

Season	Burial No.	Sword	Spearhead	Other Finds
1970	FG.28	—	FG.DT	Knife
1971	FB.10	FB.AQ	—	—
1973	FN.14	FN.BP	FN.CE	Pig bones
1973	FN.17	FN.BR	FN.BS	Pig bones
1974	FA.4	FA.AN	—	—
1974	FA.29	FA.BZ	FA.CA	Pig bones/bone pin
1974	FA.31	FA.CC	FA.CD	—

Addendum

26 Lambay Island, Co Dublin (Rynne 1976)

Burial in Italy up to Augustus

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Cremation and inhumation would appear to be very different rites: hence they have been used as a convenient criterion for differentiating one group of people from another, especially in the study of Italian prehistory. Thus Randall MacIver wrote in 1927 that

“by the tenth century before Christ, when the new migrations of the Iron Age from the same transalpine countries were complete, the geographical limits of the two burial rites can be sharply defined.”

He defined the inhuming area as Italy south of a line running approximately from Rimini to Rome, although he pointed out that cremation north of the line, and inhumation south of it, were not strictly invariable, even at an early date. The explanation seemed simple—invaders from north of the Alps carried the rite of cremation down as far as the Rome-Rimini line, whereas in the rest of Italy inhumation, the rite of the pre-Iron Age inhabitants, continued, generally in trench graves, but with regional variations. More recent research, however, has shown that the situation was not as simple as this, and has challenged the concept of invaders from the north.² Nevertheless, the Rome-Rimini line remains a broad division between the areas where cremation and inhumation were the predominant rites during the early Iron Age.

Subsequently the situation became more complicated, not so much in the south, where inhumation remained the major rite until Roman influence was sufficiently strong to introduce cremation, but rather in the northern areas, especially Etruria and Rome. Here, after an initial cremating phase, cremation and inhumation alternated and existed side by side, the one emerging above the other in different places at different times. This diversity of burial rite, as well as growing wealth and sophistication, produced a greater variety of tomb types, and an elaborate funerary art, while increasing respect for the individual led to the development of inscribed grave markers for each person, or some other permanent and personal memorial, if only a name over a columbarium niche.

The burial customs of Picenum, the most northerly of the ‘inhuming areas’, are seen at their most typical in the two cemeteries of Novilara near Pesaro, which cover the period c. 800-650 BC. There the bodies were laid in trench graves roughly plastered on the inside and with a layer of gravel in the bottom (possibly for drainage). The bodies were clothed and placed in a contracted position. Men’s graves were well supplied with weapons: in

the Servici cemetery only four out of the 37 male burials had no spear at all, many had more than one spear, and some had other arms as well. Some graves were marked with stelae, two of which were decorated with scenes—a naval battle and spiral pattern on one, a hunt and fight scene and inscription on the other. The cemetery at Belmonte is somewhat later (from c. 650 to c. 400 BC), but has similar features, simple earth graves with the bodies laid in a contracted position, with an abundance of arms and some chariots. Remains of chariots have also been found in two 4th century graves in a cemetery at Grottazzolina. The same characteristics are found in other cemeteries ranging in date from the 10th to the 4th centuries, except that on a few sites the bodies were not placed in a contracted but in a supine position. At Terni in Umbria cremations and inhumations have been found belonging to the earliest period (11th century to c. 800 BC), but in the 8th to 4th centuries it seems that only inhumation was practised. The early use of cremation has been attributed to the presence of Villanovans, or pre-Villanovan urnfielders, in this town close to the Villanovan area of Etruria. Early cremation tombs have also been found in Picenum, notably the cemetery of 120 cremation graves of the 8th century found north of Fermo in 1956. The inhumations at Terni are in trench graves covered by low cairns sometimes surrounded by a circle of stones.

Although Greek art came to Picenum via Apulia, Greek influence does not seem to have affected burial customs there. On the other hand, Sannonian Gauls settled between Rimini and Ancona in the 4th century BC, and there are Gaulish graves at Montefortino and Sarsina. These were inhumations in stone-lined trenches covered with earth and each marked with a stone.

To the south of Picenum were the Samnites, a poor and hardy race with burial customs to match. These are illustrated by the necropolis at Aufidena where the same inhumation rite was practised for centuries. The graves are trenches which are generally lined, in the earlier period (7th to 5th centuries BC) with wooden planks, later with stones, and in the 4th century onwards with tiles, and the burials were covered with flat stones or tiles. At the bottom of many graves, as at Picenum, was gravel, on which the body was laid outstretched, dressed and with jewellery or military equipment, the legs sometimes crossed, one hand on the breast, and the head sometimes propped

up. These graves were dug in the poorest soil, of which only the minimum was used, some being so narrow that the body had to be turned on its side, some so short that the accompanying spears had to be broken. They were often surrounded by rings of stones or slabs set on end, and men's graves appear to have been marked by a spear, women's by a spindle.

Although this simple formula was adhered to in Samnium itself, Samnites outside their homeland, in Campania, built more elaborate tombs, and sometimes adopted the custom of using an inscribed stone to mark the graves. No such marker has ever been found in the heart of Samnium, and it was only on the more sophisticated sites that imported material was found in graves. In the Paelignian area around Lake Fucino, to the north of Samnium and east of Latium, miniature chamber tombs with a bench for the body were sometimes used, as well as the lined trenches.

In Apulia, the least well documented area of southern Italy, a few of the Bronze Age gallery tombs at Bisceglie near Bari in which collective burial was practised may have continued in use into the Iron Age, but on the whole collective burial was abandoned. In the 8th and 7th centuries, especially in the Peucetian area, *specchie* were used. These are cairns of varying sizes, with a cist made of stone slabs in the centre containing a single skeleton in a contracted position. The normal tomb of the 6th century onwards, when Greek influence was strong, was a trench grave, either containing a coffin made up of slabs of stone or, more rarely, a stone sarcophagus. The body was again placed in a contracted position, which is usual in this area. In the Canusium area there are richer tombs of the 4th and 3rd centuries, the period of prosperity there. These are chamber tombs, often very elaborate, which imitate houses with many painted and stuccoed chambers furnished with tables and beds.

Calabria is represented by two groups of cemeteries, at Torre Galli and Canale. At Torre Galli the 9th to 6th century graves are shallow oblong trenches in which the body was laid fully extended on a bed of twigs and herbs. Usually the sides were reinforced by one or two rows of natural boulders of ill-baked bricks, but the body was not protected from above, and the ground was filled with the material taken out of it. There is no evidence of tumuli or markers. At Canale there is a small group of *fossa* graves but most people were buried in chambers hewn out of the sides of the sandstone cliffs. These had a square forecourt which narrowed into a passage leading to a burial chamber whose entrance was blocked by a rough monolithic door. The burial chamber was surrounded by a low broad ledge, but the bodies were generally laid in the hollow in the centre of the floor, with only their heads resting on the bench. Such chambers were used as family vaults, but probably for only two generations (that is, parents and their children), since the majority held only two to four bodies. Parallels have been drawn between these rock-cut tombs and those of the Sikels in Sicily. In Lucania cemeteries near Potenza and Cosenza show that the usual burial rite in the 7th century onwards was inhumation in *fosse* in a contracted position, sometimes in a chest or coffin and covered with stones or tiles.

The usual type of pre-hellenic grave in Campania is a *fossa*, sometimes lined and covered with stone slabs, in which the body was laid in a supine position, or on its side in a contracted position. There are 42 pre-hellenic burials of the 9th and 8th centuries BC at Cumae which are of this type. However, some early cremation graves of Villanovan type have recently been found at several sites near Salerno, Capua, and Paestum. At the major site,

Pontecagnano, the 330 graves represent a mixture of inhumations and cremations of the mid 9th century to about 550 BC; the cremations, which were in biconical ossuaries, predominate in the earlier period, inhumations in the later.

Of the Greek towns in southern Italy, the burial habits of Cumae are probably the best documented. Apart from the pre-hellenic trench graves there are later Greek, Samnite, and Roman burials. There are 68 burials of the Greek period; they are mostly inhumations, the majority in monolithic sarcophagi, or coffins made of slabs of stone which were sometimes covered with tiles, but the body could be merely laid in the earth and there are one or two cremations placed in pottery vessels. Stone-slab coffins continued to be used in the tombs of the Samnite and Roman periods, but some graves were now provided with *loculi* for the grave goods, and small chamber tombs became popular. These contained one or two funerary beds or, more rarely, sarcophagi. Later tombs were covered with stucco and some were painted. Although these were built for inhumations, piles of ashes have been found on the beds in some cases, and there are examples of tombs with a mixture of inhumation and cremation. There is also one tomb which consists of a stele with two niches in the base to hold cinerary urns, which probably belongs to the Roman period. This type of development has parallels elsewhere, although Greek cremations have been found on Ischia and at Sybaris. At Tarentum sarcophagi, robust stone coffins, and chamber tombs were used, in Locri the graves were usually covered in various ingenious ways by tiles, and at Metapontum coffins made of slabs of stone or less commonly of tiles were used.

One conspicuous development in Campania is that of the Samnite painted tomb, parallel to the development in Apulia. Forerunners of the painted tomb can be seen in a 6th century sarcophagus at Tarentum, which has simple painted designs on the inside, and the Tomb of the Diver at Paestum, which resembles a box, with the diver painted on the inside of the lid and a banquet round the sides. The impetus came with the meeting of Samnite with Greek and Etruscan art, resulting in the many painted tombs of Capua, Cumae, Arbellia, Allifae, Paestum, and Albanella. The walls are painted with a lower dado and upper cornice, the zone between being decorated with figured scenes divided up by Ionic columns. Favourite themes were chariot races, gladiators, warriors, and sometimes the dead man is depicted, either seated and surmounted by a triangular gable, or sometimes riding towards the world of the dead. One of the earliest of these tombs, the Tomb of the Warrior at Paestum, was probably painted by a Greek artist, although the details are Samnite, but before long the Samnites developed their own style of painting. However, more humble Samnite tombs have also been found in Campania, such as those at Pompeii of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, which consist of burials in coffins of stone slabs, or simple trench-graves, some protected by tiles. Only one built tomb has yet been found. This consists of a vestibule and two narrow rooms, in one of which was a skeleton on a bed. At Paestum as well as the richer painted tombs there is a number of Romano-Samnite tile and trench graves.

To return to the northern cremating areas, the northern Villanovans settled in the area around Bologna practised cremation *a pozzo* as the most usual rite. The simplest type of tomb was a cylindrical hole in the earth in which was placed an ossuary, usually a biconical vessel decorated with incised geometrical patterns and covered with an

inverted bowl. In more elaborate tombs either the sides of the hole were revetted with small stones, or the ossuary and the accompanying vases were placed in a rectangular cist formed by six stone slabs. The ossuary contained the ashes of the cremated person, amongst which were generally some bones only partially consumed by the fire, and small articles of personal adornment. Weapons and ashes from the pyre were placed on top of the ossuary, cups and bowls around it. These forms of tomb were used in Bologna during the first three periods (from c. 800 to c. 600 BC), the more elaborate forms being more common in the latest phase; the quality of the grave goods improved steadily as time went on. In the fourth or Arnoaldi phase of the 6th century the grave goods are orientalizing but the type of burial remains much the same. Bronze *situlae* could now be used as ossuaries, and sometimes the ossuary and all the grave goods were placed in a large jar or *dolium* which was then buried. Whereas in the earlier periods graves could be marked by rough stones, the Arnoaldi phase sees the first use of sandstone stelae decorated with designs such as sphinxes or heraldic beasts. By the Certosa phase of the 5th century when Etruscan influence was strong in the area, only one-third of the graves are cremations, the rest being inhumations in trench graves. This phase, however, is famous for the Certosa *situla*, which has four zones of repoussé figures of warriors, a funerary procession, animals and rustic scenes. More decoration is also found on the grave stones of this phase: the horseshoe-shaped Felsina stelae are decorated with zones with such themes as sea monsters, the dead riding to the underworld in a chariot, and battle scenes, themes found elsewhere on *situlae* and painted tombs. After c. 400 BC the area, together with much of northern Italy, fell under Gallic influence.

To the east of this area is Venetia, whose main site, Este, has tombs similar to those of Bologna. There is only one tomb which can definitely be assigned to Period I (before 950 BC): in this cremated remains were merely buried in the ground. In Period II (c. 950-500 BC) the tomb is generally an oblong receptacle made of six roughly shaped slabs containing a pottery ossuary which is generally conical, but may be biconical. Period III (c. 500-350 BC) sees the flowering of metalwork, especially *situlae*, which were a speciality of the region. The best known of these is the Benvenuti *situla* of c. 500-450 BC, which compares favourably with the Certosa *situla*. Its three zones show scenes of country life, a herd of animals, and warriors. Although such *situlae* were exported to the north, by the 4th century the art had become degenerate and in Period IV (the 3rd and 2nd centuries) Gallic influence was very strong, affecting all but the tomb types, as cremation kept a tenacious hold here. The methods of marking burial plots and graves varied in the different cemeteries in the area.

Burial in Lombardy is represented by the Golasecca culture cemeteries around Lakes Maggiore and Como, where apart from the use of stone circles round the graves the development is similar to that of Bologna and Este. In Period I (900-600 BC) ossuaries were placed in pits lined with pebbles or slabs, in Period II (600-400 BC) in stone cists, and in Period III (400-15 BC), when Gallic influence was strong, inhumation is found alongside cremation. Again, markers vary in the different areas; tumuli, cairns, anthropomorphic stelae, and enclosures are all used. The few examples of burial in Liguria before the Gallo-Roman period are cremations in cists.

From 500 BC onwards, the whole of the northern area was settled by Gauls, of whom the Cenomani, Boii, and

Lingones inhumed, usually in trenches lined with stone or brick, but the Insubres cremated. However, by 100 BC, when we see the beginnings of Roman influence, the Gauls had adopted cremation quite commonly, more so in the west than in the east.

Among the southern Villanovans in Etruria, an early development similar to that in early Bologna occurred. Tombs similar to those of Benacci I or Bologna II have been found at Tarquinia and Vetulonia, to Benacci II or Bologna III at Tarquinia, Volterra, Bisenzio, and Vetulonia. Nevertheless, there are variations; the ossuary and grave goods could be placed in another stone container, and although the biconical ossuary covered with a bowl as at Bologna could be used, it was not invariable. Bronze or pottery helmets could be used instead of the bowl, and hut urns, imitating the houses of the living, were sometimes used in Etruria south of Vetulonia and in Latium. In some of the more southern cemeteries, the biconical urn was rare, its place being taken by domestic jars of various shapes, and hut urns.

The next phase, which is early Etruscan rather than Villanovan, differs from its equivalent in the north. At Tarquinia the *pozzo* graves were succeeded by trench graves with the body either laid direct in the ground, or placed in a stone sarcophagus. An early example is the Warrior's Tomb of c. 850-800 BC, while the Bocchoris tomb of c. 730 BC is a transitional form combining features of both trench graves and chamber tombs. Early trench graves are found elsewhere in Etruria, and in 8th century Vetulonia a variant is seen in the construction of a series of circle graves as well as a few trench graves and two or three tumuli. The circles were 15-20 m in diameter, and were made of stone slabs inside which was one or more oblong trench, larger than those of ordinary trench graves. Most were too disturbed for the rite to be ascertained, but cremation may have been more usual in the earlier examples and inhumation in the later.

Seventh century graves are represented at Praeneste, Caere, and in north Etruria, at Chiusi. The very rich Regolini-Galassi tomb at Caere was a tumulus with a central chamber of c. 670 BC and five smaller chambers probably added a generation later. The original chamber was a long gallery divided into two by a slight narrowing forming a chamber and an antechamber. In the antechamber, just before the entrance to the chamber, were two niches; in the right-hand one was a pottery ossuary containing cremated bones. Inside the chamber was an inhumation of a woman—no bed or couch remains, but there may have been a bier. In the antechamber was the skeleton of a warrior on a bronze bed. At Chiusi, the most striking characteristic is the use of cremation in the 7th century, a time when in the rest of Etruria inhumation was beginning to predominate. A new type of ossuary was used, the so-called 'canopic' urn. At first faces were attached to the urn, later a head was modelled on the neck, and then arms and the upper part of the body was added. These urns remained popular for a long time and are found in chamber tombs. Two of the earliest chamber tombs are the Poggio alla Sala (c. 670 BC) and Pania tombs. The Poggio alla Sala tomb was a single chamber excavated from the rock containing a bronze chair on which stood a bronze ossuary containing cremated bones. The Pania tomb, however, was a chamber built of travertine blocks which contained a stone couch on which the skeleton found on the floor presumably once rested. In the corner was a bronze *situla* containing a bronze ossuary inside which were cremated bones. Thus in the 8th and 7th centuries all

over Etruria there is a definite mixture of burial types, not only in the same cemetery but even in the same tomb.

In the south of Etruria inhumation remained the major rite; burials both in chamber tombs and in tumuli were usually on rock cut beds or, after c. 300 BC in Tarquinia, Tuscania, and Vulci, in sarcophagi, often with effigies of the dead reclining on the lids. Trench graves also continued to be used in large numbers in many places. Chamber tombs cut into the hillside were used in large numbers in Tarquinia; these were often richly painted inside with pictures of banquets, hunting, and the underworld, but there is only one example of a painting with a mythological subject. Chamber tombs also predominated over tumuli at both Veii and Vulci, where painting was less common. Caere favoured large tumuli built on stone bases, containing one or more groups of burial chambers designed to imitate houses containing funerary beds and chairs hewn from the rock. Outside stood tombstones, cylindrical for men, chest-shaped for women, with inscriptions, probably to identify the individuals buried within. Later, simple underground chambers were built, consisting of single rooms. Painting is rare at Caere. In Orvieto another type of tomb was built, partly above ground, and in the more inland valleys rock tombs were cut into the vertical cliffs forming elaborate façades similar to those of houses. These connected with one another by stairways cut into the face of the cliff. There are two types of these tombs: cubes which stuck out of the cliffs and gabled tombs with façades flush with the cliff. Despite the elaborate pretence outside, inside the tombs were roughly hewn chambers making no attempt to imitate houses. The rite was generally inhumation.

In the north the obstinate continuation of cremation in Chiusi is echoed elsewhere. At Volterra chamber tombs were cut from the rock to serve as family vaults for generations, and large numbers of alabaster or tufa ash containers and vases were placed round the walls and the central column. The well known ash containers, of which there are over 600 in the Volterra museum, are seldom more than 2 ft in length, with a recumbent figure of the dead on the lid, all the attention being paid to the head at the expense of the small body. On the sides are scenes of the descent into the underworld, mythology, and daily life. At Chiusi itself canopic urns continued in use, and in the 4th century a type was developed which consisted of a large seated figure with a detachable head, but a rectangular urn similar to those of Volterra but of tufa or terracotta was also used. Despite the length of time that cremation prevailed at Chiusi, in the 3rd century, as in many other places, inhumation in sarcophagi was practised. At Perugia there are a small number of tombs in which both cremation and inhumation took place, inhumation in stone sarcophagi which were frequently decorated, cremation in bronze vessels and travertine urns; the latter are similar to those at Volterra and Chiusi, and there is a local type which is a small replica of a house. At Populonia, however, chamber tombs and tumuli tended to contain burials in sarcophagi: another type of tomb commonly found there was shaped like a rectangular shrine. Right at the end of the period (c. 100 BC) the tomb of the *Volumnii* at Perugia illustrates in a developed form the Etruscan conception of the tomb as a house: on the other hand the ornamental style of its ash chests is so hellenized as to belong to another world.

The areas of the Faliscans and Latium are backward in comparison with Etruria. In the *pozzo* tombs of Falerii and Narce the biconical ossuary was not used; there is only one fragmentary example of a hut urn, and instead most

of the ossuaries were oval or spherical cooking pots. Another custom peculiar to this area is that of cutting a small cupboard or *loculus* out of the side of the *pozzo* to hold grave goods. Inhumation was adopted at a very early date: *fossa* graves are found alongside *pozzi* in the 9th and 8th centuries, and chamber tombs were favoured in the area, although they were never very imposing. Two more developed types of *fossa* grave were also common: one contained a *loculus* as well as a sarcophagus, the other, halfway between a chamber tomb and an ordinary trench grave, contained *fosse* for more than one corpse. Biconical ossuaries are not found in Latium, but are replaced by hut urns and domestic pots, with or without a *dolium*. Cremations were rapidly replaced by *fossa* graves, in which the body was protected by stones and stone slabs or a wooden coffin. Again, *loculi* were used in trench graves, but chamber tombs were rare, a situation also found in Rome.

So far in this account Rome has been conspicuous by her absence, largely because, until the more elaborate tombs of the 1st century BC, she seems to have been a cultural backwater, at least as far as burial was concerned. Early cemeteries have been found in the Forum between the *Sacra Via* and the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, and on the Esquiline; a few tombs have also been found on the Quirinal, the Palantine, and the Velia. Among the earliest burials in the Forum there are approximately the same number of cremations *a pozzo* as inhumations *a fossa*; these are mainly burials of adults. However, the later graves are all of children under ten, and are associated with the hut habitation which existed in the area at the time. With only one exception, these later burials are inhumations in hollowed tree-trunk coffins or in jars, or in trenches protected or unprotected by stones. The early graves of the Esquiline are nearly all inhumations; only three cremations have been found. In many cases the construction of the tomb is not known, but the commonest type seems to be a trench revetted with rough tufa stones with a pseudo-vault over the remains. A few burials were in cists made of stone slabs, and there is one chamber tomb of the 6th century. Most of the graves held only one body in a supine position, but in some there may have been both a man and a woman buried in one grave. On the Quirinal there are two *pozzo* cremations and one inhumation in a terracotta sarcophagus which imitated a tree-trunk coffin. The grave on the Velia was of a child buried in a *dolium*; on the Palantine the remains of two children inhumations have been found.

Our knowledge of burial in Rome during the early part of the Republic is derived mainly from the Esquiline cemetery. Here the most common type of tomb was for a long period a simple *fossa* protected by slabs of stone, either forming a gable or a coffin. One monolithic sarcophagus has been found. Chamber tombs were rare; only twelve have been found, of which only one apart from the one already mentioned can be dated before the 4th century. A transitional type of tomb was also used which is larger than a *fossa* and built of blocks of tufa laid in courses to form a false vault, open at the top. The most famous of the chamber tombs is that with a painting showing a figure labelled *Q. Fabius* talking to another, *M. Fannius*. This has been variously dated, but the most likely explanation is that the picture shows an episode of the Samnite wars, and that *Q. Fabius* is the *Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus* who was consul five times between 322 and 295 BC.

Although cremation was practised to some extent throughout the time the Esquiline necropolis was in use,