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# SANTA MARIA IN ARACOELI (ROME): FRANK BROWN'S EXCAVATION IN 1963\*

# Archer Martin · Mary Jane Cuyler · Laura Banducci

ABSTRACT · In 1963, Frank Brown carried out an excavation in the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli. He never published it, and it has remained little known. This article presents the evidence of the excavation that it has been possible to find. Selected ceramic fragments, apparently kept at the American Academy in Rome since 1963, constitute the major element now available. They were stored without any contextual information and thus cannot be associated securely with the stratigraphic layers that were observed according to testimony that evidently goes back to Brown and his team. Most of the finds preserved date to the late antique and to some extent the early mediaeval period and may well come largely from the upper three meters of the excavation. Two lower layers were reported, and there are some earlier pieces. Besides shedding light on Brown's excavation, the material offers a range of finds that may prove useful as *comparanda* for other contexts and includes examples of wares and types that are still little known or unattested at Rome.

 ${\tt Keywords} \cdot {\tt Topography} \ of \ Rome, \ Capitoline \ Hill, \ Santa \ Maria \ in \ Aracoeli, \ Frank \ Brown, \ Roman \ Pottery, \ Mediaeval \ Pottery.$ 

# 1. Introduction (Archer Martin)

In 1963, Frank Brown carried out an excavation in the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli on the Capitoline. He never published it, and the excavation has remained little known, although there are references to it in publications by others. In particular, D'Onofrio provides information that he must have received from Brown or a member of the team, which, as brief as it is, constitutes the most complete known account of the excavation (including the mention of finds that have not survived – brick stamps and coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, early Christian lamps, animal bones considered to be sacrificial). My interest in the Aracoeli excavation derives from seeing the material from it in the storerooms of the American Academy in Rome and particularly from a reference to it made by Lionel Casson when I corresponded with him while preparing an article on another then unpublished excavation with material stored at the time at the American Academy, the so-called Alitalia dig: Frank used to run little digs in those days; he did one in the Forum and he excavated underneath the altar of the Church of Aracoeli». Here we present what evidence we could find for the Aracoeli excavation.

The evidence consists largely of the surviving, selected ceramic fragments, which we illustrate amply with drawings and photographs. There is, of course, a risk of bias

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<sup>\*</sup> We dedicate this article to the memory of Dr. Anna Marguerite McCann, who was such a generous, encouraging, inspiring, and ever-present sponsor of the Howard Comfort FAAR '29 Summer School in Roman Pottery. We would also like to thank the American Academy in Rome for hosting us and making the Aracoeli material available.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> D'Onofrio 1973, pp. 67-68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Martin 2011-2012. The finds have been turned over to the Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica, where they are currently housed in the Nuovi Depositi.

<sup>3</sup> Martin 2011-2012, p. 392.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Color versions of the black-and-white pottery photographs are available in an Addendum posted to the



Fig. 1. Coarse Wares (= Pl. 12.2) two joining sherds, one drenched in oil (right).

introduced by selection. The frequency of handle sherds in some categories, for instance, may reflect the reality of the excavated assemblage, but it depends more likely on the preference of the person(s) doing the selection. Apparently, the material has been stored since 1963 in various locations at the American Academy, where at some point heating oil or something similar drenched some of the sherds. What effect that had on the appearance of the fragments is illustrated by two joining sherds, one oil-drenched and the other not (Fig. 1). No documentation of the excavation has been found, nor was there any information concerning the excavation (other than the name of the site) on the boxes in which the finds were stored. The sherds were packed in newspaper pages («Il Giornale d'Italia», «Il Tempo» and «Il Messaggero», as well as «Il Corriere dei Piccoli») dating from late May to July 1963, the most recent being from 21 July 1963. The present article is, therefore, for the most part a discussion of the pottery. Indeed, it derives from the work of the 2008 session of the Howard Comfort FAAR '29 Summer School in Roman Pottery held at the American Academy in Rome, for which the ceramic material served as the study assemblage.

The participants that year – Emerson Avery, Laura Banducci, Elizabeth Bartlett, Mary Jane Cuyler, Marcie Handler – worked together in the summer of 2008. At the end of the session, Marcie Handler decided that her other commitments would prevent her from engaging further with the material. The remaining four produced preliminary reports on various categories of Roman pottery, while I took on the early mediaeval pottery and some other material. Some years later, Elizabeth Bartlett and Emerson Avery concluded that they were unable to revise and complete their contributions on the African cooking ware and amphorae, and I agreed to step in and wrote new versions of those parts in order to bring the project to completion.

blog of the Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores (https://blog.fautores.org/), as are color images of the fabrics of wares for which no standardized definitions exist.

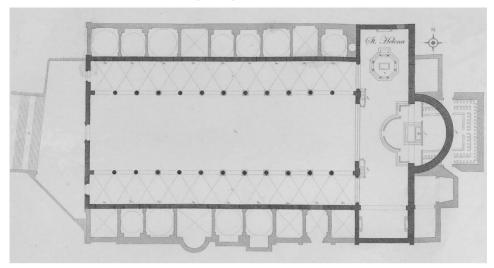


Fig. 2. Plan of Santa Maria in Aracoeli (adapted from Bunsen 1842, Pl. xxxi).

One would like more information than we have, and indeed better (e.g. an excavation diary or a plan) might be expected with an excavation of that date and may still come to light. Nevertheless, we consider that it is worthwhile to present the evidence currently available for this excavation rather than allowing it to remain forgotten.

# 2. The Excavation in Context: Mediaeval Legends and the Roma Quadrata (Laura Banducci and Mary Jane Cuyler)

At least as early as the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. the site of Santa Maria in Aracoeli featured in mediaeval legends, which report that the emperor Augustus erected an altar to the "first born of God" on the Capitoline hill after learning of the birth of Jesus and his eventual supremacy over the Roman empire.¹ The earliest surviving material expression of such an altar dates to the 12<sup>th</sup> century and can still be seen today beneath the octagonal shrine to St. Helena in the northern side of the transept of the current Franciscan basilica, which dates to the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 2). The marble altar, which depicts a scene of Augustus' vision and a Latin inscription describing the event, is believed to have served as the high altar of the earlier Benedictine church which was probably oriented southward toward the Campidoglio (Fig. 3).² The legends and the altar – and by extension, the entire basilica – represent an important symbolic link between Roman Christianity and the first emperor of Rome.

In 1963, Frank Brown, then the professor-in-charge and later director of the American Academy in Rome, initiated excavations beneath the shrine to St. Helena (Fig. 4). He was assisted by Prof. Pico Cellini (the famous "finder of fakes") and H. B. Vander Poel,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Different legends emerged at different points in the Middle Ages, variously describing Augustus' revelation of Christ and the Virgin as a vision that took place on the Capitoline, or as the result of a Pythian or Sybillic prophecy. Boeye, Pandey 2018 present an overview and discussion of these legends and the "Augustan" altar (with preceding bibliography).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Malmstrom 1976 provides compelling arguments for the orientation of the Benedictine church. Boeye, Pandey 2018, p. 160 show that the elevation and orientation of the altar suggest that the builders of the 13<sup>th</sup> century basilica made an effort to preserve the altar *in situ*.

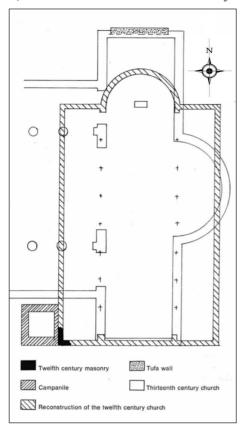


FIG. 3. Reconstruction of the 12<sup>th</sup> century phase of the Benedictine church underlying the 13<sup>th</sup> century building (adapted from Malmstrom 1976, fig. 1b).

who engineered the difficult undertaking of accessing the space beneath the altar.1 The excavations were never formally published, but some of the research was shared freely with other scholars who published preliminary results and other observations.<sup>2</sup> D'Onofrio states that the initial aim of the project was to discover whether any archaeological features existed which might shed light on the origins of the legends and the altar.3 A probable secondary motive would have been to locate evidence for the Temple of Juno Moneta which, according to Livy, had been promised by Camillus in 345 B.C. and dedicated in the following year. 4 Brown was undoubtedly also interested in finding the original "Roma quadrata" for his proposed parallel situation on the acropolis at Cosa, the "Cosa quadrata". 5 According to reports, after a short period of work the Franciscans in charge of the church shut down the project.6

D'Onofrio and Gianelli provide the most helpful information about the excavation process and the principal discoveries. The sounding Brown made was at least 4.2 meters deep and was located below the shrine of Saint Helena in the western side of the transept of the church. No plans or drawings officially associated with the excavations have yet come to light, but the section drawing published in Russo's study of the basilica appears to show the extent

<sup>1</sup> D'Onofrio 1973, p. 67, n. 34.

<sup>2</sup> D'Onofrio 1973, pp. 67-68; Giannelli 1978, p. 61; Ralph, Han 1969, p. 168, n. 1; and personal communication with Katherine Geffken in July 2008.

<sup>3</sup> D'Onofrio 1973, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Scott 1988, p. 577; Livy 7.28.4-6. Just a selection of the studies discussing the probable location of the Temple of Juno Moneta: Colini 1965; Giannelli 1978; Giannelli 1980; Ziolkowski 1993; von Hesberg 1995; Tucci 2005; Tucci 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Brown *et al.* 1960, pp. 9-14; Brown 1980, pp. 47-48. It is clear that Brown understood this to be an augural platform, an Auguraculum, rather than a shrine, and that Giannelli accepted this interpretation. ZIOLKOWSKI 1993, pp. 216-217; GIANNELLI 1978, n. 37. For the Auguraculum as a platform, see RICHARDSON 1992, p. 52, and COARELLI in the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae I*, *s.v.* Auguraculum; for "Roma Quadrata" as a shrine building, not a platform, see RICHARDSON 1992, p. 333.

<sup>6</sup> Russell Scott, personal communication September 21, 2009. Neither the historical archives of Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma nor the Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici e del Paesaggio del Comune di Roma have any record of the beginning or the ending date or circumstances of the project. The Archivio Provinciale Aracoeli also holds no information concerning Brown's excavation (Maria Melli, personal communication to Archer Martin January 15, 2020).

<sup>7</sup> D'Onofrio 1973, p. 68. Colini 1965, p. 182 refers to «una ristrettissima indagine sotto la cappella di S. Elena» without mentioning who did it or when; Ralph, Han 1969, p. 168, n. 1 mention the provenience of a sample of roof tile Vander Poel gave them to study; Giannelli 1978, p. 60 spoke to Brown personally about the project in 1974; Katherine Geffken was an eye-witness (personal communication to Laura Banducci July 2008).

of the excavation and the major architectural features (Fig. 5). As is clearly seen in the photo of the excavations (Fig. 4) they came down on soil immediately beneath the 12th-century altar. The altar itself was sitting directly upon a wall in opus latericium, which sits on a floor made of travertine slabs that covers an opus signinum (i.e., cocciopesto) pavement at a depth of 3.40 meters. Giuseppe Giannelli reports that in a 1974 conversation with Frank Brown, he learned that the scholar believed the wall and the travertine slabs to date to the Trajanic or Hadrianic period while the lower cocciopesto floor belonged to the Augustan period.1 D'Onofrio states that the red color of the cocciopesto surface was the deciding indicator for the Augustan date, and that due to technical problems it was not possible to excavate to a lower level. All told, the excavation reached a depth of over 4 meters and a width of about 3 meters.2



Fig. 4. Photograph of the 1963 excavation beneath the shrine of St. Helena (adapted from D'ONOFRIO 1973, p. 66).

Giannelli includes the wall from the Brown sounding on his plan of the Capitoline but does not provide a suggestion as to what building it may have belonged. He notes only that the wall is in precise alignment with the main nave of the later church.<sup>3</sup> Pier Luigi Tucci incorporates Giannelli's plan into his study of the ancient structures underlying the modern Arx and Capitoline. He associates this wall with a wall excavated in 1949 at the south end of the transept of the church and imagines that they were part of the much-disputed temple of Isis on the Capitoline. The location of this temple, he argues, explains the orientation of the transept of Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

Although Brown must have discovered several fills, no stratigraphic information survived with the finds. The excavators seem to have kept only diagnostic sherds; therefore, it is impossible to assess the formation of the deposits using the ceramic material's rate or extent of breakage. 5 Evidently an effort was made to find joins in the ceramics, since several of the sherds had been glued together at some point after their excavation; it is unclear if recovered body sherds were discarded because they did not join or because the effort to associate them with diagnostic sherds was minimal.

According to Giannelli, Brown had come to the conclusion that the material he found in the sounding dated broadly from the first to the sixth century A.D.6 This period would be in keeping with the first accounts of the Benedictine monastery on the Arx in A.D. 731 and its continued presence through the ninth century and onward. Our study of the material, however, has shown that it dates mostly from the second to the ninth/tenth century A.D., the latest datable piece belonging to Sparse Glazed Ware of the eleventh century. Should the excavation reports or other information ever come

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Giannelli 1978, p. 69. The explanation for this chronology is not stated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> D'Onofrio 1973, p. 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Giannelli 1978, p. 63. <sup>4</sup> Tucci 2006, p. 64 with fig. 2. Regarding the cult of Isis on the Capitoline, see Malaise 1972, pp. 184-187; Coarelli 1982, pp. 59-63; and Versluys 2004.

ORTON et al. 1993, pp. 169, 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Brancia di Apricena 2000, p. 29; Russo 2007, p. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Giannelli 1978, n. 47.

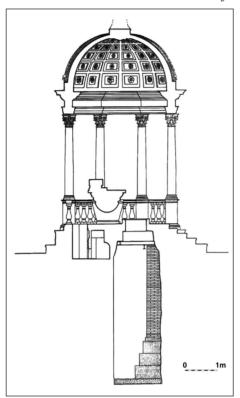


FIG. 5. Cross section showing the Shrine of St. Helena. The 12<sup>th</sup>-century "Augustan" altar is shown beneath the shrine to the left; to the right is the Imperial period wall and floor (adapted from the drawing by F. and G. Arabia, Russo 2007 and Boeye, Pandey 2018).

to light, it is difficult to say whether the stratigraphy could be recovered.

Not much is known about the original structure of this monastery complex; however, it stands to reason that any late antique or early mediaeval fill would have been laid in and around the Roman buildings and residences that partially underlay the church and are still visible on the south side of the Capitoline Hill.<sup>2</sup> The fragments presented in this study served to filled the space between early Imperial Rome and mediaeval Christian Rome, and if they do not manage to illuminate the origins of the legend of Augustus' prophetic vision, they remain interesting in their own right.

# 3. AFRICAN RED-SLIP WARE (ARCHER MARTIN)

Eight pieces of African Red-Slip Ware from the excavations at the Aracoeli were published by Hayes in 1972 and recorded as being at the American Academy. The pieces in question are: Form 26.2 (the drawn prototype); Form 50.61 (the drawn prototype of the late variant); Form 64.4 (one of the drawn examples); Form 72.4 (the drawn prototype of Type 72.A); Form 77.1 (the drawn prototype and the only example known then to Hayes and one of two recorded in the *Atlante 1*); Form 80.1 (the drawn prototype of Type 80A); Form 81.7

(the drawn prototype of Type 81B); Form 94.1 (the drawn prototype of Type 94A). These pieces cannot now be located. Perhaps they were separated from the rest of the Aracoeli material for safe-keeping. As illustrations of all the pieces are presented, it is also possible that they were taken away for drawing and never returned. Inquiries about the material among the Academy staff have proved fruitless, and unsurprisingly Hayes reported that he had no idea where the pieces might be.

The only piece of this ware to have been preserved was stored with the cooking ware, undoubtedly because of a blackened patch on the rim that drew attention away

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> D'Onofrio 1973, p. 68 specifically describes the finds as "non-stratigraphic". Gianelli 1978, p. 69, n. 47, on the other hand, describes the stratigraphy as "inverted" due to the "reshuffling".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Tucci 2005, p. 27, n. 76. Saguì 1998, pp. 305, 325 associates a seventh-century dump in the Crypta Balbi exedra with the kitchen garbage of the monastery of San Lorenzo in Pallacinis built in the same exedra; since we are sure we do not have all the recovered material and lack precise stratigraphic details, we are hesitant to make such contextual affiliations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hayes 1972, p. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibidem, p. 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 125; CARANDINI, TORTORICI 1981, pp. 120-121.

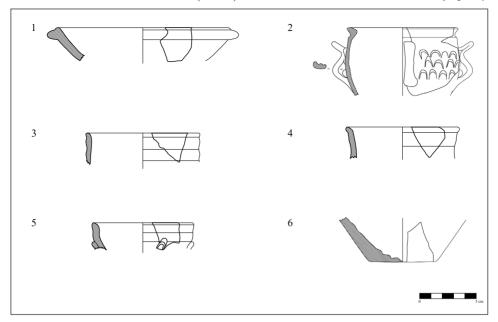
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p. 128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibidem, p. 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ibidem, p. 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Hayes 1972, p. 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ibidem, p. 148.



Pl. 1. African Red-Slip Ware; Lead-Glazed Wares.

from the the slip, which is thick and glossy on the interior and the rim and thinner and matt below that on the exterior. It can be attributed to the dish Atlante I, XXXIX, 7 in Production D2, dating not before the end of the fourth century (Pl. 1.1). 1

# 4. Lead-Glazed Wares (Archer Martin)<sup>2</sup>

Lead-glazed ware was produced in various parts of the Roman Empire from the first century B.C. onward.<sup>3</sup> Where it is attested, it always constitutes a small percentage of assemblages, a phenomenon to which Greene gives some thought.<sup>4</sup> His considerations include the conservatism of Roman potters operating at a non-industrial scale, the widespread availability of glass, lead-glazed ware's insufficient similarity to precious metal and stone wares to serve as a substitute for them and its lack of an evident superiority over such products as faience and glass to generate an appeal akin to porcelain's in early modern times.

Lead-glazed ware constitutes a well-known but minor presence in ceramic assemblages in Rome and its surroundings beginning in the Flavian period, almost always represented by products made in Central Italy. Unlike the early workshops in Asia Minor and northern Italy, whose products have been considered objects of semi-luxury, those in the area of Rome seem often to have used lead-glazing to make unexceptional

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Carandini, Tortorici 1981, pp. 90-91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Fulvio Coletti for his advice on the pieces presented here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Maccabruni 1987 for an overview of lead-glazed ware in the Roman world; Di Gioia 2007, pp. 19-21 discusses production centers.

<sup>4</sup> Greene 2007, pp. 662-668.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Coletti 2004; Coletti 2012, pp. 424-426; Martin 1992; and Martin 1995.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Hochuli-Gysel 1977 remains a standard reference for the Asia Minor and northern Italian workshops; see also Greene 2007.



Fig. 6. Lead-Glazed Ware, late-antique in the classical tradition.

objects more attractive.¹ In fact, the vessels produced in those earlier workshops are mold-made and inspired by metalwork. The Central Italian products, on the other hand, are mostly wheel-made, with morphological connections to various ceramic wares. They are most frequently found in second-century contexts, both in the region and on export markets.² Some doubt has been expressed about an unbroken tradition of production in the area of Rome through to the late-antique lead-glazed ware,³ and it has been suggested that it was at best rare and reduced to only a few forms in the third and fourth centuries.⁴

# 4. 1. Late-antique glazed ware in the classical tradition

One current in the production of late-antique glazed ware in the area of Rome does indeed continue the earlier production there. <sup>5</sup> This is particularly apparent in the morphology and decoration. Such vessels are attested as late as the fifth century.

Four pieces preserved among the material from the excavation at the Aracoeli can be attributed to this current (Fig. 6). Their fabric ranges in color from light reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 6/4) on the beaker to reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 6/6 and 5YR 7/6) on the two body sherds or gray (Munsell 5YR 6/1) on the handle sherd, and are clean-breaking, smooth in texture, very hard and compact, with fairly frequent, small to large red and dark brown inclusions. Thus, it differs from the fabric of the earlier Roman production, which presents a whitish marly fabric with few evident inclusions.

The best-preserved piece consists of three joining sherds from the rim, the handle and the body, with green glaze outside and yellow inside (Pl. 1.2). It belongs to a beaker that is derived from probably the most common form in the Central Italian lead-glazed production of the imperial period. This beaker, with its folded handle with longitudinal grooves and its decoration of three rows of petals, is known in the Roman

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Martin 1992, p. 326; Martin 1995, pp. 64-68. Coletti 2012, p. 181, agrees.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Grohier 2018, pp. 204-206; Coletti 2004, pp. 425-426.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Paroli 1992a, pp. 34-35. <sup>4</sup> Coletti 2012, pp. 181-185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibidem, pp. 182-185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Grohier 2018, p. 204.



Fig. 7. Lead-Glazed Ware, late-antique with a heavy glaze (pitchers).

production of the late first century and second centuries¹ and is one of the few forms to continue to be attested as late as the fourth or early fifth century.²

A body sherd with greenish glaze outside and inside also presents a decoration of three rows of petals.

Another sherd with green glaze comes from a handle like that on the beaker, although with two grooves rather than one.

Finally, there is an undecorated body sherd with green glaze on the outside and yellowish on the inside.

# 4. 2. Late-antique glazed with heavy glaze

Another late-antique glazed ware, which has recently been better defined, was also produced at Rome. It was made with a single firing in a reducing atmosphere in a fabric rich in quartz, mica and calcite and with a heavy, very shiny glaze, usually olive green in color. Its fabric ranges from gray  $(7.5\text{YR}\ 5/1-6/1,\ 10\text{YR}\ 5/1)$  to pink  $(7.5\text{YR}\ 7/3)$  or reddish yellow  $(5\text{YR}\ 6/6)$  or strong brown  $(7.5\text{YR}\ 5/6)$ . The break is relatively irregular and rough in texture. There are very frequent, small white inclusions, as well as occasional larger purplish ones. The fabric is very hard and compact. The glaze is thick and very shiny. It varies in color from light olive brown  $(2.5\text{Y}\ 5/4-5/6)$  to olive brown  $(2.5\text{Y}\ 4/3-4/4)$  or olive  $(5\text{Y}\ 4/3)$  or yellowish brown  $(10\text{YR}\ 5/8)$ .

The research history of this ware has concentrated particularly on a group of kraters with relief decoration. <sup>4</sup> There is, however, a rich repertoire of plain forms. <sup>5</sup>

Three fragments of pitchers are known in this ware (Fig. 7). Two rim sherds of pitchers from the Aracoeli assemblage present vertical rims, more or less thickened on the outside, with tapered, everted lips – one (Pl. 1.3) presenting an olive brown glaze outside and inside, the other (Pl. 1.4) an olive brown glaze outside and on the lip but not on the interior. Another sherd (Pl. 1.5), with a yellowish brown glaze outside and inside, presents a somewhat smaller rim with a curving funnel shape. It preserves a petal from the decoration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See, for example, Martin 1992, fig. 6; Martin 1995, fig. 5.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> COLETTI 2012, p. 183. <sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 185-191 gives an overview.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See ibidem, p. 189, fig. 2.6. <sup>7</sup> See ibidem, p. 189, fig. 2.8.



Fig. 8. Lead-Glazed Ware, late-antique with a heavy glaze (pitcher or domestic amphora).

A fragment with a flat base and steep walls (Pl. 1.6; Fig. 8) that presents an olive brown glaze outside (more irregular than on the other sherds in the assemblage) and inside should also come from a pitcher or perhaps a domestic amphora.

On six body sherds, undecorated, the lack of glaze on the inside suggests that they came from closed vessels (pitchers?). Four have an olive brown glaze, the other two a yellowish brown glaze. One of them has a green incrustation, probably bronze, on the inside.

Three undecorated body fragments with a yellowish brown glaze on the outside and the inside (one with a vertical olive brown stripe toward the break on the outside) could come from any form produced in this ware.

Four non-joining sherds from a single vessel with an olive brown glaze combine columns of petals with incised wavy horizontal lines.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. 3. Other Glazed Ware

An undecorated body sherd, 1.1 cm thick (Fig. 9), from the Aracoeli excavation presents a dark olive brown glaze outside (with drips on the inside) in a fabric that ranges in color from very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) close to the exterior to brown (10YR 4/3) toward the interior, that is irregular in the break and rough in texture, hard but crumbly; with very frequent transparent inclusions ranging in size from small to large. Thus, the fragment belongs neither to the lead-glazed ware of the imperial period nor to Forum Ware. Therefore, it must be an example of some other glazed ware, for which there are occasional attestations in contexts at Rome and more widely in Italy dating between the late-antique and early mediaeval periods.

# 5. Coarse Wares, Color-Coated Wares and Lamps $(Mary\ Jane\ Cuyler)$

#### 5. 1. Introduction

The coarse ware vessels and color-coated ware, mostly of local or regional provenience, were produced in a variety of shapes and sizes – from small bowls to pitchers to large basins – and would have been used in myriad ways, presumably in food preparation and storage, as well as for tableware.

A number of comparanda for these wares have been identified in the publications from the Palatine East excavations, particularly T. Peña's *The Urban Economy During the Early Dominate* (1999).<sup>4</sup> Another valuable source for comparanda is *Roma* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For such a decoration see MAETZKE 2001, p. 565 V.2.3 (on a pitcher: first half of ninth century).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I am grateful Fulvio Coletti for this information.

<sup>3</sup> Romei 2004, pp. 285-286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Of particular interest is the Context A(105) pottery deposit, which was part of a fourth-fifth-century dump that also contained residual pottery dating as early as the republican period.

dall'antichità al medioevo II (2004), a collection of studies examining excavations from eight areas of Rome, dating from the late antique to mediaeval periods. We did, however, identify some comparanda from earlier periods.

Most of the tableware in our assemblage is local, and their forms may have been inspired by imported examples. Such examples are not poorly executed imitations. Instead, as Coletti observed in his study of late antique red-glazed fine ware from Rome and Ostia, a local "imitation" of imported ware is often adapted to fulfill the unique tastes or requirements of the local community. Therefore, the comparanda cited here largely serve to direct the reader to similarly shaped vessels and do not necessarily provide firm dates for these sherds.



Fig. 9. Lead-Glazed Ware, other.

Future stratigraphic excavations of late antique contexts will undoubtedly expand our knowledge of the coarse ware and regional fine ware typology of this period, and comparison to our profiles may permit a better understanding of the context of the Aracoeli sounding.

The vessels in this section are organized first according to fabric or fabric group, and then described in sub-categories of vessel type.

#### 5. 2. Fabric Descriptions

The vessels have been divided by fabric or fabric group. The locally-produced fabrics are presented first, followed by the local/regional fabrics, the African fabrics, the non-local fabrics, and finally fabric from a molded vessel.

# 5. 2. 1. Fabric Group 1: Local<sup>2</sup>

Fabric 1 is a local fabric and is by far the most common coarse ware fabric in the assemblage. It is well-fired, with a smooth exterior surface, and breaks cleanly, with a powdery appearance. The fabric ranges in color from reddish yellow (5 YR 6/8) to pink (7.5 Y 7/4) as well as the pale yellows 5 Y 8/3 and 2.5 Y 8/3. There are few to no voids, and the distinguishing element is the presence of at least some mica (especially evident on the surface), as well as a few other very fine inclusions of red, white and/or gray.

Several of the vessels in the Fabric 1 group are in fact brown ("very pale brown" 10YR 7/4) with a distinctive petroleum odor, due to some unfortunate event involving heating oil or similar substance in modern times (see *Introduction* and photograph Fig. 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> COLETTI 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Although this fabric seemed similar to descriptions of Peña's Fabric Group 1, Fabric 1a, Fineware 1 (Peña 1999, p. 184), when we consulted Peña in July of 2016, he noted some similarities but confirmed that none of our fabrics matches the unique fabrics identified in the Palatine East excavations. Upon close examination of our Fabric 1, Archer Martin observed that our Fabric 1a is similar to a category of plain-ware sherds from Santo Stefano Rotondo, which is characterized by a "hard, clean-breaking, pink clay" (Munsell 7.5 YR 8/4) (MARTIN 1991, p. 166).

The majority of the vessels in this fabric group are categorized as Fabric 1a, distinguished by an absence of a colored coating. Fabric 1b (red/brown-coated) is differentiated by a thin, fugitive slip ranging in color from red (2.5YR 4/6) to black (5YR 2.5/1).¹ Fabric 1C, 'Late Antique Color-Coated Ware' is a group of vessels with a slip that is distinct from that of 1b. The color coat ranges from a thicker (sometimes flaking) red coat to a more dilute reddish-brown coat.²

# 5. 2. 2. Fabric Group 2: Local/Regional

Fabric 2 is a coarse, granular fabric, with frequent white inclusions and intermittent grey and red inclusions. Rare small quartz inclusion. The fabric is yellowish red (5YR  $_{5}/_{6}$ ). Fabric 2a has no coat, while Fabric 2b has a thick, glossy red slip (2.5YR  $_{4}/_{6}$ ) that tends to flake away.

# 5. 2. 3. Fabric 3: Local/Regional Slipped Ware A

Fabric 3 is slightly granular, slightly micaceous with infrequent small white and larger gray inclusions. The fabric is red (2.5YR5/8) with a thin matt slip varying in color from light red (2.5YR6/8) to dark reddish gray (5YR4/2). It is visible both on the exterior and interior.

# 5. 2. 4. Fabric 4: Local/Regional Slipped Ware B

Fabric 4 is slightly granular, with small white or red inclusions. The fabric is reddish yellow (5YR 6/8) with a thin, fugitive red slip (2.5YR 4/6).

# 5. 2. 5. Fabric Group 5: African

Only three of the coarse ware fragments can be identified as African and each is formed of a distinct fabric. The first, 5a, is a well-fired fabric, with large voids, frequent gray circular inclusions and quartz inclusions. The surface is very light brown (10YR 7/3) because of brackish water used in forming the vessel (so-called self-slipping). The fabric is light red (2.5 YR 6/8). Fabric 5b is an unevenly fired, gray fabric (5YR 5/1) with several large, spherical brown inclusions in addition to fine quartz and small white inclusions. African fabric 5c is an orange, compact fabric with a gray surface and occasional voids, infrequent mica and infrequent gray circular inclusions.

#### 5. 2. 6. Fabric 6: Unidentified Non-Local

Fabric 6 is a very hard, yellowish red fabric (5YR 5/6). Spongy and slightly micaceous with frequent, small white and black inclusions and many tiny voids.

#### 5. 2. 7. Fabric 7: Unidentified Non-Local

Fabric 7 is a very hard, compact, yellowish red fabric (5 YR 5/6) with few voids. Occasional white, grey, black inclusions. Slightly micaceous. This fabric is represented by one handle fragment from a large storage vessel; not illustrated.

¹ Fabric 1b is similar to descriptions of Peña's Fabric Group 1, Fabric 1b, Color-Coat Fineware 1 but again, is not an exact match (Peña 1999, p. 184).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> We are grateful to Fulvio Coletti who personally examined our material and identified four examples of Late Antique Color-Coated Ware.

## 5. 2. 8: Fabric 8: Unidentified Non-Local

Fabric 8 is very hard, reddish yellow (5YR 6/8) in color, granular, with some small, red inclusions and rare white and gray ones. With a matt red slip (2.5YR 5/8). This fabric is represented by a rim fragment from a basin.

5. 2. 9. Fabric 9: Lamp Fabric

This lamp fabric is fine and levigated. No inclusions. Very pale brown (10YR 8/4).

5. 3. Vessel Descriptions 1

5. 3. 1. Fabric Group 1 (Local)

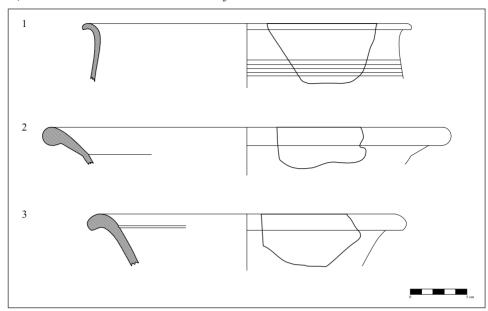
#### 5. 3. 1. 1. FABRIC 1A (UNCOATED)

The local coarse ware features a variety of rim shapes, and in some cases the closest comparanda are to be found in the coarse and fine wares from Africa. Precise identification of vessel shape is often impossible due to the fragmentary nature of the sherds. For the sake of organization, however, the vessels presented here have been grouped into rough categories: Basins; Open Vessels (such as bowls, cups and plates); Closed Vessels (such as pitchers and domestic amphorae); Bases.

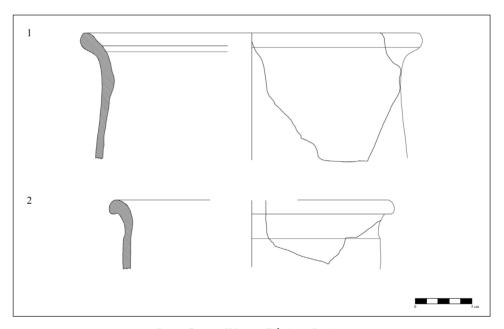
#### 5. 3. 1. 1. 1. Fabric 1a Basins

A basin is the term used to designate large (24 cm or greater rim diameter) open-shaped vessels used in food preparation and serving. The Aracoeli assemblage contained 75 basin rims which were divided into 21 groups according to similarities in profile. Of these groups, 19 belong to Fabric 1a. The first forms listed here have been correlated to a published comparandum; the remaining lack precise comparanda, but where possible we have indicated published sherds with similar profiles. There were several unidentified rim fragments and 36 bases which have not been illustrated.

- PL. 2.1: Thin-walled vessel. Articulated rim everts sharply over into a small overhanging lip. A band of incised lines is preserved 4 cm below the rim.<sup>2</sup> Two rim fragments from different vessels.
- Pl. 2.2: Rim that curves out gently to a short, articulated, everted lip.<sup>3</sup> Four rim fragments from different vessels.
- PL. 2.3: Rim that thickens and everts to a slightly overhanging lip. A thin incised line marks the periphery of the inner wall where the rim begins to curve outward.<sup>4</sup> Our example has a slightly more rounded bottom lip than the example from Domus Tiberiana, which is sharper. Three rim fragments from different vessels.
- PL. 3.1: Short, articulated, everted rim, slightly thicker than wall of vessel.<sup>5</sup> Two joining rim fragments.
- Pl. 3.2: Body that curves in slightly into a tall, articulated, everted rim that thickens and bends out into a short lip.<sup>6</sup>
- <sup>1</sup> Some of the terms for the rim descriptions have been drawn from McKenzie-Clark 2013, p. 37, tab. 4.4. If a given entry describes more than one vessel or sherd, the number of sherds is noted.
  - <sup>2</sup> Comparandum: FILIPPI et al. 2004, p. 167, tav. 1.7 (500-550 A.D.).
  - <sup>3</sup> Comparandum: Munzi *et al.* 2004, p. 103, tav. II.13 (475-500/525 A.D.).
  - <sup>4</sup> Similar to Munzi et al. 2004, p. 104, tav. III.24, (600-625 A.D.).
  - <sup>5</sup> Comparandum: Munzi *et al.* 2004, p. 103, tav. II.11 (475-500/525 A.D.).
  - <sup>6</sup> Comparandum: CICERONI *et al.* 2004, p. 143, tav. I.143 (fifth century A.D.).



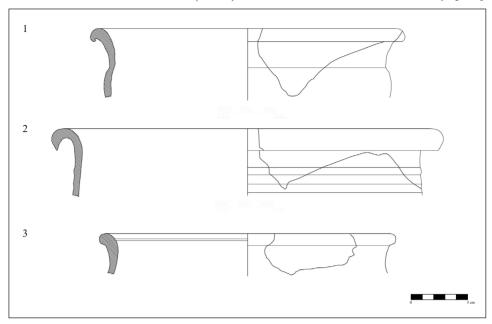
Pl. 2. Coarse Wares - Fabric 1a Basins.



Pl. 3. Coarse Wares - Fabric 1a Basins.

PL. 4.1: An articulated everted rim of a tall, flaring vessel that curves sharply over, ending in a sharp curved-in beak. Five rim fragments from different vessels.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Comparandum: PACETTI 2004, p. 443, tav. II.8 (500-550 A.D.).



Pl. 4. Coarse Wares - Fabric 1a Basins.

PL. 4.2: Rim curved out into a slightly thickened hook. The walls are vertical. Fourteen rim fragments from different vessels.

Pl. 4.3: Articulated everted rim, rounded, with a pronounced internal groove near the top.<sup>2</sup> Four rim fragments from different vessels.

PL. 5.1: Articulated rim that thickens slightly as it everts into a shallow rounded Shook.<sup>3</sup> Three rim fragments from different vessels.

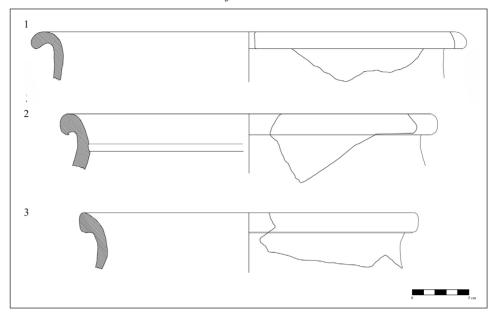
PL. 5.2: Articulated rim that is everted and curves sharply over and down, tapering at the very tip to a sharp beak. Unlike the example from the Crypta Balbi Mithraeum, this example has a pronounced, thick internal groove dividing the rim from the body.

Pl. 5.3: Rim articulated and everted with a squared lip. An external groove marks the bottom of the rim ledge. 5 Six rim fragments from different vessels.

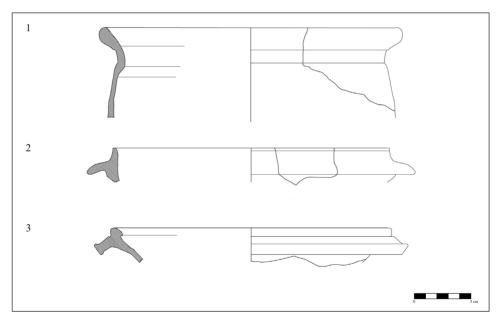
PL. 6.1: An articulated, everted rim that thickens to a rounded lip and meets the body of the vessel at a slightly outward curving, shallow collar. The Basilica Hilariana example is grooved on the interior and the exterior, our example has only the pronounced internal band.

PL. 6.2: Broad, slightly hooked flange on exterior below a rounded vertical rim.<sup>7</sup> Our example does not preserve a spout, as does the example from the Trastevere Conservatorio, but spouted basins with this type of rim are not uncommon.

- <sup>1</sup> Comparandum: Fogagnolo 2004, p. 586, tav. III.15 (end of fifth-second half of the sixth centuries A.D.).
- <sup>2</sup> Comparandum: PACETTI 2004, p. 442, tav. 1.4 (500-550 A.D.).
- <sup>3</sup> Comparandum: Rizzo et al. 2004, p. 82, tav. III.18 (550-600 A.D.).
- <sup>4</sup> Similar to RICCI 2004, p. 249, tav. IV.18 (ca. 450 A.D.).
- <sup>5</sup> Comparandum: PACETTI 2004, p. 453, tav. IX.64 (end of sixth-beginning of seventh centuries A.D.).
- <sup>6</sup> Similar to PACETTI 2004, p. 442, tav. 1.5 (500-550 A.D.).
- <sup>7</sup> Comparanda: Fogagnolo 2004, p. 587, tav. IV.21 (end of fifth-second half of the sixth centuries A.D.); Carandini, Panella 1968, p. 401.



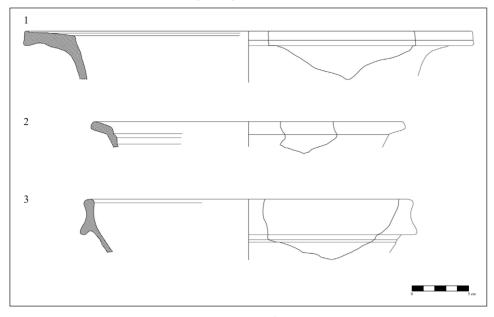
Pl. 5. Coarse Wares - Fabric 1a Basins.



PL. 6. Coarse Wares - Fabric 1a Basins.

PL. 6.3: Rim that is thickened and inverts to a slight internal hook. Just below the rim is a broad, straight flange that slopes downward and thickens abruptly at the tip. Similar to a chamfered profile. Two rim fragments from different vessels.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Similar to Fogagnolo 2004, p. 588, tav. v.24 (end of fifth-second half of the sixth centuries A.D.).



Pl. 7. Coarse Wares - Fabric 1a Basins.

Pl. 7.1: Broad, horizontal everted rim with a very slight upward slant. The rim thickens slightly at the tip; underneath, it thickens down in two gradual incurving slopes back to the body of the vessel. Four rim fragments from different vessels.

PL. 7.2: Everted, rectilinear rim that slants up at a slight angle away from the body. There is a small, thickened bump on the interior where the rim begins to flare outward.<sup>2</sup>

PL. 7.3: Vertical, unarticulated rounded rim with a short, downward-sloping rounded flange.<sup>3</sup> Five rim fragments.

PL. 8.1: Tall, articulated rim that flares out from the body of the basin. The lip is everted with a horizontal groove on the inside.

Pl. 8.2: Flaring, everted rim that curves slightly to a beak.

# 5. 3. 1. 1. 2. Fabric 1a Smaller Open Vessels

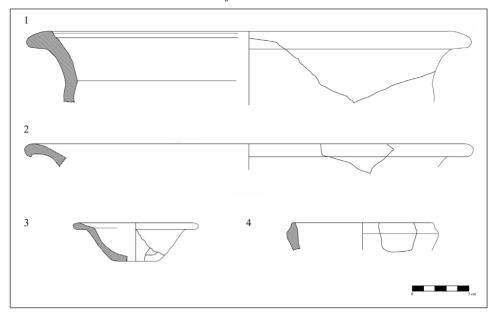
The flanged bowl is the most common rim profile in this category, although other shapes of bowls are represented.

Pl. 8.3: Small bowl with a broad, rectilinear, rounded rim, plain rounded body, and flat base.<sup>4</sup>

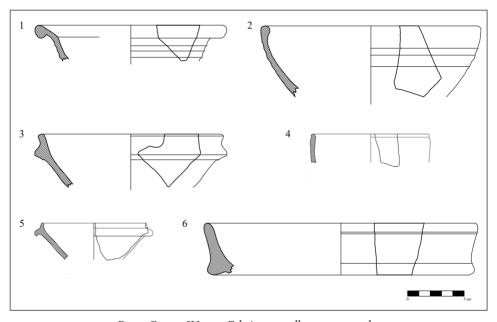
PL. 8.4: Rim of a bowl. The rim thickens and then thins abruptly inward, leaving an external ledge for a lid.

Pl. 9.1: Bowl with everted, flaring rim ending in a thickened, outrolled lip. Body shallowly ridged with an accordion profile.

- <sup>1</sup> Similar to Martin 1991, figs. 10, 19.
- <sup>2</sup> Similar to Vatta, Bertoldi 2004, p. 461, tav. 11.8 (500-550 A.D.).
- <sup>3</sup> Similar to Rizzo *et al.* 2004, p. 82, tav. ii.20 (500-550 A.D.).
- <sup>4</sup> The profile is similar to an African Red-Slip bowl, Hayes 78, although our example is somewhat smaller (HAYES 1972, 126 [probably fifth century]).



PL. 8. Coarse Wares - Fabric 1a Basins; Fabric 1a smaller open vessels.



Pl. 9. Coarse Wares - Fabric 1a smaller open vessels.

Pl. 9.2: Large bowl with an unarticulated, vertical rounded rim and a gently rounded body. Two rim sherds of the same vessel.

Pl. 9.3: Flaring bowl with a rounded lip and a thick, stubby flange that thickens out from the body to a soft point. Two rim fragments from two different vessels.

- PL. 9.4: Bowl or jar neck. Lip is distinguished from the body by a very slightly articulated, rounded rim.
- Pl. 9.5: Small flanged bowl with rounded vertical rim. Short, rounded flange with a slight hook.
- Pl. 9.6: Small flanged bowl. Vertical rim with a very short, rounded flange at the lower edge on the outside.<sup>2</sup>
  - PL. 10.1: Flanged bowl with a pinched rim and a short, rounded, horizontal flange.<sup>3</sup>
- Pl. 10.2: Flanged bowl with the rim pinched to a peak and a rounded flange that slopes slightly downward.

# 5. 3. 1. 1. 3. Fabric 1a Closed/Semi-Closed Vessels

*Pots*: A pot is a closed or semi-closed rounded vessel with a width that exceeds its height.

Pl. 10.3: Small, very rounded pot, semi-closed, with a thickened, rounded, rolled-out rim. Two joining rim fragments.

*Bottles*: A bottle is a small container designed to dispense liquid. It has a narrow neck and sometimes a handle.

Pl. 10.4: Unarticulated, rounded rim of a bottle with slightly flaring neck. The stub of one handle is preserved.

PL. 10.5: An unarticulated, rounded rim of a bottle with a flaring neck.

*Pitchers*: A pitcher is a tall, semi-closed serving vessel designed for liquids. It has a handle and often a spout or mouth to facilitate pouring.

PL. 10.6: Pitcher with a rounded rim that continues the flaring neck. A wide handle with an oval section is attached to the lower part of the lip and extends slightly above the rim.

Pl. 10.7: Pitcher or domestic amphora with a long neck that flares gently to an unarticulated, rounded, slightly thickened rim.

PL. 10.8: Pitcher with a rounded rim that is everted and articulated.

PL. 10.9: Thin wall thickens to an unarticulated rounded rim. Possibly a pitcher.

PL. 10.10: Pitcher with vertical band rim and handle attachment

*Domestic amphorae*: A domestic amphora is a storage vessel that can be sealed or lidded. It typically has a flat base, which distinguishes it from the transport amphora that have toes or curved bottoms for stacking.

PL. 11.1: Domestic amphora with an unarticulated everted rim.

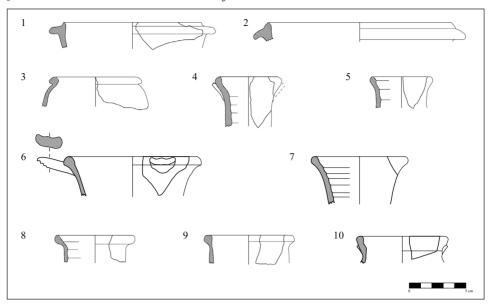
Pl. 11.2: Probably a domestic amphora. An unarticulated, everted rim and one high-swung handle and part of the neck preserved.

PL. 11.3: Domestic amphora. Thick, unarticulated, rounded rim. The lip dips sharply near the middle and then curves back upward into a thinner round inner lip. This divided rim is probably meant to support a lid.<sup>4</sup>

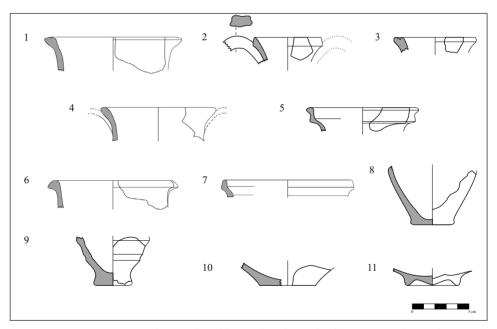
PL. 11.4: Domestic amphora with vertical neck that flares out gently to an unarticulated, slightly thickened, rounded rim. One handle preserved near rim.

PL. 11.5: Domestic amphora with neck everting sharply to a vertical rim with two thickened bands divided by a slightly thinner band. Two rims from two different vessels.<sup>5</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Similar to Vatta, Bertoldi 2004, p. 463, tav. iv.23.
- <sup>2</sup> Similar to RICCI 2004, p. 262, tav. XIII.67 (500-550 A.D.).
- <sup>3</sup> The profile is similar to African Red-Slip bowl, Hayes 91D (HAYES 1972, p. 143).
- <sup>4</sup> Similar to Pavolini 2000, p. 139, tav. xxvii.31.
- <sup>5</sup> Similar to Carandini, Panella 1973, tav. xxviii.178.



PL. 10. Coarse Wares - Fabric 1a smaller open vessels.

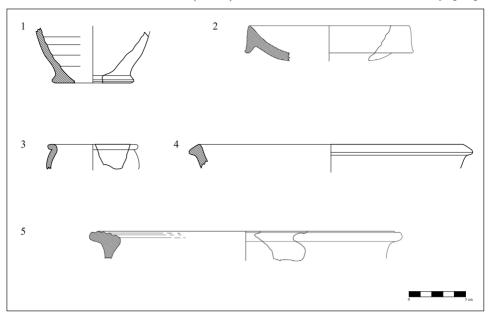


Pl. 11. Coarse Wares - Fabric 1a closed/semi-closed vessels: domestic amphorae, bases.

Pl. 11.6: Domestic amphora or pitcher with a small, hooked rim and a vertical neck. Two joining rim fragments.

PL. 11.7: Domestic amphora or pitcher with a rounded band rim.

*Bases*: We identified a number of bases from closed forms such as domestic amphorae and pitchers.



PL. 12. Coarse Wares - Fabric 1a closed/semi-closed vessels: bases; Fabric 1b, Local Red/Brown-Coated.

PL. 11.8: Flat base showing the typical marks from being cut off with a string. Six examples.

PL. 11.9: Tall, flat, slightly splayed base showing the typical marks from being cut off with a string. Seven examples.

PL. 11.10: Flat base. The body flares out from exterior edge of base at a 45-degree angle. Two examples.

PL. 11.11: Base with ring foot sculpted from the underside of the vessel leaving a conical projection at the center. The walls of the vessel are thin and extend outward diagonally. Two examples.

Pl. 12.1: Flat, splayed base. Five examples.

#### 5. 3. 1. 2. FABRIC 1B: LOCAL RED/BROWN-COATED

PL. 12.2: Shallow flanged bowl with a subtle outturned lip. Two joining rim sherds (cf. photo Fig. 1).

PL. 12.3: Small, rounded vessel, red-coated, with a short, everted, rounded rim. 1

PL. 12.4: Bowl, red-coated with a triangular rim.<sup>2</sup>

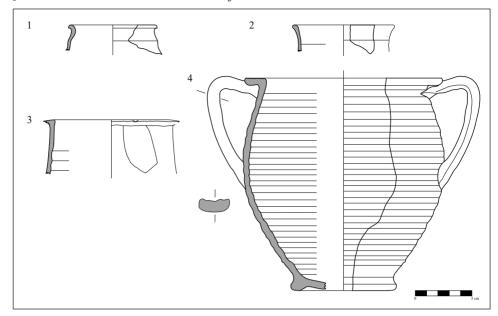
PL. 12.5: Basin with everted and articulated rim, with an almost rectilinear profile. The top of this rim is distinctive because it shows five clear ridges.<sup>3</sup>

PL. 13.1: Pot, red-coated, with a hooked rim and thin, ribbed walls.

PL. 13.2: Pot, brown-coated, with a plain, rounded, slightly flaring rim marked on the outside by a groove.

Similar to Peña 1999, p. 103, fig. 25.077.
 Similar to African Red-Slip form 61a, Hayes 1972, p. 104, fig. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Similar to Vatta, Bertoldi 2004, p. 462, tav. III.11 (late sixth/early seventh century A.D.).



PL. 13. Coarse Wares - Fabric 1b, Local Red/Brown-Coated.

PL. 13.3: Pot, brown-coated, with a flat projecting rim (rim is broken).

PL. 13.4: Pot, brown-coated, perhaps two-handled. The flat rim is projecting and slightly hanging. The strap handles are attached below the rim, curving up slightly before descending to connect at the middle of the vessel. Frequent, even ridges on interior and exterior. Ring base.

PL. 14.1: Pot, brown coated, with a rim similar to fig. 56 above, but sloping inward. The lower part of the vessel is missing. Rim sherd joining with a handle sherd.

Pl. 14.2: Pitcher, brown-coated rim, similar to fig. 56 and fig. 64 but with the rim sloping outward to a slightly higher swung handle. Two examples.

PL. 14.3: Closed vessel, red-coated. Flat base with a vertical body rising from a sharp carination.

PL. 14.4: Closed vessel, red-coated, with a short, flat base and a rounded body.

PL. 14.5: Closed vessel, red-coated on the outside, with a small, flat base and flaring lower body. Two examples.

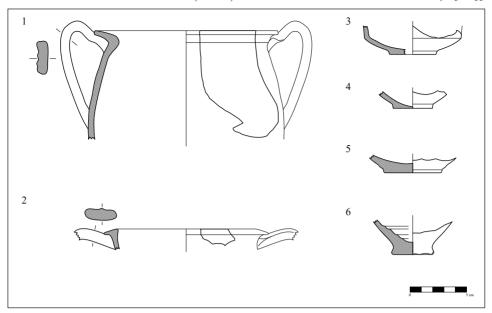
PL. 14.6: Closed vessel, red-coated on the outside, with a flat base with the characteristic marks of having been cut off with a string and pronounced wheel marks on the interior. Two examples, the second with partial red coating in the interior.

#### 5. 3. 1. 3. FABRIC 1C: LATE ANTIQUE COLOR-COATED WARE

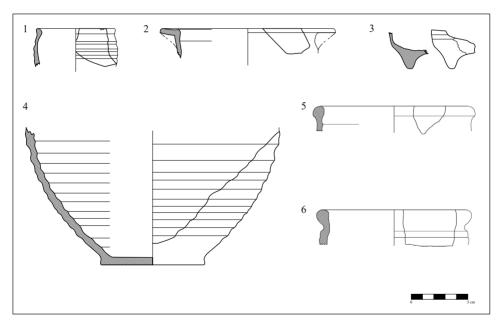
PL. 15.1: Pot with an external red coat and a slightly thickened, short, triangular rim sloping inward and a slightly rounded body that is markedly ridged on the exterior. The coating is only on the exterior.

PL. 15.2: Red-coated pitcher or jar with stub of a handle below flat, long, sharply everted rim.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Similar to Peña 1999, p. 106, fig. 26.088.



PL. 14. Coarse Wares - Fabric 1b, Local Red/Brown-Coated.



Pl. 15. Coarse Wares - Fabric 1c, Late Antique Color-Coated Ware; Fabric 2a.

Pl. 15.3: Closed vessel, red-coated on the exterior, with a flat base presenting a stubby support, perhaps belonging to a footed vessel.

PL. 15.4: Closed vessel with a flat base. The reddish-brown coat on the exterior is more dilute than the thicker (sometimes flaking) red coating of the other three ex-

amples in this group. The body is curved and heavily ridged on interior and exterior. Three base sherds joining to body fragments.

# 5. 3. 2. Fabric Group 2: Local/Regional Ware

5. 3. 2. 1 Fabric 2a (uncoated)

PL. 15.5: Small pot with rounded rim. There is a slight ridge on the lowest part of the lip on the exterior, and a groove on the inner face of the rim. Two distinct fragments from two separate vessels.

Pl. 15.6: Pot with a rounded rim marked by a deep groove on the outside and a curved body that presents ribbing on the outside.

PL. 16.1: Pitcher with a rounded rim presenting a groove on the inner face. A handle with an oval section is attached just below the lip.

PL. 16.2: Domestic amphora with an everted, hooked rim and vertical neck.

PL. 16.3: Domestic amphora or pitcher with a vertical, offset rim.

PL. 16.4: Domestic amphora with an elaborate rim. Rim thickens out to a rounded lower band, thins slightly to a tall vertical band, and then thickens into an everted lip that is triangular on the exterior and rounded at the top and interior.

Finally, we identified a tall, flat, slightly splayed base showing the typical marks from being cut off with a string, similar in shape to PL. 11.9 (Fabric 1a).

# 5. 3. 2. 2. Fabric 2b (Red-Slipped)

PL. 16.5: Jar or domestic amphora, with an ovoid handle set 2 cm below the rim. The rim is rounded and slightly flaring. The wall thins slightly just above the handle to form a thin band circling the neck.

PL. 16.6: Open, flaring vessel with a thickened, rounded rim, beneath which are two grooves on the exterior.

Pl. 17.1: Closed vessel with cut, approximately flat base.

Two unidentifiable vessels (undrawn), of which a handle each is preserved.

#### 5. 3. 3. Fabric 3: Local/Regional Slipped Ware A

PL. 17.2: Pitcher or domestic amphora with a squared rim and a slightly rounded lip.

# 5. 3. 4. Fabric 4: Local/Regional Slipped Ware B

PL. 17.3: Flanged shallow bowl with a plain rim and a short, rounded, downward-sloping flange.

PL. 17.4: Bowl with a raised, everted rim. Two rim fragments.

PL. 17.5: Flat, very thin base that immediately joins and to the body of the open vessel.  $^{\scriptscriptstyle 1}$ 

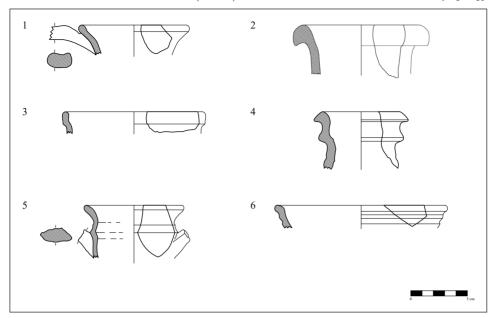
Pl. 17.6: Flanged bowl with an everted, rounded lip.

# 5. 3. 5. Fabric Group 5: African

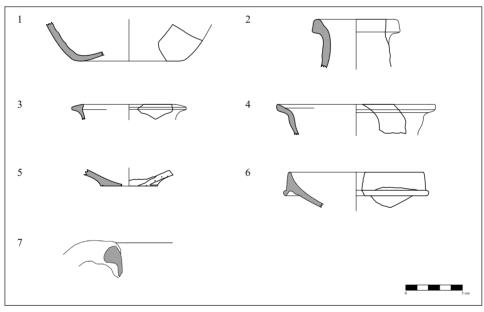
5. 3. 5. 1. FABRIC 5A

PL. 17.7: Rim fragment and handle from a closed vessel, probably a domestic amphora.

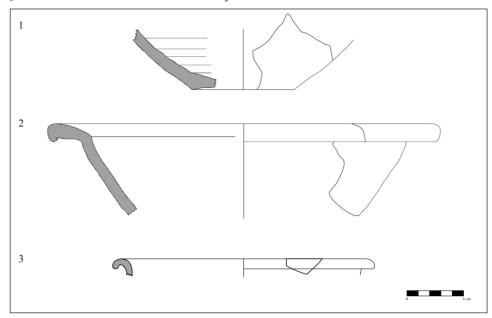
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Similar to Peña 1999, p. 106, fig. 30.1.



Pl. 16. Coarse Wares - Fabric 2a; Fabric 2b.



PL. 17. Coarse Wares - Fabric 2b; Fabric 3, Local/Regional Slip Ware A; Fabric 4, Local/Regional Slipped Ware B; Fabric Group 5, African.



PL. 18. Coarse Wares - Fabric Group 5, African; Fabric 8, Unidentified Non-Local.

# 5. 3. 5. 2. FABRIC 5B

Pl. 18.1: Base of a closed vessel, very slightly concave with a sharp exterior edge.

# 5. 3. 5. 3 FABRIC 5C

PL. 18.2: Broad, rectilinear rim of a basin, sloping up slightly from the body and thickening at lip, which is folded into a small sharp beak.<sup>2</sup> Eight rim fragments from different vessels.

# 5. 3. 6. Fabric 6: Unidentified Non-Local

Unidentifiable vessel of which a grooved handle is preserved (not illustrated).

# 5. 3. 7. Fabric 7: Unidentified Non-Local

Storage vessel, brown/orange-coated, with a strap handle presenting grooves on the outside (not illustrated).

# 5. 3. 8. Fabric 8: Unidentified Non-Local

PL. 18.3: Rim of a thin-walled basin that curves out and over, ending in a rounded lip.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>scriptscriptstyle 1}$  Similar to Bonifay 2004, pp. 141-143 with fig. 76 (type 52).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Similar to Carandini, Panella 1968, fig. 427.

## 5. 3. 9. Fabric 9: Lamp

D'Onofrio reported that paleo-Christian lamps had been recovered in the original excavation,¹ but in our assemblage we found only one fragmentary piece: A handle with part of the shoulder (Loeschcke Shoulder Form vIIb²) and discus with illegible decoration and three body sherds (two joining) from the same vessel (not illustrated).

# 5. 4. Conclusions

The variety of shapes and sizes of vessels surveyed in this section represent practically the entire gamut of serving ware, storage containers and preparation vessels one would expect to find in contexts related to food consumption. The absence of any lids in our assemblage of coarse ware may be an accident of preservation, or perhaps we were unable to distinguish lid forms among the more fragmentary sherds. The sheer functionality of such forms does not lend itself to a high degree of variation over time, and therefore it was not possible to derive any definitive dates beyond what is suggested by the comparanda from other imperial and late antique sites. The different surface treatments of reddish and brownish coats and slips (such as Fabric 1C, Late Antique Color-Coat Ware) may be provide some basis for typologies when a greater number of such materials are excavated and published.

# 6. Italian cooking ware (Laura Banducci)

#### 6. 1. Introduction

In this study we have identified cooking ware, as distinct from coarse ware, on the basis of the ceramic fabric of these sherds indicating the pottery's suitability for sustaining hot temperatures and rapid temperature change.3 No note of traces of soot was made since it was difficult to distinguish between traces of use and the dark staining that the pottery had sustained from the post-ecavation heating-oil damage. Mostly diagnostic fragments were kept by the excavation with the exception of two wall sherds which may have simply broken off of diagnostic pieces since excavation. There are 373 sherds in total. Fresh fractures of each sherd were examined with a hand lens in sunlight in order to assess their similarity to the local cooking fabrics of the city of Rome in the late Roman period that were identified by J. Schuring. Examples of Schuring fabrics 1, 2, 5, and 6 have been observed in the cooking vessels, lids and handles in our assemblage. 4 There are also two examples of internal red slip cookware.5 Local fabric makes up 99% of the total sherds and estimated vessels of Italian cooking ware recovered from the Aracoeli deposit. Each fabric type is included below along with a description of the forms present in that fabric. Many of the forms recovered at Aracoeli have good comparanda at other sites in Rome, so only a few figures are included here. For vessels which have no published comparanda, drawings are included.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> D'Onofrio 1973, p. 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Tite *et al.* 2001; Olcese 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Loeschcke 1919, p. 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Schuring 1986.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This is the term J. T. Peña suggested as a parallel to the Italian *ceramica a vernice rosse interna*, as a more neutral and descriptive alternative to Pompeian Redware, *rosso pompeiano*, or *céramique à vernis rouge pompéien*. PEÑA 1990, n. 3.

# 6. 2. Schuring Fabric 2

This is the best-represented local cooking ware fabric, making up 50% of the recovered fragments (167 sherds). The surface and break color is generally Munsell "red" ranging from 10R 5/8 to 2.5YR 5/6. The clay matrix is composed of 20% to 30% inclusions including clear rounded to sub-rounded grains and larger red-black rounded grains. In Schuring's original study the clear crystals were identified in thin-section as quartz and sanidine and the red-black crystals as hematite. There were also a large number of round voids that can be attributed to burned out organic matter.<sup>2</sup>

This fabric appears in contexts from the mid-first to the sixth century A.D., with a few examples from the seventh century and the majority of examples from the third and fourth centuries A.D.3

This fabric appears in more vessels with inverted rims and closed forms than the other three fabrics identified at Aracoeli. Cooking pots, olle in the Italian archaeological literature, dominate the assemblage. They appear in several different scales and often have relatively thin walls. Three examples have vertical handles (for example, PL. 19.1), and several examples have exterior ribbing and complicated multi-level rims potentially for lid seating (PL. 19.2).

This fabric also appears in a few standard casseroles, or pentole, with vertical walls and everted rims which also appear in Fabric 1 (PL. 19.3). There are also eight examples of open forms, whose walls turn in just below the rim and then have everted rim. These flared rims often have lid seating (PL. 19.4).

There are fifteen forms in this fabric for which we found no adequate comparanda in the appropriate volumes. Six of these include vessels with a wide rim diameter much like one would expect from a casserole, but they have plain inverted rims.

# 6. 3. Schuring Fabric 1

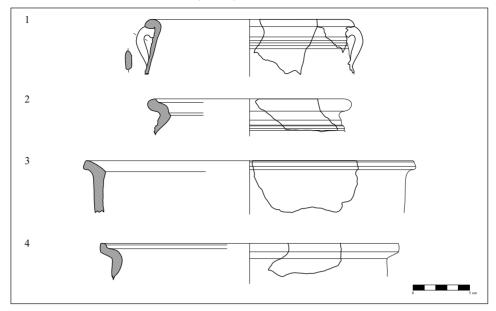
This is the second-most represented local cooking fabric at Aracoeli, comprising 22% (75 sherds) of the assemblage. Our examples ranged in color from "reddish brown" to "yellowish red" (Munsell 2.5YR 4/4 to 5YR 4/6). This fabric is similar to Schuring Fabric 2, but has a relatively low number of inclusions (less than 10% of the clay matrix). It includes clear rounded to sub-angular grains and red-black round grains. There are also a large number of very small round voids probably from organic matter.<sup>4</sup> The main production period of this fabric seems to have been the second and third centuries at sites in central Italy, and after a gap of centuries it appears in cooking vessels at the Crypta Balbi in contexts dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.<sup>5</sup> Open forms with everted rims predominate in this fabric. Most of these are pentole. One example in this fabric, has a much a slimmer wall and narrower diameter, with lid seating more akin to a cooking pot or olla shape (PL. 20.1). One example has a horizontal handle (PL. 20.2). Otherwise, the open forms are basins or large bowl shapes (PL. 20.3). The best comparanda for many of these open forms come from the late antique and early mediaeval sites at Basilica Hilariana on the Caelian, the Conservatory of San Pasquale in Trastevere, the Domus Tiberiana, the Vigna Barberini, and the Crypta Balbi. These comparanda date from layers from the fifth to the seventh centuries A.D.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Munsell Soil Color Chart 2009 edition. Readings were taken in natural light.

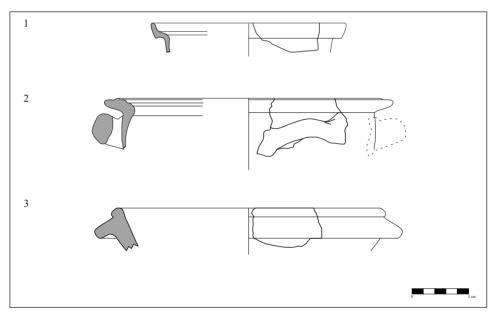
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Schuring 1986, p. 165.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibidem, p. 170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> PACETTI 2004; FOGAGNOLO 2004; MUNZI et al. 2004; RIZZO et al. 2004; and PAROLI 2004.



Pl. 19. Italian Cooking Ware - Schuring Fabric 2.



Pl. 20. Italian Cooking Ware - Schuring Fabric 1.

If these dates are accurate for our fill, then our examples from Aracoeli would be some unusual examples of Schuring's fabric 1 from this period.

There are six rims in this fabric for which we found no adequate morphological comparanda; however, they too are relatively thick-walled casseroles and large bowls.

## 6. 4. Schuring Fabric 6

This is represented by 15% of the sherds in the assemblage (52 sherds). The fabric color is "reddish brown" to "weak red" (Munsell 2.5 YR 4/4 to 10R 4/2). The inclusions in this fabric are irregularly distributed and form between 10% and 12% of its matrix; however, the inclusions which are present are quite large ranging from 1 to 3 mm in size. Macroscopic observation reveals large angular translucent grains, red-black rounded grains, and "an occasional glistening flake", which in thin section is biotite mica. The angularity of the inclusions and the fact that they are poorly-sorted causes Schuring to conclude that the larger gains were added as temper by the potter. The clay also has small round voids. Fragments from San Sisto Vecchio, Lacus Iuturnae, Santa Rufina and Ostia all attest to this fabric's main use from the first to the third centuries A.D., although there remain a few examples from fifth century contexts as well. <sup>2</sup>

A variety of forms appear in this fabric, though there appears to be a tendency towards closed-form cooking pots (Pl. 21.1). There are open bowls (Pl. 21.2) and several examples of casseroles with a flanged rim and a great deal of external ribbing which also appear in fabric 5 (Pl. 22.1). There are two forms in this fabric for which we have not found close comparanda, a small cooking pot and a bowl with an everted rim (Pl. 22.2; Pl. 22.3).

# 6. 5. Schuring Fabric 5

Thirteen percent (43 sherds) in the Aracoeli assemblage are made of this fabric. The surface and break of these examples was "light red" to "reddish brown" (Munsell 2.5YR 6/6 to 5YR 4/4). The many inclusions in this fabric are distributed very irregularly. Inclusions include 1 to 3 mm angular clear grains, larger red-black grains, rounded white opaque grains, and "abundant" flakes of biotite mica. The matrix also has many small rounded voids. Typically, examples of this fabric show incomplete oxidization. Cooking wares made in this fabric have appeared in contexts from around Rome and Lazio sporadically from the third through to the fourteenth centuries A.D.4

This fabric appears mostly in casseroles with everted rims, several of which are quite large scale of 30 cm in diameter and greater (Pl. 22.4; Pl. 23.1). There are also a few examples of vessels with dramatically diagonal walls which are more like basins or bowls, but which other publications class as *casseruole* or *pentole* (Pl. 23.2).<sup>5</sup>

#### 6. 6. Internal Red Slip Cookware

Sometimes called Pompeiian Redware, the two fragments of internal red slip cookware from Aracoeli are identical in form and are potentially from the same vessel, although they do not join (Pl. 23.3). They have a concave wall and a large diameter. This same form was found at Ostia in a disturbed layer which had material produced from the second century A.D. and later. <sup>6</sup>

The fabric of our IRSC examples appears to be identical to Fabric 1 in Peacock's description of this ware from Britain, and to Fabric 2 of the wares found at Cetamura del Chianti described by Peña.<sup>7</sup> The non-refired clay matrix is "red" (Munsell 2.5YR

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Schuring 1986, p. 175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibidem, p. 173.

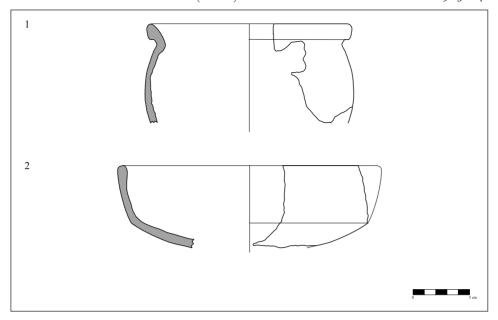
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Saguì, Colletti 2004, p. 267, n. 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Carandini, Panella 1973, pp. 103, 156-164. The fragment is no. 213.

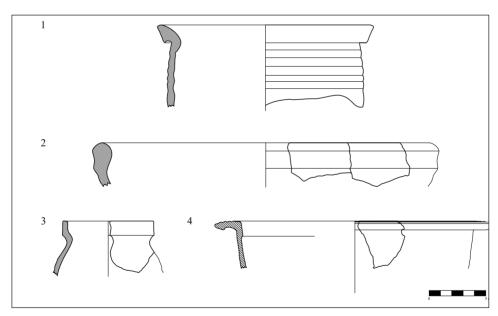
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> РЕАСОСК 1977, р. 149; РЕÑА 1990, р. 653. This fabric is also similar to Fabric 2 of this ware from Caesarea Maritima (Blakely *et al.* 1989, р. 220).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibidem, p. 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 174-175.



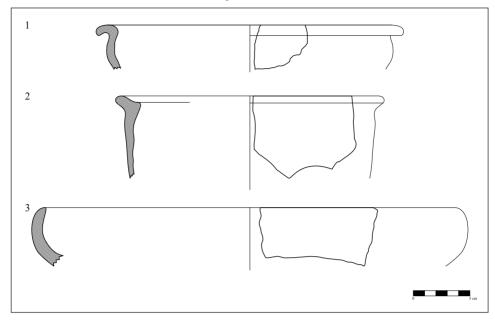
Pl. 21. Italian Cooking Ware - Schuring Fabric 6.



PL. 22. Italian Cooking Ware - Schuring Fabric 6; Schuring Fabric 5.

5/8), and the internal slip is thick and well-adhering and is what Peacock terms "typical Pompeian red colour" (Munsell 10R 4/6). The inclusions observable with a hand lens are moderately to well sorted, and include abundant white/clear "medium sand"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Реасоск 1977, р. 149.



PL. 23. Italian Cooking Ware - Schuring Fabric 5; Internal Red Slip Ware.

particles which are rounded to sub-rounded, sparse black "coarse sand" sub-rounded particles, and rare red-brown grains which are quite rounded. Peña and Peacock both observe these minerals in hand specimen and in thin section and attribute them to volcanic rocks found especially in the region around Rome and in the Bay of Naples.

## 7. AFRICAN COOKING WARE (ARCHER MARTIN)

## 7. 1. Introduction

African cooking ware, the only imported cooking-ware group in the Aracoeli assemblage, has been studied extensively, mostly from the point of view of finds in Italy and Carthage. The classic production as seen in Italy and Carthage can be divided usefully into three categories: A – from northern Tunisia, with an internal slip comparable to that of African Red-Slip Ware A,  $^3$  B – from Byzacaena, with only one face burnished,  $^4$ C – used in various places, with blackened rims or ash-colored exteriors, which can be subdivided among others into C/A associated with Category A and C/B associated with Category B. $^5$ 

# 7. 2. Category A (Northern Tunisia)

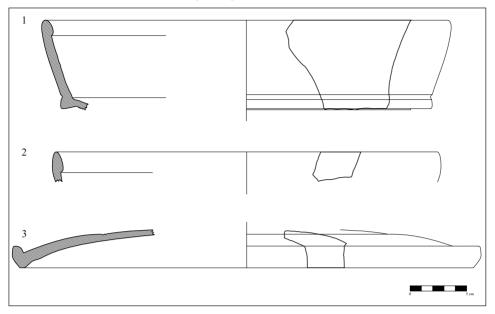
# 7. 2. 1. Bonifay 1/ Hayes 236

This is a casserole with an outward sloping wall and somewhat rounded base (covered in fine grooves or ridges) separated by a flange. Hayes and Bonifay distinguish two

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ibidem, pp. 149, 153; Peña 1990, p. 655.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibidem, p. 213. <sup>5</sup> Ibidem, p. 223.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Hayes 1972, pp. 45-48; Bonifay 2004, p. 211.



Pl. 24. African Cooking Ware - Category A; Category B.

variants: A and B. The latter is larger and deeper, with a more projecting flange and an internal rolled rim that can resemble a flat fillet. It appears during the first half of the second century and lasts into the fourth century, by the end of which the flange becomes more prominent and the body thicker.

An example from the Aracoeli assemblage, consisting of two rim sherds joining with a base sherd, can be assigned to the end of the fourth century (Pl. 24.1). A rim sherd (Pl. 24.2) is similar, as is an undrawn one.

7. 3. Category B (Byzacaena)

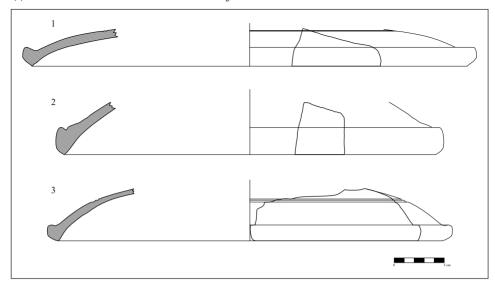
7. 3. 1. Bonifay 6/ Hayes 1822

This lid, which belongs to Category B, presents a flattened dome shape with a hooked rim, often with grooves on the exterior where the body begins to descend toward the rim. It was used probably with Bonifay 5/ Hayes 181, although it is less frequent. Bonifay subdivides his Type 6 into A, B, C and D and also recognizes large variants.

Six pieces can be attributed to the large variants, Two, the second consisting of two joining rim sherds, can be compared to Bonifay 2004, Fig. 115.10 (Pl. 24.3); Fig. Bonifay 6 (Pl. 25.1). One is close to Bonifay 2004, Fig. 115.10, which is dated to the fourth century (Pl. 25.2). Another, made up of two joining rim sherds with another fragment from the same vessel, can be compared to Bonifay 2004, Fig. 115.10 and 11 because of its articulated profile (Pl. 25.3). A final illustrated piece is included here because of its size, although the rounded profile of its rim recalls Variant B (Pl. 26.1). There is also one small undrawn rim fragment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Bonifay 2004, fig. 112, type 1.4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hayes 1972, pp. 201-203; Bonifay 2004, pp. 216-217.



Pl. 25. African Cooking Ware - Category B.

## 7. 3. 2. Bonifay 7/ Hayes 1841

This shallow casserole with a slightly convex wall and a small beaded rim is not common outside Tunisia. Bonifay's articulation includes late variants, dated to the second half of the third century and to the fourth, with thickened walls and simplified rims.

A piece from the Aracoeli assemblage can be attributed to them (Pl. 26.2).

## 7. 3. 3. Bonifay 9/ Hayes 185<sup>2</sup>

This is another shallow and domed lid with a thickened rolled rim. Bonifay subdivides his Type 9 into Variants A, B, C and D. His 9A, datable to the very end of the first century or the beginning of the second, has a small thickened and rounded rim.

An example from the Aracoeli assemblage can be compared particularly to the example of Variant A at Bonifay 2004, fig. 118, Type 9.3 (PL. 26.3).

## 7. 4. Category C/A

## 7. 4. 1. Bonifay 10/ Hayes 1973

This casserole presents a heavy convex rim with a small hollow on the inside to receive a lid, a more or less vertical wall and a rounded base with small ridges or grooves. It occupies a date range from the second century to the first half of the fifth.

The Aracoeli assemblage includes five examples. Three can be considered early (Pl. 27.1); Pl. 27.2). One almost lacking the groove on the rim can compared to one dated to the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century (Pl. 27.3). One fragment can be dated to the fourth century (Pl. 27.4). Finally, there is a fragment of the base with the characteristic grooving and the lower part of the wall.

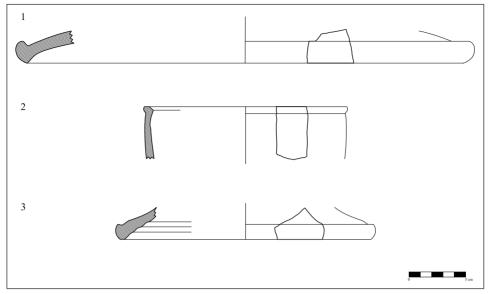
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hayes 1972, pp. 203-204; Bonifay 2004, pp. 217-219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hayes 1972, p. 209; Bonifay 2004, p. 225.

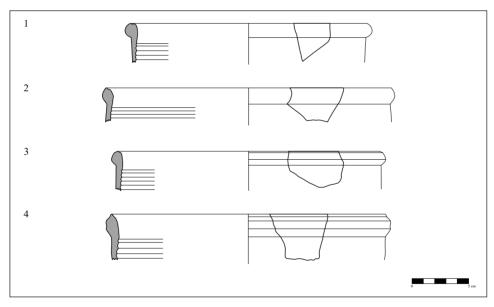
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bonifay 2004, p. 224, fig. 120, type 10.5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hayes 1972, p. 204; Bonifay 2004, p. 221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibidem, p. 224, fig. 120, type 10.7.



Pl. 26. African Cooking Ware - Category B.



PL. 27. African Cooking Ware - Category C/A.

# 7. 4. 2. Bonifay 11/ Hayes 1961

Eleven fragments belong to Bonifay 11 lids/ Hayes 196. This lid in Category C/A has a conical domed shape with a slightly thickened rim. The rim shows an evolution with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hayes 1972, pp. 208-209; Bonifay 2004, pp. 225-227.

increasing thickness. None of the pieces in the Aracoeli assemblage preserves the center – therefore, it is impossible to say whether they come from Hayes 196A (with a ring foot) or Hayes 196B (with a plain rounded top) or indeed whether there may have been a knob.

Hayes 196A and Hayes 196B constitute the classic version of this lid. The former is characteristic of the second century, while the latter appears only from the second half of that century or the Severan period. Both are still attested in the third century. Three fragments can be illustrated: Pl. 28.1; Pl. 28.2; Pl. 28.3. There are also three undrawn.

There is also a late version with an especially thickened lip, datable to the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth or perhaps somewhat later. Also in this case three pieces can be illustrated: Pl. 28.4; Pl. 29.1; Pl. 29.2. Two further examples are unillustrated.

# 7. 5. Category C/B

## 7. 5. 1. Bonifay 16/ Hayes 185 variant<sup>1</sup>

This lid has a shallow domed shape with a thickened rolled rim. It is considered to have accompanied the casserole Bonifay 15/ Hayes 183.

An example in the Aracoeli assemblage can be attributed to this lid (Pl. 29.3).

The assemblage may not reflect anything more than the vagaries of the excavators, Nevertheless, it may be noted that northern Tunisia is the more important provenience, with three pieces in Category A and sixteen in Category C/A, while Byzacaena counts eight pieces in Category B and another in Category C/B. Lids are represented by nineteen pieces and casseroles by nine.

# 8. Transport Vessels (Archer Martin)

## 8. 1. Italy and Sicily

Thirty-eight pieces can be attributed to Italy and Sicily. Most belong to the major lateantique container from there, Keay 52. Only those from Dressel 1, Dressel 2-4 and the Spello Amphora go back to the late republican or early imperial periods.

## 8. 1. 1. Dressel 12

The earliest Italian container documented in the Aracoeli assemblage is Dressel 1. This very widely distributed amphora was produced in Tyrrhenian Central Italy between c. 140/130 B.C. and the Augustan period. Dressel 1 appears in a variety of fabrics that are generally rough, sandy and between light pink and light red in color. It is always considered primarily a container for wine, although other foodstuffs have also been attested, undoubtedly as minor or secondary contents.

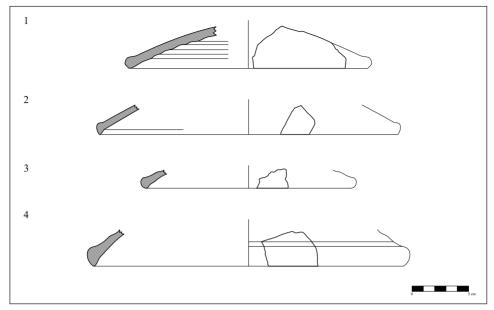
In the Aracoeli assemblage Dressel 1 is represented by two handle sherds in a Central Italian fabric.

## 8. 1. 2. Dressel 2-4<sup>3</sup>

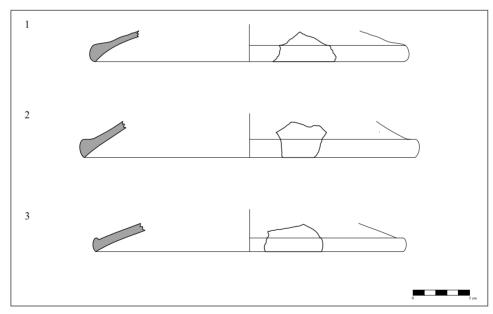
Toward the middle of the first century B.C., Tyrrhenian Central Italy developed a new wine container, inspired by the amphora of Kos. Its double-barreled handles constitute its

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hayes 1972, p. 204; Bonifay 2004, p. 229. 
<sup>2</sup> Rizzo 2014, pp. 106-107; Py 1993, pp. 53-55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Rizzo 2014, pp. 108-114; Williams, Panella, Keay 2014.



Pl. 28. African Cooking Ware - Category C/A.



Pl. 29. African Cooking Ware - Category C/A; Category C/B.

most characteristic feature. It presents a rounded rim and a shoulder marked by a distinct articulation at the junction with the approximately cylindrical body tapering to a spike.

A piece in a Central Italian fabric, consisting of five joining fragments, presents the shoulder well separated from the body with a cylindrical profile. It is thus to be assigned to this container.



Fig. 10. Spello Amphora (handle).

## 8. 1. 3. Spello Amphora<sup>1</sup>

The Spello Amphora, named from the discovery of a production site at Spello, ancient Hispellum in Umbria, presents a top-shaped body, a relatively tall, cylindrical neck, a small, slightly concave base and handles attached just below the slightly everted rim. The handles arch up slightly, running parallel to the neck down to the shoulder. Spello Amphorae were distributed mostly within Italy, from the Tiber Valley (including Rome and Ostia) to the northern Etrurian coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea. Spello Amphorae date particularly from the early/mid-1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. but perhaps also to later centuries. They are considered to be containers for wine, with the area of Rome as the preferential market. The handle fragment found at the Aracoeli (Fig. 10) can be assigned to Fabric 4 as defined at Lugnano in Teverina.2

## 8. 1. 4. Empoli Amphora<sup>3</sup>

The Empoli Amphora was manufactured in the neighborhood of Empoli and more widely in the Arno Valley and inland Tyrrhenian Central Italy. Its date range goes from the third to fifth centuries. Its content must be the wine whose production is attested in the region. Its major external market appears to be Rome, although it occurs very occasionally outside Italy, for example in Hispania Tarraconensis.

Three handle fragments in the usual fabric of the Arno Valley (iron-rich with fine-grained inclusions of quartz and mica) can be identified with this type among the material in the Aracoeli assemblage. A fragment with the rim, neck and part of a handle corresponds typologically to the Empoli Amphora (Pl. 30.1), although it presents a fabric known on the Spello Amphora, an earlier container also produced in inland Tyrrhenian Central Italy. As such, it attests the fluidity of production and models between the Arno and Tiber Valleys.

# 8. 1. 5. Keay 52<sup>5</sup>

Keay 52, a small, flat-bottomed wine amphora with a more or less triangular rim and short curved handles that can present grooving, is the best known container from Italy and Sicily in Late Antiquity. It began to be produced in the early fourth century, although it became widely attested only in the second half of that century,

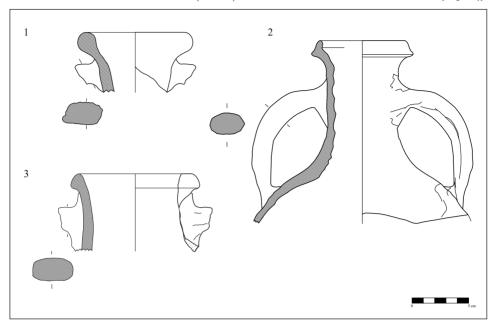
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bertoldi 2012, p. 106; Williams, Keay 2014b; Rizzo 2014, pp. 130-133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Martin 1999, p. 336.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Martin 2016; Williams, Panella, Rizzo 2014; Bertoldi 2012, p. 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Martin 1999, p. 337 (Fabric 5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Williams, Keay 2014a; Corrado, Ferro 2012; Saguì 2001, pp. 292-293.



Pl. 30. Amphorae - Italian.

and lasted into the sixth century. Its production was apparently concentrated on the Ionian shores of Calabria and Sicily south of the Strait of Messina but is attested as far away as Agrigento on the southern coast of the island. Normally, its fabric is micaceous with a range of other inclusions. Keay 52 amphorae have been found in many parts of the western and even in the eastern Mediterranean. The preferential market, however, was Rome, leading to the hypothesis of a connection with the *annona* and also with religious communities (the latter attested by chi-rho and menorah stamps).

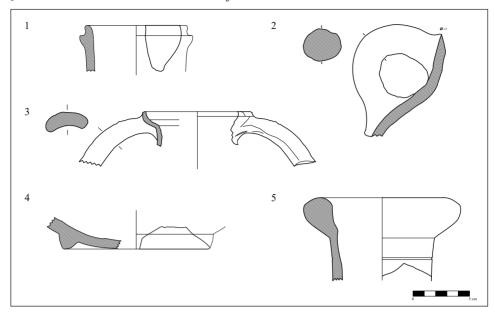
Thirty fragments from the Aracoeli can be identified as Keay 52 – three rim sherds (Pl. 30.2; Pl. 30.3; Pl. 31.1), one base sherd, 24 handle fragments, and two sherds from the neck.

## 8. 1. 6. Crypta Balbi 21

Containers with this denomination or Carminiello 17 are characterized by an ovoid body with heavy handles going from the rim to the shoulder. They present rough, dark fabrics with numerous micaceous and other inclusions that are to be associated with northeastern Sicily. The variations attested in the form and fabric suggest numerous workshops. The dating of Crypta Balbi 2 is not well established, although it is certainly within a broad range from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The content has not been ascertained but is probably wine.

A handle fragment of a Crypta Balbi 2 amphora was found among the Aracoeli material.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Franco 2014, pp. 225-227; Williams 2014a; Panella *et al.* 2010, pp. 63, 66; Spigo *et al.* 2006, p. 455; Saguì 2001, pp. 293-294; Saguì 1998, p. 321.



Pl. 31. Amphorae - Italian, Iberian, Gaulish, African.

### 8. 2. Iberian Peninsula

The Iberian Peninsula is little represented in the Aracoeli assemblage, with a total of ten pieces. They include containers from all the major amphora-producing regions normally attested at Rome.

## 8. 2. 1. Tarraconensis

## 8. 2. 1. 1. Dressel 2/4<sup>1</sup>

The Tarraconese Dressel 2/4, produced in the central coastal area of Tarraconensis, corresponds to the Italian prototype, with its easily recognized double-barreled handles, rounded rim and spike. It can be distinguished essentially on the basis of its reddish brown fabric with calcareous inclusions, as well as quartz and mica. It began to be produced probably in the Augustan period and continued until the third quarter of the second century. Like other Dressel 2/4, this is considered to be a wine container.

A fragment with the lower attachment of a double-barreled handle belongs to this type.

## 8. 2. 2. Coastal Baetica

## 8. 2. 2. 1 MATAGALLERES I<sup>2</sup>

This is a small, flat-based container with distinctive grooved strap handles, presumed to have served for wine and its derivatives. It was produced during the third century, both in southern Tarraconensis and in the Granadan section of the Baetican coast.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>scriptscriptstyle 1}$  Mateo Corredor, Molina Vidal 2016; Carreras 2014a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bernal Casasola 2016c.

The distribution of this amphora is still not well known, undoubtedly because of its relatively recent definition and also the ease with which it can be confused with coarse ware, but it has been attested as far away as Gaul. A strap handle with two deep, longitudinal grooves should belong to Matagarelles I (Fig. 11). Its fabric suggests production on the Baetican coast, although it recalls rather Malagan production. Apparently, this fragment marks the type's first attestation at Rome and in Italy.

# 8. 2. 2. 2. Dressel 30 or Gauloise $4^2$

These are two presumed wine containers that are typologically related to each other and to models from elsewhere. In particular, they each present handles with a more or less oval section and a groove on the outside. They date from the latter part of the second century to the first quarter of the third in the case of Gauloise 4 and to the fourth or even mid fifth in the case of Dressel 30. While the Baetican Gauloise 4 has been found as far east as Marzamemi in Sicily, the Baetican Dressel 30 has been confirmed only within the province, but it is thought that these containers must have traveled more widely, although remaining unrecognized in the archaeological record. A handle sherd with the lower attachment, on which the same fabric as the preceding can be recognized in spite of being drenched in oil, should belong to one or the other of these amphorae (Fig. 12).

## 8. 2. 3. Guadalquivir Valley

### 8. 2. 3. 1. Dressel 203

This is one of the best known of all Roman amphorae. It is a thick-walled spherical container with a small pointed base. Over time, its rim evolved from a vertical semicircular profile to a projecting trian-



Fig. 11. Amphora - Matagalleres I (handle).



Fig. 12. Amphora - Dressel 30 or Gauloise 4 (handle).

gular one, which provides the major means of chronological articulation of the type. The profile of the handles also undergoes an evolution from arched to elongated and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Bertoldi 2012, tav. II.11, for a similar fabric.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bernal Casasola 2016a; Bernal Casasola 2016b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Berni, García Vargas 2016; Carreras 2014b.

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finally semicircular. Dressel 20 was produced in the Valley of the Guadalquivir and its tributaries from c. 30 to late in the third quarter of the third century. Its fabric usually ranges from buff to reddish brown and features prominent white and colorless quartz inclusions as well as others. Dressel 20 was used for the export of oil, particularly for the *annona* at Rome (as attested by Monte Testaccio, which consists largely of Dressel 20 amphorae) and for the military along the *limes* in Germania, although it is found throughout the western part of the Empire and even in the East.

The Araceoli assemblage contains two handle sherds of Dressel 20 amphorae. The short fragments do not allow definite attributions to a subtype, although it is likely that they belong to the later ones tending toward a semicircular profile.

## 8. 2. 3. 2. Dressel 231

This amphora, which is also a container for oil from the Valley of the Guadalquivir in a similar range of fabric, was traditionally considered to succeed Dressel 20 suddenly upon the abandonment of the *limes* and the Testaccio. Recently, a more gradual development from the Dressel 20 parva has been suggested. Dressel 23 is smaller than the standard Dressel 20, with a more ovoid body and circular or elliptical handles. The typological subdivision of the container concerns mostly the rim. Dressel 23 appeared toward the end of the third century. During the fourth century, it was common both in Rome and along the *limes* in Germania. Its distribution in the first half of the fifth century interested mostly the cities of the northwestern Mediterranean. It is less well attested in the second half of the fifth and the sixth centuries, undoubtedly because less Baetican oil was being exported.

A complete, circular handle (Pl. 31.2) and a handle fragment that probably comes from an elliptical handle can both be attributed to Dressel 23.

## 8. 2. 4. Lusitania

## 8. 2. 4. 1. LUSITANA 3<sup>2</sup>

This belongs to a family of small, flat-bottomed containers associated with wine. Some scholars have considered it to be an early variant of Almagro 51c, but the current tendency is to consider it separately. It is characterized by an offset band rim with handles going from right under it to the shoulder. Its fabric is reddish with inclusions of quartz and mica among others.

A rim sherd (PL. 31.3) and a fragment preserving part of the handle and the rim without the lip, as well as two handle sherds with a flattened section, can be attributed to Lusitana 3.

## 8. 3. Gaul

## 8. 3. 1. Gauloise 43

This is a small container with a ring base and flattened handles with a groove on the exterior. It is a wine amphora, the only container from southern Gaul to have a significant distribution outside the region, both to the north and into the Mediterranean and beyond (as far as India). It presents a fine-grained, light-colored, slightly micaceous fabric. It dates from the Julio-Claudian period to the third century.

A base sherd (Pl. 31.4) and six handle fragments can be attributed to Gauloise 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Berni, Moros Díaz 2017; Carreras 2014c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Quaresma, Cordeiro Raposo 2016; Fabião 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Laubenheimer 2014; Bertoldi 2012, p. 79.

## 8. 4. Africa

A total of 37 pieces is attributed to North Africa, making it equal to the Italian/Sicilian group. Such a number arises to a large extent because many handles and some body sherds were collected.

Although progress is being made in identifying and characterizing North African fabrics, Tunisian fabrics are not easily distinguished from each other and a coarser Tripolitanian fabric can appear similar in the hand-held specimen. They are in general all reddish with quartz inclusions and possibly white ones derived from limestone or fossils. No attempt at specific attributions is made here on the basis of fabric.

# 8. 4. 1. Byzacaena and Zeugitana

## 8. 4. 1. 1. AFRICANA IC/BONIFAY 21C3

Africana I is a small, cylindrical container with a short cylindrical or troncoconical neck. The typological subdivision is based essentially on the profile of the rim: A with a very convex external face that is approximately symmetrical and a flat inner one; B with the upper part of the external face flattened and the the inner face concave; C with a simplified rim that is rounded in the upper part on the outside and straight or slightly concave on the inside. This amphora is an oil container, produced in Byzacaena and Zeugitana (in modern-day Tunisia) from the late second century to the early third (IA) or to the mid third century (IB) and from from the second half of the third century to the fourth century or perhaps slightly later (IC).

Two joining rim sherds can be attributed to Africana IC/Bonifay 21C (Pl. 31.5).

# 8. 4. 1. 2. Bonifay 31 ("Spatheion" 1B)<sup>4</sup>

This type is included in Keay 26, that is in a group of small cylindrical containers from Africa commonly but improperly called spatheia. Bonifay divides them into three generations, of which his Type 31 ("Spatheion" 1) is the first, dated from the first half to the middle of the fifth century. Bonifay 31 is in turn subdivided according to the profile of the rim. Most frequent is a simple beaded rim that hangs slightly (Variant B). The content of "spatheia" is uncertain, although strong arguments have been advanced for wine.

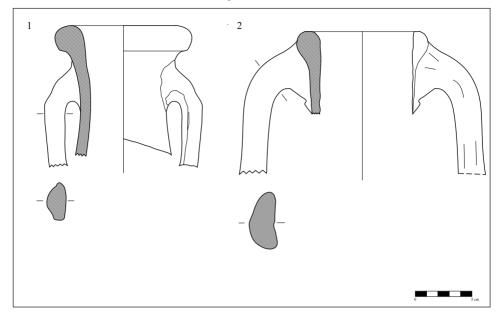
A rim fragment can be identified as Bonifay 31B/ "Spatheion" 1B (PL. 32.1).

## 8. 4. 1. 3. KEAY 27/BONIFAY 35<sup>5</sup>

This is a cylindfrical amphora with a high neck and an unarticulated rim under which the handle is attached. It was made perhaps to the west of Carthage and carried an unknown content. It is subdivided into A (with the rim thickened toward the interior and handles placed lower) and B (with an everted rim and handles placed higher up). The latter is dated to the first half of the fifth century.

A rim sherd with the handle attached just under it can be attributed to Keay 27B (Pl. 32.2). The rim is somewhat more thickened and rounded on the outside than usual, but it is not without comparison.  $^6$ 

- <sup>1</sup> Capelli 2014. <sup>2</sup> Williams 2014b.
- <sup>3</sup> Bonifay 2014; Bertoldi 2012, p. 179; and Bonifay 2004, pp. 107, 471.
- <sup>4</sup> Bonifay 2014b; Bonifay 2004, pp. 124-125, 473-474.
- <sup>5</sup> Bonifay 2014c; Bonifay 2004, pp. 129-132, 472, 474.
- <sup>6</sup> See, for example, KEAY 1984, p. 86, fig. 26.5.



PL. 32. Amphorae - African.

## 8. 4. 2. African, Unidentified

Thirty handle sherds and three body sherds present African fabrics, probably Tunisian, but cannot be identified typologically.

## 8. 4. 3. Tripolitania

## 8. 4. 3. 1. Schöne-Mau 35/ Bonifay 58<sup>1</sup>

This container, always considered to be for wine, is a small imitation of Dressel 2-4. Its production is assured in Tripolitania and reported also for Jerba and its vicinity. It is dated from the first century to the middle of the second. Schöne-Mau 35 is attested in North Africa, Italy, Gaul and the Iberian Peninsula.

A fragment of a double-barreled handle can be attributed to Schöne-Mau 35.

## 8. 5. Aegean

Twenty-three pieces can be attributed to certain or supposed Aegean proveniences. Most frequently represented is the one-handled container/ Late Roman Amphora 3, perhaps because of its distinctive and attractive micaceous fabric.

## 8. 5. 1. Cretan, unidentified

Crete produced a series of amphorae dating from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity.<sup>2</sup> Their fabrics vary according to the place of production on the island but are usually fairly fine-grained with white, micaceous and possibly other inclusions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fontana 2014; Bertoldi 2012, p. 189; and Bonifay 2004, p. 146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Marangou-Lerat 1995; Portale, Romeo 2000.

Two fragments can be attributed to Crete on the basis of their fabric. One is a handle fragment that could come from any of the types with simple handles (i.e. not AC2, which has double-barreled or pseudo-double-barreled handles). The other is a wide base fragment with a broken small spike, which could belong to any Cretan type.

# 8. 5. 2. Kapitän 11

This is an amphora with a conical body, a high cylindrical neck, and a small vertical rim clearly distinguished from the neck. It presents long handles with a circular section that have a distinct elbow at the height of the rim. It has long been thought that Kapitän 1 came from the Aegean or possibly the Black Sea region. Recently, there has been a growing consensus in favor of the western coast of Asia Minor. Normally, it shares with Kapitän 2 a distinctive red fabric presenting gray and other inclusions. Kapitän 1 is found particularly in the Aegean, Italy and Gaul. Usually it is considered with more or less certainty to be a wine container. Even in the latest literature, the earliest attestation is normally held to date to the Antonine period. Evidence has now been put forward, however, for its presence at Rome in the first half of the second century. It continued to circulate for all the third century.

Four handle fragments can be identified as Kapitän 1 because of their fabric and their round section.

## 8. 5. 3. Kapitän 24

Kapitän 2 is a small amphora with a hollow foot, handles raised above the rim and grooved on the outside with a flattened section and a narrow rim with a flange below it. Usually, Kapitän 2 shares the red fabric seen also on Kapitän 1 and must have the same origin. It also was thought to be attested first in the Antonine period until examples were reported to date from the first half of the second century. 5 Kapitän 2 is usually considered to be a wine container. It is found widely throughout the Roman world, especially in the East. It was most common in the third and fourth centuries. In the eastern Mediterranean it appears to have continued into the sixth century.

Five fragments belong to Kapitän 2 amphorae. One belonging to a handle presents a flattened, grooved section. The other four come from the domed interior of bases.

## 8. 5. 4. Late Roman Amphora 26

This is a spherical amphora with short handles and a high curved rim on a short neck. The upper part of the body is marked by straight or wavy stylus grooving. Its date range is from the fourth century to the late sixth or early seventh. These containers were produced in various parts of the Aegean and the Black Sea, including the northeastern Peloponnese and the Argolid, Chios and perhaps Knidos. They are widely distributed throughout the Mediterranean and the Danubian provinces, as well as along the Atlantic coasts as far as Britain. They probably held wine, although oil has also been suggested.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rizzo 2014, p. 327; Williams 2014c; Bertoldi 2012, p. 134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The first-century date suggested by Martin-Kilcher 1994, p. 440 (although followed by Williams 2014c) gained little acceptance, and the reference made in support of it appears to be based on a misreading.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Coletti, Lorenzetti 2010, p. 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Rizzo 2014, pp. 328-329; Williams 2014d; Bezeczky 2013, pp. 149-151; and Bertoldi 2012, p. 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Coletti, Lorenzetti 2010, p. 156. <sup>6</sup> Bezezcky 2013, pp. 160-162; Piéri 2005, pp. 85-93.



Fig. 13. Amphora - LRA 2 (body sherd with striations).

A body sherd preserving the characteristic band of combing can be attributed to this container (Fig. 13).

# 8. 5. 5. One-handled jars/LRA 31

These containers have a long development, first with one handle and then with two. The oldest one-handled containers date from the last quarter of the first century B.C. A more developed version that is slenderer, marked by wheel-ridging (which remains a characteristic of the family until the end) and with a hollow foot, is attested between the middle of the first century and the third. A late one-handled container with a tubular foot continues into the fourth century. By the end of the fourth century the two-handled version,

called Late Roman Amphora 3, appears. This lasts until the end of the sixth century and perhaps later. These containers were made at Ephesos and elsewhere in western Asia Minor in fabrics that are highly micaceous (with the exception of some of the earliest examples). These containers are widely distributed throughout the Mediterranean. Their content is uncertain, however – wine is the preferred hypothesis, although oil and unguent have also been suggested.

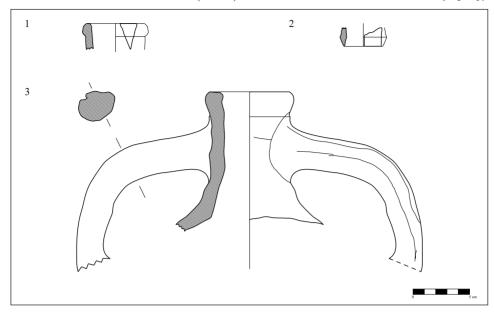
Eleven sherds of this family are preserved from the Aracoeli excavations — a rim fragment, a handle sherd, two base fragments and seven body sherds (the last all with more or less evident wheel-ridging). The rim sherd and the base sherds can be attributed to late one-handled containers (Ephesos Type 54) or to Late Roman Amphora 3. The rim sherd with a somewhat rounded band on the outside clearly distinguished from the cylindrical neck (Pl. 33.1) can be compared particularly to two-handled pieces from Ephesos, although similar rims can apparently also occur on late one-handled containers. A tubular foot domed on the inside is characteristic of the late one-handled containers but appears also on early examples of the two-handled container, which more typically has a closed or nearly closed base. Thus, a tubular base sherd (Pl. 33.2) and a domed fragment must be similar in date to the rim sherd. The exterior of the handle sherd has an unusually articulated section for either one-handled or two-handled containers, with a groove on either side of a pronounced longitudinal ridge (Fig. 14). The body sherds can belong to any version of this family.

## 8. 6. Levant

With 63 pieces, transport vessels from the Levant are the most frequently attested in the Aracoeli assemblage. They consist of only two types – Late Roman Amphora 1 and Late Roman Amphora 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the one-handled containers: Bezeczky 2013, pp. 65-71, 162-163; Bertoldi 2012, p. 136. For the two-handled containers: Bezeczky 2013, pp. 164-167; Piéri 2005, pp. 94-99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bezezcky 2013, p. 166 (nos. 382 and 605).



Pl. 33. Amphorae - Aegean, Levantine.

# 8. 6. 1. Late Roman Amphora 11

Late Roman Amphora 1 is a small amphora with a body marked by ribbing, a rounded base, a cylindrical neck, grooved handles and a rounded rim. There is some variation in the fabric (which is usually hard, sandy with limestone and other inclusions), indicating a range of proveniences. Cilicia is usually considered the most important area of production, followed by Cyprus, while other sites such as Rhodes on one side and the northern coast of the province of Syria on the other have also been suggested. Late Roman Amphora 1 is found throughout the Mediterranean and beyond. It is usually considered to be a wine container. Its date range goes from the late fourth to the seventh century.

Piéri's proposal of articulation, the most influential one, sees two generations – Late Roman Amphora 1A and Late Roman Amphora 1B. The first comprises



Fig. 14. Amphora - LRA 3 (handle).

the vessels produced from the second half of the fourth century to the beginning of the sixth. They have a generally ovoid body, a narrow, normally troncoconical neck,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Reynolds 2014; Bezeczky 2013, pp. 158-160; Piéri 2005, pp. 69-85.

a band rim distinguished from the neck, handles with a round or slightly oval section with deep grooves along their length and a rounded base (usually ending in a button, which can be more developed on some early examples). The generation of Late Roman Amphora 1B replaced the type LRA 1A during the sixth and seventh centuries. The variants of this generation present a wider rim, no longer consisting of a band but either thick and rolled (possibly with a flange below it) or simply everted.

Twelve fragments among the materials from the Aracoeli belong to Late Roman Amphora 1 – a rim fragment and eleven handle sherds. Because of its band rim, the rim fragment (PL. 33.3) can be attributed to Late Roman Amphora 1A.

## 8. 6. 2. Gaza Amphora

The Gaza amphora is now known to have been produced not only in the area of Gaza but also more widely in the southern coastal region of Palestine, including Askalon, and as far away as the Negev.1 Its principal content, however, must be the widely exported wine associated with Gaza in the written sources.2

Of the various proposals of typological subdivision of Gaza amphorae, <sup>3</sup> perhaps the two best known were made by Majcherek and Piéri. Majcherek's consists simply of four forms (Majcherek 1-4). Ten years after Majcherek, Piéri made a proposal that is in substantial agreement with Majcherek's, although it makes some subdivisions to Majcherek's forms and groups them in two families of Late Roman Amphorae 4, as well as a precursor. 5 Recently, Sazanov has brought forth another, more complex proposal, recognizing four rather different types from Majcherek's (Sazanov A-D) on the basis of the general shape of the body, subtypes on variations in the body, variants according to the profile of the rim, and subvariants according to the overall height of the amphora. 6 Sazanov presents, furthermore, a scheme of the typological and chronological development of the section of the handles and bases. Finally, Sazanov recognizes two modules based on the height of the containers. 8 In particular, he makes a distinction between the earlier Family A (subdivided into LRA4A1 and LRA4A2) and the later Family B (subdivided into LRA4B1, LRA4B2 and LRA4B3). Amphorae of his Subgroup A are torpedo-shaped and have a rounded base, ridging in the handle zone (which is a defining characteristic of the family) and no neck but rather a small rim (with a projection on the inside) set directly into the shoulder. Amphorae of Subgroup B have a more elongated body shaped like a cigar with a troncoconical base, sloping shoulders, ridging in a zone below the handles and a higher rim, forming a sort of rudimentary neck.

A total of 50 pieces can be attributed to Gaza amphorae: 17 from rims, 13 handle sherds, and 20 body sherds.

## 8. 6. 2. 1. Majcherek 1 (Zemer 36)/ Piéri lra 4 precursor/Sazanov a9

There is little difficulty with this form. Majcherek 1 and Piéri's precursor to LRA 4 are in accordance, and Sazanov considers his Type A their equivalent. (Actually, the references to Piéri for his LR4 A4 correspond to the latter's LRA4A.) Majcherek 1 and the precursor to LRA4 indicate a cylindrical container, close in shape to the traditional Palestinian

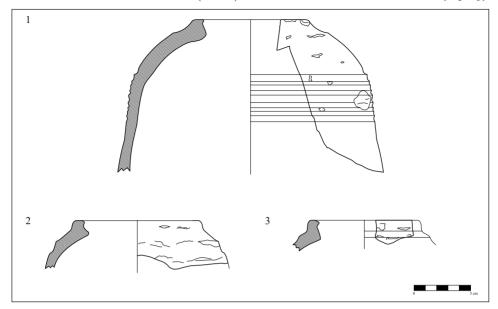
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibidem, pp. 110-114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Piéri 2005, pp. 101-103, for a survey of early attempts at subdividing it. <sup>4</sup> Majcherek 1995. <sup>5</sup> Piéri 2005, pp. 103-107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Sazanov 2017, pp. 632-643.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 644-645.

Majcherek 1995, p. 166; Piéri 2005, p. 102; Sazanov 2017, pp. 632-635.



Pl. 34. Amphorae - Gazan.

bag-shaped vessels, with broad, flat and slightly rounded shoulders ending in a vertical rim of medium height that can be either plain or profiled. It is characteristic of this form that the shoulders are completely covered in regular, shallow and widely spaced ridging. Majcherek 1 and Piéri's LRA4 precursor dates from the first to the fifth centuries.

A handle fragment preserves enough of the shoulder with broad ribbing that it can be attributed to this container. The handle's section corresponds to Sazanov's 2.2, datable between the end of the first century and the first half of the third.

## 8. 6. 2. 2. MAJCHEREK 2 (ZEMER 52 AND 53)/ PIÉRI LRA4A<sup>2</sup>

Majcherek describes this as a rather short, almost cylindrical container with a gentle passage to a rounded base. The rim is slightly raised, often grooved on the inside. The shoulder is rounded and somewhat sloping. Upwardly inclined ridging appears both on the shoulder and on the base. Piéri divides Majcherek 2 into LRA4A1 (= Zemer 53) and LRA4A2 (= Zemer 52), although most of the rim sherds he publishes are attributed generically to LRA4A. LRA4A1, which seems to be characteristic of the fourth century, has a rounded body and broad shoulders. Piéri's LRA4A2 presents a more cylindrical body with less pronounced shoulders. Sazanov divides Majcherek 2 among various of his groups. He makes his LR4 B3 explicitly equivalent to Majcherek 2/Piéri LRA4A2. His LR4 A4 and LR4 C1 and C2 also consist of examples of Majcherek 2/Piéri LRA4A4.

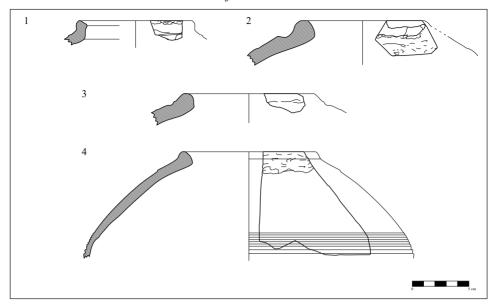
Four pieces present the typical short rim with a grooved inner face comparable to Sazanov's LR4 B3d: Pl. 34.1; Pl. 34.2; Pl. 34.3; Pl. 35.1. Two more have somewhat raised rims without grooving: Pl. 35.2, Pl. 35.3. Finally, there are two slightly thickened rims that recall Sazanov's LR4 C2b: Pl. 35.4; Pl. 36.1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sazanov 2017, p. 644.

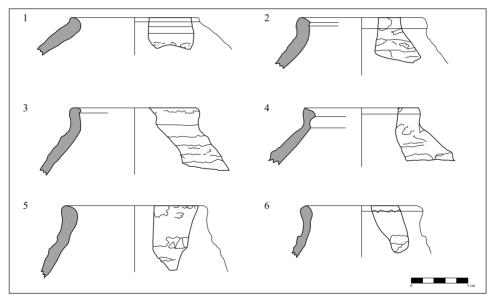
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Majcherek 1995, pp. 166-168; Piéri 2005, pp. 104-105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sazanov 2017, p. 637.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sazanov 2017, pp. 635, 637-639.



PL. 35. Amphorae - Gazan.



PL. 36. Amphorae - Gazan.

# 8. 6. 2. 3. Majcherek 3 (= Zemer 49 and 50)/ Piéri Lra4 $B1^{1}$

Majcherek 3 has a relatively tall and slender body with an almost cylindrical contour. The rim, like that of Majcherek 2, is low and thickened, sometimes grooved on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Majcherek 1995, pp. 168-169; Piéri 2005, pp. 105-106.

inside. Accretions of fired clay below the rim are usually associated with Majcherek 3 and Majcherek 4. The shoulder is short and steeply sloping. A band of shallow ridging level with the handles and slightly below them is diagnostic for Majcherek 3. The base is rounded. Piéri, who deals with this form under LRA4B1, comments on the difficulty of attributing rim sherds with grooving on the inside to Majcherek 2/ Piéri LRA4A2 or Majcherek 3/ Piéri LRA4B1 and suggests that the rims without grooving may be the later examples of the form. Sazanov places Majcherek 3/ Piéri LRA4B1 in his LR4B1.

Four pieces from the Aracoeli assemblage belong to Majcherek 3/ Piéri 4B1. Three can be compared to Sazanov's LR4 B1h, the last with a very pronounced grooved interior and the first two with simple gooves toward the upper part: Pl. 36.2; Pl. 36.3; Pl. 36.4. A poorly preserved rim sherd is probably also to be attributed to Majcherek 3/ Piéri LRA4B1.

# 8. 6. 2. 4 Majcherek 2 or 3

Nine sherds present handles attached to a band of close, narrow ridging. That suffices to exclude an attribution to Majcherek 1, which has overall, widely spaced ridging on the shoulders, and to Majcherek 4, which is without ridging in the handle zone. Therefore they belong to Majcherek 2 or 3.

# 8. 6. 2. 5. Majcherek 4 (Zemer 51)/ Piéri 4B2-33

Majcherek 4 is tall and slender (conical, torpedo-like). Most often, the rim is flat and thickened, with accretions of fired clay just below it. The sloping and only slightly rounded shoulders lack shoulder ridging. According to Majcherek, a band of combing appears below the handles or at mid height of the body and thick ridging where the lower part of the vessels narrows to a conical base. Piéri distinguishes between LRA4B2 with combing on the body and LRA4B3 without it – thus fragments not preserving the body can be attributed only to LRA4B2-3. Sazanov places examples of Majcherek 4/ Piéri LRA4B2-3 with a more ovoid body in his LR4 B2 and those with a more torpedo-like shape in his LR4 D2.4

Among the material from the Aracoeli, five pieces can be attributed to Majcherek 4/ Piéri LRA4B2-3. Three present rims comparable to Sazanov's LR4 B2a: PL. 36.5; PL. 36.6; PL. 37.1. Another is similar to his LR4 D2i: PL. 37.2. The final piece presents some resemblance to Sazanov's LR4 D2o: PL. 37.3.

### 8. 6. 2. 6. Undetermined

Three handle fragments preserve little or nothing of the shoulder. Twenty body sherds were also kept, presumably because of the ridging that they all present. In neither case is it possible to determine to which form of the Gaza Amphora they belong.

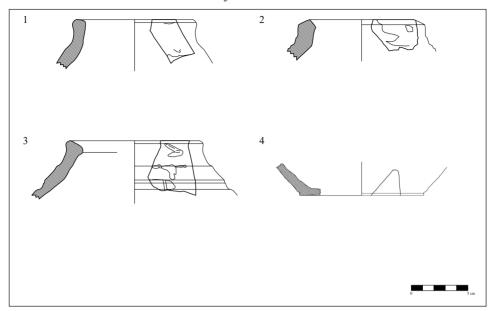
### 8. 7. Unknown Provenience

For 13 handle sherds and a body sherd, it is impossible to make any typological identification or attribution on the basis of the fabric.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Majcherek 1995, p. 170. <sup>2</sup> Sazanov 2017, p. 635.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Majcherek 1995, p. 169; Piéri 2005, pp. 106-109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sazanov 2017, pp. 635-637, 639-643.



PL. 37. Amphorae - Gazan; Sparse Glazed Ware.

### 8. 8. Conclusions

No great importance is to be given to the numbers of vessels preserved. There is obvious bias in the collection, shown by the lack of body sherds for most proveniences and types but their presence for a few and perhaps also by the prevalence of handle sherds over rim and base fragments. Nevertheless, most of the types and proveniences identified are those usually attested in contexts of the mid to late imperial period in Rome and its environs, and the few earlier pieces also belong to common types. Keay 52 is normally well represented, as here. One might have expected more identifiable pieces from Africa. Late Roman Amphora 4 is known in Rome and its environs, but one can wonder whether its high attestation here reflects merely the excavators' bias.

# 9. Early Mediaeval Materials (Archer Martin)

## 9. 1. Forum Ware and Sparse Glazed Ware

Forum Ware derives its name from the first important group of vessels to be published, which was found in the Fons Iuturnae in the Roman Forum. It is the Roman representative of an early mediaeval family of wares characterized by a lead glaze usually considered to have been fired together with the vessel rather than in a second firing after application to an already fired vessel.<sup>2</sup>

Forum Ware's antecedents have long been a matter of debate.<sup>3</sup> The earliest attestation for now of Forum Ware in Rome dates to second half of the eighth century. The question is whether the technique of glazing was reintroduced to Rome after a period

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Whitehouse 1965; Maetzke 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Paroli 1992a, p. 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For overviews see Coletti 2012, p. 182; *ibidem*, pp. 426-428; ROMEI 2004, pp. 285-286 and 294-300.

in which none was produced there or whether a very limited production maintained the knowledge of it between the production of glazed ware at Rome in Late Antiquity and the rise of Forum Ware in the late eighth century.

The technique of Forum Ware was well established by the ninth century, although most of the attestations belong to the tenth. There is some evidence from the ware's distribution both within the city of Rome, where it is often found close to *diaconiae* and churches, and in the countryside, where it appears on sites connected with monasteries and the pontifical administration, to suggest that it was particularly associated with ecclesiastic establishments. Forum Ware's success has also been attributed to the importance of Rome in the Carolingian world, after the city had spent several centuries as a distant outpost of the Byzantine Empire, and to some extent its forms reflect influences from Central Europe. <sup>2</sup>

Various fabrics have been distinguished for Forum Ware, usually compatible with the Tiber Valley.³ They are of a volcanic nature, perhaps with added volcanic sand.⁴ The classic fabric description is «coarse and fairly hard, varying in colour from dark grey to light greyish pink, with a few examples of dull red; grey, however, predominates. The clay contains small, opaque white inclusions which are usually visible through the glaze. It may also include purplish inclusions or a little mica»; the glaze «ranges from drab green, through yellow-brown to brown».⁵ The variety of fabrics indicates that there must have been a number of production centers in Latium that followed the Roman lead.⁶ The multiplicity of fabrics and presumed production centers is reflected in a relative lack of standardization in form, decoration and color of the glaze.⁶ A tendency toward greater standardization in the tenth century has been connected with increased production and wider distribution of the ware.⁵

Forum Ware is usually decorated, with a rich variety of schemes. Applied petals are particularly common (e.g. close together in vertical lines or spread over the surface), as are incised lines.

Around A.D. 1000, Forum Ware developed into Sparse Glazed Ware. <sup>10</sup> As its name indicates, vessels in this ware are not completely covered in glaze. At the same time, decoration was abandoned (with the exception of occasional incised wavy lines), and forms and technology were standardized. These phenomena can be explained as the result of specialization in probably fewer workshops that were producing and distributing greater quantities. A further distinction has been made between Sparse Glazed Ware A, which is largely covered but has some thin spots and specific parts (handles, spouts and bases) that were left bare, and Sparse Glazed Ware B, which presents more and more of the vessel without covering to the point of having only a band of glaze in the middle. <sup>11</sup> The transition from Forum Ware to Sparse Glazed Ware A took place between the late tenth and the early eleventh century. Sparse Glazed Ware B appeared during the eleventh century, especially in its second half, and dominated from the twelfth century. Sparse Glazed Ware was replaced after the first half of the thirteenth century by maiolica, which required a double firing process.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rascaglia, Russo 2015, pp. 286-290. <sup>2</sup> Romei 2004, pp. 296, 298.

RASCAGLIA, RUSSO 2015, pp. 287-290.
 DE VITO et al. 2018; PATTERSON 1992, p. 424; SFRECOLA 1992, p. 584.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Whitehouse 1965, p. 57.

RASCAGLIA, RUSSO 2015, pp. 287, 290.
 ROMEI 2004, p. 300.
 Ibidem, p. 288.
 Ibidem, pp. 298-300.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ibidem, pp. 299-300; RASCAGLIA, RUSSO 2015, pp. 290-292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Paroli 1990, pp. 321-323.



Fig. 15. Forum Ware - body sherds with incised decoration and petals.



Fig. 16. Forum Ware - body sherd with petals.

Five body sherds are considered early Forum Ware because of their decoration and the quality of their glaze. The glaze is thick and shiny, which is typical of the first phase of Forum Ware, although it usually appears both on the outside and the inside, 1 unlike these fragments, which are covered only on the outside. Four fragments, which can be attributed to a single vessel, present applied petals forming columns alternating with areas containing incised wavy horizontal lines (Fig. 15). The other fragment has only a column of petals (Fig. 16). The first ranges in color from red (Munsell 2.5YR 5/8) to weak red (Munsell 2.5YR 6/2), the second from light

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Romei 2004, p. 298.

reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 6/3) to gray (Munsell 5YR 5/1). They both are very hard, with an irregular break and a rough texture. There are frequent white inclusions ranging in size from very small to large, fairly frequent colorless and black or grayish ones that are very small to small and some small red ones.

A flat base (Fig. 17; Pl. 37.4) comes probably from a pitcher. As it has a light olive brown glaze only on the outside not extending to the base and the area around it, it should belong to Sparse Glazed Ware A. The fabric is light reddish brown (Munsell 2.5YR 6/3), very hard, with a rather irregular break and a rough texture. There are very frequent white inclusions (usually very small to small but occasionally large), somewhat less frequent colorless and black ones (also usually very small to small but occasionally large) and some very small to small red ones.

## 9. 2. Pottery with Painted Decoration

Pottery with painted decoration is a widespread phenomenon throughout the Byzantine world, from Egypt to the Levant, Greece and southern Italy. It is attested at Rome from the late seventh century by vessels imported from southern Italy, where it was a more important ware than at Rome, and then in the eighth also by local products. Only three types are known: a domestic amphora, a pitcher with an ample mouth, and a trefoil jug.

One piece from the excavation at the Aracoeli, consisting of a joining rim and body sherd, can be attributed to a trefoil jug of this ware (PL. 38.1; FIG. 18).<sup>3</sup> The fab-



Fig. 17. Sparse Glazed Ware - base.



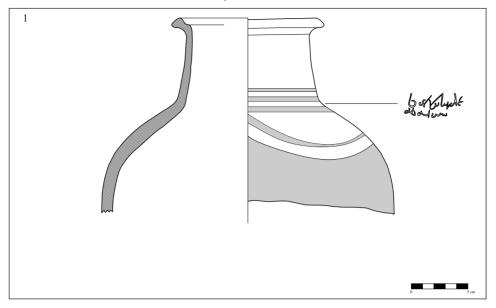
Fig. 18. Painted Ware - Trefoil jug with graffito.

ric suggests a non-Roman origin, presumably in southern Italy: red (Munsell  $2.5 \mathrm{YR} \, 5/8$ ), fairly clean-breaking and smooth in texture, very hard and compact; with fairly frequent, very small to small transparent inclusions and some small white and red ones. Although the decoration is badly smeared on much of the piece, it is possible to recognize thin red horizontal bands on the rim and at the junction of the neck and body and curved bands (one thin and another thick, disappearing into the lower break) on the upper part of the body. Where there are no bands, a pinkish cream-colored wash covers the vessel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vitale 2001, pp. 97-101; Vitale 2004, pp. 1006-1011; Vitale 2008, pp. 184-186; Pétridis 2009, pp. 44-46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Romei 2004, pp. 286-291, for an overview of this ware at Rome.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Romei 2004, fig. 16-17, are similar to this piece.



PL. 38. Painted Ware.

A titulus pictus in black written after firing on two lines is located just below the junction of the neck to the body (Fig. 19). With the help of various scholars consulted, it has been possible to establish that it is in Greek and to decipher some letters, although not to read it in its entirety. Line 1 begins with  $\beta$  and ends with  $\lambda\epsilon$ . Line 2 is either  $\alpha\beta\alpha\omega\nu$  or  $\alpha\delta\alpha\omega\nu$ .

## 9. 3. Coarse Ware<sup>2</sup>

The early mediaeval coarse ware of Rome, known in Italian as *ceramica acroma depurata*, is the most frequent ceramic ware in eighth-century contexts and later.<sup>3</sup> It shows a certain morphological continuity with the late-antique production of coarse ware there. It should be noted especially that this ware continues to be made on the wheel to a competent standard, with good finishing and thin walls, and is obviously the product of professional potters. The repertoire of forms consists almost exclusively of closed forms, which marks a break with the preceding centuries. Incised decorations of various sorts are well attested on early mediaeval coarse ware at Rome, from the eighth to tenth centuries, but disappear after that.

All the pieces present the same fabric, which is attested on other sites at Rome and is presumably local. It is well cleansed, fired in an oxidizing atmosphere, clean-breaking and smooth in texture, very hard and compact. It is usually very pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/3-8/4), but it can occasionally be reddish yellow (Munsell 7.5YR 7/6). It contains some very small reddish inclusions, as well as transparent ones. Evidence from the church of Santo Stefano Rotondo suggests that this fabric, typical of the early

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  The advice from Brent Nongbri and from a colleague who wishes to remain anonymous was particularly helpful.  $^2$  I am grateful to Vincenzo Castaldo for advice on these pieces.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Romei 2004, pp. 291-294 and 300-308, for an overview of this ware; also Saguì *et al.* 1997 and Romei 1986.

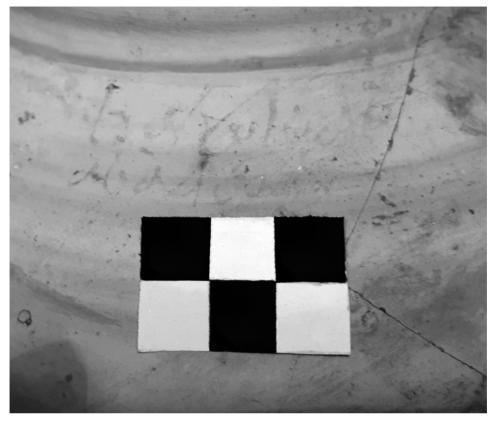


Fig. 19. Painted Ware - Trefoil jug with graffito (detail).

mediaeval period, may have come into use at Rome during the seventh century, somewhat earlier than Forum Ware and the cooking wares with which it then becomes associated.1

Trefoil pitchers are attested from the eighth century and constitute one of the most frequent forms of this ware in ninthcentury contexts at Rome, going out of use in the tenth.2 A rim sherd with a part of the neck that presents a fairly smooth, ribbed body should date to the eighth century (PL. 39.1). Two further very similar rim sherds can be compared to it (Fig. 20).

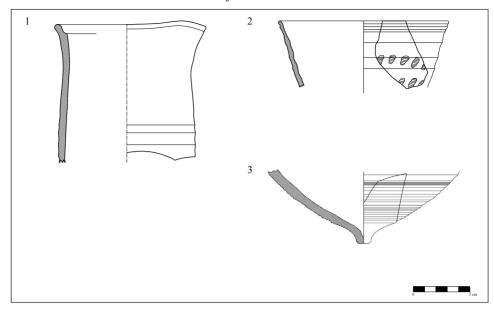
Small table amphorae with a tall, distinctly everted rim that very often present incised decoration constitute another common form in ninth-century deposits



Fig. 20. Early mediaeval coarse ware -Trefoil jugs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Martin in preparation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Romei 1986, p. 526; Saguì et al. 1997, p. 44.



Pl. 39. Mediaeval Coarse Ware and Amphora.



Fig. 21. Early mediaeval coarse ware - Domestic amphorae.

at the Crypta Balbi. Two fragments can be attributed to this form (Fig. 21). A rim fragment (oil-drenched) preserves two rows of lozenges containing horizontal lines (Pl. 39.2). A sherd from the shoulder presenting a row of diagonal lines formed of dots

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Romei 2004, p. 302; Romei 1986, p. 526.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See particularly Romei 2004, tav. XIII.81, with a similar decoration.



Fig. 22. Early mediaeval coarse ware - Domestic amphorae or pitchers.

above a series of slight horizontal grooves probably comes also from such a vessel. The horizontal grooves were somewhat smudged before firing, and the row of diagonal lines is broken by the emergence of a large inclusion.

Other fragments could come from large domestic amphorae or pitchers (Fig. 22). A handle with a flattened section is attached to a shoulder marked by ridging. There is also a sherd with the attachment of a strap handle. A body sherd presents at least three rows of wavy lines incised before firing, a decorative scheme already attested on coarse ware in the seventh century and frequent in the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, two unidentifiable fragments were preserved. A small strap handle could come from any small closed vessel. An unidentifiable body sherd was kept presumably because it shows traces of red pigment on the interior.

## 9. 4. Amphorae

The eighth century marks an important break in the attestation of amphorae at Rome.<sup>3</sup> These containers for the transportation of agricultural goods continue to be present in percentages that can make up nearly a quarter of a pottery assemblage, which is a not inconsiderable indication of long-distance trade, although only a third of the levels of the imperial period (between 2/3 and 3/4 of assemblages).<sup>4</sup> Most of the types from Africa and the eastern Mediterranean that characterized assemblages in Rome until

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For similar decoration see *ibidem*, p. 302, tav. XIII.79-81; ROMEI 2001b, p. 519, IV.6.21; ROMEI 1986, p. 526, tav. VII.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sagui *et al.* 1997, p. 38; Romei 1986, p. 523. For examples, see also Romei 2004, tav. viii.46, ix.50-52, xv.89. <sup>3</sup> Romei 2004, pp. 283-285.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Martin 2005 for a discussion of the percentages of functional groups in assemblages of the imperial period.



Fig. 23. Amphorae, mediaeval - Fabric Group 1.

the late seventh century disappear in the eighth, however. The only important form to remain is an approximately globular amphora of eastern derivation. It presents handles with an oval section and a decided bend or elbow. If the form's morphological antecedents are clear, the same cannot be said of its production centers. The number of fabrics attested guarantees that the form issued from production centers in various parts of the Mediterranean. Most of the examples found in Rome come probably from various regions of Italy.

Four fabrics are attested on the fragments attributed to early mediaeval amphorae.

Two fragments present the first fabric (Fig. 23). It is red (Munsell 2.5YR 5/8) in the break and pink (Munsell 5YR 7/4 to 7.5YR 8/2) on the surfaces; irregular in the break and rough in texture, compact and very hard; with frequent, small white and transparent inclusions. A fragment preserves the entire handle with an oval section and a bend. It became detached from the lower join to the body, although a thumb print shows that pressure was applied to help the bond, because the attachment surface had become too dry. The other fragment is a body sherd with a rounded, ridged shoulder and the lower part of a vertical neck.

Two more handle fragments present a different fabric from the first and consequently a different origin (Fig. 24). It is weak red (Munsell 10R 5/4) but darkened on the surface because of a slightly reducing firing, clean-braking and smooth in texture, very hard and compact. It contains fairly frequent, small white inclusions and occasional, very small transparent ones. Each fragment consists of the upper attachment and a short stretch of the handle.

Three handle fragments attest a third fabric (Fig. 25). It is reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 6/6-7/8) in the core, shading to pink (Munsell 2.5YR 7/6) or very pale brown

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See also Paroli 1992b, pp. 359-365; Romei 2001a; Romei 2004, pp. 279-283.



Fig. 24. Amphorae, mediaeval - Fabric Group 2.



Fig. 25. Amphorae, mediaeval - Fabric Group 3.

(Munsell 10YR 8/3) on the outside. It is very hard, compact and granular. The inclusions are very frequent, very small to small and colorless, gray or reddish. Two of the sherds go from the bend to the lower attachment, while the third preserves little more than the lower attachment. They present grooving, very slight on the third and one of the first two, more pronounced on the remaining one.

A base sherd is also considered to be early mediaeval, as it does not belong to any well known late-antique or imperial type (Fig. 26). It is rounded with a small button



Fig. 26. Amphorae, mediaeval -Fabric Group 4.

on the underside and dense grooving on the outside. Its rounded shape could suggest the globular amphora, but published examples preserving the base are either rounded or umbilicate. It presents a fourth fabric: red in color (Munsell 2.5YR 5/8), very hard, very compact, with a clean break. It contains frequent very small to large inclusions (white, red, gray and colorless).

# 10. DISKS (ARCHER MARTIN)

Disks cut from body sherds of ceramic vessels and occasionally from other materials turn up regularly in assemblages of finds from classical archaeological sites. They constitute, however, a rather neglected category, probably because their functions are not clear. Often, they are called stoppers, gaming pieces or counters. It has

also been suggested that they were used as the equivalent of toilet paper.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly, they did not all serve the same purpose, and context is important in deciding among the possibilities. Most of the disks of the Roman period, however, probably served as stoppers. The well-preserved material from Mons Claudianus in the western desert of Egypt shows them in use as plugs with a plaster seal and also with a leather seal.<sup>3</sup>

Seven roughly cut, approximately round pieces with diameters ranging from ca. 7 cm to ca. 3 cm are thus most likely to come from such sealings (Fig. 27). Five were cut from the bodies of African amphorae (diameters of ca. 7 cm, 6 cm, 4.5 cm, 3.5 cm, 3 cm). One comes from the body of a Central Italian amphora (diameter ca. 4 cm). The last was cut cut from a plaque of white marble (diameter ca. 3.5 cm).

Two disks with smoothed edges may be counters or gaming pieces (Fig. 28). Both are cut from the bodies of African amphorae - one with a diameter of 3.4 cm, the other with a diameter of 2 cm.

# 11. CONCLUSIONS (ARCHER MARTIN)

This is the story of a truly unlucky excavation. It had only one season and was never published. Evidently, Frank Brown lost interest in it in favor of work in the Regia and at Cosa. The photographs taken during the excavation and published by D'Onofrio, indicate that some documentation was made, but none has been found, and for now the selected ceramic finds constitute the only evidence. The finds underwent various mishaps during their decades of storage at the American Academy, from the loss of the African Red-Slip Ware studied by Hayes and the early Christian lamps and other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Papadopoulos 2002, p. 423 for various hypotheses and the relevant bibliography (with particular reference to finds in the Athenian agora).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Papadopoulos 2002, pp. 425-427; Charlier *et al.* 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ross, Tomber 2006, pp. 241, 245, 248-252.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> D'Onofrio 1973, figg. 39 and 44-46.



Fig. 27. Disks, roughly cut.



Fig. 28. Disks, smoothly cut.

finds mentioned by D'Onofrio to the drenching of some pieces in heating oil or the like. Nevertheless, we considered it worthwhile to proceed with the publication for two reasons.

First, this study goes as far as now is possible to illustrate the excavation Frank Brown undertook in the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli. Little can be said about the excava-

tion. D'Onofrio's account indicates at least three successive layers – a fill, described as containing jumbled and unstratified finds, down to a pavement of travertine slabs three meters below the mediaeval *ara coeli*; another layer about a meter thick below that; a third layer, whose red earth for some reason led it to be considered Augustan.¹ Unfortunately, the finds cannot be associated with any of these layers. It is plausible that most of the potsherds came from the first three meters and that the meter below them and the red earth gave less material. In that case, one could suppose that the earliest fragments were found mostly in the lower layers and the mediaeval and at least a large part of the late antique ones in the upper meters. If the first three meters of excavation did consist of a single fill, it must be mediaeval, but it is risky to assume on the basis of the information reported by D'Onofrio that such was the case and that there was not an unrecognized (and perhaps thin) mediaeval layer above a late-antique one in those three meters. Unless a future discovery of documentation allows the finds somehow to be contextualized, the dating of the layers will remain unresolved.

Second, the material from the Aracoeli supplements the existing evidence of the pottery used at Rome in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Admittedly, it is decontextualized and selected. However, at the very least, it may provide useful comparanda for other studies on the pottery of sites at Rome. In other cases, the material sheds light on wares and types still insufficiently known (e.g. late-antique glazed wares) or apparently not yet attested there (e.g. the Matagallares I amphora). We also wished to render a service to the scholarly community by providing descriptions of fabrics that have not yet been well defined and giving photographs of them in the online Addendum.

Thus, we feel that we have both paid a debt on behalf of the American Academy toward its host country and the wider scholarly community and also made a contribution toward furthering knowledge of Roman pottery.

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