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ANATOMICAL EX-VOTOS AS A REFLECTION OF "RELIGIOUS ROMANIZATION"? REAPPRAISING A CENTRAL ITALIAN PRACTICE

LUCA RICCI

Abstract. This article seeks to provide a new analysis for the phenomenon of anatomical votive offerings in Central Italy. Traditionally, these items' distribution was examined in relation to Roman colonization. Simply put, the extension of Rome's power into Central Italy and the consequent establishment of colonial settlements were thought to be the foundational causes behind the popularity of these votives. This paper debunks such a view, examining the evidence in light of production, distribution and consumption. By doing so, the failures and unsuitability of Romanocentric explanations will become apparent: namely, Rome's centrality played a limited role at all three aforementioned levels. What the evidence highlights, instead, is a more dynamic interplay among various Central Italian settlements, further emphasizing the importance of localized decision-making. The final result is the formation of a Central Italian *koine* in which these localized strands took part.

Between the 5th and 3rd centuries B.C., Central Italy bore witness to a widespread use of anatomical votives, which are commonly referred to as Etrusco-Latial-Campanian due to their area of distribution. These are mold-made terracotta renditions of body parts, such as heads, breasts,

wombs, arms and feet as well as figurines depicting swaddling babies and whole bodies. Usually, the increasing numbers of these objects in ritual contexts have been explained in relation to Rome's colonizing ventures, which peaked in the period between the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. Simply put, while extending its power over the Italian peninsula, Rome established a series of settlements that disseminated typically Roman material culture, among which anatomical ex-votos, also determining the spreading of Roman religious practices (hence the term "Religious Romanization").[1] Such an approach, however, presupposes a centre-to-periphery model, that does not take into consideration the wider social, cultural and political landscape of 5th-3rd century Central Italy. In this paper, I will examine the production, distribution and consumption of anatomical ex-votos in order to show that a colonization approach should be abandoned. Instead, I will demonstrate that the evidence follows a glocalizing process. Although approaches that emphasize local agency in terms of anatomical votives have been already postulated, especially by Scopacasa,[2] my approach differs considerably from previous studies because it emphasizes the importance of local decision-making processes by examining the "biography" of these votives, as exemplified by the aforementioned three stages. Before undertaking the analysis of the material, it is important to detail the theoretical frameworks, specifying the pitfalls of Romanization and the advantages of Glocalization. Subsequently, I will focus on production, distribution and consumption, showing that anatomical ex-votos do not indicate Romanization. Rather, they need to be studied in relation to localized/regional patterns of interaction and exchange, further influencing the formation of a Central Italian *koine*.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS: ROMANIZATION VS. GLOCALIZATION

Approaching material culture from the standpoint of Romanization means associating cultural exchange and transmission with a static centre-to-periphery model, further highlighting a dichotomy between "Roman" and "non-Roman" rather than a complexity of socio-cultural

[1] De Cazanove 2000.

[2] Scopacasa 2015; for a more holistic interpretation of various datasets, see Stek 2009; 2015.

layers. According to Romanization, Rome represented the fulcrum from which material culture spread to its peripheries, namely the colonies. Roman culture becomes an unchanging entity, attaching itself onto the various realities with which it comes in contact, finally supplanting them. By doing so, "Roman" becomes an oppositional category to other cultures, usually referred to as the "Other."[3] Moreover, with the term "Roman," one enters an even more slippery territory since the adjective usually has a legal/administrative significance,[4] instead of a culturally specific one. Then, it is easy to understand the main issue with this unilinear approach: cultural exchange affects all groups involved in cultural contact in a uniform manner.[5] In this context, cultural contact necessitates a theoretical framework that treats cultures not in oppositional terms, but in relation to one another. Furthermore, Romanization is not equipped to understand the relationship between material culture and identity. In fact, like any other acculturation model, Romanization identifies an equivalence between the style of material culture and ethnocultural identity by treating cultural categories in a static fashion.[6] Just because archaeology reveals the adoption of "Roman" objects, it does not automatically follow that people were adopting a "Roman" ethnocultural identity. As previously said, "Roman" is a legal/administrative term and not a culturally specific concept linked to identity.

Moving away from acculturation theory, I propose that Glocalization offers a more suitable approach to explain dynamics of (material) culture and identity formation. Initially conceived as a framework for modern society,[7] nowadays Glocalization is also employed to examine ancient phenomena. The relevance of Glocalization for antiquity depends on a choice of perspective: if it pertains to a worldwide integrated economy, then Glocalization is a typically modern phenomenon; if it is conceived as a process involving the growth of human networking

[3] Pitts and Versluys 2015, 5-6.
[4] Versluys 2015, 145.
[5] Versluys 2015, 144.
[6] Versluys 2015, 146.
[7] Giulianotti and Robertson 2007, 134.

between "global" and local, as I perceive it, then it can be applied also to pre-modern periods.[8] Broadly speaking, this theory highlights how local cultures might critically react to "global" phenomena.[9] More specifically, it emphasizes the agency and the interaction of the local, especially within the exchange of culture and subsequent production of goods. In its original setting, Glocalization dealt with economic analysis, leading Robertson to approximate it to micro-marketing.[10] In this context, goods and services can be tailored according to different local situations, creating a plethora of different localized products. Thus, we understand why Glocalization's innovative element resides in the active, determinant role that the local plays within the global.[11] As Swyngedouw argues, glocalizing production cannot be separated from glocalizing governance.[12] What this implies is that the production of glocalizing material culture reflects the interests of local social, cultural and political structures, which, in turn, determine the meaning of produced goods. In order to understand Glocalization, two processes need to be kept in mind: universalization and particularization. The former indicates that styles and elements specific to a certain culture detach from that culture in order to become part of a wider system; the latter specifies a movement from the universalized category toward local realities.[13] Such an approach implies that we move away from a static ethno-cultural treatment of material culture toward a more dynamic view wherein the "biography" of objects, as seen in the production, distribution and consumption of items, informs us about the decisions made by people (social agents) at a local level.

[8] Pitts and Versluys 2015, 13.
[9] Giulianotti and Robertson 2007, 134.
[10] Robertson 2012, 194.
[11] Robertson 2012, 196.
[12] Swyngedouw 1997, 159.
[13] Versluys 2015, 155.

PRODUCTION: FROM FOREIGN STIMULI TO LOCALIZED CHOICES IN A LOCAL MARKET

Within the production of anatomical ex-votos, the early dissemination of molding techniques highlights that a centre-to-periphery model, based around Rome, does not fit with the available evidence. Between the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., there are two main centres of production, located respectively in southern Etruria and in Campania. These derived their techniques of production from the contacts with mainland Greece or southern Italy. In the case of southern Etruria, scholarship has usually given an influential role to Corinth, which had a tradition of dedicating mold-made anatomical terracotta items to the god Asklepios between the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.[14] In this setting, it is interesting to see that the appearance of such production techniques in that region occurred according to modalities of cultural exchange that did not see Rome as a direct participant. Lesk, in fact, argues that anatomical ex-votos reached southern Etruria through coastal sites, such as Graviscae (Fig. 1).[15] Already from the Archaic period, this settlement functioned as an *emporion* where Greek merchants transacted business. In this heterogenous ethno-cultural landscape, religious offerings that emulated Corinthian typologies were found *in situ*,[16] thus attesting the plausibility of a contact point in southern Etruria. Graviscan votives, like their Corinthian counterparts,[17] display holes that allowed the object to be hanged. Similarly, some breast votives were mounted on plaques for suspension.[18] Such a treatment of objects epitomizes the transition and the adaptation of foreign forms into an Etruscan context. In the case of Campania (Fig. 2), the settlements of Neapolis – modern-day Naples – Cuma and Capua can be seen as the centres from which production techniques spread to the coast and the inner part of the region.[19] Even here, the contacts with the Greek world influenced both the techniques and the

[14] Glinister 2006, 16.
[15] Lesk 2002, 195-196.
[16] Comella 1981, 772.
[17] Lesk 2002.
[18] Lesk 2002, 195.
[19] Bonghi Jovino 1990b, 75, 79.

models: in this case, contact did not occur with Corinth, but with the Greek cities of southern Italy. As seen from a specific representation of Artemis, known as *Artemis Sicula*, molding techniques for the production of anatomical representations became popular in Campania during the 4th century B.C. building on Syracusan prototypes (perhaps through the intermediating role of Neapolis).[20] In this context, a centre-to-periphery model does not explain the adoption of certain techniques and models of production. After all, we would have some problems in explaining Rome's centrality since the *Urbs* had not yet acquired a prominent political presence in Central Italy in this period. On the other hand, if we shift the attention toward a glocalizing approach, a process of universalization took place, whereby certain techniques could detach from their original setting (Greece or southern Italy) and enter a broader market.

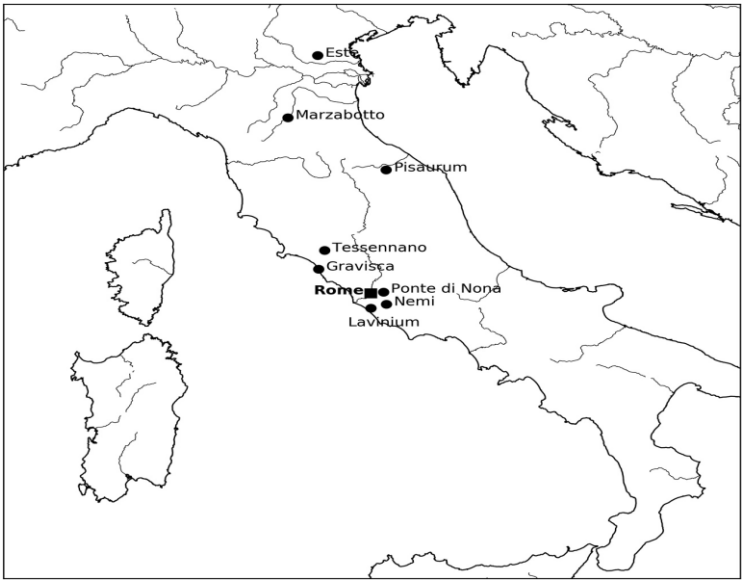

Figure 1. 5th-century presence of anatomical votives (Hughes 2017, 63).

[20] Scatozza Höricht 1990, 125.

Figure 2. Map of Republican Italy
https://awmc.unc.edu/wordpress/free-maps/the-romans-from-village-to-empire-2nd-edition-2011/

From the end of the 5th century B.C., the production of anatomical votive offerings began to be influenced by localized trends, further indicating a process of particularization. In the case of southern Etruria, the production of ex-votos was carried out by indigenous people outside the colony: at Tessennano (Fig. 1), in the territory of Vulci, anatomical dedications were produced by Tuscanian workshops, which employed their own localized techniques, as seen from the addition of the veil (*capite velato*) on previously unveiled votives.[21] In Campania, the workshops of Capua, as much as those of the other aforementioned centres, can be examined in order to ascertain the local elements in the production. In fact, it seems that from this period the Greek elements in these workshops were influenced by the employment of local natives. This social change must have been radical since, even down the centuries, written sources could still mention it: among many, Virgil (*Aen.* 7.729) and Strabo (6.1.2) describe that such an intense phenomenon of migration occurred in Campania so as to change the socio-cultural structure of settlements. Going back to production, such a change in the social tissue of workshops is often connected to inexperience, often perceived as qualitative discrepancies, visible defects of form and shape.[22] This view creates a hierarchy between urbanized artisans and non-urbanized migrants, without taking into consideration the real contribution of migrants to the production of ceramics. After all, they had been practicing their own crafts, such as metallurgy and pottery making, since time immemorial.[23] It would not be entirely far-fetched to postulate the influence of their own crafts onto the production of ex-votos. Moreover, as Bonghi Jovino hints at,[24] these newcomers would have inevitably influenced the production of objects through their socio-cultural values: production, in fact, does not reveal only technological choices, but also a series of actions that the makers employed as indicators of their own

[21] Söderlind 2002.
[22] Bedello Tata 1990, 110.
[23] Bonghi Jovino 1990a, 35-36.
[24] Bonghi Jovino 1990b, 92.

cultural practices.[25] In the case of our body of evidence, such a socio-cultural aspect becomes even more relevant since, due to the religious and cultic nature of anatomical votives, local beliefs and piety would have played a great role in the production of items, determining certain molds and, in turn, styles. What does this localized production, both at a level of technology and meaning, tell us about a centre-periphery model, like Roman colonization? The increasing participation of local people in the production of religious objects does not justify the homogeneous view that scholars propounded for decades. Simply put, the cultural uniformity, often associated with the spreading of anatomical ex-votos, is in stark contrast with localized production, which catered for a heterogeneous set of people and, by extension, a heterogeneous set of beliefs. In this context, the production of anatomical votives underwent a process of particularization, whereby it acquired a localized character from the universalized sphere.

A closer look at the production phase sheds light on the intensification of productivity as a localized development. More specifically, the organisation of production within various settlements did not depend on Rome. Rather, it was determined by local economic dynamics. Given a conspicuous lack of evidence for Latium,[26] we are forced to concentrate on Campania, which provides the best attested workshops, especially those of Capua. Although scholars have postulated that molding techniques and models spread through itinerant artisans,[27] settlements in Campania began to witness the emergence of permanent workshops with a polyfunctional character by the end of the 5th century B.C.: they did not focus on one type of production, instead opting for a variegated range of items, which differed in economic value and artistic rendition.[28] In the case of Capua, the numerous anatomical terracottas, pre-

[25] Scopacasa 2015.

[26] Although see Nijboer 1998 for a detailed account of production at Satricum.

[27] Comella 1981. Bonghi Jovino (1990a) postulates that some of these so-called itinerant artisans could have been invited by the settlement in order to perform their craft for a certain amount of time.

[28] Bonghi Jovino 1990a, 46.

served at the Museo Provinciale Campano, can shed light on how these polyfunctional workshops impacted on the local production. Especially from the 4th century B.C. there was an increase in demand, which might have been accentuated by the abovementioned movements of people. According to Bedello Tata,[29] this increase sparked the reuse of the same molds and prototypes in order to create a varied range of items, from the production of architectonic and votive terracottas to the production of vessels, such as small vases with anatomical details (e.g. female heads). Given their polyfunctional nature, the workshops intensified production for various types of consumers. In fact, the constant reuse of matrixes would have inevitably led to their wearing down, further resulting in the production of lower quality items, destined to the lower classes.[30] In this context, the 4th- and 3rd-century workshops would have fitted into Stissi's conception of "workshop as a machine,"[31] whereby the focus of the atelier was on intense, polyfunctional production. More importantly, the intensification of workshops should not be seen as emanating from Rome toward the peripheries of Central Italy. As Morel notes,[32] in the 4th century B.C., colonization does not offer an encompassing explanation for the emergence of these centres of production. In Campania, colonization became more present only at the end of the 4th century B.C. Thus, moving away from this approach, he advocates for the introduction of a different concept, namely "economic influence," which takes into consideration the emergence of production centres, the adoption of techniques within a localized setting and the attention toward a localized market.

DISTRIBUTION: THE FAILURE OF ROME'S COLONIES AND THE INTERACTION AMONG LOCAL CENTRES

If we examine the distribution of anatomical votives in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., the archaeological evidence shows that a centre-to-periphery model does not account for the early manifestations of the

[29] Bedello Tata 1990, 98.
[30] Bedello Tata 1990, 109.
[31] Stissi 2012, 210-211.
[32] Morel 1988, 51.

phenomenon. Fitting into the evidence regarding production, Rome did not play any important function in the early distribution of these objects, which, instead, spread from Etruscan and Campanian centres. Let us start with the archaeological data from southern Etruria. In a votive deposit in the Campetti area near Veii (Fig. 2), a conspicuous amount of votive items, dated to the 5th century B.C. and made locally, resurfaced: slightly less than 200 heads were discovered, in small dimensions (between 7 cm and 20 cm in height).[33] Similarly, still in the proximity of Veii, numerous examples were revealed at Falerii (Fig. 2); these date to the same period and originate from Veii itself.[34] Outside the Veientan and Faliscan area, the 5th-century diffusion of anatomical votives did not occur in intense waves. Nevertheless, the few examples found in the rest of Central Italy, once again, seem to point to southern Etruria as the area of production. For instance, at Caere (Fig. 2), modern-day Cerveteri, 5th-century votive heads are not particularly numerous. However, one specimen presents very close parallels in type and style with one from Veii.[35] A similar phenomenon can be witnessed at Carseoli in modern-day Abruzzo. From a deposit containing a total of 358 finds, only four votive heads date to the 5th century B.C.[36] Despite this, it is interesting to note that the 5th-century examples are strictly connected with the production from Veii and Falerii: the first type, a double-faced ex-voto, derives from the same mold, which was used to produce an entire head both at Veii and Falerii;[37] the second type consists of a female head, which, once again, can be connected stylistically with a typology from Veii, as seen from the dimension, the headgear and the hairstyle.[38] If we shift the attention to Latium, 5th-century votive specimens are so scarce that it is not possible to analyse distribution patterns.[39] In Campania, instead, we find a different situation. The archaic

[33] Vagnetti 1971, 31-46.
[34] Comella 1981, 773.
[35] Vagnetti 1971, 35.
[36] Comella 1981, 773.
[37] Marinucci 1976, 17-18.
[38] Vagnetti 1971, 34-35.
[39] Comella 1981, 774.

heads from the votive deposit at Teanum demonstrate close stylistic affinities with the types from Veii, as explained by the intense commercial connections between southern Etruria and northern Campania during the last third of the 5th century B.C.[40] At the same time, we also find a more localized distribution, which fits into the productive landscape of the region. Capua, in particular, must have acted as a regional centre of distribution, as evinced from the various votives that follow local Campanian, rather than southern Etruscan production.[41] In this context, we can conclude that, at the early stages of the anatomical votives' production, the distribution of items occurred along patterns that emphasized certain regional centres, like Veii and Capua, rather than Rome.

Between the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C., the distribution of anatomical votives acquired a more multi-faceted aspect since Rome's colonizing efforts intensified. Indeed, as Comella points out, although Rome was not the source of provenance for anatomical offerings, it could have still adopted such items from southern Etruria, further spreading them through the colonies during the 4th century B.C.[42] However, it is important not to idealize and generalize this view. After all, how can colonization explain the finding of anatomical votives in Appenninic and Adriatic Italy, areas which saw few – if any – colonies? And how does the evidence really support a Romanization approach in colonized areas? A number of sanctuaries in Umbria (Grotta Bella and Mevania), Picenum (Isola di Fano and Montefortino di Arcevia) and Samnium (Colle Sparanise) have revealed a conspicuous number of terracotta votives, which have never been properly examined as to their distribution in relation to colonies.[43] As Morelli notes, archaeological excavations in Abruzzo have unearthed numerous votive deposits in locations which are not close to any colony.[44] Even if we shifted the attention to the more colonized areas of southern Etruria, Latium and northern

[40] Comella 1981, 774.
[41] Bedello Tata 1990, 110.
[42] Comella 1981, 775.
[43] Glinister 2006, 18-19.
[44] Morelli 1997, 89.

Campania, the evidence does not necessarily prove the Romanizing role of colonies. Rather, it shows that there are two different gradients of distribution, whereby the areas around Rome, usually thought to be more colonized, present more numerous samples of anatomical ex-votos in relation to the aforementioned areas in the Appenninic and Adriatic area. These areas were densely populated in antiquity. Thus, it should not come as a surprise that they display a higher number of items. In addition, we should also take into consideration that modern archaeological investigations have been more extensive in the area around Rome, hence explaining the higher numbers of findings.[45] This whole issue is exacerbated by the lack of a scientific dating method for anatomical ex-votos: they are usually dated between the 4th and 1st centuries B.C., without any further specification within this timespan.[46] Even though sometimes it is possible to establish stylistic connections, such occurrences are not substantial enough to allow a more precise dating. What transpires from this methodological problem is that it is virtually impossible to assess whether the Etrusco-Latial-Campanian votives were present in any given area before the Romans or, as traditional scholarship argues, as a result of Rome's presence through its colonies, further invalidating their role as indicators of Romanized settlements and social groups.

In this context, how can we explain the 4th-and 3rd-century distribution of anatomical votives throughout Central Italy? Their distribution highlights the interconnectivity among various local settlements, without emphasizing nor undermining Rome's role. Indeed, as previously stated, it is possible that Rome could spread certain ritual votives through its colonies. After all, some colonists must have wanted to preserve the religious traditions of Rome, of which anatomical votives had become part. At the same time, once these settlements became rooted in the colonial landscape, they must have also bestowed more importance on the exchanges – economic and cultural – with their neighbours, who were not necessarily Romans. As seen from the distribution of various

[45] Glinister 2006, 19.

[46] Glinister 2006, 20.

media, not only does Morel see no direct or preferential commercial link between Rome and its colonies, but he also infers a more direct contact among various local centres.[47] If we zoom in onto a specific area, like the Pontine region in Central Italy, the petrographic analysis of fabrics from non-votive, yet commonly used, pottery allows us to gain an insight into how the socio-economic network might have worked. The Roman vessels (*ollae*) under study were all made out of four different fabrics.[48] In particular, the fabrics from the mid-Republican specimens (4th and 3rd centuries B.C.) can be grouped into two sections, respectively Fabric 1 and Fabric 2 (Fig. 3). The first is usually associated with workshops in the Tiber area around Rome, while the second has a regional character, deriving from an important centre (hypothetically Satricum).[49] It is telling that the majority of vessels were made with Fabric 2 during the period of intense colonization.[50] If we compare these data with the distribution of anatomical ex-votos, we find a similar picture. The case of Minturnae, near the Pontine area, is particularly informative. Even though it was a Roman colony, the anatomical ex-votos found at the sanctuary of the goddess Marica attest a regional provenance from Capua and Cales, a colony close-by.[51] At the same time, it is important to note that local settlements like these were not mere receivers since they could be included in regional and supra-regional economic networks. For instance, Minturnae exported northward, as seen from the numerous examples of anatomical votives found in the deposits along the Tiber.[52] Similarly, Cales had intense exchanges with Capua, but products manufactures here reached more distant regions, like the territory of the Equi, Apulia and even further down in southern Italy.[53] By understanding this complex network of exchange, not only do we

[47] Morel 1988, 51, 53.
[48] Borgers, Tol, and de Haas 2017, 316-318.
[49] Borgers, Tol, and de Haas 2017, 320-321.
[50] Of the sixteen specimens, ten belong to Fabric 2 (regional) and six to Fabric 1 (Tiber valley).
[51] Bonghi Jovino 1990b, 76, 84.
[52] Bonghi Jovino 1990b, 76.
[53] Bonghi Jovino 1990b, 84.

realize the limitation of a centre-periphery model based on Rome's pervading force, but we can also explain the shortcomings of such model. The presence and distribution of anatomical votives in Samnium (modern-day Abruzzo and Molise) becomes clearer once we realize that Capua, in Campania, had some economic interests there.[54] What this tells us is that the distribution of anatomical ex-votos occurred along complex dynamics, in which Rome occupied a role, but not a pivotal one. A look at Fig. 4 reveals that the matrixes/molds used in Rome belonged to a regional pattern, typical of northern Latium, which differed from the matrixes/molds employed in southern Latium and Campania. As I will speculate in the next section, the key to understanding these votives' production and distribution is to have a better picture of localized interests within the socio-cultural landscape of mid-Republican Central Italy.

[54] Bonghi Jovino 1990b, 80.

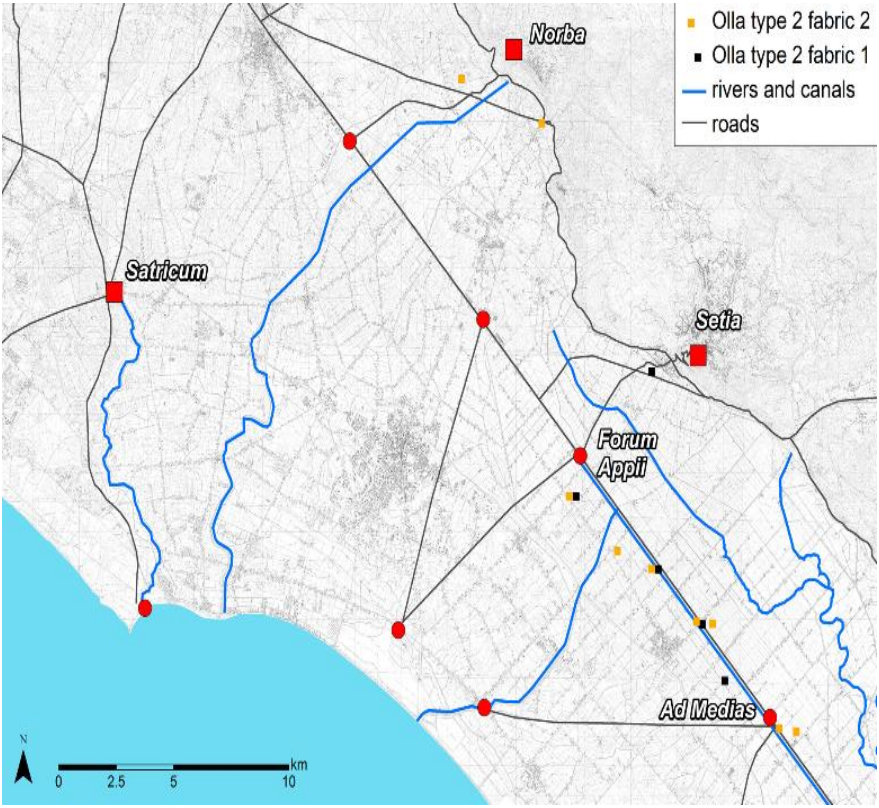

Figure 3. Map showing the distribution of Fabric 1 and Fabric 2 of olla type 2 cookware samples in the Pontine Region (4th-3rd centuries B.C.) (Borgers, Tol, and de Haas 2017, 322).

Figure. 4. Distribution of matrices, following certain regional/localized patterns (3rd century B.C.) (Comella 1981, 792, fig. 9).

CONSUMPTION: PRACTICAL APPROACHES AND LOCAL CONTEXTS IN A CENTRAL ITALIAN *KOINE*

From the viewpoint of consumption, anatomical ex-votos made it possible for a larger group of worshippers to perform ritual activities within the context of existing religious practices, rather than indicating the wholesale adoption of a new culture. Although an argument could be brought forth regarding a phenomenon of cultural adoption (Hellenization) in the 5th century B.C.,[55] whereby the Etruscans or Campanians wanted to emulate Greek culture, such an approach is not true, otherwise we would expect to find anatomical ex-votos in conjunction with typically Greek cults. But, as we have seen, especially from the 4th century, the presence of these objects is almost ubiquitous throughout Central Italy and does not occur specifically in contexts related to Greek cultic practices. In a similar fashion, a Romanization approach would only be valid if we found typically Roman specimens associated with Roman sites. But, as Glinister aptly argues,[56] some supposedly Roman types (*capite velato* heads) were found together with non-Roman specimens (*capite aperto* heads) in Roman cultic contexts, thus completely debunking the association between material culture and ethno-cultural manifestations. With this in mind, the users' consumption should be understood from a practical point of view. If we examine the previous trends of votive offerings in Central Italy, we would find out that they were made in metal, as evinced from the examples found at Marzabotto (Fig. 1).[57] In this context, it is easy to understand why terracotta votives would be more widely consumed: given the availability and the low cost of the material, not only were they relatively more rapid to produce, but they could also allow more worshippers to take part in ritual activity. After all, we could not expect everyone to afford metal votives. The increase in terracotta, therefore, should be seen as an indicator of commodification, whereby cultural contact and the adoption of material culture could be inserted in the existing socio-cultural milieu.

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[55]As previously said, terracotta anatomical votives in Italy were adopted through the contact with Greeks, whether Corinthians or Sicilians. Hughes 2017, 63.

[56] Glinister 2009.

[57] Hughes 2017, 79-80.

Like production and distribution, the consumption of anatomical ex-votos highlights a degree of localism within a wider *koine*. More specifically, from Greek influential sources, Central Italian communities developed its own variations on votives since they aimed at a local consumption. This is particularly visible in the rendition of internal organs among Central Italian votive deposits. If we compared this aspect with the Greek evidence, we would see that there are no parallels outside of Italy. Along Hughes' argument, this practice developed from a familiarity with the body's internal structure. In particular, apart from animal butchery and sacrifice, Italic religions frequently included the examination of entrails and the liver:[58] although no one would expect potters to be present on those occasions in order to be inspired, there are many examples of anatomical models, such as terracotta livers, which were made in relation to religious occasions; similarly, there are also numerous scenes where haruspicy is depicted, thus providing further evidence to the connection between religious practices and anatomical votives. Despite a degree of commonality throughout Central Italy, the consumption of these votives could change from place to place since religious manifestations would present several variations. In fact, even though the models are common throughout Central Italy, different deposits will produce different specimens. If we take the southern Etrurian sites of Gravisca and Tessennano, indeed they share several types of body parts (heads, ears, etc.). Yet, they also present very specific items of a distinctive character: in the case of Tessennano, the deposit has a typically "male" character with its preponderance of male parts, as opposed to Gravisca and its "female" counterparts.[59] Once we extend this pattern to the whole of Central Italy, the difference among the various deposits can be related to the adaptation of such a votive practice to the localized religious mores.[60] In this varied landscape, we can also understand why the centre-periphery model does not offer a useful system of analysis. Although the various colonies might have wanted to preserve Roman socio-religious practices, with time we should also postulate that cults acquired more lo-

[58] Hughes 2017, 87.
[59] Hughes 2017, 74.
[60] This is also argued in Scopacasa 2015.

calized practices, changing the landscape of anatomical votives. Thus, the final picture we have is of a widespread Central Italian *koine* in which localized manifestations occurred in different geographical areas.

That the consumption had a local significance can be inferred also from a symbolic analysis of the objects, whereby the ritual meaning behind the items acquired a meaning in the context of communal life. Graham shows how the performative space where anatomical ex-votos were employed highlighted a close relationship among gods, individuals and the community.[61] The votives acted as symbolic representations of the dedicators, who could also heighten the sense of community by taking part in the same cultic activity.[62] Similarly, Glinister is even more specific since she asserts that the use of swaddled babies as anatomical votives was closely connected to the community's well-being through the health of its youngest members.[63] The distribution of these votives further highlights the local consumption within the wider Central Italian *koine*. In fact, many centres, like Cales and Capua, were specialized in producing high quality objects for refined tastes.[64] Once these items were distributed to their various destinations, they would have acquired a local meaning, through which the commissioner could emphasize his/her own wealth, political alliances and economic opportunities within the local community, reminding others of his connection to the wider Central Italian sphere.

CONCLUSIONS: GLOCALIZATION AND THE FORMATION OF A *KOINE*

In this paper, I have shown that the emergence and development of anatomical votives is not well explained by Romanization. More specifically, the view, according to which these ex-votos indicated Rome's encompassing political and cultural presence in Central Italy, does not consider a more complex picture. Instead, as seen from the examination of the objects' production, distribution and consumption, I have argued that the archaeological data followed a glocalizing pattern, especially regarding the interactions among various local realities and

[61] Graham 2017, 59.
[62] Graham 2017, 61.
[63] Glinister 2017, 142-143.
[64] Bonghi Jovino 1990b, 83.

their input in forming a Central Italian *koine*. From the point of view of production, anatomical votives were initially influenced by non-Italic models. In southern Etruria and Campania, the contact with the Greeks brought about the emergence of various production centres. Even though Rome might have spread the votives through its colonies from the 4th century B.C., there is a plethora of centres that were not influenced by such a colonizing phenomenon. Already at this point, we see these centres developing localized trends within Central Italy, away from Rome's encompassing presence. If we examine distribution, again, colonization does not explain the presence of anatomical votives in non-colonized areas. Moving away from this centre-periphery model, I have shown that the distribution of objects can be explained through the intense contact among the aforementioned production centres. In this landscape, Rome must have played an important, although not central, role in distributing items alongside other centres. By adopting this new approach, therefore, we can already begin to understand how the intense interaction among settlements brought about the creation of a communal, yet locally diverse, *koine*. In fact, as I have shown in the section on consumption, anatomical votives were initially adapted from Greek prototypes to serve typically Italic socio-cultural practices. Because of localized religious practices, the consumption of anatomical votives acquired a local significance both at a material and a symbolic level. At the same time, the distribution from one centre to another can also testify this localized concerns, whereby certain items were employed by specific classes, later acquiring a localized meaning in the Central Italian *koine*.

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