

RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE AND ROMAN EXPANSION

Religious Architecture and Roman Expansion uses architectural terracottas as a lens for examining the changing landscape of central Italy during the period of Roman military expansion and for asking how local communities reacted to this new political reality. It emphasizes the role of local networks and exchange in the creation of communal identity, as well as the power of visual expression in the formulation and promotion of local history. Through detailed analyses of temple terracottas, Sophie Crawford-Brown sheds new light on “Romanization” and colonization processes between the 3rd and 1st centuries BCE. She investigates the interactions between colonies and indigenous communities, asking why conquerors might visually emulate the conquered, and what this can mean for power relations in colonial situations. Finally, Crawford-Brown explores the role of objects in creating cultural memory and the intensity of our need for collective history – even when that “history” has been largely invented.

Sophie Crawford-Brown is an assistant professor in the Department of Art History at Rice University. A scholar of the art and archaeology of pre-imperial and early imperial Italy, she has been the recipient of fellowships from the Archaeological Institute of America, the University of Tübingen’s Institut für Klassische Archäologie, and the American Academy in Rome.

RELIGIOUS
ARCHITECTURE AND
ROMAN EXPANSION

TEMPLES, TERRACOTTAS, AND THE
SHAPING OF IDENTITY, 3RD–1ST C. BCE

SOPHIE CRAWFORD-BROWN
Rice University





Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment,
a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University’s mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of
education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009445115

DOI: 10.1017/9781009445122

© Sophie Crawford-Brown 2024

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions
of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take
place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

When citing this work, please include a reference to the DOI 10.1017/9781009445122

First published 2024

Printed in the United Kingdom by CPI Group Ltd, Croydon CRO 4YY

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Crawford-Brown, Sophie, 1987– author.

TITLE: Religious architecture and Roman expansion : temples, terracottas, and the shaping
of identity, 3rd–1st c. BCE / Sophie Crawford-Brown, Rice University, Houston.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, [2024] | Outgrowth of the author’s
thesis (doctoral)—University of Pennsylvania, 2019, under the title: Daedala tecta :
architectural terracottas and cultural memory in Republican Italy. | Includes bibliographical
references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2024029599 (print) | LCCN 2024029600 (ebook) | ISBN 9781009445115
(hardback) | ISBN 9781009445108 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009445122 (epub)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Temples—Rome. | Architectural terra-cotta—Rome. | Cultural
appropriation—Rome. | Architecture and society—Rome. | Rome—Colonies. |
Rome—History—Republic, 265–30 B.C.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC NA323 .C73 2024 (print) | LCC NA323 (ebook) |
DDC 726.0937/09014—DC23/eng/20240708

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2024029599>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2024029600>

ISBN 978-1-009-44511-5 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence
or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this
publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will
remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-44511-5 — Religious Architecture and Roman Expansion
Sophie Crawford-Brown
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

To my parents

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|----------------|
| <i>Acknowledgments</i> | <i>page</i> ix |
| <i>List of Abbreviations</i> | xiii |
| 1 INTRODUCTION | I |
| 2 CHRONOLOGICAL UNCERTAINTIES AND THE "ROMANIZATION" TANGLE | 3 I |
| 3 THE POWER OF THE PAST: CONSCIOUS ARCHAIZING AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE "STANDARD TEMPLE KIT" | 57 |
| 4 LOCAL IDENTITIES AND LOCAL NETWORKS: TWO CASE STUDIES | 104 |
| 5 INVENTING HISTORY, INVENTING IDENTITY | 174 |
| 6 REFRAMING AND REMEDIATING: ARCHITECTURAL TERRACOTTAS IN AUGUSTAN ROME | 203 |
| 7 CONCLUSION | 23 I |
| <i>Works Cited</i> | 239 |
| <i>Index</i> | 265 |

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

So many have contributed to my thinking and to this project that I'm afraid anything I can say here will be hopelessly insufficient. I will limit myself to naming a few of those without whom this book could not have taken shape. Brian Rose first urged me to look at the architectural terracotta fragments from Minturnae in the Penn Museum. Thanks to him, this "look" became a dissertation, and was then expanded and reworked into the study presented here. I am forever grateful for his steadfast mentorship through my graduate studies and beyond, and for the guidance and friendship of Ann Kuttner and Jean MacIntosh Turfa, who have been fundamental at every stage of this work. I would also like to thank Tom Tartaron and Joseph Farrell for their support during my time at Penn, as well as Joan Connelly, Nancy de Grummond, and the late Larissa Bonfante for getting me there in the first place.

The research presented in this book could not have been accomplished without the generous support of the American Academy in Rome (AAR). I thank Kim Bowes, Lindsay Harris, and John Ochsendorf for their guidance and for their support of my conference, "Minturnae Between Lazio and Campania/Minturnae tra Lazio e Campania"; Giulia Barra for her supernatural skills in securing permissions to visit sites and museums; and the entire staff of the AAR for the countless individual and collective efforts that make it such an ideal place to research and work. Special thanks go to the AAR library staff, in particular Sebastian Hierl and Paolo Imperatori, and to my fellow fellows of 2016–2018.

My research in Italy was further supported by a John R. Coleman Traveling Fellowship of the Archaeological Institute of America, as well as by grants from the Penn Museum, the Salvatori Research Awards, and the Penn graduate group in the Art and Archaeology of the Mediterranean World. I thank the Direzione Regionale Musei Lazio (ex Polo Museale del Lazio) and the Direzione Regionale Musei della Toscana (ex Polo Museale della Toscana) for allowing me to access sites and storerooms during my time in Italy, and Giovanna Rita Bellini for allowing me to examine the material at Minturnae. At the Penn Museum, special thanks go to Marie-Claude Boileau, Ann Brownlee, Lynn Makowsky, and Alessandro Pezzati.

Archaeological research ultimately relies on people, and I am indebted to the many scholars who facilitated my work and who exchanged ideas with me as my thinking on architectural terracottas progressed over the years. Among them, I would like to particularly thank Stefan Ardeleanu, Francesco Belfiori, Seth Bernard, Dorian Borbonus, Caroline Cheung, Dan Diffendale, Marco Germani, Andrea De Giorgi, Ann Glennie, Alexander Ekserdjian, Elizabeth Fentress, John Hopkins, Rudolf Känel, Lynne Lancaster, Pier Giorgio Monti, Daira Nocera, James Packer, Dario Panariti, Jane Shepherd, Allison Smith, Valentin Veldhues, Natalie Wagner, and the late Russell T. Scott and Maria José Strazzulla. Erika Harnett, who examined the sculptures from Minturnae for her 1986 dissertation and who first noticed the archival photos of terracotta pedimental sculpture in the Penn Archives, deserves credit for her major contributions to the study of Minturnae. I am grateful for her generosity in sharing and discussing this material with me. The digital reconstructions presented here were produced in collaboration with Indiana University's Virtual World Heritage Lab and Flyover Zone Productions. I thank Bernard Frischer, Nathanael Tavares, Matthew Brennan, and Kelly McClinton for guiding me into the world of digital reconstruction. Members of the Cosa Excavations team have been an invaluable support, and I would also like to thank colleagues at the University of Tübingen for hosting me so graciously in 2016—in particular, Richard Posamentir, Thomas Schäfer, Philipp Baas, and Manuel Flecker.

Parts of this research were presented at various conferences and colloquia over the years, including at the American Academy in Rome, the Annual Meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America, the Associazione Internazionale di Archeologia Classica, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, the Institut für Klassische Archäologie at the Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Florida State University, the New York Workshop of Etruscan Art, the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome, the University of Virginia, and the University of Toronto. I thank the organizers, moderators, and attendees for the chance to discuss my work and for their insightful feedback.

Seth Bernard, Ingrid Edlund-Berry, John Hopkins, Ann Kuttner, Brian Rose, and Jean MacIntosh Turfa offered invaluable comments on the manuscript at various stages, and this book has been greatly improved by their feedback. Needless to say, any shortcomings are my own.

My deep gratitude goes to my colleagues at Rice University, and I would like to particularly recognize the support of Graham Bader, Leo Costello, and Kathleen Canning. The illustration program for this book was generously supported by an award from Rice's Creative Ventures Fund and by the Art History department. Thanks go to Dallin Evans for stepping in to illustrate objects when no photo could be procured, to Bill Howze for his work in obtaining image permissions, and to Kelley Vernon for her assistance with the

entire image program. Special thanks to Chelsey Denny and Irene Kwan, who day after day make everything possible.

I am grateful to Beatrice Rehl for her staunch support and kindness throughout the publication process, and to the entire production team at Cambridge University Press for their patience, input, and guidance.

My gratitude to my family surpasses my powers of expression. To my parents, who have supported and encouraged me at every step, I can only say thank you from the deepest of me. I am grateful to my brother Jack, to my loving grandparents, and to Niti, Aunt Anne, and Uncle Nick for their mystifying belief in me. To Andrea, Milo, and Tullio – you are my lights, every day and always.

ABBREVIATIONS

Cosa II

Brown, F. E., E. H. Richardson, and L. Richardson. 1960. *Cosa II: The Temples of the Arx*. *MAAR* 26. Rome: American Academy in Rome.

Cosa III

Brown, F. E., E. H. Richardson, and L. Richardson. 1993. *Cosa III: The Buildings of the Forum: Colony, Municipium, and Village*. *MAAR* 37. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press for the American Academy in Rome.

Cosa IV

Bruno, V. J. and R. T. Scott. 1993. *Cosa IV: The Houses*. *MAAR* 38. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press for the American Academy in Rome.

Cosa V

Fentress, E. ed. 2003. *Cosa V: An Intermittent Town, Excavations 1991–1997*. *MAAR* Suppl. 2. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press for the American Academy in Rome.

Pyrgi

1970. *Pyrgi. Scavi del Santuario etrusco (1959–1967)*, in *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* XXIV, II supplemento. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.