CHAPTER THIRTY ONE

# ORVIETO, CAMPO DELLA FIERA – *FANUM VOLTUMNAE*

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The Etruscan *Velzna* (Latin Volsinii), the current Orvieto, was an important *polis* exalted by the ancient writers for its wealth and power.[1] Valerius Maximus (9.1, ext. 2), for example, defines it as "*opulenta, moribus et legibus ordinata, Etruriae caput*." The latest modern criticism believes that near the city was located the *Fanum Voltumnae*, the federal sanctuary of the Etruscans of which Livy writes on several occasions (4.23.5, 4.25.7, 4.61.2, 5.17.6, 6.2.2), but without ever stating the name of the center, which was the seat of the sanctuary. From the historian we know that representatives of the league of the twelve peoples met regularly at the *Fanum* to make decisions together, including decisions on foreign policy as happened during the clash between Rome and Veii. The god worshiped in the sanctuary was Voltumna-Vertumnus, defined by Varro (*Lingua Latina* 5.46) as the "deus Etruriae princeps" and assimilated to Tinia. During the meetings there were held, as well as religious ceremonies, fairs, markets, theatrical spectacles and solemn games that it was forbidden to interrupt. The location of the sanctuary in Orvieto is suggested by the so-called *Rescript of Spello* (*CIL* XI.5265), written between 333 and 337 AD, by which the emperor Constantine granted the right to celebrate the annual religious ceremonies and *ludi*, imposed as an ancient custom, to the inhabitants of Spello in their city without having to go through difficult paths to Volsinii. The poet Propertius also attests to the Volsinian origin of Vertumnus (4.2.1–4), summoned to Rome in 264 BC when the consul Fulvius Flaccus conquered Volsinii (*CIL* I.2, 46). Festus (s.v. *toga picta*, 228 L) reports that in the Aventine temple of the god the consul was depicted as a *triumphator*. According to an account by Pliny (*NH* 34.16.34) the Romans plundered the town of 2,000 bronze statues: the number, perhaps exaggerated, is surely indication of the existence of a rich sanctuary.

To the west of the cliff on which Orvieto stands is a vast flat area that was for centuries designated for the conduct of markets and fairs, as evidenced by its name: Campo della Fiera. In 1876 excavations in this locality brought to light walls and architectural terracottas belonging to a cult-place. These are now preserved in Berlin. The brief notes left on the surveys did not indicate the exact location, the sacred character of the cult, or the identity of the patron divinities, making it appropriate to resume investigation



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at the site. Since 2000, excavations have been conducted by the University of Perugia, in collaboration with the University of Macerata, directed by myself and funded by the Foundation of the Cassa di Risparmio of Orvieto, and with the participation of students from universities in Italy, Europe and the US. Several reports have already been published which are summarized here to make room for recent discoveries. It should be noted that this is work in progress: the study of the finds must still be completed and the excavation of some structures must be finished. The materials found so far are large and numerous, especially the architectural terracottas, one of which matches an antefix in Berlin, suggesting that the site investigated is indeed that of the nineteenth-century excavations.

The surface area explored to date is more than three hectares (Fig. 31.1). A massive structure of walls, 2.5 meters thick and standing on one side in polygonal masonry, was brought to light in one of the areas at higher levels. Downhill from this wall was exposed a kind of "plateau" (leveled) area, dating to between the second and first century BC, which covered a dump of different architectural elements of diverse chronology. Nearby, the area is crossed by a paved road built in the mid-third century BC. The track, exposed for more than 50 meters, was five meters wide and furrowed by the passage of wagons, connecting Orvieto with Bolsena. The road narrows, probably to decrease traffic flow in the central part of the area, where the cult has persisted for a long time, from the sixth century BC into the Roman Imperial age. This area is defined by a boundary wall, which was rebuilt several times over the centuries: here there are superimposed remodeling phases of the Republican and Imperial periods.

Within the sacred enclosure, characterized by the presence of two wells (Fig. 31.2 nos. 1, 9), are three small adjoining rooms (Fig. 31.2 no. 2), leveled in the Roman period, which already existed in the second half of the fifth century BC as proven by the deposit in a large clay container placed near one of the walls. The remains could be read as a primitive building, whose religious function is supported by the fact that it is oriented to the east, like the nearby temple called A (Fig. 31.2 no. 3). We do not know with certainty the period of construction of this temple, but the building shows multiple reconstructions (Fig. 31.3). It certainly existed in the fourth century BC, followed by a

**Figure 31.1** Campo della Fiera: aerial view of excavations.



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**Figure 31.2** Plan of central area of excavations (drawing S. Moretti Giani): 1. Well; 2. Primitive building; 3. Temple A; 4. Quadrangular structure; 5. Donario; 6. Trenches; 7. Thesaurus; 8. Altar; 9. Well; 10. First *temenos*; 11. Second *temenos*; 12. Third *temenos* in opus reticolatum; 13. Fourth *temenos*; 14. Via Sacra; 15. Baths.



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restructuring of the entire sector to which are assigned the slabs of trachyte that at the northeast corner of the podium replace blocks of tuff. On the front are large slabs of tuff that probably constituted the foundations of the projecting walls on either side of the stairs. Further intervention, between 50 and 25 BC, sees the resurfacing of the floor decorated with inlays of stone fragments and bicolor-motifs (Fig. 31.4). Along the south wall of the temple, flanked by a paved pathway, were found numerous bronze nails. Some, in perfect condition, do not seem to have been used. The most likely interpretation of the nails is for architectural terracottas, but the presence of such a large number of specimens raises the appeal to the Volsinian tradition of the *clavus annalis*, which was affixed to the temple of the goddess Nortia (Cincius *apud* Livy 7.3.7), recognized by some in the Orvietan Belvedere temple.

**Figure 31.3** Temple A.

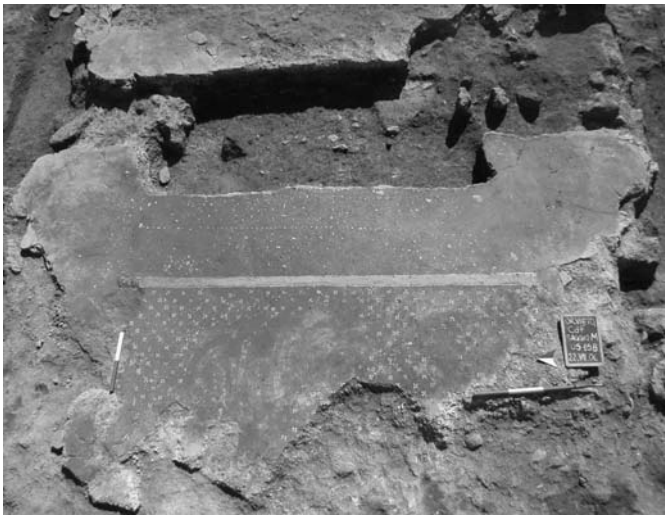

**Figure 31.4** Pavement of the *cella* of Temple A.



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Aligned with the temple stands a great *donario* (offering table) of trachyte with moldings that are reminiscent of the Lavinium altars, but especially of the altars that Fulvius Flaccus erected at Rome in front of the temples of Sant'Omobono after the conquest of Orvieto (Fig. 31.2 no. 5 and Fig. 31.5, right). On the upper side holes remain for the housing of bronze statuettes. Beside the *donario* is a monolithic altar in tuff, which was almost completely covered with layers of burnt remains of apparent sacrifices. Here was found the graffito *apas* ("of the father"), written on the interior of a bucchero cup. Between the altar and the *donario* was placed a *thesaurus* (treasure repository), found intact (Fig. 31.2 no. 7), which has furnished more than two hundred bronze and silver coins, the most recent of which is dated to 7 BC.

In this same sector of the sanctuary is a square structure defined by ashlar blocks of tuff (Fig. 31.2 no. 4 and Fig. 31.5). Inside were found important materials datable within a wide time span. Among the most indicative to be noted are an Ionicizing statuette of a seated god, an Attic oinochoe in the shape of the head of Dionysus, ram-head rhyta in Attic pottery and black-gloss, many feminine objects, bases from which bronze statuettes had been violently removed (but one still retains three bronzes), including a parallelepiped support in trachyte with holes and grooves for the attachment of a small figure sitting on a throne (Fig. 31.6) and the large base with Archaic dedicatory inscription

**Figure 31.5** *Donario*, altar, trenches and quadrangular structure.

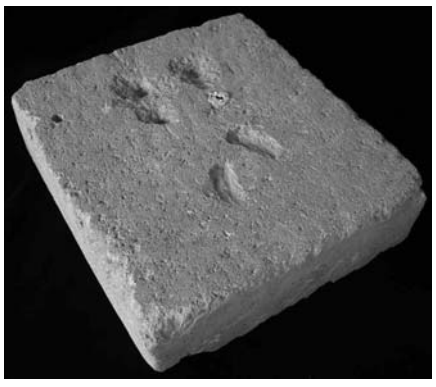

**Figure 31.6** Base of statuette of figure seated on a throne.



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that commemorates the gift of Kanuta (Fig. 31.7), a woman of Oscan origin, freedwoman of the Larecenas family and wife of Aranth Pinies, to the *Tluschva* deities worshiped in the "heavenly place." Under the large base was a black-gloss cup dating from the late fourth to early third century BC (Fig. 31.8), which contained a large number of objects intentionally placed inside: a leaf of gold and one of bronze, an image of a child who offers a ball (Fig. 31.9), three small *bullae*, six rings and a pair of tweezers, beads of amber and glass paste, sixteen fibulae, thirteen pieces of *aes rude* and fragments of Attic pottery. When the filling was removed a huge boulder was revealed that had been intentionally trimmed to nearly oval shape and fit perfectly in the building, although not in a central position (Fig. 31.10). We do not know if the square enclosure had been created for the purpose of a sacred ritual deposition or whether it originally remained empty, as a *chasma* open to the Underworld, affording a view of the big rock that resembles an *omphalos*, the

**Figure 31.7** Base with Archaic dedicatory inscription.

**Figure 31.8** Black-gloss cup.



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**Figure 31.9** Bronze figurine of boy with ball.

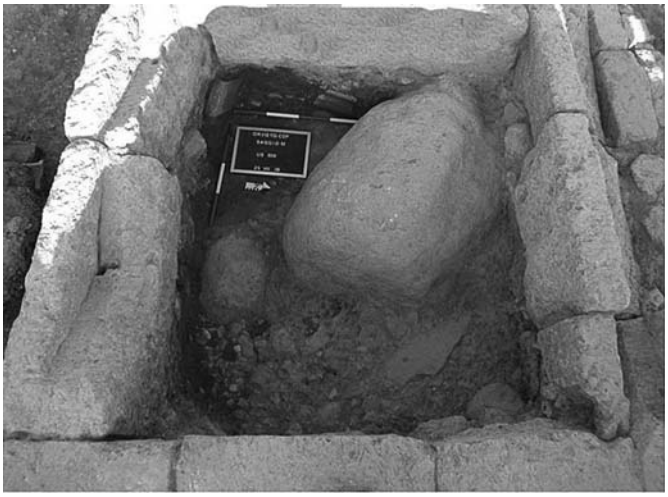

**Figure 31.10** Quadrangular structure emptied of fill.

presence of which has undoubtedly played a key role in emphasizing the area and the structure itself. Some of the finds show that the cavity was filled in the Proto-Augustan age with objects that had suffered the depredations of the army of Fulvius Flaccus, as evidenced by the empty bases of statues that recall the Plinian account of the looting of 2,000 bronzes.

Between the *temenos* wall, *donario*, altar and quadrangular structure have been found two large trenches lined with large and irregular blocks of different sizes (Fig. 31.2 no. 6 and Fig. 31.5). They were covered by layers of burning that obscured altar and *thesaurus*, and had been filled in a single procedure. Fragments of thin-walled vases, *terra sigillata*, glass vases and an *as* minted after 211 BC show that the filling is coeval with that of the quadrangular structure. The materials recovered are many: the most striking evidence is



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furnished by votive heads and statues. The oldest is a terracotta female head with *tutulus* and a diadem with rosettes superimposed on her wavy hair (Fig. 31.11). At the top there is the hole for a *meniscus* that indicates an outdoor location. The stylistic features point to the last decade of the sixth century BC. It is broken at the neck and one cannot determine whether it was an isolated head or belonged to a statue. A prestigious bronze gift was deposited, a small bronze female head (Fig. 31.12), a true masterpiece of Etruscan metalwork, dated circa 490–480 BC, which probably belonged to a stone base which retains the lead in the top where the head was affixed. To the Late Archaic period belong

**Figure 31.11** Terracotta female head.

**Figure 31.12** Bronze female head.



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two terracotta heads with faces derived from the same mold as antefixes of Orvietan type. Another woman's head, similar to the previous in iconographic and stylistic characters, but slightly larger, is applied to a stand (Fig. 31.13). Between the head and the upper edge of the base remains a small gap, perhaps functioning to receive liquid offerings.

The same mold for the larger female heads was also used for a male head, as shown by the red color of the skin (Fig. 31.14). The hair on the forehead was shaved, perhaps for the application of a crown or the front of a helmet. On the back it looks like a helmet or a hat attached to the skull. At the top is a hole, larger than usual, for the *meniscus* or for an attribute similar to the *apex* (pointed hat) of a *flamen*. The male head, derived from female prototypes, evocatively recalls the elegy of Propertius, the passage in which Vertumnus says that if he wears garments of Cos he becomes a "gentle maiden." The

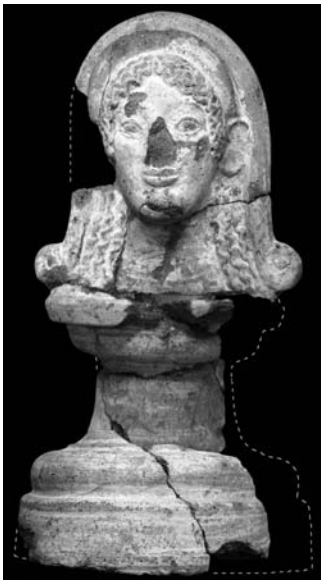

**Figure 31.13** Terracotta female head on base.

**Figure 31.14** Terracotta male head (front and back views).



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head is broken at the neck and may have been part of a statue as suggested by fragments in similar clay, which reconstruct the lower portion of a standing male figure, from the groin to the legs. The comparison is with a statue from Orvieto obtained by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen in 1924. On that date, or shortly before, finds are not recorded in Orvieto, but the materials were also sold long after their discovery, as may have happened for architectural terracottas purchased for the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Philadelphia, which – upon autopsy – are shown to be identical to some found at Campo della Fiera.

Dated to the mid-fifth century BC is a female head on a square base (Fig. 31.15). It is typical of the acceptance in the Tiber region of Etruria of models from classical Greece and Magna Graecia, like two other beautiful female heads, one almost intact, the other fragmentary (Fig. 31.16), whose stylistic characteristics find parallels in the head in the round from Vigna Grande at Orvieto.

**Figure 31.15** Terracotta female head.

**Figure 31.16** Terracotta female head during excavation.



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Exceptional is a larger than life-size arm in stone, to which belongs a hand holding a pomegranate painted in red. A rectangular recess under the elbow shows that it was supported and connected to the armrest of a seat. The image of deities sitting on thrones is similar to that reconstructed for the parallelepiped support found in the quadrangular structure (Fig. 31.6). The iconography conjures up images of Hera enthroned with pomegranate from the first half of the fifth century BC from Poseidonia or those of Persephone from the sanctuary of Demeter at Selinunte and at Tegea. Then the complex base of a terracotta statue of a woman was found, of which the feet remain, clad in sandals with elongated toes (Fig. 31.17), dated to the first half of the fourth century BC.

Other objects found in the two trenches are finger-rings of bronze and silver with signets of gold, and rock crystals also, one of them in the shape of an eye, fragments of small vases of alabaster, glass paste beads and ointment jars, amber, a gold pendant, many fibulae, a large amount of *aes rude* and inscribed bases. Among the ceramics was a small Attic Maenad-head vase (Fig. 31.18). The trenches have produced female elements especially, such as those in the quadrangular deposit pit. This suggests that the worship of the sanctuary prevalent in this area had the character of Demeter- and chthonic-cults, practiced by women and addressed to female deities, whether they were recognized as *Vei*, according to a rereading proposed by Giovanni Colonna for an inscription on a loom weight from this same area, or as *Cavatha*, partner of *Apollo Sourios* that – according to the same scholar – would be present at Campo della Fiera. However, one name emerges clearly from the documents: the deities *Tluschva*, which are also found at Sant'Antonio at Cerveteri and have been read by Adriano Maggiani as a divine feminine group linked to nature and vegetation. With regard to Campo della Fiera, it is to be noted that the base of Kanuta was found with materials associated with Dionysus, and we should not forget that in the liver of Piacenza the theonym *Tluschva* appears in the same sectors as Fufluns.

The latest research has indicated the progression of different enclosure walls. It would be premature to establish an absolute chronology, but it is possible to propose some dating. The oldest wall (Fig. 31.2 no. 10) may be assigned to a period between the fifth and fourth century BC, and is aligned with the eastern side of the quadrangular structure, which is becoming more and more essential and fundamental for the sacred area.

**Figure 31.17** Terracotta feet of female statue.



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Ceramic fragments found in a small hole dug in the first surviving row (Fig. 31.19) can be attributed to a rite of re-foundation of the boundary during the construction of the second *temenos* wall. This partially overlaps the first one and then diverges to the east (Fig. 31.2 no. 11). It is provided with a threshold of blocks of trachyte with stop and hinge holes for a door that opens from the inside of the enclosure (Fig. 31.20). The material used for the threshold is the same as all other architectural elements that belong to a significant structural change subsequent to the events of 264 BC.

A third wall built in *opus reticulatum* narrows the space (Fig. 31.2 no. 12) and closes an area that includes the monuments evidently considered the most significant (Temple A, altar, *thesaurus*, *donario*, and quadrangular structure). One wall in *opus reticulatum* begins from Temple A and ends at the northern limit of the threshold of trachyte, where the door is re-constructed with housings of the cornerstones with *cubilia*. The walls in *opus reticulatum* are to be connected to the resurfacing of the floor of Temple A. At the same time, remains of votive offerings were placed in the three deposits.

**Figure 31.18** Attic vase in form of a Maenad's head.

**Figure 31.19** Cavity in foundation course of the first *temenos* wall.



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Later, in imperial times, further remodeling closes the door with a rough stone structure that rests on layers containing African pottery (Fig. 31.2 no. 13). Structures and materials thus show the long Roman use of this area. This statement should also be considered with regard to the cult practiced, although changes may have occurred in the ritual forms of worship including a possible transformation of the cults.

The central area of the excavation is crossed by an imposing paved road to be identified with the "Sacred Way" (Via Sacra) of the sanctuary, flanked by bases for altars and statues (Fig. 31.21). It saw three phases of construction, one above the other, the dates of which are provided by fragments of Etruscan ceramics in bucchero and superposed color: the first phase is dated after the middle of the sixth century BC, the second phase in the fifth century BC and the last phase around the middle of the fourth century BC. About 70 meters of the road has been brought to light and shows a progressively increasing slope to the south, toward the slope of the hill overlooking Campo della Fiera. The middle of the roadway is marked by a row of paving stones. The eastern part has ruts set 1.2 meters

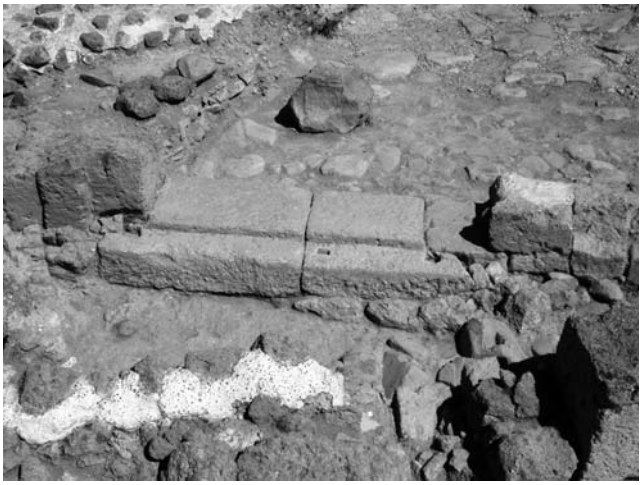

**Figure 31.20** Threshold of the second *temenos* wall.

**Figure 31.21** Via Sacra.



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apart corresponding to the distance between the wheels of a chariot (*biga*) like the *currus* from the Tomb of the Chariots of Populonia. The shallow depth of the ruts, ending where the slope is steeper, indicates that the passage of vehicles was not frequent, contrary to what happened in the road from Orvieto to Bolsena. The Via Sacra was thus somewhat passable by wagons and partly pedestrian, finally becoming exclusively pedestrian toward the south. It is a kind of ritual and triumphal path. The road ran behind a modern villa, which unfortunately occupies the path towards the highest portion, where powerful structures have been brought to light (South Area).

The South Area is characterized by the presence of a large structure before which a wall encloses a monumental fountain (Fig. 31.22). From the fountain comes a leonine waterspout (Fig. 31.23) and a black-gloss plate with graffito *ve* (abbreviation of the name *Veltune?*). The basement is probably related to a sacred building (named B). From the temple one can see the area below: the location makes it a dominant feature and underlines its importance. From the typology of building techniques and materials it can be inferred that it was an Archaic building in use until the Republican era. Although the investigation had to be suspended for economic reasons, it seems possible to speak of the intentional abandonment of the site.

**Figure 31.22** South Area: fountain and Temple B.

**Figure 31.23** Spout of fountain in shape of leonine head.



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Important news comes from the southern sector of the Via Sacra, where it extends for more than nine meters along the lateral walkways and where the wagon-ruts terminate. And here there emerged the third temple (called C), of which the first course of blocks of tuff remains (Fig. 31.24 and Fig. 31.1 no. 1). Unfortunately the center was devastated by digging for a modern sewage line that has interrupted the continuity of the building by removing the material that covered the structures. The monument is about 13 meters long and 8.6 meters wide. In the south wall remains the underpinning of a column that indicates that the temple is facing southwest. Pronaos and *cella* are separated by a partition wall. Parallel to the north side of the building runs a wall, which forms a boundary of the precinct of the temple (Fig. 31.25 and Fig. 31.29 nos. 2). The pavement outside the building is at the same level as the Archaic phase of the Via Sacra. Over the structures was found a large quantity of fragments, in particular Attic black-figure and

**Figure 31.24** Temple C.

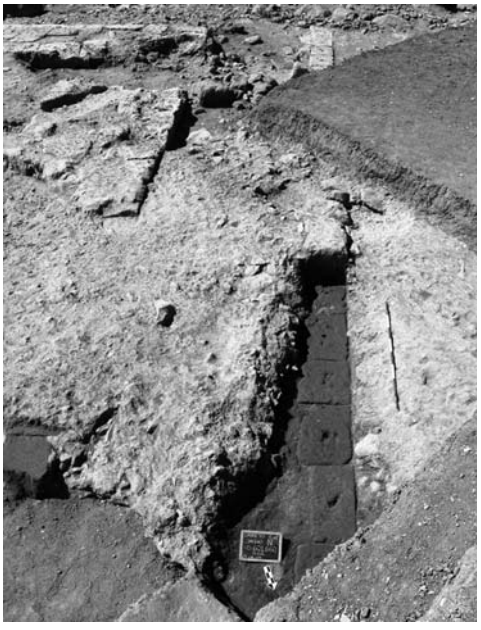

**Figure 31.25** Precinct of Temple C.



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red-figure ceramics. Some are recomposed as a cup by Douris of 490–480 BC, with a bearded male figure holding up a hare and the acclamation *Hippodamas kalos*, and under the foot, the Etruscan graffito *la* (Fig. 31.26). Also found were an Etruscan *kylix* of the third quarter of the fourth century BC depicting Etruscan Fufluns (Fig. 31.27) and a cup in grey bucchero incised on the rim with the word *atial* ("of the mother," Fig. 31.28), the explicit female counterpart of the *apas* ("of the father") found in the precinct of Temple A. On the vessel interior are incised two syllables, one of which is repeated on the exterior

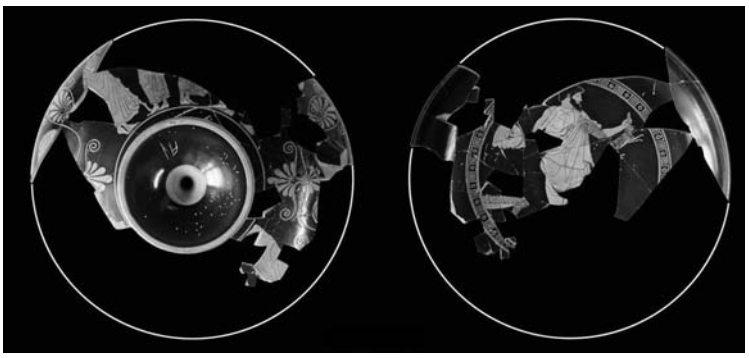

**Figure 31.26** *Kylix* by Douris.

**Figure 31.27** Etruscan red-figure cup.

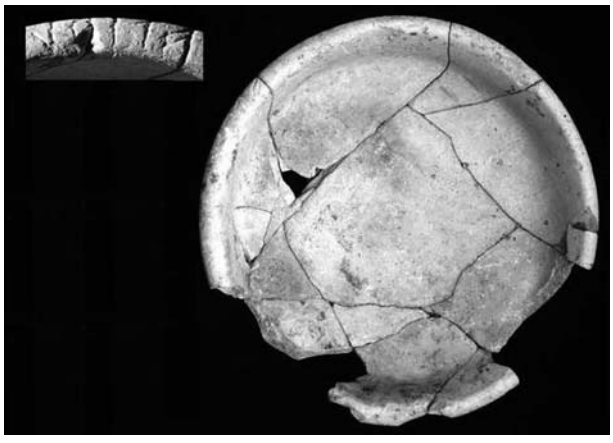

**Figure 31.28** Bucchero cup and detail of inscription "*atial*."



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base. Gold jewels and fine threads of gold once part of fine textiles were also found, as were Etruscan ceramics including black-gloss, but no fragments of the Roman period were found. The latest materials seem to be anchored at the end of the fourth-the first half of the third century BC.

Near the long walls of the temple were two pits (Fig. 31.29 no. 3): one filled with bones from one or more large animals whose species is as yet unidentified, the other with a large amount of fragments of plain pottery, a few bones which radiocarbon analysis assigns to the late fourth century BC, and the mold for the frame (nimbus) of a head-antefix. The two trenches are the result of a single act perhaps related to the ritual deconsecration of the temple.

Along the perimeter of the building are located three tombs (Fig. 31.29 nos. 4–6). A chest of slabs of tuff, its cover provided with holes for liquid offerings (Fig. 31.30), contained an infant lying in a wooden chest (Fig. 31.31). Osteological analysis indicated the deceased was a male, who died between three and five years of age. The grave goods are a miniature bowl in a grey fabric found near the head, and the base of a black-gloss cup cut off around the stamp-decorated tondo and resting on the feet, dating from the late fourth or early third century BC. Adjacent to the southern wall of the tomb was a small *olla* in plainware, covered by a black-gloss cup, which contained the burnt bones of an infant between 18 months and two years of age, perhaps of the same family as the preceding child, given the close proximity of the burials. Next to the southern wall of the temple and intercepted by a Roman channel in *cocciopisto* (Fig. 31.29 no. 6), another burial consisted of a block of tuff into which were dug four slots for the feet of a chest. The contents were disturbed, but not enough to prevent the partial reconstruction of the grave goods (Fig. 31.32): the bottom of a black-gloss skyphos, two spindle whorls, a mirror, a stamped strigil and a feeding bottle in black-gloss dated 350 ± 50 BC (Fig. 31.33). The analyses show this individual's age is about a year and perhaps show female

**Figure 31.29** Plan of Temple C (drawing S. Moretti Giani): 1. Temple C; 2. Precinct wall; 3. Trenches; 4. *A cassone* tomb; 5. Cremation burial in *olla*; 6. *A cassetta* tomb.



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**Figure 31.30** *A cassone* tomb in blocks of tuff.

**Figure 31.31** Inhumation in the *a cassone* tomb and cremation in *olla*.

**Figure 31.32** *A cassetta* tomb in a single block of tuff.



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gender. The most recent dating of the fragments found so far on the ruins of the temple is thus supported by the date of the depositions. A link between the presence of graves and the abandoned building can hypothetically be explained by a relationship between children's graves, and veneration of a matronly deity, as implied by the inscription *atial.*

The ground level outside the temple contained many fragments of an à la brosse amphora dating from 510 BC, which had been ritually broken. After the destruction of the temple, a deposit of objects plausibly belonging to the sacred building was left on the ground level (Fig. 31.34 and 35): a bucchero cup, above which lay a bronze chariot element, a kyathos comparable to Tarquinian specimens, a *bulla*, a cista foot configured as an anguiped satyr and other small decorative bronze fragments. Sheets from the side of a chariot decorated with a palmette and a figure of Nereus were carefully folded (Fig. 31.36). To the chariot belonged a plaque representing a Gorgon, without iconographic parallels, with earrings and necklace, long eyelashes, eyebrows with each hair drawn separately, and tongue marked by thick dots. Chariot, cup and kyathos can be dated to the Late Archaic period.

**Figure 31.33** Feeding-vase.

**Figure 31.34** Deposit on the floor-level outside Temple C.



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For the end of the history of the destruction of Temple C, the material evidence thus far indicates a period prior to 264 BC. The historical events to which it refers are in the period between the late fourth and early decades of the third century BC: in 308, Decius Mus took the *castella* (hill-forts) of Volsinii and caused such terror that the *nomen etruscum,* probably meeting at the *Fanum*, concluded a *foedus* (Livy 9.41.6). In 294 BC, Postumius comes not far from the city walls after having devastated the countryside and killed 2,800 Etruscans (Livy 10.37.1–2), but it is Atilius Regulus who celebrates the triumph *de Volsonibus* (*CIL* XI².45). In 285 BC, a new conflict began (Livy, *perioch.* 11). In 280 BC, the *Fasti* record the triumph of *Coruncanius de Vulsiniensibus* (*CIL* XI².46). The clashes with Rome cannot have left the sanctuary unscathed: what seems certain at the moment is that neither in Temple B nor Temple C did the cult continue to function into Roman times, but worship was reserved for Temple A, where the *temenos* wall was restored several times.

The floor of the northern section of the Via Sacra was raised in the Roman period with a rich layer of iron slag and a bath complex was built with rooms decorated with floor mosaics (Fig. 31.37). From the baths comes a fibula with an image of the twins

**Figure 31.35** Deposit with bucchero cup and objects in metal.

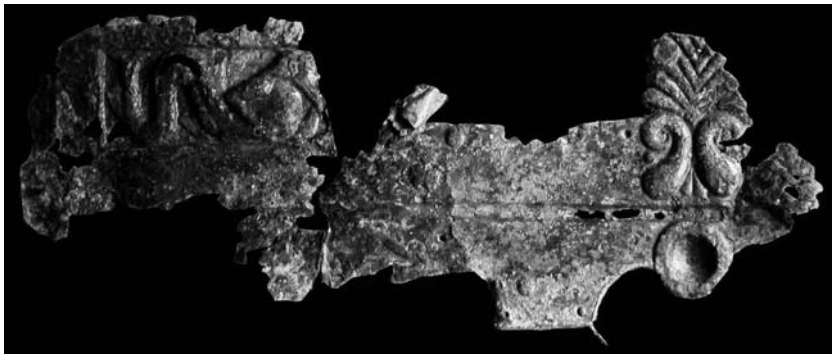

**Figure 31.36** Plaques from the chariot.



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suckled by the wolf (Fig. 31.38). The building may have originally housed the marble portrait that had been carefully placed in a pit near Temple A. Although the identity is unknown, manner and place of burial indicate a personage of great importance, perhaps a *Praetor Etruriae*. Above the destruction level of the baths was a habitation phase of the fifth century AD, a *domus* laid out inside the rooms that were no longer in use. The most important space occupies the original *tepidarium*. The large amount of pottery found undamaged in the original position of use and faunal remains lead to the interpretation of the area as the kitchen. With the exception of a *catillus* (small bowl) for grinding and a North African amphora, the ceramics are mostly for cooking, table service and pantry storage. The chronology of this occupation is confirmed by the discovery of a silver coin of the end of the fifth century BC, attributed to Theodoric.

**Figure 31.37** Baths.

**Figure 31.38** Fibula with twins suckled by the she-wolf.



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To Late Antiquity is also assigned the mosaic of the brick building erected atop Roman structures in *opus reticulatum*, which were in turn built on Etruscan structures (perhaps related to Temple D of Campo della Fiera). With the sixth-seventh centuries, the site is occupied by a necropolis with graves dug in the earth. Next the tombs change in typology and those of the eighth-ninth centuries are in chests made of slabs of tuff. At the end of the occupation the church of San Pietro in Vetere, known in medieval documents, will be built over the former buildings. The last act is marked by the mass burials of those who died in the Black Death of 1348.

## SUMMARY

At Campo della Fiera, after initial sporadic finds of Villanovan pottery, the materials become more numerous in the mid-sixth century BC. The oldest documents are represented by architectural terracottas of the first phase and by Attic pottery, the presence of which becomes especially conspicuous in the age of Porsenna. Umbrian bronzes and coins from Greek and Sicilian-Punic mints indicate the presence of devotees who were not exclusively Etruscan. More modest offerings are represented by loom weights, sometimes inscribed and others of miniature type, or by small bronze figurines, while the empty bases that once supported statues recall the looting during the Roman conquest of the city. The Etruscan period is followed by occupations in the Roman era: those of the Augustan period correspond to the propaganda scheme of revitalization of ancient and important sacred sites. Next, Christianity replaced the pagan sanctuary with a cemetery and then a church.

From the sixth century BC the life of the site continues uninterrupted until the fourteenth century AD, for almost 2,000 years. From this framework it appears clearly that the research at Campo della Fiera is bringing to light the structures of the *Fanum Voltumnae*, sought in vain since the fifteenth century.

## NOTES

1 All photos courtesy of Campo della Fiera Excavations (Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche dell'Antichità dell'Università di Perugia.

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