

THE VICCHIO STELE AND POGGIO COLLA

ABSTRACT

Poggio Colla è situato in una posizione strategica a controllo delle direttrici che collegano il medio Valdarno con l'Etruria Padana attraverso il Mugello. Nel 2015 fu rinvenuta una lunga iscrizione incisa su una stele di pietra inserita nel podio del primo edificio templare del santuario. La stele risale quindi alla Fase 0 del sito, antecedente al tempio. È difficile stabilire la sua esatta datazione, ma le testimonianze ceramiche suggeriscono che la fase 0, un insediamento di edifici in legno, sia compresa tra il 650 e la seconda metà del VI secolo a.C. In questo contributo esaminiamo le prove della datazione e valutiamo i probabili scenari per la produzione e l'uso della stele, ipotizzando che su di essa fosse iscritto un testo religioso redatto in diverse occasioni prima della costruzione della fase monumentale del santuario. Contestualizziamo infine la stele come oggetto, inserito in una sequenza di depositi rituali localizzati a Poggio Colla e nel contesto più ampio dell'Etruria settentrionale.

Poggio Colla is situated at a strategic location controlling the routes that connect the middle Arno Valley with Etruria Padana via the Mugello. In 2015 a long inscription on a stone stele was found incorporated into the podium of the first temple building at the sanctuary. The stele therefore dates to Phase 0 of the site that pre-dates the temple. Precise dating is difficult, but the ceramic evidence suggests a date between 650 and the second half of the sixth century for Phase 0 that was a settlement of wooden buildings. We review the dating evidence and assess the likely scenarios for the production and use of the stele, suggesting that it was inscribed, with a religious text on several occasions before the monumental phase of the sanctuary was built. We then contextualise the stele as an object, as one of a sequence of ritual deposits at Poggio Colla and in the wider context of northern Etruria.

1. THE LOCAL GEOGRAPHICAL AND STRATIGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

Poggio Colla lies on a ridge overlooking the eastern end of the Mugello in the far north of Tuscany (*fig. 1*). The River Sieve flows from its sources on the northeastern slopes of the Monti della Calvana eastwards across the Mugello passing Barberino di Mugello, San Piero, Borgo San Lorenzo and Vicchio before turning South at Poggio Colla to join the River Arno at Pontassieve. Anyone travelling south from Felsina, Imola or Faenza heading towards central Etruria or the Tiber Valley and would need to cross the Apennines over the Futa, or Raticosa pass or the Giogo di Scarperia would necessarily pass by Poggio Colla before following the Arno upstream to the Val di Chiana *en route* to Cortona, Arezzo, Perugia or Chiusi. Conversely anyone in Central Etruria wishing to defend themselves against incursions from north of the Apennines would find Poggio Colla a key strategic bottleneck. For anyone travelling south but heading towards the lower Arno Valley and the Tyrrhenian coast, the easiest route would be to aim for the western end of the Mugello where the site of San Piero/I Monti was strategically located to control access to Fiesole and the Arno

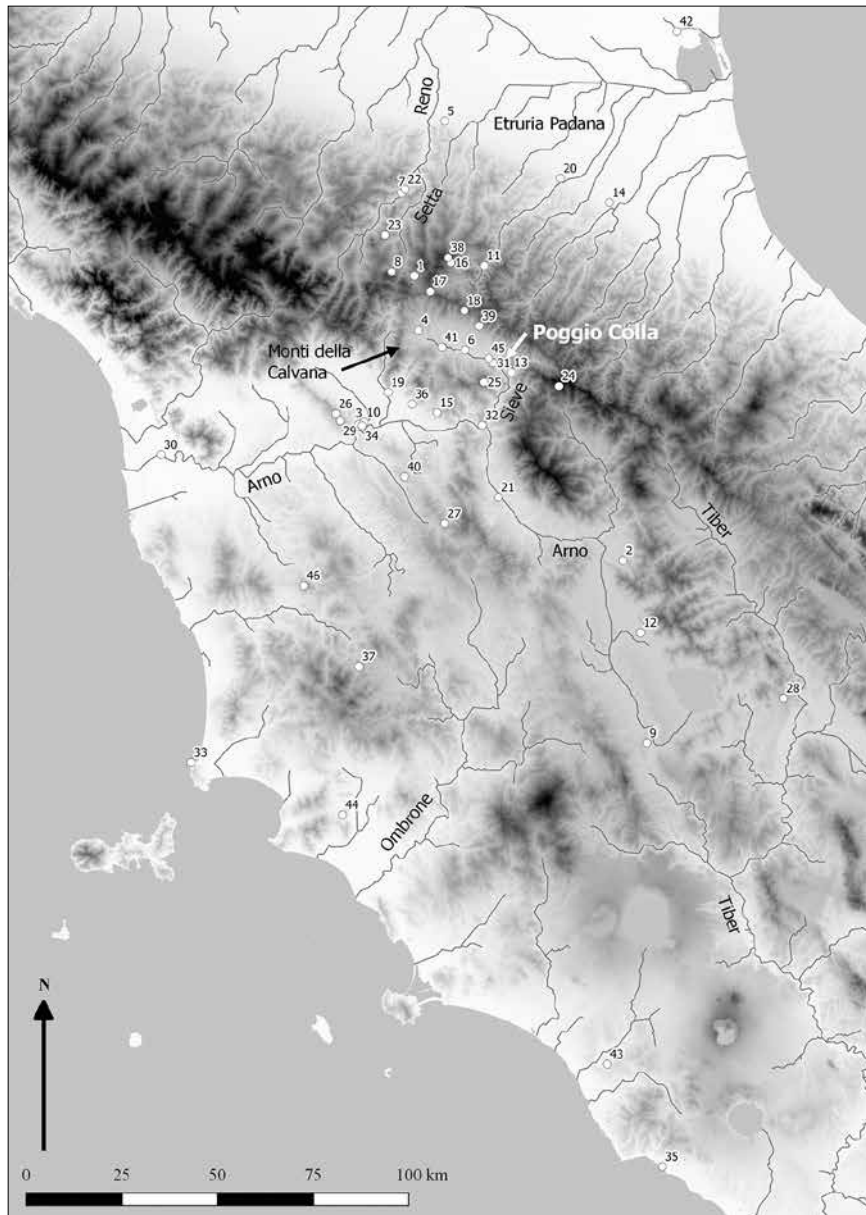


fig. 1 - Location map of Poggio Colla and places mentioned in the text.

1. Albagino; 2. Arezzo; 3. Artimino; 4. Barberino di Mugello; 5. Bologna/Felsina; 6. Borgo San Lorenzo; 7. Casa Rodella; 8. Castiglione dei Pepoli; 9. Chiusi; 10. Comeana; 11. Coniale; 12. Cortona; 13. Dicomano; 14. Faenza; 15. Fiesole; 16. Fuoco di Legno; 17. Futa; 18. Giogo di Scarperia; 19. Gonfienti; 20. Imola; 21. La Rotta; 22. Marzabotto/Kainua; 23. Montacuto Ragazza/Monteguragazza; 24. Monte Falterona. Lago degli idoli; 25. Monte Giovi; 26. Montalbano; 27. Panzano; 28. Perugia; 29. Pietramarina; 30. Pisa; 31. Poggio Colla; 32. Pontassieve; 33. Populonia; 34. Prato Rosello; 35. Pyrgi; 36. Quinto Fiorentino; 37. Radicondoli; 38. Raticosa; 39. Ronta; 40. San Casciano in Val di Pesa; 41. San Piero I Monti; 42. Spina; 43. Tarquinia; 44. Vetulonia; 45. Vicchio; 46. Volterra.

Valley, as if a twin settlement with Poggio Colla¹. The most direct route connecting the urban centres of Gonfienti and Marzabotto (Kainua) lies slightly to further the west along the ridge of the Monti della Calvana, the ridge to the east of the Torrente Setta and around the southern side of Monte Sole².

Within the Mugello and mid-Arno valley there is very sparse evidence for Iron Age occupation in the first three centuries of the first Millennium (*fig. 2*). In the Etruscan period as a whole there is much more settlement, largely found in the valleys. For many of the sites the chronology is not well established making it difficult to develop a narrative of the dynamics of change in rural settlement. Poggio Colla and Fiesole, with their strategic locations, are two of the few sites that appear to have been occupied, in one way or another, throughout the Etruscan period.

In addition to the geographically determined pattern of settlement in the Mugello valley, there is a religious landscape to consider. The summit of Monte Falterona, with its massive votive deposit in the Lago degli Idoli³ is visible from Poggio Colla to the southeast, likewise Monte Giovi is visible 5.5 km to the southwest⁴. Further evidence for religious ritual embedded in the landscape is provided by finds of votive bronze figurines at several locations in the Mugello, when the exact findspot is known they are associated with natural features: higher land, a water source and a natural gas emission⁵.

Twenty-one seasons of excavation and survey by the Mugello Valley Archaeological Project⁶ have established that the hilltop to the southeast of Vicchio (FI) was settled as early as the Neolithic period and through the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. For these earlier periods, only residual finds have survived with a single Neolithic finger-nail impressed sherd, jasper flaked-stone tools and possibly Bronze Age hand-made ceramics. There is no strong evidence for a substantial Bronze Age presence at Poggio Colla. Iron Age settlement is sparse in the Mugello (*fig. 2*). Two sherds of impasto kyathoi with hollow horn handles, and possibly a carinated tazza, provide evidence for Iron Age frequentation of the site in the ninth to eighth centuries⁷.

¹ All dates are BCE unless otherwise stated. The San Martino Medici fortress (1569 CE) obliterated any trace of an earlier settlement at San Piero. The necropolis and craft area at I Monti is in a location peripheral to the southern end of the hill: CAMICI - GIACHI 1994; SALVINI 1994; SALVADORI - SALVINI 2022.

² The route passes Castiglione dei Pepoli, Montacuto Ragazza and Casa Rodella likely all sacred sites (BOTTAZZI 1997; GUIDANTI 1997).

³ BORCHI 2007; SETTESOLDI 2018.

⁴ CAPPUCINI 2017b, pp. 189-193; SOFIA 2017.

⁵ For Albagino NOCENTINI *et al.* 2018; PERKINS *et al.* 2020; Fuoco di Legno CHELLINI 2012, pp. 122-126; Coniale CHELLINI 2012, p. 127; Ronta CHELLINI 2012, p. 84; and more generally see DA VELA 2022.

⁶ The excavation was by concession of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo. The excavations were instigated by invitation of Dr. Francesco Nicosia who first excavated at the site.

⁷ Poggio Colla Inv. 09-040 (900-700); 10-092 (750-650); 10-077 (BETTINI 2021, p. 255, type 9.III,A,1): PERKINS 2022, p. 369.

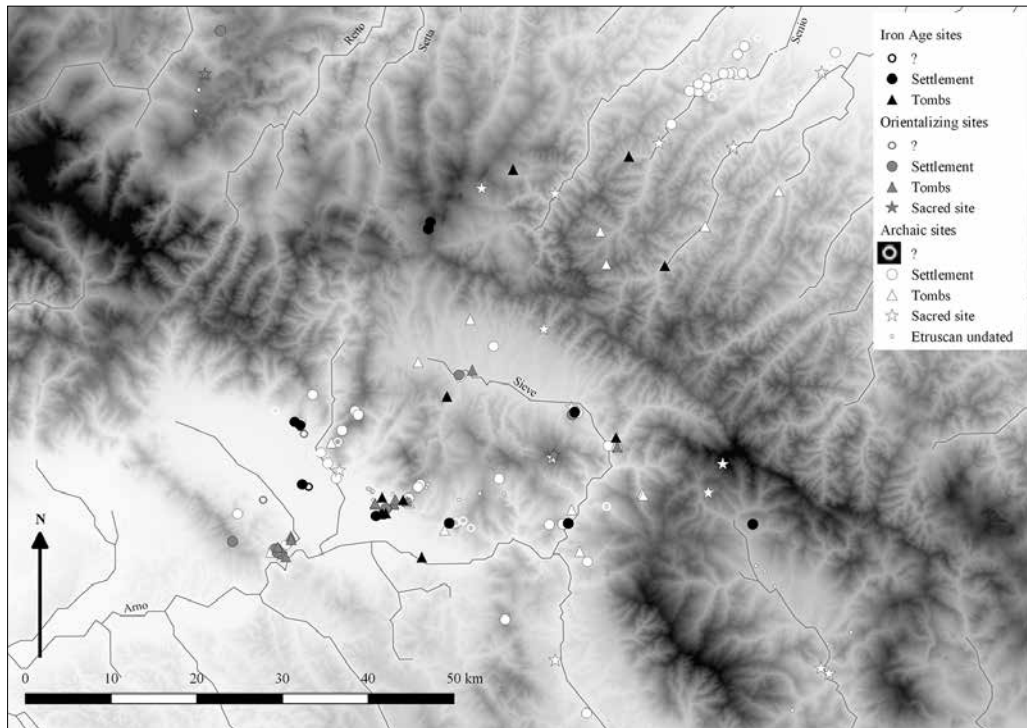


fig. 2 - Map of Iron Age and Early Etruscan archaeological sites in the Mugello and neighbouring areas.

Excavation on the hilltop has revealed a pre-monumental phase (*c.* 650-*c.* 550) characterized by timber-framed oval structures that are indicative of a village of huts of the type well-known in Etruria and Iron Age Italy (Phase 0)⁸. Towards the end of the sixth century the flat hilltop terrace underwent major renovation. The plateau was extended to the north with large amounts of earthen fill that created a larger terrace, intended to accommodate a monumental structure (Phase 1). The fill is made up of heavily burnt soil derived from the Phase 0 occupation and includes large quantities of ceramics, including decorated bucchero. The bucchero includes

⁸ WARDEN 2016a. The chronology of the site is more complex than was apparent in the early years of excavation, and there may be more than the three phases previously described (WARDEN *et al.* 1999; WARDEN - THOMAS 2000; WARDEN *et al.* 2005, pp. 254-255). The “hut” phase is now termed Phase 0 and the three phases identified in the early reports are more likely four or five, but this report is concerned only with Phases 0 and 1 the period of construction of the Late Archaic temple. The start of phase 0, previously described as seventh-sixth century (e.g. WARDEN - MAGGIANI 2020, p. 42) may be more closely dated by monumental kyathos sherds made in Vetulonia (*bottega maestro* A/B, MAGGIANI 2014, p. 22 ff; PERKINS 2022, pp. 365-367). The end of phase 0 is less well-dated by bucchero generally dated to the first half of the sixth century (CAPPUCINI 2011; PERKINS 2022, pp. 370-372), ongoing research may help to refine this dating.

banqueting shapes, suggesting that these ceramics may have been associated with feasting during phase 0. The extensive terracing was clearly intended to accommodate a large structure, a temple oriented roughly north-south; only the foundations are preserved, but the blocks are large and well finished, sometimes running to up to 2 m in length. Six Tuscan column bases and numerous podium blocks with characteristic half-round mouldings deriving from this temple have been found. All were moved after the temple was destroyed, and their placement and handling seem connected to rituals associated with the trauma of the destruction⁹. Two antefixes of the early fifth century and the *terminus post quem* provided by the ceramics in strata of the foundation terracing date this structure to circa 500-480¹⁰. The Vicchio stele was found incorporated in the foundations of the Phase 1 temple¹¹.

In Phase 2, c. 400, the temple was replaced by another temple with a rectangular enclosure containing an altar¹². Phase 3 saw the construction of buildings around the rebuilt enclosure and the addition of fortifications around the hilltop during the fourth and third centuries¹³. The destruction of the Phase 3 buildings is dated to the first decades of the second century by a hoard of 100 silver coins, all *victoriati*¹⁴.

2. THE FIRST SETTLEMENT AT POGGIO COLLA

POGGIO COLLA	DATE	REGIONAL CONTEXT
	800-750	Urbanization at Bologna ¹⁵
	710-690	Prato Rosello warrior burial ¹⁶
	700-650	Radicondoli warrior burial 'Boschetti' type cist tombs ¹⁷

⁹ WARDEN 2011; WARDEN 2012.

¹⁰ DE MARINIS - NICOSIA 1993; WINTER 2009, p. 349 ff., Palestrina-Rusellae Type 5.C.3.c; STEINER - NEILS 2018, p. 120, fig. 16, the evidence of two poorly preserved antefixes is slight (one unpublished) but fits with the appearance of the 'second-phase decorative system' of temple roofs in central Italy LULOF 2014, pp. 120-122.

¹¹ Preliminary accounts of the stele are MAGGIANI 2016c; WARDEN 2016b; WALLACE 2018; WARDEN - MAGGIANI 2020; MAGGIANI - WARDEN 2023, this last for the first apograph. At the time of writing the stele is on display in the Museo Archeologico Comprensoriale del Mugello e della Val di Sieve in Dicomano (FI).

¹² WARDEN *et al.* 2005, pp. 255-256.

¹³ THOMAS 2012, pp. 22-23. WARDEN *et al.* 1999, fig. 2 for the fortifications.

¹⁴ THOMAS 2012.

¹⁵ GOVI 2014, pp. 82-85; SASSATELLI 2024, pp. 12-18.

¹⁶ POGGESI 1999; MILLEMACI *et al.* 2011.

¹⁷ CAPPUCINI 2018; CAPPUCINI - FEDELI 2020, pp. 79-85.

POGGIO COLLA	DATE	REGIONAL CONTEXT
	650-575	Tumuli around Artimino, Comeana and Quinto Fiorentino ¹⁸
Phase 0 Settlement, timber structures, fissure, bucchero	650-575	Settlements: I Monti craft centre and tumuli, La Rotta, Pietramarina, Prato Rosello III ¹⁹
'Tumulo Barsicci' ²⁰	600-500?	Hilltop settlements e.g. Poggio di Firenze, Monte Giovi, Pietramarina ²¹
? end of Phase 0 settlement	c. 550	Wooden built Marzabotto ²²
Stele inscribed with Tinia and Uni ²³	540-500	
	530-475	<i>Pietre fiesolane</i> ²⁴
	c. 530	Urbanization of Fiesole (sanctuaries, walls) ²⁵
	525-500	Founding of Gonfienti, Tuscanic Temple of Uni Marzabotto ²⁶ , ? Pisa - Gonfienti - Marzabotto - Spina road-way ²⁷
Phase 1 Earliest antefix ²⁸	510-500	
	510-480	Temple B of Uni at Pyrgi ²⁹
	c. 500	Orthogonal Marzabotto ³⁰
Monumental Temple of Uni?	c. 500-480	Peripteral Temple of Tinia Marzabotto ³¹
Destruction of Temple	c. 400	

Table 1 - Summary of the development of the Poggio Colla phases 0 and 1 and nearby areas.

¹⁸ MILLEMACE *et al.* 2011; BETTINI 2022.

¹⁹ TORELLI 1992, p. 108, n. 10; CAMICI - GIACHI 1994; BETTINI 2008, p. 418; SALVINI 2009; BETTINI 2011; PAGNINI - POGGESI 2011; CHELLINI 2012, pp. 111-113, 223-225.

²⁰ NICOSIA 1970, p. 198, fig. 2; WARDEN - KANE 1997, p. 161.

²¹ CHELLINI 2012, p. 210; CAPPUCINI 2017b, pp. 185-195.

²² GOVI 2017a, p. 88; GOVI 2023a.

²³ MAGGIANI 2016c; WARDEN 2016b; WARDEN 2016c; MAGGIANI this volume pp. 63-83.

²⁴ CIANFERONI *et al.* 2016, p. 41.

²⁵ CAPUTO - MAETZKE 1959, pp. 57-61; BRUNI 1994, pp. 79-82 (new altar decorated with lions); BRUNI 2008, pp. 298-307; MAGGIANI 2008, pp. 365-368; BRUNI 2010.

²⁶ GOVI 2023b, p. 77.

²⁷ CIAMPOLTRINI - ZECCHINI 2007; GOVI 2014, pp. 102-104; GOVI 2017a, pp. 89-92; CIAMPOLTRINI - SPATARO 2019; CENTAURO 2020; DONATI *et al.* 2022, p. 40.

²⁸ See n. 10.

²⁹ COLONNA 2007, pp. 10-12; COLONNA 2012; BAGLIONE 2013, pp. 132-133.

³⁰ GOVI 2023a.

³¹ GOVI 2017a, p. 92; GOVI 2023b, p. 77.



fig. 3 - Plan of the phase 0 post holes (black) found at Poggio Colla in relation to the rest of the sanctuary, the fissure and the excavation trenches.

Evidence for the first settlement on the acropolis of Poggio Colla consists of post holes that have fortuitously survived in parts of the site that avoided disturbance by later activity. Two postholes near the centre of the site are relatively close to a natural fissure that later became the focus of ritual activity (see below). The only consistent trace of a building is an arc of post hole with three medial postholes to the southeast of the later temples although no floor levels survived³².

To the southwest of the hilltop is an Archaic stone-built tumulus containing a chamber tomb known as the ‘Tumulo Barsicci’³³. On the northwest slope of the hill there is also evidence of occupation, stone quarrying and craft activity³⁴. Here the remains of three fire-reddened pits, probably kilns for firing ceramics, were found, along with Orientalizing impasto vessels (perhaps from a tomb) that had been disturbed by quarrying activity in the Archaic period, probably associated with temple construction³⁵.

On the hilltop most of the artefactual evidence from this phase 0 was recovered from a thick destruction layer containing much burnt ceramic and organic material

³² A similar Orientalizing period timber structure has been excavated at Monte Giovi: CAPPUCINI 2017a, pp. 21-26.

³³ NICOSIA 1970, p. 198, fig. 2; WARDEN - KANE 1997, p. 161.

³⁴ WARDEN - THOMAS 2002, p. 101 sgg. and excavations from 2008-13. The presence of peripheral craft activity recalls the situation at I Monti CAMICI - GIACHI 1994.

³⁵ THOMAS 2001, pp. 127-128, fig. 13; WARDEN - THOMAS 2002, pp. 102-103, figs. 104-105; WARDEN *et al.* 2005, p. 262, fig. 12; WARDEN 2009a nos. 1 and 5.

that marks the end of the timber building phase and the levelling of the site for the construction of the first temple *c.* 500³⁶. The layer contained significant quantities of bucchero³⁷ and coarse ware. The bucchero found in the deposits provides a date for the strata of *c.* 650-550. It appears to have been almost exclusively the tableware used in the earliest settlement of timber buildings with some vessels possibly being ceremonial items³⁸. Animal remains from this same destruction layer frequently bore traces of butchery suggesting that they are food remains³⁹. Together with the large quantities of bucchero and coarse ware, the bones suggest feasting may have been a regular elite activity at the phase 0 settlement.

Burnt material created by the destruction of the orientalisising settlement was used to level the hilltop before the construction of the phase 1 stone temple *c.* 500-480. The aniconic inscribed Vicchio stele was found re-used in the foundations of the temple⁴⁰. Its front and upper edge were abraded by weathering suggesting that it was exposed to the elements in a vertical position for a relatively long period of time before being incorporated in the temple wall⁴¹. Currently, the stele is dated to *c.* 540-500 by its similarity to the group of *stele centinate* found in the Volterra - Valdelsa - Fiesole area, the *serpentiform boustrophedon* ductus, the interpunctuation of three superimposed dots⁴² and the similarity of the script to others found in the *Ager Faesulanus*⁴³. This date is several decades after the likely date of the latest bucchero form phase 0. However, it must be acknowledged that neither of these date assessments are necessarily precise and there are few contexts firmly dated to the second half of the sixth century that have been published in this region for comparison that might potentially extend the length of the phase 0 occupation.

The most likely scenario reconciling this dating evidence is, we suggest, that the stele was erected during phase 0 in an unknown position and played a role in the religious activities at the timber-built settlement. There is evidence of votive activity in the form of a female copper alloy figurine dating to *c.* 600⁴⁴. There are traces of burning on the stele suggesting that it may have been fire-damaged in the destruction of phase 0 perhaps *c.* 550. On at least four subsequent occasions the stele was

³⁶ WARDEN *et al.* 1999, p. 233 sgg.

³⁷ PERKINS 2012, 2013, 2022.

³⁸ The *kyathoi* with horn handles, the lid and fragments of openwork from an incense burner or 'candelabrum'.

³⁹ TRENTACOSTE 2013, p. 99 early deposit.

⁴⁰ See n. 23.

⁴¹ Significant factors in the decay of this type of sandstone are rainwater, air humidity and cyclic freezing-thawing (SALVATICI *et al.* 2020).

⁴² This form of interpunctuation is also found earlier in Etruria Padana at the end of the seventh century and in the mid-late sixth century in Northern Etruria, see MAGGIANI this volume pp. 64-65, note 5.

⁴³ MAGGIANI 2016c; MAGGIANI 2016b, p. 79 and MAGGIANI this volume pp. 64-69.

⁴⁴ Poggio Colla Inv. 14-001, residual in ritual context 4 (see *Table 2* below).

inscribed, texts A-D⁴⁵. When the stele was fashioned, its edges were bevelled to prepare a surface for inscription C, suggesting C may be the earliest text. Texts B-D with interpunctuation may have been inscribed after 540 according to the comparative evidence of the orthography, text B.1 may be the most recent perhaps dating to the early fifth century⁴⁶. The weathering of the stone suggests it was exposed to the elements for some time that led to the erosion of the central part of text C⁴⁷. This scenario therefore suggests that the stele was inscribed on several occasions starting in phase 0 with text C and ending with the building of the first temple. Votive activity before the phase 1 temple is attested by two female and one male figurine dating to *c.* 525⁴⁸. Later, associated with the building of the phase 1 temple around 500-480, the stele was incorporated in the lower wall of the temple – whether it was standing until that time and deliberately toppled to be incorporated in the fabric of the temple is unknown. There is therefore a tension between the dating of the archaeological context to the first half of the sixth century and the dating of the orthography to the second half of the sixth century or even into the fifth.

An alternative scenario, that pushes the erection of the stele later, reducing the gap between the possible dates, is that it was not erected until *after* the phase 0 timber settlement was destroyed *c.* 550. Shortly after that, around 540 the stele would have been set up and inscribed on at least four occasions. Then around 500-480 the stele was incorporated in the temple wall. However, there is no other evidence that can be securely dated to the third quarter of the sixth century at Poggio Colla suggesting that if the stele was first erected at that time there was limited activity at the site other than the inscription of the stele and perhaps some depositions of votive figurines. Also running against this hypothesis is that the stele shows traces of burning that would likely be related to the destruction of phase 0.

A third, perhaps unlikely, scenario is that the stele was initially associated with the so-called ‘Tumulo Barsicci’ an archaic tumulus to the southwest of the hilltop as a *stele centinata* funerary marker that originally may have stood on the tumulus or as a door at the end of the dromos. The similarity of the form of the stele with funerary monuments will be further discussed below. The tumulus is not well dated but is of a generally Archaic type. Its location is incompatible with the presence of the phase 1 temple, so it presumably dates from earlier than 500⁴⁹. This scenario is less likely due to the shaping of the bevelled edges of the stone for inscription C and the apparently non-funerary nature of the inscriptions on the stele although the stele may have originally stood at the tumulus without an inscription or have had one that was later erased.

⁴⁵ MAGGIANI - WARDEN 2023.

⁴⁶ MAGGIANI this volume p. 69.

⁴⁷ MAGGIANI - WARDEN 2023, p. 314.

⁴⁸ Poggio Colla Inv. 14-040 (residual in ritual context 4); 15-001 (male) and 15-002 (all originally *c.* 525).

⁴⁹ NICOSIA 1970, p. 198, fig. 2; WARDEN - KANE 1997, p. 161.

3. THE STELE AS AN OBJECT

The stele is a 1.2 m sandstone slab (*fig. 4*)⁵⁰. The upper part is well finished and inscribed; the lower section is roughly finished and would have been inserted in the ground. The top is rounded, and the edges are bevelled to accommodate the inscription. The top edge is now heavily abraded and deliberately scarred, erasing part of the inscription. There is no decoration but there is a small hole in the centre of the upper portion of the inscribed face as well as rectangular cuts on the sides⁵¹.

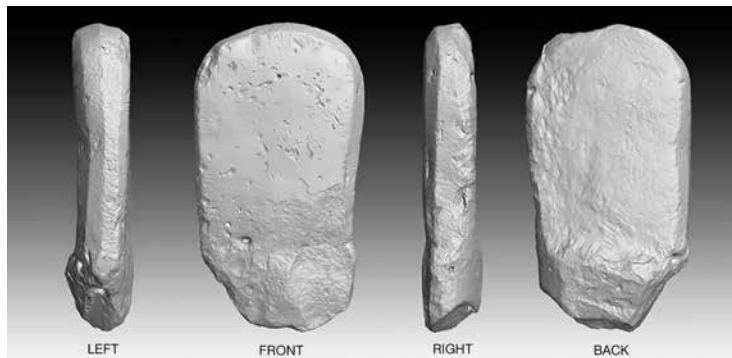


fig. 4 - Elevations of the stele derived from laser scanning.

The Vicchio stele has a form similar to the funerary *stèle centinate* found across northern Etruria in the area of Volterra, the Valdelsa and Fiesole⁵² and as such might be a precursor for the nearly contemporary sculpted *pietre fiesolane*⁵³ found in the *Ager Faesulanus*. The usually inscribed *stèle centinate*, with or without a border or relief decoration have a long history from the mid-sixth through the early fifth century, overlapping with the end of Poggio Colla phase 0⁵⁴. The *stèle centinate* often have an inscription that curls around the top of the front face of the stone, as does

⁵⁰ Length: 1.13 m, maximum width: 0.64 m, thickness: 0.8 m. MAGGIANI - WARDEN 2023, p. 313.

⁵¹ The stele has been documented digitally in 2015-2016. ATERINI *et al.* 2017; NOCENTINI 2017; NOCENTINI - WARDEN 2017, and again in 2023 by a team led by M. Forte.

⁵² GERVASINI - MAGGIANI 1998; CIACCI 2004; MAGGIANI 2007; GIROLDINI - MAGGIANI 2015; MAGGIANI 2016a; ARBEID - MATTEOLI 2020 for the lower half of a stele, found nearly *in situ* with a relief of an archer at San Casciano in Val di Pesa although this may not have had the curved top typical of the *stèle centinate* and is unusual for its great size and possible mid-late seventh century date. For stelae generally see STEINGRÄBER 2017. Most similar is the Panzano stele: GORI 1737-1743, pl. 14.4, see MAGGIANI this volume *fig. 2*, although, proportionally, the script on this occupies more of the stone and has a more formal and monumental character than the Vicchio stele.

⁵³ BRUNI 1994; CAPPUCINI 2009; BECHI *et al.* 2016; CIANFERONI *et al.* 2016; SARTI 2016; AMANN 2017.

⁵⁴ CIACCI 2004, p. 209; ARBEID - MATTEOLI 2020, pp. 194-195.

the Vicchio stele and the orthography of some from the *Ager Faesulanus* is similar to that of the stele and provides evidence for dating the Vicchio inscriptions⁵⁵. These types of funerary stele, together, along with their epigraphic evidence, are generally taken to indicate the presence of a gentilitial élite across the northern part of Archaic Etruria⁵⁶. This suggests some degree of social integration and the operation of élite regional networks of power in northern Etruria.

Another set of formal similarities may be found with the well-known Lemnos stele dating from the second half of the sixth Century⁵⁷. Both bear pseudo-*boustrophedon* inscriptions around their front and edges (a very unusual location for Archaic inscriptions) and share interverbal interpunctuation of three superimposed dots and have a generic similarity to the *stele centinate* and rectangular relief stelae of northern Etruria. Beyond these points of contact, it is difficult to hypothesise any cultural or functional connection between the two monuments, furthermore the language of the Lemnos stele may only be distantly related to Etruscan⁵⁸ and because the Lemnos stele may originally have been part of a larger monument that was subsequently inscribed. Moreover, the Lemnos stele would seem to be a funerary monument or an *elogium* rather than a religious text⁵⁹. The similarities would therefore seem to derive from generalised shared elite practices of inscribing on monumental stones in Archaic alphabets rather than any more direct cultural or social contact.

The Vicchio stele and the stelae of northern Etruria also share generic similarities with the anthropomorphic statue-stele from the Lunigiana that have Copper Age origins but persisted in use into the sixth century (Type C) and are therefore contemporary with the stelae from Etruria⁶⁰. Some of the Lunigiana stelae show signs of re-use with recutting to represent Iron Age weapons or the addition of inscriptions to create new *stele centinate* from Copper Age statue-stelae⁶¹. Further north there are also generic similarities with the *stele felsinee* from the Bolognese⁶² and an approximate

⁵⁵ MAGGIANI 2016b, pp. 74-80. Depictions of warriors with Ionic characteristics on some of the *stele centinate* suggest the mid-sixth century start date. See MAGGIANI this volume for a discussion of the orthography.

⁵⁶ CIACCI 2004, pp. 207-209; CIANFERONI *et al.* 2016, p. 41.

⁵⁷ DE SIMONE - CHIAI 2001; BELLELLI 2012, pp. 30-37; FICUCIELLO 2013, pp. 192-193; PAPI *et al.* 2023. The Vicchio stele was displayed with the Lemnos stele at the Fondazione Luigi Rovati, Milan in 2023. We are most grateful to the Foundation for funding the conservation of the stele before it went on display for the first time.

⁵⁸ AGOSTINIANI 2012.

⁵⁹ BELLELLI 2012, pp. 33-37.

⁶⁰ This relationship has been long noted: FORMENTINI 1927.

⁶¹ An originally Lunigiana type A statue-stelae was reused in the late Orientalizing-Archaic period to form the Zignago stele with the addition of an inscription perhaps of a Ligurian name using a (northern?) Etruscan alphabet (FORMENTINI 1927; AMBROSI 1972, p. 36, n. 1; MAGGIANI - PROSDOCIMI 1976) and the Lerici stele was formed into a *stele centinata* and then inscribed with a warrior and pseudo-alphabetic symbols: GERVASINI - MAGGIANI 1998.

⁶² GOVI 2015a; GAUCCI *et al.* 2020 and contributions in GOVI 2015b.

coincidence between the dating of the late *stele centinate* and the start of the series of *stele felsinee* around 500. However, these stelae post date the Vicchio stele, are distinctly funerary and mostly have figurative decoration. Their typical ‘horseshoe’ shape can be similar to the *stele centinate* and aniconic examples recall the Vicchio stele. The anthropomorphic tendencies of the earlier Orientalizing stele ‘*a disco*’ from the Bolognese are well attested, reinforcing the stele-human body association⁶³.

Like most of the *pietre fiesolane*, which it resembles, the stele is small: only 70 to 80 cm would have been above ground. The texts of the Vicchio Stele would not have been easy to inscribe or to read, even if the individual letters had been enhanced with pigments. In proxemical terms, the stele required the viewer to come very close to the object – probably in the open. It communicates spatially as well as textually, drawing the viewer close⁶⁴. To write or read the pseudo-boustrophedonic text an adult would have to bend down, almost as if genuflecting, and move the eye over and around, and then shift bodily position (unless reading upside down) to repeat the process in the other direction. Whitehouse has discussed the difficulty of reading both Etruscan and Venetic stelae⁶⁵: it was a physical challenge, not just a question of literacy, to be able to read, or to be fit enough to read the stele. The object insists on specific actions from the viewer/reader. The object requires close contact, a kind of intimacy and exerts its own agency⁶⁶. It both communicates and controls the actions of the viewer at the same time. It would have been far less easily “readable” than an iconic funerary stele that uses images and texts to communicate because it uses only textual messages. Perhaps the texts were not meant to be read by one and all, but only by the elite few who had the ability and authority to unravel the “scroll” that wound its way back across the edges of the sandstone stele. To the illiterate many, the texts would have in fact been an image of authority rather than a comprehensible text.

4. RITUAL ACTIVITY AT POGGIO COLLA

The deposition of the stele must be contextualized in the long series of ritual actions that took place throughout the life of the sanctuary and that seem to mark important moments of transition, change, or even trauma. These ritual actions resulted in a series of ritual archaeological contexts:

⁶³ ROBB 2009 for the aesthetics of stelae and personhood. SASSATELLI 2009, pp. 33-35; SASSATELLI 2013, for the anthropomorphic qualities in Bolognese Orientalizing grave markers. The stele ‘*a disco*’ (MARCHESI *et al.* 2011) dating from the eighth to the early sixth centuries have also been interpreted as representing a sun-disc or shield.

⁶⁴ HALL 1969 for the connection between scale and space to personal communication.

⁶⁵ WHITEHOUSE 2013.

⁶⁶ ROBB 2008 for somatic agency.

NO.	PHASE	DESCRIPTION
1	After 1	Fissure Deposit. A deliberately broken and reversed podium block sealing the fissure at the heart of the sanctuary, a gold ring and gold fabric ⁶⁷ .
2	2-3	Bronze <i>stips</i> . Bronze figurines, coins, <i>aes rude</i> ⁶⁸ . Contains material from Phase 0 and 1.
3	2	<i>Schnabelkanne</i> and a bronze ring ⁶⁹ .
4	2-3	Inscription Deposit. Statue bases (one inscribed), altar element, bronzes, and gold ⁷⁰ .
5	3	Feature in trench PC 6. Reuse of temple mouldings and column base, possibly an altar ⁷¹ ?
6	Before 3	Jewellery Deposit ⁷² .
7	2	Feature in trench PC 20. Reuse of temple elements and alignment of stones ⁷³ .
8	After 3	<i>Victoriati</i> Deposit. Black Glaze vessel with 100 <i>victoriati</i> ⁷⁴ .
9	3	Stone mound at east end of the courtyard ⁷⁵ .
10	2	Bronze Sheet Deposit. Folded bronze sheet and animal bones ⁷⁶ .
11	After 0	Placement of the stele in the phase 1 temple podium.

Table 2 - Summary of the ritual contexts at Poggio Colla.

The Vicchio Stele was carefully placed in the foundations of the podium of the Archaic temple, whose construction has been dated to around 500 (*figg.* 3, 5)⁷⁷. It thus has a carefully documented archaeological context at a site where the repurposing of objects seems to have been intimately connected to religious practice. It is arguably the earliest of a series of ritual deposits where an important aspect of ritual seems to have been the afterlife of objects. The placement of the stele in the

⁶⁷ WARDEN *et al.* 2005, pp. 256-257, fig. 4 & 5; WARDEN 2009b, pp. 113-114; WARDEN 2012, pp. 84-85, fig. 5.3; WARDEN - TRENTACOSTE 2013, p. 329. The block is Poggio Colla Inv. PC 03-085.

⁶⁸ WARDEN 2009b, pp. 114-117; WARDEN - TRENTACOSTE 2013, pp. 329-331.

⁶⁹ WARDEN *et al.* 2005, p. 258, fig. 6; WARDEN - TRENTACOSTE 2013, p. 331.

⁷⁰ WARDEN 2009b, pp. 111-113; WARDEN - TRENTACOSTE 2013, p. 331.

⁷¹ WARDEN *et al.* 1999, pp. 242-243, *figg.* 5 & 18; WARDEN - TRENTACOSTE 2013, p. 331.

⁷² CASTOR 2009; WARDEN - TRENTACOSTE 2013, p. 331.

⁷³ WARDEN 2012, p. fig. 5.2; WARDEN - TRENTACOSTE 2013, p. 331, fig. 3

⁷⁴ WARDEN *et al.* 2005, p. 258, fig. 7; THOMAS 2012; WARDEN - TRENTACOSTE 2013, p. 331.

⁷⁵ WARDEN - TRENTACOSTE 2013, p. 331.

⁷⁶ WARDEN - TRENTACOSTE 2013, pp. 332-335.

⁷⁷ The Phase 1 and Phase 2 temples will be published by Michael Thomas.

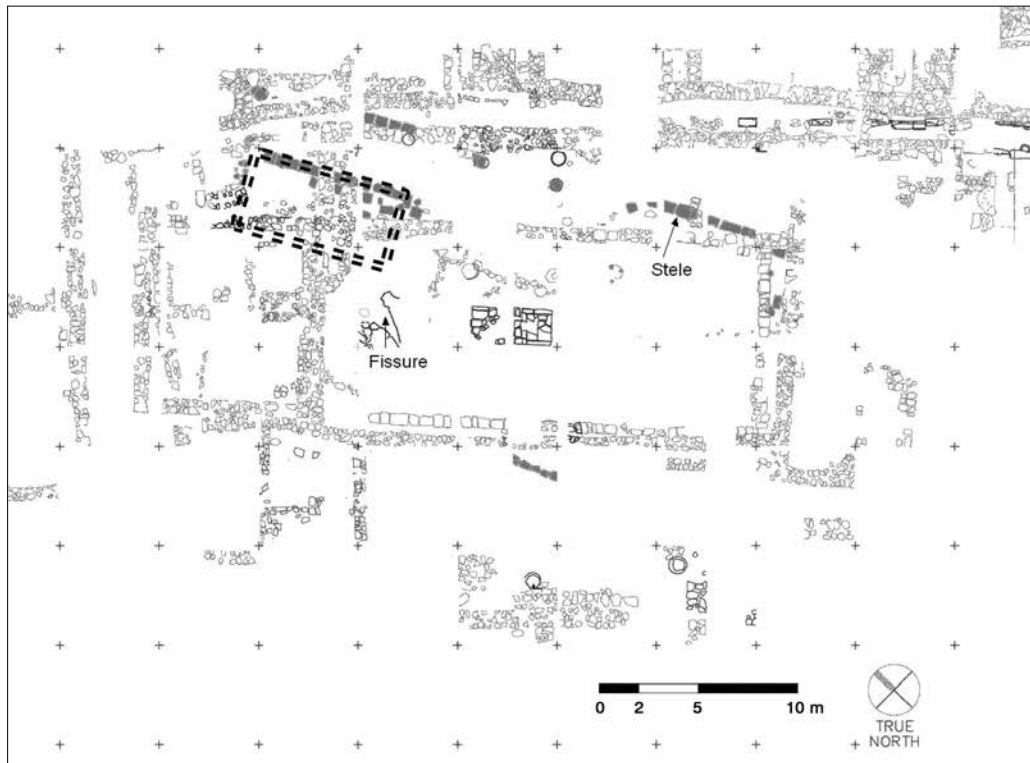


fig. 5 - An approximate plan of the Phase I temple, stele and fissure in relation to the rest of the sanctuary of Poggio Colla. Foundation blocks *in situ* (mid grey) and hypothetical outline of *cella* (dashed lines).

foundations of the Phase 1 podium is but one example of the repurposing of architectural elements of importance. A century later, when the Phase 1 temple was destroyed, elements of that temple were also given special attention in rituals of symbolic significance.

Other than foundations, no element of the Archaic temple remained *in situ*: it has been argued that this deliberate repurposing of architectural elements that physically embodied the monumental temple suggests that the temple was conceived of as a kind of body that had to be ritually reburied in the earth from which it had been created⁷⁸. For instance, one of the five Tuscan sandstone column bases was turned upside-down and deliberately buried under a later terracing wall. Another was re-used in a later period, with a row of podium blocks, as an altar (ritual context 5). A row of podium blocks was carefully placed upside-down in terracing at the northern edge of the sanctuary with what may be boundary markers (ritual context 7)⁷⁹.

⁷⁸ SCHEID 1984; WARDEN 2011; WARDEN 2012, especially pp. 86-87 and pp. 100-101.

⁷⁹ WARDEN 2009b.

The many ritual contexts have been discussed elsewhere⁸⁰ and the actions documented at Poggio Colla testify to three types of practice: fragmentation, directionality and reversal. Many of these ritual actions seem to personalize the act of dedication and most importantly signal the major changes of the sanctuary as it was monumentalized in Phase 1, realigned and rebuilt in Phase 2, and once again reconstructed along different lines and fortified in the Hellenistic period Phase 3. Fragmentation in an archaeological context is by definition a ritual action: the deliberate breakage of objects for reasons connected to social or religious belief. As Chapman has argued, fragmentation in anthropological theory is a practice that creates connections in the context of social structures where “enchainment and accumulation are the two main practices which sustain social relations”⁸¹. Fragmentation may also be an example of deliberate de-functionalization or re-functionalization, for instance, stones that are deliberately cut or reshaped.

The second governing practice is an insistence on directionality, aligning objects or contexts to the cardinal points or the axis of the temple (ritual contexts 5 and 7). Third is the action of reversal: turning objects upside-down, which is also well documented. Reversal in ritual is documented at what seems to be the most important feature at Poggio Colla, a natural fissure between the Phase 1 *cella* and the Phase 3 altar. Sometime after the Phase 1 temple was destroyed and dismantled a large sandstone moulded block from the podium of the Phase 1 temple, was placed over the fissure, oriented approximately east-west (ritual context 1)⁸². The broken block was also turned upside down, next to it were deposited a fine gold ring and long strands of gold wire that had probably been part of a textile⁸³. The podium block was deliberately broken – the chisel marks are still evident. Broken, or at least folded and bent objects, are paralleled at Civita, Tarquinia, in a deposit that is also associated with a sacred fissure⁸⁴. It seems plausible that the sacred nature of the sanctuary derived from the fissure and an impressive series of ritual deposits was placed around it⁸⁵. The fissure was deliberately closed after the destruction of the Archaic temple. The broken podium block must have symbolized the dramatic change that took place when the first temple was replaced by another temple oriented to the southeast rather than the south southeast. Ritual deposits continued until the abandonment of the site, indicating that the memory of the fissure persisted after it had been ritually closed. The later ritual deposits that have been published include a foundation deposit with a *Schnabelkanne* (ritual context 3), an Attic Red Figure ky-

⁸⁰ WARDEN - TRENTACOSTE 2013.

⁸¹ CHAPMAN 2000; CHAPMAN - GAYDARSKA 2007.

⁸² See n. 67.

⁸³ WARDEN *et al.* 2005, p. 257, fig. 5, Poggio Colla Inv. 03-085 and 03-092. STEINER - NEILS 2018, fig. 2.

⁸⁴ Veneration of a natural fissure in the bedrock is not uncommon in Etruria and is paralleled most notably on the Civita at Tarquinia, for which see BONGHI JOVINO - CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 1997.

⁸⁵ WARDEN 2009b, 2011; WARDEN - TRENTACOSTE 2013; WARDEN 2016a.

lix⁸⁶, a series of loom weights⁸⁷, a bronze sheet with curated parts of sacrificial animals (ritual context 10), and a hoard of Roman *victoriati* (ritual context 8)⁸⁸ that may postdate the destruction of the sanctuary in the second century. What is especially pertinent is that the gold jewellery deposit (ritual context 6) and votives connected to textile production, can be linked to female agency at the sanctuary as may the stamped bucchero vessel illustrating a birth scene from the Phase 0 destruction layer (*fig. 6*)⁸⁹. Together with the inscription on the stele and the fissure, the evidence suggests a chthonic cult connected to Uni.

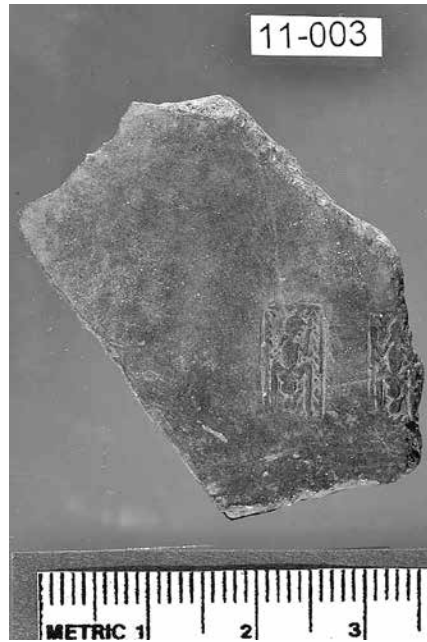


fig. 6 - Bucchero stamp of a birth scene. Poggio Colla Inv. 11-003.

Questions remain about the nature of the ritual actions that run from personal, votive, giving, to foundation deposits, to purification rituals, to actions connected with the termination of the sanctuary⁹⁰. The bedrock of Poggio Colla also had a ritual value supporting a votive *stips*, over ten meters in length, deposited near the fissure (ritual context 2). The western edge of the *stips* was discovered in 2001 after looting at the site: subsequent excavation produced 439 pieces of bronze, fragments of

⁸⁶ STEINER - NEILS 2018, pp. 110-111, figs. 5-6, type B, Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy.

⁸⁷ MEYERS 2013, pp. 260-261, figs. 9-10

⁸⁸ THOMAS 2001, fig. 10; WARDEN *et al.* 2005, p. 258, fig. 6; THOMAS 2012; MEYERS 2013; STEINER 2021.

⁸⁹ PERKINS 2012, Poggio Colla Inv. 11-003.

⁹⁰ WARDEN 1992; EDLUND-BERRY 1994; WHITEHOUSE 1995; TURFA 2006.

iron, worn and abraded fragments of tile and coarse-ware ceramics, a loom weight, a black gloss handle, and three fragments of an Attic Saint Valentin skyphos⁹¹. The finds include raw bronze in the form of casting ‘runners’⁹² and numerous lumps that may be *aes rude*. There are also fragments of recognizable objects: sheet bronze, implements, and decorative pieces of larger objects some valuable, elite objects, for instance an Archaic lion that once decorated a bronze tripod or large vessel⁹³. Many of these are deformed and bear traces of burning; some were deliberately cut. There are three votive figures: only one is complete although heavily abraded and possibly burned⁹⁴. A bronze head of a male discovered in 1995 is of exceptional quality⁹⁵, given the elaborate Hellenizing hair style, it may be an import from southern Italy.

The preponderance of bronzes and lack of ceramic votives is characteristic of northern Etruria, but this deposit is not a typical assemblage of north Etruscan figurines, for example, of the Monteguragazza type⁹⁶; it is, rather, a secondary deposit of fragmented and possibly burned objects. The *stips* includes objects that are contemporary with the Archaic Phase 1 temple, but also objects, for instance, coins, datable to the end of the third and early second centuries. Strikingly, the deposit includes raw bronze as well as *aes rude*. The fragmentation of the bronze objects may be conceptually related to the fragmentation of the Phase 1 temple and the careful repurposing of objects, architectural or otherwise, found throughout the sanctuary. The topography and depositional history of the *stips* suggest that it was connected to the fissure – the directionality of the cuttings mirrors the axial arrangement of the sanctuary in its first phase – reiterating that memory of the fissure persisted to the latest periods.

If ritual is defined as performative, repetitive, and reproducible⁹⁷, the act of turning an object upside-down, whether a podium block or a vase, seems to have a particular meaning, seemingly associated with termination or death as is ritual breakage. Reversal and breakage are also found in the Inscription Deposit (ritual context 4) that included broken bronze objects interred after the destruction of the Phase 1 temple⁹⁸. Notably, it includes objects that would have been displayed at the site in Phase 1, for instance, the sandstone top of an altar or column that was placed upside down, two statue bases, one of which was inscribed⁹⁹, two bronze bowls along

⁹¹ STEINER 2021, pp. 319-321, figs. 5-6. These, and other later ceramics, are being studied by Ann Steiner and have been published in WARDEN *et al.* 2005, p. 262, fig. 14. For other Attic fabric from the site see STEINER - NEILS 2018.

⁹² WARDEN 2009b, fig. 16.

⁹³ WARDEN 2009b, fig. 15.

⁹⁴ FEDELI - WARDEN 2005, p. 368, fig. 3.

⁹⁵ KANE *et al.* 1998; WARDEN *et al.* 1999, p. 240, fig. 13, Poggio Colla Inv. 95-001.

⁹⁶ CRISTOFANI 1985, pp. 257-258.

⁹⁷ For other ways of defining and interpreting ritual see BOURQUE 2000.

⁹⁸ WARDEN 2009b, pp. 111-113.

⁹⁹ The inscription was first published by CAMPOREALE 2012 and revised by COLONNA 2015.

with the bones of a piglet (suggesting purification), one of which was deliberately crushed, further gold strands from a textile, a deliberately broken bronze handle or implement, and two bronze female figurines, dating to the late sixth (as does the stele) and the mid-fifth century¹⁰⁰. This rich deposit documents the way that the paraphernalia of sacredness, the objects of ritual action, some made from the stone of the hill, were carefully interred, much as the stele was laid to rest a century earlier. Parallels for the contemporary deposition of inscribed objects in the foundations of temples that rendered the objects invisible, inviolable and sacred may be found with the gold tablets from Pyrgi, the inscribed bucchero found in Kainua and the *Lapis Satricanus*¹⁰¹.

The materiality of the stele is important. It was extracted from the bedrock that was sacred to the cult, that forms the fissure, that supported the foundations of the temple and holds the *stips*. Stelae are by their nature anthropomorphic, both in their shape and sometimes even in their placement, as markers, as guardians, or even as representatives of ancestors or a collective past¹⁰². When the stele was interred in the podium of the Phase 1 temple, was the stele/body thought of as a locus of memory? The stele was laid to rest in a supine position, partially reversed with the inscribed face upwards in the podium and could have been visible at the edge of the podium, the edge inscriptions may also have been visible, with its meaning and significance embedded in the fabric of the temple.

The stele, fissure, and *stips* are connected through materiality as well as chronology, and one might argue that the authority of the stele was based on the sanctity of the fissured rock that was made manifest through the ritual actions of the ruling elite that inscribed the stele. That authority was encased by a monumental temple. Unfortunately, the exact scale and plan of that temple remain elusive because only the foundations of the north flank are preserved. The fissure antedates the temple. The cult was probably much older. The site was visited in the Bronze Age and earlier; and the veneration of a chthonic cult here might have been established before the Iron Age and been rooted in the landscape and the animistic beliefs characteristic of early religions. This hypothesis could be supported by reports of megalithic monuments of some type (whether menhirs or some kind of dolmen) seen at Poggio Colla and recorded in the nineteenth century. Traces of these monuments were still standing, according to eyewitness accounts, in the twentieth century¹⁰³.

¹⁰⁰ STEINER - NEILS 2018, pp. 107-110, figs. 8-9.

¹⁰¹ STIBBE *et al.* 1980; BELLELLI - XELLA 2015-2016; GOVI 2017b, pp. 160-161.

¹⁰² ROBB 2008, 2009. For example at Pisa, via San Jacopo FLORIANI - BRUNI 2006.

¹⁰³ CURRI *et al.* 1967, p. 273; WARDEN - KANE 1997, p. 178; BACHECHI 2009.

5. IN THE CONTEXT OF ETRURIA

In the later decades of the sixth century the stele was inscribed at a time of great change in the middle Arno area of northern Etruria (see *Table 1* for a summary of the evidence). The settlement pattern and social structure was changing from one based on few small timber-built settlements, including Poggio Colla, with large stone-built tumuli (*tholoi*) representing a social élite, to one dominated by developing urban settlements at Fiesole, Gonfienti and Marzabotto. This urbanisation in the mid-Arno Valley, does not seem to have been rooted in development from large settlements that formed at the start of the Iron Age¹⁰⁴, as was the case elsewhere in Northern Etruria, the Etruria Padana and in Southern Etruria¹⁰⁵. Consequently, the urbanisation may be considered as ‘secondary’, that is with an established model of urban settlement being introduced in the area from neighbouring polities¹⁰⁶. This is clearest at Marzabotto with its cosmologically aligned layout, and perhaps the orthogonal planning at Gonfienti. Near the start of this process (*c.* 550) the timber settlement at Poggio Colla was destroyed perhaps leaving a fire-marked stele, that was inscribed on several occasions during the following five decades. Around 500, when the new urban centres had become established, the stele was taken down and built into the podium of a spectacular – for this period in Northern Etruria – isolated temple with large stone column bases, wooden (and *pisé?*) superstructure and perhaps female head antefixes, dominating its landscape. The Temple was dedicated to Uni and perhaps Tinia – strikingly the same cults were established around the same time at Marzabotto and a large sanctuary built for Uni at Pyrgi at the opposite end of Etruria. In Etruria Padana there was also significant change in settlements and cults at the same time¹⁰⁷.

What caused this widespread pattern of change is not immediately apparent, but the end result was to bring the mid-Arno Valley area more into alignment with the urbanised settlement patterns and society of northern, central and southern Etruria. However, there is no clearcut evidence for the introduction of material culture from another area that might indicate of a political or military takeover or colonisation.

Erection of the stele and the subsequent building of the temple is a clear statement of authority and power¹⁰⁸, suggesting that religious power, at least, was shifting with the establishment of the urban centres. Substantial temples were built at

¹⁰⁴ There is currently only limited evidence for Bronze and Iron Age settlement at Fiesole SALVINI 1990; MARTINELLI 1995, but nothing on the scale of Volterra, Populonia or Chiusi. There is some evidence for Iron Age settlement at Pisa north of the later city PARIBENI *et al.* 2023.

¹⁰⁵ For Volterra see BALDINI 2021, for Chiusi see data in BETTINI 2021 and discussion in TABOLLI 2022, for Populonia see MILLETTI 2015. At Bologna, Felsina has emerged as a large, early and independent settlement VANZINI 2018, 2019, 2023; SASSATELLI 2024, pp. 7-88.

¹⁰⁶ PERKINS 2014.

¹⁰⁷ SASSATELLI 2024, pp. 89-170.

¹⁰⁸ WARDEN - MAGGIANI 2020.

both Marzabotto and Fiesole, but Poggio Colla is a monumental extra-urban sanctuary raising the possibility it was a frontier sanctuary¹⁰⁹. If the undated temple at Prato Rosello II is archaic it may have played a similar role on the southwest of the *agro fiesolano* at Montalbano¹¹⁰. Perhaps more than being a marker of the limits of a territory, the sanctuary may have controlled passage through the Mugello, the liminal space between the Arno and the Po valleys¹¹¹. The inscribed stele and the subsequent temple might have been located at the margins of northern Tyrrhenian Etruscan political territory where it met with that of Etruria Padana. Material culture connections indicate that the two areas were closely related, for example in the stamped bucchero and impasto, suggesting a zone of cultural interaction rather than a frontier. Overall, the process may indicate a replacement of a gentilial élite local in the Arno Valley with urban-based power deriving from the cities both to the south and north. Alternatively, the process may have been one of urbanising the rural aristocracies in areas that were not incorporated with the first wave of urbanism in northern Etruria with the élite adopting models of urban living and urban-centred territorial control that derived from Tyrrhenian Etruria and Etruria Padana¹¹². This new urban-rural society is symbolically represented on the *pietre fiesolane*¹¹³. The problem ultimately is that we do not have information at a regional level about who had the agency, or what forces, such as population growth, were acting to transform the societies of the mid-Arno Valley in the second half of the sixth century. The change was traumatic for the timber-built settlement at Poggio Colla that was destroyed by fire, but the sacredness of the place and its dedication to Uni and Tinia survived. The presence of the cult of Uni and Tinia, as revealed by the stele, is significant because this small sanctuary, at a significant location, hosted the most important Etruscan cult, just like the contemporary city at Marzabotto, in a quite remarkable temple for this time and place. Together, these expressions of literacy, religious know-how and its liminal strategic location suggest that Poggio Colla and its cult had a significance that extended far beyond its local area and acted as a link between Liguri, Celti, Veneti and Etruscans of the Po to the north, and the Umbri, Romans and Etruscans to the south.

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¹⁰⁹ For a recent discussion of theoretical aspects this concept in Greece see WILLIAMSON 2021, pp. 17-92, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004461277_003. For Poggio Colla as a 'santuario di confine' WARDEN - MAGGIANI 2020, pp. 49-51.

¹¹⁰ BOCCI *et al.* 2011.

¹¹¹ SASSATELLI 2009, p. 30.

¹¹² PERKINS 2014, pp. 75-76.

¹¹³ POGGESI *et al.* 2016; AMANN 2017.

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IMAGE REFERENCES

- Fig. 2*: Chellini 2012 with additions; *Fig. 3*: Drawing by Jess Galloway - Courtesy Mugello Valley Archaeological Project; *Fig. 4*: Courtesy Mugello Valley Archaeological Project; *Fig. 5*: reconstruction by Michael Thomas, drawing by Jess Galloway - Courtesy Mugello Valley Archaeological Project after Steiner - Neils 2018, fig. 1; *Fig. 6*: Photo P. Perkins.