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The People and the State

*Material culture, social structure, and political centralisation in
Central Italy (800-450 BC) from the perspective of
ancient Crustumerium (Rome, Italy)*



Peter Attema & Remco Bronkhorst (eds)

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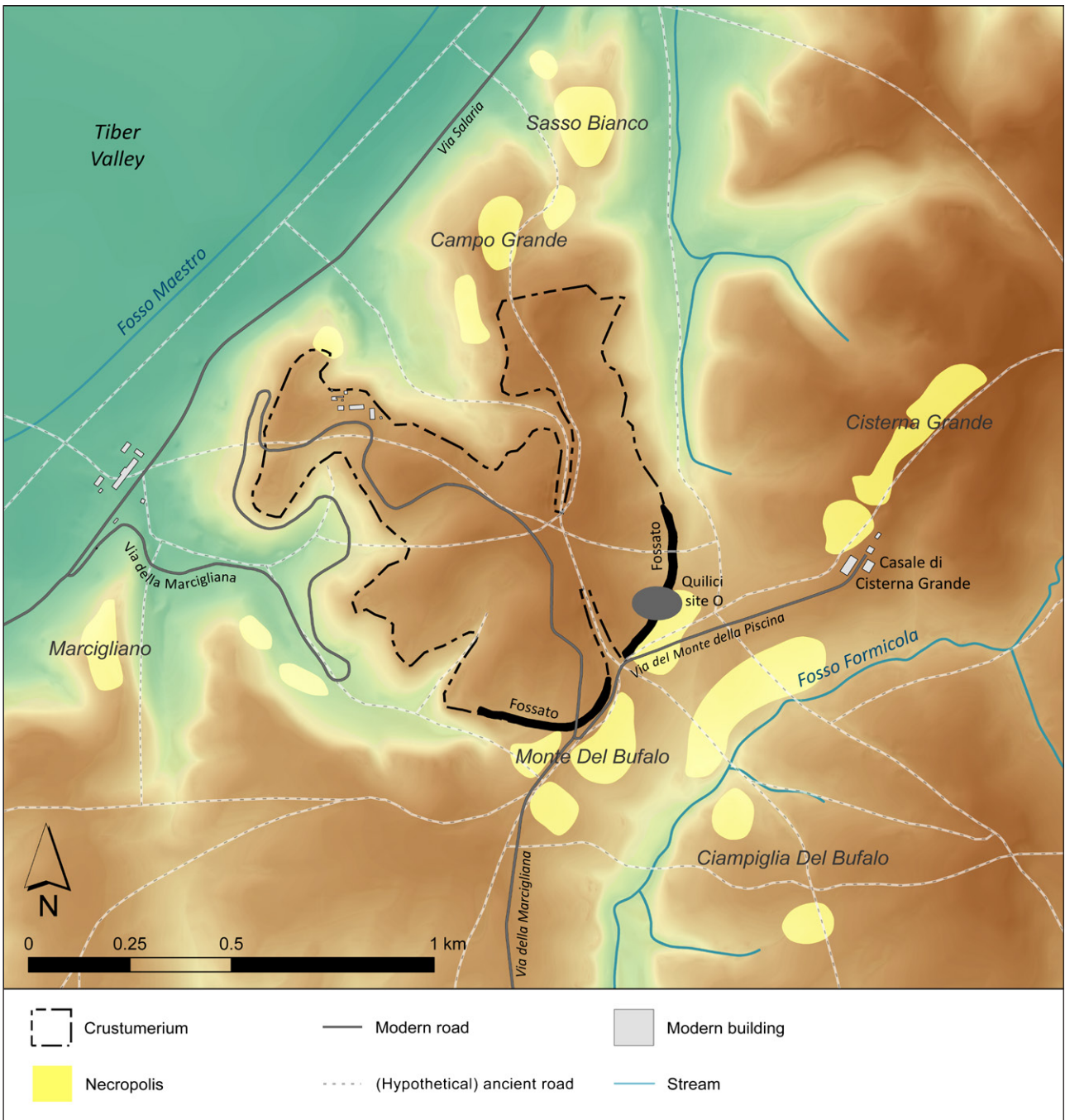
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Map of Crustumerium with the locations of the toponyms mentioned in this book (figure A.J. Bronkhorst).

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CRUSTUMERIUM IN CONTEXT

ALBERT NIJBOER & PETER ATTEMA¹

General introduction²

In the previous chapters, we have gained insight into some significant changes in the settlement and burial grounds of Crustumerium occurring over a period of about 350 years between the advanced ninth and early fifth centuries BC. These changes related to investments in the built environment and changing lifestyles, both practical, i.e. pertaining to daily life, and ideological, as observed in the burial practices.

These changes are not unique to Crustumerium and took place in nearby settlements as well, such as Fidenae. The excavations at Fidenae have revealed a settlement and burial record similar in nature to that of Crustumerium, supporting a characterisation of the Latial settlements along the east bank of the Tiber as concise, nucleated, and well-defended settlements with a distinct but shared material culture.³

One aspect of their recurring topography is the location of burial grounds along but outside of the perimeter of the settlements, although this is not always clear (e.g. at Fidenae). Another aspect is the network of roads connecting settlements and opening up the surrounding countryside.

By the seventh century BC, population increase had resulted in a particularly dense configuration of settlements, each having a territory of modest size to sustain the growing population. With the majority of the population living within the town limits, as defined by natural defensive landscape morphological traits and where necessary defensive works, the countryside appears to have been sparsely settled.⁴ As to settlement size, Rome by far exceeded that of

the average settlement along the Tiber already from the eighth century BC, if not before.⁵

To analyse Crustumerium from a geographical and cultural point of view, we adopt different spatial levels in this chapter: local, intraregional, interregional, and Crustumerium's position with respect to Rome. Building on this framework, we will then proceed to evaluate the various cultural influences, notably Etruscan, Sabine, and Faliscan, that impacted the essentially Latin material record of Crustumerium (section 1), as apparent from settlement and funerary contexts (section 2). This will illustrate the cultural importance of Crustumerium as a crossroads of different cultures and show how Crustumerium's population adopted characteristic elements from Etruscan, Sabine, and Faliscan groups. Section 3 is dedicated to the degree and chronology of horizontal and vertical social stratification within Crustumerium's community as an indicator of the (changing) nature of social organisation in northern Latium Vetus. This theme constituted, together with the related one of state formation (section 4), the core topic around which the PSP revolved and is bound up with the role of Rome. The primary perspective in this chapter remains, however, that of Crustumerium and its community.

Section 1. Crustumerium's position on different spatial levels

In evaluating the geopolitical, socio-economic, and cultural position of Crustumerium within the protohistoric settlement configuration of Central Tyrrhenian Italy, various overlapping spatial scales apply:

1. the local level of the settlement and its territory and its embedding in the microregional configuration of settlements along the Tiber and Aniene;

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² The authors and editors are grateful to Barbara Bellelli Marchesini for her useful comments and additions.

³ di Gennaro et al. 2009, 2017.

⁴ See Gatti & Palombi 2016 for a very useful overview of fortifications in Latium Vetus, but see Attema et al. 2014 and di Gennaro 2019 on the fossato as the main line of defence.

⁵ Nijboer 2018b.

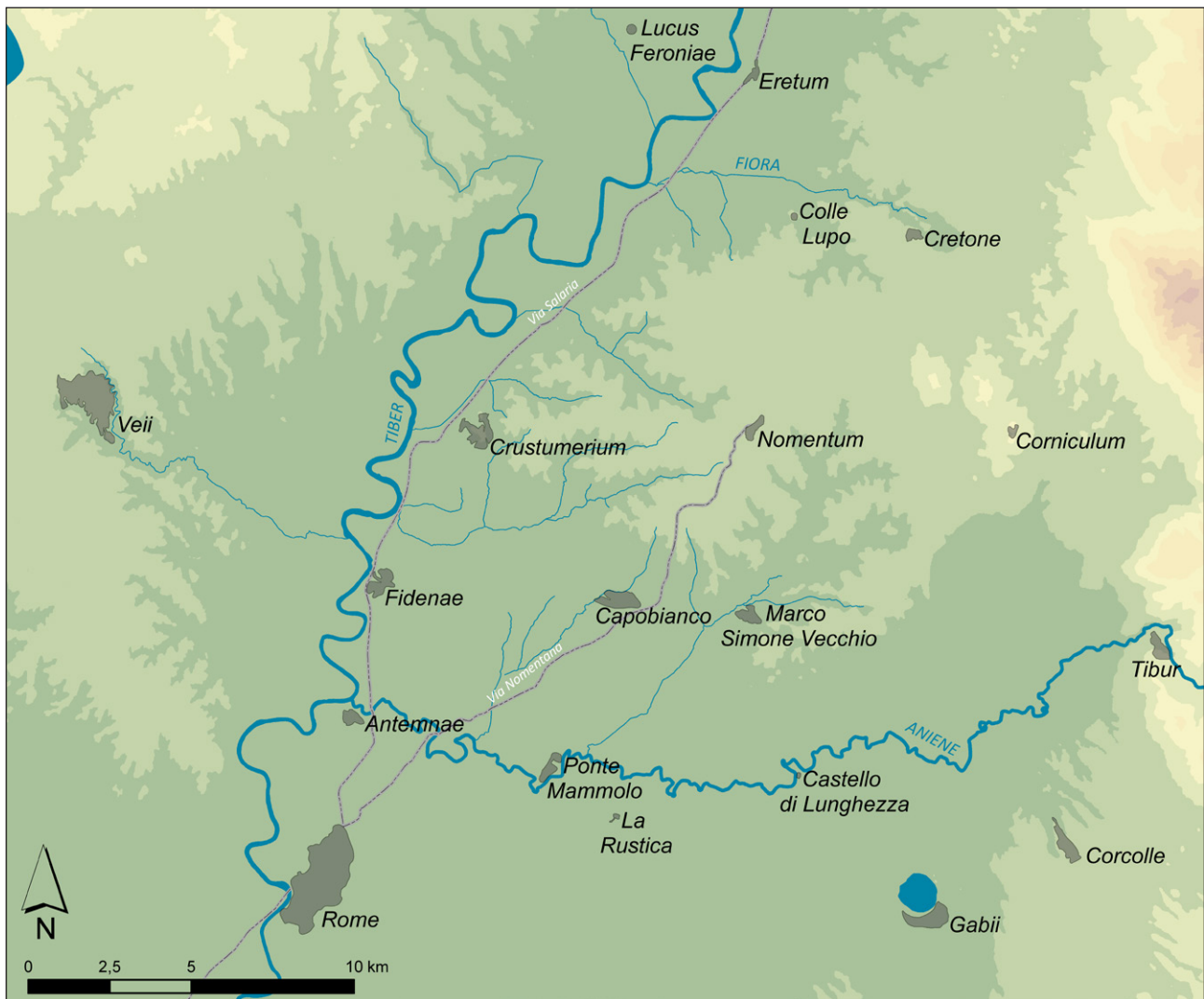


Fig. 1 Map of Crustumerium and nearby settlements, highlighting the main roads and rivers (figure A.J. Bronkhorst).

2. the intraregional level of Latium Vetus as a geopolitical, ethnic, and cultural constellation;
3. the interregional level consisting of the wider network of settlements within Central Italy around Rome including (parts of) the southern Etruscan, Faliscan, and Sabine settled landscapes;
4. Crustumerium and Rome.

Below we discuss Crustumerium's position within these levels one by one.

The local level of the settlement and its territory

A characteristic of the settlements located on the hills lining the Tiber valley north of Rome is their limited interdistance and consequently modest catchment areas. The distance between Crustumerium and Fidenae to the south of it, for instance, is ca. 5.5 km, while the distance between Crustumerium to Eretum in Sabine territory, divided by the river Fiora, to the north is 14 km (see fig. 1). Together with the limited interdistance between the settlement centers

along the Aniene, it marks a densely populated region for the period 800 to 500 BC when compared to other parts of Italy.

Seubers, in his recently published thesis, has analysed the catchment area of Crustumerium in detail, as discussed in Chapter 6. He concluded that the countryside available to Crustumerium's population added up to ca. 40 km² and postulated that, rather than constituting a densely settled rural landscape as claimed in earlier research, Crustumerium's countryside was farmed and exploited by townspeople for their subsistence and only marginally by people actually living in the town's catchment area in farmsteads (see fig. 2). In Seubers' scenario, a more densely settled countryside would have developed following the abandonment of Crustumerium around 500 BC and only really taking off in Middle Republican times.⁶

If we accept this characterisation of Crustumerium for most, if not all, Latin settlements along

⁶ Seubers 2020.

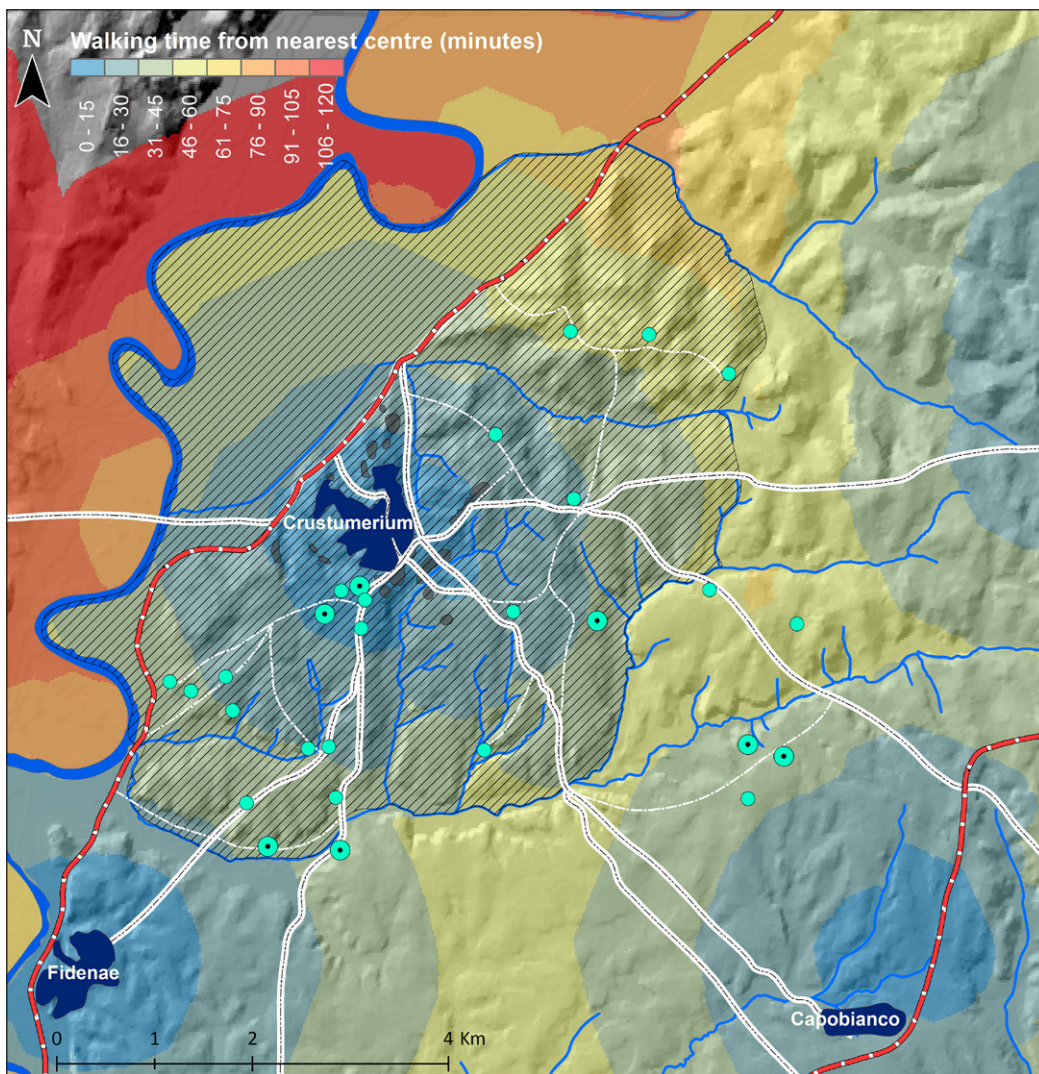


Fig. 2 Reconstruction of the territory of Crustumerium based on Archaic rural evidence, landscape morphology, and the proximity of nearby settlements (figure Seubers 2020: fig. 5.43).

the Tiber north of Rome and those slightly inland thereof, we can reconstruct a dense configuration of largely self-supporting modest towns during the sixth century BC. Each town would have been surrounded by a belt of burial grounds exploiting a productive territory featuring agricultural fields, pastures, and woodland. These town districts were connected by a well-developed infrastructure – of which evidence has been found – that supported commercial and social interaction with inland areas (see fig. 3). Major streams would have constituted significant natural borders between town districts.

On the local scale, Crustumerium belonged to a string of settlements north of Rome along the Latin side of the Tiber. Nearest to Rome was Antemnae, located at the confluence of the rivers Aniene and Tiber, then Fidenae, and finally Crustumerium. This sequence of settlements was, in turn, part of a wider

network of settlements.⁷ Within easy reach was the line-up of settlements along the Aniene. Besides Antemnae, these are Ponte Mammolo, La Rustica, Lunghezza, and Tibur.⁸ Each of the sites may have acted as a bridgehead, facilitating and controlling a river crossing.⁹ Southwest of Rome, along the Tiber,

⁷ See Amoroso 2013 for a description of the microregion between the Aniene to the south, the Tiber to the west, the Fossa della Fiora to the north, and the Monti Tiburtini and Monti Lucretili to the east. This area covers ca. 370 km² and contains eight settlement centres of which Crustumerium is the largest. Just to the north of the Fossa della Fiora lies Eretum, the most southern centre of the Sabina Tiberina.

⁸ As there is no consensus on the precise locations of ancient sites, we use modern toponyms. Due to substantial quarrying of the small hills since antiquity in this region and subsequent industrialisation, large-scale agricultural interventions, urban development as well as a lack of excavations, the nature and extent of most settlements is poorly understood.

⁹ Archaeological sites may be identified with historically known ones, as in the cases of Collatia and Caecina. See e.g. Quilici 1974: map 1, p. 12 and fig. 11, p. 30; Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1993: pp. 366-373, 485; Cifani 2008: pp. 193-194; Fulminante 2014: pp. 110, 117 (referring to Colonna 1991: p. 212).

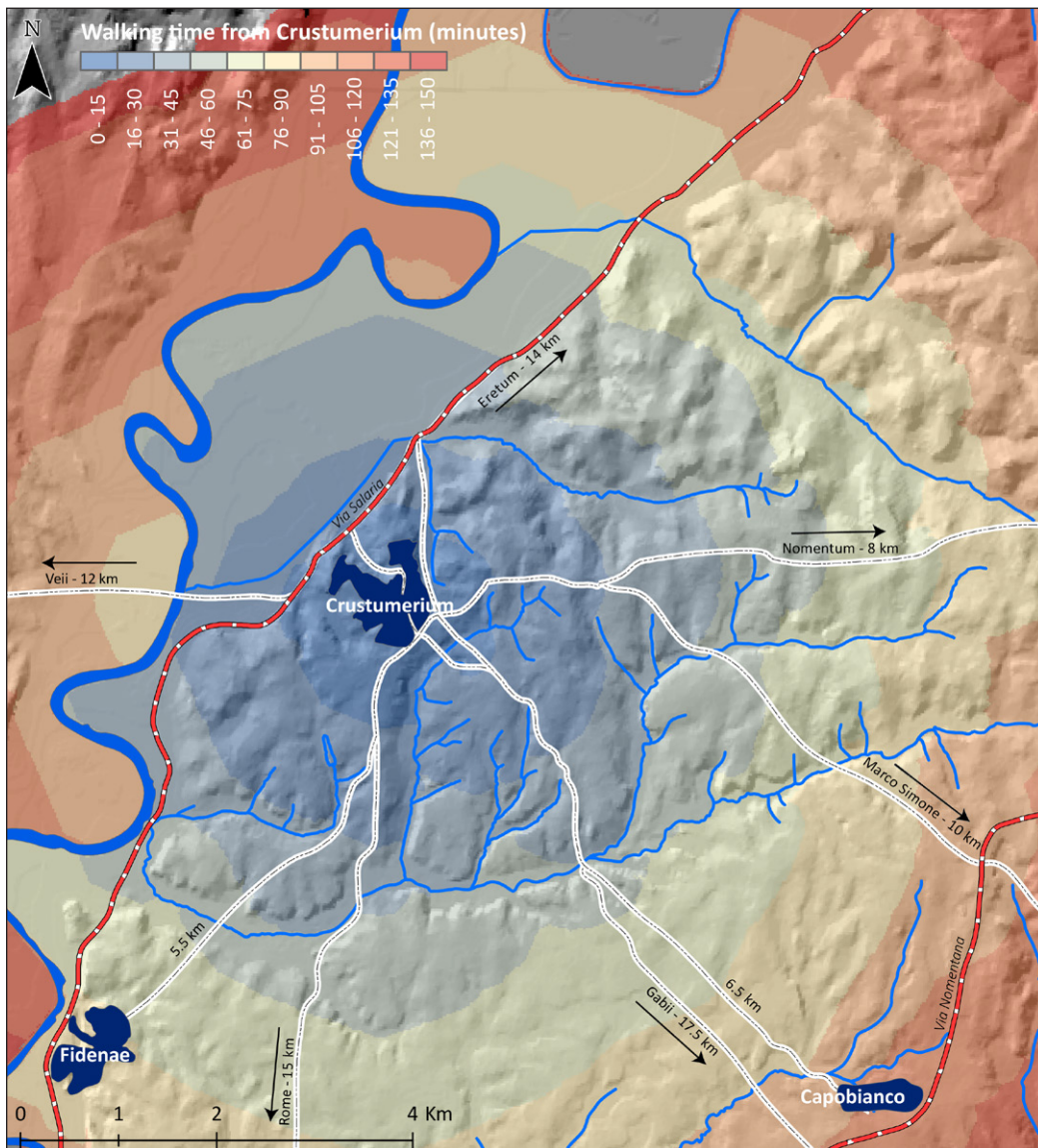


Fig. 3 Reconstruction of the primary routes connecting Crustumerium to nearby settlements (figure Seubers 2020: fig. 5.41).

lay Ficana.¹⁰ Within this local riverine settlement configuration, Rome is estimated to have occupied a space between 200 and 400 ha, substantially larger than nearby settlements on the Tiber and Aniene that have estimated sizes between ca. 5 (La Rustica) and 60 ha (Crustumerium).¹¹

Crustumerium's location on the Tiber lent it regional importance as the Tiber constitutes the major river in northern Latium connecting the coast with the mountainous inland. In the Early Iron Age, we can consider the Tiber a proper boundary between Latins and Etruscans with Rome controlling the main

crossing over the Tiber at Isola Tiberina.¹² Likewise, the other major river in the area, the Aniene, can be considered a natural border. The fact that it runs in a deep gorge in the tuff bedrock made it difficult to cross.

While the Tiber and Aniene will have functioned as natural borders separating the settlements on either side, these borders were permeable. The density and size of the bridgehead towns on the Latial river banks and the archaeological record at these sites indicate that interaction with trans-river regions must have been quite intense. River transport of people and goods was likely as important as that over the main overland routes. With respect to the main routes, we point to the north-south route going from Etruria to Campania, which passed through Latium Vetus, and the Via Salaria that gained importance during the period 850 to 450 BC as it connected the

10 Fischer-Hansen 1990, 2016; Brandt 1996; Fischer-Hansen & Algreen-Ussing 2013; Rathje 2019.

11 We indeed have to be very cautious with the estimation of site sizes. At La Rustica, comparable numbers of tombs have been excavated from the eighth and seventh century BC as at Crustumerium, yet its estimated site size is way less (Fulminante 2003: pp. 191-193; Fischer-Hansen & Algreen-Ussing 2013: p. 54; Nijboer 2018a).

12 For an overview of crossings over the Tiber, see Quilici Gigli 1986.



Fig. 4 Map of Central Italy showing the main centres and cultural groups (figure A.J. Bronkhorst).

Tyrrhenian coast with the Adriatic crossing. Departing from the Forum Boarium in Rome, it ran along the Latin side of the Tiber passing Crustumerium, the Sabina Tiberina, to eventually reach Picenum.¹³

It is within this dense settlement configuration that Crustumerium functioned as one out of many modestly sized Latin settlements with Rome in its immediate vicinity, the latter outstripping any of these

13 Cifarelli & di Gennaro 2000.

riverine centres in size and power from the eighth century BC onward.¹⁴

The intraregional level of Latium Vetus

Apart from the above-mentioned ‘conduit’ settlements, the remainder of Latium Vetus is filled with smaller and larger towns, especially in the Alban hills where the origin of the Latial urban society is located.¹⁵ A number of these settlements housed a pan-Latin sanctuary, either in natural surroundings (e.g. Monte Cavo and the sanctuary of Diana on the shore of Lake Nemi) or just outside the town (Lavinium and possibly Ardea in the coastal plain), underlining cultural and political unity. By the sixth century BC, Latium Vetus was one of the most urbanised areas in the Mediterranean.

Further south, towards the Pontine plain, urban settlement thinned out and towns such as Satricum and Antium near the coast and Caracupa-Valvisciolo in the foothills of the Monti Lepini had large catchment areas to exploit. The latter settlements were located on the margins of Latium Vetus, bordering on the vast expanse of the Pontine plain.¹⁶

Together, these settlements formed what scholars have described as the Latin city-state system, an initial federation of peer polities that developed into a hegemonic political system in which Rome started to dominate other polities, both militarily and politically.¹⁷

This process gained momentum from the advanced Iron Age onwards with the expansion of Rome and the need for Rome to secure its rapid demographic and economic development. The presence of expanding Rome as well as the density of small settlements certainly limited the potential of

Crustumium and its neighbouring settlements for political eminence and demographic and economic growth in contrast to settlements further away from Rome, such as Lavinium and Satricum near the coast, or Lanuvium and Tusculum in the Alban Hills. The former were located along rivers, the latter in dominant positions controlling the fertile slopes of the volcanic hills. Crustumium functioned as an independent polity within this geopolitical, ethnic, and cultural configuration known in the sources as Latium Vetus.

The interregional level of Central Italy

To gain a fuller understanding of the political, socio-economic, and cultural context of Crustumium, it is also essential to examine the neighbouring regions and to view Crustumium as part of a wider network of towns,¹⁸ distributed over an area that is historically associated with peoples of different ethnic backgrounds, with Etruscans living on the right bank of the Tiber, and the Sabines, Capenates, and Faliscans inland (see fig. 4).¹⁹

Crossing the Tiber, the territory of Etruscan Veii was only 5 km to the west and the Faliscan town of Narce was some 24 km to the north-northwest. The Capenates town of Capena was at only 14 km to the north as was Lucus Feroniae, an important, open-air sanctuary where Latins, Etruscans, Sabines, and Faliscans regularly met in a religious setting, guaranteeing safety and amnesty.²⁰ Reaching the territory of the Sabines took roughly 10 km over the Via Salaria, along the Tiber valley (see figs. 1 and 4).

Like in Latium Vetus, the peoples in southern Etruscan, Sabine, and Faliscan areas lived in early centres during the seventh and sixth centuries BC. The Faliscans were organised in small urban centres northeast of Lago Bracciano to the west of the Tiber over a relatively small area.²¹ In the case of the Sabines, their settlement centres remained restricted to the area known as Sabina Tiberina.²² In contrast, the settlement plateaux of the main towns in Etruria were considerably larger and more spaced-out,

14 For current estimations of the spatial development of Rome during its protohistoric phases see Alessandri 2016: fig. 12 with a unified space around 800 BC amounting to over 200 ha.

15 Cornell estimated that by the late sixth century BC, Latium Vetus counted around 20 city-states (Cornell 2000: p. 213). He defines Latium Vetus as the coastal region of Tyrrhenian Central Italy bounded to the northwest by the rivers Tiber and Aniene and to the east by the Apennines, the Monti Lepini, and the Pontine Marshes (Cornell 2000: p. 209). For 15 city-states, he provides size estimates of their territories ranging from 37 km² for Ficulea to 822 km² for Rome. However, four of the smaller city-states he lists are to the north of the Aniene.

16 See Alessandri 2016 for a spatial rendering of polities in Latium Vetus during the Roma-Colli Albani III phase (825/800-725 BC).

17 See Renfrew & Cherry 1986 for the theoretical assumptions and implications of the peer polity model. On the transition from city-states to territorial (hegemonic) states, see Trigger 2003: pp. 92-119.

18 See also di Gennaro & Guidi 2009; Amoroso 2016.

19 The region is known for its highly fertile soils and this partly explains the density of settlements and their development. The Faliscan-Capenates group are also referred to here as Faliscans.

20 On Lucus Feroniae, see De Cazanove 2007: pp. 45, 54-55.

21 De Lucia Brolli 1991: fig. 2; Bakum 2009.

22 De Lucia Brolli & Tabolli 2013. Note that, according to the ancient authors, the term Sabina was given to a broader area following Curius Dentatus' conquest of the Sabines in the early third century BC. See also Santoro 1986 and di Gennaro & Guidi 2009.

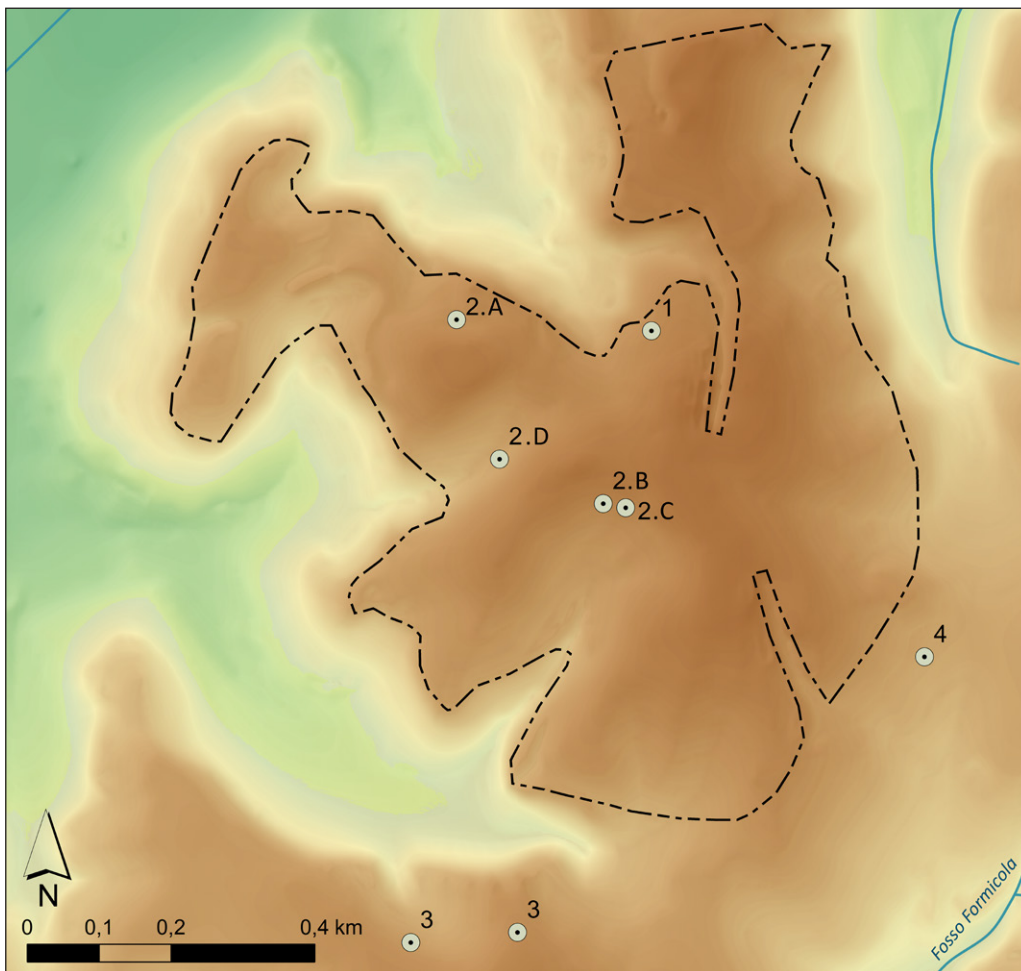


Fig. 5 Find locations of fragments of architectural terracotta systems. 1: SSBAR/ASTRA 1998 excavation; 2: Amoroso's survey; 3: Fraiole's survey; 4: GIA saggio IV (figure A.J. Bronkhorst).

consequently controlling much vaster territories than in the Latin, Faliscan, or Sabine regions.

From the eighth century BC onwards, all of this area went through a remarkable process of polity and identity formation and cultural profiling with a tendency towards increased socio-economic interaction and cultural emulation. Its location on the crossroads of this multi-ethnic and geopolitical regional constellation added substantially to the adoption by the community of Crustumerium of diverse material culture expressions, as is foremost visible in the funerary record (see below).

Conclusion

Above we have considered the geographical position of Crustumerium in various overlapping settlement configurations from the local to the macroregional, making its community receptive to cultural influences from bordering regions with ethnically diverse groups. We have also emphasised its position near Rome that already from the eighth century BC is thought to have had an overriding role in the geopolitical, economic, and demographic developments in Latium Vetus.

Section 2. Cultural influences and the material record of Crustumerium

The proximity of Crustumerium to the Etruscan, Sabine, and Faliscan territories led to a distinct and varied local material culture, as was already discussed in the previous chapters (see especially Chapter 7 on the burial grounds).²³ Below, we discuss the evidence for monumental buildings in the form of sparse finds of architectural terracotta fragments on and near the settlement plateau and go into their cultural background. We will also once again draw attention to the tomb types at Crustumerium and their cultural background with a special focus on the frequent occurrence of chamber tombs that, sparsely recorded elsewhere in Latium Vetus, are plentiful at Crustumerium. Finally, we will evaluate the cultural significance of the various pottery categories present in the archaeological record, both from domestic and funerary contexts.

²³ See also di Gennaro, Schiappelli et al. 2004; Nijboer & Attema 2010; Attema, Seubers, Willemsen, Bronkhorst et al. 2016; Nijboer 2018a.

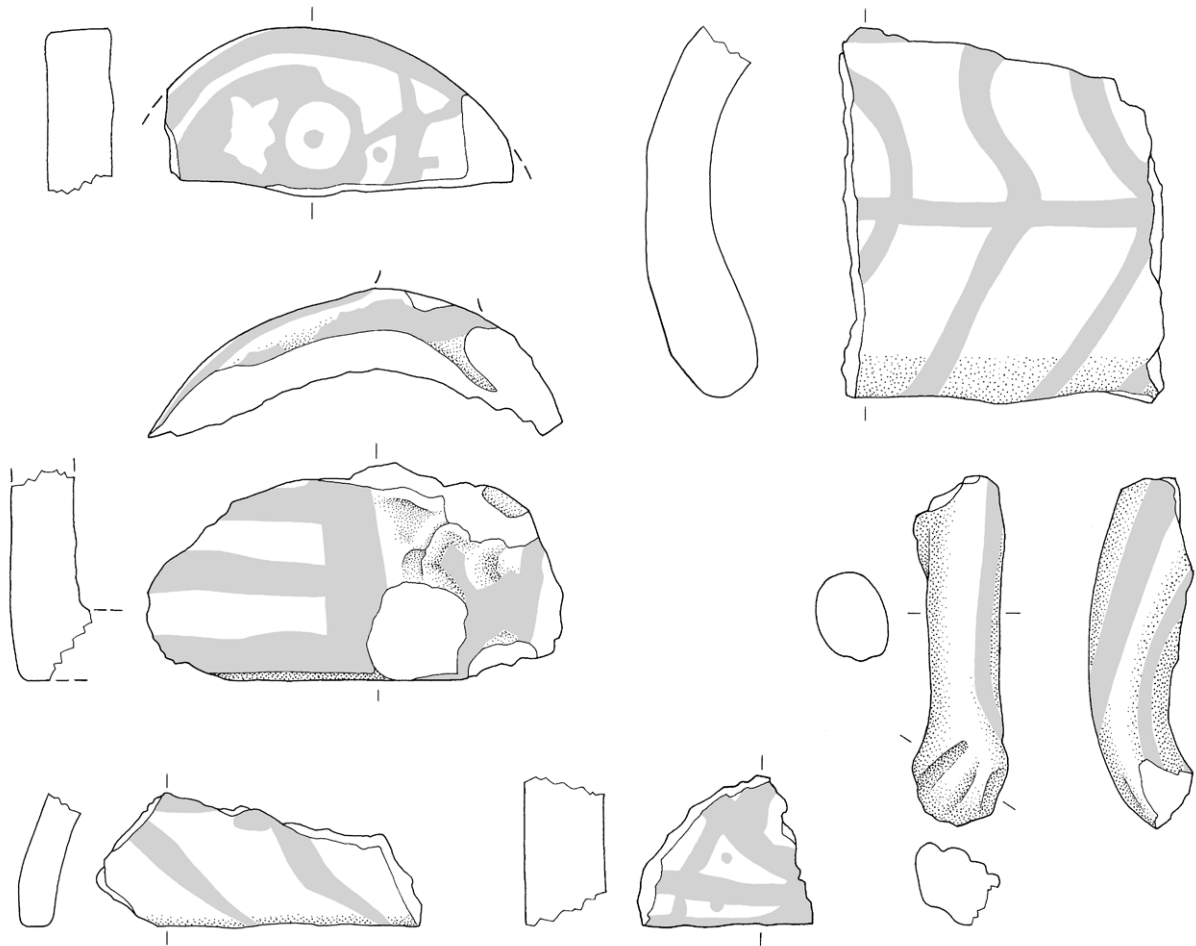


Fig. 6 White-on-red terracotta fragments from Saggio II (US45 US15) of the SSBAR/ASTRA 1998 excavation. Scale 1:2 (figure S.E. Boersma; photo A.J. Nijboer).

The evidence for monumental buildings based on sparse finds of architectonic terracotta fragments and their cultural background

So far, no architectural remains of pre-Roman, monumental buildings have been located at Crustumerium. From surveys and excavations on the settlement plateau there is, however, evidence that monumental buildings did exist from the late seventh till the late sixth century BC. Architectural terracottas have been

recovered that resemble those of the Late Orientalising and Archaic periods known from other sites in Central Italy, especially nearby Veii.

So far, fragments of three terracotta roof systems have been found at Crustumerium. Fig. 5 gives the location of the terracotta fragments that were found in surveys and excavations on the settlement plateau or just outside it.

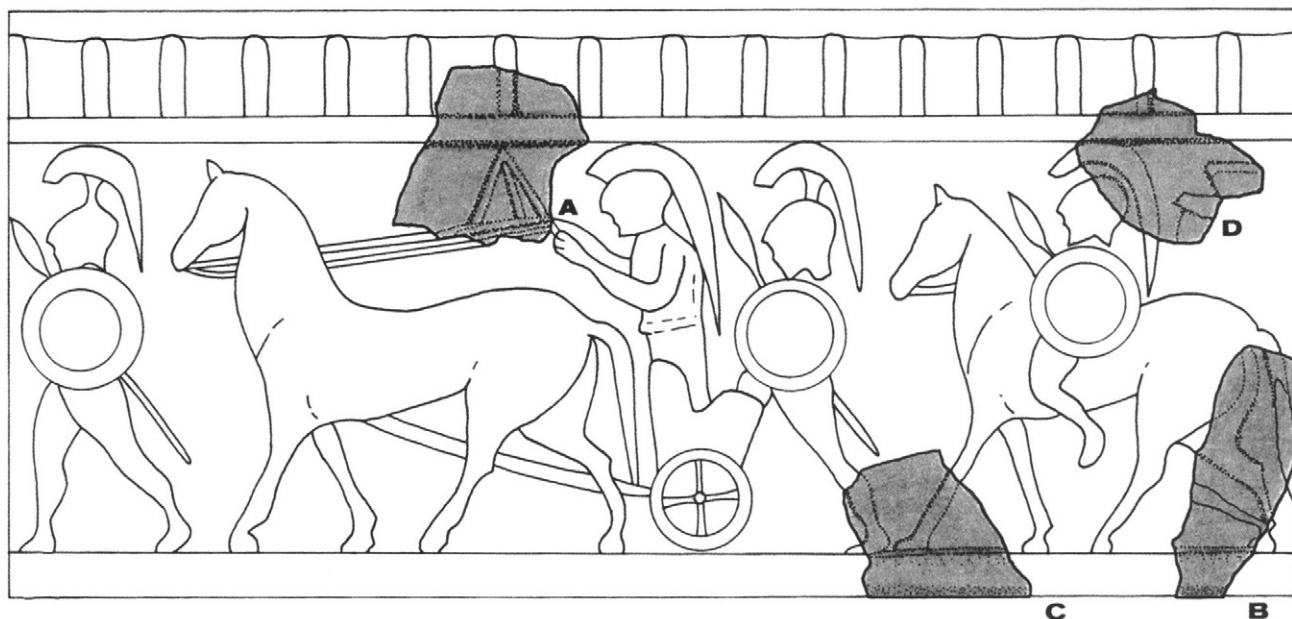


Fig. 7 Reconstruction of the terracotta plaque based on the fragments found by Amoroso. Scale 1:3 (figure Amoroso & Barbina 2003: fig. 5).

The fragments of the oldest terracotta system at Crustumerium were recorded while processing the finds from the so-called *saggio* II of the 1998 SSBAR/ASTRA excavation on the central part of the settlement.²⁴ The trench mainly contained ceramics from ca. 800 to 500 BC. Among these were some terracotta fragments that are of the white-on-red variety, handmade and not with a mould like the other architectural terracottas known from Crustumerium. These white-on-red terracotta fragments date to the decades around 600 BC (see fig. 5, no. 1 and fig. 6). The decoration in white slip on a red background consists of oblique lines but also of more elaborate patterns. The latter are difficult to reconstruct due to the fading of the slip but possibly represent palmette motives as those recorded at Veii.²⁵ White-on-red architectural terracottas are known from 640/630 BC onwards till the early sixth century BC.²⁶ One fragment might even pertain to a small terracotta statue or was part of an acroterion since it resembles the paw of an animal. The size of this paw from Crustumerium matches that of the paw of a panther/lion on an acroterion from Acquarossa that is dated around 600-580 BC.²⁷ However, the paw from Crustumerium is hand-modelled and not cut as the Acquarossa specimen referred to. Hand-modelled white-on-red is generally dated slightly earlier than the cut ones. Unfortunately, the white-on-red architectural terracottas from Crustumerium are fragmentary and therefore difficult to

place in a scheme, which is anyway more complicated for fragments of handmade terracottas than for the subsequent mould-made ones. The production of white-on-red architectural terracottas at Crustumerium is in line with the contemporaneous local production of white-on-red ceramic tablewares.²⁸ Additionally, the evidence of white-on-red architectural terracottas at Crustumerium coincides with the recently published data from sites in its vicinity. There is a small group of white-on-red terracotta fragments from Veii (as discussed above), Nepi, and Rome.²⁹ It becomes more and more clear that in Etruria and Latium Vetus monumental buildings were erected from ca. 700 BC onwards, significantly increasing in number during the late seventh century BC on account of the various locations with white-on-red architectural terracottas.³⁰ This corresponds with the recent finds at Piazza d'Armi at Veii that revealed an early urban reorganisation of the area with evidence for monumental buildings during the period 650-600 BC.³¹

Fragments of successive Archaic terracotta systems at Crustumerium were found during the surveys led by A. Amoroso (see fig. 5, no. 2 and fig. 7). These resemble specimens dating to the first half of the sixth century BC that occur at Veii.³² These terracotta fragments of red-firing fabric were all recovered from the settlement area and are assigned to

24 Seubers 2020: pp. 58-60.

25 Beilelli Marchesini 2011: p. 177, fig. 2.

26 Winter 2009: pp. 49-142; Bartoloni et al. 2011: pp. 131-133; Beilelli Marchesini 2011.

27 Winter 2009: fig. 2.15, p. 112.

28 See Micozzi 1994: p. 235; di Gennaro 2006c; Nijboer & Attema 2010.

29 Falzone 2001: pp. 187, 192-193.

30 See also Bonghi Jovino 2010: pp. 168-172.

31 Acconcia & Bartoloni 2014: pp. 282-285.

32 Amoroso 1998: p. 305, fig. 76.1; Amoroso & Barbina 2003: fig. 5; Beilelli Marchesini & Ten Kortenaar 2011: p. 108, 111.

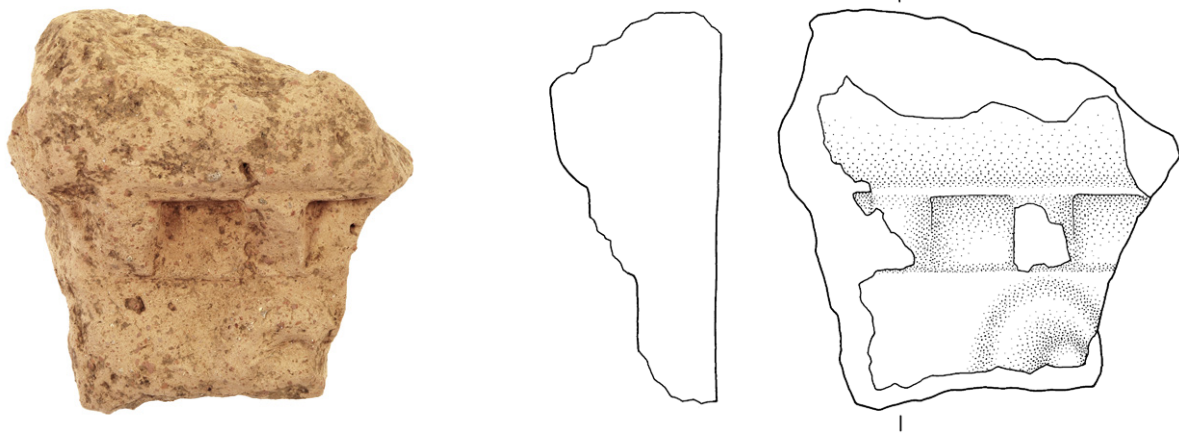


Fig. 8 Fragment of a Late Archaic terracotta from GIA *saggio* IV (see also Chapter 3). Scale 1:2 (figure S.E. Boersma).

two different plaques.³³ Three other fragments of red-firing terracotta plaques with military scenes, referring to the same type as those recovered by Amoroso, were found in the survey by F. Fraioli just to the southwest of the settlement (see fig. 5, no. 3).³⁴

Among the earliest terracottas, we also need to mention a feline head (acroterion) recovered somewhere at Crustumerium by the landowner Grazioli but recovered by the Soprintendenza.³⁵

The youngest fragment of a terracotta plaque was recovered by J. Seubers during the excavation of GIA *saggio* IV in 2013, just outside the settlement on its southeastern side (see fig. 5, no. 4 and fig. 8). The fragment shows a convex upper moulding, dentil course, and remains of a looped relief that might represent a volute tendril or floral motive rather than a figural scene in the main field. The fragment represents a plaque larger in size and thickness than the previous red-firing system indicating a more substantial building as best recorded at Satricum with several sixth-century BC building phases of the main temple, each larger than its precursor.³⁶

The fabric of the terracotta fragment illustrated in fig. 8 is Late Archaic and is comparable to other hard-paste, pale-firing terracottas with coarse, unsorted volcanic inclusions of the second half of the sixth century BC and dates before the fabric that is

related to the *chiaro sabbioso* ware group. A similar fabric was examined for Satricum.³⁷ So far, the system with moulds from which this fragment originates has not been identified.³⁸

The fragments of architectural terracottas mentioned above record the construction of monumental buildings at Crustumerium from ca. 625 to 520/510 BC.

Tomb types and their cultural background

Crustumerium has a long, rich, and diversified funerary culture with links to the Etruscan, Faliscan-Capenates, Sabine, and Latin areas. Thanks to continuous excavations and related typological and material culture studies, we have obtained a detailed picture of the specific cultural influences (see Chapter 7). As far as the Early Iron Age tombs are concerned, resemblances may go as far south as the Sarno valley in Campania, as is the case with the tombs found within the mound at Quilici site O.³⁹ However, we should be very careful with parallels at this point because the structure on top of tomb MDB390 is not fully preserved. Capstones marking Iron Age graves, as we have seen, find parallels in Etruria (Veii, Tarquinia), the Faliscan area (Falerii Veteres, Narce), and Rome itself.⁴⁰ The loculus tombs of the Orientalising period were inspired by and modelled on those

33 The fragments pertain to two different plaques when compared with roofs/moulds from Veii (Belelli Marchesini & Ten Kortenaar 2011). Amoroso & Barbina (2003: p. 24) used the fragments to reconstruct a single plaque.

34 Fraioli 2016: figs. 6 and 7.

35 The then inspector F. di Gennaro recovered the fragment from the landowner's property. A photograph and a short comment are published by di Gennaro, Schiappelli et al. 2004 (p. 151 and fig. 5) and di Gennaro 2006b (p. 222); it is dated by di Gennaro to the seventh century BC.

36 However, these 'early' plaques with military scenes may as well belong to a residential complex as at Veii, for example, where they belong to the oikos shrine and buildings in its surroundings.

37 http://www.lcm.rug.nl/lcm/teksten/teksten_uk/fabric_sat_2ADJ_vps_ab_porosity.htm.

38 In October-November 2015, Nijboer discussed this terracotta fragment with Prof Winter, Dr Ceccarelli, and Dr Belelli Marchesini, all of whom are thanked for their contribution. The date suggested is based on the ceramic fabric that is quite typical for architectonic terracottas during the period 550-500 BC.

39 The excavated tomb found underneath the mound at Quilici site O shows aspects known from the Fossa-Kultur, in particular the soil heap covering the grave and the surmounting horseshoe-shaped structure (Attema, Seubers, Willemsen, Bronkhorst et al. 2016: p. 81).

40 Attema, Seubers, Willemsen, Bronkhorst et al. 2016: p. 82.

from Etruria, notably of nearby Veii and widespread in the Faliscan area and inner Etruria. Finally, we saw in Chapter 7 how subterranean chamber tombs were introduced in Crustumerium's burial grounds around 630 BC. Remarkably, chamber tombs are rare in Latium Vetus and the few specimens we know of are built structures rather than subterranean vaults. This underlines how the people of Crustumerium were open to external cultural influences and able to adopt and modify tomb types for their own social and ritual purposes.

Pottery

The pottery recovered from Crustumerium is plentiful both from the settlement and the burial grounds, though the ceramic evidence from the settlement mainly derives from surveys and few domestic contexts have been excavated as of yet and none are fully published.⁴¹ In general, however, we observe that the domestic assemblages through time adhere to the shapes and wares common to ceramic assemblages from settlements in Latium Vetus. While we suppose that the bulk of the impasto wares, including the wheel-turned shiny red impasto (*impasto rosso*), was locally produced, no production facilities have been identified so far.

The assumption of a distinct local production is corroborated by a specific stylistic aspect that is unique to Crustumerium: the addition of spikes to the handles of the Latial amphorae and the double-handled Latial cups.⁴² While amphorae and cups with spiked handles are part and parcel of the funerary assemblage of the Orientalising period, fragments of such pottery have also been found in the settlement, pointing to use in domestic and/or ceremonial contexts.⁴³ Fine wares imported into the settlement for daily use occur from the Orientalising period onwards and are limited to occasional fragments of Etrusco-Corinthian pottery and more frequently occurring fragments of bucchero. Also, fragments of white-on-red impasto ware are found in the settlement. Local production of these wares, alongside imports, cannot be excluded. The shapes and techniques of production of fine wares do however indicate strong affinities with ceramic fine ware

products manufactured in Etruscan workshops. This is especially evident from the pottery found in the tombs, as discussed in Chapter 7.

For the Orientalising period, we assume that household industry and workshops functioned side by side. Thanks to Crustumerium's frontier position, potters could easily adopt models from the surrounding areas elaborating them in original ways.⁴⁴ In light of the elaborate funerary assemblages in the Orientalising tombs and the high number of tombs, we must envisage the existence of a highly productive workshop during the Orientalising period with potters specialising in the production of ceremonial pottery such as the spike-handled types and other distinctive products, such as the so-called *scodella crustumina*, the lid-bowl with characteristic incised decoration, or the *tazza cratera*, a handmade large cup with a high-raised large handle; all part of the traditional funerary pottery set used by the people of Crustumerium. Alongside these traditional forms, imports occur from nearby and further away, at times comprising unique objects.⁴⁵

Conclusion

Terracotta fragments, pottery, and tomb types show that the material culture of Crustumerium is part of a wider Central Italian *koine* sharing architectural decoration, ceramic shapes, wares, and decoration with peoples living in surrounding areas. At the same time, it is possible to identify persistent and strong local characteristics within Crustumerium's material culture. This brings into focus the settlement's unique identity and autonomous use of material culture. These observations map onto Crustumerium's geographical frontier position, as outlined in section 1 of this chapter, that demanded regular contact with neighbouring groups but at the same time asked for a strong sense of identity to cope with geopolitical and social pressure.

Section 3. The social fabric of Crustumerium's community

Of all settlements along the Tiber, Crustumerium is, on account of its extensively excavated burial grounds, the best candidate to furnish a detailed image of the social fabric of an average Latial community between the mid-ninth century BC and the outset of the Roman Republic. While full publication of the individual tombs is in progress, some general

41 But see Barbaro et al. 2013 showing ceramics from settlement excavations near Quilici site B belonging to the early phase of Crustumerium (Latial phase IIB as well as II and IV of the Latial Iron Age periods). See also Seubers 2020: fig. 2.28.

42 Thanks to the distinct character of Crustumerium's Orientalising impasto pottery production, it is possible to retrace artefacts from Crustumerium that were illegally traded: De Puma 2010; di Gennaro 2013 (see also Chapter 7, this volume).

43 Nijboer 2018a.

44 Attema, Seubers, Willemsen, Bronkhorst et al. 2016: p. 90 for a broader discussion of impasto production at Crustumerium.

45 Attema, Seubers, Willemsen, Bronkhorst et al. 2016: pp. 90-110 for a concise presentation of a choice of objects, including metal objects.

remarks on Crustumerium's social organisation can be made. In this section, we will first comment on the size of the community and then reflect on evidence that reveals aspects of the community of Crustumerium's internal social structure in terms of vertical and horizontal stratigraphy.

Size of Crustumerium's population

Crustumerium is thought to have been founded in the mid-ninth century BC by incoming settlers with a Latin background. Its population may at the outset have comprised of only a few families, living in huts and burying their dead in trench tombs. While early trench tombs have been recorded in the burial grounds of Monte Del Bufalo, their number is not particularly helpful in estimating Crustumerium's population size as the rather shallow Iron Age tombs were the first to disappear from the funerary record due to erosion (see Chapter 7) and we do not expect all members of the community to have been formally buried. Instead, we may look at the size and internal structure of the settlement.

In some settlements in Central Italy, groups of huts dating to the eighth and seventh century BC have been excavated but so far they never reveal a very close packing of structures, as is characteristic for later towns. Huts are usually surrounded by open space, which greatly affects the population densities feasible in such settlements.⁴⁶ The relatively modest spread of Early Iron Age potsherds over Crustumerium's settlement area in combination with the relatively low number of tombs dating around 800 BC, supports the idea that there remained much open space within Crustumerium's settlement limits.⁴⁷ For Iron Age Tarquinia, U. Rajala estimated a density of 3.33 households per hectare. With each household consisting of 5.67 individuals on average, she arrived at a density of almost 20 individuals per hectare.⁴⁸ For Crustumerium this would mean a community of around 1200 individuals during the eighth century BC.

Based on the increase of the surface pottery record, the number of tombs, and the investments in infrastructural works, it can be deduced that demographic growth occurred during the seventh and sixth centuries BC, just as has been observed for many other Latial towns. While we know on the basis

of the surface ceramic record for certain that also at Crustumerium a transition from huts to houses took place in the decades around 600 BC, we cannot be sure how this affected population numbers at Crustumerium due to the absence of well-preserved, excavated structures. Scholars have estimated a mean of 50 to 100 inhabitants per hectare, providing us with ca. 3000 to 6000 inhabitants for Crustumerium during the seventh and sixth centuries BC, i.e. if the entire plateau was in use for habitation.⁴⁹ The infrastructure of roads and defensive works as well as the level of craft specialisation achieved, support the statement that Crustumerium would have housed a community of this magnitude.⁵⁰

Aspects of social organisation at Crustumerium

The funerary record at Crustumerium is highly informative on changes in the social organisation of the community as it covers the entire period of the settlement's existence between the mid-ninth and early fifth century BC. We like to draw attention to two general aspects of Crustumerium's burial record. One is the absence of *tombe principesche*, pointing to funerary customs that did not emphasise vertical stratification within the community during the Orientalising period, although the burial record does indicate status and role differences. Another is the presence of a good many chamber tombs in the various burial grounds around the settlement. This aspect sets Crustumerium's funerary record apart from that of many other Latial settlements and informs us about the social changes that took place during the Orientalising and the Archaic periods (see Chapter 7).

A general trait of the earliest graves, when one analyses outfit (*corredo*) of the tombs, is indeed their traditional and little articulated appearance as illustrated by tombs containing weapons. The male tombs

46 See Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991; Brandt 1996, 1997; Stobbe 2007.

47 See also Seubers 2020: pp. 176-177.

48 Rajala 2006. See for a study on population numbers of Final Bronze Age/Early Iron Nepi, Rajala 2016. Also in the latter study her numbers are significantly lower than in various Italian studies (see references in Rajala 2016).

49 For a discussion of population densities see di Gennaro & Guidi 2010; for Crustumerium specifically, see Nijboer & Willemsen 2012: p. 36 and Tuppi et al. 2012: pp. 15-18, the latter suggesting a population of ca. 4,000-5,000 during the seventh and sixth century BC, perhaps reaching 6,000 during the end of the sixth century BC. Density of population in the rising urban centres of Central Italy requires, however, a more detailed discussion that would stretch the purpose of this chapter. For example, density of population increases substantially with the emergence of two-storey buildings or the arrangement of house-plots along streets and alleys. In addition, one could include a discussion on average agricultural yield to sustain a certain number of people or an analysis of the few settlement excavations in Central Italy that revealed more than just one hut or house (see Nijboer 1998: pp. 242-244; Osborne 2005: p. 8; Rasmussen 2005: pp. 86-88; Rajala 2006; Kron 2013). See Tuppi et al. 2012: p. 24 for estimated labour input required to dig Crustumerium's fossato (100 men would need over 500 days). More in general on labour input, Bernard 2018.

50 Tuppi et al. 2012: p. 24.

dating to the eighth century BC have a limited number of weapons and this reflects the distinctive attitude towards arms in Latium Vetus, as pointed out by Bietti Sestieri for nearby Osteria dell'Osa. In the latter burial ground, the male inhumation tomb no. 262, dated around 800 BC, was the first to receive a functional weapon, a bronze javelin head.⁵¹ The treatment of weapons in male tombs at both Osteria dell'Osa and Crustumerium is comparable as it is characterised by a limited deposition of functional weapons early on but increasing during the seventh century BC. At Osteria dell'Osa, weapons are found in 58 male tombs assigned to Latial period III and IV, mainly spearheads and swords, except for warrior tomb 600, which is unique and interpreted as having belonged to an immigrant from southern Etruria.⁵² The data on male tombs of the eighth and seventh century BC at Osteria dell'Osa and Crustumerium indicate that in some Latin burial grounds class was less expressed in the artefacts that accompanied the deceased. When we look at female tombs, we note that only some stand out on account of their *corredi* and personal ornaments, while the majority of the tombs are fairly customary.⁵³ There is thus limited evidence from the burial grounds to support the notion of the presence of high-ranking individuals at Crustumerium, although vertical stratification was present.

Horizontal stratification may have been more important in the social organisation of Crustumerium's community in the form of kinship relations and the formation of extended families. The spatial distribution of tombs at Crustumerium indicates the formation of burial clusters with origins going back to the Iron Age trench tombs (see Chapter 7). For example, the Via della Marcigliana cluster with 88 tombs marks ancestor cults of a specific extended family for a period of at least 250 years or ca. ten generations. Judging from the investments in grave architecture and *corredi*, some kinship groups and/or extended families acquired more status than others, which was displayed in the funerary sphere. Horizontal stratification remained intact during the transition from the Orientalising to the Archaic period as the newly introduced chamber tombs are inserted in existing tomb clusters. This strongly supports the notion of social stability, even if the emphasis was now on the nuclear family rather than on the individual within the (extended) family. Whether (parts of) the

various burial grounds might coincide with the existence of *gentes* is subject of a complex debate that can only be addressed once all burial evidence has been thoroughly analysed.⁵⁴

Conclusion

On the basis of the size of the settlement, communal labour investments, and the general abundance of ceramic surface materials and tombs dating to the Orientalising and Archaic period, population estimates for Crustumerium in the seventh and sixth centuries BC range between 3000 and 6000 inhabitants. So far, no indicators have been found in the funerary record for a very pronounced vertical stratigraphy, even though differences can be pointed out that may be linked to differential status. The chrono-spatial distribution of tombs points to a strong sense of kinship bonding as the social basis of the community of Crustumerium withholding the expression of overt vertical stratification in the funerary domain.

Section 4. Crustumerium and Rome

In this chapter's final section, we view the developments taking place at Crustumerium and the transformations observed in its material culture during the period 850 to 450 BC in relation with Rome as the main protagonist in Latium Vetus' political and economic development.⁵⁵ We already looked into the location of Crustumerium just 15 km to the north-northeast of Rome and Rome's powerful position from the advanced Iron Age onwards as emphasised in recent research. At the same time, we have described the growth of Crustumerium in terms of autonomous internal developments that would have put Crustumerium on a par with many settlements elsewhere in Latium Vetus. Based on its archaeological record, we see social transformations (in terms of vertical and horizontal stratification) and traits of urbanisation, such as monumental buildings, infrastructure, and defences, matching general developments in Latial settlements during the seventh and sixth centuries BC. These aspects give rise to the image of Crustumerium as an independent polity or 'petty' city-state within a configuration of peer polities in which Rome, soon after Crustumerium's

51 Bietti Sestieri 1992: pp. 785-786. The ritual treatment of weapons has been pointed out for other periods and regions in Italy as well (Bietti Sestieri et al. 2013: pp. 166-167).

52 Bietti Sestieri 1992: pp. 511-512.

53 Bartoloni 2003: pp. 123-129 refers to these as belonging to the class of *padrone di casa*.

54 Nijboer 2018a. Recognising *gentes* (or clan) formation in the protohistoric funerary record is a complex issue fraught with methodological problems, which we will not go into here. See for recent work on clan formation and archaeology in Central Italy Di Fazio & Paltineri 2019, especially the contributions to the section "La Gens nella cultura materiale". Specifically on Latium Vetus, Roncoroni 2018. For a case study see e.g. Waarsenburg 1995.

55 Cifani forthcoming. Specifically on Rome: Carandini & Cappelli 2000.

foundation, became a geopolitical factor in terms of expanding influence, territorial expansion, and ultimately, conquest. Telling is Crustumerium's decline and abandonment around 500 BC when the Roman Republic was founded. In order to give substance to the anthropological and historical context in which we must view Crustumerium's geopolitical and historical position, we have to discuss two more topics: respectively state formation in central and northern Latium Vetus and the ancient literary tradition. We end this chapter with a section on the disappearance of Crustumerium from the archaeological record as a nucleated settlement and the link we can tentatively make with information from literary sources that mention the conquest of Crustumerium and its territory by Rome.

Crustumerium, early state formation, and Rome

In the discussion on state formation in Central Italy in regard to Crustumerium we can follow two strands for which we have archaeological evidence. One is its position within the regional settlement pattern as an independent polity, even if the literary tradition hints at a subordinate 'colonial' position to Rome already from an early point in the town's existence.⁵⁶ The other is the social articulation evident from the burial record that, even if not expressing overt vertical stratification, does show a trajectory that can be identified as the transition from a chiefdom to an 'early state module', in the literature also referred to as 'city-state'.⁵⁷

The settlement configuration maps in figs. 1 and 4 show how Crustumerium during the seventh and sixth centuries BC was a small, independent town being part of a close packing of comparable settlements along the Tiber, Aniene, and Fiora, as outlined above.⁵⁸ This observation is supported by results from systematic surveys of the settlement area of Crustumerium demonstrating increasingly dense habitation, judging from the considerable quantity of sixth-century BC tiles, storage jars, and cooking stands over a large part of the settlement within a developing urban infrastructure.⁵⁹

This manifestation of Archaic urbanisation is in line with other comparable settlements in Latium Vetus even if we have to allow for considerable

differentiation between settlements as it comes to their political status with important roles for such settlements as Tusculum, Satricum, and Lavinium. As referred to, Rome is thought to have outstripped any of these Latin towns in power probably already from the beginning of the eighth century BC. Possibly it had already earlier, during the beginning of the Early Iron Age (Latial phase IIA), become a large unified settlement.

From an anthropological analytical perspective on state formation, Latium Vetus shows thus characteristics of an unbalanced city-state arrangement with stronger and lesser central settlements. On such arrangements, B. Trigger writes that "city state systems frequently produced one or more city-states that dominated their neighbours militarily".⁶⁰ This definitely applied to Rome with respect to the other Latin early states as reflected in its size. Rome was vast when compared to other Latin centres. This situation is historically reflected in the Latin League that was originally a coalition of city-states formed in opposition to Rome and in the treaty of the *Foedus Cassianum* that in 493 BC concluded the combats between Rome and the other Latin city-states.⁶¹ Rank-size analysis of the settlements measuring defended space, whether naturally or artificially, is one of the tools to look into this. Such analysis shows how Rome as a settlement centre was as substantial as the largest Etruscan centre by the eighth century BC when the more elevated parts of the Forum Romanum became occupied in addition to habitation on the surrounding hills.⁶² Further expansion and monumentalisation of Rome occurred during the Archaic period and current scholarship portrays Rome now as the leader of a successful hegemonic city-state system that extended its supremacy not just by war, negotiation, and allies but also by accommodating different ethnic and social groups, incorporating their mores, cultures, and deities. Located near to Rome, both developments will have concerned a town as Crustumerium.

Romans venerated typical Latin deities but adopted, from early on, Sabine, Etruscan, and even Faliscan key gods. Its expansion was assisted by the fact that it operated within a context of ethnic blending. As we have seen, this mix of cultural features from various nearby regions is also noted in

56 See for a discussion on the perceived origin of Crustumerium as a 'Romulean' colony, Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980: pp. 27-32; also Smith 2016: p. 5; summary in Seubers 2020: pp. 1-3. See also the discussion of Crustumerium's decline below.

57 On the Central Italian city-state debate in relation with Crustumerium, see Seubers 2020: pp. 8-12. More in general: Fulminante 2014: pp. 9-30.

58 See also Amoroso 2013.

59 Amoroso 2002; Attema et al. 2014; Seubers 2020.

60 Trigger 2003: p. 113. On hegemonic city-state systems in which one centre dominates other city-states politically and militarily, see Trigger 2003: pp. 92-119.

61 Cornell 1995: pp. 293-309.

62 Cf. Fulminante 2014: pp. 77-79; Nijboer 2018b. By the eighth century BC, Rome was on its way to occupy 200 ha while by the sixth century BC it had doubled its size to approximately 400 ha becoming the largest town in Central Italy by far (Nijboer 2015 with references).

Crustumerium's material record and funerary architecture. Due to the scarcity of overseas imports at Crustumerium, one can argue that this blending is based on inland contacts, which were a result of its strategic location within an intricate network of major and minor roads recording the growing importance of overland communication and mobility.

Moving to the funerary evidence, we note that the transition from chiefdom to early state in Central Italy is frequently identified with the change from elaborate warrior tombs (*tombe guerriero e sacerdote*) to *tombe principesche* because the ever-richer princely or principal tombs reflect more enforced means of controlling commodity flows and its correlated division of labour/tasks. This shift from elaborate warrior to princely tombs is set around 725 BC, i.e. the beginning of the Orientalising period. It needs to be stressed that increasing socio-economic complexity is based on previous arrangements, which are preserved.⁶³ Complexity increases because another level of control or political hierarchy is added, a type of institutionalised synoecism or communal governmental mores, validated by religion. Thus clans or *gentes* remained of importance once kings were chosen. It follows that the transition from chiefdom to state is restrained, which is also mirrored in the gradual evolution from elaborate warrior tombs of the eighth century BC to the *Prunkgräber* of the period 725-650 BC.⁶⁴

Since the widespread excavations of the burial grounds at Crustumerium have so far not presented elaborate warrior tombs or *tombe principesche*, one could conclude that there is no evidence for a chiefdom or early state. However, this would be misleading and far too schematic. Instead, we argue for an approach that recognises local variations and selections in funerary customs. It should be noted that such elaborate tombs are missing in the whole microregion between the Aniene and Fiora as well as in the Sabina Tiberina for the period 800 to 650 BC. People in this microregion had access to some of the symbols of power associated with such high-status tombs elsewhere, but this apparently did not result in *tombe guerriero e sacerdote* and the subsequent *tombe principesche*. A reason could be that these settlement centres in the more inland regions had less access to overseas, especially Levantine, luxuries that are characteristic for such tombs. Instead, they seem to control the well-developed interior trade and communication routes. Moreover, elaborate warrior tombs of the eighth century BC are anyway rare in

Latium Vetus and seem to occur consistently more often in Etruria, from Volterra in northern Etruria to Veii in southern Etruria. The picture changes if we shift the analysis from male to female tombs during the eighth century BC. In Latium Vetus, class distinction appears to be predominantly expressed in female tombs.⁶⁵ The subsequent female and male *tombe principesche* of the period 725-650 BC occur both in Etruria and large parts of Latium Vetus.

Apart from the funerary evidence at Crustumerium, which gives the impression of a traditional attitude towards the burial ritual in which social differences are less expressed than, for example, in nearby Veii, the archaeological data indicate a comparable rate of urbanisation and centralisation as detected in other Latin, Faliscan, and even Etruscan primary centres.

In sum, the archaeological data from Crustumerium, such as number of burial grounds, quantity of tombs, clustering, fortifications, infrastructure, and monumental buildings, indicate that it became rapidly urban in the decades around 600 BC and that there was early state formation as at other main settlements in Latium Vetus and Etruria. Class differentiation was less expressed in the tombs than at other sites in Etruria or Latium Vetus south of the Aniene. It is however still open to further debate how chiefdoms need to be defined in Latium Vetus and Etruria because it has to incorporate the notion of clans and shared power among a number of leaders.

When looking into early states, there is no debate on the existence of small to large city-states by the late seventh century BC in Central Italy and it is ethnographically established that urbanisation and early state formation require social stratification, a distinction in classes.⁶⁶ In terms of state formation, Rome is the exception since it is the only example of a city-state in Central Italy that headed towards a territorial state from the fifth century BC onwards. For much of the seventh to fourth centuries BC, Rome can be considered a key player in the by then hegemonic city-state system of Latium Vetus. One can argue, therefore, that by 500 BC, Rome was on its way to become a territorial state since it added territories, which is one of the fundamental features of such states. The incorporation of Crustumerium might have been a starting point in the transition from a

63 As reflected in De Santis 2005, in which she examines in detail the four eighth-century BC affluent warrior tombs from Veii; see also Nijboer 2008, 2018a.

64 Nijboer 2008.

65 Cf. Bartoloni 2003: pp. 115-144; De Santis 2007; Iaia 2007. *Tombe principesche* (male and female) are rare and occur both in Etruria and Latium Vetus mainly during the period 725-650 BC. They are also found in the burial grounds of smaller Latial settlements, such as the *tombe principesche* at Castel di Decima, Acqua Acetosa Laurentina, and La Rustica.

66 Trigger 2003: pp. 142-154, 661-663.

hegemonic city-state system towards a territorial state since Crustumium was the first substantial centre that was added as territory, in Crustumium's case by assigning its population to the *tribus Clustumina*.⁶⁷

For Roman historiography, Crustumium was apparently just that, a territory, and no longer a territory pertaining to a clan/*gens* (if this was ever the case), since all previous 17 Roman country *tribūs* were named after *gentes*.⁶⁸ This brings us to Crustumium's decline around 500 BC as an urban centre, a period for which we have both archaeological and literary data.

Crustumium's decline around 500 BC

The character of the decline of Crustumium in archaeological terms is of importance because it can be related to the ancient literary sources. These are specific about its downfall and subsequent position within the Roman state around 500 BC. The nature of its historical decline makes the relation between Crustumium and Rome relevant to the debate on the state formation process described in the previous section. Below, we first summarise the archaeological evidence for Crustumium's decline, next we present the ancient literary sources on this topic.

While earlier surveys already indicated that the site gradually faded during the fifth and fourth century BC, also GIA's recent surveys yielded little evidence for Crustumium's continuation as a main settlement centre after ca. 500 BC (see Chapter 6).⁶⁹ Our intensive surveys in fact documented a significant downfall in the quantity of fifth-century BC ceramic objects when compared to those of the sixth century BC.⁷⁰ This is supported by the observations from a number of still unpublished small settlement excavations that were performed by the Soprintendenza in the past decades and the recent excavations at Quilici site O by the GIA and the Soprintendenza.⁷¹

On the basis of the current documentation, we estimate that more than 95% of the ceramics recovered during the various campaigns pertain to the period before 500 BC, while we have hardly any ceramic evidence that can be definitely dated to the fifth century BC. The bulk of the ceramics processed and analysed so far is of Archaic date. The architectural

terracottas are red-firing apart from the fragment of the last terracotta roof system that can, however, still be dated to the late sixth century BC (see above). Any habitation that might have existed during the fifth century BC on the plateau will have been sparse and should be evaluated in a rural context.

The decline of Crustumium around 500 BC is also evident from the absence of tombs that can be dated later than ca. 525 BC on account of their artefacts. Although there are undatable tombs, due to the absence of grave gifts, these are quite rare and spatially seem to belong to existing clusters that may have continued into the early fifth century BC. Remarkably, nearby Fidenae continues well into the fifth century BC as a nucleated settlement based on the ceramic record. It is telling that the ceramics assigned to the fifth century BC at Fidenae hardly find any parallels at Crustumium.⁷² Pale impasto Archaic wares and those covered with pale slip or paint, are so far scarcely documented at Crustumium, while they are present in substantial quantities at Fidenae.⁷³ A final argument supporting the decline of Crustumium is the absence of inscriptions from Crustumium.⁷⁴ The total lack of inscriptions is also not uncommon at other sites that disappeared before or around 500 BC. How does this work out with the ancient literary sources?

The indications in the archaeological record of Crustumium's decline coincide in time with Livy's claim of the take-over of Crustumium by Rome in 499 BC and the institution of the *tribus Clustumina*.⁷⁵ He states that Crustumium and its lands were added to the Roman territory as the first *tribus rustica* in 495 BC that was named after its (former) toponym.⁷⁶ From that time onwards, Crustumium is no longer

67 Smith notes how this must "relate to land taken in the subjugation of Crustumium" (Smith 2016: p. 6). See also below.

68 Cf. Cornell 1995: pp. 84-85; Smith 2006.

69 Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980: pp. 285-294, tav. CXII-CXIII, CXVI.

70 Seubers 2020.

71 Barbaro et al. 2013. For the mound and the excavations by the Groningen Institute of Archaeology at Quilici site O see Chapter 4 of this volume.

72 di Gennaro et al. 2009

73 di Gennaro et al. 2009: pp. 184, 186-192. These observations regarding the chronology of the material evidence from Crustumium are in line with other settlements that vanish from the archaeological record in the period 550-500 BC; notably Murlo/Poggio Civitate and Acquarossa. These sites reveal no or hardly any Late Archaic ceramics such as pale Archaic impasto household vessels or architectural terracottas that can be categorically assigned to the fifth century BC.

74 So far at Crustumium only one letter has been recorded: an A on a Latial double spiral amphorae from tomb MDB9 (not published).

75 Liv. II.19.2, II.64.2-3. An extensive description of the ancient literary record related to Crustumium is given by Quilici & Quilici Gigli (1980: pp. 17-25). See also Smith 2016: p. 6. See on *ager publicus* in the Early Republic Roselaar 2010: p. 25ff.

76 Liv. II.19.2, II.21.7; Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980: pp. 30-33; Cornell 1995: p. 174.

documented as an urban centre but recorded by ancient authors for its fertile soil and territory.⁷⁷

But also for the period of Crustumerium's existence Roman historiography is clear on the existence of asymmetrical relations between Crustumerium and Rome. According to Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch, Crustumerium was already part of the Roman territory during the reign of its first king, Romulus. This story is related to the notorious rape of the Sabine women during festivities in Rome, hosted by Romulus. These celebrations had attracted, besides Sabines, inhabitants of the nearby centres Caenina, Antemnae, and Crustumerium. The rape led to combined hostilities against Rome after which the settlements were conquered, leading amongst others to the Roman colonisation of Crustumerium as a consequence of its fertile soils. Livy records moreover the migration of Crustumini to Rome to stay with their assaulted daughters.⁷⁸ This story is a construct based on mythical narratives and cannot be confirmed by archaeology or otherwise. It can be read as an anthropological account of marauding by tribes living in each other's vicinity.⁷⁹

We have no data from the tombs or settlement to suggest the sudden influx of just Romans into Crustumerium or colonisation during the period around 750 BC. Nonetheless, the ongoing urbanisation during the seventh and sixth century BC of Latium Vetus will have attracted people from adjacent areas, especially the interior of Italy. The blending as recorded in the material culture of Crustumerium implies an influx of ideas and people from the surrounding lands in general, not just from Rome. This mixing of peoples is also reflected in the ancient literary records. While most ancient authors consider Crustumerium to be Latin, others relate them to Sabines.⁸⁰ Another story on the relations between Crustumerium and Rome concerns its conquest during the reign of Tarquinius Priscus (616-578 BC).⁸¹ This story is considered to be a later invention since we have no indication that the urbanisation of Crustumerium faltered or changed significantly around 600 BC. The continuing deposition in chamber tombs and the large number of sixth-century BC ceramic tiles found all over the settlement record a relatively dense habitation.

We have no archaeological data that explicitly support the historical happenings of 500-495 BC, nor evidence that excludes it. The finds document a rather sudden change from dense to sparse habitation around 500 BC. It is, however, attractive to correlate the events taking place at Crustumerium around 500 BC with the contemporary reception of the Claudian clan into the Roman state.⁸² For example, Smith wrote that we know that the Claudii were granted land around Crustumerium. Rome gradually expanded from at least the sixth century BC onwards by incorporating clans and land from nearby settlements, mostly by treaty but also by conquest. Simultaneously, clans like the Claudii became incorporated into Rome. Thus state formation and migration were substantial and led to settling in Rome itself as well as in the Roman-Latin colonies that were established from the late sixth century BC onwards. One could even speculate on the hypothesis that the Claudii were originally based in Crustumerium; the story goes that they came from Sabine territory but had to flee because of their anti-war attitude towards Rome that was not supported by the other clans.⁸³

However, we must remind ourselves that the probable desertion of Crustumerium as a settlement centre is not uncommon as some sites, known for their lengthy opposition to Rome, eventually were destroyed by the Romans during the Middle to Late Republican period. Clear examples are Carthage and Falerii Veteres that was deserted while Falerii Novi was founded; only its sanctuaries remained in use. The ancient literary tradition, therefore, records Crustumerium as a participant when it deals with the early rise of the Roman state while for much of the Republican period (509-27 BC) it is above all remembered for its fertile agricultural land.

Conclusion

Crustumerium and Rome are closely bound up geographically and historiographically. While its archaeological record points to an autonomous development from chiefdom to early state comparable to that of other Latial settlements and its formation can be analysed within the constellation of peer polities in Latium Vetus, its vicinity to Rome made its

77 Liv. I.11; Cic. *Flac.* XXIX.71; Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980: pp. 24, 35-36. The area is referred to as *ager Crustuminus* (Varro *Rust.* I.14.3; Liv. XLI.9.4-5) and as *Crustumini montes* (Liv. V.37.7).

78 Liv. I.9.8-9, I.10.1-3, I.11.3-4; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* II.32.2, II.36.1-2, VI.55.2; Plut. *Vit. Rom.* XVII.1.

79 Cf. Cornell 1995: pp. 75-77.

80 Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980: p. 18.

81 Liv. I.38.3-4; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* III.49.4-6, III.50.3.

82 See on this topic Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980: pp. 30-32, 286-287; Smith 2006: pp. 45-54, 238-239; Barbina et al. 2009, especially pp. 335-342 by Pietro Barbina on *Le terre dei Claudii: ipotesi di collocazione topografica* with even some hypothetical maps of the territory of the Claudii.

83 Smith 2006: p. 238. However, linking the decline of Crustumerium to the rise of the Claudii cannot be confirmed unless a meaningful inscription like the golden tablets from Pyrgi or the *Lapis Satricanus*, both dated around 500 BC, would turn up.

history, even if part of it is mythical, linked to that of Rome as the overriding power. In fact, the decline of Crustumerium as documented in the field fits the time frame during which the ancient sources place the incorporation of Crustumerium into the orbit of Rome, underscoring Rome's transformation into a hegemonic territorial state.

General conclusion

In this chapter, we have attempted to place Crustumerium and what is known archaeologically of the settlement in the broader context of Latium Vetus, Rome, and the surrounding Etruscan, Faliscan-Capenates, and Sabine territories. We have looked at various overlapping settlement configurations in which Crustumerium functioned. This took us from the microregional settlement configuration of settlements along the Tiber and Aniene via the intraregional level of Latium Vetus as a geopolitical, ethnic, and cultural constellation to the interregional level of the wider network of settlements within Central Italy. Next, we discussed the relationship between Crustumerium and Rome from a geographical and historiographical perspective. The quality and quantity of the archaeological record have allowed us to define a largely autonomous role for Crustumerium in the process of state formation from the period of its foundation around 850 BC to the early fifth century BC when its autonomy was abolished. Based on the funerary

evidence, the community of Crustumerium showed considerable and persistent social cohesion based on kinship during all of its existence while communal efforts resulted in putting an efficient urban infrastructure in place requiring a considerable degree of central organisation. Relationships with surrounding cultures are amply reflected in the adoption of tomb types and certain aspects of material culture which at Crustumerium were moulded into a distinct proper style underscoring its autonomous character as an independent polity. Many details escape us still, such as the way Crustumerium was founded, how exactly the transformation from the Early Iron Age settlement into that of the Orientalising period took place in terms of building history, organisation of trade, and production at the site, and how the Archaic town looked like in terms of ceremonial buildings, for which we have some evidence from terracottas, house architecture, and, more in general, urban infrastructure. Fortunately, excavations in settlements comparable to Crustumerium, such as Satricum, can fill in much of the information that Crustumerium lacks on the level of internal urban configuration, while Crustumerium's asset is undoubtedly its detailed funerary record that in future will teach us much more about the social structure at Crustumerium than we are now able to present. In the final chapter, we will elaborate on what was attained in the PSP in terms of evidence to build further upon.

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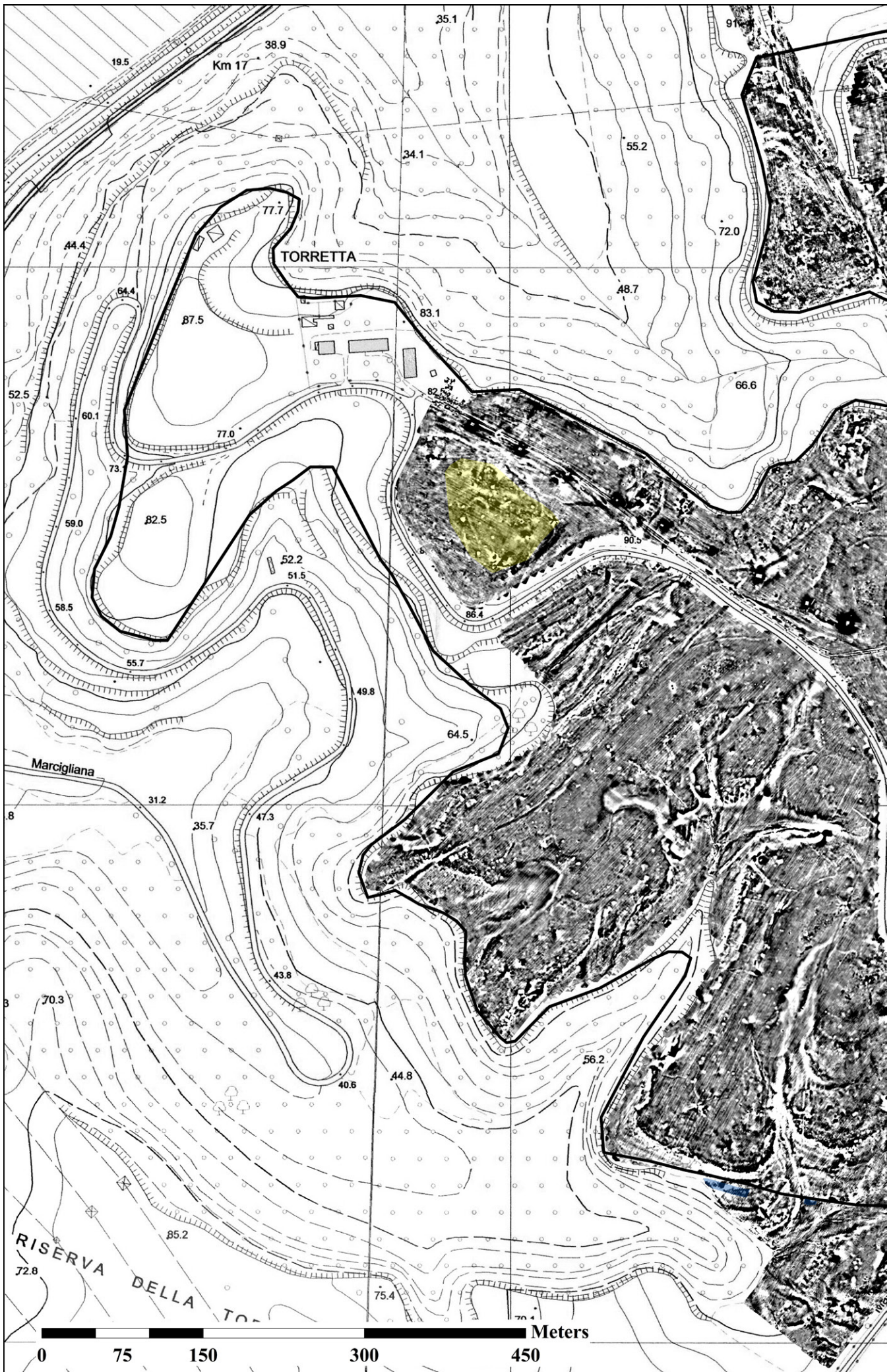
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GEOMAGNETIC MAP OF CRUSTUMERIUM



Magnetic map of Crustumerium highlighting the interpretation of the main features: the defensive ditch (in blue), the southern infrastructure (in red), the tombs (in yellow), the Roman building structures (in purple), and Quilici site O (in orange).



The magnetic data are visualised as a greyscale image with a dynamic of 10 nT.

