

When Rome comes, paint as the Romans do. Meaning, spreading and influence of Roman conquest on Iberian painted pottery*

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Abstract: The reinterpretation of some sites in Alicante (Spain) as *castella* from the Roman civil wars of the 1st century BC shows the early presence of Italic population in Iberian Contestania. On the basis of this evidence, we reflect on ilicitan style painted Iberian pottery produced at this time, considering that it imitates forms and decorations from the Italic world.

Keywords: Iberian pottery, Romanization, imitations, iconography, late-republican.

Riassunto: La reinterpretazione di alcuni siti di Alicante (Spagna) come *castella* delle guerre civili romane del I secolo a.C. dimostra la precoce presenza di popolazioni italiche nella Contestania iberica. Sulla base di queste evidenze, riflettiamo sulla ceramica iberica dipinta in stile ilicitano prodotta in questo periodo, considerando che imita forme e decorazioni del mondo italico.

Parole chiave: ceramica iberica, romanizzazione, imitazioni, iconografia, età tardo-repubblicana.

PAINTED IBERIAN POTTERY, IBERIAN CULTURE MATERIALISATION

According to research, Iberian culture was developed between the 6th and 1st centuries BC along the Mediterranean coast of the Iberian Peninsula and inland in the valleys of Guadalquivir, Segura and Ebro rivers. Within this culture, painted pottery appears at an early stage, practically from its genesis, with the first testimonies in the south of the peninsula dating back to the 5th century BC (PÉREZ BLASCO 2014: 54; PACHÓN *et alii* 2007: 36). Throughout the 20th century, as more Iberian sites were discovered and excavated, the painted Iberian productions became better known.

In this case, we will focus on one of the main painted Iberian productions. These are the ceramics from La Alcudia (Elche, Alicante), a site that became popular in European

* Paper presented at the n° 183 Session 'Ideas across times. Cultural interactions in the central-western Mediterranean Sea from the 7th century BC to the Late Roman Age' of the 26th Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA, 2020 Virtual 'Networking'), organized by Prof. Carla Del Vais, Prof. Marco Giuman, Dr. Ciro Parodo, Dr. Gianna De Luca (University of Cagliari, Department of Humanities, Languages and Cultural Heritage) and Prof. Dominique Frère (University of Southern Brittany, TEMOS Laboratory, CNRS, UMR 9016).



archaeology after the discovery of the 'Lady of Elche' in 1897. The discovery of this Iberian sculpture had a great impact on the society of the moment and on subsequent research, marking the beginning of the scientific development of this site (ALBERT *et alii* 2018; RONDA 2018a: 280).

These ceramics attracted the attention of P. Paris, who tried to systematise them, highlighting their main motifs: wolves, birds, and human figures (PARIS 1903-1904: 92, 99). Interest in the site led to excavations by P. Paris and his pupil E. Albertini in the summer of 1905 (ALBERTINI 1906; 1907a; 1907b). In these interventions this pottery was found again and even today the stratigraphic data noted in the reports help to better understand the site (RONDA 2021: 48-49).

This pottery is what we know today as Ilicitan style, a name it has been given since the studies of T. Tortosa (2004; 2006). Tortosa distinguishes three different styles, the Ilicitano Style 1, 2 and 3, a differentiation that has been fully accepted by research (BONET, MATA 2008: 158). We will focus only on the Ilicitan Style 1, since the other two are fully immersed in Roman chronologies. Until then, pottery with this type of representation were known either as 'Elche-Archena' style (BOSCH 1915), named after the main cities in which they appeared at the beginning of the 20th century, or as 'symbolic style'. This second denomination was developed in contrast to the pottery from the neighbouring Iberian region of *Edetania* (Valencia), considered to be of a 'narrative style'. This is because while the ceramic decorations of *Edetania* seemed to tell a story, those of the Ilicitan style showed motifs understood as emblems (ARANEGUI, PLA 1981: 85-86).

Ilicitan style pottery is documented in sites mainly concentrated in *Contestania*, the Iberian *regio* that we know from Ptolemy and Pliny the Elder and whose area would include the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula, in the provinces of Alicante, Murcia and Albacete (Fig. 1) (ABAD 2009: 21-22). Its main characteristic lies in its compositions, where we can observe zoomorphic elements as protagonists: birds and wolves that can appear complete or only their bust; rabbits and fishes are also frequent, although they are represented in a smaller size. More rarely we find male or female figures, sometimes winged, full-bodied, or showing frontal or side faces. In addition, flowers, rosettes and plant sprouts are added to fill in the spaces (TORTOSA 2006: 99-100).

Ilicitan style pottery presents a complex case regarding to its dating. Unlike the aforementioned ceramics from *Edetania*, which are well dated from the end of the 3rd century BC to the second half of the 2nd century BC (BONET 1995: 521; ARANEGUI *et alii* 1997), the peculiarities of the excavations at La Alcudia have made their dating a problem that has accompanied the study of these materials. The excavations that have been carried out at the site were not documented and systematised scientifically until the 1990s, which led to a great loss of chronostratigraphic information. The question of the dating of these ceramics and the particularities of the site's stratigraphy have been reviewed in a recent work (RONDA 2021: 53-58).

Back to the beginnings of studies of this pottery, Pierre Paris dated it to the 4th century BC, although he defended its permanence until the Roman period in the case of La Alcudia (PARIS 1903-1904: 136). However, the French researcher related this material to the Mycenaean world, in which he placed its origin (OLMOS 1994: 311-312). After him, peninsular research attempted to provide a chronology for these materials, with the work of P. Bosch Gimpera (1915), who dated them to the 5th century BC due to their similarity to Greek ceramics, and the studies of A. García y Bellido, who opted for Roman chronologies (GARCÍA 1944: 113-115). The publication by F. Sala (1992) of a closed set from La Alcudia, known as ‘the potter’s shop’, definitively confirmed the late chronology of these materials. This space contained Ilicitan style pottery and Campanian A and Middle Calene vases. This context made it possible, through the well-known black-glazed wares, to date the ensemble to the period between the 2nd and 1st centuries BC.

Based on this study, the painted Iberian pottery of La Alcudia took this chronology, and their interpretation was made from the point of view of a decaying Iberian world, prior to the definitive Roman conquest of *Contestania*. Within this framework, the Ilicitan style pottery was considered ‘the swan song’ of the Iberian culture in the run-up to Roman acculturation (MORATALLA 2004: 915).

Years later, with the revision of the documentation of the excavations by A. Ramos, it became clear that the whole of the ‘potter’s shop’ was actually a museum creation by A. Ramos for La Alcudia’s first monographic museum. Thus, these pieces do not correspond to a single archaeological context but come from different parts of the site (RONDA 2018b: 328-329).

Therefore, Ilicitan painted pottery is still difficult to date, although its late chronology has been fully confirmed and there are even signs that point to dates from the second half of the 1st century BC.

ROMAN CIVIL WARS AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REVIEW OF SITES

Ilicitan style pottery was initially located, as we have indicated, in La Alcudia, where the materials appeared continuously (RAMOS FOLQUÉS 1990). Vessels of this style were also initially found from clandestine excavations at the necropolis of Cabezo del Tío Pío (Archena, Murcia) (TORTOSA, SANTOS 1998: 12-24; TORTOSA 2006: 79-80). Over time, thanks to the increase and continuity of research in the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula, this pottery has been detected in other sites, creating an interesting distribution map (Fig. 1). We briefly review this area from the north to the south. In the northern zone we find a series of coastal sites, located on the top of promontories with great visual control and with an extension of around 0.5 ha, traditionally considered to be late Iberian *oppida* (LLOBREGAT 1972: 59-62). However, after two research projects focused on these sites, it was concluded that they were fortresses occupied by small garrisons of the Roman army during the Sertorian wars (SALA *et alii* 2013; 2014). These sites are, from north to south, Passet de Segaria

(Benimeli), Peña de l'Àguila (Denia), Punta de la Torre (Moraira), Penyal d'Ifac (Calp), Cap Negret (Altea), and Tossal de la Cala (Benidorm).

It was the restudy of the excavations of J. Belda in 1943 in the Tossal de la Cala that marked the beginning of the research, after recognising Roman weaponry and objects of *militaria* (BAYO 2010). After this, Tossal de la Cala has been excavated in extension, revealing the details of a fortification that initiated a complete restudy of the civil wars in *Hispania* based on archaeology (SALA, MORATALLA 2014).

It should be noted that out of the whole group of Sertorian fortifications, only in the old campaigns at Tossal de la Cala was Ilicitan style pottery found. It was not found in any of the other sites, nor during the recent excavation campaigns. From Belda's excavations, five pieces can be counted which undoubtedly belong to Ilicitan style (BAYO 2010: 79-97, figs. 31, 37.1, 37.2, 41, 45). This anomaly adds to the fact that J. Belda selected the materials he collected according to criteria such as their integrity or their aesthetic value (BAYO 2018: 366). These aspects make us doubt about the provenance of the Iberian painted pottery, which may have come from some other of the sites excavated by Belda in the years close to his interventions in the Sertorian fortification.

Further south, we find the site of Tossal de Manises. Here, on the remains of a barquid fortress, a wall with solid towers was built related to the Sertorian conflict. In the Caesarian period, a bastion and a new fortified access on the eastern flank were added (OLCINA *et alii* 2014; 2020: 92-96). According to the data provided by the excavations at the site, the first examples of Ilicitan style ceramics are found at the site in phase III.2, corresponding to the end of the first third of the 1st century BC, although they are very fragmented (OLCINA *et alii* 2021: 189-190, figs. 7.2, 8). An increase in the presence of Ilicitan style pottery was detected in the second third of this century (OLCINA *et alii* 2021: 190-192, fig. 10).

At this same site we must add the imitation of *lagynos* decorated in Ilicitan style from the ancient excavations carried out in the 'Peristyle's *domus*', dating from Augustan period (OLCINA *et alii* 2020: 118). This fragment has long been incorrectly attributed to the Iberian site of Castillo del Río (Aspe) (VERDÚ 2017). This piece now joins the evidence that supports a dating of the second half of the 1st century BC. (MARTÍNEZ, SALA 2021: 216).

The sites in the Vinalopó valley also have Ilicitan style pottery. The most northerly enclave is Salvatierra (Villena), a site that controls the upper Vinalopó valley. There, during the excavations of a small caliphal fortification with two cisterns, a collection of Iberian materials was recovered, including Ilicitan style pottery (TORTOSA 2006: CD). In a recent study, the Iberian materials from Salvatierra are dated between the end of the 2nd and the 1st century BC (HERNÁNDEZ 2015: 213-233), however, attention is drawn to the fragmentary nature of the pieces and the fact that they did not appear in archaeological strata, but in strata removed from the surface to the bedrock (SOLER 1976: 150). Thus, there is no evidence that unequivocally links the cisterns to the Iberian period, and they may be from the caliphal

period or may have been reused with the construction of the caliphal fortress (HERNÁNDEZ 2015: 215-216).

Further south we find El Monastil (Elda), a fortified site built on top of the mountain of the same name. The site was excavated by amateurs, without any documentary record. In this area there are painted ceramics with motifs similar to Ilicitan style, an aspect that S. Nordström attributed to the presence of a pottery workshop subsidiary to the productions of La Alcudia, known as the 'Monastil's master' (NORDSTRÖM 1969-1973: 69). This aspect does not solve the dating of the ceramics of the Ilicitan style due to the loss of all archaeological information. However, the fact of confirming the occupation of this site in the middle of the 1st century BC by the presence of the Ovoid amphora 1/Lomba do Canho 67 (BAYO 2018: 491) adds an interesting point in the distribution of this production in the Vinalopó river valley in Caesarian chronologies.

Nearby we find the site of Fontana (Monforte del Cid). This settlement was defined as a sacred enclosure linked to water springs where liturgical ceremonies were held (BAYO 2018: 410). This site became monumental around the first half of the 1st century BC and was intentionally demolished in the second half of the same century. Pottery in the Ilicitan style was detected in the levels of use after this remodelling (strata 114), after the Sertorian Wars but before the Principate (BAYO 2018: 415).

Fontana, together with the Iberian remains from the castle of Monforte del Cid, where Ilicitan style pottery was also found outside its original context (MORATALLA 2004: 263-264), suggest that this area acted then, as it does today, as an essential crossroads for the traffic control in the Vinalopó.

Despite the limited evidence, it seems that unlike the Sertorian fortresses, which can be easily supplied by sea, the control of the Vinalopó valley is only feasible in Caesarian period, at a time when it was necessary to control the road to *Carthago Nova* (BAYO *et alii* 2021). If this hypothesis is confirmed by further excavations, the link between this historical period and Ilicitan style pottery found there could be assured, and this would reaffirm the importance of La Alcudia in the time of Julius Caesar (TENDERO 2017: 57-60).

In the province of Murcia this pottery is also documented, although it appears mainly in necropolis contexts such as Cabezo del Tío Pío (Archena) (GARCÍA, PAGE 1990), el Cigarralejo (Mula) (CUADRADO 1987) or el Cabecico del Tesoro (Verdolay) (SÁNCHEZ, QUESADA 1992). Without going into details, we believe that the group of Murcian necropolises with Ilicitan style pottery deserves an archaeological review according to the new information that we know today. In fact, many of these necropolises are still offering data, such as the emergency interventions in the Cabezo del Tío Pío, where Ilicitan style pottery was found in tombs dated between the end of the 2nd and the 1st century BC (PAGE, GARCÍA 2021: 249).

In summary, the review of old excavations and the new interventions at different sites provide indications that Ilicitan style pottery appears in contexts from the 1st century BC.

This fact could suggest the relationship of this materiality with a landscape immersed in the dynamics of Romanisation. However, given the absence of reliable archaeological contexts that provide an indisputable dating, we must resort to other lines of research. In our case, we are studying the imitation of forms and images from the Italic world in this pottery.

FORMS AND FIGURES: TWO WAYS OF APPROACHING A PHENOMENON OF CULTURAL CONTACT

From this new perspective, it was decided to contextualise these materials historically within the events of the 1st century BC. This replaced the formulas that explored the Iberian worldview from its own language based on structuralist positions, which had already been profitably worked on in previous decades by other researchers. Among them, we highlight the work of R. Olmos, who coordinated a work that is still an essential reference for the study of the Iberian image (OLMOS 1996).

In this way, we follow the approach initiated by La Alcuía researchers A. Ronda and M. Tendero, who have detected imitations of thin-walled ware and Roman metal ware in Ilicitan style pottery from the Augustan period, also known as Ilicitan style II (TORTOSA 2006: 100-101; RONDA, TENDERO 2014). The forms chosen to be imitated are mainly tableware forms such as Mayet IIIB cup or the Mayet IX, Mayet IXA or Mayet X goblets (RONDA, TENDERO 2014: 193-195, fig. 3). In addition, forms with a strong symbolic and ritual charge are also imitated, as in the case of the *modiolus* or *calathus*, and especially the *cantharus* (RONDA, TENDERO 2014: 201-203, fig. 4).

Regarding Ilicitan style pottery, we find imitations of an Agde amphora (Fig. 2, 1) in the piece LA-2478 from La Alcuía. This was previously pointed out as a late evolution of the column krater (PAGE 1984: 68) or a 2nd century BC Iberian form (TORTOSA 2004: 107). In our opinion, it is closer to this type of metal amphora with two handles (ERICE 2007: 197).

Secondly, we find a bitronconical jar with a handle and lid (Fig. 2, 2), considered to be a peculiar form by T. Tortosa (2004: 151). From its shape, we consider it to be an imitation of the Piatra Neamt jar (BOUBE 1991: 23-31). Both in this case and in the previous one, the original models are made in bronze, having been found at sites such as Libisosa (Lezuza, Albacete) in the Late Republican period (UROZ 2015).

With regard to vase AL-194 from La Alcuía (Fig. 2, 3), previous works have already pointed to its link with metal ware (TORTOSA 2004: 132). Thus, based on handles, which imitate the hanging handles of metal cauldrons, and the pointed base, we consider it possible to link this piece with an imitation of a form close to the Tassinari U1200 type (TASSINARI 1993: 100). Although the moulded rim of the Iberian piece, in the style of the terra sigillata Drag. 29, breaks with this metallic form without departing from this Roman influence.

Finally, we draw attention to a vase (Fig. 2, 4) which has been considered as a Campanian-inspired bowl (PAGE 1984: fig. 21, 12, pl. X, 1) which would correspond to Morel F 2574

and 2978-A series with chronologies from the late 3rd to mid-2nd century BC. However, it has also been related to thin-walled ware such as the Mayet XXXIV, Ebusitan imitations of Lamb. 31 or, due to its low profile and annular foot, *terra sigillata* forms such as Puc. XXXV (TORTOSA 2004: 146). However, due to its fluted rim and annular foot, we relate it to the Tassinari L2133 form (TASSINARI 1993: 74), without dismissing the possibility that it inherits aspects such as those already mentioned from thin-walled ceramics or *terra sigillata*, which also have their origin in imitations of more expensive wares.

It seems that this imitative phenomenon was much more common than we see today. This is supported by findings such as that made by A. Ronda, when she found a photograph of a piece, now lost, of a Calene *patera* Morel F 2151-A1 with a representation of a female head, possibly a gorgon, found in the excavations carried out by A. Ramos in La Alcudia in 1941 (Fig. 3, 1). In later excavations at the same site, a piece imitating it was found in Iberian ceramics in piece LA-1548 (Fig. 3, 2) (RONDA 2018b: 64, fig. 35; 218, fig. 285).

The pictorial language of these decorations has been considered a symbolic plea for the identity of the Iberian culture facing Romanisation and a form of exaltation of heroic ancestors and mythical pasts (GRAU, RUEDA 2018: 70-71). However, recent archaeological analyses that incorporate iconographic studies seem to contradict these assertions.

The work of A. Ronda and M. Tintero explores this line of reasoning in depth, linking the images that appear on Ilicitan style pottery with motifs of Italic origin. The result of this is the proposed identification of the figures in the decoration of a *cantharus* (Fig. 4) (RONDA, TENDERO 2014: 263-268; 2015). This ceramic vase comes from the excavations carried out by R. Ramos in 1988 under the *opus caementicium* floor of a *domus* at the site of La Alcudia (Fig. 4) (RAMOS FERNÁNDEZ 2001-2002: 121-122).

These studies break with previous interpretations, which opted to link the depictions to nymphs and mythical heroes. In this case, the first figure is portrayed in profile as a young Augustus (Fig. 4, 2), with the same hairstyle as on the Principate's coinage and with a slight beard that refers to the mourning for Julius Caesar's death. For the next figure in profile, which is shown wearing a veil and is also bearded (Fig. 4, 3), different options have been put forward. On the one hand, it could be the portrait of *Titus Statilius Taurus*, the founder of the colony, or Julius Caesar, in a sort of representation of the family legacy (RONDA, TENDERO 2014: 207). Recent works have suggested that it could be *Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa*, Augustus' right-hand man in the moments immediately after the battle of Actium (RONDA 2021: 69). The frontal winged figure is related to a representation of the goddess Artemis or Juno (Fig. 4, 1). This would be the same case as the *Dea Caelestis* from the sanctuary of Torreparedones (GONZÁLEZ, RUEDA 2010: 128). In addition to these representations, there are two crested serpents or *agathos daemon* (Fig. 4, 4), very similar to those found in Pompeian *lararia*, which are associated with the perpetuation of the lineage and the family legacy (PÉREZ RUIZ 2007-2008: 204). In short, the *cantharus* of La Alcudia combines the Iberian pottery tradition and

the influence that Romanisation had on an enclave that was commended to the emperor Augustus in vessels linked to propitiatory rites.

In addition to this, these investigations have provided other examples such as the *pithos* from La Alcudia LA-1951, in which the representation of the goddess *Artemis Bendis* has been identified (Fig. 5, 1) (RONDA 2018b: 274; 2021: 65-66). Thus, we can observe, by comparing it with a terracotta (Fig. 5, 2), that the painted figure is represented with identical clothing: a *chiton* that falls in three folds and a leather apron or *nebris*, which in the case of the ceramic representation is shown as a square filled with a solid colour. The hair is also shown tied back and the quiver on the back, which, in the case of the ceramic representation, could be represented by the small shaft on the right, as it bears no resemblance to the arm painted on the left, which is shown longer and striped.

In line with these suggestions, we raise the possibility that behind the main figures of the decorations, the wolf and the bird, we find an allegory of military power in the late Republican period through the main animals of the god Mars, the *lupus martius* and the *picus martius* (MARTÍNEZ, SALA 2021: 221-227). This message could make sense in an area such as La Alcudia, where the double foundation of a colony with its corresponding *deductio* was carried out (OLESTI, MAYER 2001), resulting in the *Colonia Iulia Ilici Augusta*.

In addition, we note the identification of a composition of a markedly Italic character in the piece known as the 'peasant's vase' (Fig. 6, 1) (MARTÍNEZ, SALA 2021: 228-231).

This scene had been associated with the funerary world, being linked to the Hellenistic composition of the horseman heading towards the afterlife (OLMOS 1988-89: 99; RAMOS FERNÁNDEZ 1987: 235). However, based on an iconographic analysis of the clothing of the dismounted rider, we relate this composition to the one found on the 'Isernia tombstone' (CIL IX 2689), from the ancient city of *Aesernia*, about 175 km away from Rome and dated to the end of the 1st century BC (Fig. 6, 2). The slab was probably used as an advertisement for a *caupona* or *mansio* because of its striking wording (TERENZIANI 2008: 8-9). It depicts a scene in which the rider is a traveller holding his horse by the reins while paying the innkeeper for the night spent.

The similarities between are evident, giving rise to a comparison that reveals a common substratum behind both scenes. Despite the differences that can be seen, attributable to the support, the function and the technical tradition of the workshop that produced them, both pieces are united through their historical context.

In fact, this representation of a traveller on Ilicitan style pottery is not incongruous with the location of the site. It was at this time, after the civil wars, when the administrative process and the reform of infrastructures by the principality of Augustus began, giving rise to the *Via Augusta*. Built on the previous *Via Heraclea*, this road generally copied its route, adding sections and stops at strategic points for the economic and administrative control of the new province. Thus, *Colonia Iulia Ilici Augusta* is located on the branch of the *Via Augusta* that links the city of *Carthago Nova* with the peninsular interior, being an essential space for the

communication of one of the main ports of the western Mediterranean in ancient times (OLCINA 2010: 142-145). Therefore, finding iconographic references in *Ilici* that refer to the transit and circulation of travellers confirms the condition of this site as one of the last stops before reaching the provincial capital. It would therefore have been frequented by pilgrims, many of them probably soldiers, mobilised because of conflicts, the cessions of land after their discharge and the need to carry out effective control over the conquered areas.

CONCLUSIONS

In the light of recent research, the hypothesis that the Ilicitan style is more than a mere manifestation of Iberian idiosyncrasy seems to be supported. However, we cannot deny that this pottery production has its roots in techniques and ways of proceeding that go back centuries and were common to all Iberian painted production (ABAD, SANZ 1995). However, this does not contradict the fact that the messages underlying the pictorial representation transgress the mere Iberian symbol.

Thus, we have evidence to suggest that the figurations of this ceramic production are intended to communicate a hybrid worldview in which the foreign element, in this case Italic, plays an indispensable role, driven by such a transcendental event as Romanisation.

Despite the pejorative conceptions that Romanisation carries (MERRYWEATHER, PRAG 2002: 8-10), here we use this concept to refer to a large process (BELTRÁN 2017: 21). In addition to its political and military dimension, the aspect that interests us most is the cultural impact that Romanisation had on the native populations by including them in their new provinces. Besides all those aspects that made the indigenous people live in a Roman lifestyle, one of the most important aspects to understand the phenomenon of Romanisation is to check the way in which these cultures hybridised and assimilated with the new *status quo*.

Thus, we find Ilicitan style pottery in periods very close to the conflicts of the Roman civil wars and in spaces that would be key to the process of Romanisation of Iberian *Contestania*. In this way, we present a hypothesis that resorts to hybridisation to explain the nature of this ceramic material, in which it seems that the Iberian pottery tradition and its pictorial baggage act as a support when it comes to expressing profound changes in the social, political, and economic reality of a major site in the south-eastern territory of the Iberian Peninsula.

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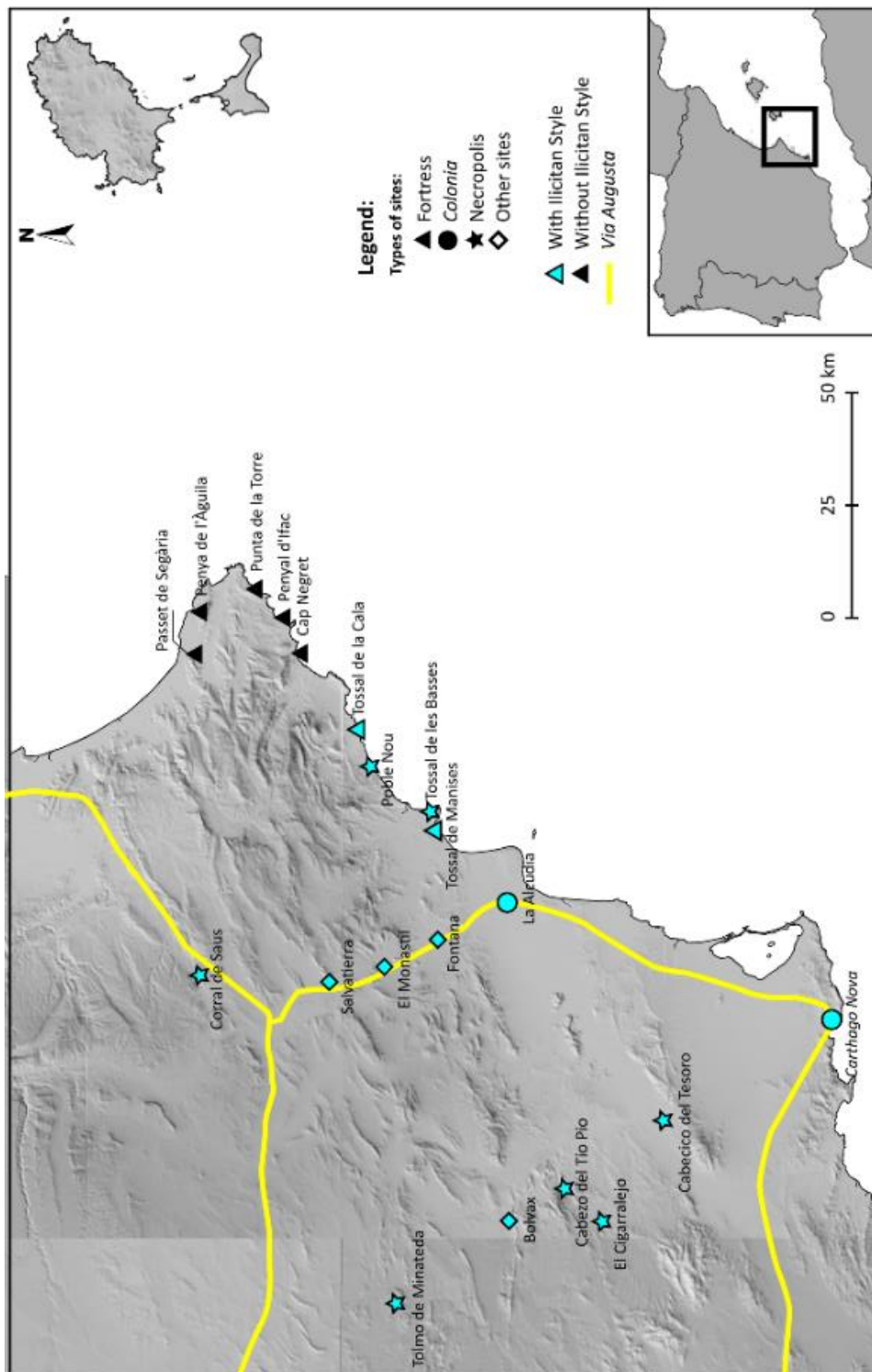


Fig. 1: Distribution map of sites in the 1st century BC in the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula, in blue those where Ilicitan style pottery is found (author's elaboration).



Fig. 2: 1. Piece LA-2478, imitation of Agde amphora (author's photography, drawing by TORTOSA 2004: 106, fig. 59) and original model (UROZ 2015: 179, fig. 7); 2. Imitation of Piatra Neamt jar (author's photography, drawing by TORTOSA 2004: 152, fig. 78) and original model (UROZ 2015: 190, fig. 14); 3. Imitation of Tassinari U1200 situla (RONDA 2018b: 91, fig. 75; TORTOSA 2004: 133, fig. 71) and original model (TASSINARI 1993: 100); 4. Imitation of Tassinari L2133 vase (TORTOSA 2004: 144, fig. 76 and 211, fig. 117) and original model (TASSINARI 1993: 74).



Fig. 3: Bottom of a Morel F 2151-A type *patera* from ancient excavations at La Alcudia, now lost (RONDA 2018b: 64, fig. 35); 2. Imitation of bottom of *patera* LA-1548 (author's photography).



Fig. 4: Various views of the *cantbarus* of La Alcudia (author's photographs).



Fig. 5: 1. Fragment of *pitbos* LA-1951 (author's photography); 2. Figure representing the goddess Artemis-Diana (Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon, LIMC 15592).

1.



2.



Fig. 6: 1. Representation of one of the faces of piece LA-1763 (author's photography); 2. Tombstone from Isernia (Epigraphic Database Heidelberg, <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD000649>).