TEMPORIS SIGNA

Archeologia della tarda antichità e del medioevo

XI – 2016

FONDAZIONE
CENTRO ITALIANO DI STUDI
SULL'ALTO MEDIOEVO
SPOLETO

TEMPORIS SIGNA

Archeologia della tarda antichità
e del medioevo

Autorizzazione n. 1 del 16 febbraio 2006 del Tribunale di Spoleto

---

ISBN 978-88-6809-191-0

In adeguamento alle norme internazionali la Rivista ha fatto proprio il sistema di accettazione dei saggi, attraverso il ricorso sistematico ai referee. I referee rimangono rigorosamente anonimi e sono scelti dalla Fondazione CISAM tra gli studiosi italiani e stranieri maggiormente competenti per i soggetti specifici degli articoli da esaminare

Manoscritti e libri per recensione alla Direzione-Redazione: *Temporis Signa*, palazzo Ancaiani, p.zza della Libertà, 12 - 06049 Spoleto (Pg).
temporissigna@cisam.org

Abbonamenti e vendite alla Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, palazzo Ancaiani, p.zza della Libertà, 12 - 06049 Spoleto (Pg).
cisam@cisam.org

SOMMARIO

RICERCHE

NOTE E DISCUSSIONI

RECENSIONI

NOTIZIE DEI LIBRI RICEVUTI

Notizie redazionali

ABSTRACTS

RICERCHE

San Giuliano Archaeological Research Project: Investigating Long-term Change from Etruscan Urban Center to High Medieval Fortified Village in Lazio

Introduction: Aims of the Project

The San Giuliano Archaeological Research Project (SGARP) is a new international project launched as a collaborative initiative of Baylor University in cooperation with Italian partners from the Municipality of Barbarano Romano, Virgil Academy, the Province of Viterbo, and the Italian Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'Area Metropolitana di Roma, la Provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria Meridionale. The transdisciplinary project targets the rich archaeological past of San Giuliano, a site located approximately 70 km northwest of Rome within Marturanum Regional Park in the region of Lazio (Figure 1). The overall goal of the project is to understand the long-term changes in human occupation of the San Giuliano plateau and the associated necropolis that rings the plateau. This article introduces the overall project before focusing on the medieval period at San Giuliano.

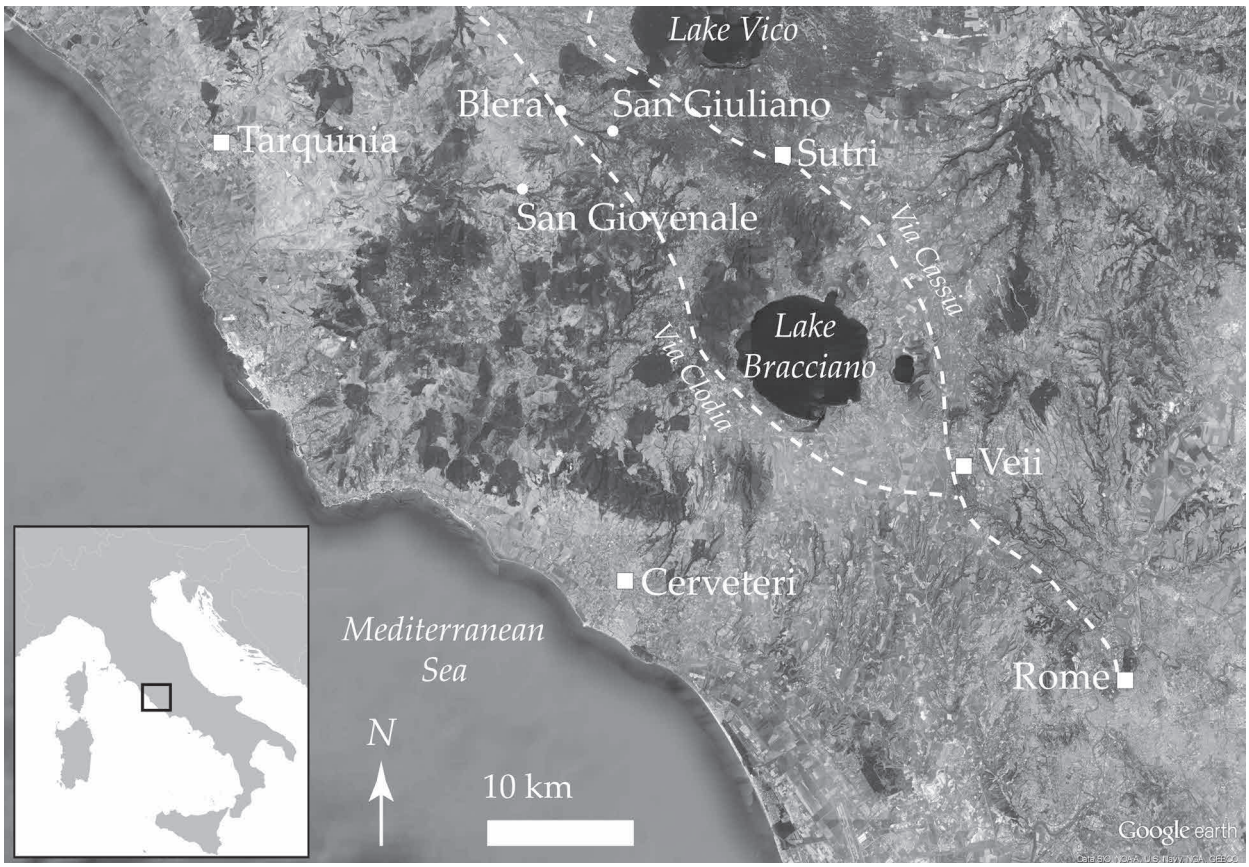

Fig. 1 - Map showing the region of northern Lazio from Rome in the south to Lake Vico in the north. Squares indicate Rome and Etruscan cities, whereas circles indicate smaller centers discussed in this article. The Roman roads – Via Clodia and Via Cassia – are shown as dashed lines

Situated atop a plateau of volcanic tuff, San Giuliano is best known for the hundreds, if not thousands, of Etruscan tombs cut into the escarpments surrounding the plateau[1]. These tombs index the site's prominence in the Etruscan period (800-300 BC), while loose finds suggest an occupation dating back to the Late Bronze Age (1300-900 BC). A sizable Villanovan cemetery on the nearby hill of Campo Sant'Antonio furthermore shows population concentration in the century before the Etruscan flowering. San Giuliano occupied a strategic location in relation to Rome and its hinterlands, and the site saw continued (although reduced) habitation after having been incorporated into the expansionist Roman state. The site remained important into the Middle Ages, as indicated by the ruins of a Romanesque church and a small castle, before finally being abandoned sometime before AD 1300. SGARP aims to shed light on San Giuliano's changing fortunes in relation to super-regional political and economic relationships. What factors led to the Bronze Age settlement, the Etruscan florescence, the Roman domination, and the refortification around a medieval village? Why, after nearly two and a half millennia of occupation, was the site permanently abandoned at the end of the Middle Ages?

The site of San Giuliano has not yet been subjected to extensive systematic archaeological investigation. The Etruscan period has been understood primarily from study of previously-looted tombs, while other periods remain even less well understood. Although the tombs indicate an Etruscan presence, the Etruscan "city of the living" that presumably lay atop the plateau remains to be found. After the Etruscan period, it is unknown whether use and/or occupation of the settlement was continual or interrupted through the Roman and medieval periods. We aim to understand the occupation, changing fortunes, and eventual abandonment of San Giuliano in the context of the ebb and flow of regional political power. SGARP has now begun to conduct new archaeological research on the occupation of the site, documenting the standing archaeological remains, investigating the subsurface material record, and preserving the threatened heritage of this important site.

SGARP's first phase focuses on six tasks:

1. Map surface archaeological ruins visible on the plateau. These remains include: a) a medieval church, b) a subterranean structure that has been previously identified as a Roman bath, c) a medieval fortified zone (La Rocca), d) caves used in the medieval/post-medieval period, and e) additional ruins of unknown age.

2. Conduct a surface survey of artifact material to establish zones of occupation on the plateau through time.

3. Conduct geophysics survey to map sub-surface features atop the plateau.

4. Excavate strategic test trenches in the projected zones of occupation. Through these excavations, we aim to evaluate the nature and extent of the archaeological deposits and gain understanding of the centers of occupation in the main periods of occupation: Bronze Age, Etruscan, Roman, and medieval. Our initial focus has been on the medieval castle zone.

5. Document and register Etruscan tombs, which although previously studied, have not been systematically mapped or excavated.

6. Record and salvage material from looted Etruscan tombs. Many of the rock-cut tombs contain human bones, ceramics, and other artifacts lying on the surface of disturbed soil. This invaluable cultural heritage is threatened and will disappear if not documented, as looters continue to rob valuable finds and tourists walk on and crush objects and bones. We will record, collect, and study bones and finds from a select group of tombs.

To address these tasks, the SGARP team draws on specialist scholars from Baylor University, Vanderbilt University, Kiel University, Oxford University, Anderson University, Memorial University, and the University of California, Los Angeles. The project will bring a battery of analyses to bear on the archaeology of San Giuliano, including aDNA analysis of human remains, isotopic analysis of human and animal bone, subsurface geophysics, satellite imagery analysis, paleoethnobotany, zooarchaeology, ceramic analysis, and metallography. The knowledge generated by the project will raise awareness of the richness of the San Giuliano site, helping to prevent further looting and preserve the cultural heritage of Marturanum Regional Park for the future. In this article, we present the framework of this new research project and discuss our preliminary results from the first season of fieldwork.

1. A. Gargana, *La necropoli rupestre di S. Giuliano*, in *Monumenti antichi*, 33, Rome (1931), pp. 298-468; S. Steingräber, *Etruscan rock-cut tombs: origins, characteristics, local and foreign elements*, in *Etruscan by definition: The cultural, regional and personal identity of the Etruscans*, edited by J. Swaddling - P. Perkins, Oxford, 2009, pp. 64-68.

Geological and Environmental Context of San Giuliano

The San Giuliano plateau comprises volcanic tuff deposited in the Pleistocene. The tuff derives from the Vico volcano and has the characteristic appearance of red tuff with black scoriae and small white silicate (leucite) inclusions[2]. The main matrix of the tuff is red due to iron inclusions, whereas the black scoriae consist of pumice inclusions in the original lava flow. The passage of water and other processes of erosion have carved the tuff, incising the steep canyons that flank the plateau. This type of lithology is common in northern Lazio, but the region of Barbarano Romano, including San Giuliano, is characterized by particularly vertical exposures of tuff. The tuff's softness and ability to retain straight surfaces make it ideal for the carving of artificial caves and tombs[3]. These same properties also facilitate the use of this soft volcanic rock for construction materials, such as the large blocks used in Etruscan walls or the smaller blocks that characterize the medieval constructions.

San Giuliano has two primary microclimates that, in part, structure the occupational history of the area. The top of the plateau is comparatively hotter and drier, whereas the tree-covered canyons are cooler and more humid. These microclimates are created by thermal inversion that manifests in the formation of fogs and mists in the canyons while the top of the plateau remains clear. Because of these microclimatic variations, agricultural production and settlement were concentrated on the top of the area's hills and plateaus. Strategic and defensive needs during periods of conflict also favored settlement atop particularly defensible plateaus like San Giuliano.

The top of the San Giuliano plateau has an elongated form with the longer E-W axis measuring approximately 710 m and the N-S axis measuring a maximum of just over 150 m (Figures 2 and 3).

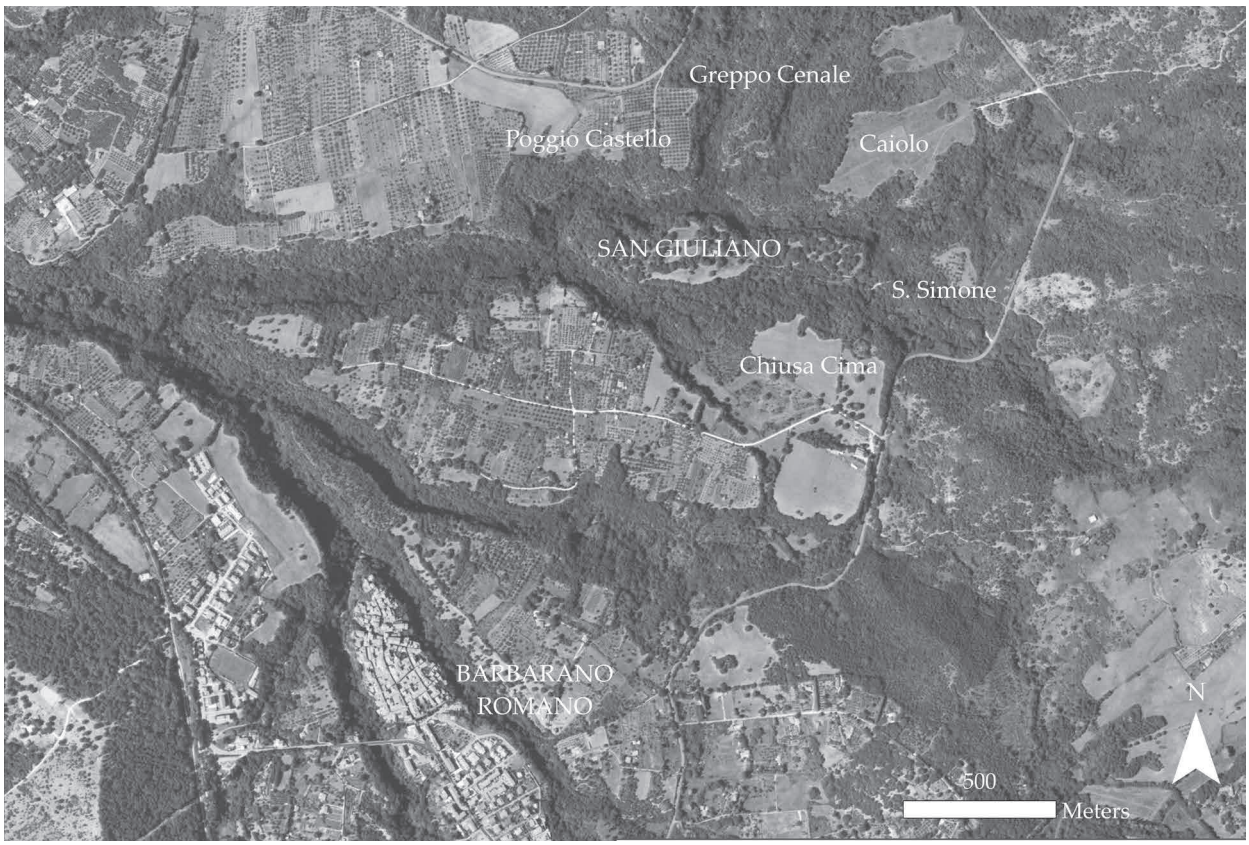

Fig. 2 - Research area of the San Giuliano Archaeological Research Project within the municipality of Barbarano Romano in the Province of Viterbo. The partially wooded San Giuliano plateau is ringed by several hills and plateaus into the sides of which the Etruscan tombs are cut. Barbarano Romano appears at bottom, left of center

2. G. Perini - L. Francalanci - J.P. Davidson - S. Conticelli, *Evolution and genesis of magmas from Vico Volcano, Central Italy: Multiple differentiation pathways and variable parental magmas*, in *Journal of Petrology*, 45 (2004), pp. 139-182; P. Potenza, *Geology and geomorphology*, in *Marturanum Regional Park*, Tarquinia, 2005, pp. 9-12.

3. Potenza 2005 (note 2), p. 11.

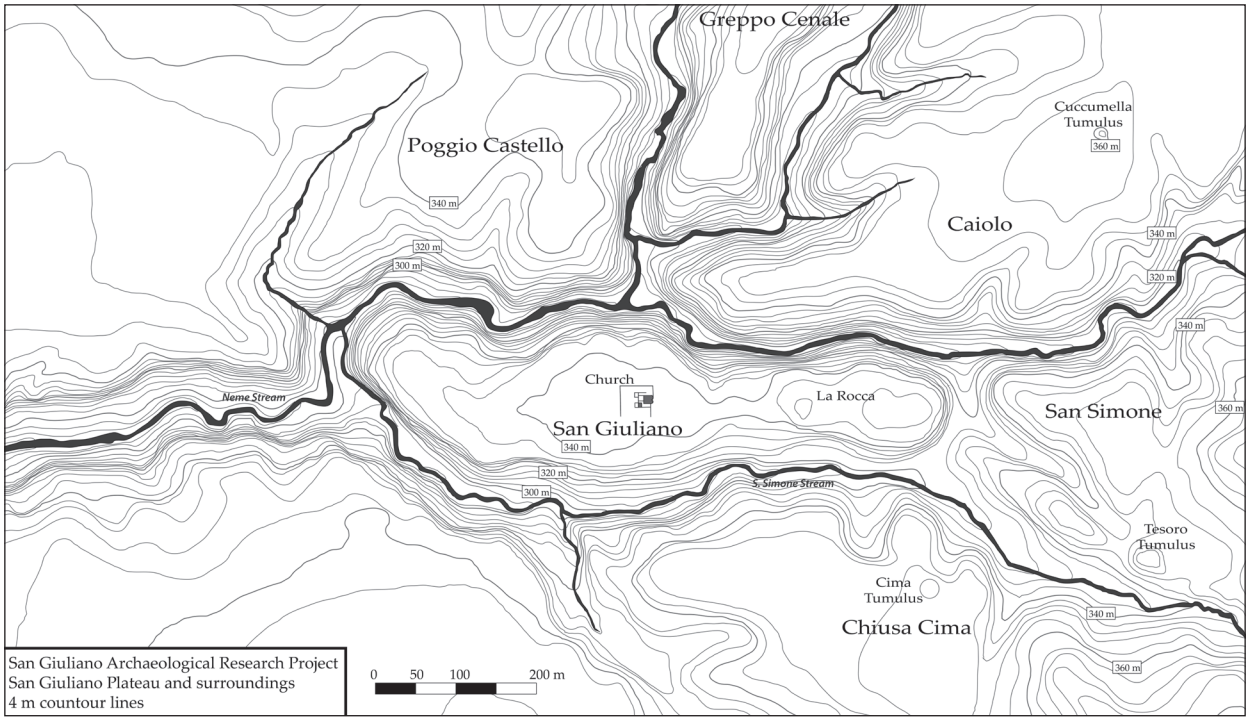

Fig. 3 - The San Giuliano Plateau and the surrounding hills. The medieval church of San Giuliano, from which the plateau takes its name, is in the center of the map. The medieval castle, where SGARP's excavations in 2016 took place, sits on the plateau's highest point, called La Rocca. The Etruscan tumuli of Cuccumella, Tesoro, and Cima sit on the summits of the hills surrounding San Giuliano. We mapped and registered the tombs that lie below these hilltops during our 2016 season

The surface area of the top of the plateau totals about 8.3 hectares (83,210 m^2), while the perimeter measures about 1,650 meters. Drawing from the catchment basin of the surrounding hills, several streams come together at the base of the San Giuliano plateau. Although these streams no longer evidence an abundant water supply, they were responsible in the prehistoric past for carving the canyons that created the plateau. The two principal streams, which both flow roughly from east to west, are San Simone and Verlongo. The San Simone stream flows immediately to the south along the entirety of the plateau, while the Verlongo flows west just north of the plateau. The two streams meet at the western tip of the plateau to form the Neme River, which in turn flows into the Biedano River before arriving at the town of Blera (Figures 1 and 3).

The Archaeology of San Giuliano from the Bronze Age to the Roman Empire: Previous Work and New Insights

Previous archaeological work at San Giuliano is limited and has focused on the Etruscan necropolis. The major publication on San Giuliano is Gargana's 1931 study of the necropolis, *La necropoli rupestre di S. Giuliano*. His work documents the architecture of the tombs in detail, with less coverage of the finds – artifacts and human bones – from within the tombs. This is due to Gargana's own interests, but is also in part because the tombs that are visible have been extensively looted. Although Gargana's monograph explicitly concerns the Etruscan necropolis, he does begin his work with a brief discussion of the settlement atop the plateau, including observations about the medieval ruins of the San Giuliano church and the fortified area called La Rocca. Since Gargana's time, subsequent scholars have worked within the framework of his initial study[4].

4. See e.g. G. Colonna, *La cultura dell'Etruria meridionale interna con particolare riguardo alle necropoli rupestri,* in Atti dell'VIII convegno nazionale di studi Etruschi ed Italici, Florence, 1974, pp. 221-233; E. Colonna Di Paola, *Necropoli rupestri del Viterbese*, Novara, 1978; S. Steingräber, *New discoveries and research in southern Etruscan rock tombs*, in *Etruscan Studies* 3 (1996), pp. 75-104;

We want to underscore that the medieval component of San Giuliano – and more specifically, the area known as La Rocca – has not been the subject of previous professional excavation and has not been extensively discussed in modern, scientific publications. Exceptions include Paola Guerrini's work examining San Giuliano in its regional context and the medieval/early-modern caves dug into the plateau's sides[5].

Research on comparable medieval sites in the area is also scant, although the nearby sites of San Giovenale and Antica Monterano both have medieval castle ruins that have seen limited research[6]. These sites provide important comparative examples for our ongoing work at San Giuliano.

SGARP's inaugural season of fieldwork comprised mapping, survey, and excavation of the plateau and the Etruscan necropolis, and has provided new – albeit preliminary – insights into the culture history of the San Giuliano plateau and its environs.

We focused in 2016 on three main tasks: 1) documentation and registration of the rock-cut Etruscan tombs that extend in a ring around the plateau; 2) salvage excavation of two selected tombs; and 3) survey, mapping, and excavation atop the San Giuliano plateau.

In conjunction with previous archaeological work in and around San Giuliano, the initial results from the 2016 season are presented below, with particular attention to the new evidence from the medieval occupation of the plateau.

Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Remains

Loose finds of archaeological remains dating back to the Bronze Age have been recovered from the San Giuliano plateau, but the character of the occupation in prehistory is not well-understood. The findings suggest that the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (or Villanovan period) saw habitation – most probably in the form of one or more concentrations of huts – atop the plateau. As occurred at other sites in Etruria, status differentials between individuals increased in the Villanovan period. That such status was predicated – at least for some individuals – on martial power is indicated by grave goods in Villanovan cemeteries that include weapons and horse gear[7].

A significant Villanovan cemetery lies at Campo Sant'Antonio to the southeast of San Giuliano and immediately east of Chiusa Cima (see Figure 3). This cemetery has yielded the stylistically diagnostic black funerary urns of the Villanovans with lids made in the form of warriors' helmets. Unfortunately, much of the cemetery has been looted. The excavation of about 100 cremation and inhumation graves undertaken in association with the construction of the modern road in 1966 yielded limited scientifically collected data[8].

No traces of the Villanovan village – presumably consisting of a concentration of circular or oval huts with wooden posts and rammed earth or mud brick walls (such as the Villanovan remains found at nearby San Giovenale) – have been found[9].

Steingräber 2009 (note 1); S. Steingräber, *Rock tombs and the world of the Etruscan necropoleis: Recent discoveries, research and interpretations*, in *A companion to the Etruscans*, edited by S. Bell - A. Carpino, Malden, MA, 2016, pp. 146-161.

5. P. Guerrini, *Primi risultati dalla ricognizione nel territorio di Barbarano Romano: Gli esempi del Quarto, San Giuliano e La Macchia*, in *Dalla Tuscia Romana al territorio Valvense: Problemi di topografia medievale alla luce delle recenti ricerche archeologiche*, edited by L. Ermini Pani, Rome, 2001 (Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria, XLIII), pp. 57-92; P. Guerrini, *Il territorio di Barbarano*, in *Insediamenti rupestri medievali della Tuscia I: Le abitazioni*, edited by E. De Minicis, Rome, 2003, pp. 127-164.

6. For documentation of the 13th century castle at San Giovenale, which did not include excavation or artifact collection, see Thordeman - B. Hallert, *San Giovenale. Vol. VI, Fasc. 4: The Medieval Castle of San Giovenale, Fasc. 5: Terrestial Photogrammetric Survey of the San Giovenale Castle*. Lund, 1967. For medieval antica Monterano see F. Felici - A. Sasso. *Storia di un territorio*, in *Riserva Naturale Monterano*, Tarquinia, 2005, pp. 31-37, at p. 36. The authors postulate a 11th century date for a tower castle at Antica Monterano that would later become incorporated into the ducal palace, but this component remains unexcavated and obscured by later phases post-dating the end of the 12th century.

7. A. Berardinetti - A. de Santis - L. Drago. *Burials as evidence for proto-urban development in southern Etruria: The case of Veii*, in *Urbanization in the Mediterranean in the 9th to 6th centuries BC*, edited by H. Damgaard Andersen - H.W. Horsnæs - S. Houby-Nielsen - A. Rathje, Copenhagen, 1997, pp. 317-342.

8. A. Sasso, *The history of human habitation in the area of the park*, in *Marturanum Regional Park*, Tarquinia, 2005, pp. 77-100, p. 88.

9. For the evidence from San Giovenale see L. Karlsson, *San Giovenale IV. Area F East: Huts and houses on the acropolis*, Stockholm, 2006.

Etruscan Habitation and Necropolis

A growing body of archaeological documentation considers in a detailed fashion materials excavated from the domestic contexts of Etruscan towns and villages[10]. Survey projects, such as the South Etruria Survey and the Tuscania Project, have furthered our understanding of the Etruscan settlement patterns across the landscape of Etruria, although it is only relatively recently that the information from surveys has entered into our understanding of Etruscan civilization[11]. Recent publications of older excavations at sites such as Acquarossa and San Giovenale have also added much to our understanding of Etruscan settlements, with evidence revealing Etruscan houses made of stone blocks, mud bricks, wood, and wooden roofs covered in terracotta tiles[12]. Since the San Giuliano plateau has been undisturbed by post-medieval and modern settlement, there is significant potential for exploring Etruscan habitation at the site below the medieval and Roman layers.

Archaeological evidence for Etruscan settlement on San Giuliano plateau remains elusive. Disturbed finds from the Etruscan period, including pottery, have been found on San Giuliano plateau and testify to a significant occupation. The University of Rome Tor Vergata excavation undertaken in 1997-2000 and led by Antonia Rallo recovered Etruscan, Roman, and medieval artifacts from ditches dug into the subsurface towards the western end of the plateau[13]. The circuit walls that ring the plateau's eastern edge include large cut blocks of tuff identified as Etruscan. In addition, reused Etruscan blocks appear in the construction of medieval walls on La Rocca and possibly in the Romanesque church[14]. Further indication of Etruscan workmanship is still visible in the complex known as the Roman Bath (see below), where Gargana argues that the earlier Etruscan phase consisted of a subterranean cistern with a vertical access shaft[15].

Possible textual references to an Etruscan settlement atop San Giuliano are controversial and hardly definitive. Gargana favors a local oral tradition that associates San Giuliano with the ancient site of Marturanum (Etruscan, Manthurie)[16], but this is far from universally accepted[17]. The theory that medieval San Giuliano occupied the same site as the earlier Marturanum mentioned in the sources was retained in local early twentieth-century oral tradition of the village of Barbarano Romano[18]. This identification is supported by an inscription on a 6th century BC pithos fragment from the 1981-82 excavations of a votive site in the San Simone area which reads: *(MIN) I TURUKE LARTH MANTHUREIE* ("I was donated by Larth of Mantura")[19].

However, Colonna has argued that this find does not reflect the ancient name of San Giuliano but instead suggests that the pithos fragment is simply – as with so many archaeological objects –

10. H. Damgaard Andersen, *The archaeological evidence for the origin and development of the Etruscan city in the 7th to 6th Centuries BC*, in *Urbanization in the Mediterranean in the 9th to the 6th centuries BC*, edited by H. Damgaard Andersen - H.W. Horsnæs - S. Houby-Nielsen - A. Rathje, Copenhagen, 1997, pp. 343-382; T. Rasmussen, *Urbanization in Etruria*, in *Mediterranean urbanization 800-600 BC*, edited by R. Osborne and B. Cunliffe, Oxford, 2005, pp. 71-90.

11. G. Barker - T. Rasmussen, *The archaeology of an Etruscan polis: A preliminary report on the Tuscania Project (1986 and 1987 Seasons)*, in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 56 (1988), pp. 25-42; G. Barker - T. Rasmussen, *The Etruscans*, Oxford, 1998; H. Patterson - F. di Gennaro - H.D. Giuseppe - S. Fontana - M. Rendefi - M. Sansoni - A. Schiappelli - R. Witcher, *The re-evaluation of the South Etruria Survey: The first results from Veii*, in *Bridging the Tiber: Approaches to regional archaeology in the Middle Tiber Valley*, edited by H. Patterson, London, 2004, pp. 11-28. For an overview of the cumulative effect of the accumulation of survey data see S. Stoddart, *The impact of landscape and surface survey on the study of the Etruscans*, in *Etruscan Studies*, 10 (2007), pp. 239-245.

12. L. Karlsson, 2006 (note 9); C. Nylander - B. Blomé - L. Karlsson - A. Bizzarro - G. Tilia - S. Tilia - A. Tilia, *San Giovenale Vol. V, Fasc. 1. The Borgo. Excavating an Etruscan quarter: Architecture and stratigraphy*, Stockholm, 2013.

13. The unpublished excavation is cataloged in the FastiOnline database (www.fastionline.org).

14. Guerrini 2001 (note 5) and Guerrini 2003 (note 5); P. Guerrini - A. Sasso, *From the Middle Ages to the Modern Age*, in *Marturanum Regional Park*, Tarquinia, 2005, pp. 100-117.

15. Gargana 1931 (note 1), pp. 330-332; compare with cross-sections of Etruscan cisterns at Blera in Foddai's Figures 4 and 5 in E. Foddai, *Cunicoli e impianti idraulici di epoca preromana a Blera*, in *L'Etruria meridionale rupestre,* Rome, 2014, pp. 64-77.

16. Gargana 1931 (note 1), pp. 312-315.

17. For recent scholars who disagree with Gargana on the identification of San Giuliano as the site of Marturanum see e.g. Guerrini - Sasso 2005 (note 14) and for a fuller treatment of the name issue see G. Colonna, *I nome delle città dell'Etruria meriodionale interna*, in *L'Etruria meriodionale rupestre*, Rome, 2014, pp. 90-114.

18. Gargana 1931 (note 1).

19. Further, see Guerrini 2003 (note 5), p. 161 and Sasso 2005 (note 8), p. 96.

an example of the mobility of people and objects in the past[20]. Rather, Marturanum may refer to the town today called Monterano; the similarity of the two names is, in any case, suggestive.

Direct architectural evidence of Etruscan domestic settlement atop San Giuliano was not forthcoming during the 2016 SGARP season. This notwithstanding, pedestrian survey and excavation on, and immediately adjacent to, the plateau yielded ceramic finds indicative of an Etruscan presence. In particular, surface survey documented small fragments of impasto and bucchero ceramics concentrated on the northeastern edge of the plateau, an area that appears to have been disturbed by previous earthmoving activities. This disturbance is mostly associated with the modern reconstruction of a portion of the circuit walls, the earliest phases of which were erected in Etruscan times.

In addition, a small number of potsherds from Etruscan vessels were encountered in Trench 1 at La Rocca. Body sherds from an Etruscan ribbed red impasto pithos, dating to the 7th or 6th century BC, were discovered in the layer immediately above a prepared mortar medieval floor (see below). A black-slipped sherd, probably from a Greek vessel of the 5th-3rd centuries BC, was found with mortar attached to it in a layer of medieval post-abandonment architectural collapse. The presence of these sherds in medieval deposits is likely due to disturbance of an earlier Etruscan occupation in the course of digging out the cistern/granary or constructing the medieval walls.

Etruscan tombs – much more so than domestic habitation sites – have been the subject of sustained archaeological investigation throughout Etruria, revealing a wide range of variation in architectural style and layout, decoration, and grave good inclusions. Unique to the interior of southern Etruria is the rock-cut tomb form, cut into the sheer faces of the volcanic tuff stone that characterizes the region. One such collection of tombs is found in a so-called "ritual halo" surrounding the plateau upon which the site of San Giuliano is situated.

Distinctive Etruscan funerary monuments appear at San Giuliano by the late 8th or early 7th century BC (the Orientalizing Period) in the form of the tumuli situated atop each of the hills that ring the San Giuliano plateau. The rock-cut tombs carved into the sides of the hills below the tumuli appear slightly later, in the Archaic Period (6th to the early 5th century BC). Scholars, like Gargana, have recognized that these tombs cluster into recognizable zones below the hilltops that include, from northwest to southeast, Poggio Castello, Greppo Cenale, Caiolo, San Simone, and Chiusa Cima (see Figures 2 and 3)[21]. The tombs, which look towards the habitation area of San Giuliano, are likely associated with lineages or kin groups that traced their heritage to ancestors buried in the older tumuli above.

In 2016, the SGARP team conducted a pedestrian survey to locate, map, and register the visible Etruscan tombs in the area surrounding San Giuliano. The survey was conducted using a systematic methodology of 10 m transects coupled with an opportunistic survey of likely tomb locations, and was limited to the tombs that could be recognized from the surface through field walking. We completely surveyed approximately 75% of the study area, albeit the area of interest may be expanded in future seasons to capture the full spatial extent of the tombs associated with San Giuliano. The first season resulted in the registration of 471 tombs. Our research confirms earlier observations of the concentrations of tombs in groups surrounding San Giuliano (see Figure 3), and the absence of Etruscan tombs in the cliff faces of the plateau itself[22].

During the 2016 season, SGARP conducted salvage excavation of two Etruscan tombs: Tomb E13-035, found in the Caiolo tomb concentration; and Tomb G13-001, located within the ambit of the Chiusa Cima tomb concentration. Both tombs had been extensively looted and all excavated contexts were disturbed. Nonetheless, SGARP selected these tombs for excavation because of the presence of artifact and human bone material visible on the surface. Without excavation these remains were in danger of being lost, trampled, and destroyed.

Tomb E13-035 has a carved flat façade without ornamentation and an uncovered carved dromos (entryway) leading into a single chamber tomb. A carved roof beam runs down the center of the ceiling, while a carved edging extends around the entire perimeter of the ceiling. The ceiling, mimicking the internal form of a house, is higher in the center and slopes down to the walls that flank the entrance wall.

20. Colonna 2014 (note 17), pp. 92-93.

21. Gargana 1931 (note 1), pp. 303-304.

22. For earlier statements about the tomb concentrations that surround the San Giuliano plateau see for example Gargana 1931 (note 1) and Colonna Di Paolo 1978 (note 4).

There are two couches or beds, one on each of the walls flanking the entrance[23]. Among the ceramics within the tomb stands one remarkable find: a complete bucchero vessel that has been identified as a Rasmussen Type 3a/Ramage Type 4E chalice[24]. The form saw wide geographical distribution throughout Etruria beginning in the last quarter of the 7th century BC and continuing through to the middle of the 6th century BC. Several other sherds indicate a date of approximately 600 BC for this tomb.

Tomb G13-001 yielded human osteological remains, recovered from the surface inside the tomb, as well as bone and other artifacts from the partial excavation of the dromos. The necessity of securing the crumbling sides of the tomb meant that the completion of the excavation of this tomb was left for the coming 2017 season. The tomb is cut directly into the tuff and lacks a façade. Several large, rectangular stone blocks found lying perpendicular to the dromos would have originally blocked the entrance to the tomb[25]. The tomb door opens into a single internal chamber with a carved roof beam down the center of the ceiling. The ceiling slopes down towards the two side walls, along which two couches or beds were carved from the tuff. Analysis of the forms and styles in the ceramic assemblage tentatively dates the tomb to the middle of the 6th century BC, pending future excavation of the remainder of the tomb.

Roman Occupation

The Roman occupation at San Giuliano is not yet well understood. It is possible that during the Hellenistic period, the site was at least partially deurbanized, even as Etruria was granted citizenship as an outcome of the Social Wars. At the very least, the material culture at San Giuliano seems to suggest a gradual transition and an apparent decline in wealth as the inhabitants became incorporated culturally and politically into the Roman state.

Although the Latin name for the Etruscan/Roman San Giuliano cannot be identified definitively in ancient sources, Gargana and Colonna have separately proffered the notion that Livy's mention of the 388 BC conquest of two sites within the territory of Tarquinia, namely Contenebra and Cortuosa, may refer to San Giuliano and San Giovenale respectively[26]. Occupation at San Giuliano may have continued under Roman domination, but the site does not appear to have had the same degree of administrative and political importance as, for instance, the site of Blera (circa 5 km west of San Giuliano, see Figure 1). This decline occurs in spite of the fact that funerary remains suggest that the Etruscan settlement at San Giuliano would have housed a substantially larger population than the nearby Etruscan settlements of Blera and San Giovenale. Roman preference for Blera likely relates to the site's proximity to the Via Clodia, the Roman road that served as the region's main north-south communication artery. San Giuliano, by contrast, lay on a subsidiary road about 5 km distant from the Via Clodia.

Despite its decline as a central node of communication and commerce, several intriguing clues suggest the adoption of Roman traditions at San Giuliano. A reused Roman imperial column in the nave of the Romanesque church on the plateau attests to the presence of Roman architectural elements at the site. Although the cistern known as the Roman Bath (*Bagno Romano*) appears to be Etruscan in origin, Gargana interprets the feature as reutilized and partially reconfigured in the Roman period, with the addition of a staircase leading down to the cistern and the conversion of the cistern

23. For similar examples from Tarquinia see Figures 4, 5, and 6 in L. G. Perego, *La struttura monumentale delle Morre a Pian di Civita a Tarquinia: notizia preliminare*, in *L'Etruria meridionale rupestre,* Rome, 2013, pp. 78-83.

24. N.H. Ramage, *Studies in Early Etruscan Bucchero*, in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 38 (1970), pp: 1-61; T.B. Rasmussen, *Bucchero pottery from southern Etruria*, Cambridge, 1979.

25. For similar examples from Tarquinia see Figures 4, 5, and 6 in L. G. Perego, *La struttura monumentale delle Morre a Pian di Civita a Tarquinia: notizia preliminare*, in *L'Etruria meridionale rupestre*, Rome, 2013, pp. 78-83.

26. Livy, Ab Urbe Condita 6.4.8f.: *duxere, exercitum alterum in agrum Tarquiniensem; ibi oppida Etruscorum Cortuosa et Contenebra vi capta dirutaque.* «They [recently elected Roman military tribunes] led forth another army into the region of Tarquinia; there the Etruscan towns known as Cortuosa and Contenebra were taken by force and destroyed». The former city fell immediately, the latter held out under siege (Livy 6.4.9-11). On progression of *capta dirutaque*, cf. C.S.Kraus, *Livy:* Ab Urbe Condita *Book VI*, Cambridge, 1994, ad 4.9, p. 113. For the identification of Contenebra and Cortuosa as San Giuliano and San Giovenale see Gargana 1931 (note 1), p. 311 and Colonna 2014 (note 17), pp. 90-114.

into a larger rectangular bath[27] Further indicating a Roman presence are a small number of Roman funerary caves with arcosolium tombs cut into the southern base of the San Giuliano plateau (1st century BC to the early 5th century AD)[28].

Evidence for the Roman occupation of San Giuliano during the period of Roman domination was scarce during the first season of SGARP's fieldwork. Survey work around the base of the plateau identified clusters of roof tiles that appear to date to the Hellenistic period. These roof tiles likely came from the top of the plateau from where they were discarded or redeposited by landslides. One particularly large concentration was found below the northern margin of the plateau, suggesting a Hellenistic period habitation along the middle of the northern edge of the plateau. Fieldwork in 2016 also mapped the distribution on the plateau of reused basalt basoli, or large polygonal stones with a single flat surface were used in Roman road construction. Two such stones were excavated from the fill of the medieval cistern/granary (see below) and four other basoli were identified in architectural collapse from medieval structures on La Rocca. These basoli were likely reused from an earlier Roman road, although the location, size, and nature of the road are unknown.

San Giuliano in the Middle Ages

After the collapse of the Roman Empire, the Ostrogoths, Lombards, and Franks had a dramatic impact on the Italic peninsula. Migration of these groups and the spread of their culture and political organization predominantly affected northern Italy, while the region of northern Lazio lay on the margins of these social forces[29]. The latter half of the medieval period saw the development of the feudal economic system and, subsequently, the rise of powerful city-states and greater economic prosperity. SGARP aims to further our understanding of these social and political changes through excavations of the medieval ruins that lie atop the San Giuliano plateau. Our focus will be on the timing and character of the major medieval reoccupation of the plateau after the decline of the Etruscan city.

At least three basic models are conceivable for the origins of the San Giuliano fortified zone: 1) Lombard or Byzantine border fort, 2) feudal castle, or 3) fortified village. Each model suggests a separate mode of organization, ranging from a state sponsored project, to a private venture for political domination, to a communally planned and executed defensive work, respectively. Given the complex and dynamic regional political landscape of the Italian Middle Ages, the character of the fortifications and associated habitation zone may well have changed over time, meaning that the models need not necessarily be mutually exclusive. Investigation of these models of incastellamento (a term used for the relocation of large parts of the population of Italy into defensible, fortified sites) has significant ramifications for our wider understanding of the medieval castle building tradition in Italy and beyond[30].

The medieval ruins at San Giuliano offer an excellent and logistically feasible case study for exploring the models of fortification indicated above. In fact, considering the scarcity of written sources regarding this region of Lazio in the 7th–11th century, archaeology affords us the only viable means to investigate these various models[31]. The character and extent of the medieval occupation of San Giuliano, if still not well-understood, appears to be substantial. They include, most importantly, La Rocca's fortification at the eastern end of the plateau and the Romanesque church located approximately at the center of San Giuliano.

27. Guerrini 2003 (note 5), p. 132.

28. Guerrini 2003 (note 5), p. 132.

29. For an overview of archaeological indications of economic and political fragmentation that accompanied this period – even if not always directly as a result of Germanic invasion – see e.g. C. Wickham, *Early medieval archaeology in Italy: The last twenty years*, in *Archeologia Medievale*, 26 (1999), pp. 7-20.

30. For discussion of models of incastellamento in Tuscany see G. Bianchi, *Analyzing the fragmentation during the Early Middle Ages: Tuscany's model and the countryside of the centre-north Italy*, in *New Directions in Early Medieval European Archaeology: Spain and Italy compared. Essays for Riccardo Francovich*, S. Gelichi - R. Hodges (eds.), Turnhout, 2015, pp. 301–333. For a summary of the incastellamento process south of Tuscany, see C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central power and local society 400-1000*, London, 1981, pp. 163–167. Wickham suggests that, in the documents for the area south of Siena, the Latin castrum or castellum (Italian, castello, and English, castle) is more accurately translated as "fortified village".

31. For an assertion of the primacy of the archaeological record to address the nature and date of settlement shifts associated with incastellamento see R. Francovich - R. Hodges, *Villa to village: The transformation of the Roman countryside*, London, 2003.

A model in which the fortifications atop San Giuliano were the product of Lombard or Byzantine efforts receives some support in the material record. Evidence of domestic occupation of San Giuliano in the Early Middle Ages was uncovered during the University of Rome Tor Vergata excavation test trench 3 (1997-8). This trench exposed a midden yielding diagnostic domestic cooking wares that predate AD 900. This work, however, remains unpublished and is thus of limited utility in informing our understanding of the Early Middle Ages at San Giuliano. Excavations carried out by the local Associazione Archeologica Rasna in 1991 uncovered the remains of multiple phases of construction related to the castle at La Rocca. Despite the fact that these excavations are also unpublished, the Rasna excavations made an important contribution by exposing four roughly east-west oriented graves cut into the bedrock within the fortified area at La Rocca. The dating of these graves is unclear, as is the reason that they appear to be positioned within a room – possibly a chapel – within the small castle at La Rocca. Guerrini believes these graves to be early medieval in date, probably AD 500-700, and indicates that these types of graves, tombe a loggette, are found within the known 8th century borderlands between the Byzantine and Lombard zones of control[32]. In general, the tombe a logette share the following similar characteristics: 1) an east-west orientation, 2) a location on tops of plateaus reoccupied in the medieval period, 3) a frequent association with a church or chapel, and 4) a relative absence of grave goods[33].

The tombe a loggette at San Giuliano suggest a presence on the plateau at the time when the area lay on the Byzantine-Lombard border. In future seasons, SGARP will establish if there was an earlier chapel associated with the stronghold predating the 11th century castle (see below). Whether in the possession of Byzantines or Lombards, a stronghold in this period would likely coincide with the first model described at the opening to this section: a defensive work built by a state-level polity to protect and/or extend its territorial boundaries.

The medieval period after AD 900 is more visible on the San Giuliano plateau and appears to support a model in which a local lord erected the fortifications as part of a bid to secure political domination over the area and its inhabitants within the emerging feudal economic system. Extant structures dating to this period include the Romanesque church and the fortification zone that includes a small collapsed castle, the subject of our excavations (see Figures 3, 4, and 5). Both the church and the fortification walls have substantial standing architectural components that have recently been partially restored. The first secure documentary evidence of the church of San Giuliano's existence comes from a record of Bishop Binnariono's visit to the site in 1573, but the archaeological evidence shows that the church is much older[34]. Indeed, the earliest architectural components of the San Giuliano church date to the 11th century, with at least three subsequent phases of restructuring in the 12th, 13th, and 15th-16th centuries[35]. The oldest frescoes inside the church, still visible in the apse, date to the 15th century[36].

Dating of the construction and use of the visible fortifications on La Rocca is less clear, although Guerrini hypothesizes that the phase of incastellamento began locally as early as the 9th century[37]. The earliest portions of the medieval castle on La Rocca, however, as well as the reused/reconstructed ring wall (especially along the eastern edge of the plateau), appear to date no earlier than the 11th century. In Italy more broadly, the incastellamento or castle-building process is usually associated with the 10th century rise of a rural elite that manifested their political and martial power in their private castles[38]. These feudal lords were capitalizing on a general collapse of political centralization and a ruralization of power in the Kingdom of Italy, controlled by the Frankish lineage until 962 and then by the Ottonian Emperors. This form of incastellamento sees the feudal lord constructing private castles largely to dominate and control the local population, a scenario which fits the second model presented above, in which the warrior elite privatized and monopolized communal defense.

Seldom considered in this medieval Italian political environment is the third model suggested above, in which the fortifications may be a result of village – or community – level organization for

32. Guerrini 2003 (note 5), p. 133.
33. Guerrini 2001 (note 5), pp. 68-69.
34. Guerrini 2001 (note 5), p. 74.
35. Guerrini 2001 (note 5), pp. 70-73.
36. Guerrini and Sasso 2005 (note 14), p. 105.
37. Guerrini 2001 (note 5), p. 75.
38. S. Gasparri, *The aristocracy*, in *Italy in the early Middle Ages*, edited by C. La Rocca, Oxford, 2002, pp. 59-101, at p. 81.

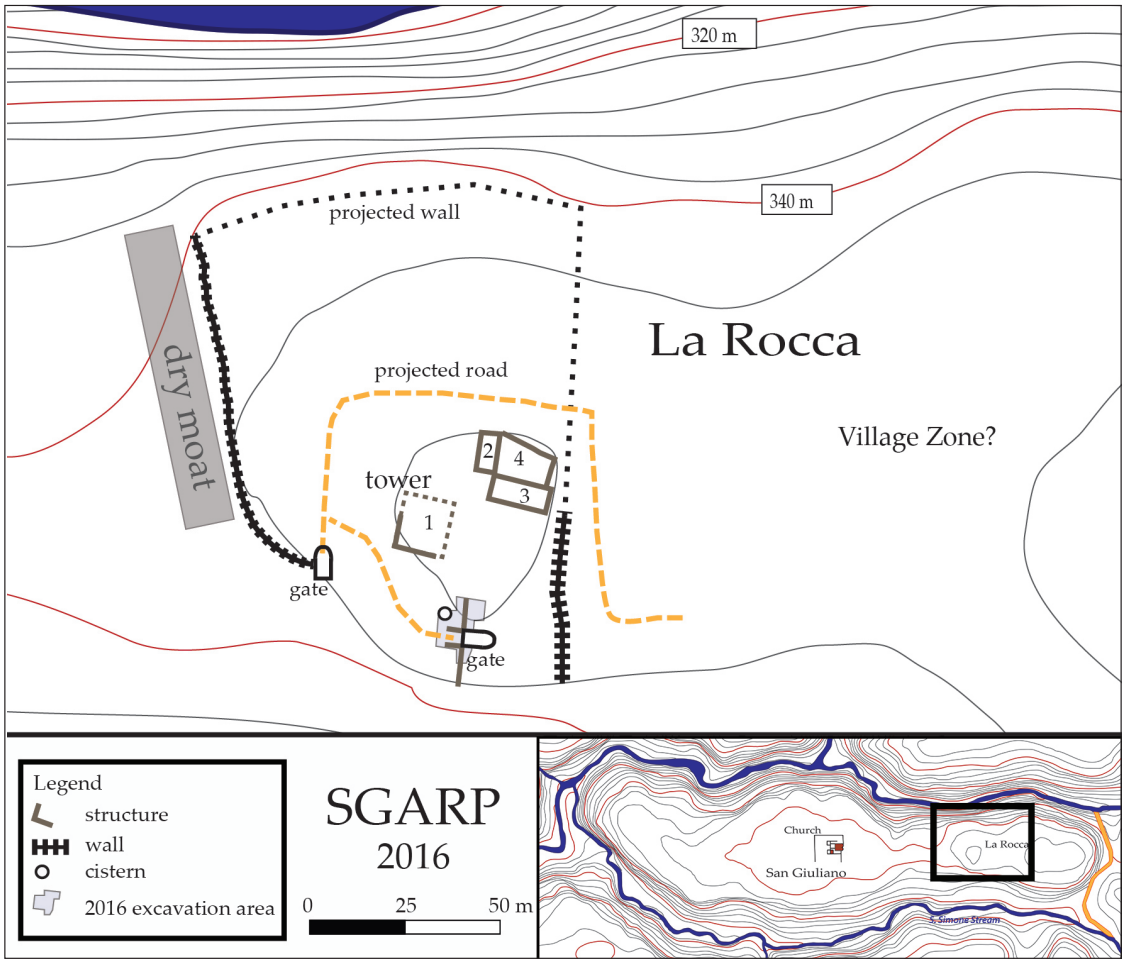

Fig. 4 - La Rocca fortified zone, showing standing architectural features and the area of the 2016 excavation. We expect that the medieval village would have been located to the east and behind the walls of the castle

Fig. 5 - Base of collapsed tower (view to the north). Note the cemented rubble and mortar core, faced with tuff blocks

mutual defense[39]. This model ascribes greater agency to non-elites than do the other models and, as such, constitutes a form of "bottom-up" organization that may find little mention in written historical records. Such collective action by nucleated settlements in Italy is often associated with the later period of the communes, but communal village structures were already emerging in tandem with the territorialization of lordly power (signoria) in the late 11th and 12th centuries[40]. Villages evolved as important loci of political action and community identity in parallel with the fragmentation of centralized power characteristic of this period.

What is perhaps important to remember is that during this time of flux, different organizational models emerged across the peninsula[41]. For instance, village-based organization of territories appears to have been a characteristic of Lombard Italy, if not of Byzantine Italy, during the 8th and 9th century[42]. Archaeological investigations of hilltop castles dating to the incastellamento period have shown that many of these areas had earlier fortified villages dating back to major settlement shifts in the 7th century, a time that saw the centralization of populations on hilltops on the initiative of local communities[43]. These villages most often feature wooden buildings and a wooden palisade, providing us with a specific date range and diagnostic material correlates for this model.

An intriguing body of archaeological evidence testifies to habitation and use of the San Giuliano plateau by non-elite community members in the medieval period. An example of this phenomenon are the numerous caves – presumably animal shelters and a few habitation sites for humans – that were dug into the side of the tuff escarpment below the top of the San Giuliano plateau. Guerrini has described, mapped, and developed a typology of these caves, at least some of which appear to have had a religious function[44]. For example, in the Middle Ages, one Etruscan tomb in the area of San Simone was converted into a Christian chapel dedicated to Saint Simon, with a 13th century fresco inside depicting the Presentation at the Temple[45]. Other shelters excavated into the escarpments of the plateau may have served hermits living beyond the immediate orbit of the 15th-16th century hermitage associated with the Romanesque San Giuliano church[46]. The hermitage attached to the church's western side includes a few small rooms, one of which probably held a bell-tower and another of which held a cistern.

Documentary evidence for the medieval habitation at San Giuliano is slight and controversial. However, two documents from Viterbo that predate the previously mentioned record of Bishop Binnariono's visit to the San Giuliano church state that in 1141 Count Farulfo gave the two castles of San Giuliano and San Angelo to the commune of Viterbo[47]. Although other possibilities remain, the castle of San Giuliano mentioned in these documents can most probably be associated with the ruins of the castle located atop the plateau of San Giuliano. In general, the name of the site that used to lie atop the San Giuliano plateau – whether that be the Etruscan Manthurie, the Roman Contenebra, or the medieval San Giuliano – is a question that may only be answerable with recovery of additional inscriptions or documentation.

Regardless of the name of the site, the archaeological evidence that still lies buried atop the plateau has great potential to address deeper sociological and political questions about the role of medieval

39. In this particular aspect, we are unconvinced by Wickham's argument that the shift of villages to hilltops is not motivated by the need for defense. He argues that the move to hilltop settlements was instead for economic purposes, possibly related to landclearing. See Wickham 1981 (note 30), pp. 165-166; and also C. Wickham, *Framing the early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean*, 400-800, Oxford, 2005, p. 486.

40. C. Wickham, *Rural economy and society*, in *Italy in the early Middle Ages,* edited by C. La Rocca, Oxford, 2002, pp. 118-143, at 140.

41. For a clear statement on regional variability in settlement patterns and in the character of incastellamento see C. Wickham 2005 (note 40), pp. 481-488. For variations evident from recent archaeological excavations see G. Bianchi 2015 (note 30).

42. Wickham 1999 (note 29), p. 16; see also Wickham 1981 (note 30), pp. 98-99, where Wickham speculates that only archaeology has the potential to shed light on the process by which these villages came into existence.

43. R. Francovich, *Changing structures of settlements*, in *Italy in the early Middle Ages*, edited by C. La Rocca, Oxford, 2002, pp. 144-167. For a discussion of Francovich's model and modifications to his model based on recent archaeological work on castle sites in western Tuscany, see Bianchi 2015 (note 30).

44. Guerrini 2003 (note 5).

45. F. Ricci, *Aspetti di cultura figurativa medievale e rinascimentale a Barbarano Romano*, in *Informazioni. Amministrazione Provinciale di Viterbo*, 7 (1992), pp. 70-76. S. Piazza, *Pittura rupestre medievale. Lazio e Campania settentrionale (secoli VI-XIII),* Rome, 2006 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 370), pp. 39-42.

46. Guerrini 2001 (note 5), p. 73.

47. Guerrini 2003 (note 5), p. 162.

San Giuliano within the broader region. The church and the castle indicate the site's significance, but why did the inhabitants of medieval San Giuliano leave? By charting the material record of the economic base of political power, we seek to understand why a site of apparent prominence was abandoned in the late medieval period and not reoccupied.

The 2016 SGARP Field Season: La Rocca Fortification Mapping and Excavation

Survey and mapping during the 2016 season produced data needed to begin building an understanding of the medieval archaeological remains in their surrounding geographic context. We documented the standing architecture on the plateau with a total station and employed a Trimble GPS to map the topography and distribution of surface artifacts. Preliminary analysis of the surface finds suggests that the area around La Rocca may have been an important locus of occupation in the medieval period.

Mapping of the surface ruins of La Rocca identified a medieval fortified zone delineated by walls. These surround a small castle complex centered on a tower that, but for the base, has now collapsed (see Figures 4 and 5). The fortified zone was entered through a low and relatively narrow (2 m) gate to the southwest of the castle, after which the road continues to the north around the base of the tower. West of the road, a man-made dry-moat, augmented by a cut-stone wall on the eastern edge, accentuates the natural defensibility of the high ground of La Rocca. A matching wall delineating the eastern bounds of the castle complex extends north from the southern edge of the plateau, surrounding the collapsed tower and several structures or rooms that were partially exposed in the Rasna community excavation of 1991. Although these excavations remain unpublished, Guerrini describes the rooms that correspond also to SGARP's map from 2016, and her examination of the tuff blocks showed several phases of construction, even if a stratigraphic relationship between the phases could not be definitively determined[48].

We positioned SGARP's La Rocca Trench 1 between the southern edge of the plateau, the base of the collapsed tower, and the narrow gate leading up and into the fortified zone of La Rocca. This area is therefore within the fortified zone. Initially 3 × 3 m in size, Trench 1 was later expanded to capture and follow the walls encountered in the initial area (Figures 6 and 7). Excavations were concluded upon reaching bedrock at approximately 1 m below the surface. Broadly speaking, the exposure revealed an external wall and the base of an associated small tower; a relatively narrow pedestrian entrance leading into a walled space; and a cistern or grain storage pit just outside the wall and entryway.

Excavations of the 2016 season exposed a well-made and relatively thick (width of 56 cm) wall that runs north-south and then makes a right-angle turn to the east in the space between the foundations of the collapsed castle tower and the edge of the plateau. The north-south wall and the walls of the contiguous entryway (see below) were constructed using a double-wall-and-fill technique employing blocks averaging 31 cm in height and ranging from 24-46 cm in length, with an average of 39 cm. The blocks have five hewn surfaces, while the internal face has been left quite rough to more securely interlock with the rubble/mortar core of the wall. In some areas, the foundation stones of this north-south wall were set directly atop bedrock and mortared into position. The majority of the basal stones, however, were set into foundation trenches dug into bedrock and subsequently filled with mortar.

The base of a small tower measuring 1.09 × 1.22 m and strengthened by a core of mortar and rubble abuts the northwestern corner of the wall (see Figures 6 and 7). Added on after the initial period of wall construction, the architectural blocks used in this construction are distinct from those of the large north-south wall. Specifically, the internal surfaces of the blocks have flat, worked faces. In addition, the blocks in the lowest, foundational course are much wider than they are tall, with a height ranging from 10-13 cm. Stones in the upper courses are much taller, each having a relatively uniform height of 31-33 cm. The bottom course likely comprises the same type of wall blocks but laid flat so that the narrow face shows. These blocks extend father into the interior of the structure, creating a more stable foundation for the subsequent courses of the wall. This may have been particularly important as the walls of the small tower generally do not articulate directly with bedrock. Instead, the majority of the blocks rest directly on compacted soil.

48. Guerrini 2001 (note 5).

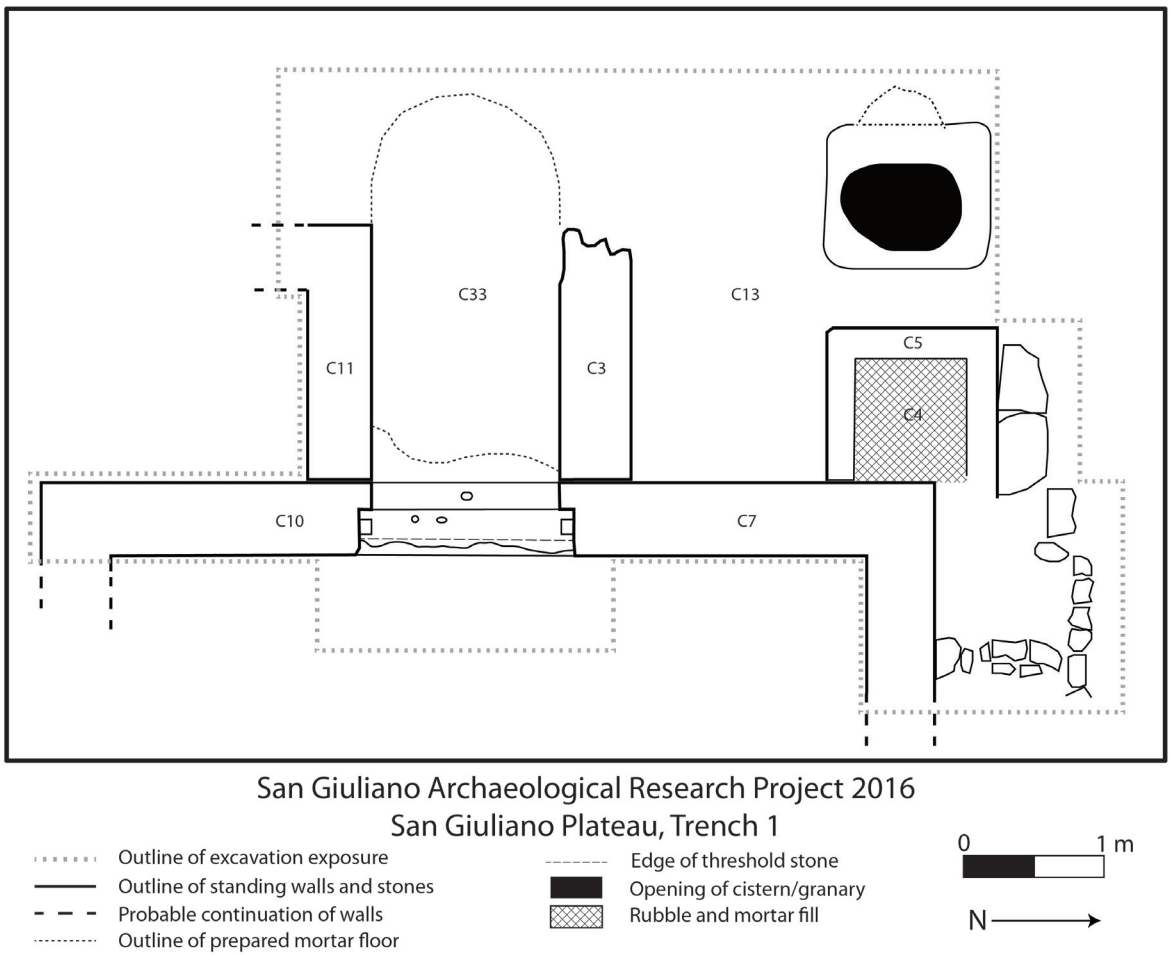

Fig. 6 - Map of Trench 1 at La Rocca, showing extent of the 2016 excavations and the architectural remains uncovered

Fig. 7 - View of Trench 1, looking toward the east. Visible in the lower left is the opening of the cistern/granary and surrounding rectangular cut. To the right of the image can be seen the entryway walls, prepared mortar floor, and threshold of the pedestrian entryway, while the rectilinear base of the small collapsed tower is located at the upper left of the photo

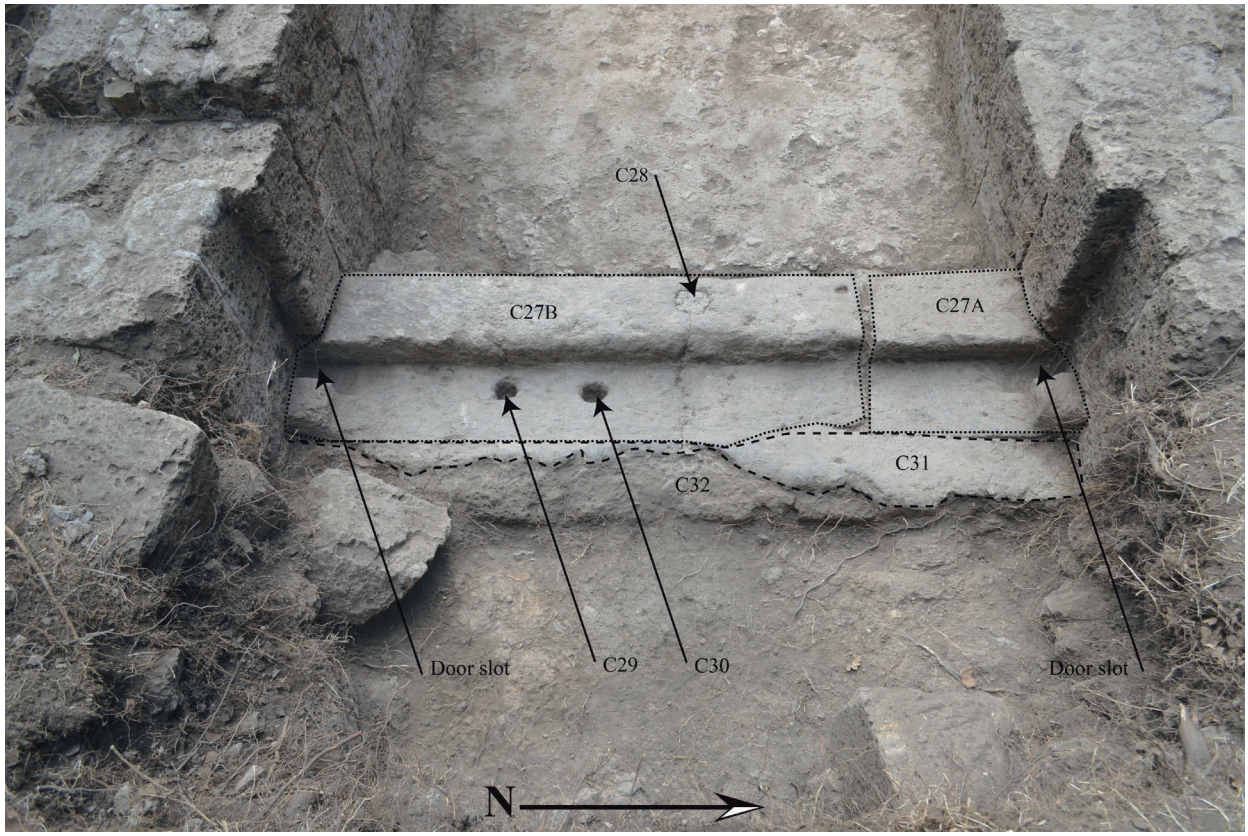

Fig. 8 - Detail of the medieval threshold, Trench 1 (view to the west). Note the door slots on the north and south side of the threshold as well as holes C29 and C30 that were used to lock the gate into place when closed

The cut and style of the blocks used in the small tower, as well as the construction around a cemented mortar and rubble core, closely parallel the base of the larger tower directly north of Trench 1. This suggests some degree of contemporaneity: both the massive tower crowning the western end of La Rocca and the smaller tower abutting the north-south wall in Trench 1 were constructed at roughly the same time, post-dating the emplacement of the earlier wall with the pedestrian entrance. This hypothesis requires testing in upcoming seasons, but testifies to multiple construction episodes and periods of remodeling on La Rocca, perhaps as inhabitants adjusted to variable levels of threat and conflict.

The monumental north-south wall is perforated by an elaborate pedestrian entrance. Leading up to the doorway is an enclosed passage with a prepared mortar floor that was likely roofed, as suggested by the large numbers of roof tiles recovered from the architectural debris in the passageway. The entryway itself has a complex threshold with multiple mechanisms for closing the entrance (Figure 8). The threshold was designed to accommodate a door – possibly a portcullis – that would have been dropped vertically into the slot on the threshold interior. Other holes in the threshold may have received pegs holding in place a swinging wicket gate. Hewn blocks from an arch formerly spanning the threshold were found collapsed within the entryway, further evidence of its architectural elaboration. Six of the eight archway stones recovered bore vertical and diagonal incisions on the internal surfaces that would have adjoined when the blocks were in their original positions (Figure 9). These incisions open onto the edge of the stones along the superior surface of the stones, and many retain evidence that they had originally been filled with mortar (see Figure 9). We postulate that the incised channels would have been filled with mortar once the archway stones were put into position, increasing the strength and stability of the arch.

Another key feature discovered during the 2016 season was a subterranean pit that was roughly oval shaped in vertical cross section, excavated into the bedrock just outside the pedestrian entryway (see Figures 6 and 7). The precise function of this pit remains uncertain. It may have been a cistern

Fig. 9 - Vertical and diagonal incised lines on the adjoining faces of the archway stones. Note the presence of mortar in the lines, indicative of their function as channels for mortaring the archway stones together

used for the collection and storage of water. Another possibility is that it may have been part of a broader local tradition of subterranean grain storage pits or granaries, also found in excavations of medieval occupations at Vetralla, Tolfa, Tuscania, and Farnese[49]. In the San Giuliano excavations, the pit was first identified by a rectilinear cut into the tuff bedrock. The rectangular cut represents the outline of a wooden cover or some type of superstructure that protected the opening of the cistern/granary. The rectangular cut continued down for approximately 11 cm before flattening out onto the surface into which was cut the roughly circular opening of the cistern/granary. Internally, the opening remains narrow for the first 10-15 cm of depth, forming a type of "collar," and then expands out into an irregular, oval-shaped pit with a maximum observed diameter of 1.63 m and a depth of 2.82 m (Figures 10 and 11). This morphology is quite similar to a granary pit excavated at Vetralla[50]. Pick marks are visible on the interior surfaces, which have also been coated with a thin layer of white substance that may be a lime wash applied to assist with water retention or preventing the entry of moisture to the granary. The upper layers of the pit were similar to the mixed architectural rubble collected elsewhere in Trench 1 (see below), including two Roman basoli that evidence medieval robbing of stone from an Imperial road presumably located nearby. Increasing quantities of metal artifacts, ceramics, and large numbers of faunal bones in the middle and lower levels of the fill suggest that the cistern/granary was ultimately used for trash disposal. It is difficult to ascertain when exactly the cistern/granary was in use for its original purpose. However, a diagnostic fragment of an unglazed, almond-shaped pitcher spout recovered from the occupation surface adjacent to the cistern/granary dates the use of the floor to the 11th-12th centuries AD. Additional support for this chronology is provided by other fragments of cooking pots and storage vessels recovered nearby, which find close parallels in utilitarian vessels from Santa Cornelia dating to the 8th-12th centuries[51].

Materials excavated outside of the wall/entryway complex comprise between 70-80 cm of debris from post-abandonment architectural collapse, including loose chunks of mortar, cut-stone blocks, and smaller angular stones that were likely part of the wall cores. Intermingled with the architectural

49. E. De Minicis, *Una fossa granaria utilizzato come "butto" a Vetralla*, in *Le Ceramiche di Roma e del Lazio in età Medievale e Moderna IV*, edited by E. De Minicis - G. Maetzke, Rome, 2002, pp. 304-314.

50. De Minicis 2002 (note 49), particularly her Figure 1 on p. 305. This presumed granary pit at Vetralla was later used for trash disposal, with discarded materials dating to the 14th century. This provides a *terminus ante quem* date for the use of the pit as a granary, somewhat later than 13th century date postulated for the abandonment of San Giuliano.

51. D. Whitehouse. *The medieval pottery from S. Cornelia*, in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 48 (1980), pp. 125-156.

Fig. 10 - Medieval cistern/granary and rectangular cut for a cover or surrounding superstructure

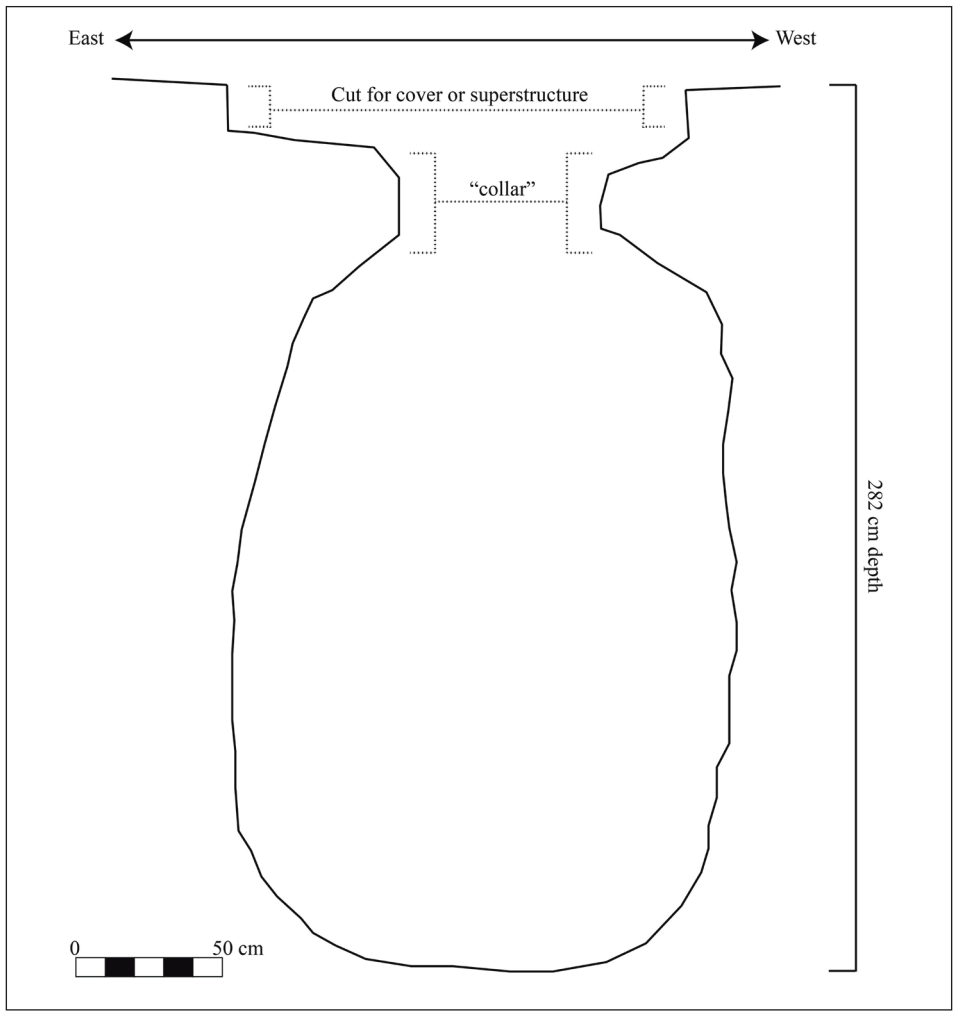

Fig. 11 - East-west vertical profile of the cistern/granary at La Rocca, located just outside of the pedestrian gate

Fig. 12 - Socketed iron point, possible bodkin

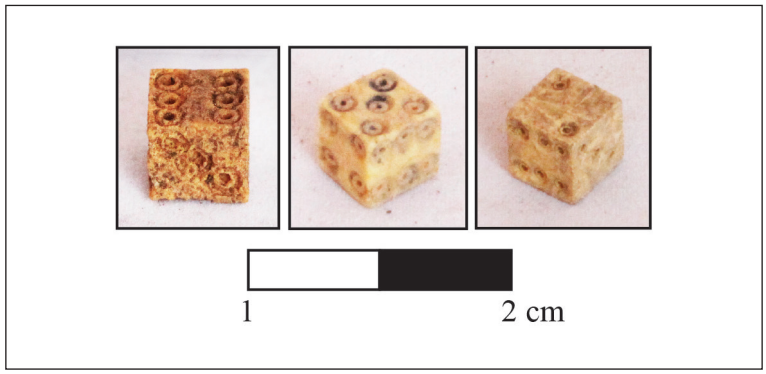

Fig. 13 - Medieval dice found outside of La Rocca pedestrian gate

collapse were ceramic sherds (N=1,605, comprising a minimum of 96 individual vessels), metal artifacts (functional iron artifacts N=50, bronze artifacts related to ornamentation N=3), glass shards (N=56), and large numbers of faunal bones (N=3,103, weight = 14,724 gm). These artifacts constitute refuse discarded or lost outside of the walls prior to, during, and after the site's abandonment. Hand-forged iron objects in particular, ranging from horseshoe nails and tacks to weapons such as a bodkin point, testify to the martial nature of the zone excavated in Trench 1 (Figure 12). Three six-sided bone dice were found in the excavations (Figure 13), suggesting that games of chance were played here as well[52]. The latest datable finds were sherds from a glazed, proto-maiolica bowl from the layer of architectural collapse, dating to the 13th or 14th century AD (Figure 14), suggesting final abandonment around this time.

Although Trench 1 provides but a small window into the habitation of La Rocca, the artifact assemblage and architectural constructions supply an occupation sequence that is internally coherent. Diagnostic ceramics indicate that the occupation surfaces were in use primarily in the 11th-12th centuries AD, with multiple episodes of wall construction predating this period. The site may have seen some use in the 13th century followed by final abandonment of the castle area by the 13th-14th centuries. This assessment of Trench 1's chronology remains preliminary. It is significant, however, that there is no obvious evidence of an earlier medieval occupation in this sector. This suggests that the constructions encountered on La Rocca were likely, as suggested by Guerrini, part of the incastellamento process characteristic of the region in the 9th and 10th centuries.

Shifting power dynamics in the late 11th and early 12th centuries eroded the influence of the Church and led to a rise in the political power of cities that began to replace the earlier feudal system[53]. The nearby city of Viterbo rose to power in this dynamic environment, in which it systematically asserted control over smaller surrounding centers. Those that submitted voluntarily to Viterbo's rule were left intact, while those towns and settlements that resisted were often destroyed in their totality, abandoned,

52. See e.g. S. Wilkins, *Sports and games of medieval cultures*, Westport, CT, 2002.
53. Guerrini and Sasso 2005 (note 14).

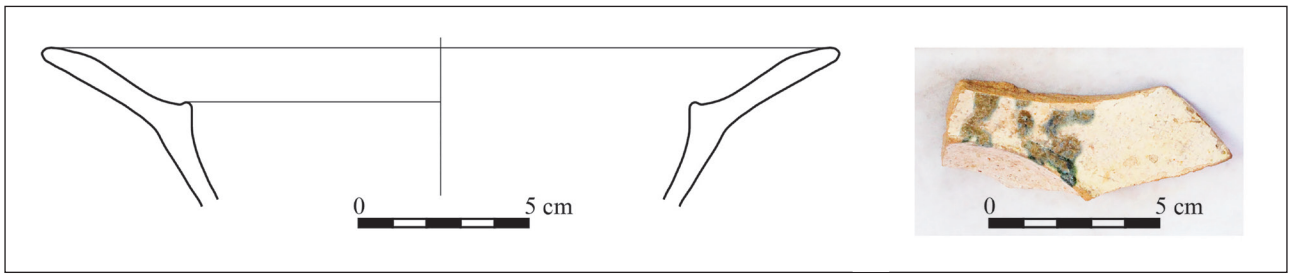

Fig. 14 - Proto-maiolica bowl from Trench 1

and left in ruins. This may have been the fate of San Giuliano, although this chronology is a bit earlier than the upper range of dates suggested by the archaeological remains of Trench 1. The population of San Giuliano then may have moved to the location of the present-day village of Barbarano Romano. It is notable that the earliest mention of Barbarano Romano in the historical records dates to AD 1188, in which its submission to Viterbo is recorded[54]. The likelihood of such a population shift lends support to the notion that habitation of La Rocca came to an end in the late 12th century, even if a smaller scale occupation or intermittent use continued on San Giuliano up until the 14th century.

Future Directions

The work conducted by SGARP in 2016 reveals significant promise for archaeological survey and excavation at San Giuliano. Our first year of fieldwork has produced a database of the Etruscan tombs that surround the plateau, initiated exploration of the differences between the Cima and Caiolo tomb groupings through excavation of two looted tombs, confirmed the ephemeral Roman presence at the site, and provided significant new finds from the medieval castle at La Rocca. Future field seasons will see the completion of the tomb database, salvage excavations of additional looted Etruscan tombs, analysis of human remains, and an expansion of the excavations of the well-preserved archaeological remains of the medieval castle complex at La Rocca.

In our 2017 fieldwork we will apply geophysical techniques, such as ground penetrating radar, aimed at locating Etruscan, Roman, and medieval habitation areas, particularly in the La Rocca zone. Building on the excavations of 2016, future work will focus, in part, on establishing a clear date for the construction of the castle and associated walls. The dating of the initial phases of the fortification atop the San Giuliano plateau is a key component in testing the three proposed models for the origins of the medieval castle complex. Therefore, excavations will be aimed at determining whether there is an earlier occupation – perhaps a Byzantine or Lombard fort or a palisaded village – beneath or adjacent to the high medieval castle. Through combined geophysics and excavation, we will target the habitation zone's internal organization and potential wealth differentials in artifact assemblages across the site. The recovery of comparative data from the early and the late medieval period will allow us to form hypotheses about what caused the flowering of High Medieval San Giuliano, visible in the concentration of military (as seen in the fortifications of La Rocca) and ideological (e.g. the Romanesque church) power at the site. These excavations will provide additional insights into the activities carried out in different spatial zones in La Rocca and how they related to the broader economy of the medieval inhabitants. In addition, SGARP's research will furthermore provide insight into the site's abandonment after centuries of occupation.

Davide Zori[A] - Colleen Zori[B] - Lori Baker[B] - Veronica-Gaia Ikeshoji-Orlati[C] - Alden Smith[D]

[a] Baylor Interdisciplinary Core and Department of History, Baylor University
[b] Department of Anthropology, Baylor University
[c] Council on Library and Information Resources, Vanderbilt University
[d] Department of Classics, Baylor University

54. Guerrini and Sasso 2005 (note 14).

Acknowledgements

SGARP is a collaborative initiative between Baylor University and our partners from Virgil Academy, the Municipality of Barbarano Romano, and the Province of Viterbo. First, we thank the Italian Soprintendenza Archeologica, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'Area Metropolitana di Roma, la Provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria Meridionale – particularly Dr. Alfonsina Russo, Dr. Alessia Argento, Nicola Missori, Ennio Tosi, and Angelo Fiaschetti – or their cooperation and guidance as we began this project and carried out the first year of what we hope to be a long-running investigation. We thank our partners at Virgil Academy – especially Prof. Gianni Profita, Rosa Ferlisi, Vittorio Testa, and Stefano Clementi – for their extraordinary and philanthropic work to establish our project. A number of organizations and individuals in Barbarano Romano have made our work possible. We are in awe of the intellectual vibrancy of the people of Barbarano – the sheer number of people thanked here illustrates the vast human resources present in this marvelous small town: Rinaldo Marchesi (mayor of Barbarano), Dr. Angela Cassotta (local archaeologist), Dr. Stefano Celletti (Director of Marturanum Regional Park), Mario Guerrini (President of Barbarano's Banca di Credito Cooperativo), Prof. Stefan Steingräber (Director of the Civic Museum of Barbarano), Marco Berretta, Serafino Berretta, Dr. Andrea Sasso (Director of the Naturalistic Museum in Barbarano Romano), Mauro Franchesi, and Mario and Maura Pagliucchi. We benefited greatly from discussions with Prof. Paola Guerrini (medieval archeologist), whose family is from Barbarano and who has written about medieval San Giuliano. She and her father, Dr. Giovanni Guerrini, visited us during our work and shared freely of their knowledge of the sites' s history. We thank the editors of Temporis Signa, Prof. Letizia Ermini Pani and Prof. Paola Guerrini, who kindly and expertly shepherded this article to completion. At Baylor University in Texas, a number of colleges, departments, and programs have enthusiastically supported the initiation of our project. Particularly, the vision of the Honors College Dean, Prof. Tom Hibbs, and Virgil's Prof. Gianni Profita launched the project. The project has since been helped by logistical and financial support from Baylor's Honors College, the Classics Department, the Department of Anthropology, the Institute of Archaeology, Baylor's University Research Council, and Baylor's Center for Global Engagement (CGE). At the CGE we are particularly grateful for the efforts of Marie Burke and Erin Thoes, as well as the ongoing support of our Vice Provost for Global Engagement, Prof. Jeff Hamilton. Finally, we thank our archaeology students from Baylor University, whose dedication, hard work, and enthusiasm made the first year of this project such a great success.