Cambridge in Umbria
Umbria in Cambridge

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introduced
by
Simon Stoddart and Caroline Malone

On the occasion of the
Frontiers of the European Iron Age
CONFERENCE

with a regional focus on Central Italy
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Introduction
Simon Stoddart and Caroline Malone

This small exhibition on the theme of early Umbria coincides with an international conference (20-22 September 2013) on the theme of Frontiers in the Iron Age, and commemorates 30 years of collaboration between the University of Cambridge and the Region of Umbria (Malone & Stoddart 1994; 1984; Stoddart et al. 2012a). The catalogue is dedicated to David Whitehouse who brought us to Umbria, and Roberto Abbondanza who provided so much help once we had arrived.

The exhibit draws on the rich Umbrian collections of the Fitzwilliam museum from three departments (Antiquities, Coins and Medals and Applied Arts), and employs the evidence from archaeological practice undertaken by the University of Cambridge in collaboration with the Superintendency of Perugia, the Region of Umbria, the Province of Perugia, the city councils of Gubbio and Perugia and the Universities of Queen’s Belfast, Rome and Perugia, to give the objects context. The focus of the exhibits is pre-Roman coins from Tuder (modern Todi) and Ikuvium, bronze figurines most probably from Monte Tezio and medieval and Renaissance maiolica from Gubbio (notably Mastro Giorgio), Deruta and Orvieto. The figurines are interpreted by means of excavations from Monte Ansciano and Monte Acuto and GIS viewshed displays to show how they were employed in ritual action.

The exhibit provides a powerful example of the good practice of three Fitzwilliam Museum departments, working together with the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, to create an intellectually stimulating enhancement of the knowledge of the collections and to foster good international relations with the Archaeological Superintendency and Region of Umbria and the major cities of northern Umbria. It is hoped that this small collaboration will lay the groundwork for a more substantial exhibition on the landscapes of San Francesco in the future, following the precedents for exhibitions of a larger scale in New York, Leningrad, Budapest and Cracow (Corbucci & Pettine 1991; 1989; 1990).

We have entrusted the preparation of the catalogue to Francesca Fulminante, while offering some advice, particularly in the initial choice of objects.
The Region and its History

Geography

Modern Umbria is located in central Italy between Tuscany to the west, the Marche to the east, and Lazio to the south-west (Desplanques 1975; Ricciardi 1966; Stoddart 2006) (Figure 1). Its cultural definition has fluctuated through the ages, sometimes drawn into the orbit of the Adriatic, sometimes into the Tyrrhenian regions, sometimes connected by the Tiber and the Nera rivers south into Lazio. Today it is the only Italian region with no access to the sea and is bounded by the Apennine Mountains to the north and east. The topography of the region is dominated by mountains and hills divided by deep basins and valleys of fluvio-lacustrine origin. The largest depression is the Valle Umbra, located in the middle of the region; the northern part of the region is divided between the Gubbio basin (Figure 1) and the lower Chiascio basin, while the southern part is occupied by the Terni valley and the western part is represented by the northern Tiber valley. Apart from the Apennine Mountains, noticeable peaks are Monte Subasio and Monte Maggiore, which dominate the hills to the south of Gubbio; the Martani Mountains run along the Umbrian valley while the Amerini Mountains dominate the south-west of the region.

The region is rich in rivers, which may have been more navigable in in the past. Besides the Tiber, the most important river is the Topino, with its tributaries Chiascio, Clitumno and Maroggia, while the main streams are the Puglia, Naia, Rio Grande e Nera. Most ancient lakes, such has the Velino lake, between the Rieti valley and the Marmore plateaux, or the Vadimone lake, near Amelia, the lacus Umber, near Bettona, the Clitorius, to the west of Trevi, and the Plestinus, on the Colfiorito plateaux, have now disappeared; some prominent lakes are a response to hydroelectric and irrigation projects ((most notably Corbara and Montedoglio (technically in Tuscany)); only lake Trasimeno still survives today although most probably changed in its form. The Umbrian landscape today is rich in woods, pastures and cultivated land; and given the powerful effect of the upland and lowland topography is not dissimilar to what it was in the past. A key feature for the ceramics displayed in this small exhibition, is the ready availability of clays (both from the limestone uplands and the Plio-Pleistocene terraces), woodland for charcoal to provide fuel, and rivers for the manufacture and transport of the pottery. Many of these relevant features of the Umbrian landscape were understood already in sixteenth century by the polymath Cipriano Piccolpasso, whose original manuscripts are preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum of London (Piccolpasso 1980).
Figure 1: The location of Umbria, with the main sites in the exhibit highlighted in red.

Prehistory (From the Palaeolithic to the Bronze Age)

The most ancient human presence in Umbria (Lower Palaeolithic, 1 million years – 300,000 years ago) (Galiberti 1982) is known from Monte Peglia (between Orvieto and Todi) and from the terraces above the Tiber, Chiascio and Topino rivers, mainly in the northern part of the region. This pattern intensifies in the Middle Palaeolithic where the best studied areas are the Upper Tiber on the boundary with modern Tuscany and the Gubbio basin, particularly in the eastern part of the basin at Branca, as well as more broadly in the Valle Umbra (Moroni et al. 2011). The Gubbio project found Upper Palaeolithic material principally on the alluvial fans descending from the escarpments flanking the northern edge of the valley, and similar finds have been found elsewhere in the region. A female Venus figurine of similar date has been found in the Lake Trasimene area. Virtually no material from the Epi-Palaeolithic has been found in the region, except on the Gubbio Project survey. Most of the material known is from surface finds, many of which date back to the time of the polymath Giuseppe Bellucci (1844-1921), whose collections form the a major founding element of the prehistoric collections of Perugia museum (Bellucci 1915).
With the Neolithic, from the late sixth millennium, much material is known again from the region, and saw the introduction of the first more permanent settlements (for example open sites such as San Marco of Gubbio, La Lucciola on Lake Trasimeno and caves such as Grotta Bella and Grotta dei Cocci in the more southern Umbrian region). These sites brought mixed agriculture that retained a broad spectrum resource procurement, pottery production, some conservative use of lithics, and clear evidence of exchange in the form of greenstone (Kern et al. 2009) and more rarely obsidian. Most settlements are located in the foothills, at the midpoint between winter and summer pastures; in the Gubbio valley the alluvial fans were particularly favoured. In the recent phase of the Neolithic (second half of the 4th-beginning/middle of the 3rd Millennium BC) evidence is restricted to the older excavations of the Capanne di Norcia and below the Acciaierie cemetery at Terni in the south of the region. Knowledge of the Chalcolithic and early Bronze Age remains relatively weak, with some evidence provided by the Gubbio project and Grotta di Bella; as a consequence, Umbria is substantially missing from the major syntheses (Cocchi Genick 1996). There are some lithics collections (arrowheads) of broadly this period in Cambridge, but whereas in Oxford the collections are held in one place, namely the Pitt-Rivers museum of Oxford (Stoddart 2013), in Cambridge, they are divided by perceived artistic merit. When Bosanquet made acquisitions in the Perugia area in the very early 1900s, the Fitzwilliam retained the schematic figurines on exhibit here, whereas the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology was sent the arrowheads which also have a Perugia province.

The situation improves during the Middle (17th/16th-14th century BC) and Recent Bronze Age (13th-12th century BC), when the region became dominated by the Apennine culture, a style that was widespread at this time in the whole peninsula. The most common sites of this period in the mountainous part of the region were permanent settlements at lower elevations and seasonal sites at higher elevation; the economy was mainly based on agriculture and, by common interpretation, transhumance (with abundant production of wool and dairy products) combined with some hunting and fishing activities.

With the Final Bronze Age (second half of the 11th-10th century BC) important changes occurred in the region and the new Proto-Villanovan style (1150-950 BC) dominated the region, accompanied by the cremation funerary rite which has now been found not only the famous nearby cemetery of Pianello, but also within the region at places such as Gubbio and Panicarola. The image of the society mirrored in the funerary evidence appeared rather egalitarian, with classic incipient tropes of male female distinction, but there are hints that social differentiation was occurring. The first indication is the increased demographic scale, including polyfocal groupings of sites in locations such as Gubbio and, just outside modern Umbria, at Monte Cetona. There are also indications of the intensification and specialisation of agriculture, although this study is plagued by the lack of interdisciplinary study of the issue in central Italy as a whole; even though we now have some eighteen chronologically and/or functionally differentiated samples from eleven sites in central Italy, these only amount to a total of less than 15,000 identified fragments of which 75% come from two sites subject to systematic recovery methods at Gubbio. A third indication comes directly from the region, namely the presence of substantial metal hoards (for example from Gualdo Tadino (Peroni 1963) and from Piediluco (Bonomi Ponzi 1970)) which may indicate wealth accumulation and social stratification, or at least conspicuous disposal, that contrasted with the funerary evidence.
Proto-History and Pre-Roman Times (From the Iron Age to the 4th century BC)

At the beginning of the Early Iron Age (10th/9th – 8th century BC) the region saw further cultural, political and socio-economic changes. Metal hoards ceased to be deposited; settlement location built on the pattern of the previous phase, forming more consistent nucleations of population in places that endured, such as Todi, Perugia and Gubbio. The traditional interpretation is that at least from this phase a few major cultural groups appeared whose boundaries, while blurred, roughly corresponded to the geographical location of pre-Roman people known in historical times and from literary accounts (Figure 2).

The traditional interpretation is that these shadows of ethnicity can be detected in the emergence of more distinctive material culture. By this account, the part of Umbria to the right of the Tiber, later occupied by Etruscans (Perugia, Orvieto and the lake Trasimene area), exhibited a Villanovan culture (cremation funerary rite in pozzetto or small pit), shared with modern Tuscany and northern Lazio; while the rest of the region, later occupied by the Umbrians (from Colfiorito to Terni) and Sabines (Sabina) is part of the central-Italian koinè (common material culture), shared with northern Abruzzo, which adopted the inhumation rite in large rectangular pits within stone circles. In this area, the internal mountainous zone is more connected with the Adriatic, while the Terni plain (for example the Acciaierie cemetery) shows more links with northern Lazio. Whatever the interpretation, there is a clear tension within the Umbrian region, between contacts with the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian coasts and with the southern regions along the Tiber valley.

It is well known that during the Iron Age, central Italy (Etruria and Latium) saw the development of big nucleated and populated proto-urban centres, generally located on the plateaux later occupied by the cities of Archaic times and the beginning of social stratification, marked by the conspicuous consumption of the princely burials of the Orientalizing Period (730-580 B.C.). While Early Iron Age cemeteries in Umbria show some exceptional burials, which might indicate the beginning of similar processes, the so-called proto-urban phenomenon and princely burials appears relatively late in the region on both banks of the Tiber.

On the right bank, only Etruscan Orvieto (Volsinii) probably shows a comparable development to other Etruscan middle-Tyrrhenian centres (Tarquinia, Veio, Cerveteri, Vulci) with urbanization completed by seventh-sixth century BC; the sanctuary at Campo di Fiera (Stopponi 2011) may be indicative of the importance of the site, perhaps even offering a supra-community role. By contrast, Perugia is rather later and may even be characterised a frontier city (Stoddart 1990) that shows signs of urbanization only in the sixth century BC. Princely burials, with chariots and fine funerary equipment, are known from this time from the territory of Perugia (Castel S. Mariano and S. Valentino di Marsciano). However, princely burials, with chariots are known at least from the sixth century BC from the Umbrian side of the region (Monteleone di Spoleto, Gubbio, Todi).

By this time, the Umbrian sector was, in part, organised as emerging nucleated communities and, in part, as groups of more diffuse defended upland settlements (Stoddart in press). Intervisible cult places on hilltops were also common at this time (M. Ingino, M. Ancsiano (Stoddart & Whitley 1988), Monte Loreto, S. Rufino di Monte Subasio (Monacchi 1986), Fratticiola Selvatica, M. Acuto (Cenciaioli 1996; Cenciaioli 1998; Cenciaioli 1991), Pasticcetto di Magione etc.) (Colonna 1970; Maggiani 2002; Bradley 1997a) represented by
votive deposits rich of small bronze human and animal figurines, found mainly in Umbria and in some other regions of central and northern Italy. Some of these cult-places had monumental structures and some of them are superimposed on older cult-places of the Final Bronze Age. Umbrian votive deposits with bronze figurines have been interpreted either as expression of aristocratic power on major transit routes or as the foci of pastoral populations presumably on a seasonal basis.

By the end of the sixth-fifth century BC, more structured urban processes start to appear also in centres such as Gubbio and Todi, two areas well connected with the more advanced centres of Etruria thanks also to the intermediary of Orvieto. Signs of this urbanization are the creation of common cemeteries (for example the cemeteries of San Biagio and Vittorina near Gubbio) and sanctuaries (for example the extra-urban sanctuary of Monte Santo near Todi) for the whole urban community, and the construction of buildings with stone foundations and tiled roofs (discovered at Todi). The influence of the Etruscan culture on the Umbrian region is evident also in the adoption of the Etruscan alphabet in the Osco-Umbrian language. Another feature of this emerging community identity is the use of coinage. Todi and Gubbio (Catalli 1994; Catalli 1989) were the two “Umbrian” communities which adopted coinage, initially employing a Chiusine Etruscan weight standard of about 200g (Crawford 1985: 46). At an earlier date, aes rude or bronze fragments, widely accepted as representing portable wealth, were employed, suggesting a progressive formalisation of wealth into an accepted political symbol of the community as coinage was developed.

The status of the Umbrians as an ethnic category is a matter of much debate, and can be represented by at least five traditions of research. The Ancillotti school (Ancillotti 1995; Ancillotti & Cerri 1996; 1997), taking its legacy from Prosdocimi (1984) and Devoto (Devoto 1937; 1977), emphasises the deep seated linguistic traditions behind an ancient Umbrian identity. The Sisani school, taking its tradition from the scholarship of Coarelli, brings together the material evidence of archaeology and language, once again faithful to the deep seated historicity of the Umbrians (Sisani 2001b; 2009). The Bonomi school, drawing substantially on excavation of (defended) monuments and settlements in the landscape is also supportive of a very real identity of the Umbrians and their maximum extension in space (Bonomi Ponzi 1985; 1991; 1982; 1992; 2002; 2010). Sisani has taken pains to contrast these Italian approaches, and particularly his own, with the British in Umbria (Sisani 1997; Sisani 2001a). The first strand is provided by the Bradley school which draws its inheritance from Crawford, numismatist and ancient historian, and provides an alternative account based on state formation (Bradley 1997b; 2000a; 2000b). The second strand is embedded in the fieldwork of the Gubbio project (Malone & Stoddart 1994). This prehistoric and anthropological approach, from the stable of Renfrew, emphasises landscape, minimises the importance of text in a largely illiterate society and stresses material evidence (Stoddart 2012; 2010; Stoddart et al. 2012b; 2012a). The consequent interpretation places the Umbrians within a shadowy identity, a residual category for the ancients, that contrasts with the more developed identities of surrounding groups (Stoddart in press). All these perspectives have their merit, but, in truth, it is most probable that the concept of identity was as slippery then as it can often be today.
Figure 2: The traditional understanding of the Cultural areas of Italy at the beginning of the Early Iron Age, 10th-9th century BC (A), compared with the original distribution and spread of the languages of earliest Italy (B) (from Pallottino 1991: Fig 1-2)

**Roman Times**

With the fall of Veii (396 B.C.), the conquest of Etruscan and Umbrian territories for Rome is only a matter of time (Harris 1971). Between 311 and 308 BC the principal opponents of the Romans were Orvieto (with its *Fanum Voltumnae*), and Perugia. Between 300 and 299 BC, Quintus Appuleius Pansa conquered *Nequinum*, a strategic point for communication with the Adriatic, and founded the roman colony of *Narnia* there. Some ancient authors specify that Umbrian and Etruscans allied with Samnites and Gauls against Rome; however the participation of the Umbrians in the famous battle of *Sentinum* (295 BC) is much in doubt.

The Roman conquest of Umbria is evident with the *deduction* of the colonies of *Sena Gallica* (293 BC), *Ariminum* (268 BC) and *Spoletium* (241 BC); in the same year the *Via Amerina* was built (241 BC), which connected northern Lazio with Umbrian centres and with the Etruscan cities of Perugia and Chiusi. Finally, in 220 BC, the Via Flaminia was opened across the whole of Umbria up to the Marche and the Adriatic (Rimini), and this was the position from where the conquest of the Padania plain and northern Italy soon began. Major Umbrian towns, such as Gubbio (*Iguvium*) and Todi (*Tuder*) became allied to the Romans.
and maintained administrative independence, as demonstrated by their own coinage. These Umbrian towns, already well developed in pre-Roman times, were favoured by the Roman conquest and between the fourth and third century BC had a great economic and architectural development (urban walls, urban sanctuaries etc.). We learn about the urban structure and organization of Iguvium and its territory from the Iguvine tables, famous religious texts on bronze panels, dated to the third century BC onwards, which, according to some scholars, might refer to much older traditions. Local aristocracies favoured the conquest of Rome and were able to maintain their power and privileges, based on land exploitation. By contrast, the internal and mountainous areas of Umbria, away from main communication routes, declined and some of the traditional peak sanctuaries disappeared.

During the Punic War (264-146 BC), Umbrians remained generally allied to the Romans and provided support and troops. During the Social War, Etruscan and Umbrian aristocracies opposed Livius Drusus’s proposal of giving Roman citizenship to socii Itali (91 BC). However in 90-89 BC, when the lex Iulia was approved most Umbrian towns became Roman towns. After Caesar’s death (44 BC) during the civil war, Lucius Antonius, brother of Marcus Antonius was besieged and defeated by Octavian in Perugia. During the Augustan Age, Umbria was the 6th region with the ager Gallicus and had 49 municipia (Roman towns). During this time there was a new wave of urbanization in Umbrian towns, because Umbrian aristocracies, who entered the Roman senate, sponsored monuments and munificence in their home towns. Land was still an important resource and villas flourished in the Umbrian valleys (for instance Pliny's villa at San Giustino - Molina Vidal 2008) while transport of local products (pottery, bricks, wine and oil) toward the Roman market was favoured by the river Tiber and its tributaries (as shown by work on the Montelabate project in the excavation of flat-based Spello amphora kilns). Woods and husbandry were also important resources in the internal mountainous areas. By the middle of the second century and during the third century AD, as many other parts of Italy, Umbria was dominated by an agrarian crisis and many villas were abandoned. Diocletian subsequently united Umbria and Etruria into one single province. In Late Antiquity, some of the villas revived; however land production generally declined, so that terrestrial routes and commerce decayed, until in 410 AD, the Vandals of Alaricus descended through Italy down to Rome. In 476 AD, the last emperor of Rome, Romolus Augustulus was deposed by Odoacres.

Medieval and Modern Times

In 488 Teodoricus conquered Ravenna, killed Odoacres and founded a new kingdom, in which traditional Roman administrative structures survived under the military control of the Goti. When Teodoricus died, Giustinianus tried to conquer Italy again with the army of Belisarius. The war between the Goths and Byzantines was difficult for Umbrian towns, which were besieged and robbed by the barbarians (for example the siege of Perugia by Totila is very famous). After the Goths, the Longobards arrived and established the Duchy of Spoleto (ca. 570-580 AD), whose precise origins are still uncertain because of lack of documentary sources. Some cities such as Perugia, Amelia, Narni and Terni remained Byzantine and the defence of this frontier artery remained a major concern (Menestò 1999).

The Feudal system never really flourished in Umbria since towns emerged as independent entities (comuni and signorie), helped by the pope (especially Innocent III) against the emperor (in particular in the 13th century Perugia lead a league of cities against Frederick II).
During the fifteen and sixteen centuries, the church extended its power over Umbria and Perugia submitted in 1549 to Paul III. During the eighteen and nineteen centuries, Umbria took part in the process of the unification of Italy under the king of Savoia (Piemonte) at the expense of the church, and in 1859 it was annexed to the New Kingdom of Italy.

Many towns of Umbria (for example Spoleto, Todi, Gubbio etc.) still maintain their medieval appearance with their walls, towers, churches and palaces. Traditions are also very strong and are implicitly linked back through medieval times to very ancient rituals. For example the Festas dei Ceri (Feast of the “Candles”), celebrated on the 15th May in Gubbio, is often considered to refer back to an ancient rural ritual of Roman and pre-Roman times. During this celebration, enormous wooden “candles” are carried by men running around the town walls, in the main square and then up to the church of S. Ubaldo, the patron Saint of the city.

Umbria is also famous for its pottery tradition (for example Deruta) (Busti & Cocchi 2008), which goes back as well into medieval times (and maiolica arcaica has been produced in Orvieto since 13th century AD (Satolli 1998)). The region of Umbria is therefore one of the major centres of Medieval and Renaissance pottery in Italy (Poole 1997; Poole 1995; Wilson 1996), where the key ingredients of resources (see above), appropriate wealth and patronage (local nobles, the church and families such as the Montefeltro) were present. An important link to Britain is the interaction of British contemporary craft potters with current practitioners in the Umbrian region (Sannipoli 2008).

The University of Cambridge in Umbria

The Gubbio Valley Project

The Gubbio Valley Project (1983-1987) culminated in the publication Territory, Time and State (1994), edited by Simon Stoddart and Caroline Malone, the directors of the project. The volume aimed to provide a comprehensive study of the Gubbio basin, which combined selective excavation, regional survey, environmental reconstruction and computerization of the results. The approach was implicitly Braudelian (without explicit citation) that sought to reconstruct the long-term history of the region landscape. A further focus was the historical background and archaeological context to the urban development of the centre of Gubbio, which had provided such a unique and extraordinary document as the Iguvine tables. These tables are a set of seven bronze inscribed tables, which describe the extensive ritual practices and transactions of the ancient city of Ikuvium. However what was missing was the understanding of the prehistoric origins of the Gubbio valley and more particularly the pre-state context of the settlement nucleation that was to become the urban centre of Gubbio itself. “It was in the Bronze Age (particularly from 1200 BC) that major changes took place in the settlement organisation of the valley which made the site of modern Gubbio the primary focus of the human landscape until present day. Why did this take place? How did the territory and region relate to this central place?” (Stoddart & Malone 1994: 1). There were the questions central to the research conducted by Simon Stoddart and Caroline Malone in the Gubbio valley.

The valley of Gubbio is a mountainous region, which lies in the north-eastern corner of the modern administrative region of Umbria, and consequently has often been more associated with the Marche in its millennia of prehistory and history. It is poised strategically on the watershed between the two coasts of Italy, even if geographically much closer to the Adriatic. The valley itself drains into the Tiber, through various tributaries, most prominently the Chiascio. To the east and west of this self-contained geographical unit, are two major communication routes: to the west, there is the upper Tiber
valley which links to south Etruria; to the east, is the Gualdo Tadino Basin, which in Roman times and later carried the via Flaminia, north of Rome through southern Umbria to the Adriatic via easy mountain passes and valleys. To the east and north, lie the high Apennines. To the south, lower hills prevent easy access from Perugia and the extensive former lake basins of central Umbria.

The development elucidated in the Gubbio Valley forms a process that started with the first colonization of the area at least by the middle Palaeolithic (120,000-80,000 BC) and continued with the first semi-permanent settlements in the Neolithic (late 6th millennium BC). These were sites well placed to practise horticulture and small-scale cereal cultivation, but not too distant from logistical locations for hunting and other resource procurement. This agro-settlement potential was strengthened by the intensification of agriculture in the second millennium BC. In the Bronze Age the local populations gradually switched from the lowland landscape of the Neolithic to upland and midslope settlements, concentrated in the central point of the valley, a zone that was never again abandoned as the key settlement location. This is also the time when the first regional identity emerges: initially (about 1400-1200 BC) two locations on Monte Ingino (the summit and the southern slopes) controlled and permitted access to the mountainous north as much as to the lowland and upland landscape to the south; but within a few hundred years (about 1100 BC), two sites had become an interrelated system of sites with overlapping territories (M. Ingino, M. Ansciano, S. Agostino, Vescovado, M. Alto, Catignano) with two higher sites, M. Ingino and M. Ansciano, providing intervisibility with the rest of the landscape. Conspicuous middens were excavated at M. Ingino and M. Ansciano and they appear to show the presence of ritual embedded in everyday practice, a typical feature of many early societies. More recent discoveries have continued to emphasise the system of sites, by the discovery of Bronze Age settlement and a cemetery on the upper slopes of Monte Ingino.
By the 8th century BC, only the lowland constituent of this co-operating system of sites appears to have remained and the central role of M. Ingino and M. Ansciano continued but at lower altitude in the area of the Vescovado and S. Agostino, and more recent discoveries primarily to the east of the Camignano river. Apart from a few possible subsidiary settlements, this central place was where a nucleated settlement concentrated until the Roman period. By the sixth-fifth centuries BC the upper part of the Landscape was explicitly ritualised (M. Ansciano (Figures 3, 5), M. Ingino interlinked within sight of more distant sites on M. Acuto, M. Tezio) (Figure 4), strengthening natural features in the landscape and, in some cases, perhaps deliberately re-occupying, visible, if modest, monuments of the Bronze Age. These ritual manifestations were pervasive but generally low key consisting mainly of deposits of feasting or even sacrifice and small bronze figurines: mainly female or male figures, a few centimetres high and stylistically very simple (catalogue n 2), requiring little investment of manpower or resources.
From the third and second century BC, the landscape was rapidly colonised by dispersed settlement, administered from the emerging urban centre of Gubbio. A network of farmsteads and, more rarely, villages, was regularly distributed in the landscape, especially along road communications. From the full Roman period up to the present day there have been cycles of expansion and retraction from the permanent urban settlement centrally placed in the valley.

The Frontier Project (http://www.arch.cam.ac.uk/projects/montelabate/) (Figure 5)

In 2010, Gabriele Cifani, Simon Stoddart and Caroline Malone and their team (some of the key participants in the project include: Jeremy Bennett, Letizia Ceccarelli, Francesca Fulminante, Jacob Morales (botanical remains), Finbar McCormick (fauna) and David Redhouse) returned to the Gubbio Valley to study the Etruscan/Umbrian frontier between Gubbio and Perugia in the area of the Montelabate Abbey within the estate of the Gaslini Foundation.

This new project included a survey season (2010), an extensive excavation of the Archaic Etruscan site of Col di Marzo (2011-2013), the excavation of an important Spello kiln site (2012) and the survey of some Medieval castles. Botanical and faunal evidence from Col di Marzo is being studied to reconstruct the economy of the site, and an exploratory metallographic analysis of bronze Archaic figurines from Col di Marzo, M. Ansciano, M. Acuto and other sites is being conducted within the framework of this project by Francesca Fulminante.

Figure 5: The frontier Skyline with key features in the Landscape.
Montelabate Survey

Field survey and excavation have uncovered a residual scatter of Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites on the terraces above the tributaries of the Tiber that date to before foundation of the frontier. In the Final Bronze Age, the network of largely inter-visible sites, principally on the high mountains, included Col di Marzo within the future frontier itself. In the sixth-fifth century BC some of these same sites were re-occupied by small sanctuaries, including the very same Col di Marzo on the line of the later political frontier. In the Roman period, the frontier zone was absorbed into a much larger system, as shown by the implanting of a series of farmsteads and by the construction of a number of kilns for the production of amphorae and pottery. The products of these kilns had a very extensive circulation that employed the Tiber and its tributaries (e.g. the Ventia) as the main means of distribution. In the Byzantine period the area was very strategically placed along the road that led from Rome to Ravenna. In the Medieval period, the monasteries of S.Maria and S. Paolo di Valdiponte were constructed in the liminal zone between the two cities of Perugia and Gubbio. Subsequently, the territorial limits were defended by a series of castles, under study by the University of Rome. The same boundaries have been preserved in the administrative borders of Gubbio and Perugia, and their defensive potential re-emerged for ten days during the month of July 1944, as indicated by documentary and archaeological information.

Col di Marzo Excavation

The extensive excavation of the Col di Marzo (Figure 6) site has permitted the identification of the main phases of occupation of the site and the discovery of features that constitute typical aspects of human occupation: defence, ritual, domestic activity, production and economy. The Col di Marzo hilltop, although rather modest in extent (a maximum of 2 ha), was nevertheless spatially differentiated into a small acropolis and at least two wider terraces. Along the margins of the first excavated terrace some areas were fortified with terraces and stone bank, while the acropolis was probably encircled by a palisade.

Figure 6: Col di Marzo (4th century BC). Central excavated area (2012-3).
The first permanent occupation of the site dates back to the Final Bronze Age: some material of this time has been found on top of the little acropolis and in a possible encircling ditch. Some sixth and fifth century material and features have been identified during the excavation, but the main occupation phase of the site dates to the fourth-third century BC. The early Iron Age seems virtually absent.

The settlement of the fourth century BC included two lines of terracing, with intervening courtyards, at least one large building and some smaller buildings where intra-site analysis has identified areas with specific functions: storage jars for grain (wheat) and other products (peas, beans); probably a kitchen area with hearth and grinding stone; areas of probable female activities such as spinning and weaving shown by many loom weights and spindle whorls; banqueting activities (?) attested by drinking cups. A small area with metallic production activities has also been identified (various channels and pits associated with iron slags); agriculture and farming activities were attested by botanical and faunal remains and artefacts such as sieves and containers for cheese production; working of antler/horn was also found; finally a quite complex system of drainage channels has also been which appears to have served the purpose of removal of rainwater and waste, through a system of different gradients of runoff. On the small Acropolis and its immediate slopes, ritual activity was attested by two archaic votive bronze figurines (Figure 7), common on hilltop sanctuaries in the Umbrian area. Finally the last season of excavation revealed an earlier ditch which seems to precede the best preserved domestic structure by only a few years.

![Archaic Votive Bronze Figurines found on the Acropolis of Col di Marzo (5th century BC).](image)

**Figure 7: Archaic Votive Bronze Figurines found on the Acropolis of Col di Marzo (5th century BC).**

**Kiln Site (Figure 8)**

As shown by the Montelabate survey and the Col di Marzo excavation, the Etruscan pattern of small scale political authority and local economic activity and food production was disrupted around the third century BC by the arrival of the more substantial scale of Roman power. Initially the area of the frontier was substantially deserted. However by the early Imperial Period, the former frontier was occupied by a series of small farmsteads, controlled most probably by a large villa site, perhaps located on the site of the later medieval Abbey of Montelabate. At the foot of the hill of the Montelabate abbey, in the summer of 2012, an early Imperial kiln complex, was excavated, which showed how the local economy was re-orientated towards export of budget wine in Spello amphorae down the Tiber valley to Rome itself. The kiln complex is relatively unusual for the scale of the productive unit and the number of kilns as four kilns, three ceramic dumps and a workshop were
uncovered and excavated. These kilns produced a type of flat-bottomed amphorae known as “Spello Amphorae” or Ostia III, 369/70 (Panella 1989: 143-6). These small wine amphorae were produced from the Tiberian-Claudian period until the end of the 2nd century AD and were used for transport of wine. The Hirtiola wine as mentioned by Pliny (Natural History 14.37), was exported from the Upper Tiber valley to Rome, the largest market, and Ostia, although there is also evidence for local distribution as noted at Scoppieto (Speranza 2011: 286). In Rome, this type of amphorae represented the largest Italian production after the Dressel 2-4 from the Flavian period (Bertoldi 2011: 150).

The kilns were also used to produce tiles and coarseware, providing evidence for a villa production system, where both wine and the vessels were made for its commercialisation forming part of the same productive process. Moreover, it also offers evidence for another production centre on the eastern bank of the river Tiber.

The end of the productive unit has probably to be connected with the beginning of a late Roman cemetery, which was not found during the excavation but is known in the vicinity from literature (Cenciaioli 1986 and internal report) and the survey of 2010. Both the rural settlement and the tombs continued into the later Roman period, although experienced a relative decline and probable concentration of population in common with other areas of central Italy. The late antique occupation is documented by local production and imported material, such as the small amphorae type Keay XXVI, dated to the 5th century AD (Keay 1984: 145).

Figure 8: Roman kiln under excavation
Umbria in Cambridge at the Fitzwilliam Museum

Objects Catalogue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cat. N.</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Artist/Production</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fibula (Brooch)</td>
<td>NA</td>
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<table>
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<th>Material</th>
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<tr>
<td>Copper Alloy</td>
<td>NA</td>
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<th>Period and Date</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
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<th>Provenance</th>
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<td>GR.3.1978</td>
<td>Terni, Umbria, Italy</td>
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</table>

**Description**

Brooch with rhomboidal arch and two small rounded buttons at the angles; the arch has small circular sockets for inlay (possibly for amber decorations).

**Bibliography**

(Gill 1990: 291, n. 8)

**Museum Digital record**

http://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/69932

**Cat. N.** 2  
**Definition** Votive Figurines  
**Period and Date** Archaic, 5th century BC  
**Material** Copper Alloy  
**Dimensions** Between 2-3 cm and 6-7 cm height  
**Object N.** GR 32.1904; GR 33.a-e 1904; 160q,-s.1910; 5a-b.1928.  
**Provenance** M. Tezio ?, Umbria, Italy  

**Description** Bronze Votive Figurines from Umbria and possibly Etruria (6th-5th century BC). Schematic Production.  
a) Offering Female, Vöcklabruck.; b) Male with Crested Headdress, similar from Bettona; c) Mars, Foligno Type; d) Walking Man, Amelia Type; e) Male Prayer, Esquiline Type; f) Female Prayer, Esquiline Type; g) Male Prayer, Esquiline Type; h) Female Prayer, Esquiline Type; i) Mars, Nocera Umbra Type; l) Mars, Nocera Umbra Type.  

**Bibliography** (Stoddart et al. 2013)  

**Museum Digital Record**  
http://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/67841-46, 68596, 68598, 68986-87 (accessed 22nd August 2013)
Cat. N. 3
Definition Coins
Material Bronze
Object N.
(a) CM.RR.759-R
(b) CM.MC.58-R
(c) CM.YG.2075-R
(d) CM.MC.145-R
(e) CM.MC.147-R

Artist/Production Umbria (Iguvium and Tuder)
Period and Date 3rd century B.C.
Dimensions Diameter: 43.36cm-18.36cm.
Provenance Iguvium and Tuder, Italy

Description
(a) AE sextans, bunch of grapes on raised field/cornucopia with two pellets (before 268 B.C.);
(b) AE uncia, bunch of grapes on raised field/cornucopia around pellet (before 268 B.C.);
(c) AE quadrans, frog and three pellets/anchor, three pellets to left, Tu retrograde to right;
(d) AE coin, head of Silenus right, crowned with ivy, pellet in front of head;
Inscription Tutere retrograde around to left, inwards; eagle standing with wings spread.
(e) As d).

Bibliography
(Haeberlin 1910: 223); (Grose 1923: 9 (n. 58); 22 (n. 147, 154)); (Heichelheim 1940: n. 33)

Museum Digital Record
http://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/190976
http://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/190978
Cat. N.: 4  
Definition: Jug  
Material: Tin-glazed earthenware maiolica  
Object N.: C.89-1927  

Artist/Production: Maiolica Arcaica  
Period and Date: Medieval, c.1275-1375 A.D.  
Dimensions:  
- height: (whole): 29.2 cm  
- diameter: (base): 10.3 cm  
- width: (body): 14.4 cm  
- width: (handle to spout): 16.0 cm  

Provenance: Probably Orvieto, Umbria, Italy  

Description: Pale yellowish-buff or cream earthenware. The interior and exterior of the foot are lead-glazed brownish-yellow, the base is unglazed, and the rest is tin-glazed ivory-buff. Painted in manganese and copper-green. Elongated ovoid body with short cylindrical neck which expands towards the rim and is pinched at the front to form a lip; solid pedestal foot; loop handle made from a roll of clay. On the front, an ostrich-like bird faces to the right, its neck and head curving down towards the ground in front of its feet. Above its head, a green lozenge-shaped bloom hangs from a branch. The handle is flanked by a vertical row of curved and hooked lines between two sets of three vertical manganese lines. Above and below are two horizontal manganese bands; on the neck, a green chain with two horizontal manganese bands above; on the handle, diagonal stripes of alternate colours.

Bibliography  
(Poole 1995: 42 (n. 60); Riccetti 2010: 464)

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<td>Dimensions</td>
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**Description**

Late Medieval maiolica ewer, painted in black and green with three panels containing a knot flanked by half leaves and cross-hatching. The interior, foot and base are lead-glazed brownish-yellow; the rest is tin-glazed pale beige. Painted in black and copper-green.

Elongated piriform body with small pedestal foot, tubular spout and broad strap handle with a longitudinal ridge. On each side of the handle and spout, there are three black vertical lines forming three panels. In each side panel there is a knot flanked by half leaves reserved in cross-hatching, and in the panel under the spout, a leaf on a stalk reserved in cross-hatching. Below are two horizontal black bands; above, two green bands flanked by black, and, under the spout, four green horizontal lines.

On the neck, there is a green chain; on the handle, pairs of green horizontal stripes alternate with one black

**Bibliography**  
(Poole 1995: 38-9 (n. 55))

**Museum Digital Record**  
Cat. N. 6
Definition Two handled cup
Material tin-glazed earthenware maiolica
Period and Date Medieval, c. 1250 to 1350 AD.
Dimensions height: (whole): 4.9 cm
diameter: (foot): 4.4 cm
width: (whole): 14.6 cm
Object N. C.99-1991
Provenance Orvieto, Umbria, Italy

Description Late Medieval maiolica two-handled cup, painted in manganese and green with, on the inside, a cross and instruments of the Passion. Earthenware, tin-glazed greyish-beige on both sides; base unglazed. Painted in manganese and copper-green. Circular shape with carinated sides, narrow foot and two loop handles of oval section. Inside, within two manganese circles, there is a green Cross with manganese Instruments of the Passion; on the outside, oblique manganese strokes with a green and a manganese band below and a manganese above. On the right handle there is a green spot.

Bibliography (Poole 1995: 53 (n. 80))

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<tr>
<td>Definition</td>
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<tr>
<td>Period and Date</td>
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**Description**
Greyish-buff earthenware. Tin-glazed greyish-white on the exterior. The Virgin's costume is decorated with vertical rows of slanting manganese and green strokes between wide green and narrow manganese stripes. Christ's skirt has close-set stripes of alternate colours. The figure of the Virgin is hollow and the head was made separately and set into the body before firing. The Virgin stands holding the infant Christ in her left arm. Christ wears a skirt, and she wears a long pleated gown and a cloak over her head which falls down over her shoulders to the ground.

**Bibliography**
(Satolli 1997: 77-8)

**Museum Digital Record**
Cat. N. 8
Definition Plate with the Rape of Europa, by Maestro Giorgio Andreoli
Period and Date Renaissance, 1524
Material tin-glazed earthenware maiolica
Dimensions height: (whole): 2.5 cm diameter: (whole): 25.5 cm
Object N. C.80-1927
Provenance Gubbio, Umbria, Italy

Description: Plate. Pale buff earthenware, tin-glazed overall; the reverse pale beige and speckled. A small area on the base has crawled, revealing cream fabric. Painted in blue, green, yellow, orange, stone, dark brown, grey, black, and white; red, silvery-yellow, and on the back, pale yellow lustre. Circular shape with wide rim and shallow depression in the centre. The Rape of Europa. On the upper left of the rim, Zeus sits on a cloud, accompanied by an eagle. On the right there is a tree, in front of which is a recumbent bull with Europa on its back, placing a garland of flowers round its horns. Opposite there are three cows, two of whom look towards Europa. In the middle she is represented again, being carried out to sea on the bull's back. In the landscape background there are rows of bushes and a city. The middle of the back is dated '1524' in yellow lustre, surrounded by three loose foliated scrolls alternating with three foliated sprays. The edge is yellow.

Bibliography (Poole 1995: 308-11 (n.378), colour plate 42; Wilson 1996: 317-19)
Cat. N. 9

Definition Cup with St. Francis

Period and Date: Reniassance, c. 1500-1600 AD

Material Tin glazed earthenware maiolica

Dimensions: height: (whole): 4.5 cm
diameter: (rim): 10.8 cm
width: (whole): 13.3 cm

Object N. C.205-1991

Provenance: Probably Deruta, Umbria, Italy

Description Renaissance maiolica cup with one handle, painted in blue and yellow with, on the inside, St Francis kneeling in front of a Cross.

Cup with one handle. Earthenware, tin-glazed (?) creamy-white inside and outside; base unglazed. Painted in blue and dark yellow. Circular with slightly carinated sides, one trefoil-shaped lug, and a narrow base. Inside, St Francis holding a rosary kneels in front of a Cross. Round the sides are two narrow blue bands and a wider orange band between pairs of blue, and, on the rim, oblique blue strokes. The handle is striped in yellow. Outside are eight alternately blue and yellow vertical stripes.

Bibliography (Poole 1995: 185 (n. 259))

| **Cat. N.** | 10 |
| **Definition:** | Plate, workshop Antonio Margaritelli |
| **Period and Date:** | Modern, Purchased 2013 |
| **Material:** | Lustre |
| **Object N.:** | Private Collection (Caroline Malone, Cambridge, UK) |
| **Dimensions:** | 18 cm diam. |
| **Provenance:** | Deruta, Umbria, Italy |

**Description:** Circular plate with St. Francis kneeling in front of a cross and praying with a rosary in his hands. In the background a small church. The edge of the plate is decorated with leaves and flowers arranged in a geometric fashion.

**Bibliography** N/A.
| **Cat. N.** | 11 |
| **Definition** | Panel with the Crucifixion by Giacomo Mancini painter (1541-1554) |
| **Period and Date** | Renaissance, 1556. |
| **Material** | Tin glazed earthenware maiolica |
| **Dimensions** | Height: (whole): 40.0 cm Width: (whole): 41.3 cm Depth: (whole): 2.5 cm |
| **Object N.** | MAR.C.57-1912 |
| **Provenance** | Deruta, Umbria, Italy |
| **Description** | Buff earthenware, tin-glazed on the front and outside edges; reverse unglazed. Painted in blue, green, yellow, orange, brown, stone, and manganese-purple. Square with a raised edge and a suspension hole in each corner. The Crucifixion. The Cross is in the centre, with Mary Magdalene at its foot and the Virgin and St John to the left, surrounded by Roman cavalry and foot soldiers. A soldier on the left holds a shield charged with a scorpion, and another to the right of the Cross holds a scorpion standard. The crosses of the two malefactors are further back. In the sky above them is the sun on the left, and the moon on the right. The raised edge is yellow. The back is inscribed in greyish-black: 'DIRVTI/ISSVI'. |
| **Bibliography** | (Poole 1995: 202-3 (n. 275), Colour plate 20; Poole 1997: 80-1 (n. 35)) |
Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the Fitzwilliam Museum, particularly (in alphabetical order by surname) Victoria Avery, Lucilla Burn, Richard Kelleher, Adi Popescu and Helen Strudwick for their support in organising this exhibit. Further details about the conference – Frontiers of the Iron Age - can be found here and will be archived for future consultation: http://www.arch.cam.ac.uk/iron_age/2013/

Bibliography

Beyond the specific references cited in this brief catalogue, the reader is directed to overviews of the archaeology and culture and Umbria (Coarelli 2002; Colivicchi & Zaccagnino 2008; Sisani 2006).


