Against this background, the choice of this type by Suessa raises questions. Although it may lessen the credibility of the suggested significance of the use of this type during the Second Samnite War, another possibility is that

<sup>859</sup> Rutter et al. 2001, 60 (HNItaly 448).

<sup>860</sup> A 'Latin connection' of Mercury is noticed by Sambon 1903, 346; see also Vitale 2009, 58-60. The relevant issues are the following: Populonia HNItaly 123-124, 161-164, 189-190; Inland Etruria HNItaly 71-73; Rome HNItaly 268; Signia HNItaly 343; Alba Fucens HNItaly 240; Hipponium HNItaly 2243-2245; Metapontum HNItaly 1690; Teanum HNItaly 456; the Frentani HNItaly 621.

<sup>861</sup> Arpi HNItaly 637-638; Teate HNItaly 697; Rubi HNItaly 809; Caelia HNItaly 757; Pitanatai Peripoloi HNItaly 445. On Hercules strangling the lion as a coin type: Cantilena et al. 2004.

<sup>862</sup> Cantilena et al. 2004, 142-143. The use of this type in Suessa is not mentioned.

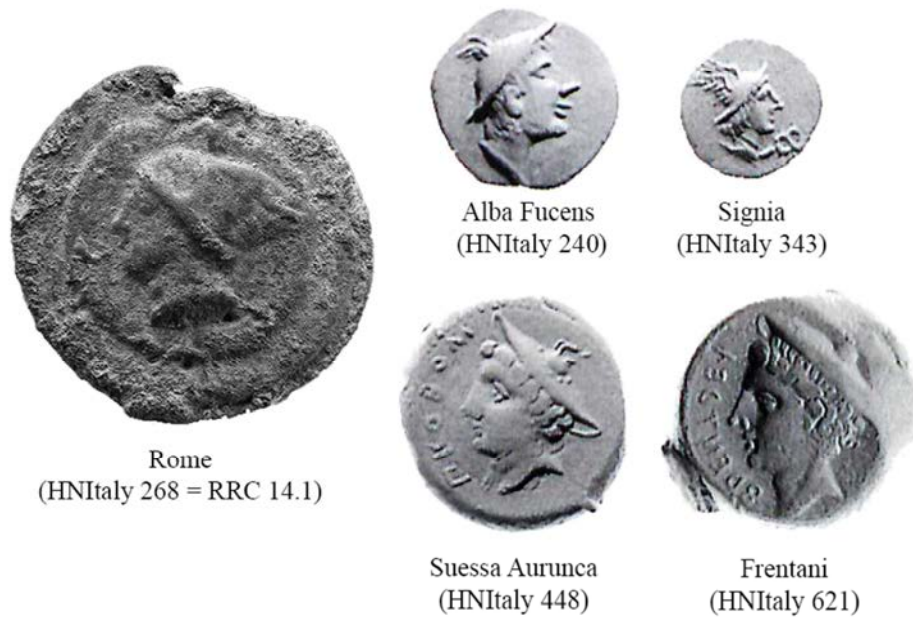


Figure 4.25. Coins with Hermes / Mercury

the original anti-Roman connotation was no reason not to adopt this type, or that the reference to *a struggle* was more powerful than that of *a struggle against Rome*. In any case, it is clear that the choice of this type did not depict the colony as closely related to Rome; rather, its position in the Greek world was emphasized. In the portrayal of Hermes/Mercury, this integration in the Greek world can be recognized as well: compared to Rome, Signia and Alba Fucens, Suessa and the Frentani share a more Hellenistic rendering of the facial features with a diverse depiction of the petasos (figure 4.25).<sup>863</sup> This does not exclude the possibility that Mercury had a Roman or Latin connotation - it is true that Mercury is relatively often used by communities that are related to Rome and by Rome itself on its first cast bronze coinage<sup>864</sup> - but other influences seem to have been at work as well.

The two local types of Aesernia show a similar mix of influences (figure 4.26). The first (HNItaly 429) combines the rather generic type of Athena/Minerva with an eagle grasping a snake, a type that may go back to the

<sup>863</sup> I have not been able to find an image of a well-preserved specimen of Teanum.

<sup>864</sup> As stressed by Vitale 2009, 59. The Greek examples are not noted by her.



Figure 4.26. Bronze coins of Aesernia with local types.  
 Above: head of Minerva / eagle grasping snake (HNItaly 429). Below: head of Vulcan /  
 Jupiter driving biga (HNItaly 430)

struck bronzes of Croton in the late fourth century.<sup>865</sup> The theme is well-known in the Greek world, mostly occurring as a portent sign in scenes that are related to war or battle.<sup>866</sup> The combination of Athena/Minerva and an eagle on the same coin is not very common, but it is known from the colony Alba Fucens and from Rome itself (although in both cases the eagle is not grasping a snake).<sup>867</sup> In Alba Fucens, these types were used on three different issues of silver obols, dated to 280-275 (HNItaly 241, 243, 244), while the Roman bronze, roughly contemporary to the issue of Aesernia, was produced in Sicily (Messana), where the type may have been borrowed from the coinage of the Mamertines (RRC 23.1 / HNItaly 296).<sup>868</sup>

<sup>865</sup> HNItaly 2217-2223; a similar type on the bronze of Hipponion HNItaly 2243 (note that the obverse of the same type from Hipponion is one of the Greek issues with Hermes, discussed above as a parallel for the local issue of Suessa).

<sup>866</sup> See Rodríguez Pérez 2010. She points out on p. 15 that the theme was known in the Roman world as well: it was used in the decorative programme of the curia designed under Augustus. She suggests (based on the work of Hölscher) that in this context the combat of the animals should probably be read as a symbol of victory over a malevolent force.

<sup>867</sup> The only other mint where this combination is used on the same coin in third c. peninsular Italy is Locri: HNItaly 2398, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2406-2414.

<sup>868</sup> See Crawford 1974, 714.

The second local type of Aesernia (HNItaly 430) has the head of Vulcan on the obverse, with in front of it the text VOLCANOM. This deity may have a particular local significance, as Aesernia has the word bronze (aes) in its name.<sup>869</sup> In peninsular Italy, this type only appears to the north of Aesernia, in Populonia in Etruria (where it may be related to metal winning; HNItaly 188, 195) and in the colony of Ariminum (HNItaly 8).<sup>870</sup> These types do have some iconographical differences, and direct influence is questionable: most importantly, Vulcan has a beard in Ariminum, but is beardless in Aesernia and Populonia. On the reverse, the Aesernian type has Zeus/Jupiter driving a biga. The type brings to mind the silver of Cales and Neapolis with Victory driving a biga (see above), but it may also be inspired by the gold stater issued by Taras during the Pyrrhic War with a male deity (tentatively identified as Taras in HNItaly) driving a biga. Both local issues of Aesernia, therefore, adapt types from other Latin colonies or Rome, while they also clearly draw on types and iconography of the Greek mints in Campania and the south.

For both Suessa and Aesernia, these various influences on the local types can be understood as a sign of the wide range of contacts and fields in which these colonies operated, showing their pivotal position between Rome and the other Latin colonies, and the Greek south. These various influences may not have been immediately clear to the users of these coins in Latium and Samnium, however, as these people would mostly have been introduced to the Greek coinage tradition rather recently. In these areas, the coins must have signalled the existence of these towns as new centres to reckon with. They must have been associated with Rome, especially as these coinages were probably produced as a means to bolster the Roman war effort, but at the same time, the local types and legends with the name of the colony would make sure that the colonies were recognized as independent towns. In this way, because of their location and status, the colonies introduced new elements to a tradition that was Greek in origin, was maintained because of Roman military activity, and was shaped locally in these colonies.

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<sup>869</sup> I should like to thank Michael Crawford for this suggestion.

<sup>870</sup> The attribution of a third parallel (HNItaly 631) is unclear, although they probably come from a place in Central Adriatic Italy. In Greek coinage, Hephaistos (with beard) figures prominently on the coinage of Lipara in Sicily (probably associated with the volcano), but does not appear in peninsular Italy (see Panvini Rosati 1962, 166).

In contrast to these local issues, the Minerva/cock bronzes and the Victory bronzes are found further into Samnium and towards the south, and they seem to have circulated largely together with the third phase Neapolitan bronzes and the Roman emissions.<sup>871</sup> Both for the Minerva/cock types and for the Apollo/man-faced bull with Victory types, it has also been suggested that the weights fit in with the third phase of the Neapolitan bronze and the Roman issue HNItaly 278 / RRC 17.<sup>872</sup> As the reconstructions of the exact weight systems vary, and the differences in weight are small, I do not find the attempts to construct various weight standards to be convincing, or the suggested links to various subgroups in the Roman and/or Neapolitan bronze production of the period.<sup>873</sup> However, the overlap in distribution does seem to indicate that they circulated together, and they must have been interchangeable in some way. In this way, these coinages reached a rather wide public. We may consider now how the colonies presented themselves to this public through these coins with common types.

First, the shared type with Minerva/cock stresses the integration of the colonies of Cales and Suessa into their regional environment. All mints that produce this type are located geographically close to each other, and the colonies must have been active contributors to the introduction of the Minerva/cock bronzes. In this group, the influence of the colonies and/or Rome is evident in the legends: all participating mints have a Latin legend, all ending in -NO, including Teanum, which has an Oscan legend on its other bronzes.<sup>874</sup> The types are harder to read: the head of Athena/Minerva was widely used in contemporary Italy, and we have seen above (section 4.2.2) that it is difficult to pinpoint a previous example for the use of the cock. It is important, however, to note that a new combination of types was introduced here by the colonies in close interaction with other mints in their regional environment, although production does not seem to have been completely centralized, as no die-links

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<sup>871</sup> Taliercio Mensitieri 1998, 103; Vitale 2009, 67.

<sup>872</sup> This is stated most clearly by Vitale 2009, 66-67. See also Taliercio Mensitieri 1998, 92 and 106.

<sup>873</sup> General observations in Taliercio Mensitieri 1998, 100-110; Lippi 2005 on the Minerva/Cock type; Pantuliano 2005 on Cales; Vitale 2009 on Suessa.

<sup>874</sup> One issue with an Oscan legend is known: HNItaly 457 = II Campania coinage 4. Marchetti 1993, 45, who still attributes this issue to Telesia (see note 850 above) holds that this an imitation of the 'core group'.

are known. While the exact technical and functional explanations of this uniformity are debated,<sup>875</sup> it seems most plausible to me that it is the result of the fact that all these were military issues, used over a rather wide area: the common type would help users to recognize the coins as acceptable currency.<sup>876</sup>

While both the local types of Suessa and Aesernia and the Minerva/cock bronzes create an image of local and/or regional innovation, the types with Apollo / man-faced bull crowned by flying Victory show that the central role of Neapolis in the region had not ended, and was important for many other mints, including the colonies. As we have seen, the production of this type is abundant, extending even beyond Campania and Latium into Samnium (Aesernia), all the way to the Adriatic coast (Larinum). The group is less consistent than the Minerva/cock group, with various symbols and letters accompanying the types, and legends in Greek, Latin and Oscan. Some mints produced more than one issue of this type. The variety in these practical details would speak against the rather common suggestion of central production in Neapolis of these types;<sup>877</sup> again, the military context in which these coinages were produced seems to offer the best explanation. This military context can also serve to explain the inclusion of more distant mints: members of (the political elite of) the various communities may have met in the Roman army. In this context, it seems likely that the coinages of this type came to be associated with Roman military activity as well as with Neapolis. At the same time, the initial selection of these types shows that - at least as far as coinage production is concerned - not Rome, but Neapolis still was the most obvious centre to turn to in times of pressure, also for the colonies.

Recapitulating this discussion of the Campanian bronzes, it seems that coins with local types had a different function than the coins with common types, at least based on their distribution. The issues with local types were mainly used in the regional environment, where these colonies arguably still

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<sup>875</sup> The coins may have been produced at a central mint, by a travelling mint, or locally, and the common types may have been a sign of a monetary league created to ease exchange, or of the common military contribution of the producing mints. See Thomsen 1961, 111 (monetary league); Cantilena 1988, 164 (idem); Stazio 1991, 243 (idem); Catalli 2004, 35-36 (idem); Marchetti 1993, 62 (travelling mint) Lippi 2005, 116 (military issue). Cantilena 1988, 160 also mentions the older hypothesis that the group formed a political union against Rome.

<sup>876</sup> For further considerations: Termeer forthcoming-a.

<sup>877</sup> E.g. Cantilena 1988, 160; HNIItaly, 58 (nr. 431) suggests a centralized production for the issues with ΙΣ.

had to secure their position as new polities to reckon with. The selection of types must have been a conscious decision in this context, and it is interesting that we can recognize possible local considerations, for example in the case of Vulcan in the coinage of Aesernia. More generally speaking, however, the selection of the types could be influenced by Roman or Latin examples, but most of the time, influences from the Greek south seem to have been more important. In more remote areas, and probably in military contexts, the colonies would have presented themselves in different ways: there, they were one of a group of mints with the same types. In this context, their use of Latin for the legend would have associated them with Rome, and their names would circulate widely, but the types did not add to the creation of a specific public identity for the individual colonies. In the case of the Victory bronzes, it is interesting that a traditional Neapolitan type (man-faced bull) was produced now mainly by colonies and allies of Rome, and in this way may have come to be associated with Rome as well. However, this would not have been the effect of Roman intervention or influence: in general, Rome seems to have had very little effect on the local decisions on coinage production in the colonies discussed.

Finally, however, the colony of Beneventum shows clearly that a colonial coinage could also communicate a more direct bond to Rome.<sup>878</sup> After its foundation, Beneventum produced one bronze issue, with the laureate head of Apollo on the obverse, and a galloping horse with a pentagram above on the reverse (HNItaly 440; figure 4.27) on the weight of the third phase of Neapolis and Rome. The types are those of the second Roman silver issue (RRC 15 / HNItaly 275), with the only difference that the horse is accompanied there by a star of eight or sixteen rays instead of a pentagram.<sup>879</sup> As indicated previously, the same types were also used by Luceria for an issue in cast bronze (HNItaly 668; see figure 4.17), and the selection of these types can thus be explained as an association with Rome and/or with the fellow colony of Luceria. A local concern may also be recognized in the use of the horse, however, as

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<sup>878</sup> Although it has often been suggested that the pre-colonial settlement of Malventum produced its own coinage as well (e.g. HNItaly 438-439), this attribution has now been discarded: *II Campania Coinage 2*.

<sup>879</sup> The parallel has been widely noted, e.g. Thomsen 1961, 107; Crawford 1974, 39, n. 6; Torelli 2002, 55.



Figure 4.27. Bronze coin of Beneventum with head of Apollo / horse galloping (HNIItaly 440)

Beneventum seems to have associated itself more often with Diomedes.<sup>880</sup> While it has been suggested that the legend of the issue of Beneventum, BENVENTOD, is an Oscan ablative,<sup>881</sup> it is much more likely to be the archaic Latin form.<sup>882</sup> On the reverse of this issue are the letters PRO POM, which recall the PROBOM on the local issue of Suessa (see above). This again shows a preoccupation with another Latin colony, and it thus seems that their relation to Rome and status as Latin colony was a clear concern for the people responsible for coinage production in Beneventum.

### Joining the Campanian tradition

The developments in Campania, where the interaction between the traditional mints, colonies, allies and Rome resulted in new coinages, also had influence beyond Campania. In this section, four examples of colonies that seem to have joined the Campanian tradition will be examined, with attention to their local particularities and the influence of Rome. As the colonies under examination here are not located in Campania, their relation to the regional environment merits some further attention: what were the effects of the choice to adhere to a 'foreign' system, and to what extent may these coins have been associated with Rome, even if they were not modelled on Roman specimens?

First, we will examine the silver coinages from the colonies of Norba, Signia and Alba Fucens (figure 4.28), which were produced early in the third

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<sup>880</sup> Cf. Torelli 2002, 25-52.

<sup>881</sup> See Campana 1992-1996, 330. Pedroni 1996b, 172 relates this to 'una romanizzazione ancora incipiente', and suggests implausibly that the issue predates the foundation of the colony.

<sup>882</sup> Taliercio Mensitieri 1998, 102, n. 297.



century (the date in HNIItaly is 280-275). Both Norba (HNIItaly 248) and Signia (HNIItaly 343) seem to have produced only one issue, and the very low numbers of surviving specimens indicate that the volume of production was low. For Alba, five different issues are known in slightly larger quantities (HNIItaly 240-244). All these issues are fractions of the Campanian standard didrachm: the coins of Norba and Signia are obols, while Alba also produces hemiobols and diobols. They predate the silver issues of Cales and Suessa, and may thus be regarded as the first colonial silver. The fact that the old Latin colonies of Norba and Signia join Alba in this innovation is significant, as it shows mutual awareness and maybe even identification between the old and the new Latin colonies. It is also relevant that these coinages were produced in a period when there is a gap in the production of Roman silver (if we follow the chronology of HNIItaly).

The production by these colonies is possibly connected to their military contribution in the Pyrrhic war, although the low volume of production may speak against this, and they can also be understood as ceremonial issues. The low denominations are interesting: after a period of very intensive production of these kind of silver fractions in Samnium and Campania in the late fourth century, they were only sporadically produced in the third century.<sup>883</sup> Although the Campanian standard was also used in the contemporary silver production of Rome, the low denominations suggest direct contact with the south, rather than mediation through Rome.<sup>884</sup> It also seems that there was contact or familiarity with mints further to the south, as is shown by the types of Norba: with Demeter/Ceres on the obverse and a corn ear on the reverse, the coin uses the iconic types of Metapontum (note, however, that they are also used on a bronze issue of Neapolis (HNIItaly 801) and Heraclea (HNIItaly 1442).

The types of Signia and Alba do not show such an exclusive orientation towards the Greek south. As we have seen above, Signia and Alba both use the head of Hermes/Mercury in an iconography that seems related to Etruscan or Roman types rather than Greek. In Signia, the head of Hermes/Mercury is

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<sup>883</sup> The production in Campania and Samnium in the fourth century is regarded as a homogeneous group: Stazio 1991, 242; Cantilena et al. 2004, 141-142; Catalli 2004, 30.

<sup>884</sup> Cf. Crawford 1985a, 47. Silver fractions with a date range extending to ca. 275 or further were produced throughout Magna Graecia at Heraclea, Taras, Metapontum, Croton and in Apulia at Arpi, Teate, Rubi, Canusium.



Figure 4.28. Silver coins of Alba Fucens, Signia and Norba. Above: diobol of Alba Fucens with head of Mercury / griffin (HNItaly 240). Middle: obol of Signia with head of Mercury / janiform head with Silenus and boar (HNItaly 343). Below: obol of Norba with head of Ceres / corn ear (HNItaly 248)

accompanied on the reverse by a janiform head which combines the head of a Silenus with a boar. This unique type shows innovation in this colony, although it has been suggested that the type is inspired by the Hellenistic tradition of caricatures.<sup>885</sup> Both the boar and the Silenus appear first on Greek coinages, but are also known on Etruscan and Italic coinages which either predate or are contemporary with the coinage of Signia.<sup>886</sup> In Alba, the head of Hermes/Mercury is combined with a flying griffin on the reverse, a type known from Greek coinages elsewhere in the Mediterranean, but very rare on the Italian peninsula.<sup>887</sup> In contrast, the other coins of Alba, with Minerva/eagle

<sup>885</sup> Campana 1992-1996, 206-207.

<sup>886</sup> The boar appears on the coinage of Cumae in the fifth century, and in Arpi and Ausculum around 300, but it is also used on the cast bronze of Tarquinia in Etruria (HNItaly 215) and on a Roman quadrans which is dated slightly later than the silver of Signia (HNItaly 282). The head of a Silenus is used first in Metapontum, and finds its way not only to Signia, but also to Tuder and Hadria, without it being clear which trajectory it follows (see section 4.2.2).

<sup>887</sup> The griffin is used as a symbol with a barley ear on a silver stater of Metapontum (HNItaly 1589) and it is used as an incuse type on a struck bronze from a unknown mint in Central Etruria (HNItaly 79).

and female head/dolphin, use types that are widespread in the coinage of the Italian peninsula. We have seen above that the combination of types Minerva/eagle is used both in Rome and in the colony of Aesernia, but the silver example of Alba Fucens is older than these issues. As at Signia, therefore, the production of Alba shows familiarity with a wide range of traditions. The later adoption of the same combination of types in Rome and Aesernia may indicate that the coinage of Alba had more impact than that of Signia, which matches the somewhat larger quantity of surviving specimens. Unfortunately, this cannot be corroborated by the distribution of coins, as very few find spots are known.

In general lines, therefore, these three colonies produced silver coinages that are more related to Samnium and the Greek south than to Rome, both in terms of denominations and in terms of weight standard. Only the use of Latin for the legend shows the Roman or Latin background of the colony, which in any case would not stand out in the regional environment at Norba and Signia. As in the case of the cast bronze coinages produced on the Adriatic coast (section 4.3.1), the volume of production was low, and while we know very little about distribution, the coins are unlikely to have been broadly known throughout Italy. While in terms of production, the types show familiarity with Mediterranean traditions, their impact was probably more local or regional.

In comparison to these colonies, both the regional reality and the results of coinage production are very different in Paestum in Lucania. Historically, the region of Lucania can best be understood as part of Magna Grecia, and the coinage of its predecessor Poseidonia was produced first on a local standard and subsequently on the standard of the Achaean colonies on the Ionian coast.<sup>888</sup> Whereas the coinage of Poseidonia normally bears a Greek legend, the coinage of Paestum has a legend in Latin: PAISTANO OR PAIS. The only denomination produced in silver is a didrachm on the Campanian standard of ca. 7,2 g, which is quite rare and was probably produced in small quantities (HNIItaly 1180). Bronze is produced in much larger quantities, with two main groups in the third century: the first has PAISTANO as a legend, while the second

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<sup>888</sup> Cantilena 1988, 11; Rutter et al. 2001, 108.

has PAIS, and uses value marks (this second group will be further discussed in section 4.3.3).<sup>889</sup>

There has been discussion about the date of these coinages, with the main question being whether the PAISTANO bronzes date before or after the foundation of the colony. The change of the name of the settlement may well have preceded the foundation of the colony and does not help in this discussion. However, the Latin legend, which follows the forms with -NO known from Rome (ROMANO) and various mints in Campania (see above), points to the Latin colony as the main candidate for being responsible for the production of these coins,<sup>890</sup> and puts the burden of proof on the supporters of an earlier date. In this situation, the arguments for an earlier date do not convince.<sup>891</sup> In short, the supporters of an earlier date object to the chronological gap between the production of Poseidonia and that of Paestum, and they point to the occurrence of PAISTANO bronzes in tombs (specifically tomb 58 of the Spinazzo necropolis) which they date to the ca. 300, in the Oscan phase of the settlement, based on the paintings in these tombs and other objects of the *corredo*.<sup>892</sup> However, as there are many instances where coinage production is not continuous, the chronological gap in production need not be a problem, and it seems to be confirmed rather than problematized by the known find contexts: the PAISTANO coins are never found together with the earlier production of Poseidonia. The pottery in the *corredo* of tomb 58 cannot be considered hard evidence for a date of the tomb before the foundation of the colony, both because of the shifting chronologies of black gloss pottery and the possible long period of use of

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<sup>889</sup> All bronze series of Paestum have been classified in Crawford 1973: I will only treat the first (issues 1-3; HNIItaly 1181-1185) and second group treated by him (issues 4-12; HNIItaly 1186-1219). The later groups (issues 13-38; HNIItaly 1220-1258) date later than the third century and therefore fall beyond the chronological scope of this thesis. The legend PAISTANO on the bronze series is sometimes rendered as ΠAISTANO (e.g. Pontrandolfo 1983 and Horsnæs 2004; the second leg of the π is shorter than the first in the title of Pontrandolfo). On most coins, including the ones with PAIS, the letter is indeed like a π with a second shorter leg, or an open P. As the s is in the Latin alphabet, though, the Latin reading is to be preferred (see the comment at HNIItaly 1181). Crawford 2006, 69, n. 35 points out that the legend is wrongly given in the Greek alphabet by Taliercio Mensitieri 1996.

<sup>890</sup> See the remarks by Crawford in reaction to Stazio 1973, on p. 133; the argument is repeated in Burnett and Crawford 1998, 56 and Crawford 2006, 54. The parallelism is also noted by Pontrandolfo 1983, 80, but she argues for a pre-colonial date nonetheless.

<sup>891</sup> The rebuttal by Burnett and Crawford 1998, largely repeated, though with more attention for the tombs and the question of romanization in Paestum, in Horsnæs 2004, is convincing, and accepted by Gualtieri 2013, 383.

<sup>892</sup> See Stazio 1973, 130; Prisco 1980, 43 and Pontrandolfo 1983.

pottery. Moreover, the tomb contains late Neapolitan silver and bronze coins, which would point to a later date than 300 (the solution by Pontrandolfo to date the coinages earlier is not convincing). The debate is of course embedded in a broader discussion of cultural change in Poseidonia/Paestum in a period of successive dominance of Oscans and Romans in an originally Greek city. However, I see no reason why the tombs would not continue after the foundation of the colony, as we have more indications for continuity in population in this colony (see chapter 3).<sup>893</sup> Therefore, it seems by far the preferable option to assume that these coinages were all produced after the foundation of the colony.<sup>894</sup>

Paestum's silver was probably produced not long after the foundation of the colony, and it follows the weight standard of Campania, which was also in use in Rome.<sup>895</sup> As we have seen above, this implies a significant break with the earlier silver production of Poseidonia, which occurred more than half a century earlier. Although the number of coins is low, and no find locations are known, the fact that the colony opted for the Campanian standard (and not for that of the south Italian mints) seems to indicate a wish to join in this northern 'market'. The types of this silver issue (male head (Apollo?) on the obverse, and mounted Dioscuri on the reverse) also show a break with the standard types of Poseidonia, but the reverse type does show the continuing importance of Taras (cf. the gold HNItaly 948 and the silver HNItaly 1011).<sup>896</sup>

The two groups of bronze issues of the third century were struck, according to Michael Crawford, 'to finance the contribution of Paestum, a Latin colony, to the Roman war effort': he plausibly relates these two groups to the

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<sup>893</sup> As also argued by Crawford 2006, 65.

<sup>894</sup> This is the date given in Rutter et al. 2001, 112-115; see also Crawford 1973 (repeated in Burnett and Crawford 1998); Marchetti 1993, 55, n. 129; Cantilena 2001, 50; Horsnæs 2004. Taliercio Mensitieri 1996, 212 also inclines to this date, as is confirmed by her remarks in Taliercio Mensitieri 1998, 105-106.

<sup>895</sup> See Taliercio Mensitieri 1996, 212.

<sup>896</sup> This is also noted by Taliercio Mensitieri 1996, 212, who relates the conical hat worn by the Dioscuri on this issue to an 'ambito di gravitazione romana'. Her identification of the male head on the obverse (identified in HNItaly as Apollo) as the river god Sele lacks explanation, although it is convenient for the 'suggestiva coincidenza che può colorirsi di una sfumatura politica' she sees between this issue of Paestum and a Roman cast bronze issue with Dioscurus and a male head with horn whom she identifies as the personification of the Tiber (presumably HNItaly 285 / RRC 19.1). The parallelism seems far-fetched to me.

First and Second Punic War respectively.<sup>897</sup> Interestingly, the weight of the issues in the first group, ca. 7 g,<sup>898</sup> is similar to that of the local issues of Suessa Aurunca and Aesernia, but does not find a parallel in Neapolis or Rome (see p. 254 and p. 260 above).<sup>899</sup> Again, this ‘practical’ orientation towards the new developments in Campania is accompanied by types which most probably derive from Taras: the reverse type is either a dolphin rider generally interpreted as Neptune, or a variant of Cupid riding a dolphin.<sup>900</sup> The head of Neptune on the obverse may well be related to the old name of the town, showing that the foundation of the colony did not erase interest in its local past (see chapter 3).<sup>901</sup> Both with the silver and the first group of struck bronze, therefore, we see how the selected types allowed for a presentation of the colony in the tradition of south Italian coinage, while at the same time the weight standards are Campanian. For the silver, this process may have been facilitated by the fact that Rome also produced on this standard, but this does not seem to have been the decisive factor: the bronze evidence shows that contacts did not necessarily go through Rome.

The bronzes of Paestum in this period are found mainly to the north of Paestum, in Campania and the Central Apennines, up to the Adriatic coast, with some additional find spots on Sicily, and one in Calabria (figure 4.23 includes only findspots of the PAISTANO bronzes; see appendix 7). This distribution of Paestan bronzes mirrors to a large extent that of the Campanian mints, which underlines the importance of this region for Paestum.<sup>902</sup> The pattern may be explained by intensified contacts between Campania and Samnium in the third century, caused and enabled at least in some measure by Roman (military) activity. The prolific production by Paestum would have advertised her important contribution to these wars among her peers (for further discussion of the Paestan production during the Second Punic War, see section 4.3.3).

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<sup>897</sup> Crawford 1973, 48-50. The closing date of 270 for the ‘stipe’ at the Heraion del Sele, which Stazio uses to object to the late date of the PAIS bronzes (Stazio 1973, 130), is problematic as the ‘stipe’ also contains a late victoriatus (see Burnett and Crawford 1998, 56).

<sup>898</sup> Taliercio Mensitieri 1996, 212.

<sup>899</sup> Cf. Taliercio Mensitieri 1998, 105-106.

<sup>900</sup> See Sallusto 1971, 153; Pontrandolfo 1983, 79; Crawford 1973, 101 also notices the affinities with the (later) coinage of Brundisium (see section 4.3.3).

<sup>901</sup> See Crawford 1973, 101.

<sup>902</sup> This is also noted by Taliercio Mensitieri 1996, 212.

Finally, we move north, where the colonies of Cosa and Ariminum each produced a struck bronze coinage. The rather isolated position of these colonies raises questions about their relation to Roman and Campanian struck bronze production. For the struck bronze of Ariminum (HNItaly 8; see figure 4.14), we have already seen that the head of Vulcan on the obverse is used as a type at Aesernia (and Populonia) as well, while the warrior on the reverse may have a local significance if it represents a Gaul (the interpretation as such may have been influenced by the head of a Gaul on the cast bronze).<sup>903</sup> An orientation towards Central Italy seems to be confirmed by its weight, which moves in the same registers as the Campanian bronze issues.<sup>904</sup> In this light, it is also interesting that in Rimini the struck bronze is found in association with Roman and Neapolitan bronzes, and they may have circulated together.<sup>905</sup> Unfortunately, only a few provenances of the struck bronze of Ariminum are known, so this association with the Roman and Campanian bronzes can be further examined only to a limited extent. The few find spots known are all located quite far to the north in comparison with the Campanian bronzes, and do not show a similar overlap with the area of distribution of the Campanian bronzes as we have seen in the case of Paestum. It therefore seems that the Campanian developments were known in Ariminum and influenced the production of struck bronze, but these coins were not only meant for use in a ‘southern’ context. In fact, in the period before the foundation of the colony, some struck bronzes from the Greek south had already found their way to the north, and the local production was now added to that.<sup>906</sup>

Moving to Cosa, it is interesting that the struck bronzes of this colony are markedly different from those of mints in the regional environment, Vetulonia and Populonia.<sup>907</sup> Instead, there is a rather direct connection to Rome. The first struck bronze issue produced by Cosa (HNItaly 210) has the bearded head of Mars on the obverse, and the head of a bridled horse on the reverse, clearly

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<sup>903</sup> The identification of the reverse type as a Gaul is disputed: it is defended by Bondini 2003, 309; Ercolani Cocchi 2004, 39, but HNItaly repeats the neutral description which we already find in Panvini Rosati 1962, 160 as a ‘warrior with shield and spear’ (HNItaly 8).

<sup>904</sup> See the weights given in Gorini 2010, 333-335.

<sup>905</sup> As noted by Ercolani Cocchi and Ortalli 2012, 364-366. Panvini Rosati 1962, 167 maintained that the weight standard was not Roman.

<sup>906</sup> See Ercolani Cocchi 2004, 39-41.

<sup>907</sup> The bronzes of Vetulonia and Populonia bear marks of value; see HNItaly 184-197 (Populonia) and HNItaly 202-205 (Vetulonia).

inspired by the types of the first Roman silver didrachm (HNItaly 266 / RRC 13.1).<sup>908</sup> The second Cosan bronze (HNItaly 211) is a direct copy of the Roman bronze with Minerva/horse's head (HNItaly 278 / RRC 17), although the female deity on the obverse may in this case be understood as the head of Cosa, a personification of the settlement, as argued by Theodore Buttrey.<sup>909</sup> The chronology of these two issues is established mainly on the basis of their weights: while HNItaly 211 follows both the types and the weight of HNItaly 278 / RRC 17, which is also shared by most of the Campanian mints (see above), HNItaly 210 is heavier, recalling the weight of the local types of Campania.<sup>910</sup> It seems, therefore, that there was awareness in Cosa of the developments in Campania, but in contrast to the case of Ariminum, we do not see this in the types, and the distribution of the Cosan bronzes shows that they were used mainly in the region around Cosa.

The contact with Campania may have concentrated mainly on the Latin colonies in that region. There is a striking parallelism between the first bronze of Cosa and that of Beneventum: both use a similar weight standard, and they both adopt the types of earlier Roman silver didrachms. There may even be a logic here if we presume that the coins were produced soon after the foundation of the colonies: Cosa, founded in 273, copies the types of the first Roman didrachm, whereas Beneventum, founded 268, copies those of the second. As in the case of Beneventum, it is clear that the colony of Cosa wished to communicate a strong link to Rome, and perhaps there was also direct contact between these two colonies.

I think it is safe to conclude that the colonies discussed in this section were quite aware of developments in Campania and in Rome. In functional terms, all of these colonies opted to follow practices that were developed mainly in this core area. The reason for this may well be the military context for which most of these coinages were presumably produced, and which facilitated contacts and exchange between members of the various communities contributing to the Roman army. At first, the influences seem to have come mainly from Campania (and Samnium), as we have seen in the early silver production of Signia, Norba and Alba Fucens. For the bronzes, which are

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<sup>908</sup> The parallel has been widely noted. See Buttrey 1980, 17.

<sup>909</sup> Buttrey 1980, 22.

<sup>910</sup> Buttrey 1980, 23-24; Taliercio Mensitieri 1998, 88.



somewhat later in date, it becomes increasingly hard to differentiate between Roman and Campanian influences, as weight standards and distribution converged. However, if we can attach any significance to the small differences in weight that have been noted above, it seems that Campania continued to be an important point of reference. Both the Paestan bronze and one of the issues of Cosa have weights that fit the local issues of the Campanian mints, rather than any of the Roman production. We can conclude, therefore, that while Rome *caused* coinage production in the colonies, the practicalities of production were mainly developed in Campania, in interaction of course with other mints, including Rome. I reached a similar conclusion in my discussion of the developments in silver production in Campania itself: technical and organizational inventions seem to have been made first in Campania, and then adopted in Rome.

In contrast, in their selection of types, the bronze-producing colonies often opted either for a Roman or Campanian example; here it becomes clear that the colonies actively positioned themselves in different ways. As we have seen, Beneventum and Cosa clearly copy the types of Roman issues in silver or bronze, and thus forge an ideological link to their mother city. Perhaps the rather isolated position of these two colonies can explain this behaviour. Other colonies use well-known Greek types or develop their own. Again, looking at the spectrum as a whole, a range of different decisions was made in the colonies, most probably dependent on local interests and concerns. This means that the colonies presented themselves quite differently to an audience that partly overlapped, and therefore was familiar with the different types. There is clear overlap in the distribution of the struck bronze coinages, mainly in Central Apennine Italy. The rather high degree of overlap in the distribution of these coins can again be explained if these were indeed military issues.

At the same time, there is also a clear relation between the location of the colonies and the distribution of their coinage. In the case of Cosa and Ariminum, this means they were responsible for the introduction of new types of money in their regional environment. In these areas where struck bronze money was previously unknown, and few Campanian specimens arrived, the coins and their types may have been mainly associated with Rome, even though in practical terms, connections to Campania were stronger.

### 4.3.3 The Second Punic War

The later third century saw some important changes in coinage production in Italy, which are closely connected to the Second Punic War. In the preamble to the war and during the war itself, Roman coinage went through a series of changes: starting with the reduction in weight of the silver and a series of weight reductions of the bronze *as*, and leading up to the introduction of an entirely new coinage system based on a sextantal standard (an *as* of two ounces), with the related introduction of the denarius at a value of 10 asses.<sup>911</sup> The bronze now had standard obverse types for each denomination, all indicated with marks of value and accompanied with a prow on the reverse. With the various weight reductions more lower denominations came to be struck instead of cast. At the same time, new mints arose in areas of military activity, among both allies of Rome and allies of Hannibal. Several existing mints, such as the colonial mints of Luceria, Venusia and Brundisium in Apulia, and Paestum in Lucania, grew more active (see figure 4.3). In this section, the relation of their coinages to Rome and to the regional environment will be examined in more detail.

In section 4.3.1, we have seen that in the early third century, Luceria and Venusia were responsible for the introduction of cast bronze in their regional environment, although in contrast to Rome they used a decimal division of the *as*. In the last quarter of the century, the volume of production at both mints increased, most probably as a consequence of the heightened military activity in northern Apulia in the Second Punic War. For Venusia, three different series dating to the period of the war have been identified by Andrew Burnett.<sup>912</sup> The increase in production is even more marked in Luceria, which has a 'double production' in this period: in addition to producing several issues in its own name, it was responsible for part of the production in the name of Rome, with ROMA as a legend and the standard Roman types, only recognizable as a product of the mint of Luceria by the letter L as a mintmark.<sup>913</sup> This must be a reflection

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<sup>911</sup> See Crawford 1985a, ch. 4.

<sup>912</sup> Burnett 1991, 32, his series 2, 3 and 4; these three are preceded by the first production (1) earlier in the third century, and followed by one issue (5) in the second century.

<sup>913</sup> The only overview of the production of the mint of Luceria is Grueber 1906. An article by Aldo Siciliano, referred to as forthcoming in Rutter et al. 2001, 79, does not seem to have been published yet. HNIItaly only lists the production of Luceria in its own name (HNIItaly 668-684), while RRC only lists the production for Rome (RRC 43 and 97-99).

of the high intensity of the Roman military presence in the area. Both Venusia and Luceria produce various issues on progressively lower weight standards. In general, this development mirrors the reductions in weight in the coinage production of Rome.<sup>914</sup> However, opinions vary on the tightness of the connection between these two colonies and Rome.

Patrick Marchetti has suggested that both mints were directly controlled by Rome in this period.<sup>915</sup> He inserts the production of Venusia and Luceria in the known series of Roman reductions in this period, from semilibral to sextantal. For Luceria, he suggests an immediate interdependency between Luceria's own production and its production in the name of Rome: he argues, for example, that the absence of a Lucerian issue on the quadrantal standard can be explained by the fact that Luceria already produced Roman coins on that standard. This means that the distinction between Luceria's own production and that in Rome's name almost disappears. However, he does not elaborate on the question of why certain issues would have been produced in the name of Rome, and others as Luceria's own coinage. Technically, the strict classification of the production of Luceria and Venusia according to the known Roman weight reductions is problematic. Both Aldo Siciliano and Andrew Burnett argue that the weights of the Lucerian and Venusian specimens cannot easily be reconciled with the known Roman standards, unless we are ready to accept substantial reductions within the same standard.<sup>916</sup> This means that both technically and conceptually there is no convincing evidence for direct Roman involvement in the production of Lucerian coinage. We should be careful here to maintain the distinction between the colony as a location of coinage production and the colony as the political entity responsible for coinage production, and it is to be preferred to consider Luceria's own production as representative of the

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<sup>914</sup> See Torelli 1992, 50.

<sup>915</sup> Marchetti 1978, 477-479.

<sup>916</sup> Siciliano 1994, 161-168 only accepts a parallel to the Roman weight reductions in Venusia from the third series onwards, and does not accept any parallelism between the weights of Rome and Luceria (pp. 161-162). Burnett 1991, 32 discusses some of the differences between the series of Venusia and those of Rome, although he does stress the concordance in the similar general tendencies. Marchetti (1978, 476) acknowledges that in the sextantal series of Venusia, most weights are lower than they should be according to the theoretical weight standard, but he argues that the same tendency can be seen in Roman coinage. Marchetti's suggestion that for Luceria's Roman production (he does not refer to RRC, but the relevant series must be RRC 43), the struck trientes follow a quadrantal standard whereas the higher denomination of as and semis (which were cast) follow a triental standard (Marchetti 1978, 477), seems far-fetched.

community of the colony itself, the result of a commission by the local authorities, whereas the same mint produced coinage on Roman commission as well.<sup>917</sup>

The independence of Luceria's own production is underlined by the fact that, as in Venusia, the local coinage still followed a decimal division of the main unit, which was a *nummus* rather than an *as*.<sup>918</sup> Of course, it is still highly reasonable to suppose that these local coinages were related to Roman military activity in the area and the military function of the colonies as a base for the Roman army.<sup>919</sup> The presence of the Roman army and the certainty that Roman coinage was known and even produced in the region adds an extra dimension to the local characteristics of the coinages. It means that the decision to continue the existing local practice must have been a very conscious one: the difference between Roman coinage and that of Venusia and Luceria was thus deliberately maintained. This shows that the local practice was considered more important than complete adaptation to the Roman system. Because different producers now had to accommodate to each other's needs, a new coin was created that was acceptable both in a Roman and in a local context - a process that clearly fits the dynamics of the middle ground discussed in chapter 2.

This is all the more interesting because in the case of Luceria, we have evidence that it was apparently convenient to make the Roman and the local coinage compatible. The second and later Roman series produced in Luceria (RRC 97-99) do not only have the normal duodecimal denominations, but also a quincunx (RRC 97/3; 97/11; 99/4) or five twelfths of the Roman *as* and a dextans (RRC 97/9; 97/16; 97/23; 99/2), or ten twelfths of the Roman *as*,

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<sup>917</sup> This distinction is disregarded more often than not; see e.g. Torelli 1992, 50: '(...) la moneta di Venosa (...) ebbe un ruolo di gran lunga meno rilevante delle coniazioni della consorella Luceria, che giunse a battere - cosa eccezionale in colonie latine - anche l'argento.' The silver in question is produced by the mint of Luceria, but in the name of Rome, so not by Luceria as a political entity.

<sup>918</sup> The decimal division is clear from the marks of value; see Rutter et al. 2001, 79-80 and 82-83. The term *nummus* is known from inscriptions (see Crawford 1985a, 14-15; e.g. the *lex sacra Lucerina* (ILLRP 504)), and indicated on the *nummus* (HNItaly 719) and double *nummus* (HNItaly 718) of Venusia with an N. For Venusia, see also Burnett 1991, 31. Marchetti does not consider this: as noted by Burnett (1991, 31, n. 8), Marchetti uses a duodecimal terminology.

<sup>919</sup> See Marchetti 1978, 477-478.

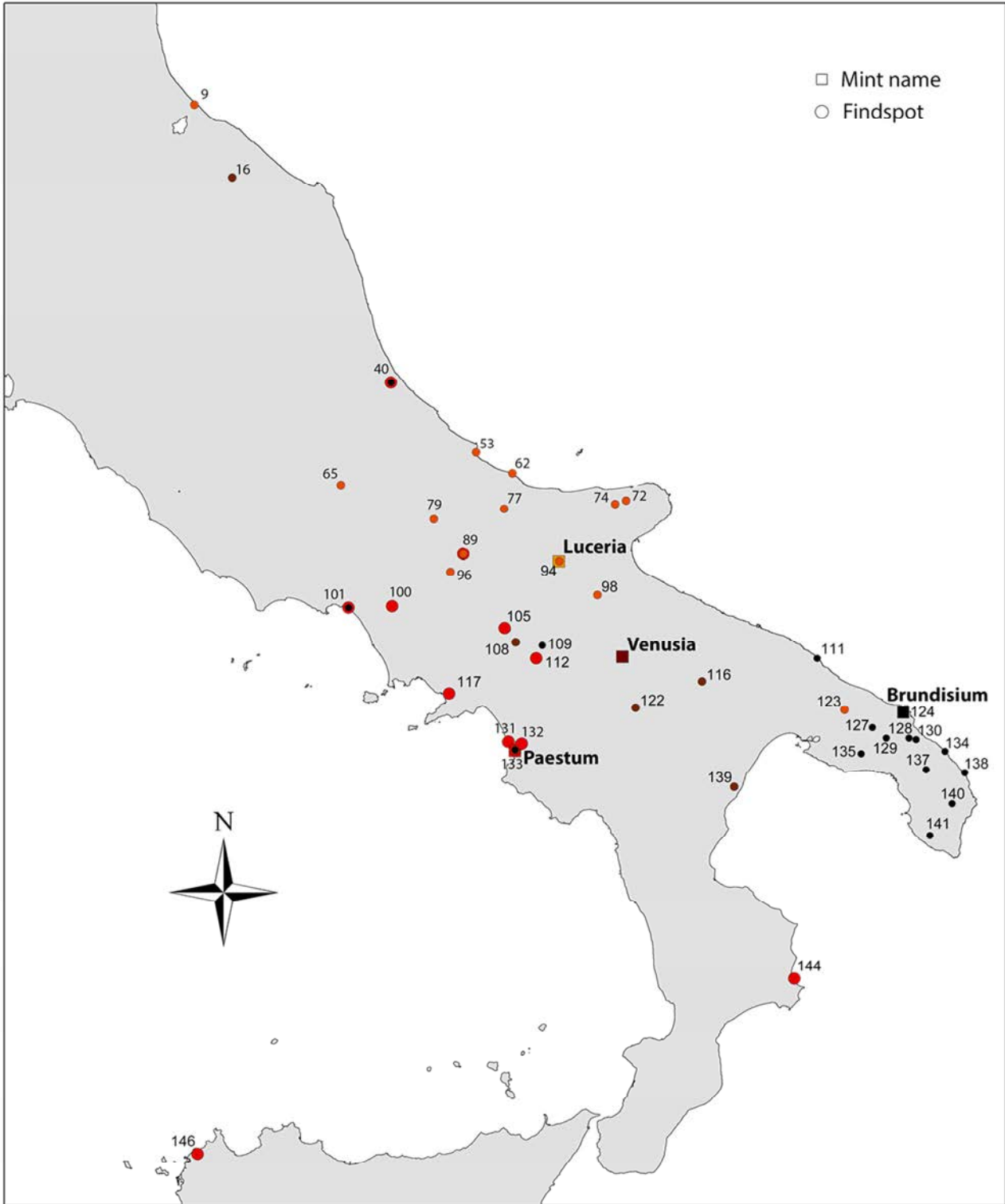


Figure 4.29. Known provenances of colonial coinages in bronze after 220. The numbers refer to findspots listed in appendix 7

which probably was the equivalent of the Lucerian *nummus*.<sup>920</sup> Thus, the production in the name of Rome was adjusted to local production.

When we look at distribution, it becomes clear that these coinages were not exclusively used locally (figure 4.29, with appendix 7). In addition to northern Apulia, specimens from Luceria have been found in various locations, In the predominantly Samnite Central Apennines they are often found in sanctuaries (e.g. Monte Vairano, Campochiaro, Pietrabbondante, Valle d'Ansanto), and specimens are known also from different places along the Adriatic coast (e.g. Vasto, Termoli, Larinum, Ceglie Messapica). For Venusia, only a few provenances are known, which include both a Lucanian sanctuary (Rossano di Vaglio) and settlements in Apulia. Especially in the case of Luceria, there seems to be a connection between the area in which coinage was produced on a decimal system, and the distribution of Lucerian coinage. This strengthens the idea that this is an important regional tradition, although it should be noted that most of these find locations have also yielded Roman coins. In addition, it is interesting that some other mints that were active in the region in the Second Punic War, such as Larinum and Teate, also followed this decimal system.<sup>921</sup> Although these mints have earlier production as well, they all use marks of value - and therefore, a recognizable decimal system - for the first time during the Second Punic War. It seems probable that the large production of Luceria, and, to a lesser extent, Venusia, may have served as an example here. Thus, the colonies clearly have an intermediary position between Rome and their regional environment.

A last observation concerns the types used by Luceria and Venusia in this period. We have seen above that the cast bronze production of these two mints shows a high level of overlap with Rome.<sup>922</sup> If we now look at the types of the struck bronze denominations as well (table 4.4), the first remarkable observation is the higher number of gods presented on the obverses. This can

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<sup>920</sup> Crawford 1985a, 65-66, accepted by Burnett 1991, 31. See also Grueber 1906, 124-125. The adaptation is a logical one if the weight of the uncia for the Roman and for the Lucerian production was equal: most duodecimal denominations would then be compatible with the decimal denominations (e.g. sextans = biunx; triens = quadrunx) and only the quincunx and the *nummus* would not have an equivalent in the duodecimal system.

<sup>921</sup> See Burnett 1991, 31; similarly, the important role of the quincunx at the mint of Orra may be influenced by the situation in Venusia: Rutter et al. 2001, 9.

<sup>922</sup> See also Burnett 1991, 32 for typological links between the fourth series of Venusia and Rome.

Mint	HNItaly	Technique	Iconography OBV	Iconography REV	Start date	End date
Luceria	668	Cast bronze	Apollo, head	Horse galloping	280	270
	669	Cast bronze	Apollo, head	Cock	280	270
	670	Cast bronze	Four wheel spokes	Four wheel spokes	225	217
	671	Cast bronze	Thunderbolt	Club	225	217
	672	Cast bronze	Star, 6 rays	Dolphin	225	217
	675	Cast bronze	Crescent	Thyrsus	225	217
	674	Cast bronze	Frog	Cornear	225	217
	673	Cast bronze	Scallopshell	Knuckle bone	225	217
	677c	Cast bronze	Star, 6 rays	Dolphin	217	212
	677b	Cast bronze	Thunderbolt	Club	217	212
	677f	Cast bronze	Crescent	Thyrsus	217	212
	677e	Cast bronze	Frog	Cornear	217	212
	677d	Cast bronze	Scallopshell	Knuckle bone	217	212
	677a	Cast bronze	Four wheel spokes	Four wheel spokes	217	212
	676	Cast bronze	Hercules, head	Horse prancing	217	212
	678	Struck bronze	Minerva, head	Wheel, 8 spokes	211	200
	681	Struck bronze	Ceres, head	Scallopshell	211	200
	684	Struck bronze	Dioscuri, heads	Horses of Dioscuri	211	200
	682	Struck bronze	Apollo, head	Frog	211	200
	680	Struck bronze	Neptune, head	Dolphin	211	200
679	Struck bronze	Hercules, head	Quiver, club, bow	211	200	
683	Struck bronze	Diana, head	Crescent	211	200	
Venusia	707	Cast bronze	Boar, forepart	Wolf or hound, forepart	275	225
	709	Cast bronze	Dolphin	Dolphin	275	225
	708	Cast bronze	Scallopshell	Crescents, 3	275	225
	710	Cast bronze	Crescent	Crescent	275	225
	711	Cast bronze	Scallopshell	Crescents, 3	220	210
	712	Cast bronze	Dolphin	Dolphin	220	210
	713	Cast bronze	Crescent	Crescent	220	210
	714	Struck bronze	Jupiter, head	Crescents, 3	215	205
	715	Struck bronze	Minerva, head	Dolphins, 2	215	205
	717	Struck bronze	Boar, forepart	Owl	215	205
	716	Struck bronze	Hercules, halffigure	Lion, spear in mouth	215	205
	723	Struck bronze	Sol, head radiate	Star, crescent	210	200
	718	Struck bronze	Hercules, bust	Dioscuri on horseback	210	200
	719	Struck bronze	Bacchus, head	Bacchus seated, thyrsus	210	200
	720	Struck bronze	Jupiter, head	Eagle on thunderbolt	210	200
	722	Struck bronze	Minerva, head	Owl	210	200
	724	Struck bronze	Hercules, head	Lion, spear in mouth	210	200
	725	Struck bronze	Frog	Crab	210	200
	721	Struck bronze	Juno, head	Crescents, 3	210	200
	726	Struck bronze	Mercury, head	Winged boot, caduceus	200	100

Table 4.4. Types used in the coinages of Venusia and Luceria

be explained in various ways, and more than one of these may apply. Practically, the technique of striking bronze enabled a higher level of detail in the execution of these coins. It is also possible that struck bronze was still mainly associated with Greek coinages, which often had a deity as a type (see section 4.2.2 and below on Brundisium). But Rome may have been an example here as well: all standard obverse types of the Roman prow bronzes are deities. However, the deities chosen were not all equal to those on the Roman coinage. Only Athena/Minerva and Herakles/Hercules appear both on the coinage of Luceria and Venusia and on that of Rome,<sup>923</sup> while some other deities which previously only figured on Greek coinages, such as Dionysus/Bacchus and Demeter/Ceres make their appearance here. It must remain open why these exact deities were chosen; Burnett's suggestion that they reflect the main cults in the colony lacks underpinning.<sup>924</sup> In any case, there must be an element of local decision-making in the choice of these types, which again shows how the colonies combine elements from previously separate traditions.

A similar process can be recognized in Brundisium, although we see the effects of a different local environment here. Brundisium was an important base for the Roman fleet during the Second Punic War, which may be an explanation for the prolific colonial coinage production in this period, which continued into the second century.<sup>925</sup> The coinage consists of struck bronze with value marks, produced according to the Roman post-semilibral standard and below in a duodecimal system with a legend in Latin (BRVN): in this respect, therefore, we deal with a coinage that is 'purely Roman in character'.<sup>926</sup> However, it is noteworthy that the first series (on a post-semilibral standard) excludes the higher denominations (as to quadrans) which were cast in the contemporary Roman series. Such cast bronze coinage was completely alien to the regional tradition around Brundisium, and it seems reasonable to suppose

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<sup>923</sup> I exclude Mercury, used on the possible semis of Venusia's fifth series (Burnett 1991, 31-32): it is dated to the second century, and if it is a semis, it is produced in a duodecimal system. The denominations on which Minerva and Hercules are used in Rome, Luceria and Venusia are not compatible: for example, Minerva is used in Rome on the triens, in Venusia on the biunx, and in Luceria on the quincunx.

<sup>924</sup> Burnett 1991, 30. Note that if this interpretation were valid, an important missing deity would be Venus.

<sup>925</sup> See Marchetti 1978, 487. For the chronology, see Boersma and Prins 1994, 322; Rutter et al. 2001, 85-86. On the later issues, various names and monograms can be found, which probably refer to the moneymen (see Boersma and Prins 1994, 320-321).

<sup>926</sup> Crawford 1985a, 66.



that this is why it was not produced here.<sup>927</sup> In addition, very small denominations were produced in this series, including a sicilicus (1/4 uncia) and 1/8 of an uncia. The resulting small coins would have been compatible with the Greek bronze coins which circulated in the area, especially in the case of the 1/8 uncia, which lacks a mark of value.<sup>928</sup> The importance of this local adaptation is underlined by the pattern of distribution of specimens with a known provenance, which mainly come from southern Apulia (see figure 4.29). Again, therefore, new inventions were made in order to try to conform at least outwardly to regional traditions: we see the middle ground at work here.

A preoccupation with the regional environment is also recognizable in the types. Almost all of the Brundisian coins copy the standard reverse type of Taras: a dolphin rider generally identified as Phalantus, the mythical founder of Taras.<sup>929</sup> According to Strabo, the tomb of Phalantus was located in Brundisium, and the use of this figure on the coinage of Brundisium may be connected to this tradition.<sup>930</sup> It is therefore highly possible that the decision to depict Phalantus was not only informed by a wish to use a well-known type in the region, but also by a conscious reference to the role of Brundisium in regional (mythical) history, although these motives are of course not mutually exclusive. It is then interesting to note that even in a situation where the coinage production of Brundisium was most probably linked directly to the Roman war effort, not in the least because the harbour was an important base for the Roman fleet during the war, these coins do not portray Brundisium as a Roman town; instead, they stress the mythical Greek past and the links with the regional environment. This is even more striking when we consider that the contemporary production of Taras was produced on a different, Punic standard, as Taras was allied with Carthage during most of the war.

Finally, the PAIS bronzes of Paestum in Lucania show the same general picture. In comparison with the previous production in Paestum (see section 4.3.2), Campania had lost its importance for coinage production, and Rome had become a much more direct example. The coinage of Paestum now clearly

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<sup>927</sup> As suggested by Boersma & Prins 1994, 311.

<sup>928</sup> See Boersma & Prins 1994, 312-313.

<sup>929</sup> See HNIItaly, s.v. Taras and Brundisium. The figure is sometimes identified as Taras, but Vollkommer, in LIMC s.v. Phalantos, gives some good arguments contra (and pro the identification as Phalantus).

<sup>930</sup> Strabo 6.3.6; see Fantasia 1972, 119; Torelli 2002, 40.

followed the weights and denominational structure of the Roman coinage of the Second Punic War. The group consists of several series, starting on the sextantal standard, which were all produced in large quantities. As in the case of Brundisium, this is probably best explained by the important role of Paestum in the Second Punic War.<sup>931</sup> After the first series,<sup>932</sup> the Paestan production now had standard combination of types for each denomination, much like the Roman bronzes of this period. The types of the Paestan series are rather varied, but they do seem to draw more heavily on the traditional Greek coinages than on that of Rome (see section 4.2.2). This means that although the system is now clearly modelled after that of Rome, the types and legend would still identify the colony as an independent contributor to the Roman war effort.

In all, the coinage production of these colonies during the Second Punic War shows the increasing importance of Rome as an example or standard to shape the local coinage production. However, local elements were still maintained, showing the strong bond between colony and regional environment, and, especially in the case of the types of Brundisium, the willingness to identify publicly with it. Attempts to reconcile Roman and local elements led to new inventions, as we have seen in the case of the Roman dextans produced in Luceria, and the sicilicus and 1/8 of an uncial produced in Brundisium. The colonies still acted as the independent polities they juridically were, but their local decision-making was now influenced to a considerable degree by Roman actions and examples.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

In an article on cultural change in Poseidonia/Paestum, Michael Crawford has made the following observation about the PAISTANO bronzes produced in this colony:<sup>933</sup>

The issue encapsulates the fusion of traditions that is characteristic of Latin colonies, in this case a fusion between the Greek institution of coinage and the Greek types on the one hand and the Latin legend and the presence of Roman names on the other.

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<sup>931</sup> Crawford 1985a, 41.

<sup>932</sup> This is the fourth series in the seriation by Crawford 1973; it comprises HNItaly 1187-1190.

<sup>933</sup> Crawford 2006, 64.

Although we have seen in the analysis above that the situation in Paestum is certainly not exemplary for what happens in all of the other colonies, the process described in this quote is applicable to coinage production in the colonies at large: various traditions merged or collided, leading to new developments and innovation. In this chapter, I have examined the various connections that were important at a local level, and the various ways in which they were locally accommodated.

The colonies were not the only places where this happened. Although they have not been in the centre of attention in this chapter, other mints probably performed similar functions. To a considerable extent, the colonies and other mints moved within the same parameters, but some of the examples we have seen, such as the silver production of Alba Fucens, or the cast bronze produced by Luceria and Venusia, show that the colonies at times stretched the parameters, introducing new forms of coinage in their environment. They did not do this according to one standard 'Roman' practice: each colony chose and developed its own practice, sometimes in close collaboration with other mints in the environment. Together they shaped the monetary landscape of Italy in the third century.

The lack of a uniform, 'Roman' system can well be explained from a practical point of view: most of the colonial coinages either circulated in restricted areas, or they were connected with military contributions to the Roman war effort, and it makes sense that the formally independent colonies were each responsible for the payment of their own contingents. In this context, even if Rome would have been able to impose a uniform monetary system (which is questionable), it may not have been worth the effort. It is important to realize that this indicates a fundamental difference in the relationship between Rome and the rest of Italy - including the colonies - in comparison to later periods. The short-livedness of these coinages, often used to argue for their insignificance, thus signals an important aspect of the way the colonies functioned in third century Italy, and how they related to Rome.

The local coinage production in each of the colonies, therefore, contributed to a large scale process of cultural change, monetizing parts of Italy and changing the monetary landscape in those parts where coinage had been introduced at an earlier stage. As we have seen throughout, the ways in which they achieved this varied considerably. This was the result of a complex

interplay of local traditions and foreign influences. Especially in the last phase, during the Second Punic War, we are able to recognize how a middle ground develops locally, in which coinages are developed that are workable both within the regional environment and in relation to Rome. In addition to noting this variety, it is now possible to identify the main dynamics that caused these differences, although it remains difficult to discover the exact considerations that informed the decisions taken in the colonies. Some general factors that influenced local decision-making in the colonies can be recognized, each of which entails different connections to the outside world.

A first factor is location, and the strength of local traditions in the region where the colony was founded. We have seen that the colonies mostly followed local traditions when they decided what kind of coinage to produce, or which weight standard to adopt: apparently, connections to the local or regional environment were strong. It is rather rare for colonies to introduce completely new practices into their regional environment. They did so mainly - though not exclusively - when no strong local tradition was in place. The obvious examples are Alba Fucens in the Central Apennines together with Signia and Norba in the Monti Lepini, and Cosa in Etruria. These first examples show that, even when the colonies introduced new forms of money into their regional environment, these were not necessarily derived from Rome. In contrast, the struck bronze coinage of Cosa was clearly related to that of Rome, but also to contemporary production in Campania. Even if no strong local tradition was present, therefore, the colonies did not look exclusively to Rome when developing their own coinage production.

Second, all of the groups analysed in this chapter include one or more individual colonial mints that clearly show a closer relation to Rome. In the group of struck bronze producers in Campania and associated mints, these are Cosa and Beneventum, who both used Roman types for their bronzes. On the Adriatic coast, we have seen the example of Firmum, where, uniquely among the Adriatic colonies, a Roman weight standard *and* a duodecimal division of the *as* was adopted, while in Ariminum the selected reverse types show a close connection to Rome. It is tempting to explain this closer relation to Rome with reference to the higher degree of isolation of these colonies: compared to the colonies in Latium and Campania, these are all relative outliers. In lack of local or regional input, then, Rome would be the more logic place to look to.

However, other reasons can be imagined as well, such as the involvement of different families or factions with different ideas for the way the colony should function and present itself.

A third factor that clearly affects decisions taken in the colonies is the function of the coinage and, related to that, its distribution. Most of the early cast bronze coinages were produced in low volumes and seem to have circulated in rather restricted areas. In contrast, the struck bronze of the Campanian and other associated mints was most probably produced for wider military use. In the context of the army, the colonies entered a wider network of coinage producers. As a result, we see a higher level of homogeneity: more interaction between the colonies and other mints in Italy took place, leading to a higher degree of uniformity, both in weight standards and in types. It is important to realize that local decisions in the colony must have been affected by this interaction, and in this way, we can explain the emergence of common types, used by several colonies and other mints. In this 'globalizing' context, the colonies were also given the opportunity to present themselves to a wider world. Most of the cast bronzes were probably seen only by a few people - as we have seen, this may explain the lack of a legend on the (early) cast bronze coinages of Ariminum, Venusia and Luceria, and it means that the colonies would have manifested themselves mostly locally or regionally. In contrast, the struck bronzes have a much wider distribution, and would have been seen by more people. Through their legends and types, these coinages presented the colonies to a wider world.

Fourth, the considerations made by the colonial coinage producers clearly changed during the third century. While in the early part of the century, colonies could still adopt a range of different practices, whether they were a continuation of local practices or those found elsewhere in Italy, in the course of the century, Rome grew progressively more important, both as a coinage producer and (therefore) as an example for the colonial mints. The high degree of uniformity in coinage production during the Second Punic War can again be explained as a result of intensive contacts in military contexts, with the difference that Rome now clearly functioned as an example for other mints, including the colonies. Still, we have seen some local input in the types and denominational systems: apparently, the adoption of Roman systems was still the result of local decisions, and not ordered by Rome.

Finally, we return to the public identities of the colonies and the ways in which they contributed to cultural change. It is clear that throughout the third century, the colonies themselves were responsible for their own coinage production. Most of them chose to integrate, at least in part, into their regional environment, and in this sense, they did not present themselves as completely foreign. In doing so, they actively contributed to the development of new coinage practices in different parts of Italy that were not the result of copying or adopting a Roman example. At the same time, the legend, when present, was always in Latin, which means that identification with Rome must have been part of the public identity communicated in these coinages. This also means that developments that were partly shaped in the colonies may have come to be associated with Rome.

## 5. Beyond the elite: votive practices

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter starts from the idea that not only high level ‘policy makers’ were responsible for shaping the colonial communities and their relation to the outside world, but that everyday practices of the people forming these communities were an equally important constitutive factor. In order to understand the colonies as local communities that contributed to processes of cultural change, therefore, an exclusive focus on developments that were the result of elite decisions - which have been the focus of attention in the previous chapters - does not suffice. People that belonged to the citizen body and other inhabitants of the colonies made their contributions as well (see section 3.2).

The chapter focuses on one specific way in which people helped to shape local realities: the shared practice of dedicating votive gifts at sanctuaries. This is a common religious practice which leaves clear archaeological traces, and as such it suits the goal of this chapter, which is to trace how such shared local practices contributed to cultural change. In order to do so, it is important to examine both the local significance of the votives, and the dynamics that caused their presence in the first place. This means we shall return to the two sets of questions introduced in the theoretical chapter (section 2.4). First, we need to consider what kind of considerations informed the selection of specific types of votive material at a local level. Second, it is important to understand the networks of production and exchange that create the spectrum of votive material in the colonies: what connections existed, and how were they constituted?

Of course, by focusing on votive material, we will get only a partial insight into one specific kind of shared practices in the colonies. We have to deal with the reality, however, that in most cases, other material that would help to shed light on the colonies from this perspective is simply not present for the third century.<sup>934</sup> In contrast, votive material is present in most of the

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<sup>934</sup> For example, we have very few domestic contexts which could shed light on the organization and use of domestic space in the colonies (see section 3.4.2). This is true *a fortiori* for house blocks or districts and neighbourhoods. In many colonies, there are ceramics that can be dated to the third century, both fine table wares and coarse wares, but only very rarely are their find

colonies in the period under study, sometimes in abundant numbers (see appendix 8).<sup>935</sup> It is therefore a profitable source to get at least some insight into the various local concerns and connections that were important in shaping the role of the colonies in cultural change. This also means that the goal of the analysis in this chapter is not to reconstruct religious realities in the colonies in all their complexity; the votives would be insufficient as source material for such an exercise.<sup>936</sup> Rather, by studying the votive material from a globalization perspective, the aim is to shed light on the relations between local practices in the colonies and cultural change.

Certain categories of votive material have figured large in previous scholarship on the impact of Rome through the colonies, and I will engage with these previous approaches in some detail. The analysis in this chapter is to a large degree dependent on previous contributions. At the same time, however, the approach taken here differs in several key respects from earlier studies that dealt with votive practices in the colonies. Most importantly, previous research

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contexts good enough to allow for meaningful analysis on the level of the functioning of the local community; on a more general level, Morel 1988 gives a valuable analysis of the relationship between the colonies and Rome based on the production and exchange of black gloss pottery. The specific cultic examples he gives (*pocola deorum*, *Heraklesschalen*) will come back in the analysis below. Funerary remains dating to the third century are known only from few colonies: Paestum (Potrandolfo 1987, 258-264; Pedley 1990, 126-127), Luceria (Lackner 2008, 111); Suessa Aurunca (Villucci 1980b, 49-55); and perhaps Pontiae (De Rossi 1986, 78; the date of these rock-cut tombs is uncertain: the architectural shape finds parallels in the area around Neapolis in the fourth and third centuries BC, but the paintings on the internal walls of the tombs are probably later).

<sup>935</sup> See De Cazanove 2009, 40 for the observation that most anatomical votives can be dated to the third century, although the practice of offering them does continue, probably mainly in metal (which explains their scarcity in earlier periods).

<sup>936</sup> Cf. Griffith 2013 on the complexities of reconstructing religious ritual in Republican Italy. The focus on votive material as a source for religious practices in the colonies in this chapter obviously bypasses *other* kinds of religious practices which must have been important. Honouring and placating the gods must have involved all kinds of activities, such as the celebrating of festivals, processions, games, dancing, banquets and prayers, sacrifices and libations made to the gods and the giving of votive objects made from perishable material such as fruit and other foodstuffs or objects made out of wood or wax. However, the full spectrum of these religious practices mostly escape the modern researcher as they did not leave many material traces. This has partly to do with the quality of excavation and research: attention for zooarchaeological and paleobotanical remains at sanctuaries, for example, may add hugely to our understanding of religious practices. Unfortunately, such information is not widely available for the colonies under study. For an exception, see Betetto in Di Mario and Ceccarelli 2005, 369-374 on the faunal remains from the votive deposit of Casarinaccio at Ardea. For the potential of the study of faunal remains, see also Bouma 1996, and the contribution by Wietske Prummel in the same volume (pp. 233-234 & 443-444). They hypothesize an early occurrence of suovetaurilia sacrifices in Satricum



has mainly focused on questions that are clearly informed by a romanization perspective. The most important example is the debate on the significance of the presence of the so-called anatomical terracottas: while some see them as an ‘archaeological flag’ of romanization, others deny a close connection to Roman presence or influence.<sup>937</sup> I will argue that this debate is rather unhelpful in the present context for two main reasons. First, it draws too much attention to one specific category of votives, and it therefore privileges one connection (that with Rome), while most of the colonies present a much wider spectrum of votives and connections. Second, too little distinction is made between the significance of the votives to the dedicators at a local level (an *emic* perspective) and the significance of large-scale patterns of distribution to the modern researcher (an *etic* perspective).

By taking a globalization perspective to the votive material in the colonies in this chapter, I include a broader spectrum of votive material in the analysis, instead of focusing on what would have come from Rome. Moreover, because we have seen in the theoretical chapter that local concerns and developments affect large scale patterns of cultural change, part of the analysis will be aimed at understanding what the spectrum of votive gifts in the colonies tells us about local concerns in the colonies. This is important to assess the significance of larger scale networks of production and exchange in which the colonies were active. These networks are not the result of decisions taken by the political authorities in the colonies; rather, they are the result of dynamics of supply and demand.

In this introduction, I discuss the backgrounds against which the analysis in this chapter is conducted. Section 5.1.1 serves as a brief introduction to the dynamics that must have been important in shaping votive assemblages in the colonies. In section 5.1.2, previous scholarship will be discussed at some length, in order to clearly position the following analysis within the body of existing scholarship. Based on these considerations, section 5.1.3 discusses the logic behind the approach taken in this chapter.

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<sup>937</sup> For anatomical terracottas as an ‘archaeological flag’ of romanization: Torelli 2006, 88-89. Most clearly against this view is Glinister 2006. See further 5.1.2.

### 5.1.1 The dynamics behind votive assemblages in the colonies

The analysis in this chapter is based on two basic assumptions. The first is that the cult practices we see through the votives are the result of local concerns of people in the colonies. The second is that these practices both shape and are shaped by larger scale patterns of votive production and use, and thus contribute to cultural change. Both these dynamics, and the interaction between them, shape the spectrum of votive material present in the colonies.

The situation in pre-Roman Italy is an important background to this analysis. The kinds of objects that we find as votive gifts vary throughout Italy, and we can understand this as a reflection of the variety in cult practices in pre-Roman Italy,<sup>938</sup> continuing largely also after the Roman conquest of large parts of the peninsula. As we will see in the general analysis below (section 5.2), there is variety between the colonies as well: we find various kinds of objects in different assemblages. This variety implies that there was choice: a votive gift could be selected from various options, and the choice will have been determined by: a combination of the character of the cult, the goal of giving the votive, availability of material (depending also on the economic means of the dedicator) and acceptability of certain types of votives to the rest of the cult community.

From a local perspective, the first question regards what information these votives hold about the ways in which the votives were given meaning at a local level. The focus on votives in this chapter implies a move in attention from the public character of the religious framework studied in chapter 3 to individual cult activity: the votives were probably given to the gods as individual acts of devotion, and therefore reflect the actions of individuals in sanctuaries.<sup>939</sup> These individuals must have had their reasons for selecting specific kinds of votives. In part, such concerns must have been cultic in character: certain votive objects were probably considered more suitable for certain deities. The votives may also be able to tell us something about the kind of problems for which the gods were asked for help.

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<sup>938</sup> On the variety of religious practices in pre-Roman Italy, see De Cazanove 2007.

<sup>939</sup> See e.g. Scheid 1997, 56; Beard et al. 1998, 13; De Cazanove 2007, 47. Scheid adds the observation that - as far as *cult practice* is concerned - public or institutional cult leaves less direct traces than individual cult activities.

In addition to these 'cultic concerns', votive gifts may also play a role in the social arena of the community: they offer members of the community a chance to display themselves. The dedication of a votive in a sanctuary presented the possibility to make a statement, either towards the cultic community, or towards the deity. The value of the votives varies greatly, from bronze statuettes or large terracotta statues to simple, small, mould-made terracottas, and the value of a votive can be related to the social position of the dedicator, or the nature of the request to the gods. Although it is a common assumption that the mould-made terracottas constitute the gifts of the poor, in reality it is difficult to assess their value, and the ease with which they could be acquired.<sup>940</sup> The people who made dedications probably included both elite members and lower class people, and we should seriously consider the possibility that when given by the poor, these terracottas were a serious investment. The dedication of a votive was probably a rather special event: while the numbers of votives attested archaeologically show a wide-spread practice, the numbers do not quite allow us to see the dedication of votives as daily practice.

These local concerns are at one end of the spectrum of dynamics that shape votive assemblages in the colonies: we can understand such local considerations as causing demand for certain types of votives in the colonies. It is important to realize, however, that people may have expressed a similar concern through different kinds of votives. The choice for a certain object must, therefore, also have been informed by availability. This means that the spectrum as a whole is the result of interaction between local concerns and large scale dynamics of supply and demand. Through local practices, the colonies participated in several larger scale trends in Italy. In order to understand the role of the colonies in cultural change, we need to understand their role in such larger scale dynamics. Where were votives produced, and - if not locally - how did they arrive in the colonies? Both dynamics at a local and at a global level are important, therefore, and both will be dealt with below in more detail.

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<sup>940</sup> See Glinister 2006, 28, with previous bibliography.

### 5.1.2 Relation to previous scholarship

Before starting with the analysis, it is important to be aware of previous approaches to votive material in the colonies. In this section, I first discuss trends in previous scholarship. Towards the end of the section, I position my approach in relation to these previous contributions.

Generally speaking, votive material from the colonies has been studied in two main ways, which are both important in the present context. First, in the context of the debate on the ‘religious romanization’ of Italy, there has been much attention paid to the ways in which the colonies contributed to changes in votive practices in Italy.<sup>941</sup> The debate revolves around the question of whether the presence of certain categories of votive material can be related to Roman influence and adoption of Roman religious practices. Second, the votive material has been under close scrutiny from a typological and stylistic perspective. Especially important in this regard is the series *Corpus delle stipe votive in Italia*, which publishes the finds from votive deposits according to a standard typological structure, supplemented by rather brief, but valuable analyses of the cultic and historical significance of the material.<sup>942</sup> The analysis often focuses on aspects of production, while the use of these votives in cult, and the significance they had for their users often remains implicit in or absent from the analysis.<sup>943</sup> Coming back to the two main questions asked in this chapter, therefore, there has been little attention for the meaning of votives at a local level. In contrast, the way in which the colonies contributed to cultural change has been an important subject of research, but the focus has been almost exclusively on the influence of Rome.

This is particularly true for two main categories of votive material that play a part in the study of the ‘religious romanization’ of Italy: votive terracottas and certain types of black gloss pottery. The main category of votive terracottas important in this context are the so-called anatomical terracottas, representing various body parts, such as arms, legs, hands, feet, eyes, ears, torsos, breasts, uteri, phalluses (figure 5.1). These objects can be seen as representations of the worshipper, and were probably mostly meant to ask for

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<sup>941</sup> For the term: De Cazanove 2000.

<sup>942</sup> The series includes D'Ercole 1990b on the votive material from the Belvedere sanctuary in the colony of Luceria.

<sup>943</sup> See Lippolis 2001, 225 and Glinister 2006, 11, with n.4, for similar observations.



Figure 5.1. Terracotta votives including anatomical terracottas and terracotta heads at the *Museo Civico Archeologico di Velletri*

divine help in healing specific body parts, or to thank the gods for a cure. Specific types of anatomicals may have had additional meanings: genitalia, for example, may show a concern with fertility.<sup>944</sup> In the category of black gloss pottery, two specific groups of vases with a cultic association have been related to Roman influence. The first group consists of the so-called *pocola deorum*, cups or vases with an inscription of the name of a deity in the genitive, followed by the word 'pocolom' (> poculum) (figure 5.2).<sup>945</sup> They are found both in sanctuaries and in graves, and it has been suggested that they served as a kind of souvenir of a visit of a sanctuary.<sup>946</sup>

In addition, Jean-Paul Morel has identified four types of Hercules-related black gloss vases, which are related to Roman expansion in different ways: the so-called *Heraklesschalen*, decorated with stamped decorations of Hercules; similar relief *paterae* in Calenian style with the apotheosis of Hercules as decoration in the centre; vases with stamp decoration of a club, possibly accompanied by other attributes of Hercules, and vases bearing the letter H, or HR in ligature or other variants (see figure 5.8).<sup>947</sup> In what follows, I will give a brief overview of the ways in which these objects have been related to Roman expansion and colonization, and more recent reactions to these ideas.

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<sup>944</sup> Turfa 2004, 360-361.

<sup>945</sup> See Coarelli and Morel 1973; Nonnis in Cifarelli et al. 2002-2003.

<sup>946</sup> Coarelli and Morel 1973, 57.

<sup>947</sup> Morel 1988, 57-58.



Figure 5.2. Example of a *pocolom*, found in the votive deposit of Carseoli-Carsoli

In the first instance, it was suggested that the distribution of anatomical terracottas, the *pocola*, and the Hercules-related pottery were related to areas of Roman domination. In both cases, the main explanations for this suggested correlation are a temporal and geographical coincidence between Roman expansion and the appearance of the material, and references to Roman cult or cultural practices in the material. The suggestion is still regularly repeated, but in the case of the terracottas, it has also been questioned in recent research. It is important, therefore, to discuss the original arguments in some more detail.

Starting with the terracottas, Mario Torelli was the first in 1973 to observe that anatomical terracottas are characteristic of votive assemblages in Latium, central and southern Etruria, and Campania, and he suggested that outside this area, their presence is often directly related to the presence of Roman or Latin colonists.<sup>948</sup> This observation was elaborated upon by Annamaria Comella, who moved attention to votive assemblages - specific types of votives often occurring in association with each other. She defined the 'etrusco-latinal-campanian' assemblage (*etrusco-laziale-campano*), as composed primarily of mould-made terracottas (statues, heads, statuettes and

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<sup>948</sup> Torelli in AA.VV. 1973, 138-139 and 342. This observation was subsequently illustrated by Fenelli 1975, 231-252, where all known provenances at the time are listed. In the accompanying article, Fenelli deals mainly with the cultic meaning of this type of votive material, not with the relation to Roman expansion.

anatomicals), sometimes accompanied by bronze statuettes.<sup>949</sup> The earliest attestations of this kind of votive assemblage are limited to Veii and Falerii, and Comella suggested that only after the Roman conquest of Veii in 396 would the practice have spread to other parts of Etruria, Latium and Campania, supposedly as a consequence of Roman expansion.<sup>950</sup> She also identified two other types of votive assemblages, which will be discussed in the analysis below: the ‘italic’ type, which has mainly bronze statuettes and, more seldom, body parts, and the ‘southern’ type, composed mainly of terracotta statuettes, and small figurative terracottas.<sup>951</sup> Importantly, she suggested that all three types have rather discrete areas of diffusion (with the exception of Samnium). The only disturbance to this pattern is the occurrence of assemblages of the etrusco-latinal-campanian type outside their core area in the late fourth and third century. Like Torelli, Comella relates these occurrences to ‘Roman domination’. Other scholars have made similar observations for the specific category of the *arulae* (small mould-made terracotta altars), which are now often regarded as part of the etrusco-latinal-campanian type of votive deposit.<sup>952</sup>

With regard to the mechanisms behind this distribution, Torelli’s original suggestion that the practice of dedicating these objects to the gods is introduced throughout Italy by colonists (either in the colonies, or those receiving land *ad viritum*) is often still accepted.<sup>953</sup> In the words of Torelli, this means that the anatomical terracotta can serve as an ‘archaeological flag’ for

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<sup>949</sup> Comella 1981; for the description of an etrusco-latinal-campanian votive assemblage: 758, more elaborate on 759, where we see that the anatomical terracotta remains important: ‘In tutti i complessi votivi sono presenti gli *ex voto* anatomici (...)’

<sup>950</sup> Comella 1981, 771-775.

<sup>951</sup> Comella 1981, 758; note that there is some overlap in these definitions: body parts both in the etrusco-latinal-campanian group and in the italic group; bronze statuettes both in the etrusco-latinal-campanian group and in the italic group. This is also noted by Comella herself (767). The resulting problems will come back in the analysis below.

<sup>952</sup> See Ricciotti 1978, 26-34 for the link with Latin colonization; Sisani 2007, 151-152 includes these objects in his analysis of etrusco-latinal-campanian votives in Umbria.

<sup>953</sup> E.g. De Cazanove 2000, 75; Sisani 2007, 152. Torelli himself gives this correlation a juridical touch when he suggests that in the same area of the Sabines and Aequicoli, votive deposits of the Latin type point at the presence of Roman citizens, while those of ‘indigenous’ (Umbrian or Sabine) type show a mix of *cives optimo iure* and *cives sine suffragio* (Torelli 1999e, 122; this was previously pointed out by Stek 2009, 24). In other instances, the meaning of ‘Roman influence’ remains rather vague; I wonder, for example, what social, economic or political processes we should imagine behind the claim that ‘the establishment of Roman hegemony in Latium favoured an introduction of new terracotta gifts and with them new ideas and customs’ (Bouma 1996-I, 206).

Roman peninsular expansion, ‘through the devotional practices of masses of colonists’.<sup>954</sup> This connection is so strong that in the particular case of the votive deposit of Monticchio near Venosa he even takes the *lack of* anatomical terracottas as a sign of the low impact of the colonists, and the presence of other, non-Latin groups.<sup>955</sup> Apparently, he supposes that the presence of colonists will always lead to the dedication of anatomical votives. Moreover, he claims that the distribution of the anatomicals is ‘a striking sign of Roman superiority both in the ideological and material sphere’.<sup>956</sup> Although he does not explicitly discuss *how* this would have worked, the claim evokes the idea that the distribution of anatomicals would have been part of a Roman colonial policy.<sup>957</sup> More generally, others suggest that anatomical terracottas had become ‘emblematic’ of a particular (Roman?) identity.<sup>958</sup>

The link to Rome is also based on the argument that some of the objects that are part of the etrusco-latinal-campanian assemblages have specific characteristics related to Roman cults and cultural practices. For example, the terracotta heads are often veiled - an iconography that may be related to the typical Roman cult practice where the person performing the sacrifice covers his head (figure 5.3). Heads without a veil would represent other traditions, Etruscan or Greek.<sup>959</sup> Another regular votive in the etrusco-latinal-campanian type of deposit are swaddled babies. Rather elaborate types are known from Paestum, where some of the babies wear a conical hat and a shoulder strap with one or more objects hanging from it, which can be interpreted as a *lorum*

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<sup>954</sup> Torelli 2006, 88-89.

<sup>955</sup> Torelli 1991b, 19, comparing Venusia and Luceria: ‘Eppure, fra le due fondazioni le differenze non sono poche, almeno sul piano della nostra documentazione sulla religiosità locale, più legata alle esperienze latine d’origine quella di Luceria, forse condizionata in senso diverso dalla presenza di forti gruppi di origini non latine quella di Venosa. (...) alludo alla stipe votiva collegata ai laghi di Monticchio, i cui miseri resti sopravvissuti alla distruzione del Museo di Potenza mostrano invece contatti con la tradizione dei santuari indigeni dell’area apulo-lucana, composta com’è soltanto di statuette e non di ex-voto anatomici.’

<sup>956</sup> Torelli 1999b, 42.

<sup>957</sup> This is mainly caused by the context in which this claim is made, with the two successive sentences: ‘(...) Latin colonization was responsible [sic] for propagating, well beyond the original borders of central Etruria, Latium, and Campania, the use of anatomic ex-voto’s (...). In any event, flexibility was and remained the determining factor of Roman colonial policy in terms of religion, at least until the second century BC.’

<sup>958</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 103; he does not elaborate on which identity, or how this may have worked. On p. 101, n. 96 he refers to Torelli 1999e, 121, who, however, is not explicit about identity from such an emic perspective.

<sup>959</sup> Pensabene 1979; Comella 2005, 48; Söderlind 2005.





Figure 5.3. Terracotta votive offering representing a veiled head from Cales



Figure 5.4. Terracotta votive offerings representing swaddled babies with a conical hat, and wearing a *lorum* (left) and *bulla* (right)

(a cross band with amulets) or *bullae* (figure 5.4). While swaddled babies with *lorum* or *bulla* are more widely attested, mainly in Etruria but also in the colonies of Luceria and Carseoli,<sup>960</sup> the conical hat is typical of Paestum, and Mario Torelli has suggested that it should be identified as a *pileus libertatis*. In this way, he circumstantially relates this type of votive to Rome: he interprets these swaddled babies as indicative of a plebeian or freedmen element in the population of the colony, and even goes as far as to claim that they show the introduction of a rite practised in Rome by the *humiliores* in the colony of Paestum.<sup>961</sup>

In the case of the black gloss pottery categories introduced above, we see the same kinds of considerations. For the *pocula deorum*, David Nonnis has pointed out that their deposition in votive contexts is limited to areas of Roman

<sup>960</sup> D'Ercole 1990b, 125-131; Biella 2006, 355.

<sup>961</sup> Torelli 1999c, 74; for critical comments, see below and Crawford 2006, 61 with n. 17.

influence, while their (secondary?) use in graves seems to be restricted to southern Etruria, and may therefore be culturally specific to that region.<sup>962</sup> In addition, intrinsic characteristics of these vases point to a link with Rome: they always have an inscription in Latin, and refer almost exclusively to deities worshipped in Rome.<sup>963</sup> In the case of the pottery related to Hercules, the suggested relation to Rome is somewhat less straightforward. Morel suggests that the distribution of the cheaper versions of this ‘Herculean pottery’ - those decorated with club and other attributes and bearing letters - follow the paths of Roman colonization, while the more elaborate *Heraklesschalen* and bowls with a stamp of the apotheosis of Hercules are more valuable, and therefore more subject to trade, resulting in a distribution pattern which can be less directly linked to Roman expansion (see section 5.3.2).<sup>964</sup>

The correlation between the etrusco-latial-campanian type of votive deposit and Roman expansion, however, has been challenged in more recent research: especially the temporal and geographical coincidence between Roman expansion and the appearance of this material has been questioned. Focusing on the anatomical terracottas, Fay Glinister has pointed out that new finds have resulted in a wider distribution of examples that do not equate to direct connection with Roman colonists.<sup>965</sup> She also stresses that the dedication of body parts as a cult practice is not necessarily new in many parts of Italy, so that the innovation is limited to the production-mode of the mould-made terracottas, rather than the introduction of new cult practices. In addition, Maria Donatella Gentili has questioned the central role of Rome in the distribution of the typical votives of the etrusco-latial-campanian deposits from another perspective.<sup>966</sup> She points out the relatively modest presence of deposits of the etrusco-latial-campanian type in Rome itself, all of which are

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<sup>962</sup> Nonnis in Cifarelli et al. 2002-2003, 294-296. The use of these vases as votive objects obviously does not exclude the interpretation as a ‘souvenir’ of a visit to a sanctuary. The argument of Coarelli and Morel 1973, 57 that the function as votive object can be excluded because most *pocola* were found in funerary contexts is countered by a new find of a *pocolom* in a votive context in Segni (Cifarelli et al. 2002-2003), combined with Nonnis’ observation that their use in funerary contexts may be specific for southern Etruria.

<sup>963</sup> Coarelli and Morel 1973, 57; Nonnis in Cifarelli et al. 2002-2003, 281; 286-291.

<sup>964</sup> Morel 1988, 58-59; see also Morel 1992b for Morel’s view that artisanal production and trade are not directly influenced by the colonies, at least in the regions of Samnium and Lucania.

<sup>965</sup> Glinister 2006; see for a concise summary: Stek 2009, 27-28.

<sup>966</sup> Gentili 2005, specifically p. 371-373.

located outside the city walls and are thus not connected to Roman state cult, and their relatively late introduction compared to Etruria and Campania.<sup>967</sup> These two observations elicit several questions about the role of Rome in the process of distribution of this kind of votive material.

In addition, the 'Roman' interpretation of some of the deposits' constituent parts can also be doubted. The contrast between veiled and unveiled heads as representing Roman and non-Roman rites (and even dedicators) proves problematic.<sup>968</sup> John Scheid has argued that foreign cults in general, and the *ritus graecus* in particular, were 'fully part of Roman culture', and may even be seen as 'typically Roman institutions'.<sup>969</sup> Moreover, some Latin or Roman cults also prescribed to sacrifice *aperto capite*.<sup>970</sup> The categorization of this practice as a Greek rite may be a rather late Roman invention, taking place at the earliest in the first period of expansion and contact with Magna Graecia in the fourth and third centuries - exactly the period under study here.<sup>971</sup> In addition, there are other non-Roman traditions of sacrificing with a veiled head, which renders their identification as representing a 'typically Roman' rite problematic.<sup>972</sup> One example is that in Greek iconography, it is not uncommon to find female veiled heads, reflecting the matrimonial state.<sup>973</sup> The complete image is rather more complicated, therefore, than the simple identification of veiled heads as representing a Roman rite, and unveiled heads as continuing an Etruscan or Greek tradition.

Similar complications are at play in the traditional interpretation of the swaddled babies with attributes from Paestum as representing part of a Roman rite or cultural practice. Michael Crawford has drawn attention to the fact that these may in fact date to the period before the foundation of the colony at Paestum.<sup>974</sup> The evidence for the suggested link with a rite of the *humiliores* in

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<sup>967</sup> Söderlind 2005, 363: only 12 of 31 locations with votive material in Rome have anatomical terracottas (see Bouma 1996-III, 73-94).

<sup>968</sup> See Glinister 2009.

<sup>969</sup> Scheid 1995, specifically p. 19.

<sup>970</sup> Scheid 1995, 23-25.

<sup>971</sup> Scheid 1995, 29.

<sup>972</sup> Glinister 2009, 210-212.

<sup>973</sup> Battiloro 2010, 104 with further references.

<sup>974</sup> Crawford 2006, 61 with n. 17.

Rome is very thin and surrounded with problems.<sup>975</sup> When we neglect this argument, any direct connection to Rome is questionable. The iconography is not necessarily Roman: as indicated before, swaddled babies with a *bullā* are quite widely attested, mostly in Etruria. The *bullā* itself is widely spread in pre-Roman Italy, with early specimens coming mainly from Etruria and the Adriatic coast, and to a lesser extent Latium - it is therefore unjustified to make an exclusive connection to Rome.<sup>976</sup> In addition, the interpretation of the headwear of these figurines as the *pīleus libertatis* is not as straightforward as Torelli claims it to be.<sup>977</sup> The figurines are reminiscent of Greek votive figurines of boys wearing the *pīlos*, found, for example, at the Kabeirion at Thebes, where they date to the fifth and fourth centuries.<sup>978</sup> It is noteworthy, in this respect, that we find these swaddled babies with the *pīleus* only in Paestum and in none of the other colonies: perhaps the Greek background of the colony is an explanation for this.

In spite of these complications, the debate is still open: various scholars remain convinced of the role of Roman colonists in the introduction of the etrusco-latinal-campanian votives throughout Italy, stressing the role of *ad viritīm* distribution for examples that may not directly seem to fit the distribution of Roman colonization.<sup>979</sup> However, no clear responses have followed so far to the appeal by Glinister to give more attention to the precise *modes* of distribution: 'If scholars wish to see the appearance of anatomical

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<sup>975</sup> Torelli borrows the term *humiliores* from Verrius Flaccus *Fast. Praen. ad kal. Apr.:* 'Frequenter mulieres supplicat Fortunae Virili humiliores etiam in balineis, quia in iis ea parte corpo[r]is utique viri nudantur, qua feminarum gratia desideratur.' In this context, the word *humiliores* is more likely to be an adjective to *mulieres*, rather than being used as a noun, as rendered in the following translation: 'The women gather together to make supplication to Fortuna Virilis. The humbler [women] also [make supplication] in the baths, because in them like men they appear naked in that part of the body, by which they attract men with their femininity.' ([http://www.attalus.org/docs/other/inscr\\_8.html#Apr](http://www.attalus.org/docs/other/inscr_8.html#Apr), consulted 6<sup>th</sup> July 2014). I therefore do not agree with Torelli's reading of the passage: he seems to interpret these *humiliores* as the plebeian class in general, perhaps thinking of the later juridical category (see Krause 2014). Moreover, he uses this quote to suggest a connection between these baths in Rome and the so-called *piscina* in Paestum, interpreted as a sanctuary of Venus Verticordia (see section 3.5.1). We should keep in mind, however, that the swaddled babies from Paestum were not found in this sanctuary, but in the so-called 'Roman garden' near the *tempio italico*.

<sup>976</sup> Warden 1983.

<sup>977</sup> Torelli 1999c, 74: 'all wear on their heads the unmistakable *pīleus libertatis*, a feature rare in other, non-Paestan examples of this widespread type of Etrusco-Italic ex-voto.'

<sup>978</sup> Schmaltz 1974, nrs. 60 and 251-259; see pp. 33 and 99-103.

<sup>979</sup> Sisani 2007, 151-152, strongly criticizing Glinister in n. 1 on p. 151.

terraccottas as a feature of the colonization movement, and of ‘Romanization’, they must consider the process that might have brought this about, and examine to what extent, if any, Romans (and who, then?) were responsible for the spread of these ex-voto’s inside and outside colonies.’<sup>980</sup>

This brings us back to the relation between the debate sketched above and the main goals of the analysis in this chapter. If we want to study the ways in which the colonial communities were shaped through votive practices, the question *whether or not* Roman influence can be recognized is not enormously helpful. In most of the colonies anatomical votives and other categories that belong to the etrusco-latial-campanian type of deposit are present (see appendix 8), and it is highly probable that colonists from Rome or Latium brought cult practices with them when they moved to the colony. However, the observation lacks explanatory power; it hardly helps our understanding of the colonies, as nobody should be surprised to find people from Rome or Latium in the colonies.<sup>981</sup>

Instead, a different set of questions emerges when we apply a globalization perspective. At a local level, we should wonder about the meaning of these objects for the dedicators. It is important to realize that the fact that anatomical terraccottas were dedicated in the colonies does not automatically mean that these objects signalled a Roman identity to the inhabitants of the colonies: it seems rather improbable that the main goal of each individual dedicating a votive was to stress his or her Romanness or Latinness.<sup>982</sup> We have seen in chapter 2 that general models may be invested with different meanings at the local level. As discussed in section 5.1.1, specific cultic or social concerns may have informed the dedication. Some general suggestions in this direction have already been made, albeit on a rather general level. For example, it has been suggested that the relatively simple, mould-made terraccottas were the gifts of the plebeian class, many of them smallholder farmers in the Italian

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<sup>980</sup> Glinister 2006, 26-27.

<sup>981</sup> Cf. Torelli 1992, 37, on the Belvedere sanctuary in Luceria, where he recognizes ‘(...) i coloni latini, la cui fisionomia decisamente ‘laziale’ ci viene così bene descritta proprio dai latinissimi ex-voto della stipe votiva pertinente al santuario lucerino’. Apparently, the votives only ‘describe’ a reality already known to us.

<sup>982</sup> Cf. Glinister 2009, 208, who notes that only in exceptional cases does any particular type of votive indicate some kind of *ethnic* identity in a local context for the users and dedicators.

countryside, for whom health and fertility were particularly important in order to survive.<sup>983</sup> Concentrating on the possible cultic significance of the anatomical terracottas, their popularity and diffusion throughout Italy has been related to the emergence of healing cults.<sup>984</sup> Such considerations may be relevant in the colonies as well.<sup>985</sup>

At a large scale level, a problem with the debate sketched above is that it focuses on just one connection that was important in the colonies: it discusses only the impact of Rome at the moment of foundation, by asking whether the colonists did or did not bring certain votive practices with them. From a globalization perspective, it is important to study other connections as well: only by investigating the total spectrum of votive material in the colonies can we assess the relative importance of influences from Rome and elsewhere.

It is also important to realize that in Rome and Latium itself, the objects used as votive offerings were more varied than anatomical terracottas alone. In Latium, there are various votive assemblages with only limited numbers of anatomical terracottas, or none at all.<sup>986</sup> The intact votive deposit at Ardea-Casarinaccio, for example, consists mainly of pottery, without any of the typical elements of the etrusco-latium-campanian type of deposit.<sup>987</sup> Such votive assemblages consisting almost exclusively of pottery are a well-known phenomenon in Latium already from an early period onwards,<sup>988</sup> and Jelle Bouma has suggested that the later deposits without anatomicals all belong to

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<sup>983</sup> The explanation is already suggested by Torelli in *AA.VV.* 1973, 138, and has been elaborated upon by Pensabene 1979, 221. See also Söderlind 1999, 146-148.

<sup>984</sup> Note, however, that a strict connection cannot be made, and the once popular explanation of the emergence of this phenomenon after the introduction of the cult of Aesculapius in Rome in 293 is now generally discarded. See Turfa 2004; Glinister 2006, 11-14. For the problems with the relation to the introduction of the cult of Aesculapius: De Cazanove 2000, 76.

<sup>985</sup> Cf. De Cazanove 2000, 76, who gives the possibility that the distribution of this class of material beyond the core area might 'simply' be the result of export, a rather new phenomenon for such 'lesser' artisan products.

<sup>986</sup> Bouma 1996-I, 206, n. 245 & 246.

<sup>987</sup> The power of the 'anatomical votive discourse' is shown by the remark of the editors of the deposit, Francesco di Mario and Letizia Ceccarelli, that the lack of votives may mean that not the entire assemblage of votive material was collected in the cavity in which this deposit was found (Di Mario and Ceccarelli 2005, 17). Although this is a possibility, the cavity was completely excavated and is one of few (published) examples where a votive assemblage was found intact (though probably as a secondary deposit) in a clearly recognizable archaeological context. Even if other kinds of votive material are still hidden in other parts of the sanctuary, this still means that the various kinds of votive material were kept apart, a practice unknown in other sanctuaries in Latium.

<sup>988</sup> Bouma 1996-I, 215-219.

sanctuaries with strong older traditions.<sup>989</sup> This draws our attention to the fact that within Latium, several traditions in votive practices coexisted, and may even have intermingled. The votive customs the colonists took with them, therefore, were probably more varied than has been allowed for,<sup>990</sup> and this needs to be further investigated. If we want to understand how votive practices in the colonies contributed to shaping the local community and larger scale patterns of cultural change, we need to study *all* objects that were given as a votive. The analysis in section 5.2 will focus on votive assemblages, rather than individual categories.

Finally, the nature of the connections has to be investigated in more detail, in order to understand *how* the colonies were part of large-scale developments. What effects did the arrival of the colonists, and with them a new demand of votive material, have on patterns of production and use of votives? We can conceptualize the arrival of the colonists as a trigger of new developments and interaction. These will be analysed in this chapter. It is in this context that the typological and stylistic analyses of previous research will be important. While the *emic* significance of stylistically or typologically similar specimens may vary depending on the context in which they are used,<sup>991</sup> from an *etic* perspective, these characteristics may help us to understand the dynamics of production and exchange.

### 5.1.3 Approach

In this introduction so far, I have stressed the advantages of applying a globalization perspective to votive practices in the colonies. It places more attention on the variety of local concerns and connections that were important in the colonies than the romanization perspective that has mainly informed analyses thus far. This is reflected in my approach, which is structured around the two main questions introduced above. In section 5.2, the main goal is to understand local concerns that informed the choice for certain types of votives. In section 5.3, the focus will be on the ways in which the colonies interacted with the outside world, asking what effects the arrival of the colonists (and

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<sup>989</sup> Bouma 1996-I, 206.

<sup>990</sup> Cf. Torelli's remarks on the Monticchio sanctuary near Venusia, note 955 above.

<sup>991</sup> Cf. Lippolis 2001, 225-230.

with them, new demand of votive material) had on patterns of production and use of votives. An important sub question here is how the colonies influenced production practices and styles - as we have seen in chapter 2, at a local level various influences may have led to hybridization and the development of new cultural forms, both in form and in meaning. Together, these two questions present the opportunity to understand the dynamics behind the votive assemblages that we find in the colonies. In both cases, as we will see, it is impossible to find one common cultural denominator to describe what is happening in the colonies. In this sense, the developments that will be analysed here can truly be called globalizing: various broader general models are accommodated locally in different ways.

An overview of the source material in this chapter is given in appendix 8, which lists the known Mid-Republican votive material from the colonies.<sup>992</sup> I have included material from both urban and suburban sanctuaries, but votive material that was not found in a sanctuary context is only included when it comes from the colonial settlements. In addition, extra-urban sanctuaries are included in the overview when they give additional information about the range of votive material present in and around the colonies.<sup>993</sup> It has to be emphasized from the start that the source material is problematic. As becomes clear from the overview in the appendix, survival rates, find contexts, excavation histories and publication activities for different colonies vary considerably. As a result, there are some important limitations to the analysis in this chapter, which I list here. Nevertheless, I think that the approach that I develop here does still allow for a meaningful analysis of the votive material in terms of questioning how the colonies contributed to cultural change.

First of all, the overview in appendix 8 is based on *known* votive material, but in no way can we expect it to reflect the full spectrum that was present in antiquity. Only in some colonies complete 'closed' deposits have been

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<sup>992</sup> The chronologies of the votive material in the colonies are generally quite imprecise. The anatomical terracottas, for example, can often only be dated with a precision of about a century, or even less (Glinister 2006, 20). The situation is somewhat better for other categories of votive material that we will encounter, such as black gloss pottery.

<sup>993</sup> Even though these extra-urban sanctuaries may have attracted a wider range of visitors than just the inhabitants of the colonies (see section 5.3.1), they do inform us about an aspect of local realities of these colonies. Admittedly, the sanctuary of Casalvieri, normally linked to the colony of Sora, is located at a rather large distance from the main colonial settlement.



excavated (and even in these cases perishable material is lost), but mostly we deal with partial find complexes or individual finds.<sup>994</sup> Because of this, I define a votive assemblage in a very broad way, including all the votive material that is found within a sanctuary. This gives information on the kind of the material that was deemed suitable as a votive gift by different people in that specific cultic environment.

In this context, it is important to be aware of the different recognisability of votive material. Following the classification of Jean-Paul Morel, we can divide votive material into a group of *votives par destination* - objects that are produced in order to function as votives - , and a group of *votives par transformation* - objects that first have a different function, and are then given as a votive at a later stage.<sup>995</sup> When, for whatever reason, the original context is not known, *votives par destination* are often much easier to recognize as votive material than *votives par transformation*. For this reason, extra attention should be paid to those instances where votive material is found together in a clear archaeological context - a 'closed votive deposit' in the terms of Maria Bonghi Jovino;<sup>996</sup> in this case votive material is, for example, buried in a pit or in a larger container or piled up in a clearly defined archaeological stratum. Such closed contexts allow us to recognize *votives par transformation*. These deposits may still be the result of various practices in the sanctuary. In a primary deposit, the votives are found as the worshippers left them, but much more often, we deal with secondary deposits, where votive material assembled in the sanctuary over the course of time is collected and buried together.<sup>997</sup>

A final problem is that the votive material is not very well suited to study developments through time. Most of the known find contexts are rather late: they are secondary deposits, mostly created in the second or first centuries. Because the dating of the votive material itself is often difficult, it cannot be excluded that part of the material involved in the analysis in this chapter is

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<sup>994</sup> Cf. Edlund-Berry 2004, 368 more generally on this problem.

<sup>995</sup> Morel 1992a.

<sup>996</sup> See the introduction in Bonghi Jovino 1976, specifically 10-11. For a discussion of the typology and terminology of various kinds of votive deposits: Bouma 1996-I, 43-51. As becomes clear there, both ancient and modern terminology is confused, and it does not serve our purposes here to try to be more specific.

<sup>997</sup> Bonghi Jovino 1976, 11 draws attention to the fact that in such a 'scarico', non-votive material may be present as well.

later than the fourth and third centuries. As a result, it will be virtually impossible to study developments in votive practices in the fourth and third centuries. It is important to realize, however, that the assemblages that form the basis of this analysis may in fact be the result of different dynamics over time, even within one category of finds.

The variety in the quality of information between the colonies is problematic, but I do think it is important to include information from as many colonies as possible in the analysis. We cannot suppose that votive assemblages in different colonies were similar. As noted in chapter 1, a problem with previous colonial research in general has been that knowledge about the better-known colonies was extrapolated to the less-known ones. As I have argued, similarities and differences between the colonies need to be investigated: until we actually see the same practices in different colonies, we should avoid assuming that what happens in one colony is typical for ‘the colonies’ in general.

The analysis in this chapter will start, therefore, with an analysis of similarities and differences between colonies in section 5.2.1. Subsequently, for the cases where contextual information is available, the significance of the votive material at a local level will be examined further, by asking what kind of considerations seem to have been important in the selection of votive material in various colonies. In section 5.2.2, I examine the significance of cultic considerations: did certain deities cause the dedication of specific kinds of votive material? In section 5.2.3, I suggest that the value of the votive object itself could also be an important consideration in selecting a votive object: it could serve to distinguish oneself vis-a-vis the community and the gods. In order to identify these kinds of considerations, a contextual approach is fundamental: we have to look at the votive *assemblages*, and the meaning individual votives acquire within these contexts.

In section 5.3, we will take a step back, to investigate the position of the colonies in networks of production and exchange. These networks may not have been important or even discernible to the end-users in the colonies, but they are important to understand the dynamics of cultural change in which the colonies played their part. As discussed above, Comella has identified three types of votive deposits: the etrusco-latial-campanian deposit, the italic deposit, and the southern deposit, and she has suggested that each of them has

a rather discrete geographical distribution. While there is no question that a geographical definition of these traditions is valid up to a certain point, the data gathered in appendix 8 show that in the colonies, items that are normally associated with one of these types of deposits are regularly found mixed together. In addition, there are hybrid forms, that combine iconographies and styles of different background.<sup>998</sup> It seems, therefore, that the colonies are - or grow to be - integrated in several networks of production and exchange. In section 5.3, I will investigate these networks for four different categories of votive gifts.

## **5.2 Local realities: religious and social concerns**

This section explores what votive objects meant at a local level and why they were selected by the dedicants. I argue that modern categories of votive material, based on provenance and geographical distribution, were probably not important from this perspective. These general models were invested with meaning at a local level. In doing so, various cultic and social concerns seem to have been more important than any shared ethnic or cultural identity.

### **5.2.1 Variety in votive assemblages**

An important point of departure in my analysis of votive assemblages in the colonies is the variety between them, which shows that any available general models were used actively at a local level in different ways. This can be shown most clearly through a quantitative analysis: this reveals that while there is overlap in the categories of votives that are present at different sanctuaries (the same general models are available), their share in the total assemblage varies considerably (they are differently accommodated at a local level). Unfortunately, such quantitative information is only sparsely available, as few votive assemblages have been published in their entirety (see appendix 8). Nevertheless, in order to illustrate my claim that there is significant variety

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<sup>998</sup> Cf. Lippolis 1999, 3 on the votive deposit of the Belvedere sanctuary in Luceria: 'Le pratiche rituali osservate attraverso la testimonianza archeologica costituita dai votivi coroplastici attestano peraltro un comportamento religioso strettamente dipendente dalla tradizione latina dei culti taumaturgici, ma in un clima culturale di forte permeazione tra forma centro-italiche ed espressioni figurative legate all'esperienza locale preromana ed in particolare denotate da chiari collegamenti con matrici tarantine.'

between votive assemblages in the colonies, I will start this section with a quantitative comparison of four votive assemblages that have been reasonably well published: the deposits of Ardea-Casarinaccio and Norba-Juno Lucina, and the material from Luceria-Belvedere and Carseoli-Carsoli.<sup>999</sup>

The main criterion in selecting these four deposits is that the publications include *all* material categories that were found at these sites, so that we get a good overview of the variety of votive objects. In addition, quantitative information is available for all of these sites. Ardea-Casarinaccio, Norba-Juno Lucina, and Luceria-Belvedere are all fully published, even though in the last two cases, material may have been lost in the period between the excavations and the publication (see appendix 8).<sup>1000</sup> The deposit of Carseoli-Carsoli is more problematic: I follow here the numbers that can be derived from the preliminary publication of the excavation of 1950 by Antonio Cederna.<sup>1001</sup> This publication includes earlier finds, but it does not include the results of the 1951 campaign, so we can regard these numbers only as a rough indication of the total spectrum.<sup>1002</sup> The only adjustment I have made is the addition of the swaddled babies votives - the quantity is unclear.<sup>1003</sup> Another main adjustment that should probably be made concerns the number of coin finds, which may exceed the number of 3000.<sup>1004</sup> Since including this figure would impede the clarity of figure 5.5, however, I have used the numbers given in the preliminary publication.

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<sup>999</sup> I refer to these sanctuaries by a combination of the place name and the toponym or deity (when known). In the case of Carseoli-Carsoli, the toponym is the name of the modern town located to the northeast of the ancient settlement.

<sup>1000</sup> For Norba-Juno Lucina, the problem is noted by Perrone 2003, 354-355. For Luceria-Belvedere, D'Ercole 1990b, 16 explicitly states that the publication is an attempt to publish the votive deposit as a whole: 'si è cercato di ricostruire nella sua integrità originaria il complesso votivo'. However, the problem remains that some material, including shells, coins, metal objects and pottery, was lost since the excavation - a clear example of the problem that *votives par transformation* are more difficult to recognize without contextual information. The problem is noted by Yntema 1992.

<sup>1001</sup> Cederna 1951.

<sup>1002</sup> See Biella 2006 for the material found earlier in the twentieth century. In Cederna 1951, the earlier finds of 1906 are added to the finds of Cederna's own excavations in 1950.

<sup>1003</sup> Mentioned by Biella 2006, 355; she does not give numbers. Just to make them appear in the graph, I have attributed the random number of 5 swaddled babies to Carseoli-Carsoli.

<sup>1004</sup> Vitale 1998a, 258 informs that ca. 2200 coins were found in the 1951 campaign that was never published; she also notes, however, that the material that is now in the Museo di Chieti may include other finds from the territory.

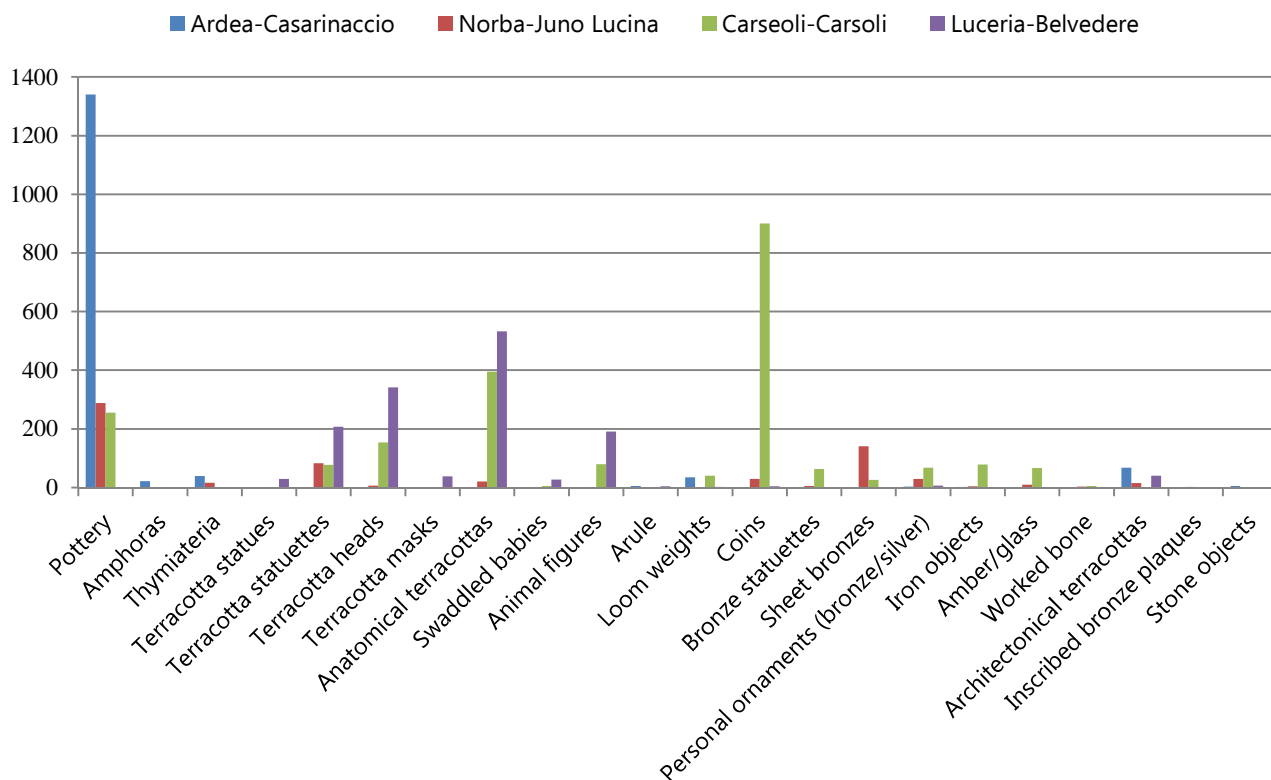


Figure 5.5. Quantitative comparison of votive assemblages in four colonies

In order to facilitate the comparison, the available information is compiled in figure 5.5.<sup>1005</sup> While there is quite some overlap in the categories of votive gifts present at each site, at the same time, there are great differences in the complete assemblages. The enormous amount of coins found at Carseoli stands out immediately, as does the almost exclusive presence of pottery in Ardea. Luceria is the only one of the four without any pottery, and is the only deposit where anatomical terracottas are in the absolute majority, while the deposits in the colonies in Latium have yielded few, or even none, of these. There is quite some similarity in the relative numbers of terracotta objects in Luceria and Carseoli, but in Carseoli this is complemented with quite a rich array of metal objects, which are, at least at present, missing from the Lucerian material. As far as the metal objects are concerned, Carseoli shows more

<sup>1005</sup> The material categories used in figure 5.1 are a compromise between the categories used in the publications of the votive deposits included in the figure. The information is derived from the following sources: D'Ercole 1990b (Luceria); Perrone 2003 (Norba); Di Mario and Ceccarelli 2005 (Ardea) and Cederna 1951 (Carseoli).

similarity to the deposit of Juno Lucina at Norba; in both sanctuaries, high quantities of *aes rude* were found as well.<sup>1006</sup>

This quantitative comparison of four rather random votive deposits is not, of course, representative of votive practices in the colonies in general. However, two observations of a more general nature can be made. First, the variety in these votive assemblages affects the way we should think about the meaning of individual categories of votive gifts. For example, in Luceria the practice of dedicating an anatomical terracotta may well have been introduced by the colonists, but this does not fully explain its high popularity. Some other local determining factor must have been at play, possibly related to the cult, which *made* the anatomical terracotta a much more popular and accepted votive in this sanctuary than it was in many other sanctuaries. Second, we should note that the differences between these votive assemblages are caused only in part by the presence of completely different categories of votives - just as important is that the same categories of votive material are present in the total assemblage in very different proportions: the colonies participated in different ways in large scale trends.

The important conclusion to be drawn from this from a local perspective is that material falling into the same *etic* categories used by modern scholars, may actually have had different meanings for the dedicators, depending on which sanctuary these objects were dedicated. Looking again at figure 5.5, for example, we should seriously consider the possibility that someone dedicating an anatomical terracotta between the masses of Luceria would have given another message, both to the deity and to other worshippers, than someone dedicating a similar object at the sanctuary of Juno Lucina in Norba, where it would have stood out compared to the much more present categories of pottery and sheet bronzes as votive gifts. In Luceria, it seems that at least in certain groups, the anatomical votive was the 'logical' gift to the gods, whereas in the Juno Lucina sanctuary at Norba it was a rather special choice.

We can elaborate on these observations by including the other colonies where votive material has been found, as listed in the overview in appendix 8 (note that an overview of the presence or absence of some specific categories of votive material is given at the end of the appendix), even though these do not

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<sup>1006</sup> For Norba: Cesano 1904, 426; for Carseoli: Cederna 1951, 178.

allow the same kind of quantitative comparison. First of all, when looking at all the colonies together it is striking that two of the items that have figured rather large in previous scholarship concerning Roman influence on cult practices are quite rare in the colonies: *pocola* are known from Signia, Cosa, Carseoli, and Ariminum, and swaddled babies with *bullae* from Paestum, Luceria and Carseoli. Apparently these kinds of objects were not always introduced in the colonies (see section 5.3.2), which means that the choice for their adoption must have been made locally.

Second, this overview allows us to see the variety of contexts in which anatomical terracottas appear. Large numbers of anatomicals are found in six colonies: in addition to Setia-Ponte della Valle, Cales-Ponte delle Monache and Fregellae-Aesculapius, which are all located in the core area of etrusco-latial-campanian deposits, there are finds from Luceria-Belvedere, Carseoli-Carsoli, Carseoli-Sancti Pietri, Paestum-Santa Venera, and Paestum-Giardino romano). In these cases, anatomicals are the predominant category of votive object, although in the case of Carseoli-Carsoli they coexist with similarly high quantities of pottery and coins. In most of the other colonies, anatomicals are found as well, but mostly only in low numbers.<sup>1007</sup> In a few cases, we can be certain that the anatomicals indeed form only a small portion of the total assemblage: this is the case in Signia-Juno Moneta, Norba-Juno Lucina and Setia-Tratturo Caniò. In addition, some well-investigated sanctuaries have not yielded any anatomicals, such as the deposit of Ardea-Casarinaccio discussed above, and the Hercules sanctuary in Alba Fucens. In both these colonies, anatomical terracottas are known from other locations, which shows that the character of the cult place mattered for the selection of votive material. Based on these observations, we can conclude that cultic considerations were more important than a general ethnic or cultural background in the selection of votive material.

A third important observation is that different types of votive objects are combined in different ways in each of the colonial assemblages. As noted above, the constituent elements of each of Comella's categories of votive deposits are not mutually exclusive. This is clear, for example, in Norba-Juno Lucina and

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<sup>1007</sup> Contra Glinister 2006, 25 who claims that in the majority of the colonies, no anatomical terracottas have been found.

Carseoli-Carsoli, which are included in the quantitative analysis above, where anatomical terracottas, pottery, and bronze statuettes or sheet bronzes are all found together. The same phenomenon occurs on a larger scale in Paestum, where various sanctuaries have yielded votives that clearly stand in a Greek tradition, such as naked female statuettes, italic bronze statuettes of Hercules and etrusco-latial-campanian material. In Venusia and Luceria, etrusco-latial-campanian material is accompanied by objects that are typical of these southern contexts, such as *eroti* and a fictile votive disc. In these cases, perhaps the origin of the object was not important to the dedicator, but the role it could be given in the specific cultic context of the sanctuary, as will be explored in more detail in section 5.2.2 below.

It may be clear, therefore, that votive practices at different sanctuaries in the colonies varied. While in most of the colonies the cult practice of dedicating anatomical votives and other material belonging to the etrusco-latial-campanian type was customary, they do not represent the entire spectrum of votive practices in the colonies, and their meaning may have varied according to the contexts in which they were dedicated. If we wish to understand how local concerns helped shaping votive practices, therefore, we need to go beyond the traditional focus on the mere presence of anatomical terracottas, and try to understand the different meaning the votives may have had in differing contexts.

### **5.2.2 Cultic concerns**

The goal of this section is to understand what kind of cultic concerns may have informed the selection of votive material. The observations that a modern researcher can make at this *emic* level are of course limited, but we should nevertheless try to understand *the kind of* considerations that may have been important for those who dedicated the objects that we now study. This will be done through a contextual approach, with a focus on the analysis of complete assemblages. In doing so, we shall see that similar concerns could be materialized in objects that in modern research are included often in different categories. Therefore, my discussion in this section will be structured by the different concerns shown through the votives, rather than a categorization based on material or provenance.





Figure 5.6. Female bronze sheet figurines (left) and terracotta uteri (right) from the votive deposit at the sanctuary of Juno Lucina at Norba (not to scale)

To start, the Juno Lucina sanctuary in Norba offers the possibility to recognize shared concerns of the worshipper, which were communicated through different categories of votive material. We have seen above that the material found here is rather varied (see figure 5.5): the most important categories of finds are pottery, terracotta statuettes and sheet bronzes, while some anatomical terracottas and personal ornaments were among the finds as well. From a cultic point of view, at least some of these items show significant overlap. Both the statuettes and the sheet bronzes can be taken as a representation of the dedicator, while the anatomical terracottas and personal ornaments represent - in different ways - parts of the dedicator. With this observation, it is interesting that both the sheet bronzes and the anatomical terracottas show a decidedly female orientation: most sheet bronze figurines are female, and among the anatomicals, there are uteri present, while phalli are completely absent (figure 5.6).<sup>1008</sup> The same importance of the female can be recognized in the terracotta heads and the bronze statuettes: although numbers are low in both cases, the predominance of female figures stands out when compared to other sanctuaries in and outside Norba.<sup>1009</sup> In this case, objects that belong to different categories or typological groups show similar cultic

<sup>1008</sup> Perrone 2003, 379; Petracca 1985, 11, 13.

<sup>1009</sup> See Perrone 2003, 372 on the votive heads (5 female, 1 male, while male heads are in the majority at the Diana sanctuary in Norba); 376-378 on the bronze statuettes (in other colonial sanctuaries, these often represent Hercules, or male warriors - see section 5.4.4).

concerns.<sup>1010</sup> The cult of Juno Lucina apparently attracted female members of the colonial community, who were clearly concerned with fertility.

In contrast, the anatomicals in the sanctuary of Cales-Ponte delle Monache show different concerns. In contrast to Norba, the main categories of anatomical terracottas in Cales are limbs, hands and feet. Although quite some uteri are among the material as well, they are not as prominent compared to the total assemblage than in Norba. This fits rather nicely with the fact that there are no mother figurines known from Cales: apparently, fertility was not a central concern in the cult performed in this sanctuary.<sup>1011</sup> Instead, the high quantity of limbs, hands and feet may show a preoccupation with (being able to perform) manual labour. Of course, from a cultic perspective, there are also similarities: in both cases, dedicators show something of themselves through the votive material, and in that way could involve themselves directly in communication with the god. However, this rather abstract observation may not have been registered as such by the worshippers.

The dedicators show themselves in a much less direct way when pottery is the main category of votives. Pottery, as *votive par transformation*, intrinsically tells us little about its cultic meaning. An obvious function of the pottery must have been to serve as container for food offerings, or, in the case of *lekythoi* and *thymiateria*, of oils and incense. In addition, pieces may have been intrinsically valued. These objects acquired meaning for the dedicators either because of their rarity or exotic provenance, or because of their biography: the use of the object in the period before dedication. At Ardea-Casarinaccio, for example, there is evidence for the dedication of previously used vases.<sup>1012</sup> In some cases, there is also evidence that when these objects were dedicated to the gods, they were intentionally destroyed as a way of entering the religious sphere.<sup>1013</sup> In general terms, we can conclude that these votives show us that daily life was a matter of concern also in cult.

Yet another type of cultic concern is shown by votives that are closely related to the venerated deity. The best example is the Hercules sanctuary at

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<sup>1010</sup> In this particular case, it may even be the case that the anatomicals replace the sheet bronzes chronologically: the same cultic concerns would then have been communicated by other means in different periods.

<sup>1011</sup> Ciaghi 1993, 285.

<sup>1012</sup> Di Mario and Ceccarelli 2005, 14-15.

<sup>1013</sup> Di Mario and Ceccarelli 2005, 15.



Figure 5.7. Bronze statuettes representing Hercules from the Hercules sanctuary at Alba Fucens



Figure 5.8. Black gloss pottery with Hercules stamps from the Hercules sanctuary at Alba Fucens

Alba Fucens: the great majority of the finds consists of bronze statuettes of Hercules, and part of the pottery dedicated in the sanctuary bears inscriptions referring to him (figures 5.7 and 5.8). Again, objects that belong to different categories in the traditional categorization of votive material here show the same kind of cultic concern. This central role of the deity seems related to the nature of the cult for Hercules - his bronze statuettes and the 'Herculean pottery' are found at various sanctuaries in the colonies (see appendix 8). The meaning of Hercules for (groups within) the colonial community may have varied: Hercules was venerated widely in Italy in this period, and in very different roles. To give two examples from the colonies: the Alban Hercules is thought to be connected to (salt) trade and perhaps pastoralism,<sup>1014</sup> but the central role of the cult in the settlement may also be related to a growing Roman interest in the cult of Hercules in the period in which the colony was founded.<sup>1015</sup> In contrast, in Brundisium the cult of Hercules may be connected to a foundation myth of the pre-colonial town: the town of Brentesion was said to have been founded by Brento, son of Hercules.<sup>1016</sup> Interestingly, in these

<sup>1014</sup> See Torelli 1999b, 39; Bispham 2006, 107.

<sup>1015</sup> As recently suggested, for Alba Fucens and Sora, by Demma and Cerrone 2012. The idea that Hercules was becoming important in Rome in this period is mainly based on a passage in Livy which mentions the erection of a statue of Hercules Magnus on the Capitoline hill (Livy 9.44.16-17).

<sup>1016</sup> Sciarra 1976, 9.

different contexts, the objects used to venerate Hercules do show overlap: we find similar bronze statuettes both in Alba and in Brundisium (see section 5.3.4).

Ed Bispham has suggested that, even though Hercules was venerated in different roles, there is some common ground between the colonies in this shared veneration of Hercules. He suggests that Hercules functioned as a deity of colonization, and that his role as a bringer of civilization in new territories would explain his popularity in the colonies.<sup>1017</sup> The suggestion is interesting, and it would mean that the votives of Hercules we find in the colonies may also have played a role in the self-identification of the colonists as frontier people. At the same time, Bispham notices that the reason that Hercules could perform such a function was precisely his popularity throughout Italy even before the Roman conquest. It thus seems that his significance in this context should not so much be sought in his ethnic or cultural significance or appropriation, but in his multiple roles: various people with different backgrounds that were part of the colonial communities could join each other in venerating him, even though quite possibly with different motivations and meanings attached.<sup>1018</sup> This is an exceptional example where we can possibly recognize how a middle ground was created in the colonies, by using a shared symbol that may have had different meanings for different inhabitants.<sup>1019</sup>

Another example of such a local development of shared symbols comes from the Belvedere sanctuary in Luceria. As discussed in chapter 3, there are reasons to believe that the sanctuary was dedicated to Athena Ilias, and there is some evidence for an architectural phase of the sanctuary before the foundation of the colony. The practice of dedicating votives at this sanctuary, however, seems to have started only after the foundation of the colony.<sup>1020</sup> As we have seen above, the high amount of votives of the etrusco-latial-campanian type in this deposit is striking, and underlines the impact of the arrival of the colonists on votive practices at this sanctuary. While Mario Torelli reads this as an

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<sup>1017</sup> Bispham 2006, 113-117.

<sup>1018</sup> Cf. Malkin 2005 for a similar view on the role of Greek Herakles and Phoenician Melqart in western Sicily.

<sup>1019</sup> Cohen 1985.

<sup>1020</sup> See D'Ercole 1990b, 288.

appropriation of the cult (and the land) on the part of the colonists,<sup>1021</sup> I would suggest that the abundance of etrusco-latial-campanian votives, many of them related to aspects of fertility and reproduction,<sup>1022</sup> in an existing sanctuary may well be explained as the result of the dedicators' wish to 'do well' in the new environment. More to the point, I think, is Torelli's stress on the shared interests of the colonists and the local population in the cult of Athena Ilias; as in the case of Hercules above, various members of the newly formed community may have felt a connection to this goddess, and thus she may have had an important role in the interaction and the creation of a middle ground between colonists and indigenous population.

The conclusion is not surprising, but important nonetheless: different groups in the colonial communities went to sanctuaries for a variety of reasons: we can recognize concerns about daily life and labour, about reproduction, about the local community. These concerns could be communicated through a variety of votive gifts, and objects with different backgrounds could perform a similar role in cult. These included both objects that belong to local traditions, and objects that the colonists were used to in their places of origins. This suggests that the provenance of these objects was not necessarily important to the dedicators.

### **5.2.3 Social and religious differentiation**

In addition to being informed by cultic concerns, the dedication of a votive in a sanctuary offered the possibility to make a statement, either towards the cultic community, or towards the deity. If different categories of material could perform similar cultic functions, this means that other variables must have been at play in the selection of votives. In this section, I suggest that the cost and value of votives may have been an important variable, that was more directly relevant to the worshippers than provenance, or the various cultural

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<sup>1021</sup> Torelli 1999a, 172: 'The colonists, largely of Latin origin and bringing with them cult forms entirely unconnected to the local tradition, embodied in the anatomical ex-voto, none the less take over the local 'Trojan' cult of Athena Ilias and turn it to their own account in order to demonstrate both their established right to that land protected by the Trojan goddess and their considerable affinity, almost syngeneia, with the indigenous peoples of Daunia, with whom they shared this very old and important 'Trojan' cult and whom they had come to save from the Samnite threat.'

<sup>1022</sup> See D'Ercole 1990b, 291.

traditions that we now recognize. As we have seen in chapter 2, the inclusion of local worlds in large scale networks plays out differently for different social groups, depending on their power position. The votives allow us to see some of these dynamics at a local level in the colonies.

In general terms, I would suggest that two kinds of considerations probably influenced the choice for more or less valuable votive objects. The type of request made to the god could be important ('religious differentiation'), or the social or economic status of the dedicator ('social differentiation'). This distinction is hard to make for the modern researcher. It does mean, however, that rich votives were not necessarily given by rich people, while the 'poorer' terracottas may not have been restricted to the non-aristocratic element in society. The wish to distinguish oneself in either way may explain, for example, the side by side occurrence of bronze statuettes of Hercules and 'Herculean pottery': the dedication of both was a way of venerating Hercules, but the value of these objects must have been different.

The idea that the value of an object is important when selecting it as a votive is underlined by the use of coins as votive gifts. The gift of a coin as a votive can be defined as 'non-economic', as it extracts the coin from 'normal' circulation.<sup>1023</sup> In this sense, a possible meaning of coins as a votive gift for the dedicators is 'giving up' the possibility to acquire other goods or services. In addition, the coins probably reflected a kind of social capital. Looking at the example of Carseoli for example, we should consider that the appearance of coinage in the surrounding area was only a recent phenomenon in the early third century (see chapter 4). Its use as a votive gift may have been limited to people who had access to coinage, such as soldiers, merchants and traders, who could underline their social role and integration in a larger world by dedicating these coins. Alternatively, the exoticness, and possibly the amuletic value of these coins and the symbols they displayed may have played a role in their selection as a gift for the gods. In all of these cases, the provenance of these coins is less likely to have been important to the dedicators. From an *etic* perspective, however, the spectrum does inform us about the circulation of

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<sup>1023</sup> Cf. the so-called 'sphere of short-term exchange', defined as individual, competitive and 'acquisitive' (Parry and Bloch 1989, specifically p. 15). See also Kim 2001, 7; Aarts 2005, 23-27 on 'non-economic' use of coinage.



Figure 5.9. Life-size terracotta statue from the votive deposit at Luceria-Belvedere

these coins, and their availability for at least some visitors of the sanctuary (see section 5.3.4).

A last example comes from Luceria. Here, remains of at least 48 large terracotta statues were found, which must have stood inside the sanctuary precinct.<sup>1024</sup> In view of the costs of producing such a statue, these must have been the votive gifts of more elevated social groups in society, who in this way could also use the sanctuary as a podium to show themselves. Again, it is interesting to see how from an *emic* perspective, ethnic or cultural considerations do not seem to be relevant. The most valuable statues in terms of production - those that were the result of the most specialized and labour-intensive production processes - were produced in a tradition that originates in Magna Graecia (figure 5.9).<sup>1025</sup> Worshippers who wanted to invest a lot of resources in a votive gift - to impress either the rest of the community or the deity - apparently could opt for a statue that was not produced in the style that

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<sup>1024</sup> D'Ercole 1990b, 101.

<sup>1025</sup> D'Ercole 1990b, 102.

was common in Rome. Admittedly on a speculative level, we might even conclude that only the members of the highest levels of colonial society had access to products made outside of the local context, which may have been more desirable and distinguishing than the known products of the colonial producers. Showing status, or social identity, seems to be more relevant here than ethnic or cultural identity, and the use of cultural models that were foreign to the Roman or Latin tradition may even have contributed to this.

In conclusion, by looking at social and religious differentiation, the votives can inform us about some of the dynamics that shaped individual decisions in the colonial communities. Attention for these local considerations informs our interpretation of the significance of the presence of specific types of votives, such as the anatomical terracottas. While the details of these local dynamics largely escape us, it does seem that provenance or cultural or ethnic associations were less important in the selection of votive gifts than their value and cultic significance, which could help the worshipper to send the right message to the gods and to the community.

### **5.3 Networks of production and exchange**

Beyond the local level, the presence of various categories of votive gifts in the colonies is intriguing because it sheds light on the different connections and influences that helped shape local realities. As discussed in chapter 2, it is important to understand the diverse connections and influences in the colonies in order to understand their role in cultural change.

It has been noted before, in particular for Hellenistic artefacts and styles (as an ethnic category), that the distribution of various categories of material in third century Italy does not neatly overlap, and the explanation for these patterns is therefore more complicated than a homogenous process of romanization (see chapter 2).<sup>1026</sup> We should take this into account when thinking about the role of the colonies in processes of cultural change. On the one hand the colonies could become new centres of production, inserting themselves in (and thus altering) previously existing networks of production.<sup>1027</sup> At the same time, as we have seen in chapter 4, the colonies

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<sup>1026</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 101-102.

<sup>1027</sup> Cf. Ammerman 2002, 22 on the case of Paestum.



could share in larger exchange networks.<sup>1028</sup> These may include Rome and/or the hometowns of the colonists, but it is equally possible that the colonies are included in pre-existing regional or supra-regional patterns.<sup>1029</sup> Thus, the colonies could potentially participate in several networks, modifying them at the same time. The dynamics in these networks of production and exchange could be affected by Roman expansion and military action, which changed patterns of interaction on the peninsula (cf. chapter 4).<sup>1030</sup>

This network perspective on patterns of production and exchange differs from Comella's geographical definition of categories of votive deposits. The main problem with her categorization in the present context is that it creates a dichotomy between different types of deposits that does not equate with the diversity they present. For example, she identifies the 'italic' type of votive deposit mainly on the basis of the presence of bronze statuettes. She also notices, however, that they appear in some of the deposits of the etrusco-latial-campanian type. By using these definitions, Comella catalogues deposits such as those of Norba and Carseoli as etrusco-latial-campanian, while the deposit in the Hercules sanctuary in Alba Fucens would fall within her category of an italic votive deposit - although the high amount of black gloss pottery in the same deposit is not accounted for in the original definitions by Comella. This categorization obscures, for example, the high amount of coin finds in Carseoli and the sheet bronzes of Norba, and the fact that there is overlap in the kinds of votives given in these three colonies.

Instead, the approach applied here sees the colonies participating in multiple networks of production and exchange, which means that the assemblages can be seen as the result of the dynamics of supply and demand in

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<sup>1028</sup> As noted by Morel 1988, 61, to understand the spectrum of material in the colonies, trade and exchange and artisanal traditions play a significant role.

<sup>1029</sup> Cf. the remarks of Azzena 1987a, 18, going back on Susini 1965b, 121-122. They point out that while the colonies may have been responsible for the introduction of new religious and artistic forms on the Adriatic coast, at the same time, they played an important role in maritime exchange with Magna Graecia, which would explain the introduction of Greek stylistic elements. Susini bases his observations mainly on architectural terracottas (see also pp. 126-128), some of which are signed by the Greek coroplast Dionysios of Colophon (see below, also for the relationship between the production of architectural terracottas and votive terracottas).

<sup>1030</sup> For example, rather than seeing Rome or its colonies as the direct source of the popularity of anatomical terracottas, Fay Glinister suggests that the intensive distribution of these objects can also be explained as the result of higher connectivity and freer movement of artisans and traders (Glinister 2006, 26).

each of the different colonies. As I will argue in this section, these dynamics are more directly affected by the colonies in the case of *votives par destination*, such as the anatomical terracottas type and bronze statuettes, than in the case of *votives par transformation*, such as pottery and coins, which may have circulated in all kinds of networks before ending up as a votive gift.

The analysis will focus on patterns of production and exchange of four categories of votive gifts: votive terracottas, with a focus on heads, anatomicals and *arulae* (section 5.3.1); *pocola deorum* and ‘Herculean’ pottery (section 5.3.2); bronze statuettes (section 5.3.3); and coins (section 5.3.4). An overview of the presence of these categories of votives in the colonies is given in the table at the end of appendix 8. I have selected these four categories, first of all, because they all circulated in different - though partly overlapping - networks. In addition, the first two examples are chosen because they have often been used to show Roman influence through the colonies (see section 5.1.2). The role of Rome in the patterns of production and exchange of these two categories of votives will therefore be examined in detail. The bronze statuettes have been selected because they represent a tradition that traditionally is *not* linked to Rome. It is interesting, therefore, to examine whether the colonies could still participate in and maybe even affect the patterns of production and exchange of this category of votives. While these first three categories are all *votives par destination*,<sup>1031</sup> the coins are used as an example of *votives par transformation*. I use coins as an example, because their provenance is often easy to recognize, and we already know something about networks of monetary exchange which may have affected the availability of coinage as votive gifts.

In order to investigate the networks the colonies were part of, I will make a comparison with more general patterns of distribution. Such a comparison, however, can only be made in general terms: it would go too far to make an inventory of all known mid-republican votive material in the whole of Italy. I can make no claim to completeness of the dataset outside the colonies in this section. The analysis will depart, therefore, from the material that has been found in the colonies. Rather than giving a full analysis of the distribution and patterns of exchange of the materials under study, the goal in this section

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<sup>1031</sup> Strictly speaking, the *arulae* in the category of votive terracottas and the *pocola* are not necessarily *votive par destination*; both do have an inherent cultic connotation. See further sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2.

is to highlight the active contribution of the colonies to different networks of production and exchange.

The recurring question that is important to understand the colonies' role in cultural change is how they influenced patterns of production and exchange of these different categories of votives. In order to answer this question, I will draw on previous studies concerned with aspects of production and typologies of these votives. For several colonies, aspects of production have been studied, but the results have not really entered the debate on the effects of colonization. As we will see, the colonies are included both in networks that are centred on Rome, and in other networks.

### 5.3.1 Votive terracottas

Votive terracottas of various types are present in most of the colonies, and this includes elements of the etrusco-latial-campanian type of deposit in almost every case (see appendix 8). As discussed in section 5.1.2, this has led scholars to consider the anatomical terracottas in particular as archaeological 'flags of romanization'. We have seen above that from an *emic* perspective, this interpretation is problematic: it is hard to prove, and not quite likely, that these terracottas signalled 'Romanness' or 'Latinness' to the people who dedicated them. It is clear, however, that the presence of these votives in the colonies can at least partly be explained by the arrival of colonists who took practices from their home areas with them. In this section, I am mainly interested in the dynamics behind this: *how* did these objects arrive in the colonies, and what does this tell us about the dynamics and effects of colonization?

In doing so, it is important to acknowledge that the elements that belong to the etrusco-latial-campanian type of deposit are not necessarily all subject to the same dynamics of production and exchange. Unfortunately, the specific case of anatomical terracottas presents us with many uncertainties about chronology and typology.<sup>1032</sup> For this reason, the analysis in this section will focus mainly on votive heads, which are much better studied in terms of typology. I will then continue with an examination of the *arulae*, which seem to be part of different networks of production. The analysis will focus on the dynamics behind the presence of these two categories of material. The more

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<sup>1032</sup> A project under direction of Olivier de Cazanove now aims to solve this problem.

general goal of this section, however, is to illustrate the various possible mechanisms of interaction that may have been at play.

The first question that needs consideration in order to understand the dynamics behind the presence of votive heads in the colonies, is where these objects were produced, and by whom. We are probably dealing with local production in most of the colonies.<sup>1033</sup> Remains of terracotta furnaces were found in Cales-Ponte delle Monache and Carseoli-Sancti Pietri (see appendix 8). In addition, analysis of the clay used in the terracottas of Fregellae indicates a high level of homogeneity which strongly suggests local production.<sup>1034</sup> Similarly, although no further analysis has been executed, it is thought that the clay used for most of the terracottas found in Luceria is local.<sup>1035</sup> This means that, at least for these large sanctuaries, the *objects* were not brought by the colonists, but demand for them either started or intensified with the foundation of the colony. In Luceria, it seems that the practice of dedicating this type of votive was introduced by the colonists, while in Cales and Carseoli the votive heads predate the foundation of the colony - in these cases, the foundation led to an intensification of the practice of dedicating them.<sup>1036</sup> Because the demand for these objects, whether or not caused by the arrival of the colonists, was solved through local production, the colonies obviously had an impact on the patterns of production of these objects.

This still leaves open the question of how this production was organized, and how it is possible that we find similar objects across rather large areas. Although it seems clear that the votives in the colonies were locally produced, this does not automatically mean that we deal with fixed local workshops; production could be organized in various different ways.<sup>1037</sup> Martin Söderlind has suggested that '(c)olonies, like the Roman ones, may have called for craftsmen for the decoration of temples and possibly also for the production of

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<sup>1033</sup> Turfa 2004, 360 notes that local production is common for anatomical votives in general.

<sup>1034</sup> Ferrea and Pinna 1986, 144.

<sup>1035</sup> D'Ercole 1990b, 23.

<sup>1036</sup> For Luceria, D'Ercole maintains that the votive deposit starts after the foundation of the colony (D'Ercole 1990b, 300). Note, however, that this forces her to suppose a 'considerevole attardamento stilistico' at least for one type (A<sub>2</sub>V<sub>B</sub>, p. 33). On the pre-colonial material from Cales: Ciaghi 1993, 268-270; on Carseoli: Marinucci 1976, 17-18.

<sup>1037</sup> Söderlind 1999, 115-116 gives a schematic overview of the potential organization of traveling workshops. De Cazanove 2009, 41 notes that votives were often produced *for* a sanctuary, but production was not controlled *by* the sanctuary.

votive terracottas.<sup>1038</sup> He gives the example of Cosa, where the inscription of Etruscan letters in the raw material of some of the architectural terracottas can be taken as evidence for the presence of local craftsmen (Söderlind suggests that they came either from Vulci or from Tarquinia).<sup>1039</sup> Although it is quite possible that these Etruscan craftsmen lived in the colony of Cosa, it is also important to think about the potential mobility of producers and of moulds. On the Adriatic coast, for example, there is some second century evidence for a travelling workshop: the same coroplast, by the name Dionysius of Colophon, is known from inscriptions on architectural terracottas found in Ariminum and Cupra Marittima, close to Firmum.<sup>1040</sup> Apparently, we deal here with a Greek coroplast who is active in a broader network on the Adriatic coast, which includes these two Latin colonies.<sup>1041</sup> A Greek artisan has also tentatively been recognized in Fregellae, where a second century architectural terracotta, of Hellenistic style, was inscribed with the letters [-]thumḗ[-], seemingly a Greek loaning word.<sup>1042</sup>

Whereas this evidence is pertinent to architectural terracottas, similar practices may be postulated for the production of votive terracottas. There is some evidence for use of the same moulds for antefixes and votive heads, which means that architectural terracottas and votive heads were produced by the same workshop at least in some cases.<sup>1043</sup> More generally, an attractive explanation for the widespread distribution of similar types of votives is the existence of travelling workshops or specialized artisans, who - at least in part - would have been responsible for the circulation of moulds and types.<sup>1044</sup> This process would have been facilitated by the production process of these terracottas, in which several mould series could ultimately be derived from the same prototype.<sup>1045</sup> These travelling artisans would be the ones who made

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<sup>1038</sup> Söderlind 1999, 121.

<sup>1039</sup> See Brown 1980, 27, n. 14.

<sup>1040</sup> Susini 1965c.

<sup>1041</sup> Susini 1965c, 304 tentatively suggests that other inscriptions of a Dionysius from Amiternum and Modena may refer to the same workshop. On contacts between communities on the Adriatic coast and Greece, already from an earlier period onwards: D'Ercole 2011.

<sup>1042</sup> Sironen 1997; for the style, see Känel 1994.

<sup>1043</sup> Ferrea and Pinna 1986, 92; Söderlind 1999, 115.

<sup>1044</sup> Vagnetti 1966 focuses on Etruria; she deals with votive terracottas specifically on p. 113. See also Comella 1981, 793-794; Hofter 1985, 132 -133.

<sup>1045</sup> For a detailed description, e.g. Marinucci 1976, 7-9.



Figure 5.10. Votive disc from the votive deposit at Luceria-Belvedere

certain types of terracottas available in different places in Italy, extending what I call the ‘network of production’. In most cases, the actual production would then still have taken place locally. In southern Italy, such practices seem to be confirmed by the occurrence of votive terracottas and moulds with identical maker’s marks in various places.<sup>1046</sup> In Central Italy, maker’s marks are uncommon, but there are several examples of close stylistic and typological affinities between votive heads found in various places.<sup>1047</sup> It is difficult, however, to firmly establish a shared prototype: it involves a close comparison of the profiles of these heads, and this has not been done widely.<sup>1048</sup>

In this context, it is interesting that most of the colonies that have yielded larger assemblages of votive terracottas show the influence of several traditions, probably representing different workshops that were active in the same colony. This can be illustrated by looking more closely at the assemblages of Luceria, Paestum and Cales. The deposit in Luceria includes many etrusco-latial-campanian votives, but also some objects that clearly stand in a local tradition, such as a votive disc with divine symbols (figure 5.10).<sup>1049</sup> For the first category, the ties with the Tyrrhenian coast are clear, and it may well be

<sup>1046</sup> Söderlind 1999, 115; on the use of maker’s marks on the Tarantine production: Kingsley 1977, 100-106.

<sup>1047</sup> Hofter 1985, 104-110.

<sup>1048</sup> See e.g. Söderlind 1999, 21 and plates 1-5. Ferrea and Pinna 1986, 144 claim that for Fregellae, mould links are restricted to the direct environment; this would mean that production was organized more locally in this case.

<sup>1049</sup> D’Ercole 1990b, 309.

that artisans and moulds from that area travelled to Luceria for their production. In addition, however, some of the votives from Luceria have the letters II or III inscribed, a mark known from finds in Tarentum and Heraclea. In combination with stylistic affinities, this causes Maria Cecilia D'Ercole to suggest the presence of Tarentine travelling craftsmen in Luceria, at least for part of the objects from the Belvedere deposit.<sup>1050</sup>

In contrast, the colonists arriving in Paestum and Cales could draw on a strong local expertise in the production of votive terracottas. In Cales, the earliest production dates back to the fifth century when production took place on a modest scale, and style and distribution were still local.<sup>1051</sup> Silvia Ciaghi notes that in the fourth century, the Calenian workshops were clearly working with models from Magna Graecia, and also after the foundation of the colony, part of the production continued Greek stylistic traditions.<sup>1052</sup> In the third century, after the foundation of the colony, the area in which prototypes known from Cales can be recognized widens, including both Latium and the south (Luceria, Gnathia and Tarentum).<sup>1053</sup> Although it remains difficult to recognize specific workshops responsible for the production of parts of this material, both Ciaghi and Mathias Hoffer recognize one workshop that was active both in Cales and in Falerii.<sup>1054</sup> In addition, it seems that some of the types that originate in the Latial area were reworked in Cales.<sup>1055</sup> It is clear, therefore, that the foundation of the colony introduced Calenian production to a wider world. Moreover, the workshops of Cales played an active role in the adaptation and distribution of types.

In Paestum, we see a similar development, although changes in 'network orientation' seem less directly related to the foundation of the colony. Local production, famous for its figurines of an enthroned goddess which are widely spread in southern Italy, started in the archaic period and continued into the

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<sup>1050</sup> D'Ercole 1990b, 42-43, 309-312; see Söderlind 1999, 117, 119 for the possibility that other modes of organizing production are behind this phenomenon: he suggests that the terracottas with II or III may also be the products of branch workshops either on a professional or a family basis.

<sup>1051</sup> Ciaghi 1993, 269.

<sup>1052</sup> Ciaghi 1993, 273-274; 277.

<sup>1053</sup> Ciaghi 1993, 278. Especially prototypes that fall within the category of 'Italic Hellenism' are distributed widely.

<sup>1054</sup> Hoffer 1985, 108-109; Ciaghi 1993, 279.

<sup>1055</sup> Ciaghi 1993, 280.

post-foundational period. As in the case of Cales, both elements of continuity and discontinuity can be recognized. Rebecca Ammerman notices that the figurines from the Hellenistic period show a formal and technical continuity with previous production (continued mould series), and there is continuity in subject matter as well. She suggests, for example, that a specific type of female heads with *polos* 'can be read as large-scale albeit abbreviated versions of the enthroned goddess'.<sup>1056</sup> At the same time, there are observable changes in Paestum's position within larger networks of production. Before the late fourth century, production in Poseidonia was linked to the south, both in terms of the types produced as the mould technology used. From the late fourth century onwards, strong links developed between Paestum and Capua, signalling the entry of Paestum into an economic network centred on Campania.<sup>1057</sup> Interestingly, like the introduction of swaddled babies and anatomical terracottas in Paestum, this change in orientation of Paestan production seems to predate the foundation of the colony (see section 5.1.2), and therefore can not be seen as a direct effect of the arrival of the colonists. This shows the wider impact of the economic developments in Campania in the late fourth century, which probably included the boom in production of etrusco-latial-campanian type of votive terracottas.

We can conclude, therefore, that the network in which moulds and types of these votive heads moved *included* Rome and the colonies, but did not gravitate around them.<sup>1058</sup> The variety in votive terracottas within one colony can plausibly be explained by the presence of various workshops, but it is important to underline that some interaction between workshops can also be recognized. Both in Luceria and in Cales, it has been noted that some of the votives which iconographically fit in the spectrum of the etrusco-latial-campanian votives show stylistic influences from Magna Graecia (figure

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<sup>1056</sup> Ammerman 2002, 291. On pp. 145-146, she clearly places the production of Tanagra-style figurines in Paestum in a longer tradition, which seems to have been barely influenced by the foundation of the colony.

<sup>1057</sup> Ammerman 2002, 21. The observations fit nicely with the observations in chapter 4 on the coinage of Paestum.

<sup>1058</sup> See Hofter 1985, 131 on the modest role of Rome as producer. Cf. Morel 1988, who stresses that no exclusive tie exists between Rome and her colonies in the production and distribution of black gloss pottery.





Figure 5.11. Life-size terracotta statue from the votive deposit at Cales-Ponte delle Monache

5.11).<sup>1059</sup> Taras seems to have been particularly influential, as we see also in the case of Fregellae, where some of the votive heads are reminiscent of Tarentine antefixes.<sup>1060</sup>

It thus becomes clear that the colonies not only introduced certain models in new areas, but conversely also introduced new styles into the etrusco-latial-campanian heartland. Through this interaction, more widely shared models were developed. The colonies were active players in the development and manipulation of these styles and models. Surely, contacts throughout Italy pre-existed the foundation of the colonies, as Silvia Ciaghi has shown in the case of Cales.<sup>1061</sup> However, by creating new demands, the foundation of the colonies did modify and intensify existing network dynamics.

A consideration of the networks of production and exchange of *arulae* allows us to include the colonies on the Adriatic coast in this analysis, although

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<sup>1059</sup> For Luceria, D'Ercole 1990b, 312 gives the example of C<sub>3</sub>II: a young offerer in tunica in the etrusco-latial-campanian tradition, but stylistically clearly related to Magna-Graecian production. For Cales: Ciaghi 1993, 29, nrs. 5, 6, 7; see pp. 34-35. She recognized the same phenomenon also in some of the statuettes, especially C IIaI (p. 227), and heads (p. 273).

<sup>1060</sup> Ferrea and Pinna 1986, 115-116 (A<sub>2</sub>II ). More generally on the influence of Taras: Hoffer 1985, 108; 131.

<sup>1061</sup> Ciaghi 1993, 268-274.

the evidence is scantier there. In this area, Hadria has yielded most votive material, including votive heads, anatomical terracottas and six *arulae*.<sup>1062</sup> Maria Paola Guidobaldi argues that the terracottas, in combination with evidence for the production of black gloss pottery, show local artisanal production aimed at the new market of Latin colonists.<sup>1063</sup> In view of the discussion on modes of production above, we may question whether this local production was stable, or whether we are dealing with travelling workshops, and how these workshops relate to others. Other colonies where *arulae* were found are Ariminum, Brundisium (one *arula* that certainly date to the period of the colony, while another *arula* is probably older) and Luceria.

As discussed in section 5.1.2, *arulae* were not part of the original definition of the etrusco-latial-campanian type of deposit as defined by Anna Maria Comella, but a similar connection to Roman colonization has been postulated for these objects.<sup>1064</sup> In fact, *arulae* do not occur together with material that is typical of the etrusco-latial-campanian type of votive deposit very often;<sup>1065</sup> other mechanisms of distribution may be at work here. Although these objects also have a long history in the Greek world, including Sicily and Magna Graecia,<sup>1066</sup> there are specific types and iconographies which can be related to production in Rome and Latium. In Luceria, for example, out of four specimens from the Belvedere deposit, three have an hourglass shape (a double echinus) typical of Rome and Latium, and the decorative schemes used are also known from the same region (see figure 5.12).<sup>1067</sup> Although it is possible that some specimens were imported from Rome, Maria Cecilia D'Ercole suggests

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<sup>1062</sup> Azzena 1987a, 17 (figure 8).

<sup>1063</sup> Guidobaldi 1995, 208: 'la colonizzazione romana suscitò (...) una produzione artigianale in grado di soddisfare i bisogni della nuova clientela coloniale impiantata nel territorio appena conquistato, e determina anche la nascita di uno specifico artigianato culturale, inscindibile dalle forme proprie della religiosità latina, che, sia ad Atri, sia nel territorio, si sovrappose alle precedenti tradizioni locali.'

<sup>1064</sup> See above, note 952. We should keep in mind that an *arula* is not necessarily votive in character: although we do find *arulae* in larger votive deposits, often of the etrusco-latial-campanian type, they are also found in funerary contexts and domestic contexts. See Edlund-Berry 2004, 369; see also the general remarks by Ricciotti 1978, 13-14 and Bedello Tata 1990, 54-55.

<sup>1065</sup> See D'Ercole 1990b, 240 for this general observation.

<sup>1066</sup> See Ricciotti 1978, 5-8 and Bedello Tata 1990, 54-56.

<sup>1067</sup> See Ricciotti 1978 for *arulae* that come mainly from Rome and Latium.



Figure 5.12. *Arulae* from the votive deposit at Luceria-Belvedere. Left: double echinus type with protome of Silenus. Middle: double echinus type with Silenus on panther. Right: parallelepiped type with winged female figure on bull

that these objects were mainly locally produced, as local variations to the Roman specimens can be recognized.<sup>1068</sup>

Against this background, we can have a more detailed look at the production networks to which the *arulae* from Brundisium, Hadria and Ariminum belong.<sup>1069</sup> First of all, in the case of Ariminum, the decoration of the *arula*, with a nereid on a dolphin, has close parallels in Rome; as the specimen is rather isolated in the cisalpine area, Barbara Farfaneti suggests that it was either brought from there, or was locally produced in imitation of the Roman specimens.<sup>1070</sup> Similarly, the later specimen from Brundisium, with its hourglass shape and decoration of a winged youth on a panther has a parallel (at least for iconography and shape of the *arula*) in Lanuvium, while from Rome a similar scene is known on a parallelepiped *arula*.<sup>1071</sup> Again, it is unclear

<sup>1068</sup> D'Ercole 1990b, 240-243. Note that more *arulae* are present in the local museum, with uncertain provenance: D'Ercole 1987. Roman or Latin types of *arulae* are also found outside the colonies: see Di Niro in AA.VV. 1980, 299 for an hourglass-shaped *arula* from Larinum.

<sup>1069</sup> Fragments of an *arula* are also known from Narnia and Spoletium; in both cases, however, no further information about production networks can be deduced from them. The specimen from Narnia is parallelepiped and hollow, and not decorated (Monacchi 1986, 161 refers to Ricciotti 1978, 102-106; nos. 71-91; tav. XXXVII-XLIII); the date of this type is rather late, in the late second or early first century. The specimen from Spoletium is circular and hollow, and does not seem to have decoration (De Angelis 1994, 48 (figure 33)).

<sup>1070</sup> Farfaneti 2006, 63-64.

<sup>1071</sup> See Van Buren 1918, 33; the description of the scene on the specimen from Lanuvium broadly fits what is visible of the specimen from Brundisium in Sciarra 1976, 32, no. 199; however, neither is detailed enough for the establishment of a direct parallel. The specimen from Rome (see Ricciotti 1978, 97, no. 60, tav. XXXII) is different from the one from Brundisium in several respects (shape of the *arula*, details in iconography); they share only the general scene of a winged youth on a panther.



Figure 5.13 *Arula* from Hadria, representing a fight between a draped female figure with a double axe and a male figure with fluttering cloak



Figure 5.14. *Arula* from Aquileia, representing a fight between a draped female figure with a double axe and a male figure with fluttering cloak

whether this specimen was produced locally or was taken to Brundisium from Rome or Latium. If we would hypothesize local production, it is interesting that the foundation of the colony introduced the colony in a wider network of production than was previously the case: the older *arula* known from Brundisium has a direct parallel in Tarentine production, and may very well have been produced there.<sup>1072</sup> In Hadria, out of six specimens known, there is one with a Dionysian scene (Dionysus or a Maenad on a panther), which - again - is also known from Rome and Latium.<sup>1073</sup> In all these cases, the connection to Rome is important: either objects produced in or around Rome were taken to the colonies, or there was contact between workshops that were active in the colonies, and those that were active in Rome and Latium.

The other five *arulae* from Hadria tell a slightly different story, however. These all have the same decoration: a fight between a draped female figure with a double axe and a male figure with fluttering cloak (figure 5.13). This type is not known from Rome or the Greek south, and in view of the occurrence of five similar specimens in and around Hadria, local production is plausible.<sup>1074</sup> The type may be somewhat later than the other *arulae* we have

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<sup>1072</sup> Van der Meijden 1993, 330, cat. nr. NM46 (plate 56).

<sup>1073</sup> Ricciotti 1978, 96-97, no. 59, tav. XXXI.

<sup>1074</sup> Azzena 1987a, 19; accepted by Guidobaldi 1995, 208, n. 111.

discussed so far: while most of the known *arulae* date to the fourth and third centuries (or earlier), the specimens from Hadria are dated in the late third or early second century.<sup>1075</sup> Interestingly, the subject may have specific local meaning: as we have seen in chapter 4, the double axe is a type on the cast bronze coinage of Hadria as well. In this light, it is all the more interesting that also in this case, we have evidence for either production or objects travelling: twelve similar specimens are known from Aquileia, which are generally dated slightly later than the ones from Hadria (figure 5.14).<sup>1076</sup> The connection between Hadria and Aquileia has been explained by migration, as we know that the colonists of Aquileia partly came from Central Italy.<sup>1077</sup> Alternatively, we may again see the involvement of these colonies here in a common production network, in which either artisans or entire workshops could travel relatively easily via the Adriatic sea. We thus have a situation here where models that were probably derived from Rome or Latium were locally adapted and subsequently distributed over a wider area.<sup>1078</sup>

Broadly speaking, therefore, the foundation of a colony meant that local places were introduced into a larger world. In many cases, the foundation introduced the colonies into the network of production of votives of etrusco-latial-campanian type, or intensified existing production, as we have seen in the cases of Cales and Paestum. In practical terms, we can imagine this as the colonies attracting itinerant workshops and stimulating local production. The similar *arulae* in Hadria and Aquileia, moreover, show that branches could develop that were independent of Rome and the core area of the etrusco-latial-campanian votives. At the same time, the colonies could be part of other networks of production, as we have seen in the southern colonies of Luceria and Paestum. Importantly, the colonies were no passive receivers of the objects arrived through these networks: we have seen several examples where objects were manipulated and transformed actively by local tastes.

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<sup>1075</sup> Azzena 1987a, 19.

<sup>1076</sup> Strazzulla Rusconi 1977, type 1.

<sup>1077</sup> Azzena 1987a, 20; Guidobaldi 1995, 209-210.

<sup>1078</sup> See Guidobaldi 1995, 210.

### 5.3.2 *Pocola deorum* and ‘Herculean’ pottery

As we have seen in section 5.1.2, both *pocola deorum* and various kinds of black gloss pottery referring to Hercules have been seen as a proxy to Roman influence in previous research. In this section, this Roman connection will be further investigated. I examine more closely how these vases arrived in the colonies. This will not only allow us to establish the colonies’ position in networks of production and exchange, but it will also make clear that a connection to Rome was mostly constructed at a local level.

First of all, we should have a look at the presence of these vases in the colonies (see appendix 8). *Pocola* are actually quite exceptional as votive gifts in the colonies: they have been found only in Signia, Cosa, Carseoli (all 1 specimen each in a votive context) and Ariminum (4 specimens), while most known specimens come from funerary contexts in Etruria.<sup>1079</sup> If we widen the scope to include not only those black gloss vases with the word *pocolom* inscribed, but also those bearing dedicatory formulas and names of deities in general, the image stays more or less the same, although we then also have some possible specimens from Ardea, one more from both Signia and Carseoli, and two more from Ariminum.<sup>1080</sup> For the ‘Herculean’ types, Morel has noticed a clear difference in the distribution of the various types identified by him (see section 5.1.2).<sup>1081</sup> The more elaborate types (*Heraklesschalen* and relief *paterae*) are found mainly in Etruria, and only rarely in the colonies: only Paestum has yielded some *Heraklesschalen*, which were probably locally produced.<sup>1082</sup> He argues that the simpler types (with stamp decoration and painted or incised letters; see figure 5.8) are more exclusive to Rome and areas of Roman conquest, including the colonies of Ardea, Signia, Cales, Paestum, Interamna Lirenas, Carseoli, Cosa, Fregellae, Alba Fucens and Ariminum.<sup>1083</sup>

Morel suggests that these different distribution patterns most probably indicate different mechanisms of distribution. The distribution of the *pocola*

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<sup>1079</sup> Nonnis in Cifarelli et al. 2002-2003, 294; see their appendix II (pp. 314-319). One new specimen from Ariminum is added by Minak 2006b; Braccesi 2006b. The vases mentioning *pagi* and *vici* from Ariminum are not included in this count; cf. Stek 2009, 139.

<sup>1080</sup> See appendix I (by Ambrosini) in Cifarelli et al. 2002-2003, 303-313. On Ardea: Acconcia in Di Mario and Ceccarelli 2005, 358-363.

<sup>1081</sup> Morel 1988, 57-59; Bispham 2006, 108 does not differentiate clearly between the groups that are rare in the colonies and those that are more common.

<sup>1082</sup> Morel 1988, 57-58 with n. 86.

<sup>1083</sup> Morel 1988, 58 with n. 88 and 89.

*deorum* and the ‘higher segment’ of the Herculean pottery would be due mainly to commerce, while the simpler types of Herculean pottery would be more directly related to Roman expansion, as a reflection of a particular form of ‘*piété populaire*’. Focusing on the role of the colonies in these networks, it is clear that they were no active players in the production or trade of the more luxurious *Heraklesschalen*. There is only the local production of Paestum, which was not distributed widely, and therefore probably only locally consumed. In contrast, the simpler Herculean pottery is more commonly present in the colonies.

This presence of the simpler material in the colonies can be related to the fact that these vases were more often locally produced, together with regular black gloss pottery. For several of the colonies, local black gloss production is attested,<sup>1084</sup> and in the cases of Cales, a detailed study of the local Herculean stamped pottery indicates that few close parallels exist between the Calenian production and specimens found in other places.<sup>1085</sup> This means that we can see this Herculean pottery as a local accommodation of a more general model. We are reminded of the important role of Hercules in colonial contexts, as discussed in section 5.2.2.<sup>1086</sup>

As for the *pocola*, their relative scarcity in the colonies means that a general claim of ‘Roman influence’ is not satisfactory as a full explanation for their presence. We should look more closely at places of production and the way in which the connection with Rome was shaped. Traditionally, the consensus has been that most of the *pocola* were produced in Rome and environs, with two other accepted production places: Caere and Ariminum.<sup>1087</sup> An important reason to suppose a central role of Rome is given by the texts on the *pocola*: they are always in Latin, and the deities mentioned on the *pocola*

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<sup>1084</sup> See Di Giuseppe 2012 for local black gloss production at Ardea and Signia (p. 70), Paestum (p. 55), Cales (pp. 48-53) and Ariminum (p. 77); Antonini 2012 for black gloss production at Fregellae (pp. 14-15) and possibly at Interamna Lirenas (pp. 15-16). Local black gloss production is also known at Spoletium (Di Giuseppe 2012, 71), but no *pocola* or ‘Herculean’ pottery are known from there.

<sup>1085</sup> Pedroni 1992.

<sup>1086</sup> Note, however, that local black gloss production is now widely attested in Republican Italy, also outside areas of direct Roman influence (see the inventory of production places in Di Giuseppe 2012, ch. 3). In this context, it would be worthwhile to investigate whether the association of the simple Herculean pottery with areas of Roman influence is still as strong as suggested by Morel more than 15 years ago.

<sup>1087</sup> Coarelli and Morel 1973; Morel 1988, 60; Nonnis in Cifarelli et al. 2002-2003, 281.

are all venerated in Rome, although this is not an exclusive connection. Another important clue comes from the pottery itself: at least some of the *pocola* belong to the production of the *Atelier des Petites Estampilles*, traditionally placed in Rome.<sup>1088</sup> Recent analyses of the clay composition of various objects belonging to the group of the *Atelier des Petites Estampilles*, however, have shown that these must have been produced in various production places in Latium and Etruria.<sup>1089</sup> Therefore, we should seriously consider the possibility that, in addition to Caere and Ariminum, other production places also produced *pocola*.

Returning to the colonies, it has in fact been convincingly argued that the recently found *pocolom* from Signia was locally produced,<sup>1090</sup> as were most of the *pocola* from Ariminum.<sup>1091</sup> The local production of Ariminum shows close links to Rome and environs, both in terms of the shapes and the stamps, which indicate a close connection with the Tyrrhenian coast - perhaps the producers themselves even arrived from there.<sup>1092</sup> In these circumstances, the use of Latin and the presence of deities with a Roman cult are not surprising, but significant nonetheless: they *create* an association with Rome, through local production.<sup>1093</sup> It is important to realize that this must be the result of local demands. It has been suggested that these vases played a role in formal rituals surrounding the foundation of the colony, as they were deposited together with the vases mentioning *pagi* and *vici* from Ariminum (see section 3.3.1).<sup>1094</sup> I would object to this interpretation, however, as not all these vases were found in the same archaeological context, and the stratum in which many of them were found together, underneath the *ex-palazzo Battaglini* does not have the

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<sup>1088</sup> Nonnis in Cifarelli et al. 2002-2003, 281 with references.

<sup>1089</sup> Di Giuseppe 2012, 3-5 gives a concise overview of recent developments in the study of black gloss production.

<sup>1090</sup> Ambrosini in Cifarelli et al. 2002-2003, 269, 279-280.

<sup>1091</sup> Only two specimens from Ariminum were imported: see Minak 2006a (fragment nr. 1 is imported); Minak 2006b mentions another imported piece. Minak suggests that these imported pieces were taken by the colonists from their home cities to the newly founded colony.

<sup>1092</sup> Morel 1973, 369 points out the Latin *praenomen* and *nomen* on two Ariminese specimens; the strong links with Rome of the Ariminese production have been noted widely, e.g. Franchi de Bellis 1995, 369-370; Ortalli 2000, 503; see also Bispham 2006, 86-87 with n. 68.

<sup>1093</sup> A similar phenomenon can be recognized in the use of a Roman uncial with prow as a stamp in a black gloss bowl found in Ariminum: see Zuffa 1962, 96, figure 6.

<sup>1094</sup> Stek 2009, 144-145.



characteristics of a primary ritual deposit, but rather of a dump of urban and production waste.<sup>1095</sup>

Because this active evocation of Rome (or, more generally, the places of origin of the colonists) was the result of local demands and local production, it did not necessarily happen in all colonies. Unfortunately, for the *pocola* found in Cosa and Carseoli we are less well informed about possible places of production, but we may note that both these sites, like Signia, are located in the general area in which the *pocola* are found, and were probably produced. This means that in these cases, it would be harder to argue for a direct link to Rome. Other more remotely located colonies have not yielded any *pocola*. Although absence of evidence here is not necessarily evidence of absence, it does seem significant that *pocola* are almost exclusively found to the north of Rome. The southern colonies have not yielded any *pocola*, while black gloss pottery is abundantly present in colonies like Fregellae and Paestum, and was even produced on a large scale in Cales.<sup>1096</sup> A possible explanation is that existing production in the south in general, and in Cales in particular, had its own traditions and was therefore less susceptible to new demands.

In conclusion, the presence of *pocola* and ‘Herculean pottery’ in the colonies is normally the result of local production. This means that connections were created locally, and different connections were important in different colonies. Paestum joined production centres in Etruria in the production of *Heraklesschalen*. Several other colonies produced simpler ‘Herculean’ pottery, thus contributing to a broad trend in Central Italy - only the outlying colonies occupied a special position in this respect. The important role of Hercules in the colonies may be a reason for the regular occurrence of these vases in the colonies. *Pocola* were only produced in a few colonies north of Rome: it is here that we see the most direct connection to Rome.

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<sup>1095</sup> Zuffa 1962, 92-97. The suggestion, made by several scholars, that the mentioning of Apollo on some of the *pocola* from Ariminum refers to the colonial foundation (for a brief overview: Bispham 2006, 109-110) could still be valid if we allow individual colonists the agency to make this connection.

<sup>1096</sup> Pedroni 1986; Pedroni 1990.

### 5.3.3 Bronze statuettes

As discussed above, bronze statuettes are traditionally seen as part of the italic type of votive deposit, and thus not related to Rome or the colonies. In this section, I will investigate to what extent colonies were integrated in networks of production and exchange of these statuettes, and how, thus, the colonies contributed to cultural change also through categories of material that are not traditionally linked to Rome.

Bronze statuettes are found in ten of the colonies: Norba, Signia, Setia, Sora, Carseoli, Alba Fucens, Paestum, Cosa, Aesernia and Brundisium (see appendix 8). Unfortunately, we are much better informed about the modes and places of production of votive terracottas than about these bronze statuettes.<sup>1097</sup> In very general terms, bronze statuettes are produced in different parts of Italy from the archaic period onwards, and they are traditionally seen as part of what is called *arte italica*.<sup>1098</sup> In contrast to the terracotta statuettes, these bronzes are not mould-made in series. They normally represent either deities or worshippers, and exist in a wide range of styles. In Latium, bronze statuettes are a regular votive gift in the archaic period, but they become rarer in the Middle and Late Republic - the period of the boom of the votive terracottas in this area.<sup>1099</sup> Whereas these Latial specimens represent mostly worshippers and less often deities, the high popularity of Hercules as a deity depicted in these statuettes is typical of the Oscan and Sabellic region.<sup>1100</sup> It is often suggested that both producers and commissioners of these statuettes were mobile, which means that the exact locations of production are difficult to pinpoint. Cristofani suggests that the first workshops were active in Campania and Lucania, and then moved also into Samnium.<sup>1101</sup>

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<sup>1097</sup> Not much seems to have changed since Colonna wrote cautiously that these bronze statuettes 'sono una realtà più familiare che cognita' (Colonna 1971, 172).

<sup>1098</sup> For an overview: Cristofani 1995; see Bonghi Jovino 1980, 84 for some hypothesized workshops in the Sabine area and on the Adriatic coast, active in the fourth and third centuries.

<sup>1099</sup> Comella 2004, 352.

<sup>1100</sup> Van Wousterghem 1992, 320-328; Comella 2004, 354-355. Cf. Papi 2005 for a selection of bronze statuettes of Sabellic production; the material comes from a private collection and is now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Chieti. She does not specify the characteristics that render these statuettes 'Sabellic'.

<sup>1101</sup> Cristofani 1995, 142. See also Colonna 1971, 174: he suggests the existence of local (pre-Roman) workshops on the Adriatic coast, and notes the high popularity of Hercules in this region.

When we look at the bronze statuettes in the colonies, it is striking that Hercules is present, and often even prominent, in all colonies except Norba and Cosa. The statuettes in Norba represent either Juno or female worshippers (see section 5.2.1), and it seems that they may have been produced in Latium (parallels with Praenestian production have been pointed out).<sup>1102</sup> Similarly, the sheet bronzes in Norba (see figure 5.6) also fit in a tradition which was developed in Latium, although we find specimens in Umbria as well.<sup>1103</sup> The single specimen from Cosa may be related to Etruscan traditions. In all of the other colonies, however, the bronze statuettes point at contacts with the Apennine region, although the nature of these contacts may have been different from case to case.

To start in Latium, the low number of statuettes in Signia (two: one Hercules, one worshipper), may suggest incidental imports. In contrast, Setia-Tratturo Caniò has yielded many statuettes of Hercules and male warriors, all of which show clear parallels to specimens further inland in the Apennines. Cassieri suggests that the statuettes may well have been locally produced; the producers could have come from inland areas as traveling artisans, workmen or traders.<sup>1104</sup> Her suggestion fits well with the idea of mobile producers put forward by Cristofani. In this case, the routes into the mountains must have formed an important connection, and it is probably no coincidence that Tratturo Caniò is an extra-urban sanctuary, which probably attracted more varied visitors than sanctuaries in the main colonial settlement. Most of the other colonies where bronze statuettes are part of the votive assemblages are located in the Apennines: in Sora, Carseoli, Alba Fucens and Aesernia the bronze statuettes may well represent local traditions, or at least their presence corresponds nicely with the overall distribution patterns of these statuettes.<sup>1105</sup> In addition, however, part of the material from Carseoli fits in an etrusco-latin tradition.<sup>1106</sup>

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<sup>1102</sup> Perrone 2003, 376-377.

<sup>1103</sup> Colonna 1970, 107-114.

<sup>1104</sup> As suggested by Cassieri 2012, 432.

<sup>1105</sup> For an overview of find spots of bronze statuettes produced in the period 525-375, see the distribution maps in Colonna 1970, 197-200; for the later period up to the Social War: Van Wouterghem 1992, 342 (figure 4).

<sup>1106</sup> See Richardson 1993, 284-285. Stylistically and iconographically, she identifies the bronzes with a 'stocky figure, broad face, short straight hair' as Roman/Latin rather than Etruscan.

Only Brundisium and Paestum do not fit into this general pattern. In Paestum, bronze statuettes were already given as a votive in the archaic period (see appendix 8). While these early statuettes generally fit in Greek traditions, the italic bronzes of Hercules show a stylistic orientation towards the Apennine areas.<sup>1107</sup> As in the case of the votive terracottas, this northern orientation seems to precede the foundation of the colony in Paestum, but it is clear from an inscribed base of a Hercules statuette that the presence of these objects continued into the colonial period.<sup>1108</sup> The colony was thus included in a network that concentrated in the Central Apennines.

In the case of Brundisium, the italic bronze statuettes are a new phenomenon in the Hellenistic period, although the exact date of their introduction is unclear.<sup>1109</sup> It is tempting to see the arrival of these italic statuettes as an effect of heightened interconnectivity in Italy in the period of Roman expansion: the extension of the Via Appia to Brundisium may well have played a role here. As in the case of Sora, the Hercules bronzes in Brundisium were probably locally produced.<sup>1110</sup> This means that the colony was not only part of a network of exchange, but may even have become a place of production. We have seen above (section 5.2.2) that the veneration of Hercules in Brundisium may be related to the myth of the foundation of Brentesion (before the Latin colony) by Brento, son of Hercules. This shows the interaction between large scale trends and local accommodation: a Greek foundation myth, unrelated to the later Latin colony, found expression in the dedication of italic bronze statuettes of Hercules, which became available because of heightened interconnectivity on the Italian peninsula caused, at least in part, by Roman expansion.

In conclusion, the practice of dedicating bronze statuettes can be found in several colonies, but explanations for it vary. For the colonies that are located in the Central Apennines, we can understand this as the colonial communities continuing local traditions. Other colonies, however, attracted objects and producers to areas where they had not been present or active previously.

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<sup>1107</sup> Torelli 1999c, 63.

<sup>1108</sup> Cipriani in Tocco Sciarelli et al. 1987, 384; see appendix 8.

<sup>1109</sup> The distribution maps in Colonna 1970, 197-200 do not show any 'archaic' statuettes (from the period between 525 and 375; see p. 14) in southern Apulia.

<sup>1110</sup> As suggested by Sciarra 1976, 9.

Perhaps producers were attracted by a relatively large potential market, or a specific demand was created by the visitors of the sanctuaries in these colonies. In all these cases, we see that the colonies are involved in networks of production and exchange of objects that were not derived from Rome. Again, the colonies sometimes contributed to changes in networks dynamics, as is shown by the introduction of bronze statuettes in Apulia.

#### 5.3.4 Coins as votives

As stated above, *votives par transformation* may have circulated in all kinds of networks before ending up as a votive gift. In this section, I discuss coins as an example of such votives, in order to show how different dynamics of interaction and exchange affected the votive assemblages that we find in the colonies. The reason why I have selected coins as an example of *votives par transformation* is that in their case, one aspect of the previous biography is rather easy to recognize: the community that ordered their initial production is often indicated by the legend.<sup>1111</sup> In addition, as we have seen in chapter 4, different monetary traditions in Italy coexist, and they seem to be part of different exchange networks: there are clear differences between the distributions of struck bronze and silver on the one hand, and cast bronze on the other. This means that by studying coins from votive contexts in the colonies, we can investigate the impact of two dynamics which influence the spectrum of votive gifts: integration of the colonies into networks of monetary exchange, and adoption of the practice of giving coins as votive offering.

As becomes clear from the overview in appendix 8, the practice of giving coins as votives is attested rather widely in the colonies, although its relative importance varies. As we can see in the table at the end of appendix 8, many coins were found in the deposits of Carseoli-Carsoli, Setia-Tratturo Caniò and Sora-Casalvieri. In other votive deposits the quantity of coins is lower, both in absolute terms and relative to the complete assemblage. To be able to establish the absence of coins from a votive assemblage with certainty, we need a clearly defined archaeological context: the deposit of Ardea-Casarinaccio is the only case that meets this requirement. In all other cases, the transformative nature of coins as votive gifts is an obstacle to the recognition of coins as votives:

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<sup>1111</sup> See Crawford 2003b, on the phenomenon of giving coins as a votive gift.

when we deal with surface finds, it is difficult to establish whether a coin was a votive gift or not. This means that the absence of coins from the spectrum of votive gifts cannot always be taken as reliable data; in the table at the end of appendix 8, this is indicated with a hyphen between brackets (-).

Before discussing the cases where coinage was given as a votive, let us first assess the significance of the absence of coins as votives from the colonies of Ardea, Cosa, Caes, Aesernia, Beneventum, Venusia, Brundisium and Hadria. In order to do this, we need to consider the broader picture of monetary circulation in these colonies and the quality of data on votive contexts. First of all, we may note that all of these colonies have yielded some coins from the Mid-Republican period, so in very general terms, coinage was available. In Ardea, Venusia and Hadria, both cast and struck coins have been found, with rather high numbers of Greek coins coming to light in regular excavations in Venusia.<sup>1112</sup> Only struck specimens are known from Cosa, Caes, Aesernia, Beneventum and Brundisium:<sup>1113</sup> we see here that the spectrum of finds in the colonies corresponds more or less to their own production. In most of these cases, therefore, it seems that the absence of coins from votive contexts can be explained best by the lack of good archaeological data; it would therefore be perilous to draw any conclusions from it. In two cases, however, another

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<sup>1112</sup> For Ardea: RRCH 20 with *aes rude*, cast bronze (160 specimens, all Roman, from the heavy Janus/Mercury series (68 pieces), the heavy Apollo/Apollo series (91 pieces) and the Dioscurus/Apollo series (1 piece)) and struck bronze (17 specimens of the Roman RRC 16); see also Catalli 1989, who notes on p. 45 that bronze bars were probably present as well (a *ramo secco* bar from Ardea is noted by Panvini Rosati 2004, 81). Cast bronze coins of local production were found in Venusia (Haeberlin 1910, 197-198, tav. 72, 12-22 and tav. 95, 1-5); in addition ca. 300 coins of Velia, Neapolis, Venusia, Taras, Arpi and Thurium were found in *contrada Piesco S. Francesco* and many more come from different excavations in and around Venusia: some preliminary observations in Siciliano 1994, 155-156. The oldest material dates to the period after the Pyrrhic War, and includes local, Roman and Velian specimens, with the uncia RRC 21.6 as the oldest Roman coin. For Hadria and its surroundings, see Campanelli 2001, 96-97 with n. 11: she points out the hoards Castagneto 1896 (RRCH 51); Castagneto 1912 (RRCH 77) and Tortoreto (RRCH 101). Note, however, that these are both located at a distance of some 40 kilometers from Hadria.

<sup>1113</sup> For Cosa: Buttrey 1980; the main find in Caes is a hoard buried around the moment of foundation of the colony (ca. 300; IGCH 1938 with coins from Pitanatae, Allifae, Cumae, Hyria, Neapolis, Nola and Phistelia); hoards are also known from Beneventum (IGCH 1985 = RRCH 22, buried ca. 265, with struck bronze from Hyria, Neapolis, Nola, Taras, Metapontum, Rome) and Aesernia (IGCH 2032 = RRCH 78, buried in the late third century, with some Roman cast bronze and many struck bronze coins, mostly from Rome, one from Arpi, many unrecognizable). For sporadic coin finds of the third century from Beneventum and surroundings, see Galasso 1983, 42. Excavations in Brindisi have yielded mainly coins of local production and from Rome (Cocchiario et al. 1990, 82-85).

explanation is possible. In the case of Cosa, we should note that although some third century coinage is known from the colony, numbers are very low, so there may simply not have been much coinage available. In contrast, in Venusia, the lack of coins from a votive context stands in contrast to the relatively high numbers of coins from regular excavations. It is tempting to see the influence of the regional environment here: it has been noted that coins only seldom occur as votive gifts in Lucanian votive contexts, and coins may not have been regarded as an appropriate gift.<sup>1114</sup>

Moving on to the colonies where we do have coins from votive contexts, there is still a difference in the ‘normality’ of this practice.<sup>1115</sup> We have seen that high quantities of coins are known from Setia, Sora and Carseoli. Although the quality of the available data does not allow us to draw any firm conclusions, it is tempting to point out the highly strategic position of these colonies on the intersection of different trade routes running north-south and east-west. Combined with the fact that these three sanctuaries are all extra-urban, this quite possibly facilitated the visit of the sanctuary by merchants, traders and perhaps soldiers, which may have affected the availability of coins at these sanctuaries, and hence the possibility to give them as votives.<sup>1116</sup> The lower quantities in which coins are found in votive contexts elsewhere could then be explained by a different position in trade networks: urban sanctuaries were probably less easily visited by visitors from abroad than extra-urban sanctuaries. It may be relevant, in this context, that the spectrum of coins in these deposits is quite broad. This stands in contrast to the modest role in coinage production of these colonies: as far as we know, neither Setia nor Sora has a coinage production of its own, while that of Carseoli is limited to rather low quantities of cast bronze. In contrast, the early third century coins in Sora and Carseoli are mainly struck bronzes from Campania and associated mints (see section 4.3.2), while in the later third century more Roman coins enter the spectrum.<sup>1117</sup> We can thus see how votive practices in the colonies are affected by the way they interacted with a larger world.

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<sup>1114</sup> Battiloro 2010, 125.

<sup>1115</sup> Cf. more generally Crawford 2003b, 72-73.

<sup>1116</sup> The possibility presents itself that these extra-urban sanctuaries were also the location of fairs or regional markets.

<sup>1117</sup> See Cederna 1951, 178-185 for Carseoli; Catalli 2005 for Sora-Casalvieri; I have not been able to find information on the coins found at Setia.

The other colonies present a reduced spectrum of coins among their votives, although it must be said that the coins from votive contexts in Signia, Fregellae, Interamna Lirenas and the recent finds in Alba Fucens have unfortunately not (yet) been published. In Circeii, Luceria and Ariminum, neither Roman coins nor coins from the Campanian group reached the sanctuaries. Circeii and Luceria show signs of being integrated in different networks: the two coins found at Circeii-Colle Monticchio are siculo-punic and south-Italian respectively,<sup>1118</sup> while in Luceria, the four coins that are known from the Belvedere deposit seem to indicate a more regional focus, with coins of the Bruttii, from Neapolis, Luceria itself, and Arpi.<sup>1119</sup> In Ariminum, the foundation deposit only contained coins of local production (see section 3.4.1). In this case, we know that struck coins from Campania and Rome and cast bronzes from Rome, Volsinii and Hadria found their way to Ariminum, so that the specific composition of the foundation deposit under the wall is most probably related to ideological considerations rather than availability of material.<sup>1120</sup>

The relatively low numbers of Roman coins in these votive deposits, especially in the earlier third century, can again be explained by availability: Roman production was not high in this early phase. At Norba, however, the number of Roman coins in the votive deposit of Juno Lucina is relatively high. The finds include some early silver coins, including Norba's own only extant specimen and some coins of Neapolis, Phistelia and Rome, but none of the Campanian coinages. Most of the material are cast and struck bronzes of Rome.<sup>1121</sup> The lack of Campanian material is probably a reflection of the lack of circulation of this material in Norba. Apparently, however, the Roman material did reach the colony.

Even when Roman coinage does not have a particularly high share in the total spectrum of coinages in the colonies, Rome may still have affected the network in which a colony was active, and hence the coins that were available for dedication, as we can see in the example of Paestum. Here, the practice of

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<sup>1118</sup> AA.VV. 1981, 72.

<sup>1119</sup> D'Ercole 1990b, 254.

<sup>1120</sup> For coin finds in Ariminum and environs: Ercolani Cocchi 2004, 35-42.

<sup>1121</sup> Cesano 1904, 423-426.



giving coins as votives goes back to the Greek period,<sup>1122</sup> but a change in the spectrum of coins from the settlement as a whole has been noticed between the period before and after the late fourth century, when the town is thought to become more Rome-oriented. Whereas in the earlier period, the spectrum shows mainly coins from the area to the south of Paestum, with high numbers of coins from Velia and Taras, after the foundation the focus shifts to the north, and more coins of Neapolis, other Campanian mints and Rome enter Paestum, although Velia remains important.<sup>1123</sup> These observations seem valid for the coin finds within the sanctuaries as well. This shows how the spectrum of votives in the colonies may have been influenced by Rome while the relevant objects are not necessarily related to Rome. Again, we see how the colony becomes part of a wider world.

In conclusion, the practice of giving coins as votives is attested in several colonies, and it was probably a rather common practice, even if we cannot recognize it easily in all cases. However, the local spectrum varies, dependent on the connections with the outside world. The character of the sanctuary also seems to be important: coins were a more common votive gift in extra-urban sanctuaries, probably because these attracted more foreign visitors and especially those who had access to coins. Only in the foundation deposit in Ariminum does the origin of the coins seem to have been important; in general, the spectrum of coins given as votives in the colonies reflects patterns of circulation and, therefore, availability of coinage in the colonies.

## 5.4 Conclusion

Worshippers in colonial sanctuaries contributed to broader cultural change through their votive practices. These were not uniform in all colonies, although there are various degrees of overlap. In each colony, general models were locally appropriated in various ways. In this conclusion, two central questions are important: how were votive practices informed by local concerns, and what does this mean for the role of the colonies in processes of cultural change in Italy? In order to answer these questions, we need to draw together the two levels of analysis of sections 5.2 and 5.3: the significance of votives at a local

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<sup>1122</sup> Cantilena et al. 1999, 127-130.

<sup>1123</sup> Cantilena et al. 1999, 140-151.

level, and the analysis of the networks in which the colonies operated. When we look at both of these levels together, it becomes clear that the ultimate choice for votives and religious practices in the colonies was the result of a complex combination of local considerations, and the availability of material in a changing cultural and socio-economic context. This led to both unity and diversity: in a more interconnected world, the decisions and concerns of the inhabitants shaped different local religious practices in the colonies.

Rome remains an important influence at both levels. Looking at what happens locally in the colonies, Rome clearly was a point of reference for colonists coming from the mother city: in a colony like Luceria it is clear that the arrival of the colonists led to changes in votive practices, with the introduction of votives of the etrusco-latial-campanian type. In other cases, such as in Cales and Paestum, the arrival of the colonists seems to have led to an intensification of a development that was already taking place, which included these colonies in a large-scale network of votive terracotta production. However, in neither case is it likely that the colonists chose to dedicate these objects because they had a 'Roman' connotation. It is possible, however, that a reverse development of meaning-giving took place: that *because* the Lucerian colonists noticed the difference between their votive practices and those of the surrounding population, they became aware of the difference. As we have seen in chapter 2, identities are often shaped at the boundaries, in relation to other groups that are perceived to be different.

At the same time, Rome was not the only factor of influence: we have seen various other concerns and contacts that were important as well. As discussed in 5.2.2, older myths of origin could still play a role in religious practices in the colonies (we have seen the example of the Athena sanctuary at Luceria) and all kinds of specific cultic concerns affected the choices made by worshippers. In addition, the availability of votive material was subject to the dynamics of various networks of production and exchange, in which Rome was a possible, but not a necessary player. It is worth stressing that this is a dynamic phenomenon that continues through time: instead of supposing that at the moment of foundation some types of votives were 'imported' to the colonies, we have seen that the colonies gradually acquired positions in different networks. The case of the *arulae* shows that the colonies themselves could form new networks which did not include Rome. In these cases, the

increased connectivity may still at least partly be related to Rome's influence, but without any Roman initiative.

In many ways, the colonies probably functioned in quite the same way as many other communities that were active in the same networks and where the same kinds of local considerations could be made. However, the colonies are particularly active players, because their foundation incorporated the areas in which they were founded into larger scale exchange networks, intensifying existing links or creating new connections, and thus changing patterns of connectivity. In this sense, the example of the votives in this chapter may be more broadly applicable to other forms of material culture in the colonies. If we think, for example, of travelling workshops or artisans, the colonies caused these agents to travel more widely, leading to more contacts and influences. Thus, the colonies are clearly agents in the changes brought about by Roman expansion: new links were formed between groups of people previously not - or less directly - connected. However, these changes did not necessarily come from Rome: other connections were important as well.

## 6. Conclusions

A Latin colony was a living, dynamic community in a rapidly changing world. In this thesis, I have studied how the colonies contributed to processes of cultural change in the period before the end of the Second Punic War. In order to give due attention to the dynamic character both of the context in which the colonies functioned, and of the colonial communities themselves, I have studied them from a globalization perspective. It has been possible to trace how local decisions and practices in the colonies were affected by external influences, which could be accommodated to local needs and beliefs. At the same time, because the colonies were connected to a larger world, local developments in the colonies had an impact on broader developments of cultural change in Republican Italy. This thesis has identified and qualified various actors, connections and dynamics that were of influence in this process. Although the variety between colonies prohibits a brief summary in one sentence, in this conclusion the main patterns that can be recognized are pointed out. In this way, a new, more dynamic image of the ways in which the colonies contributed to processes of cultural change in Mid-Republican Italy is created.

The globalization perspective adopted has been an important tool to develop a more dynamic image of the role of the colonies in cultural change. As an interpretive perspective, it is new in the study of the Latin colonies, and it has some clear advantages in comparison to previous approaches, which were either strongly informed by a romanization perspective, or concentrated essentially on local realities in the colonies. As discussed in chapter 2, an analysis of the colonies from a romanization perspective runs the risk of privileging influences from Rome over other possible influences that were important in shaping the colonies and their role in broader processes of cultural change. While this problem has been recognized in recent studies that focus on the colonies as local communities, the implications for the way we conceptualize the role of the colonies in cultural change have not received explicit attention. This causes the need for a perspective that combines local and large scale developments within a single conceptual framework, and this is exactly where a globalization perspective has been helpful: it offers models that more accurately conceptualize the interaction between these two levels.

From this perspective, the analysis has focused on three different ways in which the colonies were shaped, focusing on the various influences and local dynamics that were important in the process. While chapters 3 and 4 have concentrated on the ways in which conscious decisions, mostly by elite members of the colonial communities, shaped the local community and its public identity respectively, chapter 5 concentrated on shared religious practices in the colonies, as an example of how local realities are also shaped 'from below'. The division between these chapters has allowed a separate discussion of the dynamics that were important in each of these realms. In each case, the analysis has aimed at identifying the connections that were relevant at a local level, with the essential concomitant question of how these were locally accommodated. In addition, wherever possible, the contributions of these local developments to larger scale processes of cultural change have been pointed out. Importantly, there is overlap between the connections and dynamics identified in each of these chapters. In this conclusion, a more comprehensive image will be created, combining the results of the three analytical chapters.

Before doing so, however, it is important to acknowledge an important limitation to this research, which is the character of the source material. The written sources provide only brief hints about what happened in the colonies, and they were mostly written some two centuries or more after the period under study. The quality of the epigraphic and archaeological material varies per site, but is rather lacunose in general: we lack information, for example, on houses and habitation in the central settlements of the colonies, and the funerary record is very poor. My approach, therefore, has been to bring together a variety of source material, in order to come to a broad overview that identifies different dynamics that contributed to cultural change. It is important to note that most of the analysis is based on material culture (including coins), while the written sources have only provided limited information that could be used for the analysis (see sections 3.1 and 3.2). However, the written sources do provide the general framework against which the analysis is executed: the identification of the settlements under study as colonies. The interpretation of these two categories of source material is therefore interdependent, and only by combining them has it been possible to come to a better understanding of the role of the colonies.

In this conclusion, I draw on the results of the individual analytical chapters in order to create a new comprehensive image of the dynamics that shaped the colonies and the ways in which they contributed to cultural change. The aim is to provide a more differentiated and dynamic image of the colonies' role in cultural change than has been created in previous research. While it has been customary to focus on a general Romanness of the colonies, even if local specifics were recognized, we can now establish in which realms of colonial society Rome was important, and how, and qualify other influences and dynamics.

Combining the results of the analyses in chapters 3, 4 and 5, three interrelated sets of conclusions can be drawn. First, I will provide a general overview of the processes and influences that were important in shaping local realities in the colonies, discussing both how these connections were made and how they were accommodated locally in terms of form and meaning (section 6.1). Second, the variability between colonies will be further analysed, in order to tease out geographical and chronological patterns: when and where was Rome more important in shaping local realities, and under what circumstances were other influences dominant (section 6.2)? Third, I will come back to the implications of these results for the colonies' role in cultural change in Mid-Republican Italy (section 6.3). Finally, I will end this conclusion with a brief reflection on the broader significance of my results for the usefulness of a globalization perspective to study processes of cultural change in the Roman world (section 6.4). Suggestions for further research will be offered throughout.

## **6.1 Shaping local realities**

In order to understand the colonies' role in cultural change, it is important to appreciate how local realities in the colonies were shaped. As discussed in the introduction (section 1.2), the influential image of the colonies as exclusively Roman has been challenged in recent research, but little has been done to develop a new comprehensive model. In the analytical chapters, we have seen that the colonies developed through a mix of conscious decisions and daily practices, influenced by pre-existing realities in the area where the colony was founded, new input by the settlers, and other connections. Drawing on these chapters, it is now possible to specify the various dynamics of interaction that

potentially contributed to shaping colonial realities - importantly, the relative importance of each of these can vary between colonies. The overview that is thus created can function as a general model of the dynamics that shaped the Latin colonies. I identify four areas of interest, and for each of them I detail which connections were important, and how they were constituted. The first two are most obvious: pre-colonial realities and connections to Rome affected the colonies in various ways, both at a formal and informal level. In addition, the colonies were included in a strongly interconnected world, through which externally developed models could reach the colonies. Finally, these various influences could all be locally adapted and accommodated, creating new material forms and new meanings.

First of all, pre-colonial realities affected the colonies through different dynamics. In a very basic way, they did so 'by being there'. The indigenous population is important in this respect: in many cases, there is evidence that they were present in the colonies, even if they may not (all) have been included in the colony as a juridical community. Further research may add important insights here about physical settlement organization, and hence the modes of interaction between inhabitants of the colonies. In addition, the physical structures that were part of pre-colonial realities were an important influence. Most of the colonies were added to existing settlements, and these provided an important basic structure for the central settlement of the colonies. In this context, pre-colonial elements could be actively adopted by the colonial administration. Existing sanctuaries often continued to be used after the foundation of the colony, and this frequently involved active interventions on the part of the colonial administration.

In addition to these 'connections through presence', we can also recognize the active creation of connections to the regional environment. At the formal level of shaping the colony, the colonial administration made use of local or regional traditions, often in rather practical matters. In various colonies, systems of measurement were used in land division schemes that were not based on the Roman *actus*, indicating that the knowledge and skill to execute these were available locally. Similarly, various colonies produced coinages according to local or regional weight systems, which were not necessarily compatible with the coinage of Rome. Importantly, these coinages were in themselves a medium of contact: all decisions taken by local

magistrates about metal and technique, weight standards, denominations, types and iconography would have affected the way the colonies were seen by the outside world. It seems that such non-Roman influences surface mainly when no ready-made example could be found in a Roman context, or no strong Roman tradition existed. The coinages are the clearest example: especially in the first half of the third century, Rome was not the obvious example to turn to for local communities that wanted to produce their own coinages.

Similar active connections to the regional environment were also made at a more informal level. Workshops and craftsmen who were active locally or regionally before the colony was founded often remained active after the foundation of the colony. In this way, they were able to influence material culture in the colonies. This could result in continuity in their production, as is clear from the presence of regionally specific votive gifts in colonial sanctuaries (e.g. the votive disks in Luceria and Venusia). It could also lead to the development of new material forms (see below). While in this thesis such interaction with the regional environment has been pointed out, further analysis is needed to establish the exact modes of interaction in different regional environments.

The second main influence on local realities in the colonies is Rome itself. We can again make a distinction between the shaping of the colony at a formal level, and more informal dynamics. At a formal level, Rome was influential during the initial foundation of the colonies, although examples of cultural models that were taken over directly from a Roman prototype are relatively rare. We can recognize a probable Roman model for the ritual canine sacrifice that protected the defensive walls of Ariminum and Paestum. In addition, cults that were derived from Rome were introduced into several colonies. On an institutional level, magistrates in the colonies were given titles that were taken over from Rome. Importantly, there are differences in the ways in which such Roman models were applied in the colonies. This indicates that it was a local decision to draw on Roman models, rather than that one blueprint model was available. It thus seems that the triumvirs, and later on the colonial magistrates, were given quite some room for personal initiatives, which can be well understood in view of the unpredictability of the realities they would encounter on the ground. The Roman influence that can be recognized in the main physical and administrative structures in the colonies can probably best



be explained as a result of the Roman background, contacts, and experience of the triumvirs and later magistrates, as has been discussed in chapter 3.

A connection to Rome could thus be actively constructed locally. A similar process can explain the presence of a *Vicus Esquilinus* in Cales and the copying of Roman coin types in the colonies of Cosa, Beneventum, and perhaps Luceria. Especially in the case of the *Vicus Esquilinus*, this may have happened at a rather informal level. Rome was not only the hometown of the colonial triumvirs, but also of many of the colonists. This means that also at an informal level, Roman traditions and influences were important. We have seen that the settlers introduced religious practices and material culture that they knew from their places of origin, mainly originally from Rome and Latium. In doing so, they created new demands at a local level, which in turn created new connections throughout the Italian peninsula (see below).

Third, in addition to pre-colonial realities and connections with Rome, influences in the colonies could also come from elsewhere. We have seen several examples of models that are foreign to Rome and to the local environment, which nevertheless do reach the colonies. In general, these examples show that the colonies were part of a broader, interconnected world. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that these different models reached the colonies through varied dynamics. Again, I focus first on dynamics at a formal level, and then continue to discuss dynamics at an informal level.

An example of ‘foreign influence’ in the colonies at a formal level is the architectural model of the circular comitium. The development of this model is clearly influenced by the round *ekklesiasterion*, which was well established in the Greek towns of southern Italy. Although the chronology is not entirely clear, I have argued for the possibility that the round comitium was introduced in the colonies before the same model was applied in Rome. The triumvirs or colonial magistrates must have been the main actors who implemented this model in the colonies, and in this case, it is likely that they did not draw directly on a Roman model. However, this does not mean that Rome is not important. Interaction between the main actors most likely took place in Rome, where the model may have been developed because it was needed in the colonies.

Rather different dynamics of interaction can be recognized in another realm in which a formal model from the Greek world provides an important

example for local practices in the colonies: coinage. Initially, geographical vicinity seems to form an important connection that causes many colonies in the south to produce coinages in the Greek tradition. Although Rome produces similar coinages, I have argued that especially the colonies in Campania seem to interact more intensively with the important mint of Neapolis than with Rome. However, these dynamics change in the course of the third century, and it seems that the Roman army is an important motor behind these changes. Both colonies and other allies contributed troops to the Roman army, and in this context, connections between a broader range of peoples and traditions were created. I have argued that the contacts between colonial elites and other allies in the context of the Roman army were instrumental in the creation of groups of mints that produced coinages with similar types. In this case, Rome did not provide the model, but it facilitated contacts between the colonies and others, which resulted in the creation of common coinages between colonies and allies.

At a more informal level, the colonies were part of various networks of production and exchange. Some of them included Rome, but the colonies were also included in other networks. For example, we have seen that the colonies are active contributors to the distribution of 'Italic' models, such as the bronze Hercules statuettes, traditionally linked to Apennine production. These networks were constituted at least in part by travelling artisans, and they must be considered an important medium of contact between the colonies and the outside world. In this field, further research can contribute much to a better understanding of the mechanisms of contact and exchange between the colonies and the rest of the Italian peninsula.

Finally, it is important to stress that these various influences were locally adapted and accommodated in the colonies, both in terms of form and of meaning. At a formal level, the task of creating a functioning settlement posed challenges to the triumvirs and the local administration that could not always be solved by exclusively looking to Rome or to other examples. Against this background, new models were developed in the colonies. This explains why 'Roman' urbanism developed in the colonies: people from Rome saw themselves set for new tasks here, for which no ready-made solution was available. We have also seen that new forms of coinage were developed in the colonies, which combined local traditions or Greek influences with Roman elements. At least in

outward form, therefore, we see the creation of new cultural forms in the colonies. In addition, new meanings could be attached to models that were introduced through the various dynamics described above. The active interventions in pre-existing sanctuaries, for example, must have added to their integration in the new colonial community.

Nor was this kind of interaction limited to the elites: votive assemblages in the colonies also show examples of interplay between Roman, Greek and local traditions. This resulted in hybrid forms, which combined different iconographies or styles. In addition, objects belonging to different traditions came to be used in the same religious contexts. At a local level, the provenance of these objects may not have been important in comparison with their cultic or social significance, and even if we can recognize some of these objects as belonging to Roman, Greek or Italic traditions, this may not have been the primary association of the users. In some cases, we are able to recognize concerns that were important at a local level. Both in the case of the cult of Athena Ilias in Luceria, and that of Hercules in Alba Fucens, it seems that the deity formed a common symbol to which both settlers and the indigenous population could relate. Different votive objects were used to show this veneration. In this way, the significance given to these objects was affected by the new colonial situation.

## **6.2 Geographical and chronological patterns**

The various dynamics of interaction described above played out in different ways in each of the colonies. This variability is interesting in itself, as it shows the extent to which the colonies could develop into different realities, depending on the pre-colonial situation, the moment of foundation, the composition of the local population and the intentions and goals of the local elites. In addition, it is possible to recognize some patterns that allow us to identify various groups of colonies for which specific connections were more or less important.

The most obvious pattern relates to the cultural context in which the colonies were founded. The colonies had different degrees of access to various existing Greek and Italic traditions depending on their location. This can be recognized, for example, in the different votive assemblages from various colonies. Bronze statuettes of Hercules are attested mainly in colonies in the

central Apennines. In colonies in the south, such as Paestum, Luceria and Venusia, we find various categories of votive material that are related to regionally differentiated Greek traditions. None of these categories reaches the colonies further to the north, however; these influences remain local. A similar pattern emerges from the analysis of colonial coinage production, where the Central Italian tradition of weighed bronze and the Greek tradition of coined money each clearly affected coinage production in the colonies (see figures 4.1 - 4.3). A slightly different mechanism can be posited for the variety in techniques in which defensive walls were constructed (see figure 3.3). Walls in polygonal masonry were mainly built outside Latium in the central Apennines: in these cases, the builders may have come from Rome or Latium. In other colonies, and especially in the south, it seems that local traditions and expertise were more often used, and in some cases the walls were already in place.

At the same time, the colonies sometimes breached such seemingly clear patterns. A tentative example can be drawn from the distribution of bronze statuettes of Hercules in the colonies: while they are mainly present in colonies in the Central Apennines, we also find them in Paestum and Brundisium, which means that these two colonies were part of a 'northern' network of production and exchange. More straightforward examples are the 'outliers' in coinage production. Alba Fucens, Cosa and Ariminum are among few mints to the north of Campania where struck silver and bronze were produced, while Luceria and Venusia introduced cast bronze coinage further to the south. These examples of colonies disrupting geographical patterns show that the variation between colonies is not only dependent on their geographical location, but also on the other connections identified in the previous section. The significance and strength of different connections varies, and we can identify three variables that are important in this respect.

A first variable is the different degree to which pre-colonial local and regional traditions were of influence in the colonies. It is not always easy to understand why there are differences in this respect: the different coinage of Firmum compared to other colonies on the Adriatic coast may point at a stronger relation to Rome, or at less strong regional traditions (see figure 4.12). At least in one case, however, it seems that we can explain the variety in reference to the composition of the colonial population. In most colonies the indigenous population remained at least partially present in the colony, and

could thus exercise influence on local realities. The evidence from Cosa, however, indicates that this was not always the case: in this colony, it seems that the indigenous population was moved (or partly killed?), and was therefore much less present in the colony. Cosa indeed seems to be relatively isolated from its regional environment: its wall in polygonal masonry introduces a new technique into the regional environment, and its coinage is closely related to Rome and Campania. When we compare this to other colonies, we can conclude that this situation is quite exceptional. It is a rather ironic twist of fate that Cosa has long been considered as the type-site of Latin colonization.<sup>1124</sup>

This brings us to a second important variable: the strength of the connections to Rome. In addition to Cosa, relatively strong connections to Rome can be recognized in some other colonies as well, although the indicators are different. In Ariminum, we have seen that - even if the weight standards were local - the coin types of the cast bronze show clear links to Roman coinage of the same period, while the production of struck bronze is indicative of more general southern connections. Furthermore, the local production of *pocola deorum* shows close connections to Rome, and the experiment with a local consul may also show the wish to construct close ideological ties to the mother city. Luceria and Venusia introduced cast bronze coinage into an environment where it was previously unknown, even if local measuring systems seem to have been adopted. In addition, in Luceria the inhabitants actively continued religious practices that they took from Rome and Latium, as can be seen in the Belvedere deposit. In Beneventum, there also is a consul attested, and again this is combined with a close constructed connection to Rome in local coinage production, by copying a Roman type.

The relatively strong importance of Rome in these colonies can plausibly be explained in reference to their location (see figure 1.1): while in most colonies local or regional traditions formed rather strong influences, it seems that more far-away and isolated colonies were often *less* prone to adopt such local traditions. In those colonies that were surrounded by groups that were either more hostile (as we may imagine in the case of Cosa) or culturally more

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<sup>1124</sup> We may suspect that this view of Cosa as a type-site of Latin colonization was strengthened by the fact that Cosa answered rather well to the modern expectations that the colonies were miniature Romes.

different, Rome became an obvious practical example and symbolic centre.<sup>1125</sup> In this regard, it is interesting that Cosa and Ariminum both lack evidence for the inclusion of indigenous people in the colony (see section 3.2.1). However, it is important to note that such stronger connections to Rome did not have the same effect in these colonies. In the field of coinage production, Ariminum and Cosa stand out for producing struck bronze that is not closely related to regional traditions in the north, while on the other hand, the cast bronze of Luceria (and Venusia) is foreign to southern traditions. Looking at the votive material, Ariminum shows a strong connection to Rome through the *pocola*, while in Luceria the strong presence of etrusco-latial-campanian types of votives is important. The ways in which connections to Rome were shown at a local level, therefore, depend on the local context. Even if Rome was an important influence, this did not lead to cultural homogenization.

A third variable is chronology, which can be recognized only based on the coins, which can be dated relatively well. In brief, we see a change in connections that were important at a local level, with the connection to Rome becoming progressively more important. The early coinages produced by colonies are often mainly influenced by the regional environment, as we have seen for the early cast bronze coinages (with the exception of Luceria and Venusia) and the silver production of the Campanian colonies. In this period, Alba Fucens, Signia and Norba, all located relatively close to Rome, opt to adhere to Greek practices rather than taking Rome as an example. During the First Punic War, Rome became more important, but it did not (yet) provide the model on which colonial production is based. In this period, Rome is important mainly because it created the circumstances that caused various colonies to produce coinage and within which connections were made: in the context of the Roman army, there is contact and exchange between allies that contributed to the Roman war effort, including the colonies. By the time of the Second Punic War, Rome was clearly the most important coinage producer on the peninsula, and affected the models that were adopted at a local level by the colonies that were still producing coinage in this period.

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<sup>1125</sup> Cf. Bispham 2006, 88-89, who makes similar observations about the consuls of Ariminum and Beneventum, and interprets it as a strategy of 'anti-marginalization'.

Finally, it is important to stress that these patterns do not go all the way in explaining the variety between colonies. This emerges most clearly in those cases where colonies that are located close together act in different ways almost simultaneously. The couple of Carseoli and Alba Fucens forms the best example. Located at a distance of some 40 kilometres apart, and founded in a timespan of only five years, realities at these two colonies, and the way they presented themselves to the outside world, varied considerably. At Carseoli, a defensive wall was built in *opus quadratum*. The colony is of course well known for its rich votive deposit, which yielded high quantities of pottery and anatomical votives, but even more coins, mostly struck bronzes. Carseoli's own short-lived coinage, produced in the period between 275 and 225, consisted of cast bronze coins. In Alba Fucens, in contrast, the defensive wall was constructed in polygonal masonry, and while the site is also rich in votive material, the spectrum is rather different from Carseoli. Here, bronze statuettes of Hercules are in the majority, and anatomicals or coins are virtually absent from sacred contexts. Between 280 and 275, Alba Fucens produced its own coinage which consisted of small denominations of struck silver. This brief example shows the variety in colonial realities, caused by different connections and different local decisions and concerns. The patterns described in this section were not the result of a master plan made in Rome, but can only be explained in reference to local decisions and dynamics.

### **6.3 The colonies and cultural change**

Finally, we arrive at the question of how these different connections and dynamics at a local level contributed to cultural change. As discussed in chapter 2, in doing so it is important to consider both the connections that affected local realities in the colonies, and the ways in which these models were locally accommodated and given meaning. In section 6.1, I have discussed both these elements with a focus on how they affected local realities in the colonies. In this section, I discuss how these dynamics contributed to cultural change on a large scale level. In order to take this last step, I draw on the relationship between local and global as theorized in globalization studies.

First of all, the wide range of connections that were important at a local level discussed above show that the colonies indeed functioned in a context that we can define as 'globalizing', in the sense that various models that were more

widely distributed were locally used and accommodated in the colonies. The foundation of the colony intensified the inclusion of these localities in a larger world: the arrival of the colonists established new connections, or intensified existing ones. The most important change was that strong connections to Rome were created through the colonial triumvirs and (at least some of) the settlers. However, this does not mean that the colonies were shaped after a pre-existing model. Rather, the arrival of the colonists included the colonies as local communities in broader developments and networks that were created in the context of Roman expansion on the Italian peninsula.

The colonies were an integral part of these larger scale networks, and in that capacity, they contributed to cultural change. Production and demand in the colonies affected patterns of production and exchange of several types of votive material, and caused changes in existing models. Quite similarly, coinage production by the colonies contributed to the increasing monetization of Italy during the third century, and sometimes achieved this in original ways, combining elements of various pre-existing traditions. With some caution, it may be suggested that the model of placing a temple on the forum, widely spread in the later Roman world, was developed in part in the colonies. It is important to realize that in contributing to these broader developments, the colonies do not seem to act fundamentally different from other communities in Italy, who similarly joined large scale networks of production and exchange. Both colonies and other communities were active in networks that could be influenced by Rome: we have seen how the army functions as a hub of interaction between representatives of different communities. Other networks were less dependent on Rome - think of the production of anatomical votives - or exist completely independently from Rome, as in the case of the bronze Hercules statuettes.

However, there are two ways in which the colonies do seem to have a special position in comparison to other local actors in Italy. First, we have seen several examples where the colonies seem to 'stretch the parameters': they cause new production and demand in areas previously excluded from certain networks. This has been clear especially in the case of coinage production, where some of the colonies can be seen to be responsible for the introduction of new kinds of coinages in their regional environment. Importantly, these new developments could be derived from Rome, but this was not always the case:



while Luceria and Venusia introduced cast bronze coinage into their regional environment, following Roman coinage production, Alba Fucens drew on Greek or Samnite examples when they first produced fractions of silver coinage in the Central Apennines. In general terms, therefore, the colonies contribute to a wider distribution of general models. A similar pattern can be recognized in the case of the votive material. The colonies were at least partly responsible for a wider production and use of terracotta votive offerings, for which the Roman background of the settlers probably was an important reason. At the same time, some colonies also introduced other types of votives in areas where they were previously unknown, as can be suggested for the bronze statuettes of Hercules in Paestum and Brundisium. A possible conclusion is that the colonies were more active actors in processes of cultural change than other communities, precisely because they involved the movement of people.

A second important element that affects the role of the colonies in processes of cultural change is related to how developments in the colonies were perceived, both by the inhabitants and by other people on the Italian peninsula. While such perception is of course hard to recognize in the material record, I would suggest that the fact that the colonies had been founded by Rome is important in this respect. In addition to the practical implications of this connection to Rome discussed above, it must also have affected the perception of local developments in the colonies and their effects on the outside world. We have to be careful here: as discussed in chapter 3, the connection between the colonies and Rome was probably not always clear to outsiders, and the colonies can be said to be Roman only in rather circumstantial ways: as discussed in the introduction, they were not juridically Roman. However, there are also indications that people in the colonies continued to identify with Rome, as is shown for example by the fact that prodigies in the colonies were reported and taken notice of in Rome.

This means that even when the models that were adapted and developed in the colonies did not necessarily derive from Rome, they may have been imbued with new meaning which connected them to Rome. This phenomenon has been theorized in globalization studies, where it has been pointed out that localities may participate in and identify with more general developments, but develop their own cultural forms to do this (see chapter 2). The implication is that local developments in the colonies contributed to an enrichment of the

spectrum of objects and practices that were perceived as Roman. Moreover, when objects travelled, they could widen the audience that recognized these objects as Roman. In the case of the coinages, identification with Rome would have been promoted through the Latin legends, especially in parts of Italy where other languages were the norm. Even if these coinages were not produced by Rome, they may have been connected to the establishment of Roman power in the minds of the users. In this way, local developments in the colonies could be perceived as Roman, both at a local scale and throughout the Italian peninsula.

In this context, especially the non-Roman connections that helped shaping local realities in the colonies merit further research. In this thesis, various connections with the Greek and the Italic worlds have been identified. Moreover, based on previous research, these connections have been qualified in terms of actors and contexts in which contact happened. Further research is needed, however, in order to better understand the significance and dynamics of the interaction between the colonies and the Greek and Italic worlds. A first important theme is the impact of precolonial realities on colonial settlement organization. In addition, the role of (travelling) artisans and workshops in the development of the spectrum of material culture present in the colonies merits further investigation. Third, the dynamics of interaction between different colonies and the Greek and Italic worlds can be a fruitful subject of comparative research: what kind of interaction was important in different chronological and geographical contexts? Finally, the role of the colonies compared to other communities in Mid-Republican Italy is important: my suggestion that the colonies were particularly active players in processes of cultural change needs further investigation through explicit comparison with other communities.

#### **6.4 Reflections on globalization and romanization**

The considerations in the last section call for reflection on the way in which the globalization perspective adopted in this thesis relates to the continuing debate on romanization. As discussed in chapter 2, the divergent ways in which romanization is conceptualized in recent research are all rather problematic in the context of a study of the role of the Latin colonies in cultural change. When Rome is the main framework of interpretation, the focus of the analysis lies on local developments in the colonies that can be related to Rome, which causes

the risk that the role of Rome is given disproportionate attention. In contrast, a 'weak' definition of romanization as the changes that coincide with Roman expansion lacks analytical power: it does not (seek to) explain how these changes are set in motion. A similar problem is at play when the focus is on local creations of Romanness: such an approach does not provide heuristic tools to investigate cultural change at a large scale level.

Against this background, applying a globalization perspective has two main advantages. First, it does not direct research in a specific direction from the outset. It inquires into all possible connections that were important at a local level, and the ways in which they were locally accommodated. In this way, as we have seen, whenever Rome does affect local developments in the colonies, this is included in the analysis, but not at the cost of other influences. By using this approach, it has been possible to create an overview of connections that were potentially important in the colonies, as a flexible model of the different dynamics that contributed to cultural change. This is a crucial step in the analysis, to map in as much detail as possible the actual mechanisms of influence and exchange.

Second, and importantly, a globalization perspective does not only encourage the identification and qualification of these different connections, but also asks about the local significance of various influences. It has become clear that in some cases, general models were locally adapted, both in terms of form and of meaning. For example, models that are related to Rome may not have been perceived (primarily) as such in the colonies, as I have argued in the case of the votive terracottas in chapter 5. At the same time, we can allow for the possibility that different categories of material culture and different practices were perceived of as being part of a larger whole. Thus, models that were developed locally, or adapted from other sources, may have come to be perceived of as Roman, for example in the case of the coinages produced by the Campanian colonies during the First Punic War. Thus, again, identification with Rome is included in the analysis, without necessarily being the predominant mode of interpretation.

In general terms, therefore, a globalization perspective offers the analytical tools to study a variety of connections and the ways in which they were locally accommodated. The question of whether and how local developments were related to Rome, both through real connections and in the

perception of the actors, is then part of the analysis: it is a research question that needs to be answered as part of a broader analysis of the role of the colonies in cultural change. In the case of the colonies, this approach has enabled a qualification of the ways in which Rome affected local realities in the colonies, and reflections on the possibility that developments that did not derive from Rome may have been perceived as Roman nonetheless. Thus, a globalization perspective enables a critical assessment of the role of Rome at a local level. It would be worth while to apply the same approach to other localities in Republican Italy or the Roman world at large.



# Appendices

## Appendix 1. Colonial foundations in the written sources

The verb used to describe the foundation of the colony is printed **bold**; when mentioned, the magisterial college of triumvirs is underlined. For used translations, see p. 431. The translation of Festus is mine.

Date	Colony	Source	Text	Translation
TS/495	Signia	Dion. Hal. 4.63.1 Livy 1.56.3	ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὁ Ταρκίνιος ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους καὶ δύο πόλεις ἀποίκισας (...). his laboribus exercita plebe, quia et urbi multitudinem, ubi usus non esset, oneri rebatur esse, et colonis <b>mittendis</b> occupari latius imperii fines volebat, Signiam Circeiosque colonos <b>misit</b> , praesidia urbi futura terra marique.	Besides these achievements of Tarquinius both in peace and in war, he founded two colonies. After making the plebeians toil at these hard tasks, the king felt that a populace which had now no work to do was only a burden to the City; he wished, moreover, by sending out settlers, to extend the frontiers of his dominions. He therefore sent colonists to Signia and Circei, to safeguard the City by land and sea.
		Livy 2.21.7	eodem anno Signia colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum iterum <b>deducta</b> est.	The same year the colony of Signia, which King Tarquinius had planted, was recruited with new colonists and established for the second time.
TS/393	Circeii	Dion. Hal. 4.63.1 Livy 1.56.3	ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὁ Ταρκίνιος ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους καὶ δύο πόλεις ἀποίκισας (...). his laboribus exercita plebe, quia et urbi multitudinem, ubi usus non esset, oneri rebatur esse, et colonis <b>mittendis</b> occupari latius imperii fines volebat, Signiam Circeiosque colonos <b>misit</b> , praesidia urbi futura terra marique.	Besides these achievements of Tarquinius both in peace and in war, he founded two colonies. After making the plebeians toil at these hard tasks, the king felt that a populace which had now no work to do was only a burden to the City; he wished, moreover, by sending out settlers, to extend the frontiers of his dominions. He therefore sent colonists to Signia and Circei, to safeguard the City by land and sea.
		Diod. 14.102.4	ἀπέστη δὲ καὶ Σάττρικον ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ εἰς Κερκίους ἀποίκισαν ἀπέστειλαν.	Satiricum also revolted from the Romans; and they dispatched a colony to Cerci.
492	Norba	Livy 2.34.6	ea clade conterritis hostium animis, ut etiam, ubi ea remisisset, terrore aliquo tenerentur, et Velitris auxere numerum colonorum Romani et Norbam in montis novam coloniam, quae arx in Pomptino esset, <b>miserunt</b> .	Its ravages so terrified the enemy that even after the worst of it was over they did not fully recover from their fear, and the Romans increased the number of colonists at Velitrae and sent out a new colony to Norba, in the mountains, as a stronghold for the Pomptine country.

Date	Colony	Source	Text	Translation
442	Ardea	Livy 4.11.3-5	eo impensius, ut delerent prorsus ex animis hominum infamiam iudicii, senatus consultum fecerunt ut, quoniam civitas Ardeatium intestino tumultu redacta ad paucos esset, coloni eo praesidii causa adversus Volscos scriberentur. hoc palam relatum in tabulas, ut plebem tribunosque falleret iudicii rescindendi consilium initum; consenserant autem ut multo maiore parte Rutulorum colonorum quam Romanorum scripta nec ager ullus divideretur nisi is, qui interceptus iudicio infami erat, nec ulli prius Romano ibi quam omnibus Rutulis divisus esset, gleba ulla agri adsignaretur. sic ager ad Ardeates rediit. <u>triumviri</u> ad coloniam Ardeam <b>deducendam</b> creati Agrippa Menenius T. Cloelius Siculus, M. Aebutius Helva.	They accordingly caused the senate to decree that inasmuch as the citizens of Ardea had been reduced by domestic troubles to a small number, colonists should be enrolled to defend that city against the Volsci. This was the form in which the decree was drawn up and published, that the plebs and the tribunes might not perceive that a plan was on foot for rescinding the judgment; but the senators had privately agreed that they would enroll as colonists a much larger proportion of Rutulians than Romans, and that no land should be parcelled out except that which had been sequestered by the infamous decision, nor a single clod assigned there to any Roman until all the Rutulians had been provided for. Thus the land reverted to the Ardeates. As triumphs for establishing the colony at Ardea they appointed Agrippa Menenius, Titus Cloelius Siculus, Marcus Aebutius Helva.
		Diod. 12.34.5	κατά δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαῖοι πέμψαντες ἄποικοὺς εἰς Ἀρδεά τὴν χώραν κατακληρούνησαν.	In Italy the Romans sent colonists to Ardea and portioned out the land in allotments.
383	Setia	Vell. Pat. 1.14.2	Post septem annos quam Galli urbem ceperant Sutrium <b>deducta</b> colonia est et post annum Setia novem que interiectis annis Nepe (...).	Seven years after the capture of the city by the Gauls a colony was founded at Sutrium, another a year later at Setia, and another after an interval of nine years at Nepe.
382	Sutrium	Vell. Pat. 1.14.2	Post septem annos quam Galli urbem ceperant Sutrium <b>deducta</b> colonia est et post annum Setia novem que interiectis annis Nepe (...).	Seven years after the capture of the city by the Gauls a colony was founded at Sutrium, another a year later at Setia, and another after an interval of nine years at Nepe.
382	Nepet	Livy 6.21.4	ad quam militiam quo paratior plebes esset, quinque viros Pomptino agro dividendo et <u>triumviro</u> Nepete coloniae <b>deducendae</b> creaverunt.	To have the plebs more amenable to the campaign, they appointed a board of five to section the Pomptine land and a board of three to found a colony at Nepete.
		Vell. Pat. 1.14.2	Post septem annos quam Galli urbem ceperant Sutrium <b>deducta</b> colonia est et post annum Setia novem que interiectis annis Nepe (...).	Seven years after the capture of the city by the Gauls a colony was founded at Sutrium, another a year later at Setia, and another after an interval of nine years at Nepe.



Date	Colony	Source	Text	Translation
334	Cales	Livy 8.16.13-14	ei, etsi belli pars cum Sidicinis restabat, tamen, ut beneficium praeveniret desiderium plebis, de colonia <b>deducenda</b> Cales rettulerunt; factoque senatusconsulto ut duo milia quingenti homines eo scriberentur, tres viros coloniae <b>deducendae</b> agroque dividendo creaverunt K. Duillium T. Quinctium M.Fabium.	Half of the war with the Sidicini still remained. The consuls, however, wanted to pre-empt the wishes of the plebs by a kind service, and they made a proposal for sending out a colony to Cales. This was followed by a senatorial decree authorizing two thousand five hundred men to be enrolled for the colony, and the senators then appointed Kaeso Duillius, Titus Quinctius, and Marcus Fabius as a board of three to lead the colonists and apportion the land.
		Livy, Periochae 8	Ausonibus victis et oppido ex is capto Cales, item Fregellae coloniae <b>deductae</b> sunt.	When the Ausonians were defeated and their capital had been captured, colonies were founded in Cales and Fregellae.
		Vell. Pat. 1.14.3	abhinc annos autem CCCL Sp. Postumio Veturio Calvino consulibus Campanis data est civitas parti que Samnitium sine suffragio, et eodem anno Cales <b>deducta</b> colonia.	Three hundred and sixty years from the present date, in the consulship of Spurius Postumius and Veturius Calvinus, the citizenship without the right of voting was given to the Campanians and a portion of the Samnites, and in the same year a colony was established at Cales.
328	Fregellae	Livy 8.22.1-2	secutus est annus nulla re belli domive insignis, P. Plautio Proculo P. Cornelio Scapula consulibus, praeterquam quod Fregellas - Signinorum is ager, deinde Volscorum fuerat - colonia <b>deducta</b> et populo visceratio data a M. Flavio in funere matris.	There followed a year, the consulship of Publius Plautius Proculus and Publius Cornelius Scapula were consuls, that was marked by nothing of significance on the field or at home. The exceptions were a colony sent out to Fregellae (the land there had belonged to the Signini, and later to the Volsci) and a meat-distribution to the people made by Marcus Flavius on the occasion of his mother's funeral.
		Livy 8.23.6	ceterum non posse dissimulare aegre pati civitatem Samnitium, quod Fregellas ex Volscis captas dirutasque ab se restituerit Romanus populus coloniamque in Samnitium agro <b>imposuerint</b> , quam coloni eorum Fregellas appellant	On the other hand, they [i.e. the Samnites] could not hide the displeasure of the Samnite nation over the fact that the Roman people had rebuilt Fregellae, which the Samnites had taken from the Volsci and destroyed, and that they had established a colony in Samnite territory which the Roman colonists actually called 'Fregellae'.
		Livy, Periochae 8	Ausonibus victis et oppido ex is capto Cales, item Fregellae coloniae <b>deductae</b> sunt.	When the Ausonians were defeated and their capital had been captured, colonies were founded in Cales and Fregellae.
314	Luceria	Livy 9.26.3-5	eoque ira processit ut Romae quoque, cum de coloniis <b>mittendis</b> Luceriam consuleretur senatus, multi delendam urbem censerent. praeter odium, quod execrabile in bis captos erat, longinquitas quoque abhorrere a relegandis tam procul ab domo civibus inter tam infestas gentes cogebat. vicit tamen sententia, ut <b>mitterentur</b> coloni. duo milia et quingenti missi.	(...) anger was such that in Rome, too, when the Senate debated sending colonists to Luceria, there were many who voted for razing the city. Apart from the venomous hatred that was felt for a people twice conquered, there was also the great distance involved, which made them recoil from banishing citizens to a place so far from home amongst such hostile peoples. Even so the motion for sending colonists prevailed, and two thousand five hundred were sent.

Date	Colony	Source	Text	Translation
		Vell. Pat. 1.14.4 Diod. 19.72.8	et post triennium Tarracina <b>deducta</b> colonia interposito que quadriennio Luceria ac deinde interiecto triennio Suessa Aurunca et Saticula, Interamna que post biennium. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι φοβηθέντες μὴ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀπουλίαν πράγματα τελέως ἀποβάλλωσιν, ἀποικίαν ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς Λουκερίαν πόλιν ἐπιφανεστέην τῶν ἐν τοῖς τόποις.	Three years later a colony was established at Tarracina, four years afterwards another at Luceria; others three years later at Suessa Aurunca and Saticula, and another two years after these at Interamna. But the Romans, fearing that they might completely lose control throughout Apulia, sent a colony to Luceria, which was the most noteworthy of the cities in that region.
313	Saticula	Fest. p. 458, 26-31 L. Vell. Pat. 1.14.4	Sati<cula oppid>um in Samnio captum est: quo <postea colon> iam <b>deduxerunt</b> <u>triumviri</u> M. Valerius Corvus, Iunius Scaeva, P. Fulvius Longus ex senatus consulto Kal. Ianuaris P. Papirio Cursore, C. Iunio II Cos. et post triennium Tarracina <b>deducta</b> colonia interposito que quadriennio Luceria ac deinde interiecto triennio Suessa Aurunca et Saticula, Interamna que post biennium.	The town of Saticula in Samnium was captured: later on, the triumvirs Marcus Valerius Corvus, Iunius Scaeva and Publius Fulvius Longus led a colony there, in accordance with the senatorial decree of the Kalends of January in the consulship of Publius Papirius Cursor and C. Iunius. Three years later a colony was established at Tarracina, four years afterwards another at Luceria; others three years later at Suessa Aurunca and Saticula, and another two years after these at Interamna.
313	Suessa Aurunca	Livy 9.28.7-8 Vell. Pat. 1.14.4	Suessa et Pontiae eodem anno coloniae <b>deductae</b> sunt. Suessa Auruncorum fuerat; Volsci Pontias, insulam sitam in conspectu litoris sui, incoluerant. et Interamnam Sucasinam ut <b>deduceretur</b> colonia, senati consultum factum est; sed <u>triumviro</u> s creavere ac misere colonorum quattuor milia insequentes consules M. Valerius P. Decius. et post triennium Tarracina <b>deducta</b> colonia interposito que quadriennio Luceria ac deinde interiecto triennio Suessa Aurunca et Saticula, Interamna que post biennium.	In that same year colonies were sent to Suessa and Pontiae. Suessa had belonged to the Aurunci, and the Volsci had inhabited Pontiae, an island within view of their own coastline. A senatorial decree was also passed for the establishment of a colony at Interamna Sucasina, but it was the next consuls, Marcus Valerius and Publius Decius, who appointed its triumvirs and sent out four thousand colonists. Three years later a colony was established at Tarracina, four years afterwards another at Luceria; others three years later at Suessa Aurunca and Saticula, and another two years after these at Interamna.
313	Pontiae	Livy 9.28.7-8 Diod. 19.101.3	Suessa et Pontiae eodem anno coloniae <b>deductae</b> sunt. Suessa Auruncorum fuerat; Volsci Pontias, insulam sitam in conspectu litoris sui, incoluerant. et Interamnam Sucasinam ut <b>deduceretur</b> colonia, senati consultum factum est; sed <u>triumviro</u> s creavere ac misere colonorum quattuor milia insequentes consules M. Valerius P. Decius. ὁ δὲ δῆμος, κατὰ νοῦν τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶ προχωρούντων, ἀποικίαν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Ποντίας καλουμένην.	In that same year colonies were sent to Suessa and Pontiae. Suessa had belonged to the Aurunci, and the Volsci had inhabited Pontiae, an island within view of their own coastline. A senatorial decree was also passed for the establishment of a colony at Interamna Sucasina, but it was the next consuls, Marcus Valerius and Publius Decius, who appointed its triumvirs and sent out four thousand colonists. The people, since matters were progressing according to their will, sent a colony to the island that is called Pontia.

Date	Colony	Source	Text	Translation
312	Interamna Lirenas	Livy 9.28.7-8 Vell. Pat. 1.14.4	Suessa et Pontiae eodem anno coloniae <b>deductae</b> sunt. Suessa Auruncorum fuerat; Volsci Pontias, insulam sitam in conspectu litoris sui, incoluerant. et Interamnam Sucasinam ut <b>deduceretur</b> colonia, senati consultum factum est; sed <u>triumviro</u> s creavere ac misere colonorum quattuor milia insequentes consules M. Valerius P. Decius. et post triennium Tarracina <b>deducta</b> colonia interposito que quadriennio Luceria ac deinde interiecto triennio Suessa Aurunca et Satricula, Interamna que post biennium. ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ τὸν πολιτῶν εἰς ἀποικίαν καὶ κατόικισαν τὴν προσαγορευομένην Ἰντέραμναν.	In that same year colonies were sent to Suessa and Pontiae. Suessa had belonged to the Aurunci, and the Volsci had inhabited Pontiae, an island within view of their own coastline. A senatorial decree was also passed for the establishment of a colony at Interamna Sucasina, but it was the next consuls, Marcus Valerius and Publius Decius, who appointed its triumvirs and sent out four thousand colonists. Three years later a colony was established at Tarracina, four years afterwards another at Luceria; others three years later at Suessa Aurunca and Satricula, and another two years after these at Interamna. They also sent some of their citizens as a colony and settled the place called Interamna.
303	Sora	Livy 10.1.1-2 Livy, Periochae 10 Vell. Pat. 1.14.5	L. Genucio Ser. Cornelio consulibus ab externis ferme bellis otium fuit. Soram atque Albam coloniae <b>deductae</b> . Albam in Aequos sex milia colonorum scripta: Sora agri Volsci fuerat, sed possederant Samnites; eo quattuor milia hominum <b>missa</b> . Coloniae <b>deductae</b> sunt Sora et Alba et Carsioli. decem deinde hoc munere anni vacaverunt; tunc Sora atque Alba <b>deductae</b> coloniae et Carseoli post biennium.	In the consulship of Lucius Genucius and Servius Cornelius Rome for the most part enjoyed a respite from wars abroad. Colonies were established at Sora and Alba. For Alba, in Aequan territory, six thousand colonists were enlisted. To Sora, which had been part of the lands of the Volsci, but which the Samnites had taken over, four thousand men were sent. Colonies were founded at Sora and Alba and Carseoli. After that the work of colonization was suspended for ten years. Then the colonies of Sora and Alba were founded, and two years later that of Carseoli.
303	Alba Fucens	Livy 10.1.1-2 Livy, Periochae 10 Vell. Pat. 1.14.5	L. Genucio Ser. Cornelio consulibus ab externis ferme bellis otium fuit. Soram atque Albam coloniae <b>deductae</b> . Albam in Aequos sex milia colonorum scripta: Sora agri Volsci fuerat, sed possederant Samnites; eo quattuor milia hominum <b>missa</b> . Coloniae <b>deductae</b> sunt Sora et Alba et Carsioli. decem deinde hoc munere anni vacaverunt; tunc Sora atque Alba <b>deductae</b> coloniae et Carseoli post biennium.	In the consulship of Lucius Genucius and Servius Cornelius Rome for the most part enjoyed a respite from wars abroad. Colonies were established at Sora and Alba. For Alba, in Aequan territory, six thousand colonists were enlisted. To Sora, which had been part of the lands of the Volsci, but which the Samnites had taken over, four thousand men were sent. Colonies were founded at Sora and Alba and Carseoli. After that the work of colonization was suspended for ten years. Then the colonies of Sora and Alba were founded, and two years later that of Carseoli.

Date	Colony	Source	Text	Translation
299	Narnia	Livy 10.10.5	colonia eo adversus Umbros <b>missa</b> a Nare flumine Narnia appellata; exercitus cum magna praeda Romam reductus.	A colony was sent there as a safeguard against the Umbrians, and it was called Narnia after its river. The army was marched back to Rome with large quantities of plunder.
298	Carseoli	Livy 10.3.2  Livy 10.13.1	Etruriam rebellare ab Arretinorum seditionibus motu orto nuntiabatur, ubi Cilnium genus praepotens divitiarum invidia pelli armis coeptum; simul Marsos agrum vi tueri, in quem colonia Carseoli <b>deducta</b> erat, quattuor milibus hominum scriptis.  eodem anno Carseolos colonia in agrum Aequiculorum <b>deducta</b> .	A fresh outbreak of hostilities in Etruria was reported following internal strife in Arretium. The disturbance here began with an attempt to remove by force the arms of the very powerful Cilnian family, which was envied for its wealth, and there were at the same time reports of the Marsi vigorously defending their territory after a colony, with four thousand men enrolled, had been established at Carseoli.  In that same year a colony was established at Carseoli in the territory of the Aequicoli. [this is the likelier occasion for the Latin colony]
		Livy, Periochae 10 Vell. Pat. 1.14.5	Coloniae <b>deductae</b> sunt Sora et Alba et Carsioli.  decem deinde hoc munere anni vacaverunt; tunc Sora atque Alba <b>deductae</b> coloniae et Carseoli post biennium.	Colonies were founded at Sora and Alba and Carseoli.  After that the work of colonization was suspended for ten years. Then the colonies of Sora and Alba were founded, and two years later that of Carseoli.
291	Venusia	Dion. Hal 17-18.5  Vell. Pat. 1.14.6	τὰτα διαπραξάμενος οὐχ ὀπίως χάριτος ἢ τιμῆς τινος ἡξιώθη παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν προουπάρχουσαν ἀξίωσιν ἀπέβαλεν. ἀποστελλομένων γὰρ εἰς μίαν τῶν ἀλουσῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πόλεων, τὴν καλουμένην Οὐνεουσίαν, διαμυρίων ἑποίκων ἔτεροι τῆς ἀποικίας ἡρέθησαν ἡγεμόνες; ὁ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐξελὼν καὶ τὴν γνώμην τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν κληρουζῶν εἰσηγησάμενος οὐδὲ τῶν τῆς ἀξίως ἐφάνη τῆς τιμῆς. at Q. Fabio quintum Decio Mure quartum consulibus, quo anno Pyrrhus regnare coepit, Sinuessam Minturnas que <b>missi</b> coloni, post quadriennium Venusiam.	Though he accomplished all this, he not only was not granted any mark of favour or honour by the senate, but even lost the esteem which was his before. For when 20,000 colonists were sent out to one of the cities captured by him, the one called Venusia, others were chosen leaders of the colony, while the man who had reduced the city and had made the proposal for the dispatch of the colonists was not found worthy even of that honour.  But in the fifth consulship of Quintus Fabius, and the fourth of Decius Mus, the year in which King Pyrrhus began his reign, colonists were sent to Minturnae and Sinuessa, and four years afterwards to Venusia.
289	Hadria	Livy, Periochae 11	Coloniae <b>deductae</b> sunt Castrum, Sena, Hadria	Colonies were founded at Castrum, Sena, and Hadria.

Date	Colony	Source	Text	Translation
273	Paestum	Vell. Pat. 1.14.7	at Cosam et Paestum abhinc annos ferme trecentos Fabio Dorstone et Claudio Canina consulibus, interiecto <que> quinquennio Sempronio Sopho et Appio Caeci filio consulibus Ariminum <et> Beneuentum coloni <b>missi</b> et suffragii ferendi ius Sabinis datum.	In the consulship of Fabius Dorso and Claudius Canina, three hundred years before the present date, colonies were established at Cosa and Paestum. After an interval of five years, in the consulship of Sempronius Sophus and Appius, the son of Appius the Blind, colonists were sent to Ariminum and Beneventum and the right of suffrage was granted to the Sabines.
273	Cosa	Vell. Pat. 1.14.7	at Cosam et Paestum abhinc annos ferme trecentos Fabio Dorstone et Claudio Canina consulibus, interiecto <que> quinquennio Sempronio Sopho et Appio Caeci filio consulibus Ariminum <et> Beneuentum coloni <b>missi</b> et suffragii ferendi ius Sabinis datum.	In the consulship of Fabius Dorso and Claudius Canina, three hundred years before the present date, colonies were established at Cosa and Paestum. After an interval of five years, in the consulship of Sempronius Sophus and Appius, the son of Appius the Blind, colonists were sent to Ariminum and Beneventum and the right of suffrage was granted to the Sabines.
		Plinius, NH 3.51	Cosa Volcientium a populo Romano <b>deducta</b>	Cosa of the Volcienes, founded by the Roman people
268	Ariminum	Vell. Pat. 1.14.7	at Cosam et Paestum abhinc annos ferme trecentos Fabio Dorstone et Claudio Canina consulibus, interiecto <que> quinquennio Sempronio Sopho et Appio Caeci filio consulibus Ariminum <et> Beneuentum coloni <b>missi</b> et suffragii ferendi ius Sabinis datum.	In the consulship of Fabius Dorso and Claudius Canina, three hundred years before the present date, colonies were established at Cosa and Paestum. After an interval of five years, in the consulship of Sempronius Sophus and Appius, the son of Appius the Blind, colonists were sent to Ariminum and Beneventum and the right of suffrage was granted to the Sabines.
268	Beneventum	Vell. Pat. 1.14.7	at Cosam et Paestum abhinc annos ferme trecentos Fabio Dorstone et Claudio Canina consulibus, interiecto <que> quinquennio Sempronio Sopho et Appio Caeci filio consulibus Ariminum <et> Beneuentum coloni <b>missi</b> et suffragii ferendi ius Sabinis datum.	In the consulship of Fabius Dorso and Claudius Canina, three hundred years before the present date, colonies were established at Cosa and Paestum. After an interval of five years, in the consulship of Sempronius Sophus and Appius, the son of Appius the Blind, colonists were sent to Ariminum and Beneventum and the right of suffrage was granted to the Sabines.
264	Firmum	Vell. Pat. 1.14.8	at initio primi belli Punici Firmum et Castrum colonis <b>occupata</b> , et post annum Aesernia	At the outbreak of the First Punic War Firmum and Castrum were occupied by colonies, a year later Aesernia,
263	Aesernia	Livy, Periochae 16	Colonia Aesernia <b>deducta</b> est.	A colony was founded at Aesernia.
		Vell. Pat. 1.14.8	at initio primi belli Punici Firmum et Castrum colonis <b>occupata</b> , et post annum Aesernia	At the outbreak of the First Punic War Firmum and Castrum were occupied by colonies, a year later Aesernia,

Date	Colony	Source	Text	Translation
244	Brundisium	Livy, Periochae 19 Vell. Pat. 1.14.8	Coloniae <b>deductae</b> sunt Fregenae, in agro sallentino Brundisium proximo que anno Torquato Sempronio que consulibus Brundisium et post triennium Spoletium, quo anno Floralium ludorum factum est initium.	Colonies were founded at Fregenae and Brundisium, in Sallentine territory. Brundisium was established in the next year in the consulship of Torquatus and Sempronius, Spoletium three years afterwards in the year in which the Floralia were instituted.
241	Spoletium	Vell. Pat. 1.14.8	proximo que anno Torquato Sempronio que consulibus Brundisium et post triennium Spoletium, quo anno Floralium ludorum factum est initium.	Brundisium was established in the next year in the consulship of Torquatus and Sempronius, Spoletium three years afterwards in the year in which the Floralia were instituted.

## Appendix 2. Magistrates in inscriptions

Table 1: Colonial magistrates in inscriptions dated to the third century or earlier

Date	Colony	Office	Source	Text	Date	Findspot	References
492	Norba	Aidiles?	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 361 CIL VI 357 ILLRP 161 ILS 3101 AE 1997, 284	---]it t[--- / ---]uit.[--- / ---]ma[--- / --- iuo]nei[--- / ---]er[--- / ---]qu+ [--- / --- ]cat[--- / ---]acro[--- / ---]bos f[emina] / --- aj]di]les / ---]d. di[---	5th c.		Quilici Gigli 1993, 293-296
383	Setia	Praetor	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 1517 CIL X 6466 ILLRP 663 ILS 6130	L(ucius) Paconius T(iberi) f(ilius) pr(aetor) / dedicavit	Late 3rd c. (Volpe, following Coarelli 1982, 273-278; Zaccheo: early 1st c.		Degrassi, 82-84 Zaccheo 1982, 12 Volpe 1990, 18
334	Cales	Quaestores?	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 2874b	C(aius) Calpurnio(s) - f(ilius) / C(aius) Apru[ci]o(s) - f(ilius) / L(ucius) Calpurnio(s) - f(ilius) / L(ucius) Vibio(s) [- f(ilius)] / [------?	Second half 3rd c.		Nonnis 2014 suggests they are quaestores
314	Luceria	Magistrates in charge of coinage production Macisteratus	HNItaly 668, 669  CIL I <sup>2</sup> 401 CIL IX 782 ILLRP 504 ILS 4912	C. Modio Gr. f. L. Pulio L. f. L. Sexti Sep. Babi M. Lavinio  In hoc loucarid stircus / ne [qu]is fundatid neve cadaver / proiecta(t)id neve parentatid / sei quis arvorsu(m) hac faxit [ceiv]ium / quis volet pro ioucatod n(ummum) <L=L> / manum iniect(i)o estod seive / mag[is]steratus volet moltare / [li]cetod	First half 3rd c.  First half 3rd c.		Silvestrini 2013  Panciera 2006, 907, 911-913
291	Venusia	Quaestor	HNItaly 718	G.A.Q(uaestor/-es).	Late 3rd c.		Silvestrini 2013
289	Hatria	Praetor	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 3292a AE 1984, 370	Menerve L(ucius) Rutiliacus // M(arci) f(ilius) pra(e)tor is[dem prob(avit)]	Late 3rd c.		Guidobaldi 1995, 196 Buonocore & Firpo 1998, 750, nr. 43 (5)

Date	Colony	Office	Source	Text	Date	Findspot	References
273	Paestum	Quaestores (4)	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 3152 ILP 139 AE 1967, 106a	Sex(tus) Sextio(s) Sex(ti) f(i)lius] / L(ucius) Tatio(s) L(uci) f(i)lius) / L(ucius) Claudio(s) Tr(ebi) f(i)lius) / L(ucius) Statio(s) C(ai) f(i)lius) / q(u)aiSTORES de leged fecere	Mid 3rd c.	SW corner forum Paestum	Mello & Voza, 205 Degrassi 1971 [1968] Voza 1967
		Quaestores (5)	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 3151 ILP 140 AE 1967, 106b	L(ucius) Manio(s) [---] f(i)lius) / M(anius) Fadio(s) M(arci) f(i)lius) / L(ucius) Megonio(s) C(ai) f(i)lius) / C(aius) Vibio(s) C(ai) f(i)lius) / O(lus) Bracio(s) V(i)bi) f(i)lius) / quaistores / aired moltaticod / fecere	Second half 3rd c. 3rd c.; perhaps early 2nd.	SE corner forum Paestum	Mello & Voza 1968 Degrassi 1971 [1968] Voza 1967
		Quaestores	I <sup>2</sup> 3153 ILP 141 AE 1967, 106c	-----] / L(ucius) [---] f(i)lius) / quaestores / dedere	Mid / late 3rd c.	SE corner forum Paestum	Mello & Voza 1968, 205 Voza 1967
273	Cosa	Sexviri		C. Sestio(s) P. f. / Q. Salonio(s) Q. <f.> / sex vir(i) o(n)andis) e(x)struendis) n(avi)bus) / probave(runt)	Mid 3rd c.	Aegadian islands (Sicily)	Torelli 2011 Torelli refers to Gnoli, T. 'Rostro iscritto' in Epigraphica 73 (2011); is Epigraphica 74 (2012)
268	Ariminum	Consul	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 40 CIL XIV 4269 ILLRP 77 ILS 6128	C. Manlio Aci. / cosol / pro / poplo / Ariminesi	3rd c.	Nemi	NSc 1887, 120, tab III.2 Torelli 2002, 78, n. 36
268	Beneventum	Consul	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 395 CIL IX 1633 ILLRP 553 ILS 6129	A(ulus) Cervio(s) A(uli) f(i)lius) co(n)sol / dedicavit	3rd c.		Warmington IV (Iob), 74 (nr. 46) Torelli 2002, 78
		Quaestores (7)	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 1731 CIL IX 1636 ILLRP 554	C. Suessanio(s) C.f. / L. Amio(s) N.f. / L. Nonio(s) M. f. Cn. Suellio(s) Cn. F. / L. Munatio(s) L. f. / C. Vatterio(s) C. f. / C/ Fregamio(s) N. f. / q(uaestores)	3rd c. (linguistic), but palaeography late 2nd c: copy of older inscription?		Torelli 2002, 81-82 Pettraccia Lucernoni 1988, nr. 178 Nonnis 2014, 400, n. 29



Date	Colony	Office	Source	Text	Date	Findspot	References
264	Firmum	Quaestores (5)	CIL I <sup>4</sup> 383 CIL IX 5351 ILR 593 ILS 6132	L(ucius) Terentio(s) L(uci) f(ilius) / C(aius) Aprufenio(s) C(ai) f(ilius) / L(ucius) Turpilio(s) C(ai) f(ilius) / M(arcus) Albani(os) L(uci) f(ilius) / T(itus) Munatio(s) T(it) f(ilius) / quaestores / aire moltaticod / dederont	3rd c., probably soon after foundation		Degrassi 1971 [1959], 82-84 Polverini 1987, 51-52 Squadroni 2007, 82-83
244	Brundisium	Local or Roman magistrate?	AE 1954, 216 AE 1959, 32 AE 2003, 353	Primus senatum legit et comit[ia] instituit M(arco) Iunio Pera M(arco) Aemilio] / Barbula co(n)s(ulibus) circumsegit vi [bello punico secundo praesi]/diumque Hannibalis et prael[fectum eius cepit virtute in rebus] / militaribus praecipuam glor[iam] sibi comparavit	1st c. AD, but refers to 230 BC		Vitucci 1953 Cassola 1962, 290-292 Gabba 1958 Develin 1976 Muccigrosso 2003

Table 2: Colonial magistrates in inscriptions dated between the end of the third century and the Social War

Date	Colony	Office	Source	Text	Date	Findspot	Source
TS/495	Signia	Praetor	Cifarelli et al. 2003, 249-250	----? / [---]pr(aetor) + [---] / [---]us[---] / --- --?	2nd c. (Nonnis, personal communication)		Cifarelli et al. 2003
		Censores	Cifarelli 2010, 569-574	L(ucius) Voluminius [-. f] Marsus / Q(uintus) Sextilius Q(uint) f(ilius) [Ph]ilippus / censores	Late 2nd / early 1st c.		Cifarelli 2010
		Praetor	CIL I <sup>4</sup> 1504 CIL X 5969 ILLRP 665 ILS 5436	M(anius) Memmius M(ani) f(ilius) / pr(aetor) / signa baseis / de sua pecunia	Late 2nd / early 1st c. (Nonnis, personal communication)		Degrassi, 82-84 Cifarelli et al. 2003, 249-250
383	Setia	Aidiles	CIL I <sup>4</sup> 363 ILLRP, 631	L(ucius) Rahio(s) L(uci) f(ilius) C[---] / aidiles [d]e[de]re(?)	3rd or 2nd c.	Sermoneta	Panciera 1960, 13-16 Nonnis EDR
		Praetor	AE 1991, 426a-c AE 1997, 283	L. [Var]g[un]t[ei]us L. f. Ru[f]us pr(aetor) de s(enatus) s(ententia) refecit idem[q(ue) probavit dedicavitq(ue)].	Mid 2nd c.	Tratturo Canio	Volpe 1990, 20-22 (nr. 4) Gasperini 1997, 269-279 Bruckner 2003, 87-94 Cassieri 2012, 177 Bertrand 2012, 52-53
314	Luceria	3 [prai]fectei	CIL I <sup>4</sup> 1710 CIL IX 800 ILLRP 623	[---]us N(umeri) f(ilius) / [---]vius L(uci) f(ilius) / [---]us C(ai) f(ilius) / [prai]fectei / [turris] portas / [moiro]sque / [fecerun]t af [solo eisdemque probarunt]	After Second Punic War		Degrassi 1971 [1959], 82-84 Grelle 2007, 175, note 40
303	Alba Fucens	Praetores	CIL I <sup>4</sup> 3275 CIL IX 6349 ILS 3297 ILLRP 287	L(ucius) Helvaci(us) C(ai) f(ilius) M(arci) n(epos) / Corbulo pr(aetor) / Volkano don(um) / de sen(atu)s sent(entia)	Late 2nd / early 1st at the earliest, perhaps later		Kavanagh 2008, 381, n. 14. (suggests a date in the 1st c. AD)
299	Narnia	Aediles	CIL I <sup>4</sup> 2097 CIL XI 4125 ILLRP 628	C(aius) Ian[t]ius C(ai) f(ilius) H(erius) Coden[---] / aediles coiravere	Probably predates Social War (Sisani; Manacorda) Late II (Bertrand)		Sisani 2007, 257 and 388, no. 45 Manacorda 2012, 197 Bertrand 2012

Date	Colony	Office	Source	Text	Date	Findspot	Source
291	Venusia	Quaestores (at least 3)	CIL I <sup>4</sup> 402 CIL IX 439 ILLRP 691	-----] / Q(uintus) Ravel[io(s) [---] / P(ublius) Cominio(s) P(ubli) f(i)lius / L(ucius) Malio(s) C(ai) f(i)lius / quaestores / senatu(m) D0 / consulere / iei[s] censuere / aut sacrom / aut publicom / ese Q(uintus) Ovius Ov(i) f(i)lius / tr(ibunus) p(ebis) viam / stravit	3rd or 2nd c.		Degrassi 1971 [1959], 82-84 Chelotti 2003, 59-60
		Tr[ibunus] p[re]bei]	CIL I <sup>4</sup> 1700 CIL IX 438 = ILS 5880 ILLRP 690		Late 2nd c.		Chelotti 2003, 59
289	Hadria	Quaestores	CIL I <sup>4</sup> 1894 CIL IX 5019 ILS 5427 ILLRP 304	Sanguri(us) C(ai) f(i)lius / L(ucius) Gargoni(us) L(uci) f(i)lius / q(uaestores) / sacellum d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) / saepiundum / couraverunt	3rd or 2nd c.		Petraccia Lucemoni 1988, 186, no. 276 (6) Guidobaldi 1995, 198 Buonocore 2002, 869, no. 7 Bertrand 2012
		Duoviri / quattuorviri	CIL I <sup>4</sup> 1895 CIL IX 5021	---]enus L(uci) f(i)lius / [---]olanus Se(xti) f(i)lius / [duovir]ei hoc opus / [faciun]du(m) dedere Buonocore 2002, 862 gives Se(ppi) f.	First half 2nd c.		Guidobaldi 1995, 197 Buonocore 2002, 870, no. 9.
273	Paestum	Duoviri	CIL I <sup>4</sup> 3158 ILP 142 AE 1975, 262	C(aius) Camurtius C(ai) [f(i)lius] / C(aius) Vibius C(ai) f(i)lius Ili[ri] / fac(iendum) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) c(uraverunt)	(Late?) Republic	S sanctuary, W of tempietto (in W wall temenos)	Mello & Voza 1968, 205
		Praetor	HNItaly 1238	Q. Lar. pr(aetor)	Early 1st c.		See Pera 1995, 116-118
273	Cosa	Quaestor	-	[---] N. f. q(uaestor)	2nd or 1st c.		Nonnis 2014, 401, n. 31

Date	Colony	Office	Source	Text	Date	Findspot	Source
268	Ariminum	Duoviri	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 2129a CIL XI 400 ILLRP 545	C(aius) Obulcius C(ai) f(iilius) / M(arcus) Octavius M(arc) f(iilius) / duovir(i) / hoc opus fac(iundum) / quraverunt	2nd or 1st c.		CIL XI, p. 77
		Duoviri	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 2129b CIL XI 401	M(arcus) Octavi(us) M(arc) f(iilius) / C(aius) Obulcius C(ai) f(iilius) / duovir(i) / hoc opus faciund <um=O> / curarunt	2nd or 1st c. pre military colony		CIL XI, p. 77
268	Beneventum	Consul Praetor	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 396 CIL IX 1547 ILLRP 169 ILS 3096	Iunonei Quiritei sacra / C. Falicilius L. f. consol / dedicavit // [- - -]ti / [- - -]leius L. f. pr(aetor)	2nd c. (part with praetor may be later)		Torelli 2002, 78-79
263	Aesernia	Duovir	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 1753 CIL IX 2662 ILLRP 526 Aesernia 47	Q(uintus) Marci(i)us L(uci) f(iilius) / I(vir	2nd or 1st c. - in parallel to Aesernia 41		Buonocore 2003, nr. 47
		Duovir	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 3204 Aesernia 41	----] M. f. Ter(etina) / [C]otta II vir // ----] / Cotta	2nd or 1st c.		Buonocore 2003, nr. 41
244	Brundisium	Quaestores	Coins & amphoras		2nd c.		Silvestrini 2013, 177-178
		dicator	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 366a CIL XI 4766 ILS 4911 ILLRP 505 AE 1991, 626 AE 1994, 583	Honce loucom / nequs violatod / neque exvehito neque / exferto quod louci / siet neque cedito / nesei quo die res deina / anua fiat eod die / quod rei dinai causa / [f]iat sine dolo cedre / [l]icetod seiquis // violasit Iove bovid / piaculum datod / seiquis scies / violasit dolo malo / Iovei bovid piaculum / datod et a(sses) CCC / moltai suntod / eius piacli / moltaique dicator[e] / exactio est[od]	Late 3rd / early 2nd c.		Pancieria 2006
241	Spoletium	praetor	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 3376 CIL XI 4822 ILLRP 669	Iucius St(ati) f(iilius) pr(aetor) [---] / [---] agerque salvo [	Before Social War		Sisani 2007, 257 and 399, no. 94

### Appendix 3. Defensive walls

This overview is based on the information given by Lackner 2008. A question mark is added when the date of the wall is only based on circumstantial evidence. Additional comments and references are given in the column 'comments'.

Date	Colony	Technique	Date wall	Comments
TS/495	Signia	Polygonal	5th or 4th c.	The date is based on (inconclusive) excavations and urbanistic considerations. De Rossi 1988; Cassieri 1997; Cifarelli 2003, 35-38.
TS/393	Circeii	Polygonal	4th c.?	The date is based on technique and parallels with Terracina, Ostia, Minturnae and Pyrgi. Quilici and Quilici Gigli 2005, 123-126; 40
492	Norba	Polygonal	First phase: 4th c.?	The date results from a relative chronology of various phases of the wall, with some phases dated based on parallels, and an assessment of the character of the settlement Quilici and Quilici Gigli 2000, 243
442	Ardea	Opus quadratum	4th c.?	The date is based on parallels with the Servian wall in Rome, and the invasions in Ardeatine territory in the fourth century mentioned in the written sources. Morselli and Tortorici 1982, 61-62
383	Setia	Polygonal	Early 4th c.?	The first phase of the wall is connected to the foundation of the colony. Zaccaro and Pasquali 1972, 84; Bruckner 2000, 103
382	Sutrium	Opus quadratum	Early 4th c.?	The first phase of the wall is connected to the foundation of the colony; partly based on parallels. Quilici 2008, 71-72. Note, however, that a pre-colonial date cannot be excluded.
382	Nepes	Opus quadratum	Early 4th c or later?	A date in the early fourth century is based on the colonial foundation date. Based on stylistic considerations, a later date is possible. Guzzetti 2000, 89-90.
334	Cales	Opus quadratum	4th. c.?	The date is often based on the colonial foundation date (e.g. Ødegård 1997, 223; Pedroni 2002, 53). An earlier date is sometimes suggested (De Caro 1981, 242; Sommella and Migliorati 1988, 42).
328	Fregellae	Opus quadratum	Late 3rd c. (at least one stretch)	The date based on stratigraphic research. See Crawford and Keppie 1984, 33; Crawford 1984, 135; Crawford 1985b, 113; Coarelli and Monti 1998, 53-55.

Date	Colony	Technique	Date wall	Comments
314	Luceria	Opus quadratum	4th c.	The date is based on ceramic finds (Lackner 2008, 110). The wall can either be related to the colonial foundation (Lackner) or it can be placed earlier in the fourth century (Morlacco 1987, 173) Lippolis 1999, 6 notes that the building technique is known elsewhere in southern Italy, especially in Apulia and the towns of Magna Graecia.
313	Saticula	Opus quadratum (follows earlier drystone wall)	Late 4th c.; soon after colonial foundation	The date is based on stratigraphic research. Two construction phases were recognized: the first, hastily built in a dry stone technique, dates before the end of the fourth century. The second, in <i>opus quadratum</i> with alternating lines of headers and stretchers, dates to the late 4th c. (De Vito and Di Maio 1998; Johannowsky 1998, 139)
313	Suessa Aurunca	Opus quadratum	4th c.?	The date is based on the colonial foundation date. E.g. Johannowsky 1973, 147; Villucci 1980a, 11; Sommella and Migliorati 1988, 44.
313	Pontiae	-	-	In two locations, traces of a wall in polygonal masonry are visible on the island (De Rossi 1986, nrs. 24 and 27) However, it is not certain whether they belonged to a defensive wall circuit or if they functioned as terracing walls.
312	Interamna Lirenas	-	-	Some possible parts of the defensive walls have been found, but it is possible that these are simple terracing walls. Cagiano de Azevedo 1947, 24; Lena 1982, 58; Hayes and Wightman 1984, 140, 143,afb. 2; Hayes et al. 1994, 35.
303	Sora	Polygonal	Late 4th c. / early 3rd c.?	The date of the wall is subject of discussion, and oscillates around the foundation date of the colony. Alessandra Tanzilli argues for a date before the foundation of the colony (Tanzilli 1982, 56-64; Tanzilli 2009, 23), while Stefania Mezzazappa relates the construction of the wall to the foundation of the colony (Mezzazappa 2003, 115)
303	Alba Fucens	Polygonal	Late 4th c. / early 3rd c.; soon after colonial foundation	Several phases in the erection of the polygonal walls of Alba Fucens can be recognized: see Liberatore 2004, 130-133 for an overview. She suggests that, based on urbanistic considerations, the first phase can be connected to the foundation of the colony.
299	Narnia	Opus quadratum	3rd c; soon after colonial foundation.	The date is based on stratigraphic research. Monacchi 1995, 872; Monacchi et al. 1999, 274-280.
298	Carseoli	Opus quadratum	3rd c.?	The date is based on the colonial foundation date. (Gatti and Onorati 1990, 56) Some additional walls in polygonal masonry were interpreted by Pfeiffer and Ashby 1905, 119 as another phase of the defensive circuit. Gatti and Onorati 1990, 56 reject

Date	Colony	Technique	Date wall	Comments
				this view and hold that the walls in polygonal masonry only served terracing purposes.
291	Venusia	Opus quadratum	3rd c.?	The date is based on the colonial foundation date. Salvatore 1987, 40; Marchi et al. 1990, 12; Marchi and Sabbatini 1996, 48 (nr. 189); Marchi and Salvatore 1997, 53-54.
289	Hadria	Opus quadratum	3rd c.?	The date is based on the colonial foundation date. Azzena 2006, 28
273	Paestum	Opus quadratum; various variants	4th - 3rd c. and later	Before and after colonial foundation. The date of several stretches of the wall remains problematic; we should probably imagine many rebuilding phases. See D'Ambrosio 1990 and recently the detailed study of the eastern part of the walls by Cipriani and Potrandolfo 2010.
273	Cosa	Polygonal	3rd c.; soon after colonial foundation.	The date is based on stratigraphic research. Brown and Lawrence 1951, 51-57.
268	Ariminum	Polygonal	3rd c.; soon after colonial foundation.	The date is based on stratigraphic research. Ortalli 2007, 360-361.
268	Beneventum	?	?	The course of the walls can be constructed based on the medieval wall; only in the west the ancient town probably extended further. Giampaola 1990, 284.
264	Firmum	Opus quadratum	3rd c.?	The date is based on the colonial foundation date Pasquinucci 1987, 108-156
263	Aesernia	Polygonal	3rd c.?	The date is based on the colonial foundation date. De Benedittis et al. 1999, 32-55; De Benedittis 2004, 23-26. See Terzani 2005 for more recent stratigraphic research with the same initial date of the walls. No decisive material is given here that confirms this suggested date.
244	Brundisium	Opus quadratum	3rd c.; soon after colonial foundation.	The date is based on stratigraphic research. Cocchiaro and Andreassi 1988, 15-16; Baldini and Lippolis 1997, 316-317.
241	Spoletium	Polygonal, restoration in quadratum	3rd c.?	The date is based on the colonial foundation date, which would be confirmed by typological parallels. Morigi 2003, 11-48 and 135-136; Sisani 2007, 92. The restoration in opus quadratum, with a suggested date in the early second century (Sisani 2007, 92).

## Appendix 4. Temples and cults in the central colonial settlements

This overview is based on the information given by Lackner 2008. If necessary, additional references are given in the column 'comments'. Sanctuaries are only included when there is evidence that they were active in the fourth and third centuries, and a cult is only attributed if there is contemporary evidence for its existence (second century evidence is included). Attributions of deities by modern scholars, often on the architecture of the sanctuary or the character of the associated votive offerings, are included with a question mark when they have found acceptance in the scholarly community. When only votive material points to the existence of a cult place and/or a specific cult, but no traces of a related sanctuary are known, the cult is not included, because we cannot be certain that these cult places were part of the religious framework as shaped by the triumvirs and/or the colonial elite.

Date	Colony	Temple	Location	Date	Deity	Comments
TS/495	Signia	Temple acropolis	Peripheral hill ( <i>arx</i> )	Early 5th c.	Juno Moneta	Earliest inscription mentioning Juno Moneta dates to early 2nd c. (Cifarelli 2003, 15).
TS/393	Circeii	-	-	-	-	-
492	Norba	Large acropolis	Peripheral hill ( <i>arx</i> )	5th c.; preserved phase late 2nd c.	Diana	Earliest inscription mentioning Diana dates to 2nd c. (Quilici and Quilici Gigli 1998, 239).
		Minor acropolis 1	Peripheral hill	5th c.; preserved phase late 3rd c. / early 2nd c.	?	
		Minor acropolis 2	Peripheral hill	5th c.; preserved phase late 3rd c. / early 2nd c.	?	
		Juno Lucina	Peripheral hill	5th c.; preserved phase 4th - 2nd c.	Juno Lucina	Earliest inscription mentioning Juno Lucina dates to late 3rd c. / early 2nd c. (Quilici Gigli 1993, 291).
442	Ardea	Acropolis	Peripheral hill ( <i>arx</i> )	6th c.		
		Casarinaccio	Forum	Late 6th c. / early 5th c.	Hercules?	
		Colle della Noce	Peripheral hill	Lackner: late 6th c. / early 5th c. Colonna: early phase colony or slightly later		A date in the early phase of the colony is suggested by Colonna 1984, 409; accepted by Quilici Gigli, s.v. 'Ardea' in Cristofani 1990, 194; Manca Di Mores 1993, 311-312 and Torelli 1999b, 20. Colonna 1995, 1 proposes an even later date in the late fifth or early fourth century.



Date	Colony	Temple	Location	Date	Deity	Comments
383	Setia	-	-	-	-	-
382	Sutrium	-	-	-	-	-
382	Nepet	-	-	-	-	-
334	Cales	San Casto	Peripheral hill ( <i>arx</i> )	Early phase colony	?	Identification of a temple dated to the early years of the colony is proposed by Pagano 2009, 963.
328	Fregellae	Forum	Forum	Three phases between late 4th c. and 2nd c.	Concordia?	Attribution to Concordia is based on parallel with Cosa, and attested cult in Fabrateria Nova. Coles 2009, 161 questions attribution in early phase.
314	Luceria	Belvedere	Peripheral hill	First built phase before colony	Athena (Iliaca)?	-
313	Saticula	-	-	-	-	-
313	Suessa Aurunca	-	-	-	-	-
313	Pontiae	-	-	-	-	-
312	Interamna Lirenas	-	-	-	-	No early finds.
303	Sora	S.S. Cassio e Casto	Peripheral hill ( <i>arx</i> )	First attested built phase 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. Votives also from 4 <sup>th</sup> c.	?	Date of the first built phase is based on architectural terracottas ( <i>patina theron</i> antefixes) (Mezzazappa 2003, 103, n. 29 and 112).
		Temple(s) underneath cathedral	Forum?	Lackner: first phase colony Tanzilli: 2nd c.	?	For the suggested later date: Tanzilli 2009, 43; Tanzilli 2012. The temple seems to have been integrated in a larger complex, with possibly another temple and a porticus (Veloccia Rinaldi 1979, 9; Lolli Ghetti and Pagliardi 1980, 177; Beranger 1981, 62; Beranger 1997, 331).

Date	Colony	Temple	Location	Date	Deity	Comments
303	Alba Fucens	Pettorino S. Pietro Via del miliario	Peripheral hill Peripheral hill Town	Cannot be securely dated Architecture: 2nd c.? Votive material: 3rd c. 3rd c.; preserved phase Late Republic	? ? ?	The date of the architecture is based on the profile of a column base (see Mertens 1969b, 20). For the votive material: De Visscher and Mertens 1957, 167-170. The 3rd c. date is based on a restudy of the structural remains underneath the preserved temple and the architectural terracottas (Liberatore 2004, 122-127 and 173-177).
299	Narnia	Hercules	Town	Early phase colony (perhaps also older remains?) Earlier votive material is present	Hercules	Liberatore 2009, 217-218 publishes the early architectural remains of the sanctuary. She dates some of these walls to the early phase of the colony, while the date of others remains to be established. On the votives: Villa 2009, 64, n. 7.
298	Carseoli	-	-	-	-	-
291	Venusia	Cult building underneath SS. Trinità?	Near edge of town	Early phase colony	?	Traces of possible cult building: Marchi et al. 1990, 13, figures 9-12.
289	Hadria	-	-	-	-	Temple in urban or suburban location.
273	Paestum	"Temple of Ceres" "Temple of Neptune" "Basilica" Temple underneath macellum	N sanctuary S sanctuary S sanctuary S sanctuary	Before colony Before colony Before colony Before colony	Athena / Minerva Hera Hera ?	For references: Torelli 1999c and Termeer forthcoming-b. Remains in use after colonial foundation. Remains in use after colonial foundation. Remains in use after colonial foundation. Remains in use after colonial foundation.

Date	Colony	Temple	Location	Date	Deity	Comments
		Amphiprostyle temple	S sanctuary	Before colony	?	Rebuilt after colonial foundation. Remains in use after colonial foundation.
		Asklepieion	SE of forum	Before colony	Asklepius (?Mefitis)	
		"Tempio Italico"	S of forum, in S sanctuary	First phase colony	Mater Matuta?	
		"Piscina"	N of forum	First phase colony	Fortuna Virilis / Venus Verticordia?	
273	Cosa	"Jupiter temple"	Peripheral hill (arx)	3rd c.	-	-
268	Ariminium	-	-	-	-	-
268	Beneventum	-	-	-	-	-
264	Firmum	-	-	-	-	Pasquinucci 1987, 157 notes that the wall remains underneath the paleochristian church, traditionally interpreted as a temple (e.g. Annibaldi 1960), are fragmentary; interpretation as a temple seems therefore premature.
263	Aesernia	Temple underneath cathedral	On forum?	3rd c. or later	?	The traditional date in the 3rd c., is based on the podium profile. Tanzilli 2012 suggests a later date in the 2nd c.
244	Brundisium	Temple underneath duomo	Town (arx?)	3rd c. or later	?	Baldini and Lippolis 1997, 313-314 propose the identification of a sacellum of the third century. Evidence for the early date is thin, however.
241	Spoletium	Colle Sant'Elia	Peripheral hill (arx)	3rd c. architectural terracottas Earlier votive material is present	?	Stanco 1994, 49 rightly gives a cautious date in the 3rd or 2nd century, as the preserved fragments of architectural terracottas are very small. Nevertheless, she suggests that the construction of the temple is related to the foundation of the colony.

## Appendix 5. Colonial coinages

This overview is based on HNIItaly.

Date colony	Mint	Entry HNIItaly	Technique	Denomination	Iconography OBV	Iconography REV	Start date	End date
TS/495	Signia	343	Struck silver	obol	Mercury, head	Janiform mask, silenus & boar	280	275
492	Norba	248	Struck silver	obol	Ceres, head	corn ear	280	275
334	Cales	434	Struck silver	didrachm	Minerva, head	Victory, biga	265	240
		435	Struck bronze		Minerva, head	Cock	265	240
314	Luceria	436	Struck bronze		Apollo, head	Bull, manfaced	265	240
		668	Cast bronze		Apollo, head	Horse galloping	280	270
		669	Cast bronze		Apollo, head	Cock	280	270
		670	Cast bronze	quincunx	Four wheel spokes	Four wheel spokes	225	217
		671	Cast bronze	quadrunc	Thunderbolt	Club	225	217
		672	Cast bronze	teruncius	Star, 6 rays	Dolphin	225	217
		673	Cast bronze	biunx	Scallops shell	Knuckle bone	225	217
		674	Cast bronze	uncia	Frog	Cornear	225	217
		675	Cast bronze	semuncia	Crescent	Thyrus	225	217
		676	Cast bronze	nummus	Hercules, head	Horse prancing	217	212
		677a	Cast bronze	quincunx	Four wheel spokes	Four wheel spokes	217	212
		677b	Cast bronze	quadrunc	Thunderbolt	Club	217	212
		677c	Cast bronze	teruncius	Star, 6 rays	Dolphin	217	212
		677d	Cast bronze	biunx	Scallops shell	Knuckle bone	217	212
		677e	Cast bronze	uncia	Frog	Cornear	217	212
		677f	Cast bronze	semuncia	Crescent	Thyrus	217	212
		678	Struck bronze	quincunx	Minerva, head	Wheel, 8 spokes	211	200
		679	Struck bronze	quadrunc	Hercules, head	Quiver, club, bow	211	200
		680	Struck bronze	teruncius	Neptune, head	Dolphin	211	200
		681	Struck bronze	biunx	Ceres, head	Scallops shell	211	200

Date colony	Mint	Entry HNIItaly	Technique	Denomination	Iconography OBV	Iconography REV	Start date	End date
		682	Struck bronze	uncia	Apollo, head	Frog	211	200
		683	Struck bronze	semuncia	Diana, head	Crescent	211	200
		684	Struck bronze	semuncia	Dioscuri, heads	Horses of dioscuri	211	200
313	Suessa Aurunca	447	Struck silver	didrachm	Apollo, head	Horseman, naked	265	240
		448	Struck bronze		Mercury, head	Hercules strangling lion	265	240
		449	Struck bronze		Minerva, head	Cock	265	240
		450	Struck bronze		Apollo, head	Bull, manfaced	265	240
303	Alba Fucens	240	Struck silver	diobol	Mercury, head	Griffin, flying	280	275
		241	Struck silver	obol	Minerva, head	Eagle on thunderbolt	280	275
		242	Struck silver	hemiobol	Female head, phrygian cap	Dolphin	280	275
		243	Struck silver	obol	Minerva, head	Eagle on thunderbolt	280	275
		244	Struck silver	obol	Minerva, head	Eagle on thunderbolt	280	275
298	Carseoli	245	Cast bronze	quadrans	Crescent, 2	CARS	275	225
		246	Cast bronze	sextans	Double axe	CAR	275	225
291	Venusia	707	Cast bronze	nummus	Boar, forepart	Wolf or hound, forepart	275	225
		708	Cast bronze	teruncius	Scallopsshell	Crescents, 3	275	225
		709	Cast bronze	biunx	Dolphin	Dolphin	275	225
		710	Cast bronze	semuncia	Crescent	Crescent	275	225
		711	Cast bronze	teruncius	Scallopsshell	Crescents, 3	220	210
		712	Cast bronze	biunx	Dolphin	Dolphin	220	210
		713	Cast bronze	semuncia	Crescent	Crescent	220	210
		714	Struck bronze	teruncius	Jupiter, head	Crescents, 3	215	205
		715	Struck bronze	biunx	Minerva, head	Dolphins, 2	215	205

Date colony	Mint	Entry HNIItaly	Technique	Denomination	Iconography OBV	Iconography REV	Start date	End date		
289		716	Struck bronze	uncia	Hercules, half-figure	Lion, spear in mouth	215	205		
		717	Struck bronze	semuncia	Boar, forepart	Owl	215	205		
		718	Struck bronze	double nummus	Hercules, bust	Dioscuri on horseback	210	200		
		719	Struck bronze	nummus	Bacchus, head	Bacchus seated, thyrsus	210	200		
		720	Struck bronze	quincunx	Jupiter, head	Eagle on thunderbolt	210	200		
		721	Struck bronze	teruncius	Juno, head	Crescents, 3	210	200		
		722	Struck bronze	biunx	Minerva, head	Owl	210	200		
		723	Struck bronze	sestuncia	Sol, head radiate	Star, crescent	210	200		
		724	Struck bronze	uncia	Hercules, head	Lion, spear in mouth	210	200		
		725	Struck bronze	semuncia	Frog	Crab	210	200		
		273	Hadria	11	Cast bronze	as	Silenus, head	Dog	275	225
				12	Cast bronze	quincunx	Female head	Pegasus	275	225
				13	Cast bronze	quadrans	Male head	Krater	275	225
				14	Cast bronze	teruncius	Dolphin	Fish	275	225
				15	Cast bronze	biunx	Cock	Shoe	275	225
				16	Cast bronze	uncia	Anchor	Pellet	275	225
				17	Cast bronze	semuncia	H	A	275	225
1180	Struck silver				Apollo, head	Dioscuri	273	241		
1181	Struck bronze				Neptune, head	Neptune on dolphin	264	241		
1182	Struck bronze				Neptune, head	Neptune on dolphin	264	241		
1183	Struck bronze		Neptune, head	Neptune on dolphin	264	241				
1184	Struck bronze		Neptune, head	Cupid on dolphin	264	241				
1185	Struck bronze		Neptune, head	Cupid on dolphin	264	241				
1186	Struck bronze	uncia	Neptune, head	Neptune on dolphin	218	201				
1187	Struck bronze	sextans	Neptune, head	Dolphin	218	201				

Date colony	Mint	Entry HNIItaly	Technique	Denomination	Iconography OBV	Iconography REV	Start date	End date
		1188	Struck bronze	uncia	Neptune, head	Trident	218	201
		1189	Struck bronze	semuncia	Neptune, head	Dolphin	218	201
		1190	Struck bronze	quartuncia	Dioscuri, heads	Dolphin	218	201
		1191	Struck bronze	triens	Female head	Cornucopiae	218	201
		1192	Struck bronze	quadrans	Bearded head	Dolphin	218	201
		1193	Struck bronze	sextans	Ceres, head	Bore, forepart	218	201
		1194	Struck bronze	sescuncia	Ceres, head	Dog running	218	201
		1195	Struck bronze	uncia	Artemis, head	Cornear	218	201
		1196	Struck bronze	triens	Female head	Cornucopiae	218	201
		1197	Struck bronze	quadrans	Male head	Dolphin	218	201
		1198	Struck bronze	sextans	Ceres, head	Boar	218	201
		1199	Struck bronze	sescuncia	Ceres, head	Dog	218	201
		1200	Struck bronze	uncia	Artemis, head	Cornear	218	201
		1201	Struck bronze	triens	Female head	Cornucopiae	218	201
		1202	Struck bronze	quadrans	Male head	Dolphin	218	201
		1203	Struck bronze	sextans	Ceres, head	Boar	218	201
		1204	Struck bronze	uncia	Artemis, head	Cornear	218	201
		1205	Struck bronze	triens	Female head	Cornucopiae	218	201
		1206	Struck bronze	quadrans	Male head	Dolphin	218	201
		1207	Struck bronze	sextans	Ceres, head	Boar	218	201
		1208	Struck bronze	uncia	Artemis, head	Cornear	218	201
		1209	Struck bronze	triens	Female head	Cornucopiae	218	201
		1210	Struck bronze	quadrans	Male head	Dolphin	218	201
		1211	Struck bronze	sextans	Ceres, head	Boar	218	201
		1212	Struck bronze	uncia	Artemis, head	Cornear	218	201
		1213	Struck bronze	triens	Female head	Cornucopiae	218	201
		1214	Struck bronze	quadrans	Male head	Dolphin	218	201

Date colony	Mint	Entry HNIItaly	Technique	Denomination	Iconography OBV	Iconography REV	Start date	End date
		1215	Struck bronze	sextans	Ceres, head	Boar	218	201
		1216	Struck bronze	triens	Female head	Cornucopiae	218	201
		1217	Struck bronze	quadrans	Male head	Dolphin	218	201
		1218	Struck bronze	sextans	Female head	Boar, forepart	218	201
		1219	Struck bronze	uncia	Female head	Cornear	218	201
273	Cosa	210	Struck bronze		Mars, head	Horse, head, bridled	273	250
		211	Struck bronze		Minerva, head (or Coza)	Horse, head, bridled	273	250
268	Ariminum	2	Cast bronze	quincunx	Gaul, bust	Shield	268	225
		3	Cast bronze	quadrunx	Gaul, bust	Sword and scabbard	268	225
		4	Cast bronze	teruncius	Gaul, bust	Trident	268	225
		5	Cast bronze	biunx	Gaul, bust	Dolphin	268	225
		6	Cast bronze	uncia	Gaul, bust	Rostrum tridens r.	268	225
		7	Cast bronze	semuncia	Gaul, bust	Shell	268	225
		8	Struck bronze		Vulcan, bust	Warrior	268	225
268	Beneventum	440	Struck bronze		Apollo, head	Horse, galloping	265	240
264	Firmum	9	Cast bronze	quadrans	Female head	Bull, head	264	225
		10	Cast bronze	sextans	Double axe	spearhead	264	225
263	Aesernia	429	Struck bronze		Minerva, head	Eagle, grasping snake	263	240
		430	Struck bronze		Vulcan, head	Jupiter, biga	263	240
		431	Struck bronze		Apollo, head	Bull, manfaced	263	240



Date colony	Mint	Entry HNIItaly	Technique	Denomination	Iconography OBV	Iconography REV	Start date	End date
244	Brundisium	737	Struck bronze	sextans	Neptune, head	Dolphin rider (Phalantus)	220	210
		738	Struck bronze	uncia	Neptune, head	Dolphin rider (Phalantus)	220	210
		739	Struck bronze	semuncia	Neptune, head	Dolphin rider (Phalantus)	220	210
		740	Struck bronze	sicilicus	Neptune, head	Dolphin rider (Phalantus)	220	210
		741	Struck bronze	1/8 uncia	Victory	Dolphin	220	210
		742	Struck bronze	1/8 uncia	Scallopshell	Dolphin	220	210
		743	Struck bronze	semis	Neptune, head	Dolphin rider (Phalantus)	200	100
		744	Struck bronze	triens	Neptune, head	Dolphin rider (Phalantus)	200	100
		745	Struck bronze	quadrans	Neptune, head	Dolphin rider (Phalantus)	200	100
		746	Struck bronze	sextans	Neptune, head	Dolphin rider (Phalantus)	200	100
		747	Struck bronze	uncia	Neptune, head	Dolphin rider (Phalantus)	200	100
		748	Struck bronze	semuncia	Neptune, head	Dolphin rider (Phalantus)	200	100
		749	Struck bronze	semis	Neptune, head	Dolphin rider (Phalantus)	200	100
		750	Struck bronze	triens	Neptune, head	Dolphin rider (Phalantus)	200	100
751	Struck bronze	quadrans	Neptune, head	Dolphin rider (Phalantus)	200	100		
752	Struck bronze	uncia?	Neptune, head	Dolphin rider (Phalantus)	200	100		

## Appendix 6. Coinage types used in different techniques

This overview is based on HNIItaly.

Type Anchor						
Mint	HNIItaly	Start date	End date	Technique	Iconography OBV	Iconography REV
Hatria	16	275	225	Cast bronze	Anchor	Pellet
Inland Etruria	67	300	200	Struck bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	66	300	200	Struck bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	65g	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	65f	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	65e	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	65d	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	65c	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	65b	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Anchor
65a	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Anchor	
Roma	263	260	250	Bronze bar	Anchor	Tripod
Tarquinius	217	280	270	Cast bronze	Dolphin	Anchor
Tuder	48	220	200	Cast bronze	Frog	Anchor
	43	220	200	Cast bronze	Frog	Anchor
Vetulonia	202	300	250	Struck bronze	Male head, dolphin head-dress	Anchor

Type Wheel						
Mint	HNIItaly	Start date	End date	Technique	Iconography OBV	Iconography REV
Cumae	530	460	421	Struck silver	Dolphin	Wheel with pellets
Iguvium	25	280	240	Cast bronze	Wheel	Wheel
	26	280	240	Cast bronze	Wheel	Wheel
Inland Etruria	57a	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Krater
	62a	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Amphora
	61	300	200	Struck bronze	Wheel	Double axe
	60	300	200	Struck bronze	Wheel	Double axehead
	59	300	200	Struck bronze	Wheel	Double axehead
	58d	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Double axehead
	67	300	200	Struck bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	58b	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Double axehead
	57e	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Krater
	57d	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Krater

	62b	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Amphora
	57b	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Krater
	58c	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Double axehead
	56f	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Wheel
	56e	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Wheel
	56d	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Wheel
	56c	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Wheel
	56b	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Wheel
	56a	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Wheel
	57c	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Krater
	65d	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	66	300	200	Struck bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	65g	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	58a	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Double axehead
	65e	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	62c	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Amphora
	65c	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	65b	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	65a	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	64f	300	200	Cast bronze	Archaic wheel	Pellet
	64e	300	200	Cast bronze	Archaic wheel	Pellets, 2
	64d	300	200	Cast bronze	Archaic wheel	Pellets, 3
	63c	300	200	Cast bronze	Archaic wheel	Archaic wheel
	65f	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Anchor
	64c	300	200	Cast bronze	Archaic wheel	Crescents, 3
	62d	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Amphora
	62e	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Amphora
	63b	300	200	Cast bronze	Archaic wheel	Archaic wheel
	63d	300	200	Cast bronze	Archaic wheel	Archaic wheel
	63e	300	200	Cast bronze	Archaic wheel	Archaic wheel
	63f	300	200	Cast bronze	Archaic wheel	Archaic wheel
	64a	300	200	Cast bronze	Archaic wheel	Crescents, 3
	64b	300	200	Cast bronze	Archaic wheel	Crescents, 3
	63a	300	200	Cast bronze	Archaic wheel	Archaic wheel
Luceria	678	211	200	Struck bronze	Minerva, head	Wheel, 8 spokes
	677a	217	212	Cast bronze	Four wheel spokes	Four wheel spokes
	670	225	217	Cast bronze	Four wheel spokes	Four wheel spokes
Phistelia	615	325	275	Struck silver	Male head, young	Wheel

Populonia	125	425	400	Struck silver	Wheel	blank
	167	300	250	Struck silver	Female head	Wheel
	183	300	250	Struck silver	Wheel	blank
	126	425	400	Struck silver	Wheel	blank
Roma	330	235	225	Cast bronze	Tortoise	Wheel six spokes
	329	235	225	Cast bronze	Dog	Wheel six spokes
	328	235	225	Cast bronze	Horse	Wheel six spokes
	327	235	225	Cast bronze	Bull	Wheel six spokes
	326	235	225	Cast bronze	Roma, head	Wheel six spokes
	325	235	225	Cast bronze	Roma, head	Wheel six spokes
	324	235	225	Cast bronze	Roma, head	Wheel six spokes
Vetulonia	205	300	250	Struck bronze	Male head, ketos headdress	Wheel, 8 spokes

<b>Type Crescents</b>						
<b>Mint</b>	<b>HNItaly</b>	<b>Start date</b>	<b>End date</b>	<b>Technique</b>	<b>Iconography OBV</b>	<b>Iconography REV</b>
Baletium	730	480	460	Struck silver	Dolphin rider	Crescent
	732	480	460	Struck silver	Dolphin	Crescent
	731	480	460	Struck silver	Dolphin	Crescent
Brettii	1956	216	203	Gold	Heracles, head	Nike driving biga, thunderbolt and crescent
Caelia	772	220	150	Struck bronze	Athena, head	Crescents, 3
Canusium	658	300	250	Struck silver	Helios, head	Crescents, 2
Carseoli	245	275	225	Cast bronze	Crescent, 2	CARS
Consentia	2073	325	300	Struck bronze	Youthful head (river god?)	Crab, two crescents
	2072	325	300	Struck bronze	Bearded head	Thunderbolt, 3 crescents
	2071	325	300	Struck bronze	Female or male head	Bow and 3 crescents
Croton	2193	360	340	Struck silver	Female head	Crescents, 3 around central pellet
	2229	350	300	Struck bronze	Athena, head	Crescents, 2
	2234	300	250	Struck bronze	Persephone, head	Crescents, 3
	2235	300	250	Struck bronze	Persephone, head	Crescents, 3 (?)
Graxa	778	250	225	Struck bronze	Star and crescent	Thunderbolt and crescent
Heraclea	1440	280	260	Struck bronze	Horse galloping	Pellets, 2; crescents, 2

Iguvium	22	280	240	Cast bronze	Sun	Crescent
	23	280	240	Cast bronze	Sun	Crescent, stars
	24	280	240	Cast bronze	Sun	Crescent, stars
	35	280	240	Cast bronze	Shield, 2 stars	Crescent, astralagus
Inland Etruria	64b	300	200	Cast bronze	Archaic wheel	Crescents, 3
	64c	300	200	Cast bronze	Archaic wheel	Crescents, 3
	64a	300	200	Cast bronze	Archaic wheel	Crescents, 3
Luceria	675	225	217	Cast bronze	Crescent	Thyrsus
	677f	217	212	Cast bronze	Crescent	Thyrsus
	683	211	200	Struck bronze	Diana, head	Crescent
Medma	2427	400	300	Struck bronze	Female head, hydria, crescent	Pan seated on rock, with dog, holding crab
Populonia	116	250	200	Struck bronze	Female head	8 point sun, crescent
	115	250	200	Struck bronze	Male head, young	Crescents, 2, 4 stars
	144	300	250	Struck silver	Gorgoneion	Star, crescent
	145	300	250	Struck silver	Gorgoneion	Trident, crescent
	158	300	250	Struck silver	Minerva, head	Star, crescent
	159	300	250	Struck silver	Minerva, head	Star, crescent
	161	300	250	Struck silver	Mercury, head	Star, crescent
	171	300	250	Struck silver	Male head	Trident, crescent
	143	300	250	Struck silver	Gorgoneion	Star, crescent
Rubi 1	813	325	275	Struck silver	Helios, head	Crescents, 2
Samadion	820	200	150	Struck bronze	Athena, head	Crescents, 4
	821	200	150	Struck bronze	Athena, head	Crescents, 3
Taras	982	325	280	Struck silver	Crescents, 2	Crescents, 2
	1077	280	228	Struck silver	Crescents, 2	Crescents, 2
Tarquinii	213	280	270	Bronze bar	Crescents, 2, star	Crescents, 2, star
	212	280	270	Bronze bar	Crescents, 2	Crescents, 2
	219	280	270	Cast bronze	A	Crescent
Thurium 13	1923	300	280	Struck bronze	Athena, head	Crescents, 2
Venusia	710	275	225	Cast bronze	Crescent	Crescent
	708	275	225	Cast bronze	Scallopshell	Crescents, 3
	713	220	210	Cast bronze	Crescent	Crescent
	711	220	210	Cast bronze	Scallopshell	Crescents, 3
	714	215	205	Struck bronze	Jupiter, head	Crescents, 3
	723	210	200	Struck bronze	Sol, head radiate	Star, crescent
	721	210	200	Struck bronze	Juno, head	Crescents, 3
Vestini 1	19	275	225	Cast bronze	Bull, head	Crescent

<b>Type trident</b>						
<b>Mint</b>	<b>HNItaly</b>	<b>Start date</b>	<b>End date</b>	<b>Technique</b>	<b>Iconography OBV</b>	<b>Iconography REV</b>
Ariminum	4	268	225	Cast bronze	Gaul, bust	Trident
Azetium	729	300	275	Struck bronze	Scallopshell	Dolphin, trident
Calatia	475	216	211	Struck bronze	Jupiter, head	Tridenthead
Graxa	777	250	225	Struck bronze	Trident head	Dolphin
Locri	2360	400	270	Struck bronze	Zeus, head, thunderbolt	Trident
Paestum	1188	218	201	Struck bronze	Neptune, head	Trident
Populonia	171	300	250	Struck silver	Male head	Trident, crescent
	145	300	250	Struck silver	Gorgoneion	Trident, crescent
	154	300	250	Struck silver	Gorgoneion	Trident
	148	300	250	Struck silver	Gorgoneion	Octopus, trident
Roma	265	260	250	Bronze bar	Chickens, 2	Tridents, 2
	264	260	250	Bronze bar	Trident	Caduceus
Tarentum	955	305	300	Gold	Heracles, head	Taras (?) with trident
	956	305	300	Gold	Athena, head	Taras (?) with trident
Tuder	49	220	200	Cast bronze	Cicada	Trident
	44	220	200	Cast bronze	Cicada	Trident
Vetulonia	201	?	?	Struck silver	Male head	Trident, dolphins
	203	300	250	Struck bronze	Male head, ketos headdress	Trident, dolphins
	204	300	250	Struck bronze	Male head, ketos headdress	Trident, dolphins

<b>Type krater</b>						
<b>Mint</b>	<b>HNItaly</b>	<b>Start date</b>	<b>End date</b>	<b>Technique</b>	<b>Iconography OBV</b>	<b>Iconography REV</b>
Inland Etruria	57e	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Krater
	57d	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Krater
	57c	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Krater
	57b	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Krater
	57a	300	200	Cast bronze	Wheel	Krater
Metapontum	1623	290	280	Struck silver	Demeter, head	Barley-ear, krater
	1616	290	280	Struck silver	Demeter, head	Barley-ear, krater
	1706	225	200	Struck bronze	Artemis, head	Krater
Hatria	13	275	225	Cast bronze	Male head	Krater

<b>Type Silenus</b>						
<b>Mint</b>	<b>HNItaly</b>	<b>Start date</b>	<b>End date</b>	<b>Technique</b>	<b>Iconography OBV</b>	<b>Iconography REV</b>
Hatria	11	275	225	Cast bronze	Silenus, head	Dog
Tuder	37	280	240	Struck bronze	Silenus, head	Eagle, wings open
Signia	343	280	275	Struck silver	Mercury, head	Janiform mask, silenus & boar
Metapontum	1670	350	275	Struck bronze	Silenus, head	Barley-grain
	1697	275	250	Struck bronze	Silenus, head	Barley-ear

## Appendix 7. Provenances of colonial coins

This table gives the information and references that were used to create figures 4.16; 4.19; 4.23 and 4.29. A numbered list of all known provenances from north to south can be found at the end of this appendix, and forms the key to the numbers used to identify find spots in these figures.

The appendix lists known provenances of specimens of the third century coinages of the colonies. For Paestum and Brundisium this means that later production is not included. Specimens in (museum) collections are only included when it is clear that the material was collected locally. No information on the exact find context is included, as it is often unclear; note that as a result, the maps do not differentiate between third century circulation and later circulation. I believe the general patterns still reflect third century circulation, as longer use is rare. The column ‘details’ only gives extra information that is relevant to the creation of the maps; other details (e.g. quantities, types etc) are left out. Only when the extra information given needs some explanation, it is included. Provenances are listed alphabetically per colony. I have not included the Strongoli hoard, because its composition seems corrupt (see IGCH 2058).

Some provenances are only known to me because I was able to consult the private archive of Michael Crawford in January 2012. I should like to thank him for his help and openness in sharing these data. Only when his notes gave no other reference, I give ‘Crawford notes’ as a reference. During this time, Saskia Roselaar also worked with the same data. She kindly shared the excel sheet she made during this time with me, which helped me a great deal, especially because some of my own notes went missing due to computer problems.

Known provenances	Details	Reference
Signia (Tarq.S / 495)		
No known provenances	-	Campana 1992-1996, 207
Norba (492)		
Norba, Juno Lucina	-	Perrone 2003, 356, n. 11 with further refs.
Cales (334)		
Agnone	SB	Catalli 1982/1983, 188
Apice	SB; from local collection (Console)	Grella 1979, 243
Aquino, sanctuary of Mefitis	SB	Crawford notes
Ascoli Piceno IGCH 2034	SS	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Campochiaro	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Carsoli stipe	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Casalvieri (Sora)	SB	Catalli 2005, 150
Casamari	SB; from local collection	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Castiglione di Paludi	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Cava de’ Tirreni IGCH 2031	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Chieti	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Collelongo	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Eboli	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Ferento / Viterbese	SB	Catalli 1982, 132



<b>Known provenances</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Fiesole	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Fucine lake	Not identified	Crawford notes
Gabii	SB	Crawford 2003b, 83
Garigliano river	SB	Giove 1998, 132-137
Gravina di Puglia, Botromagno	SB	Chatr Aryamonti 2001, 49
Gravisca	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Ischitella	SB	Libero Mangieri 2013, 95
Isernia	Not identified	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Italy 1862 IGCH 2005	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Impruneta	SB	Crawford 1985a, 292
Jelsi	Not identified	Pantuliano 2005, 367
L'Aquila	Not identified	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Luco dei Marsi	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Manduria	SB; from local collection	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Minturno	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Monte Bibele di Monterenzio	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Monte Vairano	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Montesarchio	SB	Pagano 2009, 994-995
Morino IGCH 1995	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Napoli dintorni IGCH 2012	SS	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Nemi	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Orvieto, santuario Cannicella	SB	Cristofani 1989, 96
Paestum	SS & SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Pietrabbondante	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Pietrabbondante IGCH 1986	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Polizzi Generosa IGCH 2229	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Pompeii	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Rapino	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Rome, San Giovanni	Not identified	Crawford 1985a, 292
San Giovanni in Galdo	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
San Martino in Pensilis	SS	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Satricum	SB	Crawford 2003b, 82; Louwaard 2007, 75
Selinunte	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Sessa Aurunca IGCH 2011	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Sesto Fiorentino	SB	Crawford notes
South Italy IGCH 2009	SS	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Teano, loc. Loreto	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Teano, fondo Ruozzo	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Territorio della Marsica antica	SB	Catalli 2001, 184
Tivoli	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Torricella Peligna	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Tortoreto IGCH 2048	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Tuder	Not identified	Crawford notes

Known provenances	Details	Reference
Valle d'Ansanto-Rocca S. Felice	SB	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Vasto	SG	Catalli 1982/1983, 185
Vicarello	Not identified	Panvini Rosati 1967
Vulcano IGCH 2210	SS	Pantuliano 2005, 367
Luceria (314)		
Aeclanum	Post 220	Grella 1980/1981, 223-236
Cagnano Varano	Post 220	Guzzetta 1982, 75
Campo Laurelli IGCH 2046	CB; date uncertain	Catalli 1982/1983, 192
Campochiaro, scarico B	Post 220	Crawford notes
Castelnuovo della Daunia	Pre 220	HNItaly, 79
Ceglie nella Puglia	Post 220	HNItaly, 79
Larinum	Post 220	Catalli 1982/1983, 193; see also Vitale 2001, 100
Lecce nei Marsi	Post 220	HNItaly, 79
Lucera Belvedere	Post 220	D'Ercole 1990b, 254
Monte Vairano	Post 220	Catalli 1982/1983, 190
Near Lucera	Pre 220	HNItaly, 79
Ordona	Post 220	Scheers 1997, 336; Guzzetta 1982, 73
Paestum	Post 220?	Stazio 1973, 127
Piano di Carpino	Post 220	Guzzetta 1988, 73
Pietrabbondante	Post 220 (Mars/wheel = HNItaly 678?)	Catalli 1982/1983, 188
Rimini	Post 220	Ercolani Cocchi 1995, 407, n. 28
Termoli	Post 220	Crawford 1985a, 287
Valle d'Ansanto-sanctuary Mefitis	Pre 220 & post 220	Vitale 1998a, 277; HNItaly, 79
Vasto	Post 220 (Poseidon/delfine = HNItaly 680)	Catalli 1982/1983, 185
Suessa Aurunca (313)		
Ager faliscus	SB	Catalli 1990, 141
Albania, Missione Italiana	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Albania	SB	Camilleri 2008, 132
Aquino ( <i>ex thesauro Aquinensi</i> )	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
'area beneventana'	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Campochiaro	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Canosa	SB	Siciliano 1992, 661
Canosa di Puglia IGCH 2015	SS	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Capena, Lucus feroniae	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Carsoli stipe	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Casalvieri (Sora)	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Cascia (Valle Fuino)	SB (published as a Calenan bronze, but I read the legend as ]VESA)	Ranucci 2002, 225
Castelfranco (Po valley)	SB	Crawford 1985a, 298
Castiglione di Paludi	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87

<b>Known provenances</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Castropignano	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Cava de' Tirreni IGCH 2031	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Civita Castellana, votive deposit	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Corfinio	SB; local collection	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Fucine lake?	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Gabii	SB	Crawford 2003b, 83
Garigliano	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Italy 1862 IGCH 2005	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Minervino Murge	SS	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Modena (vicinity)	SB	Ercolani Cocchi 1995, 403
Montagna dei Cavalli	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Montecorvino (Salerno)	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Montesarchio	SB	Pagano 2009, 994-995
Morino IGCH 1995	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Mugnano hoard	SB	Crawford 1994
Narce, Mazzano Romano (Monte Li Santi)	SB	Benedettini, Catalli & De Lucia Brolli 1999, 59, n. 10; Catalli 1987, 246
Nemi	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Ortona	SS	Vitale 2009, 69-87; Scheers 1997, 336; Guzzetta 1982, 73
Paestum	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Pietrabbondante	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Pietrabbondante IGCH 1986	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Praeneste, sanctuary of Hercules	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Rossano di Vaglio	SS	Vitale 2009, 69-87
San Giovanni in Galdo	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
San Martino in Pensilis	SS	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Schiavi d'Abruzzo	SB	Lapenna 2006, 127
Sepino	SB	Crawford notes
Satricum	SB	Crawford 2003b, 82
Teano, Fondo Ruozzo	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Tivoli, Acquoria, fossa votiva	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Valle d'Ansanto, Mefitis	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Vicarelo	SB	Vitale 2009, 69-87
Alba Fucens (303)		
Carsoli stipe	-	Vitale 1998a, 256-257
Torricella Peligna	-	Catalli & Campanelli 1983, 146
Carsoli (298)		
Riofreddo	-	Campana 1992-1996, 222; HNIItaly, 43
Vasto	-	Campana 1992-1996, 222; HNIItaly, 43
Venusia (291)		
Albania	Post 220	Camilleri 2008, 132
Fontanarosa RRCH 141	Post 220	Burnett 1991, n.13
Gravina di Puglia, Botromagno	Post 220	Chatr Aryamonti 2001, 53

Known provenances	Details	Reference
Heraclea	Post 220	Siciliano 1994, 154-155
Isola di Fano	Post 220	Siciliano 1994, 154-155; Crawford 1985a, 292
Phoenice (Epirus)	Post 220	Siciliano 1994, 154-155
Rossano di Vaglio	Post 220	Siciliano 1994, 154-155
Venosa	Pre 220	Burnett 1991, n.7
<b>Hatria (289)</b>		
Ager Hatrianus	-	Catalli 1982/1983, 179
Atri	-	Campanelli 2001, 97
Basciano	-	Catalli & Campanelli 1983, 139-140
Citta S. Angelo IGCH 2051	-	IGCH
L'Aquila?	From local collection	Catalli 1982/1983, 179
Muro Leccese	-	Travaglini 1982, 176
Rimini	-	HNItaly, 18
Riva (Trentino)	'casual northward drift'	Crawford 1985, 297
<b>Paestum (273)</b>		
Albium Intemelium (Ventimiglia, Liguria)	Post 220	Bertino 2007, 200
Apice	Post 220	Grella 1979, 243
'Campagna pestana'	Post 220	Ebner 1970, 23-25
Campochiaro	Pre 220	AA.VV. 1980, 224; Catalli 1982/1983, 188
Carsoli stipe	Pre 220	Vitale 1998a, 256-257
Cava de' Tirreni IGCH 2031	Not identified	IGCH; see Vitale 1998a, 280
Citta S. Angelo IGCH 2051	Post 220	IGCH
Croton	Post 220	Ebner 1970, 21
Erice?	Post 220, probable local provenance	Stazio 1973, 121
Garigliano	Post 220	Bellini 1998, 60; Giove 1998, 143
Heraion Sele	Pre 220 & post 220	Stazio 1973, 129-130
Moltone di Tolve	Pre 220	Di Giuseppe 2012, 47
Monte Vairano	Post 220	AA.VV. 1980, 354
Morgantina	Pre 220	Cantilena et al. 1999, 147, n. 191
Paestum	Pre 220 & post 220	Cantilena et al. 1999, 30
Polizzi Generosa IGCH 2229	Pre 220	IGCH
Pompeii-necropoli Azzolini	Post 220	Cantilena 1995, 231
Stabia	Pre 220	Cantilena et al. 1999, 147, n. 191
Teano - Fondo Ruozzo	Post 220	Giove 2001, 211 / 233 (nr. 166)
Tricarico	Pre 220	Crawford 2008, 557
Valle d'Ansanto, Rocca S. Felice	Post 220	Grella 1983, 166
Valle d'Ansanto, Mefitis	Post 220	Vitale 1998, 277
Vasto	Pre 220 (Zeus / Eros su delfino = HNItaly 1184?)	Catalli 1982/1983, 185
<b>Cosa (273)</b>		
Ancarano di Norcia	-	Buttrey 1980, 18-19

Known provenances	Details	Reference
Carsoli stipe	-	Buttrey 1980, 18-19
Chiusi	-	Buttrey 1980, 18-19
Cosa	-	Buttrey 1980, 18-19
Gravisca	-	Vitale 1998a, 221
Italy 1862 IGCH 2005	-	ICGH
Luco dei Marsi	-	Catalli 1982/1983, 181
Orbetello	-	Buttrey 1980, 18-19
Talamone	-	Buttrey 1980, 18-19
Tarquinia	-	Catalli 1995, 110
Tortoreto IGCH 2048	-	Buttrey 1980, 18-19
Vetulonia	-	Buttrey 1980, 18-19
Ariminum (268)		
Avezzano	CB	Catalli 1982/1983, 181
Bordonchio, Rimini	CB	Campana 1992-1996, 26
Carsoli stipe	SB	Ercolani Cocchi 1995, 411; Vitale 1998a, 256-257
Carsulae?	CB	Catalli 1995, 99
Covignano, Rimini	CB & SB	Campana 1992-1996, 26
Este (Baratella)	SB	Gorini 1994, 71; Crawford 1985a, 297
Modena (San Cesario) RRCH 111	SB	RRCH
Monte S. Vicino	CB	Piattelli 1996, 3
Monte Tauro, Coriano, Rimini	CB	Campana 1992-1996, 26
Monti Sibillini	CB	Piattelli 1996, 3
Muro Leccese	-	Travaglini 1982, 176
Porta romana, Rimini	CB	Campana 1992-1996, 26
Rimini	CB & SB	Ercolani Cocchi 1995, 406
S. Vittore di Cingoli	CB	Piattelli 1996, 3
Sarsina	SB	Campana 1992-1996, 27-28
Spain	CB	Ercolani Cocchi 2004, 36
Suasa, from river Cesano	SB	Crawford 2003b, 80
Tortoreto IGCH 2048	SB	Campana 1992-1996, 27-28
Vasciano, Todi	CB	HNItaly, 17; Bergamini Simoni 1996, 86-87
Beneventum (268)		
No known provenances	-	Campana 1992-1996
Firmum (264)		
Falerone	-	Parise 1987, 79-80
Fermo	-	Parise 1987, 79-80
Fermo territory	-	Parise 1987, 79-80
Aesernia (263)		
Aufidena	-	Crawford notes
Baranello	-	Catalli 1982/1983, 190-191
Campobasso	-	Catalli 1982/1983, 190
Campochiaro	-	AA.VV. 1980, 219

<b>Known provenances</b>	<b>Details</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Carsoli stipe	-	Vitale 1998a, 256-257
Casalvieri (Sora)	-	Catalli 2005, 150
Castagneto IGCH 2035	-	Catalli 1982/1983, 178-179; Vitale 1998a, 236
Chieti	-	Campanelli 2001, 96
Italy 1862 IGCH 2005	-	Campana 1992-1996, 297
L'Aquila?	-	Catalli 1982/1983, 179
Luco dei Marsi	-	Catalli 2001, 184
Morino IGCH 1995	-	Campana 1992-1996, 297
Muro Leccese	-	Travaglini 1982, 176
Nemi	-	Vitale 1998a, 242
Paestum	-	Cantilena et al. 1999, 184
Pietrabbondante IGCH 1986	-	Campana 1992-1996, 297
Rapino	-	Catalli & Campanelli 1983, 152; Campanelli 2001, 96
San Giovanni in Galdo	-	AA.VV. 1980, 278
Schiavi d'Abruzzo	-	Lapenna 2006, 127
Sepino	-	AA.VV. 1980, 351
Torricella Peligna (Iuvanum)	-	Catalli & Campanelli 1983, 146; Catalli 1982/1983, 186
Vasto	-	Catalli 1982/1983, 185
Vicarellone votive deposit	-	Panvini Rosati 1968, 60, 73
Villalfonsina	-	Catalli & Campanelli 1983, 142-143; Campanelli 2001, 96
<b>Brundisium (244)</b>		
Albania	-	Camilleri 2008, 132
Brindisi	-	Travaglini 1982, 13, 28, 40, 74, 129
Carife IGCH 2033	-	IGCH
Citta S. Angelo IGCH 2051	-	IGCH
Garigliano	-	Bellini 1998, 60
Manduria	-	Travaglini 1982, 155-156
Mass. Malvindi (Mesagne)	-	Travaglini 1982, 152
Mass. Tenente (Mesagne)	-	Travaglini 1982, 143
Monopoli	-	Crawford working paper
Muro Leccese	-	Travaglini 1982, 176
Paestum	-	Stazio 1973, 127; Cantilena et al. 1999, 18 (nr.21), 120, 122.
Rocavecchia	-	Travaglini 1982, 168-170
Rudiae (Lecce)	-	Travaglini 1982, 163-165
San Pietro Vernotico	-	Travaglini 1982, 150
Torre Rinalda	-	Travaglini 1982, 151
Ugento	-	Travaglini 1982, 182-183
Valesio	-	Travaglini 1982, 146-148

## Key to numbers in figures 4.16; 4.19; 4.23 and 4.29

1	Riva (Trentino)	42	Ferento / Viterbese
2	Castelfranco (Po valley)	43	Cosa
3	Este (Baratella)	44	L'Aquila
4	Albania	45	Chieti
5	Modena	46	Ager faliscus
6	Modena (San Cesario) RRCH 111	47	Gravisca
7	Monte Bibele di Monterenzio	48	Rapino
8	Bordonchio, Rimini	49	Narce
9	Rimini	50	Villalfonsina
10	Monte Tauro, Coriano, Rimini	51	Vicarello
11	Sarsina	52	Capena, Lucus Feroniae
12	Sesto Fiorentino	53	Vasto
13	Fiesole	54	Corfinio?
14	Albium Intemelium (Ventimiglia, Liguria)	55	Carsoli stipe
15	Impruneta	56	Alba Fucens
16	Isola di Fano	57	Territorio della Marsica antica
17	Suasa, from river Cesano	58	Riofreddo
18	Monte S. Vicino	59	Avezzano
19	S. Vittore di Cingoli	60	Torricella Peligna (Iuvanum)
20	Fermo territory	61	Fucine lake
21	Fermo	62	Termoli
22	Falerone	63	Tivoli
23	Chiusi	64	Luco dei Marsi
24	Monti Sibillini	65	Lecce nei Marsi
25	Vetulonia	66	Ischitella
26	Ascoli Piceno	67	Rome, San Giovanni
27	Tortoreto IGCH 2048	68	Collelongo
28	Ancarano di Norcia	69	Gabii
29	Vasciano, Todi	70	San Martino in Pensilis
30	Cascia (Valle Fuino)	71	Morino IGCH 1995
31	Cascia (Valle Fuino)	72	Piano di Carpino
32	Orvieto, santuario Cannicella	73	Praeneste
33	Castagneto IGCH 2035	74	Cagnano Varano
34	Spain	75	Schiavi d'Abruzzo
35	Carsulae?	76	Agnone
36	Basciano	77	Larinum
37	Ager Hatrianus	78	Aufidena
38	Atri	79	Pietrabbondante IGCH 1986
39	Talamone	80	Nemi
40	Citta S. Angelo IGCH 2051	81	Casalvieri (Sora)
41	Orbetello	82	Casamari

83	Castropignano	117	Pompei
84	Isernia	118	Moltone di Tolve
85	San Giovanni in Galdo	119	Stabia
86	Castelnuovo della Daunia	120	Cava de' Tirreni IGCH 2031
87	Norba	121	Montecorvino
88	Campo Laurelli IGCH 2046	122	Rossano di Vaglio
89	Monte Vairano	123	Ceglie della Puglia
90	near Luceria	124	Brindisi
91	Baranello	125	Tricarico
92	Jelsi	126	Eboli
93	Satricum	127	Mass. Tenente (Mesagne)
94	Lucera Belvedere	128	San Pietro Vernotico
95	Aquino, Mefitis	129	Mass. Malvindi (Mesagne)
96	Campochiaro	130	Valesio
97	Sepino	131	Heraion Sele
98	Ortona	132	Campagna pestana
99	Minturno	133	Paestum
100	Teano, loc. Loreto	134	Torre Rinalda
101	Garigliano river	135	Manduria
102	Sessa Aurunca IGCH 2011	136	Lecce
103	Canosa di Puglia	137	Rudiae (Lecce)
104	'Area beneventana'	138	Rocavecchia
105	Apice	139	Heraclea
106	Minervino Murge	140	Muro Leccese
107	Montesarchio	141	Ugento
108	Aeclanum	142	Castiglione di Paludi
109	Carife IGCH 2033	143	Strongoli
110	Venosa (group Haeberlin)	144	Croton
111	Monopoli	145	Vulcano
112	Valle d'Ansanto	146	Erice?
113	Mugnano hoard	147	Montagna dei Cavalli
114	Gnathia	148	Polizzi Generosa IGCH 2229
115	Napoli dintorni	149	Selinunte
116	Gravina di Puglia, Botromagno	150	Morgantina



## Appendix 8. Votive material in the colonies

In this appendix, I discuss the available material per colony, ordered chronologically according to foundation date. I focus on the material that dates to the fourth and third centuries, although I briefly mention earlier material as well. An overview of the main categories of finds that come back in the analysis in section 5.3 is provided in a table at the end of this appendix.

### Signia (Tarquinius Superbus / 495)

At Signia, a relatively intact votive deposit has been found near the temple of Juno Moneta.<sup>1126</sup> Although the material from this votive has not been fully published,<sup>1127</sup> some preliminary remarks give an overview of the broad spectrum of material present, which includes different kinds of pottery, including miniature vessels, terracotta statuettes and heads, some (“*pochi*”) anatomicals and swaddled babies, temple models, dolls, terracotta fruits, metal votive keys, sheet bronzes, two bronze statuettes (one of Hercules, one of an dedicant), a buckle of a Samnite belt, and coins.<sup>1128</sup> The bulk of the material is made up by the black gloss pottery and the statuettes, and one of the black gloss pieces is a *pocolom deorum*, while fragments with a painted H have also been found.<sup>1129</sup> In earlier excavations, the area also yielded sheet bronze figurines and *aes rude*.<sup>1130</sup>

Votive material of the Middle Republic was also found elsewhere in Segni and in its territory; within the town we may mention the recent finds of black gloss pottery, some of which is in miniature, in the area of the forum, and an inscription mentioning Fortuna found in the 19th century together with miniature pottery on the modern *Via dell’Asilo*.<sup>1131</sup>

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<sup>1126</sup> The foundation trench for podium of the temple which is still visible at Segni cuts through the deposit (Cifarelli 1990; Cifarelli 2003, 75). However, early architectural terracottas point to the existence of an earlier temple at the same spot (Cifarelli 2003, 175-182). Before the excavation of the deposit, votive material from the area of the temple was already known: Della Seta 1918, 216-222.

<sup>1127</sup> Cifarelli et al. 2002-2003, 257 mention that the material is under study under the coordination of Francesco Cifarelli and Maria-Jose Strazzulla.

<sup>1128</sup> Cifarelli et al. 2002-2003, 257; see also Ambrosini in the same article (259-280) for more detailed information on the black gloss pottery.

<sup>1129</sup> Cifarelli et al. 2002-2003, in particular 260-261 for a fragment with painted H.

<sup>1130</sup> Della Seta 1918, 221.

<sup>1131</sup> Cifarelli 2012, 378-379; see also Cifarelli 2003, 37. For the Via dell’Asilo finds, see Helbig 1885.

### **Circeii (Tarquinius Superbus / 495)**

At Circeii, the only known votive material from the Middle Republican period comes from Colle Monticchio, to the north of San Felice Circeo. The material includes votive terracottas, black gloss pottery, bronze fragments and two coins.<sup>1132</sup>

### **Norba (492)**

A votive deposit was excavated at the temple of Juno Lucina in Norba at the start of the twentieth century. The material has only recently been completely published, which causes the complication that some material may have been lost in the meantime, and the possibility that some material from another small deposit near the temple has been added to that of the large deposit.<sup>1133</sup> The finds include large quantities of pottery, terracotta statuettes and sheet bronzes, and smaller quantities of terracotta heads and anatomicals, coins, *aes rude*, and objects in metal, amber/glass and bone (see figures 5.5 and 5.6).<sup>1134</sup> The main body of the votive material dates between the fourth and the second centuries, but the presence of earlier material is attested as well.<sup>1135</sup>

Elsewhere in Norba, at the temple of Diana and on the so-called ‘minor acropolis’, votive terracottas and bronze statuettes were found, but they do not come from clear deposits.<sup>1136</sup>

### **Ardea (442)**

At Ardea-Casarinaccio, an intact votive deposit was recently excavated, and all finds have been promptly published in 2005.<sup>1137</sup> The assemblage consists mainly of pottery, with some loom weights, architectural and votive terracottas, metal and stone objects, and faunal remains (see figure 5.5).<sup>1138</sup> The pottery includes both coarse and fine wares, including some imports and various vases with the letters H and HP inscribed in the Greek alphabet, thought to be the abbreviation for ‘Ἡρακλες’.<sup>1139</sup> The only votive terracottas among this material are five fragments of *arulae*.<sup>1140</sup>

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<sup>1132</sup> AA.VV. 1981, 72.

<sup>1133</sup> Perrone 1994; 2003. The problem is noticed by Perrone 2003, 354-355.

<sup>1134</sup> Perrone 2003; see Cesano 1904, 426 on the *aes rude*.

<sup>1135</sup> Quilici and Quilici Gigli 1988, 253.

<sup>1136</sup> For votive material at the temple of Diana, see Savignoni and Mengarelli 1901, 530-532; Quilici Gigli 1996, 39; for votive material from the minor acropolis, AA.VV. 1981, 68; Savignoni and Mengarelli 1901, 539.

<sup>1137</sup> Di Mario and Ceccarelli 2005.

<sup>1138</sup> Di Mario and Ceccarelli 2005.

<sup>1139</sup> For an overview: Di Mario and Ceccarelli 2005, 13; the vases with letters are mentioned on p. 17. More elaborate discussion by Valeria Acconcia on pp. 358-361

<sup>1140</sup> Di Mario and Ceccarelli 2005, 327, 330.

Apart from the votive deposit at Casarinaccio, votive material is known from two other sanctuaries in the town itself, and from several locations in the territory, including one on the plain of Banditella, in the immediate vicinity.<sup>1141</sup> The material at these sites includes votive terracottas, although it is unclear what part of the total assemblage they represent.

### **Setia (383)**

From the town of Setia itself, no votive material is known. However, the sanctuary of Tratturo Caniò in the plain below Setia has yielded high quantities of votive material. The site has yielded material of etrusco-latial-campanian type, a large amount of coins and black gloss pottery, and bronze statuettes.<sup>1142</sup> The high quantities of votives from the inland Apennine area may be explained by the location of the sanctuary on an important transhumance route into the Apennines.<sup>1143</sup>

Another findspot near Setia is *località* Ponte della Valle, which has mainly yielded votive terracottas and black gloss pottery; anatomical terracottas are predominant here.<sup>1144</sup>

### **Sutrium (382)**

No material.

### **Nepes (382)**

No material.

### **Cales (334)**

At Cales, most known votive material comes from surface finds or illegal excavations, which means that contextual information is generally lacking. Several locations within the town area are known to have yielded votive material. In the north of the town, around the cathedral of San Casto (the probable location of the *arx*), votive material from the fourth to second century has been found, including male and female statuettes, anatomical terracottas and miniature pottery.<sup>1145</sup> In the south-eastern part of the settlement, high quantities of black gloss pottery have been found, including

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<sup>1141</sup> Crescenzi and Tortorici 1983, 73 for cult places in town; Melis and Quilici Gigli 1982 on the territory. For the Banditella material, see also Colonna 1995.

<sup>1142</sup> Bruckner 2003; Cassieri 2004; Cassieri 2012.

<sup>1143</sup> Cassieri 2004, 176-177; Cassieri 2012, 425-433.

<sup>1144</sup> Bouma 1996-3, 96-97 (nr. 113).

<sup>1145</sup> Femiano 1988, 78.

many with inscriptions or stamps that refer to Hercules.<sup>1146</sup> The most famous and rich cult place of Cales, which unfortunately has been and continues to be illegally excavated, is connected to the votive deposit at *Ponte delle Monache*, which must be the provenance of many votive terracottas in Spanish collections<sup>1147</sup> and in the archaeological museum of Neapolis.<sup>1148</sup> Most terracottas were probably produced locally,<sup>1149</sup> as seems to be indicated also by the presence of a furnace in the direct vicinity of the area of the votive deposit, still visible at the site.<sup>1150</sup> They include terracotta statuettes and heads, anatomical terracottas and other terracotta objects (see figures 5.3 and 5.11). A black gloss pottery workshop was probably located in the vicinity as well.<sup>1151</sup> Because of the lack of contextual information, *votives par transformation* may not have been recognized as such, although in an early report of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century excavations, no other categories of finds are mentioned.<sup>1152</sup> It therefore remains an open question whether the high quantities of terracottas were associated with other items.<sup>1153</sup>

### **Fregellae (328)**

The suburban Aesculapius sanctuary has yielded high quantities of votive material. More than half of the finds are anatomical terracottas, and in addition to these the finds include large statues, votive heads, black gloss pottery and one coin.<sup>1154</sup> Although most of the material has been published, contextual information is largely lacking, which makes it difficult to distinguish between pottery from the sanctuary in general, and that from the votive deposit.<sup>1155</sup>

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<sup>1146</sup> Pedroni 1992, 573-574. See also Passaro et al. 1993, 54, with figure 46; the find location is indicated in figure 39, nr. 2.

<sup>1147</sup> Blázquez 1961; 1963; Losada Núñez 1983; Gracia Sancho et al. 1987; 1988; Carro Massó 1995.

<sup>1148</sup> Ciaghi 1993, on provenance p. 21.

<sup>1149</sup> Ciaghi 1993, 25 and *passim*, on various *officine calene*.

<sup>1150</sup> A site visit on 11 May 2010 was kindly made possible by d.ssa C. Passaro of the *Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici delle province di Caserta e Benevento*.

<sup>1151</sup> See, recently, Di Giuseppe 2012, 48-49 and 87-89 with previous bibliography.

<sup>1152</sup> Ruggiero 1888, 272-277.

<sup>1153</sup> Cf. the comments by Henig 1995, 481 on Ciaghi 1993.

<sup>1154</sup> For a preliminary publication of anatomicals and terracotta heads: Ferrea 1979; Rizzello 1980, 140-145; Crawford and Keppie 1984; all terracottas are published in Ferrea and Pinna 1986, who mention the coins on p. 144, n. 10.

<sup>1155</sup> In Coarelli and Caputo 1986, the various material categories are published separately; in the chapter on the black gloss pottery (pp. 75-79), the material from the votive deposit is separately listed, but in the chapter on 'ceramica comune' (pp. 83-85) it is unclear which pieces - and how many - come from the votive deposit.

In addition, in the settlement itself, to the west of the forum, votive material (mainly pottery) was found and partly published in the 1970s.<sup>1156</sup> In the southeastern part of the town, many fragments of black gloss pottery, some of them with inscriptions and decorations referring to Hercules, indicate the existence of a sanctuary, possibly dedicated to Hercules.<sup>1157</sup>

### **Luceria (314)**

The Belvedere sanctuary in Luceria has yielded large quantities of votive terracottas (see figures 5.5, 5.9, 5.10, 5.12). Anatomical terracottas are in the majority, followed by terracotta heads, statuettes, animals, architectural terracottas, masks, statues, swaddled babies and *arulae*. Some coins and other metal objects were also among the finds, as were votive discs with divine symbols, which can be related to a tradition known from Taras and Magna Graecia.<sup>1158</sup> After some preliminary publications, this material has been fully published by Maria D'Ercole in 1990,<sup>1159</sup> although some material, including shells, coins, metal objects and pottery, was lost since the excavation.<sup>1160</sup>

### **Saticula (313)**

No material.

### **Suessa Aurunca (313)**

No material.

### **Pontiae (313)**

No material.

### **Interamna Lirenas (312)**

At Interamna Lirenas, two different Mid-Republican votive deposits are known. The first, to the southwest of the settlement, has yielded mainly black gloss pottery and

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<sup>1156</sup> Nicosia 1979, 28-34 ("tempio B"). See Coarelli and Monti 1998, tav. 2, L.

<sup>1157</sup> Coarelli and Monti 1998, 60-61 and tav. 2, H. See also Nicosia 1979, 26-28 ("tempio A").

<sup>1158</sup> D'Ercole 1990b, 309.

<sup>1159</sup> D'Ercole 1990b, with additions in Mazzei and D'Ercole 2003. Previous publications include Bartoccini 1940; Greco 1961-1962; Rossi 1980.

<sup>1160</sup> See D'Ercole 1990b, 16, n. 7 for the possible presence of coins, objects in metal, and shells; on p. 254, n. 513 we find 4 coins, ceramics, and some metal objects (rings in gold and silver, a bronze patera and a small spatula, bronze sheets and a miniature lance in iron). According to the original publication (Bartoccini 1940), the metal objects may be the grave goods of a female grave.

bones, and possibly a terracotta mask.<sup>1161</sup> In addition, another deposit just north of the town had many anatomical terracottas, black gloss pottery and coins;<sup>1162</sup> in recent surveys the same kind of material has been found, together with buff, coarse pottery (*argilla sabbiosa*), and a bronze *anforetta*.<sup>1163</sup> From Interamna Lirenas also come black gloss vases with a stamped club.<sup>1164</sup>

### **Sora (304)**

At Sora, inside the settlement, some votive terracottas have been found on the hill of San Casto, including five heads and two anatomicals.<sup>1165</sup> East of the settlement in *località* Rava Rossa, the existence of a sanctuary dedicated to Hercules and Silvanus is attested by several inscriptions and niches cut out in the rock.<sup>1166</sup> Several bronze statuettes of Hercules and a votive inscription dedicated to Hercules also come from Sora, possibly from the same area.<sup>1167</sup>

At a greater distance from Sora, but probably still within reach for the inhabitants of the colony, is the sanctuary of Casalvieri/Pescarola. Material has been found on various occasions, yet it is only partly published, and it is not always clear if all the material belongs to the same sanctuary. An early publication mentions over two hundred votive terracottas and other votive material including coins and other metal objects dating to the fourth to first centuries BC,<sup>1168</sup> while more recently mention has been made of miniature weapons, sheet bronzes, terracotta animals and masks (including one that is interpreted as fitting in an 'indigenous' tradition), and many coins.<sup>1169</sup>

### **Alba Fucens (303)**

At Alba Fucens, votive material has been found in three different locations. Around the temple on the Colle di San Pietro (now incorporated into the church of San Pietro),

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<sup>1161</sup> Hayes and Wightman 1984, 143; Bouma 1996 v.III, nr. 79a.

<sup>1162</sup> Lena 1982, 63-64; Hayes and Wightman 1984, 143; Beranger 1995, 116; Bouma 1996, v. III, nr. 79b.

<sup>1163</sup> Capozzella 2007, 181-182.

<sup>1164</sup> Nicosia 1979, 38; see Morel 1988, 58, n. 88.

<sup>1165</sup> Rizzello 1980, 84-88; Comella 1981, nr. 76.

<sup>1166</sup> CIL X 5708 (= I<sup>2</sup> 1531= ILLRP I.136 = ILS 3411) mentions Hercules; see Solin and Beranger 1981, 57. The inscription is dated to the middle of the second century. CIL X 5709 and 5710 both mention Silvanus. See again further commentary in Solin and Beranger 1981, 58. See Beranger 1981, 64 (nr. 23); Coarelli 1982, 231; Tanzilli 1982, 144, 146 (nr. 8); Bouma 1996-3, 97 (nr. 115c); Beranger 1997, 331; Rizzello 1999, 76; Mezzazappa 2003, 105 f. (nr. 5), 124.

<sup>1167</sup> See Demma and Cerrone 2012, 539-541. For the votive inscription: Tanzilli 2009, 47-48.

<sup>1168</sup> Rizzello 1980, 93-133; Rizzello 1996, 8.

<sup>1169</sup> Catalli 2005. Note that the (rather unclear) map accompanying this article (tavola Ia) seems to indicate a different find location than the drawing in Rizzello 1980, 107 (dis. 8).

mainly female statuettes in terracotta were found, and some statuettes in bronze.<sup>1170</sup> On the Pettorino, part of the foundations and rock cuttings for the podium of a temple are visible, and in the direct surroundings, a terracotta votive head and a mask were found.<sup>1171</sup> No anatomical terracottas are reported from either site.

The most extensively researched cult place in Alba Fucens is the sanctuary of Hercules in the lower settlement.<sup>1172</sup> Already during the Belgian excavations in the 1950s, material from the third century (black gloss pottery and a Middle Republican coin) was found in the lower strata underneath the square.<sup>1173</sup> In recent excavations, more information on the earlier phases of the sanctuary has come to light.<sup>1174</sup> Underneath the level of the pavement of the square, many votives were found, mostly bronze statuettes, most of which (n=53) show Hercules in assault, while two represent Hercules at rest, and the remaining two are worshippers (see figure 5.7). The statuettes cover a date range between the end of the fourth century and the Social War, while some specimens may even be older.<sup>1175</sup> In addition, other metal objects include some Herculean attributes (clubs and lion skins), fragments of a large statue, a bovine, a miniature bow and some coins, all in bronze, with some iron objects intermixed.<sup>1176</sup> These metal votives were all found close together. In the vicinity, some stone *cippi* and bases were found, two of which bear a dedicatory inscription to Hercules; they date to the late second and early first centuries.<sup>1177</sup> While this material was found in clearly recognizable *nuclei*, pottery fragments and architectural terracottas were found more dispersed throughout the level underneath the pavement: the pottery includes black gloss vases dedicated to Hercules, either through an H incised or depicted on the bowl or a stamp of a club or an anchor (see figure 5.8).<sup>1178</sup> Very few terracotta votives are among the material found here: some statuettes of worshippers and bovines, and fragments of larger statues.<sup>1179</sup>

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<sup>1170</sup> De Visscher and Mertens 1957, 170; for the temple see Mertens 1969b, 13-22; Coarelli 1984a, 95; Mertens 1988, 98.

<sup>1171</sup> For the temple: Mertens 1969b, 8-12; Coarelli 1984a, 89, 91; for the votive material: Fiorelli 1885, 483; Fenelli 1975, nr. 47; Comella 1981, nr. 117.

<sup>1172</sup> De Visscher et al. 1963; Mertens 1969a, 72; Balty 1969; Lauter 1971, 55; Coarelli 1984a, 84-87; Mertens 1988, 94 f. 104; Mertens 1991, 106

<sup>1173</sup> De Visscher et al. 1963 and Balty 1969, 87-96.

<sup>1174</sup> Liberatore 2009; Villa 2009.

<sup>1175</sup> Villa 2009, 64, with n. 7.

<sup>1176</sup> Villa 2009, 62.

<sup>1177</sup> Liberatore 2009, 218.

<sup>1178</sup> Liberatore 2009, 219.

<sup>1179</sup> Liberatore 2009, 219.

## Narnia (299)

No material. A fragment of an *arula* is known from Narnia, but it probably dates only to the late second or early first century.<sup>1180</sup>

## Carseoli (298)

Large quantities of votive material were found in a sanctuary near Carseoli, generally interpreted as an extra-urban sanctuary belonging to the town. The site, located close to the modern town of Carsoli, was largely excavated by Antonio Cederna in the 1950s,<sup>1181</sup> but the material preliminarily published is only part of the material known to have come from this site.<sup>1182</sup> The site has yielded a great variety of material, among which many third century coins, *aes rude*, anatomical votives and other etrusco-latial-campanian material including swaddled babies,<sup>1183</sup> but also pottery, including a *pocolom* dedicated to Vesta, and metal objects including bronze statuettes and sheet bronzes (see figures 5.2 and 5.5).<sup>1184</sup> One black gloss vase may have a stamp with the letter H.<sup>1185</sup> As most of the material dates to the third century, the start of the sanctuary has been connected to the foundation of the colony at Carseoli.<sup>1186</sup> It should be noted, however, that some of the terracottas found may also date to an earlier period of the fifth and fourth centuries.<sup>1187</sup> The enormous amount of coins found at Carseoli is exceptional.<sup>1188</sup>

A second large deposit was found on a spur directly to the south-west of the settlement itself, called *San Pietro* or *Sancti Pietri*. Cut by the walls of a building in *opus incertum* with two elliptic apses -possibly a temple- of the late Republican period, a stratum was found here filled with votive material.<sup>1189</sup> Many votives of the

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<sup>1180</sup> Monacchi 1986, 161 refers to Ricciotti 1978, 102-106; nos. 71-91; tav. XXXVII-XLIII); the date is that give by Ricciotti.

<sup>1181</sup> Cederna 1951; Cederna 1953; see also Comella 1981, nr. 116; for the terracotta heads Marinucci 1976.

<sup>1182</sup> See Biella 2006 for the earlier finds.

<sup>1183</sup> Biella 2006, 355.

<sup>1184</sup> Cederna 1951; 213, figure 17 for the *pocolom*.

<sup>1185</sup> Cederna 1951, 211, n. 50; Morel 1988, 58, n. 89 casts some doubt on the identification of the letter.

<sup>1186</sup> Cederna 1951, 176, 217; Comella 1981, nr. 116.

<sup>1187</sup> Comella 1981, 773; Coarelli 1984b, 62; Marinucci 1976, 17-18.

<sup>1188</sup> The ca. 800 coins included in figure 5.1 are those published by Cederna 1951; Panvini Rosati 1967, 61 mentions that ca. 3000 specimens were found in total; see Vitale 1998a, 258 for these; she notes that some other material may have intermingled with the finds of the 1951 campaign. Biella 2006 suggests that the 180 coins found in 1908, which are included in the publication in Cederna 1951, were probably not pertinent to the sanctuary.

<sup>1189</sup> Pfeiffer and Ashby 1905, 122 (nr. 24); Gatti and Onorati 1990, nr. 44; For the excavation: Lapenna 1991; Lapenna 2004, 149-150; Riccitelli 2009. The votive material was found



etrusco-latial-campanian type were found here, including terracotta anatomicals, heads and half-heads, fruits, animals and statuettes. In addition, loomweights and ceramics are present, including some fragments of black gloss, and some bronze objects: four statuettes, a small phallus and some coins.<sup>1190</sup> As a furnace was also found on the terrain, it is probable that (votive) terracottas were produced at the site.<sup>1191</sup>

### **Venusia (291)**

The main nucleus of votive material found in Venusia comes from old excavations near the amphitheatre, and includes anatomical terracottas, female heads, *eroti*, loomweights and a fictile votive disc:<sup>1192</sup> a mixture of etrusco-latial-campanian elements and local or Greek elements. Especially for the votive disk and the *eroti*, reference has been made to Tarentine production and associated traditions.<sup>1193</sup>

At the sanctuary of Monticchio near Venosa, only terracotta statuettes are present, while anatomical votives are lacking.<sup>1194</sup> The parallels for the statuettes point to contacts in the Lucanian area.<sup>1195</sup>

### **Hadria (289)**

At Hadria, votive material of a different character has been found in two different locations.<sup>1196</sup> In the extreme western part of the town, votive terracottas have been found, including heads, feet and phalli,<sup>1197</sup> while near the cathedral, black gloss, Gnathian pottery, and an *arula* may be related to a cult place.<sup>1198</sup> The *arula* is not isolated: similar specimens are known from elsewhere in Atri and its territory (see figure 5.13).<sup>1199</sup> South of Hadria an extra-urban sanctuary has been located at San Romualdo, where terracotta heads, animals, statuettes and anatomicals have been

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distributed over a large area, and seems to be divided in several substrata of fragments of different sizes.

<sup>1190</sup> For the finds: Riccitelli 2009, 241.

<sup>1191</sup> Lapenna 2004, 125.

<sup>1192</sup> See Pesce 1936; Marchi et al. 1990, 13; Sabbatini 1991 (specifically p. 94 on the provenance of the material collected in the *collezione Briscece* from the excavations at the amphitheater). Marchi and Salvatore 1997, 33 suggest that the votive material may be related to a possible cult building underneath the SS. Trinità.

<sup>1193</sup> Marchi and Salvatore 1997, 9.

<sup>1194</sup> Torelli 1991b, 19

<sup>1195</sup> Marchi and Salvatore 1997, 9, n. 32, who claim that the deposit 'presenta connotati tipicamente lucani'.

<sup>1196</sup> Guidobaldi 1995, 200-203 gives an overview.

<sup>1197</sup> See Brizio 1901, 185-186; Guidobaldi 1995, 201.

<sup>1198</sup> Guidobaldi 1995, 202-203. A temple at this location is suggested by the presence of a potnia theron antefix. Guidobaldi makes a connection to the temple mentioned in CIL I<sup>2</sup> 1896 (=CIL I<sup>2</sup> IV (1986) p.1051).

<sup>1199</sup> See Guidobaldi 1995, 208-210.

found.<sup>1200</sup> In addition, around the turn of the century, Edoardo Brizio excavated an extra-urban sanctuary close to Atri to the north; although the exact location is not clear, it has been suggested to be Colle Maralto.<sup>1201</sup> The votive material found here includes anatomical terracottas, female heads, and spindle whorls.

### Paestum (273)

Paestum is very rich in votive material, although the state of publication is not always good, especially when it comes to entire assemblages. The sanctuary of Santa Venera, just outside the city walls, has yielded many votive terracotta, which have been published and analysed in detail.<sup>1202</sup> However, other kinds of material, such as pottery, bone, alabaster and amber objects, and coins are only mentioned briefly, and their relation to the terracottas and each other remains unclear.<sup>1203</sup> Most of the material can no longer be connected to the several *loculi* and *stipi* recognized at the moment of excavation.<sup>1204</sup> At another extramural sanctuary, just outside the Porta Marinam a votive deposit with material from the fifth through to the second century has been found.<sup>1205</sup> Even though it is certain that the deposit contains material from the third and second centuries, no etrusco-latial-campanian votives were found here. Instead, the deposit was filled with ceramics, including black gloss plates, terracotta weights, miniature cups, round oscilla, and lamps.

In the two main sanctuaries inside the town walls, we find many different kinds of votives. In the northern sanctuary, votive material from the archaic period through to the period after the foundation of the colony has been found.<sup>1206</sup> Some of the material was found in a votive deposit, apparently belonging to the Athena temple in the sanctuary; this includes hundreds of terracottas statuettes of Athena ranging in date from the archaic to the Roman period, but also miniature votive armour in

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<sup>1200</sup> See Comella 1981, nr. 8; Staffa 2001, 130; Staffa refers to Minervini, G. 1854, 'Terrecotte scoperte in vicinanza di Atri nella provincia del I Abruzzo Ulteriore' in *Bullettino Archeologico Napoletano* n.s. III, n. 51, p. 5 (non vidi).

<sup>1201</sup> Brizio 1901, 181-185; Azzena 1987a, 17-20; Guidobaldi 1995, 200; Staffa 2001, 127-128, figures 132-133.

<sup>1202</sup> Ammerman 2002

<sup>1203</sup> Pedley in Tocco Sciarelli et al. 1987, 405-408 has more detailed information on the archaic period than on the Roman period; Torelli in Tocco Sciarelli et al. 1987, 408-411 only mentions 'ex-voto preziosi'. The coins of Santa Venera are partly published in Cantilena et al. 1999, 87-88. Pedley 1993, 71-72, with n. 34, mentions a votive pit next to the so-called *oikos* (locus 6609), filled with votive objects, mainly pottery, but also including 6 bone fragments, a fragment of stucco, charcoal, a shell, a piece of bronze and a piece of iron, and a bronze uncial as.

<sup>1204</sup> The problem is also signalled by Ammerman 2002, 10-11.

<sup>1205</sup> Cipriani in Tocco Sciarelli et al. 1987, 401-402; the deposit is possibly related to a temple at the same location; see Zevi 1990, 285; Torelli 1999c, 82.

<sup>1206</sup> For an overview: Avagliano in Tocco Sciarelli et al. 1987, 375-377.

bronze, such as a cuirass and greaves, of unclear date.<sup>1207</sup> A dolium rim with the inscription [m]enerv[ae] was also found in this deposit, signaling the continuation of the cult into the Roman period.<sup>1208</sup> Another deposit was located in the same sanctuary, but had quite different material, again continuing into the third century, and possibly related to a cult of Aphrodite and/or Dionysos:<sup>1209</sup> statuettes of nude or seminude female figures and of Eros, sometimes on a dolphin, female dancers, doves, statuettes of Dionysos, satyrs, reclining figures, masks, and ithyphallic youths.

The southern sanctuary shows an even more diverse spectrum of votive material, which confirms the rich variety of cults also indicated by the many altars and sacelli within the sanctuary (see chapter 3). Although various votive deposits and *bothroi* were recognized, most of the material from the older excavations does not have a discrete, known provenance,<sup>1210</sup> including terracotta statuettes of Hera, Cybele and Attis, bronze statuettes of Hercules, winged eroti, terracotta shields, arrow heads, small bronze harpoons, sling stones and black gloss pottery with inscriptions in Greek (HR or HRA in ligature), and stamps with attributes of Hercules.<sup>1211</sup> Again, this material represents a chronological arc that goes from the archaic to the Roman period. The black gloss pottery probably dates around the foundation of the colony, and the find of a small inscribed base for a bronze statuette of Hercules, as we learn from the Latin inscription, shows that such bronzes were dedicated after the foundation of the colony.<sup>1212</sup> In addition, a date after the foundation of the colony is suggested for the votive material found underneath the Roman altar from the temple of Neptune (dated to the second century), where anatomical terracottas and masks of female heads were found, as well as bronze armlets.<sup>1213</sup> During more recent excavations around the amphiprostylos temple in the northern part of the sanctuary, *Heraklesschalen* and a lead statuette of Hercules were found.<sup>1214</sup> One of the few discrete archaeological contexts which can be interpreted as a votive deposit from the

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<sup>1207</sup> Sestieri 1955, 39-40.

<sup>1208</sup> ILP 7. See Sestieri 1952, 127; Torelli 1999c, 53, pl. 4.

<sup>1209</sup> Sestieri 1955, 39-40; Avagliano in Tocco Sciarelli et al. 1987, 377; Ardivino 1986, 49-50. Torelli 1999f, 46 also suggests a cult of Liber.

<sup>1210</sup> See Cipriani in Tocco Sciarelli et al. 1987, 381: the material was often already shuffled in antiquity.

<sup>1211</sup> For an overview: Cipriani in Tocco Sciarelli et al. 1987, 382-385; see also Sestieri 1955, 38-39 and 43, n. 1; Ardivino 1986, 58. Some of the material is on display at the museum on the site.

<sup>1212</sup> Cipriani in Tocco Sciarelli et al. 1987, 383 gives a date for the black gloss pottery in the early third century; she mentions the base on p. 384 (with tav. LIX). The inscription on the base reads C.Folius T.f. / H(e)rcolei merit(o) (Torelli 1999c, 54).

<sup>1213</sup> Torelli 1999c, 60 quotes Sestieri, P.C. 1976, *Paestum*. Itinerari dei Musei, Gallerie e Monumenti d'Italie 84 12th edn. Rome, 18 (non vidi). See also Cipriani in AA.VV. 1987, 381.

<sup>1214</sup> D'Ambrosio in Greco et al. 1999, 42.

Middle Republican period was excavated more recently between the temple underneath the macellum and the round structure south of it (so outside the temenos of the southern sanctuary). The quadrangular cavity was filled with ceramics (table wares and coarse wares), objects in terracotta, metal and ivory, a terracotta louterion, and several faunal remains.<sup>1215</sup>

Apart from the material from underneath the Roman altar from the temple of Neptune, two other locations in the town of Paestum have yielded votive material of the etrusco-latial-campanian type.<sup>1216</sup> Large quantities of anatomicals and swaddled babies were found in the so-called *giardino romano* (the area around the *tempio italico* between the southern sanctuary and the forum) (see figure 5.4).<sup>1217</sup> This includes specimens with *bulla*, *lorum* and *pileus libertatis*. In addition, two swaddled babies are among the material in the fill that covers the so-called ‘edificio circolare’ to the north of the forum, probably the bouleuterion of the Greek town.<sup>1218</sup> In both cases, there is discussion whether this etrusco-latial-campanian material is introduced after the foundation of the colony, or had been present also before the arrival of the colonists. Emanuele Greco has argued repeatedly that these votives were in use already before 273, claiming that they show ‘la solidarietà tra i Lucani di Paestum e le pratiche culturali italiche e laziali in particolare’.<sup>1219</sup> The main argument for this claim is stratigraphic evidence from the excavation of the curia and the surrounding tabernae in the *giardino romano*.<sup>1220</sup> Others, however, continue to argue for a date after the foundation, mainly on historical grounds: the presence of this material in Paestum would be best explained by the movement of colonists.<sup>1221</sup> However, the stratigraphic evidence here seems to argue against this correlation.<sup>1222</sup>

In summary, Paestum shows a rich array of votive material representing both a Greek tradition (such as the naked female statuettes and *eroti*) and an italic tradition (such as the bronze statuette of Hercules), alongside etrusco-latial-campanian material, with different cult places apparently asking for different kinds of votive material. The picture is blurred somewhat by the lack of clarity on the chronologies of the material: it is not always clear whether the ‘Greek’ material continues after the

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<sup>1215</sup> Greco et al. 1999, 51, US 11.

<sup>1216</sup> See Ardivino 1986, 167-169.

<sup>1217</sup> See Torelli 1999c, 61-62.

<sup>1218</sup> Greco and Theodorescu 1983, 79-84.

<sup>1219</sup> Greco 1985, 232, referring to Greco and Theodorescu 1983, 82. See also Greco 1988, 79-80.

<sup>1220</sup> Greco and Theodorescu 1980, 18-20; Greco and Theodorescu 1983, 132; Greco and Theodorescu 1990, 89.

<sup>1221</sup> E.g. Ardivino 1986, 167-169; Torelli 1999c, 74-76, specifically on swaddled babies with *bulla*, *lorum* and *pileus libertatis* (see above).

<sup>1222</sup> I agree with Crawford 2006, 61 that Torelli has not proven a colonial date of these statuettes.

foundation of the colony, and whether the etrusco-latial-campanian material is already adopted before the arrival of the colonists.

### **Cosa (273)**

At Cosa, surprisingly little votive material is known in comparison to the scale of investigation, although the scarcity in finds does fit well with the general picture for the earliest period of existence of the colony in the third century.<sup>1223</sup> Some votive terracottas, such as heads, statuettes, masks and anatomicals, were found on the *arx*, mostly in the surface layers of the excavation, where votive *par transformation* may not have been recognized as such.<sup>1224</sup> In addition, the fill underneath the ‘capitolium’ temple on the *arx* (covering the natural cleft filled with carbonized vegetable material, interpreted by Frank Brown as the remains of the sacrifice of the first fruits of the colonists) yielded pottery and lamps dating between 225 and 150, including black gloss of the *atelier des petites estampilles*, Genucilia plates and one *pocolom*.<sup>1225</sup> Although not all of the material is necessarily cultic or votive in nature, it is thought that at least part of this material was used in a ritual ceremony before building the temple.<sup>1226</sup> Cosa has also yielded pottery with the letter H,<sup>1227</sup> and one bronze statuette.<sup>1228</sup>

### **Ariminum (268)**

At Ariminum, the only clear votive context is a foundation deposit underneath the defensive walls, with the skeleton of a dog and 3 bronze coins (see chapter 4),<sup>1229</sup> which shows us little of ‘popular’ votive practices. In addition, several *pocola deorum* and black gloss vases with a H come from Ariminum.<sup>1230</sup> The *pocola* were found in the area of the *ex palazzo Battaglini*, on the border of the ancient town.<sup>1231</sup> The stratum in which they were found also yielded much other third century material, including coins, wasters and spacers; possibly, their presence here is related to production rather than consumption.

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<sup>1223</sup> Fentress and Bodel 2003, 14.

<sup>1224</sup> Brown et al. 1960, 377-380; Comella 1981, nr. 33.

<sup>1225</sup> Taylor 1957, 75-91 (the *pocolom* is A38); Brown et al. 1960, 9-15.

<sup>1226</sup> Taylor 1957, 70.

<sup>1227</sup> Taylor 1957, plates 20 and 44.

<sup>1228</sup> To my knowledge, the statuette has not been published, but it is on display in the antiquarium at Cosa, with a sign reading ‘restauro cinta muraria (anni 1999-2000) / bronzetto’.

<sup>1229</sup> Ortalli 1990.

<sup>1230</sup> For the ‘Herculean’ material: Susini 1965a, 147.

<sup>1231</sup> See Zuffa 1962, 92-97 for the find context; 97-109 for the first publication of the *pocola*. See also Susini 1965b, 87; Morel 1973; Franchi de Bellis 1995; Minak 2006a. Three have (parts of) the word *pocolom* written on them; they are included in the list of *pocola deorum* given by Nonnis in Cifarelli et al. 2002-2003, appendix II. A new specimen is presented by Minak 2006b; Braccesi 2006b.

In addition, one *arula* from Ariminum has recently been recognized. It comes from a pit filled with fragments of coarse and black gloss pottery, amphoras, animal bones and wood, which may possibly be identified as a small votive deposit.<sup>1232</sup>

In the territory of Ariminum, at Covignano (Villa Ruffi), votive material from a wide chronological period between the sixth century BC and the first century AD was found in the late 19th century.<sup>1233</sup> The material includes pottery, bronze statuettes and two statuettes in marble; the statuettes all predate the colony.<sup>1234</sup> Unfortunately, the material is not published well enough to know much specific about the third century.

### **Beneventum (268)**

Votive material is known from two different locations in town.<sup>1235</sup> At Piazza Orsini, a deposit with ceramics and votive terracottas has been found, although the nature of the terracottas remains unclear.<sup>1236</sup> At the medieval church of S. Ilario black gloss pottery and some fragments of votive terracottas have been found.<sup>1237</sup> In both cases, the earliest material is said to date to the central years of the fourth century, thus before the foundation of the colony.

### **Firmum (264)**

No material.

### **Aesernia (263)**

No votive material is known to have been found in the settlement of Aesernia. In the territory, however, in *località* S. Angelo (Macchia d'Isernia), a votive deposit was found with both anatomical votives and bronze statuettes of Hercules.<sup>1238</sup>

### **Brundisium (244)**

No votive deposits are known from Brundisium. However, the material in the local museum includes votive material: female terracotta statuettes, bronze statuettes of Hercules, two moulds for votive discs and two *arulae*, though one of the *arulae* and the

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<sup>1232</sup> Farfaneti 2006, specifically pp. 61 and 66.

<sup>1233</sup> Zuffa 1970, 303-305 (nr. 3).

<sup>1234</sup> Romualdi 1987 and Ortalli 1987 publish the early bronze and marble statuettes.

<sup>1235</sup> See Galasso 1983, 28-29 for bronze statuettes from Castelpagano. I consider the distance between Benevento and Castelpagano too large for these to be included in this overview.

<sup>1236</sup> Giampaola 2000, 36.

<sup>1237</sup> Giampaola 1990, 282, with figures 6 and 7.

<sup>1238</sup> Pagano 2007, 15-16.

moulds may predate the colony.<sup>1239</sup> Although these objects do not have a provenance, it is suggested that they were locally produced, as other specimens are known from the Salento peninsula. In addition, third century graves in the Via Capuccini necropolis have yielded terracotta statuettes of female figures and horses which we find in votive contexts elsewhere.<sup>1240</sup> This material was available, apparently, in Brundisium, although we do not find it in votive contexts.

### **Spoletium (241)**

Two places in the town of Spoletium have yielded third century votive material. On the Colle Sant'Elia, identified as the *arx* of the settlement, black gloss pottery has been found together with votive terracottas including an anatomical terracotta in the shape of a phallus, a terracotta head, an arula, two bovines and architectural fragments. From the same site come ceramics and votive bronzes datable between the seventh and the fifth century, and later imperial votive material.<sup>1241</sup> Second, near the defensive walls, at San Nicolò three arulae were found, together with some other material which seems to point at pottery production.<sup>1242</sup> *Arulae* and terracotta statuettes have also been found in the territory of Spoletium, at Colle dei Capuccini and Campello respectively.<sup>1243</sup>

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<sup>1239</sup> Sciarra 1976; for the terracotta statuettes: p. 11-12, figures 61-64; for the bronze statuettes: p. 9, nrs. 42-48; for the votive discs: p. 40-41, figures 280-281; for the *arulae*: p. 32, nr. 199 (probable provenance: Muro Tenente); p. 39, nr. 261.

<sup>1240</sup> Cocchiaro and Andreassi 1988, e.g. 71-72; 76-77; 82.

<sup>1241</sup> Morigi 2003, 48.

<sup>1242</sup> The arulae are mentioned by Sisani 2007, 96. In the archaeological museum of Spoleto, these arulae are on display together with other finds from San Nicolò, including black gloss pottery (some stamped material), small and larger *olle* and lids, spacers, and waters of pottery and architectural terracottas.

<sup>1243</sup> Sisani 2007, 96.

Date	Colony	Location	Coins	Votive terracottas (ELC)	Bronze statuettes	Pocola	Herculean BG (stamped / painted / incised)
TS/495	Signia	Juno Moneta General	V (-)	V V Mostly statuettes	V - 2; and sheet bronzes	V 1 -	V
TS/495	Circeii	Colle Monticchio	V 2	V	-	-	-
492	Norba	Juno Lucina General	V (-)	V V 108, mostly statuettes	V V Mostly sheet bronzes	- -	-
442	Ardea	Casarinaccio General	- (-)	- V	- -	- -	V
383	Setia	Tratturo Caniò Ponte della Valle	V (-)	V V >200	V - V	- -	-
382	Sutrium	-	-	-	-	-	-
382	Nepet	-	-	-	-	-	-
334	Cales	San Casto South-east Ponte delle Monache	(-) (-) (-)	V - V Many	- - -	- -	V
328	Fregellae	Aesculapius General	V (-)	V V 1 Many	- -	- -	V
314	Luceria	Belvedere	V	V	V	-	-
313	Saticula	-	-	-	-	-	-
313	Suessa Aurunca	-	-	-	-	-	-
313	Pontiae	-	-	-	-	-	-
312	Interamna Lirernas	Southwest North	(-) V	V V 1 mask	- -	- -	V
304	Sora	Casalvieri / Pescara Rava Rossa San Casto General	v - - (-)	V - V Many	V - - V Mainly Hercules	- - - -	-



Date	Colony	Location	Coins	Votive terracottas (ELC)	Bronze statuettes	Pocola	Herculean BG (stamped / painted / incised)
303	Alba Fucens	San Pietro Pettorino Hercules	(-) (-) V Some	V V -	- - V Mainly Hercules	- - -	V
299	Narnia	-	-	-	-	-	-
298	Carseoli	Carsoli Sancti Pietri	V >800 V Some	V Many V Many	V V	V 1 -	V? -
291	Venusia	Amphitheatre Monticchio	(-) (-)	V Only statuettes	- -	- -	- -
289	Hadria	West Near cathedral San Romualdo Colle Maralto (?)	(-) (-) (-) (-)	V (V) Only 1 <i>arula</i> V V	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
273	Paestum	Sta. Venera Porta Marina Northern sanctuary Southern sanctuary Giardino romano Fill edificio circolare	V (-) (-) (-) (-) V	V Many - - V V Many V	- - - V - -	- - - - - -	V
273	Cosa	Arx - fill underneath temple Arx - general Near defensive wall	- (-) (-)	- V -	- - V 1	V 1 - -	V
268	Ariminum	Foundation deposit General Villa Ruffi	V 3 (-) (-)	- (V) Only 1 <i>arula</i> -	- - V Predate colony	- V 4 -	V

Date	Colony	Location	Coins	Votive terracottas (ELC)	Bronze statuettes	Pocola	Herculean BG (stamped / painted / incised)
268	Beneventum	Piazza Orsini S. Ilario	(-) (-)	V V	- -	- -	- -
264	Firmum	-	-	-	-	-	-
263	Aesernia	S. Angelo	(-)	V	V	-	-
244	Brundisium	General	(-)	(V) <i>Arulae</i>	V	-	-
241	Spoletium	Colle Sant'Elia	(-)	V Includes <i>arulae</i>	V Predate colony	-	-

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## Abbreviations

AE	L'Année Épigraphique
DNP	Der Neue Pauly
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
EDR	Epigraphic Database Roma ( <a href="http://www.edr-edr.it/">http://www.edr-edr.it/</a> )
HNItaly	Historia Numorum Italy (Rutter et al. 2001)
IGCH	Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards (Thompson et al. 1973)
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
II	Imagines Italicae (Crawford et al. 2011)
ILLRP	Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae (Degrassi 1957)
ILP	Le Iscrizioni Latine di Paestum (Mello and Voza 1968)
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (Dessau 1892)
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
RRCH	Roman Republican Coin Hoards (Crawford 1969)

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## Nederlandse samenvatting

Latijnse kolonisatie in Italië voor het einde van de Tweede Punische Oorlog:  
koloniale gemeenschappen en culturele verandering

De succesvolle en snelle expansie van Rome op het Italische schiereiland in de vierde en derde eeuw v. Chr. werd mede mogelijk gemaakt door de stichting van Latijnse kolonies in Centraal Italië. Dit proefschrift onderzoekt de rol van deze kolonies in processen van culturele verandering. Traditioneel zijn zij beschouwd als kleine, geromaniseerde enclaves die standaard naar het voorbeeld van de moederstad waren vormgegeven en op die manier een bijdrage leverden aan de verspreiding van de Romeinse cultuur. Verschillende recente bijdragen hebben kritische kanttekeningen geplaatst bij dit beeld van de kolonies, en de gevolgen daarvan voor onze ideeën over de rol van de kolonies in processen van culturele verandering worden in dit proefschrift onderzocht. Daarnaast is het traditionele beeld gebaseerd op een vrij statisch begrip van zowel de kolonies als van ‘Romeinse cultuur’: het schetst een proces waarin een helder gedefinieerde Romeinse cultuur werd overgebracht naar de kolonies op het moment van stichting, en zich vanuit daar verder verspreidde. De analyse in dit proefschrift gaat uit van een meer dynamische rol van de kolonies. Uitgangspunt is dat de stichting van de kolonies het begin vormde van een nieuwe gemeenschap, die weliswaar was ontstaan op Romeins initiatief, maar vervolgens een eigen leven leidde. Door te onderzoeken hoe deze gemeenschappen gevormd werden in interactie met de buitenwereld (niet alleen Rome), kunnen we ook hun rol in processen van culturele verandering beter begrijpen.

Het onderzoek is vergelijkend van aard, waarbij gelijke aandacht wordt besteed aan overeenkomsten en verschillen tussen de kolonies. De analyse is gebaseerd op zowel geschreven als materieel bronmateriaal, en neemt alle 28 kolonies in overweging die zijn gesticht in de periode voor het einde van de Eerste Punische Oorlog, met een focus op de periode tussen het einde van de Latijnse oorlog (338 v. Chr.) en het einde van de Tweede Punische Oorlog (201 v. Chr.) (zie de tabel op pagina 6). Daarbij staan drie manieren waarop de koloniale gemeenschappen zich vormden centraal: (1) de institutionele en fysieke interventies die de nederzetting en gemeenschap letterlijk vormden,

zowel tijdens de stichting als daarna; (2) de zelfrepresentatie van de kolonies in de buitenwereld, gebaseerd op de koloniale muntslag; (3) het handelen van de inwoners van de kolonies, waarbij de aandacht specifiek uitgaat naar het votiefmateriaal dat in heiligdommen werd geschonken.

Voor elk van deze ‘vormingsprocessen’ is het van belang om de relatie te begrijpen tussen datgene wat zich afspeelde op lokaal niveau en ontwikkelingen die plaatsvonden op grotere schaal. Het conceptuele kader dat dit mogelijk maakt, is ontleend aan globaliseringstheorie. In deze tak van wetenschap zijn modellen ontwikkeld die de interactie tussen lokale en globale ontwikkelingen conceptualiseren zonder er daarbij vanuit te gaan dat die interactie leidt tot meer uniformiteit. Dit staat in contrast tot het traditionele denken over de kolonies, waarbij de aandacht vooral uitging naar elementen die de ‘Romeinsheid’ van de kolonies onderstreepten. Een van de belangrijke inzichten van het romaniseringsdebat is dat Romeinse cultuur niet vaststaat, maar constant werd gevormd door diegenen die zichzelf als Romeins beschouwden. In dit proefschrift worden de kolonies bestudeerd als plekken waar een actieve bijdrage werd geleverd aan dit proces, juist doordat ze interacteerden met een bredere wereld.

Om de rol van de kolonies in processen van culturele verandering te begrijpen, is het allereerst van belang om te weten wie de bewoners van de kolonies waren: hun herkomst is een belangrijke potentiële invloed op de koloniale gemeenschap. Op basis van een analyse van de geschreven bronnen en onomastische informatie uit inscripties kan worden geconcludeerd dat de prekoloniale, inheemse bevolking in de meeste gevallen aanwezig was in de kolonies. Daarnaast zijn er, in het geval van Luceria en Ariminum, duidelijke aanwijzingen voor de aanwezigheid van Latijnen, die waarschijnlijk als kolonisten arriveerden. Waarschijnlijk was het geen normale praktijk om ook andere (geallieerde) Italiërs in de kolonie op te nemen. De precieze juridische verhoudingen tussen de verschillende bevolkingsgroepen (kolonisten t.o.v. de prekoloniale bevolking) is onduidelijk, maar er moet sprake zijn geweest van onderlinge interactie.

De institutionele organisatie van de nieuwe gemeenschap is bestudeerd aan de hand van inscripties waarin magistraten worden genoemd. Het is duidelijk dat Rome een belangrijk voorbeeld was, aangezien alle titels van

magistraten die we kennen uit de kolonies ook bekend zijn uit Rome. De logische verklaring is dat degenen die de kolonie institutioneel vormgaven uit Rome afkomstig waren en dus bekend waren met het Romeinse systeem. Er kan echter geen duidelijke institutionele standaardinrichting van de kolonies worden vastgesteld. Het Romeinse voorbeeld werd aangepast naar lokale behoeften, zowel bij de stichting van de kolonie als later. De fysieke component van de institutionele organisatie van de kolonies wordt gevormd door de cirkelvormige *comitia* die in verschillende kolonies werden gebouwd (Fregellae, Alba Fucens, Paestum, Cosa), en die traditioneel een belangrijke rol hebben gespeeld in het idee dat de kolonies het model van hun moederstad kopieerden. De datering van het Romeinse model is al langer onderwerp van discussie, en opnieuw kan hier een actievere rol aan de kolonies worden toegeschreven. Het is waarschijnlijk dat het architectonische model werd ontwikkeld - deels onder invloed van de *ekklesiasteria* uit de Griekse wereld - juist omdat er binnen een relatief korte tijdspanne meerdere kolonies werden gesticht. Het is dan ook goed mogelijk dat het cirkelvormige *comitium* eerst in de kolonies werd gebouwd, en later pas in Rome.

Naast de institutionele organisatie van de gemeenschap is ook de fysieke structuur van de nederzetting een belangrijk vormend element, dat nog eens kan worden versterkt door rituelen tijdens aanleg ervan. Daar waar het traditionele idee onder druk is komen te staan dat de stichting van de kolonies gepaard ging met het ploegen van de zogenaamde *sulcus primigenius*, zijn er in de kolonies Paestum en Ariminum wel aanwijzingen voor een ander ritueel dat de grens van de centrale nederzetting - en daarmee de gemeenschap - moest helpen beschermen. In beide gevallen is een hond begraven in een depot dat geassocieerd is met de stadsmuur, waarmee waarschijnlijk werd teruggegrepen op rituelen die bekend waren in Rome. Rome lijkt echter minder belangrijk te zijn geweest als model voor de fysieke vormgeving van de centrale nederzetting. Standaardelementen in de kolonies, zoals de langwerpige fora, wijzen op de ontwikkeling van architectonische modellen die in verschillende kolonies waren toegepast, maar tegelijkertijd zien we dat zulke ontwerpen lokaal werden aangepast. De bouwtechniek van de stadsmuren laat in sommige gevallen invloeden vanuit Rome of Latium zien: vooral in de kolonies ten noorden van Rome wordt vaak gebruik gemaakt van een ontwikkelde vorm van polygonaal muurwerk die mogelijk te relateren is aan Latiale workshops. In het

algemeen zijn echter lokale bouwtradities of zelfs bestaande muren gecontinueerd.

De centrale nederzetting is natuurlijk maar een deel van de fysieke kolonie. De kolonisten én de prekoloniale inheemse bevolking moeten deels buiten de centrale nederzetting hebben gewoond. Over dit thema is een belangrijke discussie gaande: het traditionele beeld van een gecenturieerd koloniaal territorium, waar de kolonisten in kleine boerderijen op hun eigen perceel woonden, lijkt niet te kloppen met de beschikbare surveydata, en er is aangetoond dat sommige centuriaties in koloniale territoria zijn uitgezet volgens een niet-Romeinse maatvoering. Dit laat opnieuw zien dat de veranderingen die door de stichting van de kolonie teweeg werden gebracht, niet altijd naar Rome waren gemodelleerd.

Ook het lot van bestaande heiligdommen en de organisatie van het 'sacrale landschap' binnen de centrale koloniale nederzettingen als geheel zijn belangrijke bronnen van informatie voor de organisatie van de kolonies. In het algemeen zien we hier een sterke mate van continuïteit ten opzichte van de prekoloniale periode, waarbij de meeste heiligdommen in gebruik bleven. Nieuw geïntroduceerde culten waren vaak wel aan Rome ontleend, maar de exacte keuze verschilt per kolonie. Deze nieuwe culten hadden ook geen 'standaard plek' in de kolonies. Op basis van het huidige materiaal is er geen duidelijke trend waarneembaar dat de bouw van tempels op het forum al in de derde eeuw gebruikelijk was. Mogelijk is dit pas een latere ontwikkeling, waarbij de kolonies bijdroegen aan de vorming van dit aspect van de Romeinse urbanistiek.

Naast deze institutionele en fysieke elementen is ook de manier waarop de kolonies zich aan de buitenwereld presenteerden van belang voor ons begrip van hun rol in processen van culturele verandering. In dit proefschrift worden de munten die werden geslagen door een deel van de kolonies (16 van de 28) gebruikt om meer grip te krijgen op dit aspect. De munten zijn een waardevolle, maar tegelijkertijd een moeilijke bron. Enerzijds laten zij het resultaat zien van lokale beslissingen over de wijze waarop (de politieke elites van) de kolonies zich aan de rest van de wereld wilden presenteren; anderzijds is nog veel onduidelijk over de precieze datering en de omstandigheden waarin de kolonies overgingen tot het slaan van munten die hun naam droegen.

De derde eeuw is een dynamische periode wat betreft productie en gebruik van gemunt geld in Italië, en we moeten de koloniale muntslag begrijpen als integraal onderdeel van de ontwikkelingen in deze periode. In deze context waren verschillende tradities van invloed op de koloniale muntslag. Een analyse van verschillende eigenschappen van de koloniale munten, waaronder het materiaal en de techniek waarmee zij werden geproduceerd, de gewichtstandaarden en de iconografie, laat zien dat er grote verschillen zijn tussen kolonies. Dit kan alleen worden uitgelegd als het resultaat van verschillende lokale beslissingen. Het is interessant dat ook de mate waarin Romeinse munten als voorbeeld dienden variabel is: het belang van Rome als voorbeeld werd lokaal bepaald. Kolonies die relatief geïsoleerd liggen van andere muntproducenten volgen hierbij vaker een Romeins voorbeeld dan andere. Ook hier zijn er onderlinge verschillen, omdat verschillende elementen van de Romeinse muntslag werden overgenomen.

In sommige gevallen waren de kolonies verantwoordelijk voor de introductie van nieuwe vormen van gemunt geld in hun regionale omgeving, en zien we duidelijk hun bijdrage aan processen van culturele verandering. Hoewel we in grote lijnen kunnen zeggen dat de kolonies op deze manier bijdroegen aan de monetarisering van Italië, zijn er grote verschillen in vorm en functie tussen de verschillende koloniale emissies. Als we ons concentreren op vorm, is duidelijk dat in enkele gevallen Romeinse voorbeelden van invloed waren. Dit geldt bijvoorbeeld voor de vroege productie van gegoten bronzen munten door Luceria en Venusia, beide gelegen in een gebied waar deze traditie geen duidelijke voorgangers heeft. Tegelijkertijd zijn in deze gevallen ook niet-Romeinse invloeden herkenbaar: beide kolonies gebruikten een decimale verdeling van de munteenheid, terwijl die in Rome duodecimaal was. In het geval van Alba Fucens zien we een andere dynamiek: de kolonie is weliswaar opnieuw verantwoordelijk voor de productie van een nieuwe vorm van gemunt geld in de regionale omgeving, maar het voorbeeld moet niet zozeer in Rome worden gezocht, als wel in Campanië, en wellicht de aangrenzende Samnitische wereld. Dit zijn slechts twee voorbeelden die laten zien hoe lokale beslissingen beïnvloed werden door verschillende bestaande tradities, waarbij uit deze verschillende invloeden ook nieuwe combinaties van eigenschappen konden ontstaan.



Ook wat betreft functie zijn er verschillen tussen de koloniale emissies. De vroege gegoten emissies werden hoofdzakelijk lokaal of regionaal gebruikt, en hadden buiten de directe omgeving van de kolonies weinig invloed. Tijdens de Eerste Punische Oorlog produceerden verschillende kolonies geslagen bronzen munten op vrij grote schaal, net als veel andere geallieerde gemeenschappen. In deze context is veel meer onderlinge invloed te herkennen tussen de kolonies en andere muntproducenten: de onderlinge interactie beïnvloedde beslissingen in de kolonies, maar zorgde er tegelijkertijd voor dat de kolonies deel uitmaakten van grotere ontwikkelingen, waarbij zij zich aan een groter publiek konden presenteren. Later in de derde eeuw, en vooral tijdens de Tweede Punische Oorlog, wordt de muntproductie van zowel de kolonies als andere producenten uniformer, waarbij Rome steeds meer als voorbeeld functioneert. Aangezien er echter nog steeds kleine verschillen zijn, moet de adoptie van deze Romeinse voorbeelden in deze periode gezien worden als het resultaat van lokale beslissingen, die waarschijnlijk niet centraal vanuit Rome werden opgelegd.

In het algemeen is duidelijk dat de kolonies zich op verschillende manieren lieten zien aan de buitenwereld, waarbij zij slechts in uitzonderlijke gevallen, en vaker in de late derde eeuw, direct werden beïnvloed door een Romeins voorbeeld. Tegelijkertijd hadden de meeste koloniale emissies legenda's in het Latijn, en op die manier werden deze munten door de gebruikers mogelijkwel met Rome geassocieerd. Zo droegen de lokale beslissingen in de kolonies bij aan ontwikkelingen die weliswaar niet in Rome waren bedacht of vanuit Rome waren gekopieerd, maar wel met Rome geassocieerd raakten.

Om ook grip te krijgen op de bijdrage aan processen van culturele verandering van de koloniale bevolking die niet tot de politieke elite behoorde, richt het laatste deel van de analyse zich op votiefpraktijken in de kolonies. De centrale vragen zijn daarbij opnieuw welke connecties van invloed waren op lokale realiteiten, en hoe aan externe invloeden lokaal betekenis werd gegeven. De analyse richt zich daarbij op verschillende materiaalcategorieën die in votiefdepots in de kolonies aanwezig zijn. Op die manier wordt tegenwicht geboden aan het traditionele onderzoek, dat vooral inging op specifieke objecten die op Romeinse invloed wijzen, zoals de zogenaamde anatomische

terracotta's. In recent onderzoek is veel aandacht besteed aan de vraag of deze objecten wel of niet altijd gerelateerd zijn aan Romeinse expansie of invloed. Voor een beter begrip van de kolonies in processen van culturele verandering is die vraag echter niet van centraal belang: in het geval van de kolonies wekt het geen verbazing dat kolonisten uit Rome of Latium hun eigen votiefpraktijken meebrachten.

Op basis van een contextuele analyse van votiefmateriaal kan aannemelijk worden gemaakt dat de herkomst van objecten waarschijnlijk geen centrale rol speelde bij de selectie van objecten als votiefgift. Bronzen beeldjes van Hercules, traditioneel gerelateerd aan het Sabijnse gebied, lijken in Alba Fucens bijvoorbeeld een vergelijkbare cultische rol te hebben gespeeld als zwartvernisaardewerk met stempels die naar dezelfde god verwijzen, traditioneel verbonden aan het gebied rond Rome en Latium. Ook sociale differentiatie was mogelijk een belangrijkere factor voor de selectie van specifieke objecten dan hun herkomst of culturele connotatie. Zulke individuele overwegingen zijn deels verantwoordelijk voor de vorming van het spectrum aan votiefgiften dat in de kolonies werd gebruikt, en dat deel uitmaakte van het religieuze leven in de kolonies. Alleen in het geval van de zogenaamde *pocola deorum* lijkt het waarschijnlijk dat in enkele kolonies door middel van votiefmateriaal een link met Rome werd gecreëerd.

Deze individuele overwegingen bepalen deels het uiteindelijke spectrum aan votiefgiften in de kolonies. Het aanbod werd bepaald door verschillende netwerken van productie en uitwisseling waarin de kolonies actief waren. In dit opzicht droegen de kolonies duidelijk bij aan veranderingen. Zij zorgden voor een grotere vraag naar verschillende soorten votieven, waardoor productie – waarschijnlijk deels door reizende handwerkslieden – een impuls kreeg. Soms betekende dit dat productiecentra die lokaal al aanwezig waren, meer gingen produceren. In andere gevallen trokken producenten voor het eerst naar nieuwe gebieden. Het is interessant dat dit laatste mogelijk ook geldt voor de productie van bronzen Herculesbeeldjes, die ook in Brundisium verschijnen: in dit geval leidden de nieuwe connecties ertoe dat ook modellen die niet aan Rome zijn te relateren een bredere verspreiding kregen. Bovendien konden de kolonies een actieve rol spelen in het vormen van nieuwe modellen. In het geval van de terracotta beelden uit Luceria is het bijvoorbeeld duidelijk dat de

kolonie als ontmoetingsplek van producenten met verschillende achtergronden functioneerde, waardoor nieuwe, hybride vormen konden ontstaan.

De analyse van de drie verschillende ‘vormingsprocessen’ van de kolonies en de bijbehorende interactie met de buitenwereld laat een breed spectrum aan verschillende actoren en dynamieken zien. Het is dan ook onmogelijk om kort samen te vatten op welke manier de kolonies bijdroegen aan processen van culturele verandering. Verschillende invloeden, zowel vanuit Rome als vanuit de regionale omgeving, werden op lokaal niveau actief geïmplementeerd, maar konden ook worden aangepast, zowel in vorm als in betekenis. Variabelen die daarbij te onderscheiden zijn, zijn (1) de mate waarin bestaande tradities in de regionale omgeving werden overgenomen in de kolonie; (2) de sterkte van de band met Rome; en (3) een chronologische ontwikkeling waarin Rome in de loop van de 3e eeuw belangrijker werd als voorbeeld. Daarbij is het opvallend dat juist kolonies die relatief ver weg en geïsoleerd liggen, waarschijnlijk op lokaal initiatief een sterkere band met Rome creëerden.

In het algemeen kunnen we concluderen dat de stichting van de kolonies ervoor zorgde dat een gemeenschap onstond die op verschillende manier ingebed was, of raakte, in bredere ontwikkelingen in Italië. Daarbij werden eerdere grenzen binnen het Italische schiereiland opgerekt of overschreden: de kolonies zorgden soms voor de introductie of ontwikkeling van nieuwe vormen van (materiële) cultuur in hun regionale omgeving. Deze vormen van (materiële) cultuur waren lang niet altijd direct aan Rome ontleend, en als dat wel zo was, werd de band slechts in beperkte mate actief benadrukt. Tegelijkertijd konden verschillende vormen van (materiële) cultuur in de nieuwe koloniale context een ‘Romeinse’ connotatie krijgen, die ze daarvoor niet per se hadden. De rol van de kolonies in processen van culturele verandering kan begrepen worden als een variabele uitkomst van deze combinatie van actieve deelname aan grootschaliger processen en lokale betekenisgeving aan de modellen die daaraan werden ontleend.

## Curriculum vitae

Marleen Termeer (Nijmegen, 1983) grew up in Nijmegen, where she attended high school at Dominicus College. She obtained her Bachelor degree in Archaeology & Prehistory (*cum laude*) at the University of Amsterdam, with minors in Ancient History and Italian and an Erasmus exchange at the *Università degli Studi di Bologna*. She then proceeded with a Research Master in Archaeology at the same university (*cum laude*).

During her PhD research, Marleen published in BABESCH, The Classical Review and Latomus, and some of her work will shortly appear in several conference proceedings. Both during her studies and during her PhD project, she has been involved in several archaeological field work projects in Italy.

In addition to her research, Marleen has taught classes at the Bachelor level at the University of Amsterdam and at the VU University Amsterdam. She was also in the editorial board of *Tijdschrift voor Mediterrane Archeologie*, and she is now co-editor in chief of *Roma Aeterna*.

In 2015, Marleen has started to work as a postdoctoral researcher in the Landscapes of Early Roman Colonization project at Leiden University.