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## Early Iron Age Tombs at Crustumerium (Rome), ca. 850-725 BC

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Bronze fibula with three pinned-on rings from Crustumerium, Monte Del Bufalo burial ground, Tomb 153 (photo G.J.M. van Oortmerssen, RUG/GIA).

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## EARLY IRON AGE TOMBS AT CRUSTUMERIUM (ROME), CA. 850-725 BC

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**ABSTRACT:** Crustumerium was located about 14 km north of ancient Rome up the Tiber valley, at the boundary of the Latin territory with the lands of the Etruscans, Faliscans-Capenates and Sabines. From 850 BC to its incorporation into the Roman state around 500 BC, it grew into a considerable settlement extending over a tufa plateau of 60 hectares. Of the 400 tombs legally excavated at Crustumerium until 2013, only 23 can be assigned to the Iron Age settlement. In spite of their low number, the archaeological record is sufficient to allow a discussion of the distribution, the main architectural features, the funerary rituals and the grave goods of the earliest tombs. The features of the Early Iron Age tombs will be examined, including their apparent low number and the way they are distributed in relation to the subsequent topographical development of the cemeteries, and the evolution of rituals and funerary architecture during the subsequent Orientalizing period.

**KEYWORDS:** Early Iron Age, Latium, cemetery.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

*Crustumerium* is a Latin frontier settlement that developed alongside Rome until the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC when it became definitively incorporated into the rising Roman state; the archaeological record, provided by 30 years of research, indicates that it ceased to be a settlement centre around 500 BC. Ancient authors too mention that *Crustumerium* and its territory were added to the *ager Romanus antiquus* as the first *tribus rustica* named after its territory and not after its clan name in 495, following an invasion of the Romans in 499 (*Tribus Clustumina*: Liv. 2,19,2; 2,21,7; Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980: 30-33; Cornell 1995: 174 and footnote 4). From that time onwards *Crustumerium* was no longer documented as an urban centre but noted by ancient authors for its fertile soil and territory (Liv. 1,11; Cicero, *pro Flacco* XXIX,71; Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980: 24, 35-36), cited as *ager Crustuminus* (Varro, r.r. I, 14, 3; Liv. XLI, 9, 4-5) and as *Crustumini montes* (Liv. V, 37,7). In the preceding three and a half centuries, from c. 850 BC onwards, *Crustumerium* grew into a considerable settlement, extending over a tufa plateau of 60 hectares. It is now part of the Marcigliana Vecchia estate.

*Crustumerium* is located about 14 km north of ancient Rome, up the Tiber valley at the intersection of the boundaries between Latins, Etruscans, Faliscans-Capenates and Sabines (fig. 1). Its development was boosted by its strategic position. It was crossed by a main road connecting Etruria and Campania. It was also touched by another major route for overland transport leading from the Tyrrhenian to the Adriatic Sea across the Apennines, dating at least to the Iron Age. It comprised various tracks running through the hills and a later track going through the plain (named Via Salaria in the Roman period); upon reaching the territory of Cures Sabini, all these parallel

trails converged into a single mountain road (Cifarelli & di Gennaro 2000).

This article will present the available data on the oldest tombs uncovered in the cemeteries surrounding *Crustumerium* until 2013. It will especially examine the geographic position of the Early Iron Age tombs and their particular features as well as those few components of the funerary ritual that persisted into the subsequent Orientalizing period, such as the selection of specific pottery shapes.

There were several burial grounds around the settlement plateau (fig. 2). Up till now, about 400 tombs have been legally excavated at *Crustumerium* and they represent an estimated 10% of the total number of tombs that surrounded the settlement from the late 9<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (Nijboer & Willemsen 2012: 36-38). Only 23 of the tombs excavated up to 2013 can be assigned to the early settlement, i.e. to Latial periods IIB and III (from 830 to 725 BC).<sup>1</sup> The archaeological finds in the settlement - both from surveys and excavations - attest that its occupation too dates back to this period, although a small part of the plateau was frequented even during the Early Bronze Age (di Gennaro, Schiappelli & Amoroso 1998: 151-154 and 163-171, fig. 11; Barbaro, Barbina & Borzetti 2013: 28-33, figs. 11-15).

The chronological framework is the following:

Latial period	Absolute chronology	Relative chronology
IIA	950/925 - c. 875 BC	Early Iron Age I
IIB	c. 875 - c. 830 BC	
III	c. 830 - 730/725 BC	Early Iron Age II
IV	730/725 - 580 BC	Orientalizing period

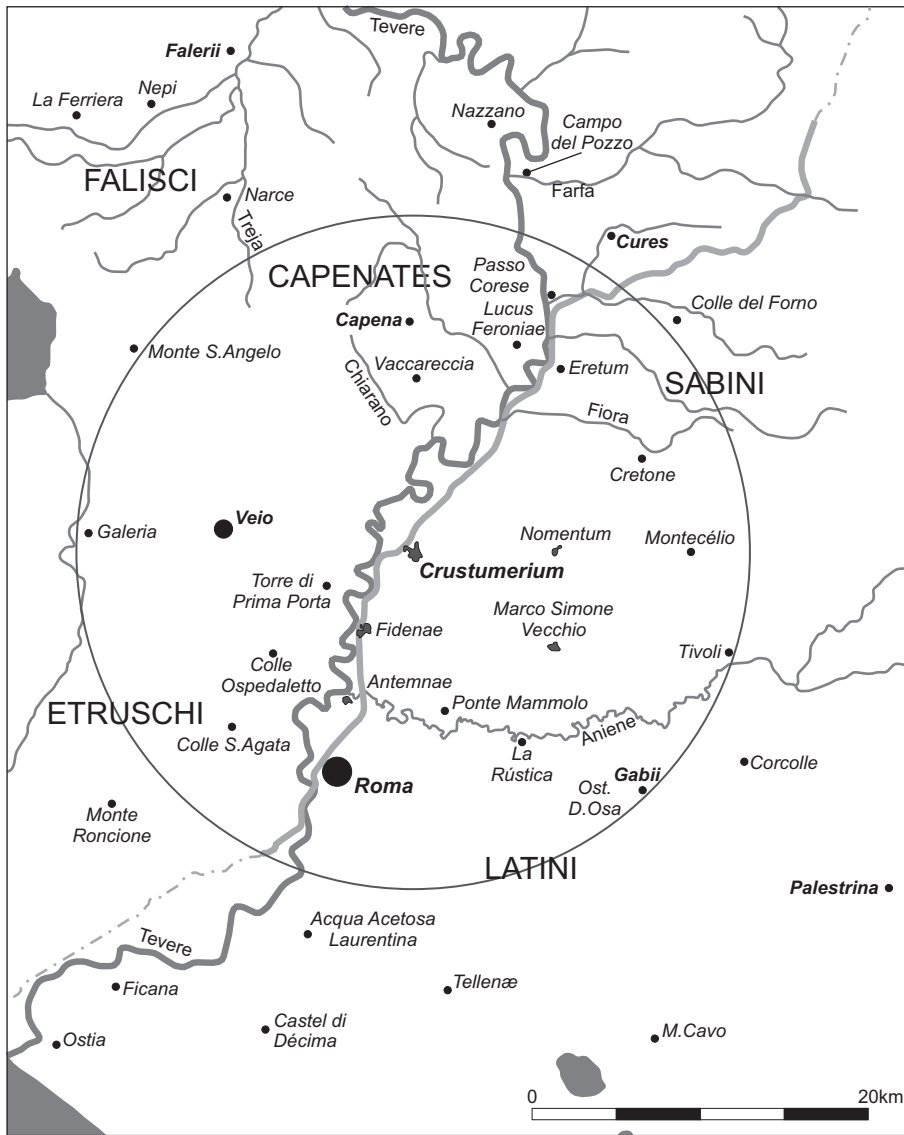


Fig. 1. Crustumerium and its surroundings (map RUG/GIA).

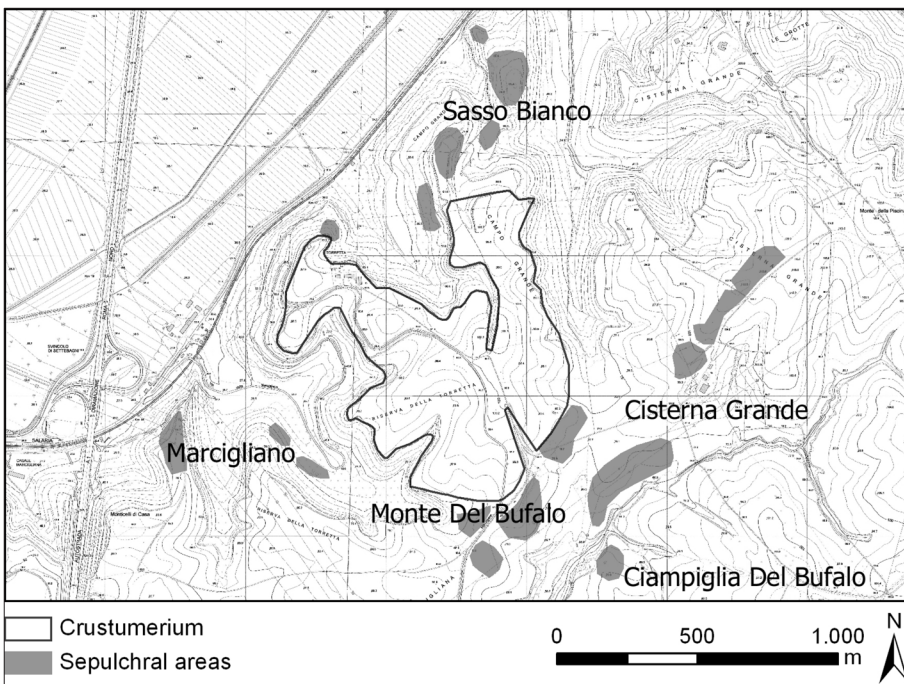


Fig. 2. Crustumerium, the settlement indicated with a black line and the surrounding cemeteries in grey (map RUG/GIA).

The number of Early Iron Age tombs at *Crustumerium* is modest. The majority of the tombs are assigned to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and consist of individual *fossa* tombs or “*a loculo*” tombs containing one or two depositions.<sup>2</sup> From the late 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards, chamber tombs are predominant, accommodating several burials probably pertaining to one family, and reflecting a period of profound social and cultural transformation (Willemsen 2014).

The limited number of Early Iron Age tombs at *Crustumerium* in relation to the sizeable number of tombs assigned to the subsequent Orientalizing period raises some questions. It might be caused by the preliminary stage of our fieldwork and/or by erosion. The early *fossa* tombs seem to be shallower than the later ones, and as the 7<sup>th</sup>- and 6<sup>th</sup>-century BC tombs are frequently ploughed out, we may expect this to have happened to Early Iron Age tombs as well. Another hypothesis that needs to be explored is selectivity in funerary practices per site or region. In the Middle-Tyrrhenian area a large number of Early Iron Age tombs are found next to the largest settlements, while the number of Early Iron Age tombs in the interior towards the Apennines is limited, as, for example, in the nearby Sabina.

Despite their small number, the available data on the earliest tombs around *Crustumerium* do help to shed light on the choices made by the community with respect to funerary rituals and the veneration of ancestors, and on the development of the burial grounds.

## 2. TOPOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF EARLY IRON AGE TOMBS

The 23 Early Iron Age tombs at *Crustumerium* discussed here were found at six locations around the settlement area; all of these cemeteries have provided evidence of subsequent use for burials, except for the Inviolatella area, where no investigation has been performed (di Gennaro 1999: 14; Attema *et al.* 2014: fig. 3).

One tomb is situated in the large burial ground at Sasso Bianco (fig. 2) which faced the Tiber valley, which was partially excavated in 1987 (di Gennaro 1988: 122-123, fig. 9; Belevi Marchesini 2013: 97, fig. 3). The chronological evidence is provided by a single typical small jar, a so-called *olletta a rete* (Belevi Marchesini 2013: fig. 7)<sup>3</sup> from SB Tomb 21, a shallow and poorly preserved feature which could no longer be studied in detail. This tomb is located next to a dense cluster of later tombs and possibly belonged to an early cemetery which was erased by erosion. Iron Age surface finds, 250 m SW from Sasso Bianco, may derive from a partially ploughed-out burial ground, located close to the settlement area.

On the opposite side of the settlement, another isolated early tomb was discovered at the electricity plant near *Crustumerium* in the Inviolatella estate (fig. 2), containing fragments of incised ceramics, three or four fibulae and a suspension ring. This tomb was probably part of a

burial plot on the road to *Fidenae*, the next centre along the Tiber and the Via Salaria, 6 km SW of *Crustumerium*. The other 21 tombs assigned to the Early Iron Age are found in the Monte Del Bufalo (MDB) cemetery (fig. 2), at four different locations.

Three of the locations still need to be fully investigated, whereas the last one can be examined in detail.

MDB Tomb 18 is an apparently isolated, female and intact tomb assigned to the Early Iron Age II. It is located among later graves in the western part of the MDB cemetery (fig. 3, B) and close to the settlement boundary. Tomb 18 has been presented in an earlier publication to note the close resemblance between the Iron Age material culture at Veii and *Crustumerium* (di Gennaro, Schiappelli & Amoroso 1998: 151, fig. 2-3).

MDB tombs 2 and 3 belong to a cluster of tombs next to the *Trincea Viaria*, one of the main entrances to the settlement in the form of a road cutting (fig. 3, C). This cluster has been partially explored (di Gennaro 1988: 116-121).

The third location is in the northeastern side of the MDB cemetery (fig. 3, D) and features MDB tomb 339, which is a badly eroded male tomb with a spearhead and a dagger. Subsequent excavations in this same area during campaigns in 2014, 2015 and 2016 suggest that it may be part of a small group of Early Iron Age II burials with weapons.

The bulk of the Early Iron Age tombs, 17 in total, are found in the *MDB-Via della Marcigliana* cluster of tombs (fig. 3, A; Belevi Marchesini & Pantano 2014: 12-23). At *Crustumerium* there are clusters of various types, ranging from small family clusters consisting of a limited number of tombs that frequently intersect and in their final phase also feature chamber tombs, to larger concentrations of tombs in the vicinity of older ones. Such larger concentrations of tombs, closely arranged, are best illustrated by the *Via della Marcigliana* cluster, which includes a small but meaningful group of Early Iron Age tombs. This group of tombs is so far unique for *Crustumerium*. Together with the surrounding, later tombs, it covers an area of about 2000 square metres, forming the largest coherent cluster of tombs at the site so far (fig. 4). This cluster consists of 88 tombs, including 7 chamber tombs of the late 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. Over a period of 250 to 300 years, new tombs were added specifically in this section of the burial ground, resulting in a close packing of tombs and representing the demographic and social evolution of a specific group within the community living at *Crustumerium*. In our view, this cluster represents a prominent extended family of a clan or *gens*, who traced their ancestry into a distant past. Comparable, though less long-lived clusters of tombs have been recorded at Veii (Toms 1986; Guidi 1993; Pacciarelli 1999: 267-276, fig. 143) in Etruria, at Osteria dell’Osa (Biatti Sestieri 1992: 785-787), at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina (Bedini 1984; Bedini 1990: 48-50) and at Satricum (Waarsenburg 1995: 315-317) in Latium Vetus, as well as at Torre Galli (Pacciarelli 1999: 67-106,



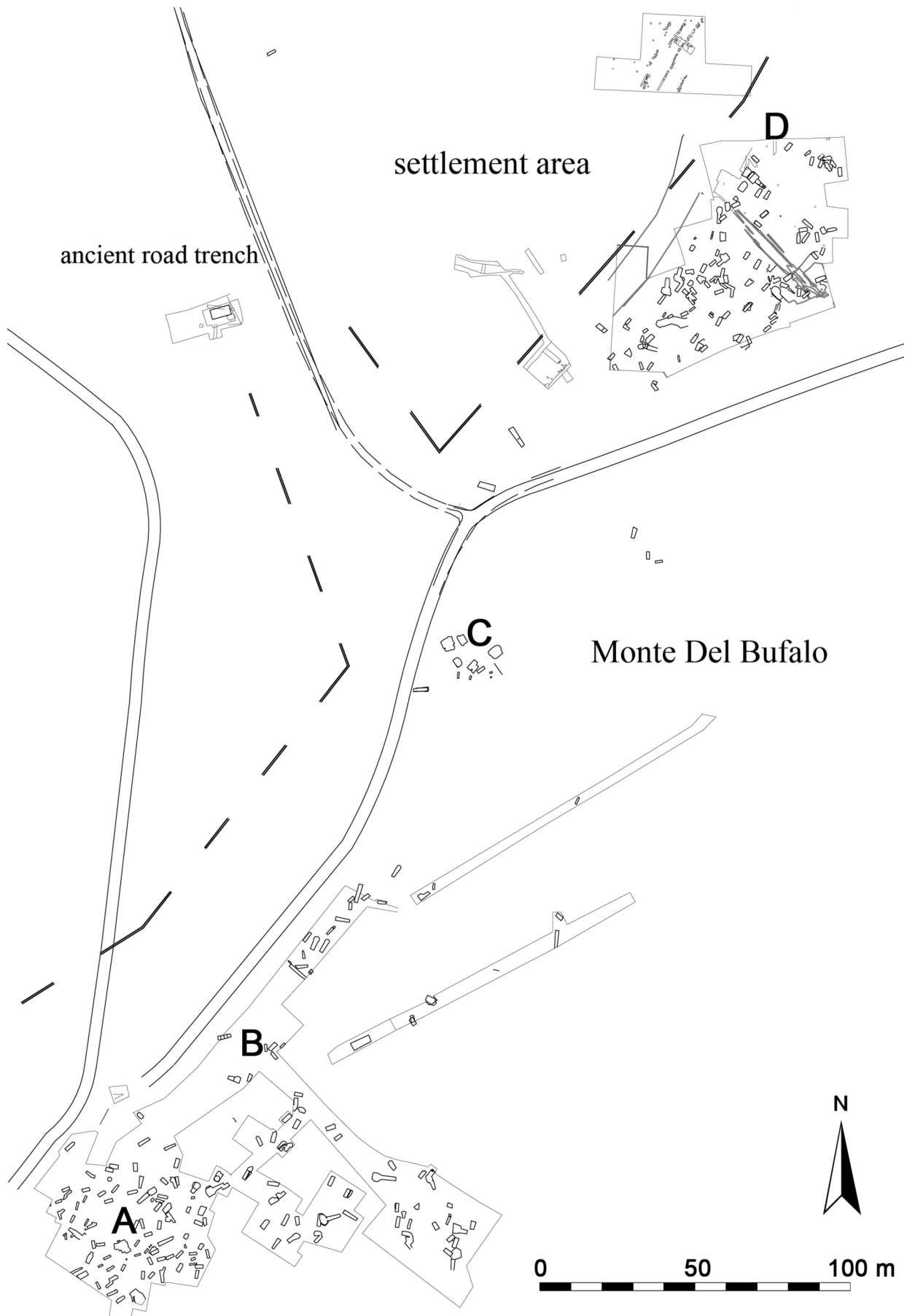


Fig. 3. Crustumerium, Monte Del Bufalo burial ground. Map with topographical distribution of the 21 Early Iron Age tombs in this necropolis (map M. Sabatini, elaboration B. Belelli Marchesini).



Fig. 4. Crustumerium, Monte Del Bufalo burial ground. The *Via della Marcigliana* group, with numbers of Early Iron Age tombs inserted (in grey). The burial area is delimited to the SW by a natural depression (map M. Sabatini, elaboration B. Belelli Marchesini).

figs. 22-25) and Pontecagnano (Gastaldi 2006: 113-114, fig. 2) in Campania and many other Iron Age sites in Italy. The topographical distribution of Early Iron Age tombs in the *Via della Marcigliana* cluster suggests that similar tight groups may have existed elsewhere around the settlement.

### 3. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE FOSSA TOMBS' STRUCTURE

During much of the late 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries BC the funerary structure is the plain, individual, trench or *fossa* grave. Of the 21 Monte Del Bufalo tombs reviewed here, 15 were strictly rectangular (MDB 2, 3, 18, 129, 136, 139, 141, 149, 153, 155, 156, 188, 198, 201 and 205): the trenches exhibit parallel, mostly rectilinear and vertical long sides with straight or slightly convex and vertical short sides. The short sides of a single grave might differ somewhat, possibly to mark the orientation of the tomb. Thus the short side near the skull of the deceased is usually convex. Some tombs differ from the above description: the *fossa* of MDB tomb 147 is very irregular and MDB tomb 142 is tapering, while both have a convex short side at the foot. The size of the tombs varies somewhat, but the average lies around 240-250 in length and 65-75 cm in width. The smallest tomb is MDB 3, of a girl aged 2 to 4 years, measuring 121 by 57-60 cm, while the

largest *fossa* tomb, belonging to an adult female, is MDB tomb 156, measuring 270 by 65-75 cm. The orientation of the tombs appears to be fairly strict, being NNE to ENE, and was respected in the subsequent early Orientalizing period as well. There are a few exceptions: MDB 201, for example, points WNW with the head. The uniformity of the tomb architecture during most of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC contrasts with the variety and complexity of tomb types that we find at *Crustumerium* during the late 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (di Gennaro 2006; di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010; Belelli Marchesini 2013).

The 17 Early Iron Age tombs in the *MDB-via della Marcigliana* cluster are distributed over the southern section of the burial ground, arranged in rows with regular spacing, and might belong to a few separate small groups, each exhibiting a slightly different orientation. Several tombs of this cluster have been disturbed and few skeletal remains are preserved, hence the gender of 40% of the individuals could not be determined either through archaeological or through anthropological analysis. From different kinds of evidence, 40% of the individuals were identified as females, and males made up the remaining 20%.

Age composition can be reconstructed on the basis of skeletal remains, which were preserved only in half of the tombs: all of these inhumations were of adult individuals, except for the child aged 2-4 years.



#### 4. THE ASSEMBLAGE OF GRAVE GOODS

The grave goods of the Early Iron Age tombs so far excavated at *Crustumerium* (fig. 5) include a maximum of 5 impasto objects per burial. A restricted number of shapes is usually represented: the cup with high-raised handle, the mug, the jug and the biconical neck-jar. The objects are placed in three main locations: next to the head, along the right side of the body or beside the feet.

The number of disturbed tombs and the poor preservation of the skeletons do not allow a detailed study of the combinations of grave goods, their ritual deposition in the tomb nor the relation between the objects and the body. Nevertheless, in those tombs that are fully preserved, their arrangement is mostly fairly standard. For example, the cup with high-raised handle is usually placed above or beside the head, whereas the jug is placed next to the feet or on top of the knees and the shinbones, sometimes on the right side of the body. The position of the mug varies: it seems to be associated either with the cup or with the jug, and not to occupy a specific location with respect to the deceased. During the subsequent early Orientalizing period, when the funerary customs changed significantly by separating the goods from the body, the mug is often placed next to the deceased and most probably had a ritual meaning.

The female ornaments of the Early Iron Age frequently comprise one or a couple of fibulae, small suspension rings, *fermatrecce* and a necklace (Belelli Marchesini & di Gennaro 2011: 323-325). The poor preservation of many of the skeletons does not allow identification of the exact position of the fibulae with respect to the body: they are generally placed on the chest, below the chin. In MDB tomb 18, there is a third fibula which was next to the right femoral head (hip joint) and may belong to a shroud. Occasionally a spindle-whorl is found in a female burial, placed either next to the head or near the right arm/hand; whereas a spearhead, in one case associated with a sword, points to a male inhumation.

The high incidence of eroded or robbed tombs also affects the possibility of a detailed study of the composition of the grave goods with respect to the representation of the social *persona* in the Early Iron Age. Nevertheless, the presence of sheet-metal objects seems to be rare and is possibly intended to stress a specific social status of the dead. In MDB tomb 156, belonging to an adult woman, the exceptional meaning of the bronze cup among the standardized set of funerary goods is underlined by its position: it was separated from the pottery and placed next to the feet, whereas the impasto cup was on the opposite short side of the trench, beyond the head. In the later MDB tomb 3, belonging to an infant burial, a poorly preserved bronze object (possibly a basin) was found next to the personal ornaments.

The pottery forms appearing as standard grave goods are designed for containing, serving and drinking a

beverage, which suggests the consumption of wine as the focus of funerary ideology (Iaia 1999: 65). Among the shapes, the cup with a high-raised handle seems to have a particular symbolic value, which is highlighted by its role in a local development of the burial rite. In the subsequent Orientalizing tombs of *Crustumerium*, the grave goods include and repeat all the shapes which are involved in the presentation, dilution and distribution among the participants in the communal consumption of wine: a peculiar feature is the large number of small cups with a raised handle (up to 55) and their circular disposition around a jar, so as to suggest that they were tied together through the handles in the funerary context, after being used by a group of mourners (*circumpotatio*). The cup, as its Greek name *kyathos* suggests, was used not only to draw a specific amount of liquid from the jar, but also to measure the quantity of wine each member of the group was entitled to. The Orientalizing grave goods also include vessels which were used for eating, such as bowls and plates, providing evidence for the social and cultural transformation that occurred from the late 8<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

Among the Early Iron Age tombs so far excavated, only MDB tomb 3, which belongs to the transition from Latial periods III and IV, includes a bowl that can be interpreted as a sign of the changing funerary ritual.

The small amphora on a circular stand from MDB tomb 153 (fig. 13) is so far a unique example at *Crustumerium* and can be interpreted as a ceremonial vase: its shape recalls the typical Latin *calefattoio*, interpreted as a ritual stand (Torelli 1997: 583-595) for the presentation of food or beverages (Colonna 1988: 428; Mandolesi 2005: 276) or hinting at the preparation of food (di Gennaro *et al.* 2009: 155-158).

The spindle-whorl is present only in five burials of adult women. Even if we assume that the absence of the spindle-whorl is sometimes caused by the poor preservation of most graves, the low number is meaningful and suggests a relationship with a specific social role and maybe also with a specific age group. It should be noted that in Latium the spindle-whorl is present in all female depositions belonging to the periods I and II, since it represented the social role all women were entrusted with from their birth (Bietti Sestieri 2008; 2012: 7-9), whereas in the following periods spinning and mostly weaving implements are often associated with high-status graves (De Santis 2007) and reflect a progressive transformation of the social order.

The excavated Early Iron Age tombs at *Crustumerium* do not preserve any other traces of ritual acts during the funeral, such as food offerings or intentionally broken objects included in the fill of the grave. Nevertheless, the peculiar position of the mug in MDB tomb 153 suggests that it was used during the funeral but not given to the deceased: in fact it was placed on top of a rough bank made of rubble and earth beside the grave, whereas the actual grave goods were lying on the bottom of the pit.

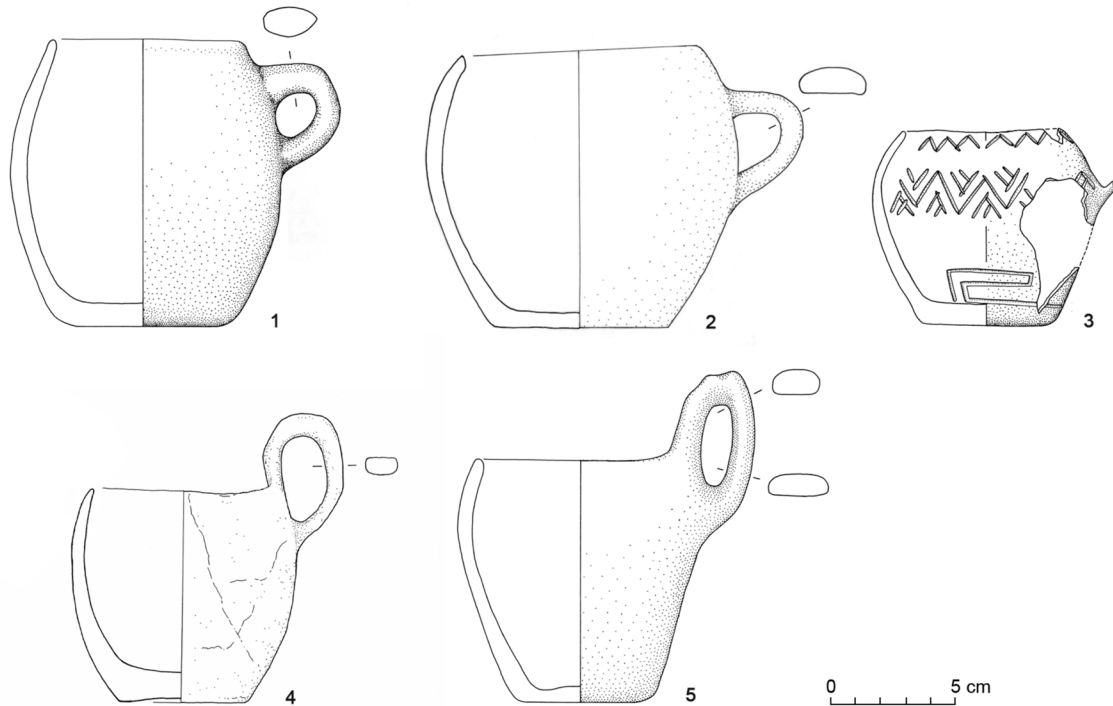


Fig. 6. Crustumerium, Early Iron Age mugs (drawings M. Sabatini, elaboration S. Boersma, RUG/GIA).

## 5. NOTES ON THE TYPO-CHRONOLOGY

A preliminary typo-chronological discussion of the artefacts in the Early Iron Age tombs is feasible, based on the available documentation. We present mugs, jugs, double-handled biconical neck-jars, cups, amphoras, double-handled cups and suspension rings.

### 5.1 Mugs

The mugs can be divided into two main groups, each comprising several types: mugs with a short vertical strap handle on the shoulder (in Italian: *boccale*), and mugs with a raised handle (in Italian: *boccale-attingitoio*).

The mugs belonging to the first group have a large flat base and a more or less flaring body with incurving rim. The mugs with a more elliptical body shape (fig. 6, 1-2) are comparable to type Toms VII 1 of Veii (Toms 1986: 88, fig. 20: phases IC-IIB). Possibly belonging to the same group is a fragmentary mug with rich incised decoration (fig. 6, 3), parallels for which are offered by a mug from Veii, Quattro Fontanili, tomb E-F 11-12, no. 12 (Bedello & Fabbricotti 1975: 133, fig. 46, phase Toms IIB) and by a similar mug with a stemmed foot and an animal protome, from tomb DD7-8 (Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1967: 117, no. 1, figs. 16 and 118, no. 6).

The second group of mugs, those with a raised handle, comprises at least two different types. The first type, with a regular, convex, short body on a large base (fig. 6, 4) is comparable to type Bettelli V3 (Bettelli 1997: 45, pl.

8:5; Gierow 1966: fig. 35:11, type XIVK, from Marino); Osteria dell'Osa, tomb 26 (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 761, fig. 3a.412) and type 17a (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 274, pl. 20, Latial periods II to IV).

Parallels for the second type, with asymmetrical profile (fig. 6, 5), are found at Osteria dell'Osa, tomb 475, no. 1 (Bietti Sestieri 1992: fig. 3a. 218 (with shorter handle), phase IIB2) and tomb 26, no. 1 (Bietti Sestieri 1992: fig. 3a. 412, phase IIB); Mentana, Quarto della Conca, tomb I (Gierow 1966: 148, fig. 35:12).

The shape here defined as a mug precedes the so-called "attingitoio a botticella", documented in Orientalizing tombs from Latium Vetus, as well as from Etruria.

### 5.2 Jugs (in Italian: *orciolo*)

The jugs comprise at least three different typological groups.

The first group (fig. 7, 1) has an ovoid-globular body on a flat base, with outturning rim and one vertical strap handle on the shoulder. It is comparable to type 11h at Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 264, pl. 18, Latial period II), which has parallels in Pontecagnano and Sala Consilina, and is similar to a jug from tomb BB8-9 at Veii, Quattro Fontanili (Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1967: 106, fig. 8, no. 1, phase Toms IIA).

The second group includes biconical jugs with a conical body on a flat base, convex shoulder, conical neck and outturning rim. Within this group two different types are represented by one item each: the first (fig. 7, 2) has a squat shoulder and a large mouth, and may be compared

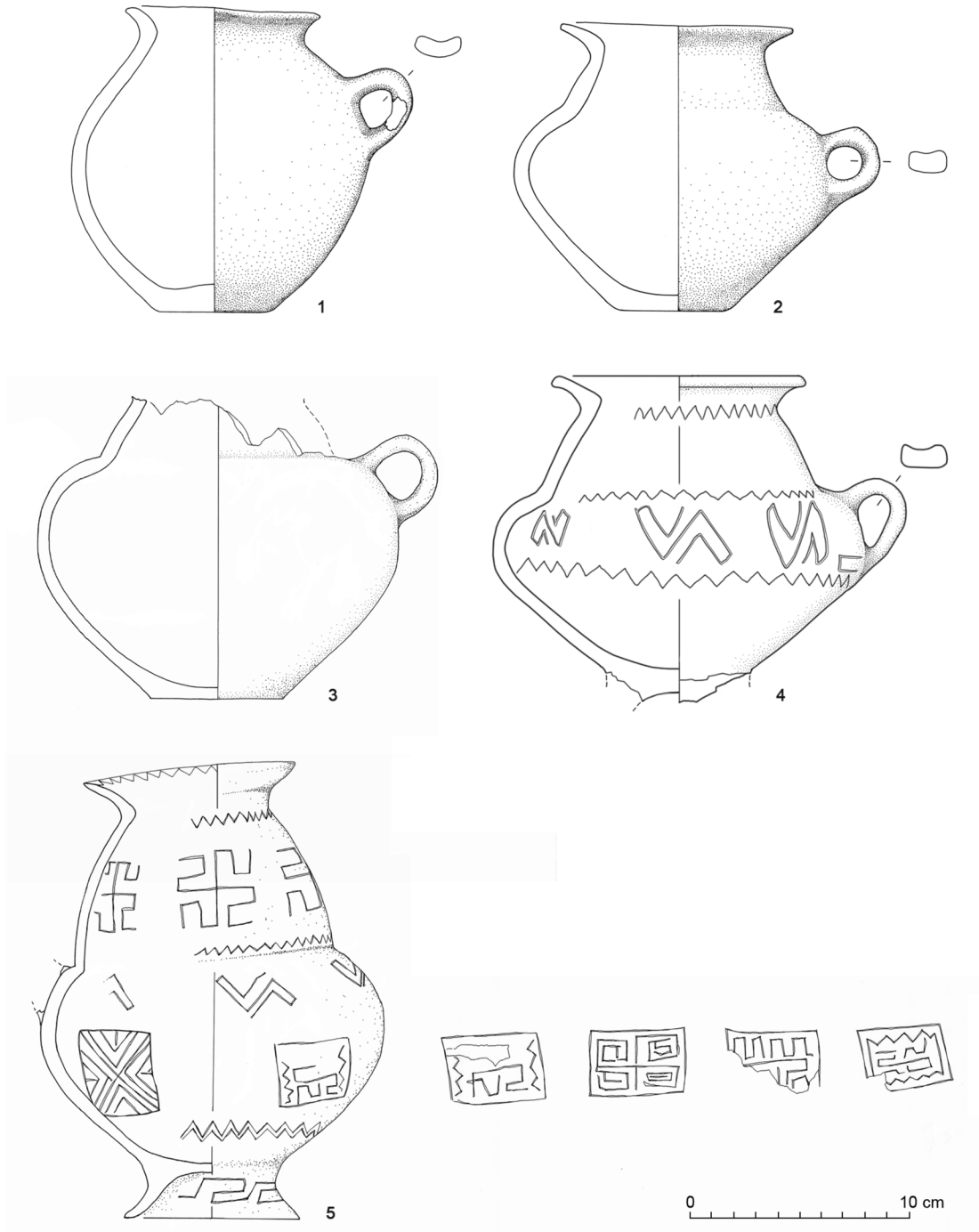


Fig. 7. Crustumerium, Early Iron Age jugs (drawings M. Sabatini, elaboration S. Boersma, RUG/GIA).

to type Bettelli 5 which has three knobs (Bettelli 1997: 48 and 140, pl. 12:1, phase IIB1-IIB2); the second (fig. 7, 3) is attested by a fragmentary jug with a convex shoulder and a tapering neck, which is akin to Osteria dell'Osa type 12a (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 266-267, pl. 19, Latial period II).

The third group is that of biconical decorated jugs on a stemmed foot, which can be divided into two different types. The first one (fig. 7, 4) has a globular, compressed body on a stemmed foot; high convex tapering neck, with everted rim. The neck is decorated with a band

of hooked swastikas delimited by two horizontal single zigzag lines. The body is decorated with angular patterns on the shoulder, four different metopes at its widest circumference and a double zigzag line encircling the bottom. The foot is decorated with a single-line meander. A zigzag line encircles the inner side of the rim. It is close to types Bettelli VI 3C1 (Bettelli 1997: 47, pl. 10:2 and 63:4, phase IIA2-IIB1, with narrower mouth and lower foot), Osteria dell'Osa 12b1 (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 268, pl. 19) and Gierow V5 (Gierow 1966: 170, fig. 150:5).

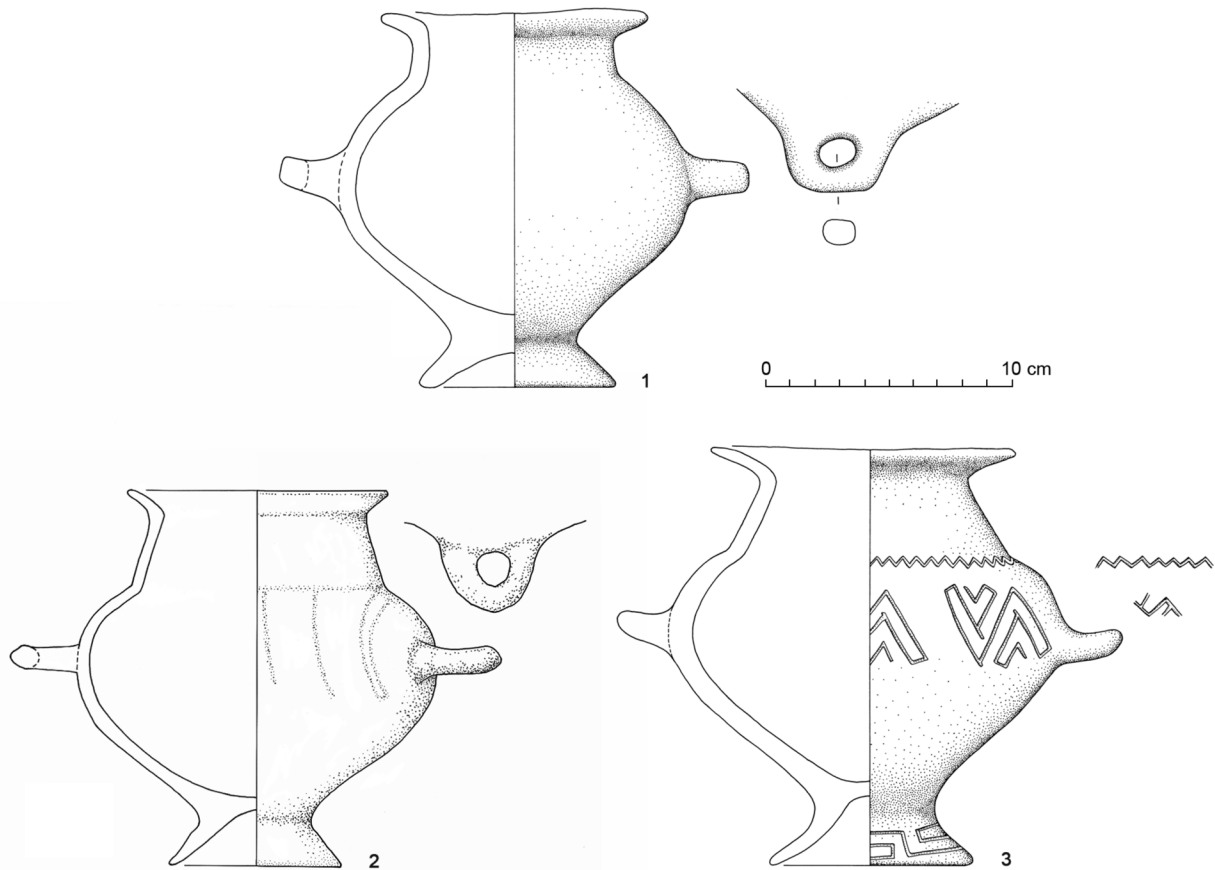


Fig. 8. Crustumerium, Early Iron Age double-handled neck-jars (drawings M. Sabatini, elaboration S. Boersma, RUG/GIA).

The second type (fig. 7, 5) has a conical body but slightly compressed and has a short, tapering, almost straight neck; the decoration is simplified and displays angular patterns on the shoulder as well as zigzag lines.

### 5.3 Double-handled biconical neck-jars (in Italian: *vaso a collo su piede*)

The double-handled neck-jars are typical vessels of the Latial Early Iron Age, with a body reminiscent of the jugs, but always with a foot and a pair of horizontal handles. Our sample can be divided into two main groups.

The first subtype is the jar with a short and distinct cylindrical neck and a short everted rim (fig. 8, 1), which is almost identical to those from Osteria dell'Osa, tomb 126:7 (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 564-565, fig. 3a. 21, phase IIA1) and from Tivoli, tomb 45 (Colonna *et al.* 1976: 195, tav. XXXIV:2, but decorated) and corresponds with type 10a of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 258, pl. 17, Latial period II).

The second group includes two different jars with a tapering neck. The first example (fig. 8, 2) has a compressed globular body with slight grooves on the upper part of the body. It is comparable to type Bettelli 5c (Bettelli 1997: 41, tav. 3:2) and to type 10a of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 258, pl. 17, Latial period II).

The second example (fig. 8, 3) has an ovoid body with incised decoration consisting of a zigzag line on the shoulder, near the transition to the neck; an incised band of three double-angle motifs on the shoulder, between the handles; an incised single-line meander encircling the foot; and a single double-angle motif above the handles. It is akin to type Bettelli 4 (Bettelli 1997: 41, table 3, no. 4, and table 71, phases IIB2-III A).

### 5.4 Cups (in Italian: *tazza*)

All cups have a raised, biforal handle and can be divided into two main groups: cups with an upright rim and cups with a wide and squat body.

The first group comprises three cups of different types. The first type (fig. 9, 1) has a conical, deep body with a slightly concave profile, convex shoulder, short upright lip and three knobs at the widest point of the body. It is similar to a cup from Veii, Grotta Gramiccia, tomb 779 (Berardinetti & Drago 1997: fig. 20, first half of 8<sup>th</sup> century BC), associated with an imported chevron *skyphos* dated 780-770 BC (Boitani 2004: 321, tav. 3:1). The shape corresponds with type Toms V8 (Toms 1986: 85, fig. 20, phases IC-IIB) and Guidi 34F (Guidi 1993: 28, fig. 2:7, phase IIA). It is also similar to a cup from Castel di Decima, tomb 132 (Castel di Decima 1975: 387, fig. 24,

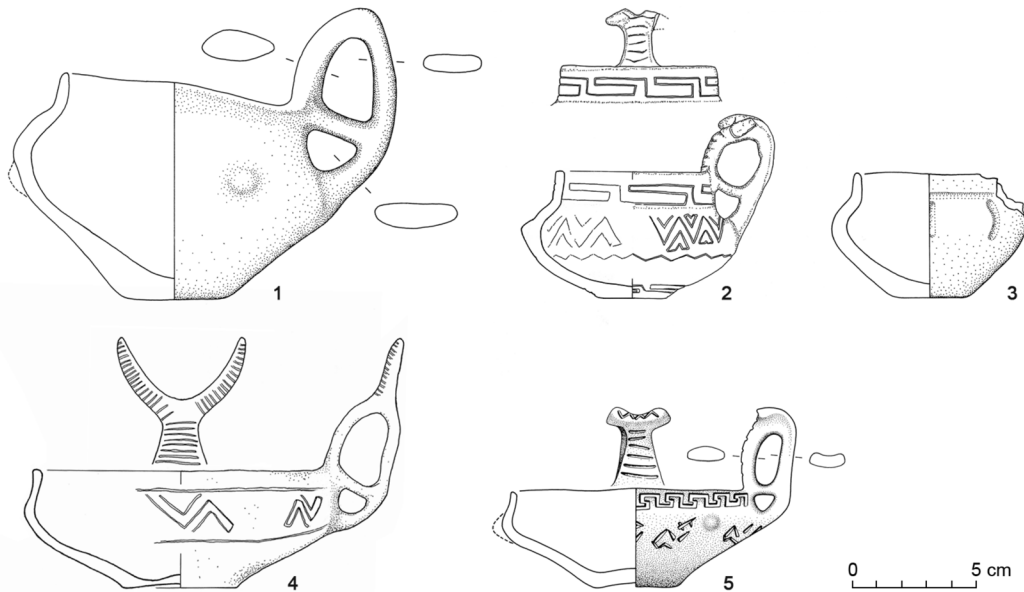


Fig. 9. Crustumerium, Early Iron Age cups (drawings M. Sabatini, elaboration S. Boersma, RUG/GIA).

no. 13), dated to Latial period IIB2 (Bartoloni & Nizzo 2005: 412). Besides, it is akin to cups from tomb 22 at Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 748, fig. 3a.389, no. 3, Latial period II, maybe IIB), and tomb 14B (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 746, fig. 3a.386, no. 2, Latial period II, maybe IIB) and corresponds to type Bettelli 9B (Bettelli 1997: 66, pl. 29:2, phase IIA2).

The second type (fig. 9, 2) has a handle with a saddle-shaped top and transversally grooved front; the incised decoration includes a one-line meander encircling the rim and the base, a band with zigzag lines alternating with angular patterns, and a zigzag line on the body, just below the widest point. It is similar to type 21a of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 290, pl. 23, with everted lip, Latial period II) and to cups from Veii, with a slightly deeper body and a stemmed foot, but identical decoration (Toms 1986: 84, fig. 22; Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1967: 106, tomb BB8-9, fig. 8, no. 2, phase IIA), and from Latium (Gierow 1966: 117, fig. 23:6, type VIID).

The third type (fig. 9, 3) has a deep tronco-conical body and a large, flat base. It is decorated with vertical grooves at its widest point. It is akin to cups from Veii, Quattro Fontanili tomb EEFF11, no. 1 (Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1967: 146, fig. 28, phase Toms IIA) and tomb FF7-8, no. 3 (Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1967: 151, fig. 39, p. 151, phase Toms IIB). The shape is also similar to Osteria dell'Osa,

type 20a (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 280, table 21, p. 280: Latial period II).

The cups belonging to the second group are decorated on their widest point with a band of N-shaped angular motifs (similar to De Angelis 2001: 27, pl. 2, type 6A2) delimited by horizontal lines, and with grooves on the front of the handle. The first type (fig. 9, 4) features a high biforal handle and horn-shaped projections; parallels are type Bettelli 19B3 (Bettelli 1997: 73 pl. 34: 10 and 70, phase IIB2) and Toms V5 (Toms 1986: 84, fig. 22, phase IIA of Veii).

The last type of cup at *Crustumerium* (fig. 9, 5) has a saddle-shaped handle and can be compared to Veii's types Guidi 36C (Guidi 1993: 28-30, fig. 5:9, phase IIA-IIB1) and Toms V3 (Toms 1986: 84, fig. 2, confined to phase IIA); it is also similar to type 22d of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 295, pl. 23, with everted rim, period II) and type Bettelli 19A2 (Bettelli 1997: 72, pl. 34:6, phases IIB2-III A).

#### 5.4 Amphoras (in Italian: *anforetta*)

The small amphora (fig. 10,1) is similar to examples from Latium (Ampolo *et al.* 1980: 1, tav. 13:5), *e.g.* Praeneste (Gatti 2013: 318, fig. 14), and can be dated to phase IIB2 (Gusberty 2005: 161, fig. 2, 4).

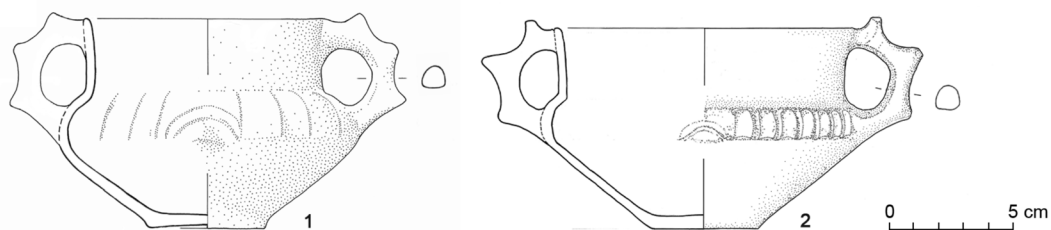


Fig. 10. Crustumerium, Early Iron Age double-handled cups and amphorae (drawings M. Sabatini, elaboration S. Boersma, RUG/GIA).



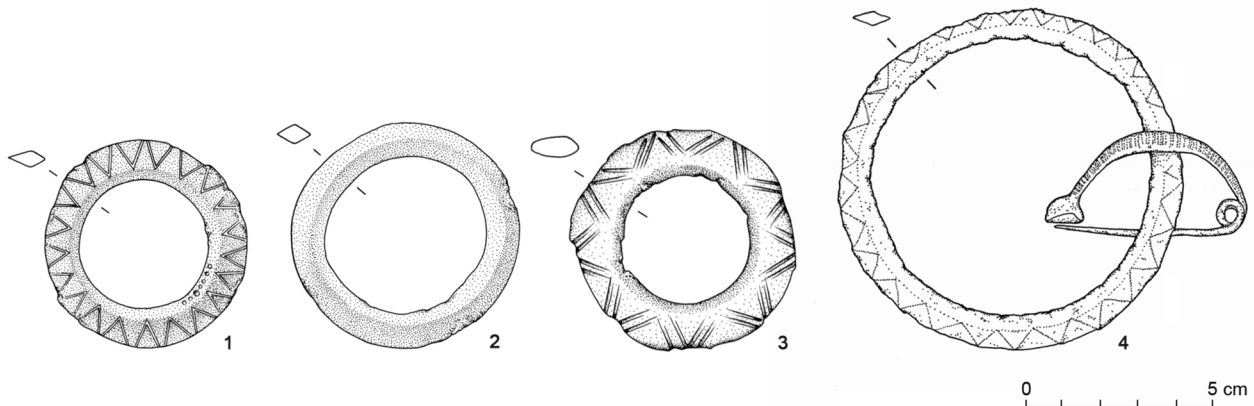


Fig. 11. Crustumerium, Early Iron Age suspension rings (drawings M. Sabatini, elaboration S. Boersma, RUG/GIA).

### 5.5 Double-handled cups (in Italian: *tazza biansata*)

The specimen from *Crustumerium* (fig. 10, 2) belongs to type 100a of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 333, tav. 30, period IV; Ampolo et al. 1980: tav. 13, tipo 5, Latial period III) and to type Carafa 174 (Carafa 1995: 74), which is documented in tombs 88 and 89 of the Esquiline, Rome (Gjerstad 1956: 230, fig. 206:2, 237, fig. 211:7) and in tomb M of the Forum Romanum (Gjerstad 1966: fig. 41:1).

### 5.6 Suspension rings (in Italian: *anello da sospensione*)

Suspension rings with fibulae can be divided into two groups according to their size. The first group includes three rings (diameter 5,5/6 cm) with a different section. The first ring (fig. 11, 1) has a diamond-shaped, slightly asymmetrical section and is decorated with a zigzag line on both sides. It corresponds with type 45g of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 383, table 40), Gierow type VIb (Gierow 1966: 332) and type Bettelli XXXVI7A1 (Bettelli 1997: 116, pl. 53:8); it can be dated to Latial period IIIB1 (Gusberty 2005: 164, fig. 5:1-2).

The second ring (fig. 11, 2) has a diamond-shaped section and is undecorated. It corresponds with type 45b of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 381-382, table 4, periods II-III) and type Gierow VIa (Gierow 1966: 332, fig. 94). It is also documented at Caere, Sorbo (Pohl 1972: 204, fig. 181, tomb 441:1; 206, tomb 443, nos 8-9, fig. 183; 209, tomb 451, no. 6, fig. 185; 237, tomb 214, no. 1, fig. 225; 263, tomb 440, no. 1, fig. 266).

The third ring (fig. 11, 3) is larger and has an elliptical section, which might be due to erosion; it has no parallels.

The second group consists of a ring (fig. 11, 4) with a diamond-shaped, symmetrical section, decorated on both sides with a zigzag line (diameter 9 cm). It corresponds to type Bettelli VA3 (Bettelli 1997: 116, tav. 53:4 and pl. 72, phases IIB2-IIIa) and type Gierow VIb (Gierow 1966: 332, fig. 94), and can be dated to Latial period IIIB1 (Gusberty 2005: 164, fig. 5:1-2).

## 6. NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY

The evidence so far indicates that no tombs at *Crustumerium* predate Latial period IIB. Of course this does not imply that occupation of the urban plateau itself cannot be earlier, but it should be stressed that the possibility of closely dating the artefacts depends on the overall knowledge of the Latin material culture of this period and the relation between the typo-chronological sequences of Latium Vetus and Veii as presented above. In this respect, parallels for some artefacts at *Crustumerium* sometimes suggest a date in Latial period IIA, but most of these types continue into IIB; however, the associated ornaments that can be more accurately assigned to a phase, indicate the transition between periods II and III. This is therefore the most probable date for the earliest tombs at *Crustumerium*.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

The available evidence for the few earliest tombs recovered at *Crustumerium* until 2013, which pertains to Latial Period IIB and Period III, c. 850 to 725 BC, and includes the evidence from partially preserved tombs, sheds light on the following archaeological aspects: the topographical distribution of the earliest tombs and their small number; the period of the settlement's foundation; the cultural features of the local community and the possible attribution to one of the historical "ethnic" groups that faced each other in this area.

As regards the location of the earliest tombs, these are found at various locations around the settlement, indicating that several cemeteries were used from the start, as was the case at some other prominent Iron Age settlements in central Italy. The cemeteries at *Crustumerium* expanded significantly in the subsequent Orientalizing period. An intriguing aspect is the small number of Early Iron Age II tombs at *Crustumerium* compared to those of the Orientalizing period. Restricted access to formal burial during this period remains a possible explanation,

in spite of two important conflicting factors: the presumably large number of tombs destroyed by natural erosion and as a result of agricultural activities and secondly, as a result of the creation of later tombs. The incomplete anthropological and archaeological data do not allow the identification of any category (in terms of age, gender, role etc.) that might have had privileged access to formal burial.

As regards the hypothesis of the loss of fossa tombs, we would also like to point to the reuse of 8<sup>th</sup>-century tomb markers, known as *cippi*. Some of these *cippi* were found in the fill of tombs that were constructed in the late Orientalizing period, at least a century later (Belelli Marchesini 2013: fig. 8). The reused *cippi*, also in areas where we did not find Iron Age tombs, indicate that originally there must have been more Early Iron Age tombs at *Crustumerium*, many of which will have been ploughed out in past centuries. Naturally it is impossible to say whether any, and if so how many, Early Iron Age tombs in *Crustumerium* were destroyed even in Antiquity by the expansion of tomb clusters; the available data from the cemeteries suggest a conscientious treatment of previous burials up till c. 625-600 BC, when chamber tombs came into use at *Crustumerium*.

With respect to the social ordering of the community at *Crustumerium*, we emphasize that so far no elaborate warrior tombs with sheet-bronze tableware have been recovered, like those occasionally excavated at some other sites such as “Villanovan” Veii and Tarquinia (e.g. Iaia 2005a). These lavishly furnished male tombs of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC precede the even richer *tombe principesche* of the Early Orientalizing period, neither kind found at *Crustumerium* so far. It is certainly too early to say that the social stratification was not expressed ostentatiously in the funerary architecture and artefacts as at nearby Etruscan Veii and, later, at Sabine Eretum. However, elaborate Early Iron Age II warrior tombs are rare in *Latium Vetus*, nor are they documented in nearby Sabina. At *Crustumerium* there are a few male tombs dating to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC with a limited number of weapons and these may well reflect the distinctive attitude towards arms in *Latium Vetus*, as pointed out for nearby Osteria dell’Osa where the male inhumation tomb 262, dated to around 800 BC, was the first to receive a functional weapon, a bronze javelin head (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 785-786).<sup>4</sup> The treatment of weapons in male tombs at both Osteria dell’Osa and *Crustumerium* is comparable, characterised by a limited deposition of functional weapons early on, but increasing during the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. At Osteria dell’Osa weapons are found in 58 male tombs assigned to periods III and IV - mainly spearheads and swords, except for warrior tomb 600, which is unique and interpreted as that of an immigrant from southern Etruria (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 511-512).

The partial expression of social status in the tombs at *Crustumerium* might be related to the conservative features observed in its funerary record, but this requires

some reflection, especially as regards MDB tomb 141, to be presented comprehensively in the catalogue below. The tomb contains the poorly preserved skeleton of a child aged 2 to 4 years. In Early Iron Age *Latium*, infant tombs are underrepresented in the necropolises. From the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, several children were buried inside the settlements and next to dwellings (De Santis in Bietti Sestieri 1992: 786; Modica 2007: 218-220). In Latin cemeteries some infants were inserted in family clusters (Modica 1993:10). However, MDB tomb 141 contains ornaments and a complete set of pottery that matches infant burials at other sites (e.g. Osteria dell’Osa: Bietti Sestieri 1992: 504). This confirms that in certain child tombs the distinction between adult and infant burials diminishes from c. 800 BC onwards. However, taking into account the death rate of children more in general, the archaeological data from *Latium Vetus* indicate that only few children were buried in the settlement or in the necropolises. Historical sources show that in agricultural communities before the 19<sup>th</sup> century AD the rate of infant mortality was high (e.g. Scheidel 1999: 266; Morris 1989: 57-62).<sup>5</sup> If up to 50% of all children in the Early Iron Age failed to reach the age of 5, child burials should have constituted a considerable proportion of the tombs. In Iron Age central Italy the percentage of children’s graves is far from this high, and the burial of small children in a necropolis is considered exceptional (e.g. Nijboer & Willemsen 2012: 38). When children did come to be selected for formal burial in a family plot, they must have been deemed special and these burials require a detailed reading.

At some important sites in central Italy, children’s graves that appear from c. 800 BC onwards are accompanied by status goods and even symbols of power. The 8<sup>th</sup>- and 7<sup>th</sup>-century tombs of children containing such artefacts, like a chariot, an array of weapons or a *bullae*, are often interpreted as evidence of social stratification (e.g. Pacciarelli 2001: fig. 139, 265-276; Bartoloni 2003: 102-105; Emiliozzi 1999: 326; Becker & Nowlin 2011). These tombs demonstrate that social status was assigned at birth. MDB tomb 141 might belong to this group of exceptional children’s tombs but, in our view, the accompanying artefacts are not distinctive enough to prove the existence of social classes at *Crustumerium* from c. 800 BC onwards. Even so, it remains intriguing that the body of this little girl was singled out to be buried in this cluster of tombs at *Crustumerium*, with artefacts comparable to those in the Early Iron Age II adult female tombs in her vicinity.

We would finally like to emphasize the significance of this cluster of 17 Early Iron Age II tombs, of which three are fully presented below: MDB tombs 141, 153 and 156 (figs. 4, 12, 13 and 14). The cluster of tombs of which these graves form part, situated next to the Via della Marcigliana, emerged around 825 BC and remained in use as a burial plot for at least two and a half centuries, roughly ten generations (Belelli Marchesini & Pantano

2014: 14-24). As a designated area for burials, it was in use by an extended family who interred some of their relatives here. If they all received a formal burial, ten generations of an extended family would have resulted in far more graves than the 88 recorded ones. Yet the selection criteria for those to be buried in this plot remain unclear, as was also pointed out in the discussion of MDB tomb 141, above.

Cemeteries in central Italy may contain tomb clusters of various types: of a family, an extended family or a kinship group. Some consider such clusters that through time develop around the oldest tombs as an indication for the existence of clans or *gentes*.<sup>6</sup> These clusters on average contain tens of tombs, covering a period of 100 to 150 years, or four to six generations. It follows that burial in such a plot was highly selective; the vast majority of the group represented by such a cluster were not interred at this location. Christopher Smith rightly points out that such individual clusters are not indicative for the existence of *gentes*. He argues that the clusters are too small and too short-lived to record lasting clan lines that might comprise hundreds or thousands of people, resulting in thousands of tombs if all were buried for several generations.<sup>7</sup> Such numbers are only found in whole necropolises and not in individual clusters of tombs in Italy. The clusters more probably reflect kinship groups that used a specific burial plot for generations. It is likely, though, that the separate cemeteries around primary settlements in central Italy originally each represented a clan, since they were made up of several clusters or kinship groups. It is known that the settlement of *Crustumarium* did not go back to the Final Bronze Age. So the time of its founding falls between the beginning of the Iron Age

and the *terminus ante quem* represented by the graves described here, Latial Period IIB.

The material culture at *Crustumarium* relates it to the Latins; both the artefacts and the funerary rite show connections with the area to the south of *Crustumarium*. Yet it needs to be stressed that the 8<sup>th</sup>-century funerary culture of the nearby Sabines is still poorly understood.

Remarkable is the highly traditional or conservative nature of some artefacts associated with funerary ritual at *Crustumarium*. As mentioned in the notes on the typo-chronology above, several ceramic vessels and ornaments, such as the mug, the cup with a raised handle and the suspension ring, present in the oldest tombs, were still being placed in tombs during much of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Even so, the 17 Early Iron Age tombs that represent the oldest phase of the long-lived Via della Marcigliana cluster are highly representative for *Crustumarium* as far as their features and contents are concerned. To show this in detail, we close this paper with illustrations and a full catalogue of three well-preserved Early Iron Age tombs from this cluster.

## 8. CATALOGUE

The catalogue includes three Early Iron Age tombs from the 'Via della Marcigliana' cluster of tombs at *Crustumarium* (fig. 4), which preserve both ornaments and grave goods, which were restored by the Laboratory of Conservation of the Groningen Institute of Archaeology. The parallels are mainly provided to address the cultural relationships of *Crustumarium* with Latium Vetus and with the other



Fig. 12. Restored artefacts from Tomb 141 (photo G.J.M. van Oortmerssen, RUG/GIA).

side of the Tiber: the Etruscan town of Veii and the territory of the Faliscans.

### 8.1 MDB 141 (fig. 12)

The tomb, oriented to the N-E, is 50-55 cm wide and 170 cm long. It contains a poorly preserved skeleton of a girl, aged 2-4 years: just some teeth and fragments of the skull were traced. The child was buried with a relatively rich set of ornaments: a pair of bronze fibulae, each one adorned with aring, on the chest; a string of beads, which was found where the right arm must have been. The beads may belong either to a bracelet or to a necklace. The pottery was placed above the head (nos 1, 2) and next to the feet (nos 3, 4).

The tomb can be assigned to the transition between Latial Period IIB2 and Period III, around 825-800 BC.

1. Impasto cup (inv. SSBAR 507376) with straight rim, convex shoulder, deep tronco-conical body and large, flat base. It is decorated with vertical grooves at its widest point. The handle is missing. Diam. mouth 6.5; Diam. base 3.1; Height 4.9. It is akin to cups from Veii, Quattro Fontanili: tomb EFFF11, no. 1 (Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1967: 146, fig 28, phase Toms IIA); tomb FF7-8, no. 3 (Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1967: 151, fig 39, phase Toms IIB). The shape is similar to Osteria dell'Osa, type 20a (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 280, table 21, Latial period II).
2. Impasto mug (inv. SSBAR 507377) with ovoid convex body, incurving rim and a large flat base; the lower attachment of the handle is preserved. It is decorated with an incised zigzag line just below the rim; an incised zigzag line combined with angular motifs at its widest point and an incised single-line meander just above the base. Diam. mouth 6; Diam. base 5.5; Height 7.8. It is comparable to a mug from Veii, Quattro Fontanili, tomb E-F 11-12, no. 12 (Bedello & Fabbriotti 1975: 133, fig. 46, phase Toms IIB) and is similar to another mug with a stemmed foot and an animal protome from tomb DD7-8 (Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1967: 117, no. 1, figs. 16 and 118:6).
3. Impasto jug "orciolo" (inv. SSBAR 507378) with deep conical body on a flat base, convex shoulder, conical neck and outturning rim. A vertical strap handle is attached to the shoulder and the widest point of the body. Diam. mouth 10.8; Diam. base 5.2; Height 13. The shape of the body corresponds with type Bettelli 5 (Bettelli 1997: 48 and 140, pl. 12:1, phase IIB1-IIB2), which has three knobs.
4. Double-handled biconical neck-jar (inv. SSBAR 507379) with deep ovoid body on a low stemmed foot and convex shoulder; a carination between body and conical neck and outturning rim. Two opposing horizontal handles are applied to the widest part of the body. The decoration consists of an incised zigzag line on the shoulder, next to the transition to the neck; an incised band of three double-angle motifs (Bietti Sestieri 1992: table 6, type XIIb) on the shoulder, between the handles; an incised single-line meander encircling the foot; a single double-angle motif above the handles. Diam. mouth 12,3; Diam. base 8,3; Height 16,7. It is comparable to type Bettelli 4 (Bettelli 1997: 41, table 3, no. 4, and table 71; phases IIB2-IIIa).
5. Bronze fibula (inv. SSBAR 507380); semi-circular leech bow fibula with short catchplate. The decoration on the upper surface of the bow consists of transverse bands with a herringbone pattern, delimited by incised and dotted lines. A small ring is caught in the catch. L. 5. It corresponds with type 38x of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 364, table 36; Latial period III), and to the type Toms I.16 (Toms 1986: fig. 23, phase IIA-IIB) of Veii. The decoration corresponds with type i29 of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 357, table 35).
6. Bronze fibula (inv. SSBAR 507381); semicircular leech bow fibula with short catchplate. The bow is decorated with six transverse, spaced bands of herringbone pattern, delimited by deep incised lines. L. 3.5. It corresponds with type Toms I.12 of Veii (Toms 1986: fig. 22, phase IIA), type Guidi 90A2 (Guidi 1993: 46, fig. 3:7, phase IIA), type 38x of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 364, table 36; Latial period III) and type Lo Schiavo 113b (Lo Schiavo 2010: 261-262, pl. 128).
7. Bronze suspension ring (inv. SSBAR 507382). Diamond-shaped and slightly asymmetrical in section; decorated on both sides with a zigzag line. Attached to fibula no. 5. D. 5.5; W. 1.1. It corresponds with type 45g of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 383, table 40); type Gierow VIb (Gierow 1966: 332); type Bettelli XXXVI7A1 (Bettelli 1997: 116, pl. 53:8); it can be dated to Latial period IIIB1 (Gusberti 2005: 164, fig. 5:1-2).
8. Bronze suspension ring (inv. SSBAR 507383). Diamond-shaped in section. Attached to fibula no. 6. Diam. 6; Width 0.9. It corresponds with type 45b of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 381-382, table 40, Latial periods II-III); Gierow 1966: 332, fig. 94, type Via. It is also documented at Caere, Sorbo (Pohl 1972: 204, fig. 181, tomb 441:1; 206, tomb 443, nos 8-9, fig. 183; 209, tomb 451, no. 6, fig. 185; 237, tomb 214, no. 1, fig. 225; 263, tomb 440, no. 1, fig. 266).
9. String of twelve glass paste beads of different types and colours (inv. SSBAR 507384).
  - 3 complete and 2 fragmentary globular beads of blue glass, with white circular inlays. D. 0.8 (Osteria dell'Osa, type 89g: Bietti Sestieri 1992: pl. 46).
  - 4 globular beads of dark coloured glass. Diam. 0.5-0.6 (Osteria dell'Osa, type 89a: Bietti Sestieri 1992: pl. 46)
  - 1 white circular bead. Diam. 0.7.
  - 1 globular bead of light brown glass. Diam. 1.5.
  - 1 fragmentary long bead of blue glass paste with central perforation. Diam. 0.9.

The position of the beads suggests that they may belong with a suspension ring corresponding with type 45h of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 383, pl. 40).
10. Two fragmentary small bronze rings. Diam. 1.2; 1.6. They are similar to type 48evar I of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 392, pl. 39).

### 8.2 MDB 153 (fig. 13)

The tomb, oriented to the ENE, was transversally cut at the western edge by the deep, early Orientalizing tomb 150. It is 120 cm wide and more than 185 cm long. The associated artefacts and the preserved teeth indicate a woman aged 40-50 years, who was buried in a coffin in the southern half of the grave pit. The ornaments included



Fig. 13. Restored artefacts from Tomb 153 (photo G.J.M. van Oortmerssen, RUG/GIA).

a copper wire, which was found next to the head, and a fibula with suspension ring, which sat on the chest. On the right-hand side of the body there were a spindle whorl and a cup. An amphora on a stand was placed next to the feet: it probably was part of a group of objects which were accidentally moved in Antiquity during the digging of tomb 150, as is suggested by the presence of Early Iron Age sherds in its fill. In the northern half of the ditch and beside the coffin, there was a sort of ledge made up of tuff rubble and earth: on top of it was a mug, which may have been used for ceremonial purposes during the funeral. The tomb can be assigned to the transition from Latial period IIB2 to Period III, around 825-800 BC.

1. Impasto mug (inv. SSBAR 508546); ovoid body with inturning rim, on a wide, flat base; raised vertical handle, ovoid in section. Diam. mouth 8.1; diam. base 5.2; Height 9.9. The shape of the body is similar to Osteria dell'Osa, tomb 475, no. 1 (Bietti Sestieri 1992: fig. 3a. 218, with shorter handle, phase IIB2) and tomb 26, no. 1 (Bietti Sestieri 1992: fig. 3a. 412, phase IIB); and to a specimen from Mentana, Quarto della Conca, tomb I (Gierow 1966: 148, fig. 35:12).
2. Bronze *fermatrecce*/hair ornament (inv. SSBAR 508547); spiral double wire, circular in section; the ends are made with a repeatedly folded (*a serpentina*) flat wire, which is tied with a thin bronze thread. Diam. 5. This ornament corresponds with type 47d of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 388, pl. 40, phases II-III) and with type Bettelli 1B (Bettelli 1997: 118, pl. 54:6), which includes examples from Osteria dell'Osa and also Tivoli. It is documented at Veii, QF HH14 (Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1965: 143, fig. 60; phase Toms IIA), CC7 (Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1970: 223, fig. 25, no. 13; phase Toms IIB) corresponding with type Guidi142 (Guidi 1993: fig. 6:12); in the necropolis of Sorbo at Caere, tomb 96, no. 5: (Pohl 1972: 23, fig. 18, no. 5), tomb 273 (Pohl 1972: fig. 58); at Narce, tomb 18B (Dohan 1942: 11-13 pl. IV, no. 29).
3. Spindle whorl (inv. SSBAR 508548); ceramic, spheroid and ribbed. Diam. 3.6; Height 2.4. It corresponds with type 33c (medium size) of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 312, pl. 26, periods II-IV).
4. Bronze fibula with three pinned-on rings (inv. SSBAR 508549); the fibula has a semi-circular, swollen bow, thickened in the middle, and a short, pointed catchplate. The incised decoration on the bow is poorly preserved: it consists of transverse bands with multiple lines alternating with a herringbone pattern; in the middle there is a pair of transverse zigzag lines. Length 8. The rings are flat to segmented in section, and are engraved with two zigzag lines. Diam. 3; Height 1.7. The fibula belongs to type 38v of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 363, pl. 36), which is an intermediate type between swollen-bow and leech brooches, and is assigned to the transition between periods II and III; (Toms 1986: fig. 16, type I4 (phase IB-IIA) and fig. 22, type I8 (phase IIA)). The section and decoration of the rings resemble the rings of type 46m of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 386, pl. 39, period III) and type Bettelli 7A1 (Bettelli 1997: 112, tav. 52, no. 5).
5. Impasto amphora on a stand (inv. SSBAR 508550); low globular body with short oblique shoulder; large and slightly tapering neck and distinct everted rim. Opposing vertical strap-handles, from rim to shoulder (only one preserved). The shoulder is decorated with an encircling, incised zigzag line; the body at its widest point with an incised band of double-angle motifs (Bietti Sestieri 1992: table 6, type XIIb). The circular stand has a slightly convex and tapering profile and four irregular, rectangular openings at mid-height. Diam. mouth 8.6; Diam. base 9.7; Height 19.2. The amphora has no exact parallels. It is reminiscent of type 7j of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 246, pl.13, on a tall stemmed foot, Latial period II), and is similar to artefacts from Castel di Decima, tomb 212 (Zevi *et al.* 1975: 372, fig. 5 a) and Vigna Cavalletti



Fig. 14. Restored artefacts from Tomb 156 (photo G.J.M. van Oortmerssen, RUG/GIA).

(Gierow 1966: 211, fig. 74:3, stand type 3 on a squarish base). The shape of the body is akin to an amphora from the infant tomb QF W3 of Veii (Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1970: 188, fig. 8:5, phase Toms Ic).

6. Impasto cup (inv. SSBAR 508551); low, conical body with slightly concave profile, on a concave base; convex shoulder, with a slight carination, short upright lip; three knobs at the greatest circumference. High biforal handle, saddle-shaped on top and grooved on the front. The cup is decorated with a single-line meander on the rim and three angular motifs at its widest point (similar to De Angelis 2001: 27, pl. 2, type 6A2). The projections on the handle are decorated with an incised zigzag line. Diam. mouth 9.8; Diam. base 3.4; Height 4. It corresponds with types Guidi 36C (Guidi 1993: 28-30, fig. 5:9, phase IIA-IIB1) and Toms V3 (Toms 1986: 84, fig. 22, confined to phase IIA). It is similar to type 22d of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 295, pl. 23, with everted rim, Latial period II) and type Bettelli 19A2 (Bettelli 1997: 72, pl. 34:6, p. 72, phases IIB2-III A).

### 8.3 MDB 156 (fig. 14)

The tomb, oriented NE-SW, is 65-70 cm wide and 270 cm long. The skeletal remains were restricted to fragments of a femur, but the associated artefacts indicate an adult woman. The position of the deposition was marked by the ornaments, including a pair of fibulae, a suspension ring, a necklace and *fermatrecce*/hair ornaments] (traces preserved). A cup (no. 1) was placed above the head and three impasto vases were aligned along the right-hand side of the body. A bronze cup was placed next to the feet.

The pottery from this tomb can be dated to Latial period IIA2 and IIB, whereas the ornaments suggest a date in Latial period III.

1. Impasto cup (inv. SSBAR 508561); conical deep body with slightly concave profile; convex shoulder, short, upright lip; three knobs at the widest point of the body. High biforal handle, from rim to shoulder. Diam. mouth 9.5; Diam. base 4.5; Height 9. It is similar to a cup from Veii, Grotta Gramiccia, tomb 779 (Berardinetti &

Drago 1997: fig. 20, first half 8<sup>th</sup> century BC), associated with an imported chevron-ornamented *skyphos* dated 780-770 BC. (Boitani 2004: 321, tav. 3,1). The shape corresponds with type Toms V8 (Toms 1986: 85, fig. 20, Phases IC-IIB) and Guidi 34F (Guidi 1993: 28, fig. 2:7, Phase IIA). It is also similar to a cup from Castel di Decima, tomb 132 (Zevi *et al.* 1975: 387, fig. 24, no. 13) dated to the Latial period IIB2 (Bartoloni & Nizzo 2005: 412). It is almost identical to a cup from tomb 22 of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 748, fig. 3a.389, no. 3, Latial period II, maybe IIB), and 14B (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 746, fig. 3a.386, no. 2; Latial period II, maybe IIB) and corresponds with type Bettelli 9B (Bettelli 1997: 66, pl. 29:2, Phase IIA2)

2. Impasto mug (inv. SSBAR 508562); deep ovoid body on a wide base, with incurving rim; one short vertical strap handle on the shoulder. Diam. mouth 7.4; Diam. base 6.4; Height 11.2. It corresponds to type Toms VII 1 of Veii (Toms 1986: 88, fig. 20, Latial period IC-IIB).
3. Impasto jug (inv. SSBAR 508563); ovoid-globular body on a flat base, with outturning rim; one vertical strap handle on the shoulder. Diam. mouth 8; Diam. base 5.2; Height 13.6. It corresponds to type 11h of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 264, pl. 18, Latial Period II), which has parallels in Pontecagnano and Sala Consilina. It is similar to a jug from tomb BB 8-9 of Veii, Quattro Fontanili (Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1967: 106, fig. 8, no. 1, phase Toms IIA).
4. Impasto double-handled biconical neck-jar (inv. SSBAR 508564); deep ovoid body on a short stemmed foot; short and distinct cylindrical neck, with everted rim. Two horizontal ring handles, with trapezoidal profile, on the widest point of the body. Diam. base 8; Diam. mouth 10; Height 15. It is almost identical to the jars from Osteria dell'Osa, tomb 126: 7 (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 564-565, fig. 3a.21, Latial period IIA1) and from Tivoli, tomb 45 (Colonna *et al.* 1976: tav. XXXIV:2, 195, but decorated) and corresponds with type 10a of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 258, pl. 17, Latial period II).
5. Bronze fibula (inv. SSBAR 508565); semi-circular leech bow fibula with short, pointed catchplate. The decoration on the bow consists of spaced transverse bands of herringbone pattern. Length 6.4. It corresponds with type 38w of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri

- 1992: 364, pl. 36, Latial period III) and Toms I.12 (Toms 1986: pl. 22, phase Veii IIA).
6. Bronze bowl with raised handle (inv. SSBAR 508566); convex body on a flattened base, short convex shoulder and flaring, distinct rim. The embossed decoration includes short and close-set ridges encircling the base; a row of dots flanked by two rows of smaller dots at the transition from base to body; and vertical, widely spaced ridges on the body. Vertical handle attached to the inside of the rim and to the shoulder with rivets, showing an ancient repair. Diam. mouth 11.7; Height 3.8. This type of bowl is not common in comparison with the broad diffusion of the bowls that stem from the Stillfried-Hostomice type (Iaia 2005a:188-198; Iaia 2005b: 459-463). It is documented in Tarquinia (Müller 1959: Taf. 132: 1:3) and Veii (Toms 1986: 95, type XVI 1, fig. 22; 95, fig. 27, type XVI 4). A good parallel is provided by the decorated bowl from tomb HH14 of Veii, Quattro Fontanili (Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1965:138, fig. 61, phase Veii IIB); for the shape, see also the undecorated bowl from tomb EE10B (Ward-Perkins *et al.* 1967: 145, nos 14-15, fig. 30, phase Veii IIA). A similar bowl, with a more angular profile, is documented at Narce, Petrina, tomb 36 (Gamurrini 1894: 202, fig. 88).
  7. Bronze suspension ring (inv. SSBAR 508567); elliptical in section, decorated on both sides with a double zigzag line. Diam 6; Width 1.4; Thickness 0.5. It is akin to Osteria dell'Osa type 45g (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 383, pl. 40, Latial period III).
  8. Bronze fibula with two rings attached (inv. SSBAR 508568); semicircular leech bow fibula with short catchplate. The decoration consists of three transverse bands of herringbone pattern, on the middle section of the bow; at both ends, incised concentric circles in a row and a solid transverse line. Cylindrical rings, one of them with a midrib. Length 7.3. For parallels see fibula no. 5.
  9. Amber beads (inv. SSBAR 508570); three fragmentary beads: one seems to be globular (Diam. 1), the others are oblong (Diam. 1.1; 0.8. Length 3.1; 2) and have a longitudinal hole. The latter belong to type 89c of Osteria dell'Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992: 430).

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- 2 The typological class of “*a loculo*” tombs (with a niche) was elaborated in Veii and is well documented in the Faliscan territory (di Gennaro 2007): it has a rectangular pit with one (*Narce* type) or two (*Montarano* type) individual *loculi*, closed with vertical stone slabs. The presence of more than one deposition in a *loculus* is extremely rare.
- 3 This artefact is similar to type Bettelli 2 and comparable to the small jar from tomb 33 of the Esquiline in Rome, dated to the Latial period IIIA (Bettelli 1994: 145, tav. 4, no. 4).
- 4 The ritual treatment of weapons has been pointed out for other periods and regions in Italy as well (Bietti Sestieri *et al.* 2013: 166-167).
- 5 Scheidel writes that precise figures on infant and child mortality cannot be given, but that they must have been very high. This is confirmed by historical accounts about surviving children of some Roman rulers and patricians (Scheidel 1999: 266-272).
- 6 Cf. Bietti Sestieri 1992: 199-220, 241; Pacciarelli 2000: 155-159, 271-273. Pacciarelli records such tomb-clusters at several sites in Italy from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards.
- 7 Smith 2006: 147-50. His argument on duration is somewhat puzzling because the funerary record in *Latium Vetus* reveals a sharp decline in 6<sup>th</sup> century BC tombs. Therefore Latin *gentes* can no longer be studied in the funerary record of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. The Via della Marcigliana cluster at *Crustumium* is exceptional because it includes seven chamber tombs that date from 625 to well into the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (Belelli Marchesini & Pantano 2014: 21-23). This is the reason why the use of this cluster can be recorded for nearly 250 years. Compared to other Latin sites, *Crustumium* reveals relatively much evidence for 6<sup>th</sup>-century BC tombs (Willemsen 2014). It is also puzzling because Smith does correctly acknowledge that during the Republic the clans lost political significance due to the rise of other institutions and ongoing state formation.

## NOTES

- 1 In 2014, 2015 and 2016, a few male tombs with weapons pertaining to this period were excavated just in front of or beneath the tumulus/agger (so-called site Quilici O) in the NE side of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground, that are not presented here because they await full examination.