

ARCHAEOLOGICAL LANDSCAPES
OF ROMAN ETRURIA

MediTo

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL LANDSCAPES
OF MEDITERRANEAN CENTRAL ITALY

VOLUME 1

GENERAL EDITORS

Alessandro Sebastiani – *University at Buffalo – SUNY*

Carolina Megale – *Università degli Studi di Firenze*

Riccardo Rao – *Università degli Studi di Bergamo*

EDITORIAL BOARD

Giorgio Baratti – *Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan*

Emeri Farinetti – *Università Roma Tre*

Todd Fenton – *Michigan State University*

Michelle Hobart – *The Cooper Union University, New York*

Richard Hodges – *American University of Rome*

Daniele Manacorda – *Università Roma Tre*

Marco Paperini – *Centro Studi Città e Territorio, Follonica*

Anna Maria Stagno – *Università di Genova*

Emanuele Vaccaro – *Università di Trento*



Submissions should be sent to:

Alessandro Sebastiani – as424@buffalo.edu

Carolina Megale – carolina@archeodig.net

Riccardo Rao – riccardo.rao@unibg.it

Archaeological Landscapes of Roman Etruria

Research and Field Papers

Edited by

ALESSANDRO SEBASTIANI

and CAROLINA MEGALE

BREPOLS



British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

© 2021, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium.



All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2021/0095/28
ISBN: 978-2-503-59139-1
e-ISBN: 978-2-503-59140-7

DOI: 10.1484/M.MEDITO-EB.5.121516

Printed in the EU on acid-free paper.

To Viola and Cesare

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations	9
Daniele Manacorda	
Preface	15
Alessandro Sebastiani and Carolina Megale	
Introduction	19
Franco Cambi	
1. The Tuscan Coast in the Classical Period — Research Prospects: Towards a New Landscape Archaeology	27
Elizabeth Fentress	
2. <i>Nunc Villae Grandes, Oppida Parva Prius</i> : Private Agency and Public Utility in the Tuscan Maremma	39
Stefano Campana and Emanuele Vaccaro	
3. Santa Marta: A Roman Nodal Point in the Middle Ombrone Valley (Southern Tuscany, Italy)	49
Marco Cavalieri	
4. Between Topography, Archaeology, and History: Considerations for a Diachronic Synthesis of the Villa at Aiano (San Gimignano) between the Fourth and the Seventh Centuries AD	67
Maria Grazia Celuzza, Matteo Milletti, and Andrea Zifferero	
5. <i>Rusellae</i> and its Territory: From the Etruscan to the Roman City	79
Camilla Colombi	
6. The Etruscan Harbours of Vetulonia and the Extent of the Prile Lagoon: First Results of a New Research Project	93
Stefano Genovesi	
7. The Northern Etrurian Coast: The Vada Volaterrana during the Roman Period	111
Elisabetta Giorgi	
8. Archaeological Excavations in Vignale (Livorno): A Lens for Framing the Landscape in Roman Times	121



Cynthia Mascione	
9. Etruscan-Roman Populonia: Recent Research on the Sacred Area of the Acropolis	133
Carolina Megale	
10. Piracy and the Fortress of Poggio del Molino: A Contribution to the Definition of the Late Republican Landscape of Populonia	149
Simonetta Menchelli, Paolo Sangriso, Alberto Cafaro, Stefano Genovesi, Silvia Marini, and Rocco Marcheschi	
11. <i>Luna</i> : The Area of Porta Marina between the Republican and the Imperial Periods	163
Simona Rafanelli	
12. New Excavations in the Etruscan-Roman City of Vetulonia: The Domus dei Dolia	175
Ilaria Romeo and Dario Panariti	
13. The Università di Firenze at Cosa (2016–2018)	195
Russell T. Scott, Andrea U. De Giorgi, Richard Posamentir, and Christina Cha	
14. Cosa Excavations: New Interpretative Frameworks	207
Alessandro Sebastiani	
15. The Late Etruscan and Republican Settlement at Podere Cannicci (Civitella Paganico – Grosseto)	219
Astrid Van Oyen, Gijs W. Tol, and Rhodora G. Vennarucci	
16. The Missing Link: A Nucleated Rural Centre at Podere Marzuolo (Cinigiano — Grosseto)	237
Edoardo Vanni	
17. Beyond Religion? Placing the Gods in the Reconstruction of the Landscape and Economies of Southern Tuscany	251
Giovanna Bianchi	
18. Rural Settlements and Natural Resources in Early Medieval Southern Tuscany: Past and Future Research Prospects	279
Topographical Index	291

List of Illustrations

Map of Tuscany showing all the major sites mentioned in the volume.	14
Chapter 3. Santa Marta	
Figure 3.1. Overall distribution of the archaeological excavation work at Santa Marta.	50
Figure 3.2. Diachronic distribution of sites in the Ombrone and Orcia Valleys.	51
Figure 3.3. Excavated portions of the late Republican to early Imperial <i>villa rustica</i> /large farm.	53
Figure 3.4. First phase of the <i>opus signinum</i> floor with irregular marble inserts from Room A of Building B (second–first centuries BC).	54
Figure 3.5. Orthophotos of the wine-making (?) tanks at Santa Marta.	55
Figure 3.6. Buildings C and D: the main phases of development from the second to the fourth century AD.	56
Figure 3.7. Features related to metalworking activities (mid-fifth–sixth centuries AD) in the area of Building C and to the north of the reused cistern	60
Figure 3.8. The <i>alla cappuccina</i> burial in the hypocaust of the <i>tepidarium</i> of Building C (sixth century AD)	61
Chapter 4. Between Topography, Archaeology, and History	
Figure 4.1. Cartographic grid of the <i>ager Volaterranus</i> with the most relevant current toponyms.	68
Figure 4.2. Location on portion of I.G.M. map 1: 25,000 of some Roman sites in the Fosci stream basin.	70
Figure 4.3. Aerial photo of the excavation area of the Villa of Aiano.	73
Figure 4.4. Photo taken from Montecchio (Municipality of Colle Val d’Elsa), from south-east to north-west.	75
Figure 4.5. Excavation photo. A. Detail of US 9711; B. USM 9709, at the end of the excavation, seen from south to north.	76
Chapter 5. Rusellae and its Territory	
Figure 5.1. Aerial photo of the <i>Rusellae</i> area.	80
Figure 5.2. Grosseto, MAAM: exhibition of Imperial statues from the <i>Forum</i> of <i>Rusellae</i> .	81
Figure 5.3. Aerial photo of the archaeological area of <i>Rusellae</i> , with localization of excavations in progress and further interventions (2019–2020).	82
Figure 5.4. <i>Rusellae, Tempelterrasse</i> : aerial photo of the area dug in 2018.	83
Figure 5.5. <i>Rusellae, Tempelterrasse</i> : lower surface of the foot of an Attic <i>kylix</i> with dedicatory inscription to the goddess <i>Artames/Artumes</i> .	84
Figure 5.6. <i>Rusellae, Tempelterrasse</i> : drawing of the dedication to the goddess <i>Artames: Artamasal</i>).	84
Figure 5.7. Possible reconstruction of the Etruscan and Roman boundaries of the territory of <i>Rusellae</i> , and extent of the area of incineration funeral rites up to Paganico.	85

Figure 5.8.	The possible boundaries of the territory of <i>Rusellae</i> in the Etruscan and Roman periods.	86
Figure 5.9.	Aerial photo of the Roman bath, early Christian cathedral complex.	88
Chapter 6. The Etruscan Harbours of Vetulonia and the Extent of the Prile Lagoon		
Figure 6.1.	Grosseto Plain. Map of the archaeological sites, the presumed moorings, and the extent of the Prile Lagoon in the Roman Imperial period.	94
Figure 6.2.	Zone around Vetulonia. Mapping of the archaeological sites in the plain to the east of the Etruscan city; extent of the Prile Lagoon in the Roman Imperial period.	98
Figure 6.3.	Basse agli Olmi/Uliveto and Badia Vecchia/Poggetto, Vetulonia. Results of the geomagnetic surveys of 2016/2017.	101
Figure 6.4.	Basse agli Olmi/Uliveto, Vetulonia. Interpretation of the geomagnetic anomalies measured during the survey of 2016.	102
Figure 6.5.	Badia Vecchia/Poggetto, Vetulonia. Interpretation of the geomagnetic anomalies measured during the surveys of 2016/2017 and location of the drillholes.	103
Figure 6.6.	Drawing of core VE5.	105
Table 6.1.	Thickness and depth of the still-water clays in the boreholes drilled in spring 2018.	105
Table 6.2.	Radiocarbon dates from the still-water sediments in borehole VE5.	105
Chapter 7. The Northern Etrurian Coast		
Figure 7.1.	Map of Volterra's coast; sites mentioned in the text and the hypothetical extent, between the Protohistoric Age and the Middle Ages, of internal humid water.	112
Figure 7.2.	Geological map of the Tuscany Region of the stretch of coast between Vada and Donoratico.	113
Figure 7.3.	<i>Pianta di una parte della tenuta di Cecina</i> , Pisa State Archive; 1750–1799.	113
Figure 7.4.	<i>Carta del Vicariato di Campiglia composto delle Civili Giurisdizioni di Campiglia e di Guardistallo</i> . Siena State Archive 1772–1784.	113
Figure 7.5.	Amphorae structure in the La Mazzanta area.	115
Figure 7.6.	Amphorae structure in the La Mazzanta area.	116
Chapter 8. Archaeological Excavations in Vignale (Livorno)		
Figure 8.1.	Aerial view of the site.	122
Figure 8.2.	Stratigraphic sequence on the N-W part of the main investigated area.	123
Figure 8.3.	<i>Opus signinum</i> floors in the first villa.	125
Figure 8.4.	General view of the second villa.	126
Figure 8.5.	The courtyard and the entrance of the post station.	127
Figure 8.6.	The northern part of the mosaic floor representing the personification of cyclical Time with the Four Seasons.	130

Chapter 9. Etruscan-Roman Populonia

- Figure 9.1. Plan of the archaeological area of the acropolis with the position of the excavations carried out between 2016 and 2017. 134
- Figure 9.2. Reconstructive plan of the buildings, of the streets, and of the terrace system with heights above sea level. 135
- Figure 9.3. Plan of the sacred area with the preserved structures of building phase D1. 139
- Figure 9.4. Orthophoto of the eastern wall of building D; section drawing of the stratigraphy excavated in the eastern room of building D; black gloss ware. 140
- Figure 9.5. Plan of the sacred area with the preserved structures of building phase D2. 141

Chapter 10. The Fortress of Poggio del Molino and Piracy

- Figure 10.1. The promontory of Poggio del Molino and its hinterland. 149
- Figure 10.2. The territory of Populonia. 150
- Figure 10.3. Plan of the excavations at Poggio del Molino. Plan by Carlo Baione. 151
- Figure 10.4. Aerial view of the settlement. 152
- Figure 10.5. Plan of the fortress. 152
- Figure 10.6. Reconstruction of the late Republican fortress. 153
- Figure 10.7. Bronze bow stringer. 153

Chapter 11. Luna

- Figure 11.1. Luna. Porta Marina excavations. 164
- Figure 11.2. *Cubiculum* (A1) on the southern side of the *atrium*. 165
- Figure 11.3. *Atrium* (B4) paved with *opus scutulatum*. 167
- Figure 11.4. *Atrium* (B4). Evidence of the first-phase *impluvium*. 167
- Figure 11.5. *Atrium* (B4) and *Tablinum* (B7). Aerial view. 168
- Figure 11.6. Building C: view from the west. 169
- Figure 11.7. The two *impluvia* identified in the *Atrium* (B4). 171
- Figure 11.8. Room B5: floor preparation. 172

Chapter 12. New Excavations in the Etruscan-Roman City of Vetulonia

- Figure 12.1. Vetulonia, Poggiarello Renzetti, Hellenistic quarter. 176
- Figure 12.2. Vetulonia, Domus dei Dolia, room A with the corner of the *dolia* still *in situ*. 178
- Figure 12.3. Vetulonia, Domus dei Dolia, room B. 179
- Figure 12.4. Vetulonia, Domus dei Dolia, the *triclinium* (room C) with the floor in *cocciopesto* that preserves the traces of the burned beams of the roof. 180
- Figure 12.5. Vetulonia, Domus dei Dolia, room D, possible first *atrium* of the house. 182
- Figure 12.6. Vetulonia, Domus dei Dolia, the *tablinum* (room E), with the floor in *signinum* covered with red paint. 183

Figure 12.7. Vetulonia, Domus dei Dolia, room G with the small <i>dolium in situ</i> , the amphora and the moulded stone base that preserves the bronze feet of a statuette.	184
Figure 12.8. Vetulonia, Domus dei Dolia, room G: the complex of the figured bronzes.	185
Figure 12.9. Room H, in front of and communicating with room G.	186
Figure 12.10. Vetulonia, Domus dei Dolia, the new room in area P.	187
Figure 12.11. Vetulonia, Domus dei Dolia. Plan at the end of the 2017 excavation campaign.	188
Chapter 13. The Università di Firenze at Cosa (2016–2018)	
Figure 13.1. Photogrammetry of the ancient city of Cosa.	196
Figure 13.2. Photogrammetry of the excavated area in 2016.	197
Figure 13.3. Photogrammetry of the excavations in Building P.	200
Figure 13.4. Stamped brick recovered in the trench in front of Building P.	201
Figure 13.5. The threshold dividing Rooms 1 and 4, with bronze elements.	202
Figure 13.6. 3D reconstruction of Room 2, Building P.	203
Chapter 14. Cosa Excavations	
Figure 14.1. Cosa, the city plan.	209
Figure 14.2. Cosa, Cores 1 and 2.	210
Figure 14.3. Cosa, the Geophysical Survey.	211
Figure 14.4. Cosa, plan of the Bath.	212–13
Figure 14.5. Cosa, the site of the Bath.	214
Figure 14.6. Cosa, brick stamp.	215
Chapter 15. The Late Etruscan and Republican Settlement at Podere Cannicci	
Figure 15.1. Map showing the location of Podere Cannicci and Castellaraccio di Monteverdi.	220
Figure 15.2. Aerial picture of the Roman settlement at Podere Cannicci.	221
Figure 15.3. Map showing the principal Roman site in the area of Paganico.	222
Figure 15.4. Plan of the 1989–1990 excavated site at Podere Cannicci.	223
Figure 15.5. One of the uteri found in 1989–1990.	223
Figure 15.6. Aerial image showing the different scatters of materials retrieved.	224
Figure 15.7. Plan and aerial picture of the excavation site at Podere Cannicci.	226
Figure 15.8. Detail of the <i>opus caementicium</i> cover of the main canal.	227
Figure 15.9. Map showing the results of geophysics in the area around Podere Cannicci.	229
Figure 15.10. Pottery wasters retrieved during the 2018 excavation season.	230
Figure 15.11. Plan of the hypothetical extension of the Republican <i>vicus</i> at Podere Cannicci.	232

Chapter 16. The Missing Link

Figure 16.1. Map of Marzuolo in its regional context.	238
Figure 16.2. Marzuolo, site plan with all Roman period remains.	239
Figure 16.3. <i>Terra sigillata</i> pottery from Marzuolo.	240
Figure 16.4. Marzuolo, plan of Areas 11000, 12000, and 18000.	241
Figure 16.5. Marzuolo, Area 20000: easternmost waterproofed cylindrical tank.	243
Figure 16.6. Marzuolo, Area 18000: <i>cocciopesto</i> structure.	245

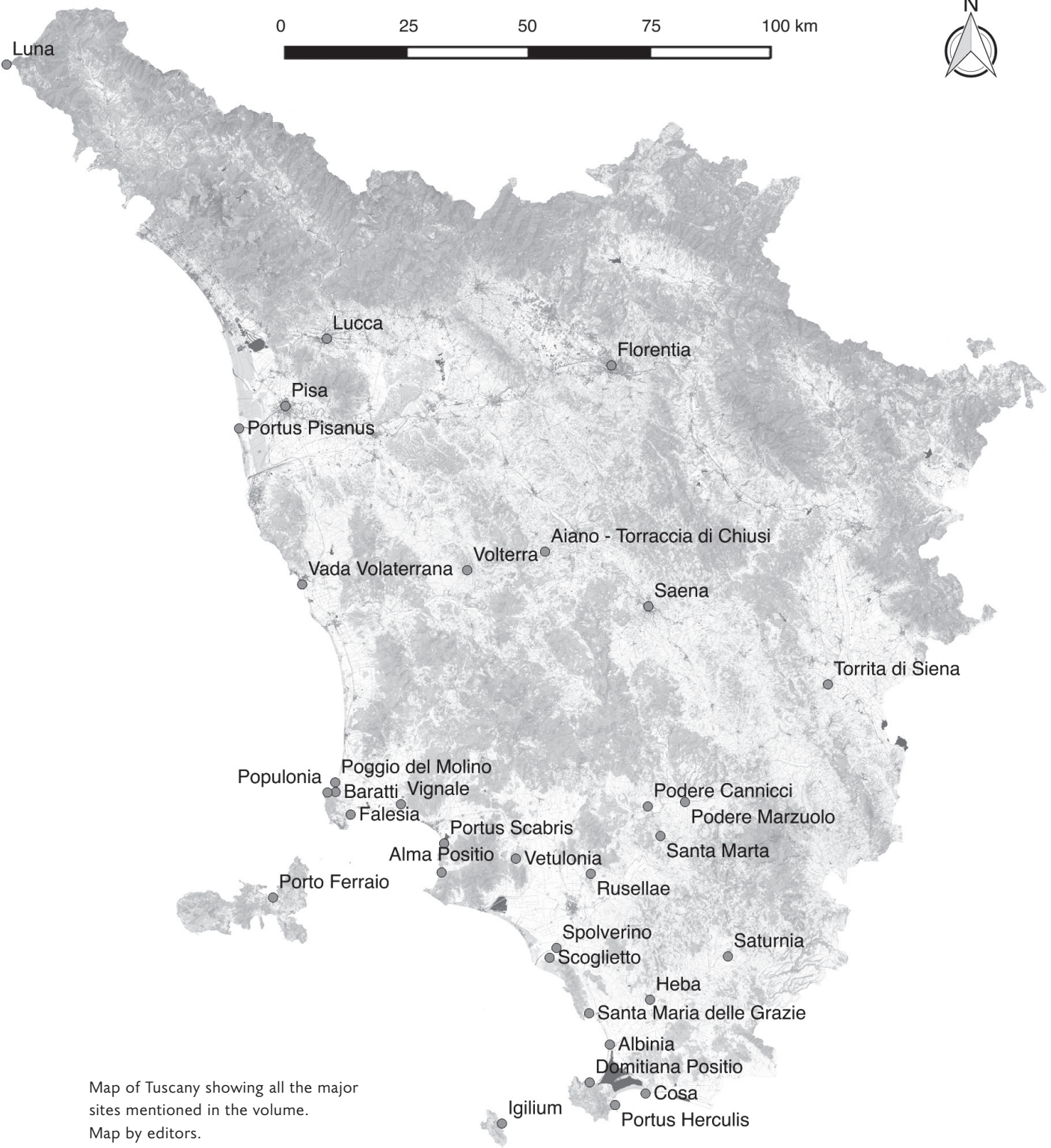
Chapter 17. Beyond Religion?

Figure 17.1. The context analyzed with some sites cited in the text.	252
Figure 17.2. Theoretical representation of the liminality system interactions.	253
Figure 17.3. The temple at Scoglietto after the excavation.	254
Figure 17.4. The inscription retrieved at Scoglietto inscription and the Haterii tomb relief.	255
Figure 17.5. Ghiaccio Forte <i>oppidum</i> .	258
Figure 17.6. Seggiano temple relief with the polisemic settlement hierarchy of Mount Amiata.	260
Figure 17.7. Podere Cannicci and Cinigiano territory with the stopping place to count sheep on a historical map from 1787.	261
Table 17.1 Attestation of votive deposits related to the cult of Hercules.	262
Figure 17.8. Hercules statuettes and attributes compared.	263
Figure 17.9. The Temple at Talamonaccio.	265
Figure 17.10. Lagoon system of Southern Tuscany during the Roman period.	266
Figure 17.11. Example of a socio-productive and political corridor.	270

Chapter 18. Rural Settlements and Natural Resources in Early Medieval Southern Tuscany

Figure 18.1. The territory analysed.	279
Figure 18.2. The sample territory analysed in the nEU-Med project.	280
Figure 18.3. Location of sites mentioned in this chapter.	281
Figure 18.4. Carlappiano. Orthophoto-plans of excavation areas investigated.	282
Figure 18.5. Vetricella. Aerial view of the excavation at the end of the 2018 campaign.	283





Map of Tuscany showing all the major sites mentioned in the volume.
 Map by editors.

Preface

Among the many fortunes that I have had in my life of archaeology, I must certainly include the opportunity to have participated, still at a young age, in the excavation at the Roman villa of Settefinestre (Orbetello) from its first moments (Carandini and Settis 1979). The thrilling endeavour, which had never been attempted in Italy, was planned and directed by an Andrea Carandini still shy of his fortieth year. It threw open a series of windows which had never been opened and, in some cases, had never even been seen in Italian archaeology: the methodical application of stratigraphy to a large classical-era site; a strategy of investigation for large areas instead of partial surveys and trenches; a vision at once humanistic and scientific in its philological approach to the terrain; an artisanal dimension to work in the field, entrusted to the very hands of the archaeologists; and a contextual perception of the object of research which cast its gaze upon the site being investigated, upon the landscape in which it was situated, upon the items and goods which were circulating there, and upon the economic and social system which had rendered the birth of the settlement possible, guided its development, and witnessed its decline.

Among the many novelties which that excavation introduced into the panorama of Italian archaeology, there was also that of turning the spotlight onto a certain geographic sector (the coast of what would later become the Maremma) and onto a certain historical period (the Roman period), which up until that point had been completely peripheral to, if not absent from, the range of archaeological studies in that region. I say nothing new if I recall that the archaeology of Tuscany was then, in the 1970s, still an archaeology of Tuscan Etruria.¹ From then on, the archaeology of Tuscany would enter into my blood, nourished by three decades of work at the University of Siena (from 1974 to 2004), which I consider another of the fortunes of my life.

Some years after the end of field research in 1985, that experience produced, in addition to the edited volumes of the excavation (Carandini and Rossella

1985), an exhibit. This exhibit, while not large, was extremely innovative and illustrated some of the principal results in the building of the ex-armoury Guzman in Orbetello on the occasion of the ‘Year of the Etruscans’ (Carandini 1985). It was an exhibit destined to stick with me as a model of communicative design which worked in tandem with other, more-or-less traditional initiatives launched in diverse cities and sites in Tuscany (Romualdi 1985). It was then that, visiting the exhibit put on in Populonia by the Archaeological Soprintendenza of Tuscany, I had the occasion to be amazed — and I still retain the image imprinted upon my memory — at the site of one of the most beautiful places in the world or, if you are not a fan of hyperbole, in Italy. By this I mean, of course, the Gulf of Baratti, which one sees when coming up the acropolis just past the Reciso Valley (De Tommaso 2003, 132–33).

That stupendous impression, which I would call pre-archaeological, would become an intimate part of my life when, twelve years later, in a completely unexpected turn of events, following a call from Antonella Romualdi (at the time an official in the area), I would find myself engaged in the excavation of a portion of the fantastic acropolis of ancient Populonia, then covered by thick overgrowth and fields in a state of precarious abandonment.

Before I could say ‘yes’ with my voice, I had already said it to myself in my mind and heart. This was thanks to an instinct which by then I had come to recognize and which led me to choose themes of scientific engagement based certainly upon their historiographical potential but first and foremost upon the quality of the colleagues whom I would find at my side, not to mention the places in which I would be compelled to pass countless hours in great toil and pure intellectual and aesthetic enjoyment. For twelve years, Populonia would welcome me with its ancient charm, difficult to put into words (Manacorda 2015), and with the affection of the many wonderful individuals with whose presence I was graced.

For the second time, coastal Etruria saw me immersed in its landscapes, which were no longer populated by masses of slaves at work in the vineyards controlled by the villas of the Roman aris-

¹ Only a quarter-century later, the volume by Emanuel Papi (2000) appeared.

ocrats, who watched over them from behind the olive trees on the hill of Settefinestre, but by the crowds of the faithful who climbed the road which led from the port to the sanctuaries of the acropolis. There, the kilns which provided fuel for the ovens (the ones producing the iron slag that was burying the great *tumuli* of the ancient Etruscan acropolis under its mass) would have still smoked for a short time. The Romanization of Etruria was emerging with the appearance not of a phenomenon brought to completion but of a dramatic transformation in the making which was radically modifying the panorama of the only large Etruscan city on the sea, creating an entirely new landscape. That landscape, having witnessed the brutal conflict of the civil wars and the more or less ephemeral revitalization of the Augustan and Hadrianic periods, would soon be subjected to the more complete deconstruction of Late Antiquity, marking the beginning of the *longue durée* of the Medieval and Early Modern periods — long, but not necessarily less turbulent up until the threshold of contemporaneity and into the most recent of periods (Zanchini and Benesperi 2001).

We were not alone at Populonia. Soon enough, the acropolis, the harbour of the port, and the nearby necropolis would undergo a variety of fieldwork conducted by archaeologists diverse in background and extraction, interested in understanding something more about the history of those landscapes as well as the people who produced them and lived through the millennia. Work at Populonia had made the principles of diachrony and the centrality of context the lowest common denominator of any given research season, which in those forms has now been exhausted, but which produced a flourishing of studies and, most importantly, a new mentality that has turned the pages of an archaeology of coastal Etruria, and beyond.²

I have dwelt on these experiences, so central for me and for those who shared in them, because I wish to affirm that the first International Conference of *Mediterraneo toscano: paesaggi dell'Etruria romana* (Mediterranean Tuscany: Landscapes of Roman Etruria), the acts of which are collected here along with other contributions, is also somewhat a child of them (although it is not up to me to say to what extent). The theoretical and methodological choices, the themes of research and the interpretative models, the contextual approaches reserving a strong role for aspects of economic and social history just

as they emerge from the ancient literary sources (without neglecting ideological considerations), and the attention to relationships, mutual dependencies, and the dialogue between regional and broader Mediterranean scales are all connotative aspects of the contributions collected in this volume.

For my generation, it is almost moving to witness how diverse forms of research conducted by diverse actors on diverse themes almost always speak the same language in this volume. They draw upon shared categories, each recognizing the other as a member of a community of researchers who all experience the satisfaction and pleasure of feeling as such. To the organizers of this initiative, who in their 'Introduction' give a synthetic account of the volume's contents, goes the credit for having furnished this virtual community with its first opportunity to express itself as a real community. This community has been called to present the many new stories that have emerged from archaeological research conducted in the last ten years in the classical field of Tuscany, without isolating itself within chronological and pre-established limits. It has turned an eye toward the questions that future research will have to confront and, above all, toward the Early Medieval, since it is important to understand what would happen later and since historians never participate in the events that they describe and interpret as long as they already have their end in mind (Manacorda 2009).

Whether it is villas or villages, sanctuaries or roads, workshops or tombs, these new realities have been sought out, excavated, documented, dissected, and reassembled as stage-plays whose scripts do not contain walls, pavements, or roof-tiles but men and women, farmers, artisans, worshippers, and travellers; in other words, those people whom the memorable words of Mortimer Wheeler taught us always to seek behind the 'things' we excavate.³ How many times have we heard this without truly pausing in reflection upon what Wheeler wrote immediately after: 'unless the bits and pieces with which he deals be alive to him, unless he have himself the common touch, he had better seek out other disciplines for his exercise' (Wheeler 1954, 13)? *Common touch* is here understood to mean that sense of contact or relationship that English expresses so briefly, because the primacy of people in archaeological, and thus historical, research is the same that we find so intensely summarized in the words of the slogan of

2 See the eleven volumes of the series *Materiali per Populonia*, Firenze–Pisa 2002–2015, which provide a year-by-year record of the progress of research during that time.

3 'If there be a connecting theme in the following pages, it is this: an insistence that the archaeologist is digging up, not *things*, but *people*' (Wheeler 1954, 13).

the *National Trust*, which simply says: *love people as much as you love places* (Carandini 2014, 164).

In fact, the editors of this volume explicitly tell us that among their intentions is that of giving life to ‘a shared archaeology, not only shared between scholars and the public, but especially between researchers and diverse schools and traditions’. ‘It is only in this manner’, they write, ‘that together we might define the traits of our common past and the methods with which we study and recount it to the public’. The acronym MediTo (Mediterranean Tuscany) recalls the verb *to meditate*, which invites us to reflect upon the extent to which pursuing research, exchanging data, collaborating, imitating and being imitated,

and in short, sharing the honours and burdens of conducting archaeology is a constitutive aspect of a new approach (I would like to think a more pleasant and cheerful one) toward carrying out research in the field and laboratory, opening new windows, sharing doubts and solutions, and exchanging seeds and crops, so to speak.

But MediTo also calls to mind *merit*: the merit of a new generation of archaeologists, which assumes as protagonist the role that it indeed merits, because it is fuelled by an archaeology which shares in its methods and goals, animated by a whole host of questions which seek to reveal how and why things work and, above all, for whom.

Works Cited

- Carandini, Andrea. 1985. *La Romanizzazione dell'Etruria: Il territorio di Vulci* (Milan: Electa)
- . ‘Il FAI per la Puglia e per l'Italia: Il ruolo dell'associazionismo e della partecipazione dei cittadini’, in *Patrimoni culturali e paesaggi di Puglia e d'Italia tra conservazione e innovazione, Atti delle Giornate di studio Foggia (30 settembre e 22 novembre 2013)*, ed. by Giolian Volpe (Bari: Edipuglia), pp. 159–67.
- Carandini, Andrea, and Rossella Filippi (eds). 1985. *Settefinestre: Una villa schiavistica nell'Etruria romana* (Modena: Panini)
- Carandini, Andrea, and Salvatore Settis. 1979. *Schiavi e Padroni nell'Etruria Romana. La Villa Di Settefinestre dallo scavo alla mostra* (Bari: De Donato)
- De Tommaso, Giandomenico. 2003. *Populonia, una città e il suo territorio. Guida al Museo Archeologico Di Piombino* (Piombino: Parchi Val di Cornia)
- Manacorda, Daniele. 2009. ‘Giudicare si può e si deve’, *Archeo*, 295: 88–91
- . 2015. ‘Una stagione di ricerche a Populonia e la sua crisi’, in Valeria Di Cola and Federica Pitzalis (eds), *Materiali per Populonia II* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS), pp. 5–16
- Papi, Emanuele. 2000. *L'Etruria dei Romani: Opere pubbliche e donazioni private in età imperiale*, *Etruria Romana*, 1 (Rome: Quasar)
- Romualdi, Antonella. 1985. ‘Il popolamento in età ellenistica a Populonia: Le necropoli’, in *L'Etruria mineraria*, ed. by Giovannangelo Camporeale (Milan: Electa), pp. 185–218
- Wheeler, Mortimer. 1954. *Archaeology from the Earth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- Zanchini, Edoardo, and Paolo Benesperi (eds). 2001. *Dall'abusivismo al parco: Storia del bosco della sterpaia a Piombino*, *Ambiente e Società*, 12 (Milan: Angeli)



17. Beyond Religion?

Placing the Gods in the Reconstruction of the Landscape and Economies of Southern Tuscany

Introduction and Methodology

In this paper, my principal goal will be to explore the active role of religious entities and sanctuaries as direct agents capable of promoting economic strategies and literally modifying and creating the landscape in a mutual relationship. I choose to address this theme from a particular point of view: firstly, I tried to move the focus essentially from urban cult places to extra-urban cult places; secondly, I put aside main economic activities unanimously ascribed to sanctuaries as places of markets (*emporia*) or places of production and the distribution of goods (Di Giuseppe 2012, 142–55) in order to bring to light other hidden economies run by several actors in the landscape surrounding the sanctuaries. These agro-sylvo-pastoral activities are supported in some cases directly by the religious entities or, in others, the sanctuaries represent places of attraction where the development of these practices is stimulated. These assumptions are based on the fact that the sanctuaries are complex palimpsests of social, political, and economic factors deeply embedded in the landscape, conceived not only as mere natural containers but, rather, as platforms for networks continuously involved in co-evolutionary processes with social agents. In this respect, the reconstruction of the natural environment together with the agro-sylvo-pastoral systems practised within it is crucial for re-establishing the role of sanctuaries and the functions of deities in the structuration of economic activities in terms of access to natural resources. In order to do this, the second premise is to consider some deities and their attributes in order to reconstruct the natural environment and the activities practised within it, which enables us to clarify the economic role of sanctuaries and cult places. In other words, is it possible to write an economic history of agro-

sylvo-pastoral activities from the point the view of deities' and sanctuaries' functions and locations? Do these functions represent mere religious superstructures, or are they evidence of real economic strategies hypostatized in the divinity sphere?

The context taken into account will be Northern Coastal Etruria and, partly, inland Etruria, approximately corresponding to what is currently southern Tuscany (Fig. 17.1). This territory is particularly suited to this topic of enquiry due to the fact that archaeological study of ancient landscapes in the Etruscan and Roman periods has traditionally focused on main economic factors such as the villa system, harbours, long-distance trade, and settlement patterns (Carandini and Cambi 2002). I argue that several aspects of landscapes are mainly preservative and not necessarily agrarian or market oriented. Natural resources and shrines are points of electrification (in the Braudelian sense) and activation of strategies within the landscape (Vanni 2014).

In order to draw the economic landscape through cult places, I will keep in mind some heuristic points that will drive my exposition, which I want to summarize in the following: first, I will address the theoretical and explanatory framework concerning the function and distribution of cult places; then, I will account for the link between the presence of certain deities and cult places in the landscape with specific environments and modes of exploitation; next, it will be crucial to move from the sacred landscape *strictu sensu* to precise agro-sylvo-pastoral strategies involved in such a landscape; finally, it will be necessary to consider the geography and the topography of some shrines and cult places in the framework of this economic and historical landscape in order to rethink and improve our explanatory models.

Edoardo Vanni is a Doctor in Archaeology and History and co-directs several archaeological projects in Tuscany, covering different periods and themes.



Figure 17.1. The context analyzed with some sites cited in the text. Map by the author.

Modelling the Socio-Economic Landscape through Cult Places

We have to note a new wave of relevant studies that explicitly tries to stress the specific purposes for which sanctuaries were actually built in antiquity (Stek 2009, 53–54, Cifani and Stoddart 2012). This theoretical renewal stands out from past studies on cult places, which were traditionally focused on the architecture and the aesthetic (as well as economic) value of the votive objects and the adornment of temples — priorities inspired by the contemporary cultural paradigm. It was post-processual challenging that brought out aspects other than religion, such as symbolism, cognition, and experience (Renfrew 1985; Schachter 1992; Alcock and Osborne 1994). Thanks to the extraordinary work of de Polignac (1984; 1994, 15–16) in Greece and Magna Graecia, sanctuaries have begun to be studied in themselves, questioning their role in the landscape and their relationship and interaction with cities, territories, and different communities. Immediately, regional studies in Italy

started to deal with cult places from this particular point of view in Etruria and Magna Graecia (Carter 2006; Colonna 1985; Edlund-Berry 1987; Stoddart 1998) as well as for the territory of early Rome and Latium *vetus* (Coarelli 1987; Fulminante 2014), while recently, a synthesis on this subject has been made also for the Italic world (Stek 2009; Bourdin 2012).

Aside from religious and cultural aspects, some models have arisen for explaining the general function, location, and construction of sanctuaries in terms of space, economy, and human behaviour. One of the most powerful models elaborated for approaching sanctuaries conceives them as markers of the territory of a certain community or, more specifically, as boundary markers between different separated spheres. In this model, initially built mainly from data available for Greece by De Polignac but afterwards extended to Magna Graecia following the pioneering work of Vallet (1967), the role of the city for promoting cult places is crucial. They could sometimes develop from more or less neutral central places of contact between different communi-

ties into a great rural sanctuary, but the sovereignty of a city is nevertheless made manifest. This model is based on concepts like core-periphery, centripetal organization, landscape of power, centralized society, and territorialization (Camassa, De Guio, and Veronese 2000).

Research conducted for different contexts, such as Greek colonies or Etruria, have demonstrated how much more complex the sacred geography is, generating models that take regional peculiarities into account (Fig. 17.2).

Sometimes, extra-urban sanctuaries change their function or location in different liminal or threshold zones. In this respect, Guzzo (1987) established for the colonies of Magna Graecia three different border zones: between city and the countryside, between cultivated and uncultivated countryside, and, finally, the frontier between territories belonging to different *ethnê* or colonies. Concerning the Etrurian landscape, archaeologists have proposed a mixed frontier system in which the sanctuaries represent only one of the elements that make a territorial barrier together with military garrisons (*oppida*), ecological borders, and other markers promoted by cities or rural aristocracies (Riva and Stoddart 1996; Zifferero 1995; 1998; 2002b). In this scheme, called ‘interrupted barrier’ (Zifferero 2002a, 141), the extra-urban sanctuaries are conceived as points of a territorial ring (Ruiz and Molinos 1989), together with other forms of territorial occupation (aristocratic markers, *oppida*, *tumuli*, etc.), and have an active role in structuring the landscape, in some cases totally independent from that of a city. The concept of liminality is used as an explanatory category for different kinds of frontiers (Ruiz and Molinos 2012, 225) and for macro (political, interethnic, and territorial borders) as well as for micro-spaces (necropolis, architecture) (Riva and Stoddart 1996, 92–93).

A third line of interpretation is linked to particular ideas on the organization of Italic society based on the model of the *pagus-vicus* system, in which the *pagus* represents a territorial district containing one or more *vici*, understood as villages (Capogrossi Colognesi 2002; Tarpin 2002; Stek 2009, 68–75). In this model, sanctuaries are an integral part of a distinct pattern of settlement, representing only one form of territorial organization among many others with an independent structuring power (Letta 1992).

According to these models, an extra-urban sanctuary expressing a city’s sovereignty over its territory should be seen as more flexible, and more generally, the idea of a rigid territorial organization with clear boundaries coinciding with cult places must be questioned. As pointed out by Stek (2009, 82–95), we have to understand more than just what their pre-

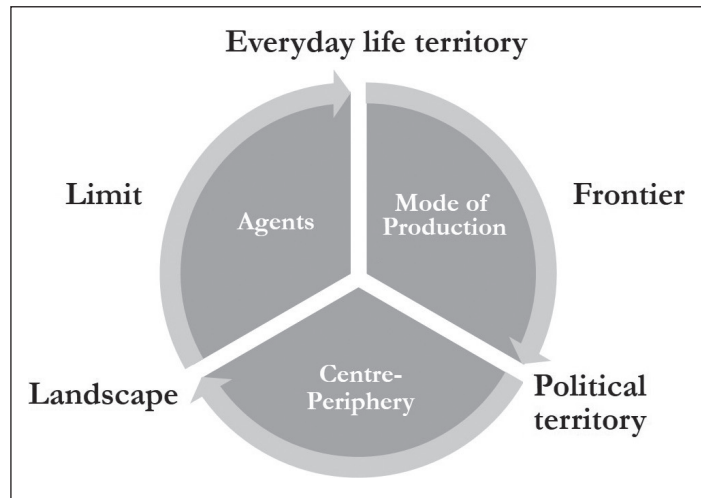


Figure 17.2. Theoretical representation of the liminality system interactions. Modified after Ruiz and Molinos 2012, elaboration by the author.

cise function was since, if we accept the interpretation of certain sanctuaries as boundary markers, the question remains as to what exactly happened in these border sanctuaries.

For my part, I will try to combine, when possible, the various frontier-sanctuary models elaborated by several scholars with what we can assume from the presence of specific deities and their spheres of influence in terms of landscape reconstruction in southern Tuscany, a method and a geographical context, it seems to me, largely ignored (but see Di Paola 2018 for Northern Etruria). In other words, I will try to study cult places and deities as a unified system (Polinskaya 2006, 88–90) without ignoring the hierarchy inherent in different functions and typologies of sanctuaries, even without considering a boundary only as a symbolic metaphor (Polinskaya 2003) but as a real space.

Following the Deities to Reconstruct Landscape Transformations

Few sanctuaries have been identified and excavated in this part of Etruria, and for most of them, the attribution of specific deities to them remains uncertain. One of these has been recently excavated at the mouth of the Ombrone river (Sebastiani and others 2015). The religious complex, called Scoglietto in the local toponomastic, was placed at the top of a rocky hill facing the sea. The present coastal line is far from the hill, but during the Etruscan and Roman periods, it had to be more inward, probably at the foot of the hill. This site, now completely excavated, has two main building phases: one of these is a major

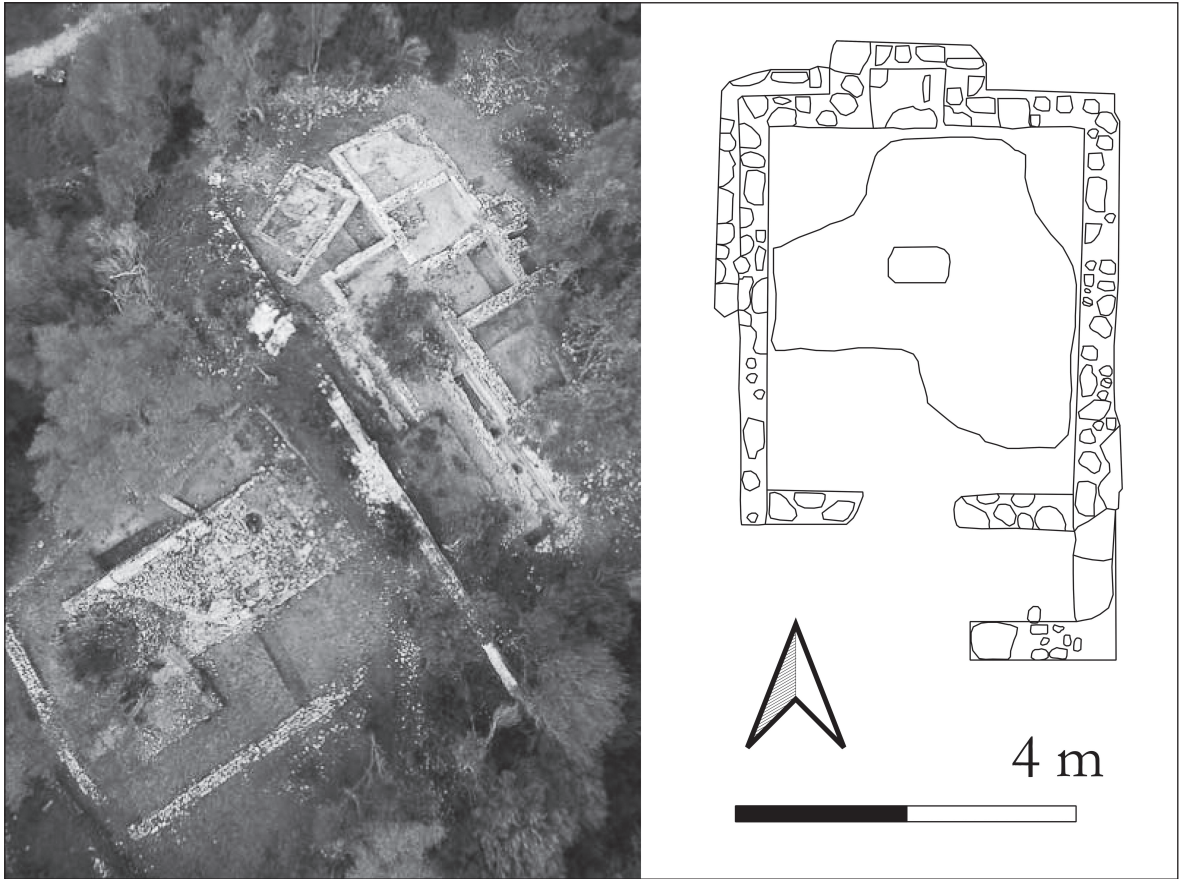


Figure 17.3. The temple at Scoglietto after the excavation. After Sebastiani and others 2015, reproduced with permission.

and monumental phase with a Tuscan-type temple dated between the mid-first and the end of the second centuries AD, surrounded by a *temenos* with several service structures (rooms, fountain, and water cistern), probably pertinent to economic activities and residential functions; a previous phase of occupation is testified by a little shrine, dated between the early and mid-Republican period, with a completely different orientation plan. The shrine was partly abandoned but preserved in the new topographic re-organization of the area and transformed into a *thesaurus* during the Imperial period (Fig. 17.3).

This peculiarity has been interpreted as evidence of certain continuity with respect to the cult (Vanni 2015). At least in a second phase, Diana/Artemis was certainly worshipped in this place, as is witnessed by a little marble statue found in the ancient shrine and, furthermore, by an inscription mentioning Diana Umbronensis, dated to the end of the first century AD (Cygielman 2014, 275). The peculiar epiclesis *Umbronensis* refers, without any doubt, to the Ombrone river, described by Rutilius Namatianus in *De Reditu Suo* (l. 337–42) as navigable for most of its part, while the inscription was dedicated by a slave (*servos*) called Dionisius, who belonged to

the family of the Haterii. This important senatorial family was probably present in this territory with large estates, properties, or at least, with economic activities run by slaves and freedmen. We know of a monumental tomb in Rome likewise belonging to this *gens*, dated to the end of the first–the beginning of the second century AD, with inscriptions of family members, among them a freedman called Tychycus, probably the owner of the tomb, described as *redemptor operis Caesaris*, or building contractor (Coarelli 1979; on the role of *redemptor*, Gros 1983, 432). The marble decorations of the tomb effectively show a series of public buildings, the construction of which Tychycus was probably involved with. In a detail of the death scene, we recognized a crane to lift bricks with a wheel operated by workers, a type well described by Vitruvius in Book x of his work *De architectura* (Bodel 1999, 268; Leach 2006, 1–18; Prescendi 2008, 301). This suggests that the family was charged with a series of activities concerning the production cycle of building construction, including the supply of timber for carpentry (Fig. 17.4).

We know from several ancient literary sources, for instance Livy (xxviii. 45.18), that this part of Etruria, the inland in particular, was known to be



DIANAE VMBRONENSIS
 DIONYSIVS
 Q. HATERI·BVI·OVSI
 SERVOS
 DONVM DEDIT

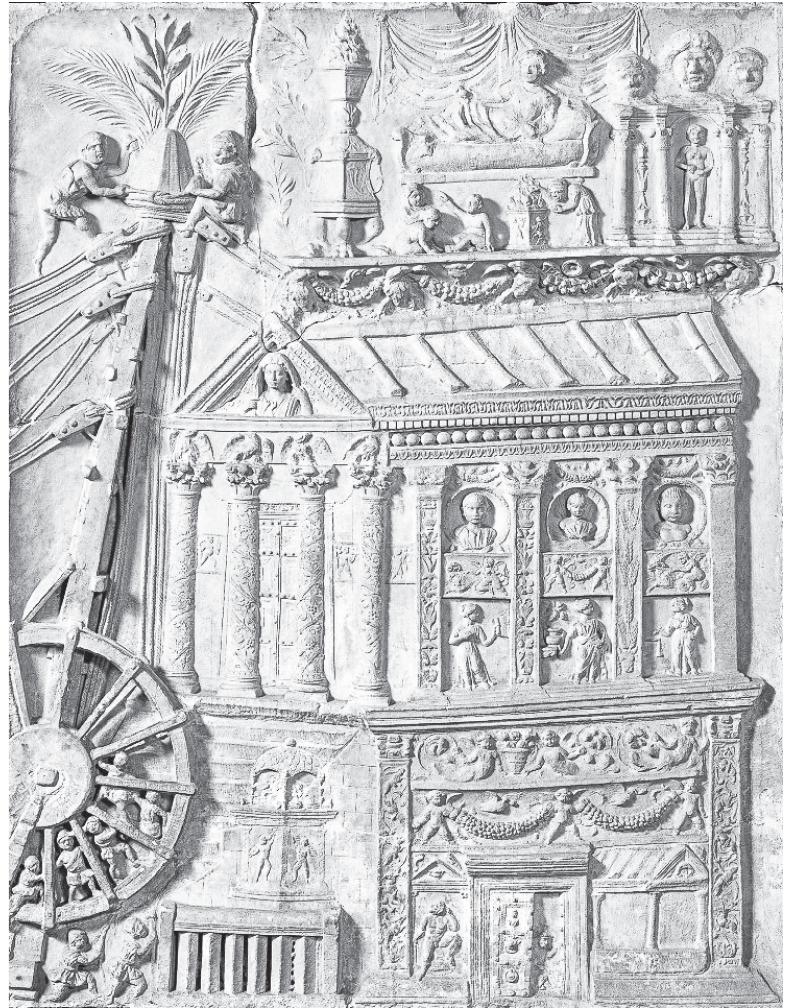


Figure 17.4. The inscription retrieved at Scoglietto inscription (after Cygielman 2014) and the Haterii tomb relief. Reproduced with permission.

rich in woods, especially silver fir and beech, for carpentry and shipbuilding material. During the second Punic War, *Rusellae* supplied Rome with a great quantity of timber. At the end of the third–beginning of the second centuries BC, at a time when the city of Rome was growing very rapidly, its surroundings must have begun to be quite deforested in comparison with those of Etruria (Meiggs 1980, 187; Harris 2013, 178). The territory of the latter was affected not by a drastic drop but a prolonged and extremely slow settlement crisis starting from the second century BC. More importantly, it was characterized by a productive system based on non-intensive exploitation of land, tending towards subsistence (Vaccaro 2008, 229). The forest degradation was thus less intense in this part of Etruria alongside the high resilience capacity of the socio-economic and environmental system.

The presence of the Haterii family is also attested in the town of Saturnia in the inland where a Q. hat-

erius Clemens is named on a marble statue dated to the mid-third century AD (Saladino 1977, 326; Fentress 1996, 93). Surveys conducted in the 1980s around the colony have shown an abundance of rural, small-size settlements with the presence of *silvae* and *pascua* (Fentress 1996, 96; Camilli and De Laurenzi 2008). The precocious transformations of these lands into *latifundia*, starting at least from the mid-first century AD, is confirmed by those *praedia* (properties) that belong to the family of the Domitii and are formed mainly by large estates (Manacorda 1980, 174–81; Ciampoltrini and Rendini 2000). This family was linked by a direct lineage to the emperor Nero, and this meant that its properties had already converged precociously with the Imperial domain at the end of the first century AD (Carlsen 2006). We may suggest for this region an Imperial or senatorial *saltus* managed through an integrated system of agro-sylvo-pastoral activities that included the production of timber and charcoal and the practice of

animal husbandry. We could imagine that the timber was transported along the river, reaching the late Republican/mid-Imperial cabotage harbour recently found on the Ombrone river (Sebastiani 2014). At this point, I would stress the fact that the presence of a large estate does not mean, from the point of view of the means of production, a single way to manage land resources, as it does for the modern plantation; rather, it indicates the contrary, with a highly differentiated and specialized system of exploitation (forestry, agriculture, animal husbandry, specialized activities such as viticulture) in a mixed regime of slavery and free seasonal labour. However, for this period, archaeologists discuss a new form of land management in Etruria, called *latifundium*, which concentrates extensive landed property in the hands of a few landowners (Vaccaro 2008) who manage from their farmsteads extensive production based on cereals and livestock (Carandini and Filippi 1985). Thus, the great development of *macchia* (shrub vegetation) and the contraction of tree species can be interpreted as the effects of overgrazing (Di Pasquale and others 2014, 1498). Such an approach should enlarge our vision of the complex nature of animal husbandry and the transmission and exchange of expertise knowledge. The exploitation of woods by charcoal workers and timber traders is part of an integrated sylvo-pastoral system in which pastures and wooded pastures are literally created by deforestation activities.

In this economic framework, the sanctuary might have played a role in the attraction and electrification of these kinds of practices. The landscape around the sanctuary was mainly open, rich in pastures and vegetation shrubs (Di Pasquale and others 2014). The presence of Diana/Artemis must be re-evaluated in such a landscape. An early cult of *Artumes* is attested in the Etruscan-Roman town of *Rusellae*, around the ancient Prile Lake. Here, a fragmentary Attic stemless cup, ascribed to the Marley Painter (c. 440–430 BC), was discovered in the southern temple terrace (*Tempelterrasse*). The inscription, 'Artmsl', on its bottom shows that *Artumes* had received a small gift (Maggiani 1997, 23; Nielsen and Rathje 2009, 261); a second inscription from *Rusellae* mentioning *Artumes* is now published in Zifferero, Milletti, and Benelli (2018). Turning back to the coast shore, from the Etruscan and Roman temple at Talamonaccio comes a series of bronze statuettes, among which Martin Bentz identified a statuette of Artemis dated around the third and the second centuries BC (Bentz 1992, 80–81). The presence of sulphurous water nearby the temple as well as the presence of a lagoon may suggest a chthonic and mantic cult connected to Diana Trivia.

Another inscription, dated around the first century AD, was found in the Roman city of Cosa, also overlooking the sea. The inscription was posed on the lintel of a little shrine ('Cornib[us] his Augusta sacris | Diana recepta | Ad sua testatur templa patere viam'); it began in a completely private first phase but, in the Claudian period, transformed into a public cult directly accessible from the street joining the Acropolis with the *forum* (Bodel in Fentress 2003, 64–65). *His Cornibus Sacris* was interpreted by the authors as referring to the horns of the deer (sacred to the goddess) presented as a trophy in honour of Diana the Hunter (Fentress 2003, 48); however, the *cornua* could refer to the crescent moon of Diana-Luna-Hekate (Gury 1994, 713). This interpretation is supported by the discovery of a Dodecaneso marble head with a hole in the House of Diana, dated around the fourth century BC and representing the goddess (Fentress 2003, 194). We must discuss the function of this hole. A similar head has been found in the site of Acquasanta/Poggio Sillene (Chianciano Terme, SI) together with a group of life-size bronze fragments of natural size dated to the fifth century BC. This area seems to have been in use from the sixth century BC onwards, especially to exploit the presence of a sulphurous water spring, but around 300/250 BC a temple was built here. The fragments belong to a deity who, with a torch in her hand, is steering a chariot pulled by two horses (*biga*), and to a moon crescent (Bonamici 2003, 50–55). At first sight, the group was identified as pertinent to Apollo. In particular, Milani (1887, 225) argued that the head-hole functioned as a scenography stratagem for projecting light with a torch during the oracular responses given by Apollo. A similar hole was found in a marble head preserved in the Museo Nazionale Romano, and it has been identified as the statue of Diana Nemorensis from Ariccia (Alföldi 1960). Enrico Paribeni (1979) more correctly suggested that this hole was functional to sustain a triple statue representing Diana Trivia: the Underworld, Moon, and Hunter goddess. Furthermore, not far from Chianciano, halfway between Chiusi and Cetona, comes a bronze crescent with a dedicatory inscription interpreted as 'I (am of) the Moon, (that) of the Sun', dated around the sixth–fifth centuries BC (Colonna 1985, 29). We must note that the toponym Sillene probably derives from the Greek goddess Selene, the moon, where *selas* means the light of fire (Hesiod. *Theog.* 1); nonetheless, we know from Festus (352) that *silanus* occasionally means 'water springs' or 'water basins' in Latin. This interpretation seems to be confirmed by the mention in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* of a *Statio ad Silanos* nearby Aquileia in North Italy along a well-known route of tran-

shumance which connects the Grado Lagoon with the Austrian cities of Lienz and Klagenfurt (Bosio 1997, 157). Along this road, in the centre of Gemona, we have registered until the present the significant toponyms of *Silans* attributed to watering places for animals. Many other cult sites with springs and sacred caves are situated in the Chiusine area, where votive gifts testify to peoples' desire for procreation and health. The names of several such caves in the Chianciano territory are associated with milk, such as *Grotta lattaia* (milky cave) or *Pocce lattaie* (milky breasts) (Maggiani 2003, 42). In the Roman Imperial period, the spring sanctuaries were turned into veritable bathing complexes, such as at Mezzomiglio (Chianciano Terme), where Roman baths and a swimming pool are being excavated (Soren 2006). Cultic purification was replaced by hygiene and hedonism. A basin to collect fresh water from the natural spring was built in the third–fourth centuries BC and was used as a watering place for animals, probably frequented by shepherds at least into the fourth century AD (Soren 1997, 147).

The presence of Artemis and Latial Diana in this part of Etruria suggests a liquid landscape, composed by lagoons and marshes, rivers, and springs in which the wetlands represent an important economic framework for different activities but, at the same time, represent a dangerous element continuously brought back under human control. In this case, Diana is not conceived as the hunter; only in the fourth and particularly from the third centuries BC does Diana/Artemis come to be more regularly associated with deer and hunting (Zuchtriegel 2011, 7). Rather, she stands as the goddess connected to water, liminal zones, and landscapes in transition between fresh water and salty water, responsible for protecting the population from instability and insalubrities (Ciacci and Firmati 2009, 27). The features referring to Diana Trivia in Etruria seem to be those of liminality and marginality, a goddess connected to different spheres in conflict, man-made landscape versus natural environment and cultivated and uncultivated landscape — linked to water in different forms such as natural and sulphurous springs but also with rivers and wetlands as economic resources exploited by humans. The water is not a mere manifestation of divinity but an economic factor to which a deity with specific attributes is connected. Ancient man knew that the health of the animal had an influence on the quality of the end product, whatever it was: wool, meat, or cheese. It seems that veterinary medicine in many aspects was ahead of human medicine, which reflects the economic value of the animals, the *pecunia*. As noted by Santillo Frizell (2004, 88), 'many of the sacred places with particular healing

waters were probably used for animals earlier than for humans, [...] which shows the immense importance of domestic animals in ancient economies'. The importance of mineral waters and, in particular, sulphurous springs in association with healing sanctuaries has not been given attention previously in studies of ancient pastoral economies. It is a vast subject to be explored overall in the Mediterranean area where large scale transhumance was practiced. The concentration of ritual activities around hot springs is well known in Etruria (Chellini 2002), but if we regard them in terms of healing properties for animals, some sites acquire new economic meanings. At the hot spring of Poggetti Vecchi in the north of the plain, the discovery of a Roman basin (third–second centuries BC) to collect hot water and some loom weights could be explained in terms of pastoral occupation and sacred activities. Similar activities still in use by modern shepherds were documented for this site.

The Latial Diana was venerated in the Aventin at Rome since the fourth century BC, not far from the Velabro Lagoon and the salt flats called *salinae* (Coarelli 1988, 109–13; Mercatili 2012, 4). The epiclesis *paralia* occurred in an inscription devoted to Artemis found in a sanctuary in Kition (Cyprus), posed around the lagoon where we know of activities for the extraction of salt (Gras 1995, 28–31; Yon 1992, 303–55). *Paralia* may be translated as 'close to' (*para-*) salt (*-als*), suggesting a relation with salt resources. A Phoenician inscription coming once again from Kition named a certain Eshmoun-Adon, son of Baal-Amas, labelled as salt maker (Wrieted Sørensen 2009, 203). A Diana related to salt and transhumance is attested in Sipontum (Puglia) where *Tremelius salinator, aedem, aram et signum fecit* (Manacorda 1994).

Analysing Rural Sanctuaries to Perceive Mobility and Economies

Another cult, quite widespread in this part of Tuscany, is that *Selvans/Silvanus*, attested mainly in the Etruscan and early Republican periods. The distribution of cult places where this deity was worshipped could enrich the picture of our sacred landscape and tell us about specific economic practices. One of the features of this cult is that, for at least the entire Republican period, specific shrines were not dedicated; instead, the cult was linked to natural places and was expressed by the rite. Thus, the sphere of influence of this deity was rooted deeply in landscape and not just in a physical place. Understanding the position of cult places is never as crucial for studying other gods as it is for studying

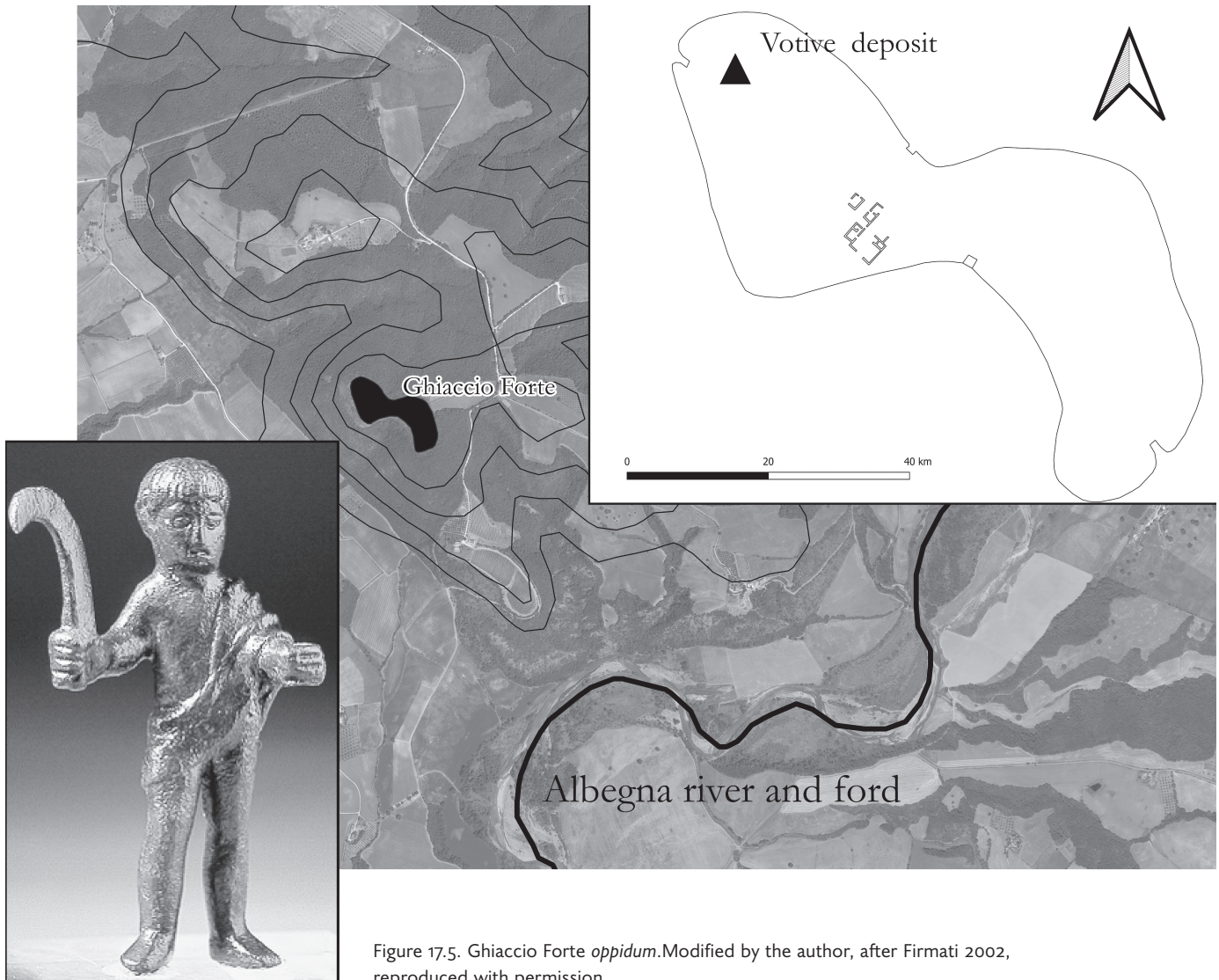


Figure 17.5. Ghiaccio Forte *oppidum*. Modified by the author, after Firmati 2002, reproduced with permission.

Selvans/Silvanus. The presence of this god is testified essentially through findings such as inscriptions and bronze votive statuettes (Chiadini 1995, 168–69). The distinctiveness of the iconography of these votive objects is found in their expression of the god’s human form and the sickle in its right hand, interpreted by most scholars as being pertinent to agrarian activities (Bentz 1992, 49–52; Dorcey 1992, 17); consequently, the god has been seen as the protector of the fields and cultivated boundaries (Firmati 2002, 69). One attribute of these statuettes is that the figure holds in its right hand the attribute of a curved scythe, notoriously used for pruning and managing woods for the sake of opening area, but it is also common amongst shepherds to cut branches for fodder (Fig. 17.5).

In the Batronchio site, a rare excavation of a Roman bridge dated around the second century AD over the river Serchio, the presence of numerous

sickles, loom weights, and huts has been interpreted as proof of shepherds’ and foresters’ activities in a landscape of Imperial *pascua* and *silvae* (Ciampoltrini 2008, 69–73). In those Etruscan (Bentini 1995) and Roman sites (Ahumada Silva 1999) where reaping sickles have been found together with curved scythes, a clear difference can be grasped between tools for cutting wheat and other kinds of sickles. The oldest examples of these types of instruments come from the Alpine region (Middle/Final Bronze Age), and they demonstrate that this particular shape was conceived before the naissance of a veritable pruning activity and, rather, that they were used for foddering and neck-lining (Marzatico 2012, 182–84).

Two bronze votive statuettes of Selvans/Silvanus come from the Etruscan site of Ghiaccio Forte, a fortified settlement (*oppidum*) placed southward along the Albegna river, dated to around the fourth–third

centuries BC (Firmati 2002, 45–47). The deposit was rich in *ex-votos*, including bronzes and terracotta heads, animals, human anatomical parts such as arms and legs, and male and female genitalia. A terracotta statuette of a human subject representing Vei/Demeter standing with a piglet, jug, and a taper, a type characteristic of the area of Cerveteri, fits well with this context of a fertility cult with marked chthonic powers. Demeter and her closely similar daughter Kore embody the myth of the cyclical rebirth of nature in all seasons and are responsible for the fertility of the earth and, therefore, may easily be associated with Selvans in the context of a rural sanctuary. Two other dispersal statuettes of Selvans come from, one, the Etruscan city of Doganella–Heba, once again along the Albegna Valley but more towards the sea and, two, the site of Castellaccio di Montiano, placed at the top of a hill along the Osa river Valley (Rendini 2003, 19–21).

Selvans/Silvanus is not simply the god of forest and wood, but he is also responsible for the open spaces within the forest. He watches over the borders between cultivated and uncultivated areas. The landscape of this god is not a wild forest, but a human-controlled space. Interestingly, curved scythes reminiscent of Selvan's *falx* are engraved by modern shepherds on stones in the area of the Apennines (Sani 2011). In some monuments, Selvans/Silvanus is represented with a curved scythe and the *pedum*, the hooked stick of the shepherds. Curiously, the votive statuettes of Selvans are widespread from the fifth until the third centuries BC, exclusively in North Etruria in those places where the landscape was characterized by sylvo-pastoral economies, and they are found mainly in open sites or in the countryside without proper buildings or structures. In the case of Ghiaccio Forte, the cult dedicated to Selvans seems to have existed before the fortified settlement. We can imagine that the god was worshipped in an open landscape with no monumental structures; however, the cult is significantly placed on a hilltop site over a ford facing the Albegna river. Thus, it must have symbolized a recognizable and visible marker in the landscape. Most likely, the following fortified settlement was built in a strategic position to control the economy of the region and the human flows passing along the valley based mainly on wood exploitation and pastoral activities. The formation of the Etruscan *oppida*, as Ghiaccio Forte along the Albegna Valley (Firmati 2002), Poggio Civitella along the Orcia river (Cappuccini 2012), Tino di Moscona placed around the Prile lake (Ciacci and Firmati 2009), and others (Di Paola and Vanni 2016), must be reinterpreted in the light of these economic considerations together with the geography of sanctuaries, not only as sec-

ondary or minor settlements (Fontaine 2001; Cambi 2012). The life-continuity of those kinds of settlement, characterized by sacred places, is evident, as is their autonomous role played in respect to the city-states. They were probably promoted and controlled by rural aristocracies involved in the sylvo-pastoral activities in the region. Many dispersed archaic and early Republican huts, with traces of seasonal occupation, have been detected around the site of Ghiaccio Forte, reflecting the fact that the sanctuary was a central place for such a mobility-centred economic framework and not only a peripheral or liminal one. In the Osa Valley, not far from the coastal settlement of Talamonaccio, a series of perished structures has been identified (Casa Brancazzi), mostly postholes for huts (Ciampoltrini 1984, 159, fig. 6; Ciampoltrini and Rendini 1989), situated along a main route of passage from the coast to the inland in a position of control facing the ford (*guado*) of the Osa river. The huts of Fosso Castione and Poggio alle Sorche, not far from the Albegna river, seem to be interpreted as syncopated and seasonal occupations of the fifth and fourth centuries BC (Marianelli 2003, 47; Rendini 2002, 30).

All these movements of people, animals, and goods from inland to coastland had to pass or organize around the volcanic massif of Mount Amiata, which represented a veritable physical marker due to its remarkable altitude (around 2000 m above sea level). The space, marked by this mountain, had to be crucial for the economy of the region, and the peak surely was conceived as a common space between the different communities that gravitated around it, though a highly hierarchical one. This hypothesis has been advanced for other ecological markers interpreted as inter-ethnic borders placed at the points of encounter for various territories, such as the case of Lake Bolsena for the Etruscan period between Vulci, Volsinii, and Tarquinia (Colonna 1999, 21; Jolivet 2002, 374). At least two late Republican/early Imperial inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter have been found on the Amiata (Botarelli, Casi, and Cambi 2012, 472–74), which testify to the sacredness of this (open) place. A sanctuary area is hypothesized presumably near Seggiano, on the northern slope of the Amiata, where a series of terracotta antefixes, spindles, and an earthen ware *applique* of a barbed man were found (Ciacci 1996, 155–57). The location of these objects tells us that the cult place had to be along the Orcia river Valley in a position of control over the route of penetration from the inland towards the Maremma Plain via the Orcia and Ombrone rivers (Fig. 17.6).

The Orcia Valley was one of the spaces of contact between the territory of *Rusellae* and *Clusium*,



Figure 17.6. Seggiano temple relief with the polisemic settlement hierarchy of Mount Amiata. Photo and figure by the author.

and it is noteworthy to mention that the architectural terracotta previously discussed come from a workshop of this latter city. We do not know which deity was worshipped in this place, but we can speculate on the fact that the toponym Seggiano may be derived from the junction between the latin *aedes* (shrine) and *Dianae*. A few kilometres from here, towards the Maremma Plain along the same Orcia/Ombro Valley penetration, a possible rural sanctuary is located in the site now called Podere Cannicci, close to the village of Paganico. A scattered votive deposit, formed by polyvisceral terracotta votives (mainly uteri), loom weights, a bronze bovid statuette, and a fragment of a statuette of a female deity, was recovered at the foot of a hill in the 1980s (Fabbri 2019, 92–97) and informs us about some kind of a cult place in the surrounding area. The chronology of the deposit goes from the fifth to the beginning of the third centuries BC, but the presence of fourth-/third-century black gloss ware suggests that the main activity of the sanctuary must be in this period. Recent excavations not far from these findings (Sebastiani and others 2018; Sebastiani in this volume) have shown traces of a more complex frequentation dated to same period. Massive drainage structures, a huge amount of loom weights and black gloss ware production waste belong to an important settlement with ceramic workshops deeply linked with the sanctuary (a *vicus*? a *pagus*? From which the name of Paganico perhaps derives?). This area is placed at the point of encounter of three city-

state territories (*Rusellae*, *Volaterrae*, and *Clusium*), and it represents a point of convergence and passage of important mobility networks, maybe dating back to the Archaic period or earlier. Several toponyms around the area, such as *tollero*, *tolle*, and so on, derived from the Etruscan *tular*, meaning ‘border’, seem to confirm the presence of some kind of frontier. Studies on historical maps, dated to the beginning of the eighteenth century, show that transhumance routes coming from the Apennines used to pass through this area, where there was an important stopping place, the *Dogana/Calla*, a custom to count sheep for tax purposes (Fig. 17.7).

Similar considerations may be given to the aristocratic *Regia* (Torelli 1983, 482) that became the federal sanctuary of Murlo. This site was occupied from the late eighth to the middle of the sixth centuries BC (de Grummond 1997). A loom workshop has been recognized as belonging to the Orientalizing period due to the incredible amount of loom weights (around 1000), spindles, and spools (Gleba 2009, 79). A study of numbers, morphology, and distributions of these implements suggests that Murlo was a significant centre of textile production organized on a scale significantly larger than that needed for domestic consumption (Gleba 2000, 106). The roof of the entrance building was covered with terracotta tiles and decorated with *akroteria* and *antefixes*. The twenty-five terracotta heads from the stoa workshop, both human and animal statues as well as the feline spouts of the lateral *simas*, demon-

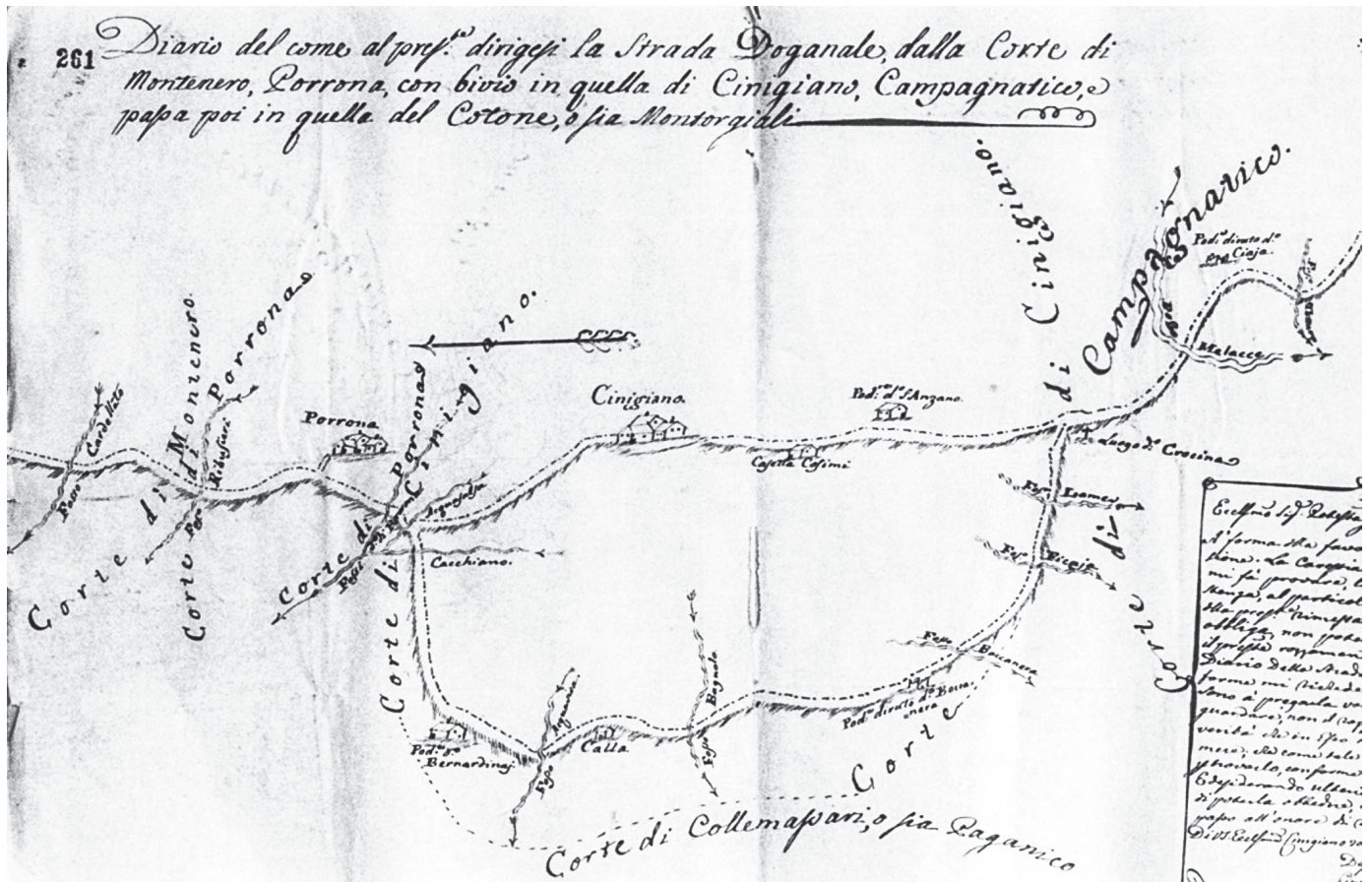


Figure 17.7. Podere Cannicci and Cinigiano territory with the stopping place to count sheep on a historical map from 1787. Source www.imagotusciae.it. Reproduced with permission.

strate also the existence of ceramic production that involved both potters and coroplasts (Nijboer 1998, 114–19). The iconography of the *akroterial* seated statues (the so-called cowboy) confirm the willingness of the aristocratic power to be associated with this kind of economy based on animal husbandry (Edlund-Berry 1992; Edlund-Berry 2010, 20–21). During the Archaic period, the site became a meeting place, a common site for large-scale commercial exchange, and it is reasonable to suppose that, by the mid-sixth century (or probably a century earlier), the territories of Murlo, *Clusium*, Cortona, and *Rusellae* were producing and trading a surplus of timber and practising animal husbandry (MacIntosh Turfa and Steinmayer 2002, 12). The X-Tent analysis run by Redhouse and Stoddart (2011), which combines Thyssen polygons, ecological borders (mountains, rivers, and so on), with the temporal factor, show that Murlo was at the centre of a dense network of routes which linked the inland to the coastland, placed along a political corridor, a neutral place where economic activities were run without conflicts or were at least guaranteed by a sacred supervision.

The location of the site may be an important clue to its function, controlling a way of transhumance between the Apennines and the Maremma Plateau via the Ombrone Valley. The settlement distribution in this area sketches a landscape mainly organized into rural households and villages, gravitating around the central place of Poggio Civitate (Campana 2001, 39–41). The emergence of workshops that produced utilitarian ceramics during the eighth to sixth centuries BC was related to an increasing demand due to the rise in the number of households, and it shows a quite dynamic economy that deeply changed the landscape in terms of forest vegetation, due to wood-fuel demand, and created essentially open pastures and specialized agricultural activities (Nijboer 1998, 131). Especially in this period, transhumance seems to have had a crucial role in the economy of the region, probably promoted by territorial powers that established a series of management hubs and structures. Although recent studies on mobility conducted through isotope analysis on faunal remains (specifically coming from Murlo) are not indicative of long-distance transhumance, they are compatible with the seasonal movement of animals from

Table 17.1 Attestation of votive deposits related to the cult of Hercules

Provenance	Type of Find	Chronology	Bibliography
Surroundings of Cosa	Bronze statuette	3 rd century BC	Romualdi 1988–1989
Cosa	<i>Pocola deorum</i>	4 th –3 rd century BC	Nonnis 2010
Orbetello	Bronze statuette	4 th –3 rd century BC	Raveggi 1939
Poggi Alti	Inscription	4 th –3 rd century BC	Eck Pack 1981; Ciampoltrini, Rendini 2000
Talamonaccio	Terracotta head	3 rd –2 nd century BC	Von Vacano, Freytag-Loringhoff 1982
Vetulonia	Bronze cudgel	3 rd –2 nd century BC	Ross Tylor 1923
Vetulonia	Miniaturistic cudgel	3 rd –2 nd century BC	Mazzolai 1958
Populonia	Bronze <i>Oinochoe</i>	5 th century BC	Camporeale 1996
Populonia	<i>Heraklesschalen</i>	3 rd century BC	Unpublished
Populonia	<i>pocola deorum</i>	4 th –3 rd century BC	Nonnis 2009
Cura Nuova (Massa Marittima)	Bronze statue	3 rd century BC	Chirici 1992
Manciano	Bronze statuette	5 th century BC	Colmayer, Spaziani 2009
Saturnia	Miniaturistic cudgel	3 rd century BC	Mazzolai 1958
Saturnia	Inscription	end of 2 nd century AD	<i>AE</i> 1904, 199
Unknown	Bronze statuette	4 th –3 rd century BC	Colmayer, Spaziani 2009

lowlands or river valleys and with a short transhumance (Trentacoste and others 2020, 13), confirming the key role of Murlo and the presence of some degree of mobility in economic practices (Vanni 2019, 103–04). Changing settlement patterns during the fifth century BC crisis might have decreased the population pressure and produced a marginalization of the agricultural base of households while, on the other hand, subsistence and sylvo-pastoral economies might have reinforced their role.

Another god particularly attested in this region is Hercules. This god is usually connected with transhumance and mobility, herders, and shepherds as well as salt production, at least in his Italic version, but also with trade and empirical functions. This is clear, for instance, for the Hercules in the *Foro Boarium*, where routes of commerce seem to have converged since prehistoric times, regarding trading salt and goods (Coarelli 1988, 157; Torelli 2006, 577). Numerous findings of bronze figurines depicting the so-called Hercules *a riposo* (at rest), objects attributed to the god, mainly cudgels, and inscriptions testify how the cult of Hercules was widespread in this part of Etruria, especially around lakes and lagoons or along routes of penetration towards the coast. Votive objects of any kind, dated from the fifth to the third centuries AD, come from Vetulonia, Manciano, Cosa, Saturnia, Massa Marittima, and Orbetello (see Table 17.1).

No cult places have been identified with certainty as pertinent to Hercules; nonetheless, we might spec-

ulate on the fact that, in this part of Etruria, he was venerated mainly in those rural sanctuaries connected to water springs or other natural elements, or otherwise in places that provided open areas or along routes of connectivity, linked to particular social and economic groups characterized by an extreme mobility such as shepherds, as is suggested for Samnium (Van Wonterghem 1999, 415–27; see Stek 2009, 56 for a critique). As synthesized by Gros (1995, 315) for the sanctuary of Hercules in Glanum (Gallia):

Si nous voulions rassembler leurs constantes [...] nous pourrions énumérer, en résumant ce qui précède: la présence de l'eau [...]; la proximité de salines [...]; le voisinage d'un nœud de communications qui correspondent d'abord [...], à des voies de transhumance, des *calles*; la proximité d'une frontière ou du moins d'un lieu de passage, dans les sens à la fois géographiques, ethniques et économiques du terme.

Further, two inscriptions devoted to Hercules surely show a cult of the god in this region. The first one, dated around the fourth–third centuries BC, was presented by two slaves belonging to the family of Mutii, and it was discovered in a place called Poggi Alti, a hill facing the final part of the Albegna Valley. The slaves were probably employed as shepherds by this Roman family in order to manage flocks (Eck and Pack 1981, 148). It is worth remembering that the inscription was found curiously, re-used inside a modern abandoned hut built by transhumance shep-



Figure 17.8. Hercules statuettes and attributes compared. Modified after Colonna 1970 and Rendini 2009. Reproduced with permission

herds who continued to move along the Albegna river Valley in a physical and chronological overlap. A second inscription devoted to Hercules comes from the colony of Saturnia in the inland (AE 1904, 199), and it also mentions a *statio*, probably a market or stopping place, under the protection (*tutela Hercules*) of different deities, including Hercules. This *statio* was along those paths coming from the Apennines towards the plain via the Albegna river or towards Rome via the senatorial Clodia road. Once again from the Talamonaccio sanctuary, amongst a series of 13 bronze statuettes recovered during the nineteenth century, we can recognize a votive statuette representing Hercules. Bentz (1992, 74, Abb. 90–92, XVIII), who published the object, sees that the god holds a *Blitzbündel* (bolt of lightning) or a *Lanze* (spear) in the right hand and, around the left, a *Mäntelchen* (cloth), identifying the statuette with Tinia-Zeus

or Veiovis. The *Blitzbündel* may be seen more properly as the cudgel of Hercules and the *Mäntelchen* as the *leonté*, the typical lion coat of the god, according to the iconography of the umbro-sabellic votive statuettes (Colonna 1970). The statue is probably a hybrid between Hercules and Jupiter from the time when the latter began to be afforded the attributes of the former (Fig. 17.8).

The temple, dated around the fourth to the second centuries BC and placed at the top of the hill, which had been inhabited from the Final Bronze Age (Fedeli 1993), has been attributed to Tinia-Zeus (von Vacano and Freytag-Loringhoff 1982, 98). A terracotta head, at first considered to belong to the pedimental decoration of the Myth of Thebe, was reassessed by Freytag-Loringhoff as a head of a statue of a cult devoted to Hercules. At the Etruscan and Roman town of Vetulonia, placed in the proxim-

ity of the ancient Prile Lagoon and occupied from the Iron Age to the fourth–third centuries BC, a head of Hercules and a life-size bronze cudgel were found during the eighteenth-century excavation of the Hellenistic neighbourhood (Ross Taylor 1923, 173). The cudgel probably belonged to a life-size statue of Hercules venerated in a temple posed on the hilltop over the residential area where no excavation had been carried out in the years following. Other attestations of the cult of Hercules come from Cosa and Populonia through numerous findings of sacred dedications engraved on *pocola deorum*, the black gloss pottery bearing graffiti of deities (Nonnis 2010; Nonnis and Sisani 2012, 48–50). At Cosa, four fragments of the third century BC, found under the *Capitolium* floor, suggest that the cult of Hercules was so important that the god was probably venerated in a temple on the *Arx* of the city, along with Jupiter, Minerva, Liber, and Libera (Reynolds Scott 2008, 30–46).

In Populonia, the extraordinary amount of *pocola* with an engraved H for Hercules may suggest, equally, that one of the three temples surrounding the *forum* of the Acropolis, probably the oldest one built at the beginning of the third century BC, was devoted to this god (Di Paola and Vanni 2016, 101). Recently, an inscription with a Corinthian name of a female slave has been found on the Acropolis on a black gloss fragment dated to the third century BC and may corroborate this hypothesis. The presence of the Greek female slave has been interpreted as evidence of the *ierodulia*, the sacred prostitution practised in the sanctuary, and Manacorda has even recalled the well-known sacred prostitution in honour of Aphrodite in the sanctuary of Erice in Sicily used to confirm the presence of the goddess on the Acropolis (Manacorda 2007, 142); nonetheless, the interpretation of sacred prostitution is consistent with the Roman myth of Hercules in the Foro Boario as well as with the cults placed around the Velabro Lagoon (Momigliano 1969, 471–79; Coarelli 1983, 276). Macrobius (*Sat.* I. 10.13) tells us about a ‘nobilissimum [...] scortum’, a prostitute called Acca Larentia, who used to practice the *ierodulia* in the temple of Hercules. An unpublished black gloss ware vessel, with a stamp on the internal bottom depicting Hercules at rest with the mantel and the cudgel, in the act of offering an amphora on an altar, comes from the excavations of the city wall (Mascione and Salerno 2013). Stamps of this particular kind belong to the *Heraklesschalen* group (dated from the second quarter of the third century BC), and the vessels that bear them are unanimously considered votive materials — reinforcing the presence of this deity on the Acropolis (on this particu-

lar group of vessels see Morel 1988, 57–60; Ferrandes 2006, 158, n. 99). Other details of the myth recall the trading posts’ function (*emporía*) linked to the Ara Maxima and the Tiber harbour, where the presence of Hercules is almost certain evidence of salt exchange and transhumance run by Samnitic communities through the *via Salaria* (Gros and Torelli 1988, 63; Torelli 1993), which reached the salt flats at the foot of the Aventine (*qui Cacus habitavit locum, cui Salinae nomen est* (Sol. 1, 8))

The link between transhumance and salt production must be rethought for this part of Etruria. The two economic activities were deeply connected to each other and rooted in this landscape. Their importance must be re-evaluated through the analysis of cult places, salt production sites, and techniques employed. To start, salt consumption increased first and foremost to preserve meats and other animal products such as cheese, and it might have been necessary to provide additional salt for an animal-based diet. For what concerns the techniques used for producing salt (Brigand and Weller 2015), archaeologists usually think that, in hot climates such as that in the Mediterranean, the production of salt was made exclusively by the evaporation of water in simple basins, without leaving significant traces in the archaeological record (Harding 2013, 89–90); nonetheless, we have to stress the fact that the technique that involves the use of fire for extracting salt blocks from boiling pots (Weller 2002) has been recorded in several sites along the coast shore of Northern Etruria, mainly occupied during the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (now synthesized in Chevalier 2016, 16–20; Botte 2017). The salt could have been reduced into blocks to facilitate its transportation for long-distance trade. Thus, if the ignition was not a matter of climate, this means that it was an economic choice (Vanni and Cambi 2015, 111). Some of these production sites have been recognized in our context, dated from the Bronze Age to the Etruscan period: there is a production site localized in the Gulf of Baratti, nearby Populonia, where we may recognize traces of kiln chambers for cooking salt (Baratti 2010). Several traces of kilns and pots, dated from the Final Bronze Age to Early Iron Age, inform us of a series of salt production sites placed around the Scarlino Lagoon (Aranguren and others 2014); another production site is located along the Duna Feniglia, facing the Orbetello Lagoon and not far from the Talamonaccio temple (Rossi and others 2014; Rossi 2017, 250). These sites are characterized by a high percentage of red-orange vessels, manufactured with non-depurated local clays (Pacciarelli 2000, 170–76), basins for preparing salt, and kilns. Due to the human-environmental

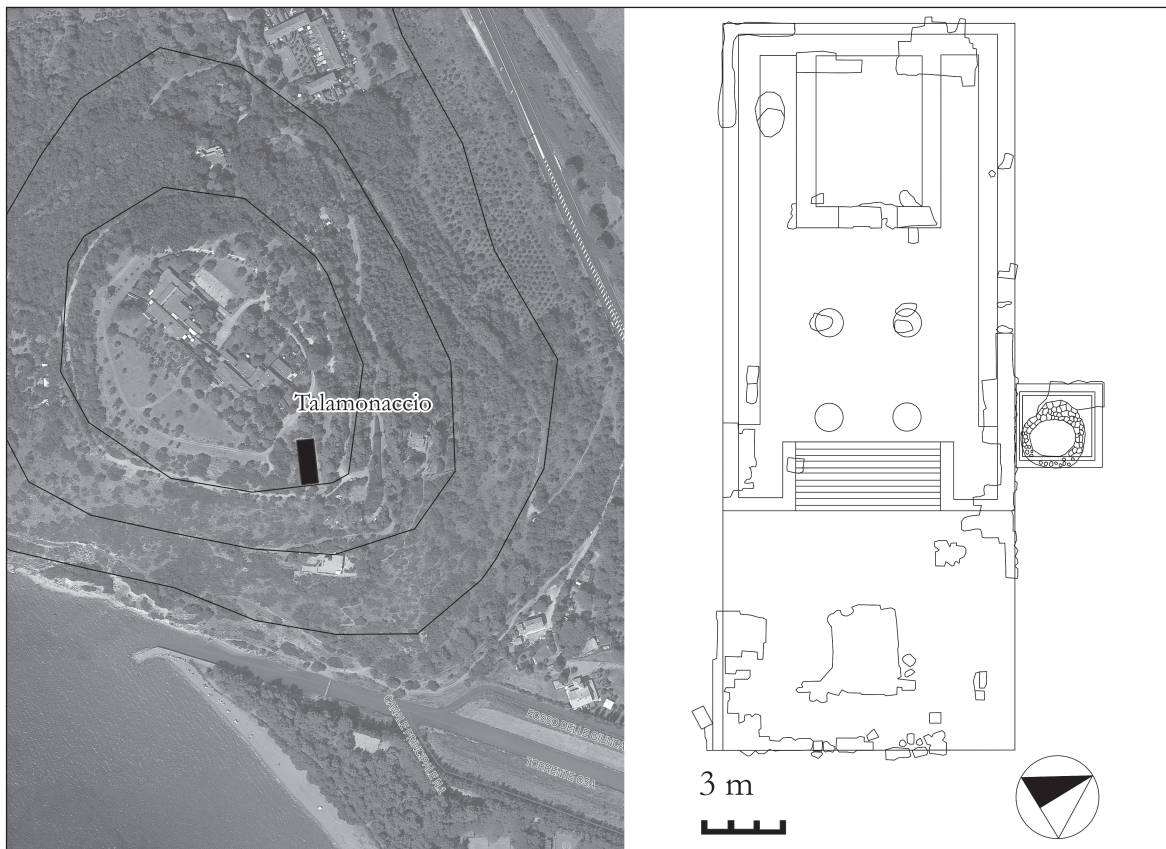


Figure 17.9. The Temple at Talamonaccio temple. Elaboration by the author.

preservative features of these landscapes, the salt economy must have been very important for the local economy from the Bronze Age to Medieval times. As we have seen, the presence of Hercules, at least in two cases (Baratti and Duna Feniglia), seems to be strong in the following centuries. For Talamonaccio, von Vacano (1985, 268) has already noted the singular topography of the temple, facing the inland towards the Albegna corridor. The temple was probably placed to control pastures between the Albegna and the Osa rivers and the movement of flocks and men who used this corridor as an ‘unofficial’ route between mountain and plain. It is not only speculation that the shepherds, during the winter-pasturing, were involved in the production of salt blocks which they used for dairy production and as goods of exchange during the summer pastures in the Apennines (Fig. 17.9).

This kind of integrated production and mobility of human groups is well attested by ethnographic studies: the Nepalese salt traders literally use the sheep and yaks to transport the mining salt blocks collected in the summer towards the wintering plain pastures (Saxer 2013); similarly, among the nomadic tribes of the Sahara (McDougall 1992) and Ethiopia’s Danakil Plains, salt blocks are carried by camel trains

and are still used occasionally as money or are bartered for a cash equivalent (Butzer 1981, 473). In this last case, there is no differentiation of labour between salt miners and shepherds.

The presence of marshes and lagoons is not in contrast with husbandry, transhumance, and salt production. From photographic sources of the nineteenth century, we know that shepherds’ huts and villages were posed around the lagoons in the uncultivated areas of Etruria. Ethnographic studies, for instance, have revealed that, during the eighteenth–nineteenth centuries AD, the same hut-building techniques were used in the Apennines and on Mount Amiata by both shepherds and charcoal workers (Fig. 17.8). Some villages were occupied in an alternating manner by charcoal workers and shepherds without interruption (Vanni and Cristoferi 2018, 212). The bond that Hercules shares with both wetlands and the exchange and transportation of salt (though not directly with its production) must be seen, for instance, in the iconography representing this deity on an *oinochoe* dated to the fifth century BC from the Necropolis of San Cerbone in Populonia where Hercules holds a jar under a fountain with a lion mask (Camporeale 1985, 38, n. 18). The iconography is not that of Hercules *bibax*, the drunkard,

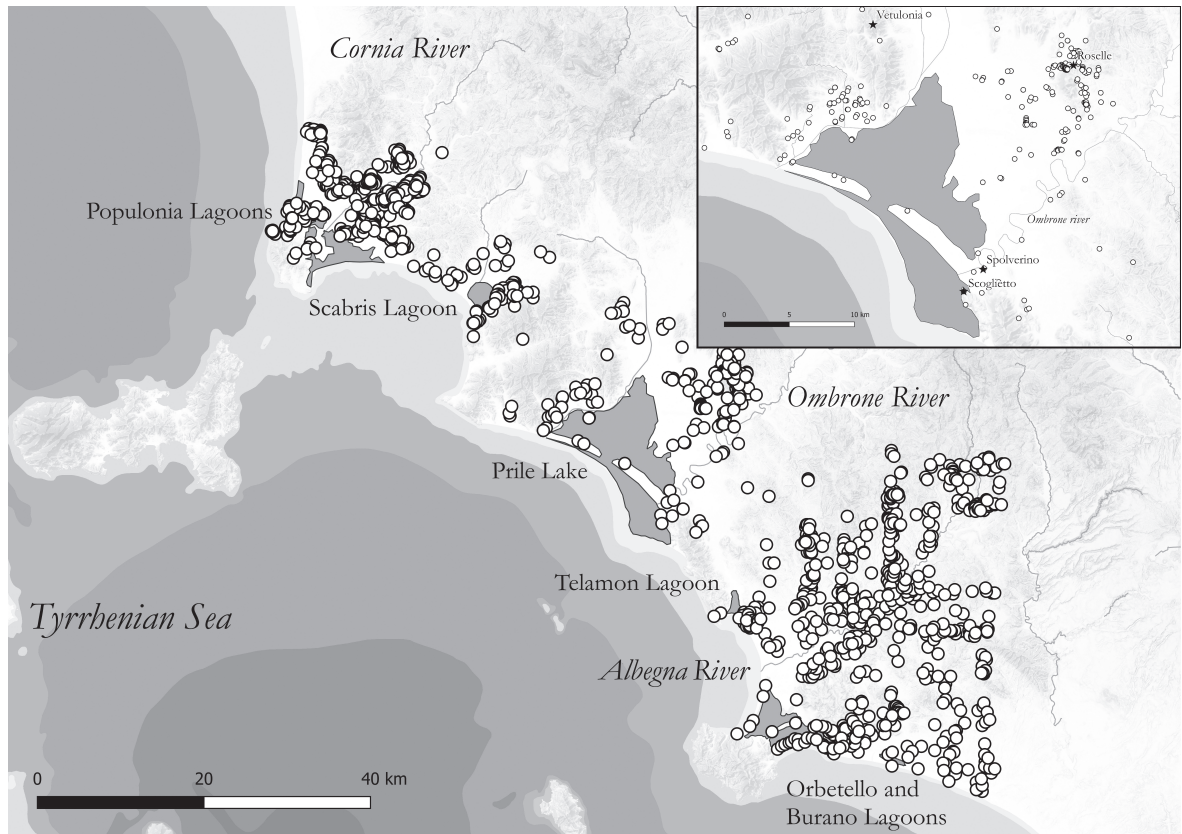


Figure 17.10. Lagoon system of Southern Tuscany during the Roman period. Map by the author.

but certainly it is that of the god of water, tutelary of healthy and hydraulic spheres and drainage activities. In this kind of iconography related to Hercules, the *skyphos*, the vessel held by the god, was an important element, such as in the statue of *Hercules salarius* at Alba Fucens (Martin 1987, 162–71). We know from ancient sources that such a vessel was originally made from wood and used for containing salt (Macrob. *Sat.* v. 21.11; Serv. *Aen.* VIII. 278); only in a second moment was it associated with the symposium imaginary.

The environmental picture that we can derive from this reconstruction reveals a certain degree of instability between humid and non-humid zones. Lagoons and lakes are attested along the entire part of this coast. Great wetlands are well documented for Populonia, where we know of a great lagoon in the south and where the evolution of Prile Lake was a real historic agent in the Maremma Plain, as well as for the surroundings of Telamon and Cosa (Fig. 17.10).

Further, we know that the main humid zones in the Italian peninsula were affected by the presence of endemic diseases, especially malaria (Sallares 2006). Malaria was spread by mosquitoes (*Anopheles* family), particularly between June and October. As far as the ancient times are concerned, we are not in a position to assess the diffusion of malaria with any

certainty, nor do we know exactly when the infection made its first appearance in the region (Sallares 2002, Chapter 7). We have, however, some indirect evidence from paleopathology: in the city of Cosa, a significant percentage of the individuals buried in the Forum II Cemetery, dated around 1010–1265 AD, had been affected by porotic hyperostosis and thalassemia (around 52 per cent), two pathologies typically related to malaria (Fentress 2003, 353–61). Similar pathologies have been found on individuals buried in the villa of Settefinestre, dating from around the second–third centuries AD during a reoccupation phase (Mallegni and Fornaciari 1985). In this particular context, strontium and zinc analysis points to a quite good nutrition status, arguably due to a high consumption of meat and dairy products. Furthermore, the distribution of polyvisceral votives on terracottas dating from the Roman Republican period suggests an early presence of malaria in the area (Fabbri 2009). Since malaria notoriously affects internal organs, the presence of these objects may well be related to this particular disease. A clear reference to tertian fever (as malaria is also known) is found in an inscription recently discovered in the Campetti sanctuary at Veii, dating to the second half of the second century AD and devoted to Hercules and Fons (Fusco 2008–2009, 455–62).

The rhythm of the malaria cycle corresponds to the rhythm of summer–winter/plain–mountain transhumance. The occurrence of malaria, therefore, must have been decisive for settlement strategies and choices with a high gradient of mobility related to the development of a sylvo-pastoral lifestyle in those areas. In light of the foregoing, we can hypothesize that this correspondence is not at all coincidental; rather, I propose precisely that transhumance was adopted in the region as an adaptation to the presence of malaria and that the latter represented one crucial factor for the immense success of this practice.

Connecting Cult Places with the Economic Landscape: A Mutual Structuring System?

In this part of Etruria, the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age transition presents some critical points. In contrast to the well-known case of southern Etruria, no late Bronze Age occupation has been discovered in the main Etruscan cities of the coast. All the Bronze Age occupations seem to have been in the inland and were abandoned before the transition. Thus, we have a huge hiatus in the early Iron Age, and the state formation process seems to have taken place during the Orientalizing period. The only late Bronze and early Iron Age presences that we know of for the coastal plain consist of scattered occupations or occupations without structures, mainly for the production of salt in connection with transhumance practices and other sylvo-pastoral activities. Etruscan cities in this part of Etruria did not have clear Bronze Age antecedents, but the Bronze/Iron Age background transition seems to be rooted in the form of a cluster of villages and farms (Perkins 1999, 171). This implies the presence of a strong territorial aristocracy and of an economy essentially based on sylvo-pastoral activities. From the later Villanovian period, we attest to a growth in the number of settlements, especially during the seventh and sixth centuries BC, with a very differentiated economy based on metallurgy, specialized agriculture, wood exploitation, animal husbandry, charcoal, and salt production. During the sixth–beginning of the fifth centuries BC, the major aristocratic rural centres disappeared, but the continuous scattered occupations of lands, with the contemporary development of rural cult places (Seggiano, Cannicci, Talamonaccio, Ghiaccio Forte), and fortified settlements (as Poggio Civitella and others), shows the vitality of this territory and the role of sanctuaries as political, social, and economic centres (Perkins 1999, 177; Ciacci and

Firmati 2009, 22–25). The significant drop in population in this area seems to have been only at the beginning of the third century, concomitant with the Roman conquest. In opposition to what we know from south Etruria, the different settlement and productive pattern is probably due to more preservative economic features, forcing us to conceive of this landscape in terms of ‘opportunity’ and ‘resistance’ (Di Giuseppe 2005). This characteristic has compelled archaeologists and historians to talk about two kinds of Etruria. If we consider the Roman period, the Maremma Plain has conservative economic features when compared to the slave-oriented landscape of southern Etruria (Vaccaro 2008, 246–47; Launaro 2011, 71–75). The maximum development of rural settlements was reached between the late Republican and early Imperial periods (217 sites) with a few large villas (10 on the coast; 1 in the inland). The concentration of villas along the west side of Lake Prile and the Piombino Lagoon means that strong economic interests focused on the exploitation of salt-lake resources. In the north of the plain, a significant decrease in rural population appears to have begun in the late Republican period. On the basis of this evidence, we could assume that rural settlements were mainly productive units tending towards subsistence. The Roman impact did not change the local economic framework oriented toward non-intensive agriculture, animal husbandry, the exploitation of forest resources, and the production of salt. Between the second and third centuries, settlement density decreases, but not as dramatically as in the neighbouring *ager Cosanus*, which was deeply connected with the wider Mediterranean market. The fourth and fifth centuries were characterized by a further drop in the number of rural sites, but this does not seem to have had entirely negative effects on the socio-economic conditions, with the foundation of a seasonal settlement nearby associated with pastoral activities and salt production. Between the fifth and the mid-sixth centuries, the concentration of rural settlements remains stable, and we observe a continuous occupation of some villages and a brief proliferation of small, dispersed sites, which constitutes strong evidence for the continuity of a structured settlement network until the Gothic War (Vaccaro 2008).

The area under analysis seems to represent an interface characterized by different strategies when considering micro-regional peculiarities. A more preservative framework might have been the cause of the stronger resistance of the settlement and production network, although this network was not necessarily an agrarian-oriented one; simultaneously, this continuity is thus proof of the vitality of

the socio-economic patterns and of the strategies that were elaborated. For Etruria in general, if we consider archeozoological remains, an increase in the number of sheep and goats from 23.1 per cent in the Middle Bronze Age to 52 per cent in the Late Bronze Age has been interpreted as an initial individual accumulation of domesticated animals (De Grossi Mazzorin 2004), reflecting the importance of animal husbandry in this crucial period. These percentages seem to have remained constant in the ninth century, during the naissance of the major Etruscan cities in this area, and to have decreased to 32 per cent in the eighth century BC; nonetheless, the mortality curves for the eighth and seventh centuries BC show a particular attention to the production of wool due to the presence of adult and aged animals, typically frequent in a regime of transhumance. In the Archaic and, especially, the Roman periods, we observe a progressive development of pig-breeding with percentages increasing by about 50 per cent, while the number of sheep and goats became significant once more in the Late Antique period (MacKinnon 2004).

In the Roman town of Cosa, faunal remains dating from the beginning of the second century BC diverge substantially from this pattern. The presence of ovicaprids (56 per cent of domestic animals) seems to play a key role at the beginning of the colony's life in continuity with the Etruscan period (King 1999). In Populonia, during the third and second centuries BC, the most common domesticated animal was pig (52 per cent and 47 per cent respectively), but the percentage of ovicaprids (36 per cent and 42 per cent) is not as low as it is in other sites where pigs are prevalent (De Grossi Mazzorin 1985). Between the first century BC and the first century AD, the values of the two species are equivalent (38 per cent). Similar percentages from Luni recorded for the second and the third centuries AD have been interpreted as the result of the practice of a small-scale transhumance. Generally speaking, biometric analyses have pointed out the smaller size of sheep and goats when compared to their modern descendants, probably in adaptation to so-called marginal landscapes such as mountains and wooded pastures.

Some rural Roman sites excavated in the inland along well-known routes of transhumance show seasonal occupations, probably linked to this practice (Bowes and others 2017). In the inland of Cinigiano, along the Ombrone river, two small archaeological sites have been recorded, San Martino and Poggio dell'Amore, which did not show impressive structures during the excavations (Rattighieri and others 2013). The two archaeological sites lie close to each other (c. 700 m). San Martino dates from the

late second century BC to the late first century BC, while Poggio dell'Amore was confined to the first half of the first century AD. The general absence of faunal remains and the archaeological material suggest that these sites were only occupied seasonally and mostly consisted of work buildings. Archaeobotanical analyses show that these small sites were settled in an open landscape, as testified by some particular *taxa* such as Apiaceae indiff., Brassica type and Brassicaceae indiff., caryophyllaceae, and Chenopodium. Coprophilous fungi such as *Sporormiella* that were found in the two sites are also strongly indicative of dung and therefore of pastures and mobility. They grow on excrements of both domestic and wild herbivores, where some parasite eggs may also be found (*Capillaria*, *Dicrocoelium*, *Trichuris*). It is thus beyond any doubt that pasturelands represented an important part of the agrarian lands surrounding the two sites. Archeobotanical analysis from the Roman cabotage port and the Republican and Imperial temple testify to the human impact in terms of deforestation and degradation (Di Pasquale and others 2014). Human activity at these sites was apparently not oriented toward an increase in cereal fields, nor did it consist in practising extensive olive cultivation but, rather, in the exploitation of wood and wooded pastures. The present evergreen vegetation can be viewed as evidence of the degradation of a deciduous forest or to precise eco-cultural choices and practices. The extension of mixed deciduous forest tends to increase in conditions of limited human presence, which implies that evergreen vegetation can be regarded as a consequence of the degradation of a deciduous forest. Forest clearance is thus an important aspect of the exploitation of landscape, being activated by integrated practices. It is also worth considering another component of the botanical data, namely the evidence of widespread grazing and wooded pasture. The high percentage of pasture pollen suggests that the majority of the land around these sites was used as pasture, particularly as grazed pasture. In turn, a pastorally centred agricultural regime is suggestive of certain patterns of human occupation. As pointed out recently, outfield pastoralism requires mobility, even in the absence of large-scale transhumance movement. All forms of pastoralism find people moving around the landscape each day, over cumulatively significant distances, with their animals: 'indeed, pasture animals are, by definition, a movable feast, "storage batteries" for unexpected shortages of vegetable crops that require small-scale daily movements to keep them fit and useful' (Vaccaro and others 2013, 173–74). Archaeobotanical data and sediment analysis from the Ombrone river bore-

hole indicate an increase of human activities and of an open landscape dominated by pastures and wooded pasturelands (Biserni and van Geel 2005). An increase of alder pollen together with *Vicia Faba* and *Chenopodiaceae* from the first century BC to Late Antiquity is probably the result of agro-sylvo-pastoral practices. Alder and legumes are nitrogen fixers cultivated to encourage pastures, a method that we know to have been in use among shepherds during the sixteenth century AD in the Liguria Apennines (Cevasco 2007, 178–87). As far as alder is concerned, ethnographic research has proved that trees were cultivated for timber and fodder. Trees were cut after a cycle of *c.* ten years, and sheep and goats grazed the area until trees started growing again. The spread of seasonal settlements like Grosseto–San Martino along the Ombrone river and cave occupations like Spaccasasso and Scoglietto testify to these agro-sylvo-pastoral oriented strategies.

Conclusions: The Sacred Landscape Revised

The ‘frontier sanctuary paradigm’, or the ‘extra-urban sanctuary model’ has been challenged in recent years by numerous scholars (Torelli 1999; Ziólkowski 2009; Stek 2014; Smith 2017). The critiques recognize the limitations of de Polignac’s model when applied to specific cases. They deal essentially with two fundamental aspects of the model: one aspect, the possibility of considering sanctuaries built or known in later times as relics of more ancient frontiers has been contested, as in the case of the ring of cult places marking the *ager Romanus Antiquus* of Rome in the early and mid-Republican period (Ziólkowski 2009; Smith 2017) that some scholars see as a memory of a defined area preserved from the early Iron Age (Fulminante 2014) or as sanctuaries marking the limit of Roman territory in the sixth or fifth centuries BC (Alföldy 1962; Bourdin 2012, 429–33). From the other side, the role of sanctuaries in reconstructing the frontiers and borders between cities or *ethnè* has been questioned, especially for periods of colonization along the Italian Peninsula by a central power when territories became more unified in terms of political, cultural, and economic matters and the borders tended to be fields of conflicts and, therefore, less defined (Stek 2014, 96–97). What is actually challenged is both whether archaeology more generally supports the view that we are looking at a ring of frontier sanctuaries and whether the evidence for the sanctuaries is sufficiently strong (Smith 2017, 15). There is, behind the critics, a methodological issue regarding the explan-

atory power of archaeological modelling and the meaning of some archaeological findings in themselves as well as an epistemological concern about the over-interpretation made by modern conjectures and historiography about the past.

As Bourdin has recalled, the focus on memory is significant because the importance of physical markers or sanctuaries, conceived as a political, cultural, and symbolic frontier, survives even when this particular function no longer exists. The Tiber river, which, since the fifth century BC, has not represented a real frontier, is still seen as *Tuscus amnis* in the imaginary of the Imperial period (Bourdin 2012, 513); the same could be said for the frontiers mnemonically reinforced in the description of the Augustan *Regio* of Etruria (De Laurenzi 2005; Smith 2017, 13, n. 52). Torelli, years ago, talking about territorial conflicts between Greek colonies and indigenous *ethnè*, warned of some qualifications to the wholesale adoption of the model of a frontier sanctuary, and he insists on the proper contextualization of each site. One necessary consideration is the nature of extra-urban sanctuaries in marking the cultural and religious identity of a colony in the *chora*; another is the concrete historical function played by rural sanctuaries through their capacity to encourage ethnical, cultural, and political integration amongst the people who attend them (Torelli 1999, 702). In Christopher Smith’s (2017, 14) words:

There is a tension between a border and a place of interaction. To what extent should we see sanctuaries as ‘owned’ or ‘shared’? To what extent do the sanctuaries in any sense police a border? They marked, as we have seen, something along a road, usually a road out of or into a city, but thereafter we need to be thoughtful as to how a wealthy sanctuary was defended. Either it was so far inside the boundary that its security was to be assumed, or it was guarded by its sanctity, which was again a value generally recognized.

For Alföldy, Zifferero, Stoddart, Bourdin, Smith, and many others, sanctuaries remain a key factor in the definition of territory. If, for the Greek world, sacred boundaries and extra-urban sanctuaries are a strong, powerful explanatory tool, then we are obliged to reconsider them for the Italic world. As for the naissance of the mid-Italic, Tyrrhenian proto-urban and urban centres, the phenomenon of the structuration of landscape must be viewed in light of its own distinctive features. If it is true that we have to challenge the ‘diehard thesis that only that which is comparable can be compared’ (Detienne 2008, 22–23), then it is equally true that we have to use a morphological comparison — this means that

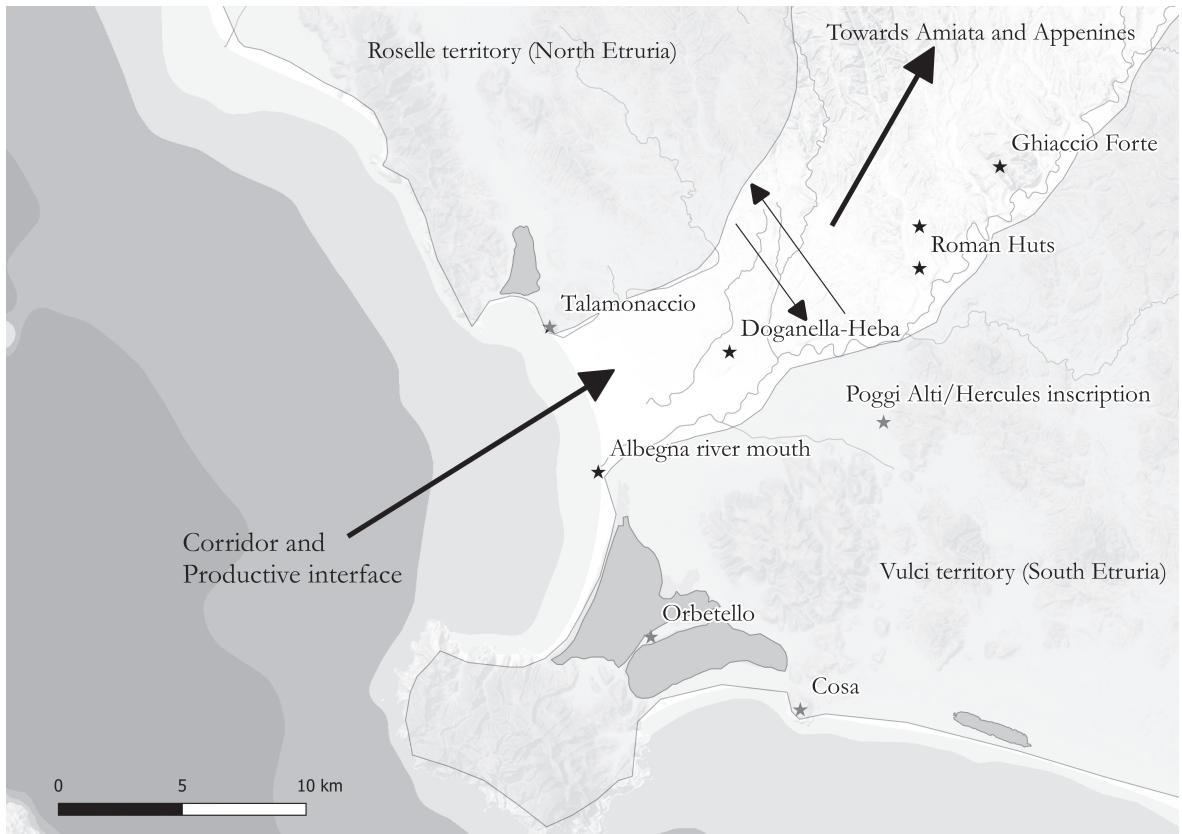


Figure 17.11. Example of a socio-productive and political corridor. Map by the author.

it must be historically rooted. The significance of these sanctuaries must be reconsidered, not only in the light of the historical evolution of demographic and political changes of Italic societies but within a broader account of the productive landscape (Smith 2017, 20). Extra-urban and rural sanctuaries could be seen not only as political boundaries but, more properly, as physical markers between different zones of production or different environments, stressing their economic role on the border of agricultural and sylvo-pastoral economies and, consequently, underlying their integrative function between hinterland and *polis* (McInerney 2006). What finally must be questioned are the concepts of boundary and liminality in themselves, looking at the core of their meaning for ancient people. Most likely, the Etruscans and the Romans, and in general, central Italic people, did not have a clear conceptual notion of their borders or how to define them. A model for central Italy must be integrated with other factors, and the role of the border sanctuary for demarking territorial integrity must be recalibrated. As I suggest for the Talamonaccio temple and the Albegna Valley, for the supposed rural sanctuary of Podere Cannicci and the Orcia-Ombrone Valley system, and for the federal cult place of Murlo, the frontiers must not

be conceived rigidly as simply linear or fixed rings or as interrupted barriers but as osmotic spaces of interaction and complex systems of corridors, continuously in motion, formed by points and spaces of electrification, cohesion, negotiation, and the accumulation of meanings, together with physical (sanctuaries, *vici*, or *oppida*) or ecological markers and routes of mobility (rivers and valleys). These points are placed along fluid borders, immersed in a network of social, political, and productive mobility and flows of goods, humans, animals, and symbolic agents (Fig. 17.11).

These settlements and centres (as well as some kinds of landscapes and economies), are anything but marginal, minor, or secondary. Their power in driving production — and social and mobility forces — and in structuring the landscape must be taken into account as a historical factor. Some have proposed the concept of *non-places*, a concept loaned from cultural and social anthropology (Abélès and Augé 1994), in order to underline the difference of such rural places with a long and persistent quality of resilience in contradistinction to other canonical sites as the urban centres (Zanini and Giorgi 2017, 513–14); others have questioned more deeply the settlement systems and hierarchies elaborated in the

archaeological literature, based on the distinction between central and non-central places, in stressing the importance of network models and central flow theory (see Vionis and Papantoniou 2019).

In conclusion, evidence from the region suggests that paradigms about the role of sanctuaries and deities should be re-assessed in the light of the influence of the natural landscape and by the theoretical mediation between simple methodological as well as epistemological constructions. Sylvo-pastoral management strategies almost certainly involved a complex set of practices, including the exploitation of both infield and outfield zones of the landscape,

and they are deeply connected with sacred places and mobility. Landscape is not a reified entity; rather, a close analysis of distinctive features reveals that we are in a permanently shifting landscape (or we might better say, landplace?) in which the preservative aspects of practices and the strategies for managing natural resources as well as sacred and productive spaces are continuously negotiated in co-evolutionary processes. I hope to have shown that sanctuaries and cult places play a key role in this landscape independently from a central power by using their own logic and by literally producing and forming, to some extent, the economic network.

Works Cited

- Abélès, Marc and Marc Augé. 1994. 'Non-lieux. Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité', *L'Homme*, 34.129: 193–94
- Ahumada Silva, Isabel. 1999. 'Attrezzi agricoli (tarda età del ferro – periodo della romanizzazione ed età romana)', in *L'Antiquarium di Tesis di Vivaro (Maniago)*, ed. by Isabel Ahumada Silva and Antonella Testa (Maniago: Grafiche LEMA), pp. 150–54
- Alcock, Susan and Robin Osborne (eds). 1994. *Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Alföldi, Andreas. 1960. 'Diana Nemorensis', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 64: 137–44
- . 1962. 'Ager Romanus Antiquus', *Hermes*, 90.2: 187–213
- Aranguren. Bianca Maria, Maria Rosaria Cinquegrana, Alberto De Bonis and others. 2014. 'Le strutture e lo scarico di olle del Puntone Nuovo di Scarlino (GR) e i siti costieri specializzati della protostoria mediotirrenica', *Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche*, 64: 227–58
- Baratti, Giorgio. 2010. 'Un sito per la produzione del sale sulla spiaggia di Baratti (area centro velico) alla fine dell'età del Bronzo', in *Materiali per Populonia 9*, ed. by Giorgio Baratti and Fabio Fabiani (Pisa: Ibs), pp. 123–42
- Bentini, Laura. 1995. 'Per una storia della economia agricola di Bologna villanoviana. Gli strumenti agricoli del deposito di San Francesco', in *Agricoltura e commerci nell'Italia antica*, ed. by Luigi Quilici and Silvia Quilici Gigli (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider), pp. 31–40
- Bentz, Martin. 1992. *Etruskische Votivbronzen des Hellenismus* (Florence: Olschki)
- Biserni, Giacomo and Bas van Geel. 2005. 'Reconstruction of Holocene palaeoenvironment and sedimentation history of the Ombrone alluvial plain (South Tuscany, Italy)', *Review of Palaeobotany and Palynology*, 136: 16–28
- Bodel, John. 1999. 'Death on Display: Looking at Roman Funerals', *Studies in the History of Art*, 56: 258–81
- Bonamici, Marisa. 2003. 'I bronzi del santuario di Sillene a Chianciano Terme', *L'acqua degli dei. Immagini di fontane, vasellame, culti salutari e in grotta. Catalogo della mostra*, ed. by Giulio Paolucci (Montepulciano: Le Balze), pp. 45–55
- Bosio, Luciano. 1997. *Le strade romane della Venetiae dell'Histria* (Padua: Editoriale programma)
- Botarelli, Lucia, Carlo Casi, and Franco Cambi. 2012. 'I culti del Monte Amiata, in antropologia e archeologia a confronto', in *Antropologia e archeologia a confronto. Rappresentazioni e pratiche del sacro. Atti del 2° convegno*, ed. by Valentino Nizzo and Luigi La Rocca (Rome: Arbosapiantiae), pp. 471–82
- Botte, Emmanuel. 2017. 'L'exploitation de la mer en Italie centrale tyrrhénienne (Étrurie et Latium): production et commerce durant l'Antiquité', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Antiquité* 129.2 <<http://journals.openedition.org/mefra/4635>; DOI: 10.4000/mefra.4635F> [last accessed 17 February 2019]
- Bourdin, Stephan. 2012. *Les peuples de l'Italie préromaine: identités, territoires et relations inter-ethniques en Italie centrale et septentrionale (VIII^e-I^{er} s. av. J.-C.)* (Rome: Efron)
- Bowes, Kim, Anna Maria Mercuri, Eleonora Rattigheri, Rossella Rinaldi, Antonia Arnoldus-Huyzendveld, Maria Elena Ghisleni, Cam Grey, Michael MacKinnon, and Emanuele Vaccaro. 2017. 'Peasant Agricultural Strategies in Southern Tuscany: Convertible Agriculture and the Importance of Pasture', in *The Economic Integration of Roman Italy: Rural Communities in a Globalizing World*, ed. by Gijs Tol and Tymon de Haas (Leiden: Brill), pp. 170–99
- Brigand, Robin and Olivier Weller (eds). 2015. *Archaeology of Salt. Approaching an Invisible Past* (Leiden: Brill)
- Butzer, Karl W. 1981. 'Rise and Fall of Axum, Ethiopia: A Geo-Archaeological Interpretation', *American Antiquity*, 46, 3: 471–95

- Camassa, Giorgio, Armando De Guio and Francesca Veronese (eds). 2000. *Paesaggi di potere. Problemi e prospettive. Atti del Seminario, Udine 16–17 maggio 1996* (Rome: Quaderni di Eutopia 2)
- Cambi, Franco (ed.). 2012. *Il ruolo degli oppida e la difesa del territorio in Etruria: Casi di studio e prospettive di ricerca*. Aristonothos, Scritti per il Mediterraneo antico Vol. 5 (Trento: Tangram)
- Camilli, Andrea, and Angelina De Laurenzi. 2008. 'Manciano (Gr). Saturnia: Elaborazione cartografica numerica di dettaglio e analisi del territorio. Il caso della centuriazione romana', *Notiziario della Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana*, 4: 474–76
- Campana, Stefano. 2001. *Murlo. Carta archeologica della provincia di Siena*. V (Florence: Insegna del Giglio)
- Camporeale, Giovannangelo (ed.). 1985. *L'Etruria mineraria. Catalogo della Mostra* (Milan: Electa)
- Carandini, Andrea, and Filippi Rossella (eds). 1985. *Settefinestre: Una villa schiavistica nell'Etruria romana* (Modena: Panini)
- Capogrossi Colognesi, Luigi. 2002. *Persistenza e innovazione nelle strutture territoriali dell'Italia romana. L'ambiguità di una interpretazione storiografica e dei suoi modelli* (Naples: Jovene)
- Cappuccini, Lidia. 2012. 'Il castellum di Poggio Civitella (Montalcino, Siena)', in *Il ruolo degli oppida e la difesa del territorio in Etruria: Casi di studio e prospettive di ricerca*, ed. by Franco Cambi, Aristonothos, Scritti per il Mediterraneo antico Vol. 5 (Trento: Tangram), pp. 299–322
- Carandini, Andrea, and Franco Cambi (eds). 2002. *Paesaggi d'Etruria. Valle dell'Albegna, Valle d'Oro, Valle del Chiarone, Valle del Tarone* (Rome: Edizioni Storia e Letteratura)
- Carlsen, Jasper. 2006. *The Rise and Fall of a Roman Noble Family: The Domitii Ahenobarbi 196 BC-AD 68* (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark)
- Carter, Joseph C. 2006. *Discovering the Greek Countryside at Metaponto*, Thomas Spencer Jerome lectures (Ann Arbor, Michigan)
- Cevasco, Roberta. 2007. *Memoria verde. Nuovi spazi per la geografia* (Reggio Emilia: Diabasis)
- Chellini, R. 2002. *Acque sorgive salutari e sacre in Etruria (Italiae Regio VII)*, BAR International Series, 1067 (Oxford: Archo-press)
- Chevalier, Solene. 2016. 'La production de sel sur la côte tyrrhénienne de la péninsule Italique. De l'âge du Bronze à l'époque archaïque. État de l'art', *Siris*, 16: 11–35
- Chiadini, Gianluca. 1995. 'Selvans', *Studi Etruschi*, 61: 161–80
- Chirici, Alfeo. 1992. *Storia di Follonica, un golfo, un territorio* (Piombino: Traccedizioni)
- Ciacci, Andrea. 1996. 'La montagna e l'Etruria delle città', *Carta archeologica della provincia di Siena, vol. II, Il Monte Amiata (Abbadia San Salvatore)*, ed. by Franco Cambi (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio), pp. 151–63
- Ciacci, Andrea and Marco Firmati. 2009. 'La valle dell'Ombro in periodo etrusco e romano', in *Ombro. Un fiume tra due terre*, ed. by Gianni Resti (Pisa: Pacini Editore), pp. 15–44
- Ciampoltrini, Giulio. 1984. 'Un insediamento tardo repubblicano ad Albinia (Orbetello, Grosseto)', *Rassegna di Archeologia*, 4: 149–80
- . (ed.). 2008. *Tra Ager Centuriatus e silva. Ricerche sul decumanus 'del Colmo dei Bicchi –Botronchio' nella piana di Lucca* (Pisa: La Grafica Pisana)
- Ciampoltrini, Giulio, and Paola Rendini. 1989. 'Un insediamento tardoantico nella valle dell'Osa (Orbetello, GR). Indagini di superficie', *Archeologia Medievale*, 16: 513–22
- . 2000. 'La valle dell'Albegna fra I sec. a.C. e III sec. d.C.', in *Segni e lettere. Alcune scritture antiche del Mediterraneo. Catalogo della mostra*, ed. by Giulio Ciampoltrini and M. C. Guidotti (Pisa: Museo didattico della civiltà e della scrittura), 67–81
- Cifani, Gabriele, and Simon Stoddart (eds). 2012. *Landscape, Ethnicity and Identity in the Archaic Mediterranean Area* (Oxford: Oxbow)
- Coarelli, Filippo. 1979. 'La riscoperta del sepolcro degli Haterii: Una base con dedica a Silvano', *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology*: 255–69
- . 1983. *Il Foro Romano. Periodo arcaico I* (Rome: Quasar)
- . 1987. *I santuari del Lazio in età repubblicana* (Rome: Studi NIS archeologia 7)
- . 1988. *Il Foro Boario dalle origini alla fine della repubblica* (Rome: Quasar)
- Colmayer, Francesca, and Paola Spaziani. 2009. 'I bronzi del museo archeologico e d'arte della maremma di Grosseto', in *Le vie del sacro. Culti e depositi votivi nella valle dell'Albegna*, ed. by Paola Rendini (Siena: NIE) 2009, pp. 125–31
- Colonna, Giovanni. 1970. *Bronzi votivi umbro-sabellici a figura umana. I periodo arcaico* (Rome: Le Lettere)
- . (ed.). 1985. *I santuari d'Etruria* (Rome: Electa)
- . 1999. 'Volsinii e la Val di Lago', *AnnFaina*, 6: 9–29
- Cygielman, Mario. 2014. 'Diana Ombroense alla foce del fiume Ombro (Alberese–Grosseto)', in *Studi per Antonella Romualdi*, ed. by Stefano Bruni and Carlotta Cianferoni (Rome: Polistampa), pp. 271–78

- De Grossi Mazzorin, Jacopo. 1985. 'Reperti faunistici dall'Acropoli di Populonia: testimonianze di allevamento e caccia nel III secolo a.C.', *Rassegna di Archeologia*, 5: 131–71
- . 2004. 'Some Considerations about the Evolution of the Animal Exploitation in Central Italy from the Bronze Age to the Classical Period', in *PECUS. Man and Animal in Antiquity. Proceedings of the Conference at the Swedish Institute in Rome, September 9–12, 2002*, ed. by Barbro Santillo Frizell (Rome: Svenska Institute Press), pp. 38–49
- de Grummond, Nancy. 1997. 'Poggio Civitate: A Turning Point', *Etruscan Studies*, 4: 23–40
- De Laurenzi, Angelina. 2005. 'L'Etruria di Augusto: I confini geografici della settima regione augustea', *Archeologia Classica*, 56: 471–86
- de Polignac, François. 1984. *La naissance de la cité grecque. Cultes, espace et société VIII^e-VII^e siècles avant J.C.* (Paris: Éditions de la Découverte)
- . 1994. 'Mediation, Competition, and Sovereignty. The Evolution of Rural Sanctuaries in Geometric Greece', in *Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, ed. by Susan Alcock and Robin Osborne (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 3–18
- Detienne, Marcel. 2008. *Comparing the Incomparable* (Stanford: Stanford University Press)
- Di Giuseppe, Helga. 2005. 'Un confronto tra l'etruria settentrionale e meridionale dal punto di vista della ceramica avernice nera', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 73: 31–84
- . 2012. *Black-Gloss Ware in Italy: Production Management and Local Histories* (Oxford: Archeopress)
- Di Paola, Giorgia. 2018. 'Central Place and Liminal Landscape in the Territory of Populonia', *Land*, 7, 94, <www.mdpi.com/2073-445X/7/3/94>
- Di Paola, Giorgia and Edoardo Vanni. 2016. 'Paesaggi di frontiera e mobilità: alcuni spunti dall'Etruria settentrionale costiera', in *Santuari mediterranei tra oriente e occidente. Interazioni e contatti culturali*, ed. by Alfonsina Russo Tagliente and Francesca Guarneri (Rome: Scienze e Lettere), pp. 95–104
- Di Pasquale, Gaetano, Mauro Paolo Buonincontri, Emilia Allevato, and Antonio Saracino. 2014. 'Human-Derived Landscape Changes on the Northern Etruria Coast (Western Italy) between Roman times and the Late Middle Ages', *The Holocene*, 24.11: 1491–1502
- Dorcey, Peter. 1992. *The Cult of Silvanus. A Study in Roman Folk Religion* (Leiden: Brill)
- Eck, Werner and Edgar Pack. 1981. 'Das Römische Heba. Materialien aus der Vorarbeit zu CIL suppl. Alterum', *Chiron*, 11: 139–68
- Edlund-Berry, Ingrid. 1987. *The Gods and the Place. Location and Function of Sanctuaries in the Countryside of Etruria and Magna Graecia (700–400 B.C.)* (Rome: Svenska Institutet i Rom 43)
- . 1992. *The Seated and Standing Acroteria from Poggio Civitate (Murlo)* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider)
- . 2010. 'Akroteria in Ancient Italy: Images and Architectural Traditions', in *Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy Images of Gods, Monsters and Heroes. Proceedings of the International Conference held in Rome (Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Royal Netherlands Institute) and Syracuse (Museo Archeologico Regionale 'Paolo Orsi')*, October 21–25, 2009, ed. by Patricia Lulof and Carlo Rescigno, *Deliciae Fictiles IV* (Oxford: Oxbow), pp. 17–22
- Fabbri, Fabiana. 2009. 'La stipe votiva di Podere Cannicci a Paganico (Civitella Paganico)', in *Le vie del Sacro. Culti e depositi votivi nella valle dell'Albegna*, ed. by Paola Rendini (Siena: Nuova Immagine Editrice), pp. 113–20
- . 2019. *Votivi anatomici fittili. Uno straordinario fenomeno di religiosità popolare dell'Italia antica* (Bologna: Ante Quem)
- Fedeli, Paolo. 1993. 'La frequentazione protostorica del colle di Talamonaccio (GR). Nuovi materiali e revisione di vecchi dati', *Rassegna di Archeologia*, 11: 148–242
- Fentress, Elisabeth. 1996. 'Saturnia: Figures in a Centuriated Landscape', in *En hommage à F. Jacques*, ed. by André Chastagnol, Ségolène Demougin, and Claude Lepelley, *Splendidissima Civitas* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne), pp. 79–99
- . (ed.). 2003. *Cosa V: An Intermittent Town, Excavations 1991–1997* (Ann Arbor: MAAR)
- Ferrandes, Antonio Francesco. 2006. 'Produzioni stampigliate e figurate in area etrusco-laziale tra fine IV e III secolo a.C. nuove riflessioni alla luce di vecchi contesti', *Archeologia Classica*, 57: 115–74
- Firmati, Marco. 2002. 'New Data from the Fortified Settlement of Ghiaccio Forte in the Albegna Valley', *Etruscan Studies. Journal of the Etruscan Foundation*, 9: 63–75
- Fontaine, Paul. 2001. 'Les fortifications secondaires de l'Etrurie: aspects et problèmes', *Revue Archéologique*, 1: 173–77
- Fulminante, Francesca. 2014. *The Urbanisation of Rome and Latium Vetus: From the Bronze Age to the Archaic Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Fusco, Ugo. 2008–2009. 'Iscrizioni votive ad Ercole, alle Fonti e a Diana dal sito di Campetti a Veio: Ulteriori elementi per l'interpretazione archeologica', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, 81: 443–500
- Gleba, Margareta. 2000. 'Textile Production at Poggio Civitate (Murlo) in the 7th c. BC', in *Archéologie des textiles des origines au V^e siècle, Actes du colloque de Lattes, Oct. 1999*, ed. by Dominique Cardon and Michel Feugère (Monographies Instrumentum 14: Montagnac), pp. 75–80

- . 2009. 'Textile Tools in Ancient Italian Votive Contexts: Evidence of Dedication or Production?', in *Votives, Places and Rituals in Etruscan Religion*, ed. by Margareta Gleba and Hilary Becker (Leiden: Brill), pp. 69–84
- Gras, Michel. 1995. *La Méditerranée archaïque* (Paris: Armand Colin)
- Gros, Pierre. 1983. 'Statut social et rôle culturel des architectes (période hellénistique et augustéenne)', in *Architecture et société. De l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la République. Actes du Colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'école française de Rome (Rome 2–4 décembre 1980)* (Rome: École française de Rome), pp. 425–52
- . 1995. 'Hercule à Glanum. Sanctuaires de transhumance et développement urbain', *Gallia*, 52: 311–31
- Gros, Pierre, and Mario Torelli. 1988. *Storia dell'urbanistica. Il mondo romano* (Rome: Laterza)
- Gury, Françoise. 1994. 'Selene, Luna', *LIMC*, 7: 706–15
- Guzzo, Pier Giovanni. 1987. 'Schema per la categoria interpretativa del "santuario di frontiera"', *ScAnt*, 1: 373–79
- Harding Anthony. 2013. *Salt in Prehistoric Europe* (Leiden: Brill)
- Harris, William Vernon (ed.). 2013. *The Ancient Mediterranean Environment between Science and History*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, 39 (Leiden: Brill)
- Jolivet, Vincent. 2002. 'Recherches récentes sur les sanctuaires de Bolsena et de son territoire', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 15: 363–74
- King, Anthony. 1999. 'Diet in the Roman World: A Regional Inter-Site Comparison of the Mammal Bones', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 12: 168–202
- Launaro, Alessandro. 2011. *Peasants and Slaves. The Rural Population of Roman Italy (200 BC to AD 100)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Leach, Eleanor. 2006. 'Freedmen and Immortality in the the Tomb of the Haterii', in *The Art of Citizens, Soldiers, and Freedmen in the Roman World*, ed. by Eve D'Ambra and Guy P. R. Metraux, BAR International Series, 1526 (Oxford: Archaeopress), pp. 1–17
- Letta, Cesare. 1992. 'I santuari rurali nell'Italia centro-appenninica: Valori religiosi e funzione aggregativa', *MEFRA*, 104.1: 109–24
- MacIntosh Turfa, Jean, and A. G. Steinmayer. 2002. 'Interpreting Early Etruscan Structures: The Question of Murlo', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 70: 1–28
- MacKinnon, Michael. 2004. *Production and Consumption of Animals in Roman Italy. Integrating the Zooarchaeological and Textual Evidence*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.* 54 (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology)
- Maggiani, Adriano. 1997. *Vasi attici figurati con dediche a divinità etrusche* (Rome: RdA Suppl. 18)
- . 2003. 'Acque "sante" in Etruria', in *L'acqua degli dei. Immagini di fontane, vasellame, culti salutari e in grotta. Catalogo della mostra* (Montepulciano: Le Balze), pp. 39–43
- Mallegni, Francesco and Gino Fornaciari. 1985. 'Le ossa umane', in *Settefinestre: Una villa schiavistica nell'Etruria romana*, 3 vols, ed. by Andrea Carandini and Andreina Ricci (Panini: Modena), pp. 275–79
- Manacorda, Daniele. 1980. 'L'ager cosanus tra tarda repubblica e impero: Forme di produzione e assetto della proprietà', *The Seaborne Commerce of Ancient Rome: Studies in Archaeology and History, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 36: 173–84
- . 1994. 'Gli aselli dossuari di Varrone', in *Land Use in the Roman Empire. Atti del Convegno (Roma, gennaio 1993)*, ed. by Jesper Carlsen, Peter Ørsted, and Jens Skydsgaard (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider), pp. 79–80
- . 2007. 'Philyra: Un graffito da Populonia e il tema della prostituzione sacra', in *Materiali per Populonia 6*, ed. by Lucia Botarelli, Marta Coccoluto, and Matteo Milletti (Pisa: ETS), pp. 149–67
- Marianelli, Simona. 2003. 'Vecchi e nuovi studi topografici nel comune di Magliano in Toscana', in *Archeologia a Magliano in Toscana*, ed. by Paola Rendini and Marco Firmati (Siena: NIE), pp. 41–50
- Martin, Hanz. G. 1987. *Römische Tempelkultbilder* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider)
- Marzatico, Federico. 2012. 'La cultura di Luco/Laugen, aggiornamenti e problemi aperti', in *Il castelliere di Castel de Pedena. Un sito di frontiera del II e I millennio a.C.*, ed. by Anna Angelini and Giovanni Leonardi (Belluno: Fondazione Giovanni Angelini), pp. 177–204
- Mascione, Cynthia, and Stefania Salerno. 2013. 'Il sistema difensivo di Populonia: nuovi dati sulle mura dell'Acropoli', *ScAnt*, 1.13: 411–27
- Mazzolai, Aldo. 1958. 'Per un corpus dei bronzetti etruschi. La collezione del Museo Archeologico di Grosseto', *Studi Etruschi*, 26: 193–223
- McDougall, Ann E. 1992. 'Salt, Saharans, and the Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: Nineteenth Century Developments', *Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies*, 13.1: 61–88
- McInerney, Jeremy. 2006. 'Sacred Land and the Margins of the Community', in *City, Countryside, and the Spatial Organization of Value in Classical Antiquity*, ed. by Ralph M. Rosen and Inecula Sluiter, Mnemosyne Supplements, 279 (Leiden: Brill), pp. 33–59
- Meiggs, Russell 1980. 'Sea-Borne Timber Supplies to Rome', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 36: 185–96

- Mercattili, Francesco. 2012. 'Per un'archeologia dell'Aventino: I culti della media Repubblica', *MEFRA*, 124.1, <<https://journals.openedition.org/mefra/144>>
- Milani, Luigi A. 1887. 'Tre bronzi del Museo Etrusco di Firenze', *Notizie dagli Scavi*, 2: 222–34
- Momigliano, Arnaldo. 1969. 'Tre figure mitiche: Tanaquilla, Gaia Cecilia, Acca Larentia', *Quarto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Rome: Storia e Letteratura), pp. 455–80
- Morel, Jean-Paul. 1988. 'Artisanat et colonisation dans l'Italie romaine aux IV^e et III^e siècles av. J.-C.', *Dialoghi di Archeologia*, 3.6: 49–63
- Nielsen, Mariatta, Annette Rathje. 2009. 'Artumes in Etruria – the Borrowed Goddess', in *From Artemis to Diana: The Goddess of Man and Beast*, ed. by Tobias Fischer-Hansen and Birte Poulsen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press), pp. 261–301
- Nijboer, Albert J. 1998. *From Household Production to Workshops. Archaeological Evidence For Economic Transformations, Pre-Monetary Exchange and Urbanisation in Central Italy from 800 to 400 BC* (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)
- Nonnis, David. 2010. 'Le iscrizioni vascolari latine da Populonia e da contesti sacri dell'Etruria tra media e tarda Repubblica', in *Materiali per Populonia 9*, ed. by Giorgio Baratti and Fabio Fabiani (Pisa: ETS), pp. 123–42
- Nonnis, David and Simone Sisani. 2012. 'Manufatti iscritti e vita dei santuari: L'Italia centrale tra media e tarda repubblica', in *Instrumenta inscripta III. Manufatti iscritti e vita dei santuari in età romana*, ed. by Giulia Baratta and Silvia Maria Marengo (Macerata: EUM), pp. 41–91
- Pacciarelli, Marco. 2000. *Dal villaggio alla città. La svolta proto urbana del 1000 a.C. nell'Italia tirrenica* (Florence: Insegna del Giglio)
- Paribeni, Enrico. 1979. 'Di una testa di Diana nel Museo di Volterra', *Studi per Enrico Fiumi* (Pisa: Pacini), pp. 73–82
- Perkins, Philip. 1999. *Etruscan Settlement, Society and Material Culture in Central Coastal Etruria* (Oxford: BAR)
- Polinskaya, Irene. 2003. 'Liminality as Metaphor. Initiation and the Frontiers of Ancient Athens', in *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New Critical Perspectives*, ed. by David B. Dodd and Christopher A. Faraone (London: Routledge), pp. 85–106
- . 2006. 'Lack of Boundaries, Absence of Oppositions: The City-Countryside Continuum of a Greek Pantheon', in *City, Countryside, and the Spatial Organization of Value in Classical Antiquity*, ed. by Ralph M. Rosen and Inecula Sluiter, *Mnemosyne Supplements*, 279 (Leiden: Brill), pp. 61–92
- Prescendi, Francesca. 2008. 'Le deuil à Rome: mise en scène d'une émotion', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 225.2: 297–313
- Rattighieri, Eleonora, Rossella Rinaldi, Anna Maria Mercuri and Kim Bowes. 2013. 'Land Use from Seasonal Archaeological Sites: The Archaeobotanical Evidence of Small Roman Farmhouses in Cinigiano, South-Eastern Tuscany – Central Italy', *Annali di Botanica*, 3: 207–15
- Raveggi, Pietro. 1939. 'Recenti ritrovamenti nell'Agro Cosano e Talamonese', *Studi Etruschi*, 13: 403–04
- Redhouse, David. I., and Simon Stoddart. 2011. 'Mapping Etruscan State Formation', in *State Formation in Italy and Greece. Questioning the Neoevolutionist Paradigm*, ed. by Nicola Terrenato and Donald. C. Haggis (Oxford: Oxbow), pp. 162–78
- Rendini, Paola. 2002. 'L'età arcaica', in *Museo archeologico di Scansano*, ed. by Marco Firmati and Paola Rendini (Siena: NIE), pp. 27–31
- . 2003. 'Stipi votive e culti nella valle dell'Albegna dall'età arcaica all'età romana', in *Archeologia a Magliano in Toscana*, ed. by Paola Rendini and Marco Firmati (Siena: NIE), pp. 13–26
- . (ed.). 2009. *Le vie del sacro. Culti e depositi votivi nella valle dell'Albegna* (Siena: NIE)
- Renfrew, Colin. 1985. *The Archaeology of Cult. The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*, Supplementary volume of the British School of Archaeology at Athens 18 (Athens: British School of Archaeology at Athens)
- Reynolds Scott, Ann. 2008. *Cosa. The Black-Glaze Pottery 2* (Ann Arbor: MAAR)
- Riva, Corinna and Simon Stoddart. 1996. 'Ritual Landscapes in Archaic Etruria', in *Approaches to the Study of Ritual. Italy and the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. by John B. Wilkins (London: University Museum), pp. 91–109
- Romualdi, Antonella. 1989–1990. 'Luoghi di culto e depositi votivi nell'Etruria settentrionale in epoca arcaica: Considerazioni sulla tipologia e sul significato delle offerte votive', in *Anathema: regime delle offerte e vita dei santuari nel Mediterraneo antico*, 'Scienze dell'antichità', 3–4 (1988–89) (Rome: La Sapienza), pp. 619–49
- Ross Tylor, Lily. 1923. *Local Cults in Etruria* (Rome: American Academy)
- Rossi, Fabio. 2017. 'Duna Feniglia – Sede Forestale (sito TF01). Un sito produttivo villanoviano', in Nuccia Negroni Catacchio, Massimo Cardosa, and Andrea Dolfini (eds), *Paesaggi d'Acque La Laguna di Orbetello e il Monte Argentario tra Preistoria ed Età Romana. Un progetto di archeologia dei paesaggi dell'Università degli Studi di Milano e del Centro Studi di Preistoria e Archeologia di Milano 2000–2006* (Milan: Centro studi di preistoria e archeologia), pp. 230–402
- Rossi, Fabio, Lucia Campo, Irene Cappello, Massimo Cardos, Alessandra Lepri, and Mirko Luciano. 2014. 'Duna Feniglia (Orbetello, GR). I risultati delle ultime campagne di scavo (2011–2012) nell'area nord-occidentale', in *Atti dell'XI Incontro*

- di Studi di Preistoria e Protostoria in Etruria*, ed. by Nuccia Negroni Catacchio (Milan: Centro studi di preistoria e archeologia), pp. 681–68
- Ruiz Rodriguez, Arturo, and Manuel Molinos Molinos. 1989. 'Fronteras: Un caso del siglo VI a.n.c.', *Fronteras. Arqueologia Espacial*, 13: 13–135
- . 2012. 'Limits, Frontiers and Boundaries among the Iberians of the Guadalquivir Valley (Eighth Century BC–Fourth Century BC)', in *Landscape, Ethnicity and Identity in the Archaic Mediterranean Area*, ed. by Gabriele Cifani and Simon Stoddart (Oxford: Oxbow), pp. 207–27
- Saladino, Vincenzo. 1977. 'I Didii di Saturnia', *Athenaeum*, 1, 55: 322–28
- Sallares, Robert. 2002. *Malaria and Rome: A History of Malaria in Ancient Italy* (Oxford University Press: Oxford)
- . 2006. 'Role of Environmental Changes in the Spread of Malaria in Europe during the Holocene', *Quaternary International*, 150: 21–27
- Sani, Giancarlo. 2011. 'Le rocce dei pennati. Sulle tracce delle rocce Sacre dei Liguri – Apuani nelle Alpi apuane (Toscana nord occidentale)', in *Proceedings of the XXIV Valcamonica Symposium, Centro Camuno di Studi Preistorici* (Capo di Ponte: Edizioni del Centro), pp. 364–71.
- Santillo Frizell, Barbro. 2004. 'Curing the Flock. The Use of Healing Waters in Roman Pastoral Economy', in *PECUS. Man and Animal in Antiquity. Proceedings of the Conference at the Swedish Institute in Rome, September 9–12, 2002*, ed. by Barbro Santillo Frizell (Rome: The Swedish Institute in Rome), pp. 80–93
- Saxer, Martin. 2013. 'Between China and Nepal: Trans-Himalayan Trade and the Second Life of Development in Upper Humla', *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review*, 8: 31–52
- Schachter, Albert (ed.). 1992. *Le sanctuaire grec. Huit exposés suivis de discussions* (Vandoeuvres-Genève: Fondation Hardt)
- Sebastiani, Alessandro. 2014. 'Spolverino (Alberese – GR). The 4th Archaeological Season at the Manufacturing District and Revision of the Previous Archaeological Data', *FOLD&R*, 320: 1–13, <www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2017-320.pdf> [last accessed 13 December 2020]
- Sebastiani, Alessandro, Elena Chirico, Matteo Colombini, and Mario Cygielman (eds.). 2015. *Diana Umbronensis a Scoglietto. Santuario, territorio e cultura materiale (200 a.C. – 550 d.C.)* (Oxford: Archaeopress)
- Sebastiani, Alessandro, Fabiana Fabbri, Valentina Trotta and Edoardo Vanni. 2018. 'The First Archaeological Season at Podere Cannicci (Paganico – GR)', *FOLD&R*, 413: 1–17, <www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2018-413.pdf> [last accessed 13 December 2020]
- Smith, C. 2017. 'Ager Romanus Antiquus', *ArchCl*, 68: 1–26
- Soren, David. 1997. 'Excavations at Mezzomiglio Locality, Chianciano Terme', *Etruscan Studies*, 4: 145–58
- . (ed.). 2006. *An Ancient Roman Spa at Mezzomiglio: Chianciano Terme, Tuscany*, BAR International Series, 1548 (Oxford: Archaeopress)
- Stek, Tesse. 2009. *Cult places and Cultural Changes in Republican Italy. A Contextual Approach to Religious Aspects of Rural Society after the Roman Conquest* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press)
- . 2014. 'The City-State Model and Roman Republican Colonization: Sacred Landscapes as a Proxy for Colonial Socio-Political Organization', in *Roman Republican Colonization. New Perspectives from Archaeology and Ancient History*, ed. by Tesse Stek and Jeremia Pelgrom (Rome: Palombi Editore), pp. 87–105
- Stoddart, Simon. 1998. 'The Spatial Dynamics of Sanctuary Location in Southern Etruria during the Archaic Period', in *Papers of the EAA Third Annual Meeting at Ravenna 1997. Pre- and protohistory*, ed. by Mark Pearce and Maurizio Tosi, BAR International Series, 717 (Oxford: Archaeopress), pp. 198–201
- Tarpin, Michel. 2002. *Vici et pagi dans l'Occident romain* (Rome: CEFR 299)
- Torelli, Mario. 1983. 'Polis e Palazzo. Ideologia e Artigianato Greco in Etruria fra il VII e VI sec. a.C.', in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la République romaine. Actes du Colloque international CNRS/AFR, Rome, 2–4 dec. 1980* (Paris: École française de Rome), pp. 471–93
- . 1993. 'Gli aromi e il sale. Afrodite ed Eracle nell'emporio arcaica dell'Italia', in *Ercole in occidente*, ed. by Attilio Mastrocinque (Trento: Labirinti), pp. 91–117
- . 1999. 'Santuari, offerte e sacrifici nella magna grecia della frontiera', in *Confini e frontiera nella Grecia d'Occidente, Atti del Trentesimo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto 1997)*, ed. by Giuseppe Pugliese Carratelli and Michel Bats (Naples: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia), pp. 685–705
- . 2006. 'Ara Maxima Herculis: Storia di un monumento', *MEFRA*, 118.2: 573–620
- Trentacoste, Angela, Emma Lightfoot, Petrus Le Roux, Michael Buckleyd, Sarah Whitcher Kansa, Carmen Esposito, and Margarita Gleba. 2020. 'Heading for the Hills? A Multi-Isotope Study of Sheep Management in First Millennium BC Italy', *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, 29: 1–17
- Vaccaro, Emanuele. 2008. 'An Overview of Rural Settlement in Four River Basins in the Province of Grosseto on the Coast of Tuscany (200 B.C.–A.D. 600)', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 21: 225–47

- Vaccaro, Emanuele, Kim Bowes, Mariaelena Ghisleni, and others. 2013. 'Excavating the Roman Peasant II: Excavations at Case Nuove, Cinigiano (GR)', *Papers of the British School in Rome*, 81, pp. 129–79
- Vallet, George. 1967. 'La cité et son territoire dans les colonies grecques d'Occident', in *Atti Taranto*, 7: 67–142
- Vanni, Edoardo. 2014. 'The Role of the Natural Resources as Electrification Points for Mobility. An Archaeological Perspective', in *Proceedings of the XVIII Congreso Internacional Arqueología Clásica, Mérida 13–17 Mayo 2013* (Mérida: museo nacional de arte romano), pp. 253–57
- . 2015. 'Periodo I. età ellenistica e repubblicana (II secolo a.C.-I secolo a.C.)', in *Diana Umbronensis a Scoglietto. Santuario, territorio e cultura materiale (200 a.C. – 550 d.C.)*, ed. by Alessandro Sebastiani, Elena Chirico, Matteo Colombini, and Mario Cygielman (Oxford: Archaeopress), pp. 26–39
- . 2019. 'Sistemi agro-silvo-pastorali nella Toscana meridionale. Tra archeologia e trasformazioni ambientali del paesaggio', in *Archeologia e storia dei paesaggi senesi. Territorio, risorse, commerci tra età romana e medioevo*, ed. by Stefano Bertoldi, Emanuele Putti, and Edoardo Vanni (Florence: Insegna del Giglio), pp. 87–112
- Vanni, Edoardo, and Franco Cambi. 2015. 'Sale e transumanza. Approvvigionamento e mobilità in Etruria costiera tra Bronzo Finale e Medioevo', in *I pascoli, i campi, il mare. Paesaggi d'altura e di pianura in Italia dall'Età del Bronzo al Medioevo*, ed. by Franco Cambi, Giovanni de Venuto, and Roberto Goffredo (Bari: Edipuglia), pp. 107–28
- Vanni, Edoardo, and Davide Cristoferi. 2018. 'The Role of Marginal Landscapes in Understanding Transhumance in Southern Tuscany (Twelfth-Twentieth Centuries AD): A Reverse Perspective Integrating Ethnoarchaeology and Historical Approaches', in *Historical Archaeologies of Transhumance across Europe*, ed. by Eugene Costello and Eva Svensonn (Oxford: Oxbow), pp. 197–217
- Vionis, Athanasios K., and Giorgos Papantoniou. 2019. 'Central Place Theory Reloaded and Revised: Political Economy and Landscape Dynamics in the Longue Durée', *Land*, 8.2, <www.mdpi.com/2073-445X/8/2/36>
- Von Vacano, Otto. 1985. *Gli Etruschi a Talamone* (Bologna: Cappelli)
- Von Vacano, Otto, and Bettina Freytag-Loringhoff. 1982. *Talamone. Il mito dei sette a Tebe. Catalogo della mostra* (Rome: Museo Archeologico)
- Van Wouterghem, Frank. 1999. 'Il culto di Ercole e la pastorizia nell'Italia centrale', in *La civiltà della transumanza. Storia, cultura e valorizzazione dei tratturi e del mondo pastorale in Abruzzo, Molise, Puglia, Campania e Basilicata*, ed. by Edilio Petrocelli (Isernia: Iannone Editore), pp. 413–28
- Weller, Olivier (ed). 2002. *Archéologie du sel: techniques et sociétés dans la Pré- et Protohistoire européenne. Actes du Colloque du XIV^e Congrès de UISPP (Liège, 4 septembre 2001) et de la Table Ronde du Comité des Salines de France, Paris, 18 mai 1998* (Rahden: Verlag)
- Wrietd Sørensen, Lone. 2009. 'Artemis in Cyprus', in *From Artemis to Diana: The Goddess of Man and Beast*, ed. by Tobias Fischer-Hansen and Birte Poulsen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press), pp. 195–206
- Yon, Marguerite. 1992. 'The God of the Salt Lake', in *Studies in Honour of V. Karageorghis*, ed. by Giorgos C. Ioannides (Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies), pp. 301–06
- Zanini, Enrico and Elisabetta Giorgi. 2017. 'La mansio di vignale (Piombino): L'archeologia di un "sito minore" in una lettura antropologica "surmoderna"', in *Emptor et mercator spazi e rappresentazioni del commercio romano. Studi e ricerche internazionali coordinate da Sara Santoro*, ed. by Sara Santoro (Bari: Edipuglia), pp. 513–32
- Zifferero, Andrea. 1995. 'Economia, divinità e frontiera. Sul ruolo di alcuni santuari di confine in etruria meridionale', *Ostraka*, 4: 333–50
- . 1998. 'I santuari come indicatori di frontiera nell'Italia tirrenica preromana', in *Papers from the EAA Third Annual Meeting at Ravenna 1997, 1. Pre- and Protohistory*, Mark Pearce and Maurizio Tosi, BAR International Series, 717 (Oxford: Archaeopress), pp. 223–32
- . 2002a. 'La geografia del sacro nelle società complesse: ipotesi per una ricerca sull'Italia medio-tirrenica preromana', in *Primi popoli d'europa. Proposte e riflessioni sulle origini della civiltà nell'europa mediterranea*, ed. by Manuel Molinos and Andrea Zifferero (Florence: Insegna del Giglio), pp. 137–56
- . 2002b. 'The Geography of the Ritual Landscape in Complex Societies', in *New Developments in Italian Landscape Archaeology. Theory and Methodology of Field Survey, Land Evaluation and Landscape Perception. Pottery Production and Distribution. Proceedings of a Three-Day Conference Held at the University of Groningen, April 13–15, 2000*, ed. by Peter Attema, Gert J. Burgers and Ester van Joolen, BAR International Series, 1091 (Oxford: Archaeopress), pp. 246–65
- Zifferero, Andrea, Matteo Milletti, and Enrico Benelli. 2018. 'Rusellae. Tempelterrasse', *Studi Etruschi*, 80: 252–56
- Ziólkowski, Adam. 2009. 'Frontier Sanctuaries of the *ager romanus antiquus*: Did they Exist?', *Palamedes*, 4: 91–130
- Zuchtriegel, Gabriel. 2011. 'An Open-Air Sanctuary on an Amphora by the *Pittore delle Gru* and the Cult of Artemis in early Etruria', *Melanges de l'École Française de Rome*, 123.1: 5–11