

# Late Roman Common Wares and Amphorae in the Middle Tiber Valley, the Preliminary Results of the Tiber Valley Project

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## Abstract

This paper discusses the ceramic evidence from survey and excavations in the middle Tiber valley during the 4th to 7th centuries AD and its significance for our understanding of settlement, production and distribution. The results derive from the British School at Rome's Tiber valley project. This integrates the evidence from the first full and systematic study of the South Etruria survey material, with the results of the Farfa survey and published evidence from other surveys and excavations. The results shed light on the changing economic relationships between Rome and its hinterland, and provide new evidence for the extent of Late Antique settlement.

## Keywords

Italy, Rome, Tiber Valley, South Etruria, Late Antiquity, coarsewares, amphorae, production, distribution.

## Introduction

The Tiber Valley Project, directed by the British School at Rome, is a major interdisciplinary research initiative which studies the changing landscape of the middle river valley from circa 1000 BC to AD 1000. The frame of reference for this study is provided by the growth, success and decline of the city of Rome and its influence on the settlement, economy and cultural identity of the region.

It draws on the long tradition of landscape archaeology by both British and Italian scholars in this area. The restudy of the material from John Ward-Perkins' South Etruria survey on the west bank, carried out in the 1950s to 70's, the Farfa survey, on the east bank, carried out by John Moreland in the 1980s, and the numerous published surveys and excavations by mainly Italian scholars provide the basis for the initiative (Fig. 1).

At the same time new field projects are being developed aimed at filling the gaps in settlement knowledge. Three main lacunae have been identified: Roman towns which, surprisingly given the extensive work on rural settlement, have rarely been studied systematically archaeologically; the east bank of the Tiber, the Sabina, where field survey has been less intensive resulting in substantial gaps in our understanding of past settlement; and the Late Antique and Early Medieval landscapes which are relatively poorly understood.

Since 1997, two Leverhulme research fellows, Helga di Giuseppe and Rob Witcher, assisted by a team of specialists have been restudying and collating the evidence relating to settlement, production and distribution, and communication networks in the study area (Fig. 1).

An integrated GIS and database system, developed by Rob Witcher, is central to the management and analysis of the data. The restudy of the South Etruria survey, a milestone in Mediterranean landscape archaeology, represents by far the largest data set. Although the methodologies used were not of the standard which would be expected today, it is also true that many of the problems affecting field survey today were less evident. The survey was carried out during the first period of deep ploughing, when much fresh archaeological material was brought to the surface, and before the big building boom

affected Rome and its periphery, with the result that many of the areas which Ward Perkins and his team were able to visit are no longer visible. Despite several articles, the results were never fully published, furthermore, at the time of the survey, much less was known of the pottery sequences, in particular as regards the common wares, which are crucial to our understanding of the Late Roman and Late Antique periods.

The restudy of all the material collected by Ward-Perkins and his team has just been completed by a team of fourteen specialists. The results have been entered into a custom-built relational Access 2000 database. The database now contains nearly 100,000 artefacts from over 2000 South Etruria survey sites. Each sherd is classified into one of over 2500 form types (comprising nearly 1500 published and over 1000 newly defined form types). This information is then used to characterize and date settlement.

The decision by John Ward-Perkins to collect not only the datable ceramic forms, which at the time of the survey were mainly fine wares, such as ARS, but also common wares is of great importance. The restudy of this material in the light of recent developments in ceramic studies has been particularly important for our understanding of the Late Roman and Early Medieval periods. It has been possible to identify a wide range of Late Roman and Early Medieval activity unrecognised by the original surveyors and also shed new light on production and exchange. In the broader context of the Tiber Valley Project, the integration of the re-studied South Etruria data with that from more recent surveys and excavations in the study area, both on the west and on the east bank, permits us to extend this analysis to the whole of the middle Tiber valley study area.

There are, however, still some substantial gaps in our knowledge which can only be resolved by new field work, in particular by excavation (see, Patterson and Rovelli forthcoming for a synthesis of the current state of studies). Of importance, in this context, is the recent discovery of a large, late 6th to early 7th centuries deposit at Forum Novum-Vescovio in the Sabina. The study of Forum Novum, a Roman town and later Early Medieval bishopric, is one of the new field projects being developed as part of the Tiber valley project (Gaffney et al. 2001). Excavations directly behind the apse of the Romanesque style church of Santa Maria in Vescovio, with its late 8th to 9th centuries crypt, are revealing a long sequence of occupation from at least the 1st to the 13th centuries AD. Of particular interest is the identification of a building of the late 6th to early 7th centuries and associated rubbish dump. The range of material present in the dump is comparable with that in use in major towns and coastal centres in this period, including the latest imports of fine table wares from north Africa, transport amphorae from the Aegean and southern Italy and Sicilian type lamps. However a large quantity of wares of regional or local production are also present, including kitchen wares and a relatively large number of transport amphorae of a type previously unknown. As discussed below, this deposit represents a valuable new contribution to knowledge of Late Antique ceramics in this area.

This paper discusses the ceramic evidence from survey and excavations in the middle Tiber valley, firstly in terms of its significance for understanding Late Antique settlement systems and secondly focuses on the evidence of two main ceramic classes, the common wares and the transport amphorae, to examine some aspects of production and distribution in the area.

H. P. and R.W.

### **Late Antique Settlement Patterns (4th to 6/7th Centuries)**

Past surveys, such as the South Etruria survey, were almost entirely dependent on fine wares for the identification and dating of sites. The resulting biases in the evidence were clearly shown by Potter in his *Changing Landscapes* volume (Potter 1979, fig. 41). In fact, on the basis of Potter's results, some scholars suggested a total or virtually total

depopulation of rural areas from the late fifth century AD (Hodges and Whitehouse 1983, 53). In the light of recent developments in ceramic studies, it is now clear that the reliance on fine wares has greatly biased our conception of developments in this period. When we start to examine the common wares, we can begin to repopulate the landscape.

In our area, this was first illustrated by the restudy of the Late Antique and Early Medieval ceramics (in particular, those of the 4th to 7th centuries AD) from the Farfa survey, in the Sabina, on the east bank (Patterson and Roberts 1998). On the evidence of the ARS alone, only 10 sites are apparently occupied in the mid 5th to mid 6th centuries. When we add the evidence of the coarse wares, however, a very different picture emerges with 24 sites now being occupied. During the mid 6th to 7th centuries this situation is accentuated: only 5 sites are occupied on the evidence of the ARS, with the number increasing to 17 sites when the evidence of the coarse wares is added.

Not surprisingly, following the restudy of the South Etruria survey material, the same picture is now emerging in South Etruria itself. Circa 30,000 fragments of kitchen and domestic wares of Republican to Late Antique date were identified and recorded from the survey, of which the great majority are kitchen wares. The restudy of the Late Antique material (4th to 6/7th centuries), and in particular that of the common wares, is revealing many new sites which the original surveyors were unable to identify, resulting in a substantial modification of the past settlement in the area as originally described by Potter (1979).

This is clearly shown in Fig. 2. Fig. 2 shows the distribution of surface concentrations of the 5th to 7th centuries from both the South Etruria and Farfa surveys identified on the basis of the presence of ARS with the additional settlement evidence supplied by the study of the coarse wares. As regards the South Etruria survey area, from the analysis of the distribution map, the presence of Late Antique sites seems fairly even, although there appears to be a greater concentration of sites in the area between the via Flaminia and the Via Cassia, especially in the zone immediately to the north of Rome, in the hinterland of Veio. It is uncertain to what extent this is a valid reflection of past settlement, given that the distribution may be in part biased by varying intensity of collection and also by the visibility conditions at the time.

It is clear, however, that the decline in rural settlement during the Late Antique period was not on the dramatic scale suggested by the original analysis of Ward-Perkins' South Etruria data.

A. B., H.P. and S. Z.

## **Ceramic Production and Distribution**

### **The Common wares: 4-6/7th centuries**

Between the 5th and the 6th centuries, the evidence from both survey and excavation shows that, despite the decline in the presence of imported wares, a large quantity of common wares continues to be available throughout this region. This indicates not only that the local exchange mechanisms were still operating, but also that pottery production probably took place. Although no production centres of Late Antique date have yet been discovered, in South Etruria various kilns have been identified of Republican to Imperial date. Several kilns have been identified from the area of Sutri: for example those of mid Republican date for the production of vernice nera (Duncan 1964, 1965) and those of the Early Imperial period for the manufacture of thin walled wares and common wares (Duncan 1965). Other pottery production centres have been identified elsewhere in South Etruria, for example the kilns identified close to San Biagio near Nepi and in the area of Formello (Peña 1987), both involved in the manufacture of common wares. The kilns at Nepi were in operation between the second half of the 1st century and the second half of

the 2nd century AD, that of Formello, on the other hand appears to have been in operation only during the second half of the 2nd century AD. Closer to Rome, it is worth noting the production of thin walled wares and common wares in the area of Prima Porta during the second half of the 1st century AD (Peña 1987; Messineo 1991).

The large amount of pottery recovered and the variety of vessel types diffused on Late Antique sites suggests, despite the lack of secure indicators of production, that pottery manufacture continued to take place in this area. The macroscopic analysis of the clays adds further support to this argument: the restudy of the South Etruria survey coarse wares has distinguished several fabrics which are clearly different to those of the productions circulating in Rome in the same period.

S. Z.

Further confirmation of the above is provided by the preliminary study of some of the main kitchen ware forms in use in the middle Tiber valley between the 4th and the 6th centuries.

Three 'typological groups' are presented, based on the study of the kitchen wares from the South Etruria survey. The definition of 'typological group' follows that of Pavolini (2000, 26-31) in other words, vessels which, although not completely identical, have very similar forms and technical characteristics. In particular, the focus is on three groups of cooking pots: comprising casseroles and jars, given that they are the most common containers represented in this period.

The first group (Fig. 3) consists of a series of casseroles with a broad rim, at a right angle to the body or angled upwards, sometimes with a grooved upper surface. These vessels have a straight wall, the join between rim and wall being marked on the interior by a ridge. The vessel diameters vary between 18 and 30 cm, the fabrics are probably those of local origin. The first type (Fig. 3.1) has close parallels with material from both urban and rural contexts throughout the middle Tiber valley: the entire group is well-represented in published and unpublished contexts in Rome (Staffa 1986; Broise and Scheid 1987), in South Etruria from the Mola di Monte Gelato (Roberts 1997), in Umbria at Lignano in Teverina (Piraino 1999) and in the Sabina, at Forum Novum (Helen Patterson, pers. comm.). These vessel types begin to be diffused in the 4th century and are still very common throughout the 5th century, with only sporadic examples in the 6th century AD.

The second group (Fig. 4) consists of a series of casseroles with an everted, thickened rim, straight wall, distinguished from the rim on the exterior by a small ridge. These vessels range in diameter between 18 and 30 cm: again, the fabrics seem to be those of probable local origin. Type Fig. 4.1 has close parallels with vessels in contexts of the 4th / 6th centuries both in Rome (Staffa 1986; unpublished material from excavations of the Meta Sudans, studied by A.B.) and at the Mola di Monte Gelato (Roberts 1997). The other cooking pots of the same typological group (Fig. 4.2-6) are, however, almost completely lacking from urban contexts, whilst being fairly frequent in South Etruria, both on the evidence of the survey material and from excavation (Roberts 1997). The same forms are also documented in Umbria (Piraino 1999). The manufacture of these vessels begins, therefore, in the 4th, but continues into the 6th century AD.

Groups 1 and 2 seem to show a progressive evolution from the broad-rimmed casseroles of the middle imperial period. That the latter were produced in the middle Tiber valley is confirmed by the find of a secure waster in the kiln of Formello, active during the second half of the 2nd century AD (Peña 1987, 317, site 17, 9). During the Late Antique period, forms of this type undergo two main developments: firstly, as is clearly seen in the vessels of the first group, they begin to present a greater variety of rim form, in some cases more sharply angled upwards, and often with several grooves. Secondly, at the end of the 4th

and the beginning of the 5th century, the rim becomes increasingly narrow and less evident, as demonstrated by the vessels of group 2.

The third group (Fig. 5), comprises cooking pots which can more precisely be defined as jars. These have an everted, thickened rim, which is rectangular, sometimes rounded, in section, often characterized by a groove on the interior, where the rim joins the vessel wall. Again the diameter varies between 18 and 30 cm, with the exception of type Fig. 5.8. a smaller vessel whose dimensions are never more than 15 cm. The fabrics are similar to those of typological groups 1 and 2. The first vessel of this group (Fig. 5.1) is very similar to a form documented at Mola di Monte Gelato (Roberts 1997). The remainder are fairly frequent not only at the Mola di Monte Gelato, but also further north at Lugnano in Tevere (Piraino 1999) and still further north, at Cosa (Dyson 1976), whilst only sporadic examples are documented from Rome (unpublished material from excavations of the Meta Sudans, studied by A.B.).

All the vessels attributed to this typological group, seem to be slightly later in date than those of groups 1 and 2. Almost all the examples identified from excavated contexts do not appear before at least the end of the 4th / beginning of the 5th centuries. At Lugnano in Teverina (Piraino 1999), and at the Mola di Monte Gelato (Roberts 1997), in fact, these types are found in deposits which cover a considerable period of time (4th/5th for that of Lugnano and end of 4th/ mid 6th for that of Monte Gelato): therefore it is possible that they belong to the final phase of these contexts.

A. B.

The analysis of the distribution maps (Figs. 6-8) shows that the cooking vessels of all three groups are very common throughout South Etruria, although some differences can be noted. In the 4th century the same forms (group 1) are found throughout South Etruria as in Rome itself. By the end of the 4th century (group 2), however, a difference begins to emerge: although the same forms are still present both in South Etruria and Rome, not all the variants noted in the countryside seem to be present in Rome. From the beginning of the 5th century, and during the 6th century, there is a further marked change: vessels of group 2 are now rarely attested in Rome, but they continue to be well represented in South Etruria and also begin to appear on sites further north, as far as Cosa. In the same period, a new typological group – a series of jars (group 3) – appears alongside the traditional casserole forms. These vessels have a similar diffusion to the group 2 casseroles of the early 5th and 6th centuries, being attested throughout South Etruria as far north as Cosa, but only very rarely present in Rome.

S. Z.

### **Late Roman Local Amphorae in South Etruria**

The production of amphorae during the imperial period in inland, central Italy was a completely unknown phenomenon until the 1980s. The discovery of amphora kilns at Spello and Empoli, producing well-attested types, has made it possible to identify archaeologically the distribution of local goods such as wine and, perhaps, oil (Cambi 1989; Monacchi 1989).

The study of the amphorae from the South Etruria survey has demonstrated that in the early and mid Imperial periods (0-250 AD), amphorae of Italian provenance predominated over the products of other Mediterranean regions. The amphorae principally from Africa, but also from Spain, Gaul and the eastern Mediterranean comprise altogether just 33.8% of vessels identified, whilst 66.2% are of Italian production.

Amongst the Italian products, the wine amphorae Dressel 2/4 are well-represented. A preliminary study of the fabrics of these amphorae demonstrates a predominance of products from the Etrurian coast in comparison to those from southern Lazio and Campania. By far the best represented, however, is the Spello type amphorae (Ostia II 521 / Ostia III 369), which has a wide distribution extending across southern Etruria and the Sabina (Fig. 9). The great variety of fabrics in which this amphora was produced (see for example, Lapadula 1997) has indicated that production was not limited to the Umbrian centre of Spello, but that other production centres existed. Of importance in this context, is the identification amongst the South Etruria survey material of a definite waster from a villa site in the locality of Marzolano in the territory of Eretum. Although it is an isolated discovery, it confirms the diffusion of production centres of Spello type amphora in the Sabina area. A production centre of the Spello type amphorae seems to be attested also in coastal northern Etruria, in the area of the Valle di Cecina (Cherubini and Del Rio 1997). Evidence from excavated contexts appears to indicate that the Spello type amphora was produced from the 1st to the end of the 2nd centuries AD (Panella 1989, 143-146; Martin 1999, 333-339), after which there is no definite evidence of local amphora production in the late imperial period from the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD. This is not to say that local production of commerce of wine and oil did not continue, the epigraphic evidence seems to indicate that the Italic amphorae for the transport of wine, faced strong competition from wooden barrels (Tchernia 1986, 285-292, Panella 1989, 162-163).

The study of the South Etruria material has, however, slightly modified this picture, demonstrating some evidence for the continued use of pottery containers for the transport of goods during the Late Antique period. Fig. 10 shows the quantification of the Italic amphorae (rims, bases and handles) of the Imperial and Late Antique periods from the South Etruria survey. The graph clearly illustrates the predominance of the Spello type amphorae and of Dressel 2/4 in the early and mid Imperial periods. As regards the Late Antique period, (4th to 7th c AD) the Key LII amphorae, which are of Sicilian and Calabrian provenance, together with rare fragments of the Empoli type, are the only amphorae of known Italian production that we find in South Etruria. Apart from these small amphorae, which are now well-known, we have probably some evidence of the production of Late Antique amphorae for short distance transport and for the sale of foodstuffs, such as the wine and oil of southern Etruria and the Sabina.

The last column of the graph, under the heading 'local,' quantifies a series of amphorae with volcanic or calcareous fabrics of probable local production and relating to types which are still not well-defined in the archaeological literature, and datable mainly between the middle Imperial period and late antiquity. It is possible that these small amphorae were used for storage, however, in many cases, these containers are very similar typologically to the Spello type amphorae, so much so as to suggest a clear derivation from these transport amphorae. As we will see, some of these types are still documented in contexts of the late 6th to early 7th centuries AD. This is something that needs more investigation, however, it is very likely that they were used for the transport of oil and wine in the middle Tiber valley in late antiquity. If this is the case, they permit us to document the circulation of local goods within the territory.

A preliminary study of the fabrics has distinguished two broad production groups: on the one hand productions with very coarse fabrics, rich in volcanic inclusions, which are similar, if not identical, to the majority of the common wares attested in South Etruria. Within this broad group several types of amphorae can be distinguished (Fig. 11.2- 6). Some are already documented from contexts of middle Imperial date from the excavations of the Mola di Monte Gelato (in particular, Arthur 1997, types P23, P98 – fig. 209.23 and fig. 209.25). These are probably products of limited circulation of local manufacture. The second group (Fig. 11.7-11) has more refined fabrics, usually with limestone inclusions,

and was probably produced in the Tiber valley. In many cases, the fabrics are very similar to the fabrics of the Spello type amphorae.

However, finds from field survey are difficult to date. In this context the discovery at Forum Novum-Vescovio of a large well-stratified pottery deposit of the late 6th –beginning 7th centuries is of great significance. The deposit contains circa ten examples of small amphorae (Fig. 11.12-14) characterized by a short neck, ovoid body and large strap handles. Although no whole vessels were recovered, bases with an internal cavity (Fig. 11.11, from the survey,) similar to the Spello type amphorae, but of smaller dimensions, could be attributed to this form. On the basis of the rim form, three sub-types have been distinguished. These range from subtype 1 with a distinct collared rim to sub-type 3 (Fig. 11.14) where the collared rim tends to disappear, whilst the subtype 2 appears to represent an intermediary form (Fig. 11.13).

The fabrics vary in colour from yellow to pale reddish yellow with abundant limestone inclusions. They differ from the fabrics rich in volcanic inclusions which are characteristic of the coarsewares from the same deposit.

On typological grounds, the amphorae from the late 6th to early 7th centuries deposit at Forum Novum can probably be considered to derive from the Spello type amphorae. The three forms illustrated, although found in the same context, seem to demonstrate an increasing move away from the Early Imperial proto-type. Currently we have no secure evidence from contexts of the 3rd to 5th centuries which could suggest continuity of production, however, an identical vessel to subtype 1 can be seen in a complete amphora, published from a 5th to 6th century context from the villa of Baciletti near Lucus Feroniae (Tron 1986, 201). While, at the villa of Lignano in Teverina, immediately to the north of our study area, the Spello type amphora are the most common type attested in contexts of the 5th century (Martin 1999, 333-339). These deposits have a large percentage of residual material, but it is significant that the typological group assigned to the Spello type amphorae also includes numerous containers of small dimensions (Martin 1999, fig 259. 8, 9, 13, 15; fig. 260. 29); which are very similar typologically to the group from Forum Novum. Their presence, therefore, in 5th century contexts could be contemporary with the formation of the deposit and not residual.

The study of the LateAntique transport containers produced in the middle Tiber valley is only at the beginning. We hope that this first attempt at showing some examples from South Etruria and the Sabina will make a modest contribution to this area of study.

S.F.

## **Conclusions**

Several points emerge from this preliminary analysis. It is clear that the decline in rural settlement during the Late Antique period was not on the scale suggested by the original analysis of Ward-Perkins' South Etruria data (Potter 1979). This is only to be expected given the almost total dependence on fine wares for the identification and dating of sites at that time. The restudy of the material from the South Etruria survey, and the evidence from the Farfa survey permit a more realistic evaluation of Late Antique settlement in this area. Analysis is now concentrating on the distribution of the Late Antique settlement pattern; for example, if, and to what degree, there are shifts in the location of sites, and the nature of these sites. As regards the South Etruria data, this analysis is still in its preliminary stages.

However, in the Sabina tiberina, at least in the area of Farfa, the results of the Farfa survey indicate a marked shift in the settlement pattern from the mid to later 6th century, with the abandonment of many sites, and the emergence of new sites; characterized by a move of settlement away from the Tiber itself, to locations further up the Farfa valley and around the Abbey of Farfa itself.

It is probable that this shift is related to the Lombard incursions and eventual occupation of this area in the second half of the sixth century (Patterson and Roberts 1998). With the creation of the Lombard duchy of Spoleto, Rieti became the seat of a gastaldato whose territory extended to include the Sabina tiberina, as far as Cures Sabini. The area covered by the Farfa survey lay on the Lombard-Byzantine frontier, an area of maximum political and military friction. Of the nature of these new foundations we know very little; only one such site has been excavated, that of Casale San Donato, situated only a few kilometres from the Abbey of Farfa. The first phase of occupation, of the late 6th to 7th centuries, is characterized by wooden structures, which later, probably around the late 8th century, are rebuilt in stone (Moreland et al. 1993).

As regards ceramic production and distribution, it is clear that despite the marked drop in the supply of imported wares, in particular African Red Slip, to the area of the middle Tiber valley after the mid 5th century, the Late Roman 'rural' pottery production centres, and their supply mechanisms continued to operate, certainly until sometime in the 6th century, indicating a certain stability and even vitality in the economic system. Some changes can be noted: in particular the increasing divergence between the common ware types available in the town and those in the countryside, from the end of the 4th and especially from the 5/6th centuries suggest some fragmentation of the existing system. However, on the evidence from the Sabina, the final breakdown of this system and the emergence of new forms of production and distribution occurs during the later 6th century.

The study of the amphorae adds further support to this picture. Of particular significance is the identification of amphorae types, which seem to derive from the early Imperial Spello type amphorae, and are almost securely of 'local' production. They may represent the continued production and use of local transport amphorae for short distance transport during the mid Imperial period to Late Antique periods. The evidence from Forum Novum proves that such vessels were certainly in circulation until the later 6th/7th centuries. As Rome lost its overseas provinces, its immediate hinterland became increasingly important for the supply of the urban centre (Delogu 1993). Further work is needed to analyse the distribution of these vessels and in particular if the vessels and their contents arrived in Rome itself.

Evidence for ceramic production and distribution during the later 6th, 7th and early 8th centuries is very patchy. In South Etruria, no excavated contexts of this date have been published. Very few forms of this date were also identified during the restudy of the South Etruria survey material, although this is probably a reflection of the collection methods and the failure to pick up this material. Moreover, recent surveys although publishing distribution maps of sites dated to the late 6th and 7th centuries, identified on the basis of the surface scatters, fail to publish the material itself. We are better informed for the Sabina, where the evidence from excavation and survey indicates a marked change in pottery production and distribution, sometime in the later 6th century. From the later 6th to 7th (8th) centuries, a new range of ceramic types is distributed on both urban and rural sites throughout the Sabina, both in the area close to the Tiber (the Sabina tiberina) and the hills to the east (the Sabina reatina). They consist of a more limited range of forms, primarily jars, jugs and baking dishes, often with a distinctive Combed, Slipped decoration (Patterson and Roberts 1998) (Fig. 12). The traditional casserole form has finally disappeared, suggesting changes in cooking and or eating habits. The fabrics are also noticeably different to those of the previous 'Roman' productions. These types have been found on various sites in the Farfa and Rieti surveys, from excavations at the Abbey of Farfa itself; at Casale San Donato, near Farfa, excavations at Forum Novum-Vescovio; and from excavations of Madonna del Passo, near Rieti (Patterson and Roberts 1998). Significantly, not one example of these wares has been identified from South Etruria on the other side of the Tiber, or in Rome itself. These changes in the economic system are



roughly contemporary with the arrival of the Lombards in the Sabina and it seems that it is in this period, with the breakdown of Roman unity of the Tiber valley, that we can place the final collapse of the Roman economic system in this area.

H.P.

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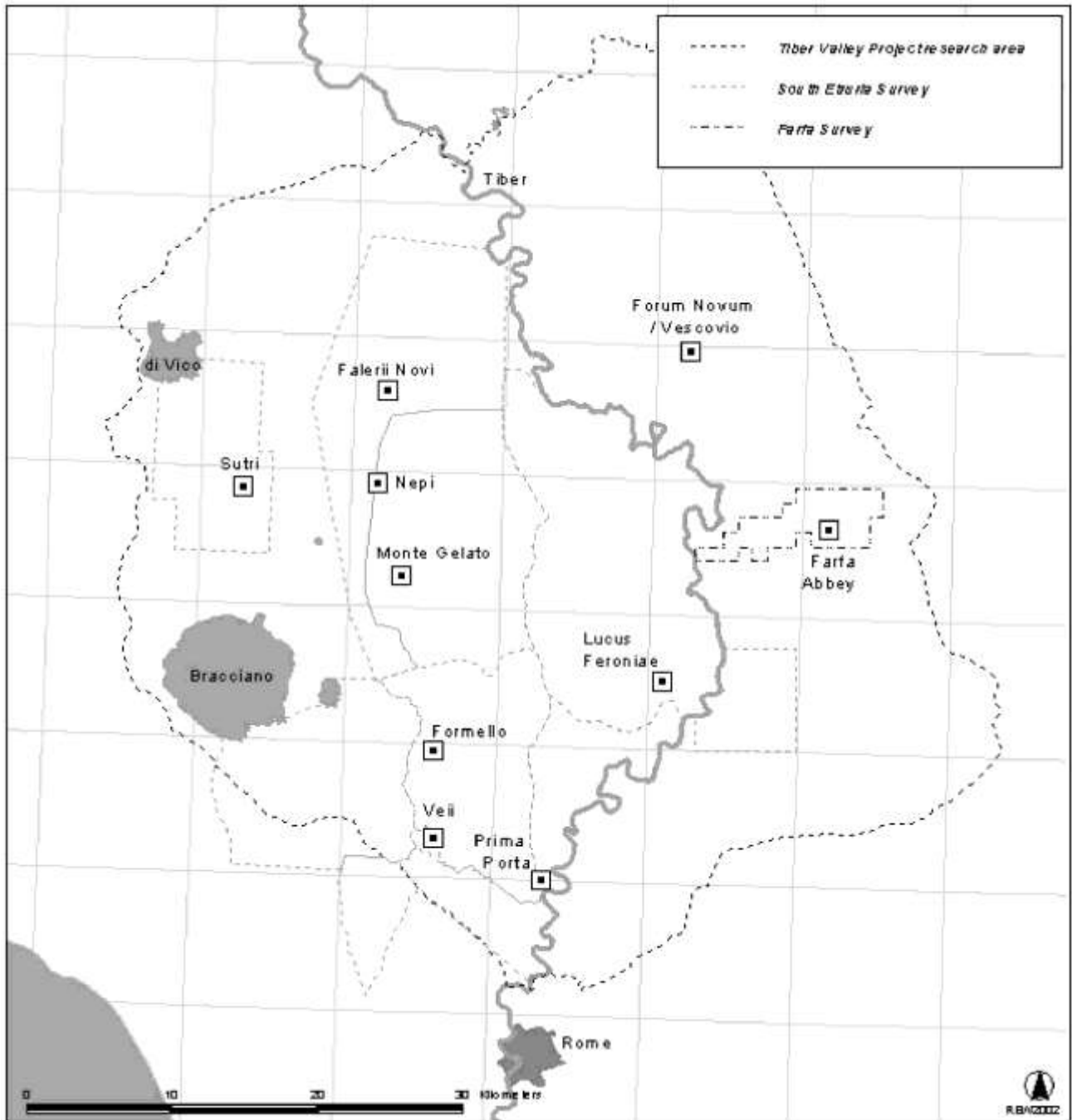
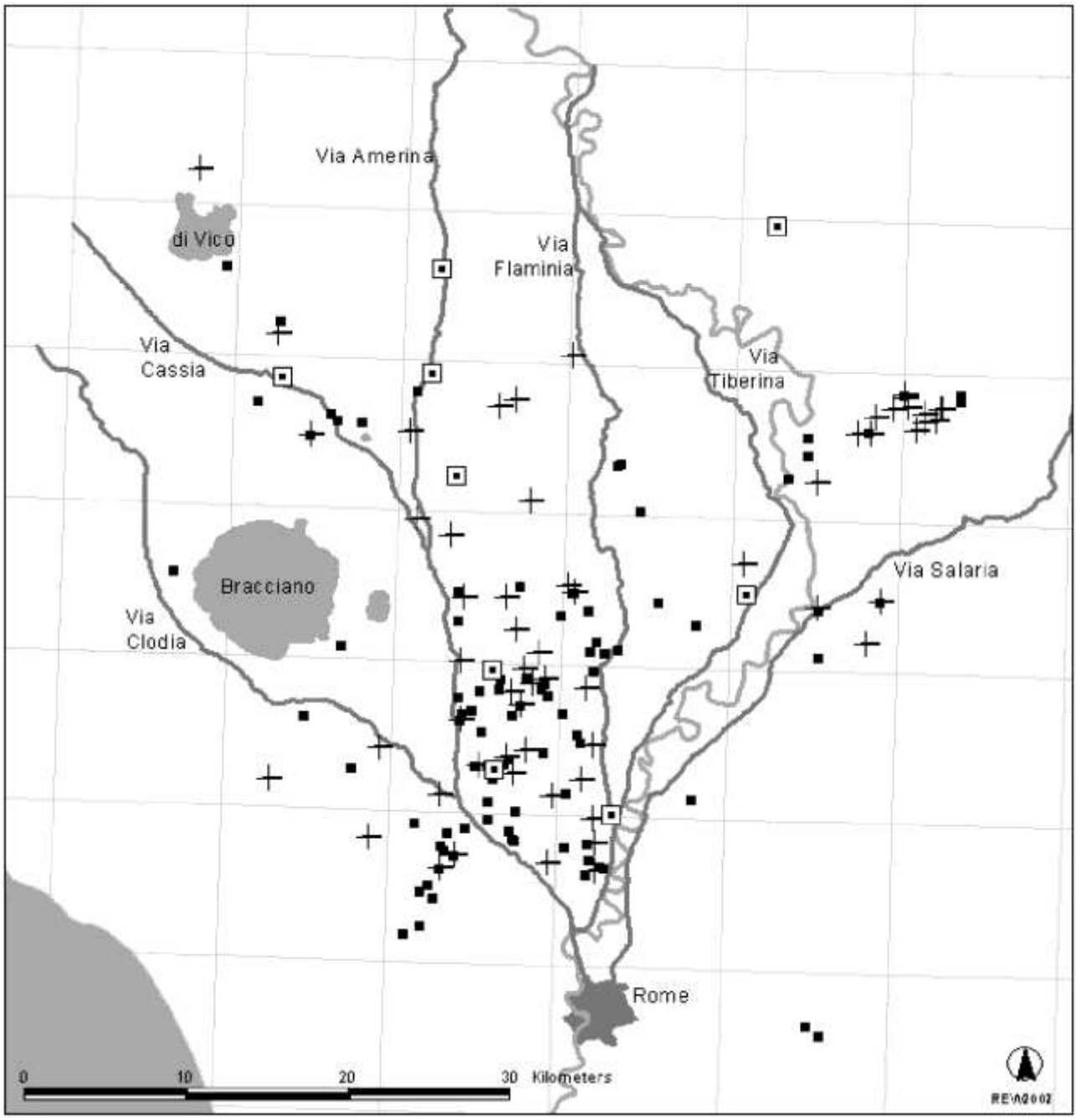
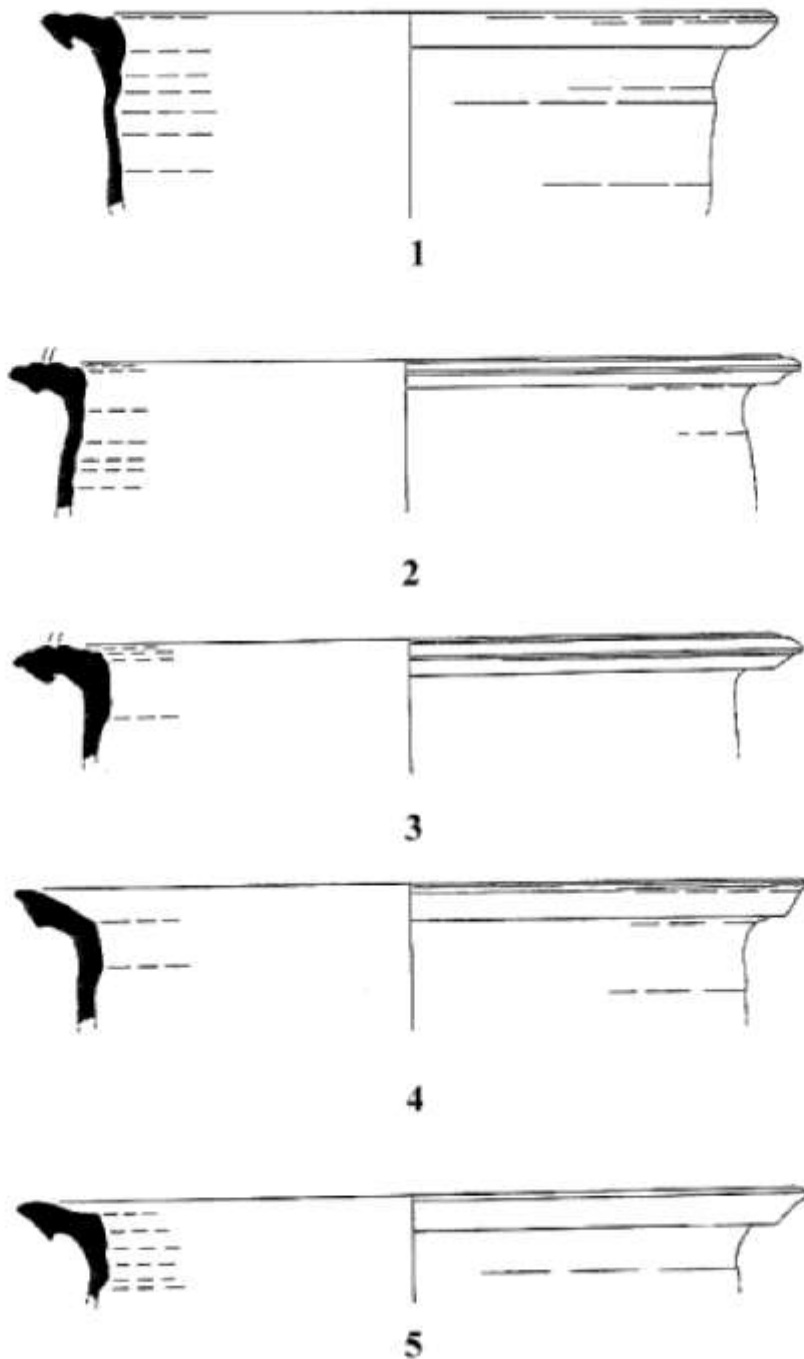


Fig. 1. Map of the Tiber valley project study area showing survey areas and principal sites mentioned in the text.

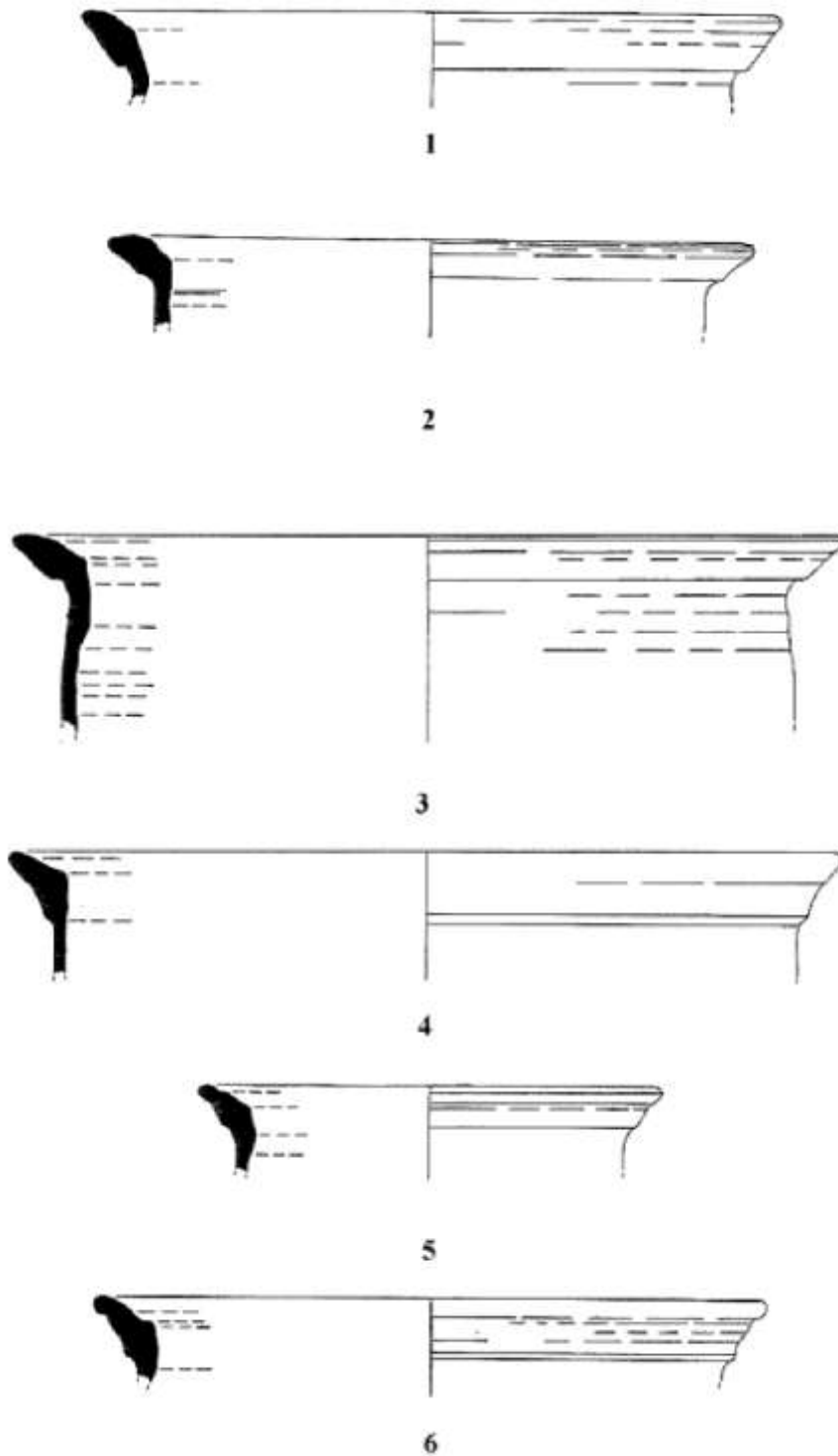


**Fig. 2. Distribution of African Red Slip Ware (squares) and coarse wares (crosses) from the South Etruria and Farfa surveys between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.**



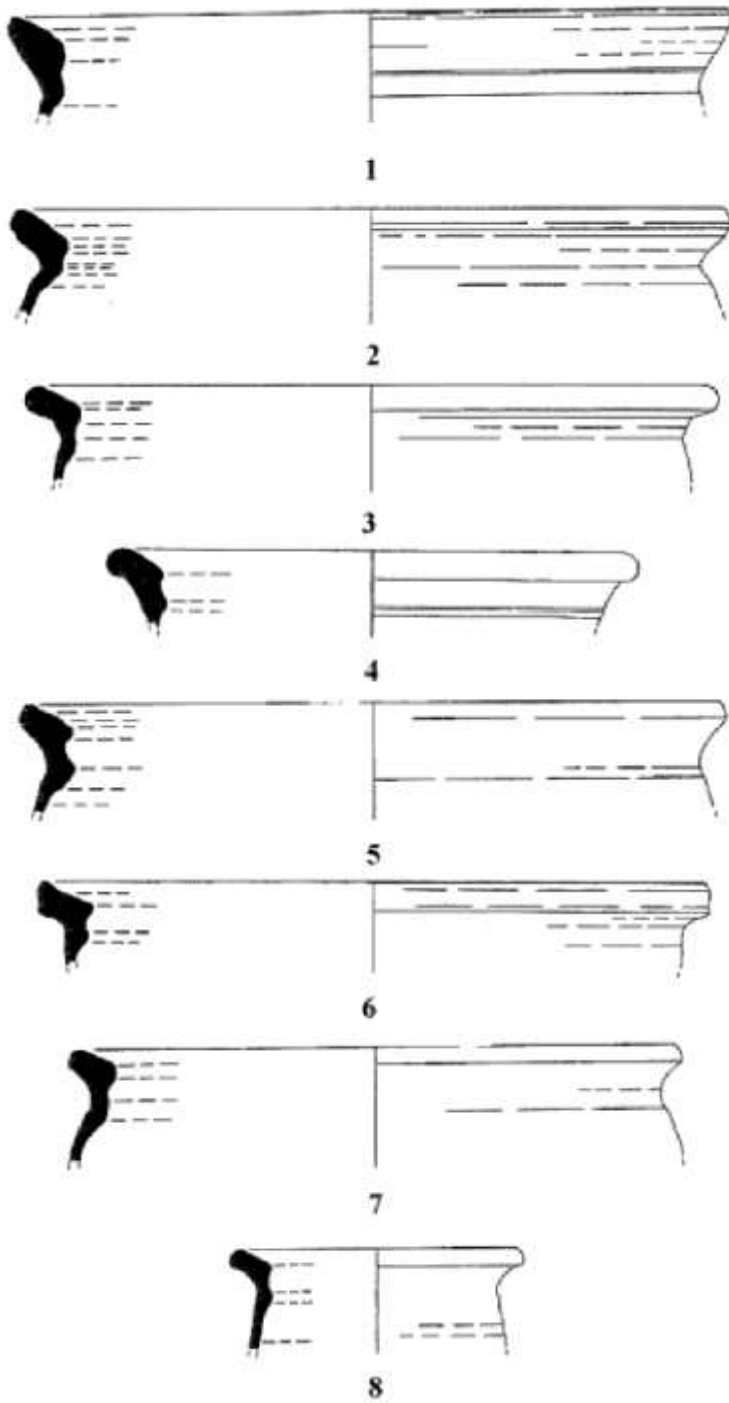
**Fig. 3. Coarse wares typological group 1 (scale 1:3).**

Forms of this group are documented from Rome itself and on sites in South Etruria and the Sabina. From Rome, for examples of type Fig. 3.1 from excavations near Rebibbia of the mid 4th/mid 5th century AD, see Staffa 1986, fig. 398, 192, fig. 399, 195, from excavations of the balneum of the Fratelli Arvali on the Magliana, broadly dated between the mid 4<sup>th</sup>-mid 6th centuries AD, see Broise and Scheid 1987, fig. 220a, 48a. This type is also present at the Meta Sudans (unpublished material studied by A.B.). Still in Rome, for generic parallels for this group see, Staffa 1986, fig. 398, 193-194; Broise and Scheid 1987, fig. 220a and in particular fig. 220a, 47, 217 for examples of type Fig. 3.2-3, and fig. 220a, 49 for examples of type Fig. 3.4-5. In the Tiber valley, similar forms include unpublished examples from Forum Novum-Vescovio in the Sabina, in a late 6<sup>th</sup>/early 7th centuries context (Helen Patterson, pers comm.), for examples from Lugnano in Teverina in contexts of the 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, see Piraino 1999, fig. 215, 109, whilst for a slightly similar form to type Fig. 3.3, at the Mola di Monte Gelato of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, see Roberts 1997, fig. 230, 131.



**Fig. 4. Coarse wares typological group 2 (scale 1:3).**

Examples of this group are documented from Rome and from various sites in southern Etruria. From Rome for type Fig. 4.1, see Staffa 1986, fig. 399, 201, 203; the form is also present at the Meta Sudans (unpublished material studied by A.B.). At the Mola di Monte Gelato this type is present in a context datable between the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the mid 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, see Roberts 1997, fig. 236, 178a. For examples of type Fig. 4.2, at Lugnano in Teverina, see Piraino 1999, fig. 218, 121; for similar vessels in Rome, see Staffa 1986, fig. 399, 199, the form is also present in an unpublished 6<sup>th</sup> century context from excavations of the Carcere Mamertina (H. di Giuseppe, pers. comm.). At the Mola di Monte Gelato, for type Fig. 4.3, see Roberts 1997, fig. 236, 180a; for vessels similar to types Fig. 4.5-6, see Roberts 1997, fig. 236, 180b.



**Fig. 5. Coarse wares typological group 3 (scale 1:3).**

Only one example; from the unpublished context of the Meta Sudans, see above, has been identified in Rome itself, whereas they are documented on a number of sites in South Etruria. From the Mola di Monte Gelato, for type Fig. 5.1, see Roberts 1997, fig. 231, 138, fig. 235, 174 found in two contexts, one of the Justinianic period and the second of the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century, for types Fig. 5.2, 7, see Roberts 1997, fig. 235, 170a and for Type Fig. 5.6, see Roberts 1997, fig. 235, 170c. From Lugnano in Teverina for Type Fig. 5.4, see Piraino 1999, fig. 223, 154, and for types Fig. 5.7-8, see, Piraino 1999, fig. 224, 155-156. Finally, types Fig. 5.2-3, 5 are attested at Cosa (Dyson, 1976, FC 20-21), the recent restudy of the material has suggested a new early 6<sup>th</sup> century date for this context (S. Fontana pers comm.).

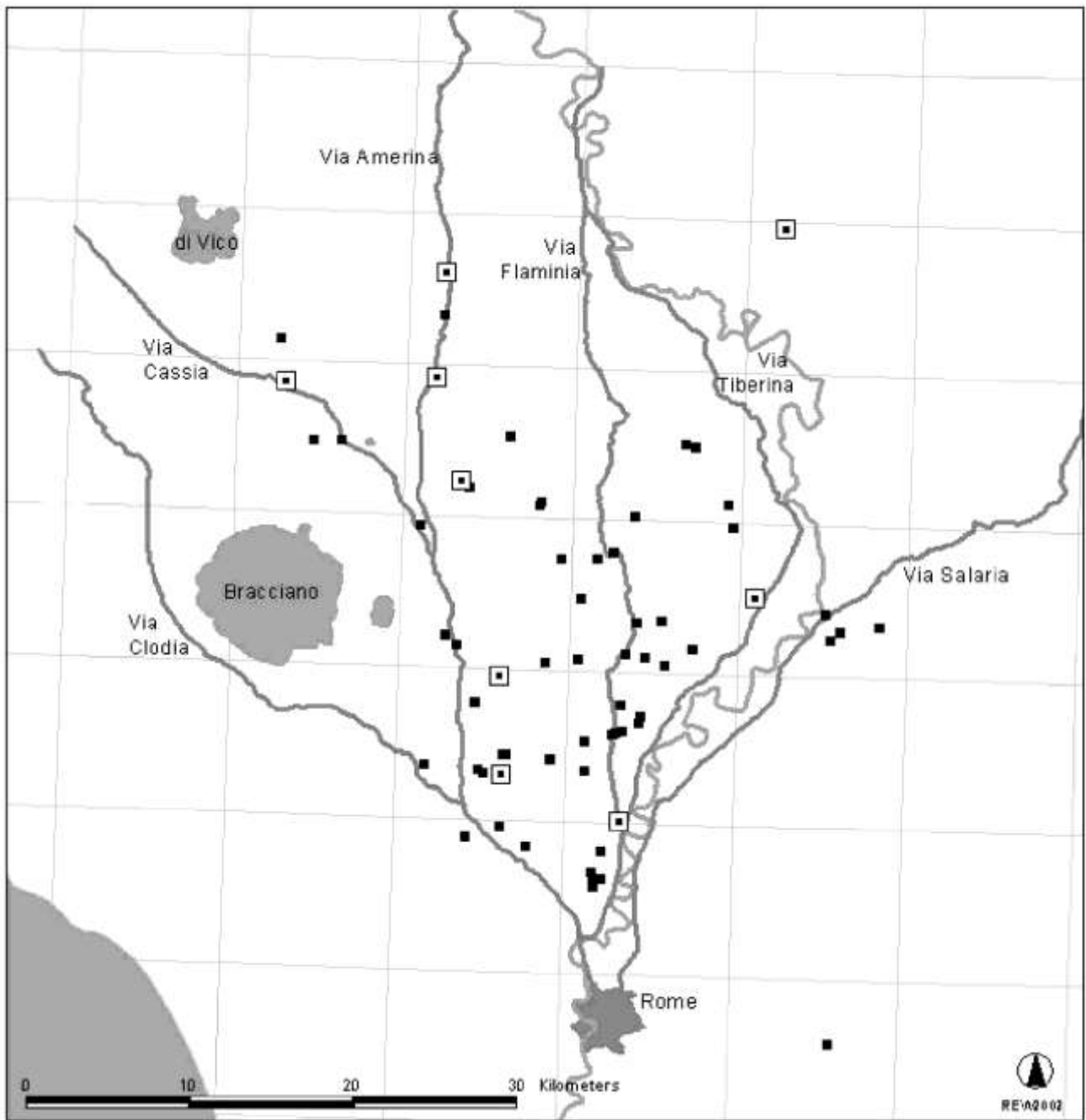


Fig. 6. Distribution map of coarse wares, typological group 1.



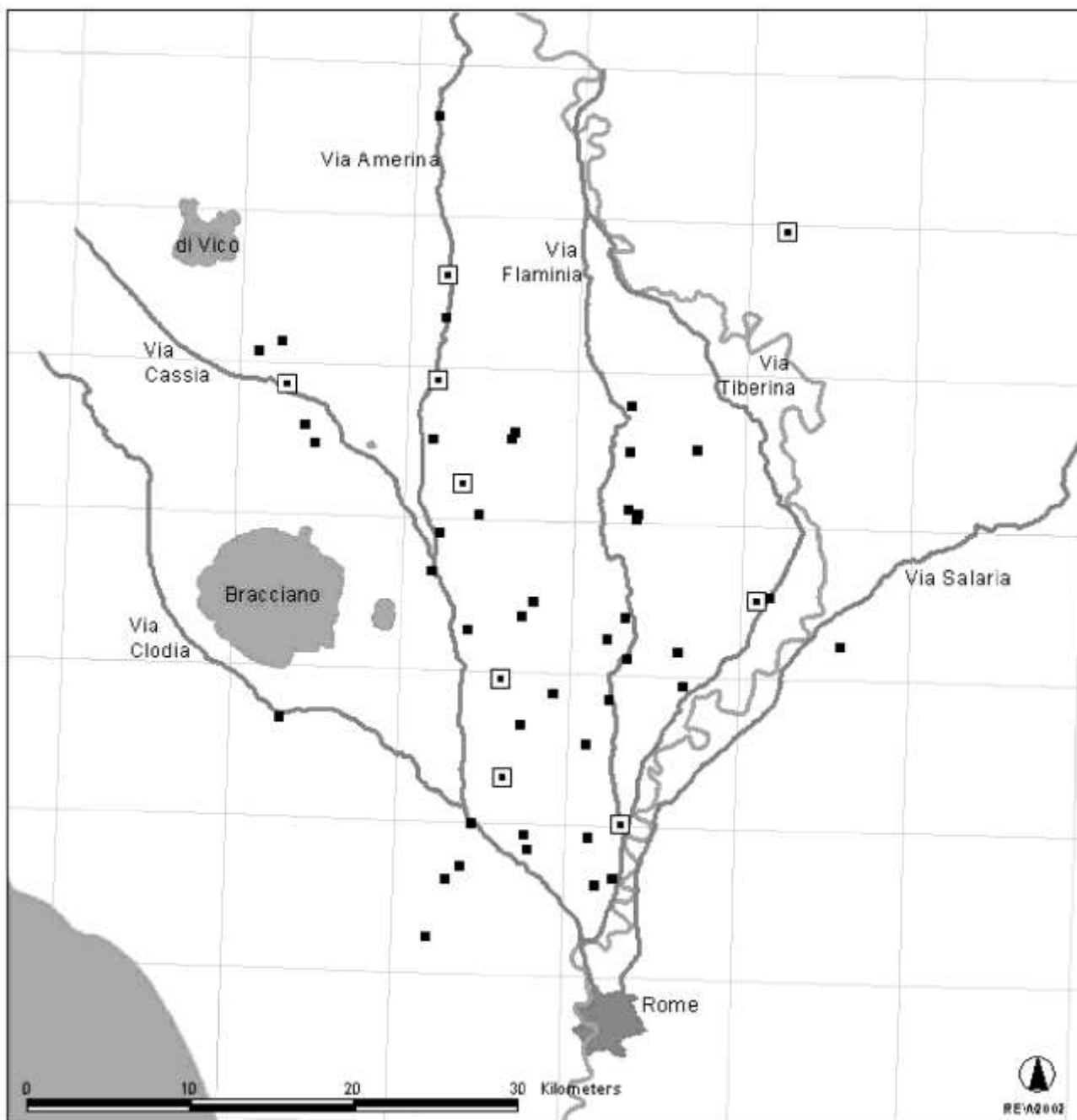


Fig. 7. Distribution map of coarse wares, typological group 2.

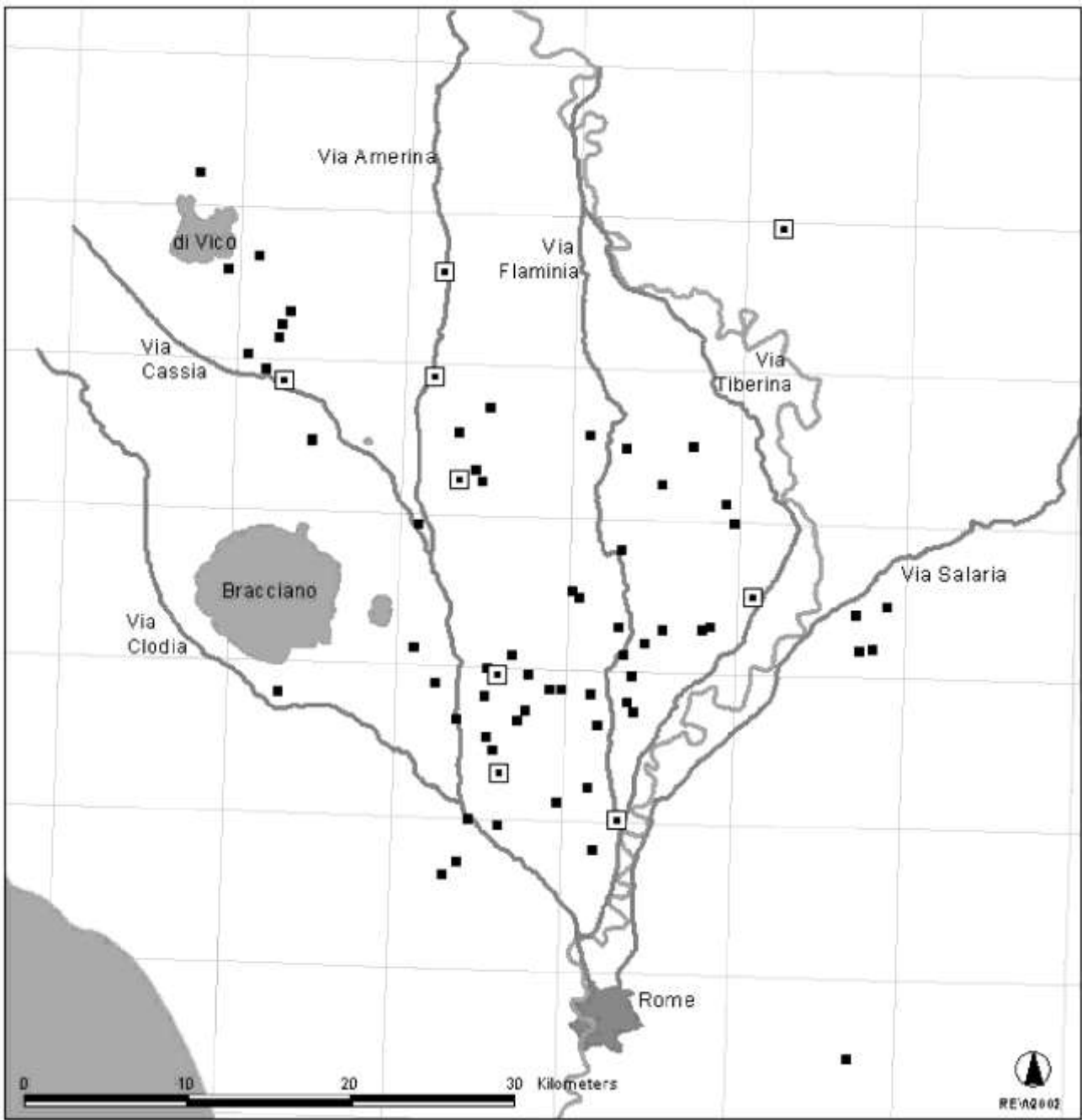


Fig. 8. Distribution map of coarse wares, typological group 3.

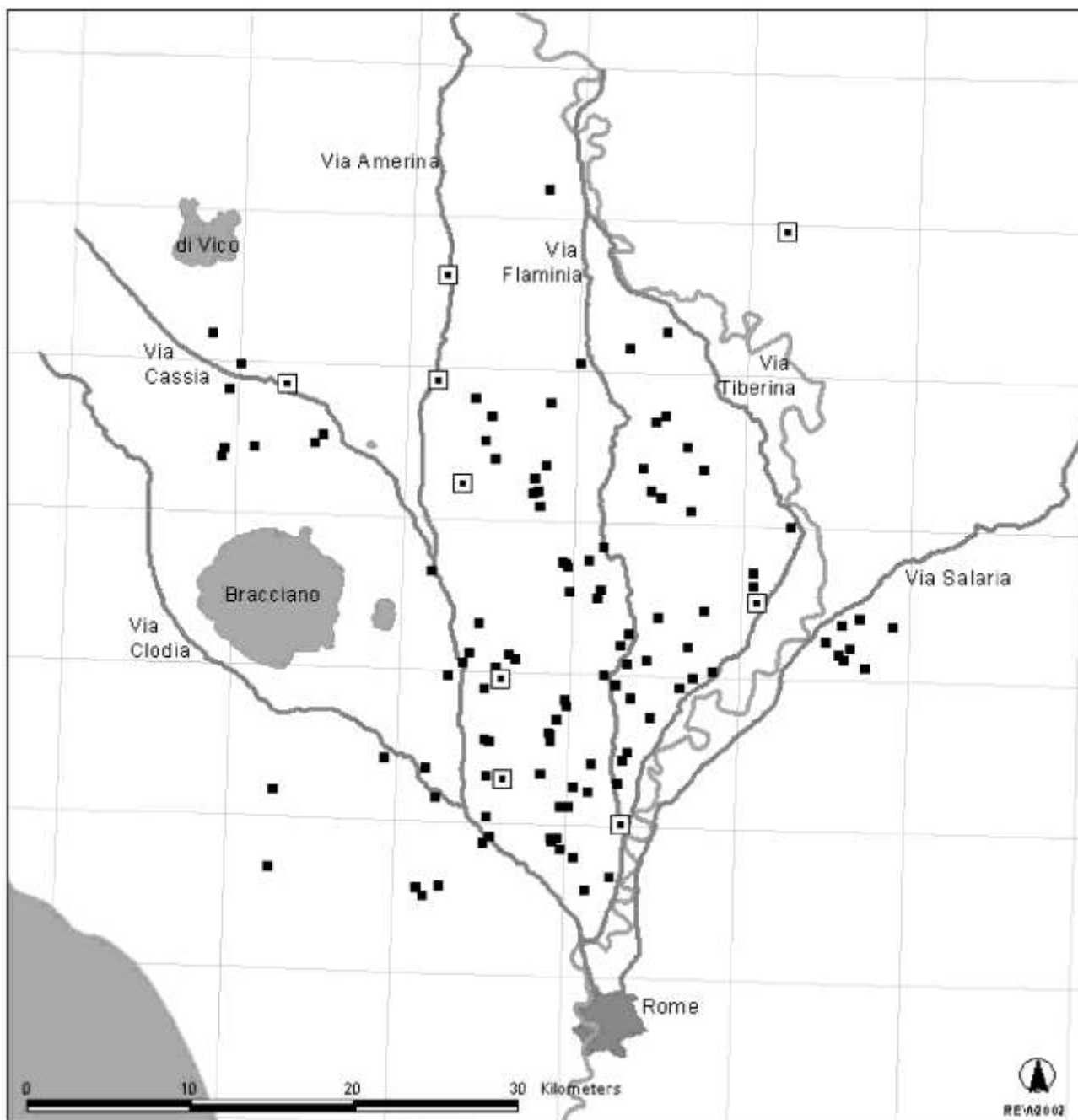
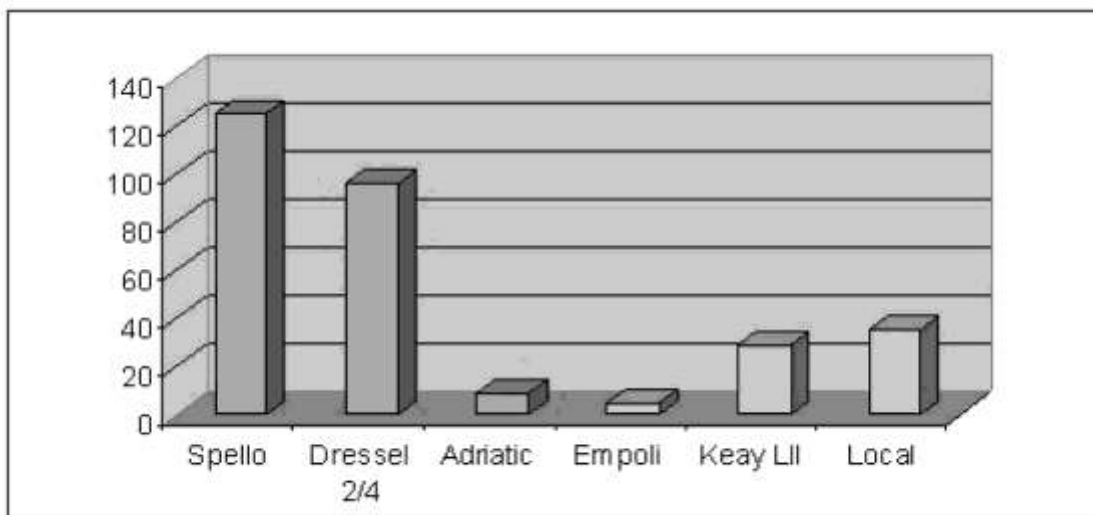
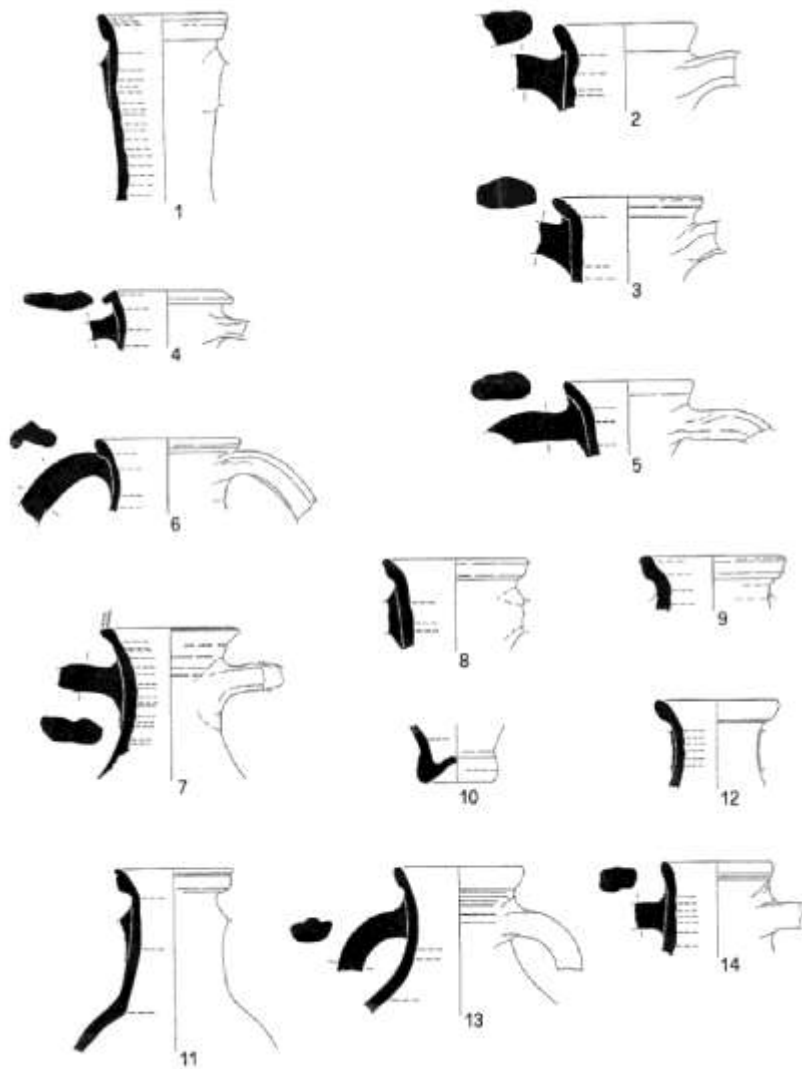


Fig. 9. Distribution map of the Spello type amphorae.



**Fig. 10. Quantification of the fragments (rims, handles and bases) of Italic amphorae of Imperial and Late Antique date from the South Etruria survey.**



**Fig. 11. 'Local' amphorae from the middle Tiber valley.**

- 1) Amphorae of the Spello type Ostia III 369, IGM coordinates 874-744c
- 2) Amphora similar to example from Mola di Monte Gelato, P 23 (Arthur 1997, fig. 209.23) with volcanic clay, IGM coordinates 874-742 = località Comune; Veio.
- 3) Amphora similar to example from Mola di Monte Gelato, P 23 (Arthur 1997, fig. 209.23) with volcanic clay, IGM coordinates 689-871
- 4) Amphora similar to example from Mola di Monte Gelato, P 98 (Arthur 1997, fig. 209.25) with volcanic clay, IGM coordinates 063-656
- 5) Amphora with volcanic clay, IGM coordinates 790-766
- 6) Amphora with volcanic clay, IGM coordinates 822-642
- 7) Possible late imperial variant of the Empoli type amphora, IGM coordinates 526-594 (for similar example from Lugnano in Teverina, see Martin 1999, fig. 259.9; the type appears also in a 5th century context from the Domus Tiberiana on the Palatine).
- 8) Possible late variant of the Spello type amphora, IGM coordinates 843-767.
- 9) Possible late variant of the Spello type amphora, IGM coordinates 942-633.
- 10) Base attributable to a late variant of the Spello type amphora from Lugnano in Teverina, Martin 1999: fig. 259, 14-16)
- 11) Forum Novum, context of the mid 6th to 7th century AD, type 1 (for similar examples from Lugnano in Teverina, see Martin 1999: fig. 259,8; from Lucus Feroniae, località Baciletti, see Tron 1986, 201)
- 12) Forum Novum, context of the mid 6th to 7th century AD, type 2 (for similar example from Lugnano in Teverina, see Martin 1999 fig. 259. 15,13)
- 13) Forum Novum, context of the mid 6th to 7th century, type 2
- 14) Forum Novum, context of the mid 6th to 7th century, type