GABII
THROUGH ITS ARTEFACTS

Edited by
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Cover: Opaque Red Ware Bowl (Δ 1611) (p. 11); ring key Δ1864, SU 7030, Area H (p. 67); marked loom weight from Gabii (p. 24); coin Δ2818, helmeted head of Minerva (p. 50) [Photo by S. Ness]; coin Δ1299, diademed head of Venus (p. 58) [Photo by E.C. Robinson]; anatomical votive fragment of a left ear, A 457.864 (p. 98) [© Christian Decamps]. Back cover: Anatomical votive of an eye, A 467.1674 (p. 99) [© Christian Decamps].

Prefazione al volume

Il volume *Gabii through its artefacts* si inserisce nel solco dei numerosi contributi che stanno interessando negli ultimi anni alcuni aspetti relativi all'antica città latina di Gabii, editi da parte dell'University of Michigan-Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, attivi dal 2007 presso il sito della Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio di Roma dapprima con indagini non invasive, poi per mezzo di una concessione di scavo tuttora in corso presso l'area urbana dell'antico centro latino.

Questo studio in particolare, si concentra su un aspetto che passa spesso in secondo piano nelle trattazioni archeologiche, ma che invece risulta fondamentale per impostare qualsiasi indagine relativa alla cultura materiale delle popolazioni del passato: lo studio dei materiali archeologici, che costituiscono uno dei "prodotti" principali delle attività di scavo.

In tal senso il lavoro coordinato da Laura M. Banducci e Mattia D'Acri, dell'équipe del *Gabii Project*, riveste una grande importanza per l'Area Archeologica di Gabii sotto vari punti di vista, raccogliendo innanzitutto contributi provenienti da tutte le attività in corso presso il sito dell'antica città latina e costituendo un indispensabile aggiornamento per quanto riguarda alcune classi di materiali riferibili a quasi tutte le fasi di frequentazione dell'abitato, rinvenuti durante le indagini della Soprintendenza Speciale di Roma, dell'Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata, dell'University of Michigan-Kelsey Museum of Archaeology e del Musée du Louvre.

Prosegue in questo modo la riuscita formula di sintesi già testata con il *Bollettino di Archeologia Online* (Andreotti, Bochicchio 2022), vale a dire riunire in un'unica pubblicazione i risultati provenienti dagli studi dei vari enti di ricerca che negli ultimi anni stanno contribuendo a gettare nuova luce sulle fasi di frequentazione di quello che è una degli abitati più importanti del Latium vetus, prima dell'ascesa di Roma.

La collaborazione tra le varie Istituzioni attive a Gabii, sottolineata dalla recente stipula di due protocolli di studio congiunto relativi all'area urbana e al cosiddetto Foro Hamilton, è uno degli obiettivi che la Soprintendenza Speciale di Roma si è posta nella sua quotidiana azione di tutela del sito, al fine di rendere l'Area Archeologica un polo della ricerca archeologica nazionale e internazionale, sfruttando appieno le particolari caratteristiche intrinseche di Gabii, il cui territorio come noto non è stato interessato, a seguito del progressivo abbandono nel Medioevo, dalle trasformazioni urbanistiche che in altri luoghi hanno progressivamente intaccato le peculiari caratteristiche del suburbio romano.

Grazie ai dati raccolti e pubblicati negli ultimi anni, provenienti da indagini in settori "strategici" dell'antico abitato, Gabii sta dunque diventando sempre di più un luogo paradigmatico per il panorama archeologico italiano, che l'impegno della Soprintendenza Speciale di Roma e la proficua collaborazione tra i vari enti di ricerca impegnati sul campo stanno consentendo di tutelare e valorizzare al meglio, restituendo progressivamente l'area alla pubblica fruizione e inserendola definitivamente nei circuiti di visita dell'Istituto.

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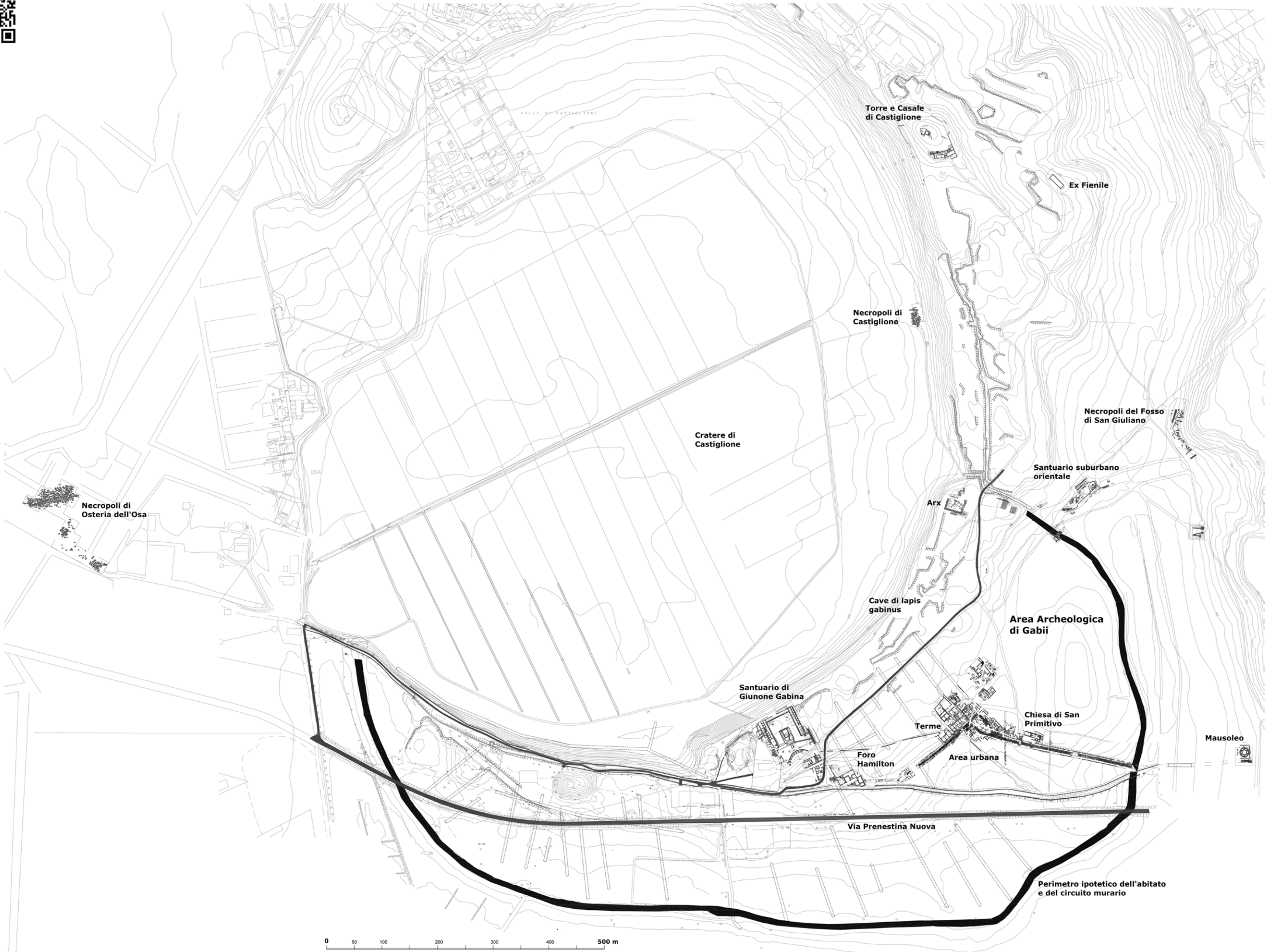

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Tales from Gabii. Studies on Material Culture and Beyond

Laura M. Banducci
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The city of Gabii, located 18 km east of Rome, was an urban centre which for most of the 1st millennium BCE evolved in parallel with peers like Rome; but unlike Rome, the occupied area of the site shrunk significantly in the 1st century BCE as its inhabitants re-located elsewhere. The nature of the sloping volcanic landscape means better-than-average preservation of Gabii's architecture, stratigraphy, and artefacts. Excavations at the site have recovered thousands of objects and different types of materials: from pottery to plaster, tokens to tools, and many others. These are crucial for the reconstruction of the life of the town.

Although the published and forthcoming final excavation volumes aim to fully catalogue these materials,[1] many classes of artefacts would benefit from a further synthetic approach and detailed specialist attention which can place them into dialogue with broader trends in Roman archaeology. This book is a collection of papers that provide new insights about the Latin city and its role in a broader Italian context. It includes studies of distinctive materials from the pre-Roman to Imperial period. The papers ultimately share the common goal of offering new stories about the inhabitants of Gabii told through their artefacts, enriching the stories told through the study of the site's landscape and built remains.

History of Work and Publications

There have been many very fruitful projects at the greenfield site of Gabii. The first known excavations were by the Scottish antiquarian, Gavin Hamilton (see Ortiz, this volume) in the 18th century. Gabii was also included in the regional surveys carried out by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma and the Istituto di Topografia Antica dell'Università di Roma.[2] Investigations around the standing remains of the temple *cella* were undertaken by the Spanish School at Rome, which ultimately coined the structure the "Temple of Juno Gabina."[3] This excavation helped to establish Gabii as a fascinating centre of the archaic and republican period with unique contributions to the study of temple decoration and ritual deposits of these periods.[4] The Iron Age necropolis at Osteria dell'Osa, outside the city of Gabii but probably associated with the contemporary settlement, was investigated and published under the direction of Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri.[5] This project was crucial for the understanding of family structures and funerary culture in Latium as well as providing an essential reference volume for Iron age artefacts from the 600 investigated tombs.

These projects have been followed by a flourishing of activity in more recent years by the Soprintendenza Speciale di Roma and several different teams from Italian and foreign institutions working in different sectors of the site. Starting in 2006, excavations of the sanctuary outside the Eastern walls of Gabii, the "Santuario Orientale," were undertaken by the Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata and the Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici di Matera in order to complete earlier investigations from the 1970s.[6] The city's archaic fortification walls have been investigated by a team from Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn.[7] Both projects produced important discoveries not only about Gabii itself but also about archaic Latium, offering new evidence of religious activities and fortification techniques.

Volume Aims and Structure

Here we present studies from three ongoing excavations at Gabii. The aim of this volume upon its inception was to showcase the rich artefactual record of the site. We aim to consider artefacts outside the ceramic report and small finds catalogue format in terms of both the wide variety of materials and the possibilities

[1] Opitz, Mogetta, Terrenato 2016; Banducci, Gallone 2021; and also, Mogetta 2020.
[2] Guaitoli 1981a, Guaitoli 1981b, Guaitoli 1981c, Quilici 1988.
[3] Almagro-Gobrea 1982.
[4] Dupré 1982, Perez Ballester 2003.
[5] Bietti Sestieri 1992a and Bietti Sestieri 1992b.
[6] Fabbri, Musco, Osanna 2012; on the materials previously excavated see Mancini, Pilo 2006 and Zuchtriegel 2012a.
[7] Helas 2016; Helas, Lecce, Träder 2019.

for unique individual stories.[8] We wish to present an honest account of the highlights and limitations of our recovered materials. We have also aimed to look beyond the materials we have excavated at Gabii and to connect our materials and the site to the research being done elsewhere in Italy and in the Roman world.

We are interested in moving beyond a solely "representational" approach to Roman objects.[9] The papers presented here have a mix of approaches. Many of the individual papers make an effort to be sensitive to excavation context and formation processes where warranted, and to consider assemblages with the most up-to-date methods and theoretical perspectives available. Approaches include archaeometric analyses, spatial approaches, artefact life history approaches, statistical approaches, and archival approaches. Thus, different scales of analysis are also undertaken, where individual objects are focused on as well as whole groups or assemblages.

This book is divided into three sections corresponding to Gabii's three ongoing excavation teams. This allows for a brief explanation of the history of work and spatial context of each project before their respective articles. The nature of the occupation of Gabii means that these three excavations work in significantly different chronological periods and have differing scopes and goals. Despite these differences, the overall purpose of these projects is to better understand the city and its inhabitants and to ensure the full publication of excavated materials.

Opening the volume are a series of papers coming from the Gabii Project, an excavation first emerging from the University of Michigan and now involving the collaboration of scholars from a number of different anglophone universities. Mattia D'Acri's paper on a relatively newly-defined class of republican pottery, *vernice rossa opaca* or opaque Red Ware, critiques the emergence, function, and typology of the ware in light of new data from the site. Christina Cha's examination of trapezoidal loom weights from across the site is in line with recent approaches to textile tools incorporating both a spatial and an epigraphic component, as she considers clusters of weights which may have been used together and considers makers' marks as part of these tools' individual manufacture.

Matthew Harder's paper on the spatial distribution and density of finewares at Gabii project incorporates ceramic data from the Gabii Project excavations, the published Temple of Juno materials, and historic field surveys in the region. Shannon Ness and Elizabeth Robinson's paper also undertakes a spatial analysis of the numismatic finds from the Gabii Project excavations. The clusters of coins they observe reveal discrete activities from several periods in the life of the city. Both papers encourage us to read the site in terms of waves of rhythms of use and occupation, rather than through a model of emergence and decline. This model of the occupation of the site was recently suggested in a paper from the Gabii Project.[10] These two papers also remind us of continued habitation at Gabii in the Imperial period, a period which has not received much emphasis, yet was hinted at by earlier investigations by the local *Soprintendenza*.[11]

Continuing the theme of the richness of evidence from the Imperial period is Brittany Proffitt's reading of a ring key from Gabii and how it can represent later Imperial female status at the site. Zoe Ortiz's reconstruction of the sculptural program of the porticoed space within the so-called "forum" excavated by Gavin Hamilton brings to the fore the importance of the city in the Julio-Claudian period. Ortiz's paper can be combined well with Marjolaine Benaich and Martin Szewczyk's contextual description of the sculptures within the Louvre Museum's collection which follows.

In the selection of papers by the Louvre excavation team, Isabelle Hasselin Rous presents unpublished terracotta fragments from the recent excavations around the temple of Juno Gabina which finds an overlap with Valeria Ducatelli's paper on the terracotta fragments from the Tor Vergata excavations. Furthermore, Benaich and Szewczyk's chapter is a thorough analysis and contextualization of the Louvre's Julio-Claudian statues excavated at Gabii in the 18th century.

Following Marco Fabbri's introduction to the Tor Vergata/Soprintendenza project come seven papers focused on different classes of material from the excavation of the *arx* at Gabii, the oft-called *Regia* or tripartite building, as well as the *Santuario Orientale*, and section of the fortification wall. Paula Ghigliordini, Rocco Bochicchio, and Laura Protani's papers on the *impasto*, *impasto rosso*, and *bucchero* materials showcase the richness of the occupation of the tripartite complex. The impasto forms attest to the occupation of the site as early as Latial Period II (perhaps as early as the 9th century). Bochicchio's study of the *impasto rosso* pottery observes both the similarities between the vessels at Gabii and other sites in *Latium Vetus* as well as highlighting the various instances of artisanal experimentation. The *impasto rosso* and Protani's *bucchero* study establish the chronology of the building's destruction at the end of the 6th-beginning of the 5th century BCE.

8 e.g., Allison 1997.
9 Van Oyen, Pitts 2017.
10 Samuels *et al.* 2022.
11 Maierini, Musco 2001.

Valeria Ducatelli thorough treatment of the terracotta figurines recovered at both the *arx* and similar ones from the *Santuario Orientale* emphasizes the continued ritual interest in the *arx* even following the tripartite building's dis-use and burial.

The continuity in the interest of the *arx* area into the republican period is also clearly demonstrated through the materials discussed by Rocco Bochicchio, Pamela Manzo, and Fabrizio Alessandro Terrizzi. Their three chapters on the *amphorae*, stamped tile, and coins from around the outskirts of the covering of the earlier archaic tripartite structure inform the continued exploration of this area in the ongoing excavations.

Overall, the papers bring together pockets of activity around the site as seen through the artefacts. The various loci of ritual deposit activity, various phases of the destruction of re-construction into the Roman period and the many ways in which individuals were present on the site are only some of the information we can gather and infer from the papers presented. The wide variety of materials from many different types of depositional contexts each provide vignettes attesting to the lives of the people at Gabii over many centuries. Together the chapters in this volume enliven the Gabines' behaviours: their concerns about personal and economic security and status, their productive activities and trade connections to other towns, their aesthetic, their political affiliations and aspirations.

This book also demonstrates the value of cross-project collaboration and these projects' commitment to publishing materials from the site. The communication between these different excavation groups has already inspired further collaboration among them. It is our hope that these disparate groups will continue to be able to collaborate in both the archaeological storerooms and in the field. It is clear that continued work will only reveal more about daily life at Gabii.

The Gabii Project

Introduction to the "Gabii Project" (2007-2022)

Laura M. Banducci
Carleton University

Since its inception in 2007 the primary goal of the Gabii Project has been to gather a critical mass of new data to more coherently understand the origins of Roman urbanism. The project was initiated under the direction of Nicola Terrenato, Anna Gallone, Jeffrey Becker, and Marcello Mogetta and supported originally by the University of Michigan's Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. It began with two seasons of geophysical prospection and a core sampling survey in order to gain a broad perspective of the urban landscape and to plan future excavations. Magnetometry revealed the nature of the city's layout along a quasi-orthogonal road grid which followed the curve of the adjacent volcanic crater.[1] This road system was then confirmed and dated through our subsequent excavations. It proved to be among the earliest orthogonal street systems in Italy, dating to the late 5th or early 4th century BCE.[2]

Since 2009 the Gabii Project has been excavating in approximately 1 hectare of open area in the central section of the settlement, north of the "Area urbana" and northeast of the "Terme" structure at the site. These investigations have made significant contributions toward a more organic and sound interpretation of the settlement's developmental stages.[3] Now the Gabii Project has significantly expanded and is led by a team of scholars from several universities across four different countries: Nicola Terrenato at the University of Michigan, Marcello Mogetta at the University of Missouri, Laura Motta at the University of Michigan, Andrew Johnston at Yale University all in the US, Anna Gallone in Italy, Rachel Opitz at the University of Glasgow in Scotland, and Laura Banducci at Carleton University in Canada. Funding for our investigations has been similarly broad: two grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), The Chrysler Foundation and Fiat SPA, the National Geographic Society, the Loeb Classical Library Foundation, the Social Sciences and Research Council of Canada, private donors, and many grants from our individual academic institutions.

The NEH grants in 2012-2014 and 2016-2019, were entitled "At the Roots of Roman Urbanism," but our work over the last dozen years has demonstrated that Gabii's long period of occupation and its unusually accessible layers make it an ideal place to examine the full arc of city life. The building blocks of an emerging city are visible in Areas A, C, and D of the Gabii Project excavation area (Fig. 1). Here appear a series of hut floors, hearths, and other activity areas spanning the 8th to 6th centuries BCE.[4] The complex in Area C/D is a large and well-preserved multi-hut residential compound. Around the edges of it half a dozen lavish infant burials dating between the 8th and 6th century have been recovered. The grave goods are composed of numerous imported and local fine pottery as well as many unique objects from miniature bronze tripods to beaded shawls.[5] They attest to the presence of a pre-existing princely lineage as one of the foci of aggregation in the emerging city.[6]

With the transition to the Archaic period, central Italian cities underwent a radical transformation, about which we are slightly better informed than in the case of the Iron Age or the Mid-Republican period, mainly thanks to the evidence from Rome.[7] It is still far from clear, however, how these communities organized themselves, besides the creation of temples and city walls. Here again, the Gabii Project's Area D, complemented by the findings of the Tor Vergata team at Gabii, offers precious information. It shows the elite hut compound transitioning to rectilinear houses in stone. The standardization and regularization of private elite areas is visible for the first time in continuity with its Iron Age ancestors and in the context of an emerging major city. The associated population was buried in small chamber tombs in association with the stone structures.[8] The Iron Age and Archaic structures, however, are not in alignment with the later 5th/4th century BCE street grid, demonstrating that the layout of the city was re-drawn at this time. This new street grid reflects a shift in the social or political organization of the city: a planned city suggests that there was a new ethos or unified political will.[9]

1 Becker *et al.* 2009; Kay 2012.
2 Mogetta *et al.* 2019; Johnston, Mogetta 2020.
3 Mogetta, Becker 2014; Samuels *et al.* 2021.
4 Evans *et al.* 2019; Gallone, Banducci 2021.
5 Becker, Nowlin 2011; Cohen 2020.
6 Mogetta 2020; Nowlin 2021.
7 Cifani 2008.
8 Evans 2018.
9 Johnston, Mogetta 2020.

Fig. 1. State plan of the structural remains within the Gabii Project excavation area (2009-2018).

The mid-republican horizon is also being explored by the Gabii Project. The architecture and urbanism of this period have recently become the centre of a complex debate, highlighting our considerable ignorance on the subject. Besides massive city walls and temples, there is very little architecture that can be safely dated to the Mid-Republic in central Italian cities.[10] In cities that are part of the "first wave" of urbanism and date to the Archaic period, such as Veii or Caere, only limited areas have been exposed archaeologically. At Gabii a massive complex in Area F is the largest and best-preserved civic space in mid-republican central Italy. This complex was built on three terraces and seems to have had a quasi-public and probably ritual function. In its earliest monumental phases there were spaces for gathering, a small bath, and a monumental staircase leading up to what seems to have been an open-air platform.[11]

At the other end of the chronological arc of the Roman period, the scholarly understanding of "the end" of the city has recently come into question. Although ancient Roman authors and modern scholars have sometimes used terms like urban "decline," "collapse," and "decay" these pejoratives are now being dropped to make way for more nuanced approaches to urban transformation and de-urbanization.[12] Archaeologists are coming to terms with recognizing the physical traces of intra-site and gradual abandonment and the implications for the changing nature of urban life for ancient people. At Gabii by the first century BCE, the abandonment and repurposing of the Republican-period houses (in the Gabii Project's Areas A, B, and C, so far) is confirmed by their transformation into industrial areas. Across the city block of Areas A and B multiple quarry faces to extract the underlying tuff bedrock, pits for testing the stone quality, and fields for dumping stone debris remain as testaments to how the definition of a city can change. *Lapis gabinus*, the tuff stone from Gabii, was a key building stone of Rome in the Augustan period, as well as being used in many other construction projects around the region.[13] The relatively large-scale industrial processes visible at the quarry seem surprising since they occurred in the middle of Gabii's defined urban area – well within the city walls, in a formerly residential block, adjacent to earlier monumental structures. The location of the quarry reminds us that cities do not shrink evenly from the outside in or vice versa, but rather buildings and blocks were gradually abandoned, re-worked, and repurposed. Rather than viewing the conversion of the

10 Gros 2011; Becker 2013; Yegül, Favro 2019.
11 Johnston *et al.* 2018.
12 Rogers 2011; Christie, Augenti 2012; Dey 2015; Carneiro, Christie, Diarte-Blasco 2020.
13 Farr, Marra, Terrenato 2015; Farr 2021.

Area A/B block into a quarry solely as evidence for the decline or even failure of Gabii in the 1st century BCE, we can consider that the extraction and exploitation of the natural resources represents a different kind of wealth present in the city. Who controlled this resource or where they lived, however, remains unclear. Partially contemporary to these quarries was a small adjacent necropolis spanning the 1st and 2nd centuries CE. The people buried here were not the one benefiting from the riches of these natural stone resources. Their method of burial, in tombs *a cappuccina* or *a fossa* sometimes with a few stones to define the burial pit, is quite modest and their skeletal evidence suggests that they did not have leisurely lives.[14]

The location of the necropolis further emphasizes that the cityscape of Gabii was a patchwork. The city block where the necropolis was located may have no longer been considered to be within the city's political or sacred boundaries, or this plot of land's status may have been altered to make burial legally and religiously permissible. This process can be read within the context of Rome's emerging *suburbium* area: where industrial, residential, agricultural, leisure, and burial areas were interleaved in a landscape which was sprawling in service to the emerging major centre.[15]

Only in the past few excavation seasons have further inroads been made to reveal the complexities of the site's later habitation as well as its continued dynamism. In the Gabii Project's Area I, traces of a 2nd to 3rd century CE residential and productive complex have been revealed complete with traces of a wine press and multiple holding tanks for liquid. In Areas G and H the 3rd to 5th century CE re-direction of the site into agricultural use is also suggested by dry-stone walls probably built for irrigation.[16] The Gabii Project's continuing work in this sector of the site promises to allow for a more sophisticated understanding of the city's latest phases and ultimate abandonment.

14 Killgrove 2021.

15 Emmerson 2020; Banducci, Opitz 2021; Samuels *et al.* 2022.

16 Samuels *et al.* 2021, 10-17.

Notes on the Opaque Red Ware at Gabii

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Abstract: La Ceramica a Vernice Rossa Opaca (Opaque Red Ware) solo di recente ha iniziato ad avere la giusta attenzione da parte degli studiosi, tuttavia manca ancora una edizione completa ed esaustiva della stessa. Il contributo, partendo da una introduzione delle problematiche relative alla classe, passa ad analizzare in dettaglio i frammenti di ceramica a Vernice Rossa Opaca rinvenuti durante le campagne di scavo del Gabii Project offrendo una prima tipologia per il sito latino, ed avanzando alcune osservazioni generali, con uno sguardo particolare alla cronologia, che potrebbe essere leggermente più alta rispetto a quanto sostenuto in letteratura.

Introduction

Opaque Red Ware (ORW) is an early and mid-Republican fine ware, easily recognizable thanks to its characteristic slip, with a colour that varies from orange to red or light brown (Fig. 1). The production of the class seems to start during the 5th c. BCE in Lazio and Etruria, and continues until the 3rd c. BCE.[1] Despite its long life and wide distribution in Lazio and Etruria, ORW still lacks a comprehensive study of its productions and typologies.[2] In the archaeological literature there is not even agreement regarding the name of the class. Opaque Red Ware or *Vernice Rossa Opaca* is the most common. Recently, Antonio Ferrandes proposed a new name: "Ceramica a vernice rossa alto- e medio-repubblicana,"[3] correctly observing that the gloss is not always opaque.[4]

The investigations carried out by the Gabii Project recovered a number of ORW sherds that have been crucial to better defining the chronologies of contexts like the road system and testifying to the continuity of life within the site.[5] This paper aims to present ORW evidence recovered by the Gabii Project, examining it in the broader Latin and Etruscan context and offering new observations. This paper also briefly discusses the first Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) results on four specimens of ORW from Gabii.[6] It is the first time this technique has been applied to this ceramic class, helping in future to better define its production.

Between Bucchero and Black Gloss: Opaque Red Ware as a 'Liminal' Production?

Opaque Red Ware is not a well-known class. It has not had the extensive study afforded to bucchero or black gloss wares. Scholars in the past classed ORW as simply painted fine ware (*ceramica depurate dipinta*) or as bad quality or mistakenly-fired black gloss.[7] Consequently, ORW still falls into a grey area in literature, even though in recent years many scholars have been trying to focus more in detail on the problems related to the class: its origin, production, and chronology. Previously there has also been a tendency to connect ORW to late productions in Southern Italy or Greece,[8] or to so-called *pre-sigillata*, considered new pottery that appears during the 3rd c. BCE in Northern Etruria and leads to the famous italian terra sigillata.[9] ORW is most certainly a distinct production typical of the regions of Etruria and Lazio.[10]

The earliest examples of ORW vessels seem to be related morphologically to late-Archaic bucchero production, specifically the Rasmussen type 3 bowls, dated to the end of the 6th-5th c. BCE.[11] Both bucchero type 3

1 D'Alessio, Di Sarcina 2014, 114, propose the end of the 6th but we do not have conclusive evidence for that. The only second-half 6th c. BCE sherds seem to be from Satricum (e.g., Revello Lami 2019, 415-416; Revello Lami 2021, 135).
2 Even the most recent papers discussing Opaque Red Ware underline the necessity of a systematic study on the class (e.g., Ferrandes 2016a, 84, n. 17; Revello Lami 2019, 416, n. 16).
3 Ferrandes 2016a, 84.
4 Considering the still ongoing debate, I prefer to stick with the most common term, also adopted by the entire Gabii Project, acknowledging the various names that the class has in literature. E.g., Red-glazed pottery (Rome, Temple of Castor and Pollux, Slej 2009), Red Slipped Ware (Satricum, Revello Lami 2021). Also, we need to adopt a distinctive name to avoid confusion, because in literature sometimes there are slightly later *Vernice Rossa* productions that seem to be dissimilar from the one presented in this paper (e.g., Lanzi 2013, Bernetti 2019).
5 Mogetta et al. 2019; Samuels *et al.* 2022, 110.
6 The Opaque Red Ware samples are included in a larger dataset as a part of an ongoing Ph.D. dissertation project, carried out by the author titled: "Pottery Production and Social Complexity in Archaic Rome and Latium", at the University of Missouri-Columbia, Department of Classics, Archaeology, and Religion. ORW samples have been analyzed along with other Archaic pottery classes such as impasto, fine ware, and bucchero, from the sites of Gabii, Rome (Sant'Omobono, Forum of Caesar, Regia, Ex-Istituto Geologico), and San Giovenale.
7 Valentini 1993, 223; Mantia 2002, 463; Rossi 2013, 132.
8 Di Giuseppe 2006, 387; Slej 2009, 41,
9 Cristofani, Cristofani Martelli 1972; Ambrosini 2009, 44 (with further references). Similar to the productions mentioned in note 4.
10 Rossi 2013, 133.
11 Rasmussen 1979, 125, tav. 41. For that reason D'Alessio, Di Sarcina 2014 suggest the end of the 6th c. for the origin of ORW.

Fig. 1. Opaque Red Ware Bowl (Δ 1611). A. Frontal views (not in scale). B. View of the top and the bottom.

bowls and the earliest specimens of bowls in ORW have enlarged rims.[12] There is also a possible interface with pottery classes such as *ceramica acroma* and *ceramica a fasce*,[13] which have bowls of similar scale and form – connecting themselves perhaps to bucchero archetypes. Starting at the end of the 4th c. BCE and for the whole next century there are also morphological similarities between ORW and black gloss. On the one hand, the similarities between black gloss and ORW are clear, but in scholarly literature, there is an inappropriate skew toward crediting or foregrounding black gloss, because it is the better known ware and appears in much greater quantity. Scholars point out how ORW is influenced by black gloss production rather than vice versa. Specifically there is an over-referencing of Hellenistic black gloss with the frequent reminder of Morel's typology.[14] Yet the relationship between ORW and Archaic Etrusco-Italic black gloss production does not always have a clear overlap[15] and is quite different from Attic black gloss as well. The work of Maria Anna De Lucia Brolli is one of the few exceptions. She proposes that ORW is an attempt by potters' workshops to create something new from bucchero and the final result will become black gloss.[16]

Since the origin of its study, ORW has been treated like a lesser class, always subordinate to other better-studied classes. Hence, in some scholarship ORW is presented as a liminal or tentative production whose only purpose is to lead to black gloss. If we examine more closely ORW production, however, this seems unlikely. Helga Di Giuseppe suggested that the extreme selection of shapes, mostly all open, intended for drinking, and characterized by extreme morphological simplicity, are made in normal and miniaturized dimensions. In addition, she argues that their scarce attestation compared to other classes and contexts of discovery suggests their key use in ritual practices.[17] To support this theory, from Falerii there are 5th ORW cups with inscriptions from a sanctuary related to ritual.[18]

Zeggio 1996, 99, n. 30 suggests also ORW production starting from the 5th c. BCE was both influenced by bucchero and *Ceramica Acroma* workshops.

12 Ambrosini 2009, 42; Carlucci 2016.

13 Ambrosini 2009, 42.

14 Morel 1981a.

15 Mantia 2002, 463.

16 De Lucia Brolli 2006, 76.

17 Di Giuseppe 2014, 112: "l'estrema selezione delle forme, tutte aperte per lo più destinate ad uso potorio e caratterizzate da una estrema semplicità morfologica; vengono realizzate in dimensioni normali e miniaturizzate, cosa che insieme alle scarse attestazioni rispetto ad altre classi e ai contesti di rinvenimento, fa pensare a un loro utilizzo in chiave rituale". See also Di Giuseppe 2006, 388, 510. That is not always true, for instance in sites like Satricum (e.g., Revello Lami 2021, 136, fig. 1) or Falerii (Biella 2011, 146-147) there are also closed shapes. Nevertheless, the shapes repertoire is limited, suggesting a specific purpose for ORW production.

18 De Lucia Brolli, Biondi 2002, 365-370; Carlucci 2009, 244, fig.16. P_4I D,1. Another specimen is in Buonamici 1941, 370-371.

Therefore, the class seems to have a specific purpose, and the small number of vessels found compared to black gloss is not just a coincidence, but a decision made by the potters due to the function that ORW had within Etruscan and Latin societies.[19] The technological evidence supports this view as well. Recently, Martina Revello Lami analyzed in detail ORW production at Satricum using the concept of *chaîne opératoire*. Revello Lami's work demonstrates that ORW is not the result of errors by potters but is rather, a specific production. The variety of slipping techniques must be the result of the different skills of the potters, because petrographic analysis of ORW vessels reveals that their clay composition, and thus sourcing and mixing, is the same.[20]

The peculiar characteristics of ORW show how we should treat the class per se, avoiding, or at least using carefully black gloss comparanda, because the chronology can be misleading. As a matter of fact, when we examine publications from sites that use Morel's black gloss repertoire to date ORW rims, their chronology is much lower compared to other sites that do not refer to Morel to date ORW. For instance, from the Santuario Monti Li Santi-Le Rote and Necropoli del Cavone, both in Narce's territory,[21] ORW cups are usually dated around the second half of the 5th c. BCE, based on a strong stratigraphic reliability. The same shapes, or at least similar enough to be compared, come from the cistern in Portonaccio sanctuary in Veii.[22] Here, the author states how the production starts on the 5th c.,[23] but still she adopts black gloss comparanda for the cups presented, with the result that the chronology of ORW cups is around the beginning to first half of the 3rd c. BCE.[24] It is likely that ORW cups have a broad continuity across two centuries, and thus we might consider adopting much broader chronologies. The context plays a major role and in primary depositions ORW seem often to be attested in 5th or 4th centuries contexts.[25] Nevertheless, it is clear that ORW continues to appear the 3rd c. BCE, but a new chrono-typology of the class needs to be developed in order to avoid the biases created by the constant referral to black gloss forms.

Opaque Red Ware at Gabii

Up to the start of the 2022 Gabii Project excavation campaign, in the Gabii database there were 79 entries of ORW, for a total of 162 sherds and one whole vessel (tab. 1).[26] The quantity is very low compared to other pottery classes on the site, but the quality of the finds allows for several significant observations. First, there is an interesting spatial pattern because ORW sherds are concentrated in specific areas. Table 2 shows how the majority of ORW sherds come from Area C (67.48%), followed by Area H (11.66%), and then all the others. If we consider all the pottery classes within Area C, ORW is less than 1%,[27] yet even this small percentage is significant because ORW has been found in small numbers in many sites, with few exceptions.[28] Unfortunately, the specimens at Gabii often come from secondary deposits, and for that reason, we cannot rely on narrow chronologies. From Areas B, E, F, G, H, and I, ORW sherds are residual because they come from Late Republican, Imperial, or even later layers. ORW evidence from Area D are mainly intrusions of Archaic layers instead, except for SU 3123, where the sherds are in phase.[29] Finally, ORW evidence from Area A and C is the most reliable because of its association with significant Republican activities like road and residential building constructions.[30]

As far as the ceramology is concerned, the diagnostic sherds of ORW analyzed suggest that at Gabii the main shape attested is the hemispheric cup with ring foot. These can be sub-divided into six types (fig. 2.1-11).[31] Types 1-5 have a diameter that spans between 12 and 18 cm, Type 6 instead includes all bowls of miniature scale

[19] Helga Di Giuseppe, starting from the Iguvine Tablets, suggests how a certain chromatic choice of the artefacts corresponds to a specific ritual (Di Giuseppe 2006, 510). Even if many cases ORW has been found in sanctuaries or religious contexts, they also come from urban centers or necropoleis, which does not affect the possible use for ritual purposes. On the chromatic choice see also Revello Lami 2021, 137.

[20] Revello Lami 2021, 137-140.

[21] Carlucci 2016; De Lucia Brolli *et al.* 2016, 50.

[22] Ambrosini 2009, 42-49, fig. 1.4-28. For instance, Ambrosini type 4 (Ambrosini 2009, 44-45, fig. 1.11-14) has comparanda dated back to the 5th and 4th centuries, but the chronology proposed is at the first half of the 3rd c. BCE, because similar to Morel 2846b.

[23] Ambrosini 2009, 42.

[24] Broader are the chronologies offered by the same author of the few ORW sherds from Piano della Comunità – Veii (Ambrosini *et al.* 2009, 95-96).

[25] Other examples other than Narce where ORW vessels are dated considering the stratigraphy more than Morel's typology are, for instance, Rome (Zeggio 1996, 99, n. 30; Zeggio, Rizzo 1998, p. 136, Tab. 3.; Di Giuseppe 2014, 111; Ferrandes 2016a, 84; Carandini et al. 2017, 227, tav. 2.11, n. 92, and 446, tab. 2, tav. 10.68; D'Acri *et al.* 2018), Acquafredda (Damiani, Pacciarelli 2006, 523, n. 57), Satricum (Gnade 1992, 141-142, t. 8.4, pl. 1, fig. II; Bouma 1996; Revello Lami 2019; Revello Lami 2021), Veii – Casale Pian Roseto (Torelli, Murray Threipland 1970, 78, fig. 16. Q 3-5), and Cerveteri (Mantia 2002).

[26] The whole cup is Special Find n. 1611 on fig. 1 (https://gabii.cast.uark.edu/data/browse/special_finds/1611).

[27] Percentage inferred using the data available on the Gabii Project database.

[28] E.g., Veii – Macchiagrande (D'Alessio, Di Sarcina 2014, 114); Veii – Santuario di Portonaccio (Ambrosini 2009, 43); Rome – Temple of Castor and Pollux (Slej 2009, 41); Rome – Salita del Grillo (Tabò 2013, 40); Rome – Forum of Caesar (Di Giuseppe 2014, 111); Rome – Sant'Omobono (D'Acri et al. 2018, 49, n. 76) Rome – Villa dell'Auditorium (Di Giuseppe 2006, 388); Acquafredda (Damiani, Pacciarelli 2006, 523).

[29] D'Acri 2016.

[30] Exceptions are SUs 129, 170, 2073, 2104, 2171, 2177, 2258, 2385, 2415, 2448, 2475 where ORW is associated with later materials. Republican and later Area C stratigraphy is currently under review by the Gabii project for the final publication.

[31] The typology includes only sherds studied by the author and with a good state of preservation.

Tab. 1. List of ORW specimens from Gabii.

SU	Area	Rims	Handles	Bases	Walls	Total
129	A			1		1
170	A				1	1
321	A	3			3	6
450	A				1	1
458	A				1	1
1160	B				1	1
2007	C				1	1
2063	C				1	1
2073	C				3	3
2171	C	1				1
2177	C				2	2
2253	C			1		1
2258	C				2	2
2383	C	2				2
2385	C	1		1		2
2386	C	2		1	2	5
2387	C	1			1	2
2390	C				1	1
2403	C				1	1
2410	C	1			1	2
2415	C	1		4		5
2418	C	1				1
2420	C	2				2
2424	C	4		2	1	7
2427	C	1				1
2429	C				3	3
2433	C				1	1
2435	C	2			2	4
2438	C				1	1
2442	C	1			1	2
2444	C				2	2
2445	C	1				1
2446	C				1	1
2448	C	1				1
2451	C	2		1	3	6
2457	C	1			1	2
2458	C				2	2
2460	C			1		1
2462	C	3				3
2465	C				1	1
2469	C				1	1
2475	C	6		2	4	12
2524	C	1				1
2528	C				1	1
2536	C	1			1	2
2537	C	1		1	1	3
2543	C	1				1
2545	C				1	1
2646	C				1	1
2670	C				1	1
2687	C	1				1
2688	C				1	1
2692	C				1	1
3012	D	1				1
3123	D	1			1	2
3259	D				2	2
3394	D				2	2
3439	D				1	1
4022	E	1				1
5541	F				1	1
5736	F	1				1
5738	F				1	1
6007	G	1			2	3
6008	G				1	1
6073	G		1			1
7023	H			1		1
7026	H	1			1	2
7029	H	2		1	5	8
7030	H	1			1	2
7033	H	1				1
7166	H		1	1		2
7189	H	1			2	3
8000	I			2	1	3
8033	I			1	1	2
Totals		53 (34.87%)	2 (1.31%)	21 (13.82%)	76 (50%)	152 (100%)

with a diameter of less than 10 cm. Type one is the main one because it has the most sherds associated with it (Type 1, fig. 2.1-2),[32] and it is characterized by a flat rim, with vertical walls. The next (Type 2, fig. 2.3-4),[33] is different from the previous one for its rounded instead of flat rim. Type 3 (fig. 2.5) has a rounded rim and inclined walls.[34] Then, one cup with thickened rim (Type 4, fig. 2.6), and another with an almond-shaped rim (Type 5, fig. 2.7). There are also four miniature cups with diameters between 5 and 9 cm, all with slightly different forms (Type 6, fig. 2.8-11). Finally, the only other recognizable form is a shallow plate with overhanging rim (Type 7, fig. 2.12). Therefore, not surprisingly, the production of open shapes is preferential compared to closed ones, like in all the other contexts with ORW. The presence of two handles from Gabii (tab. 1), as well as other not identifiable sherds, suggests, however, that the shape repertoire might be richer than the one presented here using rim sherds.

Regarding the fabric, the sherds usually have a pink (5YR 7/4) or reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) matrix with a strong consistency clay, which seem to match the description of the ORW production from the Sanctuary of Monte Li Santi-Le Rote in Narce (*argilla tipo* 1 and 3).[35] Carla Carlucci also provides a list of four different types of slip. In this case there is also an overlap with the material from Gabii. In particular, three out of four slips described by Carlucci are attested at Gabii:

- *Vernice tipo A: colore rosso arancio, corallo, 2.5Yr 6/6 (light red). Consistenza: compatta e coprente, ben aderente al corpo ceramico;*
- *Venice tipo B: colore rosso Bruno, 5Yr 5/3 (reddish brown). Consistenza: densa e coprente, a volte iridescente;*
- *Vernice tipo C: colore rosso 2.5Yr 5/6 (red). Consistenza: spessa coprente, ma poco aderente al corpo ceramico dal quale si distacca con facilità.*[36]

Another recent attempt to sort ORW productions by clay composition appears in Karen Slej's study of the materials coming from the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Roman Forum. Despite the few numbers of vessels (81 diagnostic sherds), Slej was able to recognize six different groups:[37]

1. *A reddish-brown fabric covered with a red or yellowish dull slip, often very thin and prone to flake off, but also occasionally very thick almost like that on terra sigillata. The fabric is very close to Black-glazed and the form repertoire can be found in Morel 1981.*
2. *A group with sometimes rather thick walls of reddish-brown fabric but with a rather rough surface, not smoothed as is usually the case, covered with a brownish-red, thin, slightly shiny slip. Sometimes the slip is diluted and in stripes. Often the surface is polished. The typical form is a bowl with an almond shaped rim.*
3. *A group with brownish slip of poor quality. Most often the vessels are smaller bowls with almost vertical walls (see Valentini).*
4. *Similar forms as before, but fabric is grey and glaze is greyish-brown, often entirely flaked off.*
5. *Cream-coloured red core but creamy fabric. The surface is polished and has a soapy feel. Glaze is rather thick but sometimes badly worn, orange-red. The body sherds show that the ware is sometimes striped. The group is somewhat similar to Italo-Corinthian. The forms are usually bowls with almond shaped rims and large bases that are internally glazed.*
6. *A group of more undefined glazes that are sometimes similar to African Red Slip, and sometimes are a heavy red to brown slip which has no parallels, and sometimes similar to the slip of the striped domestic ware.*

Slej's fabric groups probably also overlap with Gabii specimens, although the less analytical description makes the comparison more complicated.[38]

In order to contribute to our understanding of the variability in ORW production, I have undertaken a first look at the chemical composition of the ware. I selected four ORW samples from Gabii,[39] and two from republican levels of the sanctuary of Fortuna and Mater Matuta at Sant'Ombono in Rome,[40] to be analyzed through Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA). This is a nuclear technique in which a sample is bombarded with neutrons to produce radioactive isotopes with distinct decay patterns. It is useful for performing bulk qualitative and quantitative multi-element analysis of major, minor, and trace elements in samples.[41] The detailed scientific data will be published

[32] Fifteen specimens belong to Type 1.
[33] Six sherds belong to Type 2.
[34] Three specimens for Type 3.
[35] Carlucci 2016, 242. Carlucci recognizes also *argilla tipo* 2, but pointed out how a sherd belonging to that group joins with a vessel that is otherwise with *argilla tipo* 1. So perhaps there is a change due to post-depositional conditions.
[36] Carlucci 2016, 242. At Gabii seems not to be attested Carlucci's *Vernice tipo D: colore arancio 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow). Consistenza: sottile, raramente ben conservata.*
[37] Slej 2009, 44.
[38] The closer groups to the specimens from Gabii are ns. 2-3.
[39] There are three specimens for type 1, and the other is type 7.
[40] D'Acri *et al.* 2018, 49, tav. 11.3; 64, tav. 23.4. The specimens from Gabii and Sant'Omobono only had a slight variation in the fabric color according to a naked eye examination.
[41] Glascock 2022. NAA technique is increasingly popular in Roman archaeology, and the increasing data available would result in more reliable studies about the provenance and chemical compositions of pre-Roman and Roman ceramic materials (e.g., Wisseman *et al.* 1995, Ammerman *et al.* 2008, Ammerman, Iliopoulos 2021).

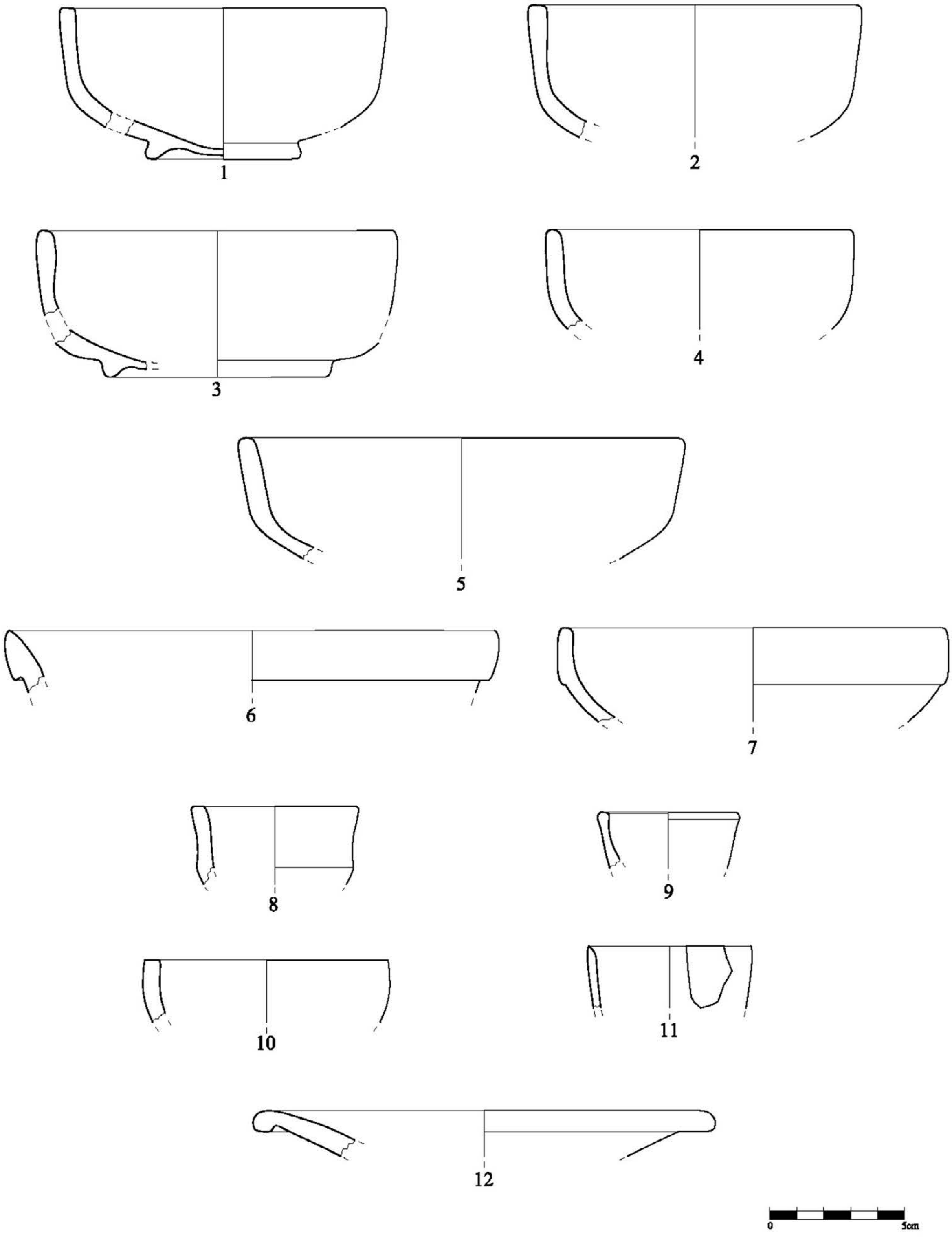

Fig. 2. Opaque Red Ware. Type 1: 1-2; Type 2: 3-4; Type 3: 5; Type 4: 6; Type 5: 7; Type 6: 8-11; Type 7: 12.

in a forthcoming paper. Meanwhile, preliminary examination makes it clear that all six specimens analyzed belong to the same chemical group, along with other earlier fine wares from the 7th and the 6th c. and sampled from various Etruscan and Latin sites.[42] This means that the ORW clay had a similar chemical composition and possibly a similar source location over a long period of time. A suggestive outcome is that perhaps the clay recipe for making fine ware pots had been handed down from craftsman to craftsman, from workshop to workshop over several centuries, with very few modifications through time, explaining the unexpected solid chemical group.[43] Regardless of the possible interpretations, it is also true that only six samples are not statistically significant but offer only a glimpse of possible trends.

The final consideration of the Gabii ORW examples is their chronology. The types presented all have comparanda with almost all the published contexts mentioned above, since the morphological repertoire of ORW is quite limited. For their chronology, considering the stratigraphic nature of Gabii as previously mentioned, and the fact that for Area C the sequence is under review, it is most appropriate to rely on Ferrandes' 2016 analysis of ORW from the North-East slopes of the Palatine for two reasons. The first is the stratigraphic record from the North-East Palatine provides a clear and continual sequence, probably covering ORW's entire period of production from the end of the 5th to the beginning of 4th c. BCE, until the middle of the 3rd century BCE.[44] Second, there is an exact match between the types from Gabii and those from the Palatine (tab. 3), except for Types 4-5. All of these are attested starting from the 360/350-330 BCE. The poor state of preservation of the only sherd belonging to Type 4 (fig. 2.6) makes it difficult to find an exact match, and although the thickened rim is a characteristic of early ORW cups, I would avoid any speculation regarding its chronology. Type 5 (fig. 2.7), instead, finds an exact match with a specimen from the Temple of Castor and Pollux in Rome but with a problematic proposed date, to the second-third quarter of the 2nd c. BCE.[45] Taking into account the considerations of the previous paragraph, we notice how also, in this case, the adoption of Morel's typology is tricky and mistakenly shifts the chronology of the class later (footnote 46).[46] The particular specimen is unlikely to be dated so late. Therefore, without a more secure context for Type 5,[47] a broad date range from

Tab. 2. Percentage of ORW by Areas.

Area	Rims	Handles	Bases	Walls	Total
A	3		1	6	**10 (6.58%)**
B				1	**1 (0.66%)**
C	39		14	47	**100 (65.79%)**
D	2			6	**8 (5.26%)**
E	1				**1 (0.66%)**
F	1			2	**3 (1.97%)**
G	1	1		3	**5 (3.29%)**
H	6	1	3	9	**19 (12.5%)**
I			3	2	**5 (3.29%)**
Totals	**53 (34.87%)**	**2 (1.31%)**	**21 (13.82%)**	**76 (50%)**	**152 (100%)**

Tab. 3. ORW Types recognized at Gabii and comparison with the ones from the Palatine.

Gabii	Palatine	Chronology
Type 1	Ferrandes 2016a, 91, fig. 18.b	360/350-330 BCE
Type 2	Ferrandes 2016a, 91, fig. 18.a	360/350-330 BCE
Type 3	Ferrandes 2016a, 91, fig. 18.f	360/350-330 BCE
Type 4	/	
Type 5	/	
Type 6	Ferrandes 2016a, 91, fig. 18.g-h	360/350-330 BCE
Type 7	Ferrandes 2016a, 92, fig. 19.m	360/350-330 BCE

42 For a total of 23/25 samples. The two left are outliers.

43 Along with pottery samples, I am collecting raw clays from the area of Rome and Gabii in order to better define and understand the chemical results.

44 Ferrandes 2016a, 82, fig. 5. In this regard, the final publication of the context might provide an even more refined chronology.

45 Slej 2009, 49, pl. 35. I-31. Furthermore, when scholars find vessels that do not fit with Morel's types, they struggle to find other comparanda and end up referring to *terra sillilata*, or Archaic pottery, but interpreting it as residual instead of accepting an earlier chronology (e.g., Slej 2009, 48-49, pl. 35, I-28).

46 This is not a critique of Slej's work because she had few publications of ORW to refer to, and at the time they all adopted Morel. Rather I underline the necessity to re-evaluate chronologies of this class.

47 Unfortunately, the only specimen for Type 5 is residual. It comes from SU 2104, which is attributed to the Augustan period.

the late 5th to the 4th c. BCE is preferable, considering the shape of the rim.

Overall, the samples presented from Gabii fit with the other productions in Latium and Etruria, with strong connections with the ones in Rome. This suggests that with the political change post 509 BCE, Gabine society immediately received and adopted the new ceramic trends as evidence of an active role of the city during this period that finds confirmation with the new urban plan built around the end of the 5th c. BCE.[48]

Conclusions

The paper presents new ORW evidence at Gabii from a ceramology point of view, offering insights that challenge some recent scholarship in terms of chronology that should be reconsidered. Additionally, the paper suggests how we should treat ORW production as an original ceramic that had a specific purpose for the communities of the time for at least three centuries.

[48] Mogetta *et al.* 2019.

Loom Weights as Evidence for Textile Production at Ancient Gabii

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Abstract: La filatura era una delle attività principali della comunità gabina e non è una sorpresa che il Gabii Project negli anni abbia rinvenuto numerosi strumenti come rocchetti, pesi da telaio e simili. In particolare, il contributo analizza nel dettaglio 136 pesi da telaio in ceramica analizzandoli dal punto di vista formale, statistico e di distribuzione all'interno del contesto gabino. Uno degli obiettivi è quello di riconoscere se e come cambia la diffusione dei pesi da telaio tra l'età arcaica e quella Repubblicana.

Loom weights, specialized tools which were used to pull down the warp threads and prevent them from tangling, are typically the only parts of the loom to survive the archaeological record, as the loom itself and its finished cloth were made of perishable materials. Although loom weights in the ancient world come in many different shapes and sizes, and can be made of diverse materials—frequently with more than one type being found at the same site—the ceramic loom weight, approximately trapezoidal in shape, with some variation from pyramidal to cuboid forms, appears to have been the most prevalent in Italy.[1] Following this pattern, the trapezoidal ceramic loom weight (**Fig. 1**) is the most commonly recurring type of loom weight at Gabii. Loom weights preserve some of the strongest evidence for accessing the presence and scale of textile production at a given site. The findspots of loom weights could indicate where warp-weighted looms were once located within a space, but it should be cautioned here that loom weights are rarely found securely in their primary depositions. More importantly, the quantity of loom weights (and other textile tools) directly correlates with the level and intensity of weaving activities that were once present in the past.

Fig. 1 Example of trapezoidal ceramic loom weight from Gabii.

A total of 136 ceramic loom weights have been collected so far by the Gabii Project, providing preliminary evidence for the local manufacture of textiles within the excavation areas (**Figures 2, 3**). Given the complexity of formation processes, only the most coherent assemblages where we can reasonably think about developments in the technology and production practices will be discussed, as this chapter aims for a diachronic analysis of textile manufacture at Gabii.

Chronologically, some of the earliest loom weights found at Gabii date to the Archaic period and come from Area D. Loom weights themselves are difficult to date without a stratigraphic context as they remained in use for a long time with few morphological changes. Area D preserves structural remains of the Archaic period and offers some insight into weaving practices during this phase of the settlement.[2] There are marked

[1] Gleba 2012, 235; Dotta 1989, 192.

[2] Evans *et al.* 2019.

Excavation Area	Number of Loom Weights Found
Area A	14
Area B	15
Area C	33
Area D	16
Area E	10
Area F	21
Area G	1
Area H	7
Area I	18
Area J	0
Other	1
TOTAL	**136**

Fig. 2 Chart showing the breakdown of loom weights found by excavation area.

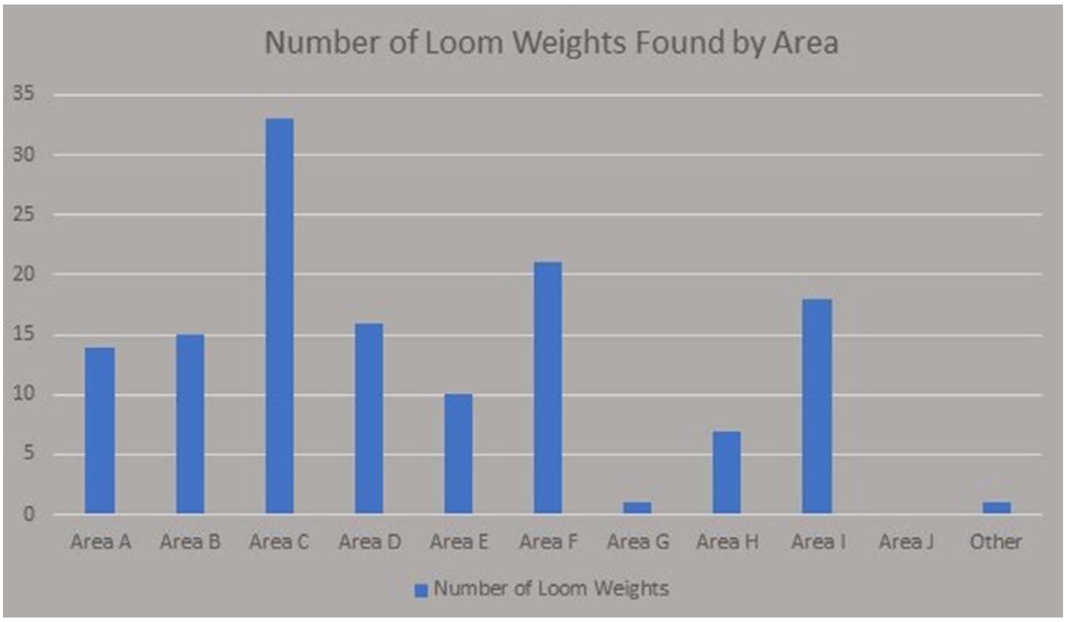

Fig. 3 Graph showing number of loom weights found by excavation area.

differences in these older loom weights as they are highly fragmentary and are collectively less uniform in appearance when compared to those recovered from other excavation areas. Although similarly mould-made, the clay used to make these tools is also much less refined than that of their later counterparts, containing larger inclusions in the matrix. There have been a total of sixteen loom weights found in Area D, and what is most notable about these objects is their overall greater average size when compared to loom weights from later periods. Certainly an outlier in the weights collected so far at Gabii, is a fragmentary specimen from Area D with a weight of 748 grams and a preserved height of 9 centimeters (**Fig. 4**). It has the shape and composition of a typical loom weight, but its relatively larger size may indicate an alternative means of attachment to a loom. For comparison, a study of particularly large loom weights from Sardinia has reconstructed a loom,

Fig. 4 Partially preserved large archaic loom weight from Gabii.

from a context dating after the Iron Age, that does not attach the warp threads directly to the weights themselves, but rather to a lower wooden beam; the beam is then weighed down by the attachment of a few extra heavy loom weights.[3] The large size of the weights thus corresponds to a different type of loom setup that does not require numerous weights for weaving. Alternatively, proposing a non-utilitarian function, Marianne Kleibrink ascribes a ritual use to a group of larger than average-sized loom weights found at Francavilla Marittima in southern Italy, in a context dating to the 8th c. BCE.[4] Kleibrink identifies a different function aside from quotidian textile production based on the findspot of this particular assemblage, as the location shows clear indications of sacred activity. But this is at most a tentative conjecture for the correlation between an unusually large loom weight and its function at Gabii, as the majority of the Gabine loom weights, including this one, do not come from secure primary deposits.

A good portion of the loom weights from Gabii have been recovered intact with reliable original measurements. Generally, depending on the site and the period, loom weights are rather variable in weight, from less than 100 grams to a few kilograms.[5] Even accounting for these factors, the average size of the rest of the collection of Gabine loom weights is much smaller than that of the lone enormous fragmentary example from Area D discussed above. Margarita Gleba correlates a general decrease in tool sizes with a trend towards better textile products and increased artisan skill levels.[6] She states that the standardization of textile tools by specialists was also a later development based on gradually increasing production demands.[7] The visibly less standardized loom weights from Area D were found scattered throughout the Archaic structure in secondary deposition, and their numbers suggest at most a household level of loom-based textile production. In contrast, there is compelling evidence of an earlier production preference for tablet-woven textiles just based on the recovery of hundreds of spindle whorls and spools.[8]

The surviving evidence for a modest output of loom-based textile production is in stark opposition to that of tablet-woven materials from Area D. It is around the end of the Archaic period that the *rocchetti*, so-called “spools,” suddenly disappear from the archaeological record at Gabii.[9] These objects had been misidentified in the past; instead the *rocchetti* functioned as weights for specialized small-scale weaving activities. The main agents of tablet-weaving, according to J. Troy Samuels, were primarily elite women, and the sudden disappearance of the craft had to do with societal shifts. With changes brought from growing urbanism, it was no longer necessary for elite women to produce tablet-woven fabrics as status markers.[10] Samuels also determines that the number of loom weights firmly remains on the lower end, even if they appear in the archaeological record consistently, so anything finished on the loom was meant primarily for household use.

The Gabii Project’s Areas A, B, and C all feature remains of domiciles that were occupied during the Republican period. A total of fourteen ceramic loom weights have been found scattered across Area A. The loom weights were all mould-made, of similar size and shape, with the majority weighing within a range of 239-346 grams (**Fig. 5**) and measuring an average height of 7 centimeters. Notably, five of the weights were found in association with each other (**Fig. 6**).[11] Accounting for either the loom weights’ similar make and physical proximity to each other, they could be considered a functional group. The number of weights may seem at first too few for a vertical loom, but there is precedent elsewhere for such small assemblages. At Pompeii, several groups of four loom weights have been found *in situ* inside different houses. From this, Robert Ling proposes that smaller looms requiring less loom weights were regularly used throughout Campania for small-scale

3 Melis 2014, 94-112.
4 Kleibrink, Jacobsen, Handberg 2004, 46.
5 Gleba 2012, 235.

6 Gleba 2013, 4.
7 Gleba 2013, 4.
8 Samuels 2020, 358.
9 Samuels 2020, 353.
10 Samuels 2020, 359.
11 These five loom weights were found in SU 432, a house collapse layer directly above bedrock.

Fig. 5 Graph of weights of Gabii loom weights (Areas A, B, and C).

Fig. 6 Composite photo of associated loom weights from Area A.

household production.[12] Although it must be taken into consideration that the find spots of the Gabine loom weights are not necessarily secure in comparison, they can still potentially be grouped by their similar make.

In Area B, just adjacent to Area A, fifteen loom weights were discovered, similar in number and form to those found in Area A. The weights from Area B all weigh between 248-338 grams (**Fig. 5**), and have an average height of 8.5 centimeters. These are more-or-less typical measurements for standardized loom weights. Like those from Area A, the Area B weights are also mould-made and trapezoidal in shape, with a single transverse perforation for suspension. This trapezoidal shape is again characteristic of Roman loom weights, and nearly all the ceramic loom weights from Gabii take after this form. Area B on the whole has better preserved structural remains than Area A. Its prominent feature is a Mid-Republican house[13] and four loom weights were found in the same stratigraphic layer inside the building's perimeter (**Fig. 7**).[14] These four weights, however, are not as uniform in composition when compared to the associated set from Area A, but Gleba notes that such homogeneity is not always essential

12 Ling 1997, 180.

13 Opitz, Mogetta, Terrenato 2016.

14 These four loom weights were found in SU 1279, an accumulation layer with a small amount of Republican pottery.

Fig. 7 Composite photo of associated loom weights from Area B.

for the act of weaving itself; she instead attributes the regularity of forms to the increasing standardization in loom weight production by specialist craftspeople.[15] These four loom weights from Area B could also be taken together as a complete group, going by the paradigm set by the Area A assembly. And here again, it can be argued from the surviving evidence that textile production was also limited to the single household level during the occupation of the Mid-Republican house in Area B.

It should be reiterated that the Gabine loom weights can only hint at production capabilities at the household level, since the objects are most likely displaced from their original depositions. That does not mean, however, that the "assemblages" from the two areas discussed above should be simply disregarded. At the very least, the similarity in the size of these two groups is notable. They are both indicative of a modest production output on the household level. Another aspect to consider is the general make of the individuals in the groups—their uniformity can be the result of standardized production practices. From the proximity of the two excavation areas, as well as considering that they both feature contemporary occupations, the two groups of loom weights could even have once been a singular cohesive assemblage but scattered in such a way after an abandonment event. Even taking into account these additional factors, the Gabine loom weights regardless present evidence for loom-based weaving activity on site, but at most on the household level.

Area C, with thirty-three loom weights, is distinguished by having the most out of all the areas. These range from 234-350 grams (**Fig. 5**) in weight and average 8 centimeters in height. The excavation area corresponds to a city block to the east of the site. Area C, excavated over several seasons, features multiple occupation phases spanning from the Iron Age to the Early Imperial period. Out of the total number of weights, seventeen were found during a single season, from which eight can be associated together. Five weights come from one stratigraphic layer[16] (**Fig. 8**), and another three from another layer[17] (**Fig. 9**). All eight loom weights are nearly uniform in shape and size, and their stratigraphic contexts date from the Mid- to Late Republican period.[18] The number and distribution of the loom weights in Area C may, on one hand, suggest a slightly greater intensity of weaving activity during this phase, but still within the scope of only needing to meet the textile requirements of a single household. On the other hand, the deposition of these objects remains insecure here as well, so when and where these objects were used cannot be completely ascertained; the numbers can only account for the limited presence of loom-based weaving activity.

Out of 136 ceramic loom weights found by the excavations of the Gabii Project, seventy of them feature a mark of some kind. These markings appear seemingly at random on weights from every area. Marking textile tools was a prevalent practice in the ancient world, although its purpose is not yet fully understood. These tools were marked, either by the owner or creator, with a variety of symbols, either alphabetic or iconographic. The different markings made on the loom weights from Gabii are rarely duplicated and attest to an inconsistent assortment of designs. Although not all loom weights will feature marks, they appear regularly enough to be a conventional procedure in the manufacture of textile tools. Fifty-one percent of the loom weights from Gabii feature a maker's mark, a higher proportion than we would expect normally. For comparison, at the site of Cetamura del Chianti, out of a total of forty-two loom

[15] Gleba 2013, 5.

[16] These five loom weights were found in SU 2385, an accumulation layer with Republican pottery.

[17] These three loom weights were found in SU 2425, also an accumulation layer with Republican pottery.

[18] Date range approximated from other finds material found in these layers.

Fig. 8 Composite photo of associated loom weights from Area C.

Fig. 9 Composite photo of associated loom weights from Area C.

weights found in an associated context, fourteen (33%) were marked.[19] The high frequency of personal markings on the Gabine loom weights is unusual to date, and needs to be explained by further investigation through comparative studies.

The most common decorations on loom weights are simple patterns of incised lines (**Fig. 10**) or dots, or plain circular or ovoid stamps; many loom weights are also marked with a dotted or incised cross motif.[20] Loom weights can moreover be stamped or incised with words or letters, and their regular occurrence has produced different interpretations in regards to their purpose.[21] One theory is that they function as identifying marks for either the maker of the tool or the owner of the product. It has also been proposed that these marks indicate the order in which the warp

[19] Cha 2015, 3.

[20] Sofroniew 2011, 199.

[21] Sofroniew 2011, 200.

Fig. 10 Example of marked loom weight from Gabii.

threads should be woven on the loom for pattern work; alternatively, the marked loom weight could have been left attached to a completed product to guarantee the quality of the finished textile to consumers.[22] Other suggestions posit that the loom weight markings are indicative of their own weights or costs, or even the weight or cost of the cloth to which they are attached. These decorations appear only on either the top or sides of the loom weight. Unlike some other marked material, the markings on loom weights appear to have been intended to be seen, for either practical or aesthetic purpose, as these surfaces were clearly visible to onlookers and certainly to the weavers working at the loom.[23]

More than just decorative, the marks may have served functionally as indicators of ownership for the finished product. Artistic representations and literary sources show it was mainly women who were engaged in the task of weaving. In one interpretation, the variation and intermittent recurrence of these markings on loom weights suggest a commission system, by which individual women could request a particular size or type of loom weight to be made at a local workshop for specialized textile production. They may have paid particular attention to identifying, personalizing, and marking their own textile tools before the objects were fired in a communal kiln.[24] It should be stated here that any type of kiln has yet to be found at Gabii, so it is unclear if weavers at Gabii had the opportunity to locally acquire their working tools. But based on this hypothesis of a commission system, a good number of women at Gabii took the time to personalize their textile tools and differentiate their own loom weights from that of others, but it is unclear where this was taking place. However, this does not completely explain why only a fraction of the tools ended up being marked, and why there is such a large variety of markings, and few observed reduplications of them. To address the last two queries, one theory is that these weaving tools were passed down in the family through generations, and over time, the assemblages' composition would change organically to include a diverse collection of marked loom weights.[25] Furthermore, these markings are largely present on these objects regardless of chronology, so it is difficult to make an argument for changing practices over time. Going forward, the next step may be to compile a typology of markings that appear on the loom weights (and other textile tools) from Gabii and then to pursue an answer for the ancient purpose of this practice.

Based on the survey of ceramic loom weights from the excavations of the Gabii Project, textile production, when present on site, appears limited to the household level in Areas A, B, C, and D. Considering their uniform appearance and the proximity of their find spots, many of these loom weights could possibly be grouped together as small functioning sets. Overall, when broken down by area, the numbers do not equate large-scale commercial loom-based textile manufacture at Gabii. At most, individual households were producing only what was necessary for their families.

The following are some noticeable trends in weaving developments at Gabii. The Archaic loom weights are less uniform in appearance than those from later periods, showing changing developments in the tool technology over time. By the Republican period, loom weights come to be specially produced by craftspeople who tend to adhere to standardizations in shape and size to fulfill consumer demand. With the expansion of urban areas, there is likely a corresponding growth in textile production, increasing the need for the mass production of quality textile implements.[26]

Loom weights are traditionally included in the discussion of ancient textile production, but it is also interesting to approach them in a study of just the tools themselves. To briefly touch upon the multifunctionality of these objects, those found in domestic contexts have been

[22] Ferrandini Troisi 1986.
[23] Sofroniew 2011, 199.
[24] As of now, it is unclear from where the Gabine loom weights were manufactured or acquired; we cannot securely rely on fabric color to distinguish variations in production, as artefacts from the same batch could look chromatically different based on the reactions during the firing process. The only exception would be the much earlier Area D loom weights, which are notably different in appearance from the loom weights from the rest of the site.

[25] Foxhall 2012, 200-205; Quercia, Foxhall 2014, 70; Quercia 2018, 154. My gratitude to Laura Banducci for first bringing this suggestion to my attention.
[26] Gleba 2007, 75; Sofroniew 2011, 192.

primarily interpreted to be used for the production of textiles. Yet it is possible that these "loom weights" may have simultaneously held secondary uses even in these areas, such as for votive dedication. But it is difficult to determine at this time without further evidence, such as secure contexts, for which other functions they may have once held. Those found in other, non-residential contexts at Gabii have been determined to be either residual depositions or recycled fill. In the end, there remains a distinct possibility that the loom weights included in this chapter's discussion may also fall into these categories. Nevertheless, the surviving evidence of the loom weights from Gabii reveal some fascinating insights into the localized development of textile manufacture over time.

Trends in Fine Ware Consumption across Republican and Imperial Gabii

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Abstract: Ceramica a Vernice Nera, Sigillata Italica, e Terra Sigillata Africana sono le le classi fini meglio note e rappresentative di età Repubblicana e Imperiale. Se studiate singolarmente possono fornire numerose informazioni circa produzioni, forme meglio attestate, e molto altro. Il contributo, partendo dallo studio delle classi sopra elencate vuole analizzarne la diffusione spaziale e cronologica all'interno dell'area investigate dal Gabii project. Successivamente si includerà nell'analisi anche il materiale edito dal tempio di Giunone Gabina e del suburbio che separa Gabii da Roma.

Since its launch in 2007, the Gabii Project (GPR) has accumulated a large amount of archaeological data from the urban sector, with evidence ranging from the Iron Age to the Imperial period. A fundamental component of the excavations is the online database (https://gabii.cast.uark.edu/data/) that allows researchers to systematically query the large quantity and variety of data.[1] This project serves as a case study for utilizing the database to present a spatial and contextual analysis of select fine wares (black gloss ware, *terra sigillata*, and African red slip) representative of the Republican and Imperial periods at Gabii. In total, GPR excavations have uncovered 14,702 sherds belonging to these three productions.[2] This paper surveys the three classes of finewares mentioned above from the GPR both quantitatively and qualitatively (e.g., raw sherd counts and formal/diagnostic identifications) with particular attention to spatial and chronological trends. An analysis of this large dataset allows for a discussion of the results in economic terms such as trade networks, integration, and consumption over the long term. In addition, this paper explores the potential of integrating evidence from the surrounding countryside of Latium. Utilizing this sort of methodological approach ultimately moves us closer to capturing a snapshot of the rhythms of life in the urban core of Gabii and the city's role within the *suburbium* of Rome.

This project utilizes the GPR database and extant data on the surrounding rural landscapes to study the economic history of Gabii on slightly different analytical and methodological levels, primarily based on the supply of certain fine wares and the differing approaches to artefact collection and analysis. Since this study is ultimately an experiment for how scholars can use the data from the GPR database (https://gabii.cast.uark.edu/data/) to answer different research questions, a few comments about data collection and collation are worth noting. First, I exported all of the Spot Date data for each ceramic class under discussion. The respective Spot Date sheets cite the identification of a particular diagnostic ceramic form, but not the number of rims for the form type. In other words, for the purposes of this paper each Spot Date entry was taken to indicate one example only of the diagnostic form cited.[3] Included in each cell are other pertinent information like the SU, Spot Date ID, and then sometimes a hypothetical date range associated with the diagnostic form and associated bibliographic details. This method will tend to undervalue the number of diagnostic forms and was utilized here for experimental purposes. Furthermore, the inclusion of other fine wares (e.g. bucchero and thin-walled ware), amphorae, and commonware pottery would surely broaden and strengthen this sort of long-term history but are not treated here for reasons of length. For each class of fine ware pottery under discussion, I will briefly present an overview of their pertinent characteristics and the ways in which scholars study and interpret them. Then the discussion will move to the spatial and contextual distribution of each ware across the site of Gabii, including the published material from the Temple of Juno Gabina on the site. At the end of the chapter, we will zoom out to view the situation in the *suburbium* between Gabii and Rome. Thus, for the first time then we can discuss the socio-economic realities of Republican and Imperial Gabii within the larger context of the Roman *suburbium*. In this way, we can

1 This database contains all of the site records (artefacts, ecofacts, stratigraphic descriptions, photos) from the Gabii Project up to and including the 2019 excavation season.

2 Up to the 2019 excavation season, totals range from 8,631 for black gloss ware, 3,677 for terra sigillata, and 2,194 for African red slip. On the whole, most of the ceramics come from dump or fill contexts. Quantitative analysis of the composition of the contexts is underway and may offer insight into deposition trends across the site.

3 Some Spot Date entries note numerous examples of certain form types, but unless an exact number is specified, I kept the count at one for each entry. Furthermore, some Spot Date entries include only the bibliographic information for the possible forms and do not provide a proposal for form identification. In this study, I have included only the forms identified by the finds specialists from the GPR. Further analysis and curation of the database may allow for future proposals of diagnostic forms.

Gabii Through its Artefacts (Archaeopress 2023): 26–37

shed light on the ways in which Gabines and those inhabiting the countryside east of Rome were operating and participating in larger economic networks during the Republican and Imperial periods.

In addition, the project also hopes to put the long-term trends at this Latial town in dialogue with developments in the *suburbium* and hinterland of Rome. This sort of macro-scale view offers the potential to sketch how towns in the suburbs of Rome adapted to changing socio-economic landscapes. For our purposes here, we can define the *suburbium* as a "densely occupied region" with clear physical and material connections to Rome that are manifested through "patterns of urbanized consumption."[4] The *suburbium* of Rome included villas, burials, temples, and agricultural installations.[5] Other towns like Tusculum, Praeneste, and Tibur can be included in this hinterland of Rome.[6] In general, each of these towns had to adapt to the wide-ranging changes wrought by Rome and its increasing urban sprawl.

The city of Gabii is situated on the southern slope of Lake Castiglione approximately 13 miles to the East of Rome. A settlement rose on this spot in the 8th century BCE, while a quasi-orthogonal grid was established in the late 5th century BCE.[7] This new townscape constituted an urban sector with city blocks extending down the slopes to meet the so-called *Via Gabina*, which is referred to as Archaic in date, while the first mention of the *Via Praenestina* is found in Strabo (5.3.9). GPR excavations have uncovered Republican period houses, which give a sense of domestic spaces within at least two plots of a single city block.[8] The abandonment and spoliation of domestic spaces in the early Imperial period is part of a larger period of transformation taking place at Gabii.[9] Two large quarry pits to the North of the Mid-Republican houses began to be extensively tapped and burials appeared in the former domestic spaces.[10]

The encroachment of these typically extra-urban activities points to processes of contraction and transformation taking place in the urban core of Gabii. Extensive survey and excavations by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma of the *Area Urbana* to the West of the GPR limits showed a shrinking, but continued activity during the Imperial and Late Roman periods.[11] Thanks to inscriptions from the Temple of Juno precinct, we know that repairs to an aqueduct were undertaken by the initiative of the Emperor Hadrian.[12] Burial evidence continues in a few different areas in the urban core and beyond until at least the 3rd century CE. Thus, the existing narrative about Gabii points to a contraction and transformation of the urban core beginning in the Late Republican period with profound changes continuing well into the Imperial period.[13]

A comprehensive macro-scale study of the three most emblematic fine ware classes of the Republican and Imperial periods can contribute to our understanding of such socio-economic changes at Gabii. This large data set, especially when viewed holistically, offers a potential snapshot of the economic realities and consumption trends at Gabii over the long-term. Another important dataset for this study comes from Lorenzo Quilici's comprehensive survey of the eastern *suburbium* of Rome.[14] In 1974, Lorenzo Quilici published the tome *Collatia* as part of the *Forma Italiae* series. His study limits covered the area East of Rome with the northern limit around the Anio River and the southern limit near the Alban Hills. The eastern limits of the area are placed around Osteria dell'Osa just to the west of Gabii. Quilici's work is notable since he attempts to provide broad chronological ranges and descriptions for surface scatters of material. Particularly useful for our purposes here, Quilici plotted the distribution of black gloss ware, terra sigillata, and African red slip, identifying 856 sites across a roughly 110 km^2 area. The inclusion of the available data for the distribution of fine wares in the eastern *suburbium* of Rome serves to highlight rural consumption trends and contextualize the urban situation at Gabii.

Black Gloss Ware

Ceramica a vernice nera or black gloss ware is the primary ceramic chronological indicator or 'fossil guide' of the Middle to Late Republican period (c. 4th-1st centuries BCE). This wheel made pottery is identifiable by its lustrous, black slip and fine clay. In 1981, J.P. Morel published his historiographic view of black gloss ware, where a "proto-capitalist market economy" developed after the Second Punic War thanks to

[4] Notarian 2011, 25.
[5] Emmerson 2020; Witcher 2005; Witcher 2006a; Witcher 2006b; Witcher 2017; Patterson 2006; Morley 1996.
[6] For a survey of how Latial towns reoriented themselves in the first and second centuries CE, see Notarian 2011.
[7] Mogetta *et al.* 2019.
[8] Opitz, Mogetta, Terrenato 2016; Banducci, Gallone 2021.
[9] Already in the middle of the first century BCE, Roman orator Cicero commented that Gabii was just a *municipium* with hardly enough inhabitants to properly celebrate Latin festivals or holidays (Cicero *Pro Plancio* 9.23). Slightly later in the early Augustan period, Dionysius of Halicarnassus described Gabii as a sparsely inhabited city with considerable activity only "next to the highway" in the form of inns (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 4.53.1.). Other writers from the Augustan period and later characterized Gabii in much the same way, as desolate and largely abandoned (Horace. *Ep.* 1.11.7; Propertius 4.1.34; Lucan 7.392; Juv. 3.192, 6.56, 7.4, 10.100; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.*4.53.).
[10] Banducci, Gallone 2021. The quarry centered around a type of tuff known as *lapis gabinus* that was extensively used in late Republican and Augustan period structures in Rome, like the Fora of Caesar, Augustus, and the Tabularium to name a few (Farr, Marra, Terrenato 2015; Farr 2014; Lugli 1957, 308-309). Quarrying activities were not limited to this northern intramural section of the city but expanded across the rim of Lake Castiglione and even in other urban sectors (Glisoni, Zanella 2019).

[11] Guaitoli 1981c; Maierini, Musco 2001.
[12] Alföldy 1998.
[13] Banducci, Gallone 2021; Samuels *et al.* 2021
[14] Quilici 1974a; Quilici 1974b.

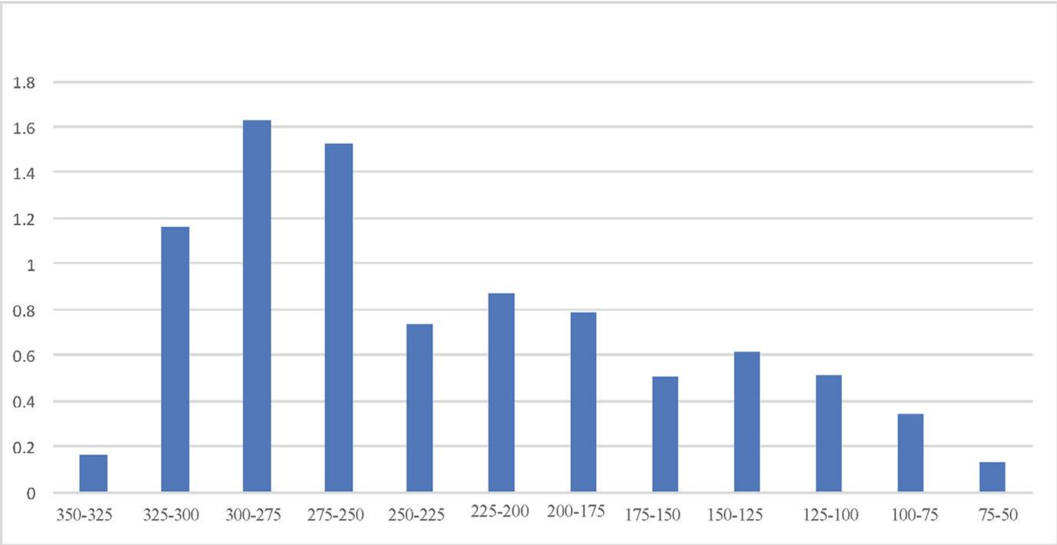

Fig. 1. Weighted Average numbers of black gloss sherds per quarter century at Gabii (n=124; based on data from https://gabii.cast.uark.edu/data/export/spot_dates/Black%20Gloss).

Rome's hegemony over the Italian peninsula and the new supply of manpower in the form of slave labor supported the production of this fineware.[15] New data from excavations and archaeometric research have highlighted the wide variety of production variations ranging from Spain, France, and Italy.[16] Other important advances include the increased understanding of the relationship between black gloss production and cult sites.[17]

Black Gloss Ware at Gabii

In total, 8,631 sherds of black gloss ware have been uncovered by the Gabii Project.[18] In order to reconstruct and visualize the trends in pottery consumption, this study utilizes the *media ponderata* or weighted average method pioneered by Lisa Fentress and Philip Perkins.[19] In essence, each sherd is assigned a date range based on its form or shape. This method is not without limitations or bias. In order to calculate the weighted average, you must multiply the number of sherds by the date range of the shape. Then basic graphs are framed around quarter century time ranges and the sum of the average for each range is displayed. Thus, shapes with a shorter chronological span have a stronger influence on the graph and variations of supply are not readily considered.[20] Even with these limitations in mind, the weighted average provides a visual display of larger consumption trends without any claim to be an exact representation of the entire situation. This statistical application is particularly useful for survey material and stratigraphic contexts with high levels of residuality.[21]

Next, I collated the number of forms noted in the Spot Date sheet for black gloss ware in order to calculate the weighted average. Looking at the weighted average for black gloss ware (Fig. 1), we can note a few general trends.[22] We see the first real appearance of the ware in a sizable quantity from c. 325-300 BCE. Even more notable however is the peak of black gloss consumption between c. 300-250 BCE. The consumption of black gloss never reaches this level again and in the period from 250-225 BCE we see a large decrease from the previous half century. A slight uptick in consumption is visible in the last quarter of the third century BCE and again in the middle of the second century BCE. After this point, consumption levels taper off until the middle of the 1st century BCE when *terra sigillata* becomes the preferred fine ware.

In terms of spatial trends (Fig. 2), most of the black gloss ware from the GPR comes from secondary contexts that do not tell us much about the functional use of

15 ROTH 2007, 46; MOREL 1981a, 490-493; MOREL 1981b, 92, 97. In fact, Morel's view is one of potters with no input into the wares they produce and where consumers had no say about the forms they purchased, MOREL 1981a, 489-501.

16 DI GIUSEPPE 2012; CUOMO DI CAPRIO 2007, 321-325; PRINCIPAL-PONCÉ 1998a, PRINCIPAL-PONCÉ 1998b; MOREL 1973.

17 DI GIUSEPPE 2012, 62-71; DI GIUSEPPE 2020.

18 This includes 2,493 rims, 717 bases, 203 handles, and 5,390 walls.

19 FENTRESS, PERKINS 1988.

20 VAN DE WEGHE *et al.* 2007 has proposed a triangular model for studying residual excavation contexts. Other quantification methods worth noting are those conducted by WILLET 2012 and POBLOME *et al.* 2016.

21 FENTRESS, PERKINS 1988; TERRENATO, RICCI 1998; FENTRESS *et al.* 2004; DI GIUSEPPE 2012.

22 A total of 124 Spot Dates were used to calculate the weighted average for black gloss ware. The number of each diagnostic type identified was divided by the chronological range established by Morel. The sum of these averages are then slotted into 25 year divisions and graphed.

Fig. 2. Spatial distribution of black gloss sherd densities at Gabii (visualization of kernel density).

the pottery. The largest concentrations come from two domestic contexts (roughly over half of the total; Areas B and C).[23] It should be noted that the two domestic contexts were constructed in the third century BCE and abandoned/repurposed by the first century BCE. Thus, their associated construction deposits and infills are naturally likely to include examples of black gloss ware. The remainder of the black gloss was found in a large, mid-Republican public building (Area F) with three terraces spread over 2,000 m2.[24] This notable complex was constructed along the major road in town sometime during the second half of the third century BCE.[25]

The predominant forms identified at Gabii are among the most common finds in excavations around Rome. In particular, the most frequently attested forms are bowls Morel F2621, F2783 and F2784, that date primarily to the first half of the third century BCE. These forms are typically associated with the *petites estampilles* and other Latial workshops. At the Temple of Juno, these forms predominate as well, constituting over 34 percent of the diagnostic sherds studied.[26]

In his systematic study of the over 4,000 sherds of black gloss from the Temple of Juno excavations, José Pérez Ballester also calculated the weighted average.[27] Overall, the trends displayed at the Temple of Juno

23 Opitz, Mogetta, Terrenato 2016; Mogetta, Becker 2014.
24 Johnston *et al.* 2018.
25 Johnston *et al.* 2018, 10, 27.

26 Perez Ballester 2003, 20.
27 Perez Ballester 2003. In total, 4,115 sherds of black gloss and 4,101 if we exclude the Attic black gloss.

largely mirror the trends seen in the data from the GPR excavations. A discernible peak appears in the first quarter of the 3rd century BCE with a slight decline in the following quarter century. Another similarity between the GPR and Temple of Juno datasets is the massive decrease in sherds dating to the third quarter of the 3rd century BCE. We can also see a slight increase in sherds dating to the third quarter of the 2nd century BCE. At the Temple of Juno this is associated with the monumentalization of the temple complex. After this point, the relative amounts of black gloss found at the site taper off to a negligible quantity after the second half of the 1st century BCE when the ware was replaced by *terra sigillata*.

In terms of production, Perez Ballester attributes over half (55.14%) of the black gloss at the Temple of Juno to Etrusco-Latial workshops. Local or regional productions account for 22.58% of the total with negligible amounts of Etruscan (5.15%) and Campanian (2.95%) products. Latial products account for 38.13% of the total and are most prevalent by far from c. 300-250/225 BCE.[28] In fact, Latial products are the most common production from c. 300-175/150 BCE. The well-studied productions of the "atelier des petites estampilles" (PE) constitute the second largest group, accounting for 12.94% of the assemblage.[29] Originally scholars located this production group in or around Rome, but recent studies have identified locally made PE products at numerous sites across Italy.[30] Morel first dated PE wares to the first third of the 3rd century BCE, but later changed the date to c.305-265 BCE.[31] PE productions first appear at Gabii in the late 4th/early 3rd century BCE but predominantly date to the entire 3rd century.[32] The relatively high number of sherds assigned to Latial and Etrusco-Latial workshops is not surprising. Keeping in mind the number of PE productions, a strong connection with Rome and its immediate surroundings is to be expected for Gabii. Interestingly, it has been suggested that the strong tradition of PE products at Gabii is tied to local production.[33]

Local production in Latium peaks in the period between 325/300-300/275 BCE and practically disappears from the material record in the late 3rd century BCE. Not until the second half of the 2nd century BCE do we see a revival of locally produced wares in the Temple of Juno assemblage. Interestingly, only one sherd was attributed to the well-studied workshop at Praeneste.[34] Other notable inclusions in the Temple of Juno assemblage include fragments attributed to workshops/clay sources in Etruria, a so-called Campana B, and the overpainted ware known as Ferrara T-585.

The recent reevaluation of the South Etruria Survey (SES) by the Tiber Valley Project offers a particularly useful dataset worth comparing to the situation at Gabii.[35] The overall weighted average graph for the SES shows peak consumption levels from c. 320-280 BCE with levels nearly dropping in half by 260 BCE. After this point, the amount of black gloss seems to remain relatively stable even until the late first century BCE. If we include the data from urban centers in the Tiber Valley including Veii, Capena, Eretum, and Falerii Novi, the picture largely remains the same. Every site except Falerii Novi seems to have the highest number of black gloss sherds datable from c. 310-280 BCE.[36] In general, a precipitous drop in the number of sherds per decade takes place between 280 BCE and 260 BCE. Other notable trends are the slight upticks in consumption identified at Falerii Novi and Capena in the second half of the first century BCE.

This macro-scale view of the black gloss at Gabii shows that the supply and consumption of this ware peaked in the first half of the third century BCE. Most of the black gloss used by the Gabines seems to have been produced in Latium and in the environs of Rome, which suggests strong economic connections between Gabii and the metropolis. Across the site we see a decline in black gloss consumption until the middle of the second century BCE, when the Temple of Juno was monumentalized with an adjacent theater complex. Spatially speaking, black gloss sherds are localized in two domestic contexts (Areas A and B) and a Mid-Republican public complex (Area F). Further analysis could query the locations of diagnostic black gloss forms across the site (and the surrounding countryside) to look for possible distribution trends.

Terra Sigillata

Terra sigillata is a term used to denote a class of table ware characterized by its red, bright glossy appearance

28 Perez Ballester 1985, gr.1.
29 Morel 1969; Morel 1981a, 630; Perez Ballester 2003, 219-222.
30 Ferrandes 2016b. It has been hypothesized that the strong PE tradition at Gabii is related to a local workshop, but further analysis is needed (Perez Ballester 2003, 230-236; Di Giuseppe 2012, 136). Ferrandes has also noted the strong similarities between PE products at Gabii and Lucus Feroniae (Stanco 2005, 210-217).
31 Morel 1980, 92. For the rationale behind this revision see Scott 2008, 27.
32 Perez Ballester 2003, 220.
33 Perez Ballester 2003, 230-236; Di Giuseppe 2012, 136.
34 Gatti, Onorati 1992. The solitary example belongs to Morel F 2830/40, which is very common in the deposit from Praeneste's Sanctuary of Hercules (Perez Ballester 2003, 237).
35 Di Giuseppe 2020, 101, Fig. 3.22. The weighted averages are displayed differently by the Tiber Valley Project: their averages are broken down into decades rather than quarter centuries and they calculate the weighted average for all black gloss sherds, even if nondiagnostic. In other words, non-diagnostic sherds were assigned a relative date range of c.350-1 BCE, which serves to "smooth out" any extreme peaks or declines in the averages.
36 The situation at Falerii Novi (founded post 241 BCE) is anomalous and warrants further investigation. Consumption levels do not reach an apex until c.150 BCE. In general, most of the black gloss from the site is dated to the second century BCE.

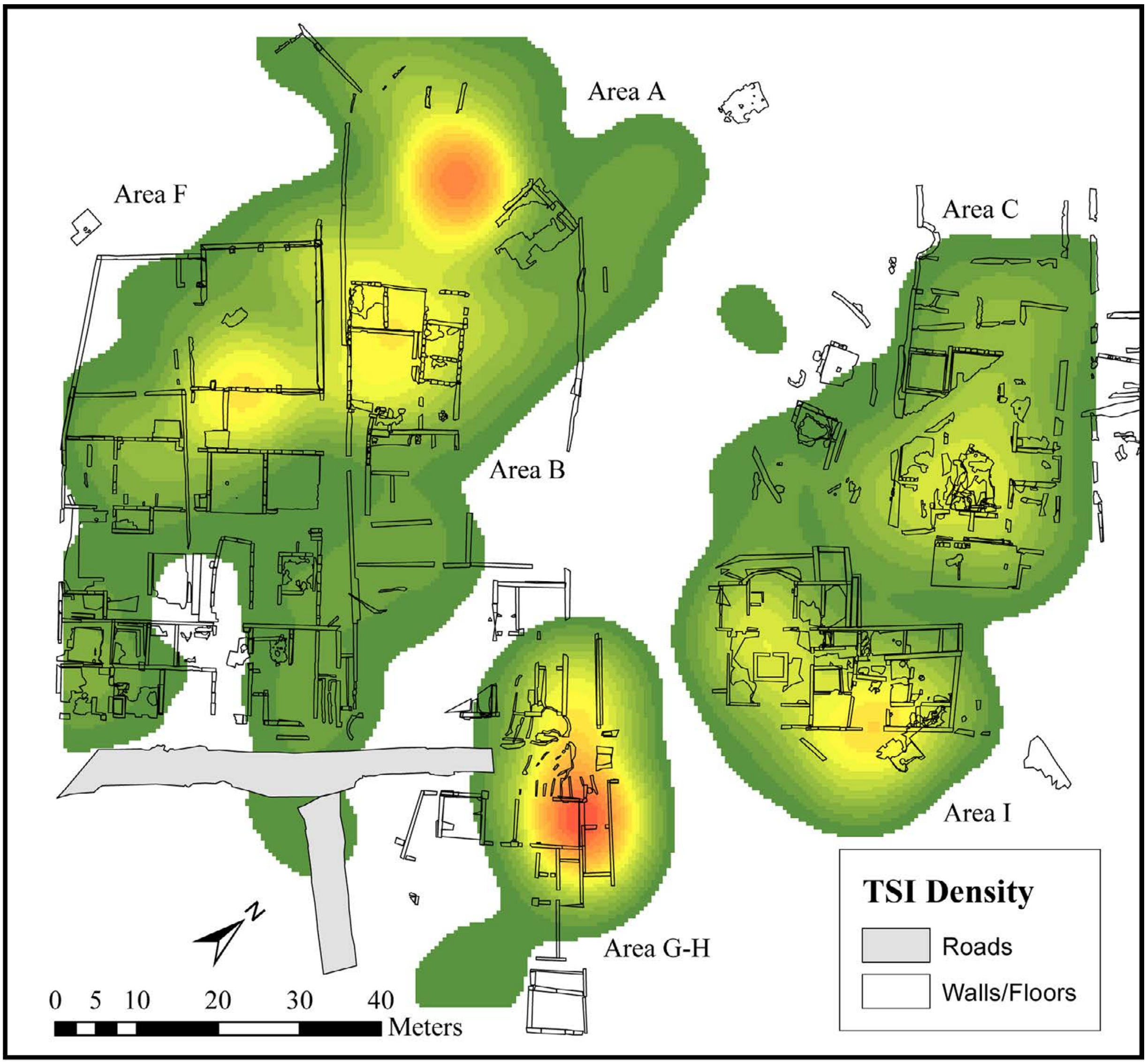

Fig. 3. Spatial distribution of terra sigillata sherd densities at Gabii.

known for its wide distribution across the Roman Empire. Production began at the site of Arezzo (ancient *Arretium*) in the second half of the 1st century BCE, largely replacing black gloss ware.[37] The names on *terra sigillata* stamps allow for reconstruction of individual workshops and the distribution of their wares.[38] In the following decades, many other centres across the peninsula began producing sigillata and by the late 1st century BCE, branch workshops expanded from their Italian base to Gaul, with many operating into the third century CE.[39]

Similar to the treatment of black gloss ware, *terra sigillata* has been utilized as a cog in larger debates about Roman history including economic, cultural, and aesthetic concerns. For example, *terra sigillata* is cited as an important metric for sketching the extent and scale of the Roman economy.[40] Scholars more interested in cultural developments have used *terra sigillata* to chart the spread of "Roman dining habits, values, and sign systems."[41] This is partially because *terra sigillata* is known for its homogeneity in terms of vessel fabric, slip, and shape.

The spatial distribution of *terra sigillata* across the GPR excavations (Fig. 3) shows clear concentrations in the Area F complex closer to the Via Gabina.[42] Around half of the *terra sigillata* sherds come from Area F contexts

37 Vilucchi 2012; Ettlinger 1990.
38 Fülle 1997; Pucci 1981.
39 For a recent study from a geographical point of view see Sternini 2019. Gaulish sigillata is practically non-existent from the GPR collections nor is Late Italian sigillata well attested.
40 Harris 1993; Saller 2002; Wilson 2009.
41 Van Oyen 2015; Van Oyen 2016, 5; Millet 1990, 56, 124; Woolf 1998; Wallace-Hadrill 2008.
42 On the continued occupation of the lower terrace in the later Roman period, see Johnston *et al.* 2018, 11.

with the remainder coming from the Area B house and in Area H on the other side of the Via Gabina. In fact, only these two areas show increased *terra sigillata* counts when compared to the black gloss ware. The other areas, including the Area C house, show massive reductions in fine ware deposition compared to the Republican period.

In terms of common forms, we can cite Conspectus forms 3, 21, 20, 37, 12, 1, and 23. The most common form is plate-bowl Form 3 (n=20) followed by Forms 21 (n=18), and 20 (n=13). Most of these examples are plates and are very common at sites across the Mediterranean. Forms 1 and 3 are early plate forms, while Forms 20, 21, and 23 become common beginning in the Tiberian period. Even though Conspectus 37 (hemispherical cup; c. 25 - 75 CE) is a common form identified at Gabii, it is largely absent from the Temple of Juno assemblage.[43] Common middle and late Augustan forms in the GPR limits include platter Forms 1 (c. 40-10 BCE), 11, and 12 (c. 15 BCE – 15 CE). Later examples include Forms 3 (c. 20/41-100/150 CE), 20.4 (c. 30-100 CE) and 21 (c. 10-75 CE). Plate 20.4 is one of the most common plate forms in the mid-first century CE and seen at sites like Pompeii, Ostia, and Rome.[44]

At the Temple of Juno, the majority (67.48%) of the *sigillata* dates to between 50 BCE and 25 CE, with another 10.17% datable to 25-50 CE.[45] By far the most common *terra sigillata* form from the Temple of Juno is Conspectus form 3 (19 examples). The next most common forms are Conspectus forms 20 (n=13), 18 (n=13), 22 (n=13), and 1 (n=12). Thus, plates/platters predominate the assemblage. Common cup forms include Conspectus forms 33/34 and 36.

Another significant piece of the puzzle for *terra sigillata* studies is the habit of potters of stamping their wares with epigraphic stamps. Preliminary analysis shows that out of the 71 *terra sigillata* stamps that have been found and studied by the GPR (as of the year 2020), 56 are legible with 45 of them coming from the Area F complex. Most of the stamps (39%) can be attributed to Arretine workshops while "Central Italy" (17%) workshops account for a little less than one fifth of the total.[46] Other workshops attested based on the stamps include some in Pozzuoli and Cumae in Campania as well as Vasanello and Scoppieto in the Tiber Valley. The stamps of Marcus Perennius (c. 30/25 BCE-60 CE) from Arezzo are the most common seen at Gabii. This workshop was one of the most prolific producers of *terra sigillata* and therefore is one of the best understood by scholars. Other well-known Arretine producers attested at Gabii include Ateius and Avillius.

The chronological breakdown of the *sigillata* stamps at Gabii follows the larger trends noted by Oxé, Comfort, and Kendrick.[47] A large majority of the *sigillata* producers at Gabii (over 71%) began production from c. 20 BCE-15 CE. Many of the attested producers (63%) ceased making *sigillata* in the period between 15-50 CE.

Quickly looking back to the assemblage from the Temple of Juno, the stamps show a slightly different picture than those from the GPR area.[48] Most of the stamps are from Arretine workshops, but we do not see any products of Perennius, Rasinius, or Gellius. The most attested workshops are those of Tettius, Titius, and A. Vibius Scrofola. Further analysis of the anepigraphic stamps and comparison with examples from GPR might shed light on the overall stamp evidence from the site.

How does the epigraphic data on *terra sigillata* at Gabii compare to contexts from Rome? Recent excavations in several locations have uncovered important evidence for reconstructing the supply of *terra sigillata* to Rome.[49] In general, the majority of the *sigillata* from these select urban contexts seems to have been produced in Arezzo, which should not be surprising. The works of major producers like Ateius and M. Perennius are present along with several of the less attested workshops also seen at Gabii. The considerable overlap between *terra sigillata* producers testified at Rome and Gabii suggests a scenario where the fineware is transported from Arezzo to Rome and then redistributed to the smaller centers in the *suburbium* of Rome.

The recent publication of the *terra sigillata* from the Pontine Region Project (PRP) offers a large, comparable dataset.[50] *Terra sigillata* consumption in the surveyed areas of southern Latium steadily increases after 25 BCE and peaks in the third quarter of the first century CE. During the last quarter of the first century CE consumption rates returned to the pre-peak levels from 1-50 CE.[51] Conspectus forms 3, 34, 20.4 and 37 are the most identified forms.[52] The PRP also displayed the chronological trends of all dated terra sigillata stamps in their southern Latium dataset. The highest number of name stamps date from 1-25 CE. The number of

[43] The sub-type common at Gabii (37.2) is dated c. 20-100 CE and noted at Ostia, Pollentia, and Rome. In total, six sherds of this type have been identified by the GPR.
[44] Martin 1992; Martin 2006.
[45] Caballero 1982, 389. It should be noted that for the Temple of Juno, terra sigillata was not separated from *sigillata chiara* and thus sigillata encompasses African Red Slip and a complete chronological range of c. 50 BCE-500 CE.
[46] If we collapse the Arretine productions (to include those indicated as "Arezzo?" in the OCK) into one group, they constitute 50% of the total. If we collapse the Central Italian (to include "C.Italy?" in the OCK) productions into one group, they constitute 30% of the total.

[47] Oxé, Comfort, Kenrick 2000.
[48] Caballero 1982, 420-422.
[49] Rizzo 2003; Rinaldi 2013.
[50] Tol, De Haas, Attema 2021; Tol 2012; Tol 2017.
[51] Tol, De Haas, Attema 2021, 208, Figure 4.
[52] Tol, De Haas, Attema 2021, 210, Figure 6.

name stamps from sites in the Alban Hill peaks from 25-1 BCE and slowly declines to a negligible amount by the last quarter of the first century CE.[53] Distribution maps based on name stamps show that Gabii shares the products of the same terra sigillata workshops as much of southern Latium and Rome from the Augustan to Neronian period.[54] The situation changes in the third quarter of the 1st century CE when the overall supply begins to decrease until the mid-2nd century CE.[55] The lower consumption is probably due to a combination of the increasing market share of African red slip pottery and the coastal-centric trade of Late Italian *sigillata*.[56] This partially explains the increase in consumption at coastal sites like Antium, Circeii, and Torre Astura.

In sum, the consumption of *terra sigillata* at Gabii follows larger trends seen in Rome and across much of the peninsula. The majority of this fine ware came from Arezzo and was likely redistributed after initial trade to Rome. Attested forms date along the entirety of Italian *sigillata* production and include some of the more ubiquitous forms found in Italian contexts. Consumption generally peaked during the Augustan and the early Tiberian period. While the quantity of *terra sigillata* is less than half the total of black gloss ware, the formal and epigraphic data show that Gabines were still tapping into long-distance, peninsular trade networks likely facilitated by its proximity to Rome and its position in the *suburbium*.

African Red Slip

African red slip (ARS) refers to the shiny, red-slipped table ware produced across modern Tunisia and distributed across the Mediterranean.[57] First produced in the second half of the first century CE, ARS continued to be popular until the seventh century CE. Much like *terra sigillata*, ARS has been utilized as a tool for reconstructing long-distance and supra-regional trade mechanisms.

Early examples of ARS have been found in Neronian levels at a few urban contexts in Rome.[58] Imports continued to increase in the Domitianic period with a clear influx in the Trajanic period.[59] ARS became the predominant fine ware in Rome and Ostia after the middle of the second century, but local products increased in some later contexts.[60] In the Western Mediterranean as a whole, ARS consumption seems to peak after the early 2nd century CE.[61] The fine ware became common in the Eastern Mediterranean by the mid-3rd century CE.[62] Due to a combination of fewer chronological indicators and a drop in production there is a noted decrease in ARS forms datable from c. 250-300 CE.[63]

In terms of quantity, ARS accounts for the smallest assemblage surveyed in this study.[64] The spatial distribution of ARS sherds (Fig. 4) shows considerable quantities are strictly limited to the structures facing the Via Gabina. A similar decrease in consumption is noted at the Temple of Juno where only two percent of the assemblage was datable between 200-500 CE.[65] The reduction in quantity seems to be reflected in the smaller formal repertoire for ARS at Gabii. The most common forms include large dishes Hayes 50 (c. 200-350 CE), Hayes 61 (c. 375-450 CE) and bowl Hayes 8 (c. 80-200 CE). Other identified forms include bowl Hayes 67 (c. 360-470 CE), Hayes 14 (c. 150-300 CE) and Hayes 27 (c. 200-300 CE). In general, consumption seems to first increase in the late second/early 3rd century CE and later around the middle of the 4th century CE.

At the Temple of Juno excavations, over half of the ARS forms are datable between the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE.[66] The most common forms include Hayes 8A, Hayes 50A, and Hayes 3C (c. 100-175 CE). Few forms date later than the 3rd century CE.

The recent study of the ARS from the Tiber Valley Project offers another valuable dataset for this study. Consumption seems to peak in the period between 140-220/230 CE before dropping off considerably around 240 CE.[67] Consumption decreases for 200 years until a drop in ARS quantities is mirrored in African cooking ware, a related slightly coarser pottery often made in the same production location to ARS.[68] The distribution of ARS at late antique sites (c. 250-550 CE) shows clusters situated along important regional roads like the Via Flaminia and Via Amerina.[69]

In sum, this snapshot view of the ARS at Gabii informs us about the ongoing urban transformations after the Imperial period. From a spatial point of view, ARS is almost completely confined to areas adjacent to the

53 Tol, De Haas, Attema 2021, 219, Figures 12 and 13.
54 Tol, De Haas, Attema 2021, Figure 14.
55 Tol, De Haas, Attema 2021, 220.
56 Tol, De Haas, Attema 2021, 220-221.
57 Originally known as red polished or red slipped ware. Bonifay 2004; Hayes 1972; Hayes 1980; Carandini 1981.
58 Forum Transitorium, Vigna Barberini; maybe Meta Sudans (Nicoletta 2011, 239, n.43).
59 Nicoletta 2011, 239; Rizzo 2003, 111.
60 Nicoletta 2011, 239-240. Contexts include Ostia *insulae* and baths, NE Palatine, Magna Mater, and Testaccio.
61 Fentress *et al.* 2004.
62 Bes 2007.
63 Bonifay, Tchernia 2012, 328.
64 There are a total of 2,194 fragments. This smaller quantity can be partially explained by the fact that the GPR has not excavated a large amount of later Imperial deposits in our *concessione*. Another reason for the reduced quantity of this fine ware is likely the de-urbanization and shrinking of the site noted above.
65 Caballero 1982, 386.
66 Caballero 1982, 389.
67 Patterson 2020, 248, Fig. 5.14; Fentress *et al.* 2004.
68 Hayes 1980.
69 Patterson 2020, 248, Fig. 5.1.

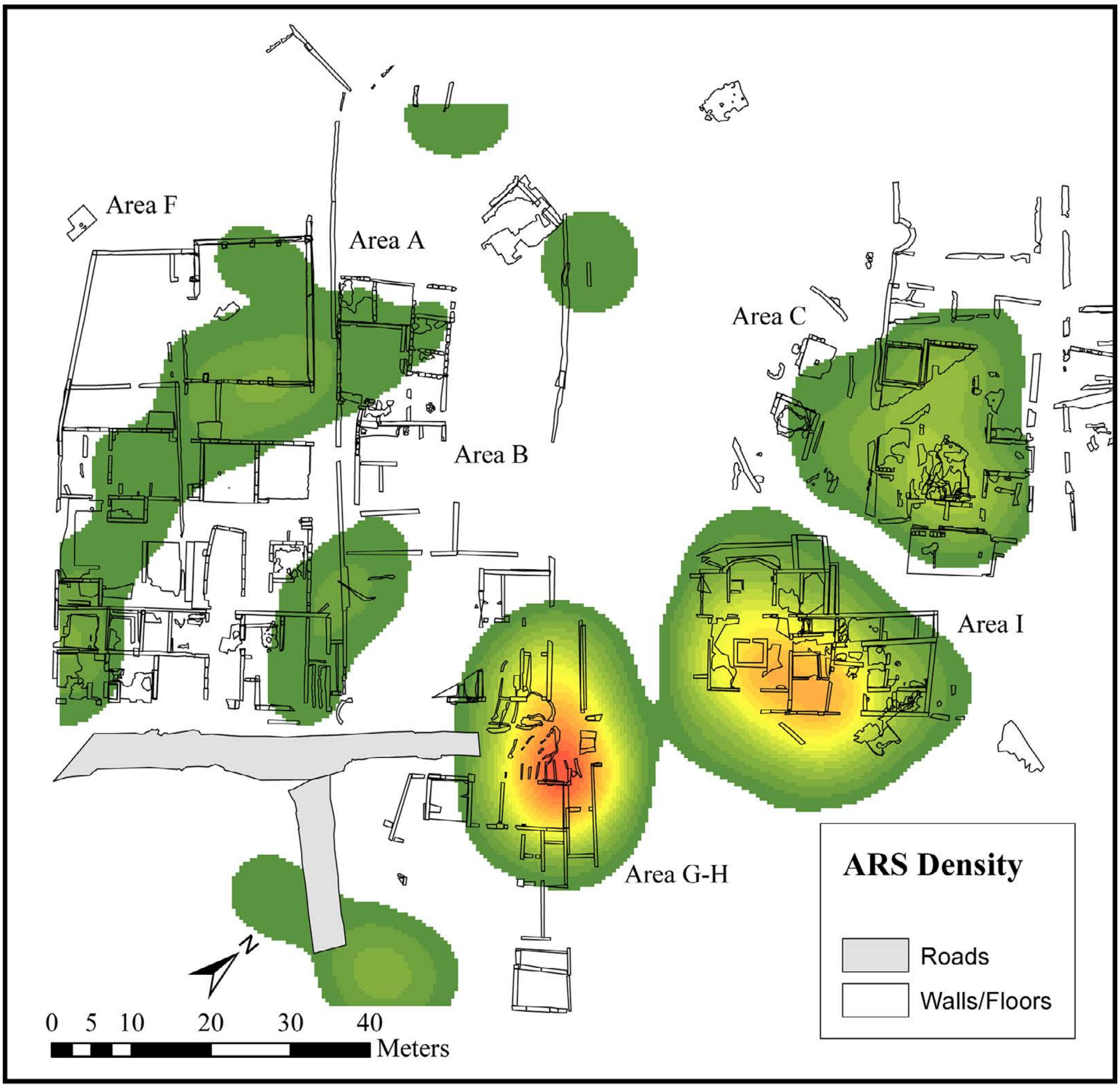

Fig. 4. Spatial distribution of African red slip sherd densities at Gabii.

Via Gabina. This spatial focus near the road is likely tied to the shrinking and transformation of the town taking place since the early Imperial period.[70] The relatively restricted formal repertoire includes forms commonly attested at Mediterranean sites during this period. In general, the consumption at Gabii follows Mediterranean-scale trends where peaks appear in the second half of the 2nd century CE and in the middle of the 4th century CE. These trends again suggest that Gabii is dependent upon the types and forms imported to Ostia and then to Rome.

Fine Ware Trends in the *Suburbium* of Rome and Gabii

Having surveyed the variations in fine ware consumption over half a millennium at the site of Gabii, it is pertinent to look at the data for the eastern *suburbium* of Rome. As mentioned above, Lorenzo Quilici published his *Forma Italiae* series contribution, *Collatia*, in 1974. While Quilici's methodology is not as standardized or systematic as those employed by current field surveys, it nonetheless offers a valuable dataset for sketching broad consumption trends in fine wares. For the purposes of this study, I digitized the distribution maps in ArcGIS to aid in visualizing and manipulating the data. Quilici's ceramic classifications are the limiting factors and in-depth study of many of

70 Banducci, Gallone 2021; Samuels *et al.* 2022.

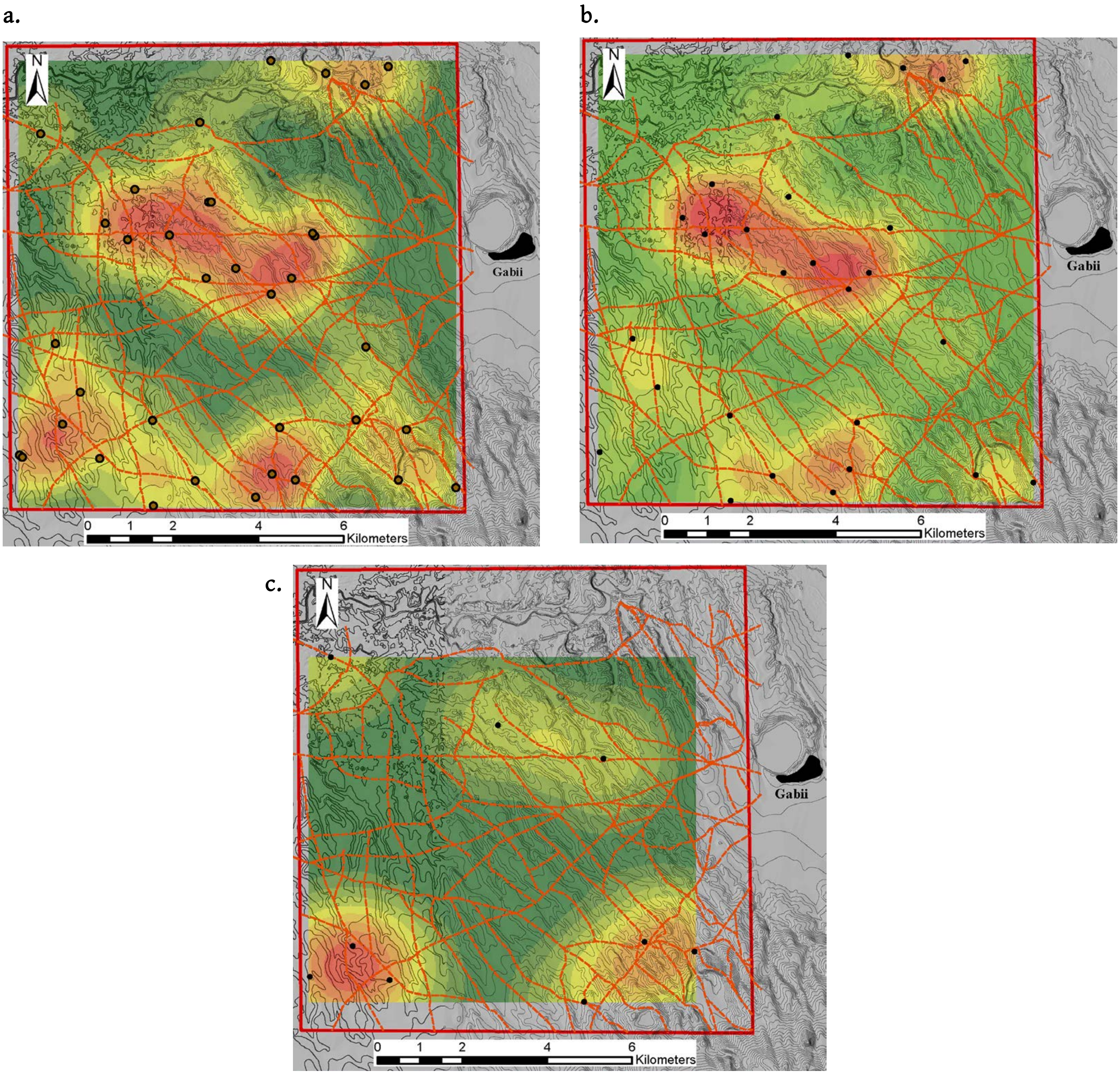

Fig. 5a. Distribution of all black gloss sherds and densities in Collatia (4th-1st centuries BCE); 5b. Distribution of black gloss sherds and densities datable c.4th-3rd centuries BCE; 5c. Distribution of black gloss sherds and densities datable c.2nd-1st centuries BCE (Finds After Quilici 1974, 37, Fig. 14; DEM data from Tarquini et al. 2007). Each dot represents the location of a pottery sherd while the dotted lines indicate possible pathways identified by Quilici 1974.

the surface scatters was not undertaken. Black gloss ware forms datable from the 4th-3rd centuries BCE (Fig. 5a, b) are seen across most of the area with recognizable clusters around Collatia to the north, along the Via Gabina, and near the foothills of the Alban Hills.[71] During the 2nd-1st centuries BCE (Fig. 5c), we see an overall reduction in the number of black gloss finds and clusters around the Via Gabina and to the south near the Alban Hills.[72]

Quilici identified a massive increase in consumption of *terra sigillata* during the Imperial period.[73] Examples of *terra sigillata* (Fig. 6a) are concentrated near the Via Casalina and the Tor Angela neighborhood, with others found toward the Alban Hills.[74] While consumption levels of Arretine *terra sigillata* seem slightly higher

[71] Quilici 1974b, 27 examples of BGW forms from 4th-3rd centuries BCE.

[72] Quilici 1974b identified only 9 examples from 2nd-1st centuries BCE.

[73] The three categories include *sigillata italica*, *sigillata aretina*, and *sigillata chiara*. Throughout the text, Quilici also refers somewhat vaguely to *sigillata rosso-bruno* but does not expand on this term. It is also possible some of the references are to Late Italian *sigillata*.

[74] Only 14 examples of Arretine *sigillata* identified by Quilici 1974a. We can view the Arretine *sigillata* distribution map as displaying Italian *sigillata* forms roughly dating from c. 30 BCE onward.

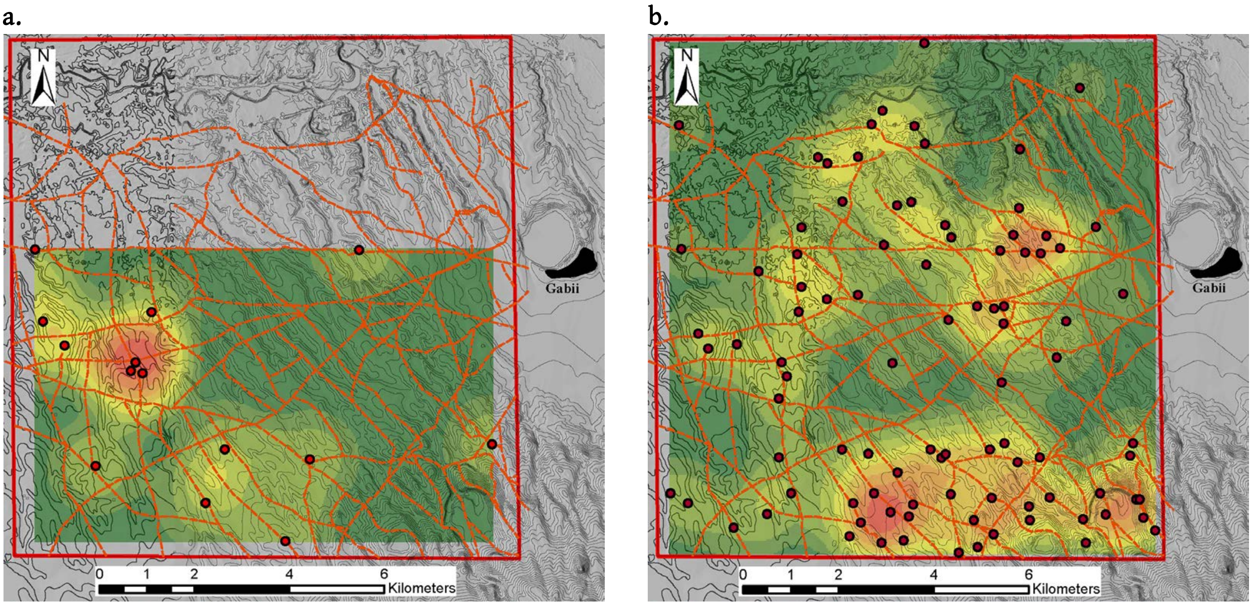

Fig. 6a. Distribution of "sigillata aretina" sherds and densities; 6b. Distribution of "sigillata italica" sherds and densities (After Quilici 1974, 52, Fig. 19). Each dot represents the location of a pottery sherd while the dotted lines indicate possible pathways identified by Quilici 1974.

than black gloss dated to the last two centuries BCE, consumption levels increased drastically from the Middle Imperial period onward. Specifically, the largest assemblage is what Quilici calls "*sigillata italica*" (Fig. 6b).[75] Distributions cover the entirety of the study area with the largest concentration centered to the southeast closer to the Alban Hills and along the Via Gabina. This ware is also attested north of the Via Gabina in the direction towards the Anio River. The distribution of African red slip (Fig. 7) follows the larger trends seen for the previous ware, but on a reduced scale.[76] Some examples were noted in the areas between the Via Gabina and the Via Casalina, but the largest concentrations are closer to the Alban Hills.

In sum, the distribution of fine wares across the eastern *suburbium* of Rome fluctuates over time with a clear peak in activity during the Mid-Imperial period. Black gloss consumption was higher in the Middle Republic before declining in the Late Republic. We see a marked increase in fine ware consumption during the Imperial period across the rural landscape. This preliminary sketch of the fine wares from the *Collatia* volume shows limited consumption in the Republican period with a stark increase in the second half of the 1st century CE. This fits well with a noted peak of rural settlement in the *suburbium* during the 2nd century CE.[77] We should contrast this with the developments noted at Gabii, where black gloss predominates the fine ware assemblage. In both the urban and rural scenes, we can note the marked presence of imperial period fine

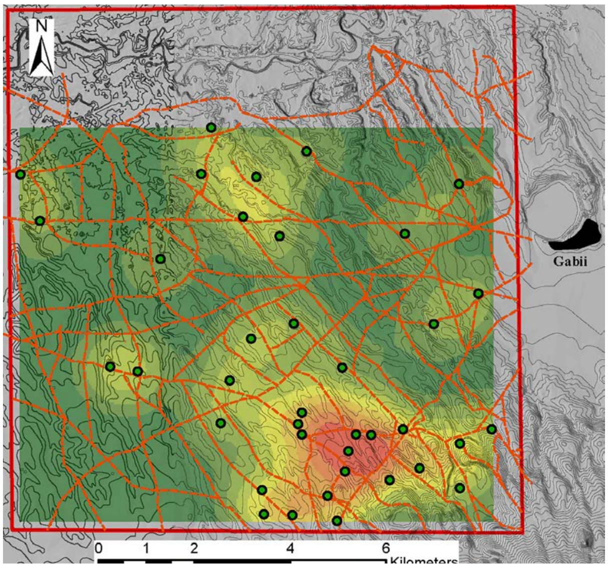

Fig. 7. Distribution of "sigillata chiara" sherds and densities (After Quilici 1974, 52, Fig. 19). Each dot represents the location of a pottery sherd while the dotted lines indicate possible pathways identified by Quilici 1974.

[75] 94 examples of *sigillata rosso-bruno* were noted, but not shown in the distribution map for *sigillata* types (Quilici 1974b, 52, Fig. 19). When cross-referencing Quilici's short descriptions for each surface scatter, most of the finds signaled as "*sigillata italica*" on the distribution map were described as sigillata "*rosso bruno*" in the text.

[76] 34 examples of *sigillata chiara* were noted.

[77] Costambeys 2009, 103.

wares, which again points to the growing integration between the Roman metropolis and its hinterland.

Conclusions

Preliminary study of the select ceramic fine wares of the Republican and Imperial periods at Gabii provides a sketch of the rhythms of life at a suburban Roman town in Latium. Black gloss ware is by far the most common fine ware found across the site and consumption levels peak in the period between 300-250 BCE. Another notable period of consumption is discernible during second half of the 2nd century BCE when the Temple of Juno is monumentalized. Comparatively, *terra sigillata* is found in smaller quantities across the town except for Area F where a large public building complex stood. Based on epigraphic potters' stamps and formal identifications, the *terra sigillata* assemblage at Gabii follows broader trends seen across Italy. Lastly, African red slip consumption levels seem the highest in the second half of the second century CE with decline apparent until the middle of the 4th century CE.

Looking to the countryside we can see that slightly different consumption trends emerge. Black gloss is relatively sparsely distributed across the landscape, with the consumption of fine wares increasing in the imperial period across most of the eastern *suburbium* of Rome. This suggests a process of increasing activity and settlement in the countryside likely tied to larger changes emanating from the growth of Rome and its hinterland.

We know at Gabii the urban transformations began in the 1st century CE and continued well into the 4th century CE. Burial and quarrying activities encroach upon former domestic spaces in Areas A and B.[78] Structures along the Via Gabina take on a clear commercial aspect with alterations evident in Areas F, G. H, and I.[79] Just next door to Area F, a new bath complex was installed and remained in use for a few centuries.[80] These changes are concerted actions taken by Gabines in response to the continued expansion of Rome into the *suburbium*.

Overall, fine ware consumption at Gabii and its surrounding hinterland is inherently tied to Rome and its market. The most common black gloss forms at Gabii are produced in Latium or maybe even around Rome. *Terra sigillata* at Gabii probably traveled from Arezzo to Rome before being redistributed to surrounding centers. It should not be surprising that Gabines and other suburban communities would consume the types of vessels seen and circulating around Rome. Future work should consider the logistical realities of the movement of goods and the roles of weekly or holiday markets.[81] Other avenues of research include considering amphorae and datable coarsewares, like African cooking ware, in the discussion in order to talk more specifically about food-related trade.

The digitization and digestion of existing data from other *Forma Italiae* surveys around Tibur would certainly enrich our understanding of long-term socio-economic trends in the eastern hinterland of Rome. Additionally, including the legacy data from the Via Gabina survey and excavation project would flesh out some of the surface scatter trends noted by Quilici.[82] Furthermore, the Tibur surveys could offer another view of how a suburban Latial town navigated the wide-ranging socio-economic changes during the Imperial period. More refined quantification methods that include probability and statistical metrics would also provide a more robust analysis of the fine ware assemblages.[83] This preliminary study sought to explore the potential of combining disparate data sets from stratigraphic excavations and limited surface survey to generate alternative historical narratives about towns and their landscapes in ancient Italy.

78 Banducci, Gallone 2021.
79 Samuels *et al.* 2021.
80 D'Agostini, Musco 2016.
81 Frayn 1993; De Ligt 1993; Lo Cascio 2000; Brughmans, Poblome 2016.
82 Kahane, Ward-Perkins 1972.
83 Willet 2012; Poblome *et al.* 2016.

The Distribution of Coins at Gabii: Areas A through F

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Abstract: Il contributo è un primo tentativo di confrontarsi con i dati numismatici del Gabii Project. Sebbene le monete siano state discusse singolarmente in altre pubblicazioni, non è stato ancora fatto alcun tentativo di concentrarsi su questo dataset in più aree del sito. Questo contributo indaga le monete che sono state rinvenute negli scavi condotti nelle Aree A-F nelle stagioni 2009-2015. Si esploreranno i tipi e le quantità di monete che compaiono nelle varie aree del sito, rilevando possibili tendenze nella distribuzione e nell'uso. Inoltre, si faranno anche alcune osservazioni generali sulle evidenze numismatiche e altre classi relative alla vita quotidiana come i gettoni di piombo. I dati numismatici di Gabii indagati in questo articolo forniranno informazioni sull'uso degli spazi nel sito, sui possibili effetti post-deposizione sui reperti numismatici, e sulla funzione e l'abbandono di parti del sito nel tempo. Infine, si concluderà suggerendo le migliori pratiche per la registrazione e l'analisi dei dati numismatici su scavi di larga scala come nel caso del Gabii Project.

Introduction

The Gabii Project began excavations at the site of Gabii in 2009. The initial goal was to investigate a piece of the urban fabric of the city, with particular interest in understanding its layout. Over the course of excavation seasons from 2009 to 2015 in Areas A through F, the team successfully excavated around 15,000 square meters of surface area. This chapter provides the first opportunity to examine the coins from these first seven years of excavations as a whole. In total, 143 coins were recovered from Areas A, B, C, E, and F.[1]

Over the course of the first two field seasons, volunteer metal detectorists from Britain's Portable Antiquities Scheme were invited to participate in a systematic metal detecting campaign.[2] By searching the individual spoil heaps from each stratigraphic unit, the detectorists found any metal material that had not been found by the excavators. About 50 additional coins were found by metal detectorists in the spoil heaps during the first two field seasons in Areas A, B, and C. Most of the coins found by the metal detectorists in the spoil heaps have not been considered in this paper, with the exception of a series of coins from Area B that can be securely tied to individual stratigraphic units belonging to a house in that area, as well as coins from SU 1016.[3] Those coins have had their locations estimated within the GIS database. Of the 143 coins, only 102 have been considered in the current analysis. These were deemed to come from securely excavated contexts with sufficient spatial information to be taken into consideration here.[4]

Cataloging coins

The method used by the Gabii Project for cataloging coins has evolved over the course of the excavations. The project initially began keeping a coin registry and assigning a record number to each coin find. Over time, however, the coins became integrated into the online database (https://gabii.cast.uark.edu/data/)[5] using special find numbers. This means that they are now cataloged using the same recording mechanism as the rest of the special finds on the site. The special find numbers are preceded by a Greek letter delta (Δ). The way in which these numbers are assigned means that the order of the numbers is typically not significant. For example, coins found together may not have sequential numbers because some coins may have their numbers assigned long after their excavation. Likewise, coins that have sequential numbers may have been found

1 Area D did not yield any coins because it is a much earlier part of the site in which coined money is not present. See the various publications that pertain to Area D, for example Evans 2018, Evans *et al.* 2019 and D'Acri 2016.
2 Banducci, Farr 2012.
3 Of the 7 coins associated with the Area B house, three of them were found by the metal detector. For the sake of completeness for studying this house, the decision was made to include the coins found by the metal detector in this analysis. Likewise, because only two of the coins from SU 1016 had their precise locations recorded at the time of excavation, it was necessary to include the metal detector coins in the analysis of this unit.
4 The remaining 41 coins are illegible, or come from insecure contexts such as cleaning layers before the start of excavation or metal detector finds in spoil heaps.
5 This database contains all of the site records (artefacts, ecofacts, stratigraphic descriptions, photos) from the Gabii Project up to and including the 2019 excavation season.

in two different locations on site, since excavation in multiple areas of the site occurs simultaneously.

The coins discussed in this paper have been under investigation over the past several years. In general, no attempt is made to identify the coins at the time of excavation. The material is usually noted by the excavators, typically as either 'bronze' or 'deprecated metal,' but it is rare that anything is legible enough upon discovery to aid with identification. The coins recovered in Areas A and B were first cleaned by conservator Sara Carraro in 2015, and their initial identification was carried out by Shannon Ness through photographs. The coins from these areas have been discussed in volumes 1 and 2 of the Gabii Project publications.[6] The coins from Areas C, E, and F were subsequently cleaned, and during field seasons 2017 and 2018 all of the coins from Areas A through F were examined in person, documented, and identified.

Most of the coins can be attributed to a known reference in either Crawford's *Roman Republican Coinage* or one of the volumes of *Roman Imperial Coinage,* the standard reference catalogues.[7] In cases in which a secure type could not be confidently attributed, the coins are generally preserved well enough to provide an estimated date of issue based on factors such as design type and artistic styling of the type as well as the diameter-weight ratio. Very few coins are beyond any diagnostic criteria. For the purposes of the distribution maps in this chapter, coins were grouped into the following general chronological categories: undateable; early Republican (509-264 BCE); middle Republican (264-133 BCE); late Republican (133-28 BCE); Principate (27 BCE - 14 CE); Julio-Claudian (14-68 CE); first century CE (69-100 CE); second century CE (101-200 CE); third century CE and later (anything after 201 CE). Full records for each coin can be found here (https://gabii.cast.uark.edu/data/).

Excavating coins

The method of excavating coins at Gabii has also evolved over the course of multiple field seasons. The general rule of thumb has been that upon the discovery of a coin the decision to record a data point associated with the object in the Geographic Information System (GIS) rests with each area supervisor.[8] If the supervisor believes that the stratigraphic unit under excavation is not significant because of its deposition process (a cleaning layer, for example, or a dump that contains material from multiple periods mixed in together but in which the location of the materials is not significant), the coin will be excavated without a data point. In cases where the supervisor feels that the coin's location may provide useful information, a point is taken with a total station and the coin is logged in the GIS with associated information stored in a data table. The GIS and its associated data tables have been enriched with the material recorded by finds specialists in the database, allowing for a more nuanced analysis of the coin finds.

For the purposes of this paper, the 102 coins, 3 lead tokens and 1 gold *tutulus* in the database are tied to findspots in the GIS. If a coin was shot in using the total station, the datapoint associated with that find is used. Where findspots were not recorded in the GIS during fieldwork they have been added to the GIS by the author, Elizabeth C. Robinson, using an estimated location near the center of the stratigraphic unit in which they were located, unless more detailed information about the findspot was indicated on the context sheet. This procedure has been used for coins that were not recognized as such by the excavators at the time of excavation, for coins that the excavators assumed were not significant at the time of excavation but have subsequently been deemed to be of interest to this analysis, and for coins found by the metal detectorists in securely identified spoils from excavations within defined architecture in Area B where the excavators missed the coins *in situ* or coins found by the metal detectorists from context SU 1016. A column in the GIS database records whether each coin's location has been recorded by the total station or has been estimated. This information is also recorded for each special find in the main database in the "Topo Point Taken" voice within the "Object Type" section of each page. This difference is noted on the maps produced in this paper by showing a darker circle around the coins whose locations are estimated, as seen in Figure 1. As previously noted, aside from the instances cited above, the coins discovered by the metal detectorists in the first two seasons of excavation have been recorded and stored in the online Gabii database, but they are not analyzed in the current paper and do not appear in the GIS.[9] Any coins in the GIS that were found by the metal detectorists have this information indicated in a column of the data table in the GIS. Information about discovery by metal detectorists is recorded in the Gabii online database in the "Notes" voice within the "Basics" section of each page.

6 Ness 2016, Ness 2021.

7 Identifications were made using the digital databases Coins of the Roman Republic Online (http://numismatics.org/crro/) and Online Coins of the Roman Empire (http://numismatics.org/ocre/), both of which made identification possible when in the field and subsequently during the COVID pandemic when revisiting this work. Common types are represented by multiple examples in different conditions from various institutions, which allows for confidence in identification.

8 The GIS has been built in the ESRI ArcGIS platform. The current version of the software used at the time of publication is 10.3.1.

9 The materials found by the metal detectorists that are used in the current analysis are delta numbers: 70 (lead token in Area B); 221 (Area B); 238a (Area B); 238b (Area B); 268 (Area B); 269 (Area B); 270 (lead token in Area B); 2819 (Area B); 2820 (Area B).

Fig. 1. Map showing the excavated area of Gabii Project Areas A, B, C, D, E, and F. The blue outlines mark hydraulic systems and wells, the black outlines mark pavements, the dark gray areas are staircases and socles, the light gray areas are roads, and the striped sectors mark the areas of quarrying. The circles show the 100 coins, 3 lead tokens, 1 gold *tutulus*, and 2 half-coins discussed here. Objects whose findspots were recorded by the total station are red and have a thin outline, and objects whose locations are estimated within the GIS are yellow and have a thick outline. Map by E.C. Robinson.

Preservation and analysis

The preservation of the archaeological record and the recovery methods in place at Gabii have prevented certain types of numismatic study and analysis.[10] The long period of occupation at the site from at least the Iron Age into the Middle Ages means that the stratigraphic integrity at the site is not intact everywhere. This leads to the problem that the findspots of the coins may not always be meaningful. Despite these difficulties, the numismatic evidence is an important element to take into consideration when studying the site in its entirety. The discovery of coins in roads, in sewers and drains, near a quarry, in rooms of houses, and in clusters reveals glimpses into daily life at Gabii. In at least one instance, silver coins appear to have been stored with another object of value, a gold *tutulus*. This grouping highlights the fact that coins are only one method for storing wealth.

The earliest coins at Gabii show connections between the growing city and other cities and regions in Italy. One example of a non-Roman coin (Δ123) at the site even provides information about Gabii's connections beyond Italy.[11] The many Republican coins that have been found provide information about Gabii's prominence in this period as well as the functions of different sectors of the city at this time. Since the Republican layers of Rome are notoriously difficult to access, the finds from Gabii can provide important information about urban life in the Republic and the Principate. Despite the decline in Gabii's significance as the Empire progressed, the presence of coins from the 3rd century BCE through the 3rd and 4th centuries CE demonstrates Gabii's ongoing role in a changing Empire. This material also provides glimpses into the daily life of the city. The presence of a halved coin and two non-Roman coins that may have served as *quadrantes* at Gabii begins to demonstrate how the people of Gabii shaped and fulfilled their economic needs for more and more incidental daily exchanges.

[10] See, for example, the wide variety of analyses that can be carried out at sites with more coins and better preservation such as Pompeii (Hobbs 2013).

[11] This coin is discussed in more detail in the *Coins associated with the quarry* section.

The discovery of multiple lead tokens also indicates the likelihood of other types of exchanges taking place at Gabii. The tokens, which are visually similar to coins, may have facilitated a broader set of exchange relationships.

The current chapter should be viewed in relation to the few earlier investigations of numismatic data recovered from Gabii. Previous reports from the site customarily discuss the numismatic finds in relationship with Rome's minting practices, the regional circulation of money, and the characteristics of particular issues. Most of the data come from either the Temple of Juno or the extramural sanctuary. This is to be expected, since these are the parts of the site that attracted the earliest excavations. While it is somewhat difficult to compare quantities between different sites, as a whole the numismatic finds from Gabii are fewer than one might expect. For instance, during the course of the Spanish excavations around the Temple of Juno (1956-1969), the team only recovered 45 coins plus a hoard of 115 *antoniniani*.[12] These coins range from the late 3rd century BCE to the 2nd century CE, although there is a scarcity of finds from the 1st century BCE. The hoard, on the other hand, is made up primarily of coins of Gallienus and Salonina and has a closing date of 266 CE.[13] Although they are relatively few, when the finds are plotted within the sanctuary a distribution pattern is evident. The majority of the coins come from the shops and small rooms to the west of the precinct. From within the precinct, the sporadic finds, the coins recovered from in front of the altar, and the coins recovered from *favissa* II in the northwest corner are all primarily from the 2nd century BCE.[14] *Favissa* I, located in the southwestern corner, had the greatest concentration of late 3rd century BCE coins. In the case of the extramural sanctuary, 55 coins were found in the course of the excavations.[15] These include five examples of *aes grave,* or cast heavy bronze coins, dating to the second quarter of the 3rd century BCE and recovered from layers associated with the foundations of the temple and the area immediately before the altar.[16] Unfortunately, the ground had been significantly disturbed by earlier looting and most of the coins were recovered through sieving. In contrast with previous numismatic discussions that focused on the periods of activity and restructuring of these two religious contexts, this paper will investigate the city's inhabitants and their relationship with coined money, in addition to Gabii's involvement in the broader economic history of central Italy.

This chapter begins by exploring coins that have been found in locations within the site that either provide information about the use of the stratigraphic units and architectural elements or demonstrate what appears to be the deliberate grouping of coins together in a single context. It then discusses the coins and other types of materials found at Gabii that provide information about the history and economy of the site over time, as well as the daily life of the individuals living there. Because the coins were used regularly for exchange, but could also be saved, they are one method for storing wealth. They therefore represent one of the lenses through which it is possible to examine the changing economic life of the city. While it is clear that even the coins that do not appear to be found in spatially significant stratigraphic contexts can still provide useful information about the general history of the site and the surrounding region, the current study concludes that because it may be difficult to fully understand the context of stratigraphic units at the moment of excavation, best practices should include recording spatial data for all numismatic finds regardless of their assumed significance at the time of discovery.

Coins in Context

The coins found within the stratigraphic units at the time of excavation provide information about the usage of various parts of the site over an extended period. The most relevant instances of coins deposited in areas that provide information about site use are those in the roads, near the quarry, in the sewers and drains, and in clusters located in indoor spaces around the site. An investigation of each of these contexts shows that the coins found there are either the result of patterns of use (roads, quarry, sewers, drains) or the result of deliberate depositions (clusters).

Coins in the side streets[17]

Within the walls of Gabii several thoroughfares have been discovered crisscrossing the site in a quasi-orthogonal grid that runs roughly northwest-southeast by southwest-northeast. The creation of some of these thoroughfares dates to the last quarter of the fifth century BCE.[18] The excavations under discussion here have found seven bronze coins in the side streets that run northwest from the main thoroughfare called the Via Gabina.[19] These coins are shown in Table 1 and their locations are displayed in Figure 2. Four of these coins

[12] Ripollès 1982; Balil, Pellicer 1983. In the 2017 excavations carried out near the Temple of Juno, the Louvre team found only 1 coin (Musco *et al.* 2018, 337).

[13] The earliest coins of the hoard are of Trajan Decius.

[14] Ripollès 1982, 234-235.

[15] Calabria 1985.

[16] Calabria 1985, 96-97. Many pieces of raw bronze ingots or *aes rude* were also recovered, but these are not discussed by Calabria whose focus was the *aes grave* and other early struck coins of Rome.

[17] For the naming of the side streets, see Mogetta *et al.* 2019, especially p. 3, fig. 2.

[18] Johnston 2021, sect. 108; Mogetta *et al.* 2019.

[19] For the name of the Via Gabina, see Mogetta *et al.* 2019.

Table 1. Table showing the 7 coins that were found in the side streets of Gabii. The coins are organized in chronological order. The locations of these coins are shown in Figure 2.

Special find number	Stratigraphic unit	Metal	Denomination	Date
Δ 103	2082	bronze	half-*litra*	234-231 BCE
Δ 788	5076	bronze	*as*?	c. 170-130 BCE
Δ 2831	51	bronze	AE 3 or AE 4	c. 315 - 450 CE
Δ 23	51	bronze	AE 4	c. 350 - 500 CE
Δ 1538	2073	bronze	*as*?	---
Δ 781	5076	bronze	---	---
Δ 809	5093	bronze	---	---

Fig. 2. Map showing the locations of the seven coins that were found in the roads at Gabii. The yellow symbols represent coins that cannot be dated, the green symbols represent middle Republican coins, and the blue symbols represent coins that date from the third century CE or later. Coins with thick outlines have had their locations estimated, while the coins with thin outlines were recorded by the total station. Map by E.C. Robinson

can be dated with some degree of certainty, while the remaining three are illegible.

Road 4, the westernmost side street that has been explored by the Gabii Project, is located in Area F and contains three bronze coins, all of which are in poor condition (Fig. 2). Coins Δ781 and Δ788 come from the same stratigraphic context. The former is entirely illegible, while on the latter the prow of a ship is still discernible. Despite the lack of other legible identifying information, Δ788 is a large and heavy bronze coin that can be identified as a Republican *as* that was minted sometime after 150 BCE. At that time, the *as* was a little smaller and lighter than the denomination had been at the introduction of the *denarius* in 211 BCE. Coin Δ809, found in a different context along the road, is also illegible. The two stratigraphic contexts in which these three coins were found (SU 5076 and SU 5093) are both interpreted as intentional depositions of predominantly ceramic waste material. These layers are dated to the first century CE based on the abundance of *terra sigillata*. This suggests that Road 4 was abandoned as the city shrank during the first century CE, and therefore the coins found within these layers were likely accidental losses associated with either the filling in of the road or earlier activity.

Road 3, the side street directly east of the previously discussed street, is located in Area A and contains two bronze coins of at least the mid fourth century CE (Fig. 2). The two coins (Δ23 and Δ2831) are not well preserved, but each of the worn obverses bears the portrait of an emperor wearing the distinct pearl diadem of Constantine I and his successors. Both coins are also small and light, potentially AE 3-4, AE 4, or other small copper-alloy denominations introduced after the reforms of Diocletian.

In general, only a few coins were recovered from Area A. Those found within the city block of this area date to either the Republic or the early Julio-Claudian period. Even the coins recovered while preparing the area for initial excavation are also characteristic of the Republican period. The two coins found in Road 3 are thus substantially later. Their presence in this colluvium layer that sits inside the stone wall barriers of the road (SU 51) implies that some of the side streets at Gabii experienced long-term use, even though this sector of the site did not see significant activity after the first century CE. In fact, the highest concentration of late ceramic finds (2nd to early 5th century CE) in Area A also comes from SU 51, and a diagnostic piece of African red slip ware from this SU can be securely dated to the 5th century CE.[20] Furthermore, as will be discussed below, most of the 3rd century CE and later coins concentrate near the main thoroughfares of the city. Unlike Roads 2 and 4, which went out of use in the first century CE when new early Imperial buildings were constructed on top of them, there is evidence that Road 3 continued to be well-maintained until at least the 2nd century CE when it served both the quarry and the nearby necropolis.[21] The numismatic and ceramic evidence suggests that Road 3 saw some continued use until at least the 5th century CE.

Road 1, the easternmost side street that has been explored by the Gabii Project, is located in Area C and contains two bronze coins, only one of which is legible (Fig. 2). Coin Δ1538, illegible, comes from SU 2073 which is equated with SU 2000, the initial cleaning layer in Area C. Coin Δ103 was found in SU 2082, a stratigraphic unit that has been interpreted as a post-abandonment layer on top of the basalt road. This area saw a lot of reconfiguration during the Republican period.[22] Coin Δ103 is a half-*litra*, one of the early bronze coins to be struck in Rome. This coin (*RRC 26/4,* minted c. 235-230 BCE) features the portrait of Roma in a Phrygian helmet on the obverse and a dog with the legend ROMA on the reverse. These two designs were used variously on coinage during the first three quarters of the 3rd century BCE. The struck coins in Rome at this time contrast with the heavy cast bronze coin, the *aes grave,* that was and had been circulated in central Italy.[23] While *aes grave* coins continued a regional tradition of using raw bronze ingots (*aes rude*) as currency, the comparably tiny half-*litra* was a subunit of the *didrachm*, a silver coin first issued for Rome's use in the beginning of the third century BCE.[24] It is one of the earliest coins found at Gabii, along with other recovered *litras* and half-*litras* and bronze coins minted outside of Rome.

War and Rome's growing empire spurred the first issues of silver coinage.[25] Rome's first silver coins circulated in Southern Italy where the Greek colonies already had a long tradition of using struck silver coinage.[26] The silver *didrachm*, silver *drachma*, and the sub-units in bronze were thus designed to work within an existing economy. The presence of such coins at Gabii is not surprising. As an ally and nearest neighbor to Rome, Gabii was intimately affected by the wars and expanding control of Rome during the 3rd century BCE. Coin Δ103 and other such finds provide a glimpse into Gabii's interactions with Rome and the changing landscape of the Italian peninsula at this crucial time.

The discovery of these seven bronze coins in the roads reveals use patterns at the site over time. Although the stratigraphic data suggest that many of the roads in this part of Gabii had fallen out of use by the time of the early Empire, the evidence from Road 3 shows that a few of the roads continued to be used over several centuries and even into Late Antiquity when other kinds of activities may have ceased in this part of the

20 Banducci, Gallone 2021, 196.

21 Johnston 2021, 83.

22 A publication on Areas C, D, and E of Gabii is currently in preparation.

23 One *aes grave* coin (Δ194) has been recovered from Area B. See the discussion below.

24 Yarrow 2021, 13. Cast bronze bars, sometimes called *ramo secco* bars, were a similar phenomenon to *aes grave* and *aes rude*. These circulated principally in Etruria and further north in the Po Valley, but they have been found more widely in the southern half of the Italian peninsula as well.

25 It was long thought that silver coins were first minted in connection with the Pyrrhic War (280-275 BCE) (Crawford 1974, 41), but it is now held that they were introduced around 15 years prior with the expansion of Roman colonies and the Via Appia into Southern Italy (Yarrow 2021, 9, citing Bernard 2018).

26 Yarrow 2021, 5, citing Rutter 2012.

Fig. 3. Map showing the locations of the fifteen coins and three lead tokens found in Area B near the area associated with quarrying activity. The green symbols represent middle Republican coins, the orange symbols represent late Republican coins, the bright pink symbols represent coins minted during the Principate, the purple symbols represent coins minted in the Julio-Claudian period, and the light pink symbol represents a coin minted in the first century CE. The blue stars represent lead tokens that probably date to the first century CE. Coins with thick outlines have had their locations estimated, while the coins with thin outlines were recorded by the total station. The three lead tokens all have estimated locations. Map by E.C. Robinson.

site.[27] While some of the coins found in the roads were probably associated with secondary activities, the coins found in Road 3 were likely accidental losses by people who continued to use this convenient north-south route close to the main crossroads of the city.

Coins associated with the quarry

Fifteen coins and three lead tokens have also been found in the northwestern part of the excavated area of the site. These finds were discovered to the northwest of an area located in Area B that was used as a quarry probably beginning in the first century CE.[28] These materials are shown in Figure 3. Only two of the coins have locations recorded by the total station, while the other 13 coins and three lead tokens have their locations estimated within the corresponding stratigraphic units. These materials were found in two different stratigraphic units. The first, SU 1016, is identified as a post-abandonment colluvial layer, while the second, SU 1032, is identified as a post-abandonment silting deposit.[29] As shown in Table 2, the coins range in date from 275 BCE to 73 CE, while the three lead tokens could date anywhere from the first to fourth centuries CE. They are most likely to belong to the 1st century CE, however, based on their context and the fact that tokens are for situational uses and do not circulate as coined money does. At first glance the range of dates for the numismatic material may seem quite broad, but it is affected by two outliers, Δ2822 and Δ2827. Otherwise, the coins from stratigraphic units 1016 and 1032 are relatively close in date and match well with contemporary hoards. Stratigraphic unit

27 BANDUCCI, GALLONE 2021, section 121 location 88.
28 BANDUCCI, GALLONE 2021, location 85.

29 The distinction between SU 1016 and SU 1032 was not always readily apparent in the field (BANDUCCI, GALLONE 2021, location 174). The excavators made the decision not to record the findspots of the coins because of the interpretation of these layers as colluvium and silting deposits containing materials washed down from further upslope. For the purpose of this analysis, topographic data might have been able to shed further light on the possible relationships between the coins and the other activities in this area that accompanied the quarry and necropolis activities.

Table 2. Table showing the 15 coins and 3 tokens that were found in association with the quarry activity in Area B. The coins are organized in chronological order. The locations of these materials are shown in Figure 3.

Special find number	**Stratigraphic unit**	**Metal**	**Denomination**	**Date**
Δ 2822	1032	bronze	obol?	275-225 BCE
Δ 2820	1016	bronze	*quadrans*	194-190 BCE
Δ 2826	1032	bronze	*as*?	c. 170 - 100 BCE ?
Δ 2821	1016	bronze	*quadrans*	91-89 BCE
Δ 221	1016	silver	*quinarius*	90 BCE
Δ 123	1032	bronze	---	c. 130 - 30 BCE
Δ 90	1016	bronze	*as*	15 BCE
Δ 2819	1016	bronze	*as*	6 BCE
Δ 269	1016	bronze	*quadrans*	4 BCE
Δ 2823	1032	bronze	*quadrans*	4 BCE
Δ 2825	1032	bronze	*as*	22-30 CE
Δ 102	1016	bronze	*quadrans*	41 CE
Δ 2824	1032	bronze	*quadrans*	41 CE
Δ 2828	1032	bronze	*quadrans*	41 CE
Δ 2827	1032	bronze	*as*	73 CE
Δ 70	1016	lead	lead token	1st cent. CE
Δ 270	1016	lead	lead token	1st cent. CE
Δ 2829	1032	lead	lead token	1st cent. CE

1032, in particular, produced coins that are principally Augustan in date.

All seven of the coins from SU 1016 can be confidently linked to known types. The earliest coin (Δ2820) is a *quadrans* of Caecillius Metellus (194-190 BCE). It is also the most worn in its condition, suggesting a long period of circulation.[30] The other coins belong to the first century BCE, except for the latest coin (Δ102), which is a *quadrans* of Claudius (*RIC* 85, issued in 41 CE). Four of the seven coins are *quadrans*, a smaller bronze denomination. There are two *asses*, the principal bronze denomination. These both date to the Principate. The final coin found in this SU (Δ221) is a *quinarius* of 90 BCE (*RRC* 341/3). This is a silver coin worth the equivalent of half of a *denarius*, the principal silver denomination. *Quinarii* are not regularly minted; they were typically a wartime issue, and *RRC* 341/3 along with other coins minted in 91/90 were created in response to the Social War.[31] This same *quinarius* has been found in hoards from the nearby sites of Praeneste/Palestrina (closing date of 74 BCE), San Gregorio di Sassola (closing date of 58 BCE), and Monte Porcaro (closing date of 48 BCE).[32]

Two lead tokens were also found within the context of stratigraphic unit 1016. Both were found by one of the volunteer metal detectorists. Their small size and sandy-gray coloring make them difficult to distinguish during the course of excavation. Furthermore, since lead is so soft and wears so easily it can be very difficult to discern any details upon first discovery. These items may therefore appear to be pebbles or other non-anthropic materials.

Tokens, also known as *tesserae* or *spintriae* in Roman contexts (among other names), could have many different applications in antiquity. They were found adjacent to coins, which they closely resemble in shape and iconography. It is likely that these tokens would have facilitated different types of exchanges and social relationships at the site of Gabii. They are often mold-made and may be produced in different materials such as lead, a copper alloy, or terracotta. Made from baser metals, tokens were cheap to produce and often were not intended for long term habitual use. Rather, they

[30] As will be discussed below, there seems to have been a need for smaller denominations of bronze coins. This resulted in coins with lots of wear as well as purposefully snapped coins.
[31] Crawford 1974, 77.

[32] *RRCH* 315, *RRCH* 337, and *RRCH* 566, respectively.

Fig. 4. Photograph of lead token Δ70. Ram, standing right. Secondary mark, above. // [L] I / D P. Rostowzew 1903.2791; Overbeck 1995.536-537. Side with ram shown. Photo by S. Ness, modified by E.C. Robinson.

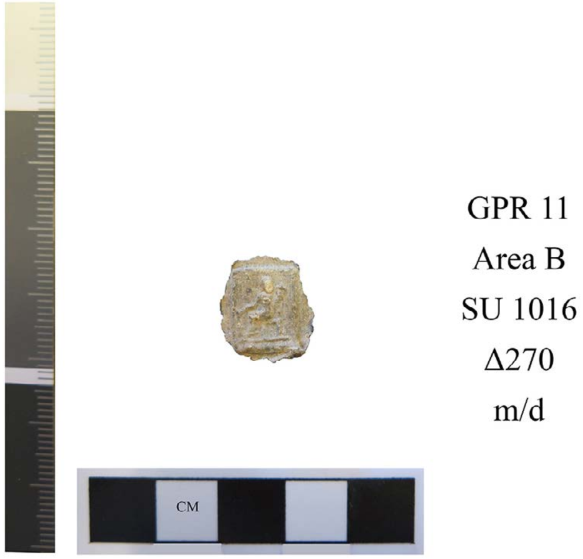

Fig. 5. Photograph of lead token Δ270. Fortuna (?), seated left on a low seat, extending right hand and holding rudder (?) // L C S. cf. Rostowzew 1903.1562, 1824, 2052, 2333, 3082. Side with Fortuna shown. Photo by S. Ness, modified by E.C. Robinson.

were for situational use and only held value within specific circumstances.[33]

Find Δ70 is a lead token bearing a ram on one side and the legend [L]I/DP on the other.[34] Figure 4 shows the side of Δ70 that bears the ram. This token is broken, with roughly one fourth of the small object now missing. It is hard to know if the break was accidental or intentional, such as when a rewards card is punched. The legend LI/DP or L I / D P is not immediately clear.[35] LI could mean Lucius Iulius or some form of *libens* (willing, glad) or *libertus* (freedman). DP might be *de praediis* (from the estate); *de pecunia* (from the (public) money)*;* or *donum posuit* ([someone] set up this gift or offering). DP may even be an abbreviated form of the more common abbreviation DDPP found in inscriptions: *d*(*ecreto*) *d*(*ecurionum*) *p*(*ecunia*) *p*(*ublica*), or the *decurion* (official) of the municipal senate (did this) from the public money. It is likely that this token was distributed such that recipients could then exchange it for some kind of good, either at the expense of a private citizen, a communal group, or even potentially from the city of Gabii itself.

The second lead token (Δ270), seen in Figure 5, most probably depicts a seated Fortuna extending one hand and holding a rudder in the other. This is a common type on coins and in other iconographic depictions.[36] The other side of the token bears the legend LCS, which could simply mean *locus* (place, site) or could be the initials of some Lucius. Fortuna first appeared on coins in the 40s BCE, but the type did not become a popular reverse design until the 70s CE. It then remained a common motif throughout the second century CE. The Fortuna depicted here could be the general personification of the state or the specific deity Fortuna Primigenia associated with nearby Praeneste, since the people of Gabii likely knew both and associated this image with both as well.

The composition of stratigraphic unit 1032 is exceedingly similar to unit 1016. Eight coins were found, all of which are generally legible. The earliest find (Δ2822) is a bronze coin of Naples/Neapolis, minted at some point in the middle of the third century BCE. Like the second century coin in SU 1016, it is the most worn of the coins recovered from this context.[37] The next earliest coin is another non-Roman issue. Find Δ123 is a bronze coin of Erythrea minted between the late second and later first centuries BCE.[38] Certain elements might have signaled to the users that these coins were not minted in Rome. These include the Greek legend on Δ123 and the man-headed bull on the reverse of Δ2822, which is a design

33 Crisà, Gkikaki, Rowan 2019.
34 Rostowzew 1903, 2791; Overbeck 1995, 536-537.
35 The following suggested abbreviations come from Elliott 1998.
36 Cf. Rostowzew 1903, 1562, 1824, 2052, 2333, 3082.
37 The poor condition of this coin prevents a firm reference, but cf. NH *Italy* 595; SNG ANS 472, 488, SNG Cop 506. It is not *RRC* 1/1, as Apollo faces left and there is a victory flying above the bull.
38 BM *Ionia* 214.

Fig. 6. Photograph of lead token Δ2829. Mercury standing left, holding purse in extended right hand and caduceus in left arm // Fortuna, standing left, holding rudder in right hand and cornucopia in left hand. Rostowzew 1903.2647; Overbeck 2001.406-407. Photo by S. Ness, modified by E.C. Robinson.

used only on the very earliest coins issued for Rome's use. Yet once these coins arrived in Gabii, it appears that they continued to be used and circulated. Both of these Greek coins are comparable in size and weight to the *quadrans* denomination in the first centuries BCE and CE, when the need for small change was a constant challenge many cities faced.

Table 2 shows that, apart from the one silver coin, the remaining Roman coins are one of two denominations. Some are the *as*, a large bronze denomination, while others are the *quadrans*, a denomination worth one quarter of the *as*. Stratigraphic unit 1032 also produced a Republican *as* that had been deliberately snapped in half (Δ2826). This action essentially created a *semis*, or a coin valued at half an *as*. Several of these halved coins have been found across the excavation. This phenomenon is also known from other parts of the empire.[39] When they needed small change, the residents of Gabii and others throughout the Empire had the means to create it by cutting larger denominations in halves or quarters. At Gabii, the residents perhaps also filled this need by using similar enough non-Roman coins.[40] If this practice was accepted by the participants in the economy, these substitutes held value and served as valid currency.[41] The remaining coins found in SU 1032 are either from the Principate or the first century CE. These include two coins of Claudius that are the same exact type. If the Greek coins were indeed operating as small change, then all of these would have been circulating in the local economy of Gabii in the first century CE.

In addition to the two lead tokens found in SU 1016, a third lead token was recovered from SU 1032. This token (Δ2829) is shown in Figure 6. It bears the image of Mercury holding out a purse on one side, and Fortuna with her rudder and cornucopia on the other side. The specific purpose of this token is unclear, but the pairing of Mercury and Fortuna suggests successful economic activity. The presence of Fortuna on this lead token and on token Δ270 shows that she was likely a popular figure to feature on these artefacts at Gabii.

Nine of the coins found in these two layers have dates that correspond generally to the window of increased quarrying and industrial activity at the site that took place in the Augustan and early Imperial periods.[42] It is possible that the presence of these coins and tokens is due directly to these actions. The coins could have been associated with the workers or other individuals involved with the broader industrial activities here. If these deposits were not directly linked to the individuals carrying out this activity, it is possible that the coins in these two layers still represent an increase in general movement in and through Gabii during the late Republic and early Imperial periods. It is worth noting that there are only a few coins of Tiberius and Claudius both here and across the site, and all the subsequent periods are poorly represented as well.

39 Rowan 2019, 175.
40 A similar phenomenon happened at Pompeii, where the coinages of Ebusus and Massalia and locally produced imitations were used by the city itself to fill the need for small change (Hobbs 2013, 32).
41 The operation of so-called pseudo-mints and imitation currency during the late first century BCE as more and more people participated in the monetized economy also suggests that the Roman authorities may have tolerated the practice to meet the demand for small change needed for daily transactions (Rowan 2019, 184-185).

42 Banducci, Gallone 2021, location 18, location 122.

Table 3. Table showing the 8 coins that were found associated with the Area B house. The coins are organized in chronological order. The locations of these coins are shown in Figure 7.

Special find number	Stratigraphic unit	Phase	Metal	Denomination	Date
Δ 238b	1242	3	bronze	double-*litra*	275-270 BCE
Δ 409	1231	1	bronze	double-*litra*	275-270 BCE
Δ 268	1275	3	bronze	*litra*	c. 270 BCE
Δ 238a	1242	3	bronze	*semuncia*	211-208 BCE
Δ 592	1453	2	bronze	*as*	211-200 BCE
Δ 203	1218	3	bronze	*as*	211-200 BCE
Δ 434	1422	3	bronze	*quadrans*	132 BCE
Δ 143	1165	3	bronze	---	---

In the late first century CE when the quarry fell out of use, a small burial ground for local residents was inserted into the urban fabric of Gabii in the same sector of Area B where SU 1016 and SU 1032 are located.[43] The tombs are generally poor and contain little to no grave goods. Two coins (Δ189, a bronze *dupondius* of Maximinus Thrax and Δ2830, a silver *quinarius* of a M. Porcius Cato minted around 89 BCE) may have been associated with two of the tombs in this necropolis, but the disturbed nature of the contexts in which they were found makes it impossible to be certain. The lack of topographic data associated with the other coins prevents any direct association between the coins and the activities of the necropolis. The latest coins found in SU 1016 and SU 1032 are of Claudius and Vespasian, while the use of the necropolis extends into the 2nd century CE and potentially even later based on ceramic finds.

Coins associated with the Area B mid-Republican house

The coins associated with the quarry, despite having been addressed in an earlier publication, have been revisited here from a new perspective.[44] This chapter also presents a similar opportunity to revisit the coins found in the mid-Republican house of Area B.[45] At the time of their original publication, very little was known about the coinage found elsewhere in the general excavation area because those coins had not yet been cleaned and fully processed. With this retrospective it is finally possible to situate the house within its broader economic environs.

This discussion looks at eight bronze coins from three different phases of occupation recovered from various rooms in the house.[46] These coins are listed in Table 3 and their locations are shown in Figure 7. These coins range in date from the early third century BCE to the third quarter of the second century BCE. This is consistent with the date of the house. Three of the coins were minted around 275-270 BCE and correspond to the period when Rome's early struck coinage was set to the *didrachm* standard of Southern Italy. Another set of three coins was struck between 211 - 200 BCE in the first decade of Rome's issue of the silver *denarius*. The last coin is a *quadrans* minted in 132 BCE. This coin was recovered from Phase B-3, the third and latest phase of activity in the house associated with its disuse and obliteration, when it was serving as a convenient dumping ground.[47] Of the three coins dating to 275-270 BCE, one (Δ409) was found associated with a crushed tufo floor in Phase B-1, the first occupation phase of the house,[48] but the other two (Δ268 and Δ238b) were found in Phase B-3, perhaps alluding to the long period of circulation of bronze coinage at Gabii. One of the late third century BCE coins (Δ592) was found in Phase B-2, the transformation of the house into a sort of annex to the public complex across the road to the west in Area F.[49] The remaining late third century BCE coins, on the other hand, are only found in the final phase (Δ238a and Δ203).

[43] Banducci, Gallone 2021, location 20, location 103. Some of the tombs were cut into SUs 1016 and 1032.

[44] See Ness 2021, location 226 for the previous discussion of these coins.

[45] See Ness 2016, location 217 for the previous discussion of these coins.

[46] In total, 10 coins are associated with the house. For the discussion here, coins without a secure reference have been excluded. The coins excluded are Δ431, an entirely illegible bronze coin; and Δ150, a bronze 'coin' weighing less than a gram that is illegible and likely not a coin at all. Coin Δ431 has been included in Figure 7, since its location was recorded by the total station.

[47] Opitz, Mogetta, Terrenato 2016, location 88.

[48] Opitz, Mogetta, Terrenato 2016, location 75.

[49] Opitz, Mogetta, Terrenato 2016, location 84. An undateable bronze coin was also found in Phase B-2.

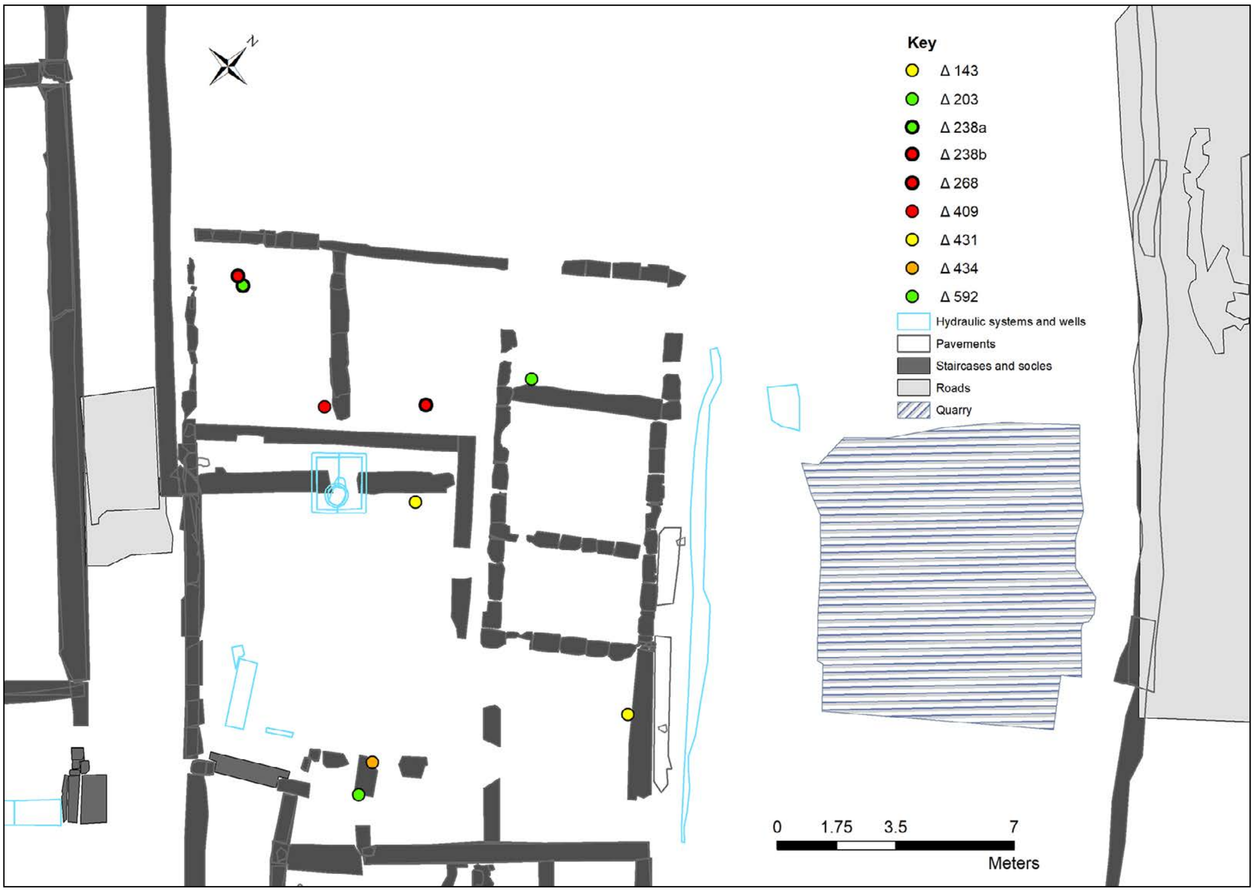

Fig. 7. Map showing the locations of nine coins that were found associated with the Area B house. The yellow symbol represents a coin that cannot be dated, the red symbols represent coins minted in the early Republic, the green symbols represent coins minted in the middle Republic, and the orange symbol represents a coin minted in the late Republic. The coins with thick outlines show locations that have been estimated, while the coins with thin outlines were recorded by the total station. Map by E.C. Robinson.

Rome utilized the bronze double *litra*, *litra*, and half-*litra* denominations throughout the third century BCE as fractionals of the silver *didrachm* and *drachma* coins. The very earliest of these issues most likely were not minted in Rome but were minted in southern Italy for Rome's use.[50] Three *litra* denominations were recovered from the house: two double-*litra* coins (Δ409 and Δ238b, both *RRC* 16/1a), and one *litra* (Δ268, *RRC* 17/1a). The latter type was also recovered from Areas A and C.[51] An example is shown in Figure 8. *Litra* denominations have only been recovered from the early sectors of the excavation, namely Areas A, B, and C. These *litra* denominations from the house make up nearly half of such coins recovered thus far, representing three of seven.

Upon first examination of the finds from the mid-Republican house, it was unclear if this number of *litra* in such a context was unusual or was to be expected. Very little was known about the coins of the urban sector as a whole at that time.[52] Now, however, it is clear that a pattern is emerging even though only a handful of these coins have been found. The double-*litra* with the design of Apollo on one side and a prowling lion on the other (*RRC* 16/1a) dating to circa 275-270 BCE has only been recovered from the house.[53] Later examples, *RRC* 26/3 (Roma/running horse) and *RRC* 26/4 (Roma/dog), that both date to circa 235-230 BCE, are only found in Area C.[54] While the *litra* with Minerva on the obverse and a horse head with ROMANO on the reverse (*RRC* 17/1a-i) dating to circa 270 BCE has been found in all three of the areas.[55]

[50] Crawford 1974, 134.
[51] These are coins Δ2818 from Area A, discussed below, and Δ315 from Area C.
[52] For example, the Spanish excavations found only one *litra* (No. 3 - *RRC* 17/1a) in the area around the Temple of Juno (Ripolles 1982, 236). At the extramural sanctuary 11 *litra* denominations were recovered: Numbers 37 - 39 (*RRC* 16/1a); Numbers 25-28, 30, 31 (*RRC* 17/1a); Numbers 46, 47 (*RRC* 26/3) (Calabria 1985, 100-105).
[53] These are Δ409 and Δ238b mentioned above.
[54] Coin Δ103 is discussed below, while Δ2881 is not discussed here.
[55] These are Δ2818 (Area A, Figure 8), Δ268 (Area B), and Δ315 (Area C).

Fig. 8. Photograph of coin Δ2818. Head of Minerva, helmeted, left // [R]OMANO Head of horse, right. *Litra (275-260 BCE) RRC* 17/1a. Photo by S. Ness, modified by E.C. Robinson.

The distribution of the coins in the mid-Republican house shown in Figure 7 demonstrates that the coins were principally found within the rooms around the *atrium*. Only one coin (Δ143) comes from the *atrium* itself. It is also interesting to note that the coins that were recorded by the total station were all found along the edges of the rooms. Even the coin in the *atrium* was close to the wall. It is possible that some of these coins were dropped by the residents of the house and made their way over to the walls where it was difficult to recover them. SU 1231 is a crushed tufo floor and SU 1453 is a threshold, showing that at least two of the spaces where the coins were found were in use during the time that the house was inhabited.

Given the likely possibility that the coins were lost within the house and failed to be recovered, perhaps being swept into corners or unused spaces with other refuse, the house as a whole has captured some brief glimpses into Rome's economic history and Gabii's own participation therein. It begins with the early 3rd century bronze *litra* coins discussed above. Then, there are bronze coins from the first several years of Rome's substantially restructured monetary system. This restructuring took place around 211 BCE and saw the introduction of the silver *denarius*, originally valued at 10 bronze *asses*, and all its fractionals.[56] An *as* (Δ592, RRC 56/2 v sim) appears in Phase 2 of the house, and another *as* of the same variety (Δ203) was found in Phase 3. Both of these would have been issued between 211-200 BCE. A very small fractional of the *as*, the *semuncia* (Δ238a, *RRC* 56/8 *v sim*) also comes from Phase 3.[57] Under the *denarius* system this denomination was so small that the state ceased to mint it around 208 BCE.[58] No other such denomination is known from the site. Only two *uncia* coins (of which the *semuncia* is the half denomination) are known from the site as a whole. One is a stray find with no spatial data while the other, Δ2565 (*RRC* 56/7), is from the same series. Coin Δ2565 was also recovered from Area B (SU 1112), but it was not located in the area of the mid-Republican house.

The presence of coins inside this house at Gabii is different from the situation seen at Pompeii, where the majority of coins were found in commercial areas while domestic spaces returned hardly any coins.[59] The total number of coins found at Gabii is significantly smaller than the quantity of coins from a single city block at Pompeii, yet the high number of coins associated with this house suggests that the deposition of coins in domestic spaces at Gabii may have been a regular occurrence in the middle Republic. In Cahill's analysis of the houses at Olynthus he observes that houses located physically closer to the agora had the highest concentration of coin finds. While many houses contained 20 or so coins on average, those bordering the agora could have four times as many.[60] The number of coins found in the excavation is not an indication of a household's wealth, however, as the owners could be participating in other economies and industries. Yet coins have the potential to indicate the degree to which a household might be participating in the commercial economy.[61] It is thus possible that the residents of the Area B house were early active participants in the commercial economy of Gabii in the mid-Republican period.

[56] This is the sextantal standard and can be considered Rome's first true attempt to create a token coinage (Crawford 1974).
[57] Coin Δ238a is not well preserved. Upon first investigation, it was originally thought that this lightweight coin was related to the *RRC* 38 series. With more comparanda available, however, *RRC* 56/8 now seems the most appropriate reference.
[58] Crawford 1974, 596.
[59] Hobbs 2013, 103.
[60] Cahill 2002, 266.
[61] Cahill 2002, 268.

Fig. 9. Map showing the locations of the extents of the areas shown in Figures 10 and 11. The extent of Fig. 10 is shown in red, while the extent of Fig. 11 is shown in green. Map by E.C. Robinson.

Coins in a sewer

Two coins were found in a deposit in a sewer on the western side of the excavation in Area F, to the east of the side street that borders the Augustan-era baths excavated by the Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio di Roma. These coins are shown in Figure 10 and listed in Table 4. Figure 9 shows the locations of the extents of Figures 10 and 11. Unfortunately, one of these coins is now lost (Δ1629), but Δ1628 is an *as* minted under the authority of Marcus Aurelius and bearing the portrait of Faustina the Younger. The reverse features Diana Lucina with her long fiery torch. Since the path and function of this sewer are not fully understood at this time, it is difficult to tell if these coins ended up in this dark place due to accidental loss, intentional deposition, or as the result of post-depositional drainage washing them into the sewer. As will be discussed in further detail below, coins of the second century CE and later are seldom found in the northern half of the excavation area. When they are recovered, they appear chiefly in cleaning layer SU 0. These second century CE coins in this location, on the contrary, probably correspond to the period of use of this building.

Coins in a drain

A group of ten bronze coins was found in the southwestern corner of the excavated area in stratigraphic unit 5817 in Area F. These coins are listed in Table 4 and their locations are shown in Figure 11. None of these coins is well preserved. The layer in which they were found sat underneath tufo slabs that served as a cover for a drain and lay above a hole that would have led water away into the rest of the drainage system. The coins are all located in the eastern extension of the unit in a cluster that measures only about 0.37 square meters. The condition of their deposition must be partially to blame for the poor preservation of these 10 coins, but the poor quality of their metal composition is also a significant factor. The earliest coin (Δ1486) is an uncertain issue of Lucius Verus (c. 160-170 CE). This identification is based on the obverse portrait and partial reverse legend surrounding the image of a seated Fortuna.[62] The latest coin is a tiny 5 *nummi* coin, identifiable by the large E on the reverse. This coin dates to the first half of the sixth century CE. The remaining eight coins

[62] This smaller bronze coin, possibly an *as*, most likely belongs to the FORT RED (Fortune Returned) issues of Lucius Verus, cf. *RIC* 976 ff.

Table 4. Table showing the 12 coins that were found in sewers and drains. The coins are organized in chronological order. The locations of these coins are shown in Figures 10 and 11.

Special find number	**Stratigraphic unit**	**Metal**	**Denomination**	**Date**
Δ 1486	5817	bronze	*as?*	c.160-170 CE
Δ 1628	5867	bronze	*as*	161-176 CE
Δ 1498	5817	bronze	---	c. 235 CE or later
Δ 1503	5817	bronze	---	c. 235 CE or later
Δ 1505	5817	bronze	---	c. 235 CE or later
Δ 1506	5817	bronze	---	c. 235 CE or later
Δ 1485	5817	bronze	---	c. 250 - 350 CE
Δ 1500	5817	bronze	---	c. 275 - 325 CE
Δ 1509	5817	bronze	5 *nummi*	c. 500 - 550 CE
Δ 1489	5817	bronze	---	---
Δ 1499	5817	bronze	---	---
Δ 1629	5867	bronze	---	---

Fig. 10. Map showing the locations of the two coins found in the Area F sewer in stratigraphic unit 5867. The yellow symbol represents a coin that cannot be dated, while the sea green symbol represents a coin minted in the second century CE. The coins both have thick outlines to show that their locations have been estimated. Map by E.C. Robinson.

Fig. 11. Map showing the locations of the ten coins found in the Area F drain in stratigraphic unit 5817. This is the same room in which the cluster of coins (stratigraphic units 5851, 5797 and 5793 in Fig. 19) is located. The yellow symbols represent coins that cannot be dated, the sea green symbol represents a coin minted in the second century CE, and the blue symbols represent coins that date to the third century CE or later. The coin with a thick outline shows that its location has been estimated, while the coins with thin outlines were recorded by the total station. Map by E.C. Robinson.

all belong to the third or fourth centuries CE. Although the quality of the metal is such that most are in poor condition, the visible design types and the size and weight ratios suggest that they are late Roman issues. For example, partial legends containing NOB or VOT / XX do not come into use until the third century CE.[63] Many of the obverses also feature emperors wearing a radiate crown. While this motif was used earlier to help denote certain denominations (such as identifying the *dupondius* from the *as)*, the radiate crown of the third century CE is noticeably thicker or chunkier in design beginning around the reign of Severus Alexander.

It is interesting that contemporary coins (Δ1628 and Δ1486) are recovered from both the drain (SU 5817) and the nearby sewer (SU 5867), especially when coins of Marcus Aurelius are rare on the site. One wonders if some unlucky resident of Gabii lost his pocket change. It is also tempting to think that some early fourth century CE traveler lost his purse in a toilet that fed into this drain and chose not to recover it. This scenario is plausible since Gabii likely served as a waypoint in a regional economic network in this period.[64] A second potential purse hoard, this time not associated with drainage, is discussed below.

Coins in clusters

The Gabii Project excavations in Areas A through F from 2009 to 2015 have turned up three clusters of coins that are of interest to the current discussion. One cluster is located on the eastern edge of the excavated zone in Area E, while the remaining three are located in the southwestern sector of the excavated zone in Area F (Fig. 1). It is difficult to say if these clusters represent true coin hoards, but the evidence does point in the direction of activity that suggests that people were

[63] VOT, VOT X, and VOT XX do appear on a few earlier coins as a component of the broader reverse legend or design. VOT XX within a wreath as the totality of reverse design, as seen on Δ1500, does not emerge until the late third century CE.

[64] Samuels *et al.* 2022. The settlement had also largely contracted around the main thoroughfare just south of this complex in the first to third centuries AD (Samuels *et al.* 2021, Samuels *et al.* 2022).

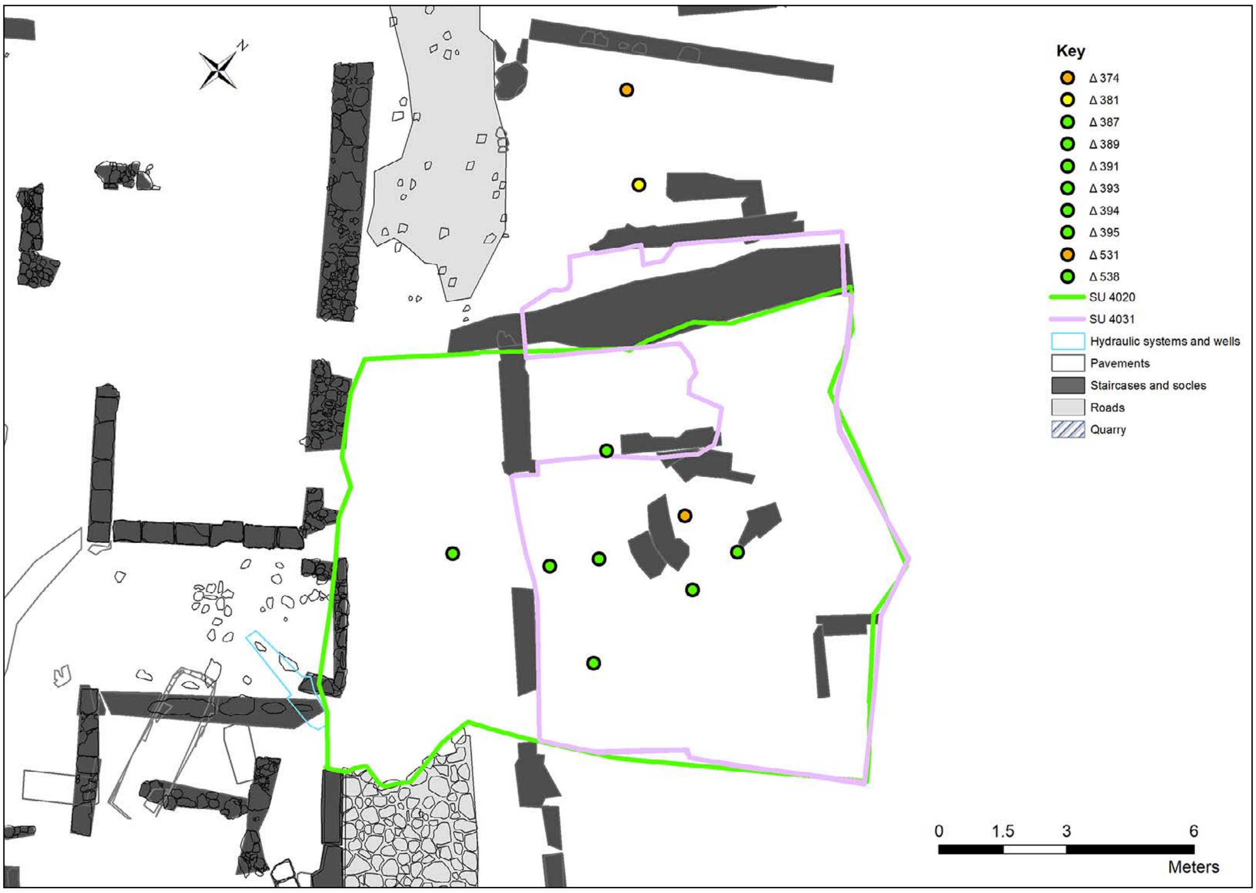

Fig. 12. Map showing the locations of the ten coins found in Area E. The yellow symbol represents a coin that cannot be dated, the green symbols represent coins minted in the middle Republic, and the orange symbols represent coins minted in the late Republic. The coins all have thick outlines to show that their locations have been estimated. Map by E.C. Robinson.

amassing groups of metal items, especially coins, in select areas of the site. A more thorough analysis of some of these areas is needed in order to be able to say with more certainty what behaviors these deposits reflect.

The Area E cluster[65]

The first cluster of coins comes from two different stratigraphic units in Area E identified as deposits, SUs 4020 and 4031. The locations of these coins are shown in Figure 12 and the coins are listed in Table 5. Unfortunately, none of these coins had their precise locations recorded by the excavators, and thus their placement within the GIS is marked by estimated locations. These two deposits overlap considerably and are part of a series of colluvial deposits that cover the area after a collapse event. The cluster consists of eight coins, seven of which are *asses* minted between 170 and 100 BCE. The presence of moneyers' names above the prow on the reverse allows for three of these coins to be linked to specific issues circa 155 BCE. One such coin (Δ394) issued by the little-known moneyer Opei[mius] is shown in Figure 13. The eighth coin is a silver denarius (Δ531) issued by moneyer C. Porcius Cato around 123 BCE (Figure 14).[66] Nearby, a *quadrans* of a likely similar issue date to the cluster of coins was found in a different stratigraphic unit.[67] The careful styling of the head of Hercules on the obverse of the *quadrans*, particularly the way the lion's skin is tied beneath his chin, corresponds well with the issues from circa 150-125 BCE. On the reverse only the A of ROMA survives. A firmer identification cannot be made since no portion of the moneyer's name survives. The last coin found in the course of excavation is an illegible small bronze denomination, Δ381.

[65] Ness, Gabii III volume (Areas C, D, and E), in progress, will include additional discussions of the coins from Areas C and E.

[66] This denarius, *RRC* 274/1, is a large issue known from more than 170 hoards. Two examples of this type are found in a hoard of more than 400 silver coins recovered at Palestrina (*RRCH*.315) that also contained a *quinarius* of the type discussed above (*RRC* 341/3). Although the earliest coins in this hoard date to 211 BCE at the time of the first issues of the *denarius* coin, the hoarding activity intensifies in the 90s BCE with multiple coins of the same type – and sometimes whole and sequential issues – being saved until the hoard closes with issues minted in 74 BCE.

[67] This *quadrans* is Δ374 from stratigraphic unit 4005.

Table 5. Table showing the 10 coins found in Area E. The coins are organized in chronological order. The locations of these coins are shown in Figure 12.

Special find number	Stratigraphic unit	Metal	Denomination	Date
Δ 389	4020	bronze	*as*	c. 170 - 150 BCE ?
Δ 538	4031	bronze	*as*	170-125 BCE
Δ 387	4020	bronze	*as*	c. 170 - 125 BCE ?
Δ 393	4020	bronze	*as*	c. 170 - 125 BCE ?
Δ 394	4020	bronze	*as*	169-158 BCE
Δ 395	4020	bronze	*as*	155 BCE
Δ 391	4020	bronze	*as*	152 BCE
Δ 374	4005	bronze	*quadrans*	150-125 BCE
Δ 531	4031	silver	*denarius*	123 BCE
Δ 381	4015	bronze	---	---

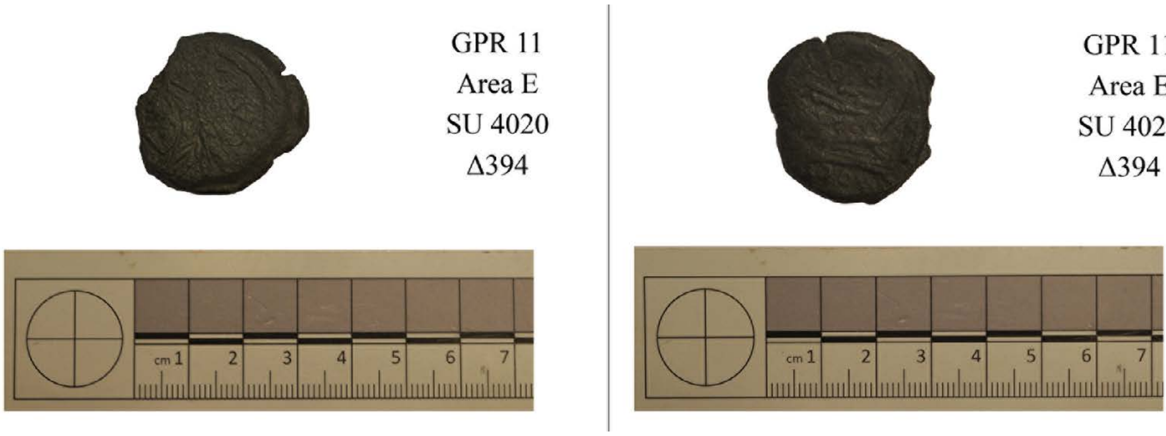

Fig. 13. Photograph of coin Δ394. Janus, laureate, | above // Prow, right, | before, O P E I above, ROMA below. *As (169-158 BCE) RRC* 190.1. Photo by E.C. Robinson.

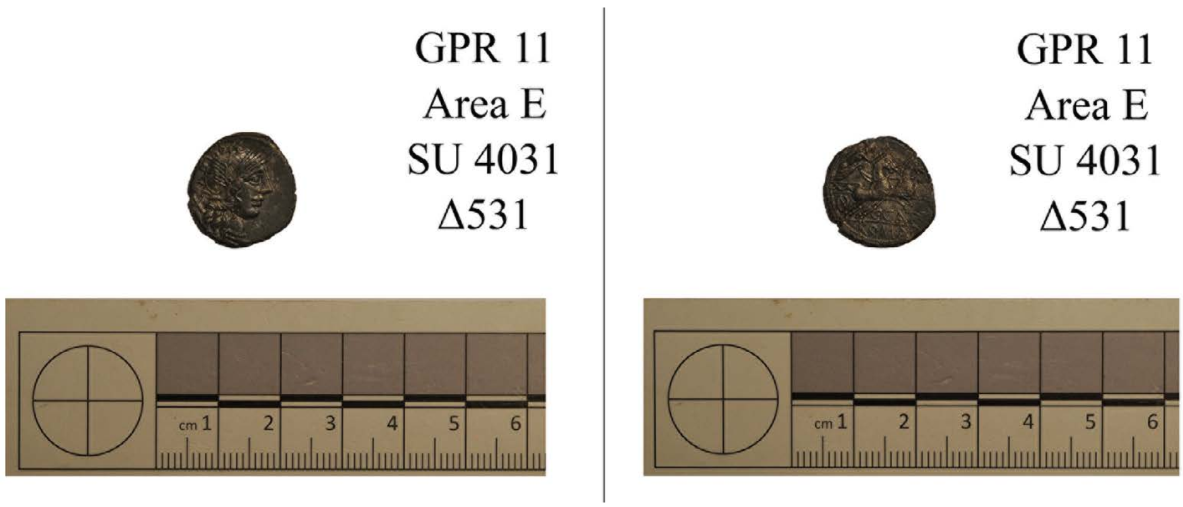

Fig. 14. Photograph of coin Δ531. Roma, helmeted, wearing earrings and a necklace, right. Denomination mark (X) behind // Victory, winged, draped, holding wreath in right hand, riding in biga, right, legend C • CATO / ROMA. *Denarius (123 BCE) RRC* 274.1. Photo by E.C. Robinson.

Fig. 15. Map showing the cluster of silver and bronze coins and a gold *tutulus* found in stratigraphic unit 5622 in Area F. The green symbol represents a coin minted in the middle Republic, the orange symbols represent coins minted in the late Republic, the pink symbols represent coins minted in the Principate, and the yellow diamond represents the gold *tutulus*. Only the location of the gold *tutulus* has been estimated. The locations of the coins were all shot in using the total station. Map by E.C. Robinson.

Area E produced very few coins, and the fact that they are all clustered around the second half of the second century BCE is striking and atypical compared to other contexts formed under similar conditions. No other context explored by the Gabii Project to date has a similar concentration of coins of the same denomination as appears in SU 4020. The discovery of two additional coins in neighboring contexts demonstrates that small bronze coins were able to be found in this area by the excavation team without the use of metal detectors, so a discovery bias should not be assumed. Although the silver *denarius* is the latest (123 BCE), it is certain that the bronze coins were still in circulation when it was produced. In fact, the worn and poor conditions of the *asses* and *quadrans* suggest heavy use as seen in the broken flan of Δ394 in Figure 13. The fact that the coins were not recorded by the total station limits what can be said about their spatial data. Had their findspots been recorded, it might have been possible to say more about the possible deposition processes.

The Area F 'purse' hoard

The next cluster of seven silver and bronze coins and a gold *tutulus* was found together in a single stratigraphic unit toward the center of Area F, SU 5622, as shown in Figure 15 and Table 6. This layer is a grayish-brown deposit in the southern half of a room that is located toward the center of Area F. The stratigraphic unit has a surface area of 6.72 square meters, but all the coins were found in the eastern half of the unit. The locations of the silver and bronze coins were all recorded with the total station. Their findspots show that six of them were found together in a ring in the eastern corner of the unit, while one silver coin was located about 1.26 meters southwest of the ring, placed directly on the bedrock. A gold *tutulus* was also found in the northwestern part of the same stratigraphic unit, but the location of this object was not recorded by the total station. Its location has been estimated in the GIS. This gold *tutulus,* likely some small decorative boss, measures only about 10mm in diameter. It is the only gold object

Table 6. Table showing the 7 coins that were found in stratigraphic unit 5622. The coins are organized in chronological order. The locations of these coins are shown in Figure 15.

Special find number	Stratigraphic unit	Metal	Denomination	Date
Δ 1302	5622	silver	*quinarius?*	211 - 210 BCE ?
Δ 1300	5622	silver	*denarius*	153 BCE
Δ 1319	5622	silver	*quinarius*	98 BCE
Δ 1299	5622	silver	*denarius*	47-46 BCE
Δ 1310	5622	bronze	*as?*	27 BCE - 37 CE
Δ 1311	5622	bronze	*as*	18 - 6 BCE
Δ 1297	5622	bronze	*as*	15 BCE

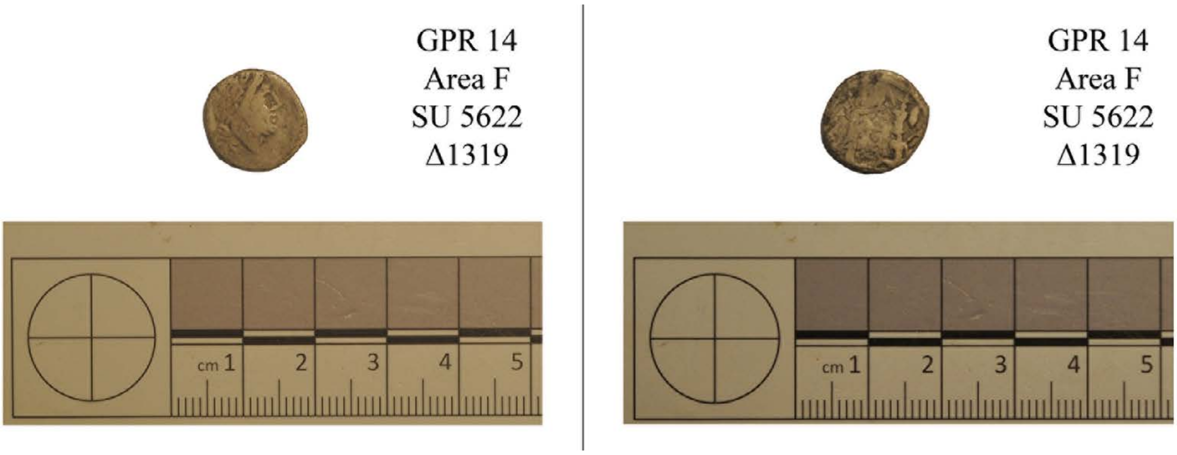

Fig. 16. Photograph of coin Δ1319. Head of Jupiter, laureate, right // Victory, winged, draped, standing right, crowning a trophy, legend T CLOVLI vertical between Victory and trophy. *Quinarius (98 BCE) RRC* 332.1. Photo by E.C. Robinson.

to be recovered from the Gabii Project excavations to date. It is striking that it was found in the same context that also produced the highest concentration of silver coins from the site. The coin found by itself (Δ1319) is a silver *quinarius* issued by T. Cloelius in 98 BCE (*RRC* 332/1a) and is pictured in Figure 16.[68]

The evidence of a series of coins located in the corner of this room clustered in a small circle implies that this is a 'purse' hoard, a small collection of coins kept and then lost together. In this case, the hoard consists of three silver coins and three bronze coins. The silver coins are two *denarii* and one smaller issue, an uncertain silver coin. The earliest identifiable coin is a *denarius* (Δ1300) from 153 BCE (*RRC* 203/1a). Next is a *denarius* of Julius Caesar (Δ1299) that was minted more than 100 years later in 47-46 BCE in the midst of the civil war with Pompey. It is a well-known type (*RRC* 458/1) because of its clear messaging. As seen in Figure 17, the obverse bears the portrait of Venus while the reverse depicts Aeneas fleeing Troy with his father and the Palladium cult statue. The reverse bears the simple legend CAESAR. Julius Caesar is connecting himself to the legendary Trojan hero, Aeneas son of Venus, whose son Iulus is the forefather of the *gens Iulia*. These coins would have been minted by Julius Caesar while out on campaign rather than at the traditional mint in Rome, yet the type was clearly carried back by soldiers as it is well known from hoards across the Italian peninsula and elsewhere.[69]

[68] This *quinarius* issue (*RRC* 332/1a) is also associated with the same hoards that the previous *quinarius* type (221 / *RRC* 341/3) had been found in: Palestrina (*RRCH* 315), San Gregorio di Sassola (*RRCH* 337), and Monte Porcaro (*RRCH* 566). *RRC* 332/1a is also found in a small hoard recovered from Largo di Torre Argentina (M. Crawford's personal note, reproduced here: http://numismatics.org/chrr/id/LTA) with a closing date of 97 BCE.

[69] A mint need not consist of more than an anvil, the dies, a hammer, and blanks. Itinerant mints were necessary for paying soldiers at different points in time. For this issue, Crawford suggests the mint's location was the province of Africa, but somewhere in the eastern Mediterranean is also a possibility. In the environs of Gabii, six coins of this type were found in a large hoard of more than 500 silver coins recovered from Cisterna di Latina (*RRCH* 425).

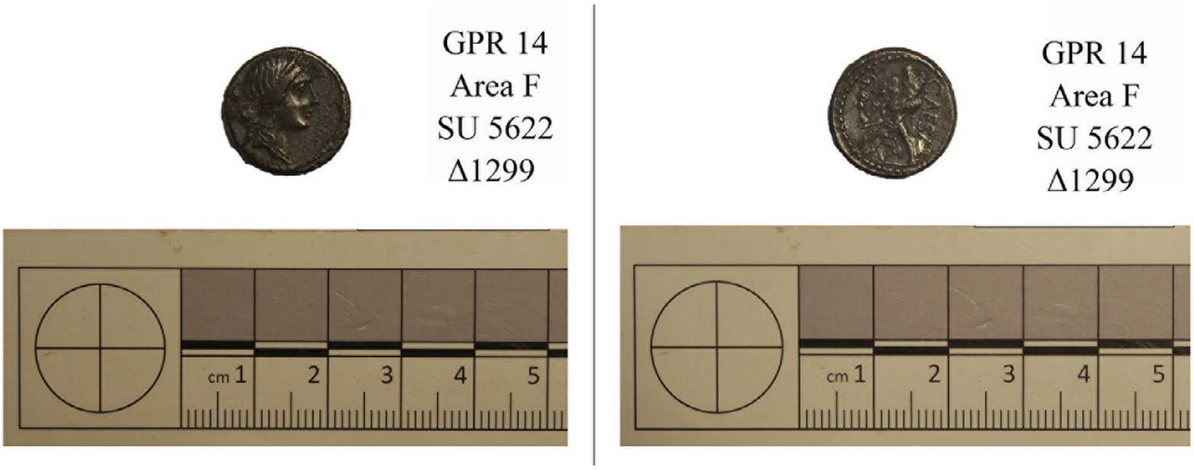

Fig. 17. Photograph of coin Δ1299. Head of Venus, diademed, right // Aeneas, walking left, carrying his father on his shoulders and the Palladium in his outstretched right hand, legend CAESAR. *Denarius (47-46 BCE) RRC* 458.1. Photo by E.C. Robinson.

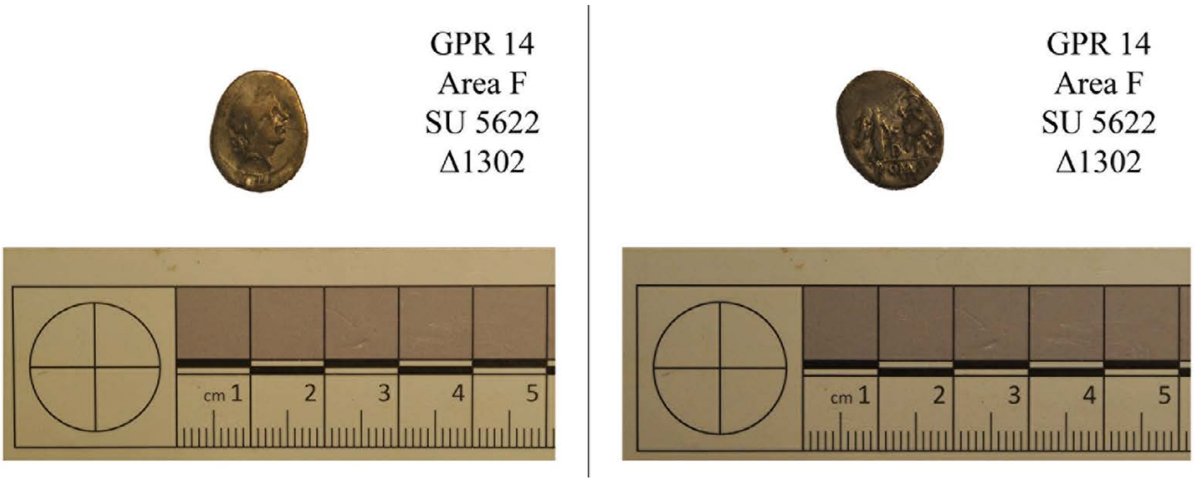

Fig. 18. Photograph of coin Δ1302. Head of Roma with long hair and wearing a Phrygian helmet, right // Victory, winged, draped, standing before a trophy, legend D | ROMA. *Quinarius? (211-210 BCE?)*. Photo by E.C. Robinson.

The last silver coin (Δ1302) is a curiosity, and part of its mystery is due to its less-than-ideal condition. As seen in Figure 18, the flan is irregularly shaped and heavily worn at the apex of both die designs. The obverse at first recalls the early portraits of Roma wearing a Phrygian helmet. On the reverse is Victory standing before a trophy, with ROMA in the exergue and the letter D directly above. Roma wearing the distinctive Phrygian helmet is a design choice first used in the mid-third century BCE, but it is seldom used after the introduction of the *denarius* in 211/210 BCE. The coin is too light to be a *denarius* or even the half-denomination *quinarius*, yet at 1.63 grams is also too heavy to be a silver *sestertius*, the quarter-denomination. Taking the obverse and reverse designs together, it is possible this coin was used as a *quinarius* and was minted outside of Rome between 211-210 BCE. *Quinarii* with a similar obverse but the standard reverse design of the Dioscuri on galloping horses were minted in Apulia, Luceria, Sardinia, and elsewhere. In some instances, on these *quinarii* the reverse design also features ROMA with another letter above.[70] During

[70] For example, see *RRC* 63/1 of Sardinia, *RRC* 97/2 (ROMA L) of Luceria and *RRC* 102/2c (ROMA Q) of Apulia. Other denominations minted concurrently also feature reverse legends with a singular letter in addition to ROMA, such as a bronze *uncia* with ROMA T from Luceria (*RRC* 98A/7). Coins with the same choice in obverse and reverse designs and bearing the extra letter above ROMA are also known from uncertain Italian mints. The Sardinia issues suggest that the additional letter signifies the person who oversaw the production

this time, the smaller *sestertius* has the same obverse and reverse design as the *quinarius* and is distinguished by the smaller size, weight, and IIS denomination mark.[71] The reverse design of a Victory crowning a trophy, however, is the standard scene found on the silver *victoriatus* denomination. The obverse, however, routinely features a bearded Jupiter surrounded by a border of dots and is not comparable with the soft chin and line border on the obverse of Δ1302. However, if the Gabii coin Δ1302 is a contemporary of these first issues, then it appears to be an instance in which the dies for two different denominations were used to strike this one coin: a *quinarius* or *sestertius* obverse die paired with the reverse die of a *victoriatus*. Such a 'mistake' would be possible since the reverse die is held in a punch, taking the force of the hammer blow, while the obverse die is stationary, set into the anvil. In this instance, there is a higher probability of such a mis-striking due to the fact that some mints such as Apulia would mint an issue of *victoriati* and *quinarii* simultaneously.[72]

The bronze coins (likely all *asses*) from this little hoard all date to close to the reign of Augustus. The best preserved of the bronze coins, Δ1297, is an *as* minted in 15 BCE by moneyer C. Plotius Rufus and bearing the portrait of Augustus. Coin Δ1311 may in fact be the same issue or a very similar one produced by a different moneyer. The obverse and reverse legends for these types are comprised of the titles of Augustus and the moneyer respectively, but the poor preservation of Δ1311 does not allow for a more precise reference. The last bronze coin, Δ1310, is also poorly preserved. Based on its design, it likely comes from either the Principate or slightly later in the Julio-Claudian period. The design for both the obverse and the reverse is a portrait of an emperor. At least one of the portraits is bare headed, but the preservation is such that it is not possible to tell if the reverse portrait was laureate or not. However, the style of the portraits and the featuring of a portrait on both sides of the coin is evocative of the commemorative coins issued for Julius Caesar and Augustus by their successors.

The discovery of three bronze coins of similar dates found with older silver coins is not surprising. Individuals could be expected to hold onto their silver coins. This likely purse from Gabii is no different from other known 'purses' such as those from Kalkriese, which could hold a mixture of denominations and coins of various ages.[73] In this case at Gabii, possible scenarios for this deposition include someone who hid his purse and failed to retrieve it, or an individual who walked off without confirming that the purse was still tied to his belt and thus left it behind by mistake.[74] The association of this hoard with an additional silver coin and a gold *tutulus* in the same stratigraphic unit also suggests that this deposition was a deliberate amassing of wealth. That the 'closing date' of this small hoard is Augustan is significant if we recall that this is when Gabii sees increased industrial activities within the city center, while at the same time civic life has drastically diminished except in the buildings bordering the city's main roads.[75] It is only in those areas that it is possible to speak about everyday life at Gabii in the first century CE and later.

The Area F room near an intersection

The final cluster of coins from Area F was found in three different stratigraphic units all located within the room that is furthest to the southwest in the excavated area. This room sits at the junction of the easternmost side road in Area F and the principal east-west road that has been excavated to-date by the Gabii Project, as seen in Figure 1 and Figure 19. These coins are listed in Table 7. The stratigraphic units that yielded these six coins are numbers 5793, 5797 and 5851. These units range in date from the Principate to circa 375 CE. The two coins from SU 5793 are both bronze coins of the third century CE or later. As with the coins from SU 5817, the debased material of the coins has negatively impacted their preservation. The portrait designs – one with a pearl diadem and the other wearing a thick radiate crown – indicate a date of at least the mid-third century CE. The one coin from SU 5797 is a Republican *triens* from the late third or the second century BCE. The device before the prow is possibly a trident, but Crawford only records a *denarius* for the trident issue (*RRC* 115) of 206-195 BCE. All three coins recovered from SU 5851 are poorly preserved and one is entirely illegible (Δ1600). Of the two legible coins, one is a Republican *as* that likely dates to the mid-second century BCE, but the legend for the moneyer's name is difficult to discern. The other coin is from the second century CE. The portrait on the obverse is bearded and resembles Marcus Aurelius or Septimius Severus. The reverse

of these coins.

71 When first introduced in 211 BCE, the *denarius* was valued at 10 *asses* and thus bore the Roman numeral X on the obverse. The *quinarius* bore V, for its value of 5 *asses*, and the *sestertius* IIS for 2.5 *asses*, with S as the abbreviation for *semis*. On the Gabii coin, the flan is unusually shaped, more ovoid than circular, and a clear denomination mark was not observed.

72 See, for example, the c. 211-210 BCE issues from the mints of Corcyra (*RRC* 101) and Apulia (*RRC* 102 and 103). Other instances of human error can be found on coins such as corrected dies, poorly struck and even double-struck coins. There is also some evidence of trial pieces on which one finds mismatched obverse and reverse dies or a baser metal being used – such as bronze or lead – for a gold *aureus* (Crawford 1974, 581).

73 For a brief overview of these 'purses' found across an ancient battlefield, see Rowan 2019, 174-5.

74 Since part of SU 5622 lies directly on the bedrock and coin Δ1319 was found on the bedrock, it seems unlikely that this purse of coins was buried intentionally.

75 Samuels *et al.* 2021, Samuels *et al.* 2022. The contexts pertaining to the coins in Areas F through I should be revisited in more detail in the corresponding publications.

Fig. 19. Map showing the locations of the six coins grouped together in the corner of a room in Area F in stratigraphic units 5851, 5797 and 5793. This is the same room in which the drain (stratigraphic unit 5817 in Fig. 11) is located. The yellow symbol represents a coin that cannot be dated, the green symbols represent coins minted in the middle Republic, the sea green symbol represents a coin minted in the second century CE, and the blue symbols represent coins minted in the third century CE and later. The two late coins have had their locations estimated, while the remaining four coins were shot in using the total station. Map by E.C. Robinson.

Table 7. Table showing the 6 coins grouped together in the corner of a room in Area F in stratigraphic units 5851, 5797 and 5793. The coins are organized in chronological order. The locations of these coins are shown in Figure 19.

Special find number	**Stratigraphic unit**	**Metal**	**Denomination**	**Date**
Δ 1470	5797	bronze	*triens*	c. 200 - 100 BCE
Δ 1596	5851	bronze	*as*	c. 175 - 130 BCE
Δ 1586	5851	bronze	---	c. 100 - 200 CE
Δ 1428	5793	bronze	---	c. 225 CE or later
Δ 1445	5793	bronze	---	c. 225 CE or later
Δ 1600	5851	bronze	---	---

shows a figure seated on the ground that is perhaps the personification of a subject province. Even though their state of preservation prevents these coins from being more securely dated, they still demonstrate the broad range of coins moving through Gabii over diverse time periods. The mixed nature of these deposits suggests that this area was reused over several centuries. The location of this room next to a major junction could indicate that this was a place of exchange or transience associated with traffic passing along the road.

Coin cluster conclusion

These three clusters of coins correspond to different moments in the history of the site, and each shows a different type of behavior taking place at Gabii. The group from Area E shows a concentration of Republican-era coins found in two consecutive stratigraphic contexts located near architectural elements. The lack of spatial data associated with these coins makes it impossible to say if they were part of a hoard or a deliberate deposit, and equally difficult to say if their grouping in these two contexts was the result of post-depositional processes. The similar date of many of these coins suggests that this grouping is the result of deliberate activity at the site, but little else can be concluded about this group. On the contrary, the group associated with SU 5622 seems to be a purse hoard or a similar feature with a clustering of coins in a circle. The spatial data recorded for these coins permits such a conclusion. The association of this group with an additional silver coin and a gold *tutulus* within the same stratigraphic unit suggests that someone may have been attempting to store wealth in this room at a single moment in time. The final group, located near the intersection of a side street and a major east-west thoroughfare, shows coins from various dates that accumulated in a series of different non-sequential stratigraphic units within a room. Their deposition here could reflect activity taking place associated with this room or could be the result of the high amount of traffic going by this location throughout the history of the site.

Conclusion

The coins found in context at Gabii demonstrate a series of diverse circumstances occurring throughout the site. In the case of the coins found in Road 3, the drain and the sewer, the presence of these coins in these locations shows likely unintentional deposits that resulted simply from the function of these areas of the site over time. Travelers lost their loose change, and materials (including but not limited to coins) fell into latrines and washed down into drains on a regular basis, never to be retrieved. The cluster of coins in stratigraphic unit 5622, on the other hand, appears to be a deliberate action of storing wealth, or at the very least, the result of an accidental loss of a deliberately stored concentration of coins in a purse. The people of Gabii would have used coins as one means of storing wealth, and the deposition of this wealth in various points around the site would have been a regular occurrence. In this case, this stored wealth has likely been preserved *in situ* and discovered by the excavation team.

The coins found in Area B near the area of the quarry, in the Area B mid-Republican house, and the coins found in Area F in the room near the intersection of the major east-west thoroughfare and a north-running side street display the presence of coins at the site that resulted from habitual activity undertaken by multiple individuals at the site. The quarrying activity in Area B would have led to an influx of people in that particular area at that time. These people would have been present not because they lived there, but because they worked there. The residents of the Area B mid-Republican house, on the other hand, would have been moving in and out of the rooms surrounding the *atrium* on a regular basis. If they lost some loose change, it might have found its way over to a wall to be lost and forgotten. The Area F room likewise could have been an area where travelers were passing by on a daily basis, leading to coins being dropped and trodden into the ground. Its location at a prime intersection makes it a possible candidate for such a designation.

The group of coins from Area E, on the other hand, remains somewhat of a mystery. Such a closely dated group of coins that all come from two closely related contexts suggests that there was deliberate deposition of some kind. Without spatial information, however, not much can be said. Area E is also currently being studied in order to classify the stratigraphic layers and their associated architecture as domestic, commercial, or other spaces on the site. Once that investigation has finished, it could be instructive to revisit the numismatic material. This area remains a case study as to why it can be valuable to record spatial data for numismatic finds in the field at the time of excavation, even if the context does not seem important at the time. These stratigraphic units are both stratigraphically reliable, and the spatial data from the coins could have provided an additional clue as to the activities taking place at Gabii in the middle Republic.

People and Coins

In addition to the presence of coins in contexts that provide information about the use of the site, some general comments can be made about the overall numismatic assemblage found in the course of the Gabii Project excavations from 2009-2015. Evidence of early coins from the site and coins from non-Roman mints provides information about Gabii's interactions with Rome and other Italian cities during the Republic. Evidence of halved-coins and lead tokens, some of which have already been discussed in detail in the earlier sections of this chapter, provides proof of the people of Gabii taking charge of their exchange systems by manipulating coinage from elsewhere or even developing alternative systems of exchange to correspond to other needs associated with the city.

Finally, the locations of the late coins at Gabii prove that the site was shrinking in the later Empire and whole quarters of the city ceased to be used regularly for activities of daily life. Instead, the coinage from later periods is found in the roads or in Area F, which appears to be one of the few areas under investigation up to 2015 that continued to see regular use until at least the second century CE, with a few areas even showing continued activity into the fourth century CE.

Early coins at Gabii

The coins dating to the first half of the third century BCE and earlier that were found in Areas A, B, and C complement the stratigraphic data that shows that this part of the site was occupied from a very early period. Indeed, some of the earliest evidence found at the site includes the tombs found in Area A that date to the Orientalizing period.[76] Since Gabii is located in central Italy, it is not surprising that the few early coins recovered from the site represent the different monetary systems at play in different parts of Italy. These early coins include an example of an *aes grave* coin: a *sextans* (Area B Δ194), a heavy, cast bronze coin weighing 56 grams (*RRC* 14/5, 280-276 BCE). As discussed earlier, raw bronze, the cast bronze coinage of central Italy, and the cast bronze bars of Etruria and the Po Valley were the principal monetary systems for these communities, while the Greek colonies in Italy continued their tradition of smaller coins minted in gold and silver that held a putative value.[77]

Coins found at Gabii that are contemporary with the *aes grave* example include a coin of Neapolis (*HN* Italy 583, Area A Δ2817) dating to the first quarter of the third century BCE and the bronze double-*litra* and *litra* denominations. The coin from Neapolis is shown in Figure 20. Minted either in Campania or at Cosa for Rome's use, these bronze denominations were set to the *didrachm* standard that most Greek colonies used.[78] As mentioned in the discussion of the coins from the mid-Republican house, coins minted to the *didrachm* standard are found in each of the early areas, namely A, B, and C. Of the types recovered at Gabii, the double *litra* (*RRC* 16/1a-b) and *litra* (*RRC* 17a-i) were minted circa 275-270 BCE. These issues appear in Area B and Areas A, B, and C, respectively. A single half *litra* (Δ103 *RRC* 26/4) shown in Figure 21 that dates to circa 235-230 BCE was also recovered from Area C. This evidence makes it clear that in the third century BCE at least some individuals at Gabii needed to navigate and participate in different economic spheres, just as Rome did when the Republic expanded its dominion. Military conquest is a major catalyst in Rome's evolving approach to money and coinage, and that may be reflected here on a smaller scale. The First Punic War spurred Rome into regularly minting its own coinage in silver and bronze. The demands of the Second Punic War then brought about the production of gold coins and culminated in a massive overhaul of Rome's coinage in 211 BCE, when Rome first began to issue the silver *denarius*, originally valued at 10 *asses*.

The presence of these early coins in the layers of Areas A and C, along with the early coins discussed above from Area B provides further confirmation of the early date of this part of the site. It also shows that Gabii was interacting with other cities in this early period. This information finds correspondence with the legends of Greek connections that can be found in literary sources, such as Plutarch's story of Romulus and Remus learning Greek at Gabii.[79]

Later coins at Gabii

Whereas the early coins from the site can be found in Areas A, B, and C, the highest concentration of coins dating to the second century CE and later all come from the southern part of Area F. The majority of these coins has already been discussed earlier in the section of the chapter about coins in context. The high number of later coins in Area F is statistically not surprising, since Area F produced the highest number of coin finds in general of any of the areas under consideration here. It should be noted, however, that the few coins that date to the third and fourth centuries CE that come from Areas A, B, and C seem much more likely to be intrusions or examples of later use of these areas, such as the examples found in the roads discussed earlier. In Area F, on the contrary, it appears that these coins were deposited while this part of the site was still in use. The later coins in the southern part of Area F thus represent depositional patterns associated with the continued occupation and use of this part of the site in later periods. No doubt this picture of Gabii's later life will evolve as more coins that have been excavated from Areas G, H, and I are cleaned and processed. These three additional areas are situated near the main east-west thoroughfare of the site and south of Areas B and C. Coins of Faustina the Elder, Clodius Albinus, Constantius II, and Procopius were already identifiable in the field from Areas G and H.

The Human Element

This paper has attempted to insert the actions of the residents of Gabii into the archaeological site of Gabii as best as possible using the currently available

[76] Becker, Nowlin 2011.
[77] This is an example of commodity money versus representative or commodity-backed money.
[78] The *didrachm* and *drachma* were both silver coins. Rome had also minted versions of these coins in the third century BCE, but no examples have been found at Gabii thus far.
[79] Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 6.1.

Fig. 20. Photograph of coin Δ2817. Head of Apollo, laureate, left // [N]ΕΟΠΟ - ΛΙΤΩΝ Tripod. Bronze coin of Neapolis (300-275) HN Italy.583, SNGANS.513. Photo by S. Ness, modified by E.C. Robinson.

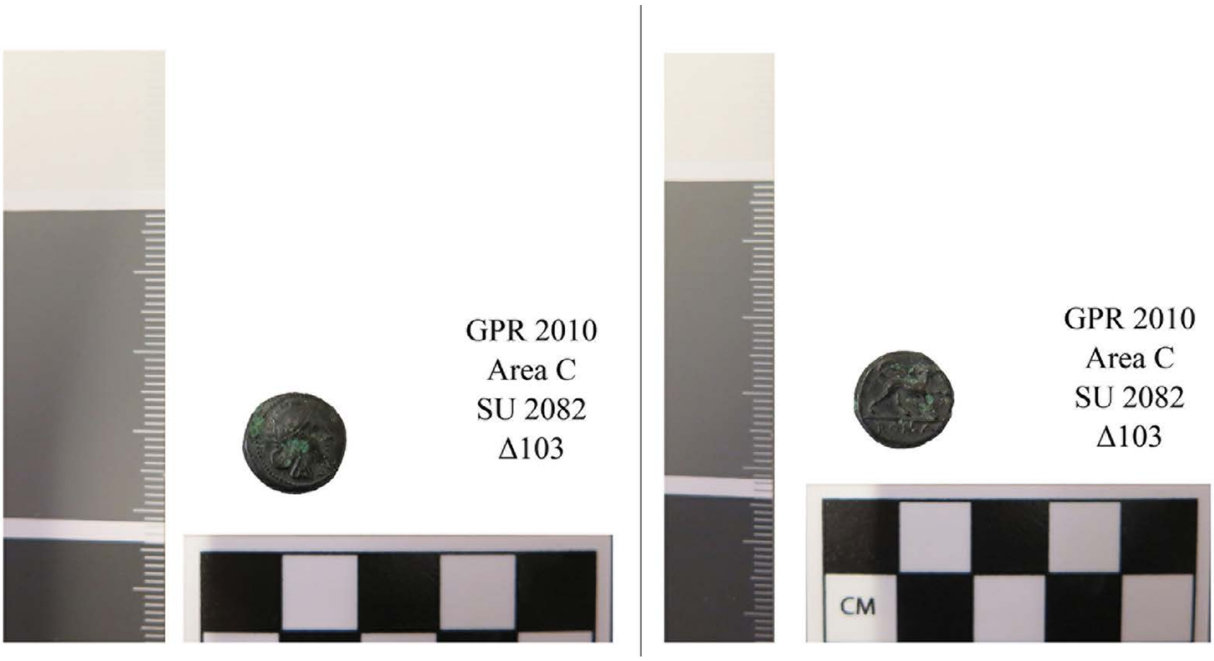

Fig. 21. Photograph of coin Δ103. Head of Roma, right // ROMA Dog, walking right. Half-*litra* (234-231 BCE) *RRC* 26/4. Photo by S. Ness, modified by E.C. Robinson.

numismatic and spatial data. Outside of incidental losses and habitual actions, certain patterns emerge that reflect community and social relationships at Gabii. In one instance, it appears that coins minted by non-Roman authorities circulated as surrogate small change. The use of purposefully cut coins is another means by which the people of Gabii appear to have solved this problem. Although only one example of cut coinage is discussed here, others have been found elsewhere at the site. This suggests that it was a generally accepted practice. In order to facilitate economic exchanges, both merchants and patrons put trust in and made use of money that was not directly sanctioned (but was perhaps tolerated) by Roman authorities in the late Republic and early Empire.

The lead tokens from Area B suggest other types of exchanges that were not governed purely by coinage. It is impossible to tell whether the recipient of such a token might have exchanged it for a commodity or access to an event or gained it as a receipt for a task completed or as a memento from a visit to a temple. Since the tokens were found in an area with increased industrial activities, it is most likely that they were associated with the quarry workers or others working in this area.[80] The issuer might have been the foreman or someone else who had the authority to commission and then dole out the lead tokens based on criteria and motives that are now unretrievable.

Finally, the brief allusions to hoards found within the vicinity of Gabii represents a small attempt to situate the city amongst its other neighbors and not merely vis-à-vis Rome. Through particular coin issues, especially the rare silver coins recovered from the site, it is possible to see how the people of Gabii played a role in and were affected by different historical events. One such example is the *denarius* that Caesar minted while on campaign during the civil war outside of Italy. Did one of Caesar's soldiers return home to Gabii with his pay after Pompey's death? Alternatively, did someone *choose* to hold onto the coin as a memento after Caesar's assassination? As the remaining excavated coins are cleaned, processed, and analyzed, more such stories will emerge to shed further light on the human element of Gabii.

Conclusions and Further Research

This chapter is the product of a collaboration between a small finds specialist and a topographer. The combination of these diverse skill sets has led to a productive discourse about the numismatic material and its distribution at the site of Gabii. The merging of data tables and GIS data has allowed for a cross-checking of the material that would not have been possible otherwise. Furthermore, the ability to visualize the numismatic material cartographically has proved to be invaluable in the current analysis. The staff at the Gabii Project has always prided itself on collaborative work, and the authors hope that the current partnership can serve as a model of this kind of collaboration that has been applied to a particular set of artefacts.

In addition to the various conclusions reported at the end of each of the previous sections, one overall conclusion is clear: the significance of coins found in a mapped context versus the vague information provided by coins without spatial data that has been demonstrated here makes the case for the recording of spatial data with *all* numismatic finds in the field, regardless of the stratigraphic context. The fact that the excavators cannot possibly know at the time of excavation whether a special find will be considered in a later analysis makes this practice imperative. It takes very little time to record a data point with a total station, and that information can be stored easily in the GIS, occupying very little disk space. While it is possible that this data will never be used, it is also likely – as in the case of the coins found in Area E discussed in this chapter – that such information could prove to be invaluable to an analysis. The authors suggest that best practice for the excavation of numismatic material in the field include the recording of spatial data for all coin finds.

Every coin found at Gabii has context by virtue of being found during excavation at the site. Even a stray surface find has contextual information, and certainly more context than many coins sitting in museum vaults. For some macro-level investigations into the Roman economy, such as spheres of circulation, having just the city as the secure find spot can be valuable knowledge. Integrating all the coin finds from Gabii with sites such as *Roman Republican Coins Online* and *Online Coins of the Roman Empire* will further scholars' understanding of Rome's economic history. Yet without specific find spots for the excavated coins, a part of Gabii's history is lost, and together with it we lose access to the behaviors of the ancient inhabitants.

It is obvious that much more work remains to be done in terms of the investigation and analysis of the numismatic and related material from the Gabii Project. Yet this contribution is an important first step in presenting this data from the early years of the excavation in an organized and thematic way. It has already shown the significance of coins found in context for understanding of the use of the site over time and the patterns of deposition associated with different sectors of the city. Furthermore, the assemblage of materials as a whole has provided significant information about the history of the site in terms of its interactions with other cities and towns in Italy, including Rome. The patterns of activity at Gabii that include the breaking of coins, the use of non-Roman denominations as small change, and the creation of lead tokens also provide evidence about daily life and exchange activities at the site that is not

[80] Catalogues detailing lead and other types of Roman tokens often provide a broad range for the issue date of the token, such as the first through fourth centuries CE. In the case of these three lead tokens, it seems appropriate to date them to the first century CE, or even more narrowly to the first half of the first century CE. This is based on the associated numismatic data and the increase in activity in this sector of the site, which did not get underway until the first century BCE.

accessible through other artefact classes. Although the current chapter has analyzed only a subset of the available numismatic evidence from Gabii, it has still been able to recognize patterns of use and form conclusions about the economic history of the site. The next step is to add this data to the larger online numismatic databases and make it as accessible as possible within the online Gabii database. This contribution has anchored the previously floating numismatic datasets by providing a slightly larger picture of the distribution patterns and numismatic evidence from the site. As more work continues to be done in exploring the rest of the site through excavations, cataloging, mapping, data entry, and analysis, there will be even more to say about the coins and their relationship to the activities of the inhabitants of ancient Gabii.

Numismatic Sources

ANS American Numismatic Society (http://numismatics.org)

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HN *Italy* Rutter, N. K. (2001). *Historia Numorum Italy*. London.

RIC *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (1923-) (Available digitally at http://numismatics.org/ocre/)

RRC Crawford, M.H. (1974). *Roman Republican Coinage, 2 vols.* Cambridge. (Available digitally at http://numismatics.org/crro/)

RRCH Crawford, M.H. (1969). *Roman Republican Coin Hoards.* London. (Available digitally at http://numismatics.org/chrr/)

SNG *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (1931 -)

Reimagining Female Property Ownership in the Later Empire: A Case Study of a Roman Ring Key at Gabii

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Abstract: Partendo dall'analisi di una chiave-anello di bronzo (Δ1864) ritrovata nell'Area H e databile tra gli inizi del IV e la metà del V secolo d.C., il contributo analizza non solo l'oggetto in sé ma lo interpreta usando un approccio di Object Biography, per cercare di ricostruire il senso di appartenenza e proprietà femminile all'interno della comunità gabina nel tardo Impero, utilizzando fonti letterarie e confronti archeologici di chiavi-anello rinvenute a Gabii e da altri contesti.

Who were the women of Imperial Gabii? On a broad level, it is likely impossible to answer this question. Because of the ambiguity of property ownership in Rome, as well as a lack of sources written by women, it is challenging to study women as a demographic group within Roman society.[1] This case study examines a finger ring key (Δ1864), excavated in Area H, in order to demonstrate how placing such typically non-gendered objects within their larger cultural and material contexts can provide us with new understandings of the wealth and property ownership of elite Gabine women during the Imperial period. This ring key is the only one that has been excavated thus far at Gabii, and dates roughly to the early 4th- mid-5th c. CE. Following a description and analysis of this individual object, this study will consider the role of keys at Gabii and other evidence for wealthy women from the site. I will then examine the functional use of keys, as well as their social/symbolic role within Roman society, in order to place the ring key into its broader cultural and material contexts. In particular, the possibility of female property ownership by the 4th-5th c. CE will play a central role in the suggested use of this ring key. I will demonstrate the possibility of female property ownership (or at least guardianship) at Gabii, at a time when such a thing was commonplace in the Roman Empire.

The Ring Key (Δ1864)

To date, 18 keys have been found by the Gabii Project excavations, almost all of them from accumulation or dumping layers which separate them from their original contexts and dates.[2] A majority of these keys are what are known as 'slide' keys, while a few are 'rotary' keys that function the same way our modern keys do. A slide key functioned by inserting the key into a lock which consisted of a bolt with wooden or metal pins that, when the lock was engaged, would drop into carved holes in the door bolt below. This would lock the door through prevention of the bolt's action. The key would have a series of teeth which corresponded to the number and position of the pin holes in the bolt. The key was inserted into the keyhole and pushed upwards, into the bolt. The teeth would push the pins up and out of the bolt, disengaging the lock and allowing the bolt to be slid into an unlocked position with the key. Oftentimes the keyhole was in an L-shape, meaning that while the door was unlocked, the key could not be disengaged from the bolt mechanism and would remain in the lock.

The most unique of the Gabii keys is Δ1864, a slide ring key discovered in a layer of natural post-abandonment accumulation within Area H (Fig. 1; see Fig. 2 for a more complete ring key example from Lincolnshire, UK). The stratigraphic unit (SU 7030, Fig. 3) of post-abandonment accumulation is located between three enclosing walls and a cut into the stratigraphy (SU 7064). Based on a preliminary assessment of the ceramic assemblage and the coin finds, it is likely that the ring key was deposited sometime between the mid- 3rd c. CE and the mid-5th c. CE, providing a *terminus post quem* (the earliest possible date) for the key's creation and use.[3] There are earlier dated materials in SU 7030, but these are likely to be residual. The ring key is composed of a circular bronze band with a 1.7 cm diameter (now cut and bent out of shape), with a rectangular projection and two most likely broken teeth, one on each corner. The shape of the ring key suggests that it is a slide key, and would have

[1] For the challenges of studying Roman women, see Brown 1993 and Richlin 2014. For the problematic relationship between archaeology and gender, see Conkey, Spector 1984.

[2] See Proffitt 2018 for a full catalogue and discussion of the Gabii keys.

[3] Spot dates from ceramic analysis: SD 4277, African cookware plate/lid (Hayes 182 type), 320-450 CE; SD 4279, African cookware pot (Hayes 197 type, late variation), 285-400 CE; SD 4280, African cookware plate/lid (Ostia IV, 60 type), 300-350 CE; SD 4282, African Red Slip D plate (Hayes 60, n.1-2 type), 320-470 CE; SD 4284, African Red Slip C plate (Hayes 50A type), 240-325 CE; SD 4552, African Red Slip sherd (similar to Hayes Form 16 Type 6), 200-300 CE. From coin finds: Δ1821 and Δ1846, both bronze coins depicting a diademed empress with a Severan hairstyle. These have been studied by the Gabii Project's numismatist Shannon Ness, who came to the conclusion that the empress being depicted was not the empress Julia Domna (r. 193-211 CE). Based on Ness' conclusion that the empress is not Julia Domna, I would propose that the coins date at the earliest somewhere between 211-235 CE.

Fig. 1. Ring key Δ1864. SU 7030, Area H.
https://gabii.cast.uark.edu/data/browse/special_finds/1864.

Fig. 2. Ring key. 1st-5th c. CE date, Lincolnshire, UK. Record ID: LIN-E324D8. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme. https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1029256.

functioned the same way as a full-sized slide key (Fig. 4 and 5), just on a smaller scale. Ring keys have not been widely studied outside of individual excavation reports, which usually just record their presence without further investigation. Regional typologies remain unattempted, with the exception of Hélène Guiraud's 1989 article "Bagues et Anneaux à l'Époque Romaine en Gaule," in which she creates a typology of ring keys for Roman Gaul. No such typology of ring keys found on the Italian peninsula exists at present, but we can apply Guiraud's types to examples found in Italy. Our ring key is an example of a Guiraud Type 5b ring, which she describes as being characterized by a lateral projection on the top of the ring, arranged at right angles.[4] Type 5b was present in Roman material culture before it spread to Gaul in the 1st-4th c. CE, meaning that it is not a regionally-specific object. Guiraud's typology reveals that a majority of the Gallic ring keys studied dated between the 3rd and 4th c. CE, which overlaps partially with SU 7030's date range of early 4th- mid- 5th c. CE.

[4] Guiraud 1989, 191.

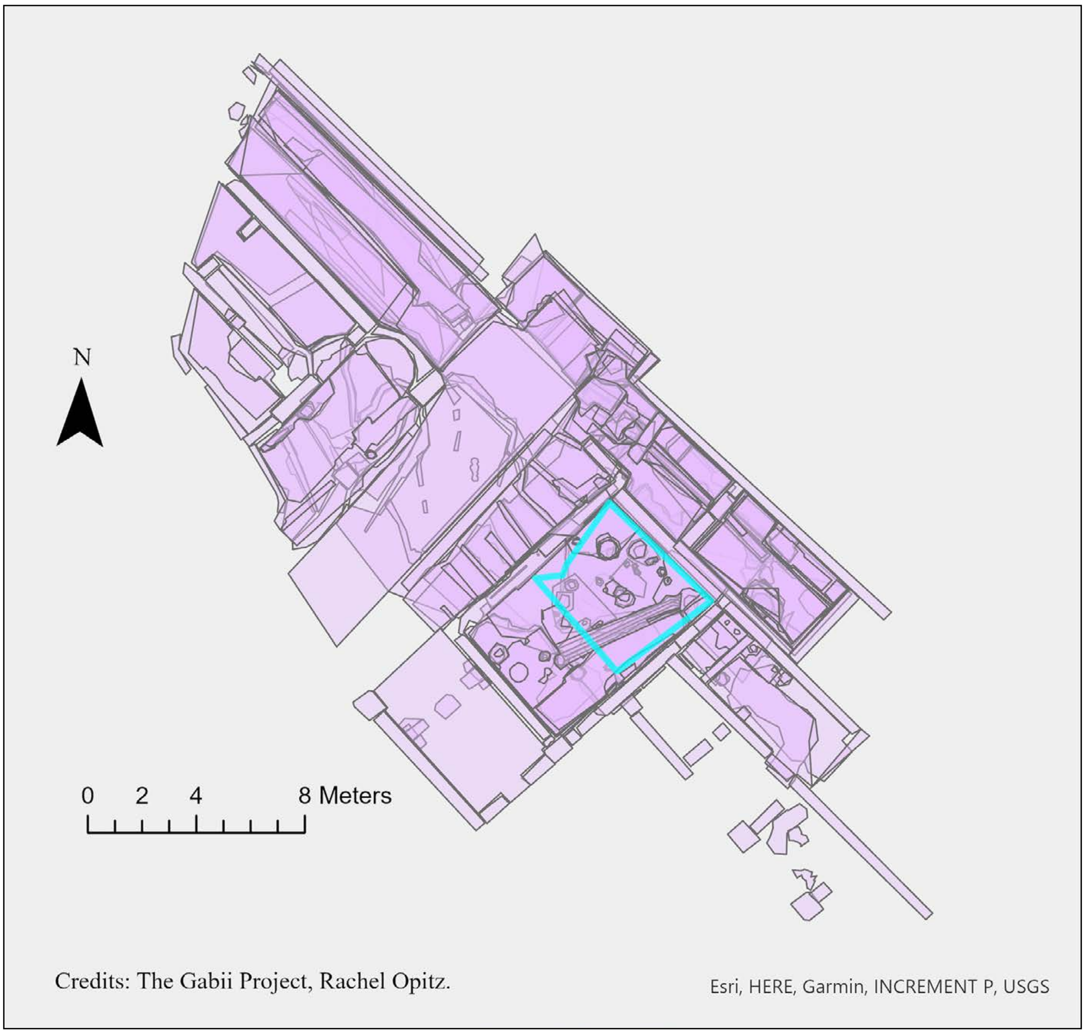

Fig. 3. SU 7030 (outlined in blue) in Area H.

Fig. 4. Slide key Δ2201. SU 7077, Area H.
https://gabii.cast.uark.edu/data/browse/special_finds/2201.

Fig. 5. Slide key Δ2484. SU 8216, Area H.
https://gabii.cast.uark.edu/data/browse/special_finds/2484.

Importantly, ring keys in Gaul were fairly common, and were often discovered in towns of minor importance, which speaks to their general commonality. The ring key excavated at Gabii is composed of bronze, like the majority (93%) of the Type 5b ring keys studied by Guiraud. This is most likely because bronze is the strongest of the alloy metals typically used in Roman rings, and therefore would be able to endure the action of locking and unlocking a bolt.[5] This ring key would have been used to secure a small chest or box, rather than larger cabinets or doors. This suggests that the ring key was used to protect smaller, potentially more valuable items such as jewellery or coinage, rather than larger household goods.

Since the Gabii ring key was found in a secondary depositional context, the archaeological record offers nothing concrete about the owner's identity, gender, or physical maturity. Compounding this lack of context is the broader, ongoing challenge in Roman archaeology of identifying women and children within the archaeological record, since they often leave behind few physical traces, and usually no written or epigraphic evidence. To combat this lack of evidence, sexual dimorphism has been put forth as a method of identifying gender and biological age (childhood v. adulthood) in connection with found objects. For example, Carol van Driel-Murray proposed using sexual dimorphism (that is, standard size differences between the sexes) in Roman footwear as a means of gathering demographic data.[6] This data can then be used to locate women and children in the archaeological record. Similarly, work by Alex R. Furger and Ellen Swift on Roman finger ring diameters from the northern areas of the Roman Empire allows for the identification of finger rings potentially associated with specific sexes and (relative) ages.[7] These sexual dimorphism studies allow us to make an educated guess as to the ring key owner's sex and biological development.

Sexual dimorphism is useful when examining the Gabii ring key as well. The ring key's 1.7 cm diameter opening is almost identical to the modal average of an adult woman's ring size in the Roman Empire (~1.75 cm). This ~1.75 cm diameter was first proposed by Furger in his examination of 300 finger rings from Augst, Switzerland, where he identified the modal average for men's rings as ~1.91 cm, and women's rings as ~1.75 cm.[8] Swift's additional analysis of 353 finger ring diameters from burial data evidence in the northwestern Roman provinces supports this conclusion, finding that burials categorized as adult females had a modal average of 1.7 cm, with children's rings having an average diameter of 1.4 cm, and men's rings most often occurring at 2 cm and above.[9] Crucially, a full 25% of the ring keys from Swift's study have a diameter of ~1.7 cm, showing a strong correlation with the general sizing of women's finger rings. Based on the similar diameter of the Gabii ring key with those finger rings and ring keys studied by Swift and Furger, I believe an argument can be made that the ring key most likely belonged to an adult woman.

However, one caveat must be included here: social constructions of gender and adulthood do not necessarily match with biological development, which

5 Guiraud 1989, 203.
6 van Driel-Murray 1995. This is often the only type of Roman clothing that survives in the material record, and we have a large number of examples from sites like the Vindolanda. For studies of Roman footwear from Vindolanda, see van Driel-Murray 2016, Greene 2020.
7 Furger 1990; Swift 2017.
8 Furger 1990.
9 Swift 2017, 165.

means that Roman women who were considered adults by their society might be categorized as children in the archaeological record. This is important when considering data from sexual dimorphism studies as well. As van Driel-Murray noted in her study of Roman footwear, "...account has to be taken not only of the overlap of females and males, but also of the growth of children into adults, and in particular, the growth of boys into young men, since at this time they occupy positions in the normal female range."[10] In other words, while we have evidence that both Roman men and women wore ring keys, it is more likely that the owner of this particular ring was either an adult woman or an adolescent of either gender, because of the possible overlap in sizing between adult women and adolescent men. Regardless, the data suggests that the Gabii ring key did not belong to an adult man, meaning its owner was most likely not the *paterfamilias* (the male head) of a household. In addition, its late deposition date aligns with a period of time in which women were able to own property in their own right, according to updated dowry law.[11] Given that the wealth of many Roman women was in the form of such movables like jewellery that would be protected by a ring key, as I will demonstrate, the ring key at Gabii provides us with at least the possibility of independent female wealth during the Imperial period.

Keys and Wealth at Gabii

Like all other Roman keys, the keys that make up the Gabii assemblage would first and foremost be used as a practical protection against theft and threats to personal security. They served to control access in various areas of life, both in the symbolic sense of securing a marriage or liminal space, and also in the physical sense of securing one's property. Keys protect the wellbeing of the entire Roman community, including their semi-public homes. The presence of keys at Gabii indicates the presence of goods considered to be worthy of protection and the wealth to acquire such goods. The cost of creating a lock and key itself would not have been insignificant and thus indicates that there were households at Gabii wealthy enough to commission and install such objects. However, the haphazard nature of the formation processes of the stratigraphic units in which the Gabii keys have been recovered limits the conclusions that can be drawn on a key-by-key basis.

What we do know based on the available data is that individuals with personal wealth were present at Gabii by the 4th century CE, when our ring key is estimated to have been produced. Villas in the area around Gabii emphasize the presence of this wealth, as does evidence of wealthy women at Gabii during the Imperial period. An inscription found in the excavated area known as "Hamilton's Forum" refers to a temple dedicated in Gabii for the annual celebration of the 2nd c. CE empress Domitia Longina by her freedman Domitius Polycarpus and his wife the freedwoman Domitia Europa.[12] Another 2nd c. CE inscription from Gabii tells of a woman whose father, the freedman A. Plutius Epaphroditus, provided an annual endowment of 10,000 sesterces for a public feast celebrating her birthday.[13] While our evidence does not present women as having wealth of their own, their mention in 2nd c. CE inscriptions certainly strengthens the idea of the presence of families with enough wealth to warrant the purchase and use of keys at that time. While earlier than the proposed date range for the ring key, the presence of such inscriptions opens the possibility that wealthy families might have remained in Gabii into the 4th c. CE.

While of course the wooden doors, chests, or cabinets these keys would have locked do not survive, the keys themselves demonstrate to us the perceived need for such precautions. If, as Horace says, it was possible to buy slaves born in Gabii,[14] we may assume that slaves also remained at Gabii. It seems logical to conclude that some of the keys found at Gabii would be used to secure certain household goods and to prevent theft by family members and visitors of all classes. But it is important to distinguish between the concepts of 'public' and 'private' in Rome, in order to fully contextualize the role of the key.

Concepts of 'Public' and 'Private' in Roman Society

In practical terms the primary purpose of a Roman key was to provide security for goods; however, it is important to pause here and emphasize that the modern concept of 'privacy' is *not* inherent within the Roman notion of 'security.' 'Privacy' and 'security' were very different ideas in the Roman world, and this will necessarily affect how we discuss the role of keys within the physical realm. The concept of privacy as something to be desired appears to have rested upon the notion of *securitas*, a 'freedom from care' which removes a negative psychological concern (*cura*).[15] This withdrawal from the public sphere to avoid a *cura* is analogous to our modern desire for privacy as a means of relaxation. In moderation, *securitas* was considered a positive force to overcome challenges, and was tied to the Roman concept of self-discipline and autonomy associated with the desire to hold power in public life.[16] However, too much *securitas* leading to a total removal

[10] van Driel-Murray 1995, 4.
[11] See below discussion.

[12] *CIL* 14.2795. See Ortiz in this volume.
[13] *CIL* 14.2793.
[14] Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.3.
[15] Hamilton 2013. For the origin of privacy as a legal value, see Periñán 2012.
[16] Veyne 1997.

from the public sphere had a negative association and was to be avoided as much as possible. The ongoing tension between 'public' and 'private' in Roman society seems to rest on the necessity of exposing oneself to public scrutiny while simultaneously maintaining a 'private' sense of autonomy.[17]

The balance between 'public' and 'private' in Roman society is also visible in the division of space within the Roman house. In his discussion of building types based on social rank, Vitruvius differentiates between rooms belonging to the family (*propria loca patribus familiarum*) and rooms shared with visitors (*communia cum extraneis*).[18] Vitruvius is not however making a distinction between 'private' family rooms and 'public' rooms for visitors, but rather, he is contrasting different degrees of access within the Roman house.[19] Parts of the Roman house were open only to invited guests (these spaces include family bedrooms, dining rooms and baths) while vestibules, courtyards and peristyles were spaces more open to the clients and business associates of the *paterfamilias,* where the male head of the house would conduct the majority of his *negotium*, or daily business. In this sense, privacy within the Roman house seems to operate as a series of relationships based on degrees of access.[20] These patterns of interaction create liminal areas within the house where groups with varying levels of access met, further limiting areas of 'true' privacy.[21] A lack of gendered spaces within the Roman house also affects the number of private spaces available. Unlike Greek houses, which usually contained separate quarters for women, houses in Roman Italy did not have gender-segregated living areas.[22] As Penelope Allison notes, Roman 'domestic space' was not necessarily equated to 'women's space.' [23] Therefore, the places where the average Roman could go within their own house for privacy (as we understand it) were limited, with the exception of the few places which might remain locked, such as storage areas.

The varying degrees of access in the Roman house meant keys were likely used less frequently to secure interior doors.[24] Instead, they were more likely used to secure cabinets and chests within the house. All manner of items including food, dry goods, coin and jewels would be locked up to prevent theft by visitors or household slaves.[25] The variety in types of theft, thieves and punishments mentioned in Latin literary sources speaks to a pervasive nature of the problem across all levels of Roman society.[26] An increased use of keys within the domestic sphere demonstrates a perceived decline of social control, embodied by widespread theft, which resulted in the need for strict regulation of entry to protect against threats to the security and wellbeing of the household.[27] The maintaining of a family's wellbeing via possession of the household keys was often entrusted to the *materfamilias* (the female head of the household) and not the *paterfamilias*, which granted Roman women a level of control that often goes unrecognized. The degree of access within the Roman world, while enforced by the lock, was controlled by the key, making the possession of the household keys a symbol of increased security, status and trustworthiness.

Possession and Management of Household Property

Ownership in the Roman world was family-based, and, for much of the Republic and early Empire, the *paterfamilias* was the only person in the immediate family with the full legal authority to own and dispose of property.[28] The increasing influx of wealth into Italy over the course of the Republic and into the early Empire meant that displays of wealth became a way to reinforce a family's status among both their peers and the lower classes. This display, known as *euergetism*, was fundamental to elite status during the Republic.[29] The shift towards Empire meant there were fewer chances to show off wealth through public largesse, as the emperor also sponsored games and building projects. However, personal wealth was still a highly important social marker during the Empire, and *euergetism* continued to play an important role in patron-client relations. The link between wealth and reputation was central to elite status. As Juvenal notes, in Rome "as much money as each one stores in his coffer, they have that much trust."[30] One way to demonstrate this wealth and the trust it imparted was by displaying your keys

[17] Barton 2001. See Moore 1984 for discussion of similar Greek perspectives on privacy.
[18] *Vit.* 6.5.
[19] Wallace-Hadrill 1988. Cf. Rawson 1991 and Lauritsen 2011.
[20] C.f. Nevett 2010.
[21] Stig Sørenson 2007: 95. For public vs. private in Roman houses, see Tuori, Nissin 2015.
[22] Rykwert 2001; Nevett 2010.
[23] Allison 2007, 346.
[24] For the function of doors, see Platts 2019, Lauritsen 2011.
[25] du Plessis 2010, 153-154: Roman classification of property was divided into two general categories: land (immovables) and anything else that could be owned privately (movables). However, the same laws dictating possession and ownership applied to both kinds of property, unlike modern legal distinctions.
[26] For more details on theft in the Roman world, see Gai. *Inst.* 3.183-208, 210-15; Just. *Inst.*4.1, 4.3; *D.* 9.2, 47.2; *C.* 3.35, 6.2; also Frier 1989, Robinson 1995, and Pace 2014. The pervasiveness of theft is also visible in Roman curse tablets. For example, of the approximately 130 curse tablets excavated at Bath, England, 129 concern the restitution of stolen property from the baths, property which included jewellery, money, and clothing. Baldwin (Baldwin 1963) points out that housebreaking was one of the most common forms of theft that is found in the papyri of Greco-Roman Egypt. For further discussion, see Ankarloo, Clark 1999 and Gager 1999.
[27] Guaitoli 1997.
[28] Dixon 1985.
[29] For elite Roman wealth during the late Republic/early Empire, see Yakobson 1999, 59-65, Lomas 2013, 28-45, and Hollander 2016, 18-25.
[30] Juv. 3.143-4: *quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca,/ tantum habet et fidei*. Although Juvenal is being critical of the power of money here, he does emphasize its connection to the all-important *fides* (trustworthiness) that credit and reputation relied upon.

clearly in public, either on a chain or, in the case of ring keys, on one's fingers. In this context, the keys signaled that the individual owned property of significant enough value to warrant protection. The number of keys an individual displayed would correspond to the number of properties they owned, and personal wealth was expressed by the number of keys they carried, as well as their dress and jewellery.[31]

Often, the household keys were entrusted to the highest-ranking woman of the house, even though she did not necessarily legally own the property she protected, depending on time and location in the Roman Empire. The woman would still be recognized for her social status as the mistress of the house when she wore the keys in public.[32] It was the role of the woman to run the household in her husband's absence. As part of this role, she would not only have control of the house's goods, but also any servants and slaves.[33] As the *materfamilias*, a wife would also have free use of much of her husband's property.[34] While this possession of the household's keys did not necessarily imply legal ownership (especially in the Republic and early Empire), the keys were a symbol of the power and status the *materfamilias* held. The role of a key as a symbol of female power and authority is also supported by its usage as the chief iconographic indication of priestly status among Greek women.[35]

The responsibilities associated with the possession of keys are also seen in the Roman laws surrounding divorce. According to Plutarch, Romulus instituted a law that allowed a husband to divorce his wife based on only a few reasons: depending on the punctuation used, Plutarch writes either that "poisoning of children, substitution (by stealth) of keys, and adultery," or "poisoning, substitution (by stealth) of children or keys, and adultery" were justified grounds for divorce.[36] The substitution of keys (κλειδῶν ὑποβολῇ), in Plutarch's view, was one of the only divorceable acts in early Roman law. Plutarch is reflecting the importance of entrusting the household keys to one's wife, and the seriousness of the violation if she broke that trust. The 'law of divorce' introduced by Romulus demonstrates a concern for the safety of the household property, as well as for the sexual restraint of the woman, which in Roman thought seem to be connected issues.[37] In Apuleius' novel *Metamorphoses*, the copying of household keys is seen as evidence of the wife's promiscuous behavior, and is directly linked to infidelity.[38] Keys were also involved in the process of divorce itself. Cicero reminds us that under the statutes of the Twelve Tables, a husband could divorce his wife by taking away her keys and expelling her from his house.[39] The procedure was still apparently relevant during the late Republic, as Cicero accuses Mark Antony of doing this very thing to his own wife.

In the period of transition between the end of the Roman Republic and the beginning of the Empire, wives gained the ability to divorce their husbands, and both parties had the right to divorce based on mutual agreement or because one had committed adultery or theft.[40] It is unclear whether copying of keys was still considered a divorceable offense, but, if Cicero's harangues are to be believed, taking the household keys from the wife was still a part of the divorce process. By holding the household keys, the Roman wife protects the points of access, as well as the wealth of the home itself. The role of the *limen*, the household's physical threshold, in the Roman wedding ceremony further ties together the concept of the door as a point of transition and transfer of household guardianship to the Roman wife. The bride would enter her new home with great care, as stepping on or kicking the threshold was thought to bring bad luck.[41] Most importantly, the threshold was "...a symbol of the bride's entering into a new state, because she stood on the brink between maiden and matron."[42] Returning the keys and essentially losing control of that threshold as the result of divorce would therefore mean a loss of wealth and social status, as well as a demonstration of a wife's fundamental breach of trust.

The Roman Dowry and Female Personal Property

During the late Republic and early Empire, Roman women began to gain independence in financial matters. One method by which women could, for all intents and purposes, own property of their own was through the altered status of the dowry. Roman marriages were highly informal and were built around a contract for the bride's dowry with an understanding that she would

31 Allen 1997. Personal expenses were enough that several attempts at sumptuary legislation were made, like Tiberius' legislation that forbade men to wear silk, but often such laws were repealed (Cass. Dio. *HR.* 57.15.1.).
32 Zara 1969; Pace 2014.
33 Gardner 1986; Veyne 1997.
34 Gardner 1986: 71 argues that this use of property is implied by the wife's possession of the household keys, which she had to return if divorced: *XII T.*4.3; Cic. *Phil.* 2.69.
35 Connelly 2009: 14. According to Connelly, the temple key as an indicator of female priesthood does not occur in Eastern Greece, which may represent a regional difference in priestly duties. Cf. Ciurletti 1997; Pace 2014.
36 Plut. *Rom.* 22.3: ἐπὶ φαρμακείᾳ τέκνων ἢ κλειδῶν ὑποβολῇ καὶ μοιχευθεῖσαν.
37 Gardner 1986: Prosecution of theft between husband and wife was a fairly complex procedure: they could not bring a suit for theft against each other, but had to sue for the removal of goods (*rerum amotarum*). This action could only be brought after divorce. Otherwise, the quasi-contractual procedure of *condictio* was used, in which the owner expressed the right to be given back their property.
38 Apul. *Met.* 9.20.
39 Cic. *Phil.* 2.28.69; *T. XII* 4.3.
40 Gardner 1986; Elias 1987; Veyne 1997.
41 Hersch 2010, 181-182. For more on the bad luck associated with violating the threshold, see Serv. *Ecl.* 8.29, Ov. *Am.* 1.12.2-6, and Petr. *Satyr.* 30.
42 Hersch 2010, 182.

be married in an arrangement designated either *cum manu* (meaning she was placed under the legal control of her husband's male head of house) or *sine manu* (in which she remained under the legal control of her own male head of house).[43] The dowry itself was flexible and agreed upon by both families; it could be composed of land, movables (such as jewellery) or money, and might be paid in installments or on a single occasion.[44] For the duration of a *cum manu* marriage, the dowry would legally belong to the husband or the husband's *paterfamilias (*male head of house).[45] Once the marriage ended, either by death or divorce, the dowry reverted to the control of the wife's family. In this sense, by locking up her movables, a Roman wife was protecting both her own wealth and that of her blood family. In a marriage designated *sine manu*, a woman would be married without her husband gaining legal guardianship of her or the dowry.[46] Even though the property of a woman *sine manu* technically belonged to her male relatives, it seems that in practice she was able to control it as if it were her own. Cicero complains that the spirit of the law is often ignored in his time (1st c. BCE), even though the letter of the law is technically observed; as an example he cites the belief that Roman women should be under the care of trustees, but bemoans that Roman women in his time often got around this by marrying old men that would not regulate them. [47] The ability of women to own personal property was considered by some Roman men as an ever-present threat in marriage. Cato the Elder railed against wifely financial independence, arguing that "in the beginning the woman brought to you a great dowry; then she holds back a large sum of the money, which she does not entrust to the control of her husband, but lends to her husband."[48] This was apparently a threat to the masculinity and *virtus* of the man, and was part of Cato's argument in favor of the *Lex Voconia*, a law which would have barred wealthy individuals from designating female heirs.

Jewellery appears to have been a primary form of female wealth, which Tacitus calls a "particular luxury of women... which diverts our wealth to strange or hostile nations."[49] Pliny the Elder's (admittedly exceptional) anecdote of seeing Emperor Caligula's third wife, Lollia Paulina, wearing 40 million sesterces-worth in emeralds and pearls, reinforces this. Lollia Paulina could apparently provide receipts showing ownership: these pieces of jewellery were not "gifts from an extravagant emperor, but family heirlooms, acquired with the spoils of the provinces."[50] The idea that jewellery could represent not just personal wealth but the wealth of a woman's blood family is supported by the archaeological evidence from several Roman-Egyptian papyri marriage contracts, which list jewellery as part of the dowry.[51] If a Roman woman's wealth was indeed so closely associated with the possession of jewellery, this necessarily changes the implication of the key. Not only could a woman have her own wealth in the form of jewellery, the jewellery could represent a loss of wealth for her birth family, as it was a financial asset that went with her at the time of marriage.

Thus the possession of keys took on an additional layer of meaning beyond the implied role of trusted guardian of a husband's wealth.[52] Around the period of transition from Republic to Empire, a woman's possession of keys could signify not only her husband's riches, but her own as well. In particular, a woman's personal dowry would be stored in cabinets or small chests to guard it from the permeable nature of the elite Roman household. These chests and cabinets would be protected by the exact kind of lock that the Gabii ring key was designed to open. The key was no longer just a symbol of guardianship lent to the wife for the length of her marriage, but also the tool used to protect her own movables from theft and possibly from use by her husband.[53]

[43] Veyne 1997. Sometimes even this contract did not exist, and the marriage was based solely on verbal agreement between the families.
[44] Ulp. 6.1-2: *Dos aut datur, aut dicitur, aut promittitur.* [2] *Dotem dicere potest mulier quam nuptura est, et debitor mulieris si iussu eius dicat item parens mulieris virilis sexus per virilem sexum cognatione iunctus, velut pater avus paternus. Dare, promittere dotem omnes possunt.* On verbal promises (*doctis dicto*), see Gai. *Inst.* 3.96. *Dotem dare* referred to a dowry that was instantly transferred to the husband, while *dotem promittere* meant a stipulatory promise that let the dowry be paid over a period of time.
[45] E.g. Gai. *Inst.* 2.63, 2.162. Ulp. *Sabinus* (*D.*23.3.7pr) also argues that all the profits that the dowry accrued during the marriage belonged to the husband.
[46] Elias 1987. For discussion of the decline of *cum manu* marriages in Rome, see Looper-Friedman 1987.
[47] Cic. *Mur.* 27: *mulieres omnis propter infirmitatem consili maiores in tutorum potestate esse voluerunt; hi invenerunt genera tutorum quae potestate mulierum continerentur. sacra interire illi noluerunt; horum ingenio senes ad coemptiones faciendas interimendorum sacrorum causa reperti sunt.*
[48] Preserved in Gel. *NA* 17.6.1: *Principio vobis mulier magnam dotem adtulit; tum magnam pecuniam recipit, quam in viri potestatem non conmittit, eam pecuniam viro mutuam dat...* Juvenal agrees with Cato the Elder's negative opinion of female wealth: he argues that money gives a woman the right to do whatever she wants, and the man that is poorer than his wife is less than a man. Juv. 6.136-41. Cf. Edwards 1993.
[49] Tac. *Ann.* 3.53: *illa feminarum propria, quis lapidum causa pecuniae nostrae ad externas aut hostilis gentis transferuntur*. Cf. Elias 1987: 305. We also have evidence of sumptuary laws such as the *Lex Oppia* (Liv. 34.1-7) which specifically target how much gold women could possess, likely in the form of jewellery.
[50] Plin. *Nat.* 9.58.117-18: *nec dona prodigy principis fuerant, set avitae opes, provinciarum scilicet spoliis partae*.
[51] Examples of this jewellery include: a pair of gold earrings (*BGU* 1052), a pair of gold earrings, two gold rings, a pair of silver armlets, and two bracelets (*P. Ryl.* 154), and a gold necklace, a brooch, a pair of pearl earrings, and a small ring (*P. Oxy.* 1273). We have examples of such types of jewellery from Pompeii and Herculaneum, as well as from British and Egyptian sites; for detailed discussion and examples of Roman jewellery types and wearers, see Higgins 1980, 173-186; Marshall 1907; Whitmore 2013.
[52] Dixon 1985.
[53] While it is true that men also wore jewellery (and therefore would likely secure it in the same manner as women), keys (and ring keys) in Rome must be considered a symbol not only of protection and security of men, but also as a possible symbol of the growing economic freedom of women.

Conclusions: The Ring Key Revisited

The ring key, along with the rest of the key assemblage at Gabii, cannot be fully understood or interpreted without a fundamental understanding of the role keys played not only in the protection of physical space and moveable objects, but also their use as status symbols. Wealthy women in Imperial Roman society were often responsible for the carrying and protection of the household keys, both to signify their wealth to others, but also to cement their status as proper, dedicated Roman wives. During the Republic and much of the Empire, a Roman woman was publicly displaying the trust her husband had in her to guard his property, as well as showing off his household's wealth to those who saw her. The loss of keys would then indicate a loss of the social status that was meant to be a cornerstone of a Roman woman's identity, as well as a potential loss of financial stability. By the time our ring key is deposited sometime in the early 4th- mid-5th c. CE, Roman law had changed such that wealthy women often were in physical control of their own dowries, which likely took the form of movables such as jewellery. If the identification of the ring key at Gabii is correct and this ring belongs to an adult Roman woman, we have evidence not only for the presence of wealthy women at Gabii, but also the shift in the possession of that wealth. Whereas during the Republic the wealth being advertised and protected belonged to the husband, by the time the ring key was used at Gabii, it is entirely possible that such an object is functioning to protect wealth that personally belonged to the female wearer. This opens up new possibilities for interpreting the ring key as a personal object with significance for its wearer: it was an item of personal adornment that represented a Roman woman's social responsibilities, status and identity as a married woman, but could also represent her own personal possessions and wealth. Keys were meant to be a symbol of these things not just to the wearer, but to the viewer as well. As a status symbol, the ring key speaks volumes on behalf of a population that is usually silent in the literary and archaeological record.

The ring key at Gabii is exactly the type of key that would be used to protect the moveable objects that made up a dowry, and also maintains the messaging of personal wealth that other forms of key provided. While the ring key's original location and date cannot be determined with certainty, its presence alone further strengthens the image of Gabii as a city with a complex range of individuals from a variety of social classes, even in the later Empire.[54] In particular, the discovery of this ring key offers us a rare hint at the personal wealth possibly possessed by Gabine women. Even though keys in general are not usually considered a 'gendered' object, by placing them within their broader cultural and material context, I hope to have demonstrated the possible role they can play in identifying hard-to-locate segments of the Gabii population. The possible discovery of more keys in the future can only serve to better expand upon the understanding of wealth, security and personal property at Gabii during the Imperial period.

[54] On the continued activities at Gabii in the later Empire, see Samuels *et al.* 2022.

Hamilton's Forum: A New Center for a Shifting City

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Abstract: Il contributo analizza il cosidetto Foro di Hamilton, scoperto dall'antiquario scozzese stesso, con ulteriori ricerche archeologiche interessate dalla Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologia di Roma (SAR) negli anni '90 e 2000. In particolare, attraverso l'uso di tutti i documenti disponibili quali le lettere di Hamilton, le descrizioni di Visconti e i rapporti della SAR, insieme ai dati raccolti dalla tecnologia moderna, come l'analisi geospaziale e l'indagine geofisica, si cercherà di ricostruire la topografia dell'area ed inoltre ci si interroga sulle numerose sculture trovate all'interno o negli immediati pressi dello spazio analizzato.

Introduction

The Roman city of Gabii is not known for its Imperial period. In legend, Romulus and Remus learned warfare and Greek letters there; in the Regal period, it was seized by the perfidious son of Tarquinius Superbus, only to be later granted *isomorphia* with Rome; and most notably, in the Republican period, the city grew to its farthest extent in population, wealth, and status before it was overshadowed by Rome's rise. For many, this is where the story of Gabii ends. For this study, however, it is where it begins.

Both the literary and archaeological evidence have led scholars in the past to erroneously assume Gabii's complete decline in the late Republic or early Imperial period. The city is referenced in the *Liber Coloniarium,* which describes Gabii as a Sullan colony that had been fortified under his dictatorship.[1] This is the only known reference of such a status for Gabii, and since the *Liber Coloniarium* was assembled in the 4th century CE based on Imperial and Augustan documents, it may not be accurate. As for the other late Republican and Imperial references, they are predominantly disparaging; for example, Dionysius begins his discussion of Gabii's history with Rome in the following way:

> The name of this city was Gabii. Today not all parts of it are still inhabited, but only those that lie next the highway and are given up to inns; but at that time it was as large and populous as any city. One may judge both its extent and importance by observing the ruins of the buildings in many places and the circuit of the wall, most parts of which are still standing. (6.56.2)

Cicero gives an equally bleak picture of Gabii: in his *Pro Plancia*, he describes Gabii as one of those local municipal towns where one "can hardly find a citizen to take part in the Latin holidays."[2] Juvenal refers to Gabii as *simplicibus Gabiis* in the early second century.[3] Horace adds to this picture by naming Gabii as an example of a town that is as desolate as Fidenae (but not as desolate as Lebedus, the town in which he wishes to live).[4] Perhaps Gabii's only positive attribution during this period was that it was a popular destination for its baths, as we see in Horace's Epistle 1.15.[5]

In addition to this literary attestation, recent archaeological investigations through magnetometry and core sampling support the assertion that the city contracted towards the major thoroughfare, the Via Gabina.[6] Such evidence has led scholars to reasonably conclude that Gabii was in a permanent state of decline after the Republican period. Yet the 18th century discovery of 40+ full-scale imperial sculptures, several inscriptions, and an open "publick space" at Gabii by the Scottish antiquarian Gavin Hamilton complicates this straightforward narrative. The discovered sculptures range in subject from Marcus Agrippa in the late 1st century BCE to Gordian III in the middle of the 3rd century CE; additionally, the inscriptions indicate the presence of several temples, an active municipal government, and thriving emperor worship, especially in the 2nd century.

The Gabine sculptures and inscriptions are worthy of their own study, but are not the focus here.[7] Instead,

1 The text reads, *Gabis oppidum lege Sullana munitum, ager eius militi ex ocupatione censitus est iter populo non debetur*. Mommsen 1852, 143.

2 9.23.

3 1.3.

4 *Epist.*1.11.

5 Supporting evidence of this is the discovery of an imperial bath complex which is located in the center of the city and was excavated by the Soprintendenza of Rome in the 2000s. (D'Agostini, Musco 2016).

6 This road is often called the Via Prenestina (Antica) as well. The confusion between these two roads is discussed further below (Becker, Mogetta, Terrenato 2009).

7 See Ortiz, *The Sculptures and Urban Landscape of Imperial Gabii: A City in Transition*, diss. 2023.

I concentrate on the pillared space discovered by Hamilton, which was re-excavated by the Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologia di Roma (SAR) in the 1990s and 2000s. During this investigation, the Soprintendenza team uncovered a long stretch of a basalt-paved roadway lined with private houses and shops, most likely a continuation of the Via Gabina, the major thoroughfare of Gabii.[8] Also re-discovered on this road was the pillared structure known as "Hamilton's Forum," so named by Hamilton's colleague and the curator of the Gabine statues, Ennio Q. Visconti, in his publication on the collection, *Monumenti Gabini della Villa Pinciana*.[9] The results from this period of the SAR excavation are still in the process of being published; until then, the confirmation of this space as Hamilton's Forum is still tentative.[10]

The following analysis aims to review all available evidence, which is particularly limited, in order to describe the character of this space and to hazard a plausible supposition on the nature of its function in the Imperial period, specifically that it did serve as a forum for the later phase of the city. To do this, I collate all available information, namely, the letters of Hamilton, the descriptions from Visconti, and the reports of the SAR, with data garnered from modern-day technology, such as geospatial analysis and geophysical survey. Since this creates an incomplete picture, it is necessary to fill any lacunae through comparison with contemporaneous public spaces, such as the Porticus at Herculaneum and the Eumachia Building in Pompeii. Finally, after reimaging this space, I look to repopulate it with the sculptures that were reportedly discovered within or nearby, to answer the ancillary query whether it was possible to have so many sculptures in one place simultaneously.

Before moving forward, however, we must clarify the use of the term "forum" in this study. The meaning of the term seems simultaneously straightforward and ambiguous. It is agreed that a forum must be an open-air space, encircled in some manner, and meant for some portion if not all of the public.[11] The challenge comes when one attempts to determine which elements must be present (or absent) for a space to be considered a forum. For example, does a forum have to have vendors of some type? If it does not have any municipal buildings, can it still be a forum? Currently, it is impossible to determine all the activities that took place within the public space of Gabii, but the present study demonstrates that, at a minimum, this structure was open air, meant for visitors, and enclosed. In this view, therefore, the Gabii structure satisfies the most basic qualifications of a space to be labeled a forum. Moreover, the preponderance of statues and the possibility that a curia, the Curia Aeliae, was once situated in the structure gives further credence to this hypothesis.[12] Perhaps with further on-site investigation, more evidence will come to light to further clarify the use of this space. Until then, however, there is no good reason not to call the structure discovered by Hamilton a forum.

The Discovery and Re-discovery

Hamilton's excavations at Gabii in 1792 are arguably his most productive. Spurred on by his good fortune, Hamilton spread the news to potential clients through letters such as this one:

> I cannot help putting pen to paper and to give you some account of my proceedings at the Cava of Gabio, the exact spot of which is now decided by the interesting inscriptions I found in that place, to the great joy of all antiquarians. Here my good fortune begun with the discovery of the two fine busts of Septimius Severus and Geta. I next got into publick (*sic*) place ornamented with a portico, pedestals and statues of the Decurioni and other magistrates of the Gabini, with the inscriptions on the pedestals. What offered next was a very large architrave and frize (*sic*) with a very long and curious inscription on it, signifying that the palace was built by Polycarpus for the memory of Domitia daughter of Domitius Corbulonus. There is likewise the donation of this palace with all the statues and other valuable things to the city of Gabio but on certain conditions, I have found fragments of at least two hundred statues, but so mutilated that I have only been able to save 22 statues that are good and worthy restoring besides other curious things of different kinds and small statues heads &c (*sic*).[13]
>
> Letter to Charles Townley, 18 June 1792[14]

Operating under the aegis of the influential Borghese family in Rome, the vast majority of the sculptures

[8] Becker, Mogetta, Terrenato 2009; Becker, Mogetta 2011; Kay 2012. Tracts of this road have been routinely unearthed by the Gabii Project since 2009. The projection of the road has also been securely hypothesized through extensive magnetometry surveying.

[9] Visconti, Labus, 1835, 179. Henceforth *Monumenti.* This is the second edition of Visconti's catalogue, the first of which he was the sole author. Labus, in the second edition, served more as an editor and added several footnotes; for all intents and purposes, however, it is Visconti's work solely.

[10] D'Agostini, Musco 2016; Angelelli, Boscarini, Lugari 2012. These are the sole publications that mention the forum and focus mostly on the marble facings and mosaics within the space.

[11] Vitr. De Arch. 5.1-2.

[12] This municipal building is attested by the Domitia Longina inscription discovered by Hamilton, *CIL* 14.2795, who records finding the inscription in the public space.

[13] Either Hamilton was underestimating the salvageability of the sculptures or this letter predated further discoveries (he continues to dig at Gabii on and off for three years), since 47 sculptures (and 7 inscriptions) are attributed to Gabii.

[14] Cassidy 2011, letter n. 286.

were transported to the Borghese estate where they were heavily restored. These restorations prepared the statues for display at the *Museo Gabino*, a newly renovated exhibition space on the property. E.Q. Visconti, an influential antiquarian, was tasked with its curation and was intimately involved in the uncovering, retrieving, and documenting of both the sculptures and structures explored at Gabii. In his subsequent publication, Visconti illustrated a reconstruction and plan of the space (fig. 1), which proves invaluable for understanding its character and location within the city.

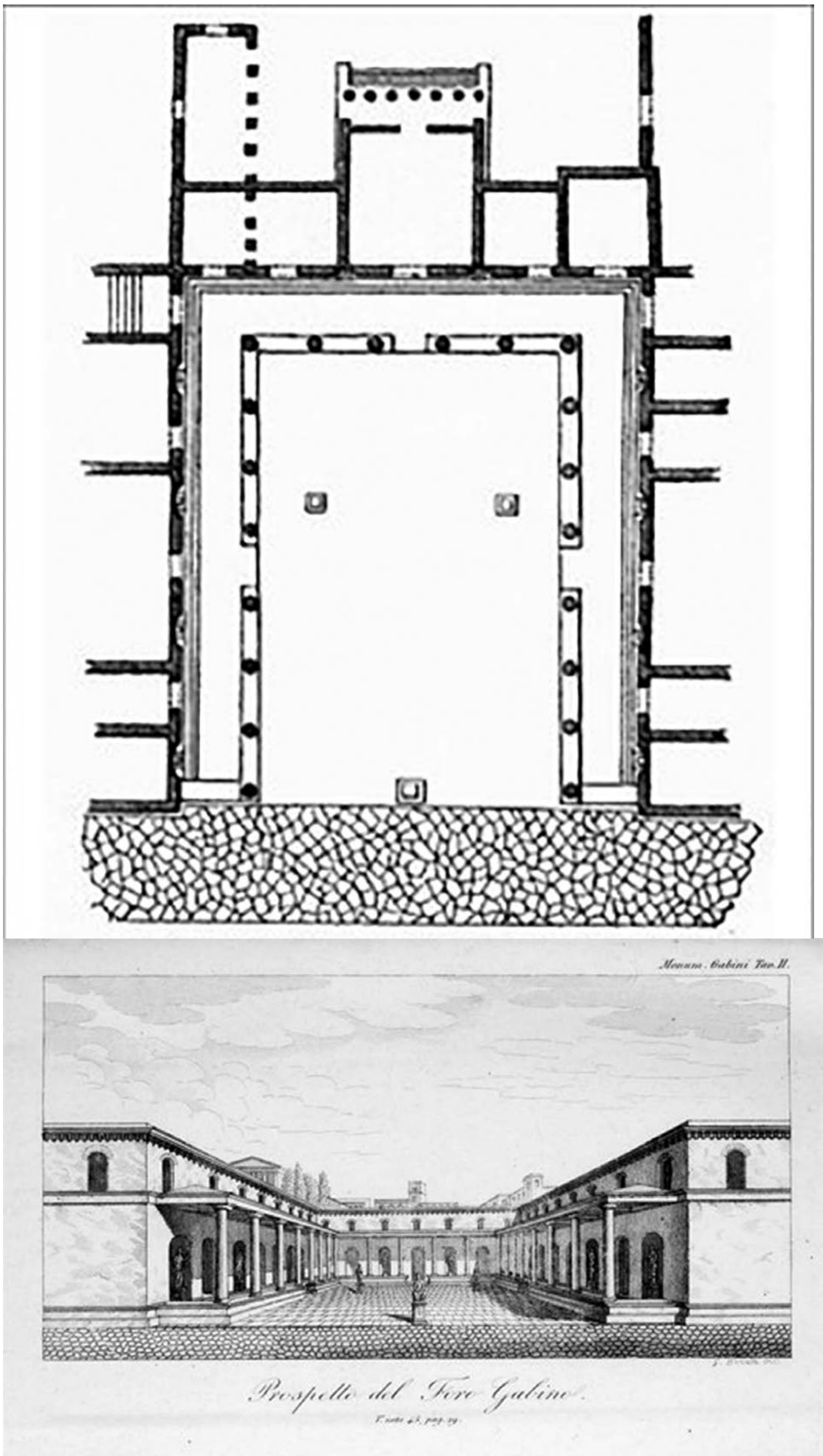

Fig. 1. Plan (top) and reconstruction (bottom) of Hamilton's forum (Illustrated by E.Q. Visconti in 1797, republished in 1835).

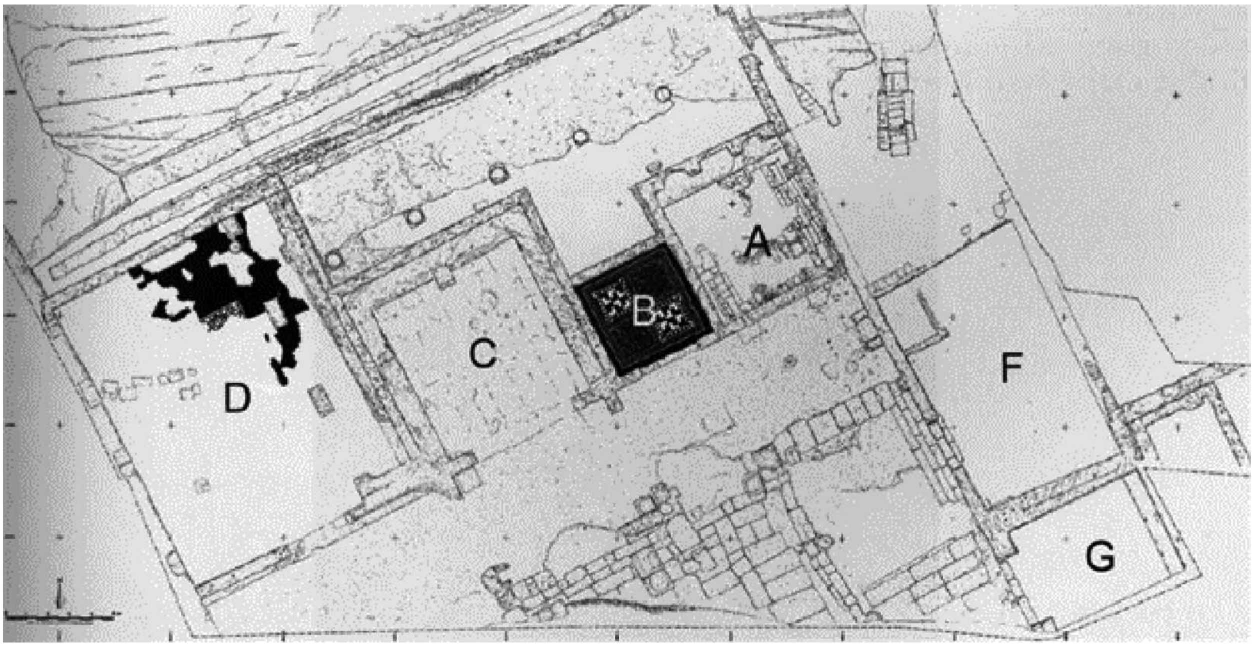

Fig. 2. Plan of the southeastern corner of the forum of Gabii (From Angelelli et al. 2012). Phasing of the rooms according the SAR analysis: A: 2nd century; B and D: 1st-1st-century CE; C: 1st century; F and G: late Antique.

According to Hamilton, the "publick place" he discovered was decorated with a portico and several pedestals, statues of individuals he interpreted to be magistrates, and accompanying inscriptions.[15] He also describes a "very long" architrave and a "fri[e]ze" with an inscription that was dedicated to Domitia Longina by her freedmen.[16] In another letter, he describes finding a statue of a girl in a niche in a circular room, presumably a room located on the perimeter of the open courtyard. Aside from this, the only other room Hamilton describes is one which is decorated with "grotesque" painting and several statues "fix'd" to the wall. Although he mentions a small bust of Augustus in a niche, it is unclear whether the attached statues were in their own niches. Nevertheless, Hamilton's description tells us that there were several different rooms with their own set of décor, either with paintings or statuary. This suggests that each room had a function different from one another and/or the courtyard outside.

In his catalogue *Monumenti*, Visconti provides a description of the space discovered by Hamilton. According to him, the forum was quadrilateral, surrounded on three sides with porticoes of Doric columns, and was bordered on the southern side by the "Via Prenestina Antica" (aka the Via Gabina). The intercolumniation was considerable, which Visconti recognized as Vitruvius' standard measurement of araeostyle (i.e. four or more "column diameters" separated). The columns are set on a parapet, or a *pluteus*, rather than directly on the ground, and on top of the porticoes ran "un terrazzo o loggia scoperta."[17] Visconti also notes the numerous rooms, or *cubiculi*, that faced the interior of the courtyard, which he surmises were once administration buildings, such as a curia, and temples.

Visconti's plan and reconstruction of the forum is helpful, but there are several discrepancies in the illustrations from what Hamilton described or what was later uncovered by the SAR. For example, Hamilton mentions a circular room with at least one niche, yet according to Visconti's plan, all the rooms are rectilinear. Moreover, Visconti's plan delineates a temple space on the northern end that was entered on the opposite side. Yet, according to the plan developed by Claudia Angelelli and colleagues, the northernmost structure of the forum was not a temple in the Etruscan style, as Visconti portrays it, but rather a closed off space that relates to an earlier construction phase (fig. 2).[18]

The Soprintendenza Speciale di Roma began their investigations at Gabii in the 1990s. The pillared structure was not discovered until 2006, during a larger investigation of the "Area Urbana," the section

15 The inscriptions discovered by Hamilton are: CIL 14.2793, CIL 14.2795, CIL 14.2804, CIL 14.2806, CIL 14.2807, CIL 14.2809, CIL 14.2812.
16 CIL 14.2795. I discuss further this inscription and Domitia Longina's involvement in the city of Gabii in Ortiz forthcoming.

17 *Monumenti* 18.
18 Although more investigation is required to understand this area definitively, preliminary study suggests that these columns are the remnants of an earlier basilica that was later transformed into the forum.

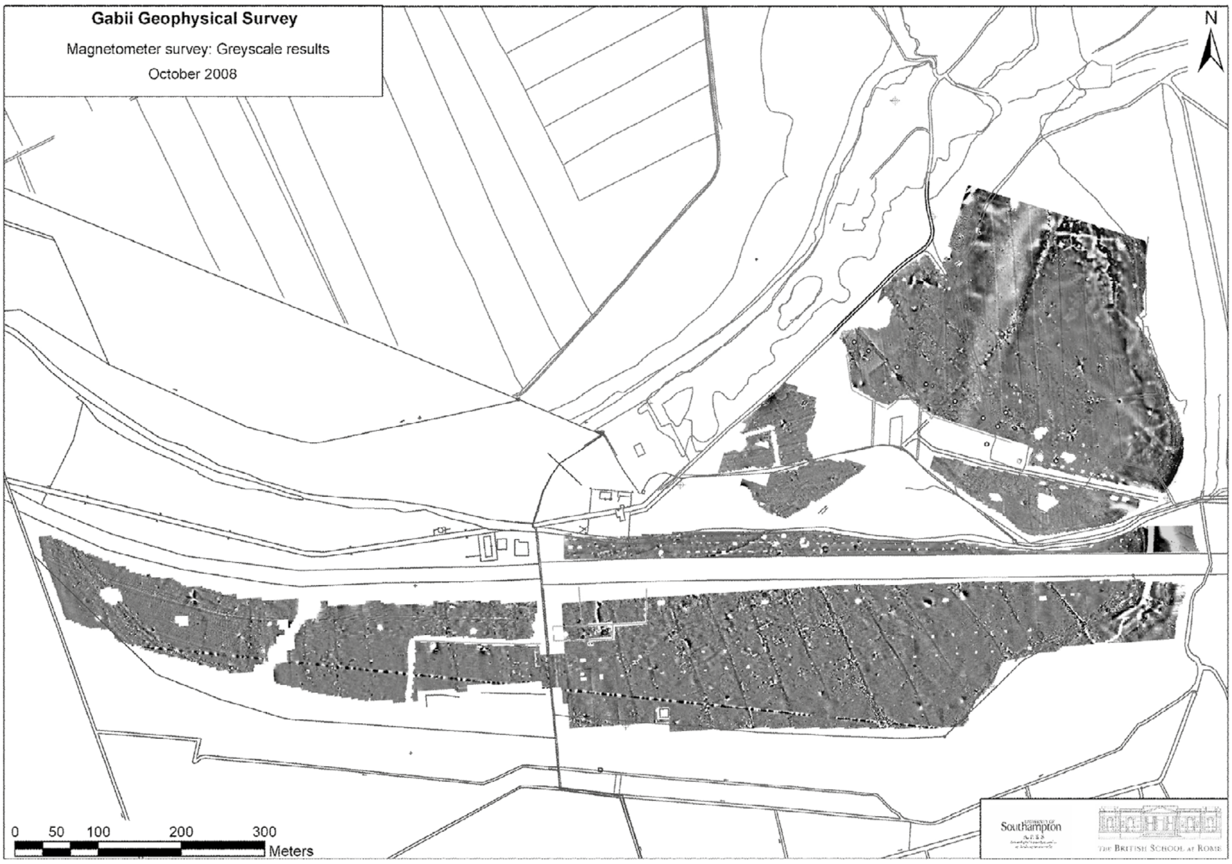

Fig. 3. Results of the magnetometry survey around Lake Castiglione (Becker, Mogetta, and Terrenato 2009).

of the city composed of buildings along the Via Gabina eastward.[19] In their chapter on the marble facing of the forum, Angelelli and colleagues describe how the SAR uncovered six rooms of varying sizes on the northeastern end that range in construction from the 1st century BC to the 2nd century CE, with some modifications occurring during the late Antique period.[20] Room B, dating to the 1st century CE, included an intricate mosaic floor and frescos decorating the walls. Room D, which dates later than B, also has a mosaic floor, but is much more incomplete. The authors identify room A in the corner as the same temple space Visconti determined was dedicated to the Augusta Domitia Longina. Several of the rooms, A, C, and G, apparently retained vestiges of marble flooring and revetment. Most of the rooms are constructed *opus recticulatum* or *opus incertum*, except the later Room D, which has *opus vittatum.*[21]

Revisualizing the forum of Gabii

In 2007 and 2008, magnetometry survey data confirmed the presence of a major trunk road that curved axially around the volcanic crater of Lake Castiglione with projecting perpendicular access roads that formed individual city blocks (fig. 3).[22] Through further excavation, it became clear that this road, the Via Gabina, was in fact the main thoroughfare of the city and that both the Temple of Juno and Hamilton's pillared structure were orientated towards this road.[23] In his reports, Hamilton describes finding the public space situated directly on the main road; although he reasonably identified this road as the Via Prenestina Antica, spatial analysis indicates that it must be what is now termed the Via Gabina.[24] When the SAR excavated the structure, the team was unable to uncover its whole southern extent due to property right conflicts and

19 Majerini, Musco 2001.

20 Angelelli, Boscarini, Lugari 2012, 187-188.

21 Angelelli, Boscarini, Lugari 2012, 189.

22 Becker, Mogetta, Terrenato 2009.

23 The Temple of Juno was in continuous use at Gabii from the mid-Republican period throughout the Imperial period. It undoubtedly brought visitors to the city and contributed to the fame of the city. For more on the temple and its excavation, see Almagro Gorbea, Jiménez 1982.

24 There is a possibility that the Via Gabina and the Via Prenestina are one and the same road, since we know that both existed in this area at the same time yet we have not uncovered any direct evidence of a Via Prenestina Antica. For our purposes here, however, the name of the road is inconsequential, but rather it is important to recognize that the forum was situated on the main thoroughfare of Gabii, which is referenced as the Via Gabina henceforth in accordance with the Gabii Project's analysis. For more on the road system of Gabii, see Johnston, Mogetta 2020.

Fig. 4. Proposed projection of the Via Gabina (blue) and the proposed perimeter of the forum of imperial Gabii (red).

its proximity to the modern Via Prenestina. Thus, to determine its approximate dimensions, it is necessary to turn to alternate methods.

First, we must determine where the Via Gabina reaches the pillared structure, since Visconti reports the road bordered its southeast end. By using the magnetometry survey data, it is possible to conceptually extend the road westward, following the 3° curve of Lake Castiglione's shore, which the road seems to mirror (fig. 4). Then, by using the measurement tool in Google Earth Pro, we can determine that the structure measures approximately 50 m. 39 m. with an area of 1,950 m^2 and the interior courtyard measures 23 m. x 39 m. with an area of 897 m2.[25] With this visualization, we can see that the space had a sizable footprint, comparable even to the perimeter area of the Temple of Juno. This structure, therefore, must have played a central role in this section of the city in the Imperial period. To understand how this space was used more fully, however, we must look to comparable structures in Italy, such as the Eumachia building in Pompeii and the Porticus in Herculaneum. These two buildings serve as examples of Imperial structures that are roughly contemporaneous, proximate geographically, and similar in size and shape. Moreover, the presence of numerous sculptures (especially within the Porticus more so the Eumachia building) suggests a function (or functions) similar to the forum of Gabii.

Public Spaces: Pompeii and Herculaneum

The Building of Eumachia honored the eponymous priestess of Venus Pompeiana, who inherited her husband's successful business in the wool production industry (fig. 5). The building is located along the eastern side of the forum of Pompeii, a very prestigious and expensive location, with a conspicuous façade composed of two apses and four rectangular niches. Fragmented inscriptions tell us that the legendary and historical ancestors of the Julio-Claudian family once stood in these spaces: Aeneas, Romulus, Julius Caesar, and Augustus.

The interior of the structure is dominated by a large courtyard surrounded by a two-story colonnade along each wall, except its western side, which leads out to

[25] Since the southeastern portion of the space is inaccessible, using the program Google Earth Pro (GEP) is currently the best method to determine the approximate size of this complex. According to a 2011 study, the error rate of GEP for line measurements is 0.44%, and 1.39% for perimeter measurements. Such accuracy, therefore, is sufficient for determining the approximate size of the structure at the center of this study. For more on this study, see Lopes, Noguera, 2011.

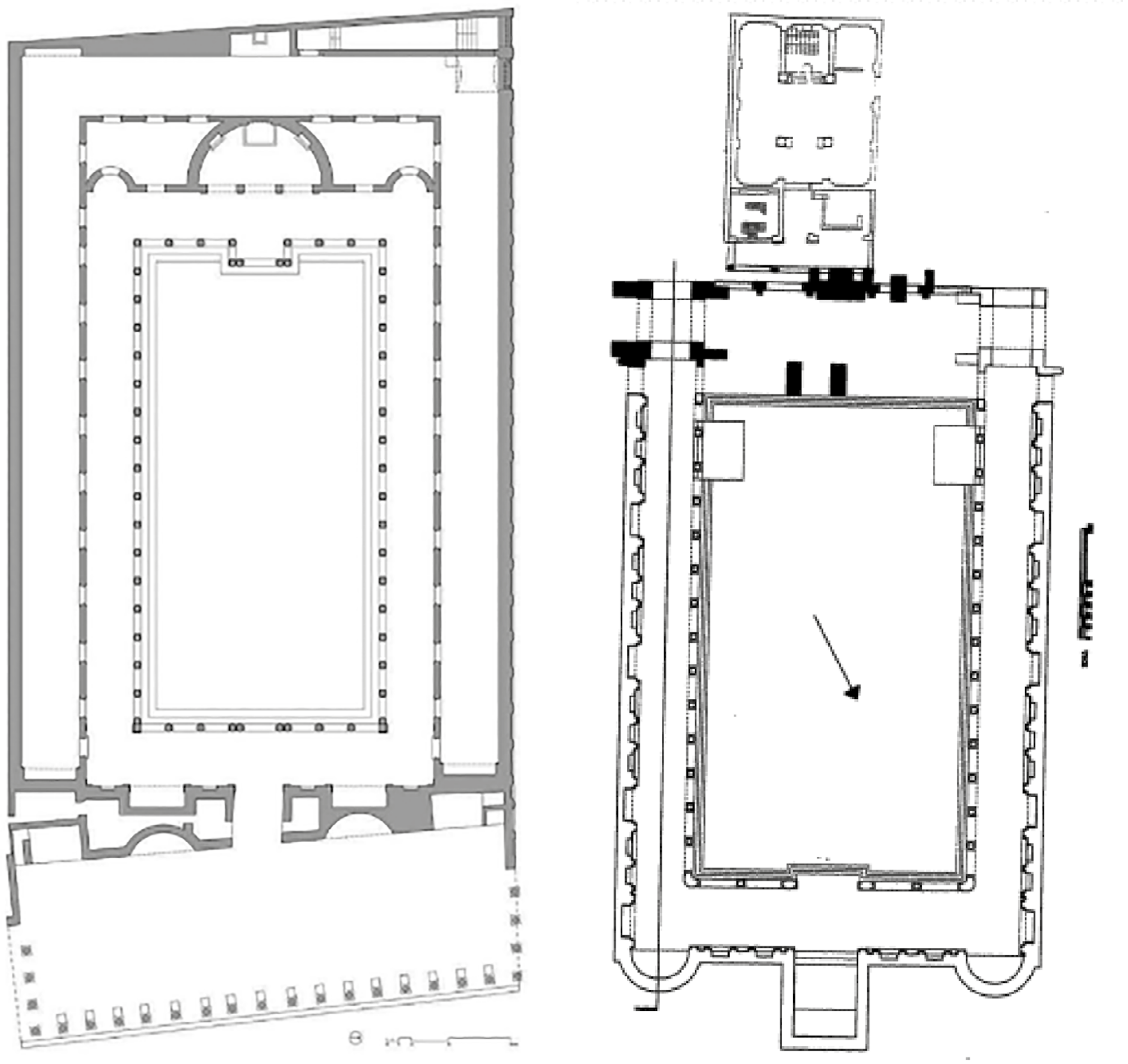

Fig. 5. (left) Plan of the Eumachia Building in Pompeii. Created by V. Dario, 2016.
(right) Hypothetical plan of the Porticus of Herculaneum (Created by Najbjerg 1997).

the forum. A central apse on the eastern side which is flanked on both sides by two smaller apses, in which stood a large statue of the Concordia Augusta. Behind this apse, within the *crypta*, stood a statue of Eumachia with a veiled head, indicating her priestess status. According to the inscription associated with it, the statue of Eumachia was dedicated by the Fullers of Pompeii, that is, those who dyed, washed, and dried garments for the city.[26] Although the use of this building is hotly contested, most scholars acknowledge an implicit (if not explicit) association with the imperial cult.

Despite its large, open size, the building of Eumachia has a surprisingly low number of statues. The most notable sculptures are those of Augustus and Caesar, with their legendary ancestors, Aeneas and Romulus that were erected in the front façade. The presence of these statues suggests that it served in some manner as a site for imperial cult, but it is doubtful that it was its main role. It is plausible that the imperial cult had a presence in this space, but, as Alison Cooley argues, it seems more likely that Eumachia and her supporters erected such portraits as a means of lending imperial

[26] For a good review of interpretations of the Building of Eumachia, see Hemelrijk 2015, 169, fn. 15; Proposals range from it serving as a basilica, a guildhall, to an imperial cult shrine. Cf. Torelli 1998, Jongmen 1988, 179-184, Castrén 1975, 101-102.

legitimacy to Eumachia and her family's high societal position.[27]

From the available evidence, the Eumachia building was probably designed for multiple uses, rather than just one. Its open construction and location near the central forum invited citizens to come in and participate in the activities held within the space. If it were not meant for welcoming citizens, it would presumably have had a more closed entranceway, similar to that of the Agora of the Italians in Delos.[28] As a business woman, this building most likely served as a space to continue such work, either through active commerce or as an area for coordination and administration with the fuller and wool workers in the city. Due to how the front of the building is constructed, it is conceivable that the entrances were closed off from the general public at times, but otherwise the space itself was relatively accessible.

The forum of Gabii has several similarities to the Eumachia building, both in terms of its form and its social significance. The Via Gabina, the road that the forum was most likely facing,[29] was the major thoroughfare for the citizens of Gabii as well as those traveling east to cities such as Tivoli. Moreover, its proximity to the Temple of Juno and the new center of the compressed city, placed the forum essentially at the heart of imperial Gabii. Such a building structure would not be solely private no matter how it was used – just like the building of Eumachia associated with the forum of Pompeii. Both buildings must have had a welcoming appearance for those who were walking by the structures. In this way, also, since the buildings were so central and impressive, they brought even more renown and prestige to those who funded either the structure and/or the sculptures therein.

For the Gabii forum, the number of statues is considerably more than in the Eumachia building; so much more that the quantity suggests that a central ambition of the space was to enhance the visibility of the sculptures to fellow citizens and visitors to the city.[30] Perhaps the lack of statues of the Eumachia building comes from its "newness" -- the structure dates to the Tiberian period and was most likely in the process of renovation after the earthquake of 62 CE. This suggests that Eumachia herself was alive during a large portion of the lifespan of the building and perhaps she wanted to keep the focus of the building on herself, the ancestors of the emperors, and Concordia. Most likely, however, such a space would have developed into an opportunity for others to come in and erect statues for other purposes if the city had not met its disastrous end.

Another structure that provides comparanda for the forum of Gabii is the Porticus at Herculaneum (fig. 5).[31] The large, open air Porticus was located across the street from the Collegio degli Augustali on the southeast corner of cardo III and the decumanus maximus adjacent to the forum of Herculaneum.[32] The Porticus shares a striking resemblance to the Eumachia building. Bounded on three sides by a portico, it terminates on the northern end with a central rectangular room (a *sacellum*?) flanked by two apses. Along its eastern and western walls run a series of niches, alternating in size between floor length openings for full-scale statues and smaller ones for paintings, busts, or smaller statues.

The structure was first explored in the 1700s via tunnels, and although there have been periodic explorations of it since, it is still mostly unexcavated. During the first series of explorations, several bronze and marble sculptures were discovered alongside multiple inscription panels detailing the existence of even more statues. The largest group, at least seven imperial statues, were dedicated by the wealthy citizen L. Maximus Mammius. Mammius is one of the most well-attested citizens within Herculaneum who funded the construction of a macellum (meat market) and at least one other public building. A well-attested man throughout the city of Herculaneum, Maximus was most likely a freedman of considerable wealthy.[33] Specifically for the Porticus, he commissioned the erection of at least seven statues, as evidence by their remaining bases. All of the bases indicate that they once supported the statues of members of the Julio-Claudian family. These include, Augustus, deified Livia, Tiberius, Germanicus, Antonia Minor, Agrippina Minor, and Nero, all of which most likely were commissioned consecutively in the same period. Although the lion's

27 Cooley 2013, 31.

28 In addition to a central propylon entrance, the Agora of the Italians had two narrow side entrances that could have easily been restricted. This has led some researchers to conclude that the space was primarily meant for a specific group of people, the "Italians" of Delos or some sort of guild, and therefore public access was only periodically allowed. For more on this and the different theories concerning the use of the Agora of the Italians, see Coarelli 2005; Trümper 2006; Trümper 2008; Trümper 2011; Rauh 1993.

29 Previously identified as the Via Prenestina by Hamilton/Visconti, but as discussed above, the exact location of the Via Antica Prenestina is unknown or it is the road now understood as the Via Gabina.

30 There are so many sculptures it seems probable that not all of them were originally placed there. This concept is addressed in the introduction and conclusion.

31 The actual purpose of this building is still in dispute. When it was discovered in the 1700s under the Bourbons, it was identified as a "Basilica" but is now considered a more generalized space for communal gathering and perhaps for worshipping the imperial cult. For the sake of this study, the neutral term Porticus is used after the fashion of Laird 2015, 215-234.

32 There is some debate on the exact location of the decumanus maximus of Herculaneum, but this uncertainty does not affect the general observation of the Porticus made here. The road on which the structure is situated is clearly one of the major roads of the city based on its considerable width and length, thus indicating its purposefulness to the city. For more on the decumanus maximus of Herculaneum, see Pagano 1996, 229-62; Pagano 2000, 19-20.

33 Laird, 2015, 223.

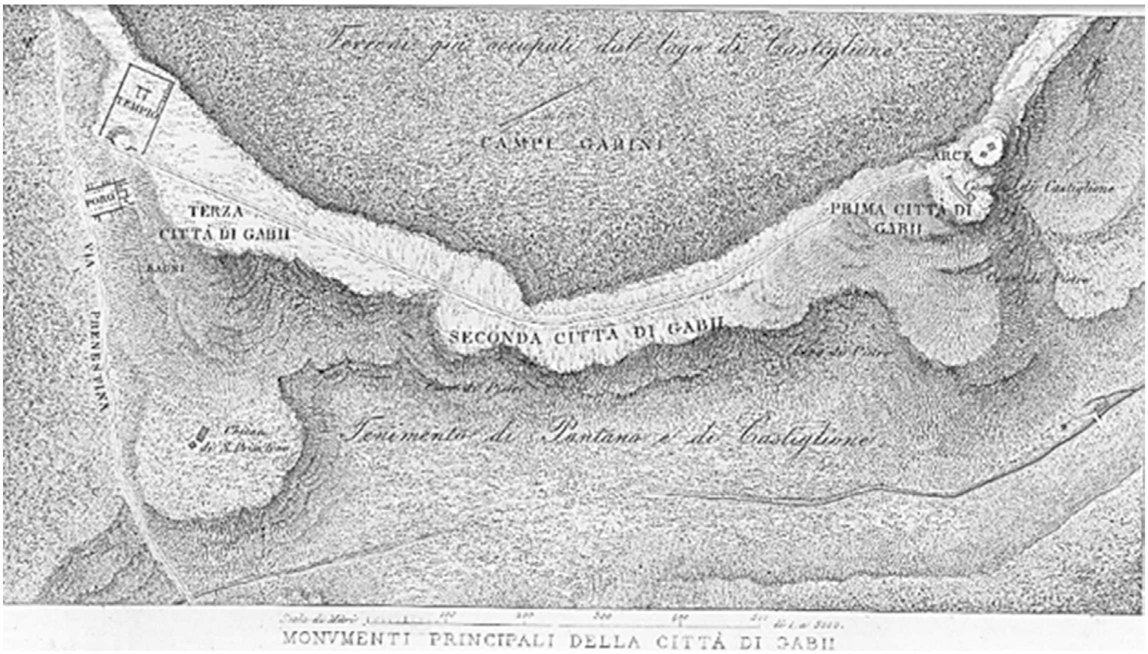

Fig. 6. Engraving of map of Gabii progression towards the west along the shore of Lake Castiglione. (Canina 1856).

share of the statues were commissioned by Mammius, there were several other benefactors who contributed to the space. In addition to these, two bronze statues of Claudius and Augustus (in the guise of Jupiter), which was commissioned by a soldier, stood in front of the apses at the end of the two portici. The list continues: a Flavian group dedicated by the decurions of the city, including Domitia, Julia, Titus, and potentially the wife or daughter of Vespasian, and six other Imperial statues of Tiberius, two almost identical statues of Agrippina Minor, a marble togate male, an over-life-sized nude male, and a portrait of Claudius.[34]

Such an impressive collection of statues in one place suggests the possibility that a large number of statues could have also been erected within the forum of Gabii. Moreover, the gradual addition of imperial figures from the Julio-Claudian dynasty up to the Flavians (and presumably more would have been added if not for its destruction in 79 AD) mirrors the nature of the Gabii progression. Not only are there Julio-Claudian examples within the Hamilton collection, but also Trajanic, Hadrianic, Antonine, and Severan.[35] Both the public spaces at Herculaneum and at Gabii demonstrate how the dedication of contemporary imperial figures was not only a sign of worship for a current ruler but also that it was an opportunity for an individual, a group, or even a city to display a sense of their own relevance and significance to whomever may cast their eyes upon the collection.

[34] Najbjerg 1997.

[35] See Benaich, Szewczyk in this volume.

The Porticus was not the result of the munificence of one individual, but rather a joint effort of citizens and magistrates of the city. The gradual addition of sculpture and benefactions indicates a desire to create a monumental space for municipal expression and cohesion. Such an effort is highlighted by the construction of the *chalcidicum*, which essentially adapted the decumanus of Herculaneum into a major entryway into the porticus with two flanking quadrifrons arches. With this extension, the Porticus made a physical connection with the Collegio degli Augustali across the street thus emphasizing its social connection.

Similar to the Porticus, the function of the Gabii forum is ambiguous. There is an obvious presence of imperial worship in both, which immediately suggests that the structures were designed for the imperial cult. Yet, as this study among others have demonstrated, the imperial cult was not a monolithic establishment with any one solitary purpose, but rather an opportunity for social promotion, communality, and creating an urban identity for all those who participated actively and passively in the imperial display.[36] In other words, the presence of imperial sculpture does not limit the understood use of the space. For the Porticus, scholars

[36] Such scholars include Mattingly (Mattingly 2013), who addresses the imperial cult in *Imperialism, Power, and Identity*, within the context of the conception of "Romanization" more broadly (38-39). He points out how there is very little literary or epigraphic evidence of orders coming from Rome to create these cults. Moreover, one only needs to look to the East at cities such as Perge, where influential citizens such as Plancia Magna clearly used the erection of imperial figures next to her own and her family's to generate the visual suggestion of excellence and influence.

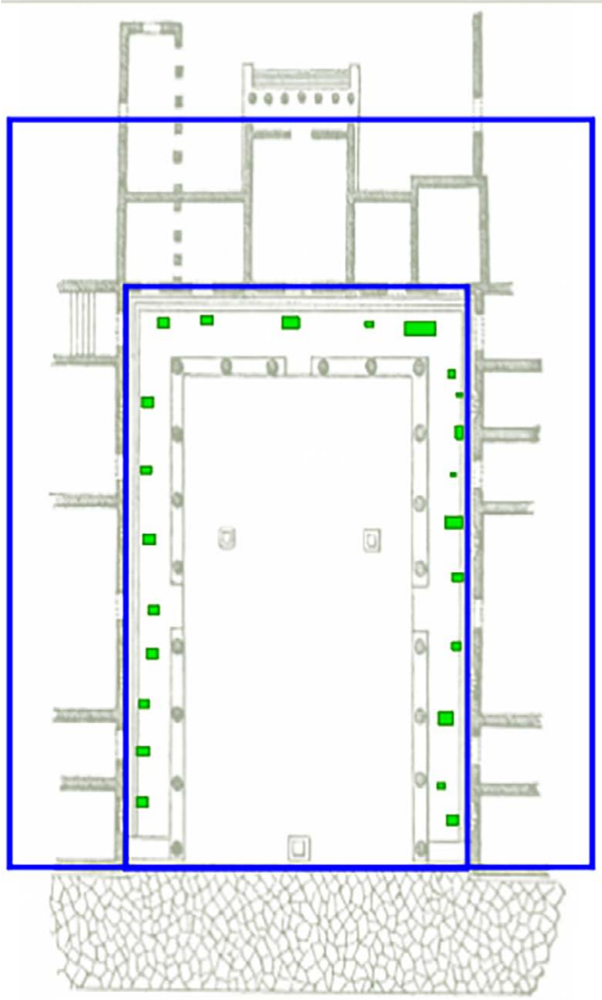

Fig. 7. Proposed plan of the proportions of the forum of imperial Gabii based on Google Earth reconstruction (fig. 5), overlaid on Visconti's plan for reference. All standing sculptures of the Louvre collection distributed around the portico (in green) are set to the same scale.

have argued numerous identifications, from a basilica to a palaestra to an Augusteum, but I contend that the answer to its purpose lies in this very ambiguity. Although theaters are considered structures solely for watching spectacles, we know that they also functioned as meeting places for large numbers and even as courtrooms. That is to say, a public space within a Roman city should not be overly simplified in attempts to understand their use. Rather, such spaces like those we find at Gabii, Herculaneum, and Pompeii could serve multiple purposes simultaneously.[37]

The Building of Eumachia and the Porticus of Herculaneum provide plausible models for how the forum of Gabii was adorned and even how it was engaged as a public space. In both we see a convergence of purpose for the open-air structure that could easily suit the needs of a cult, guild, or general congregations of the local citizens, and perhaps also visitors. The numerous attempts at identifying the use of these two structures and the subsequent equivocations in search of this answer is perhaps the answer itself. Such open, public, and central buildings with access points either to a major road or the city's forum would have been difficult to close off consistently to "non-members." So much of the Roman political structure was about being seen, showing off the statues you were able to afford to commission. By having a space that can be both open and closed to the public when necessary, satisfies important needs of the varying groups of municipal import, such as cult members, patrons, and magistrates. The evidence therefore suggests that both of these buildings may have been built by or for a specific group, but were open to being used by other members of the public. This, in turn, suggests that the forum of Gabii was also a multipurpose public structure.

The Imperial Forum of Gabii

The forum of Gabii was a later construction in the life of a municipality which was already considered ancient to the Romans. This space, therefore, was incorporated into an urban framework that varied in character from novel to dilapidated. The center of the city shifted over the centuries; in the early and middle Republican period, the center was farther east, at the intersection of the Via Gabina and the Via Tiburina.[38] Eventually, in the early imperial period the domestic areas of this sector of the city gave way to provide space for mining campaigns at the nearby quarry of the eponymous stone, *lapis gabinus*, which was heavily used for construction throughout the city of Rome.[39] The complete abandonment of this area is evidenced by the appearance of burials in the middle to late imperial period, which is a telltale sign that the city no longer considered this section as part of the city proper.[40]

Due to the aforementioned contraction in the late-Republican and Imperial periods, the center of the city shifted towards the west along the main trunk road, the Via Gabina. This contraction was recognized as early as 1856, as we see in figure 6, which lists three separate phases of the city, starting with "prima città" in the east and gradually moving westward to "terza città," the

[37] This is, of course, not a new contention. Favro (Favro 1988) has framed the Republican forum as a place of remembrance and as "a focus point of communal energy" (17). Yegül (Yegül 2000) likewise has explored the use of the forum as a social communicator and binder.

[38] Johnston, Mogetta 2020; Samuels *et al.* 2021. This intersection has served as the focal point of the Gabii Project's excavations and explorations into the earliest phases of the city.

[39] Farr 2015.

[40] Mogetta, Becker 2014; Killgrove, Tykot 2017; Samuels *et al.* 2021; Banducci, Opitz 2021.

approximate area of the forum.[41] In light of the present evidence, therefore, we may postulate that the forum of Gabii was near the center of Gabii in the Imperial period. The open-air construction of the forum, its placement along a major thoroughfare, and its seeming preponderance of imperial and local honorary statues and inscriptions strongly suggest that this space was designed to be a nucleus of social interaction. In addition, it was only about 70 meters distant from the Temple of Juno theater complex, which had been in continual use since its construction in the Republican period.[42] The temple most likely acted as a magnet, the pull of which brought visitors to Gabii who would then frequent the forum as well.

It will never be possible to know the exact number and size of every statue erected in the Gabii forum. Hamilton reported to have found "over 200" pieces of sculpture during his excavations, from which only the ≈40 sculptures in Visconti's catalogue were reconstructed.[43] Nevertheless, by repopulating the areas of the forum that had available floor space with the footprint of the standing statues, we can see whether the space was large enough to accommodate them.[44] In figure 7, I have reconstructed the perimeters of the Gabii forum and its courtyard (as surmised above) and superimposed Visconti's illustration on it for reference purposes only. I then sized the footprints of each standing sculpture to scale with the plan and placed them along the corridor under the portico. As we can see from this representation, the statues would have plenty of space to fit contemporaneously.

There are 20 known standing statues within the Gabii collection, but there are also a few that were mentioned by Hamilton that are currently missing. These include a statue of a fawn, whom Hamilton presumed to be Pan, with a goat pelt around his shoulders and a dog at his feet.[45] In addition, he mentions a statue of a young woman (around the age of 14), which is not easily identified with any of the known sculptures. Finally, Visconti reports a quadrilateral altar featuring Venus and dancing maenads that Hamilton kept for himself that was eventually moved to the Vatican museums, but has since been lost.[46] Even by adding these missing statues into the collection, my proposed reconstruction of the arrangement demonstrates that the standing statues could theoretically fit along the porticus of the building, even without placing the standing statues within the rooms, which would also be an appropriate alternative placement location. Moreover, in Visconti's drawing, he places some sculptures on pedestals within the courtyard, so if we were to move some of the sculptures into the courtyard, then there would be even more space for the statues to be erected in Hamilton's forum.

This analysis provides important insights into both the physical landscape of the forum during the Imperial period, but also context as to how so many sculptures were found in one place. Moreover, it is likely that the sculptural program would have grown and developed over time, as we see sculptures chronologically spanning from the time of Augustus in the early 1st century to the reign of Gordian III in the middle of the 3rd century. In this way, it can be seen as a response of the citizens of Gabii trying to gain prestige in the eyes of their fellow citizens, but also those passing through the city from Rome. One can imagine that Hadrian, on his way to his villa in Tivoli, rode along the via Gabina and saw and perhaps visited the forum, the temple of Juno, and met with some Gabines. The forum of Gabii, therefore, came to be a new focal point of social interaction and therefore an opportunity for urban revival.

[41] This map was produced by Luigi Canina, a Roman architect, archaeologist, and engineer who meticulously documented the surviving ruins in and around Rome. He wrote his observations of Gabii as he was constructing a new drainage ditch for the Lago do Castiglione. His line of reasoning appears to come from his recognition of the "arx" to the far east as the oldest part of the city, then moved westward chronologically towards the baths and then the forum.

[42] Almagro Gorbea, Jiménez 1982; Almagro-Gorbea 1982.

[43] It is unclear exactly how many sculptures in the Visconti collection came from Gabii and/or were discovered by Hamilton. A few of the entries, such as a three-sided altar, have been identified as coming from other sites. My own research on this ambiguity has revealed that at least 40 of the sculptures can plausibly be assigned to Gabii. For more on these sculptures, see Benaich, Szewczyk in this volume.

[44] In regards to the numerous busts, many, if not all, would have been placed on ledges and in niches, which would not occupy any of the open floor space described above.

[45] He goes on to describe the statue as a "rare and fine thing," and that he was glad that it was his "own property." This suggests that Hamilton claimed some of the statues for himself (either to own or sell later), which presumably was in violation of his agreement with Prince Marcantonio Borghese. Whether the Prince knew about Hamilton's personal acquisitions is unclear. For more on the saga of the sculptures once they were removed from Gabii, see Bignamini, Hornsby 2010; Cassidy 2011; Ortiz forthcoming.

[46] Pl. 80 Visconti and Guattani *Museo Chiaramonti* 1820.

Équipe du Louvre

Les fouilles du musée du Louvre dans le centre urbain de Gabies

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La quarantaine de sculptures aujourd'hui au musée du Louvre et provenant de Gabies constitue un ensemble exceptionnel, préservé dans son intégrité contextuelle (les trouvailles n'ont pas été dispersées), mais au prix d'interventions matérielles lourdes, qui constituent un obstacle à leur étude. À la fin du XVIIIe s., Gavin Hamilton, peintre et antiquaire écossais, passe un accord avec le prince Marcantonio IV Borghèse afin de réaliser des fouilles sur ses terres de Pantano dei Griffi, et met alors au jour, parmi les vestiges d'un ensemble monumental qui sera identifié comme le forum de la ville, plus de 200 fragments de sculpture composant un riche corpus d'éléments statuaires, notamment des portraits impériaux, ainsi que des inscriptions publiques. Restaurées, «complétées» et même recréées – ce qui complexifie considérablement leur analyse. Les pièces ainsi apprêtées pour satisfaire au goût du siècle des Lumières en matière de présentation de la sculpture antique furent exposées dans un musée qui leur était exclusivement consacré et qui fut installé dans un bâtiment proche de la Villa Pinciana, le Pavillon de l'Horloge[1]. Cet édifice constitue ainsi l'un des premiers musées de site qui s'inspire directement de l'*herculanense museum* installé dans la reggia di Portici, inauguré en 1758 et voulu par Charles de Bourbon alors roi de Naples et bientôt roi d'Espagne. Les œuvres de Gabies furent exposées au Pavillon de l'Horloge jusqu'en 1807, date de leur achat par Napoléon Ier, qui les fit transférer de suite au musée du Louvre avec la quasi intégralité des Antiques de la collection Borghèse. Un nouveau programme de recherche visant à réétudier ce corpus a été initié parallèlement aux fouilles que le Louvre a entreprises sur le site. Dirigé par Martin Szewczyk, conservateur au département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, il a pour objectif la publication d'un catalogue exhaustif et raisonné des œuvres, animé par le souci, double, de les replacer dans leurs contextes de création (romain) et de recréation (en 1792-1793) et de restituer scientifiquement leur état matériel d'objets archéologiques. Une partie des résultats de ce travail, présenté par Martin Szewczyk et Marjolaine Benaich dans le présent volume, porte sur le groupe statuaire julio-claudien mis en regard avec une inscription antique autrefois remployée dans l'église de San Primo et aujourd'hui non localisée. La fouille d'une grande partie de ce forum, remis au jour par une équipe de la *Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma* sous la direction de Stefano Musco dans les années 2000, nous apporte à ce titre de nouveaux éclairages sur l'architecture et la chronologie d'un élément central de la topographie de Gabies et de son histoire urbaine et nous offre la possibilité d'un réexamen tant du matériel issu des fouilles anciennes que de son contexte de découverte.

L'activité archéologique réalisée par le musée du Louvre en partenariat avec la *Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio di Roma* dans le centre urbain de Gabies, à proximité immédiate du forum, s'inscrit dans cette dynamique de recherche. Neuf campagnes ont été réalisées entre 2013 et 2022, couvrant une superficie d'environ 1000 m² depuis l'angle sud-est du sanctuaire de Junon Gabina jusqu'au tronçon de rue qui borde l'angle nord-ouest du forum (Fig. 1). L'emprise de fouille se place au carrefour de deux rues, l'une d'axe est-ouest longeant le péribole sud du sanctuaire, l'autre d'axe nord-sud, courant le long de sa limite orientale borde également une *domus* d'époque républicaine (UA 2). Cette voie, qui dessert l'entrée principale du sanctuaire au nord, croise la rue principale de Gabies, la *via Gabina*, au niveau du forum.

Les tronçons de rue se signalent par deux techniques de construction différentes : la rue nord-sud est pavée de basalte à l'image des rues pompéiennes tandis que la rue est-ouest, en terre battue, est flanquée de deux trottoirs avec bordures en tuf, vraisemblablement contemporains de l'édification de la *domus*. Probablement d'origine archaïque, elle est marquée par une accumulation de niveaux de circulation portant témoignage de l'importance de la fréquentation à proximité du sanctuaire.

Au nord, les fouilles ont mis en évidence des vestiges d'architecture monumentale (UA 1) interprétés comme les restes d'un édifice de scène délimités par le mur d'enceinte du sanctuaire en grand appareil. L'hémicycle de la *cavea*, encore perceptible dans la topographie actuelle, ainsi qu'une partie du bâtiment de scène ont été en partie détruits par la construction, à l'instigation du pape Pie IX, du nouvel aqueduc de l'Acqua Pia Antica Marcia inauguré le 10 septembre 1870, et ses multiples réfections dans les années 1940 et 1960.

[1] Laugier 2004.

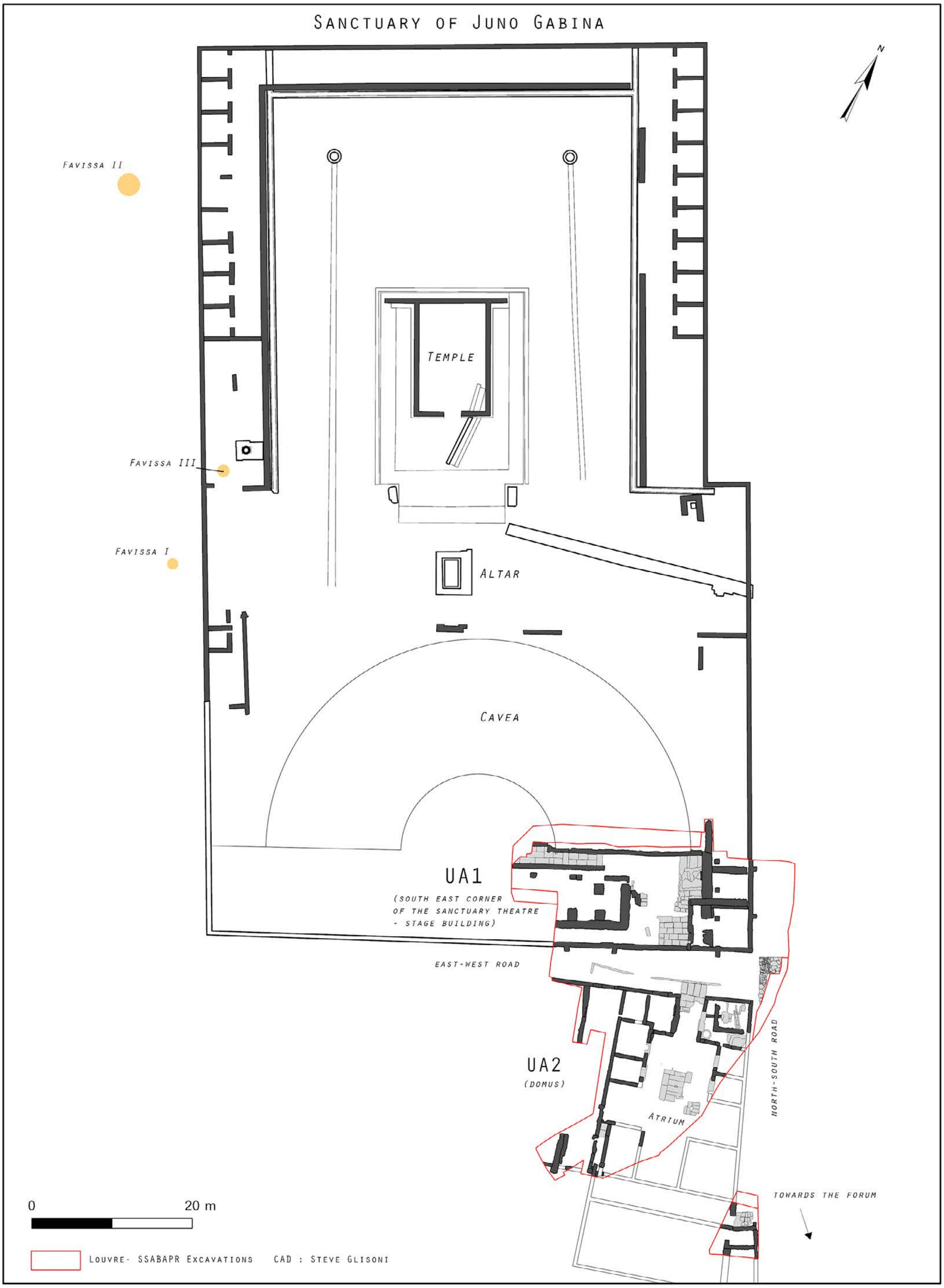

Fig. 1. Plan of Sanctuary of Juno Gabina with the location of excavations by the Louvre and Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologia team (2013-2022) in red.

La fouille des remblais de construction du bâtiment de scène permet de dater la première phase architecturale de cet ensemble du troisième quart du IIe s. av. J.-C.

Dans la partie orientale, des piles de fondation témoignent de l'existence d'un portique qui flanque le théâtre à l'est en surplomb de la *scaenae frons* et, sans doute, des gradins. À cette époque le théâtre est vraisemblablement équipé d'un édifice de scène temporaire en bois, un *proscaenium ligneum*, qui rappelle les théâtres temporaires de la Rome républicaine[2] mais aussi ceux de certains sanctuaires hellénistiques tel celui de la *Dea Syria* de Délos ou encore celui des Cabires à Thèbes. Des fondations de mur en mortier de chaux mises au jour dans la partie orientale de l'emprise de fouille, marquent plusieurs phases de travaux de réaménagements après la destruction du portique, à partir d'un moment compris entre le dernier tiers du IIe s. et la première moitié du Ier s. av. J.-C.[3] Cette datation s'appuie entre autre sur un col d'amphore Dressel 1A pris dans la maçonnerie de cette fondation ainsi que sur le parement en *opus incertum* qui rappelle le mode de construction du sanctuaire de la Fortuna Primigenia à Préneste daté de la fin du IIe s. av. J.-C.[4]

À l'ouest, une petite esplanade dallée, accessible depuis la rue, dessert un escalier conduisant aux gradins de la *cavea*, dont le mur de soutènement, en grand appareil, a été dégagé. Plus à l'ouest, face à l'hémicycle, une puissante semelle de fondation en L a été mise au jour. Sa maçonnerie en *opus caementicium* soutenait des élévations de murs monumentaux en grand appareil, dont seule subsiste l'empreinte des blocs. Ces vestiges matérialisent les restes d'une *scaenae frons* rectiligne qui se met en place après les maçonneries en *opus caementicium* qui succèdent au portique. Le théâtre est désormais équipé d'un édifice de scène en dur, un *proscaenium lapideum* orné d'une colonnade. Sa construction commence dans la première moitié du Ier s. av. J.-C., chronologie basée sur sa typologie ainsi que sur la mise au jour d'un fragment d'une inscription tardo-républicaine en 2019 qui pourrait être une dédicace édilitaire. Sa décoration est toutefois achevée sous le règne d'Auguste comme en témoigne la découverte lors de la campagne de 2014 d'un fragment de corniche en marbre daté de cette période. L'édifice connaît par la suite quelques réaménagements, notamment l'installation d'un rideau de scène dans le courant du Ier s. ap. J.-C.

Plusieurs fragments de terre cuite (plaques décoratives, figurines et *ex voto* anatomiques) ont été recueillis dans les remblais de la voie est-ouest face à l'entrée du théâtre, ainsi que dans les remblais de construction et de destruction du bâtiment de scène. Ils font l'objet d'une contribution d'Isabelle Hasselin Rous qui en aborde la fonction, l'étude stylistique et chronologique en perspective avec les collections du Louvre et du Palatin, et des découvertes anciennes lors des fouilles de l'École espagnole d'histoire et d'archéologie de Rome sur le *temenos* du sanctuaire.

Au sud de la voie, face au sanctuaire, des vestiges bâtis ont été dégagés sur près de 360 m². Ils se rattachent à une *domus* (UA 2) dont la stratigraphie nous enseigne qu'elle a été édifiée au dans le deuxième quart du IIIe s. av. J.-C. Elle était équipée d'une citerne, de latrines, d'une cuisine et d'une salle d'eau. Sur l'arrière un jardin est probablement bordé par un petit portique. Au sud-est, un petit escalier permettait aux occupants d'accéder directement à l'espace du forum. Contrairement aux *domus* fouillées dans le quartier urbain oriental de Gabies qui sont abandonnées dans le courant du Ier s. av. J.-C. ou un peu plus tard[5], la *domus* UA 2 est encore occupée à l'époque impériale et reçoit de nouveaux décors d'enduits peints. Son statut change au cours du IIe s., phénomène matérialisé par la clôture partielle de l'*atrium* et par des sols en terre battue qui recouvrent progressivement les anciens sols en *opus signinum*. Les nombreux ossements de faune présentant des traces de découpe recueillis dans les niveaux de cette période laissent supposer une possible activité de boucherie qui sera éventuellement confirmée par l'étude archéozoologique en cours[6]. L'édifice est abandonné vers la fin du IIe s. ap. J.-C. et est réinvesti comme espace funéraire à partir de la première moitié du IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.

2 Malgré leur caractère temporaire ces édifices scéniques pouvaient déployer un décor très fastueux tel le théâtre de Scaurus, édile en 58 av. J.-C. à Rome.

3 Ces murs pourraient être contemporains d'une phase de restauration du temple de Junon Gabina mise en évidence par les travaux de l'EEHAR, la phase IVA, comprise entre 80 et 75 av. J.-C. et que M. Almagro-Gorbea met en rapport avec l'attribution de terres aux vétérans de Sylla mentionnée dans le *Liber coloniarum*, cf. Almagro-Gorbea 1982, 618.

4 La construction de ses murs est possiblement contemporaine de la première phase architecturale du forum.

5 Mogetta, Becker 2014 ; Opitz, Mogetta, Terrenato 2016 ; Johnston *et al.* 2018.

6 Elle est réalisée par S. Lepetz, directeur de recherche au CNRS, Museum national d'Histoire Naturelle.

Terracotta Artefacts from the Temple of Juno Gabina – Recent Findings

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Centre des monuments nationaux

Abstract: Gli scavi condotti dal Museo del Louvre a sud del tempio di Giunone Gabina dal 2013 hanno restituito numerosi reperti archeologici. Tra questi, seppur numericamente ridotti, vi sono anche frammenti di terrecotte figurate, che verranno presentate in questa sede. In particolare, si discuteranno la coroplastica, i votivi anatomici, e le terrecotte architettoniche. Di particolare interesse una matrice di una figurina, che potrebbe suggerire la presenza di un centro di produzione delle stesse nelle vicinanze del tempio.

Introduction

Excavations conducted by the Musée du Louvre to the south of the Temple of Juno Gabina since 2013 have yielded a great wealth of varied archaeological material, consisting of more than 11,000 items, not including pottery (fig. 1).[1] The finds are quite fragmentary and often come from fill layers related to the different stages of the construction and development of the sanctuary and of the two roads linking the so-called 'forum' area with that of the Temple of Juno Gabina. While this kind of disturbed context does not always provide precise chronological indications, the typology and style of certain finds can allow relative dating. This is especially true of terracotta artefacts, both sculptural and architectural in origin.

Although the number of figurative terracotta works excavated is quite small (about twenty) when compared with other categories of object, and especially when examined together with similar artefacts from earlier excavations around the temple, these objects serve to enhance and extend our previous knowledge of these clay productions that were made locally or imported to Gabii (fig. 2).

Coroplastic Production and Anatomical Votives

The terracotta coroplastic material found in the area investigated by the Louvre suggests several different uses for this category of object and provides an insight into this part of the city of Gabii.

In 2016, a fragment from a terracotta figurine mould was recovered for the first time. A chamber in the south-east corner of the temple site (building UA1) yielded a small fragment from the mould of a standing woman with drapery (figs. 3 and 4).[2] It comes from a soil level dating from the 2nd to 1st century BC.

The orange-brown clay, slightly micaceous and highly refined, would seem to correspond to what archaeologists from the Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma (EEHAR) have identified as 'Type B' clay, namely that used for figurines found in Favissa II,[3] a votive deposit pit of the Temple of Juno Gabina. The delicate handling of the mould's drapery folds instantly suggests a Tanagrean-style prototype of Hellenistic inspiration and which may date from the 3rd to 2nd century BCE.[4] On the back of the mould is a letter ('K'?), which probably represents the coroplast's monogram or the first part of their signature. The mould fragment therefore attests to the existence, within the excavated area, of a workshop that produced terracotta figurines. Considering the way that popular piety fuelled the need for providing 'temple merchants' with *ex voto* clay items that pilgrims could purchase around the temple and subsequently offer to the deity, it is hardly surprising to find this kind of craft facility near the sanctuary.

Favissa III, a votive deposit pit excavated by the EEHAR and located south-west of the *temenos* (sacred area), is thought to have been an *ex voto* trading site, due to the amount and coherent nature of the terracotta artefacts found there.

Six fragments of female figurines with drapery – possibly related to the local Gabine coroplastic production – have been found close to the east-west road, but their poor state of conservation essentially precludes any attempt at further interpretation (fig. 5). These Tanagrean fragments may be added to the corpus of figurines discovered by the Spanish team in Favissa II of the temple site.

[1] To gain an idea of the overall archaeological findings, see: Glisoni 2020; Glisoni, Zanella 2019; Glisoni, Hasselain, Roger 2017 and Glisoni, Hasselain, Roger 2018.

[2] Inv. A387.775; H. 4.6 cm; W. 4.6 cm.

[3] Almagro-Gorbea 1982, 266.

[4] For a figurine from a mould similar to the one here, see Almagro-Gorbea 1982, 275, cat. 28, pl. LIV.

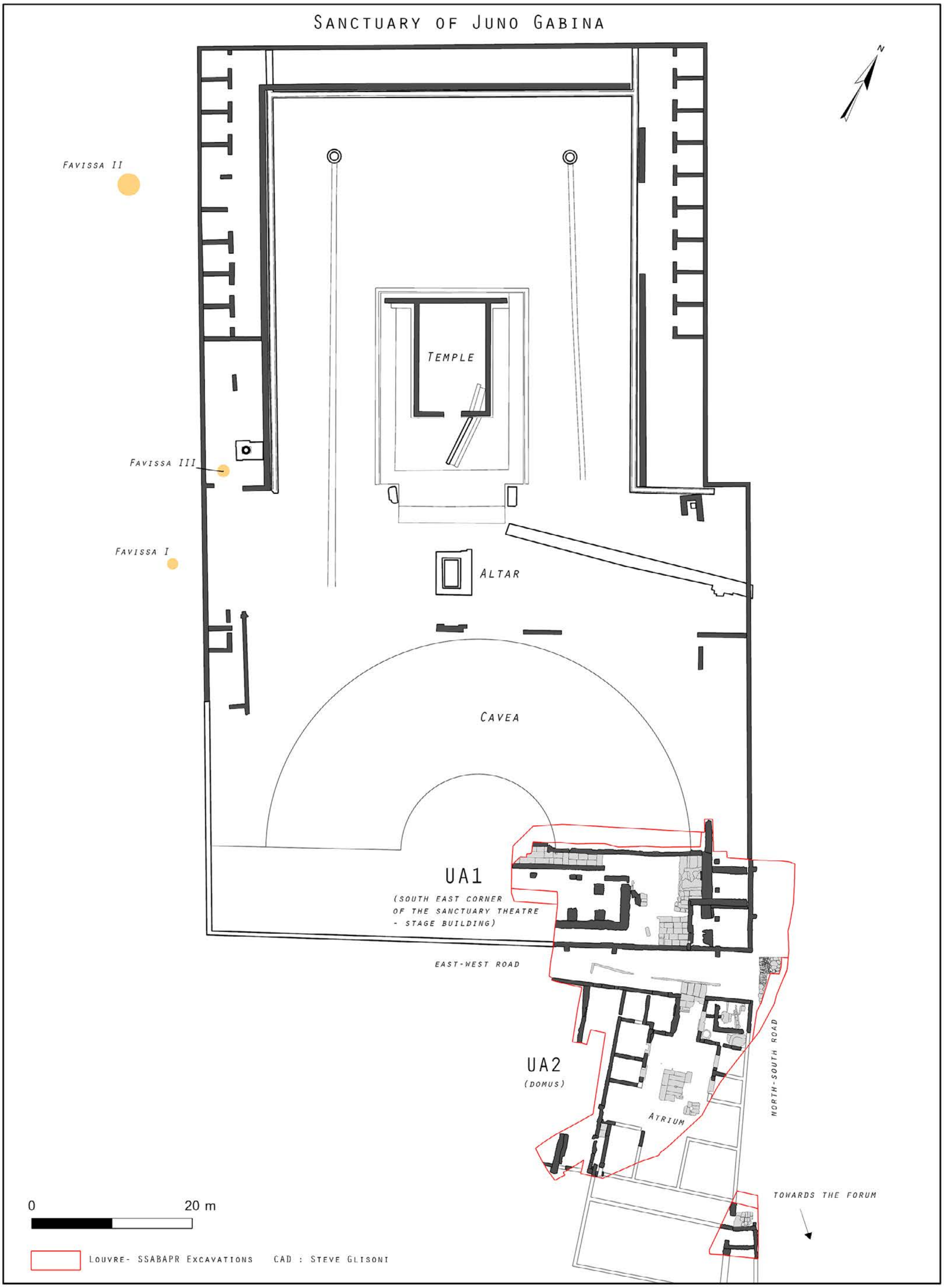


Fig. 1. Plan of the Louvre and the Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio di Roma excavations in the urban center of Gabii.

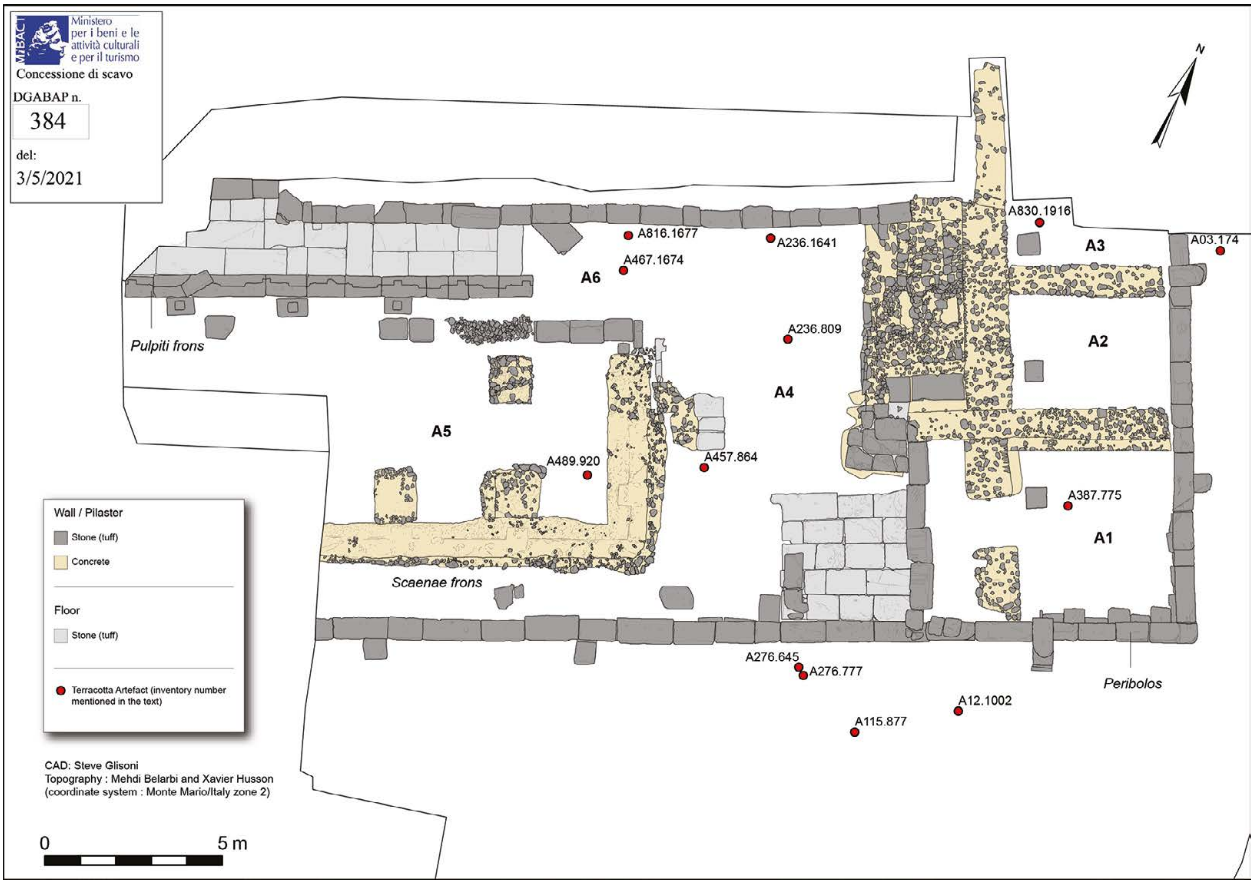


Fig. 2. Plan of the Building UA 1 with the position of the terracotta fragments.

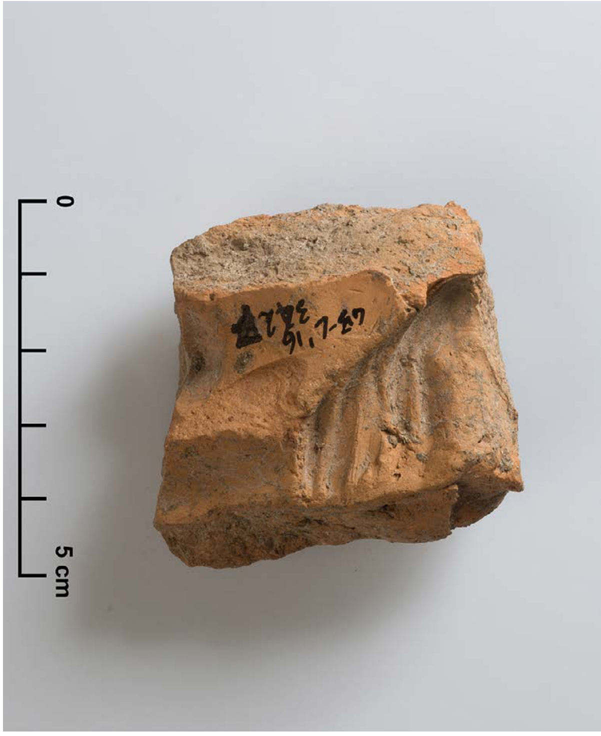
A fine terracotta cornucopia was also found on the east-west road, near the wall of the temple temenos (figs. 6 and 7).[5]

The cornucopia, moulded from highly refined orange clay and topped with a serrated leaf using the pastillage technique, was once affixed to a figurine, judging from the markings on its reverse side. As this attribute is found in various religious depictions, it is impossible to say to which specific deity it belonged. Yet the significant number of representations in Latium – particularly in terracotta – of the goddess Fortuna holding this type of cornucopia is worth mentioning.[6] Excavations by EEHAR have determined the existence of a cult of Fortuna in Gabii, as revealed by the backfill of Favissa I, south-west of the temple. Also of note is the oracular cult of Fortuna at Praeneste only 17 km east of Gabii. The quality of the clay used in this cornucopia is characteristic of a Hellenistic-style figurine that may be dated from the 2nd to 1st century BCE.

These fragments of female figurines from the Hellenistic period, found below the Temple of Juno Gabina, on the road leading to the site, clearly attest to the religious practice of pilgrims who would bring these works as *ex voto* offerings to the deity.

More monumental in register, a rare example of terracotta statuary was discovered in a late spoliation trench from the Antonine or Severan period located in the atrium of the domus excavated by the Louvre team (building UA2). It represents the hoof and lower leg from a half-scale model of a horse made of moulded terracotta, with fine residues of red paint (fig. 8).[7] The curvature of the lower part of the horse's leg, as well as the prominent presence of red paint beneath the animal's foot, suggest that the leg was raised. The quality of the clay and of the foot's moulded contours is remarkable, making it a fine illustration of the existence of small terracotta sculptures in Gabii, much like the terracotta statuary in Lavinium (in Latium) for example. Based on this small fragment, it is difficult to ascertain how the terracotta horse would originally have looked, but it may have been used to adorn the domus or perhaps have been dedicated as a votive offering in the goddess's temple; as such it may date from the Hellenistic period.

5 Inv. A276.645; H. 6 cm; W. 2.5 cm.
6 *LIMC*, *s.v.* "Fortuna."
7 Inv. A 845.1923.



Figs. 3–4. Fragment of the mould of a standing woman with drapery (inv. A387.775) (© Christian Decamps).

Fig. 5. Bust fragment of a woman with drapery (A.276.777) (© Christian Decamps).

Figs. 6–7. Fragmentary cornucopia (inv. A276.645) (© Christian Decamps).

Fig. 8. Tip of a terracotta horse's leg, A 845.1923 (© Christian Decamps).

One category of terracotta artefact that is already well known due to the findings of the EEHAR team is that of anatomical votives.

The backfill from the area around the theatre space in front of the Temple of Juno Gabina has yielded a small number of anatomical votives, most probably from offerings originally made by pilgrims to the temple. They precisely match ones unearthed during the EEHAR excavations of the temple site.

The remains of three fingers from a votive hand (fig. 9) were found in a construction fill in the south-east corner of the temple site (the temenos).[8] This fragmentary anatomical votive is an example of Etruscan coroplastic production from the Hellenistic period. It may be compared with the archaic type of votive hands discovered by the EEHAR team, particularly north-west of the *temenos* sacred enclosure in Favissa II, which was filled with votive terracotta artefacts.[9] These votive hands have been dated between the 2nd century BCE and the mid-1st century BCE, which is also a likely date for the anatomical votive here.

A fragmentary votive offering of a foot was found in the same construction fill of the temple site's south-east

[8] Inv. A03.174; W. 5 cm.
[9] Almagro-Gorbea 1982, 294, pl. LXI, no. 1.

Fig. 9. Fingers from a votive hand.(© A. Poirier).

peribolos wall (UA1) in an archaeological layer dating from the 2nd century BCE (A 489-920; L. 11.2 cm; W. 6.5 cm; fig. 10). The bulge indicating the protrusion of the ankle joint would appear to indicate that this is a left foot. The anatomical votive was probably life-sized originally. It was moulded, as indicated by the juncture between the two sections of the mould that can be seen on the inner surface of the foot.

Fig. 10. Anatomical votive fragment: probably a left foot, A 489.920; 3rd to 2nd century BC; found in the A1 chamber of the south-east corner of the temple site (© Christian Decamps).

This figurine directly parallels a votive offering of a left foot found by the EEHAR in Favissa I, which is located in quadrangular building south-west of the temple's temenos, on the terrace overlooking the area excavated by the Louvre (fig. 11).[10] The figurines discovered in this favissa all date to the Hellenistic period. Four foot votives, dating from the 3rd to the 2nd century BCE, have been found there. The offerings made in Favissa I seem to relate more to the cult of the goddess Fortuna, considering the number of veiled kourotrophic female figurines found there.

This votive left foot may therefore also be dated from the 3rd to the 2nd century BCE.

A third anatomical votive was found in the A2 chamber of the building in the south-east corner of the temple site

Fig. 11. Anatomical votive of a left foot, found in Favissa I, located south-west of the temenos; dated from 3rd to 2nd century BC (after Almagro Gorbea 1982, Làmina LXI).

[10] Almagro-Gorbea 1982, 277, pl. 61.

(UA1), in a layer dating to the 1st half of the 2nd century BCE. It is of a left ear (fig. 12), missing the lower portion below the tragus.[11] Created using a univalve mould – the reverse side being flat – it would have been life-sized. The ear is quite narrow in shape.

It may be compared with a votive ear, part of Group B, discovered by the EEHAR in Favissa II located outside and north-west of the temenos, in a pit cut into the rock and dating to between the 2nd century BCE and the early Roman imperial period (fig. 13). The figurines from this pit are still Hellenistic in style, but are also found alongside votive heads of children, particularly with Augustan hairstyles, which explains this wide time frame. This ear is of Type B, a classification characterised by a narrow shape and curved inner vertical line whose upper part is broken. As such, the ear is dated to the 2nd to 1st century BCE.

Figurines of women sitting on a throne and wearing a diadem have been found in Favissa II; they now appear to be dedicated to the goddess Juno Gabina, which would tally with the temple's dedication to this deity in the 2nd century BCE. Votive offerings featuring ears and eyes were increasingly present in this Favissa II at that time.

Three votive eyes were also unearthed in the theatre's backfill, clearly reflecting the popular devotion to this goddess of healing (figs. 14 to 16).[12] They are part of the series of 'Group B' eyes, as defined by the Spanish team, and are characterised by their oval shape and flat profile.[13] The eye A830.1916 conserves fine polychromatic traces of red and white. First introduced in Gabii during the Hellenistic period, these eyes became increasingly present up until the 1st century BCE, when they became more scarce.

Though the anatomical votive tradition was observed much earlier in Etruria, with pieces being found in sanctuaries dating from as early as the 6th century BCE, the dedication of anatomical votives began to spread in Latium only in the 3rd century BCE. The oldest anatomical votives found in Latium date from the 4th to 3rd century BCE, with the findings in Rome at the temple of Asklepios on Tiber Island.[14] This kind of votive offering of ailing parts of the human body can be related to the worship of healing deities or linked to fertility. In the temple dedicated to the goddess Fortuna at Praeneste, anatomical votives (feet and ears in particular) were found in votive deposits and have been dated to the late 4th and 3rd century BCE.[15] In Gabii, the earliest votive offerings of female body parts, feet and hands seem to be associated rather with the cult of Fortuna, judging

Fig. 12. Anatomical votive fragment, A 457.864: left ear; 2nd century BC. Found in chamber A2 of the building in the south-east corner of the temple site (© Christian Decamps).

from the iconography of the other figurines found in Favissa I, discovered by the EEHAR. Then, in the 2nd to 1st century BCE, anatomical votives of eyes and ears became more numerous and were seemingly focussed on ailments related to sight and hearing;[16] found in Favissa

11 Inv. A 457.864; H. 3.4 cm; W. 3.1 cm.
12 Inv. A 467.1674; A816.1677; A830.1916.
13 Almagro-Gorbea 1982, 291, pl. LX.
14 Pensabene *et al.* 1980.
15 Pensabene 2001, 267, no. 256, pl. 55.

16 For further work re-contextualising and re-conceptualising anatomical votives see Draycott, Graham 2017; de Cazanove 2016; Hughes 2017; Graham 2020.

Fig. 13. Anatomical votive of a left ear (Group B), found during the EEHAR excavations and taken from Favissa II; dated between the 2nd century BC and the early Roman imperial period (after Almagro Gorbea 1982, Làmina LX).

II, alongside terracotta representations of Juno, they seem to have henceforth been offerings to the goddess Juno Gabina.

Terracotta Artefacts for Architectural Purposes

Architectural slabs, used to decorate buildings, form another category of terracotta artefacts present in Gabii. Findings from the Louvre's recent excavations have further enhanced an iconographic corpus already well established by the EEHAR expeditions while also shedding new light on certain hitherto ill-understood representations.

Several fragments of Campana plaques in the theatre sector of the Louvre's excavations attest to the existence of a lavish decoration that was most probably linked to the temple of Juno Gabina. Three of the four fragments of Campana slabs unearthed come from the east-west road[17] and the other is from the backfill rubble near to the foundations of the theatre's proscenium wall.[18] The overall corpus of Campana plaques[19] indicates that these architectural panels adorned the walls (in particular the upper sections) of buildings, both for private edifices, mainly fine dwellings owned by the

Figs. 14–16. Anatomical votives of eyes (A 467.1674; A816.1677; A830.1916) (© Christian Decamps).

[17] Listed as A 12.1002; A 115.877 and A 488.1030.
[18] Inv. A 236.809.
[19] von Stradonitz, von Rohden 1911.

elite, and for public buildings, porticoes and temples.[20] These 'Campana' slabs (named after the Marchese Campana, who was a great collector of such slabs, in particular, in the mid-nineteenth century), were generally placed at the top of walls and could be affixed to these upper wood-clad sections by means of nails placed in holes that were drilled in the unbaked clay of the architectural slab prior to firing. Some slabs could also be incorporated into interior walls of buildings and secured using plaster and stucco. The timeline of Campana slab production is quite short, spanning the 1st century BCE to the 2nd century CE.

While there is no reason, in typological terms, why these four architectural slab fragments should not be associated with the decorative façade of the domus (UA2), it would be more coherent to link them to the ornamentation of the sanctuary, where they may have been used in the decoration of the temple itself, located on the upper terrace above the theatre. This appears most obvious for the fragments A 236.809, A 115.877 and A 488.1030, another identical fragment of which was recovered by the archaeologists of the EEHAR in the vicinity of the temple of Juno Gabina.[21]

Fig. 17. Slab fragment A 12.1002 found on the east-west road (©Christian Decamps).

Fragment A 12.1002[22] (fig. 17) comes from the upper edge of a Campana slab and features an ornamental design commonly found in these slabs, namely an alternating egg-and-dart motif. This pattern is found, for example, on the upper border of the painted terracotta slab, now in the Palatine Museum, depicting the dispute between Herakles and Apollo over the Delphic tripod[23] (fig. 22). The clay used is fairly unrefined and differs from that of the other three Campana slab fragments found nearby; as such it cannot have belonged to them. This fragment can be dated to within the usual Campana slab timeframe, namely between the 1st century BCE and the 2nd century CE.

Fig. 18. Slab fragment A 236.809: a woman, framed by foliage scrolls, leaning towards a water basin (© Christian Decamps).

The slab fragment A 236.809 found near to the foundations of the theatre's proscenium wall[24] (fig. 18) depicts a nude maiden leaning forward, holding an object in her hands and framed to her right by foliage scrolls. She is wearing a headband, with her hair in a bun; delicate earrings grace her ears.

A complete slab (heavily restored) of unknown provenance, now in the Musée du Louvre (fig. 19),[25] can help to reconstruct in full the scene depicted here. It features two nude women at their toilette; the left-hand figurine is engaged in drawing water from a basin with a jug, the contents of which she appears to pour onto the outstretched hand of her companion, also nude. This pictorial representation of women at their toilette around a louterion is derived from well-known, classical scenes, already found in red-figure Attic pottery from the late 5th century BCE, featuring women drawing water from a louterion in order to wash themselves, particularly after playing sport. The scene may also have a religious connotation and be related to purification rituals in association with scenes

[20] See the article on such slabs by S. Tortorella (Tortorella 2015, 29-39, 293-298).
[21] Almagro-Gorbea 1982, 154-158.
[22] H. 10.3 cm; L. 11.7 cm; Th. 5.3 cm.
[23] von Stradonitz, von Rohden 1911, pl. LIV.
[24] H. 11.5 cm; L. 11.9 cm; Th. 2.7 cm.
[25] Inv. S 1489.

Fig. 19. Slab in the Musée du Louvre S 1489, depicting two women around a water basin (© 2009 Musée du Louvre / Anne Chauvet).

of libation where women draw water from a basin. Fine foliage scrolls, gracefully encircling the slender young women, frame the scene.

The slab fragment A 236.809 can be compared with several pieces from a similar slab discovered by the EEHAR in the 1950s to 1960s, in a favissa located near the temple of Juno Gabina, in the south-west corner of the temenos (fig. 20).[26]

Based on the typology of Campana plaques and in accordance with the chronological classification of the rest of the excavated material from the favissa, this slab is of Type II-5, dated by the EEHAR team to between 75 and 1 BCE. The iconography identified by the excavators at the time consisted of two clothed women seated on either side of a central floral motif, in comparison with the Campana slabs now in Copenhagen and at the Louvre, as described by Hermann von Rohden.[27] At that time, the archaeologists of EEHAR were unaware of the Campana slab in the Louvre depicting two nude women around a water basin.

The slab fragment discovered during the Louvre excavations in 2017 shows that the figure is indeed a nude woman, whose forward-leaning posture would clearly indicate a woman at her toilette before a water basin. As such, this fragment allows for a more accurate reinterpretation of the fragments discovered by the EEHAR. Together with the Louvre slab, these latter fragments support the hypothesis of a lower border for the slab of the present fragment A 236.809, featuring a frieze of four inverted palmettes set within scrollwork. The slab fragment can therefore be dated to 75–1 BCE, on the basis of the timeline given by M. Almagro Gorbea, which is also borne out by the Louvre findings. The pictorial motif of women at their toilette well befits a religious context, forming a suitable decor that may have graced the temple or its sacred precinct.

Two fragments, A 115.877 and A 488.1030, found on the east-west road and which fit together, coming from the same slab (fig. 21),[28] depict the right leg of a nude man before a tripod atop an omphalos. It is easy to identify the mythological episode represented here: the dispute between Herakles and Apollo over the Delphic tripod (recognisable in the omphalos). Herakles had come to consult the Pythia of the oracle at Delphi, but the priestess refused to answer him; the enraged Herakles threatened to ransack the sanctuary and began by seizing the tripod, intending to go and establish an oracle of his own elsewhere. Apollo hastened to the scene and tried to wrest the tripod from his brother. Zeus hurled a thunderbolt to separate them and Herakles released his grip. This myth has often been depicted since the 5th century BCE in Greece, particularly in pottery, and was also very popular in Rome during the August an period, as the emperor sought the divine protection of Apollo, the god of order and balance. Several Campana slabs depicting this theme have been found in the house of Augustus on the Palatine hill (fig. 22). They once adorned the entablature of the colonnade of one of the peristyles of his house. These large slabs on the same theme were probably arranged in a symmetrical fashion, much like metopes. The house of Augustus and its decoration are dated to between 42 and 36 BCE.

A Campana slab now in the Louvre (fig. 23) is derived from the Palatine slabs,[29] albeit with some variations in the figure of Apollo.

There are differences between the Gabii slab fragments and those in the Louvre and the Palatine Museum: the feet of the tripod are grooved and the omphalos is smooth on the Gabii slab, whereas the feet of the tripod are smooth and the omphalos is patterned with a crosswork of bees (fig. 24) on the Louvre / Palatine examples. Despite these discrepancies, the Gabii slab

[26] Almagro-Gorbea 1982, 156, 157.
[27] von Stradonitz, von Rohden 1911, pl. VIII.
[28] H. 15.5 cm; L. 12.5 cm; Th. 3.5 cm.
[29] Inv. Cp 4180.

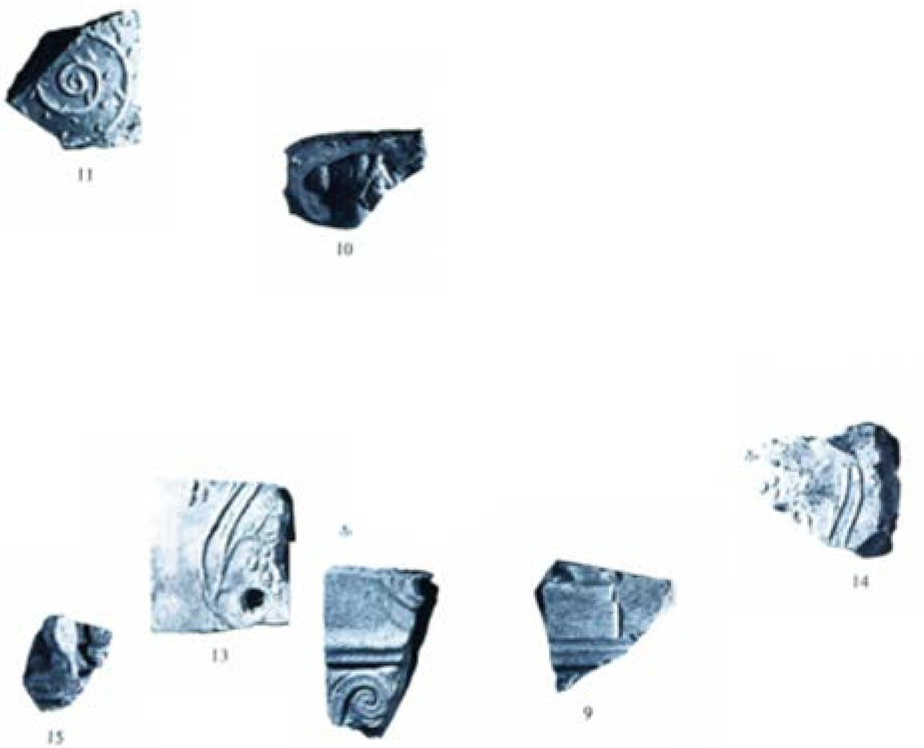


Fig. 20. Type II-5 slab depicting two women around a water basin (75–1 BC) (after Almagro Gorbea 1982, Làmina XXIV).

Fig. 21. Slab fragments A 115.877 and A 488.1030: dispute between Herakles and Apollo over the Delphic tripod (© Christian Decamps).

can be dated contemporaneously with those of the Palatine, namely from the Augustan period, when the sanctuary was remodelled. This slab's mythological theme is well suited to a public or indeed religious building.

The Campana slab fragments found during the Louvre excavations in the backfill from the area around the theatre are fully consistent with the corpus of fifty-eight slab fragments recovered by the EEHAR from the vicinity of the Temple of Juno Gabina. In both iconographic and stylistic terms, they form part of the same group and are in keeping with the decoration of the temple itself (mythological and religious themes). This temple, located on the terrace overlooking the theatre area, accounts for the discovery of these slab fragments, lower down in the backfill. The EEHAR excavations brought to light two decorative phases in the temple – one in the 2nd century BCE[30] (with slabs adorned with friezes of plants) and the other in the 1st century BCE (following Sulla's dictatorship). During this second phase the temple was remodelled and a new figurative decoration adopted, partly involving Campana slabs, which were more in step with contemporary tastes. Given the limited number of these slabs, they were probably used alongside the earlier decorative friezes of plants. This might suggest

[30] Almagro-Gorbea, 1982, 133-139.

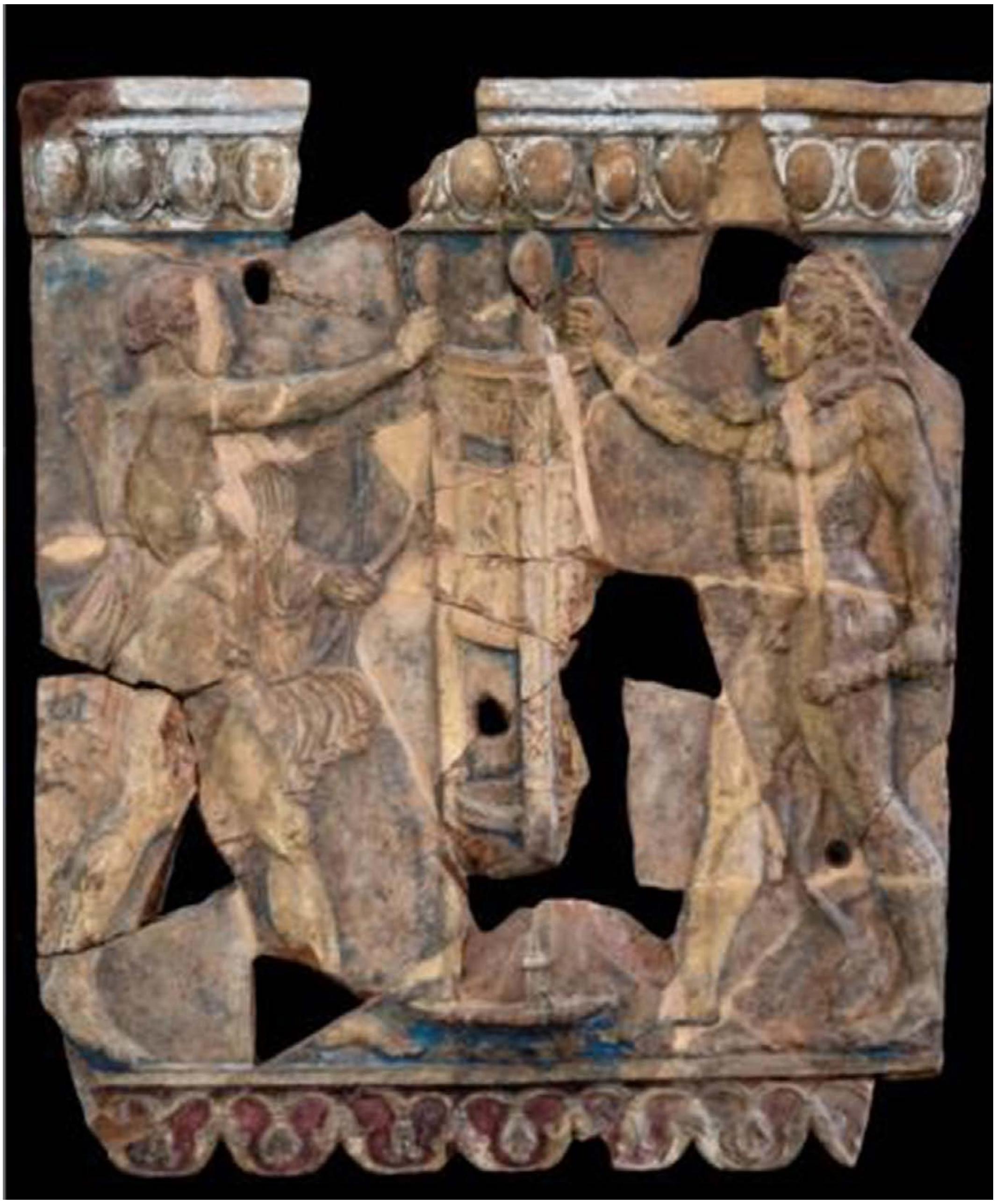


Fig. 22. Campana slab discovered in 1968 during excavations of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill (Inv. 379983, © Palatine Museum). Ornamental entablature of the colonnade of one of the peristyles of the house of Augustus; dated between 42 and 36 BC.

that these Campana slabs were created between 80 and 1 BCE and that they were set in place when the temple was remodelled.

Another architectural slab fragment A236.1641 was found in the demolition fill layer of the theatre (fig. 25). The moulded slab features a palmette decoration alternating with lotus buds. Some faint traces of red paint remain on the palmettes and a hole in the thickness of the slab indicates that it was once affixed to a wall or beam. The findings[31] of the EEHAR excavations contain a more complete example, classified as Type I.3: two parallel rows of palmettes alternate with lotus buds and are arranged head-to-tail. This slab might therefore attest to the original decoration, created between 150 and 125 BCE, of the temple of Juno Gabina. Only a few such slabs, thought to have adorned the *mutuli* of the tie beams of the temple's pediment, have been found.[32]

[31] Almagro-Gorbea, 1982, 148, no. 109, pl. XXII, no. 9.
[32] Almagro-Gorbea, 1982, 190, fig. 17.

Fig. 23. Campana slab in the Louvre, Cp 4180
(© Musée du Louvre / Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines).

Fig. 24. Comparing the tripod and omphalos on the Gabii and Louvre slabs.

Fig. 25. Architectural slab fragment A236.1641: palmette and lotus buds (© Christian Decamps).

By way of conclusion, these recent terracotta findings – both coroplastic and architectural – associated with the Gabii temple site contribute to the already partially known corpus of the city's clay production, and provide new insights into our previous understanding of it. The discovery of a figurine mould fragment – to the best of our knowledge the only one of its kind in Gabii – indicates the probable presence, in the immediate vicinity of the temple site, of a coroplastic practice that provided pilgrims with votive offerings that pilgrims could purchase and dedicate to the nearby cult of the goddess Juno Gabina. This provides evidence of a local production of these figurines, or even of anatomical votives, spanning the 3rd century BCE to the early Roman imperial period. Further archaeometric analysis of the excavated material would be required to determine the provenance of the clay used in order to substantiate that these figurines were produced locally.

Reconstruction and Contextualization of the Julio-Claudian Group from the Borghese Excavations at Gabii

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Abstract: Verso la fine dell'800, l'antiquario scozzese Gavin Hamilton condusse degli scavi nell'area di Gabii e recupero' un notevole numero di sculture, attualmente esposte al Louvre. Il presente contributo ricostruisce, analizza, e contestualizza le statue pertinenti alla *gens* Giulio-Claudia. Nello specifico, attraverso uno studio iconografico, e con il supporto di evidenze epigrafiche verranno proposte delle attribuzioni non solo delle singole statue, ma la ricostruzione di gruppi scultorei e della loro possibile ubicazione nel contesto gabino.

The Borghese excavations carried out by Gavin Hamilton at Gabii in 1792–93, which yielded an outstanding set of sculptures now in the Louvre, were of remarkable importance to the antiquarian culture of the late eighteenth century.[1] Carlo Fea immediately circulated a brief account of the finds; Jörgen Zoëga went to the site and left a meticulous description of it; Hamilton sent a copy of the inscriptions he uncovered to his client, Charles Townley; Marini's publication of the *acta* of the Arval Brethren in 1795 already referred to inscriptions uncovered by Hamilton; and as early as 1797 Ennio Quirino Visconti published a hybrid volume that was simultaneously a publication of the excavation (in so far as only items from Hamilton's *cava* were included) and a catalogue of a collection (in so far as it was based on the order and, above all, on the material condition of the sculptures in the specially created Museo Gabino). Yet even as the publication and collective exhibition of the Gabii sculptures in the Museo Gabino reveal a radically new attention to the context of the provenance of "antiques," these artworks materially bear the mark of a specific collecting ethic and the antiquarian scholarship that went with it.

This antiquarian scholarship, based on an essentially literary corpus—a learned canon in which inscriptions swiftly acquired a leading role in the eighteenth century, even though knowledge of them was less widely disseminated—encumbered the sculptures with interpretations that survived into the mid-nineteenth century. The guiding principle behind these interpretations entailed a "photographic" conception of artworks that placed image and literary text on the same level, as though both were governed by the same system of expression and composition, so that what they expressed (or might express) followed the same rules. For example, in 1819 Giovambatista Finati felt that if the "Agrippina the Elder" in the Farnese collection had an aged face that clashed with her youthful body, that was because she was either in mourning or was shown dying of hunger on the rocky isle of *Pandateria*.[2] In short, it was as though ancient sculpture was a forerunner of the approach adopted from the fifteenth century onward by Western artists who kept their copies of Livy, Sallust, and Tacitus open when they executed history paintings. For today's art historians, this idea is inconceivable: centuries of archaeology and philology have encouraged and nurtured a critical, and therefore distinct, approach to these two categories of sources. We know that Greek and Roman portraits were not history paintings but rather monuments that reflected social relationships at the municipal level; the gap between the antiquarian idea and our modern approach comes down to the primacy accorded to the context behind the commission when studying the process of creating the imagery. This interpretative method views sculptures less as unique artworks than as artifacts designed for concrete use, but it can only do so by keeping in mind that these objects were ordered for a specific purpose. There were certainly sculptors and workshops operating outside—or partly outside—the context of commissions, as witnessed by sarcophagi whose faces remain uncompleted, and, in the realm of imperial portraiture, by "stocks" of portraits that some specialists suspect were reused for recarved portraits. But when it comes to public statuary, the normal system leading to the erection of a statue or sculpted group involved a commission.

Thus, unlike the most commonly encountered archaeological objects, namely manufactured items—

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1 On these excavations, see Cima 2003.

2 Finati 1819, I: 1, 102-104, no. 124; Haskell, Penny 1981, 133-134.

where supply merely responded to the existence of anticipated demand, meaning that production could be organized before any buyers showed up—the special category of specifically commissioned artifacts calls for a particular approach to historical interpretation. In the public sphere of the city, these artifacts had a more specifically monumental role: inscriptions, public buildings, civic statuary, etc. When it comes to the latter, recent research has shown that the particular form given to bases, their inscriptions, and the statues themselves depended as much—indeed, more—on the institutional context of the commission (especially for honorific statuary) than on the free will of the sculptor or workshop charged with executing it, or even on the intentions of the commissioning patron. This included not only decisions on architectural or topographic display, but also the more generic aspects of such monuments, from epigraphic *formulae* to the choice of iconography. In other words, a commission did not automatically imply idiosyncrasy, and while there certainly exist monuments that fully expressed a patron's will—thus calling for non-generic, singular interpretation, such as the decoration on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*—it is misleading to think that the additional meaning characteristic of the richest, most culturally refined programs are to be found everywhere. Thus, despite the practice of commissioning artworks, the vast bulk of public monuments and iconographic programs were part of a serial output that somewhat mitigates our lack of detailed information on local contexts (in contrast, this serial approach would be very hard to apply to exceptional monuments like the *Ara Pacis*).

Consequently—and in the absence, as will be seen below, of clear, incontrovertible information concerning the erection of the statues found in Gabii in the eighteenth century—we must first carry out an internal analysis and critique of the works. To begin with, the material condition of the group must be established, then an accurate outline of it must be formed through stylistic analysis. A serial analysis will then situate the Gabii example within practices largely employed throughout central Italian communities. Based on these analyses, we will then offer hypotheses on the precise circumstances surrounding the public erection of this group in Gabii.

An Eighteenth-Century Collection

Thanks to an agreement with Prince Marcantonio IV Borghese, Gavin Hamilton was able to begin digging on the Pantano plot in 1792: the Scot would entirely finance the excavation himself, but would keep just one third of the finds. Since we also know that Borghese managed to buy the remaining third from Hamilton,[3] and that the Borghese collection passed almost intact to the Louvre in 1807, we can be certain that we are dealing with an archaeologically coherent ensemble. While not complete,[4] it is "contained" in the sense that all the pieces come from the same context.

It should nevertheless be pointed out that this archaeologically coherent ensemble is highly heterogeneous in a material sense. This is how Hamilton described his remarkable finds at Gabii to one of his main clients, the Englishman Charles Townley:

> I cannot help putting pen to paper and to give you some account of my proceedings at the Cava of Gabio, the exact spot of which is now decided by the interesting inscriptions I found in that place, to the great joy of all antiquarians. Here my good fortune begun with the discovery of the two fine busts of Septimius Severus and Geta. I next got into the publick place ornamented with a portico, pedestals and statues of the *Decurioni* and other magistrates of the *Gabini*, with the inscriptions on the pedestals. What offered next was a very large architrave and frize with a very long and curious inscription on it, signifying that the palace was built by Polycarpus for the memory of Domitia daughter of Domitius Corbulonus. There is likewise the donation of this palace with all the statues and other valuable things to the city of Gabio but on certain conditions, I have found fragments of at least two hundred statues, but so mutilated that I have only been able to save 22 statues that are good and worthy restoring besides other curious things of different kinds and small statue heads &c. I have three statues in armour all Imperial that go much beyond anything of the kind hitherto seen, a drapery figure of a woman uncommonly fine, a statue of Claudius and one of Germanicus in fine preservation, a statue of Diana quite new and very fine in particular the head, but what you would have coveted most is a small bust of Marcus Agrippa size of life, the finest extant. All these fine things go to the Prince Borghese who builds a place for their reception at the Villa, with the title of the Museo Gabino, and his resolution is much applauded by the publick.[5]

We thus see that as soon as the sculptures were discovered Hamilton thought of restoring the

[3] Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (hereafter AAV), AB, Filza del libro Mastro N, busta 5424.

[4] Several statues remained in Rome; there were also fragments that were dispersed at the time of excavation, for example those given to the sculptor Vincenzo Pacetti to thank him for his role in having the *cava di Gabio* attributed to Gavin Hamilton: "Adi 22. ... Hò riceuto da Mr. Hamilton alcuni framenti ritrovati a Pantano nella città di Gabbio, in compenso di avergli procurata la Cava medesima di Pantano, ed altre Cave," quoted in Cipriani *et al.* 2011, 126r. On Pacetti's role, see also Cacciotti 2017, especially 156.

[5] Gavin Hamilton to Charles Townley, June 18, 1792. Copy in the British Library, London: MS Stowe 1020, fol. 1-2, published in Cassidy 2011, no. 286.

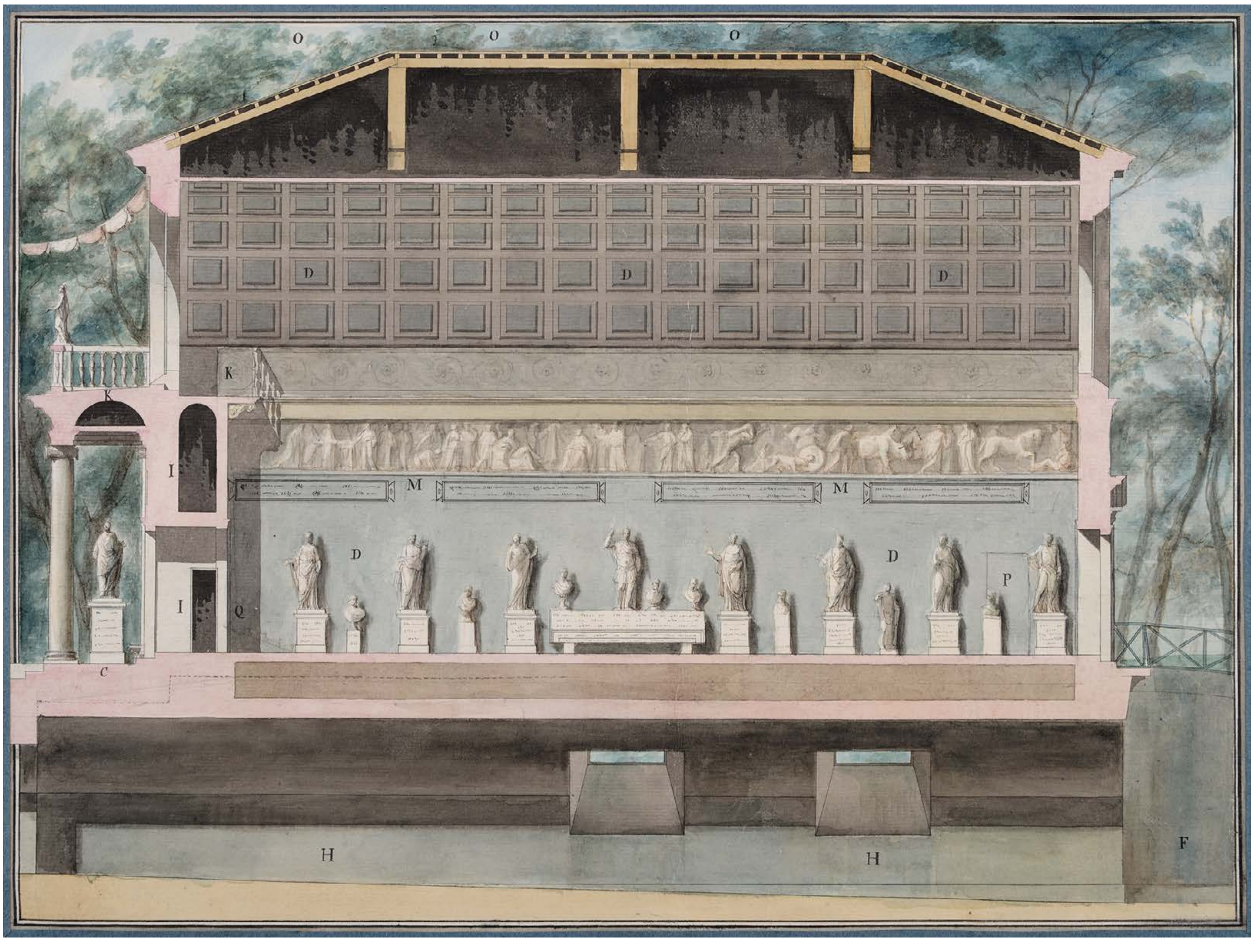

Fig. 1. L. Valadier, Longitudinal section of the project for the Museo Gabino at Villa Borghese, 1791. From the 8-plate portfolio « Progetto Museo delle Statue a Villa Borghese ». Museo di Roma, collections of the Gabinetto delle stampe, inv. MR – 45656 – VIII. © Roma capitale – Sovrintendenza Capitolina – Museo di Roma.

fragments in order to yield complete statues. He felt this would valorize his finds in the eyes of his partner, Prince Borghese. We furthermore know that as soon as they came out of the ground these fragmentary statues were consigned to a group of sculptor-restorers commissioned to make them whole, according to the taste of Roman collectors of the day. Borghese family archives furthermore indicate that it was Marcantonio's architect, Antonio Asprucci, who oversaw the restorations and wrote up the bills. It was certainly Asprucci, relying on Visconti's expertise, who drew up the restoration plan. And that plan is clear: the set of sculptures from Gabii was restored in such a way as to produce decoration suited to a palace—obviously composed of complete statues—with alternating busts and full-length sculptures. Not only was the potential of these Gabii sculptures swiftly grasped, in so far as proposals for building a Museo Gabino were put forward as early as 1792,[6] but the architectural project submitted by Mario Asprucci (son of the architect), like another one ascribed to Giuseppe Valadier (fig. 1), proposed a display for that museum—whose basic principle was revolutionary, being a harbinger of "site museums"—which was derived straight from the European palatial tradition.[7] The physical heterogeneity of the collection we have now inherited thus fulfilled a very specific eighteenth-century goal, namely to produce a setting like the ones that can still be seen at the Residenz in Munich, the Villa Albani in Rome, and the Uffizi in Florence. The eighteenth-century restoration of the sculptures was guided by goals and values that obviously differ from those of modern museums and from "conservation" in the specific sense of the term. The authenticity of a piece ranked below the need for it to be whole and to be incorporated into a codified architectural composition.

Those goals, which governed the restoration project, were joined by considerations derived from another tradition, one inherited from the Renaissance: the

6 Campitelli 2003.

7 Campitelli 2003, 263 and 320, nos. 130-138 (design attributed to Valadier); 265 and 329, no. 139 (copy of Mario Asprucci's design).

portrait gallery. The catalogue published soon after the excavation by Visconti indicated the content of this gallery, for it reflected the identifications common at the time, thus enabling us to reconstruct the iconographical coherence of the ensemble recreated in the eighteenth century. There was nothing archaeological about that coherence. For example, a small-scale copy of the colossal head of Plotina, Trajan's wife, in the Sala Rotonda of the Museo Pio Clementino was set on a draped female figure in order to serve as a pendant to a cuirass statue, itself fitted by sculptor Agostino Penna with a head of Trajan supplied by Hamilton himself (though it did not come from Gabii).[8] Then there is the group of statues of Hadrian, his wife Sabina and his first presumed heir, Aelius Caesar: none of the combinations of head and body is accurate. On reading Visconti, we infer that the head of Hadrian did not come from the *cava* at Gabii.[9] The head of "Aelius Caesar," in fact a late second-century portrait(?), was supplied by Hamilton. Finally, as Marie-Louise Fabréga-Dubert has recently managed to show,[10] the head of the statue of "Sabina" was already in the Borghese collection by the sixteenth century. Drawn by Bernardino Ciferri for Richard Topham, this head was probably described as a bust by Giacomo Manilli in 1650. Here we see all the work carried out to artificially reconstruct groups that were iconographically coherent despite the obvious heterogeneity of the sculptures. Clearly, the ancient iconography of these statues differed from their modern iconography.

In order to do anything with this archaeologically coherent group of sculptures, we must therefore rationally deconstruct the eighteenth-century restorations, establishing the true material condition of each of these artifacts. This entails three objectives: establishing which elements truly come from Hamilton's explorations; determining the original typology of each artifact (bust, full-length statue, etc.); and dating each one stylistically. We propose to perform this exercise on a group that is already well identified yet merits re-examination—the Julio-Claudian group.

Which sculptures belong to the Julio-Claudian group?

Claudius (fig. 2)[11]

The statue of Claudius is unusually well preserved—the head and torso were carved from a single block of marble. It shows the emperor wearing a mantle around his hips (the *Hüftmantelmotiv*). Claudius's characteristic face can be recognized from coins and two of the emperor's three iconographic types.[12]

The main type of portrait of Claudius, which this Gabii figure follows, is not dated with absolute certainty. Indeed, there is debate over the first, or "Cassel" type, which portrays the emperor in a much more youthful and energetic light[13]; it was possibly designed for Claudius's early—and sporadic—inclusion in public statuary groups, such as the arch at *Ticinum* or the one of Germanicus at the entrance to the *Circus Flaminius*.[14] It continued to be used at the beginning of his reign, which explains why several versions in marble have survived. But it seems to have been soon replaced by the main type (*Haupttypus*),[15] which represented a break in imperial imagery by privileging realism, in a rather radical way, over the idealization that prevailed to varying degrees for previous rulers. It is this uncompromising portrait that the statue now in the Louvre reproduces.

This statue furthermore poses a particular problem for anyone who wishes to study the context of the installation of this group. It has been thought that Claudius's portrait was carved onto a statue that in fact belonged to his predecessor, after the latter's memory was condemned. This has been inferred partly from the reduced size of the head in proportion to the statue, and partly from the fact that the top of the skull, from the forehead hair upward, has been added. This upper skull is modern,[16] but might reflect an ancient act of *Umarbeitung*, in which case we would have to imagine that a statue of Caligula was altered not only by replacing the top of the skull with a new one but also by carving Claudius's facial features from those

8 Visconti 1797, 37, no. 15 (Plotina); 24-25, no. 3 (Trajan); see AAV, AB, no. 5426: Filza del libro Mastro, N, 1793, no. 1361: "Ed il prezzo di tre teste di marmo di assoluta proprietà di Mr Hamilton, e comprate ... per porle nelle sud[e] statue di Gabbio, una rapprte Elio Cesare posta alla statua ristorata dallo scultore Acquisti concordate per__56_, altra posta ad una statua consolare ristorata dallo scultore Laboreur concordata per il prezzo di__50_, ed altra rappresentante Trajano, che si ristova dalla scultore Penna concordate per il prezzo di__70 ...."

9 Visconti 1797, 21-22, no. 1: "La testa antica d'Adriano conveniente al carattere e alle proporzioni del simulacro v'è dunque stata inserita assai propriamente."

10 Fabréga-Dubert 2020, 468-469; on the other hand, it is mistaken to think that this statue is the *Nemesis* restored by Pacetti, because that name was used at the time, notably by Visconti, for a small statue found at Gabii, which resulted in a controversy between him and Zoëga. See Cacciotti 2017, 158.

11 Musée du Louvre, Ma 1231; de Kersauson 1986, 190-191, no. 89.

12 Massner 1994; see also Rosso 2018.

13 Massner 1994, 159-166 (a type created before Claudius's accession, then updated in 41?).

14 On Claudius's place in the image of the *domus Augusta* prior to his accession, see Hurlet 1997; on the *Ticinum* Arch (7-8 ce), see Hurlet 1997, 543-546; on the arch of Germanicus in Rome (known from the text of a *senatus consultum* stipulating the young prince's funerary honors, engraved on the *Tabula Siarensis* in 19 ce), see Boschung 2002, 98-99; Rose 1997, 108-110, cat. 37; Hurlet 1997, 550-552.

15 On the *Haupttyus* and its dating, see Fittschen 1977, 55-58, no. 17; Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 29-31, no. 23; Massner 1994, 166-173; and Boschung 2002, 16, who notes that many *Haupttypus* portraits were based on re-used portraits of Caligula, a peculiarity which preferentially dates them to the beginning of the reign.

16 The skullcap was perhaps done by Vincenzo Pacetti, who restored this statue and that of Germanicus; Cipriani *et al.* 2011, 123r and 132r.

Fig. 2. Statue of Claudius. Paris, musée du Louvre, département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, Ma 1231. (c) Musée du Louvre (distri. RMN-GP) / Hervé Lewandowski.

of Caligula's. However, this technical feature may have been the product of the workshop's supplies and of the size of the block of marble available to it. Above all, the argument over the proportions is scarcely convincing: not only do portraits of Claudius show a long, narrow face rarely extending beyond the volumes of the neck—which is the case here—but above all this portrait lacks the incontrovertible signs of *Umarbeitung,* namely the deformation of proportions and the flattening of the face, dictated by the necessarily different proportions of the unfortunate predecessor. In this case, on the contrary, the right ear (the only well-conserved one) stands out from the skull and is viewed almost frontally, a facial feature specific to portraits of Claudius yet missing from the obviously more youthful portraits of Caligula. Had it been re-carved from a statue of the latter, this detail so particular to the image of Claudius could not have been presented as such.

Germanicus (fig. 3)[17]

The portrait of Germanicus, like that of Claudius, is remarkably well preserved. The head and body were carved from a single block of marble and are still intact. Very few modern additions were made: the nose, the edges of the ears, the left hand with sword, the right arm, the feet with plinth and a support in the form of the trunk of a palm tree. These were done by Pacetti.[18] The young Germanicus is shown wearing a long mantle over his left shoulder, covering his hips and legs down to the knees before being thrown over the left arm and tumbling in elegant folds. This is a variation on the *Hüftmantel* design much appreciated by sculptors working for the Romans from the end of the republican era onward. The statue's main particularity lies in the position of the mantle on the shoulder. The drapery is carved in a particularly brilliant way—the folds are drawn with a constant concern for variation (layered, overlapping, creased) which adds a notably chromatic touch to the drapery; the hollows of the folds are deeply cut, creating thin layers of marble in relief and generating effects of light and shadow. This virtuoso handling contrasts with the more sober, mediocre handling of the statues of Claudius and "Plotina," but is similar, as we shall see, to features also found on "Sabina" and, to a lesser extent, on "Commodus" (see below).

The portrait of Germanicus is solidly identified. While it is worth noting that the statue was thus identified in Visconti's day, the identification of portraits of Germanicus later became the subject of intense debate and rival proposals. Klaus Fittschen shed light on the issue by grouping portraits of Germanicus into two main types,[19] the "Béziers" type that he hypothetically dated to Tiberius' accession as emperor,[20] and the "Gabii" type named after the statue now in the Louvre, which constitutes its only contextualized

[17] Musée du Louvre, Ma 1238; de Kersauson 1986, 40-141, no. 64.
[18] AAV, AB, busta 352, letter from Antonio Asprucci to Marcantonio Borghese, July 23, 1793, noting that the restoration of the statue of Germanicus would soon be finished; Cipriani *et al.* 2011, 123r (June 22, 1792), stating that the statues of Germanicus and Claudius were received, and 133v (August 28, 1793), referring to the transfer of the statues to the Pincio.
[19] Fittschen 1987.
[20] Boschung 1993, 60-61.

Fig. 3. Statue of Germanicus. Paris, musée du Louvre, département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, Ma 1238. (c) Musée du Louvre (distri. RMN-GP) / Hervé Lewandowski.

replica.[21] A third type was added—the *Adoptionstypus*—which Dietrich Boschung considered to be the first of those depicting Germanicus, and which arguably dated to his adoption by Tiberius in the year 4 CE.[22] It was employed in a Tiberian group, the one in the basilica of *Veleia*. Yet whereas the "Béziers" type was used in Germanicus's lifetime during the reign of Tiberius (in groups found in *Veii*, *Rusellae*, *Nomentum*, *Centuripe*, Béziers, and Tarragona)—as was the less-frequently employed *Adoptionstypus*—examples of the "Gabii" type seem to date to the reigns of Caligula and Claudius, which probably make it a posthumous design.[23] It is characterized by hair with soft locks, brushed toward the temples and with a "fork" in the middle of the forehead. A coin struck in honor of his father by Caligula ensures this identification and probably explains the swift, confident recognition of this portrait by the late 18th century.[24] Like the statue of Claudius, with whose date it accords remarkably well, this portrait of Germanicus could be considered a reliable chronological reference point within the group.

"Nero": a **Hüftmantel** *statue (Drusus Caesar?) (fig. 4)*[25]

The third *Hüftmantel* statue raises quite different problems. The head is connected to the body by a large marble collar. It should furthermore be noted that this head is itself the product of a modern recomposition: the lines of fracture on the top of the forehead, the left cheek and behind the right ear indicate that the only ancient parts are the front of the head and some of the right profile. Thus what is almost a mask has been placed on the statue's draped body. The hair is almost entirely modern, notably on the forehead. This complex restoration was carried out by Vicenzo Pacetti, as documented in the Borghese archives. Visconti identified this statue as Nero,[26] an identification that was dropped once we acquired more knowledge on portraits of Claudius's successor.

The features of the face, the design of the long, straight, pointed locks on the temples, and the detail of the sideburns on the cheeks all point to two types of portraits initially identified by Frederik Poulsen and then firmly established by Hans Jucker and Klaus Fittschen: the Corinth-Stuttgart type and the Adolphseck-Malibu type, which were often identified as Germanicus himself.[27] Fittschen had solid grounds for attributing them instead to the young prince's elder sons, Nero and Drusus,[28] who launched their tragically short political careers under Tiberius. Nero Caesar was identified by Boschung (relying partly on arguments

21 Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 29-31, no 23; Boschung 2002, 61.
22 Fittschen 1987, 211-212; Boschung 2002, 59-60.

23 See, however, the reservations expressed in 1985 by Klaus Fittschen in Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 30.
24 Giard 1988, 68-69, nos. 73-76, pl. 15.
25 Musée du Louvre, Ma 1221; de Kersauson 1986, 142-143, no. 65.
26 Visconti 1797, 71, no. 36, pl. XIII.
27 Jucker 1976, 240, note 13 (list of the replicas of the Adolphseck-Malibu type, identified as Nero Caesar); Fittschen 1977, 53-54 (Adolphseck-Malibu type); Jucker 1977, 218-226 (Corinth-Stuttgart type); Fittschen 1987, 215-218.
28 Worth stressing are similarities in the hair on a certain number of types belonging to the family of Germanicus: the type of the adoption of Germanicus; the two types of Nero Caesar, the Adolphseck type of Drusus Caesar, and the *Haupttypus* of Caligula (Fittschen 1987, 215-218; Boschung 1993, 59-68).

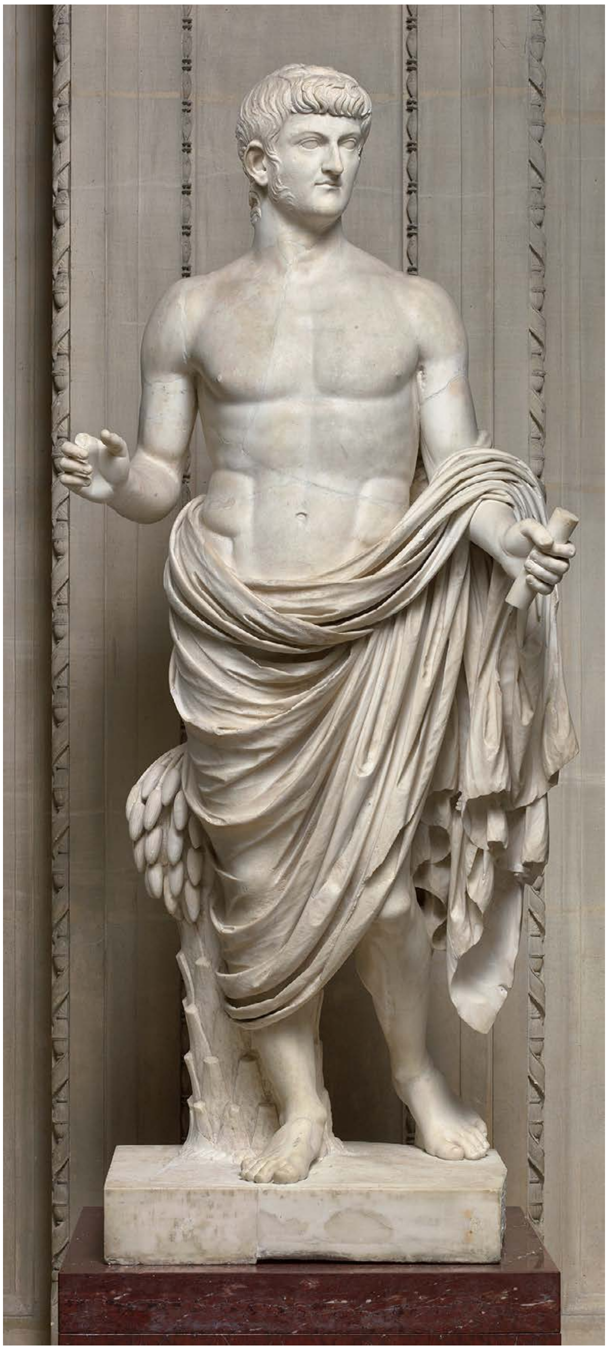

Fig. 4. Statue of a man (hip-mantle schema), with a portrait head of Drusus Caesar. Paris, musée du Louvre, département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, Ma 1221. (c) Musée du Louvre (distri. RMN-GP) / Hervé Lewandowski.

by Jean Charbonneaux) with the cuirassed man to the left of Tiberius on the Grand Camée de France, and consequently with a series of in-the-round portraits related to two very similar types of statue: the so-called La Spezia type,[29] based on a bust found at Luni, and the Corinth-Stuttgart type,[30] one of its finest examples being the *capite uelato* head in the basilica of Corinth. This latter type represents a mature figure whereas the first shows a very young man, practically an adolescent, as seen in the portraits in Dresden and Luni. Ever since the questions over portraits of Germanicus were settled, hesitations over the identification of the two princes have largely involved competition between the two above types—which indisputably belong to the same person—and a third one, called Adolphseck-Malibu after its two main replicas.[31] The facial features of those two replicas point to a son of Germanicus, and the hair is slightly different from the hairstyles of the previous figure. When it comes to the La Spezia and Corinth-Stuttgart types, the existence of two distinct series (one a *Neuschöpfung*, an older-age version of a youthful portrait of the same person), plus the large number of surviving portraits (compared to the Adolphseck-Malibu type), incline us to identify them as Nero Caesar, strengthened by arguments that take into account the profiles produced by the art of glyptics.

Statues of both princes were made as early as Tiberius's reign, when they were preparing to assume a political role, but their fall from favor put a halt to their honorific monuments. They were once again honored under

[29] Certain replicas:
- La Spezia, Museo Civico, inv. 56 (Luni, theater, 1889). Jucker 1976, 249, note 64; Boschung 1989, no. *74; Boschung 1993, 65; Chiesa 1995; Boschung 1989, 92, no. 28.2, pl. 78, 1.
- Antikensammlung, Dresden, ZV 4201; Jucker 1976, 249, note 64; Massner 1982, 87, note 459, pl. 18c-d; Knoll 2013, 142-145 (Boschung).
- Museo d'Archeologia e d'Arte della Maremma, Grossetto, 97744; Rose 1997, 116, no. 45.6; Boschung 2002, 66, no. 20.6, pl. 60.6.

Possible replicas:
- Izmir (?). Inan, Rosenbaum 1966, no. 225, pl. 126, 1; Jucker 1976, 249, note 64.
- Ephesus Museum, Selçuk, 2558. Inan, Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 73-75, no. 19, pl. 16.

[30] Certain replicas:
- Archaeological Museum, Corinth, 27. Johnson 1926; Johnson 1931, 76-77, no. 137; Charbonneaux 1948-1949, 175, fig. 3; Fittschen 1987, 217, pl. 12, 4-6; Boschung 1989, 122-123, no. *77; Boschung 2002, 65, no. 17.4, pl. 51, 2-4.
- Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart, Arch 66/5. Hausmann 1975, 26-29, no. 6, and 122, figs. 12, 14, 15, 17.
- Museu Nacional Arqueològico de Tarragona, Tarragona, MNAT 45003. Koppel 2000, 81-91.
- Uffizi, Florence, 1914.266. Mansuelli 1961, 57, no. 44; Jucker 1977, 226, no. C.

Possible replicas:
- Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara (Pisidian Antioch). Inan, Rosenbaum 1966, 101-102, no. 94, pl. 57; Fink 1972, p. 284, pl. 5,2; Jucker 1977, 226, no. F, note 97; Inan, Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 75, note 10.
- Museo municipal, Antequera. García y Bellido 1949, 10-13, no. 3, pl. 3-4; Jucker 1977, 226, no. D; Baena de Alcazar 1985, 230-236; Boschung 1989, 122; no. *76.
- Museo Civico, Brescia, MR 281. Fittschen 1987, 217, pl. 13, fig. 49.

[31] On this type, see Fittschen 1977, 53.

Replicas:
- J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu. Frel 1981, no. 23.
- Schloss Fasanerie bei Fulda, Adolphseck. von Heintze 1968, 37-39, no. 26, pl. 44-45 (identified as Nero).
- Vatican, storerooms, 4062. Kashnitz von Weinberg 1937, no. 626; Jucker 1976, 240, note 13, II B.
- Ephesus Museum, Selçuk,1480. Inan, Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 71-73, no. 18, pl. 15.

Caligula—who wanted to rehabilitate the memory of his brothers—and under Claudius.[32] Like this statue, the portrait head placed on the body perfectly coheres with the Claudian group. The round design of the lower face and the clear absence of locks falling from the corner of the forehead—which are a feature of the Corinth-Stuttgart type but absent from the Adolphseck-Malibu type—prompt us to view the Gabii statue (as did Boschung) as a replica of that latter type, and therefore a portrait of Drusus Caesar, Germanicus's second son.

Yet another **Hüftmantel** *statue (fig. 5)*[33]

In fact, the Louvre's storeroom holds a nude male torso, published as such by Visconti,[34] which does not seem to have been included among the restorations carried out on Hamilton's finds. Vestiges of drapery passing diagonally behind the back, plus visible breakage on the left flank, indicate an arrangement similar to the statue of Germanicus—the drapery rests on the left shoulder and falls to the hips—even though the weight distribution of the two figures is reversed. This torso probably belonged to the Julio-Claudian period, and suggests that there may have been other male members in the group depicted in this way. At any rate, it is hard to imagine Drusus Caesar alone, without his brother Nero, who would have inevitably been part of the group.

The choice of iconographic motif for these statues is not without significance. It spread swiftly within statuary of emperors and members of the imperial family thanks to its adoption as a depiction of the *diuus Iulius.*[35] This model had been employed by aristocrats in the late republic and by *domi nobiles* in Italian cities of that same period because its martial connotations perfectly suited the depiction of *uirtus.* In Gabii, the presence of a date palm in two of the three statues obviously enhances the triumphal, martial aspect of the motif.[36] Used to depict emperors—though not exclusively restricted to them nor to portraits of *diui*—the *Hüftmantel* model was inspired by Greek imagery of Olympians and heroes, and was apparently adopted in order to impart a charismatic image to members of the *domus Augusta*. This motif does not bring with it the Jupiterian connotations that can be found in other types more strictly reserved for emperors.[37] Its role here is to visually unite the members—most of them deceased—of a *domus plena Caesarum*.[38] This iconography places on

Fig. 5. Male torso (from a hip-mantle schema statue). Paris, musée du Louvre, département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, Ma 361. (c) Musée du Louvre (distri. RMN-GP) / Hervé Lewandowski.

the same level all those members of the household who, whether ruling prince or deceased hero, were deemed worthy of this strictly visual heroization.

Tiberius (fig. 6)[39]

The colossal head of Tiberius, restored as a bust by Giovanni Pierantoni,[40] is obviously from the Julio-Claudian period. It can be linked to the Chiaramonti type—the principal one during the reign of Tiberius—and it shows Augustus's successor wearing a wreath of oak leaves that should not be seen as the *corona ciuica*—an honor he rejected—but as one of the Jovian attributes of imperial portraits in the guise of Jupiter. The imposing seated statue in the theater at *Caere* wears this same wreath as part of an iconographic setting that

32 Jucker 1976, 240, gives Ma 1221 a date between 30 ce and the reign of Caligula, which does not take the context into account at all.
33 Musée du Louvre, Ma 361.
34 Visconti 1797, 74, no. 41, pl. XV.
35 On the *denarii* of P. Cornelius Lentulus in 17 bce, see *Roman Imperial Coinage* 415; Fittschen 1976, 187, fig. 10.
36 Part of the trunk and cluster of dates survive on the statue of Claudius (Musée du Louvre, Ma 1231) and the restored statue with head of Drusus Caesar (Ma 1221).
37 Balty 2007; on the *Hüftmantelmotiv*, see Post 2004.
38 This expression comes from Tacitus, *Annales* IV: 3,1 when discussing a ruling family that was still rich in potential heirs (in 23, under Tiberius, shortly before Drusus Minor died); for the literary topic of the flourishing *domus Augusta*, see also Ovid, *Ex Ponto* II, 2, 67-74.
39 Musée du Louvre, Ma 1239; de Kersauson 1986, 162-163, no. 75; Hertel 2013, no. 88.
40 AAV, AB, busta 352, no. 100.

Fig. 6. Colossal portrait head of Tiberius, restored as a bust. Paris, musée du Louvre, département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, Ma 1239. (c) Musée du Louvre (distri. RMN-GP) / Hervé Lewandowski.

combines portraits of Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius, all wearing Jupiter's leafy crown and majestically shown under the guise of the Roman god of sovereignty.[41] At Gabii, the format of this portrait and the very hieratic quality of the head—which could be described, for that matter, as largely idealized—induces us to place it on a statue of the same type, slightly larger than the normal size. On the other hand, based on stylistic analysis alone it is hard to assign it a Tiberian or a Claudian date. This portrait therefore belongs to the Claudian group, but may well have predated it.

A togatus *with bulla (fig. 7)*[42]

The four or five statues above form the core of the Julio-Claudian group in so far as they pose no problem of dating. We must now attempt to link to them those statues uncovered by Hamilton that can be stylistically attributed to the Claudian period and are iconographically associated with Julio-Claudian portraiture.

What Visconti labeled a *statua di giovinetto con bulla* (no. 9) is most likely one of them. Worth noting is the form of the toga, which is not very long and has two distinct panels in front of the feet plus a long *umbo* that extends well beyond the *balteus*. Moreover, we can sense the body beneath the drapery—the fabric does not completely crush anatomical volumes but is stretched over them, so that the statue possesses true three-dimensionality. This is a well-known stylistic feature of toga-wearing statues from the reign of Claudius, a trend observed on solidly dated portraits such as the ones of children in Parma (originally from the basilica in *Veleia*) and the Louvre (Borghese collection), despite their reversed distribution of weight (which alters the balance between body and garment, making comparison more difficult).

This *togatus* wears a *bulla.* In a group from the Claudian era, this immediately makes us think of the crown princes—Britannicus, son of the emperor, and Nero, son of the emperor's fourth wife. Ever since Ulrich Hiesinger's pioneering study on portraits of Nero,[43] it has been thought that the latter was shown wearing the symbol of childhood in the statuary group at *Veleia*,[44] and that the Louvre also had a statue of him,[45] but recent research by John Pollini on portraiture of the two princes assigns these figures to the biological, rather than adopted, son of Claudius.[46] Indeed, Britannicus would be a serious candidate for our statue, even more serious in so far as he was celebrated long before taking up the toga of manhood (which he never did), having been born in the purple, whereas Nero, adopted in 50 CE, abandoned youthful garb by 51. Could it be Britannicus who is depicted in the unusual, dynamic *togatus* found in the augusteum in *Rusellae* in Etruria? A strong argument in favor of that identification is the discovery on the site of an inscription commemorating the

[41] Fuchs, Liverani, Santoro 1989, 58-59, no. 2; Hertel 2013, no. 76; Boschung 2002, 85-86, no. 25.2, pl. 70, 1 and 71,1; on this iconography, see Maderna 1988, 18-55; Balty 2007, 56-67.

[42] Musée du Louvre, Ma 2244.
[43] Hiesinger 1975.
[44] Museo Nazionale di Antichità, Parma, 1952.826; Boschung 2002, 26, no. 2.10, pl. 19.1 and 3, 20, 1.
[45] Musée du Louvre, Ma 1210. Hiesinger 1975, 114-118, pl. 19, figs. 25-27.
[46] Pollini 2021.

Fig. 7. Statue of a young *togatus* wearing a *bulla*, restored with a non-pertinent 2nd century AD portrait head. Paris, musée du Louvre, département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, Ma 2244. (c) Musée du Louvre (distri. RMN-GP) / Hervé Lewandowski.

erection of a votive statue for the health of Britannicus by the military tribune and *flamen Augustalis* A. Vicirius Proculus.[47]

On reading Visconti, we learn that the head on this *togatus* is not its own. A very heavily restored head has been placed on the body. Over half of the face is modern, as is all the hair on the forehead. This suggests that it was found during the dig and was specially restored to fit the small body of the *togatus*. The hair of short locks brushed forward evokes Julio-Claudian sculpture, but the long locks pulled to the back of the head suggest instead certain portraits of youths during the Antonine era; also suggestive of that period are the details of the eyes, with incised pupils and iris marked with a blow of the drill.

"Commodus": a **togatus** *without* **bulla** *(fig. 8)*[48]

Visconti's statue number 11 is labeled *statua togata con effigie giovanile di Commodo.*[49] This is easily recognizable as the Louvre's fine figure featuring an ample toga with no *bulla* and wearing *calcei senatorii* (inv. Ma 1135).

Stylistic analysis suggests that it might belong to the Julio-Claudian group.[50] In the first place, the relationship between body and garment, notably over the free leg and the right hip, is similar to the previous statue. Dating it to the Claudian period is thus also logical, and is consistent with the form of the toga, characterized by a full *sinus,* a long, U-shaped *umbo* falling onto the *balteus*, and clear distinctions between the various sections of the drapery in front of the ankles. This hypothesis is further supported by an analysis of the drapery: carved with great virtuosity, its folds are brought to life by the sculptor's chisel, not only on the surface (the fabrics being rendered with extreme concern for modulation) but also in the inter-relationship of the folds, which intersect, overlap, and pile up. The impression of lavish plasticity created by the sculptor's technical prowess and quest for detail seems perfectly comparable to what we have already observed on the figure of Germanicus (and which we will soon see on a third—this time, female—statue).

This remarkable statue measures 172 centimeters (67 ¾ in.). So it is either not a portrait of an adult or is not of "normal" size. The figure is not wearing the *bulla*, but is not yet completely adult from a physiognomical standpoint. We may hazard the suggestion that it shows

47 Saladino 1980, 232-233, no. 25 (= *AE* 1980, 458). It is nevertheless unlikely that we are dealing with the base of the statue, because its dimensions seem too small (21.7 cm wide).

48 Musée du Louvre, Ma 1135. de Kersauson 1996, 318-319, no. 145.

49 Visconti 1797, 32, no. 11, pl. V. The head is not original, but according to Visconti's catalogue entry it indeed came from Hamilton's excavation ("trovata in questo scavo medesimo").

50 Goette 1990, 127, no. Ba 283.

Fig. 8. Statue of a *togatus*, restored with a non-pertinent portrait head of Commodus. Paris, musée du Louvre, département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, Ma 1135. (c) Musée du Louvre (distri. RMN-GP) / Hervé Lewandowski.

Nero between his taking of the *toga uirilis* in 51 CE and his accession upon the death of Claudius.[51]

"Sabina" (fig. 9)[52]

As mentioned above, "Sabina" is also a product of recomposition, the point of which was to constitute a group for the Museo Gabino with a specifically eighteenth-century iconography. A statue of Hadrian's wife was thus created to serve as a pendant to the portrait of that emperor. No archive available to us has provided information on the restoration. But since Visconti specifically identifies it as Sabina, Hadrian's wife, we can only postulate that the iconographic goal of reconstituting a "gallery of emperors" was at work once again.

What reasons lead us to link this sculpture to the Julio-Claudian group? The statue, of remarkable quality, follows a well-identified type known from thirty-nine replicas: the Braccio-Nuovo Fortuna.[53] This type is characterized by the complex drapery of the himation: set on the left shoulder and passing behind the back, the garment then passes under the right arm and forms a large clutch of folds moving toward the left hip; from this clutch there falls a triangular section that diagonally covers the right hip and goes down to the right knee. The *chiton*, belted just beneath the breasts, covers the arms and, on certain copies, is characterized by the pinching of the left sleeve in the belt. The original of the Braccio Nuovo Fortuna is variously dated from the last third of the fourth century BCE and the first century CE. The Gabii statue varies from this model in three ways: the himation covers the right shoulder and outer right arm, thus forming a kind of curtain behind the figure, lending it great monumentality; as a direct consequence of the tension of the fabric around the right arm, the section across the hips falls a point between the knees; the figure wears a garment over the *chiton*, pinned to the left shoulder and enlivened by a fold falling toward the left hip. Iconographically, this adaptation is highly significant, for it is generally seen to represent a *stola,* the distinctive garb of Roman matrons.[54] It is typical of Julio-Claudian statuary to add the stola to a Greek model in the goal of adapting it to a portrait of a woman from the imperial family. This way of transforming Greek models (*Umbildung*) is attested as soon as the public depiction of women (those in the *domus Augusta,* obviously) became increasingly important, namely the Augustan period. We would even argue, as Annetta Alexandridis first proposed, that the *stola* became an essential feature of the official image of

[51] See below for epigraphic evidence supporting this identification.
[52] Musée du Louvre, Ma 1190. de Kersauson 1996, 138-139, no. 56.
[53] Kabus-Jahn 1963, 33-38, pl. 7; Nippe 1989; Traversari 1993; a complete list of replicas can be found in Alexandridis 2004, 232-233.
[54] Scholz 1992; Alexandridis 2004, 51-55.

Fig. 9. Statue of a woman, restored with a non-pertinent head of Sabina. Paris, musée du Louvre, département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, Ma 1190. (c) Musée du Louvre (distri. RMN-GP) / Hervé Lewandowski.

women of the Julio-Claudian household.[55] The sculptor who made this portrait therefore adapted a Greek model (from the late 4th century BCE) by modifying the drapery so that it referred—beyond the idealized image taken from the Greek repertoire of divine figures—to the concrete social status of the person depicted. These elements prompt us to link this eighteenth-century "Sabina" to the group of Julio-Claudian portraits, whose proportions it furthermore shares. It is obviously difficult to put a name to the figure. We might simply note that the choice of a Greek model was not fortuitous—not only is the cornucopia she holds in the left hand mostly ancient, rather than the work of the modern restorer, thereby constituting an important attribute of the figure, but the original sculptor chose a prototype that was not often used for portrait statues. The Braccio Nuovo Fortuna was not part of portraitists' usual repertoire. There is just one attested use of it in imperial statuary, namely the statue of Faustina the Younger now in the Casa de Pilatos in Seville.[56] Everything therefore leads us to believe that this model was specifically chosen for the Julio-Claudian group in Gabii. There is thus a distinction to be made within this category of "commissioned artifacts," concerning those that, far from coming straight from the "catalogue" of usual, canonical models, were elaborated through a specific process of selecting a prototype and then transforming it. This process of *Umbildung* indicates a specific iconographic intent.

The fact that the sculptor decided to employ a model rarely used in imperial portraiture is, in itself, indicative of its quality. Also noteworthy is the coherent way changes in the drapery alter the overall arrangement of the garment, revealing an artist able to conceive a figure in its entirety. It is not surprising, then, that the statue is brilliantly executed, enthusiastically layering the fabrics and working the drapery with special care. The folds of the *himation* are modulated on the surface and in the hollows, giving them a vibrant, colorful appearance. These same qualities are found on the damp, stretched and clinging pleats of the *stola* in the upper part, which is directly inspired by the Borghese Hera. Effects of surface are also detectible in the lower part of the *himation*. This quality of execution connects the statue to the group already identified on the basis of these criteria, comprising the statues of Germanicus and the little *togatus* without *bulla* "Commodus", which are highly similar from this standpoint.

As mentioned, the choice of type is unusual. So it must have been motivated by an iconographic intention, namely to depict a member of the imperial household in the guise of Fortuna. This iconographic inclination is not frequently attested, and it takes more than a cornucopia to firmly identify the goddess who presides over human fates, since this was also a generic attribute of personified virtues that, when embodied by the emperor, lead to the prosperity and abundance suggested by that symbol.[57] In this specific case,

55 Alexandridis 2004, 53.

56 Casa de Pilatos, Seville. Trunk 2002, 201-204, no. 29, pl. 38-39; Alexandridis 2004, 195, no. 206, pl. 45, 2-3.

57 On the famous sesterce of Caligula showing Drusilla, Julia, and

however, the use of this statue type can most certainly be explained by the iconography of the original[58]—at Gabii, the Braccio Nuovo Fortuna was chosen to visually identify a woman from the *domus Augusta* with Fortuna.

"Plotina" (fig. 11)[59]

The head of this statue is modern. It is a copy of a colossal portrait of Plotina already in the Sala Rotonda of the Museo Pio-Clementino when the Gabii sculptures were restored. It therefore represented an effort to create a Trajan and Plotina couple from material that was particularly heterogeneous—neither of the two was included among the finds at Gabii.

The statue itself belongs to a series that has been considered a variant on the Borghese Hera. This variant radically simplifies the extremely rich image conveyed by the late-fifth-century-BCE original by making the drape of the *himation* considerably more sober and by retaining just the damp, clinging and transclucent appearance of the *chiton*, here applied to the *stola*, without keeping the fall over the shoulder. Our "Plotina" is thereby linked to an image that was highly appreciated in the imperial era. Alexandridis, who categorized the many replicas into thirteen variants, called them *Hüftbausch-Typen.*[60] It should be noted above all that this image was often employed to depict women of the imperial household: it was used (with more concealing drapery over the left shoulder) for a statue of Iulia Augusta, that is to say Livia after the death of Augustus, now in the Munich Glyptothek[61]; this type was also used for a portrait of Agrippina the Younger in the Leconfield Collection at Petworth House[62]; and was used for Livilla, sister of Claudius, at *Rusellae* and Rabat, Malta[63]; a variant was used for the colossal portrait of Antonia Minor or Livia at *Falerii*[64]; and a headless statue that exactly copies the model of the Gabii "Plotina" was part of an iconographic cycle displayed in the metroon at Olympia, converted into a place of worship of the *domus Augusta.*[65] This latter statue raises a problem of dating. The imperial group in the Metroon was started in the Julio-Claudian period but considerably altered under the Flavians even while retaining statues of the original group, in particular Augustus (statufied as Zeus), Claudius, and Agrippina

Fig. 10. Statue of a woman, restored with a modern head of Plotina. Paris, musée du Louvre, département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, Ma 1037. (c) Musée du Louvre (distri. RMN-GP) / Hervé Lewandowski

Agrippina with the features of Pietas, Fortuna, and Securitas, each of the emperor's sisters is holding a *cornucopia*; see *Roman Imperial Coinage* I, Caligula 33.

58 On this issue of the importance of the iconography of originals replicated in portraiture, see Szewczyk 2023.

59 Musée du Louvre, Ma 1037. de Kersauson 1996, 92-93, no. 34.

60 Alexandridis 2004, 248-256.

61 Winkes 1995, 193-194, no. 123.

62 Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 7, note 4; Raeder 2000, no. 61, pll. 77-78.

63 For *Rusellae*, see Boschung 2002, 70, no. 20.7, pl. 57, 1-3; for Rabat, see Lindner 2006-2007, 57-58, fig. 9; at Cherchell, the same schema was employed, again for Livilla, but with a belted tunica—see Landwehr 1993, 89-90, no. 66, pl. 94-95; on identifying Livilla with the Leptis-Malta type based on an analysis of the composition of the groups in which it appears, see Polaschek 1973, 39-45; the portrait type was identified as Antonia Minor by Erhart 1978, 202-206, but see Boschung 1993, 63-64.

64 Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Sk 587. Fittschen, Zanker 1985, III, 122, R 27 (Livia); Alexandridis 2004, 170-171, no. 138, pl. 29, 3 and 30, 1 (no identification proposed).

65 Archaeological Museum, Olympia, Λ 142. Bol 1986, 303, notes 46-47 (Claudian era statue, Claudia Octavia); Hitzl 1991, 55-56, no. 7, pl. 35-37 (Flavian era statue, Flavia Domitilla Minor) and 65 (on the statuary type).

the Younger. From the sole viewpoint of style, a date contemporary with these two latter strikes us as the most plausible.

Most examples of this type can be designated as portraits, either because the effigy has survived or because of the combined presence of a *stola* and an insertion socket. The model copied at Gabii was therefore originally conceived as a portrait, designed to give the depicted person an ambiguous image, matronly yet also subtly Venus-like through the transparency of the fabric over the bust (even though covered by a tunic and a *stola*), a transparency made possible through use of the "damp" drapery borrowed from Attic sculptors of the late fifth century BCE.

The statue type of the Gabii "Plotina" was thus elaborated in the Julio-Claudian period and was particularly used for portraits of female members of the imperial family during the reign of Claudius. It also enjoyed a certain favor under the Flavians, if the statue from the Olympia group is dated to that period. It is very difficult, on stylistic grounds alone, to assign it to one period or the other, both being well represented at Gabii in sets of imperial statuary. The heavy concentration of this type during Claudius's reign nevertheless prompts us to think that this statue may also have been part of the Claudian group.

Composition of the Group, Context of the Commission

This Claudian group has thus grown to include not just of four statues (Claudius, Germanicus, "Drusus Caesar," and Tiberius) but roughly ten (adding the bodies of "Sabina" and "Commodus," the young *togatus* with *bulla,* the fragment of the *Hüftmantel* statue, and probably the body of "Plotina"). We feel that the bust of Agrippa[66] can be excluded, for it belongs to a different typology that therefore supposes a different context of display; also excluded is the head of his son, Agrippa Postumus,[67] set on a cuirass statue from the Flavian period, whose original typology is unknown but whose presence is hard to justify in a group executed several decades after the banishment and execution of Augustus's last biological grandson.

While it is always risky to proceed from a whole series of hypotheses, it will nevertheless be noted that the presence of the two young *togati* evokes a particular historic situation during Claudius's reign, namely the joint presence to two heirs, one adopted (Nero, who took the *toga virilis* in 50 CE), the other biological (Britannicus, still a child at that point, who wouldn't live to don the adult toga). Meanwhile, the *Hüftbausch* statue is a stereotype of groups of that period. The portrait statue as Fortuna, so unusual and so iconographically charged, might suit Agrippina the Younger. She was depicted as Fortuna in Cologne, as we learn from a bronze statuette,[68] and official art during Nero's reign confirmed that tendency by explicitly presenting Agrippina as a "maker of emperors" on several monuments: at Aphrodisias she carries a *cornucopia* and crowns Nero on one of the reliefs of the Sebasteion, an image also found on a cameo in the cathedral of Cologne.[69] This iconography recurs in a statuary group in the temple of Roma and Augustus at Pergamon, which was depicted on cistophori struck during Claudius's reign—a cuirassed emperor crowned by a woman holding a horn of plenty.[70] The legends on later coins, especially under Trajan, confirm that it is the goddess Roma and the god Augustus who are represented.[71] Roma crowns the prince using the coded Greek gesture for the acknowledgement of honor (τιμή). The replacement of θέα Ῥώμη by Agrippina in an identical composition is revealing of the role attributed to Nero's mother. Between 49 and 59 there subtly emerged imagery in which Agrippina, whose position at the height of power was unmatched in the history of women of the imperial family, presides over the destiny of the Empire just as she provides for the succession of the emperor.[72] That may well explain the choice of a rare statuary type at Gabii.

Claudian Statuary Groups in Italy

This identification of the figures in the group—Claudius, his brother Germanicus, the latter's eldest sons (Caligula being excluded), Agrippina the Younger, Nero, and Britannicus—merits comparison with other statuary practices in Italy during that same period. To start with a highly official iconographic program in Rome itself, dedications on Claudius's victory arch, erected only in 51, document the presence of statues of Germanicus, Agrippina the Younger, Nero, Britannicus, and Claudia Octavia,[73] a gathering very similar to the one we envision for Gabii. At *Rusellae*, it was certainly under Claudius that the young *togatus* who we can perhaps identify as Britannicus made his appearance; the inscriptions furthermore mention, in a slightly earlier phase, Claudia Octavia, Germanicus and his second son, Drusus Caesar. At *Veleia*, the Claudian phase of the basilica statuary cycle enriched the Tiberian and

[66] Musée du Louvre, Ma 1208. de Kersauson 1996, 54-55, no. 22.
[67] Musée du Louvre, Ma 1235. de Kersauson 1996, 148-149, no. 68.

[68] Boschung *et al.* 2011, 4-5.
[69] Boschung *et al.* 2011, 33-34.
[70] Giard 1988, 68-69, nos. 73-76, pl. 15; this reverse was found under Vespasian and Domitian, always on cistophori: *Roman Provincial Coinage* II, 859 and 875.
[71] *Roman Provincial Coinage* III, 1717.
[72] On this definition of Fortuna, see, for example, Tacitus on Vespasian's uprising in Syria: "Fortune was already, in an opposite quarter of the world, founding and making ready for a new dynasty, which from its varying destinies brought to the state of joy or misery, to the emperors themselves success or doom" (*Histories* II: 1,1, trans. C. H. Moore, Loeb Classical Library, 1952).
[73] Barrett 1991.

Caligulan cores with portraits of the imperial couple Claudius and Agrippina along with the child Nero. At Cerveteri, Claudius, Agrippina, and Britannicus were added.[74] In the cisalpine city of *Brixia* (Brescia), Isabelle Cogitore has suggested that two earlier dedications from the triumviral period were aggrandized with a vast Claudian group that included Claudius at the time he became emperor, as well as, posthumously, Germanicus and the three Drusi (Drusus Major, Drusus Minor, and Drusus Caesar[75]).[76] At *Herculaneum* under Claudius, although the statues erected by L. Mammius Maximus, scattered across the vast portico opposite the Collegio degli Augustali, includes the generation of the first *princeps,* featuring portraits of Augustus and Livia, they also comprise, as at Gabii, statues of Tiberius, Germanicus, Agrippina the Younger, and Nero, as well as Antonia Minor.[77] Based on these sets of statues, Cogitore was able not only to establish the role of Germanicus as a "dynastic pivot", notably during the reign of Claudius – and probably that of Caligula beforehand[78] - which had only a very tenuous relation to Augustus (in 41 he was the last Julio–Claudian still standing, and his indirect link to the first *princeps* went back the generation of his grandmother, Octavia), but also to observe the exponential increase in posthumous celebration of the *domus* at that time. The features of statuary groups during the Claudian period thus perfectly converge with what we infer at Gabii based on the lacunal material uncovered by Hamilton and then disturbed by the Borghese restorations.

In order to provide better foundations for these speculations, we must turn to the context in which a group of imperial statues could have been erected at Gabii during Claudius's reign. Epigraphy from that city provides us with evidence that refers, precisely, to a sculptural group from that period.

Inscription* CIL *XIV.2794[79]

In his anthology of inscriptions titled *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asseruantur explicatio et additamentum,* Italian antiquarian Raffaele Fabretti published a copy of a fragmentary inscription that he said he had seen in a wall of the church of San Primo in the area of ancient Gabii.[80] The stone was apparently seen only once after Fabretti mentioned it, by the antiquarian Giuseppe Rocco Volpi, who published a second copy of the text in 1743.[81] Although Volpi mentioned Fabretti's anthology, it might be supposed that he examined the inscription himself, since the text he printed is not completely identical, which suggests that he carried out an autoptical examination rather than just copying the text found in Fabretti (fig. 11). The inscription has since vanished, and it was Fabretti's entry that Visconti used in his *Monumenti Gabini della villa Pinciana*[82] and that Hermann Dessau published in volume XIV of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*),[83] which gives the text in Table 1 below.

Several comments can be made straight away. It appears that the inscription, which commemorates an act of euergetism, is distinctly divided into two parts. The first part corresponds to the three first lines preserved, presenting the dedicators and people concerned by the dedication, whereas the second part focuses on clauses that seem to involve several members of the Julio-Claudian family, whose names appear clearly in the last four lines of the inscription.

While the overall structure is clear, the meaning of the text is not straightforward and raises several problems of interpretation. On line 2, the reference *---]etuus* led Dessau to propose the presence of a *flamen perpe] tuus.* Given this desinence in the nominative singular, it was proposed that line 1 be restored to the form *---]ustian(us)*,[84] interpreted as the *cognomen* of the dedicator,[85] thus making him the perpetual *flamen* mentioned in line 2. The *qui* of line 1 should therefore be understood as a relative pronoun in the nominative singular, introducing a relative proposition listing the offices and priestships held by that individual. The individual was apparently also *---]ir aug,* probably *[seu]ir aug(ustalis)*, an office that is well attested in Gabian epigraphy.[86]

[74] Cogitore 1992, 840-841.

[75] The portrait now in the Museo Civico in *Brescia* (MR 281) belongs to the Corinth-Stuttgart type and therefore probably depicts Nero Caesar, as discussed above; but, as at Gabii, in the Claudian period it was highly likely that Germanicus's elder sons were portrayed together, although that is less probable, of course, early in the reign of Tiberius.

[76] Cogitore 1992, 835-836.

[77] Augustus: *AE* 1979, 172; Livia: *CIL* X.1413 = *ILS* 123; Tiberius: *AE* 1979, 173; Germanicus: *CIL* X.1415; Agrippina: *CIL* X.1418; Nero: *AE* 1979, 175; Antonia: *CIL* X.1417; on the dedication of L. Mammius Maximus. See Cogitore 1992, 836-837; Laird 2015, 222-234 and 297-299.

[78] Hurlet 1997, 555-557.

[79] Tansini 1995, 19-21 (= *AE* 1995, 28); *EDR* 154835.

[80] Fabretti 1699, 743, no. 513. After printing the text of the inscription, Fabretti states where it was found: "in parietinis ecclesiae S. Primi olim episcopalis Gabiorum."

[81] Volpi 1743, book XVII, ch. III, p. 283. Find location: "inter rudera sacrae aedis antistitum ut perhibetur Gabinorum, titulo sancti Primi, forte Primitiui, ad Lacum Burranum in agro olim Gabino."

[82] Visconti 1797, 11.

[83] *CIL* XIV.2794.

[84] Although *CIL* and *EDR* propose *[---]ustian*, Volpi gives *[---]usti[--]an*, which suggests that his study of the stone prompted him to revise the text as copied and published by Fabretti.

[85] It is impossible to reconstruct this cognomen. Here we will merely offer a few proposals. If we follow Fabretti's reading, *[---]ustian*, it could evoke the forms *[Aug]ustian(us)*; *[Fa]ustian(us)*; *[I]ustian(us)*, or even *[Sall]ustian(us)*, all of which are attested in Italy. In contrast, if we follow Volpi's reading, *[---]usti[--]an*, we might consider *[I]ustinian(us).*

[86] *CIL* XIV.2793, 2803 and 2795. For a recent discovery, see Johnston 2019, 669-675. Also documented are a series of magistracies internal to the college, including *praefecti augustales* (*CIL* XIV.2805 and 2811), *quinquennales* (*CIL* XIV.2809) and a *quaestor* of the *Augustales* (*CIL* XIV.2811).

513 . . . .
VSTIAN QVI . . . .
ETVVS ADE . . . .
IR AVG IIII VIRI . . . .
ENICOS ET . . . .
T DECVRIO . . . .
CVM PRIN . . . .
MI CVM . . . .
Sequuntur tres lineæ desperatæ lectionis
AVG DRVSI PATRIS GERMANICI CAESARIS DRVSI CAE
RIPPINAE AVIAE NERONIS CAESARIS GERMANICI . . . .
ANTONIAE AVG F ET CLVPEA INAVRATA VI ET . . . .
TILE VNA CANCELLOS ACERNEOS POD . . . .
In parietinis Ecclesiæ S. Primi olim Episcopalis Gabiorum.

R. FABRETTI, *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asservantur explicatio et additamentum*, Rome, 1699, n°513, p. 743

Inter rudera Sacræ Ædis Antistitum ut perhibetur, Gabinorum, titulo Sancti Primi, forte, Primitivi, ad Lacum Burranum in Agro olim Gabino 18.

. . . .
VSTI . AN. QVI . . . .
ETVVS ADE . . . .
IR AVG IIII VIRV . . . .
ENICOS ET . . . .
T DECVRIO . . . .
CVM PRIN . . . .
MI CVM . . . .
Sequuntur lineæ tres desperatæ lectionis . deinde
AVG DRVSI PATRIS GERMANICI CAESARIS DRVSI CAE
RIPPINAE AVIAE NERONIS CAESARIS GERMANICI.....
ANTONIAE AVG F ET CLVPEA INAVRATA VI ET....
TILE VIVA CANCELLOS ACERNEOS POD.....

G.R. VOLPI, *Vetus Latium Profanum: In Quo Agitur De Praenestinis Et Gabinis*, Rome, 1743, liber XVII, caput III, p. 283

Fig. 11. Ancient editions of the inscription reused in San Primo (*CIL* XIV.2794).

– – –
1 [– – –]VSTIAN QVI[– – –]
[– – – *flamen ? perp*]ETVVS ADE[– – –]
[– – –]IR AVG, $\overline{\text{IIII}}$VIRI[– – –]
4 [– – – *ludos sca*]ENICOS ET [– – –]
[– – – *e*]T DECVRIOṆ [– – –]
[– – –]CVM PRIN[– – –]
7 [– – –]MI CVM [– – –]

"sequuntur tres lineae desperatae lectionis" FABBRETTI.

11 [– – –] AVG DRVSI PATRIS GERMANICI CAESARIS DRVSI CAESARIS, CAE[– – –]
[– – – *Ag*]RIPPINAE AVIAE NERONIS CAESARIS GERMANICI [– – –]
[– – –] ANTONIAE AVG F ET CLVPEA INAVRATA VI ET [– – –]
14 [– – –]TILE VNA CANCELLOS ACERNEOS POD[– – –]
– – –

Table 1. *CIL* XIV.2794.

This point raises an initial reservation, however, because it seems difficult for the same individual to be simultaneously *flamen* and *seuir*, since those two offices relied on very different, indeed incompatible, recruitment. *Seuiri Augustales* were mostly of servile origin—often rich freedmen[87]—whereas the flamens, whose sacerdocy belonged to the municipal priesthoods,[88] were magistrates usually recruited from the higher levels of society. Since it would be difficult for a single individual to be both *seuir* and *flamen*, we might suggest other interpretations. The first would accept that the person was indeed perpetual *flamen* in Gabii and that the *seuir* was a different individual, introduced on line 2 after the reference to the *[flamen perpe]tuus.* This explanation is not very satisfactory, however, because that title is attested almost exclusively in African cities, above all in the second century. At which point—and since we know only of few perpetual flamens in Italy[89]—it seems more reasonable to offer another hypothesis: *---]ustianus* might occupy a perpetual office other than the flaminate. We could then consider a collegial magistrate, such as a perpetual *quinquennalis*, an office attested in Roman Italy within certain guilds and the college of the *Augustales*.[90] A perpetual curatorship is also attested in several colleges,[91] including the *Augustales*.[92] In all cases, a collegial magistracy is much more satisfactory, in the sense that it's compatible with the sevirate. Therefore, we could argue that the *qui* on line 1 should be understood as the beginning of the form *quinquennalis*, rather than as a relative pronoun. Nevertheless, it is impossible to restore a *qui[nquennalis / perp]etuus* on lines 1 and 2, because of the length of the first line that can be calculated from lines 11 to 14; such a restoration would indeed leave a large blank at the end of line 1. In that case, our dedicant could even be both a *qui[nquennalis* on line 1 and a *curator perp]etuus* on line 2. After the mention of his *quinquennalitas*, the name of the college in which he occupied the office would have appeared in the inscription and completed line 1, and the enigmatic form *ade[---* at the end of line 2 could be a verbal adjective – *ad* + gerundive – giving further indications on his perpetual magistracy.[93]

[87] On the social status of the *Augustales*, see VAN HAEPEREN 2016; MOURITSEN 2006; ABRAMENKO 1993a; ABRAMENKO 1993b; DUTHOY 1978; DUTHOY 1974; DUTHOY 1970.

[88] The perpetual nature of the flaminate, never attested in the *Vrbs* itself, excludes the possiblity that this person might have been a *flamen* in Rome, which would have made him a member of the senatorial class active in municipal life in Gabii. That several senatorial families had links with Gabii is largely attested in epigraphy (see, for example, *CIL* XIV.2790 and 2803; *CIL* XV.7831; *CIL* I.3092 a-d). See also *CIL* XIV.2802, a dedication made, under the aegis of the *praefecti Augustales*, by the decurions and people to senator Lucius Antistius Vetus between 24 and 26.

[89] *CIL* XIV.3955 (*Nomentum*); *CIL* IX.7245 (*Corfinium*); *CIL* X.1249 (*Nola*); *AE* 2018, 172 (*Ostia Antica*); *CIL* IV.3884 (*Pompeii*); *CIL* V.7458 (*Hasta*); *CIL* V.7478 (*Industria*); *CIL* V.7007 (*Augusta Taurinorum*); *CIL* XI.4370 (*Ameria*). It should furthermore be noted that all the individuals mentioned were representatives of the equestrian or senatorial classes, which shows that perpetual flamens were indeed recruited from a social milieu very different from the *seuiri augustales*, who were often rich freedmen. A few examples of perpetual *flamen* have been attested in *Hispania Citerior*, mainly in Tarragona; they were priests and priestesses of the provincial imperial cult, having first held that office in their cities. See *AE* 1972, 314 (*Aeso*); *CIL* II.4190; 4211; 4241 (*Tarraco*); *RIT* 145; 290; 322; 347 (*Tarraco*). Most of them came from the equestrian ranks.

[90] The *Augustales* in *Antium* had a *quinquennalis perpetuus* (*CIL* X.6682), as did, in Ostia, the *navicularii* (*AE* 1987, 192), the *stuppatores* (*AE* 1987, 196) and the *dendrophori* (*AE* 1987, 198), and also the *dendrophori* in Gabii (*CIL* XIV.2809).

[91] The office of *curator perpetuus* is attested at Baia (*ILS* 6339), in Ostia (*CIL* XIV.281) and *Misenum* (*AE* 1995, 311). Nevertheless, the title is far less common than that of *quinquennalis perpetuus*.

[92] Within the *Augustales,* the office of *curator perpetuus* is attested at *Liternum* (*AE* 2007, 359), Ostia (*CIL* XIV. 360), *Misenum* (*CIL* XIV.1880) and *Praeneste* (*CIL* XIV.3003).

[93] *[---]usti[--]an(us)* could be a perpetual magistrate in charge of the construction or the embellishment of a building and could therefore have a title such as *ad --- excolendum* (*AE* 1983, 728 ; *CIL* V.8139); *ad*

Then comes the title of *IIIIuiri,* which could be interpreted as a genitive singular or as a form of nominative plural. If we take it as a nominative, then we must envisage the presence of a series of dedicators at the head of the inscription, that is to say the *quattuoruiri* and *---]ustianus,* the perpetual *quinquennalis/curator* and *seuir*—or a second individual who held the sevirate and was also among the dedicators presented in the nominative; or perhaps the *[seu]ir(i) aug(ustales)* collectively. This hypothesis is not totally satisfactory, however, because it supposes not only that the *seuiri* were acting with the *quattuoruiri*, which is unusual, but also that that they were mentioned first, which would contradict the normal order of precedence of various social groups in dedications. Indeed, we fail to arrive at an explanation of why the *seuiri* would appear before the *quattuoruiri* here whereas several other inscriptions from Gabii attest to the opposite order of precedence.[94]

It might be envisaged that the *quattuoruiri* were mentioned here eponymically, which means restoring the ablative plural form *IIIIuiri[s]*,[95] which would have been accompanied by the names of the magistrates,[96] thus making it possible to date the euergetic act mentioned in the second part of the inscription. In this case, we would probably be dealing with a decision requiring the approval of the local senate. We might then consider that *---]ustianus* was introduced first because he was the source of the munificence. Another possibility – probably the most convincing –, would be to recognize a plural dative form, and therefore consider that the magistrates were the beneficiaries of some gifts of food or money (*sportulae*).

Context of Implementing the Euergetic Act

Indeed, the text then gives the details of a generous gift made by the individual mentioned at the beginning of the text. The restoration *[ludos sca]enicos* in line 4 is fairly convincing and explains the reference to decurions on line 5, initially rather hard to explain. Indeed, here again it is surprising to see representatives of the *ordo* appear after the accusative *[ludos sca]enicos* which seemingly corresponds to the donor's first munificent gift; in fact, if we restored a nominative *decurion[es]*, we would expect to find it higher in the inscription, before the mention of the theatrical games, alongside the *seuiri* and the *quattuoruiri*.

On the other hand, we might think that the euergete gave *sportulae* to the benefit of the *quattuorviri*, the decurions and other members of the municipal body and that the games were part of the gifts. Indeed, *ludos scaenicos* are a well-documented gift made to the civic body for the dedication of a building or statues, or when an individual was vested with a magistracy,[97] and the games usually come with a banquet (*epulum*), given to both the magistrates and the people.[98] In most cases, the rest of the inscriptions mentioned the endowment established by the donor in order to finance a distribution of money to the decurions, the *seuiri Augustales* and the townspeople, each group being entitled to a different sum depending on its social status. For instance, in Gabii, inscription *CIL* XIV.2793 states "*cuius ob / dedicationem diuisit decurionibus sing(ulis) ((denarios)) V, item VIuir(is) Aug(ustalibus) sing(ulis) ((denarios)) III item taber/naris intra murum negotiantibus ((denarios)) I*", which gives us a very interesting parallel for our inscription. We might in fact reconstruct a sequence such as *IIIIuiri[s et populo epulum dedit ?] / – – – et ludos sca]enicos et [ob cuius dedicationem*[99]*] / – – – diuisi]t decuriọn(ibus) [sing(ulis) ((denarios)) V, item VIuir(is) Aug(ustalibus) sing(ulis) ((denarios)) III ? ---].*

There would then follow the series of donations, placed on the same level as the theatrical games and the potential *sportulae*, and thus listed in the accusative, namely *clupea inaurata (sex), ---]tile, cancellos acerneos* and *pod[ium]*, that is to say six gilt-bronze *clipei*, one unidentified element, balustrades of maple wood, and a *podium*, which we take to be a masonry construction of the platform type. As to the form *---]tile,* it might suggest the adjective *structile,* "constructed, concrete-built," in complement to a neuter noun in the accusative indicating a structure.[100]

--- exstruendum (CIL XI.948), or *ad --- exornandum* (*CIL* XIV.4724; *CIL* X.531; *CIL* IX.5428; *CIL* XI.6191; *CIL* V.4059), which appears to be the most common form.

94 In the context of dedications or distributions made by or for the entire municipal body, the decurions came first, followed by the *seuiri augustales,* who represented the city's second rank. Finally came the people, that is to say all the citizens who held no municipal office. This order occurs in three inscriptions from Gabii: *CIL* XIV.2793, *CIL* XIV.2795 and *CIL* XIV.2803.

95 For line 3, Amanda Rampichini proposes *$\overline{\text{IIII}}$uiri [---]* in the *EDR* database; that is to say, she introduces a space after *$\overline{\text{IIII}}$uiri,* which would exclude the restoration *IIIIuiri[s].* However, we do not feel that the *EDR* proposal counters our hypothesis, because the layout of ancient copies makes it impossible to know whether there was a space or a simple lacuna after the form *$\overline{\text{IIII}}$uiri;* both are possible.

96 See two examples from Gabii: *CIL* XIV.2795; Johnston 2019.

97 See for instance: *CIL* VIII.858 (*Giufi*); *CIL* X.688 (*Surrentum*); *AE* 1974, 228 (*Privernum*); *CIL* VIII.7095 (*Cirta*); *CIL* III.1769 (*Narona*); *CIL* IX.7242 (*Corfinium*); *CIL* IX.2252 (Telesia); *AE* 2000, 507 (*America*).

98 See for instance: *AE* 1999, 543 (*Blanda Iulia*); *AE* 1982, 267 (*Capena*); *AE* 2017, 2 (*Tarquinii*); *CIL* XIV.2416 (*Castrimoenium*); *CIL* XI.5372 (*Asisium*); *CIL* XI.7556 (*Forum Clodii*); *CIL* XI.3811 (*Veii*).

99 If the sequence *ob cuius dedicationem* was indeed part of the text, one could assume that the beginning of the inscription originally included a dedication formula, probably a dative.

100 Amanda Rampichini, in the *EDR* database, proposes the restoration *supellec]tile,* that is to say "all the [religious] furnishings," but this meaning is never attested epigraphically. Her proposal naturally induces her to see *una* as the ablative singular of the adjectival number *unus/a/um*. We prefer to interpret it as an adverbial form and reject the idea that it is an adjective agreeing with *---]tile.* It should also be noted that the restoration of *sec]tile*, understood as a reference to a pavement made of marble pieces (*opus sectile*), is highly unlikely because the word is never used in this sense for which the Romans use the generic term *pavimentum*, something qualified by the adjective *marmoreum*. See : *CIL* X.531; *CIL* X.6683; *AE* 1956, 131.

Finally, an explanation is needed for the presence of several members of the Julio-Claudian family, whose names—all given in the genitive singular—appear in lines 11 to 13. Most scholars feel that these members of the imperial family were depicted on the *clupea inaurata* mentioned after the onomastic sequence.[101] However, the structure of this syntactic unit, isolated between the conjunctions "*et*," make that interpretation impossible. In fact, it is not possible from a syntactic standpoint that the names in the genitive in lines 11 to 13 agree with the accusative *clupea inaurata* placed after them and between the two "*et*". The names should most probably be understood as complements to a noun in the accusative such as *[statuas], [imagines] or [signa].*

These names merit further comment. The main difficulty involves punctuating the text in order to delimit the names and relationships of the individuals, thereby identifying them. We feel the inscription refers to the reigning emperor, Claudius, here called *Augustus*; then comes *Drusus pater [Augusti],* that is to say Drusus the Elder, Claudius's father; then *Germanicus Caesar* and *Drusus Caesar*, that is to say Germanicus and his son Drusus the Younger; finally, the text refers to a *Caesar [---]* who might be *Caesar [Britannicus Aug(usti) f(ilius)],* that is to say Britannicus.[102] Finally, the women of the imperial family are mentioned. First comes Agrippina the Elder, wife of Germanicus, presented here as *auia Neronis Caesaris Germanici*; then comes *Antonia Aug(usti) f(iliae),* that is to say Claudia Antonia, the daughter of Emperor Claudius. The presence of these various members of the imperial family makes it possible to suggest a date of 51 to 54 for this inscription, soon after Claudius's adoption of the young Nero—who is here given the name of Nero Caesar Germanicus—but before Claudius died. The dynastic group therefore seems to hinge on the figure of Germanicus,[103] who is named along with his wife Agrippina, his son Drusus the Younger, and his brother, Emperor Claudius. The latter was accompanied by his own children, namely his daughter Antonia and probably his young sons Britannicus and Nero. Indeed, while the names of the two young princes have not survived, the reconstruction *Cae[saris, Aug(usti) f(ilii), Britannici]* and references to Antonia, and Agrippina presented as *auiae Neronis Caesaris Germanici*, makes their presence probable. The composition of this group shows no real specificity, being similar to Claudian-era dynastic assemblages found at *Rusellae*[104] and *Veleia.*[105]

Subsequent to this critical re-analysis of the text in the *CIL,* we would like to propose a new reading of the inscription, with a corrected text and a translation in Table 2.

Remarks on the Context of the Discovery

As we have sought to show, inscription *CIL* XIV.2794 has all the characteristics of an euergetic inscription: it mentions the conditions of the donation made by *[---]ustinianus* who financed a series of embellishments, on the dedication of which he also organized theatrical games and *sportulae.* Following the donations listed in the accusative, the inscription would originally have included a date, in the form of the names of the consuls or those of the supreme magistrates of the year, mentioned here eponymically. The inscription commemorates above all the installation of a Claudian-period statuary group, as well as the construction of several structures whose link with the statues is obvious. It therefore seems necessary to re-contextualize this inscription and to explore the concrete implementation of the donations mentioned in the text. This is no simple exercise, however, since the stone had clearly been re-used, which makes it difficult to reconstruct its original context.

However, a series of observations made during an epigraphic survey by a team from the Musée du Louvre to the storerooms of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma (SSBAR) in Gabii in June 2021 documented use of *spolia* from the area of the forum in stonework for the church of San Primo. It thus became possible to link several fragmentary inscriptions found, respectively, in the zone of the forum and in the masonry of San Primo, yet which appear to belong to the same document, the *fasti Gabini.* The first fragment bears the names of the consuls for the years 27 to 22 BCE and was found in the forum area.[106] The second fragment, which

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101 Cesarano 2015, 77-78: "L'esistenza di un ciclo con immagini di membri della famiglia di Claudio è supposta sulla base di un'iscrizione [...] che nella seconda [parte] reca dediche di *clipei* di bronzo dorato a membri della famiglia imperiale."; Cima 2003, p. 138 : "L'iscrizione ricorda la dedica di sei scudi dorati, collegati alla celebrazione di membri della famiglia giulio-claudia"; Rose 1997, 90-91: "Gilded *clipei....* The inscription mentions only six *clipei*, but it is possible that some of the shields contained images of more than one person"; Hanson, Johnson 1946, 393, no. 19: "CIL 14.2794 is a poorly known inscription which seems to be a dedication of several *imagines clipeatae*, including one of Agrippina...." In contrast, Boschung 2002, 48 is much more cautious, simply noting: "Möglicherweise hängt sie mit einer umfangreichen spätclaudischen, im übrigen verlorenen Bildnisgruppe für das Kaiserhaus und deren Installation zusammen."

102 The presence of Caligula, whose name was Caesar Augustus Germanicus, can of course be excluded from a dynastic group of the Claudian period, surely erected after Caligula's *damnatio memoriae.*

103 Cogitore 1992, 851, underscores the crucial role of Germanicus in Claudian dynastic groups: "Germanicus joue un rôle de charnière dynastique : il allie le côté claudien de son père Drusus l'Ancien au côté antonien de sa mère ; adopté par Tibère, il devient de la sorte petit-fils d'Auguste [...] ; de plus, époux d'Agrippine, seul sang d'Auguste, il se trouve au carrefour de toutes les familles qui forment la *domus* julio-claudienne."

104 Romanò 2013; Boschung 2002, 69-74; Torelli 2001; Rose 1997, 116-118, cat. 45.

105 Boschung 2002, 25-35; Rose 1997, 121-126, cat. 50; Ambrosini, Tacchini 1995.

106 *CIL* XIV.4232; *Inscr.It.*, 13.1, 9a. Terme di Diocleziano, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, 74095. The *CIL* gives the context of discovery: "tra il tempio di Giunone e la chiesa di s. Primolo, sulla sinistra di quella via che divide in tutta la sua lunghezza l'altura di Gabii, e che si congiunge alla Prenestina, poco sotto il nominato

– – –
1 – – –]ustinian(us), qui[nquennalis colleg(ii) ---(orum) ?]
– – – curator perp]etuus ad e[xornandum --- ?],
– – – seu]ir aug(ustalis), $\overline{\mathrm{IIII}}$uiri[s et populo epulum dedit ?]
4 – – – et ludos sca]enicos et [ob cuius dedicationem]
– – – diuisi]t decurioṇ(ibus) [sing(ulis) ((denarios)) V, item VIuir(is) Aug(ustalibus) sing(ulis) ((denarios)) III ? ---]
– – –]cum prin[– – –]
7 – – –]mi cum [– – –]
[– – –]
[– – –]
[– – – statuas ?]
11 – – –] Aug(usti), Drusi patris, Germanici Caesaris, Drusi Caesaris, Cae[saris, Aug(usti) f(ilii), Britannici]
– – – Ag]rippinae, auiae Neronis Caesaris Germanici, [– – –]
– – –] Antoniae, Aug(usti) f(iliae), et clupea inaurata VI et [– – –]
14 – – – struc]tile, una, cancellos acerneos, pod[ium – – –]
– – –

... [---]ustinianus, *quinquennalis* of the ..., perpetual *curator* of the ... in charge of [the embellishments?], *seuir augustalis*, [gave] to the *quattuoruiri* [and the townspeople, a banquet and?] theatrical games; [on the occasion of the dedication, he gave each of] the decurions [five *denarii*, and each of the *seuiri Augustales*, three *denarii*]. [He also gave statues?] of [Tiberius Claudius Caesar] Augustus, of his father Drusus, of Germanicus Caesar, of Drusus Caesar, of Caesar [Britannicus, son of Augustus?], of ..., of Agrippina, grandmother of Nero Caesar Germanicus, ... of Antonia, daughter of Augustus, as well as six gilt-bronze medallions, a concrete-built ... and, on the same occasion, balustrades of maple wood, a platform ...

Table 2. Proposed corrected text and translation of *CIL* XIV.2794.

covers the years 2 to 6 CE, was mentioned by Visconti who stated that he had seen it in re-use in the masonry of San Primo.[107] Two other fragments were then brought to light by the SSBAR during sondages conducted in the forum and near San Primo, and were the object of study in June 2021. The first was found in the forum in 2006,[108] whereas the second came from test digs done at San Primo in 1999.[109] All these fragments display very similar paleography, and seem to have belonged to the same ensemble. These connections reinforce the idea of a dispersal of material originally erected in the forum, and of the re-use of part of the inscriptions in the stonework of San Primo.

Comments on the Original Display of the Inscription

If we accept that some of the material from the forum was moved to the church of San Primo, we can then offer new hypotheses as to the original placement of our inscription. Indeed, it mentions a set of members of the Julio-Claudian family not dissimilar to the group of statues from the Julio-Claudian period uncovered in the axial hall situated in the northern section of the forum and generally understood to be a place where the *domus Augusta* was honored or worshiped. How can we then interpret inscription *CIL* XIV.2794 if we assume that it must be linked to that spot and the dynastic cycle adorning it? Although archaeological evidence shows that the *sacellum* was built early in the first century,[110] which means this inscription cannot relate to the dedication of the building, it may well have commemorated the monumental redecoration of the latter.

Indeed, the dedication of this space—which some have suggested was an *augusteum*—was not necessarily contemporaneous with its decoration. An eloquent parallel in this regard is provided by an inscription from *Forum Clodii*,[111] namely a municipal decree from the year 18 endorsing the consecration of an altar and the erection of statues of Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia. The inscription also specifies the number of victims to be immolated *ad aram quae Numini Augusto dedicata est*, as well as the amount of the monetary disbursements made upon the dedication of the statues.

tempio di Giunone, in quel luogo appunto ove nel 1792 si fecero le ricchissime scoperte."

[107] *CIL* XIV.2801; *Inscr.It.*, 13.1, 9b. Visconti 1797, 10: "[una] lapida spezzata, affissa nelle pareti della diruta chiesa di S. Primo e ricopiata dal Fabretti, che la pubblicò."

[108] Casale di Castiglione, Gabii, box 59, inv. Gabii 2006 - TR3 AMB B.

[109] Casale di Castiglione, Gabii, box 203, inv. San Primo 99 - PR D40 1660.

[110] Angelelli, Boscarini, Lugari 2012; Angelelli, Musco 2012; Cacciotti 2017; Cima 2005; Cima 2003.

[111] *CIL* XI.3303. For a complete study of the inscription and its context, see Gasperini 2008.

The inscription thus commemorates the decoration of an *augusteum* that is not explicitly mentioned but is present through several references to an *aedicula,* the *ara Numinis Augusti,* and statues of the members of the imperial family.[112] If we accept Lidio Gasparini's interpretation, the decree was issued on the occasion of the consecration of the statues and the construction of the altar in the year 18, whereas a small temple (*aedicula*) already existed, probably from 5 BCE, when the duumvirs set up dedications to Lucius Caesar and Agrippa Postumus.[113] The *augusteum* seems to have been developed progressively: in 5 BCE the duumvirs built an *aedicula* in which they installed several bases inscribed and dedicated to the imperial family; later, in 18, it was decided to redecorate the *augusteum* and place statues and an altar there.

Inscription *CIL* XIV.2794 suggests a similar development in Gabii. Indeed, line 14 includes a series of structures—*struc]tile, una, cancellos acerneos, pod[ium---]*—that are appropriate for displaying statues. The word *podium* might refer to a concrete-built structure such as a platform, designed for the erection of statues of the above-mentioned members of the imperial family. When it comes to the *cancelli acernei*, which are probably a kind of balustrade, they may have represented a system for keeping visitors at a distance, preventing them from getting too close to the statues or even from entering the building. Finally, the *clupea inaurata*, or gilt-bronze shields, correspond to an offering attested in several cities of Italy.[114] In the final analysis, the inscription describes the decoration of a building that included installation of a Claudian-era statuary group focused on the figure of Germanicus, here named with this wife and son alongside his brother Claudius, their father Drusus, and Claudius's children (Princess Antonia and perhaps the young Nero and Britannicus). In all probability, inscription *CIL* XIV.2794 comes from the forum at Gabii, like the sculptures found by Hamilton and used to concoct a collection that obscured their archaeological identity. It mentions people who can be included within that group, whether through firm identification or through hypothesis. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that this was a municipal dedication describing the erection of the statues of members of the Julio-Claudian family, now held in the Louvre. Thanks to excavations carried out in 2006–07 by the SSBAR, we now have a better idea of the layout of the forum (the plan published by Visconti having provided a distorted picture). Given this new data, we are inclined to identify the centrally aligned room in Gabii's forum,[115] whose walls feature a high concrete-built platform typical of the display of imposing sets of statues,[116] as the object of the euergetic act recorded by *CIL* XIV.2794 and the site of the erection of an impressive ensemble late in the reign of Emperor Claudius.[117]

Translated from the French by Deke Dusinberre

[112] The link between this building and the imperial cult is also attested by the expression *thure et uino Genii eorum* which clearly evokes the *supplicationes* made to the *genius* of the emperor and members of his family. See Letta 2020.

[113] *CIL* XI.3304 and 3305: dedications to Lucius Caesar and Agrippa Postumus.

[114] *CIL* VI.17265 (Rome); *CIL* V.1829 (*Iulium Carnicum*); *CIL* XI.3214 (*Nepet*).

[115] For more on this architectural complex and its internal layout, see Benaich 2022 and Benaich forthcoming.

[116] A similar layout can be seen in the *augusteum* in *Narona*, Dalmatia. Gros, Zink, Marin 2015, 31-49 and 177-196; Marin, Vickers, Čorić 2004, 15-65. Lidio Gasperini also reconstructed this arrangement for the *augusteum* in *Forum Clodii*, see Gasperini 2008, especially 102-103. There are also several instances of buildings in which only the back wall has a platform, such as at *Velleia*, where the statues are set up on a stone platform that lines the south wall of the basilica. See Boschung 2002, 25-35; Ambrosini, Tacchini 1995. According to a study by Gasperini and Raimondo Zucca, the *augusteum* of *Pagus Stellatinus* had the same appearance: Gasperini, Zucca 1995.

[117] For more on the reconstruction of this space and the sculptures' display context, see Ortiz in this volume.

Progetto “Tor Vergata”-
Soprintendenza Speciale di Roma (2007-2012)

Premessa:
I materiali rinvenuti a Gabii tra il 2007-2012.
Analisi di alcune classi di reperti, attualmente in fase di studio

Marco Fabbri

Università degli Studi di Roma "Tor Vergata"

Quando i colleghi del "Gabii Project" dell'Università del Michigan hanno proposto all'*équipe* dell'Università di "Tor Vergata" di partecipare al volume dedicato alla cultura materiale gabina, avevamo da poco ripreso, dopo un'interruzione durata anni, lo studio dei reperti recuperati con le indagini svolte tra il 2007 e il 2012 nell'ambito di un progetto di ricerca condiviso con l'allora Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma e la Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici di Matera.[1]

Nel 2021 sono state avviate anche nuove indagini nell'area della cosiddetta *arx* gabina, grazie ad un protocollo d'intesa stipulato con la Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio di Roma. Il nuovo progetto di ricerca ha come promotori i responsabili per la Soprintendenza dell'area archeologica gabina, Chiara Andreotti e Rocco Bochicchio. Quest'ultimo è anche l'autore di due contributi di seguito presentati, non solo in qualità di co-responsabile scientifico del nuovo progetto, ma, soprattutto, per l'importante apporto fornito alle attività di ricerca svolte tra il 2007 e il 2012, prima come laureando e dottorando, poi come libero professionista.

Essendo lo studio dei materiali ancora in corso, non sarà possibile fornire qui un quadro completo dei materiali rinvenuti tra il 2007 e il 2012.[2] Si è scelto pertanto di pubblicare soltanto i lavori in stato di elaborazione più avanzato, lasciando a ciascuno degli autori la possibilità di scegliere una propria modalità di presentazione dei dati raccolti. L'obiettivo dei curatori di questo volume miscellaneo non è infatti quello di presentare i contesti indagati dalle varie *équipes* di ricerca operanti a *Gabii*, ma piuttosto quello di fornire un'analisi quantitativa e qualitativa per ciascuna classe dei materiali, per verificarne ricorrenze e specificità e confrontarle con quanto già noto delle produzioni omologhe negli altri centri dell'Italia centro-tirrenica. In quest'ottica, nei contribuiti pubblicati i riferimenti ai contesti e alle sequenze stratigrafiche di provenienza sono stati ridotti all'essenziale. Tuttavia, per una migliore comprensione delle analisi svolte sui materiali, si fornisce di seguito una sintetica presentazione delle principali fasi di attività individuate nei tre contesti gabini indagati tra il 2007 e il 2012 (fig. 1).[3]

Le indagini nel settore settentrionale dell'*arx*

Il primo contesto riguarda l'area rialzata che domina l'antico lago vulcanico di Castiglione ed è posta nel settore nord-orientale dell'insediamento. L'occupazione più antica di quest' area, da noi identificata come l'*arx* del successivo insediamento urbano, è attestata da un ampio impianto capannicolo del quale non sono state rinvenute le stratigrafie e da numerosi frammenti di ceramica di impasto recuperati in giacitura secondaria che, studiati da Paola Ghigliordini, attestano un'intensa fase di frequentazione compresa tra la prima età del ferro e i primi decenni dell'VIII sec. a.C. (fig. 2). Lo studio eseguito sull'impasto conferma i dati emersi dalle ricognizioni svolte negli anni Settanta e quelli emersi negli scavi successivi, sulla base dei quali è stata ipotizzata l'esistenza a Gabii di un insediamento pre-urbano articolato su nuclei sparsi di capanne posti a brevi distanza uno dall'altro.

La cesura riscontrata all'inizio del III periodo laziale per la ceramica di impasto sembra segnare un radicale cambiamento nel sistema insediativo gabino. Gli scavi condotti sull'*arx* hanno infatti rivelato che, dopo un periodo di stasi durato qualche decennio, l'area viene

[1] L'ideatore del progetto è stato l'allora responsabile della Soprintendenza Stefano Musco, recentemente scomparso. Gli importanti risultanti ottenuti durante il quinquennio di intense indagini non sarebbero stati raggiunti senza la sua straordinaria conoscenza dell'area gabina e le sue intuizioni.

[2] Lo studio delle classi di materiali 2007-2012 è stato ripartito tra i vari archeologi che hanno partecipato con maggior continuità alle indagini. Quasi tutti hanno inizialmente aderito con entusiasmo alla possibilità di riprendere lo studio avviato in passato, anche se la maggior parte di loro ha dovuto fare scelte lavorative al di fuori dell'ambito archeologico. Per questo motivo alcuni di loro pur provandoci fino all'ultimo non sono riusciti a rientrare nei tempi previsti per la consegna degli elaborati. Li ringraziamo, auspicando che, avendo a disposizione tempi meno pressanti, possano concludere il loro studio. Un ringraziamo particolare va anche a Jacqueline Capra e Anna Randò che hanno deciso definitivamente di abbandonare, lasciando generosamente a disposizione di altri la preziosa documentazione prodotta.

[3] Per una descrizione più approfondita dei contesti indagati si forniscono di seguito i riferimenti bibliografici di quanto finora pubblicato: Per il settore settentrionale dell'*arx* Fabbri 2015, 187-204; Fabbri 2017, 225-239; Fabbri 2019, 417-425. Per i tratti di fortificazione nord-orientale e settentrionale Fabbri, Musco 2016, 71-90; Fabbri, Bochicchio 2022. Per il santuario orientale Fabbri, Musco, Osanna 2012, 229-242; Fabbri 2011, 13 -38.

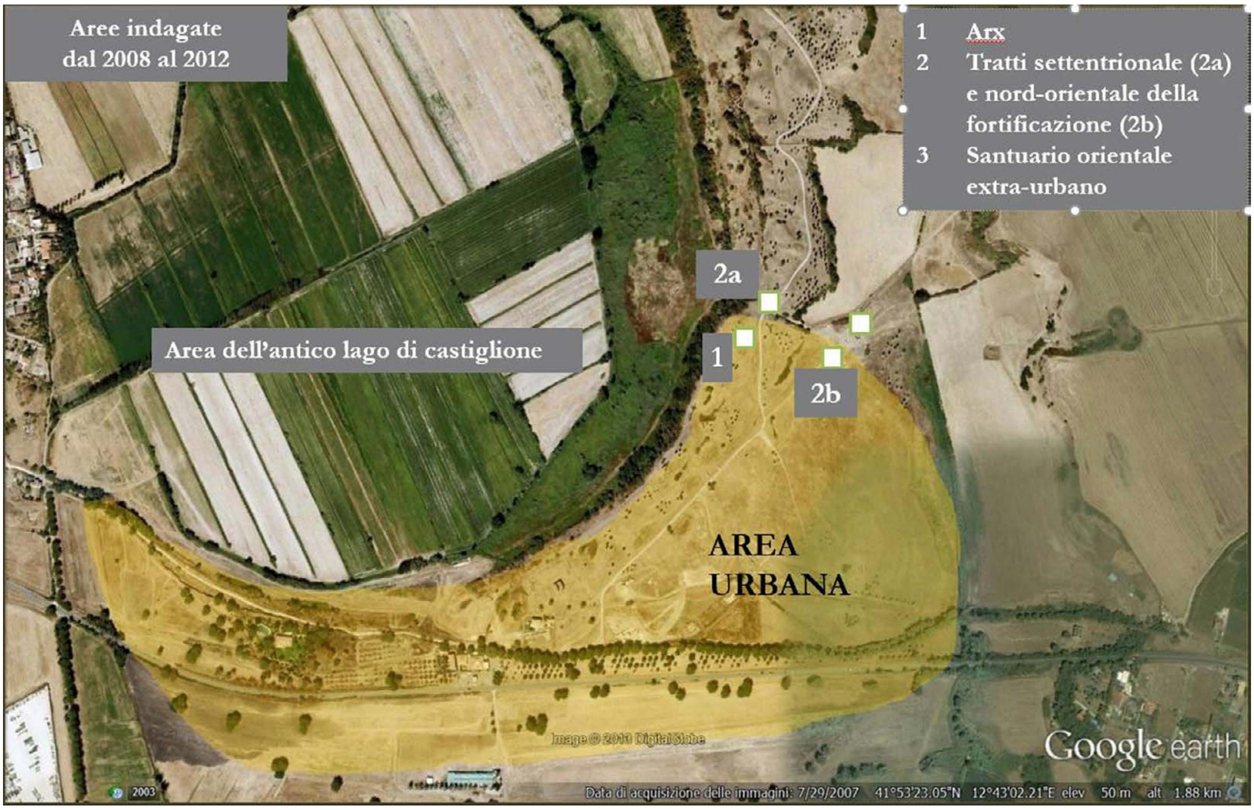


Fig. 1. Pianta con localizzazione delle aree indagate dal 2007 al 2012.

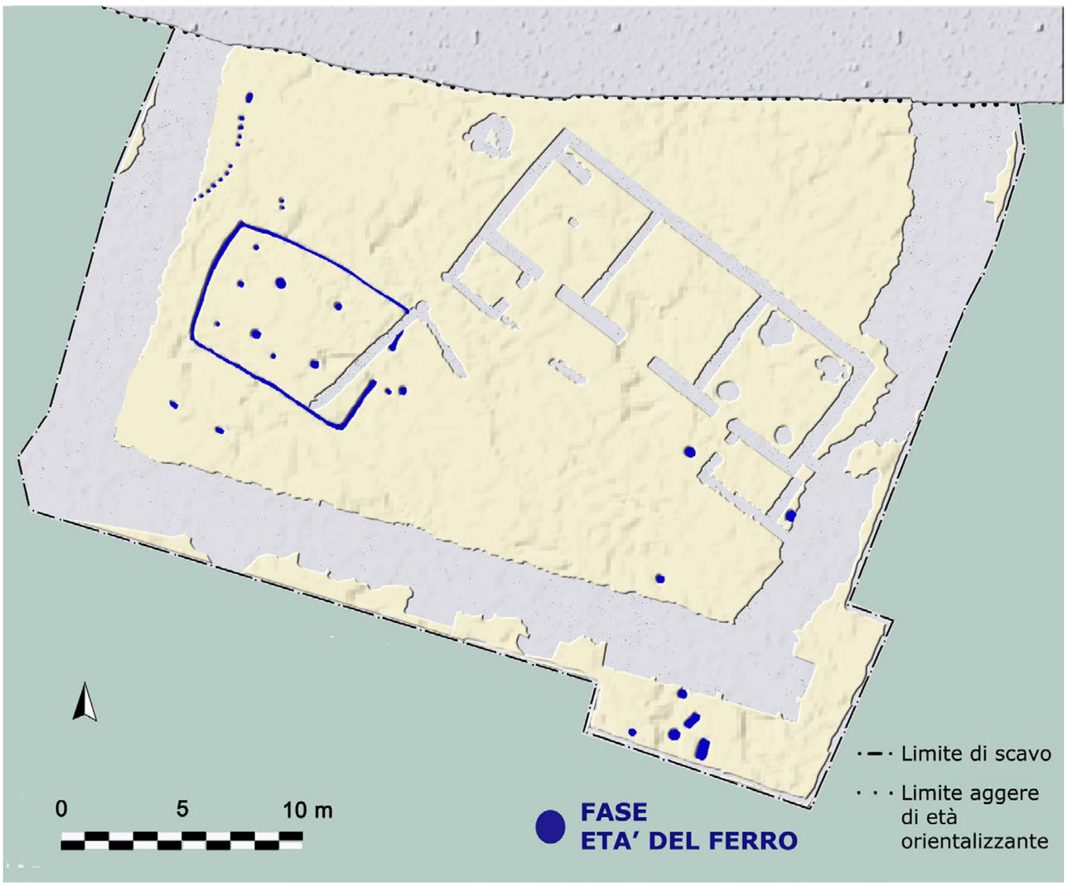


Fig. 2. *Arx*, fase protostorica.

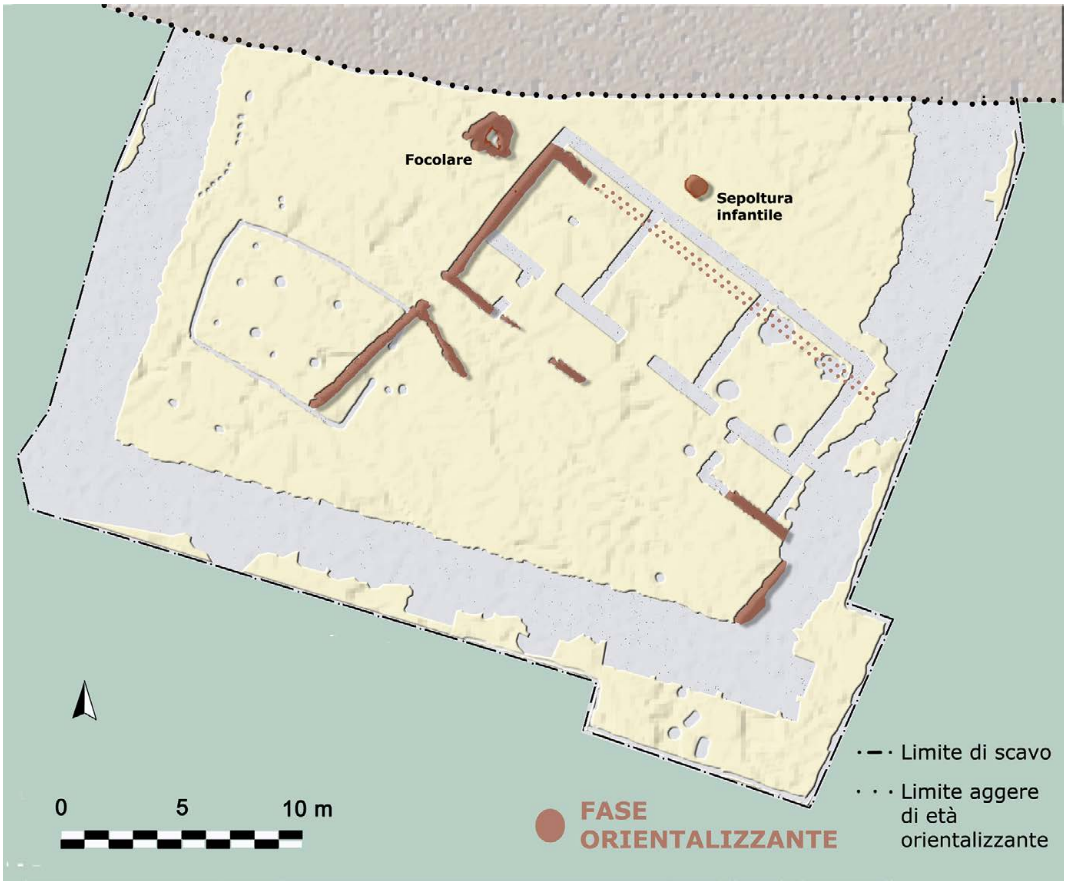


Fig. 3. *Arx*, fase orientalizzante recente.

rioccupata da un vasto complesso abitativo, realizzato in pietra (fig. 3), mentre il lato settentrionale del rialzo viene munito di un imponente sistema difensivo ad aggere, la cui descrizione si fornirà contestualmente alla presentazione del saggio realizzato lungo il tratto nord-orientale del circuito murario. Per l'impianto abitativo sono stati recuperati lembi di stratigrafia che solo in un caso hanno restituito materiale ceramico datante. Si tratta di un frammento di impasto rosso che consente di inquadrare la frequentazione del vasto edificio alla seconda metà del VII sec. a. C. L'ipotesi di una ripresa di frequentazione dell'*arx* tra la fine del VII e gli inizi del VI a.C. è confermata dallo studio condotto da Rocco Bochicchio (che ha rilevato la presenza di frammenti ceramici in impasto rosso in giacitura secondaria, attribuibili al medesimo periodo) e dallo studio di frammenti in bucchero - recuperati sempre in giacitura secondaria - svolto da Laura Protani. Si segnala infine l'individuazione, nell'area immediatamente esterna al muro perimetrale nord-orientale dell'edificio, di una sepoltura infantile in fase con esso, il cui corredo è attribuibile allo stesso periodo. Anche gran parte delle strutture dell'edificio residenziale di età orientalizzante sono state distrutte dagli interventi di età successiva. Tuttavia, quelle strutture che si sono conservate perché, in alcuni casi, sono state inglobate nelle murature di età successiva, consentono di ipotizzare l'esistenza di un edificio di dimensioni notevoli, costruito in pietra per un'altezza di almeno 1,60 m e preceduto da un vasto cortile. Il prestigio dell'edificio, dalle avanzate modalità costruttive, è testimoniato anche dalla presenza di alcuni grandi contenitori in impasto tornito, decorati, in *white on red* e *red on white,* con motivi geometrici e teorie di quadrupedi di non facile identificazione. L'eccezionalità di questi contenitori è data soprattutto dall'individuazione di numerosi frammenti che presentano sulla spalla un registro scrittorio entro il quale sono riportate lunghe iscrizioni in latino la cui lettura risulta particolarmente complessa. Per i motivi già esposti non è stato possibile inserire in questa sede l'edizione di questa classe di materiali. Si segnala però che, dopo un periodo di fermo, è stato ripreso anche lo studio dei contenitori con iscrizioni e che la Soprintendenza Speciale di Roma ne ha avviato il restauro in previsione di una loro esposizione.

L'edificio orientalizzante viene sostituito, in età alto-arcaica, da un complesso edilizio contraddistinto da un primo nucleo articolato su tre ambienti allineati, preceduti da un vestibolo delimitato, ai lati, da due piccoli vani e aperto su un ampio cortile (fig. 4). L'articolazione planimetrica del complesso di età

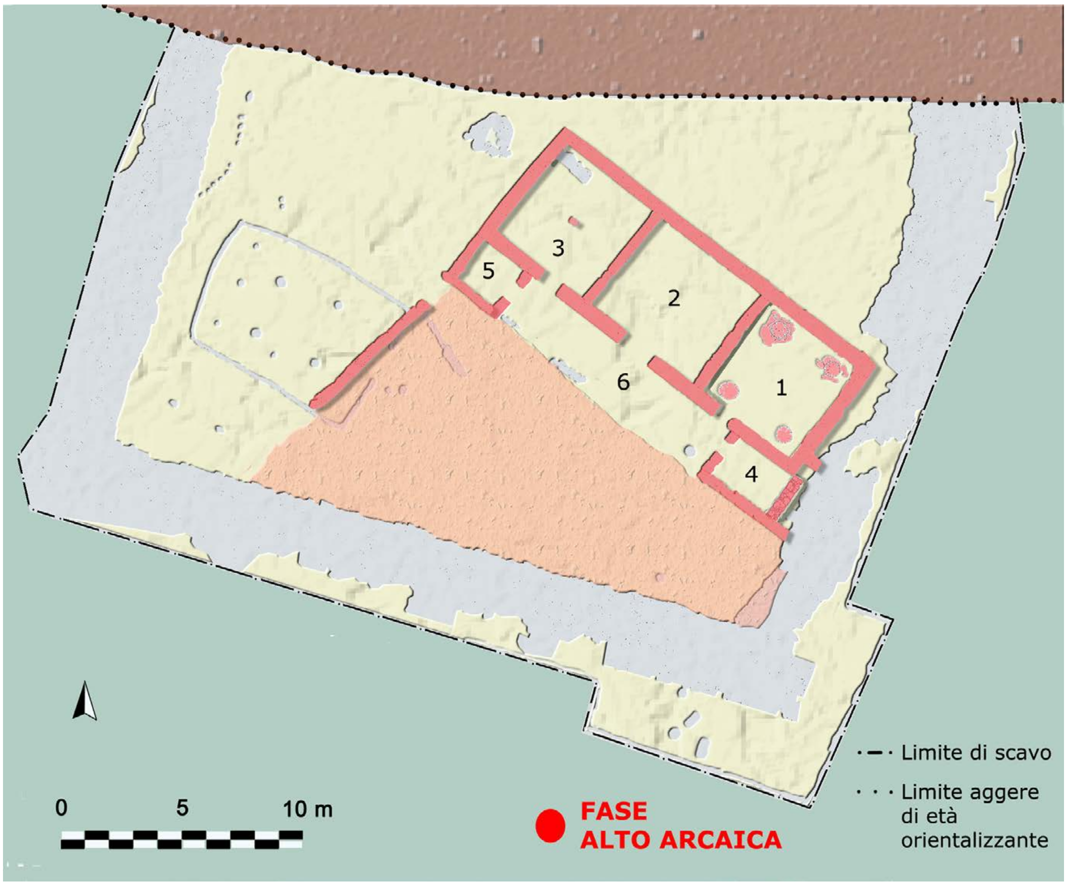


Fig. 4. *Arx*, fase alto-arcaica.

arcaica, se letta in parallelo ad alcuni frammenti della decorazione architettonica coeva, recuperati nel corso delle indagini, non lascia dubbi sulla stretta relazione esistente tra l'impianto gabino e l'edificio, che, posto all'estremità meridionale del Foro Romano tra l'*aedes Vestae* e la Sacra via, è stato identificato già alla fine dell'Ottocento con la *Regia* dei Tarquini citata dalle fonti. Un rifacimento del cortile dell'edificio gabino è attestato nella seconda metà dell'VI secolo a. C., mentre tra fine del VI e gli inizi del V sec. a.C. l'intero complesso è oggetto di un sistematico intervento di obliterazione: vennero infatti rimosse intenzionalmente le coperture e le pavimentazioni, rasate parzialmente le murature dei tre ambienti e quasi integralmente quelle vestibolo. I resti delle murature, risparmiati dall'intervento distruttivo, furono invece seppelliti da un enorme cumulo di pietre, alto almeno 4 metri e contenuto su tre lati da murature larghe quasi 3 metri (fig. 5). Questa straordinaria modalità di obliterazione, che abbiamo interpretato come conseguenza diretta della caduta dei Tarquini a Roma, ha consentito di preservare le murature dell'edificio tripartito in ottimo stato di conservazione per un'altezza di quasi 2 metri. In attesa del completamento dello studio della *coarse ware,* le analisi fin qui condotte sui frammenti di impasto rosso e di bucchero sono state fondamentali per definire cronologicamente sia la fase di costruzione e frequentazione della *regia* gabina, che quella della sua defunzionalizzazione.

Il settore settentrionale dell'*arx* di Gabii, marcato dal grande tumulo di pietre a memoria dell'avvenuta obliterazione della *regia,* per un lungo periodo sembra non essere stato oggetto di nuove frequentazioni. Solo alla fine del IV sec. a.C. l'area inizia ad essere interessata da una serie di attività cultuali che perdureranno, intensificandosi, nel corso del III secolo, fino a tutto il II secolo a.C. Le indagini svolte immediatamente all'esterno del muro meridionale di contenimento del grande cumulo di pietre hanno messo in luce due concentrazioni di materiali, caratterizzate, oltre che da frammenti ceramici, da numerosi ex voto (statuette a figura umana, teste velate, anatomici e alcune statuette di animali) e da frammenti fittili riconducibili a decorazioni architettoniche. Lo studio di questo materiale votivo e ceramico, condotto da Valeria Ducatelli, ha consentito di interpretare queste concentrazioni di materiali votivi come espressione di pratiche rituali connesse con i passaggi di *status,* tanto femminili quanto maschili. Più articolata è la lettura dei frammenti architettonici, che, pur essendo riutilizzati come materiale votivo, originariamente dovevano

Fig. 5. *Arx*, fase alto-arcaica, foto del cumulo di pietre in fase di scavo.

decorare uno o più edifici di cui non si è rinvenuta traccia. Anche per rispondere a questo quesito di estrema importanza per la conoscenza della storia urbana di Gabii, sono state programmate nuove indagini nel 2021. Pur non rilevando ancora alcun elemento utile ad individuare apprestamenti o strutture cultuali, la nuova campagna di scavo ha consentito di mettere in luce altre concentrazioni di materiali votivi che fanno ben sperare per il prosieguo delle ricerche.

Un'ultima fase di frequentazione emersa dai nostri scavi sull'*arx* riguarda un sepolcreto, del quale - tra il 2011 e il 2012 - sono state scavate quasi 20 tombe di diversa tipologia. Il sepolcreto sembra essere stato utilizzato per un lungo periodo che, grazie alle analisi condotte da Fabrizio Alessandro Terrizzi su alcune monete facenti parte i rari corredi funerari individuati e sui bolli laterizi rintracciati in alcune tegole di copertura delle tombe a cappuccina, può essere inquadrato tra l'età tardo-repubblicana e gli inizi del V sec. d.C. Pur considerando la possibilità che i reperti più antichi siano interpretabili come riusi, lo scavo integrale dell'area funeraria potrebbe farci acquisire informazioni utili a verificare quanto riportato dalle fonti letterarie sul declino e il ridimensionamento di Gabii in età tardo-repubblicana. In tale ottica, risulta importante anche il contributo di Rocco Bochicchio e Pamela Manzo sui frammenti di anfore rinvenuti nei pressi del grande cumulo di pietre.

Le indagini in corrispondenza tratti nord-orientale e settentrionale della fortificazione.

Nei saggi aperti in prossimità delle fortificazioni, una prima fase di occupazione è attestata da tracce di capanne intercettate al di sotto del tratto nord orientale. Anche in questo caso, la presenza dominante di ceramica di impasto, databile al II periodo laziale, benché recuperata in giacitura secondaria, conferma quanto già detto sull'assetto insediativo gabino di età protostorica.

La costruzione di un imponente sistema difensivo, inquadrabile nell'ambito del VII a.C., segna invece una tappa fondamentale nel processo di formazione urbana di Gabii. Si tratta di un apprestamento costituito da una struttura muraria frontale (probabilmente una zoccolatura per un alzato in materiale deperibile) rinforzato da un ampio aggere e protetto da un fossato. Le indagini hanno consentito di mettere in luce anche i resti di una porta urbica nel settore nord-orientale. Non è chiaro se il lato dell'aggere rivolto verso l'abitato fosse contenuto, fin dalla prima fase della fortificazione, da un muro di controscarpa. Certo è, invece, che un muro con questa funzione fu realizzato tra la fine del V e gli inizi del IV sec. a.C. Tra gli interventi di età successiva, quelli più rilevanti sono, nel settore orientale, la chiusura della porta urbica - della quale non sono emersi elementi utili a stabilirne la cronologia – e, nel settore settentrionale, un ampliamento dell'aggere con conseguente costruzione di una nuova cortina muraria in opera quadrata, databile tra il IV e gli inizi del III sec. a.C.

Le indagini presso il santuario orientale extra-urbano

Nell'ambito del progetto di ricerca del 2007-2012, oltre alle campagne di scavo eseguite nel settore occidentale del santuario, è stata avanzata una nuova proposta ricostruttiva delle principali fasi costruttive e della divinità (fig. 6). Anche in questo caso per una descrizione

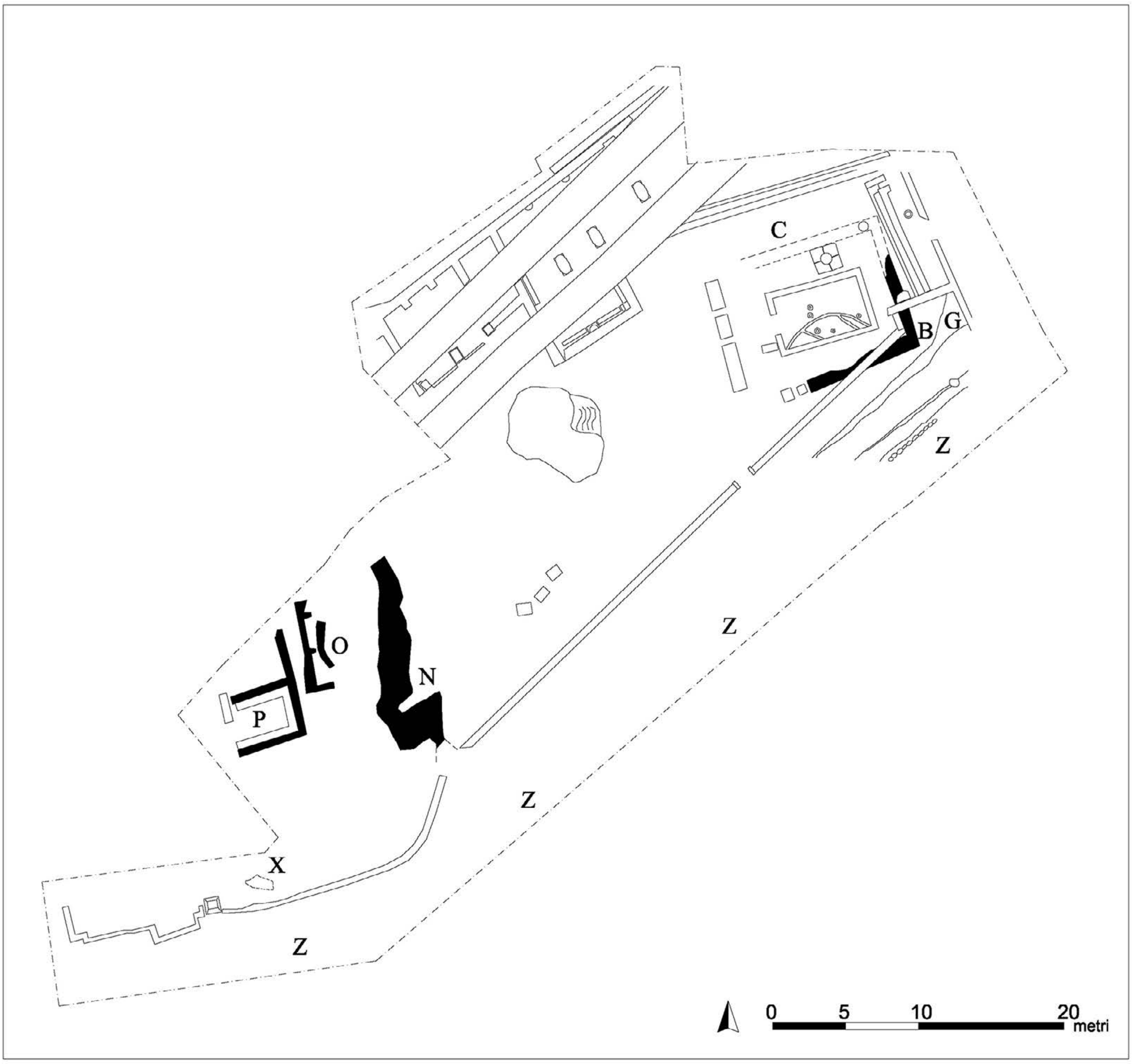


Fig. 6. Santuario orientale, planimetria schematica della fase II. Con la lettera P è indicato l'edificio per banchetti di VI sec. a.C.

più dettagliata di quanto emerso dalle ricerche svolte si rimanda ai resoconti già pubblicati.[4] A supporto dei contributi sull'impasto rosso e il bucchero si segnalano solamente l'individuazione di un piccolo edificio per banchetti VI sec. a.C. costituito da due ambienti (uno dei quali è contraddistinto da un ingresso decentrato, da banchina su tre lati e da pilastro di sostegno centrale) e di un monumento in blocchi di pietra gabina, composto da un alto podio che presenta un'iscrizione frammentaria con dedica ad *Honos,* inquadrabile su base stratigrafica e paleografica nel III secolo a.C.

[4] Si veda la nota 3.

Gabii, campagne di scavo 2007-2012: la ceramica di impasto

Paola Ghigliordini

Independent researcher

Abstract: This contribution provides the analysis of impasto pottery from various contexts at Gabii excavated between 2007 and 2012. The class is represented by 9248 fragments and is thus one of the most attested among those recovered (692 come from the excavations of the arx, 387 from the Santuario Orientale, 532 from the northern section of the fortification wall, and 1637 from the north-eastern section of the fortification wall). 314 diagnostic fragments have been used to elaborate this typological classification.

Introduzione

In questo contribuito viene analizzata la ceramica d'impasto rinvenuta nei diversi contesti indagati a Gabii tra il 2007 e il 2012.[1] La classe rappresenta,[2] con 9248 frammenti, una delle maggiormente attestate tra quelle rinvenute (ne provengono dall' *arx* 6692, dal santuario orientale 387, dal tratto settentrionale della fortificazione 532 e dal tratto nord-orientale delle fortificazioni 1637). Sono 314 i reperti ritenuti diagnostici e che sono stati utilizzati per l'elaborazione di una classificazione tipologica.[3]

Caratteristiche tecniche della ceramica d'impasto

La ceramica d'impasto di Gabii presenta caratteristiche tecniche eterogenee che prevedono l'uso di impasti diversificati, da grezzi a maggiormente raffinati, con inclusi, quali mica, augite, quarzo, calcare, rocce vulcaniche, a diverse granulometrie e concentrazioni.[4] I frammenti recuperati sono caratterizzati da una lavorazione a mano o al tornio lento e da una superficie di colorazione scura che va dal nero, al bruno, fino al rosso.[5] I vasi sono rifiniti dopo la cottura con specifici trattamenti superficiali, in particolare le forme aperte di piccole dimensioni (tazze, scodelle), hanno entrambe le superfici accuratamente lisciate e/o lucidate; mentre le forme chiuse di maggiori dimensioni, come le olle, presentano una sommaria steccatura e lisciatura.[6]

La pratica di continuare a realizzare a mano i vasi anche nell'età orientalizzante da una parte, e il precoce utilizzo del tornio lento dall'altra, rende ancora più difficile riuscire a stabilire una netta cesura fra le produzioni protostoriche e quelle orientalizzanti, specialmente per le forme di lunga tradizione, come ad esempio le olle o le tazze. In particolare la difficoltà si è riscontrata tra i materiali in impasto e impasto bruno, i quali condividono forme e alcune caratteristiche tecniche e produttive. Inoltre lo scarso livello di standardizzazione delle forme più antiche, unito al carattere di residualità non hanno aiutato nella ricostruzione di un loro quadro completo ed esaustivo, generando incertezze nell'attribuzione di alcune forme e tipi.

Il repertorio morfologico, così come l'apparato decorativo, rientra nella produzione tipica di questa classe ceramica diffusa nel Lazio[7] e nell'Etruria

[1] I materiali provengono dalle cinque zone indagate a *Gabii* dalla SSABAP Roma, dall'Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata e dalla Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici di Matera, le quali sono state denominate: "santuario orientale" Area II (scavi 2007-2008); "tratto nord-orientale della fortificazione" Area III (scavi 2007-2008); "*arx*" Area IV e "tratto settentrionale della fortificazione" Area V (scavi 2008-2012).

[2] Sotto questa nomenclatura rientrano convenzionalmente tutte le produzioni caratterizzate da un corpo ceramico non depurato e ben distinguibile da quello delle ceramiche depurate o fini (Ampolo *et al.* 1980, 11; Cuomo Di Caprio 2007, 147-148; Levi, Vanzetti 2009, 11; Bietti Sestieri 2010 cd, 80-82). Già il Gjerstad in *Early Rome I* delinea alcune peculiarità dell'"*Impasto ware*", che presenta un'argilla con inclusi a granulometria media o fine, un colore che varia dal grigio-nero al marrone scuro e avere la superficie lucidata, di colore variabile dal bruno al rosso (Gjerstad 1953, p. 52). Nel decennio successivo lo studioso svedese divide la classe in distinti raggruppamenti: i materiali più antichi vengono chiamati "Primitive Impasto", mentre quelli più recenti "Advanced Impasto" e "Buccheroid Impasto" (Gjerstad 1966, 68-70, 252-272). Nei medesimi anni '60 Giovanni Colonna, studiando i materiali provenienti dall'area sacra di Sant'Omobono, li individua come manufatti caratterizzati da un impasto generalmente grossolano, da una lavorazione a mano o al tornio lento e dalla superficie esterna lisciata a stecca o lucidata (Colonna 1963-64, 4-32).

[3] Fondamentali testi di riferimento sono stati il Müller-Karpe 1962; Gjerstad 1956; Bietti Sestieri 1992; Bettelli 1997; Gusberti 2005.

[4] Le caratteristiche delle argille vengono descritte per ciascun frammento all'interno delle schede TMA registrate nel database, ma non sono state classificate tipologicamente. Per un approfondimento tecnico sulle caratteristiche dell'impasto si veda Carpentio, Corradini, Levi 2009, 33-45.

[5] Le diverse modalità di cottura (focolari all'aperto o fornaci senza diaframma) determinano le differenti colorazioni delle superfici e degli impasti anche all'interno dello stesso frammento. I colori registrati con maggior frequenza a *Gabii* sono: il nero (7.5YR 2.5/1), il bruno (7.5YR 4/2 - 5YR 3/2) e il rosso (5YR 5/4).

[6] Sul trattamento delle superfici dei manufatti si veda Cuomo di Caprio 2007, 171-172.

[7] Roma: Gjerstad 1956, Gjerstad 1960, Gjerstad 1966; Muller Karpe 1959, Colonna 1963-64, Carafa 1995, Bettelli 1997, Falzone 2001a, Gusberti 2005, Argento 2006, Berggren, Argento 2012; *Gabii*: Bietti Sestieri 1979; Guaitoli 1981a, Almagro-Gorbea 1982, Bietti Sestieri 1992, Zuchtriegel 2012a; Colli Albani: Gierow 1964, Gierow 1966; Moltensen, Poulsen 2011; *Crustumerium*: Quilici,

meridionale.[8] I frammenti più antichi rinvenuti sono riferibili alla prima età del bronzo[9] e provengono solo dal settore nord-orientale dell'insediamento,[10] mentre si registra una significativa presenza in tutte le aree indagate di reperti inquadrabili nella prima età del ferro (II periodo laziale, fase A e B).[11] Solo un breve gap si evidenzia nel III periodo laziale, fase A[12] per poi registrare una ripresa alla fine dello stesso (III periodo laziale, fase B).[13] Contemporaneamente sono attestate produzioni ceramiche proprie del IV periodo che ci confermano ulteriormente questa ripartenza.[14] La significativa quantità di materiale dell'età del ferro ci restituisce informazioni sulla probabile estensione dell'occupazione in questa fase dell'abitato, che nonostante la mancanza dei relativi contesti in giacitura primaria, doveva essere particolarmente intensa ed estesa.

Quilici Gigli 1980, Di Gennaro 1988; *Ficulae*: Quilici, Quilici Gigli 1993; Castel di Decima: Guaitoli, Piccarreta, Sommella1974; Bartoloni *et al.* 1975; Laurentina: Bedini 1980, Bedini 1992; *Lavinium*: Sommella 1971-72; Castagnoli *et al.* 1975; Attema *et al* 2003; Ficana: Brandt 1996; *Satricum*: Maaskant Kleibrink 1987, Maaskant Kleibrink 1992; *Fidenae*: Di Gennaro *et al.* 2009; Sabina: Filippi, Pacciarelli 1991; Civitavecchia: La Castellina 2011.

8 Veio: Murray Threipland 1963; Murray Threipland, Torelli 1970; Bartoloni 2009; Bartoloni *et al.* 2009; Cascino, Di Giuseppe, Patterson 2012; Bartoloni, Acconcia 2012; Bartoloni, Neri 2021; San Giovenale: Karlsson 2006; Cerveteri: Cristofani 1993; Tarquinia: Bonghi Jovino, Chiaramonte Trerè 1997, Chiaramonte Trerè 1999, Bonghi Jovino 2001, Bonghi Jovino, Bagnasco Gianni 2012.

9 Testimonianze riferibili all'età del bronzo a Gabii sono state precedentemente registrate durante le indagini degli anni '80, quando sono state ritrovate tracce di un abitato presso la sponda sud-orientale dell'antico lago vulcanico di Castiglione. Si veda Bietti Sestieri 1979, 18-20; Guaitoli 1981a, 28-36; Guaitoli 1981b, 157-159; Bietti Sestieri, De Santis 2000, 74-84; Zuchtriegel 2012a.

10 Durante le campagne di scavo nel settore nord-orientale dell'insediamento (Area III) sono state individuate tracce di frequentazione precedenti alla fortificazione, quali alcune buche di palo pertinenti a capanne per le quali non sono stati individuati materiali diagnostici contemporanei. Tuttavia è da segnalare la grande quantità di frammenti in ceramica di impasto rinvenuti negli strati pertinenti all'aggere.

11 In questa ricerca si utilizza la cronologia tradizionale, ovvero le datazioni proposte durante il convegno *La formazione della città nel Lazio* (Ampolo *et al.* 1980) e successivamente affinate da Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri in seguito allo studio condotto sui materiali provenienti dalla necropoli di Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992, 536-537; Bietti Sestieri, De Santis 2000, 6): bronzo recente 1: 1300-1200; bronzo recente 2: 1200-1150; bronzo finale 1: 1150-1100; periodo I della cultura laziale (bronzo finale 2): 1000-900 a.C.; periodo II (prima età del ferro): diviso in fase IIA1 (900-865 a.C.) - IIA2 (865-830 a.C.) e IIB1 (830-800 a.C.) - IIB2 (800-770 a.C.); III periodo: diviso in fase IIIA (770-750/740 a.C.) e fase IIIB (750/740-730/720 a.C.); il IV periodo: diviso in IVA (orientalizzante antico, fase IVA1: 730/720-660 a.C. e orientalizzante medio, fase IVA2: 670-630 a.C.) e IVB (orientalizzante recente: 630-580 a.C.). Periodo arcaico: 600/580 – 500/450 a.C.

12 Questo fenomeno potrebbe indicare un parziale spostamento verso la zona della futura città, come riportato da Guaitoli 1981a, 23-57; Guaitoli 1981b, 157-159, fig. 1; Musco, Pilo 2006, 314-315; Fabbri 2011, 15-16; Fabbri, Osanna, Musco 2012, 229-230; Zuchtriegel 2012b, 157-159; Zuchtriegel 2012a, 302; Fabbri, Musco 2017, 72.

13 Sono presenti 2 frammenti di pareti di tazza e decorata con costolature oblique riferibile al periodo IIIB-IVA.

14 Sono attestate altre classi ceramiche quali l'impasto rosso, il bucchero, l'impasto bruno, le ceramiche depurate (queste ultime due produzioni non vengono presentate in questo contributo), riferibili al periodo orientalizzante e arcaico, che vanno a confermare una continuità d'uso del sito.

Forme e tipi

Il record archeologico ci restituisce una ridotta articolazione delle forme, limitandosi per lo più a vasellame di uso domestico, idoneo a contenere e conservare alimenti liquidi o semiaridi. Sono presenti recipienti più specificatamente da mensa, quali le scodelle e le tazze, ma sono attestati anche esemplari di boccali. Sono stati trovati contenitori con valenze non prettamente legati alla vita quotidiana, quali i vasi miniaturizzati e gli *askoi.*

La forma maggiormente attestata è l'**olla** (42%), con 160 frammenti (tab. 1, tav. I).[15] Tali frammenti presentano la superficie interna lisciata, mentre quella esterna è steccata e raramente è anche lisciata. Il corpo ceramico si presenta grossolano e il colore in superficie è fortemente disomogeneo e può variare, anche all'interno dello stesso esemplare, dal bruno al rosso e al nero. Sono stati individuati nove tipi di olla, che in base all'andamento del corpo sono stati suddivisi in due gruppi: globulari e cilindro-ovoidi. In particolare le olle globulari con orlo rientrante (tipo 1), sono inquadrabili nel II periodo laziale,[16] quelle con breve orlo verticale (tipo 2), sono riferibile al II periodo laziale.[17] Le olle con orlo fortemente svasato (tipo 3), trovano riscontro con materiali del Lazio diffusi nella fase finale del II periodo laziale.[18] L'olla del tipo 4 presenta un orlo svasato e labbro tagliato obliquamente ed è confrontabile con esemplari databili al II periodo laziale.[19] Questo tipo può essere considerato tra i prototipi delle olle che avranno

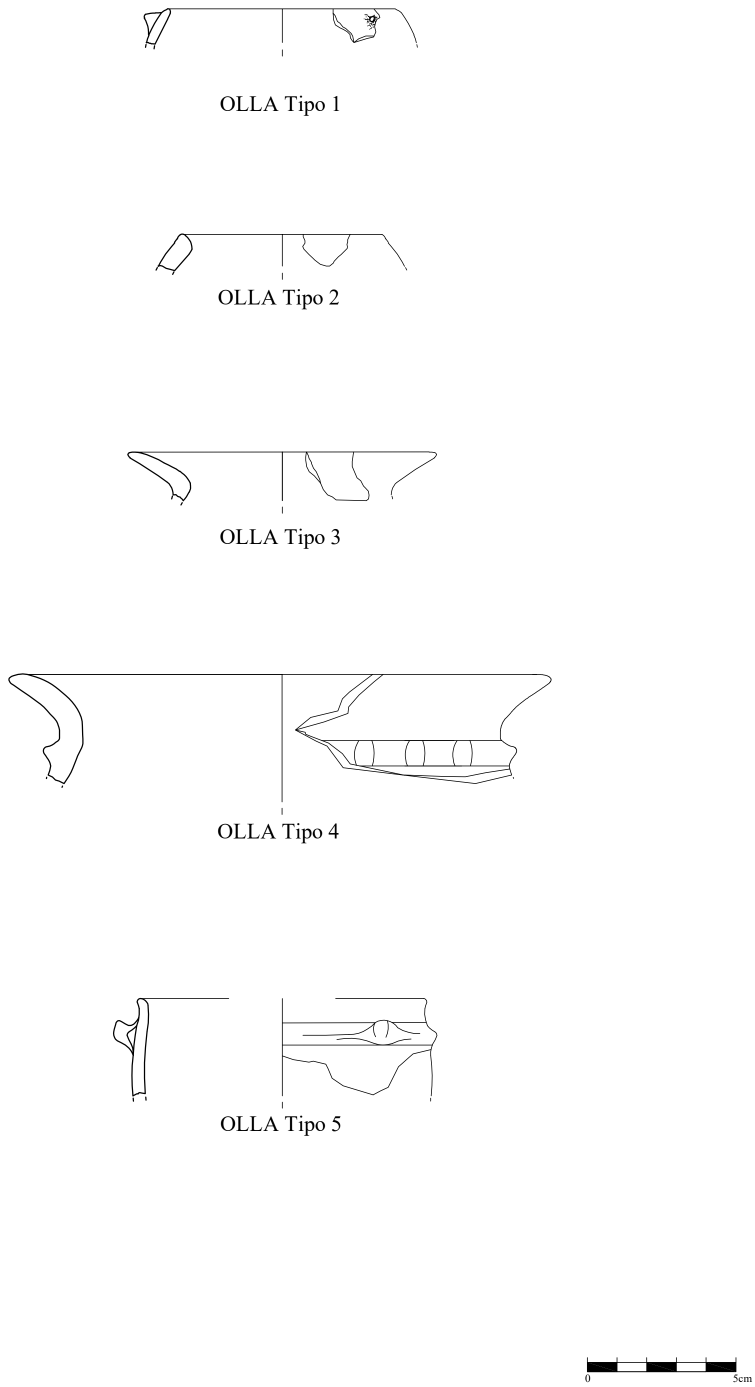
15 Sono riferibili alla forma dell'olla anche tre frammenti di fondo piano e anse, inquadrabili nella prima età del ferro. Sono stati rinvenuti quattro frammenti di coperchio, caratterizzati da un impasto grossolano, con inclusi a granulometria media, le loro superfici sono lisciate in maniera poco omogenea. I frammenti di coperchio sono riferibili alla prima età del ferro, ad esempio Guidi 1998, fig. 7, nn. 14-15; Iaia 2009, 143, fig. 2, n. 8.

16 Gjerstad 1966, 189, fig. 77, n. 1; Maaskant Kleibrink 1987 (*Satricum*), 296, n. 663, 349, n. 1224; Bietti Sestieri 1992, tav. 12, tipo 5a; Brand 1997, fig. 129 n. 57c; Guidi *et al.* 1996, fig. 16, n. 7; Guidi 1998, fig. 8, nn. 12-14; Falzone 2001a, 166, tav. 1, n. 1; Bonghi Jovino 2001, tav. 3, 93/4; Iaia 2009, 148, fig. 5, n. 8; Gran-Aymerich, Dominguez-Arranz 2011, tav. 100, n. 149; Zuchtriegel 2012a, 203, tav. IV, 138. La forma continuerà ad essere prodotta anche nei periodi successivi, si veda Carafa 1995, 25, tipi 12-20.

17 Tipo 2: Bietti Sestieri 1979, tav. IV, 3; Ampolo *et al.* 1980, p. 73, tav. 2, n. 4a; Berggren, Berggren1981 (San Giovenale), pl. 29, n. 108; tipo 2A: Bietti Sestieri 1992, tav. 11, tipo 3a; Brandt 1996, fig. 125, n. 43c; Zuchtriegel 2012a, Taf. IV, n. 140. Bietti Sestieri 1979, 30, tav. IV, 3; Ampolo *et al.* 1980, 73, tav. 2, n. 4a; Berggren, Berggren 1981 (San Giovenale), pl. 29, n. 108; Bietti Sestieri 1992, tav. 11, tipo 3a; Brandt 1996, fig. 125, n. 43c; Zuchtriegel 2012a, 203, tav. IV, n. 140.

18 Tipo 3: Quilici, Quilici Gigli 1980 (*Crustumerium*), tav. XLIX, n. 62; Kleibrink1987 (*Satricum*), 237, n. 144; *Similis* Bietti Sestieri 1992, tav. 8, forma 1a var. I; Guidi 1998, fig. 10, n. 13; Bonghi Jovino 2001, K 208/5; di Gennaro *et al.* 2009, 151, fig. 7, n. 4; Zuchtriegel 2012a, 203, tav. IV, n. 143.

19 Tipo 4: Colonna 1963-64, 8, fig. 3, n. 21 (gruppo A); Berggren, Berggren 1981 (San Giovenale), pl. 14, n. 8; Maaskant Kleibrink1987 (*Satricum*), 223, n. 18; Bietti Sestieri 1992, tav. 9, tipo 1c-1d; Cristofani 1993, 221, fig. H5.1; Karlsson 2006 (San Giovenale), pl. 3, n. 120; di Gennaro *et al.* 2009, 151, fig. 7, n. 3; Fischer-Hansen, Algreen-Ussing 2013, fig. 30, n. 21.



Tav. I

pieno sviluppo in età orientalizzante.[20] Le olle cilindro-ovoidi sono caratterizzate da un breve orlo assottigliato (tipo 5) e trovano diversi confronti nel Lazio e nell'Etruria meridionale, inquadrabili nel II periodo laziale.[21] Il tipo 6, con orlo svasato e labbro arrotondato, è molto diffuso in ambiente etrusco-laziale durante la prima età del ferro.[22] Il tipo 7, con orlo svasato e labbro appiattito trova confronto con olle riferibili al II

[20] di Gennaro *et al*. 2009, 151.

[21] Tipo 5: Gjerstad 1966, 105, fig. 37, n. 3; Berggren, Berggren 1981 (San Giovenale), pl. 18, n. 46; Maaskant Kleibrink 1987, 327, n. 1001; Maaskant Kleibrink 1992, 298, n. 1818; Guidi *et al.* 1996, fig. 16, n 8.

[22] Tipo 6: Peroni 1959-60, fig. 3 n. 7; Gjerstad 1966, 86, fig. 23, n. 6, 106, fig. 38, n. 3; Castagnoli *et al.* 1975, 17, fig. 14, n. 26; Quilici, Qulici Gigli 1980 (*Crustumerium*), tav. XXXVIII, n. 30; Berggren, Berggren 1981 (San Giovenale), pl. 24, n. 33; Maaskant Kleibrink1987 (*Satricum*), 224, n. 20; Bietti Sestieri 1992, tav. 9, tipo 1e; Brandt 1996, fig. 120, n. 35a; fig. 122, n. 36c; di Gennaro *et al.* 2009, 152, fig. 8, n. 3.

periodo laziale (tav. II).[23] Olle con orlo svasato e labbro tagliato obliquamente (tipo 8), sono inquadrabili tra il II e IV periodo laziale.[24] Il tipo 9, caratterizzato da olle con orlo svasato e labbro assottigliato trova confronti con frammenti riferibili alla prima età del ferro.[25]

Tabella 1. Ceramica di impasto - Olla.

Tipo	Cronologia	Tavola
1	II periodo laziale (900-770 a.C.)	I
2	II periodo laziale (900-770 a.C.)	I
3	II periodo laziale B (830-770 a.C.)	I
4	II periodo laziale (900-770 a.C.)	I
5	II periodo laziale (900-770 a.C.)	I
6	II periodo laziale (900-770 a.C.)	II
7	II periodo laziale (900-770 a.C.)	II
8	II e IV periodo laziale (900-770 a.C. e 730-580 a.C.)	II
9	II periodo laziale A (900-830 a.C.)	II

Le **tazze** ricoprono il più ampio arco cronologico, dall'età del bronzo recente a tutta la prima età del ferro. Tale forma è attestata da 94 frammenti (25%), che sono stati organizzati in 11 tipi.[26] Gli esemplari attribuiti al periodo dell'età del bronzo (tipo 1-7) presentano un impasto con inclusi a granulometria fine, hanno entrambe le superfici lucidate, lo spessore delle pareti varia tra i 0,4 e gli 0,8 cm e nella maggior parte dei casi i frammenti hanno un colore omogeneo, che varia dal bruno rossiccio al nero.[27] Tali frammenti, presenti in numero esiguo, provengono esclusivamente dal "tratto nord-orientale delle fortificazioni" - Area III.[28]

Il tipo 1, presenta un breve orlo svasato con labbro ingrossato superiormente appiattito e da una profonda vasca globulare ed è diffuso durante l'età del bronzo recente 1.[29] Il tipo 2 è rappresentato da un frammento di tazza, che si distingue per un orlo svasato a profilo continuo, labbro appiattito con margini squadrati e la vasca presenta lo spigolo della carena arrotondato; è tipico dell'età del bronzo recente 1 - 2.[30] Il tipo 3[31] ha un orlo svasato con apofisi e labbro arrotondato, mentre la vasca ha la carena a spigolo vivo; è diffuso nell'età del bronzo recente 2.[32] Il tipo 4 è rappresentato da un frammento di tazza, corrispondente al tipo 88.1, varietà D[33], che ha un breve orlo svasato distinto da uno spigolo interno, il labbro è appiattito superiormente con i margini squadrati e ha la carenatura della vasca a spigolo vivo; è inquadrabile nell'età del bronzo recente 2.[34] Nel tipo 5 rientra il frammento di tazza, che trova confronto con il tipo 104.3, varietà A,[35] ha un breve orlo svasato distinto da uno spigolo interno, labbro appiattito superiormente con margini arrotondati e la vasca ha la carena accentuata all'esterno da una piccola sporgenza; è ascrivibile all'età del bronzo recente 2.[36] Il tipo 6, un frammento di tazza caratterizzato da un breve orlo svasato distinto, con il labbro arrotondato e la carenatura della vasca a spigolo vivo,[37] è attestato nell'età del bronzo recente 2 e continua ad essere prodotto anche nell'età del bronzo finale.[38] Il tipo 7 è rappresentato da un frammento di tazza con orlo sviluppato e svasato a profilo curvilineo, con labbro arrotondato e la carenatura della vasca a spigolo vivo,[39] il quale è inquadrabile cronologicamente tra l'età del

[23] Tipo 7: Peroni 1959-60, fig. 3 n. 8; Colonna 1963-64, fig. 3, n. 26; Gjerstad 1966, 105, fig. 37, n. 1; Quilici, Qulici Gigli 1980 (*Crustumerium*), tav. XXXVIII, n. 36; Guaitoli 1981a, fig. 16/1; Maaskant Kleibrink1987 (*Satricum*), 223, nn. 9, 11 Brandt 1996, fig. 121/35e; Guidi 1998, fig. 9, nn. 11-12; Maaskant Kleibrink 1992 (*Satricum*), n. 1563; Maaskant Kleibrink 1987 (*Satricum*), n. 1015; Bonghi Jovino 2001, tav. 6, 255/10; di Gennaro *et al.* 2009, 152, fig. 8, n. 4.

[24] Tipo 8: Peroni 1959-60, 15, fig. 3, n. 8; Gjerstad 1966, 105, fig. 37, n. 2; Quilici, Qulici Gigli 1980 (*Crustumerium*), tav. XXXVIII, n. 35; Sciarretta 1969 (Tivoli), 73 e fig. 31, nn. 1-2; Guaitoli, Piccarreta, Sommella 1974, 81, fig. 12, nn. 10, 12; Berggren, Berggren1981 (San Giovenale), pl. 20, n. 101; pl. 24, n. 28; Brandt 1996, fig. 121, n. 35; Malmgren 1997, fig. 5.27; Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, 155, fig. 8, n. 7; Fischer-Hansen, Algreen-Ussing 2013, fig. 30, n. 23.

[25] Tipo 9: Gjerstad 1966, 105, fig. 37, n. 4; Guidi 1998, fig. 9, n. 7; Maaskant Kleibrink 1992 (*Satricum*), n. 1576; di Gennaro *et al.* 2009, 155, fig. 8, n. 8.

[26] Per alcuni esemplari, in particolare quando sono conservati solo frammenti dell'orlo, è dubbia l'attribuzione alla forma della tazza o a quella della brocca/orciolo. L'assenza della caratteristica ansa ad anello impostata sulla spalla ha fatto propendere per una attribuzione alle tazze. Per la forma dell'orciolo si veda Bettelli 1997, 199-201.

[27] Da Munsell 5YR 5/4 - 7.5YR 4/2 (rosso) a Munsell 7.5YR 2.5/1 (nero).

[28] Considerando la scarsità numerica la tipologia per di tali reperti si è basata sulla classificazione proposta da Isabella Damiani (Damiani 2010).

[29] Damiani 2010, 151, tav. 16, B4 (Torre Mordillo - Cosenza).

[30] Damiani 2010, 50, fig. 23, n. 2 (La Montanara - Tarquinia); Barbaro *et al.* 2012, fig. 12, n. 11 (Fosso Vaccina).

[31] L'esemplare è confrontabile con il tipo 30.4, varietà B: Damiani 2010, 161, tav. 22, n. A2.

[32] Cardarelli 1979, 143, fig. 3, n. 2; Angle *et al.* 2004 (Cavallo Morto - Anzio), 131, fig. 3, n. 2 (t.11); Barbaro *et al.* 2012, fig. 12, n. 5 (Fosso Vaccina); Angelini, De Angelis, Guerzoni 2012, 925, fig. 4C, n. 22.

[33] Damiani 2010, tav. 64, n. 9.

[34] Pacciarelli 1979, 163, fig. 3, n. 4; Pacciarelli 2000, 99, fig. 53, B2; Peroni 2005 (Pianello di Genga), 727, fig. 3, n. 3.

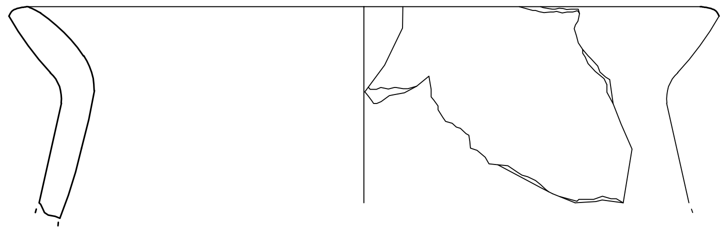
[35] Damiani 2010, 244, tav. 75, n. 8 (Coppa Nevigata, scavi 1904, Belardelli 2004, tav. XXI, n. 7).

[36] Pacciarelli 1979, 163, fig. 3, n. 5; Guaitoli 1981a, fig. 8, n. 48; Barbaro *et al.* 2012, 220, fig. 12, n. 10 (Fosso Vaccina).

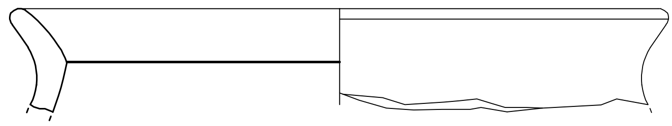
[37] Riferibile al tipo 102.1, varietà A: Damiani 2010, 241, tav. 73, n. 3, 45, fig. 22, n. 11 (Pontecchio - Montalto di Castro).

[38] Peroni 1959-60, fig. 5, n. 1; Barbaro *et al.* 2012, 224, fig. 14, n. 6 (Fosso Vaccina); Barbaro 2010, fig. 82, n. 2 (Uliveto di Cencelle - Tarquinia).

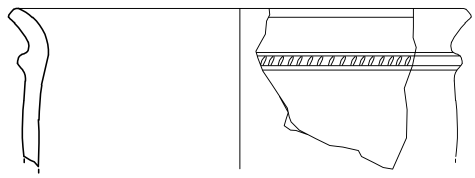
[39] Corrispondente al tipo 63.2, varietà A: Damiani 2010, 199, tav. 46, n. 4, (Pennacchioni, Persiani 1982 - La Montanara, tav. 1, n. 12).



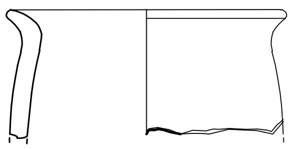
OLLA Tipo 6



OLLA Tipo 7

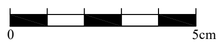


OLLA Tipo 8



OLLA Tipo 9

Tav. II



bronzo recente 2 e il bronzo finale.[40] Inoltre è stato rinvenuto un frammento di ansa con sopraelevazione plastica a protome ornitomorfa, che è possibile riferire al tipo 1 A30,[41] databile a una fase avanzata del bronzo recente 2 e un frammento di parete di tazza carenata con foro passante nella presa, impostata orizzontalmente databili all'età del bronzo finale (tab. 2, tav. III).[42]

I tipi 8 - 11 sono reperti riferibili alla prima età del ferro e hanno invece un impasto semidepurato con inclusi a granulometria fine, un colore omogeneo delle superfici, dal bruno al nero e molto spesso sono lucidate esternamente e lisciate internamente.

Il tipo 8, con orlo lievemente svasato e labbro assottigliato, un alto collo distinto troncoconico e una vasca profonda e globulare, trova confronto con reperti rinvenuti nel Lazio nel II periodo laziale.[43] Inoltre sulla vasca di alcune tazze sono presenti decorazioni incise con la rotella dentata, come linee parallele o il motivo a elementi angolari contrapposti, la "n" ramificata. Nel tipo 9 rientrano tazze con orlo indistinto, lievemente svasato con labbro assottigliato, collo cilindrico e una vasca profonda e globulare, ascrivibili al II periodo laziale.[44] Le tazze del tipo 10 sono caratterizzate da una imboccatura larga descritta da un orlo lievemente svasato con labbro arrotondato e con una vasca lievemente carenata e poco profonda.[45] Questi frammenti trovano confronto con esemplari provenienti in particolare da Roma, Fidene e da *Gabii* e sono inquadrabili nel II periodo laziale, fase B.[46] La tazza tipo 11 presenta un orlo svasato e labbro arrotondato, l'imboccatura è larga e ha una vasca globulare, poco profonda.[47] In base ai confronti il materiale può essere attribuito al II periodo laziale B.[48]

In sintesi la presenza di questo materiale attesterebbe una frequentazione dell'area fin dalle fasi più antiche dell'età del bronzo finale con una continuità fino alla fine del bronzo recente 2 e fino al II periodo laziale.[49]

Tabella 2. Ceramica di impasto - Tazza.

Tipo	Cronologia	Tavola
1	bronzo recente 1 (1300-1200 a.C.)	III
2	bronzo recente 1 – 2 (1300-1200 a.C. e 1200-1150 a. C.)	III
3	bronzo recente 2 (1200-1150 a.C.)	III
4	bronzo recente 2 (1200-1150 a.C.)	III
5	bronzo recente 2 (1200-1150 a.C.)	III
6	bronzo recente 2 (1200-1150 a.C.)	III
7	bronzo recente 2 (1200-1150 a.C.)	III
8	II periodo laziale (900-770 a.C.)	III
9	II periodo laziale (900-770 a.C.)	III
10	II periodo laziale B (830-770 a.C.)	III
11	II periodo laziale B (830-770 a.C.)	III

Sono ben rappresentate anche le **scodelle** con 69 frammenti diagnostici (18%) (tab. 3, tav. IV).[50] Tali

[40] Gjerstad 1956, 87, fig. 84, n. 5 (tomba U del Foro), 73, fig. 70, n. 8; Peroni 1959-60, fig. 3, n. 5; Di Gennaro, Guidi, Pacciarelli 1978, 85, fig. 1, n. 7; Berggren, Berggren 1981 (San Giovenale), pl. 9, n. 9; pl. 11, n. 2; Pacciarelli 2000 (Narce), fig. 19A.6; Angle *et al.* 2004 (Cavallo Morto - Anzio), 134, fig. 5, n. 2 (t. 29); Peroni 2005 (Pianello di Genga), 727, fig. 3, nn. 6-8; Belardelli 2007 (Monte Sant'Elia - Capranica), 348, fig. 182, n. 10; Fugazzola Delpino 1976, fig. 72, n. 2 (tipo 12); Guaitoli 1981a, fig. 8, n. 48.

[41] Damiani 2010, 303, tav. 106, B1 (tipo 1 A30); Fugazzola Delpino 1976 (Luni sul Mignone), fig. 45, n. 6; Gierow 1984, fig. 13, n. 6; Peroni 1989, fig. 21, n. 15.

[42] Di Gennaro, Pacciarelli, Guidi 1978, 85, fig. 1, n. 11; Belardelli 2007 (Monte Sant'Elia - Capranica), 348, fig. 182, n. 1; Gjerstad 1966, 79, n. 4, fig. 18.

[43] Gjerstad 1966, 135, fig. 50, nn. 1 e 4, 185, fig. 74, n. 1; Gierow 1966, 119, fig. 23, n. 7; Bietti Sestieri 1979, 38, tav. VI, n. 21; Ampolo *et al.* 1980, 75, tav. 4, n. 23; Meyer 1983, fig. 44, H 55; Bietti Sestieri 1992, tav. 21, tipo 20a; Cristofani 1993, 229, fig. 439, H20.1 e H20.3; Bettelli 1997, 65, tav. 28, n. 9 (tipo 8, varietà 8B); Falzone 2001a, 174, tav. 9, n. 42; Bonghi Jovino 2001, tav. 31D, 76/2/29; Karlsson 2006 (San Giovenale), pl. 4, n. 304; Iaia 2009, 145, fig. 4, n.1.

[44] Gjerstad 1966, 138, fig. 52, n. 4, 185, fig. 74, n. 2; Gierow 1966, 119, fig. 23, n. 8; 123, fig. 24, n. 13; Ampolo *et al.* 1980, 94, tav. 9, tipo 7a; Cristofani 1993, 227, fig. 439, H19.1 e H19.2; Quilici, Quilici Gigli 1993 (*Ficulea*), tav. XVI, n. 16; Bietti Sestieri 1992, tav. 20, tipo 19a; Bettelli 1997, 70-71, tav. 33, n. 8 (tipo 15); Falzone 2001a, 176, tav. 11, n. 53.

[45] US 3450_inv. 2320 - US 3114_inv. 1783 - US 3400_inv. 2285 - US 3439_inv. 2310 e tipo 10A: US 3400_inv. 2176

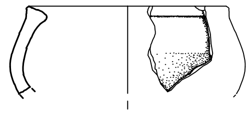
[46] Gjerstad 1966, 136, fig. 51, n. 1; Gierow 1966, 123, fig. 24, nn. 8-9; Bartoloni *et al.* 1975 (Decima), 386, fig. 24, (T. 132), nn. 14-15; Bedello, Fabbricotti 1975 (Veio), 68, fig. 3, nn. 5-6, 122, fig. 38, nn. 11-12, 15, 132, fig. 46, nn. 17-18; 157, fig. 59a, n. 9; 174, fig. 69, C18-19, n. 1; 179, fig. 72, E19-20, nn. 3-4; Bietti Sestieri 1979, 38, tav. VI, n. 22; Ampolo *et al.* 1980, 94, tav. 9, n. 7b; Meyer 1983, fig. 44, I 59; Maaskant Kleibrink1987 (*Satricum*), 349, n. 1222; Bietti Sestieri 1992, tav. 23, tipi 22b-e; Brandt 1996, fig. 140, n. 85b; Falzone 2001a, 176, tav. 12, nn. 55-58; tav. 13, n. 62; Iaia 2009, 145, fig. 4, nn. 5 e 10, p; Cascino, Di Giuseppe, Patterson 2012 (Veio), 93, fig. 5.5, 11. E213; Ricci 2013, 14, fig. 2, n. 5.

[47] US 3175_inv. 1798 - US 3406_inv. 2146 - US 3416_inv. 2292. tipo 11A US 3180_inv. 1817.

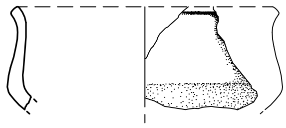
[48] Gjerstad 1966, 136, fig. 51, n. 4; Quilici, Quilici Gigli 1986 (*Fidenae*), tav. XXXVII, n. 28; Bietti Sestieri 1992, tav. 23, tipo 22b; Bettelli 1997, 71-72, tav. 34, n, 4 (tipo 18, varietà 18B); Falzone 2001a, 176, tav. 13, n. 59.

[49] Inoltre sono riconducibili alla forma della tazza vari frammenti di parete caratterizzati da motivi decorativi come bugne, costolature o motivi angolari contrapposti incisi; mentre altri frammenti di parete presentano una carenatura a spigolo vivo più o meno accentuata. Si registra, infine, la presenza di alcuni fondi piani.

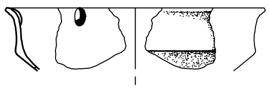
[50] La scodella è una forma legata al consumo individuale di cibi aridi o semiliquidi. Si veda Bietti Sestieri 1992, 297 e Iaia 2009, 143. Alla forma della scodella sono stati riferiti anche vari frammenti di ansa a profilo trapezoidale impostato sull'orlo e di ansa impostata orizzontalmente nel punto di massima espansione del vaso.



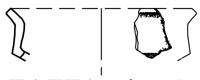
TAZZA Tipo 1



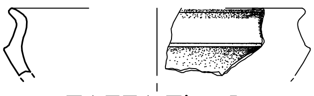
TAZZA Tipo 2



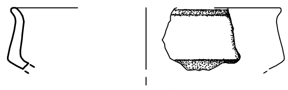
TAZZA Tipo 3



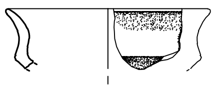
TAZZA Tipo 4



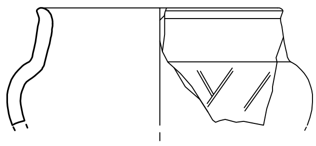
TAZZA Tipo 5



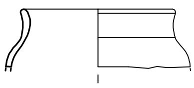
TAZZA Tipo 6



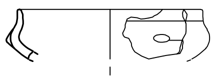
TAZZA Tipo 7



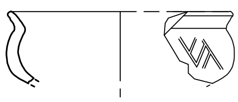
TAZZA Tipo 8



TAZZA Tipo 9

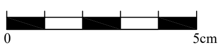


TAZZA Tipo 10



TAZZA Tipo 11

Tav. III



reperti presentano un impasto semidepurato con inclusi a granulometria fine, un colore omogeneo delle superfici, dal bruno-rossastro al nero, e spesso hanno entrambe le superfici lucidate. Ne sono stati individuati 6 tipi. Il tipo 1 è caratterizzato da un breve orlo rientrante, labbro arrotondato e la vasca è carenata. Alcuni frammenti conservano l'attacco dell'ansa a bastoncello, impostata orizzontalmente, subito al di sotto dell'orlo e sono riferibili a esemplari dell'area etrusca e laziale del II periodo.[51] Il tipo 2 è una scodella con orlo rientrante, labbro superiormente appiattito con margini arrotondati e vasca rastremata. Cronologicamente è inquadrabile nel II periodo e trova confronto con esemplari laziali.[52] Il tipo 3 è con un breve orlo dritto e con il labbro appiattito superiormente con margini arrotondati, la vasca è rastremata[53] ed è databile al II periodo laziale.[54] Nel tipo 4 rientrano frammenti di scodella monoansata con orlo indistinto, labbro superiormente appiattito con margini arrotondati e vasca emisferica poco profonda; tale tipo trova confronto con esemplari del *Latium Vetus* ed è inquadrabile nella prima età del ferro.[55] Il tipo 5 presenta un breve orlo indistinto dritto o lievemente rientrante con il labbro arrotondato e una vasca emisferica profonda, che è diffuso in ambito etrusco-laziale durante la prima età del ferro.[56] La scodella tipo 6 ha un orlo indistinto, labbro superiormente appiattito con margini arrotondati, vasca troncoconica e profonda; tali frammenti sono inquadrabili nella prima età del ferro.[57]

Tabella 3. Ceramica di impasto - Scodella.

Tipo	Cronologia	Tavola
1	II periodo laziale (900-770 a.C.)	IV
2	II periodo laziale (900-770 a.C.)	IV
3	II periodo laziale (900-770 a.C.)	IV
4	II periodo laziale (900-770 a.C.)	IV
5	II periodo laziale (900-770 a.C.)	IV
6	II periodo laziale (900-770 a.C.)	IV

Tre reperti sono riferibili alla forma del **boccale** monoansato (tav. V).[58] I recipienti presentano un impasto grossolano, con inclusi a granulometria media e con lo spessore delle pareti fortemente irregolare, la superficie interna è lisciata, mentre quella esterna è soltanto steccata. Il boccale monoansato è ampiamente diffuso nell'area medio-italica dalla prima età del ferro.[59] Ne sono stati riconosciuti tre tipi: al tipo 1 fa riferimento un esemplare quasi interamente ricostruibile, con un orlo rientrante e labbro appiattito superiormente con margini arrotondati; ha un corpo ovoide e un'ansa ad anello con sezione rettangolare impostata verticalmente al di sotto dell'orlo e il fondo è piano.[60] Al tipo 2 è riferibile un boccale con orlo rientrante e labbro assottigliato, il corpo è globulare e presenta un'ansa verticale ad anello sormontante; mentre il tipo 3 presenta un orlo lievemente rientrante

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51 Gierstad 1966, fig. 13, n. 5; Gierow 1966, 93, fig. 16, n. 9, 95, fig. 17, n. 1; Ampolo *et al.* 1980, 76, tav. 5, n. 25a; Berggren, Berggren 1981 (San Giovenale), pl. 18, n. 47; Bietti Sestieri 1992, tav. 24, tipo 26c; cfr. Bedello, Fabbricotti 1975 (Veio), 103, fig. 25, n. 6; 122, fig. 38, n. 5; 127, fig. 41, E8, n. 1; 131, fig. 45, nn. 7-8; 142, fig. 50, AB12-13, n. 6; 150, fig. 55, n. 3; Maaskant Kleibrink 1992 (*Satricum*), 354, n. 2604; Cristofani 1993, 225, fig. 434, H12.1; Bettelli 1997, categoria XIV, tipo 6; Brandt 1996, fig. 136, n. 78; Guidi 1998, fig. 5, nn. 16/18; Karlsson 2006 (San Giovenale), pl. 5, n. 173; Iaia 2009, 145, fig. 3, n. 10; Cascino, Di Giuseppe, Patterson 2012 (Veio), 91, fig. 5.3, 7; Zuchtriegel 2012a, 202, tav. IV, n. 129.

52 Gierstad 1966, fig. 13, nn. 1-3; Gierow 1966, 93, fig. 16, nn. 3 e 6; Bedello, Fabbricotti 1975 (Veio), 113, fig. 32, H9, n. 2; Maaskant Kleibrink1987 (*Satricum*), 260, n. 364; Maaskant Kleibrink 1992 (*Satricum*), 340 n. 2371; Brandt 1996, fig. 137, n. 78; Iaia 2009, 145, fig. 3, n.8; Cascino, Di Giuseppe, Patterson 2012 (Veio), 88, fig 5.1, 3.571.

53 US 3400_inv. 2141 - US 3406_inv. 2192 - US 3439_inv. 2312 - US 3400_inv. 2213 - US 3418_inv. 2245 - US 3412_inv. 2245 - US 3412_inv. 2297 - US 3406_inv. 2151 - US 3406_inv. 2152- US 3_inv. 484 - US 3439_inv. 2307 - US 106_inv. 7500. tipo 3A US 1_inv. 31000.

54 Gjerstad 1966, 73, fig. 13, n. 5; Gierow 1966, 93, fig. 16, n. 4; Bietti Sestieri 1979, 40, tav. VI, n. 24; Quilici, Quilici Gigli 1980 (*Crustumerium*), tav. XXXVIII, n. 51; Bedello, Fabbricotti 1975 (Veio), 73, fig. 6, EF 13-14sp, 2; 99, fig. 22, n. 3; 119, fig. 36, CD11, n. 2; 179, fig. 72, D18-19 n. 3; Maaskant Kleibrink1987 (*Satricum*), 227, n. 47; Bietti Sestieri 1992, tav. 24, tipo 26e; Brandt 1996, 114, n. 20; Giontella, Villedieu 2009, 64, tav. 13, n. 3; Iaia 2009, 147, fig. 3, nn. 3, 5, 6; Cascino, Di Giuseppe, Patterson 2012 (Veio), 90, fig. 5.2, 5.P603.

55 Gjerstad 1966, 75, fig. 14, n. 3; 139, fig. 53, n. 1; 184, fig. 73, nn. 1-2; Gierow 1966, 95, fig. 17, nn. 8 e 10; Cristofani 1993, 226, fig. 434, H13.2; Quilici, Quilici Gigli 1993 (*Ficulea*), tav. XXVII, n. 37.

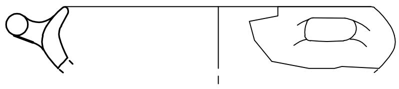
56 Maaskant Kleibrink1987 (*Satricum*), 226, n. 38 e 227, n. 49; Brandt 1996, fig. 130, n.59; Bonghi Jovino 2001, tav. 25, 311/5; Iaia 2009, 147, fig. 3, nn. 18-19; Cascino, Di Giuseppe, Patterson 2012 (Veio), 90, fig. 5.2, 5P194-5. P404.

57 Gierstad 1966, 76, fig. 15, n. 4; 184, fig. 73, n. 6; Maaskant Kleibrink 1987 (*Satricum*), 293, nn. 640-643; Bietti Sestieri 1992, tav. 25, tipo 26i; Brandt 1996, fig. 130, n. 62; Iaia 2009, 141, fig. 2, n. 4; Fischer-Hansen, Algreen-Ussing 2013, fig. 54, nn. 148-152.

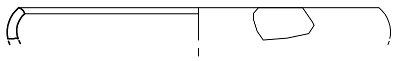
58 Tale forma era legata al consumo di liquidi e poteva essere connessa con la funzione di attingere (Iaia 2009, 149). Il boccale è stato prodotto per lungo tempo senza significative variazioni morfologiche (Bietti Sestieri 1992, 274).

59 Gierow 1964, 44, fig. 15, n. 5 (Grottaferrata, Vigna Giusti); Gierow 1966, 149, fig. 35, nn. 10 e 13; Gjerstad 1966, fig. 77, n. 3; Bedello, Fabbricotti 1975 (Veio), 68, fig. 3, n. 7; 73, fig. 6, n. 2; 99, fig 22, D15-16, 2; 103, fig. 25, n. 8; 113, fig. 32, I8, n 2; 132, fig. 46, nn. 12-13; 179, fig. 72, E17-18, n. 5; Bietti Sestieri 1979, 37, tav. VI, n. 17; Ampolo *et al.* 1980, 74, tav. 3, n. 13; Berggren, Berggren 1981 (San Giovenale), pl. 16, n. 4; Maaskant Kleibrink 1987 (*Satricum*), 263, n. 386; 320, n. 924; Bietti Sestieri 1992, tav. 20, tipo 17a; Brandt 1996 (Ficana), fig. 141, n 92a; Bettelli 1997, 45, tav. 8, n. 3 (tipo 2); Bietti Sestieri, De Santis 2001, 215, fig. 6; Bonghi Jovino 2001, tav. 20C, 92/2 e tav. 21B, 277/4; Belardelli, Guidi 2006, tav. 3, n. 18; Karlsson 2006 (San Giovenale), pl. 5, 126 e 172; Iaia 2009, 149, fig. 5, n. 5-6; Alessandri 2013, fig. 119.1, n. 8.

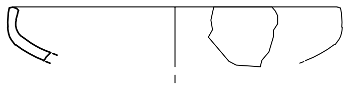
60 L'esemplare probabilmente è collegato ad una tomba, in quanto associato ad alcuni frammenti ossei o ad attività rituale connessa alla costruzione delle mura.



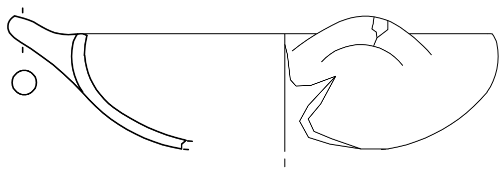
SCODELLA Tipo 1



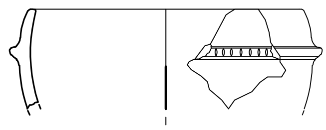
SCODELLA Tipo 2



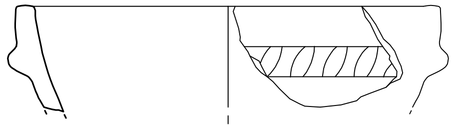
SCODELLA Tipo 3



SCODELLA Tipo 4

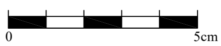


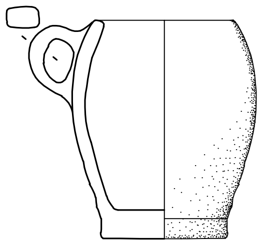
SCODELLA Tipo 5



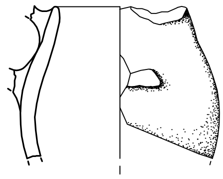
SCODELLA Tipo 6

Tav. IV

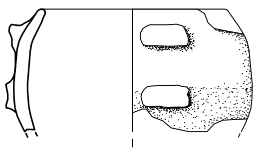




BOCCALE Tipo 1

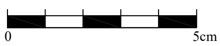


BOCCALE Tipo 2



BOCCALE Tipo 3

Tav. V



e labbro assottigliato, il corpo ovoide allungato e presenta un'ansa verticale ad anello subito al di sotto dell'orlo

Sono stati rinvenuti due tipi di ***askoi*** (Tav. VI), caratterizzati da un impasto semidepurato, con inclusi a granulometria fine e dalla superficie esterna accuratamente lucidata. Il tipo 1 è un esemplare quasi interamente ricostruibile, con collo cilindrico, il labbro arrotondato, un corpo leggermente troncoconico-globulare e il fondo piatto. Il vaso presenta un'ansa a bastoncello, impostata orizzontalmente sulla spalla. Il tipo 2 si presenta integro, con collo leggermente troncoconico, labbro arrotondato, corpo globulare e con il fondo piatto. L'esemplare ha un'ansa a bastoncello impostata orizzontalmente. Il manufatto è parte del corredo della tomba 16, la quale è datata al IV periodo laziale, fase B.[61] L'inquadramento cronologico dell'*askos* non è di semplice definizione, ma è sicuramente l'oggetto più antico rispetto agli altri elementi del corredo funerario. La foggia dell'*askos* è di antica tradizione e potrebbe essere considerato come un vaso particolarmente importante e la sua presenza nella tomba potrebbe aver avuto una precisa valenza rituale.[62] Un confronto puntuale è stato riconosciuto con un *askos* proveniente dalla tomba 11 rinvenuta nell'area urbana di Gabii.[63]

Presso l'*arx* di Gabii sono stati trovati tre oggetti in impasto riferibili a **vasetti miniaturistici** (Tav. VI).[64] I piccoli manufatti presentano un impasto grossolano, con inclusi a granulometria media, lo spessore delle pareti è irregolare ed entrambe le superfici non sono rifinite. I contenitori miniaturistici sono un elemento caratteristico della cultura laziale della prima età del ferro, ai quali può essere attribuita una valenza votiva-cultuale.[65]

61 Il corredo della tomba 16 è inoltre composto da: un'anfora in impasto bruno, due coppette in ceramica depurata dipinta, un *alabastron* in ceramica etrusco-corinzia e una fibula ad arco, databile al periodo IV, fase B (orientalizzante recente: 630-580 a.C.).

62 Si veda GIEROW 1964, 28, fig. 5 (Colonna); 80, fig. 37, n. 88 (Grottaferrata, Villa Cavalletti); 234, fig. 134, n. 8 (Marino, Pascolaro, tomba 1); 263, fig. 157, n. 2 (Marino, Vigna Delsette); 270, fig. 164, n. 2 (Marino, San Rocco, Capo d'Acqua); 278, fig. 169, n. 8 (Rocca di Papa, San Lorenzo Vecchio, tomba 1); 301, fig. 181, n. 34 (Castel Gandolfo, San Sebastiano); 325, fig. 194, n. 23 (Castel Gandolfo); 339, fig. 203, nn. 47-53 (Castel Gandolfo); 346, fig. 206, n. 26 (Castel Gandolfo); 383, fig. 229, nn. 14-15 (Velletri, Vigna D'Andrea); 390, fig. 231, n. 7 (Velletri, Colle dell'Acero, Tomba 1); GIERSTAD 1966, fig. 30, n. 6.

63 BECKER, NOWLIN 2011, tomba 11, fig. 9.

64 Il diametro dei tre vasetti oscilla tra i 2,5 e i 3 cm.

65 Si veda BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, 317. Gli esemplari rinvenuti presso l'*Arx* di *Gabii* (Area IV), trovano confronto con i tipi 37e-h individuati ad Osteria dell'Osa. Si veda BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, tav. 27, tipi 37e-h; ma anche BIETTI SESTIERI 1979, 44-45, tav. VII, n. 37a; BIETTI SESTIERI, DE SANTIS 2000, 26, n. 33.

Oggetti d'uso: rocchetti, fuseruole e pesi da telaio

Tra gli oggetti d'uso ceramici sono attestati: 19 rocchetti, 6 fuseruole, 5 pesi da telaio e oltre 350 frammenti di fornelli[66] (Tav. VI).

I **rocchetti**, legati all'attività della tessitura, sono comuni nella maggior parte dei contesti dell'età del ferro e la loro forma rimane inalterata nel corso del tempo.[67] I 19 esemplari sono stati distinti in due tipi. Al tipo 1 fanno riferimento rocchetti a corpo cilindrico con pareti concave ed estremità piane o leggermente convesse; trovano confronto con rinvenimenti nel *Latium Vetus* e in Etruria.[68] Il tipo 2 è rappresentato da rocchetti a corpo cilindrico con pareti concave ed estremità arrotondate, in cui può essere presente un incavo centrale. Questi oggetti confrontano con esemplari del territorio laziale ed etrusco.[69]

Le **fuseruole**, caratterizzate da una notevole attenzione nel trattamento della superficie, che risulta accuratamente lisciata e lucidata, presentano un colore che varia dal rosso al nero. La produzione di tali manufatti prosegue quasi invariata per lungo tempo. Le fuseruole sono state distinte in base al corpo in due tipi. Nel tipo 1 rientrano quelle con corpo troncoconico a 7 o 8 facce leggermente convesse e il loro diametro oscilla tra 3 e i 4 cm. Tali esemplari trovano raffronti con oggetti provenienti dall'Italia centrale.[70] Il tipo 2 è caratterizzato da fuseruole con corpo troncoconico liscio, hanno un diametro che varia tra 1,7 e 2,7 cm e sono confrontabili con quelle tipiche dell'area medio-adriatica.[71]

66 I fornelli non sono presentati in questa sede.

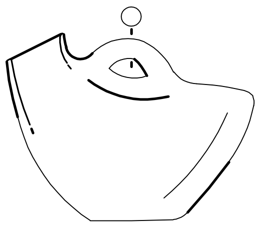
67 BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, 314-316; PARRINI 1997, 203-205.

68 BEDELLO, FABBRICOTTI 1975 (Veio), 70, fig. 4, n. 5; GJERSTAD 1966, 132 fig. 49, nn. 15-16; BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, tav. 26, tipo 34a-34b; MAASKANT KLEIBRINK 1992, nn. 2534-2535; CRISTOFANI 1993, 475, fig. 719, R5.1 e R5.2; BRANDT 1996, fig. 162, n. 261; BETTELLI 1997, tipo 1, tav. 40, n. 13; GUIDI *et al.* 1996 (Cures Sabini), fig. 18, nn. 30-34; GUIDI 1998, 21, tav. 17, nn. 5-8; BONGHI JOVINO 2001, 65, tav. 54, nn. 180/131-240/7-299/27-276/11; KARLSSON 2006 (San Giovenale), pl. 21, n. 97; PIETILÄ, CASTRÉN2012 (Ficana), fig. 44, n. 12; FISCHER-HANSEN, ALGREEN-USSING 2013, fig. 91, nn. 360-361.

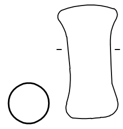
69 GJERSTAD 1966, 132 fig. 49, nn. 17-19; GUAITOLI 1981a, fig. 12, n. 11; BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, tav. 26, tipo 34f e 34g; MAASKANT KLEIBRINK 1992, n. 1712 e nn. 2526-2527; BRANDT 1996, fig. 162, nn. 259-260; GUIDI *et al.* 1996 (*Cures Sabini*), fig. 18, nn. 28-29; BETTELLI 1997, tipo 3, tav. 40, n. 18; GUIDI 1998, 21-22, tav. 17, nn. 11-13 e tav. 18, nn. 1-4; BONGHI JOVINO 2001, 65, tav. 54, nn. 306/34-307/33; FALZONE 2001a, 184, tav. 20, n. 101; BARTOLONI *et al.* 2009, 236, fig. 17, nn. 7-10; PIETILÄ-CASTRÉN 2012 (Ficana), fig. 44, n. 13; FISCHER-HANSEN, ALGREEN-USSING 2013, fig. 91, nn. 362-365.

70 BARTOLONI *et al.* 1975 (Decima), 386, fig. 24 (t. 132), n. 17; AMPOLO *et al.* 1980, 94, tav. 9, n. 11; MAASKANT KLEIBRINK 1987, nn. 1136; BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, tav. 26, tipo 33a-33b; BETTELLI 1997, tipo 2D1 (tav. 39, n. 11); BRANDT 1996, fig. 162, n. 251; GUIDI *et al.* 1996 (*Cures Sabini*), fig. 18, n. 21; GUIDI 1998, 22, tav. 18, nn. 7-8; FALZONE 2001a, 183, tav. 20, n. 95; BONGHI JOVINO 2001, 64-65, tav. 53, n. 221/2.

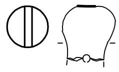
71 BIETTI SESTIERI 1992, tav. 26, tipo 33d var I; MAASKANT KLEIBRINK 1992, nn. 2462-2463; BRANDT 1996, fig. 162, n. 250; GUIDI *et al.* 1996 (*Cures Sabini*), fig. 18, n. 8; GUIDI 1998, 22, tav. 18, n. 9; BONGHI JOVINO 2001, 64-65, tav. 53, n. 276/8.



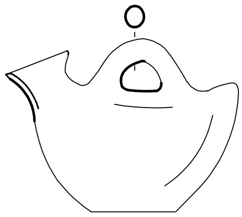
ASKOS Tipo 1



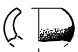
ROCCHETTO Tipo 1



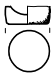
ROCCHETTO Tipo 2



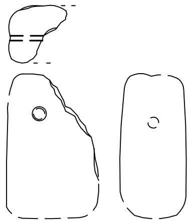
ASKOS Tipo 2



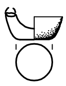
MINIATURISTICO Tipo 1



MINIATURISTICO Tipo 2



PESO DA TELAIO Tipo 1



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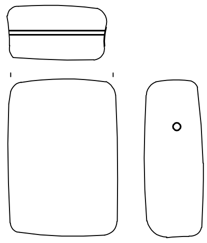
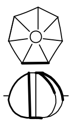
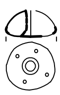


PESO DA TELAIO Tipo 2

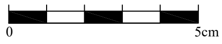


FUSERUOLA Tipo 1



FUSERUOLA Tipo 2

Tav. VI



I **pesi da telaio** sono in buono stato di conservazione e presentano un impasto grossolano, di colore rosso, in cui sono evidenti inclusi micacei neri e calcarei di colore bianco, a granulometria media e le superfici non sono trattate. Il loro peso varia da un minimo di 250/300 fino a un massimo di 400 grammi circa e la loro altezza varia tra i 6,5 cm e gli 8 cm circa.[72] Il tipo 1 è caratterizzato da una forma lievemente tronco-piramidale con entrambe le basi piane di forma quadrangolare e nella metà superiore è presente un foro passante trasversale. Al tipo 2 sono ascrivibili pesi da telaio di forma rettangolare con entrambe le basi piane di forma quadrangolare e nella metà superiore è presente un foro passante trasversale. Questi oggetti non sono di facile inquadramento cronologico, in quanto rientrano in una produzione standardizzata, che perdura quasi invariata nel tempo e vengono realizzati in diverse classi ceramiche. Il loro rinvenimento nelle tombe laziali è molto scarso, ad esempio, nella necropoli di Osteria dell'Osa ne sono stati trovati soltanto due esemplari, a differenza dei rocchetti e fuseruole che vanno a comporre i corredi femminili di "tessitrici".[73] I reperti sono confrontabili con oggetti provenienti, ad esempio, da Veio.[74]

[72] In base all'analisi ponderale condotta da A. Parrini gli esemplari rientrano nella categoria medio-grande (pesi piccoli: 125-210 g, pesi medi 210-310 g e pesi grandi 310-400 g.) Parrini 1997, 198-199.

[73] Bietti Sestieri 1992, 309.

[74] Bartoloni 2009, 109-110, figg. 34-35; Bartoloni et al. 2009, 236, fig. 17, n. 12 e da Ficana: Pietilä, Castrén 2012, fig. 43, nn. 1-8.

Gabii, campagne di scavo 2007-2012: la ceramica di impasto rosso

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Abstract: The goal of this contribution is to study the impasto rosso pottery from the excavations of the arx, the Santuario Orientale, and the northern and north-eastern section of the Gabii fortifications. Excavations occurred between 2007 and 2012 by the SSABAP Roma, and the University degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata and the Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici di Matera. This ceramic class is represented by a total of 3573 fragments (3003 come from the excavation of the arx, 363 from the Santuario Orientale, 49 from the northern section of the fortification wall, and 158 from the north-eastern section of the fortification wall). This is 10% of the total fragments recovered. Of the diagnostic fragments, 87 were used to elaborate a typological classification.

Introduzione

Oggetto del presente contributo è lo studio della classe ceramica dell'impasto rosso proveniente dalle indagini presso l'*arx*, il santuario orientale, il tratto settentrionale e il tratto nord-orientale della fortificazione di Gabii, promosse tra il 2007 e il 2012 dalla SSABAP Roma, dall'Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata e dalla Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici di Matera.[1] La classe[2] è rappresentata da un totale di 3573 frammenti (3003 per l'*arx*, 363 per il santuario orientale, 49 per il tratto settentrionale della fortificazione e 158 per quello nord-orientale, 10% del totale dei frammenti ceramici rinvenuti, Fig. 1.A), 87 dei quali sono stati ritenuti diagnostici e utilizzati per l'elaborazione di una classificazione tipologica.[3]

Caratteristiche tecniche della ceramica di impasto rosso

Tutti i frammenti rinvenuti mostrano lavorazione al tornio, superfici esterne e interne lisciate o lucidate, uno spessore delle pareti ridotto (soprattutto per quanto riguarda le olle, min. 0,4 cm - max. 1 cm), e una colorazione rossa o tendente al rosso, ottenuta mediante un'accurata scelta e cottura delle argille,[4] a cui a volte segue l'applicazione di uno strato di ingobbio del medesimo colore.[5] La variazione cromatica dell'argilla utilizzata è molto elevata, mentre gli impasti individuati per la produzione sono riconducibili a due tipi principali con caratteristiche simili: in entrambi casi l'argilla risulta non depurata e con una frattura abbastanza regolare; le differenze si riscontrano invece

[1] Il contributo è frutto di uno studio che ha preso avvio con una tesi di Specializzazione in Archeologia Classica, discussa da chi scrive nel 2013 presso la Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici di Matera, dal titolo "*La ceramica di impasto rosso nel* Latium vetus*. Il caso di* Gabii". Si ringraziano in questa sede L.M. Banducci e M. D'Acri, curatori del presente volume; il compianto dott. S. Musco; i proff. M. Bettelli, A. D'Alessio, M. Fabbri e M. Osanna; la dott.ssa F. Ferranti; "l'équipe gabina" delle indagini 2007-2012.

[2] La ceramica di impasto rosso è una delle classi rappresentative dell'età orientalizzante nell'Italia medio-tirrenica, da riferirsi alla produzione di un nuovo repertorio formale per il consumo di carne e vino durante attività cerimoniali (Colonna 1988, 303 ss., Bartoloni 2007, 153, Riva 2010; Bartoloni, Acconcia, ten Kortenaar 2012 con bibliografia precedente). Per la definizione della classe vd. in particolare Paribeni 1906, c. 431. Sulle sue origini e sulla cronologia: Barnabei 1894, cc. 235-260; Karo 1896, 27; Orsi 1899, 103; Colini 1905, 35-36; Paribeni 1906, c. 431; Gjerstad 1966, 272; il contributo di G. Buchner in *Napoli* 1982, 103-107; Torelli 1981, 62; Rathje 1983, 14; Colonna 1988, 304; Szylagyi 1989, 620; Bagnasco Gianni 1994; Docter, Niemeyer 1994; Carafa 1995, 92-93; Falzone 2001b, 185-186; Acconcia, Piergrossi, ten Kortenaar 2004; Argento 2006, 352-364; Drago Troccoli 2009a; Drago Troccoli 2009b; Ten Kortenaar 2009; Botto 2010; Medori 2010, Nizzo, ten Kortenaar 2010; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 305 ss.

[3] Per lo studio si è proceduto al riconoscimento di forme, tipi e campi di varietà all'interno di essi, mentre si è deciso di non provvedere a una loro articolazione per gruppi in base alla conformazione di altre parti del vaso quali il corpo, la vasca o il piede (come ad esempio in Carafa 1995, Parise Badoni 2000, Falzone 2001b, Ten Kortenaar 2011a), per evitare di ottenere un elevato numero di tipi a causa dell'eccessiva frammentarietà degli esemplari. Di conseguenza i confronti individuati sono risultati a volte comprensivi di esemplari che presentano la stessa conformazione di labbro e orlo, ma una differente articolazione delle altre parti del vaso. Per lo stesso motivo inoltre, si è preferito non ricorrere ai concetti di variante e di *unicum*, con la consapevolezza che un esemplare isolato in un determinato contesto possa appartenere a un tipo ben definito in altri contesti (Bietti Sestieri 1992, 224; D'Alessio 2001, 160; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 40). Nel caso dei frammenti con impasto tipo 1 (cfr. *infra*), la loro attribuzione alla classe è avvenuta tenendo conto della forma e degli aspetti funzionali dei manufatti. Lo stesso procedimento è stato adottato per numerosi pezzi che, pur rientrando tra le forme tipiche della classe, presentano un colore dell'impasto e del rivestimento non omogeneo, con variazioni tra il rosso e il rosso-bruno, probabilmente a seguito della cottura. Per le denominazioni delle forme ceramiche si è fatto riferimento a Parise Badoni 2000, 53. I disegni sono a cura di chi scrive e di Pamela Manzo.

[4] Analisi effettuate in passato relativamente alla colorazione rossa di esemplari provenienti dalla vicina necropoli di Osteria dell'Osa, hanno rivelato l'utilizzo di argille povere di calcio e ricche di ossidi di ferro, scelte dai vasai probabilmente in ambito locale in base a determinate caratteristiche di plasticità e resistenza, cotte con prolungate fasi ossidanti facilitate dal limitato spessore delle pareti e dall'ampia apertura dei vasi. Anche la frequente presenza di macchie nere dall'aspetto catramoso è stata ricondotta all'utilizzo di ossidi di manganese e ferro e quindi al tipo di argilla utilizzata per la modellazione. Le analisi effettuate hanno infine fatto ipotizzare una produzione locale di molti dei manufatti esaminati (Cuomo Di Caprio 1992).

[5] Cuomo Di Caprio 2007, 307-308.

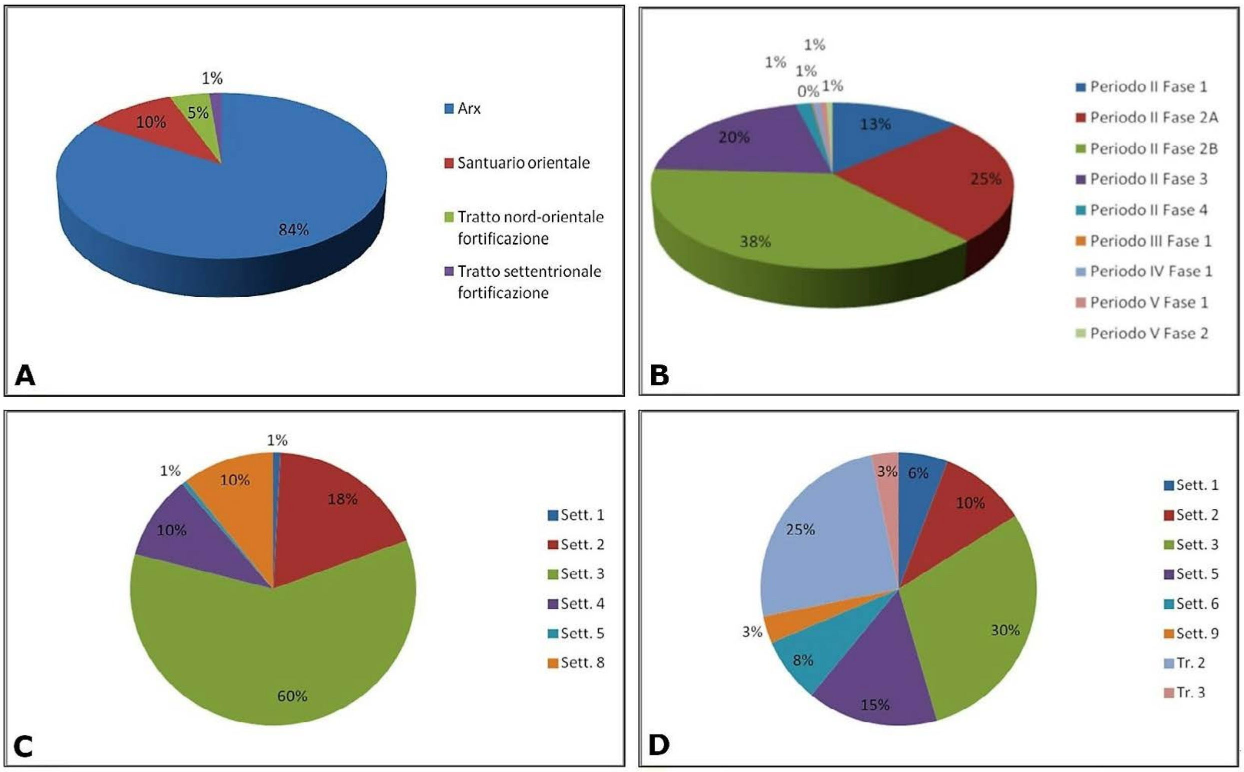


Fig. 1. A: Attestazioni dei frammenti ceramici di impasto rosso presso i quattro contesti indagati; B: Attestazioni dei frammenti ceramici di impasto rosso nelle varie fasi di frequentazione dell'*arx*; C: Attestazioni dei frammenti ceramici di impasto rosso presso il santuario orientale; D: Attestazioni dei frammenti ceramici di impasto rosso presso il tratto nord-orientale della fortificazione.

nella consistenza (tipo 1: medio-dura / tipo 2: dura), nella sensazione al tatto (tipo 1: pressoché liscia / tipo 2 ruvida) e negli inclusi (tipo 1: medio-piccoli di calcare, augite, mica, quarzo /[6] tipo 2: medio-piccoli di calcare, augite e mica, mentre al posto di quelli di quarzo sono presenti inclusi di pozzolana di media dimensione).

L'impasto rosso gabino è generalmente inquadrabile, come di consueto per questa classe, tra la fine dell'VIII e la fine del VI sec. a.C.[7]

Forme e tipi attestati

Tra i frammenti diagnostici rinvenuti, la forma che presenta il più elevato numero di attestazioni (59) è l'olla, che – priva di anse o biansata – viene generalmente messa in relazione al consumo del vino o alla mescita di vino e acqua durante il banchetto, soprattutto quando risulta associata al sostegno (tab. 1, tav. I-II).[8] Nei contesti indagati tale forma appare articolata in sette tipi. I primi due tipi in particolare, con le rispettive varietà, sono quelli che hanno il più ampio arco cronologico di attestazione, oltre al maggior numero di confronti sia in Etruria che nel Lazio: si tratta delle olle con ampio orlo svasato e labbro arrotondato con scanalature concentriche (tipo 1),[9] e di quelle

[6] Cfr. l'impasto con finissimi granuli bianchi di calcite-calcare utilizzato in particolare per la realizzazione di olle globulari, rinvenute a Roma sul Palatino (Falzone 2001b, 186, nota 6).

[7] Fa eccezione il piatto tipo 1.B, la cui produzione può essere fatta risalire fino al 775-750 a.C. (cfr. *infra*).

[8] ten Kortenaar 2011a, 59; Zifferero 2004, 259. Tale situazione è riscontrabile anche a *Gabii*, dove sono stati rinvenuti frammenti relativi a sostegni (cfr. *infra*) e dove la presenza di olle biansate è indiziata dal ritrovamento di numerose anse.

[9] La varietà A, con orlo pressoché rettilineo con spigolo interno, trova confronti in ambito etrusco a: Cerveteri, Banditaccia (700-675/650 a.C., Rizzo 1989, 21, fig. 25), Altipiano (700 a.C. circa, Rizzo 1989, 24-29, fig. 49; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 87-88, tipo 150 C 1; altro esemplare databile al 700-675 a.C., Sartori 2002, 11-24, nn. 4-5), Laghetto (650 a.C. circa, Cavagnaro Vanoni 1966, 115, tav. 33, n. 1), Bufolareccia (640-600 a.C., Coen 1991, tav. XVI.b; B 86, n. 5), Monte Abatone (630-580/570 a.C., Bosio, Pugnetti 1986, 64-65, nn. 9-12; Coen 1991, MA 426, n. 4), Riserva del Ferrone (non databile con precisione, Brocato 2000, 243, n. 18); Veio, Casale del Fosso (650 a.C. circa, ten Kortenaar 2011a, 222; altro esemplare databile al 730/720 a.C., Drago Troccoli 2005, fig. 19, n. 1), Macchia della Comunità (650-625 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 235); Vulci (non databile con precisione, Falconi Amorelli 1971, 209, n. 12); S. Giovenale Valle Vesca (prima metà del VI sec. a.C., Gierow 1969, 27, n. 20); Orvieto, Cannicella (600-575 sec. a.C., Bonamici, Stopponi, Tamburini 1994, 62, n. 41); alta valle del Fiora e dell'Albegna (600 a.C.-prima metà del VI sec. a.C., Donati, Michelucci 1981, 224, n. 544); Poggio Buco (Pitigliano, GR, 630-580/550 a.C., Matteucig 1951, 40, n. 18, 45, n. 10); Pitigliano, Cave del Gradone (630-580/570 a.C., Minto 1936, 404, n. 4); in ambito laziale a: Roma, Foro (650 a.C., Gjerstad 1956, 141-144, n. 8); *Crustumerium* (prima metà del VII sec. a.C., Di Gennaro 1999, 19); Ficana (680-630 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 79-80, tipo 140 F 1 e 279); Castel di Decima (650 a.C. circa, Bartoloni *et al.* 1975, 333-344 n. 26); Narce, Monte Cerreto (720 a.C. circa, Baglione, De Lucia Brolli 1998, 152, fig. 14), Monte Li Santi (non databile con precisione, Baglione, De Lucia Brolli 1998, 168, fig. 23).
La varietà B, con orlo curvilineo, trova confronti in ambito etrusco a:

con orlo leggermente svasato e labbro arrotondato o leggermente ingrossato (tipo 2).[10] Sono attestate inoltre olle con orlo leggermente svasato e labbro più o meno ingrossato distinto (tipo 3);[11] con breve orlo svasato curvilineo e labbro arrotondato (tipo 4);[12] con breve orlo leggermente svasato rettilineo e labbro assottigliato (tipo 5);[13] con breve orlo leggermente svasato rettilineo e labbro arrotondato, decorato con scanalature concentriche (tipo 6);[14] con orlo ricurvo e labbro arrotondato (tipo 7).[15]

Tabella 1. Ceramica di impasto rosso - Olla.

Tipo	Cronologia	Tavola
1	730/720-500 a.C.	I.1-2
2	730/720-530/520 a.C.	I.3-4
3	730/720-600 a.C.	I.5-6
4	700/675-500 a.C.	II.1-2
5	700/675-500 a.C.	II.3-4
6	675/650-500 a.C.	II.5
7	Età orientalizzante	II.6

Veio, Banditaccia (prima metà del VII sec. a.C.-625/600 a.C., Micozzi 1994, 142; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 90, tipo 150 E 2 e 180-83), Casale del Fosso (720-675 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 220), Picazzano (seconda metà del VII-inizi del VI sec. a.C., Palm 1952, 55, n. 2), Vaccareccia (fine VIII/inizi VII sec. a.C.-700/670 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 228-230; 70, tipo 140 C 3 b; 230-231 con bibliografia; 66, tipo 140 B 5 a, 229; Palm 1952, 64-65, tav. XVIII n. 2; ten Kortenaar 2011a,), Macchia della Comunità (700/650 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 89, tipo 150 D 3, 233-34; 235; 87, tipo 150 B 1), abitato (non databile con precisione, Murray Threipland 1963, 54, n. 10, fig. 12), Piazza d'Armi (680-630 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 277-278); Cerveteri, Laghetto (700/675 a.C., Alberici Varini 1997, 15-43, n. 7), Monte Abatone (fine VIII/inizi VII- fine VII/inizi VI sec. a.C., Bosio, Pugnetti 1986, 33-41, n. 5; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 203-204); territorio di Pitigliano e Saturnia (VII sec. a.C., Donati, Michelucci 1981, 42, n. 60); in ambito laziale a: Roma, Palatino (700-500 a.C., Carafa 1995, 97, tipo 200, tipo 202; Falzone 2001b, 189, tipo 4, tav. 22/105), Foro (650 a.C. circa, Gjerstad 1956, 117-120 n. 3, 120-23 n. 5 e 133-38 n. 3; Gjerstad 1966, fig. 83.1-3), *Lacus Iuturnae* (Periodo Laziale IV, Berggren, Argento 2012, 30, n. 46b, tav. III), Comizio (Carafa 1995, 97, tipo 200); Ficana (680/630 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 68, tipo 140 C 1 a e p. 279); Torrino (730 a.C. circa, Bedini 1985, 51-59, n. 18); Tor de' Cenci (725/700-prima metà del VII sec. a.C., Bedini 1992, 238, n. 10 e 241-54, nn. 16-17); Acqua Acetosa Laurentina (650/625 a.C., A. Bedini, A. Cassotta in Tomei 2006, 465-479, cat. II.890-899); Castel di Decima (700-650 a.C., Bartoloni *et al.* 1975, 322-333 n. 18, 344-354 n. 15 e 294-322, n. 24; Quilici Gigli 1973, 282, n. 23, fig. 11); La Rustica (poco dopo il 650 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 259); *Gabii*, Osteria dell'Osa (730/720-580/570 a.C., Bietti Sestieri 1992, tipo 92 g, var. I, 321, tav. 27; fig. 3b.43.8 e fig. 3c.41.6; 835-836, 854, 834-835, 808 e 838), santuario orientale (Periodo Laziale IV, Zuchtriegel 2012a, kat. 101/8); Marino, Riserva del Truglio (730/720-630/620 a.C., Gierow 1964, 149-153 n. 7, 164-165 n. 1 e 168-171 n. 4); Narce (675/650-600 a.C., Hall Dohan 1942, tav. XXXV.1; Davison 1972, tav. XVIa e XIX.b; Micozzi 1994, 165), Monte Lo Greco (600 a.C. circa, Davison 1972, tav. IId e XXVIIc), Monte Soriano (650/625 a.C., Micozzi 1994, 281, n. 11).

10 La varietà A, con orlo pressoché rettilineo e spigolo interno, rientra in un tipo di olla biansata (cfr. Ten Kortenaar 2011a, 89, tipo 150 E 1) che trova numerosi confronti in ambito etrusco a: Cerveteri, Banditaccia (VII sec. a.C., Micozzi 1994, 142), tumulo I della Speranza (680-580/570 a.C., Sartori 2002, n. cat. 26.1), Laghetto I (700-625 a.C., Alberici Varini 1999, 15-53, nn. 15-18 e 55-66, n. 12), Bufolareccia (seconda metà VII sec. a.C., Coen 1991, tav. XVI.a), Monte Abatone (seconda metà VII sec. a.C., Coen 1991, tav. XVIIe); Casaletti di Ceri (690-670 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 207-208); Pian Conserva (metà VII sec. a.C., Acconcia *et al.* 1996, 14-16); Tarquinia (630-580/570 a.C., Hencken 1968, 394, fig. 383.i); Veio, Picazzano (630-580/570 a.C., Palm 1952, 58, n. 2); *Pyrgi* (VI sec. a.C., Colonna 1970, fig. 170.9); in ambito laziale a: Roma: Palatino (630/620-530/520 a.C., Carafa 1995, 104-105, tipo 228), Foro (metà VII sec. a.C., Gjerstad 1956, 125-133, n. 4), via Nova - via Sacra (730/720-530/520 a.C., Carafa 1995, 94, n. 193), Esquilino (630 a.C. circa, Gjerstad 1966, fig. 85.1); *Crustumerium*, Monte del Bufalo (metà VII sec. a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 243-244); Tor de' Cenci (650/625 a.C., Bedini 1992, 263-267, nn. 2-4 e 273, n. 1); Acqua Acetosa Laurentina (650/625 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 252); Castel di Decima (prima metà VII sec. a.C.-600 a.C., Bartoloni *et al.* 1975, 322-333 n. 19 e 358, n. 10; 364 e fig. 154.15f); Marino, Riserva del Truglio (primi decenni del VII sec. a.C., Gierow 1964, 213, n. 2).
La varietà B, con orlo curvilineo, trova confronti in ambito etrusco a: Cerveteri, Banditaccia (650/625 a.C. circa, Ricci 1955, 482-484, n. 9; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 83, tipo 140 G 4), Laghetto (rispettivamente 700/675-580/570 a.C., Cavagnaro Vanoni 1966, 110, tav. 27.7 e 115-116, tav. 34.4), Monte Abatone (seconda metà VII sec. a.C., Coen 1991, 58, n. 59, tav. XVIII.a), Pian Conserva (650 a.C. circa, Acconcia *et al.* 1996, 12-14; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 85, tipo 140 H 4); in ambito laziale a: Roma, Palatino (età orientalizzante, Falzone 2001b, 190, tipo 9, tav. 23.110); a *Satricum* (700-620 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 280); Castel di Decima, acropoli (non databile con precisione, Guaitoli, Picarreta, Sommella 1974, fig. 13.28).

11 La varietà A, con orlo quasi rettilineo con spigolo interno e scanalature concentriche, trova confronti in ambito etrusco a: *Pyrgi* (non databile con precisione, Serra Ridgway 1992, fig. 235.9); in ambito laziale a: Roma, Palatino (730/720-630/620 a.C., Falzone 2001b, 188, tipo 2, tav. 21/103); Castel di Decima (600 a.C. circa, Bartoloni *et al.* 1975, fig. 153.11), Tor de' Cenci (databile tra il 725/700 e il 650/625 a.C., Bedini 1992, 239, fig. 22.10; 261, fig. 42.2; Bedini 1992, 264, fig. 44.3); *Gabii*, Osteria dell'Osa (730/720-660/650 a.C., Bietti Sestieri 1992, fig. 3b.35.1, tipo 92e, tav. 27).
La varietà B, con orlo curvilineo, trova confronti in ambito etrusco a: Cerveteri, Banditaccia-Laghetto (prima metà VII sec. a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 83, tipo 140 G 5), Monte Abatone (VII sec. a.C., Bosio, Pugnetti 1986, 53-63, n. 17); Tarquinia, Monterozzi (680/630 a.C., Bonghi Jovino 1986, 272, n. 708b); in ambito laziale a Roma, area sud-occidentale del Palatino (età orientalizzante, Falzone 2001b, 191, tipo 4, tav. 27/121).

12 La varietà A, priva di decorazioni, trova confronti in ambito etrusco a: Cerveteri, Laghetto (700/675 a.C., Cavagnaro Vanoni 1966, 210, tav. 35, n. 5), Bufolareccia (700-650 a.C., Cavagnaro Vanoni 1966, 35-36, tavv. 33-34, n. 17), Monte Abatone (prima metà VII-fine VII/inizi VI sec. a.C., Bosio, Pugnetti 1986, 53-63, n. 19; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 83, tipo 140 G 3); Poggio Buco (Pitigliano, GR, seconda metà VII-metà VI sec. a.C., Bartoloni 1972, 69, n. 16, fig. 32; 98, fig. 47.91; 148, n. 21, fig. 70); in ambito laziale a: Roma, Palatino (età orientalizzante-età arcaica, Falzone 2001b, 190, tipo 11, tav. 24/112, 191, tipo 2, tav. 26/119, cfr. i tipi in *coarse ware* Carafa 1995, 167, nn. 418-422).
La varietà B, con orlo decorato da scanalature concentriche, trova confronti in ambito etrusco a: Veio, Picazzano (650-625 a.C., Palm 1952, 58 n. 2; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 74, tipo 140 D 2), Macchia della Comunità (630-580/70 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 74); in ambito laziale a Ficana (non oltre il 500 a.C., Cataldi Dini 1981, fig. 9.4).

13 La varietà A, priva di decorazioni, trova confronti in ambito laziale a: Pratica di Mare (VII sec. a.C., Castagnoli *et al.* 1975, 15, fig. 12, 2-5), *Satricum* (Periodo Laziale IIB/III, Maaskant Kleibrink 1987, n. 9); a Roma, Palatino (700/675-530/500 a.C., Carafa 1995, 106 n. 234; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 84, tipo 140 H 2).
La varietà B, con orlo decorato da scanalature concentriche, non ha confronti puntuali in impasto rosso; confrontabile con un esemplare in impasto bruno da Roma, Palatino (non databile con precisione, rientra in un gruppo di olle attestate dalla piena età del Ferro per tutta l'età orientalizzante, Falzone 2001a, 169, tipo 4, tav. 4.19).

14 Trova confronti in ambito etrusco a Veio, Picazzano (fine VII-inizi VI sec. a.C., Palm 1952, 60, tav. IX,2); in ambito laziale a Roma, sul Palatino (675/650-530/500 a.C., Carafa 1995, 97 n. 199 e 106 n. 232) e presso il tempio del Divo Giulio (575-530 a.C., Gjerstad 1960, 278, fig. 181.3).

15 Trova un unico confronto a Roma, sul Palatino (età orientalizzante, Falzone 2001b, 190, tipo 14, tav. 25.115).

Le altre forme risultano invece presenti in minor numero (28 frammenti diagnostici in totale): due tipi di coppa, quattro di calice, due di piatto e un unico tipo di sostegno (tab. 2-5, tav. II-VI). Si tratta comunque di forme tipiche della produzione in impasto rosso di età orientalizzante, tradizionalmente legate a pratiche cerimoniali collettive quali il consumo di vino e carne in ambito simposiaco.

La coppa, attestata nel repertorio tipologico dell'impasto rosso probabilmente già a partire dall'inizio della sua produzione[16] e individuata a Gabii anche in bucchero, è articolata in due tipi databili complessivamente tra il 650 e il 500 a.C.: il tipo 1 è caratterizzato da un breve orlo svasato rettilineo obliquo verso l'interno e da un labbro arrotondato,[17] mentre il tipo 2 presenta un breve orlo svasato curvilineo e un labbro arrotondato, senza o con scanalature concentriche sull'orlo (varietà A-B).[18]

Tabella 2. Ceramica di impasto rosso - Coppa.

Tipo	Cronologia	Tavola
1	650-inizi VI sec. a.C.	III.1
2	600-500 a.C.	III.2-3

Il calice, una delle novità del repertorio tipologico in impasto dell'età del Ferro, in stretta connessione con le nuove abitudini alimentari dovute all'introduzione di pratiche simposiache,[19] nei contesti indagati presenta una discreta articolazione, anche rispetto alle produzioni in impasto bruno e bucchero: ne sono attestati infatti quattro tipi, databili complessivamente tra il 700 e il 500 a.C. Il tipo 1, senza o con scanalature concentriche sulla parete (varietà A-B),[20] è caratterizzato da un orlo rettilineo o leggermente rientrante e da un labbro assottigliato; il tipo 2 presenta invece orlo svasato, labbro arrotondato e una vasca mediamente profonda con carena sporgente;[21] il tipo 3 ha un orlo leggermente svasato e un labbro arrotondato o leggermente assottigliato, con parete decorata da scanalature concentriche;[22] il tipo 4, infine, presenta orlo svasato, labbro arrotondato o leggermente assottigliato e vasca poco profonda.[23]

Tabella 3. Ceramica di impasto rosso - Calice.

Tipo	Cronologia	Tavola
1	700-625 a.C.	IV.1-2
2	680-630 a.C.	IV.3
3	690/680-600 a.C.	IV.4
4	675/650-500 a.C.	IV.5

Minore articolazione - anche relativamente alla produzione in impasto bruno - denota invece il piatto, che insieme alle olle è una delle forme più caratteristiche della produzione di età orientalizzante e che, con alcuni tipi prodotti già a partire dalla fase finale del villanoviano evoluto, rappresenta una grande novità nel repertorio vascolare dell'Italia medio-tirrenica, tradizionalmente associata a funzioni prettamente rituali.[24] Nei contesti indagati il piatto è presente con due tipi: il primo, con orlo a tesa leggermente curvilineo e labbro arrotondato,

16 A differenza delle coppe in *coarse ware* e in impasto bruno, collegate alle produzioni dell'età del Ferro, per quelle in impasto rosso si ipotizzano antecedenti nella produzione greca e orientale in metallo e ceramica depurata (Carafa 1995, 107-108).

17 Trova un unico confronto a Cerveteri, Monte Abatone (650/600 a.C.-inizi VI sec. a.C., Bosio, Pugnetti 1986, 45 n. 2; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 123-24, tipo 230 F 1).

18 La varietà A trova un unico confronto a *Satricum* (590-580/570 a.C., Maaskant Kleibrink 1992, 250, n. 2793).
La varietà B trova confronti solo a Roma, *Domus Augustana* (VI sec. a.C., Gjerstad 1960, fig. 36.16; Carafa 1995, 111, tipo 247), tempio di Vesta (600-500 a.C., Gjerstad 1966, fig. 82.8), Velia (600-590/580 a.C., Gjerstad 1966, fig. 82.6, Magagnini 1990, 105-106).

19 Secondo alcune tesi, il calice sarebbe lo strumento specifico per l'offerta del vino, utilizzato da individui di sesso maschile, come dimostrerebbero le iscrizioni rinvenute su alcuni esemplari (vd. ten Kortenaar 2011a, 132-134). Attestato a partire dalla fine dell'VIII sec. a.C., con un picco di diffusione intorno alla metà del VII sec. a.C. soprattutto grazie a esemplari in impasto bruno (Alberici Varini 1997, 21), bucchero (Rasmussen 1979, 96-97; Coen 1991, 64-65) e argilla depurata (Boitani 1985, 544, nota 23; cfr. anche i calici in avorio della tomba Bernardini di Palestrina, Canciani, Von Hase 1979), appare pressoché simultaneamente in Etruria e Lazio, mentre non si individua nell'area magno-greca e italico-orientale (Sparkes 1991; Lemos 1991; Carafa 1995, 53). Ne è stata ipotizzata un'origine etrusca, derivata da tazze carenate (Rasmussen 1979, 96) o da archetipi in metallo o in altro materiale (Coen 1991, 89); un'altra ipotesi propende per origini orientali, in particolare dall'area siriana, dove il calice pare attestato fin dal II millennio a.C. (Carafa 1995, 53).

20 La varietà A trova confronti solo in ambito etrusco a Castiglion della Pescaia, Vetulonia (650-625 a.C., Camporeale 1967, 128, n. 98; Parise Badoni 2000, 97, tav. XL,1).
La varietà B trova confronti solo in ambito etrusco a Veio, Vaccareccia (700-675 a.C., Palm 1952, 65, tav. XX n. 5; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 129, tipo 260 B 1), Piazza d'Armi (650 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 129 e 275-278).

21 Trova confronti solo in ambito laziale a: Tor de' Cenci (630 a.C. circa, Bedini 1992, 274, figg. 53-54.8; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 129, tipo 260 B 2 a); Marino, Riserva del Truglio (680-630 a.C., Gierow 1964, 175-176, n. 2).

22 Trova confronti solo in ambito laziale a: Torrino (prima metà VII sec. a.C., Bedini 1985, 59-60, n. 8); Tor de' Cenci (prima metà VII sec. a.C., Bedini 1992, 251-254, n. 25; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 131, tipo 260 D 1); Acqua Acetosa Laurentina (650-625 a.C., A. Bedini, A. Cassotta in Tomei 2006, 465-479, cat. II.903-907; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 252); Lucrezia Romana (650 a.C. circa, M. H. Marchetti in Tomei 2006, 368, cat. II.653); Narce (600 sec. a.C. circa, Davison 1972, 73, tav. XXI.c).

23 Trova confronti in ambito etrusco a Chiusi (SI), necropoli di Poggio Renzo (675/650 a.C., Cristofani 1971, 14, n. 5; Parise Badoni 2000, 97, tav. XL,5); in ambito laziale a Roma, Palatino (in impasto bruno, 650-500 a.C., Carafa 1995, 58 n. 124).

24 Carafa 1995, 112. Cfr. l'utilizzo del piatto all'interno di pratiche simposiache - soprattutto riguardo al consumo di carne (Niemeyer 1984, 74; Rathje 1991, 1168; Bagnasco Gianni 1996, 332; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 143) - e in ambito funerario (Botto 2002, 143; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 143). L'origine della produzione in impasto rosso viene ricondotta generalmente all'area fenicia, a partire dall'VIII sec. a.C. (Bagnasco Gianni 1994), con una successiva diffusione nel Mediterraneo centrale a *Pithekoussai* (Buchner 1981 e 1982; Peserico 1998) e in Sardegna (Peserico 2000), mentre in Etruria e nel *Latium vetus* gli esemplari punici vengono probabilmente molto presto rielaborati in ambito locale (ten Kortenaar 2011a, 143).

corredato da tre varietà,[25] risulta databile già a partire dal 775-750 a.C.; il secondo, con orlo svasato inclinato verso l'interno, labbro arrotondato e collo cilindrico, si inquadra tra il 700 e il 590/580 a.C.[26]

Tabella 4. Ceramica di impasto rosso - Piatto.

Tipo	Cronologia	Tavola
1	775-530/520 a.C.	V.1-2-3
2	700-590/580 a.C.	V.4

Interessante è inoltre notare la presenza del sostegno, probabilmente utilizzato quale supporto per olle o altri contenitori[27], attestato sull'*arx* e presso il santuario orientale di Gabii dal tipo con base cilindrica o a campana (articolato in due varietà)[28] databile tra il 700 e il 580/570 a.C., a ulteriore indizio dello svolgimento di pratiche cerimoniali collettive nei due contesti.

Tabella 5. Ceramica di impasto rosso - Sostegno.

Tipo	Cronologia	Tavola
1	700-580/570 a.C.	VI.1-2

A tali forme ne vanno aggiunte altre, presenti solo con uno o due frammenti diagnostici e scarsamente attestate nelle produzioni degli altri contesti noti: si tratta di una tazza con labbro assottigliato e orlo svasato (Tav. VII.1);[29] di una scodella con labbro arrotondato indistinto e orlo leggermente rientrante (Tav. VII.2);[30] di un braciere con piede ad anello (Tav. VII.3);[31] di un bacile attestato sia con labbro ingrossato e appiattito (Tav. VII.4),[32] sia con labbro arrotondato,[33] sempre con pareti rettilinee; di un coperchio con labbro leggermente arrotondato indistinto (Tav. VII.5).[34] Tali presenze appaiono quale probabile indizio di sperimentazioni da parte di officine locali, indizio che sarebbe corroborato da una certa analogia riscontrabile tra l'impasto tipo 1 e uno degli impasti individuati per la ceramica *coarse ware*:[35] se tutto questo fosse ulteriormente confermato da studi archeometrici mirati, Gabii potrebbe dunque essere annoverata - come già visto per alcuni degli esemplari provenienti dalla necropoli di Osteria dell'Osa -[36] tra i centri di produzione di ceramiche del *Latium vetus*, almeno tra l'età orientalizzante e l'età arcaica, con una forte tendenza al recepimento di modelli esterni.

La predominanza di olle in impasto rosso rispetto alle altre forme[37] e i numerosi confronti con esemplari provenienti da Etruria e *Latium vetus* - come ad esempio

[25] La varietà A, priva di decorazioni, è databile tra il 600 e il 530/20 a.C. Trova confronto solo a Roma, sul Palatino (600-530/520 a.C., Carafa 1995, 119, n. 276).
La varietà B, con scanalature concentriche nella parte interna dell'orlo, è databile tra il 775/50 e il 725 a.C. Trova confronti solo a Veio, Casale del Fosso (775/750-725 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 156, tipo 290 E c 2 e 213-215) e Quattro Fontanili (775-750 a.C., Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1965, 128, m, fig. 58).
La varietà C, con orlo a tesa concava, è databile tra il 600/590 e il 550 a.C. Trova confronti a *Pyrgi* (in impasto rosso-bruno, non databile con precisione, Serra 1970, 260 ss.) e a Roma, Palatino (600/590-550 a.C., Carafa 1995, 116, n. 263).

[26] Trova confronti a in ambito etrusco a Veio, Vaccareccia (700-690/680 a.C., Palm 1952, 61-62, tav. XII, n. 4; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 147, tipo 290 B a 2); in ambito laziale a Narce (probabilmente in impasto bruno, 600-590/580 a.C., Salskov Roberts 1974, 82, fig. 65 e fig. 69).

[27] Il sostegno presenta ancora oggi problematiche relative sia alle origini che alla singolare morfologia. Prodotto con dimensioni variabili (da 20 a oltre 100 cm di altezza) sia in impasto rosso che in impasto bruno, è stato associato a modelli di bronzo orientali (Sirano 1995) o ai calefattoi laziali (Colonna 1980, 596 ss. La Bartoloni propone un'origine orientale per i calefattoi, da cui successivamente deriverebbero gli *holmoi* o sostegni: Bartoloni 1997, 239 ss.; per le sue funzioni in ambito simposiaco si veda il caso del servizio da banchetto rinvenuto nei pozzi di una casa di Ficana, Rathje 1983) con una buona diffusione in Etruria centrale e meridionale, nell'agro falisco-capenate e nel *Latium vetus*, già dalla seconda metà dell'VIII sec. a.C. per tutta l'età orientalizzante, con caratteri distinti per i diversi centri di produzione che testimoniano la probabile presenza di officine legate a produzioni locali (ten Kortenaar 2011a, 171).

[28] La varietà A presenta un bordo inferiore leggermente arrotondato, decorato o meno da tacche impresse, e una parete decorata da una cordonatura con tacche impresse e da fori circolari; è databile tra il 650/640 e il 580/570 a.C. È possibile individuare confronti solo generici a *Satricum* (650/640 a.C. circa, Beijer 1991, 28, VG 12013; 590-580/570 a.C., Maaskant Kleibrink 1992, 200, n. 1993; per la decorazione con fori circolari cfr. soprattutto i nn. 1662 e 2286 in Maaskant Kleibrink 1992).
La varietà B presenta un bordo inferiore ingrossato e una parete decorata da fori circolari; è databile tra il 700-690/680 e il 580/570 a.C. È possibile individuare confronti solo generici da *Satricum* (590-580/570 a.C., Maaskant Kleibrink 1992, 200, nn. 1990, 1994, 1995; per la decorazione con fori circolari cfr. soprattutto i nn. 1662 e 2286 in Maaskant Kleibrink 1992). La conformazione del bordo inferiore pare inoltre confrontabile con un esemplare da *Falerii*, Montarano (databile tra il 700 e il 690/680 a.C., Cozza, Pasqui 1981, 38 n. 38, dis. n. 1; Sirano 1995, 9, nota 50, Tav. IV,9).

[29] Databile tra la metà e il terzo quarto del VII sec. a.C. Trova un unico confronto sempre a *Gabii*, necropoli di Osteria dell'Osa (650-625 a.C., Bietti Sestieri 1992, 851-853, n. 8, tav. 22, 20X; Parise Badoni 2000, 102, tav. XLVII,8).

[30] Databile a partire dal 630 a.C. per tutto il VI sec. a.C. Trova confronti in ambito etrusco a: Cerveteri, Vigna Parrocchiale (non databile con precisione, Rendeli 1993, Kc 1.12); Veio, abitato, edificio tardo-arcaico (non databile con precisione, ten Kortenaar 2012, tipo VPA II.L.190/200.1a, tav. XX n. 1); Gravisca (600-500 a.C., Gori, Pierini 2001, tav. 27, n. 248); in ambito laziale a La Castellina a sud di Civitavecchia (630-580/570 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011b, p. 315, n. 55, tav. 125.43).

[31] Databile tra il 600 e il 575 a.C. Trova confronti a Montalto di Castro (VT), Vulci, Poggio Primo, Necropoli di Osteria, Tomba in Proprietà Simoni (600-575 a.C., Rizzo 1990, 157, 20, fig. 343; Parise Badoni 2000, 118, tav. LXXI, 3).

[32] Databile tra il 700 e il 650 a.C. Trova un unico confronto a Roma, tempio del Divo Giulio (700-650 a.C., ten Kortenaar 2011a, 162, tipo 310 B 2).

[33] Databile intorno al 650 a.C. Trova un unico confronto a Veio, Piazza d'Armi, capanna (650 a.C. circa, ten Kortenaar 2011a, 162, n. 310 B 1).

[34] Databile tra il 550 e il 530/20 a.C. Trova un unico confronto a Roma sul Palatino (550-530/520 a.C., Carafa 1995, 112, tipo 251).

[35] Si ringrazia la dott.ssa A. Randò per l'informazione. Sul problema si veda anche Falzone 2001b, 185.

[36] Cfr. nota 4.

[37] Dato da leggere in parallelo con le ceramiche con cronologia analoga rinvenute a *Gabii*, quali l'impasto bruno e il bucchero, che hanno invece restituito soprattutto forme aperte (cfr. il contributo di L. Protani sul bucchero in questo stesso volume; si ringrazia la dott. ssa P. Ghigliordini per le informazioni sull'impasto bruno).

per quanto riguarda le olle tipo 1.A-B e tipo 2.A-B -[38] appaiono in linea con le caratteristiche e lo sviluppo della ceramica di impasto rosso nel *Latium vetus*, dove in particolare nella fase più antica della produzione risultano attestate soprattutto l'olla e il piatto, con scarsa diffusione delle altre forme, e si verifica inoltre un'ampia circolazione di modelli di riferimento comuni soprattutto con l'Etruria meridionale tirrenica.[39] Un fenomeno questo, che nel pieno dell'età orientalizzante sembra lasciare maggiore spazio a un arricchimento del repertorio e allo sviluppo di produzioni locali.[40] Tali dinamiche sono come detto percepibili anche nei corredi della necropoli gabina di Osteria dell'Osa, dove la forma in impasto rosso di gran lunga più documentata è ancora una volta l'olla.[41]

La ceramica di impasto rosso e i contesti di provenienza

Passando ad analizzare i contesti stratigrafici di rinvenimento dei frammenti ceramici di impasto rosso, relativamente a quelli presenti sull'*arx* di Gabii (3003, 11% del totale dei frammenti ceramici rinvenuti nell'area) va ricordato che la continuità di frequentazione, attestata tra l'età orientalizzante e la fine del VI-inizi V sec. a.C. in quest'area ha comportato un reiterato sconvolgimento delle stratigrafie precedenti, soprattutto nella zona antistante all'edificio tripartito di età arcaica, da cui proviene gran parte degli oltre tremila frammenti rinvenuti.

Ciò premesso, è comunque possibile segnalare che alla fase relativa alla costruzione del primo edificio in materiale lapideo, datata alla seconda metà del VII sec. a.C. (Fase 1 del Periodo II, Fig. 1.B),[42] può essere riferito un esemplare di olla di tipo 1.B individuato nello strato superficiale del focolare posto all'esterno del muro perimetrale ovest del complesso. A questa fase possono essere ascritti inoltre quei frammenti diagnostici che, pur essendo stati rinvenuti in strati di epoca successiva, sono verosimilmente attribuibili a essa grazie al loro inquadramento cronologico, stabilito in base a una tradizione di studi ormai consolidata, che va a incardinarsi in una fase del contesto ben definita cronologicamente,[43] il cui *terminus ante quem* è la costruzione del successivo edificio tripartito nei primi decenni del VI sec. a.C. Anche nel caso dei frammenti provenienti da strati pertinenti alle attività di edificazione del complesso di età arcaica e di predisposizione dell'area antistante, che non risultano essere stati intaccati da interventi successivi (Fase 2A del II Periodo), cronologie degli esemplari e riferimento stratigrafico ne rendono più che plausibile una connessione con l'edificio orientalizzante.[44]

Più complessa è invece l'attribuzione dei frammenti - che pure costituiscono il numero maggiore di attestazioni (Fig. 1.B) - rinvenuti negli strati relativi alle fasi di frequentazione dell'edificio tripartito, dell'area antistante a esso e del tumulo che infine obliterò il complesso. Premesso infatti che gli strati della generale ripavimentazione dell'area del cortile antistante all'edificio tripartito - intorno alla seconda metà del VI sec. a.C. - hanno intaccato e sconvolto la stratigrafia precedente (Fase 2B del II Periodo),[45] e che la successiva defunzionalizzazione dell'edificio ha previsto la quasi totale asportazione degli strati di frequentazione (Fase 3 del II Periodo),[46] dal confronto tra la datazione proposta

[38] Va comunque segnalata la presenza di esemplari per i quali sono stati individuati confronti solo in ambito laziale (olla tipo 5.A-B e 7, coppa tipo 2.A-B, calice tipo 2 e 3, piatto tipo 1.A e sostegno tipo 1.A-B) o solo in ambito etrusco (coppa tipo 1, calice tipo 1.A-B e piatto tipo 1.B). Sarebbe opportuno approfondire in futuro tale dato mediante analisi, che permettano di chiarire meglio la composizione delle argille e di individuarne dunque la provenienza.

[39] ten Kortenaar 2011a, 303.

[40] Vd. ad esempio il caso di Roma, dove sembra attestata una crescita delle presenze di ceramica di impasto rosso fin verso la fine dell'età arcaica - dato confermato anche dalle fasi di VI sec. a.C. di *Lavinium* e Castel di Decima - con un progressivo scadimento della produzione sul piano tecnico (Carafa 1995, 260; ten Kortenaar 2011a, 298 ss. con esempi e bibliografia).

[41] Sono presenti inoltre un solo tipo di piatto e due tipi di coppe (ten Kortenaar 2011a, 301, nota 26). Nei corredi di età orientalizzante, secondo gli scopritori, le olle sembrerebbero sostituire, nella funzione di contenitore per liquidi all'interno di tombe di individui e adulti anziani, i vasi biansati su piede delle fasi più antiche della necropoli. Inoltre, un utilizzo in ambito simposiaco dell'olla sarebbe ulteriormente sottolineato dall'iscrizione latina *saluetodtita*, graffita appunto su un'olla di impasto rosso della tomba 115 e spiegata come probabile forma di saluto conviviale (Bietti Sestieri 1992, 319; sull'iscrizione vd. anche Peruzzi 1992).

[42] Cfr. Fabbri 2015 e Fabbri 2017.

[43] Cfr. gli altri contributi su *Gabii* in questo stesso volume, relativamente a quegli esemplari che consentono di datare il primo complesso residenziale.

[44] Per la Fase 2A del Periodo II, un frammento di olla tipo 2.B è stato rinvenuto in uno strato di preparazione pavimentale dell'ambiente occidentale dell'edificio tripartito. Da alcuni strati individuati alle spalle del muro di fondo dell'edificio, accumulatisi al momento della sua costruzione, provengono invece l'olla tipo 1.B e 3.B (presente anche nel riempimento del taglio di fondazione del muro di fondo dell'edificio), la coppa tipo 2.B, il calice tipo 3 e l'unico frammento di scodella attestato. L'olla tipo 4.A è stata infine rinvenuta in due strati di accumulo, individuati sull'area della precedente capanna di età protostorica, mentre dai due piccoli vani addossati agli ambienti orientale e occidentale dell'edificio provengono un altro frammento di olla tipo 1.B e uno dei due frammenti di bacile attestati (con labbro arrotondato). In particolare, le cronologie individuate per le olle tipo 2.B e 3.B, per il calice tipo 3 e per il bacile corrispondono all'inquadramento cronologico per la fase relativa al complesso residenziale di età orientalizzante.

[45] Per questa fase, soprattutto da un esteso strato di interro posto su tutta l'area del cortile dell'edificio tripartito provengono numerosi frammenti diagnostici, tra i quali si individuano: le olle tipo 1.A-B, 2.A-B, 4.A, 6 e 7, i calici tipo 1.A e 3, i piatti tipo 1.A-B e 2, il sostegno tipo 1.B. Se l'olla tipo 7, i calici tipo 1.A e 3 e il piatto tipo 1.B hanno cronologie collegabili con la datazione del complesso di età orientalizzante, le olle tipo 1.A-B, 2.A-B, 4.A e 6, il piatto tipo 2 e il sostegno tipo 1.B possono invece essere riferibili anche al successivo edificio tripartito di età arcaica.

[46] Per la fase relativa al tumulo sono stati rinvenuti esemplari di olle tipo 1.A-B, 2.B, 3.A e 7, di calice tipo 4, e di sostegno tipo 1.B, oltre a un frammento pertinente a un bacile (con labbro ingrossato e appiattito). Un altro frammento di olla tipo 4.A proviene da uno strato di crollo del paramento esterno del muro di contenimento est del tumulo. Anche in questo caso, come per la fase precedente, le cronologie delle olle tipo 1.A-B, 2.B, 4.A, del calice tipo 4 e del sostegno tipo 1.B sono compatibili con un loro utilizzo in età arcaica (cfr. nota 45).

per tali fasi e le cronologie dei frammenti diagnostici individuati, consegue spesso la difficoltà di stabilirne una precisa connessione con uno dei due complessi che si sono succeduti sull'*arx* gabina. In una lettura integrata con i dati provenienti dallo studio delle altre classi ceramiche quali l'impasto bruno e il bucchero, non si può comunque negare un utilizzo della ceramica di impasto rosso - almeno per quanto riguarda i frammenti databili anche per tutto l'arco del VI sec. a.C., come le olle tipo 1.A-B, 2.A-B, 4.A, 6, il calice tipo 4, il piatto tipo 2 e il sostegno tipo 1.B - anche nelle fasi relative all'edificio tripartito, pur ipotizzandone eventuali variazioni nella destinazione d'uso non meglio definibili, secondo un'ipotesi che viene ulteriormente avvalorata dalla presenza di esemplari in impasto rosso negli strati connessi alle suddette attività di defunzionalizzazione e seppellimento della struttura, verificatesi tra la fine del VI e gli inizi del V sec. a.C.

Per quanto riguarda invece il santuario orientale, edificato in un'area posta immediatamente all'esterno del tratto est del circuito murario, alcune informazioni possono anzitutto essere tratte dalla distribuzione dei 363 frammenti di impasto rosso nelle aree indagate (17% del totale dei frammenti ceramici rinvenuti nel complesso).[47] Le maggiori quantità provengono dal settore centro-meridionale del santuario (settore 3, Fig. 1.C), caratterizzato da molteplici rifacimenti del recinto e dalla presenza di un monumento iscritto di età medio-repubblicana.[48] Relativamente ai frammenti diagnostici in particolare, dagli strati individuati alle spalle del monumento - molto ricchi di materiale ceramico - proviene la maggior parte delle attestazioni, mentre un minor numero di presenze si ha per l'area dove, agli inizi del VI sec. a.C., viene edificato un edificio bipartito interpretabile come struttura per banchetti.[49]

Per le forme più longeve[50] - riscontrate soprattutto in strati relativi a sconvolgimenti successivi alle spalle del monumento iscritto, che allo stato attuale delle non è possibile riferire a eventi precisi - si può ipotizzare una possibile connessione con le attività cerimoniali che dovevano essere svolte nell'ambiente sud dell'edificio bipartito, caratterizzato da un ingresso decentrato, una banchina su tre lati e un pilastro di sostegno centrale, e dunque identificato come apprestamento per banchetti.[51] Gli esemplari più antichi e più circoscritti cronologicamente invece,[52] potrebbero costituire un interessante parallelo con i dati provenienti dal recente studio dei materiali rinvenuti durante le indagini del 1976-'77, che confermano la presenza di ceramica da banchetto nel santuario già a partire dalla fine dell'VIII sec. a.C., con un successivo aumento delle attestazioni nel corso del VII sec. a.C.[53]

Quanto infine ai frammenti presenti nei saggi di scavo presso i tratti settentrionale e nord-orientale della fortificazione gabina, ne va segnalato l'esiguo numero rispetto alle altre aree indagate (rispettivamente 49 e 158 frammenti, 5% del totale dei frammenti ceramici rinvenuti presso la fortificazione, Figg. 1.A, 1.C), fatto dovuto evidentemente alla natura non abitativa dei contesti in questione.[54] Mentre negli strati del tratto settentrionale non sono stati individuati frammenti diagnostici, dal tratto nord-orientale ne provengono tre, tutti individuati in strati databili a epoche successive rispetto all'arco cronologico stabilito per la classe.[55]

[47] Cfr. Fabbri 2011.

[48] Cfr. Fabbri, Musco, Osanna 2012, 236-241.

[49] Fabbri 2011, 19 ss.; Fabbri, Musco, Osanna 2012, pp. 232-235. Un numero ancora inferiore di attestazioni si ha nelle aree relative al monumento con iscrizione e all'asse viario a sud di esso.

[50] Si tratta dell'olla tipo 1, 2, 4, 5.A, 6 e del calice tipo 4, databili fino alla fine del VI sec. a.C.

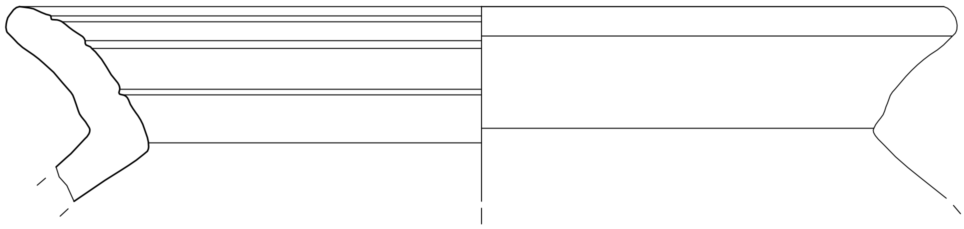
[51] Anche all'interno dell'edificio va segnalato il ritrovamento di ceramica da banchetto (Fabbri, Musco, Osanna 2012, 232-233).

[52] Si tratta della coppa tipo 1, del calice tipo 1.B, 2, 3, del piatto 1.C, del sostegno tipo 1.A, che non vanno oltre fine VII/metà VI sec. a.C.

[53] Zuchtriegel 2012a, 304 ss.; Zuchtriegel 2012b, 246.

[54] Relativamente al tratto nord-orientale della cinta urbica in particolare, la maggiore quantità di frammenti proviene comunque da strati posti nella parte meridionale dell'area indagata (settore 3, Fig. 1.D), una zona nei pressi del muro di sub-aggere, dunque nella porzione dell'impianto difensivo più prossima all'abitato. Sulle indagini relative alla fortificazione gabina, vd. Fabbri, Musco 2016; Fabbri, Bochicchio 2022.

[55] Due esemplari di olla tipo 1.B provengono rispettivamente da strati riferibili alla frequentazione presso il muro di controscarpa dell'aggere e alla fase di chiusura del varco di accesso, datati entrambi tra la metà del IV/inizi III sec. a.C. e il I sec. d.C., mentre un esemplare di olla tipo 4.A è stato rinvenuto in uno strato riferibile alla frequentazione dell'area alle spalle del varco di accesso e datata anch'essa tra la metà del IV/inizi III sec. a.C. e il I sec. d.C. (Fase 4 del II Periodo di frequentazione del tratto).



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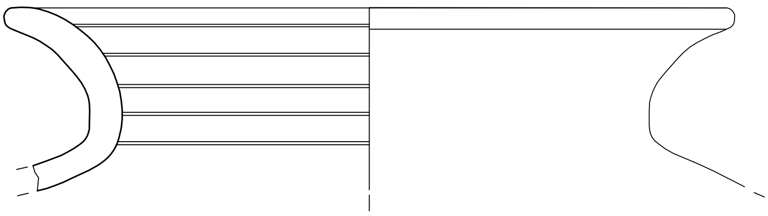

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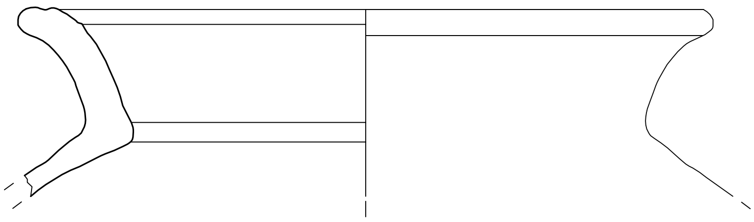

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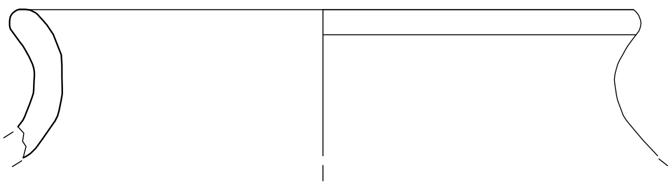

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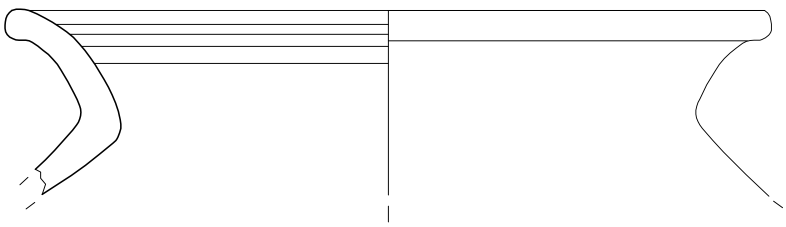

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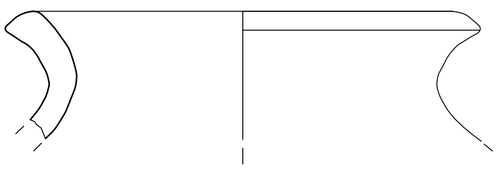

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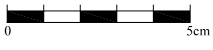
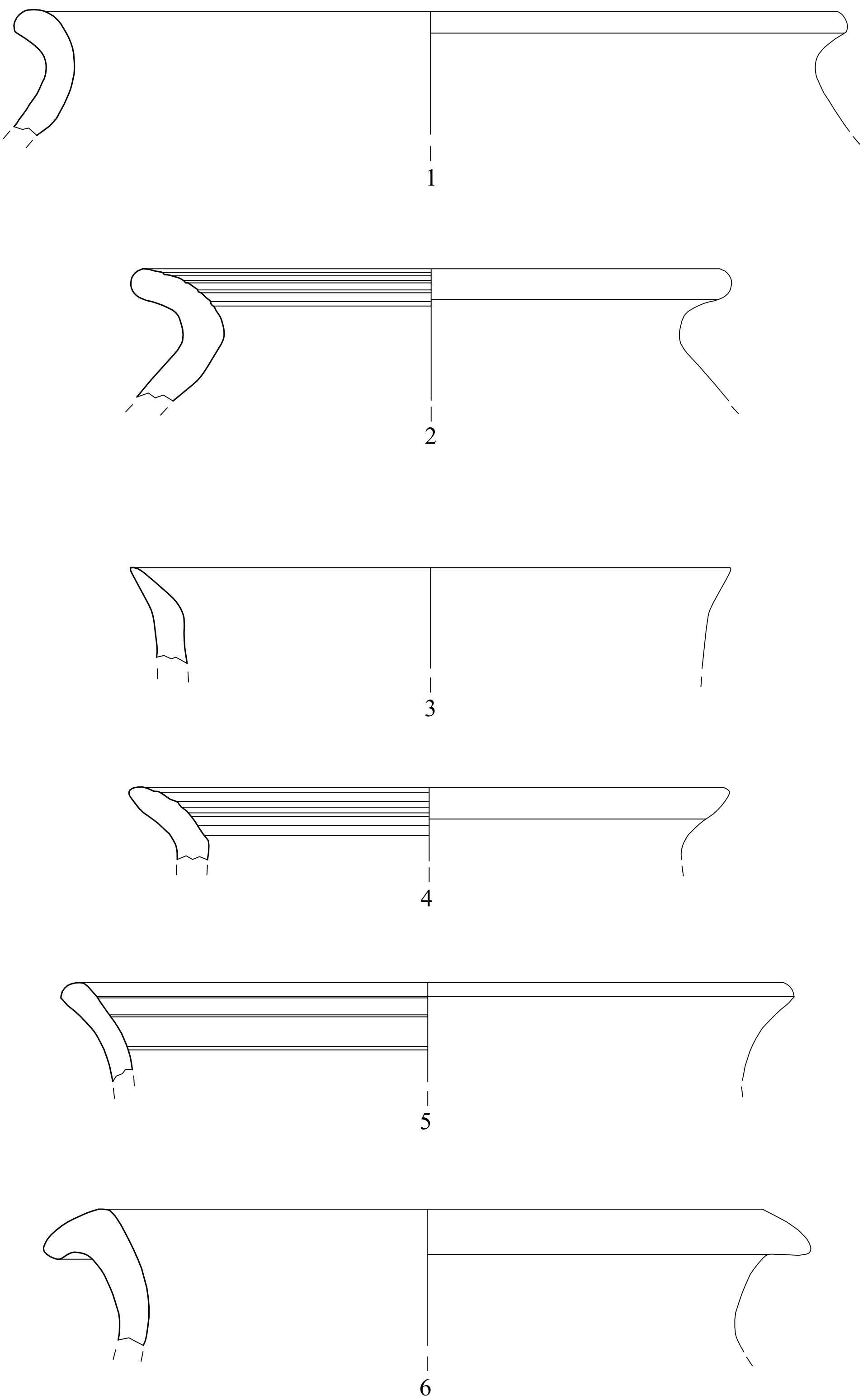
Tav. I





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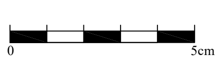

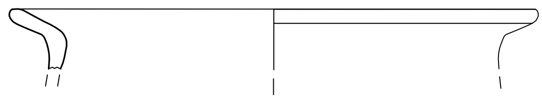

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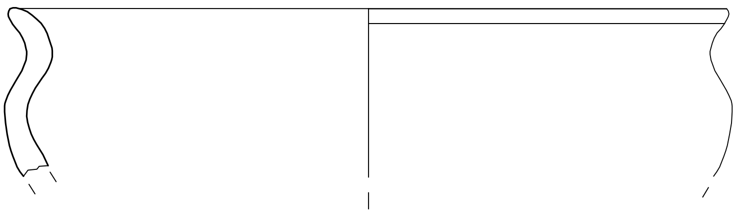

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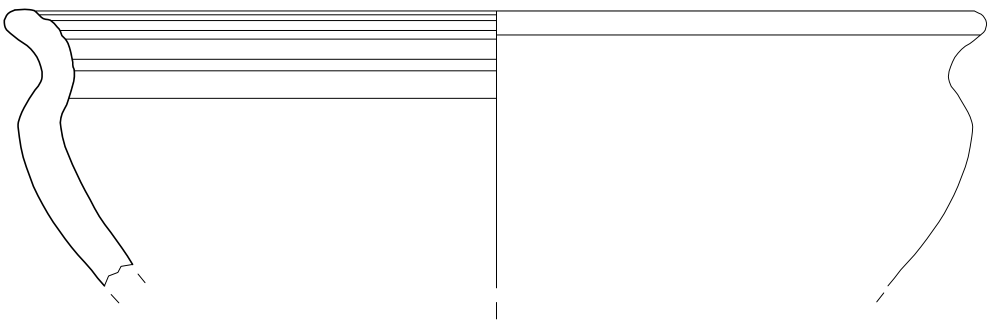

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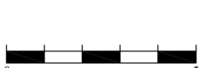

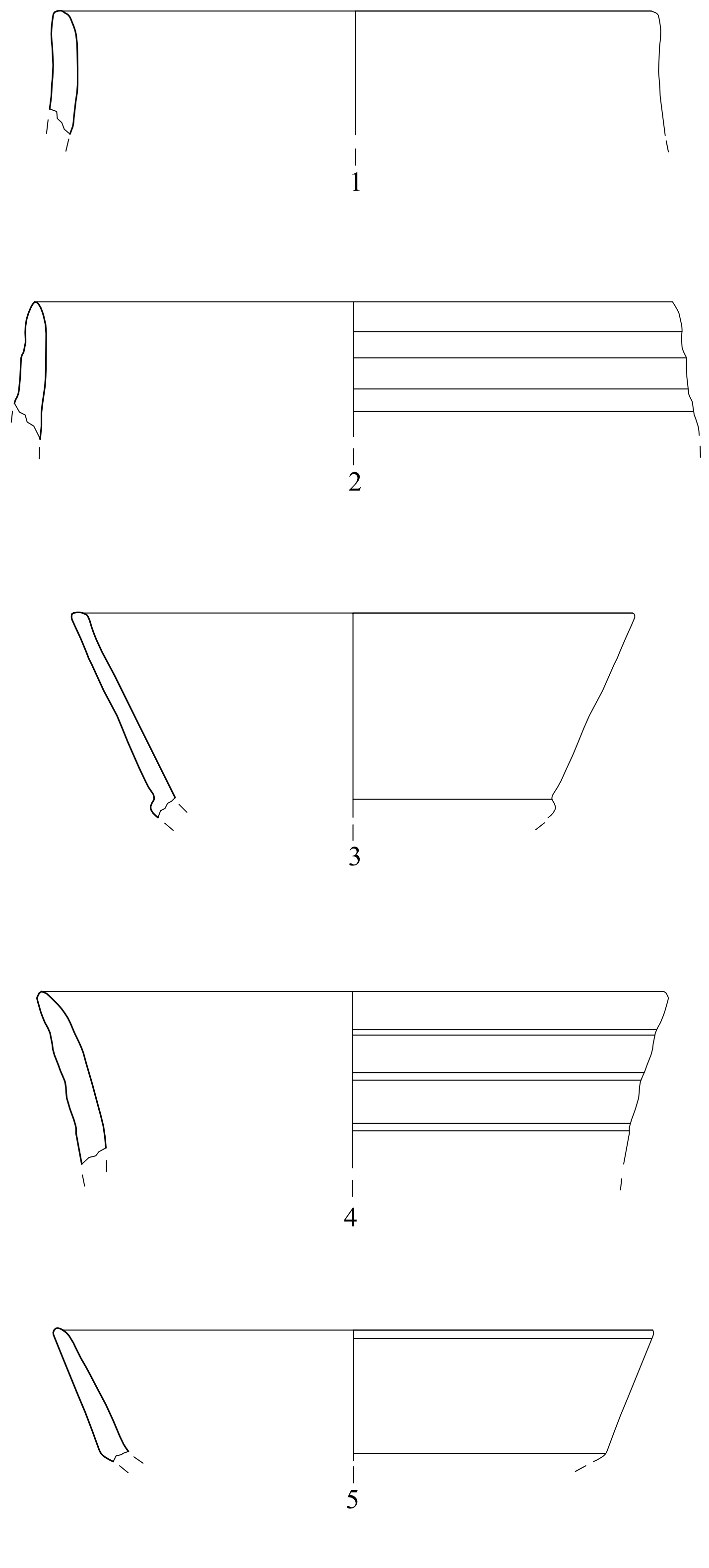

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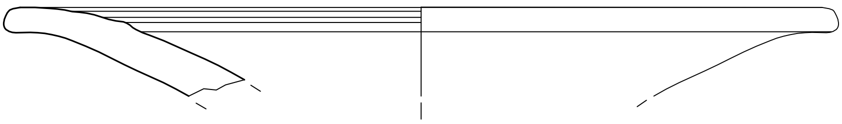

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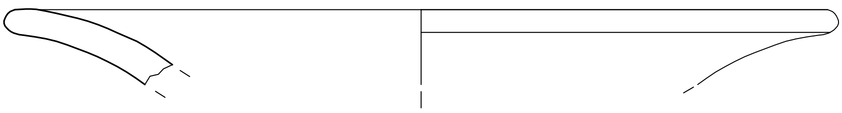

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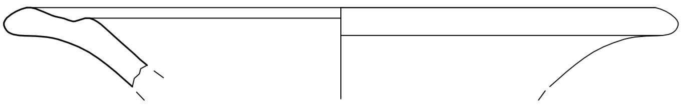

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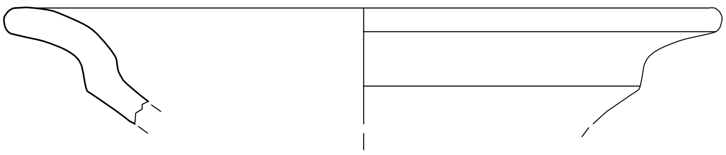

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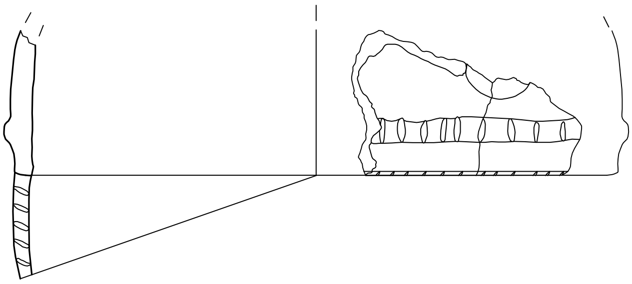

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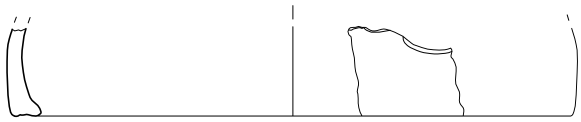

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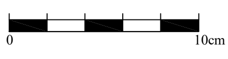

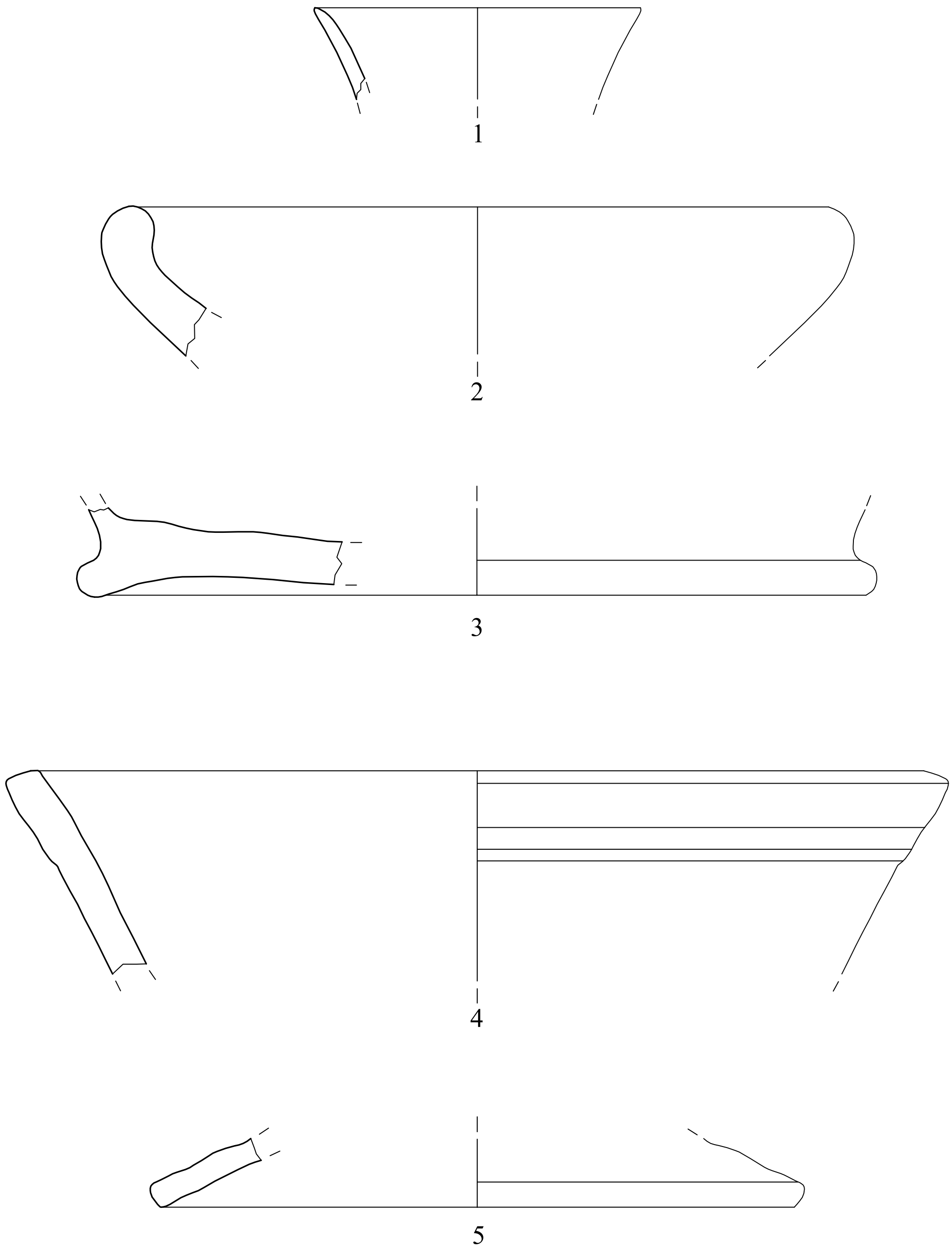

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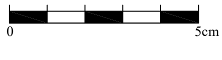

Gabii, campagne di scavo 2007-2012: il bucchero

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Abstract: In the present contribution, 2107 fragments of bucchero pottery from several Gabii excavation areas are analyzed. From the arx excavations there are 1904 fragments. From the Santuario Orientale there are 99. From the northern section and the north-eastern section of the fortification wall, there are 104. Bucchero fragments make up 6% of all the ceramic finds recovered.

Introduzione

Nel presente contributo sono stati analizzati 2107 frammenti ceramici di bucchero provenienti da alcune aree oggetto di indagini archeologiche a Gabii.[1] Dall'arx della città provengono 1904 frammenti, dal santuario orientale 99 e dai tratti settentrionale e nord-orientale delle mura di fortificazione provengono 104 frammenti; il 6 % sul totale dei reperti rinvenuti.[2]

Caratteristiche tecniche della ceramica in bucchero

L'analisi dei frammenti, di cui 366 diagnostici, permette di identificare a Gabii un bucchero nero, a superficie lucidata internamente ed esternamente, lavorato in modo uniforme al tornio.[3] L'impasto ceramico si presenta duro, con inclusi calcarei di colore bianco a granulometria finissima e qualche raro incluso di pozzolana, sporadici sono i segni di cattiva cottura. I motivi decorativi impiegati sulle superfici dei vasi sono semplificati e standardizzati: fasce di linee incise orizzontali e parallele, punte di diamante impresse sulle carene dei calici e dei *kantharoi*, ventaglietti, chiusi o semichiusi, impressi con puntini a orientamento orizzontale o verticale, tutto coerentemente inseribile nella tradizione della produzione in bucchero etrusco e laziale.

Forme e tipi attestati

L'estrema frammentarietà dei reperti non ha permesso l'identificazione della forma del 53% dei frammenti, tuttavia quelli con un miglior stato di conservazione hanno consentito di identificare un ampio repertorio morfologico (fig. 1). Esso è rappresentato da forme chiuse, come l'anfora, l'*oinochoe* e l'attingitoio, generalmente utilizzate per conservare/servire i liquidi, e da forme aperte come il *kantharos*, il calice, la *kylix*, il *kyathos* e la *kotyle* per la consumazione dei liquidi; infine la ciotola e il piatto-scodella, destinate probabilmente al consumo del cibo solido (fig. 1). La percentuale delle forme aperte, in ciascun contesto indagato, è sempre superiore a quella delle forme chiuse,[4] prevalenza riscontrata anche presso il Santuario di Giunone Gabina, seppur in diverse percentuali.[5] L'identificazione di alcune forme sovrapponibili a causa di caratteristiche morfologiche analoghe, quali il calice e il *kantharos*, l'anfora e l'*oinochoe*, è stata possibile riscontrando la presenza di attributi decorativi o elementi morfologici, come l'attacco dell'ansa o il fondo, sui frammenti stessi. In mancanza dei suddetti attributi invece si è proceduto

[1] Fabbri 2015, 187-203; Fabbri 2017, 225-240, Fabbri 2011, 13-38; Fabbri, Musco, Osanna 2010, 62-65; Fabbri, Musco, Osanna 2012, 229-242; Fabbri, Musco 2016, 71-90. Un ringraziamento sentito in questa sede a Stefano Musco della Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio di Roma, oggi purtroppo non più tra noi, a Marco Fabbri, per gli insegnamenti continui sul metodo e il contesto, ma soprattutto alla compianta Maria Donatella Gentili, prodiga di consigli e disponibile con tutti i mezzi in suo possesso, appassionata come nessun docente mai.

[2] Lo studio deriva dalla tesi di laurea magistrale in Archeologia dei paesaggi urbani, discussa da chi scrive presso l'Università degli studi di Roma "Tor Vergata" nell'anno accademico 2012/13 dal titolo: "Il bucchero dell'*arx* di *Gabii* tra età orientalizzante ed arcaica. Campagne di scavo 2008-2012." I risultati presentati in questa sede sono frutto della prosecuzione delle attività di studio della classe, soprattutto per quanto riguarda il bucchero dell'*arx*, ma anche della revisione di lavori pregressi sul bucchero del santuario orientale e dei tratti settentrionale e nord-orientale delle mura di fortificazione, iniziati da Marzia Zingaretti, che ringrazio.

[3] Il colore è prevalentemente nero, variabile dal lucido all'opaco; alcuni rari casi presentano un colore poco omogeneo con lievi sfumature tendenti al grigio ed al marrone. Sono stati rinvenuti anche frammenti di bucchero rosso malcotto. (Munsell 1988: 10 YR 2/1; 10YR 3/1; 10YR 4/1; 2.5Y 4/1). Per quanto riguarda lo spessore delle pareti sono stati registrati valori minimi con campo di variabilità da 0,2 cm a 1 cm e per i valori massimi si registrano variazioni da 0,3 cm a 1,4 cm.

[4] Dall'*arx* provengono 91 frammenti riferibili a forme chiuse e 838 appartenenti a forme aperte; dal santuario orientale invece la proporzione è di 5 a 12, mentre dalle mura il rapporto è di 7 a 22. Per la distinzione in forme e l'attribuzione dei frammenti per tutte le aree vedi figura 1.

[5] Gran-Aymerich 1982, 333-354. La prevalenza di forme aperte sulle forme chiuse è elemento frequente nei contesti santuariali e votivi, come ci confermano anche i rinvenimenti a Roma del Tempio della Vittoria al Palatino (Rossi, Valerio 2001, 258), a S. Omobono e presso il Lapis Niger al Foro; nel Lazio ad Anagni nella stipe di S. Cecilia (Gatti 1994-95, 43).

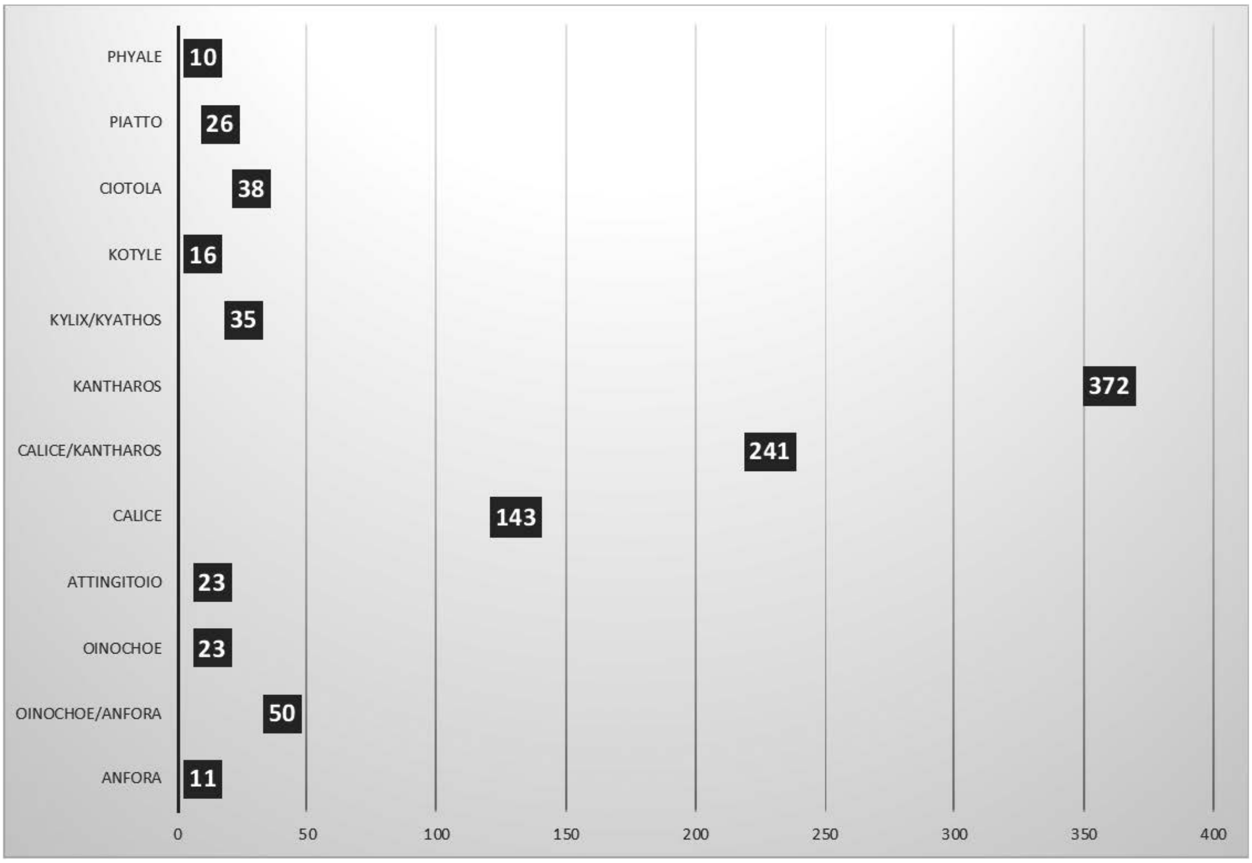


Fig. 1. Identificazione forme.

tramite unione delle forme, come anche nel caso di *kylikes* e *kyathoi*.[6]

Le forme e i tipi della produzione di bucchero identificati a Gabii sono da riferire ad un arco cronologico che va dal terzo quarto del VII secolo al V sec. a.C., con i tipi più antichi rinvenuti presso l'*arx* e i più recenti presso l'area del circuito difensivo.

Dal punto di vista funzionale le forme legate al servizio e soprattutto al consumo del vino sono quelle numericamente più attestate, seguono poi le forme comuni, connesse ad un uso quotidiano; le prime, esemplificate dal *kantharos*, dal calice, dall'*oinochoe*/anfora, dalla *kylix*/*kyathos* e dalla *kotyle* sono diffuse soprattutto presso l'*arx*, che risulta essere il contesto che restituisce il numero più elevato di forme in bucchero a Gabii: qui infatti si trovano anche quelle comuni, come i piatti-scodella e le ciotole, quest'ultime numerose anche presso l'area del circuito difensivo con i tipi più recenti.[7]

Il *kantharos* tipo Rasmussen 3e (tipo 1) è il più diffuso, descritto da una imboccatura larga, vasca poco profonda con pareti a profilo leggermente convesso, presenta una carena a spigolo vivo decorata con punte di diamante impresse, l'orlo è svasato e il labbro da appuntito ad arrotondato è decorato da leggere incisioni parallele in numero variabile. Il tipo, cui si associa una varietà caratterizzata da dimensioni ridotte, è inquadrabile cronologicamente tra l'ultimo quarto del VII secolo a.C. e la metà del VI.[8]

6 Il riferimento bibliografico più recente e aggiornato è in Gran-Aymerich 2017. Lo studioso ha ripercorso la lunga storia degli studi inerente alla produzione, dagli albori del collezionismo antiquario con la formazione delle prime grandi collezioni studiate nel XIX secolo, ai congressi più importanti sulla materia (Bouloumié 1975; Bonghi Jovino 1993; Naso 2004), fornendo una bibliografia quasi sconfinata alla quale, in questa sede, si fa riferimento.

7 Provengono dall'*arx* di *Gabii* 355 frammenti di *kantharos*, 138 frammenti di calice e 241 frammenti attribuibili sia al calice che al *kantharos*. 16 sono i frammenti riferibili all'*oinochoe*, 11 all'anfora, 44 attribuibili sia all'*oinochoe* che all'anfora. Ancora nell'ambito delle forme potorie 34 sono i frammenti riferibili sia alla forma della *kylix* che del *kyathos*, 15 frammenti di attingitoio e 15 di *kotyle*. Per quanto riguarda le forme comuni invece sono stati identificati 18 frammenti pertinenti alla forma della ciotola, 26 alla forma del piatto-scodella. Dal Santuario orientale provengono, tra quelli identificati, 9 frammenti di *kantharos*, 4 di calice, 4 di *oinochoe*, 1 frammento di *kylix*, 8 frammenti combacianti di attingitoio e 2 frammenti di ciotola. Dal tratto settentrionale e nord-orientale della fortificazione della città gabina provengono 8 frammenti di *kantharos*, 9 frammenti combacianti di *oinochoe*/anfora, 1 frammento di calice, 18 frammenti di ciotola.

8 Il tipo 1 (tav. I) identificato grazie a 6 frammenti provenienti

Cronologicamente affine al tipo 1 di *kantharos* è il calice Rasmussen 2d (tipo 1) che presenta una vasca carenata decorata nel punto di massima sporgenza da punte di diamante impresse e, lungo la parete, da tre solcature incise e parallele.[9]

Sono stati distinti due tipi di *oinochoai*, entrambi a bocca trilobata, che è stato più complesso confrontare per via della indisponibilità di esemplari integri che avrebbero permesso di comprendere lo sviluppo del corpo, l'impostazione delle anse e del fondo e definire pertanto una cronologia più precisa. I due tipi, di cui uno con orlo svasato e labbro più o meno ingrossato, l'altro con orlo verticale e labbro leggermente rientrante, fanno riferimento ai tipi Rasmussen 3a (tipo 1) e Rasmussen 7a (tipo 2) attestandosi entro un orizzonte cronologico che va dalla fine del VII secolo a.C., alla prima metà del VI (590-540 a.C.).[10]

Dodici frammenti, corrispondenti ad altrettanti esemplari distinti tra loro, di orlo di *kylix/kyathos,* individuano il tipo più noto Rasmussen 1c (tipo 1), datato a partire dal terzo quarto del VII secolo e molto popolare alla fine del secolo stesso, definito da un orlo distinto, più o meno svasato ed ingrossato, labbro più o meno appuntito e da una vasca troncoconica, più o meno schiacciata.

Uno dei frammenti sopra citati e ricondotti al tipo 1, si distingue dagli altri per le dimensioni ridotte, lo spessore esiguo delle pareti (da 0,2 a 0,3 cm) e la delicata decorazione costituita da un ventaglietto aperto e orizzontale di puntini impressi subito sotto l'orlo sulla parete esterna. La fattura più accurata di questo esemplare porterebbe a considerarlo tra i reperti più antichi in bucchero rinvenuti presso l'*arx*. Dal tipo 1 delle *kylikes/kyathoi* gabine si distingue il tipo 2, descritto invece da un orlo indistinto con profilo verticale, labbro assottigliato e lievemente appuntito e una vasca emisferica, più recente e attestato alla fine del VI sec. a.C.[11]

L'ultima forma per bere, la *kotyle*, è rappresentata esclusivamente presso l'*arx* dal tipo 1 associato al tipo C di Rasmussen, il più comune tra i vasi di questa foggia e anche il più antico, datato all'ultimo quarto del VII sec. a.C.[12]

Completano la rassegna delle forme chiuse un tipo di anfora Rasmussen 1d (tipo 1) di derivazione dai tipi di anforette laziali "a spirali", caratterizzato da un orlo indistinto, svasato e labbro lievemente assottigliato e da un collo conico con due anse a nastro che vanno dall'orlo alle spalle del vaso, la cui cronologia va dall'ultimo quarto del VII al secondo quarto del VI sec. a.C.;[13] infine due tipi di attingitoio, il primo riferito al tipo Rasmussen 1b (tipo 1) con orlo indistinto e svasato, senza variazione di spessore, il labbro più o meno appuntito, molto diffuso a partire dall'ultimo quarto del VII sec. a.C.[14] e il secondo (tipo 2), riferito a Rasmussen

dall'area dell'*arx* e 2 provenienti dal santuario orientale che identificano la varietà, confronta in Etruria meridionale a Cerveteri -Monte Abatone, Bufolareccia; a Tarquinia -Monterozzi, -Cultrera, -San Giuliano (Rasmussen 1979, 194, tipo 3e, n.168) e a Gravisca (Pianu 2000, 65, Tav. 9, n. 76). Nel Lazio, a Roma -Palatino (Rossi, Valerio 2001, Tav. 79.374), ad Anagni -S. Cecilia (Gatti 1995, 48, fig. 30, n. 215) e a *Gabii* -Santuario orientale (Zuchtriegel 2012a, 393, nn. 455-456, Tav. XXVII) e Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992, tipo 100m, Tav. 30).

9 Il tipo 1 (tav. I), cui appartengono 7 frammenti provenienti dall'arx, si distingue per un orlo indistinto, più o meno svasato, labbro da appuntito a arrotondato, vasca carenata, con spigolo vivo sporgente esternamente, caratterizzata da decorazione con punte di diamante. I confronti sono stati trovati in Etruria meridionale a Cerveteri -Monte Abatone e -Bufolareccia, a Tarquinia -Monterozzi (Rasmussen 1979, 189, tipo 2d, n.138), -Gravisca (Pianu 2000, 63, tav. 7 n. 55). Nel Lazio presso Anagni -S. Cecilia (Gatti 1995, 52, fig. 34, n. 252) e a Roma -*Lacus Iuturnae* (Kemppainen, Argento 2012, Tav. XVII, n. 34a), a *Gabii* -Santuario orientale (Zuchtriegel 2012a, 393, nn. 448, 449, 452, Tav. XXVII) e -Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992, 346-347, tipi 105c e 105f, tav. 31).

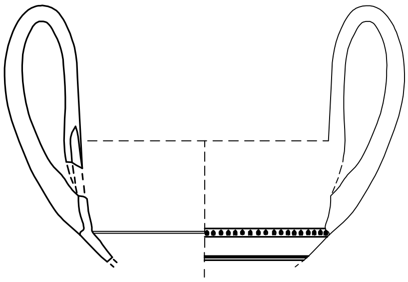
10 Al tipo 1 (tav. I) appartengono 2 frammenti provenienti dall'*arx*, mentre al tipo 2 sono stati ricondotti un frammento di orlo scarsamente conservato che probabilmente attacca con i 9 frammenti combacianti di pareti e fondo tutti provenienti dall'area del santuario orientale. Al tipo 2 appartengono anche due frammenti combacianti tra loro di orlo di cui non è stato possibile ricostruire diametro e orientamento provenienti dall'*arx*.

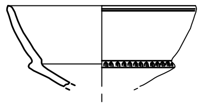
11 Al tipo 1 (tav. I) appartengono i 12 frammenti provenienti dall'*arx*, cui si associa la variante, identificata sulla base di un singolo frammento che si discosta per un orlo estremamente svasato e la vasca troncoconica molto schiacciata. Il tipo e la sua variante confrontano in Etruria meridionale con Cerveteri -Monte Abatone (Rasmussen 1979, 199, tipo 1c, n. 208) e Tarquinia -Monterozzi, -Cultrera (Rasmussen 1979, 201, tipo 3b, n. 228,) e infine -La Civita (Locatelli 2004, tipo I e II. 2d.2, Tav. 99b). Ne Lazio i confronti sono con Fidene (Di Gennaro, Bartoli, Foddai 2009, 124, fig. 21 nn. 22 e 24) e Roma -*Lacus Iuturnae* (Kemppainen, Argento 2012, Tav. XIV, n. 5). Il tipo 2 (tav. I) più recente si riferisce alla kylix Rasmussen tipo 5 e più in generale in Etruria, a Chiusi -Petriolo (Martelli 2009, 156, 180.X.40.a).

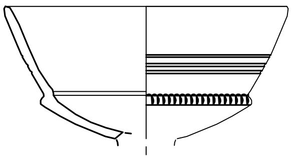
12 Il tipo 1 (tav. I) è associato a 4 frammenti provenienti dall'*arx* descritti da un orlo indistinto e labbro più o meno appuntito. Negli esemplari più conservati è stato possibile riconoscere una vasca di tipo troncoconico, con profilo esterno continuo, segnata esternamente da solcature incise più o meno profonde, l'ansa è a bastoncello e impostata orizzontalmente. I confronti in Etruria meridionale li troviamo a Cerveteri -Monte Abatone, -Bufolareccia (Rasmussen 1979, 188, tipo c, n.124) e nel Lazio a Roma -Palatino (Rossi, Valerio 2001, Tav. 68, n. 370), Anagni -S. Cecilia (Gatti 1995, 51, fig. 33, n. 250), e infine a *Gabii* -Santuario orientale (Zuchtriegel 2012a, 392, n. 440, Tav. XXVI).

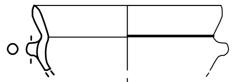
13 Appartiene al tipo 1 un solo frammento dall'*arx* recante superficie esterna lucidata e interna non trattata, ma lucidata solo nella parte subito sotto l'orlo. Al frammento è attaccata una porzione di ansa a nastro. Il tipo confronta in Etruria meridionale, a Cerveteri -Monte Abatone 100, Tomba 4 (Rasmussen 1979, 165, tipo 1d, n. 16, e Hirshland Ramage 1970, tipo 1d, fig. 9.5) e nel Lazio a *Gabii* -Santuario orientale (Zuchtriegel 2012a, 395, n. 500, Tav. XXIX) e -Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992, 255, tipo 7kk, Tav. 15).

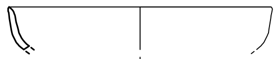
14 Il tipo 1 di attingitoio (tav. I), cui appartengono 4 frammenti provenienti dall'*arx*, corrisponde alla forma Gran-Aymerich 2017, n. 5125d4, Tav. 115 e confronta in Etruria meridionale a Cerveteri -Monte Abatone, -Bufolareccia e Vigna Parrocchiale (Pandolfini 1992, 144, fig. 359, E 6.1); a Tarquinia -Monterozzi, -Cultrera 43 (Rasmussen 1979, 186, tipo 1b, n.106) e -Civita (Locatelli 2004, tipo I.1a.2, Tav. 84). Nel Lazio a Roma -depositi arcaici (Gjerstad 1966, 431, fig. 117, n.13) e -*Lacus Iuturnae* (Kemppainen, Argento 2012, Tav. XVII, n. 36). Sono associati allo stesso tipo di attingitoio gli 8 frammenti combacianti provenienti dall'area del santuario orientale (vd. nota 7).

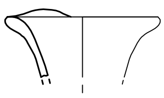

KANTHAROS Tipo 1

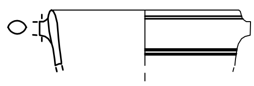

KANTHAROS Varietà A Tipo 1

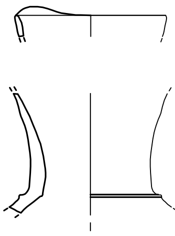

CALICE Tipo 1

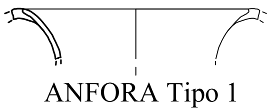

KYLIX/KYATHOS Tipo 1


KYLIX/KYATHOS Tipo 2


OINOCHOE Tipo 1


KOTYLE Tipo 1


OINOCHOE Tipo 2


ANFORA Tipo 1

Tav. I

tipo 2, con orlo più breve e labbro maggiormente appuntito.[15]

Ai tipi attribuiti alle forme potorie in bucchero, che si caratterizzano per una maggiore standardizzazione tipologica e morfologica, una fattura migliore, maggiore lucentezza delle superfici, ridotto spessore delle pareti e impasto ceramico più raffinato, e riferiti all'orizzonte cronologico più antico sopradescritto, si affiancano le forme comuni. La ciotola risulta essere, dopo il *kantharos*, il calice e l'anfora/*oinochoe*, la forma più attestata tra i diagnostici (38 frammenti), distinti in sei tipi sulla base della conformazione dell'orlo e, dove conservata, della vasca; mentre al piatto-scodella, su un totale di 26 frammenti, sono stati attribuiti due tipi e due varianti, una per tipo, tutti provenienti esclusivamente dall'*arx*.

La ciotola carenata tipo 1 di Rasmussen (tipo 1, tav. II) è descritta da una vasca carenata e un po' schiacciata, l'orlo leggermente svasato ed ingrossato, il labbro più o meno arrotondato. Questo tipo di ciotola proviene esclusivamente dai settori settentrionale e nord-orientale della fortificazione di *Gabii* e si data entro la prima metà del VI sec. a.C.[16] Ancora dall'area delle fortificazioni proviene il tipo 2 (tav. II), che si differenzia dal precedente per la vasca che, nonostante lo stato scarsamente conservato degli esemplari, si intuisce essere a profilo continuo di tipo troncoconico e non più carenato, con orlo svasato e ingrossato e labbro arrotondato. La sua cronologia, più recente, si attesta tra la fine del VI e gli inizi del V sec. a.C.[17] Un unico frammento, proveniente questa volta dall'*arx*, concorre a definire la ciotola tipo 3 (tav. II), coeva alla precedente, descritta da un orlo rientrante con labbro arrotondato ma sagomato superiormente per mezzo di una scanalatura profonda, vasca poco profonda e superficie decorata esternamente da una serie di linee sottili incise e parallele.[18] Nuovamente un solo frammento dall'*arx*, individua la ciotola tipo 4 (tav. II) definita da un orlo indistinto e lievemente rientrante, labbro ingrossato più o meno appuntito, impostato su una vasca poco profonda e decorata esternamente da una serie di sottili linee concentriche incise.[19] Tra fine VI e V sec. a.C. si attestano infine le più diffuse ciotole emisferiche tipo 5 e tipo 6 (tav. II), rinvenute presso i tratti settentrionale e nord-orientale delle fortificazioni e presso l'*arx*, caratterizzate da un profilo esterno continuo che da arrotondato diviene leggermente carenato, orlo da verticale a lievemente rientrante e labbro arrotondato.[20]

Gli esemplari attribuiti alla forma del piatto-scodella mostrano una evoluzione che potrebbe riferirsi al successo che questa forma ebbe nel contesto, a partire dalla sua riproduzione con gli stessi tipi anche in altre classi, come l'impasto bruno e l'impasto rosso. I confronti da cui si è partiti per l'individuazione di questa forma sono a Chiusi e Orvieto dove, allo stesso modo che a *Gabii* e a Roma, sembrerebbe avvenire una forte specializzazione locale della produzione durante il VI secolo a.C.[21] Il piatto-scodella tipo 1

[15] Il tipo 2 (tav. I) corrisponde al tipo 2 di Rassmussen ed è stato individuato a partire da un frammento proveniente dall'*arx*, che conserva la frattura dell'ansa sormontante impostata verticalmente sul labbro.

[16] Rasmussen 1979, 203, Tav. 41.248. Altri confronti in Etruria meridionale sono a Cerveteri -Vigna Parrocchiale (Pandolfini 1992, 159, fig. 370, E 41. 3-5), a Tarquinia -La Civita (Bonghi Jovino, Chiaramonte Treré 1997, 38 e tav. 133, n. 1.10), a Veio -Casale Pian Roseto (Murray Threipland, Torelli 1970, 73, fig. 4. D1), a San Giovenale (Berggren 1972, 47, tav. 22.8) e a San Giuliano (Rasmussen 1979, 203, tipo 1, n. 248). Nel Lazio a Roma -Palatino (Rossi, Valerio 2001, tav. 83, n. 393) -Foro romano, sepolcreto arcaico (Van Kampen 2004, 271, tipo 1, e fig. 1) e -*Lacus Iuturnae* (Kemppainen, Argento 2012, tav. XIV, n. 9); mentre a *Gabii* -Santuario di Giunone (Gran-Aymerich 1982, 340 fig. 6.5). Abbiamo inoltre confronti a Fidene (Di Gennaro *et al.* 2009, 194, fig. 21 n. 3).

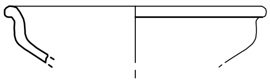
[17] Tra i 3 frammenti diagnostici attribuiti al tipo è stato individuato un esemplare che potrebbe essere connesso alla ciotola miniaturistica da Veio, Casale Pian Roseto, del tipo 2, gruppo I (Murray Threipland, Torelli 1970, 90). Altri confronti sono in Etruria meridionale a Tarquinia -La Civita (Bonghi Jovino 2001, 251 tav. 100C, 183/30) e a Gravisca (Pianu 2000, 57, 1 n 2). Nel Lazio a Roma -Palatino (Rossi, Valerio 2001, 264, tav. 83 n 390) e a *Gabii* -Santuario di Giunone (Gran-Aymerich 1982, 340, fig. 5.5).

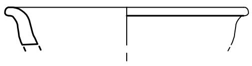
[18] Cerveteri -Vigna Parrocchiale (Pandolfini 1992, 162, fig. 371, E 44.1), Civitavecchia -La Castellina (Gran-Aymerich 2011, 380, Tav. 148, n. 240). Nel Lazio ad Anagni -S. Cecilia (Gatti 1995, 51, fig. 33, n. 247) e Fidene (Di Gennaro, Bartoli, Foddai 2009, 194, fig. 21, n. 11).

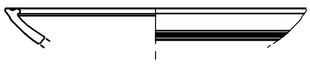
[19] Civitavecchia -La Castellina (Gran-Aymerich 2011, 374, Tav. 145, n. 185) e nel Lazio a Roma -*Lacus Iuturnae* (Kemppainen, Argento 2012, Tav. XVI, n. 30).

[20] Pertengono al tipo 5 (tav. II) i 3 frammenti provenienti dall'area delle fortificazioni e un frammento proveniente dall'*arx*, i cui confronti in Etruria meridionale sono a Cerveteri -Monte Abatone (Rasmussen 1979, 203, tipo 4, n. 256), a Gravisca (Pianu 2000, tav. 3, nn. 23-26) e a Veio -Casale Pian Roseto (Murray Threipland, Torelli 1970, 87, tipo 1-5, gruppo A). Nel Lazio a Roma -Palatino (Rossi, Valerio 2001, tav. 84, n. 394), -Foro romano, Regia (Gjerstad 1960, 304, fig. 198.5), -*Lacus Iuturnae* (Kemppainen, Argento 2012, tav. XVI, nn. 25-26), a *Gabii* -Santuario di Giunone (Gran-Aymerich 1982, 340, fig. 7 n. 5), a Fidene (Quilici, Gigli 1986, 125, tav. XLVI fig. 18), a *Lavinium* (Sommella *et al.*1975, 30, fig. 25, n. 88b) e infine a *Satricum* (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, 166, 273, fig. 1459). Mentre il tipo 6 è associato a 3 frammenti diagnostici dall'*arx* e 2 frammenti combacianti recanti segno di cattiva cottura e provenienti dai tratti settentrionale e nord-orientale delle fortificazioni. Il tipo confronta in Etruria meridionale con San Giuliano (Rasmussen 1979, 204, tipo 3, n. 263), con Veio -Casale Pian Roseto (Murray Threipland, Torelli 1970, 88, tipo B7), con Gravisca (Pianu 2000, Tav. 5, Tipo non id., n. 40) e con Civitavecchia -La Castellina (Gran-Aymerich 2011, 376, Tav. 146, n. 197). Nel Lazio con Roma -Palatino e -*Lacus Iuturnae* (Rossi, Valerio 2001, Tav. 84, n. 394; Kemppainen, Argento 2012, Tav. XVI, n. 24) e infine con Ficana (Fischer-Hansen, Algreen-Ussing 2013, 133, fig. 82, n. 312).

[21] Tamburini 2004, 179-222. A Orvieto, che ha strettissimi rapporti con la Sabina ed è inserito nel tragitto di percorrenza delle principali vie di comunicazione fluviali che mettevano in contatto il comparto orientale del *Latium vetus* con quello etrusco meridionale e centrale, la produzione del bucchero venne avviata relativamente tardi rispetto ai centri di Etruria meridionale. Alla metà del VI secolo profonde trasformazioni sociali di ambito urbano si rifletterebbero in un considerevole aumento della domanda di questi prodotti da parte della società. È in questo momento che inizia una produzione di tipo standardizzato che sostanzialmente mantiene due filoni principali: da una parte gli artigiani volsiniesi continuano a produrre prodotti che imitano i più famosi circolanti nell'Etruria meridionale, mentre dall'altra parte si specializza la produzione di forme peculiari quasi


CIOTOLA Tipo 1


CIOTOLA Tipo 2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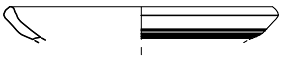
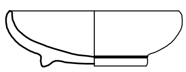
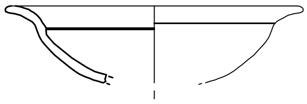
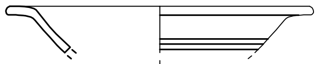
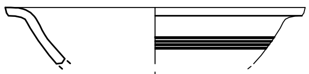

CIOTOLA Tipo 4

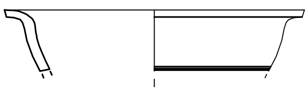

CIOTOLA Tipo 5


CIOTOLA Tipo 6

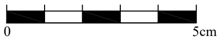

PIATTO-SCODELLA Tipo 1


PIATTO-SCODELLA
Variante Tipo 1


PIATTO-SCODELLA Tipo 2


PIATTO-SCODELLA
Variante Tipo 2

Tav. II



(tav. II), che circola nella seconda metà del VI secolo a.C. è associato ad un orlo svasato a profilo convesso, più o meno sviluppato, labbro arrotondato e vasca emisferica; gli pertiene una variante che si distingue per la morfologia della vasca troncoconica.[22] Il tipo 2 (tav. II) differisce dal precedente per l'orlo quasi a tesa orizzontale e il labbro squadrato dal margine superiore appuntito ed inferiore più o meno arrotondato e vasca troncoconica; al tipo si associa una variante distinta sul tipo di vasca, in questo caso emisferica. Per questo secondo tipo non è stato possibile individuare un orizzonte cronologico di riferimento poiché per esso non sono stati trovati confronti,[23] tuttavia sulla base della articolazione tipologica, si può arrivare ad ipotizzare per esso una cronologia tra la fine del VI secolo e gli inizi del V sec. a.C.[24]

Osservazioni conclusive

Sembra di poter dunque concludere ad una prima analisi che i vari tentativi di riprodurre i tipi che circolavano maggiormente nell'ambito della produzione, corrispondenti per alcune forme ai numerosi esemplari che concorrono a definire ciascun tipo, sembrerebbero suggerire il tentativo di standardizzare la produzione in bucchero a *Gabii*. Ciò vale per le forme potorie, *kantharoi*, calici e *kylikes/kyathoi* soprattutto, che sembrano guardare esclusivamente alla produzione del bucchero etrusco meridionale,[25] ma anche per la produzione di forme comuni che, da una parte tiene presente i prodotti coevi che circolano in Etruria e a Roma e dall'altra sembra far propendere verso un fenomeno locale ispirato alla più antica produzione in impasto.[26]

sconosciute al resto d'Etruria. Su Chiusi, molto utile, ma su contesti di abitato, vedi Martelli 2009, 103-178. La forte influenza esercitata da Chiusi su centri come Poggio Civitate-Murlo porterà allo sviluppo di una produzione di bucchero locale, dinamica che potrebbe tornare utile alla comprensione di una produzione locale di bucchero anche per il contesto gabino.

22 Il tipo 1 (tav. II) individuato a partire da 5 frammenti provenienti dall'*arx* è associato ad una variante individuata sempre da un frammento venuto alla luce presso l'*arx*. Essi confrontano in Etruria meridionale a Veio -Casale Pian Roseto (Murray Threipland, Torelli 1970, 92, Tipo 1, gruppo Q), in Etruria a Orvieto (Tamburini 2004, 213, 1b (3), tav. 12), a Roselle (Donati 1994, XVII, 128, tipo 1), a Chiusi -Petriolo (Martelli 2009, 158, 240.X.70.a). Nel Lazio invece a Roma -*Lacus Iuturnae* (Kemppainen, Argento 2012, Tav. XIV, n. 3), a *Gabii* (Zuchtriegel 2012a, 395, num. 496, Tav. XXIX), a Fidene (Di Gennaro, Bartoli, Foddai 2009, 194, fig. 21 n. 19), a Ficana (Pietilä-Castrén 2012, 46, fig. 47, n. 84. Il frammento viene riconosciuto dall'autore come *goblet* e gli viene attribuito un confronto, a mio giudizio, poco pertinente).

23 Ad eccezione di un frammento rinvenuto a Ficana (Fischer-Hansen, Algreen-Ussing 2013, 133, fig. 82, n. 313) il cui confronto con il tipo 2 di piatto-scodella a *Gabii* è veramente calzante. Gli studiosi tuttavia, attribuendo il frammento alla forma della ciotola, nell'incomprensione morfologica, non trovano confronti con altri contesti.

24 Appartengono al tipo 2 del piatto-scodella 6 frammenti provenienti dall'*arx* più un frammento che identifica la sua variante, sempre dall'*arx*.

25 Già negli studi sul bucchero proveniente dal Santuario di Giunone a *Gabii* (Gran-Aymerich 1982, 333-354) venivano individuate due classi di produzione, una più antica, caratterizzata da frammenti di vasi in bucchero nero decorati che trovavano confronti con i maggiori centri etrusco meridionali come Cerveteri e Veio e una più recente, entro la quale vennero raggruppati vasi non decorati di bucchero grigio e grigio nero associabili ad un filone domestico della produzione, datato tra VI e V sec. a.C. Nel contesto del santuario si vedeva la compresenza di una produzione caratterizzata da forme molto standardizzate, le più antiche, che sparivano dalla circolazione con la diffusione delle forme e dei tipi connessi alla produzione domestica più tarda.

26 Sulla produzione di bucchero a Roma vedi Virgili 1990, 129-130, in ambito falisco Ambrosini 2004, 226-228. Non esiste uno studio di sintesi sulla classe nel Lazio nonostante i rinvenimenti di bucchero da contesti riferibili ai secoli VII e VI a.C. nel Lazio e a Roma sono decisamente consistenti; questo fu uno degli elementi che fece propendere verso l'ipotesi di produzioni locali indipendenti dalle botteghe etrusche (Ampolo *et al.* 1980, 165-192). I contesti principali fino ad oggi analizzati ed utili al confronto con la produzione di bucchero gabina sono stati rintracciati in Gierow 1966, Gjerstad 1956 e Gjerstad 1960, Bartoloni *et alii* 1989-1990, 747-759. Per la regione pontina, Satricum (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987 e Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992) Lavinium, Ardea e Anzio, hanno fornito notevoli evidenze di produzioni di bucchero prevalentemente datato in età arcaica, anche di importazione etrusco meridionale (Colonna 1976). Altri confronti sono stati trovati con i materiali di Ficana (Fischer-Hansen, Algreen-Ussing 2013), Castel di Decima (Colonna 1976, 252-289; Bartoloni *et alii* 1975, 233-367), Fidene (Di Gennaro, Bartoli, Foddai 2009, 137-210), Crustumerium (De Puma 2008, 96-97; Di Gennaro, Togninelli, De Puma 2002-2003, 45-62), oltre ovviamente ai materiali provenienti da *Gabii* stessa (Gran-Aymerich 1982, 333-354; Zuchtriegel 2012a; per Osteria dell'Osa vedi Bietti Sestieri 1992, 323-353). Per Roma vedi soprattutto i risultati sugli scavi del Palatino (Rossi, Valerio 2001, 257-270, Falzone, Rossi 2009, 31-49) gli scavi presso la villa dell'Auditorium (Carandini, D'Alessio, Di Giuseppe 2006), oltre a Cristofani 1990.

Gabii, campagne di scavo 2007-2012: i materiali fittili da uno scarico votivo sull'*arx* e dal santuario orientale

Valeria Ducatelli

Independent researcher

Abstract: This contribution examines terracotta figurines recovered from the arx and the Santuario Orientale of Gabii in the course of excavations which took place from 2007-2012. They were undertaken by the SSABAP Roma, the Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata and the Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici di Matera. The materials presented here are part of a doctoral project by the author which aims to identify different cultic practices within the votive ritual of Latium vetus in the mid-republican period.

Il contributo prende in esame la classe dei materiali fittili rinvenuti nell'area dell'*arx* di Gabii e del santuario orientale, scavati nel corso delle campagne promosse nel periodo 2007-2012 dalla SSABAP Roma, dall'Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata e dalla Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici di Matera. I materiali che si presentano sono parte di un progetto dottorale condotto da chi scrive destinato a individuare alcune ricorrenze cultuali nell'ambito delle pratiche votive del *Latium vetus* in età medio-repubblicana.[1] Sebbene i due contesti gabini siano stati indagati separatamente e abbiamo dimostrato di avere, alla luce degli studi recenti e delle interpretazioni sulle rispettive fasi di uso e di vita, nonché sulle singole funzioni, delle storie autonome, le caratteristiche della composizione delle concentrazioni di materiali votivi dimostrano che essi possono invece essere letti come un sistema unico da un punto di vista strettamente connesso con la produzione e la circolazioni di oggetti sacri nel contesto urbano e, ancora più interessante, nel contesto laziale.

Da un punto vista quantitativo, essi hanno un peso molto diverso: dall'*arx* si contano 955 frammenti di materiali fittili, divisi tra votivi (851) e architettonici (104) rinvenuti nella campagna 2011 durante lo scavo di una serie di azioni di deposizione interpretate come scarichi votivi (tre unità stratigrafiche) e concentrate nell'area antistante il massiccio muro perimetrale a sud dell'*arx*, realizzato per contenere il tumulo di pietre destinato a obliterare ritualmente la regia.[2] Dal santuario orientale, invece, i votivi portati in luce sono in totale 35 divisi tra statuette femminili (20) e testine (9), statuette maschili (5), una coppia femminile in trono con bambino; sono presenti inoltre 8 monete in bronzo, 1 laminetta ed 1 frammento di statuetta anch'esse in bronzo. I materiali sono stati rinvenuti in due nuclei principali, corrispondenti a due unità stratigrafiche entrambe in relazione diretta con una base iscritta dedicata a *Honos*.[3]

I fittili votivi. Complessivamente l'insieme si compone di terrecotte figurate tra cui statuette a figura umana di piccolo formato (403) sia femminili (232) che maschili (58) e 9 testine femminili con corona di foglie e piccoli globi, teste velate (141) per la quasi totalità femminili; anatomici (16) quasi esclusivamente arti inferiori (piedi, gambe);[4] animali, in particolare 6 frammenti di bovino, riconducibili a 3 esemplari; statuette in bronzo (4).

Sono inoltre molto numerosi i frammenti non leggibili e i frustuli non riconducibili a tipi.

Gli atteggiamenti e gli attributi delle terrecotte figurate, tanto per quelle provenienti dall'*arx* quanto per quelle provenienti dal santuario orientale, hanno il carattere tipico delle dediche per la celebrazione dei passaggi di stato di fanciulle e fanciulli alla vita adulta, e connotano il deposito in chiave "civica".[5] La ricorrenza di alcuni dettagli e l'assenza di altri suggerisce che l'oggetto della dedica fosse la celebrazione dell'acquisizione già avvenuta del nuovo stato sociale dell'iniziato alla vita politica, per l'uomo, e matrimoniale, per la donna. Il confronto con i ricchi depositi rinvenuti negli

1 Colgo l'occasione per ringraziare quanti hanno contribuito alla conclusione di questo percorso, il prof. Fabbri in primis, il dott. Musco, tutti i colleghi del laboratorio ARPAE e compagni di scavi.

2 Sulla ricostruzione del contesto dell'*arx* di Gabii (stratigrafie, fasi e funzioni dei suoi ambienti) si rimanda a quanto pubblicato in questo volume da Marco Fabbri. Si veda inoltre Fabbri 2015; Fabbri 2017; Fabbri, Musco 2016.

3 Fabbri, Musco, Osanna 2012, 229-242.

4 Sono assenti gli organi interni, gli apparati riproduttivi sia maschili che femminili, i poliviscerali.

5 Il tema della celebrazione delle ritualità connesse con le celebrazioni dei passaggi di stato è stata oggetto di ampi studi nei decenni del secolo scorso, alla cui bibliografia si rimanda. Per questo lavoro uno dei testi fondamentali per ricostruirne i momenti principali e i risvolti sociale che questi passaggi avevano è certamente stato Torelli 1984.

anni Novanta del secolo scorso,[6] ancora dall'area del santuario orientale, conferma questa connotazione rinforzando l'impressione che, nonostante alcune naturali e comprensibili differenze tra i due contesti (*arx* e santuario), a livello sistemico, i culti celebrati nel centro latino di *Gabii* si orientassero in modo omogeneo nella direzione della transizione di stato.[7]

Da un punto di vista cronologico, i materiali sono coerenti con le deposizioni votive dell'età medio repubblicana note in area medio-italica e magnogreca (*infra*):[8] il limite più alto è rappresentato delle statuette femminili assise in trono con infante (fine IV sec. a.C.) mentre la datazione più bassa si attesta alla fine del II sec. a.C. con le figurine maschili togate. La maggior parte delle offerte si data al pieno III sec. a.C.

Statuette femminili. Gli esemplari di statuette femminili si riconducono ai ben noti tipi italico e tanagrino (tav. I).[9] La gamma delle varietà è standardizzata e risponde nelle pose e nelle movenze alle tendenze più comuni documentate nei depositi latini e medio-tirrenici in cui questa offerta è diffusa dalla fine del IV alla metà del I sec. a.C. Nel gruppo delle tanagrine è presente una decina di esemplari raffigurati con timpano, colomba, lira a cinque corde. Sono tutti simboli che nel rituale di passaggio sono connessi all'abbandono della vita fanciullesca; in particolar modo la presenza della colomba è molto diffusa tra le iconografie preferite per le offerte di buon auspicio per la fertilità della giovane sposa.[10] All'ambito cerimoniale matrimoniale rimanda anche la presenza dell'unico manufatto che riproduce una giovane nel gesto tipico dello "svelamento della sposa".[11] Una menzione a parte merita la presenza di una statuina femminile panneggiata con porcellino, appartenente al deposito del santuario e interpretata come uno degli elementi che possono suggerire la relazione delle strutture del santuario orientale con le ritualità dedicate a Demetra.[12]

Sono presenti anche 4 statuette con figure panneggiate assise in trono con infante: il piccolo è stretto al petto e tende la mano verso il seno come a sancire il ruolo materno della giovane donna.[13]

Statuette maschili. Anche gli esemplari maschili (tav. I)[14] evidenziano i caratteri tipici delle ritualità connesse con il passaggio dallo stato di *puer* a quello di *vir* sancito con l'abbandono della *bulla* e dei giochi di infante per vestire per la prima volta la *toga virilis* con cui il giovane viene condotto nella piazza del foro. Sono presenti i tipi del giovane nudo parzialmente coperto sulle spalle e le braccia da un manto pesante, stante e in appoggio su pilastrino (il cd. "efebo", a simboleggiare il momento in cui il ragazzo viene spogliato della veste di fanciullo);[15] il *vir* vestito di toga, stante, anch'esso in appoggio su pilastrino, a rappresentare il momento in cui il passaggio sembrerebbe a questo punto già avvenuto.

Teste. Del centinaio abbondante di pezzi attribuibili a teste, non tutti i frammenti sono riconducibili con certezza al genere (tav. II): se ne riconoscono una trentina femminili e 15 maschili. Per essi, il rituale del passaggio di *status* è leggibile dagli espedienti decorativi utilizzati. Le steste femminili hanno la tipica acconciatura delle nubende durante le cerimonie matrimoniali: *seni crines*, con ciocche divise sia a riccioli che a coclide, scriminatura centrale e *flammeum*.[16] Le teste maschili sono raffigurate con capigliatura mossa a piccole ciocche sulla fronte e con il capo velato (soltanto in un caso la testa è completamente scoperta). In questo caso il recupero dell'immagine tradizionale rimanda al costume di officiare e assistere ai sacrifici *capite velato*.[17]

Le teste provengono tutte degli scarichi dell'*arx*, e caratteristiche stilistiche e tecniche dei manufatti trovano confronti significativi ancora in ambito gabino, con le teste rinvenute nei depositi del santuario orientale (scavi 1999) con le quali condividono numerosi elementi.[18]

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6 Per una sintesi degli scavi e lo studio dei materiali relativi si rimanda a Mancini, Pilo 2006, con bibliografia relativa.

7 *Ibidem*.

8 Per un quadro completo del fenomeno dei *sacra latini*, si rimanda a Di Fazio 2019.

9 Si veda: Cenci 2013, pagg. 384-399 e bibliografia precedente.

10 Torelli 1984, 30-31.

11 Statuette identiche, probabilmente prodotte da matrice comune, sono attestate sempre a *Gabii* anche nelle cd. favisse dall'area del santuario di Giunone e nel deposito votivo del santuario orientale periurbano, in Almagro-Gorbea 1982, 269, tav. XLIX, n. 3.

12 La presenza dell'animale è assai interessante poiché si tratta di uno di quei rari casi in cui l'attributo non rappresenta una offerta generica, ma diviene un elemento determinante per la comprensione delle pratiche rituali di un culto. Già a suo tempo Chiara Pilo nello studio dei votivi rinvenuti negli scavi deli anni Settanta e Novanta del santuario orientale, e più recentemente Marco Fabbri, hanno proposto di identificare nella figura femminile con fiaccola e porcellino con una rappresentazione di Demetra-Cerere, permettendo così di avanzare un'ipotesi decisiva nella individuazione della divinità titolare del santuario orientale. Si rimanda a Fabbri 2011, 13-38 (e bibliografia relativa), il quale propone una maggiore definizione della titolarità del culto nella triade Cerere-Libero-Libera.

13 Il soggetto è documentato in Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, 76, tav. 3, F a 15; Quilici 1983, 93, n. 7; Pensabene 2001, 392, nn. 8/11; Pensabene 2001, 105-106.

14 Pensabene *et al.* 1980, 77, tav. 10, nn. 29-30; Gatti Lo Guzzo 1975, 49, E XXXVII 2, tav. XII (I sec. a.C.); Winter 1903, 96, 7 Pensabene *et al.* 1980, 73-74, tav. 6, nn. 19-20 (eroti nudi); Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, 51, E XLVa, tav. XIV (seconda metà I sec. a.C.); Winter 1903, 252, 3; Besques 1972, 27, D 595, tav. 123 (I sec. a.C.).

15 La condizione cosiddetta efebica per i ragazzi si fa appunto coincidere con quel periodo della vita infantile e giovanile che prelude la pubertà e per la quale viene riconosciuta una posizione marginale nel tessuto sociale della comunità, in Batino 2002, 254.

16 In questo contesto la presenza delle teste votive in questo caso va letta nell'uso della dedica di rappresentazioni tipiche della sfera del passaggio di *status* piuttosto che nell'ottica della *sanatio*, per quale tra l'altro la scarsa concentrazione di anatomici, risulta un elemento derimente in senso negativo; Mancini, Pilo 2006, 122-124 (e bibliografia relativa).

17 Torelli 1984, 23-25.

18 *Ibidem*.

Tav. I. Attestazioni votivi: statuette a figura umana.

Ceramica. Si riporta infine che all'interno dello scarico sull'*arx* sono presenti anche elementi ceramici (150 in totale), tra cui ceramica comune (53) rinvenuta prevalentemente in stato frammentario; depurata acroma (27) per la quale si documenta la presenza pressoché totale di balsamari (30); una ventina di frammenti di pareti in ceramica comune da fuoco e da mensa. La vernice nera è presente con 26 elementi tra i quali è stato possibile riconoscere una patera su piede, una brocchetta e un vasetto plastico, mentre la forma più rappresentata è lo *skyphos* (10); 3 frammenti di vernice nera sovraddipinta, uno dei quali ancora pertinente ad uno *skyphos*. È presente infine la ceramica depurata dipinta (15) anche in questo caso quasi esclusivamente nella forma dei balsamari (8) ed una base di *thymaterion* ricomposto di 5 frammenti.

Se per una analisi dei materiali ceramici si rimanda agli altri contributi presenti in questo volume, alcune osservazioni sul loro uso può essere utile per chiarire alcuni aspetti della lettura di questo contesto. Il balsamario è diffuso, sin da tempi molto antichi, come offerta durante le cerimonie di transizione e nei rituali per le divinità di natura infera.[19] Lo *skyphos* è una forma vascolare molto diffusa in ambito greco e romano durante le celebrazioni per i rituali di transizione e rimanda con ragionevole sicurezza allo svolgimento dei riti di iniziazione. Da quanto conosciamo del suo uso nel mondo greco sembra che questo non fosse destinato a contenere esclusivamente vino ma anche altre sostanze alimentari portate in dono come offerta rituale ed in particolar modo frutti e prodotti della terra.[20]

La consociazione delle due forme sembra potersi connotare come un particolare decisivo per rafforzare la lettura del culto gabino verso i rituali connessi con le transizioni in generale, e i passaggi di stato in particolare.

L'insieme dei materiali così come presentati fin qui, consente di inserire i votivi rinvenuti a *Gabii* tra le attestazioni di pratiche rituali connesse con i passaggi di *status* tanto femminili quanto maschili. Non solo, il carattere peculiare dei fittili figurativi suggerisce un elemento aggiuntivo per la lettura della pratica del voto, volta a sancire il nuovo stato già acquisito e indirizzando

[19] Plin. *Nat. Hist.* XII 1, 41-42.

[20] Una disamina completa della problematica in Batino 2002 e Batino 2009.

Tav. II. Attestazioni votivi: teste umane.

l'interpretazione a un senso più strettamente civico del culto.

Sono numerosi ed estremamente stringenti i confronti che questi materiali, tanto dal santuario quanto dall'*arx*, hanno con i ricchi depositi studiati da Alessia Mancini e Chiara Pilo agli inizi degli anni 2000 relativi alle strutture del santuario orientale *(supra)*. Soprattutto per alcune statuette femminili, italiche e tanagrine, e teste velate sia maschili che femminili, l'identità dei manufatti rafforza la percezione che ancora in età medio-repubblicana *Gabii* si connotasse come un centro autonomo per la realizzazione di fittili votivi e certamente all'interno di quel *network* di circolazione e consumo ormai riconosciuto tra i centri maggiori di tutto il territorio laziale (*infra*).

Nessun elemento, invece, allo stato attuale può suggerire il riconoscimento di una personalità divina specifica oggetto delle deposizioni.

Un dato aggiuntivo si può desumere dalla presenza consociata dei fittili ai tipi ceramici individuati (balsamari e *skyphoi*). Balsamari e *skyphoi* sono oggetti molto diffusi nelle cerimonie religiose antiche, nel Lazio e non solo e non solo in età medio-repubblicana. Nel *Latium vetus* i balsamari/unguentari sono presenti a con sicurezza in 6 contesti (fig. 1 e 2c): nelle favisse del tempio delle Stimmati di Velletri, da *Satricum*, dal santuario di Diana a Nemi, dal deposito di Palestrina-Piazzale della Liberazione, nella stipe di Ponte di Nona e a *Gabii* stessa, dalle favisse del santuario di Giunone.[21] In 3 casi la divinità è nota con sicurezza, *Mater Matuta* a *Satricum*, Giunone a *Gabii*, Diana a Nemi. Inoltre la presenza del balsamario è associata a votivi in terracotta che rimandano alla sfera del mondo femminile, con particolare cura per la protezione delle nascite e in generale dei momenti salienti della vita della donna.

Per quanto riguarda lo *skyphos*, invece, al momento è attestato con maggiore frequenza nei contesti laziali (fig. 1), documentato in 9 centri, per un totale

[21] Tra i depositi gabini il balsamario è inoltre presente tra i materiali rinvenuti nella porzione nord-orientale della città, nei pressi della cinta difensiva.

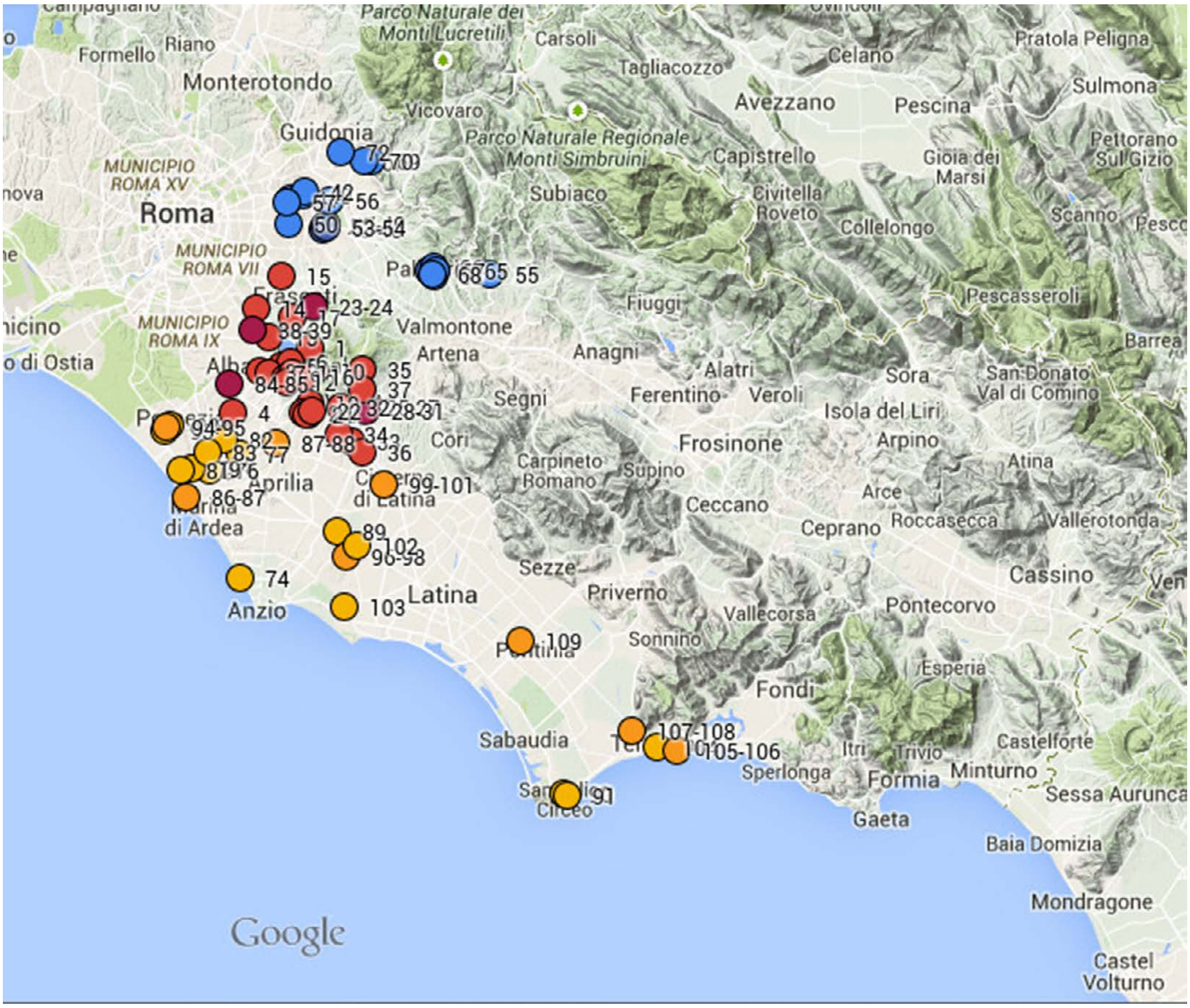

Fig. 1. Attestazioni dei depositi votivi nel *Latium Vetus* (rielaborazione da Google Earth): rosso: i depositi del comparto albano; giallo: i depositi dell'area costiera e pontina; azzurro: i depositi del comparto prenestino.

di 16 depositi in cui è censito con sicurezza. È infatti presente tra i materiali ceramici di Ardea-Casarinaccio e Ardea-Valle Oliva, nel santuario di Diana a Nemi, nel santuario della Madonnella a *Lavinium*, in Piazzale della Liberazione a Palestrina, nella stipe di Ponte di Nona, dei depositi II e III di *Satricum*, dei depositi in località Santa Lucia ancora a *Satricum*, dal santuario di Ercole a Tivoli. Infine è documentato all'interno della stessa *Gabii*, dal santuario di Giunone e nelle deposizioni pertinenti il culto del santuario orientale periurbano: la massicciata, l'area degli altari, la fronte del sacello.[22] Il carattere funzionale dello *skyphos* si presenta più generico rispetto all'uso del balsamario, eppure lo studio di Sabrina Batino ha dimostrato la prerogativa del suo utilizzo in ambito ctonio e iniziatico.[23]

La consociazione delle due forme balsamario/*skyphos*, laddove queste possono identificarsi tra gli elementi indicativi del culto, è presente in soli 3 contesti laziali: Diana a Nemi, Ponte di Nona, il santuario di Giunone a *Gabii*.

Da punto di vista strettamente legato alla cultura materiale *Gabii* rientra a pieno titolo, seppure con specifiche peculiarità nel cd. *network* religioso delle città del *Latium Vetus* di età medio repubblicana che affonda le proprie radici nella produzione in serie di manufatti sacri grazie alla circolazione di modelli e gusti tramite scambi e compravendite. I fittili gabini infatti trovano i confronti più convincenti con Palestrina, Ardea, Lavinio-Pratica di Mare, i centri dell'area albana e del Lazio interno (*infra* - fig. 1)[24].

Per quanto riguarda la tendenza a un certo comportamento nella pratica religiosa, alla scelta di una determinata categoria di oggetti offerti, a un uso specifico di associazioni di oggetti, si possono

22 Mancini, Pilo 2006.
23 Batino 2009.

24 Si veda: Fabbri 2008, 22-32; Fabbri 2019.

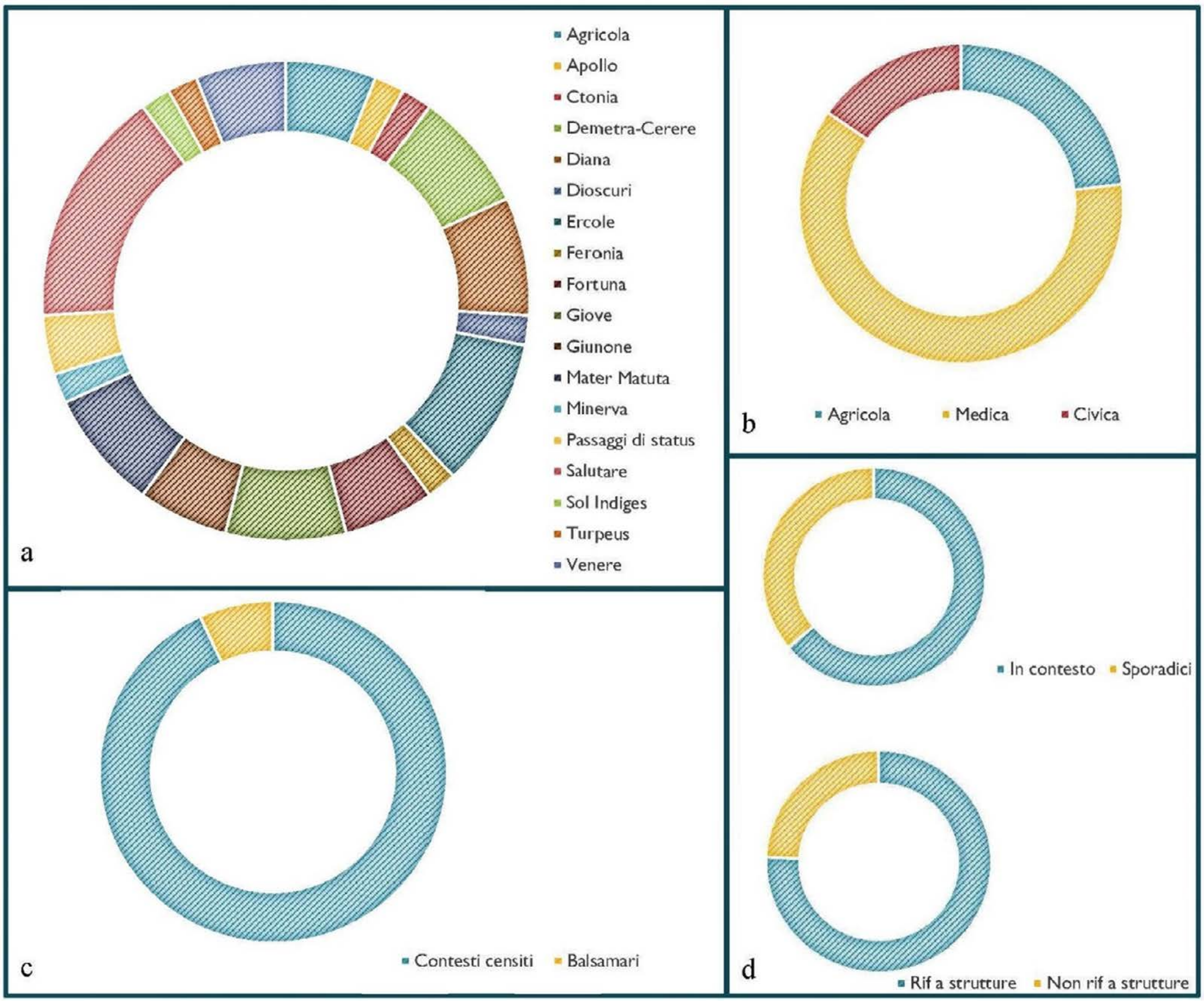

Fig. 2. Tabella di sintesi dei dati raccolti: a. Identificazione delle divinità destinatarie dell'offerte; b. Ambiti funzionali delle divinità destinatarie delle offerte; c. Attestazioni dei balsamari; d. Contesto di rinvenimento.

tradurre in cifre alcune ricorrenze documentate nella regione,[25] fatto salvo il presupposto della duplice caratterizzazione del gesto del dono votivo in età repubblicana: standardizzazione delle composizioni dei depositi da un lato e personalizzazione dei significati ideologici ad essi attribuiti dall'altro.

In ambito latino dunque emerge che nel 62% dei casi i culti sono rivolti alla sfera della *sanatio* (fig. 2a- es. Via Latina-*Ad Decimum*, Ponte di Nona; *Praeneste*-Porta San Martino), nel 22% al mondo agricolo e della fertilità (fig. 2a es. Albano-Valle Caia, Velletri-Soleluna, Genazzano), e a quelli destinati alla protezione dei passaggi di stato (fig. 2a es. *Lavinium*-area urbana, Albano-Secciano, *Praeneste*-Santa Lucia o Bernassoli, *Gabii*). Limitatamente all'individuazione della personalità divina cui si vota i dati dicono che soltanto nel 14% dei casi circa questa è indicata da un "marker" iconografico ricorrente (es. Demetra-*Kore* ad Ariccia-Casaletto, *Ceres* a *Gabii*-Santuario Orientale, Giunone a *Praeneste*-P.le della Liberazione, a Lanuvio-Pantanacci e a Norba) e che questo, in alcuni pochi contesti, è associato a strutture architettoniche specifiche, come ad esempio Sospita a Lanuvio o *Ceres* a *Gabii* – santuario orientale.

In generale si segnala, infine, che la divinità più attestata è Giunone (24%), nelle sue diverse accezioni e, spesso, come figura isolata (fig. 2a).

Una sintetica informazione, infine, sui fittili architettonici rinvenuti tra i materiali dei medesimi

[25] A partire dal caso-studio *Gabii* è stato realizzato un database per il censimento dei depositi votivi noti dall'area latina, proprio con l'obiettivo di fissare alcune osservazioni sul comportamento del contesto gabino in ambito laziale e cercando di mettere in luce alcune ricorrenze cultuali, riconoscere specificità locali, e isolare casi-tipo. La griglia con i dati del censimento è interrogabile in modi diversi e con obiettivi diversi. Il progetto di censimento viene presentato con alcune osservazioni preliminari e limitatamente ai tre comparti regionali dell'area albana, prenestina e pontina/tirrenica costiera, mentre è in corso di aggiornamento per le restanti. Lontano dal voler esaurire il tema delle tracce visibili del comportamento religioso delle comunità latine, vuole piuttosto offrire un punto di vista diverso per l'analisi di contesti religiosi.

scarichi votivi.[26] Cronologicamente e funzionalmente non sono coerenti con i votivi fin qui descritti.

La classe degli architettonici è rappresentata da un centinaio di frammenti. La maggior parte di essi è riconducibile a porzioni di panneggi e frustuli difficilmente interpretabili a causa del cattivo stato di conservazione. In questo contesto è stato possibile isolare alcuni esemplari che si presentano omogenei tra loro e coerenti con una funzione decorativa per un edificio di carattere ufficiale inquadrabile cronologicamente nell'ambito dei primi decenni del V sec. a.C., ma di destinazione non chiarita.

Si presentano, in sintesi, gli esemplari più significativi: 2 antefisse e 12 frammenti di statue.

I frammenti di **antefissa** sono due e sono riconducibili a due distinti manufatti. Il maggiore di essi misura 17x8 cm, consiste nella porzione destra di un volto di sileno con chioma a riccioli e corona di pampini e grappoli d'uva e conserva tracce della pittura originaria in bruno e rosso. Il frammento minore misura 6x5 cm, consiste di un solo grappolo d'uva e non conserva tracce di colore. I due manufatti, e in particolare quello di dimensioni maggiori, hanno trovato i confronti più coerenti con i due esemplari romani dell'Esquilino e di Villa Giulia, inserendosi così nelle produzioni di in area etrusco-laziale di maschere di sileno con corona e riccioli di foglie in associazione ad antefisse femminili con volto di *Iuno* Sospita. Non ci sono, al momento, elementi che anche per *Gabii* possano confermare la presenza del paredro femminile.

I frammenti di **statue** sono riconducibili a più personaggi: sette di essi appartengono a cinque diversi individui maschili mentre i restanti (cinque) sono porzioni di due individui di genere non chiarito.

Tra le figure maschili, è stato ricostruito il busto di dimensioni 20x27 cm di un personaggio vestito con una tunica aderente e sottile tanto da esaltare le forme del petto, decorata con croci greche puntinate e onde sottili in colore bruno su fondo neutro. Al di sopra di essa il personaggio indossa un manto pesante e di colore rosso visibile per una porzione ridotta sotto il petto e in una piega consistente ricadente dietro la spalla. La posizione di quest'ultima, conservata per una piccola parte, suggerisce che il braccio corrispondente fosse aperto lateralmente, forse per sostenere un attributo o cingere un compagno. A questo personaggio, la cui identità allo stato attuale non è ipotizzabile, è stato attribuito un altro frammento di manto panneggiato rosso per coerenza di dimensioni e decorazione.

Altre 4 figure maschili sono individuabili in quattro diversi frammenti di spalla: il maggiore di essi misura 11x13,5 cm ed è pertinente a una spalla vestita con manto rosso e nappa terminale non frangiata.

Tutti questi frammenti hanno in comune il motivo decorativo del panneggio, la modulazione della pieghe pesanti a sezione triangolare. Proprio su questi elementi trovano i confronti più coerenti, in area etrusco-laziale tra le produzioni di architettoniche di età tardo arcaica, Satrico (in particolar modo per il busto con tunica e manto), Veio, Lavinio, Segni e Orvieto i centri più esemplificativi di riferimento.

Da questi primi esemplari si possono distinguere altri 5 frammenti di vesti panneggiate decorate con motivo floreale con boccioli di loto uniti da archetti in colore bruno su fondo neutro risparmiato. Il maggiore tra i frammenti misura 23x20 cm e raffigura la porzione inferiore di un personaggio incedente e vestito di un lungo manto, ricadente con pieghe consistenti tra gambe divaricate in movimento. Il frammento conserva la fronte e il retro in buono stato: la decorazione è leggibile chiaramente e consiste di un motivo floreale a boccioli di loto capovolti e uniti da archetti sottili, realizzati con un fine tratto bruno su un fondo neutro; il manto, invece, è ancora del tipo a pesanti pieghe ondulate e tessuto rosso. Alla medesima figura sono riconducibili altri tre frammenti di veste per coerenza di dimensioni e schema decorativo. Un ultimo frammento di veste ha in comune con i precedenti il modello della decorazione ma se ne discosta per il tratto più spesso con cui è rappresentato il motivo floreale della bordatura del manto. La suggestione per la sua interpretazione è che esso sia riconducibile al medesimo gruppo decorativo ma a un personaggio diverso.

Per quanto riguarda la contestualizzazione nell'ambito delle produzioni di fittili architettonici, questo secondo gruppo di elementi trova i confronti più convincenti negli schemi decorativi dei personaggi che popolano il tempo tardo arcaico di Satrico, Lavinio, Cerveteri e, specificamente per il frammento di figura incidente, con la statua acroteriale, femminile, del tempo falisco di Vignale.

[26] Ducatelli 2019.

Gabii, campagne di scavo 2007-2012: le anfore

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Abstract: This contribution examines the ceramic fragments attributable to amphorae recovered during the excavations the arx and the northern and north-eastern portions of the fortification walls of Gabii. Excavations were conducted between 2007 and 2012 by the SSABAP Roma, the Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata and the Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici di Matera.

Il contributo prende in esame i frammenti ceramici attribuibili ad anfore, rinvenuti durante le campagne di scavo presso l'*arx* e le porzioni settentrionale e nord-orientale della fortificazione di Gabii, condotte tra il 2007 e il 2012 dalla SSABAP Roma, dall'Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata e dalla Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici di Matera.[1]

Per ragioni di completezza si è deciso di presentare congiuntamente, in questa sede, i risultati dello studio relativo ai due contesti indagati (158 frammenti, meno dell'1% del totale dei frammenti ceramici rinvenuti), con il fine di fornire un dato quanto più completo possibile delle produzioni individuate. In particolare, quando i frammenti sono risultati non diagnostici, i tipi anforici sono stati individuati in base all'analisi dell'impasto,[2] ed è stato così possibile stilare una tabella riassuntiva,[3] che indica il tipo di anfora (i tipi sono ordinati dapprima secondo l'ambito di provenienza, procedendo da ovest a est, quindi cronologicamente), la quantità di orli, anse, fondi, pareti presenti, il numero totale, la provenienza, la cronologia assoluta dei frammenti e il numero dell'US.

Nel corso delle indagini sull'*arx* di Gabii sono stati rinvenuti 87 frammenti attribuibili ad anfore (meno dell'1% del totale dei frammenti ceramici rinvenuti nell'area), dei quali tuttavia solo due sono risultati essere diagnostici: si tratta di due frammenti di orlo, il primo a fascia leggermente inclinato verso l'interno riferibile a un'anfora Dressel 6A, prodotta in Italia sul versante adriatico e databile tra la metà del I sec. a.C. e il 60 d.C. circa (Tav. I.1),[4] il secondo ingrossato e arrotondato, attribuibile a un'anfora Mau XXXV, prodotta in Tripolitania tra il I e la metà del II sec. d.C. (Tav. I.2).[5] I due frammenti provengono entrambi da strati di epoca imperiale, relativi al progressivo abbandono dell'area, in prossimità del grande "tumulo" di età arcaica.

I restanti frammenti, individuati rispettivamente in strati di abbandono dell'area e di *humus* moderno,[6] nell'area del deposito votivo (ma probabilmente da riferirsi agli strati soprastanti) o in alcune tombe della necropoli,[7] permettono di attestare una frequentazione della zona esterna al grande "tumulo", in gran parte utilizzata a scopo funerario, almeno fino al V sec. d.C.

Anche nel caso delle indagini presso il settore orientale della fortificazione, su un totale di 71 frammenti attribuibili ad anfore (2% del totale dei frammenti ceramici rinvenuti presso la fortificazione) solo due, entrambi provenienti da uno degli strati di riempimento del fossato della fortificazione in età imperiale,[8] sono

[1] Si ringraziano in questa sede L. M. Banducci e M. D'Acri, curatori del presente volume; il compianto dott. S. Musco; i proff. M. Fabbri e M. Osanna; "l'équipe gabina" delle indagini 2007-2012. Il contributo è dedicato a Ettore e Leda.

[2] I confronti per gli impasti sono stati stilati in base a quelli presentati in Bertoldi 2012, testo al quale si rimanda anche per una generale disamina di forme, impasti e distribuzione delle anfore romane di età imperiale.

[3] Nella redazione delle tabelle si è seguito l'esempio fornito da alcuni recenti contributi, quali quello relativo alle anfore rinvenute presso il santuario di Diana a Nemi (Diosono, Romagnoli 2014) e quello sui contenitori da trasporto individuati a Roma nelle indagini presso il nuovo *store* Rinascente (Casalini 2017, 218).

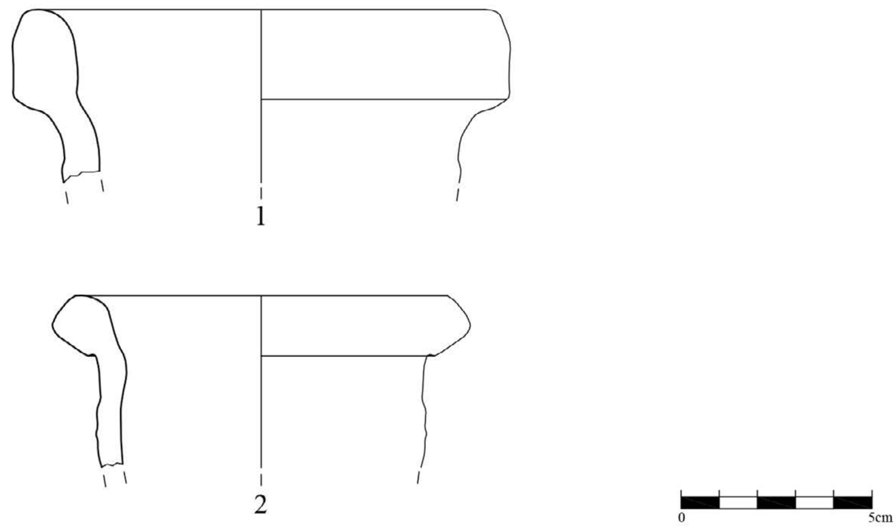
[4] Bertoldi 2011, 152, tav. 1.1. L'impasto risulta di colore nocciola/giallo chiaro (Munsell 10YR 8/6), molto depurato, con rari piccoli inclusi di colore bianco e di mica visibili a occhio nudo.

[5] Carandini, Panella 1977, 430, tav. LIII. L'impasto appare di colore tendente all'arancione (Munsell 10R 6/8), con rari inclusi di colore bianco e crema di piccole dimensioni.

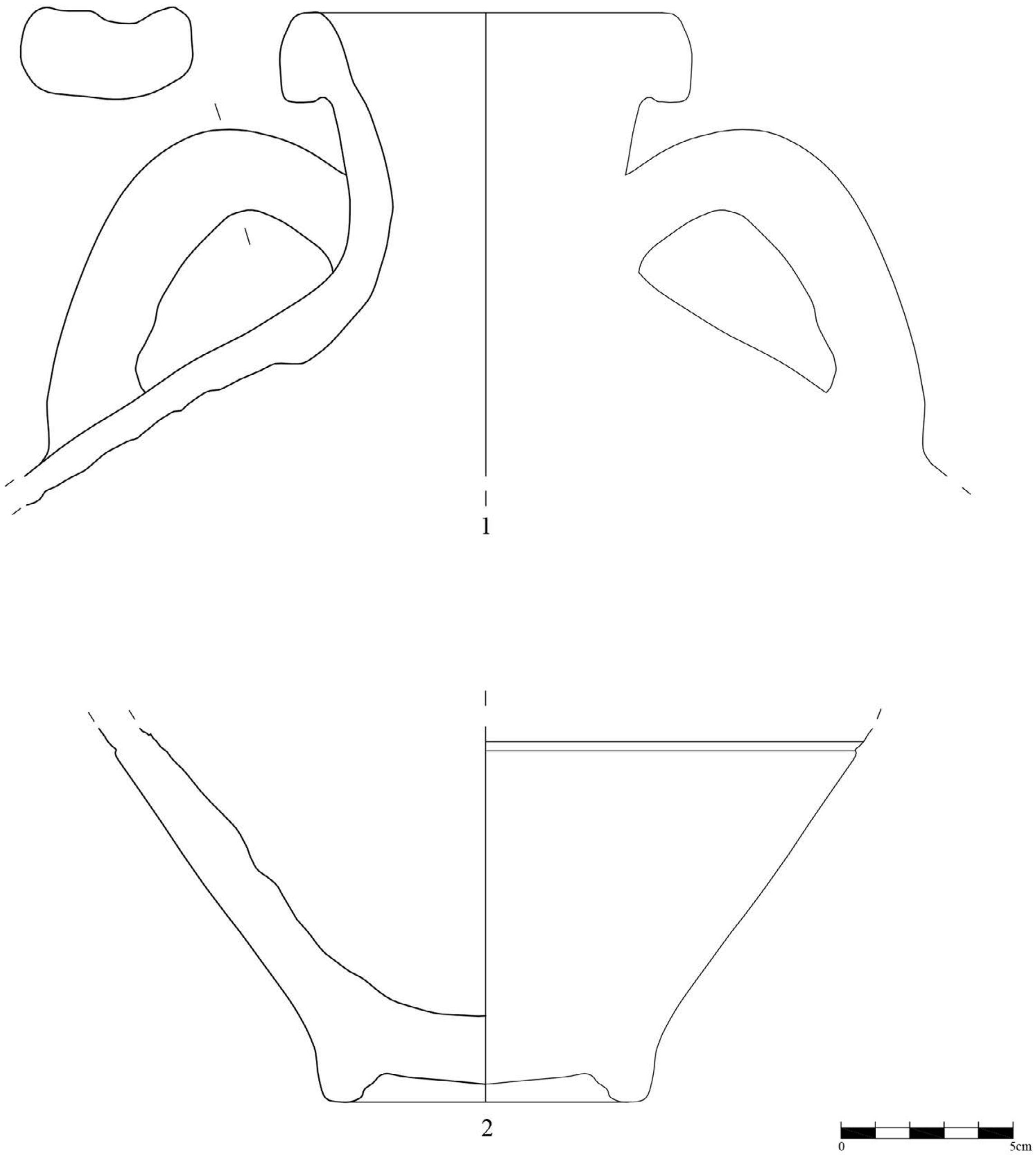
[6] La presenza di un frammento di Dressel 30/Keay 1A databile al III sec. d.C. in uno degli strati riferibili al grande tumulo di età arcaica, può spiegarsi invece per la posizione estremamente superficiale dello strato, immediatamente al di sotto dello strato di *humus* agricolo moderno.

[7] Cfr. Fabbri 2015 e Fabbri 2017.

[8] Cfr. Fabbri, Musco 2016; Fabbri, Bochicchio 2022.



Tav. I



Tav. II

Tabella 1. Anfore provenienti dall'arx.

Tipo anfora	O	A	F	P	Tot	Provenienza	Datazione	Contenuto	US
Iberica generica (impasto "leetano")				3	3	*Hispania Tarraconensis*	ND	ND	5000, 5001, 5014
Haltern 70				5	5	*Hispania Baetica*	50 a.C.-II sec. d.C.	Vino, *defrutum*, olive	5000, 5008, 5093
Dressel 20				2	2	*Hispania Baetica*	Età augustea-III sec. d.C.	Olio	5001, 5003
Keay XVI/Almagro 50				2	2	*Hispania Baetica*	Età severiana-inizi V sec. d.C.	Salse di pesce	5014, 5023
Keay XIX/Almagro 51A-B				6	6	*Hispania Baetica*	Seconda metà III-V sec. d.C.	Salse di pesce	5000, 5001, 5002
Iberica generica (impasto betico)				1	1	*Hispania Baetica*	ND	ND	5001
Gauloise 4				11	11	*Gallia Narbonensis*	Età giulio/claudia-III sec. d.C.	Vino	3438, 5001, 5002, 5006
Lionese 3B/Augst 32				1	1	*Gallia Lugdunensis*	Età giulio/claudia-II sec. d.C.	Salse di pesce	5008
Spello/Ostia III 369-370				9	9	Italia centrale tirrenica	Età giulio/claudia-II sec. d.C.	Vino	5000, 5001, 5002, 5003, 5112
Dressel 2-4				11	11	Italia, versante tirrenico, *Ager Falernus*	I sec. d.C.-età tardo antonina	Vino	5000, 5003, 5004, 5006, 5112
Late Campanian Amphora				5	3	Italia, versante tirrenico	Tarda età antonina-IV sec. d.C.	Vino	5001, 5002, 5004
Anfora di Forlimpopoli				1	1	Italia, versante adriatico	Metà I-metà III sec. d.C.	Vino	5001
Dressel 30/Keay 1A		1		5	6	*Mauretania Caesariensis*, *Zeugitana*, *Byzacena*?	III sec. d.C.	Vino	3191, 3438, 5000, 5001, 5002, 5124
Schöne-Mau XL/Van der Werff 2				1	1	*Byzacena*, *Tripolitania*	II sec. a.C./I sec. d.C.	Vino	3438
Ostia LIX				1	1	*Byzacena*	Seconda metà I sec. d.C.-età antonina	Olio?	5001
Africana IB				1	1	*Zeugitana* e *Byzacena*	Ultimi decenni II-metà III sec. d.C.	Olio	5002
Africana IC?				3	3	*Zeugitana* e *Byzacena*	Seconda metà III-IV sec. d.C.	Olio	5005, 5014, 5036
Africana IID		1			1	*Byzacena*	Metà III-inizi V sec. d.C.	Salse di pesce?	5000
Mau XXXV		1		8	9	*Tripolitania*	I-metà II sec. d.C.	Vino	5000, 5001, 5002, 5111, 5124
Tripolitana I				1	1	*Tripolitania*	I-metà II sec. d.C.	Olio	5002
Non id.		1		6	7	-	-	-	5000, 5004, 5022, 5042, 5112

stati considerati diagnostici: il primo è un grande frammento di anfora Gauloise 4, proveniente dalla *Gallia Narbonensis*, con ampia spalla discendente, corto collo cilindrico con pareti concave, piccolo orlo arrotondato, anse a nastro segnate nella parte esterna da un incavo longitudinale e impostate su collo e spalla, databile tra l'età giulio/claudia e il III sec. d.C. (Tav. II.1).[9] Il secondo è invece un fondo piatto e con basso anello di anfora

[9] Laubenheimer 1985, 283, fig. 142; Bertoldi 2012, 79. L'impasto è calcareo molto depurato, di colore beige chiaro (Munsell 7.5YR 7/8), con inclusi molto piccoli e quarzosi difficilmente visibili a occhio nudo.

Tabella 2. Anfore provenienti dal settore orientale della fortificazione.

Tipo anfora	O	A	F	P	Tot	Provenienza	Datazione	Contenuto	US
Dressel 2-4			1		1	*Hispania Baetica*	50 a.C.-50 d.C.	Vino	0
Haltern 70				1	1	*Hispania Baetica*	50 a.C.-II sec. d.C.	Vino, *defrutum*, olive	136
Dressel 20				2	2	*Hispania Baetica*	Età augustea-III sec. d.C.	Olio	1, 136
Dressel 21-22				2	2	*Hispania Baetica*	Seconda metà I sec. a.C.-età augustea	Salse di pesce?	136
Dressel 9/10/12/14		1			1	*Hispania Baetica*	Metà I sec. a.C.-metà III sec. d.C.	Salse di pesce	136
Keay XIX/Almagro 51 A-B				5	5	*Hispania Baetica*	Seconda metà III-V sec. d.C.	Salse di pesce	0, 1, 135, 136
Gauloise 4				5	5	*Gallia Narbonensis*	Età giulio/claudia-III sec. d.C.	Vino	135, 136
Gauloise 5		1		1	2	*Gallia Narbonensis*	Seconda metà I-terzo quarto II sec. d.C.	Vino/salse di pesce	0, 136
Italica generica		1			1	Italia, versante tirrenico	Età imperiale	?	136
Spello/Ostia III 369-370				10	10	Italia centrale tirrenica	Età giulio/claudia-II sec. d.C.	Vino	0, 135, 136
Dressel 2-4				1	1	Italia, versante tirrenico, *Ager Falernus*	I sec. d.C.-età tardo antonina	Vino	0
Ostia II 523				1	1	*Bruttium* e Sicilia	Tarda età augustea-metà II sec. d.C.	Vino	135
Dressel 6A		1		2	3	Italia, versante adriatico	Metà I sec. a.C.-60 d.C.	Vino/salse di pesce	22, 136, 142
Dressel 30				1	1	*Mauretania Caesariensis*, *Zeugitana*, *Byzacena*?	III-V sec. d.C.	Vino	136
Dressel 30/Keay 1A				1	1	*Mauretania Caesariensis*, *Zeugitana*, *Byzacena*?	III sec. d.C.	Vino	135
Africana IID				2	2	*Byzacena*	Metà III-inizi V sec. d.C.	Salse di pesce?	135
Mau XXXV				3	3	*Tripolitania*	I-metà II sec. d.C.	Vino	0, 135, 136
Non id.		1	1	25	27	-	-	-	0, 135, 136

Gauloise non meglio definibile, di provenienza gallica, databile anch'esso tra l'età giulio/claudia e il III sec. d.C. (Tav. II.2).[10]

I restanti frammenti provengono sempre da strati di riempimento del fossato della fortificazione, o da strati superficiali di età contemporanea.

I frammenti rinvenuti sull'*arx* attestano la presenza di anfore di produzione iberica, italica, africana e gallica (in minor numero), mentre risultano assenti quelle prodotte nel Mediterraneo orientale. Come si evince dalla relativa tabella, si tratta in larga parte di anfore legate al trasporto di vino, per le quali si può arrivare a ipotizzare una connessione con le pratiche cultuali relative alla necropoli in età imperiale, ma risultano presenti anche anfore per salse di pesce, olio, *defrutum* e olive.

[10] Bertoldi 2012, 77 ss. con bibliografia precedente. Anche in questo caso l'impasto risulta calcareo, molto depurato, di colore beige chiaro (Munsell 7.5YR 8/6), con inclusi molto piccoli e quarzosi difficilmente visibili a occhio nudo.

La situazione individuata per l'*arx* gabina rispecchia quella del tratto nord-orientale della fortificazione della città, sia riguardo alla quantità di frammenti rinvenuti e alle produzioni presenti (iberiche, galliche, italiche e africane), sia relativamente alla frequentazione dell'area, attestata almeno fino al V sec. d.C. mentre, per quanto concerne il contenuto trasportato, è possibile notare un maggiore equilibrio tra vino e salse di pesce, vista evidentemente la vicinanza all'abitato, con minori attestazioni per olio, *defrutum* e olive.

Un quadro in parte differente - in attesa della prossima pubblicazione di ulteriori contesti ceramici da Gabii, che consentiranno un confronto più puntuale con le attestazioni di anfore da altri punti dell'antica città - è intanto possibile delineare per l'Area B delle indagini del Kelsey Museum of Archaeology-University of Michigan presso l'area urbana e per il santuario di Giunone Gabina: nel primo caso si segnalano infatti, tra la fine dell'età repubblicana e l'età imperiale, attestazioni di anfore da vino dall'Egeo (Camulodunum 184 e Dressel 5);[11] anche presso il santuario appaiono attestate, in epoca imperiale, anfore provenienti dal Mediterraneo orientale, mentre risultano assenti quelle di produzione gallica, per una cronologia dei frammenti che non va oltre il 260-265 d.C., in linea con le fasi di abbandono del complesso.[12]

11 Iacomelli 2021.
12 Rodero Riaza 1982, 525-556.

Gabii, campagne di scavo 2011-2012: i bolli laterizi

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Abstract: The brick stamps presented here were recovered during the excavation campaigns undertaken from 2011-2012 at the burial site at the arx of Gabii. There are 10 examples appearing on tegulae used for the construction of five cappuccina-style tombs present in the area. The stamps are of different forms and chronologies, from the late republic to the imperial period, including an animal footprint.

I bolli laterizi presentati di seguito sono stati rinvenuti durante le campagne di scavo effettuate negli anni 2011-2012 presso il sepolcreto impiantatosi sull'*arx* di Gabii.[1] Si tratta di dieci esemplari, individuati sulle tegole bipedali impiegate per l'allestimento di cinque tombe alla cappuccina presenti nell'area di sepoltura, di differenti forme e cronologie, tra l'età tardo-repubblicana e l'età imperiale. A questi si aggiunge anche un'orma di animale impressa su una delle tegole.[2]

CATALOGO

1) 2012; T19; tegola bipedale;
Bollo circolare; d. cm 2,4; *figlina*?; *dominus* od *officinator*?;
II sec. a.C-inizi I sec. a.C.
A

Il bollo si presenta in buone condizioni ed è composto da una A di tipo arcaico, in rilievo, molto curata e sottile in cartiglio circolare.[3] E' attestato solamente nell'area del tempio di Giunone Gabina[4] nel corso delle campagne di scavo effettuate dall'équipe spagnola tra il 1956-1969;[5] questo potrebbe far supporre la presenza di una figlina locale.[6]

2) 2011; T8; tegola bipedale;
Bollo rettangolare; lungh. cm 9, largh. cm 3; *figlina*?; *dominus* od *officinator* Gaio Nevio;
I sec. a.C.
C N[AEV]I

Il bollo, in pessime condizioni data la superficie molto degradata ed erosa, presenta poche lettere leggibili in rilievo, abbastanza accurate, che riportano il nome di un Gaio Nevio. Questo, esponente della *gens Naevia*,[7]

[1] Fabbri 2015, 187-203; Fabbri 2017, 225-241. Il sepolcreto è stato individuato nell'area esterna ad un grande "tumulo" d'età arcaica che aveva obliterato un precedente monumentale complesso abitativo tripartito ovverosia la cd. Regia.

[2] In merito alle schede del catalogo, all'inizio sono riportate le informazioni riguardanti l'anno di rinvenimento, la tomba e il supporto laterizio, successivamente i dati riguardanti il bollo (la forma, il diametro, la *figlina*, l'*officinator* o l'*officinatrix* e il *dominus* o la *domina*) e infine la sua datazione. A conclusione si ha il testo con l'integrazione delle lacune tramite parentesi quadra, data in un caso la parziale leggibilità del bollo, ed un breve commento. I bolli sono presentati secondo l'ordine cronologico e la restituzione qui proposta è stata effettuata dall'autore tramite esame autoptico.

[3] Barnabei, Mengarelli 1896, 196-197; Nonnis 2015a, 187. La forma della lettera, aperta con traversa discendente, viene riferita al II sec. a.C.-inizi del I secolo a.C. in quanto un bollo affine venne individuato a *Satricum*, centro laziale rientrante verosimilmente nel territorio anziate in età romana, almeno dalla tarda età repubblicana, nell'area del santuario di *Mater Matuta.*

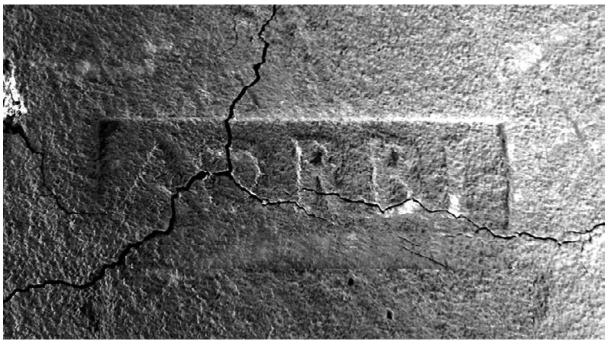
[4] CIL XVs, 411/2160. 2.

[5] Rodriguez Almeida 1969, 49-50; Arxé Galvez 1982, 199-200. Si rinvennero su frammenti di tegole quattro esemplari, tre dei quali furono pubblicati come anepigrafi.

[6] Nonnis 2015a, 185. Un certo numero di produttori di tegole, attivi talora in epoca piuttosto antica, dei quali non sono stati mai individuati sul terreno gli impianti fornacali cui riferire i materiali, sono stati localizzati tramite l'analisi della circolazione dei bolli e da indizi prosopografici a *Gabii*, *Praeneste*, nel territorio di *Tibur* e in centri contigui gravitanti sull'Aniene.

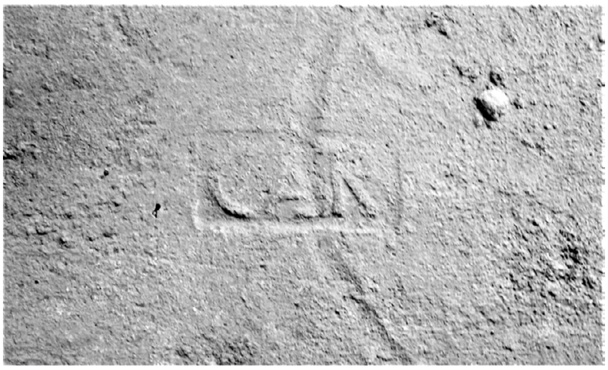
[7] CIL XVs, 2473/4.2; Camilli 2006, 81; Filippi 2006, 207; Manacorda

potrebbe essere stato o il proprietario o il responsabile della figlina in quanto le produzioni fittili tra la fine della repubblica e la prima età giulio-claudia recavano impresso un unico nome in caso genitivo e solo in alcuni casi è stato possibile stabilire il ruolo svolto nell'ambito del processo produttivo dal personaggio indicato.[8] E' attestato anche nel cosiddetto foro di Hamilton a Gabii, nella presunta villa di Tiberio sul Tuscolo, nei pressi di Ariccia non lontano dall'anfiteatro,[9] a Roma e nel suo suburbio,[10] nell'agro tuscolano,[11] nel territorio capenate[12] e in tutta l'Emilia occidentale.[13]



3) 2011/2012; T13, T18, T23; tegola bipedale;
Bollo rettangolare; lungh. cm 12, largh. cm 3; *figlina*?; *dominus* od *officinator* Aulo Orbio;
I sec. a.C.-I sec. d.C.
A ORBI

Il bollo,[14] in buone condizioni pur intaccato da fratture, mostra lettere a rilievo e abbastanza curate. Si può supporre che l'*Aulus Orbius* che fece punzonare l'embrice possa essere quell'Aulo Orbio Eros, liberto della stessa *gens*[15] del proprietario terriero di Tivoli nominato in un'epistola di Orazio,[16] che viene anche indicato in un'iscrizione proveniente da Palestrina.[17] E' attestato nell'area del tempio di Giunone Gabina a Gabii,[18] a Zagarolo, presso la chiesa di S. Maria della Villa a Palestrina e nell'agro prenestino, a Gallicano[19] e ad Artena.[20]



4) 2012; T23; tegola bipedale;
Bollo quadrangolare sovrapposto a due semicerchi; lungh. cm 5,5, largh. cm 2,5; *figlina*?; *dominus* o *officinator* Gaio Aspr[---] o Casperio?
I sec. a.C.-I sec. d.C.
C A[S]PR

Il bollo si presenta in buone condizioni con lettere in rilievo e abbastanza curate.[21] Sul suo scioglimento vi sono alcuni dubbi in quanto si è ipotizzato che si debba leggere *Caii Aspr(i-enatii-ini)* ovvero un prenome *Caius* ed un gentilizio *Asprus*, *Asprenatus*, *Asprinus*,[22] oppure un singolo gentilizio *Casp(e)r(ivs)*.[23] E' attestato in località l'Inviolatella sulla via Cassia e presso il Forte Antenne sulla via Salaria a Roma, a Montoro nell'agro narniense,[24]

2007, 201; Stanco 2013, 571-572; Lega, Valenti 2015, 140, 145, note 29, 63; Nonnis 2015a, 190; Nonnis 2015b, 299. La *gens Naevia* si distribuì in varie zone della penisola italica ove la loro produzione fittile è conosciuta specialmente tra l'età tardorepubblicana e l'inizio dell'età imperiale. I mattoni, provenienti in età augustea secondo la Steinby dalle *figlinae Naevianae*, furono principalmente distribuiti nell'*ager Tusculanus* ed esportati a Roma. In merito all'attività delle *figlinae,* localizzate probabilmente nel suburbio sudorientale di Roma e più precisamente nella zona di via Gallia, queste furono polivalenti in quanto produssero sia laterizi che ceramica pesante come testimoniato dal "*C NAEVI*" attestato anche sull'orlo di un dolio rinvenuto in via della Bufalotta nel suburbio nordorientale di Roma.

8 Steinby 1993, 9; Camilli, Taglietti 1994, 307.

9 CIL XV, 1315a.

10 Nonnis 2015b, 299.

11 Lega, Valenti 2015, 140, 145, note 29, 63.

12 Filippi 2006, 208.

13 CIL XI, 6674.28; Righini, Biordi, Pellicioni Golinelli 1993, 33, 75; Filippi 2006, 207; Bottazzi 2010, 121, Carini 2010, 155; Criniti 2012, 2; Criniti, Scopelliti 2012, 7, 24, 27, 41, 46, 68-69, 97, 109, 116. La presenza diffusa di *tegulae* di tale *officina* è giustificata dal fatto che i *Naevii* fossero proprietari di cinque *fundi* nella regione Cispadana e più precisamente nell'area tra le città di Parma, Piacenza e *Veleia*, quest'ultima oggigiorno frazione del comune di Lugagnano Val d'Arda. Si può notare infatti come un *Caius Naevius* e un *Caius Naevius Firmus* siano citati nelle ipoteche 17, 42 della *tabula alimentaria traianea* di Veleia.

14 CIL XIV, 4119.3; CIL XV, 8372a; Taglietti 1994, 168. Secondo la studiosa il bollo poté essere stato impresso tramite il timbro bronzeo utilizzato per la marcatura della ceramica riportante "*A ORB*", quest'ultimo rinvenuto presso Palestrina.

15 Cicero, 48; Cicero, 76, 79; CIL VI, 414b; Smith 1867, 41; Dessau 1897, 437. La *gens* degli *Orbii* fu una famiglia di origine plebea a Roma. Molte iscrizioni e fonti letterarie riportano i *nomina* di suoi membri, tra i quali spiccano il giurista Publio Orbio che fu contemporaneo di Cicerone, un suo omonimo che fu governatore in Asia, un *Orbius Laetianus* che fu *subpraefectus* dei *vigiles.*

16 Horat, 2.2.159-166; Dessau 1897, 437. Il poeta scrive "*...Qui te pascit ager, tuus est; et villicus Orbi, quum segetes occat...*".

17 CIL XIV, 2883. Sull'iscrizione sepolcrale viene elencato come dedicante un "*...A. Orbivs A. l. Eros...*" insieme ad altri quattro liberti.

18 Arxé Galvez 1982, 201.

19 CIL XIV, 4091.60; CIL XV, 2342.

20 Quilici 1982, 131.

21 Si denota la presenza di nessi per contatto tra le lettere A-S, P-R.

22 LSO 714, 715.

23 LSO 658.

24 CIL XV, 864.

a Ostia,[25] a *Lucus Feroniae*[26] e nel Podere S. Valentino ad Amelia.[27]

5) 2012; T19; tegola bipedale;
Bollo rettangolare in *tabula ansata*; lungh. cm 15,8, largh. cm 3; *figlina*?; *officinator* Marco Antonio Epafra;
I sec. d.C.
M ANTONI EPAPHRA

Il bollo si presenta in ottime condizioni, con lettere a rilievo e abbastanza curate.[28] Viene nominato verosimilmente quel *Marcus Antonius Epaphra Ostor*[29] od *Ostorianus*,[30] liberto del triumviro Marco Antonio,[31] nella cui bottega a Ostia vennero prodotte anche lastre Campana tra le quali spicca quella raffigurante prigionieri dacici ai lati di un trofeo.[32] E' attestato presso il Palatino, in località Tor Carbone sulla via Appia, a Marino[33] e nell'isola di Ventotene.[34]

6) 2011; T8; tegola bipedale;
Bollo a orbicolo grande; diam. cm 11; *figlina*?; *officinator* Gneo Domizio Amando;
75-108 d.C.
CN DOMITI AMANDI \ VALEA QUI FEC
Sistro tra due palme

Il bollo, in ottime condizioni e con lettere a rilievo e abbastanza curate, presenta un elemento decorativo (*signum*) che poteva essere manifestazione dell'*horror vacui* o segno allegorico di riconoscimento dell'*officinator*[35] ossia *Cneus Domitius Amandus*, quest'ultimo facente parte della moltitudine di liberti della *gens Domitia*.[36] É attestato a Roma presso la *Domus Flavia* sul Palatino, nell'area delle Terme di Diocleziano, sulle rive e nell'alveo del Tevere, nella basilica di S. Paolo sulla via Ostiense, ad Albano nella cosiddetta villa di Clodio[37] e a Cartagine.[38]

7) 2012; T19; tegola bipedale;
Orma di animale; lungh. cm 6,5, largh. cm 4,5

L'impronta, ben definita e netta, si trova sul margine destro dell'embrice. Si può supporre esser, verosimilmente, la zampa anteriore di una volpe in quanto sono evidenti quattro dita con unghie che

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25 Cicero, 12.31.4; CIL XV, 785; LSO 658; Camilli, Taglietti 1994, 330-331, nota 60; Stanco 2010, 63-64, 68; Brando, Pica 2018, 111-112. A Ostia il bollo venne rinvenuto su di un mattone ove era associato ad un secondo rettangolare, datato in età augustea in quanto documentato nelle fasi edilizie di tal periodo a *Lucus Feroniae*, che riportava "*C ALBANI*" e che venne messo in relazione con un proprietario di terreni, vicino di casa di Cicerone, presso *Tusculum*. La presenza di due bolli ha fatto supporre, in altri casi documentati, che l'aggiunta della seconda punzonatura servisse per continuare ad utilizzare il medesimo bollo quando già l'impianto produttivo era passato ad altri proprietari o potesse in qualche modo indicare una proprietà condotta in comune oppure celasse il nome di un *officinator* o di un servo.

26 Filippi, Stanco 2005, 192; Stanco 2010, 70. E' riferibile all'intervento augusteo negli isolati delle case-botteghe.

27 Filippi, Stanco 2005, 133. Ad ovest di una villa romana è stato rinvenuto, insieme a materiale laterizio diagnostico di una fornace, l'esemplare in questione oltre a 16 bolli riconducibili ad altre *figlinae*.

28 Si denota la presenza di un nesso per contatto tra le lettere A-T.

29 Maffei 1749, 295, n. 9. Il *cognomen Ostor* è riportato dall'iscrizione catalogata nell'opera dell'epigrafista veronese.

30 Solin 2003, 349.

31 Cass. Dio., 51.15.7; Strazzulla 2007, 157.

32 CIL XV, 2542; Tortorella 1981, 68, 87, nota 36; Medaglia 2017, 54. Si può notare l'apposizione del bollo rettangolare di "*M Anton Epaphra*" tra i due prigionieri ed il *tropaeum* nella lastra conservata presso il British Museum di Londra.

33 CIL XV, 815.

34 Medaglia 2017, 54.

35 Bianchi 2012, 37.

36 Filippi 2006, 205. I marchi di fabbrica della *gens Domitia* sono attestati in una moltitudine di zone e in particolar modo nella *Regio VII* poiché ivi tale famiglia possedeva vasti possedimenti, includenti *figlinae*, che in seguito passarono tra le proprietà imperiali. I loro mattoni, sin dall'età di Claudio, costituirono le fondazioni per l'edificazione di moltissimi edifici a Roma e nell'area circostante.

37 CIL XV, 1097e.

38 Zucca 1987, p. 667.

si imprimono davanti alla traccia dei polpastrelli e che convergono verso l'asse longitudinale del pes. Si distingue da quelle del lupo e del cane per il poco spazio trai cuscinetti delle dita e quello centrale oltre che per la lunghezza delle unghie e per l'allungamento del III e IV dito.[39] Nel caso in questione non si nota il pollice residuo in quanto la volpe in movimento tende ad appoggiarsi solamente su quattro dita.[40]

I bolli laterizi dall'*arx* di Gabii, in conclusione, sono tutti epigrafici e presentano una variabilità sia nelle forme che nei produttori data la loro datazione oscillante tra il II sec. a.C.-II sec. d.C.[41] In aggiunta si può sottolineare come solamente per tre esemplari vi sia stata l'individuazione delle aree di fabbricazione, delle quali una verosimilmente era la stessa Gabii, in quanto sovente risulta difficile l'identificazione dei siti di produzione.[42] Infine il rinvenimento, per alcuni bolli, oltre che a Roma e nel Lazio, anche in Umbria, nella pianura piacentina e a Cartagine nell'odierna Tunisia, potrebbe rivelare una vasta area di diffusione di quelli[43] oltre che una consolidata rete commerciale tra Gabii e Roma.[44]

FONTI

(Autori antichi)

Cass. Dio., *Hist. Rom.*, 51.15.7
Cicero., *Att.,* 12.31.4
Cicero., *Brutus*, 48
Cicero., *Pro Flacco*, 76, 79
Horat., *Ep.*, 2.2.159-166

(Documenti epigrafici)

CIL VI, 414b
CIL XI 6674.28
CIL XIV, 2883, 4091.60, 4119.3
CIL XV, vol. I, 785, 815, 864, 1097e, 1315a, 2342, 2542
CIL XV, vol. II, 8372a
CIL XVs, 411/2160.2, 2473/4.2
LSO 658, 714, 715

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39 Sammartino, Bisconti 2010, 18.

40 Bianchi 2012, 13. Impronte del passaggio di piccoli animali o di fanciulli oppure di improvvise precipitazioni si venivano ad avere quando i mattoni, ancora teneri, venivano distesi ad asciugare sul terreno dagli operai.

41 Filippi 2006, 210; Aglietti 2021, 159. In merito all'esemplare n. 1 si può verosimilmente ipotizzare un utilizzo successivo alla sua produzione o meglio un riutilizzo in quanto la tegola con questo marcata si trovava posizionata insieme ad una riportante il bollo n. 5. L'impiego di tegole, coppi e mattoni, a dimostrazione di come anche non necessariamente la cronologia di produzione dei bolli laterizi coincidesse con quella del loro utilizzo, vide infatti nei primi secoli dell'impero un aumento esponenziale data la necessità di un numero maggiore di questi elementi nella costruzione delle sepolture a inumazione nelle necropoli connesse topograficamente a centri urbani e vicari o di ambito prediale.

42 Filippi, Stanco 2005, 121-122. La maggior parte delle officine note attraverso i bolli laterizi non sono state localizzate topograficamente, ad eccezione di alcuni casi rari in cui il territorio è stato desunto da una indicazione toponomastica sopravvissuta in tempi moderni. Infatti nelle fornaci scoperte e scavate nei dintorni di Roma o nella penisola italiana, solitamente o non si sono rinvenuti bolli o quelli ritrovati appartenevano a più fabbriche.

43 Bianchi 2012, 15. Nel caso dei due bolli rinvenuti anche a Cartagine e sull'isola di Ventotene, si potrebbe supporre, seguendo l'ipotesi della Bianchi, che questi siano giunti in quei luoghi tramite materiali edilizi in esubero utilizzati come carico-zavorra nei viaggi di ritorno delle imbarcazioni da Roma.

44 Filippi 2006, 210-211. I bolli laterizi, per la maggior parte, distinguevano in modo abbastanza dettagliato l'attività commerciale di soggetti legati da interessi economici in un determinato momento e luogo di produzione. Infatti sulla base della variabilità della vastità della loro area di diffusione è stato possibile identificare sia un mercato locale, il cosiddetto "mercato municipale", che includeva produzioni di *privati domini* e di piccole *figlinae* distribuite in un limitato raggio e che raramente raggiungevano Roma sia un più ampio "mercato urbano" riferibile a Roma e Ostia, i più importanti centri di arrivo e distribuzione di beni nell'area medio-tirrenica in età romana.

Gabii, campagne di scavo 2007-2012: i reperti numismatici

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Abstract: There were 23 numismatic finds recovered during the excavation campaigns from 2007 to 2012 at the arx, the Santuario Orientale, and the northern and north-eastern fortifications. The coinage, whose preservation and legibility are quite varied, covers a wide chronological arc from the third century BCE to the modern day. All except one example is bronze.

I reperti numismatici, rinvenuti durante le campagne di scavo svoltesi dal 2007 al 2012 presso l'*arx,* il santuario orientale e le porzioni settentrionale e nord-orientale delle fortificazioni di Gabii, ammontano precisamente a 23 esemplari. Le coniazioni, la cui conservazione e il grado di leggibilità sono molto variabili,[1] essenzialmente tutte in bronzo, coprono un ampio arco temporale compreso tra il III secolo a.C. e l'età moderna.

Le informazioni a livello qualitativo, quantitativo e cronologico hanno avuto un ruolo importante per lo studio della circolazione numismatica a Gabii in quanto, escludendo gli esemplari residuali in deposizione secondaria localizzati in strati superficiali, gli altri si presentavano in giacitura primaria in strati attribuibili a fasi di frequentazione in relazione a specifici contesti archeologici, quali il sepolcreto dell'*arx* e la stipe del santuario orientale. Si è scelto quindi di studiare insieme gli esemplari monetali ma di descriverli separatamente in quanto divergenti per contesti di rinvenimento e per datazione.[2]

CATALOGO

Arx

Sepolcreto:

1) Repubblica, Roma, Triente, AE, 91 a.C.
D: Testa elmata di Minerva a dx; sotto quattro globetti
Anepigrafe
R: Prua di nave a dx; sotto quattro globetti
ROMA
Esergo: assente
4,7 g; 2,1 cm; 1h
Bibliografia: Crawford, 339/3

2) Vespasiano, Roma, Asse, AE, 74 d.C.
D: Busto laureato a dx
[IMP] CAESAR VES[P A]VG COS V CENS
R: Vittoria su prora con palma e corona a sx; [S]C nel campo
VICTORI[A AVGVST]
Esergo: assente
9,3 g; 2,7 cm; 6h
Bibliografia: RIC II, 561; Cohen I, 602

3) Lucio Vero, Roma, Sesterzio, AE, 161-163 d.C.
D: Busto laureato a dx
[IMP CA]ES L AVREL [VER]V[S A]V[G]
R: Illeggibile
Illeggibile
Esergo: assente
11,6 g; 2,7 cm
Bibliografia: RIC III, 1277; Cohen III, 20 (per confronto iconografico del D)

4) Lucilla, Roma, Sesterzio, AE, 164-169 d.C.
D: Busto drappeggiato a dx
LVCILLA AVGVSTA
R: *Hilaritas* con palma e cornucopia; SC nel campo
HI[LA]R[IT]AS
Esergo: assente
11,1 g; 2,7 cm; 6h
Bibliografia: RIC III, 1741; Cohen III, 57

1 L'acidità e l'umidità del terreno hanno favorito la degradazione della lega delle monete rendendo, in molti casi, difficile il loro riconoscimento data la presenza di incrostazioni e corrosioni che ricoprono in parte o totalmente le superfici. In aggiunta a queste altra causa della loro non leggibilità è la frammentarietà dei tondelli.

2 In merito alle schede del catalogo, quest'ultimo suddiviso in base al luogo di rinvenimento delle emissioni, all'inizio sono riportate le informazioni riguardanti i dati della moneta (autorità emittente, zecca, nominale, metallo, datazione, tipo e legenda al dritto e al rovescio, esergo), successivamente le misure e l'asse dei tipi e infine la bibliografia. A conclusione vi è un breve commento. Le monete sono presentate secondo l'ordine cronologico e la restituzione qui proposta è stata effettuata dall'autore tramite esame autoptico.

5) Geta, Roma, Asse, AE, 210 d.C.
D: Busto laureato a dx
IMP CAES P SEPT GETA P[IV]S [AVG]
R: *Pietas* in piedi con scettro e due fanciulli; SC nel campo
PONTIF TR P II COS II
Esergo: assente
10 g; 2,5 cm; 6 h
Bibliografia: RIC IVa, 163; Cohen III, 161

6) N.D., N.D., Asse, AE, I sec. a.C.-metà III sec. d.C.
D: Tracce di busto a dx
Illeggibile
R: Figura femminile?
Illeggibile
Esergo: assente
6,9 g; 2,7 cm; 6h
Bibliografia: ---

sporadiche:

7) Imitazione barbarica, Roma?, AE4, AE, dal IV sec. d.C.
D: Busto laureato a dx
[---]P AVC
R: Figure stanti?
[---]V[---]
Esergo: assente
1 g; 1,2 cm; 1h
Bibliografia: ---

I reperti numismatici rinvenuti sull'*arx* provengono nella loro quasi totalità dal sepolcreto ivi impiantatosi[3] mentre solamente un esemplare sporadico è stato recuperato nello strato più superficiale. Le sei monete dall'area di sepoltura, presentanti una variabilità sia nelle autorità emittenti che nella tipologia monetale, sono databili tra il I sec. a.C. e il III sec. d.C.,[4] dato interessante per la conferma di un utilizzo prolungato dell'area come sepolcreto. In merito all'unica moneta isolata, questa per la sua tipologia monetale è cronologicamente collocabile dal IV sec. d.C. ed è forse attribuibile ad un'imitazione barbarica.[5] A riguardo delle aree di coniazione, si può constatare che la totalità delle monete proviene dalla zecca di Roma. In conclusione si può affermare come i nominali del sepolcreto corrispondessero a quelle emissioni, circolanti localmente, di buona qualità ma di valore più basso in uso nel momento in cui vennero seppelliti i defunti.[6] L'esemplare sporadico, poiché anch'esso di basso valore intrinseco, poteva provenire da una massa monetale a veloce circolazione, solitamente utilizzata negli scambi quotidiani, in cui le emissioni recentissime convivevano con le precedenti che, per qualsiasi ragione, non erano uscite dal mercato e inoltre può permettere di individuare un'area di circolazione preferenziale che, solitamente, circoscrive i centri di produzione ossia le zecche.[7]

[3] Fabbri 2015, 187-203; Fabbri 2017, 225-241. Il sepolcreto è stato individuato nell'area esterna ad un grande "tumulo" d'età arcaica che aveva obliterato un precedente monumentale complesso abitativo tripartito ovverosia la cd. Regia.

[4] Cantilena 2008, 152-154; Arzone 2008, 535. Nel caso dell'esemplare n. 6, gli assi dopo la riforma augustea del 23 a.C. furono battuti su rame e assunsero il peso di 11 gr. Fu il nominale di valore più basso in uso fino all'epoca di Marco Aurelio e nella seconda metà del III sec. d.C. non fu più coniato e ciò comportò la sua sparizione dalla circolazione insieme ai sesterzi e ai dupondi.

[5] Cesano 1913, 533-534, 536, 550-551; Bastien 1985; Callegher 1998, 69; Asolati 2006, 118; Arzone 2008, 536-537, 550; Pittini 2008. Dal IV sec. d.C., ovvero dal 318-363 d.C. circa e poi successivamente al 379 d.C., coniazioni imitative vennero prodotte a causa delle pessime condizioni economiche date dalle povertà estrema di emissioni bronzee, specie nelle provincie settentrionale quali Gallia e Britannia, dalla prolungata chiusura di alcune zecche e dall'isolamento di ampi settori dell'Impero per eventi bellici causati dalla presenza di usurpatori o di invasori barbari come ad esempio in Britannia, Gallia, Pannonia, settori dell'Austria e dell'attuale Serbia ma anche in Africa. Queste, probabilmente prodotte attraverso il metodo di fusione in officine clandestine da artigiani che lavoravano nelle zecche ufficiali, erano costituite da bronzetti di peso inferiore a 0,35 g e diametro variabile tra 1,1-1,2 cm, sempre con valore intrinseco minimo, di forma irregolare, con imprecisioni evidenti nel tondello sia di conio poiché mostravano al dritto l'effigie diademata imperiale e sul rovescio tipi schematici, entrambi caratterizzati da una scansione più graduale nell'allontanamento dal modello originario e con una stilizzazione ed una loro rielaborazione ma soprattutto con le legende più o meno incomplete che alla fine si riducevano, essendo talvolta gli incisori totalmente ignari del latino e per copiatura da altre imitazioni, ad una serie di asticelle, cerchi, semicerchi o segni di altro tipo sia nell'orientamento degli stessi conii. Tali emissioni bronzee servivano al piccolo scambio giornaliero locale della popolazione sottomessa.

[6] Arslan 2005, p. 66; Cantilena 2008, 102. L'inserimento di moneta nei corredi funerari oscillava tra gli estremi dell'ostentazione di ricchezza a favore del morto, in una concezione utilitaristica del corredo nell'oltretomba, o dei superstiti con un'affermazione di *status* per la famiglia o il gruppo e l'utilizzo simbolico di materiali praticamente demonetizzati.

[7] Cesano 1913, 550-551; Arslan 2005, 71-73; Arzone 2008, 544. Dall'inizio del V sec. d.C. nell'Italia centro-meridionale la zecca di Roma continuò a rifornire in modo regolare il mercato ma un fenomeno di intensa tesaurizzazione ed un rapporto privilegiato fino alla metà del V sec. d.C. con i centri di produzione dell'Africa nordoccidentale impedirono il diffondersi della produzione di Roma

Settore nord-orientale della fortificazione

Sporadiche:

1) Adriano, Roma, Sesterzio, AE, 134-138 d.C.
D: Busto laureato dell'imperatore a dx
[HA]DRIANVS AVG COS III PP
R: La personificazione del Nilo sdraiata e reggente cornucopie e canna palustre
NILVS
Esergo: SC
12,2 g; 2,7 cm; 1h
Bibliografia: RIC III, 781; Cohen III, 1377

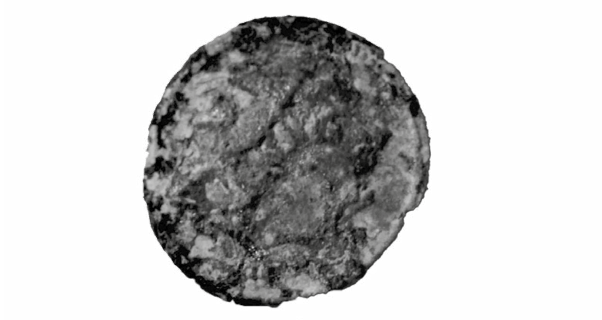
2) Innocenzo XII, Gubbio, Mezzo Baiocco, CU, 1692
D: Stemma semiovale con trifoglio sopra, chiavi più grandi con cordone e fiocco
[INNOC XII PON MA II]
R: Corona di due ramo d'alloro, legati in basso
[MEZO / BAIOC / CO]
Esergo: assente
0,27 g; 2,9 cm; 1h
Bibliografia: CNI XIV, 5

I reperti numismatici rinvenuti nell'area della porzione nord-orientale delle fortificazioni di Gabii sono entrambi sporadici.[8] Individuato nello strato superficiale il più recente, pur risultando particolarmente consumato, è stato datato, grazie all'iconografia, al 1692 ovvero durante il pontificato di papa Innocenzo XII. In merito all'altra emissione, questa risulta in ottimo stato ed è riferibile all'*imperium* dell'imperatore Adriano. Per entrambe, come precedentemente indicato, si conferma come la moneta persa in abitato facesse parte del circolante, in genere con valore più basso rispetto alle altre in circolazione, utilizzato per le transazioni quotidiane ed inoltre consenta di individuare aree di circolazione preferenziale, solitamente circoscriventi le zecche.[9]

Santuario orientale

Stipe:

1) Repubblica, Roma, Triente, AE, 215-212 a.C.
D: Testa di Minerva con elmo corinzio a dx
Anepigrafe
R: Prua di nave a dx. In basso quattro globetti
[ROM]A
Esergo: Assente
29,4 g; 3,3 cm; 5h
Bibliografia: Crawford 41/7b



2) Repubblica, Roma, Semioncia, AE, 215-212 a.C
D: Testa di Mercurio con petaso alato a dx
Anepigrafe
R: Prua di nave a dx
ROMA
Esergo: Assente
4,8 g; 1,9 cm; 12h
Bibliografia: Crawford 41/11

nel resto della penisola e nell'Europa occidentale romana. Tale zecca infatti nella metà V sec. d.C. coniava ancora a nome dell'imperatore d'Oriente bronzi a carattere speciale, rozzo, quasi barbaro, specchio più fedele della miseria economica, del disordine finanziario e dell'abbandono in cui erano state lasciate l'Italia e le provincie dal governo centrale sempre più debole e inetto all'arrivo dei barbari.

8 Fabbri, Musco 2016, 71-90. Indagini archeologiche riguardanti il circuito murario si effettuarono nel biennio 2007-2008 nel settore nord-orientale dell'insediamento e, nel triennio 2010-2012, sul versante settentrionale dell'*arx* gabina

9 Arslan 2005, 71, 73; Cantilena 2008, 99.

3) *Cales*, *Cales*, Bronzo, AE, metà del III sec. a.C.
D: Testa di Apollo a dx
[CALENO]
R: Toro androcefalo con sopra una lira
Anepigrafe
Esergo: CA[LENO]
3,6 g; 2 cm; 11h
Bibliografia: SNG Ans, 182

4) Repubblica, Roma, Sestante, AE, dopo il 211 a.C.
D: Testa di Mercurio con petaso alato a dx
Anepigrafe
R: Prua di nave a dx. In alto due globetti
[ROMA]
Esergo: Assente
7,2 g; 2,2 cm; 6h
Bibliografia: Crawford 56/6

5) Repubblica, Roma, Sestante, AE, dopo il 211 a.C.
D: Testa di Mercurio con petaso alato a dx
Anepigrafe
R: Prua di nave a dx. In alto due globetti
[ROMA]
Esergo: Assente
7 g; 1,9 cm; 1h
Bibliografia: Crawford 56/6

6) N.D., N.D., N.D., AE, III sec. a.C.?
D: Illeggibile
Illeggibile
R: Illeggibile
Illeggibile
Esergo: assente
0 g; 0,1 cm; h?
Bibliografia: ---

Sporadiche:
7) *Neapolis*, *Neapolis*, Obolo, AE, 275-250 a.C.
D: Testa laureata di Apollo a dx
[ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ]
R: Toro androcefalo coronato da *Nike* a dx
[ΙΣ]
Esergo: BO
4,3 g; 2,1 cm; 1h
Bibliografia: HN Italy, 215

8) *Neapolis*, *Neapolis*, Obolo, AE, 250-225 a.C.
D: Testa laureata di Apollo a dx
[ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ]
R: Toro androcefalo coronato da *Nike* a dx
[ΙΣ]
Esergo: Assente
5,7 g; 1,9 cm; 12h
Bibliografia: HN Italy, 210-218

9) *Neapolis*, *Neapolis*, Obolo, AE, 250-225 a.C.
D: Testa laureata di Apollo a sx
[Ν]ΕΟ[ΠΟΛ]ΙΤΩΝ
R: Toro androcefalo coronato da *Nike* a dx
[ΙΣ]
Esergo: Assente
5,1 g; 2,1 cm; 1h
Bibliografia: HN Italy, 210-218

10) N.D., N.D., N.D., AE, III sec. a.C.?.
D: Illeggibile
Illeggibile
R: Illeggibile
Illeggibile
Esergo: assente
0,1 g; 1 cm; h?
Bibliografia: ---

11) N.D., N.D., N.D., AE, III sec. a.C.?.
D: Illeggibile
Illeggibile
R: Illeggibile
Illeggibile
Esergo: assente
0,3 g; 1,3 cm; h?
Bibliografia: ---

12) N.D., N.D., Asse, AE, I sec. a.C.-metà III sec. d.C.
D: Tracce di busto a dx
[---]S[---]
R: Illeggibile
CAE[---]PA[---]A[---]
Esergo: assente
9,1 g; 3 cm; 1h
Bibliografia: ---

13) N.D., N.D., ND, AE, età moderna
D: Illeggibile
[---]G[---]
R: Contorno perlinato e tracce di conio
Illeggibile
Esergo: assente
0,8 g; 2,3 cm; h?
Bibliografia: ---

I reperti numismatici rinvenuti nel santuario sono sia provenienti dalla stipe ivi formatasi sia sporadici.[10] Le sei monete dalla stipe hanno una datazione oscillante tra la metà e gli ultimi decenni del III sec. a.C.,[11] dato interessante per la cronologia di quel contesto archeologicamente chiuso, data dalla variabilità sia delle autorità emittenti che delle tipologie monetali. In merito invece agli altri nominali si può osservare come, a eccezione di una moneta moderna dagli strati superficiali e un asse difficilmente databile dato il suo esser molto usurato,[12] anch'essi siano databili al III sec. a.C.[13] In merito alle aree di coniazione, si può constatare la presenza di monete provenienti dalle zecche sia di Roma che delle città campane di *Cales* e di *Neapolis*. In conclusione si può affermare come la presenza di monete, solitamente i nominali di più basso valore, in una stipe testimoni la presenza di pellegrini dalla provenienza sia locale, in alcuni casi questi potevano esser rientrati nell'abitato con valuta estera, che straniera, e inoltre rappresenti il rifiuto volontario, senza possibilità di recupero, di quelle come dono votivo alla divinità.[14] Quest'ultimo atto comportava, infatti, una conservazione delle monete in termini, per qualità e quantità, differente dai volumi di emissione o dalla presenza percentuale in circolazione in quanto una stipe,[15] anche se abbandonata in un periodo preciso, poteva essersi creata nel corso di un lungo lasso di tempo, con il risultato che gli esemplari monetali non documentano sempre il materiale numismatico circolante in un determinato momento in tale area.[16] Infine la presenza di monete emesse da città campane dalla metà del III secolo a.C. suggerirebbe frequenti contatti tra la città ed il mondo greco-italico.[17]

FONTI

(Corpus numismatici)
CNI XIV, 86
Cohen I, 602
Cohen III, 20, 57, 161, 1377
Crawford, 41/7b, 41/11, 56/6, 339/3
HN Italy, 210-218
RIC II, 561
RIC III, 781, 1277, 1741
RIC IVa, 163
SNG Ans, 182

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10 Fabbri, Musco, Osanna 2012, 229-242. Nel biennio 2007-2008 si effettuarono ricerche nell'area occidentale del santuario orientale extraurbano, già parzialmente messo in luce nel 1976-1977 e nel 1999.

11 L'esemplare n. 6 è frammentario e la sua datazione è stata ipotizzata solamente dall'esser quello nello stesso strato delle altre monete cronologicamente classificabili.

12 Per la sua datazione *infra* nota 3.

13 La datazione degli esemplari nn. 10-11, frammentari e rovinati, è stata ipotizzata sulla base dall'esser nello stesso strato delle altre monete cronologicamente identificabili.

14 Calabria 1985, 95-96; Arslan 2005, 66; Cantilena 2008, 101. Offerte votive monetali sono presenti solitamente nei santuari, in genere nelle stipi ove erano raccolti gli *ex voto*, quest'ultimi anche di tipo paramonetari o pseudomonetari. In base a tal fattore, accanto alle serie locali, nei depositi era consueto trovare monete straniere e gli accumuli erano composti, quindi, da singole donazioni di materiale non omogeneo sia per datazione che per provenienza.

15 Arslan 2005, 63.

16 Cantilena 2008, pp. 101-102.

17 Guaitoli, Zaccagni 1977, 434-436; Calabria 1985, 96-107. A conferma dell'ipotesi si può affermare che durante gli anni 1976-1977 durante gli scavi nel santuario extraurbano, più precisamente nell'area che insiste e circonda il piccolo edificio arcaico, tra le 55 monete rinvenute si catalogarono moltissimi esemplari datati al III sec. a.C. battuti per la quasi totalità a Roma ma anche da zecche latino-campane, molti anonimi dell'Italia meridionale, uno da Luceria, uno da Suessa e cinque in totale dalle due città campane in questione.

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