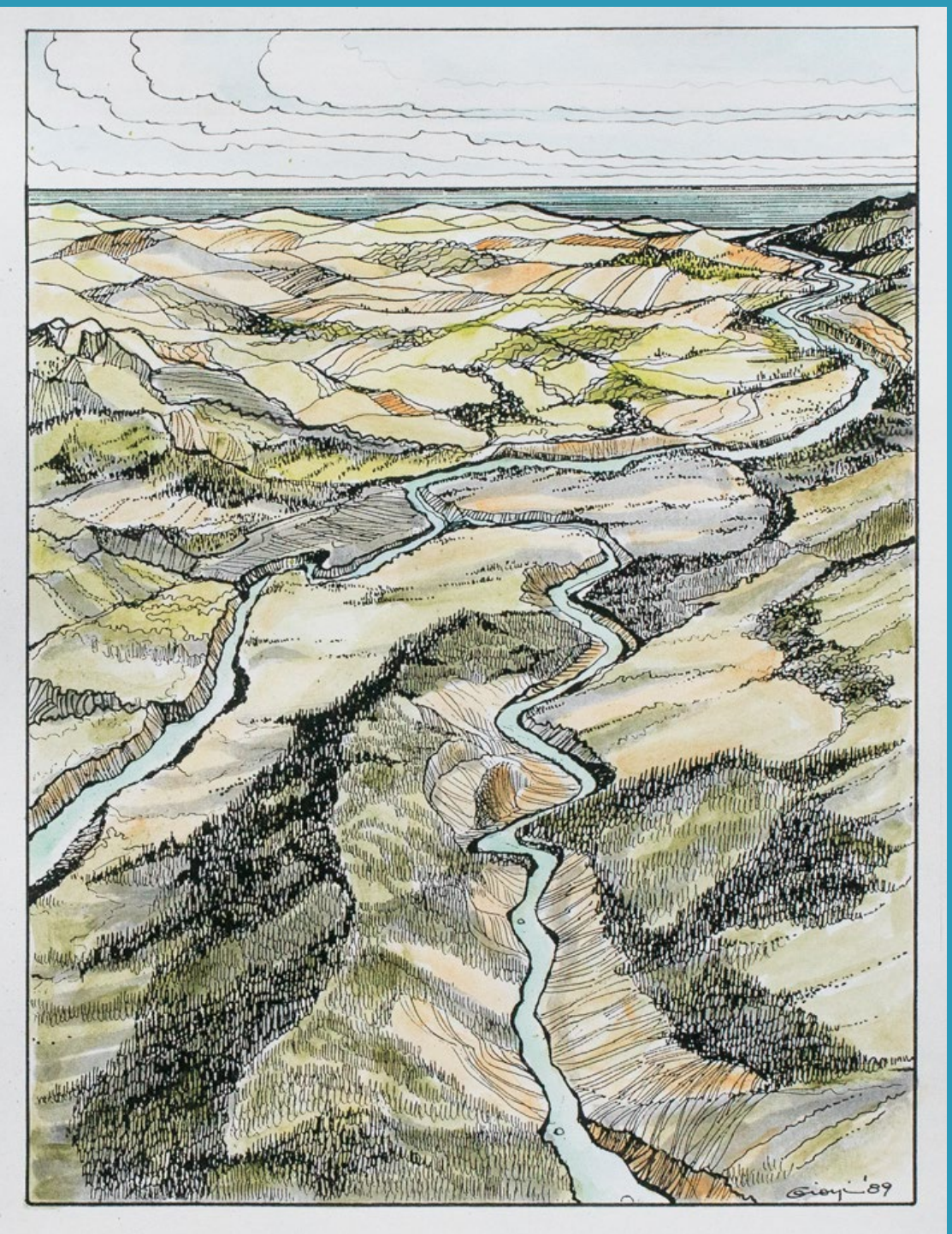
Picenum and the *Ager Gallicus* at the Dawn of the Roman Conquest

Edited by
Federica Boschi, Enrico Giorgi, Frank Vermeulen



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Picenum and the *Ager Gallicus* at the Dawn of the Roman Conquest

Landscape Archaeology and Material Culture

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Federica Boschi, Enrico Giorgi, Frank Vermeulen

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Cover: View of the Tronto Valley in the heart of the ancient Picenum. Drawing by Giorgio Giorgi.

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Picenum and the *Ager Gallicus* at the Dawn of the Roman Conquest. Landscape Archaeology and Material Culture

Federica Boschi, Enrico Giorgi, Frank Vermeulen (eds.)

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Introduction

***Federica Boschi**, **Enrico Giorgi**, University of Bologna*
***Frank Vermeulen**, Ghent University*

This book represents the main outcome of the international workshop *Picenum and the Ager Gallicus at the Dawn of the Roman Conquest. Landscape Archaeology and Material Culture*, organized by the Universities of Bologna and Ghent, held in Ravenna on 13th – 14th May 2019.
The specialized conference was conceived in order to understand better the transition between Italic culture and Romanized society in the central Adriatic area (*ager Gallicus* and *Picenum* under Roman dominance). In particular, the scientific meeting focused on the crucial transition period of the fourth to second centuries BC, which include: the later phases of Umbrian and Picene cultural development; the introduction of Gallic elements in a predominantly Italic society; the later phase of Greek and Hellenistic cultural and economic influence in this part of the Adriatic area; the gradual increase of Roman/Latin commercial interests; the Roman military conquest and subsequent colonization; the deepening urbanization of the region; and the general unrest announcing the Social War that would entail the full municipalization and complete incorporation of the region in the Roman State.

According to the organizers of the meeting it is time that archaeologists working in this part of Italy develop a focused research agenda, which can help to enhance our understanding of such important aspects as the precise nature of settlement dynamics, the character of landscape change, the internal and external relations of populations living in the area, the cohabitation of ethnically different groups peopling the region, the evolution of material culture and the economic drives connected with the times of change and transition. The workshop was aimed at presenting and confronting some of the latest archaeological research concerning two main fields of operation: topographical aspects and the study of material culture. Within this framework, short papers by invited specialists working in the field and/or on pottery and small finds in this region, as well as a few selected presentations from comparable research in other parts of the Italian peninsula, were exposed and followed by discussions and an open exchange of ideas.

The colloquium and all the presented contributions enabled the investigation of the relationship between the centres of central Adriatic Italy and their territories during a period that marks a profound transformation in the whole of central Italy. The complex and varied processes of territorial and socio-political reorganization characterizing this part of the Italian peninsula are progressively modified by the conditioning of nearby Rome and its growing military expansionism. The profound transformations and upheavals caused by the Roman expansion towards the Po plain and by the Punic Wars, which projected Rome to the level of Mediterranean power, rapidly and substantially changed the territorial structure of the region. The relationship of central settlements with the surrounding agricultural landscape, the mainly archaeological definition of the territorial districts and the boundaries between the major centres, and the impact of early Romanization, were given particular attention.

The two-day meeting ended with a round table, during which targeted proposals were made for the continuation of research in the considered area, in the light of open issues and new data acquired and discussed.

We feel confident that this outcome of the workshop can help the archaeological community to develop efficient methodological approaches to advance knowledge and understanding about this still

understudied period of the region's past and help to define the specific nature of the pre-Roman to Roman transition in central Adriatic Italy.

Acknowledgements

The editors of the volume are deeply grateful to all workshop participants for their important contributions and for sharing stimulating thoughts and discussions.
A heartfelt thanks also goes to the institutions that supported the initiative, namely the University of Bologna (Department of History and Cultures), the University of Ghent (Department of Archaeology) and the Centro Studi per l'Archeologia dell'Adriatico. Finally, we thank the University Campus of Ravenna, for hosting the workshop, and the Fondazione Flaminia for the valuable organizational assistance.

Workshop participants as speakers or chairperson

Silvano Agostini (Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio dell'Abruzzo)
Peter Attema (Groningen University)
Gabriele Baldelli (MiBAC)
Vincenzo Baldoni (Università di Bologna)
Francesco Belfiori (Università di Bologna)
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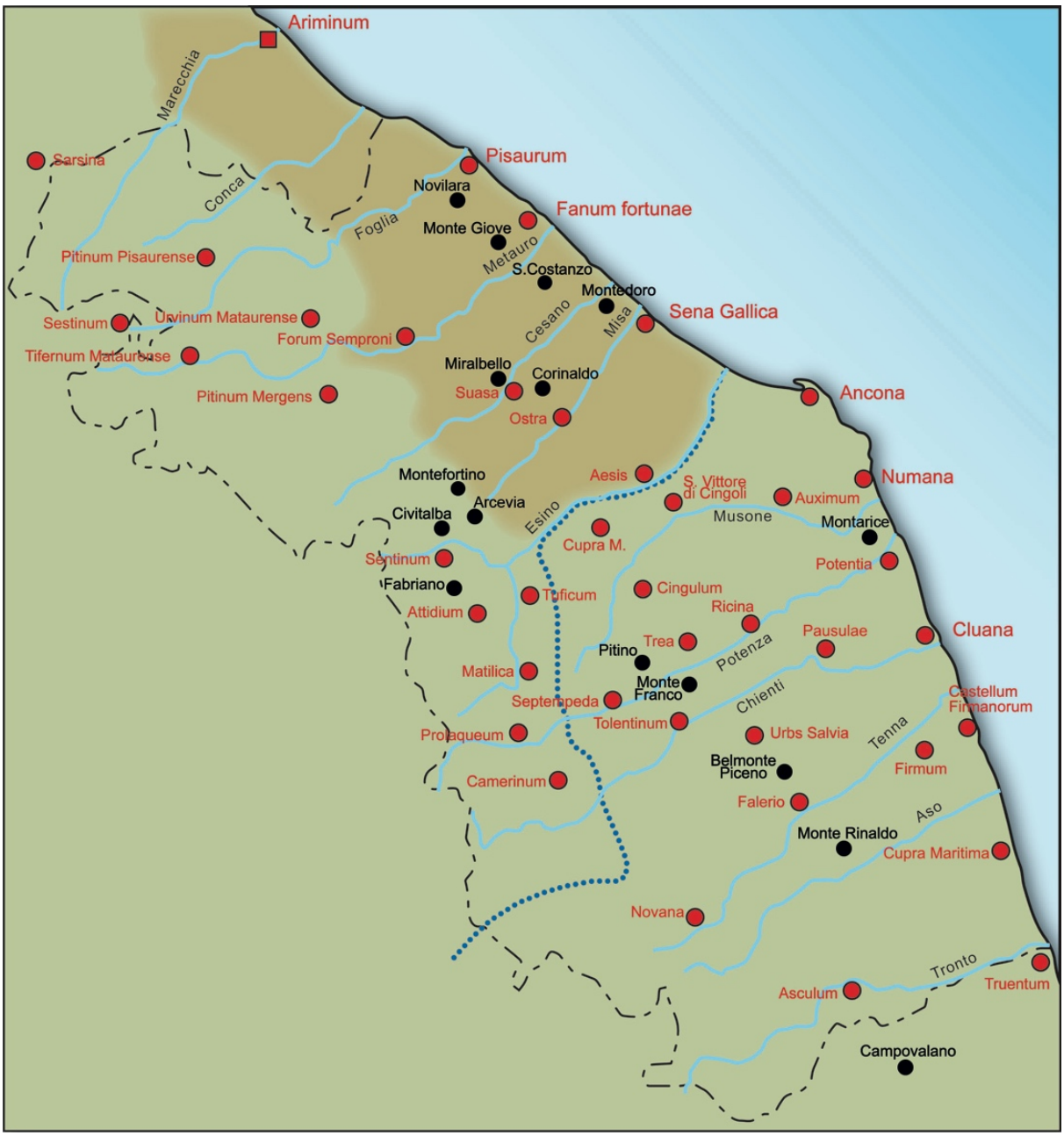

Figure. Cities, towns and other central settlement sites discussed or mentioned in this book. The sites marked as red dots became important Roman towns or service-centres.

I. Data integration and comparison in landscape archaeology: towards analysis beyond sites and valleys

***Peter Attema**, University of Groningen*

Summary

I discuss the importance of data integration in landscape archaeology, taking into account issues of scale, feasibility and relevance. Referencing a current initiative – the Rome Hinterland Project (RHP) – undertaken by an international consortium of researchers to combine landscape archaeological data from field surveys in the landscapes around Rome, I highlight the potential of the archaeological record of the Marche for the integration of field data from landscape survey. I discuss the example of, and progress made within, the RHP to illustrate the feasibility of data integration.

Introduction

Many landscape archaeologists nowadays record, process and analyse large amounts of site and artefact data to discover patterns in settlement and land use dynamics in their fieldwork areas, so as to study the longue durée of landscapes. Systematic recording of surface archaeology in the Mediterranean has a long research history, rooted in the processual paradigm of the 1960s and 1970s. From the beginning, its practitioners have been keen on standardization of field and recording procedures, and on the validation and representativeness of data obtained from the field. There has also been a continual interest in studying the multiple biases that affect the surface archaeological record (van Leusen 2002) and the specific regional traditions of field survey (see for Italy especially Cambi and Terrenato 1994; Terrenato 1996).

The attitude of practitioners from the current generation of landscape archaeologists, who criticise the sources of their own data and that of data from other researchers, has led to exploration of the potential for comparison of datasets obtained from systematic surveys and topographical work, and its potential for comparison and integration (Alcock and Cherry 2004; Attema *et al.* 2010; Witcher 2008). Key to the success of comparison and integration is formal classification according to set criteria, a condition that is rarely met in case studies presented in the literature. If undertaken, however, it allows aggregate and comparative analyses of archaeological sites and finds recorded in the landscape (Attema *et al.* forthcoming).

I use the example of a recent initiative by an international consortium to build an overarching database – the Rome Hinterland Project Database (RHPdb) – which aims at the integration of three major survey projects based in the hinterland of Rome, in which large amounts of field and artefact data have been collected since the 1960s: the Tiber Valley Project (TVP) (Patterson *et al.* forthcoming), the *Suburbium* project (Carafa and Capanna 2019) and the Pontine Region Project (PRP) (Attema *et al.* 2019). Central to the structure of the RHPdb is the classification table for sites according to function and the classification table of ceramics according to type, and their associated dates. The uniform classification of sites and artefacts is a precondition for merging data to perform aggregate and comparative analyses.
Judging from the landscape archaeological papers presented at the conference and in this volume on the (surface) archaeology of the landscapes of the *Picenum* and *ager Gallicus*, the intensity and quality

of the work undertaken in the Marche has great potential for data integration, on different scales and using different topographical sources.
I start here with a discussion of three issues in data integration in landscape archaeology: scale, feasibility and relevance. This discussion is followed by a section on the RHPdb initiative. The paper will conclude with a discussion of the potential of the Central Adriatic landscapes for data integration along the lines of the RHPdb.

Data integration in landscape archaeology: scale, feasibility and relevance

In this section, I will first discuss the topic of scale. Data integration can take place on different scales, from the local to the regional and supra-regional, from contiguous areas and areas that are geographically distant, all depending on the goals set (see, for example, Alcock and Cherry 2004). I will then discuss feasibility; data integration is only feasible if the quality and quantity of data is such that a robust classification of sites and pottery can be made. This needs discussion and consensus (Attema and Schörner 2012 for a presentation of cases concerning the Roman period). Finally, I will consider relevance; why make the (substantial) effort of data integration: what historical questions can we engage with?

Scales

Let us start with the local level. Here one can think of bringing together data from different surveys carried out over a longer period in a well-defined part of the landscape in order to understand local settlement dynamics and land use over space and time. A project at the local scale, for instance, may concern a single small valley or other well-defined geomorphological unit, or the rural territory of a town or city. In most cases, representative or full coverage of even a small survey area will have been attained in more than one campaign, and in many cases even in many campaigns carried out over several years using different ways of collecting data. Cases in which a single methodology of surface survey has been applied in all campaigns are rare (but see Yntema 1993). Data integration at the local level thus already poses the challenge of overcoming heterogeneity in the nature of the data recovered from the landscape, an issue to which we will return below. Where data also needs to be used from sources other than systematic survey (i.e. local inventories and data from older *Forma Italiae*), this will add to data heterogeneity. Of course, there are also situations in which no systematic survey was ever done totally lacks; patterns that emerge from the elaboration of data from topographical surveys are best tested by new (targeted) surveys or revisiting known sites (see recently: Casarotto 2018). Apart from collecting and classifying data from systematic field surveys, other academic studies, notably the *Forma Italiae*, or unpublished PhD dissertations that may contain valuable site inventories can be examined. Studies compiled by local "archeoclubs" or local landscape connoisseurs may also be of great value (Attema *et al.* 2011a for an example from South Lazio). In all cases, site and artefact classification tables need to be created to accommodate both field data from (systematic) survey and field data recovered from topographical surveys, or even haphazardly collected data.

Data integration can also take place at the scale of the region. In regional projects, as a rule, multiple landscape zones are involved, at different altitudes, from coastal plains to uplands (e.g. Barker 1995; Vermeulen *et al.* 2017). Such regional landscape research may be based on a sampling procedure that covers different landscape zones within a region, with statistically comparable coverage of each zone (as in the Agro Pontino survey in South Lazio, see Voorrips *et al.* 1991). By extrapolating the data from each landscape zone (taking into account landscape biases and using appropriate statistical methods) one

may then arrive at diachronic regional analyses of settlement patterns and land use over space and time. In regional projects, however, data is often collected over many years in different subprojects, in which multiple ways of field and artefact-recording methods will moreover have been used. The data integration of subprojects within the same regional project then becomes an aim in itself that may or may not include the addition of external academic and non-academic sources (see, for instance, the Pontine Region Project Database, Attema *et al.* forthcoming). Of course, one may also deal with a region where no regional scale landscape archaeological projects have ever been undertaken. In such cases data integration must be based on non-systematically acquired sources. If the spatial, chronological and artefactual data is of low quality for these sources, the question of the feasibility of data integration becomes acute (see below).

We can also discern data integration at the supra-regional level, with the goal of carrying out comparative analyses of landscape archaeological data classified in a uniform way (site types and pottery chrono-types) between regions. Here we may think of comparing well-surveyed regions that are located close to each other or even far apart. In both cases, it will be possible to compare settlement dynamics and land use patterns over time and space. As outlined above, datasets may consist of data from systematic and non-systematic surveys, as long as they are classified according to set criteria. Studies in which a formal comparison of landscape archaeological data have been undertaken on this scale are rare. The Rome Hinterland Project (RHP), which I will discuss below, is an example of taking existing work on supra-regional data integration to a level on which analyses become possible using site and pottery data classified according to set criteria, and periods in calendar years rather than regional cultural-historical frameworks. While site and pottery typo-chronologies are relatively compatible within the RHP, given its geographical coherence, between the regions north and south of the Tiber, compatibility will become increasingly difficult to attain when regions are geographically and culturally further apart.

Feasibility of data-integration

The quality and quantity of data are equally important in assessing the potential of datasets for data integration, and a balance has to be struck. Quality of data refers to the degree of topographical certainty, or the geographical resolution of the location in the landscape in terms of coordinates, and the degree to which the surveyor was able to characterise the archaeological location in terms of size, density, chronology and function of the archaeological phenomenon. Quantity refers to the number of high quality observations and representativeness over the landscape. Quality and quantity must be of a sufficient level to discern meaningful patterning in the settled landscape over space and time. It also implies that there must be an even spread of observations across landscape zones at all scales, including the assessment of post-depositional processes operating on the visibility of archaeological landscapes, and possibly correction for this aspect. There are no rules of thumb here, but one criterion should be that the data allows change to be to monitored through time, so as to be able to assess landscape archaeological dynamics in terms of stability or change of settlement types in space. To attain this level of interpretation, one needs multi-period data bracketing major transformation processes. In Mediterranean landscape archaeology, these are typically processes of the nucleation and dispersal of settlements over the landscape, urbanization and ruralisation, colonization and imperialism, and, in economic terms, cycles of boom and bust and differentiation and specialization of land use.

Relevance

This brings us to the scientific relevance of data aggregation. What is a very large survey database good at investigating? At the geographical level, it can offer us a detailed view of the evolution of rural site

classes in the landscape, their dynamics and changing mutual relationships with higher order settlements. Regional differentiation and spatial trends in economic geography constitute one such angle. On a more abstract level it will enable scholars to gain a view of demographic and economic trends, independently of historical sources (for the Pontine region: Attema and De Haas, 2011; Tol 2017; De *Haas et al.*, 2011; De Haas and Tol, forthcoming). Depending on the spatial scale of data integration, an aggregated database will enable the introduction of geo-information on macro- and micro-infrastructure, linking cities, and lower order settlements and ports, and to relate this to detailed survey information on the rural landscape, including analyses of places of production, transport and the consumption of commodities. Aggregating site and pottery data can be useful for studying longer-term socio-economic trends quantitatively, qualitatively and comparatively. Examples of interest are, for example, the diversity of land use in the rural settled landscape, production and consumption patterns, changing economic performance and standard of living, rural demography, intra-regional synchronic and diachronic comparison. These themes are relevant to the theme of the transition between the Italic and the Romanized settled landscapes of the central Adriatic, and its changing relationship with Rome during the fourth to second centuries BC, as dealt with in the conference. They are, however, also relevant to the study of the 'longue durée' of settlement and land use in the Central Adriatic, before and after the Roman period, thus including deeper protohistory and the medieval period (see, for the Pontine region, Attema 2019).

Picenum **and the** ***ager Gallicus***

As stated in the call for papers for this conference, according to the organisers of the meeting it is:

> "time that archaeologists working in this part of Italy develop a focussed research agenda, which can help to enhance our understanding of such important aspects as the precise nature of settlement dynamics, the character of landscape change, the internal and external relations of populations living in the area, the cohabitation of ethnically different groups peopling the region, the evolution of material culture and the economic drives connected with the times of change and transition."

In the same document, it was also stated that:

> "In particular the colloquium wishes to investigate the relationship between the centres of central Adriatic Italy and their territories during a period that marks a profound transformation in the whole of central Italy. The complex and varied processes of territorial and socio-political reorganization characterising this part of the Italian peninsula, are progressively modified by the conditioning of nearby Rome and its growing military expansionism. The profound transformations and upheavals caused by the Roman expansion towards the Po-plain and by the Punic Wars, which project Rome to the level of Mediterranean power, rapidly and substantially change the territorial structure of the region. The relationship of central settlements with the surrounding agricultural landscape, and the mainly archaeological definition of the territorial districts and the boundaries between the major centres, and the impact of early Romanization, will be given particular attention."[1]

To start answering such broad questions on the scales indicated by the organisers, it may indeed be useful to start working towards the formal data integration of sites and material culture, as is currently

[1] Quoted from the introduction to the International Workshop "Il Piceno e l'Agro Gallico agli albori della conquista romana. Topografia e cultura materiale / Picenum and the Ager Gallicus at the Dawn of the Roman Conquest. Topography and Material Culture, written by the scientific committee members Frank Vermeulen, Enrico Giorgi and Federica Boschi.

being undertaken by the author and his team within the framework of the Pontine Region Project in Central Italy (The Pontine Region Database/ PRPdb), and the initiative taken with an international consortium of landscape archaeologists and historians to create the Rome Hinterland Project (RHPdb), taking data-integration to the supra-regional level.[2]

The Pontine Region and Roman Hinterland databases

The Pontine Region database (PRPdb) holds site and pottery data from the Pontine region, a vast plain surrounded by the Monti Lepini and Monti Ausoni, and bordering on the Tyrrhenian coast south of Rome. The database for this region was created in the course of the Pontine Region Project for analytical purposes. Data derives from the different landscape zones of the region: the coastal ridge, inland plain, volcanic hills, river valleys, foothills and surrounding mountain range. The archaeological record of the Pontine Region Project currently consists of ca. 800 sites, 40 km2 off-site data and 300,000 artefacts, of which some 25,000 are diagnostic (cf. De Haas and Tol forthcoming). The database structure was devized to accommodate aggregate and comparative analyses of rural settlement patterns across these different landscape zones over space and time, in order to reconstruct social, economic, demographic and geo-political trends on the local and regional scales, from protohistory into the medieval period.

The database brings together the data of our own systematic surveys since the 1980s but eventually also aims to integrate 'legacy data' from regional topographic inventories such as the *Forma Italiae* and other data inventories. While this is a great deal of work, the effort to enrich the PRPdb with legacy data would increase the site dataset multiple times, at least for the Roman period. The challenges of bringing together data collected with different methodologies, from our own site and off-site surveys carried out over slightly less than 40 years and in projects carried out by others, are considerable, but mainly depend on the establishment of sound formal criteria for site and pottery classification. So far, we have carried out a small number of aggregate analyses to investigate economic performance and the standard of living in parts of the territory for the Roman periods. The outcome proved the value of our approach; in a forthcoming paper, the Pontine Region team has brought these examples together, illustrating the potential of the PRPdb for future analytical work (Attema *et al.* forthcoming).

In the meantime, PRP members work with an international consortium towards a merger of the PRPdb with two other major survey databases, those of the *Suburbium* Project (Sapienza Rome) and the Tiber Valley Project (British School at Rome) with the aim of designing an aggregate database that covers representative sections of Rome's *Suburbium* (sensu Morley 1996; Witcher 2005). The consortium consists of researchers from the Universities of Groningen (NL), Durham (UK), St. Andrews (UK), Leiden (NL) and Melbourne (AUS).[3] This initiative will facilitate longitudinal and quantitative studies of socio-economic and demographic aspects of a large part of Rome's immediate hinterland, from its formation to well into the medieval period. The relevance of the RHP initiative lies foremost in the contribution it can make to debates on ancient demography and the nature of the ancient economy, such as, for instance, outlined in Attema *et al.* (forthcoming). The strength of the RHPdb is that aggregation takes place on the level of the ceramics present in the individual databases of the participating projects. As stated in Attema *et al.* (forthcoming):

[2] http://comparativesurveyarchaeology.org/

[3] The Rome Hinterland Project (RHP), is supported by an internationalization grant from the Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research NWO, to which all partners contributed financially (NWO doss.nr. 236-61-002/3799).

> "Ceramic analysis is a tool that, independently from historical sources, is instrumental in classifying archaeological sites within a chronological and functional spectrum of settlement forms. Combining classified site data one can proceed to map settlement patterns on a regional scale."

In practice, the RHP database is an overarching structure that allows researchers to query the standardized site and pottery tables of the three databases that currently make up the project. The RHPdb is also designed for extension with additional high quality databases that can be added (merged) as long as these conform to the RHPdb standard protocol. In this way a dynamic high quality data resource that can be queried will be functioning in a way that will prove fundamental to the study of longer-term socio-economic trends, quantitatively, qualitatively and comparatively.

Potential of the Central Adriatic for aggregate data-analysis

The papers in the conference on landscape and settlement in *Picenum* and the *ager Gallicus* during the fourth to second century BC, and in more general recent literature on the landscape archaeology of the Roman period in the Marche, reveal how much good quality site data is available over a large part of the Central Adriatic. Such data results from long term fieldwork by the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio delle Marche, and the researchers of various university departments, including the archaeological departments of Bologna and Ghent, the home universities of the organisers.
While Bologna has especially dedicated its attention to a series of river valleys in northern Marche, such as Misa, Nevola and Cesano (Dall'Aglio *et al.* 1991, 2007, 2012; Giorgi and Lepore 2010), Ghent is especially known for the long term landscape archaeological project carried out in the Potenza Valley Survey under the supervision of Frank Vermeulen (Vermeulen *et al.* 2017; Vermeulen 2017), with references to earlier surveys by the Potenza Valley Project). To these protagonists in the study of the Marche we must add the University of Pisa, which has been active in the Marche since the 1970s, first under Prof. Emilio Gabba and then Prof. Pasquinucci. In 1994 a systematic landscape archaeological study of the *ager Firmanus* began, which is now continued in the Pisa South Picenum Survey Project (Menchelli 2012; Menchelli and Iacopini 2016).

Various topographical papers presented at the conference were dedicated to the study (of parts of) river valleys in the *Picenum* and *ager Gallicus*. These valleys function as naturally delimited study areas in which aspects of the transformation of the settled landscape during the fourth to second century BC are studied. In two major landscape archaeological projects, the Potenza Valley Survey and the Ager Firmanus Survey (not represented in the conference), it is instead the longue durée of the settled landscape that is under scrutiny (see for an overview of surveys in the Marche: Vermeulen 2017, 29-31). The multidisciplinary investigations in the case of the Potenza Valley Survey (Vermeulen *et al.* 2017) involve the survey of the entire basin of the Potenza river, from coast to uplands, and comprise an inventory of already known sites (Percossi *et al.* 2006).

In the case of the Ager Firmanus Survey Project, the archaeological investigations consider the entire ager of the Roman town of *Firmum* (Menchelli and Iacopini 2016; and Menchelli and Iacopini 2017 for an interesting comparative approach between the territories of *Firmum* and *Novana*). We can add settlement data of several other projects to the datasets that these studies have generated, including the *Forma Italiae*, as well as data collected in other topographical studies that have been carried out in parts of the *Picenum* and *ager Gallicus* over time (see for a general overview Vermeulen 2017, 29-31, with references). The classification and integration of sites and pottery data from these sources will doubtless result in a quantitatively and qualitatively robust basis for aggregate and comparative analyses

of the processes of socio-economic, cultural and demographic transformations that the *Picenum* and the *ager Gallicus* have undergone in the longue durée (Vermeulen 2012). Finally, although this is not discussed in this paper, the contribution of geophysical and aerial survey should be mentioned, as, for instance, apparent in the work of F. Boschi and colleagues (Boschi *et al.* 2016; Vermeulen, 2016).
A glance at the geomorphological maps of the Marche shows how the landscape is carved up in parallel north east to south west orientated river valleys that drain the higher parts of the valleys which ultimately connect with the Umbria-Marche Apennines mountain range. As such, these valleys form natural landscape units, each consisting of a sedimentary coastal landscape, a middle valley consisting of gentle hills and hill slopes, and a steeper and a more rugged upper valley leading up to a mountain environment. These valleys, as was also apparent in discussions during the conference, lend themselves extremely well to comparative research.

Questions that can be asked concerning the rural landscapes of the *Picenum* and *ager Gallicus* include: which (parts of) valleys were affected most by the Roman presence and how did this transform pre-Roman settlement patterns and land use? A central question might be why some valleys were affected more by socio-economic and cultural change than others (see Menchelli and Iacopini 2017). Can we explain this by studying landscape variability, the effects of the implantation of Roman colonies, new sanctuaries and infrastructural work such as harbours, canals, roads, and production facilities? And, based on site classification, can we quantify shifts in population numbers in time and space, and, based on luxury indicators among the material record, changes in living standard, both aggregately and comparatively? On a more abstract level, this may boil down to the single question of the degree of economic integration of the *Picenum* and *ager Gallicus* into the Roman imperium.
Data integration, however, needs organization, deliberation and financial support. Following the creation of a consortium, and supported by a Dutch Internationalization grant, RHP members were able to design the RHP integrated database, developing a strict data classification protocol. In the coming period we hope to present the first aggregate and comparative analyses. Once there is a proof of concept, the RHP team hopes that other partners will join in the study of the Roman hinterland and prepare their landscape archaeological source data for merging. At the same time, the initiative can only be successful in the end if sufficient financial and institutional support can be secured.

Conclusion

I have highlighted the potential and feasibility of data-integration of landscape archaeological data, as currently brought into practice in the Roman Hinterland Project. I have suggested that the Picene landscapes and the *ager Gallicus*, as presented in the conference, and by extension the southern part of the Marche, would probably be suitable for a similar approach, ultimately allowing supra-regional analyses. The integration of data beyond the single site and valley would allow big themes to be addressed, as implied in the process of the Dawn of the Roman Conquest dealt with in this volume, from local, regional and supra-regional perspectives, and from a quantitative angle. How did the Roman conquest affect the Picene landscapes in terms of demography, economic performance, and socio-economic and cultural integration in the Roman world, and can we differentiate this in time and space across the landscape zones that make up the Marche?

II. Romanization dynamics through the material culture analysis in the *ager Gallicus et Picenum*

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***Sara Morsiani**, Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la provincia di Cosenza* [*]

Introduction

In the field of research on Romanization[1] and colonization, studies devoted to ceramic finds can contribute to defining (together with the analysis of literary sources, topography, town planning, forms of the sacred) the dynamics of the territorial occupation by Rome. In parallel, they can reflect the reactions that this occupation caused in the populations that had been living in those territories for a long time. At the same time, the study of ceramics can be a useful part of this reconstruction only if we use its full potential, which includes but must not be limited to the chronological information. The identification of the ceramic class must be followed by that of the shapes and types, trying to reconstruct the functions, the production, the circulation, the technical characteristics. And all these approaches will be all the more correct if they take into account, when possible, the entire archaeological framework. The study of a single ceramic class, even if in depth, requires interpolation with that of other classes. For this reason, we have chosen to focus our attention on three particular kinds of ceramics that refer to two distinct functional groups: the conservation, preparation and cooking of food on the one hand, and its consumption on the other.
The first group includes wheel-made cooking ware and impasto ware, hand-modelled or made on the slow wheel. These artefacts are essentially connected to their function: we therefore read them as direct and unmediated indicators of the culture that produced and used them, as they are linked to everyday food habits.
On the other hand, the picture that emerges from the study of pottery related to the consuming of food and drink, the black-gloss pottery, is different. The deep link with the banquet practices, in fact, makes this class of pottery strongly subject to the forms of social distinction and fashions shared within the Hellenistic koinè to which Rome itself belonged.

In this regard, for our working group, the studies on domestic ceramics as a cultural indicator, published by Marco Galli and applied to the reality of *Ariminum*, were particularly interesting (Galli 2001). In underlining the different degree of informativity of the two functional groups of ceramics, he observes how different is the picture offered by each of them in the same period. In fact, the fine wares of the phase preceding the arrival of Rome are imported from Attica and from highly Hellenized areas, while the contemporary cooking pots mainly include locally made *ollae*, a shape linked to a diet essentially based on the consumption of pulses. The typical ceramic forms of the Greek and Hellenized cooking set

[*] The present contribution, although the result of common reflections, is due to Anna Gamberini for the introduction and the considerations concerning *Suasa*, to Sara Morsiani for those concerning *Asculum*, and to Paola Cossentino for the study on Monte Rinaldo. The conclusions are shared.

[1] We believe that this term, although debated, can be used to summarize the concept of cultural exchange following the arrival of Rome in the territories considered here. In other words, borrowed from one of the last works of Luisa Mazzeo Saracino (whom we would like to thank for the continuous cultural inputs, fundamental for our training): 'By Romanisation we mean not really the military aspect, linked to the conquest of the territory, but the set of socio-economic and cultural transformations, often due to a spontaneous adherence to new ways of life, which can be the result of even more intense trade relations and population movement' (Mazzeo Saracino and Morsiani 2014, 521).

(mainly pans), linked to a more complex diet and with which the use of roasting fish and meat prevails, are significantly absent. They will appear only after the arrival of the first Roman settlers: the kitchen set typical of Rome and Lazio, in this phase, reflects the Greek one, with the addition of the *clibanus*. Thanks to its nature of 'pole of resistance to non-native influences', the study of cooking wares should be associated with that of black-gloss wares, which are normally used instead, among ceramics, as the principal (often as the sole) index of Romanization.

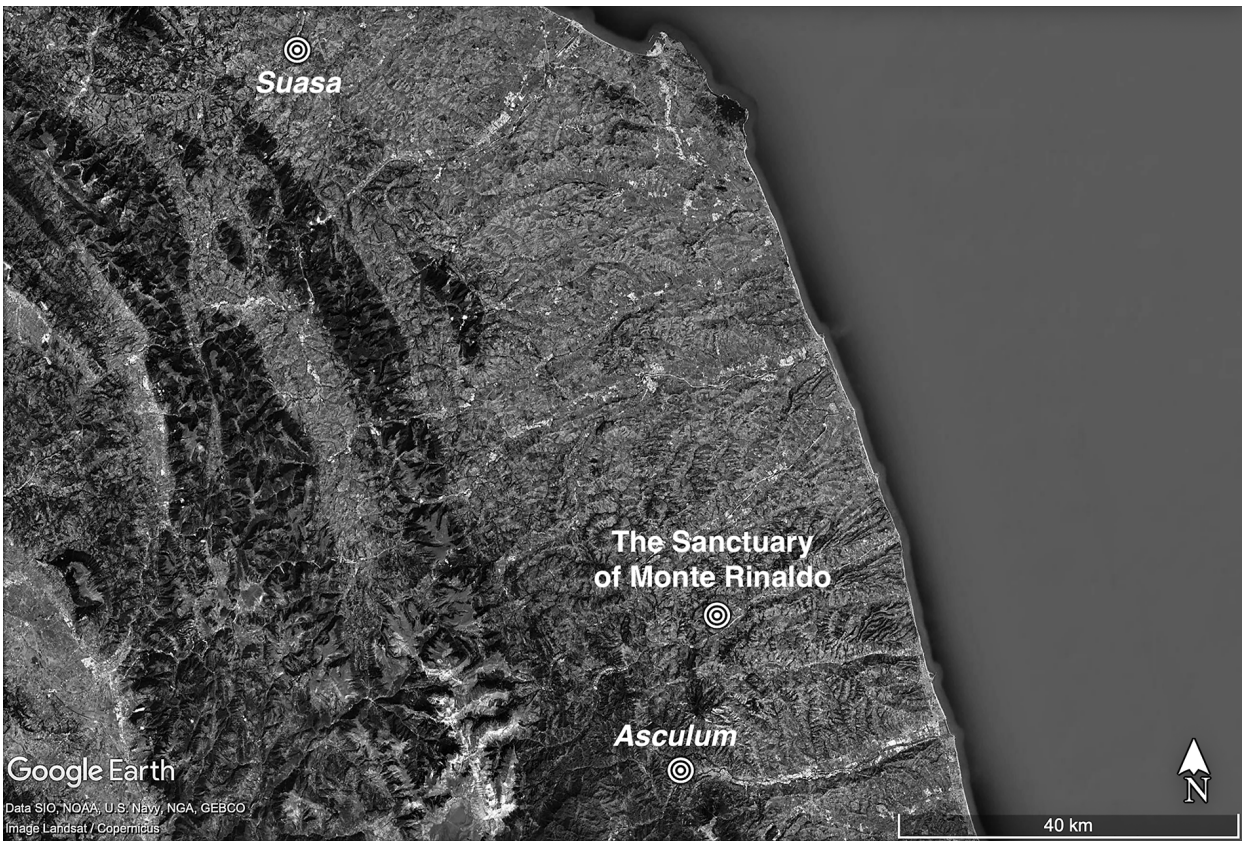

Fig. 1. Localization of the sites (Marche Region).

Starting from these assumptions and from the fundamental research of Luisa Mazzeo Saracino (Mazzeo Saracino 2013), who in the most recent studies has focused on this subject applied to the *ager Gallicus*, we have undertaken the study of these ceramics from three sites in the study of which we are directly involved. They are all located in the territory of the *ager Gallicus et Picenum*, which entered the sphere of competence of Rome after the Battle of Nations (295 BC) and the passing, some years later, of the agrarian law that defined its modes of occupation.[2] These sites (**Fig. 1**) differ from each other by role and juridical status: they are a *civitas foederata* (*Asculum*), a minor centre in the inland of the Roman colony of *Sena Gallica* (the *Praefectura* of *Suasa*), and a sanctuary (Monte Rinaldo, nearby *Firmum*).

These sites also differ from each other in terms of the history of research: excavations have been going on for over 30 years in *Suasa*, while they are 'younger' in Ascoli (the subject of a doctoral thesis recently

[2] The *Lex Flaminia de agro gallico viritim dividundo*, which was promulgated in the year 232, established the terms of the *assignationes viritanae* in these territories.

discussed) and in Monte Rinaldo, which has been the subject of systematic excavations since 2017 (*infra*).
The questions that we try to answer concern the relationship between ceramic associations and cultural contexts, between pottery and sites of discovery. In other words: how much can these ceramics express the dialogue between cultures in a phase of encounter/clash and change?

Asculum

Asculum was a Picene city defined by Florus as '*caput gentis*'[3] and therefore presumably characterized by an urban structure at the time of the 'encounter with Rome'. Its relationship with the Urbs was one of alliance, since in the Battle of Nations, as a Picene city, it stood at the side of Rome, as it also was during the Second Punic War. It was a *civitas foederata*, therefore, that would become a Roman colony only in the Triumviral / Augustan age.
The most recent archaeological research conducted on the site has brought to light several contexts[4] of great interest to analyse the phenomenon of progressive adherence to Roman-Latin culture by a formally autonomous community. The material culture found in those contexts, which has been the subject of my PhD project,[5] can help in describing this phenomenon.

Regarding the end of the fourth to third century BC, the contacts with Roman culture are evidenced by both fine and common wares (**Fig. 2**). With regard to the black-gloss ware, in that period they were all imported from different areas, especially from Etruria and Lazio, but also from Apulia and Attica.[6] At the same time, common and cooking wares seemed to be locally/regionally produced, even if they included different forms referring to the Tyrrhenian world, as well as the forms of the cooking set of Rome and Latium,[7] while the pan is absent in this period, reflecting the same dynamics already observed for *Ariminum* (*supra*). Beside these, however, it is important to underline the presence of the so-called '*ollae picene*' in impasto ware[8]; generally dated back to the period called 'Piceno IV' (6th–5th century BC), therefore to the phases preceding the arrival of Rome. But even more interesting is the fact that these *ollae* are also present in the layers datable to the following period (2nd–1st century BC), in which *Picenum* is part of the Roman state, although *Asculum* would become a colony only in the Triumviral-Augustan age. These more recent *ollae*,[9] while indicating a continuity with traditional eating habits, are

[3] Lucius Anneus Florius, *Epitomae rerum Romanorum*, I, XIX.
[4] The excavations concerned public areas (sanctuary on the hill of the Annunziata and suburban sacred area in the locality 'Battente', part of the city walls near Porta Gemina) and private areas (possible structures of a *domus*, at the Cinema Olimpia): Lucentini *et al.* 2014; Morsiani 2017, 46–107; Demma and Giorgi 2018; Demma *et al.* 2018.
[5] Morsiani 2017. The results of this study, partially edited (Mazzeo Saracino and Morsiani 2014; Morsiani 2018), will soon be the subject of a monographic study by the author.
[6] Morsiani 2018, 384–386.
[7] Although their shapes are similar to those of Tyrrhenian ceramics, their clay, analysed from a mineralogical point of view, is compatible with the middle Adriatic one: Morsiani 2018, 386–388.
[8] These *ollae*, characterized by tongue-shaped grips, are well known throughout the Middle-Adriatic area, from Romagna to Abruzzo; they are in general expression of the pre-Roman substratum.
[9] The contemporary presence of impasto ware with wheel-made pottery whose typology is attributable to the Roman era has also been noted in other sites, but no later than the 3rd century BC. See, for example, the case of the kiln discharge found in Cattolica, near the dock, and dated to the middle of the 3rd century BC: here handmade or slow-wheel pots were associated with Greco-Italic amphorae and common-ware forms of Hellenistic and Roman-Latium inspiration: Lenzi and Carboni 2008, 117. In *Urvinum Mataurense*, on a Roman farm near the *municipium*, the association between black-gloss pottery and impasto *ollae* has been noted: Ermeti 2002, 180. In Ancona, in the most ancient phase of the amphitheatre (which has been therefore brought back to the Picene

significantly characterized by a more refined fabric, thanks to the encounter with and assimilation of the ceramic culture of Rome.[10] Significantly, in the same period the pan would also be introduced. Black-gloss ware, as might be expected, at this stage was mostly produced locally, and refers to the main large-scale productions in the Tyrrhenian area in the second century BC (repertoire of Campana A and, mainly, Campana B),[11] which were, however, also imported (**Fig. 3**).

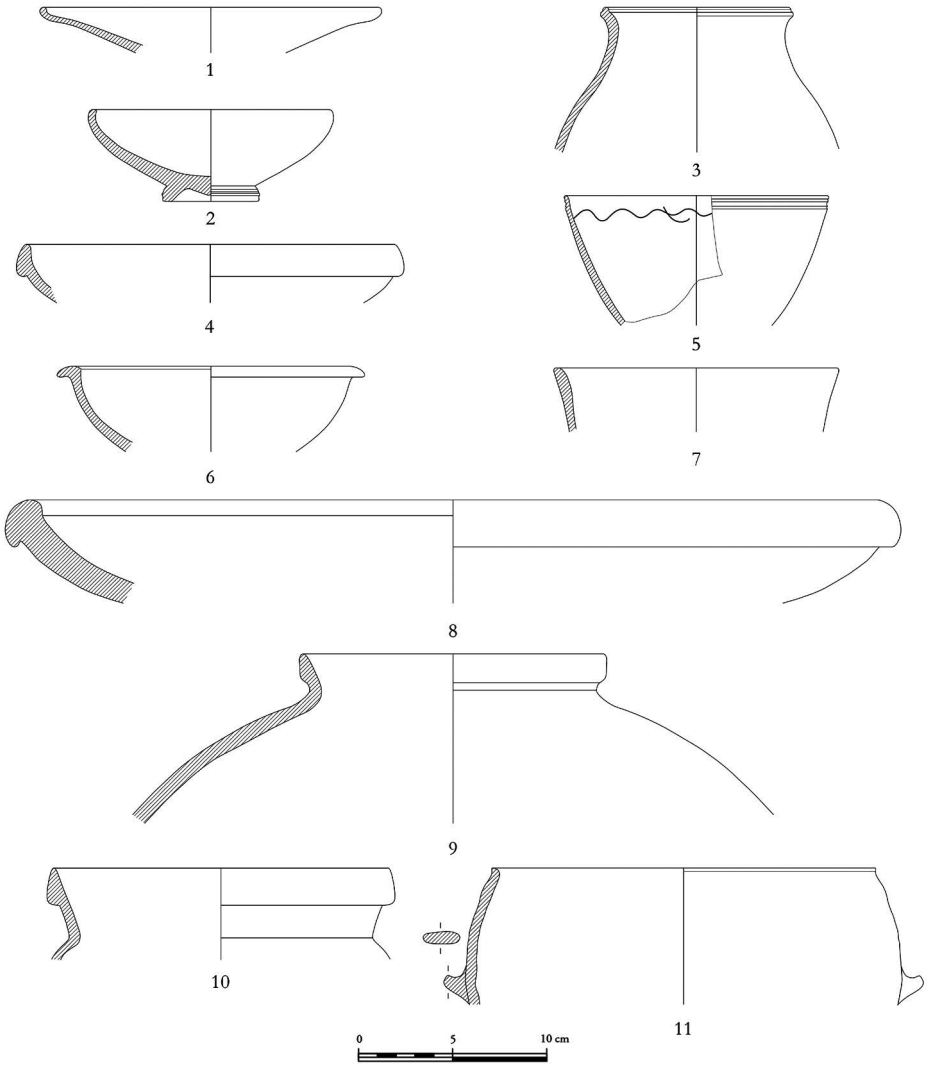

Fig. 2. *Asculum*. Some samples of material culture dated to 4th-3rd century BC. Black gloss pottery imported from Etruria (nrs. 1-2), *Latium* (nrs. 3-4), southern Italy (nrs. 5-6), Attica (n. 7); plain ware (nn. 8-9), cooking ware (n. 10) and impasto ware (n. 11) locally/regionally produced (after Morsiani 2018, re-elaboration of fig. 2).

cultural sphere: end of the 4th–end of the 3rd century BC), the association, in the deeper levels, of Alto-Adriatic and impasto ware, both of local production, with Gnathia ware and Etruscan-Latium black-gloss ware was found (Pignocchi and Virzì Hägglund 1998, 151–152).

[10] Giorgi and Morsiani in press.

[11] Morsiani 2018, 388–390.

The study of these materials, here briefly summarized, can help to delineate the picture of a city that, when it was allied with Rome, expressed its cultural dynamism and its opening to external influences through the import of fine wares, while remaining strongly anchored to its eating habits, and therefore to its traditions; after the political and cultural assimilation into the Roman orbit, instead, both fine and common ceramics were mainly produced locally, taking inspiration from the repertoires common to all the colonies and, above all, showing the adhesion to a new food culture.

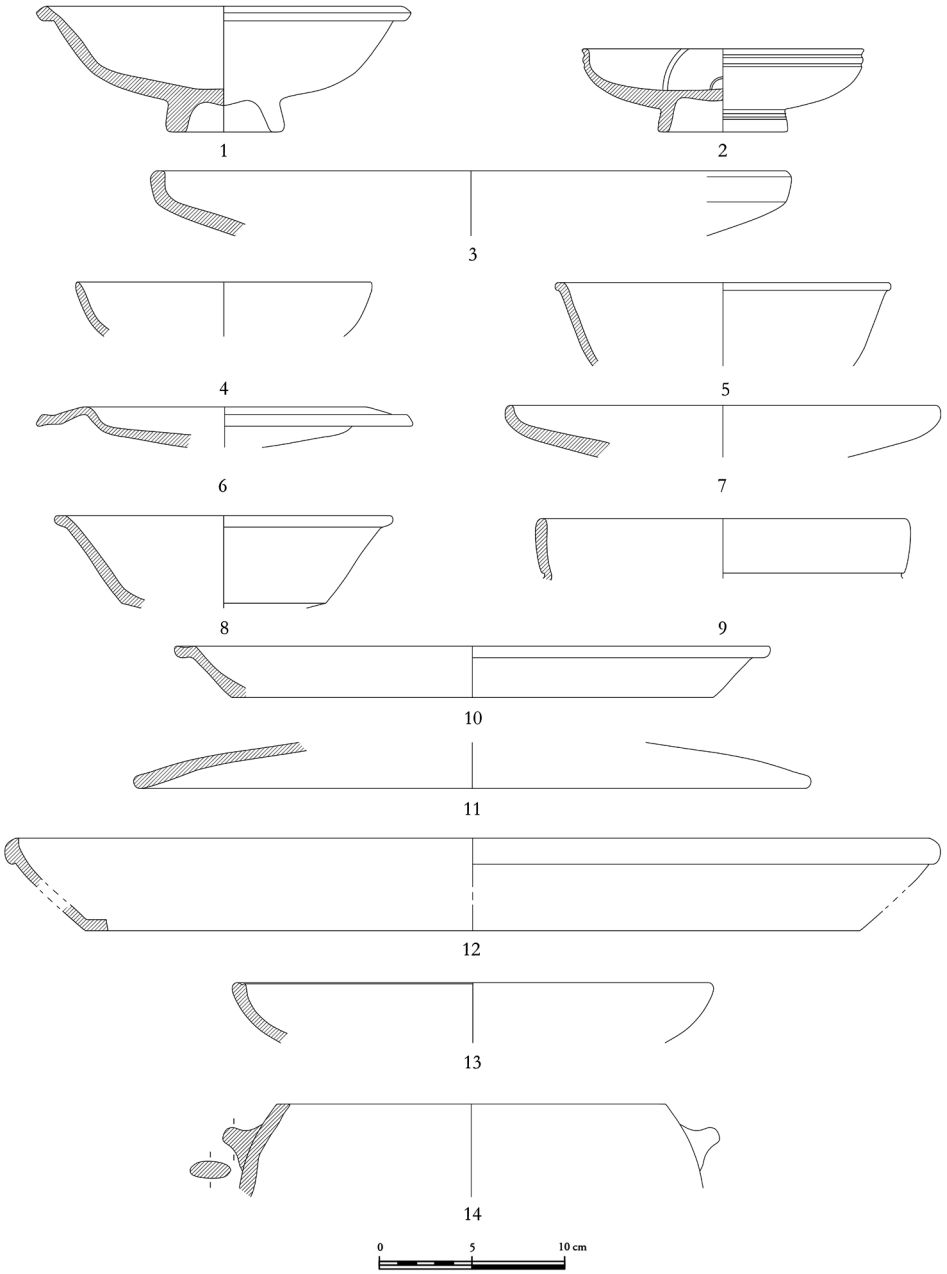

Fig. 3. *Asculum*. Some samples of material culture dated to 3rd-2nd century BC. black gloss pottery locally/regionally produced imitating the repertoire of Campana A (nn. 1-3) and Campana B (n. 4); black gloss imports (5-7: Campana A; 8: Campana B); cooking pots imported (nn. 9-10) and locally produced (nn. 11-13); olla in impasto ware locally produced (14)
(after Morsiani 2018, re-elaboration of fig. 3).

Suasa

A different case is that of *Suasa*,[12] a minor centre located in the inland of the Roman colony of *Sena Gallica*. The history of this settlement is related to the deduction of the colony of *Sena*, which occurred shortly after the Battle of Sentinum (295 BC) or after the final defeat of the Senones (in 283 BC.): some inhabitants of *Sena* may, in fact, have gone a little more inland than the boundaries of the colony, in order to occupy, even if sporadically, that territory. The subsequent emanation of the *lex flaminia de agro gallico et piceno viritim dividundo*, (232 BC) testifies that, in the second half of the third century, individual settlers were sent from Rome to occupy plots of land in the *ager Gallicus* and *Picenum*. In an area that, according to Livius's words, was already frequented by Roman merchants, a *conciliabulum* was born at the same time as *Sena*'s deduction. Then, thanks to the viritane assignations, it soon became *praefectura* and then acquired, only in the middle of the first century, the status of *municipium*.

The city has been the subject of systematic excavations for over 30 years, during which numerous public and private buildings were found, as well as various areas of necropoles.[13] *Suasa* is known in the bibliography above all for the discovery of a rich middle imperial *domus*, in which the mosaic floors are remarkably preserved.[14] This circumstance, which is fortunate for the reading of this important building, has, on the other hand, made it very difficult to find the previous structures, which were investigated only in the few gaps in the pavement[15] and are difficult to see in other areas of the city, where the layer of soil is generally less thick. For this reason, the testimonies relating to the first phase of are based on a few but significant remains of pebble walls with mud bricks [16] and mainly on ceramic finds/as well as mainly ceramic finds.[17] Relating fine wares, these are black-gloss pottery imported from both the Etruscan area (and Volterra in particular, **Fig. 4, 1–3**)[18] and the colony of *Ariminum* (**Fig. 4, 4–8**).[19] If these imports are dated to the full third century, a similar dating also applies to pots produced at local or regional level, therefore at a very early stage of the occupation of the territory[20] (**Fig. 5**). They testify to the attendance of the territory by Roman Latin citizens, who have started a production to respond to both the requirements of the first groups of immigrants and those of the local population.

[12] For an overview of the site see: Vermeulen 2017, 189–190, Silani 2017, 213–225, with extensive bibliography. Concerning the first phases of the settlement, see the contribution of E. Giorgi, director of the excavations of *Suasa*, in this volume.

[13] The results of the excavations of the University of Bologna, carried out annually for over 30 years and still in progress, are summarized in Giorgi 2012.

[14] The main results of the excavation of the *Coiedii*'s *domus* were presented in two 'preliminary' reports (*Relazione I* and *Relazione II*), that actually are still the most important works on this important building. Regarding the material culture, see lastly Mazzeo Saracino 2014.

[15] Among the almost 40 probes made under the domus pavement, just a few made it possible to find structures of the 3rd century BC: Campagnoli and Morsiani 2014.

[16] Zaccaria 2010, mainly 159–163.

[17] Mazzeo Saracino 2004; *Ead*. 2010 a; *Ead*. 2010 b; *Ead*. 2013; *Ead*. 2014.

[18] Mazzeo Saracino 2007; Mambelli 2014, 119.

[19] Mambelli 2014, 117–118. The presence of *Ariminum* products, also confirmed by archaeological analyses, confirms the role of 'appendix of Rome', or 'military and cultural outpost of Romanisation' (Galli 2001, 233) of this important Latin colony (Morel 1990, 147).

[20] Mambelli 2014, 119–122.

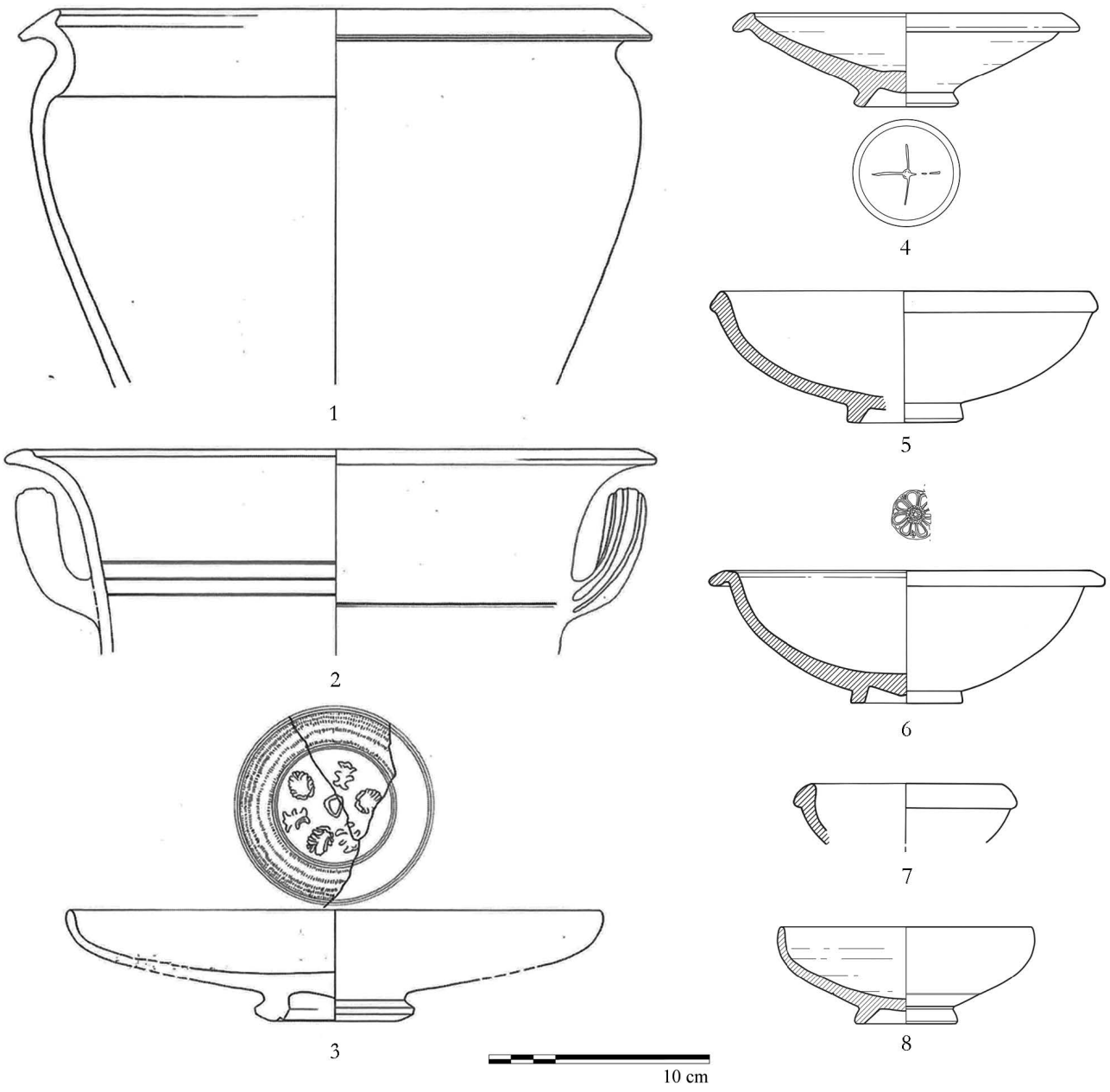

Fig. 4. *Suasa*. Some samples of black gloss imports from Volterra (nn. 1-3) and *Ariminum* (nn. 4-8), 3rd century BC (after Mazzeo Saracino 2007, fig. 3 and Mambelli 2014, figs. 5, 6, 7, 12, 14, 15).

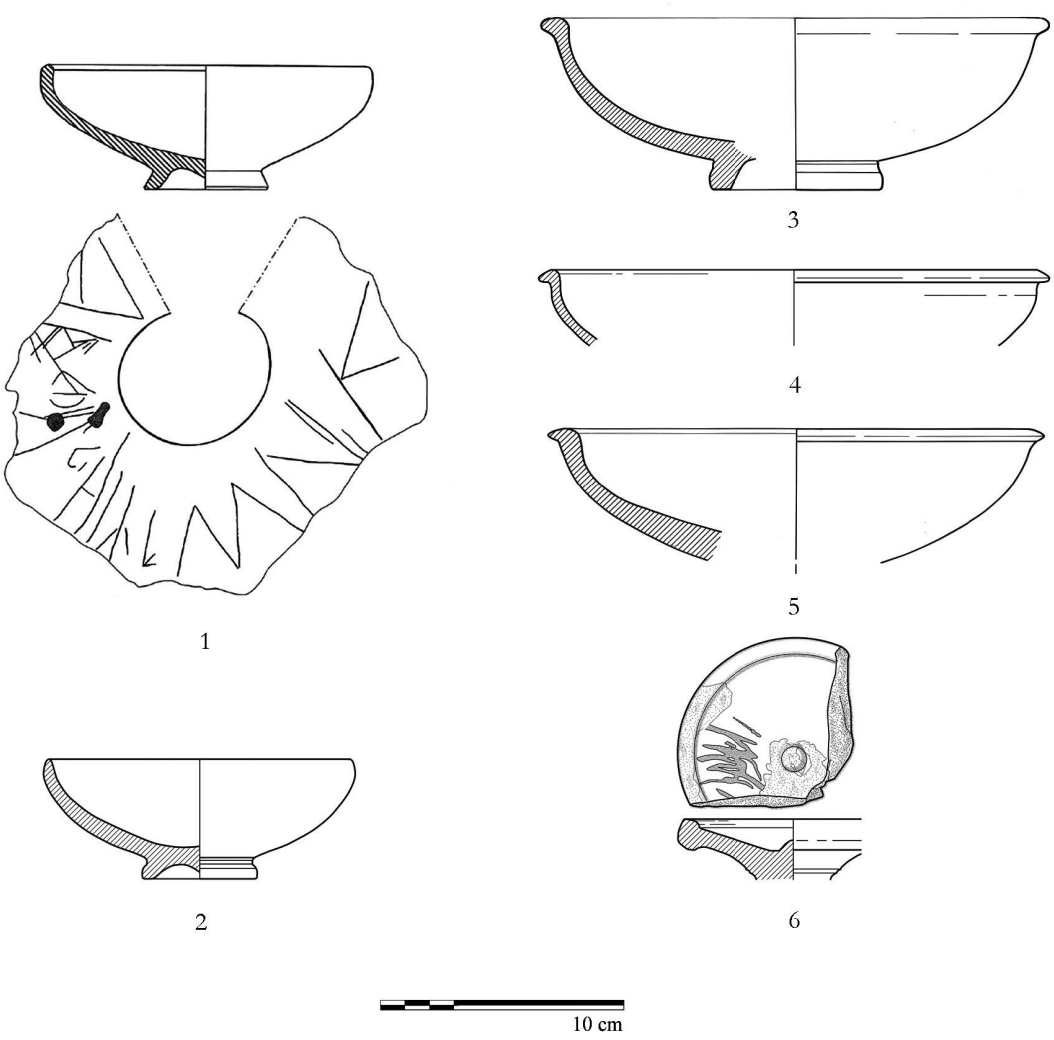

Fig. 5. *Suasa*. Some samples of black gloss pottery locally/regionally produced, 3rd century BC (n. 1: after Gaucci 2014; nn. 2-6: after Mambelli 2014, figs. 6, 7, 13, 14).

However, the analysis of *Suasa*'s material culture highlights another very interesting aspect, namely the presence at the site of a non-Latin component within the predominant Roman element. This presence is evidenced first of all by the *ollae* and lids in impasto ware in the layers that attest to the first occupation of the settlement, therefore associated with the fine table wares of the late fourth to third century, and, though to a smaller degree, in layers of the late Republican age (**Fig. 6**).[21] Although the latter are quite rare and can therefore be linked to residual phenomena, the presence of ceramic *ollae* – significantly *ollae* and not pans – together with other wheel-made cooking wares, indicates, as already pointed out in other sites, the coexistence of different cultural traditions.

[21] Mazzeo Saracino 2010 b, 185–192. The samples found in the *Coiedii*'s *domus* (Assenti 2014, with bibliography) were associated both with materials from the late 4th-early 3rd century (fig. 1, nn. 2–5, 8–10) and to materials from the late Republican period (fig. 1, nn. 1, 6–7). The ones found in the eastern necropolis (Giorgi *et al.* in press) were associated with late republican materials.

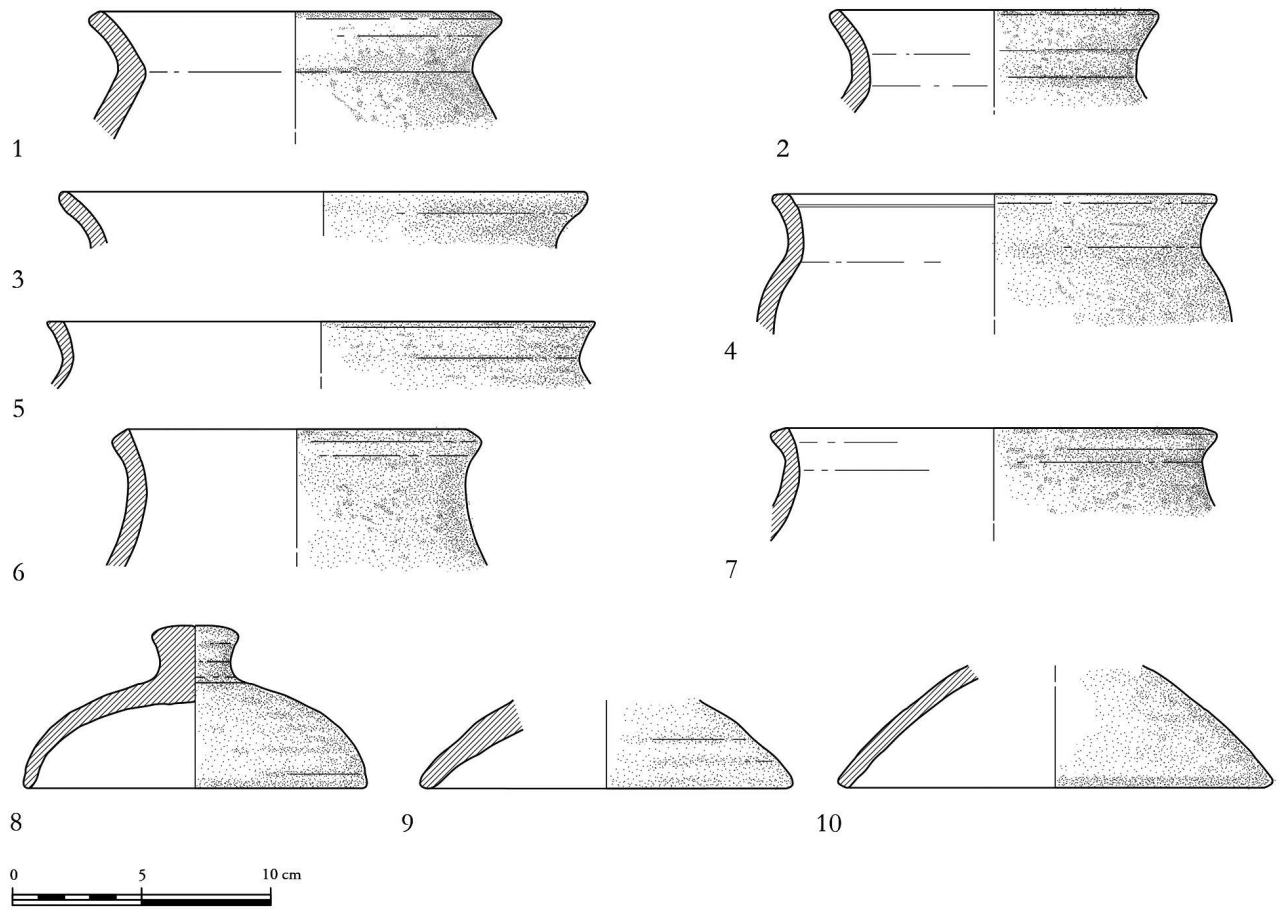

Fig. 6. *Suasa*. Some samples of impasto ware found in the Coiedii's *domus* (after Assenti 2014).

This coexistence is more clearly demonstrated by another black-gloss ceramic artefact. This is a cup produced locally in the middle/second half of the third century, characterized by the presence of a *graffito*.[22] This *graffito* can be interpreted as a partially preserved Latin *alphabetarium*. Its information potential lies both in the reading of the individual signs that appear there and in its very nature as an *alphabetarium*. The use of writing alphabetaries is in fact a practice of non-Latin cultures and, for example in the Etruscan context, alludes to the practice of writing as a socially high activity. The in-depth analysis of the signs has also made it possible to formulate the hypothesis that the sequence includes an inverted trident that can be interpreted as an inverted *chi*, extraneous to the Latin alphabetical sequence. This sign is instead present in the *Lepontium* alphabet: this would indicate the fact that it was a subject of Celtic culture that realized it.[23]

[22] On this important artefact, edited firstly by Luisa Mazzeo Saracino (2007, 195–196, fig. 3, 19) and then presented by the same scholar on other occasions (Mazzeo Saracino 2013, 224–225), see, lastly, Gaucci 2013, with bibliography.

[23] The presence of letters of the *Lepontium* alphabet ('expression of a linguistic and therefore cultural Celticism': Gaucci 2013) on Roman artefacts is also indicated by a vase found a few years ago in *Sena Gallica*. It is an *olla* in cooking ware whose shape and fabric reflect an Adriatic horizon (Rimini, in particular) and on which there is a partial inscription made before firing. Its dating is end of the 3rd–2nd century BC. Andrea Gaucci, author of the epigraphic study of this artefact as well as that of Suasa, proposes ascribing the signs to the *Lepontium* alphabet on the basis of the left ductus and the presence of a sigma in four traits, compatible with this writing. If the reading

Coming back to the material culture of *Suasa*, the cooking pots associated with the black-gloss wares of the third century were produced locally and consist mainly of *ollae* (also including type Olcese 2, of clear origin from Rome and Latium).[24] In line with the dynamics already widely illustrated for the sites of *Ariminum* and *Asculum*, the pans only appeared during the second century, as did the *clibani*.

The sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo (FM)

Since 2016 the Roman sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo (FM) has been investigated by the University of Bologna and the British School at Rome, in collaboration with the Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio delle Marche and with the support of the Monte Rinaldo municipality[25]. Situated on a bank slope on the left of the River Aso, the shrine could have been along the territorial border of the Latin colony *Firmum* or possibly in the *ager publicus*, under the direct control of Rome. In both cases, it would be a territory affected by colonial deductions, which occurred between 264 BC, the year of *Firmum*'s foundation, and 232 BC, when the *lex Flaminia de agro Gallico et Piceno viritim dividundo* was promulgated **(Fig. 1)**. Recent studies on the planimetric, architectural and decorative features of the shrine, based on the evidence emerged from the nineteenth-century excavations, show that the titular divinity was Jupiter and that the sanctuary acquired its monumental shape around 175 BC, according to models in use in Lazio at the time. The sanctuary was then abandoned in the Triumviral-Augustan age and the area was reoccupied for funerary and residential/working purposes (Belfiori and Kay 2018; Demma 2018; Demma and Belfiori 2019). These observations are based on the research lines resulting from a first analysis of the pottery assemblage, found during the University of Bologna excavations (years 2017–2018); they brought to light stratigraphic layers related to the different phases of the shrine during the late Republican age.[26] These new research lines are part of a broader framework concerning studies on material culture in the *ager Gallicus et Picenum* during the Romanization and colonization process (*supra*).

The most represented ceramics in the second to first century BC layers are the black-gloss wares, probably due to their ritual functions in the sacred context (**Fig. 7**) .[27] Most black-gloss ceramics have a fine and very powdery fabric: the colours vary from pale yellow-brown (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2, 7.5Y 8/4 pale yellow, 10YR 8/3 very pale brown) to grey (Munsell 2.5YR 7–8/1 light grey); the coatings are opaque, rather diluted and not always preserved on all or part of the surface; the fractures are always smooth. The Morel 2653 cups and the Morel 1443 dishes stand out among the most testified shapes related to these productions (**Fig. 8. 2–3**). These shapes are typical of the Etruscan repertoires and are attested in

were correct, we could be faced with an expression of belonging to a cultural group in response to hegemonic models, referring to the thought of Patrizia Solinas and Aldo Prosdocimi. In any case, the fragmentary nature of the object does not allow the content of the writing to be established, perhaps the final part of a proper noun in nominative case, admitting the omission of a vowel.

[24] For this shape, see the sample from Asculum edited *supra*, fig. 2, n. 10.

[25] See the contribution by Giorgi and Kay in this volume.

[26] The 2016 research campaign was committed to non-invasive investigations. The first results of the excavations made by the University of Bologna (2017–2019 campaigns) are illustrated in a forthcoming contribution (Belfiori, Cossentino, Pizzimenti, Il santuario romano di Monte Rinaldo (FM). Relazione preliminare delle campagne di scavo 2017–2019).

[27] For example, at *Gabii*, in *Latium vetus*, more fine potteries than coarse ones were found in shrine contexts; otherwise the proportion is different in domestic contexts (Pérez Ballester 2003; Ferrandes 2016).

the Marche region productions.[28] These potteries could have been made in Monte Rinaldo or in a nearby workshop also employed by the sanctuary. Thanks to the discovery of some stamps impressed before the firing, during the excavations of the last century, a black-gloss ware production was already supposed to be connected with the shrine (De Marinis and Paci 2012).

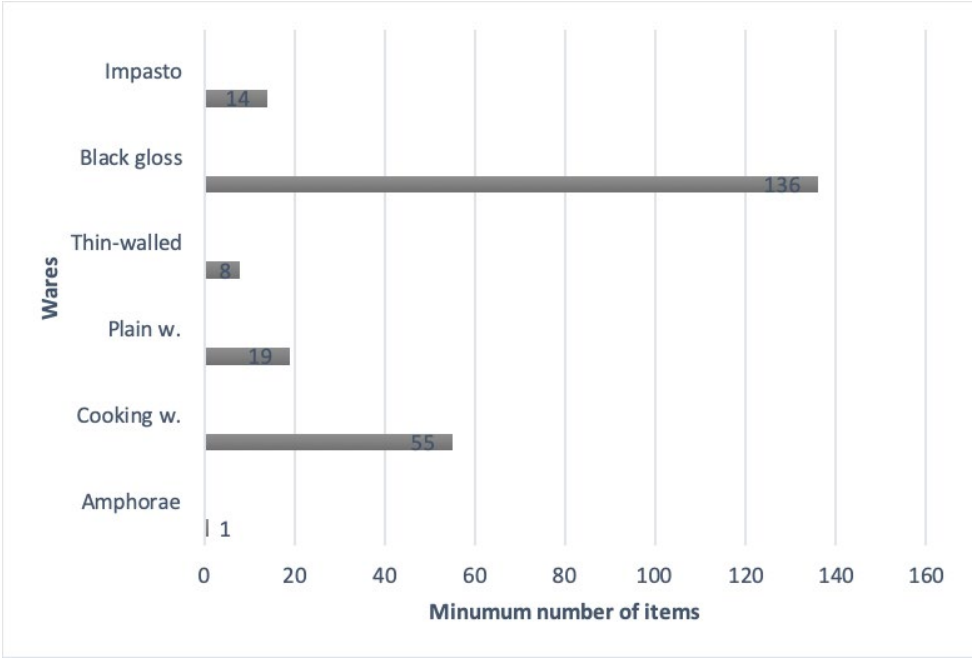

Fig. 7. Monte Rinaldo. Quantification of the ceramics in late Republican layers, 2nd -1st century BC.

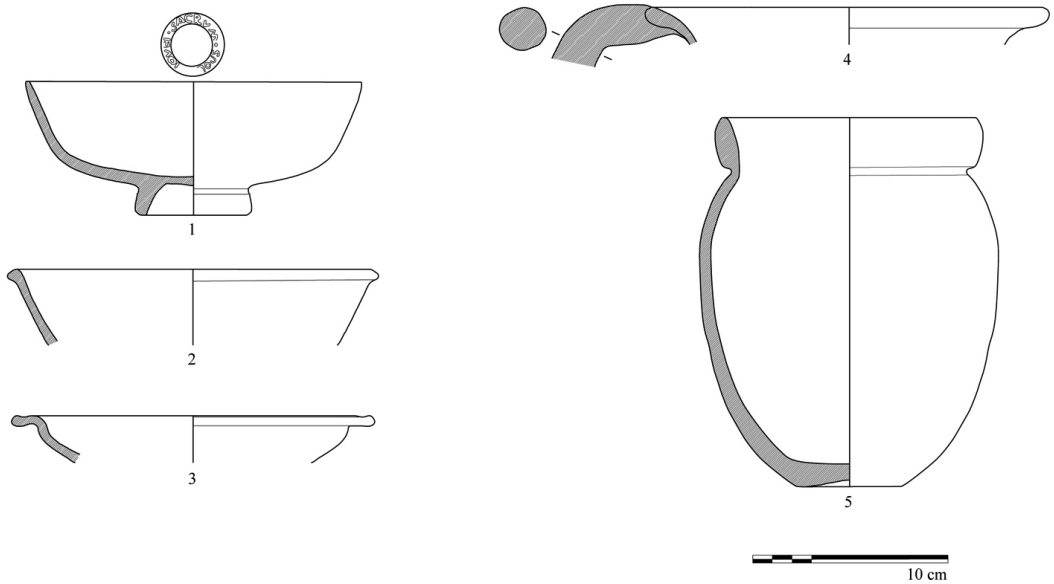

Fig. 8. Monte Rinaldo. Black gloss wares (nn.1-3), plain ware (n. 4), cooking ware (n. 5), 2nd -1st century BC.

[28] For a detailed analysis of these forms, their evidence and productions in the Marche region, see the recent study on *Suasa* black-gloss ware (Mambelli 2014).

Recent discoveries brought to light other stamps, reaching a total of nine equal stamps.[29] Despite the reading difficulties, due to the state of the inscription, and the lack of comparisons, a first reading of the stamp was suggested by G. Susini: SPOL///////VOVEISACRVM (Susini 1965–66; Susini 1970; CIL I^2, fasc. 4, 3546). In recent years, de Marinis and Paci proposed a new reading: C. Po+[- - -]o Iovei sacrum (de Marinis and Paci 2012). The two readings converge in recognizing a bimonthly onomastic associated with Jupiter and the word *sacrum*. Therefore, the inscription mentions the deity (Jupiter) to whom the object and its content had to be consecrated and the name of the craftsman, probably an individual of free origin (Nonnis and Sisani 2012, 51; Demma 2018, 89–90, 111; Brecciaroli Taborelli 2019, 19). Thanks to the state of conservation of the newly discovered inscriptions, it is possible to clarify the reading of the stamp: IOVEI.SACRVM.SPOL (**Fig. 9**). Furthermore, the new findings allow a first definition of the time frame of the black-gloss wares' production, since a cup with a pale yellow-brown fabric and the imprinted stamp on the inner bottom retains the entire profile (**Fig. 8. 1**). It is similar to the Morel 2855/2943 series, which can be dated between the second half of the second century BC and the first quarter of the first century BC.[30] The research in the sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo has finally brought to light a new seal testified by two black-gloss fragments with grey fabric. The technical features refer to the local productions described above. A circular stamp is imprinted on the inner bottom of these incomplete items: inside we can read IOV[I] or IOV[E(I)] SAC(RUM) in raised letters (**Fig. 10**). Unlike the other one, this stamp only mentions the titular deity. It can be compared with a rectangular stamp found in a votive discharge near *Aquinum* in Lazio, in which the deity name (in this case Hercules) is associated with the word *sacrum* in abbreviated form (Nicosia 1976, 58–59, cat. 116). Are the two Monte Rinaldo seals contemporary or is there a chronological gap between them? Are the two seals used by the same workshop? Or were there two different productions linked to the sanctuary? The continuation of the excavations will shed light on these aspects. At the moment, what emerges from Monte Rinaldo seems in part to move away from the macro-dynamics recognized in the Italian peninsula: both the nominal stamps and the close relationship between sanctuaries and the black-gloss ware productions are typical phenomena of the third century BC, which waned during the second century BC (Di Giuseppe 2012; Brecciaroli Taborelli 2019). On the contrary, our stamps date back to the full second century BC, when the sanctuary stood in its monumental structures. In addition to the black-gloss potteries, there are many other coarse wares, very similar to the Roman-Latium types, such as the plain ware jug Olcese 1/Bertoldi 1 and the cooking ware *olla* Olcese 3/Bertoldi 5 (fig. 8. 4–5; Olcese 2003; Bertoldi 2011). Therefore, these ceramics help to highlight the strong Roman-Latin character of the sanctuary, together with the planimetric, architectural, decorative features and the cults officiated.

[29] One of these stamps is very poorly preserved and was not recognized immediately. For this reason, the total number of stamps differs from the one published in Cossentino and Giorgi 2019.

[30] The Morel 2855/2943 series is produced by Campana A. On the one hand Morel, in an important contribution on the black-gloss ware of northern Italy including the Marche region, warned against the risk that ambiguous comparisons could lead to thinking of a Campana A influence on these productions (Morel 1987, 125). But on the other hand, a recent study highlights a close relationship between a part of the nearby Ascoli Piceno local productions (about 30%) and the morphological repertoire of Campana A (Morsiani 2018, 389–390). The state of the studies on the Monte Rinaldo black-gloss ware does not allow us to evaluate the possibility of a relationship between local productions and the repertoire of Campana A: not one fragment can be traced back to this production right now; on the contrary, some Vesuvian area items were found in Ascoli. Among these, there is also a Morel 2943 cup (Morsiani 2018, 389–390, fig. 3.9). The actual comparison between the Monte Rinaldo cup with IOVEI.SACRVM.SPOL stamp and a local/regional fabric cup found in a trousseau of the Fossa Hellenistic necropolis is a proof of the cup spread in the southern Middle-Adriatic area (d'Ercole and Copersino 2003, 88–90, tav. 64.4).

Fig. 9. Monte Rinaldo. Stamp on the inner bottom of black gloss cup (diam. 2,4 cm), 2nd - 1st century BC.

Fig. 10. Monte Rinaldo. Stamp on the inner bottom of black gloss item (diam. 1,9 cm), 2nd - 1st century BC.

According to the main features of Monte Rinaldo potteries, it should be noted that some ceramics, emerged from the late Republican layers in residual stratigraphic position, date back to the third century BC. They show a possible site attendance preceding the monumental phases of the shrine. First of all, these potteries are black-gloss wares partly of mid-Adriatic productions, such as the Morel 2672a cups (**Fig. 11.1**) and the Morel 4390 skyphos species (**Fig. 11. 3**), partly imported from the Tyrrhenian regions, perhaps from the Etruscan-Latium area, such as the Morel 2783/2784 cups (**Fig. 11. 2**). Even among the few amphorae discovered in Monte Rinaldo, some seem to date back to the third century BC, such as the Greco-Italic Adriatic production amphora Toniolo 4a type (**Fig. 11. 4**), comparable to an item found in Cattolica (Toniolo 2000, 46–48, fig. 87; Stoppioni 2008, 133–139, fig. 3, n. 4). Nothing more ancient than the third century BC has been found in Monte Rinaldo so far. However, the same late Republican

layers gave back some items of impasto potteries. They have a rather compact fabric with many inclusions, the colours vary from brown to grey (7.5YR 5/3–4 brown, 10YR 5/2 greyish brown, 10YR 4/1 dark grey), sometimes they tend to orange-red (5YR 5/4 reddish-brown, 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown), the surfaces are often, but not always, smooth. In many cases, their morphologies are not particularly distinctive, such as the *ollae* with a simple flared rim (**Fig. 12. 2**), the reversible lid with a ring foot (**Fig. 12. 3**) or the lids with cylindrical and hollowed handle (**Fig. 12. 4**); conversely, in other cases the shapes gave some more information. In this regard, the miniature hand-modelled beakers (or *pocula*) with a tongue-shaped grip under the rim, similar to the so-called '*olle picene'*, are meaningful (**Fig. 12. 1**). They had been known in the Middle-Adriatic area since the Archaic age (Romagna 1981; Landolfi 1992; d'Ercole *et al.* 2018), but they kept on being produced until the third century BC. In particular, the Monte Rinaldo items are closely comparable with type 1 of the Fossa Hellenistic necropolis, dated to the third century BC. (d'Ercole and Copersino 2003, 69–70, 294, tav. 46.3).[31] With regard to these miniature beakers, the comparison with the sacred Picene area of Battente is significant. This area is located in the suburbs of nearby Ascoli Piceno; over there, between the mid-fourth and the mid-third century BC, one or more female deities were venerated. Among the different impasto shapes, there are also these beakers (Demma *et al.* 2018, 92–94, fig. 14.7). In absence of fine ware older than the third century BC and based on the suggested comparisons, these impasto ceramics could be read in association with third-century BC black-gloss ware and amphorae, characterizing the attendance preceding the monumental phases of the shrine. Even so, the *ager firmanus* survey project corroborates the sporadic presence of pre-Roman pottery and tiles until the third century BC (Ciuccarelli 2009; Ciuccarelli 2012; Menchelli and Ciuccarelli 2013).

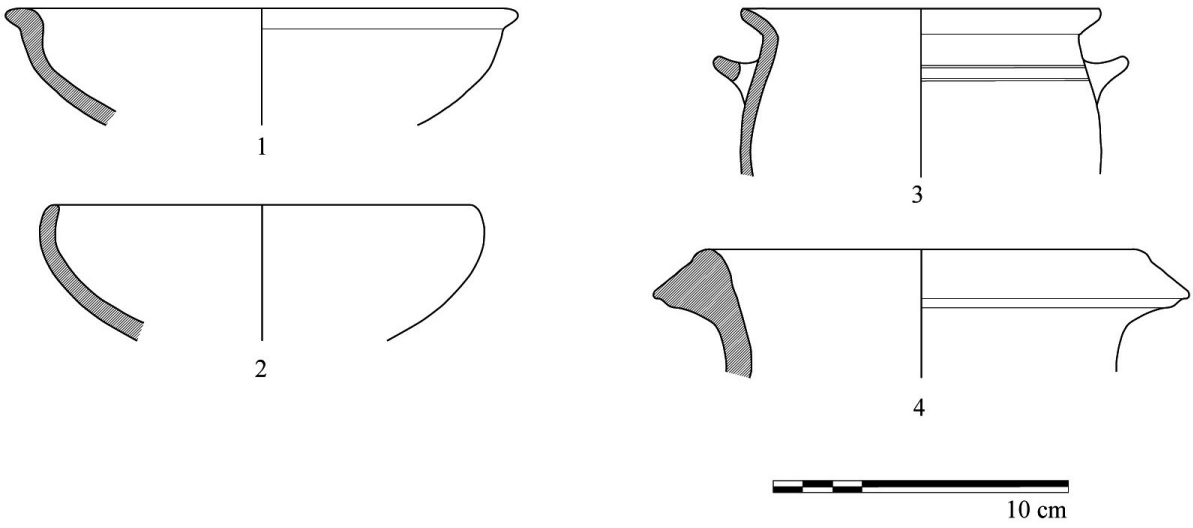

Fig. 11. Monte Rinaldo. Black gloss wares (nrs. 1-3), amphora (n. 4), 3rd century BC.

[31] The grave goods of Capestrano also point to the persistence of these beakers until the Hellenistic age, when they were made with more clean and resistant fabric (d'Ercole *et al.* 2018, 99). Furthermore, the recent publication of the *Spina* settlement excavations shows that spatial spread of these beakers includes the Po delta, where they are attested from the end of the 6th at least until the beginning of the 3rd century BC (Zamboni 2016, 171–172, cat. 958).

The archaeological framework of these ceramics does not provide any information about their intended use and the function of the site during the third century BC. However, considering the importance and monumentality assumed by the shrine in late Republican age, it is conceivable that Monte Rinaldo was already a colonial worship place throughout the time of the Roman expansion over the Picene region. Anyway, the associations of black-gloss and local tradition impasto wares could point to the shaded outlines of the discontinuity produced by the Roman-Latin colonization, at least from a ceramological point of view.[32] This archaeological evidence analysis is partially confirmed by the historical sources. As a matter of fact, Rome established that only some of the *Piceni* were deported to Campania, many of them were instead allowed to remain in their territories. Consequently, they were assimilated into a new political, social and religious order, first with the *civitas sine suffragio,* then with the *civitas optimo iure* (Bandelli 2007; Bandelli 2008; Paci 1983; Paci 1998a). They probably maintained their manufacturing tradition, or at least in part. The Monte Rinaldo impasto wares could be read as traces of this tradition.

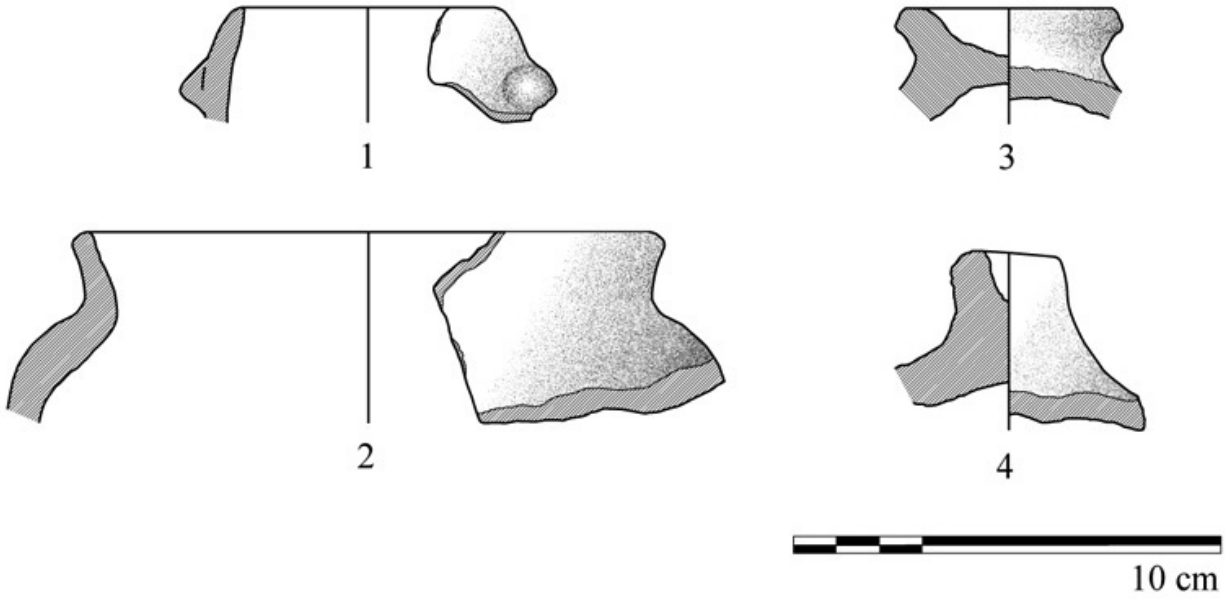

Fig. 12. Monte Rinaldo. Impasto wares.

Conclusions

In conclusion, as we have seen, the cultural changes due to the arrival of Rome in the *ager Gallicus et Picenum* at the beginning of the third century BC, can also be detected in the pottery assemblage. However, this acquisition process of the Roman-Latium models always occurs with phenomena of persistence: some aspects of the pre-Roman cultures resisted in the long period, as well as the manufacturing traditions and food practices related to them. Nevertheless, this persistence does not exclude an opening to the Roman-Latin culture, when the continuous production of the impasto *ollae*

[32] The building activities carried out for the construction of the shrine during the 2nd century BC, quite surely involved large excavation operations. These probably destroyed what remained of the previous attendance. Therefore, its features can only be detected by the ceramics in a residual stratigraphic position.

with tongue-shaped grip takes into account the technological innovations brought by the new craftsmen who employed a refined fabric, as in the case of Ascoli. The presence of impasto ceramics in the early stages of Romanization and later (as attested, for example, in *Suasa*) reduces their chronological value and emphasizes instead their cultural significance, being true expressions of the local traditions. Moreover, persistent traces of local manufacturing traditions, expressed by the impasto ceramics, were also found in Monte Rinaldo.

According to the numerous studies on these topics, even the ceramological analysis highlights a complex reality made up of the relationship between different cultures. As we have seen, each ceramic class provides a different kind of information and must therefore be read in relation to the others, on the basis of the archaeological framework. In this regard, the cultural impact produced by the expansion of Rome takes on shaded outlines, which vary according to archaeological contexts and historical circumstances. These general dynamics, recognized by various ceramological studies, must be read considering each settlement's features: the functional aspects (residential, sacred, funerary), arising from the archaeological evidence, as well as those related to their historical and juridical role, known from written sources.

III. *Forum Sempronii* and the Romanization of the Metauro Valley

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Introduction

Archaeological research is still far from an exhaustive definition of the term 'Romanization', that process of ethnical assimilation operated by the Roman conquerors on the Italic population. The topic is complex and the contribution offered by the area of the Marche Region (*ager Gallicus*, Adriatic *Umbria*, *Picenum*) does not yet seem to be exhaustive. However, the growing attention which is given by scholars to the historical period circumscribed between the end of the fourth and the second centuries BC in our territory, today enables us to have better data to think about.[2] The present contribution will underline the results of the study on the pottery found during the last five years of research on the ancient site of *Forum Sempronii* (archaeological campaigns 2014–2018), thanks to stratigraphic samples that have permitted the investigation of archaeological layers in direct relation with the sterile alluvial levels and which evidence the most ancient phases of human frequentation of the site. The material in question is unpublished and will be presented in this paper for the first time, with the hope of stimulating a constructive debate through the comparison with other realities near to that of *Forum Sempronii*.
Before paying attention to the main theme of this study, it is necessary to introduce a brief compendium on what is known about the material culture of the full-Roman Republican era, that has emerged – quite often by chance and with little data about the area of the findings – along the Metauro valley, and in extension along the Flaminia road on the section located in the area of Marche.[3] Actually, it is also necessary to briefly present what has been produced thanks to the study of another 'guiding fossil' of Romanization: the sanctuaries, pillars of the Roman penetration in this territory, at the moment one of the most tangible proofs of the presence of stable contacts between the indigenous population and Romans before and after the operations guided by Caius Flaminius in the last 30 years of the third century BC.

Concerning the material culture along the Apennine band up to the Furlo canyon, Roman artefacts have been registered, in a diffused way, dating from the Republican period, which in many cases must be associated with the physical presence of colonists and are not the result of commercial exchanges. The sites were located along the consular way or its *diverticula*, in an area in which municipal organizations have also been developed.[4] In the middle part of the valley, a concentration of Republican materials has

[1]Università degli Studi di Urbino Carlo Bo. English translation by Leah Mascia. This study was conducted with the support of the Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio delle Marche.
[2]Here are indicated just several recent researches on this topic: Mercando *et al.* 1981; Luni 1995b, 2002a, 2003; Paci 1998; Sisani 2001, 2007; Poli 2001; de Marinis *et al.* 2013; Ciuccarelli and Venanzoni 2016; Mei 2017; Silani 2017; Vermeulen 2017.
[3] Cfr. Marchegiani 2002, 91–130; Ermeti 2002.
[4]Apecchio (bronze offerer figurine, Marchegiani 2002, 118); Piobbico (bronze figurines from Monte Nerone, Marchegiani 2002, 117–118), Cagli (bronze figurine of young male with diadem and black-gloss ware, Ermeti 2002, 165–166); Cantiano (black-gloss ware, Ermeti 2002, 169–170); Frontone (bronze offerer figurine from Monte Catria, Marchegiani 2002, 121), Acqualagna (cooking ware and tableware, terracotta votive figurines, and lamps from the areas of Colombara and Pian di Valeria, Ermeti 2002, 147–164, 167); Urbino (cooking ware and tableware, antefixes from the city and from Cesane Mountain, Ermeti 2002, 171–179); Macerata Feltria (architectonical terracotta, fine-ware and tableware, Monacchi 1999; Mei 2017, 57–61).

been attested around Fossombrone and its territory[5]; in the same way, in proximity to the coast, archaeological evidence is circumscribed to the city of Fano and its territory.[6]
Unfortunately, at the moment it is not possible to fully reconstruct the context of the finding of these objects, which for this purpose cannot be circumscribed in a well-defined archaeological time frame. It is possible to state that a very capillary diffusion of pottery, such as the black-gloss ware, dated between the third and in the course of the second century BC, might indirectly certify the presence of several rural *villae* and farms that emerged with the viritane assignations and with the constitution of *fora* and *conciliabula* inside the *prefecturae* as a consequence of the promulgation of the *lex Flaminia* in 232 BC and of the *lex Sempronia* in 133 BC.[7]

The sanctuaries, on the contrary, were recognized thanks to the discovery of votive materials (bronze figurines, clay statuettes and anatomic *ex voto*, coins,[8] pottery). These objects were found concentrated in strategic sites from a topographical point of view and in areas not urbanized in ancient times, which suggests that these were probably 'open air' structures and not monumentalized, with just the votive deposits suggesting an identification on the ground. In the area of Isola di Fano (Fossombrone, PU), an Italic sanctuary has been attested, which seemed to have been operating until the phase of municipalization in the first century BC,[9] while other sanctuaries (*lucus pisaurensis* at Pesaro, Fano) appeared, *ex novo*, as aggregational poles, functional to the actual colonial deduction and the urban planification.[10]

In light of what has been briefly exposed, the Metauro valley seems to have been populated around scattered settlements (for example in the area of Monte Aguzzo, Monte Raggio and Monte Giove), in analogy with what was detected in other valleys, predominantly on high-ground territories, since the Bronze Age and until the recent Picene phase. From the end of the sixth century BC, the existence is

[5] Hoard of 267 coins (Gorini 2012), cooking ware and tableware from Fossombrone (Ermeti 2002, 137–146); cooking ware and tableware, coins, *glandes plumbeae* from Monte Aguzzo in the area of Fossombrone (Gori 2001); terracotta votive figurines and coins from Isola di Fano in the area of Fossombrone (Mei 2017, 55–57; Mei and Cariddi 2017); cooking ware and tableware from Pian di Rose di Sant'Ippolito (unpublished, still under study).
[6] Hoard of 88 coins dated between 200 and 150 BC and other exemplars, inscribed pebble with *sors*, bronze figurines and terracotta votive statuettes, pottery from Fano; architectonical elements from Roncosambaccio; Gracchan *cippus* from the area of San Cesareo; architectonical elements of a funerary monument from the area of Caminate (for all the findings see Milesi 1992, *passim*).
[7] Sisani 2011, 581–600. In *Forum Sempronii,* moreover, there seems to have been found the *Tabula Bembina*, a bronze slab incised on both sides with the text of a *lex iudiciaria* and a *lex agraria* from the 2nd century BC (CIL I 198 nd CIL I 200; Cellini 2012, cum bibl.)
[8] The coins, although seriously dispersed, furnish important chronological anchorages and when they came from sanctuary contexts, as in the case of Isola di Fano, they are important chronological evidence for the period of frequentation of the sites (at last: Mei and Cariddi 2017 in press).
[9] In the Archaeological Museum of the territory of Suasa in the area of San Lorenzo in Campo (PU), there are exposed many clay statuettes and heads, which depict female offerers, mostly cloaked and veiled or with a tanagrine hair dress. Also attested are: anatomical *ex voto*, a naked feminine statuette and another on a throne, a male statuette with a shield and two big heads, one of a male and one of a female (cfr. Dall'Aglio and Campagnoli 2002, 245–247). The objects should be part, according to what is reported by the inventory dating back to the 50s, of the 'Ricci Collection', and were found in the territory of *Suasa*, with no other specification. It might be suggestive to hypothesize the presence of a sanctuary as that attested at Tarugo near Isola di Fano, along the bank of the Nevola river, tributary of the Cesano river in proximity of the border between San Lorenzo in Campo and Castellone in the area of *Suasa* (re-proposing the same topographical situation of Isola di Fano, near the convergence between the Tarugo and the Metauro rivers).
[10] Cfr. especially Coarelli 2000; Marchegiani *et al.* 2003; Perna *et al.* 2013; Belfiori 2017; Mei 2017.

documented of 'naturalistic' places of cult, raised along transhumance routes and in relation with therapeutic water courses (Cagli, Isola di Fano, Acqualagna). These sanctuaries were useful during the Roman penetration in the territory, as demonstrated by the long-lasting frequentation of the sanctuary localized at Isola di Fano, where bronze votive figurines of Etrusco-Italic production and clay votive figurines of Roman production have been discovered on many occasions. For what concerns the mid-Roman Republican era, from the architectonical and settlement points of view, the most ancient testimonies came from two rural *villae* still under study (at Colombara near Acqualagna and at Pian di Rose near Sant'Ippolito), built during the second century BC. However, ceramic material datable to the same phase has been reported in many other sites.[11]

But what can be assumed about the first phase of *Forum Sempronii*?[12] The literary sources and the epigraphic documentation do not help much in this sense, to such an extent that it is possible to define it as a *municipium* at least from the year 49 BC.[13] The title of the city is evocative,[14] and recalls *Tiberius Sempronius Graccus* (if not even *Publius Sempronius Tuditanus*, consul from the year 204 BC), active in the territory as a consequence of the promulgation of the law that bears his name. However, on the possible attribution of the foundation of the city to this character, to date there are no clear evidence; neither does there exist at the moment proof for a more ancient foundation, during the phase of the viritane assignations made by C. Flaminius (232 BC) or in relation to the opening of the homonym street (220 BC).

The archaeological documentation of the last years might help to solve some clues in relation to the first phase of stable frequentation by the Romans on this site and to recognize the traces of the original forum, before the beginning of the real urban development derived from the upgrade to the status of *municipium*. (O.M.)

The finds

A limited number of stratigraphic samples, effectuated in the forum area (Temple A 2014–2015, *Augusteum* 2015), in proximity to the Eastern Walls (*Porta Gallica* 2016) and inside the Archaeological Park, on the south of the *decumanus maximus* (*Thermae* 2017–2018), have put in evidence, in the first place, a quiet uniform stratigraphic situation, looking both to the geological evidence and the material culture (**Fig. 1**). Likewise, the *insula* of the Europa *domus* has produced, during the last archaeological campaign in 2019, from the deepest layers the same typology of material, which is today under investigation. The virgin layer has been found at an average depth from ground level of around 2–3 metres, and from the ancient road level at around 1–0.5 metres. In contact with the geological layer appears the oldest anthropic level, which consists of a thick layer (on average 30–40 centimetres) of black soil with a strong clayey origin and the sporadic presence of pebbles. The clay layer is very solid, so much so that several structures from the Imperial age have placed their wall foundations directly on top of it. The layer contained black-gloss-ware fragments and cooking-ware fragments with a raw impasto; furthermore, fine-ware fragments, internal red-glazed ware fragments, kitchenware with a depurated impasto and *amphorae* Lamboglia 2 were found in the plateau of the forum area. Worked flints and flakes have been found in association with materials dated from the Roman period, which attest to an anthropic presence during Prehistory; indicative, in this respect, are two arrowheads from

[11] Ferretti in Luni 2002b, 213–261.

[12] Luni and Mei 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2014; Mei *et al.* 2017.

[13] Luni and Mei 2014, 25–26.

[14] A forum is a centre founded by a Roman magistrate, usually along the route of a *via publica*, as a consequence of the colonial deductions of viritane character (Sisani 2011, 568–574).

the Eneolithic phase found in the area of the temple.[15] Although these materials are still under research and destined for a subsequent specific discussion,[16] it is possible to draw some conclusions inherent to the two most representative pottery classes: the black-gloss tableware and the impasto cooking ware (handmade or produced with the use of a slow wheel). These two classes are contextually represented in the most ancient layers of frequentation on the site, and they offer an important picture of the pottery used by the first colonists and by the 'Romanized' indigenous inhabitants. Among the black-gloss ware, four groups were individuated, based on a visual analysis of the impasto and the gloss (**Fig. 2**). Awaiting the archaeometric analysis, it is already possible to hypothesize that groups I and IV might refer to imported pottery and that groups II and III, instead, might be recognized as locally produced pottery, in the wider sense of this term.

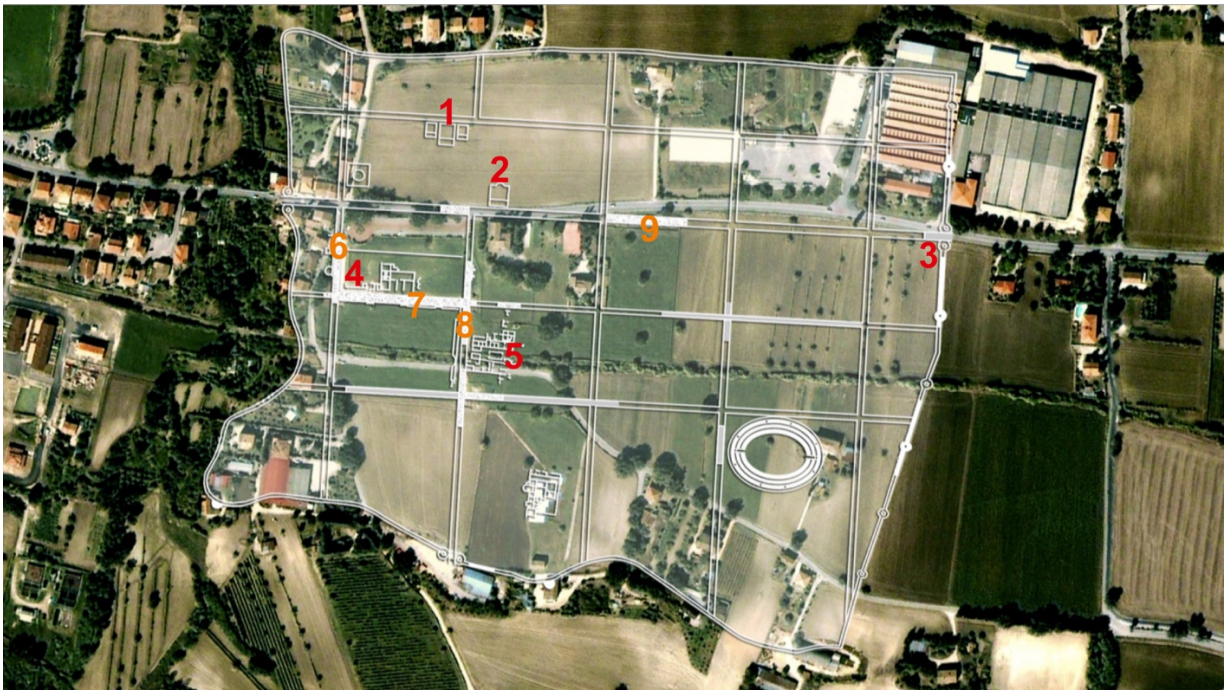

Fig. 1. Plan of *Forum Sempronii*, superimposed on a satellite image. The red numbers indicate the location of stratigraphic samples made between 2014 and 2019: Temple A (1), *Augusteum* (2), Gallic Gate (3), Large *Thermae* (4), *Domus* di Europa (5). The orange numbers indicate the location of stratigraphic samples from the 90s made in the lacunae of the paved road: *cardus* - via del Forno (6), *decumanus* - via delle Statue Dorate (7), *cardus* - via dei Seviri (8), *decumanus maximus* -Flaminia (9).

[15] The impasto pottery found during stratigraphic samples that have been made in the early 90s, inside the Archeological Park (Mei in Luni and Mei 2012a, 59–64), fall partly in a 'Pre-Roman' chronological horizon from the 4th–3rd centuries BC, with the attestation of the truncated cone bowl with indistinct rim, which found comparisons, for example, in Ancona (Pignocchi and Virzì Hägglund 1998, 143–145).

[16] The following discussion is intentionally concise, trying to offer a first reliable summary on the evidence. The black-gloss ceramic shapes follow the classification present in Morel 1981. Comparisons and date hypotheses refer mostly to Brecciaroli Taborelli *et al.* 1996–1997 and Mazzeo Saracino *et al.* 2014.

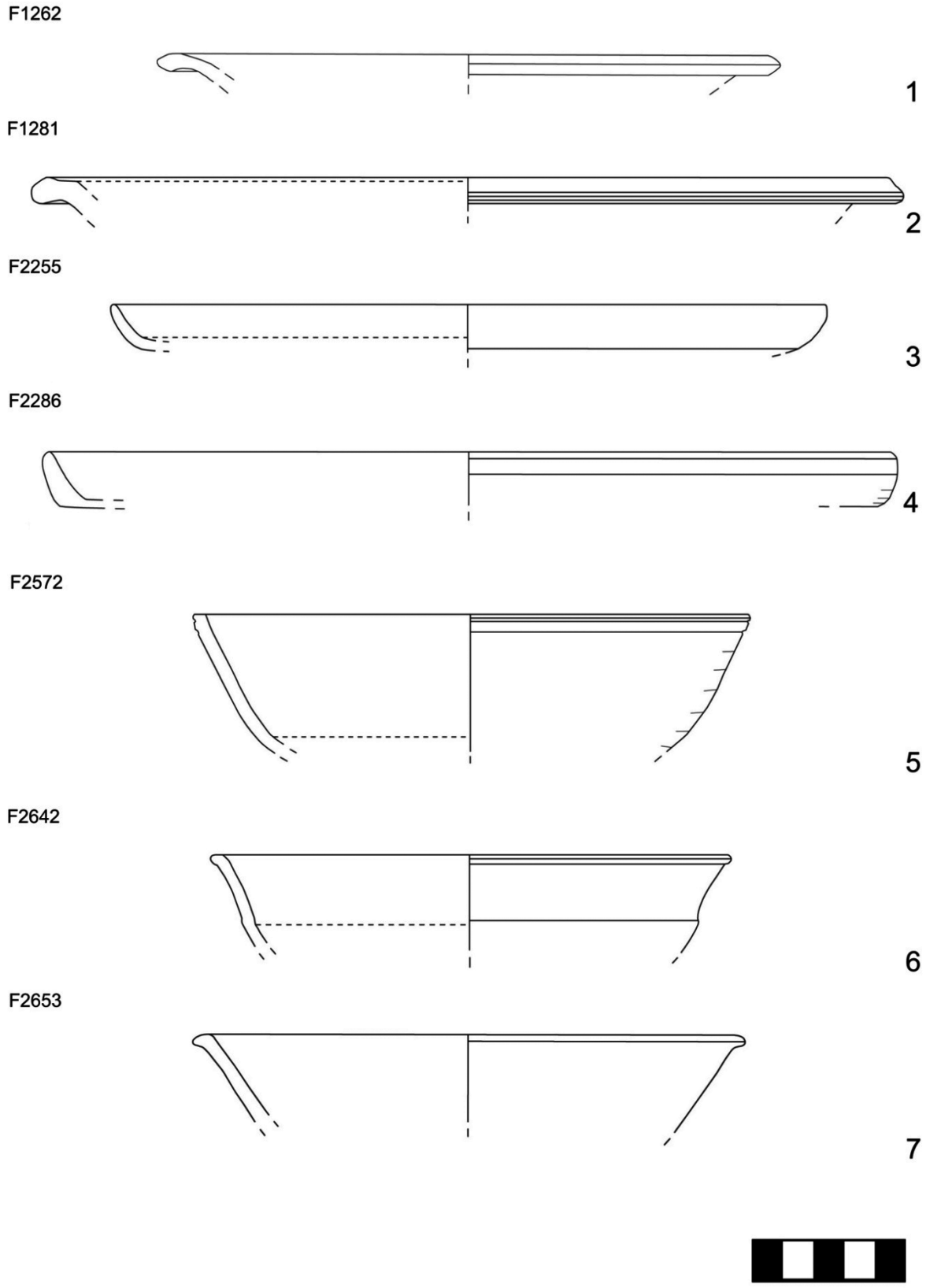

Fig. 2: *Forum Sempronii*, black gloss ware: the most representative shapes (drawing L. Cariddi).

Group I[17] is characterized by a rosy impasto (Munsell 2.5 YR 8/2, 8/3; 5 YR 7/6, 8/4; 7.5 YR 7/4), depurated, thick, with a clean fracture; the black gloss is opaque, polished, sometimes iridescent. The production recalls Campana B from the Etrusco-Latial area, framed generally from the middle of the second and the middle of the first centuries BC, with the following Morel shapes attested: the bowl F1262, the dishes F1281, F1440, F2255 (close also to F2256-58), F2276, F2286, the cups F2572, F2575, F2621, F2642, F2653, the bowls F2961, F3121. The group is represented by 40 fragments, half of which are diagnostics, found in all the sectors of the excavations listed before.
Group II[18] is characterized by a rosy light-brown impasto (Munsell 2.5 YR 8/2; 7.5 YR 8/3, 8/4; 10 YR 8/2, 8/3), depurated, powdery to the touch; the black-brownish gloss is quite often opaque and has the tendency to scrape off. The production is local/regional, still in a chronology of between the second and first centuries BC, with the following Morel shapes attested: the dish F2255, the cups F2642, F2653, the bowl F2681. This group is represented by 21 fragments, of which 9 were diagnostics, found in all the sectors excavated and listed before, but mostly from the area occupied by the *Augusteum*.
Group III[19] is characterized by a light-grey impasto (Munsell 10 YR 7/1), quite depurated, soft, with a chalky consistency; the black-coloured gloss is generally opaque and with the tendency to scrape off. The production is local/regional, still in a chronology of between the second and first centuries BC, with the following Morel shapes attested: the dish F2255, the cups F2642, F2653. The group is represented by 8 fragments, of which 5 were diagnostics, found in all the investigated areas, with the exception of the *Thermae* area.
Group IV, to which belong three ceramic wall fragments found in the *Augusteum* area and the *Thermae* area, are characterized by a rosy-grey impasto (Munsell 7.5 YR 7/2), depurated, thick, with a clean fracture; the black-coloured glossoss is opaque and polished. The listed characteristics should recall the Campana C production, dated in the course of the second century BC.

Summarizing, although in the case of three fragments a high chronology might be suggested (cups/bowls F2575, F2621, F2681), there clearly is a scarcity of black-gloss ceramic artefacts dated from the third century BC.[20] There is rather a prevalence of pottery dated between the second and first centuries BC, originating from the Etrusco-Latial area (Volterra might be one of the areas of production) and also from Sicily, if the identification of the production of Campana C is confirmed, and of locally imitated ware, using a granular light or grey impasto and a cheaper gloss.[21] The numerically better attested shapes in

[17] Like group I from *Sentinum* (Brecciaroli Taborelli 2013).
[18] Like types 3 and 4 from Mergo (Ciuccarelli 2008) and group 2 from Scoppietto (Nicoletta in Bergamini 2011, 66–70).
[19] Like local class 2 from *Aesis* (Brecciaroli Taborelli *et al.* 1996–1997, 76–77), group 3 from Scoppietto (Nicoletta in Bergamini 2011, 71–73) and group 3 from *Sentinum* (Brecciaroli Taborelli 2013).
[20] The production from the area of Rimini from the 3rd–2nd centuries BC (Minak F. in Mazzeo Saracino 2005, 105–160) doesn't seem to have been attested at Fossombrone.
[21] For the production from Volterra, cfr. Montagna Pasquinucci 1972; Pasquinucci *et al.* in Frontini and Grassi 1998, 101–118; Di Giuseppe 2005, 36–42; Mazzeo Saracino 2007, 184–199. Most of the shapes attested in *Forum Sempronii*, seem to have been present in the local production of Volterra (D/E/F) from the 2nd century BC (cfr. Di Giuseppe 2005, 59–76), and might have been the object of imitation by colonists from *Forum Sempronii*, at the time of the foundation of the Roman settlement, in the last decades of the same century. Kilns that might be connected to the production of the black-gloss ware from *Forum Sempronii* have not yet been found. Along the Flaminia, at Cantiano, near Pontericcioli, there supposedly existed a productive area of this pottery class from the 2nd century BC (Marchegiani and Pignocchi 2008, 182). In Canavaccio, in the area of Urbino, at 10 kms on the west side of Fossombrone instead, there has been attested a productive complex of bricks, amphorae, common ware and fine ware, active during the Early Imperial period (Cesaroni in Luni and Mei 2012a, 251–261). In Fano, still along the Flaminia road, and near San Costanzo, kilns produced bricks and common ware in the Late Imperial Age (De

the three principal impasto groups (I–III) are the dishes F2255/2286 and the cups F2642/2653. Both are well attested, mostly during the Late Republican Age, in the areas affected by the Etruscan influence, such as the *ager Gallicus*.[22]

The cooking ware, which accompanied the black gloss tableware in the analysed contexts, most of the time has a raw impasto, rich in white lime inclusions (95 fragments) or semi-depurated (34 fragments), handcrafted and/or produced with a slow-wheel. The walls of the ceramic bodies are coarse, with marked irregularities, mostly reddish-coloured inside and grey outside. The attested shapes of the impasto pottery are four, with a strong predominance of fragments referable to ollas and lids – shapes to which pertain the biggest fragments and the more rough clay – and secondly to pots and pans. Furthermore, the principal reference context, thanks to which it was possible to reconstruct shapes and variants, is that of the area of the *Augusteum*. The ollas (**Fig. 3**) are represented by two types: one with a flared and indistinct rim (type 1),[23] the other with a vertical rim adjusted on a projecting shoulder (type 2).[24] The variants pertaining to these types differ according to the degree of ledge of the rim and to the development of the lip: rounded, linear or enlarged. The same methodological approach has been used for lids: type 1 with oblique wall and indistinct rim (with a rounded profile and more or less shaped in the variants 1d)[25]; type 2 with a wall with a curvilinear trend and enlarged rim.[26] Pans pertained to two typologies even if the fragments referring to this shape are very few and not very diagnostic: type 1 presents an everted rim and type 2 an indistinct and re-entrant rim.[27] The pot shape is represented by just one diagnostic fragment, with extro-flexed rim underlined externally by an arcuation.[28] The chronological framing of the impasto pottery remains problematic because the stratigraphic contexts suggest a date around the second century BC, when actually for these artefacts, present among the tableware of the Latial area,[29] generally a date is proposed of between the fourth and third centuries

Sanctis 2006, 353–356; Lepore 2008, 169, note 15). On kilns of the pottery workshop in *Aesis*, see the last research in Brecciaroli Taborelli 2017, 13–17. See for the *Suasa* territory, Visani F. in Giorgi and Lepore 2010, 555–563.

[22] Many examples referable to the ceramic artefacts discussed and that usually present a local impasto, have been found through surveys in the area of Fossombrone (Ermeti 2002, 140–141, a mostly restored dish type F2250 is today exhibited at the Museo Civico), in Acqualagna from the excavations of the rural villa (Ermeti 2002, 155–159), in Pesaro in the area of the Protohistoric settlement (Ermeti 2002, 184–190), and from the excavation of the former Boscia pharmacy (Bartoloni 2008, 92), in *Suasa* (for the latest research see Mambelli in Mazzeo Saracino 2014, 132–133, 138–140), in *Aesis* (Brecciaroli Taborelli *et al.* 1996–1997, 134–136, 150–153; Brecciaroli Taborelli L. in Frontini and Grassi 1998, 155, where it is pointed out that in the formal *repertoire* ascribed to the period between 150 and 30 BC, the shape F2250 is almost exclusively adopted for dishes and the shape F2653 for cups), in Mergo (Ciuccarelli 2008, 285, 290), and in *Sentinum* (Brecciaroli Taborelli 2013, 27–31, 43–47, 52–54). Moreover, these shapes are attested in Ancona (Pignocchi and Virzì Hägglund 1998, 133–134), in Monte Torto in the area of Osimo (Pignocchi 2001, 55–57) in *Urbs Salvia* (Giuliodori 2013, 104–107) and in the area of the *ager Firmanus* (Ciuccarelli 2009, 9).

[23] This *olla* type is well attested in the central territory of Italy, in relation to contexts that generically are defined as 'Protohistoric' or 'Pre-Roman'. The shape with a raw impasto is indeed quite ancient (in Etruria and Lazio at least from the eighth century BC) and has, due to its functional nature, persisted over the course of the centuries with little variations (Cardarelli *et al.* 1988, II, 20–28; 60–86; Olcese 2003, 24–27, 78–79, with bibl.). The shape resembles the exemplars Olcese 2003, tab. VII, type 1; Cardarelli *et al.* 1988 II, 66, fig. 38 Ec, Fa, Ff.

[24] Shape attested in the area of Pesaro (Bartolini 2008, 107, nr. 98). Cfr. Cardarelli *et al.* 1988, II, 64, fig. 36 f; see for Rome, Quercia 2008, 201, type 11.

[25] Olcese 2003, 89–90, tab. XIX, type 1.

[26] Olcese 2003, 89–90, tab. XIX, type 2–3.

[27] Olcese 2003, 86–88, tab. XV, type 3–5, tab. XVI, type 7; Cardarelli *et al.* 1988, II, 69, fig. 40 Ad. Cb.

[28] Olcese 2003, 77–78, tab. VI, type 1.

[29] Olcese 2009, 155.

BC.[30] The ollas found at *Forum Sempronii*, defined as type 1 but very close to the Latial type Olcese 1, present different formal details and technical features, such as shorter and less flared rims.

An interesting evidence that has emerged in other settlements,[31] is the combination of artefacts of clear Roman origin (especially black gloss fine ware)[32] and artefacts that suggest an indigenous *ethnos* (impasto pottery), inside the same stratigraphical units in contact with the geological strata. It has been hypothesized that this situation might testify to an early contact with Rome, before the progressive occupation of the territory,[33] as a consequence of the viritane assignations from the third century BC, with the cooking ware showing a more tenacious formal conservatism. Speaking of this class, the distinction between pottery of local pre-Roman tradition and that belonging to the Latial type still necessitates further investigations.[34] Illustrative in this sense are the materials pertaining to the first phase of Villa di Colombara di Acqualagna,[35] which might resemble the typology of pottery employed by colonists arrived during the second century BC, with cooking ware similar to that reconstructed thanks to the fragments found at *Forum Sempronii* (**Figs. 4–5**). (L.C.)

Conclusions

Two questions still remain vivid and unfortunately without a positive answer. What existed in the site occupied subsequently by the settlement of *Forum Sempronii* in the period comprised between the Gallic invasion of the fourth century BC and the Hannibalic war, in particular the Metauro battle from the year 207 BC[36]? And which impact led to the famous opening up of the Flaminia street in 220 BC, from the colonial point of view, in relation to the emerging of rural and urban settlements? If we might suggest some hypothesis regarding the urban development of *Forum Sempronii*, based on what is offered by the archaeological documentation, we might be tempted to confirm the proposals that have seen the city in strict association with the activities of the Gracchan *gens*. A structuration, which, therefore, was begun at the end of the second century BC, in an area that hosted, presumably, a minor demic nucleus, of which, however, we do not have at the moment the necessary data in order to suggest an identification. Although we do not have clear evidence regarding the 'first city', the study of the archaeological material enables its existence to be indirectly certified'. Furthermore, recently there have been intercepted, in relation to the archaeological layers dated from the first Roman frequentation, dry-wall structures with

[30] Cfr. Biondani F. in Mazzeo Saracino 2005, 103, 234–254. Mazzeo Saracino *et al.* 2007; Lenzi F., Carboni L. in Malnati and Stoppioni 2008, 117–122; Mazzeo Saracino L. in Giorgi and Lepore 2010, 185–196. The shapes attested at *Suasa* (Assenti G. in Mazzeo Saracino 2014, 101–103) and Pesaro (cfr. Bartolini 2008, 105–106, nr. 92) shows strict affinities with the findings from Fossombrone. In the 'Picene' settlement in Pesaro, dated between the 6th and 5th centuries BC, the impasto pottery does not seem to include the shapes attested in *Forum Sempronii* (see Luni 1995c, 92).

[31] For example in *Suasa* (Mazzeo Saracino 2004, 62; Mazzeo Saracino 2007, 192–197; Mambelli in Mazzeo Saracino 2014, 121), in the territory of Urbino at S. Giacomo near Fermignano (Ermeti and Monacchi 1993) and in the already cited villa in Colombara (Acqualagna).

[32] On this value see Mazzeo Saracino 2004, 60.

[33] Cfr. Mazzeo Saracino 2013. On the meaning assumed by the black-gloss ware as a Romanization 'guiding fossil' see Mazzeo Saracino 2004, 60.

[34] The topic is complex and many are involved in the study of this subject, thanks also to archaeometric analysis, see Santoro Bianchi and Fabbri 1997; Frontini and Grassi 1998.

[35] Luni 2003, 270–276. Panico C. in Luni and Mei 2013, 65–74. The archaeological contexts have not put in evidence a phase from the mid-Republican Age in concomitance with the viritane colonization and the opening of the consular way of the last 30 years from the third century BC.

[36] On the battle, see Luni 2002a.

unworked stones – on which there are sometimes superimposed walls with lime and sandstone at the latest dated from the Augustan period – sealed and obliterated by the general increase of the ground level from the first and second centuries AD, which have determined the definitive urban planning, with the paving of the roads, the planification of the *forum* area and the construction of the principal buildings, such as the *thermae* and the *amphitheatre.*[37] The *forum*, moreover, might have been the heart of a territorial unit, a *pagus*, inside which other settlement realities without a political autonomy would find a place,[38] such as the scattered private buildings (the villa in the area of Pian di Rose di San'Ippolito) and the sanctuaries (the place of cult at Isola di Fano). (O.M., L.C.)

Fig. 3. *Forum Sempronii*, impasto wares: *Olla* type 1 (drawing L. Cariddi).

[37] Cfr. Mei *et al.* 2018.
[38] Cfr. Sisani 2011, 601.

Fig. 4. Colombara di Acqualagna (PU), rural villa from the 2nd–1st centuries BC, some artefacts of impasto ware (picture L. Cariddi).

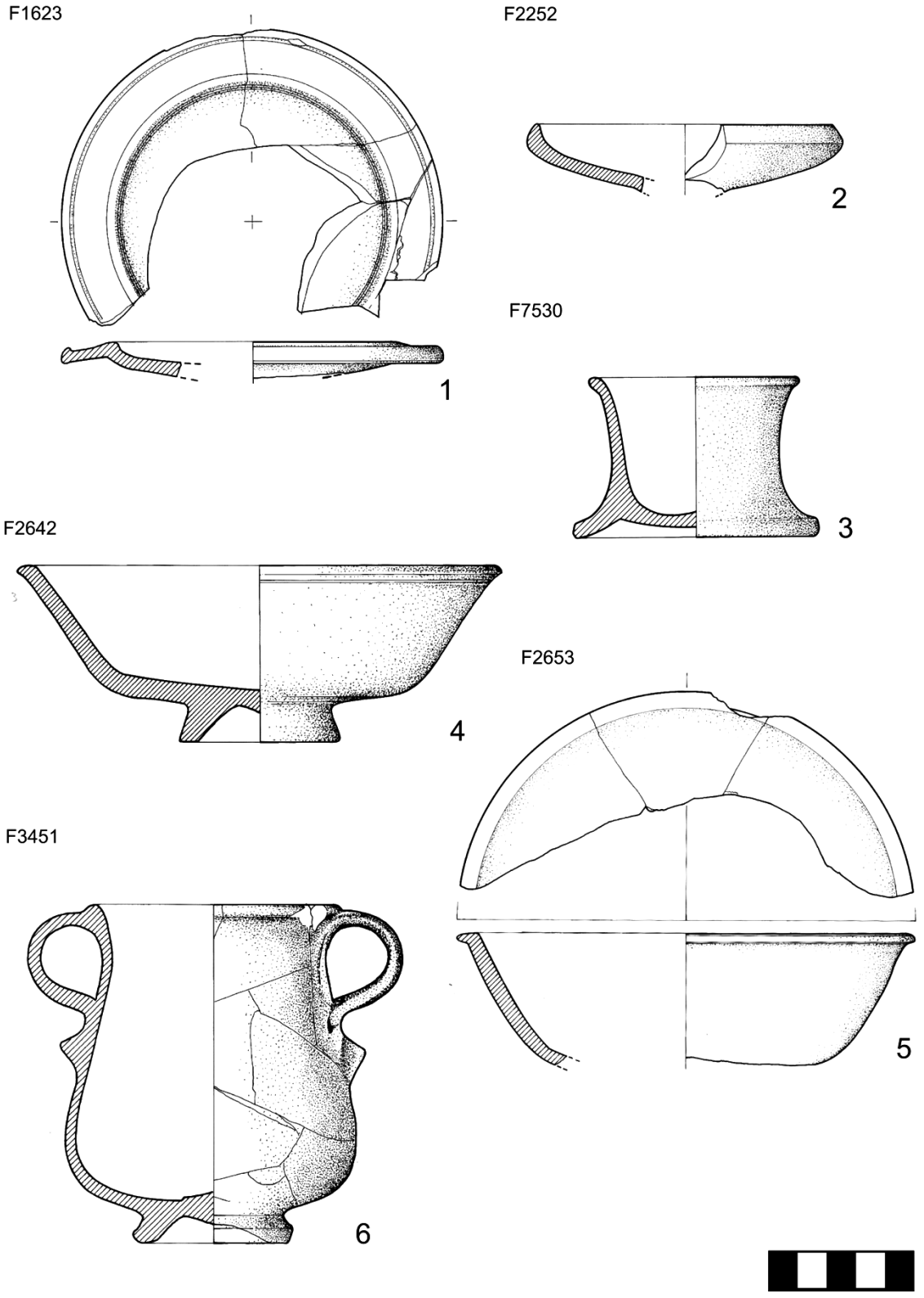

Fig. 5. Colombara di Acqualagna (PU), rural villa from the 2nd–1st centuries BC; the most attested shapes of black gloss ware (Ermeti 2002).

IV. Methodological approaches to the study of the Cesano and Misa River Valleys (2010-2020). New data: some thoughts and perspectives

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Introduction

This paper reports on the last ten years of research carried out by the University of Bologna within the Cesano and Misa River Valleys, considering the methodology adopted in the field work and estimating the contribution of non-invasive survey techniques to our understanding of the ancient settlement dynamics, with a special focus on pre-Roman times and early urbanization processes.
The 2010-2020 decade of research was based on the deep-rooted experience of the previous and pioneering studies in the territory (Alfieri 2000, Dall'Aglio *et al.* 1991), and characterized by a renewed interest in the birth of cities and territorial organization resulting from the Roman colonisation, with new seasons of archaeological campaigns at *Suasa* (Giorgi and Lepore 2010; De Maria and Giorgi 2014; Giorgi 2019), *Ostra* (Dall'Aglio *et al.* 2014) and *Sena Gallica* (Lepore *et al.* 2012a; Lepore *et al.* 2012b), and by additional studies of the dynamics which led to the arrival and occupation of the Romans (Silani 2017). The latest reflections have also benefitted from new finds in the countryside (Lepore *et al.* 2013; Silani and Boschi 2016), and from closer consideration of geomorphological analyses and the study of paleo-environmental evolution (Silani *et al.* 2016; Dall'Aglio *et al.* 2012; Dall'Aglio *et al.* 2017).

From a methodological point of view, the period saw the more consistent use of non-destructive prospecting methods, such as remote sensing and geophysics, after the first important experiences gained at *Suasa* in the late 1980s which clearly demonstrated the potential of these survey techniques in the context analysed (Bruzzi 1991; a summary in Boschi 2010), suggesting the opportunity for systematic and territorially-based applications. The research carried out for a long time by different university teams in other sectors of the region, adopting a non-invasive survey approach, has certainly served as a model, stimulus and further inspiration (Percossi *et al.* 2006; Vermeulen *et al.* 2017; Menchelli 2012; Mei *et al.* 2017). In our case, alongside the awareness derived from the earliest applications, the strong confidence in the "new" methods of investigation can also be justified by the often incomplete and unreliable information resulting from field-walking survey and surface collection along the Cesano (Giorgi 2001-2002), which has revealed the near-total destruction of the once-present archaeological stratigraphy record in many sectors of the analysed landscape, mainly due to repeated ploughing and, partially, to post-depositional processes.
The major novelty of the methodological approach of non-destructive methods is the new wave of intensive survey work using aerial and geophysical prospection, which have both been increasingly employed to explore the landscape and partially resolve the limitations of field-walking surveys, and also to deepen the study of the main cities in the valleys while at the same time reducing digging operations. This reasoning has been adopted not only in the analysis of long-abandoned towns of the middle valleys, like *Suasa* and *Ostra*, but also for dealing with *Sena Gallica* (Senigallia), a city that has been continually occupied since antiquity, and which has therefore remained one of the major centres of population until the present day, creating a need to experiment with different strategies of survey and investigation (Lepore 2016; Silani 2017; Boschi 2016).

Although work is still in progress, especially in order to achieve a full-coverage mapping of the ancient settlements and their rural landscape, this paper is a first appraisal of the main acquisitions derived from geophysics and aerial photography across the Cesano and Misa valleys, in terms of archaeological

understanding, heritage assessment and expertise regarding the performance and capacity of the different survey methods and techniques, with respect to the geological and environmental characteristics of the context and the archaeological targets.
In general, our methodological approach is mainly based on the integration of old and new data, using traditional sources (documentary and literary analysis, place-names studies, historical cartography, maps of previous archaeological findings, geological and geomorphological analysis), which are associated with the landscape survey. This background of information is the essential starting point for any investigation, regardless of the scale of detail. Another fundamental and specific aspect of our research is comparison and integration with trial digs, which are usually carried out according to the results of a prior assessment and, mostly, in a very limited and circumscribed form. This combination allows a mutual feedback mechanism between excavation and remote sensing data, with a reciprocal enrichment of knowledge, as well as an improvement in the data interpretation.
Our team is currently reflecting on the idea of limiting excavation, or even avoiding it, in favour of a totally non-invasive approach. Comparison with other research experience, from both regionally and nationally, is as important as meeting the needs of conservation and protection, and how they are practiced in Italy.

Techniques, field procedures and instrumental responses

In 2010 we began to use an integrated prospection strategy based on the widespread use of aerial and geophysical survey. The impressive results acquired between 2003 and 2004 using kite-based aerial photography, which fostered the discovery of the buried theatre of *Suasa* and of other buildings in the immediate *suburbium*, encouraged the development of regular flight programmes in collaboration with the Air Club of Ancona.
Bologna University's aerial survey work involves a series of regular flights over the whole of the Misa and Cesano Valleys, collecting low-level oblique photographs with the aim of detecting and subsequently mapping, studying and interpreting, the observed traces. The flights are undertaken in a 180-horsepower four-seater aircraft hired from the AeroClub of Ancona, with an experienced pilot and one or two photographers, preferably observing the landscape from an altitude of between 150 and 350 m above ground level, the average being around 300 m (**Fig. 1**). Photographs are captured with a Canon Eos 400 digital single-lens reflex camera equipped with EF-S 18-55 mm and EF 70-135 mm zoom lenses.
The flight pattern involves repeated traverses across and along the river valleys and surrounding hills, observing the landscape from a variety of angles and undertaking intensive circling around previously chosen target areas as well as newly identified sites. The flights are organized so as to gather information at different times of the year, but with a concentration in spring and early summer, particularly in the weeks at the end of May and the first half of June, which provide the key windows of opportunity for recording cropmark evidence (Boschi 2018).

The knowledge and confidence gradually acquired in the landscape surveyed between 2010 and 2015, along with the results achieved, have led to our conviction that aerial photography, and especially oblique aerial photography, is an instrument of extraordinary effectiveness and potential for studying and exploring the whole of the Cesano, Misa and Nevola river valleys and the surrounding hills. There are probably numerous reasons for this potential: favourable geologic subsoil, extensive areas of arable cultivation in the lowland zones, advantageous crops in most parts of the alluvial terraces (wheat, barley, oats), limited phenomena of colluvial deposits, and the less systematic employment of aerial prospections in past research, which implies the possibility of previously unseen acquisitions. Indeed, the regularity and continuity of the flight activities turned out to be very important. Although still limited,

our experience demonstrates the need for repeated visits, preferably carried out by archaeologists experienced in the area, at different times of the day and year, and for many years in succession. Most of the detected evidence, including the newly discovered sites discussed below, was completely invisible for several seasons, but was later as clear as if it had been "painted on the field" (especially during spring of 2012 and 2014), and then disappeared again for many years.

Fig. 1. Aerial view over the Nevola river Valley taken during the aerial photography surveys (by F. Boschi).

The largest and more relevant part of the newer data, which fostered a novel understanding of the historical landscape, both with regard to the already known Roman towns and to new discoveries, derives from the air. We have collected 80 flight hours since 2010, and started the work of mapping all the detected traces, which were GIS-based stored for interpretative layers. This study is currently in progress and also embeds the vertical aerial photos acquired from several national aerial photography archives, which make up a significant collection from 1939 until the present. More than two hundred evidence have been identified and mapped, only for the middle sectors of the whole district, and this number will increase.

The ongoing analysis also supports our understanding of landscape change and settlement dynamics across the centuries, especially in the geomorphological analysis of river-valley transformations, the study of ancient road systems and land division, and in pinpointing rural settlements and industrial areas. In this regard, a specific study was carried out on *Suasa* by applying finalized aerial photogrammetry to the historical RAF imagery (Giorgi *et al.* 2012). The most interesting information resulting from the comparative analysis between the 1943 vertical photos and more recent views (1991) concerns the Cesano river bed, which has lowered by more than 10 meters in about 50 years. Together with information from recent excavations (De Maria and Giorgi 2013), this observation allows us to

hypothesise that the ancient landscape where *Suasa* once flourished was considerably less regular than the flattened modern one, which is probably characterized by significant altimetric variations.

Parallel to aerial photography, geophysical prospection has also made an enormous contribution to recent research and has demonstrated to be highly effective and particularly suitable in investigating different archaeological contexts in the territory, such as abandoned and long-lived Roman towns, hilltop settlements and former round barrows of the pre-Roman Iron Age.
Over the past ten years, we have tested various geophysical techniques: ground-penetrating radar, resistivity, magnetometry using Overhauser, caesium and potassium methodologies (**Fig. 2**).

Fig. 2. Geophysical surveys and fieldwork operations within the project
by the University of Bologna.

The general strategy of measurements entails high resolution data acquisition, applying mutually integrating non-destructive techniques, and choosing the most appropriate strategy for the archaeological objectives and characteristics of targets and background for each case. Especially when applied on a large scale, geophysics has allowed a more detailed characterization of both the sites and settlements already known, and the newly discovered areas identified through aerial prospecting work. Our experience between the Cesano and Misa valleys leads us to consider geomagnetic and resistivity prospection as the techniques that perform best in relation to the geologic, archaeological and environmental characteristics of the landscape. The optical magnetic systems (using caesium and potassium solutions in vertical gradiometric configuration) have been the basis of our work, ensuring fruitful features especially in the detection of ephemeral and non-monumental evidence, such as ditches, channels and elements of geomorphologic nature. Resistivity, however, is the most efficient method for the detection and description of buried wall and structure residuals, particularly employing Automatic Resistivity Profiling (ARP©) methodology (Dabas 2009), the best solution for fast and

extensive mapping using that technique. Resistivity and magnetometry data also offer complementary views when it comes to public buildings and infrastructures. At *Suasa*, for instance, ARP mapping provided evidence of large buildings and paved roads that were less perceptible or even invisible in the caesium gradiometer data, which instead clearly describes the drainage ditches along the streets (**Fig. 3**).

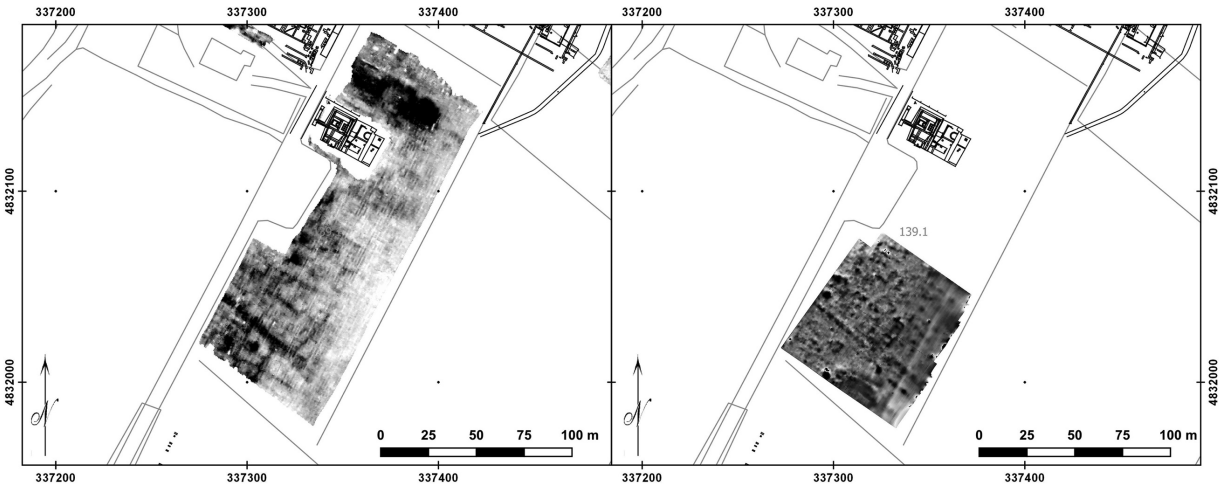


Fig. 3. Integrated geophysical survey at *Suasa* (area of the so-called Edificio di Oceano). Comparison between ARP system (on left) and caesium magnetometry (on right).

Compared to these systems, GPR has in general proved to be a less satisfactory and effective technique, because of the prevalence of clayey soils and poorly levelled surfaces. In several cases the GPR investigation was almost unsuccessful, to the point that other techniques had to be employed to rescue the survey. This was the case for the integrated prospection of the buried theatre at *Suasa*. Described by the aerial photography, during the summer of 2003, as a fine example of "serendipity", it was surveyed with resistivity (ARP system), electromagnetism (EM profiler) and GPR, employing a multi antenna array (IDS, equipped with multichannel antenna 400-200 MHz) some years later (**Fig. 4**). The best definition of the buried layout was from the resistivity survey, even though it was used at an unpropitious time to ensure maximum effectiveness: in midsummer, when the conductive capacity of the soil was very limited. The worst outcome was from GPR (conducted at the same time, i.e. under favourable conditions for this technique) where the rich buried record was almost completely absent on the maps.

The theatre, probably built before the second century AD, was partially excavated with limited digging in 2004, that interested some *cunei* of the *cavea*, the southern *aditus* and part of the *paraskenia*. The discovery of these architectural structures allowed to evaluate the stratigraphy and the depth of the deposit (Giorgi 2010). This documentation provided an opportunity to assess the GPR wave attenuation and signal penetration depth. It was only possible, however, to find a match with the shallower stratigraphy lying in the first 50 cm of the subsoil, and most of the structures starting at a depth greater than 0.70-0.80 m were not detected. We repeated the GPR survey of the theatre several times (Summers 2007, 2010, 2019) and the results were always unprofitable, demonstrating that the attenuation can be considerable even during periods of dry weather, with a consequently limited depth of radar signal penetration. The excavation records, however, note the poor state of conservation in the buried structures, which survived in height by only a few courses of bricks, clearly affected by ploughing (Giorgi 2010).

Field-walking survey deserves a separate remark: although it has been considered limited and unreliable for a long time due to recent changes in the soil and agriculture, it has played an important role in the identification of sites and areas of frequentation along the middle Cesano valley. The map in Figure 5, showing the sites generically referable to the pre-Roman age deriving from surface and aerial reconnaissance, is an interesting mirror of the state of things and outcome of the methodology employed. The Cesano valley appears much more densely populated with sites than the valleys of the rivers Nevola and Misa, where, however, the same systematic approach to field-walking has never been adopted. Confirmation of this consideration comes from the data recently collected along the Nevola river, which has been the subject of new research (see below), and from the work carried out on medieval sites by M. Silani and V. Villani (Silani 2010). Indeed, by exploring the territory through surveys and surface collection, under the guidance of medieval documents, they found traces of the settlements described by the sources, evidently still partly detectable on the ground.
It is therefore desirable to start systematic reconnaissance programs, including surface field-walking, along the valleys that have so far been less explored, but for which various methods suggest good potential for the reconstruction of the dynamics preceding Romanisation.

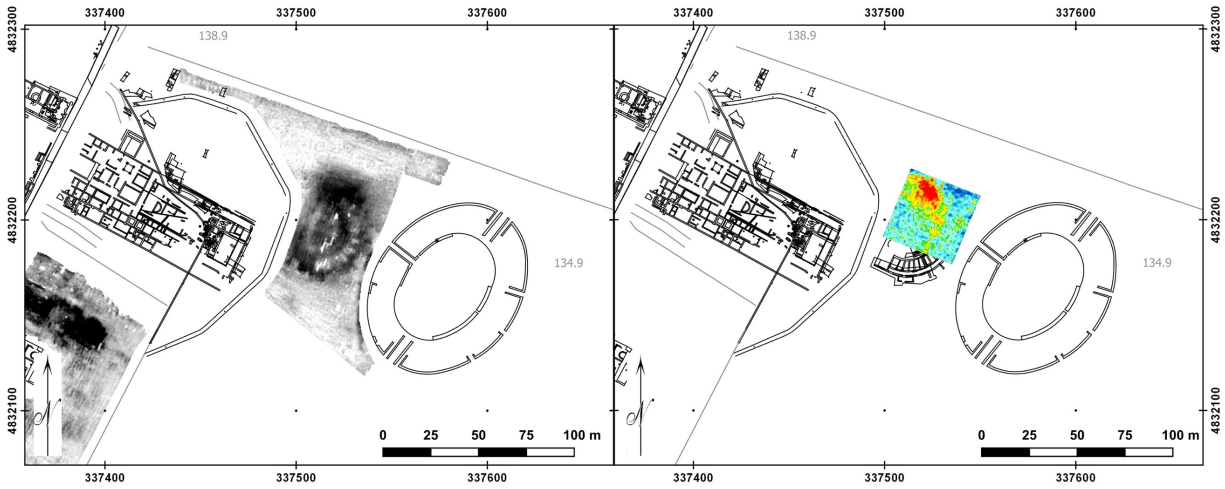


Fig. 4. Integrated geophysical survey at *Suasa*.
Comparison between ARP system (on left) and GPR (on right).

From the *Piceni* to the Romans: some insights from the non-invasive surveys and latest digs

The district of the Cesano and Misa River Valleys represents a complicated period in the history of the population before Roman colonisation, with particular regard to the knowledge of the Picene presence. Compared to the area south of the Esino River, the region properly called *Picenum* after the Augustan administrative reform, the settlement testimonies referring to the Iron Age and the Picene culture are much more limited, both in terms of quantity and variety of forms of occupation, especially for the phases of formation and rise of the cultural *facies* (ninth-seventh c. BC).
In the central-southern district of the Marche, the hilltop settlements occupied since the Late Bronze Age along the Potenza Valley (Vermeulen *et al.* 2017; De Neef and Vermeulen 2018) or the *Piceni* inhabitants attested in Matelica (Biocco and Silvestrini 2008; Biocco *et al.* 2008), Ancona and in the Conero promontory (Baldoni and Finocchi 2017; Finocchi *et al.* 2017) across the Esino, correspond to numerous and vast necropolises, mostly known for the monuments that characterized them originally,

with circular mounds or ditches delimiting the funerary space, especially in the Orientalising phase (Del Pino *et al.* 2015; Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008; Colonna and Dell'Orto 2001).

The valleys of the Cesano and Misa, including the Nevola torrent, contrast this panorama of evidence with a more rarefied picture, for the settlements that stand out here, for their uniqueness, are the villages of Montedoro di Scapezzano near Senigallia (Baldelli 2001b) and of San Costanzo, on the ridge between Metauro and Cesano (Baldelli 1992), perhaps the site of Miralbello, the object of a recent rereading (De Maria and Giorgi 2013; Boschi 2018; Giorgi 2019), and the new data from Senigallia (Lepore *et al.* 2012a; Silani 2017). There are only sporadic reports of isolated burials found along the Cesano (Baldelli 1991; Baldelli 2008; Baldelli *et al.* 2008; Lepore *et al.* 2013)[1] and the necropolis at San Costanzo (Cerquetti 2013) (**Fig. 5**).

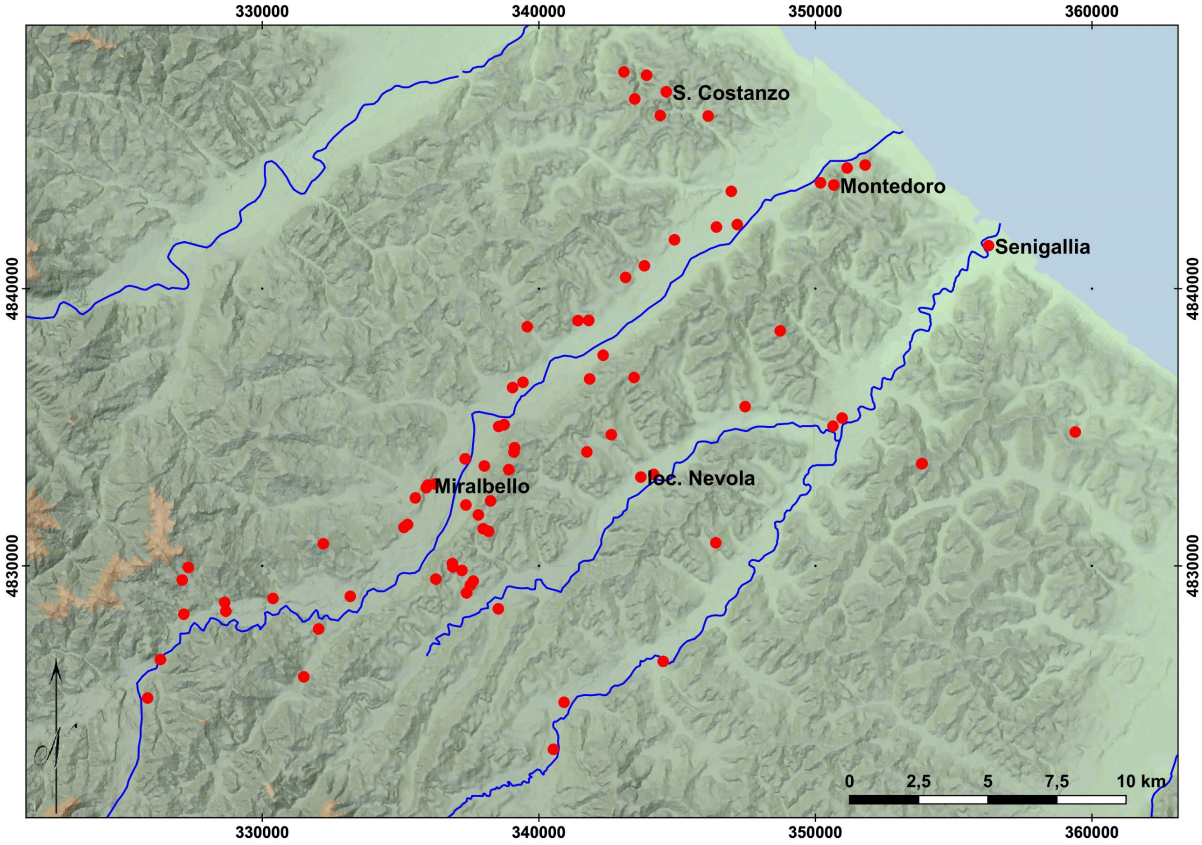


Fig. 5. Map of the pre-Roman sites along the Cesano, Nevola and Misa valleys.
Data derived from bibliography, previous finds and field-walking surveys.

As already pointed out, this picture leads one to wonder whether this observation should be interpreted in relation to the existence of a real settlement void in this area of the Marche region, possibly part of a distinct cultural sub-region even if it was intimately linked to the Picene area (Colonna 2001) or, rather, as a reflection of knowledge still to be acquired and deepened through systematic territorial investigations (Naso 2000; Bandelli 2003; Pesando 2005; Baldelli 2008).
There have been some important new acquisitions from the most recent prospecting activities (Boschi 2018; Boschi 2019a). The aerial surveys carried out in 2014 and 2015 led to the discovery of previously

[1] For a wider overview see the contribution of A. Gaucci in this volume.

unknown sites. These are four new areas between the middle valleys of the Misa and Nevola, revealed by the presence of circular marks in the ripening crops (**Fig. 6**), which can be interpreted as annular ditches surrounding former grave mounds, recalling the Picene necropolises with tumuli, or well-known funerary circles in several areas of the central-southern region, including Ancona (Numana and Sirolo), Fabriano, Matelica and Pitino di San Severino (Naso 2000; Colonna 2001; Silvestrini and Tommasini 2008). The results acquired from the air prompted more in-depth research, addressed through regular flight programs, the collection and study of aerial photographs composed of historical and modern vertical aerial photographs, and ground-truthing activities by means of targeted field walking survey and geophysical investigations. The integrated analysis on the four newly identified sites enabled thirty circular anomalies to be identified, including annular ditches, all probably belonging to former burial mounds (Boschi 2019b).

Fig. 6. Circular cropmarks of probable former burial mounds along the Misa River Valley (photo by F. Boschi).

A comparison of the mapped topographic and dimensional elements of the various investigations allows us to make some suggestions. In all cases, the areas rise above mostly flat alluvial terraces, located near the confluence of two watercourses and in close relation to the road network, developed at the bottom of the valleys and across them (Boschi 2018). The thirty ditches had diameters between 15 and over 30 meters, with most between 25 and 30 meters. This observation seems to suggest that the territory under examination had its own specific character, especially compared with the most famous cases of the

region south of the Esino River, where the necropolises are composed of numerous mounds and circles but with an average size within 20 meters, with a few famous exceptions (Landolfi 2001b)[2].

Among the sites recently explored, the new ArcheoNevola project started in 2017 with a focus on the site identified near Corinaldo (locality Nevola), in the middle valley of the homonymous torrent, and also taking advantage of a building planning program in the immediate vicinity of the archaeological area. The research, which followed all the main steps of a preventative archaeological evaluation, led to the programmatic discovery of a Picene necropolis comprised of at least three funerary monuments with former tumuli delimited by circular ditches and, through the excavation of the major ones, of a princely tomb with rich grave-goods belonging to a *Piceni* leader and dated to the seventh century BC (Boschi 2020). Numerous burials from the Roman imperial age were also found alongside the original nucleus, testifying to a further and later occupation of the funerary area. A preliminary study of the Roman tombs and their grave goods places them between the second and fourth century AD, showing an apparent gap between the two phases of the necropolis, which needs to be verified and understood (Boschi *et al.* 2020).

The explored site occupies a third order alluvial terrace on the hydrographic left of the Nevola, used for agricultural cultivation. It is located at the confluence of the Nevola torrent with the Montorio ditch and near a crossroads between a road which ran along the valley floor and a route that crossed the valleys, both probably existing since the protohistoric age (Dall'Aglio *et al.* 1991: 12-27; Silani 2017)[3] (**Fig. 7**). Field walking surveys and surface collections carried out in the past in some of the adjacent fields attest the presence of a former Roman bridge along the stream, which further characterises the area as a strategically crucial location, which is emphasized by a probably longstanding ford across the water course.

Over the last five years, the site has been monitored through aerial and ground surveys and the various field operations were planned and organized in close consideration with the rotation of cereals, sunflowers and forage grasses. The formation of the traces observable from above was only recognized during the springtime of 2014, when the field was cultivated with wheat. After that circumstance, the extraordinary richness of the buried deposit was no longer perceptible from the air during flight activities. Another element for consideration regarding the best practices in site detection and landscape survey in our territory is connected to the results of the artefact collections organized between 2017 and 2018, in preparation and during the evaluation procedure within the ArcheoNevola program. The activities were carried out after ploughing, and entailed a systematic coverage of the whole field, surveyed by a team adopting a detection strategy of 2 meters spaced parallel lines within predefined grids. The main data derived from that work describes the sporadic and scattered presence of pottery and tiles on the site, generically dating back to the Roman Imperial age, and a quantity of flint splinters. Despite the very partial picture of the archaeological record provided by the field walking survey for the site interpretation, there is an exact match between the area of surface finds and that occupied by the cropmarks and traces detected by aerial and geophysical prospections.

[2] In this regard, however, it is worth mentioning the research on Cagli, in the upper Metauro Valley (northern Marche), by G. Baldelli and G. Pocobelli. Starting from a systematic aerial photography analysis, the scholars identified a wide area of circular cropmarks across the Acquaviva locality, supposing the presence of a Picene settlement with necropolis dating back to the seventh-sixth century BC. Several of the detected circular traces presented diameters greater than 30 m. Despite the impressive evidence, however, the following trial digs didn't find any burials or tomb, but rather remains of huts and housing structures (Baldelli and Pocobelli 2017).

[3] See also the considerations of E. Giorgi in this volume on the ancient road system of the territory.

Looking at the archaeological data acquired so far, with a special focus on the topics and issues debated during the workshop whose proceedings are presented here, the site of Corinaldo-Nevola seems to reveal a discontinuity between the original occupation of the Picene funerary area (seventh-sixth century BC) and the later Roman frequentation (second-fourth century AD). This apparent hiatus, instead, contrasts with the extraordinary durability of the burial area in functional terms. Whether it is the effect of a conscious and deliberate memory of that place, a later rediscovery and re-designation or, simply pure coincidence, remains to be understood. The attestation of the same dynamic in other contexts of *Picenum* (i.e. the rural burial ground at Matelica, locality Cavalieri, published in Casci Ceccacci *et al.* 2016) leads to the first assumption, suggesting a choice derived from a conscious knowledge of the area, perhaps explaining the lasting perceptibility of the funerary landscape and its forms (the mounds may still have been visible).

Research into the circular cropmark sites along the Misa and Nevola Rivers is currently in progress, with the main goals of evaluating the buried archaeological record for each area through non-invasive methods, and contextualising each necropolis within the ancient landscape and the old geomorphology, with respect to the location of possible settlements, whose traces are currently totally elusive.

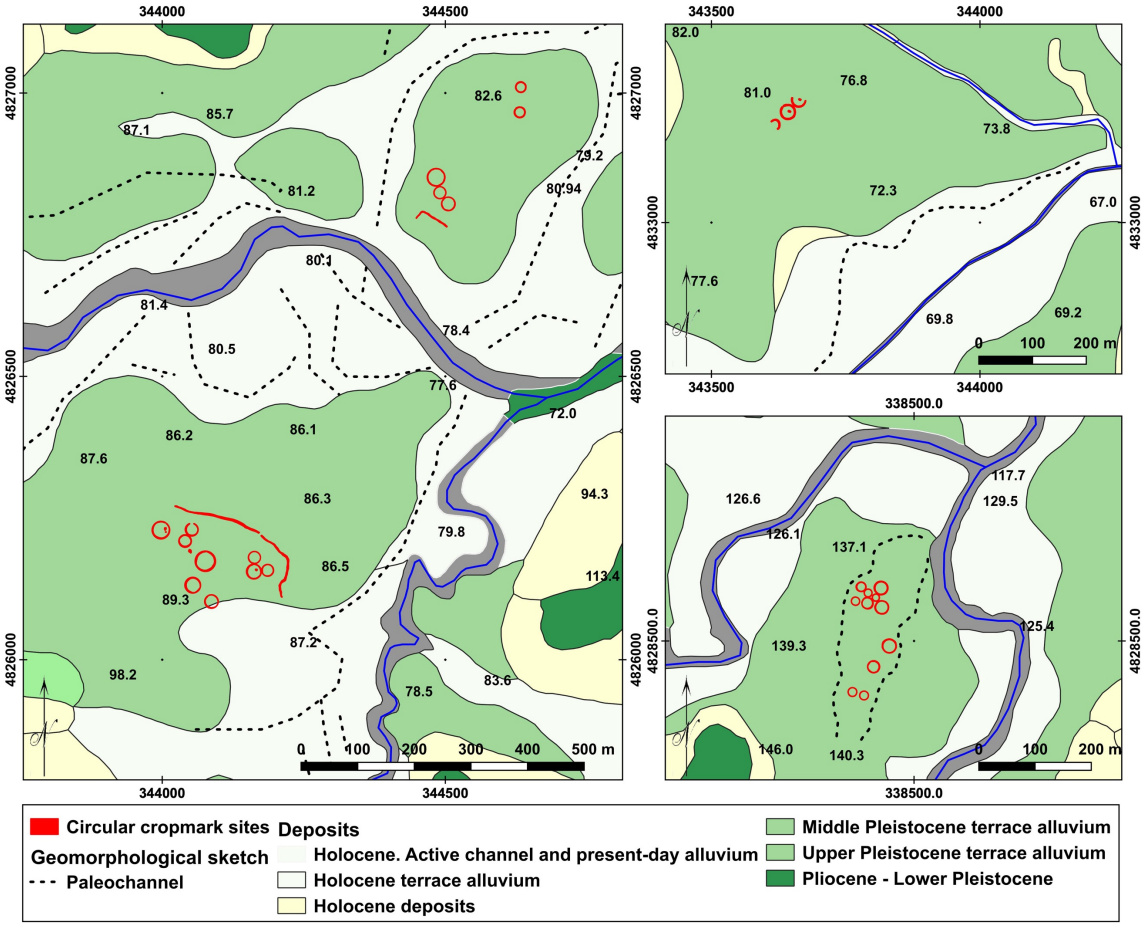


Fig. 7. Circular cropmarks sites discovered along the middle Nevola and Misa Valleys and relations with the geomorphological units (elaboration by F. Boschi, M. Silani).

A comparison with the geomorphological maps allowed interesting insights. Indeed, we can appreciate that all the discovered sites are on the Pleistocene geomorphological units along rivers (**Fig. 8**). This information offers the opportunity to extend our understanding of the geomorphological data along all

three valleys, recognising the areas where the oldest terraces still survive and which should be the subject of investigations and ground-truthing activities, considering which were most commonly frequented.

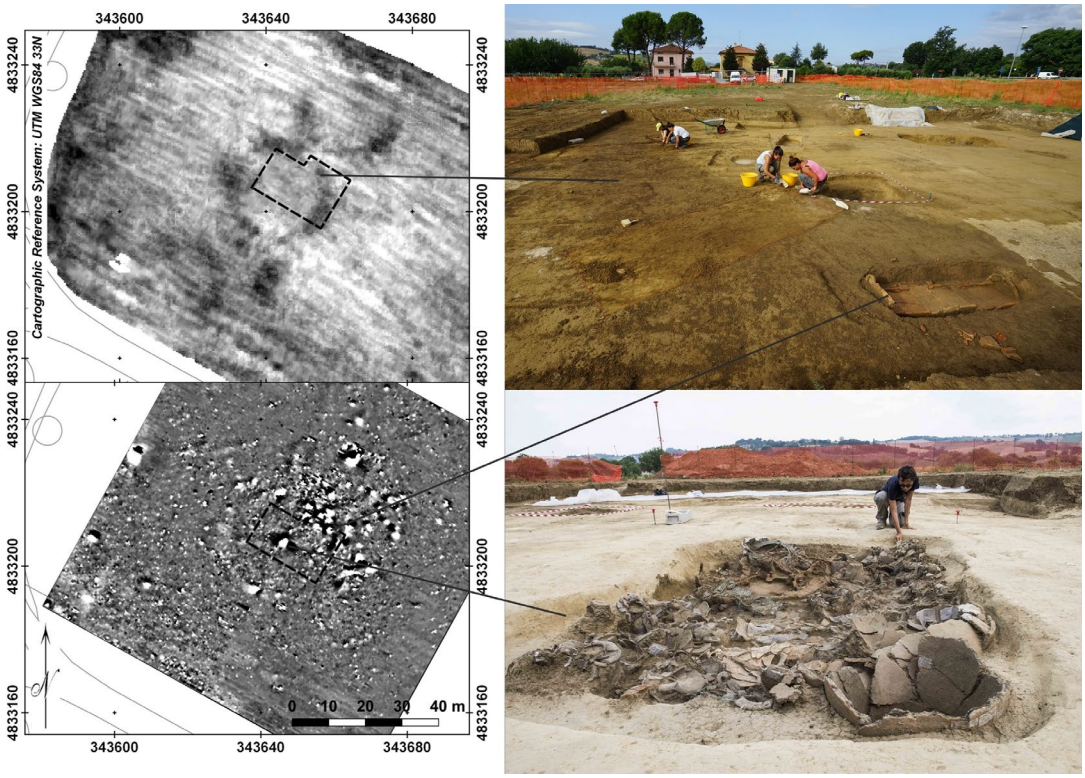


Fig. 8. ArcheoNevola Project: Geophysical survey (ARP system and potassium magnetometry) and results of the archaeological excavations in Corinaldo, loc. Nevola (photos campaign 2018).

Continuing research may relate the hypothetical necropolises to their respective settlements, but at present Miralbello, in the middle valley of the Cesano River, is the only pre-Roman settlement known in the territory, in addition to the already mentioned and partially excavated Montedoro, near the mouth of the river (Baldelli 1991 and 2001b), and the inhabited areas attested at San Costanzo towards the Metauro River (Baldelli 1992).

The site is well known from previous bibliographical sources and over time has revealed traces of human occupation from the pre-Roman period to the Middle Ages, the earlier remains including both Bronze and Iron Age cultures (Stefanini 1991-1993; Giorgi 2010). A critical re-examination of the existing bibliographical sources, along with newly instituted non-invasive geophysical and geomatic survey, has recently been undertaken with the aim of better understanding the accumulated archaeological record of the site and its topographic relationship with the Roman town of *Suasa* on the opposite side of the River Cesano (see also Giorgi 2020 and his contribution in this volume). The settlement is sited on a plateau at about 174 m above sea level, on the right bank of the river (**Fig. 9**). The geomagnetic mapping of the whole hilltop, integrated with a kinematic GPS survey, provides a new characterization of the site, allowing the identification of defensive and delimiting elements to circumscribe an area of about 3 hectares. Two concentric ditches which closely follow the hilltop's almond-shaped profile, have been clearly highlighted (**Fig. 10**). The innermost ditch encloses an area of about 200 x 100 m within which we recorded a number of regular features that can reasonably be interpreted as specific structural elements, such as the remains of individual buildings. Other features clustered within the central area, mainly small magnetic dipoles, are difficult to interpret.

Fig. 9. Aerial view of the hilltop site of Miralbello, middle Cesano River Valley (by F. Boschi).

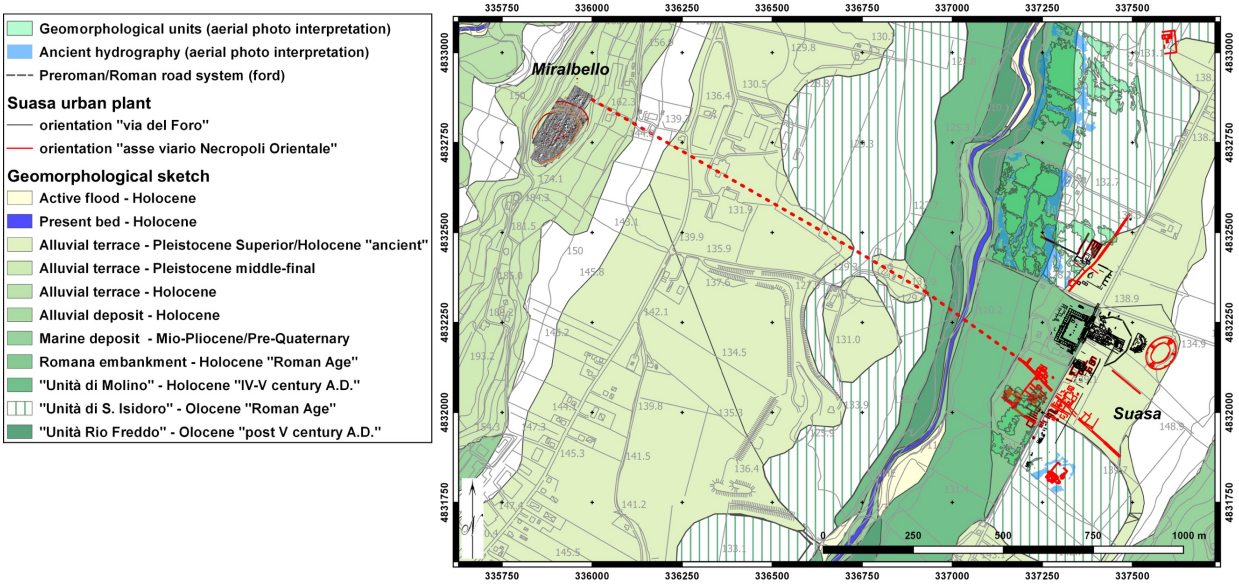


Fig. 10. Miralbello and *Suasa*, along the Cesano River Valley. Traces from aerial and geophysical prospections and hypothesis of road connection based on topography and geomorphological units (elaboration by F. Boschi, M. Silani).

Data from field-walking surveys and previous occasional finds on the plateau reveals the abundant presence of impasto pottery since the Bronze Age (middle and late) with a significant prevalence of sherds of the Picene tradition, which can be attributed to the early Iron Age (seventh-sixth century BC)[4]. Deciding about the continuity or discontinuity of settlement for Miralbello is not an easy thing. The appearance of the site according to the non-invasive investigations of the top part of the plateau seems to reflect the idea of an ancient defended hilltop-village, perhaps occupied from the Middle Bronze Age to the Iron Age, then abandoned in favour of spaces closer to the river. The presence of Roman age structures (cisterns) along the southern slope and other areas of scattered material (with Roman pottery and *tegulae*) progressively approaching the Cesano suggest the progressive and later occupation of the lower altitudes and river terraces.
Probably only direct investigations on the plateau summit will make it possible to understand how this displacement of settlement occurred, whether because people no longer frequented the hilltop, or because other destinations became more important.

Returning to proto-urban settlements, and moving to the high Misa River valley, continuous geophysical soil mapping has resulted in a rereading of Civitalba (Arcevia) (Boschi *et al.* 2016). The site is located on a hilltop not far from the area where the famous battle of *Sentinum* took place between the Romans and a coalition of Italic people, at the beginning of the third century BC Civitalba is a place of great importance in the earliest phases of the Roman conquest of this portion of Italy, but it is still largely unknown from an archaeological point of view (for the earliest research see Brizio 1897 and 1902; for more recent and integrated analyses see Vullo 1991-1993 and de Marinis 2005). The hilltop occupied by the site presents a perfectly flat morphology at its highest point, a position that guaranteed easy control over the whole high valley and the road system that connected Rome to the Adriatic Sea (**Fig. 11**).

Fig. 11. Civitalba (Arcevia), high Misa River Valley viewed from the air (photo by F. Boschi).

[4] We are also grateful to Gabriele Baldelli for this data, who kindly reported having recognized a stratigraphy for those centuries during cleaning activities conducted along the plateau in recent decades.

The literature on previous occasional discoveries and the small amounts of published data concerning old excavations speak about the presence of a Roman settlement, attested by the remains of structures dating to the beginning of the second century BC, which may have risen above an earlier Celtic frequentation (Silani 2017, pp. 238-239; Gaucci 2013 and his contribution in this volume). It was recently possible to map a portion of the plain concealing the remains of the ancient inhabited area using the extensive geophysics ARP© system and Stream-X GPR. Integrating the two systems allowed us to compare the efficiency of the techniques in relation to the specific context, which proved to be more responsive to resistivity rather the multichannel GPR survey, inevitably attenuated by the clayey soil. Beyond considerations regarding techniques and their performance, the case study is an interesting example of the integration of old and new data, combining information from previous excavations and investigations with new survey experiences. The mapping results are also particularly important, and although still partial, show the image of a complex settlement, with a texture of structures and infrastructures covering the entire surface of the plateau, and extending 8 hectares in total. Without stratigraphic confirmation, nothing more can currently be said about the nature and function of the buildings discovered here, but the density of structures and infrastructure revealed through non-invasive techniques suggests a complex and well-organized settlement, which can be interpreted as a proto-urban centre of modest size.

Perspectives and next research steps

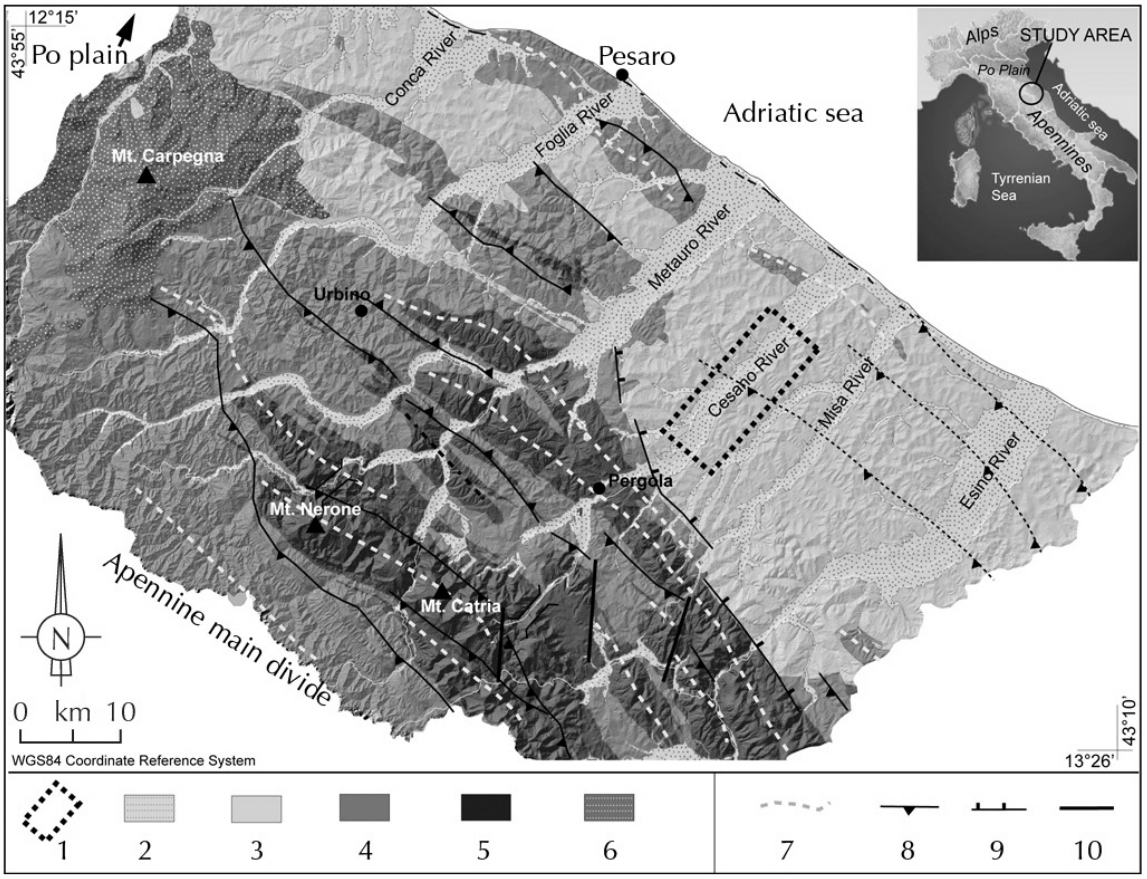
The data briefly presented here allows us to believe that the richness of the archaeological palimpsests characteristic of the Cesano, Nevola, Misa Valleys, which still need to be fully understood, can lead to further understanding of the dynamics of the ancient population and the methods of Romanization in the territory. This in-depth study can certainly be tackled by continuing the ongoing research on the newly discovered protohistoric sites, and especially by trying to contextualise them with respect to the ancient landscape and settlement network.
Similarly, it will be important to start an exploratory investigation, also through targeted excavations, in the inhabitation cores already known but whose genesis is not yet explained, such as Miralbello for the Cesano Valley and Civitalba in the upper Misa Valley. In the first case, particularly, it is considered necessary to deepen our knowledge of this crucial point of the middle Cesano valley for the understanding of the long-term settlement dynamics, starting from the clarification of the relationship between Miralbello and *Suasa* and insisting on the combination of archaeological and geomorphological data (see Figure 10).
From a methodological point of view, it is considered necessary to continue with the working strategy adopted, which reserves ample space for non-invasive investigation systems, alongside traditional excavations and studies, including additional geomorphological analyses.
An even more systematic approach to the context will certainly be important, involving the use of new regular field-walking surveys as well as aerial and geophysical prospecting programmes, which have already proved their effectiveness.

V. The Cesano Valley at the outset of the Roman conquest and the genesis of *Suasa*

***Enrico Giorgi**, University of Bologna*

The territory of *Suasa* in the valley of the Cesano River

Suasa sits in the middle valley of the Cesano River and its territory ranges from that of *Forum Sempronii*, which is located farther north in the valley of the Metauro, and that of *Ostra* in the south, in the valley of the Misa (**Figs. 1, 2**). Towards the east, just before San Michele al Fiume, there is a morphological narrowing that creates a natural border between the middle and lower valley, which was instead part of the Roman colony of *Sena Gallica* (**Figs. 3, 4**). It is more challenging to delineate the *ager Suasanus* towards the west, but it is likely that it went up the high valley of the Cesano and of the Cinisco, where it bordered with *Pitinum Mergens*, and then also pushed into the small valley of the Nevola stream, then moving into contact with the territories of Civitalba and *Sentinum*[1].



1 Study area; 2 Middle Pleistocene-Holocene alluvial and coastal deposits;
3 Plio-Pleistocene marine deposits; 4 Oligo-Miocene deposits; 5 Mesozoic-Cenozoic multilayer
6 Val Marecchia Sheet; 7 Main anticline axis; 8 Thrust ; 9 Normal fault; 10 Transcurrent fault.

Fig. 1. Geological and physiographical sketch of the north Marche Apennines, including the Cesano River basin (after Dall'Aglio *et al.* 2012).

[1] Giorgi 2016; Giorgi 2020.

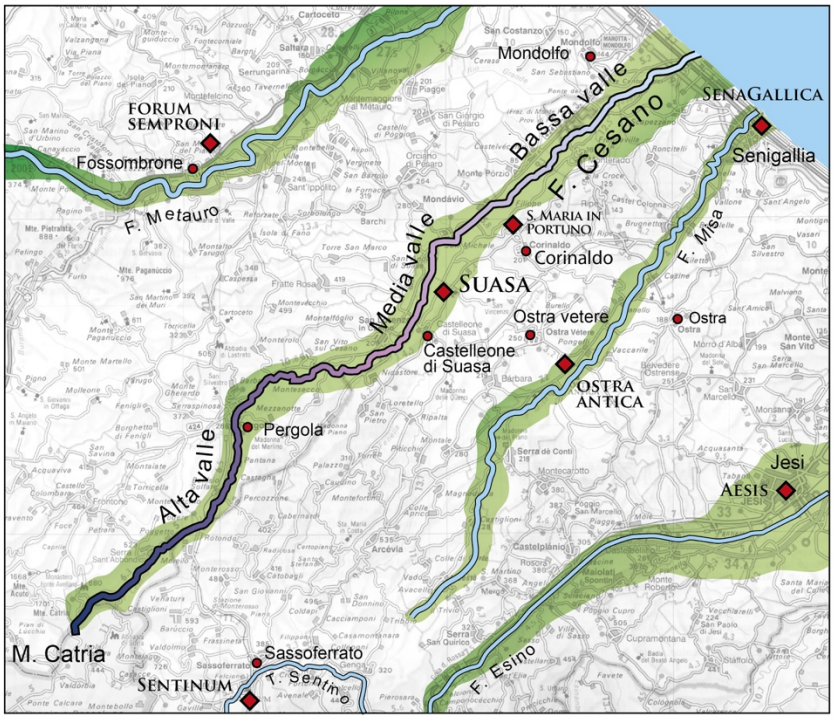


Fig. 2. The site of *Suasa* in the middle of the *ager Gallicus*, between *Ostra* and *Forum Sempronii* (by M. Zaccaria).

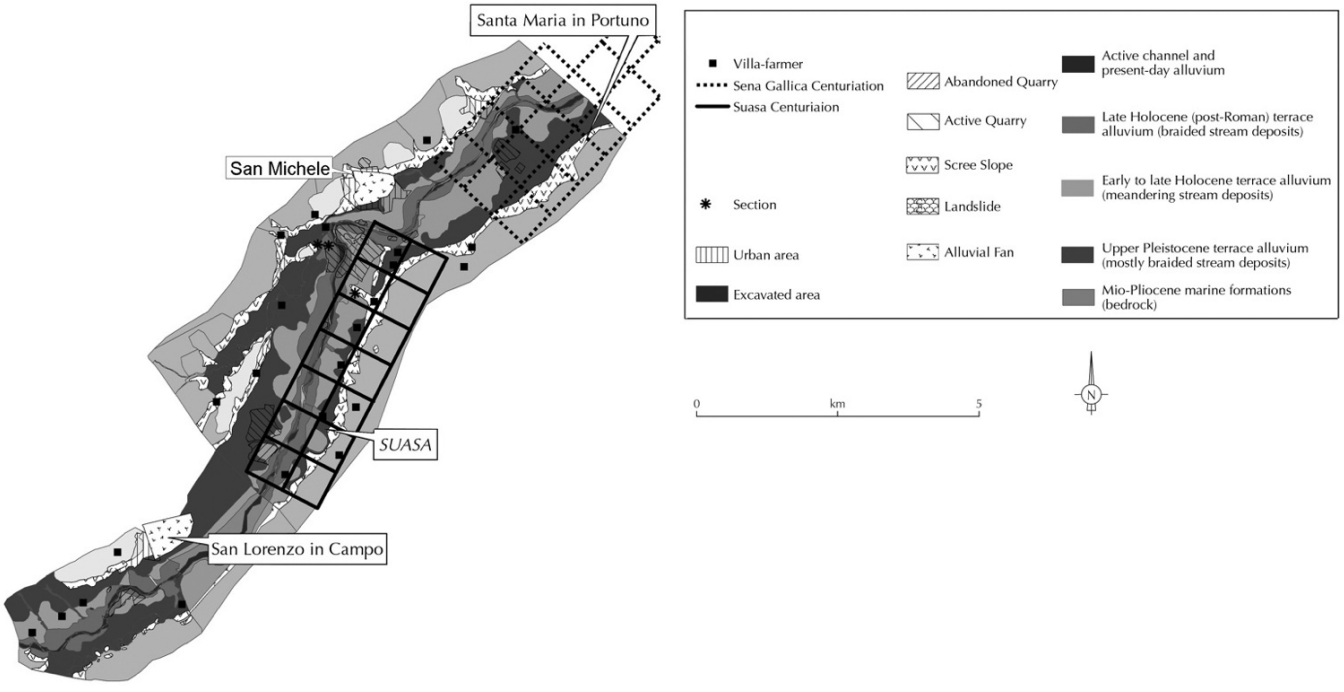


Fig. 3. Morphostratigraphical sketch of the Cesano River valley-floor from San Lorenzo in Campo to Santa Maria in Portuno with the centuriation and the main archaeological sites (by M. Silani).

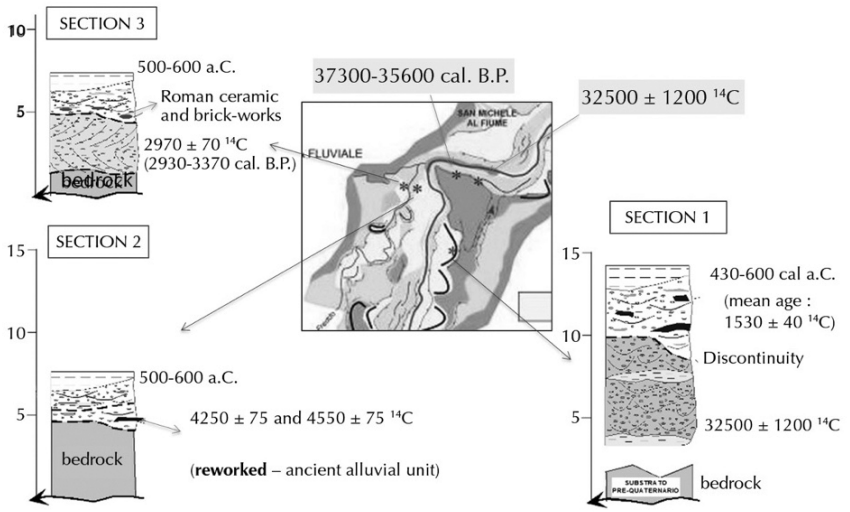


Fig. 4. Geomorphological sketch of the Cesano River segment, downstream the Suasa roman town (after Dall'Aglio *et al.* 2012).

The Cesano river starts on the slopes of Monte Catria and, before passing by *Suasa*, it is supplied by the Cinisco stream on the left and the Nevola stream on the right. Downstream from the ancient urban area, towards the border with *Sena Gallica*, from the left it takes on the waters of the Rio Freddo and of the Rio Maggio. These latter small valleys, delineated by their peaks, are also natural pathways to the valley of the Metauro. As we will see, between these two streams on the left of the Cesano is the upland of Miralbello, a plateau of alluvial origin of great importance in the history of this area (**Fig. 5**).

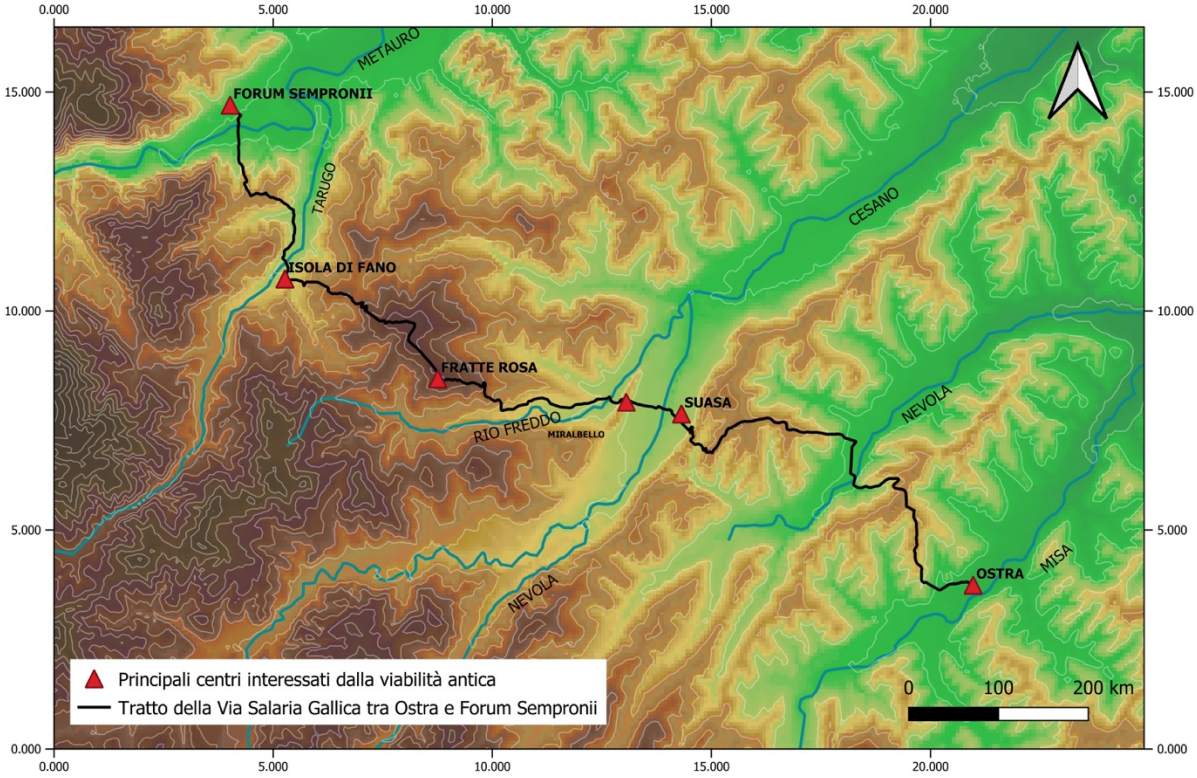


Fig. 5. The middle valley of the Cesano River with the sites of Miralbello and *Suasa* between *Ostra* and *Forum Sempronii* (by V. Longhi).

The watershed ridge that delineates the valley towards the south presents an extensive system of hills cut through by some lesser streams, such as the ditches of the Volpara, Casalta and Boccalupo, which drain towards the basin of the Misa River. The interspersed ridges, which peak in the upland of Castelleone to the east, and in Croce del Termine towards the west, are natural pathways to the small valley of the Nevola River (with the same name as the stream we have just cited as flowing into the Cesano), which instead flows into the Misa River. There is a similar situation in the uplands of Corinaldo, between the ditches called La Valle and Motorio. All these secondary ridges connect the Cesano valley with the Nevola valley, and therefore with the territory of Ostra. As we will soon see, while the paths that led to Castelleone and Croce del Termine could not continue to the north, those of the Corinaldo upland allowed a relatively direct connection between *Ostra* and *Fanum Fortunae*, in the plain between the Metauro River and the Arzilla stream. The first two, in fact, had to reach *Suasa* in order to find a crossing point of the Cesano and continue towards Miralbello and then towards *Forum Sempronii* in the valley of the Metauro. The ridge of Corinaldo, however, continued with a similar ridge that stretched up to the north towards the Cesano passing through Madonna del Piano (Santa Maria in Portuno) and continuing on the other bank towards Monte Porzio. According to this brief geographical description, we can see that the viability of pathways between the population centres in the middle valley led to *Suasa*, while the path running towards the valley of the Metauro meant that the Corinaldo ridge had the best vantage point (**Fig. 6**). Like many rivers in the Marche region, the Cesano has an asymmetrical flow axis, which tends to veer off towards the southern side of the valley. This has led to a greater extension of alluvial deposits hydrographically to the left, in relation to those on the opposite bank, which are subject to continuous erosion (**Fig. 7**).

It is for this reason that the roads along the river valley in the Roman era favoured the northern section of the valley. In previous eras, however, when crossing the river could also depend on the seasonal fords, the situation was probably different. This explains the importance of the road that passed by *Suasa* and ran along the right bank of the river. As noted above, in the valley of *Suasa* the river presents a particular morphological conformation, which has led to the creation of late-antiquity alluvial deposits which were then again downcut by the river, where there is also active erosive in recent times. This part of the river valley is therefore characterized by a certain dynamic, with alluvial shelves deposited and then downcut over and over again by the river. In particular, the area of the middle valley where *Suasa* is located presents ancient alluvial deposits cut through by river scarps, generally called river terraces of the third and fourth order. These sediments were deposited and downcut by a river that ran first to the intersecting canals and then twisted and turned along its path, starting in approximately the Archaic era. These sediments date to the late Pleistocene – Holocene era and were deposited following the last erosive interglacial phase, then covered by sands and silts left by a Paleo-era Cesano that ran along intersecting canals (33,000 – 31,000 years BP). The superficial part of this sediment sequence was again downcut by the river, which at the time ran along with twists and turns, between the Mesolithic and Archaic eras. When Rome reached this area (third century BC) another change was taking place and quickened by the centuriation system. It is plausible that in this period the Cesano River was forced into a single riverbed, probably taking advantage of the canal system set up by the Roman centuriation (**Figs. 3, 7**)[2].

This complex sequence of alluvial contributions to the *Suasa* plateau in antiquity was probably in part conditioning, and the area was surely dotted with slight escarpments and jumps in altitude that, after decades of mechanized agriculture, we can no longer see, but that can be partially reconstructed thanks to geophysical investigations.

[2] Calderoni *et al.* 2010; Dall'Aglio *et al.* 2012; Giorgi *et al.* 2012, 77; Dall'Aglio *et al.* 2013, 345-346.

Fig. 6. The main Roman viability of the middle Adriatic area (by M. Zaccaria).

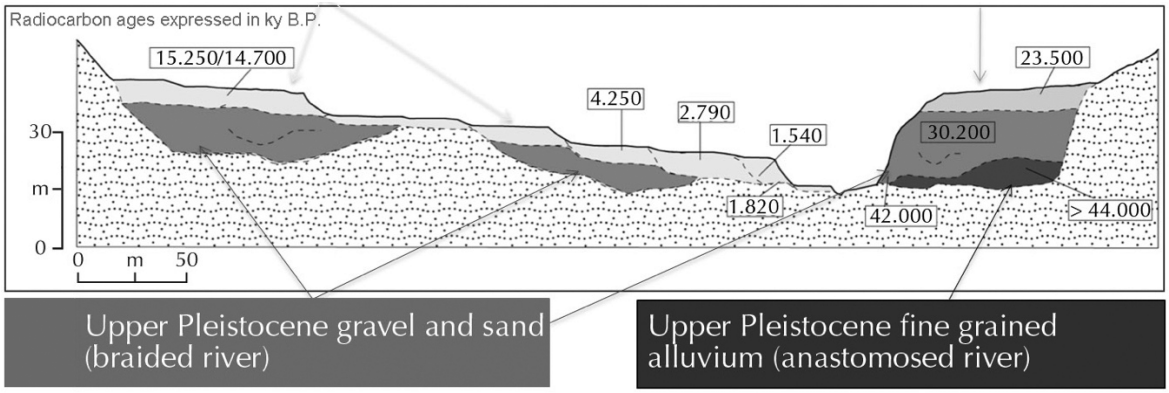


Fig. 7. Idealized cross-sections outlining the arrangement of upper alluvial suites in downstream sectors of the northern Marche trunk-valleys at 10-15 km upstream from river mouth (after Calderoni *et al.* 2010).

The creation of *Suasa*

The outlining of a pre-Roman phase, and of a settlement that was already structured before the arrival of the first Roman colonies, is certainly one of the most significant aspects arising from the recent research carried out in *Suasa* and its territory, and certainly worthy of attention and specific studies in the future[3]. Aerial photographic and geophysical investigations in the Misa, Nevola and Cesano river valleys have allowed us to identify some circular anomalies representing funeral circles in the most ancient Picene phase, the chronology of which will be better defined thanks to ongoing digs[4]. In a very preliminary manner, we can observe that this necropolis is located at the foot of the Corninaldo upland, along the trajectory of the pathway between the mouth of the Metauro and the valley of the Misa. In the Roman era, this path was probably a secondary branch that connected *Fanum Fortunae* and *Ostra*, from which one could go down all the way to *Sena Gallica* at the mouth of the Misa (**Fig. 6**). In more ancient times, when the rocky coast had not yet been formed and the seaside pathway in any case required the climbing of steep ridges as well as a difficult crossing of river mouths, it is possible that the journey from the low valley of the Metauro towards Monte Porzio and Corinaldo to get through the small valley of Nevola and then the Misa valley towards the mouth, was a valid seasonal alternative to connect the area of Fano with that of Senigallia, two landing places most probably already frequented in the Picene era, to which we will soon return.

The data that we have is still scarce, and further investigations are needed to better understand the final phases of the Picene population, which was conditioned by the Gallic invasion in the fourth century BC. The partial overlap of the rural Roman population with some previous settlements, mostly located on the summit plateaus or along the hillside, and evidenced by ceramic relics of traditional Picene making, had already come to light during the surface investigations. This is, however, data of little relevance statistically speaking, as it limited to 13 percent of the approximately 400 sites found overall in the entire Cesano valley, and mostly datable to the Imperial Roman era (**Fig. 8**)[5].

[3] Silani 2017; Vermeulen 2017; Giorgi 2020.

[4] Boschi 2019a, p. 4, Fig. 1; Boschi 2020. See also the work by Federica Boschi in this volume.

[5] Dall'Aglio *et al.* 2013, 347, Fig. 2; Boschi 2017, 14, Fig. 12.

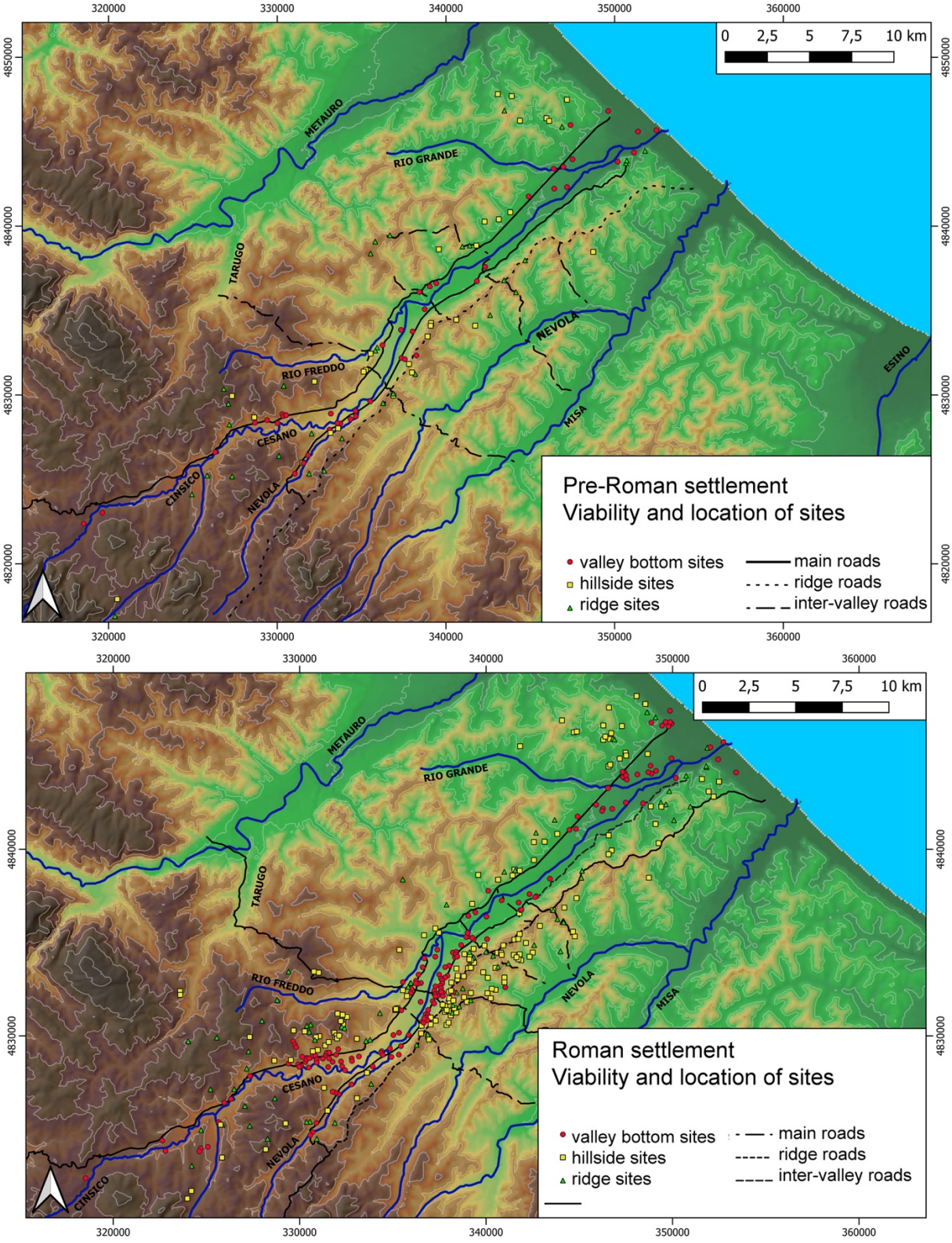


Fig. 8. Archaeological map of the Cesano Valley with the pre-Roman and Roman sites (by V. Longhi).

Only rarely, then, can it be hypothesized that the early colony was located where a more ancient settlement was already in existence. Furthermore, the difficulty in dating the relics found as surface scatters often does not allow us to better clarify the chronology of the handmade ceramics, which is generally linked to the material culture of pre-Roman traditions. Further complicating this reconstruction is the fact that the use of handmade pottery seems to persist for a long time in this settlement, together with the black gloss fine table ware ceramics brought by the early colonists. This, obviously, presents the problem of recognising the cultural profile to which these relics can be linked. Going beyond the idea, which is certainly quite simple, that the oldest finds were always residuals and the handmade and black gloss pottery represented the Picene phase and early Romanization respectively, it is necessary to put forth other more complex hypotheses which we will address later[6]. For now it is enough to consider the possibility that some sites in this area and also the first Roman settlement of *Suasa* were actually in an area that was already inhabited.

In fact, the archaeological digs in the urban area have brought to light stratigraphies, with handmade ceramic remains directly on top of the river gravel, full of organic material, and with traces of fireplaces[7]. These clues reinforce the idea that an urban centre was created early, already proposed based on the topographical considerations. It has been noted for some time, in fact, that *Suasa* developed on the right bank of the Cesano River, along a path more ancient than the Roman roadway, which instead favoured the opposite bank. These archaeological and topographical considerations lead us to presume that the creation of the first demic Roman settlement could have developed in an area already frequented by humans since before the third century BC[8]. The latest developments of occasional finds of relics dateable to the Picene era, in the area around Miralbello (**Fig. 5**) are in line with this idea. This is a summit plateau located on a very ancient river terrace created by the deposits of river gravel, and downcut on the sides by the flow of the Cesano and of its tributary the Rio Freddo. The upland of Miralbello is located in a position overlooking the middle valley of the Cesano on the opposite side of the river to *Suasa*. The local scholar Gello Giorgi had already noted the find of a Picene tomb at this site in 1953. Later, in 1983, while digs were being carried out to set up a vineyard, archaeologists recorded the presence of Mousterian flints, the remains of Pleistocene deer bones, fragments of handmade and Bucchero ceramics, and other remains of what was probably a disturbed Picene tomb. In 1973 ceramic remains from the Bronze Age were found on the surface. The superficial investigations of the plateau after the ground had been ploughed in order to verify these previous finds, did in fact lead to numerous ceramic and stone fragments being found, which can be dated to the Picene era[9]. Geophysical and aerial photography investigations have highlighted some anomalies linked to a probably protohistoric settlement, surrounded by a ditch with aggers, extended around the edge of the plateau (**Fig. 9**)[10]. While waiting for future stratigraphic evidence, we can attempt to compare this site with the more well-known site of Montedoro di Scapezzano, the main Picene settlement in the valley, where necropoles on the hillsides have been brought to light, as well as a river landing area on the valley floor. This settlement model, pairing a fortified site on the upland and a river landing, can also be found in Covignano-*Ariminum*, Villa Bianchi-*Sena Gallica*, Novilara-*Pisaurum*, and Monte Giove-*Fanum Fortunae*. In these cases, however, the landing is located near the mouth of the river[11]. From a topographical point of view, Miralbello and

[6] On this topic, see the work of Anna Gamberini and Paola Cossentino in this same volume.
[7] Giorgi 2020, 98.
[8] Giorgi 2010, 56-57; Mazzeo Saracino 2013, 362, 370.
[9] Giorgi 2020, 98. The finds of Miralbello are partially displayed in the Museum of San Lorenzo in Campo.
[10] De Maria and Giorgi 2013, 226; 135; Giorgi 2016, 109; Boschi 2019a, p. 6.
[11] To complete this outline of the Picene population in the more inland area, we cite the settlement of Pian del Gallo near Frontone (5th to 3rd century BC) and the tombs of Canneto di Pergola (4th to 5th century BC), Leccia and Campietro di Serra Sant'Abbondio (Baldelli 2008, with previous bibliography).

Scapezzano are located on summit plateaus that overlook, respectively, the middle and lower valley of the Cesano. Both are located where two rivers meet, and downcut the sides with steep scarps, but are also further protected by ditches with aggers. Following this comparative reconstruction, purely as a hypothesis, we can also place a similar river stop to that identified under the upland of Montedoro in *Suasa*. *Suasa* would thus become a sort of hub linked to the land pathways, as a possible ford during dry periods, but also with the possibility of going down along the river with boats during the rainy season. It is useful to remember that *Suasa* was located along an ancient pre-Roman connecting roadway between the coast and the inner Apennines, which ran along the right bank of the Cesano River. If this explains the location of *Suasa* on this side of the valley, it does not explain why the settlement formed specifically in this location, and not, for example, a little farther down the valley where there are other, wider alluvial terraces. One possibility is that at this point it was possible to ford the river to reach Miralbello and then continue on towards the north along the path offered by the Rio Freddo. The settlement would therefore have developed in correspondence with a crossroads and perhaps also a nearby river landing.

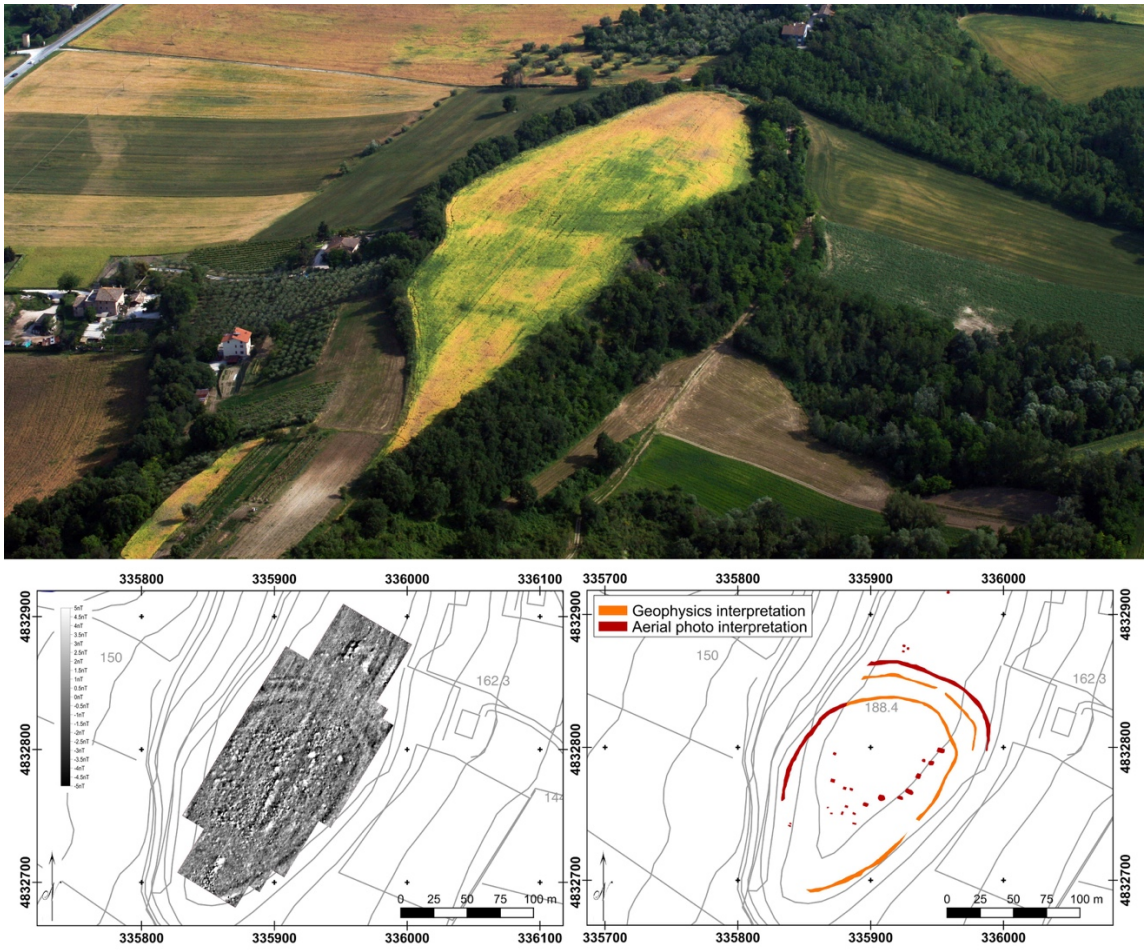


Fig. 9. The traces of the archaeological site of Miralbello discovered through cropmarks and geophysical surveys (after Boschi 2018).

The connection between the Picene population and some itinerary crossroads located near possible river crossings can be confirmed about eight kilometres further down the valley in Santa Maria in Portuno, as the church of the Madonna del Piano is called in medieval documents. This site is located between the modern day Corinaldo and Monte Porzio, which look out over the hillsides that delineate the valley of

the Cesano to the south and north respectively. From the southern hillside a minor ridge descends, ending in the lower part of the plateau of Santa Maria in Portuno, which overlooks this section of the valley floor where it is believed there was an ancient river landing, recalled in fact by the meaning of the name *in Portuno* (**Fig. 9**)[12].

In the upper part of the same hillside, in the area of Sant'Apollonia, there is a votive deposit recognized thanks to the find of an archaic little bronze statue. On the valley floor some way under Santa Maria in Portuno, a Picene tomb (sixth – fifth century BC) was brought to light, as well as a Roman necropolis. From here, crossing the river, the roadway could have gone up the opposite northern bank towards the ridge of Monte Porzio, where the tomb of a Picene warrior (fifth century BC) was found. Near Santa Maria in Portuno, the road that went down the ridge of Sant'Apollonia crossed the road that ran along the right bank of the Cesano, from *Suasa* towards the Adriatic coast (**Fig. 8**)[13].

The continuation of this pathway from Corinaldo to the south towards the small valley of the Nevola passes through the area of the necropolis with Picene graves which we have already discussed. In light of these considerations, the sites of Santa Maria in Portuno and *Suasa* would appear to be configured as itinerary crossroads close to possible river landings (on the right side), and as points where the river could be crossed to reach the upland sites of Miralbello and Monte Porzio on the opposite watershed ridge. Obviously, the pathway could continue from there to the north, towards the valley of Metauro, which was also linked to important sites of the Picene era. In addition to that already noted in Monte Giove, a votive deposit found near Isola di Fano should also be noted, near the crossing of the river Tarugo, which appears to have been used between the Picene and Roman eras[14]. In this way we can reconstruct a path that continued north from *Suasa* and Miralbello, along the valley of the Rio Freddo or the ridge of Fratte Rosa towards Isola di Fano and at least up to Fossombrone. Thanks to the most recent studies carried out by archaeologists of the University of Urbino, in fact, we also know that stratigraphies with handmade Picene ceramics have finally been brought to light in this area, where in the second century BC the Roman city of *Forum Sempronii* developed (**Fig. 6**)[15].

The existence of a pre-Roman *Suasa* can also clearly be gleaned from an analysis of an epigraph from the mid-Imperial era, which commemorated the construction of a temple dedicated to a god by the same name (*Suasa felix).* This is probably a Roman cult linked to the deification of the city itself, but some scholars have also hypothesized that it could be the heritage of a pre-Roman cult that was relatively widespread in the *ager Gallicus* and also survived in *Ariminum* in the Republican era[16]. Evidence of this cult in two sites of the *ager Gallicus*, *Ariminum* and *Suasa*, has led to the idea of a common Senone origin. If this were the case, the polyonym would derive from a theonym origin and would be the fossil of a previous cultural sublayer, as, for example, in Cupra in *Picenum*. Although this is a hypothesis which awaits further investigation, the Celtic presence has been evidenced archaeologically not far from *Suasa* in the remains of the tombs of Pieve Vecchia and Monterolo near San Vito, in Serra Sant'Abbondio, and also in the sanctuary and in the well-known necropolis of Montefortino di Arcevia,

[12] Dall'Aglio 2010, p. 37.
[13] Baldelli 2010, pp. 593-596; Lepore *et al.* 2013, 105.
[14] Mei *et al.* 2017.
[15] On Fossombrone and Isola di Fano see the work by Lorenzo Cariddi and Oscar Mei in this volume.
[16] This hypothesis is founded on the link with a roof tile with a Republican mark of *Ariminum* that recalls four *luci* dedicated to the goddess *Suasa* (Marengo 2006).

which was recently the subject of an interesting debate[17]. In any case, in general these are all particularly significant traces, especially if we consider the archaeological difficulty intrinsic to the recognition of *Senone* facies, due firstly to the precocious and profound assimilation of the Adriatic cultural material and then to its total disappearance following the extermination carried out by the Romans and passed down by the historiographic tradition (Polyb. II 19, 10-11; App. III 6, 1-2; IV 11)[18]. Nevertheless, the information in our possession does not allow us to go beyond these conjectures, and it would be auspicious to gather more archaeological data in the future to better understand this area before the arrival of Rome. In its current state, the research limits us to a few archaeological and topographical considerations, which for now allow only for the assumption that Miralbello functioned as a central place in the middle valley of the Cesano, before the creation of the Roman settlement of *Suasa* on the valley floor. This proto-historic centre could possibly have been connected to the cult of a divinity of the indigenous substratum, which might be reflected in the name of the Roman city of *Suasa*[19]. On the other hand, the development of the early demic Roman settlements in correspondence with older itinerary crossroads, where the presence of an Italic cult has often been reconstructed, then later assimilated into the first colonies, is not an uncommon dynamic in this region[20].

From the *conciliabulum civium Romanorum* to the *praefectura* of *Suasa*

The archaeological investigations carried out in the urban area of *Suasa* have allowed relics, stratigraphies and structures to be brought to light in various areas of the city that date to the first half of the third century BC. These digs are often undertaken deeply in only a small area, as they are under buildings from later eras, taking advantage of damage in, or a total lack of, flooring. These stratigraphies have yielded non-gloss wheel-turned ceramic fragments linked to fine black-gloss pottery of the Lazio-Etruscan production, but in particular they allow us to also date stable structures, normally mud brick walls built on pebble foundations, to this period. The presence of remains of actual buildings suggests an organized and stable settlement, rather than something more casual or temporary (**Fig. 10**).[21]

From a topographical point of view, these more ancient structures seem to have a homogenous orientation but are slightly rotated in relation to the development of the later urban centre (**Fig. 11**). It is, however, the usual orientation, which can also be seen in three other significant cases: a limestone boundary marker, identified by the following elevations of the floors of the commercial forum, and two roadways identified thanks to the geophysical and aerial photographic investigations. The first road was investigated archaeologically at various points of its pathway, which appears to be covered in gravel outside the urban centre and paved inside the town. It is the street, made up of three overlapping and

[17] The traditional interpretation as a Gallic necropolis has recently been criticised, hypothesising the presence of Roman veterans buried with the defeated Senone spoils. Even if the majority of scholars have remained loyal to the original idea, the tendency to study this site by classifying relics, even if justified by the difficulty of reconstructing the original contexts, risks underestimating some undoubtedly Roman artefacts, such as some ceramics, anatomical votives and stele that can be compared with the eastern necropolis of *Suasa* (Sisani 2007, 191-198; De Maria and Giorgi 2013, 126.). The possible trace of Celtic elements surviving the Roman conquest has recently been recognised in some inscribed ceramic relics found in *Suasa* and Senigallia (Gaucci 2013). See also the paper by Andrea Gaucci in this book.

[18] Malnati 2008; Vitali 2008, 92.

[19] Another pre-Roman place, to which we will return in a moment, is normally hypothesised in Sant'Apollonia, part of Corinaldo, where an archaic little bronze statue was found.

[20] Belfiori 2008; Belfiori 2017, 77-96; Belfiori 2019.

[21] Zaccaria 2010, 160-163; Di Lorenzo and Giorgi 2010, p. 372; Assenti and Roversi 2010.

progressively more ancient layers, along which the eastern necropolis developed, starting in at least the third to second century BC. The oldest street layer has a ditch running alongside it, filled with dirt that has yielded handmade Picene ceramics. The same oblique orientation, in the end, is also maintained in a marginal area of the city by the amphitheatre, built in the late-Imperial age at the end of an axis road now lost, but still traceable as a country road in aerial photos from the twentieth century (R.A.F. 1942. **Fig. 10**)[22].

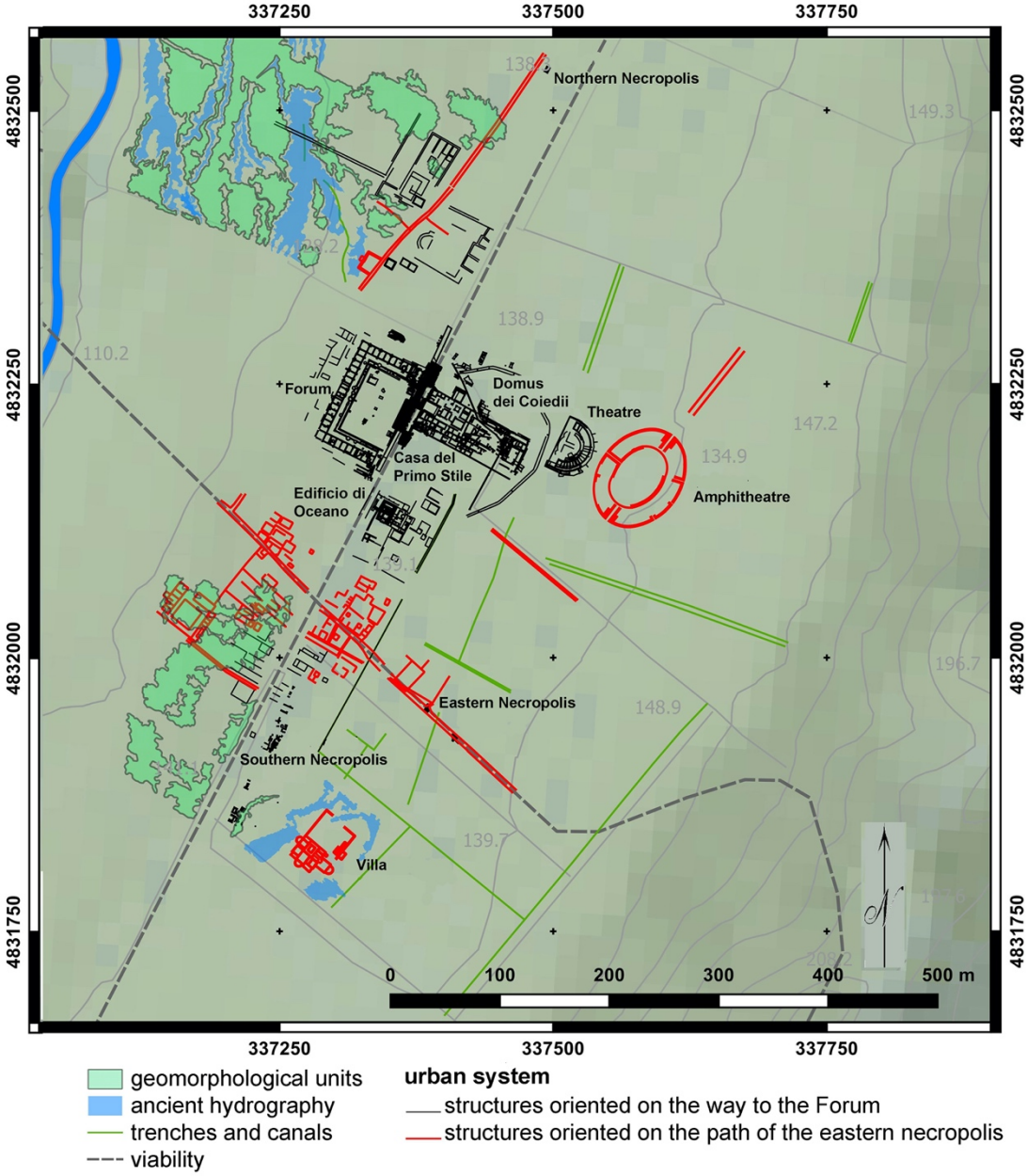


Fig. 10. The area of *Suasa* with the main buildings, roads and the geomorphological units (by M. Silani).

[22] Giorgi *et al.* 2012, 75, 77.

The chronology and the consistency of the relics has therefore forced archaeologists to question the dating and interpretation of the first settlement which, would seem to have developed immediately after the territory was conquered (283 BC), but a few decades before the colonies reached this area, as set forth by the Lex *Flaminia* (232 BC). Already this early *Suasa*, in the first half of the third century BC, was probably organized as a *conciliabulum*, and was laid out on an urban level following an orientation slightly divergent from that of the following municipal centre. This *conciliabulum* developed along a road connecting the basin of Sassoferrato (*Sentinum*) and the Adriatic coast, already in use before the arrival of Rome, which ran along the valley floor to the right of the Cesano river. In particular, however *Suasa* was situated at the intersection of a traversal road connecting the valleys. This road, along which the eastern necropolis would develop, probably crossed the river to reach the opposite bank, at the point at which we assume a ford could be located at the foot of the pre-Roman settlement of Miralbello (**Fig. 5**). It is possible that the oblique direction of this inter-valley road was conditioned by the physical geography and not just the need to easily cross the river. It would seem, in fact, that its path followed the edge of an ancient river escarpment, and then continued on the opposite bank, taking advantage of another bump, created by another palaeochannel of the Cesano. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that this orientation, even more so than the valley floor road, would appear to have conditioned, with parallel and orthogonal axes, the entire urban shape of the first *conciliabulum*.

Fig. 11. Ancient structures brought to light under the atrium of the 'casa del primo stile'.

The *Suasa* discoveries can today be placed in a richer and more articulated regional overview, which has by now ascertained the phenomenon of "Roman pre-colonization", dateable to between 290 and 270 BC, also in other places of the *ager Gallicus*, such as *Ariminum*, *Pisaurum*, *Sena Gallica* and *Aesis*[23].

[23] Mazzeo 2013, 359, with previous bibliography. The case of *Forum Sempronii* appears to be different, where a possible Picene frequentation is hypothesised but the Roman settlement seems in any case to follow the agricultural law of 232 BC (Luni and Mei 2012, 59-68).

It is, actually, a question of a certain complexity, because often the artefacts that characterise this type of context are difficult to interpret and have only recently become the object of dedicated studies, and deserve, in any case, further investigations[24]. For a long time, in fact, handmade pottery was considered simply a trace of pre-Roman presence, while black gloss pottery, made using a wheel with finer clays and a more evolved technique, was interpreted automatically as an indication of the arrival of Roman colonies. The tendency to consider these classifications of artefacts separately, accentuated by their frequent assignment to specialized scholars, with regards to the Picene era or that of the Romans, has often led to a possible contextual approach being overshadowed. This method of proceeding hid further challenges, given that the experts on the Iron Age tended to pay particular attention to comparisons with eras known for the flourishing of the Picene civilization, while Romanists were often strongly conditioned by the historic reconstructions based on the ancient historiographic tradition. Particularly in the archaeological projects of the mid-Adriatic landscape, this has been a shared and commonly used method for some time. The study of relics found in the surrounding countryside and the analysis of some contexts investigated stratigraphically in the levels of the oldest occupation of the towns have finally led to a substantial liberation from the canonical chronologies of the ancient historiography, and the need for a critical revision of the old interpretive model[25]. The contribution of archaeometric analyses has, furthermore, allowed us to better distinguish, in the area of fine ceramics, Tyrrhenian importations in the products of the Adriatic workshops, and crosschecking the typological analysis of these workshops, the contribution of particular productive centres, such as the Latin colony of *Ariminum*[26]. Furthermore, we posit the presence of Latin *mercatores*, inserted into the local communities, who could have come before the military conquest, without this having predicted in any way the stable establishment of Roman colonies. In this regard, we can cite the famous passage by Livius (IX, 36, 1) , who, to justify the difficulties of the Roman army in crossing the thick and impenetrable *silva Cimina*, stated that they were not able to do it, nor could the *mercatores*, suggesting then that they had a traditional role as explorers[27].

New and particularly stimulating approaches focusing on food conservationist habits, which can of course be seen in the everyday ceramics, have raised the issue of the persistence of local ceramic traditions after the arrival of the first colonies[28]. Some particularly significant finds, in *Suasa* and in the nearby areas, have focused on the survival, at least partial, of the previous population within the new Roman communities[29]. The Latin alphabet scratched on a black gloss cup of local production, found in *Suasa* in layers dateable to the era of the *conciliabulum*, is of particular interest. In fact, the habit of carving alphabet sequences is not characteristic of the Latin communities, and furthermore, one of the symbols in the alphabet from *Suasa*, dateable to the mid third century BC, could be Lepontic, suggesting the Celtic culture of the owner[30].

If the topographic observations have helped us reconstruct, although only in bits and pieces, the presence and the orientation of the first demic *Suasa* settlement, these considerations of the material culture shed new light on the community that lived there, and that would appear much more complex and culturally heterogeneous than the historiographic tradition suggests.

[24] Mazzeo Saracino and Morsiani 2014; Giorgi *et al.* in press.
[25] Mazzeo Saracino 2010; Brecciaroli Taborelli 2017. In the investigations of the surrounding countryside, based on their make, even fragments dateable to the Picene era have been identified (Ciuccareli 2012).
[26] Mazzeo Saracino 2013, 368, note 35, with bibliography.
[27] Dall'Aglio 2014.
[28] Mazzeo Saracino 2013, 228, note 17, with particular reference to the studies by Marco Galli.
[29] Like the dolium with an Etruscan inscription from *Ostra*, the alphabet of *Suasa* and the potsherd with Lepontic alphabet inscription of *Sena Gallica* (Sisani 2007, 190; Gaucci 2013, 269-283, 276, with bibliography).
[30] Gaucci 2013, 291-293, with previous bibliography.

It remains to be clarified whether, and in what way, this first form of settlement was incorporated into the administrative organization that Rome gradually imposed on this territory. We have already hinted at the possibility of commercial interactions that could have favoured the arrival of Latin merchants, before the subsequent military conquest, especially in port areas such as *Sena Gallica*, but also at the itinerary crossroads that may already have been market areas, such as *Suasa*[31]. Nevertheless, the presence of stable structures in stratigraphic contexts that, also from the point of view of the material culture, appear to be characteristic of a true *conciliabulum civium Romanorum*, before the distribution of lands to new colonies (232 BC), requires a more in-depth reflection. Traditionally the Roman population in the valley of the Cesano is linked to the founding of the Roman colony of *Sena Gallica* (290, 283 BC) at the mouth of the nearby valley of the Misa. Studies of Roman agricultural land development, in fact, allow for the reconstruction of a single centuriation, which, from the plain at the mouth of the Misa pushes north throughout the lower valley of the Cesano, where there was no other Roman city to act as the hub of the territory[32]. It has therefore been hypothesized that some Senigallia colonists could have been pushed in a more or less spontaneous way from the lower to the middle valley of the Cesano, starting what we could consider the pre-colonization of *Suasa*. From an administrative point of view, it would be the easiest solution, given that we would only have to consider an extension of the territory of the maritime colony. Nevertheless, there are other hypotheses. The early presence of Roman citizens has been proposed as tracing not to simple colonists, but rather to relatives or high ranking people linked to *Manius Curius Dentatus*, first conqueror of the Sabines then of the *agro Gallico*. This hypothesis is based in particular on the late dating and interpretation of artefacts from the famous *lucus Pisaurensium*, where female statues have been found belonging to that *gens*, not only before the foundation of the Roman colony (184 BC) but as early as before the agricultural law of *Gaius Flaminius* (232 BC)[33]. On this basis, some scholars have gone so far as to consider the hypothesis of an early *ager viritanus* of lands, following the conquest, not noted in the written sources. Picking up a line of research begun by Filippo Coarelli, the discovery of anatomical *ex voto* in the territory of *Pisaurum*, and also in that of *Suasa*, would attest to the appearance of a typically Roman religious tradition, which will soon disappear and that can be considered an indication of the arrival of these early colonists[34]. Nevertheless, if the presence of merchants or Roman citizens in the *agro Gallico* before the land distributions of 232 BC is now apparently an archaeological fact, all the rest is still very much up for debate. The more cautious and shared positions accept pre-colonization as a more or less spontaneous phenomenon, or in any case connected to the imminent founding of the colonies of *Sena Gallica* and *Ariminum*, or to the *conciliabulum* that preceded the colony of *Pisaurum*, also on the Adriatic coast[35]. *Suasa*, instead, would appear to attest to the presence of an early spontaneous gathering of Roman citizens, in a more inland area, of particular significance from a topographic point of view. At this point in the middle valley of the Cesano, in fact, an ancient valley floor roadway probably intersected with the inter-valley roads, which went over the various ridges dividing the river waters to connect the main centres of the middle valley of this region. Near that intersection, it is likely that there was a river crossing and maybe a market area. This made *Suasa* a place of integration most suited to the economy of this area. The *Suasa* plateau, in fact, links the upper valley, dominated by the economy of uncultivated lands where wood harvesting and animal farming predominate, with the middle and lower valley, which, thanks to the wider morphology of the hydrographic basin, is better suited to a mixed economy, leaving more space for agriculture. The

[31] Lepore 2013.
[32] Dall'Aglio *et al.* 2013; Silani 2017, 223-225.
[33] Sisani 2007, 191-198; Silani 2017, 248; Belfiori 2017, 14-20, with previous bibliography.
[34] According to this reconstruction, the necropolis of Montefortino di Arcevia also does not contain Celtic burials but veterans with the spoils of defeated *Senones* (Sisani 2007, 191-198).
[35] Silani 2017, 253-257; Vermeulen 2017, 61-107.

presence of a market area in this period cannot be anything more than a mere topographic hypothesis, nevertheless supported by some considerations linked to the urban development that followed, and an interesting reading of the integrated city map. The large commercial forum, built in the Imperial era, in fact, would appear to confirm the progress of this merchant vocation[36]. Furthermore, the visible traces a little farther south of the inter-valley road, at the escarpment that overlooks the probable river crossing, allow for the reconstruction of a building complex with an open area bordered by small rectangular areas that could suggest the possible persistence of a market or a *macellum* (**Fig. 10**). Even if only a hypothesis, which certainly deserves further verification, it would be of great interest in the future to understand whether said building could actually be interpreted as a market, developed in continuation of a place of commercial trade even more ancient, and capable of playing a role in the genesis of the first *conciliabulum* of *Suasa*.

The subsequent urban development of *Suasa*, according to traditional interpretations, would fall under the system of the *praefecturae* springing up as *central places* in the Marche valleys after the Lex *Flaminia* (232 BC). Subsequent to the *praefecturae,* the *municipes* would have developed until the end of the Republican era (first century BC)[37]. This interpretive model, still valid for many reasons, is nevertheless essentially based on the reading of written sources and has conditioned archaeological research for a long time, so much so that archaeology has done nothing but confirm the same previously formulated historic reconstruction[38].

Let us overlook, for the time being, the opportune considerations that could be put forth regarding the often ancillary role of archaeology in relation to epigraphic and historiographic studies, which has often heavily conditioned research. Let us also not stop to consider the opposite tendency to shy away from a necessary critical look at the written sources, which has instead vitalized many research projects, including on an international level[39]. Among the most significant cases in the area under examination, we can recall the kilns of black gloss pottery of *Aesis*, dated after 247 BC based on the presumable founding of the colony, founded on the reading of an contentious passage by *Marcus Velleius Paterculus* that was the subject of a critical revision by Gino Bandelli and by the same Luisa Brecciaroli Taborelli[40]. Given the importance of the relics, on the basis of the consolidated method of typological comparison, many other contexts in the Marche region were dated, before understanding, also thanks to the studies carried out by Luisa Mazzeo Saracino in *Suasa* and the contextual analysis of both the fine and common ceramics, that the chronologies could be raised by a half century[41]. The archaeological data forces us to think of the *praefectura* of *Suasa* as the end point of a process that began with the populating of the territory in the decades before the Lex *Flaminia* in 232 BC, when it was common to believe that the site was chosen as the headquarters of the *praefectus*. But the question becomes even more interesting if we look at the building phases of *Suasa* that clearly date to this era, because actually no structures are known to have been erected in the final decades of the third century BC[42]. The most ancient levels of

[36] Right in front of one of the *tabernae* of the forum, in the northern branch of the arcade, an epigraph dedicated to Silvanus was found, linked to a possible congregation of wood traders (Paci 2010, 78).
[37] Paci 1999.
[38] In this outline the chronology of epigraphic artefacts, theoretically primary archaeological sources in particular if found in their original context, also risks being conditioned by the archaeological dating based on secondary written sources, creating a dangerous interpretive short circuit.
[39] Much has been written here regarding the risks of procedural archaeology, and just as an example, please recall a few reflections regarding landscape archaeology (Dall'Aglio 2011).
[40] Bandelli 2005. An example is the courageous revision of the problem in Brecciaroli Taborelli 2017.
[41] Mazzeo Saracino 2010; Mazzeo Saracino 2013.
[42] Giorgi 2014.

occupation contain, obviously, relics datable to the entire century being examined, just as those coming later contain residual ceramic fragments from this era, but as our research now stands, we cannot with certainty date any structure to the presumed institution of the *praefectura* of 232 BC, unless we delay it by several decades. Not even data gathered from superficial reconnaissance, with all of the intrinsic limitations in deducing time specific clues from this category of artefacts, shows a peak or a recognisable change in the development of the population dating to the second half of the third century BC. We must thus think that, at least at the beginning, the *ager viritanus* colonists sent following the Lex *Flaminia* continued to live in the same area and frequent the same buildings that were previously built in *Suasa*, during the era of the *concilabulum*.

It has already been noted that the development of *Suasa* seems to proceed from the countryside towards the city, and not vice versa as in the Roman colony of *Sena Gallica*, but rather through a gradual concentration around the economic (with the *central place* that becomes the *conciliabulum* in the first half of the third century BC), juridical-administrative (the *praefectura* after 232 BC) and lastly the political and urbanist functions (the *municipium* of the 40s in the first century BC)[43]. The archaeological data may now make it necessary to carry out a precise and critical revision of this development model, particularly from a chronological viewpoint. In fact, if we look for a second important phase of urban development in *Suasa*, it would appear to occur from the mid second century BC, when we see a significant change in the urban layout, and also has an effect on the later monumentalising of the Imperial age.

During the second century BC, there was an important phase of building development in *Suasa,* that continued until the age of the *municipium* in the following century. The urbanistic growth of the Imperial age respected the organization of the urban space, but it was at the expense of the previous buildings[44]. The 'casa del primo stile' was built in this period (second century BC), which would develop on a narrow and long block until the middle of the following century. The atrium of this house, with *cubicula* decorated in the first style, obliterated the remains of the oldest cobblestone foundations of which we have already spoken (fourth to third century BC). The layout of the 'casa ad atrio', which would be incorporated by the next 'domus dei Coiedii' in the Imperial period, should be slightly later. The pattern of the original blocks, delimited by long walls flanked by small channels, has been brought to light in the garden area of the Imperial *domus*. On the upper opposite side of the street called 'via del Foro', a sacred area, datable to this period (second to first century BC), with a *monopteros* and a rectangular sacred building preceded by altars (*eschara*), has been brought to light. A 'pi' altar found further south is from the same context (**Fig. 12**). The sacred area and the 'casa ad atrio' of the Republican age were destroyed when the great commercial forum of the Imperial age (first century BC) was built. To conclude this brief overview of *Suasa* at the time of the *praefectura* (second to first century BC), we must also mention the recent discovery of the eastern necropolis (**Fig. 13**)[45]. This area of cremation burials, divided into two sectors by the road that crossed it, contained several tombs grouped around some stone markers dating largely between the second and the first century BC. It is interesting to note that the road crossing the eastern necropolis of *Suasa* is a stretch of the 'Via Salaria Gallica'. This important branch of the Via Salaria began south of *Asculum*, where a stone with an inscription was found that allows us to date its opening to at least the second half of the second century BC. This road ended further north at *Forum Sempronii*, developed during the second century BC, where it connected to the Via Flaminia[46]. In conclusion, we must note that the dating of this road, important for the development of *Suasa*, seems to confirm that

[43] Giorgi 2012; Giorgi 2010, 57.
[44] Giorgi 2020.
[45] Giorgi 2020, 111.
[46] Campagnoli and Giorgi 2000.

the second century BC was of great importance for this territory. It seems, in fact, that it was only in this period that buildings made with brick or stone, rather than perishable materials, were built.

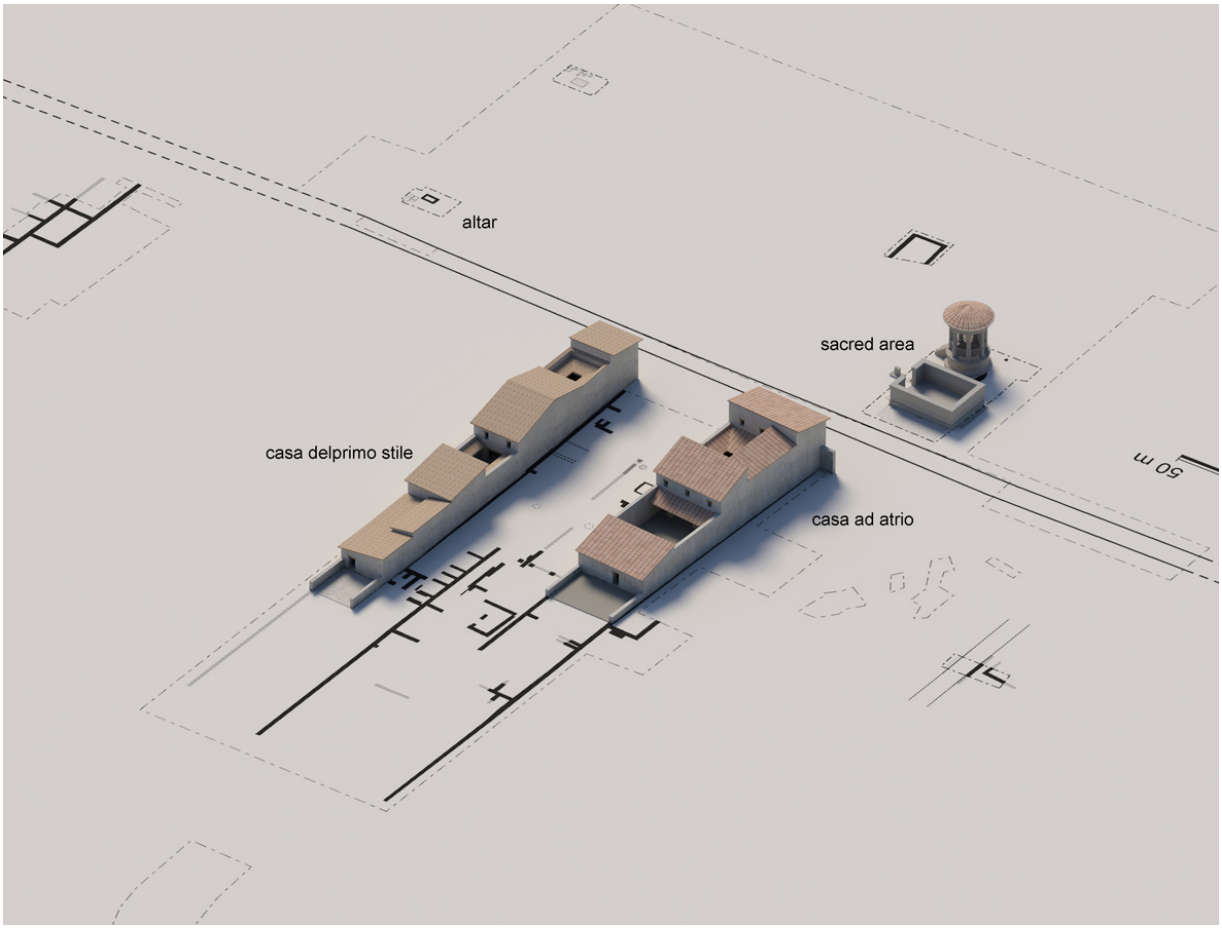


Fig. 12. Hypothetical reconstruction of the buildings datable in the first Republican period on either side of the 'via del Foro' (by M. Zaccaria).

In fact, we know that this period was important for the development of the Roman population of the *ager Gallicus*, witnessed, for example, by the foundation of the colony of *Pisaurum* (184 BC) and then by the interventions of the Gracchan period which also interested *Forum Sempronii*[47]. The recent studies on the *lucus Pisaurensis*, with the *conciliabulum* and then the Roman colony of *Pisaurum*, also seem a good comparison with *Suasa*[48]. In both cases, we can highlight some dynamics also found in a more episodic way in other areas of the region, such as *Sena Gallica* itself[49]. The first settlements are made up of buildings comprising pebble foundations, walls of mud bricks and roofs of clay tiles. Their remains are very difficult to trace because they were largely destroyed by later buildings. Even the rural buildings must have been similar and can only be recognised if there are well-dated ceramic remains. In this period sacred areas are usually *sud divo* and use ground altars (*eschara*), with the rare exceptions of more structured buildings such as in *Sena Gallica*. It was only during the following century that more solid

[47] Luni and Mei 2012.
[48] Silani 2017, 163-178; Belfiori 2017.
[49] Silani 2017; Lepore 2013.

buildings were constructed, and the sacred areas housed large monuments in the Hellenistic style, such as in Civitalba or Monterinaldo (the two best known cases in this region)[50].

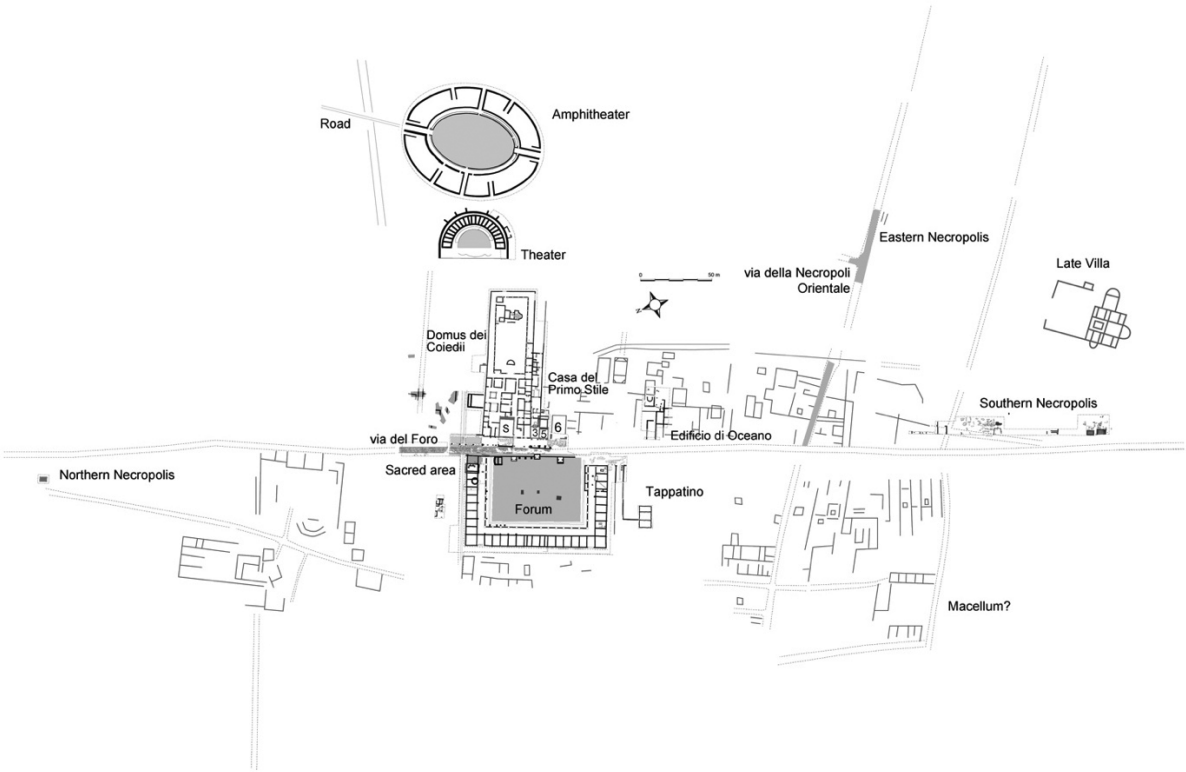


Fig. 13. Plan of the urban area of *Suasa* with the buildings brought to light in black and the map of the structures found thanks to geophysical surveys and the analysis of aerial photographs in grey (by M. Zaccaria).

In conclusion, if the genesis of *Suasa* allows us to hypothesise the existence of a first settlement at the beginning of the third century BC, well before anything testified by the literary sources, then the most significant urban development is dated no earlier than the following century. These dynamics, which seem to be clearly recognisable thanks to the archaeological excavations of the urban area, and are reflected in the wider regional panorama, seem very difficult to recognise in the surrounding area. The reconstruction of the ancient landscape and its variations between the early Roman population and its later developments, seem to be better explained if they are framed in a wider environmental reconstruction that is also based on the study of geomorphology. It should be remembered, in fact, that the evolution of the landscape is the result of the interaction between humans and the environment and it is difficult to understand it without taking due account of environmental and geophysical changes[51].

[50] Belfiori 2019; Belfiori *et al.* 2020; Belfiori and Giorgi in press.
[51] Dall'Aglio 2011.

VI. *Sena Gallica*: a stronghold for the Roman conquest of the *ager Gallicus*

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Sena Gallica in its wider context

The deduction of the Roman colony of *Sena Gallica* undoubtedly represents a turning point and benchmark in the process of Romanization of the *ager Gallicus* and Cisalpine Gaul between the fourth and second centuries BC. It is no coincidence that Polibius, describing the fertility of the agricultural horizons of the Po Valley, placed the *apoikia* of *Sena Gallica* as the southern vertex of that fertile territory.[1]
The point of arrival of the groups of *mercatores* from *Latium* already during the fourth century BC[2] or the starting point in the structuring of a new portion of *ager publicus* following the battle of *Sentinum* (295 BC),[3] recomposing the dynamics at the basis of the foundation of the colony (290–284 BC)[4] and the material forms with which it was built, means reconstructing an important piece of the times and ways of colonization of the *ager Gallicus*.[5]
It is a question of recomposing the historical background formed by the interweaving of political, economic and social choices that characterized the arrival of the Romans in the Adriatic area, and whose warp we try to untangle through the analysis of the signs and material traces left and visible in the ground. At the same time, these choices are linked and interact with the natural forms of the territory, in turn modified by human intervention, in that biunivocal relationship between man and environment, the result of which we can define as landscape.

The colony of *Sena Gallica* is therefore the result of different components intimately linked to each other, starting from the site chosen for its deduction. In fact, it is located in a territory, the *ager Gallicus*, a hinge between the Umbrian and Tyrrhenian area to the west, the middle Adriatic area to the south and the Po Valley to the north, whose low hills separated by natural waterways make it easy to pass from the Apennine area towards the coast. It was a border territory both for the *Senones* Gauls, *recentissimi advenarum*,[6] and the Romans who, until Silla moved Italy's political border to the Rubicon, chose the Esino river as the boundary between the metropolitan and provincial territory.[7]
The position of the colony of *Sena Gallica* at the mouth of the Misa river was therefore functional at the beginning of the third century BC for the expansionist policy of Rome towards Cisalpine Gaul as well as for the predominance over the Adriatic routes and traffic.[8] After the battle of *Sentinum* in 295 BC, reaching the new colony was of extreme importance and the connections were not lacking, being accessible both through the *Via Salaria* and its branches, as the sources tell us,[9] and through the route Rome–*Camerinum*–*Sentinum*, focused on the so-called Sinclinale Camerte valley and the Misa valley, as

[1] Pol. II, 14–15, 19. Lepore 2014, 219–242.
[2] Dall'Aglio 2014 and Giorgi in this volume.
[3] With regard to the structure of the *agro* and in particular the agricultural divisions in the Cesano and Misa valleys, see Giorgi in this volume and bibliography cited.
[4] For the problem of the double dating of the foundation of *Sena Gallica* see *below* and footnote 36.
[5] Silani 2017, 241–258.
[6] Liv. V, 35, 3.
[7] Bishop 1983, 13.
[8] Bertrand 2012.
[9] Catani and Paci 1999, 175.

is widely demonstrated,[10] although with some doubts linked to the role played by the centre of *Matilica* after 295 BC[11] (**Fig. 1**).

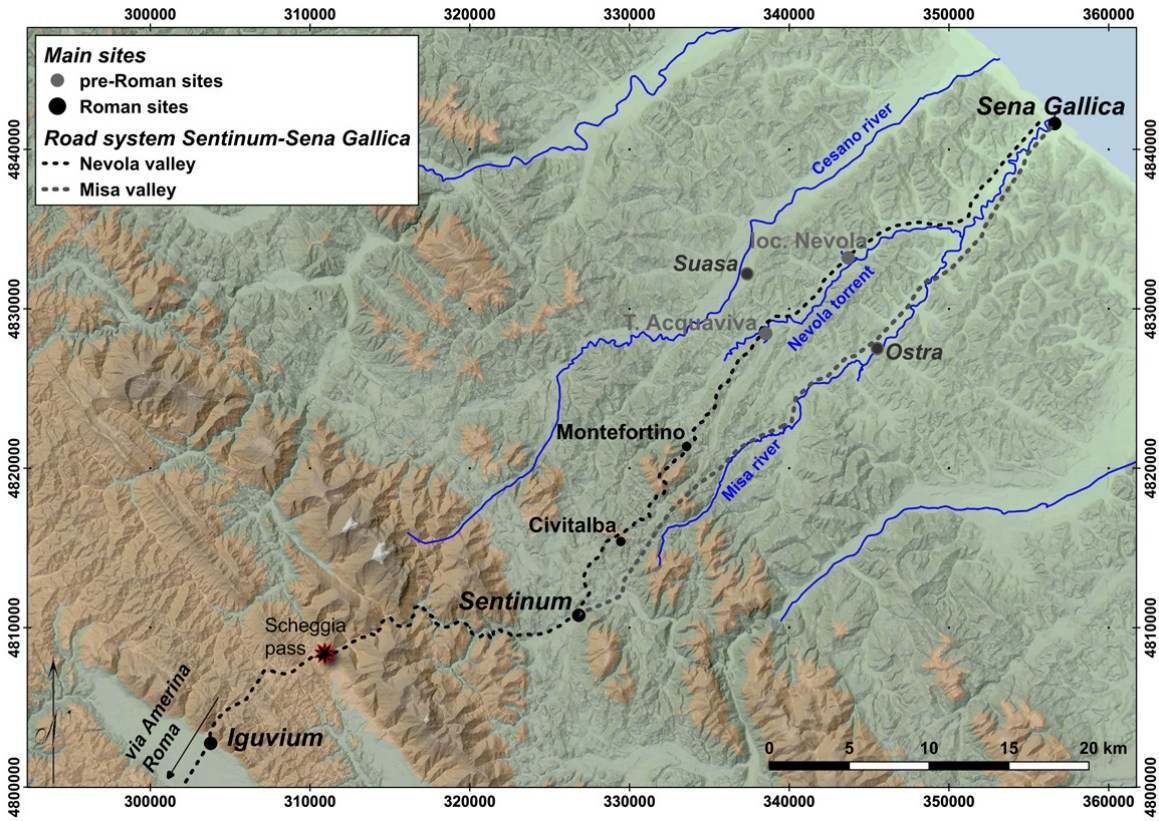

Fig. 1. Hypothesis of the *Sentinum–Sena Gallica* road system between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century BC (elaboration by M. Silani).

In this regard, an alternative route to the Camerte valley in the early stages of conquest, occupation and control of the *ager Gallicus* may have been the *via Amerina*, whose extension to *Perusia* within the first decades of the third century BC could be linked to the conquest of the *ager Gallicus* by *Manius Curius Dentatus* in 284 BC.[12] (**Fig.1**). Thanks to the *diverticulum* for *Iguvium* and going over the Passo della Scheggia – the lowest of the passes that from the Camerte valley allow the crossing of the S. Vicino wrinkle – and the Sassoferrato basin, the maritime colony of *Sena* could be reached.

Precisely this last stretch *Sentinum-Sena Gallica* would certainly have exploited a series of ancient road tracks, part of which were later regularized by the Romans. If it is clear that the axis along the Misa valley, passing through the centre of *Ostra*, played a primary role in communications to reach Senigallia,[13] it is worth remembering that even less extensive ridge routes or along secondary valleys, such as that of the Nevola stream, a tributary of the Misa river, may have represented valid alternatives, especially in the early stages of colonization, both in terms of safety and capillarity, to reaching the most important settlements in the connective tissue of the population.

[10] Dall'Aglio 1991, 19; Dall'Aglio 2008a; Dall'Aglio 2008b.
[11] Paci 2002, 83–85.
[12] Sisani 2007, 117–121.
[13] Dall'Aglio *et al.* 2019, 454.

Among these alternative routes and centred on the Sassoferrato-Misa basin itinerary system, one of the main routes since the early years of the conquest could have been the connecting road that ran from *Sentinum,* passing through Civitalba and Montefortino, keeping on the ridge between the Misa valley and the Nevola torrent valley, then continuing through the latter to *Sena Gallica*[14] (**Fig. 1**). It is perhaps not by chance that this route touches the site of Montefortino, whose importance is not only linked to the dynamics of the population before the arrival of the Romans[15] but is evidenced by the presence of a vital sanctuary between the third and second centuries BC,[16] at the border of the territory of *Sentinum*,[17] and the fact that it runs at the same time through the Nevola valley. In the latter, recent findings of a necropolis[18] have revealed the presence of important settlements of Picene tradition in the region defined '*Picentina*' by Polibius himself,[19] from which the Romans hunted the *Senones* Gauls after the victory, in a framework of cultural osmosis that must have characterized the *ager Gallicus* between the fourth and second centuries BC.

The site of the colony

The urban-scale analysis of the site chosen for the colony deduction also highlights the close link between political-economic interests and accurate knowledge of the territory in the choice made by the Romans. Recent research has in fact highlighted how the alluvial depositions at the mouth of the Misa river must have been, at the beginning of the third century BC, particularly suitable for the deduction of the colony. From a geomorphological point of view, these are the remains of the large coastal cone formed between the Upper Pleistocene and the early Holocene and which, as in other rivers in the north of the Marche region, was progressively dismantled first by marine action and then by river re-engravings.[20] Unlike the conoids at the mouths of the Metauro, Cesano and Conca rivers, characterized by an accentuated convexity that gives them a prominent and well-recognizable relief, the conoid of the Misa (like that of the Foglia) presents a very weak relief and has little morphological evidence.
The reconstruction of the Roman age paleosoil, i.e. the shape of the alluvial depositions at the time of the colony's deduction, has however highlighted how it was characterized by a more animated morphology than the current situation[21] (**Fig. 2**). Surrounded and protected by water, the wide bend of the Misa river to the north and west, and the Fosso di S. Angelo/Canale Penna to the south, with a single access by land, the original depositions were particularly suited to the defensive needs of the first Roman colony on the Adriatic coast. At the same time, the wide extension of the alluvial slab, occupied in the first phases only in the western part until the present-day Corso II Giugno, was the object of different reclamation works for the hydraulic management of the limited height differences.[22]
That the site of the future colony was particularly suitable for settlement is evidenced by the presence of a stable settlement dating back to between the fifth and fourth centuries BC, characterized by subrectangular-shaped housing structures[23] (**Fig. 3**). The presence of materials of Picene tradition, next

[14] Tribellini 2006, 106–107. At the end of the ridge route, at the confluence of the Nevola torrent with the Acquaviva torrent, it could also easily climb the hills above *Suasa* and then descend along the Cesano river.
[15] See the contribution of A. Gaucci in this book.
[16] Tribellini 2006; Belfiori 2016a.
[17] Tribellini 2006, 243.
[18] In this regard see Boschi in this book and related bibliography.
[19] Pol. II, 21, 7.
[20] Nesci *et al.* 2008; Calderoni *et al.* 2010; Dall'Aglio *et al.* 2017; De Donatis *et al.* 2019.
[21] Silani *et al.* 2016.
[22] Silani 2017, 84.
[23] Lepore *et al.* 2012a.

to Attic, Upper-Adriatic and *Latium* productions, are perhaps indicative of the role as *emporium* of the settlement, where probably a new class, controlling traffic and trades, had to assume more and more importance within society, adapting to a new socio-economic reality, probably influenced by the arrival of communities such as the *Senones* Gauls or the presence of Syracusans in the nearby city of *Ankon*. The place probably represented a point of common economic and maybe even institutional aggregation,[24] in the framework of the settlements of the second half of the fourth century BC, and probably linked to the presence of *Senones*.[25]

The systematic reclamation of the structures of this settlement carried out by the Romans at the time of the conquest of this alluvial area is not only inherent to the foundation and the construction of the colony, but certainly has a strong symbolic character. On the other hand, the sign of Roman presence was already evident in the landscape of pre-colonial *Sena* at the end of the fourth century BC and the beginning of the third century BC. A sanctuary *sub divo* sited just at the point of the only access to the alluvial fan, coming from the valley of the Misa (**Fig. 4**), already shows in its depositions a material culture of clear *Latium* tradition.[26] It is a large area of frequentation and depositions of offerings around a sandstone anepigraphic altar that was cut by the construction of the city walls at the time of the colony's *deductio*. At the same time, the sanctuary was monumentalized: the anepigraphic altar was respected and incorporated within a rectangular *sacellum*, open on two sides and without covering, inside of which the earliest depositions found date back to the first half of the third century BC.[27]

The perimeter of the new colony was defined by the wall circuit, which followed and exploited the watercourses surrounding the alluvial plateau to the south, west and north, while to the east, the presence of an environment characterized in all probability by coastal lagoons made that side sufficiently protected. The definition of the limits of the urban space towards the sea was, however, materialized and consecrated(?) with a sandstone altar, and the dimensions of the urban area of the colony of *Sena* at the time of its foundation reached 18 ha (**Fig. 5**). Finally, the construction of the new colony involved the definition of the urban plan through the management of water by way of collection systems (wells) and evacuation channels, and the designing of the main directions of the road axes and consequently the division of the residential lots within the *insulae*[28] (**Fig. 4**).

Thus, we can witness a proper 'technological revolution', recognizable in the signs of the new forms of living, which are characterized by different building techniques and by the *domus* system, with the *fauces–atrium–tablinum* sequence, centred on the Etruscan-Italic model, decorated with pictorial motifs in the so-called 'early Pompeian style' and with *opus signinum* floors, a true indicator of the ideological apparatus of the dominus and its social and representative needs. This technological revolution was only possible thanks to the technical and specialized knowledge of the settlers coming from *Latium*.[29] The materials and construction techniques for building foundations in a wet and marshy environment such as the Senigallia alluvial fan changed radically, and enabled a load in terms of higher structural weight to be supported. However, already at the end of the third century BC significant reclamation works, probably due to hydraulic problems, led not only to the raising of the floors inside the private buildings but also to important structural interventions and a reorganization of the street system.[30] We thus witness here a quite early first adaptation of planning in the urban area of the colony.

[24] Gaucci in this volume.
[25] Gaucci 2012; Gaucci 2013; Silani 2014.
[26] Lepore *et al.* 2012b; Lepore 2012.
[27] F. Galazzi, Material Culture and Expansion of Rome: The Case of the ager Gallicus, PhD thesis at the University of Bologna, tutor Prof. G. Lepore.
[28] Silani 2017, 75–138 and cited bibliography.
[29] Lepore and Silani forthcoming (a).
[30] Lepore *et al.* 2014; Belfiori 2016b.

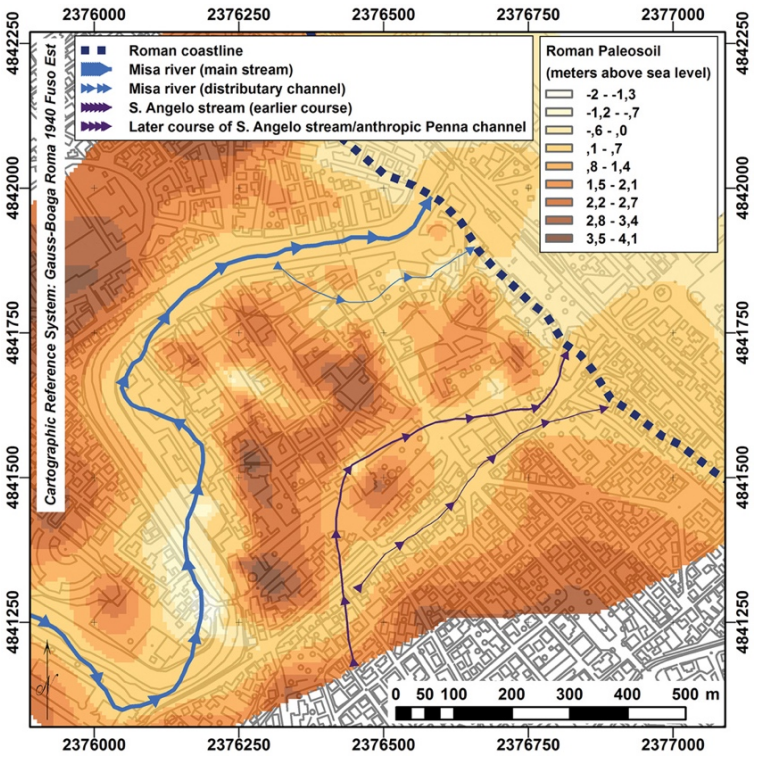

Fig. 2. *Sena Gallica:* reconstruction of the paleo-soil of the Roman period (elaboration by M. Silani, from Lepore and Silani in press).

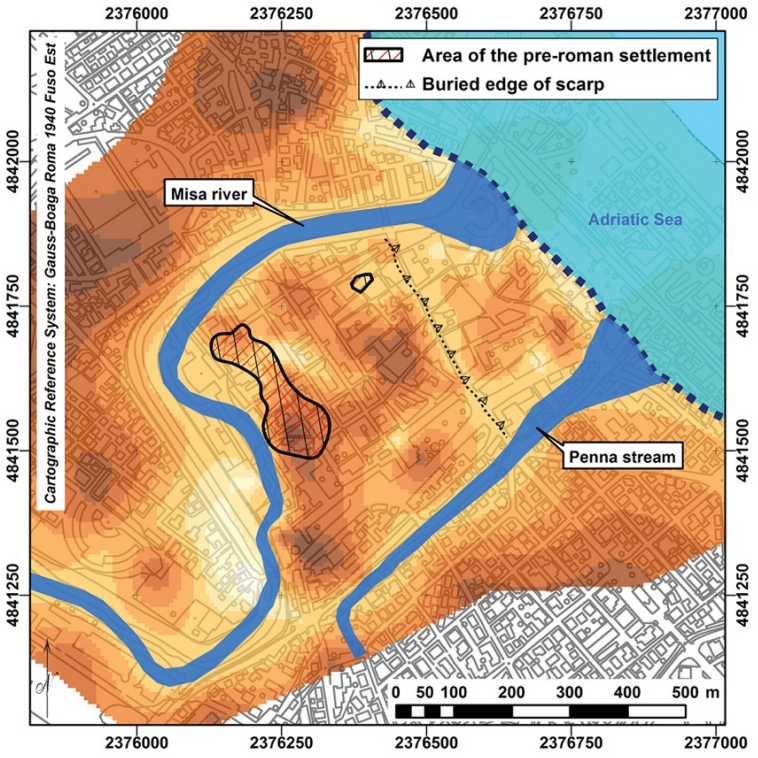

Fig. 3. *Sena* in the pre-Roman age (elaboration by M. Silani, from Lepore and Silani in press).

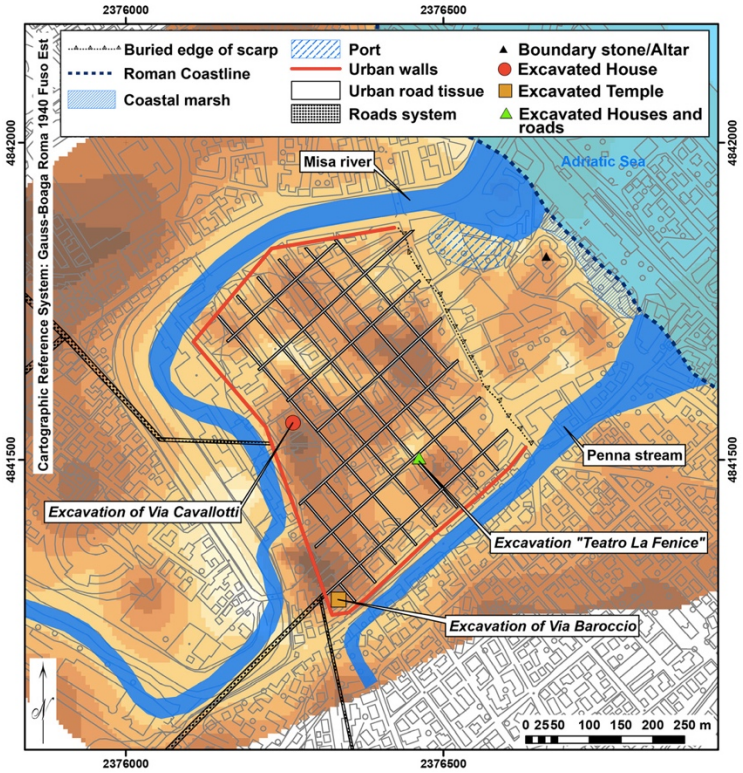

Fig. 4. *Sena Gallica*: hypothesis of the urban plan of the colony (elaboration by M. Silani, from Silani *et al.* 2016).

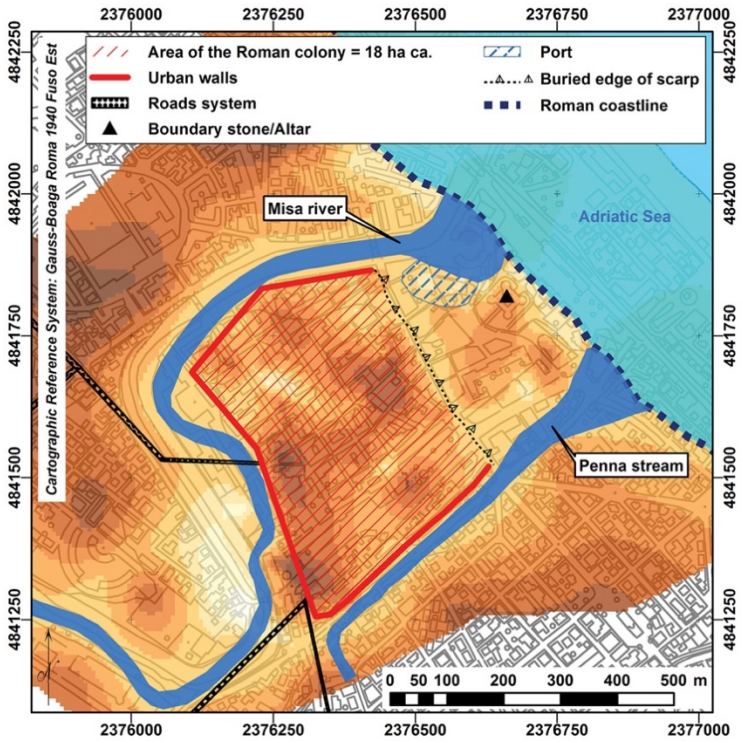

Fig. 5. *Sena Gallica*: hypothesis of the urban extension at the time of the foundation of the colony (elaboration M. Silani, from Lepore and Silani in press).

Discussion

It is evident how the data at our disposal on the colony of Roman law of *Sena Gallica*, only briefly summarized here, show the '*gradualness of the Roman takeover, in the sense that the earliest date can be referred to the sending of a military garrison, while they then proceeded to the actual organization of the colony, when Manius Curius Dentatus depopulated the territory of the* Senones *that was annexed to the Roman state*', an intuition already advanced by Nereo Alfieri in an attempt to reconcile the two traditions about the date of foundation.[31] The question of the 'double dating' of the first colony of Roman law in the Adriatic (290–284 BC)[32] can therefore be indicative of a colonial phenomenon that proceeded in an intelligent and flexible way, with moments of acceleration and phases of stasis, using all the modalities and 'weapons available'. We can now add, in fact, that the taking of possession before the organization of the colony was economic, as well as military, and took place under the protection of the gods, thanks to the materials coming from the first pre-colonial sanctuary.
The strong 'experimental character' of the colonies of the Republican period, the result of not only the military but also the administrative pragmatism of Rome, which adapts its policy to the different contingencies, without wanting to impose a rigid predefined scheme, seems therefore well established. For too long our vision of the colonial phenomenon has been too uniform and standardized, flattened on a bipartition (Roman / Latin law colonies) that does not give credit to the complexity of the policy implemented by Rome during the most ancient phases of the Republic.[33]
It is only recently that the archaeological study of individual territories has finally highlighted the great articulation and variability of the choices adopted, always linked to a common ideology of conquest.[34] This strand of studies also includes research on the colony of *Sena Gallica* and, more generally, on the *ager Gallicus* at the time of the conquest.[35]

The colony of *Sena* represents a new type of colony at the beginning of the third century BC, a fact confirmed by the same forms of the urban layout. The reconstruction of the large size of the urban area should not be surprising (**Fig 6**). Already Alfieri noted how the figure of 300 settlers '*documented, in part, for the old type maritime foundations*,' '*seems rather low, also in relation to the 250 fires pertaining to Senigallia in a period of great decadence, when the urbanistic residue was reduced to about half of the area occupied by the primitive colony*', a phenomenon which during the crisis of around 1300 was also remembered by Dante.[36] *Sena*'s peculiarity is also justified by its eccentric position with respect to Rome, at the northern limit of the *ager publicus*, which will have influenced not only its military but above all its economic functions, in terms of occupation and population of the territory.
The arrival of the settlers and the assignment of the first plots of land in the city and in the colonial *ager*, at the moment of its *deductio*, is easily reconciled with an indigenous population that was probably not exterminated, but – at least on the basis of what we know today – was organized in scattered nuclei, placed in strategic points and already in contact (economic and cultural) with the *Latium* area.[37] This could have provided Rome with an opportunity for a revision of the initial project and perhaps for an

[31] Ortolani and Alfieri 1978, 33.
[32] A summary is contained in Lepore 2014.
[33] In this regard, see the Proceedings of the Colloquium *Expropriations and confiscations in Italy and in the provinces: colonization under the Republic and Empire*, published in 'MEFRA' 127,2 (2015).
[34] Torelli 1988.
[35] Lepore and Silani forthcoming (b).
[36] Ortolani, Alfieri 1978, 51; Dante, *Paradiso*, XVI, 67–75.
[37] On the theme of material culture linked to the early stages of the Romanization of the *ager Gallicus* and *Picenum*, see the contribution of A. Gamberini, P. Cossentino, S. Morsiani in this volume.

enlargement of the territories to be included in the colonial *ager* (**Fig. 7**), with the flexibility that characterizes the choices of Roman colonization.

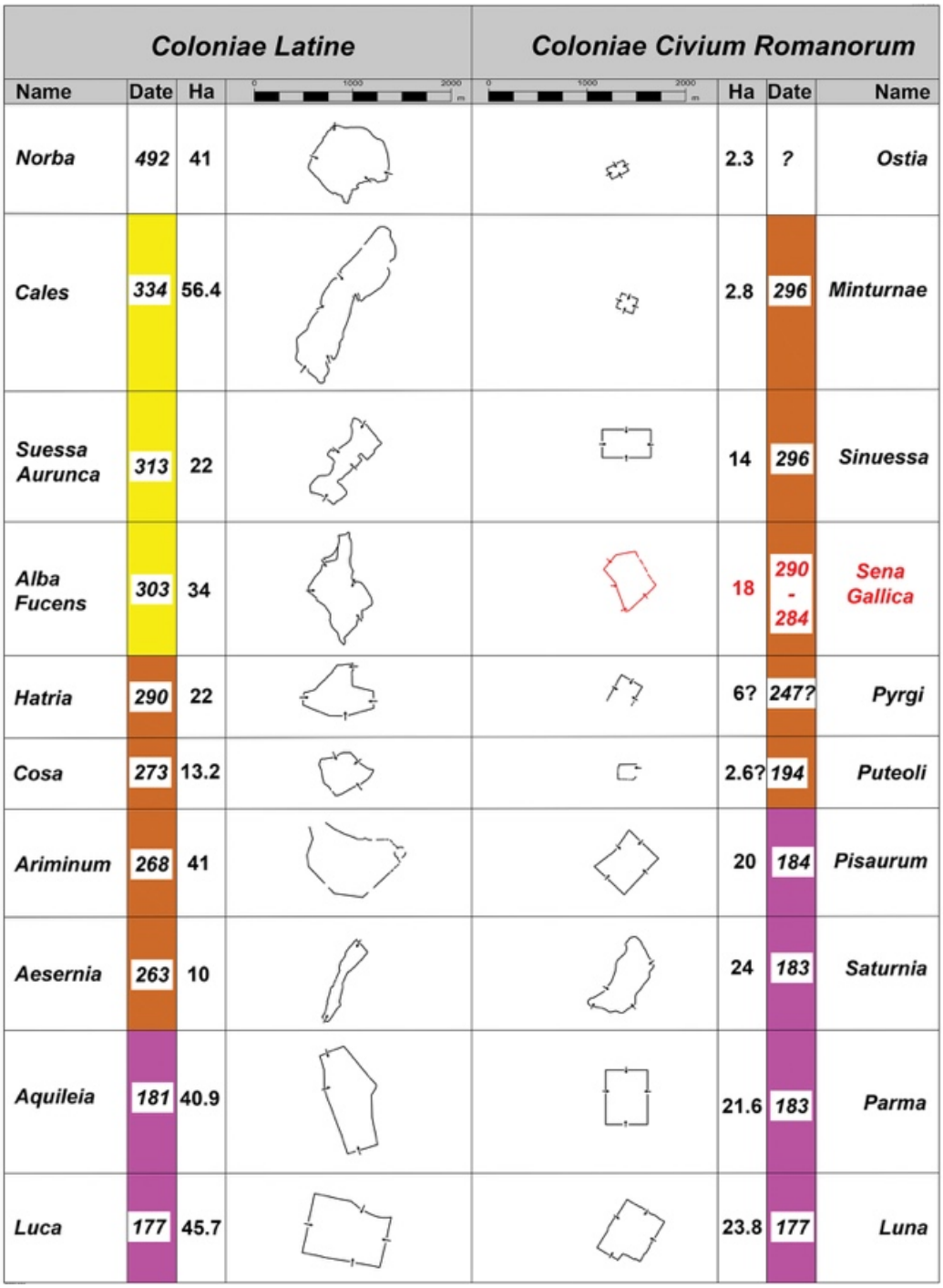

Fig. 6. Comparison between the intramural surfaces of *Sena Gallica* and the Latin and Roman colonies of the fourth to second centuries BC (re-elaboration by M. Silani of Sommella 1988, fig. 69, from Lepore and Silani in press).

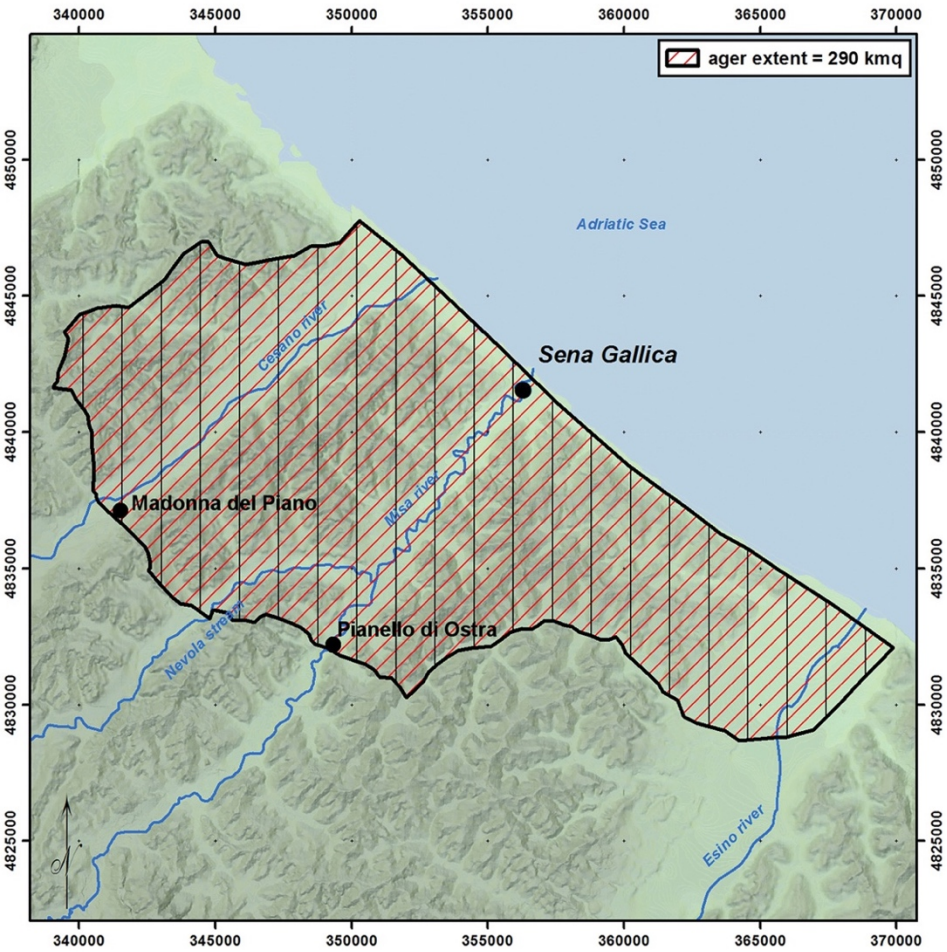

Fig. 7. Hypothesis of the extension of the *ager Senogalliensis*
(elaboration by M. Silani, from Lepore, Silani in press).

The definition and structuring of the colony's territory[38] and its occupation will certainly have been affected by the stop caused by the Hannibalic wars at the end of the third century BC, where *Sena* is still remembered as a topographical reference point.[39] After the downgrading of the military value and pole of reference due to the decision, already in 220 BC, to direct, the 'new' arterial road (*Via Flaminia*) through the Metauro valley, connecting with the *Cisalpine Gaul*, and after the siege of 82 BC by Pompeius,[40] only its function as a population centre would keep the city alive during the second and first centuries BC. This is confirmed by the assignments in its territory during the Triumviral age[41] and by the resistance of some forms of agricultural land organization of the Roman age throughout the Middle Ages, as is confirmed by the place names present in the lower valley of the river Misa.[42] Even if *Sena Gallica*

[38] Lepore and Silani forthcoming (b).
[39] The well-known battle of the Metauro river is simply called *apud Senam* or *Senense proelium* (Nep. *Cat.*, 24, 12; Cic. *Brut.,* 18, 73), although between the colony and the place of the battle there was the Cesano valley, see Alfieri 1988.
[40] App. *Bell. Civ.*, I, 88.
[41] *Lib. Col.* I, 226, 11 and II, 258, 10–12 Lach.
[42] Lepore, Silani and Galazzi 2014.

became ‘one *of the secondary towns in the province*’ during the Imperial period and Late Antiquity,[43] the resources of its territory and the maritime traffic, favoured by its geographical position, document an albeit modest commercial vitality, as archaeology seems to confirm.[44]

The research perspectives for the reconstruction of the timing and forms of the colony of *Sena*’s development must therefore now address the territory, in particular the Misa valley, where the data are still very poor, even compared to the nearby Cesano valley, by integrating all the available investigation techniques, supported by targeted excavations in the sites scattered in the colonial *ager*.

[43] Ortolani and Alfieri 1978, 35.

[44] Galazzi 2015; Cirelli *et al.* 2016.

VII. Perspectives on the analysis of the settlement system in medio-Adriatic Italy between the late sixth–fifth and fourth centuries BC: the case study of the Cesano and Misa river valleys

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Methodological premises

This paper is meant to be a first attempt to undertake a renewed research line focused on the systematic analysis of funerary, sacred and inhabited areas in the medio-Adriatic territories between the late sixth to fifth and the fourth centuries BC (**Fig. 1**). The aim is to highlight the changes in the settlement system and the control strategies of the territories before and after the historical events during the first decades of the fourth century BC, when according to Livy (V 35, 3), Celtic *nomen* of Senones[1] occupied part of the territory of current Romagna and Marche along the western Adriatic coast. This analytical approach, already sketched out by D. Vitali (1984) for the Romagna territory about 35 years ago, could give new and effective tools to better understand what the weight of the Celtic component was in the organization and control of territories populated by Umbrians, Etruscans and Picenes.[2]

About 20 years ago, in a methodological premise on the analysis of the Celtic presence in the territories occupied by Piceni, M. Landolfi (2000, 19–28) outlined the issues that the topic entails. Like others before him (cf. Frey 1992, 367), he remarked how the available documentation, substantially based on the funerary contexts, had been (and still is) mostly the result of nineteenth-century or early twentieth-century discoveries. Moreover, we should underline that the identification of the graves traditionally attributed to 'Celtic culture' is based, to date, on indicators that deserve caution and hopefully a new reflection many decades after the main contribution of D.G. Lollini (1979a).[3] Also some settlements excavated during the twentieth century, traditionally attributed in the literature to the 'Gaulish phase' (i.e. Montorso di Genga, Cessapalombo, but also Santa Paolina di Filottrano and San Filippo d'Osimo on the two sides of the Musone valley and linked to the famous *necropoleis*[4]) are supposedly thanks to scattered information.

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[1] A recent summary on the Senones is offered by Vitali 2018.

[2] On issues related to the evidence of Umbrian and Etruscan cultures in Romagna, see Colonna 2008 and Sassatelli 2008a, 76–77, with previous references; on the presence of Umbrian culture in the northern part of the Marche Region and on the influence of Umbrian and Etruscan cultures in this territory since the 6th century BC, see Baldelli 1986, 12; Baldelli 2001a, 66; G. Colonna, *I popoli del medio-adriatico e le tradizioni antiche sulla loro origine,* in Colonna 2001, 11–12; G. Colonna and L. Franchi dell'Orto, *Le forme della devozione*, in Colonna 2001, 90; Naso 2000, 256. For other references on these issues, Baldelli *et al.* 2008, 22, note 45; Ciuccarelli and Venanzoni 2016, 323, note 4.

[3] On the issue, see Frey 1992, 372–377, and de Marinis 2014. See also Vitali 1984, in particular 30–31, for the Romagna territory.

[4] Montorso di Genga: see the references in Gaucci 2013, 285, note 36, and Ciuccarelli and Venanzoni 2016, 325–326, in particular for its continuity during the 2nd and probably 1st century BC; Cessapalombo: Mercando 1978, 164, note 5; Santa Paolina di Filottrano: Dechélette 1914, 1091, note 1, where he reports the information of I. Dall'Osso about the presence of 'vases indigènes et de vases grecs peints de la seconde moitié du IVe siècle avant J.-C.'; (for this information, see also Landolfi 1991, 286); San Filippo d'Osimo: E. Baumgärtel reports the excavation of an apsidal hut defined as 'Gaulish' in 1914 (Baumgärtel 1937, 234). Also the ending phase of the pre-Roman buildings excavated in Pesaro (known for few and short communications) has been related by some scholars to the presence of Celts in the territory (Baldelli 2001a, 66; see Landolfi 2000a, 24, note 7 for references).

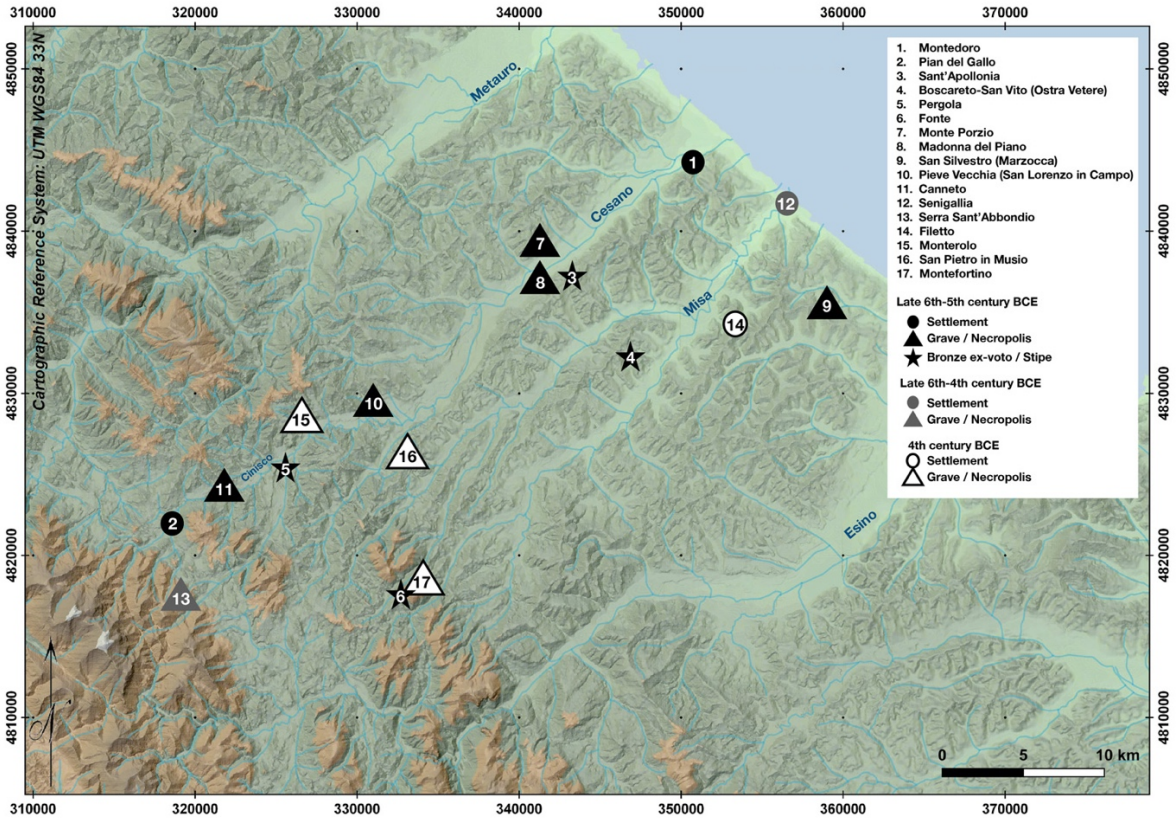

Fig. 1. Archaeological evidence along the Cesano and Misa valleys between the late 6th and 4th century BC.

In the territory north of the Esino river, the southern border of the *Senones* according to Livy (but not to archaeological evidence related to Latènian culture),[5] the archaeological documentation of the Piceno IVA/B-V phases (around the sixth–fifth century BC), mostly depends on the fortuity of the finds and not on methodologically structured research (cf. Baldelli 2001a for a synthesis), at least until recent years.[6] The Misa and Cesano valleys, a traditional research area of the *Alma Mater Studiorum* – University of Bologna for many decades, can be a useful test zone for attempting the outlined analysis approach.[7] An essential starting point to our test is the theoretical model proposed by M. Ortolani and N. Alfieri (1953, in particular 157–159). While complaining about the lack of information for the period before the foundation of the Roman colony (290/283 BC), they did not recognize the value of the communication axis to the Misa river, like to the northern Cesano and the southern Esino. Only during the fourth century

[5] On the issue of the borders of the territory occupied by Senones (between the rivers *Aesis* in the south and *Utens* in the north, following Livy), amongst the rich literature, see Frey 1992, 366, note 11; Piana Agostinetti 1992, 402, with references; Vitali 1993, 70–71, with references. On the relationship between the Celts and the territory named by Romans *ager Gallicus*, see Paci 1998b, 93–95. On the southern border, see Baldelli 2000, 37–38, with previous references. Finally, on the concept of border within the Celtic world, see Piana Agostinetti 1992, 402 (and Vitali 2004, 327 regarding the border between *Boii* and *Senones*).

[6] For the Iron Age period see now the 'Mapping Adriatic Landscapes project': Boschi 2018.

[7] I sincerely thank Dr. G. Baldelli, who read this work with exquisite courtesy and has provided fruitful criticisms and observations with equal liberality, as well as sharing his profound knowledge of the area. The contents of the text obviously remain my responsibility.

BC, did the rising of the upstream site of Montefortino lead scholars to suppose the enhancing of the axis by *Senones* and the presence of a small village on the mouth of the river.

Available data

About 60 years after the proposal of the theoretical model offered by Alfieri and Ortolani, the collection of available data from bibliography, broadly arranged in two chronological ranges, i.e. the last decades of the sixth to fifth and the fourth century BC, could encourage new reflections.

Last decades of the sixth and fifth century BC

The presence of the Celts north of the Esino river was, according to D.G. Lollini (more than 40 years ago), facilitated by a scarce occupation of this territory since the sixth century BC (Lollini 1976a, 112, 137, 150–151; Lollini 1979a, 60; cf. P.L. Dall'Aglio and G. Bonora Mazzoli in Dall'Aglio *et al.* 1991, 69, note 11). On the basis of the chronological differences within the archaeological documentation, M. Landolfi claimed that the presence of groups in the pre-Apennine areas of the territory north of the Esino would be an event subsequent to the occupation of the southernmost territories (Landolfi 1987, 449, 465–466; a synthesis of the different positions of scholars in Piana Agostinetti 1992, 404). With regards to the latter interpretation, it is necessary to underline that the study and edition project of the Montefortino necropolis could bring new light on this issue (Landolfi and Piana Agostinetti in press).
There are no significant settlement contexts that document with certainty the period, with the exception of the coastal area: Senigallia at the mouth of the Misa river and the site of Montedoro di Scapezzano near the mouth of the Cesano river. Still along the coast, further south, the warrior tomb of San Silvestro near Marzocca, dated to the late Archaic period (Piceno IV B) was probably related to the settlement of Monsano - Santa Maria degli Aroli just behind the area of the mouth of the Esino (Baldelli 2012, 29–30). A dense forest expanded in the hinterland between the mouth of the Esino and that of the Misa river,[8] thus hindering the occupation of this area.

In Senigallia, the excavation carried out in 2010 in a cellar consisting of two elongated rooms located in via Cavallotti 24, documents a pre-Roman settlement, located in a lagoon environment and developed at least since the fifth century BC.[9] The most ancient phase of the context documents clues of structures made with wood and clay and medium-small cobblestones, probably for outdoor activities, delimited to the north by a deep trench that constituted the limit with an area of dense gravel mixed with clay and shells closely linked with the waters of the lagoon. This is the only context testifying to the pre-Roman settlement to date, in addition to some recent coring in the Episcopio courtyard (see Silani 2017, 82–84), which intercepted part of a vase attributable to the Picene culture (Lepore 2013, 299, note 6). These pre-Roman finds are aligned significantly along the ancient river bed.

Only a few kilometres north of Senigallia on the Cesano hydrographic right, the excavation in the site of Montedoro, located on a hill (about 100 m.a.s.l.) dominating the mouth of the river, highlighted an active

[8] Baldelli supposes this forest on the basis of the absence of finds in the area (Baldelli 2001a, 65; Baldelli 2008, 248; the warrior tomb of Marzocca probably downsizes the extent of this forest: Baldelli 2012, 30).
[9] On preliminary reports of the excavation, see Lepore *et al.* 2012c; Lepore 2014, 298–302; Silani 2017, 86–90. The complete analysis of the Pre-Roman phase, of which I have been charged by G. Lepore and M.R. Ciuccarelli, has been firstly presented at the International Workshop *Piceniadi. L'archeologia del Piceno pre-Romano* (Ancona, 28–29 September 2018) and will be published soon. The considerations presented in this paper update the preliminary interpretation already advanced (see Lepore *et al.* 2012a and Silani 2017, 86–90).

settlement from the early Iron Age up to the fifth century BC. The settlement had a river port that survived even longer (Baldelli 1991; Baldelli 2001b).[10] During Piceno V, we could suppose a secondary role of the lagoon settlement of Senigallia to that of Montedoro (if not even subordinate, see Ciuccarelli and Venanzoni 2016, 329).
To date,[11] the rest of the Misa valley seems substantially inactive between the last decades of the sixth and fifth century BC, with the exception of a single important discovery, recovered in the current municipality of Ostra Vetere (north-east of the town, between Boscareto and San Vito, according to 19th-century documentation): two *korai* and a female *protome* surmounted by a half-length *kore*, bronze elements probably fixed to a prestigious piece of furniture in perishable material. These bronzes, dated to 530–520 BC and attributed to a northern Etruscan production, are assumed to belong to a votive deposit (Cagianelli 1999, 25, 142–148, nrr. 7–9, with previous bibliography; Baldelli and Buranelli 2001, 346), according to a practice that developed in this area during the late Archaic period (Colonna and Franchi dell'Orto 2001, 89). Upstream and in close relationship with the necropolis of Montefortino, there was also a votive area, some materials of which could perhaps testify to its activity as early as the fifth century BC (Landolfi 1997; Tribellini 2006, 109–192).

Otherwise, the community of Montedoro controlled a good landing point, protected and strategical for inland traffic, and it probably contributed to enhancing the Cesano river axis (Baldelli 1991, 73), as documented by a few graves noted in literature (from East to West): the warrior grave of Monte Porzio, dated to the fifth century BC (Baldelli 2010, 593–596); the remains of an isolated grave in Madonna del Piano near Corinaldo, dated to the sixth - fifth century BC (probably more strictly to the decade 520–510 BC; see Baldelli *et al*. 2008, 22–24); some finds attributed to graves at Pieve Vecchia near San Lorenzo in Campo, dated between the last decades of the sixth and early decades of the fifth century BC.[12] The recently excavated necropolis between the localities of Pian Santa Maria and Campietro, near Serra Sant'Abbondio, where at least one grave attributable to the sixth century BC and a sword of the fifth century BC, probably from another destroyed context, have been documented (Cruciani *et al*. in press; a first preview in Baldelli 2008, 249). Nearby, at Serra Sant'Abbondio, it is also worth mentioning the discovery of sporadic material from tombs of the sixth century BC in Leccia (Lollini 1976a, 110; Baldelli 2008, 249) and the necropolis of Canneto (Pergola), along the Cinisco stream, not far from the confluence with the Cesano: even if heavily destroyed by modern vine plants, at least one tomb can be dated to Piceno IV B (Baldelli 2008, 249, note 12–13). Near Canneto, in the Pian del Gallo site, a settlement has been more recently excavated, with continuity of life between the sixth century BC and the late Republican age (Baldelli 2008, 248–249, note 11).
Two late Archaic bronze ex-voto statuettes found along the Cesano valley suggest practices connected to votive deposits. The bronze from Sant'Apollonia (just above Madonna del Piano), attributed to a northern Etruscan production (Cristofani 1985, 266, nr. 34), was found on the ridge. It has been related by M. Silani to the grave of Madonna del Piano on the hydrographic right of Cesano and that of Monte

[10]. Another site dated between the Iron Age and the Roman age has emerged along the hydrographic right of the Cesano about 1.5 km from Montedoro (Boschi 2018, 5).
[11] A framework perhaps destined to change with the continuation of the research: Boschi 2018, in particular 9, with reference to a possible site between Serra de' Conti and Ostra.
[12] I thank G. Baldelli for the following information: two graves were excavated clandestinely in 1974 near San Vito sul Cesano. Their chronology is based primarily on the two bronze Certosa-type fibulae, of which one is visible in Damiani 1984, pl. 14 a). These objects are probably part of the two graves described in ibid., 33, pls. 12–14 and erroneously referenced by the author to the Eneolithic period. Three ollas and a bronze Certosa-type fibula related to these graves are mentioned in the thesis of A. Civita (*Storia e topografia della valle del Cesano*, Università degli Studi di Bologna, a.y. 1992–1993), which retrieves information from the Archive of the former Superintendency for the Archaeological Heritage of the Marche.

Porzio on the left, thus assuming the trace of a North–South path linked to the river crossing (M. Silani in Lepore *et al.* 2013, 105). The latter (Marconi and Serra 1934, p. 63 on the right; Baldelli 1986, 8), was found in an important site for East–West routes, that is in the Cesano river bed near Pergola. Indeed, this place is close to the entrance of the Cinisco into Cesano, whose valleys lead on one side towards Canneto and Pian di Gallo and on the other towards Serra Sant'Abbondio.

Fourth century BC

Firstly, we observe the significant absence of votive finds along the two valleys with the exception of the Montefortino site, perhaps an indicator of the disappearance of cult practices connected with votive deposits (at least after the beginning of the fifth century BC; see above).
There is no evidence along the Misa valley, except for the starting of the Montefortino necropolis in the Pianetti locality, at least during the middle part of the century,[13] and the continuity of life in the Senigallia settlement. Here, apart from a fragment of an Alto-Adriatic *skyphos* found in a later context and dated to the end of the fourth century BC (Stefanini 1994–1995, 39–42, nr. 8, fig. 11), the most important evidence is again the excavation in via Cavallotti 24, which documents the continuity of use of the area in proximity of what is supposed to be a ford point of the Misa river in a lagoon area. In this context, the fifth-century open area was occupied by a building in wattle and daub technique supported by poles, dated between the first half and third quarter of the fourth century BC and collapsed probably because of a fire. The associated layers testify to domestic activities related to the preparation and storage of food (mainly cereals), and the presence of fragments of imported pottery belonging mainly to the sphere of wine consumption (cf. Lepore *et al.* 2012a, 8, notes 27–28, figs. 11, 15, 17–18, 20) show the inclusion of the site in an active commercial network. After a period without construction, a building with a similar orientation to the previous one was built. Probably in less than 30 years, as the materials in the preparation layer suggest, the building was systematically obliterated, between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century BC in conjunction with the foundation of the Roman colony (Lepore *et al.* 2012a, 10).
Immediately inland, about 8 km from Senigallia, on the site of Filetto, a satellite settlement has been supposed on the basis of limited information (Ortolani and Alfieri 1953, 157, note 2, with references).

In this phase, Montedoro was substantially abandoned and the archaeological evidence along the Cesano river boils down to the funerary contexts of Monterolo and Serra Sant'Abbondio. The nineteenth-century finds of San Vito near Monterolo, identified in 1869 and merged into private collections, would seem to refer to at least two different graves.[14] E. Brizio listed a series of objects belonging to bronze vessels, a glass *armilla*,[15] and a glass *unguentarium* attributed to a (female?) grave, and apart the bronze helmet ('jockey cap' or 'Montefortino' type) with an Etruscan inscription, declared to come from the

[13] de Marinis 1997, 142–146; on the necropolis, see the references in Gaucci 2013, 286–287, nota 38. In Landolfi, Piana Agostinetti in press, some graves are dated to the first half of the 4th century BC. In the area around Montefortino, E. Brizio (1901, cols. 622–623, 646) reports the presence of finds referred to the Celtic culture.
[14] See Brizio 1901, cols. 642-643. G. Giorgi indicates also from the same site part of a bronze vessel ('situla bronzea, senza traccia di figure plastiche per l'ansa': Giorgi 1981, 143, nr. 2 and also fig. 15, 1).
[15] Haevernick 1960, Gruppe 1 (also called *Montefortino* type), 93 on chronology and 98, nr. 6. On the Montefortino type and the related chronological issues, see Tarpini 2007, 10–14 (in particular pp. 10 and 13 for the Monterolo armilla): the funerary contexts of Spina are dated between the end of the 4th and the first half of the 3rd century BC, therefore aligned with the chronology proposed by T.E. Haevernick (1960, 98), that is around 300 BC.

to come from the same locality.[16] The graves belong probably to a funerary area located near the river,[17] halfway between Pergola to the West and *Suasa* to the East.[18] In the necropolis of Serra Sant'Abbondio, graves from the mid-fourth to early third century BC are recognized. They include warriors with offensive Latènian weapons, i.e. swords with scabbards and spears (Cruciani *et al.* in press). Therefore, the medium-high part of the valley seems controlled by groups within which were warriors. In the case of Serra Sant'Abbondio, the rather large group (more than 20 graves dated between the middle of the fourth and the beginning of the third century BC) was settled in a place characterized by life continuity and aimed at controlling an Apennine pass. On the basis of available bibliographic data, information of a possible grave documented by a defunctionalized bronze spit in the site of Case Politi-Sant'Isidoro, near to Corinaldo (Dall'Aglio *et al.* 1991, 58, 5/11, with references, some of them incorrect) and of a helmet attributed to the 'Gaulish phase' near Mondolfo on the hydrographic left of Cesano (cf. Silani 2011, 326, with bibliography) remains uncertain. The same level of incertitude applies to the information about a '*sepolcreto gallico*' (i.e. 'Gaulish necropolis') in San Pietro in Musio along the Nevola river near San Vito in the pre-Apennine part of the valley (Brizio 1901, col. 645).

Considerations and future perspectives

The collection of all the data from the available bibliography along the Misa and Cesano valleys allows us to note discontinuity in the settlement system between the fifth and fourth centuries BC. A network made up of small communities and military leaders controlled the routes of the middle-upper part of the Cesano valley during the sixth to fifth centuries BC. Therefore, this valley cannot be considered sparsely populated at least until the middle of the fifth century BC. The control strategy led by the dominant elite favoured the East–West route along the river, as already supposed by G. Baldelli *et al.* (2008, 24). The settlement of Montedoro near to the coast enhanced during the centuries the coagulation of the population along the Cesano valley at the expense of that of the Misa,[19] described as 'riparata e mal accessibile' by N. Alfieri (trans. sheltered and inaccessible: Ortolani and Alfieri 1953, 158). Indeed, the Misa river opened up the creating of a lagoon (cf. Silani 2017, 78–85) unlike the Cesano and Esino rivers, which flow in valleys characterized by the extension of the Apennine ridge to the coast.
We can assume that during the fourth century BC the territory has been reorganized on the basis of new strategical aims: the Montefortino site guaranteed the control of a principal mountain path that led through *Sentinum* to the Umbrian area and which can then be traced by the most ancient Roman road of penetration (Dall'Aglio 2008b, 85; Silani 2017, 65–70); on the coast, the settlement on the mouth of the Misa could have guaranteed a more direct control of the maritime and coastal routes than that of Montedoro. Indeed, it was settled in a lagoon landscape both defensible and favourable for the sheltering of ships, although unstable from a geomorphological point of view and for the unhealthy climate (Coltorti 1991, 92). The Cesano valley, which was easily accessible from the Montefortino site (Tribellini 2006, 108), was occupied in its upper part.

[16] See Gaucci 2013, 276, note 14; Meiser 2014, Um 2.9; Baldelli 2017, 1494, note 83; some photos in Giorgi 1981, fig. 16, 1–3). G. Colonna explains the helmet as part of a plunder or a gift from Etruria to a Celtic mercenary, and S. Sisani supposes that the Etruscan inscription was a marker of a public supply of weapons (see Sisani 2007, 111, note 69).
[17] The judgement of E. Brizio was firm: 'senza dubbio esiste un sepolcreto gallico' (Brizio 1901, col. 643); on the cultural nature of the context, see Baldelli 2017, 1494, nota 83, with references.
[18] A gold earring hook from San Lorenzo in Campo, attributable to the Hellenistic period, has been previously interpreted as a torquis hook (see Baldelli 2002, 16, note 50, which corrects Id. 1986, 10 and 12).
[19] On the geomorphological characteristics of the two valleys, Coltorti 1991.

We can date the interruption of the votive deposits along the Cesano and Misa valley paths after the beginning of the fifth century BC. Regarding the latter, it seems interesting to point out the possible continuity of the sacred source of Montefortino, which would find an interesting parallel in the Bolognese Apennines, where the sanctuary of the cult of the waters in *Kainua*-Marzabotto documented a continuity of use also in the Celtic occupation phase of the site, and the votive site in Monte Bibele near Monterenzio in the Idice valley too (Vitali 2000, 216–217).
As already indicated by O.-H. Frey discussing the forms of relationship between Celts and indigenous populations (Frey 1992, 370), the Bolognese territory, where the *Boii* tribes imposed themselves on the Etruscan population, seems to be a model to compare with. In fact, the hypothetical scheme that emerges from the collected data recalls the strategy of control of the territory operated by the *Boii*, shifting the main Apennine route from the Reno valley, used by Etruscans until the abandonment of the city of *Kainua*-Marzabotto around the middle of the fourth century BC, to the easternmost Idice valley (see Sassatelli 2008b, 330, with references; Morpurgo 2016, 157).
It is not possible to establish with certainty whether this initiative in the territory between the Cesano and Misa valleys is attributable solely to the *Senones*, and in particular to the elite group that buried their dead in Montefortino. Within this framework, susceptible to change on the basis of the updating of the available archaeological data, it can be observed that the changes in the settlement system described above substantially correspond to what is known for the Celtic culture, which favours groups located in the territory along the routes placed under control and without a marked hierarchy of settlements, which are distinguished by the presence of community aggregation points (economic and religious), but not institutional (cf. Vitali 2002, in particular 18; Vitali 2004, 327). It should be pointed out that a similar model in the analysed valleys appears already in force in the previous period. Indeed, widespread between the late sixth and fifth century BC, small groups controlled the Cesano valley and the orthogonal paths, with a prominence of the coastal settlement of Montedoro placed on a hill and active from the Early Iron Age. However, in the next century we can observe a different pattern, that is a probable depopulation along the valleys with the exception of the Apennine belt, where communities of different sizes are characterized by the pre-eminence of warriors, according to a settlement system that is once again punctually compared in the northernmost territory dominated by the *Boii* (Tori 2006, 182–183, fig. 12). On the coast, the settlement of Senigallia, of which we do not know the actual size (the distance between via Cavallotti 24 and via Armellini 52, where the fragment of the Alto-Adriatic *skyphos* was found, is about 300 m), continues its life, with a good probability of aiming at controlling the maritime and land routes along the coast, not excluding the possibility of redistributing material inland.

To conclude, this analysis, certainly mainly limited to the available information collected from bibliography, highlights the potential of this methodological approach, which could be profitably extended also to the rest of the medio-Adriatic area where the Celtic presence is pointed out by literary sources and suggested by archaeology. The results thus collected should be put into a system with a structured and more in-depth analysis of all the archaeological evidence, in particular the funerary contexts, in the same wide diachronic perspective adopted in this contribution. Only with a widespread approach of this kind and thanks to theoretical reflections on mobility, settlement dynamics, and cultural interaction formulated by the most up-to-date critics, will it be possible to have effective tools to investigate a complex and far-reaching historical process, such as the arrival and the settlement of non-native groups in a land already populated for a long time.

VIII. News from Ancona and Numana

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Summary

This contribution focuses on Ancona and Numana during the third and second centuries BC, two important coastal settlements, the former located to the north and the latter to the south of the Conero promontory. Convinced of the relationship between the two sites, we consider here a perspective as wide and dialectic as necessary, in order to obtain a better understanding of the historical and cultural dynamics of the territory during the above-mentioned period.

Numana

The large amount of archaeological documentation on the Picene *emporium* in Numana almost exclusively consists of more than 1500 funerary contests excavated in its *necropoleis*, situated in different areas of the territory of present-day Sirolo and Numana (AN) and starting from the ninth century BC. The attempt to analyse this archaeological context – so articulate both in space and time – is still today highly limited by the absence of systematic studies on *necropoleis* complexes: as a matter of fact, only a few tombs have been published. From the topological point of view, one of the most interesting aspects is the relationship between burial and inhabited areas (**Fig. 1**): this is an aspect which we have been investigating, since the data coming from the most recent researches lead to a new reading of the settlement topography.

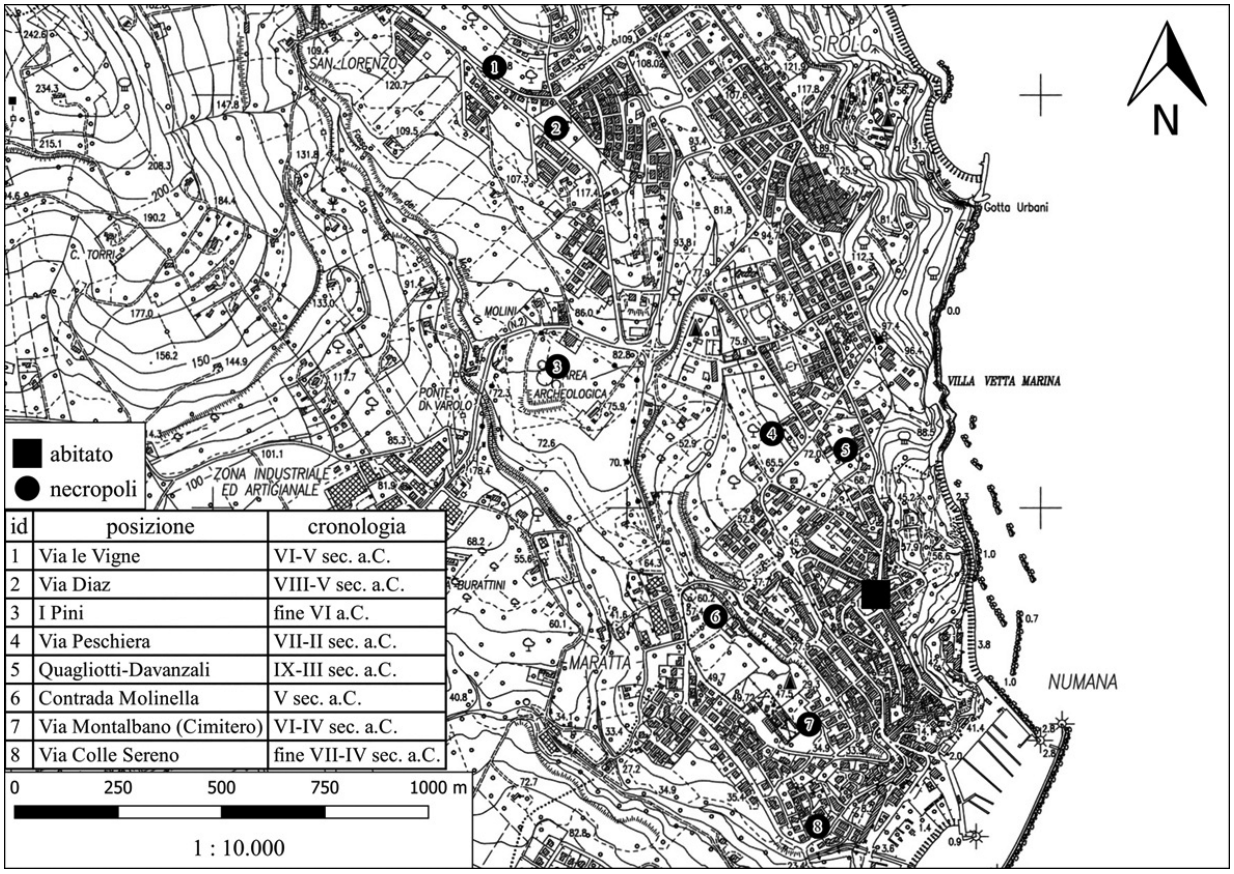
With regard to the inhabited area, the recent analysis[1] carried out in the few published contexts have already evidenced new aspects, such as the presence of the place where ritual acts were performed, located in the northern part of the inhabited area, near the Quagliotti-Davanzali necropolis. This area would take the shape of a limit, to be dated in the period from the sixth and fifth century BC, as confirmed by the current state of the investigation. As for house structures, just a few short tracts of walls were found: they witness a living facility on a quadrangular plan; these kinds of buildings were often consistent in orientation and they were probably distributed around a street system. In any case, such structures are datable by the fourth century BC for their latest phase, with usage traces up to the following century.
It is not possible here to examine in detail the complex archaeological frame of Numana in the fourth century BC, a period considered as the onset of the crisis within the Picene civilization, when the contact with other ethnic groups led to the presence of several cultural influences.

The archaeological documentation on the fourth century BC given by the Numana *necropoleis* is far more plentiful than the one from the inhabited area and it shows a very dynamic phase: at least in the first half of the century the long-distance commercial links are still vital, the Picene emporium is connected with the Greek world, the South Italian world, the East Adriatic coast, the Etruscan Po Valley and the

[1] Baldoni and Finocchi 2019; Sartini in press.

inland areas.[2] This phase – known as '*Piceno IV*' in the classification defined by Lollini – lasts until the mid-third century BC and is characterized by the presence of Celtic materials, among others, objects reflecting the good number of contacts that the community in Numana would have had with inland settlements.[3] With regard to production and trade, in the latest phase of this period, we see that the imports from Greece are reduced, especially those from Athens, while those from South Italy increased, having started long before, and while the local production of black-gloss and fine pottery with figurative decoration (*alto-adriatica* production) develops and persists for part of the following century.

A moment of transition is observed in the historical and political Picene scenario, during the third century BC, with the beginning of Roman intervention in this region. The funerary documentation is still quite unknown for this period, but the topic for this volume leads us to examine some contexts and we shall underline some useful elements in order to try to understand the changes that the community in Numana underwent during this chronological phase.[4] (V.B., S.F.)



id	posizione	cronologia
1	Via le Vigne	VI-V sec. a.C.
2	Via Diaz	VIII-V sec. a.C.
3	I Pini	fine VI a.C.
4	Via Peschiera	VII-II sec. a.C.
5	Quagliotti-Davanzali	IX-III sec. a.C.
6	Contrada Molinella	V sec. a.C.
7	Via Montalbano (Cimitero)	VI-IV sec. a.C.
8	Via Colle Sereno	fine VII-IV sec. a.C.

Fig. 1. Numana-Sirolo (AN) territory, with locations of *necropoleis* and inhabited area.

Even from an introductory examination of the available data, it immediately appears that the funerary documentation offered by Numana in the first half of the third century BC is quite rich, both considering old excavations and recent investigations (see Finocchi 2018): we are hereby referring specifically to the

[2] Landolfi 2001a.

[3] See Natalucci in Natalucci and Zampieri 2019, with references.

[4] For Numana, see Baldoni in press (a); Finocchi *et al.* 2017.

Quagliotti-Davanzali necropolis, which was excavated during the previous century, and the newly acquired finds in the Via Peschiera necropolis, which can be considered the Western extension of the Davanzali necropolis. The data we discuss here are partial, since almost all the contexts are unpublished, and the investigation is still continuing.[5]

As regards the Quagliotti-Davanzali area, first of all, we present the funerary sets for tombs nrs. 247 and 224 (inhumations of adults) (**Fig. 2**), characterized by the deposition of skyphoid-kraters of the RPR Group (Green 1971), traditionally dated in the first 30-year period of the third century BC (Fig. 2 a, f). The presence of such vases in funerary contexts of Numana is rather spread and this continues even in the second century BC,[6] as we shall see afterwards when presenting Via Peschiera necropolis. These types of kraters were manufactured both in the Apulian workshops (Taranto, Canosa) and on the Eastern Adriatic coast (mainly in Issa) and, as recent studies point out, their chronology is extended up to the second century BC (Lanza Catti 2008, 24–27; Miše 2015).

These two tombs seem interesting for the theme of this volume, because they belong to the latest phase of '*Piceno IV*' (first half of the third century BC), and because of their ritual and the composition of the funerary set. In both cases we found inhumations, with few exceptions the typical ritual in Picene culture. In tomb nr. 247 Davanzali, the vase set is placed by the feet of the deceased and it is composed of a skyphoid-krater combined with two small impasto ollas (Fig. 2, d, e) with four protuberances below their rims ('*pocula*') a typical shape for the Picene area and, more in general, for central Italy in the Iron Age, lasting until the third century BC (Benelli and Rizzitelli 2010, 114, with references). Another set of one beak-spouted *oinochoe* and a black-gloss *skyphos* accompanied these vases (Fig. 2, b, c).[7] The whole set of vases to contain, to pour and to drink seems functional to the symposium ritual and also to those rituals performed during burial. Also, tomb nr. 224 contains a vase set functionally similar to the previous one[8] and it includes, besides the krater of the RPR Group, a round-mouth oinochoe decorated with bands (Fig. 2, g), a black-gloss stemless cup (cf. Morel 1981, serie 4115, 290, tav. 117) (Fig. 2, h), another two drinking vases, most likely with the same function, a small-sized impasto *olla* with four small protuberances under its rim ('*poculum*') and black-gloss glass (**Fig. 2, i, l**). Tomb n. 224 contains a wider range of drinking shapes: while the *poculum* and the black-gloss glass are both put inside the krater, the cup was positioned outside, near the *oinochoe*, to which it seems linked.
We observe that also in tombs nrs. 224 and 247 there is a certain level of continuity with the Picene funerary ritual belonging to the previous age. First of all, again there are the '*pocula*', apparently a vase shape conveying a specific Picene rituality and, therefore, a characterizing element for the cultural identity of the deceased (cf. Colivicchi 2008, 35–36, note 18). Further continuity with the Picene funerary ceremonial in both tombs is given by kraters: they confirm the persistence of the ritual of deposing the krater by the feet of the deceased, as it was found in tombs dated from the fifth to fourth century BC, with Attic kraters first and red-figured ones (alto-adriatica production) later (see Baldoni in press, b).

[5] A group of 240 tombs of the Davanzali necropolis has been recently an object of study by the University of Bologna in collaboration with the *Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio delle Marche* and the *Polo Museale delle Marche* (Finocchi and Baldoni 2017). As for the Via Peschiera necropolis, some Hellenistic funerary contexts were examined by the authors: the research was presented at the recent *Convegno Internazionale di Studi Piceni* (Ancona, November 2019): see Baldoni and Finocchi, in press.
[6] For two skyphoid kraters from tombs 14 and 55 Quagliotti: Green 1971, 37–38; *Eroi e Regine*, 279–280, cat. 620. Many other unpublished kraters come from other *necropoleis* of Numana (Montalbano, Via Peschiera): see Zampieri in Natalucci *et al.* in press; Baldoni and Finocchi in press.
[7] For the *oinochoe* cf. Morel 1981, serie 5713; for the *skyphos*, ibid., serie 4372.
[8] In tomb 224 the set of the vases was found at the feet of the deceased.

However, tomb nr. 224 also provides new elements, not found before in Picene tombs: beside the *pocula* there is a black-gloss glass associated with the krater like the *poculum*, most likely with the same drinking function. The glass could allow the context to be dated to after the second half of the third century BC, since this vase shape was spread mainly in the late phase of this century or in the first half of the second century BC (cf. Brecciaroli Taborelli 2017, 19, note 30, fig. 4 f). Another element of discontinuity with the Picene ritual is found in tomb nr. 224: a strigil (now lost), placed near the left hand of the deceased. The tool recalls body care or athletics and it is an object frequently found in Hellenistic tombs both in Numana and in Ancona.[9] Its presence in the tomb, characterized by a typical Picene rituality, might mean an opening to different and new ways of self-representation for the deceased.

A great number of data related to the second half of the third century BC comes from the southern part of the Quagliotti-Davanzali necropolis, more in particular from the 70 m² sector investigated by Giuseppina Spadea in 1976 (Spadea 1977). That excavation highlighted the cut of a very wide natural marl layer with a quadrangular shape, occupying a very large part of the excavated area: its filling happened in a unique phase, since several pottery fragments were found here at different depths, but they can be recomposed. Among the most recent objects there are several black-gloss examples datable from between the third century and the first half of the second century BC, like plates and patera series 2150 and 2252 of Morel 1981 and, in the surface layers, other more recent pottery fragments, both black-gloss pottery and cooking wares (cf. Olcese 2003, types 2 and 3), attesting the frequentation of the area for the entire second century BC at least.[10]

The same period of time – more precisely the first half of the second century BC – is recalled by the more recent tomb nr. 512 found in this area (Baldoni in press, a): it is a male inhumation grave, containing a few funerary objects, a strigil and an iron spearhead.[11] On the tomb covering, realized with tiles, there was a Greco-Italic amphora, standing near a corner; the burial should have been provided with a marker, considering the founding of a *stele* with false door or '*porta Ditis*', nearby, and consistent with the tomb chronology. Tomb nr. 512 is to be dated in the first half of the second century BC for its structure, materials employed, funerary set and stratigraphic position; it belongs to an already Romanized horizon: its presence clearly confirms a continuity in the usage of this necropolis sector after the end of the Picene phase. It is not an isolated case, as we shall see below.

It is now necessary to consider briefly the Spadea area as it produced other meaningful elements for the understanding of the Numana topography between the third and second century BC. Inside this sector, the filling cut by tomb nr. 512 would cover two alignments of stones and bricks, called A and B (respectively on north- east and south-west), with a converging trend toward the west. The east-oriented alignment (A) was interpreted as a collapsed wall; the other (B) located westerly, was formed by two lines of stones and bricks, among which was a big parallelepiped sandstone block with an inscription *rubricata*, which was only partially brought to light during the old excavation and then left in its place at the end of the investigation. Only in 2018, during an intervention carried out by the *Soprintendenza*, was the block totally uncovered and then taken away.

[9] From the 4th–3rd century BC, the strigils are spread in different areas and cultures of the Italic world, for example in Celtic tombs. One or more strigils are deposed in tombs later on, as markers of an urban style of life related to the Hellenic culture. The use of the strigil is functional to self-represent the deceased as a citizen and to express his social status. For Numana, see *infra* the funerary set of tomb 512; for Ancona: Colivicchi 2002, 427–428.

[10] For example, a fragment of *patera* Morel 1981, serie 2153, type b and a rim fragment of a plate Morel 1981, serie 1534.

[11] The anthropological analysis was carried out by S. Fusari under the supervision of G. Belcastro (University of Bologna).

Considering the stratigraphic sequence found in the sector and the chronology of the materials, we might conclude that the two wall structures A and B must have been realized in a period between the second half of the third or at the beginning of the second century BC. Such a chronological phase seems to be confirmed by the dating of the inscribed block reused in wall B, as the recent study of the epigraphy by G. Paci confirms. Besides, in the light of the recent analysis, the block seems to be connected to the building of a new tract of defensive walls more toward west, found in the adjacent area in Via Peschiera (Baldoni *et al.* 2019). (V.B.)

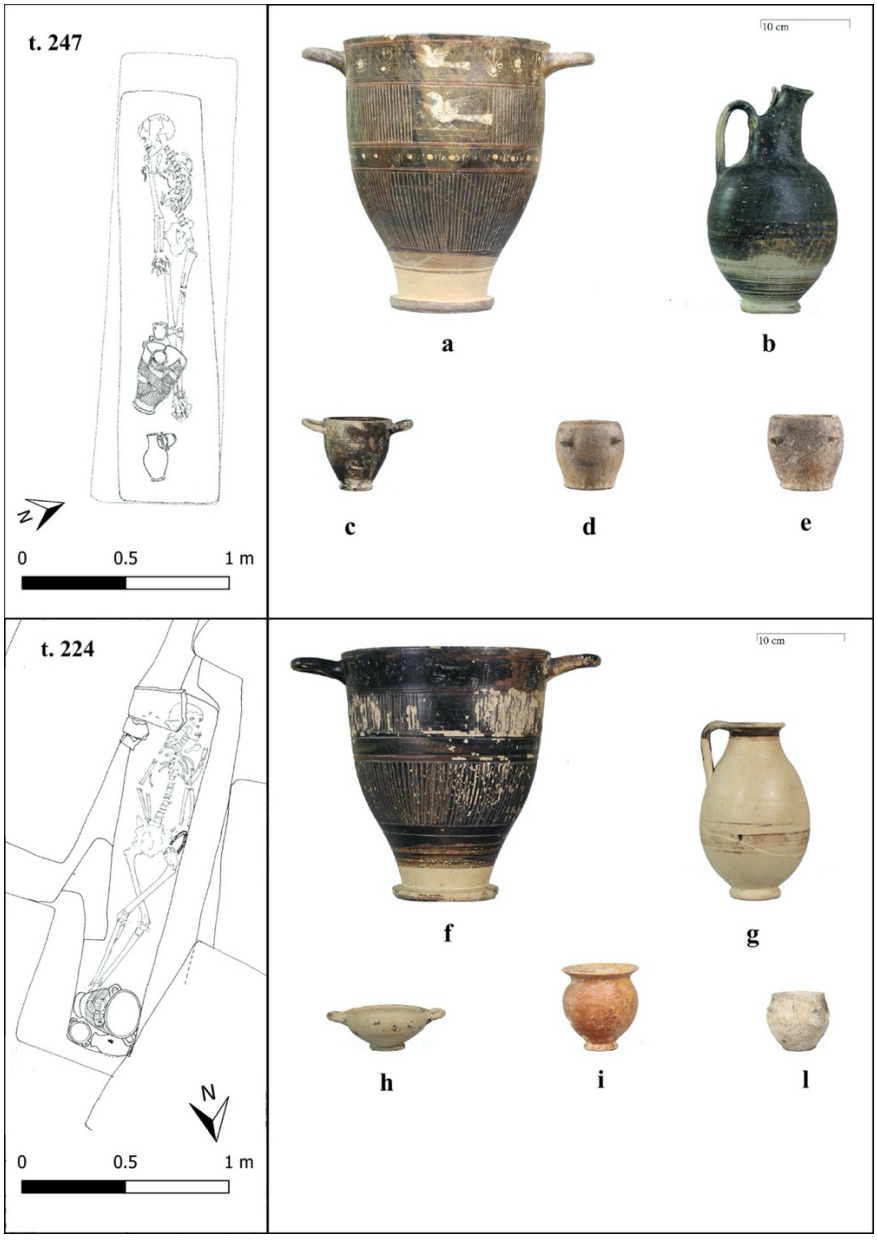


Fig. 2. Plan of tombs 247 and 224 Davanzali, with their funerary sets. Skyphoid kraters of Gnathia type (RPR Group) in association with local *ollae* ("*poculа*") and black gloss drinking vessels (kylix or skyphos). Courtesy of Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo -Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio delle Marche (plans) and Polo Museale delle Marche (funerary sets conserved in the National Archaeological Museum of the Marche Region - Ancona).

The Via Peschiera area represents the more western part of the Quagliotti-Davanzali sector and it produced a new and extended funerary area, with more than 280 tombs excavated and dated between the seventh and the third to second century BC (**Fig. 3**).[12]

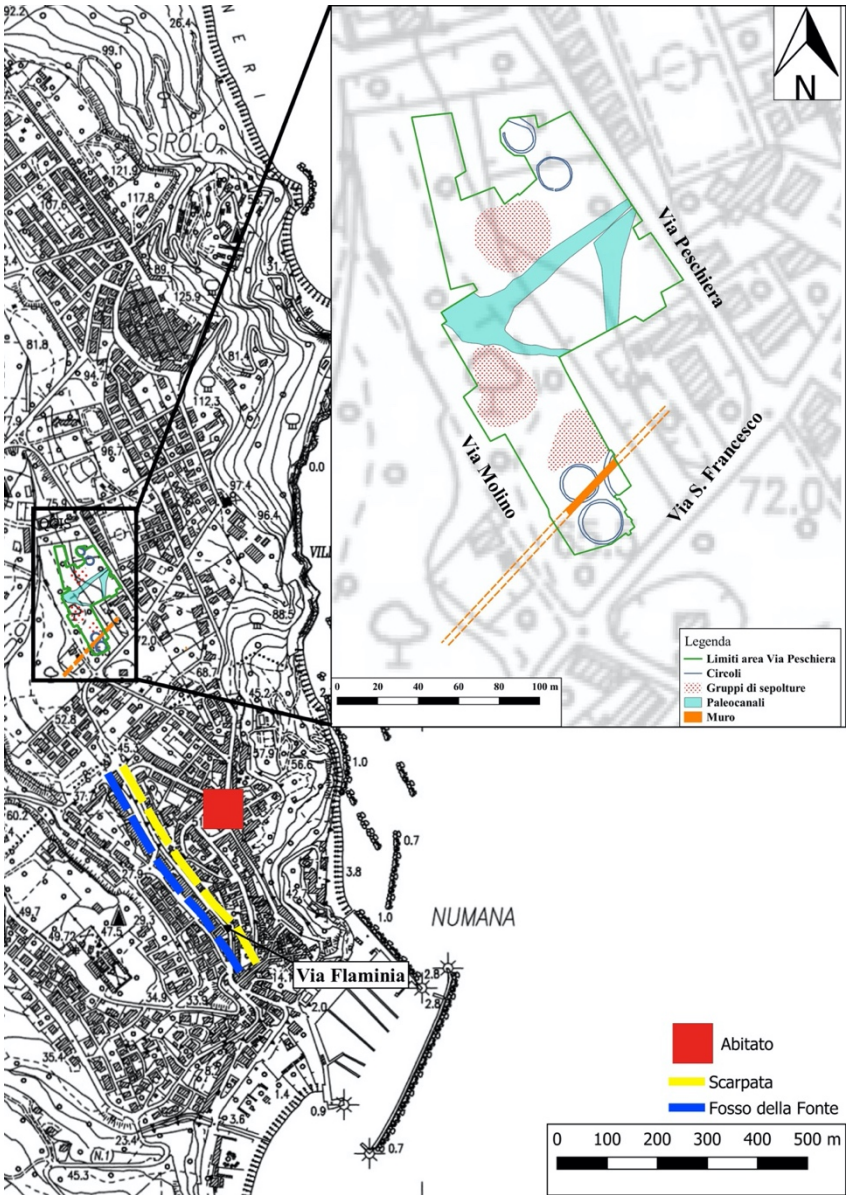


Fig. 3. Schematic plan of the Via Peschiera necropolis, Sirolo.

Circular monumental tombs delimited by a ring ditch belong to the most ancient phase and among the tombs in this period, tomb nr. 1 – circle 9 stands out for its rich finds, pertaining to a female burial whose set consisted of more than 600 objects. The necropolis is still unpublished but the little information supplied by M. Landolfi, who directed the excavation on behalf of the *Soprintendenza*, informs us that other burials are datable between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century BC, being characterized by rich sets with Attic pottery, Etruscan bronzes and pertaining both to female figures and

[12] Landolfi 2007b, 49–52; Landolfi 2009, 51–53; Landolfi 2011, 92–94; Baldoni *et al.* 2019

to inhumated warriors. Among these, some burials stand out for their funerary set associating locally produced pottery with prestigious vases from Attic workshops: for example, a kylix made by the Painter of Heidelberg 211 from tomb nr. 34, a lekythos by the Phiale Painter from tomb nr. 142, a cup-*skyphos* from the Meleager Painter and a *skyphos* made by the Fat Boy Group from tomb nr. 167.
Tombs datable from the fourth to the third century BC contain *alto-adriatica* pottery, but also Italiote productions (for example skyphoid-kraters of Gnathia type of J.R. Green's RPR Group from tombs nrs. 32 and 24). Among these burials we can distinguish two warrior tombs – nrs. 55 and 257 – which, as M. Landolfi points out, are strongly analogous with coeval Celtic burials (*Galli Boi* and *Senoni*): the first one produced a bronze helmet of the Montefortino type with anatomical paragnatids, associated with other elements of the funerary sets, among which were a Latenian-type sword and a krater (*alto-adriatica* production), the second one contained many throwing blades and a rich symposium set.

Among the most innovative data provided by the Via Peschiera necropolis there are certainly those related to the last phase of Numana as a living centre, between the Picene phase and the following Romanization. On a preliminary basis, the analysis of the funerary ritual and of the findings allows the reconstruction of the topological and cultural development for this sector of the necropolis (Baldoni *et al.* 2019). Let us proceed with the examination of two crucial observations.
From a certain moment in the third century BC onwards the Quagliotti-Davanzali necropolis sees in the most western sector of Via Peschiera the accommodation for well-structured spaces, in contrast with what happens in the rest of the necropolis where coeval tombs are very few and scattered.
This observation refers to the organization and the funerary rituality of the necropolis, with the arrangement of areas assigned to cultural practices, all characterized by a number of pottery fragments that seem to have been burnt, associated with carbon mixed with ashes and bones. Linked to these libation areas, isolated *stelae* were found along with inhumations supplied or not with a *stela*. From the topographical perspective, burials occupy mainly – although not exclusively – an area south of a paleochannel where tombs are cut at its edges, evidencing an active torrential regime. As for rituals, the inhumation was a priority, but we must also point to the presence of a certain number of cremations, always distributed in contiguity to the areas of worship. The cremation ritual here also consisted of the gathering and maybe selection of burnt remains within urns placed at the basis of the *stelae* and *cippi*, sometimes with a false door,[13] in those parts of the necropolis devoted to funerary practices.[14]
Among the examined funerary sets, we must point out those contexts in which we find strong analogies with what is observed in the Spadea area. We refer in particular to the numerous skyphoid-kraters of the RPR Group in this necropolis too, associated with black-gloss pottery and an impasto *poculum*, also found inside these kraters (e.g. at least in tombs nrs. 214 and 181). Some of these contexts are datable later than the mid-third century BC, as stratigraphic data and the set association confirm. Among the youngest sets we note some burials characterized by the presence of more recent amphoras of the Greco-Italic type (e.g. tomb. nr. 213) and sometimes, as happens in tomb nr. 512 of the Davanzali area, they show the burial pit covered with terracotta slabs, many of which have small concavities on the corners, as they were probably functional to their realization.[15]
In the south-west portion of the Via Peschiera area, as mentioned above, a wall structure was found most probably with a defensive function, and built during the second half of the third century BC. The trench realized for the installation of the wall foundation cuts this sector and some burials, allowing the establishment of a terminus *post quem* for the settlement of the entire fortified line. Among the most recent cut burials, we mention in particular tomb nr. 181, with among the materials of its funerary set:

[13] *Stele*/tomb n. 1, that is the '*Struttura n. 213*', as it is identified in the excavation journal: Finocchi and Bilò in press.; Finocchi *et al.* in press.
[14] Landolfi 2009: 52; Finocchi and Bilò in press; Finocchi *et al.* in press.
[15] For the thin slabs in those tombs, see Baldoni and Finocchi in press.

an iron fibula, a skyphoid-krater and two *unguentaria*.[16] In the same tomb there was an impasto *olla* with an out-turned rim, provided with a cover, a recurring shape in tombs dated in this period and certainly attributed to a specific ritual, including the deposition of the *olla* inside the skyphoid-krater. An interesting aspect is the finding, inside the *olla* from tomb nr. 181, of burnt animal bones, likely the remains of a sacrifice. Finally, in the same tomb, there are two *unguentaria*: they have a lekythoid profile and therefore they are both ascribable to type A of Camili 1999 (A23.1 and A23.12), datable in the mid-third century BC.

In conclusion, it is evident that mainly the Via Peschiera area is of crucial importance for the understanding of the transformation of funerary habits in Numana between the third and the second century BC. The Davanzali necropolis appears to be only marginally concerned with the presence of burials from the second century BC. We also notice a substantial element of continuity between the late Picene phase and the Roman period, with the persistency of the function of the necropolis space. Among the discontinuity data we must stress the ritual of cremation, which from the ideological perspective points to a pronounced difference with the Picene tradition. Finally, we observe that, with reference to Piceno VI, from the third century BC there is a numerical contraction of depositions, which might correspond to resizing of the settlement of Numana.[17] The data considered until now, although partial, appear promising and they encourage a systematic study of wide burial groups, if they are topographically consistent. In order to understand the events of the Numana community and the role of this centre between the third and second century BC, it is essential to look now at what happened in the north of the Conero promontory, in Ancona, considering above all the recent researches on its territory. (S.F.)

Ancona

Between the fourth and the second century BC, Ancona and Numana were bound by a dialectic relationship, still to be defined from the topographical and administrative point of view. Also the role of the settlement identified on the hilltop of Montagnolo/Ghettarello, located just 5 km as the crow flies from the sea, and in a position of direct inter-visibility with Ancona, seems to have been dialectical in relation to the former centre. In these centuries around the natural harbour north of Monte Conero, a complex game is being played out between local elites, a community of Greek-speaking people and the Romans, who were looking beyond the Adriatic Sea towards Greece and the Greek East. The parallel analysis of the evolution of the centre of Ancona and the settlement of Ghettarello could provide significant elements of continuity/discontinuity that could be revealed as being fundamental in discovering the development of the northern area of Monte Conero in the Hellenistic age.

During recent investigations, the site of Ghettarello has provided several traces of a Picene settlement starting at least from the beginning of the sixth century BC (with significant findings pertaining to the Recent and the Final Bronze age) up to the middle-late Roman Republican age. The settlement is located on the summit of a hill SW of Ancona, in a strategic position: thanks to its geomorphology, it is possible, from the hilltop, to keep a close watch on the bay of Ancona and the three hills pertaining to the ancient core of the town, and even on the northern coast of the region Marche to the promontory of Pesaro, on Monte Conero and on all of its hinterland to the Sibillini mountains, therefore on the main roads coming from the internal valleys and leading to the town.

[16] On the late production of pottery of Gnathia type in the 2nd century BC, cf. *infra* Baldoni.
[17] Baldoni in press (a).

The *Soprintendenza Archeologica* carried out several brief and unplanned investigations on the site between 1982 and 2012.[18] Between 2015 and 2016, following some findings during an archaeological surveillance requested by the *Soprintendenza*,[19] at least four areas affected by archaeological findings have been identified and excavated, starting from the hilltop[20]; hence, it has been possible to verify the size of the settlement and its life stages up to its final obliteration.[21] As the excavations have shown, the settlement covered the full southern slope of the hill, starting from the top. The most ancient area, where only a few findings of a structure in perishable material have been noted, looks as though it was abandoned within the first half of the fifth century BC, possibly in connection with the 'castling' of the settlement in the highest area, where a wall circuit was built before the mid-fourth century BC.
The remaining excavations have provided traces of an Archaic, Classical and late Classical residential area, which displays the relevant obliteration phases of the middle-late Republican age.
On the top of the hill, at the bottom of an ancient escarpment modified in modern times,[22] an open-air clay quarry has been found; here two holes, connected between them on the horizontal face of the step, were possibly used to receive a machinery system for the lifting and handling of stone material.[23] The quarry has been subsequently obliterated by the sliding of different anthropic layers, coming from the slope above and recovered in perfectly oblique layers, which preserve perforated pieces of clay floors of a kiln, scarce tiles, and some square sandstone blocks apparently belonging to city walls. The ceramic material found here covers a chronological period that starts in the sixth century BC (large sherds of *dolia* in dough ceramic) and significantly closes before the end of the third century BC (some black-gloss ceramic sherds, among which are possibly the bottom of a cup with palmette decoration pertaining to the GPS Roman area group, preliminarily datable around 280 BC, and a local little bowl type Morel 2538 h1 of the second half of the third century BC).[24]
A little further downslope, an interesting segment of a paved road (**Fig. 4**) has been brought to light; the road seems to be made up by large irregular cobblestones typologically similar, but not comparable, to paving stones, placed on contiguous bedding layers of roof tiles,[25] similar to that discovered under the *thermae* of the amphitheatre in Ancona (dated on a stratigraphic basis between the fourth and third century BC).[26] The road crosses the hilltop obliquely in a north-east/south-west direction; among the paving stones, gaps were filled with roof tiles and ceramic sherds. Judging from a preliminary analysis of the findings, the road seems to have been established with certainty at least around 430 BC, for a sherd of Athenian black glaze bowl with palmettes[27] comes from the lateral reinforcement edge. In the

[18] On the 1982 excavations of the *Soprintendenza Archeologica*, which produced the finding of two sherds of Mycenaean pottery and a conspicuous number of material datable between the Middle Bronze and the Final Bronze age, see recently Silvestrini 2000, with previous literature. In 1995 further excavations brought to light a small stratigraphic portion related to a Picene settlement that continued into the Roman age: cf. Ciuccarelli 2018, 33. Sporadic archaeological findings and reports on the presence of material have highlighted a number of frequented areas, located over a wide space, and provided findings once again datable mainly to the Iron Age up to the beginning of the Republican age.
[19] Intervention carried out by Archeologic srl (dott. L. Speranza and M. Antognozzi); scientific direction (SABAP Marche): dott.ssa M.R. Ciuccarelli.
[20] Ciuccarelli 2018, 33.
[21] For a preliminary summary cf. Ciuccarelli 2018, 33–39.
[22] The excavation has recorded the realization of a wide artificial top terrace, made by an enormous filling of large excerpts of sandstones, mixed with earth, that levelled the slope.
[23] Ciuccarelli 2018, 33.
[24] Ciuccarelli 2018, *loc. cit*.
[25] Ciuccarelli 2018, 35.
[26] See lastly Pignocchi 2015, 161 e 173, fig. 1.
[27] Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 273-274, 282, nrs. 536, 546, 781, 782.

amended parts of the road, a sherd from the bottom of a black glaze *skyphos* has been discovered too, probably of *alto-adriatica* production, however datable around the middle of the fourth century BC.
Even in this case the archaeological layers provide black-gloss ceramic sherds, among them a northern Etruscan bowl 'almond rim' type Morel 2538, dated to the second half of the third century BC, and once again, the chronological horizon of the last phase of the settlement must be placed around the second half of the third century BC.[28] The settlement shows, therefore, a topographical and functional articulation into different sectors, as is shown by the presence of productive structures, roads and buildings covered with unperishable materials, such as tiles (many of which were found in the excavations).

Fig. 4. Ghettarello (Ancona). Segment of a paved road (trench 1).

On the southern limit of the Classical age settlement, we have found a massive collapse of irregular sandstone blocks (**Fig. 5**), which stretches out along the hill slope below the marked difference in height.[29] The natural sandstone bank at the rock collapse shows a lot of regular square cuttings measuring one-and-a-half Italic feet, and a big square sandstone block similar in its dimensions (133 x 54 x 54 cm, numbers which are multiples of the Oscan-Italic foot) to a block discovered in Numana.[30] Therefore, it is likely that the archaeological material found in the rock collapse might be related to the destruction of the wall circuit; from the collapse layer comes a sherd of *alto-adriatica* pottery, under investigation, and possibly an *oscillum*, which resembles specimens from *Tarentum* datable from between the fourth and third centuries BC.[31] Even in this case the obliteration layers have provided several sherds of black-gloss ceramics, such as the bottom of a Roman dish with stamps datable to the

[28] See Ciuccarelli 2018, 35.
[29] Ciuccarelli 2018, *loc. cit*.
[30] Cf. Baldoni *et al.* 2019, 4, note 15. The short sides are double sized compared to the block found in Numana.
[31] Cf. L'Erario 2012.

second half of the third century BC, two black-gloss bowls Morel 2538, a bowl with stamps, which resembles specimens from Bolsena datable from between the third and second century BC, possibly an internal red-figured pottery sherd, and a beautiful miniaturist black-gloss bowl, under investigation, which could be preliminarily ascribed to the Etruscan area of the second century BC.[32] The ceramics coming from these layers often show traces of burning. Once again, the finding of black-gloss ceramics place the ending of the settlement's life between the last years of the third and the beginning of the second century BC. It should be noted that we have remarkable evidence of ring foot bottoms of open vases belonging to the Roman GPS group (and its imitations) and to third century BC Etruscan-Latial fabrics; also a small number of Campana A or Campana B sherds can be recognized.
The results from these excavations, therefore, allow us to speculate that the settlement, already structured in proto-urban configuration at the end of the fifth century BC, underwent a traumatic event by the fourth century BC and kept on living in the third and up to the beginning of the second century BC. In this final phase, a significant Roman presence can be seen, as proven by the ceramic classes found in the site, clear evidence of a non-occasional presence of Roman or Romanized individuals.

The history of the development and abandonment of the Ghettarello settlement, mutually visible from the hilltop and the natural harbour of Ancona, nonetheless far enough away from establishing an independent settlement in the pre-Roman age, cannot be separated from that of the centre of Ancona itself, which was hegemonic in the territory during all or part of the Iron age. However, after a consistent and well-documented proto-historic and First Iron Age phase,[33] the Archaic and Classical settlement of Ancona is at present ill-defined.[34] On the contrary, in the Hellenistic/Republican age the necropolises – which are our principal source of evidence for this period[35] – provide a large amount of information. Judging from the preserved burial sets, the consistency of the tombs is scarce starting from the middle of the fourth and throughout all of the third century BC.[36] On the other hand, the most significant explosion in the number and richness of the tombs took place starting from the second up to the end of the first century BC, when the burial set materials connect the purchasers from Ancona to the cultural ties of the maritime network based on the central and southern Adriatic and the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, presided over by the Roman-Italian commercial supremacy. The beginning of the occurrence of the Greek-inscribed *stelae* in Ancona, which probably must be traced back to a Greek community strictly related to the Delian market, took place at this time.[37] Therefore, it is obvious that the historical turning point, both for Ancona and for the Ghettarello settlement, is represented by the second century BC, when the first centre rose to levels of absolute prominence, while the second slowly faded away. The phenomenon of auto-Romanization took shape at the two sites in different modes and fates: whereas at the Ghettarello site, at the end of its life cycle, the Roman presence is well documented by the diffusion of Roman production or imitation ceramic pottery, at Ancona the phenomenon of auto-Romanization did not reveal itself in the Greek tastes of the local elites and its presence appears less stringent. In our opinion, the second century BC historical turning point is represented by the outcome of several administrative and political more complex events, in comparison to the voluntary migration of Roman people (individuals or groups), which took place after the *foedus* signed with the defeated population or the former inhabitants of the Picene territory.[38] Key episodes were the installation of the

[32] Ciuccarelli 2018, 35-36.
[33] Lollini 1956; Gatti 2005.
[34] Colivicchi 2002, 22–24.
[35] For an overall analysis of the Hellenistic necropolises in Ancona see Colivicchi 2002.
[36] Colivicchi 2002, 38–41; de Marinis *et al.* 2010, 8–10.
[37] *Contra* Colivicchi 2002, 450–451. On Delos and the presence of Italians there, cf. Clemente 1990; Trumper 2008; Poccetti 2015.
[38] Cf. the evidence of *Asculum*: Ciuccarelli 2012a, 92.

duoviri navales in 178 BC,[39] linked to the reorganization of the Roman hegemony in the Adriatic Sea during the Eastern Wars and the foundation of *Aquileia*[40], and the possible allocation *viritim* (individually) of land by *centuriae* in the *ager Anconitanus* after the Gracchan legislation passed in the late second century BC.[41] This allocation was probably connected to the new agrarian arrangements of the central/northern Picene hinterland and the foundation of new colonies.[42] In connection with these events, Ancona finally got in touch with the Roman world and was able to fully take part in the Eastern Mediterranean commercial network,[43] as proven by the plentiful presence in Ancona of Rhodian, Eastern Greek and Greco-Italic transport amphorae.[44] We can easily place in this period the realization of an *opus quadratum* wall circuit with square towers[45] located at regular intervals around the Guasco hill,[46] while, also between the third and second century BC the private buildings excavated under the *thermae* of the Roman amphitheatre could be dated.[47] In this geopolitical scenario, the Ghettarello settlement ceased its life, whereas Ancona achieved the status of urban centre due to reasons probably connected to the strengthening of its harbour and the dismantlement of (Romanized?) indigenous sites in the hinterland. (M.R.C.)

Fig. 5. Ghettarello (Ancona). Collapse of the circuit wall (trench 3).

[39] Bandelli 2003, 220.
[40] Cf. Gabba 1990; Bandelli 2003.
[41] Delplace 1993, 161–162; Sisani 2015.
[42] Delplace 1993, 83 ff.
[43] Clemente 1990.
[44] Cf. Colivicchi 2002, 458–463; in general Paci 2010a.
[45] Sebastiani 2004, 7 Aggiornamento.
[46] Benvenuti 2002 on the chronological definition of this fortification type.
[47] Pignocchi 2015.

IX. Settlement dynamics from the fourth to the second century BC in the Potenza river valley (Marche): landscape approaches and some methodological issues

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Introduction

Studying landscape and settlement transformation in central-Adriatic Italy during the crucial transition period between the fourth and second centuries BC, when the region experienced major settlement disruption and a gradual incorporation into the Roman world, has proven to be notoriously difficult[1]. This is not only inherent to any landscape-based study of transitional periods, but is also the result of the geographically, and, at that time, also culturally, somewhat fragmented nature of this part of peninsular Italy. Central-Adriatic Italy is not only characterized by its typical subdivision into valley compartments, distributed from the Apennine ridge to the coastal strip, but also by the palimpsest of ethnic components and cultural communities that characterized the regional structure at the time of the first Roman military intervention, around 300 BC. From the outset, these factors of diversity and heterogeneity had a strong effect on the processes of settlement dynamics, early urbanization and the Romanization of the region highlighting the peculiarities of the relationship between specific periphery areas and Rome. At the same time, given the natural orientation of this region towards the sea, it was always open to influences from the eastern Mediterranean, and to its innovative stimuli and economic opportunities.

In this paper I would like to discuss and illustrate some of the methodological possibilities and issues connected with a landscape- and settlement-based approach to the concerned period in this region. The thoughts and examples are the fruit of a long term research effort by my team at Ghent University, which began in 2000, in one of the typical narrow valleys, lying between the mountains and the sea that characterises central Adriatic Italy (Vermeulen *et al.* 2017). The potential and limits of the non-invasive survey approach that is central in this investigation need to be clearly described, in order to fully contribute to wider scale comparative research between this work and similar investigations in other valleys of Marche, and on an even broader scale within the context of Italian archaeology.
The increasing use of landscape survey approaches in central Adriatic Italy, as in other parts of Italy, has in recent decades enabled many scholars to study diachronic patterns of settlement and land use in much greater detail than before. All kinds of processes of regional transformation, from the relatively undifferentiated late prehistoric landscape of farms, hamlets and possibly villages to a settlement network dominated by a series of well-located larger population centres supported by their agricultural hinterlands, have been analysed and explained through the intensive work of individuals and teams from the archaeological departments of the universities of Bologna, Urbino, Pisa, and Macerata, and other researchers (Vermeulen 2017, 25-30; see also Attema, this volume). When the Potenza Valley Survey project of Ghent University started at the beginning of this millennium, the aims of looking at such settlement dynamics in the 'longue durée', with the protohistoric and Roman periods as a chronological focus, had already been well tested elsewhere in this part of Italy and beyond (Bintliff 2004). It was our

[1] For a recent synthesis of settlement dynamics in the central-Adriatic region of Italy in this period, the cultural and geographic situation at that time, and the main historical developments in the *ager Gallicus*, eastern Umbria and *Picenum*, I refer the reader to Chapters 2, 3 and 4 of my recent book on the subject of Roman colonization and urbanization in this area (Vermeulen 2017). Specifically for the northern part of this region (*ager Gallicus*) see recently also: Silani 2017.

aim, however, to enhance earlier approaches by taking two specific perspectives on archaeological landscape survey in the region.
Traditional artefact survey approaches, which generally concentrate efforts on surface artefact collections, can be supplemented by taking a coherent geo-archaeological perspective that focuses on a better understanding of the geomorphological context and dynamics of archaeological sites and landscapes. The second perspective was linked to the introduction, intensively from the start of the project, of remote sensing technologies. This was motivated by our conviction that the intensive use of such spatial techniques is crucial for a structurally more revealing survey approach to past Mediterranean landscapes, in particular concerning forms of settlement and their intra-site organization in later prehistory and the early historical periods (**Fig. 1**).

Fig. 1 Fieldwork operations by the team from Ghent University on protohistoric sites in the Potenza valley (2018/2019).

The valley crossed by the Potenza river is squeezed between uninterrupted wings of mountains and ridges, has always constituted a well-defined topographical context, and has at the same time maintained good connections between the Adriatic and the innermost Apennine area up to northern Lazio and southern Tuscany. Although its Apennine passes, the only routes to the Tyrrhenian regions, were accessible only during warmer seasons - since in winter they were covered with snow - the valley corridor created by the ancient River *Flosis* was BCof prime importance for linking both sides of the peninsula during the entire first millennium BC. From a methodological point of view this valley was also a fortunate choice: it provided us with a good testing ground from which to answer historical questions using essentially non-invasive archaeological approaches. The PVS surveys were executed at different

resolutions: extensive surveys to obtain a general overview of land use dynamics through time, and intensive gridded surveys to map local distribution patterns and occupation trends. These surveys were followed by continuing intensive site studies using geophysical techniques and aerial photography, the combination of which has proven very successful in mapping the intra-site layouts of Roman-period centres, including four abandoned towns spread along the Potenza corridor. At the same time, certain geophysical approaches, such as the magnetic gradiometry survey of the multi-period site of Montarice near Porto Recanati, also demonstrated the potential for the prospection of pre-Roman traces, still a relatively experimental technique for this period in this part of Italy[2].

The experience of almost two decades of predominantly non-invasive archaeological fieldwork in Marche has taught us that it remains extremely difficult to understand the essential character of human occupation in an entire valley during the three century long transition phase from protohistoric to early Roman times, and to provide enough detail about the actual reality of a changing physical and cultural landscape. The short overview of some of the main results of our fieldwork in the Potenza valley presented here illustrates only a few of the possibilities and the problems to solve. Each of these sub-regional case studies are examples of potential current and future approaches to problems connected with the identification of settlement dynamics at the dawn of Roman dominance in the area, even if the sites concerned show a 'real or only topographic continuity' over relatively long periods.

Inland dynamics: from centralized hilltop villages to a valley bottom system in the middle valley

The most important sites of the indigenous communities who inhabited the inland districts of the central-Adriatic region in the fourth and third centuries BC could still have been the series of fortified centres located on hilltops or prominent plateaus in the landscape, which had a long habitation history, often rooted in the later Bronze Age or early Iron Age. In other regions of Italy, especially in the south of the peninsula, the remains of hilltop sites are often easily identified by the still standing parts of fortification walls, but this is much less the case in our region. These potentially stable settlement sites have, therefore, attracted much less excavation effort than those places in the nearby landscape where (often rich) burials have come to light. Any excavation work on these hilltop sites was often very small scale and generally focused on the defences, rather than on the remains within them. The basic question of whether some of the hilltop sites were only used as refuge sites or were indeed medium to large population centres could therefore, in most cases, not even be answered (de Neef and Vermeulen 2018). The proximity of large and small cemetery areas, as well as the clustering of contemporary farms in their immediate surroundings, seems to indicate that many played a prominent role as habitation centres for the indigenous society, however, before the Romans had such a dramatic effect on the settlement structure of the region.

Much like other valley corridors in Marche and northern Abruzzo, the Potenza valley is characterized in the Iron Age by the presence of a spatially disseminated series of larger nucleated inland settlements. These are generally situated on well-selected hilltops and hilly plateaus, and, so it seems, are often of a fortified nature. They are not very large, vary in size between 2 and 10 ha, and can be found in all parts of the valley, from the coast to the mountains. These centres could probably retain their hegemony over

[2] The results of this research by Ghent University in the Potenza valley ('Potenza Valley Survey' project) were synthesized in a recent book (see Vermeulen *et al.* 2017 with references to a series of earlier papers). New field investigations on mainly protohistoric sites in the Potenza valley have been undertaken since 2018 by the Ghent team within the framework of the 'Neighbours and Nobles' project funded by the Fund for Scientific Research - Flanders (De Neef and Vermeulen 2018).

the whole valley (or its main sectors) for many centuries, but due to internal conflicts between the inhabitants of different parts of the valley, their prime role was sometimes taken over by other centres that again flourished only for limited time periods. Several of these sites were studied in detail, or are still under study, in or near the survey transects systematically studied by the Ghent team in the upper and middle valleys, in particular Monte Primo (near Camerino), Monte Pitino (near San Severino) and Monte Franco (near Pollenza). The studied sites are certainly not the only ones that controlled the valley corridor during the pre-Roman Iron Age, and more of these central sites presumably existed in other dominant positions, now taken by modern towns on the hillcrests along the valley corridor, such as the historic centres of Montecassiano, Recanati, Montelupone and Potenza Picena. Many traces have probably been erased in the currently urbanized contexts of these towns, and surface survey can no longer be used to reveal their potential existence, but occasional 'in situ' finds – often of a funerary nature – have at least suggested their presence (Percossi *et al*. 2006).

Archaeological research by the Ghent team into protohistoric inland centres has in recent years focused on the middle Potenza valley (**Fig. 2**), and so I will present here some of the dynamics in this stretch of the river corridor, essentially located between the modern municipalities of San Severino Marche and Macerata. As we can see in some of the other narrow valleys of central Adriatic Italy (Naso 2000; Boschi 2018 and this volume; Giorgi this volume), it is precisely in these central parts, located halfway between the coast and the mountains, that the more important or influential Picene centres developed, controlling the natural pathways through the landscape and the best routes of communication. The position of the centres of Monte Pitino and Monte Franco discussed here is typical of locations also preferred elsewhere in the region.

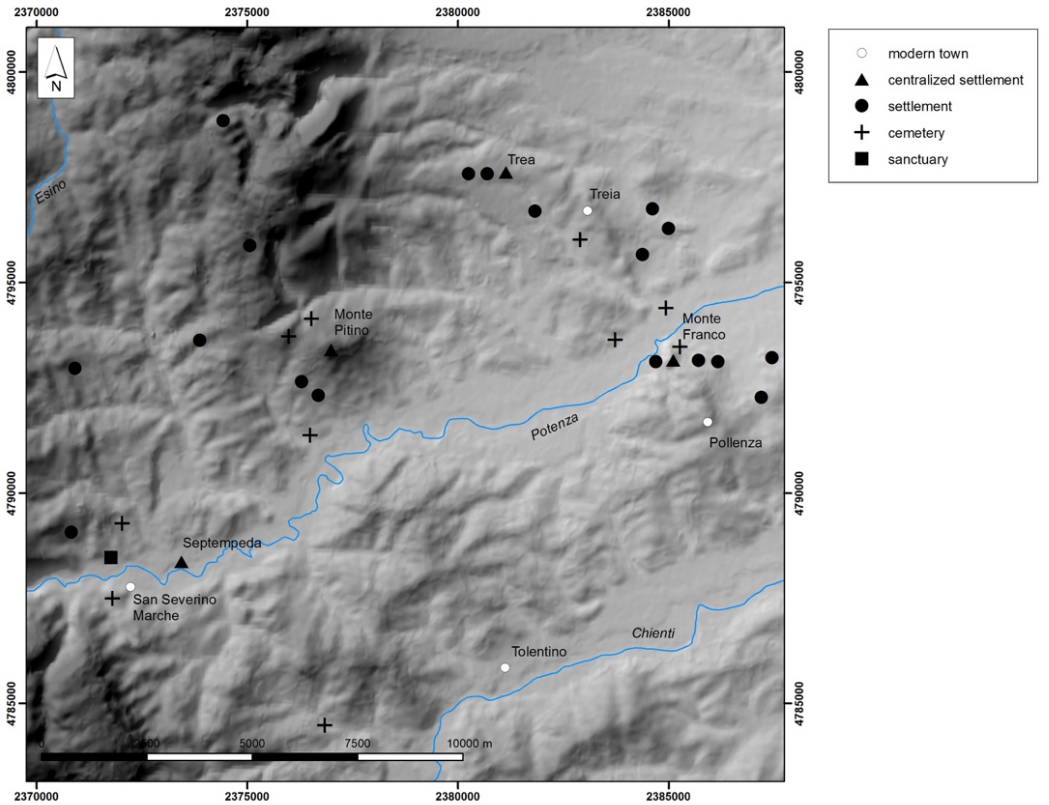

Fig. 2 Map of the main Iron Age and mid-Republican sites in the middle Potenza valley, between San Severino Marche and Pollenza (after Vermeulen 2017)

The first site lies near the edge of two landscape types, one dominated by lower hills and one consisting of the first mountainous stretches of the Umbro-Marche massif. The second site lies very strategically on a small hill dominating a narrowing of the natural valley corridor. Such positions are comparable with other centres in *Picenum* that seem to control their full valley corridor or large parts thereof, during protohistory, such as Belmonte on the river Tenna, Cingoli on the river Musone, Tolentino on the river Chienti and Ascoli on the river Tronto. The main floruit of certain central sites, namely the seventh to fifth centuries BC, is precisely when the Picenes were part of a long-distance trade network, as testified by the circulation of Greek-manufacturing products, through which Greek mythology and culture, and also new building techniques and related technologies (e.g. terracotta roof tiles), reached them. It is also the phase when a certain demographic explosion can be noted in several valleys, such as the Tenna valley where more systematic surveys were conducted (Menchelli 2012), with the continuity and expansion of some existing sites and appearance of many new settlements. The same phenomenon seems likely in the middle Potenza valley where at least two such strategic Iron Age centres developed amid a series of dispersed farms, north of the river on top of Monte Pitino, and directly south of the stream on and near Monte Franco.
Monte Pitino, a few kilometres east of San Severino Marche, prominently overlooks the whole middle Potenza Valley and some of the distant coast (e.g. Monte Conero) and Apennine mountains (**Fig. 3**).

Fig. 3 View from NE on Monte Pitino (San Severino Marche).

It also visually dominates the somewhat lower neighbouring ridge of Monte Penna, where a well-known Orientalising Piceni necropolis was discovered in the 1950s (Landolfi and Sgubini Moretti 2008). Further Piceni burials were found on the valley bottom, indicating that Iron Age activity covered all altitudes in this part of the valley. Recent non-invasive fieldwork operations by the Ghent team seem to indicate that the 600 m hilltop site of Monte Pitino was occupied on its summit and the higher slopes between the seventh century and at least the third century by a permanent village-type of settlement, which was also fortified by a circuit wall for a period. The natural summit of Monte Pitino was overbuilt by a medieval castle, but small scale rescue excavations in the 1980s (Lollini 1958) and our new topographic

work, combining geophysics (**Fig. 4**), coring, artefact surveys and drone photography, has meant that several phases of an Iron Age and possibly early Roman settlement, spread over an area of at least 10 hectares, can now be distinguished (Vermeulen *et al.* 2009; Vermeulen and Mlekuz 2012; Vermeulen *et al.* 2017: 70-73; De Neef and Vermeulen 2018).

Fig. 4 Image detail from the magnetometry survey on the eastern part of the hilltop plateau of Monte Pitino, surveyed by W. de Neef in 2018/19. Clear visible traces are those of a possibly Picene double circuit wall (1) and internal settlement division (2) and an area with dense soil anomalies and many Roman surface finds (3).

The first results of this new work show the presence of a double wall circuit built of mostly uncut polygonal blocks of sandstone on the southern edge of the high plateau, possibly some other contemporary enclosures around the top, an internal division of streets and/or walls dividing building plots, and other interesting zones of possible industrial activity *intra muros*. Some of the structures seem to be connected with the regular and widespread presence of Iron Age impasto wares and fragmented Piceni-type roof tiles. A series of augerings in 2019 on some of the linear internal divisions produced only pre-Roman artefacts, but radiocarbon dates on some of the coring samples are still awaited. The polygonal wall system, visible in the magnetometer data over a distance of more than 80 m, a 15 m stretch of which was recently cleared from overgrowth vegetation, resembles defensive wall systems found in other parts of central Apennine Italy and generally dated between the fifth and third centuries

BC[3], but further research and preferably stratigraphic analysis is also awaited here. Some partly cut blocks of sandstone found near the eastern end of this wall could indicate the presence of a gate entrance. It seems likely that this system is a circuit wall partly or fully enclosing the topographically higher parts of the Monte Pitino hilltop, which can be roughly estimated as approximately 15 hectares at most. Among the surface finds from the area of the presumed circuit wall were some early Roman finds, including a series of Republican objects such as fragments of black gloss pottery, three lead sling stones and a late third century BC Roman coin (**Fig. 5**). While some of the latter finds might suggest military conflict or control by the Romans in the troublesome third century (and after?), it also seems likely from the datable discoveries so far that permanent habitation of the site did not survive into the late Republic[4]. Whatever its role in the transition phase to full Romanization, however, it remains convincing that the Monte Pitino-Monte Penna complex was, during a large part of the Iron Age, the centre of a vast territory. The nucleated settlement on this impressive hilltop not only allowed visual control over a large stretch of the Potenza valley, but was also surrounded by a series of cemeteries (e.g. Frustellano di Pitino) which yielded some very wealthy graves, demonstrating that the settlement played a pivotal role in the control and organization of transport, through the strategic valley corridor of luxury goods to and from Etruria and Latium, as well as from Greece and the eastern Mediterranean (Lollini *et al.* 1991; Percossi *et al.* 2006).

Fig. 5. Roman Republican coin (217-215 BC) found at the surface near the eastern part of the circuit wall (private collection).

[3] Among interesting parallels in nearby Umbrian territories we can mention the polygonal walls of *Urvinum Hortense*, with a possible date in the 4th century BC (Barbieri 2002, 23-24), Sant'Erasmo in Cesi and the Monte Orve near Colfiorito (Bonomi Ponzi 1992), which are all generally seen as defensive systems built by the local populations in the framework of the creation of a defendable *oppidum* during the times of possible confrontation with Rome or Gallic warriors.

[4] The features of the site resemble those found through recent excavations on the fortified hilltop site of Ghettarello-Montagnolo near Ancona, where an abandonment in the course of the 3rd century BC, coinciding with the Roman takeover of northern *Picenum*, seems highly likely (Ciuccarelli 2018; Baldoni *et al*. this volume).

Our recent artefact surveys in this area (Vermeulen *et al.* 2009), as well as the chance finds of dispersed Piceni graves (e.g. Percossi *et al.* 2006), also suggest that this central place was still surrounded by a good number of more or less isolated farms and loosely dispersed rural hamlets during the later Iron Age, each probably with its own small individual burial ground[5]. It is not unlikely that, within this fertile and environmentally diversified 'settlement chamber' of the middle Potenza valley and adjoining hills, the emphasis of power and economic activities shifted throughout the fourth and third centuries BC from the hilltop centre to lower locations near the Potenza river. This can probably be attributed to the general period of change in central Adriatic Italy which from the middle of the fifth to the fourth centuries BC saw the migration of the Umbrians to modern-day Romagna and northern Marche, and the invasion or infiltration of Celtic groups into northern *Picenum*. In general it can be assumed that the inland occupation of many Picene valleys was quite disrupted due to these movements, and from the mid-third century onwards also because of the greater military involvement of Rome, with its subsequent rural colonization and newly developed road network of the second half of that century (see below).

Fig. 6. View from the NE on the slopes of Monte Franco (Pollenza) during fieldwalking by the Ghent team in 2019.

[5] Aerial photography finds of circular structures of Picene date near the floors of some of the rivers in Marche, such as in the Potenza valley (Vermeulen *et al.* 2017, fig. 100) and the Misa valley (Boschi 2018, fig. 11; Boschi this volume), but also recent rescue excavations near the Potenza streambed at Fontenoce (Finocchi 2018), suggest that some of these smaller communities often lived closer to the rivers. Even if the normal techniques of archaeological fieldwork cannot always easily detect these burial plots due to post-Iron age geomorphological processes of colluvial or alluvial sediment coverage, the location of such sites on alluvial terraces dating to the Middle/Late Pleistocene, comprising gravels, clays, sands and silts, makes them quite suitable for ancient human occupation. These terraces often provide just the kind of substrata that favours the development of cropmarks (most often caused by circular ditches surrounding the ploughed up grave mounds) at appropriate times of year.

Such shifts and settlement dynamics are even more perceptible near the valley bottom, at the edge of the territory dominated by Pitino. In these surroundings, already existing satellite sites – some with a prominent past going back to the Bronze Age – also first knew a phase of expansion during the blooming period of the Picene culture. The strategic area of Passo di Treia, some 7 km east of Monte Pitino, where the Potenza corridor narrows, and the control of transported goods, as well as easy river crossing, were facilitated, is the best proof of this. The small hilltop site of Monte Franco is located on the opposite side of the river, active as a settlement area since the Bronze Age (**Fig. 6**). This central settlement has long been known for the rich early Picene cemetery (9th-fifth century BC) of Moie di Pollenza (Lollini 1979; Percossi Serenelli 2003; Percossi 2005), located on the north-eastern slopes towards the river, and now, thanks to the new geophysical and artefact surveys, also for a substantial Iron Age and some Roman Republican occupation (Boullart 2003, 176; Percossi *et al.*, 2006; De Neef and Vermeulen 2018; de Neef this volume). A series of settlement zones and even possibly individual house compounds and connected structures, found in 2018 via geomagnetic prospections by Wieke de Neef (**Fig. 7**), coinciding with dense artefact scatters of Iron age date, demonstrate that the Picene population chose to settle mostly on the eastern slopes of the hill, where the availability of water and better connectivity allowed for a spatial expansion of the settlement.

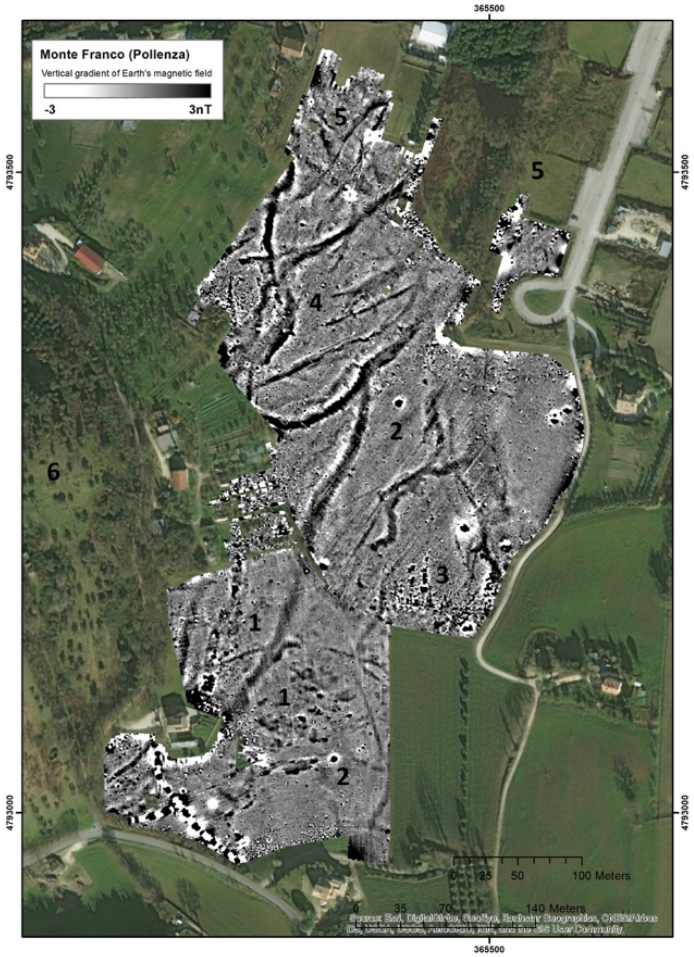

Fig. 7. Image from the magnetometry survey on the eastern slopes of Monte Franco, surveyed by W. de Neef in 2018/19. Clearly visible traces are those of a Picene settlement area with indications for houses, pits, ditches… (1), several possible Picene or Roman furnaces or kilns (2), an area with traces of Roman farm buildings (3), linear traces possibly connected with an ancient field system (4) and the border area of the Picene necropolis of 'Moie di Pollenza'.

Coring operations in 2019 on some of the linear or punctual structures found by geophysics also suggest that the Picene settlement area of at least five hectares is characterized by good internal organization of building and activity areas in relation to the local hydrology and possibly by the presence of specific production zones with several possible kilns identified. Most of the datable finds so far indicate a seventh to fifth century date for the main Iron Age occupation, but it can be assumed that this settlement continued to exist into the fourth to third centuries. In the later phase the original Picene population perhaps aggregated with Roman newcomers in an open 'village' that flourished on both banks of the river, profiting further from the river crossing in the shadow of Monte Franco (Vermeulen and Mlekuz 2012; Vermeulen *et al.* 2017, 76). It is likely that this area acquired more importance due to its strategic position on the route through the narrow valley here, a topographic asset that would later, after the Roman conquest and the construction of a more stable valley bottom road (connecting the Roman towns of *Septempeda* and *Ricina*), be much enhanced on the left (northern) bank of the river with the development of a kind of *vicus* that persisted until late antiquity. Survey operations and excellent oblique photography allowed a large roadside settlement to be identified thanks to the clear traces of the Roman road and several distinct surface scatters of Roman settlement material, with mostly first to second century AD finds, in an area of at least eight hectares in size. On the right (southern) bank, at the foot of Monte Franco, only a smaller Roman core remained, possibly even just a single farmstead, with one or more stone buildings and probably a kiln, initially found during the 2001 Ghent surveys (Vermeulen *et al.* 2017, Fig. 45, Site 77) and confirmed by geophysics and the new artefact surveys. This well-positioned and quite stable rural settlement presumably dates between the late Republic and late Imperial times.

To understand the full picture of events during the period under consideration we must also look at the other end of the centralized inland settlement system, at the sites where, very gradually from the third century BC onwards, Roman towns would develop out of older and smaller settlement cores. As the example of Passo di Treia shows, some sites or population clusters near the river could grow into *vici* or small road villages. Some of these would in the longer term even become Roman town centres. In all valleys of central Adriatic Italy we see that, contemporarily with the loss of importance of the old centres on higher locations during the middle and late Republic, a series of villages and hamlets, located near the river or on ancient routes through the landscape, enhanced their importance once Roman settlers came in and the primary Roman road network was established. In the middle valley of the Potenza such enhancement occurred in possible former satellites of the Monte Pitino community. One of these is the Picene predecessor of the later Roman town of *Septempeda*, which possibly evolved from a healing water sanctuary on the spring-line at the foot of a small promontory overlooking the valley floor. A second is the Picene predecessor of later Roman *Trea*, located on a hilly plateau and along an ancient route linking the middle Potenza valley with the commercially blooming area of the Monte Conero, south of Ancona.

Systematic artefact surveys clearly show the presence of several smaller Picene settlements clustered in the areas where the later Roman towns would develop. This is particularly well illustrated by the finds in the area of later Roman *Trea*, near the modern day sanctuary of SS. Crucifisso in Treia. While the surface finds from these sites often pose problems of fine dating, campaigns of coring and dating the samples can help to remedy this. A test by our team in 2013, with coring samples taken from central areas in the later Roman town centres of *Trea* and *Septempeda*, showed that this approach can not only help to locate the early street village phases of the later *municipia*, which developed and fully urbanized here after the Social War and during the first decades of the Empire. The radiocarbon dates also provide a first insight in the date of the earliest occupation on these sites. The oldest occupation layers in both towns are chronologically related to the first Roman military activities in the broader region and

especially with the Roman colonial impact in the valleys[6], which was characterized by the distribution of viritane allotments on the confiscated Picene lands. This process had a more systematic character around 232 BC with the appliance of the *Lex Flaminia de agro Gallico et Piceno viritim dividendo* (Moscatelli 1985; Sisani 2007) and with the development of the Via Flaminia and its side roads between 223 BC and 220 BC, leading to a significant reorganization of the whole central Adriatic territory. Ultimately this would also lead to the creation of Roman *praefecturae* in a series of blooming villages and small towns, of which *Trea* and *Septempeda* may be good examples.

Settlement dynamics in the coastal part of the Potenza corridor

The Iron Age development of the lower Potenza valley, and especially of the coastal zone, was greatly influenced by the more rapid transformations that the entire Adriatic maritime area went through from the sixth century and the more direct involvement here of Greek and Etruscan traders. The autochthonous Italic involvement in these floods of goods to the inland is particularly evident near the mouths of larger rivers like the Cesano, Misa and Potenza, where simultaneous control of, and participation in, maritime transactions could well be combined with deep inland transport along the valley corridors (Luni 1995a; Giorgi this volume).
This is certainly the case for the situation near the mouth of the river Potenza, where about a kilometre north of the Iron Age river bed that was located by the Ghent team (Goethals *et al.* 2009), protohistoric people made good use of a geomorphologic unit consisting of a flat elliptical hilltop plateau with some seven hectares living space and steep sides: the site of Montarice (**Fig. 8**). Our intensive artefact surveys and aerial and geophysical prospections between 2002 and 2019 have demonstrated the presence here of permanent forms of habitation since the Middle Bronze Age, and the increasing size of the settlement indicates almost uninterrupted occupation until at least late Republican times (Vermeulen *et al.* 2017, 78-85). Most important was the pre-Roman occupation from the seventh/sixth century BC onwards, revealed by local and imported pottery, attested on the plateau itself, as well as on the southern terraces towards the river plain (**Fig. 9 and 10**). The plateau settlement was, at its greatest extent, surrounded by imposing defences, presumably a combination of walls and ditches. Inside the enclosed settlement remote sensing operations revealed possible traces of large rectangular houses, some seemingly with sunken or hardened floors and some with wall alignments made of posts, and a discrete regular organization can be supposed. The surface finds (e.g. black gloss, Greco-Italic amphorae) attest that the site was still partly occupied during the earliest phases of Roman Republican occupation (third-second century BC), but the very limited number of Imperial finds and the spatial restriction of Roman surface scatters show that the occupation on the site had diminished markedly from the second century BC onwards.

[6] Radiocarbon dates obtained from the oldest occupation layers in the augerings on both town sites are most probably around 200 BC (*Septempeda*) and 270 BC (*Trea*) respectively.

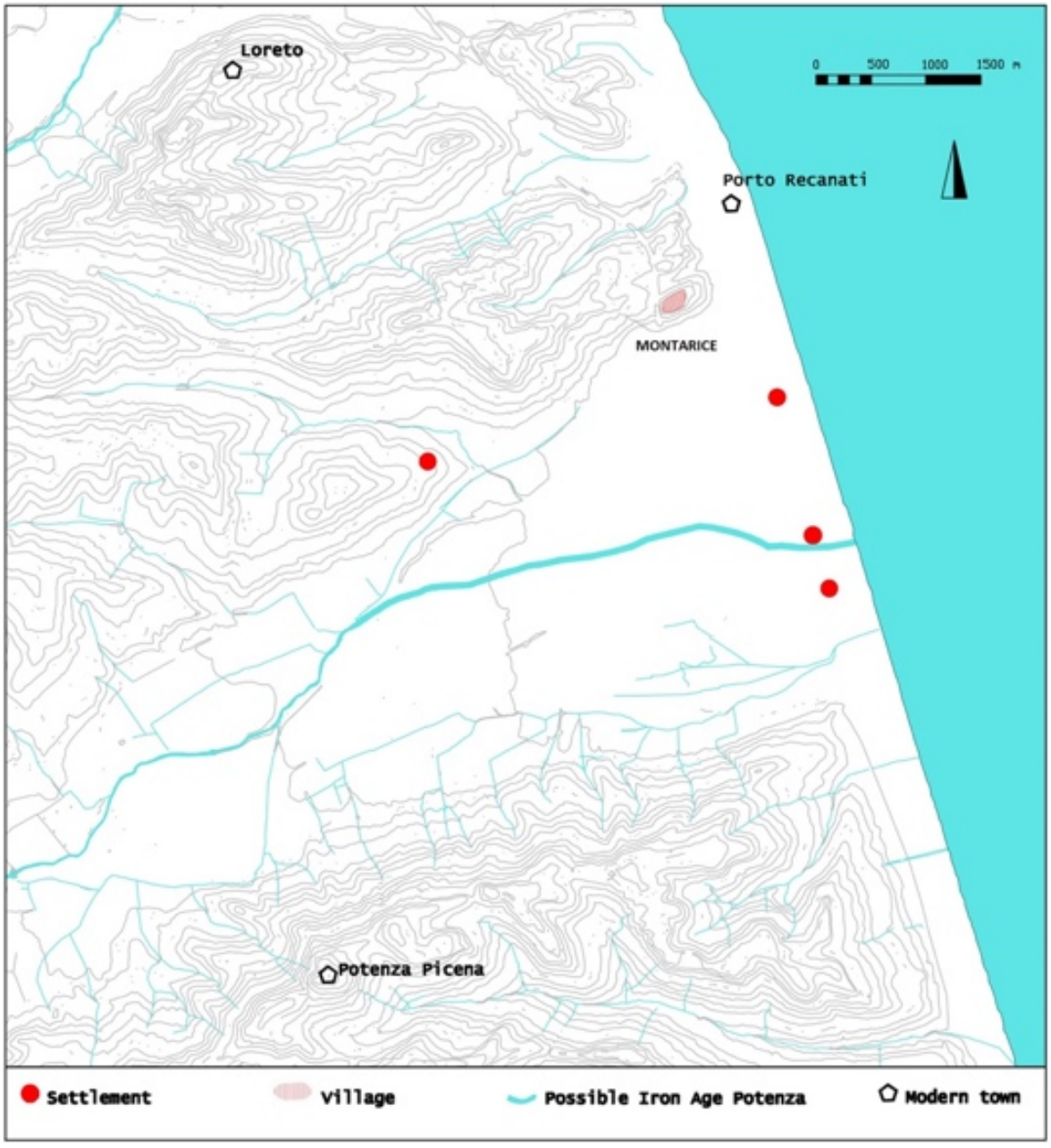

Fig. 8. The multi-period site of Montarice (Porto Recanati) and other late Iron Age settlements located in the coastal area near the ancient mouth of the river Potenza (after Vermeulen 2017).

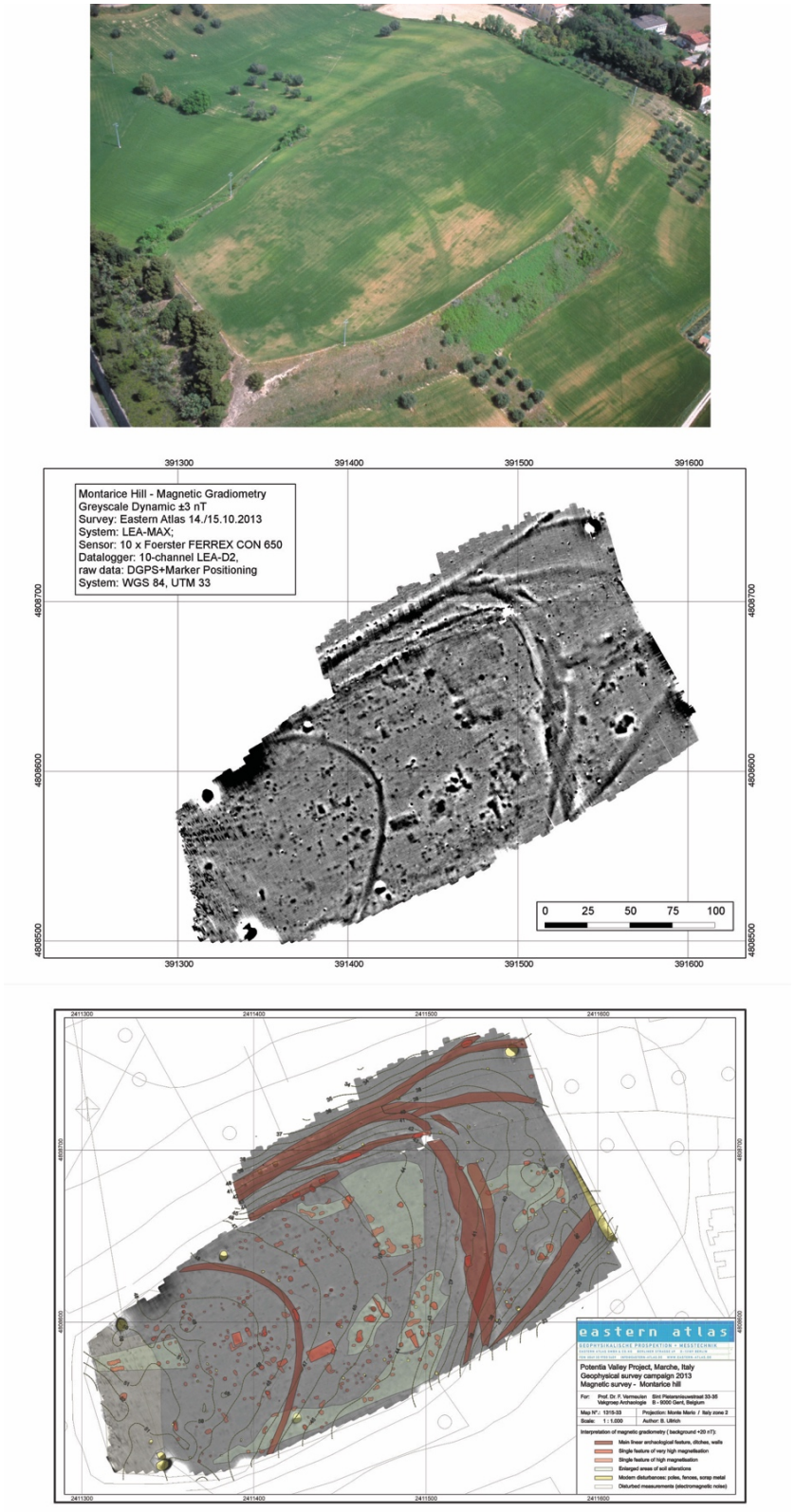

Fig. 9. Aerial photograph with crop marks (upper) and the results of the magnetometry survey by Eastern Atlas (centre and under) on the site of Montarice (after Vermeulen *et al.* 2017).

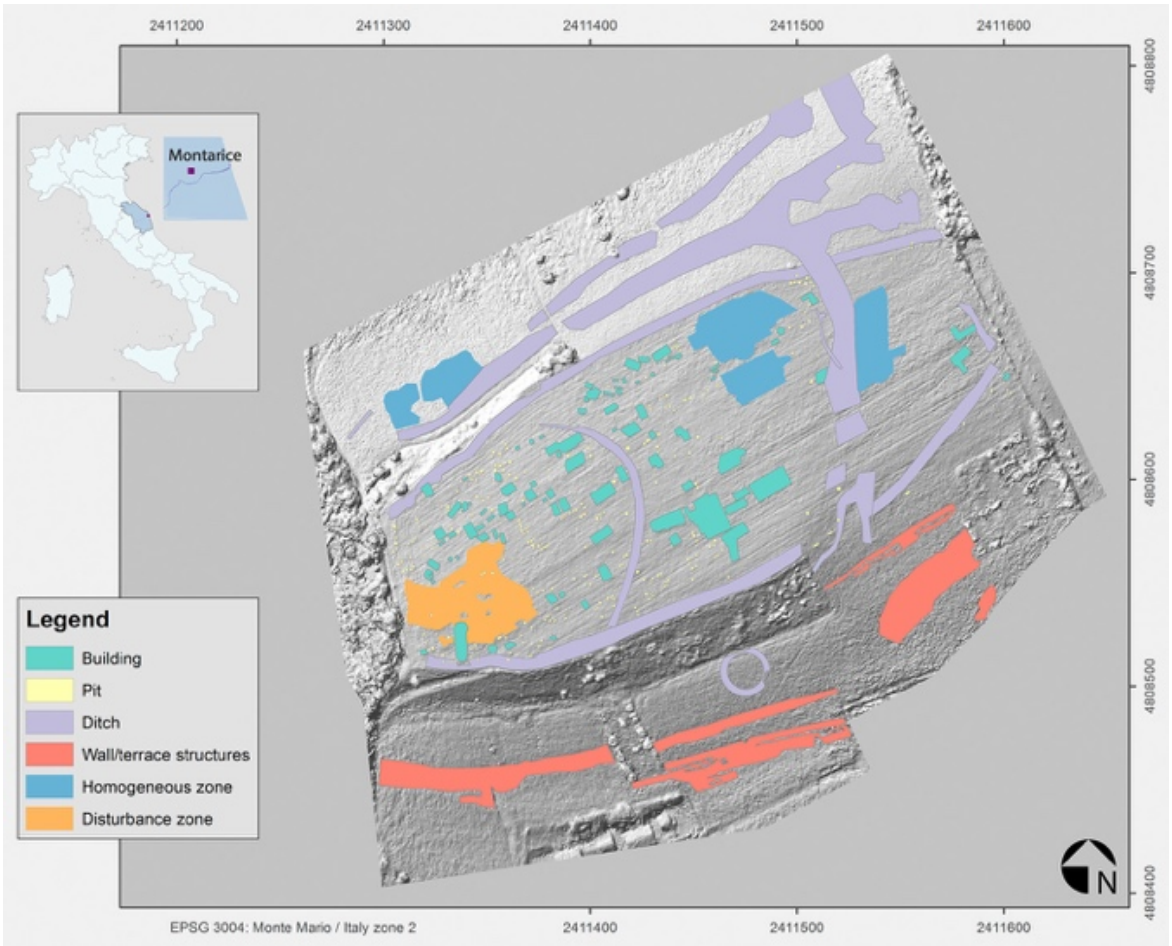

Fig. 10. DTM of the site of Montarice with preliminary interpretation of the main crop marks and geophysical anomalies observed on the site (by Verhoeven and Vermeulen).
It is presumed that most marks of houses, enclosures and a circular tomb might belong to the Picene era (7th-3rd century BC).

Iron Age settlement activities were also present in the nearby valley floor and especially on the dryer beach ridge just north of the river mouth (Percossi Serenelli 2001), where there was possibly a satellite settlement of the defended Piceni 'village' of Montarice. This could have functioned as a landing-stage near the Potenza estuary, channelling commercial contacts and imports from the area around Monte Conero into the valley corridor during the still prosperous parts of the fifth/fourth century BC. As stated earlier, we know that inland occupation was probably quite disrupted due to the movements of Umbrians and Celts into the region, but it is also well attested that certain coastal settlements with good natural locations, such as *Ancona* and *Numana*, kept their strategic and economic importance. At *Ancona* this was confirmed in the early fourth century when the Greeks from Syracusa re-founded the city and installed a Greek community here (Emanuelli and Iacobone 2015), and the recent systematic study of the cemeteries and settlement topography of Hellenistic *Numana* (Baldoni *et al.* 2019; Baldoni *et al.* this volume) also suggested some great activity, even if the second part of the third century might have brought unrest and depopulation due to the Illyrian wars.

The Roman colony of *Potentia* was ultimately laid out near the mouth of the Potenza River during the early second century BC, without proof so far for a direct link between this Picene occupation and the

later Roman developments. *Potentia*, like the other colonial cities of the wave of Roman colonization in this region during the second century BC (*Pisaurum, Auximum, Aesis* and later *Pollentia*) probably replaced some small settlements in the area where Roman citizens had already settled shortly before its official foundation in 184 BC (Vermeulen 2017). In fact our systematic artefact surveys of these coastal environments suggest the presence of two of these possible predecessors, one on the terrace hill of Montarice, possibly replacing the Italic communities there, and one discovered recently during the Ghent surveys just south of the river mouth. The role of small villages or hamlets in the organization of the Republican landscape around colonies is still poorly understood. Recent study of such early colonial patterns in the south-Italian *Venosa* area (Pelgrom 2008) has stressed their potential role in the settlement organization of newly conquered landscapes, where the clustering of people in smaller centres in the countryside offered certain advantages with regard to security and land exploitation. A similar scenario is not unthinkable for parts of the Potenza valley and other river corridors with colonial foundations in central Adriatic Italy.

In *Potentia*, the colony of Roman citizens, whose urban plan was adapted to the narrow beach ridge located directly north of the river mouth, there is clear evidence of an unusual direct intervention by the censors in Rome, shortly after its foundation (**Fig. 11**). These noblemen individually took charge of great improvements in the new cities, thanks to the flow of public capital, giving us evidence of the urbanism embodied in that phase: walls surrounding a rectangular city space, a forum square surrounded by *tabernae*, a temple of Jupiter, an efficient system of water supply, and well-maintained streets, which are fully aligned with the wider road network of the coast and valley floor. The dynamic centre of *Potentia*, like many other colonial foundations of the urban type in central Adriatic Italy (Silani 2017, Lepore *et al.* 2013), must soon have played a primary role in the total reorganization of the surrounding countryside. This was probably of immediate effect in the territory created together with the urban centre, where we see the appearance in the *suburbium* of regular land divisions, roads, cemeteries, industrial zones, bridges, areas for market gardening and a dense net of dispersed farms (Vermeulen 2017, 118-121). According to the surface finds of impasto pottery together with the new style ceramics and amphorae used by the colonists, some of the farms had clearly taken over excellent landscape positions used by the indigenous farmers before them, commencing a more productive, rational and internationally oriented production of food and wine. This essential observation brings us to the problem of understanding the shifts in the wider rural landscape of the valley between fourth and second century BC.

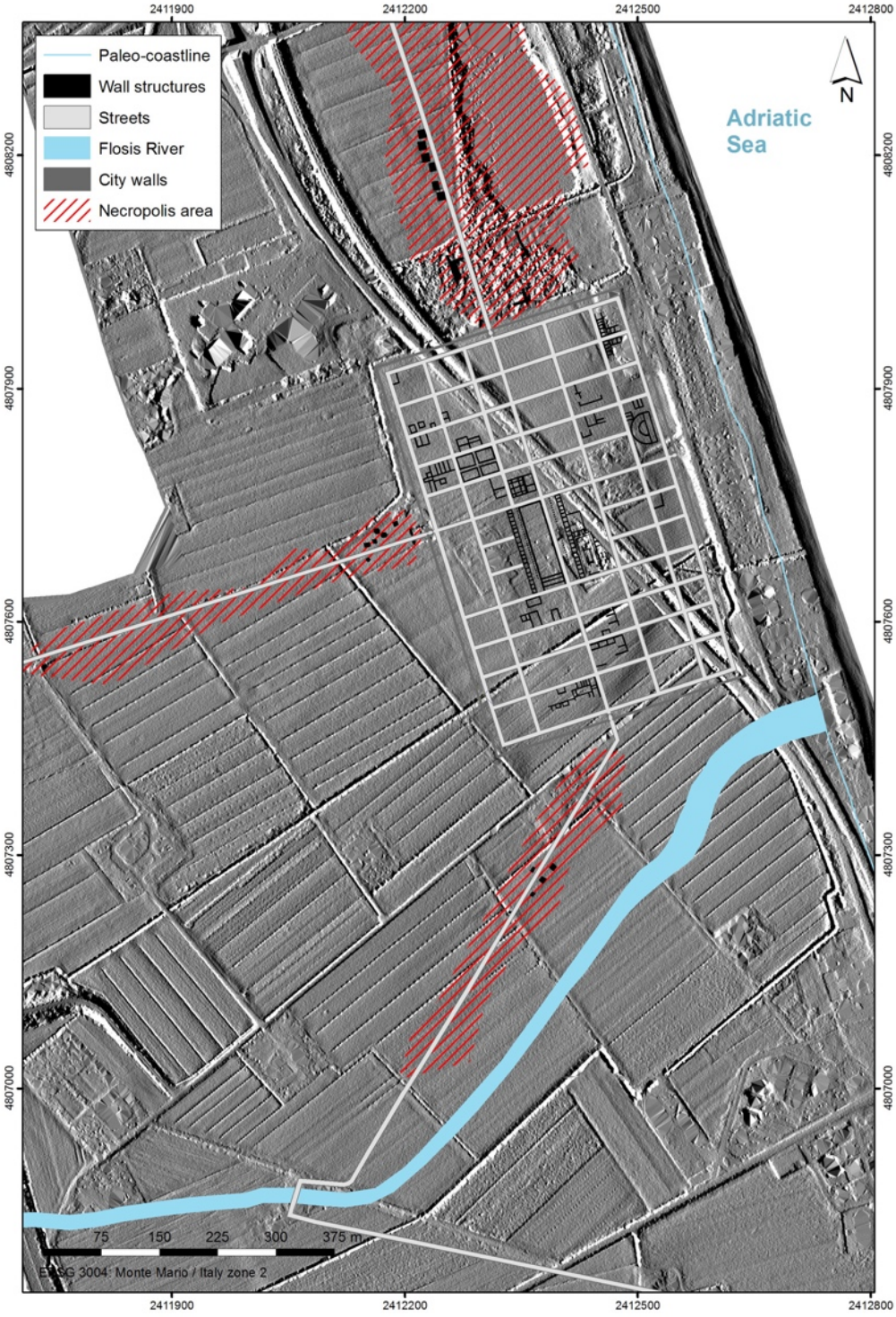

Fig. 11 Simplified map of the Roman town of *Potentia* (founded 184 BC) and a series of peri-urban features, on the basis of Lidar-imagery (by Vermeulen and Taelman).

Trends in rural settlement dynamics between Picenes and Romans along the valley

Certain early urbanization processes were at work, in many parts of Italy during the fourth and third centuries BC, preceding the Roman conquest and military operations in the regions concerned, involving the evolution of indigenous society towards greater complexity. Growing communal integration and central management can be deduced from conspicuous public or ceremonial architecture related to a self-conscious elite, and to fortifications that symbolise tribal prestige and autonomy. This period was probably one of maximum expansion for many of the fortified strongholds, mostly plateau- or hilltop sites, as well as the presence of both isolated farmsteads and hamlets in the territories of the expanding centres. Towns and villages came to function as local centres that supplied their hinterlands with craft products, and offered facilities for the processing, storage and exchange of agricultural products. This structured rural infill, or the development of many farms in the open countryside, reveals an intensification and expansion of agriculture, and was presumably one response to the problems of an expanding population. War of course was another, and the policy can only have worked if there was a defendable settlement within reach to which the farmers and their families could retreat when an enemy invaded. If sufficient arable land lay within five or six kilometres from the central settlement, this land could have been exploited by peasants who lived in these central communities and walked to work in their fields; but even that degree of commuting is inefficient, and as the population pressure rose, and the need for food increased, isolated settlements spread across the landscape.

The same evolutions as elsewhere on the peninsula much have taken place in the central Adriatic region, but they are less easily discernible. They probably also took place slightly later and less strongly than in regions closer to Rome, such as western and central Umbria or the Sabina. It is probable that a number of important proto-urban centres that had developed along the coast, and even in the main Umbrian, Celtic and Picene inland areas, retained some control over socio-economic flows and kept their topographic characteristics even in the midst of the Roman urbanization process in the region. In fact, it was only after the political and military annexation of the Italic and Celtic territories during the first decades of the third century BC that the centralization efforts begun by the local communities found their fulfilment, when those communities were not, at least in part, replaced by typical colonial foundations functional to the control of the coast and the borders. The effect of Romanization on the indigenous populations that lived around the colonies - especially in the deepest hinterland - is however secondary, as it was not part of an imperialist project of conquest and control, and it probably took many decades before it became perceptible in the material culture of these communities.

In the recently published volume about the Potenza Valley Survey (Vermeulen *et al.* 2017) my team had the opportunity to fully present for the first time the analytical results of our rural fieldwork in all three transects of the upper, middle and lower valley, and to link them to the diachronic patterns of the larger centralized sites in the area[7]. During and after these field operations a whole series of 'archaeological sites' were defined as "artefact concentrations where the density of the recorded material suggested a human occupation or other sedentary activity in the past, covering either a single or multiple historical time periods". Although this was much more evident for the Roman Imperial period, many Iron Age and Republican Roman sites have also been individualized, representing a wide array of rural settlements, from single farmsteads to hamlets and, for the most recent pre-Imperial phases (essentially the first century BC), also larger villa-like farms. The translation from recorded artefact scatters to diachronic settlement patterns in the transition period concerned here is, however, a complicated matter. The

[7] See especially Chapter 5 (Van Limbergen) and the Conclusions (Vermeulen) partly synthesized and further elaborated here.

extraction of meaningful chronological patterns from survey pottery in the Potenza valley is hindered by diachronic differences in the availability of representative dating material (e.g. Vermeulen 2012, Van Limbergen *et al.* 2017). This situation is inherent to Italian survey archaeology in general. For example, thick and dark-reddish impasto ware dominates the Iron Age material assemblages and the consistent lack of datable fine ware for this protohistoric phase means that we can often only attribute Iron Age sites broadly to a period somewhere between the ninth and the third century BC (Boullart 2003; Riva 2007). For the Late Republican period too, the generic nature of most black gloss finds impedes secure fine-tuned dating within the last two centuries BC. As black gloss ware is generally not very abundant on smaller settlement sites, evidence for Republican occupation in general often remains relatively discrete, even if the number of identified settlements is clearly higher than in the preceding periods. Although concentrations, and thus real settlements, are generally hard to date precisely, however, there are also indications of a more open landscape used by more intensified agriculture from the wider spread of so-called 'off-site pottery' in many areas within our transects. Some of these indications can be connected with places taken in by farmers of new arable land that was still used as woodland or pasture. These more ephemeral finds also indicate, of course, the presence of nearby settlement sites and of the many types of peripheral structures connected with them, such as rural funerary monuments demarcating their new properties, access roads, ditches draining the fields and demarcating new pasture land, and so on. They are more indirect proof of a gradually more urbanized and settled landscape based on Roman models.

Despite the difficulty of reconstructing settlement dynamics before the full Romanization of the landscape using survey archaeology, it is still possible to discuss a few main trends in the later Iron Age period of the Potenza valley[8]. The overall picture of the rural landscape in all three survey transects seems to be one of a series of smallish settlements distributed randomly in-between the larger nucleated hilltop sites discussed earlier. The poor representation of these protohistoric sites in the survey record – sometimes only by a few sherds – is in line with other surface observations in Italy and Greece, and they are probably best identified as isolated, often short-lived farmsteads (Di Gennaro and Stoddart 1982). The frequent association of these Iron Age concentrations with areas of darker grey soil (e.g. ploughed pit and ditch fillings) and the occasional occurrence of storage vessels and medium-sized animal bones of cow, pig and sheep/goat, suggest the small-scale agricultural or pastoral-like nature of most of these sites. The general scarcity of building materials such as stones and tiles suggests the presence of mostly simple and ephemeral wattle and daub huts. In some cases, finds of river pebbles and ceramic tiles suggest the existence of more substantial buildings, provided with stone foundations and tiled roofs. In all valley transects, the location of these farmsteads and hamlets often seem to have been determined by the vicinity of easily accessed water sources, such as natural springs or the confluence of small streams. Other sites clearly coincided with strips of cultivable land along both sides of the Potenza River. In the lower valley area, the extensions of the hilly ridges bordering the Potenza plain and the sandy beach ridge along the coast in particular proved to be preferred topographies for occupation in protohistoric times. In all three survey transects, we get the impression that this pattern of dispersed rural settlement was structured around – and probably located in the territory of – a series of central places, such as Montarice in the lower valley and Monte Franco in the middle valley. This combination of 'rural infill' and the development of more aggregated forms of settlement clearly illustrates the unfolding of a changing proto-urban landscape, which probably reflects a socio-economic settlement structure with its roots in the later Bronze Age (Vermeulen and Mlekuz 2012).

[8] Some of the trends revealed here are not dissimilar as observations in other valleys in Marche such as in the valleys of the rivers Tenna, Chienti, Misa and Cesano (e.g. Menchelli 2012; Dall'Aglio 1991; Giorgi 2002 and this volume; Perna and Capponi 2012), but a real confrontation and comparison of the data in the wider region still lacks.

It is remarkable that in the lower valley 12 out of the 14 Iron Age sites continued to be occupied into the Late Republican period, which is more than 80% of all detected settlements! Another 11 discovered sites were newly founded. In the upper and middle valleys much lower degrees of continuity are noticeable, suggesting that the arrival of Roman viritane colonists settling in the inner Potenza valley prompted the dispersed settlement pattern in the countryside, with more advanced agricultural and pastoral techniques and broader food practices possibly enabling a more efficient exploitation of the resources of the land. Nevertheless, we need to be extremely cautious with these numbers, as the ability to date simple rural sites of the third-second centuries BC is restricted and we only start to understand the complexity of the continued use of impasto pottery in the early Roman phase (see Gamberini *et al.* this volume). An analysis of the approximately 20 sites in the valley clearly dated to the third to first centuries BC demonstrates that only two contain certain third century BC finds, and only four have certain second century BC pottery. The others can only be dated with certainty from the first century BC onwards based on the more datable and more prominently present late Republican finds (black gloss, amphorae etc.). This pattern could also mean that in the first period of only limited Romanization in the inner valleys (especially before the mid-second century BC) indigenous traditions of pottery use (e.g. impasto wares) continue to dominate the archaeological record of isolated farm sites. This phenomenon might even be applied to many other districts of *Picenum* and the *ager Gallicus*, especially in those areas further away from the third and second century BC colonial town foundations.

Especially in the lower valley, the installation of new farms in the coastal zone seems to be a clear response to the opportunities offered by the new portal town of *Potentia* to its hinterland, together with the gateway it provided to wider overseas trade networks. Symbolic of this process is the regular presence of Rhodian amphorae on a number of sites near the new town and the discovery of a good number of production sites for amphorae. A typical example of the latter is the site of Colle Burchio, a Late Republican wine-producing estate that started manufacturing late Greco-Italic wine amphorae in the first half of the second century BC (Vermeulen *et al.* 2017, 150; Van Limbergen *et al.* 2017). A combination of artefact surveys, geophysical prospection and aerial photography enabled us to identify several buildings and amphora kilns, spreading out over an area of more than one hectare. This allowed the identification of the site as one of the six late Republican amphora workshops located in the direct hinterland of *Potentia*. At one of these workshops (Acquabona), a site located south of the Roman town, along the coastal road, our excavations of building structures and kiln debris, with late Greco-Italic/early Lamboglia 2 wasters, hint at the production of wine amphorae from the mid-second century BC onwards (Vermeulen *et al.* 2009). This link between the first phases of Roman colonization and urbanization in the third-second century BC, and the installation of wine producing facilities in the Potenza valley finds increasing support in the wider central Adriatic area (with good evidence from *Ariminium*, *Sena Gallica* and *Hatria*) (Carre *et al.* 2014). The lower Potenza valley, and in general much of coastal Adriatic Italy, had in the course of the second century BC become an economically interesting area for those willing and able to invest in market-oriented agricultural production. Current archaeological studies corroborate this suggestion, as there is sufficient evidence to claim that prominent Romans and other elites not only started to locally produce and export wines to Rome on a grand scale, but also traded them elsewhere in the empire. Archaeological findings indicate overall economic success along the lower and middle valleys of the main rivers in this region, although this could be within a situation of fewer free citizens than before, and with labour increasingly provided by slaves.

Alongside the new colonial centre, another driving force in the changing settlement system are the roads. Often new road networks condition exactly which sites continue to survive in the transitional phase, and the location of future sites. Some settlements were practically cut off from the flow of people

and goods by an apparent change in the road systems. The sites of small farms might also have merged in the course of the second century to form a larger establishment, in particular where they had a favourable position on the new road network. Many of these must have been dependant of the coastal colony, or on an inland *praefectura* and market centre for their administrative and economic needs. Some of these farm sites will be the core of later villa-type of settlements, most of which are only appear by the first century BC.
Finally, the gradual, or in some cases immediate, deterioration of the hilltop centres probably also resulted in another important shift. Once these centres had disappeared, or shrunk to small hamlets, the role they played within the indigenous communities may have been taken over by the larger rural sanctuaries, whose presence and precise location in the central Adriatic region is still a subject of much needed research. As was shown by the recent discovery of a fourth/third century BC sanctuary near a river bed in the territory of Ascoli Piceno (Demma *et al.* 2018), these transition period sanctuaries might well have to be sought in the many valley floors of the region, which by this time had started gaining more importance in the flow of goods and ideas brought by first Roman merchants and later also the military and settlers.

Final observations

There has been a breakthrough in the first part of the chosen timespan, the late Iron Age phase in the Potenza valley, in characterising some of the possible settlement patterns that evolved between the traditionally accepted onset of Picene and eastern Umbrian (Camerino area) decline in the later fifth century and the coming of Rome in the early third century BC. This period in the central-Adriatic region remains, however, a somewhat 'dark' phase of Italic protohistory, notoriously ill-documented for its settlement organization and landscape transformation. The newly obtained information on site hierarchies and dispersion, and on the characterization of some of the more focal settlements and aggregate sites, however, gives hope for a future deepening of the knowledge base and provides useful directions for future field research.
It is also clear from the longstanding field project by the Ghent university team that a well-integrated non-invasive fieldwork strategy, including aerial photography and geophysical prospection, but also coring and other geo-archaeological approaches, can obtain very useful results for this difficult period in time. Nevertheless, we are fully aware that there is now an urgent need for well-targeted small or even larger scale excavations and stratigraphically sustained studies of material culture from good settlement contexts. The exact positioning of such excavation areas can now be greatly helped by the new remote sensing technologies, which allow the selection of areas in which to dig, such as where house plots or infrastructure based around production (e.g. kilns) is assumed. There is still a strong need for better and more detailed reference collections of datable pottery and other settlement artefacts (Demma *et al.* 2018, note 10), and a long way ahead before the study of settlement behaviour in this valley, and by extension in the whole of *Picenum* and the *ager Gallicus,* can attain the necessary levels for comparison with the information that we already have on more advanced societies in the Tyrrhenian parts of central Italy.
It might, finally, be useful to point out that even if there have been good results for the mid-Republican phases of Roman occupation in the Potenza valley, a more specific research strategy is necessary for a meaningful understanding of the occupation of the landscape in the crucial third century and first half of the second century BC, a period that should illustrate the more dramatic transformation of indigenous communities before the much more visible period immediately preceding, and following, the Social War in the early first century BC.

X. A crossroads in the central Potenza Valley: non-invasive research into settlement (dis-)continuity at Monte Franco (Pollenza, Marche, Italy)

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Summary

The area of Monte Franco (Pollenza, province of Macerata) in the central Potenza Valley is well-known for the large *Piceni* burial ground of Moie di Pollenza, partly excavated in the 1960s (Lollini 1963, 1966). Its settlement history has received much less attention, despite the results of the diachronic Ghent University surveys which indicated a dense, and long-term occupation of the wider area between the Bronze Age and the Middle Ages (Percossi *et al.* 2006: 112-114; Vermeulen *et al.* 2017, De Neef and Vermeulen 2018). This paper presents new non-invasive and geo-archaeological research from the Monte Franco zone, which contributes to unravelling the occupation phases and land use strategies in this archaeological palimpsest. The Monte Franco example illustrates the processes and changes in settlement organization in Central-Adriatic Italy prior to Romanization, and highlights the contribution of non-invasive prospection and geo-archaeological approaches to the study of changing land use systems.

Introduction

The transformation of settlement and land use systems in Central-Adriatic Italy during the fourth to second centuries BC is generally discussed in terms of broad-scale social dynamics, political instability, and Romanization, yet exactly how these transformations affected local populations remains difficult to grasp, despite several regional archaeological surveys and an increasing number of excavations that demonstrate radical changes in settlement, infrastructural, and economic systems during this period. One reason for this is the fragmented nature of this part of Italy in the centuries before Roman intervention, characterized by heterogeneous ethnicities, the migration of the so-called 'Gallic' or 'Celtic' groups, and a low level of political and economic centralization. The impact of new social, political and economic realities on local communities, before and following their integration into the Roman world, needs to be studied in detail if we want to assess existing models of transition in the wake of Romanization. This paper focuses on this local level through the identification of settlement and land use changes in the micro-region of Monte Franco in the central part of the Potenza Valley (Marche, Italy). It highlights the potential of non-invasive archaeological prospection and geo-archaeological approaches in the study of local transition processes in the later first millennium BC, and discusses how such micro-regional research can be integrated with wider narratives of cultural transformation.

The Monte Franco area case study is often presented as an example of long-term social dynamics in this part of Marche, because we have a relatively good idea of its diachronic development (see also Vermeulen, this volume). Monte Franco is the name of a hill on the southern bank of the River Potenza, part of a north-south oriented sandstone ridge between Pollenza and Treia (**Fig. 1**). The archaeological significance of the area is often explained by its strategic position, where the narrow passage of the River Potenza crosses through the ridge at Passo di Treia, providing an east-west and north-south crossroads connecting the Apennine inlands, river valley, inland hill ranges, and coastal zone (De Neef and Vermeulen 2018). The area is well known for the Iron Age burial ground of Moie di Pollenza which was

in use between the ninth and fifth centuries BC, preceded by a Middle Bronze Age settlement in the same location in the Potenza Valley floor (Lollini 1963, 1966; Fig. 1).
Another Middle-Recent Bronze Age settlement was partly excavated near the summit of the Monte Franco hill in the 1950s (De Neef and Vermeulen 2018; De Neef and Vermeulen in press). Although there is evidence for Final Bronze Age occupation in the upper layers of Lollini's trenches (mixed with Picene and later material), the site seems to have been abandoned towards the end of the Bronze Age (Lollini 1979b, 209, Fig. 7; De Neef 2017). In 2001, the Potenza Valley Survey project of Ghent University recorded material concentrations in the arable fields at the base of the hill, which attest to the intensive occupation of the area between the Bronze Age and late antiquity (Percossi *et al.* 2006; Vermeulen *et al.* 2017). A cluster of Iron Age artefact concentrations along the eastern base of the hill was interpreted as a settlement zone, while a discrete Roman artefact scatter was interpreted as a small habitation centre occupied between the late Republic and late Imperial times (Vermeulen *et al.* 2017; Fig. 45, Site 77). The archaeology of the northern river bank is less known due to the expansion of the modern town of Passo di Treia, but surveys and aerial photography analysis by the Ghent team identified Picene and Roman traces here too, and small-scale rescue operations in the town centre indicate the presence of Iron Age burials (Percossi *et al.* 2006; Vermeulen *et al.* 2017; Vermeulen and Mlekuz 2012; De Neef and Vermeulen in press). A cluster of artefact scatters of first -second century AD settlement material found in conjunction with a Roman road traceable by aerial photography was interpreted as a large roadside settlement of at least 8 hectares (Fig. 1, sites 94 and 79).

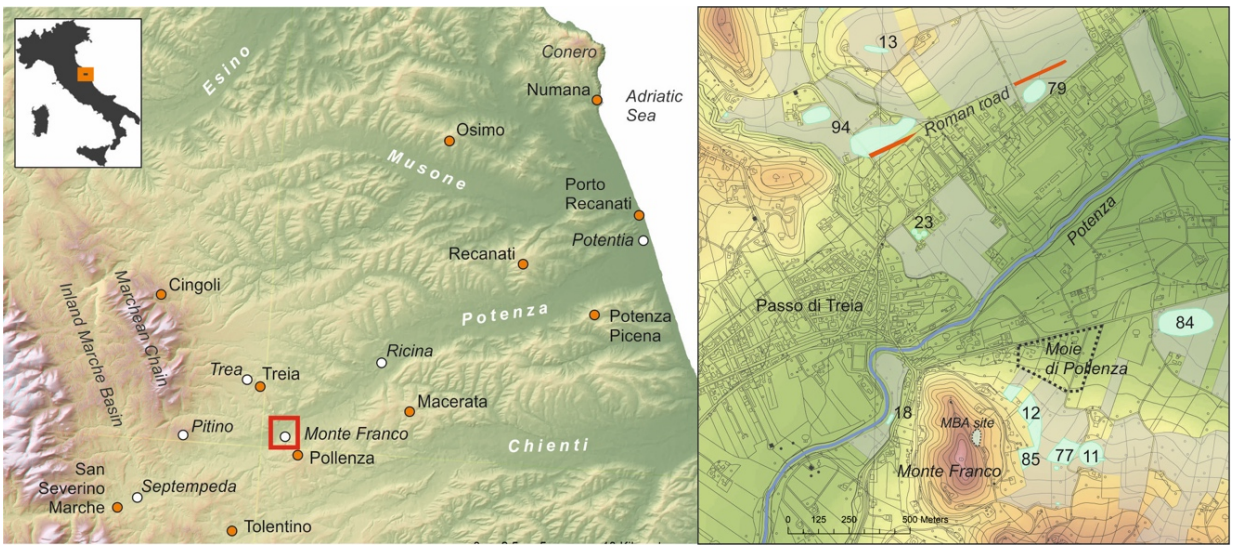

Fig. 1. Left: location of Monte Franco in the Potenza Valley of Marche, Italy. Archaeological sites are indicated with a white dot and italic font; towns with an orange dot. Right: overview of archaeological sites in the Monte Franco area. Surface sites recorded by the Potenza Valley Survey are blue areas.

On the basis of this data, we can tentatively propose the following timeline: after an interruption in the last phase of the Bronze Age, a major but not exceptionally rich Iron Age indigenous *Piceni* group centre developed in the vicinity of an earlier Bronze Age site. The *Piceni* site declined after the fifth century BC and was replaced by a less centralized and still poorly understood occupation system in the fourth and third centuries BC. The settlement system changed again after the Roman conquest and became primarily tied to the newly established *Via Flaminia* branch on the north bank of the Potenza (Roman name *Flosis*), firmly positioning Monte Franco on the route between the Roman towns of *Septempeda* and *Ricina*, a system which continued well into the later Imperial period and possibly longer. Meanwhile,

the area witnessed a process of rural infill between farmsteads and small hamlets (see also Vermeulen, this volume).
While such a schematic narrative is useful to recognise broader historical trends in conjunction - or perhaps contrast - with other areas, it does not clearly explain or illustrate how these events took place or affected the local groups at Monte Franco. At a local level, many questions remain unanswered. For instance, the chronological and spatial association between the Moie di Pollenza necropolis and the broadly dated Iron Age surface artefact clusters along the base of the hill need to be clarified. Occupation traces from the elusive fourth and third century BC need to be located, and, if possible, characterized. Furthermore, with only a few Roman rural settlements in Marche investigated in detail, it is difficult to interpret the discrete Roman artefact scatter on the right bank. The overarching question for all these phases is how this landscape was managed and exploited – and whether this changed as drastically as the settlement system appears to have done. In the following sections, I will present the results of recent research into the settlement history of the Monte Franco area, focusing on these issues, and illustrate how non-invasive and geo-archaeological approaches have helped to unravel them.

Current research at Monte Franco (Pollenza)

The Monte Franco area is one of the study areas in a spin-off project from the Potenza Valley Survey (PVS, 2000-2017) focusing on pre-Roman settlement and land use. The FWO-funded postdoctoral research project 'Neighbours and Nobles' (2017-2020) focuses on the social organization of pre-Roman communities as expressed by their spatial behaviour in settlements and their catchments. The project aims at a better understanding of the poorly understood settlement record of local protohistoric groups in Central-Adriatic Italy through the non-invasive prospection of micro-regions with habitations and their surroundings. The analysis and interpretation of the integrated data from geophysical surveys, field walking surveys, aerial photography, topographical work, and geo-archaeological studies offers new insights into the daily organization and territorial arrangements of pre-Roman groups. This provides a valuable addition to the well-known Iron Age burials of this part of Italy: the pre-Roman Picene people are still known mostly from the funerary record, and the settlement and economy of these groups, and their Bronze Age predecessors, remain underexplored. We also use prospection data not only as a means to put dots on the map, but to analyse the arrangement of space as an expression of social norms. To this end, we have to look beyond 'the site' and instead focus on the wider habitus of the communities under study. The project therefore investigates a series of case study areas where settlement traces are expected on the basis of artefact surveys, known funerary clusters, or other (legacy) data suggesting pre-Roman occupation. So far, the results of the multidisciplinary field campaigns of 2018 and 2019 demonstrate the enormous potential of non- and minimally-invasive prospection in the study of protohistoric communities (De Neef *et al.* forthcoming, De Neef and Vermeulen 2018).

In 2018 and 2019, teams of Ghent University staff and students conducted artefact surveys, geophysical surveys, and soil studies at Monte Franco (**Fig. 2**). These resulted in high-resolution datasets which can now be integrated to confront the many open questions about the occupation dynamics of the area, as outlined in the introduction above. In 2018 the arable fields east of the Monte Franco hill were re-surveyed, with a surface coverage of ca. 40%, and materials were collected in units of 30 x 30 m. High-density finds areas were subsequently resampled at 100% coverage, during which the locations of artefacts of special interest, such as pottery with datable features or specific functional characteristics, were recorded individually using a Leica Viva GNSS system. Visibility was not particularly high in 2018, but part of the research area was ploughed in September 2019 and therefore re-surveyed to obtain more, and more datable, material. In addition to the information from the lower resolution PVS surveys

(large collection units, lower coverage, extended area) conducted in 2001, these targeted re-surveys provide more spatial and chronological detail, as well as the opportunity to evaluate the preservation of the (near-)surface archaeological record over a time span of 18 years.

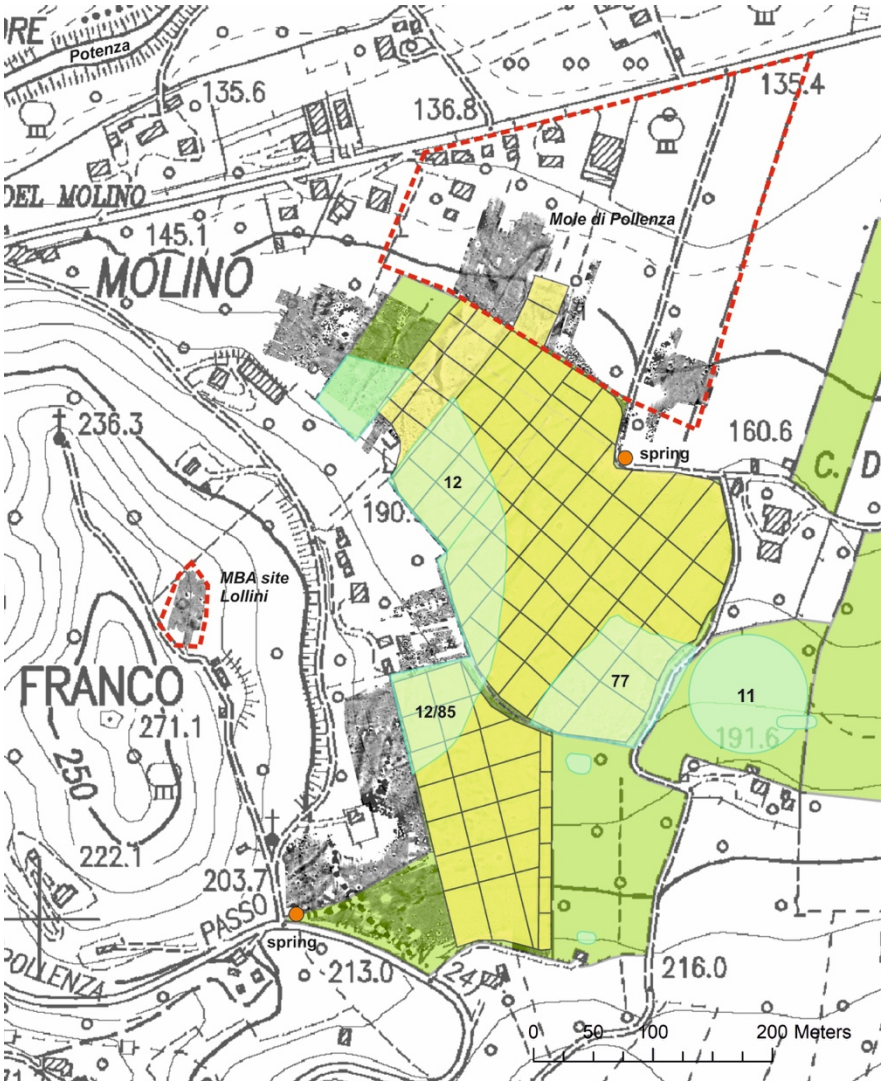

Fig. 2. Overview of the investigated areas at Monte Franco. The extensive PVS survey areas of 2001 are light green; the PVS sites are light blue. The 2018 and 2019 artefact survey areas are light yellow. The known archaeological sites of Moie di Pollenza and Monte Franco, both investigated by Delia Lollini, are outlined in a dashed red line.

The artefact surveys were paired with large-scale geophysical mapping of the same area. In 2018 we tested two common geophysical techniques, ground-penetrating radar (GPR) and magnetic gradiometry, for the prospection of archaeological remains under the local conditions at Monte Franco. The latter technique, performed with a LEA-Mini mobile cart array with four Sensys FM650 fluxgate gradiometer probes at 0.5 m intervals, proved to be especially suitable for detecting a wide range of anthropogenic and natural features (**Fig. 3**). The GPR survey by Dr Lieven Verdonck, using an ATV-towed modular system for a Sensors & Software SPIDAR network consisting of 15 pulseEKKO PRO 500 MHz antennas, was less successful in detecting subsurface features due to the high clay content of the local soils (De Neef and

Vermeulen 2018). We thus focused on the full mapping of the Monte Franco research area by magnetometry. A total of 13 hectares were covered prior to ploughing in 2019.

Fig. 3. Magnetic gradiometry survey at Monte Franco in 2018.

To understand the landscape formation and depositional processes affecting the preservation and detection of archaeological traces, we took a series of manual cores to characterise the local soils. We also took targeted cores from selected geophysical features in order to establish whether they were of archaeological relevance, and if so, how they could be characterized, and at what depth they occur. Archaeological artefacts and datable ecofacts (charcoal, seeds, bone) were collected from these cores; we are currently awaiting the C14-dating results from a number of these samples. These targeted cores allow us to make temporal and spatial associations between the surface archaeological record and the buried subsurface record, and to link tangible archaeological remains to more ephemeral activities and artefact-less land use.

Results

Here I briefly present the results of the archaeological, geophysical, and geo-archaeological fieldwork of 2018 and 2019. I structure these according to the following themes: the extent of the Iron Age necropolis of Moie di Pollenza; the extent, internal organization, and chronology of the pre-Roman Site 12 at the eastern base of Monte Franco; functional areas outside the site core; further traces of pre-Roman occupation; the character of Roman Site 77; evidence for land management and controlled hydrology.

The necropolis of Moie di Pollenza

The excavations at Moie di Pollenza are unfortunately not published in detail and the precise location of Lollini's trenches and the recorded archaeological contexts are unknown. What we do know is that the excavated burials and preceding settlement traces are situated on the lower slopes to the north east of Monte Franco, in an area now built with houses and related structures (Lollini 1963; 1966; Fig. 2). Locals recall the impact of earthmoving and deep ploughing on these slopes, pointing out that archaeological contexts will most likely not be preserved in the direct vicinity of the houses. Originally, the necropolis extended at least as far as a tarmac road for a planned business park, the construction of which was stopped after the discovery of more burials (Percossi 2005). Several people recall a large number of archaeological metal objects found in a field behind a truck garage; this field was densely overgrown during 2018 and 2019 and could not be investigated.
Diffuse protohistoric hand-made *impasto* pottery concentrations occur in the northernmost part of the survey area, where they can be associated with the nearby funerary zone of Moie di Pollenza. Two impasto spindles found in this zone are among the objects often, but not exclusively, found in Iron Age graves. The recovery, however, under favourable conditions in September 2019, of several small bronze fragments strongly suggests that the protohistoric materials collected in this area come from ploughed-out burial contexts. A strong argument for the presence of burials across a much larger area than previously known comes from a fragment of human jawbone from a 20-25 year old, not very robust individual (so probably a woman) found on the surface during the magnetometry survey (**Fig. 4**).

Fig. 4. Fragment of a human jaw with three molars, found on the surface during the 2019 magnetometry survey. The find location is indicated in Figure 5.

The morphology of the fragment and the wear of the three teeth, indicates a diet which was not very refined and required hard chewing, suggesting a pre-Roman date (pers. comm. Prof. Dr I. de Groote, Ghent University).

The jaw fragment was found in direct association with a sub-circular magnetic feature with a diameter of ca. 17 m (**Fig. 5**). Targeted coring suggests that this anomaly was caused by a stone-filled ditch, but this should be verified by further invasive work. Such circular stone enclosures are typical of egraves of the seventh and sixth centuries BC, and were also recorded at Moie di Pollenza (Lollini 1966: figure 55). It seems, therefore, very likely that the Picene cemetery extended at least this far. The absence of more circular features or other tomb-like anomalies in the magnetometry data demonstrates the poor preservation of the burial ground.

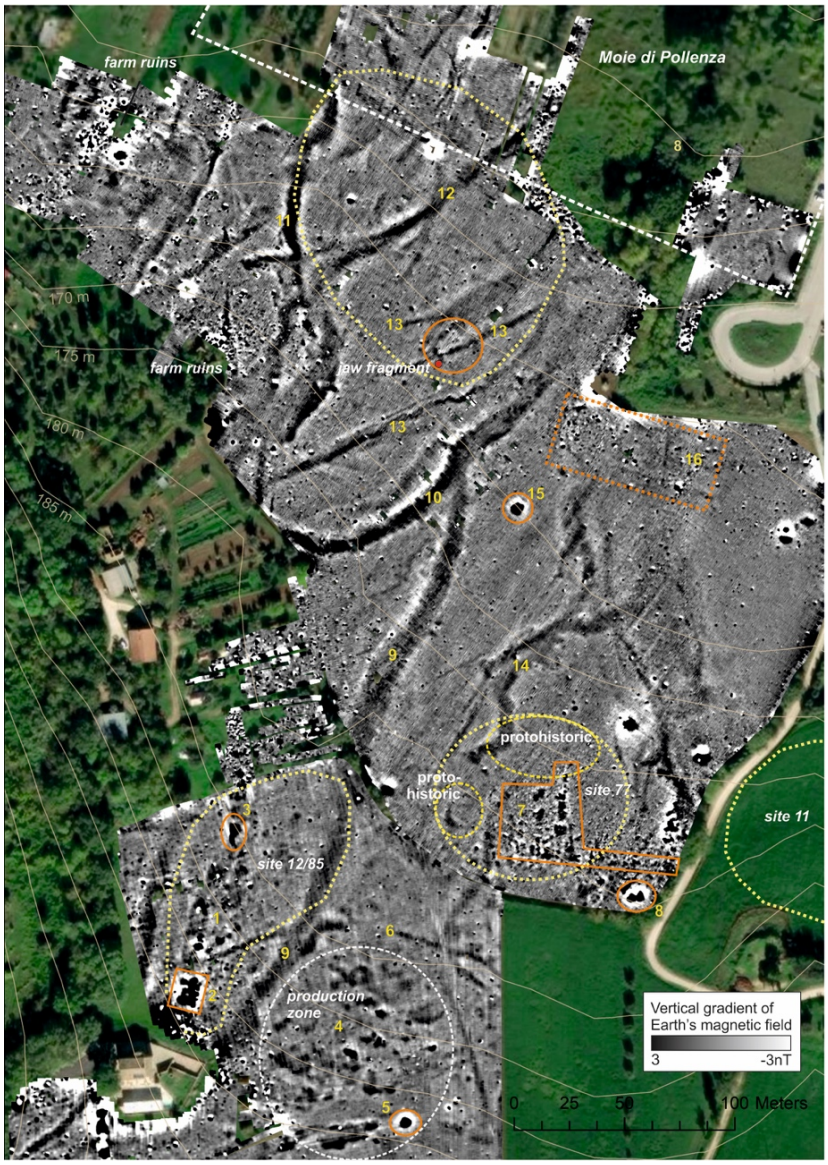

Fig. 5. Magnetometry results of sites 12/85, 77, and the Moie di Pollenza zone. Sites 12/85 and 77 are outlined with a dashed grey line; the production zone near site 12/85 with a white dashed line. Magnetic features mentioned in the text are numbered; specific features are outlined in orange.

Site 12 / 85

The 2018 and 2019 artefact surveys confirmed the presence of a dense pre-Roman artefact concentration at the foot of the hill (Site 12), however, it is smaller and its boundaries are more defined than the large, partially overlapping artefact scatters recorded along the eastern base of Monte Franco in 2001 (Fig. 5). As in 2001, the western and northern extent of the artefact scatter could not be established because of an un-ploughed field and a densely vegetated olive grove. Instead, the magnetometry survey revealed that a cluster of archaeological features continue towards the SW. Targeted coring confirmed that these features can be chronologically linked to the artefact scatter. The magnetometry data shows a series of strongly magnetic features aligned in a 12-15 m wide, sinuous strip running south west-north east (Fig. 5, Feature 1). The most remarkable feature is a highly magnetic, semi-rectangular zone of ca. 10 x 16 m with magnetic positives up to 40nT above the natural background (Feature 2). The strong dipole characteristic indicates thermoremanent magnetization: burnt materials. Targeted coring indeed confirmed the presence of archaeological deposits with large and medium ceramic fragments, including *impasto* pottery, as well as pieces of burnt cob. Pending further invasive work, we tentatively interpret this feature as a habitation structure, possibly a hut or house. Further north along the sinuous strip, an inverse-comma-shaped anomaly of ca. 11 x 6 m was detected within the Iron Age pottery scatter [3]. Here, too, targeted coring confirmed its direct association with the surface materials: a dark anthropic layer with abundant ceramic fragments and charcoal was found at depths between 110-160 cm. The other magnetic features within the feature strip are also likely to be of high archaeological relevance.

The majority of surface finds can be dated to the pre-Roman Iron Age, but the site also has a Roman occupation phase, in 2001 recorded separately as Site 85 (**Fig. 6**). The assemblage of the *Piceni* phase includes protohistoric building material (tiles and daub), coarse thick-walled impasto pottery (storage vessels), medium-thick impasto pottery (cooking and consumption wares), *bucchero grigio* fine ware, coarse and fine wares, bronze objects, bone, and fragments of household objects such as grinding stones and portable impasto stoves (*fornello*). The fine wares include fragments of Italo-geometric red painted ware similar to Orientalising wares found elsewhere in *Picenum*. The general impression of this assemblage is that of a consistently seventh-sixth century settlement context.

Fig. 6. Selected artefacts from site 12 / 85 at Monte Franco. Top left: red painted ware; top centre: satyr's head appliqué; right: grinding stone; bottom left: Greek imported ware; bottom centre: incised bucchero wall fragment.

Site 85, the Roman phase, was identified in 2001 in the general area around the Antino farmstead and generally placed in the Roman-Late Antique periods, but the clear centre of this later occupation could not be identified. The scatter was tentatively interpreted as a Roman Republican farmstead on the basis of black gloss pottery and Roman storage wares (Percossi *et al.* 2006: 168). The re-survey of 2018 confirmed the generally simple character of the Roman occupation here, with common coarse and plain wares, some building materials, amphora fragments, and three black gloss sherds. No clear indications of Late Roman presence were found, such as African cooking ware or ARSW. The only 'special' object was a ceramic appliqué of a satyr's (?) head, for which we have yet to find a parallel (Fig. 6, top centre). The magnetometry data indicates that this settlement had a clear internal spatial layout of aligned house compounds and associated features, such as pits and auxiliary structures. It is for now impossible to say whether or how this settlement continued further north, but we may assume that it extended into the olive groves and gardens belonging to the modern farmstead of the Antino family. The Iron Age settlement preference for the break of slope below Monte Franco thus overlaps with the present-day occupation. In Section 3.5 below, I will explain how magnetometry has helped us explain this antique and modern location preference in light of slope stability and erosion dynamics.

Functional areas and spatial organization beyond Site 12

An important result of the magnetometry surveys is the identification of functional zones beyond the habitation cores at the base of Monte Franco. There is a cluster of magnetic features directly south and upslope of Site 12, which cannot be associated with surface material and has different morphologies than the magnetic anomalies in the sinuous strip [Fig. 5, Feature Cluster 4]. The artefact survey in this zone yielded low densities of off-site material, however, targeted coring in and outside a number of features confirms their archaeological character. Archaeological deposits with abundant charcoal and burnt clay pieces, but only a few small pottery fragments, occur at depths between 80-180cm. A remarkable, strongly magnetic anomaly, probably caused by thermoremanent magnetism, was confirmed by coring. This produced burnt clay and charcoal deposits, wedged between two layers of hard material at depths between 60-200 cm [5]. We tentatively interpret this feature as a kiln but this should be verified by invasive research. The few pottery fragments found in these features are small and eroded, and poorly datable; we are awaiting C14-dates to confirm whether they are indeed contemporary with Site 12. Pending the C14-dating, we interpret this general area as a productive zone related to, but clearly separated from, the habitation further northwest, with at least one kiln and several pits with industrial waste.

The evidence for the spatial organization of the settlement area and productive zones is another important result of the magnetometry surveys in tandem with the artefact surveys and coring. The separation of the habitation from the production area is emphasized by a number of linear features. The most eye-catching of these is a curvilinear feature running from the rectangular structure to the east [6]. Coring at two locations in- and outside this feature confirm that it was most likely a (possibly paved) ditch filled with settlement debris of (protohistoric) ceramics, charcoal, bone, and burnt clay. Furthermore, the magnetically quiet zone north of the curvilinear feature indicates that this area had a different functionality. Indeed, the Site 12 surface artefacts are situated mostly north of the curvilinear feature.

The longue durée of Site 77

The recent re-surveys and geophysical work at Monte Franco offer new perspectives on the long-term occupation and functionality of Site 77. This Roman artefact scatter of less than one hectare, downslope

of an agricultural terrace east of Monte Franco, was first recorded in the extensive 2001 PVS surveys. Several functional areas were distinguished during this first visit. A concentration of building material, including tiles, and worked and unworked limestone blocks, was recorded in an area of ca. 70 x 20 m. There were piles of pebbles in some areas. Most ceramic material was collected in the eastern part of the site, and it consisted of common, storage, and transport wares, as well as one *terra sigillata* and three African Red Slip Ware fragments. A separate, very small concentration of tiles and Roman pottery was recorded in an area of ca. 30 x 10 m some 180 m east of the large core, next to a natural spring. This small core was interpreted as part of Site 77 (Percossi *et al.* 2006: 161).

The 2019 magnetometry survey confirmed the observations made in 2001 (Fig. 5). In fact, the concentration of building materials over 70 x 20 m corresponds directly to a series of linear and aligned single magnetic features with the same dimensions [Fig. 5, Feature Cluster 7]. These can clearly be interpreted as the remains of a building. A strongly magnetic dipole anomaly to the SE of the building was confirmed to be a kiln by targeted coring, with a hard red baked clay floor recorded at a depth between 60-90 cm, directly on top of the weathered bedrock [Fig. 5, Feature 8]. The surface survey recovered one ceramic waster that may be related to the kiln.

The repeated surveys recorded high densities of Roman building material, especially to the west and north of the magnetic features. Interestingly, the 2018 artefact assemblage consisted almost exclusively of building materials, common coarse and plain wares, transport and storage wares, and very few fine ware sherds. Out of a total of 1041 collected artefacts, only four black gloss and two African Red Slip Ware sherds were recovered, and no *terra sigillata*. This may be partly explained by the poor surface visibility and inexperience of some field walkers, but this near-absence of fine ware was also typical of the assemblage collected in the 2001 survey. Our impression of Site 77 is that this was a single farmstead with its own kiln, focused on the storage and transport of agricultural produce. The surface assemblage gives us only a few dating clues. The presence of Lamboglia 2 and Dressel 6A amphora fragments plus the black gloss sherds indicate occupation during the Roman Republic and early Imperial periods, while the ARSW sherds suggest presence up to the fourth/fifth centuries AD (Percossi *et al.* 2006: Fig. 127). Further work may help to establish whether the site was continuously in use, or abandoned and reoccupied during several phases.

In addition to the Roman evidence, the 2018 re-surveys added another chronological element to site 77: almost 30% of the artefacts collected in 2018 were identified as 'pre-Roman'. The highest densities of handmade impasto pottery and pre-Roman roof tiles were not directly associated with the structural magnetic features, but occurred to the north and west. Pre-Roman storage wares do overlap with a series of aligned magnetic features, however [7]. Although the pre-Roman ceramics do not have well-datable features and the finds densities are decidedly lower than those dating to the Roman phases, Site 77 evidently had a pre-Roman phase which was not recognized in the earlier surveys. The wares suggest a date in the later *Piceni* Iron Age, demonstrated by the typical roof tile fabrics. *Piceni* roof tiles are characterized by porous fabrics with many quartz-calcareous inclusions and orange-red or –brown exteriors and grey interiors, and were produced in *Picenum* from the late sixth-fifth century BC onwards (Ciuccarelli 2009: 4). Again, there is an absence of fine ware, which distinguishes this site from the rich assemblage of nearby Picene Site 12.

Evidence for land management and controlled hydrology

A striking element in the magnetic gradiometry data is the series of long curvilinear features throughout the research area (Fig. 5). These generally run from the higher parts towards the valley floor, but they

often have very peculiar shapes and various orientations. Rainfall typically results in erosion gullies in these intensively cultivated fields, which the present-day owners try to mitigate using a series of small ditches. We therefore hypothesized that the large linear features were also related to natural or managed water flow. Studying the morphology of these large magnetic features, in conjunction with targeted coring, indeed indicates that most are artificial. They attest to the already intensive, controlled land use by ancient settlers at Monte Franco.

The large, weakly magnetized feature running from the SW corner of the research area towards the NE is a recent drainage gully excavated some 30 years ago (pers. comm. Mr Ilari Antino): it starts at a natural spring, follows the natural slope, and is relatively wide [Fig. 5, feature 9]. It cuts through the curvilinear feature [6] and ends in a much stronger magnetic feature [10] further down the slope, which curves in from the west. Coring in this feature [10] demonstrated that it is a very deep, narrow gully reaching almost 4 m in depth from the present-day surface. Another deep and narrow gully of almost 2.5 m deep runs further north [11]. Both deep gullies carry archaeological materials in the lower levels, indicating that they were filled at an early date. A shallower ditch crosses the cemetery area [12]. A series of three parallel, very straight lines with intervals of ca. 17 m run east-west; one of these cuts into the newly detected circle tomb and must therefore be younger [13]. A remarkable zig-zag feature near Site 77 seems to be composed of several elements and must be artificial, considering its shape [14]. The presence of two kilns in this zone [8 and 15] means that it is likely that the inhabitants actively controlled water flow towards the production areas.

The erosion of the Monte Franco slopes unites the ancient and present-day inhabitants of the area. It is therefore probably not accidental that ancient and modern habitations are located on either the stable sandstone base of the Monte Franco, or in the valley bottom. The slopes themselves are unstable except for local outcrops of harder rock, such as at Site 77. The production area near Site 12 is located in an erosive slope zone and seems to have been chosen deliberately. Our coring work indicates that the dense network of gullies is directly related to water management between proto-history and the present; some of the gullies may also have been installed to supply kilns and related production zones.

The peculiar directions and morphology of some of the gullies suggest other intentions. The two very deep, curving gullies [10 and 11] are very likely to be artificial, considering their sudden angles and curves. In fact, they may have been intended to stop water running through the burial zone of Moie di Pollenza, and thus be more or less contemporaneous with the necropolis. The 2018 and 2019 non-invasive work means we know that the burial ground was much larger, and at least one circle tomb was found there. The straight and narrow parallel lines [13] belong to a later phase, because they cut the circle tomb. They are most likely connected with land management, and possibly even parcelling. All in all, the magnetometry uncovered a complex palimpsest of artefact-less human activity traces that can only be understood in relation to the organization and management of the landscape related to the subsequent occupation foci.

Discussion: settlement and land use (dis-)continuity at Monte Franco

Let us now return to the questions posed in the introduction and see how our interdisciplinary work has helped to understand the impact of the broad socio-political and socio-economic transformations related to Romanization on the local communities at Monte Franco. The combined efforts of geophysical prospection, high-resolution artefact survey and soil studies through coring indeed offer new insights into the diachronic development of the area (**Fig. 7**). First of all, we have a better grasp of the starting situation in the *Piceni* Iron Age. The spatial and chronological links between the Moie di Pollenza necropolis and the Picene Site 12 are now well-established: Site 12 is a well-organized, stable settlement context which chronologically overlaps the later phase of the necropolis (seventh-sixth century BC). It

has a distinct habitation area on the stable upper slopes, and a separate production zone which included a (pottery) kiln. The magnetometry survey paired with surface survey demonstrates that the necropolis was larger than previously known; the distance between settlement and necropolis is some 200m. The burial ground is not clearly demarcated, but the curious directions and depths of artificial gullies suggest that the community made efforts to direct water away from the necropolis.

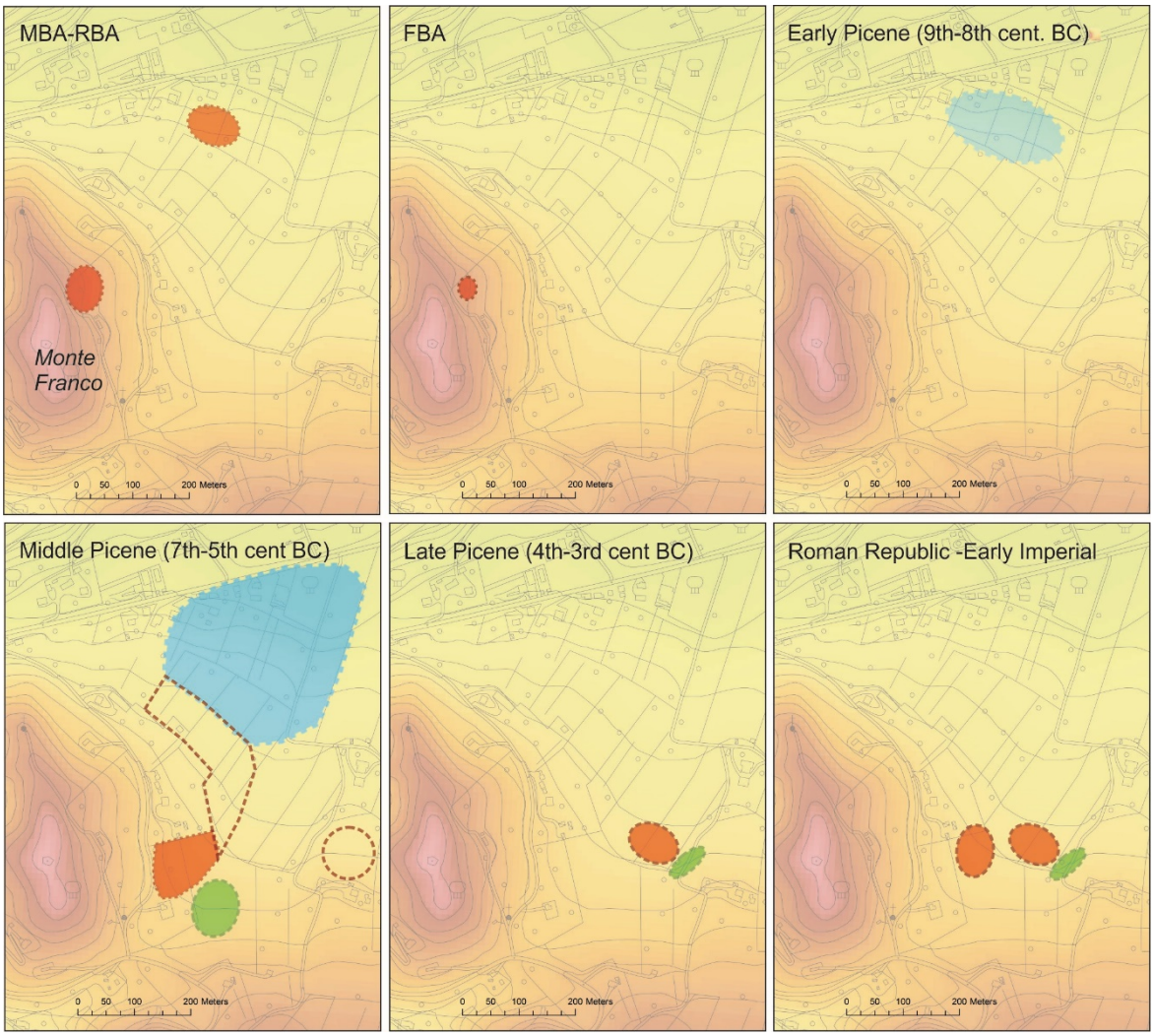

Fig. 7. Diachronic settlement and land use patterns in the Monte Franco area. Red: habitation; blue: funerary area; green: productive zone; dashed red outline: possible settlement zone (not confirmed in 2018/2019 surveys).

The reasons for the abandonment of Site 12 and the necropolis are unknown; pending further invasive work we can only speculate that the highly magnetic rectangular feature is the result of intentional fire. In any case, our detailed work reveals that the area was not abandoned altogether, and that a new Picene site appears some 100m to the east (Site 77). This new site with *Piceni* roof tiles and impasto wares was not identified in previous studies because it was obscured by abundant Roman remains in the same location. The near-absence of fine ware provides a marked contrast with Site 12, and is also characteristic of the Roman Republic and Early Imperial occupation of this location.

After a chronological gap, part of Site 12 was re-occupied in the Roman Republican period (Site 85). The location choice is logical, since this is the stable part of the slope. Like the Picene and Roman phases of Site 77, this site can be interpreted as a single simple farmstead. The results of the magnetometry survey show that Site 77 had its own (pottery) workshop (Feature 8). The inhabitants of Sites 77 and 85 faced the same erosion problems as the previous settlers of the area, and continued to manage slope wash in the surrounding fields with intentional gullies. Water continued to be essential for the use of the kilns. This is demonstrated by the magnetometry traces of a further rectangular structure [16] near a spring on the lower slopes near Moie di Pollenza, spatially associated with another kiln confirmed by coring [15]. The date of this structure is uncertain in the absence of datable surface material, but present-day inhabitants of the area do not remember a building here, and it may be medieval.

This brief overview reveals the crucial transformation of the Monte Franco area that seems to have taken place before the fourth century. The abandonment of the Moie di Pollenza necropolis and Picene site 12 occurred around the fifth century BC. This crucial moment marks the transition of the Monte Franco zone from a 'hub' at the crossroads of several inland routes, reflected in the imported fine wares at Site 12 and the various burial customs at Moie di Pollenza (Lollini 1963, 1966), to more small-scale rural occupation, such as at Site 77. The artefact assemblages of both the Picene and the Roman phases of Site 77 have very few (imported) fine wares, which suggests at least a partial disconnection from main infrastructure networks, although the presence of transport amphora fragments are present. Vermeulen suggests that the settlement focus of the Passo di Treia corridor shifted from the right to the left bank after the construction of the reinforced road in the valley bottom following the Roman conquest (Vermeulen, this volume; Vermeulen and Mlekuz 2012; Fig. 1). The rise of a new, large roadside town on the other side of the Potenza in the first and second centuries AD indeed demonstrates the great impact of stable road systems on the Roman settlement system of the Middle Potenza Valley, but this specific development takes place several centuries after the Via Flaminia was constructed. In summary, there was settlement change at Monte Franco some time before the fourth century BC, and the resulting system of rural farms continued for centuries afterwards. The land use system for this particular area is very persistent; the mitigation of slope wash and the water supply for local workshops are important elements here. The Roman rural infill of the countryside is therefore, in this particular case, rooted in the earlier settlement patterns of the late Picene phases. On the basis of our work at Monte Franco, I believe that there may be more continuity than discontinuity in the Romanization of the inland Adriatic communities.

Conclusion

The case study of Monte Franco in the Middle Potenza valley demonstrates the value of detailed interdisciplinary work in micro-regions for the scrutiny of broad historical narratives. Taking a long-term perspective revealed the roots of the rural Roman 'infill' as the direct successor of an existing late *Piceni* system. Moreover, the land management strategies of the area are very persistent, at least since the Orientalising period onwards, and centred on controlling slope wash and the supply of workshops. There was a sharp discontinuity in the settlement system in, or shortly after, the fifth century BC, when the large Picene settlement at Site 77 and the related necropolis of Moie di Pollenza were abandoned. Further invasive work will have to confirm whether this was the result of conflict, as suggested by a strongly burnt structure detected by magnetometry.

The application of non-invasive prospection techniques have been crucial in coming to these first conclusions about the 2018 and 2019 fieldwork, which now have to be supported by robust C14 or

archaeo-magnetic dates. The results presented in this paper emphasise the value of off-site studies for the understanding of ancient land use strategies. Large-scale magnetic gradiometry survey has provided us with essential clues about the spatial organization of the Monte Franco micro-region. The results are especially valuable in the recognition of controlled hydrological systems related to human occupation, but also in mapping the extent of the necropolis and revealing previously unknown production zones. The presence of a separate productive area on the slope near Site 77 was not recognized in the 2001 and 2018 surface artefact distributions, and the detection of kilns gives us more information about the economies and resources of the ancient inhabitants. Geophysical prospection has thus yielded important information about artefact-less activities in this landscape, and provides a more extensive view of the communities at Monte Franco than we would have based solely on artefact distributions.

The high-resolution re-surveys and targeted coring have, in conjunction with the geophysical surveys, added more chronological detail to the existing datasets for Monte Franco. The Picene phase of Site 77 was a crucial discovery; the presence of *Piceni* roof tiles may indeed be related to some of the foundations mapped by the magnetometer. The extent of the Moie di Pollenza necropolis was confirmed by the surface recovery of a jaw fragment and funerary objects. The targeted corings confirmed the archaeological relevance of many magnetic anomalies and thus the intensive use of the landscape by its ancient inhabitants. As the Monte Franco case demonstrates, scholarship on cultural transformations is very much in need of detailed, interdisciplinary studies at a micro-regional level. Only with such bottom-up approaches can we start to write a nuanced story about the impact of large-scale processes on local communities.

XI. *Pollentia-Urbs Salvia* during the Republican period

***Roberto Perna**, University of Macerata*

Introduction

The numerous archaeological discoveries of the last twenty years have clarified many issues related to the genesis of the first settlement nucleus and colonial establishment in the town of *Pollentia-Urbs Salvia* during the Gracchan period.[1] This is a time range of great interest, during which, in particular since the Hannibalic war, Rome was accelerating, and directly and systematically focusing on the cultural transformation processes of the territory conquered in the Italic area.[2] Within this phase, the case study of *Pollentia-Urbs Salvia* (**Fig. 1**) is surely remarkable, because in the area which would become part of the *Regio V*, the strategy implemented by Rome during the second century BC was different from that of the previous century. This is because in areas already significantly integrated from a political and cultural point of view, the objective was to reorganise the methods used for management through a more systematic occupation and integration of the region.[3]

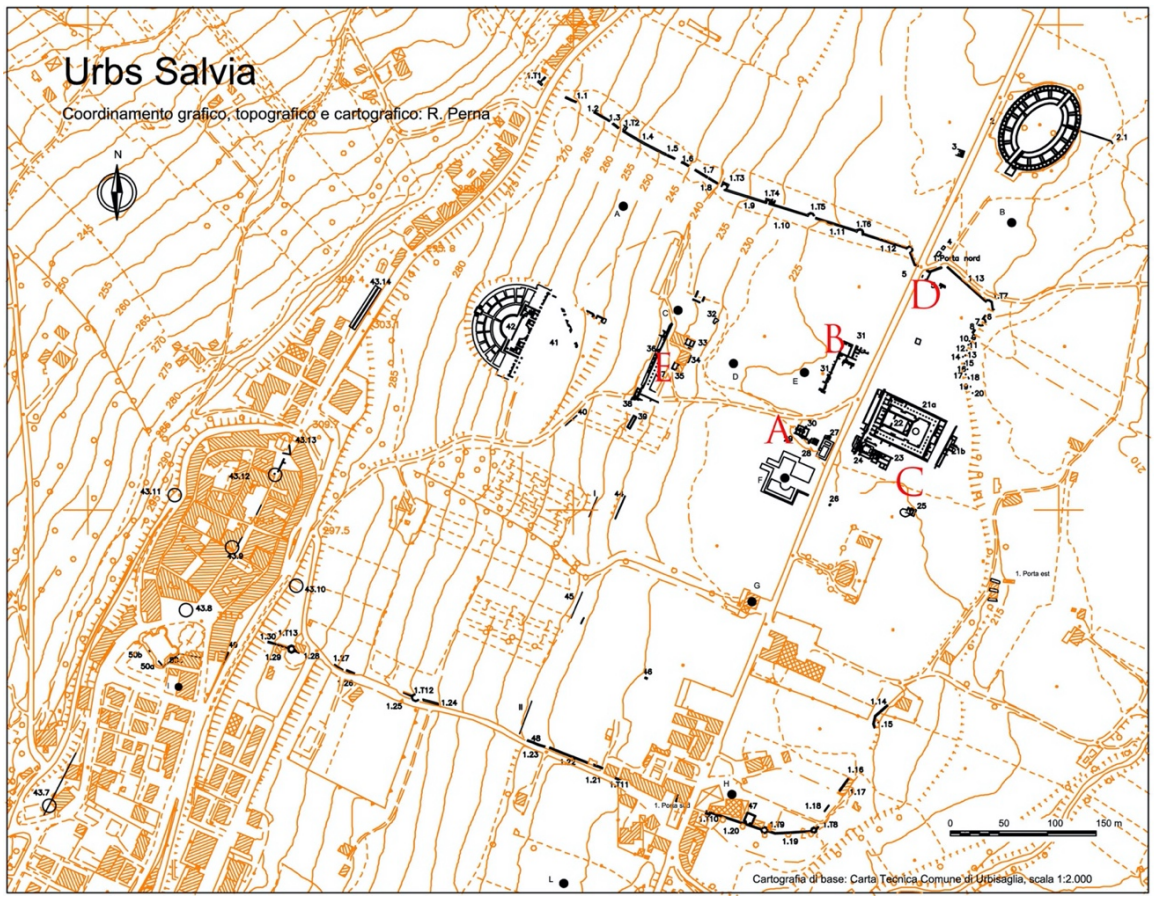

Fig. 1 Archaeological map of the city of *Pollentia*.

[1] Perna 2006; Fabrini 2013; Paci 2016; Perna 2018.

[2] Lippolis 2018.

[3] Fabrini 2013, with bibliography.

The phase of the *conciliabulum*

The settlement

The first traces of occupation in the area have been identified at the southwestern limits of the colonial forum[4] (A in **Fig. 1**) and are related to a craft complex from which some furnaces were found, three of which were well preserved (**Fig. 3**).[5] Two (A and B; **Fig. 2**) were placed side by side with a north-south orientation and a third (C) with an east-west orientation, belonging to a first phase of the complex.[6] These are very simple structures, based on the Type Ia open oven system designed by Cuomo di Caprio.[7]

Fig. 2. Urbisaglia: Furnace B from North-West and the *emblema* in the southern room.

The complex, which was in use during the first half of the second century BC, was used for the production of ceramics for domestic use, with morphological traits similar to those found in the Tyrrhenian area and, perhaps, of small amphorae.[8]

These are the remains of a settlement that in this phase had to extend at least to the northern limits of the area then occupied by the forum (B in **Fig. 1**), where the existence of some levels of contemporary

[4] The area was investigated through 4 trenches (Fig. 3): Trenches 1-3 covered the short south side, Trench 4 the north side (Sectors 1, 2 and 3) and part of the long west side (Sector 4).

[5] Perna 2014, 703-719; Perna 2018, 407-409.

[6] Traces of at least one other small kiln were found in the area immediately further east: Perna 2006, 71, nr. 30. A forge was later added to the craft area.

[7] Cuomo di Caprio 2007, 504.

[8] Perna *et al.* 2016, 267-280.

frequentation has been highlighted.[9] These levels are characterized by reduced structural remains (**Fig. 4**), which do not allow a planimetric reconstruction of the buildings to which they belonged. They were built with river rounded pebbles of small and medium size, held together with earth and can be attributed to the remains of foundations. These structures are placed on levels of clay soil, containing, among other remains, black gloss pottery, as well as a few thin-walled ceramics and internal red slip ware that allows these structures to be placed as still in the first half of the second century BC.

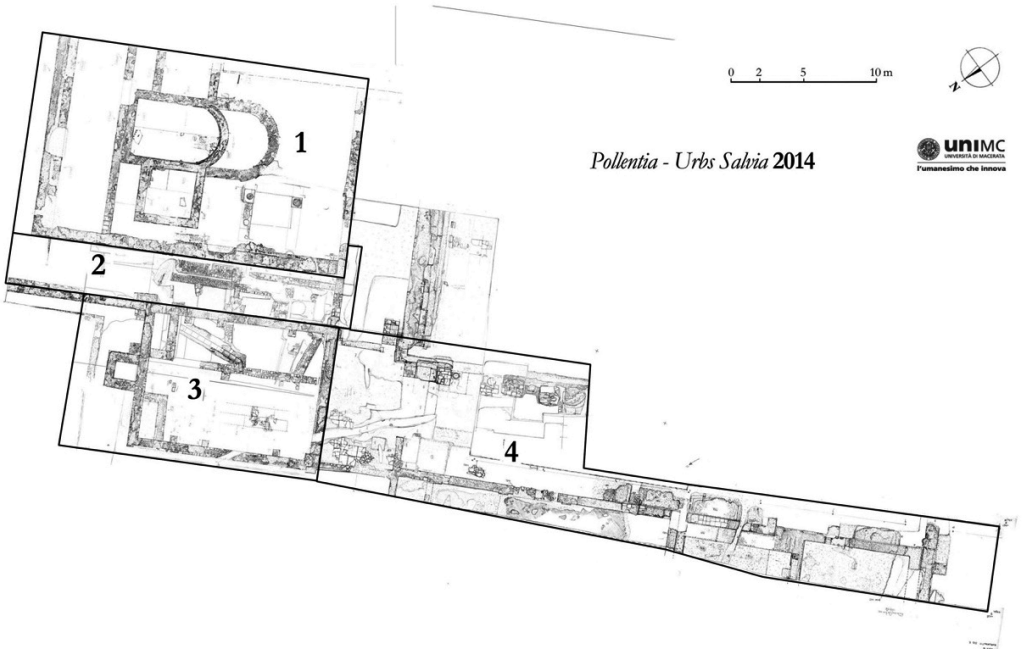

Fig. 3. Urbisaglia: Excavation Area 4.

Fig. 4. *Pollentia*: foundations of the Republican age in Sector 2 of Excavation Area 4, from the south-east.

[9] In Sector 2 of Trench 4: Fabrini and Perna 2015, 4.

Traces of this first phase of occupation in the area, datable from the middle of the third century BC, also come from the area east of the forum, divided by the passage of the *via Salaria Gallica* (C in **Fig. 1**).[10] These are materials found in late Republican layers: in particular black gloss ceramics produced both locally and regionally in the formal repertoire of Etruscan-Latin, Etruscan and Campana A, but also imported from the same areas.

Elements such as the black gloss ceramics seem to be a significant indicator of Romanization.[11] These remains indicate the birth of a settlement linked to the probably spontaneous presence, in part of the *ager publicus* not affected by the *lex Flaminia* (232 BC), of settlers from the Etruscan-Latin area. The settlement could, therefore, be characterized as a *conciliabulum*.[12] Perhaps it was one of those *vici* in the main Roman settlement structure in Italy organized with *vici* and *pagi* for which the *via Salaria Gallica* certainly played an organising role.[13] Organizationally, the settlement would seem to be characterized by empty spaces and occupy a large area, over a length in the north-south direction of at least 200 m, which stretches from the Republican forum to the area of the Augustan walls in the north.

A worship area?

The most recent research has made it possible to hypothesise the presence of a sacred place in the area then occupied by the theatre, near spring waters and perhaps in the open air. This sacred place must have been linked to the first community, and is suggested by a structure of Imperial age incorporated within the upper part of the south-west sector of the *ima cavea*.[14] The non-central location with respect to the *cavea*, the north-eastern orientation and the fact that it compromises the path, limiting the functionality of the building, are elements which have aided its preservation. This interest in preservation was still active in the Tiberian period and can be explained by the will to respect a sacred place.
Assuming that the cult was not linked to local communities before the third century BC, it is possible that the traces of an ancient cult, connected to the *concilabulum* and located in a peripheral area rich in spring water, could be identified in these remains.[15] The cult has been assigned to the *Bona Dea*, whose healing and health-related attributes probably derive directly from the *Agathé Théos* and therefore from the Greek *Igea*, evidently related to springs and areas rich in water. The identification of a sacred place before the colonial foundation would shed new light on how the first group of settlers organized themselves, confirming the Roman intention in the area to use the institution of new cults as a tool for the processes of territorial appropriation.[16]

[10] Fabrini 2003; Perna 2014, 703-719 and Perna 2018, 408-410.
[11] Stek 2009, 23; more specifically with regard to the regional context see Mazzeo Saracino 2014, 357-390.
[12] Perna 2014, 702-706; Perna 2018, 408-410; Perna in press (b).
[13] Tarpin 2002; Todisco 2011; Stek 2009; Perna 2019.
[14] Cingolani in press; Cingolani and Perna in press (a); Coarelli 1993; *ThesCRA* IV, *see: fanum* (Torelli) and *lucus* (Comella).
[15] On the cult as an identifying element of a community from its earliest stages of life see Lippolis 2017, 398-400; 405-406 and Orlin 2003.
[16] In the territory of *regio V* and in the *ager Gallicus* there is a significant caesura in the life of places of worship between the third and second centuries BC: Perna *et al*. 2013; Perna 2018, 425. There are in fact very few (11 out of 263) testimonies related to the cult that can be dated between the two periods, less than 35 of those belong to the Iron Age and 124 exclusively to the Roman period. In general, see in this regard Stek 2009, 18.

This is a process already known in relation to the *Lucus Pisaurensis*[17]*,* occupied at least a century before the colony of *Pisaurum,* or that of *Sena Gallica*, where the urban structure of the colony seems to have been preceded by that of a cult shared by the members of the new community.[18]

The presence of a craft area and a sector for worship is therefore fundamental to understanding the functions of the settlement, whose name must therefore be associated with the later polyonym *Urbs Salvia*[19] confirming a direct link between *Salvia* and *Salus*, which was to function as a service centre for the territory characterized by an early Romanization, but which only seems to be affected by intermittent presences until the end of the second century BC.[20]

The colonial foundation in the Gracchan era

At the end of the second century BC the area of the oldest *conciliabulum* was involved in processes of substantial reorganization, documented in particular by the excavations conducted in the area of the forum[21].

South side of the forum area

The craft complex was in fact destroyed for the construction of a building (A in **Fig. 1; Fig. 5**) made up of two equally-sized rectangular rooms preceded by a portico delimited on the outside simply by a low wall.[22] Considering the dimensions, the plan, the topographic location delimiting the south-west corner of the Republican and Imperial forum, the presence of a foundation sacrifice and the presence, in the two rooms, of *emblemata* in *opus spicatum* to support and highlight elements placed in a prominent position (two altars?), it is possible to hypothesise a cultic function (**Fig. 6**).[23]
It must be remembered that, in terms of the plan and building techniques, these chronological phases are still characterized by the construction of very simple structures, with plans linked to individual and specific divinities and cultural needs (Vitruv. IV, 8, 6).[24]
The destruction levels of the kiln were covered by earthy matrix layers characterized by the presence of black gloss ceramics and amphorae, which places the destruction of the kiln at least at the end of the second century BC, in line with the stratigraphic contexts related to the construction of the building.
Two circular pits (about 40 cm. in diameter), identified to the east of the Republican Building and used for fixing poles belong to the same construction phase.[25] These remains testify to the period before the

[17] Di Luca 2004; Coarelli 2000, 195–205; Bandelli 2008, 336–351; Belfiori 2017.
[18] Lepore *et al.* 2012b, 1-30. In this case, however, the connection between the first demic centre and the urban organization of the colony is considered very close, as two phases of the same founding moment.
[19] It would therefore explain the origin of the poleonym *Urbs Salvia* until now unknown: Paci 2016: 41; Perna in press (b).
[20] Perna and Capponi 2012, 149-164; Perna 2009, 95-101; Perna 2014, 710-719; Paci 1995, 30-34; Bandelli 2007, 16; de Marinis and Paci 2012, 93-104; Perna 2018.
[21] R. Perna in Fabrini and Perna 2010; Fabrini and Perna 2013; Fabrini and Perna 2015.
[22] Perna 2014, 707-708; Fabrini 2003, 132-135; Perna 2018, 410-413;
[23] The foundation sacrifice in cult buildings - and others - was a widespread practice that reinforced the sacredness of the place. Also noteworthy are fragments of black painted ceramics placed at the corner between two walls of the building (US 799).
[24] Bertrand 2017, 44-45; Lippolis 2018, 36-37.
[25] Perna 2006, 70, nr. 27.

first Augustan age and can be compared with the fences of the Concordia forum, made around a tree, and later replaced by poles or pilasters.[26]

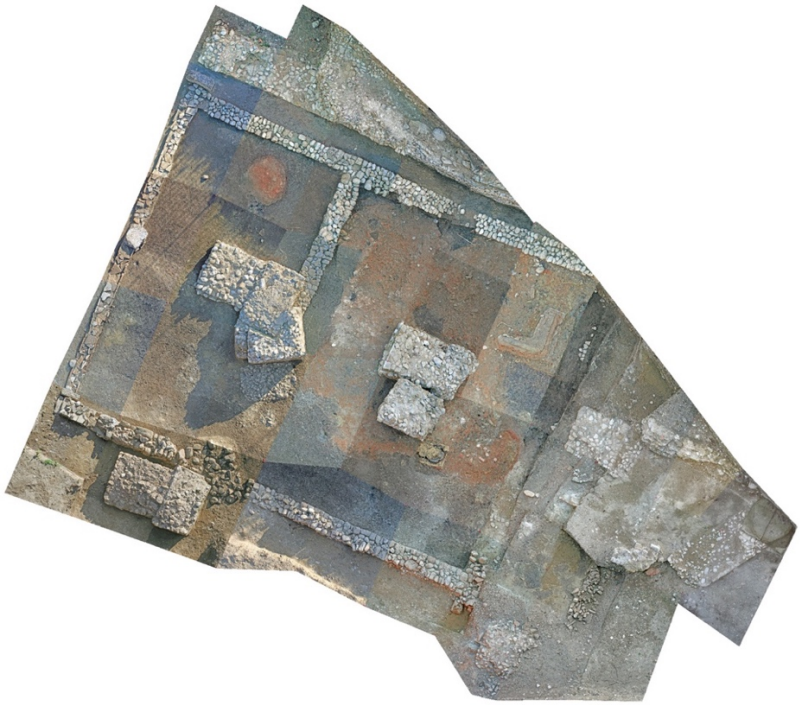

Fig. 5. *Pollentia*: plan of the Republican building.

Fig. 6. *Pollentia*: Republican building, the *emblema* in the southern room from the south-west.

[26] Croce da Villa 1995, 205-7.

North side of the forum area

Excavations carried out on the northern side of the forum square have brought to light a series of rooms with preserved foundations made with river pebbles and bound by mortar (**Figs. 3, 7**), and which were probably linked to structures built with perishable materials, represented by traces of post-holes indicating the presence of a pitched roof.[27] This phase seems to end following a fire, which might have been caused by humans.[28]

In the same area, under the later porticus duplex dating back to the proto-Augustan age, levels of collapsed structures, perhaps made of raw bricks and wooden beams, have been identified.[29]

Fig. 7. *Pollentia:* walls of Republican age in Sector 2 of Excavation 4, from the south-east.

Along the west side of the forum is a building with an earthen floor and raw brick walls, covered with thick levels of collapse, rich in coal and fragments of burnt beams. These remains allow us to place this destruction in the Republican age, and in relation to what was identified in Sectors 1, 2 and 3 of the same Trench 4.[30]

[27] Fabrini and Perna 2015.

[28] Perna 2014, 708. The levels on which these structures are implanted are made up of clay matrix earth, which has returned, in addition to amphorae and ceramics of common use, black gloss ceramics and internal red slip ware still framed at the end of the second century BC.

[29] Fabrini 2009a, 206-212.

[30] R. Perna in Fabrini and Perna 2010, 10; Perna 2014, 708.

The area east of via Salaria Gallica

Excavations carried out in the area below the temple-cryptoporticus complex, separated from the forum by the *via Salaria Gallica*, have brought to light structures chronologically located at the end of the second century BC (**Fig. 1.C**).[31] Notably, there is a floor plan, covered by levels of abandonment, that may date to the middle of the first century BC, obliterated by cobblestone walls dating back to the late Republican period. We would also mention, immediately south-east of the so-called small temple, levels of occupation dating back to the end of the second century BC. Later the area was occupied by four stretches of walls, made of pebbles bound by mortar that seem to form a complex made up of various rooms. It therefore seems possible to hypothesise that a residential area with *domus* had been established along the east side of the forum at two different times: one at the end of the second century BC and the other in the late Republican age.

The productive area

The most ancient phases are documented at the North Gate of the Imperial era town by a cobblestone wall flanked by a small channel which, along with many manufacturing scraps and levels of baked clay, seems to testify to the organization of an industrial area that can be placed chronologically between the end of the second century BC and the Augustan age, when the area was abandoned and used for the expansion of the new town walls (**Fig. 1.D**).[32]

The town

A cult building and numerous other remains found in this area can be dated from the beginning of the second century BC and can be associated with the foundation of a Roman colony promoted by *Gaius Gracchus* (probably around 123 BC).[33] It was probably called *Pollentia*, considering the passage of Plinius' *Urbe Salvia Pollentini*, which combines the oldest ethnic name with the following poleonym *Urbs Salvia* (Plin., *Nat. Hist*. III,13, 111)[34].

The Capitolium of the colony was not placed in the forum, although the investigations conducted in the four corners did not allow the characteristic buildings of the square to be identified. It has therefore been hypothesized that its remains can be associated with a concrete base, 11.00 x 1.8 m in size and 1.30 m in height, which can be identified as part of the podium of a monumental building (E in **Fig. 1**).[35] In the phases of Tiberian-Claudian expansion, this would have been highlighted in the centre of the

[31] Fabrini 2000, 122-126, Fabrini 2001, 10; Fabrini 2003, 116-131; Fabrini 2005, 23; Fabrini 2007, 309-347; Fabrini 2009a, 193-242; Fabrini 2009b, 1-10; Fabrini 2012, 281-308 Perna 2006, 58-62; Fabrini in Fabrini 2013, 89-97; Montali 2013, 119-142.

[32] Perna 2006, 53-56; Perna 2014, 709-710.

[33] Already hypothesized on a historical basis taking into account the fact that the *praetura* represents the highest administrative charge in *Urbs Salvia*, as in the cases of the colonies of *Potentia*, *Pisaurum* and *Auximum*: Paci 1990, 71-97; Paci 1999, 227; Perna 2014, 703-719, Perna in Fabrini and Perna 2015, 1-7 and Perna 2018, 407-420 (for archaeology); Paci 2013, Paci 2015 and Paci 2016 (for epigraphy).

[34] *C.I.L.* IX, 526; Humbert 1978, 244, note 158; Delplace 1993, 89; Paci 1999, 227.

[35] Perna 2006, 76-77; Perna 2007, 349-387, Perna 2014, 703-719.

square by the so-called 'Edificio a Nicchioni', overlooking the forum and the flatter part of the urban area[36].
The building would have respected the east-facing orientation, traditional for Roman architecture, placing it in a predominant position with respect to the forum itself and the town.[37] As in Rome, therefore, the building stood in *excelsissimo loco*, on the edge of the second order terrace, in compliance with Vitruvian prescriptions. This position would have allowed the polyadic deity to overlook a large part of the urban extension. The characteristics of the *emplekton* lead back to a phase certainly subsequent to that of the buildings chronologically situated at the end of the second century BC, but earlier than that of the structures built in the post-Augustan age.

As far as the urban definition of the town is concerned, it can be assumed that it occupied only the area on the plain, on the third order terrace and straddling the main roadway at the bottom of the valley defined by the *via Salaria Gallica*. The northern limit of the town was the area of the kilns identified near the North Gate, located in a zone immediately out of town, but nothing can be said with certainty about the south side (**Fig. 8**).[38] To the east the terrace on the river Fiastra acts as a boundary, while to the west the town reaches the edge of the second order terrace, with the Capitolium in a peripheral but dominant position. The programmatic plan is based on wheelbases of 2 x 3 *actus*,[39] a module widespread in the Republican age,[40] into which is inserted the forum square, whose space seems to be limited to the south by the Republican building of worship. To the north, mirrored with respect to the axis of the Augustan age square, are the late Republican buildings on which the *porticus duplex* of the early Augustan age is aligned, while to the west the boundary reached at least as far as the line still marked by the Augustan age arcades, of which three column bases are preserved.
The forum would have occupied the central area of the space delimited by two blocks, perhaps with the entrance from the west placed in a central position with respect to the long side, longitudinally with respect to the main roadway defined by the *via Salaria Gallica* and tangential to it, therefore oriented according to extremely widespread models found just after the third century BC[41]. Taking into account the continuity of its limits, only later monumentalized until the Augustan age, the occupied area would have correspond to 1.5 % of the area of the city, very close to the average size of the contemporary fora[42]. A comparison with the neighbouring colonies of *Potentia* and *Pisaurum* (second century BC), which from the orographic point of view allowed a similar planning freedom, seems to confirm the trend of organising fora with the same close relationship to the road network.[43]

[36] The structures must have been more visible at the end of the nineteenth century, when Pallotta in his general plan of the city, precisely in this point, places the "Vestigia di un tempio": Pallotta 1881, tav. 1.
[37] Vitruv. IV, 5, 2: "*Sin autem loci natura interpellaverit, tunc convertendae sunt earum regionum constitutiones, uti quam plurima pars moenium e templis eorum consipiciatur*"; Gros 1997, 484, nrs. 188, 189.
[38] Perna 2006, 113-124; Perna 2007, 349-387.
[39] While in the area on a greater slope to the west, occupied by the post-Augustan expansion they are larger (2 x 2 *actus*).
[40] Perna 2006, 113-124; Sommella 1988, 120-121; Gros and Torelli 1988, 147-150; Conventi 2004, 229-234. The walls remain a partly open problem, an element which, even in compliance with Vitruvian canons, identified a complex as being urban (Vitruv. I, III, 1; I, V 1-8); hypothetically the possible extension of the Republican city would go from 152,000 to 193,000 m² (Perna 2006, 113-124).
[41] See for example, with particular reference to the cities of Emilia Romagna, Lippolis 2000, 107.
[42] Conventi 2004: 159-165.
[43] As far as *Potentia* is concerned, the city's layout seems to be organized on the basis of regular blocks in relation to which the sacred area of the Forum (occupied by the temple and portico complex) is arranged longitudinally with respect to the main roadway marked by the *via Salaria Picena*: Vermeulen and Verhoeven 2004, 61-9; Vermeulen *et al.* 2017. As far as the *Pisaurum* is concerned, although it is difficult to identify the exact location of

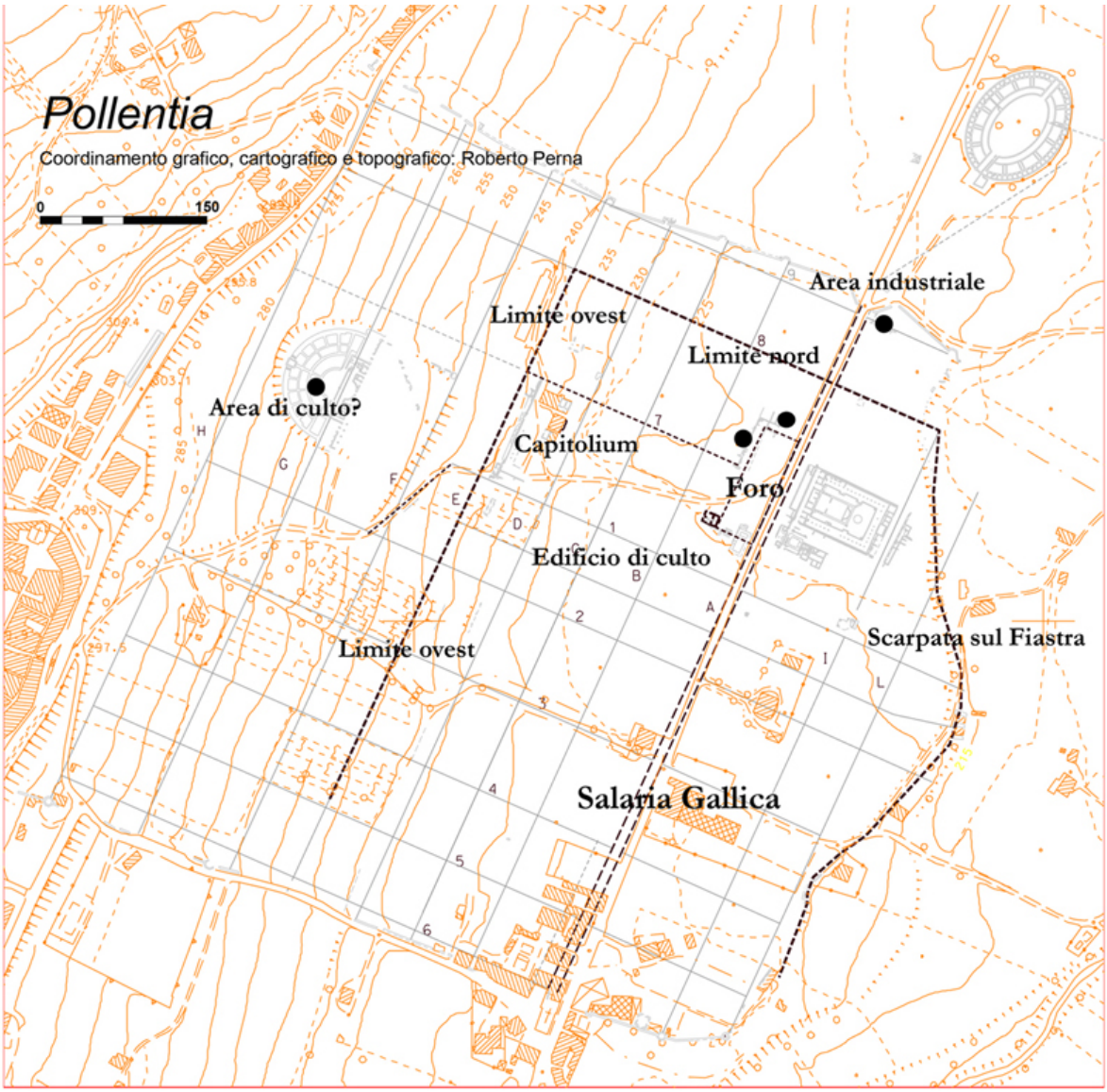

Fig. 8. *Pollentia*: the city of Republican age (the later structures in grey)

Finally, several items show that urban spaces and their functions were soon defined when the colony was first founded. This urban planning was then progressively developed and maintained until the Augustan age. They are the following items: the location of the sacred building at the south-east corner of the forum, which would remain the same and with the same orientation even after the urban reorganization of the Imperial age; the displacement of the craft quarters to a peripheral area, probably *extra moenia*, which would be abandoned only at the time of the construction of the Augustan walls; the construction of important buildings east of the *via Salaria Gallica*; and the building of the Capitolium. The intense development of the city since the end of the second century BC seems to be confirmed by

the forum, it seems plausible that it extended under the current Piazza del Popolo, parallel to the main road network and not crossed by it: Di Cocco 2004, 54-55.

data from the study of materials coming from urban excavations.[44] They testify that the centre began to integrate itself into the context of important trade routes which had both a central-Italic and Mediterranean character.[45]

The oldest *conciliabulum* was therefore reorganized as a Gracchan colony for the arrival of new settlers. This is attested by at least three series of centurial delimitations of 15 *actus* and by a series of farms that in this phase mainly occupy the hilly areas overlooking the valley.[46]
The Republican town seems coherently inserted within the centuriation, of which it occupies half a *centuria* arranged in an east-west direction. The city lies at the boundary between the second and third order terraces and its west side corresponds with an internal limit (*intercisivus*), while the remaining space in the north-south direction, still corresponds to half a *centuria* (**Fig. 9**). In the first case it should also be noted that the urban limit corresponds to the point where the east-west axis of the Imperial town bends diagonally towards the south, perhaps following the access route to the town in Republican times (1 in **Fig. 8**).[47] The presence of social groups linked to the exploitation of the countryside that would have characterized this phase of reorganization of the territory would also be reflected in the materials identified in the foundation sacrifice of the cult building at the southwest corner of the forum, among which the presence of sickles is noted[48].

The territory

Centuriation, systematic occupation of the territory and urban foundation seem to be part of a more articulated and complex organizational system, in which the individual components are integrated in a coherent way (**Fig. 9**). After the end of the second century BC, the formation of two centres began. The first was located at Colli Vasari and the second at Casa Mori and both lie at the limits of the centuriated areas.[49] Similarly, the rustic villas of greater dimensions are organized on the margins of the centuriated areas in this phase. These are: the site of Villamagna located on the limit of the second centuriation;[50] the site near 'il Vallato' at the end of the third centuriation; the site located at Casa Bandini on the northern border of the second centuriation; the sites located at Casa Giustozzi and Case Cicconi in the liminal areas (*subseciva*) between two different blocks of the second centuriation (**Fig. 9. C, D**); and

[44] Giuliodori *et al.* 2007, 389-449.
[45] Attested in particular by the production of thin walls, Italian Megarian bowls, wine amphorae and black gloss pottery: M. Giuliodori in Giuliodori *et al*. 2007, 391; Giuliodori and Tubaldi 2014; Forti 2006, 357-366; S. Forti in Giuliodori *et al*. 2007, 413-420.
[46] Perna 2014, 710-714.
[47] Perna 2006, 115-118, fig. 113.
[48] Fabrini 2003: 135, nota 63; Perna in press (a); Scheid 2017, 240-242. On the presence of iron materials in votive offerings related to foundations of places of worship see Lippolis 2017, 408. Also worth mentioning is a black gloss pyxis, of the Morel 7500 type, which can be dated between the second half of the second and the first half of the first century BC with a graffito inscription *T(it-) Ve(---)*, which finds comparison with a fragment of a cup of the same class, sporadic from the area of the temple-cryptoporticus complex, framed in the third-second century BC and also with graffiti inscribed *M(arc-) Ve(---):* Antolini 2018. The objects, perhaps referring to members of the gens *Vettia*, seem to document the presence of individuals with a fully Roman onomastic, who use typical categories of worship to assert their identity in the context of urban structuring processes.
[49] Perna 2014, 713-714; Perna 2005, 18, Necropoli I (Fig. on page 11) where an outcrop area with an extension of about 1500 m² characterized by a large concentration of ceramics, especially fire, bricks and stones, has also returned fragments of a polychrome mosaic with black bands and rectangular emblem in sandstone and marble, with a central drain hole. An analysis of the black gloss coming from it makes it possible to place it chronologically at least in the second century BC.
[50] Paci and Perna 2015; Perna 2005, 19, Fig. page 11 (A, B, C, D); Perna 2014, 713-714.

finally the site identified at Case Caraceni in the middle of the residual space between the three centuriations and along the *via Salaria Gallica,* in a favourable position near the Fiastra river (**Fig. 9.E**). It seems that the collocation of the necropolis in areas outside the centuriations, active also in the Imperial age, is also defined in this phase (N in **Fig. 9**).[51]

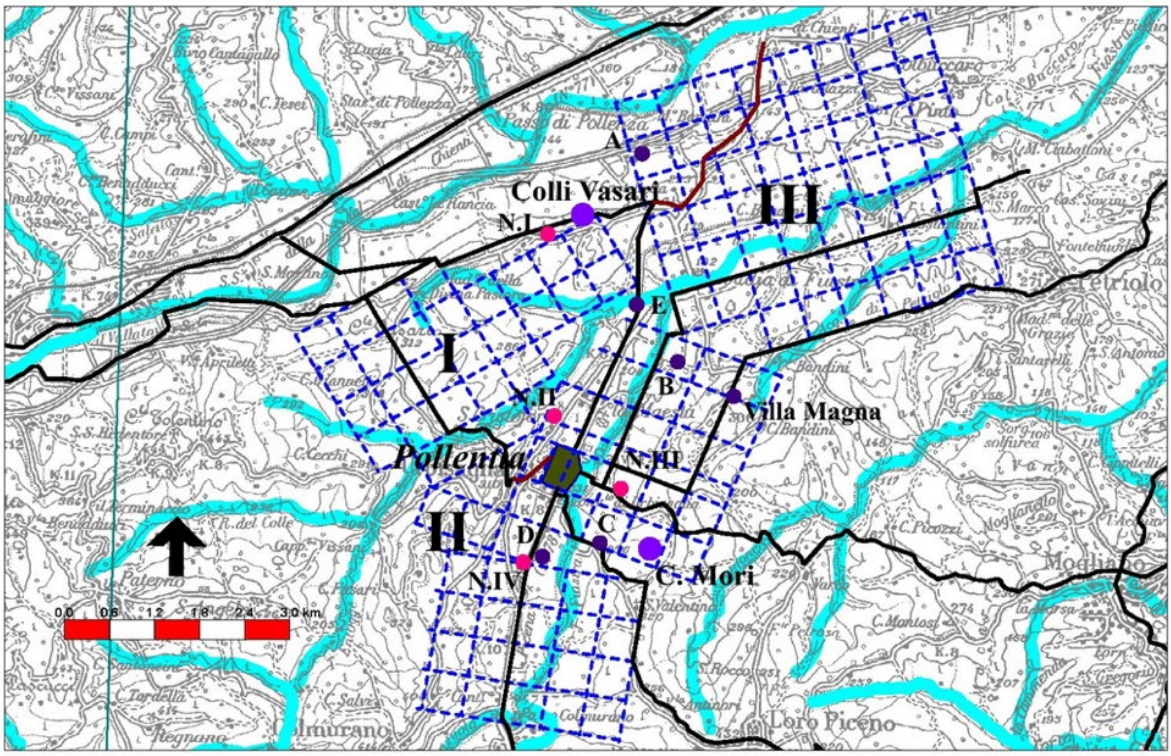

Fig. 9. *Pollentia*: archaeological map of the territory

The fundamental role of the territorial organization cannot be separated from the passage of the *via Salaria Gallica*, an axis of penetration to the north from the third century BC, and an element of functional infrastructure for economic and social development during the second century BC. This road in fact directly connected the territories of the Chienti and Fiastra valleys to the areas of Ancona (Lib. Col. I, 227, 1-3) and *Auximum* (Lib. Col. II, 253, 1-2), affected by the *Lex Sempronia*.[52] This is therefore a territorial context of particular interest during the second century BC, particularly in relation to the use of the port of Ancona. This port, also thanks to the establishment of the *duumiviri navales*, is entirely included in the Roman defensive system.[53] These trends, together with the economic reorganization, within the increased interest for the trade linked to the eastern Mediterranean sector, contributed to make the Rome-Ancona road a powerful axis of economic development for the territory.[54]

[51] Perna 2014, 714.

[52] Perna 2019, 94; Branchesi 2007, 192-193; Delplace 1993, 170-172; Destro 2003, 101-116.

[53] Tit. Liv., XLI, 1, 2. This is an important role confirmed by the landing in 20 AD of Gnaeus Calpurnio Piso returning from Syria (Tac., Ann, III, 9).

[54] Paci 2001, 73-87; Marengo and Paci 2008, 313-328; Micheli and Santucci 2010, 26-38; Paci 2010, 1-12; Cingolani and Perna in press (b).

XII. The sanctuary of Jupiter at Monte Rinaldo: a sacred landscape in the heart of *Picenum*

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***Stephen Kay**, British School at Rome*

The sanctuary and the surrounding territory

When travelling along the chain of hills that stretch between the territories of the ancient cities of *Asculum* and *Firmum*, in the heart of *Picenum*, it is possible to come across an unusual sight in the landscape, known as 'La Cuma', today near the village of Monte Rinaldo. Here two rows of stone columns rise unexpectedly in the landscape on a slightly low plateau that lies on the slope of the hill that delimits the Aso valley to the north. These are the remains of the main portico of a large sanctuary of the Roman period found during excavations in 1957 and rebuilt in the 1960s. Since 2016, following the establishment of a research agreement between the University of Bologna, the British School at Rome, the Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio delle Marche and the Municipality of Monte Rinaldo, the site has begun to be better understood, a site that is representative of archaeology in the Marche but which academically has been long neglected and forgotten.[1]

Monte Rinaldo, whilst widely known as a sacred site of the Hellenistic period in the Marche, is relatively little understood including its architectural development and the identification of the cult.[2] The location of the sanctuary is also problematic, as it lies now, as it perhaps did in antiquity, in an isolated position in an agricultural landscape distant from a known city. Similarly to other sanctuaries that also performed an economic and administrative role in the territory, it is possible that the sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo was also the central place of the middle Aso valley, such as the sanctuary of a *pagus*, even if the remains of other surrounding structures are not yet known. A short distance to the south lies an isolated Roman villa, but this has been shown to date to later period.[3] If the recent hypothesis of the identification of the *municipum* of *Novana* in the upper Aso valley is correct, this area of the Marche territory would have been without a city and the Sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo, also intended as a place of management for the surrounding territory, may have partially filled this gap.[4]

As previously mentioned, the site overlooks the middle Aso Valley along one of the routes connecting *Asculum* to the south and *Firmum* to the north. This was a branch of the *via Salaria*, which exited *Asculum* and crossed the River Tronto across the Augustan bridge of Borgo Solestà, as testified by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and by a milestone located three miles north of the city, dating to the second century BC which recalls the work of the *praefectus Cneus Statius*.[5] This Roman magistrate had to construct or at least rebuild the road which is therefore referred to as the *via Statia*. In fact, this road was part of a wider network of itineraries that joined the *via Salaria* to the south with the *via Flaminia* in the north, linking the Roman towns in the middle valley as far as *Forum Sempronii*.[6] There are also the northern branches of the *via Salaria* known as *Salaria Gallica* and *Salaria Picena* in the Augustan inscription of the *lapis Aesinensis*, which separately defines the road that connected from north to south the cities of the

[1] Demma 2018; Demma *et al.* 2018; Belfiori *et al.* 2020; Belfiori and Giorgi forthcoming; Giorgi *et al.* 2020, with previous bibliography.
[2] Torelli 1983.
[3] Stek 2009; Stek 2015. For a comparison to the Sabina region see Diosono (2020), with previous bibliography.
[4] Menchelli and Iacopini 2016.
[5] Campagnoli and Giorgi 2000; Giorgi 2014a.
[6] Paci 2000.

interior and the one that connected the coastal settlements. This traditional interpretation of the road network has been questioned, instead arguing that the *Salaria Picena* should be identified with the internal route that began at *Asculum*, *civitas caput gentis* of the *Pikentes*.[7] Furthermore, it is also necessary to consider that there may have been further branches that served other settlements and which may have enjoyed greater or lesser fortune in the various periods. However, it is the first part of this road in Republican period, which connected the territories of *Asculum* and *Firmum,* that passed through the area of the sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo. Whilst the date of the construction of the road is unclear, it is possible that it is part of the reorganization of the infrastructure of the territory promoted as part of the Gracchan agrarian reforms. In approximately the same period, the Roman colonies of *Auximum*, *Potentia* and *Pisaurum* were established and it was perhaps in this phase that the sanctuary developed as a point of reference for the settlers scattered across the surrounding territory, especially as its most important building phase occurred in the second century BC.[8]

The discovery of many pottery fragments dating to the third century BC seems to suggest the possibility of some kind of frequentation of the area in this period but the hypothesis of a place of worship *sub divo*, although fascinating, has not yet any archaeological evidence. Previously, this material, in association with clay votive offerings (*ex voto*) has been interpreted as an indication of a cult associated to health, in part due to the presence of an underground spring. However, there is no clear evidence for this at Monte Rinaldo as the *ex-voto* were widespread in this period, whilst the use of water may have been part of a ritual practice without necessarily being associated to healing.

The presence of black gloss pottery typical of *Latium* and local Picene ceramic *impasto* has led to the hypothesis that the site was earlier a sacred Picene site. However, the new research at Monte Rinaldo has begun to revise this hypothesis as, similarly to the nearby sanctuary of Colle dell'Annunziata in *Asculum*, the excavations have shown a long persistence of Picene pottery into the Roman period.[9] Moreover, it is possible that in the early stages of the Roman colonization the sanctuary may also have played a role in the integration of the surviving *Pikentes*. The question remains as to who it was that was using this area in the period immediately following the Roman conquest of *Picenum,* the most likely hypothesis being that they were the Latin settlers who arrived in this territory following the establishment of the Latin colony of *Firmum* in 264 BC. It is unclear what the consequences were of the arrival of Roman settlers in *Picenum* following the *lex Flaminia de agro Gallico et Piceno viritim dividundo* of 232 BC. However, it can be assumed that this led to a growth in the number of settlements within the territory. Currently archaeological surveys of the territory have not identified an increase in settlements in this period, but the research is ongoing and improves as more is learnt about the local pottery production.[10]

Within the Aso Valley at least four blocks of centuriation are identifiable, one of which straddles the river below Monte Rinaldo. Further traces of the Roman agricultural divisions have been identified in the lower valley, but probably belonged to the territory of the *municipium* of *Cupra* which developed in the Augustan period at the mouth of the river Menocchia. Whilst it is not possible to identify a precise chronology, it seems very likely that the agrarian land division of the area between the Aso and Indaco rivers can be associated to Monte Rinaldo and occurred at the time of one of its main phases of frequentation. In addition to the first settlement of the third century BC and the development of the second century BC, there was also an important phase in the Triumvirate - Augustan period when several

[7] Sisani 2007.
[8] Giorgi *et al.* 2020.
[9] Giorgi and Demma 2018. See Gamberini, A., Cossentino, P. And Morsiani, S. this volume.
[10] Giorgi *et al.* 2020.

buildings were constructed, one of which was built reusing the material of the now abandoned sanctuary.[11] (E.G.)

The architectural development of the sanctuary

In the first half of the second century the sanctuary was then structured with an Italic temple on a podium in the centre of a square and surrounded by a portico with two rows of columns. The external colonnade, of Doric order, faced into the square and was raised on two steps, whilst the central row was of the Ionic order and divided the portico into two naves. The rear wall, which also acted as terracing for the slope behind, was built from squared sandstone blocks using a technique common to the region which dates to the first half of the second century BC, also seen at *Auximum*, *Firmum* and *Asculum*. Shortly after the mid second century BC, the sanctuary was once again redeveloped, possibly following its partial collapse due to a natural disaster. Its reconstruction was similar to the architecture of Hellenistic sanctuaries that spread throughout the Mediterranean.[12] The side portico to the east was added whilst the west side was also redeveloped, which is now in the process of being excavated. The eastern portico, built on foundation in *opus incertum*, had a sequence of *tabernae*, suggesting that the sanctuary also performed commercial functions as well as being associated to worship (**Fig. 1**).

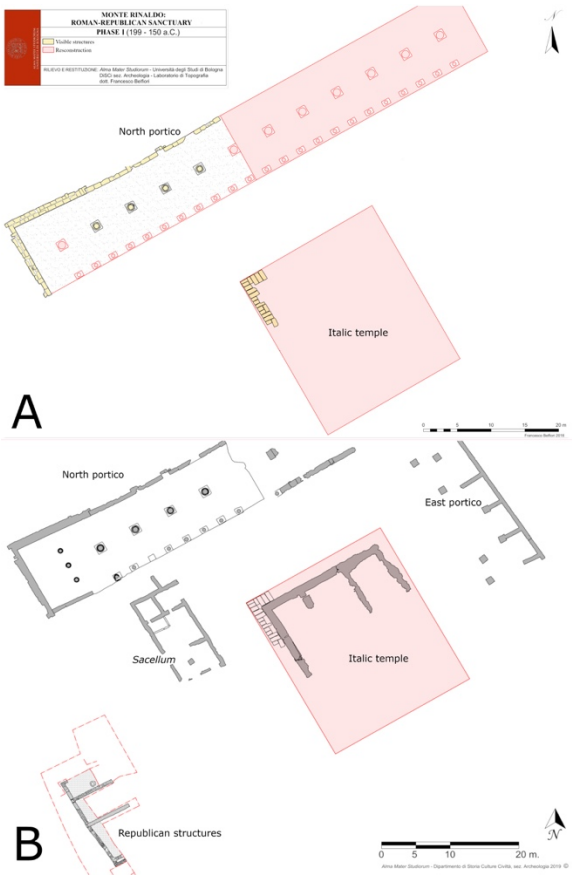

Fig.1. First phase of the site (A) and its next development (B)
(Image Francesco Belfiori, Francesco Pizzimenti).

[11] Belfiori *et al.* 2020.

[12] Demma 2016; Belfiori 2018; Belfiori 2019.

Prior to the construction of the new buildings, the area was levelled with a soil layer that was rich in ceramics. This material was probably associated to the previous use of the sanctuary, and similarly some ritual deposits were discovered in correspondence with the foundations of some walls of the western building and the bases of some columns of the main portico. The Italic temple was rebuilt on a podium that ritually reused parts of the architectural decoration of the previous building. The temple had a central *cella*, which housed the main cult statue, and two side wings (*alae*). The discovery of numerous inscriptions scratched on some black gloss cups and seals with the name of the God (*Iovei Sacrum*) allows the identification of the deity of the temple as Jupiter, which is also confirmed by the remains of architectural decorations that reproduce lightning, a typical attribute of the divinity. Further fragments of statues belonging to the architectural decoration of the frontal frieze allow the reconstruction of the presence of other male and female characters of difficult identification.

As part of the development of the sanctuary at the end of the second century BC, a secondary sacellum was built, located in the northern corner of the square that was probably dedicated to *Heracles*. The cult has been identified through the letters of the theonym found on ceramic fragments but is also supported by the architectural decoration. The head of a statue covered by the *leontè*, some acroterial figures with the representation of Heracles or with the head of a lion have also been discovered. These are probably the remains of the architectural decoration of this sacellum dedicated to *Hercules*. Other deities, including Apollo and Vesta, may also have been worshipped at Monte Rinaldo, evidence provided by further inscriptions found on ceramic fragments which are currently being studied.

A final development of the sanctuary took place in the first century BC when two rooms were added to the sides of the main portico, preceded by three Ionic columns. However, during this period the buildings also suffered from static problems. It is unclear if the events of the Social War (90 - 89 BC) damaged the building, but at a certain point the sanctuary was destroyed and was abandoned, so much so that in the later Imperial period the area was used for burial, and later still was reused for a new settlement. (F.P.)

Geophysical prospection

Since the beginning of the new phase of research at Monte Rinaldo in 2016, a primarily component has been the application of geophysical prospection in support of the excavation.[13] The aim has been to place the isolated rural sanctuary in a wider context, examining the surrounding territory to assess whether there were other buildings, or a settlement, related to the site. Several geophysical prospecting techniques have been used, including magnetometry (cesium vapour and fluxgate gradiometer) and Ground-Penetrating Radar (GPR) in order to allow for the variances in response caused by the local geology and the construction techniques. The site lies on a small plateau on the slope of a hill, therefore the surveys have concentrated on nearby flatter areas that may have been more suitable for habitation (**Fig. 2**).

An initial survey in 2016 concentrated on an open area immediately to the East below the terrace of the sanctuary (**Fig. 3**).[14] Despite extensive coverage with both magnetometers few anomalies of archaeological significance were recorded. The survey was therefore extended to areas within the

[13] See Belfiori and Kay (2018) and Demma *et al*. (2018) for an overview of the project.

[14] The 2016 surveys were conducted by Federica Boschi (Bologna University) and Stephen Kay (British School at Rome).

archaeological park of 'La Cuma' to understand whether further structures lay immediately alongside the surrounding portico.

Fig. 2. Magnetometry surveys at Monte Rinaldo (Image Federica Boschi).

The site was excavated from 1958 onward and underwent significant restoration, with the collapsed columns of the portico raised back into position.[15] These deep excavations significantly disturbed the area around the site, as testified by the new excavations in 2017.[16] The surveys were therefore affected by significant background noise, generated by the significant earth removal that accompanied in the work in the late 1950s.

In 2019 the geophysical prospection was extended south of the Hellenistic temple to an unexcavated area immediately outside the modern archaeological park.[17] An area of 502m^2 was investigated using GPR whilst the fluxgate gradiometer survey covered half a hectare, including the area of the GPR survey. The GPR investigation was conducted using a GSSI SIR 3000 with a single channel 400 MHz antenna mounted on a rough cart. A series of 53 parallel traverse were made at an interval of 0.25 m. Overall the data was unclear, with a series of low amplitude parallel linear anomalies recorded across the survey area, which may have related to deep plough lines. With the exception of these features, the data did not highlight any other clear features and the signal attenuated quickly as the depth increased. The results may also have been affected by poor weather conditions and a heavy clay soil.

[15] Demma 2018.
[16] Demma *et al*. 2018.
[17] Kay *et al*. 2020.

Fig. 3. Magnetometry at Monte Rinaldo below the sanctuary to the east (Photo Stephen Kay).

Fig. 4. Magnetometry survey to the south of the sanctuary (Photo Enrico Giorgi).

The magnetometry data were collected at a sample interval of 0.25 m in parallel zig-zag traverses at a regular distance of 0.5 m (**Fig. 4**). The survey revealed a series of anomalies of high magnetic value which probably relate to archaeological remains (**Fig. 5**). At the southern extent of the survey, a right-angled positive anomaly is visible, which continues north for approximately 30m before a further right-angle towards the west. Enclosed within this area is a further concentration of positive readings, suggesting an area of burning or a concentration of fired material. The excavations around the sanctuary portico (discussed above) have shown that significant quantities of building material relating to the second century BC sanctuary were later reused in the Augustan period, in particular architectural terracottas. These were taken from the sanctuary decoration and re-employed in the construction of new walls. It is therefore likely that the magnetic anomalies originate from walls built using this kind of construction.

Fig. 5. Magnetometry survey results (2019) to the south of the sanctuary (Image Elena Pomar).

The geophysical survey at Monte Rinaldo has employed a range of non-invasive techniques in order to examine the near sub-surface. The nature of the local clayey soil, unsuitable for GPR, together with a significant overburden of soil washed down the slope eastwards across the site has made the investigations challenging, both for the geophysics and excavation. However, the magnetometry survey to the south of the site has potentially revealed a series of previously unknown structures, although further examination is necessary to assess the chronology of these features. (S.K.)

Acknowledgements

The research at Monte Rinaldo is undertaken in close collaboration with the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio delle Marche, directed by Paola Mazzieri. The excavations at Monte Rinaldo are part of a long-term research agreement between the University of Bologna, the British School at Rome and ARCADRIA. The field directors for the excavations are Francesco Belfiori and Francesco Pizzimenti and the finds laboratory is coordinated by Paola Cossentino (University of Bologna). The project is grateful for the incredible support of the Comune and the Mayor of Monte Rinaldo, Gianmario Borroni. The geophysical survey in 2016 was undertaken by Federica Boschi (University of Bologna) and Stephen Kay (British School at Rome), whilst the 2019 survey was undertaken by the British School at Rome (Stephen Kay and Elena Pomar).

XIII. The Urban Archaeology Project in *Asculum*. From *civitas caput gentis* to *civitas foederata*

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Tommaso Casci Ceccacci, Filippo Demma, *Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio delle Marche*

An urban archaeology project

The urban archaeology project in *Asculum* started in 2012 thanks to an agreement between institutions with different responsibilities and competences: archaeological consultants, local institutions, Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio della Marche (Compliance Driven Archaeology) and the University of Bologna (research-driven archaeology). The main objectives were the application of non-invasive survey methodologies to the area of the urban centre, the drawing up of the archaeological map of the urban and extra-urban route of *via Salaria*, and the creation of a digital archaeological map (GIS-based) of the urban area which could also integrate the data coming from the emergency excavations[1] (**Fig. 1**).

As far as the research project program is concerned, after a preliminary bibliographic and archival study phase, it was decided to provide our expertise to the technical office of the Municipality of Ascoli Piceno, designing the interventions for the city together with the urban planners, giving priority to the areas where building renovation and excavation works were expected. In this way the archaeological research was also put at the service of development and urban planning. From its outset the project adopted an integrated approach between new and old data from a variety of different sources including archaeological excavations, topographical and geophysical survey, and geological and geomorphological analyses in order to reconstruct and interpret the ancient urban landscape and its successive transformations over the centuries.

Within this integrated programme of exploration and analysis, geotechnical sampling and geophysics prospection have played important roles in revealing evidence about the buried archaeological deposits as well as contributing to our understanding of the natural setting within which the settlement was first established. Along with core sampling, Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) which has been widely applied for mapping work within the streets, squares and buildings of the modern town, made a particularly important contribution. This GPR work has revealed important information about the buried stratigraphy and has also enabled the discovery of buildings and elements of the infrastructure that once supported daily life within the early phases of the city's existence (i.e. the cases of Piazza del Popolo, Piazza Arringo, Piazza della Viola)[2] (**Fig. 2**). In addition to the systematic application of geophysics to investigate underground deposits, the project also made use of 3D documentation of historical buildings that have survived to the present day, using laser scanning and photogrammetry in association with the analysis of structural stratigraphy and the study of building techniques and materials. In many cases it has also been possible to proceed with stratigraphic tests and trial excavations carried out by professional archaeologists, but supported by researchers from the University of Bologna, in particular for the topographic documentation and study of ceramic finds. Information was also collected from core drilling carried out in the past for building purposes, the data of which was made available by the technical office of the municipality or gathered from bibliographic sources.

[1] Giorgi 2016; Boschi *et al.* 2017.
[2] Boschi 2016; Pizzimenti 2018.

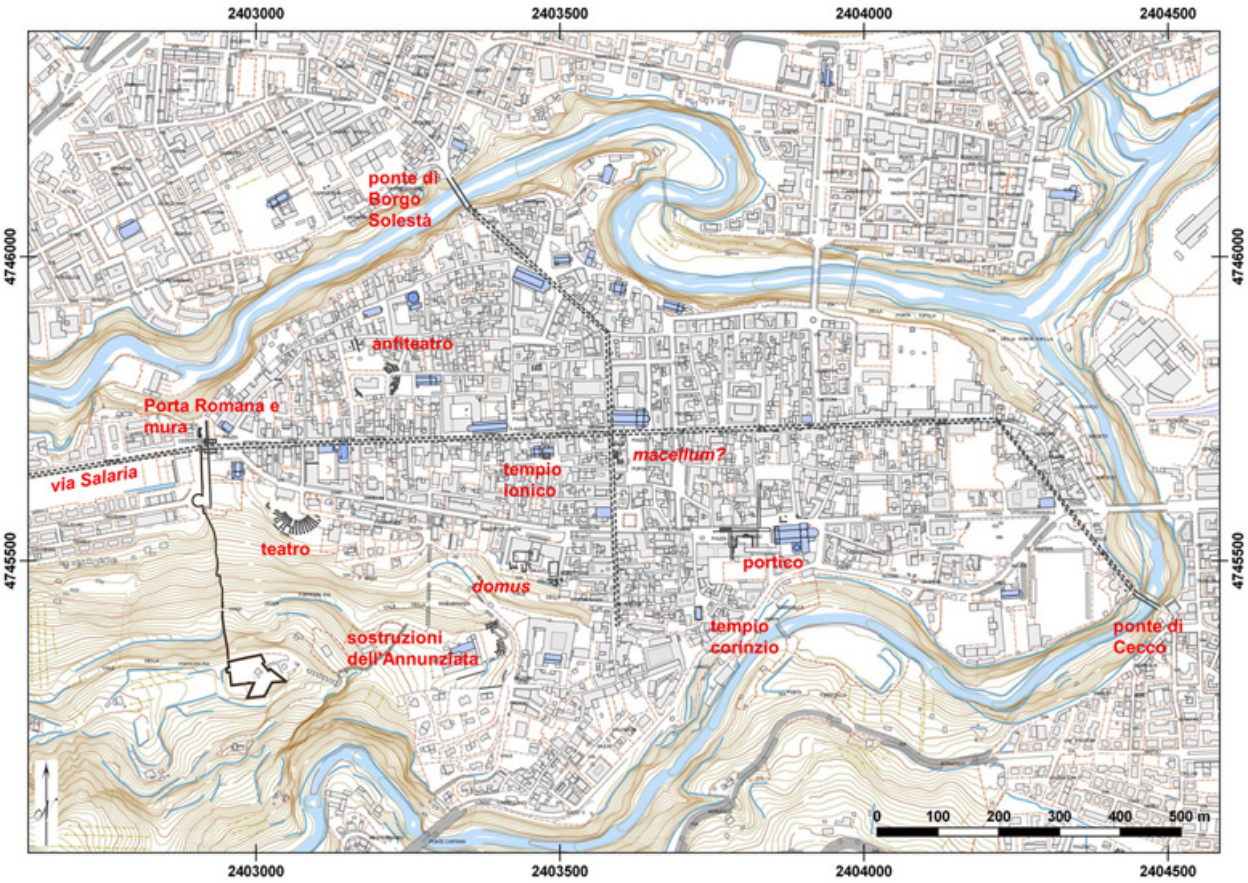

Fig. 1. Plan with indication of the main buildings of the ancient city (elaboration by Michele Silani).

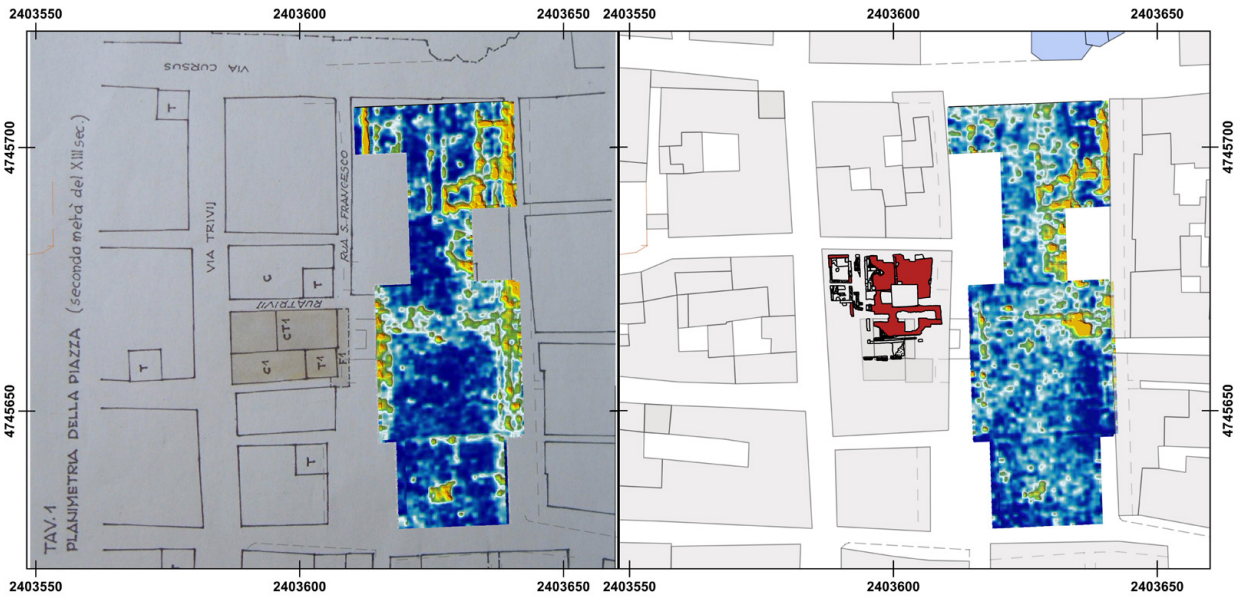

Fig. 2. GPR survey at Piazza del Popolo and integration with historic cartography and previous archaeological excavations under Palazzo dei Capitani (elaboration by Federica Boschi).

The core drilling data has been further enriched with data from emergency archaeological excavations carried out in recent years by the Soprintendenza and archaeology companies in the territory[3]. The integrated analysis that has driven the whole research project has led to the reconstruction of the ancient topographic plan of the Roman period, revealing the main features of the ancient geography of the first settlement of *Asculum* between Tronto and Castellano (**Fig. 3**). (F.B.)

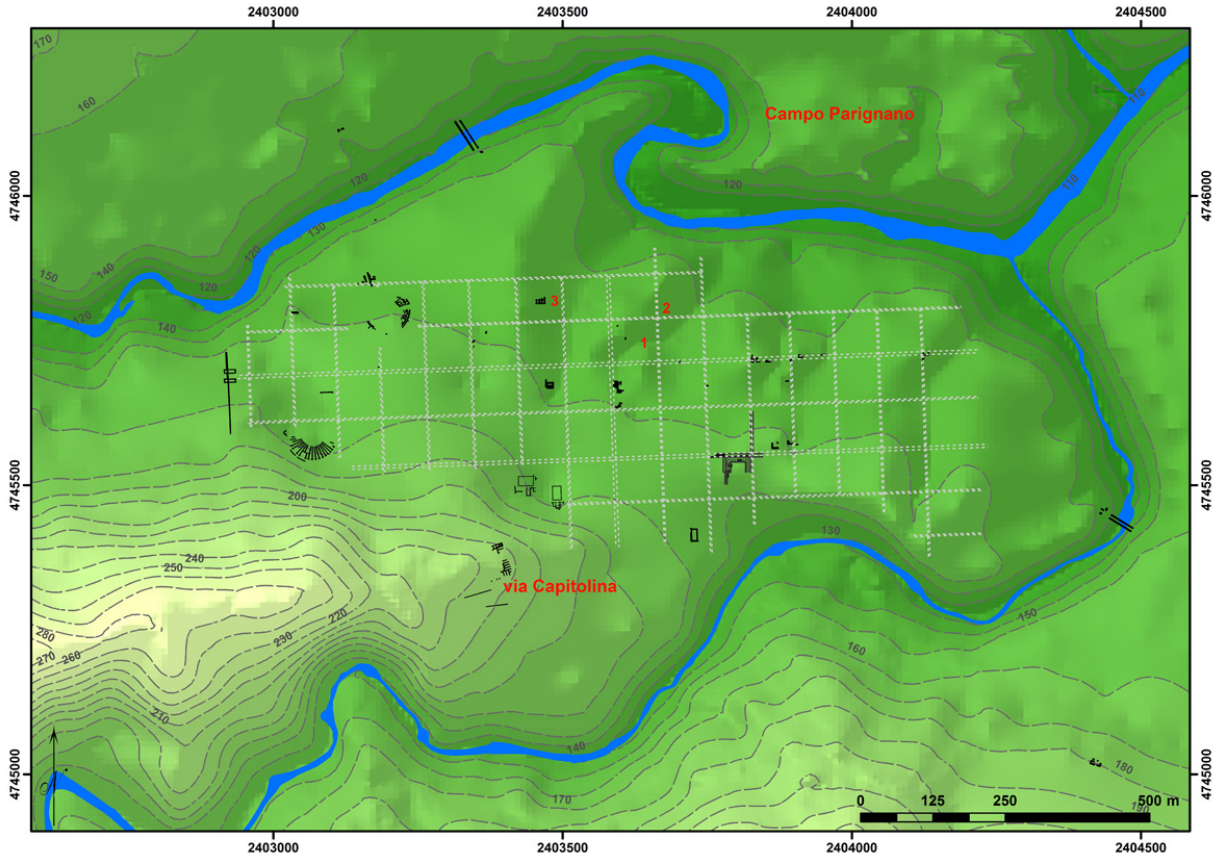

Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the ancient topographic plan of the plateau between the river Tronto and the torrent Castellano, indicating the Picene burials found at the church of San Francesco (1), via Vipera (2), via Curzio Rufo and the burial areas of Campo Parignano and the Sanctuary of via Capitolina (elaboration by Michele Silani and Michele Massoni).

The historiographic tradition

In the whole of *Picenum*, the literary tradition only attributes an urban dignity to *Asculum* and *Ankon* that dates back to the first contacts with Rome. The port and town of *Ankon* can be considered an exception, however, since it is considered by ancient historians as the foundation of Syracuse and therefore as a Greek city. The judgement on the importance of the role of *Asculum* was probably constructed later in order to make its origins noble, as shown by the tradition in the passage of Livius

[3] In this regard we are particular grateful to the archaeological companies ARTE SNC (of Michele Massoni) and Archeologic SNC (of Marco Antognozzi and Luca Speranza) who have shown a great spirit of collaboration and open-mindedness, providing data, knowledge and expertise on local archaeology.

that speaks of the *civitas caput gentis Asculum, situ murisque tutissimus* (Liv. XV, 10). The same tradition was then resumed in the age of Hadrian by Annaeus Florus (I, 14, 2), with the well-known verse *domiti ergo Picentes et caput gentis Asculum* which celebrates the triumph of Rome over the Picenes and over the citizens of *Asculum* (268 BC)[4].

Archaeology did not confirm this tradition, however, at least until the discoveries made in 2012 on the Colle dell'Annunziata[5]. Despite the limited archaeological data, some scholars had noted that after the Roman conquest of *Picenum*, only *Asculum* and *Ankon* were allowed to maintain partial autonomy as *civitates foederatae*, while the rest of the region was affected by deportations and the territory was acquired by Rome to found colonies such as the Latin *Firmum* (264 BC)[6]. Rome's attitude towards *Ankon* is similar to that of many other Greek cities that remained essentially neutral. Even if there are different interpretations, *Asculum* participated in the revolt and the decisive battle would take place very near the Picene city (Frontino, *Strat*. I 12, 3). The choice of reaching an alliance agreement rather than resorting to violent submission must therefore find other justifications[7]. The triumph over the Picenes and the *caput gentis Asculum* represents a sort of double victory, and could be significant for the role of the Picenes as the hegemonic centre of its autonomous territory. Independent of its urban development, of which we have very little archaeological evidence, it is possible that at that time *Asculum* had already taken the central function in the Tronto valley, and this could justify the treatment normally reserved by Rome for city-states. This is the same policy used by Rome with some centres in Umbria in order to obtain the cultural assimilation of the indigenous aristocracy. But this political solution was only effective where the urban culture had reached an adequate degree of maturity. That is why Rome's attitude towards *Asculum* was considered proof that this Picene community was already an urban one. As we have anticipated, however, until recently, these hypotheses did not seem to find sufficient archaeological confirmation, since in the area of the city only a few sporadic ceramic remains and some Picene tombs of the Archaic age (seventh-sixth century BC) were known, while the necropolis attested on the other bank of the river Tronto, near Campo Parignano, instead made one think of a village to be located elsewhere[8]. The situation has finally changed thanks to the archaeological discoveries made in the area of Colle dell'Annunziata. (T.CC.)

The archaeological excavations on the slopes of Colle dell'Annunziata

In 2012, just under the Roman substructures that support the terrace that hosts the Convent of the Annunziata, at the top of Via Capitolina, an archaeological context dating back at least between the sixth and first century BC was found[9]. According to a recent hypothesis, it could be a sanctuary located on the side of the Colle dell'Ascensione, according to the initial arrangement of the area in the middle of a wooden palisade. The complex included a main building made of perishable material, of which the beaten floor was still preserved, partially covered by the collapse of the roof in vegetal material and the walls in raw clay, covered with a layer of plaster. The building was surrounded by a series of ritual depositions, with local and imported vases fixed in the ground.[10] The jars were placed a short distance

[4] Naso, Tagliamonte 2014.
[5] Paci 2014; Giorgi and Demma 2018.
[6] Raggi 2014.
[7] Bandelli 2002.
[8] Giorgi and Demma 2018.
[9] Mazzeo Saracino and Morsiani 2014; Morsiani 2016. With regard to the study of material culture please refer to the contribution of Sara Morsiani in this volume.
[10] Demma and Casci Ceccacci 2016.

from each other, intact inside small pits, and must have contained the fruit of individual ritual depositions (*thysiai*).[11]. The must have contained of the sacred area continued in the following centuries (evidently at least in the third century BC) and the site seems to have been monumentalized in the Hellenistic period (first half of the second century BC), as suggested by the discovery, in a secondary position, of a fictile *antefix* with the representation of a *theron potnia* of an archaizing type similar to other contemporary structures, such as those of Monterinaldo in the territory of *Firmum*.[12] From at least the first century BC onwards we have evidence of the obliteration of the Picene place of worship in the regularization of the slope with masonry structures and the installation of a route up the hill directed to the summit terrace, where the main sanctuary of the city was now to rise.[13]

Study of the material culture has produced some significant novelties[14]. The stratigraphy of the first phases of the contact with Rome (early third century BC), in fact, shows the presence of fine black gloss tableware imported from *Latium*, associated with the remains of impasto vases, including the characteristic *ollae* with tongue-shaped sockets of Picene tradition. In the contexts immediately subsequent to these (second century BC), on the other hand, there are numerous remains of locally produced black gloss pottery, some of which include graffiti with Latin letters. The acquisition of the forms and technologies necessary to produce the tableware typical of the Roman world, together with the use of Latin, attest to the early assimilation of Latin culture by the inhabitants of Ascoli and testify to the fortune and farsightedness of the political strategy adopted by Rome with the federated city. The presence of Latin inscriptions engraved after cooking on some vases, moreover, has also allowed a suggestive hypothesis to be developed regarding the identification of the venerated divinity in the Sanctuary of the Annunziata. The abbreviation *Anc* occurs on at least three occasions, which could perhaps authorise a completion in *Anc(haria)*. If so, the divine object of worship could be the *Asculanorum Ancharia*, indicated by Varro as the polyad deity of the inhabitants of Ascoli (Tertullian *ad Nat.* II, 8). In any case, apart from the problematic reading of the inscribed ceramic fragments, the excavation delivered a non-funerary archaeological site for the first time in *Asculum*, datable to the period of the supposed urban genesis and of the first contact with Rome. The topographical location of the sanctuary, in a dominant position on the north-eastern slopes of the Colle dell'Annunziata, leads us, however, to propose it as a place of worship of the main divinity of this community. The first core of Ascoli was probably born around this sanctuary, triggering a progressive development of urban culture, already mature at the time of contact with Rome. (F.D.)

The archaeological research on the plateau of the Convento dell'Annunziata

Other useful elements to clarify the archaeology of this part of the city have been collected thanks to research into the whole architectural complex carried out between 2015 and 2016 by the researchers of the University of Bologna in the area of the Roman substructures of the Annunziata, both at their base and in the upper plateau. After an initial phase that favoured the use of non-invasive methods (archive study, GPR surveys and laser scanner survey), four excavation trial trenches were opened in the area of the Parco della Rimembranza, two at the top in front of the Convento dell'Annunziata, and two in the north and south of the substructures (**Figs. 4-5**).

[11] Morsiani 2016.

[12] The antefix corresponds to the type A5 Monte Rinaldo, cfr. Demma and Belfiori 2019, with previous bibliography.

[13] Demma and Casci Ceccacci 2016.

[14] Morsiani 2016.

The most significant excavations were the highest, and, in particular, the most southerly. No intact structures have been found, but there is a complex stratigraphy dating back to the Picene era and the Renaissance, when the Convent of the Annunziata was built. The later plundering pits cut through the deposition layers in order to create the plateau contained by the substructures and the platform that was supposed to host one or more buildings, the layout of which must have been the reason for the creation of the imposing containment work. These are stratigraphies with significant remains of black gloss ceramics dating back to the late-Republican period (second-first century BC). These layers cover the layers deposited directly on the outcropping rocky plane, which slopes abruptly down towards the valley, where fragments of impasto ceramics were found. The surveys carried out on the plain of the Annunziata have therefore confirmed the phases identified at the foot of the excavation of Via Capitolina and have for the first time provided a *terminus* for the stratigraphic dating of the Roman substructures.

Fig. 4. Archaeological excavations on the Colle dell'Annunziata.

In the light of the research carried out in Via Capitolina in 2009 and in the Parco della Rimembranza in 2016, or rather at the foot and above the Roman substructures, we can hypothesise that on the north-western side of the Colle dell'Annunziata there was a Picene place of worship, probably dedicated to the Poliad deity, and that this found continuity in a sanctuary which was frequented even after contact with Rome, at the time of the federated city. According to the remains of the architectural decoration, we can suppose that it was also rebuilt with buildings of monumental character and that, at least from the late Republican age (second-first century BC), this was included in a more extensive monumentalization of the hillside, with the construction of a large terrace on substructure, according to the fashion of Hellenistic scenic architecture (E.G.).

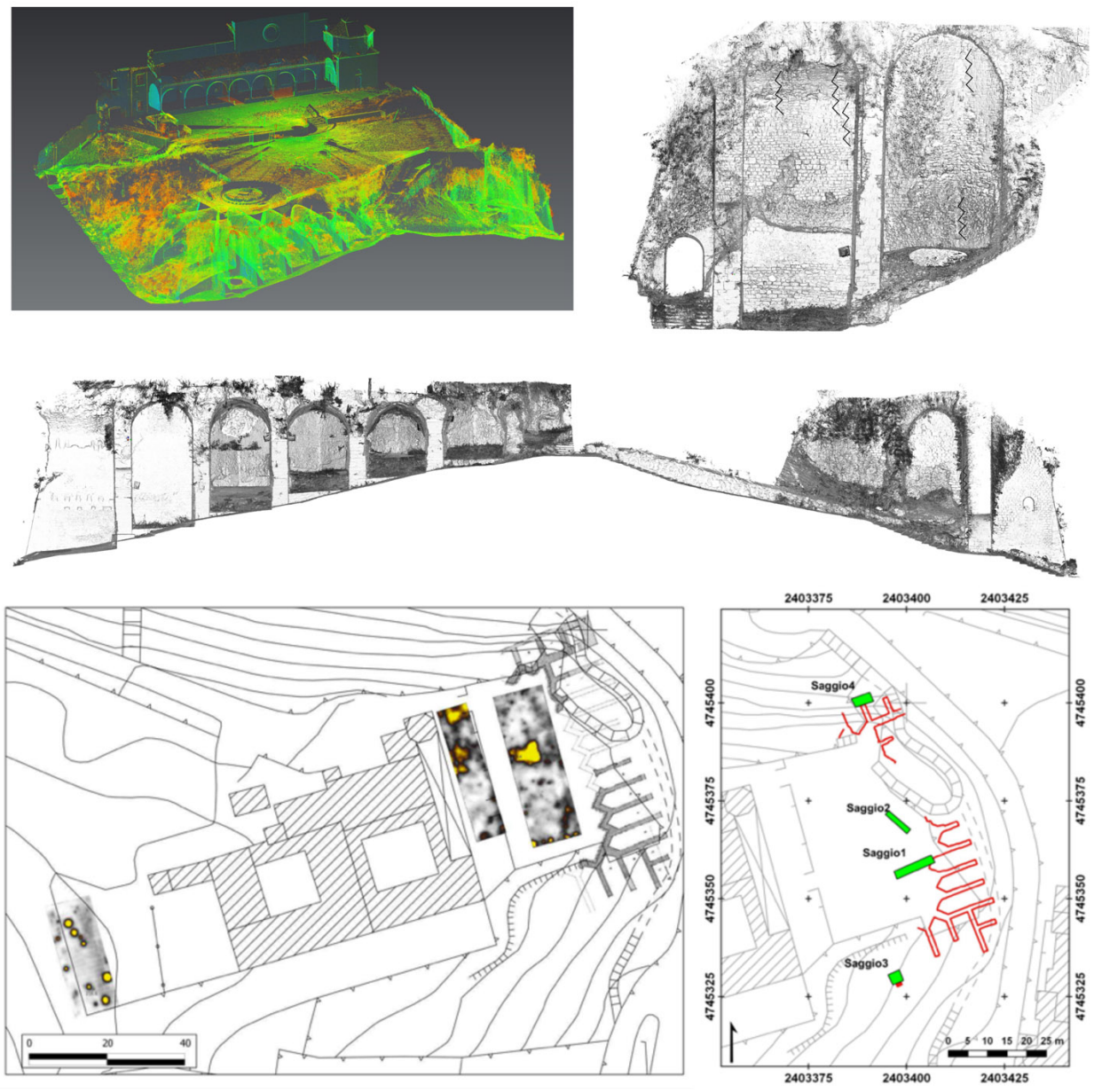

Fig. 5. New topographic surveys with GPR (elaboration by Federica Boschi) and laser scanner of the Annunziata's substructure (elaboration by Michele Silani).

XIV. Continuity and discontinuity in the archaeological record south of the Tronto river

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There are two main ecosystems of the Middle-Adriatic region south of the Tronto river: the inner one, on the Apennines, and the coastal one, whose main feature is the numerous river valleys cutting through it. While since the Bronze Age the economy in the mountains has been focused on pastoralism and vertical transhumance (**Fig. 1**), the economy of the coastal landscape, characterized by lower hills, has always been more varied, mixing herding, farming and fishing. After the Roman conquest of the *Tavoliere delle Puglie*, the vertical transhumance turned into a horizontal one, allowing the increase of cattle herds, since the growth of summer pastures in Abruzzo is very limited.

During the fifth century BC the small, petty 'fighting kingdoms' of the Archaic period, inclined to war, plunder and raids, became real states (*Toutai*) with republican organizations, federated among them in leagues.

Fig. 1. Summer pastures on the Gran Sasso.

During the fourth century BC the *necropoleis* sited on high grounds, and the nearby fortified settlements, naturally declined and were abandoned, after their lands lost their strategic value, except for Pesatro, in Ofena, in the territory of the *Vestini Cismontani* (d'Ercole and Martellone 2008, 143–161). In these inner areas no new necropolis was founded, except for those with rock-cut tombs, opening off hillsides of the Peligno district (Romito and Sangiovanni 2008, 195-230).

In the lands of the *Vestini Cismontani* the custom to bury newborns inside two tiles buried in small pits, as a kind of sarcophagus (d'Ercole and Copersino 2003), started in the Archaic period and continued well into the fourth century BC. It has always seemed obvious, since the first identification of this funerary custom in the 1990s, that such tiles are also a clue to the existence of tile-roofed houses in Abruzzo during the sixth to fourth centuries BC, long before any attested Roman building example. This is true especially for the coastal areas, where agriculture was more practised and a clear-cut distinction between settlement and *chora* was more possible (d'Ercole and Menozzi 2016, 413–442).

The most attested burial type in Abruzzo during the fourth century BC is what in Italian is usually called a '*tomba a fossa*': a simple, rectangular-shaped grave dug in the ground, often with square-cut corners, although the depths are now greater than in those of the Archaic period. Exceptions are, in this sense, some tombs in Campovalano, aligned along the mountain-ward side of the road. These tombs' upper rectangular borders are designed through lines of dry stones, forming kinds of small, squarish mounds (d'Ercole *et al.* 2016).

One of the characteristics of these '*tombe a fossa*' in the lands of the *Vestini Cismontani* is the creation of a sort of niche (**Fig. 2**) cut off the left lateral wall, approximately at half the height of the wall. This niche certainly performed functions similar to those of the stone-limited 'storerooms' (or '*ripostigli*', as called in Italian archaeological literature) of the orientalizing and archaic burials (8th–6th century BC). These spaces contained offerings of alcoholic beverages, as attested by the presence of vessels like the *olla* and the *skyphos* (Martellone 2014, 63–80). The consumption of alcoholic beverages, or *symposion*, if one wants to use that word, is attested in the burial practices of Abruzzo since the early Iron Age and continued, practically unchanged, well into the fourth century. On the other hand, what is radically changed is the original idea of representing the man, as well as the male child and the young man, as a warrior. In fact, already from the fifth century BC, the presence of iron weapons in male burials had started to diminish, while there was a certain increase of defensive equipment like helmets, armours, belts and, more rarely, greaves. It can be hypothesized that, as a consequence of political-institutional evolutions and changes,[1] the offensive weapons were owned by the State (*Touta*) and were provided only in wartime,[2] while individual fighters (especially those of greater wealth and rank) could have been equipped with privately-owned defensive equipment, mostly in bronze. Some prestigious weapons (e.g. swords) were also possibly privately owned by the elite warriors or their families, and these objects could therefore be more easily left in burials. The diffusion of defensive equipment was especially common in the southern populations of Abruzzo and, in particular, among the *Marrucini* (d'Ercole *et al.* 1997, 21–28).

[1] Nobody knows whether Italic fighters were paid when their role changed from tribal warriors to professional organized soldiers of organized armies. However, this is possible, considering how the troops in Rome were firstly paid with a *stipendium* from the end of the 5th century BC and, in particular, during the war with *Veii* in 406 BC.

[2] The high military capabilities reached, in this period, by the Samnite League is shown in 423 BC by the occupation of *Capua*, the most important Etruscan city in Campania. And maybe even the origin of the Samnite name of *Pompeii* could be derived, in some way, from '*Pomp*', a word which seems very diffused in Sabino-Italic names (*Pomp-ilio, Pomp-uledio, Pomp-uleio, Pomp-onio, Pomp-eo*).

Fig. 2. Capestrano, tomb 144.

Among the *Vestini Cismontani*, the Tomb 1411 of Bazzano, L'Aquila (**Fig. 3**) can be dated to the fourth century BC. The adult male buried here displays a typical warrior's equipment (sword, spear and belt) but the rest of the funerary equipment has completely changed. There are no more vessels to contain food or liquid, but only a small, refined, imported cup: a black-painted *krateriskos* with overpainted decoration. There are also fragments of an iron brooch, instruments for personal cleaning, a strigil and iron scissors, which are objects frequently found in Abruzzo, in the necropolis of Campovalano, as well as throughout the Celtic world (Guidobaldi 2002, 383–403). A clear example of the *La Tène* culture is the iron sword, whose blade was hilted through a tang, and its sheath. Other typically Celtic *La Tène* swords are also attested in other cemeteries of the *Vestini Cismontani*. There are two examples in San Panfilo d'Ocre; these are unfortunately out of context but their blades are bent, according to a typically Celtic custom, as attested among the *Senones* (d'Ercole *et al.* 2014, 450–454). There is also one in Tomb 9 of Fontanelle in Capestrano (Acconcia and Di Sabatino 2016, 156–159). Among the *Paeligni* there is another sword from a '*grotticella*' (roughly rock-cut) tomb in Via Zappanotte of Sulmona. Possibly from the same necropolis could come an example with anthropomorphic hilt, now in the British Museum (Rapin 1987, 529–539). Another *La Tène* sword was found in a '*fossa*' grave in Secinaro, where it was laid together with a spearhead, and another one was found in Macrano of Castelvecchio Subequo.

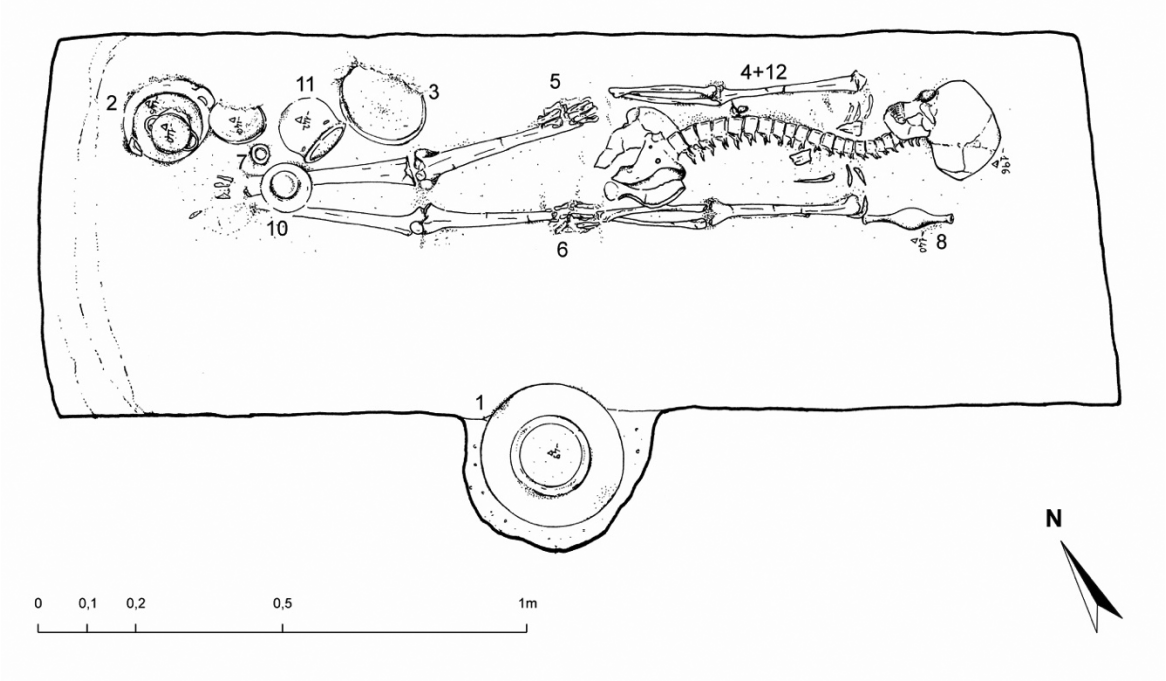

Fig. 3. Plan and funerary equipment of tomb 1411 from Bazzano-L'Aquila.

In the territory of the *Marsi*, two *La Tène* swords are known, unsheathed and associated with bent spearheads, in the necropolis of Pietraia of San Castro in Amplero. Another six or seven examples are now in the Torlonia Collection of finds coming from the Fucino area[3] (d'Ercole *et al.* 2002, 46–52). These swords are much rarer in the areas nearer to the coast. There is an example among the *Marrucini*, in Tomb 1 of Contrada Cappuccini in Manoppello, often confused in the archaeological literature with Villalfonsina (Dore 1995, 37–45). Furthermore, there is also another possible example from the area once belonging to the *Praetuttii*. This specimen appears in the old Gabrielli notebooks and it was possibly associated with a Montefortino helmet and a bronze belt, as well as with a *sauroter*-equipped spear, coming from the territory of Civitella del Tronto. There is perhaps another example, preserved in the collections of the civic museum of Ascoli Piceno (inventory number K 2761), probably coming from one of the Teramo necropoleis: Salino, between Faraone and Civitella.

The idea that the latest owners of these swords were bearers of some culturally, or even partly ethnically, Celtic heritage is plausible only when there is some other clue leading to this interpretation. One of these clues may be the intentional bending of weapons, usually spearheads or swords, or of artefacts like scissors and razors. From what has been said it would emerge that the burials closest to the *La Tène koinè* are those from Amplero, and perhaps of Ocre or Bazzano. Another element to consider is whether other burials of the same necropolis, whether male or female, bear other typically Celtic

[3] It is difficult to hypothesize that all these Torlonia tang-hilted swords, all without sheaths, come from the same number of funerary contexts in the Fucino area. During the works made by the Torlonia to drain the Fucine Lake in the 19th century, about 6 or 7 *La Tène* swords were found. This is a huge number, if compared to the 13 known in the rest of the region, including the Marsica. It seems more plausible to identify another intended use for these *Torlonia* swords, not as grave goods, but as offerings of enemy weapons in the sanctuary of *Lucus Angitae*. A similar behaviour is indeed attested in the other, large, federal sanctuary of *Pietrabbondante* among the Samnites (Tagliamonte 2002–2003, 95–125). These can be offerings of weapons taken from defeated enemies, *spolia hostium*, or weapons used by the *Marsi* warriors and gifted to the divinity who has protected them in battle. Whatever the truth, the purpose is the same: votive gifts and not grave goods.

features (Guidobaldi 1995). In this regard, the only certain example in Abruzzo is the necropolis of Campovalano, where there are female burials bearing glass bracelets and necklaces with amphora-shaped glass beads (Popovic 2000, 269–276; Vellani 2000, 42–45; Chiaramonte Trerè 2004, 49–-64; Tagliamonte and Reccar 2007, 211–220), and even children buried with training weapons and the feet of defunctionalized kraters.

The deposition of kraters[4] (and therefore the offering of alcoholic beverages to be mixed) in the tombs of adults, both male and female, is typical of the necropolis of Campovalano, together with the high presence of burials without grave goods which, from a planimetric point of view, seem to be somehow related to the 267 tombs dating to the fourth to third centuries BC. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the only other necropolis[5] in Abruzzo that holds such a large number of burials with no grave goods is Bazzano, L'Aquila. If in Campovalano the tombs without grave goods are about 20%, in Bazzano they should be about 45% (although the data are far from definitive, since the study of Bazzano's recent phases is still in progress). In Bazzano there are 253 tombs without grave goods, compared to 300 tombs with goods. Even for Bazzano, as for Campovalano, nobody knows about the location of the settlement related to the necropolis. One cannot even imagine how the macroscopic, socio-political differentiations one can see in tombs were also expressed in everyday life. Maybe there were differences in the house parts between masters and servants, or maybe there existed even separated neighbourhoods between freemen and slaves.

The geographical spreading of Celtic-type artefacts in Abruzzo[6] seems to highlight two precise axes: the Adriatic coast, where most objects are clustered in Campovalano and Civitella del Tronto,[7] and the internal one, on the inner Apennines, which, starting from Bazzano, expands to the whole mountainous part of the region ('*Conca aquilana, subequana, peligna*' and '*fucense*'), turning back to the coast with Manoppello. While the first line of penetration seems to stop south of the Tronto river, to the lands of the *Praetuttii* with its main centre in Campovalano, other lands corresponding to other Italic populations seem avoided: the territories of the *Vestini Transmontani*, of the *Marrucini* (almost entirely, if one excludes Manoppello) and of the *Frentani*. The second axis seems more vital and dynamic, starting from the *Vestini Cismontani*, the districts of the *Marsi* and *Paeligni* and a part of the *Marrucini* (Manoppello), completely excluding the lands of the *Pentri.*[8]

[4] The kraters of Campovalano are generally closer to the so-called upper Adriatic production of *Adria* and *Spina* (Guidobaldi 1996, 194–212), which, in reality, is widely attested (although largely unpublished) in the Picene area, by 'several hundreds of vases' (Landolfi 2000b, 111–130).

[5] Among the 160 burials brought to light by Giovanni Leopardi in the necropolis of Campo Mirabello in Montebello di Bertona, about 10% do not have any grave goods: we do not know, however, how many tombs in Campo Mirabello can be dated to the fourth century BC, or the relative numerical ratio with the tombs without goods.

[6] In this brief analysis, other categories of artefacts were not considered, such as the bronze *stamnoi* with Silenus handles (Lucentini in press), ovoid *situlae* (Giuliani Pomes 1957, 39–84), pans (De Marinis 1986, 97–112), brooches with a crossbow-shaped foot, vases, sand-holders made of different materials (Hill 1938, 271–274), which also belong to the La Tène *koinè* attested in Italy. Among the materials preserved in the Ascoli Piceno Museum Nora Lucentini identified a probable female funerary assemblage with Celtic-type objects, purchased in Chieti in 1871, consisting of a *stamnos* with Silenus handles, a *kylix* attributable to the Master of Baltimore portraying Hercules and Mercury, a bracelet and a pair of crossbow brooches, also in bronze.

[7] In recent years (2012–2013), almost 30 burials have been dug in Villa Passo, near Civitella del Tronto. The Archaic burials do not have fixed orientations, while the Hellenistic ones seems to follow the south–north axis, as in the nearby necropolis of Campovalano. Another element of similarity between the two sites is the deposition of iron scissors.

[8] Titus Livius (VII, 9, 1–2) and also Polybius (II, 18) speak about raids that the Gauls carried out, between 361 and 348 BC towards *Latium*, following the Salaria way, camping three miles from Rome along the Aniene river. The

The chronological range lies between the fourth century BC and the second to first centuries BC. This latest date is suggested by the presence, in the Capestrano Tomb 320, a chamber tomb excavated in 2009, of an *armilla* fragment in cobalt blue glass, ribbed, related to the *Haevernich* type 3a or 3b, referable to the LT D period (Haevernich 1960). Before this discovery, the southernmost examples of this artefact type were known in Orvieto and Norcia, which, even if internal, are sited on the same geographical axis of Capestrano, descending through the Appenines (Rapi 2011, 294–295).
Different is the case of the intact bracelet, in yellow/light blue glass found, in 1997, in the Campovalano Tomb 604, the burial of a young (11–14 years old) female individual (d'Ercole 1999, 180). This type of bracelet, usually defined '*Montefortino*' or '*Haevernich* 1', is datable from between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century BC (Gebhard 1989, 73–83) and it is usually dated to the LT C1 period. Its distribution is predominantly coastal or peri-Adriatic, and before this discovery in Campovalano it was believed that the southernmost examples were in Offida and Ascoli Piceno (Vellani 1996, 18–21; Landolfi 1987, 443–468).
These products, perhaps together with some migrating individuals bearing Celtic customs, had to permeate the coastal areas of the *Piceni* (Landolfi 2000a, 19–46) and the internal Umbrian areas (Vitali 2004, 315–329) in order to arrive, from the territory of the *Galli Senones* (Lollini 1979a, 55–61) up to the Italic populations who, on the coast, had interrupted this flow on the Tordino river and at *Interamnia Praetuttiorum*. On the other hand, in the mountainous area there was no *caesura* (Guidobaldi 2012, 93–97).

The 'Italic' answer to the use of Celtic-type tang-hilted swords (Grassi 1991) might have been the use of the *machaira*. This iron sabre was used by both Etruscans and *Latini* at least from the fifth century BC onwards and became particularly popular among the *Piceni* during the fourth century BC (Lollini 1976b, 117–153). Only three examples are known in Abruzzo. The first was found in Corfinio in 1986 in the necropolis of Impianata (d'Ercole 1993, 640–641), the second one in the Tomb 31 of Loreto Aprutino (Staffa 2004, 248) and finally the third, apparently sporadic, comes from Barrea (Tagliamonte 2008, 242). While the *machaira* of Corfinio is long and heavy, and therefore usable only from horseback, the sabre from Loreto Aprutino seems, from to the excavation pictures, to be shorter and lighter, more like the *falcata*, generally used by the Iberian infantry. The example in Barrea is unpublished. These long, single-edged iron sabres also appear in wall paintings of the Apulo-Lucan tombs of this period, as well as in contemporary funerary objects such as in the Tomb 174 of *Paestum* (Pontrandolfo Greco 1982), to attest their use as cavalry sabres.[9]

Looking to the broader picture in chronological terms, it seems that in Abruzzo between the tenth and seventh centuries BC there was an absolute pre-eminence of infantry fighting traditions, in open formations during the earlier times, and certainly in more closed formations during the Orientalizing period. There was a greater use of cavalry from the Archaic age onwards (Drews 2004; d'Ercole 2011). Between the fifth and fourth centuries BC the armies of the different *Toutai* (Saulnier 1980) are

traditional date of the sack of Rome by Brennus (390 BC) suggests that the main Celtic military activities in central Italy happened during the first half of the 4th century BC.

[9] In fact, as Xenophon wrote (430–355 BC) in his *De re equestri* treatise: 'to hurt my enemies, in my opinion, the *kopis* is much better than the *xiphos*, since the hit comes from above, the wound inflicted by the *kopis* will be deeper than that from the *xiphos*, since it is a weapon that wounds by cutting' XII, 11–12. Xenophon uses the word '*Kopis*' which corresponds to the word '*machaira*', preferred in modern archaeological literature in Italy.

organized in two parts[10]: the spear-armed infantry and those fighting on horseback, with long swords of different types, with straight and curved blades.
It is evident that the breeding of horses (Vigneron 1968) can be well inserted in the economy of pastoralist communities dedicated to herding not just sheep, but also animals like, for example, cattle. Furthermore, it is also plausible that those inhabiting the mountains, whose economy was less focused on agriculture than the economy of the coast, were also the best herders and therefore the best horse riders (Keegan 1993, 168).

In Abruzzo there is no preserved figurative evidence about the art of war in this period. Archaeology seems to suggest that spearhead types changed throughout time: while in the spearheads of the previous periods there was a 1:1 ratio in the respective dimensions of blade and socket, during this late period, the blade is only 1/10 of the socket/tang part. Iron spearheads in Abruzzo are about 50 cm long in this phase (see, for example, Tomb 147 in Cinturelli Caporciano). If one adds an appropriately long wooden shaft and a *sauroter*, the result recalls the description in the Histories of Polybius (VI, 23), of a lighter *pilum* type, used by Roman legionaries of the Mid-Republican period (Cascarino 2007, 137).
In Rome the passage from the hoplitic-style legion of the times of the kings to the mid-Republican legion organized in maniples armed with *pila* is attributed by Plutarch in the Parallel Lives (*Camillus*, 40) to Marcus Furius Camillus, the hero of the liberation of Rome from the Gauls. The reformations were put into practice by Decius Mus and Manlius Torquatus who were consuls in the war fought in 340 BC against the *Latini*, as Titus Livius tells in *Ab Urbe Condita* (VIII, 8). The origin of the *pilum* is uncertain (Reinach 1907, 226–244). Virgil in the Aeneid (VIII, 665), defines it as a '*sabellic weapon*' and also Silius Italicus in the *Punica* speaks about a '*iaculator Sabellus*' (IV, 221). Although in some limited occasions (Plutarch, *Antonius*, 45) the *pilum* was used as an assault spear, it was a heavy throwing weapon, designed to easily pierce through wooden shields, reaching the enemy warrior's body. Experimental archaeology has verified how these weapons, thrown at a distance of about 25 metres, can easily pierce and pass through wooden shields, including those crafted in 3 cm-thick oak.

The important harbour of Ancona (*Ankon*) in the centre of the Adriatic Sea was acquired by Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse, in 397 BC, and therefore it became a strategic place for hiring Gallic mercenaries and possibly also Italic ones. But Ancona also became an important commercial node for the trade of Oriental and African products (d'Ercole and Martellone 2004, 214–219), such as, for example, the pendants in polychrome vitreous paste of Phoenician Punic production (Seefried 1979, 17–26; Seefried 1982).
All the examples in Abruzzo are from female burials. With regard to those coming from 'old' excavations in Abruzzo, like Campo Mirabello in Montebello di Bertona (Tomb 37, excavations 1952–56) or Monte Giove in Penna Sant'Andrea (Tomb 8, excavations 1974–75) (**Fig.4**) (d'Ercole 1985, 131–135), there unfortunately are no anthropological data about the age of death, since these specific scientific studies were never performed. On the other hand, such data are available for those more recently dug, and it is clear that the deceased bearing such artefacts are always children or, at least, adolescents. It is interesting to note how the ages of the death are distributed in two fairly clear groups: around six years (Cinturelli Tomb 51: 5–7 years; Campovalano Tomb 458: 6 years; Colli Bianchi Tomb 160: 6 years), and 10 and 14 years (Bazzano Tomb 833: 10 years; Campovalano Tomb 604: 11–14 years).

[10] It is worth remembering that it is almost impossible to identify archers and slingers (Bradford 2007) since their weapons are mostly of organic materials (wood, leather, ropes, fabrics, wool). It is also possible that bows were not considered to be 'worthy' of being placed among funerary goods, since bronze or iron arrowheads are never found in burials. The few examples known are all out of context or, in some cases, found in votive pits. With regard to slings, there are only figurative representations, before the introduction of small lead, acorn-shaped bullets.

Fig. 4. Penna Sant'Andrea, tomb 8, pendant in glass paste.

Among the many types of glass pendants available on the Mediterranean market, Italic peoples chose a specific model and a specific iconography: the male face with flowing hair, beard and moustache. It has been hypothesized (Haevernich 1997, 152–231) that these glass jewels represented *Melqart*, one of the main male divinities. The god *Melqart* is often assimilated to the Greek *Herakles*, to the Etruscan *Hercle* and to the Latin *Hercules*. This divinity was one of the favourite gods of the Italic peoples, as demonstrated by so many artefacts found in Abruzzo, like the innumerable votive bronze figurines and dedicatory inscriptions in sanctuaries, and the *appliques* found on the funerary beds in both bronze and bone (d'Ercole 2017, 183–199).
Regarding the burials of baby girls, Hercules may have been evoked as a kind of protector of the passage from life to death and the subsequent rebirth. Two Early Iron Age beads, associated with a pendant, were found in Pievebovigliana in *Picenum*, while for the Tomb 25 of Recanati there are mentions about two glass beads: a small, amphora-shaped one and another with a ram's head. During an inspection carried out in the 1990s in the deposits of the Archaeological Museum of Ancona, at Palazzo Ferretti, it was possible to see a splendid specimen of a large Type CIII pendant, of yellow and green colours, which came from the old excavations in the Ancona necropolis. The port of Ancona was to be the arrival point of these precious materials produced in Carthage and traded, between the Apennines and the Adriatic, by Syracuse or by other Greeks.

There are many classes of materials that should be studied to better understand the funerary customs, the analogies and the differences that can be found among the different Italic populations that occupied Abruzzo in the fourth century BC. Exemplary in this sense are amber necklaces with feminine face-shaped beads, found in the burials of women of the *Marrucini* (Tocco da Casauria Villa Bonanni and Serramonacesca), *Paeligni* (Pettorano sul Gizio and Cocullo) and *Praetuttii* (Campovalano) and, above all, the recent discoveries among the *Vestini Cismontani*: in Fossa Tomb 351 and Caporciano Cinturelli Tomb 174 (**Fig. 5**). Another element to be examined should be the diffusion of silver, specifically used for crafting rings, often with a noble family crest: riders on winged horses, seahorses, stars, etc. (Bourdin and d'Ercole 2014).

An 'objective' data, which emerges from the study of funerary contexts, is the average life expectancy of the various communities. By analysing the three main published and available cemeteries

(Campovalano, for the *Praetuttii*, Fossa and Bazzano for the *Vestini Cismontani*, for a total of about three thousand individuals) it can be said that the expectations and lifestyle of these three contexts markedly improved between the 'Archaic' phase (8th–5th century BC.) and the 'Italic-Hellenistic' one (5th–2nd century BC). In Fossa, the life expectancy was of 40 years in the most ancient period and it was extended to 45 years in the most recent phase. On the other hand, in Campovalano and Bazzano the extension in life expectancy through time was even greater increasing by about 8–10 years. In Campovalano it evolved from 23 to 31, while in Bazzano it was extended from 27 to 37 years. Another sign of the general life improvement can also be seen considering the decrease in infant mortality, which drops, in Campovalano, from 36% to 23%, in Bazzano[11] from over 30% to about 15%, while remaining stable in Fossa at around 30%. The community of Fossa appears, however, 'anomalous', with a life expectancy far higher than the other two sites: the lower threshold of the deceased of *Aveia/*Fossa in the Archaic age (40 years) was higher than the best life expectancy figure of the other two populations in the Hellenistic period, which was 31 for Campovalano and 37 for Bazzano.

Fig. 5. Necklace in amber, coming from female tomb 174, Caporciano.

[11] For the necropolis of *Vestini Cismontani* there is the problem of neonatal tombs in tiles that, lacking grave goods, cannot be dated. Some may be dated to the 6th century BC, while others may date to the 4th century BC.

Conclusions: towards a research agenda for *Picenum* and the *ager Gallicus* between the fourth and second centuries BC

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The contributions contained in this volume are the evident proof of a lively and active period of research in central Adriatic Italy that, especially in recent years, has seen the launch of many new projects and has been enriched with new archaeological acquisitions and important publications, which provide a commendable overview on the forms and dynamics of occupation and settlement at the onset of Romanization. At the same time, however, and for the territory of the Marche region in particular, there are still several open problems and issues, especially for the chronological period focused upon during the 2019 Ravenna conference (fourth–second century BC), and even for the phase immediately preceding this pivotal period.

The final round table of the two-day colloquium represented a moment of stimulating discussion by all those present, producing some significant reflections and compelling ideas for future research. It was also a decisive confirmation of the potential that the effective collaboration between superintendencies and universities can have in territorial research, in general, and in facing complex problems. This implies more specifically synergetic research requiring first of all the recovery and sharing of legacy data or information that, for various reasons, has remained unpublished, as well as the exchange of knowledge and experience.

The many novelties presented for *Picenum* and the *ager Gallicus*, compared with research in progress in other Italian regions, demonstrate the shared need to continue to invest commitment and energy in archaeological knowledge acquisition in the entire central Adriatic territory, which is increasingly configured as a palimpsest of extraordinary potential that is still partly unexplored. But these acquisitions also demonstrate the importance of focusing in detail on the very specific and differentiated topographical and geomorphological aspects of the region, and of recognizing distinct sub-regional ecosystems, between northern, central and southern districts, as well as between the coastal area and the internal Apennine sector. Possible different dynamics of occupation and frequentation, as well as local ways of exploiting the territory, are obviously also conditioned by this particular physical geography. The subregional comparisons that can be derived from the contributions on the Marche region in this volume enable the start of describing the forms, methods and extent of Romanization in relation to the specificities of the valley systems or other territorial subsystems, which have given rise to different political, economic and social structures and, perhaps, also to particular phenomena of cultural osmosis.

Although it is not our intention to exhaustively synthesize here all aspects that have been touched upon in the contributions presented in this volume and in the discussion at the conference, it is surely worth reflecting on some of the crucial aspects, challenges and issues of archaeological research in this region concerning the many changes that occurred in *Picenum* and the a*ger Gallicus* at the dawn of the Roman Conquest. This reflection needs first to look back at some of the developments that occurred in the recent decades, before attempting to provide some guidelines for the future. (F.B.)

The Picenes and Rome: the need for a shared field of research to foster comparison

The idea of comparing a definite period of regional archaeology stems from the need to systematize various research projects that sometimes have a long tradition and not infrequently are also linked to projects of international scale. But the first point is perhaps just that: often the various research teams have followed parallel paths using alternative methodologies even when the aims of the research were similar. This specific 'parallel life' of Italian archaeology, or parallel life of the different research projects on this region, compared to international methodological reflection, is generated by the history of studies and can find various explanations. The latter are only partially related to the daily needs of archaeological education and protection, linked with the aims of research-driven archaeology in academic research projects and in compliance with the urgency of archaeological excavations by the regional Superintendence.[1]

It cannot be denied that in much local and regional archaeology, especially concerning the classical period, the reflection on theory and method has attracted little attention from scholars. Rather, the archaeologists focused on the dialogue with historians and on the attempt to answer some fascinating historical questions, especially about the first structuring phases of the rule of Rome in the central Adriatic area, such as the urban genesis and the organization of the scattered population, the road system and the centuriation.[2] However, even with these questions in mind, the approach has long been to systematically excavate some sites or to carry out traditional topographic studies and surface surveys of some selected areas, and only in a few cases was the help of aerial photography and extensive geophysical survey included.[3]
Moreover, although it is often the case of systematic excavations of sites located within archaeological parks, it remained still very rare elsewhere to consider the necessity of avoiding excessive consumption of the archaeological deposit. As a consequence, the employment of non-invasive techniques of investigation within intra-site archaeological research is still today too episodic. These techniques are usually used as an aid to the excavation, rather than as a preferential research method that uses – only as a last resort – the targeted stratigraphic excavation.[4] The theme of the link between intra-site and extra-site surveys and, more generally, of the dialogue between studies on settlements and territories still remains open. Sometimes these two aspects of research are unconnected and the study of the main settlements and that of the surrounding territories have not always been integrated in the best possible way. Moreover, even in the best practices, there is a tendency to focus on a case study, avoiding broader overviews. In general, intra-site research rather than regional-scale overviews is the dominant theme of many research projects. Nevertheless, two important opportunities providing an idea of the direction of research in Roman archaeology in the Marche region were presented by the conferences organized in 2010 and 2019 by the University of Macerata.[5]

Here, we do not even go into the urgent topic of a regional synthesis on pre-Roman archaeology, with particular regard to the Iron Age in the Marche region. After some milestones, such as the influential book by Alessandro Naso and the famous catalogue of the exhibition that relaunched these studies at the beginning of the century (followed by some important local experiences, such as the publication of the exhibition of Matelica), we can now also record the recent conferences in Ancona, entitled *Convegno*

[1] Giorgi 2016.
[2] De Marinis *et al.* 2012; Perna 2012; Campagnoli and Giorgi 2017; Baldelli and Lo Schiavo 2014.
[3] Vermeulen *et al.* 2012; Johnson and Millett 2013; Boschi 2016.
[4] Carver 2009. See also the results of the Convention for the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage of Europe (revised) (Valletta, 1992).
[5] De Marinis *et al.* 2012. The proceedings of the 2019 conference are forthcoming.

Internazionale di Studi Piceni, that provide other important opportunities to gain a broad overview of the region.[6] Apart from some important exceptions, however, one cannot fail to note the deep-rooted interest in the study of archaeological finds, especially in the funerary domain, and a prevailing tendency to analyse individual case studies, which still does not allow one to have a general idea of settlement dynamics in the region before the arrival of Rome, compared to what has been produced in neighbouring regions, such as Umbria and Abruzzo.[7] To this trend must be added the high interest of the scholars of this historical period in the phases of the maximum flowering of Picene culture that ended up penalizing consideration of the complex dynamics due to the encounter with Rome.[8] A further difficulty comes from the tendency of specialized scholars – on the one side of the Picene material culture and on the other side of the Roman one – to examine the problem starting from different skills and specialized perspectives, not supporting approaches that bring out not only differences but also cultural contaminations.[9]

One of the aims of the Ravenna workshop was to start up a dialogue between 'Picenists' and 'Romanists', in the conviction that this is the path to follow. In this sense, the presence of specialists such as Vincenzo D'Ercole, Alessandro Naso, Gabriele Baldelli, Andrea Gaucci and Enrico Sartini, but also of scholars such as Andrea Cardarelli and Alessandro Vanzetti, certainly represented an added value capable of giving new life to our discussion. Therefore, central places and their territories, non-invasive methodologies and archaeological excavations, archaeology before and after the arrival of Rome are the lines of research that we are interested in pursuing with increasing attention.

Passion for analysis and the problem of synthesis in regional trends

As mentioned above, in order to reconstruct this complex overview of regional studies, it may be useful to briefly outline the attempts at regional synthesis that have been made, both in the past and in recent times. In the early nineties of the twentieth century, Christiane Delplace published a volume that is still fundamental to the knowledge of the Roman period in the central Adriatic area. In that book the study of the peculiar case of *Urbs Salvia* was preceded by an exhaustive reconstruction of the historical and topographical history of the entire Picene area.[10] Probably this more general part of the book remains the most relevant, not only from the point of view of the method, but also because it allows an overview that in many ways is not yet outdated. Since it is a work of solid historical approach, in fact, the analysis of the written sources represented the starting point and, for example, the review of the *gromatici* sources made it possible to arrive at a very broad general reconstruction of the Roman landscape of ancient *Picenum*.[11]

Other books of synthesis, later developed as volumes for broad diffusion rather than as real studies, have offered wide regional overviews, among which the volume edited by Mario Luni stands out for its

[6] Naso 2000; Colonna 1999; Colonna 2001; Silvestrini and Sabbatini 2008. The proceedings of the 2018 and 2019 conference, organized by the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio delle Marche in Ancona, are forthcoming.

[7] For an overview of southern *Picenum* see Ciuccarelli 2012a, with related bibliography.

[8] The presentations of Filippo Demma and Enrico Sartini held at the workshop in Ravenna were about this topic but unfortunately it is not present among the papers of this book. For some significant case studies in this regard see Mazzeo Saracino and Morsiani 2014; Demma *et al.* 2018; Giorgi and Demma 2018.

[9] See in this book the paper by Anna Gamberini and Paola Cossentino.

[10] Delplace 1993.

[11] The studies of Nereo Alfieri are also essential and often provide the indispensable starting point for the study of the archaeology of the ancient landscape of the Marche region: Alfieri 2000. See also Campagnoli and Giorgi 2014.

completeness. They certainly have their own usefulness, but declaredly do not have the ambition of the scientific essay and therefore only partially fill the gap of information until the early 2000s.[12]
More successful is the recent study on the *ager Gallicus*, in the northern part of the Marche region, by Michele Silani, dedicated to the development of the Roman towns and based on a strong broad topographic framework. Only recently the book by Frank Vermeulen has finally satisfied the requirements of a wider regional overview, taking into account all the latest archaeological discoveries.[13] This work demonstrates that the complexity of the phenomenon of the Romanization of this territory can only be fully understood if seen in the long term and in its widest extension, i.e. by linking the historical-archaeological dynamics of both *Picenum* and the *ager Gallicus*. In fact, the ancient authors themselves authorize us to treat these two territories together, since they tell us that right in the initial phase of the contact with Rome these territories were managed together. This happened, for example, with the *lex de agro Gallico et Piceno viritim dividundo* and above all with the strategy implemented by Rome with the foundation of the Latin colonies of *Ariminum* in the *ager Gallicus* and *Firmum* in *Picenum* during the third century BC.[14]

The general reluctance to undertake comparative studies in the Italian context is partly compensated for by the commitment to research in some of the main regional archaeological sites, where field research is in progress and, in some cases, has been for decades.
As far as the *ager Gallicus* is concerned, worth mentioning by way of example are: the archaeological excavations still under way by the University of Bologna in *Suasa*, *Sena Gallica* and *Ostra* (on the last site in collaboration with the University of Clermont Auvergne), by the University of Urbino in *Forum Sempronii*, by the University of Macerata in *Tifernum Mataurense*, by the University of Perugia in *Attidium* and the recently completed one by the Universities of Genoa and Urbino in *Sentinum*.[15] To mention also some cases of archaeological excavations in smaller settlements, with important Roman period phases, we think of the research of the University of Bologna at Colombarone (Pesaro) and Santa Maria in Portuno (Corinaldo).[16] Finally, it is noteworthy to remember the projects coordinated in the past by Pier Luigi Dall'Aglio about *Pisaurum* and Mario Luni about *Fanum Fortunae*.[17]
In *Picenum*, on the other hand, the research project at *Pollentia-Urbs Salvia* of the University of Macerata, which has also produced an archaeological map of the territory, stands out for its long tradition of research. More recently the same university has also started a new excavation at Villa Magna, in the territory of *Urbs Salvia*.[18] The project on the city and the territory of *Potentia* by Ghent University, which introduced in this region non-invasive investigation methods systematically extended along the whole valley of the Potenza river and its inland towns of *Trea* and *Ricina*, has now also a long tradition. More recent is the research project of the same university in *Septempeda* in close collaboration with the Superintendence.[19] For some years now, the University of Bologna has been involved in an urban archaeology project in *Asculum*, based on geophysical investigations together with the documentation of the emergency excavations conducted by the Superintendence, as well as the

[12] Luni 2003. As far as the Picene area is concerned, the atlases of the archaeological heritage of the provinces of Ascoli, Fermo, and Macerata are of particular interest: de Marinis and Paci 2000; Fabrini *et al.* 2004.
[13] Silani 2017; Vermeulen 2017. See also Dall'Aglio and Campagnoli 2002, and Perna 2012.
[14] Salmon 1982, Paci 1998a.
[15] Giorgi and Lepore 2010; Giorgi 2020 (*Suasa*). Dall'Aglio *et al.* 2014 (*Ostra*). Lepore 2013; Lepore *et al.* 2014 (*Sena Gallica*). Luni and Mei 2012 (*Forum Sempronii*). Catani and Monacchi 2004; Catani and Monacchi 2007 (*Tifernum Mataurense*). Medri 2008 (*Sentinum*).
[16] Giorgi and Lepore 2010; Dall'Aglio 2009.
[17] Luni 2000; Campagnoli 1999; Dall'Aglio and Di Cocco 2004. See also De Maria 2015.
[18] Perna 2006; Fabrini 2013; Perna 2014; Perna 2016; Perna and Paci 2017.
[19] Percossi *et al.* 2006; Vermeulen *et al.* 2017.

excavation of the Sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo and the drafting of the archaeological map of the provinces of Ascoli and Fermo.[20] The 'South Picenum Survey Project' of the University of Pisa is dedicated to surface surveys.[21] Finally, we have to report a new research project on the Roman *municipium* of *Cupra*, promoted by the University of Naples Orientale under the aegis of the Centro Studi per l'Archeologia dell'Adriatico of Ravenna (see below).

All these projects show a rather dynamic overview of Roman archaeology in this region and our thanks go above all to the archaeologists of the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio delle Marche who, in recent years, have been able to promote knowledge of the territory not only through urgent actions but also through research agreements with many Italian and foreign universities. The research project presented in this volume by Vincenzo Baldoni, Maria Raffaella Ciuccarelli and Stefano Finocchi, about Ancona and Numana, is a good example of such an agreement project, providing very important new data for the period under consideration here and producing a fully new archaeological map of these very important central sites.[22]

The archaeology of the Roman cities, therefore, partly understood as the systematic and extensive excavation and research of a series of abandoned settlements in the valley floors, benefits from good health in the Marche region and one of the most current directions of research is precisely the discovery of the early phases of frequentation, often connected with the possible presence of communities that included surviving *Galli Senoni* and *Pikentes*.[23] But especially here we can see a potential for growth, because there is a regional trend, even in the study of Roman towns, to limit oneself to regional comparisons and in this sense the contribution to the discussion made by Fabrizio Pesando in our workshop was fundamental. His point of view as an expert of 'Tyrrhenian Romanity' is already valuable and will certainly grow. We now know, in fact, that he will soon be the promoter, in agreement with the Superintendence, of an initiative of the Centro Studi per l'Archeologia dell'Adriatico, which intends to coordinate a large research group to resume field investigations at the crucial site of *Cupra*.[24] (E.G.)

Central places before the Roman takeover

As is also clear from the contributions in this book and from other ongoing fieldwork in several valleys in the Marche region (see below), research on crucial changes in settlement dynamics during the pivotal period of the fourth to second century BC cannot restrict our attention to the central places that were new, or remained successful, during the period of Roman dominance. We would also plead for giving further priority to the field investigation of the central sites predating the Roman takeover, because it is in these major grouped settlements, whether located on hilltops, hill slopes or even on prominent positions near the valley floors, that we can probably find the better clues for understanding societal organization and chronological evolutions. In the past, some attention has been given to these sites by way of very limited excavations, but a lot still needs to be done here. As Alessandro Naso has stressed

[20] Giorgi 2016; Boschi *et al.* 2017; Giorgi *et al.* 2018; Giorgi and Demma 2018 (*Asculum*). Giorgi and Kay 2019; Belfiori *et al.* 2020; Giorgi *et al.* 2020 (Monte Rinaldo).
[21] Menchelli 2012: Menchelli and Iacopini 2016.
[22] The Ancona Archaeological Map Project is an ongoing research project directed by Maria Raffaella Ciuccarelli, Vincenzo Baldoni and Enrico Giorgi with the collaboration of Eleonora Iacopini.
[23] See e.g. the papers of Enrico Giorgi, Oscar Mei, Lorenzo Cariddi; Anna Gamberini and Paola Cossentino in this book.
[24] A special workshop, promoted by Fabrizio Pesando, in agreement with Paola Mazzieri, is being organized on this topic.

during the Ravenna colloquium, the central question that imposes itself with great evidence is linked to the spread of the urban form in the central-Adriatic territories, and the evolution in some instances from so-called 'proto-urban' sites to fully urban realities before the Roman interventions. He suggests that the appropriate rereading of unpublished excavations and the availability of new data from those in progress on such sites, imply that the traditional theory, which also links the introduction of the urban model in these areas of the peninsula to Roman colonization, be verified. The observations derived from the collection of new data, presented in recent adjustments,[25] should lead us not to generalize the well-known Strabonian definition of *komedon zosin* (Str. 5.2 C 242), but to calibrate it better, proposing the existence of large agglomerations at least from the sixth–fifth century BC. At the moment, according to Naso, it seems appropriate not to specify the generic chronological indication provided, since there are no systematic publications of excavations, but only preliminary reports for several sites and a clear definition of the chronology of certain data is missing so far. An indication in this regard can, according to Naso, also be obtained from the diffusion of non-curvilinear buildings, covered by modular elements such as terracotta tiles, both flat with wings and semi-circular ones to cover the joints of the flat ones. It is clear that such quadrangular buildings are better suited to urban schemes with even, straight streets rather than to schemes of spontaneously growing villages. For now, on the central-Adriatic side, excavations are lacking on large areas that can document the two situations outlined here, and for now the possible existence of mixed situations, of settlements with regular growth cannot be excluded. In relation to the tiles, a few years ago Naso tried to list the sites in central Italy with roofing tiles of the buildings, concluding that the general spread in middle-Tyrrhenian Italy, firmly anchored in the seventh–sixth century BC, greatly anticipates their presence in central-Adriatic Italy, which can be placed from the sixth–fifth century onwards. This effort, however, remains completely pioneering, both for the lack of attention paid to these findings of tiles and for the shortage of publications, in the face of a widespread diffusion.[26]

It is clear from the current data available that many population centres that flourished during the heyday of Italic culture in the central-Adriatic area (sixth–fifth century BC) continued to be occupied and to play a role of importance once the geopolitical dynamics of the fourth and early third century brought change. Therefore, archaeological research by way of excavations but also using non-invasive approaches, needs to further concentrate on these sites. The hilltop sites in particular – which were often later, in the course of the Republican period, gradually or forcefully abandoned in favour of better located sites in the valley floor and are still today practically untouched – hold promises for an archaeological breakthrough. At the same time, it is understood that their investigation and main mapping with a palimpsest of non-invasive survey techniques is not as simple as for the many smaller sites encountered in the valley. In particular, when these central sites are located in active agricultural landscapes it is seldom possible to photograph or geophysically scan them totally and ideally during one flight or field operation only. For the hilltop sites there is the extra impediment of the regular presence of current woodland, pasture or *macchia*. Whichever the specific climatic conditions or season, and whichever the type of crops or vegetation covering the many different parts of the large centralized site, regular and numerous flying, as well as repeated field visits for geophysical or artefact prospections, or for augerings and topographic measurements, are necessary. We are convinced that the monitoring of these large sites over several campaigns and years is needed for a certain comprehension of the many archaeological structures and the complexity present in the soil, and regular visits and scanning are the only possible approaches to map and understand the multiple features or the diachronic use of the sites, which often also have late Antique or Medieval horizons of occupation. It is of great importance that the

[25] De Marinis *et al*. 2012; Ciuccarelli 2012a.

[26] Naso 2010. For the diffusion of rooftiles in central-Tyrrhenian sites see: Wikander 2017.

sometimes easily recognizable and regular Roman features are not the only ones to be mapped and studied, but also less linear structures and marks that might belong to earlier phases of occupation, when organic growth of a settlement and adaptation to the local geomorphology were far more decisive characteristics.

What are now the crucial questions to be answered by focused future research in and near these hilltop sites, in both the inner central Adriatic region and its coastal districts, where many valleys show a comparable pattern? When we now look for elements on and near these sites, as Rainini[27] did for the landscapes of *Samnium*, some of the following questions should probably be addressed:
- Is the position on high locations and plateaus, overlooking the surrounding valleys, chosen for strategic reasons and for the protection offered by the topography? Often at least one side of the plateau will be protected by steep cliffs or slopes, while the areas of the more vulnerable sides are enclosed by strong fortification walls, maximizing the natural topography. These walls can be single or double-faced by stone masonry, and some can have (square) towers and (rectangular) gates.
- What is the exact size of the defended site, and can we define the proportion of the inhabited area within the walls? We must investigate whether this enclosed area also incorporated non-inhabited areas and empty spaces, showcasing a system typical of many nucleated settlement patterns in Iron Age Italy, where the open spaces might have functioned as enclosed pastoral land or space to take in the rural population in times of danger.
- Can we locate and map constructions within the enclosure, and do they possibly reflect a layout centred on a regular plan or a central axis? Are public buildings to be recognized, thus reflecting the collective efforts of the community; or is there evidence of social hierarchy in housing and are there possibly functional zones connected with production or industry? Is there a variety of imported items present on the site (or in its associated cemeteries), which might be proof of the vibrant nature of trade and economy and possibly of a kind of proto-urbanism?
- Can the archaeological evidence allow the exact causes of the collapse or abandonment of each individual centre to be identified, and specify the date and pace of abandonment or eventual destruction? What is crucial is to understand whether depopulation and abandonment are directly caused by destruction during military conflict, or by the nearby foundation of a Roman or Latin colony or military strongpoint. It is important to understand whether the original inhabitants have been driven from their settlements by the Romans, or whether the movement is a deliberate choice of some indigenous groups to settle in villages or proto-towns in the plain, nearby the now increasingly important roads.
- What is the evidence of Roman military or control functions of these highly strategic sites in the initial phases of the military colonization of the region (mostly during the first half of the third century BC) and during the long period thereafter, until full stability is reached with the outcome of the Social War and the municipalization of the region?
The very low number of sites with identified Roman Imperial material suggests that hilltop locations were generally not used after the first century BC, or that activities conducted there were of a kind that did not leave discernible traces. However, one could argue that the limited number of excavations at these locations constitutes the reason behind this archaeological situation, and that further investigations might reveal a different situation.

Apart from more focused field investigations on the settlement areas of these central sites we need also to study the relationship between the early Roman occupation and the pre-existing population from the

[27] Rainini 2000.

point of view of the continuity of use of the connected burial sites. This aspect has been highlighted by several recent investigations, such as on the rural burial ground at the necropolis of Cavalieri in Matelica, which developed probably from the first century BC onwards on the offshoots of Picene tumulus tombs dating back to the seventh–sixth century BC, in relation to a rural villa placed in the immediate vicinity.[28] Similarly and very recently at Corinaldo in the Nevola locality, excavations are bringing to light tombs of Imperial Roman age that occupied the area around former burial tumuli of the Orientalizing period. Can we recognize in these situations a deliberate connection? Can we suppose a value attributed to those places also by the first Roman colonists? Can we read similar dynamics as the product of 'wanted' or 'fictive ancestors'?[29] Or rather, should we consider the later use of the burial areas as an attempt to give those places a negative meaning, because of the awareness of their belonging, in origin, to people who were submitted?

Along with a special care for the larger central sites and the possibly connected burial places, and in order to understand well the settlement dynamics in the period concerned, we need also to identify and study the variety of smaller settlements and production sites in a given region. Here we not only have to look at the changes in patterns and density, but we should especially investigate more closely the 'transitional' sites, i.e. those sites whose continued existence bridges the period from the fourth to the second century BC, or between the indigenous reality and a possible Roman change of pattern. To do this well we need to broaden our view and approaches from a site-oriented to a landscape-oriented research strategy. (F.V.)

Central place versus landscape: the area of tension between landscape archaeology and archaeological excavations

The projects on Roman town sites mentioned above have often brought results that clarified the history of the various sites with relevant outputs in order to understand the evolution of the ancient landscape of the whole valley, and sometimes even with consequences that can enlighten the entire regional archaeology. Among the main projects for studying the landscape are the South Picenum Survey Project of the University of Pisa, the Potenza Valley Project of the University of Ghent, the Archaeological Map of the Chienti and Fiastra valleys, edited by the University of Macerata as part of the wider provincial and regional mapping project (CAM), the archaeological map of the Misa and Cesano valleys of the University of Bologna, the archaeological map of the upper Metauro valley coordinated by the researchers of the University of Macerata, the archaeological map of the lower Foglia valley of the University of Bologna.[30] More recent and still in progress is the Archaeological Map of the Provinces of Ascoli and Fermo, edited in agreement with the *Soprintendenza* of Ancona and the University of Bologna.[31] This non-exhaustive selection of the main archaeological projects concerning landscape and settlement dynamics in the Marche region surely testifies to the dynamism of ongoing research. However, it should be noted that many archaeological landscape projects are still in progress and the results have only been published in a much more episodic way. In other cases, the data have been collected but are only published in a very synthetic form, without any pretension of exhaustiveness but rather with particular attention to some specific themes. For example, the studies on the Via Flaminia and the Roman road system in the Metauro valley, or those on ancient geography, the centuriation and

[28] Casci Ceccacci *et al.* 2016.
[29] Van Dyke 2019.
[30] Menchelli 2012; Menchelli and Iacopini 2016; Vermeulen *et al.* 2017; Perna and Capponi 2012; Perna 2019; Dall'Aglio *et al.* 2012; Catani and Monacchi 2010; Campagnoli 1999.
[31] Giorgi *et al.* 2018.

the road system of the Cesano, Misa and Tronto valleys are well known.[32] A case study of great tradition is the one of research carried out in the seventies and eighties of the last century in the territory of *Asculum*, later extended to the *ager Firmanus*, without, however, deepening the study of the Roman town of *Firmum*.[33] The fact that the overall study of the Tronto valley, where *Asculum* is located, dates back to about forty years ago justifies its revision as part of a new, broader and updated project.

The Potenza Valley Survey project by the team from Ghent University is certainly a positive exception in the panorama of regional studies. Its main results were recently published in a synthesis book that allows the appreciation of the various methods used in an integrated and systematic way to reconstruct the variations of the ancient landscape.[34] In addition to archaeological surveys, in fact, which still represent the most applied methodology, this project promoted the systematic use on a large scale of non-invasive investigation techniques, such as intensive aerial photography and 'total coverage' geophysical prospection, limiting the use of archaeological excavation to the strictly necessary. The quality of some results obtained since 2000 by applying these non-invasive methods on a series of pre-Roman and Roman central sites at a scale not seen before in the archaeology of central Adriatic Italy, not only demonstrated the usefulness of the new methods but also the potential of the particular landscapes here for this approach. This project of landscape archaeology, together with others in the broader Mediterranean world has clearly demonstrated the essential need to go beyond artefact surveys, especially for periods like the one considered in this volume here that are quite problematic if only based on the surface record. Field surveys with the systematic recuperation of artefacts in the ploughed soil are not just about putting dots on the map, but are about wider issues. The problem of the dots is to consider how far excavation can, alongside geophysical survey, aerial prospection and also focused coring, help us to understand them, to deconstruct them, within the wider context of the landscape. The artefactural texture of the landscape, as derived from systematic field surveys, which, crudely put, is supposed to offer evidence about the nature of past-settlement and land use, has undergone many processes of distortion, which makes interpretation problematic. Sometimes scatters of tile and pottery constitute the clear signature of substantial structures in the subsoil, but on occasions both are unrelated or surface sites appear and disappear from year to year. While ploughing is often a significant agent in generating artefact scatters, it is sometimes unclear if it is merely scratching the surface of underlying deposits, or pulling up material of all periods. Even if all periods are represented, can they always be recognized? All of this has led certain scholars to call into question the ability of the field survey as a reliable guide to past settlement, owing to the many effects produced by geomorphological processes in the landscape, including striking variations in the depth of alluvium or colluvium layers mantling ancient sites. Maybe this brings us too far into the extremes, and we must perhaps simply learn to use the data from artefact surface as just one layer of information that has to be complemented by others, provided by such approaches as geophysical survey, augering operations, test-pitting and the analysis of phosphate residues, all of which have proven their true value in settlement archaeology in many different landscapes.

In general, however, traditional archaeological surveys remain the most widespread research method in the landscape archaeology of this region, and their application is not always systematic or based on clearly defined criteria for the selection of the sampling areas. Sometimes the results are based on data collected in an explicitly unsystematic way, or they favour only a particular segment of the research potential, such as the exploitation of legacy data, or the results of artefact surveys and the related study

[32] Luni 2002; Dall'Aglio *et al.* 1991; Giorgi 2014b.
[33] Conta 1982; Menchelli 2012.
[34] Vermeulen *et al.* 2017.

of ceramic finds. In several cases, starting with the projects of the University of Bologna, there is a great distance between the data actually collected in the databases and what has been put at the disposal of scholars through their edition. The first publication of the archaeological map of the Misa and Cesano valleys dates back to 1991 and is based exclusively on data collected in the archives and bibliography, while the archaeological surveys were then carried out extensively and repeatedly throughout the entire valley, but were never published in their entirety.[35]
Moreover, in the Cesano valley itself, where there is a long tradition of using geophysics and aerial photographs, surveys based on the integrated use of many different methodologies have only recently become extensive and still remain substantially new.[36] Since this is a merit that mainly concerns those who set up research in that area at the end of the eighties of the last century, we must however remember that in the case of the Misa and Cesano valleys the study of the ancient landscape was conducted with a focus on interdisciplinary dialogue with other scholars, starting with geomorphologists, which is still difficult to find elsewhere.[37]

Geographical Area	Legacy Data	Ancient Topography Studies	Archaeological Survey	Aerial Photography	Geophysics	Geomorphology	Pollen Analysis	Last Summary Article	Books
Tronto Valley (*Asculum*)	x	x	Episodic	-		-	-	Giorgi 2014b	Conta 1982
Tenna and Aso Valleys (*Firmum*, *Novana*)	x	x	Systematic for Sample Areas	Episodic	Episodic	-	-	Menchelli and Iacopini 2016	Menchelli 2012
Chienti Valley (*Urbs Salvia*, *Pausulae*, *Tolentinum*)	x	x	Systematic for Sample Areas	Systematic	Sampling/ Episodic?	x	-	Perna *et al.* 2020	
Potenza Valley (*Septempeda*, *Trea*, *Ricina*, *Potentia*)	x	x	Systematic for Sample Areas	Systematic	Systematic for Sampling	x	x	Vermeulen *et al.* 2012	Vermeulen *et al.* 2017
Misa Valley (*Ostra*, *Sena Gallica*)	x	x	Episodic	Systematic	Systematic for Sampling	x	-	Boschi 2019	Dall'Aglio *et al.* 1991
Cesano Valley (*Suasa*)	x	x	Systematic	Systematic	Systematic for Sampling	x	-	Dall'Aglio *et al.* 2012	Dall'Aglio *et al.* 1991
Upper Metauro Valley (*Tifernum M.*)	x	x	Episodic	x	-	-	-	-	Catani, Monacchi 2010
Lower Foglia Valley (*Pisaurum*)	x	x	Systematic	-	-	x	-	-	Campagnoli 1999

The table proposed above can serve to highlight some aspects of the research that may merit future implementation. For example, paleo-environmental studies and pollen analyses are little used. Geomorphology is also sometimes limited to general considerations and is often used without specific valley scale studies. This can be a problem that can potentially affect the reconstruction of the ancient landscape. In fact, it may happen that the lack of consideration of physical geography and its evolution

[35] Dall'Aglio *et al.* 1991.
[36] Boschi 2016; Boschi 2019a; Boschi 2020.
[37] Dall'Aglio 2011; Dall'Aglio *et al.* 2012.

over time, which characterizes the particular morphology of each valley, limits the understanding of the dynamics of the settlement and leads to the formulation of misleading reconstructive models. Finally, it should be noted that, although archaeological surveys are the most widespread method, the way they are carried out is very different. In this regard it is also very useful to remark that the experience of the Cesano valley has shown that the archaeological visibility of the soils over the years can undergo very significant variations. In fact, the intense and continuous use of agricultural mechanized ploughing and milling machinery has often erased or permanently compromised archaeological visibility. Experiences on a Mediterranean scale have shown that this is a widespread problem of landscape archaeology in this part of the world.[38] It seems that there is actually a chronological window in which archaeological surveys work well, after which it is probably preferable to focus on other methods, such as aerial photography and geophysics. In conclusion, if in the future it were possible to pursue further uniformity in the research methods, it would also be possible to improve a network of shared databases, which would facilitate the knowledge of regional landscape archaeology.

The debate itself, which emerged during the workshop, made it clear that researches are carried out with different approaches: these are highlighted when trying to understand what strategies can be applied to answer some common questions. Obviously, such differences can certainly enrich archaeology, but they also represent well the various points of view characteristic of the different schools. In this regard, the observations of Peter Attema, Jeremia Pelgrom, Alessandro Vanzetti, Wieke de Neef, Burkart Ullrich, Silvano Agostini, were valuable as they suggested the possible alternative to precisely those frameworks of synthesis that the Marche region still needs. In particular, Peter Attema's presentation (in this volume) was an excellent demonstration on how to approach data compatibility, while the studies on the southern Italian landscapes of Venosa and Alfadena stimulated a very interesting debate. Concerning the latter, the approach presented by Jeremia Pelgrom showed how important results can be obtained even by using programmatically only selected data as representative of a process, such as black-gloss ware as a useful indicator for understanding Hellenistic/Republican settlement dynamics.

For the majority of Italian archaeologists the main goal to pursue is full data exploration, which also includes the study of legacy data and in any case privileges the contextual and analytical approach without selecting in particular a ceramic class or a category of information, such as that of survey findings. This tendency often leads to chasing chimeras, favouring increasingly in-depth analysis, with an escalation of complexity and a progressive difficulty in producing a wider synthesis. However, it is often believed that the answers should be searched for in the stratigraphic excavation, still felt to be the most reliable method. In this regard it should be mentioned that landscape archaeology can certainly also benefit from excavation, especially of smaller sites, and not so much the larger and well-known ones, like ancient towns. In this sense, the suggestion by Tommaso Casci Ceccacci of the Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio delle Marche to improve the archaeological investigation of the minor settlements scattered throughout the territory is certainly an important one, especially when we consider this period of the fourth to second century BC when such settlements seem to dominate the landscape. It should indeed be remembered that some of the new data for the knowledge of the population during the early stages of Romanization comes from smaller sites scattered over the territory, as shown, for example, by the study on the area of Madonna del Piano and the middle Cesano valley, in which the integration of topographical considerations, data from previous finds and the latest

[38] Vermeulen *et al.* 2012.

excavations on a rural farm, seems to suggest an early structuring in relation to a possible river ford, from the late third century BC onwards.[39]

From material culture to issues of identity

In the analysis of such a complex, variegated and multicultural context, the study of materials and, in particular, of the common and cooking wares (impasto pottery and local/regional productions), takes on even greater significance. As some contributions in this volume demonstrate well, this study of material culture, especially connected with settlements, can offer important clues about the relationships that have accompanied the entire process of Romanization of the territory, from the first arrivals of the settlers to the widespread occupation, also in terms of survival or interruption of traditions and productions. A more in-depth study of this aspect is certainly to be hoped for, in order to compare the dynamics suggested by the material culture in the various sectors of the region, now that the progress of studies has well identified the most indicative vascular forms and native productions also at local level (i.e. *ollae,* pans and *pocula*, still attested in specific areas during the early Roman occupation). This crucial question is particularly well highlighted by the considerations of Anna Gamberini, Paola Cossentino and Sara Morsiani, in relation to the study of material culture in different parts of *Picenum* and the *ager Gallicus* clarifying the risks of considering only the most visible and recognizable classes as representative of one or the other culture. It is precisely the investigations in the deeper layers of *Suasa*'s stratigraphy, in fact, that have highlighted what emerged in many other regional sites: i.e. the possible contextual presence of impasto wares alongside black-gloss wares that are both locally produced and imported. Apart from the interferences that could derive from possible post-depositional processes, some interesting research suggestions emerge. On the one hand we must consider the possible overlay of the Roman population with respect to the previous settlement. On the other we have to consider, at least in the *ager Gallicus*, the possible presence of *mercatores* or Latin craftsmen before the conquest, but also the possible survival of native individuals integrated in the various communities after the arrival of the Roman settlers. For the Picene area we can look, for example, at similar dynamics in the territory of the Latin colony of *Firmum*. The case of the federated city of Ascoli is particular; it shows a Picene community that survives until its perfect integration with Rome by acquiring the technological knowledge to produce black-gloss ware locally but also by continuing to use in the mid-Hellenistic period (second century BC) forms of common ware linked to the Picene tradition. From these reflections derive new questions that for now only await answers. Is it really valid to consider for the period investigated and in this geographical area impasto ware as a 'guiding fossil' of Picene culture and black-gloss pottery of the Roman one? Is it possible to trace through the contextual analysis of ceramic findings, different patterns of the Latin acculturation of *Picenum* and the *ager Gallicus* that can be significant of the different communities of Roman citizens who integrate the survivors, such as in *Suasa* and *Sena Gallica* for the *ager Gallicus*, or as in *Asculum* of the *Piceni* who become Romans? Whenever we will be able to provide answers to these questions, we believe that the debate and exchange of views that emerged on the occasion of the colloquium in Ravenna may have served to begin the discussion and to stimulate future developments. (E.G.)

[39] Lepore *et al.* 2014; Silani and Boschi 2016.

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