The development of 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches *A preliminary analysis of the finds from the Potenza Valley Survey*

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Abstract

This article attempts to illustrate the chronological development of 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches (East-Central-Italy), based on published contexts and the material of the Potenza Valley Survey.* The 'vernice nera'-pottery sheds light on the Romanization of the area as it documents the first Roman occupation of the territory and the subsequent phases of influence. All components that contributed to the pottery-facies of the Romanized ager Gallicus et Picenus will be treated. Particular aspects of the 'vernice nera'-pottery will be emphasized, such as the evolution of local productions and imports. The phenomenon of regional resemblances, which hinders an understanding of origin, chronology and distribution, will be stressed. In addressing these issues, the article constructs a preliminary framework for the commercial relationship between the Marches and its neighbouring regions.

TERMINOLOGY

The term 'vernice nera'-pottery (indicating productions with a black gloss from the 4th until the 1st century BC) is preferable to the formerly used term 'Campanian Ware', which referred to Campa*nia*, the location that N. Lamboglia - one of the first researchers - believed was the area of production. However, later research pointed out that although this ware had been mainly produced in *Latium*, Etruria and Campania, it was also produced elsewhere in Italy and even beyond its borders.¹ In his 'Classificazione preliminare', Lamboglia was the first to classify these ceramics.² In his work he distinguishes three classes of 'vernice nera'-pottery: Campana A (with a gloss of a very high quality and a red clay), Campana B (with a dull gloss and a pale clay) and Campana C (with a black-olive gloss and a grey clay).³

Further research of these ceramics however, demonstrated the existence of many more classes of 'vernice nera'-pottery. Many local and regional classes have been recognized since, as this article intends to set out for the Marches.⁴

J.-P. Morel retains Lamboglia's classes Campana A, B and C in his new, open typology.⁵ He considers the classes A (produced in *Neapolis*/ Naples-*Pithecusae*/Ischia), B (very likely Etruscan production) and C (produced in the regions of *Syracusae*/Syracuse) to be the only ones with a 'universal' distribution.⁶ Morel's open typology uses the shape of a vessel as the starting point to determine - when possible - production centres, date and distribution area.⁷ Each shape is given a number preceded by the letter F. The typology of Morel will be used in this article.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE INVESTIGATION⁸

The rather late start of the investigation of 'vernice nera'-pottery in general was strikingly emphasized in 1980 by Morel: 'malgré l'ampleur de cette production, ou à cause d'elle, la campanienne n'est étudiée véritablement que depuis quelques années: un quart de siècle au maximum. Sa connaissance ne dépasse donc guère le stade où était parvenue celle des vases grecs quand on les appelait "vases étrusques" et qu'on les considérait comme tels.'⁹ Interest in these ceramics began late especially in the Marches.

Here, L. Mercando was one of the first researchers to examine 'vernice nera'-pottery. In 1974, she published on 'vernice nera'-pottery - among other materials - from the necropolis of *Potentia*, a *colonia* founded in 184 BC on the mouth of the river Potenza.¹⁰ As a result of recent excavations in the ancient city of *Potentia*, a new publication on the *colonia* appeared. Contributing to the publication, N. Frapiccini integrated the 'vernice nera'-pottery from the necropolis and a bowl and *pyxis* from

the temple-complex in the catalogue.¹¹ The pottery from the city is now being studied for a forthcoming publication.

Very recent publications, by Frapiccini, take into account the 'vernice nera'-pottery from respectively Pievebovigliana-San Savino (in the uppervalley of the river Chienti) and Cingoli-Pian della Pieve (in the mid-valley between the rivers Potenza and Musone).¹² A precise chronology is absent in both cases as the pottery was found on the surface of the fields.

The publication of the workshop of Jesi (*Aesis*) is a significant breakthrough in the research on 'vernice nera'-pottery.¹³ Containing over 3000 pieces - found in stratificated or closed contexts - this extraordinary context can be considered the most important publication with respect to the Marches. Relatively extensive and reliable contributions on 'vernice nera'-pottery can be found in the excavation-publications of *Ancona* and *Suasa.*¹⁴

Other publications are pending. As a follow-up to her thesis on the 'vernice nera'-pottery of the temple-complex and *cryptoporticus* of Urbisaglia (*Urbs Salvia*), Carla Di Cintio is now preparing the publication of her work. She will also deal with these ceramics in a forthcoming study on the excavation of the harbour near the 'Lungomare Vanvitelli' in *Ancona*.¹⁵

While the Museum of Camerino offers a catalogue addressing 'vernice nera'-pottery,¹⁶ the University of Camerino is presently working on an improved catalogue.

Stricto sensu, the *colonia Ariminum* (Rimini) (founded in 268 BC) doesn't belong to the territory of the Marches: it is situated just north of it. In Roman times, however, this centre was part of the above mentioned *ager Gallicus* and cannot be excluded from the study of the 'vernice nera'-pottery of the Marches. Both the local ceramics of the workshop and the imported wares have often been the subject of investigation.¹⁷

As the research of 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches is still in its initial stage, one has to keep in mind that the given overview is limited to available information.

THE POTENZA VALLEY SURVEY

In 2000 the University of Ghent started the project *'The Potenza Valley Survey. From Acculturation to Social Complexity in Antiquity: A Regional Geo-Archaeological and Historical Approach'.* This project concentrates on three micro-regions or sample zones. The first zone (Castelraimondo-Camerino-Pioraco) is situated in the upper valley of the river Potenza; the second zone (Treia-Pollenza) in the mid valley; the third zone (*Potentia*) in the lower valley of the river Potenza (*fig.* 2).

As a contribution to this survey, a study of the 'vernice nera'-pottery from the two first sample zones has been completed in the form of a thesis (Van Kerckhove, 2002). Field walking and investigation of the material from the third sample zone will be completed in September 2003.

This article will focus on applying several significant aspects of 'vernice nera'-pottery from the Potenza Valley Survey to the overview of the development of 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches. The publication of the complete catalogue will be postponed until the analysis of the third sample zone. The purpose of a detailed report of the 'vernice nera'-pottery from the Potenza Valley Survey is twofold. A comparison will be possible between the three sample zones; and the findings and conclusions for the Potenza Valley Survey will be comparable with other contexts and regions of the Marches.

CONTACT WITH BLACK-GLAZED WARE AND 'VERNICE NERA'-POTTERY IN PRE-ROMAN TIMES

The Greeks and the Etruscans facilitated the Northand Central-Adriatic area's first contact with black gloss pottery. The Attic black-glazed ware arrived

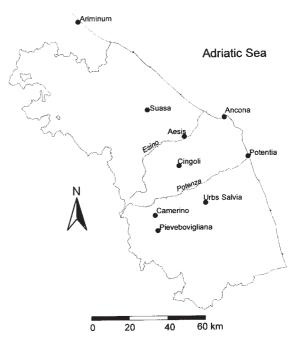


Fig. 1. Relevant sites concerning the 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches.

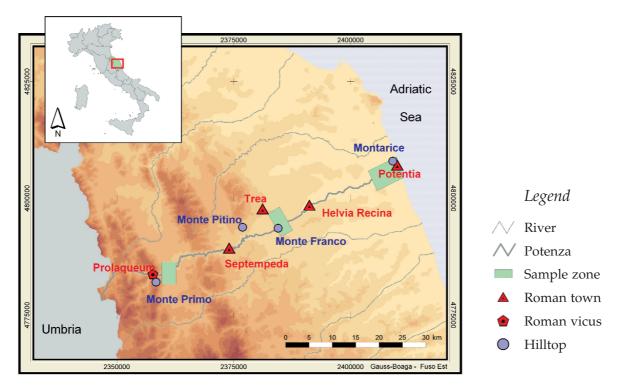


Fig. 2. The three sample zones of the Potenza Valley Survey (map by Geert Verhoeven).

between the 6th and the 4th century BC, while the first 'vernice nera'-production from *Etruria* started in the second half of the 4th century BC and very soon found its way to the Adriatic. Both D.G. Lollini and M. Landolfi emphasized that the whole Adriatic was characterized by a cultural *koinè*, composed of Celtic, Greek, Etruscan and other Italic elements of which the 'vernice nera'-pottery was an important component.¹⁸

For this period there are no attestations of 'vernice nera'-productions in the Marches.

Local 'vernice nera'-production in Adria and Spina¹⁹

Influence of Attic black-glazed ware

The two *emporia Adria* and *Spina* undoubtedly played a key role for Athenian trade in the North-Adriatic.²⁰

In *Spina*, a local production of 'vernice nera'pottery, imitating Greek shapes, joined the (ultimate) Attic and the North-Etruscan imports from the second half of the 4th century BC onwards. The burial gifts from Tomb 1210 and 1189 from Valle Trebba exemplify these productions.²¹ L. Brecciaroli Taborelli mentions the following shapes: F 5647 a, F 5616, F 4442, F 4711 a, F 1122.²² Very soon, however, the Etruscan influence on the production became predominating. *Influence of Etruscan 'vernice nera'-pottery* Important Etruscan production centres of 'vernice nera'-pottery are: *Volaterrae* (Volterra) (with the group of Malacena),²³ *Arretium* (Arezzo),²⁴ Cosa,²⁵ 'atelier des anses en oreilles'.²⁶

In this early stage, the Etruscans were very important 'distributors of culture'. Under the influence of the Etruscan expansion, the population of northern Italy became involved in the production of 'vernice nera'-pottery.²⁷ Morel emphasizes the role of the Etruscans, introducing the term 'l'aire étrusquisante'. In this sense, he alludes to the 'zone where "vernice nera"-pottery underwent an important influence from productions of the Etruscan type', more specificallly *Etruria*, North-Italy, *Umbria, Sabina*, the Faliscan area, *Latium*, the Marches and northern *Samnium*.²⁸

Brecciaroli Taborelli speaks of the Po-plain as 'la realtà padana a matrice etrusca, piú precisamente settentrionale',²⁹ where *Adria* and *Spina* remained important.

As previously mentioned, the local production of 'vernice nera'-pottery in the *emporion Spina* started in the second half of the 4th century BC, using Attic vessels as a model. The grave gifts of Tomb 1210 of Valle Trebba show that potters began to imitate North-Etruscan models of *Volaterrae* from the 4th century BC onwards. These models remained the main source of inspiration.³⁰

In *Adria*, the first production phase - from the end of the 4th until the 3rd century BC - is largely based on the Etruscan models of *Volaterrae* (F 5721, F 5726, F 4321, F 4115). Here, innovative elements from local craftsmen with Venetan, Gallic and Etruscan roots are omnipresent (F 4412 a1, F 7151 a1, F 7431 a1, F 4511).³¹

The first 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches

In the 6th century BC the Marches already had direct contacts with the Greeks (through the *emporia Numana* and *Ancona*) and the Etruscans (through the Apennines).³² During the 'Piceno V'-phase (470-385 BC), a very wealthy trade class at *Numana* acted as an agent for the flourishing trade between the Athenians and the cities of *Etruria*.³³ This contact between the harbours on the Adriatic coast and the Tyrrhenian centres by way of the Apennine passes persisted during the period between the and of the 4th century BC and the first half of the 3rd century BC.

The *kylix* F 4115 (*fig.* 3) is an example of the contact the Marches had with the Tyrrhenian centres and the North- and Central Adriatic coast. This shape is present in *Spina*,³⁴ but is also found in large numbers in Pievebovigliana-San Savino.³⁵

Frapiccini writes that the origin of the *kylix* F 4115 remains uncertain. The shape is possibly produced in several centres of *Etruria: Volaterrae, Tarquinii* and *Arretium* and, in the North- and Central-Adriatic it is surely produced in *Ariminum* (Rimini)³⁷ and *Adria*. The shape is also present in *Spina* and *Ancona*. The coastal centres of *Numana*-Sirolo and Camerano yielded several *kylikes* F 4115, which are attributed to the Volterran production.³⁸

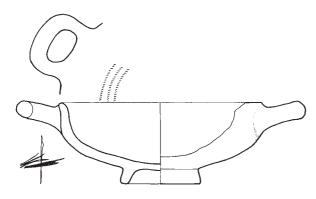


Fig. 3. Kylix F 4115 from Pievebovigliana³⁶ (Frapiccini 2002, 100, fig. 68, n. 106).

For Pievebovigliana, the presence of the *kylix* could mean two things. On one hand it can prove the commercial opening of this inner-area towards the Adriatic coast; on the other hand it confirms the traditional trade with (southern) *Etruria* and *Latium.*³⁹ This trade was already documented in the last quarter of the 4th century BC by the import of 'vernice nera'-pottery (the forms F 1111, F 2734, F 2783) from this area to the hinterland of the Marches.⁴⁰

'VERNICE NERA'-POTTERY IN ROMAN TIMES

The Romanization⁴¹

From the 3rd century BC onwards, the Marches became Romanized. This process was accelerated by the foundation of colonies. The pottery from the production centres in these Roman colonies reflected a strong connection with the homeland of the colonists: *Latium* and *Etruria*. Thus settlers and know-how accompanied Romanization.

Problems with origin and chronology

Because of the imitation of shapes in various regions throughout time, determining origin and chronology of 'vernice nera'-pottery is problematic.

The bulk of the 'vernice nera'-shapes discussed here has its roots in *Etruria* or *Latium* but is also found (and sometimes produced) in Samnium, Umbria, the Marches (Aesis, Potentia, Cingoli, Suasa, Pergola), Ariminum, Adria/Spina. Moreover, the synchronous production of particular shapes was widespread. This was the case for many bowls and plates that were produced in the 2nd and 1st century BC in North- and Central-Italy. This standardization of shapes started in the 2nd century BC, following the example of mass-productions, such as Campana B. Unfortunately, chronological references for 'vernice nera'-pottery provided by excavations with stratifications are very rare. Several methods can be used to reveal the origin and the chronology of pottery, such as technical characteristics (fabric and gloss), decoration,⁴² shape and epigraphy.⁴³ Petrographical and chemical analysis can provide further clues.

The contexts

Ariminum-Rimini

Phases of the local production

The local production of *Ariminum* (at the northern border of the *ager Gallicus*) started with the foun-

dation of the colonia Latina in 268 BC. The technical characteristics, shapes and decoration of the locally produced 'vernice nera'-pottery reveal the origin of the colonists: Latium.44 The similarity to the 'vernice nera'-pottery of Roma is indeed very striking. The local potters chose a clay-type very similar to the one used in *Roma*, the shapes of the pocula deorum are reminiscent of the Roman repertoire and there is an imprint of a Roman *uncia* on a vessel. All this points to a strong connection with the Roman homeland.⁴⁵ It seems reasonable that Roman craftsmen, transferred at the time of the foundation of the colonia, erected local workshops. For the 3rd and 2nd century BC in general, the most common shapes are: F 1124, F 1315, F 1323, F 1552 c, F 1640, F 2212/1532, F 2233, F 2527, F 2538, F 2563, F 2614, F 2783/2784, F 2730, F 2820/2830, F 4360, F 5220, F 5410, F 5420, F 7222/7223.46 The early shapes are bowls, *skyphoi*, bottles and fish-plates. The first half of the 2nd century BC can be considered as a transition phase. In this period, pouring vessels in 'vernice nera' were replaced by silver ones for the rich and by thin-walled pottery for the less fortunate.⁴⁷ After 150 BC a standardization of shapes can be observed. Both the quality and the variety of shapes diminished.48

Import

There are imports from northern *Etruria* and *Latium*/southern *Etruria*. The decoration with rosettes is typical of *Latium* and southern *Etruria* (for example: 'atelier des petites estampilles'⁴⁹), but is absent in North-Etruscan productions. The lotus flower shows the link with the North-Etruscan productions.⁵⁰

After 150 BC there were particular contacts with *Arretium* (and the rest of *Etruria*) and with the production centres of Campana B.⁵¹

Export

For *Ariminum*, the existence of an elaborate trade system with the Po-delta is assumed. In *Spina*, a plate (by its decoration) and a little plate (by its shape) can be assigned to the production of *Ariminum*. The presence of a stamp 'GALICOS/COLO-NOS' on the handle of an *askos* could be an indication of the active presence of Latin colonists (from *Ariminum*) in *Spina*.⁵²

Aesis-Jesi

Phases of the local production⁵³

Aesis was founded in 247 BC on the left bank of the river Esino, 15 kilometres from the Adriatic shore, North of *Ancona* - in the *ager Gallicus*.⁵⁴ The local production of *Aesis* is demonstrated from the second half of the 3rd century BC until the first decennia of the 1st century AD. Thanks to the stratigraphy and some closed contexts, Brecciaroli Taborelli distinguishes four chronological phases, matching the evolution of the vessel shapes.

The first phase (250/240-180/170) was characterized by large morphologic variety and a strong connection with the productions of *Etruria* and *Latium*.⁵⁵ These production areas can be considered as the homeland from where craftsmen, techniques and models spread along with colonization and Romanization.⁵⁶ For example, the rosette on the bottom of a plate F 1315, found in the layer 250/240-150/140,⁵⁷ is very similar to productions from *Latium*, especially the 'atelier des petites estampilles' (*fig.* 4).⁵⁸

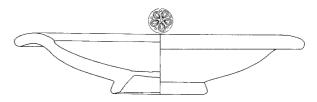


Fig. 4. Plate F1315 from Aesis (*Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 111, fig. 57, n. 26*).

Within one vessel shape an exceptional variety of typological details can be noticed. The same can be said of local productions from the rest of Central-Italy in this period.⁵⁹

The second phase (180/170-150 BC) brought along a partial renewal of the shapes. Several new shapes that were popular in the whole 'aire étrusquisante' were introduced.⁶⁰ The presence of West-Slope Ware decoration is remarkable. This kind of decoration had disappeared elsewhere in Italy. Brecciaroli Taborelli ascribes this phenomenon to the probable immigration of Greek artisans to *Aesis* during the crucial decennia of the Roman conquest of Greece.⁶¹

In the third phase (180-40/30 BC) the repertoire of the shapes was almost entirely transformed. The decline in the quality of the pottery and the quantity of the shapes is significant. The same shapes - with some minor typological variations that were produced at that time, were also common in the rest of Central-and North-Italy. The closed forms disappeared finally.⁶²

In the last phase (the Augustan period) the number of shapes continued to diminish, as it did in the rest of northern Italy. The quantity of 'vernice nera'-pottery and *prae-sigillata* (the first *sig-illata* experiments) in the layers of 10-20 AD prove the late production of these ceramics in *Aesis*.⁶³

The imports

The imports represent somewhat more than 100 examples of all 'vernice nera'-pottery which totals over 3000 pieces.⁶⁴ In the early layers, 'vernice nera'-pottery from southern *Etruria* and *Roma/Latium* was found. This imported 'vernice nera'-pottery can be dated at the first half of the 3rd century BC and somewhat later.⁶⁵

Among the North-Etruscan imports (which were generally exported to Central- and North-Italy between the 4th and the 1st century BC), productions from *Volaterrae* arrived in *Aesis* in the period 250/240-180/170;⁶⁶ products from *Arretium* arrived at the end of the 2nd century BC and the 1st century BC, with a limited number of shapes and spreading throughout Central- and North-Italy.⁶⁷

Campana C-fragments can be dated between the second half of the 2nd century BC and the 1st century BC. These are the only fragments found in the Marches that can unquestionably be attributed to the production of *Syracusae*. These fragments very likely reached *Aesis* through the harbour of *Ancona*, which was at the time a Syracusan *emporion*.⁶⁸

Suasa

Excavations in- and outside the *domus dei Coiedii* in *Suasa* - situated in the *ager Gallicus* - yielded a considerable quantity of 'vernice nera'-pottery, exposing the phases before the erection of the *domus*.⁶⁹ The 'vernice nera'-pottery started in the 3rd century BC, which indicates an early Romanization of the area.⁷⁰ As in *Ariminum*, the pottery shapes of *Suasa* resemble the repertoire of *Roma/ Latium*. These contacts are due either to an immediate arrival of craftsmen with the colonists or to a transfer of techniques and technologies.⁷¹

Local/regional productions

The bulk of the material of *Suasa* can be attributed to rather late local and regional productions. These centres have not been specified yet; it is possible the fragments belong to the workshop of *Aesis*.⁷²

Several fragments of *Suasa* show a strong relationship with the 'vernice nera'-pottery of *Ariminum*. We can mention F 1550 (especially F 1552 c), which is often decorated with rosette stamps with 7 or 8 petals.⁷³

Because of the similarity of the shapes and decorations of the 'vernice nera'-pottery from *Aesis*, *Suasa* and *Ariminum*, laboratory analyses have been carried out. These analyses showed the presence of two production groups, that of *Ariminum* and that of *Suasa-Aesis*. The presence of pottery similar to that of *Ariminum* is due to the import from *Ariminum* to *Suasa* (and the Marches in general).⁷⁴

Imports

A commercial exchange with Central-Italy (especially southern *Etruria* and northern *Latium*) most likely found its way through the Apennine valley, the network of roads leading to the coast and a river network in the hinterland (the rivers Tiber and Nera), and so brought the region into contact with *Roma*.⁷⁵

The layers of the 2nd and 1st century BC contain 'vernice nera'-pottery that can be attributed to North-Etruscan production centres. Products from *Volaterrae* reached *Suasa* and the Marches particularly in the 2nd century BC.⁷⁶ Some pieces might be Campana B or Arretine 'vernice nera'-pottery.⁷⁷

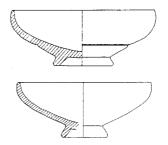


Fig. 5 and 6. F 2784 from Suasa (3rd century BC) (Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 183, fig. 42-6-7).

F 2784⁷⁸ (*figs. 5-6*) is a shape that is mainly found in *Latium* where it is also produced by the 'atelier des petites estampilles'.⁷⁹

Potentia-Porto Recanati

The *colonia ex nihilo Potentia* was founded in 184 BC by the *triumviri* Quintus Fabius Labeo, Marcus Fulvius Flaccus and Quintus Fulvius Nobilior in the *ager Picenus.*⁸⁰ The necropolis - north of the city *Potentia* - contains burial gifts, among which 'vernice nera'-pottery has been found.⁸¹

Local/regional productions

Mercando suggested dating the 'vernice nera'pottery from the necropolis between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD.⁸² Evidence for this late date came in the form of two plates: one plate F 2821 was found in association with a Claudian coin in tomb 174⁸³ and another plate F 2821⁸⁴ contained a stamp *in planta pedis*.⁸⁵

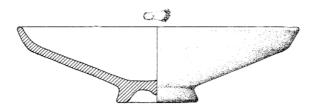


Fig. 7. Plate F 2821 with stamp in planta pedis (*Mercando 1974 a, 279, fig. 179, 112-a; Frapiccini 2001, 151, fig. 69, 4*).

Because of this extremely late date and the technical analysis of fabric and gloss, Mercando believed the existence of a local workshop to be in the vicinity of *Potentia*, where production should begin a few decennia after the foundation of the *colonia*, and end in the Claudian period. Morel inserted several fragments from *Potentia* in his typology and attributed them to local or regional production, thereby confirming the conclusion drawn by Mercando.⁸⁶

According to Frapiccini, 22 of the 28 specimens are of local origin.⁸⁷ There are a lot of morphological resemblances to fragments from Pergola⁸⁸ and the production centres of *Aesis*⁸⁹ and Cingoli.⁹⁰ The appearance of these popular shapes suggests contact with Campana B-forms, *Etruria, Latium, Samnium*, the Po-valley and the Mid-Adriatic region.⁹¹

The bowl F 1266⁹² (*fig. 8*) was found in the Jupiter-sanctuary in the city of *Potentia*.⁹³ This shape was produced in *Volaterrae*, but also in *Aesis*. Because of the technical characteristics, Frapiccini chooses to attribute the piece to regional production. The inscription reveals that the bowl is dedicated to the divinity by a certain Sosias.⁹⁴ It can be dated at the first half of the 2nd century BC.⁹⁵

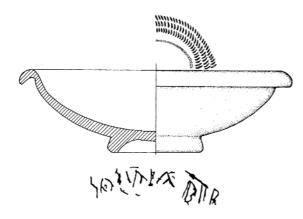


Fig. 8. Bowl F 1266 (Frapiccini 2001, 146, fig. 63, 2).

Imports

The few imports seem to come from *Etruria* or 1'aire étrusquisante'. The *pyxis* F 7512⁹⁶ can be given as an example (*fig.* 9).⁹⁷



Fig. 9. Pyxis F 7512 (Frapiccini 2001, 152, fig. 70, 6).

The *pyxis* is a typical Campana B-form that was also produced in the 'aire étrusquisante'. Based on the inscription, it can be dated within the 2nd-1st century BC. The *pyxis* was found in the temple of Jupiter, where Lucius Oppius offered it to the god. Lucius Oppius was a member of a rich family of bankers and *negotiatores* in the Republican era.⁹⁸ A plate F 1315 can tentatively be attributed to Campana A.⁹⁹

Potenza Valley

The river Potenza (the ancient river *Flosis*) - in the *ager Picenus* - links the Apennine hills to the Adriatic coastline.

Survey material is very problematic for the identification of pottery. This is also the case for the 'vernice nera'-pottery from the Potenza Valley Survey. As the material is not found in dated contexts or layers, its origin and chronology remains regularly unclear. An interpretation of some identified forms will be outlined now.

The plate F 1646 (*fig.* 12. 1) was found in the third sample zone.¹⁰⁰ It was probably a regional or local production from the 3rd-1st century BC.

According to Morel, the series F 1640 was mainly produced in Etruria between 250 and 150 BC.¹⁰¹ It was also produced from 250 until 200 BC in Ariminum.¹⁰² The plate F 1646 was mainly produced in South-Etruria and Umbria, where it was present in Tuder (Todi), Rusellae (Roselle), Cosa or Suana (Sovana) from the middle of the 3rd century BC until the 2nd century BC.¹⁰³ Mercando dated the plate F 1646 e 1 in Potentia at the first decennia of the 1st century BC, according to the late date of its assumed local production.¹⁰⁴ The shape is also present in Cingoli, where it was dated between the middle of the 3rd century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD.105 In Pievebovigliana, the same shape was dated between the second half of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC.106 The local workshop of Aesis produced plates from the series F 1641, F 1642, F 1644 and F 1645. They are all evidenced in layers from the 2^{nd} century BC.¹⁰⁷

A little plate with a flat bottom F 2140 (*fig.* 12. 2) was found in the third sample zone.¹⁰⁸ The technical characteristics suggest local or regional production between the 3rd century BC and the 1st century AD.

The shape F 2140 is evidenced in *Latium (Roma, Signia, Tusculum, Gabii, Lavinium)*, South-*Etruria (Falerii Veteres)* and *Samnium (Alba Fucens)* where it can be dated at the beginning of the 3rd century BC. The workshop was probably situated in the vicinity of *Roma* and was active in the beginning of the 3rd century BC.¹⁰⁹ In *Potentia* a small dish F 2140 - probably from local or regional production - was dated at the middle of the 1st century AD based on a 'vernice nera'-plate in the same tomb with a shape possibly evolving from 'vernice nera'-pottery to *terra sigillata*.¹¹⁰ In *Aesis,* one locally produced dish F 2140 was found in a layer that is dated between 250/240 and 180/170 BC.¹¹¹

The plate F 2233 (*fig.* 12. 3) was recovered in the third sample zone.¹¹² It very likely belongs to a regional or local production of the 3rd-2nd century BC.

According to Morel, this plate is particularly present in productions from Central- and northern Italy ('aire étrusquisante' and North-*Campania*).¹¹³ These productions can mainly be dated at the 3rd century BC. In the 2nd century BC, the plate was produced in Campana A.¹¹⁴ The shape F 2233 is a typical product from the production centre of *Ariminum*,¹¹⁵ where it was mainly produced from 270 to 250 BC.¹¹⁶ In *Suasa* three similar plates have been found.¹¹⁷ At the production centre of *Aesis* the form was produced in large quantities from 250/240 until 150/140 BC.¹¹⁸

The first sample zone yielded a plate F 2286 (*figs. 10 and 12. 4*).¹¹⁹ Here, the technical characteristics could point to local (or regional) production. The plate can be dated at the 2nd or 1st century BC.

The shape F 2286 is typical of North-Etruscan productions - like Campana B and Arretine 'ver-



Fig. 10. Plate (F 2286) from the first survey area.

nice nera'-pottery - between the 2nd and the 1st century BC. It was also documented in *Roma*.¹²⁰ In *Suasa*, this form was identified as an import from North-*Etruria*.¹²¹ This is confirmed by chemical and petrographical analyses of a fragment from *Aesis*. Here, the North-Etruscan shape is dated at the 2nd or 1st century BC.¹²² This shape was also produced at *Aesis*. The production of this plate can be dated between the middle of the 2nd century BC.¹²³

Both plates F 2286 from Gravellona and Potenza Picena could point to local production.¹²⁴

The second sample zone yielded a bowl F 2538 (*fig.* 12. 5).¹²⁵ It could be attributed to local or regional production from the 3^{rd} or 2^{nd} century BC.

The appearance of this bowl is widespread in northern Italy, Latium and Picenum.¹²⁶ It was already produced in the 'atelier des petites estampilles' and was very common in *Roma* during the 3rd century BC. This shape dates from the end of the 4th century BC, and was also locally produced in Adria and Spina. The bowl was attested twice in Adria.¹²⁷ Morel attributes both fragments to a local or regional production and dates them approximately at the third quarter of the 3rd century BC.¹²⁸ In the Marches, the fragment has typological equivalents in Pergola, Suasa, Aesis and Pievebovigliana. Mercando considers the bowl F 2538 from a tomb in Pergola as a local or regional product between the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, this is most likely a later variety of the shape.¹³⁰ Brecciaroli Taborelli considers the late date of Pergola as an exception.¹³¹ In Suasa, two fragments are evidenced.¹³² The shape is also produced in the local workshop of Ariminum.¹³³ The bowl F 2538 was produced locally at Aesis in large quantities, with a remarkable variety of typological details, especially on the lip.¹³⁴ The bowl is present in Aesis in the production phase of 250-150 BC.135

In the Potenza Valley the *pyxis* F 7544 was attested in the first (*figs. 11 and 12.6*) and the third zone (*fig. 12.7*).¹³⁶ Because of the very high quality of the fragments, it is likely that they were produced in *Etruria/Latium*. They can be dated at the 2^{nd} or 1^{st} century BC.

This shape is derived from the Attic blackglazed pottery that is also identifiable in the 'vernice nera'-pottery of *Etruria* and *Latium*, especially in Campana B.¹³⁷ M. Montagna Pasquinucci has already made this observation, stating that this shape was an imitation of the Attic ware in *Volaterrae* in 'tipo locale D'. Other examples of *pyxides* of the 'tipo locale D' are present in *Fiesole*, *Luni* and Adria.¹³⁸ The pyxis was widely spread in the rest of (the Etruscan influenced) Italy during the 2nd and 1st century BC.¹³⁹ A pyxis F 7544 in Ariminum was attributed to a production of Volaterrae or South-Etruria.¹⁴⁰ G. Fiorentini documents a similar pyxis in Campana B in Bergamo.¹⁴¹ Morel, however, attributes it to a regional or local production.¹⁴² Concerning the Marches, this *pyxis* can be confronted with those from Aesis, Potentia, Cingoli and Castelfidardo.¹⁴³ The two locally produced pyxides from Aesis can be dated between the second half of the 2nd century BC and 40/30 BC.¹⁴⁴ The pyxis of Potentia was attributed by Frapiccini to F 7512, but the similarity of the shape is nevertheless very striking. Based on the inscription, the *pyxis* from *Potentia* is dated at the first half of the 2nd century BC.145 In Cingoli several pyxides were found and were dated at the 2nd and 1st century BC.¹⁴⁶

Pievebovigliana

At San Savino (in Pievebovigliana), a large number of 'vernice nera'-pottery is found on the surface of the fields. The material can be dated between the middle of the 4th century BC and the middle of the 2nd century BC.¹⁴⁷

Generally, it concerns pottery that was produced in southern *Etruria* and *Latium*. This pottery, however, was often imitated in *Ariminum* and *Aesis*. Therefore, Frapiccini takes the high quality of fabric and gloss into consideration to attribute the bulk of the material to imports from the Tyrrhenian area. This contact already began in the last quarter of the 4th century BC (F 4115, F 1111, F 2734, F 2783 and a bottom of a bowl that can probably attributed to the 'atelier des petites estampilles') and persisted until the first half of the 2nd century BC (F 2745, F 1646, F 1647, F 2526, F 2736, F 2737, F 1124). San Savino therefore appears more associated with the Tyrrhenian area than with the Adriatic area.¹⁴⁸

Cingoli

The site Pian della Pieve (in Cingoli) is situated on a plateau located along the rivers Potenza and Musone. The pottery - found on the surface of the fields - can be dated from the 4th century BC onwards, but shows that the centre was particularly flourishing during the 3rd and 2nd century BC. A large quantity of 'vernice nera'-pottery was found, obviously influenced by the pottery of the nearby workshop *Aesis*. The fact that one site yielded so much 'vernice nera'-pottery and the presence of typical kiln devices, such as stackers, suggested the existence of a local production centre.¹⁴⁹ A catalogue of the 'vernice nera'-pottery from this site has not yet been published.

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

The Marches came into contact with black gloss pottery through the Greeks and the Etruscans. The take-off of local production centres in the area was due to the progressing Romanization that the region experienced from the 3rd century BC onwards. Based on the contexts discussed above, several tendencies of 'vernice nera'-pottery in Roman times can be outlined.

- *Imported 'vernice nera'-pottery*

'Vernice nera'-pottery from southern *Etruria* and *Roma/Latium* was probably introduced along with the personal belongings of the first colonists. This is visible in the early layers from excavations in the production centres of the *ager Gallicus* like *Ariminum* and *Aesis*. The intense contact between centres in the hinterland of the *ager Picenus* - such as Pievebovigliana - with southern *Etruria* and *Latium* encouraged the import of 'vernice nera'-pottery.

North-Etruscan imports - mainly from *Volaterrae* and *Arretium* - reached the Marches from the 3rd until the 1st century BC. The study of the 'vernice nera'-pottery of *Aesis* has shown that *Volaterrae* provided the imports from 250/240 until 180/170 BC. *Arretium* became the main 'supplier' from the end of the 2nd century BC onwards until the 1st century BC.

There is very little information regarding imports through the Adriatic Sea. In *Aesis*, the presence of West-Slope decoration points rather to the immigration of Greek craftsmen than to an import from Greece. Campana C from *Syracusae* very probably arrived through the Syracusan colony *Ancona* at *Aesis*. The situation of *Ancona* itself



Fig. 11. Pyxis (F 7544) from the first survey area.

requires further investigation as the origin of the evidenced 'vernice nera'-pottery has not yet been revealed.¹⁵⁰

- Local and regional productions

A lot of fragments were attributed to 'a local or regional production'. Up to now, a very restricted number of workshops has been located. The only workshops for which we have incontestable evidence are the production centres of *Ariminum* and *Aesis*, both in the *ager Gallicus*. We can tentatively propose that several local productions occurred in the ager Picenus. This hypothesis is supported by the existence of a large amount of 'vernice nera'pottery and the presence of stackers at Cingoli.¹⁵¹ Pievebovigliana yielded a large number of *kylikes* F 4115. This could be interpreted as a local imitation of the shape.¹⁵² According to Mercando, technical analysis (of fabric and gloss) and the late date of the 'vernice nera'-pottery in Potentia indicate the occurrence of a local production.¹⁵³

All of these local/regional productions are characterized by regional resemblances. In the first phase after the erection of a workshop - as shown for *Ariminum* and *Aesis* - the connection to the Roman homeland is very strong. Both closed and open shapes with variable typological details were produced. After 150 BC, a standardization took place in Central and North-Italy, including the Marches. This suggests diminishing quantity and quality of forms. The closed forms disappeared definitively.

Mercando has already mentioned that 'vernice nera'-production in the Marches persisted until the middle of the 1st century AD. Indeed, the workshop of *Aesis* maintained the production of 'vernice nera'-pottery for a long period of time. At about 20 AD, the production of 'vernice nera'pottery came to an end to be replaced finally by *terra sigillata*.

- Export and distribution

The extent of export from the production centres of the *ager Gallicus et Picenus* to other areas or even within the area is very difficult to determine. As outlined above, a lot of 'vernice nera'-pottery is attributed to 'local or regional productions'. Of course, these productions had regional or local distribution. The limited number of located workshops hinders our understanding of the way in which the region was provided with 'vernice nera'-pottery. For *Ariminum*, a commercial system towards the Po-delta is supposed. - Occupation of the territory in the Republican period The 'vernice nera'-pottery helps to provide a more clearer view of the occupation of the Marches during the Republican period. Thus, the 'vernice nera'-pottery demonstrates early Romanization for *Suasa, Ariminum* and *Aesis*. The 'vernice nera'pottery of *Potentia*, on the other hand, documents a later phase of the Roman occupation.

CATALOGUE OF THE 'VERNICE NERA'-POTTERY

1. *KYLIX* (F 4115 B): FIGURE 3¹⁵⁴ *Pievebovigliana. San Savino Height:* 49 mm, diameter of the rim: 118 mm, diameter of the foot: 46 mm *Fabric:* 10 YR 7/3 (very pale brown) *Gloss:* shiny and thin, 2.5 YR 2/0 (black)

Class: probably Volterran production *Date:* end of the 4th century BC or 3rd century BC

2. PLATE (F 1315): FIGURE 4¹⁵⁵ Aesis Height: 37/41 mm, diameter of the rim: 194 mm, diameter of the foot: 64 mm Fabric: beige with small particles¹⁵⁶ Gloss: not really black, rather with brown traces

Class: local production of *Aesis* ('classe locale I') *Date:* 250/240-150/140 BC

3. BOWL (F 2784): FIGURE 5 AND 6¹⁵⁷ Domus of Suasa, *inv. 93/1608 Height:* 51 mm, diameter of the foot: 45 mm, diameter of the rim: 120 mm *Fabric:* 10 YR 7/4 (very pale brown) *Gloss:* 10 YR 3/2 (very dark grayish brown)

Domus of Suasa, *inv. 93/3519 Height:* 45 mm, diameter of the rim: 105 mm, diameter of the foot: 45 mm *Fabric:* 5 YR 7/4 (pink) *Gloss:* 5 YR 2.5/1 (black) at the outside; 2.5 YR 4/8 (red) at the inside

Class: probably production of *Latium Date:* 3rd century BC

4. PLATE (F 2821 A 2): FIGURE 7¹⁵⁸ Necropolis of Potentia, tomb 112, inv. 26683 Height: 54 mm, diameter: 194 mm, foot: 56 mm¹⁵⁹ Fabric: 10 YR 7/4 (very pale brown), soft, compact Gloss: almost entirely peeled off Stamp in planta pedis

Class: local or regional production *Date:* 1st century AD

5. BOWL (F 1266): FIGURE 8¹⁶⁰ Sanctuary of Jupiter, city of Potentia, inv. 65780 Height: 62 mm, diameter of the rim: 165 mm, diameter of the foot: 60 mm Fabric: 10 YR 6/8 (brownish yellow), hard and compact Gloss: 7.5 YR 4/0-3/0 (dark-very dark gray): thin, red traces caused by a fault in the baking process *Class:* Probably a regional production *Date:* First quarter of the 2nd century BC

6. *PYXIS* (F 7512): FIGURE 9¹⁶¹ Sanctuary of Jupiter, city of Potentia, *inv.* 65783 *Height:* 44 mm, diameter of the rim: 82 mm, diameter of the foot: 98 mm *Fabric:* 10 YR 7/4 (very pale brown), hard and compact *Gloss:* 5 Y 2.5/1-2.5 YR 4/8, a little shiny, thin

Class: probably Campana B *Date:* first half or middle of the 2nd century BC

7. Plate (F 1646): Figure 12. 1

Potenza Valley Survey, third sample zone, inv. 02-WF 72-12 Length: 38 mm, width: 22 33, thickness: 6 mm *Fabric:* compact, hard and fine. Color: 10 YR 8/3 (very pale brown)

Gloss: the gloss is present on both sides of the fragment. It is rather dull and firm. Color: 7.5 YR 2/0 (black)

Class: probably regional or local *Date:* 3rd century BC until 1st century AD

8. LITTLE PLATE (F 2140): FIGURE 12. 2 *Potenza Valley Survey, third sample zone, inv.* 02-K53-5 *Length:* 56 mm, height: 15 mm, width: 34 mm *Fabric:* hard and fine. Color: 7.5 YR 7/4 (pink) *Gloss:* the dull but firm gloss is present on both sides of the wall. Color: 7.5 YR 3/0 (very dark gray)

Class: probably regional or local *Date:* between the 3rd century BC and the 1st century AD

9. PLATE (F 2233): FIGURE 12. 3 Potenza Valley Survey, third sample zone, inv. 02-K41-5 Length: 27 mm, height: 7 mm, width: 23 mm Fabric: hard, fine and compact. Color: 7.5 YR 7/4 (pink) Gloss: the dull but rather firm gloss is present on both sides of the fragment. Color: 7.5 YR 2/0 (black)

Class: probably local or regional *Date:* 3rd-2nd century BC

10.PLATE (F 2286): FIGURE 10 AND 12. 4 Potenza Valley Survey, first sample zone, inv. 00-K22-13 Height: 24 mm, length: 56 mm, thickness: 7 mm Fabric: hard, compact and fine. Color: 10 YR 7/4 (very pale brown)

Gloss: there are traces of glaze that easily peel off on both sides of the wall. Color: 10 YR 3/1 (very dark gray)

Class: probably local or regional *Date:* 2nd or 1st century BC

11. BOWL (F 2538): FIGURE 12. 5

Potenza Valley Survey, second sample zone, inv. 01-WK60-32 Height: 22mm, length: 24 mm, thickness of the wall: 6 mm Fabric: very fine, hard and compact. Color: 7.5 YR 7/4 (pink) Gloss: the firm gloss is very shiny and is fairly well preserved on both sides of the fragment. There are brown marks caused by a fault in the baking process. Color: 7.5 YR 2/0 (black)

Class: probably regional or local *Date:* 3rd-2nd century BC

12.PYXIS (F 7544): FIGURE 11 AND 12. 6 Potenza Valley Survey, first sample zone, inv. 00-WF29-1 Height: 39 mm, length: 74 mm, diameter: 100 mm The clay is very fine, compact and very hard. Color: 7.5 YR 7/4 (pink) The firm gloss is very well preserved on both sides of the fragment.

Class: probably import *Date:* 2nd-1st century BC

13.*PYXIS* (F 7544): FIGURE 12. 7 *Potenza Valley Survey, third sample zone, inv.* 02-K186-2 *Height:* 37 mm, length: 58 mm, diameter: 80 mm The clay is very hard, compact and is very fine. Color: 7.5 YR 8/4 (pink) The firm gloss is preserved on both sides of the fragment.

Class: probably import from *Etruria/Latium Date:* 2nd or 1st century BC

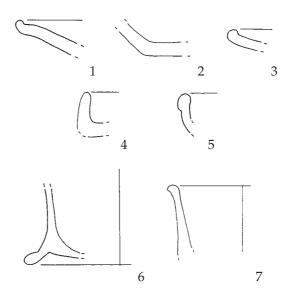


Fig. 12. Plates, bowl and pyxides from the Potenza Valley Survey (scale 1:4).

NOTES

* This article is an abstract of a thesis which deals extensively with the 'vernice nera'-pottery of the Marches in general and the Potenza Valley Survey in specific: Van Kerckhove 2002.

Zampieri 1996, 308.

² Lamboglia 1952.

³ Lamboglia 1952, 140.

In pre-Roman times 'Piceni', 'Senoni' and 'Praetuttii' inhabited this region. Based on written sources after the Roman conquest, we use the conventional term '*Picenum*' for the period from the 9th till the 3rd century BC (Serenelli 1997, 13). In Roman times the region was divided in the *ager Gallicus* (north of the river Esino) and the *ager Picenus* (south of the river Esino) (Delplace 1993, 1-4; Mercando/Brecciaroli Taborelli/Paci 1981, 312). After the division by Augustus of the Peninsula in XI regions, the modern Marches contained a part of region VI (*Umbria*), north of the river Esino, and a part of region V (*Picenum*), south of the river Esino (Gaggiotti *et al.* 1980, 191).

⁵ Morel 1981.

For the discussion on the typology of J.-P. Morel, see: Brecciaroli Taborelli 1983.

- ⁶ Morel 1981, 47.
- ⁷ Morel 1981, 24 and 72.
- Before initiating this exposition, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Frank Vermeulen for making this research possible and Dr. Patrick Monsieur for his support, Geert Verhoeven and Lieven Verdonck for their help with the maps, Prof. Dr. D.G. Yntema for giving his opinion, the Soprintentente Dott. Giuliano de Marinis and Dott.ssa Edvige Percossi Serenelli from the Soprintendenza delle Marche for their support and the accessibility of archives and library. I am also very grateful to Prof.ssa Giovanna Fabrini from the University of Macerata and Dott.ssa Carla Di Cintio for going through the 'vernice nera'-pottery of Urbs Salvia together, exchanging knowledge in this way. I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to Dott.ssa Nicoletta Frapiccini for several conversations concerning 'vernice nera'-pottery and for showing me the ceramics from Potentia.
- ⁹ Morel 1980, 85.
- ¹⁰ Mercando 1974a-b.
- ¹¹ Frapiccini 2001; Percossi Serenelli 2001.
- ¹² For Pievebovigliana: Frapiccini 2002. For Cingoli there is general information provided on the 'vernice nera'pottery, but a catalogue is not included: Frapiccini 1998.
- ¹³ Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997. The colonia Aesis was most likely founded in 247 BC (Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 7).
- ¹⁴ For Ancona (the area between the West-side of the Roman amphitheatre of Ancona and the Via Po II): Pignocchi/Virzì Hägglund 1998. For Suasa (in a domus from the Roman city): Mazzeo Saracino 1988 and Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995.
- ¹⁵ In the excavation report the first findings on 'vernice nera'-pottery are communicated: Salvini 2001, 17.
- ¹⁶ Fabrini/Sebastiani 1982.
- ¹⁷ Giovagnetti 1991a and b; Giovagnetti 1993a and b; Giovagnetti 1995; Riccioni 1972.
- ¹⁸ Percossi Serenelli 2002, 47. Other characteristic elements for this *koiné* are the presence of 'grey pottery', Gnathiaware, upper-Adriatic ceramic, Attic (black-glazed or red-figured) pottery and red-figured pottery from *Latium*, the Faliscan and Tyrrhenian area (Percossi Serenelli 2002, 47). See also: Landolfi 1999, 176-178.
- ¹⁹ As there are no indications for local production of 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches, the ones of *Adria* and *Spina* - Po-plain, north of the Marches - will be outlined, followed by the first attestations of imported 'vernice nera'-pottery in the Marches.
- ²⁰ According to L. Braccesi, the presence of grain is the main motive for Attic import (Braccesi 1977, 55-62). The Northand Central-Adriatic is a secondary market compared to the Tyrrhenian area. The Greeks lost the Tyrrhenian area because of the Ship battle of *Alalia* (Aleria) in Corsica in 540 BC and of *Cuma* in *Campania* in 474 BC. From that moment on, Athens provided itself with Etruscan metal through the harbours of the North- and Central-Adriatic (Landolfi 1997, 121).
- ²¹ Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 12; Berti 1987; Berti 1997.

- ²² Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 12.
- ²³ Montagna Pasquinucci 1972.
- ²⁴ Morel 1963.
- ²⁵ Taylor 1957.
- ²⁶ Balland 1969.
- ²⁷ Morel 1987, 113.
- ²⁸ Morel 1981, 72.
- ²⁹ Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 12.
- ³⁰ Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 13-14.
- ³¹ Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 14.
- ³² Lollini/Baldelli 1997a, 14.
- ³³ Lollini/Baldelli 1997b, 29.
- ³⁴ The kylix F 4115 becomes together with the cups F 2563 the fixed component of the symposium-pottery of the Gallic 'Boi' and 'Senoni' between the second half of the 4th century BC and the first half of the 3rd century BC (Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 14).
- ³⁵ Frapiccini 2002, 98-99, inv. 63261 (fig. 66; 68), inv. 63260 (fig. 68), inv. 63250 (fig. 68).
- ³⁶ Catalogue n.1.
- ³⁷ Maioli 1987, 388. A pre-Roman settlement is attested during excavations in the former convent of San Francesco. 'Vernice nera'-pottery of the Malacena-group and other productions of Central-Italy and *Latium* from the 4th century BC onwards came to light: Maioli 1987. There was a strong contact with Central- and South-*Etruria*, especially with *Volaterrae* (Maioli 1987, 390).
- ³⁸ Frapiccini 2002, 110.
- ³⁹ Percossi Serenelli 2002, 35.
- ⁴⁰ Frapiccini 2002, 109; N. Frapiccini does not exclude a local imitation of these shapes.
- After the battle of Sentinum in 295 BC the area north of 41 the river Esino became ager publicus (the ager Gallicus). The 'Piceni' were finally submitted in 268 BC by the Romans and so the area south of the river Esino became the ager Picenus (Delplace 1993, 4; Mercando/Brecciaroli Taborelli/Paci 1981, 312). The foundation of the colonia Firmum Picenum which guaranteed Roma control over land and sea, was of major importance. The importance of the Lex Flaminia de Agro Gallico et Piceno viritum dividundo (232 BC) and the laying out of the Via Flaminia (220 BC) must be stressed here. The foundation of coloniae continued in the 2nd century BC: Potentia (Porto Recanati) and Pisaurum in 184 BC, Auximum (Osimo) in 157 BC and Urbs Salvia (Urbisaglia) at the end of the 2nd century BC (Paci 2001a, 20-21).
- ⁴² Brecciaroli Taborelli successfully concentrated her study on the decoration of the 'vernice nera'-pottery of *Aesis*, *Suasa* and *Ariminum*. Very significant are the rosettes that give a lot of information. For the decoration of *Aesis*, see: Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 80-87. For the comparison between the three sites, see: Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 17-18.
- ⁴³ Inscriptions and stamps have been studied thoroughly. For Ariminum, see: Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 16, 22; Morel 1987, 117; Giovagnetti 1993b. For Potentia, see: Percossi Serenelli 2001, 36. For Aesis, see: Paci 1996-1997, 251-2.
- ⁴⁴ Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 15.
- 45 Morel 1998, 17.
- ⁴⁶ Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 16.
- ⁴⁷ Giovagnetti 1993 a, 120.
- ⁴⁸ Giovagnetti 1995, 468.
- ⁴⁹ For the 'atelier des petites estampilles', see: Morel 1969.
- ⁵⁰ Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 16.
- ⁵¹ Giovagnetti 1995, 468.
- ⁵² Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 21-22.

- 53 Based on the technical characteristics, L. Brecciaroli Taborelli (1996-1997, 76-77) distinguishes three local classes.
- 54 Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 6.
- 55 Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 154.
- 56 Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 158.
- 57 Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 114.
- 58 Catalogue nr. 2.
- Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 241. 59
- 60 Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 155
- 61 Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 87. For the 'atelier des petites estampilles', see: Morel 1969.
- 62 Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 155.
- ⁶³ Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 156.
 ⁶⁴ Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 154.
- 65 Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 153.
- Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 98 66
- ⁶⁷ Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 102.
 ⁶⁸ Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 106.
- ⁶⁹ Mazzeo Saracino 1988, 1994-1995. This rich Late-Republican/Imperial house from the 'Coiedii'-family was decorated with mosaic floors and wall paintings (Mazzeo Saracino/Morandi/Nannetti 2000, 136).
- ⁷⁰ Little is known about the history of Suasa. This centre, near Ancona at the right riverbank of the Cesano-river was in any case a *municipium* at the time of Augustus. Most likely, Suasa was founded as a praefectura as a consequence of the Lex Flaminia et agro Gallico et Piceno viritim dividundo of 232 BC (Dall'Aglio/De Maria 1988, 75-76).
- ⁷¹ Mazzeo Saracino/Morandi/Nannetti 2000, 135.
- 72 Mazzeo Saracino 1991, 54.
- 73 Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 184, Inv. 93/460, fig. 43-1.
- ⁷⁴ Mazzeo Saracino/Morandi/Nannetti 2000, 142.
- 75 Mazzeo Saracino 1991, 55.
- Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 193. 76
- 77 Mazzeo Saracino 1988, 150.
- 78 Catalogue nr. 3.
- Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 186. 79
- 80 Percossi Serenelli 2001, 26.
- ⁸¹ Mercando 1974a, Frapiccini 2001.
- 82 Mercando 1974a, 413.
- 83 Mercando 1974a, 323, Inv. 26513; Frapiccini 2001, 150.
- 84 Catalogue nr. 4.
- 85 Frapiccini 2001, 151, fig. 69, 4, Inv. 26683, tombe 112; see also: Mercando 1974b, 279. Stamps in planta pedis are attested in Cisalpina until the Tiberian period: in Russi, Bononia, in Augusta Bagiennorum, in the Po-plain. Morel already mentioned that these stamps on the Arretine sigillata appear from 15 AD. Because of this, it is supposed that the stamps on 'vernice nera'-pottery could also be dated from that period. Still one cannot exclude an earlier date, whereby the 'vernice nera'-pottery would have used the in planta pedis stamp first (Frapiccini 2001, 157). See also: Riccioni 1972.
- 86 Frapiccini 2001, 144.
- 87 Frapiccini 2001, 155.
- 88 Mercando 1974b.
- Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997. 89
- 90 Frapiccini 1998.
- ⁹¹ Frapiccini 2001, 156.
- 92 Catalogue nr. 5.
- 93 Frapiccini 2001, 145; Fig. 10; 63; n.2, inv. 65780.
- Sosias can be a Greek of servile condition as well as the wife of Faberius (Paci 2001b, 101-102).
- 95 Percossi Serenelli 2001, 34.
- 96 Catalogue nr. 6.

- Frapiccini 2001, 154-155, inv. 65783.
- Percossi Serenelli 2001, 36.
- Frapiccini 2001, 146, fig. 63, n. 3, inv. 27861. 99
- ¹⁰⁰ Inv. 02-WF72-12, catalogue nr. 7 (fig. 12. 1).
- 101 Morel 1981, 128.

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- ¹⁰² Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 16; Giovagnetti 1995, 467.
- ¹⁰³ Frapiccini 2001, 147; Frapiccini 2002, 90.
- ¹⁰⁴ Frapiccini 2001, 147-148, fig. 65, n. 2, inv. 26962; Morel 1981, 130, tav. 27; Mercando 1974a, 282, fig. 186, tomb 116
- ¹⁰⁵ Frapiccini 1998, 55-56. The same shape is documented in the unpublished study of Frapiccini on the 'vernice nera'-pottery of Cingoli, which is kept in the Archive of Ancona. At Cingoli, the existence of a local production centre of 'vernice nera'-pottery is put forward (see infra).
- ¹⁰⁶ Frapiccini 2002, 93, n. 87, fig. 59-60; inv. 63276.
- ¹⁰⁷ Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 123-124.
- ¹⁰⁸ Inv. 02-K53-5, catalogue nr. 8, fig. 12. 2.
- ¹⁰⁹ Bernardini 1986, 111.
- ¹¹⁰ Frapiccini 2001, 148, fig. 65, n. 3, inv. 23256; Mercando 1974a, 156, n. 15, fig. 9k; 158.
- ¹¹¹ Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 125.
- ¹¹² Inv. 02-K41-5, catalogue nr. 9, fig. 12. 3.
- ¹¹³ Morel 1981, 150.
- ¹¹⁴ Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 133-134.
- ¹¹⁵ Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 16.
- 116 Giovagnetti 1995, 467.
- ¹¹⁷ Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 183, fig. 42, n. 10-11, inv. 93/462; inv. 93/3514; inv. 92/8323 and inv. 92/8325.
- ¹¹⁸ Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 134.
- ¹¹⁹ Inv. 00-K22-13: catalogue nr. 10, fig. 12. 4.
- ¹²⁰ Bernardini 1986, 187.
- 121 Mazzeo Saracino 1988, 149
- 122 Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 157 and 166, tav. 7, fig. 94.
- 123 Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 138.
- 124 For Gravellona: Fiorentini 1963, 39, fig. 20, 6. For Potenza Picena: Mercando 1979, 287, fig. 202-d.
- ¹²⁵ Inv. 01-WK 60-32, catalogue nr. 11, fig. 12. 5.
- ¹²⁶ Morel 1981, 181.
- 127 Fiorentini 1963, 23, fig. 7, 5 and 24, fig. 8, 6.
- ¹²⁸ Morel 1981, 181.
- 129 Mercando 1979, 95.
- 130 Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 186.
- 131 Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 145.
- 132 Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 185-186, fig. 42, n. 3-4-5
- ¹³³ Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000, 16; Giovagnetti 1993a, 120.
- ¹³⁴ Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 143.
- 135 Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, 155, 156, tav. 3, fig. 29
- ¹³⁶ Inv. 00-WF29-1 and 02-K186-2, see catalogue nr. 12 (fig. 12. 6) and n. 13 (fig. 12. 7).
- ¹³⁷ Bernardini 1986, 186. Campana B corresponds largely with type II of Cosa (Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 96). For type II of Cosa: Taylor 1957, 71.
- ¹³⁸ Bianchini 1996, 187.
- 139 Montagna Pasquinucci 1972, 306.
- 140 Maioli 1987, 391.
- 141 Fiorentini 1963, 35, fig. 19, 4.
- 142 Morel 1981, 414.
- 143 Mercando 1979, 140.
- 144 Brecciaroli Taborelli 1998, tav. 6, figg. 80-81; Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 179.
- 145 Frapiccini 2001, 145.
- ¹⁴⁶ Pyxides are documented in the unpublished study of Frapiccini on the 'vernice nera'-pottery of Cingoli, which is kept in the Archive of Ancona.
- 147 Frapiccini 2002, 88.
- ¹⁴⁸ Frapiccini 2002, 109.

- ¹⁴⁹ Frapiccini 1998, 55-56.
- ¹⁵⁰ The 'vernice nera'-pottery of *Ancona* is mentioned in several texts: Mercando 1976; Morel 1987, 118-119. A publication on the material is still lacking.
- ¹⁵¹ Frapiccini 2002, 55-56. There are many typological resemblances with the near workshop of *Aesis*. This again proves the regional resemblances.
- ¹⁵² Frapiccini 2002, 110.
- ¹⁵³ Frapiccini 2001, 144.
- ¹⁵⁴ Frapiccini 2002, 98-99.
- ¹⁵⁵ Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 114, n. 26.
- ¹⁵⁶ For an extensive description of the technical characteristics from the 'classe locale I', see: Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-1997, 76.
- ¹⁵⁷ Mazzeo Saracino 1994-1995, 183 and 186.
- ¹⁵⁸ Frapiccini 2001, 150.
- ¹⁵⁹ Mercando 1974a, 278.
- ¹⁶⁰ Frapiccini 2001, 145 and Percossi Serenelli 2001, 42.
- ¹⁶¹ Percossi Serenelli 2001, 45 and Frapiccini 2001, 153-4.

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