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Funerary Ritual and Urban Development in Archaic Central Italy

By

Jennifer Marilyn Evans

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

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in

Classical Archaeology

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

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Spring 2014

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Abstract

Funerary Ritual and Urban Development in Archaic Central Italy

by

Jennifer Marilyn Evans

Doctor of Philosophy in Classical Archaeology

University of California, Berkeley

Professor J. Theodore Peña, Chair

This dissertation examines the evidence for burial in archaic Rome and Latium with a view to understanding the nature of urban development in the region. In particular, I focus on identifying those social and political institutions that governed relations between city-states at a time when Rome was becoming the most influential urban center in the area. I examine the evidence for burial gathered primarily from the past four decades or so of archaeological excavation in order to present first, a systematic account of the data and second, an analysis of these materials. I reveal that a high degree of variation was observed in funerary ritual across sites, and suggest that this points to a complex system of regional networks that allowed for the widespread travel of people and ideas. I view this as evidence for the openness of archaic societies in Latium, whereby people and groups seem to have moved across regions with what seems to have been a fair degree of mobility. I connect the variety in tomb construction to the more widespread phenomenon of monumentalization, which encouraged the construction in stone of residences, temples and public buildings across the region. I consider the individuals and groups responsible for these types of construction, and how they contributed to the development of and interaction between city-states.

I begin with an assessment of the historical reliability of the ancient sources concerning early Rome, since they were written centuries later than the time in question, yet comment on some of the features in the archaeological record. I go on to consider the literary evidence for funerary ritual in early Rome, in order to determine what the ancient sources have to say about the customs of their ancestors and what significance this has for the archaeological evidence. Then, I consider the documentary evidence for funerary ritual, which comes from the legislation of the Twelve Tables. The prohibitions preserved here, if they represent a valid document, illustrate the concerns of lawmakers with regard to funerary activity in and around the city of Rome. In the following section I present the archaeological evidence for burial, and provide a detailed summary of archaic burials according to site, and offer a brief description of each settlement in order to better contextualize the data. I conclude this section with an interpretation of the evidence. Finally, I concentrate on the archaeological evidence from archaic Gabii, which results from my own participation on the excavation of the site. The results of these excavations allow for the study of the intersection between the urban area, burial and landownership.

To Robert B. Caruthers

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Chronology of Latial Culture and the Archaic Period¹

Pre-urban

Latial Phase I	c.1000-900	Final Bronze Age (Protovillanovan)
Latial Phase IIA	c. 900-830	Early Iron Age (Villanovan)

Proto-urban

Latial Phase IIB	c. 830-770	"
Latial Phase IIIA	c. 770-740	"
Latial Phase IIIB	c. 740-730/20	"
Latial Phase IVA	c. 730/20-640/30	Early and Middle Orientalizing
Latial Phase IVB	c. 640/30-580	Late Orientalizing

Urban

Archaic	c. 580-480/50
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¹ These dates are based on Ampolo et al. (1980) and are the most widely-used in scholarship concerning Bronze and Iron Age Latium. I have adopted this chronology for my dissertation. However, Bietti Sestieri and De Santis (2006), on the basis of radiocarbon dates recovered from funerary and settlement contexts, suggest raising the conventional chronology by about 50 to 100 years. The evidence is compelling, but may require further review before gaining wide acceptance. All dates are B.C.E. unless otherwise stated.

List of Abbreviations

<i>AJP</i>	American Journal of Philology
<i>AL</i>	Archeologia Laziale
<i>ADRA</i>	Atlante di Roma Antica
<i>BullCom</i>	Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma
<i>CLP</i>	Civiltà del Lazio primitivo
<i>CVA</i>	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
<i>GRT</i>	La grande Roma dei Tarquini
<i>HSCP</i>	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
<i>ICr</i>	Inscriptiones creticae
<i>IG</i>	Inscriptiones graecae
<i>JHS</i>	Journal of Hellenic Studies
<i>LTUR</i>	Lexicon topographicum urbis romae
<i>LTURS</i>	Lexicon topographicum urbis romae suburbium
<i>LTUR Suppl.</i>	Lexicon topographicum urbis romae supplementum
<i>NSc</i>	Notizie degli scavi di antichità. Atti dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei
<i>NTDAR</i>	A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome
<i>OpRom</i>	Opuscula Romana
<i>PP</i>	La parola del passato
<i>RendPontAcc</i>	Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia
<i>RM Ergh</i>	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung, Ergänzungsheft
<i>Roselle</i>	Gli scavi e la mostra. Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana.
<i>SE</i>	Studi Etruschi
<i>TLE</i>	Testimonia linguae etruscae

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1. Introduction

This dissertation is a contribution to the study of urbanization in early central Italy. The evidence recovered from funerary contexts in the past several decades has substantially increased our understanding of the people that inhabited the region during the Iron Age. These data point to the emergence of social hierarchies as early as the ninth century, and show evidence for an increasing social and political complexity that seems to have contributed to city-state formation by the end of the seventh century. In this dissertation I undertake a study of the funerary evidence from the following period, the urban era, in order to obtain a better understanding of the dynamic process of urban development. I focus not so much on the processes that led to the formation of the city-state, but the kinds of relationships that were negotiated between city-states and the people living in and around them once those urban centers were already established. The creation of a city is not a fixed end point, nor is it a guarantee of success and continuity.

The subject of Archaic Rome and Latium is a particularly useful venue for this kind of exploration, since the evidence from literary and archaeological sources point to Rome's rapid growth over the course of the sixth century, and her expansion and predominance in the region by the end of the century, at the expense of neighboring city-states. There remains a tendency to view the process of conquest and expansion as inevitable, and somehow indicative of the cultural and political superiority of the victor. This is especially true with regard to early Rome, as the image of the city as an imperial ruler of the Mediterranean world looms large. What this study intends to do, however, is shed some light on the nature of interaction in archaic Rome and Latium, in order to understand what kinds of social and political institutions governed relations between peoples and cities.

The reader may be disappointed to discover that there is little evidence here explaining how Rome overtook Latium, or the precise outcome of this expansion on neighboring cities; the archaeological evidence is often difficult to read in this way. What is more, such questions may be more revealing about the kinds of assumptions we make about the nature of conquest and the characterization of cities. That is to say, that conquest is unilateral and inevitable and that cities are socially and politically unified centers that exhibit some kind of national identity. What we know about early Rome seems to suggest the opposite, in that there was a high degree of horizontal social mobility throughout the region, and people, in particular elites, seem to have had little difficulty in successfully moving to a new city-state. In addition, the evidence from literary and archaeological sources suggests that early Latin societies were comprised of groups, whose members were connected through a variety of social, political, economic or religious ties. It is extremely difficult to determine more precisely the nature of these groups, or how they operated. However, they seem to have functioned as the fundamental institution of archaic societies, to the point that the earliest laws seem more focused on the preservation of these groups rather than the city-state as a sociopolitical entity, though this is not to say these goals were mutually exclusive.

There is a role for burial in all this. As indicated above, there have been a number of studies indicating the value of studying the archaeological record of burial as evidence for ancient

behaviors and societies. In central Italy, the formative publication is Bietti Sestieri's work on the Osteria dell'Osa cemetery, located west of the Castiglione crater in the region of ancient Gabii.² Bietti Sestieri identified patterns in the spatial distribution of the graves, the types of burial, and the grave goods found in them, and made some observations about the developing nature of the community in the region. She documented the cemetery's use by two extended families, who initially seemed to coexist peacefully under no centralized authority, and traced the increasing use of the cemetery by competing subgroups, likely kinship-based, who emphasized their status and authority primarily in connection to the family group.³

Bietti Sestieri's work remains deeply influential for scholars of early central Italy, which rests on the theoretical premise that there is some degree of correlation between funerary practices and social structures.⁴ This is post-processualist methodology has gained a significant amount of traction in recent years, and it is generally accepted, among a certain set of scholars, myself included, that the study of burials is useful for reconstructing past societies.⁵ To that end, I offer in this dissertation a study of the burial evidence from Archaic Rome and Latium, with a view to understanding those social and political institutions that contributed to the development of and governed the interaction between city-states. The dissertation is divided into two halves, the first, consisting of Chapters 1-3, comprise an analysis of the literary evidence; Chapters 5 and 6 involve an examination of the archaeological material.

Chapter 2 is an assessment of the historical reliability of the ancient sources. The Archaic period is a term archaeologists use to designate the sixth and early fifth centuries, and this time corresponds roughly with the historical accounts concerning the last three kings and the early days of the Roman Republic. Most of these accounts, however, were written centuries after the events recorded in them, and, as a result, it is important to consider how the ancient sources might have known about the earliest phases of Roman history and what sources they used to obtain this information. As it turns out, none of the original sources survive, and it seems that the later authors rounded out their accounts with stories inspired by Greek historical narratives. Despite this, there is little agreement among modern historians as regards how best to use the ancient accounts. Many scholars rely heavily on them in order to substantiate the archaeological material. Since much of the information in this dissertation draws from this recent archaeological research, it is crucial to consider how the ancient accounts continue to inform modern reconstructions of the past. In the end, I determine that it is best to adopt a cautious approach toward the literary sources, and evaluate relevant episodes on a case by case basis, as necessary.

² Bietti Sestieri 1992a; 1992b.

³ Smith (2006, 147-50) critiques of these conclusions.

⁴ Bietti Sestieri 1992b, 6.

⁵ The most influential of these works include Saxe (1970), Binford (1971) and Morris (1987); for a critique of this approach, see Hodder (1982).

Chapter 3 examines the literary evidence for funerary ritual in early Rome. It asks what later Romans thought they knew about the burial practices of their ancestors. The evidence is patchy and not particularly informative. The accounts are brief, lacking in detail and precision, and appear to be more revealing of attitudes toward death during the Late Republic and Empire. As a result, they provide little evidence of the kind that might find support in the archaeological record. They are also extremely vague regarding the time when a custom was observed, and note only that something was "very ancient" or practiced "by the ancients." In sum, the ancient sources make the following observations regarding the funerary practices of their ancestors: inhumation was the preferred rite, burial took place at home, children were buried differently, and burial took place at night. The paucity of information here places special emphasis on the archaeological material as a source of evidence for funerary ritual.

Chapter 4 considers the evidence from the funerary legislation of the Twelve Tables, a series of laws reportedly enacted at Rome in the mid-fifth century. While most of the laws concern issues relating to private law, the tenth table lists prohibitions against certain types of behavior at funerals, and limits expenditure on particular items. Although the original text does not survive, most scholars accept the Twelve Tables as a more or less valid document from the Middle and Late Republic, and I treat the document accordingly, though with some reservation. The tenth table seems to belong to a Mediterranean-wide tradition of law-making in archaic societies, as it contains many allusions to examples of Greek funerary laws that survive primarily on inscriptions. However, the tenth table includes statutes that address specifically Roman concerns, and these include the prohibition on intramural burial and cremation, and the permission to include in burial the *corona* and gold dentures. The statute pertaining to the gold dentures seems a reference to an Etruscan practice, which points to a considerable degree of horizontal social mobility in archaic central Italy. Ultimately, I argue that, if the tenth table represents a valid document, it reveals that Rome was fairly connected with both the outside world and Italian interior, and that the funerary laws allowed for community-sanctioned forms of display, usually in relation to the family of the deceased.

Chapter 5 is a review, synthesis and analysis of the archaeological evidence for burial in archaic Rome and Latium. Modern scholarship initially considered the absence of graves and grave goods an *aspetto oscuro* of the Archaic period. The archaeological discoveries of recent decades, however, have added to the growing body of evidence for burial during this period. Here, I review the validity of the evidence from some of the earliest excavations in Rome in the nineteenth century, since the nature of the *aspetto oscuro* was drawn from these data. I then review the evidence from all archaeological sites with evidence for burial during the archaic period and I contextualize the data with information from related contexts. In a discussion of the evidence, I argue that the reduction in the number of graves points less to the restrictions imposed by the Twelve Tables, and more to a general restriction in access to burial grounds. At the same time, I highlight the variety that characterizes Archaic burials. The spatial distribution, form, contents and location of burials varies across sites and regions, to the point that it is difficult to detect patterns. The evidence points to a high degree of cross-cultural interaction at local and regional levels, and this may find support in the evidence from Chapter 4. There seems to have been a

fairly complex network of urban and rural sites, whose populations looked both inward and outward for sources of contact and inspiration in funerary ritual. I connect the variety in tomb type, in particular, to the evidence for monumentalization in the region. Over the course of sixth centuries, urban centers and rural sites show increased evidence for stone-built architecture; I argue that the adoption and proliferation of this kind of architecture extended to the funerary sphere.

Chapter 6 is a study of the archaeological material recovered from the site of Gabii, an ancient city-state located some 18 km east of Rome. In 2009, the University of Michigan, under the auspices of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma (hereafter SAR), launched the Gabii Project, a large-scale excavation of a 1 ha portion in the urban area of the site. I have been excavating with the Gabii project since the beginning; and since 2011 my participation has focused on the archaic phases of the site. The evidence under discussion in this chapter comes from the results of these excavations. Here, I explore the development of a small sector of the site occupied during the sixth and early fifth centuries. The area appears to have been used first as the site of an archaic building from the early to late sixth century. Sometime toward the end of the sixth century, the building fell out of use and the area was used as a burial ground. I investigate the evidence to determine the relationship between the building and the burial ground, and consider who occupied the area, why the building fell out of use, and what the encroachment of burials indicates about the urban development of archaic Gabii. I tentatively connect the use of this space to different groups, possibly clan-based, in order to reconstruct the nature of early Latin cities. I consider the evidence for intramural burial at the site in connection with cities in southern Italy. This suggests, on the one hand, that there existed a cultural connection between both areas, and, on the other, that the presence of intramural burial is not just an indication of the contraction and structural decay of cities, but may reveal more complex processes of urban development, especially in light of Roman expansion in the area.

2. The Ancient Historiographical Sources for Early Roman History

2a. Introduction

The textual evidence for the Archaic period of central Italy constitutes largely works of the annalistic and antiquarian tradition that record the urban and political development of Rome from the later regal period through the early Republic. The nature of these accounts, however, is highly problematic. They were written in the second and first centuries, hundreds of years after the recorded events, and were drawn from a variety of sources that no longer survive, including the works of earlier historians and annalists, inscriptions, archival documents, oral traditions, and mythology and legends. The meagerness of such sources even in antiquity and the later influence of Greek rhetoric on historiographic literature made exaggeration and invention significant components in the accounts of early Roman history. As a result, modern scholars have frequently called into question the role of these texts in the study of early Rome.⁶ Primary concerns include the reliability and historical accuracy of the ancient sources, since the extent to which modern historians consider these accounts dependable affects their interpretations and reconstructions of ancient history.

A second cause for analysis is the increasingly frequent use of the archaeological evidence as a tool to confirm the ancient accounts.⁷ The degree to which the literature and archaeology agree remains central to the current debate on early Roman history. Most scholars recognize the importance of combining the historical and archaeological evidence, but there remains intense disagreement regarding the value given to each and the questions they can answer.⁸ The archaeology and the literature seem to agree, in that both sources offer a view of early Rome and Latium that is prosperous, populated and sophisticated. The problem is that the archaeological evidence is often used only to substantiate the claims made in the texts, rather than being considered as a separate body of evidence that adds to and even challenges the evidence from the literary sources.⁹ Searching for agreement between the archaeological and literary sources overlooks the complexities and contradictions that inevitably arise when reconstructing early Roman history. It also overlooks the fact that interpretation of the material evidence is highly contentious, and likewise requires careful consideration.¹⁰

The debate regarding the agreement between the sources is particularly pertinent in scholarship devoted to understanding the development of the historical city of Rome.¹¹ If Rome emerged as the dominant city in Latium by the end of the sixth century, then there

⁶ Raaflaub 2005, 1-46; Forsythe 2005; Cornell 2005, 47-74; Cornell 1995, 1-30; Ogilvie and Drummond 1989, 1-29; and Oakley 1997, 3-108.

⁷ Raaflaub 2005, 6-9.

⁸ Smith 2005, 92.

⁹ Smith 1996, 2.

¹⁰ Raaflaub 2005, 8.

¹¹ Smith 2005.

must have existed complex sociopolitical institutions before that time. The existence of such institutions increases the possibility that the Romans had some awareness of their own history. A higher level of historical awareness increases the possibility for the accurate transmission of early Roman history through myths, monuments, lists and oral traditions.¹²

The historians of the middle and late Republic documented what they believed was their distant past, and, consequently, any study involving early Roman history necessitates a careful evaluation of these accounts and a thoughtful discussion of the current approaches to them. The question, ultimately, asks whether the ancient sources on early Roman history preserve any element of truth, and whether they present a factually accurate history according to modern scientific standards. If so, then it is important to consider what these truthful elements are, where they originally came from and in what form they were finally preserved. If not, then it is equally important to question the nature of such a fabricated history. This involves examining the reasons and motives for invention, the sources for it, and its effect on ancient and modern interpretations of history.

What immediately follows is an overview of the ancient sources, beginning with the annalistic (2b) and antiquarian (2c) traditions, which represent the Romans' earliest attempts at writing history. These histories are largely lost and survive only as fragments preserved in later texts. Little is known about most authors; precise dates are given when they are known, otherwise, the floruit dates are provided. The tradition culminates in the first century with the two most important accounts of early Roman history, Livy's *Ab urbe condita* and Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Antiquitates romanae* (2d). A substantial portion of these texts survives and constitutes the majority of the literary evidence for the history of early Rome. Likewise dating to the first century are Cicero's *De re publica* and *De legibus*, and Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca historica*, which contain fragments relevant to the political and constitutional history of early Rome. The evidence for the documentary (2e) and non-documentary (2f and 2g) sources, which may have constituted the primary sources for all of these authors, follows. An assessment of the reliability of these accounts as historical sources ensues (2h), and the chapter closes with a defense of the rather skeptical view adopted in this dissertation (2g).

2b. The Annalistic Tradition

The annalistic tradition is a term used by modern historians to designate a category of literary historiography that records the history of Rome year to year. In antiquity these texts were called *annales* and their authors *auctores annalium*; both terms refer to the *annales maximi*, a chronicle maintained by the *pontifex maximus* that recorded all important events year by year, and from which this style of prose literature is derived.¹³ Some distinction in antiquity was made between the works of annalists and historians,

¹² Smith 2005, 91-3.

¹³ Chassignet 1996, vii-xix.

namely that *annales* looked to the past and *historiae* instead to current events.¹⁴ In contemporary scholarship, however, the term annalists refers specifically to those authors who wrote in this yearly fashion, although it frequently refers to any historiographic text before the time of Sallust and Caesar in the late first century.¹⁵

The Roman historiographic tradition began with the works of such annalists around the year 200 B.C.E. From that period until the late first century, a number of individuals recorded the history of Rome from the foundation of the city: C. Acilius, A. Postumius Albinus, M. Porcius Cato, L. Cassius Hemina, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, C. Sempronius Tuditanus, Cn. Gellius, C. Licinius Macer, T. Pomponius Atticus, Valerius Antias, Q. Aelius Tubero, T. Livius of Patavium and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Discussion here is limited to those who wrote on Rome's regal period.

Fabius Pictor and L. Cincius Alimentus are considered the earliest Roman historians.¹⁶ Both authors wrote in Greek, and documented Rome's history from the city's mythical past to their own time. Little is known about either author, but it seems that Pictor composed his history around 200 B.C.E. Twenty-eight fragments of his work survive in the texts of later authors, half of which pertain to the regal period.¹⁷ While Alimentus seems to have been a contemporary of Pictor, and the scale of his history similar, few fragments survive to inform much on his life or work.

The consistency between the surviving accounts of Pictor and contemporary authors suggest that the majority of the information on early Roman history was derived from an earlier, well-established and likely oral tradition.¹⁸ The similarity between the fragments of the annalists, including Pictor, Alimentus, and Cato, and the historical poet Ennius, support this conclusion.¹⁹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.6.2) records that both Pictor and Alimentus treated the history of Rome's foundation and the Punic Wars at length, but dealt with all other events summarily. Q. Ennius (239-169 B.C.E.), in his national epic *Annales*, devotes the first three of eighteen books to the regal period, and the last twelve to the Punic Wars

¹⁴ Gell. 5.18.1-2; Serv. *Ad verg. aen.* 1.373; Isid. *Orig.* 1.41.1 and 1.44.4; Chassignet 1996, x-xi. According to Sempronius Asellio (Gell. 5.18.8-9), whose opinions are preserved as fragments in Gellius, *annales* were simple journals documenting the events of a region over time, whereas *historiae* were more concerned with the causes of these events and broad concepts such as morality and citizenship. Most other authors, however, did not make this distinction, in particular, Cicero (*De leg.* 1.6-7).

¹⁵ Chassignet 1996, vii-viii.

¹⁶ Dion. Hal. *Rom. ant.* 1.6.2.

¹⁷ Concerning Pictor, see Chassignet (1996, liv-lxiii); Oakley (1997, 22-4); Frier (1979, 227-84); Momigliano (1990, 80-108); Forsythe (2000, 1-3); Timpe (1972); Badian (1966, 2-6). Regarding Alimentus, see Chassignet (1996, lxiii-lxxix); Verbrugghe (1982); Badian (1966, 6).

¹⁸ Ungern-Sternberg 1988; Oakley 1997, 22.

¹⁹ Forsythe 2005, 61.

onwards; the early Republic was documented in only two books.²⁰ According to a few surviving fragments in Cornelius Nepos (3.3-4), Cato the Elder (234-149 B.C.E.) wrote Rome's first prose history in Latin, the *Origines*, in which he treated the regal period in the first of seven books and the Punic Wars, in the last four; the extent to which he documented the Early Republic is unknown and controversial, but it appears to have been very little. The second and third books likely contained an ethnographic history of Italy.²¹

L. Cassius Hemina, about whom very little is known, wrote a history sometime in the second half of the second century, of which forty fragments currently survive.²² His work seems to have been largely overlooked by later Roman authors. Although it appears that he was read by his immediate successors, he is unlikely to have been read by Livy; he may have been an indirect source for later historiographers. His history likely consisted of five books, the first of which seems to have been inspired by the second and third books of Cato's *Origines*, documenting the origins of various Latin towns and peoples. It also recorded the destruction of Troy and the arrival of Aeneas in Latium. Hemina's second book treated the regal period and the Early and Middle Republic. The fourth book may have documented the Second Punic War, and a fifth the events leading up to the author's present day, but this is highly speculative. He seems largely to have been interested in the mythological history of Rome, the aetiology of cults and other institutions, and generally preferred religious affairs to military and political ones.

L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, dating to the last quarter of the second century, adopted a similar framework in his history, and assigned the events of the regal period to the first of seven or eight books and those of the Middle Republic to the last four or five; he seems to have been the first to deal with the Early Republic at greater length, committing the events of this period to the second and third books. For these he seems to have adopted a strictly annalistic style of account; he may have been the last to record history in this way.²³

It is possible that contemporary and later authors considered Pictor's account definitive and above reproach, and thus never offered alternative interpretations in their histories.²⁴ However, it seems more likely that the Romans of the late third and early second centuries commonly shared and accepted this as their national history. Given the desire of the Roman elite to attain public prestige and recognition through the promotion of ancestral accomplishments, it seems unlikely that any early history, unless already considered authoritative, would have survived that period unchanged. The fact that it takes a similar form in several different accounts points to a shared, unchallenged history.²⁵ Traces of an oral tradition are evident in the legendary nature of the literary accounts: the

²⁰ Skutsch 1985.

²¹ Forsythe 2000, 4-5; Forsythe 2005, 61-62; Chassignet 1986; Badian 1966, 7-11.

²² Rawson 1976, 690-702; Scholz 1989; Forsythe 1990; Santini 1995.

²³ Forsythe 2005, 62; Forsythe 1994; Rawson 1976, 702-13; Badian 1966, 11-3.

²⁴ Alföldi 1965.

²⁵ Oakley 1997, 22-3.

unidentifiable toponyms, the belief in Rome's enduring supremacy and the mythical quality of the kings, to whom are attributed a number of sociopolitical developments.²⁶

By the end of the second century, the lengthy and comprehensive works of Greek historians had influenced those of the Romans. In particular, the *Historiae* of Polybius (c. 200-188 B.C.E.), which record in thirty-nine books Rome's rise and conquest of the Mediterranean world in the period of the Punic Wars (c. 246-146 B.C.E.). Book six of this work reportedly provided a history of the regal period down to about 450 B.C.E., but this is now lost.²⁷ Roman histories of this period were longer, more exhaustive, and belonged to one of two types. The first comprised treatments of individual wars, particularly the Punic Wars, and the second, expositions of Roman history from its foundation down to the authors' present day.²⁸ To the latter group belongs Cn. Gellius, who wrote in the late second century and whose history counted at least ninety-seven books. The regal period was likely treated at length, since the reign of Romulus was discussed at the end of the second book and the beginning of the third, while the events of 389 B.C.E. appear in the fifteenth; in contrast, Livy deals with the fourth century in his sixth book. He constituted a significant source for Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Licinius Macer.²⁹

The first century witnessed the composition of a number of historical accounts, all of which were sources for Livy and Dionysius. The earliest of these belonged to Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, who, sometime in the first quarter of the century, wrote a Roman history beginning with the Gallic sack of Rome in 390 B.C.E. His treatise marks a departure from, and perhaps even a response to, the Greek-inspired, presumably fictional narratives of the previous century. According to Quadrigarius, all of Rome's city records were destroyed during the attack of the Gauls and thus all accounts of a history prior to that event were questionable.³⁰

The annalists of the late Republic, namely C. Licinius Macer, Valerius Antias and Q. Aelius Tubero, about whom very little is known, Livy accuses of inventing facts and exaggerating narratives (7.9.3, 9.46.3, 10.9.7-13, 10.11.9 and 3.5.12-13).³¹ Macer's fragments on the conflict of orders of the early Republic reflect his interest and involvement in the politics of his own time: he appears to have been a devoted Marian who sought to overturn the constitutional reforms of Sulla.³² Valerius Antias was the most notorious fabricator, well known for exalting the achievements of the Valerian family during the regal period and

²⁶ Oakley 1997, 23; Ungern-Sternberg 1988. See Momigliano (1957, 104-14) and Cornell (1995, 10-2, 307-8) for a discussion on the influence of ballads on early Roman history.

²⁷ Cornell 1995, 4.

²⁸ Forsythe 2005, 62-3.

²⁹ Rawson 1976, 713-7; Forsythe 1994, 163-4, 229-32; Badian 1966, 11-3.

³⁰ Forsythe 2005, 63; Plut. *Numa* 1.2; Chassignet 2004, xxiii-xxxviii and 14-49.

³¹ Forsythe 2005, 63-64; Wiseman 1998; Ogilvie 1965, 7-17; Walsh 1961, 110-37; Badian 1966, 18-24; Chassignet 2004, l-lxiii and 88-103.

³² Ogilvie 1965, 7-12.

early republic.³³ Little is known of Tubero except that he appears to have revised Valerius Antias' history in a Thucydidean manner, which means to say that he projected current events into the past, defended the nobility and used archaic language and style.³⁴

2c. The Antiquarian Tradition

Antiquarian scholarship at Rome arose in the second and first centuries as a separate but parallel tradition to that of historiography.³⁵ Roman antiquarians were not concerned with producing chronological narratives of the development of the Roman state, but were instead interested in the history of legal, political, military and religious institutions, topography, monuments, names, rituals, social customs, archaic texts and language. Their keen interest in the meaning and history of words, and the terminology of religious and legal documents from earlier periods has supplied a great deal of information pertaining to early Roman history. Very little original text survives from the antiquarian literature; similar to the historiographic tradition, the antiquarian accounts exist primarily as citations by later authors.³⁶

A number of antiquarian authors were active in the second century, including M. Fulvius Nobilior, who wrote a treatise on the Roman religious calendar; Fabius Maximus Servilianus and Numerius Fabius Pictor, who both wrote on the law of the pontifices; and Junius Gracchus, who wrote about Roman customs and institutions as well as the powers of the various magistrates. L. Aelius Stilo (c. 150-80 B.C.E.) mainly investigated literary texts, grammars and etymologies, but wrote two commentaries of particular relevance here. The first concerned the *Leges duodecim tabularum*, the Law of the Twelve Tables, which represent Rome's earliest attempt at writing laws around the mid-fifth century. Stilo's second commentary addressed the archaic language of the *carmen saliare*, the ritual hymn of the Salian priests. Atticus (110-32 B.C.E.), a contemporary and friend of Cicero, composed the *Liber annalis*, a book of chronology that detailed Roman history in a single book and produced a chronology that was adopted by Varro. Varro's chronology, in turn, constituted the official chronology of the Roman state.³⁷

The most influential Roman antiquarian was M. Terentius Varro (116-27 B.C.E.).³⁸ He was a student of L. Aelius Stilo, a contemporary of Cicero, and author of at least fifty-five books on a wide array of subjects. According to one tradition he wrote 490 books and according to another he wrote 620. Of the fifty-five that are known as fragments in later sources, only

³³ Ogilvie 1965, 12-6; Wiseman 1979, 113-39; Wiseman 1998, 75-98; Walsh 1961, 121-2; Chassignet 2004, lxxiii-lxxv and 103-50.

³⁴ Ogilvie 1965, 16-7; Wiseman 1979, 135-39; Chassignet 2004 lxxvi-lxxxix and 150-6.

³⁵ Rawson 1985, 233-49.

³⁶ Cornell 1995, 18-26.

³⁷ Forsythe 2005, 64-5. For the a discussion of the Twelve Tables, see Chapter 4. Regarding Atticus, see Münzer (1905); Perlwitz (1992).

³⁸ Cornell 1995, 19; Horsfall 1982; Ogilvie 1966, 6. Concerning Dionysius' use of Varro, see Gabba (1991).

one, *De re rustica*, survives completely, but six of the twenty-five books of the *De lingua latina* are partially extant. Varro's accounts were used widely in later ancient scholarship, which may have in part contributed to his disappearance from the literary record by absorption. It nevertheless ensured his survival, especially in the texts of Pliny the Elder, Aulus Gellius, Servius, Macrobius, Tertullian, Lactantius, Arnobius and Augustine. He appears to have constituted a primary source for the early books of Dionysius, but was notably overlooked by Livy.

The last antiquarian relevant to early Roman history is Valerius Flaccus, who wrote during the Augustan period and was a contemporary of Livy and Dionysius.³⁹ The majority of his works survive indirectly, as fragments in later authors. His most relevant work was the *De significatu verborum*, a kind of dictionary that preserved an alphabetical arrangement of archaic Latin words and phrases. The original text no longer survives, but an abridgement of it was preserved by Sextus Pompeius Festus (c. 200 C.E.). Approximately half (sections A-L) of Festus' manuscript was destroyed by fire in the fifteenth century C.E., but it can be reconstructed based on an eighth-century summary of the original made by Paulus Diaconus.

2d. The Narrative Tradition

The narrative tradition of historical writing arose in the late first century B.C.E. due to the influence of Greek historiography at Rome. These accounts preserve the chronological arrangement of the annalistic tradition, but expand upon historical episodes with a variety of techniques commonly found in Greek historiography, including the practice of rhetoric, the embellishment of facts and the composition of speeches. These elements brought to Roman historiography what it had been previously accused of lacking, namely, a pleasing style and dramatic effect.

The history written by Titus Livius (59 B.C.E.-17 C.E.), *Ab urbe condita*, constitutes the most significant and influential source of early Roman history. Livy was born at Patavium (modern Padova or Padua) and does not appear to have had a political or military career; although he may have been a rhetorician, he is known primarily as a writer of Roman history.⁴⁰ Livy probably began writing his history around 30 B.C.E. and continued up until his death.⁴¹ The work counted 142 books that began with the foundation of Rome and ended with the events of the year 9 B.C.E. Only thirty-five of these books are extant, books 1-10 and 21-45, but abridged versions from later centuries provide summaries of all the books. The books were arranged into groups of five (pentads) or ten (decades) and may have been published in sets of five or ten books. The first ten treat Roman history up to 293 B.C.E. and books 21-45 describe the years 218-167 B.C.E. Of the first ten that narrate early

³⁹ Cornell 1995, 20-21; Forsythe 2005, 65.

⁴⁰ According to Forsythe (2005, 66), allusions to Livy in the works of Seneca the Elder (*Controv.* 9.1.14; 9.2.26; 10. praef. 2) and Quintilian (1.5.56; 1.7.24; 2.5.20; 8.1.3; 8.2.18; 10.1.39; 10.1.101) suggest that he was trained in rhetoric.

⁴¹ Walsh 1961; Luce 1977; Ogilvie 1965; Oakley 1997.

Roman history, the first documents the regal period, the following four the Early Republic up to the Gallic sack of Rome, and the last five continue up to the Third Samnite War.

Livy may be considered an annalist, whose goal was to arrange within a literary framework believable facts regarding the history of Rome that were drawn from earlier sources.⁴² He did not conduct original research, but compared, expanded and compiled accounts from earlier sources, largely without criticism or judgment and with dramatic effect. Based on structural and verbal similarities between Livy's narrative and that of his predecessors, it seems that he wrote with open scrolls of these sources next to him. He seems not to have been interested in communicating accurate historical detail, since he is often guilty of mistranslating Greek texts, reproducing factual errors and confusing sources. He was instead concerned with moral and patriotic themes, which he explored through the speeches, attitudes, motives and reactions of prominent individuals when involved in difficult situations.

Livy attributed the successes and failures of these figures to their moral attributes or failings. The value of history for Livy lay in its ability to provide good models of behavior to follow and bad ones to avoid. This was often at the expense of historical accuracy, however. Concerning Rome's early history, Livy believed that there was little factual information (6.1.2) and he treated the events from this period with techniques of rhetorical training in order that they seem plausible, if not verifiable.

The *Antiquitates romanae* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, written in the late first century B.C.E. to early first century C.E., constitute a second narrative source on the early history of Rome.⁴³ Dionysius was a Greek contemporary of Livy, who arrived at Rome in 30 B.C.E. and taught rhetoric there during the Augustan period. His work was an account of Roman history from its origin down to 264 B.C.E. and was intended for a Greek audience. Completed by 7 B.C.E., the text originally consisted of twenty books; eleven complete books are extant, dealing with events up to the mid-fifth century, and parts of the remaining nine survive as excerpts from later writers. Dionysius' history is more detailed and rhetorical than Livy's. Dionysius' first book treated the origins of settlement in Italy, the next three concerned the kings, and the following eight dealt with the first sixty years of the republic, whereas Livy recorded these events in five books. One consequence is that Dionysius' history includes more information on Roman customs and institutions, the particulars of which Livy often overlooks because of his Roman audience's familiarity with such matters. Although it is uncertain whether Livy and Dionysius were familiar or saw each other's

⁴² Walsh (1961 and 1974) discuss Livy and his history. Dorey (1971) presents collections of essays on Livian scholarship. Ogilvie (1965) offers a commentary on the first five books. Oakley (1997) includes a commentary on book six as well as an comprehensive analysis of Livy, his work, style and sources. Luce (1977 139-297) discusses Livy's treatment of earlier sources. Forsythe (1999) presents Livy's historical methods. Ridley (1983) documents Livy's attitude towards the struggle of the orders. Wiseman (1981) and Woodman (1988) discuss plausible reconstruction in ancient historiography.

⁴³ Gabba 1991; Sacks 1983; and Fox 1996, 49-95.

work, they used the same annalistic sources and so there is a fair amount of agreement between both accounts.

M. Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.E.), the most prominent Roman orator and statesman, composed a number of philosophical and rhetorical treatises that contain references to early Roman history. The most relevant of these works to studies of early Rome are *De re publica* and *De legibus*, both of which were modeled after Plato's *The Republic* and *The Laws*. *De re publica* constitutes a work concerning political and constitutional theory, in which Cicero records an early history of Rome from the kings to the middle of the fifth century. *De legibus* is an essay about the laws an ideal state should have, and preserves fragments of the laws of the Twelve Tables, Rome's earliest legislation.

Diodorus was a Greek writer who composed a history of the ancient world from its mythical origins down to 60 B.C.E. He seems to have written this work from 60 to 30 B.C.E.⁴⁴ Originally comprised of forty books, only books 1-5 and 11-20 survive; the first five detail the events of the fifth and fourth centuries and the latter set narrate the period from 486 to 302 B.C.E. Diodorus, however, was primarily interested in Greek and Persian activities in the Mediterranean and thus confines Roman history to a few narrative episodes and a list of Roman magistrates. This list provides the names of Roman magistrates during Rome's early history, in which there are omissions and mistakes made by Diodorus or later copyists.⁴⁵ In addition to these, there exist significant differences between Diodorus' list of magistrates and those of Livy, Dionysius and the *Fasti capitolini*, which has called into question the nature of Diodorus' sources.⁴⁶

2e. The Ancient Documentary Sources

The surviving accounts of early Roman history possess a basic framework that consists of the following: names of annual magistrates, military engagements, triumphs, treaties, alliances, expansion of Roman territory, grants of citizenship, legislation, construction of temples and other public buildings, plagues, food shortages, deaths of priests and a variety of unusual occurrences, such as eclipses and monstrous births, that the Romans viewed as events with religious significance. It is generally accepted that this type of information was drawn from state documents, since preservation of such details through the oral tradition is unlikely. The only known examples of such records, however, are the *Annales maximi*, pontifical chronicles, which do not survive in their original form, but are discussed in the works of later authors. Thus, questions concerning the existence, reliability, information, publication, use and falsification of these records have dominated modern scholarship.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Forsythe 2005, 68-9.

⁴⁵ Drummond 1980.

⁴⁶ Sacks 1990.

⁴⁷ The bibliography on this subject is extensive. For an overview of early modern scholarship on the *Annales maximi*, see Frier (1979, 10-26). For an overview of the debate on the nature of the chronicles, see Crake 1940; Bauman 1983, 290-8; Forsythe 1994, 53-71; Bucher 1995; Forsythe 2000, 6-8; Oakley 1997, 24-27.

There are only three references to the pontifical chronicles: Cato (fr. 77), Cicero (*de or.* 2.52-53) and Servius (*auct. Virg. Aen. i.* 373). All of these accounts relate that the *Annales maximi* were records made by the *pontifex maximus*, year by year, of important public matters. Cato, whom modern scholars consider most reliable, states that such matters included famines and eclipses; Servius, whose testimony is considered less reliable but nonetheless plausible, states that the tables list the names of consuls and other magistrates, as well as all notable domestic and military affairs. Thus, it seems that the tables documented significant political, religious and military events.

Nearly everything else about the nature of the *Annales maximi* is contentious. Key issues concern the method of their composition and publication, the dates when they were first and last recorded, and their use by Roman annalists and historians. The ancient sources agree that the notices were recorded annually on a board, but modern historians argue about how this board was displayed to the public and maintained by the pontiffs. Cicero refers alternately to a whitened board, *album*, on which the chief pontiff wrote notices and a tablet, *tabulam*, that he then placed in front of his house for anyone to read; Servius refers to a whitened tablet, *tabulam dealbatam*, and adds that the ancients filled eighty books with such notices. Cicero's *album* and *tabulam* likely refer to the same object, a whitened board, but Bucher interprets them as separate objects, the whitened notice board and a bronze tablet. In his view, the contents of the white tablets were later transcribed onto more permanent bronze.⁴⁸

At precisely which point the tablet, whatever its material, went on display and for how long is unknown. Cato and Cicero state that the tablet was set up in front of the chief pontiff's house, in which case, it may have been displayed before the Regia. For what duration, however, is unclear. It is possible that either at the end of each year the contents of the *tabula* were transferred to a more permanent record, or the chief pontiff kept a more detailed record of events in book form, some of which was copied onto a tablet and set up in public.⁴⁹ Many modern historians attribute the compilation of pontifical records into eighty books to P. Mucius Scaevola in the late second century, but this is erroneous, since Cicero states only that Scaevola discontinued the annual record.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Bucher 1995. Forsythe (2005, 70-1) believes Bucher has misread the Cicero and ascribes the variation in terminology to Cicero's desire to avoid repetition of the same word.

⁴⁹ Cornell 1995, 14. This, as opposed to the pontiffs keeping stacks of *tabulae* in the Regia, as according to Crake (1940). Oakley (1997, 25) believes the contents of the tablets were written in a chronicle at an early date.

⁵⁰ Walsh (1961, 110) and Badian (1966, 15) conflate the texts of Cicero and Servius when claiming that Scaevola first established an eighty book chronicle. Frier (1979, 27-67 and 192-200) proposed that Scaevola only stopped posting an annual notice board and that Verrius Flaccus published the eighty books in the Augustan period. Forsythe (1994, 53-71; 2000, 192-200) refutes this view, arguing that interest in Roman antiquity grew in the late second century as a response to increasing Greek influence. For an overview of Scaevola's purported role in the *Annales maximi*, see Bauman (1983, 290-98).

The extent to which the annalistic and narrative authors consulted the *Annales maximi* is largely unresolved. Cicero implies that the chronicles constituted a source for the earliest Roman annalists, but his language is admittedly unclear.⁵¹ He states that many authors, who left behind basic records of dates, people, places and accomplishments, followed the style of writing of the *Annales*; he does not make explicit the annalists' use of the chronicles as a source of information. This may instead demonstrate that the annalistic tradition of writing history was derived from this particular method of record keeping. If, as Forsythe believes, the annalistic method of historiography gained popularity in the early second century as a reaction to Greek cultural influence, then the *Annales maximi* may have been a suitable template.⁵² However, it is unclear whether the chronicles were readily available to the annalists, and if so, how much information from the earlier periods survived. Cicero states that the chronicles were kept from the beginning of Roman affairs until the time of P. Mucius Scaevola (130-115 B.C.E.), but it is likely those records from the fifth and fourth century were not well preserved despite continuous recopying.⁵³ Moreover, the majority of Rome's early historical records may have been destroyed in the Gallic sack of 390 B.C.E.

The narrative accounts of Livy and Dionysius do not make explicit the use of any archival sources, but they do contain the kinds of information that modern historians presume to have come from the *Annales maximi*. This includes the list of annually elected consuls, military victories and losses, plagues, famines and prodigies. However, this type of information constitutes a small portion of both histories and at best provides a framework from which the authors constructed a narrative. It is likewise possible that Livy and Dionysius relied instead upon the earlier annalistic accounts. What is more, the *Annales maximi* may have contained little historical detail. The surviving fragments of the works on pontifical law by N. Fabius Pictor and Fabius Maximus Servilianus, which Forsythe believes closely resembled the *Annales maximi*, contain mostly references to religious customs.⁵⁴ He argues that it was the annalists who compiled the relevant historical information from the *Annales* and there was consequently no need for subsequent historians to consult directly the chronicles.⁵⁵ As a result, there may have been no need for either Livy or Dionysius to consult the *Annales maximi* at all; it may not have been a subject of consideration.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Frier (1979, 21) states that the precise relationship between the chronicles and annalists is unclear. See also Rawson (1971), Drews (1988) and Forsythe (1994, 53-71) for their use by historians.

⁵² Forsythe 1994, 53-71.

⁵³ Forsythe 2005, 71. Crake (1940, 382) believes that the *Annales maximi* were kept and maintained continuously from 400 B.C.E. to the time of P. Mucius Scaevola.

⁵⁴ Forsythe 2005, 71-2.

⁵⁵ Forsythe 2005, 72.

⁵⁶ Rawson 1971; Ogilvie (1965, 6), does not believe that Livy consulted the chronicles, although he suspects that a number of *tabulae* survived from the period 509-390 B.C.E. He maintains that these tablets contained more diverse material than is conventionally thought, and believes that their publication represents not an imaginative fabrication of early history, but an attempt to reconcile variegated and disparate fragments into a continuous narrative.

Another source of documentary data for the ancient sources appears to have been the inscribed texts of treaties and laws. There is no material evidence supporting their existence today, but they seem to have existed at the time historical authors were writing. Dionysius notes that the treaty between Rome and Gabii, concluded during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus and inscribed on an ox-hide shield, was preserved in the temple of Dius Fidius on the Quirinal (4.58.4). Cicero notes that the Cassian Treaty with the Latins of 493 B.C.E. existed as an inscription in the Forum (*Pro Balbo* 53). Polybius used the texts of three treaties between Carthage and Rome to reconstruct the history of these two states. Dionysius writes that the sacred laws of Servius Tullius pertaining to the cult of Aventine Diana were preserved in his day as an archaic inscription on a bronze tablet (4.26). The survival of such documents into the modern period is unlikely. Bronze and stone are often reused in antiquity, while parchment, linen and wood are highly perishable in archaeological contexts.

There exists a single archaic Latin inscription that sheds light on both the history of the period and the approaches ancient historians might have taken with evidence of this kind. Beneath a black marble pavement in the Forum at Rome, the so-called *lapis niger*, lay a two foot tall block inscribed with archaic Latin on its four sides, the so-called *cippus*.⁵⁷ The style of the letters dates the text to approximately 500 B.C.E., though the meaning of the text is uncertain. Modern scholars generally agree on the definition of four words: *sakros* (sacred or accursed), *recei* (king, whether the Roman king or the *rex sacrorum* of the republic), *kalatorem* (herald), and *iouxmenta* (wagons). Interpretation of the inscription is largely conjecture, but seems to have some religious significance, given the language outlined above and the stone's discovery in the same archaeological context as an altar and a column.⁵⁸

Ancient historians and antiquarians, however, interpreted the *cippus* as a gravestone marking the burial of one of three figures connected with the reign of Romulus: Faustulus, the shepherd who raised Romulus and Remus (Dion. Hal. 1.87.2); Hostus Hostilius, the grandfather of king Tullus Hostilius (Dion. Hal. 3.1.2); or Romulus himself (Festus 184L). It seems that the ancient authors drew their information not from the inscription, but oral

⁵⁷ Regarding the *cippus* and the *lapis niger*, see *NTDAR* 267-8; *LTUR* 2.321, 4.295-296; *ADRA* 2.3.1-2.5. For the development of the Roman forum in general, see *LTUR* 2.313-336; *ADRA* 2.1-2.11. The slabs of the *lapis niger* were not found in their original position. They were first placed in a paving resting on a late second century BCE fill and later raised and reset for the Imperial pavement. In this final position the *lapis niger* did not cover fully the archaic monuments beneath it. Holloway (1994, 81-8) describes in detail the stratigraphy of the archaic forum.

⁵⁸ Boni discovered the *cippus* in 1899. The inscription was originally seen as confirming the existence of a monarchy at Rome, see Momigliano (1975, 294-5), Lanciani (1901, 1-30), and Pais (1906, 15-42). Palmer (1969) interprets the text as a sacred law protecting the area from pollution, while Dumézil (1979, 259-93) views it as a religious regulation concerning the procession of the *rex sacrorum* along the Sacra Via. Coarelli (1983, 161-99) connects the stone to the Volcanal, a shrine of Vulcan.

tradition and personal imagination. In the first place, the repaving of the Roman forum in about 80 B.C.E. buried both the *cippus* and the *lapis niger*, rendering these monuments invisible to later writers. Second, despite disagreement over the function of the *cippus* and the significance of its text in modern scholarship, one fact on which scholars agree is that it was not the burial marker that the ancient sources purported.⁵⁹ The variance between modern and ancient interpretations of this inscription brings to the foreground the question of the reliability of the ancient sources and casts doubt on the ability of the ancient sources to interpret such aspects of Rome's early history.

Modern scholars presume the existence of other documentary archives from which the annalists and later historians drew their material. The priestly colleges, *curiae*, and plebeians likely maintained their own records, and the temple of Saturn, Treasury of Aediles on the Capitol and the Atrium Libertatis allegedly housed a variety of state documents.⁶⁰ The *Fasti*, which record the list of annually elected consuls from the late sixth century onwards, appear in a number of ancient sources with little variation.⁶¹ Modern historians view such agreement as a reason to trust in the veracity of these accounts.⁶² The list, however, is more detailed after the year 300 B.C.E. than for the late sixth and early fifth centuries; the unreliability or decay of information from the Early Republic may account for its general absence from this record.⁶³

Another important source of documentary evidence is the legislation of the Twelve Tables, a set of laws purportedly promulgated by the Decemvirate in the mid-fifth century to ease the heightened tension between the senatorial and plebeian classes at Rome.⁶⁴ These survive as fragments in Cicero's *De legibus*, but were originally engraved on bronze tablets and displayed in public. The provisions consist primarily of instructions and prohibitions in the areas of marriage, divorce, inheritance, ownership, property, debt and slavery. In addition, they contained provisions on certain judicial and religious procedures. Belonging to this category are the provisions of the tenth table, which address proper funerary rites

⁵⁹ *LTUR* 4.295-296. According to Holloway (1994, 82), the *cippus* may have been visible down to the end of the Republic and could be the inscribed stone described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as the tomb of Hostilius. Currently, the *lapis niger* stands at the level of the Caesarean pavement of the Comitium, but probably belongs to an earlier paving of the forum in the early first century B.C.E.

⁶⁰ Rawson 1985, 238-9.

⁶¹ The surviving portion of this list is found in the Capitoline Museum and thus is often referred to as the *Fasti Capitolini*. The inscription was commissioned during the reign of Augustus (31 B.C.E. to 14 C.E.) and updated until 13 C.E.

⁶² Frier 1975, 83-5; Cornell (1995, 399-401) discusses briefly the discrepancies between the several versions of the *Fasti* and their implications of our understanding of traditional Roman chronology.

⁶³ Oakley 1997, 39-40.

⁶⁴ Forsythe 2005, 201-3; Cornell 1995, 272-92; Crawford 1996, 555-721. Ungern-Sternberg 2005; Toher 2005; Eder 2005.

and expenses.⁶⁵ Chapter 4 presents a careful consideration of the statutes allegedly recorded on the tenth table.

Nearly every aspect of the tables is controversial, particularly the historicity and transmission of the laws. The historical narrative pertaining to the enactment of the laws is well established, although probably untrue. Both Livy (3.33-55) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (10.56-11.44) relate the story of how the Romans charged a Decemvirate with the development of laws that would address the grievances of the plebeians regarding the supremacy of the patricians. The Decemvirate drafted ten tables of laws, which, following amendment, were ratified by the *comitia centuriata* and published on bronze tablets; two additional tables were added later. Although much of the story concerning the promulgation of the tables is denounced as a fictional narrative of the early first century, most scholars accept the existence and authenticity of the laws.⁶⁶ Cornell has demonstrated that the formulation of law was possible in fifth-century Rome,⁶⁷ and others have noted the similarity in language and content between the tables and other examples of early law.⁶⁸

Most of the provisions in the laws were considered obsolete by Cicero's day, but remained significant because of the influential role they played in the formulation of law in later periods. The laws were the object of sustained veneration and commentary throughout antiquity.⁶⁹ Cicero notes that boys were required to memorize the laws in school (*De leg.* 2.9 and 2.59), and the works of Roman jurists are replete with references to the Twelve Tables, particularly the sixth-century C.E. *Digest* of Justinian. It is clear that the provisions were not always understood, however, and it is likely that some modernization occurred over time. Nevertheless, the uniformity of the fragments as they appear in later accounts and the survival of archaic forms of language in the text suggest that the ancient sources recorded the provisions of the Twelve Tables as they were known in the middle and late Republic.⁷⁰

Family records and traditions constitute another possible source useful to the annalists. Republican Rome was a competitive environment in which aristocratic Roman families

⁶⁵ Cic. *De leg.* 2.58-69.

⁶⁶ Ungern-Sternberg 2005; Smith 2006; Cornell 1995. Crawford (1996, 555-721) provides the most recent and comprehensive analysis of the text.

⁶⁷ Cornell (1991), argues that literacy at Rome was more widespread in the Archaic period than previously thought.

⁶⁸ Ogilvie 1965, 452; Cornell 1995, 279. Crawford (1996, 556) notes the similarities in language between the preserved fragments of the Twelve Tables and the *Lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae*, which likely records the charter of a Latin colony c. 300. He considers this evidence to support a reconstruction of the Twelve Tables.

⁶⁹ Cic. *De or.* 1.195; Cic. *De leg.* 2.9, 1.18; Livy 3.34.6. Crawford (1996, 569-70) notes that by the time of Cicero's floruit, the Twelve Tables had diminished in importance. Thereafter, references to the laws occur primarily in antiquarian and juristic sources. More often than not, these references attest reverence rather than some specific knowledge.

⁷⁰ Crawford 1996.

sought to maintain and justify their status, and the exposition of ancestral achievements was a central means of achieving this end. This preoccupation is manifest in aristocratic funerary ritual, where the accomplishments of the deceased were celebrated and the *imagines* of ancestors displayed and praised in the *laudatio funebris*.⁷¹ It seems that by the Late Republic the *imagines* were displayed in the *atrium* and linked together to form a sort of family tree.⁷² This suggests that the Roman nobility kept some kind of records regarding its ancestry. The connection between the funerary ritual and ancestral record is supported by Gellius, who writes that he obtained information on Cato both through the *laudationes funebres* and a *commentarium* on his family.⁷³ Dionysius of Halicarnassus discusses the archives of senatorial families (1.74.5), and through Cicero, it appears that Atticus accessed family archives to write histories of the Junii, Claudii Marcelli, Fabii and Aemilii (*Att.* 12.20.2, 22.2, 24.2).

It is difficult to assess the impact of individual family histories on ancient historiography. There are only two explicit references to these in Cicero (*Brut.* 62) and Livy (8.40.4-5). Both note how the false claims of descent made in funerary eulogies manipulated the historical record. The late republican annalist Valerius Antias notoriously used his text as a platform for the aggrandizement of the Valerian family, but to what extent this was based on family archives, as opposed to invention, is uncertain. The prominence of the Fabii at numerous points in Roman history suggest that Fabius Pictor, Rome's earliest historian, drew some of his information from Fabian family records.⁷⁴ However, there is no clear indication whether such claims were accepted to the point that they distorted the historical record. Both Cicero (*Brut.* 62) and Livy (8.40.3-5) recognized that *laudationes funebres* often perverted the truth about the achievements of the deceased. Competing families were likely to challenge the false claims of their rivals, often appropriating distinctions for themselves. In order for exaggeration of this kind to enter the historiographic tradition, the annalists, who were themselves from noble families, would have had to accept these claims as facts. It is possible that some of the variations in the magistrate lists are due to the false claims of families. However, their effect on the historical record of the Republic is probably minimal: the changes made in family records were likely to ascribe achievements to individuals rather than change the overall narrative of historical events.⁷⁵ These examples, although they illustrate the inherent unreliability of family records, reveal less about their usefulness for annalists and more about the fiercely competitive nature of the Roman aristocracy in the late Republic, and the appropriation of genealogies, titles and achievements by individual families.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Polybius 6.53.8-54.2; concerning the role of *laudationes funebres* in the oral tradition, see below, pp. 22.

⁷² Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 35.6-7.

⁷³ Gellius 12.20.17.

⁷⁴ Oakley 1997, 29-30.

⁷⁵ Oakley 1997, 30-1.

⁷⁶ Wiseman 1974.

2f. The Oral Tradition

Oral tradition likely informed much of early Roman history, especially those episodes pertaining to the foundation of the city and subsequent regal period. This assessment rests on three points. First, no documentary evidence survives from this period. Second, the events and personalities belonging to this time predate by centuries the earliest Roman literature. Third, these same narratives appear to have been influenced by Greek, Etruscan and Near Eastern folktales and mythological traditions. Nonetheless, it remains important to examine the historical value of these oral traditions, to determine whether they preserve a legitimate Roman tradition or are the products of fabrication and foreign influence. It is likewise crucial to question how they entered the literary record and in what form.

The fragments of Fabius Pictor illustrate that by the second century the account of early Roman history from its origins to the foundation of the Republic was well established.⁷⁷ These accounts relate Aeneas' arrival in Italy from Troy, the rule of the Alban kings, the birth of Romulus and Remus, the rape of the Sabine women, the deceit of Tarpeia, Servius Tullius' tribal organization, the Tarquin construction of the Capitoline temple and the rape of Lucretia. This account appears to have been widely accepted by Pictor's literary contemporaries and descendants, since there is little disagreement in the ancient sources about the events from this period.

A number of these episodes, however, are conglomerations of Roman and Greek folktales and traditions.⁷⁸ The birth, exposure and survival of the twins Romulus and Remus is a Roman adaptation of a legend common in the Near East and Greece in which heroic individuals are exposed as infants, then saved and raised to adulthood.⁷⁹ The treachery of Tarpeia is a Roman version of a Greek folktale in which a young woman from a town at war falls in love with a member of the enemy, betrays her city, and is committed to death for her treason.⁸⁰ The rape of Lucretia by Sextus Tarquinius, the son of the last Roman king, may even be a Roman version of the love affair that brought about the expulsion of the Peisistratid tyranny at Athens and the subsequent institution of Cleisthenic democracy.⁸¹

To what extent these accounts preserve elements of genuine Roman tradition is uncertain. The only solution modern scholars agree upon is to study each individual story and its variants. Even less certain and largely impossible to determine is the historicity of these stories; the majority are likely unhistorical.⁸² In most cases there is simply no evidence to

⁷⁷ Ungern-Sternberg 1988; Timpe 1988; Wiseman 1989; Poucet 1985, 65-70; Harris 1990, 496.

⁷⁸ Ungern-Sternberg (1988) and Timpe (1988) offer a full discussion on the subject.

⁷⁹ Cornell 1975.

⁸⁰ Livy 1.11; Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 17; Poucet 1985, 227-232; Dumézil 1949, 279-287.

⁸¹ Forsythe 2005, 77; Ogilvie 1965, 194-6. Compare Livy's story of the rape of Lucretia and expulsion of the Tarquins (1.57.6-1.60.4) with accounts of the expulsion of the Peisistratids at Athens in Thucydides (6.54-6.59) and Aristotle (*Ath. pol.* 18-20).

⁸² Wiseman 1989; Cornell 1995, 11; Ungern-Sternberg 1988.

confirm or deny, and given the permeation of elements of myth and legend in the accounts early Roman history, it is best to be skeptical about any historical claims.⁸³

At what point these accounts entered the Roman oral tradition and how they changed over time up to the point when they entered the literary tradition is highly contentious. There is, admittedly, no simple way to determine whether the stories recorded in Pictor were the same ones as were told in the fifth century or the creations of a later author.⁸⁴ In fact, it is unlikely that the stories told in the fifth century were the same as those told subsequently, since oral transmission regularly omits details not relevant to the present social context. This issue is compounded, however, by a distinct lack of modern scholarship regarding the oral transmission of history at Rome, which is perhaps surprising given the energy devoted to the same subject in Greek history.⁸⁵

The only evidence for the oral transmission of tradition at Rome are references to dramatic performances held at annual festivals and the poetry sung at banquets.⁸⁶ From the middle of the third century onwards, Roman playwrights were writing and producing plays in formal Roman dress that dramatized contemporary and past events (*fabulae praetextae*). In a largely illiterate society, these plays were instrumental in the development of Roman historical traditions. They would have served, in addition to the many triumphs, temple dedications, funerals and festivals, as visual and audible means of reworking, reinterpreting and communicating ancient traditions. Although the earliest literary plays date to the Republican period, it is possible that dramatic performances were instituted at festivals in the fifth and fourth centuries. The annual Roman and plebeian games (*ludi Romani* and *plebeii*) were celebrated as early as the fifth century B.C.E., and it is possible that plays were enacted (if not written) this early, and developed into formal written historical dramas by the third century.⁸⁷

A less convincing and largely dismissed theory claims that the later Roman literary tradition regarding the regal period was derived primarily from ballads sung at banquets. First proposed in the seventeenth century C.E. by Dutch scholar Perizonius, the idea was elaborated and promulgated in the early nineteenth by the German scholar Niebuhr.⁸⁸ Niebuhr argued that the historical episodes of the regal period survived in distorted

⁸³ Raaflaub 2005; Forsythe 2005.

⁸⁴ Finley (1986, 16-8) considers it impossible to evaluate the oral tradition since there is nothing in writing to which it can be compared.

⁸⁵ Wiseman (1989) states that this absence is even more surprising, given the fact that the recording of Homer's *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* occurred simultaneously with the appearance of Greeks and Greek writing in Italy.

⁸⁶ Wiseman 1994, 1-22.

⁸⁷ Szemerényi (1975, 307-19) adds that a number of technical words referring to theater were borrowed from Etruscan, a fact which suggests an early date for dramatic performances. Wiseman (1994, 1-22) uses archaeological finds to support his argument that Greek myths were known in archaic central Italy.

⁸⁸ Niebuhr 1837-42, 188-191.

fashion in the heroic ballads sung at banquets, and that these were preserved in literary form by ancient historians. Central to his argument was a quotation from Cato's *Origines*, preserved in Cicero, which stated that it was customary in earlier times for guests at banquets to sing the achievements of famous men to the accompaniment of a flute (*Tusc. disp.* 1.3, 4.3). Another citation of Cato, preserved elsewhere in Cicero, notes that this was a tradition practiced by the ancients (*Brutus* 75), which suggests this was no longer a custom in Cato's day.⁸⁹ At best, these statements suggest only that at one time songs were performed at banquets; Cato's testimonies neither make clear what these songs contained nor suggest that he knew what such songs were.⁹⁰

Modern scholarship has widely discredited Niebuhr's thesis, on the grounds that there is no evidence to prove that the episodes from early Roman history were rooted in an oral tradition that predated 300 B.C.E.⁹¹ What these fragments may reveal instead is the early adoption of Greek sympotic culture, which included singing and the recitation of poems.⁹² More generally, the many elements of Greek folktale and tradition visible in the historiography of the regal period point to the significant influence of Greek culture by at least the beginning of the second century.⁹³ Wiseman has proposed that Roman society was exposed to and influenced by Greek and Etruscan culture from as early as the sixth century; the archaeological remains of Greek and Etruscan origin found at Rome point to the circulation of material goods between these cultures. Wiseman uses this evidence to suggest that Greek mythology and legend was similarly known at Rome during this period.⁹⁴

A third possibility for the oral preservation of early tradition consists of the funerary eulogies, *laudationes funebres*, of deceased members of the aristocracy. These speeches listed not only the accomplishments of the deceased, but also those of his ancestors. Polybius describes the tradition as a custom of the mid-second century, but it was likely older (6.53). These eulogies may have been committed to writing and stored in family archives. Both Cicero (*Brut.* 62) and Livy (8.40.3-5) criticized the *laudationes* for containing exaggerated or invented claims and because of this were not reliable historical sources.⁹⁵

This condemnation has created a lasting, negative impression on the value of family traditions on the historiographic record.⁹⁶ It overlooks the fact that this kind of lore was practiced alongside history and that both forms engaged in the reinterpretation and representation of past events. In the case of family tradition, one group defines the past based on its own interests and desired status in the present society, which results in the

⁸⁹ Momigliano 1960, 81; Harris 1990, 497, n. 12.

⁹⁰ Cornell 1995, 12.

⁹¹ Momigliano 1957; Fraccaro 1957; Bridenthal 1972.

⁹² Zorzetti 1990.

⁹³ Wiseman 1989.

⁹⁴ Wiseman 1994, 1-22; Wiseman 1995, 126-43.

⁹⁵ Forsythe 2005, 76; Ridley 1983.

⁹⁶ Mehl 2011, 33-7.

promotion of one family group at the expense and exclusion of another. This fits the political environment of the Late Republic in particular, during which time members of the aristocracy competed to achieve the highest offices and greatest recognition. They also desired to make this known to the Roman people, who were, in turn, responsible for electing the nobility to office. Such claims could be transferred to and manipulated by a different individual or family.

The history of Valerius Antias is the best example illustrating the overlap between history and oral tradition within the political climate of late republican Rome. Valerius Antias is well known for attributing a number of accomplishments to the Valerian family, and for frequently inserting Valerian ancestors into major historical events. In comparing sources on twelve episodes from early Roman history, Wiseman has shown how these events were altered in order to emphasize the role of a member of the Valerii.⁹⁷ He attributes these adjustments to the work of a single individual whose goal was the glorification of the Valerian family. The fact that these versions, which feature prominently a Valerian, occur in the accounts of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy and Polybius, and demonstrate the extent to which family tradition, whether written or oral, influenced the historiographic record.⁹⁸ Although Valerius Antias is the most notorious example of this phenomenon, he is not the only one. Livy accuses another of his sources, Licinus Macer, of promoting the role of his own family in his history. Likewise, the systematic perversion of the annalists appears to have resulted in the consistent defamation of the Claudii in historical accounts.⁹⁹ It is possible that the Claudii worked in a similar way to restore their family name, but there is no direct evidence for this.¹⁰⁰

It is clear that the Romans engaged in the adaptation and reinterpretation of their history through family traditions, dramatic productions and, to a lesser extent, banquet singing, and that at various points this entered the historiographic record. The main consideration is that this information, which was frequently manipulated in antiquity, is unreliable and potentially inaccurate. Put simply, there is no way to determine if the events handed down through the Valerian family are accurate portrayals, by modern scientific standards of historiography, of historical events. Moreover, it is difficult to assess the degree to which ancient historiographers relied on such traditions. This is particularly true for the oral traditions, whose influence is difficult to trace until it becomes part of the written record. Instead, what these examples reveal are the multiple opportunities that the Romans seized in order to engage with and redefine their past. The Romans were not limited by the binary boundaries of oral tradition and written record or Greek culture and Roman legend. Instead, they operated within the confines of *mos maiorum* with the primary aim of promoting individuals and clans.

⁹⁷ Wiseman 1998, 75-89.

⁹⁸ Wiseman 1998, 75-89.

⁹⁹ Oakley 1997, 98, n. 292; Wiseman 1979, 57-103.

¹⁰⁰ Oakley 1997, 98.

2g. Landmarks, Monuments and Toponyms

References to statues, paintings and monuments are common features of the annalistic and antiquarian traditions of Roman history. The consideration of Roman monuments in historiography seems to have begun quite early. The fragments of the annalists Cassius and Piso contain numerous examples, but the authors often treated them uncritically and incompletely.¹⁰¹ Piso seems to have favored this practice especially, and as censor in 120 B.C.E. he likely had several opportunities to learn the histories of the buildings and monuments throughout Rome. During the time of Sulla, the antiquarian Cincius composed a guidebook either of the Capitol at Rome or all of Rome.¹⁰² In it, he likely explained the meanings of inscriptions, described ancient monuments, and related the legends associated with them. The works of Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus are indebted to the early republican annalists for this practice; their works contain numerous references to monuments.¹⁰³

In the accounts of Livy and Dionysius, at least, the citations of monuments and statues still visible in the authors' own time was a means of validating legendary or historical events.¹⁰⁴ Most references come from the regal or very early republican period and seem intended to verify the historicity of events from a time in the city's distant and legendary past. It is unlikely that many of the oldest monuments survived in the period when the republican annalists were writing. It seems instead that, as early as the mid-Republic, monuments of uncertain origin were assigned to legendary figures, and that these associations survived in later generations. By the Late Republic they were believed to be the legitimate remains of earlier periods. It is likely that the early antiquarians attempted to explain the various monuments, statues and toponyms, whose relevance was unclear, by connecting them to legendary episodes from Rome's early history. The late republican authors, such as Livy and Dionysius, believing the stories of their predecessors, used the monuments as evidence ensuring the validity of the historical episodes.

2h. Modern Scholarship Concerning the Historiographic Tradition

The reliability of the historiographic tradition is a primary concern for modern scholars of early Roman history attempting to determine the historical accuracy of the ancient accounts. It is difficult to assess given the constant reworking of the Roman historical tradition and the lack of verifiable evidence. The literary tradition of the late Republic represents the final stages in the development of Rome's early history; this tradition began

¹⁰¹ Rawson 1976.

¹⁰² Heurgon 1964.

¹⁰³ Oakley 1997, 35.

¹⁰⁴ Gabba 1981, 61. Oakley (1997, 36, n. 79) lists the statues that were reportedly set up before the First Punic War, some of which were allegedly erected by such legendary figures as Evander and Numa. Oakley doubts the historicity of these claims. He also lists and discusses briefly (36-37) the toponyms and statues mentioned in passages of Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

as early as the fifth century and related Roman history from Aeneas' arrival in Italy up to the foundation of the Republic.

Up until the point when the second-century annalists committed this history to writing, the tradition of oral transmission ensured continual reinterpretation and reconstruction of the past. Although the writing of history established a basic and accepted framework of past events, alteration and invention continued to figure prominently in the accounts of subsequent generations. The influence of the Greek historiographic tradition and the ambitions of prominent families, historians included, made many details subject to change and the narrative prone to elaboration. Complicating this is the fact that much of the information preserved in the texts exhibits a complex mixture of Greek mythology and foundation stories, Latin folktales, Roman oral tradition, and Roman political and cultural beliefs.¹⁰⁵ Although it is sometimes possible to disentangle these components to the point that some element of indigenous Latin tradition is detectable, its historical validity remains impossible to determine.

At the heart of these problems, and underscoring any discussion on the historicity of the ancient sources, is the fact that there is no clear impression of what primary sources were available to the writers of history and how these authors used them. Modern scholars assume, based on quotations in late republican texts, that ancient historians employed some combination of archival information and oral tradition when writing their accounts.¹⁰⁶ This is a reasonable judgment, but determining precisely what information these documentary sources and oral traditions relayed is largely conjecture. The essential fact remains that none of the primary sources survive, and in many cases may not have been extant during the time when the annalists were writing. This has serious implications for modern scholarship, since the ancient accounts, particularly of Livy and Dionysius, directly inform our understanding of early Roman history. If their accounts are unreliable because they are based on unverifiable primary sources and augmented by invention and exaggeration, then so are those of modern scholarship, since the ancient sources constitute the bulk of our evidence. At worst, there is no historical truth to these accounts, since verification of such events becomes impossible. At best, there is some truth, but it consists primarily of the so-called structural data that are presumably derived from unpreserved ancient documents such as the *Annales maximi*, the *Fasti* and the Twelve Tables. The narratives constructed around these basic elements, rather than reflect historical truth, pertain largely to the development of Roman national identity in the fourth century onwards.

¹⁰⁵ Ogilvie 1965, 30-2; Heurgon 1973, 106-55; Scullard 1980, 42-77; Forsythe 1994, 75-244; Wiseman 1994; Forsythe 2005; Cornell 1995, 56-80 and 114-214; Ungern-Sternberg 1988, 237-65.

¹⁰⁶ The scholarship regarding the historical accuracy of Rome's regal period is extensive. See Galinsky 1969; Cornell 1975; Horsfall 1979; Bremmer and Horsfall 1987; Gruen 1992, 6-51; Wiseman 1995; Raaflaub 2005; Cornell 2005; Forsythe 2005.

Part of the difficulty in assessing the validity of the ancient historiographic tradition is that its aims are inconsistent with those of modern historians. Modern historians are concerned more with arguments, reliable evidence and truthful facts, whereas ancient historians were preoccupied with the exposition of literary style set in a pleasing narrative. Thus, the notion of adding embellishment (*ornamenta*) seems distasteful to a modern historian. The Roman annalists of the Late Republic, however, relied on *ornamenta*, which included the embellishment of facts, the use of rhetoric and the insertion of speeches. Their goal was to produce an engaging work of literature, which required a significant amount of detail. Thus, information was exaggerated for artistic purposes, and when lacking, invented with plausibility.¹⁰⁷

The practice among ancient Roman historians of exaggerating and inventing facts, although it is helpful for understanding the nature of ancient history, does nothing to prove its factual accuracy. Consequently, modern scholarship is divided on the value of the ancient sources concerning the regal period. The hypercritical approach that was embraced by scholars of the early twentieth century has long been rejected. These scholars took a highly skeptical view of the ancient sources on early Roman history, to the point of discarding them completely. The most notable proponent of this view was Ettore Pais, who considered all episodes of Roman history before the sack of the Gauls as legendary and mythological tales.¹⁰⁸ A number of archaeological discoveries dating to the seventh and sixth centuries were made subsequently, however, and resulted in a revision of the region's early history. The archaeology seemed to correspond with ancient accounts that documented the urban and political development of Rome under the monarchy and fledgling Republic, and attested the city's preeminence in Latium by the end of the sixth century. The evidence revealed that settlements throughout Latium at this time increased in size, and contained numerous examples of defensive, sacred and domestic architecture. At Rome, for instance, there was now material evidence for temples, elite houses, and public spaces. The majority of scholars, then, seemingly had no reason to question the veracity of the sources, since the archaeological and literary sources outlined the gradual development of Rome and the city's eventual preeminence in Latium.¹⁰⁹

To some scholars, primarily those of the Italian tradition, the surge in archaeological evidence from early Rome only confirmed the accuracy of the historical accounts. Carandini is the greatest supporter of the historicity of this period, and he regularly interprets the

¹⁰⁷ Oakley 1997, (3-12), notes that Cicero, in the *De oratore*, appears to condone and even encourage plausible invention: he has Antonius state that a historian should be trained in rhetoric, tell truths (*veri*), avoid falsehoods (*falsi*), but acknowledge the necessity of a superstructure (*exaedificatio*) (2.62-64). The aim of rhetoric, then, was similar to that of historical writing, namely, the creation of accurate and plausible narratives that were capable of persuading audiences of their credibility. This could only be helped by the addition of speeches, which lent credibility as well as characterized the situation and the speaker.

¹⁰⁸ Pais 1906.

¹⁰⁹ See the discoveries listed in *CLP* and *GRT*.

archaeological data from early Rome through the lens of the ancient historical narrative.¹¹⁰ For instance, he argues that his excavation of the eighth-century fortifications on the northern slope of the Palatine corroborates Rome's foundation story.¹¹¹ Tacitus records that Romulus established the original course of the *pomerium*, the sacred boundary of Rome, and marked it in certain places around the Palatine with boundary stones; in the imperial period, stones continued to designate the original plan (*Ann.* 12.24). The fact that the earliest walls date to the late eighth century and thus correspond with the later years of Romulus' reign, according to the traditional chronology, constitutes the basis for Carandini's claim. The discovery of burials, huts and walls on the Palatine function as additional evidence for the emergence of a unified settlement there by about 725 B.C.E.

Carandini's subsequent publications on the foundation and urban development of Rome likewise employ the literary sources as confirmation of the archaeological material. He combines archaeological, topographical, historical and mythological forms of evidence to reconstruct Rome's early history.¹¹² Although these studies have made lasting contributions to our understanding of early Roman history, his largely uncritical approach remains controversial.¹¹³ His critics disagree mainly with his use of the historiographic tradition to support the finds made in the archaeological record. However, they are careful to acknowledge his role in shaping studies of early Roman history, since his publications of the Palatine excavations reinvigorated the study of early Rome and placed the study of the development of the city on equal footing with the *poleis* of the Greek world.

Currently, the majority of scholars occupy some middle ground, but there remains intense disagreement on what the sources say, what they do not, what to expect from them and how best to use them.¹¹⁴ There are as many opinions on the subject and approaches to the problem as there are scholars. Raaflaub and Forsythe are amongst the most skeptical regarding the ancient accounts, believing that they are the products of literature, not history in any modern sense.¹¹⁵ They interpret the ancient accounts not so much as true stories of past events, but rather compositions and recompositions of earlier histories that reflect the contemporary concerns and expectations of historiography.¹¹⁶ Raaflaub is especially critical of modern historians who take no firm approach and instead vacillate

¹¹⁰ See the bibliography from Carandini from 1990 to the present day.

¹¹¹ *GRT* 97; Terrenato (1992) instead connects the same excavations with the topography and archaeology of archaic Rome.

¹¹² See especially (Carandini 1990, 1997, 2006); Carandini and Cappelli, eds., 2000. See also Grandazzi (1997) for a similar approach.

¹¹³ Forsythe (2005, 84) and Terrenato (2011, 232) take issue only with Carandini's over-reliance on the historiographic tradition. Raaflaub (2005) is not explicit with his critique, but he is skeptical both of the historical records and of the use of archaeological data to support the historicity of the ancient accounts. Smith (2005) offers a critical analysis of Carandini's thesis and its bearing upon studies of Roman urbanization.

¹¹⁴ Cornell 2005; Cornell 1995; Raaflaub 2005; Forsythe 2005.

¹¹⁵ Raaflaub 2005; Forsythe 2005.

¹¹⁶ Raaflaub 2005; Forsythe 2005.

between complete belief and outright distrust.¹¹⁷ To him, scholars of this kind do not understand the effects of these questions on all interpretations of history. Neither Raaflaub nor Forsythe, however, reject explicitly the literary tradition regarding early Rome; there seems to be a tacit reluctance to discard the sources completely.

Other scholars have more faith in the credibility of the texts. The main proponent of this view is Cornell, who agrees that it is crucial to examine the historiographic tradition, but does not believe that the Romans engaged in the deliberate falsification of their history, for literary, social or political motives.¹¹⁸ In his opinion, the Romans recorded what they believed to be true, and there is no reason to consider this false, unless it can be proven so. However, he simultaneously acknowledges the fact that the Roman historians, in the absence of data from the Archaic period, used anachronistic models when attempting to reconstruct their early history.¹¹⁹ To him, the ancient accounts of early Roman history remain valuable because they represent Roman history as it was understood and recorded by the Romans.¹²⁰

Scholars have appealed for methodologies to discern truth from fiction,¹²¹ but there remains no satisfactory, uniform method for dealing with the historiography. The nature of the sources is so varied and the reliability of the accounts so questionable that, apart from outright disbelief or complete confidence, there is no single approach to them. Currently, the most common approach in anglo-american scholarship examines each episode and account on a case by case analysis.¹²² This methodology often generates considerable disagreement among modern historians, since any interpretation is entirely dependent on one's own view regarding the reliability of the ancient sources and the principles according to which the ancient sources are determined accurate.¹²³

2i. Conclusion

Modern scholars agree only on the following points about early Roman history: that, by the second and first centuries, the Romans conceived of an early history involving the growth of the city, its rule by kings, the foundation of the Republic and the development of its institutions; and, that this same history belongs to the sixth and early fifth centuries. Most also accept that some information was more or less accurately preserved from early Rome, and this consists mainly of some documentary data, namely the *Fasti*, the *Annales maximi* and the Twelve Tables. In nearly all other aspects of interpretation there is considerable

¹¹⁷ Raaflaub (2005, 6) does not mention explicitly who these historians are.

¹¹⁸ Cornell 1995; Cornell 2005; Raaflaub on Cornell (2005, 24-31); Smith (1996, 2006) supports this point of view.

¹¹⁹ Cornell 2005, 63.

¹²⁰ Cornell 1995; Cornell 2005.

¹²¹ Raaflaub, ed., 2005.

¹²² The most vocal proponent is Cornell (1995), also taken up by Smith (1996, 2006). Forsythe (2005), although he does not state this explicitly, adopts the same approach.

¹²³ Forsythe 2005, 59.

disagreement and there is no definitive method of using the ancient sources. The choices, it seems, are determined skepticism or optimistic acceptance. The tendency is for individual scholars to accept some basic truths about the historiographic tradition, but to disagree on strategies for using the ancient accounts in modern historical analyses. Ultimately, it is impossible to prove the narrative tradition regarding early Roman history true or false. However, if scholars are to use the written record, then it is imperative to question the reliability of the information that in many ways seems legendary, fabricated and anachronistic.

It is best to be skeptical of the ancient accounts concerning early Roman history. The causes for concern are too significant and numerous to accept the ancient narratives outright. For instance: the chronological disparity between the time of writing and the time when the events allegedly took place; the abundance of mythological, legendary, exaggerated and invented details contained in the accounts; the general absence of documentary sources that might have comprised the primary sources of the ancient authors; the failure of the ancient authors, in many cases, to understand monuments and narratives from their own past; and the controversy and speculation that surrounds nearly every aspect of these sources.

Despite this, some information does seem to have survived from early Roman antiquity, namely the preserved portions of the *Fasti*, the *Annales maximi* and the Twelve Tables. Although this documentary evidence is often misunderstood by later writers and embedded in historical narratives that reflect contemporary concerns rather than earlier ones, it seems that it was preserved more or less in its original form. Thus, it is possible that the ancient accounts preserve some element of truth regarding the history of the Archaic period; however, they cannot be accepted without rigorous examination. In this dissertation, they are considered carefully on an individual basis, as required, with particular attention to their historical context.

3. The Literary Evidence for Roman Funerary Rituals and Burial Practices

3a. Introduction

In Roman antiquity, the ritual of the funeral began immediately after the death of an individual and continued until the last post-burial activities had taken place. The appropriate rites involved a combination of practical, religious, legal and social concerns. Modern reconstructions of Roman burial practices are largely based on literary accounts from the Late Republic and Empire and are enriched by the wide range of funerary architecture and epigraphy that survives in the archaeological record.¹²⁴ Scholars frequently use the evidence from burials as a means of exploring how individuals and groups throughout the Roman world negotiated status and identity. It is only recently, however, that they have questioned the relevance of the literary sources to the archaeological evidence.¹²⁵ The main criticism is that the ancient sources lack precision when describing funerary ritual and provide little evidence of the kind that is visible in the archaeological record. What is more, they are extremely limited in chronological and geographical scope: written largely in the first two centuries C.E., these texts reflect the contemporary customs and attitudes of the aristocratic elite at Rome. Most modern scholarship, however, has misguidedly used the written evidence as a guidebook for all funerary ritual, assuming that what the sources say is applicable to all regions and periods, and using the archaeology to substantiate claims made in the literary accounts.

As yet, there is no analysis of the written evidence for the funerary rituals of periods earlier than the Late Republic. This is largely due to the paucity of the sources and the confusion surrounding how best to understand what little is available. The primary aim of this chapter is to rectify this absence by collecting the extant literary evidence for Roman burial during the sixth and fifth centuries and considering these narratives in the appropriate contexts. This will serve as a framework with which to analyze the archeological evidence of Chapters 5 and 6, and will allow for a better assessment of the role of the literary sources in early funerary studies.

The literary evidence concerning funerary rituals in early Rome is inconsistent: the sources are few in number, disparate in subject matter and wide-ranging in chronology. In all cases, the literary accounts are subject to the same questions of reliability as discussed in Chapter 3. None of the accounts were written in the Archaic period; the earliest were composed at least four centuries later, and the majority were written hundreds of years after that, from fourth to seventh centuries C.E. The accounts are often brief, and embedded in narratives that otherwise have nothing to do with ancient funerary ritual. What is more, the sources are extremely vague regarding the time when a particular custom was regularly observed, noting only whether it was *antiquissimum* or practiced *apud maiores*. Other literary sources document contemporary practices only, and these often lack the detail required by modern scientific standards. Modern scholars, most notably Toynbee, have drawn upon these

¹²⁴ Toynbee 1971; Scullard 1981; Jones 2002.

¹²⁵ See especially Scheid (2008).

scattered references to reconstruct a general overview of Roman funerary ritual.¹²⁶ The benefit of such an account is that provides some idea of the wide range of activities involved in Roman funerary rites, but it runs the risk of positing an erroneous reconstruction with little specificity. Nonetheless, Toynbee's account remains conventional and is widely accepted in modern scholarship.¹²⁷

What follows is a presentation and discussion of the literary evidence arranged according to the issues addressed in the ancient accounts. The sources marked out the following customs as ancient: the preference for inhumation over cremation (3b), the inhumation of young infants (3c), the burial of adults at home (3d), and the practice of nocturnal burial (3e). In general I am skeptical of the information provided in these accounts, but I do note on some occasions where the archaeological record seems to agree. I follow with a summary of Polybius' account of a Roman funeral (3f), since this text has directly informed nearly all subsequent scholarship on the subject and is thus worth revisiting in order to better contextualize the archaeological material presented in Chapters 5 and 6. I conclude the chapter with a brief assessment of the value of the literary sources for funerary ritual in the Archaic period (3g).

3b. Cremation and Inhumation

The sources agree that inhumation was the earlier rite of disposing of the deceased. Cicero records the following (*De leg.* 2.22.56-57):

At mihi quidem antiquissimum sepulturae genus illud fuisse videtur, quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur; redditur enim terrae corpus et ita locatum ac situm quasi operimento matris obducitur. Eodemque ritu in eo sepulcro quod haud procul a Fontis ara est, regem nostrum Numam conditum accepimus, gentemque Corneliam usque ad memoriam nostram hac sepultura scimus esse usam. C. Mari sitas reliquias apud Anienem dissipari iussit Sulla victor acerbiore odio incitatus, quam si tam sapiens fuisset, quam fuit vehemens. Quod haud scio an timens ne suo corpori possit accidere primus e patriciis Corneliis igni voluit cremari. Declerat Ennius de Africano: "Hic est ille situs." Vere; nam siti dicuntur ii, qui conditi sunt. Nec tamen eorum ante sepulchrum est, quam iusta facta et porcus caesus est. Et quod nunc communiter in omnibus sepultis venit usu, ut humati dicantur, id erat proprium tum in iis, quos humus iniecta contexerat, eumque morem ius pontificale confirmat. Nam prius quam in os iniecta gleba est, locus ille, ubi crematum est corpus, nihil habet religionis; iniecta gleba tum et illis humatus est, et gleba¹²⁸ vocatur, ac tum denique multa religiosa iura complectitur.

¹²⁶ Toynbee 1971.

¹²⁷ Scheid (2008, 7-8) states that there was considerable variety in funerary ritual during the time of the Late Republic and Empire.

¹²⁸ The text here is corrupt.

It seems to me that the most ancient mode of burial was that which, according to Xenophon, Cyrus used; for the body is returned to the earth and so has been placed and arranged just as if it was concealed by its mother's covering. We acknowledge that our king Numa was buried with this same rite not far from the altar of Fons, and we know that the Cornelian clan has used this form of burial up to our own day. The conqueror Sulla, driven by bitter hatred, ordered the remains of C. Marius be dispersed from his tomb near the river Anio; if only he had been as wise as he was vehement. Perhaps Sulla feared that the same might happen to his own body and so he ordered it to be burned after his death; he was the first among the Corneli to do this. Ennius says about Africanus: "Here lies the body." Indeed, for the term "lies" applies only to those who are interred. Nevertheless, these do not become burials until the proper rites have been performed and a pig slaughtered. And now the term "to inhumate" is being applied to all kinds of burials, but the term at one time was appropriate only to refer to those which had been buried by a covering of the earth, and the pontifical law confirms this custom. For before the earth is cast over the bones, that place, where the body has been cremated, has no religious character; when earth has been thrown over it, it is considered inhumed, and it is called a burial, and then many religious rights make it sacred.

Pliny notes (*Nat. Hist.* 7.187):

Ipsium cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti; terra condebantur. At postquam longinquis bellis obrutos erui cognovere, tunc institutum. Et tamen multae familiae priscos servavere ritus, sicut in Cornelia nemo ante Sullam dictatorem traditur crematus, idque voluisse veritum talionem eruto C. Mari cadavere. [sepultus vero intellegitur quoquo modo conditus, humatus vero humo contactus].

It was not an ancient practice among the Romans to cremate; they were buried in the earth. But after it became known that the bodies buried in far-off wars had been dug up, cremation was then instituted. Nevertheless many families preserved the ancient rites, just as it is recorded that no one in the Cornelian clan was cremated before the dictator Sulla, and that he had wanted it out of fear of retaliation for having dug up the corpse of Gaius Marius. [Indeed, a burial is understood to denote any manner of burial, but an inhumation refers to a body covered by earth.]

Both Cicero and Pliny state that inhumation was the custom of earlier times, adding that some families continued the practice even in their own day, when cremation was the norm. They are careful to distinguish between both rites, but note that both can constitute grave sites. Inhumation is denoted with a variety of terms, including *condere*, *humatus*, and *situs*, and Cicero emphasizes that what makes an inhumation is the covering of a corpse by the earth. Cremation is denoted with the word *cremare*; both interred and cremated corpses become graves or burials (*sepultus*, *sepulturus* or *sepulchrum*), and acquire religious

character once the proper rites are performed and a pig is slaughtered. Cicero notes that in his own time it was customary to refer to all graves as being *humati* (laid in the earth) regardless of rite, but points out that in antiquity *humati* designated only those corpses that were actually interred, that is, covered by earth.

Neither author seems to know precisely when cremation became the preferred mode of burial, but Pliny believes it was when Rome began engaging in distant wars. Despite the acknowledged shift in ritual, both authors claim that inhumation persisted into their own time, and cite as evidence the practices of the Cornelii family. The Cornelii were one of the oldest patrician families at Rome, and, as such, they may be expected to have preserved ancient burial customs.¹²⁹ According to Cicero, Sulla brought an end to this tradition when he ordered the cremation of his body, perhaps fearing that it be posthumously excavated by his political enemies.¹³⁰ Cicero adds that Sulla was responsible for the exhumation and dispersement of the body of C. Marius and may have wanted to avoid the same fate. Cicero may be considered a reliable source for the burial practices of the Cornelii, especially Sulla, since he was a contemporary of and officer under Sulla in the early to mid-first century B.C.E. He appears certain about the burial habits of the Cornelii (*scimus*), as opposed to those of Numa, which he presents as conventional wisdom (*conditum accepimus*). Pliny's account follows closely that of Cicero, and he seems to have drawn his information directly from it, although he is not explicit in this regard. Pliny only adds that many families continued to practice inhumation, although he does not state whom.

Cicero cites as evidence for the antiquity of inhumation at Rome the burials of Numa Pompilius (716-674 B.C.E.), the legendary second king of Rome, and Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus (c. 236-183), for whom Ennius wrote a funerary epitaph. He later cites the epitaph of Africanus, which points to Cicero's familiarity with the burial rites of the Cornelii Scipiones.¹³¹ It is possible that some memory of the ancestral practice of inhumation was preserved in funerary monuments visible in the authors' own time. The tomb of the Scipiones, located on the Via Appia outside the Porta Capena at Rome, was discovered in the early seventeenth century, and subsequent excavation revealed the sarcophagi and inscriptions of eight Scipiones, ranging in date from 298 B.C.E. to 176 B.C.E.¹³² The tomb

¹²⁹ Dyck 2004, 396.

¹³⁰ A fragment of Granius Licinianus (36.25), written in the second century C.E., adds that Sulla ordered his body not to be cremated, but it was burned against his wishes so that his enemies could not dismember his corpse.

¹³¹ Sen. *Ep.* 108.33 offers the rest of the epitaph: *hic est ille situs cui nemo civis neque hostis quivit pro factis reddere opis pretium*. "Here lies the one for whom no citizen or foreigner was able to pay back a price to match his deeds."

¹³² *LTUR*, Sepulcrum (Corneliorum) Scipionum; *NTDAR* 359-360 (Sep. Scipionum). The earliest belongs to L. Scipio Barbatus, consul in 298 B.C.E. and the latest was that of Paulla Cornelia, c. 176 B.C.E. The sarcophagus and inscription of Barbatus are now housed in the Vatican museum, as were parts of the other sarcophagi and their inscriptions. Coarelli (1972) offers a reconstruction of the tomb, along with statues of Ennius, P. Scipio Africanus and his brother Lucius.

was known to Cicero, who noted it for its location and the prominence of the family associated with it (*Tusc.* 1.13). Cicero (*Arch.* 22), Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 7.114) and Suetonius (*De poet. Ennius* 8) record that Ennius was believed to be buried there and a statue of him set up by the elder Scipio Africanus. Livy notes that the monument included the tombs and statues of the same Scipio and his brother Lucius (38.56.2-4). Although the tomb of Numa was believed to be located near the altar of Fons, there is no archaeological evidence in support of this.¹³³

Cicero's accounts of the burials of Numa and the Cornelii feature as part of a greater discourse regarding the role of monarchy in a successful political regime. Cicero begins the passage by connecting the rite of inhumation to Xenophon's Cyrus. The work to which Cicero refers is the *Cyropaedia*, a fictionalized biography of the Cyrus II, founder of the Persian empire in the sixth century. Xenophon, historian and former pupil of Socrates, composed the text in the fourth century. Cicero was familiar with the works of Xenophon, including the *Oeconomicus*, which he claims to have translated at a very young age (*Ad off.* 2.87); he states elsewhere that P. Scipio Africanus the Younger (c. 185-129 B.C.E.) was an admirer of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (*Q. fr.* 1.1.23 and *Tusc.* 2.62).¹³⁴ The version of Cyrus depicted in Xenophon features prominently in the works of Cicero, often as an example of a just ruler in an autocratic form of government.

Throughout the works of Cicero, Cyrus, Numa and the Cornelii Scipiones function as authoritative examples of distinguished individuals known for their commitment to the well being of the state and their allegiance to conservative and monarchic principles of government. In *De republica*, Cyrus is the mechanism through which Africanus critiques kings and monarchies (1.43-44).¹³⁵ Africanus states that, even though Cyrus is the most just and wise of the kings, monarchy does not constitute the best form of government because its administration is at the discretion and whim of a single individual. He explains that monarchy is fragile and prone to corruption, and considers inevitable the devolution of monarchy into tyranny. For every capable, lovable king such as Cyrus, there is a tyrannical Phalaris.¹³⁶ Africanus goes on to criticize the other forms of government and concludes that the best constitution is a mixed one. However, when Laelius, one of interlocutors, is dissatisfied with this response and presses Africanus to choose the best form of single constitution, Africanus selects monarchy, above oligarchy and democracy (*Cic. De rep.* 1.54-55). He argues that monarchy is best, since the king provides for his citizens like a father

¹³³ *NTDAR* 152-3. There are several springs on the Janiculum hill, and the *ara fontis* could have been any one of these. He believes Numa's tomb would have been constructed somewhere along the ridge running westwards from the modern Porta S. Pancrazio. He adds that a shrine of Fons was identified near the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione on Viale Trastevere, which dates to 70 C.E.

¹³⁴ Dyck 2004, 395.

¹³⁵ Caspar (2011) explores in a recent paper Cicero's use of Cyrus as a means of exploring the value of monarchy as a system of government.

¹³⁶ Phalaris (c. 570-549 B.C.E.) was a tyrant of Arcagus, in Sicily and was known for his cruelty.

for his children, and citizens, like children, hold their patriarch in esteem. Although Africanus eventually returns to his original conclusion and claims that the mixed constitution is best, he stresses that this must include monarchy (*De rep.* 1.69-70), with some power given to its leading citizens, and other affairs left to the masses. Africanus considers this the most equal and stable form of administration; it is also the form that was developed in antiquity and handed down to the Romans of Africanus' own time. In the second book of *De republica*, Numa functions as a Roman example of the good king, in accordance with the model determined by Cyrus. Numa is preeminent, he is the mother of justice and religion at Rome, and he is the writer of laws.¹³⁷ Since the Romans elected him to this position, Numa represents the ability of the citizen body to recognize which qualities make kings good, in order to ensure the development and well being of the state.¹³⁸

When the discussion turns, in *De legibus*, to devising laws for the ideal city-state, there must therefore be a monarchic component. After Cicero recites his ideal laws, his brother Quintus observes that they do not differ substantially from the laws of Numa (*Cic. De leg.* 2.19-24). Cicero explains that the character of the laws must reflect the character of Africanus' constitution, and that both must reflect the customs of their ancestors. The regal element survives in Cicero's laws in the form of the consulship, whereby the consuls lead, judge and deliberate, though this power is checked by the Senate.¹³⁹ Together, Cyrus, Numa and the Corneli Scipiones stress the importance of monarchy in government and the importance of upholding ancestral customs, and, as ancient authority figures themselves, they lend weight to this argument. These examples support Cicero's suggestion that the only way to save the current state of Roman affairs after years of civil wars and factional strife is a return to an ancestral, mixed constitution.

Cicero uses Sulla's cremation to emphasize the change in the nature of government at Rome in the Late Republic. Sulla was a member of the ancient and illustrious Cornelian clan, a family known for upholding ancestral virtues and practices. They routinely observed the ancient rite of inhumation, until Sulla broke with tradition and demanded the cremation of his body. Sulla's reign and death seem to function as turning points in Cicero's narrative regarding the devolution of the state. Monarchy, as Cicero pointed out, functions well provided that the leader is moderate and just; however, kings devolve quickly into tyrants because their powers are unchecked. Thus, they are always dangerous and threatening figures that can initiate changes to the structure of the state, and lead to its demise. Sulla is one such figure: appointed dictator at Rome in 82 B.C.E., he massacred a number of Romans over the course of a civil war, and contributed to the conditions that led to a second civil war in Cicero's own time. Although Sulla may have believed he was restoring the Republic, he brought about its demise, and Cicero uses the account of his death to emphasize the abandonment of ancestral customs and virtues.

¹³⁷ *praestans* (*Cic. De rep.* 2.25); *mater huic urbi iuris et religionis fuit, qui legum etiam scriptor fuisset* (*Cic. De rep.* 5.3).

¹³⁸ *Cic. De rep.* 2.25.

¹³⁹ *Cic. De leg.* 3.8.

Much like Cicero, Plutarch seems more concerned with the symbolic significance of inhumation as a marker of ancestral virtue than the preservation of historical reality. Writing in the late first to early second century C.E., Plutarch describes Numa's burial to the same effect. According to the author, Numa forbade the cremation of his body and was instead buried in one of two stone coffins (*Num.* 22):

ζηλωτὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ τάφῳ τὸν βίον ἐποίησαν οἱ τε σύμμαχοι καὶ φίλοι
δῆμοι, συνελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἅμα δημοσίαις ἐπιφοραῖς καὶ
στεφάνοις, οἱ τε πατρίκιοι τὸ λέχος ἀράμενοι, καὶ συμπαρόντες οἱ τῶν
θεῶν ἱερεῖς καὶ παραπέμποντες, ὁ δ' ἄλλος ὄμιλος ἀναμεμιγμένων καὶ
γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν οὐχ ὡς βασιλέως ταφαῖς γηραιοῦ παρόντες, ἀλλ' ὡς
τινα τῶν φιλότατων ἕκαστος ἐν ἀκμῇ βίου ποθούμενον θάπτων,
μετ' οἰμωγῆς καὶ κλαυθμῶν ἐπόμενοι. πυρὶ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔδοσαν τὸν νεκρὸν
αὐτοῦ κωλύσαντος, ὡς λέγεται, δύο δὲ ποιησάμενοι λιθίνας σοροὺς ὑπὸ
τὸ Ἰανοκλον ἔθηκαν, τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ἔχουσαν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν τὰς
ἱεράς βίβλους ἃς ἐγράψατο μὲν αὐτός, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νομοθέται
τοὺς κύρβεις, ἐκδιδάξας δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἔτι ζῶν τὰ γεγραμμένα καὶ
πάντων ἕξιν τε καὶ γνώμην ἐνεργασάμενος αὐτοῖς, ἐκέλευσε συνταφῆναι
μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ὡς οὐ καλῶς ἐν ἀψύχοις γράμμασι φρουρουμένων
τῶν ἀπορρήτων

His life was praised even in his funerary rites. The peoples who were both in alliance and friendship with Rome assembled at the rites with public offerings and crowns. The senators carried his bier, the priests of the gods marched together and escorted it to the grave, and the rest of the crowd, including women and children, followed with lamentation and weeping, not as though they were attending the funeral of an old king, but as though each one was burying some dear relation taken away at the peak of his life. They did not burn his body, since, as it is said, he forbade it, but they made two stone coffins and buried them under the Janiculum. One of these held his body and the other the sacred books that he had written with his own hand, just as the Greek lawgivers do with their tablets. But while he was still living he taught the priests their contents and he produced in them the skill and means of knowing of them all, and he ordered that they be buried with his body, since such mysteries would not be well observed in lifeless documents.

Plutarch comments neither on the antiquity nor the peculiarity of inhumation, and his account suggests that both inhumation and cremation were practiced in the time of Numa. According to Plutarch, Numa forbids the cremation of his body and requests burial for himself and his laws in two stone sarcophagi. The author here seems more concerned with the choice of ritual and the implications of this decision. Cremation was the dominant burial rite in the author's own time, a custom which Tacitus, his contemporary, considered

the *romanus mos* (*Ann.* 16.6).¹⁴⁰ For the most part, Plutarch does not state the sources of his information, and uses the impersonal "it is said" (ὡς λέγεται) when referring specifically to Numa's request that his body be interred.

This episode seems more relevant to Plutarch's moral exploration in the parallel lives. The life of Numa is paired with that of Lycurgus, the legendary lawgiver of Sparta, and the lives of both figures are depicted as a series of oppositions. For instance, Lycurgus dispossessed his royal status in order to become a lawgiver, whereas Numa was elected king in order to become a lawgiver;¹⁴¹ Lycurgus forbade the writing of law, whereas Numa inscribed it with his own hand, was buried with it, and instructed priests concerning its contents;¹⁴² and, Numa was buried at Rome, whereas Lycurgus was cremated and his ashes scattered into the sea.¹⁴³ Plutarch here seems to be considering the paradox whereby good actions injure the state and bad actions contribute to its well being.¹⁴⁴ Lycurgus, although he did not commit his laws to writing, established a system that was long lasting and successful, whereas Numa created a constitution, aimed at peace and friendship, which did not last after his death.¹⁴⁵ Had Numa succeeded, Rome would never have become the head of an empire.¹⁴⁶ The paradox is related to Plutarch's own philosophical views: Sparta represents the ideal republic but has no ruling philosophical king, while Numa represents the ideal king, but does not preserve the platonic ideal of the republic. It is significant that Numa's inscribed laws were buried with him beneath the Janiculum: one was as dead as the other, although neither were widely separated.¹⁴⁷

The burial of both Numa and his writings may also be connected to Plutarch's desire to link the legendary king of Rome to the philosopher Pythagoras and his teachings. Despite the repeated insistence of several ancient writers that interaction between Numa and Pythagoras was impossible, on the grounds of the chronological discrepancy between them, the legend of their association persisted throughout antiquity.¹⁴⁸ Plutarch was well aware of this disparity, but maintained the connection between the king and the philosopher by presenting their similarities throughout the *Life of Numa*.¹⁴⁹ The association between Numa and Pythagoras, however incorrect, is both implicit and explicit in the final chapter of Numa's *Life*. According to Plutarch (*Num.* 22.2-4), the Pythagoreans entrusted their doctrines to teaching rather than writing on the grounds that Numa entrusted his

¹⁴⁰ The archaeological evidence supports cremation as the dominant rite at Rome from about 400 B.C.E. until the second century C.E. (Morris 1992, 45-6).

¹⁴¹ Plut. *Lyc.* 3.5-5.3; *Num* 23.3-5.

¹⁴² Plut. *Lyc.* 13.1; *Num* 22.2

¹⁴³ Plut. *Lyc.* 31.4-5; *Num.* 22.1-2.

¹⁴⁴ Duff 1999, 264.

¹⁴⁵ Svenbro explores the opposition between Lycurgus and Numa (1988, 133-4).

¹⁴⁶ Boulet 2005, 251-2.

¹⁴⁷ von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1995, 61.

¹⁴⁸ Cic. *De rep.* 2.28-9; Dion. Hal. 2.59.1-2; Livy, 1.18.1-3. Cicero records that the king predated the philosopher by at least 140 years.

¹⁴⁹ Gruen (1990, 159-60) offers a full discussion.

precepts to priests rather than lifeless documents. The very act of burial strengthens this connection between Numa and Pythagoras: Numa's prohibition against the cremation of his body is in accordance with the Pythagorean objection to the same practice.¹⁵⁰

Plutarch's account juxtaposes the death and burial of Numa and his tablets with the subsequent exhumation of the two coffins and the burning of the texts. According to the literary tradition, which goes back as far as Cassius Hemina, Numa's coffins were found on the estate of a scribe in 181 B.C.E., and the tablets turned over to the state and burned.¹⁵¹ The coffin containing Numa's body was empty. The inhumation and preservation, at least of the texts, allows for their discovery and exhumation over four hundred years later; their cremation marks a final act of destruction. According to modern scholarship, the survival of the texts presented a threat to Roman officials, who, in burning them, were attempting to conceal the Greek roots of Roman religion without openly condemning their ancestors.¹⁵² It represented a deliberate break in the meaning of the *mos maiorum*, one that could no longer recognize the Greek origins of Roman customs. The narrative surrounding the discovery and destruction of Numa's texts entered the historiographic tradition in the second century as a means of negotiating the level of *res Graecae* in the Roman world. The late third and second centuries witnessed a massive influx of Greek material in the Roman world, brought on by increased contact. The aristocratic elite resented the omnipresence of Greek influence, and, recognizing their inability and even reluctance to separate Greek from Roman, created this narrative as a means of resolving the problem.

Despite a variety of historical problems, the ancient sources seem to agree on the following three points, as regards inhumation and cremation in the time prior to their own: first, that inhumation was the preferred burial rite in earlier periods; second, that inhumation persisted into later periods despite the popularity of cremation; and third, the decision to practice cremation or inhumation represented an individual prerogative or family tradition. No reasons are given to explain the early preference for inhumation; only in the case of Sulla do fear and superstition arise as motives for spurning the family tradition of inhumation. The archaeological record of the sixth and fifth centuries supports the claims of the ancient authors, however, since inhumation burials are found almost exclusively at sites in Rome and Latium at this time.¹⁵³ What is more, the two stone coffins in Plutarch's account of Numa's funeral seem to refer to the type of monolithic tuff sarcophagi common in the region from the Archaic period through Middle Republic.

3c. Infant Burial

Only two literary sources comment specifically on funerary rituals for infants and children in early Rome. The first is Plutarch, who attributes to Numa a law that restricts the length of mourning for a child (*Num.* 12.2):

¹⁵⁰ Cumont 1943, 114.

¹⁵¹ Livy, 40.29.2-14; Pliny 13.84-88; Val. Max 1.1.12.

¹⁵² Gruen 1990, 168.

¹⁵³ See Chapter 5 for further discussion.

αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ πένθη καθ' ἡλικίας καὶ χρόνους ἔταξεν οἷον παῖδα μὴ πενθεῖν νεώτερον τριετοῦς, μηδὲ πρεσβύτερον πλείονας μῆνας ὧν ἐβίωσεν ἐνιαυτῶν μέχρι τῶν δέκα, καὶ περαιτέρω μηδεμίαν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μακροτάτου πένθους χρόνον εἶναι δεκαμηνιαῖον.

Numa himself restricted the time for mourning according to age. There was to be no mourning for a child less than three years, for an older child there was to be no mourning longer in months than it had lived in years, up until the age of ten, but ten months was the longest time set for mourning.

The second account comes from Fulgentius, who wrote, sometime in the late fifth to early sixth century C.E., a text explaining the definition of various obsolete words. In this account Fulgentius expounds a term once used to refer to a type of burial reserved for infants less than forty days old, the *suggrundarium*: (*Exp. serm.* 7):

Priori tempore suggrundaria antiqui dicebant sepulchra infantium qui necdum quadraginta dies implessent, quia nec busta dici poterant, quia ossa quae conburerentur non erant, nec tanta inmanitas cadaveris quae locum tumisceret; unde et Rutilius Geminus in Astyanacis tragoedia ait: 'Melius suggrundarium miser quereris quam sepulchrum.'

In an earlier time the ancients used to call *suggrundaria* the tombs of infants who had not yet reached forty days, because they were not able to be called *busta*, because there were no bones which could be burned and the size of the corpse was not so great that it took up much space; from this even Rutilius Geminus says in the tragedy of Astyanax: "You, wretched, complain that a *suggrundarium* is better than a *sepulchrum*."

The term *suggrundarium* is known only from this account, and the author does not seem to have been very familiar with the word. Fulgentius makes clear that a *suggrundarium* was an inhumation burial reserved for infants less than forty days old, but he is unable to articulate the reason why some infants were buried in this way. To support his explanation, Fulgentius adds a fabricated citation from the fictional tragedian Rutilius Geminus. The etymological definition of the term *suggrundarium* is likely related to the word *suggrunda*, meaning "the eaves of a building". Gjerstad, when reviewing the archaeological material from early Rome, understood Fulgentius' efforts to explain the word as signs of its authenticity, and suggested the term *suggrundarium* referred to the custom of burying infants below the eaves of the roof of a house.¹⁵⁴ Today, the term is widely used by archaeologists to designate an infant burial in a ceramic vessel that is located in a domestic context. It remains a matter of some debate whether this definition is suitable to explain the phenomenon visible in the archaeological record.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Gjerstad 1953, 152, n. 2.

¹⁵⁵ Jarva 1981a, 144-5; Carroll 2011, 110.

Fulgentius is extremely vague regarding the time when infants were buried in *suggrundaria*, but his claims find some support in the archaeological record of the Archaic period. The burial of neonates and infants in ceramic vessels in domestic contexts is a well attested phenomenon in central Italy from the Iron Age to the end of the Archaic period, when it is thought that the prohibitions of the Twelve Tables against intramural burial brought this custom to an end.¹⁵⁶ Plutarch's narrative regarding the period of mourning allotted children, however, is impossible to verify in the archaeological record.

When taken together, the accounts of Plutarch and Fulgentius demonstrate that the age of a child at death was a key factor in determining the appropriate funerary rites and that this practice was rooted in antiquity. A handful of other literary sources, mostly writing in the first and second centuries C.E., suggest that age at death continued to be a determinant of funerary rites in later periods. Pliny the Elder states that it is the universal custom not to cremate a person before his teeth have erupted, which is around six months (*Nat. Hist.* 7.15.72).¹⁵⁷ He explains that only teeth survive cremation, which means that children lacking teeth could not be returned to the earth after burning. Juvenal writes that an infant, who is too young for the funeral pyre, is covered by earth (*Sat.* 15.138-140).¹⁵⁸ Plutarch, when consoling his wife over the death of their two-year old daughter, comments that children should not be buried with the same rites as adults, in accordance with the laws and customs of the ancients (τοῖς δὲ πατρίοις καὶ ἔθεσι καὶ νόμοις, *Consol. uxor* 11). He adds that, when children die, one should not pour libations, make sacrifices, linger about the grave or mourn excessively. He explains that infants have no part of the earth or earthly affections and gives as his reason the fact that children have not yet been integrated into the community.

Scholars have used these literary accounts to suggest the otherworldly and marginal status of children in Roman antiquity.¹⁵⁹ Some have argued that the presence of infant burials in amphorae during the Imperial period represents the return of the child to the womb for rebirth into a new existence.¹⁶⁰ Others believe that the burial of children under the threshold or foundations of the wall of a house represented their peripheral status.¹⁶¹ The texts, written by elite males exalting restraint and self-control, are thought to have mirrored the general attitude of indifference towards children.¹⁶² The indifference to children depicted in the literary sources seems to have struck a chord with many modern

¹⁵⁶ Chapter 5 examines the archaeological evidence of infant burials in central Italy in greater detail.

¹⁵⁷ *Hominem prius quam genito dente cremari mos gentium nos est.*

¹⁵⁸ *Terra clauditur infans et minor igne rogi.*

¹⁵⁹ The marginal status of infants and children in Roman antiquity dominates most of the current discourse. See more recently, Néraudau (1984) and (1987); Shaw (1991); Pearce (2001); and Norman (2002).

¹⁶⁰ Becker 1995, 24.

¹⁶¹ Wiedemann 1989, 179.

¹⁶² Russell 1985.

scholars, and most discussions revolve around determining the level of emotional engagement exhibited by parents in the burial of their children.¹⁶³

The main criticism is that nearly all these approaches use the literary sources uncritically, anachronistically and exclusively.¹⁶⁴ Studies of infant burials during the Iron Age and Archaic periods rely excessively on the account of Fulgentius and assume that the attitudes of Romans towards children that are visible in the later accounts must have been true of the Archaic period as well. More broadly, scholars of infant burials tend to assume that the sum of the literary evidence, which ranges from the second century B.C.E. to the seventh century C.E., represents attitudes and customs applicable to all periods. Part of the problem is that there has been very little archaeological investigation of infant burials in the Roman world during any period. While some study has been undertaken in the provinces during the Roman period, virtually none at all has been done in Roman Italy.¹⁶⁵ Consequently, there is little to no basis to support claims relating to the carelessness of infant burial in the region.

What is more, there is little evidence to suggest that children were in any way unloved or considered marginal by their parents. For instance, in the consolation to his wife, Plutarch demonstrates quite the opposite, and makes clear the affection he and his wife both had for their child. The most notable passage is Plutarch's description of his daughter's character: he notes how his wife longed for a daughter after four sons, and adds that when the girl was born, she was named after the mother (*Consol. uxor 2*). It is impossible to determine how representative Plutarch's relationship with his daughter is of Roman attitudes towards their children. To presume that all parents were as involved as Plutarch and his wife would perhaps push the evidence too far in the opposite direction; there is little to be gained from arguing from such limited evidence that parents either cared little or a great deal. It is worth noting, however, that Plutarch consistently represents himself and his wife as unconventional Roman parents, emphasizing that they cared a great deal for their child.

Plutarch's letter to his wife functions simultaneously as a personal document of consolation, a public statement on the proper mode of grieving, and a philosophical discourse.¹⁶⁶ Plutarch maintains a delicate balance of these three elements throughout the letter. He addresses his wife's grief with sensitivity, and offers different ways with which she might deal with her grief. He emphasizes the joy their daughter brought to them both: he remarks that she was especially loved by him and comments on the pleasantness of her age. He commends his wife for her restraint in public mourning, noting that philosophers and citizens would find nothing to criticize in her behavior. He takes a harsh approach toward women who view children as dolls, and, upon the death of these children, care more about themselves than the deceased. At the end of the letter Plutarch expounds his

¹⁶³ Especially Néraudau (1984), but this remains a feature of most current discourse.

¹⁶⁴ Carroll 2011.

¹⁶⁵ Carroll 2011. The archaeological of infant burial has fared better in the provinces, but still remains underinvestigated. See especially Pearce (2001) and Norman (2002).

¹⁶⁶ Baltussen 2009.

philosophical views more explicitly. He encourages his wife to consider the soul immortal, a clear reference to platonic ideas regarding the soul. He closes the letter by referring to the laws and traditions of their ancestors, which discouraged elaborate ceremonies for the dead. Plutarch's appeal to the authority of the ancients is not strictly necessary, since he and his wife have clearly been observing these rules. However, such exhortations are common features of the philosophical tradition of consolatory writing in antiquity.¹⁶⁷

Although the literary sources indicate that infants mattered little and were to receive marginal burial rites, most of these statements are related to public behavior rather than private activity.¹⁶⁸ Most often, the authors are criticizing public displays of grief. Plutarch observes that most mothers give themselves up to grief and frenzied mourning upon the death of their children, although he notes that this behavior is unwarranted (*Consol. uxor* 6). Seneca chides a friend whose son had died for behaving like a woman and grieving excessively (*Ep. Mor.* 99). Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.23) records that Nero was excessively upset by the death of his four-month old daughter. Young children and infants were also the least likely to receive public forms of commemoration. Throughout the Roman Empire, funerary monuments and epitaphs of children five years and younger are rare, while infants in their first year of life constitute the most underrepresented group of all.¹⁶⁹ However, of those infants and young children that do receive commemoration, they are often described in affectionate terms and their age at death is given emphasis. This may reflect the importance of those children to their families.¹⁷⁰

Shaw has understood these statistics as an indicator of the valuation of children in Roman society during the Imperial period.¹⁷¹ He argues that the tombstone signifies the valuation of the social persona of the deceased, that is to say, the value of that individual in society. Thus the act of inscribing and setting up a grave marker, which involved a public recognition by living family members, was a reflection of the status held by the deceased in life. Overall, there appears to have been a lower valuation placed on infants and young children than older children and adults. This is not to say that juveniles were denied formal burial, but rather the form of burial reflects their role in society. The burial of young children in domestic contexts, then, points to the fact that these individuals had not yet made the transition from the natural into the human world.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ The tradition is generally thought to have begun with Plato, and proved widely influential in the works of later Roman authors. Cicero, in the *Tusculan Disputations*, considers how to deal a range of emotions, including grief.

¹⁶⁸ Carroll 2011, 100.

¹⁶⁹ Garnsey 1991, 52. For instance, from over sixteen thousand tombstones from Rome and Italy that recorded ages at death, only 1.3 percent belonged to children less than a year old (Hopkins 1983, 225).

¹⁷⁰ Carroll 2011, 112.

¹⁷¹ Shaw 1991.

¹⁷² Garnsey (1991, 52-3) adds that a Roman child was named on the *dies lustricus*, the eighth day after birth for girls and the ninth for boys, and a ceremony of admission into the household. Until that day, the child was more like a plant than animal.

This distinction is especially important when considering those burials of the Archaic period. In the archaeological record of the sixth and fifth centuries, the burials of infants and children appear along the periphery of houses. This practice is not necessarily an indicator of parental neglect or carelessness. The fact that they are visible in archaeological contexts, at a time when there is a notable decrease in archaeologically visible burials, betokens their worth. It is the location of these burials in domestic contexts that is significant. Most infant burials of the Archaic period are located on the outer limits of households, which, at the very least, signals their significance in the domestic sphere. These burials may have served as boundary markers to define the limits of that household. Thus, there is little reason to assume, on the basis of the literary evidence alone, that infants and young children were marginal in the sense that they were undervalued. It is worth stressing, too, that the practice of burying children at the margins of the house is a phenomenon visible only in the archaeological record.¹⁷³ The ancient sources say nothing about this custom, and so it would be unwise to draw too many conclusions regarding the role of children in the Archaic period based on their presumed undervalued status in later periods.

3d. Burial in the Home

Two sources from late antiquity claim that it was customary in earlier periods for Romans to bury their dead within their own homes. Servius, in a fourth-century C.E. commentary on Vergil's *Aeneid*, writes (ad *Aen.* 5.64):

Et sciendum quia apud maiores ubiubi quis fuisset extinctus, ad domum suam referebatur.

And it should be known that among the ancients, when someone had died, he was buried at his own house.

Servius adds (ad *Aen.* 6.152):¹⁷⁴

Apud maiores, ut supra diximus, omnes in suis domibus sepeliebantur, unde ortum est ut lares colerentur in domibus.

Among the ancients, as we said above, all were buried in their own houses, from which it came about that the *lares* were worshipped in homes.

In the early seventh century C.E., Isidore, the Bishop of Seville, wrote the following in his compendium on Greek, Roman and Christian learning (*Origines* 15.11.1):

¹⁷³ See Chapters 5 and 6 for further discussion.

¹⁷⁴ There seems to have been some confusion in the text, as documented in the most recent edition edited by Jeunet-Mancy (2012). Alternately, *unde etiam umbras larvas vocamus, or unde etiam umbras vocamus a laribus.*

Prius autem quisque in domo sepeliebatur. Postea vetitum est legibus, ne foetore ipso corpora viventium contacta inficerentur.

Originally, however, everyone was buried in his home. This was later prohibited by laws so that the bodies of the living not be infected by contact with the smell.

These ancient sources make clear that it was ancient custom to bury the dead in association with the house, but it is impossible to determine, based on their claims, precisely when this occurred. Servius states only that it was *apud maiores*, while Isidore seems to refer to a time before the promulgation of the Twelve Tables in the mid-fifth century. If this is the case, he demonstrates some confusion over the content of the laws, which banned specifically burial within the city, not the home. Of course, the prohibition against intramural burial would have prevented burial in those houses that were in the city, but it remains unclear whether Isidore is referring here to the Twelve Tables or another set of laws. His claim that the laws were enacted to keep the living away from the smell recalls Cicero's earlier explanation of the prohibition against intramural cremation as a means of allaying the dangers of fire (*De leg.* 2.58). In both cases it seems that neither author knew the reasons for the bans and based their explanations on contemporary attitudes and behaviors.¹⁷⁵

It has already been pointed out that neither Servius nor Isidore are infallible authorities, especially since Servius seems confused over the classification of *lares*, *penates*, *lemures* and *larvae*; Halliday even goes so far as to say both sources arrived at these conclusions based on some false premise.¹⁷⁶ However, modern scholarship has employed the citations of Servius and Isidore to explain the archaeological phenomenon of *suggrundaria*.¹⁷⁷ Neither ancient author explicitly connects inhumation in the home with child burial, however. In fact, both Servius and Isidore make it evident that it was custom for everyone (*quis, omnes apud maiores* and *quisque*) in previous times to be buried at home.

In the late nineteenth century, Granger attracted a significant amount of criticism when using these citations to suggest that burial within domestic contexts was an acceptable funerary rite in early Rome, and that this custom continued after the prohibition of the Twelve Tables against intramural burial.¹⁷⁸ Warde Fowler was his most vocal critic,

¹⁷⁵ See Chapter 4 for further discussion of the Twelve Tables.

¹⁷⁶ Halliday (1921) notes that the variations in the text for Servius (ad *Aen.* 6.152) demonstrates that he regarded them all as ancestral spirits, which they were not.

¹⁷⁷ Jarva (1981a and 1981b), for instance.

¹⁷⁸ Granger's original claim was rather conservative (1895, 60). He was merely reporting what Servius said was ancient custom, and offered neither commentary nor additional evidence on the matter. Warde Fowler (1896) took this to mean that Granger believed intramural burial was common in Rome after the construction of the Servian Walls and promulgation of the Twelve Tables. In his response to this criticism, Granger conceded that

claiming that the archaeological evidence proved beyond a doubt that even in the earliest times the Romans buried their dead outside the city.¹⁷⁹ According to him, the prohibition against intramural burial and cremation in Twelve Tables formalized this taboo. To be sure, the claims made by the ancient authors are doubtful. In the first place, the chronological disparity between the time of writing and the customs described casts doubt on their assertions. However, there is archaeological evidence from Latium and southern Italy that reveals it was customary during the Archaic period to bury the dead in association with domestic contexts within the limits of the city.¹⁸⁰

3e. Nocturnal Burial

Three passages from Servius, possibly drawn from the lost works of Varro, suggest that funerals in early Rome took place at night.¹⁸¹ The first runs (Servius ad *Aen.* 1.727):

FUNALIA. funalia sunt quae intra ceram sunt, dicta a funibus, quos ante usum papyri cera circumdatos habuere maiores: unde et funera dicuntur, quod funes incensos mortuis praeferebant.

The torches are those which are within wax, called after the ropes that, before the use of papyrus, the ancients held surrounded with wax: from which even funerals are so-called, because they carried sheets inflamed for the dead.

The second (Servius ad *Aen.* 6.224):

FACEM. de fune, ut Varro dicit: unde et funus dictum est. per noctem autem urebantur: unde et permansit ut mortuos faces antecedant.

Concerning the sheet, it is as Varro says: from this even the word *funus* is derived. However, they used to be burned at night: and from this there continued the custom that torches go before the dead.

he believed intramural burial occurred often up until the time of the Twelve Tables, and continued thereafter, although infrequently (Granger and Warde Fowler 1897).

¹⁷⁹ Warde Fowler 1896.

¹⁸⁰ See Chapter 6 for further discussion.

¹⁸¹ Only the second passage cites Varro as a source. The similarity in content and style of the first and second passages has led Rose (1923, 191) to believe that these two fragments come from the same source. The third example is an excerpt from a longer passage that goes on to attribute the authority for the ceremony as Varro and Verrius Flaccus (*sicut Varro et Verrius Flaccus*).

The third ([Servius] ad *Aen.* 11.143):

sed apud Romanos moris fuit ut noctis tempore efferrentur ad funalia, unde etiam funus dictum est, quia in religiosa civitate cavebant ne aut magistratibus occurrerent aut sacerdotibus, quorum oculos nolebant alieno funere violari.

But among the Romans it was custom that they were carried out for burial during the night, from which the word *funus* is derived, because in a reverent state they used to take care so that they neither ran into magistrates nor priests whose eyes they were unwilling to dishonor with the funerary rites of another.

The author of these three passages illustrates the etymology of *funus* from *funis* and connects this to the custom of carrying *funalia* at funerals, which he may or may not have presumed from the necessity for light in a nighttime ceremony. Modern scholars have inferred from the third passage a reason why funerals originally took place at night.¹⁸²

Two additional references allude to the ancient custom of nocturnal burial, and refer specifically to the burial of children. The first is from [Servius] ad *Aen.* 11. 143, already quoted in part:

et magis moris Romani ut impuberes noctu efferentur ad faces, ne funere immaturae subolis domus funestaretur...alii, sicut Varro et Verrius Flaccus, dicunt: si filius familias extra urbem decessit, liberti amicique obviam procedunt et sub noctem in urbem infertur, cereis facibusque praelucentibus, ad cuius exsequias nemo rogabatur.

It was to a greater extent a Roman custom that those in childhood were brought out for burial at night, with torches at hand, so that the house not be polluted with the funeral of an immature issue...others, just as Varro and Verrius Flaccus, say: if a son has departed the household outside the city, freedmen and friends go out to meet him and he is carried into the city at night, with lit torches of wax, no one is invited to funeral procession of this person.

A second passage from Tacitus (*Ann.* 13.17.1-4) supports this:

nox eadem necem Britannici et rogam coniunxit...festinationem exsequiarum edicto Caesar defendit, ita maioribus institutum referens, subtrahere oculis acerba funera neque laudationibus aut pompa ducere.

The same night brought together the murder of Britannicus and the funeral pile...Caesar [Nero] supported the hastening of the funeral with an edict, thus

¹⁸² Paoli 1963, 129; Toynbee 1971, 46; Walker 1985, 9; Bodet 2000, 142.

bringing back a thing instituted by the ancients, to draw away from the eyes the grievous funerary rites and not to conduct them with eulogies or procession.

The bulk of this evidence indicates that there was among Romans of the Imperial period (and of the Middle and Late Republic, if the fragments of Varro are reliable), a belief that the custom of nocturnal burial was the practice of the *maiores*. Most modern scholarship accepts the validity of these claims, adding that the practice was likely abandoned by the time of the Late Republic except in the cases of children and the poor.¹⁸³ Rose has already demonstrated the improbability of the survival of this custom in the funerary rites for children and the poor in later times, and seems supported by the more recent studies of Carroll and Graham.¹⁸⁴

Despite this, the assumption persists in modern scholarship that funerals were originally held at night as a way of avoiding magistrates and high priests who might be afflicted by spiritual pollution.¹⁸⁵ This presumption is impossible to attest, since there is no evidence from early Rome regarding attitudes towards death or the pollution brought about by it. Bodet claims that, by the time of the Late Republic, the disposal of the deceased was motivated primarily by pragmatic concerns,¹⁸⁶ but there is ample evidence indicating that religious concerns were another important factor. According to a number of ancient sources, when an individual died, the house became *funesta* or *funestata* until the purification rites were completed.¹⁸⁷ This normally occurred for nine days after the deposition of the body, up until which point signs were posted to alert others who needed to remain pure.¹⁸⁸ It is unclear to whom these symbols were intended, but Bodet maintains that it was possibly magistrates and high priests, since the well-being of the state was closely connected to the purity of these people.¹⁸⁹

3f. Polybius

It is worth considering in brief the account of Polybius describing the funeral of an elite male at Rome (6.53-4). Polybius was a Greek historian writing at Rome in the late second and early first centuries, and he offers the most detailed account of Roman funerary ritual. His account is not directly relevant to the Archaic period, nor does it represent anything other than the concerns of a very limited group in a very specific period, namely, the aristocratic elite in late republican Rome. However, this text is the closest to an eyewitness account of funerary ritual and consequently constitutes the foundation of modern

¹⁸³ Paoli 1963, 129; Toynbee 1971, 46; Walker 1985, 9; Graham 2006, 30-1.

¹⁸⁴ Rose 1923, 193. Graham 2006, 30 and Carroll 2011.

¹⁸⁵ Bodet 2000, 142; Graham 2006, 30.

¹⁸⁶ Bodet 2000, 134.

¹⁸⁷ Cic. *De leg.* 2.55; *Dig.* 45.3.28.4; Gell. 4.6.8; Serv. ad *Aen.* 6.216, 364.

¹⁸⁸ Serv. ad *Aen.* 3.64; 6.216; Pliny *NH* 16.40, 139.

¹⁸⁹ Bodet 2000, 142; Lindsay 2000.

reconstructions of ancient burial rites.¹⁹⁰ It also proves useful for contextualizing the written evidence, by suggesting that funerary ritual, from at least the early third century, placed special emphasis on promoting the status and achievements of the *gens*.

Polybius records that, when an illustrious man has died, the body of the deceased is brought to the Rostra in a funerary procession (*pompa*). There, the son or some other relative narrates the achievements of the deceased to an assembled crowd (*laudatio*), which elicits the sympathy of family and public mourners alike. After the burial and performance of customary ceremonies, an image (*imago*) of the deceased, enclosed in a wooden shrine, is placed in the most visible portion of the house. The image is a mask that represents the deceased; at times of public sacrifice the mask is put on display, and at the funeral of a distinguished family member, the mask is worn by a relative most resembling the deceased in appearance. These representatives wear togas in accordance with the rank of the deceased; they ride in chariots preceded by the fasces, axes and other symbols of the rank achieved in their lifetime. When the procession (*pompa*) reaches the Rostra, they all sit in ivory chairs and the oration (*laudatio*) begins. According to Polybius, such a scene would inspire young men to accomplish similar achievements and maintain the good reputation of the deceased and his family. He adds that the most important result is that young men are inspired to withstand every manner of suffering for the public good with the hope of gaining glory in so doing.

Modern scholarship has devoted a significant amount of attention to the *imagines*, the Roman wax portraits of male ancestors.¹⁹¹ According to Polybius these were displayed in place of the body during the funeral and later located in the house (6.54-4). Some scholars believed the masks derived from an archaic Italic tradition and likely resembled terra cotta masks from Etruria.¹⁹² Such arguments are purely speculative, however, since there is no direct testimony regarding the antiquity of the tradition, and no masks survive in the archaeological record.¹⁹³ The *Amphitryon* of Plautus (458-9), composed in the early second century, contains the earliest references to *imagines*, and some scholars believe this reason to suggest they were developed a century earlier.¹⁹⁴

Apart from the funerary procession and oration, the *imagines* had little use in the cult or commemoration of the dead. Although the social and political significance of the *imagines* changed over time, they were in all periods designed for use by living family members and had a clear political function. These masks were used in a variety of contexts to highlight the ancestral achievements of office-holding families. The masks, in other words, were used primarily in the careful construction of a public image. In a funerary context, as described

¹⁹⁰ Toynbee 1971; Scullard 1981; Patterson 2000; Jones 2002; Graham 2006.

¹⁹¹ See especially Flower (1996).

¹⁹² Walbank 1957, 738; Colonna and von Hase (1986), which Flower (1996, 339-351) discusses.

¹⁹³ Flower 1996, 36.

¹⁹⁴ Flower 1996, 341.

by Polybius, such masks were designed to be representations of past leaders and were associated with traits of bravery, frugality and service to the state.¹⁹⁵

Flower argues that the *imagines* arose as community-sanctioned symbols of prestige after the promulgation of the Twelve Tables restricted displays of private status at funerals.¹⁹⁶ She claims that the laws attempted to prevent elite groups from deploying symbols of private status, which reflected personal wealth and social conceit. Consequently, funerals focused more on the offices and achievements of the deceased and their families, since the elite adopted those symbols that represented a status acquired with peer approval. This approach is somewhat teleological, and it assumes that the laws were primarily sumptuary. There is little indication that the funerary statutes of the Twelve Tables were concerned with prohibiting displays of private status.¹⁹⁷ The laws, in general, are less concerned with restricting objects than behavior and expenses. Some of the provisions even guarantee the display of prestige items, irrespective of whether they represent private or public sources of wealth and status. The eighth statute permits the burial of gold dentures, which seem to represent a sign of private wealth, but the tenth allows the display of a crown at the funeral, which seems to have been an object acquired in service to the state. The funerary legislation of the Twelve Tables does not create meaningful distinctions between public and private; both types of display were permitted and regulated. Thus it seems that the *imagines* arose less as a consequence of the funerary restrictions and represent more another form of funerary ritual that allowed simultaneously for the display of the individual and family prestige.

3g. Conclusion

The ancient sources believed the following about the burial rites of their ancestors: inhumation was the dominant rite for adults and children; infants were mourned and buried differently than adults; adults were buried within the household; and funerals for children and adults occurred at night. The archaeological record of archaic Rome and Latium confirms that inhumation was the dominant rite, and supports that adults were buried in connection with domestic contexts. The evidence demonstrates, in addition, that children were buried in association with houses, a fact not made explicit in the literary sources. There is no archaeological evidence that attests to the practice of nocturnal burial.

The sum of the literary evidence for funerary ritual in early Rome is not great and largely unreliable. Most accounts come from authors writing in the fourth to seventh centuries C.E., about a millennium later than the period in question. These references are chronologically vague, and do not provide a specific time for the practice of a particular custom. At best, they mention only that a certain ritual was customary among the ancients or observed sometime in antiquity. The ancient sources do not come close to addressing funerary ritual in its entirety; they seem more concerned with pointing out those rites that were somehow

¹⁹⁵ Flower 1996, 341.

¹⁹⁶ Flower 1996, 120.

¹⁹⁷ See Chapter 4.

peculiar, outdated or different. For some sources, namely Cicero and Plutarch, ancient funerary rites function as symbols of a distant and virtuous past, often embedded in lengthier philosophical narratives. Consequently, any reconstruction of funerary ritual as it happened in the archaic past is extremely questionable based on the literary data alone. In those cases where the literature and the archaeology agree, the ancient sources offer little explanation about these ancient practices; they seem to reflect more contemporary concerns. At best, they offer proof that the ancient sources had some knowledge of their past, and contributes to the discussion regarding the historical reliability of the ancient accounts as discussed in Chapter 2. However, the paucity of the literary information places special importance on the study of the archaeological material. Indeed, the archaeological material represents the best and most reliable data for all periods prior to the Late Republic. In Chapter 5 I address the archaeology of burial in Rome and Latium during the Archaic period, although it is notable that there are no comprehensive studies of funerary archaeology in periods prior to the Late Republic.

4. The Documentary Evidence for Roman Funerary Ritual: the Twelve Tables

4a. Introduction

The Twelve Tables, a series of laws enacted at Rome in the mid-fifth century, offer the earliest written evidence regarding early Roman funerary ritual.¹⁹⁸ Although issues primarily related to the historicity and transmission of the laws remain controversial, scholars generally accept the authenticity of the text. Most of the laws, which have been given a conventional arrangement by modern scholars, fall within the realm of private law, and concern a variety of topics including the family, marriage, property, slavery and inheritance. The tenth table, however, includes provisions related only to funerary activity. In particular, it lists prohibitions against certain types of behavior and limits expenses at funerals. Modern scholarship has generally overlooked the tenth table; rarely has it been used to reconstruct funerary practices and to understand socio-economic conditions in early Rome.¹⁹⁹

However, the tenth table is deserving of more careful analysis for several reasons. First, it provides some insight, although limited, into what the inhabitants of Rome considered appropriate as it pertained to burials in the mid-fifth century. The provisions offer markedly different information from the literary sources presented in Chapter 3. If authentic, they constitute the nearest to a contemporary source for funerary ritual in archaic Rome. They document the prohibition of certain rituals and the limitation of some expenses that do not figure at all in later accounts regarding burials. Thus, a study of the tenth table contributes to a better understanding of early Roman funerary ritual.

Second, the tenth table raises questions about the role of funerary legislation in the development of urban areas and the formation of civic identity. The promulgation of law presupposes the existence of complex social, political and economic institutions. There are numerous examples of funerary legislation in the city-states of archaic Greece that suggest such laws were cornerstones of urban development. At Rome, the provisions of the tenth table indicate that early Roman lawmakers had some idea of what constituted the physical space within and outside of the city, and they suggest that burial was a key factor in determining the those areas. A reanalysis of the tenth table with a view to urban development investigates the role of burial in the development of the Roman city in its formative stages and allows for comparison with other city-states in Latium.

Third, a comparison of the tenth table with other legislative texts from Greece, Ionia and Italy allows for a better understanding of Rome's position within the wider orbits of central Italy and the Mediterranean world. Funerary legislation seems to have been a widespread phenomenon in the city-states of the eastern Mediterranean during the sixth and fifth

¹⁹⁸ Crawford (1996, 555-721) is a concise and comprehensive source concerning all aspects of the Twelve Tables. This account includes a discussion of issues of debate, a reconstruction of the text, a commentary and a bibliography of modern scholarship.

¹⁹⁹ See especially Colonna (1977), Ampolo (1984) and Toher (2005).

centuries. The similarities between the tenth table and some inscriptions from southern Italy and Greece suggest that these regions belonged to the same cultural *koine*, and that this shared culture allowed ideas about legislation, among other things, to circulate widely. Each of these legal texts reveals similarities in language and content, which suggests that the laws borrow from a shared formula. However, each inscription uses this formula to address specifically local concerns that can only be understood in a regional context.

A final reason to revisit the tenth table, which takes into account the kinds of evidence outlined above, is to encourage a reconsideration of the fundamental role these laws have played in modern discourse concerning early Roman history. This is the point where the evidence for funerary ritual, legislation and urbanization intersect. Modern scholarship regularly assumes that the laws, which were reportedly promulgated in 450 B.C.E. at Rome, were put into effect in all Latin cities under its influence, and that this is thought to be visible in the archaeological record of the period and region. The prohibition against intramural burial carries the greatest significance in this discussion, since it is because of this provision that the Romans are widely believed not to have buried their deceased within the city. Extramural burial is thus considered the marker of a Roman city, a feature of urban development which can be interpreted variously as a symbol of social, political and ethnic identity. This has implications for the archaeological methodology of urbanization, whereby city limits are often defined by the presence or absence of burials.²⁰⁰ Complicating this picture, however, is the fact that burials are located apart from settlements well before the promulgation of the Twelve Tables. The Iron Age cemeteries at Osteria dell'Osa and Castel di Decima, to name just two examples, are clearly located apart from their associated settlements, although at Osteria dell'Osa the location of the resident community has not been identified.²⁰¹

Equally as influential are the laws restricting the behavior and types of grave goods at funerals, which scholars have thought explain the disappearance of grave goods in tombs throughout Latium. These laws, and the phenomenon visible in the archaeological record, directly inform the discourse concerning the development of Rome and the expansion of the city's power into central Italy. Put simply, the empty graves of Latium are seen as a measure of the extent of Rome's power in Latium during the Archaic period. This chapter, and those that follow, investigate the role of the legislation and the material remains in determining the relationships between these city-states. It moves away from an understanding of Roman history as one of either allegiance or resistance to a Roman authority, and towards recognizing the various social, political and ethnic identities that might better inform our understanding of the development of and relations between Latin communities.

²⁰⁰ See, in particular, the case for Satricum in the so-called post-archaic period, discussed in Chapter 5.

²⁰¹ Osteria dell'Osa: Bietti Sestieri 1992a and 199b. Castel di Decima: Holloway 1994, 114-20; *CLP* 252-90.

The primary difficulty is that any conclusions depend upon the reliability of the ancient sources regarding the Twelve Tables. I stress at the outset that the original documents do not survive, and modern reconstructions of the Tables are based on fragments preserved in the works of later authors. Most scholars trust in the validity of the document, however. I operate here under the understanding that the ancient sources generally record the Twelve Tables as they were known in the Middle and Late Republic, but admit that it would be unwise to rely too heavily on this document as a source of evidence. The fragments are often so deeply embedded in philosophical treatises and juristic texts that they may be more revealing about what later authors thought about their early history. However, I consider the promulgation of the laws within the realm of possibility in fifth-century Rome, and maintain that they are worth considering, even if they appear to be more the product of the Late Republic.

What immediately follows is an account of the transmission and reconstruction of the text of the Twelve Tables (4b). This is followed by a presentation and translation of the text of the tenth table (4c). In this section I compare the provisions to other examples of funerary legislation from archaic Greece and Ionia, in order to establish a historical and cultural context for the tenth table. Then, I turn inward and analyze the Tenth table in the context of archaic Rome and Italy in order to understand the role of funerary legislation in the development of the historical city. I conclude with a summary of my principal arguments and brief discussion of the implications of these conclusions for the study of early Rome (4d)

4b. Transmission and Reconstruction of the Twelve Tables

The transmission of the Twelve Tables from their original form to their reconstruction in modern editions is a complicated issue. There are two phases of transmission, the first from the text produced in 450 B.C.E. to the ancient sources, and the second from the ancient sources to the manuscript witnesses. In light of the fact that the original document does not survive, the ancient sources constitute the main body of evidence for the Twelve Tables. The ancient sources were assured of the antiquity and accuracy of the Twelve Tables, and regarded them with reverence.²⁰² Cicero suggests on several occasions that some form of the laws survived into the Late Republic (*De leg.* 2.9, 2.59; *De or.* 1.195),²⁰³ and the works of Roman jurists, particularly the sixth-century C.E. *Digest* of Justinian, contain numerous references to the Twelve Tables. It is clear that the provisions were not always understood, and it is likely that some modernization occurred to the text over

²⁰² Cic. *De or.* 1.195; Cic. *De leg.* 2.9, 1.18; Livy 3.34.6. Crawford (1996, 569-570) notes that by the time of Cicero's floruit, the Twelve Tables had diminished in importance. Thereafter, references to the laws occur primarily in antiquarian and juristic sources. More often than not, these references attest reverence rather than some specific knowledge.

²⁰³ See also Cic. *De or.* 1.195.

time.²⁰⁴ Many of the statutes were obsolete by Cicero's day, yet the Tables retained their importance in the later development of Roman law.²⁰⁵

Most scholars today accept that the ancient sources generally record the provisions of the Twelve Tables as they were known in the Middle and Late Republic.²⁰⁶ The primary reason is the uniformity of the fragments as they appear in later accounts. None of the many sources for the Twelve Tables offer serious contradictions, and the conflicts that do arise are those expected in a dense literary tradition, including mistakes and adjustments in language. A second reason supporting the antiquity of the laws is the similarity in language and content of the Twelve Tables with the so-called charters of Latin colonies dating from the Middle Republic onward.²⁰⁷ The *Lex Spoletina*, *Lex Lucerina*, *Lex Osca Bantia* and *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* contain archaic words and refer to concepts that appear borrowed from the Twelve Tables.²⁰⁸ Crawford, who believes that these laws, or portions of them, can be dated from approximately 334 B.C.E. onwards, views this as evidence for the diffusion of the Twelve Tables in central Italy by the mid- to late fourth century.²⁰⁹ The dating of all these laws, however, is controversial.

Modern reconstructions of the Twelve Tables are based on direct quotations and indirect references in the works of later authors. Scholars in the nineteenth century were the first to assemble and arrange these fragments in a way that remained conventional for a long time.²¹⁰ Generally, the fragments were grouped according to subject matter and assigned to a specific table. The most recent edition of the Twelve Tables, published in *Roman Statutes* in the mid-nineteen-nineties, has revised the traditional ordering and omitted from the text those provisions drawn from indirect references.²¹¹ The editors include as statutes only those *testimonia* that the literary and juristic sources quote directly, using *ipsissima verba*. They reject explicitly the approaches of previous scholars who included as provisions

²⁰⁴ Coleman 1996, 571.

²⁰⁵ Forsythe 2005, 201.

²⁰⁶ This is the view articulated by Crawford (1996, 556-7). The main monographs and volumes of the past twenty years on the subject of early Rome (Cornell 1995; Smith 1996; Forsythe 2005; Raflaub 2005) and the Twelve Tables (Humbert 2005) do not question the authenticity of the Twelve Tables.

²⁰⁷ Crawford (2011a and 2011b). Regarding the *Lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae*: most scholars date the inscription either to late second century, about three decades before Social War, or to the early first century, during the Sullan or post-Sullan period at Rome. Crawford is not explicit about his reasons for dating the law at least a century earlier.

²⁰⁸ *Lex Spoletina*: NSc 1937, 28-36. *Lex Lucerina*: Bodel 1994. *Lex Osca Bantia*: Crawford 1996, 271-292; Chelotti, 2007. *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*: Crawford 1996, 393-454.

²⁰⁹ Crawford 2011.

²¹⁰ Warmington 1979, 424-515.

²¹¹ Crawford (1996, 557) follows the methodology of Jacoby (1923) and Edelstein (1972, xv-xix), who insist upon the importance of including only those texts directly quoted by later authors. They recognize the importance of studying attested references, but maintain that there is little to no place in the reconstruction of a basic text for unattested allusions.

indirect references to the Twelve Tables, namely words and phrases found in later law that were thought to go back to the Twelve Tables. In my view, this edition offers the best and most critical presentation of the text, and is the version used here.

There remains some disagreement regarding the reconstruction of the Twelve Tables, and certain scholars maintain that it is difficult, if not impossible, to know what form the laws originally took.²¹² The argument stems from the fact that the ancient sources make very little mention of the order of the Twelve Tables. Only a few statutes can be attributed to specific tables, most notably the provisions of the Tenth table, and a few others to Tables II, IV and XI-XII.²¹³ On two occasions Cicero produces lists of the contents of portions of the Twelve Tables (*Topica* 26-7; *De or.* 1.173), and these have contributed to the conventional arrangements of the laws in modern scholarship. Although the evidence from Cicero makes clear that the Twelve Tables had a certain order, it is possible to maintain that this does not reflect their arrangement at the time of promulgation in 450 B.C.E. Crawford views such arguments as inconsistent and ignorant of the evidence given twice in Cicero regarding the subject matter.²¹⁴ The harshest critic is perhaps Fögen, who denounces the Twelve Tables as an invention of Cicero and other authors in the late first century.²¹⁵ She uses as grounds to reject the entire document two intrusive statutes, which scholars had already considered spurious and removed from the reconstructed text.²¹⁶

4c. The Tenth table

Presentation of the Text and Translation

The tenth of the Twelve Tables does not suffer from the same problems of transmission and reconstruction as some of the others, since it is preserved almost completely as a series of fragments in Cicero (*De leg.* 2.59-2.62). The text contains a number of prohibitions and regulations regarding ritual expenditure and behavior at funerals, which constitute the earliest recorded evidence for funerary ritual in Rome and Latium. The statutes of the Tenth table fall broadly under the category of public law, and they are notable for their

²¹² Guarino 1991; Ferrary 2005.

²¹³ Crawford (1996, 564) comments on these attributions. Cicero (*De leg.* 2.59) states clearly what he believes were the contents of the tenth table. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.27.3-4) attributes the statute regarding the triple sale of a son to the fourth table and Festus (336 L) designates as the second provision of the second table a statute regarding procedure.

²¹⁴ Crawford (1996, 556), also discounts Nap's hypothesis that the Twelve Tables were created in 225 B.C.E. (1925).

²¹⁵ Fögen (2005) refers specifically to provisions VI.7 and XII.5. Crawford (2011) criticizes her claims.

²¹⁶ Crawford 2011.

religious character.²¹⁷ What follows is the most recent and reliable presentation and translation of the text, as recorded in *Roman Statutes*:²¹⁸

- X.1 hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neue urito.
- X.2 hoc plus ne facito: rogum ascea ne polito
- X.3 ... <tria ricinia> ... tunica purpurea ... decem <tibicines> ...
- X.4 mulieres genas ne radunto neue lessum funeris ergo habento.
- X.5 homini mortuo ne ossa legito, quo post funus faciat, <at ...>
- X.6 <homini mortuo murratam potionem ne indato.> (Prohibition of *circumpotatio*.) <rogum ??? uino ne plus respargito.>
- X.7 qui coronam parit ipse <familia>ue eius uirtutisue ergo duitur ei, <ast ei parentiue eius mortuo imponitur, se fraude esto.> ... <acerras>
- ...
- X.8 ... neue aurum addito, <at> cui auro dentes iuncti ess<i>nt, ast im cum illo sepeliet uretue, se fraude esto.
- X.9 <<<bustum propius aedes alias sexaginta pedes ne adicito.>>>
- X.10 <<<forum bustumue religiosum esto.>>>

- X.1 He is not to bury or burn a dead man in the city.
- X.2 He is not to do more than this: he is not to smooth the pyre with a trowel.
- X.3 ... <three veils> ... a little purple tunic ... ten <flautists> ...
- X.4 Women are not to mutilate their cheeks or hold a wake for the purposes of holding a funeral.
- X.5 He is not to collect the bones of a dead man, in order to hold a funeral afterwards, <but ...>
- X.6 <He is not to place perfumed liquid on a dead man.> (Prohibition of *circumpotatio*.) <He is to scatter a pyre with not more than ??? wine.>
- X.7 Whoever win a crown himself or his <familia>, or it be given to him for his bravery, <and it is placed on him or his parent when dead, it is to be without liability.> ... <incense altars> ...
- X.8 ... nor is he to add gold, <but> for whomsoever the teeth are joined with gold, and if he shall bury or burn it with him, it is to be without liability.
- X.9 <<<He is not to place a *bustum* within sixty feet of another's house.>>>
- X.10 <<<A fore-court or *bustum* is to be *religiosus*.>>>

²¹⁷ Ampolo (1984, 73), who cites the jurist Gaius (2.3-4) as evidence for the religious character of tombs and burials: *Divini iuris sunt veluti res sacrae et religiosae. Sacrae sunt quae diis superis consecratae sunt; religiosae quae diis Manibus relictiae sunt.* "Of divine law there are sacred things just as religious ones. Sacred things are those which are dedicated to the gods above; religious are those which are left to the gods below."

²¹⁸ Crawford 1996, 582-3.

Ampolo remarks that the provisions of the tenth table are organized according to the following general outline: regulations regarding the location of the tomb and the preparation of the pyre (X.1-2); regulations regarding the funeral procession (X.3-5); rules concerning the funerary banquet (X.6); instructions for offerings to the deceased (X.6); restrictions regarding items placed into the burial (X.7-8); the legal status of burial grounds (X.9-10).²¹⁹ The essential character of the laws is restrictive rather than prescriptive, that is to say, they limit certain aspects of behavior rather than describe proper protocol at funerals.²²⁰ The laws do not represent every aspect of funerary ritual; instead, they document very specific concerns directed toward the proper location and status of burials, and certain types of ritual behavior.

The Historical Context of the Tenth Table

The restrictive nature of the tenth table exhibits remarkable conformity with other examples of funerary legislation from the city-states of archaic Greece.²²¹ The epigraphic evidence includes a regulation of the Labyadai tribe in Delphi,²²² a second from Ioulis on Keos,²²³ and a third²²⁴ and fourth²²⁵ from Gortyn on Crete, all of which date from the late sixth to early fourth centuries. The literary evidence primarily derives from the historical narrative of Solon at Athens, but includes traditions about a number of other lawmakers in city-states throughout archaic Greece and Ionia.

In regard to the inscriptions, all four contain regulations on funerary behavior. The inscriptions from Delphi and Ioulis are the most extensive, and both contain texts that are older, which were preserved on the final inscriptions.²²⁶ The Ioulis inscription is dated to the end of the fifth century; that from Delphi dates to about 400 B.C.E., although parts of it are dated to the second half of the sixth century.²²⁷ The inscription from Ioulis lists restrictions on the expenditure of garments for the deceased and liquids for the funeral, limitations on the behavior of mourners (particularly of women), and instructions for sacrifice and purification.²²⁸ The regulations from Delphi restrict the expenditure for the

²¹⁹ Ampolo 1984, 92.

²²⁰ Toher 1991.

²²¹ Ampolo 1984; Toher 1991, 169.

²²² *CID* I 9; Koerner 1993, no. 47; Frisone 2000, 103-126.

²²³ *IG* XII 5.593; Koerner 1993, no. 60; Frisone 2000, 57-102.

²²⁴ *ICret* IV, 46B; Koerner 1993, no. 137; Frisone 2000, 25-30.

²²⁵ *ICret* IV, 76; Koerner 1993, no. 150; Frisone 2000, 30-35.

²²⁶ Blok (2006, 211) adds that there was a widespread revision of laws in Greece at the end of the fifth century. At Athens, the motivation seem to have been political, but this is less certain for other city-states. The revisions to the inscriptions presented here are limited largely to the amounts of money not to be exceeded, which were altered to reflect current values in coinage.

²²⁷ Blok 2006, 212.

²²⁸ *IG* XII 5. 593; Frisone 2000, 57-102.

garments buried with the deceased, the lamentation during the procession, and the sacrifice.²²⁹ The laws of Gortyn, on Crete, dated to the mid-fifth century, offer regulations on the transportation of the deceased and on ritual purification after death.²³⁰

A closer inspection of the language of the texts of the tenth table and the Greek laws reveals even greater similarities.²³¹ The third provision of the tenth table, which limits funerary garments to three veils and a purple tunic, and the number of flute players to ten, finds ready comparanda in the inscriptions from Ioulis and Delphi and the literary accounts regarding the laws of Solon. Both inscriptions restrict the number of garments: the law from Ioulis states that the corpse is to be buried in precisely three garments, which are to be white in color,²³² while the law from Delphi requires the garment of the deceased (here, *chlainê*) be light in color and only one *strôma* be placed under the corpse.²³³ According to Plutarch, Solon regulated the number of garments worn by female mourners and the deceased: neither was to wear more than three *himatia* (*Sol.* 21.6). The language of X.3 makes unclear whether the garments were intended for the deceased or the women in mourning.²³⁴ In all cases the wrapping of the deceased in a shroud seems to suggest that such cloths were important gifts for the deceased.

The statute regarding laceration and lamentation found in the tenth table (X.4) has some parallels in archaic Greek laws. The law of the Labyadai in Delphi prohibits wailing and the singing of dirges (*thrênein*) under very specific circumstances. There is to be no wailing outside the house before arrival at the grave, nor the singing of dirges and wailing (*ototuzein*) for those already buried; there will be no lamentation (*oimôzein*) or wailing (*ototuzein*) on the following day or at the tenth year celebrations. The law of Ioulis emphasizes silence during the funerary procession to the grave,²³⁵ which is a prohibition Plato notes as well (*Leg.* 960a1-2). Based on the information recorded in Cicero and Plutarch, the laws of Solon prohibited the tearing of cheeks and imposed limitations on singing and lamentation.²³⁶

²²⁹ *CID I 9*; Frisone 2000, 103-26.

²³⁰ *ICret IV*, 46B; *ICret IV*, 76.

²³¹ Toher 2005; Blok 2006.

²³² *IG XII 5*. 593; Frisone 2000, 57-102; Blok 2006, 208, 214.

²³³ *CID I 9*; Frisone 2000, 103-26; Blok 2006, 206. Three veils were used for the laying out of the corpse in Greece: the *endyma* the *epiblêma* and the *strôma*. In a Greek context, these garments were likely used as the shrouds for the deceased in the *prothesis*.

²³⁴ Flach (2004, 220), thinks that the *recinia* must refer to a square cloth placed over the head and shoulders. He bases this interpretation on statements of Festus and Nonius, as well as the depiction of such a cloth on a wall painting from a grave in Ruvo.

²³⁵ *IG XII 5*, 593.

²³⁶ Blok 2006, 215-8.

According to Toher, funerary legislation is alien to the Italic tradition.²³⁷ Apart from the laws of the tenth table, there are no examples of funerary legislation at Rome until the time of the Late Republic. Even then, such laws seem to preserve the character of the tenth table. Plutarch credits Sulla with the introduction of laws restricting extravagance at funerals (*Sull.* 35), and these may have constituted a portion of his sumptuary laws of 81 B.C.E., aimed largely at curbing extravagant entertainment.²³⁸ The *lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae seu Ursonensis*, a late first-century charter for the colony of Genetiva Julia, preserves funerary regulations that restrict the location of burials.²³⁹ Two other inscriptions from late republican Rome, the Edict of Sentius and the *lex Lucerina* seem concerned with preventing public areas from becoming *loci religiosi* through burial activities.²⁴⁰ Toher believes that the relative scarcity of funerary legislation in Italy, when compared to the numerous examples from archaic Greece, makes the Greek character of the tenth table more striking.²⁴¹

The connection between the laws of the tenth table and Greek funerary legislation was first drawn in the late first century B.C.E., and to some extent this has affected the current debate regarding the level of Greek influence on the laws.²⁴² The argument stems mainly from Cicero's claim that the laws of the tenth table were borrowed from Solon (*De leg.* 2.59, 2.64) and finds some support in the inscriptions of funerary laws from archaic Greek city-states. Cicero states on three occasions in *De legibus* that the provisions of the tenth table were drawn from Solon: first, at 2.59, when he writes that some provisions were *translata de Solonis fere legibus*;²⁴³ second, at 2.64, when he says that extravagance in expenditure and mourning were *Solonis lege sublata sunt, quam legem eisdem prope verbis nostri decemviri in decimam tabulam coniecerunt*;²⁴⁴ and third, at 2.64, when he claims that the provision regarding the three veils (X.3) and most of the rest were *Solonis sunt*, and in regard to mourning (X.4) were *vero expressa verbis sunt*.²⁴⁵

Cicero's repeated assertions on the Solonian origin of the tenth table are confident and seem based on his own comparison of the two documents. There is no reason to believe that he is deliberately misleading.²⁴⁶ However, both the ancient historiographic and

²³⁷ Toher (2005, 272) states that similar legislation does not occur at Rome until the *lex Cornelia* in 81 B.C.E., but these laws are sumptuary rather than funerary.

²³⁸ Toher 2005, 272.

²³⁹ Crawford 1996, 424, LXIII.

²⁴⁰ Bodet 1994.

²⁴¹ Toher 2005, 272.

²⁴² Wieacker 1967, 1971 and 1988; Toher 2005; Eder 2005.

²⁴³ "mostly borrowed from the laws of Solon."

²⁴⁴ "abolished by a law of Solon, which law our decemvirs applied in the tenth table with nearly the same words."

²⁴⁵ "were of Solon" and "were certainly expressed with his words."

²⁴⁶ Plut. *Sol.* 21; Toher 2005; Siewert 1978; Ducos 1978. The earliest accounts regarding the creation of the Twelve Tables make no mention of Athens or any other Greek city as a source of influence (Diod. 12.26; Cic. *De rep.* 2.61.), and Cicero even disparages Greek attempts at lawmaking in comparison to Roman ones (*De or.* 1.197). Ogilvie (1965, 449-50)

modern academic traditions regarding Solon as a historical, political and literary figure in archaic Athens are complex, and the interpretation of his laws is closely bound with the study of the tenth table. The original text of Solon's laws does not survive; most of the references to his funerary laws appear in texts written at least two centuries after his *floruit*. The two main sources are Cicero and Plutarch, but a number of texts from the fourth century B.C.E. up to the fifth century C.E. contain fragments of this legislation. Modern scholars disagree on the reliability of the fragments of the laws since there are at least two centuries between the time the figure known as Solon reportedly codified the laws to the time they appear in the sources.²⁴⁷

It is a serious problem that the main body of evidence for both the funerary laws of Solon and the tenth table comes from the same source, Cicero's *De legibus*, in which the author implies that both sets of laws are essentially one and the same. For Greek historians, Cicero's claims have both allowed for and posed problems in reconstructions of Solon's laws. For scholars of early Rome, the same assertions have encouraged the study of the development of the city through the lens of the rise of the Athenian *polis*. Consequently, the focus of much scholarship has focused on arguing the economic, social and political circumstances for the promulgation of the Twelve Tables, based on what is known about the economic crisis in sixth-century Athens. Although there are some parallels in language between the Greek and Roman funerary legislation, a connection between the two seems to have been Cicero's own idea. Cicero's references are indirect only: he never includes direct quotations of the Solonian laws. What is more, these allusions are so deeply embedded in Cicero's own discussion of Roman funerary ritual that it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between the Greek and Roman elements.

credits the antiquarian Sex. Aelius Paetus, who wrote a commentary on the Twelve Tables, for being the first to point out the similarities between early Greek laws and the Twelve Tables. His work is no longer extant, but it may have inspired two separate traditions, one connecting the codification of Roman law to Hermodorus of Ephesus, and another to Solon. Ogilvie (1965, 450) suggests that L. Aelius Stilo Praeconius, Cicero's mentor, first associated the Twelve Tables with the laws of Solon. It is probable that the tradition of the embassies to Athens and cities of Magna Graecia appeared at the same time and was based on these initial observations. These theories, however, remain speculative and are mainly arguments from silence (Crawford 1996, 560).

²⁴⁷ Ruschenbusch (1966) is the fundamental work of scholarship on Solonian law, which is a collection of the fragments of Solon's laws. His categorization of fragments as genuine or spurious is controversial (Stroud 1979) and his fragments are not verbatim quotations, but descriptions in later authors. Nonetheless, most scholars accept the reliability of the tradition concerning the laws of Solon. For more recent scholarship see Scafuro (2006), Blok (2006) and Rhodes (2006). Blok (2006, 197-9) provides a brief summary of the central issues concerning the reliability of the laws of Solon. Other papers from the same volume (Blok and Lardinois 2006) discuss the historical reliability of Solon as a poet, lawgiver and statesman.

The ancient narrative connecting the funerary laws at Rome to those at Athens belongs more broadly to a literary tradition regarding early laws and lawmakers that was particularly lively in the late first century B.C.E. These references are brief and often vague, but contain content similar to the inscriptions and the tradition of Solon. The individuals to whom these laws are credited remain shadowy figures, but their enactments are generally considered a reliable part of the historiographic tradition.²⁴⁸ Stobaeus, writing in the sixth century C.E., reports that Charondas of Catana, in the sixth century, put forth a law substituting lamentation with a yearly offering from the harvest, as the required honor to the deceased.²⁴⁹ Cicero records that Pittakos of Mytilene, in the early sixth century, forbade non-family members from attending a funeral (*De leg.* 2.66). Diodorus Siculus reports that at the time of Gelon's death in 478 there was a law already in place prohibiting elaborate funerals (11.38.1-5). Diodorus does not attribute the enactment of the law to Gelon; it seems to have been instituted by some unknown figure in the sixth or early fifth century.²⁵⁰ In archaic Sparta, Lycurgus is credited with the institution of funerary legislation limiting funerary expenditure and mourning, and encouraging burial within the urban area.²⁵¹ It is worth noting, however, that Lycurgus did not write down these laws, and he is credited with a number of other innovations in Sparta. Although these references are more revealing of the historiographic tradition concerning early laws and lawmakers, they suggest that the tradition of funerary legislation was widespread in archaic societies.²⁵²

Crawford employs inscriptions from Rome and southern Italy to draw wider inferences about the role of lawmaking in the archaic societies of the Mediterranean world.²⁵³ The first example is a legal inscription from Tortora that dates to approximately 500 B.C.E. and is written in an early Italic language in the Achaean script.²⁵⁴ The inscription was found near a road that surrounded a late archaic cemetery. The second example constitutes the inscription on the *cippus* of the *lapis niger* at Rome, which many scholars believe represents sacred law.²⁵⁵ Crawford observes similarities in the composition of the Tortora and *lapis niger* inscriptions, and connects them to a legal inscription from Chios or Erythrai (c. 575-550), in Ionia.²⁵⁶ All three texts were inscribed on stele, vertically on multiple sides, and in boustrophedon.²⁵⁷ On each stele the beginning of a new clause is indicated by a break in the boustrophedon. These similarities led Crawford to suggest that the inhabitants of Rome

²⁴⁸ Szegedy-Maszak 1978.

²⁴⁹ Stobaeus 44.40.

²⁵⁰ Toher (1991, 168) speculates whether Diocles, who is known from Diodorus (13.35.3) for producing a lawcode in the late fifth century, was also responsible for the law limiting funerary extravagance. He considers this unlikely since it is unclear what comprised Diocles' legislation.

²⁵¹ Plut. *Lyc.* 27.1-2.

²⁵² Toher 1991, 168.

²⁵³ Crawford 2011.

²⁵⁴ Crawford 2011, *Imagines*, Blanda I.

²⁵⁵ Interpretation of the text remains controversial. See Chapter 2.

²⁵⁶ van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994-5, I.61) present the Chios/Erythrai inscription.

²⁵⁷ The stela from Chios or Erythria has a horizontal inscription on the fourth side.

and Tortora learned how to inscribe laws, not directly from Ionia, but from their Ionian neighbors in Italy. He argues that the Ionian colony of Velia, in Magna Graecia, could have served as a point of access for the Tortora inscription, whereas Rome could have drawn inspiration from the Greek colony at Cumae.

It is impossible to prove on the basis of this evidence alone whether the inhabitants of Italy learned to inscribe legal texts from Ionian contacts in Italy. The equally specious argument has been made pointing to the Greeks of Magna Graecia as the primary source.²⁵⁸ However, the evidence is suggestive, and at the very least reveals the level of interconnectedness between the city-states of the Mediterranean world in the fifth century, particularly in the regions of central and southern Italy. This conclusion appears supported by the archaeological record of other contexts.²⁵⁹ As Crawford articulates, this was a world of borrowing approaches to composing and inscribing laws, and of borrowing and modifying alphabets.²⁶⁰ It should not be surprising, then, that there are parallels in content and language between the Twelve Tables and Greek laws, since the mixture of Italic, Greek and Ionian elements is already attested in a number of inscriptions from Italy. What is more, the presence of such inscriptions, especially those of a legal nature, demonstrates that the promulgation of the Twelve Tables was possible, if not probable, in fifth century Rome.

Although these attempts to discern the level of Greek or Ionian influence on the tenth table help to determine a broad historical context for the legislation, they tend to overlook that the provisions address particularly Roman concerns. In fact, the language and content of the text are very Roman.²⁶¹ The purple tunic and the ten flautists listed in X.3 seem to be a reflection of Roman practice.²⁶² The Greek laws restrict specifically white garments and make no mention of flautists at funerals; nothing is known about the role of flautists at Roman funerals, however.²⁶³ The prohibitions against the preparation of the pyre (X.2) and the collection of bones (X.5) have no parallel, nor do the sanctions to include in burials a crown (X.7) or teeth joined with gold (X.8). Perhaps most significant are the laws concerning the location and status of the tombs. The Greek laws do not express the same concern with defining the space in which burials were allowed. Analysis of the remaining provisions of the Twelve Tables reveals that, while there are some parallels to Greek legislation, they remain specific to the social and economic conditions at Rome.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁸ Wieacker 1971, 757-84.

²⁵⁹ In Chapters 5 and 6 I argue that there is a fair amount of archaeological evidence from other contexts to support this claim.

²⁶⁰ Crawford 2011, 158-9.

²⁶¹ Blok (2006, 214-5) makes the point that the tenth table is very Roman.

²⁶² Blok 2006, 214; Dyck 2004, 404.

²⁶³ Reiner 1938, 67-69. Graf (2002, 117) discusses how flutes or pipes were more commonly used in Greek antiquity at sacrifices.

²⁶⁴ Crawford (1996, 560) suggests the following: III; VII.2-5, 8 and 9; VIII.13-15. He notes, however, that many of these claims are specious. These laws are similar to some examples of Athenian legislation found in literary sources. The majority are connected to the laws of Solon. Gaius specifically attributes some provisions to Solon (VII.2; VIII.14-15); Festus may

The nature of the tenth table in modern scholarship

It is clear that the formalization of law marks a significant step in the development of archaic societies, and that this occurred in several Greek city-states during the sixth and fifth centuries and probably at Rome in the mid-fifth.²⁶⁵ It is also evident that funerary legislation constituted a significant portion of these early laws, and may have even been the most widespread form of law in archaic societies of Greek and Roman antiquity.²⁶⁶ The laws reveal remarkable conformity despite their geographic and chronological breadth. This suggests funerary legislation was a widespread phenomenon that requires an explanation applicable to all archaic societies.²⁶⁷ This does not exclude consideration of those immediate local circumstances that contributed to particular provisions or the promulgation of law, however. The difficulty is that, with Rome, it is impossible to reconstruct the historical circumstances that led to such legislation.

There is no consensus in modern scholarship concerning the motivation for the funerary legislation of the tenth table. The conventional interpretation of the laws views them merely as one aspect of sumptuary legislation, aimed at curbing the excessive displays of the elite in order to promote isonomy among the aristocracy and alleviate tension between elite and non elite groups.²⁶⁸ Lenel first presented this notion in the early twentieth century,²⁶⁹ which a number of scholars have subsequently restated and modified. Wieacker added that the tenth table was enacted during a time of political and economic crisis at Rome and was intended to reduce the types of elite conspicuous consumption that encouraged social conflict with the plebeian class.²⁷⁰ Eder argued that the laws made few concessions to the plebeians and instead were promulgated in the interest of aristocratic self-preservation.²⁷¹ Colonna, accepting such arguments in support of a political and economic motivation for funerary legislation, connected the documentary evidence to the archaeology: he argued that the restrictions of the tenth table explained the disappearance of grave goods in the archaeological record of Rome and Latium during the Archaic period.²⁷²

This understanding is heavily indebted to the scholarship of archaic Greek societies that connected the rise of luxury goods from the Greek east to the political crisis among the aristocracy in the sixth century. The promulgation of sumptuary laws, of which funerary legislation constituted a part, was considered integral to the resolution of the sociopolitical

have suggested Greek influence in VIII.13; VII.8 finds a parallel in Plato, *Laws* VIII, 844c-d; See also Crawford (1996, 560).

²⁶⁵ Forsythe 2005, 202-3.

²⁶⁶ Toher 1991, 160.

²⁶⁷ Toher 1991, 169.

²⁶⁸ For instance, Bonamente (1980).

²⁶⁹ Lenel 1905, 516-7.

²⁷⁰ Wieacker 1967, 313. This view is shared by van Brechem (1966, 745-8).

²⁷¹ Eder 2005, n. 69 and n. 79.

²⁷² Colonna 1977.

crisis of archaic city-states.²⁷³ Scholars of early Rome, influenced by this approach, trusted in the ancient accounts that understood the promulgation of the Twelve Tables within the context of the Conflict of the Orders.²⁷⁴ According to this narrative, the members of the ruling aristocratic elite established a body of ten men to set up a series of laws that would allow the plebeians, a hitherto excluded social class, a greater degree of political authority; the recording of laws on twelve bronze tablets constituted a permanent code to resolve disputes and regulate behavior in a way that was expedient for the both the patrician and plebeian groups. The regulation of funerary expenditure would have served to decrease those opportunities of elite ostentation that could inflame social tension. The broad outline between the Greek and Roman creation of law is so similar, however, that the narrative concerning the creation of the Twelve Tables seems more an invention of the first century than a historical reality. For the case of Rome, there is very little evidence to prove either way that the Twelve Tables were borne from sociopolitical unrest. It is equally possible, and equally speculative, that they represent the recording of long-standing practices. Alternately, the institution of law may have provoked political dissent when none or little had existed before.²⁷⁵

More recently, scholars have proven that there is very little reason to view funerary laws solely as a component of sumptuary laws created to resolve a political crisis.²⁷⁶ Sumptuary laws were regularly enacted in pre-modern societies, and were often directed toward limiting expenses on funerals, food and clothing. These limitations were not intended to promote virtues of self-restraint, as the authors of philosophical treatises believe, but were intended to curb customs that were thought to be undesirable.²⁷⁷ However, there is no evidence from the tenth table that the Romans were trying to limit expenditure in any meaningful way.²⁷⁸ The laws regulate certain aspects of behavior, such as lamentation and *circumpotatio*, and restrict the value of some goods to be placed in the grave, such as gold dentures and crowns, but they leave unmentioned a whole host of other aspects that provided opportunities for extravagant display, including sacrifice, tomb size, number of mourners and most grave goods.

Scholars, again looking towards studies of archaic Greece for an alternative solution, connected the provisions of the tenth table to the process of urban development.²⁷⁹ Gernet first noted the importance of funerary legislation in the development of early Greek *poleis*, recognizing that funerary and sumptuary laws presupposed a centralized authority.²⁸⁰ Scholars of early Rome have subsequently argued that the role of funerary legislation was

²⁷³ See especially Mazzarino (1947, 193-4, 214-6).

²⁷⁴ Lenel 1905; Wieacker 1967.

²⁷⁵ Forsythe 2005, 203.

²⁷⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood 1983; Ampolo 1984; Toher 1991 and 2005.

²⁷⁷ Blok 2006, 229-30.

²⁷⁸ Shapiro (1991, 630-1) and Blok (2006, 230) arrive at the same conclusions for the laws of Solon.

²⁷⁹ Ampolo 1984; Cornell 1995, 105-108; Smith 1996, 185-8.

²⁸⁰ Gernet and Boulanger 1932, 160.

fundamental to the development of the historical city.²⁸¹ Funerary laws presume the existence of complex sociopolitical institutions and, in the increasingly sophisticated and competitive society at Rome, members of the aristocratic elite were redirecting visible displays of wealth away from interment in graves (where they became invisible) and to more publicly visible forms of monumental construction, such as sanctuaries.²⁸² The arena of competitive display thus shifted away from burial and towards cities and sanctuaries.²⁸³ This theory is in some measure supported by the archaeological record, where grave goods disappear and the examples of monumental architecture in other contexts increases substantially.²⁸⁴ However, the changes in funerary ritual predate the promulgation of the laws; as discussed in Chapter 5, this process begins as early as the seventh century.

The problem with this argument is that it implies a direct relationship between the institution of the tenth table, the disappearance of grave goods and the urban development of Rome and Latium. It suggests that the Romans enacted funerary legislation in order to redirect the economic surplus of the elite towards civic monumentality. There is no evidence that the limits imposed by the tenth table would have diminished the overall cost of burial and left the surviving family with an excess of resources and that these families would have expended those resources on monumental construction. This theory also overlooks the fact that the wealthy at Rome could have continued to enjoy opulent funerals, even if they abided by the restrictions of the tenth table. What is more, if the arena of competitive display had shifted to the public sphere, then the tenth table could be expected to restrict extravagance in those areas, rather than funerals.²⁸⁵

It is often remarked that the provisions of the tenth table are religious in nature, but it is rarely discussed what this actually means.²⁸⁶ The *Institutiones Gai*, written in the mid-second century C.E., state that all things were classified according to whether they could be owned privately or not (2.1), and among those things that could not be privately owned, were *res religiosas*. *Res religiosas* consisted of tombs, sepulchers, mausolea, cenotaphs and other land used for burial, but certain conditions had to be met in order for a burial ground to be classified as *religiosus*. This statement has led a number of scholars to interpret the laws of the tenth table as a set of religious laws, since they pertain to matters of burial, which were later considered *res religiosas*.

Scholars of funerary customs in archaic Greece already have focused on the ritual and religious concerns expressed in funerary legislation, in an attempt to move away from

²⁸¹ Ampolo 1984.

²⁸² Cornell 1995, 105-108; Smith 1996, 185-8.

²⁸³ This conclusion echoes studies done by Morris (1987) in archaic Greece, especially Athens.

²⁸⁴ Colonna 1977.

²⁸⁵ It is important to note, however, that these phenomena appear related, and will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

²⁸⁶ For instance, Robinson (1975); Ampolo (1984); Toher (2005).

explanations that understand the promulgation of funerary laws as politically motivated.²⁸⁷ The claim is that the purpose of such laws is to reduce the potential for pollution (*miasma*) that death can bring to a community. Thus, the laws are aimed at restricting the possibility for pollution and limiting its occurrence, as well as providing measures for the purification of those polluted by death through participation in funerals. A number of the laws are concerned with keeping away from public and private spaces those items involved in the funeral, and with the purification of the home and relatives of the deceased. In making these restrictions law, archaic Greek communities were defining and regularizing the means by which survivors could deal with the dead and be reincorporated into the world of the living. Any political consequences are secondary effects of the legislation.

Although this is likely true for the communities of archaic Greece, it is impossible to make such a claim in the Roman world, owing to the fact that there exist no contemporary literary accounts or artistic representations that can communicate Roman attitudes toward death. What is more, the provisions of the tenth table do not express any concern with purification, whereas the Greek laws from Iouliis and Labyadai express this as one of the primary concerns. The only discussion concerning the significance of the tenth table in antiquity comes from Cicero, who was writing centuries after the Twelve Tables were first recorded. Cicero is interested in the laws of tenth table because their antiquity and austerity lend authority to his view of the significance of religion and morality in his ideal city-state. In the second book of *De legibus*, Cicero presents a series of laws to suit the kind of ideal state as he depicted in *De re publica*.²⁸⁸

What is notable in Cicero's discussion of the tenth table is that he does not consider the political motivation for funerary legislation; his concerns are practical and religious. Cicero was well aware of the public disruption a lavish funeral could cause and on more than one occasion he notes that funerals and tombs at Rome had become excessively extravagant (*De leg.* 2.62, 2.66). Toher states that Cicero could not have been unaware of the political purpose of the public funeral, such as the one Julius Caesar held for his own father, who had died some twenty years earlier,²⁸⁹ or even Sulla, whom Plutarch records was buried at public expense (*Sull.* 38). However, Cicero never mentions that funerals should be austere and that funerary legislation should restrict extravagance for the purpose of limiting social and political disruption. It is possible that, due to the nature of his philosophical treatise, Cicero preferred not mention such a coarse motivation for funerary legislation.²⁹⁰

The tenth table and funerary legislation at Rome

It is clear from the evidence outlined above that the laws of the tenth table, among other examples of funerary legislation, do not belong solely to either of the following categories:

²⁸⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood 1983; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995.

²⁸⁸ Dyck 2004, 238-239.

²⁸⁹ Toher 2005, 273, and n. 39. Concerning the funeral games of Caesar, see Dio Cass. 37.8 and Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 33.53.

²⁹⁰ Toher 2005, 275.

sumptuary laws designed to reduce conspicuous consumption; laws designed to create isonomy between the elite and/or reduce the sociopolitical tension between the aristocracy and the lower classes; religious laws reflecting accepted customs and formalizing the division between the world of the living and that of the dead. The difficulty with each of these approaches is that they remove the tenth table from the context of the remaining eleven tables, and attempt to explain the motivations of and purpose for these laws based on a limited understanding of early Greek legislation and through the lens of a fabricated historiographic tradition. In order to arrive at any conclusions regarding the purpose of these laws, it is important to evaluate them within the context of early Rome, by considering precisely what they regulate and how they relate to the remaining provisions of the Twelve Tables.

The laws of the tenth table impose restrictions in several areas. First, regarding the location of burial and cremation: neither is to be within the city (X.1) and the *bustum* is not to be within sixty feet of another's house (X.9). Second, concerning the types of behavior occurring during funerary ritual: women are not to mutilate their cheeks or hold a wake (X.4); no one is allowed to place perfumed liquid on the deceased (X.6); and *circumportatio* is forbidden (X.6). Third, in regard to later activity at the burial site: the bones of the deceased are not allowed to be collected in order to hold a later funeral (X.5). Fourth, regarding the items involved in the funeral, which include objects placed in the grave and those used by the mourners in the funerary procession: no more than three veils, a little purple tunic, and ten flautists are allowed (X.3); a crown is permitted to be buried as long as it is won by the deceased or his *familia*, or given to him for bravery (X.7); and no gold is to be buried or burned, except for gold joined to teeth (X.8). Fifth, regarding the preparation of the pyre: the pyre is not allowed to be smoothed with a trowel (X.2). Sixth, concerning the legal status of graves: the fore-court or *bustum* is considered *religiosus* (X.10).

From the outset, the laws seem aimed at the management of urban space. The ban on burial and cremation in the city (X.1) documents a desire on the part of lawmakers to remove both operations from the urban area; this must have been considered an expedient decision. Whether the law reflects a sudden ban on previously recurring practice or the formalization of a long-standing tradition is impossible to determine based on the documentary evidence alone. However, it is conceivable that the location for the proper disposition of the deceased was a matter of public interest. The decision could have been in part a practical one. Both inhumation and cremation took place at the site of burial and involved rituals that probably consumed a considerable amount of time. A cremation burial required the construction of a pyre on which the deceased and any goods or equipment would be burned. Recent estimates have suggested that the process of cremation, according to Roman methods, would have taken seven or eight hours.²⁹¹ It would have also involved the occasional stoking and removal of ash.²⁹² It is unclear how long an inhumation burial would have taken, but the length of time would have depended upon the type of

²⁹¹ McKinley 1989, 73.

²⁹² Noy 2000, 187.

burial to be constructed. In both cases, the performance of related rituals, some of which were also restricted by the tenth table (X. 4-6), would have added to this time.

Cicero records that the ban on intramural cremation was due to the danger of fire (*De leg.* 2.58), and there is good evidence that, by the Late Republic, the location of cremation was considered part of the care of the city. A chapter of the *lex coloniae Genetivae* forbids the construction of new sites for cremation (*ustrina*) within half a mile of the settlement, and a *senatus consultum* from 38 B.C.E. forbids cremation within two miles of Rome.²⁹³ It is possible that the danger posed by fire constituted part of the reasoning for the ban in the Twelve Tables, but it could be that Cicero's comment represents a concern particular to the late first century. Another reason to cast doubt on Cicero's claim is that he offers no explanation for the prohibition of intramural burial; Cicero's silence here suggests his ignorance. Robinson claims this regulation does not seem to have emerged from any taboo, since Cicero tells us that Vestal Virgins and prominent citizens continued to be buried, or had the right to be buried, within the city.²⁹⁴ However, these appear to have been exceptions to the rule, as intramural burial remained a rare occurrence. Individuals were only granted the right because of their merit, either before the law was enacted or thereafter, and the privilege was retained by their descendants.²⁹⁵

One consequence of the prohibition against cremation and burial in the city would have been to free up urban space for other purposes. The final provision of the tenth table, which preserves the religious status of tombs, gives some indication of the advantages of moving both rituals outside the city. The statute stipulates that the *forum* or *bustum* of the burial is to be *religiosus* (X.10). According to Festus, *forum* designates the fore-court of a tomb (*Pauli Exc.* 74L) and *bustum* refers to the place where the body is burned and buried (*Pauli Exc.* 29L). A *res religiosus* was a term applied to tombs, which were consecrated only when a body was buried by someone who had a right to bury the body there, and this person was usually the owner.²⁹⁶ The conventional interpretation of this provision is derived from Cicero, who states that the entrance of the tomb or the mound may not be acquired by *usucapio*, thereby protecting the special privileges of graves.²⁹⁷ It is possible, then, that burials, protected by their religious status, precluded the areas in which they were located from any other use.

²⁹³ For the *lex coloniae Genetivae*, *CIL* I² 594=ILS 6087, lines 61-63. For the *senatus consultum*, see Cass. Dio 48.43.3.

²⁹⁴ Robinson 1975, 176.

²⁹⁵ Cic. *De leg.* 2.58, *Credo, Tite, fuisse aut eos, quibus hoc ante hanc legem virtutis causa tributum est, Policolae, ut Tuberto, quod eorum poestri iure tenuerunt, aut eos, si qui hoc, ut C. Fabricius, virtutis causa soluti legibus consecuti sunt.*

²⁹⁶ Watson 1992, 56-7.

²⁹⁷ Cic. *De leg.* 2.61, writes ..."*forum, id est vestibulum sepulchri, bustumve usu capi vetat, tuetur ius sepulchrorum.* *Usucapio* refers to the acquisition of property through continuous ownership.

It is clear, however, that by the Late Republic, public land could not be made *religiosus* by a private act, meaning that graves found in a public location could be exhumed. Cicero describes one such circumstance regarding the construction of the temple of Honor outside the Colline gate (*De leg.* 2.58): an altar once stood in that location, near which a metal plate was found bearing the inscription "To Honor", which gave the name to the current temple. However, there were many graves in that spot, and these were excavated, since the college determined that a place that was public property (*locum publicum*) could not become sacred (*religione*) through the rites performed by private citizens.

The only insight Cicero provides regarding the motivation for the restriction of land for burials occurs elsewhere in *De legibus* when, drawing from Plato's *Laws*, he states that burials should be forbidden from lands already under cultivation or that have the potential to be cultivated (*Cic. De leg.* 2.67; *Plat. Laws* 12.958 D-E). He explains that the care of the dead should not outweigh the concerns of the living; he encourages the maximum use of the kind of land suitable for burial so that there is no harm done to the living. The main point seems to be an economic one, and Cicero objects to anyone, living or dead, bringing about a reduction in crop production by interfering with arable land. When he states earlier that no land should be consecrated, since all land is sacred to the gods, he expresses reservations that cultivation will decline if superstitions arise about its use or subjection to the plow (*Cic. De leg.* 2.22, 2.45; *Plat. Laws* 12.955 E-956 B).

Although it is impossible to determine based on the evidence in the Twelve Tables whether early Roman lawmakers were designating the space previously occupied by burials specifically for public use, it is reasonable to suggest that in locating burials outside the city, they were redefining the urban territory. This includes the space directly in the city (*in urbe*) and the region immediately outside (*extra urbem*), and it suggests that burial was a primary means of articulating this distinction. The remaining provisions of the Twelve Tables are not explicit regarding what monuments, activities and people were permitted *in urbe*; they only state that burials were not. The statutes make reference to the Forum, Comitium, private properties, roads and vineyards, and indicate a population comprised of *familiae*, Vestal Virgins, slaves, beasts and foreigners. They reveal a wide range of activities, including marriage, the sale of property and trials. The laws are ambiguous regarding the appropriate locations for these places, people and activities. They may have applied only to whatever was considered *in urbe*, or they may have applied equally to the areas with and outside of the city.

The same ambiguity between *in urbe* and *extra urbem* is evident based on the archaeology of archaic Rome. The evidence suggests that both areas were the sites of domestic, agricultural and religious activity.²⁹⁸ Provision X.1 creates the only meaningful distinction in adding burials to the extraurban landscape. What is more, provision X.9 illustrates that there was no basic objection to the proximity of burials and houses in extraurban areas. The emphasis is on the relationship between the *bustum* and the property of another

²⁹⁸ Holloway (1994) and Smith (1996) offer a general overview of the archaeological evidence for Rome and Latium in the Archaic period.

individual, which could be no less than sixty feet from one another. Cicero states that this was another attempt at reducing the hazards of fire within the city (*De leg.* 2.61).²⁹⁹ This statute seems to belong to that category of laws from the Twelve Tables that regulate the rights of neighbors, the damages to property and the ownership of land.³⁰⁰ Additionally, there is no evidence to suggest that hygiene motivated these provisions.³⁰¹ It is significant, too, that the Tables permitted burials in association with private property, provided that these were located outside the city.

Although the *pomerium* and the Servian Walls functioned as visible boundaries by the Late Republic, the areas both inside and outside the city continued to be occupied by the same types of structures.³⁰² Domestic residences, commercial installations, industrial buildings, public monuments, and sacred structures are attested both *in urbe* and *extra urbem*. Structures more commonly found outside the city were gardens (*horti*) and burials. The legal prohibition kept most burials outside the city, with exceptions granted to individuals of merit or families with ancestral rights. There was no prohibition against intramural *horti*, but most were located outside the city presumably because they consumed too much space. The *horti* were often comprised of the rich homes of the wealthy and occupied large tracts of land that were devoted largely to pleasure and not for profit. Both gardens and tombs were highly visible venues of ostentatious display, and it seems that they both functioned as markers of status on the outskirts of the city. Although this evidence is particular to Late Republic, it suggests continuity in ancient conceptions of Rome. In both periods there are known boundaries, but there is considerable overlap regarding the types of structures that occupy both spaces. In both periods there is no inherent objection to the proximity of burials to other areas designated for the living, nor are individuals and groups prevented from displaying achievement in burial.

A number of statutes in the tenth table involve rituals that are connected to the burial site, which suggests that Rome extended her legal authority into the areas *extra urbem*. These include X.9, which dictates the minimum distance between a *bustum* and the house of another; X.6-8, which limit the number and types of grave goods and offerings; X.2, which involves the preparation of the pyre; and X.5, which forbids the collection of bones for the purpose of another funeral. It is unclear to what extent the provisions related to the ritual procession and lamentation (X.3-4) may belong to this category. The Tables do not make clear the proper location for these activities. They may have begun inside the city and continued outwards to the location of the burial, or they may have been performed outside the city only. The lack of specification in this case seems to reflect the imprecision elsewhere in the Twelve Tables regarding the appropriate location for all activities, except for the act of burial or cremation (X.1).

²⁹⁹ Robinson 1975, 176.

³⁰⁰ Cornell 1995, 287-8.

³⁰¹ Robinson 1975, 176.

³⁰² Goodman 2007, 39-59.

Another quality of various provisions of the tenth table is that they reveal a particular concern with both landed and movable property. This suggests that the laws are aimed at the wealthier members of Roman society. Several statutes limit items which only such groups could enjoy, especially those relating to gold (X.8), the crown (X.7), flautists and textiles (X.3), and private property (X.9). This seems characteristic of the Twelve Tables in general; the laws deal almost exclusively with issues concerning the administration of property, especially that relating to the household (*familia*), and are preoccupied with farmland, crops, vines, fruit trees and livestock.³⁰³ This suggests that the elite derived their wealth primarily from landed property, and likely expended their surplus on accepted forms of conspicuous consumption.

These same provisions, although they seem aimed at limiting displays of wealth, also have the function of guaranteeing them. The seventh provision allows a *corona* to be buried with the deceased or his parent, provided that it was awarded for bravery; presumably, this was a mark of prestige for both the deceased and his *familia*. Although there is nothing else known of the use of the *corona* in early Rome, Pliny remarks that by the time of the Late Republic there existed a variety of crowns to designate victorious athletes and individuals with military achievements (*Nat. Hist.* 15.39).³⁰⁴ Once conferred the owner was allowed a number of social privileges: he was always allowed to wear it; he had a space reserved next to the senate, and all senators rose upon his entrance; and he was freed from public burdens, as were his father, paternal grandfather and the person to whom his life was bound.³⁰⁵ In both the Twelve Tables and Pliny, the *corona* is a mark of prestige and distinction for the individual awarded it. This status extended to his family and was publicly recognized.

The permission authorized by the Twelve Tables to include in burial a *corona* won by bravery is reminiscent of the concession granted to certain individuals for intramural burial recorded in Cicero's *De legibus* (2.58). When Atticus asks about the famous men (*clari viri*) who were buried in the city, Cicero acknowledges that some men, namely Poplicola, Tubertus and C. Fabricius, were awarded this privilege on account of their merit (*causa virtutis*). He adds that the descendants of Poplicola and Tubertus legally maintained this privilege since it was awarded before the enactment of the prohibition. It seems then, that by the Late Republic, examples of intramural burial were rare, well known and permitted only under exceptional circumstances. What constituted the *causa virtutis* is unknown, but, in allowing these individuals and their families to be buried within the city, it clearly ensured their continued recognition and commemoration.³⁰⁶

³⁰³ Cornell 1995, 284-8.

³⁰⁴ There were many different types of *coronae*, most of which awarded military achievements of some sort, but of particular interest here is the *corona civica*. The *corona civica* was the crown second in importance after the *corona graminea* and was particularly difficult to obtain.

³⁰⁵ Polyb. 6.39; Cic. *Pro. Planc.* 30; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 16.5; Aul. Gell. 5.6.

³⁰⁶ Poplicola refers to Publius Valerius Poplicola, who, according to Livy and Plutarch, played a key role in the overthrow of the monarchy in 509 B.C.E. and in the formation of the

The eighth provision of the Twelve Tables, which concerns the nature of gold objects permitted in burial, would have also guaranteed distinction. The provision forbids the burial of gold with the deceased, except if it is gold joined to teeth. This statute would only have applied to the wealthier inhabitants of Rome. The evidence for gold dental prosthetics in Rome and Latium is extremely rare: it consists only of a single gold tooth, discovered at the site of Satricum and dated to approximately 630 B.C.E.³⁰⁷ At no time does this appear to have been a Latin custom. In Etruria, however, there is ample evidence to suggest that the use of gold dental prosthetics was a common practice, especially among elite Etruscan women. This seems to have been a cosmetic procedure used by women to adorn or replace teeth that had been deliberately removed or fallen out.³⁰⁸ The practice seems to have fallen out of use by the late first century B.C.E., at which point gold prosthetics disappear from the archaeological record. Scholars have attributed this phenomenon to the spread of Roman influence in Etruria.³⁰⁹

If gold dentures are representative of an Etruscan custom, the statute of the Twelve Tables permitting the burial of gold only when it joined to teeth (X.8) may reflect the presence of individuals of Etruscan origin among the upper classes at Rome. In particular, it points to the visibility of status and wealth granted to Etruscan women in burial. Although later Roman authors are disdainful of the relative freedom and status enjoyed by Etruscan women, this may not have been the case for early Rome. Ampolo and Cornell have already demonstrated that certain Etruscans had established themselves as members of the ruling class at Rome over the course of the seventh and sixth centuries.³¹⁰ A handful of Etruscan inscriptions found on votive offerings and in graves at Rome, two of which may preserve a Roman form of Etruscan, suggest that the Etruscans constituted an established presence among the Roman elite.³¹¹ Although a less reliable source of evidence, the ancient literary tradition nevertheless preserves the accounts of a number of outsiders who occupied prominent position at Rome, including the Sabine Numa, Etruscan Mastarna, and Attus

Republic (Liv. 1.58, 2.2-16; Plut. *Publ.*). Tubertus refers to Publius Postumius Tubertus, a Roman patrician and consul who was victorious over the Sabines and involved in the secession of the plebs (Liv. 2.16; Plut. *Publ.* 20). C. Fabricius may refer to Gaius Fabricius Luscinus, who fought in the war against Pyrrhus.

³⁰⁷ Waarsenburg 1991.

³⁰⁸ Becker 1999, 2002. Studies of the gold teeth and dental appliances recovered from excavations in Etruria have shown that the most commonly replaced teeth are the central incisors, which adults rarely lose until after the age of 70 or 75 years. It seems that Etruscan women deliberately had removed an incisor in order to be fitted with a gold band appliance with a replacement or reused tooth.

³⁰⁹ Becker 1999, 2002.

³¹⁰ Ampolo 1970-1, 1976-7 and 1980; Cornell 1995, 151-72.

³¹¹ Cornell (1995, 157); Colonna (1987, 58-9). There is some debate regarding the number of Etruscan inscriptions found at Rome, due to the difficulty of determining the language in which the texts were written.

Clausus (the Roman Appius Claudius).³¹² The *Fasti* of the Early Republic contain names suggesting that the highest offices at Rome were held by foreign families, some of whom were likely Etruscan.³¹³

Horizontal social mobility seems to have been a widespread occurrence in Tyrrhenian Italy during the Archaic period. The settlements of southern Etruria contain inscriptions that point to the presence of high ranking individuals of Greek, Latin and Italic origin.³¹⁴ Further to the south, the cities of Campania have preserved numerous examples of Etruscan material culture, which indicate a strong Etruscan presence from at least the seventh century.³¹⁵ The evidence suggests that there was fair degree of cultural conformity in central Italy, which facilitated the movement of and intermarriage between elite individuals and groups from different communities.³¹⁶ It seems that archaic societies valued personal status, wealth and family background over ethnic origin.

In sum, it seems that the eighth statute of the tenth table refers to a uniquely Etruscan practice, one observed particularly by wealthy women. This adds to the evidence for horizontal social mobility in archaic Rome, by which individuals and groups from different communities were able to move to Rome, and operate within the city's elite circles. The fact that the provision forbids the burial of gold except when it is attached to teeth reveals that the law protected to some extent the interests of Etruscan women. Although it is unlikely that gold dental prosthetics were visible during the burial process, the law nonetheless ensured that the deceased would maintain this symbol of wealth and status in death. The pride of place given to both the gold dentures and the *corona* suggest that these were markers of considerable prestige, and referred to both Etruscan and Roman customs. It is worth noting, however, that the Twelve Tables make no mention of the variety of other items that may have constituted grave goods, including pottery, bronze items, jewelry and other adornments. What is more, gold dentures and crowns are not generally included in graves by this time. Besides the single example of a gold denture from Satricum, there is no evidence, to my knowledge, of crowns or dentures in the burials of archaic Rome and Latium.

4d. Conclusion

The laws of the Twelve Tables constitute the earliest written evidence for funerary ritual in early Rome. The provisions record restrictions related to behavior and expenses at

³¹² Cornell 1995, 157; Ampolo 1970-1. Livy 4.3-4 records the speech of Claudius in 48 C.E.

³¹³ Ampolo 1980.

³¹⁴ Cornell 1995, 158.

³¹⁵ Cornell (1995, 153-4). Some sites, such as Capua and Pontecagnano, preserve evidence for an early history that is similar to the development of Iron Age sites in Etruria. Both sites have Protovillanovan and Villanovan phases that go back to the ninth century, and by the late eighth to seventh imported Etruscan pottery, which was followed by the production of imitation wares.

³¹⁶ Ampolo 1976-7.

funerals, and document the proper location for and status of burial and cremation. Based on the similarities between these laws and other examples of funerary legislation from Greece and Ionia, it is clear that the tables belong to a Mediterranean-wide tradition of lawmaking in archaic societies. This suggests that many cities in the Mediterranean basin belonged to the same cultural *koine*, and that this included Rome by the mid-fifth century. While the various examples of funerary legislation are broadly similar in content and somewhat in language, they are distinct in addressing local concerns. The laws of the Twelve Tables correspond to this pattern. For the most part, only the laws of the tenth table demonstrate any parallels with examples of Greek legislation, and these similarities consist of the command "do not" and the restrictions on funerary dress and certain aspects of ritual behavior. However, most statutes of the tenth table have no comparanda in Greek law, and can only be understood within the context of early Rome.

It seems likely that the tenth table was relevant only to the wealthy inhabitants of the city, since many of its provisions are concerned with various aspects of landed and moveable property. The same is broadly true of the remaining Twelve Tables. The tenth table has traditionally been interpreted as an example of sumptuary legislation, but there is little evidence that it limited the objects to be buried with the deceased as grave goods. In fact, the Tables seem to guarantee the inclusion in burial items that may have been the highest markers of status and wealth, namely the *corona* and the gold dentures. That the Tables also allow a purple tunic and a group of flautists as part of the funerary rites is another indication that wealth and status were guaranteed visibility, even though this was defined in restrictive terms.

The statutes concerning the proper location and status of burials constitute some of the earliest evidence for how the Romans defined their city limits. The Twelve Tables do not make distinctions between those areas *in urbe* and *extra urbem*, except in the case of the tenth table. Both areas within and outside of the city seem to have been comprised of the same monuments, people and activities; the only difference was that burials belonged outside the city. By the Late Republic it seems that there were known exceptions to this rule, when Cicero notes in *De legibus* that some individuals were allowed to be buried within the city. These examples illustrate that there was no basic objection to intramural burial, and reveal that intramural burial was the preserve of a few privileged citizens.

The funerary legislation of the Twelve Tables seems to have granted special privileges to certain individuals in other areas. A *corona* and gold attached to teeth were allowed to be buried with the deceased; a purple tunic was also included, but it is unclear whether it adorned the deceased or a member of the funerary procession. In any case, these constitute symbols of status and wealth that would have been visible over the course of the funerary rites, and, as a result, it seems that the Twelve Tables protected these particular forms of ostentatious display for the wealthy elite.

These conclusions, however, rest upon the assumption that the ancient sources, particularly Cicero, preserved accurately the content of the Twelve Tables. In this chapter I have interpreted the document as though it were a reliable one. This is in broad agreement with the majority of scholarship, which trusts in the historical accuracy of the Tables.

However, I believe it unwise to draw too many conclusions regarding early Roman funerary ritual based on this evidence alone. I consider it here in order to study it alongside the archaeological evidence presented in the following chapters and evaluate what the document reveals about the structural organization of Rome and other Latin cities in the Archaic period.

5. The Archaeological Evidence for Archaic Burial in *Latium Vetus*

5a. Introduction

In my previous chapters I examined the literary and documentary evidence for funerary ritual in archaic Rome and Latium, and concluded that there are few sources, if any, of reliable evidence. In this chapter, I consider the archaeological evidence for death and burial, in part as a comparandum to the prior chapters, but more as a category of evidence in its own right. The field of archaic Rome is a relatively new one, and the vast quantities of archaeological material recovered in the past sixty years or so have radically altered our perception of this formative period of the city. Very little of that material has been systematically analyzed, however, and this chapter is my contribution. As a result, the chapter is equal parts catalogue, review and analysis.

This chapter builds upon the formative work of a few scholars who have made various contributions to the study of burials in archaic Rome and Latium. Colonna first identified an *aspetto oscuro* in the funerary record of the sixth and fifth centuries, noting that there were far fewer identified graves than in other periods.³¹⁷ He explained this gap on the basis of the absence of grave goods included in such graves. Grave goods are often used to date the burials in which they are found, and their absence from some made them invisible to early archaeologists. He connected this absence to the funerary legislation of the Twelve Tables at Rome, whose restrictions Colonna believed brought to an end the custom of depositing grave goods in burials. More recently, Rajala has produced an overview of the burial record of archaic Latium, noting the high degree of local and regional variability in funerary practices.³¹⁸ Her analysis is informed by her work on the excavations at Crustumerium, which uncovered a number of archaic chamber tombs, which she connects to the increasing monumentalization of the region. Bartoloni focuses on Rome and Latium, and offers a more diachronic view of the changes in the funerary record.³¹⁹ Building upon Colonna's work, she observes a decrease in the quantity of graves and grave goods beginning in the Iron Age, and attributes this phenomenon to funerary legislation initiated during Rome's regal history.

My work differs from these approaches in three key ways. First, it is more comprehensive in breadth and scope than prior studies. It relies less on the results of the early excavations and more on the recent ones, although it questions the reliability of the early evidence, especially since this has formed the basis of all subsequent research. Second, this chapter attempts to identify and explain meaningful patterns in the archaeological record which move beyond the preliminary observations of these earlier studies. This is not a criticism of this scholarship, but an addition to it, especially since I recognize the limitations of my own research. Third, this chapter relies far less (if not at all) on the funerary legislation of the Twelve Tables to account for the reduced quantity of graves and grave goods during the

³¹⁷ Colonna 1977.

³¹⁸ Rajala 2007; 2008a; 2008b.

³¹⁹ Bartoloni 1987; 2010; Bartoloni et al. 2009.

Archaic period. As noted in Chapter 2, the Italian tradition of scholarship gives special emphasis to the ancient sources in the interpretation of the archaeological evidence, and this has led many scholars to concentrate on who imposed these laws and when. These questions are considered important since they are used as evidence for city-state formation, which has recently been preoccupied with determining the precise moment when Rome became a city. My approach takes the view that the laws, if they constitute a reliable source, represent the documentation of regulations that had already been observed for some time.

I begin (5b) with an in-depth review and critique of previous scholarship, which has focused, in my opinion, too heavily on the absence of material. This is a subject that arose out of an observation that there was nothing, then stitched together to make it seem like something, and there has been little else since. It is a significant problem, too, that much of this earlier work is based on nearly incomprehensible or nonexistent archaeological records. More recent archaeological discoveries have added to the body of archaic burials, but the publication of these materials is often inconsistent and lacking in detail. Part of the reason for this, I suspect, is the nature of the recovery of these contexts. Many burials were excavated as part of rescue operations, and have received little systematic analysis. This is especially true of those areas in and around modern Rome. An even greater problem, however, is in gaining access to the recovered materials or even determining where they went after excavation. With exception of my own research at Gabii, presented in Chapter 6, I have been unable to see any of the original materials myself. A third difficulty is posed by the ongoing research conducted by academic institutions, which may, understandably, be reluctant to part with relevant data. As a result, what is presented in this chapter is a critical synthesis of the evidence for burial in archaic Rome and Latium, as it has been presented in the published reports. To my knowledge, I have referenced all known excavations, but would not be surprised if there are more recent discoveries that have escaped my knowledge or await availability in the public domain. It is my intention, however, that this synthesis at the very least contributes in a systematic way to our understanding of archaic Rome and Latium, and serves as a reliable basis for future study, particularly alongside the data from settlement contexts, which still require study in their own right.

I then (5c) outline the various types of burial encountered in the archaeological record of the region. I describe the different types of burials and list where they are most commonly found. In the fourth section (5d), I describe briefly the forms of burial ritual, noting the distinct predominance of inhumation. There is little to be said regarding the preference for cremation vs. inhumation, but it is worth noting here, since this change accompanies other significant transformations in the funerary record.

The fourth part of this chapter (5e) is a catalogue of sites with evidence for archaic burial. For each site I offer a brief description of the development of the site in order to better contextualize the funerary data. I continue by providing a detailed summary of the archaic burials, including as complete an account as possible. It is difficult in most cases to obtain the amounts of detail typically required by more modern analyses. My language is occasionally vague, and I employ the terms "some" or "few" when referring to the quantity

of burials. This reflects the lack of specificity in the original reports. In some cases, the excavation results have not yet been published, even from those that took place decades ago. However, I specify where the reports are unclear or lacking. For some sites, most notably Rome and Satricum, I include additional details regarding the scholarship behind and interpretation of the cemeteries located there. In both cases there is a long history of excavation and current scholarship that requires comment. I begin this section with Rome, where the "problem" of archaic burial was first observed, then move to its outskirts to consider the sites at Laurentina; thereafter, I move regionally, in a clockwise direction, through Latium. I follow (5f) with a discussion of the material, drawing attention both to the variations and patterns visible in the archaeological record. I explore how this changes our view of archaic Rome and Latium, focusing in particular on the change in funerary ideology and urban development. I end with a summary of my main arguments (5g).

5b. Previous Scholarship

Scholars first detected an absence in the archaeological record of burials early in the twentieth century, when studying the data recovered from the Esquiline necropolis at Rome.³²⁰ Sometime in the late nineteenth century, redevelopment of the area for modern habitation brought to light a substantial amount of funerary material that ranged in date from the ninth to first centuries B.C.E.³²¹ These results initially pointed to the continuous use of the Esquiline as a burial ground throughout antiquity. Some decades later, Italian archaeologist Giovanni Pinza was charged with the systematic reexamination and reorganization of the records and materials recovered from the site. It was over the course of this project that Pinza noticed a complete absence of evidence belonging to the period of the sixth and early fifth centuries.³²² He considered it likely that tombs from this period had been discovered, but not identified, since they were indistinguishable in form and content from tombs belonging to earlier periods. Pinza hypothesized that there were no stylistic developments in the types of vases that were used as grave goods in the sixth and early fifth centuries, and as a result, the ceramic assemblages from archaic burials appeared identical to those from earlier times.³²³

³²⁰ *BullCom* 1875, 190. The precise dates of the excavation of the Esquiline necropolis are unknown. The excavation took place some time after the institution of Rome as the capital city of reunified Italy in 1870.

³²¹ *LTUR Suppl.* II.1: 38-46; Holloway 1994, 22-3. The early excavations, were not, strictly speaking, archaeological investigations; they were collections of archaeological materials recovered over the course of the late nineteenth-century urban development of the city. See below for further discussion regarding the early excavations.

³²² *BullCom* 1912, 24-6.

³²³ Pinza advanced a chronology based on the pottery from the tombs in the Forum and Esquiline at Rome. He created two periods: Period I, before the appearance of light-ground pottery, Greek imports and imitations, and Period II, characterized by the appearance of light-ground pottery and imports. Period I corresponds roughly to c. 1000-730/20 and Period II to 730/20-580. Although his chronology remains valid, it was subsequently subdivided and revised into a series of Latial Periods (I-IVB).

Based on these conclusions, Pinza advanced a controversial list of thirty-nine burials that he believed belonged to the Archaic period.³²⁴ Von Duhn first impugned the list on the grounds that a number of the tombs contained early material; he suggested alternately that the archaic graves were located on another portion of the Esquiline, as yet unexcavated.³²⁵ In the nineteen-forties, Ryberg rightly pointed out the absence of any scientific methodology in Pinza's work, observing that he had established no reliable criteria for reclassifying the graves.³²⁶ She was in agreement with Pinza, however, in believing that the tombs from the Archaic period remained unidentified because they were indistinguishable from those of earlier periods.³²⁷ Ryberg, too, noted that there was remarkable homogeneity in the types of ceramics recovered from the early burials. In fact, there was no apparent change in the style of vases until the fourth century. The problem was compounded, however, by the extremely poor state of documentation and preservation from the Esquiline excavations. Records were not consistently maintained, and grave goods were unorganized, stolen and lost. In the nineteen-fifties, Gjerstad reviewed all the archaeological and written evidence from early Rome, including the burials from the Esquiline necropolis.³²⁸ Relying heavily on Pinza's accounts and the original records from the Esquiline excavations, Gjerstad offered some revisions to the burial material. Using only those tombs he believed had a reliable context, determinable date and grave goods, he assigned three tombs to the Archaic period, although only one, he believed, with certainty.³²⁹

The question regarding the identification of archaic graves remained largely unexamined until the nineteen-seventies, when renewed archaeological activity in Rome and Latium brought to light some five hundred tombs that dated to some time before the third century.³³⁰ When reviewing the results of these excavations, Colonna observed that none of the burials contained items datable to the sixth and fifth centuries, a so-called *aspetto oscuro*. The absence proved even more striking when compared to the wealth of archaeological material recovered from the graves of earlier periods. A number of prominent cemeteries had been identified at Rome, Tivoli, Ardea, Satricum, Caracupa and the Alban Hills, all of which contained burials that were rich in grave goods during the eighth and seventh centuries.³³¹ By the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the

³²⁴ Pinza (*BullCom* 1912, 25, n. 2) provides the list of tombs and outlines briefly his methodology. Pinza (*MonAnt* 1905) contains a catalogue of these tombs.

³²⁵ von Duhn 1924, 480-1.

³²⁶ Ryberg 1940, 3.

³²⁷ Ryberg 1940, 51.

³²⁸ Gjerstad 1956, 162-266.

³²⁹ Gjerstad 1956, 258-62.

³³⁰ *CLP*. The most prominent sites include Castel di Decima, Lavinium, Osteria dell'Osa, La Rustica and Ficana.

³³¹ Colonna (1977, 131-2), notes that in total, there were approximately 800 burials in ancient Latium datable to sometime before the third century. Most of these belonged to the Early Iron Age and Orientalizing periods, from the ninth to the end of the sixth centuries.

sixth, however, there was a marked decrease in the number of graves at these same sites, and little to no evidence for grave goods.

Believing that the decline in archaeologically visible graves and grave goods reflected a historical reality, Colonna advanced four different hypotheses to explain their absence during the sixth and fifth centuries: 1. they had not yet been found; 2. they were destroyed or spoliated; 3. they had never existed; and 4. archaeologists were unable to recognize them.³³² These theories were all echoes of prior scholarship, and Colonna immediately discredited the first three. He first challenged von Duhn's work that claimed the graves of the Archaic period had not yet been found. Although Colonna acknowledged that it was possible for the burials of this period to have remained undiscovered, he believed this was at odds with the remaining evidence from the Esquiline necropolis. The cemetery contained a wide range of burials from the eighth century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. and thus seemed to constitute a representative sample of burial activity through time. Colonna considered significant the gap in the archaeological record of the sixth and fifth centuries: there was evidence of burial before and after that period, but none at all during. He mentioned the possibility that the area was abandoned as a burial ground for about two centuries and later reoccupied.

The evidence from the Esquiline necropolis allowed Colonna to repudiate the second theory, which posited that the burials of the Archaic period had been destroyed or robbed sometime in antiquity or in the modern era. The sheer quantity of wealthy graves attested in Rome and Latium during earlier and later periods suggested that there was no reason to believe that the burials of the sixth and fifth centuries were systematically or accidentally targeted for destruction. The abundance of archaeological evidence in turn served to invalidate Colonna's third theory, suggesting that archaic burials did not exist. The excavations of the nineteen-sixties and -seventies had vastly improved the archaeological record of the Archaic period; there was now ample evidence pointing to the existence of substantial settlements and sanctuaries. There was no reason to believe that there were no burials. In fact, it stood to reason that burials should be equally visible in the archaeological record.

Colonna only agreed in part with the fourth proposition, which explained the absence of sixth- and fifth-century burials as the result of archaeologists' inability to recognize them on the basis of grave goods.³³³ In the years since Pinza had analyzed the Esquiline graves and determined that there were no changes in the pottery found in them until the third century, the wealth of archaeological material from Rome and Latium had served to establish a relative chronology revealing a series of stylistic developments over time.³³⁴ On

³³² Colonna 1977, 133-7.

³³³ Colonna 1977, 136-7; *BullCom*, 24-6.

³³⁴ Müller-Karpe (1960) and Peroni (1960) revised Pinza's work and their chronologies remain in use today. Bietti Sestieri's (1992a) publication of the finds at Osteria dell'Osa was formative. Holloway (1994, 37-50) provides a summary regarding the development of a chronology for ancient Latium.

the basis of this new ceramic typology, Colonna was able to reexamine the pottery from several burials at Rome and date a few of them to the sixth and fifth centuries. In particular, he studied the grave goods associated with a group of three monolithic sarcophagi recovered from the 1876 excavations in the Piazza Magnanapoli. The tombs, which were initially dated to the fourth and third centuries, Colonna now assigned to the sixth and fifth, based on ceramic materials found in or near them.³³⁵ He added to this category several other sarcophagi found throughout Rome, on the grounds that they contained a few grave goods that were datable to the sixth and fifth centuries or, in the absence of grave goods, bore stylistic similarities between the Roman sarcophagi and examples from Spina, Caere and the Greek world. Outside of Rome, he considered as belonging to this period a few tombs from Praeneste, Tivoli, Lanuvium and La Rustica.

Colonna's studies led him to conclude that burial in *Latium vetus* during the sixth and fifth centuries was characterized by a pronounced reduction or total absence of grave goods.³³⁶ As a consequence of this lack of materiality, archaeologists had overlooked, ignored or misinterpreted the evidence. Colonna attributed the change in funerary custom to a change in ideology that required a restriction in the number of graves and grave goods. He noted that the transition seemed to occur simultaneously and rapidly in centers throughout Latium, while the return of graves and grave goods in the fourth century was equally widespread and abrupt. He considered economic downturn an unlikely explanation in light of the archaeological evidence from other contexts that pointed to the general prosperity of the region.

Colonna connected the decrease in graves and grave goods to the promulgation of the Twelve Tables, a series of laws the ancient sources claim were written by the decemvirate in the mid-fifth century at Rome.³³⁷ According to him, the paucity of grave goods in archaic contexts could be credited to the funerary restrictions of the Twelve Tables. The statutes of the tenth table limited the type of clothing and items to be deposited in the grave, and restricted certain ritual behaviors. Colonna trusted the accounts of Cicero that connected the Tables to the sumptuary laws of Solon at Athens, believing that both texts were created to promote *isonomia* between prominent individuals and prevent the kind of public disruption brought about by public funerals. Colonna, however, observed a chronological discrepancy between the time of the promulgation of the laws c. 450 B.C.E. and the visibility of the phenomenon in the archaeological record over a century earlier. In order to account for this gap, Colonna offered a modification to the traditional narrative and posited that it was Servius Tullius, not the decemvirate, that initiated these funerary restrictions.³³⁸ Servius Tullius seemed a logical choice: he was a contemporary of Solon, known for numerous cultural and religious reforms at Rome, and, according to the traditional

³³⁵ Colonna 1977, 137-9; *BullCom* 1876, 124; *NSc* 1876, 185.

³³⁶ Colonna 1977, 156-8.

³³⁷ Colonna 1977, 158-65. I discuss the Twelve Tables in Chapter 4.

³³⁸ Momigliano (1967, 357-8) had previously remarked on this discrepancy. He stated that, had the decemvirate visited Athens c. 450 B.C.E., the Romans would have met with Perikles, who would have given them something more current than the laws of Solon.

chronology, his reign aligned well with the developments in the archaeological record. Consequently, Colonna reasoned that the Romans had been observing such funerary laws since the time of Servius Tullius, and the decemvirate, by the mid-fifth century, had merely recorded what had already been in practice. Colonna furthered this argument by explaining that the adoption of the funerary laws of Solon represented the deliberate opening up of *Latium vetus* to the world of Greek culture and influence and a corresponding closing off to that of Etruria.

Both threads of Colonna's argument, namely, the degree of openness of Latium to Greek influence and the relationship between the Twelve Tables and the decrease in the funerary archaeology of Latium, were picked up by scholars in the following decade. Ampolo believed that the funerary restrictions imposed by the tenth table represented the writing of customs that had been in place earlier, and that these customs marked a change in funerary ideology.³³⁹ He understood the implementation of funerary legislation and the decrease of burial evidence in the archaeological record as twin phenomena, and examined them through the lens of urban development in Greek *poleis*. In his view, the regulation of funerary expenditure represented the interference of an organized community, the *civitas*, in funerary ritual. The community had begun to separate formally the living from the dead, and was redirecting the resources of prominent individuals and their families into the community. The wealth of these families went towards spaces used by the living, namely public places, sanctuaries and private houses.

Bartoloni built upon the conclusions of her predecessors in research that explored the connection between cemeteries and sacred spaces in archaic Latium.³⁴⁰ She argued that the same types of materials that appeared in graves from the Orientalizing period were appearing in the sacred spaces of the Archaic period. She returned to the evidence from the Esquiline necropolis and advanced the hypothesis that, during the Archaic period, the cemetery began to be oriented around a road linking the city to its territory. She added that the Roman custom of burying the deceased along prominent roads, which is well attested for later periods, might have begun in the sixth century.

Both Bartoloni and Naso argued that the disappearance of grave goods throughout archaic Latium, especially in Rome's immediate hinterland, was a sign of Rome's increasing authority in the region.³⁴¹ Bartoloni observed that a number of chamber tombs located within the *ager Romanus antiquus* contained a number of grave goods from the seventh and fourth centuries, but none that could be dated to the sixth and fifth. In contrast, the burials of some settlements, most notably at Fidenae, Ardea, Praeneste and Lanuvium, remained rich in grave goods.³⁴² She suggested that the graves located in the vicinity of Rome lacked

³³⁹ Ampolo 1984.

³⁴⁰ Bartoloni 1987.

³⁴¹ Bartoloni 1987, 157; Naso in *GRT* 249-51.

³⁴² Fidenae: *GRT* n. 10.4; Ardea: 8.4, Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Soprintendenza Archeologia per il Lazio, Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana 1983; Praeneste: *GRT* 262-4; Lanuvium: *GRT* 264-9.

grave goods during the Archaic period because they were subject to the funerary restrictions of the tenth table and thus under Rome's political control. By this same reasoning, those settlements that produced evidence for rich burials through time thus did not come under Roman jurisdiction. Bartoloni postulated that Praeneste, in particular, was able to continue burying the dead with elaborate grave goods because it maintained a certain autonomy and its own funerary legislation, even after the settlement's absorption into Rome's orbit.³⁴³

At about the same time, Toher denounced any connection between the laws of the Twelve Tables and the archaeological record.³⁴⁴ He believed the funerary laws of the Twelve Tables were influenced by Greek legislative texts, but in no way could the promulgation of funerary laws at Rome have been connected to the absence of graves and grave goods in the archaeological record of Latium. His main argument was that the majority of the restrictions of the tenth table have nothing at all to do with the kinds of things that are deposited in graves. Only the seventh provision, which permits the burial of a wreath, and the eighth provision, which prohibits the burial of gold except gold teeth, concern items that may be placed in a grave. The remaining prohibitions concern primarily the types of behavior allowed at funerals, the amount of expenditure allowed for certain activities, and the legal status and permitted location of graves. None of these restrictions, save those concerning the location of the grave, would have been visible in the archaeological record. Thus, Toher saw no evidence supporting a connection between the Twelve Tables and the archaeological record of the Archaic period. He did agree, however, that the promulgation of formal laws such as the Twelve Tables presupposed the existence of a complex city-state, and that the dearth in the archaeological record of burials may reflect the desire of the community to invest in public as opposed to private spaces.

Scholarship has remained largely silent on the subject of until recently, when renewed archaeological activity in Rome and Latium brought to light a number of sixth- and fifth-century burials.³⁴⁵ The discovery of several archaic chamber tombs in the region of ancient Crustumium considerably broadened the scope of the topic. There were a few known chamber tombs in Latium prior to these findings; the majority were constructed some time in the seventh century and showed signs of use until the fourth.³⁴⁶ Whether they were abandoned in the sixth and reused in the fourth, or used continuously throughout the Archaic period into the fourth century was unclear, based on the lack of material evidence that would make dating possible. The Crustumium excavations, however, demonstrated that this type of tomb was indeed common in archaic Latium, and prompted an investigation into the development of this style of burial in the region.

³⁴³ Bartoloni 1987, 157.

³⁴⁴ Toher 2005.

³⁴⁵ Cornell (1995, 105-8) and Smith (1996, 186-7) make brief statements regarding the paucity of graves and grave goods in archaic Latium.

³⁴⁶ Bartoloni (1987) discusses these limited examples.

Rajala, in a series of publications, examined the results of the necropolis of Cisterna Grande, in ancient Crustumerium, to explore how these chamber tombs were used as objects to articulate identities on local and regional levels.³⁴⁷ She draws attention to the gap in the funerary record of early Rome and Latium by exposing the archaeological bias that favored the excavation of earlier or later tombs. Tombs that are considered rich are more likely to be excavated, both because of the value of their objects for academic study and because they have a high risk of being robbed. Consequently, those graves that are devoid of grave goods are considered poor, and not a priority of excavation.

In her earliest article, Rajala traced the changes in funerary custom in Latium over the course of the Orientalizing and Archaic periods.³⁴⁸ She noticed that a transformation in tomb type accompanied the depletion of grave goods. In the Orientalizing period, the most common form of burial consisted of a trench tomb, which typically contained a number of grave goods. By the end of the seventh century to the beginning of the sixth, a new form of burial, the monumental chamber tomb, appeared in Latium. This development occurred at the same time as grave goods were disappearing from funerary contexts. What is more, the number of identifiable burials was greatly reduced; there were simply far fewer graves from the Archaic period than the prior Orientalizing period. It appeared that the rise in the monumentality of graves corresponded to a decrease in the number of graves and grave goods. She was careful to note that there appeared to be considerable variability in tomb types: not only did chamber tombs themselves vary considerably in shape, size, depth, dimension, orientation and design, but a variety of different types of tombs, such as trenches and sarcophagi, continued to appear throughout Latium.

Rajala's work on the cemetery at Cisterna Grande called to attention the need for increased systematic excavation and study of archaic burials.³⁴⁹ Most of the tombs that had been recovered elsewhere were the product of rescue excavation rather than the subject of targeted research. The monumentality, variability and paucity of tombs throughout Latium during the sixth and fifth centuries required an explanation that took into account economic, religious, political, social and cultural changes. According to Rajala, it is no longer sufficient to explain the archaeological invisibility of graves and grave goods as the result of enforced funerary legislation; while this may have been a contributing factor, it was not likely the only one.

Most recently, Bartoloni revisited the topic of archaic burials, offering a new investigation into the reasons for the change in funerary custom.³⁵⁰ In an article co-written with Nizzo and Taloni, Bartoloni adopted a diachronic view in order to examine the disappearance of grave goods in tombs throughout Latium.³⁵¹ The authors studied the burials of southern Etruria and Latium during the Orientalizing and Archaic periods, and noted that there was

³⁴⁷ Rajala 2007; 2008a; 2008b.

³⁴⁸ Rajala 2007.

³⁴⁹ Rajala (2007, 2008a, 2008b) states this in all her papers.

³⁵⁰ Bartoloni et al. 2009; Bartoloni 2010.

³⁵¹ Bartoloni et al. 2009.

a decline in both the number of graves and graves goods in both regions over time. They observed, however, that Orientalizing burials often contained vessels involved with the funerary banquet, which suggests that funerary ritual at the time was connected to the performance of rituals associated with these goods.³⁵² It seems that these rituals were abandoned by the time of the Archaic period, when such vessels had completely disappeared, following a gradual decline, from funerary contexts.

The authors maintained that this phenomenon was directly related to a central power, an authority that, in the tradition of Greek tyrants, issued a series of laws aimed at curbing the conspicuous consumption of the aristocratic elite. They viewed the turn of the late seventh to early sixth century as a time characterized by conflict between aristocratic elite groups, which was tempered by the promulgation of sumptuary laws.³⁵³ The laws were antiaristocratic in nature, even if they were written by aristocrats, and were directed at the restricting the behavior and manner of funerary ritual. The authors add that the laws were promulgated sometime in the seventh century during the reign of the Tarquins, and were instituted only in those territories conquered by Rome; this excluded Lavinium, Ardea, Lanuvium and Praeneste.

The last century of research has produced mixed results. Without a doubt, the most important developments involve the identification and discovery of archaic burials in the archaeological record. Pinza and Colonna's contributions brought to light a new category of archaeological data. It was Pinza who first observed the absence of burial evidence at Rome from the sixth and fifth centuries, and he attributed this gap to archaeologists' inability to distinguish the graves of this period from those of earlier times. It was Colonna's work, however, that made archaic graves truly visible. Building on Pinza's hypothesis, Colonna argued that archaic burials were unrecognizable because they contained no items with which to date them. He attributed the reduction or absence of grave goods to a change in funerary practice, and emphasized the social, political and ideological reasons that might account for this change. At the time, Colonna was only able to draw his conclusions from a fairly limited pool of evidence that consisted primarily of the results of the Esquiline excavations and a few other prominent sites in southern Etruria and Latium. The many archaeological excavations conducted in Rome and Latium from the nineteen-seventies onward have added considerably to this pool of data. In addition to radically transforming our understanding of early Rome and Latium, these investigations uncovered a number of burials that could be dated to the Archaic period on the basis of stratigraphic excavation. This work continues even today, and archaeologists are well equipped to identify archaic

³⁵² Riva (2010, 141-76) draws similar conclusions in her study of the "princely" burials of Etruria.

³⁵³ In a second, subsequent article, Bartoloni (2010) considers the evidence for archaic burial at Rome, and concludes that the burials on the Esquiline necropolis are divided into small groups that perhaps represent the burial grounds of different gentes.

tombs on the basis of modern techniques of stratigraphic excavation, and an understanding that archaic tombs contain little to no grave goods.³⁵⁴

Despite these advances, some problems persist in the interpretation of the data. The most pervasive is scholars' overreliance on the ancient sources to explain phenomena in the archaeological record of the Archaic period. The Twelve Tables, and the accounts relating to their promulgation, loom large in this discussion. Colonna first connected the near or complete absence of grave goods in archaic burials to the funerary restrictions of the Twelve Tables, and scholars almost unfailingly have continued to accept this interpretation. The chronological discrepancy between the promulgation of the laws and the change in the archaeological record do not even present a problem to most scholars, who suggest that the Twelve Tables represent the formalization in writing of laws or customs that were enforced by either Tarquinius Priscus or Servius Tullius. Underscoring this claim is the debate concerning the historicity of the accounts regarding early Rome, which calls into question the reliability of the accounts concerning the Twelve Tables and the Roman kings. Although I accept that it is possible for the Romans to have promulgated such laws, whether or not they were based on a longstanding tradition, I believe it unwise to draw too many conclusions based on the ancient accounts. I consider it unsound to connect a phenomenon in the archaeological record to a historical event of dubious historicity that occurred over a century later. It is instead more fruitful to examine the archaeological materials for evidence of a change in funerary ideology, and consider this in the context of the many other significant structural changes that were happening at the time.

5c. Types of Burial

In this section I outline the various types of tombs that have been recovered throughout Rome and Latium. I have organized these into four main categories, but note variations that occur in each. The first three types of tombs refer almost exclusively to adult burials; the last pertains to the graves of infants and children.

i. Trench Tombs

Trench tombs, otherwise known as *tombe a fossa*, are rectangular graves cut into volcanic tuff. In its simplest form, the *fossa* tomb is a rectangular trench designed for a single inhumation, but it may have a niche (*loculus*) carved into one or more of its sides to hold another burial and/or grave goods. During the Archaic period, most trench tombs consist only of one trench containing a single inhumation. In general, they include very little in the way of grave goods, except at Satricum, where funerary kits (*corredi*) are often present.

³⁵⁴ Although it is possible that geochronometric techniques assist in the dating of recently discovered tombs, these are not widely implemented at archaeological sites. What is more, the cost of these analyses may be prohibitive and unnecessary in light of stratigraphic excavation and ceramic typologies. Chronology is not so much an issue for the tombs more recently excavated, but those recovered in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this case, obtaining the correct materials necessary for dating is unlikely.

Trench tombs comprise the most common form of burial during the Early Iron Age and Orientalizing period of central Italy. They are generally less common in the Archaic period, although they continue to appear in high numbers at certain sites. They constitute the predominant form of burial at Satricum,³⁵⁵ where they are used almost exclusively, and are well attested in Rome and its environs. Excavations in 2002 on the Esquiline Hill at Rome uncovered several examples.³⁵⁶ In the southern region of modern Rome, the Laurentina district has revealed particularly high concentrations of trench tombs: at Casale Massima it constitutes the main form of burial, and several examples were discovered at Tor de' Cenci.³⁵⁷

Beyond Roman territory, trench tombs are attested, although in fewer numbers. A single example was discovered at Ardea, at the site of Campo del Fico;³⁵⁸ at Fidenae, an especially rich trench tomb, belonging to a woman, was discovered.³⁵⁹ At Ficana, Ardea and Gabii, trench tombs are often used for the burial of children, with or without grave goods.³⁶⁰ These children's trench tombs often appear in habitation areas, alongside juvenile burials in jars.³⁶¹

ii. Sarcophagi

Monolithic sarcophagi, carved from tuff, constitute a second category of burial in Rome and Latium during the Archaic period.³⁶² They were deposited in trenches dug into the ground or, on occasion, placed in chamber tombs. The sarcophagi are often covered with a monolithic slab of the same tuff, which is placed horizontally over the tomb. In some cases the sarcophagus may be covered instead with tiles or wooden planks. Although most sarcophagi remain unadorned, some receive further refinement, and have panels carved into their sides or are covered by gabled lids. For the most part, the sarcophagi held single inhumations, but one example from the old excavations on the Esquiline contained a marble cremation urn.³⁶³ In general they contain little to no grave goods. This type of burial continued to be used in the fourth and third centuries, which has caused problems for scholars trying to date the tombs recovered in old excavations. In the absence of grave

³⁵⁵ Gnade 1992; 2002; Ginge 1996.

³⁵⁶ Barbera et al. 2005; Asor Rosa et al. 2009.

³⁵⁷ Casale Massima: Bedini 1980; Tor de' Cenci: Bedini 1990.

³⁵⁸ Crescenzi and Tortorici 1983.

³⁵⁹ di Gennaro 1990.

³⁶⁰ Ficana: Jarva 1981a; 1981b; Cataldi Dini 1980. Ardea: Crescenzi and Tortorici 1983.

Gabii: see Chapter 6.

³⁶¹ Jarva 1981a; 1981b.

³⁶² Many sarcophagi are made of *peperino* tuff, a grey tuff generally quarried from the Alban Hills. It was commonly used in construction during the Archaic period. The tuff from many sarcophagi have not been identified or sampled, however, and it is impossible, at present, to determine their origin.

³⁶³ Colonna 1977, 136-50.

goods or reliable stratigraphy, these graves cannot be accurately dated. The dimensions of the sarcophagi are remarkably consistent throughout the entire region. The six sarcophagi that have been well documented preserve dimensions ranging from 1.96 to 2.14 m in length, by 0.76 to 0.82 m in width, by 0.60 to 0.64 m in width. Even those sarcophagi that come from the older excavations are similar in size.

Sarcophagi are most commonly attested at Rome, and, along with trench tombs, comprise the dominant mode of burial there. The majority of the sarcophagi have been found on the Esquiline Hill. On the basis of stylistic comparisons with examples in south Etruria and pottery found near the tombs, Colonna dated to the Archaic period several sarcophagi that were recovered in the old excavations of the necropolis.³⁶⁴ In the nineteen-twenties, Colini discovered additional sarcophagi on the Esquiline; although it is possible that they belong to the Archaic period, they have been dated to the fourth century.³⁶⁵ More reliable data have emerged from the 2002 excavations on the Esquiline, which have revealed three additional examples.³⁶⁶ Moving northwest to the Quirinal Hill, three sarcophagi have recently been found on the modern Via Goito. Archaeologists have tentatively dated these from the fourth to second centuries, but acknowledge that they may go back as far as the sixth century.³⁶⁷ A more precise date could not be determined since the tombs had been looted and the stratigraphy proved unreliable. Despite the inconsistent quality of the Esquiline data, the monolithic sarcophagus of tuff seems to have been a common type in the cemetery.

Outside of Rome, sarcophagi have been discovered primarily in eastern Latium at La Rustica, Tibur, Gabii and Corcolle.³⁶⁸ They were all constructed of local tuff, with exception of one example from Tibur that was carved from limestone and was covered by a travertine lid.³⁶⁹ At Tibur the sarcophagi were located within a cemetery, at Gabii within two distinct intramural burial groups and at Corcolle, in a chamber tomb.³⁷⁰ Colonna considered the sarcophagi from La Rustica and Tibur as archaic in date, but the evidence comes from old excavations whose results are inconclusive.³⁷¹ To the south of Rome, at Lanuvium, the so-called Tomb of the Warrior was contained in a sarcophagus.³⁷²

³⁶⁴ Colonna 1977, 136-50.

³⁶⁵ Colini 1932.

³⁶⁶ Barbera et al. 2005; Asor Rosa et al. 2009.

³⁶⁷ Menghi et al. 2005.

³⁶⁸ It is unclear from Reggiani et al. 1998, whether these are archaic sarcophagi.

³⁶⁹ La Rustica: *CLP* 153-65; Tibur: Faccenna 1957; Gabii: see Chapter 6. I have not included La Rustica among the list of sites presented here since the reports provide nearly no information regarding these burials. The *CLP* notes only that some of the burials in the cemetery may have belonged to the Archaic period, but does not specify which ones.

³⁷⁰ Reggiani et al. 1998.

³⁷¹ Colonna 1977, 149-55. In both cases, the sarcophagi are located within necropoleis containing burials ranging in date from the seventh through third century. In the case of the tomb at Tivoli, Colonna redated it based on the presence of late-archaic and proto-classical Etruscan bronze mirrors. With regard to La Rustica, the published reports (*CLP* 153-65),

Colonna identified a subcategory of sarcophagi when reviewing the material from the Esquiline. These were small stone coffins (*casse*) and *peperino* urns, which he believed belonged to the Archaic period.³⁷³ The *casse* were undecorated and contained single inhumations. Grave goods were generally absent, but in some cases there were a few items, such as a loomweight, a fragment of *aes rude*, or mirror. The urns, except for one example in marble, were generally made of tuff, and contained cremated remains. Most of these were smooth and had no decoration, but there are a few examples bearing traces of painting, wall mirrors and architectural features. Colonna dates these urns to the sixth and fifth centuries based on stylistic similarities between these examples and others from Spina and Caere, but these conclusions, as is the case with much of the evidence from the Esquiline cemetery, are extremely unreliable.

iii. Chamber Tombs

Chamber tombs emerged in *Latium vetus* at the end of the seventh century, and during the Archaic period became common throughout the region. There is considerable variety in the style and location of chamber tombs both at the local and regional levels. In general, however, these tombs were cut into the local tuff and were designed to accommodate one or more inhumation burials. They are comprised of two basic features, the chamber and the entrance corridor (*dromos*). The chamber is rectangular and has niches carved into its walls or a bed carved into the tuff; tiles or wooden planks occasionally closed off the niches. The *dromos*, which constitutes the formal entrance to the tomb, is often long and narrow, and covered at the entrance by stone slabs. The dimensions of both the chamber and the *dromos* vary tremendously according to tomb and site. Chamber tombs occupied many different positions in the landscape. They are attested in isolation, small groups and cemeteries, and are often located along roads or at city limits. Occasionally, they are located within the *ager* of the city. Most chamber tombs do not contain grave goods, although some inhumations are found with personal accoutrements, such as *fibulae* and pins.

Most chamber tombs have been discovered within the last fifty years and, as a result, have benefitted from the methodology and techniques of modern excavation. Archaeologists have reliably dated most chamber tombs based on the contents of the fill and stratigraphic sequence. However, many burials were excavated as part of rescue operations rather than research projects and are often missing some forms of documentation, including photographs, plans, dimensions and anthropological data.

indicate that several sarcophagi, some of which had side niches or were covered with tiles, were devoid of grave goods. On these grounds Colonna assigned these tombs to the Archaic period. However, the only tombs published in any detail are a handful of Orientalizing tombs with substantial *corredi*. The allegedly archaic burials received no discussion other than this cursory observation.

³⁷² *GRT* 264-9.

³⁷³ Colonna 1977, 137-49.

Chamber tombs have been found at a number of sites throughout ancient Latium, some of which display regional similarities. In the Laurentina district of Rome, two chamber tombs are attested at the site of Acqua Acetosa Laurentina,³⁷⁴ a group of ten at the site of Tor de' Cenci,³⁷⁵ and two more at the site of Torrino.³⁷⁶ The burials at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina and Tor de' Cenci have in common a short *dromos*, and narrow, rectangular chamber that has a niche on one of its long sides.³⁷⁷ At Torrino, the *dromoi* are long and narrow, and the individual chambers are oblong and contain one or two *loculi*. One of these chamber tombs was in use from the Orientalizing through Archaic periods and contains separate chambers, some of which contained multiple inhumations.

The most substantial group of chamber tombs has come from the excavations at ancient Crustumerium, at the site of Cisterna Grande.³⁷⁸ One late orientalizing and five archaic chamber tombs were discovered here that had different shapes, sizes, depths, orientations, designs and finishing. The *dromoi* varied in length and width, while some were closed by single stone slabs and others with piles of stones. There does not seem to have been a standard tomb type, since some chambers had one or more *loculi* that contained additional burials in coffins, trunks, or funerary beds. Most of the tombs include a limited quantity of grave goods, which sets them apart from most archaic burials in Latium. Examples of grave goods include jewelry, arms, metal objects, pottery and fibulae. Some of the tombs from this site show evidence of reuse; it seems that older burials were disarticulated and removed to make new space for newer inhumations.

East of Rome chamber tombs have been identified at Corcolle³⁷⁹ and Gabii.³⁸⁰ The twelve recovered at Corcolle constitute a necropolis along with several trench tombs. The chamber tombs are all characterized by niches oriented around a central chamber, but vary in nearly every other respect. One of the oldest tombs, dating to the second quarter of the sixth century, contained a funerary kit that consisted mostly of ceramic vessels. At Gabii, a variant of the chamber tomb, known as the semi-chamber (*semi camera*), appears within the urban area of the city.³⁸¹ In some respects they resemble a large trench tomb: cut vertically into the tuff, they lack the formal entrance, or *dromos*, of a typical chamber tomb. The plan of these tombs, however, is quadrangular and the dimensions much greater than a standard trench. At Gabii, the graves reach a depth of 1.95 m range and range between 2.0-2.5 m in length and width. Both tombs had *loculi* on two or three sides, and in some cases, a funerary bed was carved into the niche in order to support the deposition of the deceased on a wooden bier. These tombs must have been entered by means of some mechanism, but

³⁷⁴ Bedini 1983.

³⁷⁵ Bedini 1990.

³⁷⁶ Bedini 1981.

³⁷⁷ Rajala 2007, 47; 2008a, 41.

³⁷⁸ Rajala 2007, 2008a, 2008b.

³⁷⁹ Reggiani *et al.* 1998.

³⁸⁰ See Chapter 6.

³⁸¹ The earliest chamber tomb comes from the site of Osteria dell'Osa and dates to the late Orientalizing period (De Santis 1992; Bietti Sestieri 1992a; 1992b, Tomb 62).

there is no evidence for this at Gabii; nor is there any evidence for what might have covered the main chamber of the tomb, if anything. A lone chamber tomb has also been recovered at Lavinium, which was noted its grave goods.

iv. Child and Infant Burials

The funerary rituals accorded to children and infants in archaic Latium were different than those reserved for adults.³⁸² Beginning sometime around the late ninth and early eighth centuries and continuing through the fifth, infants and children were buried in close association with inhabited areas (i.e. huts and houses). These burials took several different forms, primarily in trenches, ceramic vessels and tiles, and there are a number of terms used in modern scholarship to characterize this basic phenomenon. A *suggrundarium* generally refers to the burial of an infant, typically two years of age or less, beneath the floors and along the walls of huts and houses.³⁸³ The most common form of this type of burial was in a jar, typically a *dolium*, which was closed at the mouth either by flat tiles, slabs of stone or a second jar, and then deposited horizontally in the ground. Occasionally the vessels were left open or deposited vertically. The term *enchytrismos* is sometimes used to refer specifically to infant burials in jars; what distinguishes a *suggrundarium* from an *enchytrismos* is the connection with a house or hut.

Infants and children were often buried in trenches, similar to those reserved for adults but constructed on a smaller scale. They may be located in a cemetery reserved specifically for children or in a burial ground shared with adults. In some cases, children appear to have been buried with adults in the same grave; sometimes they are located in a separate, but connected, *loculus*. This type of burial is also found in association with domestic contexts; although this is not a *suggrundarium* in the strict sense, it appears to serve the same function. A less common type of infant burial, *a coppi*, refers to individuals that were placed between tiles. These generally consisted of two covering tiles, closed at one or both ends with a flat tile; pieces of tuff, ceramic fragments or tile were sometimes used as support along the sides. Burials *a coppi* generally contained infants that died at birth or within the first few months of life.

Infant burials are well attested in the archaeological record of archaic Rome and Latium, although they experience the same decline in number and grave goods as adult burials. In the Iron Age, child and infant burials were often accompanied by relatively rich grave goods, but by the Archaic period, there are frequently none at all. If grave goods are present, they consist largely of a single miniature ceramic vessel, a fibula or a *bulla*. *Suggrundaria* in particular are well attested both at Rome and Gabii in the Archaic period;

³⁸² Chapter 3 presents the literary evidence for child and infant burial.

³⁸³ The definition of the word is derived from a work of Fulgentius (*Expositio sermonum antiquorum* 7), a sixth century C.E. writer, who stated that the ancients used the word *suggrundarium* to denote the burials of infants less than forty days old. Gjerstad (1953, 152-4, especially n. 3) describes the use of the term in ancient and modern scholarship. See also Chapter 3 regarding the use of the word in the ancient literary sources.

at Rome these occur in jars,³⁸⁴ while at Gabii they occur both in jars and in trenches.³⁸⁵ At the site of ancient Ficana were discovered seven infant burials *a coppi*, in what may have constituted an infant necropolis.³⁸⁶ At Ficana there is evidence for the increasing age-restrictions placed on child burials. In the Early Iron Age, children of up to ten years of age were recovered. During the seventh century, the age limit appears to be two or three years, and by the sixth century, no infants were recovered over two months.³⁸⁷

5d. Funerary Rite

The predominant funerary rite in Rome and Latium during the Archaic period was inhumation. Cremation was more commonly practiced during the Iron Age; by the fourth century, it had become the preferred rite once more. The only known cremation burials of the sixth and fifth centuries come from a few urns recovered in the sarcophagi from the old excavations of the Esquiline necropolis at Rome and a single urn in the chamber tomb at Lavinium. Inhumation burials appear in a few basic types, namely, trenches, chamber tombs and sarcophagi. Graves in trenches and sarcophagi usually contained single inhumations; chamber tombs often held two or more individuals. The body of the deceased could be placed directly into the grave or on a wooden plank that was lowered into the tomb.

It is unclear why inhumation superseded cremation by the beginning of the sixth century, but it may be connected to the other radical changes in funerary custom at this time, including the increase in the monumentality of burials and the reduction of grave goods. Economic motivations may have been a factor in the decision whether to inhume or cremate, but this is difficult to determine. Studies of the funerary record of later periods suggest that inhumation was the less expensive rite, which scholars claim was widely taken up by the less wealthy members of the population.³⁸⁸ The entire process may have taken up to eight hours, and required the involvement of specialists and the preparation of a pyre.³⁸⁹ In this light, the adoption of inhumation during the Archaic period may reflect the decrease in expenditure on funerary ritual observed in the absence of grave goods and the laws of the Twelve Tables. However, the switch to inhumation may equally represent a change of fashion in funerary ritual, chosen perhaps for its novelty. When inhumation returns as the dominant rite in the third century C.E., there is little evidence to suggest the transition was brought about by economic or religious motivations.³⁹⁰ Instead, the practice seems to have

³⁸⁴ Gjerstad 1956, 146-9; Gusberti (2007-2008) provides a useful summary of burials in association with inhabited areas in the eighth and seventh centuries.

³⁸⁵ See Chapter 6.

³⁸⁶ Jarva 1981a and 1981b.

³⁸⁷ Jarva 1981a.

³⁸⁸ Morris 1992; Graham 2006, 31-4.

³⁸⁹ McKinley 1989.

³⁹⁰ Nock 1972; Morris 1992, 42-69. Morris interprets the change from cremation to inhumation as a diffusion of the culture of the Greek East into the Latin West and explains

been taken up first in wealthy and/or elite circles, suggesting that the shift in funerary rite was largely a change of fashion, one that perhaps allowed for new opportunities of ostentation.

5e. Archaeological Sites

This section offers a critical overview of the archaeological evidence for burial in Rome and Latium during the Archaic period. Many of the sites are named after modern locations, while others are referred to by the name of the ancient city. I provide as much geographical information as possible, for ease of reference. I organize the sites according to region, beginning with Rome and moving into the north, east, west and south regions of Latium. I include as part of Rome those sites that fall within and just beyond the limits of the modern city. For cities such as Rome and Satricum, which have been extensively excavated, I document the discoveries found at individual sites in those areas. In all cases, I offer a brief description of the sites where archaic burials have been identified and present an account of the evidence.

i. Rome (Center)

Piazza Magnanapoli

In 1876 R. Lanciani discovered three monolithic sarcophagi in the Piazza Magnanapoli, near the church of S. Caterina da Siena (fig. 5.1).³⁹¹ The records regarding the excavation are vague and imprecise, but indicate that the three tombs were found together in a small pit dug into the earth. Near the tomb group was found a small attic amphora decorated in black figure, which Colonna, a century later, dated to 500 B.C.E. on stylistic grounds.³⁹² Due to its position outside the sarcophagi but included in the same pit, Colonna suggested that this vessel was a funerary offering made to the deceased, and consequently dated the entire tomb group to the late sixth and early fifth centuries.³⁹³ Originally, however, the burials were dated to the fourth and third centuries, based on stylistic analyses of the grave goods.³⁹⁴

that it was likely taken up first by the elite, but within the span of two or three decades, had trickled down to the lower classes.

³⁹¹ The results of this excavation are recorded in two different publications from the same year: *BullCom* (1876, 123-6) and *NSc* (1876, 185). The information contained in both reports is mostly consistent, but some data is omitted from the *Notizie degli Scavi* account. The description presented here is compiled from both reports.

³⁹² Colonna 1977, 138-9. Pinza, in *BullCom* (1876, 124) and *NSc* (1876, 185), offers two different reports regarding the location of the amphoretta, near the first sarcophagus (*BullCom* 1876, 124) and near the second (*NSc* 1876, 185). In either case they are outside of and in association with the tomb group.

³⁹³ Colonna 1977, 138.

³⁹⁴ von Duhn 1924, 487; Ryberg 1940, 88.

Regarding the sarcophagi themselves, Lanciani records that they were rectangular in shape, although varying in size, and made of stone similar to that from the Latin city of Gabii. The first identified sarcophagus had a stone lid and was without grave goods; the second measured 2.20 by 0.90 m and contained an *alabastron*, a bone pin and a wreath with gilded bone berries; and the third was closed with a lid of gabled stone slabs and contained nine gilded beads of bone in the shape of pomegranates and pine cones. All three sarcophagi contained inhumations of fragmentary nature, although an analysis of the surviving teeth belonging to the second burial indicated that this individual was 25 to 30 years old. Lanciani suggested the tomb group was established in connection with an ancient city-gate, based on his observations that a second group of burials had been discovered near the arch on the Esquiline.³⁹⁵ Bartoloni later suggested this was the Porta Fontinalis, but this hypothesis is doubtful, since the original location of this gate remains controversial.³⁹⁶

Esquiline Necropolis

The cemetery on the Esquiline Hill was excavated over the course of the eighteen-seventies, when the area was being redeveloped for modern habitation (fig. 5.1).³⁹⁷ The state of record keeping from the excavations is notoriously abysmal: a number of tombs were recovered during the construction of streets and public places, but there is very little documentation related to any of these activities. Based on the records, it seems the necropolis was divided into two groups, the first along the streets of Via Giovanni Lanza and the Via dello Statuto, and the other around the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele (fig. 5.2). Burials located outside of these areas demonstrate that the cemetery extended both east and west, but the precise limits are unknown.

Following these excavations there were many attempts to organize the data, the earliest of which were unsuccessful. Records were kept on the objects found in the tombs, and both the records and artifacts were initially held in storage on the Esquiline. At some later date, the objects were removed to another facility. No inventory was maintained, however, and it became largely impossible to connect the artifacts with their tombs, except in a few circumstances. The renewed excavations in the eighteen-eighties followed better methods of documentation and preservation.

³⁹⁵ It is unclear to which group of burials he refers. These are possibly the fourth-century tombs Holloway (1994, 96-99) mentions were found inside the Servian Walls.

³⁹⁶ Bartoloni (2010, 170) calls it the Porta Fortunalis. The gate is known only from a handful of ancient sources and inscriptions. It was thought to have comprised part of the Servian wall, and though there is some dispute amongst modern scholars regarding the precise location of the gate, most agree with Livy's account that places the gate on the northeast side of the Capitoline Hill, where the remains are visible in front of the Museo del Risorgimento. For a more complete account, see *NTDAR* 303; *LTUR* 3.328-9.

³⁹⁷ *MonAnt* (1905, 44-50) and Gjerstad (1956, 162-6) provide summaries of the history of excavations on the Esquiline.

In general, the poor state of record keeping and conservation of materials from the site make these data rather unreliable, in spite of the admirable attempts in the last century to sort through them. Pinza, in the early twentieth century, was first responsible for organizing and publishing the results of the Esquiline excavations.³⁹⁸ He divided the burials into three categories based on the degree of scientific methodology applied to the excavation of the tombs and the preservation of their contents.³⁹⁹ The first category includes tombs 1-94, which were excavated in 1884. This category represents the most reliable data, meaning that tomb groups and their contents were recorded and preserved together. The second category comprises tombs 95-128, excavated between 1882 and 1884. These are considered less reliable, meaning that there is some confusion in which objects belong to which tomb groups. The third category consists of tombs 129-164, those recovered before 1882. These are the least reliable, and it is impossible to ascertain which objects belong to which tombs. It is important to note, here, that Pinza documented the contents of tomb groups and not necessarily individual tombs. Tomb groups often consisted of multiple burials, the contents of which are distinguished in vague terms or not at all.

In the nineteen-seventies, Colonna consulted Pinza's account of the necropolis and identified a few burials that he attributed to the Archaic period.⁴⁰⁰ The first was the so-called tomb 89, originally discovered in 1876 in the area of the destroyed church of S. Giuliano, on the western side of the Piazza di Vittorio Emanuele.⁴⁰¹ The burial consisted of a monolithic sarcophagus of *peperino* tuff, in which there was a small Attic *pelike* with red-figure decoration (figs. 5.3 and 5.4). According to earlier reports there were a number of other ceramic vessels included in this tomb group, which Gjerstad had dated to the Latial phase IIB.⁴⁰² Pinza initially dated the vessel and thus the tomb to the fourth and third centuries, but Colonna later revised this, postulating a date at the end of the fifth century.⁴⁰³ A second burial was tomb 193, discovered in 1888 near the gates of the northern side of the piazza, between the Via Ricasoli and Via Lamarmora.⁴⁰⁴ This burial was a small *pozzetto*, built of blocks of tuff, at the bottom of which was an urn of *peperino*. The urn was in the shape of a house with a gabled roof, and was decorated with rectangular panels on the outside walls; the lid had sloping sides (figs. 5.5 and 5.6). Within this urn was another cinerary urn, made of white marble and covered by a gabled roof that was painted on both sides (figs. 5.7 and 5.8). Based on the stylistic similarities between this marble urn and another example from elsewhere in Italy, Colonna was able to date this tomb from the late

³⁹⁸ Pinza did this in two main publications appearing in 1905 and 1914. The earlier publication constitutes the main body of evidence, the later was intended as supplementary material.

³⁹⁹ *MonAnt* 1905, 43-50.

⁴⁰⁰ *BullCom* 1914; Colonna 1977, 139-49.

⁴⁰¹ *BullCom* 1914, 138.

⁴⁰² *MonAnt* 1905, 141; Gjerstad 1956, 230-2.

⁴⁰³ Colonna 1977, 139-140, fig. 3.

⁴⁰⁴ *BullCom* 1914, 162; *NSc* 1888, 132; Colonna 1977, 140-1.

sixth to early fifth century.⁴⁰⁵ Although there were no grave goods in this tomb, Colonna believed the burial belonged to a high-ranking individual.⁴⁰⁶

The attribution of the urns from tomb 193 led Colonna to identify as archaic several other urns from the Esquiline necropolis. He based his conclusions on a stylistic comparison of the urns and the absence of any grave goods from these burials.⁴⁰⁷ Colonna's first example was a painted urn, larger in size than that from tomb 193, which was not associated with any grave goods (figs. 5.9 and 5.10).⁴⁰⁸ He claims the urn was probably located in tomb 5, but its provenance seems uncertain. From nearby tombs 4 and 6 were discovered two painted cinerary urns and a sarcophagus, all enclosed within a chamber tomb.⁴⁰⁹ Both Pinza and Colonna argued the urns resembled the example from tomb 5. Colonna added to this list an urn known only from a drawing by Lanciani (fig. 5.11).⁴¹⁰ Another comes from tomb 178, which has panels on its sides and is without grave goods.⁴¹¹ Two more urns were found in tombs 172 and 177, which were nearly identical in style and dimensions. Both were made of smooth, unfinished gabbione stone and were without grave goods.⁴¹² They both measured 0.58 m long, between 0.25 and 0.26 m wide, and were 0.23 m high. There are no images of these tombs.

Colonna also assigns a number of unfinished stone sarcophagi to the Archaic period on the grounds that they have very few to no grave goods. The examples are numerous, and Colonna lists only those found with a few grave goods: tombs 83, 84 and 148, which had loomweights; tombs 56-58, one of which included a piece of bronze; tomb 116, which contained a lump of *aes rude*; and tomb 17, in which a bronze mirror and metal pin were found.

Colonna's attempt to identify archaic burials from the late nineteenth-century excavations at Rome is both admirable and influential, but must be approached with a significant degree of caution. Those burials associated with materials that can be securely dated to the sixth and fifth centuries constitute the most reliable body of evidence; these include the sarcophagi from the Piazza Magnanapoli, and tombs 89 and 193 from the Esquiline. It is important to acknowledge, however, that without knowing the stratigraphic sequence from either of these sites, it is impossible to be absolutely positive about their chronology. Especially uncertain are the myriad of sarcophagi and urns from the Esquiline that Colonna attributes to the Archaic period based solely on their stylistic resemblance to tombs 89, 193 and the Piazza Magnanapoli sarcophagi, and the limited presence or complete absence of grave goods. There is very little reason to accept these examples as reliable evidence,

⁴⁰⁵ Colonna 1977, 139-46.

⁴⁰⁶ Colonna 1977, 146.

⁴⁰⁷ Colonna 1977, 146-9.

⁴⁰⁸ *MonAnt* 1905, 186, fig. 78.

⁴⁰⁹ *BullCom* 1914, 123.

⁴¹⁰ Mariani 1895, 21, fig. 2; *BullCom* 1912 38, fig. 13; Colonna 1977, 148.

⁴¹¹ *BullCom* 1914, 158; Colonna 1977, 148.

⁴¹² *BullCom* 1914, 157-8.

since, for the most part, Colonna has based his conclusions on the descriptions compiled from the old site reports. In many cases, there are no images of these urns and sarcophagi, only descriptions. It is, ultimately, difficult to draw any meaningful conclusions based upon the surviving evidence. At best, what the majority of Colonna and Pinza's information demonstrates is that stone sarcophagi and urns were a common form of burial on the Esquiline over the course of several centuries, including the Archaic period.⁴¹³

In his own reanalysis of the Esquiline tombs in the nineteen-fifties, Gjerstad attributed only three tombs to the Archaic period.⁴¹⁴ Gjerstad, too, relied on the work accomplished by Pinza, but included only those burials that he believed had a reliable context and determinable date. Consequently, he accounted for only those tomb-groups containing datable pottery and other non-ceramic objects.⁴¹⁵ The first is tomb 118, about which nothing at all is known, except that it contained three examples Italo-Corinthian pottery, which Gjerstad dated to the sixth century.⁴¹⁶ The second was tomb 125, a chamber tomb that Gjerstad claims is the only example of its kind that can definitively be dated to the Archaic period.⁴¹⁷ The objects found in this tomb, which are numerous and include a fragment inscribed with *ktektou*, indicate the continued use of the space, since they can be dated from the sixth through third centuries. The third example is tomb 128, was a trench burial that contained several vessels.⁴¹⁸ The main difficulty with Gjerstad's claims is that his chronology has been proven too late. What he attributed to the Archaic period in fact belongs to the Orientalizing phase.

The next series of excavations on the Esquiline Hill were undertaken by Colini and Pinza in the late nineteen-twenties and were aimed at discovering additional burials (fig. 5.12).⁴¹⁹ Archaeological investigation centered on four areas in and around the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, but only in one area was there any evidence for ancient funerary activity.⁴²⁰ In the garden, near the entrance to the Via dello Statuto, archaeologists discovered nine tombs. Colini made only general observations about these burials. All contained inhumations and, with one exception, had a southeast-northwest orientation. Three types of burial were identified: rectangular trench tombs covered by lids of tuff or tiles; monolithic tuff sarcophagi covered by lids of tuff; and rectangular trenches in which the inhumations were covered by tiles arranged *alla cappuccina*. There was very little in the way of grave goods, except for a few fragments of *aes rude* in two of the tombs. Only one burial contained a significant amount of goods, tomb six, which had bronze coins, a fibula, an *astragalus*, miniature bowls and two small vessels. Iron and copper nails were also recovered and identified as grave goods, but it seems more likely that these were the

⁴¹³ Colini 1932.

⁴¹⁴ Gjerstad 1956.

⁴¹⁵ Gjerstad (1956, 163-6) clarifies his approach.

⁴¹⁶ Gjerstad 1956, 258.

⁴¹⁷ Gjerstad 1956, 259-61; *MonAnt*, 194-5.

⁴¹⁸ Gjerstad 1956, 261-2; *MonAnt*, 198-201.

⁴¹⁹ Colini 1932.

⁴²⁰ There was little in the other two areas except virgin soil.

remnants of wooden biers. On the basis of the grave goods from tomb 6 and the two examples of *aes rude*, Colini dated the burials from the late fourth to third centuries. He suggested that the tombs without grave goods were the earliest, and attributed the poverty of the graves to the sumptuary restrictions of the Twelve Tables.

In recent decades renewed archaeological activity on the Esquiline Hill has brought to light new information regarding the archaic occupation of the area which calls into question the conclusions of Colini's investigations. The excavation of some fifteen tombs in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele in 2002 constitutes a significant contribution to the archaeological record of the Esquiline necropolis (fig. 5.12).⁴²¹ The majority of the burials were found on the short side of piazza, in the direction of the Via dello Statuto and the Via Carlo Alberto (fig. 5.13). All tombs date to the sixth and fifth centuries. Only two of the twelve burials contained any evidence of grave goods (fig. 5.14): tomb 3 had a miniature amphora (fig. 5.15) and a small cup in the fill, and tomb 12 had two miniature amphorae and a small cup. (fig. 5.16). Archaeologists distinguished four tomb types: trenches covered by lids of tuff; trenches covered by tiles; trenches with a side-*loculus* that was closed by vertically-deposited tiles; and monolithic tuff sarcophagi covered by lids of tuff (fig. 5.17).⁴²² On the basis of the few recovered grave goods, archaeologists were able to date the graves generally to the sixth and early fifth centuries, and observed that burials covered by slabs of tuff predated those covered by tile.⁴²³ The data seemed to conform to those presented by Pinza nearly a century before, who noted the southeast/northwest orientation of all the explored tombs. The type of tomb also conforms to those excavated by Colini, suggesting that Colini's tombs may belong to an earlier period than originally thought.

Although the tombs from this excavation represent a fairly homogeneous group, Barbera et al. observed distinctions in the type and location of tomb that point to the presence of tomb groups.⁴²⁴ The burials with side *loculi* are all located in close proximity to one another, which the archaeologists suggest represents burials from a single family group. The appearance of this type of burial at other sites in Rome, namely Acqua Acetosa Laurentina and La Rustica, as well as in the ancient site of Crustumerium, may reflect cultural ties with those areas. It may even connect these areas to Veii and the *ager faliscus*, where this was a common type of archaic burial. Archaeologists identified a second tomb group on the grounds that the burials were clustered together in such a way that pointed to the methodical use of the space.

Between the Via del Monte Oppio and the Via delle Terme di Traiano, archaeologists discovered a circular structure of *opera quadrata*, in the middle of which was a votive deposit (fig. 5.18).⁴²⁵ They associated with this two other features located nearby: a

⁴²¹ Barbera et al. 2005; Asor Rosa et al. 2009.

⁴²² Barbera et al. (2005, 315) were unable to classify tomb 2 and note that the dates were uncertain for tomb 10.

⁴²³ Barbera et al. 2005, 315.

⁴²⁴ Barbera et al. 2005, 316.

⁴²⁵ Cordischi 1993.

pavement of tuff with a *cippus*, found immediately east of the circular wall, and a second votive deposit, located some 12.5 m southwest of the same precinct. Archaeologists initially interpreted the site as a sacred area that remained in use from the seventh century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. The votive deposits represented the earliest phases of occupation: the first contained materials, mostly bronze figurines and miniature vases, dating from the end of the seventh century to the end of the sixth; the second contained mostly *thymiateria* and loomweights that belonged to the fourth and third centuries. The circular wall was in use from the third century B.C.E. to the late first century B.C.E. or early first century C.E., while the pavement and *cippus*, interpreted as a sacred area, was occupied from the third century B.C.E. to the second century C.E.

Coarelli, however, has reinterpreted the data as evidence for the tomb and house of Servius Tullius, whom the ancient sources state ruled Rome during the sixth century (c. 578-534 B.C.E.).⁴²⁶ He argues that the circular wall is in fact the precinct wall of a tomb, belonging to a type of burial common mainly in the region of modern Abruzzo, and in Latium, attested only at Tibur.⁴²⁷ He is not dissuaded by the absence of a burial or any features that could be associated with funerary activity, claiming that such evidence was likely destroyed by more recent looting and construction activities. Bartoloni adds that a tomb *a cassone* without grave goods could have been placed here.⁴²⁸

Coarelli expresses doubts concerning the original dating of the wall, and states that the *cappellaccio* tuff from the first three courses of the structure point to the first phase of the monument's construction in the sixth century. He then advances the hypothesis that this tomb must have belonged to a notable figure because, according to his observations, it is located within the Roman *pomerium*. Although the laws of the Twelve Tables prohibited intramural burial, exceptions were made for individuals who had retained the right or earned some distinction. Coarelli identifies this individual as Servius Tullius on the following grounds: first, that the tomb type found at Rome belongs to a type commonly found at Tibur, in a region of east Latium where Livy records Servius Tullius was born;⁴²⁹ second, that the chronology of the king's death and the archaeological evidence for the use of the area correspond; third, that the tomb is so large, at approximately 16 m, that it could only have belonged to a notable figure; and fourth, that the tomb was found within the walls of Rome at a time when intramural burial was largely prohibited. The votive deposits and nearby sacred area he claims were later deposits, made sometime after the tomb had acquired cult status. Alternately, Bartoloni suggests that the votive deposits are offerings, made at the moment of the funerary ceremony.⁴³⁰

The interpretation of this area of the Esquiline Hill as a burial ground is unconvincing. In the first place, there is no evidence in the archaeological record for funerary activity. The

⁴²⁶ Coarelli 2001.

⁴²⁷ Abruzzo: d'Ercole 1988, 401-21, esp. 411-6. Tivoli: *CLP* 188-212.

⁴²⁸ Bartoloni 2010, 166.

⁴²⁹ Livy 1.39.

⁴³⁰ Bartoloni 2001, 166.

claim that the area might once have held a burial is an argument from silence and cannot be supported by any relevant evidence. The circular enclosures from Tivoli and Abruzzo, to which Coarelli compares the circular wall from the Esquiline, all contain burials either within or just outside their limits. It stands to reason, then, that the feature on the Esquiline should contain a burial, which it does not. What is more, the archaeological evidence that does survive points to a completely different use of the space. The only materials recovered from the trenches are votive deposits, whose existence both Coarelli and Bartoloni attest. Coarelli, too, argues from silence when claiming the *cappellaccio* walls may have belonged to the sixth century. Although he claims that the stratigraphic sequence was not made entirely clear,⁴³¹ the original publications of the excavations indicate that the phases of the wall were datable based on *in situ* finds recovered in the pavement associated with the wall.⁴³²

Via Sacra

Gjerstad identified four archaic *suggrundaria* from Boni's late eighteenth-century excavations in the Via Sacra (fig. 5.1).⁴³³ These were all discovered underneath the floors and along the walls of the houses that were occupied from about 575 to 450 B.C.E. All were deposited horizontally in *dolia* and had their mouths closed by tiles; only in one case did the *suggrundarium* consist of two jars arranged mouth to mouth. The *dolia* were similar in size, ranging in height between 29.5 and 44 cm and 29.5-39.5 cm in diameter at the mouth of the jar. *Suggrundarium* E (fig. 5.19) comprised the two *dolia* and contained the skeletal remains of a child aged 20-24 months, deposited in the fetal position. The remains had gone missing at the time of Gjerstad's analysis, but he seemed confident in the osteological report. *Suggrundarium* F (fig. 5.20) contained the burial of a 3 month old; fragments of pottery and archaeobotanical remains (such as grains and charcoal) were discovered within. *Suggrundarium* LL (fig. 5.21) contained a foetus of 7-8 months, while *Suggrundarium* NN (fig. 5.22) contained a neonate. A few bones of a cattle and sheep were found in the jar, in addition to carbonized grains of wheat and some fish bones.

Quirinal Hill

Elsewhere in Rome, excavations on the Quirinal Hill have recently brought to light three stone sarcophagi that may belong to the Archaic period.⁴³⁴ Located in the modern Via Goito

⁴³¹ Coarelli 2001, 13-4.

⁴³² Astolfi et al. 1990, 177-8; Astolfi et al. 1989-1990, 59-60.

⁴³³ Boni (*NSc* 1903, 165) identifies E and F as *suggrundaria*, but connects LL and NN (184 ff) with F based on the similarity of the tiles used to close the *dolia*. Gjerstad (1953, 152-4; 1956, 146-9) considers them all *suggrundaria*.

⁴³⁴ Both Menghi et al. (2005, 359, n. 2) and Bartoloni (2010, 169) cite as related evidence the discovery of two monolithic sarcophagi from the early excavations on the Quirinal Hill. The original reports, however, provide little to no information that can justify these claims. The first example was found in the Via Goito in 1873, which Pinza documented (*BullCom* 1905, 254). He mentioned only that it was an archaic tomb that contained a fibula; he said

(fig 5.23), all three appear to have constituted a single tomb group. The absence of grave goods and the poor state of preservation of one of these tombs has rendered them difficult to date. Two of the tombs appear to have been robbed in antiquity and the other was partially damaged by modern construction in the area. However, these tombs are analogous to the sarcophagi from the Esquiline Hill. All three are monolithic tuff sarcophagi (fig. 5.24); two of these preserve completely or partially a lid of tuff, while the covering of the third is completely missing. Their orientations are diverse: two are oriented N/S and another E/W. The resemblance of the sarcophagi to those found on the Esquiline suggests that they may date to the Archaic period. The stratigraphic sequence, however, reveals that these tombs may belong to the Middle Republic, sometime between the fourth and second centuries. Immediately covering the tombs was a layer of glareate road that ceramic inclusions indicate was constructed sometime in the second century; the absence of any layer of abandonment between the tombs and the road suggests that the tombs immediately preceded the road.

Via Latina

From the nineteenth-century excavations at Rome come two final tombs that Colonna and Bartoloni have recently claimed belong to the Archaic period. However, this attribution is highly questionable, since virtually nothing survives from them except for a few brief details published in the initial excavation reports.⁴³⁵ Archaeologists in 1836 discovered what appears to have been a chamber tomb located within a later *columbarium* just outside the *Porta Latina* of the Aurelian walls.⁴³⁶ According to the original report, the tomb was dug into the tuff and contained a *corredo* of several vases of black fabric that were decorated with animals and ornaments in the Etruscan style; one of these vessels contained burned human remains and ashes. Colonna believes these vessels were made of *bucchero* (a refined form of *impasto* pottery, usually wheel-made and fired brown, which dates generally from the seventh to fifth centuries) and were most likely similar in style to those common at Veii in the sixth century.⁴³⁷ He considers significant the presence of vessels inscribed with animal figures, since this style belongs to a category of decoration common in Etruria but otherwise unknown in Latium. Even more remarkable to him is the rarity of chamber tombs in Rome and Latium during this period; the only other attested example at Rome is tomb 125 from the Esquiline necropolis, which dates to the Orientalizing period. Although it is probable that this chamber tomb was early, it is impossible to determine more precisely its chronology. There is no other description of the tomb other than what is

nothing about the type of tomb. Bartoloni (2010, 170), however, states that the burial belongs to Latial phase III or IV. The second tomb was recovered at the junction of the Via XX Settembre and Via Castelfidardo in the early twentieth century. The citations from Pinza and Lanciani (*BullCom* 1877, 311) are extremely vague, but according to Menghi et al. 2005 was dated to the Archaic period.

⁴³⁵ Colonna (1996, 344-350) attributes both of these two the Archaic period.

⁴³⁶ Panofka 1836, 103-4; Ashby 1907, 18.

⁴³⁷ Colonna 1996, 345.

provided in the initial accounts, and the whereabouts of its objects remains unknown. On these grounds alone, the Porta Latina tomb is a highly doubtful source of information.

The second example concerns a chariot recovered during the excavations of Roma Vecchia in the eighteenth century.⁴³⁸ Both Bartoloni and Colonna state that the chariot was recovered in a tomb, but there is unfortunately no evidence for the provenance of this item.⁴³⁹ In fact, the results from Roma Vecchia excavations are extremely unreliable: precisely where they took place and what was recovered in them are matters of considerable uncertainty and confusion.⁴⁴⁰ Early archaeologists variously used the term Roma Vecchia to designate any number of excavations occurring in the region southeast of Rome, between the city and the Alban Hills. The tomb in question comes from any one of these excavations in this general area; its exact provenance remains unknown.⁴⁴¹ It seems that both authors thought the chariot to have come from a tomb based on the early archaeological reports and the claims of ancient authors. They believed that the chariot was found in the region of Fosse Cluiliae, near the Villa dei Quintili, one of the regions of the old Roma Vecchia excavations, and a region where Livy (1.25) records the existence of a number of *tumuli* containing the graves of mythological combatants.

Based on what survives from the chariot, modern scholars have dated the burial to the sixth century or shortly thereafter. The extant portions of the chariot are more limited than the early reports suggested.⁴⁴² In addition to a number of bronze fragments, what survives are two pairs of uprights for the bits; a small cylinder with a *gorgoneion*, used to decorate a pin on the helm; a damaged figure of Sol/Usil on the front of the chariot; and the bosses of the wheels. The latest analyses attribute the chariot and the tomb to somewhere around the sixth century or a little later. Although the chariot is certainly indicative of illustrious and wealthy owners, it is unclear whether this represents an archaic burial.

ii. Rome (South)

Located within the southernmost districts of modern Rome, and at the limits of the *ager romanus antiquus*, are a number of sites with evidence for archaic burial. A. Bedini excavated the majority of these from the nineteen-seventies through -nineties, when the

⁴³⁸ The most current analysis of the chariot exists in Emiliozzi (1997, 191-202).

⁴³⁹ Colonna 1996, 346-50; Bartoloni 2010, 172.

⁴⁴⁰ Colonna (1996, 346, n. 47), discusses the controversy. Ashby (1907, 90-6) attempts to make sense of the discoveries attributed to Roma Vecchia and to clarify the location of the Roma Vecchia investigations. It seems that Roma Vecchia refers generally to the Via Latina and its immediate neighborhood. However, archaeologists working in the eighteenth century were unaware of this significance, and, in their confusion, attributed to "Roma Vecchia" a number of discoveries from excavations undertaken in diverse areas along the roads leading from Rome and towards the Alban Hills, namely the Via Praenestina, Via Latina and Via Appia.

⁴⁴¹ Pinza 1924, 185; Dennis 1878, vol. 2, 481.

⁴⁴² Pinza (1924, 185) was especially generous.

area was being developed for modern habitation. The areas under investigation include Acqua Acetosa Laurentina, Casale Massima, Torrino, Casale Brunori and Tor de' Cenci.

Acqua Acetosa Laurentina

The site of Acqua Acetosa Laurentina is located west of the juncture of the modern Via Laurentina and Via Acqua Acetosa Ostiense. The main topographical features include an Iron Age necropolis and settlement, located immediately west of the Via Laurentina. The cemetery is comprised of at least 175 tombs that date from the end of the ninth to the beginning of the sixth century (fig. 5.25).⁴⁴³ Beginning in the late eighth century there was a change in the spatial organization of the cemetery, where tomb groups emerged consisting of a central conspicuous grave surrounded by a number of others. This transformation may point to the emergence of family groups in the cemetery.

The evidence for the Archaic phase of occupation comes from two discrete locations to the north and west of the necropolis and protohistoric settlement. One of the most substantial discoveries is situated just north of the defensive system of the protohistoric settlement, where Bedini uncovered two tombs in connection with the remains of a domestic building, all of which date to the Archaic period (fig. 5.26).⁴⁴⁴ The buildings were located in three areas, numbered V, VI and VII. V was located toward the west, and VI and VII were situated to the east; a canal, which was later filled and used as a road, separated V from VI and VII. In area V, there was evidence for three structures that were identified as houses based on their association with features indicative of domestic use, including a hearth, cistern and pits. One of the buildings contained a *suggrundarium*. Found in the layers of occupation were fragments of Attic red figure (or Etruscan or Campanian) pottery that are datable to the second half of the sixth century to the beginning of the fifth. The complex does not appear to have been in use for long: immediately following the beaten pavement of the occupation phase is a thick layer of collapse. In building VII there is evidence that the construction of graves either contributed to or occurred immediately after the destruction of the residence.

Both a chamber and semi-chamber tomb, datable to the first half of the fifth century, were discovered in the post-abandonment phases of this structure. The chamber tomb (no. 3) preserved an E-SE/W-NW orientation and had a *dromos* measuring 5.25 x 0.88 m. The entrance at the door measures 0.50 m wide, 1.60 m high and 0.42 m deep. The main chamber was trapezoidal in shape and was about 1.5-2.0 m long. On the right side there was a niche, situated 0.80 m from the ground; the niche measure 0.68 x 1.86 m and had a height of 0.50 m. There were very few skeletal remains, but what was extant suggests that the head was deposited toward the entrance. The tomb contained no grave goods except for a single glass bead, recovered in a small *loculus* located in the wall near the entrance of the *dromos*, which dates the tomb to the fifth century.

⁴⁴³ Bedini 1980, 1981b; *GRT* 171-3, 255-60.

⁴⁴⁴ Bedini 1981b, 257, n. 24; 1983, 36-37, tombs 3 and 4.

The second chamber tomb (no.4) preserves a NE/SW orientation (fig. 5.28). The *dromos* is 2.8 x 0.9 m; at a distance of 1.10 m from the entrance of the tomb is a side niche that was covered with tiles. The niche is located 0.55 m from the ground, measures 0.55 x 2 m and is 0.40-50 m high. The deceased was arranged with the head to the northeast. There were no grave goods. On the basis of the absence of grave goods and a comparison of this tomb with examples from Casale Massima (see below), this grave was dated to the end of the sixth or early fifth century.

A second locus of archaic funerary activity comes from a small hill situated just north of the Via Acqua Acetosa Ostiense, where Bedini discovered two chamber tombs.⁴⁴⁵ The burials are located approximately five meters apart and preserve an orientation that is more or less NE/SW, with the entrance of each tomb facing the west. The first tomb (figs. 5.29 and 5.30, *tomba* 1) preserves a *dromos* that measures 1.7 m x 3.4 m and slopes toward the entrance of the tomb to a depth of 0.9 m. The frame was carved along the sides of the door, approximately 12-15 cm wide and 2-3 cm deep. The upper portion of the door was not covered; it was discovered open and only one stone, found near the bottom of the *dromos* might have constituted part of the door. A few pieces of tile, recovered near the door, may have also closed the entrance of the tomb. The main chamber is quadrangular in plan and measures about 2 x 2 m. The walls show clear signs of working, and on the right side of the main chamber, about 0.95 m from the ground is a single *loculus*. The *loculus* preserves dimensions of 0.6-0.7 m in width and 1.9 m in length. There only traces of a skeleton were a few fragments of bones found on the floor of the main chamber. A pillow carved at the front end of the niche indicates that the head of the deceased was placed toward the entrance. No grave goods were discovered in the tomb.

The second tomb (figs. 5.29 and 5.30, *tomba* 2) is smaller than the first, and has a *dromos* about 1 m wide and extends toward the door of the main chamber. The door was discovered in site, and comprised large blocks of tuff that are 60 x 50 x 28 cm in size. Five of these blocks were arranged one on top of the other to reach a height of 1.6 m. The main chamber measures 1.75 x 0.8 m and seems more a continuation of the *dromos* than a true *cella*. At the back of the tomb is the trace of a door that was not completed. A niche is located on the right side of the chamber, approximately 0.8 m from the floor; the niche is 0.6 m wide and 0.4 m high. There were no traces of the deceased or any grave goods.

There is no evidence that the tombs were robbed, either in antiquity or in modern times. It seems that the tombs had partially deteriorated sometime in antiquity, as fragments of tuff from the ceiling of both chambers had crumbled and mixed with the fill of the tomb. Ceramic fragments recovered in the fill of tomb 1 date the burial from the late sixth through fifth centuries; comparable finds were discovered in the layers above both tombs. Bedini assigns the second tomb to the same date although no diagnostic materials seem to have been found in association with it.⁴⁴⁶ He connects these tombs to the settlement at Laurentina.

⁴⁴⁵ Bedini 1983.

⁴⁴⁶ Bedini 1983, 29-31.

Casale Massima

Immediately north of Acqua Acetosa Laurentina, the site of Casale Massima occupies a plain of the same name and preserves a necropolis comprised of about forty tombs (fig. 5.31).⁴⁴⁷ The area was used continuously as a burial ground from the eighth to the fourth centuries, but over half of the preserved burials belong to the sixth and early fifth. The archaic burials belong to one of four tomb types: trenches, trenches with *loculi* (fig. 5.32), trenches with tiles and chambers; children were found in *suggrundaria*. The burials were generally devoid of grave goods; only three tombs contained personal objects, including beads and pendants of glass and amber.⁴⁴⁸ Bedini believed these tombs dated no earlier than the fifth century, on the basis of a stylistic analysis of these items. The trench burials with tile-covered *loculi* can only be dated more generally to the sixth and fifth centuries, since the tiles used in these burials are made of *impasto rosso*, a coarse style of pottery, fired to a reddish color, that was produced from the ninth to the fifth centuries.

Bedini describes the two chamber tombs in greater detail.⁴⁴⁹ The first chamber tomb (n. 1, fig. 5.33) has a NNE/SSW orientation with the entrance located at the SSW. The *dromos*, which cut into an earlier trench grave, is 0.6 m wide and 2.1 m long, and has a pronounced slope in the direction of the door. The door to the main chamber is 0.6 m wide. Although the door was discovered closed and largely intact, the upper portion had partially collapsed. The door was constructed of slabs of tuff and reached a height of about 1.65 m. The main chamber probably had an arched ceiling, but was partially destroyed by the construction of a later grave. Nevertheless, it seems that the height of the chamber reached 1.8 m. The main chamber features two *loculi*, one carved into the right wall from the entrance and a second at the back. The niches were carved in an irregular fashion; both were located about 1 m from the ground, and preserve dimensions of about 0.65 x 1.7 m. In the chamber along the right wall, a skeleton was found arranged with the head oriented toward the south, toward the entrance; in the chamber along the back wall, the deceased was arranged with the head to the east. The walls show clear signs of working. A small *olletta* (fig. 5.34) was found at the bottom of the *dromos* and was perhaps intended as a grave good. This object, together with the several fragments of tile, vases and *dolia*, date the tomb to the sixth and fifth centuries.

The second chamber tomb (fig. 5.33) is located 2.5 m west of the first and the western limit of this tomb cuts an earlier grave that preserves a substantial *corredo* belonging to the seventh century.⁴⁵⁰ The *dromos* is 0.6-0.65 m wide and 2.75 m long and has two steps descending into the main chamber. On the right side of the chamber is a niche that is raised 0.46 m from the floor. The niche measures 0.65 m in width, 1.8 m in length and 0.30-0.40 m in height. The niche was closed by four tiles, and included a *pentolina* (fig. 5.35).

⁴⁴⁷ Bedini 1980.

⁴⁴⁸ These are tombs IX, X and XII in Bedini (1980, 60-3).

⁴⁴⁹ The tombs are first mentioned in Bedini (1980, 62-3) and later described in Bedini (1983, 33-6).

⁴⁵⁰ Bedini 1983, 34-6.

The two vases and the tiles used to close the niches are the only diagnostic elements that can be used for dating the burials. Based on the materials, the tombs date to the late sixth to early fifth century. This chronology finds support in the chamber tombs from Acqua Acetosa Laurentina, which are similar in finds and construction.

Torrino

Approximately 3.5 km west of Acqua Acetosa Laurentina, between the modern Via Cristoforo Colombo and Via del Mare, is the site of Torrino, where there is evidence for settlement and funerary activity from the Bronze Age through the Imperial period (5.36).⁴⁵¹ The evidence for the earliest phases of occupation consists of a single tomb belonging to the Neolithic or Bronze Age and a few finds recovered in the immediate area that range in date from the eighth to the end of the sixth century. During the late Orientalizing and Archaic periods, however, settlement and funerary activity intensifies and takes a monumental aspect. To the last quarter of the seventh century belong two adjacent chamber tombs that are carved into the bedrock and contain multiple inhumations (fig. 5.37). The grave good assemblages of the various burials demonstrates that these tombs were used in successive periods, but the second and largest of the two is the only one with evidence of use in the Archaic period (fig. 5.38).

This second chamber tomb consists of a central corridor with two niches carved into each side and one at the back. It contained eleven burials: two in each of the niches on the left, one in the niche closest to the entrance on the right side, three in the second niche on the right, and three in the niche at the back of the central room. Most of the grave goods were found deposited with the three burials in the second niche on the right, which suggests that all the burials were redeposited to make room for newer ones. With exception of the burial in the first niche on the left, and one of the burials in the back niche, none of the remaining burials had *corredi*. Bedini considers it probable that the tomb was constructed at the end of the seventh century and remained in use through the sixth, which accounts for the absence of grave goods in many of the graves.⁴⁵² Bedini does not note, however, the presence of any finds dating to the Archaic period from the fill of the tomb; in this absence, one must accept the possibility that this tomb may have been used only in the Orientalizing period.

⁴⁵¹ Bedini 1981a.

⁴⁵² Bedini 1981, 63. The distinctions in the fill of the various niches and the central chamber provides additional support for the reuse of the tomb over time. A fragment of a bucchero *kantharos* was found within the back niche, which joined to other fragments found in the central entrance; this fill differed from those enclosing the other burials in that back niche.

Casale Brunori

Bedini extended his archaeological investigations in the southern districts of Rome to the region immediately south of the Grande Raccordo Annulare (GRA). At the site of Casale Brunori (fig. 5.39), situated south of the GRA between the Via Cristoforo Colombo and the Via Pontina, Bedini discovered a number of chamber tombs dating to the Orientalizing and Archaic periods, and a series of roads and buildings dating to the Archaic period (fig. 5.40).⁴⁵³ The earliest orientaling burials in chamber tombs seem contemporary with the limited evidence for huts; in the Archaic period, the huts were replaced by more permanent stone structures. Some *suggrundaria* were found in association with the monumental phase of occupation, although their precise date and number are left unstated. Bedini believes these juvenile burials confirm the domestic function of the stone buildings, adding that the cluster of buildings represents a small village.

In the area northwest of the archaic structures was found a group of five chamber tombs in association with a road cut into the bedrock. The tombs were constructed with one or two *loculi*, a style common in the graves of the region south of Rome. The general absence of grave goods from the chamber tombs suggests that they were constructed in the sixth and fifth centuries. The presence of fourth- and third-century materials in some of the burials suggests that some tombs continued to be used in the Republican period. The excavation reports do not make clear, however, which tombs were reused, nor do they specify the contents of each tomb. There is some general information regarding the inhumations, which reveal that there were fifteen total, most of which belonged to adults between the ages of 20 and 35. It was possible to determine the sex of nine skeletons, most of which were male.⁴⁵⁴ Analysis of stress marks and caries preserved in the dental remains suggests that the deceased individuals did not have a high standard of life; it seems that their lives were punctuated by episodes of stress and problems related to poor nutrition. This is not necessarily a marker of low status, however; I return to this in Chapter 6.

Tor de' Cenci

In the area of Tor de' Cenci, Bedini excavated what he believed was an extra urban *compitum*, a crossroads that in Roman antiquity was a location of religious importance (fig. 5.41).⁴⁵⁵ At the juncture of the crossroads were discovered two groups of tombs, ranging in date from the late eighth century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. The first group of burials, located to the southeast of the crossroads, consisted of ten tombs *a fossa* (fig. 5.42). The graves appeared to be organized in a circle, the majority oriented around two tombs at the center, which preserved very rich *corredi*. Although the two central tombs can be dated to the eighth century B.C.E. on the basis of their grave goods, the rest of the tombs are difficult to date because they were cut by later pits and modifications to the road. In close

⁴⁵³ Bedini 1991.

⁴⁵⁴ Bedini 1991, 106.

⁴⁵⁵ Bedini 1990. The ancient sources record that the festival of the Compitalia was celebrated at crossroads, in honor of the the cult of the *Lares*. Pliny *NH* 34.7, Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 4.14.

association with this circle of tombs, however, was a chamber tomb that may belong to the Archaic period. The tomb (n. 12), carved into the bedrock, opened onto the road towards the northwest. A short ramp leads toward the door of the tomb, which consisted of two large blocks of tuff, about 70 x 53 x 30 cm in size. The main chamber measures 2.18 m long and 0.9 m wide and 1.5 m in height. Two depositions were placed in a side niche, raised about 0.55 m from the floor. This chamber tomb is similar in style and contents to those at Torrino and Acqua Acetosa Laurentina. The fact that there were no grave goods found in the burial suggests a sixth to fifth century date, but this attribution is complicated by the construction of tombs in later phases. The later burials cut directly into the layers of the chamber tomb and mixed the stratigraphy belonging to Archaic period with that from earlier and later sequences.

The second burial group, located to the northeast of the crossroads, contained three tombs *a fossa* and eight chamber tombs that can be dated to the sixth and fifth centuries, based on their typology and an absence of grave goods (fig. 5.43).⁴⁵⁶ Two of the trench tombs (nos. 13 and 14) had a preserved depth of 0.6 m. The walls of these graves were lined with large blocks, perhaps to protect a wooden coffin. Stone slabs likely would have covered the top of the trenches, in a manner attested at Iron Age cemeteries elsewhere throughout Latium.⁴⁵⁷ There were no traces of the wooden coffins, however. The third trench tomb (n. 27) contained a side *loculus* that was enclosed by tiles of *impasto rosso* in a manner attested at Ficana and Laurentina during the sixth and fifth centuries.⁴⁵⁸

The eight chamber tombs preserve a typology similar to chamber tomb n.12: all have one *loculus* on the right side of the entrance, which held a skeleton with the head placed near the entrance. Only one tomb (n. 19) contains two side niches, and based on the number of vessels dating to the fourth and third centuries found inside, Bedini suggests that it was either reused in the Republican period or originally constructed at that time.⁴⁵⁹ Otherwise, the chamber tombs are devoid of grave goods. Only one burial preserves a vase in the fill that dates to the sixth and fifth centuries; this is a small *pentola* from tomb 16 (fig. 5.44).⁴⁶⁰ Some thirty trench tombs were discovered in the same area, but these largely date to the second century C.E.

iii. Latium: North

Fidenae

The ancient city of Fidenae is located approximately 12 km north of Rome along the modern Via Salaria (fig. 1.1). Although there are some traces of human activity at the site

⁴⁵⁶ Bedini (1990, 125), tombs 13, 14 and 27.

⁴⁵⁷ For instance, Bedini (1990, 126) cites the trench tombs covered with slabs of tuff or tile from La Rustica, Laurentina and Castel di Decima, and Ficana.

⁴⁵⁸ Tomb 27.

⁴⁵⁹ Bedini (1990, 126), tomb 19.

⁴⁶⁰ Bedini (1990, 126), tomb 16.

during the Bronze Age, there is little evidence of permanent occupation until the eighth century.⁴⁶¹ Belonging to this later phase is a hut, discovered just north of the settlement. The settlement seems to have developed rapidly over the course of the seventh century and achieved the peak of its density and prosperity in the sixth and early fifth. Occupation appears to have concentrated on two hills, one of which may have been the locus of a sanctuary. There are signs that Fidenae's territory was aggressively cultivated during the Archaic period, since domestic buildings and burials are common in the city's hinterland. The main burial evidence at the site comes from a seventh century necropolis, which has now mostly been destroyed by the urban expansion of modern Rome.

One tomb, however, is notable for its contents and archaic date.⁴⁶² The burial was located in the northern part of the Fidenae plain, just within the boundaries of the settlement, and along the road leading to and from the city. It consisted of a sarcophagus of grey tuff, which had been deposited in a trench dug into the soil. Circular holes carved at the bottom of each corner of the sarcophagus suggest that tomb supported a wooden bier. The skeletal remains indicated that the body was deposited in the supine position, and revealed that the deceased was a woman, approximately 20-25 years old at the time of death. The burial contained a number of grave goods, mostly items of jewelry. These included a pair of gold earrings, a gold necklace, a silver fibula, and several beads of glass and amber, some of which were associated with the necklace (fig. 5.45). There were also objects related to personal ornament, namely, a mirror, a lump of *aes rude* and traces of red pigment. Some components of the jewelry are similar to Etruscan examples, especially from the tombs at Vulci. Based on the technical and stylistic analysis of these items, the burial can be dated to the end of the sixth century.⁴⁶³

Crustumarium

Ancient Crustumarium was situated approximately 16 km north of Rome, past the Aniene river and near the north border of Latin territory.⁴⁶⁴ The site has not been substantially occupied in the modern era, a situation that has facilitated archaeological investigation of the area in recent years. Quilici and Gigli Quilici undertook an archaeological field survey of the urban center in the nineteen-sixties and -seventies; in 1982 and 1998 work continued there.⁴⁶⁵ The results of their survey revealed that ancient Crustumarium was concentrated on a network of hills that stood at a crucial juncture between Latin, Sabine and Etruscan territories (fig. 5.46). The settlement emerged in the ninth and eighth centuries and was comprised of separate spaces designated for agricultural use. Occupation became more concentrated in the sixth century, when the city reached the natural limits of the hill and

⁴⁶¹ *GRT* 155-8.

⁴⁶² *GRT* 260-2.

⁴⁶³ di Gennaro (*GRT* 260-2) notes that it is difficult to determine the precise date, since most of the Etruscan comparanda are devoid of archaeological context.

⁴⁶⁴ di Gennaro et al 2002.

⁴⁶⁵ Quilici and Quilici Gigli 1980.

the surrounding territory was more intensively developed for agricultural production. By the fourth century, however, the town seems to have disappeared altogether.⁴⁶⁶

In 1987 archaeological excavation was undertaken in two orientaling cemeteries. The first was located at the site of Sasso Bianco, situated north of the ancient settlement, and the second at Monte del Bufalo, located just outside the southeastern limit of the city (fig. 5.47).⁴⁶⁷ The burials were especially rich and demonstrate connections with the Etruscan, Sabine and Capenate worlds. Although the majority of the tombs are trenches, there is a clear evolution in the selection of tomb type. In the eighth century, the tombs are generally rectangular pits carved into tuff, and over the course of the seventh side *loculi* are added for the deposition of additional bodies or grave goods (fig. 5.48). Chamber tombs emerge at the end of the seventh century and subsequently become the predominant tomb type; they are often found along roads and superimposed on earlier burials. The earliest of these chamber tombs dates to the mid-seventh century and is located approximately 1 km southeast of the settlement on the ancient road to Gabii. It was constructed with an entrance shaft instead of a *dromos* and contained three inhumations with a few grave goods.⁴⁶⁸ A few chamber tombs dated to the end of the seventh century and beginning of the sixth and contained few grave goods.⁴⁶⁹ A cremation burial, dating to the sixth century, was discovered among the inhumations, which di Gennaro interpreted as a sign of status that placed special importance on the family's aristocratic lineage.⁴⁷⁰

Between 2004 and 2008 archaeological research focused on the excavation of an archaic necropolis at the site of Cisterna Grande.⁴⁷¹ The cemetery is located on a hillside east of the city, on either side of the trench of an ancient road (fig. 5.49). Archaeologists uncovered seven chamber tombs: two belonged to the Orientalizing period and five to the Archaic period. The tombs revealed considerable variation in dimension, orientation and techniques of construction. The *dromoi* were all different in length, width and depth. Stone slabs, discovered *in situ*, blocked the entrance into most tombs, and piles of stones were usually found deposited before the door. In some cases a single stone slab constituted the door, in front of which were placed stones of different colors. Rajala speculates that the differentiation in tomb type reflects the difference economic and social statuses of families or individuals buried here.⁴⁷²

The first type of chamber tomb consists of large rectangular chambers with one or more *loculi* along the walls (fig. 5.50). These often contained multiple burials in coffins, trunks or funerary biers placed on the floor. The *dromoi* of these tombs are often longer than those of other types. One of these tombs preserves a ceiling, but excavation was halted for safety

⁴⁶⁶ Amoroso 2000; di Gennaro 1999; Quilici and Quilici Gigli 1980.

⁴⁶⁷ Di Gennaro 1988.

⁴⁶⁸ Paolini 1990.

⁴⁶⁹ di Gennaro 1999.

⁴⁷⁰ di Gennaro 2006.

⁴⁷¹ Rajala 2007; 2008a; Rajala 2008b.

⁴⁷² Rajala 2008a, 44.

reasons. The second type of chamber tomb has a smaller, semi-circular chamber, a low ceiling, two irregular *loculi* on opposite sides, and a short and narrow *dromos* (fig. 5.51). Tool marks are visible on the surface of this kind of tomb, which suggests their construction required fewer manual resources. Rajala observes that the grave goods in the first category of chamber tomb are more elaborate than those discovered in tombs of the second type.⁴⁷³ This leads her to suggest that the first tomb type belonged to the more affluent and elite members of Crustumerium, whereas the less well-off, perhaps artisans and free town dwellers, occupied the second type. She adds that they were clearly not the tombs of the aristocratic elite.

Although the archaic tombs contained fewer grave goods than those from earlier periods, most contained examples of jewelry, arms or metal objects. Only five burials lacked *corredi*, most of which were from redeposited or later burials. Two burials, one from each tomb type, preserved an entire ceramic vessel. The richest burials contained bronze *fibulae* decorated with beads, pendants or iron weapons; others were buried with iron *fibulae* or an assortment of iron objects that the reports do not make specific. Some *loculi* were closed with tiles, which Rajala interprets as a sign of wealth even though they were discovered in both tomb types. In other burials, stones or mudbricks closed the *loculus*, while in others there was no evidence for a formal enclosure and the deceased was only wrapped in a shroud. One tomb preserved the remains of a hollowed trunk, while other burials contained coffins or wooden biers.

There are two examples of tomb reuse and the redeposition of bodies. Two *loculi* in different chambers in different tomb types contained more than one individual, and in both cases the primary burial was moved aside to make room for the secondary one. In another burial, it seems that a skeleton was redeposited after the flesh had already decayed. A third example reveals a later burial in the collapsed *dromos* of an Archaic burial; this suggests either a family connection to the tomb or perhaps a convenient location for burial.

The nature of the local bedrock rendered the tombs at Cisterna Grande prone to collapse.⁴⁷⁴ The bedrock consisted of several thin layers of volcanic tuff that could not adequately support the weight of the tomb ceilings. Both the chambers and the *loculi* were cut through a layer of *breccia tufacea*, a geological mixture of pumice, stones and into volcanic clay. The ceilings, which generally comprised a layer of superimposed *tufo giallo* (yellow tuff) and *cappellaccio* (a friable, grey tuff), were likewise vulnerable. The varieties of tuff and volcanic clay are soft materials, and, although they facilitate construction, do not offer any long term stability. As a result, most of the tombs at Cisterna Grande have collapsed. In some cases, the collapse of the tomb occurred during or immediately after its period of use.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷³ Rajala 2008a, 45.

⁴⁷⁴ Rajala 2008b, 81.

⁴⁷⁵ Rajala 2008b, 83-4, Tombs 12 and 17.

In one example, the deterioration of the tomb appears to have influenced the ritual behavior of living relatives and members of the community.⁴⁷⁶ Archaeologists discovered in the fallen *dromos* of one of the larger chamber tombs, a secondary burial that consisted of a skeleton and a few grave goods. The bronze *fibulae* and *bullae* that comprised the *corredo* date the burial to the Archaic period. Although trench tombs are common in central Italy during the Archaic period, the construction of a burial in the collapsed fill of a *dromos* is unattested elsewhere. It is possible to interpret the evidence in two ways: either as the loss of the memory of the earlier burial, or as a deliberate commemorative act.

At Monte del Bufalo, di Gennaro observed that one portion of the cemetery seemed restricted for use by a single family.⁴⁷⁷ A group of tombs of varying types (trench, trench with *loculus* and chamber) were discovered densely arranged and superimposed. One of the chamber tombs cut into two earlier trench tombs, and additional burials were oriented around these. It is possible that each burial simultaneously represented a deliberate act of commemoration and reflected the preservation of one (or more) family's burial rights in the cemetery. However, the construction of later burials into earlier ones may signify an act of destruction that may be deliberate or point to the absence of memories or ties associated with the burial grounds. Rajala interprets the exceptional character of the secondary burial in Tomb 17 as evidence for a family plot.⁴⁷⁸ The earliest burials in the tomb date to the end of the Orientalizing period, but the collapse of the *dromos* would have prohibited further use of the tomb. The interment of a skeleton and grave goods in the ruins of the chamber tomb likely represented the intentional commemoration and affiliation with the earlier burials.

iv. Latium: East

Gabii

A detailed account of the history, development and archaeology of Gabii follows in Chapter 6.

Corcolle

The site of Corcolle is located in the Latin interior, in a triangle formed by Tibur to the northeast, Praeneste to the southeast and Gabii to the southwest (fig. 5.52). Archaeological investigation of the area in the nineteen-sixties uncovered evidence for an archaic settlement situated on an elongated plateau that is flanked by two trenches known today as the Mole di Pance and the Mole di Corcolle.⁴⁷⁹ Based on comparisons drawn between the topography of the region and the ancient sources, the site has been identified as the

⁴⁷⁶ Rajala 2008b, 84-5, Tomb 17.

⁴⁷⁷ di Gennaro 1999, 17-8.

⁴⁷⁸ Rajala 2008b, 85.

⁴⁷⁹ Reggiani et al. 1998.

oppidum of *Querquetulani* or *Pedum*.⁴⁸⁰ At the end of the Orientalizing period, urban development concentrated on the west end of the hill, which may have functioned as an acropolis. Stone structures appeared in the following period. These structures have been interpreted as houses, based on their construction in stone and the ceramic materials found in them that point to domestic use. More recent excavations undertaken by the Soprintendenza at Rome have discovered a mid- to late republican cult location with related votive deposit. Architectonic terracotta fragments were recovered here, in addition to the so-called Altar of Corcolle, which bears a Latin inscription dating to the beginning of the fifth century.

Excavation in the nineteen-nineties concentrated in the southeast sector of the plateau and brought to light a burial ground that extended across the summit and slopes of the hill. On the sides of the hill were identified twelve chamber tombs, three of which were dated to the Archaic period. The tombs were all oriented around a small road, a sort of *via sepolcrale*, that was carved into the banks of tuff. The *dromoi* of most of these tombs opened onto the road. The reports do not account for the details of every tomb, but indicate that they more or less conformed to the same plan consisting of a main chamber with *loculi* on the sides and sometimes at the back. A monolithic block of stone often covered the entryways to the tombs. The three archaic chamber tombs were similar in construction and plan, although two of them were not oriented towards the road. The *corredi* recovered in these tombs dated the burials to about 575-550 B.C.E. Objects included several vessels of *bucchero* (a *calice*, *kantharos* and *oinochoe*), vases and *balsamari* of Etrusco-Corinthian import, and, above all, a series of *ollae* of *impasto bruno*, some of which bore painted decoration. The closest comparanda for the *ollae* comes from Tibur and a few Sabine centers in the region. There was evidence that these tombs were reused and even restructured early in the Hellenistic period.

Tibur (modern Tivoli)

Tibur is known largely for a necropolis that contains burials from the tenth to early sixth century.⁴⁸¹ The inhumation burials in this region are distinct from others throughout Latium, and are routinely enclosed by circles of stones. In the nineteen-fifties a small burial ground consisting of eight tombs was excavated in the region of modern Tivoli.⁴⁸² Archaeologists distinguished two types of burial: tuff sarcophagi and *tombe a fossa* covered by a travertine lid. The two trench tombs were the only graves containing grave goods, consisting of a mirror in one and a necklace in the other. Faccenna dated these items to the fifth and fourth centuries on stylistic grounds. He believed that the tuff sarcophagi belonged to this general period, although he acknowledged the continued use of this tomb type into the third century. The sarcophagi range in size from 1.69 and 1.90 m in length, although most are between 1.84 and 1.90; between 0.45 and 0.65 m in width; and 0.7 and 1.2 m in height. Although Colonna accepts these as examples of archaic burial, the reports

⁴⁸⁰ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 3.68-9; Dion. Hal. 5.51 and 61, 8.19; Liv. 2.39, 8.12.

⁴⁸¹ *CLP* 188-212.

⁴⁸² *NSc* 1957, 123-33.

do not provide enough evidence to state this for certain.⁴⁸³ At best, the evidence confirms the use of tuff sarcophagi at the eastern limits of Latium, a region that is more well-known for its circular burials.

v. Latium: West/Coast

Ficana

The site of Ficana is situated on the hill of Monte Cugno, approximately 19 km southwest of Rome along the left bank of the Tiber river. Excavations undertaken in the nineteen-seventies discovered a modest city-state that displayed signs of continuous occupation from the Bronze Age to the end of the Imperial period.⁴⁸⁴ The most substantive discoveries belong to the Iron Age and Archaic periods, and consist primarily of domestic structures and tombs. The burials located outside the settlement are exclusively seventh-century trench tombs, but within the urban area are a number of sixth- and fifth-century juvenile burials (fig. 5.53).⁴⁸⁵

Three of the burials are *suggrundaria*, located in association with what is likely a house.⁴⁸⁶ Fragments of pottery recovered from a layer above the floor of the house date the use of the building from the end of the seventh century to the end of the sixth, and perhaps even the fifth.⁴⁸⁷ Although the *suggrundaria* seem to be contemporaneous with the phase of occupation of the house, the stratigraphic sequence of one of the burials suggests that they may have been buried once the building had fallen out of use. Regarding the typology of the vases, the original reports are unclear. Jarva states that the vessels used as burial jars at Ficana find comparison with vessels found at S. Omobono.⁴⁸⁸ These comparanda are *ollae*, and although Jarva never makes the connection clear, the evidence suggests the Ficana burials were deposited in *ollae*.

Located in an area just south of this house were two additional juvenile burials.⁴⁸⁹ Although they are not *suggrundaria* in the strict sense, they do seem to maintain a connection with the nearby building. One of these was deposited in an *olla* covered by a bowl; the second was buried in a vessel similar to an *olla*.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸³ Colonna 1977, 150-1.

⁴⁸⁴ *CLP* 250-1; *GRT* 178-81; Rathje 1980; Jarva 1981a and 1981b; Holloway 1994, 123-4.

⁴⁸⁵ Jarva 1981a and 1981b.

⁴⁸⁶ Jarva (1981b, 269), burials VII, X and XI.

⁴⁸⁷ Jarva (1981b, 269) states that it is difficult to determine precisely the date of the construction of the building and the range of time it was in use.

⁴⁸⁸ Jarva 1981b, 270, n. 9.

⁴⁸⁹ Jarva (1981b, 270), burials VIII and IX.

⁴⁹⁰ Jarva (1981b, 270, n. 10) is again unclear about what kind of jar constituted the burial. He notes that it does not find comparison with the S. Omobono materials, but resembles an *olla*.

North of the complex were recovered seven archaic infant burials.⁴⁹¹ The infants were placed either in vases or between tiles, and were generally no older than two months. The most common type of burial vessel was an *olla*, although one infant was buried in an amphora. One of the burials between tiles contained a child aged two to four years. Only two burials contained any grave goods: one *olla* contained in addition another *olla* and a bronze grater, while the amphora grave included an *olla*.

Archaeologists initially thought the number of burials too high to represent the burial activities of a single family, and consequently argued the area was a necropolis used by the entire community for the burial of children.⁴⁹² The more or less contemporaneous dates assigned to all burials seemed to support this claim. However, Jarva rightly pointed out that there is no evidence to suggest that these the burials represent an infant necropolis. Although they all belong to the Archaic period, they represent a time span of about one hundred years, and could just as easily represent the burial activities of different generations of the same family or even different families. What is more, infant burials are attested in earlier and later periods elsewhere at Ficana in association with domestic contexts, which suggests that this phenomenon is not restricted to the Archaic period.

Lavinium (modern Pratica di Mare)

The site of Lavinium is located approximately 30 km south of Rome along the Tyrrhenian coast in modern Pratica di Mare. Although it is most widely regarded as a religious center beginning in about the sixth century, there is evidence of uninterrupted settlement from the tenth century onward.⁴⁹³ Archaeological investigation of the area began in 1957 and focused on the excavation of the shrine of the Thirteen Altars (c. mid-sixth to early third century) in the suburban area of the site.⁴⁹⁴ Approximately 100 m south of the altars, in a subsequent phase of excavation, the so-called heroon of Aeneas was discovered, which consisted of a fourth century tumulus built over a seventh century burial.⁴⁹⁵

The earliest evidence at the site consists of Iron Age burials; from the eighth century onward there are huts, pottery kilns and possibly fortifications, all located in what later became the urban area. In the mid-seventh century votive deposits appear in various locations: in the urban area one deposit was found containing over 30,000 miniature vases which dated from 650-600 B.C.E. At about this time the first deposits were made in sanctuaries to the east and northeast of the city and at the Thirteen Altars. Fortification and habitation continued in the sixth century and took monumental form. Stone houses appear at this point in the archaeological record, which continue to be used and modified into the third century.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹¹ Jarva (1981b, 270-1), burials I-VI and XII.

⁴⁹² Fischer-Hansen 1978, 38.

⁴⁹³ *CLP* 291-311; Fenelli 1998.

⁴⁹⁴ Castagnoli 1972, 1975.

⁴⁹⁵ Sommella 1971-1972.

⁴⁹⁶ Guaitoli 1981c.

In 1993, plowing activity uncovered a chamber tomb in the area just outside the boundary of the ancient city (fig. 5.54).⁴⁹⁷ Only part of the chamber tomb was excavated, but it probably consisted of at least two chambers that were located under a single tumulus.⁴⁹⁸ The excavated chamber was quadrangular in shape and carved into the local bank of tuff (fig. 5.55). The walls were lined with blocks of *cappellaccio*, which curved progressively to form a vaulted roof; by the time of excavation the roof had collapsed. A door, which tapered towards the top, opened into a second chamber that appeared earlier than the first. The excavated chamber contained four burials that ranged in date from the second quarter of the sixth century to the second half of the fourth.

The first was a cremation burial, the remains of which were placed in a *cappellaccio* urn (fig. 5.56).⁴⁹⁹ The urn was constructed in the shape of a house (*a cassa*) with windows carved into the sides, feet in the shape of lion's paws, and a lid in the shape of a roof. Grave goods were located on the roof of the urn, some in situ, crushed by the collapse, while others had fallen to the side. Foremost among these is a Tyrrhenian amphora that depicts the amazonomachy with Heracles and Iolaus, among a number of other hoplites and cavalrymen (fig. 5.57).⁵⁰⁰ A second amphora, of *bucchero*, bore incised decoration and an Etruscan graffito (fig. 5.58) that is similar to an example from the sanctuary of Portonacci at Veii.⁵⁰¹ A bronze *situla* and several bronze sheets were found on top of the urn, although a number of bronze fragments had fallen to the sides. An iron blade was found at its. All materials seemed to date to the second quarter of the sixth century, c. 570 B.C.E.

The three remaining burials are all inhumations in monolithic stone sarcophagi. The first of these had panels carved into the sides and a sloping lid; there were only a few bones preserved inside, suggesting the tomb was robbed in antiquity.⁵⁰² Located just outside this tomb, and in relation to it, was an Attic red figure *stamnos* depicting an armed youth and bearded adult (fig. 5.59). The vessel was dated to about 480 B.C.E. The second sarcophagus had mirrors carved into its sides and a monolithic stone lid; it contained an inhumation burial and a funerary kit consisting of an Attic Red Figure *kylix* and an *oinochoe* of purified clay.⁵⁰³ Lying on the body were fragments of gold thread that belonged to the clothing of the deceased; these items dated the burial to the third quarter of the fifth century. The last

⁴⁹⁷ Guaitoli 1995.

⁴⁹⁸ The outline of the tumulus was visible from aerial photographs.

⁴⁹⁹ Guaitoli 1995, burial 6.1.

⁵⁰⁰ The *dipinti* on this vase attest to names already known in Etruria and Satricum, and compare to some Etruscan inscriptions from Rome.

⁵⁰¹ The inscription from Lavinium is located below the shoulder of the vessel and records: *mini m[ulu]vanice mamar.ce : a.puniie* (Guaitoli 1995, 558). The graffito from Veii records on the handle of a *bucchero* vessel: *mini muluvanice mamarce : apunie venala* (TLE 34; NSc 1930 306, 324-325). This was interpreted as a dedicatory inscription comprised of the praenomen *Mamarce*, the two gens nomina *Apuniie* and *Vena*, and the patronymic *La*.

⁵⁰² Guaitoli 1995, burial 6.2.

⁵⁰³ Guaitoli 1995, burial 6.3.

burial comprises an inhumation in a sarcophagus of *peperino* tuff. The burial contained the remains of the deceased and an *oinochoe* identified as belonging to the Sokra group; on these grounds the tomb was dated to the second half of the fourth century.⁵⁰⁴

The presence of grave goods, especially in those tombs belonging to the sixth and fifth centuries, has already marked these burials as unusual within the context of archaic Latium.⁵⁰⁵ Guaitoli suggested that the inclusion of *corredi* represents the preference of the owner of the tomb or the privilege of a gentilicial group in the area. He added that the location and architecture of the tomb, in addition to the quality of materials associated with its construction and use, support the identification of this burial as the product of a local and powerful *gens*. The tomb, which is built in the tumulus type, occupies a prominent position just outside the gates of the city, near the crossroads that lead to Ardea and the Alban Hills (fig. 5.60). Both roads lead to prominent sanctuaries, including that to Latial Jupiter, Minerva, the Thirteen Altars and Sol Indiges. This tumulus is similar to that beneath the Heroon of Aeneas; both seem to comprise a series of monumental tombs in prominent locations along roads. He believes that the chamber tomb contains the burials of particularly high status individuals from one particular household, since each of the depositions occurred at chronologically discrete moments spanning two centuries from 570 B.C.E. to about 300 B.C.E.

Lanuvium (modern Lanuvio)

In 1934, archaeologists discovered the so-called Tomb of the Warrior (*tomba del Guerriero di Lanuvio*).⁵⁰⁶ The burial comprised a sarcophagus of *peperino* tuff deposited in an underground chamber of quadrangular plan, made accessible by a *dromos*. The sarcophagus was approximately 2.12 m long, and was covered by a ridged lid. The receptacle contained the remains of the deceased with a wide array of arms and armor as grave goods; the burial was named after these finds. The *corredo* dates the burial to the second quarter of the fifth century and consists of a cuirass decorated with anatomical detail, a mesh belt of bronze (fig. 5.61), an Etruscan helmet, and a number of iron weapons. The helmet was adorned with a triple crest and decorated with the details of a human face on the front, including eyes of ivory and eyebrows applied in silver (fig. 4.62). The iron arms include a long sword with a curved blade, an axe, a lance and two javelins. The *corredo* included a number of objects related to athletic activity: a bronze *discus* with incised figural decoration, one or two iron strigils, a bronze sandpouch, and three complete *alabstra*. The burial was dated to about 470 B.C.E. on the basis of stylistic comparison of the finds with examples from archaic Etruria and Greece.

The Tomb of the Warrior is unique in Latium on account its contents; it only finds comparison with the wealthy burial at Fidenae. What is missing from the grave, however, is a more conventional *corredo* that comprises ceramic vessels. The only objects included in

⁵⁰⁴ Guaitoli 1995, burial 6.4.

⁵⁰⁵ Guaitoli 1995, 560.

⁵⁰⁶ *GRT* 264-9.

the grave include arms and objects of personal use, which scholars believed belonged to the deceased individual.⁵⁰⁷ They suggest the heroic and athletic attributes of this burial recall the ideals of education and citizenship in the Greek world. Some scholars, however, believed the armor represented that of a cavalryman, while others believed the quality of these objects more indicative of a general, one who might have fought at the Battle of Lake Regillus.⁵⁰⁸ These claims are doubtful, however; the tomb seems more representative of the so-called *tombe principesche* of the Late Orientalizing period in Etruria and Latium. Interpretation of these tombs is controversial, and they are conventionally thought to represent the wealthy burials of the elite, who associate their status in funerary ritual with the attributes of the warrior.⁵⁰⁹ Although the burial is unique in the Latin tradition for the type and quantity of objects, the tuff sarcophagus is comparable to those examples from Rome.

Ardea (modern Ardea)

The site of ancient Ardea is located approximately 40 km south of Rome in the plain of Civitavecchia and is best known for its sacred architecture. During the Archaic period, there is archaeological evidence for at least two temples, one on the acropolis and another in the Civitavecchia plain; a third is located just outside the city at the site of Colle della Noce.⁵¹⁰ Two bronze hoards contribute to the religious activity at the site: one belongs to the tenth century and the other to eighth. The first fortifications emerged in the seventh century, and developed into a more complex system during the sixth and fifth. Other aspects of the site are less well known. There is evidence for at least four dwellings during the seventh century, but there is very little detail regarding these. The evidence for burial during all periods is also scarce.

In the territory of ancient Ardea, at the site of Campo del Fico, are two archaic burials.⁵¹¹ Both tombs were constructed *a fossa* and situated in association with three earlier burials of the same type. Tomb 5 contained two inhumation burials in association with a number graves goods that ranged in date from the seventh century to the third quarter of the sixth (fig. 5.63). The earliest materials, including an *olla* with stamped decoration in *impasto rosso*, date to Latial period IV, while others, including a cup and *pyxis*, dated to the third quarter of the sixth century. The published reports offer no further detail regarding the burials or their contents.

⁵⁰⁷ GRT 267.

⁵⁰⁸ Colonna 1977, 150-5; GRT 269.

⁵⁰⁹ Riva (2010), addresses these tombs in Etruria; Waarsenburg (1995) considers the role of the *principes* in Satricum.

⁵¹⁰ Tortorici 1981; Morselli and Tortorici 1982. The temple on the acropolis is conventionally attributed to Juno; the second at Civitavecchia may belong to Hercules or Aphrodite; and the third at Colle della Noce to the Dioscuri. The ancient sources attest to additional locations of cult activity and sanctuaries at Ardea.

⁵¹¹ Crescenzi and Tortorici 1983, 46-7.

vi. Latium: South (Satricum, modern Borgo Le Ferriere)

Some 32 km southeast of Rome and 28 km east of Tyrrhenian coast lies the site commonly identified as ancient Satricum.⁵¹² The settlement is located at an important crossroads: it sits along the route leading from the coast to the hinterland, which connects Antium to Palestrina, through Velitrae, and along the road traveling north to south, which runs from Caere to Capua, through Ficana, Castel di Decima, Lavinium and Ardea (fig. 5.64). Although there are a few traces of activity during the Bronze Age, the site does not appear to have been substantially occupied until the late ninth century. The archaeological evidence for this period consists of huts on the acropolis and burials in the northwest area of the settlement. During the seventh century the huts increased in size, and in the late seventh and early sixth, were replaced by the first stone houses. By the end of the sixth century habitation on the acropolis came to an end and the residential areas of the city shifted to another, unknown, area. The acropolis was dominated by a sanctuary, probably to Mater Matuta, whose construction began sometime in the second half of the sixth century and continued into the fifth. Following a second phase of temple construction, the building was destroyed in the early fifth century and the character of the acropolis subsequently changed. The area northwest of the former temple was reserved for votive deposits, which exhibit items ranging from the fifth to the third century. In the region southeast of the temple, a small necropolis emerged around 500 B.C.E., and constitutes the only evidence for secular activity on the acropolis at this time.⁵¹³

Northwest Necropolis

The earliest necropolis at Satricum is the so-called northwest necropolis, which is located just outside the western limit of the *ager* system (fig. 5.65).⁵¹⁴ The necropolis underwent two phases of excavation, first in 1896-1898 and again in 1907-1910. The results of these early campaigns remained unpublished until 1996, after archaeologists from the Dutch Institute at Rome discovered the long forgotten field journals and finds in the storerooms of the Villa Giulia. The data recovered are limited, and consist primarily of field records, which are often lacking in detail, and artifacts. Only one map survives, and it does not document all the excavated tombs; there are no drawings or photographs.

Based on the extant records, however, it is possible to draw some conclusions regarding the use of the burial grounds in antiquity. The necropolis contained mostly burials dating from the ninth to the sixth centuries, and there are at least three, and perhaps two more, that date to the Archaic period. The precise location of many of these tombs is unknown,

⁵¹² The archaeologist who first excavated there in 1896, H. Graillet, gave the name to the site, believing the settlement to be the same Satricum mentioned in the ancient literary sources. Scholars continue to call the site Satricum, although there remains some doubt over this attribution.

⁵¹³ This necropolis remains unexplored (Ginge 1996, 17).

⁵¹⁴ Ginge (1996, 17-71).

but all seem to have been discovered in the area of Santa Lucia.⁵¹⁵ The burials represent a wide array of tomb types. One tomb was probably located in a tumulus that comprised a number of Iron Age graves. This was dated from 625-575 B.C.E. and was thought to have contained a cremation burial. Of the same date was a second burial, a chamber tomb that contained a number of iron weapons and fragments of pottery that date the grave from 625-575 B.C.E.⁵¹⁶

The original reports specify that three more burials were found nearby, although they do not mention precisely where. Archaeologists believed they belonged to the Archaic period on the basis of the grave goods found in the tombs. They report that the first burial was a trench tomb, the second a wooden coffin, but record nothing about the typology of the third.⁵¹⁷ Grave goods were found with all three burials and consisted mostly of ceramic vessels such as *ollae* and *oinochoe*. Two of the burials were assigned a sex and age based on extremely limited skeletal data. Fragments of a skeleton from the wooden coffin reportedly preserved the remains of a woman, aged 40-50 years, while teeth recovered in the trench tomb were thought to be those of a man, aged 18-20. The 1996 publications sexed the remaining burials on the basis of the grave good assemblages, but it would be unwise to rely too heavily on such assumptions. The skeletal data is entirely unreliable, since in all cases there is very little preserved at all.

Southwest Necropolis

The second identified burial ground at Satricum is the so-called southwest necropolis, named after its location in the southwestern region of the settlement (fig. 5.66).⁵¹⁸ A team of Dutch archaeologists excavated the area from 1981 to 1986. The cemetery is located within the boundary of the sixth-century *ager* and contains over two hundred fifth-century burials.⁵¹⁹ The tombs are all the trench type and contain the inhumation burials of adults and children, along with an assortment of grave goods. Many burials have ledges on the long sides of the floor, but the purpose of such shelves remains unclear.⁵²⁰ Some graves have niches carved into one of the long walls for the deposition of grave goods.⁵²¹ A few burials have pits cut into the four corners of the floor, probably to accommodate the legs of a wooden coffin.⁵²² The graves vary in size, although most are between 2.00 and 2.30 m

⁵¹⁵ Ginge (1996), Tomb 14, was located in the tumulus. Tombs 15, 24 and 26 were probably found in the area of Lucia, but their locations are not recorded on the excavation map.

⁵¹⁶ Ginge 1996, Tomb sn1.

⁵¹⁷ Ginge 1996, Tomb 26 (trench); Tomb 24 (wooden coffin); Tomb 15 (unknown).

⁵¹⁸ Gnade 1992.

⁵¹⁹ Gnade (1992, 9-13) states that 210 graves were identified, 200 plotted and 167 excavated; excavations remains unfinished.

⁵²⁰ Approximately seventy tombs had ledges (Gnade 1992, 23-4).

⁵²¹ Gnade (1992, 24-6) records twelve graves with niches.

⁵²² Sixty-six graves contain trace evidence of wooden coffins (Gnade 1992, 31). Fifty-five had traces of the wooden coffin, five had wooden nails, and six others had both nails and coffin traces; only one grave contained the remains of wood.

long and 0.70 and 0.90 m wide.⁵²³ The dimensions of the graves seem to correspond to the size of the deceased; dental remains recovered from the smallest graves reveal that these belonged to children, while the largest grave contained traces of a large individual and of a coffin. Some graves held multiple burials, in which the remains of two or three individuals and their grave goods were superimposed.⁵²⁴ In most cases, a child burial was placed atop that of an adult; there is one example of a grave with two children and another with two adults and a child.

The majority of the tombs contained *corredi* comprised of pottery.⁵²⁵ The most common forms of vessels are those associated with dining and food processing, namely, storage jars, cooking pots, bowls, cups and jugs. Personal ornaments are comparatively rare and consist of *fibulae*, pendants, beaded necklaces, pins, weapons, spindlewhorls and loomweights. The grave goods are generally modest in quantity and quality, and most burials have anywhere from one to six vessels. Only one grave is exceptional for its wealth: it contained 24 vases and a variety of personal objects such as *fibulae*, amulets, pins, necklaces and weapons.⁵²⁶ The majority of the pottery comprised locally made wares common in domestic contexts; very few graves contained imported vessels. It is uncertain whether the grave goods represent the personal belongings of or gifts to the deceased. In the absence of preserved osteological remains, the *corredi* were sometimes used to determine the gender of the deceased.⁵²⁷ Although this methodology is generally unreliable, in the excavations of the southwest necropolis, those items typically considered gendered, such as weapons for men and loomweights for women, were cross-referenced with the skeletal data and proven reliable. There was evidence for gender-related grave goods in only nineteen graves.

Children appear to have received the same treatment in burial as adults.⁵²⁸ There is evidence for thirty-three child inhumations, although only in fourteen cases is this identification certain on the basis of skeletal data. Child burials are otherwise inferred based on the small dimensions of the grave and the nature of the grave goods. Children were buried on their own and with adults, in wooden coffins or trenches. In those graves where multiple inhumations occur, it is difficult to determine the relationship between the deceased. This is true even of burials that contain both a child and an adult. It is easy to assume that they represent mother and child, but ultimately impossible to prove based on

⁵²³ The largest is 2.70 m long and 0.95 m wide; the smallest is 1.15 m long and 0.50 m wide (Gnade 1992, 27-9).

⁵²⁴ Gnade 1992, 34-5.

⁵²⁵ Gnade 1992, 35-41. Pottery was included in 68% of the burials, and in most cases was deposited near the head or feet of the deceased. In other instances, the pottery was arranged along the sides of the corpse, along the wall or on the ledge. There are a few examples where pottery was placed at the top corners of the coffin; in some graves, the pottery appeared in various layers of the fill suggesting that they were originally placed atop the coffin, but slid into the grave after the decomposition of the wooden lid.

⁵²⁶ Gnade 1992, Grave 62.

⁵²⁷ Gnade 2002, 134.

⁵²⁸ Gnade 1992, 42-4.

the extant remains. The child burials were careful not to disturb the adult inhumations below, which suggests both individuals were buried at the same time. There is even evidence that children were deposited on the lids of wooden coffins containing adults. The *corredi* of children consist primarily of miniature or small objects, but include regular sized objects. In general, the graves of children had only two or three vases, but it is notable that the wealthiest grave, which contained 24 vessels, belonged to a child.

Gnade observed some patterns in the funerary record that led her to comment on the status and identity of the community that occupied the southwest necropolis.⁵²⁹ The burials revealed a high degree of variability in nearly every aspect, which she suggests reflects the social stratification of ancient Satricum. She states that the near or complete absence of grave goods in some burials represents the poorer or lower ranking members of society, while those burials with greater *corredi* represent the wealthier and higher ranking individuals. The graves which Gnade considers poor either lacked grave goods entirely, or contained a single vessel, usually a storage jar. These were concentrated in the northeastern portion of the necropolis. The graves considered rich contained six or more vases, which often included imported wares, and these tombs were located in the central-eastern section of the cemetery. Gnade considers as markers of status those burials with corner pits and niches, on the grounds that they are rare. She leaves out of the discussion the majority of the graves that fall somewhere between rich and poor, tombs containing one to six vessels.

There are a few problems with this particular approach. First, the diversity of tomb features may simply reflect the wide range of funerary customs practiced by the community at one time.⁵³⁰ The burial record of archaic Latium is notably diverse, and, although regional and local patterns are visible, the tombs used by any given community are often inconsistent in type and dimensions. Second, it is equally possible that the high degree of variation in grave goods illustrates the changes in funerary practice at the Satrican necropolis over the course of the fifth century.⁵³¹ Although Gnade suggests that most of the grave goods date to the first half of the fifth century, she admits that many cannot be dated more precisely. Third, it is unwise to presume a direct correlation between the poverty of grave goods and the economic status of the deceased, especially in the context of archaic Latium. Burials throughout Latium are regularly devoid of grave goods, a fact that has convincingly been argued not to constitute a marker of poverty.⁵³²

Gnade maintains that certain portions of the cemetery were reserved for individuals or groups of a certain class or time period. In particular, she believes that the cemetery was occupied by a non-Latin people, namely the Volsci, whom the ancient literary sources claim

⁵²⁹ Gnade 1992, 45.

⁵³⁰ Gnade (1992, 45) concedes this point.

⁵³¹ Gnade 1992, 45.

⁵³² Colonna (1977), see above.

invaded and settled Satricum in 488.⁵³³ The graves from the southwest necropolis are notably different from the other examples throughout Latium. In the first place, the cemetery is the largest and most densely populated of any other necropolis in the region during the Archaic period. Most other burial grounds consist of fewer than twenty excavated graves. Second, the widespread deposition of grave goods in tombs marks a break with the Latin tradition, where the majority of burials contain little to nothing in the way of *corredi*. Third, the cemetery exhibits remarkable conformity in tomb type, consisting entirely of trench tombs. Some graves include ledges or niches, but they all adhere to the same basic structure. Fourth, children are present in the same burial ground as adults, whereas in Latium, children are typically buried in association with domestic contexts.

Gnade emphasizes the following to points as evidence for the occupation of the cemetery by a non-Latin group: its location within the *ager* and the presence of imported grave goods, in particular an axehead bearing an archaic inscription. According to the stipulations of the Twelve Tables at Rome, burials were prohibited from city limits. Most scholars accept the historicity of the document, and assume the laws were applied in all Latin settlements that fell within Rome's orbit. The location of a necropolis within the city boundary at Satricum, then, suggests to Gnade that either the limits of the city had contracted by the time of the fifth century and/or a newly resident population occupied the necropolis. This new population either fell outside of Rome's sphere of influence or actively resisted Roman authority and occupation.

Acropolis

Complicating this picture is the evidence from a third burial ground, identified on the Satrican acropolis, just southwest of the sanctuary along the ancient Via Sacra. Archaeologists first discovered burials in this area when conducting soundings in 1909, and excavated three in association with a hut feature (fig. 5.67).⁵³⁴ The original field records do not document their precise location, but a description of the burials and their contents suggests that they constitute part of the burial ground to the south of Temple II, excavated between 1985-1991. A recent study of the field notes and excavation materials reveals that all three burials were inhumations *a fossa* and contained few to no grave goods. Two of the burials preserved recognizable human remains that identified the deceased as a 50-year-old woman and a 20-year-old youth. The grave goods consisted primarily of ceramic vessels such as *ollae*, which date the burials to approximately 500 B.C.E.

⁵³³ According to Livy (2.39.1), a Volscian army led by C. Marcius Coriolanus took possession of Satricum in 488, and the city remained a part of Volscian territory until 385 (6.16.5-8), when Rome established a colony there. See also Dion. Hal. 8.36.1-2 and Gnade 1992; 2002.

⁵³⁴ Ginge 1996, 123-57.

When excavation resumed in 1985, archaeologists noted the presence of at least 35 additional graves, of which eleven adult inhumations were excavated.⁵³⁵ The majority of the graves were grouped together in the area immediately south of the Archaic road that passes before the temple in a southeastern direction. The burials are divided into two groups based on their orientations. The first group comprises four burials with a NE/SW orientation, while the second group has seven with a SE/NW orientation. The graves are rectangular in shape, and measure approximately 2.0 m long and between 0.45 and 0.85 m wide. This size is consistent with those excavated in the southwest necropolis. The deceased were placed on the floor of the grave in a supine position with the limbs adducted. A number of the graves cut through portions of an earlier settlement, whose layers contained fragments of pottery and tile dating to the late seventh and early sixth centuries. The burials preserve *corredi* with vases similar in type, arrangement and number. Each grave contained an average of four cooking jars or bowls, which were usually placed at the head, or feet of the deceased. On occasion the individual was buried with a personal item of bronze, iron or glass; no weapons were positively identified.⁵³⁶ One grave contained either a double burial or two simultaneously excavated graves. The remains of a child and its associated grave goods were placed above the burial of an adult and its *corredo*.⁵³⁷

Archaeologists excavating the acropolis cemetery in the nineteen-eighties observed a marked difference between the burials from this area and those from the southwest necropolis.⁵³⁸ The acropolis graves appeared poorer, since they contained fewer grave goods and had no evidence for the wooden coffins or biers present in several graves in the southwest cemetery. There was less variety in the type of grave good on the acropolis, and there was no evidence for imported items or objects of value. For the most part, the acropolis graves contained bowls and pots made of *impasto*, while those to the southwest contained ceramics made from a greater variety of fabrics and shapes. Maaskant-Kleibrink observed that the acropolis burials marked a break with earlier funerary traditions and uses of urban space.⁵³⁹ The graves presented a juxtaposition of secular and sacred activities not seen elsewhere in Latium. They were located on the acropolis, in the ruins of an earlier temple and in proximity to contemporaneous votive deposits. According to Maaskant-Kleibrink, this pattern could either represent the customs of a different population, namely the Volsci, whom the ancient sources record invaded the city in the early fifth century, or a disruption in the customs of the same Latin population.

⁵³⁵ Beijer 1987; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992, 101-5.

⁵³⁶ Maaskant-Kleibrink (1992, 101) records that a long piece of iron was found atop a child's grave, but the object could not be identified.

⁵³⁷ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992, 103, Grave 9.

⁵³⁸ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992, 104.

⁵³⁹ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992, 143-4.

Poggio dei Cavallari

A fourth necropolis was discovered just north of an archaic road in the lower settlement area of ancient Satricum, known today as Poggio dei Cavallari (fig. 5.68). The University of Amsterdam excavated the area in three phases: following a brief rescue operation in 1984, the university resumed investigation in 1996-1997 on what is now considered the western portion of the road and cemetery; excavation from 2003 until the present day has expanded exploration of both areas further east.⁵⁴⁰ Excavation uncovered the remains of a road network in association with a cemetery, which document the continued occupation of the site from the sixth through the third centuries. The most significant feature was a W/E running road that was first constructed in the last quarter of the sixth century over the remains of an earlier road phase. On the basis of the size and monumentality of the road, it seems to have functioned as the main route of Satricum, running W/E and connecting the lower settlement with the acropolis. Branching off the road toward the southeast were two side roads that lead into the urban area. On the south side of the same main road two buildings were discovered. To the north of the road, and in its post-abandonment phases, were nearly forty tombs that can only be dated generally to the fifth and fourth centuries.⁵⁴¹

Gnade has reconstructed the chronological sequence of the area. The monumental construction of the road first occurred in the last quarter of the sixth century. The level of the road was raised, side walls of tuff were constructed along its northern and southern limits, and two buildings of undetermined function were constructed just off the south side. It is likely that this occurred at the same time as the reconstruction of Temple II on the acropolis, all during the Late Archaic phase of Satricum. It appears that both the road and Temple II were destroyed at the same time, about 500/480 B.C.E., an event that Gnade attributes to the Volscian invasion. The road was rebuilt in the subsequent Post-Archaic phase, probably in the first half of the fifth century, more or less along the same lines. The only significant change was that, instead of two side walls, only a single wall was erected along the northern edge of the road. Certain features in the construction of the wall led Gnade to suggest that it functioned as a defensive structure, but it may simply have been a side wall, similar to what existed previously. It is unclear precisely when, but sometime in the third quarter of the fifth century this road fell out of use and the area was used as a burial ground, which remained the primary function of the area well into the fourth century. Most of the graves from Poggio dei Cavallari are fourth century burials that were cut into the surface of this road or located alongside it. The earliest burials are located in the western portion of the cemetery, some three to eight meters from the road, and can be dated to the fifth century. It is unclear, however, whether they represent activity contemporaneous with the use of the post-archaic road, or were dug after its abandonment.

⁵⁴⁰ Gnade 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007 and 2009.

⁵⁴¹ Gnade 2002, 51-101.

Although only fifteen graves have been published in any detail, enough information is available from interim site reports to make general observations about the entire necropolis.⁵⁴² All the graves were constructed *a fossa*, arranged along a NW/SE orientation and contained inhumation burials with *corredi*. Some graves had benches carved into the sides, and others contained the traces of wooden coffins. Grave goods consisted mainly of vessels used for drinking and food preparation and a few personal ornaments, such as *fibulae*. The skeletal remains are generally not very well preserved, but the graves first excavated have produced some results. From the fifth-century burials discovered in the western portion of the cemetery, one belongs to a girl of fifteen to eighteen years of age and another to an infant aged 0-1 years.⁵⁴³ There are a high proportion of burials of infants, children and youths in the eastern portion of the cemetery. The data have not been completely published, but thus far, there is evidence for a child aged 3-5 years, among a number of other youths and infants.⁵⁴⁴ Based on the average size of graves known from the western half of the cemetery, and the data from the southwest necropolis, it is likely that the necropolis accommodated both child and adult inhumations.⁵⁴⁵

There are some differences between the western and eastern halves of the cemetery. The burials from the western portion of the necropolis are the earliest, are fewer in number and contain fewer grave goods than those to the east. They also have a less defined relationship to the road. The graves in the eastern portion of the cemetery, however, are greater in number, are more densely arranged and often superimposed, and contain more grave goods.⁵⁴⁶ What is more, their relationship with the road seems clear. Although some graves are located alongside the Post-Archaic road, others were dug directly into its surface, demonstrating that the road must have fallen out of use by the time the graves were dug. On the basis of the grave goods and materials from the road surface, this event dates to the last quarter of the fifth century; however, most graves belong to the fourth century.⁵⁴⁷ Some forty graves have been identified, many of which are superimposed. The burials from this area have also produced a greater number of grave goods.

⁵⁴² The published graves are tombs I-XV, excavated from 2003-2007. The online Fasti offer the most up-to-date information regarding the remainder, as they await more formal publication. www.fastionline.org.

⁵⁴³ Gnade (2002, 94-5). The graves are numbered ST 1-5. The girl is ST 2 and the infant is ST 1; ST 3 was almost completely destroyed; neither ST 4 nor ST 5 were excavated as of 2002.

⁵⁴⁴ Gnade (2009, 365-8), the child of 3-5 years is based on dental analysis. Gnade otherwise notes that the osteological remains from graves V-VII, X and XIII-XIV represent mostly youths, and a few infants.

⁵⁴⁵ Gnade (2002, 94-5) records that, in the western part of the necropolis, the excavated graves ranged in size from 1.10 to 1.90 m long and 0.35 m to 0.70 m wide.

⁵⁴⁶ Gnade 2009, 365-8. These graves are numbered I-XV.

⁵⁴⁷ Gnade 2009, 365-8. Tombs I-V, VIII-X, XII-XV were discovered in the road surface, and tombs VI, VII and XI were found to the north of the road.

Gnade sees homogeneity in the graves from Poggio dei Cavallari, the acropolis and the southwest necropolis and argues that they are all representative of the Volscian community in fifth-century Satricum.⁵⁴⁸ The graves are all *a fossa*, some of which have benches and traces of wooden coffins, and they contain the inhumation burials of both adults and children. The finds from the graves are similar in style and number, including a wide range of vessels used for drinking and food preparation, and items of personal adornment such as *fibulae*. All three cemeteries occupy the same position in association with a road. The necropolis at Poggio dei Cavallari is situated just north of a road running W/E, possibly from Antium up to the Satrican acropolis; the southwest necropolis is flanked on its eastern side by what is likely the main road leading into Satricum from the south; the acropolis necropolis is located along the eastern side of a road that runs through the plateau.

Gnade believes that the location of these cemeteries alongside roads reinforces beliefs regarding the separation of the dead from the living.⁵⁴⁹ It is significant that at least two, and possibly all three burial grounds are located within the city limits of ancient Satricum, and probably in the vicinity of zones of habitation.⁵⁵⁰ The cemetery on the acropolis and the southwest necropolis are clearly located within the ancient *ager*, but the intra or extra mural location of the necropolis at Poggio dei Cavallari is more uncertain. In a phase of reconstruction that dates generally to the Post-Archaic period, a wall was constructed along the northern edge of the road. The wall runs W/E, following the direction of the road, and probably functioned as a side wall to this artery. Certain aspects of the wall's construction led Gnade to suggest that it functioned as a defensive feature similar to a rampart.⁵⁵¹ She notes that the location of the wall is unusual, since it is situated in uneven terrain, adding that a more suitable location would have been a few hundred meters to the north. However, a wall constructed further north would have enclosed the cemetery within the urban area. Consequently, she suggests that the location of the wall was motivated by a desire to separate, in symbolic and actual terms, the world of the living from the dead.

5f. Discussion

The archaeological evidence for archaic burial in Rome and Latium, as presented above, reveals the following points: 1. there is a great deal of variation in tomb type on local and regional levels; 2. at the same time, there are distinct regional patterns; 3. grave goods, although they are generally few in number, remain a component of funerary ritual in certain regions and types of burial; and 4. there is a great deal of variation as regards the location of these burials, although they are generally located in small burial grounds. I will

⁵⁴⁸ Gnade 2002, 97.

⁵⁴⁹ Gnade 2002, 100-1.

⁵⁵⁰ Gnade 2002, 99-100. No domestic structures have been identified or excavated in the lower settlement area of Satricum, but survey in the region and the excavation of a dump revealed evidence for building debris. The type of materials discovered can be connected to dwellings that were inhabited as early as the sixth century.

⁵⁵¹ Gnade 2002, 74.

expand upon each of these observations, and consider the implications these have for our current understanding of archaic burial and what the evidence suggests about the nature of city-states in the Archaic period.

In section 5c I outlined the four basic tomb types and their variants, and pointed out the sites where each has been most commonly found. Following an overview of the various sites with funerary evidence (5d), however, it is clear that a wide variety of tomb types were used throughout the region, and that this stands in marked contrast with the funerary evidence from earlier periods. In the Early Iron Age, there were only two main grave types, *fosse* and *pozzetti*, which changed only in the late Orientalizing period with the appearance of chamber tomb. *Suggrundaria* are also attested during this period. During the Archaic period, however, there is evidence for *fosse*, *fosse* with *loculi*, chamber tombs, semi-chamber tombs, sarcophagi, *suggrundaria* and urns; many of these occur within the same regions and even burial grounds. Thus, it appears that a wide array of modes of burial were known to the inhabitants of archaic Rome and Latium.

The fact that these various tomb types are, in general, widely distributed throughout Latium, suggests there was a fairly complex system of networks that encouraged cross-cultural interaction within the region. For example, the greatest concentration of variation in tomb type occurs in the zone bounded by Rome, Gabii and Laurentina. All tomb types and their variants are represented in this area: tuff sarcophagi; trench tombs, both with and without *loculi*, as well as with lids of tuff or tile; chamber tombs and semi-chamber tombs for both multiple and single inhumation; *suggrundaria*; and possibly urns, if we accept the data from the Esquiline necropolis. It is possible that the central location of these cities in Latium, and the multiple points of access connecting these centers with other settlements in the immediate territory, suggests that this zone was a well-interconnected area that allowed for the transmission of ideas, people, and goods (figs. 5.69 and 5.70).

The reasons for the concentration of this activity in central Latium may partly be due to the geography and topography of the region. Although to my knowledge there has been no positive identification of a road connecting Rome to Laurentina, it is likely that the sites in this district were known and accessible to Rome, as they were located about 7 km south of the Aurelian Walls. What is more, the abandonment of the area by the beginning of the fifth century is taken as indication of the incorporation of the area into the *ager romanus*. The sites at Acqua Acetosa, Tor de' Cenci, Torrino, Casale Massima and Casale Brunori were almost certainly known to one another, as they were located within a 5 km radius. The roads uncovered at the so-called *compitum* at Tor de' Cenci, which may be archaic, seem to run in two directions: the first, toward the modern Via Ostiense; the second, toward the *Fosso di Malafede* in the direction of Castel Porziano.⁵⁵² At Gabii, there is evidence of a road connecting the city to Rome, possibly the Via Gabina, which continued in a northeast direction toward Tibur.⁵⁵³ The predominance of monolithic tuff sarcophagi in Rome, Gabii and Tibur supports the eastward movement of these items in this area. There was also

⁵⁵² Bedini 1990.

⁵⁵³ See Chapter 6.

potential for communication stemming from Gabii in the direction of Praeneste, along the later site of the Via Praenestina.⁵⁵⁴ In addition to these roadways are the two tributaries of the *Fosso dell'Osa* and the *Fosso di San Giuliano*, which fed the Aniene river; the Aniene, in turn, was a tributary of the Tiber.⁵⁵⁵

That this network also looked outward into other areas of Italy and the Mediterranean, seems supported by the widespread adoption of certain tomb types, especially the chamber tomb. Chamber tombs appear in Latium at the end of the seventh century, probably as a result of contact with the Etruscan world, and remain in use until about the mid-fifth. They are the predominant type in Crustumerium, and appear in high numbers at the sites in the Laurentina district of Rome and Corcolle. At Gabii and Lavinium there are solitary examples.⁵⁵⁶ This level of connectivity may also find support in the seemingly random and isolated distribution of especially wealthy burials. Both the Tomb of the Warrior at Lanuvium and the tomb of the woman at Fidenae have a high concentration of grave goods that point to contact with the Etruscan and Greek worlds. This is not meant to be understood as an indication of ethnic identity, only as an indicator that at some point, the individuals buried in this tomb were exposed to ideas, goods and rituals of external origin.

The concentration of chamber tombs in those areas northeast of Rome and close to Sabine territory points to the extent of regional contact and influence. The mortuary record at Crustumerium shows a break with the Latin tradition, and seems to have more in common with sites to the north and east. These chamber tombs resemble closely in style, dimensions, location and contents, those from Eretum, an ancient settlement located about 12 km northeast of Crustumerium following the Tiber river. At the site of Colle del Forno, is a cemetery comprised entirely of chamber tombs. The tombs are all located along the slopes of a hill, adhere to the same quadrangular plan, and contain rich *corredi* (fig. 5.71).⁵⁵⁷ Santoro observed that these burials belong to a distinct falisco-capenate category of funerary architecture that consists of a main chamber that is square in shape, and has *loculi* carved into the two side walls and sometimes a third at the back. On occasion, additional niches are cut for the deposition of grave goods.

There are clear similarities between the burials of Crustumerium and Eretum,⁵⁵⁸ which is perhaps unsurprising given its location. The earliest survey evidence revealed that Crustumerium was located on a network of hills in the middle of Latin, Sabine, Faliscan, Capenate and Etruscan territories.⁵⁵⁹ The funerary data suggest that there were close ties between these regions, and is supported by a shared material culture in other contexts.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁴ Via Praenestina, *LTURS* 4:249.

⁵⁵⁵ Bietti Sestieri 1992b, 76.

⁵⁵⁶ In addition to this is the Late Orientalizing chamber tomb 62 from Osteria dell'Osa, Bietti Sestieri (1992a).

⁵⁵⁷ Santoro 1977.

⁵⁵⁸ di Gennaro 1988.

⁵⁵⁹ Quilici and Quilici Gigli 1980.

⁵⁶⁰ Nijboer and Attema 2008.

The materials recovered in the Crustumerium chamber tombs are revealing: while the *corredi* are not large, they comprise several ceramic vessels of a local red and white style of pottery, and some metal objects. However, the grave goods from Crustumerium remain fewer in quantity than those from Eretum, suggesting that this community observed to some degree the Latin custom of restraint in burial practices.

At the opposite end of Latin territory, the site of Satricum has a distinct burial tradition. The fifth century burials at Satricum all conform to a single type, the trench tomb, and contain *corredi* consisting of locally made ceramic wares. Both features are not consistent with Latin burials of the same period, and may point to a closer cultural and geographical connection to the peoples of the Apennines. Indeed, the funerary record at Satricum during all periods shows little evidence of corresponding to Latin customs.⁵⁶¹ At most Latin sites, inhumation replaced cremation as the preferred burial rite by the eighth century, whereas at Satricum, cremation remains the norm throughout this time, though inhumations occur simultaneously. In the Tumulus C chamber tomb of the northwest necropolis, the records from the old excavations indicate that the wealthier burials were associated with cremations in the eighth and inhumations in the seventh.⁵⁶² This is unusual given that inhumations are the rite typically associated with chamber tombs in Latium and Etruria at this time.

Even more curious is that no burials at all have been identified for the sixth century at Satricum; graves disappear from the site with the closing of the last *tumulus* of the northwest necropolis at the end of seventh century, and reappear in the *fosse* of the southwest necropolis, acropolis and Poggio dei Cavallari at the beginning of the fifth. Satricum seems to have been a successful city in the sixth century, as indicated by the evidence from the settlement and temple to Mater Matuta. In this regard, the absence of sixth-century burials at Satricum may be interpreted as part of the same phenomenon that witnessed a reduction in the number of burials throughout Latium. Archaeologists have noted that the intensive agricultural activities in the area destroyed a number of tombs, which may have included those of the sixth century.⁵⁶³ This is not a convincing argument to explain the absence of sixth-century burials, however. It is more likely that Satricum, during the sixth century, was influenced by whatever process was happening in the rest of the region that resulted in the diminution of burials. What is more, those burials on the acropolis, which contain few to no grave goods (at best a few *ollae*), may represent an adherence, at least in part, to Latin modes of burial. A comparison of the archaeological record of Satricum with sites in the Apennines and Campania would go some way in clarifying the relationship of this site with those in neighboring territories.

Although the burials at Crustumerium and Satricum reveal, in their consistency with types from adjacent regions, that close regional contacts were significant for funerary ritual, it is difficult to determine what factors contributed to the use of certain tomb types in the rest

⁵⁶¹ Smith 2006, 150-3.

⁵⁶² Waarsenburg 1995.

⁵⁶³ Gnade 1992.

of Latium. As previously noted, the sites of Rome and Latium exhibit a considerable amount of variation in tomb type, to the point that most sites have evidence of at least two, and many more have several. Rome, Gabii and the sites of Laurentina are the best examples to demonstrate the level of variability, since more or less all burial types are represented at these sites, even within the same burial group. At Casale Massima, there are trenches, trenches with *loculi*, and chamber tombs in the same cemetery. At Gabii there are semi-chamber tombs and a sarcophagus in one group, and two sarcophagi, a chamber tomb and two trenches in another.⁵⁶⁴ The burials from the 2002 excavations on the Esquiline at Rome reveal evidence for trenches covered by lids of tuff, trenches covered by tiles, trenches with *loculi*, and tuff sarcophagi.

There is little evidence to suggest what the use of different tomb types within the same burial ground reveals about the specific relationships between the deceased. While it is possible to argue that the presence of different tomb types within the same cemeteries represents the practices of distinct subgroups, this is very difficult to prove in practice. The decision regarding how to be buried may have involved any combination of factors, including personal preference, ancestral custom, or regional and ethnic ties. Complicating this picture is the fact that there is little evidence suggesting how the members of these groups were related to one another. While DNA analysis of the osteological material would go some way in proving whether or not there were genetic ties between the deceased, it cannot account for those kinds of ties that are not blood-related.⁵⁶⁵ It is possible that some other social, economic, political or religious ties connected the occupants of these tombs.

These groups may be connected not so much by their use of particular tomb types as by their shared access of the burial ground. It appears that, beginning in the seventh century, use of burial grounds for visible forms of burial became increasingly restricted, as there is a gradual reduction in the number of archaeologically visible burials. This trend continued in the sixth and fifth centuries, to the point that there are very few burials in the archaeological record compared to the evidence from other periods. This observation is based on Morris' study of the Kerameikos burials at Athens, who observes that a reduction in the quantity of graves relative to estimates of the living population points to a restriction in the access given to visible forms of burial, and that access to this was accorded based on rank.⁵⁶⁶ Excluding Satricum from the total body count, since the high number of burials there is anomalous, the number of recovered burials from Rome and Latium over the course of the sixth to mid-fifth century is about one hundred. This is a rough estimate,

⁵⁶⁴ The latter remain unpublished. Only the chamber tomb is dated with any certainty to the Archaic period. Its association with the tomb group, however, illustrates the same point.

⁵⁶⁵ Such analyses have been rarely applied, if ever, to the skeletal remains of archaic burials. This is likely due to the cost and perhaps even the poorly preserved remains of many contexts.

⁵⁶⁶ Morris 1987. See Chapter 6 for an application of this model to the mortuary evidence from Gabii.

based on the numbers noted from the published reports.⁵⁶⁷ This low number is striking, especially in comparison with the burial evidence from Iron Age cemetery at Osteria dell'Osa, which has six hundred burials over about three centuries (most of which belong to the first two centuries), and that at Castel di Decima, has about three hundred burials over two centuries.⁵⁶⁸ It is extremely unlikely that the low number of burials in archaic Latium is representative of the living population. In a demographic study based on the palaeobotanical data recovered from the sites in the region, Ampolo provides a reasonable estimate for Rome in the low tens of thousands, and the Latin cities anywhere between 1500-3000.⁵⁶⁹ On this basis, it seems reasonable to expect that the right of burial was restricted to certain members of the population, on the basis of rank, however culturally defined.

One of the greatest indicators of status and wealth in archaeology is the presence of grave goods in burials, and the absence or low quantity of these from most contexts severely complicates our understanding of who was permitted formal burial and on what grounds. Scholars almost unanimously attribute archaic burials to the aristocratic elite, based on a variety of factors. These include the monumentality of the tombs, their architectural refinement, their association with other monumental structures, and the quantity and quality of grave goods, if they exist. For instance, Bedini suggests the chamber tombs of Torrino represent the burials of small family groups, who likely belonged to the aristocratic elite who lived somewhere in the immediate area.⁵⁷⁰ Rajala considers the chamber tombs of Crustumerium as those belonging to elite groups, although she notes the more poorly carved burials were likely the graves of lower class persons.⁵⁷¹ The wealthy burials of the Tomb of the Warrior at Lanuvium and the woman at Fidenae are considered elite on the basis of their rich *corredi*.⁵⁷² At Satricum, Gnade makes distinctions between what she believes are poor and rich burials, based on the quality in the construction of the graves and the type and quantity of grave goods.⁵⁷³ At Gabii, the small burial ground in area D, which I discuss in Chapter 6, is tentatively attributed to aristocratic elite activity, based on the association of the tombs with an archaic building (also considered elite), and the degree of labor required for their construction.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁶⁷ This is not entirely accurate, since many of the reports indicate that there are "about twenty", "some" or "a few" burials. I have included in this total the burials from the old Esquiline excavations. The true number may be somewhat less.

⁵⁶⁸ Bietti Sestieri 1992a; 1992b (Osteria dell'Osa). Holloway 1994, 114-6 (Castel di Decima).

⁵⁶⁹ Ampolo 1977. Raaflaub (2005, 21-2) discusses the approaches of other scholars in calculating the population of Rome. Ampolo's hypothesis seems the most sound.

⁵⁷⁰ Bedini 1981a.

⁵⁷¹ Rajala 2008a.

⁵⁷² *GRT* 265-9 (Lanuvium). *GRT* 260-2 (Fidenae).

⁵⁷³ Gnade 1992.

⁵⁷⁴ Mogetta and Becker 2014.

Even though modern scholarship widely accepts the identification of these burials as elite, this does not fully address the problem of what we mean by the term, and how this applies specifically to the burials in archaic Rome and Latium. Most scholars are aware that there is a difference between social status and wealth, although the term "aristocratic elite" seems to refer to those groups that enjoy both. Presumably, these groups had the economic resources (wealth) and the authority (social status) to allow them to control the landscape and commission elaborate forms of burial. What is often unstated, however, is the nature of both status and wealth. It is important to consider how status was achieved, maintained and employed, and how that may connect to wealth. The same applies to wealth: one must consider how it was quantified, from what sources it was derived, and how it contributed to status.

The ancient accounts offer some insight into the social hierarchy of early Rome, and indicate that early Roman society was organized around clan-based membership. The clan, or *gens*, comprised the central social institution, whereby various individuals and groups were connected under the authority of a single clan leader, the *pater*, by a combination of familial, economic, social, political or religious ties. The same sources reveal that the *pater* controlled the exploitation of the land, allotting various tracts to groups belonging to the *gens*. These groups were not necessarily blood-related, but probably had a variety of social, economic or political connections. It appears that these groups, in return, made contributions of varying kinds to the clan leader, including military and political support, as well as shares of crops and labor. Modern scholarship is divided on most issues relating to the *gens*, and certainly the historicity of the accounts regarding this group is the issue most susceptible to criticism.⁵⁷⁵ However, if we accept for the moment the conventional interpretation, it is possible to make some tentative arguments about the nature of the archaic burial grounds.

If, as the sources indicate, the clan leader controlled land and access to it, it is conceivable that this authority extended to cemeteries. The tenth table clearly reveals a concern regarding the proper relationship between landed property and burial. The ninth statute declares that the *bustum* could not be located within sixty feet of the property of another (X.9). This suggests that early Roman landowners, who may have been these clan leaders, were permitted to bury on their own property, but at the same time were required to maintain a level of separation from that of another. The remaining Twelve Tables demonstrate a preoccupation with issues of landed and moveable property, including marriage, slavery and inheritance; in light of X.9 of the Tenth table, it seems that this included burial. The clan leader, as the individual who likely controlled the land and access to it, may have governed the use of burial grounds.

Whether the clan leader restricted this use to his own family or extended access to the burial ground to different members of the *gens* remains unclear. Given that he distributed land to clan members and designated its use, it is possible to suggest that he did the same for burial grounds. In which case, it is still difficult to determine just how much control the

⁵⁷⁵ Smith (2006) offers a recent account of the *gens*.

clan leader, or the *gens* as an entity, exercised over its members concerning other matters related to burial, including tomb type. The presence of various tomb types within the same burial ground suggests that this was not an issue that required clan-based sanction. For the most part, the tenth table imposes restrictions on behavior, rather than the material attributes involved in burial. Whatever the case, this hypothetical explanation does not fully address who was buried in these cemeteries and why. At best, it only suggests that the individuals who owned the burial grounds were the elite, and controlled access to the cemetery; this access may have been granted to anyone within the clan network, regardless of socioeconomic standing. As discussed in Chapter 4, the tenth table seems to have allowed distinctions for individuals that performed some service to the state (X.8), but, again, this does not emphasize that individual's standing in the social hierarchy.

This argument is easily criticized on the grounds that it is making too much out of too little reliable evidence, and that it still does not explain the variety of tomb types that appear throughout archaic Latium. We may have a tenuous idea of who was buried in a cemetery, but have little indication of what kinds of decisions people made when it came to burial. The truth is, we may never know, and can only draw conclusions based on the available evidence. As it stands, the archaeological record reveals that the people of archaic Latium only observed two funerary rituals with any degree of consistency: the rite of inhumation and the deposition of few or no grave goods. Although there are exceptions to these rules, namely, the urns of the Esquiline and the wealthy graves of Lanuvium and Fidenae, these statements seem generally true. More difficult to determine, however, is why the inhabitants of Rome and Latium observed these two rituals, yet at the same time exhibited greater license in tomb types.

The increase in the variety of tomb types may be better understood in light of the rapid monumentalization of the region.⁵⁷⁶ The sixth century is widely acknowledged as a time of urban development in Rome and Latium, where population density rose, and urban and rural landscapes became increasingly filled with examples of stone built architecture. This kind of construction took place in a variety of contexts: there are temples, residences, altars, and walls, among a number of other monumental features throughout the settlements of the region. It is possible that these developments extended to the funerary sphere, and encouraged the construction of a wide range of tomb types, especially ones built of stone. The proliferation of the chamber tomb in Latium is generally understood in this context, as it represents a monumental form of burial on par with the examples of temples, residences, walls and so on that appear in the urban and rural areas of the region.⁵⁷⁷ It is possible to view the monolithic stone tuff sarcophagi and semi-chamber tombs in the same light. Both signal the quarrying and use of stone for construction purposes, whether it is the enormous block of the sarcophagus, or the deep carving into bedrock of the semi-chamber tomb. The shallower trench tombs fit less easily into this category, however. They may represent a more traditional mode of burial, and certainly the

⁵⁷⁶ I return to a discussion of monumentalization in Chapter 6, focusing on the use of the term in modern scholarship concerning ancient Etruria and Rome.

⁵⁷⁷ Ampolo 1984; Rajala 2007; 2008a. See above for discussion.

most common, as they appear at most sites in some fashion. Those which have niches closed with tiles may reference the tiles used for stone built structures.

The monumentalization of Rome and Latium during the sixth century is thought to explain the absence of grave goods in tombs of the same period. It would appear that wealth was being redirected away from graves and into monumental forms of architecture.⁵⁷⁸ Although there is probably some truth to this, the argument it misses the mark in a few ways. First, it overlooks the evidence demonstrating that the reduction in grave goods, particularly ceramics, was the result of a more gradual process, beginning in the Late Orientalizing period.⁵⁷⁹ Second, it relies heavily on the funerary regulations of the Twelve Tables, which, as already discussed, seem to have had very little to do with the items deposited in graves. Third, it suggests that burial became a less viable mode of the kinds of conspicuous consumption used to make demonstrations of power and wealth. Although I would not connect outright all burials with elite groups, it seems unlikely that the importance of burial as a ritual became less significant as a symbol of wealth and/or status. It seems instead that tombs became increasingly monumental at the same time as other forms of architecture, and all of these monuments, and the areas they occupied, held equal potential for demonstrations of wealth and/or status.⁵⁸⁰

With regard to the absence grave goods, Colonna's initial observation remains generally true. Most burials in Rome and Latium have no *corredi*, and when they do, they consist only of a few objects. The decline in grave goods, however, appears to have been more gradual and widespread than he once thought. As noted above, recent studies have demonstrated that the tombs of south Etruria and Latium reveal evidence of decreased *corredi* beginning in the mid- to late seventh century.⁵⁸¹ This suggests that the absence or decline of grave goods cannot be attributed to any sort of funerary legislation, such as the Twelve Tables, and is instead indicative of a widespread change in funerary ideology that placed less emphasis on the inclusion of objects within the grave. Although this change is broadly visible at sites in south Etruria and Latium, it is expressed more rigorously in the latter.

What is more, a review of the grave goods that do appear suggests the issue of their absence is somewhat overstated. The distribution of grave goods in cemeteries is irregular: at most sites, only a handful of burials include grave goods. The exceptions to this rule are the tombs at Crustumerium and Satricum, where the majority contains a relatively high degree of grave goods, though this may indicate non Latin practice. At Crustumerium, most chamber tombs contained jewelry, arms or metal objects. Five lacked *corredi* entirely, while two preserved an entire ceramic vessel. The richest burials contained bronze *fibulae* decorated with beads, pendants or iron weapons; others were buried with iron *fibulae* or an assortment of iron objects that the reports do not make specific. At Satricum, the burials

⁵⁷⁸ Smith 1996; Cornell 1995. See above for discussion.

⁵⁷⁹ Bartoloni et al. 2009.

⁵⁸⁰ Riva 2010; Bietti Sestieri 1992b; Rajala 2007; 2008a. The chamber tomb is often viewed as a testament to control and authority over the landscape.

⁵⁸¹ Bartoloni et al. 2009.

of the southwest necropolis tended to include ceramic vessels, whereas *fibulae*, pendants, beaded necklaces, weapons, pins, spindle whorls and loomweights were comparatively rare. In general, grave goods here were modest in quantity and quality, with most burials containing anywhere from one to six vessels.⁵⁸² The majority of the pottery comprised locally made wares common in domestic contexts; very few graves contained imported vessels. These burials have been noted already, however, for their singularity.

Other graves notable for their wealth include the Tomb of the Warrior at Lanuvium and the tomb of a woman at Fidenae. Both of these burials are located in isolation; there is no comparative funerary evidence from the surrounding area. Both are burials in tuff sarcophagi and are remarkable for the wealth of the grave goods deposited in them, which is generally considered unusual for the time and region. The Tomb of the Warrior at Lanuvium includes the arms of a presumed cavalryman, along with a host of other items including strigils, a discus and *alabastra*. This grave is often interpreted as one of the *tombe principesche* that were more commonly found in the Orientalizing period.⁵⁸³ The tomb of the woman at Fidenae contained a wide array of items, including gold earrings, a gold necklace, a silver *fibula*, beads of glass and amber, a mirror, a lump of *aes rude* and red pigment. The quantity of metal objects found in her tomb suggests a shared funerary ideology with the Etruscan world. Although her burial is the only archaic grave recovered thus far at Fidenae, the wealth from this burial is in alignment with the higher concentration of grave goods found in contexts in northeast Latium, particularly at Crustumerium.

The few wealthy graves have the tendency to obscure the fact that the predominant grave good type, for both adults and children in Rome and Latium are ceramic vessels related to dining, and food storage and preparation. Miniature *ollae*, *pentolinae*, *coppette* and *anforae* are the most commonly attested types of grave goods throughout all of Rome and Latium, with exception of those sites in the north. At Rome, miniature amphorae and cups were discovered in three of the burials from the 2002 excavations on the Esquiline. Colini's excavations there in 1932 revealed fragments of *aes rude* and bronze and iron nails in both tombs *a fossa* and sarcophagi. The sarcophagi from the Piazza Magnanapoli are unique for their finds, which include an *unguentarium*, a pin, a diadem, gilded bone beads and an Attic Red Figure *pelike*. At Laurentina, glass beads appear to be the more common type of grave good, although *olle* and *pentoline* are present in the chamber tombs of Casale Massima and Tor de' Cenci. The lone trench tomb at Ardea contains an *olla*, a cup and a *pyxis*. Most of the child burials at Ficana contain at least one *olla*; in two burials these jars were closed at the mouth by basins; one burial included a bronze grater. At Satricum, all the necropoleis have evidence for a variety jars, pots, bowls and cups; the burials of the acropolis, however, included only *ollae*. Finally, at Gabii, *ollae* are attested in the trench burial of a child. Overall, imports are rare, but are attested in one of the Piazza Magnanapoli sarcophagi at Rome, which holds the Attic Red Figure *pelike*, and the various burials in the chamber tomb at Lavinium, which contains an Attic Red Figure *stamnos*, a red-figure *kylix*, and one

⁵⁸² Gnade (1992), Grave 62.

⁵⁸³ Riva (2010) challenges conventional interpretations of the *tombe principesche*.

oinochoe. In general, the pottery consists of local or imitation wares. It seems that there remained in burial some representation of the funerary banquet, as indicated by the presence of pottery related to dining and drinking.

The archaic burials appear in a variety of locations, including cemeteries or in isolation, at crossroads or on hillsides, and in the remains of buildings. In nearly all circumstances these are thought to represent elite claims of landownership. In the region of Laurentina, Bedini connects nearly all burials grounds with nearby settlements, which he claims were inhabited by elite groups; in particular, he suggests the chamber tombs at Torrino belong to a prominent family that lived nearby.⁵⁸⁴ Approximately 220 m southwest of the tombs he discovered the remains of *cappellaccio* walls, which he reconstructed as a colonnaded courtyard building with rooms on two sides.⁵⁸⁵ On the basis of ceramic remains he dated the building to the sixth and fifth centuries. At Acqua Acetosa, the chamber tombs were constructed in the remains of a complex of stone structures, which Bedini considered partly residential.⁵⁸⁶ Both the tombs and the final phases of the building date to the first half of the fifth century, and on these grounds, he suggests the individuals buried there were establishing and/or maintaining, in death, a connection not just to the agricultural landscape, but to a monumental structure within that landscape. The situation at Acqua Acetosa bears close semblance to that at Gabii, where a series of tombs appear to have been constructed in the remains of a building. I will revisit this in Chapter 6.

The chamber tomb is the category of burial most often identified with elite demonstrations of status and authority. In a recent study of urbanization in eighth-century Etruria, Riva argues that monumental and multidepositional forms of burial, such as chamber tombs, function as the basis for the institutionalization of elite ritual activities, and the transformation of their social prestige into political authority.⁵⁸⁷ In her view, the location of tombs along strategic routes or locations ensures the political control of that landscape and simultaneously acts as a choreographic space for the articulation of political authority. Bietti Sestieri understands the chamber tomb at Osteria dell'Osa in a similar way, and suggests that the individuals buried in the tomb were likely the ruling elite at Gabii, who strengthened their position in the local hierarchy by preserving a connection with their area of origin and reasserting their claims to landownership and territorial control.⁵⁸⁸ Rajala interprets the chamber tombs at Crustumerium as elite demonstrations of status and authority in the immediate area.⁵⁸⁹ Their prominent position on the hillsides at the juncture of Latin, Sabine and Etruscan territories would have been clear signs of territorial control. One could easily make the same case for the chamber tombs at the sites of Laurentina: here, there are two in a hillside at Acqua Acetosa, a few in a cemetery at Casale

⁵⁸⁴ Bedini 1981a.

⁵⁸⁵ Bedini 1984.

⁵⁸⁶ Bedini 1981b, 1983.

⁵⁸⁷ Riva 2009, 42.

⁵⁸⁸ Bietti Sestieri 1992b, 211.

⁵⁸⁹ Riva (2009, 108-40) suggests this was the function of some groups of chamber tombs in Etruria.

Massima, five near a building at Casale Brunori, and several in two groups at a crossroads at Tor de' Cenci.⁵⁹⁰

The prominent size and position of many of these tombs certainly makes them strong visual markers, and they do indeed seem to have functioned as statements of territorial control, insofar as they occupied prominent positions in land that seems to have been routinely regulated and negotiated. The tombs at Crustumerium, Corcolle and Tor de' Cenci seem to make the strongest statement. At Crustumerium, the tombs occupy the slopes of hills at an important juncture between neighboring regions; it is possible to see this as the attempt of prominent groups to create visual signs of their authority in the area, especially in relation to adjacent territories. What leads Rajala, I suspect, to interpret these as the burials of the ruling group is that they were the most likely people to have the ability to occupy this space and mobilize the resources for the construction of these monuments. At Corcolle, the tombs occupy a similar position in the countryside, although in a location further south; it, too, sits at the boundary of Latin and Sabine regions. The two burial groups at the crossroads of Tor de' Cenci, while they may not have represented a *compitum*, were certainly prominent; they may have functioned as boundary markers of some sort. The presence of several other chamber tombs at the other sites of Laurentina reveals just how difficult it is to associate chamber tombs specifically with the burials of the ruling group, as opposed to one of many groups who were allowed access to visible forms of burial. Those located in cemeteries alongside other burials, or those located in association with a complex may not necessarily be the leading group in the city. I prefer to view these more as the monuments of different groups, who likely used burial, along with other forms of architecture, in order to make a variety of statements, whether status, wealth, territory or ancestry. This also allows for the possibility that individuals other than the upper tier of elites received these modes of burial.

While the association of many of these burials to elite groups is debatable, it seems true that, for the most part, archaic burials are located in groups, whether they are small burial grounds or larger cemeteries. At Crustumerium, the burials are located on the slopes of a hill.⁵⁹¹ At Casale Massima there is a cemetery of some 40 graves that range in date from the eighth to the third centuries; about half of these burials belong to the Archaic period.⁵⁹² At Tor de' Cenci, the chamber tombs at the crossroads are clustered into two burial groups. In both cases the chamber tombs seem oriented around earlier burials.⁵⁹³ At Casale Brunori, five chamber tombs were discovered together along a road.⁵⁹⁴ At Satricum most of the burials are concentrated in the larger cemeteries to the southwest and at Poggio dei Cavallari; on the acropolis there are far fewer burials.⁵⁹⁵ At Rome, the situation is more difficult to determine since the limits of the Esquiline necropolis have not been completely

⁵⁹⁰ Bedini 1980; 1990; 1991.

⁵⁹¹ Rajala 2007; 2008a.

⁵⁹² Bedini 1980.

⁵⁹³ Bedini 1990.

⁵⁹⁴ Bedini 1991.

⁵⁹⁵ Gnade 1992; 2003; 2004; 2006; 2007; 2009.

identified. In addition, the poor records of the old excavations and the presence of modern occupation make it extremely difficult to discern distinctions in burial groups in the area. Despite the isolated occurrence of the Tomb of the Warrior and Lanuvium and the rich tomb of a woman at Fidenae, and the small groups of two or three burials at Acqua Acetosa, it seems that, for the most part, these burials are arranged in more modest burial grounds. This may be taken as evidence for the occupation of these burial grounds by members of a gentilicial group, but there could be other connections. Generally, these cemeteries are thought to represent the burial grounds of kinship groups, possibly a *gens*, although some other kind of association is possible. Only in the case of large cemeteries, where there is better proof that the number of burials is representative of the living population, can these be seen as burial grounds used by the entire community.

The burials of children and infants occur in two different contexts. Many appear, as *suggrundaria*, in the foundations or alongside the walls of buildings. There is evidence of this practice at Rome and the sites of Laurentina in particular, and, as I illustrate in Chapter 6, at Gabii. At Rome, there are the four tombs of the Sacra Via, which are all connected to the archaic habitation.⁵⁹⁶ These *suggrundaria* comprise infant burials in jars placed either below the floors or along the walls of the monumental structures. To the south of Rome, *suggrundaria* have been identified at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina and Casale Brunori, in a context related to sixth- and fifth-century buildings. At Gabii, each *suggrundarium* is situated along what appears to be the outer limits of the elite compound. It should be noted that the two *dolia*, to the north and south of the building, have an undetermined date. That to the north may date anywhere from the beginning of the seventh to the end of the sixth century, while that to the south remains undated. The evidence suggests that the funerary ideology regarding children was bound to the physical limits of the residence, a pattern that had its origin in the early Iron Age.

The archaeological visibility of infants and children is often interpreted as a sign of growing social complexity, but the location of these graves in association with houses points to their ties to these structures. In the Archaic period, juvenile graves are located, quite literally, in the foundations and at the limits of houses. It seems that children and infants were connected in death with the physical limits of the house. It is possible to suggest that these burials and the children are symbolic representations of the foundation and boundaries of the house, and by extension, the household. They demonstrate a care on behalf of the surviving families to maintain a relationship between family, house, and territory that in many ways echoes the concerns of the *gentes*, as indicated by the historical sources.

This is perhaps best illustrated at Ficana, where juvenile burials occur at the limits of a building and in a separate burial ground just north of the same complex. North of the complex were recovered seven archaic infant burials.⁵⁹⁷ While the burials in the building were *suggrundaria*, those north of the structure were deposited in vases or between tiles. Archaeologists interpreted the burial ground as a representative of the burial activities of a

⁵⁹⁶ Gjerstad (1956, 146-9), Tombs E, F, LL and NN.

⁵⁹⁷ Jarva (1981b, 270-1), burials I-VI and XII.

single family, since the number of graves was too low, and the time span too great (some ten burials over one hundred years), to have functioned as a community cemetery.⁵⁹⁸

5g. Conclusion

In conclusion, there is little homogeneity in the archaeological evidence for burial in Rome and Latium during the Archaic period. The evidence leaves few clear traces of ethnic, cultural, social, political or linguistic divisions, which suggests there was considerable diversity among the peoples inhabiting the region. At the same time, this is the period when most city-states in the region are thought to have been most prosperous. The evidence recovered from these sites reveals burial grounds occupied by mixed and mobile populations, who had a wide array of funerary traditions to draw from. The greatest degree of cross-cultural interaction seems to have occurred between adjacent city-states. Thus, for instance, Crustumerium exhibits cultural characteristics shared with the Etruscan, Sabine and Capenate worlds,⁵⁹⁹ and the sites in Rome and the Latin interior seem most to be participating in shared behaviors and rituals. These conclusions find support in earlier studies that understand society in archaic Rome and south Etruria as an open one, characterized by a high degree of horizontal mobility.⁶⁰⁰ The overall paucity of burials at sites suggests that visible forms of burial were restricted, as was access to burial grounds; it is possible that clans and their leaders controlled the use of and access to cemeteries. This suggests that these clan leaders exercised considerable authority in burial.

⁵⁹⁸ Fischer-Hansen 1978, 38.

⁵⁹⁹ Nijboer et al. 2008.

⁶⁰⁰ Especially Ampolo 1976-1977.

6. Archaic Gabii: the Evidence for Settlement and Burial

6a. Introduction

The site of Gabii is located approximately 18 km east of Rome along the ancient Via Prenestina (fig. 6.1). It is well attested in the ancient sources and recently has been subject to large scale excavations that have added considerably to our understanding of urbanism in central Italy. In this chapter I undertake a presentation and analysis of the archaic phases of occupation from a sector of the city currently under excavation by the Gabii Project. I focus on the evidence for an archaic building and the burial ground established in the area after the building had fallen out of use. I contextualize these data with the burial evidence from the Iron Age cemetery at Osteria dell'Osa (fig. 6.2), located some 1.5 km west of the urban center of archaic Gabii, in order to examine the evidence for the kinds of social and political complexity that contributed to urban development in the region.

I begin by recounting briefly the ancient literary sources concerning archaic Gabii (6b). The literary evidence suggests a close relationship between Rome and Gabii that may help contextualize the evidence from the archaeological record. I then recount the history of excavation at the site (6c), noting the various entities that have conducted archaeological investigation in the area since the eighteenth century. An account concerning the topography and chronological development of the site follows (6d), in order to provide a framework for the archaic materials. The next section (6e) relates briefly the aims of the Gabii Project and the discoveries made in recent years, before focusing specifically on the evidence recovered from the archaic phases of the site (6f). For easy reference, I present a brief description of the chronology of the site of the Gabii Project's area D (6g). Then I describe the features associated with the archaic phases of occupation, focusing on the archaic building (6h) and the burials (6i), and discuss the significance of these finds. I close the chapter with a brief summary of my conclusions (6j).

6b. The Ancient Sources for Archaic Gabii

The ancient literary sources concerning Gabii document the origins and development of the city during the regal period of Roman history, and trace its gradual decline by the end of the Late Republic.⁶⁰¹ These accounts are largely products of the narrative tradition of the second and first centuries, whose authors drew heavily from the works of Greek historians to substantiate the information available in the Roman annals.⁶⁰² The episodes relating to Gabii's early history are especially suspect, as they are the farthest removed chronologically from the time of writing, and, more often than not, are clearly derived from a Greek source. Consequently, the ancient literary accounts are not a reliable source for the early history of Gabii, and it would be unwise to draw too many conclusions based on these narratives. At best, they reveal the pride of place given to the city by the historians of the Late Republic, which may have some basis in fact, but this is ultimately impossible to

⁶⁰¹ Almagro Basch (1958) compiles the literary evidence regarding ancient Gabii.

⁶⁰² See Chapter 2 for a full treatment of this subject.

determine. It is worth noting, too, that the literature depicts Gabii's rise and decline in a manner consistent with the early history of other Latin cities. These accounts are thought to correspond with the evidence from the archaeological record, which points to a *floruit* in the Archaic period, and a gradual decline thereafter.⁶⁰³

Gabii features prominently and favorably in the tradition concerning Rome's early history. Founded by Alba Longa,⁶⁰⁴ it is the city where Romulus and Remus were sent as children to be raised and educated in letters, music and arms.⁶⁰⁵ The city played an important role at the end of the monarchy and the beginning of the Republic. Tarquinius Superbus, unable to capture Gabii by military assault, sent his son Sextus to take control of the town by means of deceit and trickery.⁶⁰⁶ In an episode that combines the Herodotean accounts concerning Zopyrus and the capture of Babylon (3.154) and the interchange between Thrasybulus and Periander (5.92.6), Sextus Tarquin persuaded the ruling elite at Gabii to make him the most powerful man in the city; he then killed the most prominent inhabitants and handed the city over to his father.⁶⁰⁷ Dionysius of Halicarnassus records that, following this victory, Tarquinius Superbus returned Gabii to its inhabitants, allowing them to keep their property and granting them the rights of Roman citizens (*Rom. Ant.* 4.58). Superbus then established with Gabii what is considered the earliest known treaty, the *foedus Gabinum*, and had the terms inscribed on a wooden shield covered with an ox-hide. Dionysius records that the shield was visible in his day, sometime in the late first century, in the Temple of Semo Sancus/Dius Fidius in Rome (*Rom. Ant.* 4.58).⁶⁰⁸ After the fall of the monarchy, Livy (1.60) reports that Sextus fled to Gabii, where he was killed on account of his previous actions.

It is generally thought that the Battle of Lake Regillus, Tarquinius Superbus' final attempt to reclaim the throne after the institution of the Roman Republic, was fought nearby.⁶⁰⁹ The precise location of the battle remains the subject of some debate, and is based largely on the assumption that the location of the lake indicates the location of the legendary battle. The ancient sources do not explicitly connect Lake Regillus with the territory of Gabii, but note that the battle occurred somewhere between Rome and Tusculum. Holloway states the lake was located at the south end of the marshy plain of Pantano Borghese, and that it was drained in the seventeenth century.⁶¹⁰ Following the Roman victory at Battle of Lake Regillus, Gabii was likely included as a member of the Latin League in the *foedus Cassianum*, a treaty that brought to an end the war between Rome and the League.⁶¹¹ After this point,

⁶⁰³ Smith 1996, 2; Cornell 2005.

⁶⁰⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 6.773.

⁶⁰⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.84, 4.53; Plut. *Mor. De fort. Rom.* 8; Vit. *Rom.* 6; Ampolo 1997.

⁶⁰⁶ Liv. 1.53-54; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.54-58.

⁶⁰⁷ Ogilvie 1965, 205-6.

⁶⁰⁸ *LTUR* 4.264 and 5.288 (Semo Sancus); 5.163 (Dius Fidius). Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.54-58.

⁶⁰⁹ Liv. 2.19-22; Dion. Hal. 6.4-13. Livy dates the battle to 499 B.C.E., Dionysius of Halicarnassus to 496 B.C.E. and Cornell (1995, 216) to 493 B.C.E.

⁶¹⁰ Holloway 1994, 104.

⁶¹¹ Dion. Hal. 6.95.

Gabii is rarely mentioned in a historical context until 382 B.C.E., when the city assisted in the war against Praeneste.⁶¹²

The ancient accounts additionally document Gabii's contributions to social and religious life at Rome. Many sources claim that the *cinctus Gabinus* was the customary style of dress worn by select officials on a number of solemn occasions.⁶¹³ These include the founder of a city or colony at the rite of *sulcus primigenius*; the consul when closing the *iugum Iani* upon the declaration of war; a general for the *devotio* on the battlefield; and participants in the procession of the *amburbia*.⁶¹⁴ Varro (*Ling.* 5.33) records that the *ager Gabinus* was granted special status, possibly as extension of the *foedus Gabinum*, which allowed Roman magistrates to consider valid the *auspicia singularia* undertaken at Gabii.

6c. History of Excavation

Archaeological investigation at Gabii has taken place in several distinct phases, and consists largely of one extensive surface survey, a handful of small-scale excavations and few large-scale operations (figs. 6.2 and 6.3).⁶¹⁵ Exploration of the area began in 1792 when the Scottish antiquarian Gavin Hamilton undertook excavations in a sector of the urban area he identified as the forum. Hamilton's activities were so poorly documented that the precise location of these operations is unknown.⁶¹⁶ Over the course of the excavations, however, he uncovered some 200 statues and several inscriptions, all in association with a series of buildings oriented around a main east-west road, possibly the Via Prenestina.⁶¹⁷

Systematic archaeological fieldwork only began at Gabii in the middle of the twentieth century, and was undertaken by a number of academic institutions. The Spanish School at Rome concentrated, in the mid-twentieth century (1956-1958, 1960, 1962, 1965 and 1967), on the excavation of the so-called Temple to Juno.⁶¹⁸ There they discovered evidence for Iron Age huts, archaic votives, and a Republican shrine to Fortuna, all before the construction of the temple in the mid-second century.⁶¹⁹ In 1976-1977 the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma (hereafter SAR) identified a second sanctuary structure outside the eastern walls of the city, the so-called Santuario Orientale.⁶²⁰ The shrine reveals evidence from the seventh through second centuries.⁶²¹

⁶¹² Livy 3.8.7, 6.31.6-7.

⁶¹³ Serv. *ad Aen.* 7.612; Liv. 5.46.

⁶¹⁴ Dubourdiou (1986) compiles all references to the *cinctus gabinus*.

⁶¹⁵ This mirrors the current status of data collection for the rest of early central Italy, according to (Smith 1996; Becker et al. 2009).

⁶¹⁶ Visconti (1797) sketched a plan of the area before it was backfilled.

⁶¹⁷ Becker et al. 2009; Smith 1901, 318.

⁶¹⁸ Almagro Basch 1958.

⁶¹⁹ Almagro Gorbea, ed. 1982; Le Glay 1985.

⁶²⁰ Guaitoli and Zaccagni 1977; Zaccagni 1978; Guaitoli 1981a, 50-1; 1981b, 161-73.

At the same time as the sanctuary was being excavated, Guaitoli undertook an extensive surface survey of the region of Gabii, revealing a wide range of evidence for the development of the area from the Bronze Age through the Imperial period.⁶²² Most of his hypotheses regarding the urban development of the city are supported by the results of more recent excavations.

From 1971-1976 and 1978-1986, the SAR concentrated on the sustained excavation of the Iron Age necropolis at Osteria dell'Osa, a cemetery located along the western edge of the Castiglione crater (fig. 6.2).⁶²³ The results of these excavations have been deeply influential in the field of Italian prehistory, both for the quantity of material and the quality of publication. The Osteria dell'Osa cemetery is the largest (and most systematically) excavated necropolis in central Italy, with some 600 tombs that range in date from the Early Iron Age (Latial phase IIA) to the Late Orientalizing period (Latial phase IVB). The SAR excavated a second necropolis on the opposite side of the crater, approximately 1.8 km east of Osteria dell'Osa.⁶²⁴ This is the Castiglione cemetery, which contained some sixty tombs of the Early Iron Age and is located in proximity to the Iron Age hut clusters. The Osteria dell'Osa cemetery was the focus of more in-depth analysis, however, and remains the more prominent of the two sites in secondary literature.

In the following decades, the SAR continued archaeological work in the Castiglione region, but this has generally consisted of sporadic and small-scale excavations. The results of these initiatives remain largely unpublished, but are known to have brought to light a monumental building (the so-called Regia), a road, some houses and tombs.⁶²⁵ In 2007, the University of Michigan, under the auspices of the SAR, began intensive exploration of the urban area. An initial season of magnetometry survey and core sampling in the area revealed a sector of the city that was organized according to an orthogonal layout.⁶²⁶ This became the focus of a large-scale excavation beginning in 2009, which has since uncovered evidence of occupation from the late Iron Age to Imperial period. The excavation is still ongoing, and much of the evidence presented in this chapter pertains to the excavated archaic phases of the site.

⁶²¹ Granino Cecere 1986. The site is the locus of a renewed series of excavations by the SAR (Mancini and Pilo 2006), the University of Rome Tor Vergata and the University of Basilicata (Becker et al. 2009).

⁶²² Guaitoli 1981a; 1981b.

⁶²³ Bietti Sestieri 1992a; 1992b.

⁶²⁴ Bietti Sestieri 1984.

⁶²⁵ Musco 1997; Majarini and Musco 2001. A preliminary report of the Regia can be found at the Repubblica newspaper website (<http://roma.repubblica.it/dettaglio/la-regia-del-tiranno-dei-tarquini-nellantica-citta-laziale-di-gabii/1870552>).

⁶²⁶ Becker et al. 2009.

6d. Topography and Development of the Site

The main topographical feature in the region of Gabii is the now extinct volcanic crater of Castiglione, which is flanked on the west and east sides by two rivers, the *fosso dell'Osa* and the *fosso di S. Giuliano*, respectively. The crater is often called the *Lago di Castiglione* in secondary literature, indicating that this feature was at some time filled with water. It is unknown to what extent the area was, in fact, a lake in antiquity, since some of the earliest evidence for huts comes from the basin. Documents from the mid-nineteenth century, however, indicate that the crater contained water by at least the seventeenth century, as they report that the Borghese family was responsible for draining the crater of water and transforming the area from a marsh to arable land.⁶²⁷ To this day, the crater remains a zone of agricultural activity.

The edges of the crater rest at approximately 79 m above sea level, where the volcanic bedrock outcrops and slopes gradually downward in all directions. In some areas, the natural morphology of the bedrock was truncated by human activity. The area excavated by the Gabii Project is situated southeast of the crater, at approximately 62 m above sea level. Here, the topsoil covers the stratigraphy at a depth of about 0.7 m; most of the preserved archaeology lies between 1 m and 2.8 m below the surface.⁶²⁸ Core samples taken from the southeast limit of the excavation reveal a sequence of natural layers, comprised mostly of volcanic sand and clayey levels, located above the bedrock. These colluvial deposits rest immediately beneath the topsoil and seem to have been heavily disturbed by modern plowing.

In all periods settlement at Gabii has concentrated around the Castiglione crater. The evidence for the Bronze Age occupation of the site is limited, and consists mostly of ceramic fragments recovered by archaeological survey on the east side of the crater.⁶²⁹ It is difficult to make specific statements regarding the nature of the occupation at this time, but the density and chronological consistency of the surface scatter suggest that there was a relatively stable population during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages.⁶³⁰

The same survey identified several Iron Age sites along the south and east sides of the crater and at various points along the S. Giuliano tributary. The ceramic materials indicate the presence of either huts or isolated burials; most of these items belong to the Early Iron Age (Latial II phase). The distribution of these finds suggests that small villages or clusters of huts rather than large centers characterized settlement in the area.

Roughly contemporary (c. 900-830 B.C.E.) with the settlement evidence are the burials from the Castiglione cemetery, and the earliest graves from the necropolis of Osteria

⁶²⁷ Blewitt 1850, 583-5.

⁶²⁸ Becker et al. 2009, 637.

⁶²⁹ Guaitoli 1981a; Bietti Sestieri 1984.

⁶³⁰ Mogetta and Becker 2014.

dell'Osa.⁶³¹ Comparison between the two cemeteries demonstrated a significant degree of local variability in the spatial distribution of graves, the mode of funerary ritual and the types of grave goods. However, both cemeteries represented populations with a shared social and cultural background. It seems that each cemetery belonged to a separate community, possibly a village, on either side of the crater. Analysis of both necropoleis revealed the emergence of a social hierarchy as early as the ninth century. Although no contemporary settlement evidence has been recovered for the later Iron Age burials at Osteria dell'Osa, the low quantity of seventh-century burials in the cemetery seems to correspond with the increased evidence for settlement in the region of Gabii, on the southeast sides of the crater.

The evidence for the archaic city is primarily derived from two sources, an extensive field survey conducted in the nineteen-seventies, and the large scale excavations undertaken by the University of Michigan in recent years. Guaitoli's initial survey of the Gabine region revealed signs of dense occupation during the sixth century in the area south of the Castiglione crater.⁶³² High concentrations of ceramic materials, primarily tiles of *impasto rosso* and *sabbiato chiaro* (a light fabric *impasto*, in use primarily during the sixth and fifth centuries), in addition to numerous examples of common wares and *bucchero*, were discovered alongside blocks of tuff and *cappellaccio* that were probably the remains of buildings. The University of Michigan's excavations in the urban area constitute the main body of evidence for the archaic settlement at Gabii, which is examined in detail below.

The materials from Guaitoli's surface survey were concentrated in the area enclosed within a line of fortifications visible in aerial photographs of the area. The excavations of the Santuario Orientale in 1977 may have uncovered a small tract of these walls along the northeastern boundary of the city.⁶³³ The walls were constructed from blocks of reddish tuff and reinforced with pieces of travertine; the same red tuff appears exclusively in the archaic phases of construction of the sanctuary. Although no materials were recovered that might date the city walls more precisely, the use of red tuff at both the sanctuary and the walls points to a contemporaneous date of construction, sometime during the sixth and fifth centuries. Guaitoli identified several blocks of the same size and material throughout the plain and noted their alignment with mounds and ditches visible in the landscape. The distribution of these blocks reveals the extent of the wall at the south and east. The crater seems to have formed the boundary of the city to the west, and a ditch to the north. The results of the excavations performed more recently by several Rome-based institutions at various points along the perimeter support this.⁶³⁴ Using the natural limits of the crater and the *fosso dell'Osa* and *fosso di S. Giuliano*, and the remains of the walls, as boundaries of the archaic city, it seems that Gabii, during the Archaic period, covered an area of about 54 km².

⁶³¹ Bietti Sestieri 1992b.

⁶³² Guaitoli 1981a, 44-50.

⁶³³ Guaitoli 1981a, 45.

⁶³⁴ Becker et al. 2009, 636. The magnetometry survey led by the University of Michigan may have identified another sector of the city walls in the northeastern region of the city.

On the basis of palaeobotanical data, Ampolo calculates a maximum population of 2500 for the territory of archaic Gabii.⁶³⁵

There is evidence of cult activity during the Archaic period in the locations of the Santuario Orientale and the Temple of Juno. The shrine at the Santuario Orientale seems to have been in use from the late seventh to second century.⁶³⁶ Both survey and excavation recovered votives in the area, the majority of which date to the sixth century. These consist primarily of bronzes, ceramic materials (including Corinthian imitation, Italo-Geometric, and *bucchero*), whole miniature vases and terracotta architectural decoration. A second votive deposit was discovered about 100 m away from the eastern sanctuary and was possibly related to it; the deposit contained materials identical to those discovered in the sanctuary. At the Temple of Juno there is limited evidence for early cult activity, which consists of an archaic antefix, an Etruscan scarab and an assortment of ceramic materials that include *impasto*, *bucchero* and Etrusco-Corinthian wares, as well as Corinthian and Attic imports.⁶³⁷

The monumental structure recently excavated by the SAR from 2007-2011 on the southeast rim of the crater represents a significant phase in the occupation of archaic Gabii.⁶³⁸ The building consists of three adjacent quadrangular rooms that open to the west: the central room is the largest of the three and has a centrally located entrance; the two sides rooms are slightly smaller and have decentralized entryways. The walls were built of slabs of tuff and have a preserved height of about 2 m. Room 1, the southernmost room, has four circular pits dug into the tuff bedrock, one located in each of the four corners. The pit in the southwest corner of the room contains the burial of a neonate in an *olla*, while that in the northwest corner contains fragments of a second *olla* perhaps intentionally broken as part of the funerary ritual associated with the infant burial. The north- and southeastern pits have traces of burning, which archaeologists connected to food preparation. The second room is the central one, and is the largest of the three. Two *ollette* were inserted into the walls; there is no clear explanation for this. In the south corner of this room is a second infant burial, a neonate in an *olla*, likely deposited in the floor of the previous phase of the room. In the third room were discovered three more infant burials right above the floor of the earlier phase, in the same layer as the preparation for the subsequent floor surface. The infants ranged in age from neonates to children of six and seven months, and seem to represent the intentional deposition of children that died naturally (as opposed to sacrifice). Although these burials seem to represent *suggrundaria*, the initial publication does not make this clear. In the center of the third room is a stone base, on which a broken *dolium* was found.

Archaeologists discovered in these rooms artifacts they associated with ceremonial activities, particularly an architectural terracotta that may have functioned as part of the decoration of the building. The terracotta bears the image of the Minotaur, which the

⁶³⁵ Ampolo 1977.

⁶³⁶ Guaitoli 1981a, 50.

⁶³⁷ Almagro Gorbea 1981.

⁶³⁸ Fabbri et al 2010.

archaeologists connect to a similar example found at the Regia at Rome. This seems to have formed, at least in part, the basis for the identification of the building at Gabii as a Regia. They state that the Regia at Rome functioned as the house of Servius Tullius, who, as a means of legitimating his role in the foundation of Rome, adopted from Athens the imagery associated with the myths of Theseus as the founder of the city.⁶³⁹ They suggest that the Tarquins employed the same imagery at Gabii, who, following the expulsion of Sextus from Rome, were the likely occupants of this building. The building was abandoned toward the end of the sixth century and a *tumulus* constructed over its remains.

During the Early and Middle Republican periods, the urban area shows signs of dense occupation and substantial reorganization. The original surface surveys conducted in the nineteen-seventies revealed a pattern of occupation broadly consistent with that observed for the Archaic period: the city limits remained the same and the urban population was concentrated within these boundaries.⁶⁴⁰ Guaitoli noted that some areas were left open and empty, which he interpreted as a sign of population decrease. The more recent excavations in the *area urbana* have added to this picture.⁶⁴¹ They reveal the widespread implementation of a new orthogonal system of land division in the fifth century. This layout replaced the previous orientation and organization of the city and was likely the initiative of a centralized authority. Both the magnetometry survey and subsequent excavations brought to light a major thoroughfare that crosses the entire site in a northeast-southwest direction (fig. 6.4).⁶⁴² Following the morphology of the crater, the road connects Gabii to Rome, and heads northeast towards the Santuario Orientale, in the general direction of ancient Tibur. It joins with the Via Collatina at Corcolle, and continues toward the Aniene River at Ponte Lucano.⁶⁴³ Branching off this main artery at right angles is a series of small streets that run in a northwest-southeast direction and conform to the sloping shape of the crater.⁶⁴⁴ These regular, parallel streets likely represent a grid of city blocks that were all

⁶³⁹ The architectural terracottas are in Cristofani, ed. (1987, 95-120). Smith (1996, 174-5) explains that there is good reason to doubt the attribution of the decoration on these terracottas to the myth of Theseus and the Minotaur. The motif is common in the friezes of central Italy, especially at the palaces of Rome, Murlo and Acquarossa. Such scenes may lack the significance of the myth, or they may represent an indigenous belief that no longer survives.

⁶⁴⁰ Guaitoli 1981a.

⁶⁴¹ Mogetta and Becker 2014, 178-81.

⁶⁴² Becker et al. 2009.

⁶⁴³ This road may be the Via Gabina mentioned in the ancient sources. See *LTURS* 3:9-10 (Gabina, Via). The Via Gabina may have been an archaic (or earlier) road linking Rome and Gabii, which had fallen out of use and abandoned in favor of the Via Prenestina. Conversely, it may have been an earlier name for what later became the Via Prenestina. No archaic road has been identified, but Guaitoli (1981a, 49-55) hypothesized that one existed along the modern Via Polense, which crossed the tributary and headed towards Tibur and Corcolle. The SAR excavations in the Santuario Orientale uncovered a pebbled surface predating the glareate roads of the Republican period, but no secure date was provided.

⁶⁴⁴ Mogetta and Becker 2014.

oriented along the main road. The dimensions of the grid adhere to the morphology of the crater and topography of the terrain, so that each block widens following the southward slope. The SAR has found evidence for this same layout from their excavations at the temple-theater complex of Juno.⁶⁴⁵ The Republican buildings excavated in the *area urbana* by the University of Michigan were found to have adhered to the limits of the new orthogonal city plan.⁶⁴⁶ There is little indication as yet regarding who was responsible for this new layout or what the city looked like in the period leading to its construction.

There is some funerary evidence for the Early and Middle Republican periods. Three chamber tombs with long *dromoi* were excavated in 1976 on the slopes of a hill to the east of the city.⁶⁴⁷ These were initially dated to the Mid-Republican period, and are located on the slopes of the hill east of the city. These tombs have not been published and their location is unknown. Lanciani discovered other examples of chamber tombs to the west of the *fosso dell'Osa*.⁶⁴⁸

A substantial decrease in the quantity and quality of surface scatter indicate that, by the time of the Late Republic, the city had contracted to the more central areas around the Via Prenestina, probably at about the same time the city walls were abandoned.⁶⁴⁹ Indeed, the majority of the excavated evidence from the *area urbana* points to significant changes in the nature of occupation by about the second century. The so-called Temple to Juno was constructed at the southeast edge of the crater, following the abandonment of the location for the earlier cult.⁶⁵⁰ In the late third or early second century, the streets of the city grid were repaired, and in some cases paved with basalt slabs, while other sections were reinforced with side walls.⁶⁵¹ Immediately following the renewal of these streets was a phase of construction, primarily of domestic buildings, at the beginning of the second century.⁶⁵² The two courtyard buildings excavated by the University of Michigan in the urban area were initially constructed and occupied during this period.

⁶⁴⁵ Becker et al. 2009.

⁶⁴⁶ Mogetta and Becker 2014.

⁶⁴⁷ Guaitoli (1981a, 48) suggests that the city walls were abandoned at this time. He speculates that their destruction was brought about by Hannibal's military operations in the area, but this is inconclusive. He does not provide the precise location of the tombs.

⁶⁴⁸ Guaitoli 1981a, 48 n. 110.

⁶⁴⁹ Guaitoli 1981a, 50-2.

⁶⁵⁰ Guaitoli 1981a, 50-2; Almagro Basch 1958; Almagro Gorbea 1982.

⁶⁵¹ Mogetta and Becker 2014. These streets had undergone an earlier phase of reconstruction as early as the fifth century; in both instances the original alignments of the orthogonal layout were observed over the course of repairs.

⁶⁵² Mogetta and Becker 2014. It seems that these buildings activities covered or destroyed the earlier evidence of occupation in the fifth and fourth centuries. The second century buildings consist of courtyard buildings that were constructed in accordance with the limits imposed by the street grid.

At the same time, however, portions of the urban area were repurposed for the quarrying of *peperino* tuff, in part for the construction of monumental public buildings.⁶⁵³ Over the course of the Late Republican period, these activities seem to have consumed the northernmost areas of the site. The intensification of quarrying during the Imperial period seems to have brought about or signaled the decline of the city. The locations for quarrying extended further south into areas that were formerly sites of occupation. Perhaps marking the end of the city was the emergence of a small cemetery sometime in the mid-late first century C.E., in an area formerly occupied by one of the courtyard buildings of the Republican period.⁶⁵⁴

6e. The Gabii Project

In 2007, the University of Michigan, under the auspices of the SAR, began the Gabii Project with the aim of conducting the large scale excavation of a major urban center in central Italy. The site was chosen for a variety of practical, archaeological and historical reasons. Gabii is well known in the ancient literary sources as an early cultural center, on par with the cities of south Etruria and Rome. The site has also never been substantially occupied following its abandonment in the second to third centuries C.E., which allows for an excavation unhindered by modern settlement. What is more, the city's decline by the Late Republican period has left behind few traces of Imperial occupation that might impede the exploration of earlier phases.

In 2007 and 2008, geophysical survey of about 40 ha of the urban area revealed a previously unknown orthogonal layout of the ancient city (fig. 6.4). This comprised the major road that follows the curve of the Castiglione crater in a northeast-southwest direction, off of which are a number of perpendicular side streets. Recognizing the import of this discovery for the understanding of urban planning in early Roman Italy, the project designated a 1 ha sector for large-scale open excavation (fig. 6.5). Excavations brought to light evidence of occupation from the Orientalizing period through the second or third centuries C.E.

In 2009, the site was subdivided into 3 areas of excavation: areas A, B and C. In 2011, areas D and E were added; area F followed in 2013 (figs. 6.6 and 6.7). Area A is located in the north portion of the site, near the edge of the crater, and was heavily disturbed by natural erosion and modern plowing activities. Excavation quickly exposed a vast bedrock surface that was cut by hundreds of anthropic features. The poor state of preservation in this area renders it difficult to discern a reliable stratigraphic sequence. However, it is clear that the majority of these cuts are related to the quarrying activities in the Late Republican and Imperial period. Two Orientalizing burials *a fossa* attest to the use of this area as a burial ground in the seventh century; postholes found nearby may be related to a contemporary hut feature.⁶⁵⁵ Area B continues south of Area A, west of a side street that continues to the

⁶⁵³ Guaitoli 1981a, 50-4.

⁶⁵⁴ Mogetta and Becker 2014.

⁶⁵⁵ Becker and Nowlin 2011.

area urbana. This area contained evidence for residential architecture dating to the third and second centuries, but during the Imperial period most of these structures were destroyed by the quarrying activities in Area A. Following the abandonment of the building, the area was used as a small necropolis from the first to fifth centuries C.E. To the west of areas A and B is the newly opened area F, which so far has revealed evidence for monumental stone architecture dating to the fourth or third century. Identification of the function of the building remains undetermined and awaits further excavation.

Located in the eastern half of the site are Areas C, D and E. Area C is bounded to the west and east by side streets that correspond with the orthogonal layout of the city. This area, much like B, preserves residential architecture dating to the third and second centuries. By the end of the second century the house was abandoned and the area redeveloped for industrial purposes. A series of drainage channels and wells, as well as a variety of pigments found in the stratigraphic deposits, suggest the building was used at this time as a *fullonica*. Immediately to the west of C is area D, which preserves the archaic phases of occupation at the site. In this area were discovered the remains of a stone built structure, and, in the post-abandonment phases of this building, a series of rock-cut tombs. Although this area was included in the later orthogonal layout of the city, there is no evidence that it was developed in later periods. On the other side of area C, to the east, is area E; a side street that belongs to the urban grid separates both areas. Area E consists of a section of the city block, and so far, excavation has only uncovered the post-abandonment phases of occupation.

6f. The Gabii Project - Area D

Area D preserves the archaic contexts of the site, which consist primarily of architectural and burial remains dating to the sixth and fifth centuries (figs. 6.8 and 6.9). The evidence presented here was discovered over the course of the University of Michigan's excavations in the urban area during the 2009-2013 seasons. I have been involved with the excavation of the area during all this time, first in 2009 as a volunteer, in 2010 as a field assistant, in 2011 as an assistant to the area supervisor, and in 2012 and 2013 as the area supervisor. Excavation of the latest phases occurred in 2011, and included the discovery of the burials and the post-abandonment remains of the building. In 2012 and 2013, excavation focused on the phases of occupation of the building, with a view to determining the stratigraphic relationship between the different phases of the structure and its associated features, the tombs and the mid-republican street. In the follow sections I refer frequently to the excavated stratigraphic units (hereafter, SU), and refer the reader to the Harris Matrix in Appendix A.

General Description of the Excavation of the Area (2009-2013)

A nearly 1 m thick layer of colluvial silt covered all of the architectural and funerary features in the area.⁶⁵⁶ The first visible remains in area D were discovered in 2009, after excavation in what was then the western half of area C uncovered a portion of a curved wall about 5 m long (SU 2219), which has since been identified as a portion of a precinct wall. Excavation in 2010 brought to light the first of the rock-cut tombs (Tomb 25), located approximately 6 m southwest of curved wall 2219. The burial contained the inhumation burials of an adult female in a monolithic tuff sarcophagus and a male in a side niche.

In 2011 the area was reorganized, and this western portion of area C (fig. 6.10) became the center of the newly created area D. The area was then expanded to the north and south to include an area of approximately 30 x 20 m. Prior to excavation that year a bulldozer removed the same layer of colluvial silt as was removed manually in 2009, and revealed a number of linear, stone built features (SUs 3014, 3015, 3029, 3030, 3031, 3095 and 3096). Excavation by trowel and pickaxe resumed upon this discovery, and a layer of cleaning (SU 3000) and a large accumulated deposit of mostly silt (SU 3004) were removed subsequently to define the upper limits of these structures. To my knowledge the bulldozer did no damage to the stone features or the preserved stratigraphy. The initial colluvial layer, removed by bulldozer in 2011, and by hand in 2009, was discovered in both seasons to be largely sterile. The first cleaning layer (SU 3000) was a tidying of the work left by the bulldozer and contained no significant diagnostic materials; none of these items were retained. The second layer (SU 3004) was more informative, and contained a variety of ancient materials ranging in date from 900 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. It is worth noting that the majority of the ceramic materials from this deposit can be dated to the Orientalizing and Archaic periods, with a significant portion belonging to the fifth century. These consist primarily of fragments of *impasto*.

The linear stone features discovered in 2011 were subsequently identified as the walls of Rooms 1 (SUs 3014 and 3015) and 2 (SUs 3029, 3030/3095, 3031/3096). The removal of a layer of collapsed stones at the eastern limits of the area revealed another portion of a stone wall that seemed contemporary with the rest (SU 3067) and was connected to curved wall 2219, possibly as part of an enclosure wall. The walls of Rooms 1 and 2, along with walls 2219 and 3067, were thought to belong to the same phase on the basis of their location beneath the same deposit of colluvium, their consistent elevation, and the similarity of the techniques used in their construction. This evidence also suggested that

⁶⁵⁶ This deposit seems to have resulted from the gradual accumulation of silt, washed down over the course of many centuries, from the top of the Castiglione crater into the sector of the urban area excavated by the Gabii Project. This layer contains relatively few materials, although what survives represents a wide chronological range, from the Archaic period to the modern era. There is no indication that there were once stratigraphic units that were later disturbed. Even today, a moderate rainfall covers the area in 5-10 cm of silt. This has a tendency to complicate the stratigraphy, and it is clear that many layers blend into others in accordance with the sloping morphology of the terrain.

these features belonged to the same building. Excavation in 2012 and 2013 found the layers beneath the walls to be consistent in composition and/or finds; on the basis of ceramic materials found in these layers, the contemporaneity of the walls was confirmed.

The removal of colluvial deposits across the site brought to light two burials in close association with the walls. The first was an infant burial in a *dolium* (Tomb 30), deposited in a cut in the bedrock north of wall 2219; these features bear no direct stratigraphic relationship. The second was semi-chamber tomb 1 (containing Tombs 38, 39 and 40), which consisted of a rock-cut trench located immediately west of Room 1. The northeast corner of semi-chamber tomb 1 truncates the partial collapse of wall 2219.

The removal of the collapsed stones at the eastern edge of the site that brought to light wall 3067 also uncovered two successive layers of compacted gravel and clay (SUs 3049 and 3053). These probably represent unpaved road surfaces, as they preserve a distinct N/S orientation and have clear eastern and western limits. Indeed, their alignment and dimensions support the results of the magnetometer survey that revealed the orthogonal layout of the city.⁶⁵⁷ On the basis of ceramic fragments collected from the road surfaces, these features can be dated to the late fifth or early fourth century.⁶⁵⁸ These data are significant in that they provide a terminus post quem for the reorganization of the city. What is more, these surfaces confirm the only stratigraphic relationship between the archaic and republican levels of occupation at the site.⁶⁵⁹ Beneath the lowest course of road preparation (SU 3053) was the fill of the second semi-chamber tomb. There is no direct relationship between wall 3067 and the road surfaces, although both features seem to preserve the same orientation. This suggests that the construction of the road observed the archaic wall. Whether the republican road or wall 3067 follow an earlier orientation is unknown and awaits further excavation on site.

In 2012, the south limits of the excavation were extended by 10 m. A bulldozer removed the same level of colluvial silt as in previous seasons and uncovered a series of features, all of which await further excavation. In the southeast corner of the area was a robber pit

⁶⁵⁷ Mogetta and Becker 2014; Becker et al. 2011.

⁶⁵⁸ Mogetta and Becker 2014, 179. The evidence for the dating of the street system comes from Road 1, the N/S road between areas C and D. During the earliest phases of its construction, the road was cut into the bedrock in order to compensate for the sloping terrain; these cuts truncate earlier deposits, which, on the basis of *impasto* pottery recovered in these layers, date to the sixth century B.C.E. Wheel ruts visible on the bedrock surface indicate that the road was unpaved at this stage. Once these ruts had become too deep, the surface was raised by packing successive layers of gravel and clay. These layers contain ceramic materials dating as early as the fifth and fourth centuries; in particular, they contain fragments of *vernice rossa opaca*, a diagnostic category of material common in the late fifth and early fourth century. In area D, the best evidence for the date is the fill of the second chamber tomb, which predates the road, and includes materials, mostly *impasto*, dated to the mid-fifth century (personal communication with Marcello Mogetta).

⁶⁵⁹ Mogetta and Becker 2014.

dated from 140 to 200 C.E. In the same corner, to the west of the robber pit was discovered a second child burial *a fossa* (Tomb 48). The stratigraphic relationship of these features to the rest of area D is at the moment unclear. In the southwest corner was discovered a wall immediately beneath the layer of colluvium (SU 3237). It bears a northwest/southeast orientation; immediately south of this wall is a third juvenile burial (Tomb 49), an infant in a *dolium*. These features, too, await excavation. Overall, excavation in 2011 and 2012 concentrated on the phases of occupation in and around Rooms 1 and 2 of the building. By the end of 2013 excavation had reached the Late Orientalizing phases of the site, and, while excavation of these phases continued in 2013, they will not be under discussion here.

6g. Chronology

The materials recovered over the course of five seasons of stratigraphic excavation date the occupation of area D securely to the Archaic period. On the basis of these finds it is possible to establish a general chronological sequence. What follows are the main phases and the key features associated with them.

1. Late seventh to early sixth century: possibly Tomb 30 (infant in *dolium*).⁶⁶⁰
2. Early to mid-sixth century: first phase of stone construction in area D. Earliest phase of Room 2 of the archaic building (walls 3029, 3030 and 3031). Circular feature 3064 constructed. Evidence for burning activity in area of Room 1 (but before the construction of the walls).
4. Mid- to late sixth century: masonry construction reaches greatest extent. Second phase of construction in Room 2; north and east walls in Room 2 rebuilt (3095 and 3096); north and west walls of Room 1 constructed (3014 and 3015); curved wall 2219 and wall 3067 constructed; circular feature 3064 reconstructed; circular feature 3076 constructed. By the end of this phase, the entire building was abandoned or destroyed.
5. Late sixth to mid-fifth century: the area is used as a burial ground. Adult inhumation burials appear in northern half of site, including Tombs 25 (tuff sarcophagus), and Tombs 38-41 (semi-chamber tombs 1 and 2). At least one juvenile burial (Tomb 48).
6. Late fifth to early fourth century: construction of road or side street in eastern portion of the area, probably as part of reorganization of the city; road covers semi-chamber tomb 2.

6h. Features of Area D: The Archaic Building

In the following section I present a detailed description of the various architectural features in area D, and offer interpretations of the evidence.

⁶⁶⁰ This is, strictly speaking the Late Orientalizing period, which is still being excavated, with plans to continue in 2014. Mogetta and Becker (2014) speculate that Tomb 30 was associated with this phase, but it is equally possible that it is associated with later phases of occupation.

Room 1

Room 1 refers to the northernmost "room" in area D. The boundaries of Room 1 are delimited to the north and west by walls of tuff. The first wall (3014) has a W/E orientation, and measures 2.7 m x 0.42 m, while the second (3015) runs N/S and measures 3.33 x 0.56 m. There is no evidence that this structure connected to Room 2; the absence of walls along the south and east sides suggests that the room was open in both these directions.⁶⁶¹ It is possible, however, that walls (whether of stone or some other perishable material) existed along these sides but were subsequently removed or decomposed. The stratigraphic sequence of the Archaic period in the eastern and southern portions of the room reveals a series of layers that seem to observe some linear boundary that is no longer extant. This is perhaps best indicated by a beaten earth floor surface (SU 3044) of Room 1, which corresponds roughly to the area delimited by the room (see below). A reconstruction of the room, using walls 3014 and 3015 as the north and west boundaries, and the limits suggested by the deposits along the east and south sides, suggest that Room 1 had dimensions of approximately 5 x 6 m.

At the same time as these walls were constructed, a square block of worked tuff was placed in the center of the room, and may have functioned as the foundation for a post supporting a roof. This pilaster preserves a notable alignment with the limits of both walls. It is roughly in alignment with the eastern limit of wall 3014 and corresponds precisely to a gap in wall 3015. It is possible that this gap represents an entrance, and the pilaster is in the line of sight of this entryway. It is equally possible, however, that a portion of wall 3015 is missing.

A compact layer of red silt (3044) abutting both walls of Room 1 and the pilaster connects these features to the same phase of occupation. This layer likely represents a beaten earth floor, and it corresponds to the area roughly delimited by Room 1. The ceramic materials recovered in this layer date the construction of the floor and the walls of Room 1 from the mid- to late sixth century.

The stratigraphic sequence beneath the layers associated with the monumental construction of Room 1 suggests that the area was the site of a preexisting structure, or at least the locus of some activity, perhaps in association with the earlier phases of Room 2. Although many of these layers are difficult to interpret, they clearly adhere to the same boundaries as suggested by the walls of Room 1, especially toward the east. This suggests that there was an earlier structure that had an east wall more or less where the east wall of Room 1 may have been (if there was one), and a north wall that corresponds to the north wall (3014) of Room 1. There is good indication that many of these deposits are related to burning activity. After the removal of floor 3044, two silty layers of accumulation (SUs 3063 and 3070) were excavated; the eastern extent of these deposits was linear, suggesting that some feature, no longer extant, delimited both these layers. Notable, too, is the fact that these deposits disappeared beneath the walls 3014 and 3015, although to what extent is

⁶⁶¹ Mogetta and Becker 2014, 177.

unknown since the removal of the walls is not permitted by the SAR. Beneath these two deposits were SUs 3139, 3140 and 3141, three identical red silty layers that preserved a concentration of disintegrated wattle and daub; some of the ceramic fragments from these layers seem to have been burned by fire. An even higher concentration of burned material was found in a layer directly below SU 3139, and possibly represented a fire pit. This pit (SU 3142) contained some burned bones and ceramics. In the center of the deposit was a truncated vessel whose sides were exposed to fire; this vessel seems to have been reused as a cooking stand, and the deposit may be a hearth. The ceramic materials recovered from these deposits date this burning activity anywhere from 600-500 B.C.E., but their position beneath the floors Room 1 indicates a phase of activity prior to the room's construction, possibly in the first half of the sixth century.

Room 2

So-called Room 2 represents the earliest phases of monumental construction recovered thus far in area D.⁶⁶² The room is defined by three linear walls. The western wall (3029) preserves a N/S orientation, and measures 3.03 x 0.56 m. The northern wall (3030) has a W/E alignment, and measures 3.78 x 0.54 m. The eastern wall (3031) has a N/S orientation and measures 1.78 x 0.62 m. The south limits of the room have not been identified; the southern portion of the west wall appears to be missing, while the same portion of the eastern wall was truncated by a modern drainage channel (SU 3173). This drainage channel seems to have obscured the southern limits of the rest of the room.

A series of beaten earth floors were excavated in the northern half of Room 2, which may be associated with this initial phase of stone construction. The remains are difficult to interpret, however, as only some surfaces bear a direct relationship with the walls. The main surface appears to be a yellow pavement located in the northern half of Room 2 (SU 3136); the limits of the surface do not abut the wall. The pavement sinks in the center, possibly following a natural depression in this sector of the area. This yellow surface covers slightly a second floor in the northeast corner of the room. This surface, a red, clayey deposit, continues beneath the walls of the second phase, SUs 3095 and 3096. Although 3144 represents an event separate from and prior to 3136, the direct stratigraphic relationship between them and the consistency of the ceramic materials recovered from them (mostly *impasto*), suggest that they are roughly contemporary. The ceramic materials recovered from the yellow pavement 3136 date from 600-550 B.C.E.; those in the pavement 3144 date from 650-550 B.C.E. That floor 3144 continues beneath walls 3095 and 3096 suggests that when Room 2 was first constructed, the limits in the northeast corner differed from those established during the subsequent phase of construction.

The walls and surfaces of Room 2 underwent a second phase of construction that was probably contemporaneous with the construction of Room 1. The north and east walls

⁶⁶² Room 2 has evidence for an earlier phase of occupation that predates the monumental construction of the complex. The results are in part published in Mogetta and Becker (2014), but the area also awaits further excavation.

seem to have been added in the northeast corner of the room. The north wall (3095) has an E/W orientation and abuts wall 3030. It measures 1.26 x 0.55 m. The east wall (3096) preserves a N/S alignment, and is separated from 3031 by a small gap that may have been caused by natural erosion. The extant structure measures 2.34 x 0.82 m. The room in this phase may have reached an extent of 6 x 8 m, based on the alignment of the west walls with a circular pit located further to the south, to be discussed below.⁶⁶³

The floor surfaces related to this later phase of occupation demonstrate the same complex relationship as in the previous phase. Three red clayey deposits (SUs 3074, 3075 and 3094) abut the later phases of the walls, and likely represent the same construction event. SU 3094 is located in the northwest corner and bears a direct relationship to walls 3029 and 3030; it covers the earlier pavement (3136). Floors 3074 and 3075 bear a direct relationship to the walls belonging of the later phases of construction in Room 2: 3074 abuts both 3095 and 3096, while 3075 abuts 3096.

A central yellow pavement (SU 3092) may also be connected with this phase. The surface bears no direct relationship to the latest courses of the walls of Room 2 (3095 and 3096), but it does abut both walls 3029 and 3031. It is located directly beneath 3094, which suggests that the pavement may predate slightly the red surfaces added in the corners of the room. The ceramics recovered from these surfaces, however, indicate a date of occupation for this phase of the room in the mid- to late sixth century.

In SU 3094, in the northwest corner of the room, a small vessel was discovered vertically deposited into the floor surface (fig. 6.11). The jar was made of *impasto* and discovered cut in half horizontally, perhaps by whatever forces razed the building. The extant lower half contained the skeletal remains of a turtle and a spindle whorl. The vessel seems to have functioned as a ritual deposit in association with the monumental construction of the building. The placement of this jar in the corner of Room 2 is clearly intentional, and likely symbolic of the construction activities that took place here. The intentional deposition of jars in connection with the foundation or reconstruction of residential contexts is attested at other archaic sites, especially in the Etruscan world.⁶⁶⁴ In these contexts, the material finds are generally connected to the functions in the realm of women, consisting mostly of loomweights and spindlewhorls. This is thought to indicate the control of women over the domestic sphere and its related activities.

Hearth

A small, circular pit is located in the southwest corner of the area and may have functioned as a hearth (3064). The pit is lined with vertically aligned slabs of tuff, and measures 1.2 x 1.26 m, with a depth of 0.4 m. The interior sides of the slabs of tuff show traces of burning. The fill of the area D feature, however, produced no diagnostic finds.

⁶⁶³ Mogetta and Becker, 2014.

⁶⁶⁴ Mogetta and Becker 2014, 177; Baglione et al. 2010; Gusberti 2007-2008, 648.

This feature may provide a suitable boundary for the southern portion of Room 2, in the absence of any walls belonging to the southern portion of the building.⁶⁶⁵ This is based largely on the alignment of the pit with the western wall of Room 2, and the similar elevations of both features (3064 has a minimum/maximum elevation of 61.040/61.131; 3029 preserves 61.34/61.35). The feature seems to have been in use during both phases of the occupation of the building. The lowest layers abutting the structure range in date from 729-550 B.C.E, suggesting the pit was first constructed along with Room 2. The structure appears to have been partially reconstructed in the second phase of construction; some stones were added at this time. The original construction of the feature may even predate that of Room 2.

Semi-Circular Feature

West of Rooms 1 and 2 is a semi-circular feature, consisting of a cut into the soil lined with rubble and slabs of tuff (3076). The fill of the pit contained several irregular slabs of tuff that likely represent the remains of the partial collapse of the structure. The function of this pit is undetermined, but is contemporary with the later phase of occupation of both rooms. The materials recovered from the fill are few and offer no indication regarding the use of this feature. The materials are rather undatable, and offer only a range of 800-500 B.C.E. for the date of the structure. The structure shares a similar alignment to the walls in Room 1, and may have been contemporary.

Enclosure Wall

The curved wall to the north of Room 1 (2219) is thought to correspond to a second wall along the eastern limit of the area (3067), and together these walls are believed to represent a type of precinct or retaining wall that encloses Rooms 1 and 2.⁶⁶⁶ This conclusion is based primarily on the fact that the precinct walls and the rooms are arranged along the same alignment, and all features were built using the same techniques of construction. However, there is no direct stratigraphic relationship to confirm the connection between walls 2219 and 3067, nor is there any direct evidence that either of these walls can be connected to the rooms.

Wall 2219 is curved and has a W/E orientation; it measures 6 m in length. Wall 3067 has a N/S orientation and measures 4.87 x 0.6 m. Both walls are constructed of irregular slabs of tuff with some mortar, similar to the other archaic features on site. Two layers continue beneath wall 2219, but the materials found within them were provide no reliable date; the second of these layers sits atop the bedrock that dominates the northern half of the site.

The eastern limit of wall 3067 shares a boundary with the western limit of the cut of semi-chamber tomb 2. The construction of the tomb did not destroy the wall, but seems to have been constructed in close alignment with it. The western niche of the chamber tomb was

⁶⁶⁵ Mogetta and Becker 2014, 177.

⁶⁶⁶ Mogetta and Becker 2014, 177.

carved into the bedrock directly beneath the wall, effectively undermining the stability of both features. Over the course of the excavation of the tomb, a portion of the wall had to be removed, as it was on the verge of subsiding into the fill of the tomb. It was not possible to determine a stratigraphic relationship between 3067 and the semi-chamber tomb.

To my knowledge there is no evidence for this kind of curving enclosure wall in Rome or Latium. The closest comparandum comes from the Iron Age structures at Oropos in Greece, where there are the remains of a 28 m long apsidal wall (fig. 6.12).⁶⁶⁷ The wall is largely rectilinear, following a N/S direction, and at the north end curves west into an apse, where it comes to an end. Mazarakis-Ainian was unable to determine whether this wall could be associated with a building, since the presumed western portion of the wall was not identified. He suggests it may have been instead a retaining wall that bordered the west side of a street or river bed. In Italy, the extant examples of enclosure walls are rectangular in plan and associated with buildings of various functions. At Megara Hyblaea in Sicily, enclosure walls often delimit properties during the seventh century (fig. 6.13).⁶⁶⁸ The nearest example geographically comes from the building known as *edifício beta* from the site of Pian di Civita in Tarquinia.⁶⁶⁹ In the mid-seventh century, precinct walls of stone were added around the preexisting structure; the enclosure measures approximately 15 x 25 m (fig. 6.14). Archaeologists believe the construction of the precinct wall marks the sacred or institutionalized character of the building; it is not identified as a residential building.⁶⁷⁰

A second Etruscan example comes from the site of Roselle, and consists of a rectangular structure and enclosure wall found beneath the remains of the later Roman Forum.⁶⁷¹ The building dates to the second quarter of the seventh century. It has a stone foundation that probably supported mudbrick walls and a thatched roof. The interior of the building was circular, with plaster walls and beaten-earth floors. A rectangular enclosure of mudbrick surrounded the entire building and was divided into two parts at the front and back. The function of the building is unknown. Materials associated with domestic contexts, including fragments of pottery, loomweights, spindlewhorls and animal bones, were found in association with both the building and the enclosure, which suggest the building was used as a residence. However, some scholars believe the large enclosure points to the building's public function and suggest it may have been a sanctuary or cult site.⁶⁷² The absence of a hearth within the building and the presence of one in the rear enclosure may point to the sacred function of the building. However, the evidence is inconclusive, and the entire

⁶⁶⁷ Personal communication with Marcello Mogetta. Mazarakis Ainian (1997, 47-8) dates the apsidal wall at Oropos from the ninth to the seventh centuries.

⁶⁶⁸ De Angelis 2003, 17-39.

⁶⁶⁹ Bonghi Jovino and Treré, eds. 1997, 179-81.

⁶⁷⁰ Bonghi Jovino and Treré, eds. 1997, 220. This phase of the building may be connected to rich votive deposits that point to the kind of ritual behavior associated with cult activity.

⁶⁷¹ Damgaard Andersen 1997, 363-5; Canocchi 1980; *Roselle* 21-33.

⁶⁷² Especially Colonna 1985, 53-7; Izzet (2007, 127-8) provides a recent summary of the evidence.

compound appears to have been destroyed by fire in the last quarter of the seventh century.

Interpretation

Rooms 1 and 2 are thought to represent the architectural remains of an archaic building, surrounded by enclosure walls 2219 and 3067.⁶⁷³ This interpretation is based on several factors. First, the application of the same type of technique of stone masonry in the construction of the walls. This involved arranging slabs or blocks of tuff into irregular courses with some mortar. Second, the consistent NE/SW orientation of Rooms 1, 2 and the precinct walls. This alignment is especially apparent when contrasted with the more strictly N/S orientation imposed by the orthogonal grid in the late fifth or early fourth century. Third, the consistency in type and date of the ceramic materials recovered from the layers of occupation associated with these structures.

It appears that the building underwent two phases of construction over the course of the Archaic period. The first phase took place in the early to mid-sixth century with the construction of Room 2; walls 3029, 3030 and 3031 represent the earliest sequence of stone construction. The second phase occurred in the mid- to late sixth century and witnessed the reconstruction of Room 2 (walls 3095 and 3096 were added to 3030 and 3031, respectively), and the construction of Room 1 (walls 3014 and 3015) and the enclosure walls (2219 and 3067). One of two circular features (3064) was initially constructed and probably functioned as a hearth; it appears to have been reused and reconstructed in the second phase of the occupation of the building. The second circular feature (SU 3076) is of undetermined function and is associated with the second phase of the building.

Toward the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth, the building fell out of use. There is evidence throughout the site that some of the walls had partially collapsed, including walls 2219 and 3067. The collapse of wall 2219 (SU 3012) abuts wall 3014 and is cut in the southeast corner by the construction of semi-chamber tomb 1. Based on the direction of the slope of the layer, the distribution of the deposit, and the size of the slabs of tuff, this layer seems to represent the collapsed material of 2219 as opposed to 3014. A second layer of collapse (SU 3054), located beneath the first (SU 3012), has no connection to the tomb cut and seems to represent an earlier phase of the disintegration of the wall, which predates the construction of the tomb. The materials recovered from both these layers include mostly fragments of *impasto*, which can only generally date these events from 900-500 B.C.E.

Wall 3067 was discovered partially covered along its western limit by a layer of tuff stones that seem to represent the disruption of the wall (SU 3022). This layer of collapse bears no relationship to the second chamber tomb, constructed in close alignment with the eastern limit of wall 3067. The materials recovered from the layers of collapsed walls, and from

⁶⁷³ Mogetta and Becker 2014, 177.

those deposits covering the collapse, do not provide a precise date for the fall of the building. These data consist mainly of fragments *impasto* pottery, large storage vessels and *bucchero*, which offer only a wide range of dates, from about 900-500 B.C.E. It is worth noting, however, that the datable materials from these contexts belonged to the end of the sixth century. On these grounds, and with the support of the stratigraphic sequence, it is possible to suggest that the building fell out of use toward the end of the sixth century, and was destroyed or collapsed shortly thereafter.

The organization of the building seems to have mimicked the layout of an earlier hut; the evidence for the hut phase of occupation is preliminary, however, and awaits further excavation in the 2014 season. At the very least, this points to continuity in the use of the area, which finds comparison with other sites at Rome and Latium (see below for further discussion).

Reconstruction

The extant portions of the walls in area D do not stand very high, consisting only of a few courses of stone that were probably quarried from nearby. It is possible that there were once additional courses of stones, which were subsequently removed, destroyed or left to decay and collapse. In several cases there is evidence that the walls were greater than their extant height. The various layers of collapse all contain tuff slabs that are the same type and size as used in the construction of the walls. In the case of the collapse of wall 3031, the tuff slabs were discovered vertically deposited in the ground, suggesting they had fallen from some height. It is difficult to determine on the basis of these remains how tall the walls were originally. The so-called Regia excavated by the SAR on the acropolis at Gabii preserves a building with several courses of stone masonry, which indicates this was within the realm of possibility for the inhabitants of area D.⁶⁷⁴ It seems more likely, however, that the stones of the area D building served as a foundation for a superstructure of clay. This seems particularly true of the earliest phase of the building. Immediately outside the northeast corner, beneath the reconstructed portion of the north wall of room 2 (wall 3095), was a deposit containing high concentrations of burnt material, including wattle and daub. Alternately, the stone foundations may have supported a superstructure of wooden beams with a rubble filling, but there is no good evidence for this.⁶⁷⁵ The absence of tiles from this context supports the hypothesis that the first phase of the building was constructed largely of impermanent materials.

The roof is more difficult to reconstruct. Some of the deposits identified as the collapsed remains of walls contain fragments of tile of the kind that may have been used for roofing during the second phase of the building. The frequency of tile deposits in all contexts associated with the walls, however, awaits further study. At the moment it is possible to suggest tentatively that the roof was constructed of tile, but it is equally likely that it

⁶⁷⁴ Fabbri et al. 2010.

⁶⁷⁵ Cifani 1995, 186-90. Both types of construction are attested at Rome and Latium during the seventh and sixth centuries.

consisted of impermanent materials, such as thatching.⁶⁷⁶ The absence of tiles in deposits associated with the earlier phases of the building suggests the structure at this time supported a thatched roof.

In some cases it seems that the extant portions of the walls were visible at the time the tombs were constructed in the late sixth to mid-fifth centuries. In the northern half of the area, the cut of semi-chamber tomb 1 truncates layers of collapse associated with walls 2219, 3014 and 3015, revealing that these walls had partially fallen before the construction of the tomb. In all cases these were covered directly by cleaning layer 3004, suggesting that the tomb construction was the final event to occur in the area, and this deposit, in addition to the thick layer of topsoil above it, contributed to the preservation of the walls. It is not possible to determine the visibility of enclosure wall 3067 at the time of the construction of semi-chamber tomb 2. Although the wall was covered by a layer of collapse probably belonging to the same wall, this deposit has no direct relationship to the tomb cut. Both the collapse and wall 3067 were covered by 3004, while the fill of the semi-chamber tomb was covered by the road constructed in the late fifth or early fourth century. This stratigraphic sequence, in addition to the situation with semi-chamber tomb 1, makes it possible to suggest that all the walls had partially fallen at about the same time, and that after this, the tombs were constructed. The ceramic materials recovered from the layers of collapse are not especially informative with regard to dating, as they date from 900-500 B.C.E. The materials from the fill of the tomb range anywhere from 900-400 B.C.E., suggesting that the construction of the tombs post-dates the occupation of the building; determining the precise sequence between the collapse of the remaining walls of the building and the construction of the tombs, at least in the case of semi-chamber tomb 2 and the monolithic sarcophagus, is difficult.

Discussion

The area D building adds to the body of evidence for stone-built architecture in the Archaic period. The method used for building the walls from slabs of tuff is attested in Rome and Latium beginning in the seventh century, although examples are more commonly identified in the sixth.⁶⁷⁷ At Rome, this type of masonry is found in the second phase of the fortification wall on the Palatine (c. 700/675-580 B.C.E.).⁶⁷⁸ It is more commonly attested, however, in several sixth-century buildings identified as residences, including the first phase of the Auditorium,⁶⁷⁹ Torrino,⁶⁸⁰ Acqua Acetosa Laurentina,⁶⁸¹ Lavinium⁶⁸² and Satricum.⁶⁸³ A related form of stone masonry, *opera quadrata*, consists of construction of

⁶⁷⁶ Cifani 1995, 190-2; Gjerstad 1953, 139, fig. 130.

⁶⁷⁷ Cifani 1995; 1998; 2008.

⁶⁷⁸ Carandini 1990, 161.

⁶⁷⁹ Terrenato 2001.

⁶⁸⁰ Bedini 1984.

⁶⁸¹ Bedini 1981.

⁶⁸² Guaitoli 1981c, 287.

⁶⁸³ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987, 105.

squared stone blocks, and appears at the same time in the construction of a number of buildings throughout the area. This technique is used in the second phase of the Regia,⁶⁸⁴ and the building near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina.⁶⁸⁵ Over the course of the sixth century, *opera quadrata* is applied to the construction of so-called public buildings, in a third phase of the wall on the Palatine,⁶⁸⁶ in the early phases of the temple at S. Omobono,⁶⁸⁷ the temple of Capitoline Jupiter⁶⁸⁸ and the temple of the Dioscuri;⁶⁸⁹ in Latium, examples include the circuit walls at Lavinium.⁶⁹⁰ The sixth century also witnessed the use of *opera quadrata* in what have been identified as domestic contexts. The archaic residence from the Sacra Via at Rome is one such example.⁶⁹¹

While it is difficult to quantify the cost associated with stone architecture, it is possible to obtain a general idea of the resources required for this kind of construction. All stages in the construction of such buildings involved a series of specialists that suggests some sort of organized system of human labor.⁶⁹² The process began with the extraction of materials. The quarrying of tuff, which often occurred locally, may have involved two to three individuals and a system of levers and rollers. Beasts of burden and planks or boats may have been required for the transportation of these materials from the source to the location of construction. If clay was required, as was often the case for the mudbrick superstructures of many Latin houses, it would also need to be collected, and, depending on its quality, further processed by the addition of straw or other materials. The clay would then be dried into bricks that typically ranged in size from 4 to 20 kg per m³; the bricks would then need to be dried.

Modern scholars connect the adoption of stone built architecture in Rome and Latium to the more widespread phenomenon of monumentalization in central Italy. Scholars of Etruscan antiquity have documented the adoption of monumental forms of construction in settlement and funerary contexts during the Orientalizing period; in Rome and Latium the process appears to have begun by the end of the seventh century, and become more diffuse over the course of the sixth. As a result, our understanding of the process that led to the use of stone masonry in Rome and Latium is heavily indebted to studies of Etruscan contexts.

Scholars of Etruscan antiquity use the term monumentalization, and related terminology, including monumental and monumentality, to refer to the process whereby structures are constructed on a large scale, make use of durable materials and have elaborate decorative

⁶⁸⁴ Brown 1974, 21-6.

⁶⁸⁵ Gjerstad 1953, 133, fig. 129.

⁶⁸⁶ Carandini 1990, 161.

⁶⁸⁷ Colonna 1991.

⁶⁸⁸ Gjerstad 1960, 168.

⁶⁸⁹ Nielsen and Poulsen, eds. 1992, 61.

⁶⁹⁰ Guaitoli 1984, 370.

⁶⁹¹ *GRT* 4.2, 97-99.

⁶⁹² Cifani 2008, 240-5.

programs.⁶⁹³ In more blunt terms, the term monumental is applied to those structures that are built of stone, are considerably larger than contemporary examples, and contain some evidence of painted decoration, usually in the form of architectural terracottas. The term is primarily applied to the tumulus tombs of the Orientalizing period, such as those at Cerveteri,⁶⁹⁴ and the so-called *palazzi* (monumental complexes) of the Orientalizing and Archaic periods, such as Zone F at Acquarossa (fig. 6.15) and the archaic complex at Murlo (6.16).⁶⁹⁵ The chamber tombs are carved into stone, may have more than one chamber, are sometimes surmounted by a *tumulus*, are often adorned with painted decoration and usually include a rich set of grave goods. Both buildings at Acquarossa and Murlo have a central courtyard with at least two wings of rooms, stone foundations and tiled roofs, a large size in comparison to other contemporaneous structures and elaborate decorative programs.

The monumental construction of both the *tumuli* and *palazzi* is widely thought to be the initiative of the aristocratic elite. In the first place, this group seems the most capable of controlling the economic and human resources required for stone construction in preindustrial societies.⁶⁹⁶ In Etruscan contexts, it is difficult to determine precisely who these aristocratic elite were, but many scholars accept, on the basis of the evidence from the graves and residences, that they were petty kings or the leader of some kind of *gens*-like group.⁶⁹⁷ This has led to the identification of many *tumuli* as so-called princely tombs (*tombe principesche*), and the buildings as the palaces (or *palazzi*) of the ruling elite.⁶⁹⁸

The connection between elite patronage and monumental residences rests on multiple lines of evidence.⁶⁹⁹ First, the use of stone masonry in the construction of these buildings marks a significant departure from the dwellings of earlier periods. At both Acquarossa and Murlo there is evidence for earlier structures of more modest means. The redevelopment of these spaces on a grander scale attests to the use of technical innovation. Second, the use of decorative programs is thought to commemorate the source of power or influence of the owner or residents of the property. Both sites have evidence of rich decoration, including acroterial sculptures, frieze plaques, and architectural antefixes and simas.⁷⁰⁰ Third, the combined aspects of size, masonry and decoration likely ensured the continued visibility of

⁶⁹³ Meyers 2012; Izzet 2007, 143-64.

⁶⁹⁴ Linington 1980.

⁶⁹⁵ Auditorium: Carandini et al. 1997. Acquarossa: Östenberg 1975. Murlo: Phillips 1993.

⁶⁹⁶ This may find support in ethnographic studies. Colantoni (2012) applies this methodology in her analysis of the transition of impermanent huts to stone houses at Satricum.

⁶⁹⁷ Riva (2010, 1-10) summarizes the consensus in modern scholarship regarding the social and political organization of Iron age Etruria and criticizes this view.

⁶⁹⁸ Riva (2010) most recently challenges the princely interpretation of the wealthy tumulus burials of the Orientalizing period. Smith (2006, 150-3) points out the problems with Waarsenburg's (1995) interpretation of the *tumuli* at Satricum as princely burials.

⁶⁹⁹ Meyers 2012.

⁷⁰⁰ Murlo: Phillips 1985. Acquarossa: Östenberg 1975.

these buildings. This visibility may have had a commemorative function, to communicate the status of the patrons of the building more widely throughout Etruscan society. In other words, the buildings, which were located in settlements, may have reached a broader audience than tombs, which were situated in more distant cemeteries. These buildings, then, are considered monumental since they make use of durability, visibility and commemoration in such a way that reinvents the use and experience of contemporary architecture.⁷⁰¹

Consequently, the closest comparanda for the earliest archaeological discoveries of stone architecture in Rome and Latium were these examples of elite architecture in Etruria. The appearance of stone-built circuit walls, temples, public buildings and private residences by the end of the seventh century in Rome and Latium seemed to suggest that the local elites were behaving in a manner similar to their Etruscan neighbors, and adopted methods of stone masonry in the construction of a number of prominent buildings. At Rome, however, monumentalization took on a particularly civic aspect, as the majority of stone buildings seem to have been designed for public benefit, such as temples and walls, rather than residential use.⁷⁰² As a result, monumentalization in Rome is closely tied to urbanization, whereby the construction of these stone buildings is seen as a hallmark of the foundation of and development of the city.⁷⁰³ This finds some support in the ancient accounts, which document the physical and institutional developments at Rome during the regal period. Consequently, many of the examples of public architecture, including the circuit walls and temples, are generally attributed to the building projects of the Tarquins and Servius Tullius.⁷⁰⁴ With regard to the so-called residential structures of Rome and Latium, these generally remain associated with the aristocratic elite, probably on the basis of comparison with examples in Etruria. Who these elites were is rarely explicitly stated, unless in connection with some quasi-historical (or purely mythological or legendary) figure.⁷⁰⁵

The interpretation, in particular, of the so-called elite residences in Etruria has had considerable bearing on our understanding of similar kinds of structures in Rome and Latium. On the northern slopes of the Palatine Hill are a series of structures that Carandini has identified as the remains of an archaic house (fig. 6.17).⁷⁰⁶ A reconstruction of the building, based on comparisons with dwellings and chamber tombs from Etruria, suggests the archaic house consists of a series of rectangular rooms arranged around a central courtyard. The material remains date the building to about 530/20; at this time the foundations of the building seem to have encompassed an area of 785 m², 152 of which constitute an *hortus*. This reconstruction has already been criticized for making too much out of too little material, but remains nonetheless cited as evidence for the aristocratic

⁷⁰¹ Meyers 2012, 14.

⁷⁰² There is still some debate regarding the function of the Etruscan *palazzi* (Meyers, 2012, 6).

⁷⁰³ See Smith (2005) for the latest summary of the evidence.

⁷⁰⁴ Cifani 1995.

⁷⁰⁵ Consider, for instance, the connection between the Tarquins at the Regia at Gabii.

⁷⁰⁶ Carandini 1990.

control of the city.⁷⁰⁷ A second building that may serve as an example of elite architecture comes from the Auditorium site, located approximately 1.5 km from the Aurelian walls at Rome (fig. 6.18).⁷⁰⁸ Here, there is evidence for the continued use and redevelopment of the site from the Archaic through the Imperial periods. The earliest phase of the building dates to the mid-sixth century, and, as reconstructed, likely has dimensions of approximately 300 m². The complex consists of a series of rooms oriented around a rectangular courtyard; many of these rooms have evidence of beaten earth floors. Around the beginning of the fifth century, however, the building undergoes substantial renovation, reaching proportions that it retained well into the Imperial period. Although Terrenato interprets this second phase as the clearest sign of elite architecture, he maintains that it is possible to trace the elite occupation of the area back into the Archaic period, based on the continuity in the use of the site.⁷⁰⁹

In some respects, however, the Etruscan and Roman evidence for residential architecture may not be well-suited for comparison.⁷¹⁰ A survey of the archaeological evidence for stone-built buildings in archaic Rome and Latium reveals that these structures are much smaller in size, have far less evidence of decoration or luxury, and have more varied layouts than their Etruscan counterparts.⁷¹¹ In a field survey conducted within the limits of the ancient *ager romanus antiquus*, roughly a 15 km radius outside the walls of Rome, Cifani discovered a number of stone structures that he identified as rural settlements.⁷¹² He based this conclusion on a comparison with similar patterns of settlement distribution in south Etruria. Cifani classified the buildings into three types, based on their size, technique of construction and associated finds. The first type includes small buildings that range in size from 20-50 m². These are usually found clustered together, made of perishable materials and comprised of only one room. Scatters of pottery were occasionally found in association with these structures. Cifani characterizes them as rural hovels; an example of this type may be the so-called archaic hut at Torrino.⁷¹³

The second class of building includes those that have walls made of stone and roofs of tile. The walls may only be partially made of stone blocks: in many cases the stones comprise

⁷⁰⁷ Smith (1996, 178) calls the reconstruction "imaginative."

⁷⁰⁸ Carandini et al. 1997; Terrenato 2001.

⁷⁰⁹ Terrenato (2001, 15) has made the same observation with regard to the layout of the Murlo complex and the so-called archaic farmsteads. The second phase of the Auditorium site he believes comparable to the Etruscan palaces.

⁷¹⁰ Terrenato (2001, 15) has already made this criticism. The Etruscan complexes date earlier and have a shorter life span (from the seventh to mid-sixth centuries), while the Archaic buildings are much smaller and range anywhere in date from the sixth through third centuries, although in some cases they continue even later.

⁷¹¹ Cifani 1998.

⁷¹² Cifani 1998.

⁷¹³ Bedini 1984. This is the first of two types of buildings Bedini observed at Torrino. These structures were small, clustered together and had an elliptical plan (in the manner of huts); they appeared to be covered with a roofs of tile. These were also located near a well.

the foundations that support superstructures of mudbrick. In some cases the upper portions of the walls are constructed of wooden beams filled with rubble and clay. Buildings of this type consist of three to five adjacent rooms arranged according to a rectilinear plan; they cover a surface area anywhere from 120 to 300 m². Notable examples of this type include the late archaic building at Torrino (fig 6.19), the structure at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina (fig. 6.20), the first phase of the Auditorium villa (fig. 6.18) and probably the first phase at Grottarossa (fig. 6.21).⁷¹⁴ Cifani characterizes these structures as farmsteads.⁷¹⁵

The third category includes the largest buildings, which comprise a surface area of 600 to 1500 m². These structures consist of several rooms arranged around a central courtyard. The technique of construction is *opera quadrata* and the roofs are often adorned with architectural revetments. The best example of this type for the Archaic period is the second phase of the Auditorium villa.⁷¹⁶ On the basis of comparison with examples in south Etruria, Cifani believes these buildings functioned as collection centers for the storage and/or processing of agricultural goods collected from the rural settlements.

In light of this evidence, it seems that the area D building corresponds to Cifani's second type, although a more skeptical interpretation of the evidence may refer it to the first. A generous reconstruction of the building during its second phase of occupation suggests the structure covered an area of 380 m².⁷¹⁷ This reconstruction takes wall 2219 as the northern limit and hearth 3064 as the southern one, on the grounds that this feature may have marked the southwest corner of the structure; the western limit is defined by the semi-circular feature 3076 and the eastern limit is enclosure wall 3067. The entire compound would have then had dimensions of 24 x 16 m. A more conservative estimate, on the basis of the dimensions of the two rooms, which measure 5 x 6 m and 6 x 8 m, suggests the building covered an extent of about 150 m². This interpretation of the evidence suggests the building fits comfortably in Cifani's second type. It is possible to take a more rigid view of the evidence, however, as the rooms do not connect and neither exceeds an area of 50 m². This seems a rather skeptical view of the evidence, however, since the structures, at least to my mind, seem connected.

The identification of the building as a type of dwelling is plausible, since it exhibits several features typically associated with residential architecture, including beaten earth floors, a hearth (possibly two), and pottery often associated with domestic contexts (vessels for storage, drinking, dining, food preparation, and loomweights and spindlewhorls). Although this range of material may be found in other contexts, the absence of the types of materials

⁷¹⁴ Acqua Acetosa Laurentina: Bedini 1981. Torrino: Bedini 1984. Auditorium: Terrenato 2001. Grottarossa: *NSc* 1947, 107; Cifani 1998, 54.

⁷¹⁵ Cifani 1998, 54.

⁷¹⁶ Terrenato 2001. Cifani (1998, 54) notes that two other buildings belong to this type, the second phases of the structures at Grottarossa and along the via Gabina, but these belong to the Middle Republican period.

⁷¹⁷ This is based in part on the reconstruction of rooms 1 and 2 as proposed in Mogetta and Becker (2014, 177), who take the southern limit of the building as hearth 3064.

found in sanctuaries, cemeteries or centers of industry, suggest that the function of the area D building was largely residential. This does not preclude the occurrence of productive, religious, or industrial activities in the area, it only suggests that the primary function of the building was for residence. Indeed, complexes of this type seem to have allowed for a variety of functions, including habitation, farming, textile and pottery production, and votive offering. There are not always separate spaces for these activities, and often a single room has evidence for multiple functions. The area D building has evidence for all these types of use, except farming; only the hearths seem to have been defined as architecturally distinct features. It can be argued that these characteristics are not enough to signify residential activity, and this is certainly a problem archaeologists consistently face when interpreting ambiguous, often multi-purpose contexts.

Despite my own classification of the area D building as a more modest type of structure, it has recently been interpreted as an "elite context".⁷¹⁸ This conclusion is based on the size of the building, the type of stone masonry used in its construction, and associated finds. The dimensions of the building seem on par with most examples of residential architecture in archaic Rome and Latium; these structures, with exception perhaps of the Sacra Via houses and the first phase of the Auditorium villa, bear little resemblance to the examples of so-called aristocratic architecture found mainly in Etruria. Indeed, the smaller, less stable, less adorned buildings of archaic Rome and Latium seem to represent the norm for the region; the absence of luxury items in residential contexts may well mirror the absence of grave goods from graves, pointing to a more widespread phenomenon. To my knowledge, there are no finds from the area D building that might point to its elite patronage, such as imported items or architectural decoration. The majority of the ceramic materials from area D are fragments of *impasto*; bucchero is less common, although by no means rare; imports and Etrusco-Corinthian imitation wares are very rare. There are no metals, besides a few indeterminate fragments of bronze or iron. Of course, it is still possible to argue that these buildings represent elite activity, based on the fact that they are more visible and more durable than the previous and presumably contemporary structures. This line of thought seems influenced by the studies of Etruscan residences, in which stone construction and decoration are equated with monumentality and aristocratic activity. What is more, the building in area D is situated in an urban context, which sets it apart from much of the comparable evidence that comes primarily from rural sites.

Underscoring this discussion, however, is an absence of any consideration of what we mean by elite, to whom this refers, and what the connection is between this group and stone-built architecture. What is more, the focus on understanding these elite groups often precludes a discussion of the remaining non-elite population. This is, in many ways, an insoluble problem in archaeology. In prehistoric contexts, it is common to connect archaeological visibility to aristocratic privilege. Part of the appeal of Cifani's approach to the rural settlements of Rome is that the classification of the buildings into types, however artificial, allows for the representation of what was presumably the entire community. Cifani speculates that the distribution of the three types of buildings represents a complex system

⁷¹⁸ Mogetta and Becker 2014.

of landownership, based on the agricultural exploitation of Rome's hinterland.⁷¹⁹ He believes this system is hierarchical, and characterized by a small class of owners (or, perhaps, what he calls simple holders), who occupy the small and medium-sized structures of the first and second types.⁷²⁰ These structures he identified as small-scale "hovels" and farmsteads. He connects the larger buildings of the third type to a gentilicial class of owners, who drew their power from their extensive landholdings in the immediate territory of Rome. These buildings may have functioned as processing or storage centers for the goods collected from their territory. This conclusion finds some support in a recent assessment of the Twelve Tables, which suggests the economy of archaic Rome was largely agricultural.⁷²¹ What is more, if the population of the Roman *ager* was about 35,000, as the more recent estimates indicate, it stands to reason that some of these people were living in these stone buildings, elite or otherwise.⁷²² The fact remains that these archaic structures leave us with very little to go on, since they lack many of the conventional features that are connected with aristocratic patronage.

The archaeological evidence of elite activity in archaic Latium is most closely tied to the evidence in the literary sources for gentilicial structures.⁷²³ There is good indication from the historical accounts regarding early Rome that the aristocratic elite constitutes the most likely group to have had the economic means and social authority to undertake initiatives related to political and territorial control. As discussed in Chapter 5, it seems that, in the Archaic period, land was concentrated in the hands of different groups of *gentes*, whose leaders were responsible for its distribution and use.⁷²⁴ The archaeological record of archaic Rome and Latium seems to support this organization. Cifani's more recent survey has revealed a landscape densely settled with small farms, as discussed above.⁷²⁵ Terrenato has already connected this model of *gens*-based landownership and distribution to the archaeological evidence for elite residential architecture at the Auditorium site in Rome.⁷²⁶ Here, he takes as support of the *gens* the presence of an elite residence surrounded by small farms, which seems to indicate the authority the aristocratic elite exercised over the immediate rural landscape, and point to the reciprocal (or dependent) relationship between the small farms and the main residence. Although this applies more specifically to his interpretation of the second phase of the villa, it is possible that this organization extended earlier into the Archaic period, based on the continuity in the use of the site. One problem is that this methodology does not fully address the issue of how we distinguish the

⁷¹⁹ Cifani 1998, 55.

⁷²⁰ Cifani (1998, 55) refers to the occupants of these buildings as *proprietari* or *semplici possessori*, although it is unclear to me precisely what he means by these two terms.

⁷²¹ Cornell 1995, 287.

⁷²² Cifani 1998, 55. Cornell (1995, 204-8) discusses the various calculations of Rome's territory and population. Cifani bases his conclusions on Ampolo's (1980) calculation.

⁷²³ Smith (2006) provides a recent account of the archaeological and literary evidence for the *gens*.

⁷²⁴ Capogrossi Colognesi 1988.

⁷²⁵ Terrenato 2001, 16.

⁷²⁶ Terrenato 2011.

ruling classes from the ruled (and the varying degrees in between) in the archaeological record, it goes some way in understanding the archaeological and literary evidence.

If we are to accept the conventional interpretation of landownership, then it is possible to suggest that a *gens* owned the land on which the area D building was constructed, and that the leader of that *gens* designated its use. This does not entirely clarify who commissioned the construction of the building, however. The tuff stones used in the construction of the building were quarried from nearby, which makes sense economically, regardless of who constructed the building. However, it stands to reason that only an individual or group with some wealth and status had the ability to mobilize the resources for the construction of such a building in the middle of the archaic city. However, it would be unwise to rule out completely the possibility that this activity fell within the purview of various members of the *gens*. It is impossible to determine from the archaeological record what the precise relationship is between the occupants of the building, the individuals responsible for its construction, and the owners of the land. Although it seems most likely that the *gens* leaders were responsible for this initiative, there is not enough evidence regarding the social hierarchy between *gentes*, *clientes*, tenants and free farmers to address this completely.

If the *gentes* were indeed the primary landowners in archaic central Italy, and they were responsible for determining the use of that land, then it is possible to suggest that, in the case of archaic Gabii, this authority extended to the urban sphere. Most of the evidence for residential architecture, whether elite or otherwise, comes from rural sites in Rome's hinterland, which offers some indication of the dense system of agriculturally-based landownership at the outskirts of Roman territory. The area D building shifts the locus of this activity to the city, and offers some insight with regard to how various *gentes* and their leaders controlled tracts of land within the urban area. For the moment, this mostly raises new questions regarding how these various elite groups controlled civic space. It suggests that the *gentes* were equally as concerned with regulating civic space as they were with agricultural areas. Without further excavation at Gabii, however, it is difficult to determine more precisely how elite control of cities related to both the development of the city and the agricultural landscape.

The evidence from archaic Satricum may shed light some light on the nature of this process, however.⁷²⁷ Over the course of the eighth to sixth centuries, the acropolis reveals evidence for three main phases of occupation that point to continuity in the use of the area and of specific structures within that area.⁷²⁸ In the first phase, during the eighth century, there were two separate groups of structures, comprised of oval huts and small circular buildings that have been identified as cook sheds (fig. 6.22).⁷²⁹ In the second phase, during the late

⁷²⁷ Colantoni 2012. For the original reports regarding Satricum, see Maaskant-Kleibrink (1991; 1992).

⁷²⁸ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991, 68-100.

⁷²⁹ It is difficult to identify the function of most huts, but as Colantoni points out (2012, 31), it does not seem unreasonable that different buildings had differentiated functions.

eighth to seventh century, these structures were replaced by larger oval huts, square huts and more cook sheds (fig. 6.23). In the third phase, during the sixth century, courtyard-style houses replaced the huts in both clusters: these houses were constructed of stone foundations with walls made of clay packing and roofs of tile (6.24). They consisted of two rectangular buildings, comprised of adjacent square or rectangular rooms that flanked a central open space. At about this time were the earlier phases of the Temple of Mater Matuta, which was constructed near the houses.⁷³⁰ Colantoni suggests that each successive redevelopment of the acropolis maintained the same basic arrangement, whereby two groups of huts were replaced by two groups of stone-built buildings.⁷³¹ She suggests, too, that each phase housed the same range of inhabitants: on the basis of ethnographic data, she posits that families (nuclear or extended) were spread out among clusters of huts, with each hut being inhabited by only one or two individuals.⁷³² The construction of houses with stone foundations in the sixth century unified the function of the huts and the people living in them into two related structures.⁷³³ The small rooms mimicked the presumably differentiated function of the huts and maintained access to the outside area by creating access to a central courtyard.

Colantoni again turns to ethnographic data to comment on the social and political status of the inhabitants of the Satrican acropolis in the sixth century. In the settlement of the Bamangwato tribe in Botswana, foreign traders and missionaries introduced European style houses in the 1800s, which gradually replaced the traditional huts used by the tribe.⁷³⁴ The construction of the mud-huts requires little capital and can often be undertaken by the people who live in them. This stands in contrast with the expensive and rare materials, and specialized labor used in the construction of European houses. A desire to emulate the politically dominant Europeans brought about the construction of more houses of this new type, likely motivated by the desire to modernize and acquire the status associated with these houses as symbols of authority. Colantoni interprets the stone built structures of Rome and Latium from this perspective, suggesting that the construction of these buildings required specialized human labor and economic resources, and as such, functioned as symbols of accumulated wealth and status in a way that huts simply could not. As a result, she claims these are likely the buildings of the elite, and supports her

Maaskant-Kleibrink identified the cook huts on the basis of the charred layers containing animal bones, cooking stands and vessels designed for food preparation (1991, 69-72).

⁷³⁰ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987; Gnade 2007, 102-4, 123-4.

⁷³¹ Colantoni 2012, 31.

⁷³² Colantoni 2012, 27-33. She draws her conclusions from an anthropological study (Naroll 1962) that calculated the amount of living space used by one person from a variety of settlements around the world. Naroll estimated 10m² was the space used by one person. Although many of his conclusions are debated, Colantoni uses this figure to calculate, on the basis of the size of the huts of the Palatine (17 m²), that one to two people occupied these structures at a given time.

⁷³³ Colantoni 2012, 32. This is sometimes referred to as the "huts to houses" phenomenon, as documented by Brown (1976) and Holloway (1994, 51-67).

⁷³⁴ Colantoni 2012, 33-4.

conclusion by citing the prominent location of the residences on the Palatine at Rome and acropolis at Satricum.

Although it is easy to criticize Colantoni's methodology on the grounds that she seems to presume these stone structures are, in the first place, houses, and, in the second, the houses of the elite, her observations raise some interesting points about the development of space within settlement areas. Given the labor required for the redevelopment of the area with buildings with stone foundations, it is likely that some centralized authority, whether an individual or group, was responsible for the deployment of this activity. If, as seems to be the case, the sixth-century buildings mimic the orientation and function of the earlier houses, it seems that the agent(s) responsible were deliberately maintaining the earlier use of the site. What is difficult to determine, however, is whether the inhabitants of the acropolis were the same groups of people in all phases; although this seems to be the case, one cannot discount the possibility that competition and conflict often encourage monumental construction.⁷³⁵ The addition of the temple to Mater Matuta on the acropolis in proximity to the probable residences is significant since it suggests a level of development on the acropolis that can be understood within the context of urbanization.⁷³⁶ In this case, it seems that the area of the acropolis marks a level of social and political sophistication and organization required by one or more groups.

With regard to the building in area D, it is difficult to interpret why the structure fell out of use in the late sixth century. The building seems to have been occupied for only a short time following the renovation of the structure to include Room 1 and the enclosure walls. There are no conventional signs of wholesale destruction, such as fire or looting. However, the elevation of the walls throughout the area is remarkably consistent, and corresponds to the elevations of the floors from the mid-republican structures in adjacent area C. This suggests that the walls were deliberately and uniformly leveled to a height that matches the occupation phases of the Middle Republic. This event may have contributed to the deposits of collapse associated with many of the walls, into which the first chamber tomb was cut. Alternately, the walls may have deteriorated without human intervention. Whatever the case, the construction of the first semi-chamber tomb in the collapsed remains of enclosure wall 2219 suggests that the collapse of the walls predates the use of the area as a burial ground. According to the stratigraphic sequence, the collapse of all walls seems to have predated the construction of the tombs; however, there is no clear relationship between the collapse and semi-chamber tomb 2 and the monolithic sarcophagus. As a result, only wall 2219 may have fallen before the construction of semi-chamber tomb 1. The use of the area as a small cemetery seems to have occurred shortly after the building was no longer operational, as the first adult inhumations may have been dug as early as the late sixth century. A more precise chronology for the burials is difficult to determine, and they date generally from about 525-450 B.C.E.

⁷³⁵ Parker Pearson (1999, 156-7) considers this in relation to funerary monuments.

⁷³⁶ The proximity of the temple to the so-called residences also calls into question the identification of these buildings as dwellings.

6i. Features of Area D: The Burials

Once the building in area D had fallen out of use, the area was used as a burial ground for a series of adult inhumation burials. In the following section, I present the evidence for these burials, beginning with the westernmost tomb and moving east. Then, I present the evidence for the child and infant burials at the site, which may belong to the phases of the occupation of the building, although the dates are thus far inconclusive.

Tomb 25

Tomb 25 is located along the western margins of the area and bears no direct relationship to the archaic building. The tomb consists of a rock-cut trench with a niche carved into the east side (figs. 6.25 and 6.26). The main shaft measures 2.5 x 1.2 m (SU 2086) and contained the inhumation burial of an adult female (SU 2088) in a monolithic tuff sarcophagus (SUs 2087 and 2089). The sarcophagus was made of *tufo lionato*, a reddish brown tuff that is typically associated with the Alban Hills. The tuff used for the construction of Tomb 25 was probably quarried locally, however, even within 200 m of the burial site.⁷³⁷ The lid fractured at some point in antiquity and was removed in 2009 in two segments. The niche measures 2 x 0.5 m and contained the inhumed remains of a young adult male (SU 2091). This niche was carved after an initial attempt on the west side failed due to the partial collapse of the wall. The dimensions of the sarcophagus are consistent with other examples at Gabii and Rome: this example is 2.08 m in length, 0.73 m in width, 0.75 m in height; the thickness of walls is 0.08 m and there is an interior depth of 0.6 m. Both burials were oriented N/S, with the head located at the south. A fragment of Attic Red Figure pottery found in the fill dates the closing of the tomb to the early fifth century or later. There are no grave goods associated with these burials.

At some later date, a circular pit was added to the area south of the main trench, cutting into the southern limit of the tomb. The consistency of the fill and the depth of the pit, at approximately 1.59 m, indicate this feature was used as a well. The ceramic materials consist primarily of fragments of *impasto*, with some commonware, fineware and *bucchero*. These materials are not especially useful for dating the fill, and range anywhere from 900-200 B.C.E. This feature may have been in use during the later phases of occupation at Gabii, following the establishment of the new street plan.

Osteological analysis of the two skeletons offers some information regarding the demographic composition of archaic Gabii. The long bones of the adult female indicate that she was probably around 162 cm (or 5'4") in height, which makes her taller than the average woman from the Imperial period.⁷³⁸ Most of her bones are not well preserved, but show signs of arthritis or some other age-related degeneration. Her teeth show signs of average wear. Musculoskeletal markers on her femur indicate that she engaged in a fair

⁷³⁷ Personal communication with Jason Farr, who sampled the main body of the sarcophagus, but not the lid.

⁷³⁸ Killgrove 2010, dissertation (killgrove.org).

amount of walking, although there is generally little evidence that she had a difficult life or engaged in strenuous activities.⁷³⁹ She was likely in her thirties when she died.

The male youth in the side niche was notable for his exceptionally large bones, and the high number of skeletal pathologies that indicate he had a stressful life before dying at 17-19 years of age. The dimensions of his long bones suggest an estimated height of about 172 cm (5'8"), which is rather tall for a Roman male during the Imperial period, approximately 5 cm taller than average. His vertebrae revealed evidence of disc herniation, a pathology probably brought on by carrying heavy loads or abnormally flexing his back.⁷⁴⁰ Signs of wear on the bones of his shoulder suggest he was regularly involved in demanding upper body activities such as lifting or throwing. He exhibits the same signs of wear on his long bones as the woman, pointing to a high degree of running or walking. His teeth show signs of advanced wear, typical of an individual about ten to fifteen years older. It seems that he subsisted on a diet comprised of gritty foods such as unrefined grains or shellfish. Pathologies visible on his canine teeth indicate he underwent two episodes of stress as a child: the first, from 2 years 9 months to 3 years 3 months, and the second around four years of age. These may be signs of weaning, disease, or some difficult part of childhood.

At present, it is difficult to determine the role or sociopolitical status of these individuals on the basis of the osteological remains, as there is insufficient comparative data from the Archaic period.⁷⁴¹ The purpose of bioarchaeology is to place the individual within the context of a population comprised of several individuals; without a representative population, there is no way to determine what is normal according to the biology and culture. To my knowledge, there are no large scale osteological studies for archaic central Italy.⁷⁴² However, it is possible to draw some general conclusions as to whether a person was anomalous within a specific time and place. When compared to osteological data from

⁷³⁹ This particular pathology, a musculoskeletal marker (MSM), appears on individuals who were likely traveling long distances or repeatedly on foot.

⁷⁴⁰ This type of pathology is referred to as Schmorl's nodes. In modern teenagers, these symptoms are connected to participation in contact sports.

⁷⁴¹ See Parker Pearson (1999, 80-3) notes that stress-related lesions can be read in two ways, either as a marker of the poor status and diet of a population, or as a testament to the ability of the population to survive stress and disease. He, and Knudson and Stojanowski (2008), comment more broadly on current approaches to the function of bioarchaeology in determining identity and status.

⁷⁴² Bedini provides some skeletal information from the burials excavated at Casale Brunori (1991) and Torino (1981), but these come from Republican and Orientalizing periods respectively. The contribution of Rubini et al. in Gnade (2002, 162-84) analyzes the bioarchaeological data from 82 individuals from the southwest necropolis at Satricum. Here, there were 61 adults (24 males, 18 females and 25 individuals of undetermined sex) and 12 children. The males are on average 170 cm, which is taller than most males in central Italy; the females are average compared to others. The teeth of the Satricum sample showed similar signs of stress as those at Gabii; their bones, however, did not, indicating that the Satrican population did not take on particularly stressful physical activities.

the Imperial period, there is nothing unusual about the remains of the young man.⁷⁴³ He was certainly taller and more robust than average, and his teeth and bones showed signs of stress. However, the causes for the stress on his teeth may have been the result of a variety of factors including weaning, poor diet or genetics. The pathologies on his bones only indicate that he was active and occasionally engaged in heavy lifting; there is no evidence to suggest that he was stressed in any way toward the end of his life. In sum, the bones cannot at this point offer much information concerning his sociopolitical status.⁷⁴⁴

The osteological analysis offers no indication of how these two individuals died, or why they were buried together. It is possible that the woman was the biological mother of the youth; a DNA analysis could confirm a familial relationship, but this study awaits further on-site research.

Although it seems likely that both burials were made at the same time, this is difficult to determine. At the time of excavation some distinction was made between the fill of the main tomb and the two side niches, but these were later believed to represent the same deposit (SU 2085). A layer of rubble and silt beneath the sarcophagus was distinguished and recorded separately as SU 2090, but the records indicate that this bottom fill was part of the same deposit in the main portion of the tomb, which had filtered down between the sarcophagus and the bottom level of the cut. The consistency of the fill suggests that both individuals were buried at the same time. In this case, it seems likely that the male was buried first in the side niche, and the woman second in the tuff sarcophagus. There is no indication of how these individuals were lowered into the tomb. The presence of iron nails from other tombs suggests the burials were lowered into the trench on wooden biers, but there is no such evidence here. The trench is not especially deep, at about 0.8 m, making it possible that the male, at least, was manually deposited in the tomb.

Monolithic tuff sarcophagi are attested elsewhere at Gabii: the SAR uncovered two examples in their excavations of a small burial group located south of the Temple of Juno. The burial group also included tombs *fossa* and one single-inhumation chamber tomb. The results of these discoveries remain unpublished, and the dates of these burials are generally unknown. Personal communication, however, has confirmed that the chamber tomb is archaic.

Tombs 38, 39 and 40 (Semi-Chamber 1)

Adjacent to the northwest corner of Room 1 is the first of two semi-chamber tombs (figs. 6.27 and 6.28). The northeast corner of the tomb (SU 3024) cuts directly into the collapsed remains of curved wall 2219 (SU 3012), revealing that construction of the tomb occurred sometime after the archaic building fell out of use. The eastern edge of the tomb cut is in

⁷⁴³ Personal communication with Kristina Killgrove.

⁷⁴⁴ Catalano, in Bedini (1991, 107), makes similar remarks regarding the data recovered from Casale Brunori. Although the chamber tombs point to the high status of the deceased, the wear on the bones and teeth of these individuals suggest a low quality of life.

close alignment with the N/S orientation of wall 3015, and the southern edge with the W/E orientation of wall 3014. That the southeast corner of the tomb seems to correspond closely with the outer limit of the northwest corner of the walls supports this conclusion. The tomb consists of a square shaft cut into the bedrock tuff, and preserves dimensions of 2.5 x 2.5 m, and a depth of 1.95 m.

The fill of the main chamber was consistent, and contained several tuff inclusions, including a wide array of fragmentary ceramic materials. These ceramics consist primarily of *impasto*, but concentrations of *bucchero*, commonware, large storage containers, *impasto chiaro sabbioso* and *impasto rosso* were also identified. These objects range in date from 900-400 B.C.E., but based on the stratigraphic sequence at the site, the fill can be dated from 525-450 B.C.E. Organic inclusions, such as animal bones and charcoal, were rare. Six iron nails were recovered in the fill, suggesting the deceased were lowered into the tomb on wooden planks. Tracks carved into the outer surfaces of the niches (on the side walls of the tomb) suggest that wooden planks covered the entrance of the niches. In both cases, there are no traces of these wooden planks. A large slab of tuff found at the bottom of the main chamber may have closed one of the tombs, but it was not found in situ. The other notable finds from this layer include a stylus and two *impasto* spools; these await further study on-site. A fragment of bronze was also identified in the fill, but it is too deteriorated to determine its use.

At the bottom of the main trench, three niches were carved along the west, north and east sides, all ranging in size from 2 x 0.5 m, with a height of about 0.95 m. During the excavation, no distinction was observed between the fill of the niches and that of the main chamber, since there was no meaningful distinction in soil composition or inclusions. However, distinctions in the finds recovered in each niche were recorded. A funerary bed was carved into the floor of each of these niches; these beds supported the inhumed remains of three adult individuals. Each niche contained a relatively well-preserved skeleton, all of which await analysis by biological anthropologist K. Killgrove in the 2014 season.

The consistency of the fill of the main chamber and the three *loculi* suggests that all three burials were made at the same time. However, it is also possible that the fill represents the event immediately following the final deposition. In any case, the ceramic materials recovered from this deposit date the tomb generally from the late sixth to mid-fifth century. The archaeology does not indicate how the bodies were placed into the tomb; based on the presence of iron nails in the fill, however, it seems that they were lowered into the main chamber before being arranged in the niche. Entrance into the tomb would have required some mechanism, whether a ladder or a system of levers. The only way into the tomb is from the top, and a tomb depth of nearly 2 m would have required mechanical assistance.

There is no evidence that any kind of structure covered the main entrance to the tomb, whether a wooden plank or tumulus. It seems that the tomb was backfilled at some point following the deposition of the final burial, but whether that happened shortly after the inhumation or several years later is unclear. It is possible that the wooden planks placed over the niches meant that the main chamber was left open until all burials had been

deposited; this suggests the fill was made or accumulated at the same time, following the last of the burials.

The east niche (SU 3039, Tomb 38) measures 1.37 x 0.6 m, and 0.96 m in height, and contains the inhumation burial of an adolescent of undetermined sex (fig. 6.29). The body was arranged in the supine position and likely deposited on a wooden plank prior to deposition in the tomb. The skeleton was oriented N/S with the head situated at the south. A funerary bed was carved into the floor of the niche, at a level approximately 10 cm higher than the floor of the main chamber. This bed consists of three surfaces separated by two channels that were possibly cut to accommodate the feet of a wooden bier. The central surface is the largest, measuring approximately 0.75 m in length; it likely supported the body of the deceased. The remaining two surfaces were located at the head and feet of skeleton (the south and north ends of the niche), and measured about 15-20 cm. These were separated from the central platform by a channel measuring approximately 12-15 cm. Initial observations recorded upon excavation of the skeleton indicate that the bones belonged to an adolescent of undetermined age and sex, and these await further research on-site.

This burial contained the most notable finds of all the area D tombs. The remains of a necklace (Special Finds 356, hereafter, SF), comprised of spools and strips of worked bone, were discovered on the chest of the deceased (fig. 6.30). These spools range in size from 1.2 to 1.8 cm in length and from 0.8 to 1.2 cm in width. The bone strips range in size from 3 to 6.1 cm in length and 0.3 to 1 cm in width. Several more strips and spools of worked bone were recovered in the fill of the niche, and may have belonged to the same ornament. The strips of worked bone (SF 354) range in size from 2.0 to 6.0 cm in length and 0.5 to 1.2 cm in width; the spools (SFs 351, 353 and 355) range in size from 1.2 to 1.5 cm in length and 0.8 to 1.2 cm in width. These items do not represent a *corredo* in the strict sense; rather, they are the personal adornments of the deceased.

The north niche (SU 3040, Tomb 39) measures 1.88 x 0.6 m and 0.92 m in height, and contains a single adult inhumation burial (fig. 6.31). The body was deposited in the supine position according to a W/E orientation with the head at the west. A funerary bed was carved into the floor of this niche, which, based on the arrangement of the skeleton upon excavation and the presence of several iron nails in the fill, likely supported a wooden plank at the time of the inhumation. This funerary bed consists of a single surface carved into the center of the niche. A channel approximately 20 cm long separates the central surface from the walls of the niche at the west and east limits. The platform was approximately 5-10 cm in height. The skeleton was discovered sloping southward toward entrance of the niche. The skeleton did not exceed the limits of the niche, suggesting that a wooden plank once covered the entrance of this *loculus* and prevented the burial from sliding out into the main chamber of the tomb. Neither the sex nor age of this individual has been determined. The only item of significance found in association with this burial was an unidentified object of worked bone (SF 359).

The west niche (SU 3041, Tomb 40) measures 1.06 x 0.76 m and is 0.98 m in height and is the least well preserved of the adult inhumation burials (fig. 6.32). The body was arranged

in the supine position, according to a N/S orientation with the head at the south. Initial observations regarding the skeleton upon excavation suggest the deceased was an adult male of unknown age. The funerary bed belonging to this niche comprised, like the other two, a central platform carved into the floor of the niche. Unlike the other examples, however, this bed was not a raised level surface: instead, it sloped downward toward the east, so that the eastern limit of the bed sloped into, and was even with, the floor of the main chamber. A small pillow was carved at the south limit to support the head. Several nails found in the fill of this niche suggest that body was placed on a wooden plank and then deposited in the tomb. A second possibility is that a wooden plank covered the entrance of the niche. The roof of the niche had partially collapsed over the course of excavation.

Tombs 41 and 42 (Semi-Chamber 2)

The second semi-chamber tomb (fig. 6.33) is located outside the eastern periphery of the archaic complex, just east of, and in alignment with, the eastern limit of what may be a portion of the enclosure wall of the building (3067). The cut of the tomb (SU 3081) does not interfere with the wall, though the western edge of the tomb aligns almost precisely with the eastern limit of the wall. This tomb is similar in size and construction to the first semi-chamber, and consists of a large square shaft cut into the bedrock. The main chamber measures about 2.5 x 1.8 m, and is 1.5 m deep. Niches carved into the west and east sides at the bottom of the main shaft contain the inhumation burials of two adult individuals. The niches are approximately 1.5 x 0.5 m, and are carved in a more rounded and less rectilinear fashion than those in semi-chamber tomb 1.

There was no discernable distinction in the fill of the main chamber and the *loculi*, although the documentation kept records of the notable finds from each niche. The consistency of the fill of the tomb (SU 3066) and that of the *loculi* suggests both burials were made at the same time. Alternately, the tomb may have been left open until both burials were deposited and the fill accumulated or was deposited. Ceramic fragments found in the fill date the tomb from the late sixth to early fifth century. A single bronze pin, measuring 5 x 0.2 cm, comprises the only non-ceramic material to be recovered from the tomb, other than a few nails found in association the west niche (SF 466). No grave goods were found with either burial.

The western niche (SU 3082, Tomb 41) measures 2.1 x 0.6 m, with a height of 0.7 m (fig. 6.34). The cut was originally rectilinear, but sometime after the deposition of the body, the bedrock ceiling of the cut collapsed. This was possibly caused by the construction of road 3057 in the late fifth or early fourth century. The stability of the niche was likely undermined due to its position directly beneath the wall 3067. Over the course of excavation, a portion of this wall had to be removed to prevent it from falling into the fill of the main chamber. The bottom of the cut of this niche was raised above the level of the cut of the main chamber (SU 3081), creating a raised bed on which the body was deposited. The deceased was arranged in a supine position and the body oriented N/S with the head at the south. Initial observations suggest the body belonged to an adult male, aged 45-50 years. Three iron nails recovered in the fill of this niche suggest the deceased was buried

lying on a wooden bier; alternately, the nails may represent a wooden plank that covered the entrance to the niche. Organic materials of this kind, however, have left no trace in the archaeological record.

The eastern niche (SU 3083, Tomb 42) measures 2.1 x 0.6 m, with a height of 0.6 m (fig. 6.35). The niche contains the remains of a single inhumation burial. The skeleton appears to have belonged to a woman, aged 35 years at death. The body was placed in the tomb in the supine position, and along a N/S orientation with the head at the south. The position of her body in the tomb was somewhat unusual: the skeleton was placed against the back of the wall, and does not appear to have moved after this deposition. This suggests that the body belonged to larger individual, who was wedged into the available space. Iron nails found in association with niche suggest that the body was deposited on a wooden bier and/or a wooden plank covered the entrance to the niche. Unlike all the other burials in the semi-chamber tombs, this tomb did not feature a funerary bed carved into the floor of the niche.

As is the case with semi-chamber tomb 1, there is no evidence that anything covered the entrance of the tomb. It is possible that a wooden plank or tumulus marked the burial, but this is impossible to determine. If a covering had existed, and remained visible into the end of the fifth century, it may have been destroyed by the construction of the road surface (SUs 3049 and 3053). The road, constructed during the city's reorganization in the late fifth or early fourth century, completely covered this tomb, and may have contributed to the partial collapse of the western niche.

Tomb 30

Tomb 30 (fig. 6.36) is the burial of an infant in a *dolium*, located immediately outside the northern extent of the curved wall (2219). The *dolium* (SU 3006) was deposited in a cut in the bedrock and arranged in a W/E orientation, with the mouth of the jar at the west. A slab of tuff covered the lid of the vessel. The *dolium* was made of *impasto rosso* and discovered partially collapsed. Much of the jar survives, however, and measures about 38 cm in height and 30 cm in diameter at the mouth. The bones of the infant were found disarticulated and await further study in the 2014 season. This burial is difficult to date, since this type of *dolium* was in use from 900-500 B.C.E., and no diagnostic fragments of pottery were discovered in association with the burial. It has been suggested that the tomb dates to the late seventh and early sixth centuries, on the grounds that it is located in a cut in the bedrock that appears related to an earlier phase of occupation.⁷⁴⁵ This cannot be determined on the basis of the stratigraphy or of the ceramic materials, however. This type of burial is common in Latium in the Iron Age and Archaic periods, and could easily belong to either period. These types of burials are generally associated with domestic contexts, and, as such, this burial could just as readily be associated with the construction of wall 2219 or even the earlier phase of the building. This conclusion may be emended after continued excavation of the Late Orientalizing layers of the site.

⁷⁴⁵ Mogetta and Becker 2014, 178.

Tomb 48

Tomb 48 is a juvenile burial *a fossa*, situated in the southeast corner of area D (fig. 6.37). The precise relationship of this burial to the archaic building is uncertain, as there is no direct stratigraphic relationship between them. However, the burial conforms to the general pattern whereby tombs are located along the periphery of the building.

The dimensions of the trench are 1.91 x 0.61 m, with a depth of 0.37 m (SU 3149). The skeleton was deposited in the supine position, in a N/S orientation with the head at the south. Preliminary osteological analysis suggests the inhumed was a child, aged 1-2 years. This burial is notable for the presence of grave goods: two *olle* were deposited in the grave, one at the head, and another at the feet of the burial. The first jar, of grey *bucchero*, was found near the skull in the southeast corner of the tomb and dates from 525-475 B.C.E. (SU 3156); the second, of *impasto*, was found at the feet of the deceased and dates from 525-425 B.C.E. (SU 3157). An iron *fibula* was discovered near the jawbone, and represents the personal accoutrements of the deceased (SU 3160). Images of these items are currently unavailable; the pots are awaiting residue analysis and the botanical analysis of their contents. A painted black and red tile was arranged as a grave marker at the top of the tomb fill. The rest of the fill dates from 500-450, B.C.E., and the tomb probably dates from the last quarter of the sixth century to the mid-fifth.

Tomb 49

Tomb 49 contains the inhumation of an infant, possibly a foetus or neonate, in a *dolium* (fig. 6.38). The jar (SU 3232) was deposited horizontally in the ground, in alignment with a wall that runs in a northwest-southeast direction (SU 3237). The relationship between this wall and the archaic complex is currently undetermined and awaits further excavation. The jar was truncated horizontally prior to excavation. The mouth of the jar was open at the west and closed by small stones. The vessel measures 25 cm in length and 22 cm in diameter at the mouth. The skeletal remains were disarticulated at the time of discovery, but it remains clear that the skull was deposited at the E at the foot of the vessel. The bones await osteological analysis. The fill of the burial and the *dolium* date the layer anywhere from 700-500 B.C.E.

Discussion

It is possible to make a few general observations about the burials in area D. First, it is clear that the burials were made sometime after the archaic building had fallen out of use around the end of the sixth century and before the reorganization of the city in the late fifth. This is suggested by the construction of the road at the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century, and is supported by the ceramic materials from the fill of the tombs, which date no later than 400 B.C.E. It is difficult to determine precisely how long the building remained unused before the area was first used as a burial ground, but it seems that it had undergone some degree of decay. The stratigraphic sequence indicates that the building had partially collapsed before the construction, at least of semi-chamber tomb 1, but possibly the other tombs as well. At any rate, it seems that the walls of the building were visible at the time of

tomb construction, as the tombs, the top levels of the walls, and the collapse were covered by the same layer of colluvial silt.

Second, all of the tombs containing adult burials were constructed by cutting deep trenches into the volcanic bedrock; after this, two basic tomb types are attested, the monolithic sarcophagus and the semi-chamber tomb. The sarcophagus finds close comparison in size and materials with examples primarily in Rome; the semi-chamber tombs, however, are unique for their dimensions and type. To my knowledge, there are no other attested examples of semi-chamber tombs in central Italy during the Archaic period. The two examples at Gabii represent a combination of tomb types: they have niches with funerary beds in a manner similar to chamber tombs, but are constructed in a manner similar to trench tombs, whereby a pit is dug into the bedrock. The Gabii semi-chambers are much larger and deeper than trench tombs attested elsewhere in the time and region. At Gabii, the semi-chamber tombs contain the majority (five) of the adult inhumations.

The third and fourth points concern the orientation of the deceased and the spatial distribution of the tombs. All of the adult inhumations and the child burial *a fossa* (T. 48) were arranged in a N/S orientation, with the head located at the south. With regard to the burials, all are located within the presumed limits of the archaic city; if the limits of Gabii did not contract at the end of the sixth century, then it seems that the area D burials attest to the practice of intramural burial.

Finally, it is worth noting that the area D burials conform to the evidence for funerary ritual in archaic Rome and Latium, as documented in Chapter 5. They are few in number and contain no grave goods; notable, too, is the absence of burial at Gabii from the first half of the Archaic period, c. 580-525 B.C.E.

The spatial distribution of the adult inhumation burials appears in association with the remains of the archaic building. All the tombs are clustered in and around the northern half of the remains of the structure. Semi-chamber tomb 1 is located between enclosure wall 2219 and wall 3014 of room 1. The southeast corner of the main cut of this chamber aligns with the outer northwest corner of the room. The east niche (T. 38) is even cut beneath the limit of wall 3014. Semi-chamber 2 was established along the same limit as the outer, eastern edge of enclosure wall 3067. The western niche (T. 41) undercut the wall to the point that, over the course of excavation, portions of the wall were at risk of subsiding into the fill of the tomb and were consequently removed. There is no direct relationship between the remains of the building and T. 25, the monolithic sarcophagus, however. Although it is located only about 1 m west of semi-chamber tomb 1, the tomb cut cannot be associated with any preexisting architectural feature in the area.

The spatial distribution of the tombs in area D can be interpreted in one of two ways. It is possible that their arrangement and construction was haphazard, perhaps the result of squatters moving into the area after the building had fallen out of use. The visible structural features may have functioned as some kind of structural support for the construction of the tombs, or served as a funerary marker without any particular symbolic significance. In the absence of any evidence for a covering, the walls may have been the only means of

identifying the tombs. This hypothesis rests on the assumption that there was no thought put into the organization and use of the area as a burial ground. This situation implies that the city underwent some stage of decay toward the end of the fifth century that allowed for the use of the area as an ad hoc cemetery. The encroachment of tombs in urban areas is often understood as a sign of the collapse of sociopolitical institutions and taken as evidence for the contraction of cities. In this case, the transformation of area D into a burial ground in the late sixth to mid-fifth century may represent a phase of deurbanization at Gabii, which came to an end with the reorganization of the city in the late fifth century. I return to this below.

However, there is evidence to suggest that the use of area D as a burial ground was deliberate, planned, and the result of some authority or group effort. In the first place, all the tombs are constructed in more or less the same manner, involving deep trenches cut into the bedrock. What is more, the two semi-chamber tombs consist of a quadrangular main chamber that is accessible from the top surface only and contains several niches with funerary beds carved into the floor. In both cases there is evidence that wooden planks covered the entrances to the niches; the same were likely used in order to deposit the bodies into the tombs. The orientation of all the burials in area D is consistent, with exception of the two *suggrundaria* (T. 30 and 49), which points to some acknowledged group custom. This finds some comparison with the burials at Satricum, where the burials on the acropolis, southwest necropolis and at Poggio dei Cavallari are thought to represent distinct burial groups and/or local practices.⁷⁴⁶

The situation at Gabii may find support in the relationship between a residence and burials at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina.⁷⁴⁷ Here, one chamber and one semi-chamber tomb were constructed in the collapsed remains of a complex of stone buildings. The structural remains were divided into two groups by a canal or road.⁷⁴⁸ In one of these groups (V), Bedini discovered a number of features associated with domestic use, which allowed him to interpret the remaining structures as part of a domestic complex. The presence of a *suggrundarium* and fragments of pottery seemed consistent with this interpretation. The two burials were located in the post-abandonment phases of one of the structures on the other side of the canal (VII). It is unclear whether the construction of the graves contributed to or occurred shortly after the collapse of the building, but there is a direct relationship between the construction of the tomb and the abandonment of the residence. All features belong to the Archaic period, although the tombs are dated more precisely to the first half of the fifth century. Whatever the precise sequence of events, there is a clear connection between the complex and the tombs, which Bedini suggests marks the desire of the burial groups to establish and/or maintain a connection not just to the agricultural landscape, but to a monumental structure within that landscape. He states that the building, during its time of occupation, would have been a commanding feature in the region, one that likely marked its occupants as individuals of considerable wealth and

⁷⁴⁶ See the above discussion about Satricum in Chapter 5.

⁷⁴⁷ Bedini (1981b, 1983).

⁷⁴⁸ Bedini is unclear regarding the time when the canal was filled up and used as a road.

status. The transformation of this area into a small burial ground may have had a commemorative function that tied the occupants of the tomb to those of the building.

It is possible to interpret the area D building in this light and suggest that the remains of the structure retained some symbolic significance for the group (or groups) buried there later. Post-processualist archaeological theory places special importance on the location of the dead as one of the most visible components of funerary ritual, as a means through which societies molded their relationships to their ancestors, the land and the living.⁷⁴⁹ Thus, the decision of where to bury the dead is not determined solely on the basis of efficiency, but is governed by the perceived relationship between the deceased, the family, the area and the people living in it. Although the decision to construct tombs in the remains of the building in area D may have been designed to express such ideas, it is difficult to determine the precise nature of the connection between the deceased, the building and the area. The tombs may represent kin groups who claimed descent from the occupants of the houses or mark the reappropriation of the area by other groups not part of this lineage.⁷⁵⁰

Both Renfrew and Hodder claim that burials and rituals are linked to a society's concern with legitimizing the control over resources.⁷⁵¹ In this view, there is a close relationship between houses, burial and landownership. Burial may be a way of maintaining control over the land; if the materials used for the construction of houses can be found nearby, there is no reason for tombs not to be either. Regardless of whether the area D building can be interpreted as a residence, there is certainly a close relationship between the structure, its masonry and the tombs. The tuff used in the construction of the building, *lapis Gabinus*, was certainly quarried nearby, perhaps in the immediate area of the complex; the tombs, for their part, are dug into the same bedrock in the remains of the building. In this way, the tombs of area D are not simply a place to deposit the dead, but a representation of the group's control over economic and human resources.

Metaphorical connections between houses and tombs are common in modern scholarship, whereby tombs are perceived as the houses of the dead.⁷⁵² This is the prevailing view of the chamber tombs of Etruria, whose architecture is thought to replicate the houses of the living.⁷⁵³ More recently, Riva has understood the monumental, multiburial tombs as a link between the house, the family group and landownership. She argues that, during the Orientalizing period, the house, the family and the land became the symbolic language through which political authority was expressed, and that this was articulated by the widespread adoption of the chamber tomb and grave goods pertaining to the funerary

⁷⁴⁹ Parker Pearson 1999, 124-41.

⁷⁵⁰ For a comparative study, see Parker Pearson on the Bronze Age Minoan tombs in Crete (1999, 129-30).

⁷⁵¹ Renfrew 1984; Hodder 1982.

⁷⁵² Parker Pearson 1999, 195-7.

⁷⁵³ Riva (2009, 109) offers a brief review of the scholarship. See Prayon (1989) for the conventional interpretation and Naso (2001, 35) for a brief criticism.

banquet.⁷⁵⁴ With regard to Latium, it is possible to connect the hut urn to a similar phenomenon. The hut urn is a ceramic vessel made in the image of a hut, with a roof and a door, and is designed to hold the cremated remains of the deceased. It is considered a marker of Latial Culture during the Iron Age, a regional variant of the biconical urns used by the Villanovan culture. Hut urns are thought to represent more or less accurately the Iron Age dwellings of central Italy,⁷⁵⁵ and in the graves of the Iron Age cemetery at Osteria dell'Osa, are thought to be markers high status.⁷⁵⁶ Colantoni even suggests that the hut represents a single deceased individual, in support of her argument that huts were occupied by one or two individuals;⁷⁵⁷ in the case of Osteria dell'Osa, all of these burials were male.

That the territory occupied by area D and the structures in it were somehow significant is suggested by the absence of occupation in the area during the later phases of development at Gabii. During the reorganization of the city in the late fifth or early fourth century, the area seems to have been incorporated into the new urban grid, but never substantially reoccupied. A series of N/S running roads were established at regular intervals as part of the new orthogonal layout. Road 2 (fig. 6.7), which covers semi-chamber tomb 2, marks the boundary between areas C and D; similar thoroughfares have been identified across the site, which seem to designate city-blocks. Areas B and C are delimited by two such roads, and, around 200 B.C.E., reveal evidence for widespread construction, probably of courtyard houses (figs. 6.6 and 6.10).⁷⁵⁸ There are no plans currently to excavate beneath the floors of these surfaces in order to investigate the layers likely associated with the late fifth through third centuries. In area F, however, there is evidence for monumental construction during this otherwise undocumented period on site: excavation in 2012-2013 uncovered a building of considerable proportions that dates from about 350-250 B.C.E. Interpretation of the structure and its relationship to the other phases of occupation at Gabii awaits further excavation and analysis. Nevertheless, it is striking that area D shows no evidence of construction at all in these periods of widespread building activity. Even Guaitoli made the observation in his survey at Gabii that, despite the evidence for dense occupation in the urban area during the Early and Middle Republican periods, certain areas seem to have been left open and empty.⁷⁵⁹ It seems that that this area was set apart from the rest, and deliberately withdrawn from those areas of the city where construction was allowed to take place.

⁷⁵⁴ Riva (2009, 72-140). The earliest chamber tombs in central Italy appear at Etruscan sites in the eighth century. They were also the richest, suggesting that this tomb type was the prerogative of the elite. By the seventh century it becomes the most common type of burial in south Etruria; in the north, the use of the chamber tomb is never fully realized.

⁷⁵⁵ Bartoloni et al. 1987.

⁷⁵⁶ Bietti Sestieri 1992b, 141-61.

⁷⁵⁷ Colantoni 2012, 32.

⁷⁵⁸ Mogetta and Becker 2014, 179-81.

⁷⁵⁹ Guaitoli 1981a.

With regard to the status and rank of the individuals buried in area D, it is possible to suggest they were fairly high ranking members of the community.⁷⁶⁰ The rock-cut trenches that constitute the basis for all three tombs require significant human and economic resources. The absence of any survey that quantifies the cost of tomb construction in this period makes precise calculation difficult, but it is possible to make some general observations. The labor required in the construction of these tombs is in some ways comparable to that involved in the construction of stone buildings, as outlined above. Construction would have likely taken several days. It certainly involved the cutting of deep trenches into the bedrock; the tuff would have to be removed and transported (possibly reused) elsewhere. The construction of funerary beds in both chamber tombs points to the work of specialists, as does the preparation of wooden planks for depositing the deceased, enclosing the niches, and possibly covering the entrance to the tomb. The monolithic sarcophagus would also have required specialist labor, and its resemblance to examples elsewhere in Latium and Rome suggests that this was a commonly produced form of burial. Whether these tombs came from the same source has not yet been determined; to my knowledge, no sampling has been conducted on the tuff sarcophagi to determine their source. In all cases, the deposition of the deceased and the sarcophagus into the tombs would have involved a system of levers and rollers.

The absence of grave goods from the area D burials is in keeping with the funerary practices of archaic Rome and Latium. As discussed in Chapter 5, the burials from this time and region are characterized by the low number of graves and dearth of grave goods.⁷⁶¹ The reduction in material is often understood within the context of the funerary legislation of the Twelve Tables, which regulated and restricted behavior at funerals. Most scholars believe these laws were established with a view to reducing ostentatious displays of wealth among the elite and encouraging *isopoliteia*. Although I consider it unlikely that the patterns visible in the archaeological record can be explained by the imposition of funerary legislation, it nevertheless seems that these tombs are the burials of the aristocratic elite. The graves at Gabii are hardly representative of the resident population. The three tombs in area D have seven burials between them and cover a maximum time span of 75 years. This cannot have represented the probable number of deaths experienced by a population of about 2500 in the sixth and mid-fifth centuries, as calculated by Ampolo.⁷⁶²

The absence of a burial ground representative of the community suggests that the majority of the population at Gabii were denied such forms of visible of burial. This conclusion is drawn from Morris' analysis of the burial plots from Athens, in which he argues that the decrease in the archaeological visibility of burials points to the exclusion of the majority of the population from formal burial, and that access to formal burial was determined on the basis of rank.⁷⁶³ The evidence from Gabii seems to correspond to the criteria Morris proposes, which stipulate that differentiation of the deceased is limited when a restricted

⁷⁶⁰ Mogetta and Becker 2014, 178.

⁷⁶¹ See Chapter 5.

⁷⁶² Ampolo 1977.

⁷⁶³ Morris 1987.

number of groups are permitted participation in funerary ritual. This seems broadly true of the Gabii burials, which show little variation: most contain adult inhumations in tombs designed for multiple burials, and have no grave goods.

This conclusion finds some support in the burial evidence from the rest of archaic Latium, which is notable for the reduced quantity of graves and the nearly complete absence of grave goods. This theory quickly falls apart, however, when taking into account the variety of tomb types employed in the area at the time, and the few examples of exceptionally wealthy burials. If anything, this demonstrates the difficulty of identifying sociopolitical structures based on the archaeological evidence, and discourages the widespread application of such models. However, the fundamental component of this hypothesis seems true, namely that only certain members at Gabii were permitted formal types of burial, specifically those kinds permitted in the urban area. With regard to the rest of the population, it seems they received informal or invisible types of burial. There is no evidence from Gabii of what comprised this mode of burial, but Morris, when considering the same problem, suggested exposure, mass burials in pits and casual cremation, on the basis of evidence recovered from other ethnographic, archaeological and historical evidence.⁷⁶⁴ Otherwise, it is difficult to determine where the rest of the population was buried, since there is simply no evidence. Notable, too, is the absence for any burial at Gabii for the period of 580-525 B.C.E.; it is equally difficult to speculate what was happening at this time.

There are two lines of evidence at our disposal to obtain some idea, however hypothetical, of who was buried in area D. In both cases, it seems that connections to descent groups and landownership were important factors in determining access to the burial ground. The first line of evidence comes from the literary sources regarding the social organization of early Rome and Latium. This concerns the *gens*, which, as noted above, may have extended its authority over landownership to the use of burial grounds. As regards the archaeological evidence for the emergence of gentilicial structures, the subject is open to widely varying interpretations.⁷⁶⁵ However, the evidence from the site of Osteria dell'Osa, an Iron Age cemetery located some 1.5 km northwest of Gabii, may provide some insight relating to the structural organization of the archaic city (fig. 6.3). The evidence from the Iron Age necropolis reveals the emergence of a complex society that, over the course of the ninth through seventh centuries, demonstrates an increasing tendency toward displays of group identity.⁷⁶⁶

The earliest phases of the cemetery correspond to Latial phases IIA and IIB (c. 900-770 B.C.E.) and reveal the emergence of two distinct burial groups, the so-called North and South groups (fig. 6.39).⁷⁶⁷ Bietti Sestieri claims these groups represent the burial activities

⁷⁶⁴ Morris 1987, 105.

⁷⁶⁵ See the recent summary in Smith (2006, 144-63), for instance.

⁷⁶⁶ Smith (2006) provides a recent account of the archaeological and literary evidence for the *gens*.

⁷⁶⁷ Bietti Sestieri 1992b.

of two extended families, each with their own funerary traditions. Based on the spatial distribution of the burials, and the grave goods found in them, it seems that individual distinctions were accorded on the basis of gender and age, although each group expressed these differently. In both groups, the graves were oriented around a pair of male cremation burials that are considered high-status on the basis of their central location and the presence of a unique set of grave goods, including hut-urns, miniature weapons and knives. These objects seem to function as indicators of prestige, role and status, which emphasize the patriarchal and patrilineal descent of each burial group. Otherwise, the types of grave goods included in the burials were consistent, and each group had its own preferences, thus maintaining group identity. As regards the social structure of the settlement, Bietti Sestieri concludes that the proximity of both groups and the absence of any kind of visible boundary between them points to the absence of a strong, centralized authority, and reveals that use of the cemetery was based largely on the cooperation of these family groups.⁷⁶⁸

During the following period III (c. 770-730/20 B.C.E.), changes in the distribution of graves and grave goods signal a shift in the emphasis of funerary ritual from the individual to the group (fig. 6.40).⁷⁶⁹ At the beginning of Latial phase IIIA (c. 770-740 B.C.E.), a new grave cluster emerges some 50 m away from the first two groups. All the burials within this cluster are arranged around a central pair of male-female burials that seems to function as the focus of the group's spatial organization. The concentration of the tombs in a restricted area points to an emphasis on the group, and a desire to maintain connections with the other individuals buried there. Over the course of phase IIIB (c. 740-730/20 B.C.E.), however, there is a dramatic reduction in the number of graves and an increase in the clustering of burials in groups comprised of two to three units. These smaller burial clusters are found in locations superimposed on or adjacent to earlier burials, or interspersed among denser areas. All the while, they maintain a spatial distribution that connects them to the central male-female pair from Latial phase IIIA. Over the course of the entire period there is little consistency in the types of grave goods given according to age and sex. It appears as though individual distinction has diminished, seemingly replaced by an emphasis on group identity.

During Latial phases IVA and IVB (c. 730/20-580 B.C.E.) the evidence points to the increasingly restricted use of the cemetery by small groups (fig. 6.39).⁷⁷⁰ There is a dramatic diminution in the number of graves, an irregular pattern of spatial distribution, and an anomalous distribution of gender and age groups. In a period spanning about 150 years, there are only seventy burials, which cannot be representative of the resident population. These burials are found loosely scattered over the cemetery, either in isolation, or in plots that are sharply defined and consist of two to four graves. The only exception is

⁷⁶⁸ Bietti Sestieri 1992b, 160. Smith (2006, 147-50) has recently challenged this view. He adopts Morris' model (1987), as I do here, and believes that the Early Iron Age burials at Osteria dell'Osa represent not the graves of an egalitarian society, but one already stratified.

⁷⁶⁹ Bietti Sestieri 1992b, 199-211.

⁷⁷⁰ Bietti Sestieri 1992b, 206-11.

the Late Orientalizing chamber tomb (T. 62, fig. 6.41), which contained the burials of at least thirteen individuals. Most burials in the cemetery were of adults and mature adults, and most of these graves contained a high number of prestige items. These characteristics appear in the cemetery at the same time as settlement concentrates along the southeast slopes of the Castiglione crater, in the area that later becomes the urban center of archaic Gabii.

The patterns observed in the use of the cemetery at Osteria dell'Osa seem detectable in the area D burial ground of archaic Gabii. First, there is good evidence that access to the use of the area was restricted, as there are only seven adult inhumations recorded over a seventy-five year time span. This seems in keeping with the decreasing number of graves at Osteria dell'Osa from the eighth century onward. Second, the burials at Gabii demonstrate a desire to maintain group identity on several levels. Each of the tomb groups at Gabii contains multiple inhumations, which suggests that there exists some relationship between the individuals in the tomb. The type of evidence provided from a DNA analysis would determine whether or not these were familial connections, but in the absence of this information, it is important to consider that they may have also been any combination of social, economic or religious relationships. What is more, the tomb groups seem connected to one another by their shared use of area D as a burial ground. Although it is technically possible that wall 3067 obscured the burials in semi-chamber tomb 2 from those in semi-chamber tomb 1 and Tomb 25, I find it unlikely that the burials were made at random. The consistent use of rock-cut trenches in the construction of these burials, the presence of two semi-chamber tombs and the deposition of all burials in a N/S orientation suggests that burial in this area was the result of some coordinated, group effort. The clustering of these tombs in the north half of area D may recall the situation at Osteria dell'Osa, where the few burials of the Orientalizing phase are clustered into small groups, most of which are located in the previously occupied portions of the cemetery. Third, the burials at Gabii seem to establish a connection with the archaic building, as the central feature of the area. The spatial distribution of these tomb groups recalls the evidence from Osteria dell'Osa, whereby the burials in all phases (though this is especially true of phases II and III), are oriented around a central feature, typically a central pair of burials.

Bietti Sestieri connects the emergence of groups and subgroups in the cemetery to the rise of gentilicial society in the eighth century.⁷⁷¹ She suggests that the transition from Latial phase IIB to IIIA at Osteria dell'Osa was a period characterized by the decline of the two-family system and the rise of a new social structure made up of several distinct descent groups. These new lineages were in competition with one another, and those that won the struggle became the *gentes*, the new aristocrats, while the defeated lines became the *clientes*. Although there is much to be debated here, particularly Bietti Sestieri's argument regarding the struggle between *gentes* and *clientes*, the identification of these burial groups as evidence for the development of complex social structures is compelling.⁷⁷² The

⁷⁷¹ Bietti Sestieri 1992b, 241.

⁷⁷² Bietti Sestieri's (1992b, 241) conclusions regarding the conflict between the *gentes* and *clientes* are derived from her observations of the disparity in wealth and status from the

archaeological evidence for the rapid monumentalization of Rome and Latium points to the existence of such sophisticated sociopolitical institutions as the *gens*. Both urban and rural sites reveal evidence for stone built structures as early as the late seventh century, and this construction activity intensifies over the course of the sixth, to the point that most cities during this period have acquired many of the architectural characteristics of urban centers.⁷⁷³ This suggests that, by the beginning of the sixth century, there existed in the cities of Latium a level sociopolitical organization capable of mobilizing the economic resources for large-scale construction. Consequently, if the legal and historical sources are correct in characterizing the *gens* as an early form of social organization, based on a deeply intertwined and complex group structure that varied in nature and cohesion, one can tentatively suggest that this is visible in the archaeological record at Gabii.

This is a highly debatable conclusion, and perhaps even a questionable use of the evidence, but it is worth considering briefly the evidence for the *gens* at Gabii, since this type of discussion offers one of the few means of understanding the composition and development of early Roman societies. I have argued thus far that the evidence from area D reveals a significant tract of land that witnessed two phases of use during the Archaic period, first as a locus of stone construction, possibly of a residence, then as a burial ground. If landownership was the prerogative of the *gens*, whose leaders controlled access to the land, then it is possible that the land represented by area D was controlled by one such group (or different groups over time). This is not to say that the clan leaders physically occupied the space during either phases of use, only that they dictated who was granted access to this space, whether for residential or funerary activity.

In this case, the preoccupation with issues related to inheritance and the significance attached to the preservation of the group may offer insight into the burial patterns of the area. The burials in area D are few in number, which I claim points to the restricted use of this space, probably by elite groups (or different branches of one elite group), though this identification is not necessary. Each of these tomb groups seems to foster a group identity on several different levels: first, in relation to the other inhumations in the tomb; second, in relation to the other tomb groups in the area; and third, in relation to the remains of the previously occupied archaic building. What is more, the consistent N/S orientation of the inhumations and the same method of construction used for all tombs points to some kind of coordinated group effort. The emphasis on group identity in area D finds comparison in

period III burials. According to her, the *gentes* were represented by those burials that contained grave goods, and the *clientes* by those that did not contain grave goods. This has been criticized elsewhere Smith (2006, 147-50). Her view regarding the evidence for the *gens* can be contrasted with Waarsenburg's study of Satricum (1995).

⁷⁷³ Smith (2005) demonstrates how much of the discourse concerning urban development in early Rome focuses on identifying the moment when Rome becomes urban. That is to say, when Rome reveals evidence for the kinds of characteristics indicative of a city. That "urban moment", as he calls it, is directly tied to the type and number of monumental structures that appear in the archaeological record. Terrenato and Motta (2006), too, weigh in on the nature of this debate.

the archaeological evidence from the cemetery at Osteria dell'Osa, where there is increasing evidence, beginning in the eighth century, for the emergence of distinct subgroups. Small numbers of burials seem to be increasingly clustered together, and occupy locations in relation to some (possibly) ancestral group or burial ground; all of these features are thought to reveal the shift in the emphasis of funerary ritual away from the individual and toward the group.⁷⁷⁴

If this can be taken as evidence for a gentilicial society, whose leaders controlled the allotment of land, including that in area D, then it seems that these authorities exerted a fair degree of autonomy in controlling the urban layout of archaic Gabii. *Gens*-based land distribution has been argued at the more rural location of the Auditorium site, north of Rome, where there is evidence for the continual occupation of an elite residential building from the Archaic through the Imperial period.⁷⁷⁵ Terrenato has recently argued that the cooperation of and conflict between various *gentes* contributed directly to the rise of the Roman state.⁷⁷⁶ These groups realized it was to their advantage to set aside mutually accessible areas of interaction (i.e. the city) so as best to preserve their property and ensure the success of the group. This far from precluded conflict between gentilicial groups, which the ancient sources indicate occurred on a regular basis well into the Republican period. What this suggests, from a different perspective, is the role *gens* leaders played in determining the layout of the city, as the likely owners of land and the authorities behind its distribution.

The Evidence for Intramural Burial

The location of the area D burials within the limits of archaic Gabii can be interpreted in one of two ways: as evidence for the contraction of the city or as evidence for intramural burial. The former follows a conventional line of interpretation, which understands the presence of burials in previously occupied urban areas as indications of the structural breakdown of the community and the deurbanization of the city.⁷⁷⁷ In this scenario, graves continue to be located outside the city, and their location reflects the new boundaries of the

⁷⁷⁴ Elsewhere at Gabii, just south of the Temple of Juno, recent excavations by the SAR have uncovered another small burial ground, characterized by a cluster of tombs, including two tuff sarcophagi, two trench tombs, and one chamber tomb. Unfortunately, the results of these excavations are unpublished, but personal communication at the time of excavation revealed that the chamber tomb dated to the Archaic period. This confirms the presence of at least one other burial within the limits of the archaic city. Although the chamber tomb is clearly associated with the other burials, I have not been able to determine the date of those tombs.

⁷⁷⁵ Terrenato 2001.

⁷⁷⁶ Terrenato 2011.

⁷⁷⁷ This is especially true in studies concerning of Rome in late antiquity, where the appearance of intramural burial is thought to signal the spread of Christianity and the destabilization of Roman imperial political organization. See, for instance, the papers in Brogiolo and Ward-Perkins (1999).

settlement. Gnade applies this line of thinking to her interpretation of Satricum in the late sixth and fifth centuries. Following the destruction of the Temple to Mater Matuta on the acropolis, burials appear there and at various other points within the limits of the archaic city. She suggests this reflects the invasion and occupation of the site by the Volsci, whom the ancient accounts state defeated Satricum in the early fifth century.⁷⁷⁸

It is possible to understand the developments at Gabii in the same light. In this case, the abandonment or destruction of the building in the late sixth century, and the subsequent reoccupation of the area as a burial ground, may point to the contraction of the city as a result of some disruption to its structural organization. The corresponding narrative from the literary sources concerns the fall of the monarchy in 509 B.C.E., and the victory of the Romans over the Latin League at the Battle of Lake Regillus at the beginning of the fifth century.⁷⁷⁹ Following the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus from Rome, the former king mobilized the support of the Latin states and led them in a revolt against Rome. The rebellion came to an end at the Battle of Lake Regillus, fought in the neighborhood of Gabii, somewhere between Rome and Tusculum. Although some of the characters are clearly the product of myth and legend, the dates are corrupt, and the narrative seems a romanticized account of political revolt, the broad outline of the account seems to fit the historical narrative regarding the foundation of the Roman Republic and the subsequent Roman conquest of Latium.⁷⁸⁰ Roman dominance at the end of the sixth century may explain the abandonment or destruction of the archaic building in area D, as well as the destruction of the "Regia" at Gabii; this may also account for the abandonment of the building at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina. It is equally possible that some internal conflict, perhaps between rival *gentes*, contributed to these developments, but there is little independent evidence for this.

Whatever led to the abandonment or destruction of the buildings at Gabii, it need not signal the contraction of the city nor preclude the presence of intramural burial. In the first place, there is no evidence, other than the burials themselves, that the limits of Gabii changed from the sixth to fourth centuries. It is common practice in Roman archaeology to define city limits according to the presence or absence of burials, often in the absence of more reliable indicators such as circuit walls. This is based largely on the prohibition against intramural burial and cremation in the Twelve Tables, which, when applied to the archaeological record, are taken to mean that burials must always be outside the city. There is no reason to apply this conventional approach to Gabii, however, since there is good evidence that the city walls remained in use until some time in the third century.⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷⁸ Gnade 1992.

⁷⁷⁹ See p. 2, n. 9.

⁷⁸⁰ Cornell (1995, 215-41), treats fully the accounts regarding the foundation of the Roman Republic, and summarizes the divergent opinions in modern scholarship. See also Ogilvie (1965, 285-7).

⁷⁸¹ See above, n. 644.

What is more, even Cicero acknowledges that, on occasion, exceptions were granted, and burials were permitted within the limits of the city.⁷⁸² This privilege was reportedly given to individuals who had done some service for state or to those who had observed the practice of intramural burial before the promulgation of the laws. As noted above, the burials in area D, and perhaps the remaining structures of the building, were partially incorporated into the reorganization of the city in the late fifth century. Area D went virtually unoccupied in later periods, as opposed to areas B, C and F, which all reveal evidence of extensive construction activity from the fourth through second centuries. The only evidence for redevelopment in area D is the road that covers the second semi-chamber tomb. The destruction of the grave may have been an intentional, although it is unclear why the remaining two graves would have remained untouched. It is possible that only the individuals associated with those tombs were allowed continued commemoration; this may suggest that the individuals buried here were significant and potentially high-ranking.⁷⁸³

There is increasing archaeological evidence from Rome, which suggests that intramural burial was practiced as early as the seventh century, though rarely.⁷⁸⁴ On the slopes of the Palatine, four seventh-century inhumation burials (three adults *a fossa* and an infant *enchytrismos*) were discovered in an enclosed area, in the same sector of the hill that was occupied in the eighth century by a portion of fortification walls. The identification of the wall seems certain, as it corresponds in masonry and orientation with other tracts of the circuit wall on the Palatine. The portion of the wall under excavation stood for a short period of time, perhaps corresponding to a single generation, before it was abandoned and destroyed. Shortly after this event, the four burials were made in the immediate area; one of the graves was situated directly above the destruction layer of the foundation of the wall. Immediately after the burials were made, the area was delimited by a sort of enclosure wall constructed of vertically-deposited slabs of *cappellaccio* tuff; a portion of this wall was also located above the remains of the eighth-century circuit wall. There is evidence that the area underwent additional reorganization at this time, as a glareate road, leading to the top of the hill, appears to have been constructed. A fifth burial, dug shortly thereafter, truncated the south limit of the enclosure wall, and was superimposed on one of the earlier tombs. On the basis of the materials found in their *corredi*, these graves were dated between 725 and 675-650 B.C.E. In the second quarter of the seventh century, and possibly overlapping with the time of the deposition of the burials, the circuit wall was rebuilt further downslope to include a greater portion of the hill. Thus it seems that these burials were located within in an area that, in the seventh century, was situated within the city walls.

The direct relationship between the destruction of the wall and the construction of the tombs is significant, and finds comparison with evidence from other Iron Age sites in Rome. In her analysis of the stratigraphic sequence from the Palatine, Gallone claims that there is

⁷⁸² Cic. *De leg.* 2.58-2.62. See Chapter 4.

⁷⁸³ Mogetta and Becker 2014, 178.

⁷⁸⁴ Gallone 2007-2008; Gusberty 2007-2008. A number of other papers from the same volume (Bartoloni and Benedettini 2007-2008) present the evidence for burial among the living in Iron Age Mediterranean contexts.

an undeniable connection between the circuit wall and the burials, since the latter were constructed directly in the levels of the destruction and obliteration of the wall.⁷⁸⁵ She suggests that the burials were made as part of a ritual offering in atonement for the destruction of a sacred structure. This ritual may have been connected to the reconstruction of the wall further downslope, which seems to have occurred at about the same time. She considers as an alternate explanation the practice of intramural burial, although these two hypotheses need not be mutually exclusive. In a related study of Iron Age burials at Rome, Gusberti claims that tombs, particularly those of children and infants, are located in association with buildings of some significance.⁷⁸⁶ She cites as evidence the discovery of child and infant burials in the foundation, destruction and reconstruction levels of the building identified as the Regia, as well as the four burials on the Palatine discussed by Gallone. The presence of three adult inhumation burials in connection with the destruction of a portion of the circuit wall, Gusberti believes highlights the special status of the deceased; she considers them sacrifices made in order to atone for the violation of the sanctity of the wall. Although I am doubtful of the identification of these burials as sacrifices, it seems clear that they mark the significance of the wall and its destruction.

The same phenomenon is visible in the archaic contexts at Gabii and Acqua Acetosa Laurentina, where there is evidence for adult inhumation burial in the remains of architectural features.⁷⁸⁷ On the basis of the evidence outlined above, this relationship suggests that both the deceased and the building were somehow significant. Important, too, is the tentative identification of both these buildings as residences. In the same paper, Gusberti claims that juvenile burials appear in association with houses as symbolic markers of the authority of the family.⁷⁸⁸ She believes the location of child and infant burials along the limits of houses function as evidence for the desire of aristocratic family groups to delimit their areas of habitation, which presumably functioned as the seat of their authority. It is possible that adult burials, found in the destruction levels of houses, may have held a similar significance. Bedini, for his part, claimed the burials at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina signaled the desire of certain groups to establish a connection to the area and the building.⁷⁸⁹ At Gabii, at least one of the burials is built in the collapsed remains of the northernmost walls of the building, and it seems likely, in light of the evidence, that the remaining graves were constructed in relation to the building. This may even be what

⁷⁸⁵ Gallone 2007-2008, 661-2.

⁷⁸⁶ Gusberti 2007-2008.

⁷⁸⁷ See Chapter 5.

⁷⁸⁸ Gusberti 2007-2008. She mentions briefly the discovery of adult inhumation burials in association with houses, and notes that they contain few to no grave goods (Gusberti 2007-2008, 640). Although she does not discuss these further, it seems that there is a correlation, beginning in the Iron Age, between a lack of grave goods and intramural burial. The implications of this discovery require further research, however.

⁷⁸⁹ Bedini 1981b; 1983.

Servius and Isidore meant when they claimed it was custom among the ancients to bury the deceased at home.⁷⁹⁰

What remains unclear, however, is the precise relationship between the deceased and the structures. It is possible to suggest that the deceased were the same group as the occupants of the building, in the same manner as the child and infant burials. However, it would be unwise to rule out the possibility that these tombs belonged to other groups establishing their new claim to the area, since monumental forms of burial are often connected to periods of conflict or sociopolitical unrest.⁷⁹¹ If this is the case, the burials at Gabii may be understood within the context of the city's absorption into Roman territory toward the end of the sixth century. The destruction of the house may represent the fall of the ruling elite, and the burials an attempt to reassert that authority in the advent of Roman rule. The Romans, for their part, may have recognized the importance of this group and allowed the burials to remain mostly intact during the reorganization of the city in the late fifth century.

Although the practice of burying adults at home and within cities is rare in Rome and Latium, and perhaps connected to ritual, the problem may be better contextualized with the evidence from southern Italy. Intramural burial is commonly attested at sites throughout the region from the seventh to third centuries, and may even reflect the indigenous burial practices of these communities. Among the sites in the modern region of Puglia, intramural burial is a near universal feature.⁷⁹² At the site of Botromagno, near the modern town of Gravina, buildings and adult burials occupy the settlement area from the mid-sixth through early third centuries (6.42). In a series of excavations undertaken on the hilltop, in an area identified as Site H, the construction phases of at least three buildings are located in direct stratigraphic relationship with burials (fig. 6.43).⁷⁹³ Here, fifth century tombs truncate earlier phases of a building that date from the late sixth to early fifth century; the same building undergoes a second and third phase of construction in the early fourth century and then in the late fourth to early third. Sometime in the late fourth to early third century the walls of the building were razed to the lowest course above the foundation level, and the area included in a formal funerary enclosure. The same kinds of superimposition of phases of construction are visible in the other two buildings at the site.

Elsewhere, burials are more commonly found clustered together in small burial grounds within the limits of the settlement. This phenomenon is attested at another excavated portion of Botromagno, Site F, where the custom appears by the end of the seventh century, and occurs simultaneously with the practice of burying adults in association with houses.⁷⁹⁴ At Monte Sannace, intramural burials appear in monumental forms with rich

⁷⁹⁰ See Chapter 3, section d.

⁷⁹¹ Parker Pearson 1992, 87.

⁷⁹² Marchi 2009.

⁷⁹³ Whitehouse et al. 2009, 233-58.

⁷⁹⁴ Ciancio 1990, 239; Small 1992, 7-9. One notable discovery was a late third century courtyard building, constructed over some mid-fourth-century semi-chamber tombs. The semi-chamber tombs at Botromagno are different from those at Gabii. At Botromagno these

corredi at the same time as the city adopts an urban character at the beginning of the sixth century.⁷⁹⁵ Over the course of the sixth and fifth centuries, the city acquired the architectural features and spaces commonly associated with urban centers, including public and private spaces and buildings. This phase included the development of cemetery areas, which appear alongside residential zones within the walls of the city. In the fourth and third centuries, when the city reached its *floruit*, the acropolis was restructured to function as a locus for public buildings and elaborate funerary monuments; other areas of the settlement feature houses mixed with burials.⁷⁹⁶ At Ceglie, Ruvo and Timmari, burials are all found within the limits of the city from the sixth century to the late third or early second; at Timmari, the burials are notably superimposed on phases of earlier residential buildings.⁷⁹⁷

The relationship between the cities of southern Italy and Latium requires further exploration, but for the moment the evidence at least raises the possibility of intramural burial in Latin contexts, and reveals a certain connection between burials and buildings, especially houses. It also suggests that the presence of intramural burial is not indicative of the collapse of the sociopolitical organization of the city, but instead may have functioned as part of the urban fabric. At the very least, the sites in southern Italy present a different model for understanding intramural burial in Rome and Latium, whereby burial may have, at least in some cases, played a role in the development of the city.

6j. Conclusion

In this chapter I presented the archaeological evidence for the archaic phases of occupation recovered over the course of recent excavations in the urban area at Gabii. As a member of the Gabii Project since 2009 I have participated in and eventually led the excavation of the area. After presenting a general overview of the site and a history of excavation in the area, I offered a detailed description of the site's main features and the sequences related to their development. Area D reveals two distinct phases of occupation in the Archaic period: first, as an area characterized by architectural remains that I have interpreted loosely as an archaic building. This building underwent two phases of monumental construction beginning in the first half of the sixth century and again in the mid-late sixth. Elsewhere, the building is tentatively interpreted as an elite complex, and I consider the evidence for and against the identification of this building as an example of elite architecture. Next, I present the evidence for burials, which represents the area's second major phase of occupation. I then discuss the data with a view to understanding who was buried in this area and why. The results are in many ways inconclusive, but, in an attempt to understand

tombs were built of square-cut slabs of stone closed by larger cut stone blocks. Some of these semi-chamber tombs bore painted decoration on the walls of the structure. The chamber tombs also differed from other examples in Latium, and was made of cut stone blocks and covered by a pitched roof.

⁷⁹⁵ Marchi 2009, 22-24.

⁷⁹⁶ Ciancio 1990, 237, 239.

⁷⁹⁷ Marchi 2009, 26-9.

the archaeological evidence, I interpret the burials in light of the existence of gentilicial structures, which have been argued in nearby cemetery contexts. I also consider the evidence for intramural burial, highlighting the cross-cultural influence between areas in central and southern Italy.

7. Conclusion

At its core, this dissertation is a study of the evidence for burial and funerary ritual in Rome and Latium during the sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.E. The evidence comes from a wide array of sources, including literary accounts, legal texts and archaeological material. The emphasis, however, is distinctly archaeological, in part because of the inconsistent nature of the ancient source material, and in part because the archaeology offers a considerable body of evidence that has never been the subject of systematic analysis. To this end, I have organized the dissertation into five chapters. The first three deal with the literary and legal sources: after an assessment of the reliability of the ancient accounts in Chapter 2, I continue with an investigation of the literary evidence concerning funerary practices in archaic Rome in Chapter 3, and then I assess the most relevant historical source regarding early funerary ritual in Chapter 4, the funerary legislation of the Twelve Tables. Chapter 5 consists first of a review of the archaeological sites in Rome and Latium with evidence for burial during the Archaic period, and concludes with my interpretation of this evidence. In Chapter 6 I take a closer look at the archaeological evidence from the ancient site of Gabii, since my continued participation in the excavations there have served simultaneously as a source of inspiration for this dissertation, and as an especially rich source of evidence.

I have undertaken this project with a view to shedding some light on the kinds of social and political institutions that contributed to the urban development of the region. In other words, I want to know who was responsible for city-state formation, how they set out to achieve this and why, what was the nature of their interaction with other members of the community, and what was the extent and nature of their interaction with populations further afield? I am also concerned with questioning how historians conceive of and archaeologists identify city-states. The answer, I suspect, is not clear-cut, as the process of urban development is a dynamic one, with the structure of the settlement changing according to the circumstances of different subsets of the population. The role of burial in all this is to be able to take a considerable body of evidence and observe within it patterns of human behavior that archaeologists can use to reconstruct the past. Burials are useful for this kind of study because they constitute one of the most abundant categories of archaeological data. In addition, they benefit from a long history of study in modern scholarship, which provides a better theoretical and analytical framework.

The Archaic period of Rome and Latium is not an easy subject of study. Others have pointed out before me the difficulties involved with this line of research, emphasizing that almost every point of view is open to ready criticism.⁷⁹⁸ The primary reason for this is that archaic Rome straddles the line between history and prehistory: archaeologists widely recognize the sixth century as the beginning of the urban phase of development, when Rome and many settlements in Latium show, for the first time, evidence for those attributes commonly associated with city-states; and it is precisely this period that corresponds to the regal period known from the ancient accounts. Complicating this picture, however, is the

⁷⁹⁸ This point of view is articulated in some form or other in Cornell (1995); Smith (1996); Raaflaub (2005); Cornell (2005); Forsythe (2005); Smith (2006).

nature of the evidence from the historical sources, namely, that the accounts concerning Rome's early history were written centuries after the recorded events and contain material that is clearly the product of invention and exaggeration, driven by Greek narratives. The problem arises, then, of how to interpret both types of material: a wholesale rejection of the accounts seems premature, especially since they indicate an increasing sociopolitical complexity that seems supported by some of the archaeological evidence. However, there is good indication that much of what the ancient sources report is false or fabricated.

In this dissertation I have adopted a fairly skeptical approach toward the ancient sources, but, like many archaeologists trying to make the best of what they have, consult the source material in order to contextualize the material data. In such cases my conclusions are tentative and, by my own admission, speculative. However, there are many instances where the ancient accounts cannot be overlooked, because they offer direct commentary on some of the issues raised by the archaeological material. For instance, it is impossible to fully understand the development of archaic Gabii without considering first the various points when the city's history intersects with that of Rome. Some of the evidence from Gabii points to the abandonment of certain areas of the city by the end of the fifth century; it is possible to see in this some support for the historical sources regarding the Roman conquest of Latium at about that time. It is equally possible, that there is no connection between the two phenomena, as is often the case with comparisons of archaeological and literary evidence. Nevertheless, if we are to understand the history of this region at all, we must consider as many alternatives as possible.

The archaeological material presents some very interesting patterns. I demonstrate in Chapter 5, that the burial record of archaic Rome and Latium is characterized, above all, by variety. Variety in tomb architecture, location and grave goods; only two sites seem to have evidence for consistency and conformity in funerary ritual, which may be taken as evidence for non-Latin customs. This high degree of variety occurs at local and regional levels; though some regions seem to indicate a preference for a certain type, analysis of specific burial grounds reveals a multiplicity of tomb types, often in groups that seem clustered together. I have argued that this degree of variety points to the connectivity of the settlements of central Italy, which seems both inward and outward looking. There seem to have been multiple points of contact between the inhabitants of ancient Latium and the outside world, which was likely facilitated by the construction of roadways and the exploitation of natural features in the topography. This creation of these kinds of networks seems to have been encouraged by the growth and encroachment of various populations, who seem to have enjoyed a fair amount of horizontal social mobility. The evidence for Etruscan- and Greek- inspired modes of burial suggests that there remained in the Archaic period close connections between these areas and Latium. While the adoption of such foreign symbols may be considered an act of cultural resistance, it seems more a reflection of the degree of regional contact and influence that seems to have spread throughout the area.

Most modern scholarship dwells on the paucity of graves and grave goods of the Archaic period. While the evidence I have gathered reveals that this still holds true, this dearth has been overstated at the expense of more fruitful forms of analysis. Much of the secondary

literature is concerned with connecting the absence of grave goods in graves to the funerary legislation of the Twelve Tables, or some regal predecessor. Although I acknowledge that the Twelve Tables may be a valid historical document, I believe it reflects more the circumstances at Rome in the Middle and Late Republic. This may be a reflection of earlier practices, that in 450 B.C.E. or later were drafted into law. I do not consider this good evidence, however, to account for the phenomenon visible in the archaeological record. Rather, it seems that this reduction occurred gradually, at the same time as other significant transformations in the social structure of Roman society, such as a growing complexity of social hierarchy, and settlement nucleation and monumentalization.

It is my intention that the evidence gathered here contributes to a growing body of studies concerning urbanization in Italy, and offer a better understanding of the sociopolitical structure of early Roman society. These types of studies are important because they offer some perspective on the processes involved in the formation not only of Rome as the city-state *par excellence*, but of those cities that gradually seem to have fallen within Rome's orbit. The Archaic period is a crucial time for the development the Latin city-states in relation to Rome; the archaeological evidence from these sites suggests they achieved their peak of prosperity in the sixth century, before shrinking or disappearance. This is often understood in light of Rome's growing dominance in the area, and here, too, the archaeological evidence points to Rome's control over much of Latium by the end of the sixth century. What the evidence collected here hopes to address is how that happened and what forms of negotiation or conflict took place between individuals, groups and cities. We may be fairly certain of the end result, but have little indication of how that came about. This dissertation goes some way into investigating this dynamic and poorly understood process.

Figures



Figure 1.1 Map of ancient Latium, showing major sites.
After Smith 1996, 240, map 1.



Figure 5.1 Plan of Rome showing hills and location of early cemeteries. Lanciani's excavations are indicated just north of the Velia. After Holloway 1994, 24, fig. 2.1.

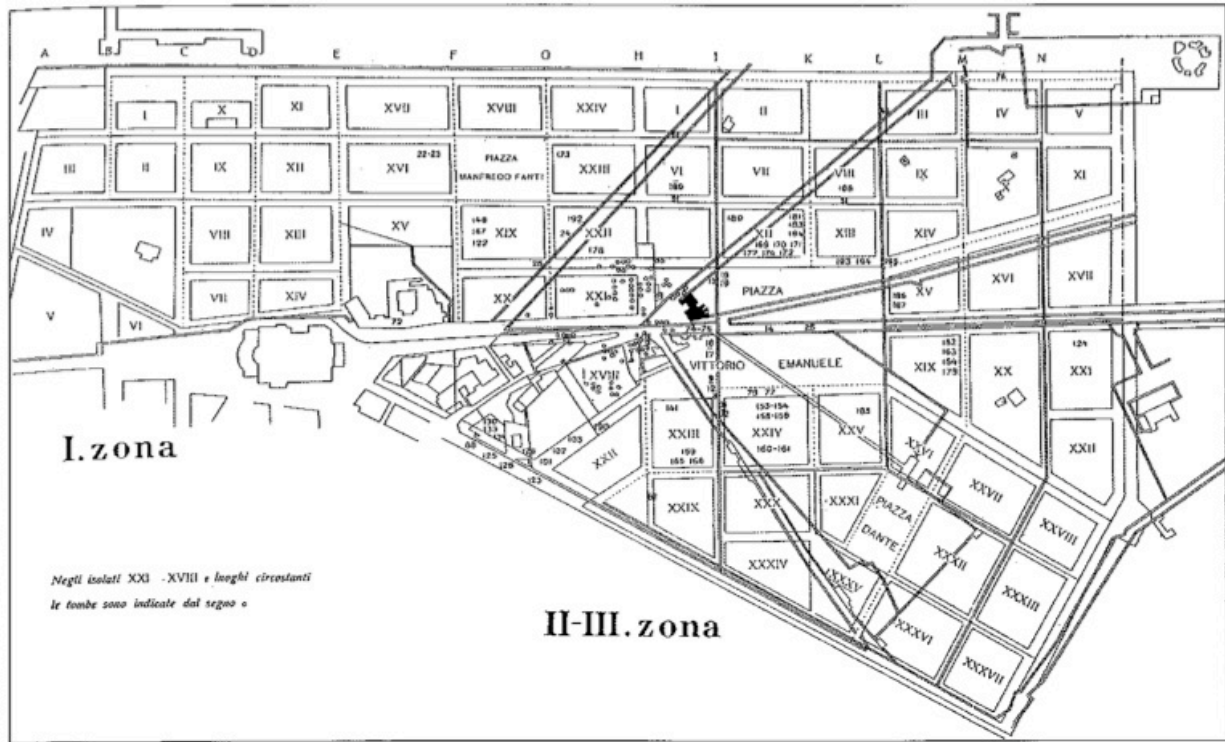


Figure 5.2 Plan of the Esquiline necropolis according to Pinza. After *BullCom* 1914, pl. V-VI.



Figure 5.3 Attic Red Figure *pelike* from tomb 89 on the Esquiline necropolis.
After Colonna 1977, 140, fig. 3/A.



Figure 5.4 Attic Red Figure *pelike* from tomb 89 on the Esquiline necropolis.
After Colonna 1977, 141, fig. 3/B.

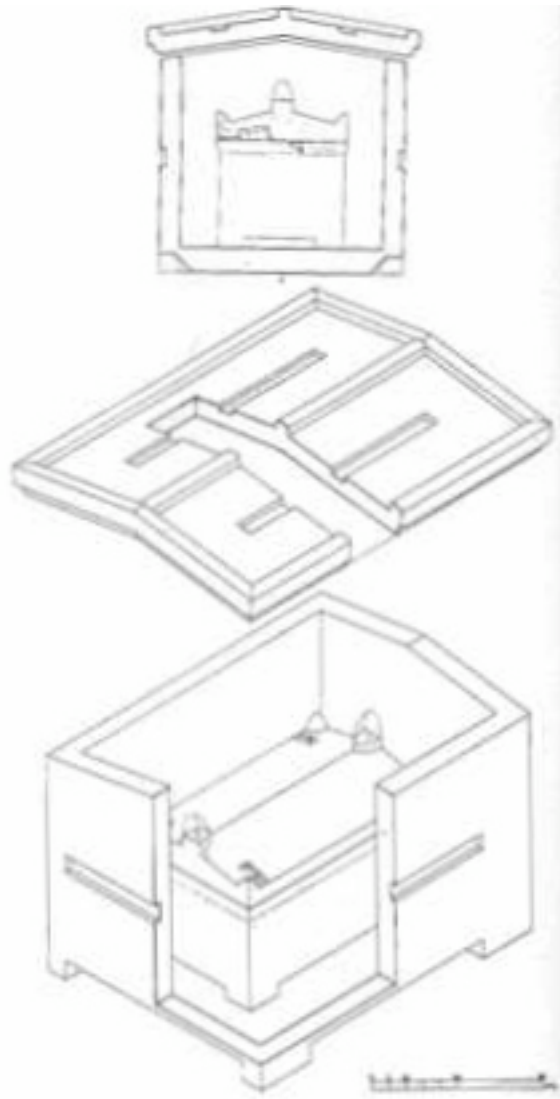


Figure 5.5 Container of *peperino* of tomb 193 from the Esquiline necropolis.
After Colonna 1977, 142, fig. 4.

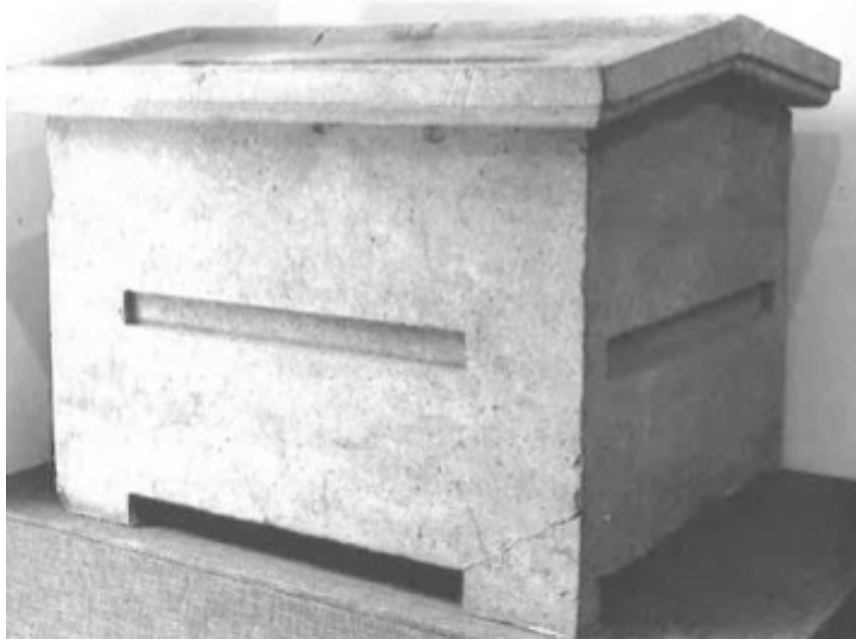


Figure 5.6 Container of *peperino* of tomb 193 from the Esquiline necropolis.
After Holloway 1994, 26, fig. 2.4.

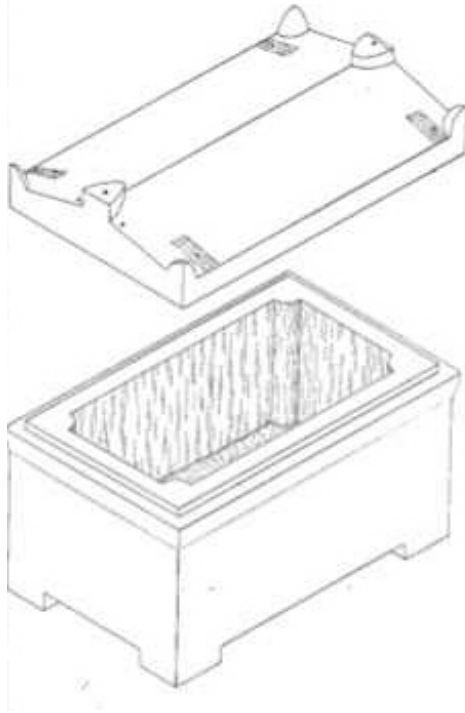


Figure 5.7 Marble urn of tomb 193 from the Esquiline necropolis.
After Colonna 1977, 143, fig. 5/A.



Figure 5.8 Marble urn of tomb 193 of the Esquiline necropolis.
After Holloway 1994, 26, fig. 2.3.

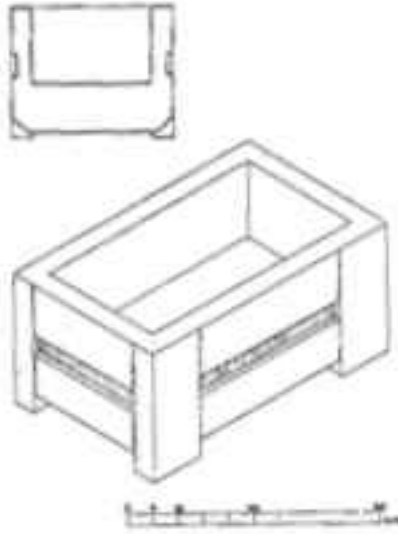


Figure 5.9 Drawing of urn, probably from tomb 5 from the Esquiline necropolis.
After Colonna 1977, 148, fig. 7.



Figure 5.10 Urn, probably from tomb 5 from the Esquiline necropolis.
After *MonAnt* 1905, 186, fig. 78.

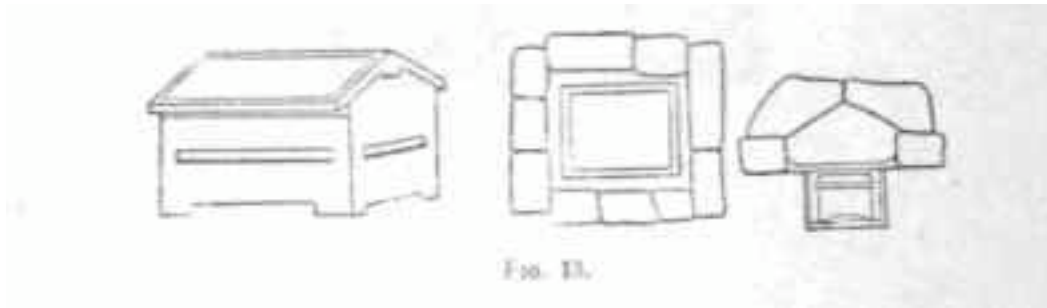


Figure 5.11 Urn from unknown tomb as drawn by Lanciani.
After *BullCom* 1912, 38, fig. 13.



Figure 5.12 Plan showing location of early cemeteries near the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II.
Triangles indicate the tombs excavated by Pinza; the black rectangles are the tombs excavated by Asor et al. 2009; the grey rectangles are the tombs excavated by Colini 1932.
After Asor Rosa et al. 2009, 76, fig. 11.

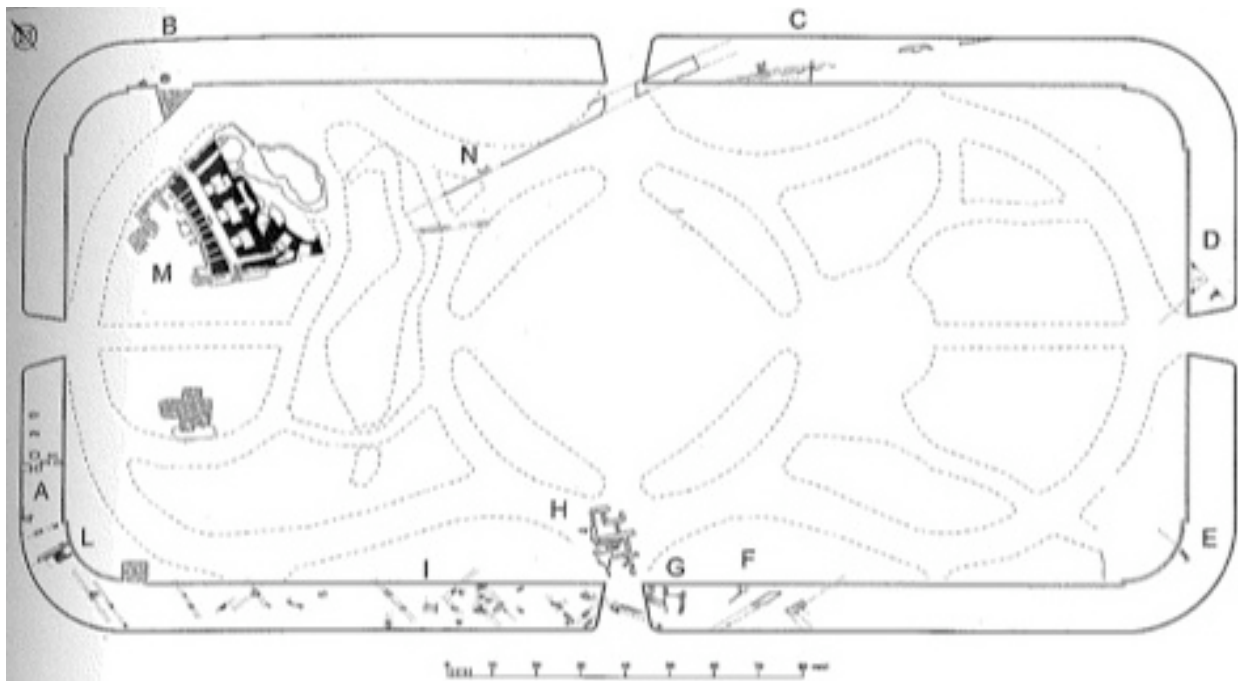


Figure 5.13 General plan of excavation in 2002 in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II.
After Barbera et al. 2005, 303, fig. 38.

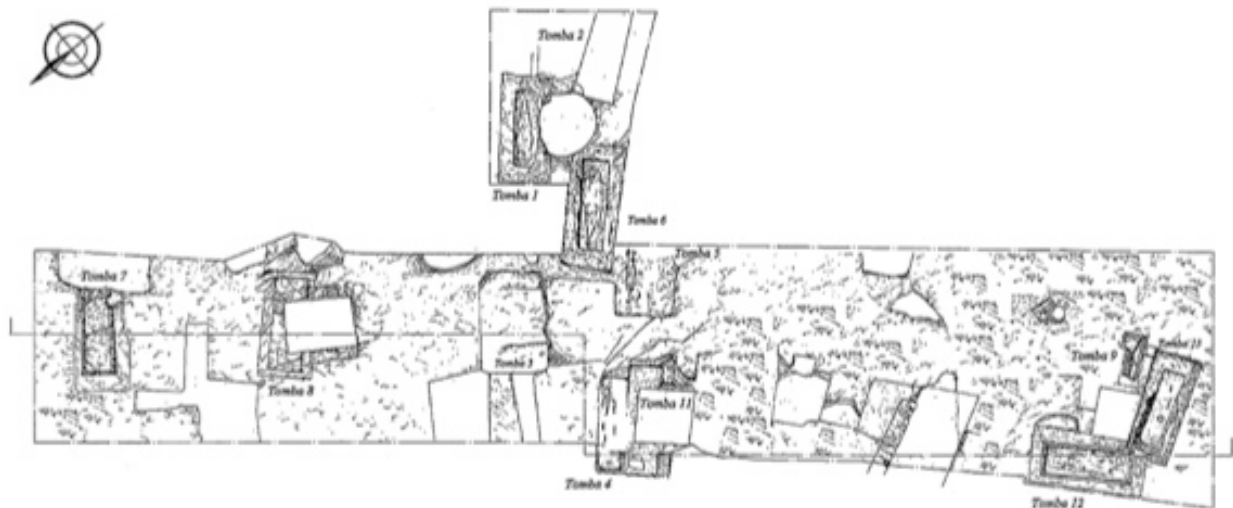


Figure 5.14 General plan of excavation in 2002 in Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II.
After Barbera et al. 2005, 307, fig. 41.



Figure 5.15 Amphora from tomb 3 in 2002 excavations in Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II.
After Barbera et al. 2005, 310, fig. 46.



Figure 5.16 Grave goods from tomb 12 in 2002 excavations in Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II.
After Barbera et al. 2005, 315, fig. 59.



Figure 5.17 Sarcophagus of tuff, tomb 12 from 2002 excavations in Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II. After Barbera et al. 2005, 315, fig. 57.

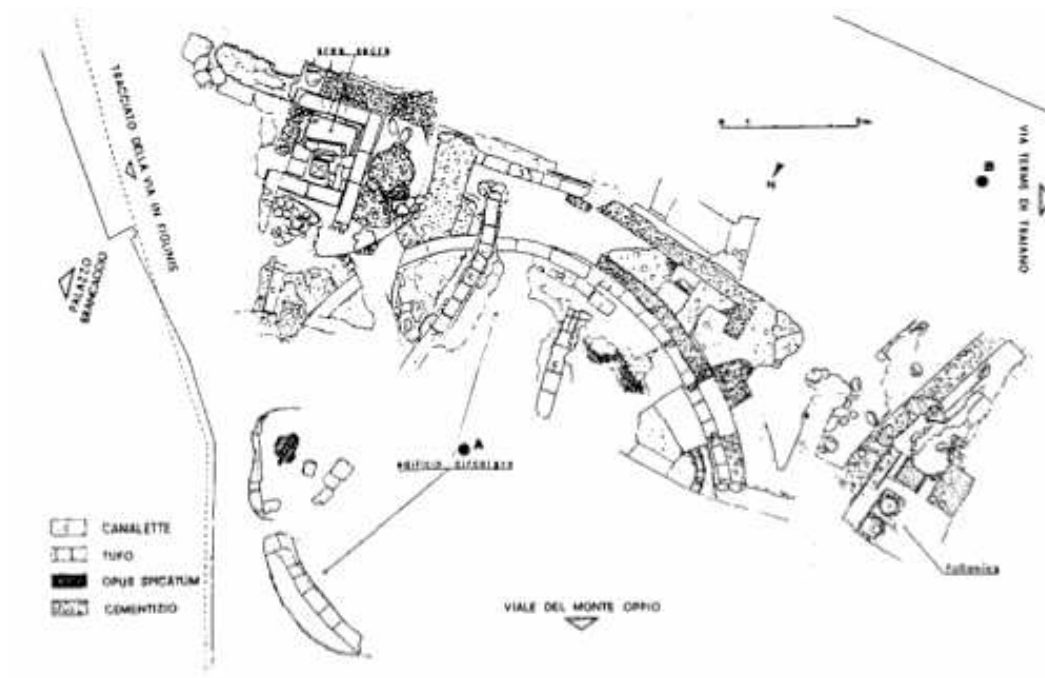


Figure 5.18 General plan of the excavation between the Viale del Monte Oppio and the Via delle Terme di Traiano, Rome. After Coarelli 2001 11, fig. 4.



Figure 5.19 *Suggrundarium* E from Via Sacra, Rome. After Gjerstad 1953, 147, fig. 141.



Figure 5.20 *Suggrundarium* F from Via Sacra. After Gjerstad 1953, 147, fig. 142.



Figure 5.21 *Suggrundarium* LL from Via Sacra. After Gjerstad 1953, 148, fig. 143.



Figure 5.22 *Suggrundarium* NN from Via Sacra. After Gjerstad 1953, 148, fig. 144.



Figure 5.23 Map of Rome indicating the location of the excavation on the Via Goito. After Menghi et al. 2005, 352, fig. 97.



Figure 5.24 Sarcophagi from Via Goito, Rome. After Menghi et al. 2005, 356, fig. 106.



Figure 5.25 Map showing location of Acqua Acetosa Laurentina.
After Bedini 1983, 29, fig. 1.



Figure 5.26 Plan of building at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina. After Bedini 1981b, 255, fig. 4.

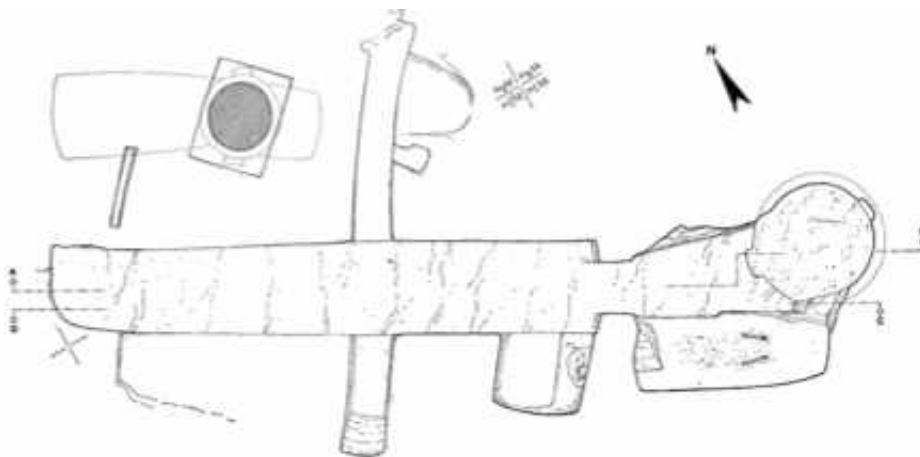


Figure 5.27 Plan of chamber tomb 3 at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina.
After Bedini 1983, 32, fig. 10.

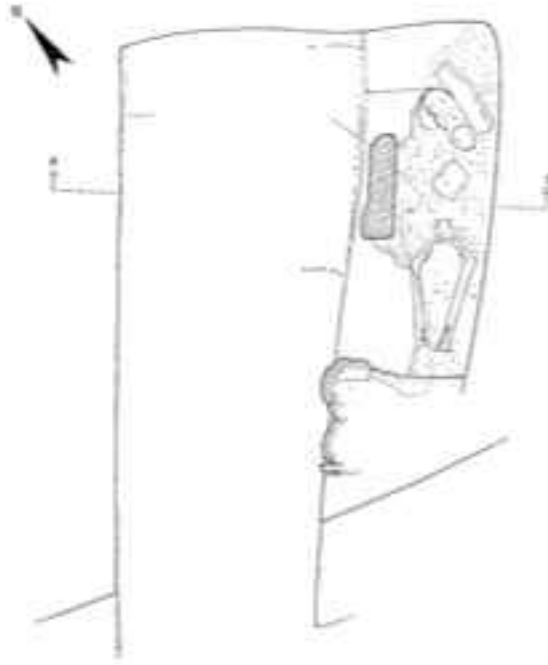


Figure 5.28 Plan of chamber tomb 4 at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina.
After Bedini 1983, 36, fig. 11.

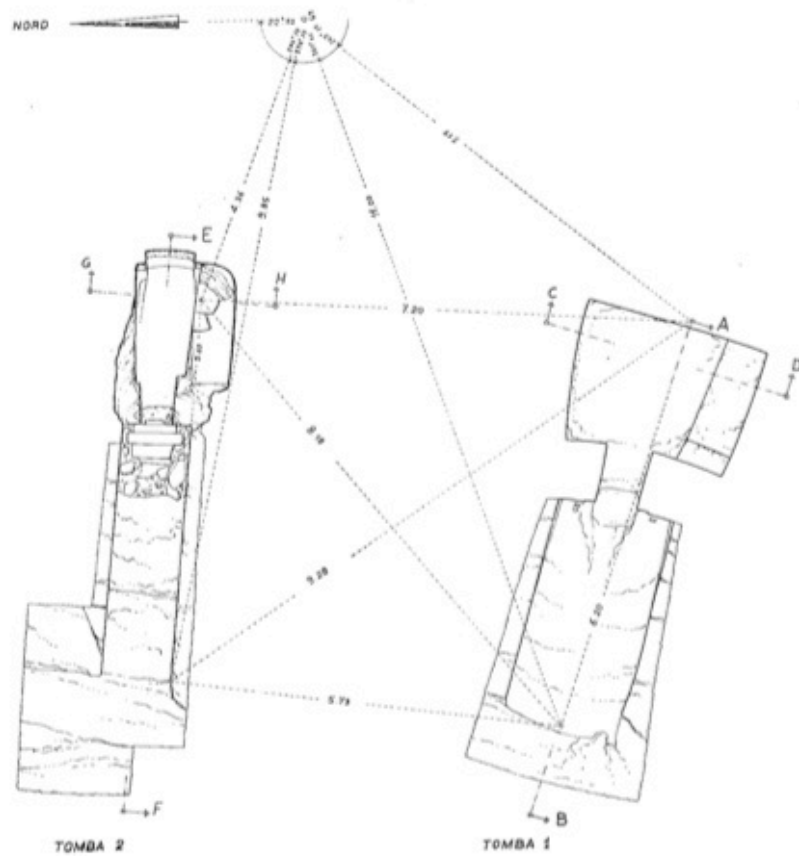


Figure 5.29 Plan of chamber tombs 1 and 2 at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina.
After Bedini 1983, 30, fig. 2.

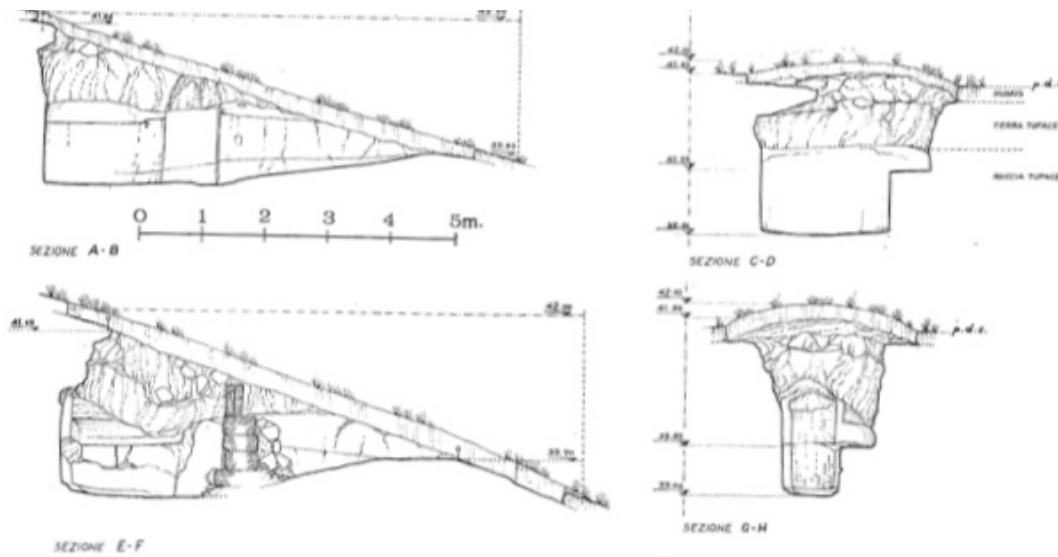


Figure 5.30 Section plan of chamber tombs 1 and 2 at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina.
After Bedini 1983, 30, fig. 2.

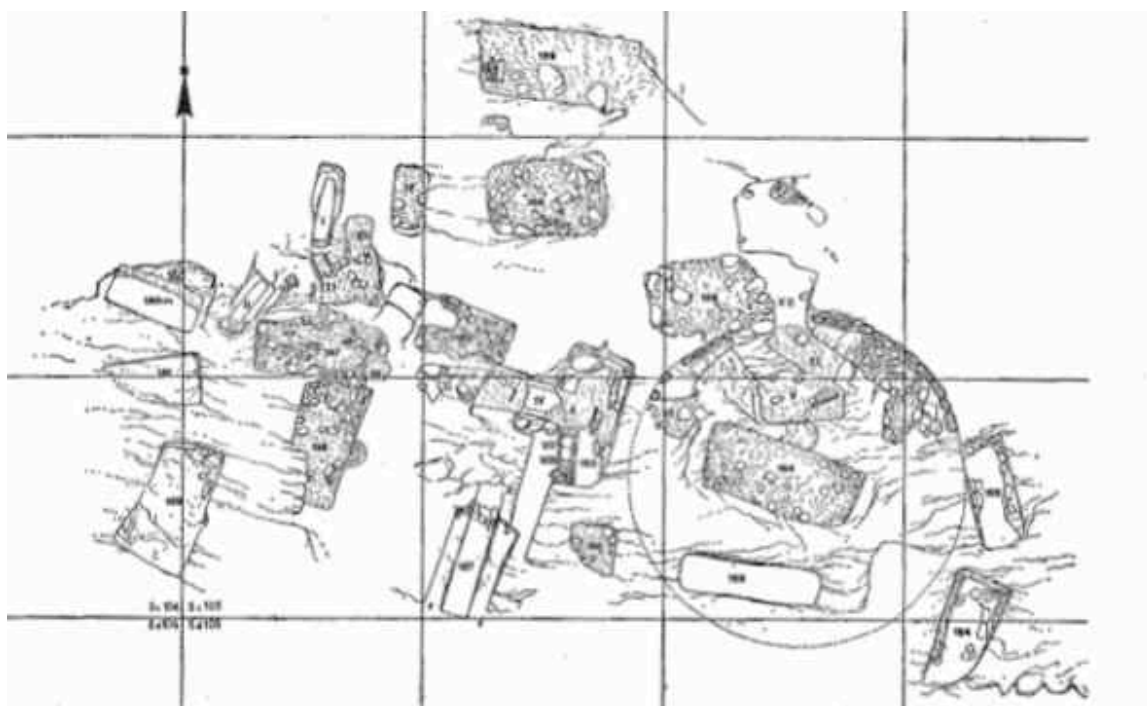


Figure 5.31 Plan of cemetery at Casale Massima. After Bedini 1980, 59, fig. 1.

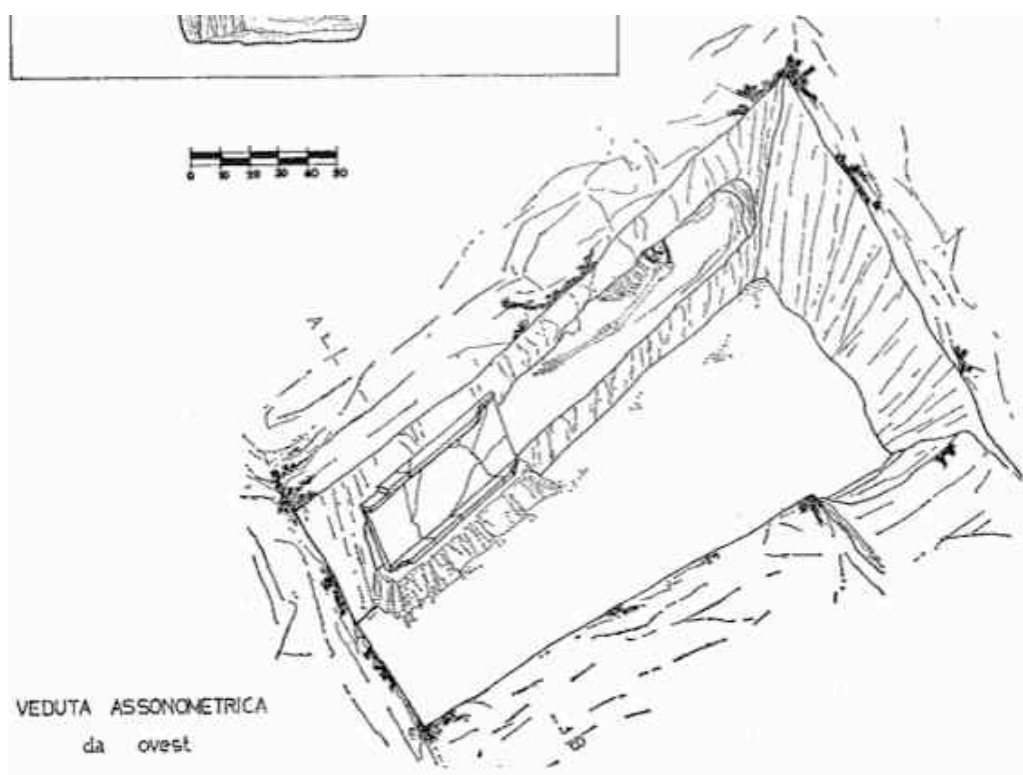


Figure 5.32 Plan of a trench tomb from Casale Massima. After Bedini 1980, 60, fig. 2.

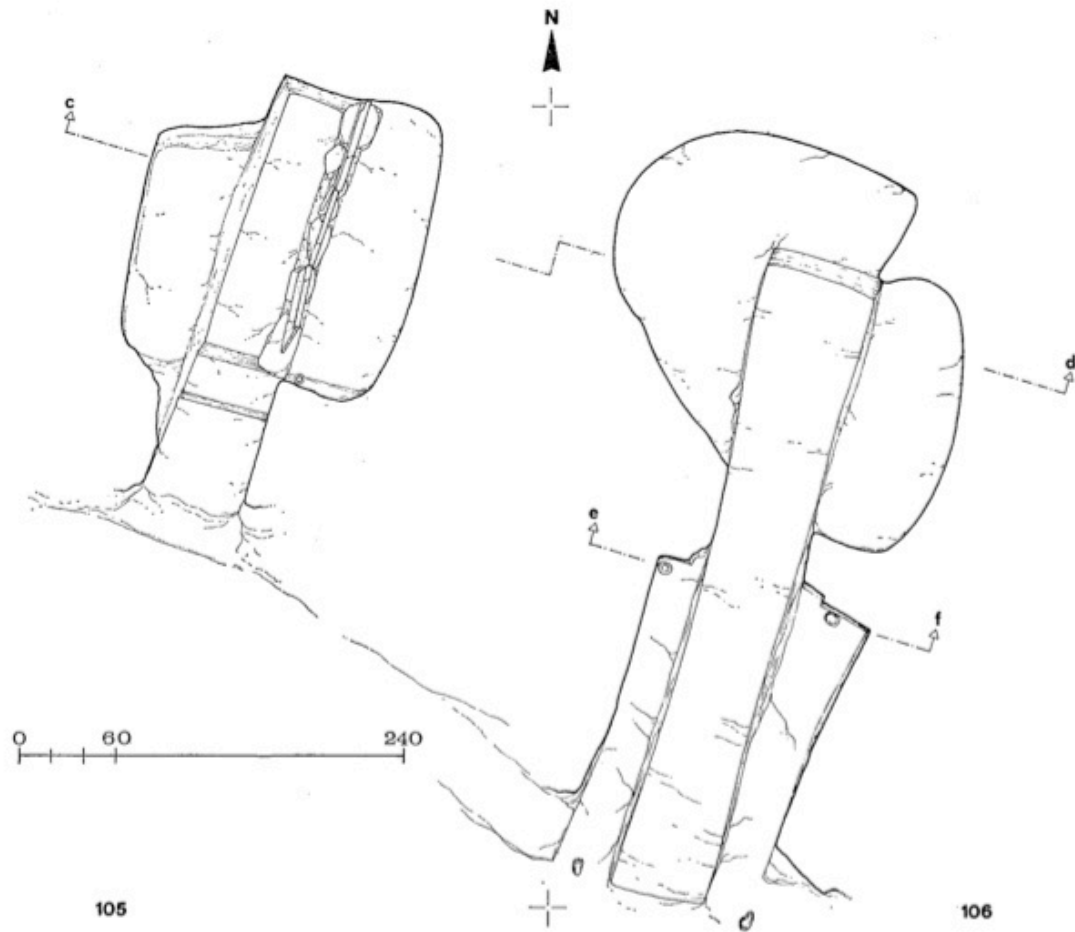


Figure 5.33 Plan of chamber tombs 1 and 2 from Casale Massima. Chamber tomb 1 is on the left, chamber tomb 2 is on the right. After Bedini 1983, 34, fig. 9.



Figure 5.34 Profile drawing of *olletta* from chamber tomb 1 at Casale Massima.
After Bedini 1980, 62, fig. 4, n. 2.

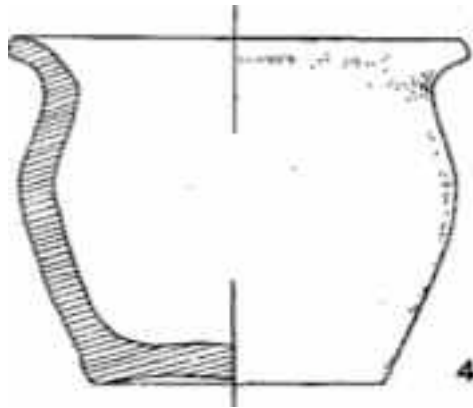


Figure 5.35 Profile drawing of *pentolina* from chamber tomb 2 at Casale Massima.
After Bedini 1980, 62, fig. 4, n. 4.



Figure 5.36 General plan of Torrino. After Bedini 1981, 57, fig. 1.

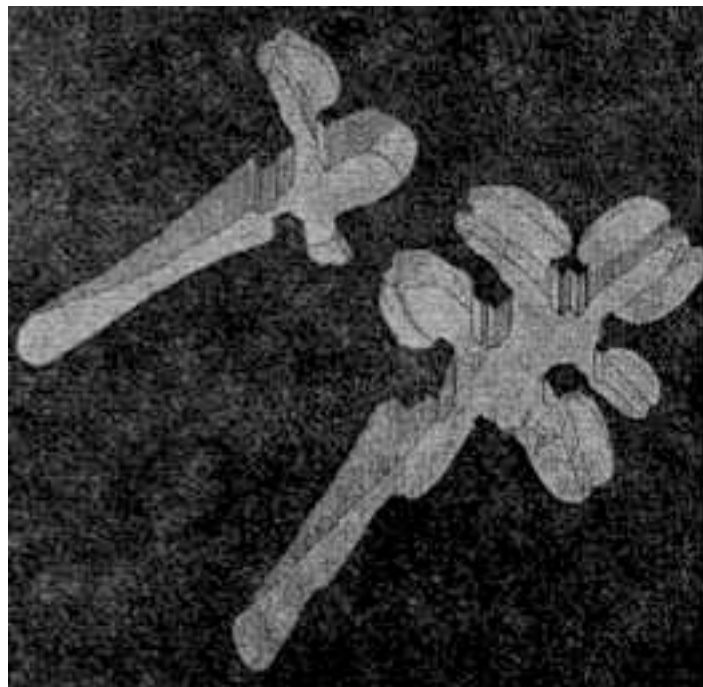


Figure 5.37 Chamber tombs 1 (left) and 2 (right) from Torrino. After Bedini 1981, 58, fig. 3.

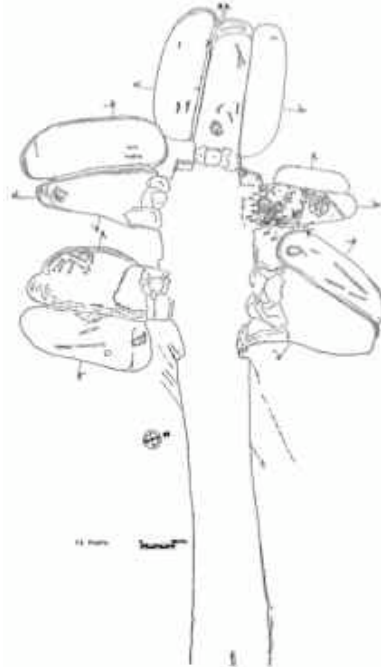


Figure 5.38 Chamber 2 from Torrino. After Bedini 1981, 62, fig. 6.

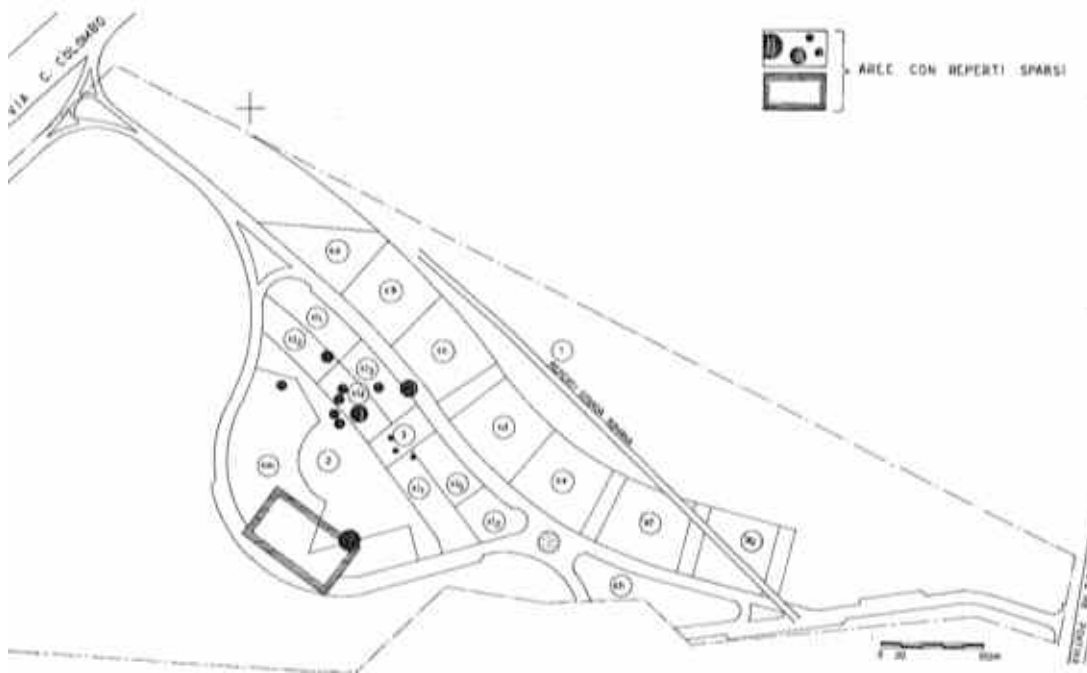


Figure 5.39 Plan of area of excavation at Casale Brunori. After Bedini 1991, 100, fig. 3.



Figure 5.40 Aerial view of chamber tombs at Casale Brunori. After Bedini 1991, 105, fig. 11.

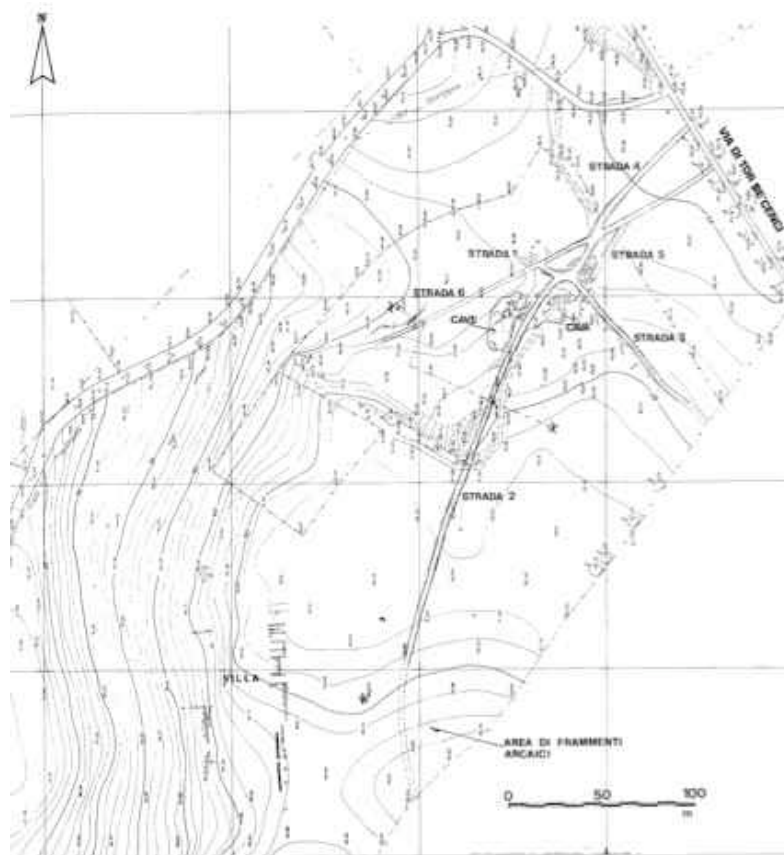


Figure 5.41 General plan of excavation at Tor de' Cenci. After Bedini 1990, 123, fig. 2.



Figure 5.42 Aerial view of first circle of chamber tombs at Tor de' Cenci.
After Bedini 1990, 124, fig. 4.



Figure 5.43 Aerial view of second circle of chamber tombs at Tor de' Cenci.
After Bedini 1990, 125, fig. 5.



Figure 5.44 *Pentola* from chamber tomb 16 at Tor de' Cenci. After Bedini 1990, 127, fig. 7.

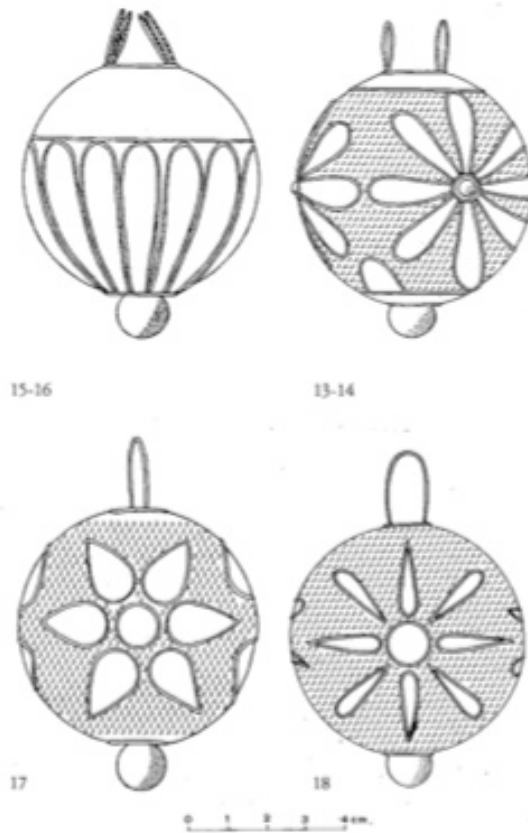


Figure 5.45 Beads of the necklace belonging to the woman buried at Fidenae.
After *GRT* 260, no. 10.4.4.



Figure 5.46 General map of sites in *Latium Vetus*. After Rajala 2008a, 41, fig. 2.



Figure 5.47 General map of Crustumerium, including sites of Cisterna Grande, Monte del Bufalo and Sasso Bianco excavations. After Rajala 2008a, 40, fig. 1.

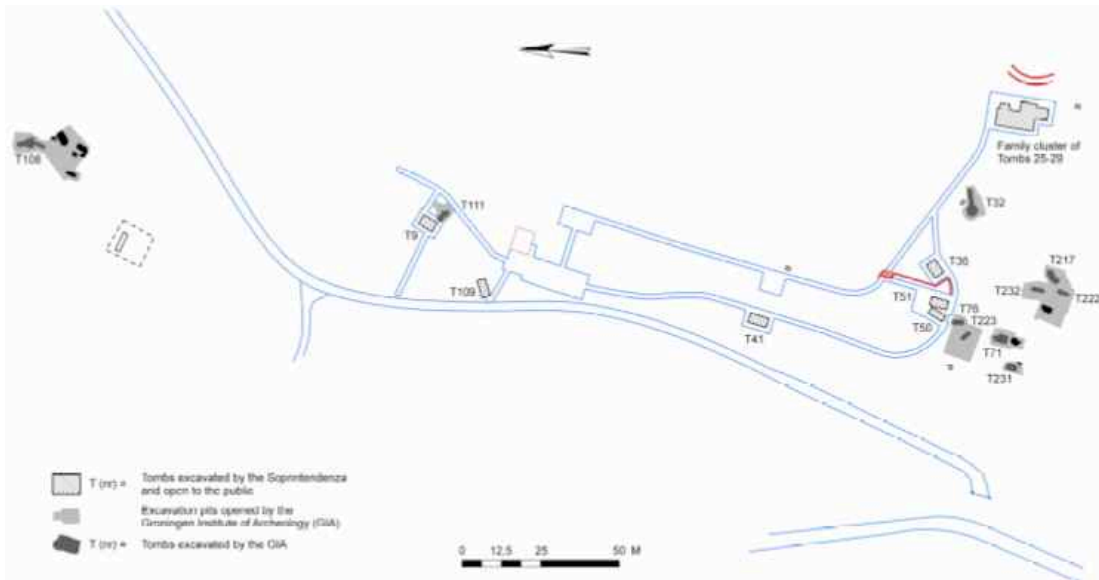


Figure 5.48. Map detail of the Monte Del Bufalo necropolis, Crustumerium.
After Nijboer 2008, 24, fig. 2.

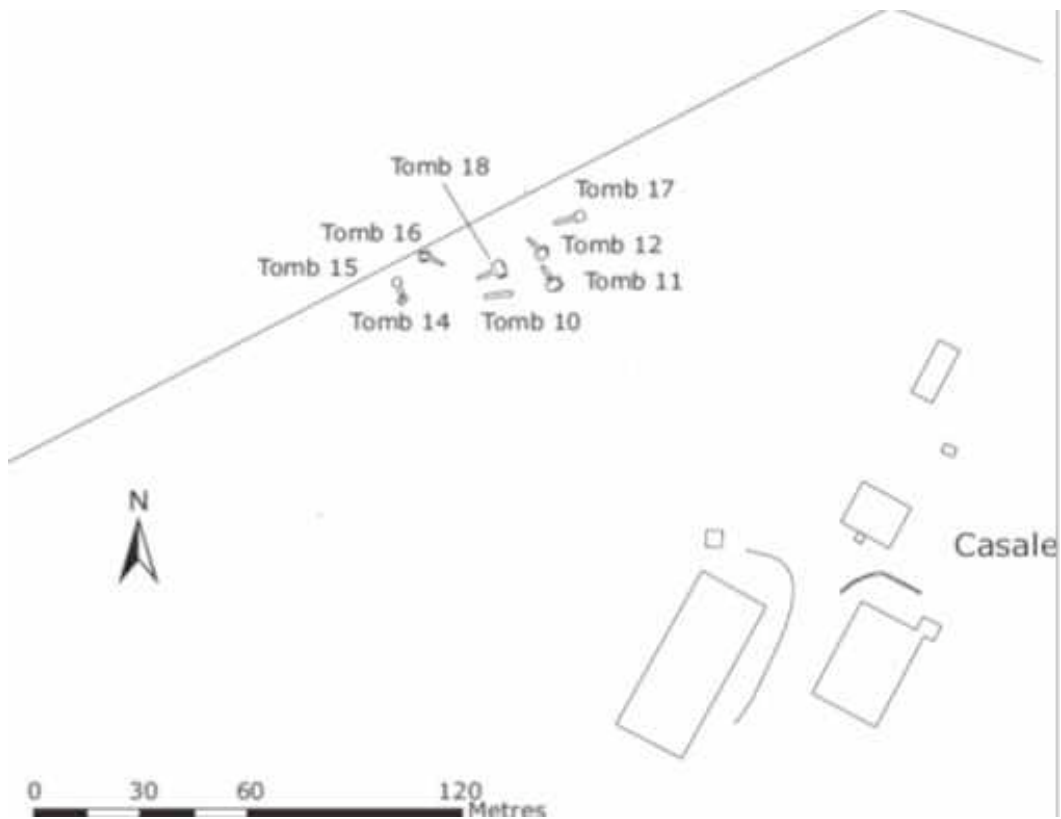


Figure 5.49 Map detail of tombs excavated at Cisterna Grande, Crustumerium.
After Rajala 2008a, 44, fig. 4.



Figure 5.50 Chamber tomb at Cisterna Grande, Crustumerium.
After Rajala 2008a, 44. fig. 5, A.



Figure 5.51 Chamber tomb at Cisterna Grande, Crustumerium.
After Rajala 2008a, 44. fig. 5, B.



Figure 5.52 Aerial photo of chamber tombs at Corcolle.
After Reggiani et al. 1998, 122, fig. 2.



Figure 5.53 Plan showing location of child and infant burials at Ficana.
After Jarva 1981b, 270, fig. 1.

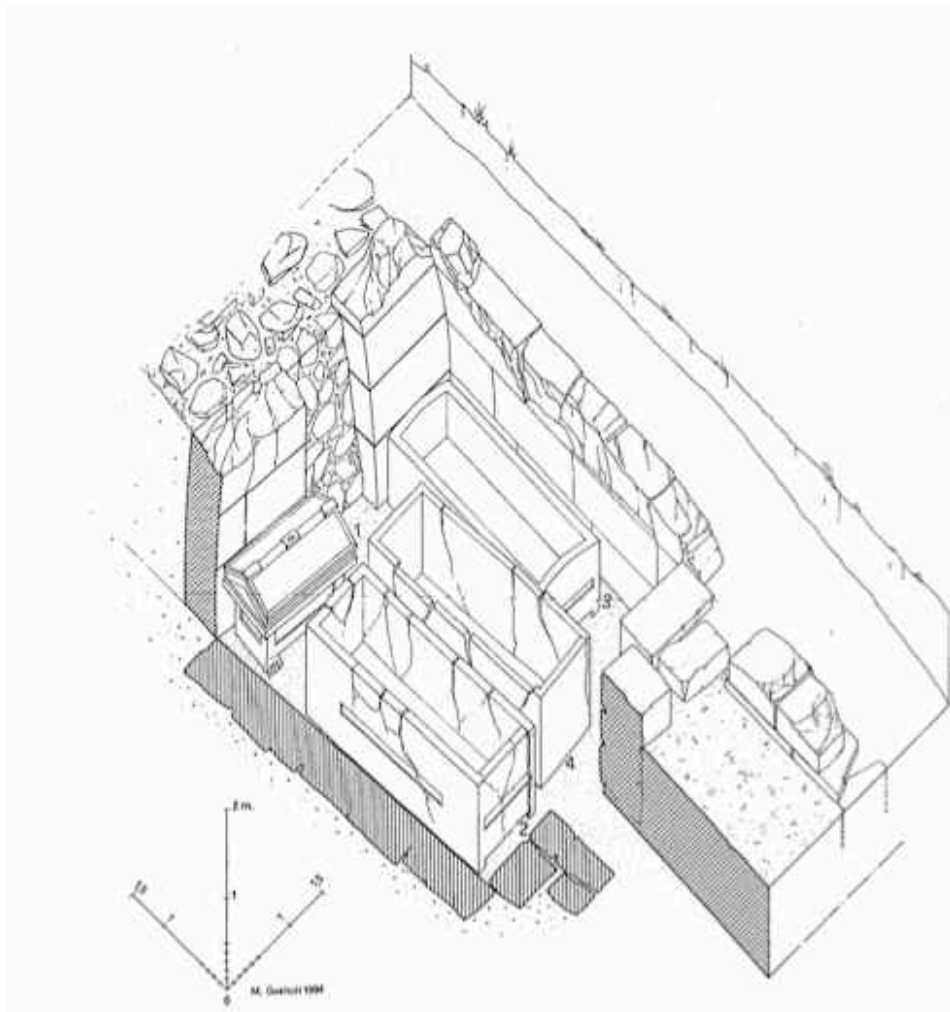


Figure 5.54 Plan of the chamber tomb at Lavinium. After Guaitoli 1995, 556, fig. 7.



Figure 5.55 Chamber tomb at Lavinium. After Guaitoli 1995, 557, fig. 8.



Figure 5.56 Urn of *cappellaccio* from chamber tomb at Lavinium.
After Guaitoli 1995, 558, fig. 9.



Figure 5.57 Tyrrhenian amphora from chamber tomb at Lavinium.
After Guaitoli 1995, 559, fig. 11.



Figure 5.58 Amphora of *bucchero* from chamber tomb at Lavinium.
After Guaitoli 1995, 559, fig. 14.



Figure 5.59 Attic Red Figure *stamnos* from chamber tomb at Lavinium.
After Guaitoli 1995, 559, fig. 15.



Figure 5.60 Plan of Lavinium showing location of *tumuli*. After Guaitoli 1995, 561, fig. 16.



Figure 5.61 Bronze cuirass from the Tomb of the Warrior, Lanuvium.
After Colonna 1977,152, 8/A.



Figure 5.62 Helmet from the Tomb of the Warrior, Lanuvium.
After Colonna 1977, 150, fig. 8/A.

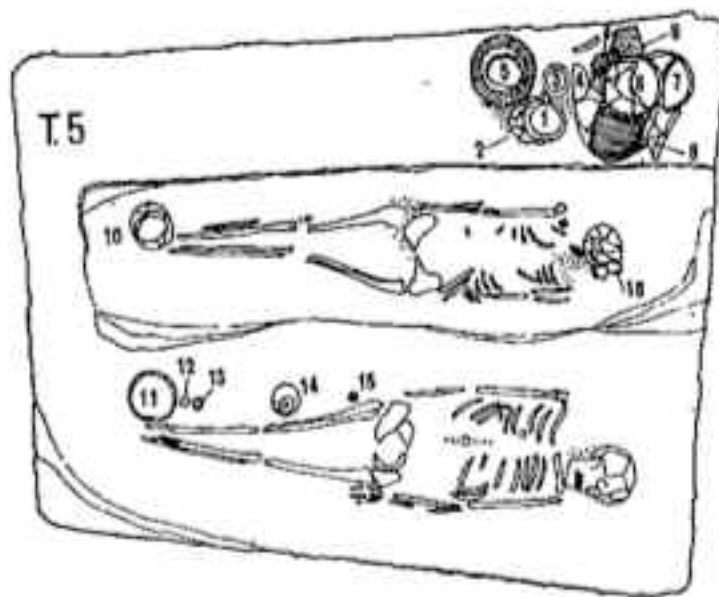


Figure 5.63 Tomb 5 from the site of Campo del Fico, Corcolle.
 After Crescenzi and Tortorici 1983, 47, fig. 21.

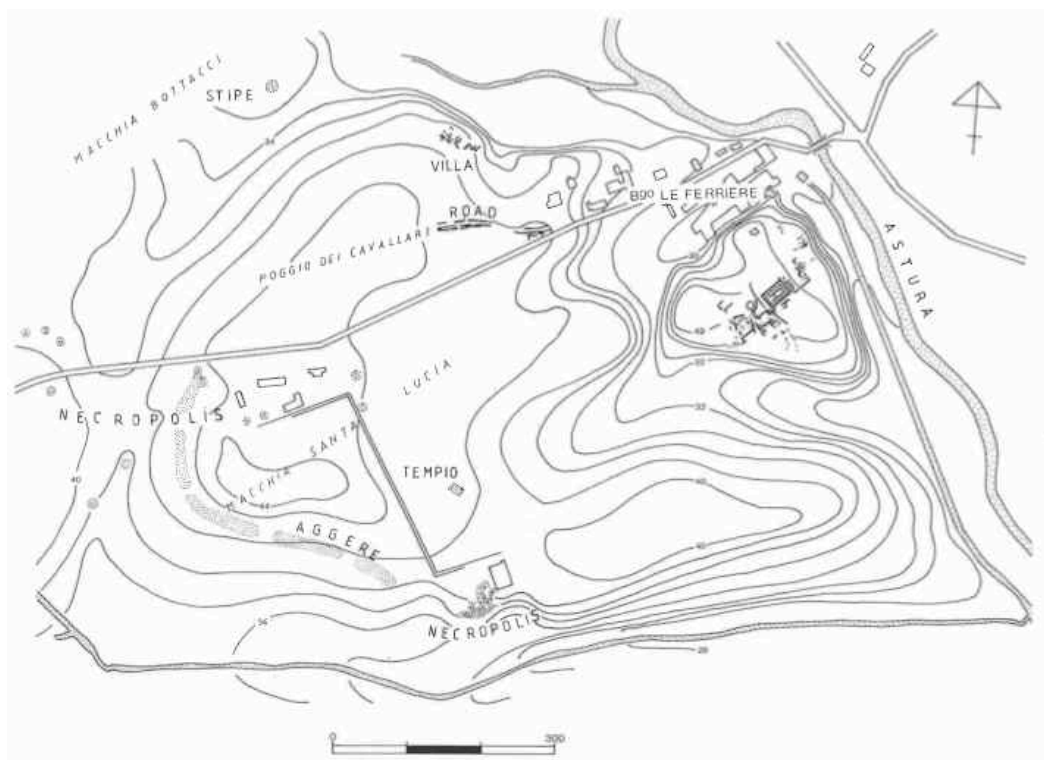


Figure 5.64 General plan showing excavation areas at Satricum.
 After Gnade 2002, 215, fig. 1.

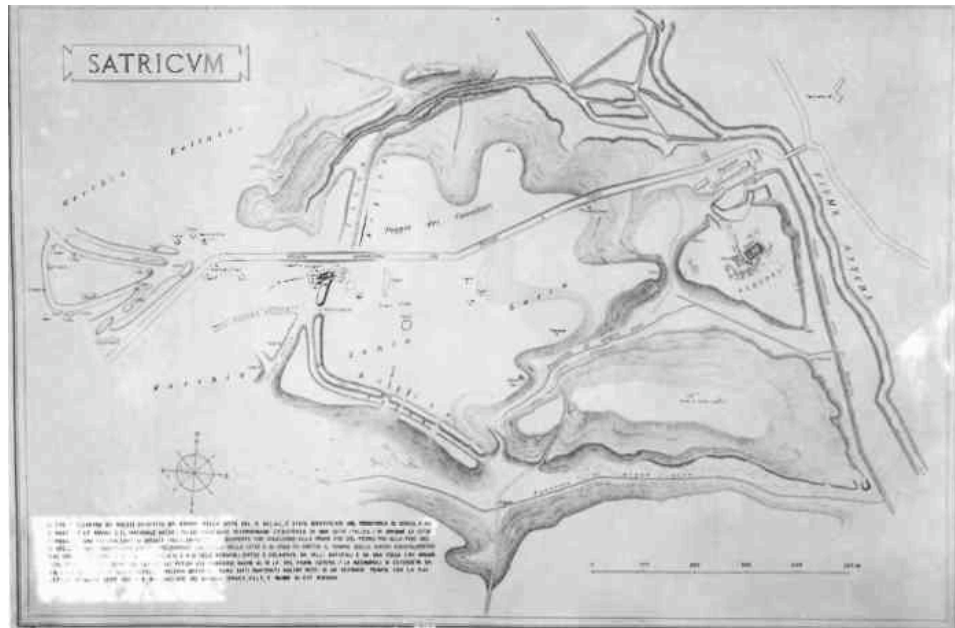


Figure 5.65 Map of topography and excavated features of the northwest necropolis and acropolis, part of old excavations at Satricum. After Waarsenburg 1995, 43, pl. 8.

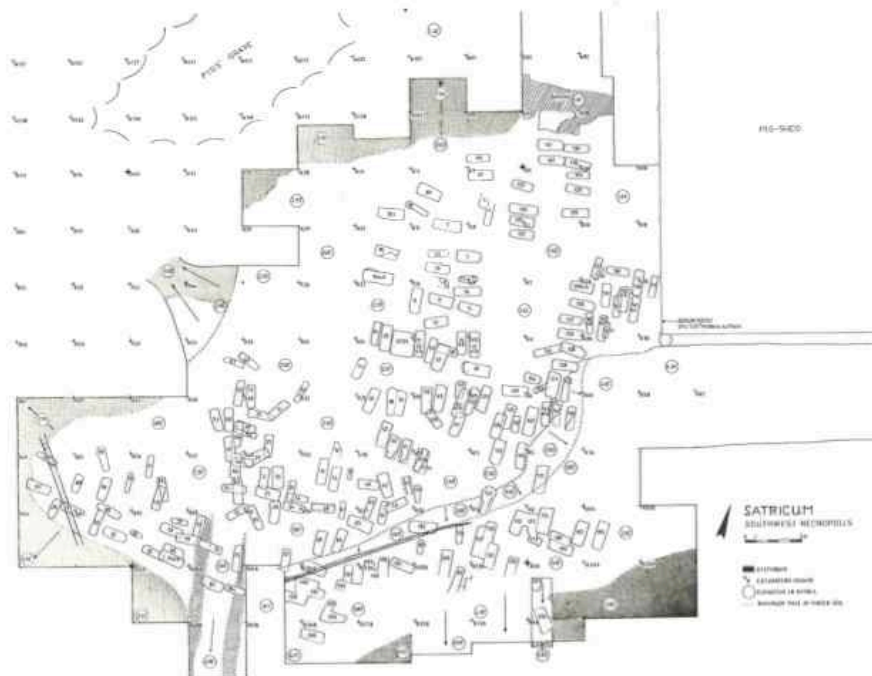


Figure 5.66 General plan of the southwest necropolis at Satricum. After Gnade 2002, 227, fig. 18.

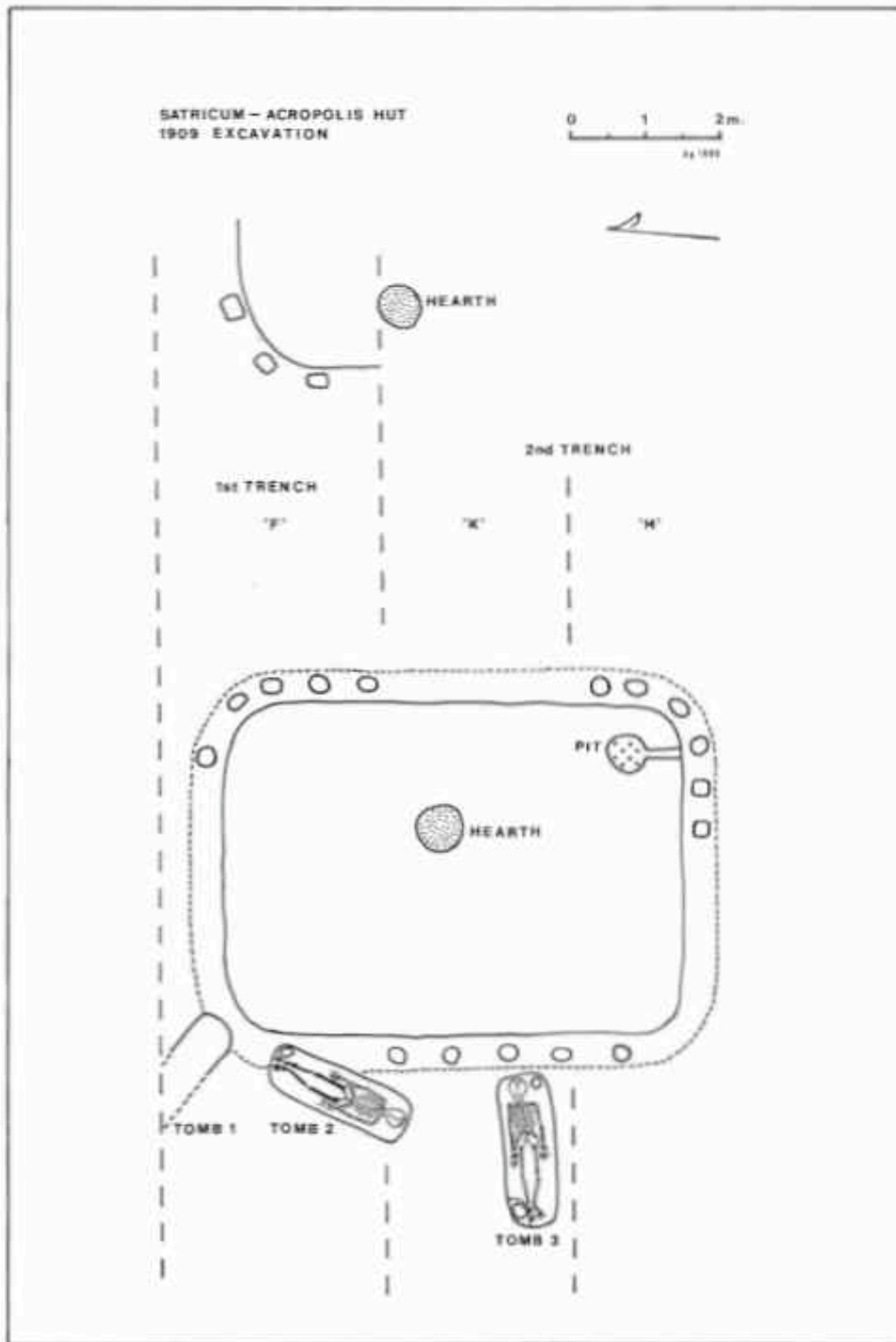


Figure 5.67 Hypothetical reconstruction of the area excavated in 1909 on the acropolis at Satricum, including large square hut and Acropolis Tombs 1-3. After Ginge, 1996, 126, fig. 37.



Figure 5.68 Map of excavation areas at Poggio dei Cavallari, Satricum. After Gnade 2002, 217, fig. 3.

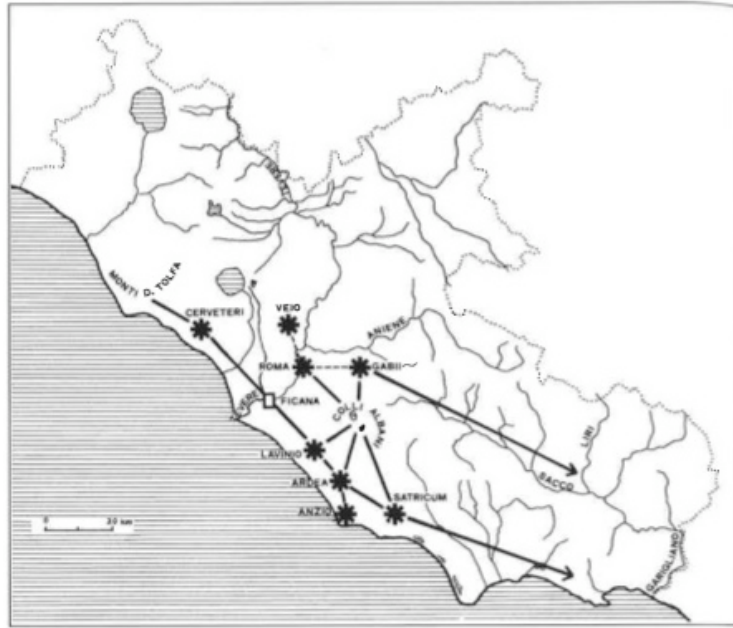


Figure 5.69 Final Bronze and Early Iron Age trade routes of ancient Latium.
 After Bietti Sestieri 1992b, 74, fig. 3.17.

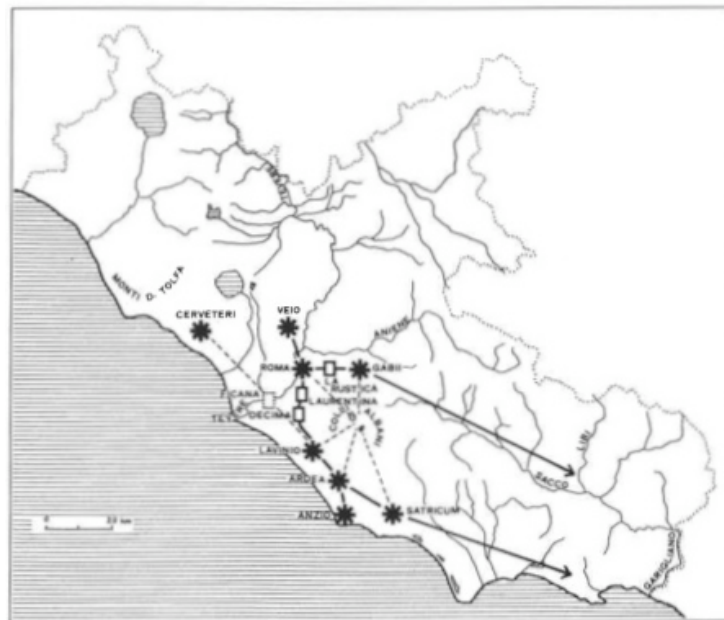


Figure 5.70 Iron Age (IIB and III) trade routes of ancient Latium.
 After Bietti Sestieri 1992b, 75, fig. 3.17.

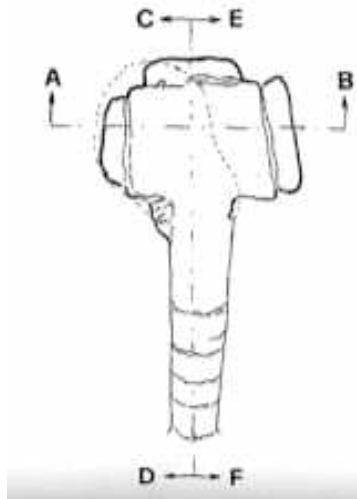


Figure 5.71 Map of chamber tomb XXII from Colle del Forno, Eretum.
After Santoro 1983, 128, fig. 27.

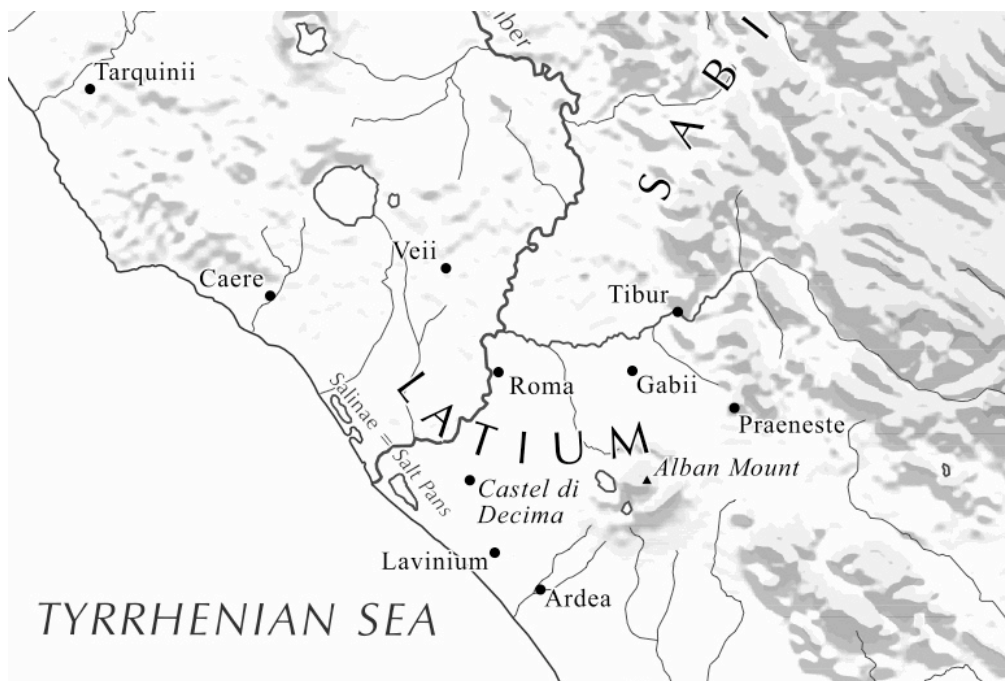


Figure 6.1 Map of Central Italy, showing location of Gabii.
Courtesy of University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Ancient World Mapping Center.

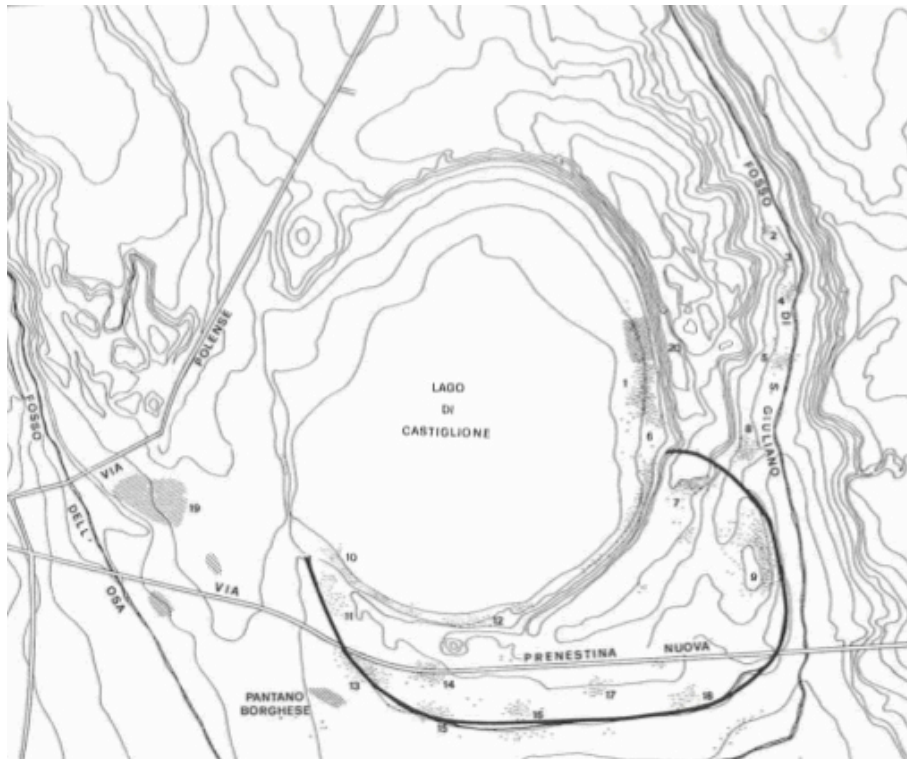


Figure 6.2 General map of Castiglione crater. 1: Middle and Late Bronze Age, Early Iron Age settlement. 2-18: Early Iron Age settlement units. 19: Cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa. 20: Cemetery of Castiglione. The thick line along the southeastern edge of the crater delimits the urban area of archaic Gabii. After Bietti Sestieri 1992b, 77, fig. 4.1.

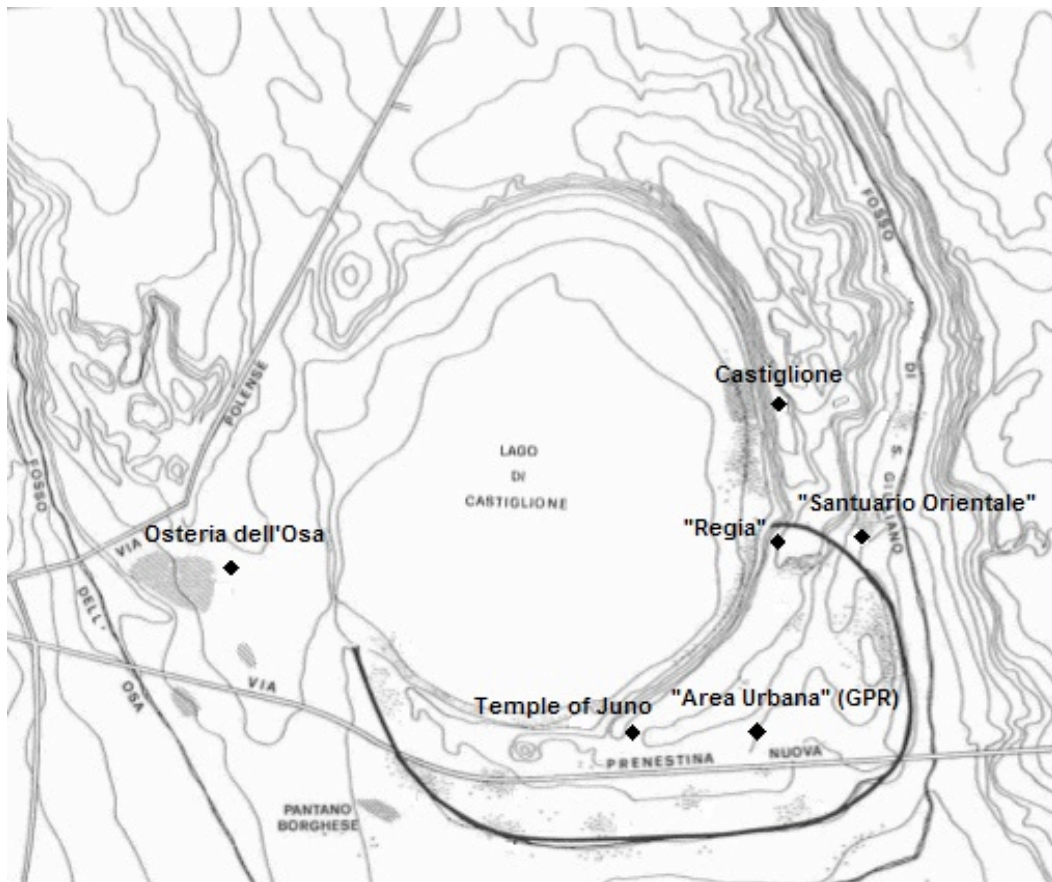


Figure 6.3 General map of Gabii indicating the main areas of excavation. Modified after Bietti Sestieri 1992b, 77, fig. 4.1.



Figure 6.4 Plan of Gabii showing the interpreted results of the magnetometry survey. The red lines indicate a positive linear feature. After Becker et al 2009, 635, fig. 5.



Figure 6.5 Aerial photo showing the results of the magnetometry survey and the locations of several features. 1. the Gabii Project area of excavation, 2. the Area Urbana, 3. the possible location of Hamilton's Forum, and 4. the Temple of Juno.

After Mogetta and Becker 2014, 173, fig. 2.



Figure 6.6 Aerial photo of the site excavated by the Gabii Project, indicating areas of excavation. Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.7 Plan of the area excavated by the Gabii Project from 2009 to 2011. Drawing by R. Opitz. After Mogetta and Becker 2014, 175, fig. 5.



Figure 6.8 Aerial photo of area D of the Gabii Project, taken from the north.
Courtesy of the Gabii Project.

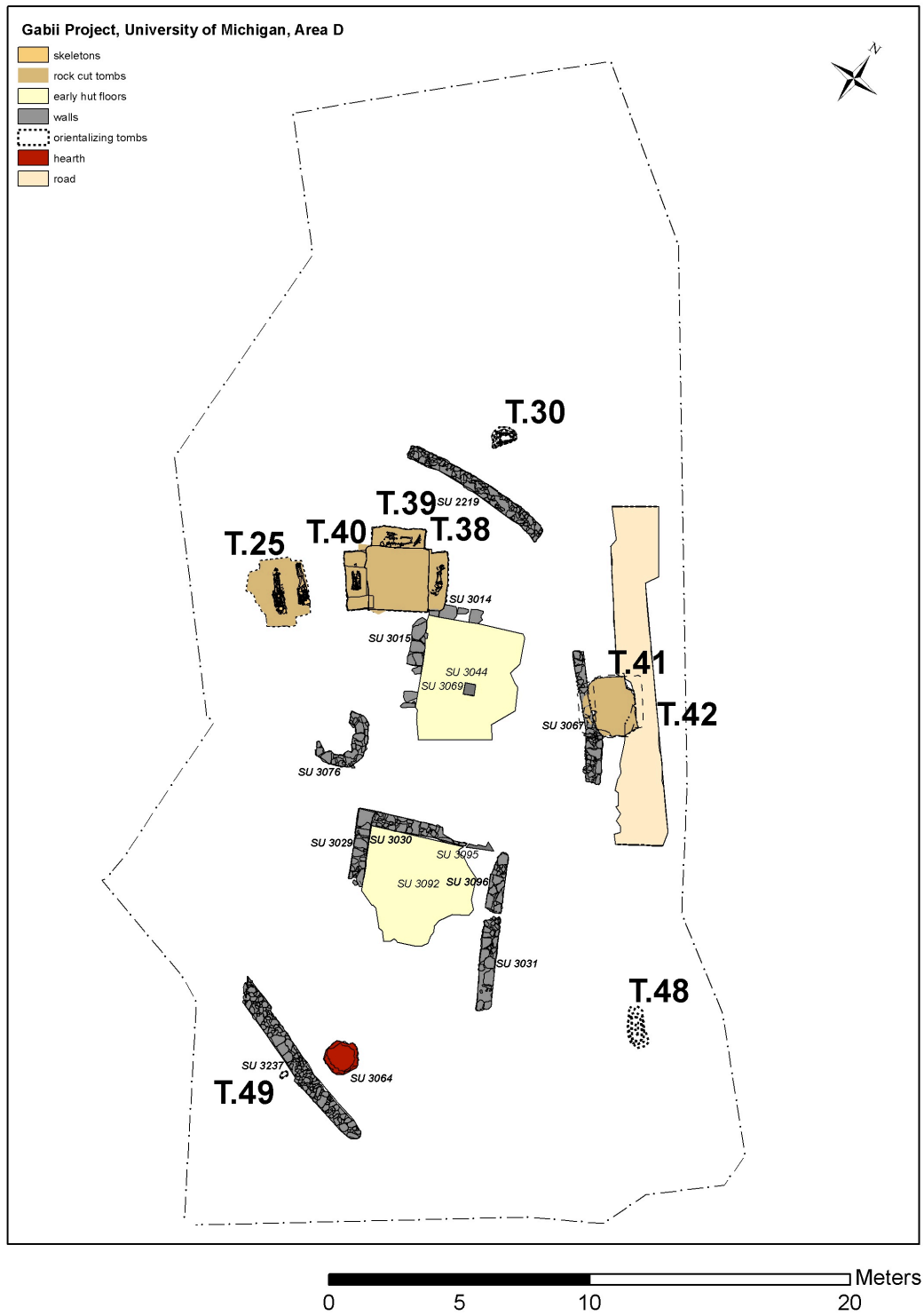


Figure 6.9 Plan of area D of the Gabii Project. "T" indicates a tomb.
 Drawing by Rachel Opitz. Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.10 Aerial photo of areas D, C and E (left to right) of the Gabii Project, taken from the south. Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.11 Vessel containing turtle, intentional deposition in northwest corner of Room 2.
Courtesy of the Gabii Project.

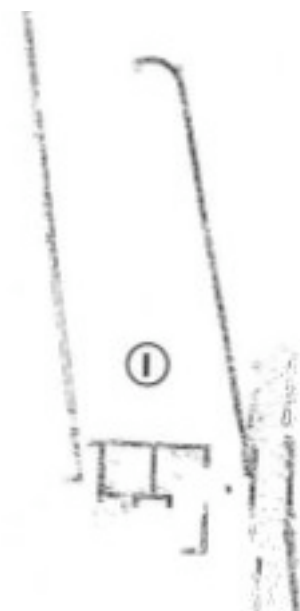


Figure 6.12 Plan of area of Wall 34 (apsidal wall) at Oropos.
After Mazarakis Ainian 1997, fig. 75.

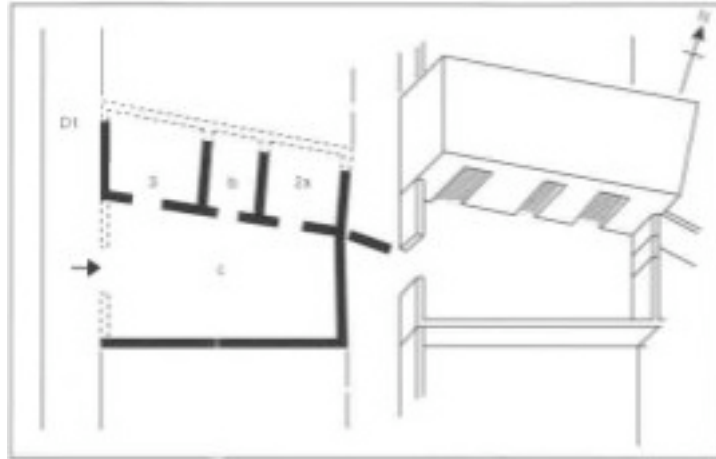


Figure 6.13 Plan of house 63.2 (c. 650-600 B.C.E.) at Megara Hyblaea.
After De Angelis 2003, 29, fig. 15.

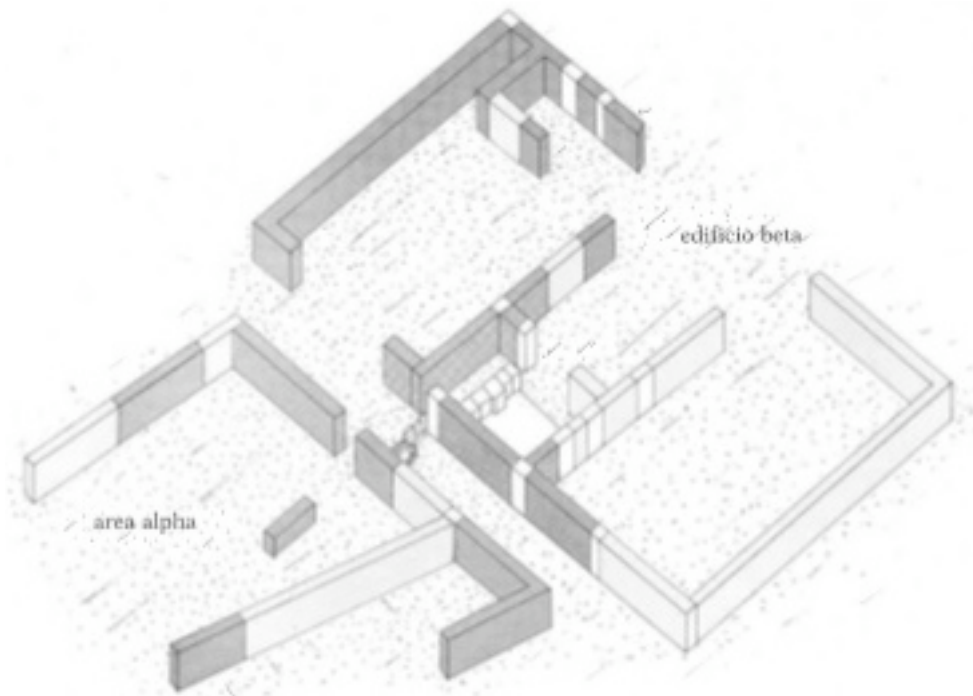


Figure 6.14 Plan of *edificio beta* in the middle Orientalizing period (c. mid-seventh century).
After Bonghi Jovino and Treré 1997, pl. 145.1.

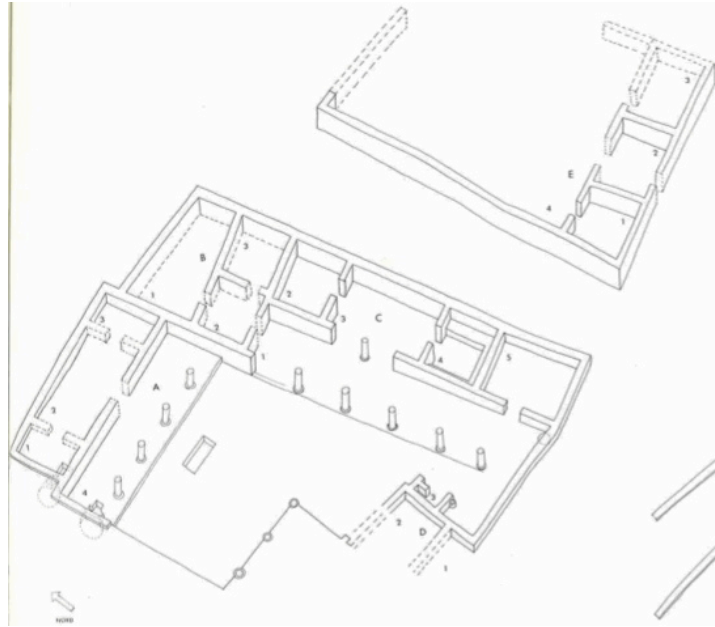


Figure 6.15 Plan of archaic residence in zone F at Acquarossa. After Östegard 1975, 140.

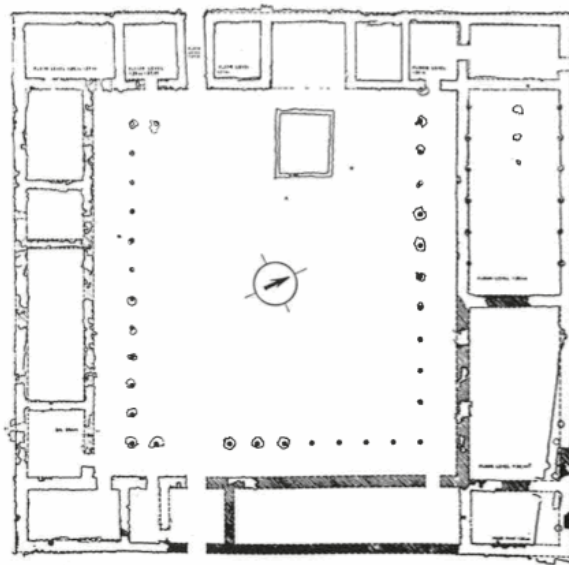


Figure 6.16 Plan of the archaic complex from Murlo (Poggio Civitate).
After Phillips 1993, 11, fig. 8.

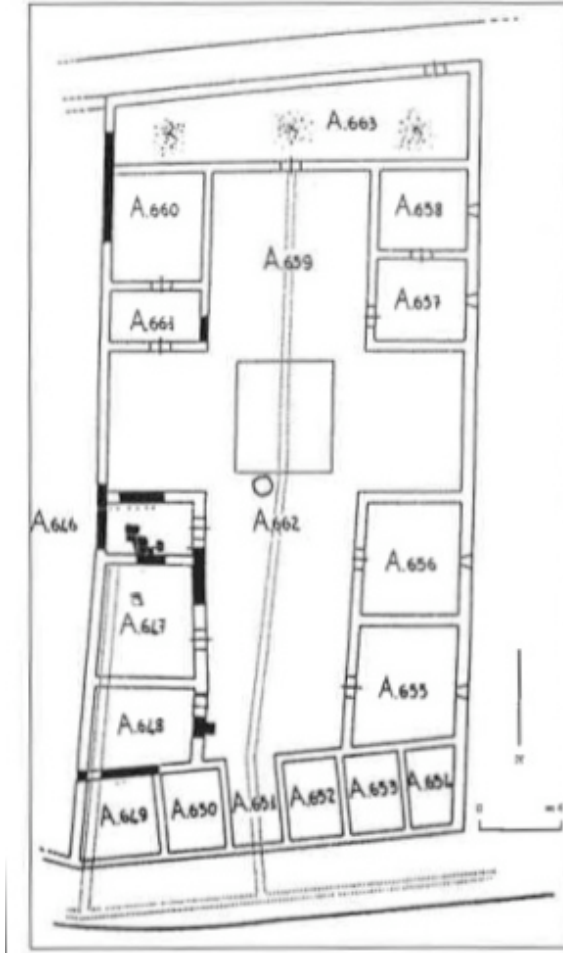


Figure 6.17 Plan of the atrium house on the Sacra Via. Archaic phases shown in black.
After *GRT*, 98, no. 4.2.



Figure 6.18 Plan of phase 1 (archaic) of the Auditorum site.
After Carandini 1997, 121, fig. 2.

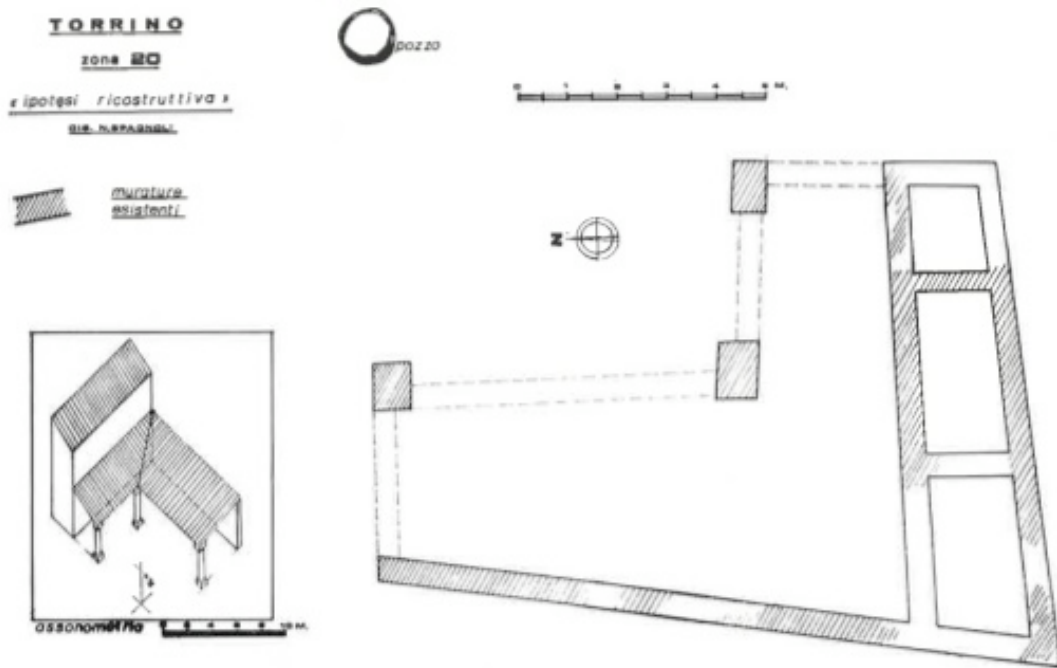


Figure 6.19 Plan of archaic building at Torrino. After Bedini 1984, 86, fig. 2.

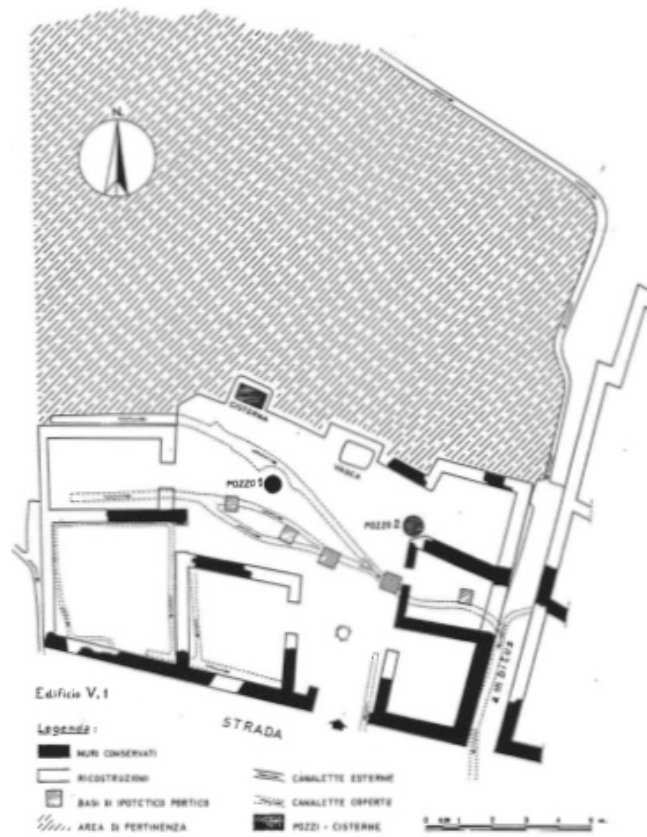


Figure 6.20 Plan of archaic building at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina. After *GRT*, 171.



Figure 6.21 Plan of the building at Grottarossa. After *N*Sc 1945, 54, fig. 4.



Figure 6.22 Reconstruction of the settlement on the acropolis at Satricum in the eighth century. The circles delimit the clusters of huts. After Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991, 73, fig. 10; modified by Colantoni 2012, 25, fig. 2.2.



Figure 6.23 Reconstruction of the settlement on the acropolis at Satricum in the late eighth and seventh centuries. Circles delimit the clusters of huts. After Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991, 79, fig. 15; modified by Colantoni 2012, 26, fig. 2.3.

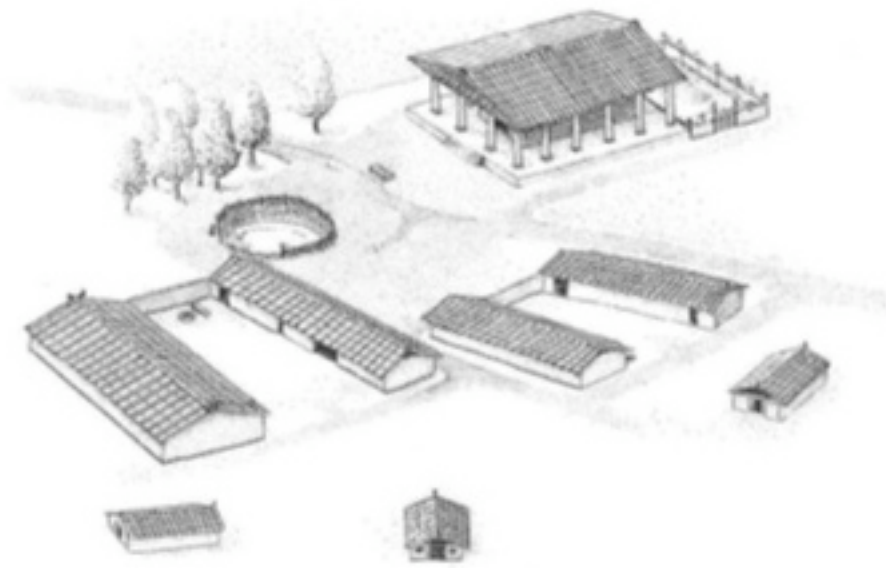


Figure 6.24 Reconstruction of the settlement on the acropolis at Satricum in the sixth century. After Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991, 93, fig. 22b.



Figure 6.25 Tomb 25 in area D at Gabii. Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.26 Photomodel reconstruction of Tomb 25 in area D at Gabii. Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.27 Semi-chamber tomb 1 in area D at Gabii. Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.28 Photomodel reconstruction of semi-chamber tomb 1 in area D at Gabii. Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.29 East niche (Tomb 38) of semi-chamber tomb 1 in area D at Gabii.
Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.30 Spools and strip of worked bone (nos. 1-15), east niche (Tomb 38) of semi-chamber tomb 1 in area D at Gabii. Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.31 North niche (Tomb 39) of semi-chamber tomb 1 in area D at Gabii.
Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.32 West niche (Tomb 40) of semi-chamber tomb 1 in area D at Gabii.
Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.33 Semi-chamber tomb 2 in area D at Gabii (Tombs 41 and 42 to the left and right). Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.34 West niche (Tomb 41) in semi-chamber tomb 2 in area D at Gabii. Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.35 East niche (Tomb 42) in semi-chamber tomb 2 in area D at Gabii.
Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.36 Tomb 30 in area D at Gabii, infant burial in a *dolium*, from the east.
Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.37 Tomb 48 in area D at Gabii, child burial *a fossa*. Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.38 Tomb 49 in area D at Gabii, infant burial in a *dolium*.
Courtesy of the Gabii Project.



Figure 6.39 Plan of the Iron Age cemetery at Osteria dell'Osa (c. 900-580 B.C.E.). Graves from the latest phases (IIIB-IVB, c. 740-580 B.C.E.) are shaded.
After Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 80, fig. 4.2.

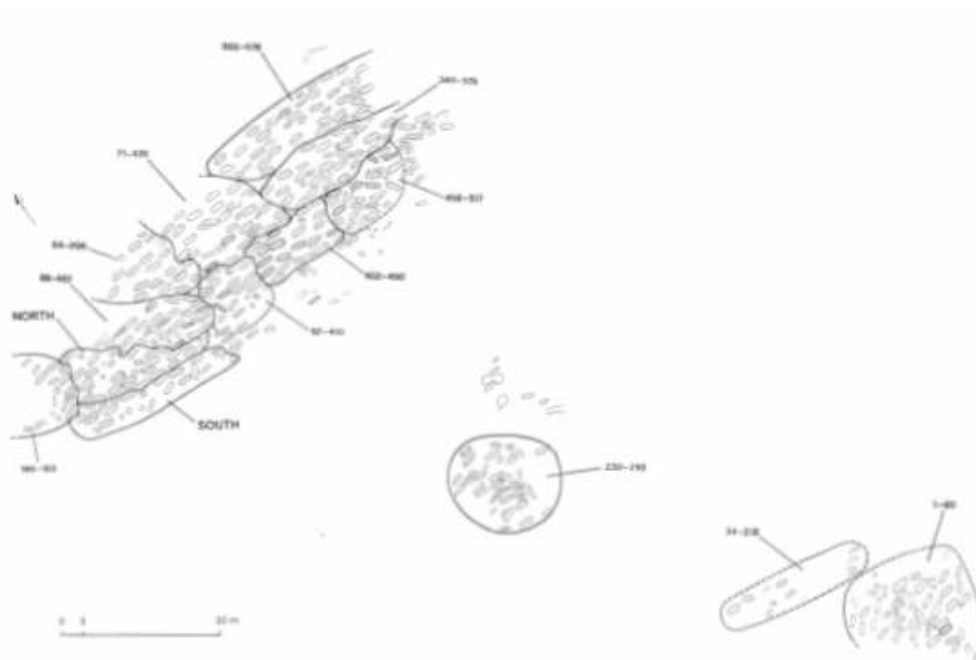


Figure 6.40 Plan of the Iron Age cemetery at Osteria dell'Osa during Periods II and IIIA, showing the division of clusters. After Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 142, fig. 7.1.

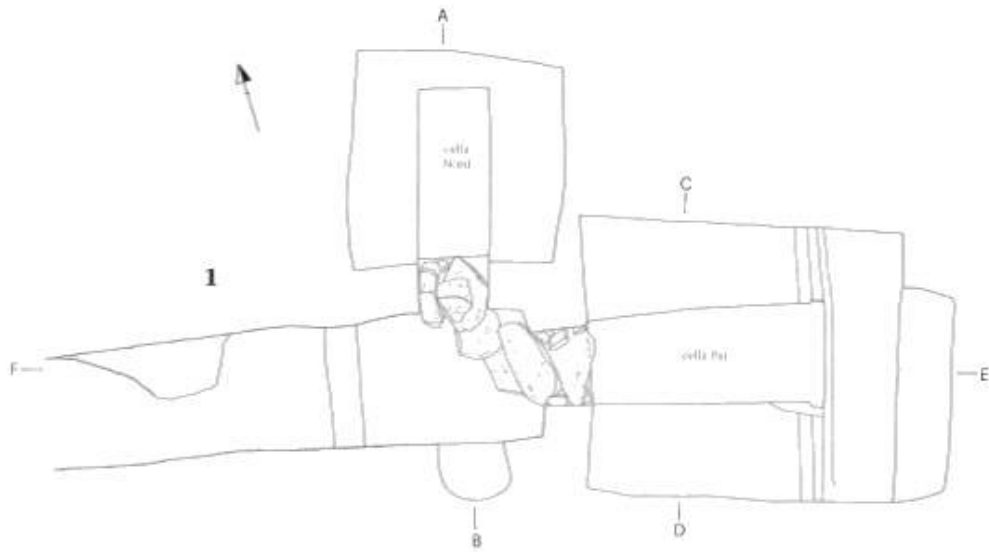


Figure 6.41 Osteria dell'Osa: plan of Tomb 62 (chamber tomb).
After Bietti Sestieri 1992b, pl. 50.



Figure 6.42 Plan of Botromagno showing excavated sites.
After Whitehouse et al. 2000, 2, fig. 1.

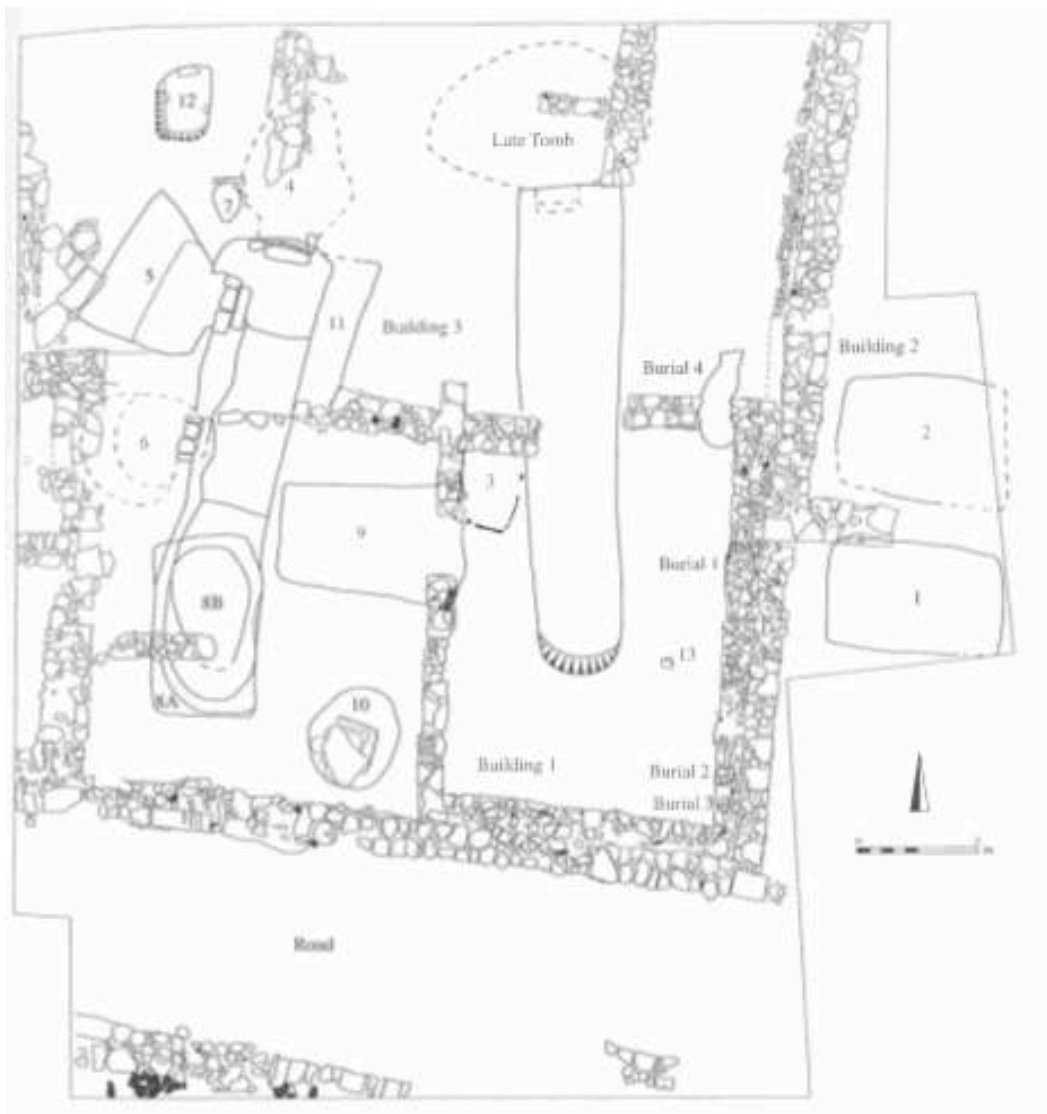


Figure 6.43 Plan of Site H at Botromagno showing buildings, tombs and a road.
After Whitehouse et al. 2000, 5, fig. 3.

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Appendix B: Area D Burials

Adult Burials

Tomb ID 25

Type: monolithic tuff sarcophagus with a side niche

Dimensions: sarcophagus (L: 2.08 m, W: 0.73m, H 0.75m, T: 0.08 m, D 0.60 m); sarcophagus lid (L: 2.12 m, W: 0.74, T: 0.21 m)

Number of Inhumations: 2

Orientation: N/S, head at S

Sex: F in sarcophagus, M in niche

Age: 30s in sarcophagus, teens in niche

Special Finds: no

Date: 525-450 B.C.E.

SUs: 2085 (fill of tomb); 2086 (tomb cut); 2087 (sarcophagus lid); 2088 (skeleton of F); 2089 (tuff sarcophagus); 2090 (fill beneath sarcophagus); 2091 (skeleton of M)

Tomb ID 38, 39, and 40

Type: semi-chamber

Dimensions: main chamber (L: 2.5 m, W: 2.5 m, D: 1.95 m), east niche (L: 1.37 m, W: 0.60 m, H: 0.96 m), north niche (L: 1.88 m, W: 0.60 m, H: 0.92 m), west niche (L: 1.06 m, W: 0.76 m, H: 0.98 m)

Number of Inhumations: 3

Orientation: east niche (N/S, head at S), north niche (W/E, head at W), west niche (N/S, head at S)

Sex: east niche (unknown), north niche (unknown), west niche (M)

Age: east niche (adolescent, age unknown), north niche (unknown), west niche (adult, age unknown)

Special Finds: 341/342 (unidentified bronze fragments, main chamber), 345/346/348/349/350/352 (iron nails, probably with west niche), 351/353/355 (miniature spools of worked bone, east niche), 354 (unidentified worked bone, east niche), 365 (necklace of spools and strips of worked bone, east niche), 359 (unknown object of worked bone, north niche), west niche

Date: 525-450 B.C.E.

SUs: 3021 (fill of semi-chamber tomb), 3024 (cut of main chamber), 3032 (skeleton in east niche, T. 38), 3033 (skeleton in north niche, T. 39), 3034 (skeleton in west niche, T. 40), 3035 (=SF 356), 3036 (east niche, fill below T. 38), 3037 (north niche, fill below T. 39), 3038 (west niche, fill below T. 40), 3039 (cut of east niche), 3040 (cut of north niche), 3041 (cut of west niche)

Tomb ID 41 and 42

Type: semi-chamber

Dimensions: main chamber (L: 2.5 m, W: 1.8 m, D: 1.5 m), west niche (L: 2.1 m, W: 0.6 m, H: 0.70 m), east niche (L: 2.1 m, W: 0.6 m, H: 0.6 m)

Number of Inhumations: 2

Orientation: west niche (N/S, head at S), east niche (N/S, head at S)

Sex: west niche (M), east niche (F)

Age: west niche (45-50), east niche (35)

Special Finds: 466 (bronze pin, main fill), 468 (iron nail, east niche), 469 (iron nail, west niche), 470 (iron nail, west niche), 480 (iron nail, west niche)

Date: 525-450 B.C.E.

SUs: 3066 (fill of main chamber), 3079 (skeleton in west niche, T. 41), 3080 (skeleton in east niche, T. 42), 3081 (cut of main chamber), 3082 (cut of west niche), 3083 (cut of east niche)

Infant and Child Burials

Tomb ID 30

Type: in *dolium*

Dimensions: vessel (H: 38 cm, Di: 30 cm)

Number of Inhumations: 1

Orientation: W/E, mouth of vessel at east

Sex: unknown

Age: unknown

Special Finds: N/A

Date: late 7th to early 6th (?)

SUs: 3005 (fill in *dolium*), 3006 (*dolium*), 3007 (collapse of *dolium*), 3008 (fill in *dolium*, beneath collapse), 3009 (cut in bedrock that contains *dolium*), 3010, fill beneath *dolium* and cut 3009)

Tomb ID 48

Type: *a fossa*

Dimensions: L: 1.91 m, W: 0.61 m, D: 0.37 m

Number of Inhumations: 1

Orientation: N/S, head at S

Sex: unknown

Age: 1-2

Special Finds:

Date: 525-425 B.C.E.

SUs: 3148 (fill of tomb), 3149 (cut of tomb), 3156 (*olla*), 3157 (*olla*), 3159 (fill of tomb), 3160 (iron *fibula*), 3161 (skeleton)

Tomb ID 49

Type: in *dolium*

Dimensions: *dolium* (L: 25 cm, Di: 22 cm)

Number of Inhumations: 1

Orientation: W/E, mouth facing west

Sex: unknown

Age: unknown

Special Finds: N/A

Date: unknown, possibly 700-500 B.C.E.

SUs: 3231 (fill of tomb), 3232 (*dolium*), 3233 (collapse of stones that cover mouth of jar),

3234 (fill beneath collapse of 3233), 3253 (cut of tomb),

Legend

L = length

W = width

H = height

T = thickness of walls

D = depth

F = female

M = male

Di = diameter at mouth