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## The excavations in the cemetery of Cisterna Grande (Crustumerium, Rome, Italy): Archaic burials and funerary identities

### Introduction

The differences in the affluence of tombs and burials have an impact on modern understanding of the past. Rich and exceptional burials tend to receive more attention than simpler tombs. When the burial custom of a period is considered poor this can have a significant effect on the amount of resources that are directed in the study of its tombs. It is possible to argue that in the Latin area in central Italy the observed decline in the quality and quantity of grave goods between the Orientalising period (c. 730/25–570 BC) and the Archaic period (c. 570–470 BC) has directly affected the study of the latter, both regionally and locally. I have presented elsewhere<sup>1</sup> the consequences modern perceptions of these past changes have on the archaeological knowledge and interpretation of Archaic Latin burial practices. In this article, however, I will discuss the results of a study of Archaic chamber tombs in their regional context.

The *Remembering the Dead* project excavated at Cisterna Grande, one of the cemetery areas of ancient *Crustumerium*, in Rome in central Italy between 2004 and 2008. The ancient town of *Crustumerium* was located in the Tiber valley about ten kilometres North of Rome and was one of the Latin rivals of Rome in *Latium Vetus*. The site of the town was settled during the Early Iron Age, the ninth or eighth century BC<sup>2</sup>. By the sixth century BC the whole town area was occupied<sup>3</sup>. The peak of the town was during the Orientalising period around the seventh century BC. Rome defeated *Crustumerium* and the neighbouring *Fidenae* in 500/499 BC. After that the town declined rapidly and finally vanished altogether in the early fourth century BC<sup>4</sup>. Unlike *Fidenae*, *Crustumerium* has remained undeveloped, giving an excellent opportunity to study its cemeteries and their social, ritual, temporal and landscape contexts.

Cisterna Grande (fig. 1) is the third cemetery area at *Crustumerium* to be under excavation. The largest excavated cemetery areas are Sasso Bianco in North of the ancient town and Monte Del Bufalo immediately outside the settlement in the Southeast<sup>5</sup>. Cisterna Grande lies on a sloping hillside in the Northeast of the town on both side of an ancient road trench. The area of Cisterna Grande was chosen for excavation after looting on the western side of the road trench suggested the presence of Orientalising tombs

<sup>1</sup> RAJALA 2007; see also RAJALA 2008b.

<sup>2</sup> AMOROSO 2004.

<sup>3</sup> AMOROSO 2002.

<sup>4</sup> QUILICI, QUILICI GIGLI 1980; DI GENNARO 1999a; 2006b; AMOROSO 2000.

<sup>5</sup> DI GENNARO 1990a; 1999a; 2006a.

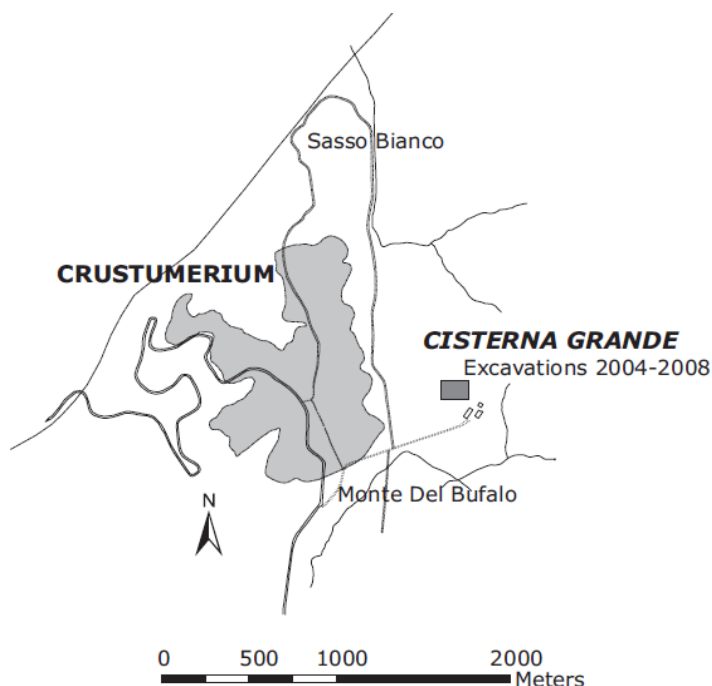


Fig. 1 – Crustumerium and Cisterna Grande (drawing by Author).

However, the first tombs exposed in this sector were chamber tombs, so the research design was amended to concentrate on them.

The excavations in the cemetery of Cisterna Grande were carried out in collaboration with *Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma*, in particularly with Dr di Gennaro, the director of the wider project for this archaeological area. Our excavation project ran for five years (2004–2008) with the final publication due in a few years' time. The main aim of the project was to study the funerary representations of a Latin Iron Age and Archaic community. The concentration on the latter, partly because of the limited knowledge of Archaic tombs and burial customs<sup>6</sup>, makes this project signi-

ficant. Tombs with their burials are considered as physical evidence of past rituals and as part of a wider ritual landscape. These landscapes were studied at a local level using digital methods, including digital single context planning, GIS and virtual modelling.

The excavations at Cisterna Grande have exposed several archaeological phenomena, previously unrecorded but which may become better known and more commonplace with future investigations. These observations relating to the depositional and postdepositional histories of the tombs are the topic of this article.

### **The burial customs of Latium Vetus**

In my previous article on Archaic chamber tombs<sup>7</sup> I have argued that the quality, not the quantity of the finds shows the potential and importance of studying Archaic tombs and cemeteries. The meagre evidence from Latin Archaic tombs suggests that a wide range of burial customs was practised at the local and regional level. Even relatively small centres seem to have had different tomb types from their supposed more dominant neighbours. There are, however, also remarkable similarities in rituals over considerable distances from the Sabine area to southern Etruria. Furthermore, in many centres, like *Crustumerium*, different burial customs were practiced and different types of tombs were constructed simultaneously. Our project, along with other initiatives<sup>8</sup>, helps understanding of Latin ritual and funerary variability during the Archaic period.

The limited knowledge of the Archaic burial practices was originally a result of the poor archaeological visibility of Archaic tombs and not recognising certain 'poor' tomb types as Archaic<sup>9</sup>. The relative invisibility of Archaic tombs in archaeological research, however, is an outcome of limited research funding and the 'richness' of the Orientalising *fossa* and *tomba a loculo* tombs making them targets of looting

<sup>6</sup> COLONNA 1977; AMPOLO 1984; NASO 1990.

<sup>7</sup> RAJALA 2007.

<sup>8</sup> The continuing excavations of *Soprintendenza* at *Crustumerium*, BELELLI MARCHESINI 2008; the recent discoveries of Orientalising and Archaic tombs in the cemetery area of Monte Del Bufalo with the collaboration of the Dutch team, NIJBOER ET ALII 2008; NIJBOER 2008.

<sup>9</sup> COLONNA 1977.

Fig. 2 – Burial sites mentioned in the text. (drawing by Author).

As a result, most rescue operations have focused on saving partly exposed Orientalising cemeteries. Since these tend to concentrate geographically on certain hills in the landscape<sup>10</sup>, whereas Archaic chamber tombs often concentrate in the ‘new’ burial grounds<sup>11</sup>, it is understandable if the increase in the number of excavated Archaic chamber tombs has been insignificant. This, however, makes it easy to summarize the current level of knowledge (cf. fig. 2).

The best data for the Archaic chamber tombs East of the Tiber come from the Sabine area. The excavations at Colle del Forno at *Eretum* suggest the existence of a local standard chamber tomb type (fig. 3a) with a rectangular chamber and two tiers of *loculi* for inhumations<sup>12</sup>. Apart from these ‘common’ chambers the excavations have revealed a few exceptionally monumental, elaborate high-status tombs<sup>13</sup>. Local chamber types can be detected in the southern *Latium Vetus*. The two Archaic chamber tombs excavated at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina<sup>14</sup> and the group of ten chambers at Tor de’ Cenci<sup>15</sup> show structural similarities with a narrow, sub-rectangular chamber and a single *loculus* on one long side of the chamber (cf. fig. 3b). At Torrino, North of *Ficana*, the local chambers seem to have been conglomerates of separate ‘pods’ (fig. 3c) with a narrow,

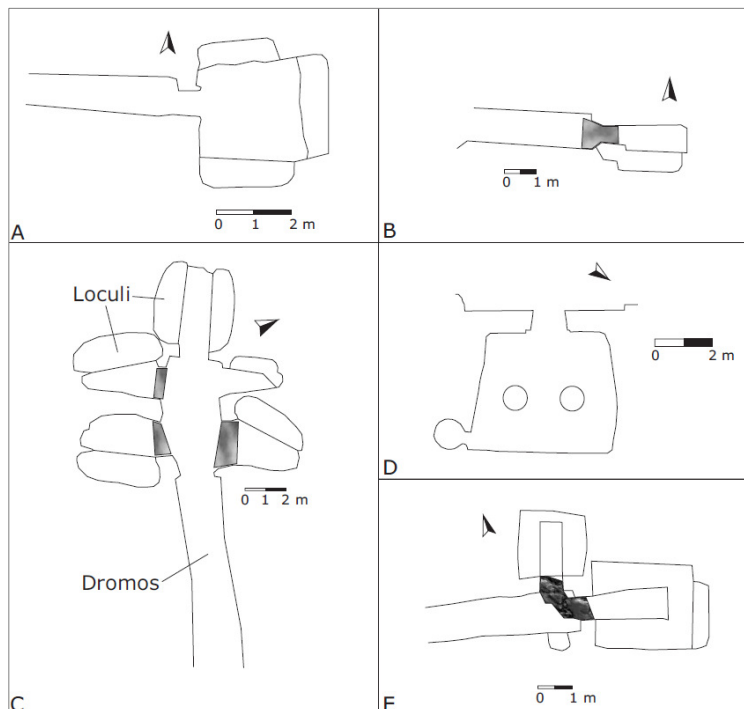
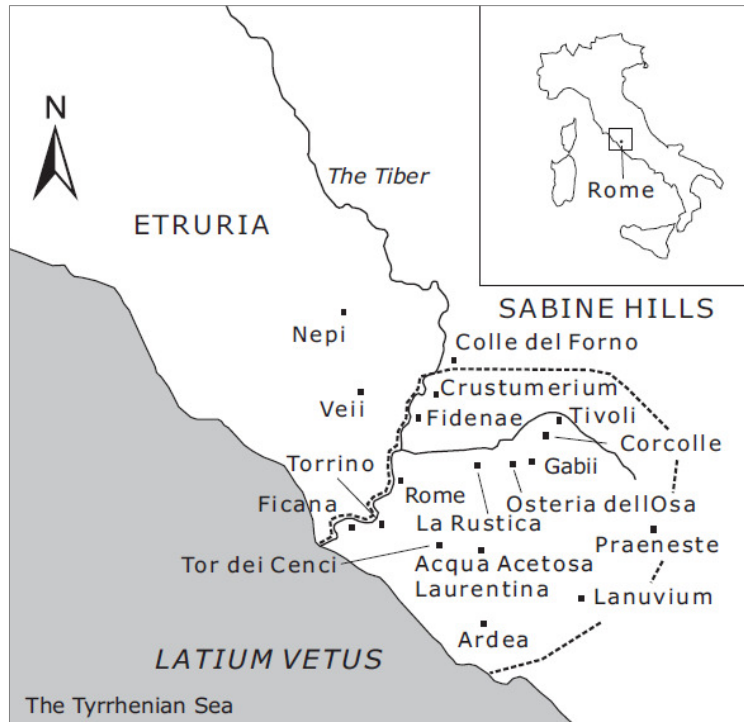


Fig. 3 - Chamber tombs in central Italy. A. Colle del Forno (after PIRO, SANTORO 2002, fig. 10). B. Acqua Acetosa Laurentina (after BEDINI 1983, fig. 2) C. Torrino (after BEDINI 1981, fig. 6). D. *Ardea* (after QUILICI, QUILICI GIGLI 1977, fig. 3). E. Osteria dell’Osa (after DE SANTIS 1992, tav. 50).

<sup>10</sup> E.g. BARTOLONI *ET ALII* 1997.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. DRAGO TROCCOLI 1997.

<sup>12</sup> SANTORO 1977; 1983; 1985.

<sup>13</sup> SANTORO 1977; BENELLI, SANTORO 2006.

<sup>14</sup> BEDINI 1983.

<sup>15</sup> BEDINI 1990a.

oblong chamber and one or two *loculi*<sup>16</sup>. This tomb, one of the two excavated chambers, was used from the end of the seventh century BC throughout the Archaic period. On the other hand, the two known chambers from *Ardea*<sup>17</sup> show connection to southern Etruria (cf. fig. 3d).

The first chamber tombs originate in the Orientalising period. Occasional Late Orientalising chambers from the late seventh and early sixth century BC have been excavated at different locations in *Latium Vetus*. At Osteria dell'Osa at the ancient *Gabii* East of Rome the only excavated chamber tomb dates from this period and presents some unusual features (fig. 3e). It had two separate chambers with 13 partially recomposed or disarticulated burials in total and relatively numerous grave goods<sup>18</sup>. At Torrino the other of the two excavated chambers is also dated to this period. However, this chamber was not particularly rich.

Even with incomplete evidence of the relative richness of the Orientalising chambers, the chambers of two consecutive periods in the Latin area share the trend of declining number of grave goods from the Orientalising to the Archaic period. At *Crustumerium* the earliest mid-seventh century chamber tomb with an entrance shaft instead of *dromos*<sup>19</sup> was damaged by looting but the evidence from three inhumations show that the deceased had less grave goods than their predecessors in *tombe a loculo*. The first proper chamber tombs with *dromoi* from the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the sixth century BC<sup>20</sup> had only few grave goods. Nevertheless, at Corcolle, Northeast of Rome, the finds from chamber tombs include some mid-sixth century *bucchero* and imported Etrusco-Corinthian wares<sup>21</sup>. Similarly, the famous warrior from a chamber at Lanuvium in the Alban Hills had considerable armour with him<sup>22</sup>.

Although chamber tombs seem to have been dominant during the Archaic period, they were not the only tomb type. Simple *sarcophagi* of the local *peperino* tuff are found from Esquiline in Rome and from Tivoli, Northeast of Rome, but these come from old excavations<sup>23</sup>. At Corcolle *peperino sarcophagi* have been found in a chamber tomb<sup>24</sup> but at La Rustica<sup>25</sup>, also Northeast of Rome, the *sarcophagi* seem to have been found from *fossa* tombs. Thus, *sarcophagi* may originate from a variety of tomb types. Similarly, smaller stone coffins (*casse*) and a marble urn have been found from Esquiline<sup>26</sup>. There are also a series of finds without proper provenance from different Latin centres that signal existence of Archaic burials; these include bronze mirrors and earrings at *Praeneste* and pottery at *Ardea* and *Praeneste*<sup>27</sup>. However, at least some of the Archaic finds at *Praeneste* seem to relate with the *sarcophagi* and *casse* from trenches<sup>28</sup>. There are also tombs without finds from *Ardea* and *Praeneste*<sup>29</sup>.

Trench tombs, dominant during the later Iron Age, did not disappear but they were mostly simple rectangular trenches with minimal grave goods<sup>30</sup>. At Casale Massima the three *fossa* tombs had just beads<sup>31</sup> and the *fossa* tombs at Tor de' Cenci produced no finds<sup>32</sup>. At *Ardea* children were buried in poor *fosse*<sup>33</sup>. The Archaic tombs from the cemetery area at *Ficana*, both with and without finds, were *fossa* tombs<sup>34</sup>. There were

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<sup>16</sup> BEDINI 1981.

<sup>17</sup> QUILICI, QUILICI GIGLI 1977; MORSELLI, TORTORICI 1982, 110–111.

<sup>18</sup> DE SANTIS 1992, 864–871. Only a few later chamber tombs have been excavated at *Gabii*; most of these seem to have been from the mid-Republican period, although one or two may be older, see GUAITOLI 1981.

<sup>19</sup> PAOLINI 1990.

<sup>20</sup> DI GENNARO 1999a.

<sup>21</sup> REGGIANI *ET ALII* 1998.

<sup>22</sup> COLONNA 1977, 151; ZEVI 1990.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. COLONNA 1977, 136–150.

<sup>24</sup> REGGIANI *ET ALII* 1998.

<sup>25</sup> COLONNA 1977, 155.

<sup>26</sup> PINZA 1915; NASO 1990, 250; see also COLONNA 1977, 146.

<sup>27</sup> COLONNA 1977, 132, 149; NASO 1990, 250–251.

<sup>28</sup> PENSABENE 1983, 260–268.

<sup>29</sup> TORTORICI 1983, 54; PENSABENE 1983; NASO 1990, 250–251.

<sup>30</sup> BEDINI 1990; 1990b; NASO 1990; REGGIANI *ET ALII* 1998.

<sup>31</sup> BEDINI 1980; 1983.

<sup>32</sup> BEDINI 1990a.

<sup>33</sup> TORTORICI 1983, 54.

<sup>34</sup> CATALDI DINI 1980a.

also many children's tombs in *fosse* and *enchytrismos* in pottery vessels in the settlement areas<sup>35</sup>. One exceptionally rich Archaic *fossa* with a female inhumation was excavated inside the ancient urban area of *Fidenae*<sup>36</sup>. At La Rustica many Archaic tombs comprised of an entrance trench and a side niche (*loculus*)<sup>37</sup>; structurally, they are very similar to the Archaic *fossa* tombs with steps at *Veii* in southern Etruria<sup>38</sup>. This particular example together with the chambers at *Ardea* suggests that interregional contacts affected burial customs at the local level.

Although burials in chambers were typically inhumations, in rare occasions cremations have been found. In the Osteria dell'Osa chamber one of the 13 burials was a cremation, probably carried out *in situ* with the bones left in approximate anatomical position, similar to an Etruscan custom<sup>39</sup>. At Monte Del Bufalo at *Crustumerium* an Archaic cremation was contained in a hut-shaped urn among the normal inhumations<sup>40</sup>; this custom is found at *Crustumerium* in other cases in late Orientalising chambers<sup>41</sup>. Cremations are occasionally found among inhumations also in chambers West of the Tiber<sup>42</sup>. The occurrence of this ritual has been interpreted as a sign of special status, appreciation of traditional rite, emphasizing family's aristocratic lineage or conscious adoption of a different rite.

The change from individual tombs towards communal tombs seems to have been originally an aristocratic phenomenon. The consecutive burials showed unity and continuity of the family line and separated the aristocratic group from other members of community<sup>43</sup>. The later quasi-disappearance of grave goods has been explained by the wide-spread adoption of local laws in city states refusing citizens lavish burials in order to maintain public order<sup>44</sup>. Since legislation only reflects the attempts to resolve or ease existing problems, it does not explain the rapid acceptance of the changes. Different possibilities, including changes in religious beliefs<sup>45</sup> or new relationships with the social and material environment in expanding urban communities, cannot be proven or disapproved without more research. The incomplete evidence suggests that Archaic funerary customs were varied reflecting regional similarities and fashions but also local identities and even individual ancestry and religious practices. Chamber tombs were very common but *sarcophagi* were common in Northeast whereas *fosse* tombs seem to have been exclusively used at *Ficana*.

### **The tombs of Cisterna Grande**

The excavations of the *Remembering the Dead* project in the cemetery area of Cisterna Grande lasted between 2004 and 2008 and took place in an area in a Southeast facing slope on the western side of an ancient road trench. They exposed seven tombs (fig. 4); one Orientalising *tomba a loculo tipo Narce*, one apparently late Orientalising chamber and five Archaic chamber tombs. The excavation of one of the chambers, clearly a looted one, was discontinued due to safety concerns. The number of fully excavated tombs is relatively low but the full context excavation of mainly collapsed chambers took its time. The local characteristics of the geology at Cisterna Grande added considerably to the difficulty of excavation; the bedrock of the hill is formed by numerous relatively thin soft volcanic stone layers that cannot properly support the weight of tuff ceilings over the voids of the chambers. Thus, larger chambers are filled with a

<sup>35</sup> JARVA 1980; BRANDT 1996, 115–164.

<sup>36</sup> DI GENNARO 1990b.

<sup>37</sup> COLONNA 1977, 155.

<sup>38</sup> DRAGO TROCCOLI 1997; the *tombe a loculo* at *Ficana*, *Gabii* and *Laurentina*, cf. CASTALDI DINI 1980a, 130, 132; DI GENNARO ET ALII 2007.

<sup>39</sup> DE SANTIS 1992, 867; BIETTI SESTIERI, DE SANTIS 2000, 69, 71.

<sup>40</sup> Tomb 25, DI GENNARO 1999a, 18–19.

<sup>41</sup> DI GENNARO 2006a, 223.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. SUARIA 2005, 36–37.

<sup>43</sup> BIETTI SESTIERI, DE SANTIS 2000, 69.

<sup>44</sup> E.g. COLONNA 1977; AMPOLO 1984; NASO 1990; DI GENNARO 1999a.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. CATALDI DINI 1980b, 84–85.

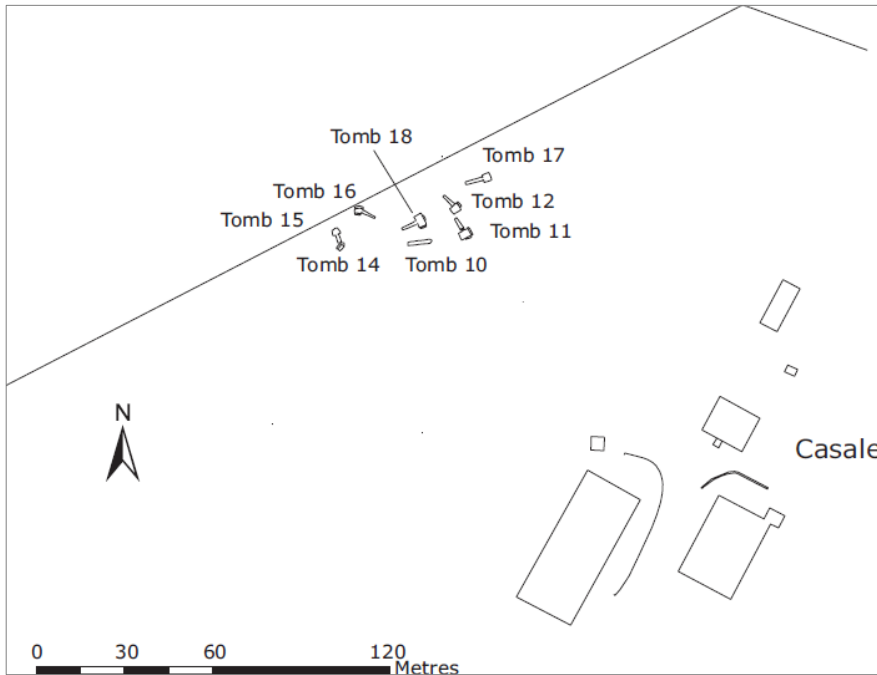


Fig. 4 – Excavated tombs at Cisterna Grande (drawing by Author).

series of thick stone and clay layers. A research project could invest more time in examining the postdepositional histories of the tombs and recording digitally different collapses and accumulations in order to re-create the materialities of these events in virtual worlds<sup>46</sup>.

The chambers excavated at Cisterna Grande presented a higher level of variability than expected. The previous excavations in the other cemetery areas of *Crustumerium* suggested that the

small, rectangular chambers without *loculi* came into use during the Orientalising period and were replaced by larger chambers with *loculi* or benches<sup>47</sup>. The results of this project suggest the existence of several contemporary tomb types. In general, the chambers had different shapes, sizes, depths, orientations, designs and the quality of finishing. The *dromoi* differed in their lengths, widths and depths, and again, in their finishing. Most of the tombs had door slabs and other blocking features still *in situ* at the entrance. Most had a pile of stones blocking the door but others had large single slabs closing the door, sometimes with a careful selection of colours of different stones. The varied architecture suggests that there were more than one standard chamber tomb type simultaneously in use. It is likely that different types reflect different economic and social standings the families or individuals buried in the tombs had in their community.

Firstly, there were fairly large rectangular chambers with one or more *loculi* on the walls and additional burials in coffins, trunks or funerary beds on the floor (fig. 5.A.). These chambers seemed to have often longer, or at least deeper, *dromoi* than the other type. Among these larger chambers there was one – the one the digging of which was halted for safety reasons – which seemed to be more ‘monumental’ with a squarish tent-like ceiling intact. This may represent a higher-status category. The second chamber tomb type

(fig. 5.B.) was more modest with its semicircular chamber, low ceiling and two slightly irregular *lo-*

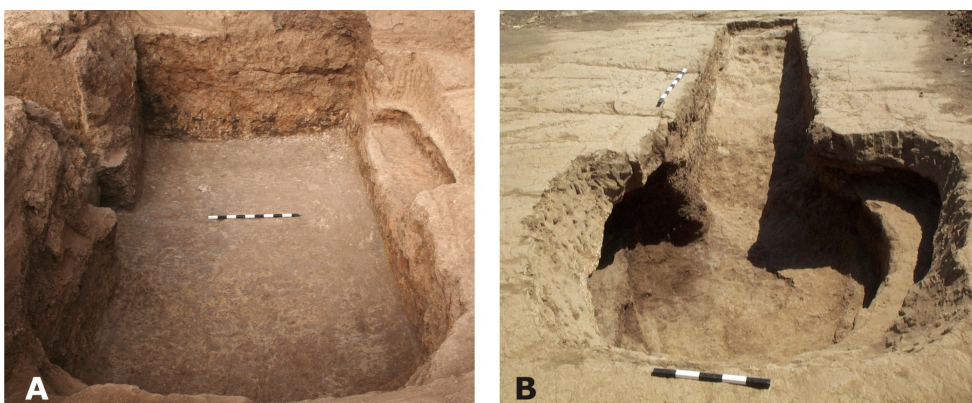


Fig. 5 – Chamber tombs at Cisterna Grande, *Crustumerium*. A. Large rectangular chamber tomb. B. Small circular chamber tomb (photos by Author).

<sup>46</sup> RAJALA 2008a; 2008b.

<sup>47</sup> DI GENNARO 1999b, 54.

*culi*. The *dromos* was shallow, short and relatively narrow. The stone surfaces were left relatively uneven with clear visible pick marks. The latter type would have required much less man power for its construction. The grave goods in the tombs of the former type, although not luxurious, seem to be more elaborate than in the latter. Therefore, the first category may have been for the more affluent and the second for the well-off, perhaps for artisans<sup>48</sup> and other common free town dwellers. Nevertheless, these were clearly not the tombs for the highest ranking aristocrats.

Like in other Archaic tombs elsewhere in *Latium Vetus* most had very few grave good. Most of the deceased at Cisterna Grande had some jewellery, arms or metal objects with them. Only five of the deceased were without clear personal objects, most of these either re-deposited or later burials. Two Archaic burials, in different types of tombs, had an entire pottery vessel. Richer burials had bronze *fibulae* together with beads and pendants or larger iron weapons while many deceased were buried with more modest iron *fibulae* or some other iron objects. Burials were also related with specific architectural structures. Some *loculi* were closed with tiles, which could be a sign of some wealth although these were found in both chamber types. In more modest burials the *loculus* was closed with stones or mudbricks or the deceased were simply wrapped in shrouds. In one tomb there were remains of a hollowed trunk and some other burials had coffins or wooden boards containing, covering or underlining them.

Important new observations relate to the disarticulation and re-deposition of bodies. The reuse of *loculi* in different chambers for new burials seems to have been a common-place phenomenon. Two *loculi* in different chambers in different chamber tomb types were found to have more than one deceased in them; in these cases the primary, already consumed bodies were moved aside to make room for a secondary burial. This shows that there was no ultimate taboo in moving bodies in funerary context. In another case a skeleton had seemingly been re-deposited, piled in the corner of the chamber on the floor and covered with small stones. In this case the body was clearly consumed since the bones had been placed on the floor in an order. Some remains of teeth, indicating the position of the skull, were beneath all the other bones; the skull had clearly been put in place first. After the skull ribs had been placed in this spot and finally the long bones were put on top of the other bones (fig. 6). The definite order implies care in the act of replacement and suggests that this deposit was either a re-deposition of a primary burial or a burial of someone who had died elsewhere.

Even more unusual burial was laid in a trench dug into the fill of the *dromos* of an earlier chamber<sup>49</sup>. This find and the fills below it in the two-metre deep *dromos* suggest that the chamber had collapsed already during the Archaic period and the unusual slot was chosen either due to a family connection or easiness of digging soil deposits. This case and other above-mention cases reveal new, unknown ritual practices and they may point to the family



Fig. 6 – Disarticulated bones in Tomb 15  
(photo by Author).

<sup>48</sup> Some dental evidence may be interpreted this way; CAPURSO 2007.

<sup>49</sup> RAJALA 2008b.

ownership of a tomb. Unfortunately, testing kinship and family relations was not possible. Acid local clays had generally consumed bone matter to the extent that the DNA studies aiming at exposing possible family affinity were not advised<sup>50</sup>; in practice most bones, if not completely vanished, had only a whitish bone surface where clay had replaced the bone matter inside. The degeneration of bones made osteological analyses very challenging and in most cases denied the possibility of accurate sexing.

The full descriptions of the tombs and finds and the more detailed interpretations of different phenomena will be published at a later stage after the conservation of the objects will be finished. Many of the most important finds will make part of FM Arima's doctoral research that will be published in the edited final volume of our project<sup>51</sup>.

### **Conclusions: Latin identities and funerary representations**

The data so far suggest that the change from different *fossa* and *tombe a loculo* to chamber tombs in *Latium Vetus* occurred relatively at the same time as the decline in the number of grave goods<sup>52</sup> and with a marked shift away from individual burials towards collective family tombs. This shows increased importance of family, not just individuals. The data also suggest that there were local differences in structures, customs and rituals. The existence of the Archaic *fossa* and *sarcophagi* suggest that the individual tombs and earlier tomb types did not vanish although they seem not to have universal distribution. In addition, chamber tombs show significant local variation. Both Torrino and Acqua Acetosa Laurentina had their local chamber types, which differed from the ones at *Crustumerium* and Osteria dell'Osa. In addition, the chambers at *Ardea* showed Etruscan connection. The quality and quantity of the evidence do not allow drawing any definitive conclusions about the character of the regionality or locality of the observed different types. However, the scarcity of finds in Archaic tombs is a regionally shared quality in the Latin and Sabine areas.

At the same time, the Etruscan tombs generally continued to be rich<sup>53</sup>. The social norm was different on the two sides of the Tiber even if some funerary elements, such as certain chamber types and rare occurrences of cremations, were shared in some cases across wide areas. In any case, Archaic burials at Cisterna Grande and elsewhere indicate certain attitudes towards the dead. In most occasions some reference was made to person's status through personal items, such as jewellery and weapons, with gender being the most important element of identity. All in all, the presentation of individual identities, or at least affluence, appears to have been muted in comparison with that of communal belonging. Nevertheless, some tomb types and burial rites suggest funerary demonstrations of ancestral, religious or ethnic identities. The variety of rites and funerary structures suggests that the burial customs were not norms. Even if there are clear Latin tendencies, the customs and their flexibility seem to have varied to some extent from one centre to another. In any case, the funerary representations could be much more multifaceted than at *Eretum* in the Sabine area.

The relative commonness of re-deposition of bones at Cisterna Grande suggests that in some respects the person or individual was considered disappeared. The bones represented a deceased who had to be kept inside a tomb and a defined burial site. The bones could be moved and the anatomical integrity was not of paramount interest. This shows archaeologically that individual persons were considered existing in a spiritual form. The complexity of blocking features and the evidence of the care put into the selection of stones and colour schemes testify firstly of an effort to keep the living and the dead separate and secondly of the presentation of appearances and individual or group identities.

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<sup>50</sup> Tamsin O'Connell, pers. comm.

<sup>51</sup> As agreed with the *Soprintendenza*, it will contain the studies of our team members and collaborators. Digital and material analysis is ongoing for the final publication, which we hope to finish in 2011.

<sup>52</sup> The first Orientalising chambers, probably an aristocratic novelty, had still quite wealthy grave goods, cf. DE SANTIS 1992; BELELLI MARCHESINI 2008.

<sup>53</sup> The Archaic tombs at *Veii* seem to be 'impoverished' like in *Latium Vetus*; COLONNA 1981; AMPOLO 1984; BARTOLONI 1987, 158–159; BERARDINETTI ET ALII 1997, 337. This is not true elsewhere West of the Tiber, e.g. RIZZO 1996; SUARIA 2005.



The findings of this project help in its part revealing nested identities<sup>54</sup> and life histories<sup>55</sup> in central Italy. The wide distribution of contrasting tomb types and rituals with differing origins and significances among the Latins shows the past need to show family connections together with local, regional, intraregional and individual identities in different proportions. The funerary presentations with their minimalist Archaic grave goods give however clues about the life histories of the individuals and their communities. The depositional and postdepositional histories of tombs contribute to the life histories of different cemeteries, whereas the combined results of all funerary research allow drawing a richer, more complicated and increasingly more truthful picture of the Latins.

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<sup>54</sup> Nested identities are geographically defined identities that have a hierarchy according to scale, i.e. according to their increasing or decreasing geographic extent. Different entities (empire, state, region, locality) are nested within one other and each may claim some loyalties. This classification can be used to organize human identities that tend to be unevenly nested and viewed differently by various people. See KAPLAN, HERB 1999, 4; KAPLAN 1999, 31. The concept of nested identities helps to explain the differing expressions of other social identities as well, cf. DIAZ-ANDREU *ET ALII* 2005.

<sup>55</sup> The terms biography and life histories in archaeology, e.g. HOLTORF 1998; GOSDEN, MARSHALL 1999; GILCHRIST 2000; JONES 2002, 83–84, 86–89; RAJALA 2008b.

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