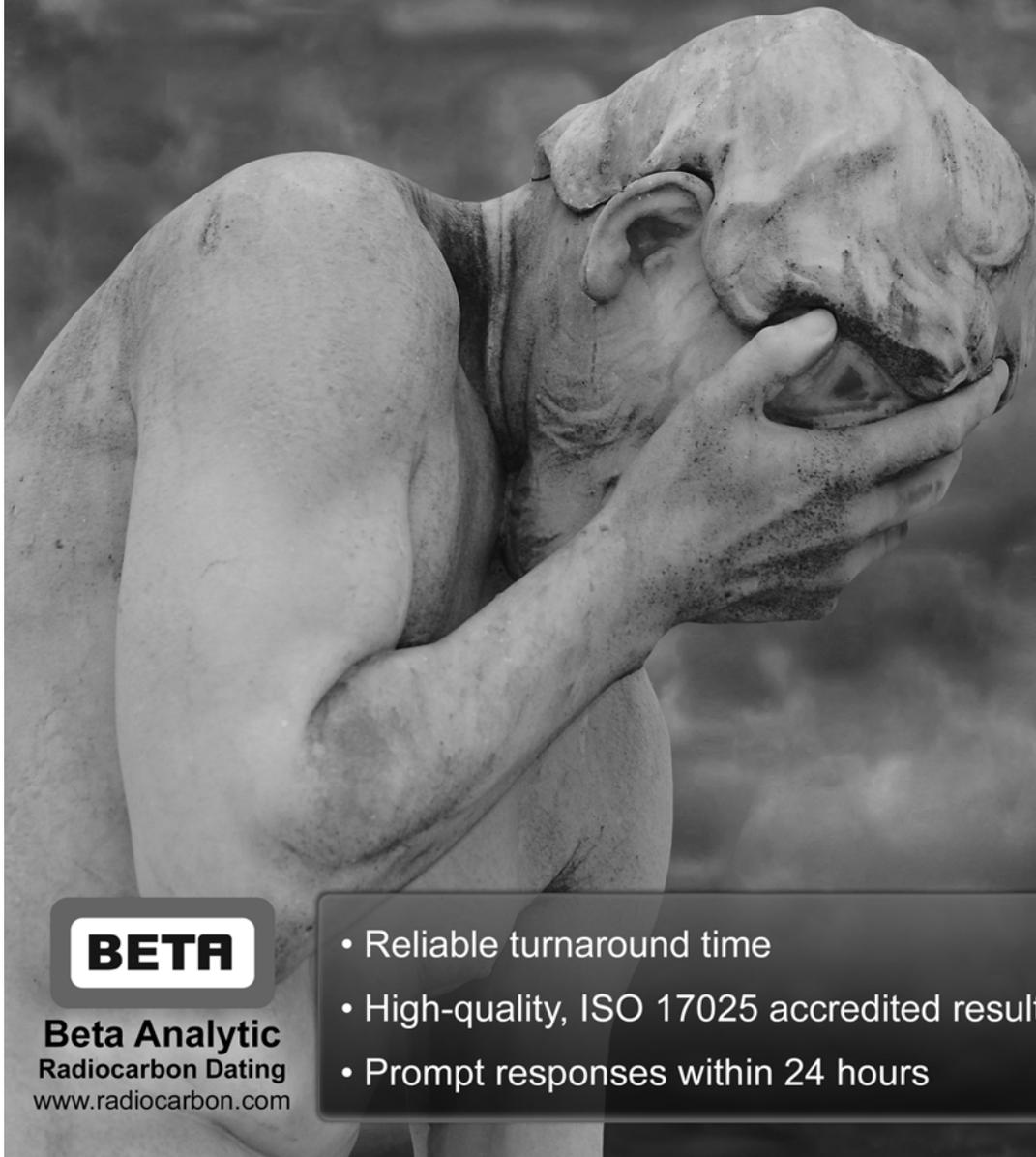


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Italic landscapes in the Middle Adriatic region: the development of ethnic identities the growth of frontiers from the Iron age to the archaic period

Valeria Acconcia (University of Chieti)

The Italian peninsula, starting in the First Iron age, clearly showed distinct trends towards the development of the idea of frontier, closely connected with the concept of ethnic identities: people living in the Tyrrhenian region developed strong and hierarchical patterns of territorial control, bound up with a complex social structure, headed by urban elites. For other regions, such as the Middle-Adriatic zone and especially the Abruzzo, the theme of frontiers was much more confused. Historical and epigraphic sources placed a substantial number of ancient populations (Marsi, Paeligni, Vestini, Marrucini etc.) in this area, but only these were only identified from the moment they came into contact with Rome between the fourth and the third century BC. In earlier periods, this area is known principally on the basis of archaeological data, which are frequently unevenly understood in the region, because of the varying intensity of research. Archaeological data (material culture, territorial pattern etc.) reveal an understated degree of centralized political and territorial organization, based on un-urbanized, small communities, which probably did not develop the concept of a political boundary, but exhibited it in the broader perspective of their ethnic identity. The aim of this paper is to deal with this theme, by first analyzing the main theories and then proposing a diachronic model of interpretation to identify frontier markers within the Abruzzo region during ancient times (territorial organization and its development from the Iron age to Romanization; specific frontiers markers, as sacred places or cemeteries; differences in material culture to explain possible ethnic variation); and then finally proposing a case study based on recent research carried out in the Castrano zone.

Valcamonica in the “Tribal Zone”: Evidence from rock-art

Craig Alexander (University of Cambridge)

Valcamonica is an Alpine valley immediately north of the Po Plain, home to a tradition of making images on rock that dates from at least the Copper Age to medieval times: the majority of the images – perhaps some 70% of a total of more than 100,000 – date to the first millennium BC. Valcamonica does not form part of an obvious trans-Alpine trade route in the way that the Ticino valley/St. Gotthard and the Adige Valley/Brenner do. It was, however, bounded by – or near neighbours to – a variety of state or quasi-state level societies to its south during the Iron Age: the Golasecca culture, the Venetic culture, Etruria Padana and, finally, the Roman Empire. Evidence for social complexity within Iron Age Valcamonica is distinctly lacking: on material culture finds distribution maps it is most often notable for being blank and what settlements are known are usually small and undifferentiated. What there is – as noted above – is a trove of images on the rocks. Such images seem often to reflect key elements of daily life: food storage, gender identity, possible clan/family affiliations – many of which we might subsume within the category of markers of identity. What sort of “cross-border” interactions were there between Valcamonica and its southern neighbours? Can we think of Valcamonica as forming a classic “tribal zone” where social change was stimulated by the presence of nearby state-level societies? Did the way – or intensity – in which the people of the valley expressed their identity through images on the rocks change as a result of “cross-border” contact, exchange and travel?

This paper considers two strands of evidence: The frequency of production of the rock images. Does it rise at times of particular stress/change in the societies to the south? The images themselves: how much is Valcamonica imagery a result of “outside” influences?

The northern Ager Faliscus: a frontier zone between Faliscans, Etruscans, Sabines and Umbrians

Laura Ambrosini (Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico ISMA-CNR)

The Ager Faliscus, extending between the modern provinces of Rome and Viterbo, from Mazzano Romano to the Cimino Mountains and bordered to the west by the Via Cassia and east by the River Tiber, was certainly a frontier territory. In particular, the examination of the Northern zone of the Ager Faliscus in which, for example, the sites of Vignanello, Gallese and Corchiano are situated, offers the opportunity to investigate further the contacts between the Faliscan civilization and the bordering cultures (Etruscans, Sabines and Umbrians). It is an area, near the Tiber, which from the time of Protohistory shows distinctive characteristics. Starting from the analysis of the remains of settlements and cemeteries, from the data provided by surface surveys and, above all, from the analysis of material culture, we seek to highlight the profile of this border area. Despite the cultural distinctiveness progressively adopted by the Faliscans, the geographical location of the territory occupied by them, makes it naturally permeable to influences from the Etruscan and Sabine regions, with sporadic contacts with other civilizations, detectable through the archaeological record, and traceable in some information found in the ancient written sources.

Features of the settlement borders of northern Latium Vetus

Angelo Amoroso (Independent Researcher, Rome)

The 'Villanovan' population of the right bank of the river Tiber was concentrated on the central place of Veii from the beginning of the early Iron Age. The Latial population in the developed Iron Age was distributed in several centres of different size on the opposite bank. The present research analyzes significant parameters such as geographical location, geomorphological context, communication, material culture, funerary ritual of the settlements of *Latium vetus*, located on the north side of the Aniene river. A comparison of the outcome of these parameters, allows us to understand that these centres, between the tenth and the sixth centuries BC, were integrated into the local context, where written sources suggest that Etruscans, Latins, Sabines, Falisci and Capenates, the main ethnic groups of the lower valley of the Tiber, faced each other military competition. The course of the Tiber was an important 'frontier line', but should not be considered as an insuperable border for those who lived on the two opposite banks of the river. This location was well exploited by the Latin centres located north of Rome, across the river Aniene, by a focus on Veii and the Falisco-Capenate area. The inhabitants of these centres drew on experiences, materials, products, that had been developed on the right bank of the river and reworked them according to their own customs and tastes, and in turn spread these products on the opposite bank of the Tiber. At the same time they welcomed people coming from other areas and other ethnic backgrounds; they sought their fortune across the river, in a relationship of mutual exchange and mutual convenience with neighbouring centres, giving priority to relations and alliances between the ancient cities, without ethnic discrimination.

Palus or Ager? Changing perceptions of economic landscapes in the Pontine region (south Lazio, central Italy)

Peter Attema (Groningen Institute of Archaeology, University of Groningen)

In the Roman literary sources, the extensive Pontine wetlands are, in the words of Giusto Traina - author of *Paludi e Bonifiche del Mondo Antico*, Roma, 1988 - represented as the *eschatiai* of *Latium vetus*, that is the margins of the cultivated landscape. In reality, the Pontine landscape consisted of many varied ecological microstructures that offered ample opportunities from the Early Bronze Age

onwards for what Traina calls ‘*economic agricole, pastorali, lagunari*’. The study of settlement dynamics indicates that a change in the perception of what constituted an economic landscape already occurred in *Latium vetus* during the first millennium BC related to the (proto) urbanization of the Latial landscape. The formation of city states in *Latium vetus* caused a divide between urbanized and non-urbanized spheres in the landscape, the geography of which coincided with distinct morphological units. In the hilly landscapes of *Latium vetus*, Latin urban society originated in an agricultural environment, while in the Pontine wetlands Bronze age type wetland economies may have persisted. This change in the perception of what constituted an economic landscape becomes evident when in the mid-Republican period planned interventions in the Pontine wetlands brought tracts of land under the plough. The paper will address the theme of *palus* or *ager* on the basis of recent landscape archaeological work carried out within the framework of the Pontine Region Project.

The Tiber: between Latins and Etruscans

Gilda Bartoloni (University of Rome La Sapienza)

During the Bronze Age, population generally tended to gravitate toward the lower course of the Tiber, accompanied by a continuity of village occupation on both sides of the river. This situation is the reflection of the substantial cultural similarities that united the populations of the two banks (the so-called *facies medio-tirrenica* of Renato Peroni). The river seems to have been sensed as a vital element for the life of the people on both banks. At the end of the Bronze Age, the right side was affected by a large territorial revolution and the formation of great agglomerations set back from the river, while on the left bank a dense distribution of smaller sites continued, still gravitating on the river. It is in this chronological horizon that the early stages of the Villanovan culture were defined on the right side of the Tiber and the Latial culture on the left. While the Etruscans always considered the Tiber as an important communication route, but at the same time a fixed boundary line, a role often played by rivers between the territories of Etruscan cities, the inhabitants on the left bank just lived next to and on the river in close proximity to crossing points. Recent discoveries, especially on the Latial side, pose new questions about the earliest phases of this cultural area that develop this argument.

Boundaries and integration: the social, political, and sacral mechanics of Etruscan markets

Hilary Becker (University of Mississippi)

Markets, both physical and theoretical, are themselves frontiers. At such frontiers, people, products, customs, and ideas intersect and interact as part of a vital mechanism of cultural and economic mediation by means of which identities can be built, transmitted, or reinforced. Central Italy offers a fruitful landscape within which such dialogues may be explored. This is particularly true for Etruria, where, while we have an increasingly sophisticated understanding of the mechanisms by which the economy operated, there is still a general shortage of concrete archaeological information related to the places in which the economy operated. Marketing occurred in the Etruscan world in a variety of different contexts, including at emporia, such as the one at Pyrgi, at festivals, such as those at Lucus Feroniae and Fanum Voltumnae, and even at reputed trading sites like those at Murlo, Marzabotto, and Doganella. This paper explores the ways in which such markets might have operated, looking in particular at the evidence for the Etruscan calendar as well as systems of weights and measures. The myriad interactions facilitated by the market reveals a great deal about quotidian life in Etruria, demonstrating that in the mundane activities of provisioning, lies key evidence about both economic processes and the cultural framework within which they operated.

Inscribed frontiers: epigraphy and boundaries in pre-Roman Italy

Enrico Benelli (Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico ISMA-CNR)

Almost every cultural area of Italy displayed its own distinctive form of epigraphy in the first millennium BC, but only some of them developed what we would call an epigraphic culture. The use of inscriptions or isolated letters in marking boundaries seems a rather ubiquitous feature of Italian epigraphic cultures, at least from the Samnite area in the south up to Venetia in the north. The aim of this paper is to draw together an overview of the evidence about inscribed boundaries from pre-Roman Italy, and to attempt to define their significance in a broader historical framework.

Picenum's Fluid Frontiers

Eleanor Betts (The Open University)

Picenum is a fascinating region, specifically for the richness of cultural interaction that took place there throughout the Iron Age and into the Roman period. A distinctive, though heterogeneous, culture flourished in this Central Adriatic region (approximating to the regions of modern Marche and northern Abruzzo) until the fourth century BC, with elaborate high status artefacts, complex trade connections, diverse religious practices and monumentalised written language. Its frontiers are monumental topographic features which would have played a significant role in defining the landscape and territories of the Iron Age inhabitants of the area. This paper will focus on the permeability of boundaries in the geographical region of Central Adriatic Italy, and argue that its frontiers were not boundaries, but locales of interaction, demarcated by topographic features, each of which created a different kind of cultural interaction. Mountains, whilst seemingly impenetrable from afar, were localities of communication, where the Apennine mountain passes between Picenum and Umbria were conduits between their eastern- and western-facing populations, marked by trade, pastoralism and sanctuaries. The Adriatic Sea formed a clear eastern boundary, and at the same time enabled the passage of amber, luxury goods, people and ideas between Picenum and the rest of Europe. Internally, the archaeological and epigraphic evidence points to a series of culturally and socio-politically independent communities based along the river valleys which intersect the region. The area south of the Vomano river may have been the exception to this, since it shows signs of political organisation (epigraphic habit, with repeating names, the ethnic *safin- and state (touta)). The fourth to first centuries BC saw this culture impacted upon by the neighbouring groups from Umbria and the Celtic north, and Rome, resulting in the region's complete conquest by Rome by 264 BC. The inconsistency of the Graeco-Roman sources (Strabo 5.4.2; Pliny NH 3.110-111; Ptolemy 3.1) in their descriptions of the territorial boundaries of historic Picenum and Umbria is perhaps indicative of the continued fluidity of these boundaries throughout those regions' histories.

Boundaries and tangible signs of power: the Etruscan cemetery with 'tumuli' at Botteghino – Parma – Italy

Paola Bianchi (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Parma), **Chiara Boggio** (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Parma) and **Daniela Locatelli** (Soprintendenza Archeologica Emilia Romagna)

At Botteghino, in western Emilia, it is clear that new Etruscan communities substituted any previous visible ancestral points of reference in the territory through 'building mounds'. In the late seventh century BC, the new population imposed itself on an almost completely uninhabited territory. The site of Botteghino was placed on the edge of the Apennines in a land widely open to contacts and where, at

the end of the sixth century BC, previous 'mound-shape' features were clearly visible. After the earliest phases (dated to Copper Age), in fact, there were numerous phases of monumental use of the area over a long and weakly defined period. The Etruscan cemetery used the residual features of this effect: the area was cleared, fenced and a gravel access road put in place. The new burial mounds were built with 'fences' and earthen and stone masses together to create 'tumuli' superimposed over previous features. The excellent conservation of the tombs and in situ bones has permitted the reconstruction of a multiplicity of burial practices that suggest activities related to the funerary cult (cremations, infant bones deposition, manipulation and reduction of bodies), set within long term activities related to the 'sphere of the sacred'.

Craft Production, artisans and cultural frontiers in Central Italy (eighth to sixth centuries BC)

Maria Cristina Biella (Southampton University)

In 1989 Mauro Cristofani highlighted in a crystal-clear analysis of the phases of Etruscan Art the possibility of organising the abundant then available data into series and workshops, connected to the work of anonymous artisans. It was evident at that moment that only a meticulous study of all the available data could lead to a sufficiently detailed knowledge and consequently to reliable historical conclusions. Several aspects of eighth to sixth century BC craft productions have since then been tackled, and it is perhaps now possible to begin working on the complex picture based on the attempt to recognise the *colours* which *blend* into one another and in which specific features of different local cultural entities can be firmly identified and outlined. This kind of approach to material culture could help us to understand the ways in which cultural frontiers were constructed and evolved and the roles played by the artisans in this setting. My paper aims to present a first attempt in this direction. I will concentrate my attention especially on selected study cases (in particular impasto ware, bucchero and Etrusco-Corinthian pottery) over a wide area, comprising both Tyrrhenian and Adriatic regions.

Poggio Civitella: an analysis of the fortress

Marcella Boglione (University of Florence)

The fortress of Poggio Civitella (Montalcino, Siena, Italy), was built in the late fourth century BC, on the ruins of a small sixth century village which had fallen into disuse. The central place and hill top location of the Civitella complex place the site at the centre of research into fortified settlements (oppida) on high ground, such as Ghiaccio Forte, Trequanda, Poggio La Croce, Cetamura, Monte Castello di Procchio, or castella (fortresses), such as Castiglione di San Martino, that during the fourth century BC. defined and defended the supremacy of a number of metropolises over their territory and indeed over sea routes towards the island of Elba. Excavations conducted by the archaeological department of Florence University (1993-2005), revealed a hilltop fortress defined by a complex tripartite defensive system: an irregularly circular wall on the top of the hill and two elliptical circuits on the flanks of hillside. The fortress was a key element in a system of similar installations at significant points to form a defensive belt along the borders of Chiusi area from the growing pressure of outside invasion: the incursion of the Celts and the menace of Rome. The site served this role because of its dominant position (650 metres above sea level) and the complexity of its military facilities.

Control and Sacralization of the boundaries of Umbrian territories in the archaic period

Laura Bonomi (Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Umbria)

The archaeological and topographic research in some areas of early Umbria has permitted the reconstruction of the development of settlement models and of the human occupation of the territories of Umbrian populations discussed in the ancient written sources, notably the Plestini, the Tadinates, the Nucerni, the Interamnates and the Camerti. During the prosecution of this analysis, it has been noted that upland fortified settlements, often with cult places, were placed on the boundaries of these territories, such as to control points of access. This phenomenon took place in the archaic period (sixth century BC) and can be considered a legitimization of the power of the Umbrian elite who employed such techniques, with the aid of religion, to control and defend the landscape, commerce and other movements of people.

The Romanisation of frontiers?

Guy Bradley (University of Cardiff)

Epigraphy, archaeology and literary sources all demonstrate the prevalence of elite mobility in archaic central Italy, and there is an increasing appreciation of the uncertainty of linguistic boundaries and frequency of bilingualism and intermarriage. The evidence for firm 'frontiers' in pre-conquest Italy is ambiguous, and it is tempting to suggest that 'frontiers' are an essentially Roman concept, linked to stable empires, and imposed on Italy only after the Roman conquest. Whilst initially attractive, we should resist interpreting frontiers as a new idea imposed on a chaotic 'tribal' environment. The rise of states in pre-conquest Italy presupposes the increasing importance of frontiers and ethnic conceptions. Italic border sanctuaries certainly exist independently of Rome, e.g. between Nola and Abella, and it is evident from Italic epigraphy that conceptions of frontiers existed before the Roman era (e.g. the tular/tuder inscriptions and the Iguvine Tables from Umbria). Nonetheless, Roman hegemony must encourage greater 'fixity' through various factors: the need for a firm idea of population numbers and presumably identity for army service (perhaps through the *formula togatorum*); measures to discourage migration in the second and early first century BC; municipalisation and the creation of the Augustan regions; and the classificatory decisions of historians, geographers and other writers like Cato, Verrius Flaccus, Strabo, and Pliny.

Mobility and Society in Early Iron Age Central Italy

Ivan Cangemi (University of Michigan)

It is often assumed that patterns of mid-range mobility play an important role in shaping the boundaries of human communities and their internal organization. Archaeological considerations of mobility, however, have tended to focus on long-distance migration and short-range movements connected to resource exploitation; the wide array of mobility practices between these two extremes has not been considered systematically. As a result, the relationship between population circulation, the structure of communities, and the emergence of more or less permeable boundaries between them is not well understood. This paper presents the initial results of an agent-based model designed to explore the impact of different patterns of mid-range mobility on idealized networks and addresses its potential for shedding light on the changing sociopolitical landscape of central Italy during the Early Iron Age. This archaeological context, with its multiplicity of sociopolitical configurations and well-documented record of intra- and interregional contact between communities, is an ideal case study to test models of

population circulation. In particular, the copious funerary data that have been published in recent decades make it possible to address a variety of preliminary questions concerning these issues without undertaking a substantial new programme of field research.

Latin Sanctuaries and Ports: the religious frontier between land and sea

Letizia Ceccarelli (University of Cambridge)

The sea has acted as a form of frontier, whilst at the same time as an element of unification and cultural exchange, which is best represented in the myth of the founding heroes' of *Latium vetus*: Ulysses and Aeneas, who arrived via the sea. Landing places and ports, which acted as a passing place from one element, the sea, to another, the land, were sacred frontiers where sanctuaries were built for both control and protection. Recent discoveries both from the sanctuaries and landing places on the coast of Lazio allow the definition, already from the beginning of the sixth century BC, of a sacred frontier towards the sea, as is also the case for the Etruscans. The sacred and economic role characteristic of ports and landing places of the coast of Lazio is further underlined by the written sources: the control of the sea in fact constituted an extension of the territorial power and formed a frontier, which was already guaranteed by the end of the sixth century BC through political treaties.

Western Umbria: upland sanctuaries between the Umbrians and the Etruscans

Luana Cencioli (Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Umbria)

This sample area has been defined as the last stretch of Perugia's territory in the upper Tiber Valley, and thus a zone of contact with diverse cultures. It is a mountainous and hilly region, difficult of access and covered with woodland. The region is penetrated from north to south by the Tiber, a river that acted not only as a fundamental route of transmission and communication, but also as a boundary, of a more or less rigid nature, according to the period under study, between central western and central eastern Italy. Human activity has been detected at least from the early Bronze Age. In the archaic period, the right bank of the Tiber, traditionally considered Etruscan, was distinguished by a settlement system that was quite closely placed, in order to permit a quite effective control of the valley and the communication routes into the interior. The upland axis of Monte Tezio, Monte Acuto, Monte Miglianella and Monte Bastiola, distinguished by mountain peak, bank and ditch settlements, established a visual control over the Umbrian plains and territory, and communicated with the interior. This affected a wide area that ran from the territory of Perugia, to that of Lake Trasimene and of Cortona. The upland sanctuaries, like those of Monte Acuto, within the city council boundaries of Umbertide, placed at 927 metres above sea level, on the right bank of the Tiber, had a viewshed that enclosed other similar Umbrian sanctuaries in Umbria: from north to south, Gubbio (Monte Ansciano); Umbertide (Monte Acuto); Assisi (Monte Subasio, Colle S. Rufino); Terni (Monte Torre Maggiore); and Calvi dell'Umbria (Monte S. Pancrazio). Excavations undertaken between 1986 and 1995 on Monte Acuto inside the bank, brought to light a cult place dating from the sixth to the fifth century BC. This proved to be a centre of religious and political life, linked to pastoral agricultural divinity, made up of a sub-rectangular enclosure, of a sacrificial zone, taken together a sacred area containing some 1800 typically Italic, schematic figurines of both the human and animal form. The sanctuary zone was already in use in the Recent Bronze age or the beginnings of the Final Bronze Age. A series of fortified settlements, set on the lower mountain peaks at about 700 metres above sea level (Monte Elceto di Murlo, Monte Civitelle, Cerchiaia, Monte Corona, Monte Santa Croce) gravitated on this axis of control. All shared similar features of altitude, and circular or elliptical enclosures made out of local materials, whose drystone elements can be detected on the ground.

The other side of the Roman frontier in Alpine Italy: the view from the immediately pre-Roman rock-art of Valcamonica

Christopher Chippindale (University of Cambridge)

A perpetual issue in frontier studies is the dominance of stories as told by literate conquerors, over the experiences of illiterate conquered whose voices are so often silent. And the literate conquerors are not trained anthropologists, seeking to be objective, but men of military action keen to report their triumph. In the case of Roman, this is exacerbated by military prowess being a primary route to political advancement so “spin” – to use the modern term – is endemic. In many regions of the world, indigenous rock-art traditions give a view from the other side of the conquering frontier. Importantly, even perhaps uniquely amongst common kinds of archaeological evidence, rock-art is autobiographical: it gives a direct account by the ancient people in their own terms, a record of their own experience. Such is the case in Valcamonica, the rich rock-art region in the Alps immediately north of modern Brescia, Roman Brixia, where their rock-art tradition clearly is strong in the more than two centuries when Brixia had been established at the valley both as a large Roman town, but the mountains were beyond the frontier. The study analyses an element of late prehistoric (protohistoric) rock-art in Valcamonica, the numerous figures identified as showing warriors, intending to contribute to two long-standing puzzles of Roman history: 1. Why did the Roman frontier, once it had reached the southern edge of the Alps, stay there for so many decades – even while the limit of the Empire was pushed past the Alps and far into Iberia, transalpine Gaul and Britain? 2. Why was the Roman conquest of the Alps, once embarked on, so rapid and easy – although the country is so high, rough and hard to conquer or control? One remembers that to this day Switzerland is militarily neutral and is never invaded: not only through respect for moral conviction but because generals know conquering and governing Switzerland would be a formidable task.

Some aspects of frontier studies in central Italy

Gabriele Cifani (University of Rome, Tor Vergata)

The paper will discuss the concept of the frontier as approached in recent decades of scholarship of central Tyrrhenian Italy and the reasons for the importance of frontier studies to the history of territory, society and economy in pre-roman Italy. By means of some key studies from Etruria and Latium the paper will also explore the potential and limits of this approach.

The Lepini mountains and the Valley of the Sacco, the frontier scenery between the Latins, Equi, Ernici and Volsci

Francesco Cifarelli (City Museum of Segni)

The foundation of the colony of Segni, between the end of the sixth and the beginnings of the fifth century BC, was strategically placed in a point of complex contacts, that could have comprised at least three if not four inter-ethnic frontiers. Geographic features such as the courses of the Sacco and Liri rivers in direction of Italic populations, the Lepini mountain chain in the direction of Latin populations, accompanied by a picture conveyed by the written sources and material culture, form the basis for discussion of the main issues of frontier construction in this region perhaps as early as the eighth century BC. In this setting, the recent finds from the city of Segni, a site occupied from the late seventh century BC, with distinctive cultural features, allow the construction of more solid evidence for the timing and means of development of this stronghold, progressing beyond the stranglehold of the two dates given by Livy and Dionysius.

Powerful Images: Reading Villanovan Bronze Belts

Maureen Cohen (University of Edinburgh)

The Iron Age Villanovan culture inhabiting central Italy in the tenth to the seventh centuries BC produced a class of richly ornamented bronze belts worn almost exclusively by women. Such belts followed a strict decorative scheme in which a limited number of possible images appeared in a specific, repeated configuration. The imagery used on the belts is similar to imagery found on Hallstatt culture artefacts that is thought to relate to beliefs about death and the afterlife (e.g. the "solar boat"). This paper explores the significance of this imagery and its crossing of the physical frontier between central Europe and central Italy to become an integral part of the Villanovan visual culture. Examining the transmission of this set of images is an avenue for exploration of cultural interaction between these regions on both a material and a conceptual level and of the Villanovan society's assimilation of cultural elements from its frontiers.

Deconstruction of an ancient frontier: Caere and Rome

Fabio Colivicchi (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada)

Several studies are available on the formation of frontiers in central Italy, especially as a component of the processes of urbanization and state formation. But what happens when a frontier loses its function and is deconstructed as a result of the incorporation of a city state into a larger entity, namely the territory controlled by Rome? The Etruscan city of Caere constitutes an especially important case study in that regard. After the Roman conquest of Veii, Caere became a sort of 'satellite state' of Rome, and was eventually transformed into a *praefectura* in 273 BC. Historians have focused on the institutional aspect of the process, with the progressive 'softening' of the political frontier between the two cities through the *ciuitas sine suffragio*, which paved the way for eventual assimilation. This paper will examine both the development of the settlement pattern along the south east frontier of Caere and the transformations of the urban centre, where major projects of renovation of the sanctuaries were started as the city lost its (formal) independence and its territory was reduced to an appendix of the Roman.

From the Opici to the Samnites

Gianfranco De Benedittis (Università degli Studi del Molise)

The frontier territory between the Sango and Fortore rivers, exhibits, on the basis of inscriptions and material culture recently recovered a considerable change in organisation between the seventh and sixth century BC. These changes culminated in the formation of settlement structures whose format and urban plan are beginning to be understood thanks to new evidence emerging from excavations at the Samnite settlement of Monte Vairano (Campobasso).

Narce. The sanctuary of Monte Li Santi – Le Rote at the beginning of Romanisation

Maria Anna De Lucia Brolli (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale)

Narce, given its position in the southern Faliscan territory, appears to have been from a very early stage closely connected with Veii. Funerary evidence has already shown a considerable redirection in the course of the fourth and third centuries BC, probably as a consequence of the Roman conquest of Veii in 396 BC, that led to a crisis of urban identity at an earlier stage than that of the northern Faliscan area, where the key threshold was the fall of Falerii in 241 BC. The suburban sanctuary of Monte Li Santi - Le Rote fits into this pattern, with occupation dated from the fifth century to end of the second century BC. The various phases show a gradual transformation of the landscape, with the abandonment of covered structures and introduction of a cult to Demeter. From the beginning of the third century BC., the religion took on an open air format; differently structured altars represented different divinities whose features including offerings suggest an attribution to Minerva Maia and Fortuna. The Latinized inscription to Minerva, the ex-voto (of the so-called Tanagrine) not found in other local sanctuaries and the urban mint all suggest that the sanctuary now looked towards Rome and Latin centres.

The agrarian aristocracy and salvation doctrine amongst the southern Frentani

Angela Di Niro (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Molise)

The paper presents a half chambered tomb of the fourth century BC recently excavated in the southern frontier territory of the Frentani (Ururi). The particularly rich and sumptuous gravegoods contained clear traces of Orphic practice. Furthermore, the funerary ritual practice of cremation, found in the all the southern area of the Frentani, as well as objects that allude to the cavalry of the Frentani, will be covered.

Islands in the island: cultural frontiers and regionalization in the Protohistoric Sardinia

Anna Depalmas (University of Sassari)

The most significant features of Sardinian Bronze Age civilisation are considered to be homogeneity and uniformity both of architectural manifestations and material culture. This cultural *compactness* seen in the nuragic period was not constant, since there were periods such as that of the Recent Bronze Age where distinct *facies* can be easily detected, within defined geographical areas without apparent permeability. For the later phases, and certainly for the early Iron Age, during a period of apparent renewed cultural homogeneity, there was also an apparent process of increased regionalisation that is more difficult to define and identifiable only on the basis of rare local production.

Territory and frontiers in Southern Tiber Umbria

Luca Desibio (Independent Researcher)

This study provides an analysis of Southern Tiberian Umbria between the pre-Roman cities of Todi, Terni, and Amelia in Central Tyrrhenian Italy, which is a region that has historically lacked significant analysis. This study provides an investigation and review of the archaeological traces of settlements in

this region in order to identify the types of sanctuaries along possible frontiers that date back to the archaic period. There are urban settlements that have survived through the medieval and modern periods, and in some cases, structures have undergone a transformation into Christian places of worship. Based on the information gathered in this study, it is possible to define a landscape that contains structures of unusual longevity and also allow for the codification of frontiers across different historical periods.

Sacred Woods, Élite Meetings and Marginal People. The role of the Sacred in marking and ensuring the frontiers in Ancient Central Italy

Massimiliano Di Fazio (University of Pavia)

In the last five years I have been carrying out a systematic study of the goddess Feronia. The adopted approach is not a purely archaeological one, but can be rather inserted into what has been defined as the "Ecology of Religion". The paper I intend to present stems from this research. The study of the location and nature of Feronia's cult places have made it possible to point out a particular role of these sanctuaries. As a matter of fact, they are usually hosted in sacred woods and seem not only to mark boundaries between territories, but more specifically to provide safe places for meetings between different neighbouring communities. In Central Italy, a similar role can be probably recognised for other cult places, in which a female goddess is worshipped and has the same features attributed to Feronia, but different names. Specific ritual activities seem to be connected to these sanctuaries. One is the ritual of enfranchising slaves (seen somewhat unclearly, for instance, in the cult place of Feronia at Terracina) and possibly of the presence of groups of young men controlling borders as part of their process of "initiation". My paper intends to explore the role of the sacred in marking, pointing out, and ensuring these functions.

Tracts and facts of the frontier in the protohistoric period

Francesco di Gennaro (Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico 'Luigi Pigorini')

Some examples from the central Italian area have been selected, across space and time, that illustrate the differential qualities of the frontier concept, but which also avoid a banal over use of the terms, boundary and frontier, so as not to detract from the worth or degrade the archaeological and historical value of such geographical points of reference. Amongst the examples to be considered will be communities and frontiers amongst objects and funerary rituals of the late Bronze Age in order to come across episodes that seem compatible with political subdivisions of market areas.

Ancient Architecture in Central Italy and Modern Perceptions of Cultural Frontiers

Ingrid Edlund-Berry (The University of Texas at Austin)

In an important publication of 1965, Lucy T. Shoe introduced the term "Etruscan Round" to indicate the mouldings used in tombs, buildings, and altars primarily from the area of Etruscan cities to the north of Rome. But, as she was the first to acknowledge, the term could be misleading, because this particular form of moulding is also found in other geographical areas, including Rome and Latium. One could say that a modern term is just that, and that it behoves anyone who uses it to define its meaning adequately. But, as more examples of such "Etruscan Round" mouldings have been found at sites in different parts of Italy, we become aware the potential dangers of applying this term (and

perhaps others) as an indication of cultural frontiers, in particular those between Etruscans and Romans, and Romans and Latins. In this paper I would like to present examples of how the term “Etruscan Round” has influenced modern scholarship in directions that have led to controversial results. My discussion will include Shoe’s own assumption that this moulding was created in Etruria and spread from there to Rome and other areas, and that it was the Romans who disseminated the form as their political influence grew in Italy through colony foundations and other forms of involvement. Attempts at interpreting examples of monuments with “Etruscan Round” mouldings found in Rome and Latium have created many problems of typology and chronology, in addition to suggesting cultural links as well as barriers between areas of central Italy. Examples illustrating the difficulty of defining what is “Roman” or “Latian” include the S. Omobono temples and altars in Rome and the temple mouldings at Ardea and altars at Lavinium. Temples with “Etruscan Round” mouldings at Sora, Isernia, Villa S. Silvestro, and other sites, illustrate the use of historical events to date archaeological monuments. The construction of these and other monuments has been correlated with dates of colony foundations, without further consideration of archaeological context or other types of evidence. To avoid the issue of creating cultural frontiers based solely on modern terminology I will suggest ways to evaluate the archaeological evidence on its own terms, and outline my view of the architectural koine that existed in central Italy. The term “Etruscan Round” may be difficult to eradicate, but we need to avoid the pitfalls of historical interpretation that it can cause!

Exploring frontiers of Late Iron Age Britain

Jerry Evans (Independent Researcher) and **Phil Mills** (Independent Researcher - University of Leicester)

This paper is based on pottery worked on from developer funded projects in the midlands, published artefact distributions and supported by data extracted from the OASIS ‘grey literature’ archive (<http://oasis.ac.uk/>) hosted by Archaeological Data Services (ADS) at York university. This shows a number of cultural boundaries defined by pottery supply, decorative motifs, coin distributions, and the consumption of imported Roman goods in pre 43 AD contexts. One interesting aspect is the existence of a hard cultural boundary separating East and West Leicestershire which existed possibly as early as the Bronze Age, but breaks down around the first century BC, around the same time that the Oppidum at Leicester is founded, which then became the tribal capital of the Corieltavi in the Roman period.

A gift fit for a king? Gold and silver as mediums of mediation across frontiers

Julia Farley (University of Leicester)

This paper explores the role of precious metals in mediating between Roman elites and Iron Age communities in pre-conquest Britain. Starting with a simple silver ingot from a Late Iron Age shrine at Hallaton, Leicestershire, scientific analysis is used to uncover the biography of the ingot, and the raw materials from which it was created. The findings are compared with recent work on gold and silver coinage. Together the results suggest that precious-metal bullion originating from the Roman world circulated widely in pre-conquest Britain, beyond the Roman client kingdoms of southern and eastern England. I argue that silver and gold were materials which mediated across the permeable frontier between the Mediterranean world and Iron Age communities in Britain, allowing translation and transmutation between different systems of power, hierarchy, and value. The metal which eventually formed the Hallaton ingot circulated seamlessly through and between Iron Age and Roman social networks, being reworked and transformed several times before it was deposited. In each new form and context, the silver carried varied and often ambiguous meanings, capable of being understood in different ways. At this time, ideas of power and authority were being re-negotiated in both Iron Age Britain and the Roman world (with the shift from Principate to Empire). I argue that silver and gold became powerful symbolic mediums which facilitated diplomatic exchanges across the porous frontiers of the Empire and underwrote the creation of new forms of hierarchy and social networks. The changes

which took place as a result of this colonial encounter affected both Iron Age Britain and the heart of the Roman Empire.

The sacred as land marker: cemeteries before sanctuaries in the Upper Sangro Valley/Abruzzo

Amalia Faustoferri (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Abruzzo) and **Marlene Suano** (University of São Paulo)

The archaeological data, and consequent historical considerations, that pertain to Iron Age central Italy, have slowly but consistently changed since the Gubbio and Biferno projects, which introduced new perspectives for those studying the area.

The Sangro Valley is a particularly interesting area to be considered, for its many important connections with the Adriatic coast, northern Molise (that is, Samnium) and Latium and Campania (to the west), and was the last project of John Lloyd in Italy.

The road network of this valley is particularly pertinent since it bridges the territory of many of those tribes mentioned by the Romans which, step by step, have had their political and cultural context established by recent excavations and studies. Old areas, such as Atessa, the provenance of the famous Torso di Atessa, are the subject of new research, as is the whole area of Monte Pallano, a place of interesting cultural entanglements, such that its interpretation has evolved from a northerly Samnite fortress removed from political action to a key settlement of the middle valley, a notable area driving important cultural connections.

The paper aims, after presenting the road network of the valley, to demonstrate, on the basis of new and still unpublished excavations (cemeteries of Opi, Val Fondillo/ Barrea) within a crucial boundary area, at a crucial distance from the main state sanctuary of the Samnites, Pietrabbondante, that cemeteries may lead us to a better understanding of political and cultural frontiers. The paper also considers the social role of cemeteries during the Iron Age, before sanctuaries took the lead as the locus for the communication between the sacred and profane words.

Areas for Cult and Control of the Territory between Umbria and Piceno from the Archaic Period to that of Romanisation

Nicoletta Frapiccini (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Marche - Ancona)

Numerous sanctuaries and cult areas were established from the earliest periods onwards close to the Apennine ridge between Umbria and Piceno. These are particularly frequent near mountain passes. The sacred areas were normally situated in positions which dominated and allowed control over the surrounding territory, which was most probably a difficult and highly contested area of passage for people and goods coming from or going to the Adriatic. This paper examines the most significant cult contexts between the Archaic Period and that of the Romanisation of the Marche area, placing particular emphasis on those along the path from the hollow of Sassoferrato (AN), along the synclinal Camerino valley, up to the pass of Colfiorito and that of Fornaci di Pieve Torina (MC). The importance of these cult areas and the emergence of some settlement dynamics are analysed in relation to routeways. Furthermore, analogies are underlined between the organisation of the territory of Sassoferrato and that of Gubbio to the north, as well as that of the territories of Camerino and Plestia to the south. Detailed reference is made to recent, unpublished finds from the Archaic Period in Serravalle di Chienti (MC), and a site identified in Col di Giove di Muccia (MC), which is still being excavated, that was most probably close to a cult area in the fourth to third centuries BC.

Umbrian and Latin Bronze Votive Figurines in Context

Francesca Fulminante and Mukund Unavane (University of Cambridge)

Small schematic bronze figurines were popular at a time of rapid political change in Rome and Latium, Etruria and Umbria during the sixth to the fifth century BC, but seem progressively to cease in the Republican and later periods when terracotta objects started to be found, and new processes of Romanization took hold. The numerous finds have been deeply studied stylistically so that their typology and chronology are well established, but they have never been properly quantified or analyzed in terms of the spatial construction of fluid identities. Furthermore, the publication of two key hill top excavations (Monte Ansciano and Monte Acuto) brings a new contextual detail into play. This material raises both anthropological and classical questions. The wide distribution of broadly similar figurines seems to suggest a shared religious performance concentrated on inter-visible mountain tops. However, can distinctive regional trends be detected in the ritual practice and choice of divine figuration across the mountain tops where they were placed? There is immense potential in these objects to understand better the inter-ethnic, religious and cultural relations in sixth/fifth century central Italy, and the interplay between the formation of ritual and social boundaries at a time of substantial political change. This article will present for discussion the first results of this still ongoing research.

War and frontiers in Celtiberia: Strengthening identities in a disputed Space

Enrique García-Riaza (Universitat de les Illes Balears), **Alberto Pérez-Rubio** (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) & **Eduardo Sánchez-Moreno** (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

The Roman expansion in the Iberian Peninsula involves the gradual transformation of the political and territorial patterns of Late Iron Age communities, as well as their circumscribed vision of the landscape. In this sense, particularly in the context of the Celtiberian Wars (c. 195-133 BC), three categories of frontier converge that will be discussed in this paper: 1) the military frontier (associated with the progress of Roman imperialism in the Ebro, Tajo and Duero valleys and the administrative process over dominated space), 2) the political autonomous frontier (of each of the local jurisdictions – whether a city-state or a confederate system– that interact with each other and with the Roman power), and 3) the more diffuse ethnic-cultural frontier (understood as a supra-community space of relationship and convergence based primarily on ideological and material links). By addressing different case-studies, we will emphasize the interactive, mutable and discontinuous nature of the frontiers in the late Celtiberian world, addressing them at the three levels of analysis proposed (military, political and ethnic-cultural) as critical stages for the reprocessing and assertion of disputed identities.

The frontiers of the Ernici and the Volsci from the perspective of written and archaeological sources

Sandra Gatti (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio)

The cultural profile of the two pre Roman populations that occupied the region of inland southern Lazio appears today much better defined after the detailed research and important discoveries of the last two decades which have given substantial coherence to the information provided by the ancient written sources. From the perspective of the ancient written sources, that describe the two peoples pre-eminently from a narrative of their conflict with Rome, the boundaries of the territory of the Ernici and Volsci appears substantially fuzzy and fluctuating, attributing individual settlements to one group and then to the other. The very considerable archaeological evidence of recent discovery, dating to the

period from the eighth century BC to the late archaic period, provides some rather significant cultural indicators. These permit scholars to re-examine the image of the two people drawn from the Roman historians, and to provide some secure points of reference for understanding their territorial boundaries, even where topographical features are missing that might have had a natural role in frontier construction.

Visual Frontiers: Production and Consumption of Textiles in Iron Age Italy

Margarita Gleba (Institute of Archaeology, University College London) and **Susanna Harris** (Institute of Archaeology, University College London)

A textile is the result of complex interactions between resources, technology, and society and as such, it is a repository for (prized) fibres, dyes, dedicated human labour, skill and art, as well as social meaning. The very broad possibilities of construction, colour and patterning give textiles almost limitless possibilities for the communication of social values. Worn or displayed in an emblematic way, textiles can denote variations in age, sex, rank, status or group affiliation. Textiles are hence a cultural product the design and use of which are subject to cultural patterning and as such they can be used to establish the visual frontier of an individual or a group with respect to other individuals or groups. What one wears and how one wears it are key aspects in the discussion of clothing as an indicator of identity. Both can be put into the category of fashion. A system of fashion is structured on innovation and change, because fashion supports status. We will argue that, in Iron Age Italy, textile production and consumption were frontier activities of the elites, serving to legitimise their economic and political power. The paper will present some of approaches that will be developed in the recently awarded ERC funded project Production and Consumption: Textile Economy and Urbanisation in Mediterranean Europe 1000-500 BCE (PROCON).

Satricum, a case study of changing frontiers in a pre-Roman settlement

Marijke Gnade (University of Amsterdam)

The continued presence of different ethnic groups in the ancient settlement of Satricum means that this site offers good evidence to study the occupation models of these various populations. In the case of the Latin population, the frontiers of the archaic urban area were physically defined by means of defensive works which largely followed the topography of the landscape, or by the presence of sanctuaries, which may have functioned as symbolic territorial boundaries. At the same time, the living and the dead were carefully separated. During the fifth and fourth centuries BC, the period of the Volscian presence, the former occupation model appears to have dissolved completely and frontiers do not seem to have any longer existed. In this paper both phases will be discussed and, in addition, special attention will be paid to the Volscian occupation set against the background of their mountainous provenance.

Frontiers of the central Tyrrhenian area

Alessandro Guidi (University of Rome 3)

The present Lazio is a patchwork of different cultural areas of the past. The most evident division is between Etruria (in the north), Latium Vetus (in the south) and the Sabine region (between the Tiber and the Anio). Many years ago, a paper of mine written with Vincenzo D'Ercole and Francesco di Gennaro tried to examine the frontier territories between these three areas. This paper attempts to update the data presented on that occasion. At the same time the paper deals with the changing borders

between *Latium vetus* and *Latium adiectum* in the south, a territory linked to Northern Campania setting up a common cultural pattern which lasted until the twentieth century.

The Hellenistic Necropolis at Gioiella (Castiglione del Lago): Burials and Banquets on the Chiusine Frontier

Theresa Huntsman (Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, USA)

The fortuitous discovery of intact Hellenistic tombs at Gioiella (Castiglione del Lago, Umbria) in 1973 allows for unprecedented insight into the burial practices and preferences of Etruscans in the third and second centuries BC. This tomb group, however, raises as many questions as it answers. Located where ancient Chiusine and Perugine territories met, these tombs demonstrate how Etruscan settlements were unique, yet remarkably interconnected. Not only did the tombs contain terracotta urns from Chiusi, stone urns from Perugia, and ceramics from Volterra, but also the inscriptions record Etruscan family names that appear in other tombs across Chiusine and Perugine territories. The Gioiella necropolis represents a locus of interaction between Etruscan settlements, but more importantly, it is a liminal space for interaction between the living and the dead. In this paper I reanalyze the urns, inscriptions, and grave goods as crucial components of the Etruscan afterlife. While these burials shed light on constructions of gender, personal identity, family relationships, and how the living interacted with the deceased, the object groupings do not always agree with what we generally know about Etruscan burial practice. Thus, I am able to present a revised spectrum of possibilities for Chiusine funerary materials, including those that no longer preserve their archaeological contexts.

An Iron Age settlement in the borderland between northern Etruria and Umbria

Cristiano Iaia (University of Naples) and **Marco Pacciarelli** (University of Naples)

In the locality Trebbio di Sansepolcro (Sansepolcro, prov. Arezzo), archaeological excavations carried out by the University of Naples Federico II in cooperation with the University of Siena, have contributed significantly to the knowledge of an Iron Age settlement located within the 'Etruscan' side of the river Tiber in north-eastern Tuscany. This is a nucleated or proto-urban centre (of about 20-30 hectares) positioned on flat terrain, although in all probability artificially fortified, whose life-span corresponds to the period of the eighth to sixth century BC. Its pattern of organization is very different from the urban sites of the nearby north Etruscan territory, since it comprises no monumental works but mainly wood and earth architectural features, as well as frequent installations for the manufacture of pottery. The study of its peculiar settlement pattern and the rich data of its material culture, including many ceramics and metalwork, are starting to provide a new image of a 'frontier' settlement with definite cultural traits closer to the Picene and Umbrian contexts, than to the Etruscan ones. This can question, at least for the Early Iron Age and the Orientalising/Early Archaic period, the traditional notion of the Tiber as a permanent geographical border between two ethnic entities, the Etruscans and the Umbrians.

A relational approach to bordering Ancient Italy

Elena Isayev (University of Exeter)

Ancient Italy was not a patchwork of territorial enclaves stitched together, a perspective that presumes an absolute approach to space. Rather, it will be argued, at least until the Late Republican period there is evidence to suggest that it was more relationally perceived, where places were intersections or nodes,

and hard territorial boundaries are difficult to identify. In certain contexts, particularly that of city-states, there is nevertheless clear investment in the physical site, and its surrounding territory. Alongside this model there continued to be powerful entities, whether communities in the Appennines, or such groups as the mercenaries, that functioned outside the city-state structures, with an apparent lack of interest in bounded territory or its possession as such. It is the balance between these different forms of controlling resources and gaining power, that ideas about space and borders will be considered in this paper.

Between west and east: the role of culture contact and hellenisation at Ruvo di Puglia

Olivia Kelley (The University of Sydney)

The site of Ruvo di Puglia in central Puglia was shaped by several frontiers, both geographical and ideological. Ruvo is one of the better known cities of the so-called Peucetian region and is believed to have been home to a large elite group, who between the seventh and third centuries BC used elaborate and ostentatious burial treatment to articulate status and prestige. The site stands at the head of several different trade routes, linking central Italy with the agricultural plains of south Italy, the colonial centres of the Ionic coast and also the vibrant trade networks of the Adriatic basin. The site of Ruvo thus represents an important point of contact, a boundary between east and west, north and south; its material culture thus reflects its role as a nodal point of contact between various cultural groups. Much emphasis has been placed on the role of Ruvo as a key point of contact for the Greeks trading in the Adriatic, and the indigenous inhabitants of Ruvo di Puglia were among the first in Peucetia to adopt and adapt Greek material culture. For this reason Ruvo can be seen to stand at the forefront of the putative hellenisation of the indigenous population of central Puglia. Yet the material culture of the site demonstrates connections to a wider range of ideas and individuals, including those from central Italy. The presence of objects of diverse origin at this site suggests an engagement with a wide range of cultural groups and clearly defies a simplistic hellenising paradigm. The conceptual frontier of hellenisation is one that has been addressed and debated at length, yet very few accounts attempt to understand why the indigenous inhabitants of south Italy chose to engage with hellenising ideals. This paper seeks to place the site of Ruvo di Puglia into its wider Italic context and understand how its position as a nodal point of contact for a range of Greek, colonial Greek and indigenous Italic groups impacted and informed the development of the site. Through this and an examination of different aspects of the material culture patterning at Ruvo, this paper will investigate how and why the inhabitants of the site engaged with the concept of hellenisation.

Ethnic Frontiers and Civic Boundaries in South-East Italy

Kathryn Lomas (Institute of Archaeology, University College London)

Ancient written sources almost universally describe south-east Italy as a region of three ethnic groups – the Dauni, Peuceti and Messapi. These also form the main political units of the region, which is envisaged as an area of three chiefdoms, ruled by what they term ‘kings’. Broadly speaking, modern scholarship has tended to follow their lead, accepting that this is a region of three distinct *ethnoi*, which also formed separate political communities. This model, however, poses significant problems when we try to integrate it with an archaeological record in which one of the most important features is the development of state societies. Recent research on Daunia has also suggested that ethnic and cultural frontiers within the region may have evolved over time, and that new ethnic and cultural boundaries may have developed or hardened in the fifth and fourth centuries, changing the political and ethnic landscape of the region. The concept of ethnic identity as the primary form of identity is also at odds with recent research in other areas of Italy. This paper explores ethnic, state/political and cultural boundaries in south-east Italy through the medium of epigraphy. It examines the ways in which inscriptions, and changes in the epigraphic habit, may have been used to delimit or record different

types of space in the sixth to fourth centuries BC. It also examines their role as evidence for different types of collective identity and the boundaries between them.

No Borders. The Itinerancy of Coroplasts, Images and Roofs in Archaic Central Italy.

Patricia Lulof (University of Amsterdam)

The urban and suburban sanctuaries in Archaic Central Italy, reflect and empower the order of a society in flux, and represent elites and entrepreneurs from different regions who may have played a central role in the economic and cultural changes that occurred during this eventful period. In the early Archaic period, Southern Etruria seems to have been predominant in producing roofs and roof decoration for temples. Overlapping to a degree, but certainly by the end of the sixth century BC, Campania seems to have taken over the market with an especially popular roof system. Around 500 BC a new decorative roofing system showed a marked change in style and technique as well as totally different decorative schemes adopted all over Central Italy. The workmanship, techniques, materials, as well as the imagery and iconography, seem to have been introduced from artistic centres outside of Rome. In these matters it is obvious that the sea played an important role, not as a division between several Mediterranean centres, but as a connection between them. It is probable that in the case of the archaic temples and their decorated roofs, rivers and seas functioned not as frontiers, but as connectors, giving way to the exchange of workmanship, artistic influence and refuge, ideas and propaganda, as well as providing the perfect possibility to transport tons of terracotta roofs.

A frontier between Etruscans, Ligurians and Romans (third century BC – first century AD)

Simonetta Lupi, Giovanni Millemaci, Cristina Taddei (Independent Researchers)

The Ombrone pistoiese valley (the Roman *ager pistoriense*) and the Nievole valley (the eastern part of the Roman *ager lucense*) lie at the foot of the Apennine Mountains, in northern Tuscany between Florence and Luca, where today is located the province of Pistoia. As was recently pointed out in the *Carta Archeologica della provincia di Pistoia* by Paola Perazzi (2010) the Etruscans settled in this area from the sixth century BC, and the Ligurians in the third century BC. During this period the *ager pistoriense*, became the eastern frontier of the Ligurians who probably mixed themselves with the Etruscans on the basis of analysis of material culture (e.g. the artefacts from Poggio Castellare (Pistoia)). Mountains and hills around the two valleys were occupied by small, scattered settlements - most of them suggested only by the presence of a cemetery - probably belonging to little family groups. Otherwise the marshy valleys were almost uninhabited. After the Roman wars against the Ligurians, in the mid second century BC, this pattern changed. The Ombrone pistoiese and the Nievole valleys, perhaps those areas not directly involved in the wars, became inhabited and the Ligurians also settled in the alluvial plain. It is probable that they were moved there forcibly by Romans, who employed them as a defence of the frontier between the Ligurians themselves and the Roman colonies.

Remembering and forgetting frontiers: the afterlife of the Antonine Wall in Scotland

Adrián Maldonado (University of Glasgow)

The Antonine Wall was for a brief period in the second century AD the northernmost limit of the Roman Empire. Commissioned as a political triumph by Antoninus Pius, it extended the province of Britannia as far as the Forth-Clyde isthmus, roughly between modern-day Glasgow and Edinburgh, further into *barbaricum* than his predecessor Hadrian had managed. This turned out to be a highly political victory, and not long after the death of Antoninus in 161, the new frontier was abandoned and the iconic Hadrian's Wall became permanently established as the limit of the Empire. However, the massive turf bank and ditch system of the Antonine Wall was never slighted and survives as an impressive monument in parts of Central Scotland even today. Historical and archaeological sources have been used to argue that this frontier carried on as a meaningful boundary between the ethnic groups of the Britons and the Picts, and latterly the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria and the Gaelic-speaking kingdom of Alba. This paper draws together these sources to show that the Roman wall only ever served as a conceptual boundary which could be cited when it was politically salient. Collecting the evidence of early medieval archaeology, historical mentions of the wall, and place-name studies, this paper traces the selective remembering and forgetting of the ancient Roman frontier through to the present day.

Sustaining the frontier: a microhistory of the construction and transformation of the Montelabate frontier economy, under Etruscan and Roman control

Caroline Malone (Queen's University Belfast), **Simon Stoddart** (University of Cambridge), **Letizia Ceccarelli** (University of Cambridge), **Finbar McCormick** (Queen's University Belfast), **Jacob Morales** (University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria), **Francesca Fulminante** (University of Cambridge), **Jenny Bates** (University of Cambridge), **Saskia Volhard-Dearman** (University of Cambridge)

The frontier between Gubbio and Perugia was founded in the sixth century BC on a geographical watershed that endures to the present day (Stoddart *et al.* 2012). The present paper looks at the transformation of the economic infrastructure of this frontier between the fourth century BC and the early centuries AD, contrasting a regional economy of the Etruscans interlinked with the Etruscan city of Perugia, with a peninsular economy of the Romans (after the absorption of the frontier into the Roman political structure) interlinked with Rome. For the fourth century BC, studies of the fauna (Finbar McCormick supported by Saskia Volhard-Dearman), flora (Jacob Morales supported by Jenny Bates) and material culture (especially sieves, loom weights and spindle whorls) have permitted a reconstruction of a mixed agricultural economy, including evidence for secondary products. The preliminary study of early imperial Roman kilns have shown how this economy became transformed by a specialisation on wine production to supply the growing market of Rome. The Romans exploited the former frontier zone, with the benefit of abundant clays, wood-fuel, water, and gentle slopes for vines, as well as easy access to the upper reaches of the River Tiber for distribution, to intensify production in the new political economy of Empire.

The frontier territory to the right of the middle course of the Tiber: Monte Tezio

Laura Matachioni (University of Perugia)

Monte Tezio (961 metres above sea level) is set in the midst of a series of hills, in part still densely wooded, dominating the northern territory of Perugia. Monte Tezio is part of a series of limestone crests placed on a north west – south east axis that begins from Monte Acuto (926 metres above sea level) and continues with Monte Civitelle (634 metres above sea level). The excavations on Monte

Tezio, undertaken by the Urbanism of the Classical World section of the University of Perugia, have investigated the human modifications to the topography of the summit, in the form of a somewhat degraded enclosure made up of a double encircling bank separated by an elliptical ditch. Investigations have shown several generations of occupation. The finds consist almost entirely of broken pottery, animal bones, more rarely of bronze such as decorated pins, and even more rarely of iron, that date from the final phases of the Bronze Age to the early Iron Age.

Land and sea: the permeable frontier. Trade and navigation on the coast of Lazio

Luca Mattei (Independent Researcher, Rome)

The sea has always represented a fluid and permeable frontier but above all was a crucial element in the power associated with economic exchange. The sea, however, also formed a mental frontier, from which myths were created, and which man has always tried to control through technical innovation and through building different types of boats, frequently depicted on vases or as miniature models, a form of consecration of the means which allowed the frontier to be confronted. The seasonality of routes formed another aspect to which man had to adapt, which made the sea, at least for a certain period of time, an insurmountable frontier. This contribution intends to analyse several important technical aspects of the maritime frontier along the coast of Lazio, in particular discussing the evolution of the typology of landing places in the area to the south of the river Tiber, characterised by the dualism sea-river, and the types of vessels which these forms of landing places require, which is also tied to the season of navigation.

Frontiers and Settlement Dynamics in Romagna in the Sixth and Fourth Centuries BC

Monica Miari, Annalisa Pozzi, Sveva Savelli (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Emilia Romagna)

The settlement dynamics of Romagna in the sixth and fourth century BC have been the subject, until recently, of a debate concerning the definition of different ethnic and cultural components detected through both literary and archaeological sources: while an archaeological *facies* related to the Umbrians is generally recognized in the area, the extension of its territory and the modality of its interaction with the Etruscans and other groups seen in the region is still discussed. The debate has its origin in the articulation of the territory: the geomorphology together with the presence of numerous means of communication, especially rivers, mark the region as a frontier territory with differing modes of interactions as well as cultural and material exchanges among the peoples living in the area. Based on recent archaeological discoveries, this paper aims to contribute to the definition of the settlement dynamics in the interior of Romagna, from the territory of Imola to the Alta Valmarecchia. Data from the cemeteries, domestic areas and sporadic finds define the Umbrian presence in more or less permanent settlements not only in the foothills, but now more clearly also located in the plains and at their borders.

Too Many Borders - Finding And Interpreting Iron Age Frontiers In Southern And Western Germany

Oliver Nakoinz (University of Kiel)

Frontiers are important elements of landscapes which have been an issue in archaeology over a long period. Since frontiers take many forms - as mentioned in the call for papers - the analysis and interpretation of frontiers is not easily undertaken. This paper attempts to present some methods for both the construction and the reconstruction of borders. As a first step we apply some theoretical models which construct ideal frontiers. Topographic models, Voronoi graphs, weighted Voronoi graphs and network techniques will be discussed. The reconstruction of real borders is based on the distribution of archaeological features like types of finds and structures and cultural distances. The problem is to extract the significant borders. A synthesis of both theoretical models and empirical models allows the interpretation of frontiers. The synthesis results in different types of frontiers. Case studies are drawn from the Early Iron Age in Southern and Western Germany.

The Origins of Etruria: Cultural Borders in Central Tyrrhenian Italy during the Late Bronze Age

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During the last phase of the Late Bronze Age, defined as the “Protovillanovan Period” (Twelfth – first half of the eleventh century BC) almost all of Italy seems to have had one form of material culture (according to Ferrante Rittatore Vonwiller and Renato Peroni, this was the first Unification of Italy). However, the Protovillanovan Culture is also the last of the cultural *facies* held in common by different populations and spread over large territories with uncertain boundaries. As early as the second half of the eleventh century BC, the beginning of the Iron Age national identities can be identified: Protovenetians, Protolatins and, in Etruria, Protoetruscans, whose territory is already clearly recognizable. This is the moment when Etruria was born, with the same boundaries of later periods. By analysing the archaeological data, it appears that some internal subdivisions were already visible during the tenth century BC, and that a northern and a southern area of Etruria can be distinguished with some even smaller districts corresponding to the river valleys, which would later belong to the Etruscan towns known by the names of Vulci and Tarquinia. The development process of the future historical borders can thus be traced.

Tracing cultural connections in Iron Age Daunia

Camilla Norman (The University of Sydney)

The surviving material record of Iron Age Daunia differs significantly enough from that of the neighbouring regions to suggest a socially, perhaps even ethnically, distinct population inhabited the area. We know from later ancient sources that the tribes of Apulia were by then considered to have been Iapygian, and that the Iapygians were believed to have been alternatively of Cretan, Arcadian or Illyrian descent. Archaeological evidence from the north of Apulia best corroborates the last of these assertions, indicating that the people of Daunia were of a mixed Italic-Illyrian heritage. Still, the evidence is flimsy; in truth the cultural identity of the Daunians remains poorly understood. Daunia

was to a certain degree geographically and politically isolated, because of its specific location on the peninsula. The Daunians are often thought to have been less sophisticated than the societies that bounded them, based on such factors as their relatively primitive domestic architecture, lack of civic structures, restricted artistic output, and late adoption of writing. Furthermore, burial and settlement data do not substantiate a marked social hierarchy. A close examination of the Daunian statue-stelae, however, allows for a more complex picture to be built. Through the personal paraphernalia and figurative imagery incised upon them, the stelae offer a rich and unparalleled source from which to study—among other aspects—the way in which the Daunians perceived and sought to represent themselves, and how they were connected to and interacted with surrounding populations. Much has been said about how the imagery on Daunian stelae reflects a Greek influence; a new reading does not bear this out. On the other hand, links with Italian populations, such as the Picenians and Etruscans, can be identified. Of particular importance, however, are two societal attributes depicted upon the female stelae—both otherwise undetected in the Daunian material record but still present in traditional Balkan costume—that far better support the theory of an Illyrian legacy for the region than any evidence previously recognized.

Bucchero Pesante and the Chiusine Frontier in North Inland Etruria

Eóin O'Donoghue (National University of Ireland, Galway)

During the sixth century BC, Chiusi became the primary centre for the production of *bucchero* pottery in North Inland Etruria following the dramatic decline of the production of ceramics at local settlements, such as Poggio Civitate. The destruction of the workshop associated with the seventh century complex necessitated the importation of banqueting sets and other utilitarian wares to serve the needs of the residents of the Archaic period phase of occupation at the site. Included in this was *bucchero pesante* produced at Chiusi; the successor to the locally made *bucchero sottile* and *bucchero normale* found during earlier phases of occupation. While much scholarship has focused on the ceramics produced at the site during the seventh century, the latter imported pottery has received comparatively little attention. This paper will examine the imported *bucchero pesante* at Poggio Civitate and a number of other sites from central Italy from where we have a provenance. This will include a quantitative analysis of the typological form, decoration and fabric of the pottery recovered from excavations. Comparison will be made with ceramics from Chiusi and other sites in the locality in order to determine whether there was variability in pottery types and decoration that remained at Chiusi. This will enable a discussion of the possibility that particular types of pottery were intended for export to local communities, or that the aristocratic communities at sites such as Poggio Civitate, on the frontier of Chiusi's influence, selected, or potentially commissioned, specific ceramics forms and decorative motifs to suit their own needs and preferences.

Micro-histories in the long-term-process: frontiers in late Iron Age and early Roman north-east Italy

Elisa Perego (Institute of Archaeology, University College London)

The late first millennium BC represented a crucial phase of socio-political transformation for northern Italy, characterised by the supposed great 'Celtic' (or Gallic) invasion of the early fourth century BC and by Roman expansion into the Po Valley from the late third century BC. Even before these events, the area considered for this study and roughly corresponding to present-day Veneto and Friuli was a variegated ensemble of different cultural, social and ethnic groups; notably, the boundaries between these diverse ethnic realities are not always easily identifiable for a lack of excavated or published evidence, the ambiguous ethnic connotations of the material evidence available, and the existence of complex intra-regional and super-regional movements of both people and goods. By looking at selected case-studies corresponding to micro-regions located on the margins of wider areas presumably inhabited by diverse ethnic groups, this paper will explore how frontiers were constructed in a

potentially ethnically-mixed environment and how and to what extent a patchy archaeological evidence can be used to disclose the complex socio-political and ideological dynamics through which boundaries were created in ancient societies.

The Etruscan went over the mountain

Phil Perkins (The Open University)

Traditionally, the northern frontier of Etruria is the River Arno. Practically, the Apennine mountains dividing the Arno Valley from the Po Valley appear to be a more formidable boundary. Historically, the mountains divide Etruria from Etruria Padana the setting for intense 'Villanovan' settlement and Etruscan expansion or perhaps colonization. Typically, Etruria Padana is viewed as a projection of Etruscan power across this frontier, northwards from Chiusi or other more southerly Etruscan metropolises, toward the Po Valley. This paper will explore an alternative hypothesis that may be formulated as a result of recent fieldwork in the Mugello basin, between Florence and Bologna which connects Etruria to the Po valley. Excavation of the strategic hilltop site at Poggio Colla which controls access to and from the Mugello, along with work in the mid-Arno Valley and Emilia Romagna has considerably advanced our knowledge of material culture and settlement in this pivotal, connective region. This paper will explore the possibility that the central Emilian Apennines may have constituted an area with an homogeneous material culture and therefore functioned as a connector rather than as a frontier between peninsular and northern Italy in the seventh to the fifth centuries BC.

Exploring frontiers - the Etruscans and the Ligurian Sea

Mark Pearce (University of Nottingham)

In this paper I shall consider the north-western frontier of the Etruscans. On land, this was roughly where the modern region of Tuscany meets modern Liguria, but after the battle of Alalia (c.540 BC) the Ligurian sea came under Etruscan control, as far as Antion (Antibes) according to the later fourth century BC Pseudo-Skylax (5). In a very real sense this meant that the coastline was the Etruscan frontier, and the *oppidum* of Genoa on the Castello hill a frontier *emporion*. The Etruscan expansion north can be traced archaeologically - first, during the eighth century we see settlements along the coast of Versilia, then Etruscan material at the Ligurian port of Chiavari (last quarter of the eighth century – end of the seventh century BC) where the dominant trading partners are first south Etrurian (particularly Vulci), then Pisa, although the settlement remains fundamentally local. After the demise of Chiavari, Etruscan material appears at Genoa-Portofranco (wine amphorae and an Etrusco-Corinthian cup), and Pisa seems still to be the dominant trading partner. The phenomenon of statue-stele in the Lunigiana (last quarter seventh to the end of the sixth century BC) at the north-western land frontier of Etruria might be considered inspired by Etruscan prototypes, but the reuse of Copper Age statue-stele, long a part of the cultural (and ritual) landscapes points to something more complex - the desire of those on the frontier to emphasise their local - autochthonous -> identity (the inscriptions on the stele are not in Etruscan). Although Strabo calls Genoa the *emporion* of the Ligurians (4, 6, 1-2 & 5, 1, 3), the archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggests that the port itself was firmly under Etruscan control, providing the shortest route to the Po plain and thence northwards, an alternative to the Rhône valley, under the control of the Greeks of Massalia.

Poggio Montano, a frontier site in southern internal Etruria: landscape history and cultural interactions at the turn of the Orientalizing period

Alessandra Piergrossi (Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico ISMA-CNR)

The Poggio Montano cemetery is one of the most significant sources of archaeological evidence of internal southern Etruria during the transition between late Villanovan and early Orientalizing, when the coastal cities showed a growing interest in the hinterland. It is situated along an axis of communication between north and south that, along the Tiber, the Sacco and Liri valleys, reaches the mining district of Northern Etruria, Bologna and the Po Valley. Not surprisingly, the funerary system adopted and the material culture of Poggio Montano, essentially linked to those of contemporary Tarquinia from where the site originated, and it shows features in common with all the major conterminous towns: Bisenzio, Vulci, but also further afield Veii and the Ager faliscus up to Capua. This shows that the territorial limits in the Tarquinian hinterland did not respond to a cultural boundary and did not stop ideological and social factors from spreading and cancelling those same borders, especially in a frontier site such as Poggio Montano. The outpost of Poggio Montano responds primarily to needs of strategic and also of a commercial nature, as shown by the massive presence of material inspired by ancient Greek pottery and metal vessels, which diminished in the next century when the coastal itineraries controlled by the major centres were intensified.

Between Greek and Indigenous: Defining Territory in Archaic Greek Sicily

Spencer Pope (McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada)

The expansion of the Greek world and the foundation of *apoikiai* in Sicily were not complete without the possession of additional territory surrounding the settlement. By the end of the seventh century BC, the full extents of the Greek *poleis* in Sicily were realized for both *asty* and *chora*. Extra-urban territory comprised more than cultivated land: the Greek frontier was established principally from the natural geography of the island but other factors also helped determine boundaries. This paper investigates the topography of the Greek *chorai* and explores the process of establishing borders in the archaic period. Archaeological data demonstrate that expansion began shortly after the respective *ktesis*; ensuing was a hierarchy of occupation that extended from extramural sanctuaries to *komai*, to farmsteads and rural sanctuaries, and eventually *phrouria* and strategically placed settlements. Combined with a theoretical approach to land occupation, it is possible to determine criteria for fixing boundaries. The definition of the Syracusan territory, for example, began with the establishment of Heloris, located on the north side of the mouth of the homonymous river; once these fertile coastal plains were secured, the city's programme of expansion turned westward to the high Hyblean plateau. Kasmenai and Akrai established a Greek presence at the border of Sikel territory due West of the Irmino River, overlooking indigenous sites at Monte Casasia, Scornavacche, and Licodia Euboea. Likewise, the Chalcidian colonies relied upon *phrouria* to establish a frontier: Monte San Basilio and Monte Turcisi together formed a line that divided the *chorai* of Leontinoi and Katane. In this way, a border can be reconstructed based on settlement distribution and the placement of both extramural and rural sanctuaries. The nature of Greek expansion intrinsically incorporates different types of borders: cultural and commercial spheres are not identical to political and physical boundaries, especially between Greek and indigenous lands. Greek goods and Greek cultural practices were both pushed and pulled into settlements of the hinterland; Greek traders followed the principal waterways of Eastern Sicily: the Simeto, Gornalunga, and Dittaino Rivers to the Etna Region, Heraian Hills, and Central Sicily respectively; evidence of this penetration comes from hilltop settlements such as Morgantina and Grammichele with mixed votive deposits (Greek and locally-produced imitations) and the adoption of Greek architectural elements. Despite these aspects of acculturation, political boundaries were less ambiguous. This distinction is demonstrated through the upheavals by Hippokrates and the Deinomenids as they employed a type of cultural integration (via poetics from Aeschylus and Pindar among others) to appropriate indigenous territory rather than assimilate its pre-existing cults and communities. The process culminated in the late Classical period as profound alterations in land use appeared under Dionysius; numerous sites witnessed a radical change in use indicated by a reduction in size, implementation of fortification walls, and expedient use of pre-existing structures as mercenaries

settlements displaced Sikel communities. At this point, boundaries were re-drawn to differentiate between Greek and Carthaginian kingdoms rather than among individual *poleis*.

The emerging colonial geographies of central Italy – mental distances and trending analysis in the study of regional change

Ulla Rajala (Stockholm University)

In this paper I will argue that the emerging Republican colonial geographies of central Italy can only be understood in the light of the regional geographies in central Italy during the Archaic period. I will argue that concepts such as mental distance (Rajala accepted), the relative measure of cultural similarity or difference between neighbouring communities, will help analyse the changing political territories and track changing boundaries in central Italy. This work is part of my new *The boundaries and territorial geographies of Archaic and early Roman central Italy project* at the Stockholm University. In this paper I will review the history of colonial Roman studies in central Italy and discuss the analysis of colonial geographies with the help of cumulative research in the area between the Archaic and Early Imperial periods. I will assess the usefulness of trending analysis (c.f. Launaro 2012) in comparing different territories between the Archaic and Republican periods in Etruria and Latium in the light of the historical and archaeological evidence for increasing Roman dominance in the region. I will use Nepi, the ancient Nepet, as a case study in the discussion of studying colonial geographies. I will present the preliminary analysis of the Republican and Early Imperial *ceramiscenes* (for the concept, see Mills and Rajala 2011) on the basis of the material from the Nepi Survey Project. This field survey (di Gennaro et al. 2002; 2008; Rajala 2006; 2012) was carried out in the territory of Nepi, north-west of Rome in 1999 and 2000 under the umbrella of the Tiber valley project.

The territory between Veii and Rome in the Archaic period: rural structures as territorial markers of cultural frontiers

Daniela Rossi (Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma) and **Marco Arizza** (Adjunct Researcher, CNR – ISMA Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico)

Recent archaeological discoveries made in the north-western quadrant of Rome, within the ambit of rescue archaeology, make it possible to put knowledge into practice in a subject area which stimulates intense academic debate: the definition of the territory between Veii and Rome from the Archaic period until the final conquest of the Etruscan city. The data available until now that have been employed in the reconstruction of settlement dynamics come almost exclusively from funerary contexts. The archaeological evidence pertaining to residential structures is rare and sporadic, although gradually increasing. The case illustrated here of the excavation in the Lucchina area (Via Trionfale, Ottavia) represents a rare opportunity to examine a “border” culture in depth through information provided by investigations – still under way – into a complex of Etruscan-Veian dwellings: houses with a tripartite layout of which there remain the bases in tuff blocks and collapsed roof tiles. In the necropolis, on the other hand, a tomb is being investigated of the Veian “*a vestibolo*” or “*a tramite*” type, with access steps and three *loculi* (two for cremations and one for inhumation) which have yielded rich funerary equipment. These new data represent a Veian community, providing evidence of the phenomenon of “internal colonisation” of the suburb of the city so close to the border with Rome.

The use of spaces and boundaries in Juvenal's Satires: City of Rome, Town and Countryside

Figen Şahin (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

Juvenal's *Saturae*, which is thought to have been published between 100/100-120/130 AD, contains criticism towards the Roman society at large, while presenting us with a description of the city of Rome. He directs heavy criticism at the Roman social pyramid and deals with the city of Rome in relation to this corrupt and amoral society. In another words, once a habitable city, it lost its naturalness and modestness due to pride originating from the wealth of its people. Whenever Juvenal describes the city, he often draws attention to the wide gap between the rich and the poor. He contrasted the flamboyant lifestyle of the court with the places where the harsh life of the poor is apparent. These spaces are indicators of the gap between the two classes. In rendering Rome as an inhospitable environment, Juvenal also made use of the portrayals of the countryside. He depicts the city as a unliveable, populous and noisy place, but once one leaves the city the situation changes. Contrary to the city, living in the countryside is more affordable and secure. In addition, its natural beauties, remoteness from the chaos and noise of the city make it a more attractive place to live. In the third Satire, where Umbricus, a fictional character about to leave Rome to settle in Cumae, differences between the city and country are vividly told. In order to criticize Rome, Juvenal gives examples mostly from Italy, though there are some examples that occasionally extend from Britain to Egypt with their good or bad aspects. This paper focuses on the spaces and boundaries out or inside Rome, which Juvenal uses to describe the city. It also deals with the lifestyles in and out of the city limits in the light of architectural and topographical information given by Juvenal.

Roman roads and milestones as symbols of power, rulership and propaganda in the mountainous Cilicia

Hamdi Şahin (University of Istanbul)

Strabo (Geography, XIV 5,1.4) divided Cilicia into a *flat* and *mountainous* part based on the features of its terrain. The mountainous Cilicia extended from the town of Korakesion (Alanya) in the west to the town of Soloi/Pompeiopolis (Viranşehir) in the east. Soloi/Pompeiopolis constitutes the boundary between both of these regions. The northern mountain ranges of the Taurus and the Amanos enclose both regions in two big arcs. The Cilician Sea forms a natural border to the south. As in other provinces, the Roman influence manifested itself geographically in the foundation of towns, veteran colonies and the expansion of road networks. Coinciding with the provincialisation of Asia Minor in the year of 129 BC, the construction of roads began which, during the imperial period, expanded across the whole of the province thus safeguarding power, i.e. the administrative permeation of Asia Minor. In the mountainous Cilicia the ancient roads follow the natural topography in a north-south direction, extending from the coast into the uplands. The west-east connection across Cilicia followed the coastal road from Sidē in Pamphylia to Seleukeia Pierias (Samandağ in northern Syria). The connection from Syria over the Cilician plain through the Cilician Gates to central Anatolia was of outstanding significance since the fourth century BC. Inscriptions on milestones not only indicate distance. They are also to be seen as media of Roman rulership and propaganda. Already under Augustus and Tiberius milestones were used as propagandistic media. As the principal superintendents, Roman emperors, responsible for the *cura viarum*, had their name given in the nominative on the first lines of the milestone inscriptions. Occasionally – and with marked regional differences – the name of governors, responsible for the construction and repair of roads, came second. With the arrival of the third century AD the name of the Roman emperor is given in the dative, whereby the emperor's honour is emphasised. They thus symbolised power and the structure of their rulership. The total number of milestones in the Roman world amounts to c. 8000. Of these around 1100 occur in Asia Minor. As is the case for the whole *Imperium Romanum*, the erection of milestones culminated during the high empire. Many milestones were overwritten during Late Antiquity. The objective of this paper is to enquire into the relationships between Roman politics and the construction of roads as means of

infrastructural development, and to analyse the ideological and propagandistic function of milestones from a territorial perspective.

What Boundaries? Evidence from the hinterland of Southern Italy

Michele Scalici (University of Bologna)

During the Archaic Age in Southern Italy, numerous human groups coexisted in neighbouring territories. The names of some of these *populi* have been handed down by Greek and Roman authors, often after their disappearance. Of other groups we know only the material culture. If the relationship between the Greek colonists and their indigenous neighbours has been the object of numerous studies, less is known about the populations settled in the hinterland of the region. This paper aims to investigate what boundaries it is possible to draw between communities that can be recognized and distinguished only by their material culture, and how we can reconstruct their mutual interactions across those boundaries.

Connectivity and perceived distances between Samnium and Campania

Rafael Scopacasa (University of Exeter)

In ancient written sources, the foothills between the Apennine mountains and the Campanian plain (which correspond to present-day south Molise and north Campania) are described as a watershed between two very different types of social organisation: the cosmopolitan city-states of Campania to one side, and the more inward-looking and less urbanised Samnite communities to the other. This dichotomous view is clear in Roman authors such as Livy, who contrasts images of “rugged” Samnites with sophisticated urban-dwelling Capuans. Yet the archaeological record shows signs of strong connectivity between these two regions stretching back to the early Iron Age. In this paper, I use the concept of relational space to discuss how long-term connectivity may have had a bearing on the way that Samnite and Campanian communities perceived the space and distances between them, and what type of frontier, if any, did the foothills area represent from their perspective. By examining the connections indicated by artefact assemblages in a sample of ritual and domestic sites (Montesarchio, Sant’Agata dei Goti, Telesia, Casalbore), I will trace some of the cultural and economic networks that made the foothills area a key convergence point between Campania and Samnium, where interregional trade was mediated, and “global”/Mediterranean cultural trends were channelled. With the expansion of Roman hegemony in the late fourth century, the foothills area became an important boundary zone where Roman-controlled territory (*ager Romanus*) along the Tyrrhenian coast met the Samnite mountain communities which remained largely independent. It was arguably this Rome-centred geography that supported the view of the Apennine mountains as a major divide, which we find in later written sources such as Livy. But from a non-Roman perspective, local communities will have experienced the situation on the ground in a much more nuanced manner. Ultimately, this discussion will feed into broader debates on the link between material culture, identity, and perceptions of proximity and distance in the ancient world.

Between Living and Dead: Etruscan Funerary Ceramics, Identity and Memory

Lucy Shipley (University of Southampton)

The placing of ceramics in Etruscan tombs is highly characteristic of Archaic period (600-480 BC) burial rites, with an association between pottery and funerary contexts dating back to the Villanovan practice of biconical urn burial centuries before. This paper discusses the role of Archaic period pots in

the construction of memory: both as part of creating memories of the deceased individual, and of the funeral experience for the mourners. It examines the ceramic assemblage from two cemeteries at the site of Vulci, exploring the prevalence of different pottery forms and decorations in the construction of burial assemblages. It argues that the properties of ceramics in tombs should be conceived of as part of a careful negotiation of death, and that the choice of particular vessels or groups of vessels, and their placement in the tomb, is part of a highly structured process of memory creation and individual commemoration. Through incorporating ideas of agency ascribed to both mourners and pots with traditional interpretations based on banqueting, a view of the complex and meaningful boundary between the living and the dead as expressed through ceramics is presented.

Definitions of 'ager' and conceptions of territoriality in early Latium

Christopher Smith (British School at Rome)

Boundaries depend on an understanding of territory, and it is clear that the Romans developed a strong sense of ager, as for instance witnessed by the concept of ager Gabinus in treaties, or their own ager Romanus. This paper will consider how these concepts developed and will examine Roman legal and religious concepts connected to the nature of territory and boundary.

Territoriality in Latin colonies and Rome in the Republican period

Tesse Steck (University of Leiden)

Research on territoriality in ancient Italy focusing on the Italic peoples is currently moving away from static models of territorial integrity and its modernizing visualizations in geopolitical maps, and emphasizes instead the dynamic and shifting character of such Italic communities and their relationship with the lands they lived on. This new perspective contrasts starkly with the standard view of the territorial dimension and character of Latin colonies, which were founded throughout Italy and its peoples in the mid-Republican period. This paper investigates the territorial definition of Latin colonies by drawing on literary and archaeological sources, including settlement patterns, cult places and religious ritual. Arguing that the standard view of Latin colonies should be corrected, and that it is ultimately based on a perceived parallel with the city of Rome, the paper moves to the evidence for Rome itself in this period.

«And now what shall become of us without any barbarians?». Changing identities in ancient Sardinia

Alfonso Stiglitz (Independent Researcher, Cagliari)

Sardinia of the first millennium BC has been traditionally read as a land divided into two, a coastal zone colonized and transformed by foreign powers (Phoenician and Roman) contrasted with an internal mountain zone inhabited by the descendants of nuragic barbarian people (the *Civitates barbariae* of the inscriptions), resisting all change. The boundary between the two would from this perspective be marked by punic fortresses, and, thereafter by Roman military centres. This reading of the evidence has made impossible the granting of a face to those groups that, even though they are recorded in the written and epigraphic sources (*Ilienses, Balares, Corsi* to cite the best known) leave no archaeological trace. The progress of excavations and, above all, the reassessment of interpretations, particularly in

the light of post colonial theory, has led to disappearance of this dualistic image, which is replaced by a vision of a much more complex reality that also restores a concrete reality to these groups. In this way, the *barbarians* disappear, given that they are a literary creation of colonial ethnography, and a clearly social, economic and political world has appeared, no longer enshrined in the classic dualism of plain/mountain, city/countryside, civilisation/barbarians.

Introduction

Simon Stoddart (University of Cambridge) and **Letizia Ceccarelli** (University of Cambridge)

The paper will introduce the conference, setting out the interdisciplinary and inter-regional aims. The introduction will specifically focus on the potential contribution of political anthropology, notably frontiers studies undertaken in the fertile context of northern Ireland. Can the lessons of political and historical anthropology, set in the present be applied to the Iron Age, and more specifically to the focal area of the Italian peninsula from where many of the examples presented at this conference derive. To what extent do the frontiers and boundaries modern archaeologists detect in the Iron Age survive in the political present, or are both the structures of the past and the memories in the present, merely modernist creations from a fertile academic mind that likes to create clear categories?

Literacy on Sicily's frontiers: the linguistic-alphabetic identity of the Sikeloi

Nella Sudano (Università del Salento)

The concept of the frontier among Western Greeks is difficult to specify: the notion, in fact, lacks a specific Greek word to define it, because, complex and articulated, it eludes a terminological 'grip.' Frontiers in colonial Sicily were osmotic places of communication and negotiation, 'in between-ness', and constituted the setting of Greek alphabetic writing transmission to epichoric population; the language was indeed the primary element of the dialectic between identity and otherness in frontier situations, and it was a privileged channel to understand the dynamics of interaction in this context. The main purpose of this contribution is to analyze the role of the Greek-Sikel frontiers, between the sixth and fifth century BC, in the construction of the linguistic-alphabetic Sikeloi's identity. The paper will focus on the epigraphic evidence from indigenous sites of central-eastern Sicily, and analyze the linguistic-alphabetic profile, identifying diagnostic items to reconstruct contacts between indigenous and Greek areas, and to observe the natives' ability to rework the Greek linguistic system. The paper argues, using the methodology of frontier history, that frontiers, in this context, were permeable and acted as creative melting pots for the linguistic-alphabetic identity of Sikeloi, a hybrid identity that was, at the same time, both integrative and oppositional with regard to the Greek.

Living and dying within the frontier(s). Between material culture and funerary ideology at Narce

Jacopo Tabolli, (Museo Archeologico-Virtuale di Narce (Mazzano Romano))

During the first Iron Age and the Early Orientalizing period, between the end of the tenth and the beginning of the seventh century BC, Narce might represent a litmus test to define the characteristics of an ancient open frontier. Reading the archaeological evidence through the lens of Living and Dying within the frontier reveals the unbreakable bond between the cemeteries, as well as the settlement, of the ancient community at Narce and its peculiar geographical and cultural position, corresponding to the southernmost of the major Faliscan towns. Not a unique frontier between two separated worlds, but

what we might call a "plural frontier", several different frontiers. Between material culture and funerary ideology at Narce, in those two centuries where no epigraphic evidence could help us in a cultural clear definition of the community, the tomb-groups reveal mixed characters with influences from Veii as well as Falerii, Etruria together with Sabine and Latium. This paper aims at describing this complexity not in order to simplify the earliest history of Narce as an Etruscan or a Faliscan site, but demonstrating how theoretical models are sometimes likely to be too reductive.

Tombs on the edge: Surveying the funerary landscape of San Giovenale

Frederik Tobin (University of Uppsala)

San Giovenale is a site well known for its remains of Etruscan domestic architecture, but the chamber tombs in the area have remained largely unpublished. A project at Uppsala University is now producing the first systematic documentation of these tombs. The survey has revealed a wide variety of tomb designs including some that draw specifically on the construction traditions of Cerveteri and Tarquinia. As San Giovenale is located at the border of the territories of these two cities this is not surprising, but it does open up a number of questions pertaining to the process of cultural transmission in the inland area of South Etruria. The paper examines the implications of the presence of these different traditions and problems with translating these phenomena into history. The paper also investigates the spatial development of the cemeteries at San Giovenale in light of general developments in Etruscan society from the eighth to the fifth century BC.

Etruscan Frontiers

Mario Torelli (University of Perugia)

The ancient and modern ethnic definition (together with the parallel self-definition) of the peoples of ancient Italy has been the argument of a penetrating, recent book by Stéphan Bourdin, which offers a rich and complex picture of how the various ethne, groups and societies of the Italian peninsula entered in reciprocal contact and influenced each other and therefore represents an important contribution to the theme of ancient frontiers here in discussion. For all these reasons, thanks to this book I feel myself authorized to skip a detailed discussion of all the cases of confrontation/interference between the Etruscans and other Italic folks that occurred on the borders of their vast land in almost eight centuries of independent life. My paper instead will deal with the relationship between socio-political structures and configuration of frontiers, concentrating the discourse on case studies related to four successive phases of the Etruscan history, the Iron Age, the orientaling/archaic period, the classical age and finally the Hellenistic phase. From this analysis, it will be possible to establish that the concept of frontiers is not at all homogeneous and that the basis of the forms of borders and frontiers lies in the economic structures of the single social formations that entered in contact and confronted each other.

Pigs on the periphery: diet, economy, and society at the Etruscan settlement of Forcello (Bagnolo S. Vito, MN)

Angela Trentacoste (University of Sheffield)

The Archaic Etruscan settlement at Forcello (Bagnolo San Vito, MN) was one of the earliest Etruscan sites in the Val Padana. Excavations have revealed an organized settlement plan and a rich array of artefacts that illustrate trade contacts throughout Italy, Central Europe, and the Adriatic. In addition to this abundant material evidence, Forcello has also produced an exceptional quantity of animal remains, a volume that offers an unparalleled opportunity to study human–animal relationships on the periphery

of Etruscan culture. Analysis of the animal bones from Forcello provides new a look at diet, agropastoral strategy, subsistence economy, and the local environment. Results indicate a management strategy heavily focused on one species – pigs. Although this focus was previously thought to suggest a specialized system of production, new research supports a management strategy based on local/indigenous subsistence practices, rather than the imposition of an organized or foreign food system. Contextualized through comparison to related settlements from northern and central Italy, the animal remains from Forcello present another perspective on the nature of Etruscan expansion during this period.

Talking Stones: collective memory and symbolic boundaries in contemporary Northern Ireland

Elisabetta Viggiani (London)

Amongst other forms of material culture and cultural artefacts, permanent forms of memorialisation have been used by ruling authorities and social groups throughout the world and the centuries as ‘iconographic discourses’ embedded in broader cultural and political debates to inscribe group identity and collective heritage onto the territory. Taking an anthropological approach, this paper analyses the symbolism and iconography of memorials to the casualties of the Northern Irish conflict in contemporary Northern Ireland as a striking example of how the collective memory of the past and the dead can be used to serve present political and ideological purposes. Investigating the use of the year 1916 that both the Republican and Loyalist communities make to support their opposing public narratives of national identification and historical/ideological legitimation, this paper also examines how memorials can be said to inscribe two types of frontiers onto the territory: a physical/spatial frontier, whereby memorials help define and sustain patterns of residential segregation, social segmentation and ethnicisation of space; and a ‘fuzzier’ metaphorical/social frontier of self and group identity, whereby they attempt to mark the symbolic boundaries where the different groups’ collective past and history meet in parallel and opposition to one another.

Etruscans at the (northern) edge: the sanctuary of Poggio Colla (FI)

P. Gregory Warden (Franklin College Switzerland) and **Michael L. Thomas** (The University of Texas at Austin):

Poggio Colla was the dominant centre of the Mugello Basin, an intermontane region that connects Etruria proper with trans-Appennine areas to the north. The site has been excavated since 1995 with an interdisciplinary research design that combines traditional excavation with broader survey and geoarchaeological prospection. The project aims at the reconstruction, through study of an Etruscan settlement and sanctuary that span most of Etruscan history (eighth – second centuries BC), of the demography of a liminal and ethnically complex region. The hilltop sanctuary, eventually surrounded by extensive but sporadic habitation and production areas, forms part of a rich network of sites that linked Fiesole and Monte Giovi with Monte Falterona and the Casentino. Poggio Colla thus serves as a classic example of a *santuario di confine*. In its earliest phases, the site manifested a characteristically Etruscan materiality that includes a rich assemblage of Orientalizing/Archaic bucchero, transition from huts to stone architecture, and the construction of a monumental Tuscan temple that was destroyed around the end of the fifth century BC. At this point, the acropolis was radically remodelled and the axis of the buildings was rotated and aligned with the edges of the rectangular plateau. The temple was replaced by a rectangular enclosure with a large central altar in close proximity to an underground fissure. A subsequent remodelling preserved the altar but somewhat changed the dimensions of the enclosure, adding surrounding buildings that turned the enclosure into a courtyard complex. These later phases also saw the expansion of the northern edge of the plateau through extensive terracing and the construction of large-scale fortifications around the perimeter of the *arx*. The fortification and restructuring of the sanctuary may be connected to the changing demography of this region after the

fifth century, when the Etruscans retreated from trans-Appennine areas because of intense pressure from Gauls. On a broader level, the changing ethnic landscape resulted in the abandonment of urban sites like Marzabotto and possibly Gonfienti on either side of the Apennines, while smaller, more easily defensible centres like Poggio Colla in the Mugello persevered, although not without fortification or radical alteration. The difficulty of correlating materiality with ethnicity is made clear at sites like Monterenzio/Monte Bibele (Bologna) where the material culture of the settlement is seemingly Etruscan even after the arrival and integration of Gauls whose presence is documented only by the inclusion of their characteristic weapons in tombs. At Poggio Colla, the material culture remained typical of an Etruscan site of this region, but the rich evidence for ritual activity betrays behaviours that may be connected to the presence of non-Etruscans. Certain rituals seem clearly Etruscan, or at least northern Etruscan, for instance the burial of metal objects, the placement of statuary remains in contexts connected to purification/expiation, the orientation of deposits to the axes of the sanctuary, or depositions that commemorate the construction or destruction of buildings. Other ritual behaviours that find better parallels outside Etruria are the deliberate fragmentation or partitioning of objects or sacrificial remains, the “reversal” or turning back of objects towards the earth, and the use of coins as a way of marking or finalizing ritual actions. The dedication of a group of 100 Roman *victoriati* after the final abandonment of the site may also be connected to the ethnic complexity of this region during the imposition of Roman dominion.

Did an Iron Age Frontier Exist between Central Europe and Italy?

Peter S. Wells (University of Minnesota)

Recent research on Iron Age Europe, both in new fieldwork and in new thinking, is changing our understanding of the character of relationships between peoples north of the Alps and communities of the Mediterranean basin. Earlier, much was written about "southern imports" in central Europe - Greek and Etruscan luxury products of the sixth and fifth centuries BC at centres such as Mont Lassois and the Heuneburg and in many richly outfitted graves, and Roman imports during the second and first centuries BC at the oppida. Investigation of these imports emphasized that they were coming from outside central Europe. This understanding, together with interpretation of Livy's accounts of the "invasions" by Gauls into Italy in the fourth century BC, contributed to the conception of a great divide - a frontier - not just geographical but cultural as well - between central Europe and Italy. New research is changing that picture. Recently, a great many more "southern imports" have been recovered; they are much more diverse than it had seemed; and they occur at many more sites than known previously. It is becoming apparent that the peoples of central Europe and of Italy (as well as other parts of the Mediterranean world) were in much more regular contact than earlier studies suggested, and that we can best understand the relationships between them in terms of an "interaction sphere" model. Our new understanding of changes during the final two centuries BC enables us to suggest a new interpretation of the Roman conquests in central (and western) Europe - why and how they took place, and their effects.

Boundaries and frontiers in Etruria: a comparison of old and new approaches

Andrea Zifferero (University of Siena)

This contribution develops the theme of boundary, understood as a limit between two public or private entities and for the most part fixed with material signs (mainly stele), well indicated on the ground, together with the theme of the frontier (understood as an organized system of boundaries) in the regions of southern and central Etruria. If the boundary is fairly easily detectable because of the important contribution of epigraphy, the frontier represents more nuanced element of research, in that the traditional definition of a frontier is a concept that indicates the extension of a political territory, usually governed and controlled by the cities or, otherwise, by the concept derived from the opposition of communities of different ethnic derivation. In this regard, the theoretical contribution of various disciplines, above all of economic geography, has been essential for the definition, application and

verification of theoretical models. Whereas in Etruscan research, the existence of boundaries and frontiers has been normally established with cultural data, such as the distribution of architectonic types, particularly funerary, the distribution of ceramic types made in the cities and of coinage within a territory, this paper attempts to outline and to test new methods for the recognition of boundaries, based on the existence and the recognition of smaller settlements than the city itself, usually placed on uplands, on the particular topographic importance of sanctuaries and cemeteries, on the enduring quality of modern toponyms that carry the memory of ancient boundaries, by the examination of a number of case studies from the central Tyrrhenian area.

POSTERS

Feeding the Frontier: preliminary archaeobotanical remains from the Montelabate Project

Jennifer Bates (Division of Archaeology, University of Cambridge) and **Antonio J. Morales** (University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria)

The nature of the Etruscan economy remains one of the most elusive aspects of this period. The Montelabate Project (2010-2013) has implemented a systematic sampling strategy to explore the agricultural and subsistence strategies utilised in the Umbrian region. During the 2012 season, sediment samples from a range of contexts were taken including house floor contexts, drains and from squashed dolia. In the 2013 season this sampling strategy was added to by dividing large contexts into grids with samples taken from each grid square. A flotation machine was used to separate charred seeds and charcoal from the sediment. Smaller samples for microfossil analysis were also collected. Preliminary analysis of the macrobotanical remains reveals the utilisation of wheat, barley, grapes, olives, peas, beans and the presence of a range of wild species. Further analysis quantifying the remains and comparing the assemblages by context is underway.

Surveying the Frontier

Jeremy Bennett (Queen's University Belfast)

During the course of the Montelabate Project (2010-2013) the systematic exploration of the local landscape presented a number of sites suitable for geophysical prospection. Specifically, magnetometry was implemented on a variety of candidate locations. Sites surveyed ranged from Neolithic to Roman period sites, as based upon field survey data. Delving into the study of the frontier between Etruria and Umbria, the geophysical survey completed on the mountain summit of *Col di Marzo* provided a valuable basis for the planning of excavations carried out during the 2011-2013 field seasons. Many key features excavated were initially identified as magnetic anomalies, especially on the southern plateau of the mountain. Based upon the magnetometry data, the three seasons of excavation have revealed the presence of a hilltop defended village, occupied between the 5th - 3rd centuries BC and subsequently abandoned. Further prospection on the NW plateau has produced a set of results that hints at the presence of further archaeological remains at this important location, most notably on the south side, as elsewhere on the hill top.

The outstanding Orientalizing Tombs of the necropolis of Spoleto, Piazza D'Armi

Nicola Bruni (Independent researcher- Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Umbria) and **Joachim Weidig** (DAI Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom)

The latest discoveries in the Piazza D'Armi necropolis in Spoleto change significantly our understanding of the Umbrian population who lived from the late eighth to the first half of the sixth century B.C. in South-Umbria, at the frontier between the Sabines of the Nera Valley and the Naharci of Terni. From the tombs and funerary structures emerges a strong relationship both with the Marche (Matelica, Tolentino, San Severino) probably through the Via della Spina passing Colfiorito of Foligno, and with the areas of inner and northern Etruria. In 54 tombs excavated so far, there is both a strong local (ring belts) and regional (fibulae) stylistic component. The rich tombs of child-warriors and ceramic vessels decorated with fantastic animals are particularly notable.

Etruscan and Umbrians between Perugia and Asisium: the role of Arna

Samuele Casarin (Università di Roma La Sapienza)

The urban centres of *Perugia* and *Asisium* will be analyzed within their role as frontier cities: in the first case Etruscan, in the second case Umbrian. In this capacity they are seen as a means to investigate the relationships between these two adjoining *ethne*, in a region where the *Valle Umbra* meets the Tiber valley. The data considered include both those held in common and those that differentiated the two *ethne* represented by the two cities (elements of material culture, of the alphabet and of the building techniques on the one hand, and civic institutions and offices on the other). By this means the relative interferences between the two cultures emerge over the period between the third century BC and the complete Romanization of central Italy. A particular focus of attention will be addressed to the small fortified village of *Arna* which was located midway between *Perugia* and *Asisium*, on a small hilltop less than two miles from the left bank of the Tiber, since it occupied a crucial role of cultural identity and strategic position.

Nepi: a frontier city?

Letizia Ceccarelli (University of Cambridge) and **Simon Stoddart** (University of Cambridge)

In some textual sources, Nepi has been considered the gateway to Etruria. This poster will present some of the data from excavations within the urban centre of Nepi that, combined with published cemetery evidence, may contribute to understanding the role of Nepi at the threshold between the Etruscans and the Faliscans.

Hill-forts and boundaries in Northern Etruria: the case of Populonia

Giorgia Di Paola (Università degli Studi di Foggia)

The hilltop fortress represents a distinct type of settlement around Populonia, characterizing to a significant degree the settlement pattern of the territory of the *polis* in the Classical and Hellenistic

periods. This type of site would have come about in response to an imminent military threat or to the various phases of imperial expansion, particularly on the part of the Romans. These fortifications were often abandoned after such threats had passed, but while in use they constituted a network of constant and widespread surveillance both around Populonia and on the island of Elba. These fortified settlements provided a well-structured system that exercised control over their respective areas as well as the mineral, agricultural, maritime resources within the territory of the *polis* and its boundaries, bestowing a deeply “militarized” appearance to the late IV-II century BC landscape.

Combined Geographies and Colonial Landscapes in Iberia: The case of the provincial borderland of so-called Baeturia

Sergio España-Chamorro (Complutense University of Madrid)

In the Augustan age, the reorganization of the Hispanic provinces and the creation of the called *conventus iuridicus* substantially affected the perception of the territory. Pliny the Elder describes the administrative boundaries of the Iberian Peninsula in his *Naturalis Historia*. But Pliny also explains some defined and limited regions with an “ethnic” name. Why? What was the purpose for that? The most singular example of ethnic regions in the Hispaniae was Baeturia, in the northwestern part of the province of Baetica. This region did not have juridical, administrative, economic or political functions. Pliny subdivided this region into two parts with ethnic names (Turdulus Baeturia and Celtic Baeturia) and he specifies its limits and its cities. Some authors have proposed that it was just a geographical name. This region had a strong character that was the main factor to preserve almost intact at least the vision and the limits of an ethnic and cultural region in the area south of the Anas River (now Guadiana). This poster will also discuss the different options to understand this border in the Roman period and it will interpret this feature as a fossilized pre-roman region in the Roman mind during the Republic and the Principate.

Constructing New Frontiers

Tiomoid Foley (Queen's University Belfast)

Construction on the Etruscan frontier appears to have been undertaken to a high standard with consideration having been given to both the intricacies of construction and attention to detail. Iron nails recovered from excavations over the last three years at Col di Marzo, a hilltop site in Umbria, could provide important insight into construction practices in use at around the middle of the first millennium BC. By looking at the size, location of deposition, and any apparent contemporary damage with regard to the nails, it may be possible to ascertain the dimensions of the wood involved in the apparent structures on this site. Nails that had exceeded the thickness of the wood appear to have been purposely bent after use, possibly to prevent injury, again allowing inference on construction practices. It would appear that the nails suffered much corrosion during their life cycle, with many snapped in half under the weight of the tiles. This evidence and the apparent forcing evident on some of the nails suggest that maintenance of the roofing occurred regularly. The volume of slag recovered during excavation is indicative of on-site nail crafting. The nails indicate a high level of carpentry, as well as competent iron working. These skills evidently played an important role in creating a new frontier.

Far into the Misty Mountain Cold: Identifying Emic Frontiers in Iron Age Cantabria

Antonio Gómez Rincón (Complutense University of Madrid)

During the 20th century, most influential researchers on the Iron Age Iberian Peninsula understood Cantabria as an historical region defined through the wild and brave behaviours of its inhabitants against Roman legions and some of their primitive customs based on Classical sources. Nowadays that paradigm is (almost) obsolete, and new theoretical approaches and technical progresses allow us to define new relations between Iron Age hillforts and settlements in the North of the Iberian Peninsula. In the poster I will deal with the frontier concept in the North of the Iberian Peninsula inspired by new perspectives. Supported by GIS software (Quantum GIS), I will design a map with hypothetical territories based on historical, archaeological and environmental evidence. That map would allow us to analyse different influential areas of each territory, as well as to compare different settlement strategies, judging if we are allowed to talk about frontiers in Cantabria employing an emic perspective.

Pre-Roman Ferento between Southern Etruria and Tiber Valley

Marina Micozzi (Tuscia University, Viterbo), **Marco Amadei** (Tuscia University, Viterbo), **Claudio di Giacomo** (Tuscia University, Viterbo) and **Federica Galiffa** (Tuscia University, Viterbo)

Archaeological investigations conducted at Ferento by the Department of Cultural Heritage Sciences of Tuscia University were concentrated on the Medieval and Roman levels of the settlement, but they have also found a certain amount of Etruscan artefacts that show an Etruscan presence at Ferento, dating back at least to the end of the eighth century BC. The examination of these materials, although still at a preliminary level, confirm the impression that this area of internal Etruria was a point of intersection and contact between different cultural areas, characterized by composite cultures whose origins differ from period to period.

A Roman road as a frontier: via Postumia

Annapaola Mosca (Università degli Studi di Trento)

At first (148 BC) the *via Postumia* was a road deeply cut into the bedrock, and then a road of great commercial importance as it linked the Tyrrhenian Sea with the Adriatic Sea, *Genua* with *Aquileia*. This road, connecting the Roman outposts of *Genua* and *Dertona* and the colonies of *Placentia*, *Cremona* and *Aquileia*, had the function of delimiting the central districts of ancient Italy from other territories at the foot of the Alps. These territories were incorporated permanently into Roman territory only after the Alpine wars. The *Via Postumia* was connected with the Po river at a number of points, establishing a line of demarcation that allowed a powerful control over the all territory and a system for the distribution of goods. The road layout had been developed by employing some targeted measures to overcome territorial problems and speed up the transition of armies.

Crossing the frontier in central Italy?

Tamsin O'Connell and **Jamie Cameron** (University of Cambridge)

An area of debate within studies of central Italian pre-Roman archaeology is the issue of transhumance, including the seasonal movement of sheep from upland to coastal areas. This pilot study, made possible by the Montelabate Project, the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research and a Browning Summer Research Bursary from Magdalene College, Cambridge, aims to use isotopic analysis of oxygen in the tooth enamel of faunal remains from the site of Col di Marzo, Montelabate, to identify such movement. It is hoped that this analysis might also be able to identify movement of sheep over large distances, for example through trade. Sheep teeth will be compared with the comparatively sedentary species of pig, also found at the site, in order to identify such migration. There is potential to expand these investigations at a later stage to include strontium analysis to refine migration conclusions, and/or carbon and nitrogen analysis to investigate the average diets of animals from sites such as Col di Marzo.

Frontiers of the mind: A Ethno-anthropological approach to define a “sweat-bath culture” in Iron Age Nuragic society

Giacomo Paglietti (Dipartimento di Storia, Beni Culturali e Territorio, Università degli studi di Cagliari) and **Mariano Ucchesu** (Centro Conservazione Biodiversità (CCB) Dipartimento di Scienze della Vita e dell'Ambiente, Università degli Studi di Cagliari)

The sweat house is an almost mystic locale where the senses are transformed. The warmth, the humidity, the semi-darkness and the silence help to take the mind beyond corporal and temporal frontiers. The practice of the sweat bath has been compared to a return to the maternal uterus. It is a transitory frontier: in the ethnographic literature, it is connected to birth, rites of passage, preparation for matrimony, games, hunting, war and finally death. A recent 2009 study has analysed structurally some locales in Sardinian nuragic villages, recognised as round buildings with a basin, used between the late Bronze Age and the first Iron Age. In this analysis, the repeated occurrence of some structural elements were noted: a circular space with seating, a stone basin in the centre, a nearby rectangular bath, and a hearth for heating. Until now, the archaeological data have not established securely the function of these spaces. The present research with the aid of ethnographic comparisons has noted the same repetition of structural elements in spaces employed for steam baths in sweat lodges (temporary structures) or sweat houses (permanent structures). In these structures, the steam was created by the sprinkling of cold water on red hot stones; this practice is noted in a number of pre-modern and pre-Columbian South American populations.



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