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The Hidden Treasures of Rome

Tracing the Context of Isolated Artifacts^{*}



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In 2014 the Capitoline Museum of Rome initiated a new partnership with the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri to enable cataloguing and study of artifacts that were in the Capitoline Museum's storerooms and that had lost their documentation. This project is the first of its kind, with plans ongoing to replicate it at other universities in order to make such antiquities available to foreign students and scholars.¹

The first shipment of material from Rome consisted of 249 pieces of black-gloss pottery of the Republican period that had been recovered during excavations in central Rome in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Due to the large quantity of material that was recovered quickly in these excavations, many of the artifacts were stored in the Antiquarium, a depository built in 1890 for artifacts that could not be displayed. Although this was only intended as a temporary holding place for the finds until they could be displayed in a museum, many of the objects were never removed from storage. The pottery sent to the University of Missouri that was stored in the Antiquarium is therefore being studied in depth for the first time.

The collection of black-gloss pottery contains a wide variety of shapes that date from the late fourth to the first century B.C.E. Bowls and plates are the most frequent shapes, along with a small number of jugs and other vessels used for pouring liquids, such as askoi and gutti. Miniature shapes are also numerous, accounting for 22 percent of the collection. Judging from the composition of the group, it is likely that many of the vessels were excavated from ritual contexts—either tombs or votive deposits.² Many of the pots are very well preserved, indicating that they probably came from deposits that were buried and left undisturbed, such as in a tomb. Recent research, however, suggests that the production of much Republican black-gloss pottery was related to cult sites and that the deposition of black-gloss pottery in tombs was not as frequent as is sometimes assumed.³ A collection such as this one that contains many complete vessels and many votive shapes could potentially shed light on this issue.

One challenge with this collection of pottery, however, is that it did not arrive at the University of Missouri with any records for its specific archaeological context. For modern archaeological excavations, it is standard practice to keep detailed notes for each object recovered regarding the precise location of its discovery; however, during the nineteenth

and early twentieth centuries, such records were not always kept. This is true for many sites in the Mediterranean, not just in Rome. Although most of these objects when found were probably associated with other artifacts and features, they remain isolated now because of the lack of archaeological context. Because we do not know this information for much of the Capitoline pottery, we are left at a great disadvantage when attempting to analyze it.

Since we had no context information, we used other means to study the collection. One of the first steps was to conduct a formal analysis of the pottery by comparing each object to other known parallels. Fortunately, many objects were complete enough and their forms common enough that parallels were easy to find. Most could be identified in Jean-Paul Morel's *Céramique campanienne*, a publication of black-gloss pottery throughout the Mediterranean in which Morel classifies each shape according to its formal characteristics.⁴ Through these comparisons, an approximate date could also be determined for most of the objects.⁵ Most of the pottery dates to the third century B.C.E. (usually the first half), although a few products of the second and first centuries are present in the collection.⁶ After determining form and date, the decoration of the objects, where applicable, was examined in order to refine details of classification and chronology. Many pots in the collection feature specific styles of decoration—either stamped, incised, or painted—that can be associated with a specific place or time period. Although decoration does not figure into Morel's system of classification, other publications of black-gloss pottery in Italy provided a sufficient number of parallels with similar types of decoration, allowing for more precise identification of the objects in the Capitoline collection.⁷

The second method of analysis utilized at the University of Missouri was neutron activation analysis (NAA), carried out at the University of Missouri Research Reactor (MURR). This method of scientific testing involves sampling the ceramic fabric of each object in order to identify groups having similar chemical compositions. If one group of objects is very similar in chemical composition, then it is likely that the clay used to make the pottery came from the same source. If two groups of pottery are very different in composition, then they were probably produced at different locations. Although this type of testing does not tell us where the pottery was found or how it was used, it does help to restore one piece of contextual information about the objects that we would not have had otherwise.⁸

The latest phase of the project has focused on the analysis of use-wear on the pottery.⁹ In theory, this approach may offer insight as to how different sizes and shapes of vessels were used, even though their primary context of use is unknown. In collaboration with a team from the University of Bourgogne Franche-Comté, the University of Missouri has tested various methods of high-resolution scanning and data capture. By comparing visual observation with the results gained from 2D data capture with reflectance transformative imaging (RTI) and from high resolution 3D data capture with a blue light fringe projection scanner, potential avenues for enhancing our understanding of ceramic use-wear may be revealed. Because this collection of pottery contains many well-preserved specimens, it presents an especially valuable opportunity to test these new technologies. Once again,

these methods may fill in gaps in our knowledge of how the pottery was originally used, despite its lack of preserved context.

We have therefore used multiple different methods of analysis in order to extract as much information from the pottery as possible and to determine what the objects can tell us about the historical and social patterns of ancient Rome, despite their missing context. Nonetheless, a small number of objects do offer hints as to where they were found. Two black-gloss pots in the collection were accompanied by scraps of paper indicating that they were excavated from the Esquiline Hill, and although brief, these notes contain key pieces of information that may allow for broader conclusions concerning the archaeological context of the group as a whole. Guided by the excavation dates provided with these pots, an examination of early excavation reports revealed that much more is known about the context for the black-gloss pottery in this collection than we were originally aware of. It is now known that at least forty of the more complete pots (about 16 percent of the collection) were excavated from tombs on the Esquiline Hill in Rome. Although the more fragmentary vessels were not published in the same manner, and their context therefore remains unknown, it is likely that many were found in this area of Rome as well.

The brief notes with the two objects that follow record only a date and a general location for where the pots were found, but a surprising amount of information can be extrapolated from these small clues.¹⁰

Lekythos (Figs. 1, 2)

**Antiquarium Comunale,
Sala V (inv. 7501)**

Morel 5420

**P.H. 0.090, D. base 0.049, D. max.
0.085 m.**

**Body and handle preserved. Broken
at neck. Surface heavily worn.**

**Ring foot. Squat, globular body.
Concave shoulder tapers to narrow
neck. Strap handle attached at neck
and shoulder. Four finger marks
around base from dipping.**

**Light brown fabric (7.5YR 6/4). Thin,
lustrous black slip over all; underside
reserved.**

Second half of fourth century B.C.E.

**Paper glued to base with writing in
black ink: "Esquilin_ / 1875 / 17 luglio
/ 75_ _"**



Fig. 1. Lekythos. Republican black-gloss, second half of fourth century B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom7501). Photo: Johanna Boyer.



Fig. 2. Lekythos with note glued to base of vessel. Republican black-gloss, second half of fourth century B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome. (AntCom7501). Photo: Johanna Boyer.

Jug (Fig. 3)

Antiquarium Comunale, Sala V (inv. 44325)

Morel 5200¹¹

H. 0.092, D. rim 0.062, D. base 0.049 m.

Intact. Slip slightly worn around rim, handle.

Flat base. Ovoid body with maximum diameter below median. Flaring rim with rounded lip, concave on interior. Grooved strap handle attached at rim and mid-body.

Reddish yellow fabric (7.5YR 7/6). Black slip over all, fired matte to slightly metallic.

Fourth to third century B.C.E.

Metal wire around handle. White sticker on handle with writing: “110 LXXXIV” Note in plastic bag dated “1875 luglio.” Below date: “nel muro del sepolcro dipinto” (in the wall of the painted tomb).



Fig. 3. Jug. Republican black-gloss, fourth–third century B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom44325). Photo: Johanna Boyer.

The notes indicate specifically that both objects were excavated in July 1875. One was found on the Esquiline Hill, an area used as a burial ground for centuries in antiquity, and the other came from a “painted tomb.” Because both were excavated in the same month, it safe to assume that they were excavated from the same area—the Esquiline necropolis.

In order to determine the significance of these context notes, it is necessary to consider the history of the excavation of Rome in the late nineteenth century. In 1871, Rome was named the capital of a newly unified Italy, and as a result, its central area underwent rapid development in order to support the new government. In May 1872, the city council of Rome established a new archaeological commission whose purpose was to oversee the preservation of the monuments of the city during this process. New construction inevitably involved the excavation of ancient remains, which would be transferred to the care of the Capitoline Museums of Rome.¹² The results of these excavations were published in the *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma*, a journal established for presenting select finds along with whatever commentary was deemed useful for elucidating the history and topography of the city.¹³ Issues of the *Bullettino* from this time period do present the results of excavations on the Esquiline Hill, which fits the notes that are preserved with the two objects described above. The first zone of excavation on the Esquiline was a large rectangular area, about 760 meters long and 320 meters wide, located just outside the Porta Esquilina along the Servian Wall.¹⁴ From the gate, the area extended north, crossing Via di S. Eusebio (Carlo Alberto), Via Napoleone III, Via Principe Amadeo, Via Principe Umberto (Filippo Turati), and Viale Principessa Margherita (Giovanni Giolitti).¹⁵

A large number of burials were encountered during these excavations ranging in date from pre-historic to Roman Imperial.¹⁶ Of particular interest are two painted tombs

discovered in 1875, the Tomb of the Fabii and the Arieti Tomb, one of which might have been the find spot for the jug above (Fig. 3). The Tomb of the Fabii is especially well known, since it contained a fresco of a military scene that can be connected to historical individuals.¹⁷ Excavated in 1875, just outside the Porta Esquilina at Via di S. Eusebio (Carlo Alberto) and Via Rattazzi (Fig. 4), the tomb has a rectangular plan with a flagstone floor.¹⁸ From its wall, a fragment of fresco was recovered that preserves a continuous historical narrative (Fig. 5).¹⁹ In four registers, the fresco depicts the sieges of cities and the delivery of military decorations. Painted inscriptions on the fresco identify the two central figures in the second and third registers: Q. Fabius and M. Fannius. In the third and best-preserved register, a man labeled Q. FABIO, in ceremonial toga and tunic, extends an object in his hand to M. FAN, who wears greaves, a loin cloth, and cloak. In the register above, the

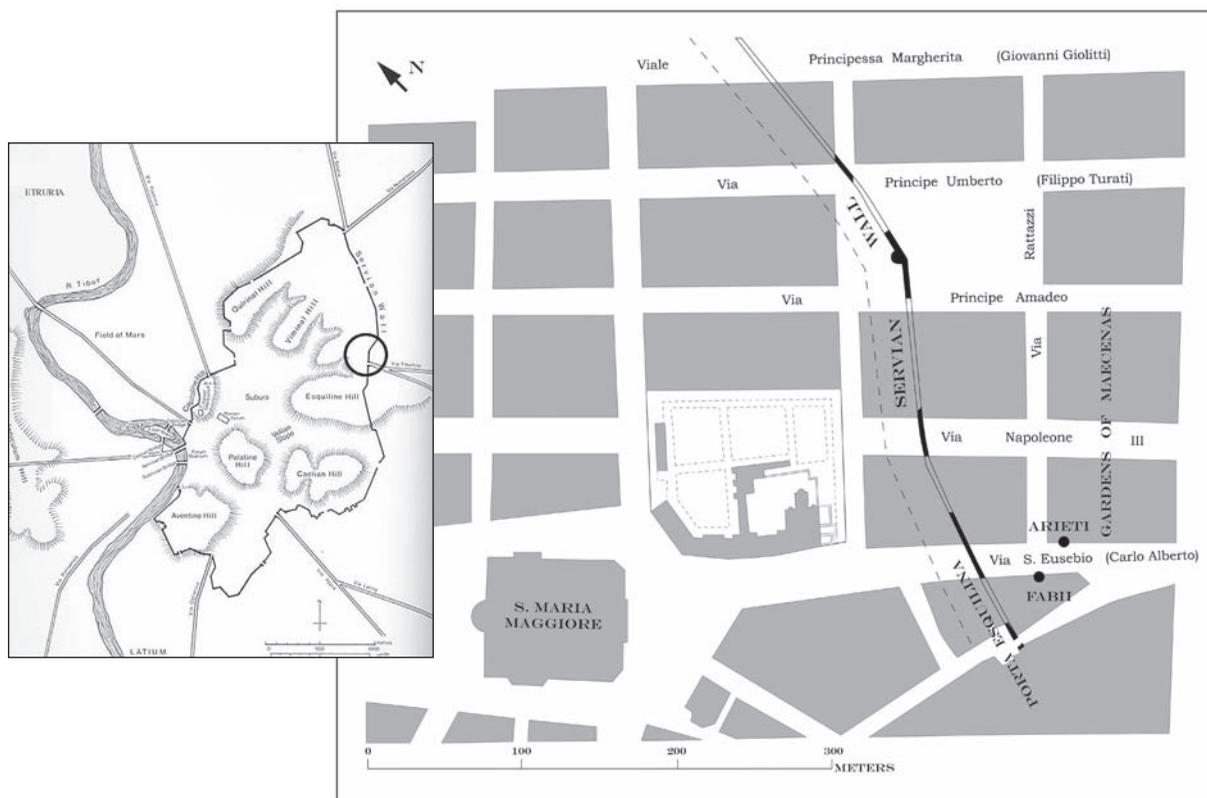


Fig. 4. Map of the area of the Esquiline necropolis, Rome, showing location of Republican tombs near the Porta Esquilina on the Esquiline Hill. Drawing: Johanna Boyer, after Rodolfo Lanciani, "Delle scoperte principali avvenute nella prima zona del nuovo quartiere Esquilino," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 2 (1874) pl. V.

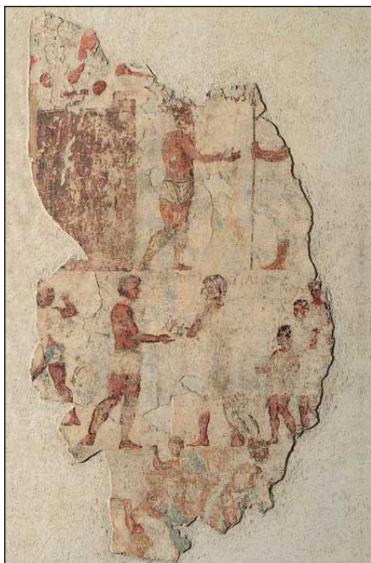


Fig. 5. Fresco with military scenes from the Tomb of the Fabii. Roman Republic, first half of third century B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom01025). Photo: Musei Capitolini, <http://en.centralemontemartini.org>.

two figures appear again, and the man in greaves extends his hand to the man wearing a toga, who holds a spear. The inscriptions are not as well preserved in this section, but it is possible to discern the second half of the name “Fannius,” making it probable that these should also be identified as Q. Fabius and M. Fannius.²⁰

By tracing the history of these family names, it may be possible to connect this fresco to known historical events. In an initial publication of the fresco, C. L. Visconti identified the Q. Fabius in this image as Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus, a hero of the Samnite Wars, who served as consul five times and died around 280 B.C.E.;²¹ the fresco may therefore illustrate scenes from the second or third Samnite War, in which Q. Fabius took part.²² If this attribution is correct, then the date for the tomb fits the time period in which the majority of this collection of black-gloss pottery falls (the first half of the third century B.C.E.). It is also tempting to connect this fresco to the work of Q. Fabius Pictor, a fellow member of the *gens* Fabii and a well-known artist mentioned in ancient sources.²³ According to Pliny, Q. Fabius Pictor was active in Rome during the late fourth or early third century B.C.E., producing notable works such as a series of paintings in the Temple of Salus that were destroyed in a fire during the time of Claudius.²⁴ The Tomb of the Fabii is therefore an excellent candidate for the painted tomb from which the jug shown in Figure 3 was excavated. It is a “painted tomb,” it fits the time period in which the jug was made, and it was excavated in 1875, the year indicated on the note that accompanied the jug.

One other painted tomb was excavated in that same year, however, and this jug may have been found in it. In the same article from 1875, Lanciani reports on a tomb excavated not far from the Tomb of the Fabii (Fig. 4) that had paintings on both jambs of its main door and along its interior walls. Only five small fragments of these frescoes have

been preserved, but it is still possible to identify a chariot surrounded by lictors, advancing toward a naked man who was apparently tied to a gallows.²⁵ No painted inscriptions were preserved that might identify the subject matter here, though this also seems to be historical narrative, possibly the celebration of a triumph.²⁶ Transport of the fresco from the tomb was entrusted to Antonio Arieti, whose name still identifies the feature as the Arieti Tomb.²⁷ One key piece of information from the black-gloss jug, though, probably disqualifies the Arieti Tomb from consideration. Lanciani's report covers tombs that were excavated on the Esquiline from April through June 1875. The date on the scrap of paper with the jug indicates that it was excavated in July 1875, too late to be included in the report. While it is possible that either the note on the jug or the time span quoted in the article is not precise, it is more likely that the jug was found in the Tomb of the Fabii, which was excavated from 1875 into 1876.²⁸

Although only two objects arrived at the University of Missouri with notes indicating their context on the Esquiline, many others were excavated from the hill. By tracing publications of tombs from the Esquiline Hill, we have confirmed that many other pots in this collection were excavated from the Esquiline necropolis, probably from less monumental burials than those described above. Granted, a great deal of uncertainty remains concerning the precise context of assemblages recovered from this area. Although the Archaeological Commission established in 1872 carried out some of the preliminary work of inventorying and cataloging finds from the excavations, much of this work was not complete when the artifacts were transported for storage. Many groups were mixed up, some were lost or stolen, and much of the original contextual information was therefore lost.²⁹ Fortunately, much information has been preserved concerning the topography of the burial ground and the finds recovered from it in early publications by the members of the Archaeological Commission and other archaeologists who were interested in the necropolis.³⁰

Finally, in 1973, an exhibition was organized in Rome in order to address the gap in scholarship for the period between the Etruscans and the Late Republic, and many finds from the Esquiline cemetery were published together in a catalog for this project, including forty of the black-gloss vessels that are currently in Missouri.³¹ Although the context for most of these objects is listed in general terms, either "from the Esquiline" or "probably from the Esquiline necropolis," eight objects do possess precise context information, linking them to specific tombs or at least to specific sectors of the excavation in the Esquiline cemetery.

One of the most common shapes found in these tombs was Morel 5722, a small, flat-bottomed jug with a tall spout (a *prochous*). In total, seven in this collection were excavated from the Esquiline.³² Production of the shape has been traced to the site of Caere in Southern Etruria around 300 B.C.E.,³³ and they are best known for examples whose bodies feature large female heads in red-figure, classified as the Torcop Group by John Beazley.³⁴ Although none of the jugs in this collection features the large female heads in profile that are characteristic of Beazley's Torcop Group, one of them does have a small amount of painted decoration.

Jug (*prochous*) (Fig. 6)

Antiquarium Comunale, Sala V
(inv. 5518)

Morel 5722

H. 0.135, D. base 0.036, D. max 0.065 m.

Complete. Some paint worn but otherwise little wear. Modern label glued on underside.

Flat underside. Narrow base with compound curve to ovoid body. Tall, narrow neck with rim folded inward to form spout. Strap handle attached at rim and shoulder. Painted decoration on body and neck. Body: upper and lower lines define visual field on upper two-thirds of body. Man in profile, standing left, below spout. Spiral vegetal motifs to either side. Flower (possibly a lotus) with stem below handle. Rays around shoulder at junction of neck and body. Neck: flower with stem directly below spout. Spiral vegetal motifs on each adjacent side.

Pink fabric (7.5YR 7/4). Glossy black slip over exterior, fired unevenly. Interior and underside reserved.

Late fourth to early third century B.C.E.

Tomb CXXVI, Via Napoleone III



Fig. 6. Jug. Republican black-gloss, late fourth to early third century B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom5518). Photo: Johanna Boyer.

The vase was excavated from Tomb CXXVI along the Via Napoleone III and was illustrated by Lanciani in 1875 along with other select finds from tombs on the Esquiline.³⁵ Its decoration is not true red-figure, in which the figures are drawn by reserving areas of un-glossed clay; rather, added slip was painted *over* the black-gloss background in order to create a lighter figure in profile (Fig. 6).³⁶ Much of the painted decoration is worn today, but its similarity to the illustration in Lanciani's report is clear. Small pouring vessels in general were common grave goods in burials on the Esquiline from this period. Of the forty vessels with context, at least twenty can be classified as some variety of jug, lekythos, or askos. Two of them were even found in the same burial together: one a small jug like those of the Torcno Group and the other a small jug with a trefoil mouth.

Jug (Fig. 7)

Antiquarium Comunale, Sala V (inv. 12128)

Morel 5722

H. 0.109, D. base 0.030, D. max 0.055 m.

Complete except for small chip in rim. Minimal wear.

Flat underside. Narrow base with compound curve to ovoid body. Tall, narrow neck with rim folded inward to form spout. Strap handle attached at rim and shoulder.



Fig. 7. Jug. Republican black-gloss, late fourth to early third century B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom12128). Photo: Johanna Boyer.

Reddish yellow fabric (7.5YR 7/6). Lustrous slip over all, fired unevenly, black to dark brown; underside reserved.

Late fourth to early third century B.C.E.

Tomb 106, Block XXI

Jug (Fig. 8)

Antiquarium Comunale, Sala V (inv. 12127)

Morel 5630

H. 0.077, D. base 0.053, D. max 0.068 m.

Complete. Slip worn slightly around rim and handle.

Molded ring foot with recessed underside, in two degrees.

Squat, globular body.

Narrow neck flares to trefoil rim. High swung strap handle attached at rim and shoulder.

Fourth to third century B.C.E.

Tomb 106, Block XXI



Fig. 8. Jug. Republican black-gloss, fourth to third century B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom12127). Photo: Johanna Boyer.

These two objects were found in Tomb 106, in Block XXI of the excavations at the Esquiline necropolis, between Via Bixio and Viale Manzoni on November 22, 1877.³⁷ This tomb is one of the most informative features from these excavations, since the context of the entire assemblage of artifacts found in it has been preserved. Tomb 106 was a simple burial in a stone chest that contained not only the two black-gloss pots described above but also a balsamarium of enamel (or glass) decorated with five different species of palms, a bronze ring, and a coarse-ware pot.³⁸ Although this was not a chamber tomb and no frescoes are associated with this burial, the small finds that were recorded tell us much more about ancient funerary practice. The two jugs, the balsamarium, and the coarse-ware pot were probably involved in the funerary ritual, holding some type of oil, wine, or food that was either poured out, or consumed at the grave, or left there for the deceased.

Although most literary evidence for Roman ideas about the afterlife dates to the first century B.C.E. and later, grave goods like these are not out of place for what is known about Roman funerary ritual. Contemporary written evidence for funerary practice in the third century B.C.E. is virtually non-existent, and our evidence is therefore primarily archaeological. Judging from later periods of Roman history, however, humble ceramic grave goods such as the black-gloss pottery presented here would not be out of place in earlier funerary contexts. Burial practice varied significantly over time and by region; therefore, multiple interpretations of *why* pottery was placed in tombs are possible, and it is risky to generalize. Nonetheless, it is certain that the practice of depositing a small number of ceramic or non-ceramic vessels with a burial was common.³⁹

One possibility is that grave goods buried in tombs served not only to honor the dead but also to serve them in the afterlife, ensuring the comfort of their spirits.⁴⁰ Offerings of food might have been included. Roman funerary ritual also included several banquets that

were eaten at the tomb and that also included offerings left for the dead.⁴¹ In the case of a cremation burial, the burning of the corpse could take place either at a location designated for cremations or on the spot at which the deceased was to be buried.⁴² One plate in the collection may provide an example of this behavior.

Plate (Figs. 9–10)

Antiquarium Comunale, Sala V
(inv. 12115)

Morel 1124a

H. 0.050, D. rim 0.205, D. base 0.063 m.

Mended from four fragments. One small fragment of rim restored in plaster. Discoloration of slip indicates secondary burning.

Ring foot with hole pierced through wall of ring. Shallow, flaring wall. Overhanging, convex rim. Depression at center floor.

Pink fabric (7.5YR 7/4). Glossy black slip over all; underside reserved.

Ca. 285 B.C.E.

Esquiline necropolis



Fig. 9. Plate, interior. Republican black-gloss, ca. 285 B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom12115). Photo: Johanna Boyer.



Fig. 10. Plate, underside. Republican black-gloss, ca. 285 B.C.E. Capitoline Museum, Rome (AntCom12115). Photo: Johanna Boyer.

Although the precise find spot of this plate is unknown, records indicate that it was also excavated from the Esquiline necropolis.⁴³ The discoloration of the gloss on the pot suggests secondary burning, meaning that it was exposed to fire after it was initially fired in a kiln. In this case, it seems that the plate was unevenly exposed to extremely high temperatures, damaging the surface of the pottery and causing some of the black gloss to reoxidize to bright red and to grayish orange in other spots.⁴⁴ Because we know it was excavated from the necropolis, it is therefore very likely that this plate was burned as part of a cremation burial, either at the tomb or elsewhere.

All of these ritual behaviors could have resulted in pottery being deposited at a burial site, whether it was a large chamber tomb or a humble cist grave, and the number of black-gloss pots studied here that were excavated from the Esquiline necropolis supports this conclusion. The majority of Republican black-gloss pottery that has been excavated in Italy does not come from funerary contexts, however. Helga Di Giuseppe has recently found a closer connection between black-gloss pottery and sanctuary sites, with the production of black-gloss pottery tied to temple economy.⁴⁵ Due to sumptuary laws of the mid-fifth century that forbade ostentation at necropoleis, she argues, sanctuaries were the

only places at which one could hoard wealth, resulting in a concentration of black-gloss pottery in those locations and limiting its appearance in tombs. Whether pottery qualifies as “ostentation,” however, and whether laws of the fifth century would still have as much of an impact by the third, is a matter of debate. The finds from the Esquiline necropolis suggest that the deposition of black-gloss pottery in tombs during the third to first centuries B.C.E. was not an uncommon practice. The placement of one or two pots in a simple stone burial chest could hardly be seen as ostentatious behavior, and even larger painted chamber tombs do not seem to have been prohibited in Rome during this time. It may be that the activities that took place at sanctuary sites allowed for a higher concentration of ceramic artifacts in contrast to the small number of artifacts deposited in a single tomb, leading to a distortion of the data. A sanctuary could be visited many times by a large number of people who dedicated votives, whereas grave goods may have been left at an individual tomb once or twice by a limited number of people. If many tombs elsewhere in Italy were excavated at an early date, in the same manner in which those on the Esquiline were excavated, many of those artifacts may remain similarly isolated due to a lack of known archaeological context. The black-gloss pottery presented here is still very limited in the information it can offer, since precise find spots for many of the objects are not definite, and we cannot quantify the amount of black-gloss material that was found in tombs. It does suggest, however, that perhaps the deposition of black-gloss pottery in tombs was not a rare phenomenon, and it may be the case that more data is needed from funerary contexts of the Republican period in order to assess the situation more accurately.

NOTES

*I am grateful to Dr. Kathleen Warner Slane for her guidance on the Hidden Treasures of Rome Project and for her initial suggestion to look at the Tomb of the Fabii, which led to the discovery of important new information for this article.

1. The Hidden Treasures of Rome project was developed by the Capitoline Museum and the University of Missouri under the patronage of the Italian Cultural Heritage Ministry with the support of Enel Green Power and was conceived as the pilot program of a larger initiative undertaken by the Soprintendenza Capitolina. The project was made possible through the kind support of Claudio Parisi Presicce, Soprintendente Capitolino, Antonella Magagnini and Carla Martini of the Musei Capitolini, Pietro Masi, advisor, Francesco Venturini, CEO of Enel Green Power, and Michela De Genarro, director of External Relations and Communications, Enel Green Power North America.
2. The purpose of votive miniatures is a topic that needs further study, but it is probable that small vessels were more affordable than larger ones, allowing for a greater number of dedications. For this view from the Greek world, see Gunnell Ekroth, “Small Pots, Poor People? The Use and Function of Miniature Pottery as Votive Offerings in Archaic Sanctuaries in the Argolid and the Corinthia,” in Bernhard Schmalz and Magnalene Söldner, eds., *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext* (Munich, 2003) pp. 35–37. Alternatively, the small scale of the objects may have been an expression of a more personal dedication; see Michael Shanks, *Art and the Greek City State: An Interpretive Archaeology* (Cambridge, 1999) p. 189.

3. Helga Di Giuseppe, *Black-Gloss Ware in Italy: Production, Management, and Local Histories* (BAR International Series 2335, Oxford, 2012).
4. Jean-Paul Morel, *Céramique campanienne: Les formes* (Rome, 1981). Though some of Morel's dates and conclusions have been revised since the 1980s, this volume remains the primary reference work for Italian black-gloss pottery of the Hellenistic/Republican period (fourth to first century B.C.E.). Five of the objects in the Capitoline collection (all from the Esquiline necropolis) were actually included by Morel in this publication as examples of specific forms: AntCom12111=Morel 8241b, no. 1, p. 429, pl. 213; AntCom12115=Morel 1124a, no. 2, p. 86, pl. 3; AntCom12117=Morel 3681a, no. 1, p. 280, pl. 111; AntCom12118=Morel 4253c, no. 1, p. 299, pl. 123; AntCom12174=Morel 1111c, no. 1, pl. 81, pl. 1.
5. Of the 249 objects, 60 could not be assigned a precise date or form because they were too fragmentary or because they were produced in miniature, resulting in a distortion of the full-size model.
6. Products of the second century are rare and varied (e.g. AntCom8626, Morel 1255a, gray ware bowl; AntCom10066, Morel 2862, gray ware bowl; AntCom7633bis, Morel 2250, plate). There is one second-century example of Campana B (MC7581bis, Morel 1445a, plate), but otherwise the Campana wares identified by Lamboglia are not present in the collection. For Campana A, B, and C, see Nino Lamboglia, "Per una classificazione preliminare della ceramica campana," in *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Liguri (1950)* (Bordighera, 1952) pp. 139–206. Products of the first century are represented by a series of black-gloss plates from Arezzo (Morel 2287: AntCom10240, 10241, 44231, 44243; Morel 2286: AntCom10239, 44246, 44257, 44286). AntCom44287 is the same shape (Morel 2286, small plate) but is made of a very different fabric, as demonstrated by neutron activation analysis (NAA); this may be one more example of Campana B, a ware in which Morel 2286 also occurs. Morel 2287, the larger plate, is exclusive to the black-gloss products from Arezzo.
7. The volume of black-gloss pottery published by the Museo Nazionale Romano (Paola Bernardini, *Museo Nazionale Romano: V,1, Le ceramiche* [Rome, 1986]) provided the largest number of precise parallels for the decoration of the black-gloss pottery from the Capitoline. The composition of that collection is very similar, and it was also excavated in central Rome in the late nineteenth century, along the embankment of the Tiber River (*ibid.*, p. 11). Small stamps on the interior of bowls and plates are the most common form of decoration on the Capitoline pottery, most of which can be attributed to the *atelier des petites estampilles* or to the broad classification of "Etrusco-laziali." For the original identification of the *atelier des petites estampilles*, see Jean-Paul Morel, "Etudes de céramique campanienne, 1. L'atelier des petites estampilles," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 81 (1969) pp. 59–117; for his revision of its chronology, see Morel, "Céramique campanienne," p. 92. For one of the most recent interpretations and re-dating of the *atelier* and its relationship to pottery classified as "Etrusco-laziali," see E. A. Stanco, "La seriazione cronologica della ceramica a vernice nera etrusco-laziale nell'ambito del III secolo a.C.," in V. Jolivet, C. Pavolini, M. A. Tomei, and R. Volpe, eds., *Suburbium II: Il suburbium di Roma dalla fine dell'età monarchia alla nascita del sistema della ville (V–II secolo a.C.)* (Rome, 2009) pp. 157–193.
8. The NAA results have been recorded in a separate report, produced jointly by MURR and the Museum of Art and Archaeology. It was only possible to sample sixty-five objects, but three different compositional groups were identified with two outliers.
9. Use-wear analysis was initiated in the spring of 2016 under the direction of Marcello Mogetta and executed by Stephanie Kimmey, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri.

10. A third object with context notes (AntCom44328, bowl) was excavated along the Via della Consolazione in 1939 (located near the Roman Forum). Because the focus of this article is the connection between the black-gloss pottery and the tombs of the Esquiline, AntCom44328 will be excluded from discussion at this point.
11. Closest to Morel 5212 but without the ring foot.
12. “Prefazione,” *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 1 (1872) p. 3.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
14. For a plan of the area, see Rodolfo Lanciani, “Delle scoperte principali avvenute nella prima zona del nuovo quartiere Esquilino,” *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 2 (1874) pl. V. VI.
15. The street names are key, as artifacts are often listed with reference to the road by which they were found.
16. Rodolfo Lanciani, “Le antichissime sepolture esquiline,” *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 3 (1875) pp. 42–46. At the time, the burials encountered in this area could be classified into three different types: rock-cut (oldest), sarcophagi or urns, and *puticoli* (large, mass burial pits, used for the lower classes). For an updated overview of the Esquiline necropolis, see R. Ross Holloway, *The Archaeology of Early Rome and Latium* (London, 1994) pp. 20–36.
17. The attribution of the tomb to the Fabii is not definite. An argument can be made that it belongs to the *gens Fannii*, since M. Fannius is the one receiving honors in this image, a name that does not appear in Roman history until the second century. See Eugenio La Rocca, “Fabio o Fannio. L'affresco medio-repubblicano dell'Esquilino come riflesso dell'arte ‘rappresentativa’ e come espressione di mobilità sociale,” *Dialoghi di archeologia* 1 (1984) pp. 31–53. Roger Ling also favors this interpretation in his analysis of the painting (Roger Ling, *Roman Painting* [Cambridge, 1991] p. 10).
18. F. Oriolo, “Sepulcrum: Fabii/Fannii,” in Eva M. Steiby, ed., *Lexicon topographicum Urbis Romae: 4, P–S* (Rome, 1999) p. 288. The tomb measures 8.5 x 5 m.
19. The fresco fragment measures ca. 87.5 x 45 cm.
20. For a detailed description of the fresco, see C. L. Visconti, “Un’antichissima pittura delle tombe esquiline,” *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 17 (1889) pp. 340–350. The second inscription referring to Fannius is not clear, and the letters may be read in different ways. These variations in reading do not, however, change the interpretation. See Visconti, *ibid.*, p. 344, n. 2.
21. Visconti, “Un’antichissima pittura,” p. 348. See also Filippo Coarelli, “Due tombe repubblicane dall’Esquilino,” in *Affreschi romani dalle raccolte dell’Antiquarium Comunale* (Rome, 1976) pp. 13–21. For Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus: Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, viii.30, ix.23, ix.46.
22. A number of prominent Romans came from the *gens Fabia* during the third and second centuries, so it is possible that a different Fabius is depicted here and that the tomb could date as late as the second century (Ling, *Roman Painting*, p. 10); for other members of the *gens Fabia* see “Fabius,” in Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, eds., *Brill’s New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World: 5, Equ–Has* (Boston, 2004) pp. 287–300.
23. Visconti, “Un’antichissima pittura,” p. 349. This individual should not be confused with Q. Fabius Pictor, his grandson, an early Roman historian who was active ca. 200 B.C.E.
24. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 35.19. Visconti goes so far as to suggest that this fresco may be part of a small-scale copy of the paintings that decorated this temple (Visconti, “Un’antichissima pittura,” p. 349).

25. Lanciani, "Le antichissime sepolture," p. 54. Coarelli argues that the figure tied to a gallows is an early depiction of crucifixion (Coarelli, "Due tombe," p. 13). For further discussion of iconography from the Arieti Tomb, see Filippo Coarelli, "Cinque frammenti di una tomba dipinto dall'Esquilino," in *Affreschi romani dalle raccolte dell'Antiquarium Comunale* (Rome, 1976) pp. 22–28; Jane DeRose Evans, *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus* (Ann Arbor, 1992) pp. 11–12; Peter Holliday, *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration in the Visual Arts* (Cambridge, 2002) pp. 36–43. For tomb architecture, see Chiara Giatti, "L'architettura sepolcrale tra il II ed il I secolo a.C.: Modelli culturali e scelte architettoniche a Roma," *Bollettino di Archeologia On Line* Volume speciale (2008) pp. 35–36.
26. Evans, *Art of Persuasion*, p. 11.
27. Lanciani, "Le antichissime sepolture," p. 54. Also known as the "Tomb of the Magistrates." The frescoes were removed from the tomb, but the tomb itself was eventually destroyed in order to accommodate the construction of a modern building. For a possible identification of the owner of the tomb as Atilius Calatinus, see Filippo Canali De Rossi, "Il sepolcro di Atilio Calatino presso la porta Esquilina," *FastiOnlineDocuments&Research* 127 (2008) pp. 1–10.
28. Visconti, "Un'antichissima pittura," p. 340.
29. Mirtella Taloni, "La necropoli dell'Esquilino," in *Roma medio repubblicana: Aspetti culturali di Roma e del Lazio nei secoli IV e III a.C.* (Rome, 1973) p. 188.
30. See Rodolfo Lanciani, "Delle scoperte principali avvenute nella prima zona del nuovo quartiere esquilino," *Bollettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 2 (1874) pp. 33–88; Lanciani, "Le antichissime sepolture," pp. 4–56; E. Dressel, "La suppellettile dell'antichissima necropoli esquilina: Parte seconda. Le stoviglie letterate," *Annales Institutorum* 52 (1880) pp. 265–342; L. Mariani, "I resti di Roma primitiva," *Bollettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 29 (1896) pp. 5–60; Giovanni Pinza, "Monumenti paleontologici raccolti nei Musei Comunali," *Bollettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 40 (1912) pp. 15–102; Antonio Maria Colini, *Antiquarium: Descrizione delle collezioni dell'Antiquarium ampliato e riordinato* (Rome, 1929).
31. *Roma medio repubblicana*, pp. 209–233. One additional pot from the collection was included in this same volume under a section on the Servian Wall (*ibid.*, p. 69, no. 40, AntCom5055, fragment of bowl with painted inscription).
32. AntCom5518 (*Roma medio repubblicana*, no. 291, p. 211); AntCom12128 (*ibid.*, no. 303, p. 215); AntCom12129 (*ibid.*, no. 300, p. 214); AntCom12134 (*ibid.*, no. 305, p. 215); AntCom12159 (*ibid.*, no. 304, p. 215); AntCom12160 (*ibid.*, no. 301, p. 214); AntCom12175 (*ibid.*, no. 302, p. 214).
33. Mario A. Del Chiaro, *Etruscan Red-Figured Vase-Painting at Caere* (Berkeley, 1974) pp. 68–72, 88–92. The jugs are related to the Genucilia Group, plates that are also common in this collection, which were also produced at Caere and are often decorated with large female heads in red-figure.
34. John D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947) pp. 168–169. The name "Torcop" is taken from the examples identified by Beazley in collections at both Toronto and Copenhagen. Beazley notes, however, that it is difficult to separate this Torcop group from other similar groups, such as the Fluid Group (*ibid.*, p. 302).
35. Lanciani, "Le antichissime sepolture," p. 56, no. 19, pls. VI–VIII; for the specific tomb number, see *Roma medio repubblicana*, no. 291, p. 211.
36. Cf. *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum British Museum* 7, IV E b, pl. 1, 9, 10.

37. Giovanni Pinza, "Le vicende della zona esquilina fino ai tempi Augusto," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 42 (1914) p. 142; *Roma medio repubblicana*, nos. 303 and 307, pp. 215–216.
38. Pinza, "Le vicende della zona esquilina," p. 142. No image of these objects is available, so there is no way to confirm Pinza's identification of decoration or technique. "Enamel" is a translation of "smalto."
39. A diachronic view of burials at the Roman colony of Corinth demonstrates how grave goods can vary by time and by population (Kathleen Warner Slane and Mary E. H. Walbank, "Anointing and Commemorating the Dead: Funerary Rituals of Roman Corinthians," in Daniele Malfitana, Jeroen Poblome, and John Lund, eds., *Old Pottery in a New Century: Innovative Perspectives on Roman Pottery Studies* [Catania, 2006] pp. 377–387). In eight graves that date to the third century B.C.E., before the foundation of the Roman colony, typical grave goods include a drinking cup, an oinochoe, and a lamp, perhaps with a bronze strigil or ring. It seems that these were meant to accompany the individual to the underworld (*ibid.*, p. 382). By the second century C.E., however, after the migration of Romans from central Italy, customs change. In Robinson's Painted Tomb (a chamber tomb used from the second to the fifth century C.E.) typical grave goods in second-century burials include a single unguentarium and perhaps a fine ware plate (*ibid.*, p. 379). By the fourth century C.E., one or two jugs deposited in burials seem to indicate that a libation was poured, and a coin was tossed into the tomb (*ibid.*). Coarse ware vessels left in the chamber tomb there also seem to indicate commemorative dining (*ibid.*, p. 381).
40. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (Baltimore, 1971) pp. 52–62. The view that *all* pottery placed in a tomb should be interpreted as a food offering to the deceased is dated, but it remains a possibility that some pottery should be viewed in this way.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 51. See also Pinza, "Le vicende della zona esquilina," p. 142.
42. Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, pp. 49–50.
43. *Roma medio repubblicana*, no. 349, p. 229; Morel, *Céramique campanienne*, Form 1124a, no. 2, p. 86, pl. 3.
44. For an explanation of the results from different firing processes, see Joseph Veach Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery* (New York, 1965) pp. 84–86.
45. Di Giuseppe, *Black-Gloss Ware in Italy*, p. 157.

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