

Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World



39

**Boundaries Archaeology: Economy, Sacred Places, Cultural Influences
in the Ionian and Adriatic Areas**

Panel 7.3

Enrico Giorgi
Giuseppe Lepore
Anna Gamberini (Eds.)

**Proceedings of the
19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology**

Volume 39: Boundaries Archaeology

**Proceedings of the
19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology**

Cologne/Bonn, 22 – 26 May 2018

Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World

Edited by

Martin Bentz and Michael Heinzelmann

Volume 39



Edited by

Enrico Giorgi – Giuseppe Lepore – Anna Gamberini

**Boundaries Archaeology:
Economy, Sacred Places, Cultural Influences in
the Ionian and Adriatic Areas**

Panel 7.3

PropylaeuIII

SPECIALIZED INFORMATION
SERVICE CLASSICS

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek:
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.



This work is published under the Creative Commons License 4.0 (CC BY-SA 4.0).
The cover is subject to the Creative Commons License CC BY-ND 4.0.

Propylaeum

SPECIALIZED INFORMATION
SERVICE CLASSICS

Published at Propylaeum,
Heidelberg University Library 2020.

This publication is freely available under <https://www.propylaeum.de> (Open Access).

urn: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-propylaeum-ebook-553-3

doi: <https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.553>

Text © 2020 the authors.

Editorial Coordination: Ina Borkenstein, Christian Schöne
Editorial Staff: Katharina Zerzeropulos, Jonas Zweifel

Layout: Torsten Zimmer, Zwiebelfisch@quarium

Cover illustration: View of the Ionian coast between Butrint and Corfu (by Pierluigi Giorgi).

ISBN 978-3-947450-80-0

e-ISBN 978-3-947450-79-4



CONTENTS

Enrico Giorgi – Giuseppe Lepore – Anna Gamberini Boundaries Archaeology: Economy, Sacred Places, Cultural Influences in the Ionian and Adriatic Areas: Introductory Notes.	1
Francesco Belfiori Roman colonization, sanctuaries and cult in the middle-Adriatic area between the 3 rd and 2 nd centuries BC	5
Enrico Giorgi – Filippo Demma – Stephen Kay Monte Rinaldo. A Roman Sanctuary in the middle of Picenum	25
Maria Cecilia D’Ercole Cults, Navigation and Maritime Practices in the Middle and Southern Adriatic (6 th –2 nd century BC)	37
Nadia Aleotti – Anna Gamberini – Lorenzo Mancini Sacred places, territorial economy and cultural identity in northern Epirus (Chaonia)	45
Atalanti Betsiou Marcus Antonius and the <i>negotiatores</i> of Dyrrhachium	65

PREFACE

On behalf of the 'Associazione Internazionale di Archaeologica Classica (AIAC)' the 19th International Congress for Classical Archaeology took place in Cologne and Bonn from 22 to 26 May 2018. It was jointly organized by the two Archaeological Institutes of the Universities of Cologne and Bonn, and the primary theme of the congress was 'Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World'. In fact, economic aspects permeate all areas of public and private life in ancient societies, whether in urban development, religion, art, housing, or in death.

Research on ancient economies has long played a significant role in ancient history. Increasingly in the last decades, awareness has grown in archaeology that the material culture of ancient societies offers excellent opportunities for studying the structure, performance, and dynamics of ancient economic systems and economic processes. Therefore, the main objective of this congress was to understand economy as a central element of classical societies and to analyse its interaction with ecological, political, social, religious, and cultural backgrounds. The theme of the congress was addressed to all disciplines that deal with Greco-Roman civilization and their neighbouring cultures from the Aegean Bronze Age to the end of Late Antiquity.

The participation of more than 1200 scholars from more than 40 countries demonstrates the great response to the topic of the congress. Altogether, more than 900 papers in 128 panels were presented, as were more than 110 posters. The publication of the congress is in two stages: larger panels are initially presented as independent volumes, such as this publication. Finally, at the end of the editing process, all contributions will be published in a joint conference volume.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank all participants and helpers of the congress who made it such a great success. Its realization would not have been possible without the generous support of many institutions, whom we would like to thank once again: the Universities of Bonn and Cologne, the Archaeological Society of Cologne, the Archaeology Foundation of Cologne, the Gerda Henkel Foundation, the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, the Sal. Oppenheim Foundation, the German Research Foundation (DFG), the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Romano-Germanic Museum Cologne and the LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn. Finally, our thanks go to all colleagues and panel organizers who were involved in the editing and printing process.

Bonn/Cologne, in August 2019

Martin Bentz & Michael Heinzemann

Boundaries Archaeology: Economy, Sacred Places, Cultural Influences in the Ionian and Adriatic Areas

Introductory Notes

Enrico Giorgi – Giuseppe Lepore – Anna Gamberini

It is well known that the Adriatic-Ionian area represents a privileged space for the study of commercial and cultural exchange between those who lived along the opposite shores of the sea. This meeting of cultures generated mutual influences and cultural osmosis in various ways and times, linked to different historical and geographical contexts, but sometimes with similar results.

Recent archaeological research allows us to assume that sanctuaries and sacred places are suitable contexts, in which these phenomena can be analysed. These spaces act as gathering places and cultural mediation centers involved in economic and political interests. Sanctuaries are also very closely connected to urban genesis, to the occupation dynamics of lands and to relations between town and country. This is obviously a very broad subject that presents complex definitions according to the various historical periods and the geographic specificities of each territory.

The contributions collected in this panel are focused upon research in the Adriatic-Ionian area. The case studies of the Adriatic area are located on the western shore and in particular in the area of the *ager Gallicus* and of Picenum, with a particular focus on the period that precedes and witnesses the structuring of the Roman domination of this territory (3rd/2nd century BC). The case studies in the southern Adriatic and Ionian area instead focused on Apulia and the area of Illyria and Epirus between the Archaic era and the beginning of the Roman age (4th–1st century BC).

In some periods these territories were borders from a political view point of view but from even earlier acted as cultural boundaries. An example of this can be seen at the beginning of the 3rd century BC with the military conquest of the Piceno area and the *ager Gallicus* by Rome, which was preceded by commercial contacts that led to the process of cultural osmosis. Whilst not present in the literary sources, these phenomena are visible in the archaeological record which has begun to recognize these dynamics through the analysis of the material culture in its archaeological contexts. In the following period (3rd–2nd century BC) the study of material culture also allows us to recognise some persisting older phenomena and the adoption of new customs. These developments can be an expression of cultural and political identity. A few decades later, similar dynamics can also be observed in the Illyrian and Epirot areas when the Roman domination expands to the other side of the Adriatic (3rd–2nd century BC). However, Illyria and Epirus were frontier regions for a long time, peripheral areas compared to the Classical Greek culture. (A.G.)

The middle-Adriatic area

The study by Francesco Belfiori takes into consideration the role played by some sanctuaries located in the current regions of the Marche and northern Abruzzo between the third and the second century BC. These places are considered as hubs of a network that first prepared the expansion of Roman domination and then allowed for the cultural osmosis between the newcomers and the Adriatic populations. The focus of the study is mainly on the votive clay materials and architectonic terracottas but also on some impasto ceramics characteristic of the pre-Roman tradition such as *pocola deorum*. The well-known *lucus Pisauensis* is also part of this trend. It has previously been the subject of important studies but has recently been revisited by Francesco Belfiori to analyze the votive clay materials. Other places, located further south, are taken into consideration such as the sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo and the sanctuary of Colle dell'Annunziata in Asculum (both in the Picenum region) as well as the sanctuaries of Pagliaroli di Cortino, Colle San Giorgio and Basciano (in the *ager Praetuttianus*).

In some examples these are sites that have already been examined in specialist literature, but now they are the subject of a significant re-discovery following recent archaeological excavations. This is the case of the sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo, on the southern border of the territory of Firmum, Picenum, and of the Sanctuary of Asculum, the ancient *civitas caput gentis* of the Pikentes. On the basis of the latest archaeological findings, and above all thanks to the study of the material culture of architectural decorations, it seems that both sanctuaries played a decisive role in the cultural and economic development of the territory in the early stages of Romanization.

At the sanctuary of Colle dell'Annunziata in Asculum it is possible to identify the monumental development of the sacred area, first built in perishable materials, such as the *aedes*, which was subsequently then transformed into a sanctuary built according to the form of the Hellenistic architectural tradition (from the 4th century BC to the 2nd–1st century BC). Parallel to the architectural development it is also possible to witness the continuation of the of the Picenean tradition at this sacred area along with the acquisition of the characteristic repertoire of the Roman world. It has been observed that this dynamic could reflect the acquisition of new Roman cultural and economic customs and models by a still formally autonomous Picenean community.

A similar trend can also be observed at the nearby sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo, recently the subject of a new systematic project led by Enrico Giorgi, Filippo Demma and Stephen Kay. The architectural development of the Hellenistic sanctuary is similar to Asculum, Pagliaroli and Colle San Giorgio (3rd–2nd century BC). The study of material culture also shows a process of cultural assimilation, but with the difference that there may have been the sharing of cult forms linked on the one hand to the new Latin settlers and on the other to the surviving Picenes. The role that this site may have played in the management of the economy of this border territory between the Latin colony of Firmum and the city of Asculum, an ally of Rome, is also fundamental. (G.L.)

The Adriatic-Ionian area

In terms of the southern Adriatic area and the northern Ionian coast, the study by Cecilia D'Ercole provides a formidable interpretation of the role played by some places of worship in the contact between the two opposite sides of the sea. The paper first considers the archipelago of the Tremiti Islands, traditionally linked to the heroic cult of Diomedes, finally located on the Dalmatian island of Palagruza. In this sense, the Tremiti Islands, together with the Island of Palagruza, are considered as a unique archipelago and a form of bridgehead between the two Adriatic shores. According to D'Ercole, this would be the basis of the traditional location of Diomedes' sanctuary among the Apulian islands. The paper then focuses on the sanctuary of Dodona and in particular on the tablets found at the sanctuary. In these inscriptions it is possible to recognize some distinctive words connected to maritime trade. After a careful analysis of the texts and other historical and archaeological questions, we can conclude that the oracle of Dodona played an important role also for trade in the Adriatic-Ionian region, with particular reference to Epidamnos, to the Gulf of Corinth and to some sites of Sicily and the western Mediterranean (between the 6th and the 4th century BC).

The study of Nadia Aleotti, Anna Gamberini and Lorenzo Mancini is dedicated to the Sanctuary of Asklepios in Butrint, the only sacred place in Chaonia whose material, spatial, and cultic features are sufficiently known. However, only its middle-to-late Hellenistic and Roman stages have been extensively investigated, focusing firstly on the role of the Asklepieion as a political and self-identity point of reference for the koinon of the Prasaiboi and then on the modifications of the complex from the foundation of the Augustan colony onwards. The origins of the cult and the earliest stages of the sanctuary, instead, are much more uncertain. Their traditional dating to the late 4th or early 3rd century BC relied mostly on the alleged chronology of the ceramics found by L. M. Ugolini in 1929 in a votive deposit, and to the role of Corcyra in the transmission of the cult during the late Classical and early Hellenistic period. If this latter relationship is certainly plausible, the paper focuses instead on the votive deposit, in order to give the most accurate dating of its earliest phase and try to understand its link to the origin of the place of worship. The new dating to the 2nd century BC and no more to the early Hellenistic period (late 4th–3rd century BC), then provides new food for thought on the earliest phases of both the cult and the sanctuary. The main contribution of the paper of Nadia Aleotti, Anna Gamberini and Lorenzo Mancini is to have isolated these materials definitively from the assumed dating of the early phase of the sanctuary. This dating is based on the dedicatory inscription of the theater (dated by P. Cabanes between 232 and 168 BC) and on the assumption that, due to its irregular arrangement, the theater would be dated later than the sacellum. In the absence of stratigraphic data, the idea of an early Hellenistic phase of the sacellum has traditionally been linked to the supposed contemporary chronology of the votive deposit as well as to the role of Corcyra. These new data thus show that the reading of the sanctuary, and in particular its early phases, is more complex and certainly needs further investigation.

Moreover, these materials have not only been studied from a chronological point of view, but their reassessment has led to important considerations about their role in the specific worship of Asklepios, as well as about the impact of the presence of the sanctuary in the regional material culture, stressing the differences between objects from this sacred context and those for other urban regional contexts, suggesting the well-known phenomenon of a production dedicated to the sanctuaries.

The final paper of Atalanti Betsiou presents an iconographic study of the bronze coinage of Dyrrhachium dated to the 2nd half of the 1st century BC. Through this study, Betsiou considers the implication of the traders of Dyrrhachium (*negotiatores* and *mercatores*) in the politics of the city. This is shown through the Greek inscriptions on this coinage which reveal that the city retained its Greek identity even after 44 BC. (E.G.)

Roman colonization, sanctuaries and cult in the middle-Adriatic area between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC

Francesco Belfiori*

The paper focuses on materials from some sanctuaries of the Picenean area between the 3rd and 1st century BC. The aim of the paper is to investigate their role in economic and cultural transformations during this period. The so-called ‘Etruscan-Lazio-Campanian *ex-votos*’, architectonic *terracottas* as well as pottery from these contexts show the role of these sanctuaries as centers of production and import of specific classes of materials with exclusive sacred destination. In some cases, the production of these objects takes place *in loco*, such as in the sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo. Here materials suggest the spread of cultural models through the displacement of people from the Tyrrhenian area into the middle-Adriatic region, together with the colonization of the territory. In other cases, as in the federal center of Asculum, early indirect contacts with Etruscan-Lazio culture are attested by the presence of objects imported and then reinterpreted according to local ritual practices.

Introduction

In the aftermath of the battle of Sentinum (295 BC), the annexation of the middle-Adriatic area was a fundamental milestone for the Roman expansion towards Cisalpine Gaul. The new territories were interested by the deduction of Hadria and Castrum Novum (290–286 BC) in *ager Praetutianus*, occupied in 290 BC; of Sena Gallica (284 BC) and Ariminum (268 BC) in *ager Gallicus*, added as State property in 284 BC (by M. Curius Dentatus); and of Firmum in Picenum (264 BC), annexed in 268 BC (by P. Sempronius Sofus). The rest of the territory was distributed among Roman citizens through direct assignments, as stated in the *lex Flaminia* of 232 BC. Political and economic relationships with the two already existing cities in the area before Roman occupation, Ancona and Asculum, were regulated by alliance treaties (fig. 1).¹

The enormous impact of the mid-Republican colonization on this territory can obviously be measured through various indicators, that take into account the new settlement’s reality – with the introduction of the previously unknown urban model – and the economical (centuriation, soil cultivation, infrastructural system dotation) and cultural changes (Latin language, diffusion of Roman political, civil and social institutions) brought by the event.² Among these, those relative to the sacral sphere could provide new insights of acculturation processes (i.e., the Romanization) or, better said, the cultural exchange among local populations and colonizers, for besides their spiritual value, they also carry social, civic and economical significance.³

The present contribution would then shed light on some archaeological indicators that witness these changes and characterize the sacral manifestation connected to early

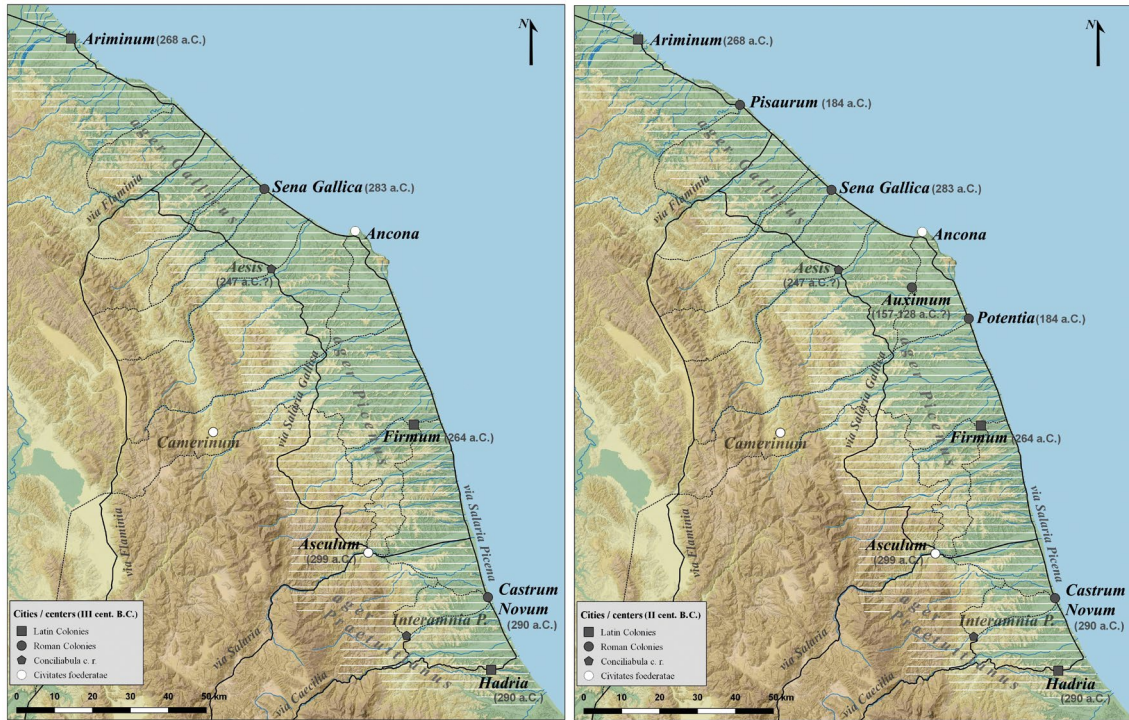


Fig. 1: Roman Republican Colonization of central-Adriatic Italy (3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.).

phases of Roman presence in the middle-Adriatic region, which for about a century represented the northern frontier of the Republic. Therefore, I will primarily focus on the so-called ‘Etruscan-Italics’ type of architectonic terracottas (even though ‘Etruscan-Latian’ would be a more accurate definition), then on so-called ‘Etruscan-Latian-Campanian’ clay votive materials and other sacral furnishing recovered in some ritual contexts.⁴ The importance of these materials – conceived and produced for an almost exclusive sacral, sanctuary-based destination and use – lies in their essence as cultural markers: unknown in the Adriatic area until the Hellenistic period, their production is the direct expression of the presence of Roman-Latin colonizers, and so they appear as particularly informative for the investigation of colonial religiosity, from its ritual praxis core to its monumental and architectonic expression of cultic places.⁵ Considering that the archaeological record of the investigated area often does not date further than the 1st century BC,⁶ these materials – normally dated between the 3rd and 2nd century BC – can be related to a chronological horizon that is closer to the Roman-Latin colonization; in the meantime, they carry a series of questions, such as regarding the nature of the relationship among their production centers and their destination context as well as their economic incidence and that of the same sanctuaries, if put in the wider frame of Roman mid-Republican craftsmanship.

The archaeological evidence, from old findings to new discoveries

Urban centers

In urban centers such materials represent reliable indicators for the localization of cultic places. In the case of the Latin colony of Hadria, the votive deposit, which was unearthed on Maralto Hill – the *arx* of the colony – and the architectonic terracottas near the cathedral bear witness of the existence of at least two urban religious key-places, dated to the first years of life of the colony and provided with Tuscanic templar buildings (usually, they reference templar typology for ‘Etruscan-Italics’ architectonic terracottas). Moreover, the findings of clay materials (both votive and architectonic) in the *peri* or suburban area allowed to hypothesize the presence of sanctuaries from the 3rd century BC, located on main axes of the road network to and from the city entrance.⁷

Similarly, architectonic terracottas retrieved from Girfalco Hill, in Firmum, should be referred to the oldest building phases of the main urban sanctuary, located on the *arx* of the Latin colony, whose ubication is also confirmed by other important findings, which could be dated up to the end of the 3rd century BC (coin deposits and an inscription that mentions a public donation offered by the quaestors of the colony).⁸

It could be likewise affirmed for the architectonic terracottas found in the area of the main urban sanctuary of the Roman colony of Potentia, dated to the first half of the 2nd century BC, and pertinent not to the now visible temple (of Augustan or Julio-Claudian age), but rather to its original installation, possibly in relation to the interventions of 174 BC, promoted in Potentia by censor Q. Fulvius Flaccus and testified by Livius.⁹

Also for the Roman colony of Sena Gallica mobile materials of votive typology discovered in various locations of the urban area¹⁰ could provide a clue of possible existence of *peri* urban cultic places, or by the urban entrances, as it is assumed in the case of the sanctuary of Via Baroccio, dated to the first half of 3rd century BC.¹¹

Even more significant is the case of Ascoli Piceno, where recent excavations on the hill of Annunziata brought to light an important urban sanctuary, possibly the main one of the city.¹² The first stable phase of attendance of the area is placed from the end of the 6th to the beginning of the 5th century BC, and consists of a building of perishable material, only conserved at the beaten earth floor level, where in its surroundings votive deposits were recovered. From the end of the 4th to the 3rd century BC, other archaeological indicators, such as a large number of spare bricks and a small furnace, suggest the *in situ* establishment of productive activities and a sensible mutation of devotional practices. The excavated materials consist of ‘internal slip ware’ (ceramic class of Veian matrix, with a strong connection to the sacral sphere), in basins of Etruscan-Latian production mixture – with mostly ritual destination and imported to Asculum with the same function – and in black-glazed ceramic of Etruscan-Latian importation.¹³ From the middle to the second half of the 2nd century BC, black-glazed ceramic is locally produced, imitating models of Campana A and B. Some of these vessel fragments present graffiti letters on the external surface, both Greek and Latin, which could refer to onomastic formulas, which indicates the nature as *ex voto* of these

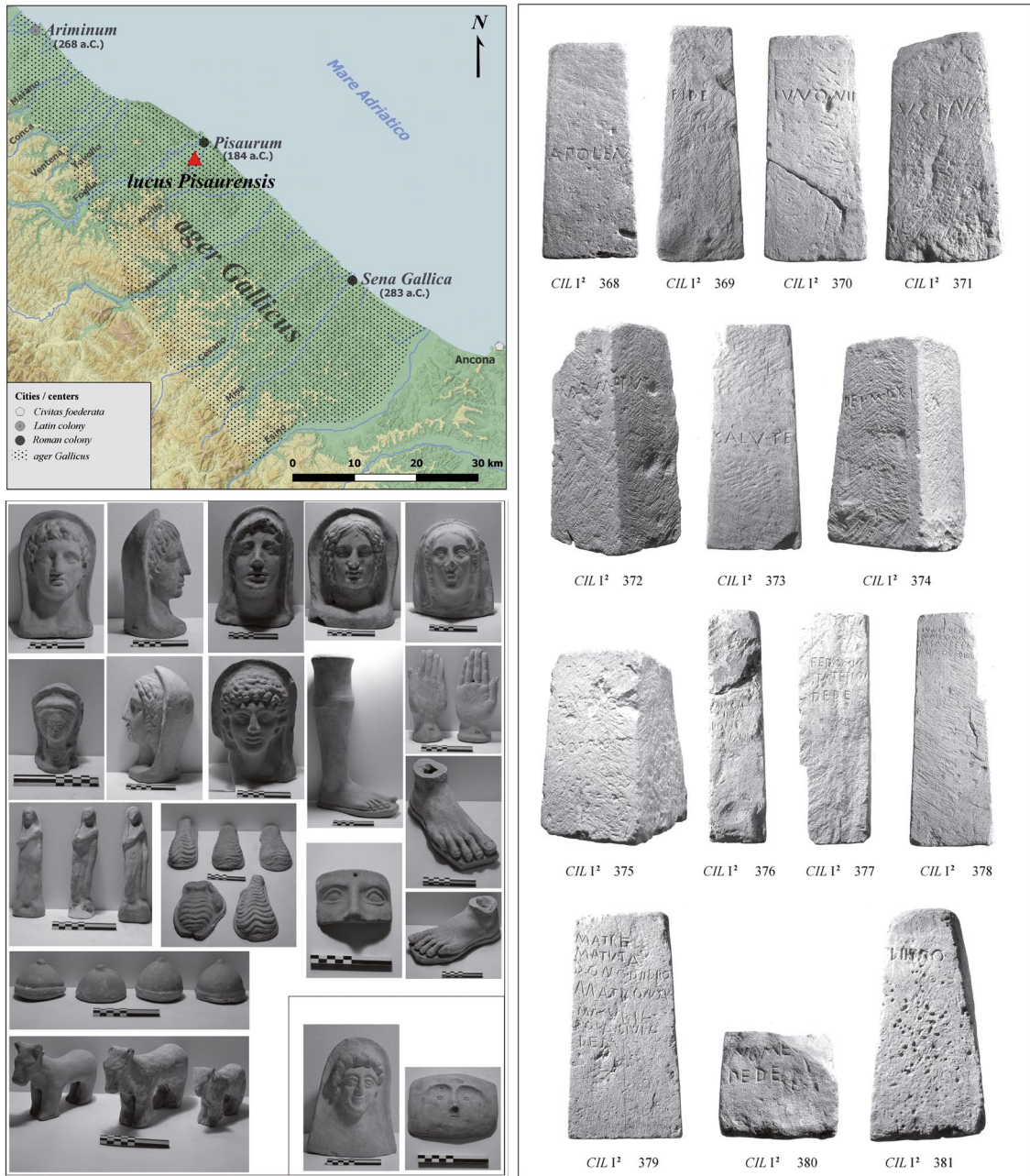


Fig. 2: The so-called lucus Pisauensis, near the Roman colony of Pisaurum (votive terracottas and sandstone altars).

objects. Local production of black-glazed ware could also be interpreted as in connection to the presence of a small crafts neighborhood, based at the sanctuary, as seems to be confirmed by the finding of the furnace, mentioned above. Also in Ascoli, then, the same situation that

H. Di Giuseppe described could have occurred, regarding the strong involvement of sacral areas in the production of black-glazed ware ceramic.¹⁴ Besides, the strong involvement of the sacral key-pole in Ascoli emerges in relation to the Romanization of the territory: the archaeological evidence testifies the acquisition, by the Piceni of Asculum, of uses and religious customs that were unaccustomed to indigenous traditions, and the adoption of the Latin alphabet in religious practices. The finding of a *potnia thèron* antefix demonstrates how the monumentalization of the sanctuary during the 2nd century BC followed architectonic shapes which were already observable in the main sanctuaries of the Latin colonies and in the colonial area at the Asculum border.

Rural and extra-urban areas

Also in rural and extra-urban contexts – enclosed into the *agri* of colonies or inhabited by single assigned coloners and administrated by the prefecture system, established consequently due to plebiscitus Flaminius¹⁵ – the votive and architectonic materials embody a valid indicator for the most ancient phases of occupation and settlement on the territory by the coloners (3rd–2nd centuries BC). In such direction the votive deposits of Isola di Fano and of S. Veneranda in *ager Gallicus* should be interpreted as witnesses of the existence of sanctuaries and rural cultic places, connected to the spread rural peopling through *vici* or *conciliabula* (fig. 2).¹⁶ Similarly, the architectonic terracottas from Civitalba,¹⁷ Offida,¹⁸ and Aesis,¹⁹ dated to the end of the 2nd century BC, document sanctuaries on the territory, linked to minor settlements. Also in the *ager Praetutianus*, cult places such as Pagliaroli di Cortino, Colle S. Giorgio, Basciano and others – localized by their architectural decorations and votive materials – are strictly linked to colonial dynamics and rural settlements (fig. 3).

Similarly, the sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo in Picenum²⁰ seems to be pivotal not only for religiosity, but also for settling (and maybe managing) purposes of the vast rural sector of middle Valdaso, either enclosed in the *ager Firmanus*, or anyway inhabited by assigned coloners from 232 BC (fig. 4).²¹ The sanctuary represents a unique case of a Republican sanctuary of Hellenistic tradition in the area: the Roman-Latin identity, as assumed by the typology of mobile furnishing and materials and by the cults to which the sanctuary is devoted, as attested by epigraphic sources, appears confirmed by the sacral space conception, its internal disposition, and the monumental and architectonic typology of the buildings, put in place during the 2nd century BC. Such features, perfectly coherent with broader and up-to-date trends in sanctuary architecture of the Hellenistic *koiné*, find comparison in coeval Latian sanctuaries and their relative insular-Greek models, granting to sight a prominent role in the Italic Hellenism, as bestowed to the Adriatic area through the vector of Roman colonization. It is possible that a great part of the architectonic terracottas of the sanctuary was produced *in loco*, as is suggested by the autoptic analysis of the used clay mixture (uniform, with the exception of some differences probably due to high temperatures during baking), the presence of themes and specific, only locally diffused iconographic motives (*antepagmenta* with thunderbolt,

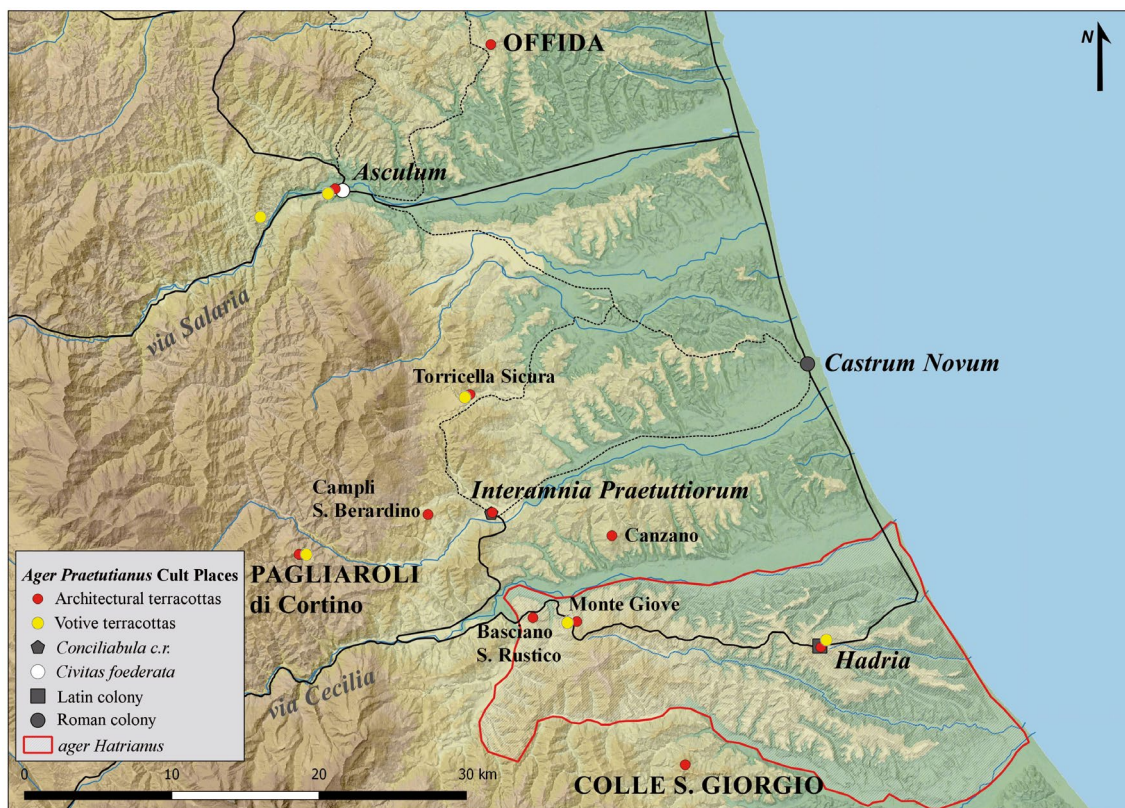


Fig. 3: Archaeological sacred evidences from ager Praetutianus.

antefixes with Hercules),²² and, above all, the discovery of some matrixes, some of which probably related to antefixes with images of the *potnia theròn* (fig. 5, A–C).

The same is the case for the votive clay materials, whose mixture is comparable to that of the terracottas, and mostly for a series of black-glazed vessels with open shape, whose specific ritual destination is suggested by a series of seals, only partly known in literature. They do not find comparison outside Monte Rinaldo and therefore provide strong evidence of a production referable to the cultic place and meant for internal use. Besides the seals of the series *Iovei Sacrum Spol*, a further seal referable to a different punch cutting (*Iovei Sac(rum)*) confirms both the existence of *in loco* specific production of ritual *instrumentua* and previous hypotheses which identified Jupiter as main deity of the sanctuary (fig. 5, D).²³

Sanctuaries and productions: some hypotheses

Following the example of the sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo, if on the one hand it is therefore possible to qualify the main sanctuaries of the area as productive centers of specific materials with sacral destination, on the other hand it seems that a prominent

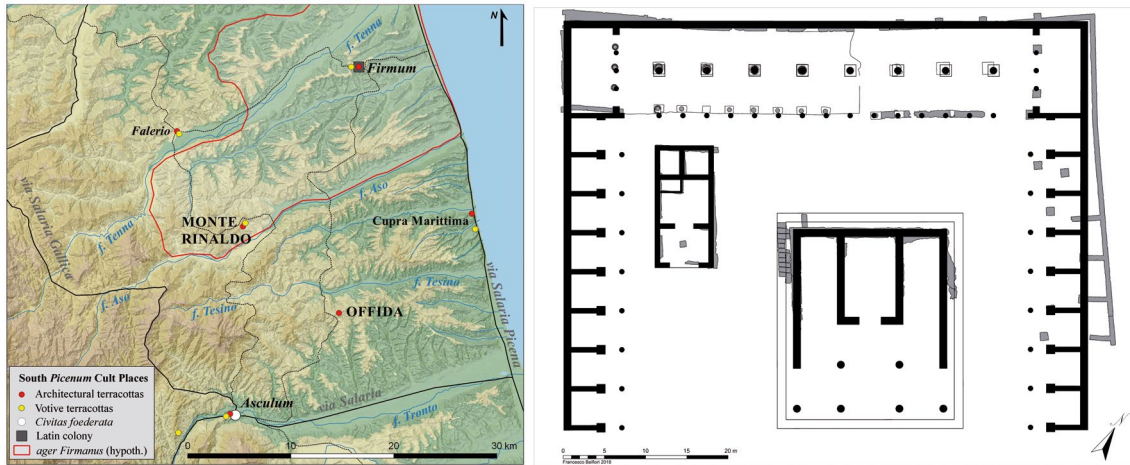


Fig. 4: The Monte Rinaldo sanctuary in southern Picenum.

role in the same productions is accorded to Latin colonies, presumably, by the same urban or suburban sanctuaries.

Towards this hypothesis seems to converge the documentation of Hadria: at the beginning of the last century, a craft neighbourhood was brought to light by Maralto Hill, identifiable, as said above, as the site of the Capitolin sanctuary of the colony. Among others, a furnace for architectural terracottas was found:²⁴ inside it, there were still some plates with cherubs mounting gryphons, attested only in Abruzzo and identical to those found in the sanctuaries of Pagliaroli, of Cortino and of Colle S. Giorgio.²⁵ It therefore seems that the Latin colony was not only a production center, but was also where original themes and iconographies could be elaborated. The same colony, likely, should have then provided the distribution of the terracottas among the main sanctuaries of *ager Praetutianus*, which could also have independently supplied part of the production of their own architectural terracottas, as suggested by the analyzed case of Monte Rinaldo.

Similarly to the case of Hadria, a matrix for antefixes from the urban center of Ariminum (fig. 6, A) indicates the presence of a production center in the Latin colony, as is reported below. This matrix presents iconographic peculiarities: even though the typical iconography of *potnia theròn* on antefixes is recalled on it, the figure on this specific matrix holds at its sides two racemes, instead of the usual lions. This particular brings this matrix close to the iconography of the so-called 'Donna-fiore' ('Rankengöttin'), typical on plates, as it is demonstrated by examples from the near locality of Riccione and from the sanctuaries of Colle S. Giorgio, Potentia, Monte Rinaldo and Offida (fig. 7).²⁶ On these plates, however, the 'Rankengöttin' is not represented with the typical turning of the lower limbs into acanthus branches, as the name implies. The persisting human-like appearance of the legs seems to derive from a commingling of the canonical iconography of the *potnia theròn* on antefixes.²⁷

The Adriatic documentation seems to bear an underlying eclecticism and a commingling of the two iconographies and their supports (antefixes and plates):²⁸ this iconographic hybrid



Fig. 5: Architectural terracottas, antefixes moulds and *instrumentum sacrum* from Monte Rinaldo.

does not find comparison in the Latian documentation of the 3rd and 2nd century BC, that obviously constitutes the reference model for these materials, with the sole exception of the sanctuary of Diana in Nemi, where the ‘Rankengöttin’ of the plates has only human-like features (fig. 7, D).²⁹ This exception could be significant at least in the case of Ariminum, considering the deep religious nexus that ties the colony to the sanctuary of Nemi, witnessed by the inscription dated to the end of the 3rd century BC, that celebrates the offering to the Latian sanctuary by *C. Manlio(s) Aci(dinos) cosol* – head magistrates of the colony – *pro poplo Arimenesi*.³⁰

The plates with the ‘Rankengöttin’ uncovered in the ager of Ariminum, in Riccione, aside from being similar to those from Nemi, could be precisely compared to those from the already mentioned sanctuary of Colle S. Giorgio (fig. 7, A, B). They are characterized not only by the same dimensions and the same iconographic theme, but above all by the identical rendering of both the general composition and the particulars, with very few variations between the two groups. This allows to argue that the plates from Ariminum and the ones from Colle S. Giorgio were obtained through matrixes from the same prototype. This observation could be read in such a light that considers not so much the existence of a commercial relationship

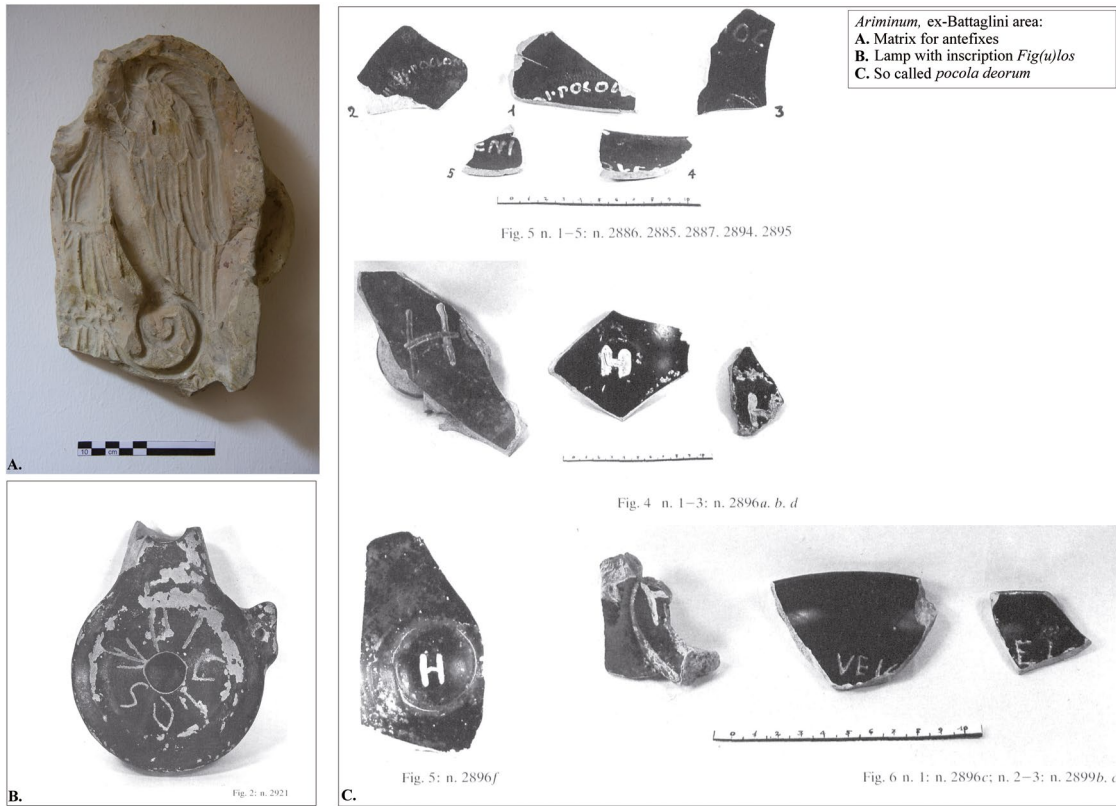


Fig. 6: Antefix mould and so-called pocola deorum from Ariminum.

between Ariminum and Colle S. Giorgio (which, as we have seen, seemed to supply their architectonic terracottas, or at least part of them, from the close Latin colony of Hadria), but that highlights the simultaneous reception of Roman models in different territories of the middle-Adriatic area, surrounding the Latin colonies (specifically, Ariminum and Hadria). This reception was probably facilitated by specialized itinerant craftsmanship, who, travelling among the main sanctuaries of colonial territories, provided the initiation of local production through their own models, as has for a long time been argued by J. M. Strazzulla.³¹ Local productions, following their setup, feature themselves with a different degree of autonomy and variable experimentation: some of them could have elaborated new solutions and original iconographic themes, lastly becoming typical of single centers and then diffused on templar coroplastic of limited territories (such it is the case of Hadria and Monte Rinaldo); other productions were more faithful and in proximity to the initial prototypes, hence the strong similarity of materials discovered at great distance from one another, as in the case of the almost identical plates in the *ager Praetutianus* or in the area of Rimini.

The plates from Riccione, moreover, come from a locality that was long defined, together with the bordering Cattolica, as the true industrial district of Ariminum since

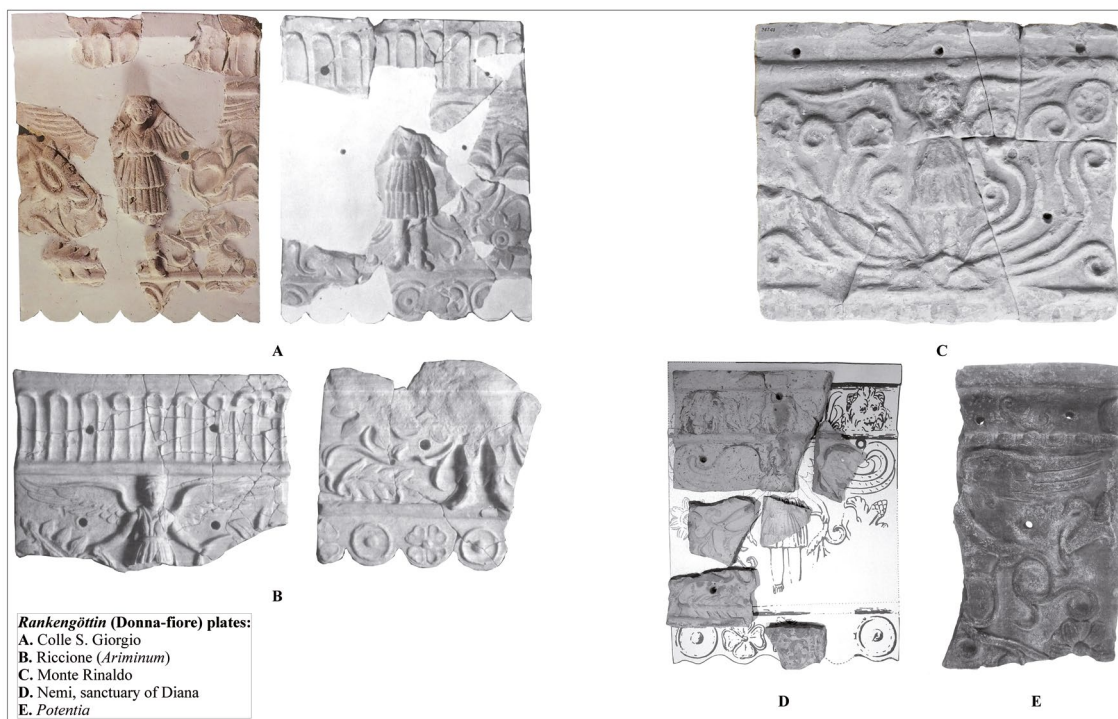


Fig. 7: 'Rankengöttin' plates from central-Adriatic Italy.

its origins. It is significant that from the same localities come the attestations of votive materials in the south area of Rimini (fig. 8); in Cattolica has brought to light a furnace dump dated to the 3rd century BC, inside which, among other materials, also discarded materials relative to clay votive materials and architectonic terracottas were found.³² These data could maybe support the hypothesis, partially confirmed in the cases of Hadria and Monte Rinaldo, that attests the belonging of this specific craft to a productive and commercial network, based on the main sanctuaries of Latin colonies and relative extra-urban areas.

Among the materials recovered from the dump in Cattolica, there was also a bowl, approximately dated to the middle of the 3rd century BC, bearing a painted inscription with a dedication to Jupiter.³³ This artifact could be added to the series of so-called *pocola deorum* from Rimini (fig. 6, C).³⁴ The term *pocola deorum* refers to a group of black-glazed ware vessels produced by Roman workshops (among which is the so-called 'atelier des petits estampilles') during the 3rd century BC, with the painted inscription – simultaneously realized in the baking phase or afterwards – with a genitive-declined theonym and the general term *pocolom* / *poclom*, referring to the object and, as a callback, to its content. These artifacts were probably produced in the area of sanctuaries and meant for their internal use and consume in cultic places, as an individual form of rituality. *Pocola* represent “one of the most evident expressions of Hellenizing craft,

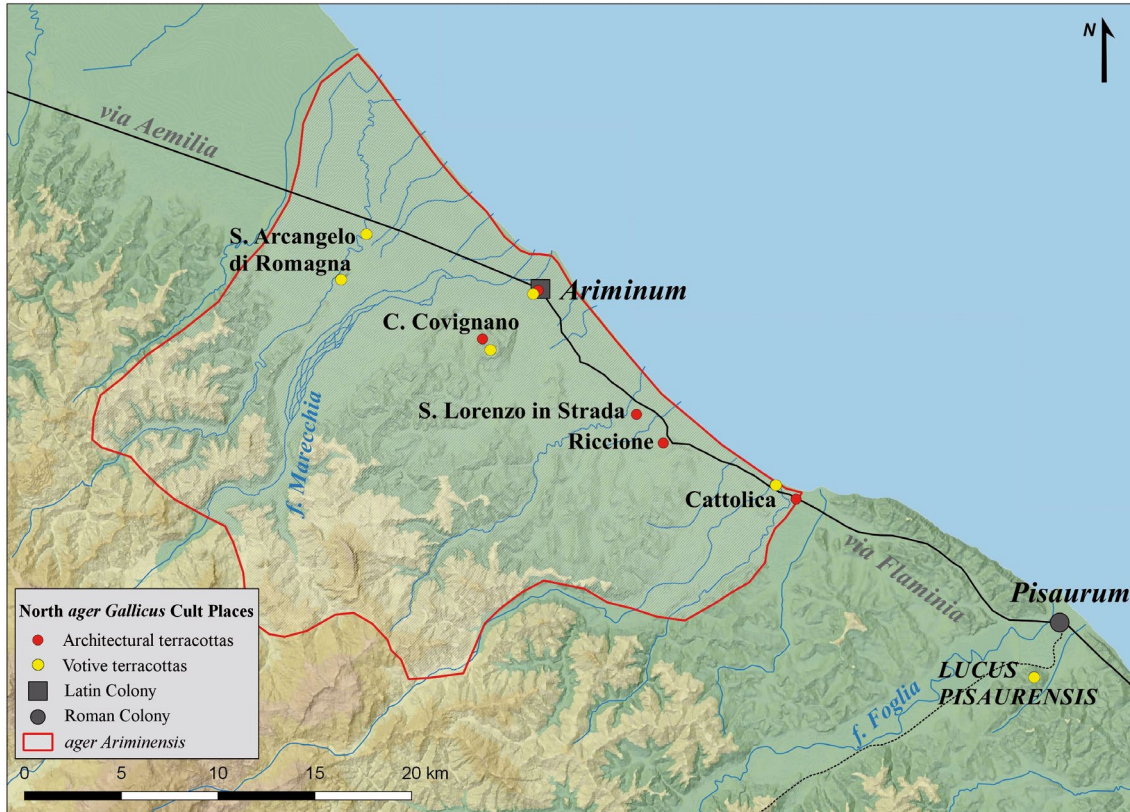


Fig. 8: Archaeological sacred evidences from ager Ariminensis.

documented in the Roman-Latian area during mid-Republican age. At the same time, they should be considered as some of the most characteristic expression of popular devotion practiced in Rome, during the same period.³⁵ The geographical distribution of *pocola*, in fact, concerns only Rome, Latium and Southern coastal Etruria. Outside this area, *pocola* witness the diffusion of ritual practices and Roman-Latian cults, linked to the physical presence of coloners.³⁶

In the case of the artifacts from Rimini, the term *pocolom* appears only in four examples;³⁷ other inscriptions mention the dative-declined theonym, according to a known formulary of the 3rd century epigraphic sacral panorama in the middle-Adriatic area (the milestones from *lucus Pisauensis*, fig. 2), or, in the case of Hercules, the usual abbreviation of the theonym – *H(erculei)* – according to a coeval praxis, typical in Rome and Latium.³⁸ Besides these formal distinctions, the corpus of vessels from Rimini is substantially homogeneous in its dating (until the 3rd century BC), its writing support typology, its lexical and linguistic nature of inscription and function. Locally produced for a sacral destination, they imitate their Latian counterparts. The same rituality is underlying, after all manifested by the cults of the inscriptions, genuinely Latian and probably belonging to the original pantheon of the colony of Ariminum. The vessels were

discovered in a dump context in the ex-Battaglini area, in proximity of the northwestern limit of the city and slightly south of the Marecchia flow, not far from the finding spot of the already mentioned matrix of antefixes. The same dump also brought to light a whole lamp with an inscription, incised after baking – maybe an offering – mentioning a *Fig(u) los* (fig. 6, B).³⁹ The provenance of these artifacts from the same urban sector might lead to think of the presence of a sanctuary in the area; on the other hand, the matrix and a mention of *Figulos* make it highly suggestive to hypothesize the presence of a productive center (of architectonic materials and *pocola*) nearby. Also, the location of the findings, near the river and the city walls, could be connected to possible production workshops, normally situated in peripheral quarters of the settlement and in proximity of natural resources, necessary for production.

Sacral archaeology and colonial identity in the Adriatic area: preliminary reflections

The presented dossier, with limits, not homogeneous and often erratic, does not allow the extrapolation of a clear and definite frame. Systematic review of previous documentation and new data from ongoing research seem rather useful in redefining some issues regarding Roman craftsmanship of sacral destination in the mid-Republican age, the cultural and cultic meaning of specific artifacts and their production site, as well as the link between the latter and their destination and use context in the wider landscape of Roman colonization of the middle-Adriatic area between the 3rd and 2nd century BC. On the other hand, this documentation constitutes the main source supporting an investigation of the manifestation of religiosity in the referenced historical and geographical context. A broad analysis that, far from being confined to the single object and its merely formal features, will on the contrary investigate intrinsic and cultural, specifically religious, meanings, could lead to a desirable theorization on archaeological basis of the shapes and the structures – material and conceptual – of Roman religion in the examined context, and could highlight the interaction and cultural contact dynamics among coloners and local population under religious aspects, even in terms of nexus and dialectic between epicoric and foreign cults, when these are attested through inscriptions.

In this sense, the *pocola* from Rimini, similarly to the vessels produced in Monte Rinaldo, together with the votive clay materials and architectonic terracottas, variously attested in the territory, “constitute a tangible key of interpretation of the same modalities, according to which the process of transmission and assimilation of Roman cultural and religious models was realized, in relation to the progressive extension of the Roman domain.”⁴⁰ This process allowed the colonial world to gain a specific, clearly Latin, imprint that vastly emerges when considering sacral practices on different degrees and levels: from individual rituality to the sacral landscape in cities and country sides. From this point of view, sanctuaries were seen as fundamental landmarks of expression and acknowledgement of colonial identity,

privileged places where religiosity was performed with main rituality, facing cults which conveyed political contents and, lastly, shared in places built according to a monumental and architectonic language that manifested the presence of Rome in peripheral areas of Republican Italy.⁴¹ They also possibly functioned as places where their own sacral shapes could have been materially molded and thereby diffused outside the colonial context, among local communities.

Notes

* University of Bologna.

¹ Paci 1998a; Paci 1998b; Paci 2002; Bandelli 2002; Bandelli 2007; Bandelli 2008.

² Susini 1965/1966; Guidobaldi 1995; Sisani 2007; Giorgi 2010; Mazzeo Saracino 2013; Giorgi 2014.

³ Stek 2009; Stek – Burgers 2015; Aberson et al. 2016; Lippolis – Sassu 2018.

⁴ On the distinction among ex voto materials for destination or transformation see Morel 1992.

⁵ Despite recent review efforts that suggest the separation of the two phenomena (Roman colonization and spreading of sacral materials, i.e. clay votive materials), this nexus is evident for the geographic area here analyzed. On this topic see Torelli 1993; Strazzulla 2006a; Strazzulla 2006b; Sisani 2007, 151–158; de Cazanove 2016. For a different interpretation see Glinister 2006.

⁶ The moment when Italy's municipalization occurs – with subsequent urbanization of those centers as headquarters – is when the process of Republican colonization and relative Romanization of peripheral peninsular regions ends. See note 1 and Torelli 1983.

⁷ Brizio 1901; Azzena 1987, 4 f. 17–20; Bertrand 2015, 151–158. 471–477.

⁸ CIL I2 383; on terracottas see Stortoni 2013. The archaeological and epigraphic dossier of the *arx* of Firmum is collected now in Bertrand 2015, 164–168. 465–468.

⁹ Percossi Serenelli 2009; Liv. 41, 27.

¹⁰ Votive veiled head from Via Mastai and ceramic with graffiti of onomastic indications (Q. Gavi) from Via Armellini. See Stefanini 1994/1995, 37 f.; Lepore – Antolini – Galazzi 2015, 290–292.

¹¹ Lepore 2012.

¹² Archaeological investigations were conducted by the University of Bologna (Prof. Enrico Giorgi) in cooperation with the Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio delle Marche. See Giorgi – Demma 2018. On Republican and Imperial Ascoli and its territory, see Paci 2014.

¹³ This material was examined by Sara Morsiani, to whom I am grateful for considerations listed above and thankful for her help, referring to her works for a detailed picture: Morsiani 2018; Mazzeo Saracino – Morsiani 2014.

¹⁴ Di Giuseppe 2012, 82–84. 157 f.

¹⁵ On law and administrative institutions see Sisani 2011.

¹⁶ See Belfiori 2017 on *lucus Pisauensis* and Mei 2017 on colonial presence in the Metauro valley in the 3rd century BC.

¹⁷ Landolfi 1994.

¹⁸ Pignocchi 1996/1997, under my current review.

¹⁹ Unedited, under my current examination. On the topic of the institutional nature of Aesis see Bandelli 2005.

²⁰ See E. Giorgi in this volume.

²¹ Giorgi – Demma – Belfiori in press, with previous literature. Since 2016, the site is center of a new research project of the University of Bologna, directed by Prof. Enrico Giorgi.

²² The only comparisons are from *ager Praetutianus*, specifically from Teramo (Cona), from Pagliaroli di Cortino and from Chieti (Civitella).

²³ Until recently, there was known only the seal discussed in Susini 1970; de Marinis – Paci 2012. Today, the series of *Iovei Sacrum Spol* seals count eight samples: to the one that is cited in literature, three badly preserved seals are to be added, from the survey of the materials of previous archaeological investigations (by Dr. Filippo Demma) and four, (two of which are whole and perfectly legible), found during the 2017 and 2018 archaeological fieldwork in the sanctuary by the University of Bologna.

²⁴ Azzena 1987, 60.

²⁵ Iaculli 1993.

²⁶ Riccione: Ortalli 2015; Ortalli 2017. Colle S. Giorgio: Iaculli 1993. Potentia: Percossi Serenelli 2009. Monte Rinaldo: unedited. Offida: Pignocchi 1996/1997. To the list is also added a fragment from Macerata Feltria: Monacchi 1995.

²⁷ In this sense, see Pensa 1983; Pensa 1984; Iaculli 2006.

²⁸ Among Etruscan-Italic templar coroplastic of the Hellenistic period, the two iconographic themes seem to be destined univocally to different supports: the ‘Rankengöttin’ to plates; the *potnia theròn* to antefixes. In other terms, even if in basic iconographic ambiguity, there are no plates with the *potnia theròn* or antefixes with the ‘Rankengöttin’.

²⁹ On Nemi terracottas see Diosono – Plebani 2014.

³⁰ CIL I2 40.

³¹ Strazzulla 1981; Strazzulla 2006a.

³² Malnati – Stoppioni 2008.

³³ Maras 2008.

³⁴ Zuffa 1962; Franchi de Bellis 1995.

³⁵ Translated from Cifarelli – Ambrosini – Nonnis 2002/2003, 296 (D. Nonnis).

³⁶ Cifarelli – Ambrosini – Nonnis 2002/2003, 280–296 (D. Nonnis).

³⁷ CIL I2 2885. 2886. 2887.

³⁸ CIL I2 2894 f.

³⁹ CIL I2 2921.

⁴⁰ Translated from Cifarelli – Ambrosini – Nonnis 2002/2003, 296 (D. Nonnis).

⁴¹ Torelli 1993.

Image Credits

Fig. 1–6: by author. – Fig. 7: by author; Iaculli 1993; Percossi Serenelli 2009; Diosono – Plebani 2014; Ortalli 2017. – Fig. 8: by author.

References

Aberson et al. 2016

M. Aberson – M. C. Biella – M. Di Fazio – P. Sánchez – M. Wulschleger (eds.), *L'Italia centrale e la creazione di una koiné culturale? I percorsi della "romanizzazione"* (Berne 2016).

Azzena 1987

G. Azzena, *Atri. Forma e urbanistica* (Rome 1987).

Bandelli 2002

G. Bandelli, *La colonizzazione medio-adriatica fino alla seconda guerra punica. Questioni preliminari*, in: M. Luni (ed.), *La battaglia del Metauro. Tradizioni e studi* (Urbino 2002) 21–54.

Bandelli 2005

G. Bandelli, *La conquista dell'ager Gallicus e il problema della colonia Aesis*, *AquilNost* 76, 2005, 13–60.

Bandelli 2007

G. Bandelli, *Considerazioni sulla romanizzazione del Piceno (III–I sec. a. C.)*, *Studi Maceratesi* 41, 2007, 1–26.

Bandelli 2008

G. Bandelli, *Romani e Picenti dalla stipulazione del foedus (299 a. C.) alla deduzione di Firmum (264 a. C.)*, in: M. Luni – M. Sconocchia (eds.), *I Piceni e la loro riscoperta tra Settecento e Novecento* (Urbino 2008) 336–351.

Belfiori 2017

F. Belfiori, *Lucum concludere romano more. Archeologia e religione del "lucus" Pisarense* (Bologna 2017).

Bertrand 2015

A. Bertrand, *La religion publique des colonies dans l'Italie républicaine et impériale* (Rome 2015).

Brizio 1901

E. Brizio, *Scoperta di un tempio romano e della necropoli preromana*, *NSA* 1901, 181–194.

F. M. Cifarelli – L. Ambrosini – D. Nonnis 2002/2003

F. M. Cifarelli – L. Ambrosini – D. Nonnis, *Nuovi dati su Segni medio-repubblicana. A proposito di un nuovo pocolom dall'acropoli*, *RendPontAc* 75, 2002/2003, 245–325.

de Cazanove 2016

O. de Cazanove, *Offerte della e dall'Italia centrale. Teste e uteri di terracotta come spie delle dinamiche di diffusione*, in: M. Aberson – M. C. Biella – M. Di Fazio – P. Sánchez – M. Wulschleger (eds.), *L'Italia centrale e la creazione di una koiné culturale? I percorsi della "romanizzazione"* (Berne 2016) 273–289.

de Marinis – Paci 2012

G. de Marinis – G. Paci, *Sul bollo vascolare iscritto dal santuario di Monterinaldo*, in: G. Baratta – S. M. Marengo (eds.), *Instrumenta Inscripta III. Manufatti iscritti e vita dei santuari in età romana* (Macerata 2012) 93–104.

Di Giuseppe 2012

H. Di Giuseppe, *Black-Gloss Ware in Italy. Production, management and local histories* (Oxford 2012).

Diosono – Plebani 2014

F. Diosono – F. R. Plebani, Le terrecotte architettoniche e la coroplastica, in: P. Braconi – F. Coarelli – F. Diosono – G. Ghini (eds.), *Il santuario di Diana a Nemi. Le terrazze e il ninfeo*. Scavi 1989–2009 (Rome 2014) 167–186.

Franchi de Bellis 1995

A. Franchi de Bellis, I pocola riminesi, in: A. Calbi, G. Susini (eds.), *Pro poplo arimense* (Faenza 1995) 367–391.

Giorgi 2010

E. Giorgi, La città e il territorio. Riflessioni sulla genesi dell'abitato, in: E. Giorgi – G. Lepore (eds.), *Archeologia nella valle del Cesano da Suasa a Santa Maria in Portuno. Atti del Convegno per i venti anni di ricerche dell'Università di Bologna (Castelleone di Suasa, Corinaldo, San Lorenzo in Campo 18–19 dicembre 2008)* (Bologna 2010) 55–61.

Giorgi 2014

E. Giorgi, La Domus dei Coiedii. I periodi e il contesto urbano, in: L. Mazzeo Saracino (ed.) *Scavi di Suasa I. I reperti ceramici e vetri dalla Domus dei Coiedii* (Bologna 2014) 29–43.

Giorgi – Demma 2018

E. Giorgi – F. Demma, Riflessioni sulla genesi e lo sviluppo urbano di Asculum nel Piceno dalla città federata alla colonia romana, *Atta* 28, 2018, 53–76.

Giorgi – Demma – Belfiori in press

E. Giorgi – F. Demma – F. Belfiori, Monte Rinaldo. “Vecchi” dati e nuove prospettive, in: *Roma ed il Mondo Adriatico. Dalla ricerca archeologica alla pianificazione del territorio. Atti del convegno internazionale Macerata 19–20 maggio 2017* (in press).

Guidobaldi 1995

M. P. Guidobaldi, *La romanizzazione dell'ager Praetutianus* (Naples 1995).

Iaculli 1993

G. Iaculli, *Il tempio italico di Colle S. Giorgio (Castiglione Messer Raimondo)* (Penne 1993).

Iaculli 2006

G. Iaculli, Note sulla tecnica di esecuzione di alcune terrecotte della Civitella di Chieti, in: I. Edlund-Berry – G. Greco – J. Kenfield (eds.), *Deliciae Fictiles III. Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy. New Discoveries and Interpretations. Proceedings of the international conference held at the American Academy in Rome November 7–8 2002* (Exeter 2006) 164–175.

Landolfi 1994

M. Landolfi, *Le terrecotte architettoniche da Civitalba di Sassoferrato*, *Ostraka* 3, 1994, 73–91.

Lepore 2012

G. Lepore, *Il santuario dei primi coloni di Sena Gallica?*, *Picus* 32, 77–106.

Lepore – Antolini – Galazzi 2015

G. Lepore – S. Antolini – F. Galazzi, *Novità epigrafiche da Senigallia*, *Picus* 25, 2005, 273–295.

Lippolis – Sassu 2018

E. Lippolis – R. Sassu, *Il ruolo del culto nelle comunità dell'Italia antica. Strutture, funzioni e interazioni culturali* (Rome 2018).

Malnati – Stoppioni 2008

L. Malnati – M. L. Stoppioni (eds.), *Vetus Litus. Archeologia della foce. Una discarica di materiali ceramici del III sec. a. C. alla darsena di Cattolica lungo il Tavollo* (Florence 2008).

Maras 2008

D. F. Maras, *Giove in Adriatico. Novità epigrafiche medio-repubblicane*, in: L. Malnati – M. L. Stoppioni (eds.), *Vetus Litus. Archeologia della foce. Una discarica di materiali ceramici del III sec. a. C. alla darsena di Cattolica lungo il Tavollo* (Florence 2008) 73–76.

Mazzeo Saracino 2013

L. Mazzeo Saracino, *Indigeni e coloni nell'ager Gallicus e nel Piceno alla luce della cultura materiale*, in: G. Paci (ed.), *Epigrafia e archeologia nel territorio marchigiano. Atti del Convegno di Studi Macerata 22–23 aprile 2013* (Tivoli 2013) 357–390.

Mazzeo Saracino – Morsiani 2014

L. Mazzeo Saracino – S. Morsiani, *Brevi note sulla romanizzazione di Ascoli Piceno*, in: G. Baldelli – F. Lo Schiavo (eds.), *Amore per l'antico. Dal Tirreno all'Adriatico, dalla Preistoria al Medioevo e oltre. Studi di antichità in ricordo di Giuliano de Marinis* (Rome 2014) 521–529.

Mei 2017

O. Mei, *Il Fanum Fortunae e i luoghi di culto di età repubblicana nel territorio circostante*, in: O. Mei – P. Clini (eds.), *Fanum Fortunae e il culto della dea Fortuna* (Venice 2017) 51–66.

Monacchi 1995

W. Monacchi, *Il Museo Civico di Macerata Feltria* (Macerata Feltria 1995).

Morel 1992

J.-P. Morel, *Ex-voto par transformation, ex-voto par destination. À propos du dépôt votif de Fondo Ruozzo à Teano*, in: M.-M. Mactoux – E. Geny (eds.), *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque VI. Religion, Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 463 (Paris 1992) 221–232.

Morsiani 2018

S. Morsiani, *Produzioni fini e vasellame comune da Asculum nella fase della romanizzazione*, *RCRF* 45, 2018, 383–392.

Ortalli 2015

J. Ortalli, *Lastre fittili da Riccione*, in: L. Malnati – V. Manzelli (eds.), *Brixia. Roma e le genti del Po. Un incontro di culture III–I sec. a. C.* (Milan 2015) 308–310.

Ortalli 2017

J. Ortalli, *Gaio Mario, la Cispadana e Mutina. Fonti letterarie e documentazione archeologica*, in: L. Malnati – S. Pellegrini – F. Piccinini – C. Stefani (eds.), *Mutina splendidissima. La città romana e la sua eredità* (Rome 2017) 69–73.

Paci 1998a

G. Paci, *Dalla prefettura al municipio nell'agro gallico e piceno*, in: A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico. Actas del Congreso Internacional Lugo 15–18 de Mayo 1996* (Lugo 1998) 55–64.

Paci 1998b

G. Paci, *Umbria e agro gallico a nord del fiume Esino*, *Picus* 18, 1998, 89–118.

Paci 2002

G. Paci, Conseguenze storico-politiche della battaglia di Sentino per i popoli a nord del fiume Esino, in: D. Poli (ed.), *La battaglia del Sentino. Scontro fra nazioni e incontro in una nazione. Atti del Convegno di Studi Camerino-Sassoferrato 10–13 giugno 1998* (Rome 2002) 81–93.

Paci 2014

G. Paci (ed.), *Storia di Ascoli. Dai Piceni all'età romana* (Ascoli Piceno 2014).

Pensa 1983

M. Pensa, La decorazione architettonica fittile in Emilia-Romagna. Aspetti e problemi, in: G. A. Mansuelli (ed.), *Studi sulla città antica. L'Emilia-Romagna* (Rome 1983) 383–398.

Pensa 1984

M. Pensa, Alcune terrecotte architettoniche di Ariminum e del suo territorio, in: P. Delbianco (ed.), *Culture figurative e materiali tra Emilia e Marche. Studi in memoria di Mario Zuffa* (Rimini 1984) 219–228.

Percossi Serenelli 2009

E. Percossi Serenelli, Su alcuni tipi di terrecotte architettoniche da Potentia, in: G. de Marinis – G. Paci (eds.), *Omaggio a Nereo Alfieri. Contributi all'archeologia marchigiana. Atti del Convegno di Studi Loreto 9–11 maggio 2005* (Tivoli 2009) 439–490.

Pignocchi 1996/1997

G. Pignocchi, Le terrecotte architettoniche del Colle della Guardia (Offida – AP), *Picus* 16/17, 1996/1997, 203–229.

Sisani 2007

S. Sisani, Fenomenologia della conquista. La romanizzazione dell'Umbria tra il IV sec. a. C. e la guerra sociale (Rome 2007).

Sisani 2011

S. Sisani, *In pagis forisque et conciliabulis. Le strutture amministrative dei distretti rurali in Italia tra la media repubblica e l'età municipale*, *MemLinc* 9, 27, 2, 2011, 551–780.

Stefanini 1994/1995

S. Stefanini, Rinvenimenti ceramici da Sena, *Picus* 14/15, 1994/1995, 23–52.

Stek 2009

T. D. Stek, *Cult Places and Cultural Change in Republican Italy. A Contextual Approach to Religious Aspects of Rural Society After the Roman Conquest* (Amsterdam 2009).

Stek – Burgers 2015

T. D. Stek – P. Burgers (eds.), *The impact of Rome on Cult Places and Religious Practices in Ancient Italy* (Exeter 2015).

Strazzulla 2006a

M. J. Strazzulla, Le terrecotte architettoniche nei territori italici, in: I. Edlund-Berry – G. Greco – J. Kenfield (eds.), *Deliciae Fictiles III. Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy. New Discoveries and Interpretations. Proceedings of the International Conference held at the American Academy in Rome November 7–8 2002* (Exeter 2006) 25–41.

Strazzulla 2006b

M. J. Strazzulla, I santuari, in: P. Di Felice – V. Torrieri (eds.), Museo civico archeologico “F. Savini” Teramo (Teramo 2006) 85–98.

Susini 1965/1966

G. Susini. Coloni romani dal Piceno al Po I. Le fonti monumentali, *Studia picena* 33/34, 1965/1966, 82–143.

Susini 1970

G. Susini, Pocola marcati. Devozione e industria, *Epigraphica* 32, 1970, 165 f.

Torelli 1983

M. Torelli, Edilizia pubblica in Italia centrale tra guerra sociale ed età augustea. Ideologia e classi sociali, in: *Les ‘bourgeoisies’ municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C. Actes du Colloque International du CNRS no. 609 Naples Centre Jean Berard Institut Français de Naples 7–10 décembre 1981 (Naples 1983) 241–250.*

Torelli 1993

M. Torelli, Fictiles Fabulae. Rappresentazione e romanizzazione nei cicli figurati fittili repubblicani, *Ostraka* 2, 1993, 269–299.

Zuffa 1962

M. Zuffa, Nuove scoperte di archeologia e storia riminese, *StRomagn* 13, 1962, 85–132.

Monte Rinaldo. A Roman Sanctuary in the middle of Picenum

Enrico Giorgi – Filippo Demma – Stephen Kay*

Monte Rinaldo between Firmum and Asculum

The remains of the Sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo are located in the middle-Adriatic area, along the border between the territories of the Latin colony of Firmum Picenum to the north and of the *civitas foederata* of Asculum to the south (fig. 1). Ancient literary sources recount that Asculum was *civitas caput gentis*, one of the capital cities of the *Pikentes*, and that Rome made an agreement with Asculum and the *Pikentes* during the 3rd century BC, in order to jointly oppose the invasion of the *Galli Senoni* from the north, and probably the city was still an ally of Rome in the following centuries up to the Social War at the beginning of the 1st century BC (90 BC).¹

Following the defeat of the *Pikentes* in 267 BC, the region became a territory of Rome (*ager publicus populi Romani*) and three years later the Latin colonies of Hatria and Firmum Picenum were founded to the south and north of Asculum. The status of allied city (*civitas foederata*) was granted only to the *caput gentis* Asculum and to the Greek port of Ancona.²

Finally, thanks to the *lex Flaminia de agro Gallico et Piceno viritim dividundo* (232 BC), the remaining lands were assigned for each one (*viritim*) to the settlers, who were Roman citizens, and managed with the system of the *praefecturae*. The central place of each territory, usually a *conciliabulum civium Romanorum* or a forum, became the headquarters of the *praefectus* to administer justice. As is well known, many of these places became full cities between the 2nd and the 1st century BC, with the status of *municipia* or of Roman colonies in a few cases such as Aesis, Auximum or Urbs Salvia.³

From a geographical point of view, this middle-Adriatic region is crossed by rivers that begin on the Apennine ridge and flow towards the Adriatic Sea, separated by the ridges of the hills (the so called ‘comb system’). Usually the pattern of settlement includes at least two cities along each valley, with the main town in the middle and its harbour at the mouth, such as Firmum and Castellum Firmanorum in the Tenna valley or Asculum and Castrum Truentinum in the Tronto Valley. The sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo is located at the southern border of the Firmum territory, along the Aso Valley and close to Asculum. There are no known Roman towns in this area, which includes not only the Aso but also the Tesino Valley (further to the south). Pliny mentions Novana among the cities of this area, but this town is yet to be located. Previous studies have suggested Monte Rinaldo may be the location of Novana, but a recent work has located this town more in the inland, thanks to new archaeological discoveries and in accordance with the description of Pliny (Plin. nat. 3, 11), who writes *intus Novana*. Current research in the hinterland of the sanctuary has yet to locate any traces of wider settlement, therefore



Fig. 1: Map of ancient Pikenum with Monte Rinaldo between Asculum and Firmum.

it is yet unknown whether Monte Rinaldo was an isolated sanctuary or also a central place for managing the surrounding settlement.⁴ (S.K.)

A short history of the research in Monte Rinaldo

The sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo was discovered thanks to agricultural activity and has been investigated several times over the last sixty years. In the middle of the last century the collapsed main *porticus* was discovered and was subsequently rebuilt in the form that we can still see today (fig. 2, fig. 3). The remains of the sanctuary were brought to light thanks to the excavations directed by the Italian archaeologists Giovanni Annibaldi and Laura Fabbrini between 1957 and 1961.⁵ In the first three years, Annibaldi was in the field only occasionally and his assistant C. Bonfigli managed the clearance. The archaeological excavations directed by Laura Fabbrini were more accurate, with the correct interpretation of the provenance of the finds, even if there was no precise stratigraphic methodology. Beyond the main *porticus*, the foundations of the central temple, the lateral porticoes and a small sacellum were found, but many ancient structures had been destroyed and removed in order to recover architectural fragments to be reused to build the walls in a later phase.

The excavation documentation was recorded with drawings and photographs, the latter of which are fundamental for understanding the original situation. Some scholars, such as



Fig. 2: View of the archaeological area of Monte Rinaldo.

Maurizio Landolfi, have more recently begun to study the complex reconstructing its shape and its chronology.⁶ The most widely shared hypothesis is that of a big square bordered by a *porticus triplex* with Doric columns and with a Tuscan temple at the centre. A small sacellum, probably linked with a sacred spring, was located in the north-western corner of the square. The sanctuary is dated to the 2nd century BC with some changes occurring in the following century.⁷ (F. D.)

The new research project

In 2016, following an agreement between the British School at Rome, the Regional Archaeological Superintendency and the University of Bologna, a new research project commenced with three main aims: the restudy of old data, topographical and geophysical survey and new excavations.

2016–2017: A new analysis of the old excavation material data, based on a review of the archive and a study of the pottery as well as the architectural elements preserved at three different locations (the archaeological park, the local museum and the National Museum of Ancona). The diagnostic ceramics have been drawn and the architectural elements have been recorded with a new photogrammetric survey. In the last two years the project has analysed this data in order to achieve a better understanding of the chronology of the building phases.

2016–2017: A geophysical and topographical survey (with two different types of magnetometry, ground-penetrating radar, laser scanning and GPS) of the structures in the archaeological park and in the surrounding area, in order to record any further traces of the sanctuary



Fig. 3: The reconstruction of the columns of the main porticus.

and a possible settlement. Due to a number of factors, the geophysical survey noted few features of archaeological significance but has provided a basis for continued future work. A topographical survey of the surrounding territory has been ongoing since 2017.

2017–2018: New archaeological excavations to identify better preserved stratigraphic contexts. The first season of excavation took place in 2017 with a focus upon the area of the temple. In the following season in July 2018 work concentrated on better understanding the sacellum as well as opening a new excavation of the north *porticus* (fig. 4). The archaeological stratigraphy has been heavily disturbed as many structures were destroyed and rebuilt in the 1960s during the restoration project. However, at deeper levels the structures and the stratigraphy are better preserved. In particular, precisely in the area of the western *porticus* an undisturbed stratigraphy was recorded. The contexts provided information relating to the first occupation of the sanctuary as well as successive phases.

Whilst the research at Monte Rinaldo is still ongoing, the preliminary results suggest some new hypotheses and areas for research regarding the building phases,

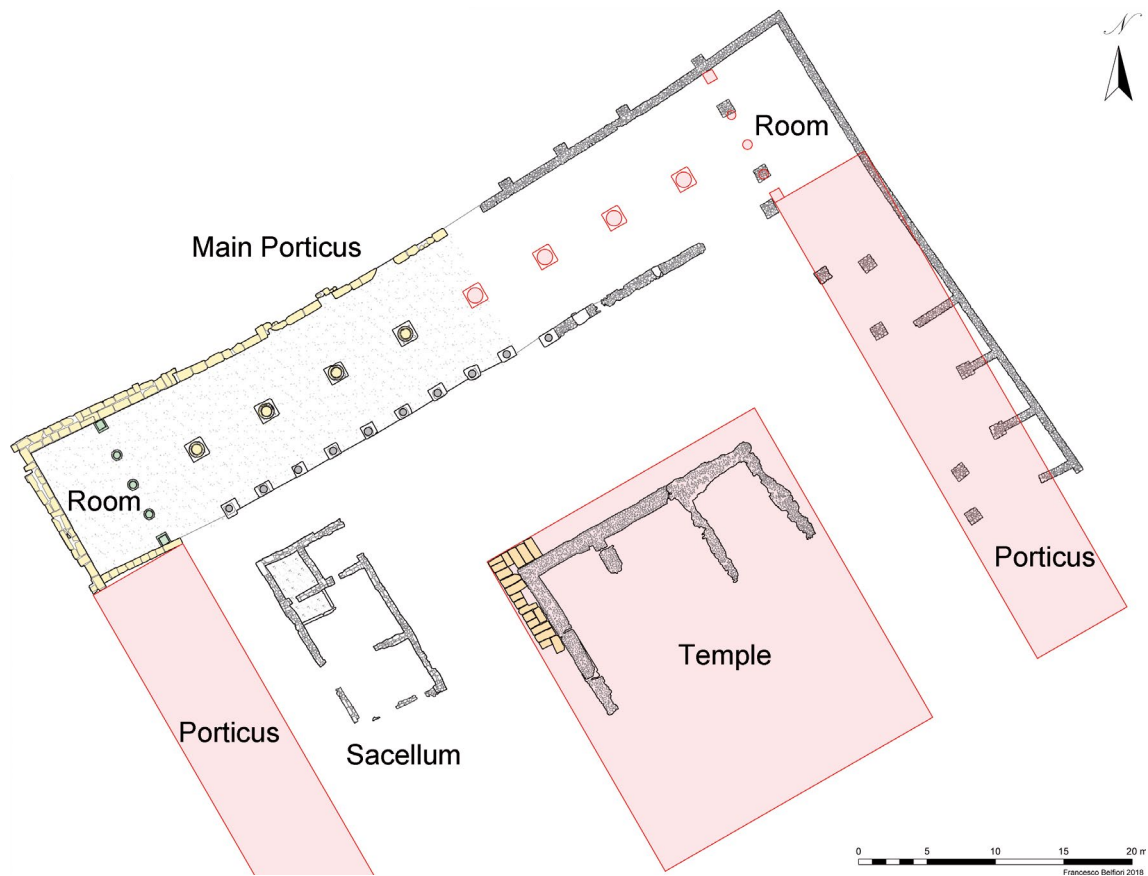


Fig. 4: The sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo. Plan of the structures.

the material culture and the cults. On the basis of the results of the new excavations and in particular the study of the architectural fragments, in the first building phase (during the first half of the 2nd century BC) there existed only the temple with the main porticus. These phases can be recognised based upon the ceramic and the architectural elements reused in the following phases. In the second half of the 2nd century BC the lateral porticoes and the sacellum were built. Subsequently, during the 1st century BC, two rooms with Ionic columns were built in the corners on the sides of the main porticus (fig. 4). The final phase documents the collapse of the sanctuary and its reuse as both a necropolis and a farm with structures that were built between the 1st and the 2nd century AD, reusing many architectural fragments to construct the new walls. The ongoing study of the architectural features of the identified phases, by Francesco Belfiori, is also providing a better understanding of these buildings. Through the digital recording of the architectural fragments it has been possible to assign pieces to the specific construction phase of each of the different buildings (fig. 5, fig. 6).⁸

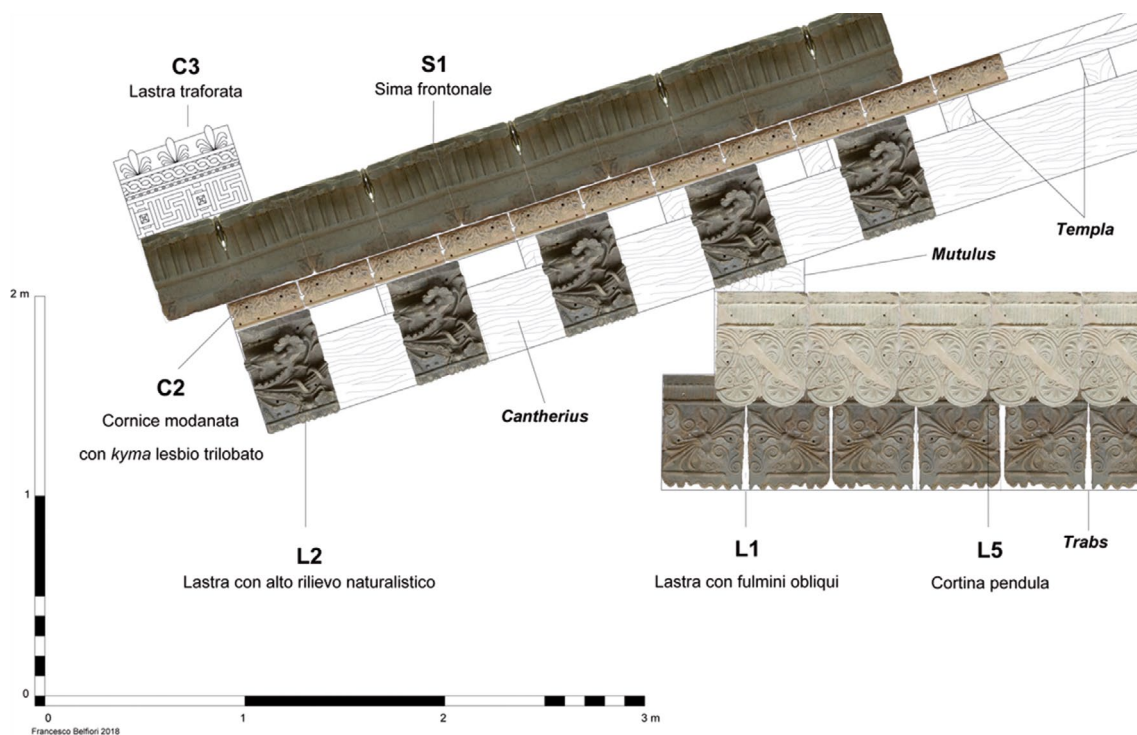


Fig. 5: The roof of the temple: reconstructive hypothesis.

The study of ceramic evidence has been useful not only for understanding the chronology but also to assess the cultural landscape. An analysis of the material at the museum from the early excavations and those found in the new stratigraphic excavations has shown that in the deeper stratigraphy of Monte Rinaldo, dating to the 3rd century BC, it is possible to find together impasto ceramics and fragments of black-glazed pottery (fig. 7). The first is usually considered a trace of the material culture of the *Pikentes*, and the second a result of the Roman conquest. This therefore presents two possible hypotheses: either there was an earlier pre-Roman sanctuary or the sanctuary was used by both the Romans and the *Pikentes* at the time of the first Latin colonists (in the first half of the 3rd century BC). It has also been attested that there was a sanctuary before the building of the temple, probably *sub divo* (without a roof) or with perishable structures related to the ritual use of the sacred spring.

In terms of the evidence for cult at Monte Rinaldo, through the discovery of several black-glazed cups with stamps or graffiti, it can be understood that Jupiter was the main god venerated at Monte Rinaldo. However, there is also evidence for minor deities, such as Hercules (because of the imagery of several terracottas depicting the semi-god and of some fragments carrying the *H* mark) and possibly the Muses *Camēnae*, connected with the sacred spring.⁹ Some black-glazed cups were probably made in a kiln close to the sanctuary especially for this cult.

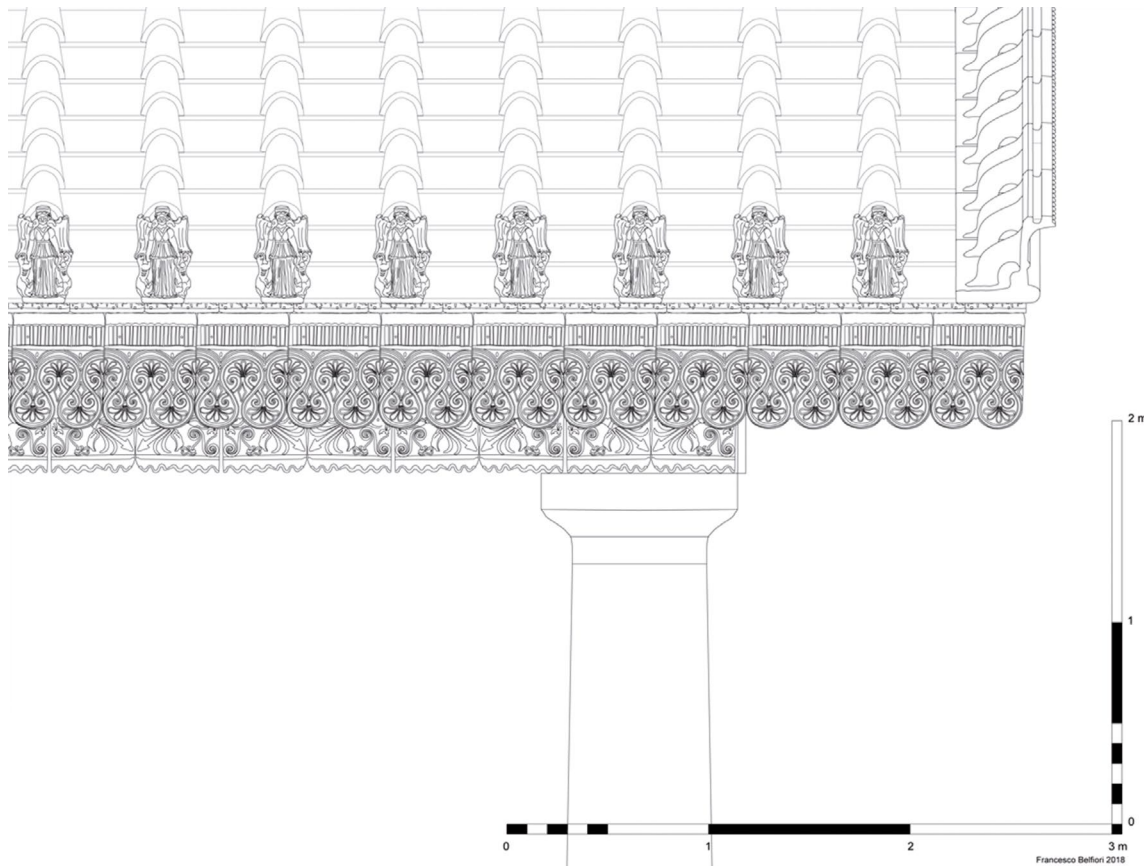


Fig. 6: The side of the temple's roof: reconstructive hypothesis.

Hypotheses or open questions

Following two years of research, the evidence from Monte Rinaldo has led to the formulation of different hypotheses about the site. Primarily there is a need for a better understanding as to why the sanctuary was built and what role it had in developing the Roman settlement.¹⁰ Was it an isolated sanctuary or part of a larger settlement? Did it only have ritual functions for the settlers of Firmum or was it a central place able to manage the entire valley? Was it built as a sanctuary during the foundation of the Latin colony of Firmum or was it the result of a more ancient ritual use of the site used by the *Pikentes*?

In order to answer some of these questions it is useful to draw a parallel with the sanctuary discovered at Asculum. Following archaeological excavations along Via Capitolina (in 2009), a small Picenean sanctuary was discovered. It was made of mudbrick and organic materials with ritual depositions of vessels (dated between the 6th and 4th century BC). When Asculum became an ally of Rome (in the 3rd century BC) the sanctuary was still used and finally a Roman temple was built on top of a large terrace supported

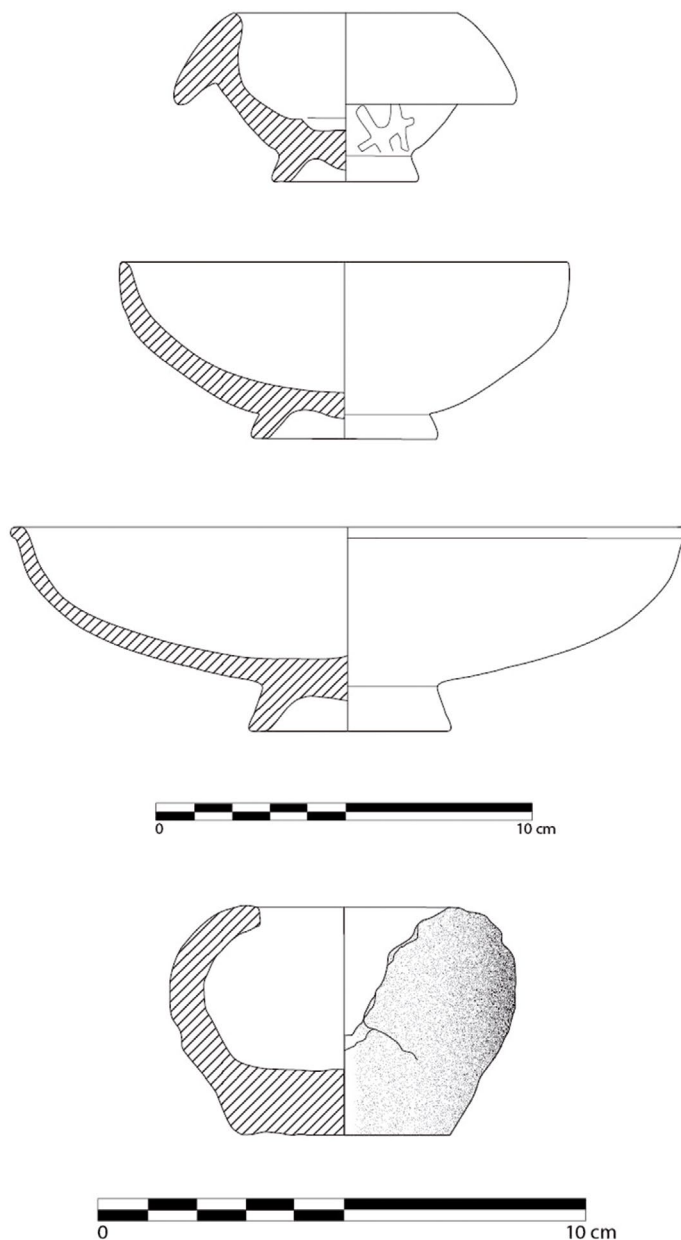


Fig. 7: Black-glazed and impasto pottery from the same archaeological context of Monte Rinaldo.

by masonry substructures (between the 2nd and the 1st century BC). The remains of the architectural fragments, with the representation of a Mistress of the Animals (*potnia theron*) are very similar to those found at Monte Rinaldo. At the sanctuary of Asculum two different periods of archaeological contexts were discovered. The earliest, dating to the 3rd century BC, records many fragments of *pocola Picena* (impasto ceramics) and

imported black-glazed pottery mixed together. In the second, dated to the 2nd century BC, local black-glazed wares were discovered as were many fragments of *pocola Picena* (not only of impasto). Some black-glazed cups have graffiti with the name of the goddess (maybe *Ankharia*, a deity of the *Pikentes*) on them. Therefore in Asculum it is possible to recognize a Roman cultural assimilation as well as the continuation of the more ancient culture. The sanctuary probably played a role in the development of the *civitas caput gentis* and in the increasing of the cultural integration.¹¹ It therefore leads to the hypothesis that perhaps the sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo played a similar role in the integration between the *Pikentes* population with the new Latin settlers. (E.G.)

Notes

* Enrico Giorgi (University of Bologna), Filippo Demma (MiBAC), Stephen Kay (British School at Rome).

¹ Paci 2014; Raggi 2014; Giorgi – Demma 2018, 54–56.

² Ciuccarelli 2012, 24–32.

³ Paci 1998; Sisani 2011; Marengo 2012.

⁴ Bernetti 2009; Menchelli 2012; Menchelli – Iacopini 2016.

⁵ Annibaldi 1973.

⁶ Landolfi 2010.

⁷ Demma 2018.

⁸ Demma – Belfiori in press.

⁹ Landolfi 2000; Demma 2018, 139.

¹⁰ Belfiori 2016; Belfiori 2018.

¹¹ Mazzeo Saracino – Morsiani 2014; Giorgi – Demma 2018, 60–62. See the paper of Francesco Belfiori in this volume.

Image Credits

Fig. 1–2: by the authors. – Fig. 3 Demma 2018, 98, fig. 31. – Fig. 4–6: by F. Belfiori. – Fig. 7: by P. Cossentino.

References

Annibaldi 1973

EAA Suppl. 1 (1970) 502 s. v. Monte Rinaldo (G. Annibaldi).

Belfiori 2016

F. Belfiori, Santuari Centralici e romanizzazione. Valenze itinerarie e processi acculturativi, in: A. Russo Tagliente – F. Guarnieri (eds.), Santuari mediterranei tra Oriente e Occidente. Interazioni e contatti culturali (Rome 2016) 181–191.

Belfiori 2018

F. Belfiori, Il ruolo dei luoghi di culto e l'espansione di Roma in Italia centrale, *Athenaeum* 106, 1, 2018, 95–110.

Bernetti 2009

S. Bernetti, Il municipio di Novana nel Piceno. Un'ipotesi di localizzazione, *Ostraka* 18, 1, 2009, 99–118.

Ciuccarelli 2012

M. R. Ciuccarelli, *Inter duos fluvios. Il popolamento del Piceno tra Tenna e Tronto dal V al I sec. a. C.* (Oxford 2012).

Demma 2018

F. Demma, Monte Rinaldo. Sessanta anni di ricerche e restauri presso il santuario romano de "la Cuma", *Picus* 38, 2018, 95–152.

Demma – Belfiori in press

F. Demma – F. Belfiori, Il santuario romano di Monte Rinaldo nel Piceno. Architettura, decorazione e culto, in: P. Lulof – C. Rescigno – I. Manzini (eds.), *Deliciae Fictiles V. Networks and Workshops. Fifth International Conference on Architectural Terracottas and Decorative Roof Systems in Italy Naples March 15th–18th 2018* (in press).

Giorgi – Demma 2018

E. Giorgi – F. Demma, Riflessioni sullo sviluppo urbano di Asculum nel Piceno dalla città federata alla colonia romana, *Atlante Tematico di Topografia Antica* 28, 2018, 53–76.

Landolfi 2000

M. Landolfi, Il santuario ellenistico-italico di Monte Rinaldo (AP), in: G. de Marinis – G. Paci (eds.), *Atlante dei beni culturali dei territori di Ascoli Piceno e Fermo II. Beni archeologici* (Cinisello Balsamo 2000) 127–133.

Marengo 2012

S. M. Marengo, La nascita dei municipi negli agri piceno e gallico. La documentazione epigrafica, in: G. de Marinis – G. M. Fabrini – G. Paci – R. Perna – M. Silvestrini (eds.), *I processi formativi ed evolutivi della città in area adriatica* (Oxford 2012) 363–371.

Mazzeo Saracino – Morsiani 2014

L. Mazzeo Saracino – S. Morsiani, Brevi note sulla romanizzazione di Ascoli Piceno, in: G. Baldelli – F. Lo Schiavo (eds.), *Amore per l'antico. Studi in memoria di Giuliano de Marinis* (Rome 2014) 521–529.

Menchelli 2012

S. Menchelli, *Paesaggi picene e romani nelle Marche meridionali. L'ager Firmanus dall'età tardo-repubblicana alla conquista longobarda* (Pisa 2012).

Menchelli – Iacopini 2016

S. Menchelli – E. Iacopini, Novana, its territory and the Pisa South Picenum Survey Project II, Folder 353, 2016. <<http://eprints.bice.rm.cnr.it/13381/1/FOLDER-it-2016-353.pdf>> (10.03.2019)

Paci 1998

G. Paci, Dalla prefettura al municipio nell'agro gallico e piceno, in: A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.),

Los orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico. Actas del Congreso Internacional Lugo 15–18 de Mayo 1996 (Lugo 1998) 55–64.

Paci 2014

G. Paci (ed.), Storia di Ascoli. Dai Piceni all'epoca romana (Acquaviva Picena 2014).

Raggi 2014

A. Raggi, Storia di Ascoli in età repubblicana, in: G. Paci (ed.), Storia di Ascoli. Dai Piceni all'epoca romana (Acquaviva Picena 2014) 83–105.

Sisani 2011

S. Sisani, In pagis forisque et conciliabulis. Le strutture amministrative dei distretti rurali in Italia tra la media repubblica e l'età municipale, MemLinc 9, 27, 2, 2011, 551–780.

Cults, Navigation and Maritime Practices in the Middle and Southern Adriatic (6th–2nd century BC)

Maria Cecilia D’Ercole*

In Greek and Roman times, sailing in the Adriatic Sea was considered an extremely dangerous activity. This negative perception may have contributed to the image of the Adriatic as *alimenos*, i. e. harborless, recorded in the Augustan period by some authors such as Strabo and Livy. Several elements contributed to this dreadful reputation. One was probably only superficial acquaintance with the terrain: until the Augustan age, the length of Illyria was known, but not its depth.¹ The second element was the real difficulty in coping with winds and sea currents: Ps.-Scymnos (vv. 384–387) remarks that the Adriatic could be suddenly shaken by wild storms and thunderbolts. The last and possibly the most important reason arose from various anthropic factors. One was piracy, which flourished for centuries in the Adriatic. Another and more weighty problem was the political, economic and cultural organization of the Adriatic peoples, which prevented the spread of Greek establishments.

For all these reasons, probably, sailing in this sea was strongly connected with ritual, beliefs and sacred places, which had a very important function in the dynamics of navigation and exchanges. Therefore, a particular feature of ancient Adriatic trade was the fact that the places of exchange were often associated with significant landmarks and with places of worship. In the northern Adriatic, at Timavum, the salt marsh was controlled by the sanctuary of Diomedes, which also owned a harbour (*limen*), a thriving wood and seven springs of water (Strabo 5, 1, 8). In the middle Adriatic, the *emporion* of Nestaioi, at the mouth of the river Naron, modern Neretva, is precisely described by Pseudo-Skylax (Periplus 24).² The trading place, located inside a wide lagoon giving access to the hinterland was linked to the legend of Kadmos and Harmonia. The legend of the Greek hero Diomedes provides another case in point to show the link between sacred places and Adriatic navigation. The strategic position of the cult places sacred to the hero Diomedes suggests indeed the image of a cultural maritime map. Already from the 6th c. BC, in the poems of Ibicos of Rhegion, Diomedes appears as the tutelary god of the Adriatic and still in the Augustan period, the Greek hero is described as a kind of Adriatic ruler. Worship places of the hero are often located on promontories, like the *promontorium Diomedis* (Plin. nat. 3, 141) recognized by the Croatian archaeologists on the Dalmatian coast near Sibenik, at Cap Ploča. This place, where a very simple shrine was dedicated to Diomedes, as proved by some Greek graffiti dated between the 4th and the end of the 2nd century BC, was crucial for the seacoast visibility and for the direction of streams. Offerings, whether ceramic (more than 65 000 fragments) or coins, confirm the economic importance of this sacred place.³ Diomedes’ cult may also have been connected with the Conero promontory, according to a passage in the Periplus of Pseudo-Skylax (16) placing in the country of the Ombrians a sanctuary devoted to the hero.

Finally, the cult of Diomedes seems to be deeply linked with the insular morphology, as the ancient tradition concerning the mythical islands of Diomedes demonstrates, from

Pliny (Plin. nat. 3, 151. 10, 126) through to Saint Augustine (Aug. civ. 18, 16). According to Strabo (5, 1, 9) the „Islands of Diomedes“, as well as the relationships with the king Daunus and the foundation of Argyrippa-Arpi, show the evidence of the hero's domination on the sea. Traditionally located on the Tremiti archipelago, the shrine has now been conclusively placed on the island of Palagruza, following the excavations of Croatian scholars.⁴ However, I argue that this island, very near to the western Adriatic coast, was considered by the ancient sailors as a part of the Tremiti archipelago. In fact, Tremiti and Palagruza could have been perceived as a continuum by the ancient sailors, such a kind of 'bridge of islands' linking the western to the eastern Adriatic coast.⁵ These islands are still considered as a whole in the military handbooks of navigation of the 19th century. This perception could explain the traditional location of Diomedes' sanctuary among the Apulian islands. Now, the chronology of sherds and script from Palagruza suggests that Greek sailors used to visit this shrine from the beginning of the 5th century BC through to the Roman period (coins of Dyrrachium, 3rd–1st century). Moreover, some offerings (such as: *Soleios anetheke*) dating from the beginning of the 5th century (in an Aeginetan script) show complete similarity with finds from Adria and prove that the island „was a crucial landmark for Greek sailors when sailing the open sea.“⁶

The oracle of Dodona and the Ionian-Adriatic exchanges

If those links between sacred topography and the Ionian-Adriatic navigation start to become better known, the role of the oracular sanctuary of Dodona in these dynamics of circulation and exchange is still less explored. At a first glance, one would not be tempted to link this sacred place to navigation and maritime exchange. Located at 22 kilometres far from the modern city of Ioannina, the sanctuary was in the hinterland of Epirus, at the foot of the Mount Tomaros. Nevertheless, this site was quite close enough to the Ambracian Gulf and to other ports, such as Ambracia and Amphilochia.⁷ Some routes inland started from those ports and the route from the Acheron mouth to Dodona could have served for pilgrims who visited the Nekromanteion and came afterwards to Dodona. The myth of foundation of the sanctuary itself, in Herodotus' version (Hdt. 2, 54) stresses the foreign origin of the first priestess, who would have been transported to Epirus from Egypt by Phoenician pirates.

Now, some archeological and epigraphical data may highlight this 'maritime' side of the oracle of Dodona. I make reference to a significant group within the corpus of the lead tablets discovered in the sanctuary, published by Éric Lhôte in 2006: the author presents a commentary to each text and an interesting proposal for a thematic classification of the texts, which refer to a wide variety of public and private issues. One of these sections is specifically devoted to the long distance trade „grand commerce“.⁸ One year later, Martine Dieterle published a study on the sanctuary and its historical development, in which she suggests a chronology of the tablets in several cases higher than the one of Lhôte.⁹ In the same year, Esther Eidinow published a book on Greek oracles and curses, where a chapter

presented the catalogue and commentary of some oracular tablets from Dodona. The author highlighted the importance of travel and move within this corpus.¹⁰ In 2013, two volumes signed by S. Dakaris, J. Vokotopoulou and A.-P. Kristidis have been published.¹¹ Because of the particular circumstances of the publication,¹² this work does not present any introduction or thematic and chronological order. Despite that, this important study has enabled us to know all the tablets discovered in the excavations of 1928–1932 and 1952–1956. Some thousands of texts, mostly referring to private life, have been brought to the knowledge of the scientific community. Many of these tablets, less or more complete and preserved, bring inscribed questions related to long-distance and maritime trade. These inscriptions date from the middle of the 6th to the end of the 4th century BC. Most of them belong, as we shall see, to the period between the end of the 5th and the 4th century BC.

Concerns about maritime trade could be recognised by some distinctive words. Firstly, the verb *emporeuomai* (or *enporeuomai*), which occurs at least 41 times among the tablets from Dodona. The verb is quite always employed at the masculine participle *emporeuomenos*,¹³ indicating the personal involvement of the people seeking advice from the oracle. Within this group, at least 15 examples must be connected to the maritime trade by some conclusive clues. They can be the reference to a maritime destination or the association with other significant words such as *naus* or *pleō*, finally the indication *kata thalassan*,¹⁴ sometimes in the form *kata gān kai kata thalassan*,¹⁵ “on land and see”. Obviously, we can assume that many other inscriptions could refer to shipping trade, even when it is not specified.

Another family of words, which clearly indicates the maritime journey, is linked with boat (*naus*) and sail (*pleo*, *nauklareō*, *nautilloimai*). We find 13 mentions of a boat, at least three times together with the verb *nauklareō* (*ναυκλαρω* or *ναυκληρέω*), probably with the meaning of „navigate“. One inscription quotes a technical name of a commercial ship, the *gaūlos*; the same name is given by Herodotus to some Phœnician ships.¹⁶ As for the verb *nauklareō*, it occurs at least 6 times, at least in three cases in this Dorian form. Another technical word used for the activity of sailing is the verb *nautilloimai*, which occurs at least 5 times, always with the participle, *nautilloimenos*.

Some lead tablets specify the destination of the trade activity; these indications are very useful to give an overview on the maritime space related to the oracular sanctuary. The mention of Korkyra comes in a tablet of the 4th century,¹⁷ which seems to bear a personal question on a commercial travel to the Ionian islands: *lloni* (---ei)-s *Kork(uran---*) *sùn E(---*) (fig. 1). Two others tablets, of the same century, quote Corinth as possible destination. If one is very poorly preserved,¹⁸ the second seems more clearly to put a question from someone named Agēs or Ageus, asking if he should make trade, and receiving an answer that

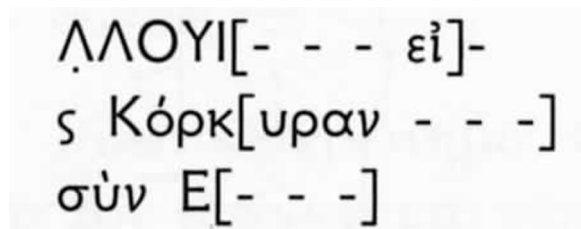


Fig. 1: Inscribed tablet from Dodona, with the mention of Kerkyra.

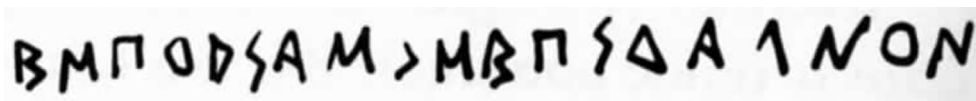


Fig. 2: Inscribed tablet from Dodona, with mention of Epidamnos.

the editors suggest to complete *en Ko(rinthōi)*, in Corinth.¹⁹ Epidamnos appears at least four times, in some texts dating already from the middle of the 6th and throughout the 5th century.²⁰ More precisely, the most ancient tablet of this series, dating around 550–525 BC, with badly legible words, is inscribed in Archaic Corinthian alphabet: *emporias es Epidamnon* (fig. 2).²¹ If we accept the date of the middle of the 6th century,²² we could recognise this example as one of the most ancient inscriptions of the whole corpus of Dodona. Quite the same phrase comes back in two more recent tablets, the first dating from the middle of the 5th century, also written in a Corinthian dialect,²³ the second one, poorly preserved, dating from the 5th or 4th century BC.²⁴ One more tablet, published by E. Lhôte, shows a quite similar sentence, at the plural: *emporouomenoi es Epidamnon*. Another destination of these maritime trades, quoted at least twice within the corpus of Dodona, is the Island of Pharos. At the beginning of the 4th century, a certain Aristodamos asks whether it might be advantageous for him (*ē lōion kai ameion*) to sail to Pharos during the summer (*plēonti (kata thalass)an kai es Pháron tou̅ théreos*).²⁵ Another consultant, Theokleidas, asks if he will be wealthy if sailing toward Pharos (*ē eis Pharon pleusas*).²⁶ In both cases, the grammatical forms of some expressions (*satei* for the Attic *tētes*, „this year“; *onasis* for the Attic *onesis*, „gain, profit“)²⁷ (fig. 3) reveal the Dorian origin of the person who wrote the questions, probably the same consulting the oracle.

The coastal *polis* of Apollonia is another destination, attested at least in a fragmentary tablet, which is also one of the most published within this corpus.²⁸ According to the suggestion

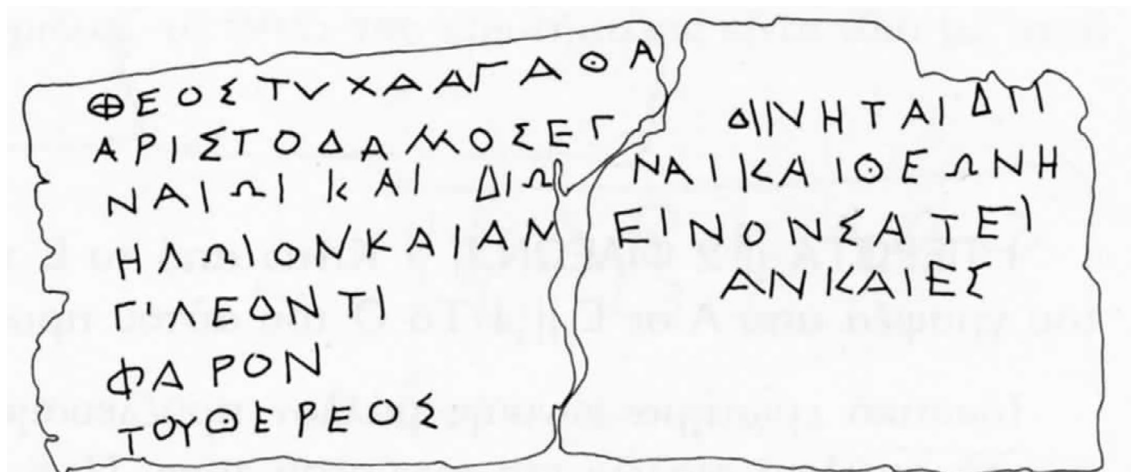


Fig. 3: Inscribed tablet from Dodona, quoting a trade expedition to Pharos.

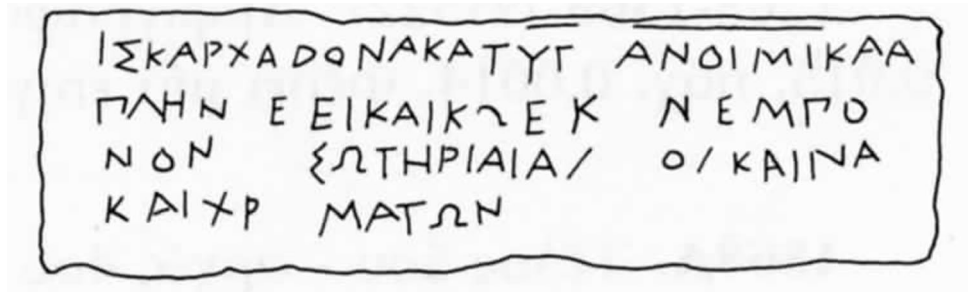


Fig. 4: Inscribed tablet from Dodona, mentioning Karkedon.

of Éric Lhôte, the word *alaston* could be read *ala(i)ston*, and could signify „without meeting pirates“.²⁹ As this locution would be a hapax legomenon, the author remains very cautious about this hypothesis; nevertheless, piracy was one of the most common and dangerous activities in the Ionian-Adriatic space and navigation.³⁰

In addition to these examples, some other writings request the advice of gods for a more distant space. This is the case of some questions referring to expeditions towards to the Liburnian lands,³¹ Sicily,³² Elea³³ and Carthago.³⁴ Particularly, for this last destination, someone asks to the gods if he will succeed to sail to the Punic city, with his boat and his cargo and his goods (*kai na(os) kai chrēmatōn*), (*e)is Karchedon*) (fig. 4). In another example, written in an Ionian dialect, the dedicators ask the opinion of the god for an eventual expedition to the Adriatic Sea among a population, not better identified, of the Tisates.³⁵ Rather than a trip to the *emporium* of Adria in the Po Valley, as proposed by Éric Lhôte,³⁶ I prefer to read here, as also Esther Eidinow suggests,³⁷ the general allusion to the Adriatic trade, and to a population, the Tisates, that still remains to be identified.

To conclude, this overview on the corpus of the inscriptions of Dodona allows us to reach some meaningful conclusions. The first is the coherence of this central-southern Adriatic space, especially in the period between the second half of the 5th and the 4th century BC, when a local production of commercial amphoras (Corinthian B2) is located in Corcyra. We can also mention a significant testimony for the commercial importance of Epidamne, where a magistrate called *poletēs* (from the verb *polein*, to sell) was elected every year to manage the commercial relations with the Illyrians and to preside over a market created outside the city, in order to avoid that a too large number of people of bad kind (*poneroi*) settle in the city to make trade there.³⁸ The Corinthian presence, revealed by scripts and dialects, is significant. To sum up, we could come to the conclusion that this important oracle seems to have had a great reputation for commercial mobility, directed in particular towards the Ionian-Adriatic region (Epidamnos), the Corinthian Gulf, some sites of Sicily and the western Mediterranean, between the 6th and 4th centuries BC. It seems that this ancient and prestigious oracle could have functioned as a place to gather not only advises and help from the deities, but also to obtain some precious information about the most thriving Adriatic emporia.

Notes

* Ecole des Hautes Etudies en Sciences Sociales.

¹ Šašel Kos 2005, 114.

² Peretti 1979, 252–261.

³ Bilić-Dujmusic 2002.

⁴ Čače – Kirigin 1998.

⁵ D'Ercole 2018, with the previous bibliography.

⁶ Kirigin et al. 2010, 85.

⁷ Hammond 1967, 285.

⁸ Lhôte 2006, nos. 99–106 (grand commerce). 185–226.

⁹ Dieterle 2007, 347–355.

¹⁰ Eidinow 2007, 72–124.

¹¹ Lhôte 2006; Dakaris et al. 2013.

¹² The study was indeed published after the passing of the three authors: see the review of Doukellis 2014.

¹³ Dakaris et al. 2013, I 137 no. 430, first half of the 4th century BC.

¹⁴ Dakaris et al. 2013, I 172 no. 580 A, end of the 5th century: *kata thalassan enporeuomenos*.

¹⁵ Dakaris et al. 2013, I 137 no. 430 (=SEG 43 (1993) 104 no. 341), 4th century.

¹⁶ Hdt. 3, 136. 8, 97.

¹⁷ Dakaris et al. 2013, I 422 no. 1768 A, 4th century BC.

¹⁸ Dakaris et al. 2013, I 437 no. 1855 B, 4th century BC: (*en Korin*)*thōi e(mporeuomenos)*.

¹⁹ Dakaris et al. 2013, II 266 no. 3442 A, beginning of the 4th century BC.

²⁰ Dakaris et al. 2013, I 2 no. 3 (=SEG 43 (1993) 103 no. 335), ca. 550–525 BC; Dakaris et al. 2013, II 212 no. 3185, middle of the 5th century; Dakaris et al. 2013, I 422 no. 1770 B, 5th–4th century: (*peri em*)*poría(s) (eis E)pid(amnon) / (---)(.)TŌN(...)*.

²¹ Dakaris et al. 2013, I 2 no. 3 (=SEG 43 (1993) 103 no. 335); Lhôte 2006, 211 f. no. 98.

²² Lhôte 2006, 211 f., dates the tablet around 475 BC; Eidinow 2007, 346, prefers to maintain the high chronology, 6th century BC.

²³ Dakaris et al. 2013, II 212 no. 3185: (*peri empori*)*as es Epida(mnon)*.

²⁴ Dakaris et al. 2013, I 422 no. 1770 B: (*peri em*)*poría(s) / (eis E)pid(amnon) / (---)(.)TŌN(...)*.

²⁵ Dakaris et al. 2013, I 85 no. 228 B, beginning of the 4th century BC.

²⁶ Dakaris et al. 2013, II 177 no. 3030 A, second half of the 5th century BC.

²⁷ *Satei*: Dakaris et al. 2013, I 85 no. 228 B; *krematōn onasis*: Dakaris et al. 2013, II 177 no. 3030 A.

²⁸ Dakaris et al. 2013, I 122 no. 366 A, middle of the 4th century BC; SEG 43 (1993) 102 no. 333 (right part of a lead tablet, ca. 300–275): (*es?*) *Apollonian pleúsas ei alastōn tē (...e ontōn punthanoito*. Lhôte 2006, 208–210 no. 97, suggests a different reading, as we shall see below.

²⁹ Lhôte 2006, 209 f.

³⁰ On the Adriatic piracy: Braccesi 2004.

³¹ Dakaris et al. 2013, II 324 no. 3742 B, 4th century: *ei esi Libu(---p)len*.

³² Eidinow 2007, 77 no. 9 (dated around 375); Dakaris et al. 2013, II no. 4154 B (end of the 5th or beginning

of the 4th century), where Archō(n)idas asks if he could make a right choice sailing toward Sicily (*póteron pléō es Sik(elían)*). We might wonder if this person could be the Archonidas known by another tablet.

³³ Dakaris et al. 2013, II 33 no. 2363 B, beginning of the 4th century: *Elaie (---) pleō*.

³⁴ Dakaris et al. 2013, II 337 no.1363 A, middle of the 4th century.

³⁵ Lhôte 2006, 214–216 no. 100.

³⁶ Lhôte 2006, 216.

³⁷ Eidinow 2007, 79 no. 19.

³⁸ Plut. qu. Gr. 29. On this charge, see Cabanes 2001, 53 f.

Image Credits

Fig. 1: after Dakaris et al. 2013. – Fig. 2: after Dakaris et al. 2013, I. – Fig. 3: after Dakaris et al. 2013, I. – Fig. 4: after Dakaris et al. 2013, II.

References

Bilić-Dujmusic 2002

S. Bilić-Dujmusic, The Archaeological Excavations on Cape Ploca (Promontorium Diomedis), in: N. Cambi – S. Cace – B. Kirigin (eds.), Greek Influence along the East Adriatic Coast, Biblioteca Knjiga Mediterana 26 (Split 2002) 485–497.

Braccesi 2004

L. Braccesi (ed.), La pirateria nell'Adriatico antico, Hesperia. Studi sulla grecità d'Occidente 19 (Rome 2004).

Cabanes 2001

P. Cabanes (ed.), Histoire de l'Adriatique (Paris 2001).

Čače – Kirigin 1998

S. Čače – B. Kirigin, Archaeological Evidence for the Cult of Diomedes in the Adriatic, in: L. Braccesi (ed.), Hesperia. Studi sulla grecità d'Occidente 9 (Rome 1998) 63–110.

D'Ercole 2018

M. C. D'Ercole, Isole, promontori e oracoli. Circolazione marittima e culti nel basso Adriatico (VI sec. a. C. – II sec. a. C.), in: G. De Benedittis (ed.), Realtà medioadriatiche a confronto. Contatti e scambi tra le due sponde. Atti del Convegno Termoli 2016 (Campobasso 2018) 11–22.

Dakaris et al. 2013

S. Dakaris – J. Vokotopoulou – A.-P. Christidis, Τα χρηστηρια ελάσματα της Δωδώνης των ανασκαφών Δ. Ευαγγελίδη (Les lamelles oraculaires de Dodone. Fouilles de D. Evangelididis), Bibliothèque de la Société archéologique d'Athènes 285 f. (Athens 2013), vol. I and II.

Dieterle 2007

M. Dieterle, Dodona. Religionsgeschichtliche und historische Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung des Zeus-Heiligtums (Hildesheim 2007).

Doukellis 2014

P. N. Doukellis, review on Dakaris et al. 2013, *DialHistAnc* 40, 2, 2014, 285 f.

Eidinow 2007

E. Eidinow, *Oracles, Curses and Risk among the Ancient Greeks* (Oxford 2007).

Hammond 1967

N. G. L. Hammond, *Epirus. The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and the Topography of Epirus and Adjacent Areas* (Oxford 1967).

Kirigin et al. 2010

B. Kirigin – M. Mise – V. Barbaric, Palagruža. The Island of Diomedes. Summary excavations report 2002–2008, in: E. Govi (ed.), *Dal Mediterraneo all'Europa. Conversazioni adriatiche*, *Hesperia. Studi sulla grecità di Occidente* 25 (Rome 2010) 65–91.

Lhôte 2006

E. Lhôte, *Les lamelles oraculaires de Dodone* (Geneva 2006).

Peretti 1979

A. Peretti, *Il Periplo di Scilace. Studio sul primo portolano del Mediterraneo* (Pisa 1979).

Šašel Kos 2005

M. Šašel Kos, *Appian and the Illyricum* (Ljubljana 2005).

Sacred places, territorial economy and cultural identity in northern Epirus (Chaonia)

Nadia Aleotti – Anna Gamberini – Lorenzo Mancini*

Until the late Classical period, Chaonia, the northernmost part of Epirus corresponding to nowadays southern Albania, is clearly differentiated in two cultural units: the coastal areas that borders with Thesprotia, falling from the end of the 7th century BC into the *peiraia* of Corcyra, and the ‘indigenous’ districts of the interior (fig. 1). If the belonging of the Chaonians to Greek culture and ethnicity could hardly be denied by present scholarship, the literary sources of Classical times regarded them as barbarians.¹ This ‘peripheral’ connotation, even if depending on a sort of cultural and geographical prejudice, seems to find a parallel in the archaeological record concerning the sacred landscape.²

Earliest attestations of worship come from Butrint, part of the Archaic Corcyrean *peiraia*, where an inscribed potsherd found in a votive deposit in 1938 points to the existence of a cult of Athena as early as the 6th century BC, possibly related to a monumental temple, located, according to a recent hypothesis, on the acropolis hill.³ Apart from this early case, the development of a full-fledged religious architecture among the native tribes can be traced as far back as the 4th century BC, occurring in most cases only in the Hellenistic age. It is the period when new fortified centres, featuring in some instances a real urban layout and a Hellenistic-like monumental equipment, make their appearance beside the traditional network of *komai*.

The new centralised settlement pattern, with main centre-*poleis* (Phoinike and Antigonea) and their gravitating system of minor settlements bordering territories well defined also from a geomorphologic point of view, even if not unknown to the other Epirote ethne, seems to have been particularly familiar with the Chaonians,⁴ conditioning the spatial distribution of the cults as well. In the light of this pattern, the fact that most of the evidences related to cult activity are found inside the few urban centres that emerged in the Hellenistic period, even if largely influenced by the lack of extensive archaeological surveys over the territory, may suggest a certain attractive power of the cities over religious manifestations.⁵

What is more remarkable with Chaonian sacred landscape, indeed, is the fact that divinities and ritual forms having elsewhere a mainly non-urban or suburban character seem to have played a central role, in the Chaonian cities, also with regards to social and political life. It is the case with the cult of Poseidon, a chiefly mountain and continental god in Epirus and southern Illyria, who is attested in Antigonea and presides in Phoinike over manumissions,⁶ as well as with the rites of passage generally performed in the name of Artemis: to this religious sphere we must refer four fragmentary terracotta protomes found in 2012 in a votive deposit on the hill of Phoinike, close to the alleged agora of the middle Hellenistic city to whose installation, very possibly, the deposition of these materials is directly linked.⁷ Finally, one would be tempted to relate the location of the few non-urban shrines known so far in the region along the natural boundaries and close to the access to



Fig. 1: Geographical localisation of Chaonia and Butrint.

territories controlled by the cities, to the supposed urban-like attitude of the Chaonians in the late 3rd to 2nd century BC.⁸ Nevertheless, the lacking of data concerning the cult places of northern Epirus makes it difficult to recognize, in the wider frame of Epirote ethnic identity, specific Chaonian habits parallel to those, which emerge more vividly in the case of other Epirote ethne.⁹

If the majority of the evidences consists in isolated inscriptions, architectural fragments, and votive materials lacking a stratigraphic context, the recent reinterpretation of the supposed in-antis temple in the agora of Phoinike as part of a larger building without clear religious function, possibly a stoa, has deprived the major city of Chaonia of a cult place belonging to its Hellenistic phase.¹⁰ After this reassessment, the sanctuary of Asklepios at Butrint stands out even more clearly as the sole Chaonian shrine whose material, spatial, and cultic features are sufficiently known for both its Hellenistic and Roman stages.

In the complex at the southern slope of the acropolis hill, investigated by Luigi Maria Ugolini between 1929 and 1935, scholars have recently recognised the typical architectural components of this kind of sanctuaries, that in the whole Mediterranean

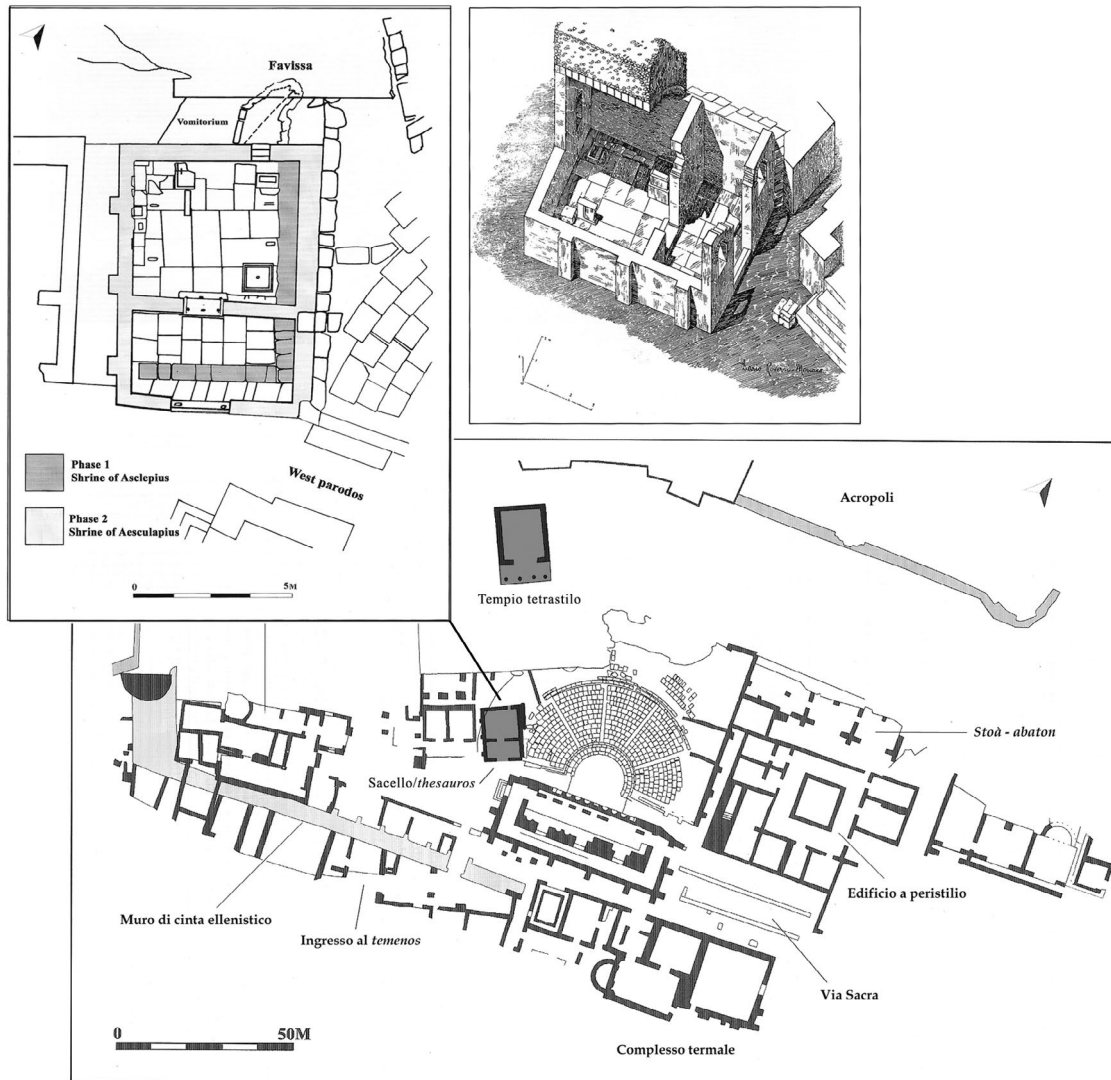


Fig. 2: The sanctuary of Asklepios and the sacellum and its favissa.

area show recurring arrangements strictly determined by the Epidaurian ritual:¹¹ a prostyle temple on a terrace dominating the sanctuary, whose dedication to Asklepios is confirmed by a mosaic emblema depicting a coiled snake;¹² a theatre used for sacred performances and manumissions; a smaller temple-like building to the west (the so called 'Sacello ad Esculapio', radically rebuilt in the Imperial period), which at least at one moment of its life may have performed the function of deposit for votive offerings and the most sacred ritual objects; a stoa to the east, in connection with the spring of the healing water, interpreted as the *enkoimeterion*, in which the incubation ritual was performed; other buildings with auxiliary functions (fig. 2).

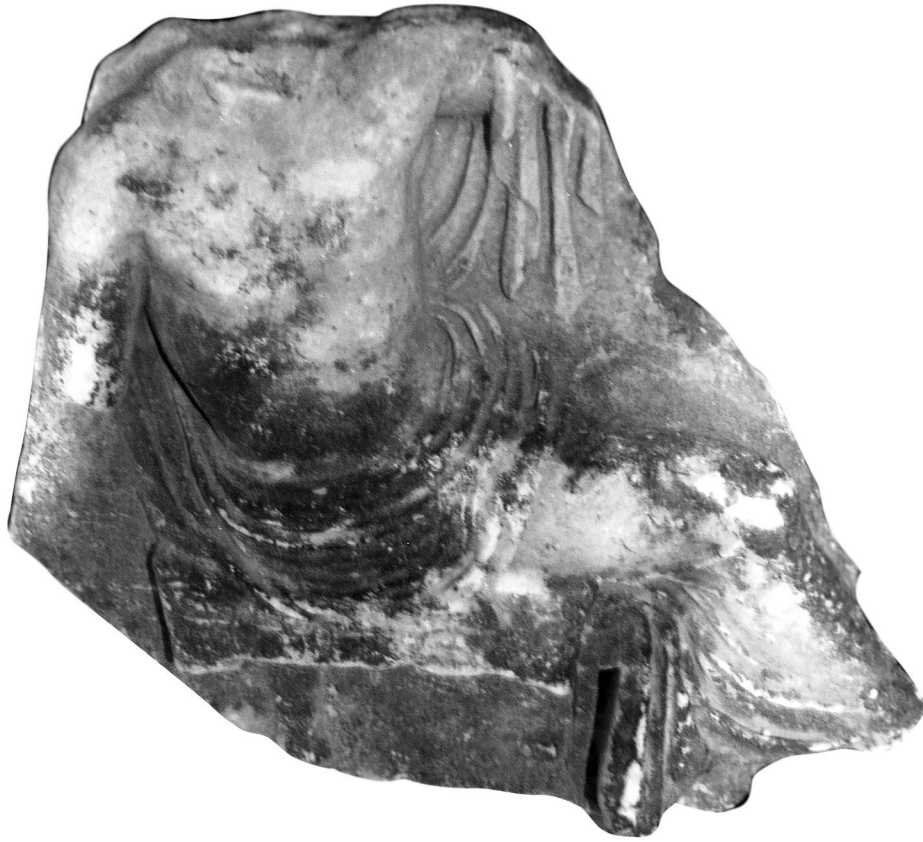


Fig. 3: Votive relief found by Domenico Mustilli behind the scene of the theatre.

The main issue with this sanctuary is that of the implantation of the healing cult and its earliest building stages.¹³ As regards the latter, the sole reliable chronological anchorage is provided by the dedicatory inscription of the theatre, most likely subsequent to the fall of monarchy in Epirus (232 BC) but antedating the establishment of the autonomous *koinon* of the Prasaiboi around 163 BC, having in the Asklepieion its political and self-identity centre.¹⁴ The construction of the theatre, on its turn, offers a *terminus ante quem* for the stoa-*enkoimeterion* and the small shrine on its sides, while for the upper temple a subsequent dating, related to the increasing prosperity of the sanctuary attested by the theatre dedication, remains equally possible.¹⁵ In the absence of stratigraphic data, in archaeological literature the dating of this early stage to the very beginning of the 3rd century BC, if not to the end of the 4th, has relied only on the alleged chronology of some movable finds on the one hand, and on the assumption that the healing cult was introduced from Corcyra, after the emancipation of Butrint from its political sphere but still under its influence, on the other.¹⁶ As far as the movable finds are concerned, for the votive relief found by Domenico Mustilli behind the scene of the theatre, depicting a seated deity – probably Asklepios (fig. 3) – and

traditionally considered late Classical or high Hellenistic, a dating to the Augustan period can be rather proposed on the basis of its stylistic features.¹⁷ (L.M.)

The favissa: vessels

In the rear of the small shrine above mentioned, Luigi Ugolini found a rock-cut compartment closed by stone slabs containing a votive deposit interpreted as a favissa (fig. 2).¹⁸

As already suggested by the Italian Archaeologist, this votive deposit is composed by more than 300 objects of different periods that were originally displayed or conserved in the shrine-thesaurus or in other parts of the sanctuary, and then put together in the favissa in order to make space for new objects or in correspondence of architectural remakes of the sanctuary.

Giving the fact that these materials are not anymore available, Luigi Ugolini's publication is the only way for us to know the artefacts found in the favissa. Because inscriptions have been recently re-edited by Pierre Cabanes¹⁹ and the numismatic data have not been published,²⁰ we will focus on vessels and other ritual objects.

Because of the abovementioned importance of the dating of this pottery, we will start from their chronological study.

Among Hellenistic pottery, the drinking vessels are represented mostly by kantharoi and secondly by bowls. These latter, six in total, are all to be referred to the 2nd century BC: they comprehend a hemispheric sample with head-figured appliqué supports (fig. 4, 1)²¹ and five 'Megarian bowls' (fig. 4, 2–5).²² Regarding kantharoi, the most peculiar is the one defined by Luigi Ugolini as "vaso di Nikadas"²³ (fig. 4, 6) because of the graffito in its neck referring to the dedicant, Nikadas (repeated two times), son of Nikaios (ΝΙΚΑΔΑΣ ΝΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΔΑΣ). The dating proposed by the archaeologist (the 1st century BC) is not appropriated, being its shape certainly to be related to that of the thorn kantharoi, a very peculiar type unknown in the region, dating from last decades of the 3rd century BC but mostly in 2nd century BC.²⁴ It is interesting to notice that, in Butrint, the name Nikadas occurs in eight manumission documents dated from 163 BC, dating confirmed by other occurrences in Epirus.²⁵ The other kantharoi, 19 in total, have all a black glaze and are not so different one from each other in shape, having generally a high foot, simple handles and a body wider in its lower part (fig. 4, 7–12).²⁶ It is clearly to be related to the ritual, which included the offering of food to god (see *infra*), the prevalence of plates and paterae, more than 130. These latter, that differ from plates for their small diameter (10–13 cm), are all in plain ware and red fabric, and are fundamentally of two types: one with simple rim and one, very peculiar and dated to the 2nd century BC, with wavy rim (fig. 4, 13).²⁷ Among plates, 20 (both in plain ware and with black glaze) are certainly referable to the Hellenistic age:²⁸ they comprehend, on the basis of the descriptions, at least 5 plates Morel 1440, (possibly 1443) produced in 2nd–1st Century BC (fig. 4, 14).²⁹ To the same period pertain the fusiform unguentaria (more than 20,



Fig. 4: Hellenistic pottery found in the favissa. Hemispheric cup (1); 'megarian bowls' (2-5); thorn kantharos (6); other kantharoi (7-12); patera with wavy rim (13); Plate Morel 1440 (14). Photos are not in scale.

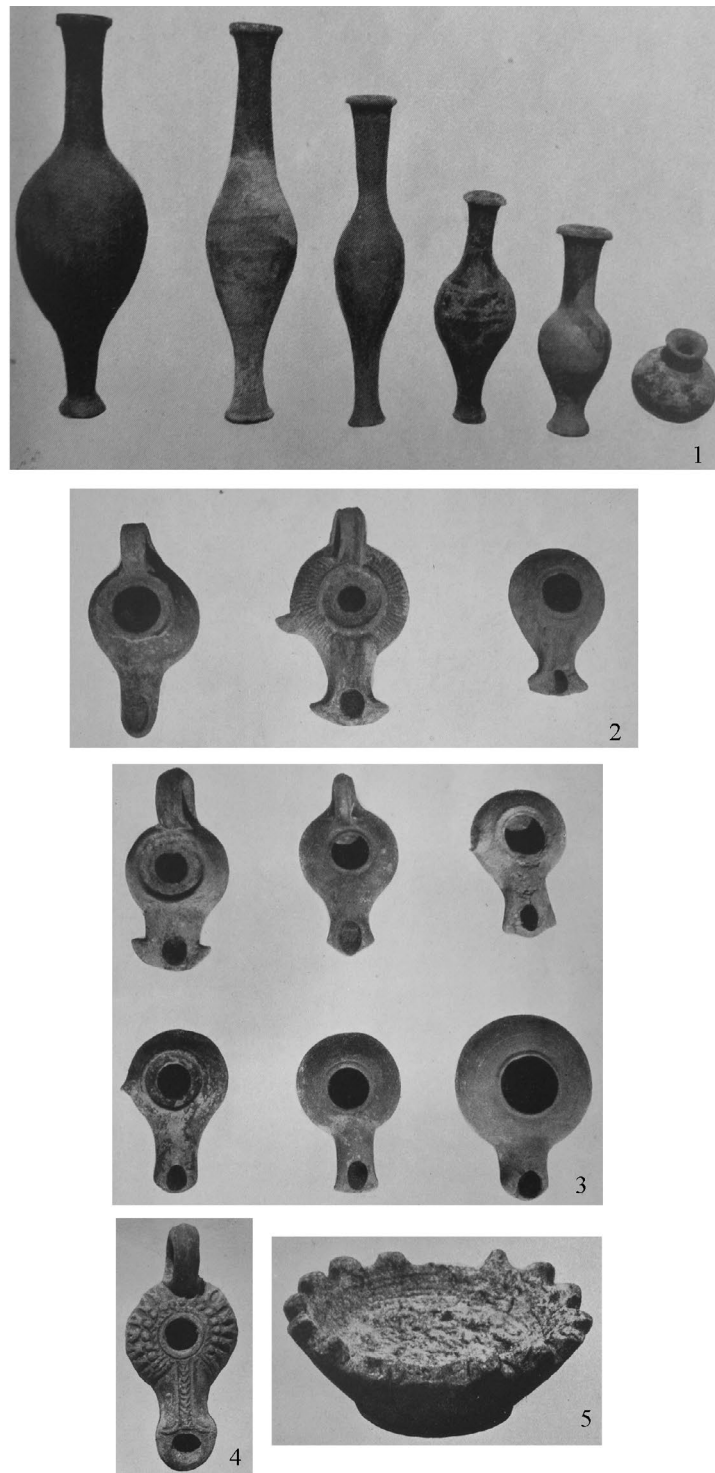


Fig. 5: Hellenistic pottery found in the favissa. Unguentaria (1); lamps (2-4); marble small cup (5).

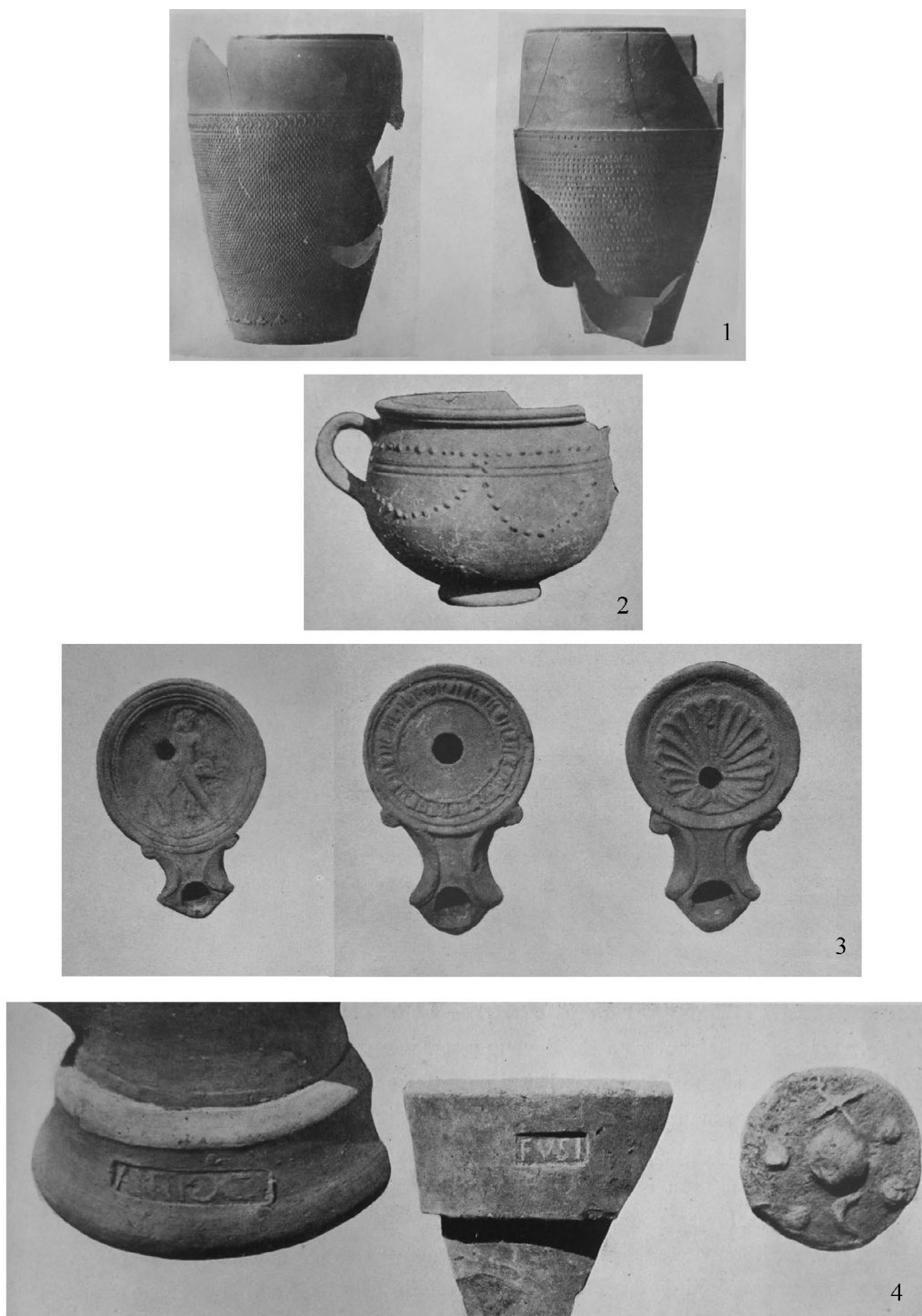


Fig. 6: Roman Pottery found in the favissa. Aco beakers (1), Thin walled cup (2), Lamps (3); Amphoras Dressel 6A, with stamps (4).

all glazed) and the lamps (about 50, glazed, a few of whom with relief decoration). It is probably identifiable with a lamp also a small marble cup with jagged rim (fig. 5).³⁰

Materials referring to the Augustan and Imperial age, less numerous, date the closing of the deposit to the 1st century AD (fig. 6): they are at least one plate in Terra Sigillata Italica,³¹ two Aco beakers, one thin walled cup, three lamps with vaulted nozzle and two fragments of Dressel 6A amphoras.³²

On the basis of these considerations, we can state that these materials cover a timeframe of about three centuries, starting from the 2nd century BC, up to the 1st century AD, when the favissa was filled and closed, possibly in connection with one rebuild of the shrine.

Besides the chronology of these materials – to read together with that of the other artefacts from the favissa, as the Asklepios relief (*supra*) and the votive objects (*infra*) – their study is important also to understand the role that the sanctuary had in Chaonia.³³ First of all, the great cultural vivacity of Butrint depends evidently on both the presence in the site of the sanctuary and on its geographical position: this cultural opening is present but less evident in Phonike, significantly located inland. Moreover a few vases attested in the favissa and certainly of foreign provenance (like the thorn kantharos, the hemispheric cup with appliqué relief supports) are not known in Chaonia, in Butrint or in other Chaonian centres. Regarding other ceramic types like the ‘ear shaped kantharoi’, they are similar – but not identical³⁴ – to the many samples known in the region, suggesting the existence of a ceramic production dedicated to cult.³⁵ On the same direction goes the fact that wavy rim paterae, the best represented vases of the context, do not find parallels in the region and are generically similar only to vases from Phonike clearly connected with a ritual function both for shape and associated materials.³⁶ (A.G.)

The favissa: ritual objects

The objects strictly connected to the rite found in the favissa can be referred to three main categories: thymiateria (15), arulae (at least 3) and paterae-kernoi (at least 3).

Ugolini describes fourteen “Porta offerte”³⁷ (fig. 7, 1), actually thymiateria, belonging to a widely spread Hellenistic type,³⁸ derived from stone altars and then identified as the bomiskoi mentioned in the sanctuary inventories.³⁹ However, Butrint thymiateria are distinguished from comparisons found for being in plain ware. Even if we do not know other thymiateria from Chaonia, this feature may perhaps be referred to a late Hellenistic local production.⁴⁰

A second type of thymiaterion is attested by only one specimen, more elaborated, defined by Ugolini “high cup”⁴¹ (fig. 7, 2). Due to the two pairs of hanging handles, he already correctly suggested that this type originated from the imitation of metal objects, as confirmed by following studies on this type of thymiaterion.⁴² Regarding its chronology, parallels have been found in Taranto (bronze sample dated to the 3rd century BC) and in Athens: this latter, in clay and more similar, pertain to the late Hellenistic age.⁴³

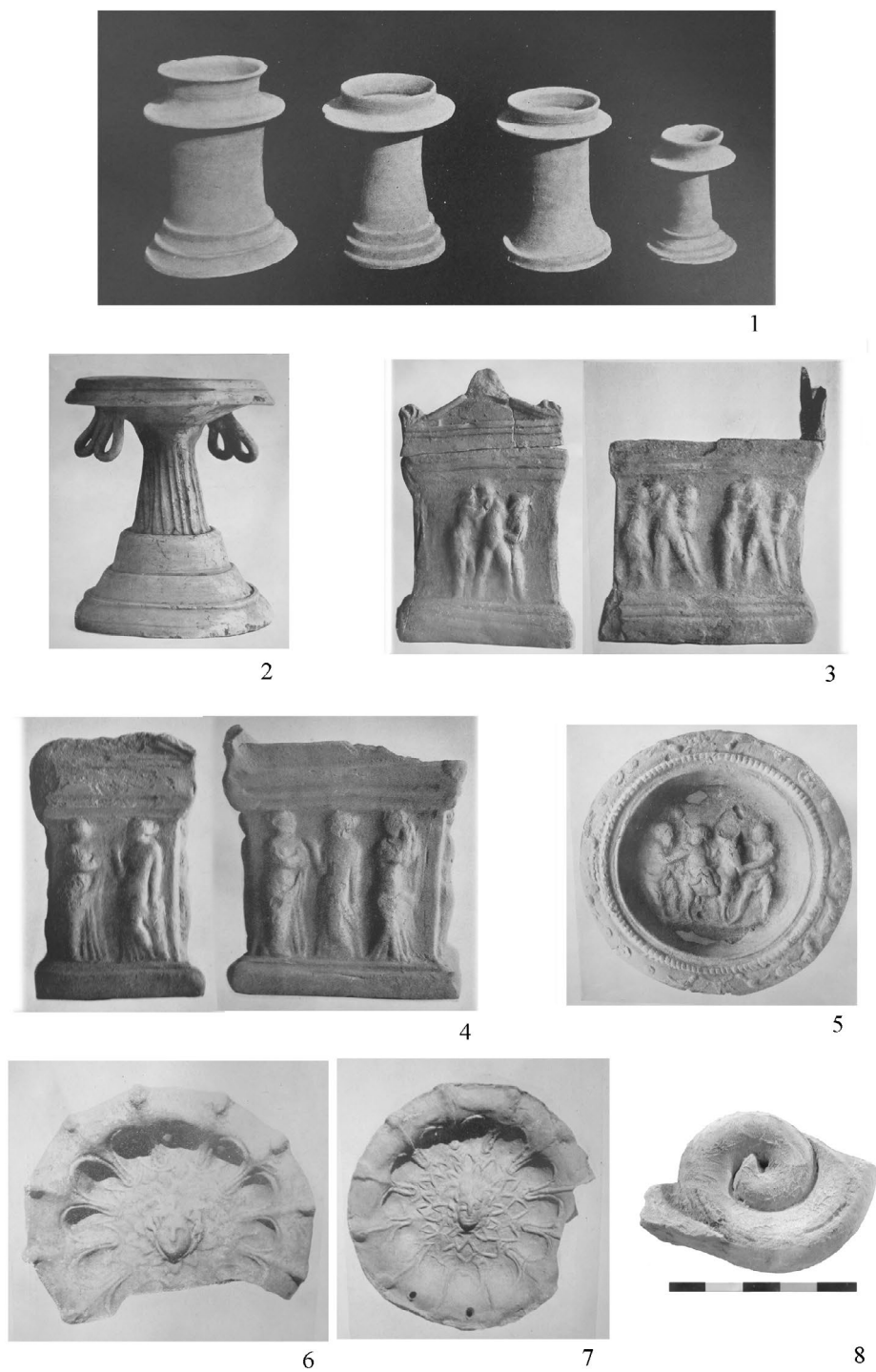


Fig. 7: Ritual objects found in the favissa. Thymiateria (1-2), Arulae (3-4), clay disc/patera (5), Paterae-Kernoi (6-7). Clay snake-shaped cake (8).

Ugolini also reports the description of at least three „bruciaprofumi“, or „piccole are in terracotta“:⁴⁴ small rectangular altars in terracotta, with moulded base and small pediment with acroteria preserved only in one specimen, and decorated by moulded figured scenes (fig. 7, 3–4). The function as an incense burner has been rightly hypothesised by Ugolini for the presence of a hole on one of the long sides to feed the fire, and the residues of burned resinous substances on their upper surfaces.

These small altars can be referred to the so-called ‘Tarentine’ type, although the origin of the type must be placed in Greece, probably in Athens at least from the middle 3rd century BC. It is characterised by these morphological features and specific iconographic set also attested in the contemporary productions of moulded bowls: Dionysian trio, Poseidon and Amimone, Apollo and Leto, woman who crowns a trophy.⁴⁵ One arula from Butrint shows the typical Dionysian scene repeated on both short sides and twice on one of the long ones (the fourth is plain): Dionysus (slightly bigger than the other figures), with his head turned towards a female figure on his right (Arianna or a menade), supported by a satyr on his left (fig. 7, 3).⁴⁶ Also in the second published arula we find repeated scenes that on the contrary do not seem to be attested either on other ‘Tarantine’ arulae, nor on the contemporary moulded bowls: two female figures, in profile, facing one another, associated in the long sides with a third female figure (fig. 7, 4).⁴⁷ For both arulae, the reworking of the standard decorative patterns that normally occur on these arulae, the isolation of a (Dionysian) scene normally associated with other specific iconographies, the presence of an ‘unedited’ representation compared to the standard ones, the absence of decorations to frame the scenes and the quality of the reliefs, seem to exclude a provenance from important production centres such as Taranto or Athens, but rather seem to suggest the local reworking of the ‘Tarentine’ model.

Passing to the roles of these object in the rites, the incense burned in thymiateria, in the cult of Asklepios was used both to accompany offers and libations⁴⁸ and as medical material with drying and cauterising properties, healer and purifier, as well as being associated to others offers closely related to the Chthonian sphere, such as oil and honey, which in the healing curative practices that allowed the passage from illness to healing, from darkness to light, had to have an important role.⁴⁹ In the inventories of the Asklepieion in Athens, the dedication of both incense and thymiateria are attested;⁵⁰ inscriptions from Epidaurus and from Pergamon mention thymiateria both among the offers that precede the incubation, and during the rites for the healing of the patient, and a relief of the in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul (Roman imitation of a model of the 5th century BC) shows a thymiaterion wrapped by a snake in the presence of Asklepios and Igea.⁵¹ It is not surprising, therefore, that the favissa in the Butrint Asklepieion has returned several thymiateria, as well as some arulae.

Another ritual vessel well attested in the favissa is the patera-kernos (fig. 7, 6–7), reported by Ugolini in many fragments and published in two specimens, with Gorgoneion-omphalos and surrounded by twelve ovoid depressions and that can have suspension holes. Similar paterae, beyond being depicted on figured vases for offer eggs, seems strictly connected to

the cult of Asklepios and his sacred snakes, being reproduced in the metopes of the Tholos of the Sanctuary of Epidauro, connected indeed to the offering of eggs to the sacred snakes.⁵² Then, they could be used as kernos for the offerings of eggs for the sacred snakes of the god and it is interesting that in the favissa some egg shells have been found,⁵³ that can then confirm this practice.

Finally regarding the figurative clay disc/patera with a Dionysian scene (Diam. 13,2 cm), called “oscillum” by Ugolini, because of the suspension hole “sotto il caprone”⁵⁴ (fig. 7, 5), its connection to the cult of Asklepios remains enigmatic.

Even if it does not come from the favissa, it is certainly to be linked to these ritual objects a fragment of a snake-shaped clay cake from a Hellenistic context of the excavations of the Butrint Roman forum (fig. 7, 8). It finds precise comparisons among offerings from the Asklepieion of Agrigento.⁵⁵ Beyond their symbolic meaning as representation of the animal sacred to Asclepius, these votive objects are closely connected to the offer of food and specifically of bread/cakes, attested by epigraphic and literary sources for different deities, but in particular for Asclepius and the circle of animals, characters and deities connected to him.⁵⁶ The offer of cakes was part of the preliminary rituals of incubation, as well as accompanying the consecration of the *ex voto* after the healing.⁵⁷

The study of these ritual objects found in the favissa, then, clearly displays the features of the worship of Asklepios in Butrint. As already been proved for the architectural development of the sanctuary and the functions of its buildings, also all the objects related to the worship clearly displays the full adherence to the Epidauros model, for both the structure and parts of the ritual and the set of symbolic references, being perfectly comparable to the most important sanctuaries of Asklepios in all the Mediterranean Sea. (N.A.)

Conclusion

In conclusion, the reassessment of the finds from the favissa in Butrint’s Asklepieion has showed the cultural vitality of the sanctuary in term of both material culture and features of the worship and it has given a new coherent dating of the Hellenistic phases of the deposit to the 2nd century BC. The new dating proposed does not necessarily imply, however, a new dating of the arrival of Asklepios in Butrint nor dates the beginning of the worship at the same time. It simply do not more allow to link these materials to the earliest stages of the worship, whose chronology needs to be better investigated together with a new reading of the sequence of building phases of the complex sacellum-temple-theatre, in order to better understand this problematic. Only further researches on both the diffusion of the cult in the region and the investigations of the early Hellenistic phases in Butrint will be able to clarify these early phases of both worship and sanctuary. (L.M., A.G., N.A.)

Notes

* Nadia Aleotti (Università di Pavia – Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici), Anna Gamberini (Università di Bologna – Dipartimento di Beni Culturali), Lorenzo Mancini (Ministerio dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Taranto, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale).

¹ Thuk. 1, 5, 3.

² Mancini 2013 and in press. For Chaonia: De Maria – Mancini in press.

³ Hernandez 2017.

⁴ Cabanes 2007, 228.

⁵ De Maria – Mancini in press.

⁶ Cabanes – Drini 2016, 40–43 no. 8. 64 f. no. 66. Cf. Quantin 2004.

⁷ Mancini 2015; De Maria – Mancini in press, 230–235.

⁸ For the sanctuaries at Dobra (Vagalat) and Mesopotam see De Maria – Mancini in press, 237–241.

⁹ This is the case of Thesprotians: Mancini 2017.

¹⁰ De Maria – Mancini in press, 228 f.

¹¹ Melfi 2007; Mancini 2013, 79–81. 88–90 with references.

¹² Raynaud – Islami 2018, 24–34. 213–218.

¹³ De Maria – Mancini in press, 221–228.

¹⁴ Cabanes – Drini 2007, 71 f. no. 7.

¹⁵ Mancini 2013, 89 f.

¹⁶ Melfi 2012, 24 f.

¹⁷ De Maria – Mancini in press, 223–225 fig. 8.

¹⁸ Ugolini 1942, 98 f.

¹⁹ Cabanes – Drini 2007, 176 f. nos. 177 f.

²⁰ In fact, the “many bronze coins” mentioned by Luigi Ugolini (Ugolini 1942, 146) are not then described in the chapter dedicated to numismatic discoveries (Ibid., 233–235).

²¹ The supports have the form of heads of a Silen, a Satyrus and a comedian masque (Ugolini 1942, 132 no. 9. pl. XIX). Similar samples are attested in the area of the Isthmus of Corinth, in the 2nd Century BC: in Corinth they have similar figured feet and relief decoration on the body (Edwards 1975, 171 nos. 873–897. pl. 38. 76); at Isthmia they present not figured or shell feet (Anderson – Stojanović 1993, 290 – 294 nos. 89. 124. 126. figs. 15. 20).

²² Ugolini 1942, 133 f. nos. 10 (floral b.), 11 (figured b.), 12 (imbricate b.), 14 (floral b.), 15 (long petal b., not in figure). pl. XX.

²³ Ugolini 1942, 131.

²⁴ For the distribution of this type see De Mitri 2016, 30 f. fig. 8; For findings in Corinth: Bald Romano 1994, 70 no. 25 (with previous bibliography); Samples from Peloponnese: Dekoulakou 2011; Danale 2011, pl. 47.

²⁵ Fraser – Matthews 1997, 315 with bibliography and distribution.

²⁶ Ugolini 1942, nos. 218–236, “olle” and “ollette”.

²⁷ Ugolini 1942, 134 f. nos. 20–156. fig. 136.

²⁸ Ugolini 1942, 136 f. nos 157–177. fig. 137.

²⁹ Morel 1981, 113–115. The plates of this series were generally produced in the Italian Peninsula. However they are present in the chaonian production too (Gamberini 2016, 95 nos. 199–201).

³⁰ Ugolini 1942, 142–146 nos. 237–260 (unguentaria). nos. 261–267. nos. 271–314 (lamps and marble cup).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 138 fig. 137. Defined “aretino”, is possibly tiberian for the presence of a stamp in planta pedis. To this plate may be related other 20 samples defined as its imitation among whom a few samples may be rather referred to ESB plates (*Ibid.*, no. 187, “bacinella”, possibly a plate Atlante 62A, of end of 1st-beginning of 2nd century AD).

³² *Ibid.*, 127. 132 nos. 6 f. 141 no. 236. 143 nos. 268–270.

³³ The best known Hellenistic contexts in the region are those from the Butrint Roman Forum Excavations (RFE) Project, directed by D. R. Hernandez (see <<https://butrint.nd.edu>> [01.05.2019], Aleotti in press a and Aleotti in press b) and those from Phoinike, at present directed by Giuseppe Lepore and Shpresa Gjongecaj (see Gamberini 2016 and Gamberini in press).

³⁴ Gamberini 2016, 58–62.

³⁵ This phenomenon is well documented in other sites. For south Italy see Di Giuseppe 2012.

³⁶ The only two samples found in Phoinike, both in black glazed pottery, are characterized by central omphalos, were associated with the votive terracottas found in the acropolis of the city (*supra* and Gamberini 2016, 89 f.). Moreover, similar vases have been used in a tomb found in Kephalochoiri (Thesprotia) as lids for ash containers: Riginos 1997, figs. 75. 79.

³⁷ Ugolini 1942, 138. H. from 12 to 22 cm.

³⁸ Type N, variant 2, C. Zaccagnino typology, Zaccagnino 1998, 107. 215. 182. Deonna 1938, pl. CV. 929–936 for Delos; Schafer 1968, pl. 49. F44 for Pergamon; Davidson 1942, 124 f. fig. 13. no. 63 for Corinth; Rotroff 2006, 211 f. pl. 86. 1437–1442 for Athens, where the shapes with more molded base are dated from the late 3rd century BC.

³⁹ Zaccagnino 1998, 47. 76 f. For the origin from stone altars see also Deonna 1938, 380–383.

⁴⁰ The same technical evolution from early to late Hellenistic period is attested among regional fine wares in Phoinike, see Gamberini 2016, 42 f.

⁴¹ Ugolini 1942, 132. h. 18 cm.

⁴² Zaccagnino 1998, 78 f. 215. Type Q, variant 2.

⁴³ For Taranto see Willeumier 1939, 359; for Athens Rotroff 1997, 211 f. figs. 86. 1443.

⁴⁴ Ugolini 1942, 129–131. H. ca. 10 cm, width about 15 × 4–5 × 6–9.

⁴⁵ For the spread in all the Hellenistic Mediterranean Sea, see Williams 1979, 136–138. Rotroff 1982, 20; Thompson 1962, 260 with related bibliography, also about the supposed origin in Taranto between 4th and 3rd century BC.

⁴⁶ Arulae with same Dionysian scene from Athens: Rotroff 1982, 20; Thompson 1962, 259 fig. 2. pl. 91, with related bibliography; from Delos see Deonna 1938, 386 no. 451. Taranto: Willeumier 1939, 432–436. pl. XLI no. 3; Black Sea: Finoguenova 1991; For a recent attestation in northern Peloponneso (Lousoi): Mitsopoulos-Leon 2017, 149 cat. 270.

⁴⁷ Ugolini 1942, 131.

⁴⁸ Ehrenheim 2015, 75 also reports that in the cult of Asclepius the libations and the incantations could have been particularly important given the frequency of the offering requests (pre and post incubation), repeated daily for many worshippers, in place of the most complex animal sacrifices. Even in this second

case, however, the incense would have been fundamental “per attuire l’odore pungente sprigionato dal sangue e dalle carni” (Cali 2009, 173 n. 56).

⁴⁹ Zaccagnino 1998, 57.

⁵⁰ IG II/III, 1, 1429, 28–31 and IG II/III, 2, 1532, 22.

⁵¹ Zaccagnino 1998, 56 f.; Cali 2009, 173 n. 56; Ehrenheim 2015, 74 f.

⁵² For the relationship between this paterae-kernos, eggs and Asclepius and their importance for the comprehension of the Tholos of Epidaurus see Riethmuller 2005, 322–324 and Riethmuller 1996.

⁵³ Ugolini 1942, 146 no. 315.

⁵⁴ Ugolini 1942, 129.

⁵⁵ De Miro 2003, 68. 102 nos. 38–40. pl. LXII nos. 1a–1b. Where it is suggested that the snake-cake would be allusive to the sacred bread placed in the snake’s den, then passed into the symbolic offering of a coin in the thesaurus.

⁵⁶ Cali 2009, 173 no. 55. On the offerings of cake in Greek sanctuaries, the testimonies on their prescriptions in different rituals and their meaning see Kearns 1994; Patera 2015; Kearns 2011.

⁵⁷ Edelstein-Edelstein 1988, 187; Ehrenheim 2015, 56–62; Kearns 1994, 68; Kearns 2011, 98 with related bibliography. An inscription from the Asklepieion of Kos (IG XII, 4, 1, 285, late 4th century BC), prescribes not to throw cakes (and other objects) in the spring dedicated to the worship of nymphs inside the sanctuary (as evidence of the practice of „consecrating“ the water of the sanctuaries by throwing offers and votive objects). See Interdonato 2013, 112.

Image Credits

Fig. 1: Screenshot from Mapped (ver. 2.1). Re-elaboration by the authors. – Fig. 2: Mancini 2013 (lower picture) and Melfi 2007 (upper pictures). – Fig. 3: Mancini in press. – Fig. 4–6: Ugolini 1942. – Fig. 7: Ugolini 1942 (7,1–7,7); from Butrint Roman Forum excavations project 2011–2014, photo by N. Aleotti (7,8).

References

Aleotti in press a

N. Aleotti, Continuità e trasformazioni a Butrinto fra II e I sec. a. C. La ceramica ellenistica, in Roma ed il mondo adriatico. Dalla ricerca archeologica alla pianificazione del territorio. Atti 19–20 Maggio 2017 (in press).

Aleotti in press b

N. Aleotti, Hellenistic pottery from Butrint (Albania). New data from Butrint Roman Forum Excavations (RFE) Project, in: I. Kamenjarin – M. Ugarkovic (eds.), Exploring the neighbourhood. The role of Ceramics in understanding place in the Hellenistic World. 3rd IARPotHP Conference Kastela 1–4 June 2017 (in press).

Anderson-Stojanović 1993

V. R. Anderson-Stojanović, A well in the Rachi settlement at Isthmia, *Hesperia* 62, 1993, 257–302.

Bald Romano 1994

I. Bald Romano, A Hellenistic Deposit from Corinth. Evidence for Interim Period Activity (146–144 B.C.), *Hesperia* 63, 1994, 57–104.

Cabanes 2007

P. Cabanes, Les Chaones et l'Épire, de l'indépendance à l'association (IVe-IIe siècles avant J.-C.), in: S. De Maria – S. Gjongecaj (eds.), *Phoinike IV. Rapporto preliminare sulle campagne di scavi e ricerche 2004–2006 (Bologna 2007)* 227–238.

Cabanes – Drini 2007

P. Cabanes – F. Drini (eds.), *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire II, 2. Inscriptions de Bouthrôtos (Paris 2007)*.

Cabanes – Drini 2016

P. Cabanes – F. Drini (eds.), *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire III. Inscriptions d'Albanie (en dehors des sites d'Épidamne-Dyrrachion, Apollonia et Bouthrôtos) (Paris 2016)*.

Calì 2009

V. Calì, Santuari e Culto Di Asclepio in Sicilia, in: E. De Miro – V. Calì – G. Sfamini Gasparro (eds.), *Il culto di asclepio nell'area mediterranea. Atti del Convegno internazionale Agrigento 20–22 novembre 2005 (Rome 2009)* 159–174.

Danale 2011

K. Δανάλη, Ελληνιστική κεραμική από τον τάφο 3 του τύμβου της Τσοπάνη-Ράχης στην Πύλο, in: Ζ' επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική κεραμική. Αίγιο 4–9 απριλίου 2005. Πρακτικά (Athens 2011) 107–116.

Davidson 1942

G. R. Davidson, Hellenistic Deposit at Corinth, *Hesperia* 11, 1942, 105–127.

Dekoulakou 2011

I. Δεκουλακου, Ελληνιστική κεραμική από την Κερύνεια της Αχαΐας, in: Ζ' επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική κεραμική. Αίγιο 4–9 απριλίου 2005. Πρακτικά (Athens 2011) 35 f.

De Maria – Mancini in press

S. De Maria – L. Mancini, Territori e paesaggi sacri nella Caonia ellenistica e romana, in: A. J. Domínguez (ed.), *Politics, Territory and Identity in Ancient Western Greece. Epirus and Acarnania (in press)* 201–257.

De Miro 2003

E. De Miro, Agrigento II. I santuari extraurbani. I'asklepieion. Catalogo dei materiali a cura di Valentina Calì e Santa Carmela Sturiale. Monete a cura di Emilia Oteri (Soveria Mannelli 2003).

De Mitri 2016

C. De Mitri, Trade in Pottery within the Lower Adriatic in the 2nd century BCE, *JHP* 1, 2016, 21–36.

Deonna 1938

W. Deonna, *Exploration Archeologique de Délos XVIII. Le Mobilier Délien (Paris 1938)*.

Di Giuseppe 2012

H. Di Giuseppe, *Black-gloss ware in Italy. Production management and local histories (Oxford 2012)*.

Edelstein – Edelstein 1988

J. Edelstein – L. Edelstein, *Asclepius. Collection and interpretation of the testimonies (London 1998)*.

Edwards 1975

G. R. Edwards, *Corinth VII, 3. Corinthian Hellenistic pottery* (Princeton 1975).

Ehrenheim 2015

H. Ehrenheim, *Greek Incubation Rituals in Classical and Hellenistic Times*, *Kernos Suppl.* 29 (Liège 2015).

Figuenova 1991

S. Finoguenova, *Les petites autels en terre cuite au nord de la Mer Noire*, in: R. Etienne – M. T. Dinahe (eds), *L'espace sacrificiel dans les civilisations mediterraneennes de l'antiquite. Actes du Colloque tenu a la Maison de l'Orient Lyon 4–7 juin 1988* (Paris 1991) 131–134.

Fraser – Matthews 1997

P. M. Fraser – E. Matthews, *A lexicon of greek personal names III, A. The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia* (Oxford 1997).

Gamberini 2016

A. Gamberini, *Scavi di Phoinike II. Ceramiche fini ellenistiche da Phoinike. Forme, produzioni, commerci* (Bologna 2016).

Gamberini in press

A. Gamberini, *Hellenistic wares found in Phoinike. Trades and cultural influences*, in: I. Kamenjarin – M. Ugarkovic (eds.), *Exploring the neighbourhood. The role of Ceramics in understanding place in the Hellenistic World. 3rd IARPotHP Conference Kastela 1–4 June 2017* (in press).

Hernandez 2017

D. R. Hernandez, *Bouthrotos (Butrint) in the Archaic and Classical Periods. The Acropolis and Temple of Athena Polias*, *Hesperia* 86, 2017, 205–271.

Interdonato 2013

E. Interdonato, *L'Asklepion di Kos. Archeologia del culto* (Rome 2013).

Kearns 1994

E. Kearns, *Cakes in Greek Sacrifice Regulations*, in: R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence. Proceedings of the Second International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens 22–24 November 1991* (Stockholm 1994) 65–70.

Kearns 2011

E. Kearns, *Οι λιβανωτος ευσεβες και το ποπανον. The rationale of cakes and bloodless offerings in Greek sacrifice*, in: V. Pirenne – F. Prescendi (eds.), *Nourrir les dieux? Sacrifice et représentation du divin. Actes de la VIe rencontre du Groupe de recherche européen „Figura. Représentation du divin dans les sociétés grecque et romaine“ Université de Liège 23–24 octobre 2009* (Liège 2011) 89–104.

Mancini 2013

L. Mancini, *Templi, thesauroi, “temples-trésors”. Note sull'edilizia templare non periptera nei santuari dell'Epiro ellenistico*, *Ocnus* 21, 2013, 75–99.

Mancini 2015

L. Mancini, *Il deposito di terrecotte votive*, in: S. De Maria – S. Gjongecaj (eds.), *Phoinike VI. Rapporto preliminare sulle campagne di scavi e ricerche 2011–2014* (Bologna 2015) 18–21.

Mancini 2017

L. Mancini, ΘΕΣΣΠΡΩΤΙΚΑ ΙΕΡΑ. Il contributo del paesaggio sacro alla conoscenza di un ethnos epirota, *ASAtene* 95, 2017, 205–225.

Mancini in press

L. Mancini, Edilizia di culto presso gli ethne dell'Epiro. Architettura e paesaggi del sacro alla periferia nord-occidentale della Grecia (Bologna, in press).

Melfi 2007

M. Melfi, The Sanctuary of Asclepius, in: I. L. Hansen – R. Hodges (eds.), *Roman Butrint. An Assessment* (Oxford 2007) 17–32.

Melfi 2012

M. Melfi, Butrinto. Da santuario di Asclepio a centro federale, in: G. De Marinis – G. M. Fabrini – G. Paci – R. Perna – M. Silvestrini (eds.), *I processi formativi ed evolutivi della città in area adriatica* (Oxford 2012) 23–31.

Mitsopoulos-Leon 2017

V. Mitsopoulos-Leon, Hellenistische Häuser in Lousoi. Keramik und Kleinfunde aus den Grabungen 1983–1994 (Vienna 2017).

Patera 2015

I. Patera, Objects as substitutes in ancient Greek ritual, *RRE* 1, 2, 2015, 181–200.

Quantin 2004

F. Quantin, Poséidon en Chaonie et en Illyrie méridionale, in: G. Labarre (ed.), *Les cultes locaux dans les mondes grec et romain. Actes du colloque de Lyon 7–8 juin 2001* (Lyon 2004) 153–178.

Raynaud – Islami 2018

M.-P. Raynaud – A. Islami (eds.), *Corpus of the Mosaics of Albania I. Butrint intramuros* (Bordeaux 2018).

Riethmüller 1996

J. W. Riethmüller, Die Tholos und das Ei. Zur Deutung der Thymele von Epidauros, *Nikephoros* 9, 1996, 71–109.

Riethmüller 2005

J. W. Riethmüller, *Asklepios. Heiligtümer und Kulte* (Heidelberg 2005).

Riginos 1997

Γ. Ρήγινος, Κεραμική από τη δυτική Ηπειρο. Τα ευρήματα ενός κιβωτιόσχημου τάφου από το Κεφαλοχώρι Φιλιατών Θεσπρωτίας, in: Δ' Επιστημονική συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική κεραμική. Χρονολογικά προβλήματα κλειστά σύνολα. Εργαστήρια. Πρακτικά (Athens 1997) 93–109.

Rotroff 1982

S. I. Rotroff, Hellenistic Pottery. Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls, *Agora* 22 (Princeton 1982).

Rotroff 1997

S. I. Rotroff, Hellenistic Pottery. Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material, *Agora* 29 (Princeton 1997).

Rotroff 2006

S. I. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery. The Plain Wares*, Agora 33 (Princeton 2006).

Schäfer 1968

J. Schäfer, *Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon* (Berlin 1968).

Thompson 1962

D. B. Thompson, *Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas II, C. The Satyr Cistern*, *Hesperia* 31, 1962, 244–262.

Ugolini 1942

L. M. Ugolini, *L'acropoli di Butrinto* (Rome 1942).

Williams 1979

C. K. Williams, *Corinth, 1978. Forum Southwest*, *Hesperia* 48, 1979, 105–144.

Wuilleumier 1939

P. Willeumier, *Tarente. Des origines a la conquête romaine* (Paris 1939).

Zaccagnino 1998

C. Zaccagnino, *Il thymiaterion nel mondo greco. Analisi delle fonti, tipologia, impieghi* (Rome 1998).

Marcus Antonius and the *negotiatores* of Dyrrhachium

Atalanti Betsiou¹

Abstract

Based on the hoard evidence of Lleshan, Gjongecaj has published the bronze coinage of Dyrrhachium defining its dating in the 2nd half of the 1st century BC.² The iconographic study of this coinage unfolds the political stance of its citizens during the power struggle between the *imperatores* Marcus Antonius and Gaius Octavius until the naval battle of Actium (31 BC). By the illustrating types we attempt to demonstrate the implication of the commercial ‘classes’, *negotiatores* and *mercatores*, in politics of Dyrrhachium. Moreover, by the Greek inscriptions on this coinage it is evident that the city retained its Greek identity even after the assassination of Julius Caesar.

Introduction

The expansion of Rome’s military campaigns in the east signified the development of commercial activities in the provinces by Roman entrepreneurs.³ Their influence was not limited only to financial matters, but also to politics. The case of T. Pomponius Atticus is an illuminating example of an energetic negotiator who attempted to forestall the *deductio colonia* of Buthrotum defending his financial interests. The same process of Roman colonization was initiated by Julius Caesar for the neighbor cities of Dyrrhachium and Byllis after his victory in Pharsalus (48 BC), but his assassination in Rome (44 BC) postponed these plans on the Greek calends.

Historical background

The ancient city of Dyrrhachium was founded by colonists from Corinth and Corcyra in a mountainy peninsula at the southern coastline of Illyria in the last quarter of the 7th century BC.⁴ Influenced by the strong political impact of Corinth, Dyrrhachium participated in the Peloponnesian War⁵ and in Timoleon’s military campaign in the West (344–317 BC).⁶ From the last quarter of the 4th century BC the city came successively under the dominance of the kings Cassander of Macedonia and Pyrrhus of Epirus.⁷ Affiliated with Rome, Dyrrhachium was integrated in 229 BC to the Roman protectorate, albeit Apollonia and Corcyra.⁸

In the 1st century BC, Dyrrhachium and Apollonia were developed into flourishing cities with bustling commercial ports visited by important Roman politicians, such as Sulla (83 BC)⁹ and Cicero (58 BC).¹⁰ Based on the oration of the latter, we are informed about the greedy administration of the proconsul of Macedonia, L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (57–55 BC), at the expense of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia.¹¹

During the Roman Civil Wars, Dyrrhachium and Apollonia were implicated in the military competition between the Roman *imperatores*. In the First Civil War, Dyrrhachium

became Gnaeus Pompeius' military base, whereas Apollonia came under Julius Caesar's sway.¹² After the battle of Pharsalus (48 BC), Julius Caesar decided to expand the Roman colonization in the wealthiest territories of Illyria and North Epirus.¹³ His decision aroused opposition, as T. Pomponius Atticus attempted to protect his estate at Buthrotum from confiscation by Caesar's land commissioners. After the crushing defeat of the tyrannicides in Philippi (42 BC), Plutarch (Antonius 61, 5) narrates the division of the Roman Imperium by the victorious Marcus Antonius and Gaius Octavius. As a result of this division, Dyrrhachium and Apollonia came under Marcus Antonius' power. The political competition among the *imperatores* was escalated in the battle of Actium (31 BC) and the foundation of the Roman colony of Dyrrhachium was finally accomplished by Gaius Octavius in 30 BC.¹⁴

Mint production

The mint of Dyrrhachium was active from the 5th till the second half of the 1st century BC. The local staters of Corinthian type (pegasi) were substituted during the 3rd century BC. by the Corcyrean ones (suckling cow), whose circulation lasted until the *deductio* of *colonia Dyrrhachiensis*, conventionally dated in 48 BC. Notwithstanding the cessation of the silver coinage, bronzes continued to be issued until the naval battle of Actium.

It is worth noting that the mint of Dyrrhachium was unusually prolific at this period¹⁵ producing 13 different types, in comparison to 7 of Apollonia.¹⁶ Their style is consistent to the contemporary Roman denarii, but the iconography alludes to influences from the Greek East. Our current presentation is confined to 7 types, associated with the cults of Heracles, Helios, Isis, and Hermes-Mercurius, highly esteemed by the commercial classes.

Catalogue

Type A (fig. 1)

O. Head of Heracles with lionskin to left.

R. ΔYP, ΔAMOKΛΕΟΥ[Σ], club, bow, quiver.

SNG Cop. Thessaly-Illyria 519–520.



Fig. 1: Bronze of Dyrrhachium.

Type B (fig. 2)

O. Winged female bust bearing a helmet with an Egyptian crown to right.

R. ΔYP, ΝΙΚΑΝ/ΔΡΟΥ, caduceus-club.

SNG Cop. Thessaly-Illyria 521.

Type C (fig. 3)

O. Winged female bust with meniskos on the forehead to right.

R. ΔYP, ΜΟΞΧ[Ι]ΛΟ[Υ], corn and grain.

SNG Cop. Thessaly-Illyria 513.



Fig. 2: Bronze of Dyrrhachium.



Fig. 3: Bronze of Dyrrhachium.

Type D (fig. 4)

O. Radiate head of Helios to right.

R. ΔΥΡ, ΨΥΛ/ΛΟΥ, prow.

Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, E-Auction
12, 23.03.2013, lot 50.

Type E (fig. 5)

O. Veiled female bust to right.

R. ΔΥΡ, ΕΟΡΤΑΙΟΥ, standing female figure
on a prow holding aplustre and cornucopia.
Gjongecaj 2007 a, pl. 18.144.



Fig. 4: Bronze of Dyrrhachium.



Fig. 5: Bronze of Dyrrhachium.

Type F (fig. 6)

O. Head of Hermes-Mercurius with a winged
diadema to right.

R. ΔΥΡ, ΠΟΛΛΙ/ΩΝΟΣ, winged caduceus.

Gjongecaj 2007 a, pl. 18.136.

Type G (fig. 7)

O. Laureate head of Apollo to right.

R. ΔΥΡ, ΦΙΛΩ/ΤΑ, caduceus-club and palm
branch.

SNG Cop. Thessaly-Illyria 523.



Fig. 6: Bronze of Dyrrhachium.



Fig. 7: Bronze of Dyrrhachium.

Iconography

Type A

The iconographic diptych with the bust of Heracles in lion skin and his military equipment are displayed on the first type (fig. 1) following the tradition of the regal Macedonian coinage of Alexander III.¹⁷ The ethnicon ΔΥΡ and the name of the moneyer ΔΑΜΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ are inscribed in Greek letters on the obverse. According to Appian (civ. 2, 39), Heracles was regarded as the founder of Dyrrhachium. Even though the club of the semi-god was depicted as a secondary symbol in the staters of Dyrrhachium from the second quarter of the 5th century BC and onwards,¹⁸ the figure of the hero was illustrated on local coinage only once before, during the short dominion of Cassander or Pyrrhus in the district.¹⁹ Reputed as a dynastic symbol linked to the Macedonian kingship, this type had a brief circulation and therefore it was abandoned.

In the middle of the 1st century BC the popularity of Heracles' types on denarii of Rome and bronzes of Dyrrhachium and Corcyra is distinguishable. The display of the semi-god on these issues coincides with Marcus Antonius' supreme political position in the East (42–31 BC). Plutarch reveals (Antonius 4, 1) the legendary bond between the *gens* of the Antonii and Hercules. This propagandistic 'genealogy' was promoted also on denarii minted by Marcus Antonius' associate C. Vibius Varis (42 BC) in Rome.²⁰

The same bond was demonstrated by a series of bronzes from Corcyra depicting the jugate busts of a couple on the obverse and a prow on the reverse.²¹ In the first version, the male figure is clad in lionskin and therefore the couple was conventionally identified with Heracles and the nymph Corcyra. In the second version, the male bust is rendered without the lionskin, but crowned with a laurel wreath on the head.²² This last version draws a remarkable resemblance to the emissions renowned as the 'fleet coinage' portraying the jugate busts of Marcus Antonius and his wife Octavia.²³ These emissions were possibly struck commemorating the arrival of the couple on the island of Corcyra in 37 BC.²⁴

At this point, we must underline the association of the Hercules' cult in Rome with the commercial classes as the legendary foundation of the temple of Hercules Invictus in the Forum Boarium was attributed to a merchant (*olearius*), Marcus Octavius Herennius.²⁵

Type B

A rare hybrid figure is portrayed on the following type B. Due to the attribution of the wings, she has been conventionally identified as Nike.²⁶ Nevertheless, Nike is not depicted fully armed in ancient Greek art.²⁷ The Dyrrhachian goddess bears a helmet with an Egyptian crown (fig. 2). Based on parallel of denarii minted in the name of M. Plaetorius Cestianus (67 BC), this figure can be identified to Isis Panthea.²⁸ As it is apparent from the Greek term Panthea, this deity combines attributes from others (the helmet of Athena, the wings of Nike and the crown of Isis).²⁹

On the reverse, an iconographical blend of two symbols stands out, the upper part of the caduceus merged with the club of Heracles. The symbol is surrounded by ethnicon ΔΥΡ and the name of the moneyer ΝΙΚΑΝΑΠΟΥ inscribed both in Greek alphabet.

By the first half of the 1st century BC (80 and 67 BC), the symbols and the figure of Isis were illustrated for the first time on denarii.³⁰ Due to its mystic character, the cult of Isis was persecuted by the senate during the period 64–48 BC and it was officially restored by the Second Triumvirate only under the initiative of Marcus Antonius in 43 BC.³¹ After the renewal of the affair, though, between Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra, Gaius Octavius incited a severe propaganda against Egypt and its customs, according to Cassius Dio's testimony (50, 24–30).

Despite these political developments in Rome, the cult of Isis remained surprisingly popular in Dyrrhachium given that no similar trend is apparent in other mints of Illyria and Epirus, or even Macedonia.³² This popularity may hint to the existence of a significant part of population, which belonged to the followers of Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra. These followers were not limited only to the citizens of Greek provenance,³³ but also to the Roman entrepreneurs and merchants with extensive financial activities to this city.³⁴ The preference of the *negotiatores* for Isis' cult is well attested by epigraphical testimonies from Delos and Thessaloniki.³⁵

Type C

A winged female bust is demonstrated also on type C, formerly identified as Nike.³⁶ This figure bears, though, meniskos at the head (fig. 3), an iconographic element more appropriate to lunar deities. Lunar and astral deities became popular in the iconography of denarii after the reform of the solar calendar introduced by Julius Caesar in 46 BC. In contrast to our type, the Latin goddess Luna is depicted without wings on the contemporary denarii minted in the name of L. Valerius Asisculus.³⁷ On other better preserved specimens the mellon-coiffure of the Dyrrhachian figure is distinguishable.³⁸ This attribute is frequently applied on bronzes with the portrait of Cleopatra.³⁹

In regards to the identity of this figure, the written sources are conclusive. Plutarch (Antonius 54, 6) narrates that by the donation of Alexandria (34 BC), Cleopatra appeared in the disguise of *στολήν ἱερὰν Ἰσιδος* and she was praised as *Σελήνη*, or *νέα Ἴσις*. Dio (50, 5, 3) complements that after this ceremony the queen was depicted in paintings and sculpture at the same form as Isis or Selene.⁴⁰ Consequently, the type of winged Isis-Selene should be associated to the impact of Alexandria.⁴¹ To the same context, the names of the children, Alexander-Helios and Cleopatra-Selene, should be understood.⁴²

On the reverse grain and grape are surrounded by the ethnicon ΔΥΡ and the moneyer ΜΟΞΧ[Ι]ΛΟ[Υ] inscribed in Greek letters. The trade of the basic nutritional goods was extremely profitable during this period. The demand for food supply was at its peak in big cities, due to the staggering increase of population (Rome) and as an aftermath of the Civil Wars. For political reasons the grain distribution (*Cura Annonae*) in Rome was undertaken by demagogue Clodius Pulcher, Gnaeus Pompeius and Julius Caesar.⁴³ A prolong alimentation crisis broke out in Rome (43–36 BC) due to Sextus Pompeius' hostile policy by cutting off the grain supply from Sicily.⁴⁴ As a consequence, Egypt remained a significant grain supplier.

On the other hand, Alexandria was one of the most demanding markets for wine of the Dalmatian coast. The commercial 'route' of this product seems to have been under the control of *negotiatores* and their freedmen-agents of Delos, as Lindhagen has demonstrated.⁴⁵

Type D – Radiate head of Helios

In the next type the radiate head of Helios and a prow are depicted (fig. 4). The first subject was preceded in coins of Rhodos from the 4th century BC and was applied on clay stamps of Delos during the 1st century BC.⁴⁶ The Delian prototype was followed by a rare series of silver coins of Apollonia with the composition of Apollo-Helios' bust equipped with a bow and a quiver at his back. This unique composition may hint to the establishment of *negotiatores* from Delos in the coastline of Illyria.⁴⁷ Depictions of Helios became also frequent on emissions struck in the name of Marcus Antonius (Athens) and his associates (Rome, Entella).⁴⁸

After the elimination of piracy (58 BC), the prow became a prominent symbol of military power.⁴⁹ It was depicted on coins of Corcyra, on emissions of Marcus Antonius and the renowned 'fleet coinage' minted by his comrades from the beginning of 40s.⁵⁰

The progress of scientific achievements had contributed in the renovation of the cult of Helios and Selene. The innovation of the solar calendar was introduced in Alexandria (46 BC) based on astrology and mathematics, while similar applications were implemented in navigation and in measuring time.⁵¹ The interest in scientific studies was expanded in the district of Illyria. According to Suetonius (Aug. 94, 12), Gaius Octavius and M. Vipsanius Agrippa were studying astrology and mathematics in Apollonia by Theogenes.⁵²

Type E – Concordia

The iconography of type E (fig. 5) alludes to denarii issued after the Second Triumvirate (43 BC), such as the ones of L. Mussidius Longus portraying the veiled bust of Concordia.⁵³ On the reverse a female figure, identified by Gjongecaj as Isis Pelagia Tyche, stands on a prow holding cornucopia and aplustre.⁵⁴ The same type was depicted on aurei struck in 40 BC by T. Sempronius Gracchus⁵⁵ and on bronzes by the mints of Syria during Marcus Antonius' dominance in the east.⁵⁶ The ethnicon ΔΥΡ and the name of the moneyer ΕΟΡΤΑΙΟΥ stands out in Greek letters on the reverse.

As Temelini has eloquently demonstrated, Cicero adopted in his correspondence a novel interpretation of Concordia related to the harmony among the senatorial and equestrian classes (*concordia ordinum*) and he urged his brother Quintus (Fr. 1, 1, 32) to protect the interests of the business community.⁵⁷ The figure of Concordia gained political prominence after the Treaty of Brundisium (40 BC) and was reproduced on contemporary bronzes of Thessaloniki and possibly of Corcyra.⁵⁸

Type F

The bust of Hermes-Mercurius and a winged caduceus are rendered on type F (fig. 6). The attribution of god's head with a pair of wings attached to a diadem is influenced by prototypes

of Ptolemaic art.⁵⁹ In the iconography of denarii Mercurius wears usually petasus with the exception of a sestertius minted in 48 BC.⁶⁰

The winged caduceus is displayed often on denarii during the 1st century BC, as this symbol acquired political significance after the Reconciliation of Brundisium (40 BC).⁶¹ The prominence of Hermes' cult illustrated on the emissions of Dyrrhachium may be related with the activity of Hermaistes in Delos.⁶²

In this case the name of the moneyer ΠΟΛΛΙΩΝΟΣ is rather significant as it refers to a historical personality, G. Asinius Pollio,⁶³ proconsul of Macedonia and companion of Marcus Antonius, who undertook a campaign against the unrest tribes of Parthini in the territory of Dyrrhachium (40–39 BC).⁶⁴

Type G

The laureate head of Apollo is displayed on the obverse and the combined symbol of caduceus-club with a palm branch on the reverse (fig. 7). Both types imitate the diptych of denarii minted in 48 BC by Q. Sicinius.⁶⁵ The composition of the caduceus and the palm branch is a reminder of the elimination of piracy by Gnaeus Pompeius.⁶⁶ Its adoption is not coincidental, given that Dyrrhachium was the military base of the *imperator* and consequently his followers were still dwelling in the city.

The iconographic blend of the two symbols (caduceus-club) is reproduced on bronzes of Lakedaimonien (bearing the name of Lycourgos) dated in 43–31 BC.⁶⁷ Epigraphic evidence complements that the cities of Laconia had attracted important families of *negotiatores* (as the Cloatii of Cytheium), who few decades later honored C. Iulius Eurycles as their benefactor (late 1st century BC–early 1st century AD).⁶⁸

Even though it is lacking in the iconography of denarii, the combined symbols may be related to the commercial gods Mercurius and Hercules. A similar example derives from a bronze denomination (as) of Rome (87 BC) demonstrating a double herm with the busts of Mercurius and Hercules bearing their attributes (fig. 8).

Nevertheless, the figures or the symbols of Hermes and Heracles were never merged together in ancient Greek art.⁶⁹ In case of Roman art multiple examples are distinguishable in seals and sculpture, particularly on double herms.⁷⁰ Therefore, the infiltration of Roman cults in the local society of Dyrrhachium is apparent. A romanized cult of Hermes-Mercurius is recognized by Lindhagen in Delos (from the middle of the 2nd century BC) and Narona (from the middle of the 1st century BC), strongly associated with *negotiatores* and freedmen.⁷¹

By the middle of the 1st century BC, the caduceus was elevated as a symbol of Concordia, prosperity and reconciliation, attached to important political statesmen, such as Julius Caesar,



Fig. 8: As of Rome (87 BC), double herm of Mercurius and Hercules.

M. Junius Brutus, Marcus Antonius and Gaius Octavius.⁷² The pursue of reconciliation was desirable by the defeated allies cities. The citizens of Dyrrhachium supported the cause of the defeated Gnaeus Pompeius (and M. Junius Brutus). As a consequence, the victorious dictator, Julius Caesar, imposed the implementation of the roman colonization of Dyrrhachium. Although this decision was postponed after the dictator's assassination, as it is implied by the Greek inscriptions of the examined bronze coinage, the danger of its implementation was still lurking.

The imposition of reconciliation was a political message comforting the citizens of Dyrrhachium, but also the Roman entrepreneurs living in the city. For this reason the choice of a protector was inevitable. Marcus Antonius was the most appropriate suitor, in contrast to Gaius Octavius, who was promoted as the rightful successor of Julius Caesar furthering the project of land confiscation.⁷³ Conversely, Marcus Antonius was presented as a guarantor of property in an inscription from Rome dated in 34 BC.⁷⁴ This political message may have had an appeal to the wealthy citizens and the energetic commercial class of Dyrrhachium, who were hoping to maintain unchangeable the status quo of the city.

The cessation of the mint

It has been suggested that the production of the silver coinage ceased approximately in the middle of the 1st century BC (60/55 BC or 48 BC),⁷⁵ while that of the bronzes continued until the battle of Actium (31 BC). A thorough study of the names of the 'moneyers' has concluded to a different perspective. The three common names, ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ΦΙΛΩΤΑΣ and ΣΩΤΡΙΩΝ,⁷⁶ dictate to a parallel minting between silver and bronze coins. Additionally, iconographic affinities can be observed between the subsidiary symbols of drachms and the types of the bronze emissions, such as the heads of Helios and Isis with the crown, the standing figure of Isis, the winged caduceus, the veiled female head (Concordia?), the grain with the grape, the aplustre with the cornucopia.⁷⁷

Furthermore, by the study of Meta concerning the inscribed names on the local emissions, we do not observe any affinity to the coinage of *coloniae*. In the first case, the names of the officials on the obverse are repeated in more than one series of coins (occasionally 6 to 7 series) and combined to different reverse names.⁷⁸ In the mints of the *coloniae* of Butrint and Corinth the *duoviri* are repeated together.⁷⁹ In my perspective, the maintenance of the names on the obverse dictates to the higher magistracy of the city, possible the annual *prytanis*, and the repetition of their names on more than one series corroborates with the intensification of the mint production.⁸⁰ The hoard evidence from Romania (Vasand, Deva) are indicative of the circulation of the silver coinage after the middle of the 1st century BC.⁸¹

Commentary

The earliest references about the Roman presence in Greece are dated from the early 2nd century BC.⁸² In the district of Illyria, despite the scarce epigraphical testimonies, the beneficial regime of Roman protectorate comprised of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium may

have encouraged the early establishment of *negotiatores*. Following, the turbulent period of the Mithridatic Wars induced to a mass re-establishment of *negotiatores* from Delos to different parts of Greece.⁸³

The influence of these classes in politics of Rome is repeatedly revealed by M. Tullius Cicero (Fr. 2, 5, 149. 1, 5, 154; Sest. 96). Cicero admits that Rome declared war in many occasions in order to defend the interests of these classes and such was the case of piracy. The Greek cities and the Roman merchant communities supported financially the campaigns of Marcus Antonius Creticus and Gnaeus Pompeius against the pirates.⁸⁴ The successful campaign of Gnaeus Pompeius gave a boost in the transportation of commercial goods from different parts of the Mediterranean Sea, such as grain and luxurious products from Egypt supplying the demanding markets of Greece and Italy.

The term of *negotiatores* is signified as a group of wealthy Roman members of senatorial and equestrian rank involved in a wide range of commercial activities, such as landowning, breedstocking, banking, loanlending, shipowning and maritime trading. The loanlending was one of the most profitable engagement with a great impact on the political affairs.⁸⁵ A series of bankers and loanlenders (*faeneratores*) were active in the districts of Epirus and Illyria. By Cicero, we are informed about the efforts of T. Pomponius Atticus to forestall the *deductio colonia* of Buthrotum. The interest of the negotiator was more than personal, given that he had given a loan to the citizens of Buthrotum. Additionally, Cicero was called in 43 BC by Brutus to mediate for the resolution over a financial dispute between the citizens of Dyrrhachium and the Roman entrepreneur C. Flavius.⁸⁶ Similar are the cases of the *faeneratores* L. Luceius, friend of Gnaeus Pompeius, and Fufidius, who lent money to the citizens of Byllis (Ad fam. 13, 42) and Apollonia (Pis. 35; Att. 11, 13).

A notable series of names from Apulian or Italian provenance are provided by epigraphical testimonies, written in Greek alphabet, from Dyrrhachium, possibly related to commercial activities (Γάιος Καΐσιος Αγκωνίτης, Γάιος Σέργιος Θεόφιλος, Γάιος Νωναρηνός, Λεύκιος Μούφιος, Μάαρκος Αππώνεις, Μάαρκος Βενεβέρτις)⁸⁷ or to prominent political statesmen. The names of Εΐταλία Πατυλκίου, Κόιντος Γράνιος Σάλιοις, Λαΐδαν Όλομμινίου, Πολλία Μάαρκου, Τηρεϋς Τρεβελλίου (I. Epidamnus 108; 179; 272; 284; 359; 414), could be associated with Patulcius, a follower of Clodius (Cic. Att. 14, 18, 2), A. Granius, a supporter of Julius Caesar killed in the battle of Dyrrhachium (App. Civ. 3, 71, 1), and the associates of Marcus Antonius, Publius Volumnius (Cic. fam. 7; 32. 9.26; Nep. Att. 12, 4), Asinius Pollio (see below) and L. Trebellius (Cic. Phil. 6, 11).⁸⁸

In the prosopography provided by epigraphical testimonies of Dyrrhachium there aren't any *nomina* directly referred to Marcus Antonius,⁸⁹ in contrast to Elis and Corinth,⁹⁰ or to Gnaeus Pompeius and Marcus Tullius Cicero, statesmen with a significant impact in politics of the city. Lack of reference concerns also the name of Julius, which is frequently applied in the inscriptions of Apollonia.⁹¹

The Greek inscriptions on coins of Dyrrhachium pinpoint to the character of the city. Among the numerous names, their Greek provenance is prevailing. Remarkable are the two cases with names of Latin origin written also in Greek letters (ΓΑΙΟΥ, ΠΟΛΛΙΩΝΟΣ).⁹²

These names may indicate the involvement of *negotiatores* or their freedmen-agents in politics of Dyrrhachium.⁹³ The Greek inscriptions on bronzes dated after Julius Caesar's assassination, are conclusive that the foundation of *colonia Dyrrhachensis* was not fulfilled before Augustus' era, a thesis already supported by Meta.⁹⁴

Conclusion

By examining the bronze coinage of Dyrrachium, we can deduce to the political stance of its citizens supporting the cause of Marcus Antonius. The iconography of these types is conclusive, given that most of them are lacking from the contemporary mint production of Apollonia, Corcyra and the cities of Macedonia. The commercial symbol of caduceus became the equivalent of Concordia and reconciliation. The message of Concordia was appealing to the hopes of the citizens of Dyrrhachium, who were seeking for a 'patron' due to the insecure political status of their city after the battle of Pharsalus (48 BC). The choice for a protector is insinuated by the type of Heracles, hero founder of Dyrrhachium, prominent god of *negotiatores* and mythical ancestor of *imperator* Marcus Antonius.

The Egyptian goddess Isis is also displayed in three different forms as Panthea, Pelagia Tyche and Selene, in spite of her cult being persecuted in Rome. The last type of Isis Selene is exceptional possibly alluding to the theatrical appearance of Cleopatra in the Donations of Alexandria (34 BC). Hermes and Isis may represent the interests of the *negotiatores* and *mercatores*, connected to the profitable commerce of grain from Egypt. Moreover, the bust of Hermes-Mercurius and the combined symbols of caduceus and club could reflect the political stance of merchants and entrepreneurs, whose financial interests were interwoven to the fate of Dyrrhachium.⁹⁵

The fate of Dyrrachium was sealed after the naval battle of Actium (31 BC). Augustus accomplished the unfinished plans of Julius Caesar by founding the *Colonia Julia Augusta Dyrrachensis*.⁹⁶

Notes

¹ University of Ioannina. I would like to thank Prof. K. Liampi for her remarks on this paper and Prof. Sh. Gjongecaj and H. Horsnæs for granting me the permission to publish the required photos. I'm grateful also to Dr. E. Apostolou (Numismatic Museum of Athens) for her assistance.

² Gjongecaj 2007b, 55–70.

³ A significant number of Roman entrepreneurs are revealed by the correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero, such as Marcus Bolanus (Narona), T. Pomponius Atticus (Buthrotum), C. Flavius (Dyrrhachium), Fufidius (Apollonia), L. Luceius (Byllis), C. Maenius Gemellus, Manius Curius (Patra) and Manius Mindius (Elis): Cic. fam. 13, 9, 2. 13, 17, 50. 13, 26–28; Pis. 86; Zoumbaki 2012, 80 f.

⁴ Thuk. 1, 24, 1–2; Strab. 7, 5, 8. For the dating of its foundation, see Funke – Moustakis – Hochschulz 2004, 330.

⁵ Thuk. 1, 26, 1–2. 1, 29, 5.

⁶ For the association of Corinthian staters (pegasi) to Timoleon's military campaign see Kraay 1976, 87. 126 f.

⁷ The dominance of Pyrrhus in the district is implied by various written sources (Plin. nat. 3, 101; Cass. Dio ref. 40, 3; Anna Komnene, Alexias 3, 12, 8).

⁸ App. Civ. 7 f.

⁹ Plut. Sulla 27, 1.

¹⁰ Cic. fam. 14, 1, 7.

¹¹ Cic. Pis. 91. 94. 96; Cic. prov. 5.

¹² Caes. civ. 2, 40, 3, 12; App. civ. 2, 40, 2, 54 f.; Plut. Caesar 37, 4.

¹³ For the foundation of the Roman colonies in these districts, see Wilkes 2011, 93–97.

¹⁴ The foundation of the city by Octavius is asserted by the metal pipes of the aqueduct bearing the inscription *Julia Augusta*, Miraj – Mirto 1982, 151.

¹⁵ Meta (2012, 24 f.) noted that the quantity of Dyrrhachium issues on hoards found in Bulgaria, Romania and Albania was four times bigger than those of Apollonia.

¹⁶ The hoard of Lleshan contained 9 types, Gjongecaj 2007b, 123 f. The other four types are asserted by the names of the moneymen and their style. Generally, for the study of the mint production of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, A. Betsiou, *Οι νομισματικές εκδόσεις των ελληνικών πόλεων του ΒΔ ελλαδικού χώρου. Ζητήματα εικονογραφίας και προβλήματα χρονολόγησης* (PhD under thesis).

¹⁷ SNG Cop. Macedonia 1154–1158. 1214–1221. 1234 f. 1248–1251. 1261–1263.

¹⁸ SNG Cop. 421–432.

¹⁹ Meta 2015, 174.

²⁰ Crawford 1974, 494 no. 37 f.

²¹ The rendering of the prow in the Corcyrean bronze reproduces prototypes of denarius minted in the name of Magnus Pompeius, Crawford 1974, 446 no. 1. Sear (1998, no. 7) assumes that this denarius was minted in Greece before the battle of Pharsalus (48 BC).

²² SNG Cop. Epirus-Acarmania, 227–241.

²³ RPC I, 1453–1470; Sear 1998, nos. 274–277. 280–284. 286–290. 292–296.

²⁴ Cass. Dio 48, 54. More about the mint of Corcyra, Betsiou 2018, 342–367.

²⁵ Macr. Sat. 3, 6. For the sanctuary and its temple, Richardson 1992, 188.

²⁶ SNG Cop. 521 f.

²⁷ The iconographic element of the helmet is totally lacking from depictions of Nike or Victoria in Greek-Roman art: LIMC VI (1992) 850–904 s. v. Nike (A. Goulaki-Voutira – A. Moustaka – U. Grote); LIMC VIII (1997) 237–269 s. v. Victoria (R. Vollkommer). The (unarmed) flying figure of Nike holding a wreath is rendered as a secondary symbol on Dyrrhachian drachms, SNG Cop. Epirus 476; SNG München 394–396; Meta 2015, pl. 83 ser. 86.

²⁸ Crawford 1974, 409 no. 1. For the identification of Isis Panthea, Alföldi 1954, 30.

²⁹ LIMC V (1990) 795 s. v. Isis Panthea nos. 315c. 319 (T. Tam Tinh).

³⁰ Takács (1995, 49) relates the popularity of Isis' cult to the Mithridatic Wars as the *mercatores* of Delos were forced to abandon the island and return to Rome.

³¹ Kelly Heyob 1975, 18; Tiradritti 1998, 20.

³² SNG Cop. Thessaly; SNG Cop. Illyria; SNG Cop. Macedonia.

³³ In an inscription from the island Philai of Egypt dated in 139–120 BC we are informed about a dedication to the Egyptian gods consecrated by Philotas of Epidamnus, I. Épidamnus T 519.

³⁴ Hansen (2011, 91) suggests the existence of followers, among them *negotiatores*, of Marcus Antonius in Butrint.

³⁵ IG X 2, 1; Kelly Heyob 1975, 14; Rizakis 1986, 522.

³⁶ BMC Thessaly 14, 7; SNG Cop. Epirus 513; Gjongecaj 2007a, 62 no. 19.

³⁷ Crawford 1974, 474 no. 5 f.

³⁸ BMC Thessaly 14, 7.

³⁹ Svoronos 1904, pl. 68, b. 22 f. 26 f. 29; RPC 1245. 4530.

⁴⁰ The deification of Cleopatra as Isis is promoted in sculpture, on the heads of Cleopatra Nahman bearing the crown of Isis, Andreae et al. 2006, 126–129 (G. Weill-Goudchaux).

⁴¹ In Egyptian art Isis is portrayed with wings, Svenson 1995, 85. For the evocation of Isis-Selene, Merkelbach 2001, 96. 168. Svenson (1995, 99 f.) states that the meniskos as a symbol of immortality and eternity was applied on depictions of Isis-Selene from the 3rd century BC.

⁴² Plut. Antonius 36, 3.

⁴³ Garnsey 1989, 212 f.

⁴⁴ Garnsey 1989, 202.

⁴⁵ Lindhagen 2013, 231–236. 241. 245 f. The commercial transactions between the Roman merchants of Delos and Alexandria are solidified from the reign of Ptolemy VIII (after 127 BC) based on inscriptions, I. Délos 1526 f. 1699.

⁴⁶ BMC Caria 1–73. 129–152. 229–362. 386–390; Boussac 1992, pl. 43, 69 f.

⁴⁷ SNG Cop. Thessaly-Illyricum 404. Indications of *negotiatores* in Apollonia are provided by the inscriptions referring to the *nomina* Clodius and Oppia, I. Apollonia 100 f. The same gentilicia are attested in Delos and Peloponnesus, Zoumbaki 1998/1999, 155–157. 160–162. 164.

⁴⁸ Crawford 1974, 494 no. 5. 533 no. 2; CNS I, 321 f. nos. 15–17.

⁴⁹ For naval symbols on denarii, Crawford 1974, 510 no. 1. 511 nos. 1–4c. 519 no. 2; Sear 1998, 136–140. 200–207.

⁵⁰ Crawford 1974, 521 no. 1; SNG Cop. 195; Sear 1998, nos. 274–277. 280–284. 286–290. 292–296; Betsiou 2018, 352–354. Depictions of a prow are rendered on bronzes of Amphipolis and Thessaloniki, SNG Cop. Macedonia 70. 364. 373.

⁵¹ Zenob. Epitome λ. Οὐ νυκτιπλοεῖς. The significance of measuring time in daily basis is evident by the consecration of an obelisk from Alexandria (Solarium Augusti) near Ara Pacis in 10 BC by Augustus, Buchner 1988, 240–245.

⁵² In an inscribed grave stele of the second half of the 1st century BC from Corcyra is revealed the profession of the deceased Mnasea, an astrologer and geometrist (SEG 1995, 540).

⁵³ Crawford 1974, 494 nos. 41–42c. Gjongecaj (2007b, 103 no. 13) attributes this female deity to Demeter.

⁵⁴ Gjongecaj 2007a, 103 no. 13. For depictions of Isis Tyche/Fortuna in art, LIMC V (1990) 794 s. v. Isis-Fortuna nos. 303–315 (T. Tam Tinh).

⁵⁵ Crawford 1974, 525 no. 1.

⁵⁶ RPC 4740. 4752 f.

- ⁵⁷ Temelini 2002, 3–6 n. 7. 62. 125.
- ⁵⁸ SNG Cop. Macedonia 378 f.; Betsiou 2018, 348.
- ⁵⁹ An illustrating example is the head of the god Hermes-Thoth from the Museum of Louvre illustrating features from portraits of Ptolemy IV Philopator, Bonacasa 1959/1960, 376 fig. 17 f.
- ⁶⁰ Crawford 1974, 449 no. 5.
- ⁶¹ Crawford 1974, 529 nos. 2c–3.
- ⁶² I. Délos 1757 f.
- ⁶³ Sarikakis 1971, 9. 140–144; Nigdelis 1994, 221.
- ⁶⁴ Cass. Dio 48, 41, 7. For Asinius Pollio, Ferriès 2007, 335–341.
- ⁶⁵ Crawford 1974, 440 no. 1.
- ⁶⁶ Grueber 1970, 503 n. 2.
- ⁶⁷ Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978, 148–155; SNG Cop. Phlissia-Laconia 562.
- ⁶⁸ IG V 1, 1146; Rizakis et al. 2004, 280 no. 3.
- ⁶⁹ Boardman 1985, fig. 16. 42; Trendall 1967, pl. 67, 5 f. 69, 1 f. 73, 3 f.; Trendall – Cambitoglou 1998, pl. 194. 284, 1.
- ⁷⁰ LIMC VI (1992) 276–280 s. v. Mercurius no. 29 (E. Simon – G. Bauchhens).
- ⁷¹ Lindhagen 2013, 238. 243. 246. The *collegium magistrum Mercurialis* is attested in inscriptions from Narona, CIL III, 1769 f. 1775. 1798 f. 1801.
- ⁷² Crawford 1974, 480 no. 6; SNG Cop. Phlissia 489; LIMC VI (1992) 515 f. s. v. Mercurius nos. 182. 187 (E. Simon-G. Bauchhens).
- ⁷³ Appian (civ. 4, 3) reports that Octavius undertook the designation of eighteen wealthy cities in Italy for the distribution of land allocations to the veterans.
- ⁷⁴ Johnson et al. 1961, 110 no. 127.
- ⁷⁵ Meta 2015, 155. 232.
- ⁷⁶ SNG Cop. 460. 469. 477. 506. 511. 517. Gjongecaj (2007b, 210 f.) and Meta (2012, 27. 34) recognize common names of magistrates between the silver and bronze coinage.
- ⁷⁷ SNG Cop. 491 f.; SNG München 399. 430–436; Meta 2015, 223. pl. 51, D 19/R 21 – D 20/R 22. D 21/R 23 – D 29/R 35. pl. 53, D 23/R 28 – D 32/R 38. pl. 54, D 52/R 59 – R 61. pl. 57, D 28/R 33 – D 31/R 37. pl. 58, D 1/R 1 – D 2/R 3. pl. 60, D 1/R 1 – D 3/R 6. pl. 63. pl. 74, D 1/R 1 – D 5/R 5. pl. 79 f., D 79/R 62 – D 100/R 84.
- ⁷⁸ Meta 2012, 28. 30.
- ⁷⁹ Abdy 2012, 3; Amandry 1988, 12–14. 27–43.
- ⁸⁰ Most of the aforementioned names are inscribed also on roof tiles, I. Épidamnos 536. 557. 563. 569.
- ⁸¹ CH V, 98; CH VII, 144 (drachms of Dyrrhachium were found with silver emissions of Marcus Antonius).
- ⁸² Zoumbaki 2013, 54. 59 f. 66; Zoumbaki 2011, 527.
- ⁸³ Zoumbaki 2011, 531; Zoumbaki 1998/1999, 154 f.; Rizakis 1986, 518.
- ⁸⁴ Rizakis 2001a, 78. For *pompéiastes* formed in Delos, Croiz 2002, 213.
- ⁸⁵ The adventurous ascension to the throne of Ptolemy XII Auletes is rather indicative: Cic. Rab. Post. 21, 30.
- ⁸⁶ For the mediation of M. Tullius Cicero as a patron of Dyrrhachium and for the identity of the eques C. Flavius, Deniaux 1993, 267 f. In the biography of Atticus (8, 3), Cornelius Nepos unveils the participation of C. Flavius in the conspiracy against Julius Caesar.

⁸⁷ De Simone 1993, 38 f.; I. Épidamnus 20. 145. 148. 292. 301 f. The names L. Nutrii and L. Novellii are attested on inscriptions of Dyrrhachium and Philippi during the Early Imperial Period, Salomies 1996, 115. 122 f. A Novellius is referred in an inscription of Hermaistai from Delos, SEG 23, 514.

⁸⁸ Ferriès 2007, 478 no. 135. The *nomen* Granius is noted by Spawforth (1996, 172) among the *negotiatores* of Corinth. A *negotiator* Publius Granius is mentioned by Cicero in his speech against Veres (2, 5, 154). Granii are attested in inscriptions from Sparta, Delos and Butrint, Zoumbaki 1998/1999, 164; Hansen 2011, 90.

⁸⁹ Lack of references are recognized in the case of Butrint, even though many names of his supporters are distinguishable, Hansen 2011, 91.

⁹⁰ Zoumbaki 2001, 82–103; Rizakis 2001b, 183 fig. 1. The names Marcus or Antonius are mentioned separately, I. Épidamnus 111. 301. In the neighbor city, Byllis, though, the praenomen Insteius, related to the follower of Marcus Antonius (M. Insteius) is attested as well in Corinth, Stybbera and Veroia, Amandry 1988, 36; Nigdelis 1994, 219.

⁹¹ I. Apollonia 101. 173. 208 f. 227. 244. 372.

⁹² Sarikakis 1971, 142–144, associates the two names (ΓΑΙΟΥ, ΠΟΛΛΙΩΝΟΣ) to the same person (C. Asinius Pollio). But these names are inscribed separately on coins and on roof tiles, BMC Thessaly, 76 no. 165. 78 no. 184; I. Épidamnus 534. 574. Latin names, Μάρκος, Φονδάνιος, are written also separately in Greek letters on contemporary coins of Apollonia, SNG Cop. 385; BMC Thessaly 72. The familiar *nomen* Fundanius is common in Macedonia, Asia and Cyzicus, Salomies 1996, 125 f.

⁹³ In the newly founded *colonia* of Corinth, the major administrative and military center of Marcus Antonius and his associates in Greece, a significant part of its governing class (48%) belonged to the *negotiatores* and to the freedmen, according to the study of Spawforth 1996, 169–173. During this period, freedmen in Corinth, Dyme, Butrint, Naronia and Lissus succeeded in becoming magistrates, Millis 2014, 46–53; Lindhagen 2013, 239; Rizakis 2001c, 46–49; Hansen 2001, 90; Coles 2017, 191 (181–185). 195, she associates their political elevation to their ties with the *imperatores* Julius Caesar and Marcus Antonius).

⁹⁴ Meta 2015, 247.

⁹⁵ Landholding was one of the main investments of *negotiatores*, attested also in epigraphical testimonies from Elis and Beroia, Rizakis 2007, 8; Zoumbaki 2014, 82. The foundation of a *colonia* in Dyrrhachium would result in the transfiscation of land property and its transformation to *ager publicus*, which would be redistributed to the veterans.

⁹⁶ Cass. Dio 51, 4, 6; Digestum 15, 8, 8. The name of Augustus' Roman colony is asserted by inscribed metal pipes linked to the aqueduct of the city, Miraj – Mirto 1982, 151.

Image Credits

Fig. 1: Solidus Numismatik, E-auction 12, 17.02.2017, lot 93. – Fig. 2: SNG Cop. Thessaly-Illyria 521. – Fig. 3: SNG Cop. Thessaly-Illyria 513. – Fig. 4: Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, E-Auction 12, 23.03.2013, lot 50. – Fig. 5: Gjongecaj 2007 a, pl. 18.144. – Fig. 6: Gjongecaj 2007 a, pl. 18.136. – Fig. 7: Künker GmbH & Co. KG, E-Auction 40, 18.05.2016, lot 7144. – Fig. 8: permission by <<http://davy.potdevin.free.fr/Site/crawford5-2.html>> [02.05.2019]. – The author would like to thank Dr. S. Gjongecaj and H. Horsnæs for granting her the permission to publish the required photos.

References

BMC Caria

Catalogue of Greek Coins from the British Museum. Caria, Cos, Rhodes (London 1897).

BMC Thessaly

Catalogue of Greek Coins from the British Museum. Thessaly, Aetolia (London 1883).

CNS I

R. Calciati, *Corpus Nummorum Sicularum* (Milan 1987).

SNG Cop. Thessaly

Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum. Thessaly, Illyricum, Epirus, Acarnania (Copenhagen 1943).

SNG Cop. Macedonia

Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum. Thrace, Macedonia (Copenhagen 1943).

SNG Cop. Phlissia

Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum. Phlissia, Laconia (Copenhagen 1944).

SNG München

Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Staatliche Münzsammlung München XII. Thessalien, Illyrien, Epirus, Korkyra (München 2007).

RPC I

A. Burnett – M. Amandry – C. Howgego – J. Marait (eds.), *Roman Provincial Coinage I*, 1. From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC–69 AD). Introduction and Catalogue (Paris 1992).

I. Apollonia

P. Cabanes – N. Ceka – O. Masson – M. Hatzopoulos – H. Ceka – M. Beauregard (eds.), *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire I*, 2, 2. *Études Epigraphiques. Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et d'Apollonia*. Apollonia (Athens 1997).

I. Délos

P. Roussel – M. Launey (eds.), *Inscriptions de Délos IV* (Paris 1937).

I. Épidamne

P. Cabanes – F. Drini – M. Hatzopoulos – O. Masson (eds.), *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire I*, 2, 1. *Études Épigraphiques. Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et d'Apollonia*. Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion (Athens 1995).

Abdy 2012

R. Abdy, *Monuments Myth and Small Change in Buthrotum (Butrint) During the Early Empire*, in: F. López-Sánchez (ed.), *The City and the Coin in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, BAR International Series 2402 (Oxford 2012) 91–101.

Alföldi 1954

A. Alföldi, *Isiskult und Umsturzbeugung im letzten Jahrhundert der Römischen Republik*, *Schweizer Münzblätter* 5, 1954, 25–31.

Amandry 1988

M. Amandry, *Le monnayage des duovirs Corinthiens*, BCH Suppl. 15 (Paris 1988).

Anastasiou 2014

M. Anastasiou, *Ο Μηχανισμός των Αντικυθήρων. Αστρονομία και Τεχνολογία στην Αρχαία Ελλάδα* (Thessaloniki 2014) (unpublished PhD).

Andreae et al. 2006

B. Andreae – K. Rhein – D. Böhm (eds.), *Kleopatra und die Caesaren. Eine Ausstellung des Bucerus Kunst Forums* 28. Oktober 2006 – 4. Februar 2007 (Hamburg 2006).

Antonetti 1996

C. Antonetti, *La diffusione dei nomi romani in Etolia e in Acarnania e la presenza romana nella*, in: A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman onomastics in the Greek East. Social and political aspects. Proceedings in the International colloquium on Roman onomastics Athens 7–9 September 1993*, MEΛETHMATA 21 (Athens 1996) 149–155.

Betsiou 2018

A. Betsiou, *Marcus Antonius and Corcyra. Reflections on Coins*, RNB 164, 2018, 342–367.

Buchner 1988

E. Buchner, *Horologium solarium Augusti*, in: W. D. Heilmeyer – E. La Rocca – H. G. Martin (eds.), *Kaiser Augustus und die Verlorene Republik. Eine Ausstellung im Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin 7. Juni – 14. August 1988* (Mainz 1988) 240–245.

Boardman 1985

J. Boardman, *Αθηναϊκά ερυθρόμορφα αγγεία. Αρχαϊκή περίοδος* (Athens 1985).

Bonacasa 1959/1960

N. Bonacasa, *Per iconografia di Tolomeo IV*, ASA 37/38, 1959/1960, 367–380.

Bricault 1997

L. Bricault, *Les Cultes Isiaques en Grèce Centrale et Occidentale*, ZPE 119, 1997, 117–122.

Boussac 1992

M. F. Boussac, *Les sceaux de Délos I. Sceaux publics, Apollon, Hélios, Artémis, Hécate* (Paris 1992).

Cabanes 1996

P. Cabanes, *Les noms latins dans les inscriptions grecques d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion, d'Apollonia et de Bouthrotos*, in: A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman onomastics in the Greek East. Social and political aspects. Proceedings in the International colloquium on Roman onomastics Athens 7–9 September 1993*, MEΛETHMATA 21 (Athens 1996) 89–99.

Cabanes 2003

P. Cabanes, *Recherches sur le calendrier corinthien en Épire et dans les régions voisines*, REA 105, 1, 2003, 83–102.

Crawford 1974

M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage I–II* (Cambridge 1974).

Coles 2017

A. Coles, *Between Patronage and Prejudice. Freedman Magistrates in the Late Roman Republic and Empire*, TAPA 147, 1, 2017, 179–208.

Croiz 2002

J. F. Croiz, *Les portraits sculptés de Romains en Grèce et en Italie de Cynoscéphales à Actium (197–31 av. J.-C.)* (Athens 2002).

Dakaris 1987

S. Dakaris, Η ρωμαϊκή πολιτική στην Ήπειρο, in: A. Nikopolis (ed.), *Πρακτικά του πρώτου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου για τη Νικόπολη 23–29 Σεπτεμβρίου 1984* (Preveza 1987) 1–21.

Deniaux 1993

E. Deniaux, *Clientèles et pouvoir à l'époque de Cicéron* (Rome 1993).

De Simone 1993

C. De Simone, L'elemento non greco nelle iscrizioni di Durazzo ed Apollonia, in: P. Cabanes (ed.) *Grecs et Illyriens dans les inscriptions en langue grecque d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et d'Apollonia d'Illyrie. Actes de la table ronde internationale Clermont-Ferrand 19–21 octobre 1989* (Paris 1993) 35–75.

Ferriès 2007

M.-C. Ferriès, *Les Partisans d'Antoine* (Bordeaux 2007).

Funke – Moustakis – Hochschulz 2004

P. Funke – N. Moustakis – B. Hochschulz, Epeiros, in: M. H. Hansen – T. H. Nielsen (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford 2004) 338–350.

Garnsey 1989

P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World. Responses to Risk and Crisis* (Cambridge 1989).

Gjongecaj – Picard 1999

S. Gjongecaj – O. Picard, La circulation monétaire à Apollonia, in: P. Cabanes (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité III. Actes du IIIe colloque international Chantilly 16–19 octobre 1996* (Paris 1999) 91–98.

Gjongecaj 2007a

S. Gjongecaj, Les bronzes de Dyrrachion, in: D. Berranger-Auserve (ed.), *Épire, Illyrie, Macédoine. Mélanges offerts au Professeur Pierre Cabanes* (Clermont-Ferrand 2007) 55–70.

Gjongecaj 2007b

S. Gjongecaj, Le trésor de Lleshan, *RNum* 6, 2007, 101–140.

Grueber 1970

H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (London 1970).

Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978

S. Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, *Die Münzprägung der Lakedaimonier* (Berlin 1978).

Hansen 2011

I. L. Hansen, Between Atticus and Aeneas. The making of a colonial elite at Roman Butrint, in: R. J. Sweetman (ed.), *An offprint from Roman Colonies in the First Century of their Foundation* (Oxford 2011) 85–100.

Johnson et al. 1961

A. C. Johnson – P. R. Coleman-Norton – F. C. Bourne, *Ancient Roman Statutes* (Austin 1961).

Iversen 2017

P. Iversen, The Calendar on the Antikythera Mechanism and the Corinthian Family of Calendars, *Hesperia* 86, 1, 2017, 129–203.

Kelly Heyob 1975

S. Kelly Heyob, The Cult of Isis among women in the Graeco-Roman World, *EPRO* 51 (Leiden 1975).

Kraay 1976

C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London 1976).

Kremydi-Sicilianou 1996

S. Kremydi-Sicilianou, Η νομισματοκοπία της ρωμαϊκής αποικίας του Δίου, Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελληνικής νομισματικής Εταιρείας 4 (Athens 1996).

Kremydi-Sicilianou 2005

S. Kremydi-Sicilianou, ‘Belonging’ to Rome, ‘Remaining’ Greek. Coinage and Identity in Roman Macedonia, in: C. Howgego – V. Heuchert – A. Burnett (eds.), *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces* (Oxford 2005) 95–106.

Lindhagen 2013

A. Lindhagen, The freedmen milieus at Delos and Naron. New perspectives on the Lamboglia 2 wine trade, in: A.-L. Schallin (ed.), *Perspectives on ancient Greece. Papers in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Swedish Institute at Athens* (Stockholm 2013) 231–250.

Merkelbach 2001

R. Merkelbach, *Isis Regina – Zeus Sarapis* (München 2001).

Meta 2012

A. Meta, Names and mintmarks at the mint of Dyrrhachium (c. 270–260/55 BC). A case study, *RBN* 158, 2012, 21–38.

Meta 2015

A. Meta, *Le monnayage en argent de Dyrrachion. 370–360/55 av. J.-C.* (Athens 2015).

Miraj – Myrto 1982

F. Miraj – H. Myrto, L’aqueduc de Dyrrachium, *Iliria* 12, 1, 1982, 151 f.

Morrison 1996

J. S. Morrison, *Greek and Roman oared warships* (Oxford 1996).

Nigdelis 1994

P. Nigdelis, M. Insteius L. F. αυτοκράτωρ et la province de Macédoine au début du second triumvirat. À propos d’ une inscription inédite d’Europos, *BCH* 118, 1994, 215–228.

Richardson 1992

L. Richardson, *A new Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London 1992).

Rizakis 1986

A. D. Rizakis, Η κοινότητα των ‘συμπραγματευομένων’ Ρωμαίων της Θεσσαλονίκης και η Ρωμαϊκή οικονομική διείσδυση στη Μακεδονία, in: L. Basileios (ed.), *Αρχαία Μακεδονία IV. Ανακοινώσεις κατά το Τέταρτο Διεθνές Συμπόσιο Θεσσαλονίκη 21–25 Σεπτεμβρίου 1983* (Thessaloniki 1986) 511–524.

Rizakis 2001a

A. D. Rizakis, Les cités péloponnésiennes entre l’époque hellénistique et l’Empire. Le paysage

économique et social, in: R. Frei-Stolba – K. Gex (eds.), *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique. Actes du colloque international organisé à l'occasion du 60^e anniversaire de P. Ducrey* Lausanne 20–21 novembre 1998 (Bern 2001) 75–96.

Rizakis 2001b

A. D. Rizakis, Ηγετική τάξη και κοινωνική διαστρωμάτωση στις πόλεις της Πελοποννήσου κατά την αυτοκρατορική εποχή, in: V. Mitsopoulos-Leon (ed.), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes. Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier "100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen"* 05.03.–07.03.1998 (Athens 2001) 181–197.

Rizakis 2001c

A. D. Rizakis, La constitution des élites municipales dans les colonies romaines de la province d'Achaïe, in: O. Salomies (ed.), *The Greek East in the Roman Context* (Helsinki 2001) 37–49.

Rizakis et al. 2004

A. D. Rizakis – S. Zoumbaki – C. Lepenioti – G. Steinhauer – A. Makres, *Roman Peloponnese II. Roman Personal Names in their social context (Laconia and Messenia)* (Athens 2004).

Rizakis 2007

A. D. Rizakis, Supra-civic landowning and Supra-civic euergetic activities of urban elites in the Imperial Peloponnese, in: *Being Peloponnesian. Cohesion and Diversity through Time. Proceedings of the conference held at the Centre for Spartan and Peloponnesian Studies of the University of Nottingham 31 March–1 April 2007* (Nottingham 2007) 1–16.

Salomies 1996

O. Salomies, Contacts between Italy, Macedonia and Asia Minor during the Principate, in: A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman onomastics in the Greek East. Social and political aspects. Proceedings in the International colloquium on Roman onomastics Athens 7–9 September 1993, MEΛETHMATA 21* (Athens 1996) 111–127.

Sarikakis 1971

T. C. Sarikakis, Ρωμαίοι Ἄρχοντες της Επαρχίας της Μακεδονίας Α΄. Ἄπὸ τῆς ιδρύσεως τῆς ἐπαρχίας μέχρι τῶν χρόνων τοῦ Αὐγούστου (148–127 π.Χ.) (Thessaloniki 1971).

Sear 1998

D. R. Sear, *The History and Coinage of the Roman Imperatores 49–27 BC* (London 1998).

Spawforth 1996

A. Spawforth, Roman Corinth. The formation of the colonial elite, in: A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman onomastics in the Greek East. Social and political aspects. Proceedings in the International colloquium on Roman onomastics Athens 7–9 September 1993, MEΛETHMATA 21* (Athens 1996) 167–182.

Svenson 1995

D. Svenson, *Darstellungen hellenistischer Könige mit Götterattributen* (Frankfurt am Main 1995).

Svoronos 1904

J. Svoronos, *Ta Nomismata tou Kratous ton Ptolemaion* (Athens 1904).

Takács 1995

S. A. Takács, Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World, *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 124* (Köln 1995).

Temelini 2002

M. Temelini, Cicero's Concordia. The promotion of a political concept in the Late Roman Republic (Montreal 2002) (unpublished PhD).

Tiradritti 1998

F. Tiradritti, Isis. The Egyptian Goddess who conquered Rome. Catalogue of the Exhibition in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo 29 November – 31 December 1998 (Cairo 1998) 3–41.

Trendall 1967

A. D. Trendall, The red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily (Oxford 1967).

Trendall – Cambitoglou 1998

A. D. Trendall – A. Cambitoglou, The red-figured vases of Apulia II (Oxford 1998).

Tselekas 2016

P. Tselekas, The coins, in: N. Kaltsas – E. Vlachogianni – P. Bougia (eds.), The shipwreck of Antikythera. The ship, the treasures, the mechanism. Catalogue of the Exhibition in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens April 2012 – April 2013 (Athens 2012) 216–226.

Wilkes 2011

J. Wilkes, The Roman Colonial Settlements at Dyrrhachium, Byllis and Buthrotum. Purpose and Character, in: J. L. Lamboley – M. P. Castiglioni (eds.), L'Illyrie Méridionale et L'Épire dans l'Antiquité V. Actes du Ve colloque international de Grenoble 10–12 Octobre 2008 I (Paris 2011) 93–97.

Zoumbaki 1998/1999

S. Zoumbaki, Die Niederlassung römischer Geschäftsleute in der Peloponnes, *Tekmeria* 4, 1998/1999, 112–159.

Zoumbaki 2001

S. Zoumbaki, Elis und Olympia in der Kaiserzeit. Das Leben einer Gesellschaft zwischen Stadt und Heiligtum auf prosopographischer Grundlage, *MEΛETHMATA* 32 (Athens 2001).

Zoumbaki 2011

S. Zoumbaki, The Presence of Italiote Greeks and Romans in Aetolia, Acarnania and the Adjacent Islands from the 3rd c. BC to the Beginning of the Imperial Age, in: G. De Sensi Sestito – M. Intri (eds.), *Sulla rotta per la Sicilia. L'Epiro, Corcira e l'occidente* (Pisa 2011) 523–534.

Zoumbaki 2012

S. Zoumbaki, The exploitation of local resources of Western Greece by Roman entrepreneurs (3rd–1st c. BC), *RBelgPhilHist* 90, 2012, 77–92.

Zoumbaki 2014

S. Zoumbaki, “At the Mercy of Waves and Storms...”. Roman and Italiote Traders and Settlers in the Cyclades, in: G. Bonnin – E. Le Quéré (eds.), *Pouvoirs, îles et mer. Formes et modalités de l'hégémonie dans les Cyclades antiques (VII^e s. a.C. – III^e s. p.C.)*. Ouvrage édité avec le soutien de ArScAn (Archéologies et Sciences de l'Antiquité (UMR 7041)) et de l'Université de Paris (Bordeaux 2014) 317–360.

The territories of the Adriatic and the Ionian area were separated from each other both from a political and a cultural point of view. Because of this circumstance, they represent a suitable area for the study of commercial and cultural exchange. This meeting of cultures generated mutual influences and cultural osmosis in various ways and at different times, and was linked to different historical and geographical contexts, which nevertheless sometimes generated similar results. Recent archaeological research allows us to assume that sanctuaries and sacred places are suitable contexts in which these phenomena can be analysed, as they were places in which large amounts of people gathered and centres of cultural mediation that were involved in economic and political interests.

The contributions collected in this book consider these issues from different points of view and include studies on historiography, material culture and numismatics. The case studies of the northern Adriatic area are located on the western shore, and in particular in the area of the *ager Gallicus* and of *Picenum*, with a particular focus on the period that precedes and witnesses the structuring of the Roman domination of this territory (3rd / 2nd century BC). The case studies in the southern Adriatic and Ionian area focus on Apulia and the area of Illyria and Epirus between the Archaic era and the beginning of the Roman age (4th to 1st century BC).

