

Caterina Serena Martucci, Girolamo Ferdinando De Simone & Serena D'Italia

LOCAL PRODUCTIONS AROUND VESUVIUS: TRADE PATTERNS AND IDENTITY**1. Introduction**

This contribution¹ aims to provide some insights into the identities of late antique communities of Campania – from *Neapolis* to the western fringes of *Hirpinia* – through the use of trade patterns (fig. 1).

Apparently, defining a culture or social group by material culture is a fairly easy task, since certain artefacts constantly recur together and create a complex of regularly associated traits.² Among these, artefactual styles are commonly interpreted as representations of mutual identity,³ because they seem to embody shared meanings of a community.⁴ The concept of ethnic identity that stemmed from these principles roughly one century ago was later criticised in consideration of the fact that only rarely it is possible to single out tracts showing self-awareness of a people and the wish to identify its participants as an entity.⁵ Furthermore, it was stressed that productive choices made by the potters do not all have the same significance,⁶ therefore it currently seems difficult to tag sherds and styles with identitarian meanings. These things considered, we find it more profitable to bypass entirely the problem of the possible 'cultural contents' embedded in the potsherds and focus on how economic facts, like the diffusion of some pottery classes, can be used to define economic exchange and cultural interactions among groups. Indeed, pottery shapes and decorations, once stripped of any possible cultural meaning, are still clear signs of aesthetic tastes (*Zeitgeist*?) shared within a community or among communities. Through inductive reasoning, distributional data can be used as proxies of identities, i.e. they can hardly be used to describe the contents of collective identities (or provide the ontological definition of one identity as opposed to another), rather as clues to define some of their attributes, like where the boundaries of one group lay, whether only one group could be isolated within a region, etc.

2. Campanian productions

In the mid-5th century AD the pottery circulating in the territories of *Neapolis* and *Nola* was predominantly of regional craftsmanship, but African tableware and cooking ware continued to be imported. The comparison between the assemblages from *Neapolis*' theatre, a suburban villa in *Nola*, and the baths in Pollena Trocchia (on the northern slopes of Vesuvius) reveals a quite similar percentage of regional common/coarse ware, while the remaining part of the assemblages consists of cooking ware and African imports. A closer look at the imports shows that the ratio between African imports (32%) and local productions (45%) is similar in both cities – *Neapolis* and *Nola* – while in the countryside settlement of Pollena Trocchia the imports are much scarcer (10%).⁷

Imports are fundamental proxies of late antique economy, but they cover just one part of the market, since more than a half of the assemblages is composed of regional and micro-regional products. In making the distinction between imports and local productions, one should bear in mind that from the 4th century onwards both cooking and tableware produced in Campania started imitating the most common shapes of African pottery, thus the boundary between imported and local pottery is sometimes blurry. As a result, at the same time three groups of local pottery coexisted: vessels imitating African imports, local developments of African shapes, and new, original shapes.⁸ At this time, the regional productions still showed a fair degree of standardisation and the fabrics hint at the existence of several workshops scattered in a wide area.⁹ Being cheaper, and thus more competitive, local productions were spread in the same areas of imported pottery.

In the following part a summary of the Campanian Common/Coarse productions is provided; under this large umbrella-term several classes can be singled out, either by fabric, typology, or both. The following selection encompasses Slipped and Painted ware, Burnished ware, Cooking ware and two productions characterised by pseudo-sandwich firing. Each class is further divided into several productions and their differences are outlined.

¹ Sections 1 and 4 are written by GFDS, section 2 by CSM, section 3 by SDI.

² CHILDE 1929, v–vi.

³ LEMONNIER 1986.

⁴ HUSKINSON 2000.

⁵ DENCH 1995.

⁶ Some productive choices seem to mark ethnic identity, others might respond to economic necessity, therefore it is impossible to decide a priori which formal aspects convey communicative meanings (DIETLER/HERBICH 1998).

⁷ The problems of quantification and distribution of imported vs. regional productions are discussed in detail in MARTUCCI ET AL. 2014.

⁸ The question of the imitations of African fine ware has been widely debated and it is resumed by FONTANA 1998.

⁹ See CARSANA 2009, 683.

Slipped ware (aka colour coated ware) is a fine or semi-fine tableware, with calcareous fabric, more or less depurated; the surface is covered by a slip in matt red/orange/brown, sloppily applied or by immersion, or by a brush or a sponge. In literature the boundaries of this class are blurry, indeed some shapes which are here classified as slipped ware, are grouped within 'painted ware' by other scholars because of the inhomogeneous character of the slip.¹⁰ Sometimes the outer surface presents an incised, rouletted or applied decoration. Slipped ware includes both open shapes – like bowls, cups, and basins – and closed shapes like jugs and stocking amphorae. The earliest specimens are dated as early as the 2nd–3rd century and follow the tradition of thin walled pottery. The repertoire includes mostly closed shapes, like small mugs and little jugs without handles, often decorated by rouletting.¹¹ Noticeable changes occur in the late 4th century AD, as it is shown by the assemblage from the Roman villa at Posto, Francolise (Caserta, Italy),¹² or even more clearly by the recent subway excavations in Naples¹³ and by the assemblage from the so-called Augustus' villa in Somma Vesuviana.¹⁴ In fact, in the late 4th century AD open shapes became the most common ones, namely the bowls with inwarded rims (**fig. 3,1–2**),¹⁵ often decorated on the outside by rouletting, and carinated bowls with triangular rim.¹⁶ In the late 4th century another shape started being produced: the carinated bowl with rounded and internally thickened rim (**fig. 3,3**). This shape is probably the most representative of its class and it will be widely produced in the following century (**fig. 3,4–5**).¹⁷ Another carinated bowl (**fig. 3,7** from Pollena Trocchia, but in Coarse ware), with triangular profile rim, is dated as early as the late 4th century in Somma Vesuviana,¹⁸ but it seems more typical of the late 5th century (Pompeii, via Lepanto).¹⁹ Similarly, the basin with everted walls and flanged rim, found in Somma Vesuviana in the same context of the carinated bowl (end of the 4th century),²⁰ is still present in contexts of the end of the 5th (Pompeii, via Lepanto; see **figure 3,8**, from Pollena Trocchia but in Coarse ware).²¹ The later production is characterised by the presence of flanged bowls,²² which imitate a similar shape in ARS, and bowls

with thickened lip and slightly everted rim,²³ which can be considered a development of the analogous 4th century shape, with rounded straight lip.²⁴

These local products competed with the imported ARS and, according to the context, they either replaced the ARS or were used side-by-side with the imported ones. Until recently, it was generally assumed that kilns used for the manufacture of Campanian Slipped ware were only in the Ager Falernus²⁵ and southern Latium;²⁶ nevertheless, the archaeometric analyses that we carried out on samples from Pollena Trocchia unveiled additional productions, which in consideration of the volcanic inclusions could be likely localised in the environs of Vesuvius.²⁷ A more complex picture is also supported by the mention of at least three fabrics in the vessels from *Abellinum* (modern Atripalda),²⁸ on which we are carrying out archaeometric analyses.

Another production of Slipped ware has been identified outside the boundaries of ancient Campania, in the modern region of Basilicata, but it might be tied to the Campanian Apennines. This production is known in literature as 'Calle di Tricarico' and is described below.

Between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century, a new class commonly named **Painted ware** emerged among the centres of Campania; here this term defines the evolution or derivation from the slipped ware.²⁹ In fact both classes have similar fabrics and slip, though in painted ware the slip does not cover the entire surface, but just tectonic points of the vase, like the rim, the handles or the body, with embryonic decoration patterns. Typologically, Painted ware mostly consists of ovoid or globular jugs³⁰ and other closed shapes. The rims are often outward, rounded and moulded; they are connected to the body with a short neck. The bases are generally simple discs or ring feet.³¹

Among the tablewares is included the **Burnished ware**, which is characterised by a slip in red-brick colour, polished with a tool to give a glossy aspect. It is generally assumed that it started being produced in mid-5th century and its presence is confirmed in the area stretching from *Neapolis*' coast to the Apennines; however the late 4th century context in Somma Vesuviana yields the most ancient specimens of the category.³² This class is generally considered to be typical of the city of *Neapolis* and produced therein (despite no kilns have been discovered so far), but archaeometric analyses on samples from the baths in Pollena Trocchia and the so-called Villa of Augustus in Somma Vesuviana show three different fabrics, thus it seems likely that multiple workshops produced Burnished ware.³³ The repertoire is composed by closed shapes, mostly one-handed jugs, with ovoid or globular

¹⁰ The first synthesis about these categories is by P. Arthur (ARTHUR 1998, 491–494), who uses the term 'colour coated ware' to neutrally define the character of the coating of the coloured slip.

¹¹ Compare with the examples from Neapolitan contexts: CARSANA/DEL VECCHIO 2010, 463 fig. 8,50–56.

¹² COTTON 1979.

¹³ CARSANA/DEL VECCHIO 2010, 463.

¹⁴ AOYAGI/MUKAI/SUGIYAMA 2007, 440; MUKAI ET AL. 2010, 223–224.

¹⁵ See COTTON 1979 (Francolise), 185 fig. 60 shapes 27–30.

¹⁶ See the context dated to the end of the 4th century in Somma Vesuviana: AOYAGI/MUKAI/SUGIYAMA 2007, 440 fig. 3,11–12 and the 4th century context in Neapolis: CARSANA/DEL VECCHIO 2010, 463 fig. 8,48–49.

¹⁷ So far, the only context dated as early as the late 4th century is in Somma Vesuviana (AOYAGI/MUKAI/SUGIYAMA 2007, 440 fig. 4,14), while elsewhere it seems to be common during the late 5th century contexts, e.g. Pompeii, via Lepanto (DE CAROLIS/SORICELLI 2005, 518–520 fig. 4,1–2).

¹⁸ AOYAGI/MUKAI/SUGIYAMA 2007, 440 fig. 4,17.

¹⁹ DE CAROLIS/SORICELLI 2005, 517–520 fig. 3,9–10.

²⁰ AOYAGI/MUKAI/SUGIYAMA 2007, 440 fig. 3,9.

²¹ DE CAROLIS/SORICELLI 2005, 517–520 fig. 3,1–2.

²² See the Neapolitan contexts dated from the mid-6th century: CARSANA/D'AMICO/DEL VECCHIO 2007, 425–426 fig. 6,1–2.

²³ Compare with the 6th century contexts in Neapolis. (CARSANA 2009, 674–676 fig. 3,4).

²⁴ E.g. the 4th century context in Somma Vesuviana (AOYAGI/MUKAI/SUGIYAMA 2007, 440 fig. 4,14).

²⁵ ARTHUR 1998, 491–494 fig. 1.

²⁶ ARTHUR/WHITEHOUSE 1982, 42.

²⁷ Archaeometric analyses are discussed by Trojsi (MARTUCCI ET AL. 2012).

²⁸ COLUCCI PESCATORI 1986, 128.

²⁹ As clearly outlined in ARTHUR 1998, 495–498.

³⁰ Examples are shown in AOYAGI/MUKAI/SUGIYAMA 2007 fig. 6,42.

³¹ E.g. DE CAROLIS/SORICELLI, 2005 fig. 4,6.

³² AOYAGI/MUKAI/SUGIYAMA 2007, 440 fig. 4,18–20.

³³ See AOYAGI/MUKAI/SUGIYAMA 2007, 440 fig. 4,18–20.

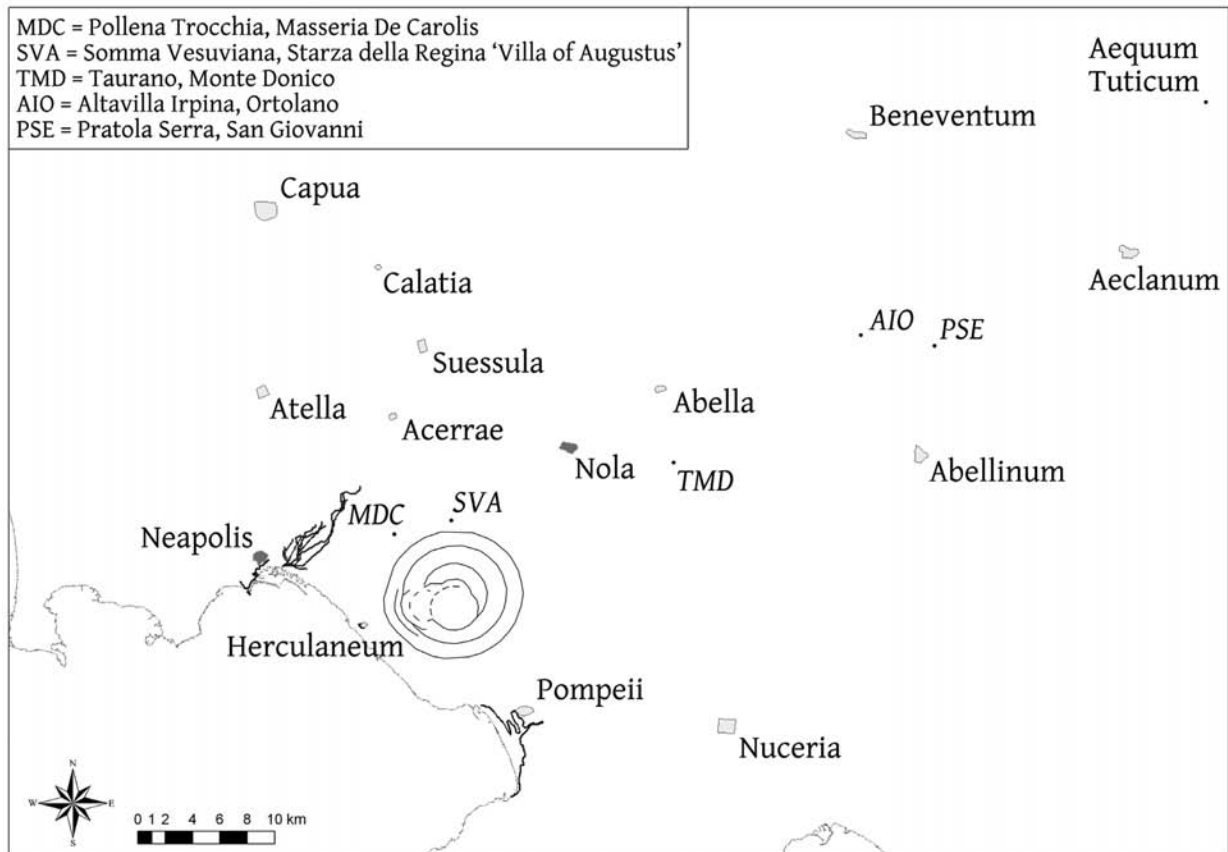


Fig. 1. Map of North Vesuvian and Apenninic area.



Fig. 2. Map of Southern Italy with the main sites cited in the text.

body and more or less developed neck (fig. 3,9). Among the shapes present in the assemblages, of particular interest is a two-handled jar (commonly defined small amphora), because while absent in *Neapolis*, it is attested to its hinterland, especially around Vesuvius.³⁴

In the 4th century the pottery for food preparation and cooking was still imported from north Africa, as shown by the large presence of African cooking ware;³⁵ nevertheless at the same time in Campania **local productions imitating the African shapes** were largely spread, mostly the Hayes 197 casserole, with short thickened and outwarded rim, carinated body, rounded bottom (fig. 3,10).³⁶ The 5th century witnessed a change both in production/distribution as in typology. Indeed, the African cooking ware became progressively residual, while local productions increased and new shapes were developed, as demonstrated by archaeometric analyses,³⁷ thus they could be considered proxies of micro-regional production and trade. The most popular shape in this period was a casserole with rounded, internally thickened and inwarded rim, rounded body and bottom, “ear shape” handles on the rim or on the body: the Carminiello 1–3 types (fig. 3,11).³⁸ A cooking dish, hand modelled, with abundant lithic grits, commonly interpreted as a sort of *clibanus* for bread cooking, is a peculiar shape for the Vesuvian area; in fact, it is not found even in Neapolitan contexts (fig. 3,12). From macroscopic observation, the fabrics of this vessel show noticeable differences, which nevertheless seem to refer to the way in which the object was made rather than its inclusions, which are homogeneous; this seems to imply that several workshops produced it.³⁹ The first appearance of this shape seems to occur in the last 4th century, as shown by examples from Somma Vesuviana: the rim is rounded, the wall straight, the bottom plain with a central orifice.⁴⁰ It seems possible to distinguish an evolution of this shape in the second half of the following century: the rim is still rounded, but the wall became a little higher and more everted.⁴¹

A further micro-regional production, absent in *Neapolis*, has been defined **Pseudo-sandwich Cooking ware**.⁴² This class is characterised by a partial oxidation of the fabric; the main visual characteristic is the presence of an inner grey core with outer orange rim. This firing is combined with a partially or totally polished surface, which was obtained by a tool dipped in the slip. The fabric is hard, rough, and rich in quartz, feldspar and mica inclusions while the carbonatic component (calcite) is completely decomposed. Volcanic

inclusions are absent, whereas an arenaceous component is present. This fabric is peculiar of a casserole, following the imitation of the Hayes 197, but with straighter rim and wall (fig. 4,13–14). The shape is present both in the Vesuvian area, namely at Pollena Trocchia, and in the Apennines, at San Giovanni di Pratola Serra (AV), in contexts dated to the second half of the 5th century.⁴³

Another shape with same firing is a two-handled stocking amphora with moulding rim, concave neck, and ovoid body (fig. 4,15).⁴⁴ In Campania, this shape is attested to— with the same fabric — at Benevento, at the church of Santa Sofia,⁴⁵ and at Pollena Trocchia. The context of Benevento is blurry dated to the 6th–13th centuries, while the evidence from Pollena Trocchia is provided with a sharp *terminus ante quem*, the Vesuvian eruption in AD 472.

The data illustrated above create a composite picture of ceramic productions around Vesuvius in Late Antiquity. In order to find a pattern that could be useful to outline local identities, it is useful to constrict the dataset to cooking and tableware, since these groups of vessels, more than others, reflect culinary habits and tastes of a community, and thus they can be defined as attributes of a community's identity. Although this process necessarily involves a certain degree of arbitrariness, in our opinion it can still be used to demarcate the boundaries of preferences and the interactions with other communities.

These things considered, the picture arising from the pottery assemblages shows different layers, which might be reckoned as parts or layers of an identity. The main layer is represented by the Campanian tableware with the Slipped/Painted ware and the Burnished ware, and it stands as a sort of Campanian *koinè*. Interestingly, these classes also include derivations from the African repertoire, like the flanged bowl Carminiello 16, and new shapes invented locally, like the bowls with thickened rim Carminiello 62. This repertoire is for individual and collective consumption of liquid or semi-liquid meals, like the traditionally Roman *puls*, made with vegetables and/or meat.⁴⁶ The solid meals, essentially meat, were consumed less frequently, mostly in imported vessels like the ARS dishes. Among the cooking ware, casseroles are the most frequent shapes; they were used for liquid and semiliquid meals. Also for this class, one can recognise some imitations of the African repertoire, like the Hayes 197 casserole, and its local transformations, like the casseroles Carminiello 1–3. Another layer includes micro-regional productions, like the bread-cooking, hand-modelled dish, and the small two-handled jar in Burnished ware, perhaps for wine consumption and possibly also with a funerary function.⁴⁷ A third layer hints to ties between the environs of Vesuvius and the Apennines; it consists of the Pseudo-sandwich Cooking ware, which is further characterised by applied and incised decorations (e.g. wavy lines, fig. 4,16) in the repertoire of the

³⁴ Somma Vesuviana (MUKAI ET AL. 2010, 227 fig. 5,35–37); Sant'Anastasia (PARMA/GIFUNI 1998, 158–159 tav. 2); Pompeii, località Cimitero (DE CAROLIS 1997, 18 fig. 1). This shape is more amply described and discussed in MARTUCCI ET AL. 2014.

³⁵ For *Neapolis* see CARSANA/DEL VECCHIO 2010, 462 fig. 7,38–40.

³⁶ Examples are at Somma Vesuviana, in the last 4th century context (AOYAGI/MUKAI/SUGIYAMA 2007, 440 fig. 5,27–28), and in the harbour of *Neapolis*, in the 4th century context (CARSANA/DEL VECCHIO 2010, 461 fig. 6,26–27).

³⁷ Pompei, via Lepanto (Grifa/Langella/Morra in appendix to DE CAROLIS/SORICELLI 2005, 528–532) and Pollena Trocchia (Trojsi in MARTUCCI ET AL. 2012, 107–109).

³⁸ CARSANA 1994, 224–228 figs. 103–106.

³⁹ MARTUCCI ET AL. 2014.

⁴⁰ AOYAGI/MUKAI/SUGIYAMA 2007, 441 fig. 5,30.

⁴¹ Ibid. 441 fig. 7,51.

⁴² This definition is defined and discussed in DE SIMONE ET AL. 2013.

⁴³ ALFANO 1992, 181 tav. 57,77.

⁴⁴ This definition is defined and discussed in DE SIMONE ET AL. 2013.

⁴⁵ LUPA 1998, 181–182 fig. 102.

⁴⁶ This topic is amply discussed in MARTUCCI ET AL. 2014.

⁴⁷ At least in one instance in Sant'Anastasia. Burnished ware little jugs (with one handle) are commonly in use in late antique Campanian necropoleis.

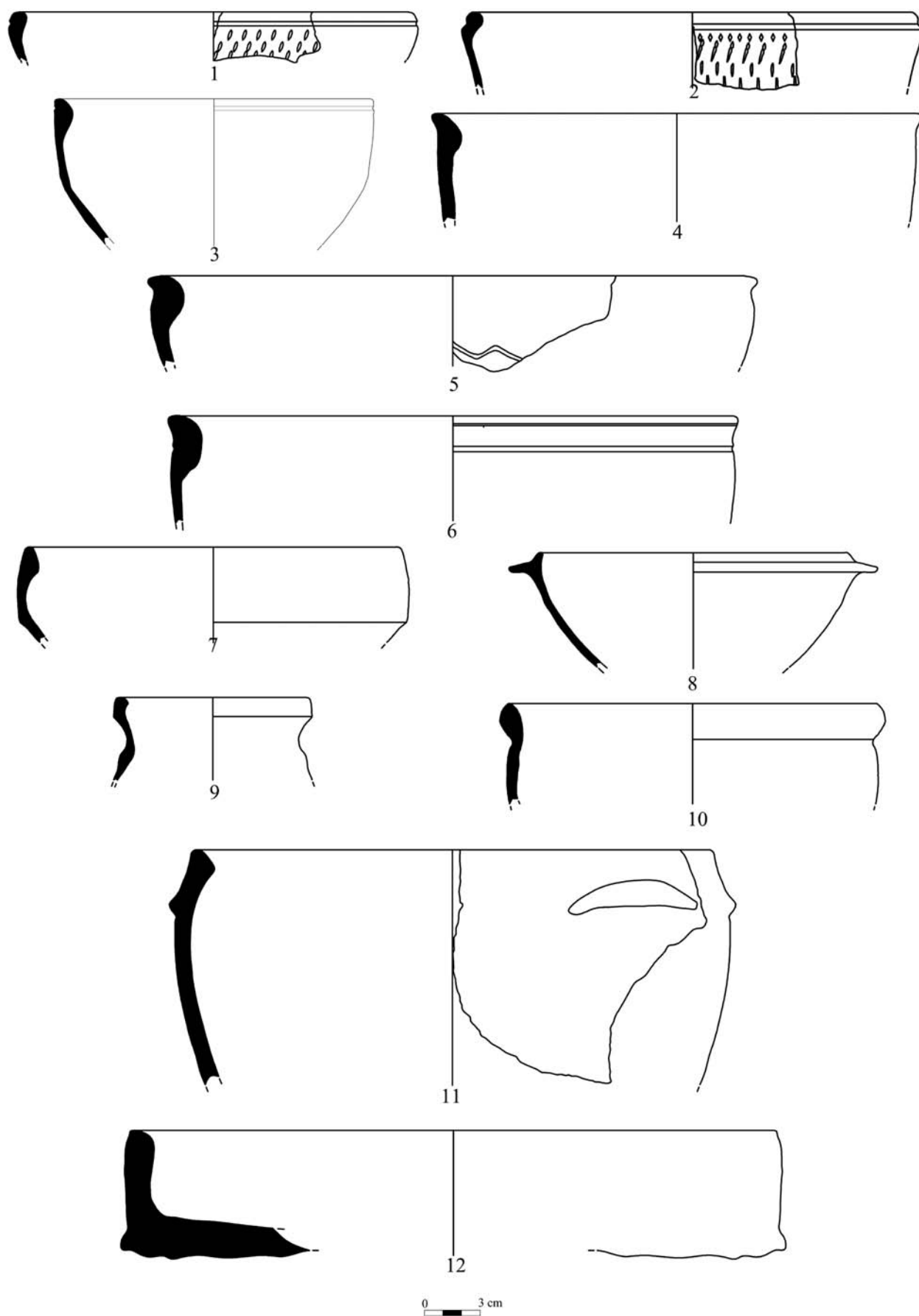


Fig. 3. Pottery from Pollena Trocchia. 1–8 Slipped ware; 9 Burnished ware; 10–12 Cooking ware.

Slipped/Painted Ware. This group, although scant around the volcano, is of particular importance because it is well attested in the Apennines and might stem from the 'Calle type' pottery, both being very similar with each other.

In summary, one layer is common to many places in ancient Campania and is widely shared in *Neapolis*, another layer is a sort of subgroup of the Campanian one and is shared in the settlements on the slopes of Vesuvius, while a third layer has distinctively different features and points to the communities in the Apennines. The pottery circulating in the latter area includes the 'Calle di Tricarico' Slipped Ware.⁴⁸

3. "Calle di Tricarico" tableware

The pottery commonly defined as "Calle type"⁴⁹ includes several productions (4th–6th century AD) from Southern Italy (fig. 2). The name of this class comes from the town of Calle di Tricarico (Basilicata), where some kilns were uncovered in 1972.⁵⁰ Although originally it was argued that this was the only production centre, more recently it has been ascertained that there were several kilns in many productive areas.⁵¹

The "Calle type" pottery encompasses painted ware,⁵² as well as plain ware and cooking ware; in this context only the painted production is considered, because of its presence in Campania. The fabric is quite compact and homogeneous, with small and scant inclusions of micro-fossils and limestone.⁵³ The clay is mostly carbonatic and low ferric;⁵⁴ the outer surface is opaque and homogeneous, with a thin colour given by a ferrous clay.⁵⁵ This slip⁵⁶ is generally applied through immersion or by a brush or sponge on the interior of the vase and on the rims in the open shapes, while it is applied on the handles, the body and the rim in the closed shapes. These colour patches, fading between light buff and dark red,⁵⁷ are the earlier decorations (from the 4th century AD).⁵⁸ In the early 5th century the "Calle type" starts being spread in the major sites of Basilicata and beyond;⁵⁹ the ornamental repertoire is further enriched by decorative patterns,⁶⁰ incised with a

stick or a comb before firing. The shapes are predominantly closed ones, mostly small stocking amphorae and little jugs, while among the open shapes there are mostly basins and bowls, less common are plates and pots.⁶¹

The spread of this class culminates in the 5th and 6th centuries AD, especially with the basins. The shapes of this period stem from both the local culture and the influence of imported vessels.⁶²

The "Calle type" provides interesting insights into the trade of tableware in inner Basilicata. Since the end of the 4th century AD, imports from North Africa lessen sharply and local products increase and replace them. In fact, the inner part of the region⁶³ was cut out from the main trade routes and this encouraged the rise of local manufacture and the spread of these products even beyond the boundaries of modern Basilicata.⁶⁴ Evidence suggests that this practice of specialised craftsmanship⁶⁵ worked in many centres of production and distribution. Cattle-tracks might have played a crucial role in the distribution of these artefacts, especially for the remotest areas of the region, while the main routes (e.g. the *via Herculea*) could have been used for trans-regional commerce.

4. Discussion

The evidence brought forward points to the existence in late antique Campania of several identities characterised by multiple coexisting tracts, permeability towards the neighbouring communities, and non-exclusivity of peculiar aspects. To better define these features, it is beneficial to compare them with other common models. The concept of ethnic identity, although coming to an end, is still implicitly used when identities are described as cultural blocks in opposition to one another.⁶⁶ Often oppositions are hypothesised when only one part of the assemblages is considered (through reductionism), like in the case of shapes and decorations crafted and traded in a small area, while the entire dataset includes also imported vessels and their local imitations. On the contrary, our comprehensive (holistic) picture of the assemblages is a useful tool to explain the character of areas like *Hirpinia*, where the most peculiar character seems to be the local imitation (which is neither a copy nor a hybridisation) of both the Neapolitan Burnished ware and the decorations of the Calle type classes. The coexistence of different and sometimes opposed tracts within the same cultural identity

⁴⁸ The term 'Calle di Tricarico' is generally used to define several classes, both fine and coarse ware. The focus of the next section is solely on the Slipped Tableware.

⁴⁹ This term has been used for the first time within the San Giovanni di Ruoti context, see SMALL/BUCK 1994.

⁵⁰ Excavations were led by G. Tocco of the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Basilicata and published later in 1998, see DI GIUSEPPE 1998.

⁵¹ E.g. the kilns and wasters in Grumentum (cfr. GIARDINO/RESTAINO 1981) and Venusia (cfr. SALVATORE 1991).

⁵² See note 6 in DI GIUSEPPE 1998.

⁵³ See the appendix edited by C. Cappelli in DI GIUSEPPE 1998, 749; id. in DI GIUSEPPE 2005.

⁵⁴ DI GIUSEPPE 1998, 737; id. 2005, 395–396. The case studies consist of samples from Calle, San Pietro di Tolve (PZ), and San Gilio (PZ).

⁵⁵ Id. 1998, 737.

⁵⁶ Probably it was not applied for functional purposes (i.e. waterproofing), because it does not cover the entire vessel and it is very thin.

⁵⁷ DI GIUSEPPE 2005, 396.

⁵⁸ See Freed in SMALL/BUCK 1994.

⁵⁹ The "Calle type" has been found in the modern Italian regions of Campania, Molise, Calabria, and in the inner areas of middle and higher Puglia.

⁶⁰ These patterns encompass mostly concentric lines made during the wheel-turning, wavy lines, ovules' strips, small rectangles, clay buttons

applied on the flanges.

⁶¹ The quantification of the shapes has been carried out in Calle (DI GIUSEPPE 1994), San Giovanni di Ruoti (Freed in SMALL/BUCK 1994), San Pietro di Tolve (DI GIUSEPPE 1994). General remarks on the subject in Basilicata can be found in SALVATORE 1983.

⁶² This practice is well attested throughout southern Italy. In this case the imports are mostly from Africa, very few from the Levant. On Calle, see DI GIUSEPPE 1998, 739–745.

⁶³ See the archaeological map in DI GIUSEPPE 1994.

⁶⁴ In Puglia: Ordona, San Giusto, Posta Crusta, Bovino, Agnoli, rarely in Salento; in Campania: Pratola Serra, Carminiello ai Mannesi (Naples), Posto, Capua, Atripalda, Battipaglia; in Molise: San Giacomo degli Schiavoni; in Calabria: Monasterace Marina, Sibari.

⁶⁵ See ARTHUR/WHITEHOUSE 1982.

⁶⁶ GRAHAME 1998, 159.

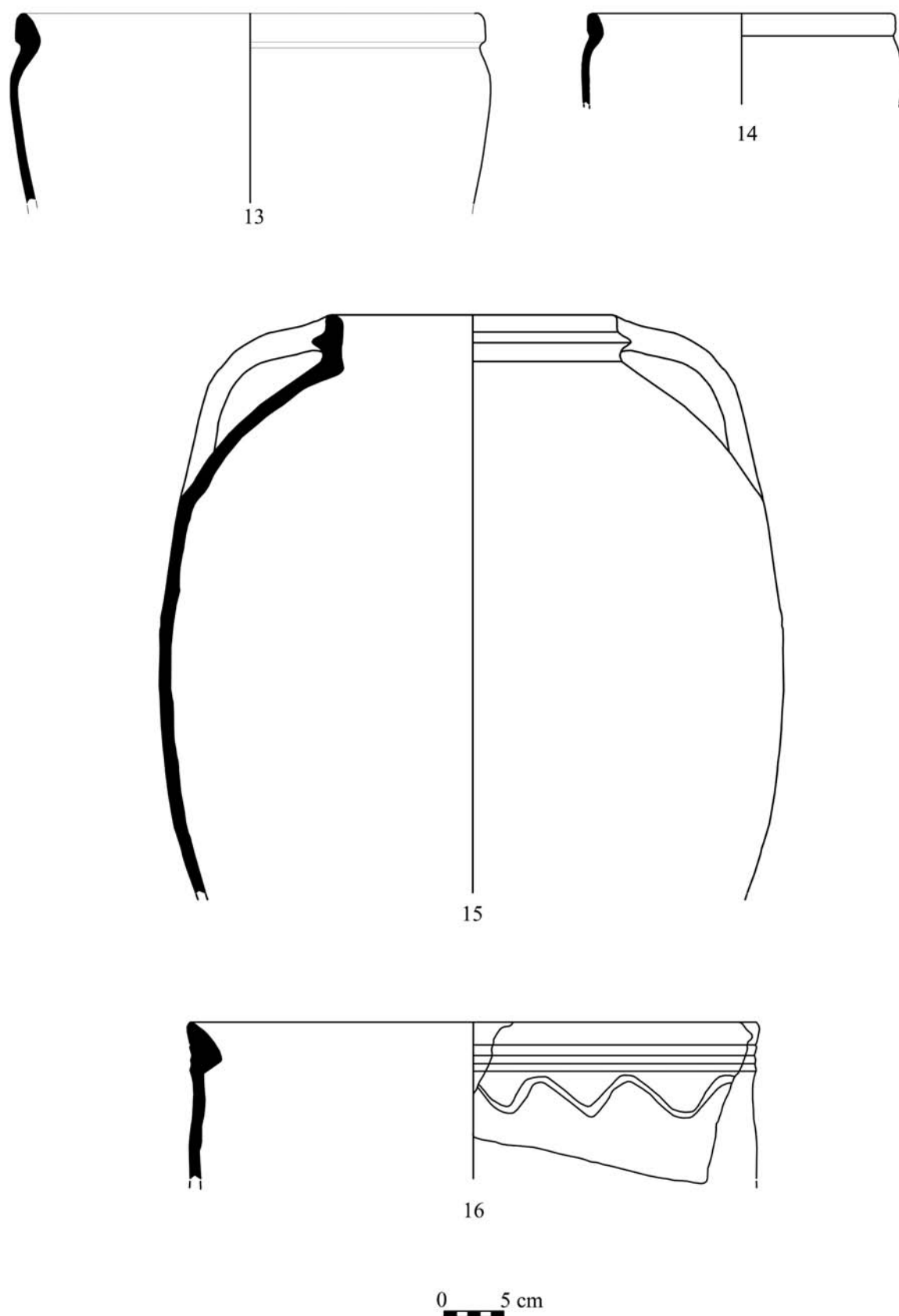


Fig. 4. Pottery from Pollena Trocchia. **13–14** Pseudo-sandwich cooking ware; **15** Pseudo-sandwich stocking ware; **16** Painted ware.

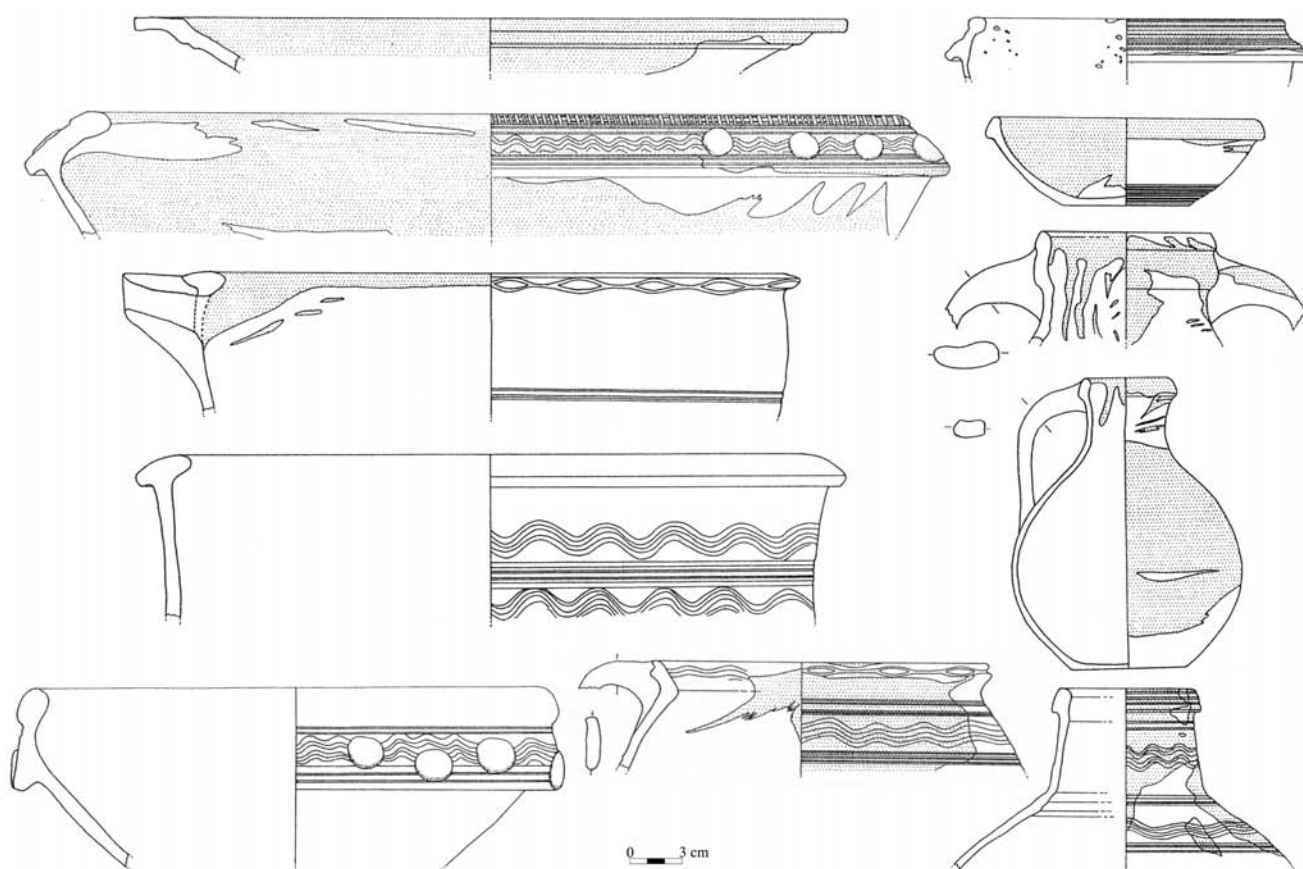


Fig. 5. Calle di Tricarico Slipped Tableware (selection from DI GIUSEPPE 1998).

is a widely discussed topic in classical studies, in regards to Romanisation in particular; Revell's definition of *Romanitas* as something that enabled 'different kinds of identity without undermining an overall empire-wide identity' clearly explains how, while sharing common ideas, identities remained locally specific.⁶⁷ Furthermore, Roman traditions of origin stressed the progressive incorporation of outsiders almost as the most distinctive tract of their identity,⁶⁸ thus we would encourage the use of the concept of 'inclusive identity' as opposed to 'ethnic identity'.

The different strands that participate into the composition of an identity are not necessarily defined by administrative boundaries, although at least in the case of Pompeii spatial divisions formed the basis for an inhabitant's local identity.⁶⁹ In cases in which two contrasting cultures are equally represented, like in bilingual funerary inscriptions, ideas of a dual identity or a stratified identity have been proposed, but in our opinion both concepts do not explain how the

'contrasts' were solved. In fact, also in the case of stratified identities, the fascinating picture which is proposed is that of any archaeological sequence, in which traces of each cultural episode remain for centuries in superimposition, in a coexistent complexity.⁷⁰ Nevertheless traces of past cultures and identities were not simply inherited, rather constantly renewed and reshaped according to new mindsets. From this perspective tracts of multiple cultures compose one identity, like the 'three hearts' of Quintus Ennius,⁷¹ which figuratively represented not just the ability to speak Greek, Oscan, and Latin, but also how, coming from the small city of *Rudiae*, Ennius' personal and collective identity participated of both the Italic (Messapian), Greek, and Roman cultures. In a similar fashion, the identity of the inhabitants of Vesuvius partook of the Empire-wide Roman culture, of the common 'Campanian ground', and had specific tracts of a 'Vesuvian taste', which displayed shared characters with the countryside communities of the Apennines.

caterinamartucci@gmail.com
desimonegf@gmail.com
serenaditalia@inwind.it

⁶⁷ REVELL 2009. HÖLSCHER 2000 importantly stresses also that, even within a defined political unit, there is a multiplicity of competing identities, ethnic, social, religious etc., which may intersect without coinciding.

⁶⁸ WOOLF 1994, 120.

⁶⁹ LAURENCE 2007, 39–61, where several proxies, among which the cult of the Lares Compitales, is used to prove that neighbourhoods played as cohesive units.

⁷⁰ WALLACE-HADRILL 2008, 7; 76; 98.

⁷¹ AULUS GELLIIUS, *Noctes Atticae* 17,17,1: "Quintus Ennius tria corda habere sese dicebat, quod loqui Graece et Osce et Latine sciret".

Bibliography

- ALFANO 1992 L. ALFANO, Ceramica tardoantica e altomedievale. In P. Peduto (ed.), S. Giovanni di Pratola Serra. Archeologia e Storia nel ducato longobardo di Benevento (Salerno 1992) 167–196.
- AOYAGI/MUKAY/SUGIYAMA 2007 M. AOYAGI/T. MUKAI/C. SUGIYAMA, Céramique de l'antiquité tardive d'un site romain de Somma Vesuviana, Italie. In: M. Bonifay/J.-Chr. Tréglia (eds.), LRCW 2. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry 2. BAR Internat. Ser. 1662 (Oxford 2007) 439–449.
- ARTHUR 1994 P. ARTHUR (ed.), Il complesso archeologico di Carminiello ai Mannesi Napoli, scavi 1983–1984 (Gallatina 1994).
- ARTHUR 1998 Id., Local pottery in Naples and northern Campania in the sixth and seventh centuries. In: L. Sagui (ed.), La ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo (Firenze 1998) 491–510.
- ARTHUR/WITHEHOUSE 1982 P. ARTHUR/D. WITHEHOUSE, La ceramica dell'Italia meridionale: produzione e mercato tra V e X secolo. Arch. Medievale 9, 1982, 39–46.
- CARSANA 1994 V. CARSANA, Ceramica da cucina tardo-antica ed alto-medievale. In: Arthur 1994, 221–258.
- CARSANA 2009 Id., La ceramica comune e da cucina da contesti tardo antichi da Napoli. In: M. Pasqualini (ed.), Les céramiques communes d'Italie et de Narbonnaise: structures de production, typologies et contextes inédits, Ile siècle a. J.-C. – IIIe siècle apr. J.-C. Coll. Centre Jean Bérard 30 (Napoli 2009) 673–683.
- CARSANA/D'AMICO/DEL VECCHIO 2007 V. CARSANA/V. D'AMICO/F. DEL VECCHIO, Nuovi dati ceramologici per la storia economica di Napoli tra tarda Antichità ed alto Medioevo. In: M. Bonifay/J.-Chr. Tréglia (eds.), LRCW 2. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry 2. BAR Internat. Ser. 1662 (Oxford 2007) 423–437.
- CARSANA/DEL VECCHIO 2010 V. CARSANA/F. DEL VECCHIO, Il porto di Neapolis in età tardo antica: il contesto di IV secolo d.C. In: S. Menchelli/S. Santoro/M. Pasquinucci/G. Guiducci (eds.), LRCW 3. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry 3. Comparison between Western and Eastern Mediterranean. BAR Internat. Ser. 2185 (Oxford 2010) 459–470.
- CHILDE 1929 V. G. CHILDE, The Danube in Prehistory (Oxford 1929).
- COLUCCI PESCATORI 1986 G. COLUCCI PESCATORI, Osservazioni su Abellinum tardo antica e sull'eruzione del 472 D.C. In: C. Albore Livadie (ed.), Tremblements de terre: éruptions volcaniques et vies des hommes dans la Campanie antique (Napoli 1986) 121–133.
- COTTON 1979 A. COTTON, The late Republican Villa at Posto, Francolise (London 1979).
- DE CAROLIS 1997 E. DE CAROLIS, Testimonianze archeologiche in area vesuviana posteriori al 79 d.C. Arch. Uomo Territorio 16, 1997, 17–32.
- DE CAROLIS/SORICELLI 2005 E. DE CAROLIS/G. SORICELLI, Il sito di via Lepanto a Pompei: brevi note sul Tardoantico in area vesuviana. In: G. Volpe/M. Turchiano (eds.), Paesaggi e insediamenti rurali in Italia Meridionale fra Tardoantico e Altomedioevo (Bari 2005) 513–527.
- DE CAROLIS ET AL. 2009 E. DE CAROLIS ET AL., Ceramiche tardoantiche da Pompei. In: M. Pasqualini (ed.), Les céramiques communes de Campanie et de Narbonnaise (Napoli, 2009) 651–672.
- DENCH 1995 E. DENCH, From Barbarians to New Men. Greek, Roman, and Modern Perceptions of Peoples from the Central Apennines (Oxford 1995).
- DE SIMONE ET AL. 2009 G. F. DE SIMONE ET AL., Apolline project 2007: il sito romano di Pollena Trocchia in località Masseria De Carolis. In: R. T. Macfarlane/G. F. De Simone (eds.), Apolline Project 1. Studies on Vesuvius' North Slope and the Bay of Naples (Naples 2009) 207–238.
- DE SIMONE ET AL. 2013 Id. ET AL., Late Antique Connectivity: a Snapshot of Regional Trade in AD 472 Campania. In: SOMA 2012. Identity and Connectivity. BAR Internat. Ser. 2581/II (Oxford 2013) 971–980.
- DE SIMONE/PERROTTA/SCARPATI 2011 G. F. DE SIMONE/A. PERROTTA/C. SCARPATI, L'eruzione del 472 d.C. ed il suo impatto su alcuni siti alle falde del Vesuvio. Riv. Stud. Pompeiani 22 (in press).
- DI GIUSEPPE 1994 H. DI GIUSEPPE, La villa romana di San Pietro di Tolve: rapporto preliminare di scavo 1988–1992. Boll. Stor. Basilicata 10, 1994, 91–120.
- DI GIUSEPPE 1998 Id., La fornace di Calle di Tricarico: produzione e diffusione. In: L. Sagui (ed.), La ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo (Firenze 1998) 735–752.
- DI GIUSEPPE/CAPELLI 2005 H. DI GIUSEPPE/C. CAPELLI, Produzioni urbane e rurali di ceramica comune dipinta nella Lucania tardoantica e altomedievale. In: J. M. Gurt I Esparraguera/J. Buxeda i Garrigós/M. A. Cau Ontiveros (eds.), LRCW 1. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry 1. BAR Internat. Ser. 1340 (Oxford 2005) 395–411.
- DIETLER/HERBICH 1998 M. DIETLER/I. HERBICH, Habitus, techniques, style: an integrated approach to the social understanding of material culture and boundaries. In: M. T. Stark (ed.), The Archaeology of Social Boundaries (London 1998) 236–242.

- FONTANA 1998 S. FONTANA, Le «imitazioni» della sigillata africana e le ceramiche da mensa italiche tardo-antiche. In: L. Saguì (ed.), *Ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo* (Firenze 1998) 83–100.
- FREED 1978 J. Z. FREED, Una ceramica comune italiana del quinto secolo d.C. *Lucania Arch.* 1, 1978, 1–2; 11–16.
- FREED 1983 ID., Pottery from the late middens at San Giovanni. In: M. Gualtieri/M. Salvatore/A. M. Small (eds.), *Lo Scavo di S. Giovanni di Ruoti ed il periodo tardoantico in Basilicata*. Atti della Tavola Rotonda, Roma 4 luglio 1981 (Bari 1983) 91–106.
- FREED 1986 ID., S. Giovanni di Ruoti (Basilicata). Il contesto della villa tardo-romana. II. Osservazioni sull'economia della villa tardo-romana di S. Giovanni di Ruoti. In: A. Giardina (ed.), *Società Romana ed Impero Tardoantico 3. Le Merci, gli Insediamenti* (Rome/Bari 1986).
- GIARDINO/RESTAINO 1981 L. GIARDINO/R. RESTAINO, *Grumentum: la ricerca archeologica in un centro antico*. Mostra documentaria (Galatina 1981).
- GRAHAME 1998 M. GRAHAME, *Material Culture and Roman Identity: The spatial layout of Pompeian houses and the problem of ethnicity*. In: R. Laurence/J. Berry (eds.), *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire* (London 1998) 156–178.
- HÖLSCHER 2000 T. HÖLSCHER, Discussion. In: A. Giovannini/B. Grange (eds.), *La Révolution Romaine après Ronald Syme* (Geneve 2000) 317–321.
- HUSKINSON 2000 J. HUSKINSON, Looking for culture, identity and power. In: Id. (ed.), *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire* (London 2000) 3–28.
- LATTANZI 1976 E. LATTANZI, Tricarico. Necropoli romana di Calle. In: *Il Museo Nazionale Ridola di Matera* (Matera 1976).
- LAURENCE 2007 R. LAURENCE, *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society* (London/New York 2007).
- LEMONNIER 1986 P. LEMONNIER, The study of material culture today: toward an anthropology of technical systems. *Journal Anthr. Scien.* 5, 1986, 172–180.
- LUPIA 1998 A. LUPIA, *Testimonianze di epoca altomedievale a Benevento* (Napoli 1998).
- MARTUCCI ET AL. 2012 C. S. MARTUCCI ET AL., Pollena Trocchia (NA), località Masseria De Carolis. L'analisi dei reperti per la ricostruzione del contesto economico e sociale del sito. *Amoenitas* 2, 2012, 87–117.
- MARTUCCI ET AL. 2014 EAD. ET AL., Local production and trade patterns in the environs of Vesuvius: the pottery from Pollena Trocchia and Nola. In: N. Poulou-Papadimitriou/E. Nodaru/V. Kilikoglou (a cura di), *LRCW4. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry 4. The Mediterranean a market without frontiers*, BAR Internat. Ser. 2616 (Oxford 2014) 51–61.
- MUKAI ET AL. 2010 T. MUKAI ET AL., Nota preliminare sui materiali ceramici rinvenuti nel corso delle campagne di scavo 2002–2007 nella Villa di Augusto a Somma Vesuviana. *Amoenitas* 1, 2010, 221–235.
- PARMA/GIFUNI 1988 A. PARMA/A. GIFUNI, Prime indagini su una necropoli tardo-romana in via Rosanea a Sant'Anastasia. In: *I Convegno dei Gruppi Archeologici dell'Italia meridionale: Prata Sannita 25–27 aprile 1986* (Prata Sannita 1988) 151–173.
- REVELL 2009 L. REVELL, *Roman Imperialism and Local Identities* (Cambridge/New York 2009).
- SALVATORE 1982 M. SALVATORE, La ceramica altomedievale nell'Italia meridionale: stato e prospettive della ricerca. *Arch. Medievale* 9, 1982, 47–66.
- SALVATORE 1983 M. SALVATORE, La ceramica tardo antica e altomedievale. In: M. Gualtieri/M. Salvatore/A. M. Small (eds.), *Lo Scavo di S. Giovanni di Ruoti ed il periodo tardoantico in Basilicata*. Atti della Tavola Rotonda, Roma 4 luglio 1981 (Bari 1983) 111–124.
- SALVATORE 1991 M. SALVATORE, Ceramica comune. In: *Il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Venosa* (Matera 1991) 271–275.
- SMALL/BUCK 1994 A. M. SMALL/R. J. BUCK, *The Excavations of San Giovanni di Ruoti 1. The villas and their environment*. *Phoenix Suppl.* 33 (Toronto/Buffalo/London 1994).
- WALLACE-HADRILL 2008 A. WALLACE-HADRILL, *Rome's cultural revolution* (Cambridge 2008).
- WOOLF 1994 G. WOOLF, Becoming Roman, staying Greek: culture, identity and the civilizing process in the Roman East. *Proc. Cambridge Philol. Soc.* 40, 1994, 116–143.