Nothing has happened?

The integration of the Lomellina into the Roman empire

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Abstract

Sarah U. Scheffler - Nothing has happened? The integration of the Lomellina into the Roman empire

The Italian Lomellina (province of Pavia), bordered by the rivers Ticino and Po and thus positioned at the crossroads between the Alps and the central Po valley, was firmly embedded in a network stretching beyond the Adriatic and connecting the area with the wider Mediterranean throughout the Iron Age. This PhD uses the mortuary record of the area to assess issues relating to identity change between the Late Iron Age and the period of Roman conquest.

Across this period, the Lomellina was caught between indigenous resistance to and alliance with Rome, between cultural conservatism and new material developments. The results of these social, cultural and economic changes are reflected in the mortuary record of the Lomellina between the late 3rd century BC and AD 100. The quantitative and qualitative analysis for this study comprises 488 mortuary contexts from 32 individual excavation sites.

Concepts such as ritual as well as practice theory and the comparison with the wider region shed light on question such as: how did the conquest and the subsequent integration into the Roman empire impact the communities of the Lomellina? How did the expression of identity through material culture and funerary rituals change? Is it possible to provide new answers to the old question of what 'becoming Roman' meant in this region?

The archaeological record of the Lomellina shows that the Roman conquest of the wider region had a profound impact on the communities. Previous economic networks continued but the Lomellina experienced a boost for its local industries that was most likely facilitated by the growth of urban centres. Social relationships were transformed following the administrative and legal changes instigated by the Roman authorities. Culturally the archaeological records indicate the impact of a globalisation, an increased participation in and interconnectivity between wider economic and cultural networks.

For Andy Lamb, who kept me alive during two of the most challenging years in my life, and for Oliver – Skipp – Scoppie, who gave me a reason to live.

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When I started my PhD research as a Midlands3Cities postgraduate researcher, we were told countless times that the years ahead of us would be a great journey – and a journey they were. A journey that would not have been possible without the Midlands3Cities Doctoral Training Partnership, who not only provided me with generous funding and supported me in my three research trips to Milan but also helped me to keep up-to-date with my professional experience. One year as University of Leicester student representative, two Cohort Development Fund events and three 'Residentials' later, I can say that it was baggage more than worth to take with me.

My journey started back in 2008, when Martin Schönfelder initiated the idea to focus my studies on the Iron Age-Roman transition on Northern Italy. Joachim Weidig, Maya Hauschild, Christiane Benecke and numerous people I was honoured to talk to about my ideas at conferences shaped my research proposal probably without them even knowing. My application would not have been successful without the support and guidance of Julia Farley, Nina Willburger and the great but scrutinising Vincent Megaw.

Thanks go to my supervisors David Mattingly, Colin Haselgrove and Mark Pearce, who guided me on my journey and prevented me from taking too many detours – as scenic as I thought they might be. Their support allowed me to combine my doctoral research with professional development and thus already map out the next journey. Neil Christie has been invaluable as my unofficial tour guide! Special thanks go to Roger Scoppie, who proofread my thesis, for making sure that this 'travelogue' is enjoyable to read (all typos and other errors are owed to either my oversight or stubbornness).

In autumn 2015, spring 2016 and spring 2017, my journey led me to Milan, where I met colleagues without whom these trips would have been not nearly half that successful: Rosanina Invernizzi, Claudia Lambrugo and Maurizio Giacomini as well as the amazing librarians at the Soprintendenza, the Università degli Studi and the Biblioteca Sormani – and not to forget the Joint Library of the Institute of Classical Studies and Roman Society back at London. Without Nino Crisà, however, I would have

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probably never navigated Milan that well – and would not have enjoyed nearly as many ice creams as I did.

This research into the impact of the Roman conquest on just one small region of Europe was conducted in the run-up to the UK's referendum on its EU membership and the subsequent Brexit period. It remains debatable whether the integration of most of north-west Europe and the Mediterranean into the Roman empire turned people into Romans or whether it merely continued the globalising effect of the Mediterranean's Hellenisation. Undeniable, however, is the "cultural entanglement of the [Roman] Europe", to paraphrase Mary Beard in her reflections on *Brexit and our cultural identity*. "This is", so Beard continues, "one of the things the ancient Romans got right; insisting, as they did, that you could be both Roman and Spanish, and British, and so on. A person could, in their words, have more than one heart. […] It is what we might call 'being culturally ambidextrous'" (Beard 2016b). This cultural ambidexterity that I experienced myself as an EU postgraduate researcher, and its (proto)historic 'twin' became an invaluable driving motor in times of academic self-doubt.

During my journey I met so many wonderful travel companions (in alphabetical order): Jane Ainsworth (I consider you my big sister – just so you know), Stephanie Bonnici-Smith, Clare Canning, Matteo Cantisani, Philip Carstairs, Adrian Chadwick, Henry Clarke, Marta Fanello, Natasha Harlow, Katrien Janin, Damjan Krsmanovic, Niccolò Mugnai, Borbala Nyiri, Manolis Pagkalos, Rachael Sycamore, Asja Tonc, Elisa Vecchi, Rachel Wilkinson, Eleonora Zampieri, Andrea Zocchi and my lovely colleagues from M3C – I might have refused to talk about my research but you have still managed to influence me! Andy Lamb – you are to blame yourself for having to discuss the Iron Age with me! Karin Birk, Rachel Evans, Verena Lott, Stefanie Krämer, Maaike Van Rijn, Helene Seewald and Lisa – you have carried a lot of my luggage for me. This journey would not have been possible without my family: my parents who instilled the interest for archaeology in me, in particular my mother who inspired me to aim for a PhD when I did not even know the country of academia yet and Julie for believing in me all the time. I am looking forward to my next journey with you, Skipp.

This thesis is also dedicated to C.B., who – through her outstanding example – gave me the final boost to complete this journey.

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Abbreviations

List of abbreviated journals

AIAC   Bollettino di Archeologia on line Volume speciale F / F10 / 3 (AIAC 2008):
              www.archeologia.beniculturali.it/pages/pubblicazioni.html [accessed
              05/01/2018]

AJA   American Journal of Archaeology

AUT   Archeologia Uomo Territorio. Rivista scientifica del volontariato
              archeologico

BSPSP   Bollettino della Società Pavese di Storia Patria

BSPN   Bolletino Storico per la Provincia di Novara

JAR   Journal of Archaeological Research

JEA   Journal of European Archaeology

JRA   Journal of Roman Archaeology

JRS   Journal of Roman Studies

NSAL   Notiziario. Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici della Lombardia
              [without volume number]

NotMilano   Notizie dal Chiostro del Monastero Maggiore. Rassegna di studi del
              civico museo archeologico e del civico gabinetto numismatico di Milano

RAComo   Rivista Archeologica dell'Antica Provincia e Diocesi di Como

WA   World Archaeology

Non-bibliographic abbreviations

In addition to standard abbreviations, this thesis uses the following:

BA   Bronze Age

EIA   Early Iron Age

G I-III	Golasecca I-III
Ha	Hallstatt (period/culture)
IA	Iron Age
LIA	Late Iron Age
LT	La Tène (period/culture)
LT I-III	early-late La Tène
MIA	Middle Iron Age

Italian provinces are abbreviated using the official vehicle registration ID. If not otherwise stated, 'the Soprintendenza' refers to the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia.

Chapter I – Introduction

I grew up in a village just beyond the *limes*. It was nothing like Hadrian's Wall or the *Raetian Limes* – most likely just a simple rampart and ditch. But as an eight-year-old girl, who had just decided that she wanted to become an archaeologist, it meant the world to me. I was very aware of the fact that I lived in what was called *Germania Libera* in my history books. Not being Roman played a huge role in forming my identity. We must assume that just as I formed an early identity around what I perceived as Roman and non-Roman, ancient populations had their own perception of 'Roman-ness' – a material and immaterial concept that changed over generations with the ever-intensifying Roman influence on economy, politics and society.

Despite this early fascination with Roman archaeology, this thesis primarily derives from my later interest in the Iron Age of Central Europe. During my studies in Mainz and Tübingen, I focused on regional Iron Age and Roman archaeology, an interest that was extended through a Magister Artium in Etruscan archaeology. I particularly enjoyed research into cultural interactions and exchange between different landscapes, cultures and individuals. Therefore it seemed natural to pursue a PhD with a study in the changing identities of an Iron Age culture in the wake of the Roman conquest. For this research I have chosen the north-west Italian region Lomellina, part of the modern province of Pavia and the south-westernmost corner of Lombardy. Located at the confluence of the rivers Ticino and Po, the Lomellina promised a rich archaeological record that reflects the economic, social and cultural changes I was – and still am – interested in.

My analysis of the (published) archaeological record evolved around the following questions: in which ways did the Roman conquest and the subsequent integration into the Roman empire impact the rural communities of the Lomellina? How did the expression of identity through material culture and funerary rituals change – and ultimately: can I provide new answers to the old question of "becoming Roman?" (e.g. Woolf 1998; Haeussler 2013)?

1. A history of research for the Lomellina

The Lomellina holds a unique position within north-west Italy (Grossi *et al.* 2010: 29). Despite being bordered by two main prehistoric trade routes, the rivers Po and Ticino (Uggeri 1998; see II.1.2), the Lomellina appears to have remained at the periphery of cultural developments for most of its history (see chapter II). This peculiar remoteness is reflected in the selective archaeological attention towards this part of Lombardy – notwithstanding contrary evaluations such as Maccabruni's note that its archaeological potential is reflected in a plethora of publications (Maccabruni 2002: 37 and 41-44 for a summary of historical interest in the Lomellina before the 19th century).

The archaeological picture of the Lomellina was first described in the 1890s by Giuseppe Ponte (1887 and 1964), drawing upon (amongst others) discoveries made in 1879 during the construction of a canal at Garlasco, *frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole (Arslan 1970-1973). In 1883, excavations south of Lomello revealed two Roman cremations. The rich assemblages were sold to the Museo di Antichità of Turin and remained largely unpublished (Scansetti 2017: 141-142) – a fate they share with a majority of mortuary finds from the Lomellina. Local museums were founded during the early 20th century, following the general trend towards municipal museums and smaller semi-private collections (Scheffler 2006): Vigevano (1922), Scaldasole (1930) and Gropello Cairoli (1955. Maccabruni 1984; 1999 and in particular 2002: 50-54 for a summary of research 1900-1950; Pearce 1994: 34-36. 53-54).

Excavations and unsystematic discoveries gained momentum with the economic boom of the post-war period. The 1960s, especially, saw an increase in archaeological interest due to the foundation of several non-professional archaeological societies. As these were affiliated with neither universities nor the Soprintendenza, excavations were rarely systematic or up to modern standards, resulting publications being issued piece-meal. Davide Pace and his volunteers began excavations at Gropello Cairoli, *località* Santo Spirito, where as of 1955 a sand quarry threatened the archaeological heritage (see IV.1.1.2.2.). In 1967 more systematic investigations at Madonna delle Bozzole were conducted under the auspices of Ermanno A. Arslan for the Soprintendenza (Arslan 1971; 1972; 1978b). The 1970-1980s were dominated by

numerous discoveries by Gloria Vannacci Lunazzi and the Associazione Archeologica Lomellina leading, in 1972, to the foundation of the Museo Archeologico Lomellino in Garlasco, which subsequently moved to Gambolò (Vannacci Lunazzi 1981d). During the 1980s, the Gruppo Archeologico Milanese conducted survey activities in collaboration with the Soprintendenza, publishing their results in a dedicated journal '*Archeologia Uomo Territorio*' since 1982 (Pearce 1994: 53-54; Invernizzi 2002c for a comprehensive summary of the developments until the mid-1990s).
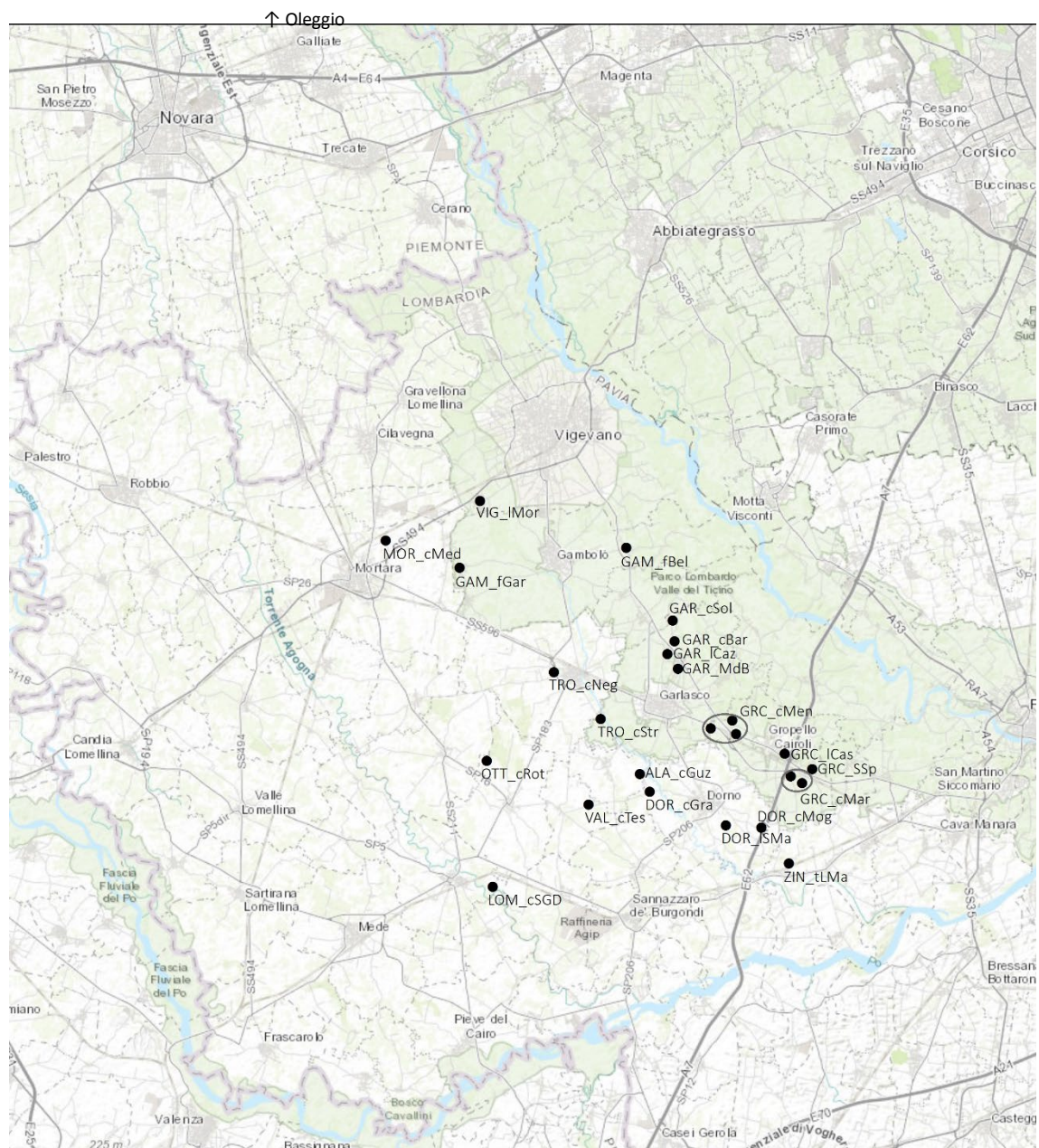
Fig. 1 Geopolitical map of the Lomellina with all mortuary sites represented through their individual siteID (Tab. 1). The wide, green zone along the river Ticino shows the current extent of the Parco Naturale della Valle del Ticino including the communes of Vigevano, Gambolò, Garlasco and Gropello Cairoli (from north to south) but also Oleggio (NO; c. 16.5 km north of Novara). The map also highlights the less dense settlement activity in the western half of the Lomellina, probably explaining the lack of archaeological data from this area (see chapter IV).

In 1978, the Parco Naturale della Valle del Ticino (Fig. 1) was established. Collaboration between the park authority, the Soprintendenza and the universities of Milan and Pavia resulted in the completion of an archaeological map for the area in 1986, which remained partially unpublished (Parco Ticino 1995: 6-9; cf. Maccabruni 2002: 37 n. 4).

Although 24 mortuary sites with up to several hundred graves have been excavated in the Lomellina (Tab. 1), the vast majority of burials remained unpublished. Numerous mortuary complexes were studied for academic theses, but few were subsequently published (e.g. Fortunati Zuccala 1979a and b; Arata 1984 and Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999). However, it is noticeable that within north-west Italy the Lomellina is exceptional for its particularly high quantity of burials covering the period between the 1st centuries BC/AD; towards AD 100 mortuary activity ceased with only a few exceptions (Maccabruni 1999: 46). In addition to smaller burial sites, the cemeteries at Dorno, Gambolò, Garlasco (in particular *località* Cascina Baraggia), Gropello Cairoli, Ottobiano and Valeggio (see chapter IV), give an insight into the cultural changes following the Roman conquest.

During the first half of the 1st century AD, two artefact categories set the Lomellina apart from other areas of Lombardy (see chapter V). Glass finds are outstanding for their quality and quantity, and comprise tableware as well as perfume bottles (both simple shapes and bird-shaped *balsamaria*) and stirring rods. A variety of small terracotta figurines (from classic couples via figures representing daily occupations to grotesques and deities) and a large quantity of terracotta appliqués, most probably used on funerary beds, suggest local production.

In addition to Arslan's contribution in '*Storia di Pavia*' (Arslan 1984), '*Multas per gentes et multa per aequora. Culture antiche in provincia di Pavia: Lomellina, Pavese, Oltrepò*' published in 1999 is one of the few comprehensive overviews of the LIA archaeology and history of the Lomellina. Contributions included '*La necropoli romana di Alagna Lomellina*' (Diani 1999) and '*La necropoli di Garlasco Baraggia*' (Bottinelli and Melley 1999), two essays that constitute the only publications of these two important cemeteries. A further anthology, '*Lomellina Antica*' (2002), supplements previous

works but lacks fundamental essays that would have enlarged the quantity of published mortuary sites.

site ID	place	site	number of contexts		complete datasets	incomplete datasets
			excavated	published		
ALA_cGuz	Alagna	*località* Cascina Guzza	11	11	6	5
DOR_cGra	Dorno	*località* Cascina Grande	> 200	15	3	12
DOR_lSMa	Dorno	*località* San Materno	15	15	9	6
GAM_fBel	Gambolò	*frazione* Belcreda	43	43	36	7
GAM_fGar	Gambolò	*frazione* Garbana, Dosso della Guardia	≥ 19	2		2
GAR_cBar	Garlasco	*località* Cascina Baraggia	≥ 124	47	14	33
GAR_cSol	Garlasco	*località* Cascina Solferina	20	8	2	6
GAR_lCaz	Garlasco	*località* Cazzanina		7	1	6
GAR_MdB	Garlasco	*frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole	> 91	75	61	14
GRC_cMar	Gropello Cairoli	*località* Cascina Marone-Voghera (incl. poderi Castoldi & Panzarasa)	> 210/ > 1200*	69	48	21
GRC_cMen	Gropello Cairoli	*località* Cascina Menabrea (incl. Cascina Miradolo & Guala)	> 125	61	38	23
GRC_lCas	Gropello Cairoli	*località* Castagnevo (incl. Vigna Cristiani)	> 39	2	1	1
GRC_SSp	Gropello Cairoli	*località* Santo Spirito (incl. Cava Albani/Baggini & Cascina Becca)	2	2	2	
LOM_cSGD	Lomello	*località* Cascina San Giovanni Doria		1	1	
MOR_cMed	Mortara	*località* Cascina Medaglia	> 90	4	1	3
OTT_cRot	Ottobiano	*località* Cascina Rotorta	40	40	38	2
TRO_cNeg	Tromello	*località* Cascina Negrina	46	7	1	6
TRO_cStr	Tromello	*località* Cascina Stremiana		1		1
VAL_cTes	Valeggio	*località* Cascina Tessera	232	84	27	49
VIG_fMor	Vigevano	*frazione* Morsella	> 12	1	1	
ZIN_tLMa	Zinasco Nuovo	tenuta La Madonnina	1	1		1
				496	290	198

Tab. 1 Evaluation of cemetery sites in the case study area (green = good, i.e. all excavated contexts have been published, datasets are largely complete; yellow = middle, i.e. c. 50% of all excavated contexts has been published and/or minimum 50% is classified as complete; red = poor). The 290 complete contexts include 45 possibly complete contexts.

* Although only > 210 contexts have been observed and/or excavated at Cascina Marone-Voghera, it has been assumed that more than 1200 burials might have formed this chain of cemetery sites (see IV.1.1.2.1.). The total number of excavated or at least observed mortuary contexts in the Lomellina exceeds 1320, of which less than 40% has been published – many of these only in reference to other contexts and certain material groups.
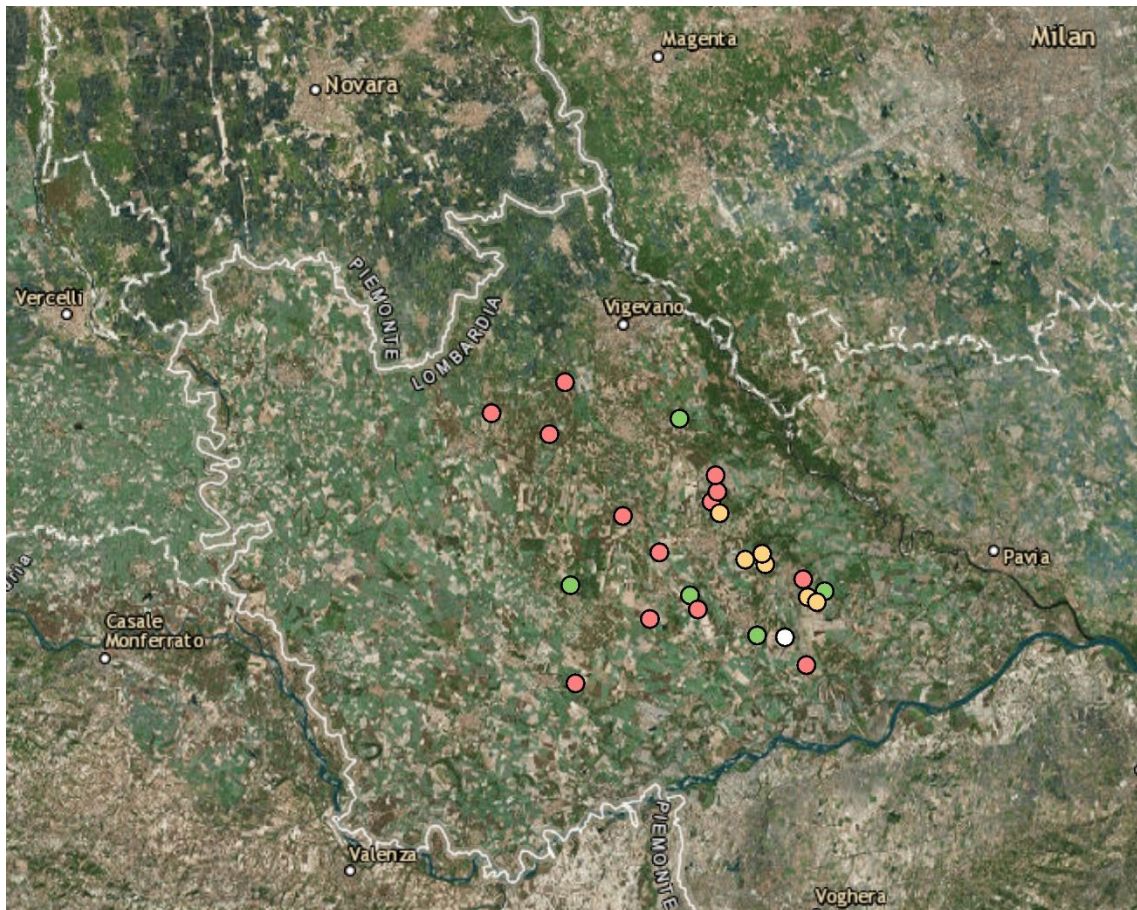
Fig. 2 Satellite image of the Lomellina and neighbouring areas reflecting the evaluation of cemetery sites (Tab. 1).

The complexity of the archaeological record of the Lomellina becomes apparent when the province of Pavia is described as largely excluded from systematic investigations (Nava 1984: 90) and is summed up by Invernizzi: "Purtroppo la situazione della ricerca archeologica in Lomellina è stata per lunghi anni disastrosa […]. Ci si trova pertanto in possesso di un'enorme quantità di materiali a fronte di una documentazione di scavo scarsa e poco accettabile" (Invernizzi 2005a: 133 n. 16).

Sites such as Garlasco and Gropello Cairoli had been excavated over decades by various individuals and non-professional associations; others such as Dorno, *località* Cascina Grande, and Valeggio Lomellina with over 200 burials each still awaited their publication more than three decades after their discovery (*ibid.* 133 n. 19). Therefore, the "insufficient state of publication" (Fasold and Witteyer 1998: 183 in reference to their study of 'Roman-ness' within the mortuary culture of Central and Northern Italy featuring Dorno, *località* San Materno, Gropello Cairoli, Garlasco, *frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole, Ottobiano and Gambolò, *frazione* Belcreda) has not changed immensely since the mid- to late 1990s with only rare recent excavations and even fewer primary

publications. In addition, Nava (1984: 90) had noted even as early as 1984 that the profound changes of the landscape in modern times would make future systematic investigations improbable.

2. The current framework for research into the Lomellina's pre-Roman and early Roman past

In 2012/2013, when I began to compile material for my initial research proposal, I came across a publication that, at first, appeared to cover my research: '*Becoming Roman? Diverging Identities and Experiences in Ancient Northwest Italy'* (Haeussler[1] 2013). Häussler had selected north-west Italy for the contrast in its perception by the Romans: from a dangerous territory inhabited by Gallic barbarians, it evolved into a thriving Italian landscape where some of Rome's most famous citizens were born. Although the Lomellina fell within the research area, this peripheral landscape apparently had no place in this 'Roman picture' of north-west Italy. Hence, Häussler looks primarily at urban contexts and identity displayed through epigraphy, iconography and architecture – thus choosing a different approach towards understanding the impact of the Roman conquest. Material culture studies play a secondary role. Conversely, he developed his key arguments around concepts of administration and legislative change, namely the granting of Latin rights and Roman citizenship during the 1st century BC. Häussler describes how the granting of these two substantial reforms changed the power balance between local elites and subaltern classes in north-west Italy. The Roman administration installed local authorities and thus probably broke up previous hierarchical structures. Subsequently, traditional status symbols and privileges lost in value. In addition, the new system opened up new opportunities for social rise. Therefore, he ascribes many of the visible transformations, including those within mortuary customs and material culture display to the social changes resulting from this legislative move. However, although valid for his chosen case studies, these key arguments cannot work for rural communities such as those of the Lomellina as the relevant archaeological record lacks evidence of

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[1] Ralph Häussler's 2013 publication is here referred to as Haeussler 2013 according to the published credit. Throughout the text or with regard to other publications the German spelling is maintained following his official web presence www.uwtsd.ac.uk/staff/ralph-häussler/ [accessed 08/08/2017].

distinct social hierarchies or a local elite. This raises the question: what impact would Rome's social reforms have had on such a cultural landscape?

2.1. The archaeological landscape

The last decades have seen a rise in landscape studies (Thurston 2009: 358 for the influence of landscape studies on IA research). The holistic approach towards the archaeological heritage rooted in aspects of urbanisation, state-formation, economy and cultural contacts broadens our perspective on prehistoric cultures and our perception of shared identities. Those as fragmentarily preserved and documented as the Lomellina particularly benefit from a holistic approach because it facilitates investigation into the significance of trade and communication routes that border and/or cross a territory seemingly without having any visible impact on the communities around them. Holistic studies may answer questions about how much we can still learn from a landscape where key sites such as settlements and/or ritual places have not been discovered and the archaeological research relies exclusively on mortuary finds. As the physical boundaries create a "sense of belonging" (Bradley *et al.* 2007: 3. 6), landscape is functioning as an agent and can be viewed as an additional asset in the evolution of *habitus* (see III.1.). The landscape of the Lomellina had a profound impact on its history: despite its supreme connectivity thanks to the rivers Ticino and Po, its irregular geography appears to have resulted in its parallel remoteness – the Lomellina remained free of *centuriation* and no major Roman roads crossed the landscape (see chapter II).

2.2. Disentangling multilingualism and discrepant identities in past and present

This research started as a project proposal to investigate the 'Romanisation of Northern Italy'. As I delved further into the topic not only did the geographical and chronological scope change, but the terminology used in the proposal was challenged thoroughly. I became increasingly aware of the cultural baggage tied to the Romanisation concept and its discrepant perception within different academic cultures and periods as studies of identity are themselves influenced by identity (Hodos 2015: 243; Hingley 2017: 1-2). I soon realised that my research gradually became a study into

the entanglement of bi- and multilingualism. The Roman Empire was an empire of many languages – spoken, iconographic and material languages (see III.1.2.2.). Archaeology in itself is a field of bilingualism – finding a balance between the language of the past and the language of the present, for example the perception of 'Roman-ness'. Additionally, archaeology as an academic subject, is taught and read in different languages, shaped by different cultural backgrounds that impact a shared academic language (cf. González Sánchez and Guglielmi 2017: vii-viii, who note that "[as] transnational scholars […], we are well aware of the diversity of existing approaches to the Roman past among different European academic communities, both in theoretical and methodological terms. […] and the influence of the 'Roman'-'barbarian' dichotomy in the creation of both ancient and modern identities (and academic discourses)").

Material language manifests identities and as such is the only tangible aspect of the (sub-)conscious expression of belonging that is readily available to archaeologists. Where the material record forms the sole basis of research, fragmentary data (see p. 25) can initially irritate as much as a snatchy and static radio transmission. On the other hand, fragmentation is omnipresent: "[h]uman societies are inherently fragmented, representing many voices that reflect differences of age, sex, occupation, locality, class, and individuality" (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996: 16). Consequently fragmentation opens the field for other approaches.

2.3. The benefits of fragmentation

The fragmentary character of the relevant data favoured a theoretical approach towards understanding the intentions and decisions of individuals and communities reflected in the mortuary evidence – although caution is required. Bell noted on the "practice of ritual theory" (1992: 22): "As a tool [the term 'ritual' and its definitions], it must be kept from slipping out of the analyst's hand and into the objective data he or she is trying to interpret. Yet it has become increasingly obvious that a tighter hold on the term does not seem to prevent such 'slippage' or maintain the clarity of the boundary between theory and data." Maintaining the boundary between theory and data has thus been a prime aim of the present study. A potential lack of interpretative adventurousness is also inherent in the awareness of, and my personal interest in, the

interplay of *Zeitgeist* (i.e. the academic culture and personal biography of each researcher) and scholarship – thus the above mentioned academic bilingualism. Bell continues that "attempts to relegitimate knowledge have made even more apparent the dynamics in the production of particular bodies of knowledge based on particular relationships between subject and object" (*ibid.*). Therefore, the relationship between subject and object is a recurring theme underlying the present study: from the synopsis of the semantic biography of 'Romanisation' and the relationship between scholarship and terminology to the discussion of a materialisation of identity through the relationship between the individual and material culture.

Chapter II – Archaeological and historical background

Identity may be said to be the sum of past experiences, present developments and future expectations. Regarding the individual, this implies that their identities cannot be separated from the community and wider society they are shaped by. Communities and their shared identities are influenced by landscape and climate, a region's history as well as cultural, political and social events of the present; even expectations about the future can play a significant role in how identities are emerging. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the geological and historico-geographical foundations of a region before shared and individual identities can be investigated.

1. The geology of north-west Italy

1.1. The general geology of the Pianura Padana

Situated between the Alps and the Apennines, the Pianura Padana (i.e. the Po plain) is filled with an accumulation of sediments. The northern part, divided into the *bassa pianura* rising from the banks of the Po and the *alta pianura* towards the Alpine zone, is crossed by a multitude of rivers running in a north-north-west—south-south-east direction. Extensive irrigation and drainage work, especially since the Roman period, has changed the landscape enormously (Grassi and Frontini 2009: 7-8). The environment of the *bassa pianura* of the Pavese, including the Lomellina is characterised by water-permeable layers of sand and detritus, and impermeable accumulations of clay and silt resulting in a phreatic surface with high groundwater saturation reflected through local flora, and agricultural activity (Marchetti *et al.* 1984: 30-32, figs 2. 4-6).

The prehistoric landscape of the Pianura Padana was presumably covered with dense vegetation alternating with glades and inhabited by deer and boar (Milani 1984: 77).

Human alterations to this woodland started with the regulation of the numerous rivers and streams at the beginning of the BA (c. mid-2nd millennium BC). Since the 2nd century BC, the Roman schemes of irrigation and *centuriation* changed the landscape visibly: "se vogliamo riferirci all'Alta Pianura Padana, la data di inizio di un paesaggio agrario di vasta portata va sposata alla centuriazione romana, che ebbe luogo nell'89 a.C." (Tomaselli 1980: 274). As a result of *centuriation* at least 60% (Castelletti and Rottoli 1998: 51) of the Pianura Padana was deforested and converted to agriculture (Tozzi 1972; Milani 1984: 77; Panzeri 1999: 15; Marchetti 2002 for the long-term environmental impact of anthropogenic changes to the Padane landscape).

1.1.1. *Excursus: an artificial landscape* – centuriation

With the granting of Latin rights in 89 BC (see p. 52) Rome changed the Transpadane landscape far beyond its administrative properties and *centuriation* transformed the Pianura Padana visibly. Roman colonialism across the entire Italian peninsula had been accompanied by expropriation and relocation of indigenous populations and Roman citizens. The comprehensive administrative endeavour was based on land surveys rooted in town-planning concepts developed by Greek and Near Eastern colonists (Stek 2017: 13). With the urbanisation of the landscape surrounding newly established colonies the grid-system spread from the centre to the periphery including the improvement of existing and the construction of new road networks (Fig. 3); settlements were extended and embellished according to their new status as Latin colonies, new central places such as Pavia-*Ticinum* (see II.2.2.4.1) were founded. The economic landscape became "increasingly interdependent and interrelated" (Haeussler 2013: 145). As exchange and trade networks shifted, communities found themselves closer to or increasingly remote from central contact zones – and the landscape was physically reshaped with a neat and organised grid of squared *centuriae* or elongated *strigae* or *scamna* (*ibid.* 145. 159-160). Not only in the surroundings of Cremona, Mantua, Bergamo and Brescia, the structures left by *centuriation* are still visible (Grassi and Frontini 2009: 9-10), a close look at infrastructural patterns north of Pavia also reveals clear evidence of *centuriae* (*Storia di Pavia I* 1984: 372-373 pl. II; Talbert 2009:252; Fig. 4 and Appendix Figs I-II and LXXII).
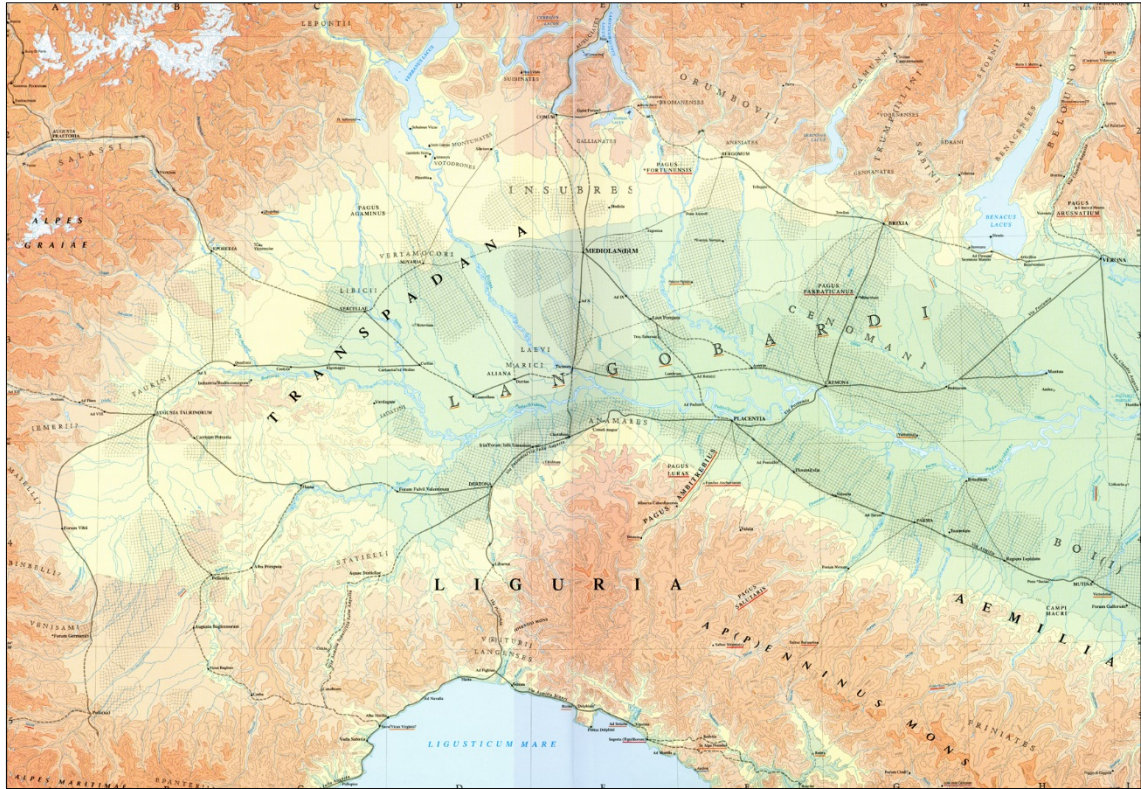
Fig. 3 The western Pianura Padana and the extent of *centuriation* (Pearce and Tozzi 2000: map 39).
The map includes the names of those peoples that can be located based on historiographic and archaeological sources. The Lomellina remained largely non-centuriated and thus accounts for the largest area in Padane north-west Italy without *centuriation*.

The impact of *centuriation* must have been diametrical: where *centuriation* coincided with irrigation the quality of the land was improved; on the other hand, it often involved land redistribution and the expropriation of previous inhabitants. This was common immediately after the conquest of new territories. During the 2nd-1st centuries BC in particular, numerous military conflicts – specifically the Social and Civil war – created a pressing demand in land for an increasing number of veterans. Land redistribution was accompanied by a land register that organised large numbers of Latin and, after 49 BC, Roman citizens who were entitled to official representation in Rome. The land register granted an official administrative identity and secured land ownership (Haeussler 2013: 159. 162). Moreover, Häussler assumes that land increasingly came into the hands of a comparatively small number of powerful landowners who leased their property to be worked by tenants. *Centuriation* thus forced rural communities to integrate faster into the social hierarchy of the early Principate (*ibid.* 39). Nevertheless, a landscape untouched by *centuriation* like the Lomellina might have experienced this profound change differently: on the one hand, land may have remained in the hands of indigenous communities – a class of

independent peasants – that knew how to work an environment probably deemed agriculturally negligible by Roman surveyors; on the other, the Lomellina might have come to be seen as a refuge for dispossessed communities from surrounding areas – a demographic hypothesis that could explain the increase in mortuary activity during the 1st centuries BC/AD (see IV.3.). The omission of the Lomellina from *centuriation* might, moreover, explain why the area between Ticino and Sesia was only crossed by one major road and, apart from the *mansio* at Lomello-*Laumellum* as well as the *mutationes* at Dorno-*Duriae* and Cozzo-*Cuttiae*, saw no development of central places (see Figs 3-4). Whether it also entailed omission from the land register, is doubtful. However, such negligence would have complicated official requests by the inhabitants of the Lomellina, probably resulting in a delayed incorporation into the social hierarchy of the early Principate and thus contradicting Häussler's assumption about rural integration.

Häussler stresses the visual and palpable effect of "discarding indigenous boundaries" and thus turning the north-western Italian landscape from wild and "chaotic" to "ordered" and civilised. He even suggests that ignoring natural landscape features expressed "Rome's superiority as supernatural" (Haeussler 2013: 145. 160; cf. Stek 2017: 13 criticising the association of "subordination of nature" with the "allegedly firm and resolute Roman mind"). Undoubtedly, Rome's administration created a 'landscape of power' in newly conquered territories, and *centuriation* with all its visible results in boundaries, roads and municipal structures would have been the most palpable element. However, the density of IA cemeteries in the Lomellina particularly along the Ticino and Terdoppio (see Fig. 1) implies an equally dense settlement network and thus a structured landscape far from 'chaotic wilderness' even before *centuriation* could have manifested boundaries in a grid system.

1.2.   The geology of the Lomellina

Tozzi described the landscape of the Lomellina as being the product of two stories (see p. 28): the story of its geology and that written by humans. Both have been intrinsically tied to each other since the Lomellina's inhabitants began to alter its appearance.

Three rivers border the geographic and historical district of Lomellina (c. 1250 km^2): The Sesia and Po form its western border, with the latter continuing eastwards and limiting the Lomellina to the south. The Ticino to the east was one of the most important trade and communication routes for north-west Italy as evidenced through settlement patterns and the distribution of exchange goods (Pearce 1994: 106-108). The navigability of the Po, at least until the confluence with the Ticino, has already been attested by Pliny (NH 3.17.123) and Polybius (2.16.10; cf. Uggeri 1998 74-79). A line of springs between Palestra and Cassolnovo forms the modern northern extent of the Lomellina; because this modern extent includes the southern extension of the Novarese *centuriation*, the northern boundary has most probably shifted throughout history. The modern landscape is ostensibly uniform and flat. A closer look, however, reveals low, isolated or grouped reliefs, which are a legacy from the pre-modern landscape (Rota and Vanni 1934).

Sedimentary accumulations have also shaped the landscape of the Lomellina (Marchetti *et al.* 1984: 36 fig 7; 45-46; see II.1.1). The resulting geological layers with their different density and hardness reacted contrastingly to erosion. Inland sand dunes, the so-called *dossi* or *sabbioni*, created an irregular landscape (Fig. 6). Although these hillocks of 5-6 m altitude are not unique to the Lomellina, they appear to be the primary – or at least one – reason for the lack of *centuriation* (Landini 1952: 36-37; Marchetti *et al.* 1984: 33; Pearce 1994: 19-20). Even were the *dossi* explanation enough to understand the Roman disregard of the Lomellina for *centuriation*, another geological feature might further emphasise the 'agricultural valuelessness' of the landscape: its probably smaller extent during antiquity.

Dionisotti (1896: 7-76) was the first to postulate a shift of the river Sesia south of Vercelli occurring during the 4th century. Nowadays, this palaeo-course of the Sesia is in part occupied by the Agogna and in places visible as landscape feature (Fig. 5). Although a shift of the Sesia during Late Antiquity cannot be confirmed irrefutably, the hypothesis implies that the Lomellina, flanked by Ticino and Sesia would thus have been smaller (Ferraris 2016: 76-83).
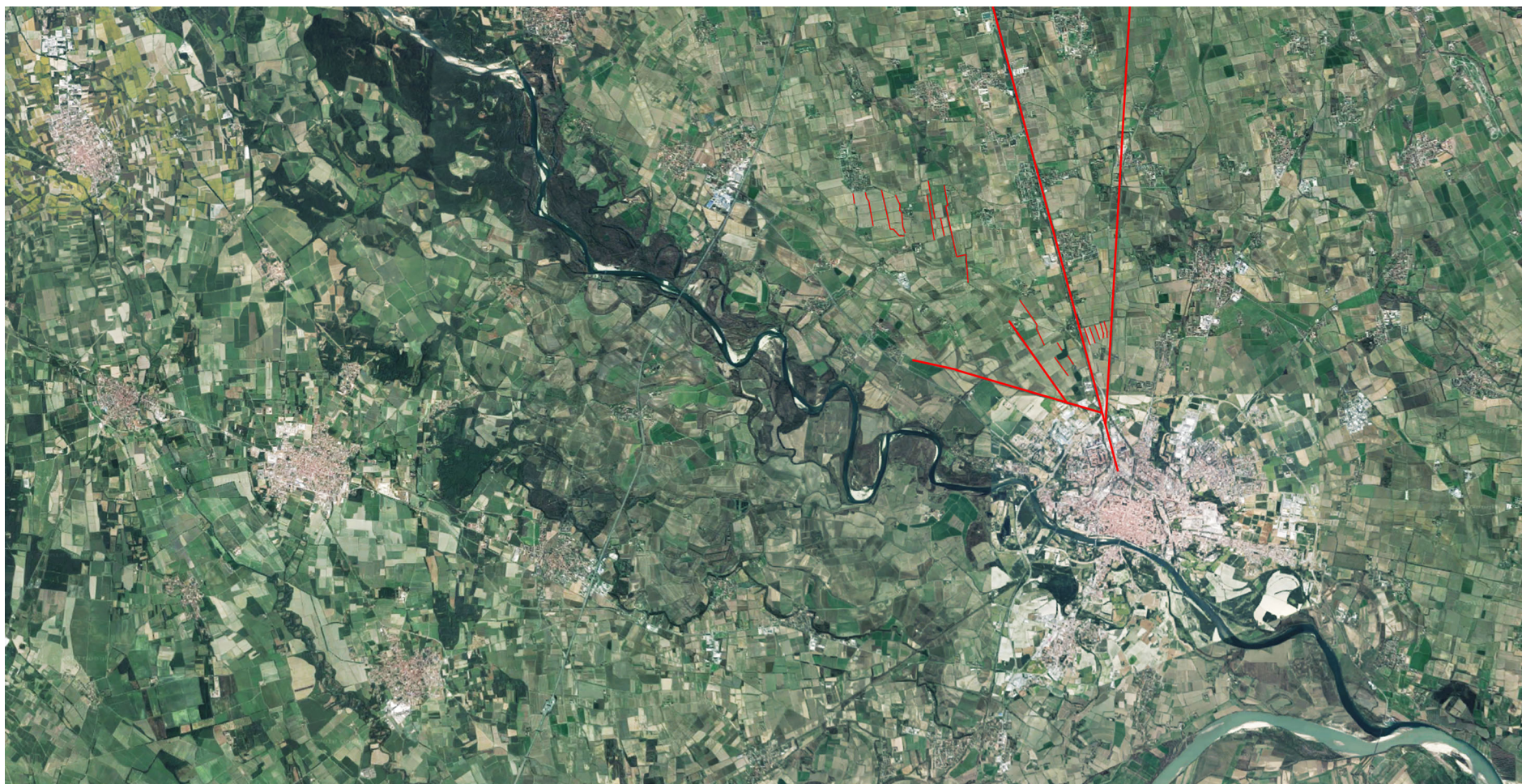
Fig. 4 Satellite image with discernible rectangular features aligned with the road system in the Pavese (see Appendix Fig. LXXII [p. 512]) and the north-eastwards leading axis to Milan.

Fig. 5 Satellite image with the course of the Sesia (left edge) south of Mortara and the partially straightened course of the Agogna (right edge). Between the two rivers, the meandering palaeo-course of a river is discernible.

Fig. 6 Section of the geological and geomorphological map of the province of Pavia.
The dotted areas between Cergnago, Tromello and Vigevano, in particular, show *dossi* that are still discernible. For a large print of this map and a map showing the area east of Dorno towards Pavia see Appendix Figs LXXI (p. 511) and LXXII (p. 512).

By the late 20th century at the latest, most of the *dossi* had disappeared from the landscape resulting in an almost complete extinction of the prehistoric flora of marshland in the river valleys and well-wooded fern vegetation. Cartographic details alone still indicate vanished landscape features. Traces of the original landscape are only preserved in natural conservation areas (Fig. 7. Landini 1952: 49; Corbetta 1968; Pearce *et al.* 1992; Gheza *et al.* 2015: 308-309).

However, the consequences of the geological and geomorphological evolution of the Lomellina were historically more far-reaching than 'merely' rendering the landscape unsuitable for the Roman scheme of *centuriation.* The Lomellina's richness in siliceous sands facilitated local industries. In addition to agricultural activity, the income of the Lomellina was probably based on brick and tile production (Landini 1952: 38). Various material culture studies have suggested local pottery workshops (e.g. black-gloss ware, small terracotta figurines and appliqués; see chapter V) exploiting the rich clay resources (Marchetti *et al.* 1984: 32; Saletti 1984: 328-330). Pliny's remark on flax cultivation (NH 19.2.7-9) can be interpreted as a hint at linen manufacturing adding to

the production of wool. Although the white sands of the Lomellina (NH 17.4: "sabulum album in Ticiniensi"), which would have facilitated the cultivation of flax, were according to Pliny of no use to growing vine, trees and crops, his observation indirectly implies a suitability for local glass manufacturing, a proposition that might be evidenced by the abundance of glass items in early Imperial burials (see V.1.4.3 and V.4.2.1. Regarding the unlikelihood of raw glass producing workshops in the Roman west: Amrein 2006, who emphasises that no archaeological evidence has been found so far, which could prove a production of raw glass along the Ticino). Nevertheless, although the particular emphasis of certain artefacts within the archaeological record of the province of Pavia indicates local production centres in the Lomellina, the interpretation of finds distributions demands caution. The relative abundance of early Imperial material culture such as glass items, *ceramica invetriata*, and TS (Saletti 1984: 330) could presumably result from a better quantitatively and qualitatively archaeological record as already attested for the pre-Roman Lomellina in comparison to other areas of north-west Italy (Pearce 1994: 59).

Fig. 7 Satellite image with a private hunting reserve east of Cergnago (top right).
This area of about 55 ha is one of only a few natural conservation areas that preserve a more authentic woodland landscape.

2. The pre- and proto-history of the Lomellina in the context of north-west Italy

Long before north-west Italy became Rome's gateway to Central Europe and the north-west provinces, the region had been a point of departure and destination for cross-Alpine exchange. As the Alps were more easily crossed than the Apennines, this trade resulted in close cultural links especially between the EIA Golasecca and Hallstatt cultures (Chevallier 1983: 106-107; Pearce 1994: 13. 56; Boatwright *et al.* 2004: 2-5).

Geographic and historical reports of the region, covering Lombardy and Piedmont, emerged only with its shift into Rome's political and military focus. Although a few earlier references made by Cato in his *Origines* have been passed down, the oldest account known to us comes from Polybius (mid-2nd century BC). In his *Histories* covering the period between 220 and 146 BC he described the geography and history, the populations and economy of what was then a Roman province – *Gallia Cisalpina*. At the end of the 1st century BC, Livy, who was born in Padua, listed the numerous conflicts between Rome and local populations in his *Ab Urbe Condita*. According to Pliny the Elder, who was born in Como, the inhabitants of the western Pianura Padana comprised the Lepontii in the pre-Alpine zones, the Orobii around Lake Como, the Insubres, who founded Milan and were described as the most dominant group, the Laevi and Libici along the Ticino, the Marici, and the Vertamocori of Novara (Pliny NH 3.124; cf. Vannacci Lunazzi 1979a: 89-90; Arslan 1984: 118-119).

2.1. Historical sources

Whilst ancient writers reported about northern Italy in general, their specific references to the Lomellina are few. Considering its specific landscape and the obvious Roman disregard, it must, on the contrary, be considered as surprising that ancient sources allow us to draw information about the Lomellina at all. The focus lies on the origin of the local population and their economic contributions to the Roman empire. The pre-Roman inhabitants of the Lomellina are described both as Celtic/Gallic (for the frequently contradictory use of 'Celtic' and 'Gallic' see II.2.2.3.1) and as indigenous. Polybius (Hist. 2.17.4: "Those occupying the first districts near the source of the Po, were the Laevi and Lebecii [Λαοι και Λεβεκιοι], after them the Insubres, the largest

tribe of all, and next to these, on the banks of the river, the Cenomani") and Ptolemy (Geogr. 3.1.132) describe the inhabitants of the Lomellina and Lomello-*Laumellum* as Libici, an ethnonym classified as Celtic due to its ethnic belonging to the Insubres. Livy (Hist. 5.35.2) and Pliny (NH 3.124), however, called them Laevi and identified them as Ligurian, i.e. indigenous (cf. Landini 1952: 10; Arslan 1984: 119). Briefly returning to the geography of the Lomellina, such an indigenous or Ligurian affiliation of the communities could be an additional explanation for the area's exclusion from *centuriation*. In contrast to the Insubres, who fought Rome until the peace treaty of 196 BC, the Ligurian population supported Rome during the Second Punic War. The exclusion from *centuriation* may have been a concession to the allied communities of the Lomellina, who would have found themselves in a frontier zone between allies and enemies of Rome. In a similar vein, it has been suggested that the Lomellina was divided between three ethnic groups with the Laevi living along the Ticino, the Marici, inhabiting the terraces of the Po and the Libici settling next to the Sesia (Arslan 2002; 2004). This overlapping of different ethnic groups could thus also explain the absence of central places in the centre of the Lomellina.

The ambiguity of these ancient sources becomes not only evident in their discrepant ethnic identification of the indigenous populations of north-west Italy, it is also difficult to identify either the Lomellina and/or specific sites in these texts. Pliny, who describes both Laevi and Marici as founders of Pavia-*Ticinum*, refers to a *regio Aliana* that could be identified as the Lomellina; his toponym *Retovium* could refer to modern Robbio Lomellina (NH 3.124 and 19.2.7-9; cf. Macchioro 1991: 338).

2.2. Archaeological sources

2.2.1. The Lomellina during prehistory

Throughout pre- and proto-history the population of the Lomellina settled on the river plains and *dossi* that characterised the landscape (for detailed descriptions and lists of prehistoric sites see in particular Pearce 1994; in the following section, sites dated prior to the LIA are primarily mentioned if they coincide with mortuary sites investigated in this thesis).

The Lomellina is geographically and cultural-historically well-defined in its boundaries. Human activity is attested from the 9th millennium BC onward. Although these traces are scarce, they are nevertheless of interest as finds are concentrated along the same waterways that shaped the Lomellina's life also in subsequent periods. Mesolithic sites document a population based on hunting and gathering as well as fishing (Nava 1984: 90; Macchioro 1991: 334; Pearce 1994: 60). The so-called Neolithic Revolution (5th to mid-4th millennium BC) increased the spectrum of finds, which point to a concentration of human activity along the upper Terdoppio and Ticino. During the Chalcolithic period (mid-4th to end of 3rd millennium BC. Fig. 8), finds ascribe the local populations to the Remedello culture (Pearce 1994: 62-63). The continued prevalence of the eastern half of the Lomellina is obvious, although a lack of archaeological reports must be contemplated. This pattern changed with the introduction of metallurgy to north-west Italy (Vannacci Lunazzi 1981d; Nava 1984: 91-92; Pearce 1994: 62-64).
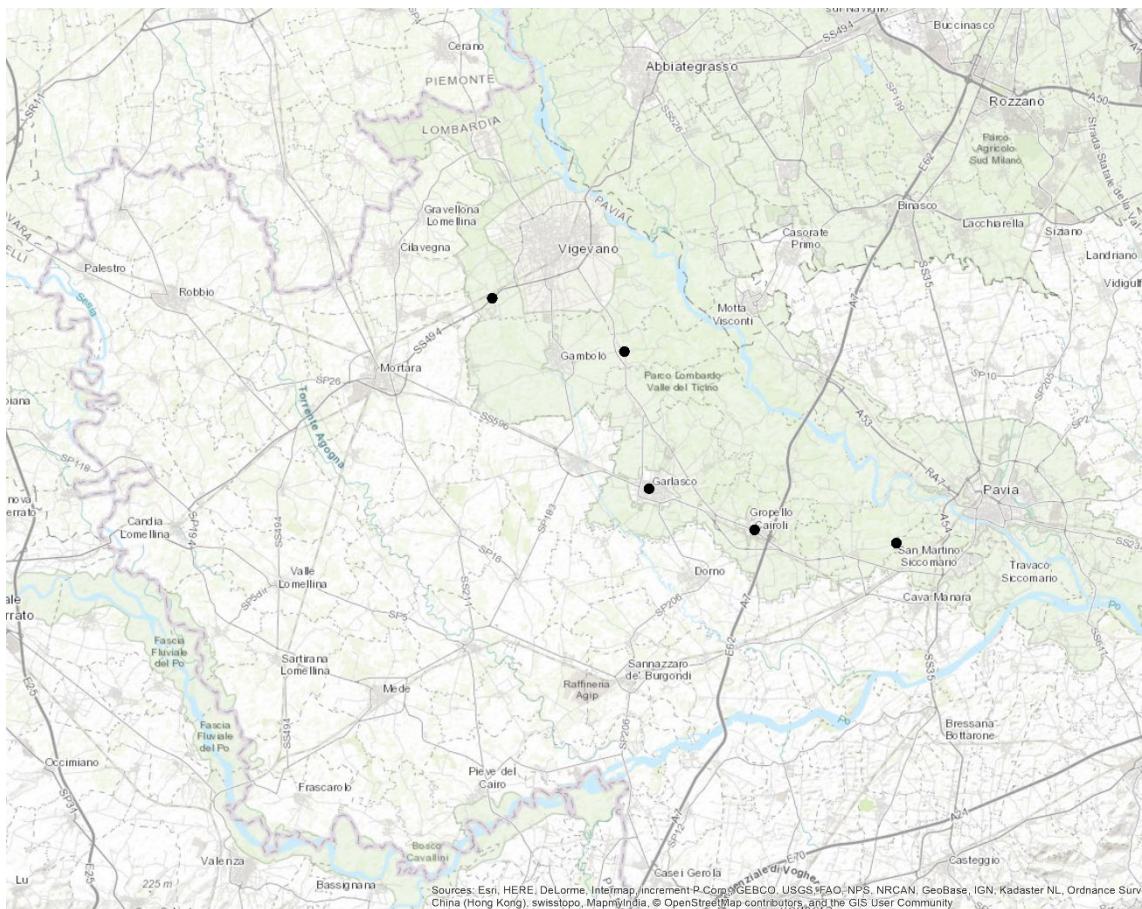
Fig. 8 Chalcolithic sites in the Lomellina.
From north to south: Vigevano, *frazione* Morsella (including some extraordinary stone axes, *asce in pietra verde*), Gambolò, *frazione* Belcreda (mortuary context and sporadic finds of pottery), Garlasco (sporadic finds of pottery), Gropello Cairoli (sporadic finds of pottery) and Carbonara al Ticino, *località* Sabbione (mortuary contexts with the earliest evidence of metalworking in the Lomellina).

2.2.2. The early metal ages

2.2.2.1. The Bronze Age

With the beginning of the BA the archaeological record increases profoundly – from singular finds over settlement sites, cemeteries and hoards. As with other areas of Italy, the settlements of the Lomellina were characterised by a stability over several centuries and good resource management. The terraces of Ticino, Terdoppio and Sesia were ideal for agricultural communities using the rivers for water management and the exchange of material and immaterial goods. The archaeological record reflects cultural influences from the Terramare culture of the central and eastern Po valley during the MBA (c. 1600-1310 BC. BA chronology following De Marinis 1999) and LBA (c. 1310-1175 BC. Vannacci Lunazzi 1979b; 1981d; Nava 1984: 93-96. 99; Macchioro 1991: 335; Pearce 1994: 65-68; Panzeri 1999: 15-16; Pearce 2007: 86-87).

Fig. 9 Bronze Age sites in the Lomellina.
Settlement activity is attested amongst others at Dorno, *località* Montalbano and Formighera (12) and at Gambolò (5; including a substantial cemetery); hoards were discovered at Robbio (1), Gropello Cairoli (10), Semiana (11), Borgo San Siro, *località* Torrazza (14) and at Pieve Albignola (15; 37 finished and unfinished flanged axes of copper and bronze).

Two settlements were of outstanding significance: Gropello Cairoli, *località* Santo Spirito (Fig. 9,13) and Garlasco, *località* Boffalora (Fig. 9,9. Vannacci Lunazzi 1975a). The site of Santo Spirito proved to have played an important role throughout the pre- and early proto-history of the Lomellina. Occupation might have begun as early as the EBA (c. 2200-1600 BC) and continued throughout the MBA-FBA (Vannacci Lunazzi 1979a: 88; Pearce 1994: 64). An even older date might be given for the settlement near Garlasco. Its size of about 5 ha underlines the significance of the Lomellina during the MBA-LBA. Extensive human activity around Garlasco is also evidenced through a 13th century BC burial at *località* Baraggia and sporadic pottery and bronze finds at *frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole (Vannacci Lunazzi 1981d; Nava 1984: 92-93; Pearce 1994: 64). Ceramics and a bronze bracelet, which suggest the Lomellina's association with the Canegrate culture of western Lombardy, the Novara province and the Ticino valley, were excavated at Vigevano, *frazione* Morsella, *località* Cascinassa (*ibid.*; Nava 1984: 98; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986c. Fig. 9,3).

A cemetery of 66 cremations at Gambolò was dated between the end of the MBA and the beginning of the LBA, respectively the end of the Scamozzina-Monza phase and the beginning of the Canegrate phase (Simone 1990-1991; 1992-1993). After an initial period of mixed mortuary rites (as attested at some Northern Italian cemeteries), cremation became dominant throughout Italy during the MBA. Together with the selection of grave goods, including items of dress and jewellery as well as daggers, the adoption of cremation emphasises that the Lomellina was a member of a north-western Italian network with transalpine Europe. By the LBA and FBA (c. 1175-920 BC), the entire wider region was part of the pan-European urnfield culture (Invernizzi 2010: 10).

With the beginning of the FBA (1180-920 BC), evidence of profound change becomes visible throughout Northern Italy. Human activity seems to decrease; numerous settlement sites were abandoned and the remaining communities moved towards the upper plain and the lacustrine areas along the foot of the Alps. The Lomellina appears to have been equally affected and, apart from sporadic finds found amongst others at Gropello Cairoli, only the cemetery at Gravellona, *località* Monte Giano (Fig. 9,2)

seems to have been in continuous use (Arslan 1984: 108; Macchioro 1991: 335; Pearce 1994: 72).

2.2.2.2. The Early Iron Age – *la prima Età del Ferro*

The decline of settlement activity continued with the beginning of the IA (9th-8th centuries BC). Although profound social changes resulted in the foundation of proto-urban centres all over the peninsula, in north-west Italy these exclusively concentrated around the lakes at Como and Sesto Calende-Golasecca-Castelletto Ticino. The accumulation of wealth by local aristocracies becomes visible in their rich and often 'exotic' grave good assemblages (Invernizzi 2010: 10).

The following centuries brought the Lomellina back into the settlement landscape of north-west Italy. Finds from Garlasco and other sites suggest intensifying contacts with Liguria during the second half of the 7th and the early 6th century BC (Arslan 1984: 108-109. 111-112; Macchioro 1991: 335; Pearce 1994: 79-82; De Caro 2002. Fig. 10; Arslan 2007). A LT I brooch from Gropello Cairoli, *località* Santo Spirito can be identified as the oldest LT find from the Lomellina (contemporary with local G III A3 contexts; Arslan 1984: 119). The area increasingly benefited from intensifying contacts with the Etruscan culture that had opened the Po valley to the Italian peninsula and the wider Mediterranean during the 6th century. This is also indicated by the preference for revived settlement activity along the banks of the Ticino (*ibid.* 109). Singular finds of Etruscan *bucchero* from Lomello (probably 5th century), an Orvietan bronze bowl from Garlasco and an *oenochoe* ascribed to a workshop in Vulci found at Dorno point to the Lomellina's embeddedness into the fluvial exchange system between the central Po valley and the lacustrine core areas of the Golasecca culture (*ibid.* 111; Macchioro 1991: 335; Pearce 1994: 80-81. 95; for a concise bibliography of Golasecca finds from the Lomellina excavated and published until the mid-1990s: Pearce 1994: 76-84 and Simone Zopfi 1994a: 66).

Rich evidence of human activity has been excavated at Santo Spirito, where numerous finds imply a large settlement with bronze workshops. As with Dorno and Lomello, the site is located along a later Roman road (Vannacci Lunazzi 1979a: 88). Regarding the wider picture, it is significant that both also revealed Etruscan material (Arslan 1984: 112-113; Pearce 1994: 82. 95. 99; De Caro 2002). This suggests that although the

Roman Lomellina was characterised by the lack of a larger central place, certain agglomerations had been of longstanding importance and thus were probably more affected by the economic impact of the Roman conquest than minor communities.
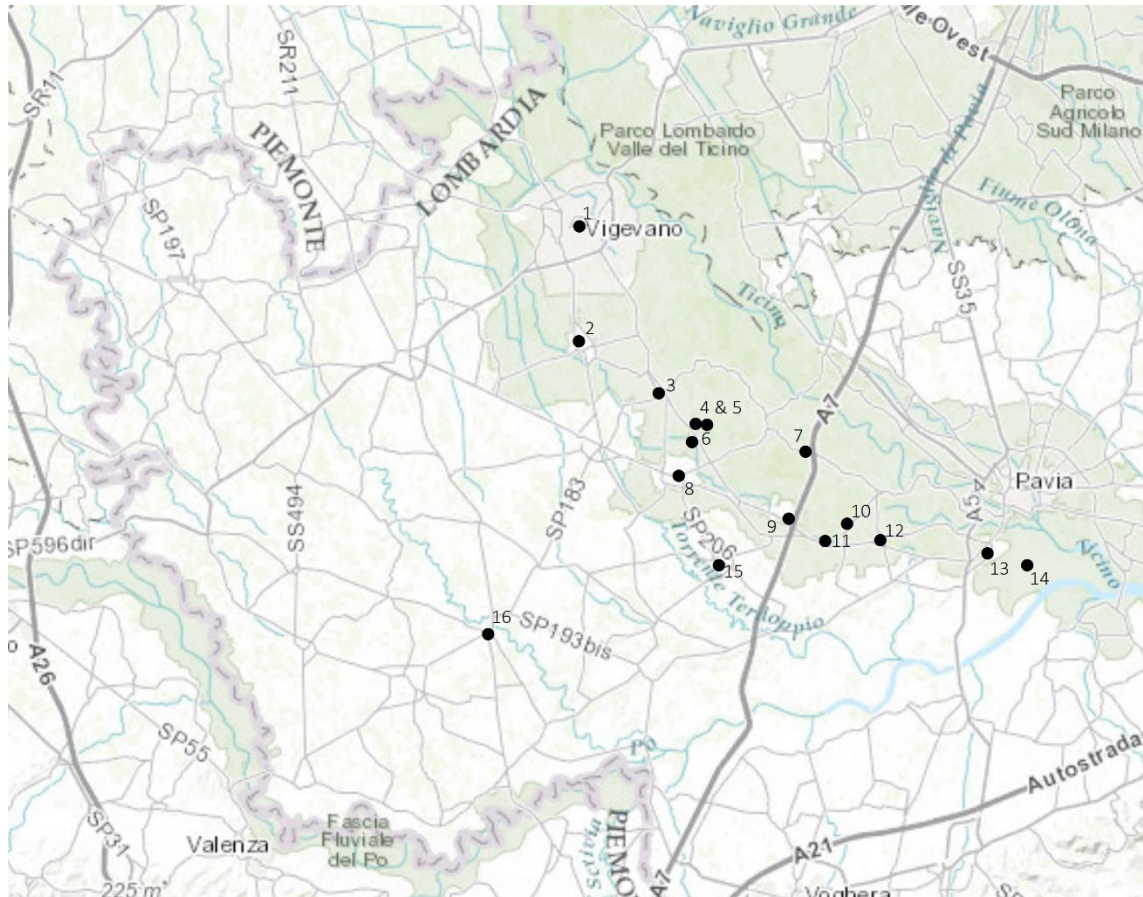
Fig. 10 Early Iron Age sites in the Lomellina.
The sites include (+) mortuary contexts, (S) settlement evidence and (E) Etruscan imports:

1 Vigevano (+),
2 Gambolò (+),
3 Borgo San Siro (+),
4 Garlasco, *località* Cascina Bonifica (E) & 5 Boschi del Vignolo along the road towards *località* Ca'Bassa (+ including G IC-IIB burials),

6 Garlasco, *frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole (+; S?; E),
7 Zerbolo (+),
8 Garlasco,
9 Gropello Cairoli (+),
10 Villanova d'Ardenghi (+),
11 Gropello Cairoli, *località* Santo Spirito (+; S; E),

12 Carbonara al Ticino (+),
13 San Martino Siccomario (+),
14 Travaco Siccomario (+),
15 Dorno,
16 Lomello. (E)

2.2.3. *The Late Iron Age and period of Gallic migrations* – la seconda Età del Ferro

The beginning of the LIA of north-west Italy is traditionally defined as the period of Gallic migrations at the beginning of the 4th century BC. Although Livy (e.g. 5.33.2-6) mentions earlier invasions of northern Italy that resulted in the Insubrian foundation of Milan and the settlement of Cenomani in the area of Brescia and Verona, the archaeological record cannot verify this information (Bonini 1999; Grassi and Frontini 2009: 49-52).

2.2.3.1. Excursus: 'Celtic', 'Gallic' and the Gallic migrations

The story runs that this race, allured by the delicious fruits and especially the wine—then a novel luxury—had crossed the Alps and possessed themselves of lands that had before been tilled by the Etruscans.

Livy 5.33.2

The so-called Gallic migrations (this study prefers the less drastic term 'migration' over 'invasion' as the latter evokes images of barbaric marauders; Piana Agostinetti 2004: 69-73) describe a comparatively short period with an archaeological and historical record characterised by discrepancies.

As the study of IA cultures in Northern Italy not only poses the question of their origin but also raises issues of how to classify the population in a wider context, it is here that the terminological distinction between '*Celtic*' and '*Gallic*' should be briefly discussed.

During the second half of the 1st millennium BC, Northern Italy is largely dominated by various cultures with a distinct LT character: Insubres, Cenomani, Boii and Senones – all of which tend to be grouped together indiscriminately as 'Celtic' or 'Gallic'.

Particularly within Anglo-American scholarship, 'Celtic' comes with an almost inextricable baggage (Williams 2001: 7-14). The term is caught between archaeological and linguistic studies (Collis 1996; Fitzpatrick 1996; Renfrew 1996; James 1999; Collis 2003; Koch 2007) as well as a popular perception deriving from the 'Celtic revival' especially during the 19th century (as showcased during the 2015-2016 exhibition *The Celts* at the British Museum; pers. comm. J. Farley).

Italian scholars tend to differentiate between 'i celti' (i.e. the IA populations prior to the Gallic migrations) and 'i galli' after 400 BC. Since the late 1980s/early 1990s, this differentiation follows linguistic considerations. Because a Celtic language, Lepontic, emerged within the context of the Golasecca culture, it is common to describe the indigenous IA cultures of Northern Italy as 'Celtic' – "le zone sono occupate da tribù celtiche" (Biaggio Simona and Butti Ronchetti 2007: 256). The academic interplay between archaeological and linguistic studies was fostered by political considerations. 'Celtic' became increasingly popular during the 1990s in reference to the wider European IA. In the wake of contemporary political changes, the term reflected a new European identity, promoted through the EU-sponsored *I Celti* exhibition (Venice, 1990. Williams 2001: 7-14). The transalpine arrivals and the influence of the LT culture on Northern Italy, however, are perceived as 'Gallic' (Piana Agostinetti 2004: 65-69; Vitali 2005: 7-14). This choice is based on the general association of 'Gallic' with the IA cultures of France and Belgium and acknowledges the Roman geographic denomination *Gallia Cisalpina*.

Following this equation of 'indigenous' = 'Celtic', the population of the Lomellina have been described as "i gruppi celtici stanziati in Lomellina" (Invernizzi 2010). This Italian convention has been adopted throughout the present study, although both 'Celtic' and 'Gallic' have been avoided for descriptive purposes wherever archaeologically more precise terms such as 'Golasecca' or 'LT culture' have been available, especially as "latenizzazione non significa automaticamente e necessariamente 'Celti'" (Vitali 2005: 9) or 'Gallic'.

Various ancient authors, including Livy (5.33), have told the story of Gallic tribes invading Italy from a Greek and Roman perspective. Recording the events retrospectively and addressing their contemporaries, they gave accounts of the geography and history of neighbouring regions or justified Rome's military interventions in the north. Relying on cultural stereotypes and analogies, they explained the motivation behind the southward Gallic migration by reference to an excess of population (i.e. the well-known incentive for the founding of numerous Greek colonies) and the riches of the south (Arslan 1984: 119; Hauschild 2010a; Schönfelder 2010b: 2-3)

Archaeological evidence of the Gallic migrations has been sought since the late 19th century. In 1870, de Mortillet (1870-1871) compared finds from Bologna and Marzabotto (BO) with IA artefacts from the Champagne region. He identified them as Gallic and thus laid the foundation for the study of LT finds in Northern Italy. Reinecke's study of LT I swords in Central and Southern Italy suggested that their distribution does not reflect the expansion of the LT culture and the range of the migration movement (Reinecke 1940). During the 1970s and 1980s a growing number of material culture studies focused on trade and exchange between Italy and transalpine Europe emphasising the importance of Mediterranean imports for the rise of the EIA *'Fürstenphänomen'* (e.g. Frey 1971; Kruta Poppi 1975; Kruta 1978; Pare 1991; von Hase 1992 and 1998; Eggert 2006; Eggert et al. 2010).

Current research projects investigate the causes and nature of the Gallic migrations with the help of scientific methods. A climatological study indicates that climatic changes and subsequent crop failures might have forced transalpine groups to emigrate (Sirocko 2009), although ongoing research still has to verify this hypothesis (Schönfelder 2010c: 46). Anthropological research – in particular isotope analyses – approach questions about the origin of individuals buried at sites that had previously been described as probably 'foreign' on the grounds of artefacts (e.g. weaponry classified as LT style). At Monte Bibele (BO), for example, almost a third of the skeletal remains indicate a childhood spent in a distinctly different geological environment with mineral values deviating from local ones, although the identification of first-generation migrant burials complicated the ^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr analysis (Hauschild et al. 2013; Scheeres *et al.* 2013; Scheeres 2014; cf. Vitali and Lejars 2010).

In conclusion, we are reminded that although the archaeological record of 'Gallic' material culture, particularly weaponry, seems to verify the account given by Roman authors, bioarchaeometric investigations suggest that material exchange might have played a more important role in the spread of LT weaponry during the so-called Gallic migrations than human movement (Schönfelder 2010c: 46-47).

Key dates	periods	Transalpine area	North-west Italy	Central Italy/Etruria
	1300-1200	Urnfield culture Bz D2/Ha A1	Canegrate	Late BA
	1200-900	Ha A	Proto-Golasecca	Final BA Proto-Villanovan
	900-750	Ha B	G I	Early IA Villanovan Period
	750-575	Ha C		Orientalising Period
	600-489	Ha D1	G II A-B	Archaic Period
431-404: Peloponnese War	500-400	Ha D2-3 LT A	G III A1 G III A2	Classical period
396: Roman defeat of Veii c. 388: 'Celtic invasion'/Gallic migrations 387/386: Gallic siege of Rome 385-383: Siege of Pyrgi	400-375	LT A	G III A3	
	375-300	LT B1		Hellenistic Period/Roman Republic
	300-250	LT B2		
233: Rome defeats the Apuani of Cispadane Liguria 225-222: Rome's war against the Insubres	250-200	LT C1		

222: Battle of *Clastidium*		
219/8: Foundation of Piacenza and Cremona		
218-201: 2nd Punic War		
218: Battle of *Ticinus*		
197 & 196: Peace treaties with Cenomani and Insubres	200-100	LT C2
190: Rome defeats the Boii		
181: Foundation of Aquileia		
148/7: *Via Postumia*		
91-88: Social War	120-70	LT D1
90: Roman citizenship for Cispadani		
89: *Lex Pompeia*: Latin rights for Transpadani		
58-52: Caesar is governor of *Gallia Cisalpina* & *Transalpina*	70-27	LT D2
58: Foundation of *Novum Comum*		
49: *Causa Transpadani*: Roman citizenship for Transpadani		
41: End of Provincial status for *Gallia Cisalpina*		
43-14: Triumviral/Augustan colonies		
27 BC- AD 14: Principate of Augustus	27 BC - AD 300	Principate
24-15: Conquest of Alpine peoples		
16: Reorganisation of Italy in *regiones*		

Tab. 2 Relevant historical dates of the Republican period and Roman conquest of north-west Italy (after Häussler 2007: tabs 1-2; Haeussler 2013: tab. 2.1).

The Gallic migrations fell into a period of roughly half a century that saw the decline of the Etruscan presence in the Po valley, where they had intensified their commercial network since the mid-6th century BC, in particular around Forcello di Bagnolo S. Vito (MN. Grassi and Frontini 2009: 44-49). The involvement of Gallic mercenaries in the Peloponnesian War not only benefitted Gallic groups economically and emphasised their image of skilled warriors, but may also have encouraged settlement in Northern Italy and strengthened their position as the Etruscan dominion over Central Italy dwindled after a series of military defeats (Hauschild 2010b: 28).

The 4th and 3rd centuries BC were a period of further profound social changes that impacted all of Northern Italy. Throughout the Lomellina, human activity appears to have slowed down. Nevertheless, the archaeological record provides plenty of evidence of continuity during LT I. Rare finds of imported black-gloss ware (BGW) from Vigevano, *frazione* La Sforzesca, imply continued contact with Etruscan workshops at Adria and Volterra probably via the central Padane communities (see V.1.4.1. Arslan 1984; Macchioro 1991: 336; Grassi 1995). The rich dataset is characterised by pear-shaped jars and spouted jugs probably deriving from Etruscan *Schnabelkannen*, and, towards the end of the 3rd century, by weapons resembling the classic Gallic panoply of sword, shield and spear. Local vessels for the storage of wine, pear-shaped flagons that subsequently evolved into the so-called *vasi a trottola* (see V.1.3), are outstanding within the regional pottery spectrum. Their shape made them particularly useful for the storage of wine, strengthening the hypothesis that wine cultivation increased during the LIA (Macchioro 1991: 336) – despite Pliny's scathing verdict regarding the area's suitability for wine cultivation (NH 17.4). The small terracotta figurine of a *cucullatus* holding a bundle of grapes (PV_GRC_lMar_026) seems to emphasise the significance of viticulture for the local communities up until at least the Principate. The mortuary assemblages suggest an agricultural and pastoral society led by a small warrior elite distinguished by their weapon burials. Women were identified through their jewellery, mainly bronze arm rings, and domestic tools, such as spindle whorls. Although the graves combined elements of Golasecca and Gallic traditions, they appear to have remained strangers to both cultures, particularly in their continued use of cremation. The region is described as giving "l'espressione di un sostrato locale

estraneo a entrambe queste culture [the Golasecca and Gallic cultures] che rimanda all'ambito ligure" (Grassi and Frontini 2009: 170).

In contrast to the inhabitants of the Lomellina, the Insubres and Cenomani preferred inhumation up until the 2nd century BC. Women and children were occasionally still inhumed as late as the Augustan period. Whilst the Insubres of western Lombardy are more difficult to investigate, as complete grave good assemblages are rare, the eastern part of Lombardy provides a coherent image of funerary traditions. In both areas, gendered grave good assemblages comprised weaponry for men and ring jewellery for women reflecting a cultural similarity to contemporary transalpine cultures. The female costume (e.g. *Hohlbuckelringe*), in particular, appears to confirm Pliny's (NH 3.130) and Caesar's (BG 7.75) theories about the central-western European descent of the Cenomani (Bonini 1999: 72-74; Grassi and Frontini 2009: 169-170).

Therefore, Arslan concludes that although the Lomellina remained part of a wider north-west Italian exchange network we can detect "la sua autonomia culturale, che nettamente la distingue dagli insubri e dagli altri gruppi culturali dagli insubri dominati" (Arslan 1984: 119: cf. 2002). These differences in material culture and funerary traditions strengthen Livy's (Hist. 5.35.2) and Pliny's (NH 3.124) identification of the Lomellina and its inhabitants as indigenous (see II.2.1).

2.2.4. *The latest Iron Age and period of Roman conquest* – l'età della romanizzazione

The Roman conquest of north-west Italy began with Rome's war against the Insubres in 225-222 BC. The following two centuries until the administrative changes of 41 (inclusion of the Pianura Padana into *Italia* and abrogation of the status as province) and 16 BC (division in *regiones*) are typically classified as *età della romanizzazione* (i.e. the period of Romanisation) in the Italian literature (e.g. Grassi and Frontini 2009; Spagnolo Garzoli 1999). The term 'Romanisation' describes the cultural and administrative changes of a region up until the period of full *romanità*, which in the case of Lombardy coincides with the beginning of the Imperial Age (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 50. For a full discussion of the term 'Romanisation', see III.2.2, and III.2.3.2.2 in particular for the Italian use).

The defeat of the Insubres at the 'Battle of *Clastidium*' (Casteggio, PV) and the conquest of Milan were emphasised by the foundation of two Roman colonies on both banks of the Po: Piacenza-*Placentia* and Cremona. Nevertheless, Rome's enterprise to integrate northern Italy into its territory focused primarily on the Cispadane Emilia. The Second Punic War interrupted the endeavour and highlighted the importance of the region for the safety of the Roman territory as Insubres and Boii pledged their alliance with Hannibal. Although Veneti and Cenomani remained allies to Rome, the two colonies were now surrounded by enemies (Bonini 1999: 75-76).

The first battle between the Carthaginian forces and Rome's army on modern Italian territory was fought in Transpadane north-west Italy in November 218 BC. The location of the 'Battle of *Ticinus*' remains uncertain. Livy and Polybius (Hist. 3.69) give an account of the event and its location. According to Livy, Hannibal and Publius Cornelius Scipio faced each other on the plains flanking the right bank of the Ticino, not far from its confluence with the Po, i.e. modern Lomellina (Livy 21.39.45-47). It is impossible to locate with certainty either the Carthaginian or the Roman camp, but it is generally assumed that the Vigevanasco and the neighbouring areas to the north, part of modern Piedmont, were witness to this crucial event. Scipio's camp has been assumed to have been set up around Gambolò. As tempting as it is to accept Livy's account, the archaeological record provides no evidence of the battle on Lomellina territory (Maccabruni 2002: 38-41 tab. 1 with a list of all principal studies attempting to locate the battleground within the boundaries of the Lomellina since Alciato's study around 1530).

In the wake of the Second Punic War the Cenomani changed sides resulting in a further war between Rome and the Gallic alliance. Whilst the conflict with the Boii continued and ended according to Strabo (Geogr. 5.213) not only with their defeat, but also with their deportation and emigration to their transalpine lands of origin, the Cenomani and Insubres accepted defeat and agreed to peace treaties (*foedera*). The agreement included a payment of tribute and loss of territory to Rome as well as support of Rome's foreign affairs through the recruitment of troops (Bonini 1999: 76). Neither written sources nor the archaeological record, however, inform us about the impact of this peace treaty on the Lomellina and its communities. During the 1st

century BC, the demographic and cultural landscape of the Lomellina was transformed profoundly: 29% of all dated burials of the pre-Roman and early Roman period is classified as LT D and thus point to an increased human activity (see IV.3.3.2). The area opened up to new ideas, as the Roman conquest facilitated the influence of new aspects of material and immaterial culture such as the adaptation of BGW and the integration of funerary beds into their funerary rituals.

2.2.4.1. Excursus: the administrative integration into the Roman territory

> *Of all the ingredients that helped the Romans build their empire, none was so successful or surprising as the one you can't see: citizenship. And their ability to turn people not born in Rome into fully fledged Romans.*
>
> Beard 2016a

Two legislative changes during the 1st century BC tied Transpadane Italy firmly to Rome. The *lex Pompeia* granted Latin rights to the populations and thus raised their central places to the status of Latin colony. This had an intensifying impact on the region's urbanisation with the development of Pavia-*Ticinum* and the monumentalisation of Milan-*Mediolanum* and Brescia-*Brixia* (Tozzi 1972: 99-153; Ceresa Mori 1990-1991: 254-256; Rossi and Morandini 2015).

In all likelihood, Pavia-*Ticinum* had originated at a ford crossing the Ticino during the Golasecca period. Although the Roman and medieval development complicates the investigation of pre-Roman traces, archaeological discoveries support the development from an indigenous settlement (Gabba 1984a: 11; Saletti 1984: 314; Pearce 1994: 84; 1998). With the granting of Latin rights the settlement became a Latin colony and subsequently flourished (Macchioro 1991: 337-338). Any IA remains appear to have been completely erased with the adoption of an orthogonal street grid during the late 1st century BC. The ancient *cardo* is still visible in the course of the modern Strada Nuova, and the *decumanus* remains traceable in both the Corso Cavour and Corso Mazzini (Saletti 1984: 314).

In 49 BC, the granting of Roman citizenship turned communities, including Pavia, into *municipia civium Romanorum*, while their inhabitants were enrolled in the electoral *tribus* of Rome (Grassi and Frontini 2009: 61-63, 179) – the *tribus Papiria* in the case of

both Pavia and probably the Lomellina (Macchioro 1991: 337-338). The impact of these two legislative changes is generally seen as a catalyst to the cultural integration of Northern Italy into the Roman empire as they acted as an accelerator for the development of new hierarchical (i.e. political and kinship-related) and economic networks (Haeussler 2013: 115. 188. 318). Grassi and Frontini describe them as stepping stones towards the finalisation of the 'Romanisation process': "Nel corso del I sec. a.C. due provvedimenti legislativi segneranno il passagio, per l'intera Cisalpina, dalla fase della romanizzazione alla piena romanità, inserendola gradualmente nello stato romano" (Grassi and Frontini 2009: 61). The urban middle and upper classes engaged in a radical change adopting Romano-Hellenistic customs such as euergetism (Haeussler 2013: 180). Häussler stresses the importance of this legislative and administrative re-structuring of north-west Italy for the integration and urbanisation process as new (Roman) bodies of administration were established and weakened local authorities. This led to a loss of rituals and customs tethered to local hierarchies and the autonomy of local groups. Non-local status symbols might therefore have been adopted to maintain a continuity of status within a new administrative hierarchy (see VII.5); subaltern classes were given the opportunity to rise within social ranks. Urban elites, however, tend to integrate themselves quicker into a new culture and are prone to grasp more of the offered possibilities (e.g. a senatorial or military career). Therefore, Häussler argues, that citizenship might have been of less significance for non-urban populations such as the communities of the Lomellina (*ibid.* 47-48).

With the end of the military conflict Piacenza and Cremona were reorganised and enlarged. Cremona remained the only Transpadane colony until the foundation of Aquileia (UD) and thus possessed an important role for the cultural change of the surrounding areas. *Centuriation* for this early period is only evidenced around Cremona (Tozzi 1972: 9-11. 18-21). The opening of via Postumia established a direct connection between the Ligurian coast and Aquileia on the northern Adriatic coast. After traversing the Apennines at their westernmost end, it crosses the Oltrepò Pavese and bridges the Po at Cremona, thus leaving the Lomellina untouched. Throughout the Roman period only one major road leading from Pavia-*Ticinum* to Gaul brought

travellers through the Lomellina (Fig. 11; Papetti 1987: 47-56 fig. 13). Late antique sources (e.g. *Itinerarium Antonini*, *Tabula Peutingeriana* and *Itinerarium Burdigalense*; 4th century AD) as well as the itinerary from Vicarello (CIL XI 3281–3284; mid-1st to mid-2nd century. Kolb 2007: 175) list Lomello-*Laumellum* as *mansio*, and both Dorno-*Duriae* and Cozzo-*Cuttiae* as *mutationes*. The road split at Cozzo with one leg leading towards Turin and the *Alpes Cottiae* and a second route via Vercelli (VC), Ivrea (TO) and Aosta to the *Alpes Poeninae*, also known as *Alpes Graiae* (Landini 1952: 11; Tozzi 1991: 11-14; Panzeri 1999: 16; Tozzi 2002: 16-21 figs 1-3; see Fig. 3). Although north-west Italy was still largely ruled by indigenous elites, *Novum Comum* was established as the second Roman colony in Lombardy with probably 5000 colonists of which 500 would have been of Greek origin. Both Como and Milan were equipped with defensive structures, and during the 1st century BC areas beyond the Cremonese were centuriated (Tozzi 1972; Ceresa Mori 1990-1991: 254-256; Grassi and Frontini 2009: 60. 177. 180).

During G III A trade and exchange patterns had shifted from the previous routes between the central Po valley and the Golasecca core area of Sesto Calende-Golasecca-Castelletto Ticino towards Como and facilitated the development of Milan-*Mediolanum* as a new focal point. The urban settlement of Pavia-*Ticinum* probably evolved at the time of the *Lex Pompeia* on the site of an earlier indigenous settlement. The settlement became a Latin colony, flourished and was (re-)developed with an orthogonal street grid. This urban planning was also echoed by *centuriation* of the surrounding areas of the Pavese, whereas the Lomellina (except for its northernmost areas) remained non-centuriated (see II.1.1.1; Storia di Pavia I 1984: 372-373 pl. II). Papetti (1987: 51-56 fig. 14) appears to be the only advocate for a *centuriation* of the Lomellina based on geographical observations particularly around Valeggio and the site of Cascina Tessera (see Fig. XVI). The area around and particularly north of Vigevano was part of the 'campagna centuriata' of Novara, and thus implies a more southerly limit to the Lomellina's northern boundary (Storia di Pavia I 1984: 370-371 pl. I; Tozzi 1991: 14; 2002: 33). Such a division of the modern Lomellina between the ancient administrative districts of *Ticinum* and Novara-*Novaria* has also been suggested by two epigraphic records: a Latin inscription at Lomello refers to the

Fig. 11 Satellite image with the Roman road (highlighted as red line) leading from Lomello-*Laumellum* towards Pavia-*Ticinum* and cutting through the *mutatio* of Dorno-*Duriae*.

Roman *tribus Papiria* (i.e. the very same *tribus* Pavia belonged to), whereas an inscription from Rosasco in the north-west Lomellina points to this area's attribution to the *tribus Claudia* (i.e. the *tribus* of Novara; Tozzi 1991: 11; 2002: 17). Unlike other areas of northern Italy, the *centuriation* of the Pavese did not serve to redistribute land to incoming settlers such as Central and Southern Italian veterans, but reorganised land distribution amongst the local populations (Macchioro 1991: 337-338).

It is uncertain exactly when northern Italy was classified as the Roman province *Gallia Cisalpina*. In 41 BC it ceased to exist as a province and was formally integrated in the state territory of *Italia*. With Augustus' reorganisation of Italy in 16 BC, the Lomellina became a part of the *regio XI* (Transpadana). In the same year Augustus launched his campaign to subordinate the Alpine populations and thus concluded the Roman conquest of northern Italy (Grassi and Frontini 2009: 63-64).

2.2.5. The Roman period until c. AD 100

The conquest of the Alpine regions at the end of the 1st century BC led to a period of prosperity for northern Italy, albeit in AD 69 Lombardy re-experienced large-scale violence when critical military conflicts during the Year of the Four Emperors were settled in the area of Calvatone-*Bedriacum* (CR) and Ostiglia (MN). Regional industries are identifiable from various pottery and brick producing sites, with products ranging from ceramics to bricks and tiles. Architectural elements of terracotta and terracotta appliqués broaden the range of fictile products (Grassi and Frontini 2009: 183-184).

Roman settlement patterns resemble the previous IA patterns with smaller nuclei, including modest rural buildings, *villae urbanae-rusticae* and some rare luxurious villa estates (e.g. the villa di via Zezio at Como), and only a few larger urban centres. They were embedded in a network of roads, and smaller central places such as Angera (VA), Lomello-*Laumellum* (PV) and Calvatone-*Bedriacum* played an important role for their respective areas as they provided administrative and commercial structures. This network of roads was essential for the quick distribution of goods and the movement of armies particularly during the period of conquest. Therefore, it is most likely that a road following the western bank of the Ticino was established during the Roman

period. This land route would have complemented the road from Pavia towards Gaul and connected Dorno-*Duriae* (via important prehistoric sites such as Madonna delle Bozzole and Gambolò, *frazione* Belcreda) with Vigevano and Novara-*Novaria*; a third land route may have followed a course similar to the modern road leading from the confluence of Ticino and Po northwards via Gropello Cairoli, *località* Santo Spirito, Garlasco and Tromello to Mortara (Tozzi 2002: 24. 28).

The mortuary landscape of Lombardy follows the same pattern. The deceased were provided with very modest assemblages including ceramic tableware, sometimes tools and modest items of dress, an oil lamp and a coin. Until the 2nd century AD funerary rites comprised primarily interment of the cremated remains either as direct cremation at the site of the pyre, in urns and *amphorae* or '*a cassetta*' (*ibid.* 184-185; for a detailed specification of different funerary customs in the Lomellina see IV.2, and VI.2 for the comparative case studies).

An exemplary case study is represented by the cemetery of Angera on the south-eastern shore of Lake Maggiore (see VI.1.3). The extensive cemetery of about 300 tombs and some further smaller burial sites were located to the east of the *vicus*. An analysis of the burials showed a close similarity to the Verbano-Ticino, eastern Piedmont and western Lombardy including the Lomellina. Of similar importance is the Comasco between Milan and Como. Stretching between the two main communication centres for north-west Italy, the area experienced an intensive agricultural and industrial development. Various cemeteries have been described as comparatively homogeneous suggesting a society without a distinct social hierarchy (e.g. Rovello Porro with 41 tombs [see VI.1.4], Mariano Comense with 130 tombs, Mantona di Intimiano with c. 40 tombs and the smaller Cascina Benedetta near Lurate Caccivio with only 9 tombs. Grassi and Frontini 2009: 185).

In this landscape the Lomellina is exceptional for its particularly high quantity of burials covering the period between the 1st centuries BC/AD. As with the Comasco the burials of the Lomellina point to a flat social structure and communities based on an agricultural-pastoral lifestyle. Two groups of material culture, however, stand out against this plain social picture: glass and small terracotta figurines and appliqués.

Their quality and quantity suggest local production, although archaeological evidence is largely missing (see V.1.4.3; V.4.2.1 and V.5.3; Grassi and Frontini 2009: 187-188).

The Lomellina's strategic location on the western banks of the Ticino must have facilitated the development of local industries. For the distribution of ideas and goods the region's waterways still played an important role. Having maintained a militarily, administratively, and culturally crucial position for the initial incorporation of north-west Italy into Roman territory, the via Postumia now faded in significance (Cera 2000: 151). For the 2nd and 3rd centuries there is notably less archaeological evidence. The Transpadana suffered a period of crisis and impoverishment, a situation that only improved again during Late Antiquity (Grassi and Frontini 2009: 185, 189). Following the demographic and cultural zenith of the 1st centuries BC/AD, the Lomellina was also embraced by this political crisis, and only a few sites have provided finds dating later than the Flavian period (e.g. Gropello Cairoli, *località* Santo Spirito and Cascina Guala; Macchioro 1991: 338-339; Grassi and Frontini 2009: 65-66).

Chapter III – Theoretical framework

War and conquest are integral parts of human history. Following the capture of Veii in 396 BC, Rome steadily expanded her territory until the Empire reached as far as Scotland. North-west Italy was one of the first regions beyond peninsula Italy to be incorporated. With a final legislative reform in 41 BC *Gallia Cisalpina* was integrated as *regiones* VIII-XI into Roman Italy (see II.2.2.4.).

The processes around the military, administrative and political integration of indigenous communities into the realm of Rome have long been of interest to archaeologists and historians. Each generation has had their own specific approach shaped and influenced by their respective cultural background. Whilst European empires of the 19th and early 20th centuries saw themselves as an idealised echo of Roman expansionism and imperialism, the subsequent period of world wars and quest for national independence of former European colonies has led to more sceptical perspectives. The post-colonial world asked for different answers regarding the Roman conquest and its impact on indigenous communities. More than a generation has passed since 'Romanisation' as a theoretical concept came into disrepute, yet archaeologists and historians continue to discuss and analyse the visible traces the Roman Empire left behind. Irrespective of their approach towards the Romanisation debate and the continued use of the term itself (see III.2.3.2), most studies focus on understanding the transformation of social and individual identities (e.g. Eckardt 2014 for a summary of various studies; cf. Schörner 2005, especially from a German-speaking background, and more recently Versluys 2014). This can only be based on theoretical concepts to 'read' the messages delivered through archaeological evidence, the "untranslated language" of material culture (Binford 1983: 19).

As self-evident as the idea of "reading the past" through its material culture appears to be, "[it] has always been recognised that the relationship between behaviour and material culture is the central difficulty to be resolved in archaeology" (Hodder and Hutson 2003: 14).

Before we can discuss the impact of the Roman conquest, we must agree on three basic elements in our approach: (i) the focus and material to choose, (ii) the 'tools' to

apply and (iii) our understanding of being 'Roman' and the process behind the Roman conquest.

The present research focuses on the mortuary record of the rural communities of the Lomellina as the chosen geographic area and social group for study (see chapter II for a geographical, historical and archaeological overview).

The fragmentary nature of this archaeological record requires a careful approach towards the data available mainly through material culture (i.e. mortuary assemblages and stray finds in their vicinity) and features reflecting the funerary ritual (e.g. cremation layers and grave-pits with traces of various depositional behaviours). These data lend themselves to two related theoretical approaches: practice theories including the concept of social *habitus* and concepts of material agency as well as ritual theory (Nilsson Stutz 2015).

Although ostensibly fact-based, such research into the interplay between material culture and the negotiation and expression of identities are constantly influenced by the cultural and academic background of the respective scholar or *Zeitgeist* more generally (Hodos 2015: 243; Hingley 2017: 1-2). *Zeitgeist* is frequently expressed through distinctive names and concepts – an observation particularly true for various issues of theoretical Roman archaeology and the respective terminology. Hence we should start with a brief discussion, as to whether we understand the ancient perception of 'Roman-ness' or merely reflect our own perception, leading into the debate of 'Romanisation'. Three aspects are of particular interest: (i) the concept's history that was heavily influenced by Anglo-American scholarship, (ii) alternative concepts and (iii) the continued use of the term 'Romanisation' especially in Italian scholarship that reflects a distinctive understanding of the concept.

This chapter sets the theoretical and terminological framework for the study of cultural changes in the wake of Roman expansionism and discusses the methodological issues that arose from the underlying data.

1. Burials as material evidence of cultural change

The present study of cultural changes following the Roman conquest is exclusively based on mortuary remains, cemeteries of up to several hundred burials spanning more than three generations. This selection is primarily founded on the relative abundance of burials compared to other finds. Settlement evidence is poorly represented for the pre- and early Roman period of the Lomellina (see also chapter IV). Notwithstanding that this necessary focus on mortuary customs and assemblages carries with it the danger of "[evaluating] burial practice in isolation" (Pearce 2015: 223), and although settlement finds would be of irreplaceable value as comparative material, it is my contention that a contextual approach can unlock burials for a comprehensive study of changing identities.

It has long been accepted – albeit not without controversy (Williams 2004: 264) – that burials can reflect various aspects of life (Fasold *et al.* 1998: 9). Binford (1971) went as far as directly correlating burials and society, interpreting the funeral as a reflection of contemporary power inequalities and social hierarchy. Subsequently his critics (Dolfini 2015: 19-20 for a concise summary) pointed out that Binford's theory of the individual as 'social persona', who at the moment of their death is reduced to merely a sum of their various roles in society, is too rigid. Parker Pearson (1993; 1999) argues that the social roles inherent in everyone (i.e. various aspects of identity) are fluid and changeable throughout life and even beyond death, structured by the social *habitus* of both the individual themselves and the community that buried the deceased – as well as the agency of the corpse (see III.1.4). The concept of social *habitus* had been mainly developed by Elias and Bourdieu (1977). Bourdieu's sociological analysis of French society during the 1970s tried to understand how material and immaterial choices are shaped by identity and shape identity in return. He identified three groups of assets as a foundation for identity: (i) material wealth forming an individual's economic capital; (ii) education and knowledge contribute to cultural capital; and (iii) the relationships and communication networks that form a person's social capital. Bourdieu expanded this set and distinguished, as a sum of all three, symbolic capital – the quintessence of status or the concept that certain contexts, agents or fashions can decrease or increase the value of both material and immaterial goods. *Habitus*, according to

Bourdieu, is both the result and the foundation of these assets, the sum of a person's nature, their individual taste and style, language and behaviour. Thus, *habitus* is structured by personality, but also structures a person's biography; *habitus* not only links the micro level of an individual life to the macro level of society but – especially in view of mortuary practices – also the culture of the living (*biocenosis*) to the culture of death (*thanatocenosis*). As such, *habitus* determines how we behave in society, and how we treat our deceased. Symbolic capital in particular refers to one of the prime sources in the investigation of past identities and their representation through mortuary culture: status symbols, their identification and interpretation (Bourdieu 1984; cf. Schreg *et al.* 2013: 101-112).

Critics of Bourdieu's *habitus* concept (Smith 2011 for a concise summary of archaeological critique and Schreg *et al.* 2013: 106 for a German perspective) stress that he hardly concedes the individual any self-determination. Although *habitus* is fluid and changes over a lifetime, the initial *habitus* always determines how the individual, and thus their *habitus*, develops. In contemporary society, shaped by an urge for individualism (Lindstrøm 2015: 211; Fowler 2016: 405-406; see also p. 75), this denial of self-determination disagrees with the current *Zeitgeist*. With regard to past societies and particularly rural communities, where the individual must have been subordinate to the common good, however, Bourdieu's rigid understanding of *habitus* seems more applicable. Nevertheless, his concept needs to be scrutinised in its applicability to archaeological study in the correlation of material culture and identity (see III.1.2). Although certain material groups (e.g. tools) seem to speak for themselves and our extensive archaeological knowledge allows us to identify a vast range of status symbols and other ambivalent items, without an ample informational setting the categorisation of the material record, in particular mortuary assemblages, into Bourdieu's spectrum of capitals remains complicated. In anticipation of the discussion of material categories, I would like to highlight their partial ambivalence through the example of BGW (see V.1.4.1).

Whilst the burials of the Lomellina may be poor in metal objects (especially in their preserved state), they are rich in pottery. It therefore might seem easiest to evaluate them – and thus establish status, wealth and probably other social identities –

according to their pottery assemblages. Primarily based on our own perception of value, we generally assume that 'exotic' or imported objects are of higher value than local products. The limited quantity of imports, the investment in their transport, and the frequently higher technical quality give this assumption credence. Black-gloss ware (BGW), although initially an import, was primarily produced locally or regionally. In equal if not outweighing numbers so-called 'achromatic imitation ware', lacking the eponymous black finish, extended the spectrum. Although imports are rare in the entire archaeological record of Lombardy, these initial 'exotic' goods suggest communities with a strong economic and social capital. In a similar example, Pitts (2015) highlights the significance of later *Terra Sigillata* (TS) for the status representation of provincial Roman elites. Thus, based on our assumption that imported goods were more valuable and expensive than local produce, we classify new objects as evidence of increasing wealth and expanding trade relationships. By the same token, when we observe growth in local production our default assumption will be that this is a matter of economic/political necessity rather than choice. In the present case, this pessimistic approach is strengthened by the technical observation that the imitation of generic shapes of BGW was accompanied by a qualitative degradation. Therefore, even if one concedes local potteries a strong cultural capital, reflected in the adaptation of non-local pottery shapes to local demands, the decreasing quality and our own perception of value, point to an important change of the economic and social capital of north-western Italian communities.

A more optimistic approach highlights the possibility of local workshops attempting an increase of their customer base, especially as achromatic imitation ware was less durable – and thus probably preferred for burials (Grassi 2008: 24) – or purchased by less wealthy customers. A similarly positive view is held by Pitts, who interprets the preference for local produce as a reflection of a strong local self-awareness that valued tradition and local requirements over novelty. The case of achromatic imitations of BGW have also been interpreted as a statement of resistance (Knobloch 2013), although one would assume that in this case potters would have given preference to local shapes while simultaneously maintaining the product's quality as was the case with provincial TS.

This *excursus* has demonstrated the ambiguity of Bourdieu's concept. If material culture and at least partial information about value and significance coincide, a link between individual material categories and Bourdieu's capital is possible and can help to identify an individual's or community's *habitus* and thus identities. In the absence of adequate data, speculation prevails. Nonetheless, Bourdieu's approach can be justified in some contexts as will be demonstrated in this study's discussion of funerary beds (see V.5.3).

In the absence of written and oral sources, burials and their assemblages are the closest archaeologists can get to understand the intentions and beliefs of the individual (i.e. their social *habitus*. Berggren and Nilsson Stutz 2010: 172). Visible change in burial customs and material culture may be considered visible evidence of cultural changes and changing identities; or as Brandt put it: "What drives a ritual change? [...] a change is not necessarily related to changes in the belief system [...], rather to other social and cultural phenomena [...], to tensions between social norms and individual behaviour [...], to mental stress [...], and other factors [...]" (Brandt *et al.* 2015: xii; cf. Wells 1998: 284 for a very similar notion regarding the formation and expression of individual and shared identities). Häussler (Haeussler 2013) points out that the conquest and subsequent administrative integration of north-west Italy was accompanied by profound social changes, the loss of status and rise of new hierarchies, and equally intense social and economic stress triggered by military recruitment, tax collection and shifting patterns of exchange. Considering the almost universal validity this observation has for the impact of Roman expansionism on all regions of the empire, it is even more surprising that mortuary archaeology has played such an insignificant role in the Romanisation debate (Pearce 2015: 224). Moreover, studies of burial rites after the Roman conquest tend to focus on the continuity of IA traditions, frequently interpreted as resistance (*ibid.* 223-224). "An observed change in the archaeological material, however, may not necessarily express a change as such, it may also be an expression of identity. [...] what often appears to be a change may actually be an expression of the same, only expressed differently" (Brandt et al. 2015: xii). Briefly returning to the example of BGW, the change from either pottery of local tradition or imports to local imitations may not necessarily reflect an economic change

or even a shift towards a Romano-Italic or Mediterranean identity. It is plausible that the adaptation of shapes and certain technical aspects to local demands and the amalgamation with local decorations simply expressed the potters' continued desire to improve, remain up-to-date with the market and satisfy customer demands. Technological change thus reflected market stability and a healthy awareness of wider trends.

1.1. Practice theory and ritual theory

Analysing the funerary tradition, the burial process crystallises into three phases that may play a significant role in the negotiation of individual and shared identities: (i) rituals prior to the funeral, (ii) the funeral and deposition of human remains accompanied by an object assemblage, and (iii) subsequent rituals at the grave that could continue over a long period (Bell 1992; Gramsch 2013). As the Lomellina provides no evidence of specific post-interment rituals except for three double burials that appear to belong to slightly different periods and imply the opening of an existent grave (e.g. PV_GAR_MdB_018, 022 and 024), the present study must focus on identification of rituals prior to and during the funeral and the significance of mortuary assemblages.

Ancient sources (e.g. Suet. Jul. 84 and Dio Cass. 56.42 about the burials of Caesar and Augustus) describe Rome's funerary tradition of the late Republic and early Principate in detail. Funerals were multi-partite events. Frankincense and other essences, as well as flowers and food created a multi-faceted and highly sensory experience culminating in the cremation of the corpse (Laneri 2007: 3 for the performative aspect of these rituals). Pliny's reference to the cremation of Marcus Lepidus (NH 7.54) implies that high temperatures during the cremation could result in a gruesome spectacle. Cremated bone material was subsequently collected in an urn accompanied by further aromatic essences, highlighting the importance of perfume during the various mortuary rituals. The *silicernium*, an elaborate banquet, usually completed the interment and emphasised the bi- or multi-partite aspect of cremation burials (Hesberg 1998: 23-24). Notwithstanding the fact that these ostentatious festivities have hardly left any traces in the archaeological record, identifying rituals in general is simple – every burial is a ritual. Understanding the importance and significance of

individual aspects of these rituals is more challenging, especially in a transitional period such as that of the Roman conquest.

According to Bourdieu's (1984) approach when reading identity in an individual's material culture, mortuary assemblages assume a considerable importance during the funerary ritual. The selection and deposition of offerings are rituals themselves, and even more so in the case of double depositions (see IV.2.4.1). They are evidence of a complex process of selecting items to accompany the deceased on the pyre followed by another set to be buried in the grave. The deposition of artefacts on the pyre as part of pre-interment rituals allows a glimpse into the complexity of burial customs. The process of incinerating the corpse and further artefacts was particularly destructive and thus their deposition on the pyre "could be an alternative or complementary stage in the deposition or destruction of objects" (Pearce 2015: 228). The cases of double deposition suggest that the discrepancy between destructive and intact deposition was of significance, and the rituals evolving around pyre and grave goods probably reflect a plethora of concepts of individual and shared identities, and thus play a dominant role in the analysis of mortuary contexts.

Generally, it is assumed that assemblages were included in a burial to provide for the afterlife (e.g. Ucko 1969: 264-265). The deposition of food and drink catered to the basic need of consumption; weapons, tools and personal belongings may have been included to allow the deceased the retention of their earthly existence beyond death. As their burial subsequently rendered them inaccessible for the community, their public display as part of the funeral rites would have communicated a strong message about status, wealth and identity. The pollen analysis of organic residue attached to the bronze beak-spouted flagon from the 5th century BC, LT A, Glauberg burial 1 (Glauburg, Wetteraukreis, DE) showed that the honey used in the mead it contained came from an area within a radius of up to 100 km. The editors suggest that the ingredients had been provided by dependent communities to pay their respect to the deceased and thus were a powerful demonstration of his domain (Rösch 2002) but probably also of a shared regional identity. The peculiar case of 'gold plating' the objects accompanying the deceased of the 6th century BC, Ha D, burial from Hochdorf-Eberdingen (Lkr. Ludwigsburg, DE) strengthens the hypothesis that public display of

grave goods may have played a more important role than provision for the afterlife. Belt plaque, shoes and dagger were covered with a thin sheet of decorated gold for the burial; the back of the scabbard, however, reveals a big gap in the cover. No more of the precious metal was used than was necessary to keep up the appearance of great wealth (Biel and Gauer 1985: 140-142 cat.nr. 15, fig. 160). Admittedly, both these examples are taken from high status elite graves, involving funerals that must have been part of highly political events and a negotiation of power relations. On the other hand, even a small assemblage reflects concepts of identity and belief. Fowler (2015: 83-84) stresses the transforming and transformative character of objects used within mortuary rituals. Vessels, in particular, imply a whole range of functions and symbolism: from their use during the preparation of the corpse containing water, ointments or food and drink consumed during this stage of the funeral, they accompany the deceased onto the pyre and into the grave; as grave goods they can provide the deceased with sustenance for the journey to and/or the existence in the afterlife, they allow the ancestor to entertain and continue social traditions; and finally, as a mortuary container, they replace the protective 'shell' of the body (see V.1.5).

Therefore, change within the custom of assemblage deposition raises questions about evolving identities and beliefs, notwithstanding Brandt's admonition (see pp. 64). According to Bourdieu's concept of social *habitus*, change in rituals can reflect the materialisation of changes in society: "[since] practice precedes meaning, every ritual event becomes a potential opportunity for reproduction or change. The change can be intentional and clearly break away from the dominating scheme, but it can also be gradual, almost invisible and unintentional, and only in a long-term perspective become visible without the participants necessarily being aware of the process as it is taking place" (Nilsson Stutz 2015: 6. 14-15). The material analysis of the Lomellina will demonstrate that the disappearance of certain material categories (e.g. weaponry), the inclusion of new categories (e.g. fine tableware and funerary beds) and the probable adaption of mundane objects for funerary purposes (as in the case of achromatic imitations of black-gloss ware) appear to stand in contrast to the continued use of funerary customs deeply rooted in the area such as the continuation

of cremation up to the 2nd century AD. Nilsson Stutz's observation about the significance of change, particularly gradual, almost invisible and unintentional change, should therefore be perceived as more than a mere observation but also as a warning. Of similar significance is Pearce's call for a "re-reading" of mortuary assemblages, as provincial Roman burials "demonstrate continuity only when considered in isolation" (Pearce 2015: 224). Can continuity thus be identified as resistance? And are material culture changes reflections of ritual (and thus social) changes?

Nilsson Stutz (2015) highlights the significance of the ritual – not only as a demonstration of continuity as previously thought, but as an integral part of the community's approach towards death. She gives emphasis to the liminal character of the deceased between death and burial (*ibid.* 2-5). The ritual helps to overcome this liminal state and to transfer the individual from the *biocenosis* to the *thanatocenosis*; through the ritual the corpse is prepared for burial according to the present belief, and the bereaved are simultaneously preparing themselves and each other for the parting from their deceased. In their mediating and orchestrating role, rituals function as "the affirmation of communal unity in contrast to the frictions, constraints, and competitiveness of social life and organisation" (Bell 1992: 26; cf. Turner 1966). Mortuary practices thus created images about certain aspects of life (and death) that reproduced social and cultural structure (Nilsson Stutz 2015: 7). A central role in the rendering of mortality devolved upon the concept of a 'good death' (i.e. the socially accepted death followed by *rites de passage* that reassure the community and reduce the dangers of death and the liminal state of the corpse). The image of the 'good death' reproduced social concepts of identity such as gender, social status and even ethnicity.

Following Bourdieu's key message about the structuring and structured character of *habitus*, ritual theory describes the ritual as structuring the actions that generate practices, memories and symbolic representations etc.; at the same time, these actions also structure the ritual. In order to visualise a 'good death', the ritual of selecting certain offerings must have been structured by actions based on the social status of the deceased and the bereaved (e.g. selecting a funerary bed) – an immaterial concept of social identity, which is not inherent in the corpse; at the same

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time this ritual would have also structured the funeral process and thus generated a display of status – the ritual materialised social identity and made it visible (*ibid.* 5-6).

1.2. Material culture and identity

1.2.1. Concepts of identity

The challenge to find a balance between assessing the (self-) identity of a deceased and the identity given to them through the funerary ritual is common to many archaeological studies. In the introduction to their volume about function and meaning in ancient funerary practices, Brandt *et al.* (2015: xiii) highlight "the role of the living in conveying messages about the dead person, their relation to the deceased and to other members of the society, […] or in using the deceased as a medium for social outcomes in the reconstitution of society". Similarly, Pearce (2015: 223; my emphasis) stresses the necessity of "attention […] given to the identity *for* the dead constructed by participants during the funerary ritual from objects placed with the body or its cremated remains".

While 'reading the past' we therefore need to carefully distinguish between subject and object, and ask *who* the addressor was in this message about identity.

1.2.2. Communicating identity through material culture

"*Material culture* represents the *materialisation* of the relationships between people and thus of their identities" (Popa 2014: 109; my emphasis. Cf. DeMarrais *et al.* 1996). Understanding objects as a means of communication, we can rephrase this equation: *material language* represents the *communication* of the relationships between people and thus of their identities. Following the approach of Gell (1998: 21), Popa identifies material culture and identity as the important link between the primary actor (i.e. the individual) and the secondary actors (i.e. mortuary assemblages).

The notion of material culture as a material language is appealing. It makes abstract concepts such as the communication of identity palpable. Artefacts become words or symbols, and assemblages represent a phrase. A cemetery in its entirety functions as a text. The material culture of a region thus turns into the 'material dialect' of this archaeological culture – for example the Lomellina.
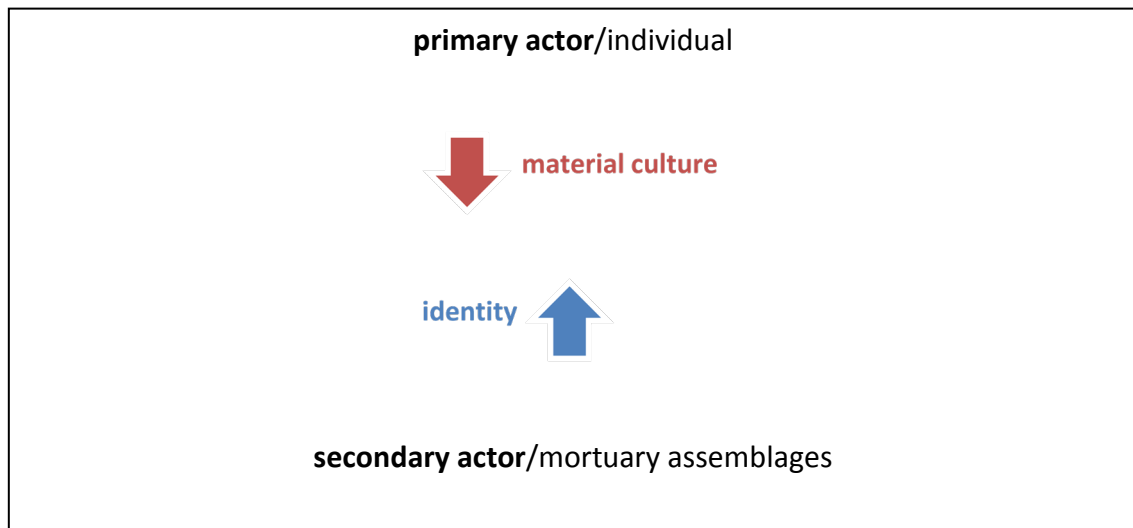
Fig. 12 Identity - material culture relationship based on the concept of social *habitus*
The primary actor uses material culture to express identity; whereas the secondary actor based on identity is selected from the range of material culture. Identity and material culture are linked in a fluid process*.*

As a matter of course, this approach to understanding material culture has been challenged. Kienlin and Widura (2014: 34) note that "anders als Sprache verfügen Dinge nicht über eine allgemein gültige Syntax" as their meaning is highly dependent upon their material environment, their spatial arrangement and the context of their use and perception. Thus, they conclude: "Dinge brauchen einen Empfänger, der sie als Zeichen wahrnimmt und interpretiert" (*ibid.*). On the other hand, they stress the quality of objects in their function as linguistic symbol ("Sprachzeichen"; *ibid.* 35). Given that objects not only receive their significance and meaning from their producer, user or viewer but also influence these people's perception in return, they become agents in the construction, communication and transformation of 'cultural reality'. Whilst the relationship between the symbol (i.e. the artefact) and the modern recipient (i.e. the archaeologist) can tamper with the comprehension of the original 'message', a change within the meaning of the symbol can also facilitate its understanding in a manner similar to bilingual texts and code-breaking techniques

(*ibid.* 34-35). Barrett (1989: 305) breaks down the definition of the linguistic approach to understanding material culture as a code: "as such material culture is the medium of discourse (the code) by which social relations are negotiated and reproduced; it is meaningful. […] an understanding of the code is possible if we think through the specific contexts (i.e. relationships) which the material code structured in a particular discourse."

1.2.2.1.   Code-switching

In a similar manner, the concept of code-switching has been applied to material culture. 'Code-switching' describes the intentional choice made by bi- or multilingual individuals for various uses of speech. In an archaeological context, the material evidence comprises primarily inscriptions such as early Latin (i.e. 'Roman') funerary inscriptions as discussed by Lomas (2013) for Southern Italy. In a further step, code-switching can be applied to figurative language such as depictions of the deceased on a funerary monument but also smaller objects of daily life. The Padane drachma, minted in Northern Italy during the 4th-3rd centuries BC (followed by Padane *vittoriati* and *quinarii* during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC; Arslan 1999: 71 n. 22), highlights a case of code-switching in the present study area. Modelled on the Massalia drachma, the first examples depicted a lion and the abbreviation ΜΑΣΣΑ. However, the significance of the denomination apparently changed over time. The image was subsequently transformed until it mirrored 'Celtic' styles more than the Greek prototype. The lion became a scorpion-like creature and the legend an illegible combination of lines. What seems to be a cultural decline at first glance, can be explained as intentional code-switching (Haeussler 2013: 98-108). The Padane drachma was probably born out of the elites' demand for a shared currency to pay political allies. In the wake of the intensifying conflict with Rome, these multicultural communities transformed the medium of exchange not only into a medium of resistance but also into a medium that communicated a shared identity. As such, the Padane drachma fulfils all requirements for a "narrative representation" of power and a portable – and therefore widely spreadable – materialisation of ideology (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996: 18).

As is the nature of abstract concepts applied to concrete material, the application of linguistic concepts to the understanding of material culture change, and the intentions and decisions behind the selection, have their assets and drawbacks. Cultural 'bilingualism' requires the individual to be aware of the existence of various 'languages' to switch between (i.e. the individual needs to make a conscious distinction between their own culture and a 'Roman' culture in order to decide which one to 'speak' in a certain context). A critical reading of Lomas' works (1992; 2012 and 2013) on diverse identities expressed through epigraphy (i.e. the link between language and material culture) highlights a simplistic model of Roman vs. non-Roman(ised). The latter comprises local or adapted but 'non-Roman' elements or those that reflect "a continuation of a sense of regional identity" (Lomas 1992: 231). This implies that an adoption or adaptation of certain 'Roman' elements (i.e. in this case Latin and/or certain epigraphic styles) and the retention of a local identity were mutually exclusive. This pattern is continued in her study of 'Italian' (i.e. non-Roman) and Roman elite social networks (Lomas 2012). Such bi-polarity might be justified in linguistic analyses that largely detect either-or situations (although pidgin languages or the notorious Denglish provide plenty of examples for merged words and/or grammatical structures), but 'material language' draws a different picture. Here 'being Roman' (see III.2.1) and 'being local' could combine exactly the same elements but the material and human agency behind this combination distinguishes the messages from each other.

1.3. Material culture and agency

The agency of material culture undoubtedly plays an important role in the biography of objects: from their role and function within the production process (i.e. the *habitus* of the producer) to those in their primary and eventually secondary use after purchase, but even beyond in their significance for research. It had been a long way from the study of empires and cultures to the analysis of societies, and thence to the post-processual approach of triangulating the individual between material culture, society and identities (Fowler 2004: 3). The collaboration with and the integration of other social sciences in(to) archaeological research, has broadened the horizon, but in

the absence of written or spoken sources, material culture and the agency of objects rank first.

Gell (1998) was one of the first to employ agency theories in archaeology. These pioneering studies analysed the relationship between material culture and humans, the effect of both the objects and their handling on human relationships, and thus the information about inter-human relationships that we can draw from material culture. In *Art and agency. An anthropological theory*, Gell discusses the relevance of material culture as secondary actor in the interaction with human individuals (primary actors; Gell 1998: 21). Almost *ex cathedra*, he enjoins his readers to differentiate between the human action and material reaction, which is dependent upon the human impulse and/or reception (Ingold 2011: 26-28). In his actor-network-theory, Latour (1999; 2005), on the other hand, ascribes objects the ability to equally interact and co-act with humans. Hodder (2012: 216) cedes objects primary agency "in that they act in the world as a result of processes of material interaction, transformation and decay" (cf. Hodder and Hutson 2003: 9).

In addition to the primarily Anglo-American debate of agency, criticism of the concept of material agency has been voiced particularly in academic cultures more sceptical of theoretical archaeology in general such as Germany; Kienlin and Widura (2014: 37-38) propose that only 'magical' artefacts – i.e. material culture that is supposed to react endogenously and independent from a human actor – can retain agency. Objects are less likely agents but rather symbols that require the recipient's prior knowledge to understand them. Since this knowledge is individual and cannot be deemed universal, an analysis of object biographies and object agency remains controversial. Kienlin and Widura conclude that the common understanding of object agency is indeed a case of 'material language'. Therefore, the archaeological imputation of agency to objects whose producers and primary users cannot be interviewed any longer represents a semantic inadmissibility.

Although one has to agree that certain objects – in particular aids (such as spectacles) – can have a profound impact on human life, and that the natural lifecycle of an item – especially organic matter – can align alongside a certain timeline in human life, such

object agencies rely on the use and perception of the human individual. Especially within archaeology we are reminded that "archaeologically, agency can be only assessed by analysing the material outcome of people's actions, which ultimately result in the objects and debris recovered on the field" (Perego 2011b: 24). Likewise harsh criticism of the imputed misapplication of agency concepts to inanimate objects emerged alongside theoretical discourses (e.g. Dobres and Robb 2000; recently Lindstrøm 2015). Fowler (2004: 3-4) steps into the middle-ground, emphasising that certain cultures perceived (or still perceive) some inanimate objects as persons in their own right. Within the archaeological context, such situations constitute a challenge to recognise and understand such material agency. Therefore and in particular in the context of mortuary archaeology, agency plays an important role within archaeological theory as long as one differentiates between the "agency proper" of animals and humans and the "'secondary', 'reactive' or 'distributed' agency" of things: "one can use 'agency' metaphorically as 'object agency', 'inanimate agency', 'network agency' or 'assemblage agency', thereby indicating the mixed composition of different entities in processes" (Lindstrøm 2015: 227-228).

On this note, aspects of object agency can help to understand certain elements of funerary rituals (i.e. human-object interactions). With the deconstruction of the Romanisation concept (see III.2.2), the focus of archaeologists shifted from the 'Grand Narrative' of Roman expansionism to the material culture it helped to distribute. Woolf observed a trend "towards an assertion of the agency of the individual users of the items in question, and the consequent diversity of local manifestations of cultural change" (2003/2004: 158). Material-focussed studies highlighted the varied approaches of indigenous communities to the consumption of 'Roman' objects (e.g. Pitts 2015) and the agency of the object in expressing change and/or continuity. Similarly, the interplay between agency and personhood opens a path towards understanding the relationship between the deceased and their community (i.e. agency of the corpse).

1.3.1. Agency and personhood

The surge in agency related approaches towards archaeological cultures since the turn of the millennium reflects not only the *Zeitgeist* of individualism in research but also the emphasis on the individual and personhood. Personhood, according to Fowler (2004: 4; 2016: 403), is the condition of being a person, both in life and after death. It is of importance that this 'being' is understood as a process of constant change influenced through relationships not only to other individuals but also to material culture: "personhood gives a shape to how identities that shift continually throughout life are mediated through the small interactions between a few people, and in large community events, through sharing, cooking and eating food, *through death and decomposition and through mortuary exchanges and ancestral ceremonies*" (Fowler 2004: 85; my emphasis). The archaeology of personhood investigates the motivations and strategies individuals and communities employed in the negotiation of identities through their respective material remains. Within mortuary archaeology, object or material agency and aspects of personhood are inseparably combined. The embeddedness of the individual in their society is expressed through the agency of objects throughout life and beyond death (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996: 18). As such, the selection of mortuary assemblages is a ritual that combines aspects of personhood in the relationship not only between deceased and bereaved, the community and third parties, but also between the deceased in life and their ancestral identity with the significance of objects as secondary actors in the communication of said relationships.

The importance of relationships for the emergence of personhood has been highlighted by Fowler, who describes personhood as exclusively relational (2016: 397). Following his approach, we can argue that Roman expansionism brought "new opportunities for relational personhood […] as the material conditions of existence changed" (*ibid.* 401; 2010: 143-144). The cultural changes reflected a broader shift in the nature of relations and persons involving new practices. Regarding practice and ritual theories, we can thus argue that a change of funerary practices reflects a change of personhood and thus identity – or as Fowler (2016: 406) observes: "where archaeologists make inferences about modes of personhood at a general level, these

are built from patterns of more specific relations evident from the remains of specific events".

1.3.2. Object agency in the archaeological record

This observation leads into the meaning behind object agency, which can be understood and perceived in two different ways: the object extends the actions and impact of the human actor beyond its range (e.g. period of use; Godelier 1999); through the anthropomorphising of objects, on the other hand, the object is perceived as separate and almost independent from the human actor (Strathern 1988; Gell 1998).

Verzár-Bass observed a particularly interesting aspect of material agency in the display of individual identity. The 1st century AD cremations along Via Annia, Scofà (UD), had personal belongings and items of an individual character such as jewellery, smaller tools (e.g. ornamental knives) and *balsamaria* exclusively deposited within the mortuary containers, i.e. together with the cremated remains of the deceased. Exceptionally rich burials (e.g. t. 4) were provided with a correspondingly larger sized container. Items of a more standardised or communal character such as serving or storage vessels were placed around the mortuary container. In a readily observable way these burials reflect three stages in the ritual selection of grave goods. The priority was with the individual and their personal belongings. These determined the size of the mortuary container, which must have been selected in a secondary stage. Shared or communal rituals involving the deposition of vessels probably containing 'sustenance' for the deceased formed the third phase. In their diversity, these two assemblages become agents within the negotiation of identities and communicate a strong message about the significance of the individual within their community. Comparatively poor burials contained at least one oil lamp, a coin and nails from the funerary bed consistent with the conclusion that these items, which presumably played an important role in rituals and religious beliefs, were considered as closely related to the individual (Verzár-Bass 1998: 169).

In a similar way, Heinzelmann demonstrated that the material agency of mortuary assemblages played a crucial role in the positioning of the individual within wider

society. His analysis of graves of the late Republic and early Principate from Ostia (RM) revealed four distinct phases. Whilst the earliest burials had been interred in fairly simple and unremarkable pits, their assemblages were comprehensive and included funerary beds which would have turned any cremation into a conspicuous and not inexpensive event. Over the course of the 1st century BC, tombs became more visible but assemblages abated. Heinzelmann considers this change a reflection of abandoning the strict Republican burial rules based on the 5th century BC *Leges Duodecim Tabularum.* These had prohibited lavish grave architecture and thus resulted in status demonstration through portable offerings, whereas the social changes of the latest Republic rendered architecturally distinct tombs increasingly appropriate. Likewise, the Augustan promotion of the *familia* is mirrored in contemporary burial precincts leading to *columbaria* that represented either the clientele system or guilds and other associations as known from Rome (Heinzelmann 1998: 47).

1.4.   Agency and identity

The previous considerations of the agency of objects, in particular those involved in funerary rituals do not take into account the agency of the dead themselves. Williams (2004) has pointed out that the deceased can retain an agency of their own beyond their identity in life and the materiality of their corpse and subsequent cremated remains. He identifies four key aspects of agency in relation to cremation rites: (i) the "social and mnemonic agency of the dead body", (ii) the "engagement with the physicality and materiality of the dead", (iii) the "effects of fire on the human body" and (iv) the "cremation and post-cremation rites" (*ibid.* 263).

Thus, the different phases of a funeral reflect various levels of agency. In preparing the cremation, four types of agency determine the treatment of the corpse and the selection of artefacts for the funerary ritual and the assemblage as well as the selection of a particular grave site and/or specific customs: (i) the mourners and society, (ii) the past identity of the deceased and provisions they made during life, (iii) their new ancestral identity and (iv) the agency they retain in the liminal state of a corpse as Nilsson Stutz (2015: 2-5) described it . Ucko (1969: 273), without using the term 'agency' himself, gives an excellent example of what we can understand as 'the

agency of the corpse' and how it could impact burial rites when describing the Ashanti's practice of 'fooling' the corpse that was believed to turn in the grave.

The agency of the corpse represents the transitional state between human agency and object agency. In its human agency it reflects the personhood of the deceased; the changing identities of the deceased affect the mourning community. In its materiality, the corpse retains aspects of object identity. Its decay and – in our context – cremation can only affect the beliefs of the community through their collective perception. Their agency, their actions during the funeral and especially in handling the corpse, is dependent on the agency of the corpse as primary actor through the deceased's personhood and as secondary actor in its interaction with the fire during the cremation process.

1.5. Conclusions

The theoretical framework of a study reveals a lot about the researcher. My affinity for languages drew me immediately to linguistic concepts within theoretical archaeology. Despite the drawbacks discussed above, I argue that material culture can be perceived as a material language that can be read and understood with the aid of various tools such as Bourdieu's concept of social *habitus* and agency concepts. At the centre of this approach is the interplay between ritual and object. In the context of burials, material culture served certain aspects of rituals and, at the same time, rituals evolved around the selection of material culture, i.e. mortuary assemblages. Rituals can, therefore, be understood as a statement within the process of negotiating and expressing identity – a statement echoed in the material record.

In the absence of other sources, the burials of the Lomellina are the only echo of a message about changing identities. Reading their object assemblages through the filter of agency concepts and the concept of social *habitus* allows us to establish elements of change. These elements of change are read against the background of the integration of the Lomellina into the Roman empire.

2. Romanisation

The past decades have seen a vivid discussion about the use and misuse of the term 'Romanisation', its history and respective cultural backgrounds. Evaluation of the term and the concept behind it developed from a beneficial focus on the 'Grand Narrative' offered by the concept of Romanisation (Woolf 2003/2004: 157) to universal rejection and recently to discussions that either reconsidered the term and opted for a 'Romanisation 2.0' (Versluys 2014) or 'de-Romanised' both the term itself and the process it represents (Haeussler 2013: 17-26).

The Romanisation debate appears to rest on three pillars: (i) a general challenging of traditional concepts and terms (*ibid.* 24 who went as far as de-constructing 'culture'), (ii) the rejection of the imperialist and colonialist aspects of 'Romanisation' in particular and (iii) the discussion of what the cultural label 'Roman' actually entails. Therefore, the following section shall untangle the various strings of 'Roman-ness' before giving a short review of the main protagonists involved in the development and discussion of 'Romanisation'.

2.1. What is Roman?

> *When we say 'Romans', we tend to think of men from Italy dressed up in togas, orating in the Forum, trampling over the fields in armour, building bridges and probably overeating. […] who were the Romans? And what did it mean to be Roman?*

Beard 2016a

"When *we* say 'Romans'…" – no other phrase could sum up the issues around the classification of 'Roman' better and more concisely than this one. 'Roman' and 'provincial Roman' are terms frequently used as a chronological classification (Fasold and Witteyer 1998; see IV.3.3). In addition, 'Roman-ness' is a highly debated term (Haeussler 2013: 22-25) and it comes with the 'baggage of personal perception'. As archaeologists and historians, *we* define what 'Roman' is (Hodos 2015: 243). Our classification is based on material studies, distribution maps and scientific analysis, but it lacks the perspective of those who made, acquired and used the artefacts. In this

context a TS fragment presumably from Arezzo should be recalled; listing the names of slaves who worked in the local workshops, it demonstrates that this 'quintessentially Roman tableware' (see. V.1.4.2) was by no means only made by Italians and thus entails a distinct 'non-Roman-ness' in its object biography (Johnston 1985). Thanks to comprehensive material studies we have acquired knowledge about the nature and distribution of 'Roman' material culture to an extent unreachable for people in antiquity. Therefore, we need to raise not one but two questions: what was Roman to the Romans; what would they have described as typical for their culture? And what was Roman to Rome's neighbours; did the 'Roman-ness' of new artefacts or ideas have any significance to them?

If we turn our focus to Rome's mortuary culture, we soon realise that the preference for cremation and some of the material culture found within the context of cemeteries are the only common denominators between Rome and the Lomellina (see IV.2). Rome's burial monuments lining the city approaches were as diverse as her population. Von Hesberg has described the variations in Rome's mortuary culture. Whilst some early Republican graves (4th-3rd centuries BC) from the Via Salaria cemetery received rich burial assemblages, this tradition generally ceased towards the late Republic and Principate (Hesberg 1998: 16). Cremations of the 1st century BC to 2nd century AD were commonly buried in small niches that were part of larger *columbaria*, mortuary structures resembling dovecotes – hence their name (*ibid.* 14 figs 1-2). The urns were too small for any items but small pieces of jewellery or personal belongings. Pottery, in particular tableware, oil lamps and glass as well as ceramic *balsamaria*, which were found within the *columbaria*, may have had less the character of offerings or donations to the individual deceased, but more a communal function in post-interment rituals. Personal artefacts that had been deposited with some burials, on the other hand, reflect a very high level of individualism. In particular burials of young women and girls were interred with precious items of jewellery, make-up utensils and miscellaneous figurines (*ibid.* 19), suggesting that these items performed a distinct object agency in their significance for (presumably non-married) females that had died prematurely.

If we turn our focus away from Rome, there is no doubt that wherever Roman armies arrived, they were followed by a stream of cultural changes. The soldiers were accompanied by families, craftsmen and merchants. The cultural influence these communities had on the indigenous populations went far beyond the military and administrative boundaries. Amenities of Mediterranean daily life such as bathhouses can be found all over the Roman Empire, and portable commodities reached regions far beyond the frontier (Hunter 2013). Whilst material culture has the indubitable benefit of visibility that allows for distribution studies, quantitative and scientific analysis, Fasold and Witteyer (1998: 181) emphasise that "inwiefern die Bestattungen [i.e. burials that have been classified as Roman outside Rome] auch mediterrane Gebräuche und religiöse Vorstellungen widerspiegeln, müßte nicht nur von Fall zu Fall, sondern grundsätzlich angesprochen und ausreichend begründet werden." As the definition of 'Roman', 'provincial Roman' and 'non-Roman' is not only biased but also problematically focussed on material culture, oil lamps, coins and *balsamaria* are commonly perceived as Roman with the underlying assumption that their material adoption reflects also an adaptation of funerary rituals towards the traditions of Rome.

It is, moreover, open to question whether these and other imported goods were perceived as Roman. Imports were by no means an alien concept in the material culture of the Lomellina (see chapter V). Central Italian (i.e. Etruscan) imports had a long-standing tradition in the area, albeit in lower quantities than at more central Padane sites. Southern Italian or Greek imports had probably also been a familiar feature and were traded through Etruscan exchange networks. These had their base in the central Po valley and goods would have been traded westwards on the river Po (see II.2.2.2.2). With the foundation of Cremona and Piacenza as Roman colonies, this trade route continued. Thus, material cultural changes might have been less perceived as 'Roman' but more as 'Hellenistic Mediterranean' and hardly an additional feature. As the 'Roman' elements of the conquest relate more to administrative and legislative changes as well as infrastructural developments, 'being Roman' may have been of little interest to the communities of the Lomellina until the granting of Latin rights and Roman citizenship in 89/49 BC or even beyond. As Pearce (2015: 226) pointed out: "It

is perhaps not helpful to choose definitely between a Roman and a local aspect, since the reading may well vary according to the context of the participant, with a specifically 'Roman' value to some objects or ceremonies only being available to some." Although his study focuses on elite burials and gift exchange patterns between local elites and the Roman administration, this observation appears to also apply to the Lomellina. In addition, he argues that some of the material culture deposited as grave goods "epitomises 'Roman'-style *savoir faire* as much, if not more, than adherence to local traditions" (*ibid.* 223).

However, it was not only that the local indigenous populations had no particular desire to 'become Roman'; as Santangelo (2016: 116) has pointed out with regard to north-east Italy, it is questionable whether the Roman administration even attempted to 'Romanise' their northern neighbours. He warns that "wider considerations of Caesar's desire to Romanise an area that had until then been on the fringes of the Roman dominions, or the opposite view that the foundation of a colony presupposes a high level of Romanisation or acculturation in the region, are best left out of account". An opposing notion has been posited by Pelgrom (2009: 164), who observes that under Augustus and the ideology of *humanitas* there existed indeed a Roman imperial strategy to bring change to conquered peoples. This impasse between supposed adherence to local traditions and questionable attempts at acculturation reflect various aspects of the 'Romanisation' debate.

2.2. 'Romanisation' – History of a term

This small ordinary town in the middle of Italy became the centre of an empire stretching from the fringes of the Sahara to the damp moorlands of northern Britain. From Spain to Israel, the Nile to the Rhine it has framed the geography of modern Europe and defined the way we think of empire now, transforming the Western world through revolutions in trade – this is one of the first examples of globalisation –, agriculture [...] art, law and architecture.

Beard 2016a

When Beard refers to Rome as the town that shaped our perception of 'empire' she neglects (entirely understandable in the context of a TV documentary) the fact that our perception of 'empire' has changed over the course of generations studying the rise and decline of this very town. From the epitome of empire (e.g. Mommsen 1854) to the epitome of its downfall (e.g. MacMullen 1988), Rome and her armies have been viewed as conqueror and pacifier (e.g. Mommsen 1854; Gibbon 1896), as bearer of civilisation and the nemesis of indigenous cultures (e.g. Garnsey and Whittaker 1978).

'Romanisation' was coined by Haverfield in his 1905-1906 *Proceedings of the British Academy – The Romanization of Roman Britain* (Haverfield 1906; 1910). He understood 'Romanisation' as a unilateral process of cultural domination. Contrary to his late Victorian/Edwardian contemporaries, Haverfield did not parallel the Roman and the British Empires. Instead, he chose a pan-European outlook on recent political events such as the rise of the German Empire and preferred to compare Great Britain to the Roman Republic (Freeman 1996; Hingley 1996: 36). 'Incorporation', 'assimilation' and 'denationalisation' (i.e. a loss of indigenous identities) were the key elements of Haverfield's understanding of Roman imperialism and Romanisation as a moral and social process. Although he would attribute Romanisation a voluntary aspect, it must finally result in a cultural subjugation of the non-Roman population (Haeussler 2013: 21).

Based on their cultural and political background, the *Zeitgeist* of their respective scholarship, the early studies into the nature of the Roman conquest and subsequent cultural changes focused on the benefits of 'becoming Roman'. The colonialising

culture was perceived as the superior and more civilised one that almost exclusively entailed desirable aspects of life. Up to the 1970s Romanisation was "understood in its simplest form as the spread of what was Roman at the expense of what was not" "replacing or marginalising pre-Roman forms in the process" (Woolf 1997: 339).

The political awakening after WWII and the gradual disintegration of the modern European empires challenged attitudes towards imperialism and the justification of colonies. Archaeology and ancient history embraced the new direction of post-colonialism. This paradigm shift also entailed a focal shift from Rome towards the conquered populations, in particular their elites, exploring aspects of acculturation and 'self-Romanisation' or *'autoromanizzazione'* (e.g. Zanker 1976; Millett 1990a; 1990b). If local elites adopted Roman lifestyle of their own free will in a "self-generating process of emulation" through which "others within the society [were encouraged] to aspire to things Roman, thereby spreading the culture" (Millett 1990b: 38), the changes brought by Roman expansionism and distributed in a trickle-down effect would still have been primarily beneficial. Despite the criticism of some scholars (e.g. Pelgrom 2009: 161-163 and Mattingly 2011: 38, who notes that Millett "reinterpreted Romanisation as primarily a manifestation of elite negotiation and native agency" and thus avoided the discussion of the negative impact of the Roman expansion), it is worth evaluating the applicability of Millett's approach to the Lomellina. Key element in Millett's concept of 'self-Romanisation' is Rome's non-intervention strategy or *laissez-faire* policy after conquest provided that taxes were paid and Rome's dominion unchallenged. The historical and archaeological overview of the Lomellina has already evinced that such an approach seems to be reflected in the local conditions in particular with regard to the lack of *centuriation*, where an intentional *laissez-faire* policy may have played as much a role as the local geology (see II.2.1. and II.2.2.4-5).

Despite its focal shift towards the indigenous, these studies were still comparatively centrist (i.e. Rome-focused): a focus that was increasingly abandoned through the next phase in the search of a better concept for the study and understanding of the Roman Empire and its emergence. Concepts of imperialism and Roman colonialism and its impact on indigenous populations enabled scholars to unlink the Empire from 19th and

20th-century world politics. Thus, the discussion of imperialism and colonialism dominated the 1994 symposium *Roman Imperialism: Postcolonial Perspectives*, which resulted in the observation that the "study of the provinces of the Roman Empire is properly the study not of imperialism, but colonialism" (Webster 1996: 2; recent publications appear to have reversed this verdict – see III.2.3.1.1).

Although both concepts, together with their associated terminologies, have been and continue to be used in tandem, they are characterised by fundamental differences. Whilst concepts of Roman imperialism – or imperialism<u>s</u> as emphasised by Mattingly (2011: esp. 17) – focus on the process of establishing and maintaining the empire, colonialism covers the negotiation and execution of power over people, particularly from a distance. As such, imperialism is a "dynamic and shape-shifting process" (*ibid.* 6) that develops with each new conquest and is therefore multilateral (even if the conquered party would most certainly have preferred to be no part of it). In its focus on the formation of empire, imperialism concepts include its foundation in violence (*ibid.* 6-7. 17; see also p. 290).

A common denominator of both concepts was (and still is) their de-centralisation, the move away from a focus on Rome. Traditional concepts of Romanisation had drawn a rather simple picture of power and cultural imbalance based on the idea of two contrasting elements: 'Rome' and 'natives' / 'indigenous'. A similarly bipolar approach had been employed for centre-periphery concepts or studies of domination and resistance, and thus also for any research into the prior relationship between EIA cultures and the Mediterranean, particularly the Hallstatt cultures and the Greek (Thurston 2009: 377-382). In the context of Northern Italy, geographically the very area that functioned as lynchpin for this network, any concept considered for the material culture change in the wake of the Roman conquest should include this period and highlight continuities and breaks.

The "complexities of Roman-native interaction" (Hingley 2017: 2) have dominated conferences since the 1980s (e.g. the series of *Limes Congresses*) but only with his article *Beyond Romans and natives* (1997) and the subsequent monograph *Becoming Roman* (1998), did Woolf establish an approach beyond post- and anti-colonial

perspectives (Versluys 2014: 2. 6. 13 on the change from post-colonialism to anti-colonialism). He strengthened the multilateral and multi-layered character of the integration process foreclosing certain aspects of current globalisation theories in Roman archaeology. Whilst (post-)colonial scholars had retained the distance of the 20th century (either focusing on Rome or on the indigenous side), Woolf adopted the perspective of the individuals involved. The transforming character of the integration process, understood as a 'cultural revolution' (Wallace-Hadrill 1989 and 2008; cf. Woolf 1997: 346; 2001a: esp. 175-176), is essential to his approach – and a very valuable concept regarding the situation in Northern Italy. The notion acknowledges the agency of indigenous societies in the making of the Roman Empire, as "the Roman culture of Gaul [or Transpadane Italy] did not exist before Roman conquest" (Woolf 1997: 347). Thus, the constant change of material culture and its representation of socio-economic and cultural patterns, on the one hand, as well as the impact imperial structures had on local populations through administration, legal discourse and the armies, on the other, are fundamental for Woolf's understanding of identity (Woolf 1995: 11-12).

The 1990s and the new millennium were characterised by a variety of approaches that attempted a "broad critical evaluation" (Hingley 1996: 44-45), but were generally still based on a differentiation between two adverse or even antagonistic cultures (Versluys 2014; Pitts and Versluys 2015: 6), sometimes revealing only hesitant de-construction of the 'Romanisation' term. At the same time, studies of socio-economic and cultural developments in ancient Italy increasingly "disconnected [these] from Roman conquest and expansionism" (Stek 2017: 2) – a scholarly development that has only recently been reversed. Following this trend, Terrenato (2005) takes the aspect of 'human agency' one step further, observing that Rome itself, although the conqueror and thus undeniably aggressor, played a comparatively unimportant role throughout the further integration process and cultural transformation. In a major bottom-up process the local populations (albeit mainly their elites) profited from political change and utilised the new possibilities to their advantage – a notion adopted by Häussler for his study of north-west Italy (Haeussler 2013: 217-231).

The marked differentiation between elites and subaltern classes is also of particular concern in the work of Mattingly (1996; 1997; 2004; 2006 and 2011) with its focus on the imperialistic aspect of Roman expansionism. Where post-colonial studies, despite their renunciation of the superiority of 'Roman culture', focused on the elites, Mattingly (2004: 9-16) pointed out that the concept of an elite self-assimilation and trickle-down effect ignores more than 90% of the population involved. Depending on their individual environment – the Roman armies, urban contexts or rural communities – the inhabitants of the Roman Empire had "discrepant experiences of imperialism" (Mattingly 1996: 49; 2006: 520).

As much as Woolf appears to have broken the ice for studies that went beyond the labelling of their subjects and emphasised the importance of the local population, he seems to have also paved the way for the latest trend in 'Romanisation' studies – the analysis of the impact and reception of the term itself. Almost a decade after his fundamental work on imperialism, imperial economy and cultural transformation, Woolf considered the progress of the debate and his own contributions (Woolf 2003/2004: esp. 157; 2004). These recent studies of cultural transformation, as well as future ones (including my research), are no less tainted by *Zeitgeschehen* than those of the 20th century (Witcher 2015 for the impact of current politics on the perception of 'Roman-ness' and particularly the significance of the Roman border). When Woolf observes that the 'grand theories' have now been abandoned because their focus on "impersonal historical forces" "[dehumanised the] subjects" instead of considering the "agency of the individual" (Woolf 2003/2004: 157-158; cf. Haeussler 2013), he describes a cultural phenomenon of the 21st century: individualisation (cf. Eckardt 2014: 4; Insoll 2007: 15).

2.3. 'Romanisation' in the present – Between identity crisis and concepts of identity

This focus on the individual has also been adopted by Häussler for his fundamental work about the integration of north-west Italy into Rome's empire, which he expressly opens with the avowal that his interest in the individual behind the processes of socio-cultural change and diverging experiences had been the prime incentive for the study (Haeussler 2013: 15-16). This focus helps him to completely move away from programmatic concepts and to observe "conceptualising processes of sociocultural change" (*ibid.* ch. 1) that are based on a net of psychological aspects, individual intentions, decisions and actions. These resulted in various forms of individual participation because "quite independent of Rome and local élites, the individual in Northwest Italy had to find his/her place in the wider world of the Roman Empire" (*ibid.* 321 cf. 20. 27. 307).

The psychological aspect of the process has also been highlighted by Pelgrom (2009). He emphasises that cultural integration into the Roman empire is a socio-cultural change based on cognitive-ideological structures and its success is largely dependent upon a change of the ideological thinking of a group of people. The cognitive-ideological element describes the process between forms of resistance and opportunistic integration (*ibid.* 167-169; cf. Mattingly 2006: 522). Although this bi-polarity resembles concepts of code-switching and 'self-Romanisation', he decidedly rejects both, stressing the plurality (or discrepancy) of identities.

The increasing focus on the identity-shaping impact of the Roman expansion and the shift away from the 'Grand Narrative' appears to have caused a scholarly identity crisis. Throughout the Romanisation debate, two trends have been and still are apparent: (i) the search for feasible terminological substitutes and (ii) the survival of 'Romanisation' particularly in non-English scholarship.

2.3.1. Substitutes for 'Romanisation'

On the one side, there were those – mainly from the Dutch and British schools (Versluys 2014: 4) – who completely rejected 'Romanisation' (and would even go so far as to admit detesting it; Alcock 2001: 227) and were looking for alternatives. Three

trends can be observed, each of them again influenced by their period. The first generation of scholars appears to have created substitutional terms that re-wrapped the concepts of 'Romanisation' in a different terminology. 'Acculturation', 'creolisation' (Webster 2001: 209-225), 'hybridisation' or 'bricolage' (Terrenato 1998), with a slightly more positive approach towards Rome than concepts of resistance (e.g. Bénabou 1976), unhinged 'Rome' from the terminology and focussed on individual aspects of the integration process. Nevertheless, certain aspects of 'Romanisation' survived – for example the imbalance between conquerors and conquered. On this account Woolf (1998: 22) rejects concepts of resistance for their continued assumption of a dependency of the indigenous on conquering Rome. At the same time, however, Fasold *et al.* describe 'Romanisierung' (see p. 93) as the interplay of resisting indigenous elements and the adoption of Roman role models. They advocate for individual definitions as the process of 'Romanisation' may also include "Reflexe von allgemein habituellen Änderungen" (Fasold *et al.* 1998: 10) and thus showed no signs of uniformity.

With the increased openness of archaeology to other disciplines and the internationalisation of academia, a major focal shift took place: the universal interconnectivity of researchers, knowledge exchange and creation, but ultimately also of events that create 'new history' (i.e. politics that entail an increasingly global impact) prepared the matrix for universal concepts. Mediterraneanisation, globalisation and glocalisation – to various degrees – continued the trend to move away from 'Rome' and raised the Roman conquest to a universal level (see III.3).

On the other side 'Romanisation' led a second life, although – as already predicted by Cooper (see p. 96) – manacled in inverted commas (Mattingly 2011: 39; Versluys 2014: 5). This second life of 'Romanisation' would typically begin with a re-definition of the term regarding the specific research topic's material or theoretical basis (Haeussler 2013: 21 lists various works of the previous four decades from studies of material culture, such as the distribution of pottery or coins, via linguistic treatises to landscape archaeology projects, which all have the continued use of 'Romanisation' in common and justify this by giving precise, research-related definitions). These re-definitions have their cause not only in an attempt to avoid certain pitfalls of previous

perceptions of Romanisation, but also acknowledged a distinct lack of precision resulting from the deconstruction of the term, as pointed out by Mattingly (2011: 38).

In addition to globalisation theories, which shall be discussed in greater detail below, two models of concepts appear to dominate current studies of "the process once known as 'Romanisation'" (Herring and Lomas 2009: 4). (i) Imperialism and the interplay between provincial Roman settlements and the frontier are compared with (ii) new approaches towards Roman colonialism, and account for an approach that brings Rome back into the debate.

Despite (or probably because of) their modernity and continued use in current politics, imperialism and colonialism appear to have been used contradictorily regarding their Roman counterparts. By definition we live in a post-colonial world. Imperialism, however, is still a fundamental element of *Zeitgeschehen.* 'Imperialistic' is frequently used by a whole generation of young (left-minded) adults to denounce global businesses that are accused of destroying local culture (e.g. Starbucks and the American coffeehouse culture), and certain developments of recent global politics have justifiably been described as markers of imperialism and maintaining power (e.g. the current involvement of various nations in foreign civil wars or the assassination of 'terrorist' leaders). The latter is a key element of imperialism, however, executed from a distance – in itself an intrinsic element of colonialism. The less than unambiguous meaning of current imperialism and colonialism may explain some of the confusion within archaeological theory.

With an emphasis on the military, administrative and political elements of the integration process, studies of colonialism combine primarily archaeology and ancient history. Post-colonial approaches in particular resonate aspects of redemption. Gosden (2004) in his study of the nature and relationship of power between indigenous communities and the colonialising arm of Rome, however, emphasised the importance of material culture and its interplay with people for concepts of colonialism.

Imperialism is completed and opposed by the broad concepts of Mediterraneanisation and globalisation as well as glocalisation (Mattingly 2011: 15). This semi-universal and

modern concept has the advantage of a neutral approach without ties to the Romanisation debate or any valuation of the cultures involved. Although the impact of the Roman conquest in particular is of less significance to this approach, it acknowledges the continuation of previous developments (i.e. the increased material uniformisation of the Hellenisation period) and chooses a more material-culture-based focus that combines archaeology and various sociological fields.

2.3.1.1.   Roman imperialism and the study of frontier zones

Recent publications appear to have moved away from both the painful beating about the bush of 'Romanisation' and the almost obsessive-compulsive search for a programmatic substitute. In this context, 'Roman imperialism' is on the rise (e.g. González Sánchez and Guglielmi 2017: vii). In this instance, 'colonialism' seems to be disregarded in favour of 'imperialism' – probably out of an awareness of the large political baggage tied to the former in a time that has not completely reappraised and processed the latest wave of violent and exploitative colonialism. The discussion of Roman imperialism, however, is both less programmatic than 'Romanisation', 'creolisation' or 'resistance', to name but a few, and brings Rome back into the picture.

The various facets of Roman imperialisms have been discussed in depth by Mattingly (esp. 1996; 1997; 2006 and 2011 – all containing 'imperialism' in the publication's title). He highlights the dynamic of the imperialistic attitude towards the establishment and maintenance of the Roman Empire (2011: 6. 17) and points out the "linkage […] between imperialism and globalisation" (2011: 15) drawn by many scholars. At the same time, concepts of imperialism are characterised by a search for aspects not only of bi- or multilateralism but particularly of 'barbarian impact' on 'Roman culture' (González Sánchez and Guglielmi 2017: vii). Thus, they incorporate aspects of hybridisation concepts, which in contrast to the concept of bricolage (i.e. a comparatively quick process, an almost spontaneous integration of available material and immaterial goods from various classes into an existing set of values, symbols and objects), refers to a long-term process of deliberately adopting and adapting new aspects from various cultures (see also III.3.1).

2.3.1.2. Roman colonies and the centre-periphery model

The Oxford Dictionary of Sociology (2009) describes the centre-periphery model as "a spatial metaphor which describes and attempts to explain the structural relationship between the advanced or metropolitan 'centre' and a less developed 'periphery'". With the aim of tracing the origin of cultural changes both of a material and immaterial nature within Italy, the role of Roman colonies has been emphasised. It was widely accepted that "[…] their influence on the regions around them was immense" (Reid 1913: 64) either in an intentional attempt to civilise the indigenous or "as a secondary and essentially unpremeditated side-effect" (Stek 2017: 9 in paraphrasing Edward T. Salmon, *cf.* 10-15).

The establishment of colonies entailed a key feature of concepts of colonialism – the execution of power from a distance (Mattingly 2011: 7). Gosden (2004) develops a tripartite general model of colonialism distinguishing between a "colonialism with shared cultural milieu" (*ibid*. 41-81), a middle-ground approach with multilateral change (*ibid*. 82-113) and the "*terra nullius*" approach that especially characterised the colonialism of the European empires of the modern period (*ibid*. 113-152). The middle-ground approach, according to Gosden, reflects Roman colonialism, giving agency to the indigenous people and the coloniser, whereby the latter politically dominates (*ibid*. 30-32. 82-113). Meanwhile Mattingly (2011: 34) points out that the Roman conquest of Italy included various aspects of a colonialism with shared cultural milieu: an observation also valid for Padane Italy, although I would speak less of a shared cultural milieu – as this includes belief systems and social as well as cultural concepts (e.g. the pre-existent adoption of the symposium) – but rather of a shared material culture, a common denominator that had its roots in the preceding Mediterranean interconnectivity.

2.3.2. The persistence of 'Romanisation'

Romanisation was never gone– and it is no surprise that its apparent return (Fig. 13) was observed in Rome. Italian scholarship, along with other academic cultures that have not or only recently commenced an academic, social and political reflection of their colonial past, such as Germany, remained less hostile to the concepts and use of 'Romanisation'. Pitts and Versluys (2015: 5 n. 5) observe that "[t]he Romanisation debate has developed very differently within various national and intellectual traditions." Therefore, "it is important to note that while debate in and on (Roman) Britain has been most visible and guiding for the field as a whole, its conclusions and consensus have not generally passed into French, German or Italian traditions." For obvious reasons, this review of the history of 'Romanisation' will, therefore, conclude with a brief summary of its survival in German-speaking publications and Italy.

Fig. 13 The return of Romanisation was observed (and subsequently announced on social media) at (T)RAC 2016 in Rome.

2.3.2.1.   Romanisation v. Romanisierung

In an attempt to acknowledge the bilateral character of the integration process, German-speaking researchers availed themselves of a linguistic flexibility to skirt the unilaterality of 'Romanisation' by using two different terms: 'Romanisierung' and 'Romanisation'. The two terms try to respect the two parties involved in the process. 'Romanisation' with its adjective-based roots refers to both the result and the self-Romanisation of the indigenous, meanwhile 'Romanisierung' with its grammatically active component describes the Roman approach to integrate regions into her empire and is thus closer to the traditional concept of the English 'Romanisation'. The difference becomes most evident when comparing the encyclopaedic entries *Romanisation* (Spickermann 2001) and *Romanisierung* (Woolf 2001b) in *Der Neue Pauly* with their English translation in *Brill's New Pauly*. Spickermann's entry is here translated with the less frequently used term

self-Romanisation, highlighting the bipartite concept of the German original edition, where the two entries are printed right next to each other.

It is indeed tempting to split an unfortunate umbrella term that failed to unite a diversity of processes into its respective divisions. Thus unsurprisingly, fairly recent publications such as *Romanisierung – Romanisation* (Schörner 2005. More recently he renounced the approach of the publication; pers. comm.) continue to use both terms. Schörner argues that 'Romanisierung' is the only term that names Rome as the "entscheidende geschichtliche Größe" (*ibid.* V) within the process. Where post-colonial Roman archaeology tried to de-Romanise theoretical approaches, Schörner refocuses on Rome and calls for a re-definition of the term based on small-scope case studies avoiding the unilateralism and colonialism of previous generations. He continues that 'Romanisierung' can only be a process not the result of the cultural change (*ibid.* V-XII), and thus the volume also includes concepts of bricolage, creolisation and acculturation. This definition is mirrored in Keay's and Terrenato's argument that 'Romanisation' could survive in a diluted form by being used to sum up the events that happened during the integration into the Roman Empire but not used to describe the sociocultural changes (Keay and Terrenato 2001: ix; Mattingly 2002 and Terrenato 2005 for a critical rejection of this notion).

2.3.2.2. Romanizzazione

Just as *Zeitgeist* has had an impact on theoretical debates, there can be no doubt that cultural characteristics continue to play a part in the development and persistence of concepts. These are also detectable in the continued use of 'romanizzazione' in Italian scholarship. A Romano-centric perspective must appear far less intimidating in a culture that is naturally Rome-focussed to a great extent by being governed from Rome (an analysis of publications by scholars from an Italian cultural minority or from Italy's border region, would be of great interest in this context). The Romano-centric perspective can also be found in concepts of early Italian state-formation or urbanisation (e.g. Carandini 1997; Iaia 2009-2012: 72). Moreover, 'romanizzazione' has a primarily chronological definition (e.g. Grassi and Frontini 2009). In this context, the period of Romanisation followed the LIA of 400-222 BC and was subsequently replaced by the Principate after 41 BC. According to this definition, most of LT C and LT D would

fall within the chronological period of Romanisation (see IV.3.3), and the term is therefore often used inconclusively without prior definition.

In addition, 'romanizzazione' is used as a term to describe the cultural change in the wake of Roman expansionism (e.g. *ibid.*). Here the emphasis lies on the integration of conquered regions into the Roman territory. The process is understood as an intensification of previous developments towards a Mediterraneanisation or globalisation. Once completed, social structures and material culture displayed a uniformity that was characteristic of the Roman Empire. Although the various individual processes are multi-facetted and multi-lateral, they can be detected in all Roman provinces. At the same time, certain drawbacks of the Romanisation concept appear to be still accepted by some Italian scholars. For example, the process of cultural change in Padane Italy might still be described as unilinear with an exclusively beneficial flow from superior Romano-Italic culture to the inferior one of Gauls and Celts, which "reinforces an interpretation of material culture change that is simplistic and narrow" (Mattingly 2011: 38-39).

2.4.   Conclusions

A real revolution will not be accomplished by a mere change of terms, nor will it be held off by modifying older ones.

Bell 1992: 18

Dopo tanto spargimento di sangue, questa volta, gli aristrocrati celti della Cisalpina seppero capire il limite del proprio assetto socio-economico e scelsero la strada dell'integrazione.

Torelli 1987: 7

In *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* Nietzsche (1954: 375 – *Vom Lande der Bildung*) argues that teaching and knowledge are incompatible. Teaching and knowledge exchange (such as a doctoral thesis) require terminology, and terminology inevitably results in (unintentional) linguistic 'dedifferentiation'. Consequently, a study on the impact of the Roman conquest requires a term to describe the processes involved and their timeframe. To reject 'Romanisation' completely would seem comparatively Anglocentric – but there is more to holding onto it than a desire to acknowledge the

scholarly traditions of Italy where my research is rooted. As Bell (1992) discussed in regard to the term 'ritual' and its potential interpretations, the advantage of a simple, if sometimes imprecise term lies in its comprehensibility. Rejecting the term purely for its simplicity, or "housecleaning" as Bell phrased it, is indicative of an elitist misapprehension of research and knowledge exchange – or as Woolf (2003/2004: 157) noted for 'Romanisation' and other concepts of cultural change (e.g. Hellenisation, modernisation or globalisation amongst others): "Without being experts in the subject areas concerned, we understand at once what each of these terms must mean." Moreover, Bell continues, "many attempts to produce a paradigm shift end up simply repacking older problems in new jargon" (Bell 1992: 18). Examining the semantic biography of 'Romanisation' has revealed that this verdict also applies to the present debate.

Possibly unintentionally, but nonetheless accurately, Woolf summed up the advantage of the term over any of the substitutes: "The success of that mission [i.e. Rome's civilisation of the barbarians but also the defence of the Romanisation concept] seemed confirmed by the ubiquity, on European sites, of artefacts and structures resembling finds from the Mediterranean world" (Woolf 1997: 339). In accordance with the Italian interpretation of 'romanizzazione' (see p. 95), this proposition acknowledges that although the Mediterranean had seen prevenient trends towards a uniformity and standardisation of certain material and immaterial goods, this ubiquity and uniformity of material culture so characteristic of the Roman Empire had only been disseminated due to *Roman* expansionism – and "No convenient term will easily replace 'Romanisation' as it still tells part of the story, but as with the term 'Celtic', for many it will only live on in inverted commas" (Cooper 1996: 95).

Notwithstanding that the present study avoids applying the term 'Romanisation' attributively or descriptively, the term is herein regarded as a comprehensible chronological umbrella term describing the period of integration into Rome's empire in particular when referring to Italian studies and their results (Fasold and Witteyer 1998: 181). In this vein, Perego (2011a: 238) "still [maintains] the use of this problematic term" in describing "the progressive transformation of late Iron Age Venetic lifestyle and material culture" (*ibid*.). Analogous to other chronological terms

(e.g. 'Iron Age'), it goes without saying that the period of Romanisation covered different timeframes in each region of the Empire (this paragraph – and the entire thesis – intentionally mentions both the Roman empire [i.e. Rome's empire before the Principate or Imperial period] and the Roman Empire).

A similar approach was selected in the definition of 'Roman'. Adding to Eckardt's definition of 'Roman material culture' as "portable objects current in the Roman provinces" (Eckardt 2014: 1) this study classifies as 'Roman' those portable objects brought to the Roman provinces (and otherwise classified areas) in the wake of the Roman conquest. With the aim of including the unifying or 'Italianising' effect of Roman expansionism on material and immaterial culture (i.e. funerary customs), Italian scholars introduced the term 'Romano-Italic' (cf. various contributions in Spagnolo Garzoli 2009/2010). Typologically 'Romano-Italic' falls between 'Roman' (i.e. coming from Rome – '*stadtrömisch*' – or relating to military, administrative and political aspects of the Roman Empire) and 'provincial Roman'. It describes the culture distributed through the Roman conquest but acknowledges that this 'Roman' culture was already an amalgamation of various Central and Southern Italian traditions including Etruscan elements and Greek culture made popular through both Magna Graecia and the general Hellenisation of the Mediterranean. 'Romano-Italic' is thus more appropriate when referring to the discrepant character of 'Roman' culture. Both terms, however, are based upon the current archaeological state of knowledge. Whether this definition would have been shared by the inhabitants of the Lomellina must remain of subordinate importance as their perception of 'Roman' or 'Italic' continues to be obscure. Therefore, the investigation of changing identities through analyses of material culture has to be based on an identification and selection of "artefacts that may be of social and cultural significance" (Eckardt's 2014: 2).

3. Moving away from Rome – globalisation, Mediterraneanisation and glocalisation

We believe globalisation theory has the potential to add significantly to several crucial debates in Roman archaeology and history.

Pitts and Versluys 2015: 3

Where the Romanisation debate created a theoretical vacuum, new concepts were needed to fill this gap. Pitts and Versluys (2015) observe how colleagues would describe the effects of 'Romanisation' either without using the term, or by putting it in inverted commas. Whilst Versluys had previously suggested that consideration be given to a 'Romanisation 2.0' (2014), a revised and modern concept describing the workings of the Roman conquest and empire, the joint publication of 2015 explores the suitability of globalisation concepts for the study of Roman archaeology and in particular material culture. Despite their strong support of the notion, they also call for caution as "using a term because it is currently fashionable will not suffice" (Pitts and Versluys 2015: 3; cf. Witcher 2000 and 2015: 200 for a strong reminder not to let fashion overrule feasibility). Nevertheless, I believe globalisation, including aspects of Mediterraneanisation and glocalisation, merits discussion as the most suitable concept to understand the 'Romanisation' of the Lomellina.

3.1. What is globalisation?

Globalisation theory is rooted in world-system theories but, in the context of Rome's empire, it is better suited to describe the processes of change. World-system theories place importance on connectivity and observe the asymmetrical flow of raw materials, luxurious goods and taxes between Rome and her empire, which eventually led to interregional trade and developments to cope with new demands. They overemphasise politics and economics, whilst neglecting cultural and social relations; thus, they consequently fail to untangle the dependency between Rome and the empire. The core of the globalisation concept is the interconnectivity and interdependency created by the globalising process (Pitts and Versluys 2015: 8-11). This phenomenon had already been observed by Häussler, who described the

Transpadane landscape of the 1st century BC as "increasingly interdependent and interrelated" (Haeussler 2013: 145; see II.1.1.1 on the impact of *centuriation*). *Centuriation* appears to be one of the key elements of Roman globalisation, which ultimately resulted in 'de-territorialisation' (Pitts and Versluys 2015: 11).

Just as studies of Roman imperialism and the frontier zones (see III.2.3.1.1) include concepts of hybridity and cultural mixing, they are part of globalisation theory (Pitts and Versluys 2015: 7; cf. Mattingly 2011: 15). Hodos (2015: 242) emphasises that the "development of hybrid practices" is an inevitable result of the globalisation process.

3.2. The benefits of globalisation concepts

As with concepts of colonialism and in particular imperialism (see p. 90), globalisation theory comes with a negative connotation due to its use in current media – 'global terror', 'injustice and imbalance between a 1st and 3rd world' and 'global capitalism' are only some of the contexts in which globalisation plays a negative role. Notwithstanding the justifiably negative perception, the principles of globalisation theory are neutral (Pitts and Versluys 2015: 10).

According to Pitts and Versluys (*ibid.* 7) Romanisation theory was flawed in its narrow focus on conceptual aspects like 'identity' or 'Roman v. native'. To understand the broad field of interactions between indigenous communities and non-local entities, concepts of connectivity need to move into the foreground. In this context, globalisation concepts are not only better suited to material culture studies as they move beyond national boundaries, but they also investigate the flow of culture that manifests locally while reaching far beyond local boundaries and connecting the local with the regional and the global. Used in this way globalisation theory can untangle some of the patterns observed in north-west Italy far better than concepts of Romanisation.

Critics of the Romanisation theory and some of its substitutes stressed the diversity of the cultures involved in the building of the Roman Empire and the variations in their respective integration process. Howsoever this issue were to be rectified in a 'Romanisation 2.0', the engrained unilateralism of Romanisation will always tend to favour a uniformity of the integration process. Globalisation processes, on the other

hand, have always been understood as variable through time and space, and with their "global-local balance" they are multi-centred (Hodos 2015: 242. 244). Globalisation theory "decentres Rome" (Nederveen Pieterse 2015; cf. Hodos 2015: 252) and thus circumvents one of the main obstacles inherent in 'Romanisation'.

3.2.1. *Globalisation or glocalisation?*

Within globalisation theory the hybrid term 'glocalisation' has increasingly gained a foothold. Glocalisation has been described as 'global localisation' (Pitts and Versluys 2015: 14, who sum the concept up as an aid "to emphasise how the homogenising elements of global culture […] are differentially incorporated into local cultures, which in turn are altered in the process"). As such, the idea of glocalisation obviates the danger of a simplifying uniformisation of various and diverse local cultures involved in the global process. With regard to specific cultural landscapes within the Roman empire such as the Lomellina, this concept of glocalisation fits well. The data analysis (chapter V) and comparison with other sites and areas (chapter VI) will demonstrate how certain elements of an increasingly interconnected and standardised, if not homogenous Mediterranean were incorporated differentially and received a distinct meaning.

3.3. How and why should the concept be applied to Roman archaeology?

Globalisation theory investigates the economy, social or cultural developments of an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world; aspects engrained into the very nature of the Roman Empire (Morley 2015: 52). In the making of the Empire, the extent of this network transformed Rome both within the empire and beyond. The balance between global and local, initially highlighted by concepts of Roman imperialism and colonialism, shaped the empire and frequently resulted in a localised emphasis of self-identity. Pitts and Versluys (2015; Pitts 2015; Versluys 2015) demonstrate how material culture studies and those of pottery in particular have emphasised this unique aspect of Roman hybridisation. The increased uniformity of global Roman material culture led to the emergence of elite markets with demands for distinctive products and styles. Imported pottery such as TS was initially acquired to showcase status but quickly transformed under local demands as the local, individual

requirements and traditions outweighed the 'exoticness'. This reflects a strong awareness of self, of the *habitus* unique to each community or smaller entity. At the same time, material analyses of Roman pottery highlight how increased uniformity renders local elements more obvious – returning us to the danger of constructing 'Roman-ness' based on our knowledge of "[t]hings we consider 'Roman-like' [because they] get their meaning through circulation and the specific context of a specific moment in that system of circulation" (Hodos 2015: 246-247).

Chapter IV – The Lomellina – archaeology and methodology

The quantitative and qualitative analysis for this study comprises a total of 488 mortuary contexts from 32 individual burial sites. This dataset includes both actual graves and *ustrina*, the latter defined as the detectable sites of the funerary pyre (see p. 126). Four case study areas have been selected to discuss some patterns in detail: Gambolò, Garlasco, the various cemeteries of Gropello Cairoli and Dorno as a single third area, and finally Valeggio Lomellina and Ottobiano as a fourth area. Gropello Cairoli and Dorno lie within a radius of less than 5 km from each other and were situated in close proximity to the Roman road leading from the Central Po valley via Pavia-*Ticinum* towards Gaul. The removed location of Garlasco from this major Roman road (c. 7 km) and its unique status within the history of research of the Lomellina (see I.1.) justify separating it as a case study area in its own right although it is close enough to Gropello Cairoli to be included in this group. Valeggio Lomellina and Ottobiano are situated 7-13 km west of Gropello Cairoli and Dorno, again less than 5 km from each other, although their two cemetery sites at *località* Cascina Tessera and Cascina Rotorta respectively were found at the antipodal sides of the two villages.

1. State of documentation

The archaeological investigation of the Lomellina is characterised by a relative lack of systematic excavations and subsequent publication (see I.1.). Only a small minority of contexts has been documented by the Soprintendenza of Lombardy (e.g. contexts PV_GRC_lMen_037-083 at Gropello Cairoli and the cemetery of Dorno, *località* Cascina Grande). The remaining sites have been excavated by either archaeological societies such as the Associazione Archeologica Lomellina or private individuals. Pearce (1994: 59) described the "Eastern Lomellina between the Terdoppio and the Ticino [as] certainly the best known zone within [his] study area [i.e. the provinces of Lodi, Milan and Pavia]" attributing this to the amount of research done within this area. However, many sites such as Cascina Grande remained unpublished; other sites such as Cascina Tessera were largely made available only as comparison sites in reference to other

cemeteries. Only 245 out of 488 mortuary contexts can thus be determined as fairly complete and suitable for statistical analysis (Fig. 14).

As contexts were rarely classified as either 'complete' or 'incomplete' in published records, a list of criteria has had to be developed for this study. 'Incompleteness' derives from

- a context being only mentioned in reference to other contexts and/or certain material categories – e.g. PV_DOR_cGra_037: published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed with an additional mentioning of spindle whorls.
- a context not being completely published and certain material categories only documented in summary – e.g. : PV_GAR_cBar_013a: an unspecified context with 2 spindle whorls and an unspecified amount of local pottery in addition to four plates.
- (possibly) disturbed contexts and/or contexts with (possibly) mixed-up assemblages – e.g. PV_DOR_lSMa_002: the assemblage and cremated remains were found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*; it is uncertain whether all artefacts belong exclusively to one burial.
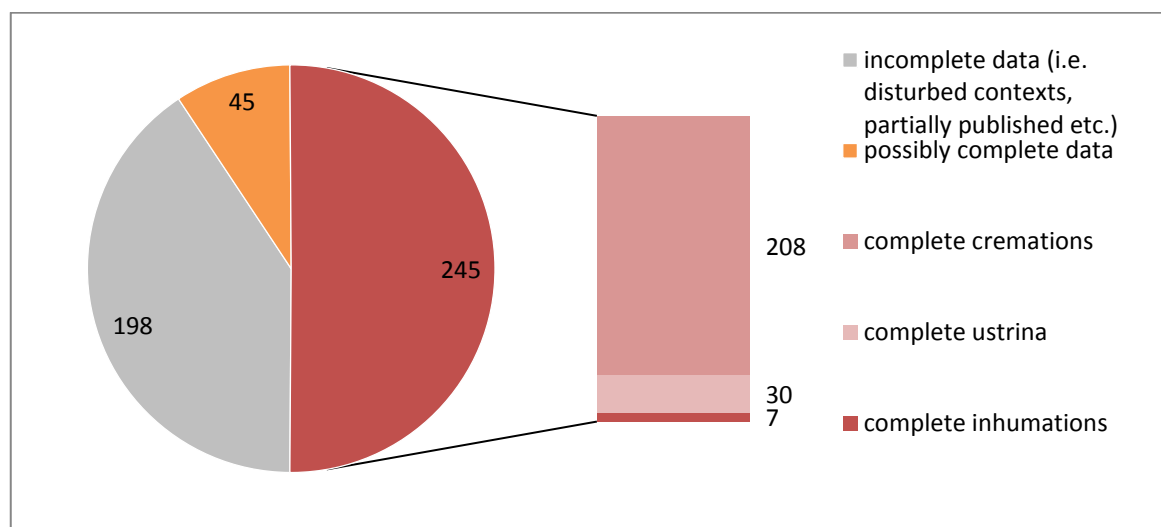
Fig. 14 Complete and incomplete mortuary data from the Lomellina.
The 30 'complete *ustrina*' comprise 4 definite and 26 possible *ustrina*; seven complete inhumation contexts comprise two definite inhumations and five probably complete inhumations.

In addition, the assignment of graves mentioned in reference to other contexts is often complicated, and information, although in theory invaluable for the completion

of the catalogue, has had to remain unused as the burials could not be correlated. Rare cases where photos or other illustrations had been published have allowed me to identify some burials through comparison. PV_GRC_lMen_064, a cremation in *nuda terra* excavated in 1981 and published by Macchioro Malnati as *tomba 23* had initially been catalogued as *1981, nr. 12* (Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 178-182**.** pl. XII B,1-21, XIII,22-27). A photo of the burial *in situ* (Invernizzi 2005b: 10) taken from a slightly different angle to the one published by Macchioro Malnati (1994-1999: 147 fig. 6) lists the same context as *tomba 10*. Where no photos were available such fortunate correlation has been impossible.

1.1. Case study areas

1.1.1. *Gambolò*
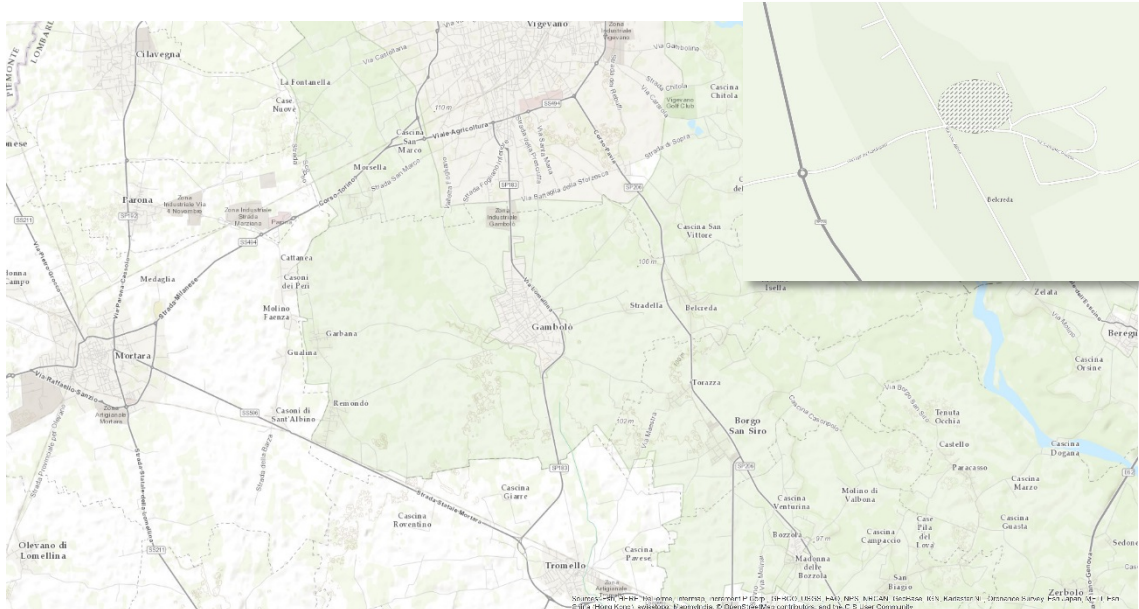
Fig. 15 Surroundings of Gambolò.
The map includes the cemeteries of Gambolò, *frazioni* Garbana and Belcreda triangulated between Vigevano, Mortara and Tromello. The map shows the vicinity of Garbana to the mortuary sites of Mortara, *località* Cascina Medaglia and Vigevano, *frazione* Morsella. The detailed map of Belcreda shows the general location of the burials in the area of via XXV Aprile and via Pascoli.

1.1.1.1. Gambolò, *frazione* Belcreda

The 43 mortuary contexts at Gambolò, *frazione* Belcreda were investigated during the 1980s primarily by Vannacci Lunazzi. Contexts PV_GAM_fBel_001-025 were excavated between August 28, 1980 and April 12, 1981 in the area of 18-20 via XXV Aprile (Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: BE 1-24). PV_GAM_fBel_026, a single grave was found in the area of 53 via XXV Aprile on February 24, 1982. The following month between March 2

and 13, 1982 saw the investigation of contexts PV_GAM_fBel_027- 040 in via Pascoli (15 individual contexts with PV_GAM_fBel_027a and 027b as two associated contexts; Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: BEP 1-14). PV_GAM_fBel_041 was dug up clandestinely in February 1983, east of the previous graves. The burials of via Pascoli were found on a *dosso* to the left of the road leading towards Molino d'Isella. Together with the burials from via XXV Aprile they belonged to one larger cemetery. It is unlikely that the complete cemetery has been investigated as only those graves that were in danger of destruction were excavated. The investigated contexts date to LT C-D (2nd-1st century BC) with a distinct peak during the 1st century BC; the youngest burial PV_GAM_fBel_035 was located on the top of the *dosso* at via Pascoli (Vannacci Lunazzi 1981d; 1982c; 1983b – numerous errata concerning digits [e.g. measurements stated in the catalogue are inconsistent with the scale of objects reproduced in the plates, some inventory numbers may be incorrect]; Frontini 1985; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a; Piana Agostinetti 1987; Sfredda 1998).

PV_GAM_fBel_042 refers to a burial BE 26 only mentioned referentially (Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 70); there is no further information available about this tomb.

1.1.1.2.   Gambolò, *frazione* Garbana

In 1988, the Soprintendenza excavated a small cemetery in *località* Dosso della Guardia within the boundaries of *frazione* Garbana, c. 4.5 km west of Gambolò towards Mortara. Only two out of 19 or more burials have been published in reference to the presence of funerary beds (Invernizzi 2005a: 148).
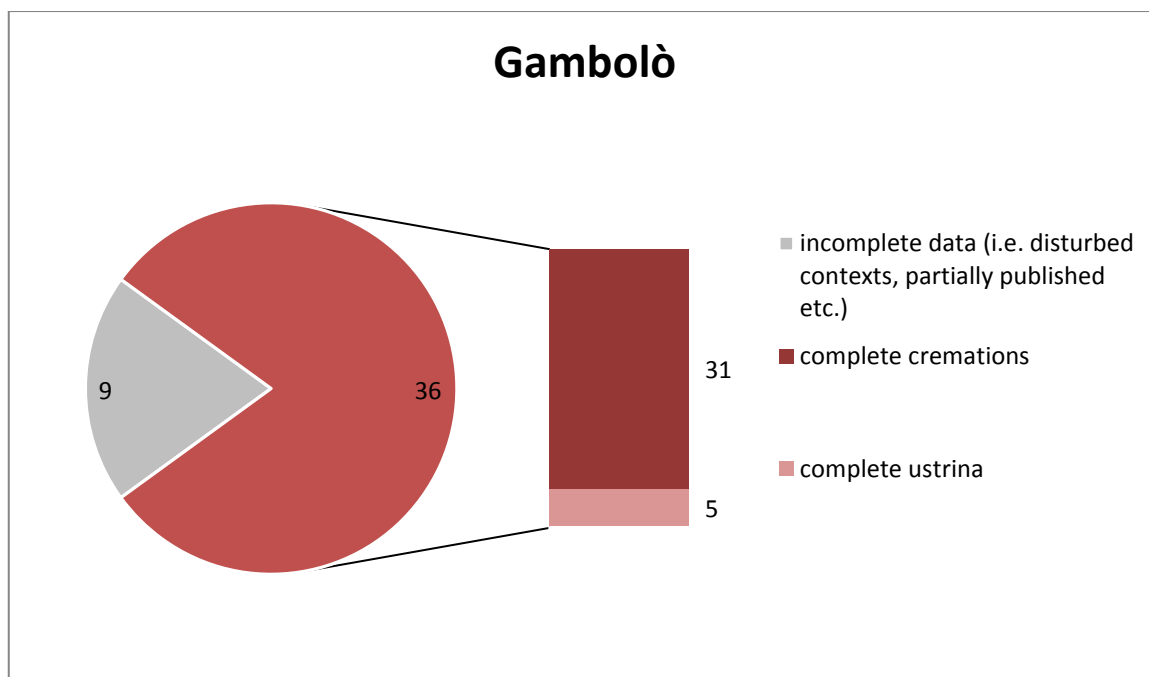
Fig. 16 Mortuary data from Gambolò, *frazioni* Belcreda and Garbana.
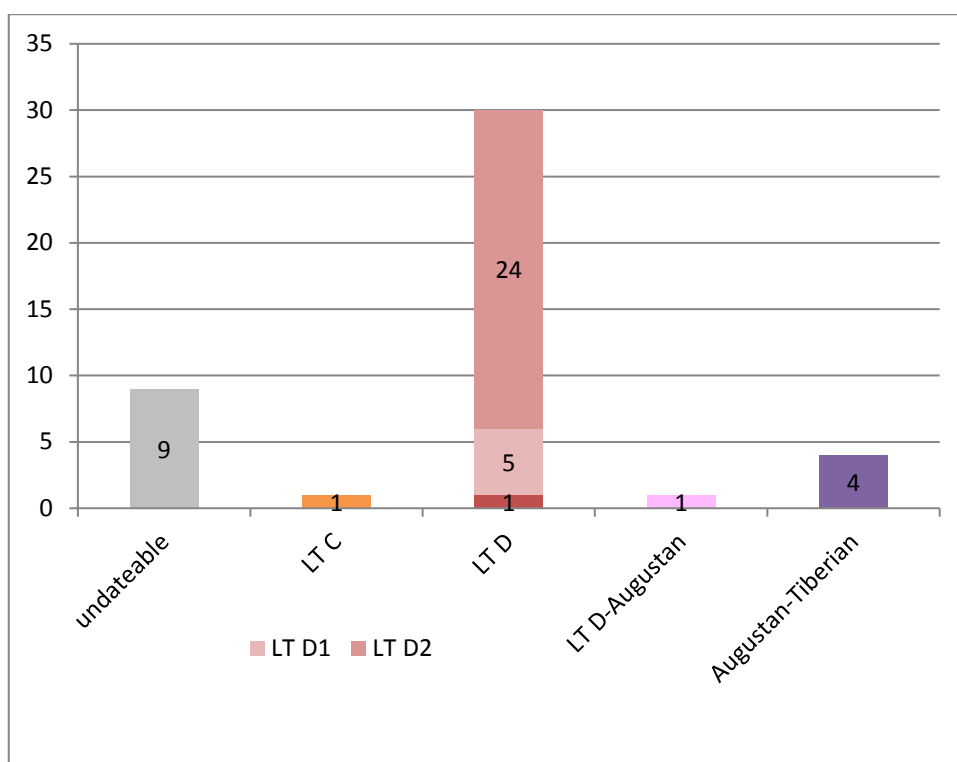
Fig. 17 Chronology of mortuary contexts around Gambolò.

The four Augustan-Tiberian contexts include the two incomplete cremation contexts from *frazione* Garbana, only published in reference to their funerary beds.

This thesis uses the following colour scheme for all chronological graphs and diagrams:

Undated contexts:	◼	grey	LT D:	◼	red
Golasecca – LT B:	◼	yellow	Julio-Claudian:	◼	purple
LT C:	◼	orange	Flavian:	◼	blue

Transition phases and sub-phases are highlighted in corresponding shades – e.g. LT D: ◼ ⇒ LT D1: ◼ & LT D2: ◼.

1.1.2. Gropello Cairoli and Dorno

Seven individual sites around the communes of Gropello Cairoli and Dorno have been grouped into the second case study area.
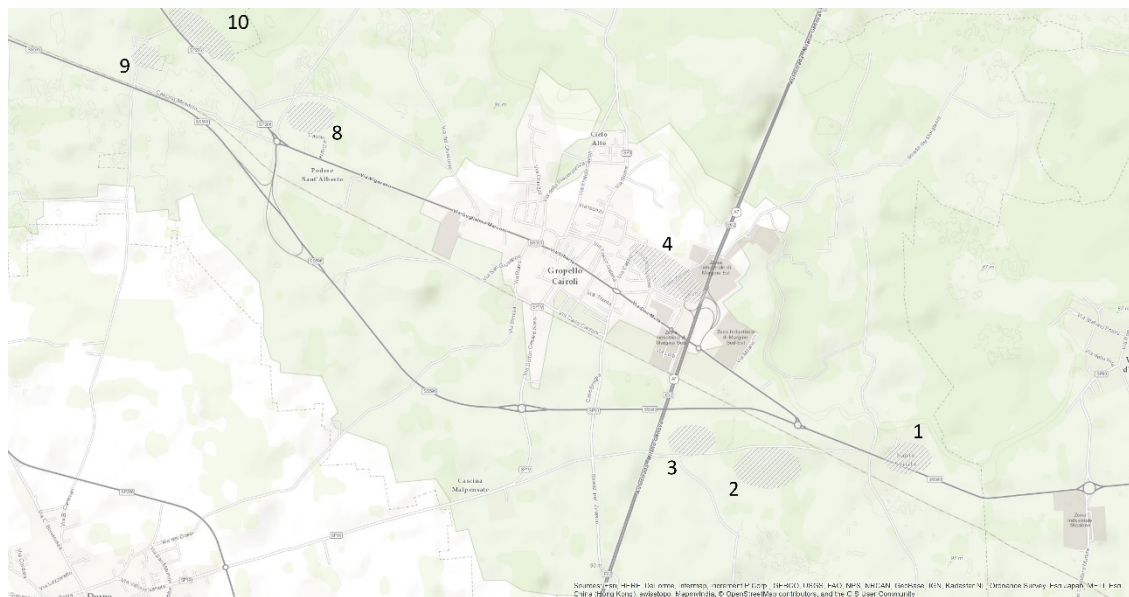
Fig. 18 Surroundings of Gropello Cairoli.
The map includes the cemetery sites of *località* Cascina Miradolo (9), Cascina Guala (10), Cascina Menabrea (8), Castagnevo (4), Podere Panzarasa (3), Marone-Voghera (2) and Santo Spirito (1). The numbers correspond with those in Macchioro 1991: 360 fig. 1 and Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 138 fig. 1 (see Fig. V).

The archaeological sites around Gropello Cairoli have been investigated since the turn of the 20th century. In addition to three substantial cemeteries dating to the IA and early Principate, numerous other finds ranging from a large scale Golasecca settlement to a Roman villa have been made. Of particular interest is the site of a Roman kiln in zone 5, Podere Passerini, on the hilltop of a *dosso* close to Strada del Morgarolo. Although Pace (1960) could determine neither an exact date nor function due to a lack of accompanying finds, it is probable that the kiln was used during the Principate for the production of brick and tiles – thus adding rare evidence of local industries (Macchioro 1991: 349; for the kiln in general: Storti 1960; Cuomo di Caprio 1971-1972).

Early finds (now lost) around the turn of the centuries were of similar chronology (i.e. IA and early Principate) and location as subsequent ones. In 1927, an unknown number of disturbed LIA burials was found at proprietà/dosso Fenini followed by the first properly recorded finds for the commune in 1955-1957. Numerous cremation burials could be traced through *macchie carboniose*, the visible stain of carbonised

material on the bottom of the grave-pit. The material culture (now lost) was dated between the 1st centuries BC/AD with only two Augustan-Tiberian contexts. In April 1976, a single cremation of the same period was found in Via Zanotti followed by five disturbed cremation burials in February, April and October 1979. With one cremation dated to LT D, three burials ranging between the 1st century BC and the beginning 1st century AD as well as one tomb '*a cassetta*' classified as Augustan-Tiberian, these finds fit into the wider mortuary picture of Gropello Cairoli (Caporusso 1981).

1.1.2.1. Gropello Cairoli, *località* Marone-Voghera

Various sites south-east of the modern settlement of Gropello Cairoli have been previously grouped as archaeological zone B (Fortunati Zuccala 1979a; 1979b; Arata 1984) or zone 2 (Macchioro 1991), and zone C. They encompass primarily *località* Marone-Voghera, also referred to as *località* Marrone/Marùn or dosso/dossi del Voghera/Vughera. The sites have been grouped together due to their location along the road Pavia-*Ticinum* – Gropello Cairoli, *località* Santo Spirito – Dorno-*Durriae*, which probably had already existed in antiquity connecting these two settlements. Marone-Voghera covers about 25-30 ha and comprises three estates: Podere Panzarasa, Castoldi and Lanfranchi. Sites have also been referred to as boschetto Panzarasa and dosso Lanfranchi without any clear indication of their geographic affiliation. Together the sites comprised a total of at least 210 contexts, of which 69 have been published. The burials had been located on a chain of *dossi* and were excavated in the course of levelling work for agricultural developments and poplar plantations. Regrettably no systematic investigations took place. Macchioro (1991: 346-347) highlights the impediments in the location of different burial groups; in all probability only a minority of burials has been excavated, and the cemetery originally comprised several hundred graves – according to the brothers Repetto about a thousand burials can be added to those that have been excavated over the decades (Repetto and Repetto 1980: 17). Together with some tombs found during the 1930s in an area of *dossi* "towards Cascina Speranza" (*ibid.*) this chain of graves would have been more than one kilometre long.

The chronology of finds and excavations is indicative of the complicated nature of the archaeological record for Marone-Voghera.

In 1937, and again during the 1950s, mortuary contexts were discovered at Podere/proprietà G. Negri (not to be confused with porcilaia Negri in zone D, here listed under *località* Menabrea; later C. Castoldi); the contexts were destroyed and the finds dispersed.

Between 1955 and the early 1960s finds were made in the area of proprietà/dosso Lanfranchi and proprietà/dosso Panzarasa (zone B sector I = proprietà/dosso Lanfranchi; zone B sector II = proprietà/dosso Panzarasa). Both lots of land later passed to the estate of one Barletta. As many of the contexts including burials and *ustrina* were incomplete due to earlier disturbance of the site, it is impossible to say how many burials were found originally (PV_GRC_lMar_044-069; Fortunati Zuccala 1979b; Macchioro 1991: 362 fig. 5,1-2).

In 1959-1960 a group of LIA tombs were discovered in zone C (dosso/fondo Maronin) north-west of Marone-Voghera and north of the road connecting Dorno with Santo Spirito. Except for one assemblage (PV_GRC_lMar_070) they were all lost.

Further finds dateable to LT C-D were made in the area around dosso Lanfranchi in October 1972, including a rich assemblage dateable to the second half of the 2nd century BC (probably identical with PV_GRC_lMar_074-078). Half a year later, a single burial – presumably the oldest burial of the Marone-Voghera cemetery was found in April 1973 at boschetto Panzarasa (PV_GRC_lMar_079; Vannacci Lunazzi 1981a).

The years 1976 and 1977 saw three major excavations. Between summer 1976 and autumn 1977 a total of 43 mortuary contexts were discovered at Podere Panzarasa. At the time of excavation, the contexts had been partially disturbed and destroyed, probably through looting. Only 26 burials could be recovered (Arata 1984; PV_GRC_lMar_001-043).

At the same time, an unknown number of disturbed 1st century AD-burials were discovered at Podere Mantica/Pagani, a few hundred metres north-east of Marone-Voghera (Caporusso 1984). The recovered artefacts (coins, two iron type Pavese brooches, *ceramica comune*, thin-walled ceramics and BGW, terracotta figurines, oil lamps and spindle whorls; Invernizzi 2002c: 64) may be the same as the material

described by Arata as coming from a number of destroyed burials found along the train line Santo Spirito – Gropello Cairoli (Arata 1984: 94-97).

A further 49 burials ranging across the Augustan-Tiberian period and the second half of the 1st century AD were excavated in spring 1977 at Podere Castoldi with more than 30 additional graves at Podere Lanfranchi. The latter were dated between the 1st century BC and the Flavian period (Macchioro 1991: 362 fig. 5,3-4 [the numbers are not matching with the description]). These finds appear to have remained largely unpublished with the exception of three burials, one of them published as a possible double burial (PV_GRC_lMar_071-073; Repetto and Repetto 1980: 19). A single burial dated to LT D was recovered in July 1979 at boschetto Panzarasa/proprietà Barletta (Macchioro 1991: 362 fig. 5,1).

The most recent discoveries comprise 59 burials from Podere Panzarasa excavated in March 1984 and dated between the 1st century BC and 1st century AD.

Macchioro (*ibid.* 346) tried to map the burials as far as possible. The result demonstrates that the graves were most probably arranged in family groups with burials of various generations from LT D up until the Neronian period being grouped together.

1.1.2.2. Gropello Cairoli, *località* Santo Spirito

The site of Gropello Cairoli, *località* Santo Spirito is indubitably one of the most important archaeological complexes of the Lomellina. The promontory, sitting on the edge of a terrace about 400 m above the valley, had been created by alluvial river erosion. Its geological origin resulted in extensive sand extraction activities since the mid-1950s at Cava Baggini (since 1962 Cava Albani). Local finds and additional discoveries at Cascina Becca range from the Mesolithic to the Roman period.

Fig. 19a Map of Gropello Cairoli, *località* Santo Spirito with superimposed map published as Ruffa 2010: 101 fig.1 (see also Fig. 19b and Figs VIII-IX).

Fig. 19b Satellite image of Gropello Cairoli, *località* Santo Spirito.
The photograph suggests that no further changes to the area have occurred. Archaeological structures, however, have been completely removed previously and are not visible any longer.

The years between 1955 (launch of Cava Baggini) and the 1980s saw the local landscape changed drastically. Excavations – regrettably unsystematic – accompanied

the quarry activities since the very beginning under Davide Pace (with the assistance of Giuseppe Curti) and since 1972 under Arnaldo and Giordano Repetto.

Earliest sporadic finds from Mesolithic to middle FBA include a MBA-LBA bronze hoard recovered in May 1981. First settlement activity is attested for the 7th-6th centuries BC and reached its peak during the EIA. Golasecca II B-III A3 finds point to intensive settlement activity (c. 5 ha) during the 6th-4th centuries. Due to intercutting finds of different periods but also the destructive sand mining techniques, the documentation of these finds is scarce and difficult (Arslan 1984: 112-113; De Caro 1999: 126-131). Nevertheless, the settlement can be described as the most consistent protohistoric nucleus of human activity in the Lomellina since the BA (Macchioro 1991: 340. For the significance as prehistoric industrial site and evidence of a bronze workshop: Ruffa 2010: 99-100). The burial site associated with this settlement had most probably been situated on the northern edge of the promontory where Pace reported finds in 1963 suggesting Golasecca cremations disturbed by later Roman structures. Due to the lack of further evidence of burials Macchioro (1991: 343-344) assumes that the Golasecca cemetery had either been destroyed in antiquity, or due to erosion or modern quarrying.

With the 4th century BC human activity slowed down and finds dated to the end of the century are sporadic; De Caro (1999: 131), however, notes that the lack of material could well be the result of poor documentation rather than a complete *hiatus* in human activity (for an opposite view e.g. Macchioro 1991: 335-336; Ruffa 2008; 2010). Scarce finds including pottery fragments, rare LT I-II brooches and a LT II bronze bracelet attest frequentation of the site at least until the second half of the 4th century and beyond (Ruffa 2010: 112-113 fig. 9,75-76; 114 fig. 9,77, 86; 115 fig. 10,130; 117. 123-125)

Settlement activity only increased again from the beginning of the 1st century BC. Various find agglomerations imply use of the site until the 1st century AD. First Roman finds were made in 1904 and subsequently throughout the quarrying period between 1957 and 1983 including the discovery of what may be the *pars urbana* of a larger villa estate with an industrial element as evidenced by various finds made up until 1997

(Caporusso and Invernizzi 1991). Small finds including coins and brooches were dated between LT D2 and the Augustan period (Ruffa 2010: 113-114 fig. 9,78-80; 115 fig. 10; 117-118. 123-126). Coins minted under Constantinus III suggest a use of the site up until Late Antiquity.

In addition to the settlement, several burials have been reported for Santo Spirito including some Roman cremations that are no longer identifiable and two early Imperial inhumations along the nearby train line. In August 1975 a LT D1 burial dating to the first half of the 1st century BC was discovered at nearby Cascine Gozzola and Becca. According to the brothers Repetto several 'Gallic' tombs had been found in the vicinity of Cascina Gozzola sometime before 1980 including an incomplete Lepontian inscription, a *vaso a trottola* and other pottery as well as a Republican coin. However, due to previous disturbances no further information is available (Repetto and Repetto 1980: 13; Invernizzi 2002c: 64). Cava Albani, in contrast, has yielded two unusual inhumation burials found next to each other: a crouched inhumation was found with flakes of flint, a miniature vase and a spindle whorl (PV_GRC_SSp_002; Ruffa 2010: 113, 118 fig. 11,5-7, 126); the second inhumation with skeletal remains in a prone position has been dated to the 1st century BC, with a *terminus ante quem* of 25 BC (PV_GRC_SSp_001). Whilst the crouched burial was initially described as non-dateable due to the lack of chronologically significant material, both graves were subsequently referred to as "due tombe tardo celtiche" (Ruffa 2010: 117; 2014: 169). With no further evidence of IA or Roman graves at Santo Spirito, these selective burials aroused scholarly suspicion. De Caro (1999: 135) suggests that the area of Cava Albani was used for sporadic, probably deviant burials that were excluded from the extensive burial grounds at *località* Marone-Voghera (less than 1 km distance) and Castagnevo.

1.1.2.3. Gropello Cairoli, *località* Castagnevo

A group of more than 39 burials was discovered at *località* Castagnevo, north of the centre of Gropello Cairoli and thus about 1 km north-west of the cemetery at *località* Marone-Voghera and north of Santo Spirito. Also published as archaeological zone A/4, the area comprises sites referred to as *località* Castagnevo/Castagnè and Frascate/Frascà or vigna Cristiani, Garaldi/proprietà Sassi, Sassi and Repetto (Macchioro 1991: 348).

Burials at vigna Cristiani had already been found in the 1970s and 1990s and were attributed to a cemetery excavated in the 1960s-1970s. The brothers Repetto noted that 'Celtic' (*celto-padane*) and Roman tombs with a large amount of pottery including *terra nigra*, *balsamaria* and other glass vessels, terracotta figurines and two coins, mirrors, shears, knives and a small block of wax had been found (Repetto and Repetto 1980: 22; Invernizzi 2002c: 64). A further 19 cremation burials were found between September and October 2002. The cemetery was classified as a comparatively poor small cemetery of the Romanisation period with objects of local tradition (Invernizzi 2001-2002).

Regrettably, only one burial excavated on December 17, 1955 has been published (PV_GRC_lCas_001); followed in 2005 with the publication of an additional tomb in reference to its terracotta appliqués (PV_GRC_lCas_002).

1.1.2.4.   Gropello Cairoli, *località* Menabrea

North-west of the modern centre of Gropello Cairoli towards Garlasco and its *frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole, excavations recurred at another large cemetery throughout the 20th century. *Località* Menabrea comprises the archaeological zone D or zones 8 (Cascina Menabrea with dosso del Magone/Magòn, vigna Marabelli and the porcilaia Negri [later porcilaia Scuri]), 9 (Cascina Miradolo and Podere Cerri) and 10 (Cascina Guala). Finds from the area cover a long chronological range from the BA to the Principate. The site was used for an extensive cremation cemetery, especially during the Augustan period (Macchioro 1991: 349-352).

Numerous tombs '*a cassetta*' were first found around 1920. The recovered artefacts including terracotta figurines were subsequently lost. In 1957 more than 15 cremation tombs with clearly traceable *macchie carboniose* were investigated and dated between the mid-1st centuries BC/AD (PV_GRC_lMen_028-036). An additional eight burials with complete assemblages of similar dates were excavated in December 1966 under the auspices of the Soprintendenza (PV_GRC_lMen_037-041). The results of both excavations were published under the location label zone D (Fortunati Zuccala 1979b).

Between January and April 1978, an unknown number of cremation burials dated between LT C and the late 1st century BC were investigated by the Gruppo Archeologico Lomellina at Cascina Guala/Roberta (PV_GRC_lMen_084-085). The site is situated on the modern boundary of Gropello Cairoli and Garlasco. Scarce evidence of settlement activities found in 1952 and 1957 date between the 1st century BC and the 3rd/4th centuries AD. Architectural remains mixed with an abundance of fused glass fragments point to the existence of a glass workshop and add to the picture of local industries (Macchioro 1991; Invernizzi 2002c: 64).

In 1978-1981 up to a hundred burials were discovered during preparations for a poplar plantation. The excavations of 1978 were mainly carried out by non-professional archaeologists and remain largely unpublished. The graves were located 40-50 cm below the ground surface and had been profoundly damaged through ploughing; only two out of 27 contexts contained complete mortuary assemblages expressive of a certain level of wealth. 40 mortuary contexts – 13 of these with Augustan-Tiberian assemblages – were excavated at Cascina Miradolo (PV_GRC_lMen_086-125; Macchioro 1991; Invernizzi 2002c: 64).

Giordano Repetto investigated 47 partially destroyed cremation burials at Cascina Menabrea in winter 1978/1979 and throughout the following years. The traceable *macchie carboniose* and mortuary assemblages (1st centuries BC/AD) were found 10-100 cm below the ground surface and consequently were often already damaged. A further 13 cremation tombs of similar chronology were excavated in 1981 under the auspices of the Soprintendenza led by Donatella Caporusso. Located approximately 40-50 cm below the modern ground surface, they were partially intact and complete. However, not all identified mortuary contexts have been excavated (PV_GRC_lMen_042-083; Macchioro 1991).

South-west of Gropello Cairoli following the assumed chain of cemetery sites of *località* Marone-Voghera the case study area is completed by three sites around Dorno. Situated along the Roman road that connected the central Transpadana via Pavia-*Ticinum* with Gaul, Dorno, the Roman *mutatio* of *Durriae* played an important role in Roman land transport (Tozzi 2002: 17-18).
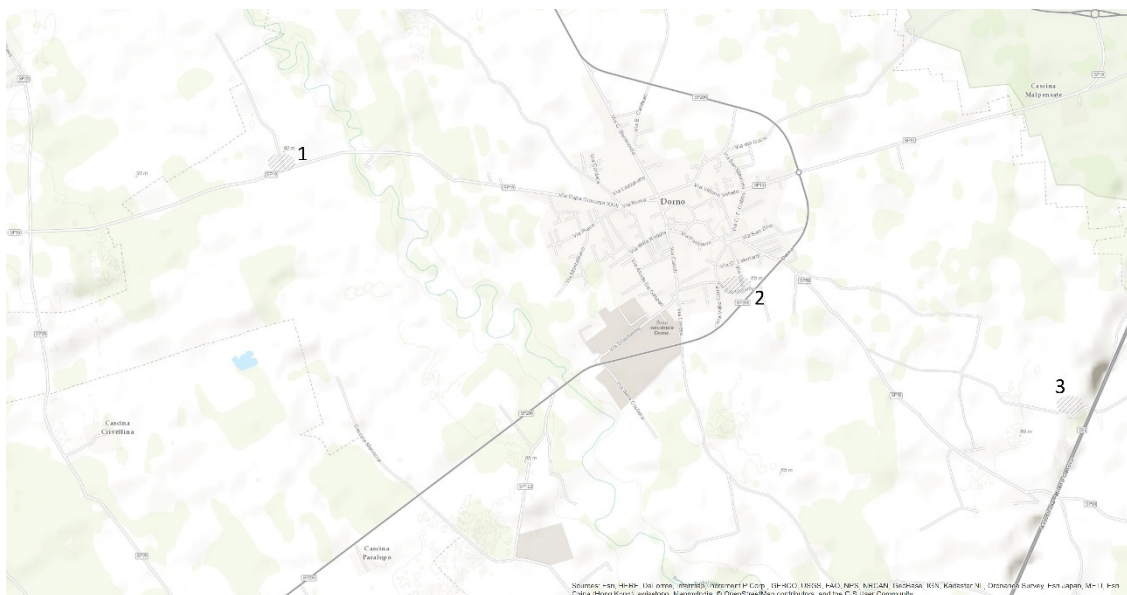
Fig. 20 Surroundings of Dorno.
The map includes the cemeteries of *località* Cascina Grande (1), San Materno (2) and Cascina Moglia (3).

1.1.2.5.   Dorno, *località* Cascina Grande

Between January and March 1984 more than 200 mortuary contexts were excavated at Dorno, *località* Cascina Grande. The reference to a brooch found in tomb 47 near the ice house of Cascina Grande (Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 213), however, suggests that burials had already been discovered previously. The 1984 cemetery was found in the course of levelling work and initially excavated by the Gruppo Archeologico Lomellina, subsequently by the Soprintendenza (Allini 1984). Although the archaeological record was still studied and analysed in 1998 (Invernizzi 1998b), with the exception of three assemblages on display at the museum of Vigevano and 12 cremations published in reference to funerary beds, none of them have been released at the time of writing [2018].

1.1.2.6.   Dorno, *località* Cascina Moglia

On July 4, 1985 four burials were discovered during agricultural work at Cascina Moglia. Three burials in *nuda terra* and one tomb '*a cassetta*' had been partially destroyed by diggers. The latter had been east-west orientated with tiles forming all six sides of the box and a seventh tile separating the grave goods and cremated remains vertically. Apart from a preliminary statement in the Soprintendenza's *notiziario* (Allini 1985) no further publications have been released at the time of writing [2018].

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1.1.2.7.   Dorno, *località* San Materno

Between autumn 1972 and spring 1973 preparation work for rice plantations at Dorno, *località* San Materno, Podere Deodato revealed 15 burials dated between a developed stage of LT D1 and the 1st century AD. The burial site of approximately 300 m^2 was located about 1 km south-south-east of the modern town centre. The local authorities commissioned the Gruppo Archeologico Pavese to undertake excavations. Due to a lack of systematic investigation, the correlation between mortuary assemblages and layers of cremated remains found about 40-60 cm deep in sandy alluvial soil cannot be traced clearly in all cases. In contrast to the two other sites at Dorno, the small cemetery of San Materno has been completely published (Antico Gallina 1985).

The small cemetery comprised exclusively cremation burials in simple pits, with mortuary container and grave goods in '*nuda terra*' – with the exception of PV_DOR_lSMa_005, the only tomb '*a cassetta*'. Despite the lack of discernible grave markers, no intercutting of graves had been observed. Except for PV_DOR_lSMa_002 all burials were located next to the location of the pyre, providing rare evidence for a consistent funerary custom (indirect cremation).
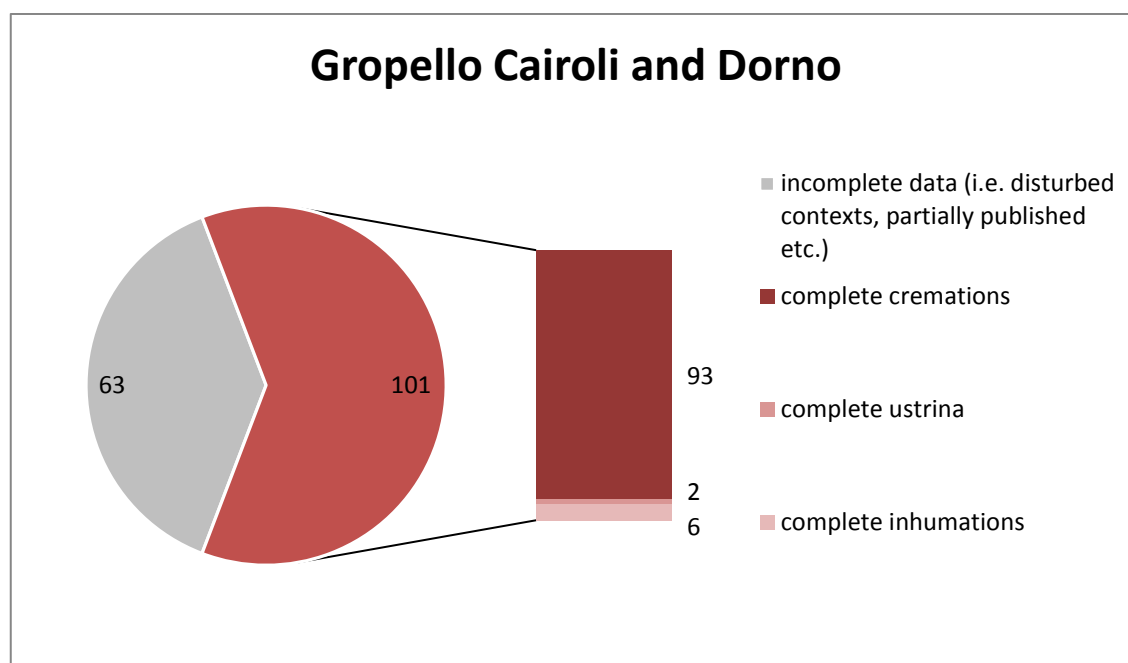
Fig. 21 Mortuary data from Gropello Cairoli and Dorno.
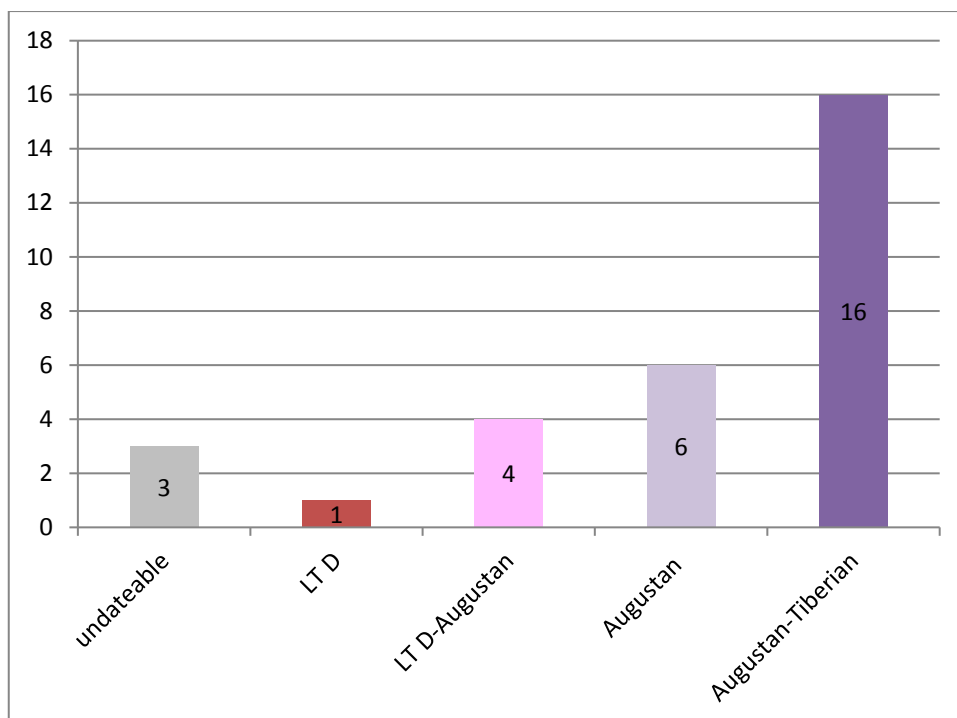
Fig. 22 Chronology of mortuary contexts from Dorno, including 10 complete contexts from *località* San Materno and three from Cascina Grande.

1.1.3. *Garlasco*

Garlasco and first and foremost the surroundings of *frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole, situated on a terrace above the Ticino, are exceptional for the archaeological evidence of numerous IA sites presented in an uninterrupted sequence. The area is the only one in the Lomellina that provided mortuary evidence of Golasecca I C: six G I C-II B burials (late 7th – early 5th century BC. De Caro 2002: 105) were found along the Ticino, north-east of Madonna delle Bozzole, at *località* Ca'Bassa. Although no settlements are attested, one can assume that the various burial sites belonged to an agglomeration as extensive as that of Santo Spirito – if not larger – or possibly to a chain of smaller nuclei along the edge of the Ticino terrace. An exceptionally rich grave for the region was found at Cascina Bonifica. Pottery, an iron knife, various bronze objects including a toilet set, a bronze bead-rimmed plate of Etruscan provenance (probably Orvieto), a simple situla and a cordoned bronze cist as well as remains of four brooches that date the burial to G II B indicate that the local community had a hierarchical social structure – a societal feature that appears to have vanished towards the later IA. Further Golasecca finds at Valle del Vignolo and from Campo Altino add to the picture (De Caro 2002: 105-111; cf. Trucco 1983 66-73; Vannacci Lunazzi 1983-84: 229-241; 1985a; Pearce 1994: 53, 110-111; Arslan 1995a).

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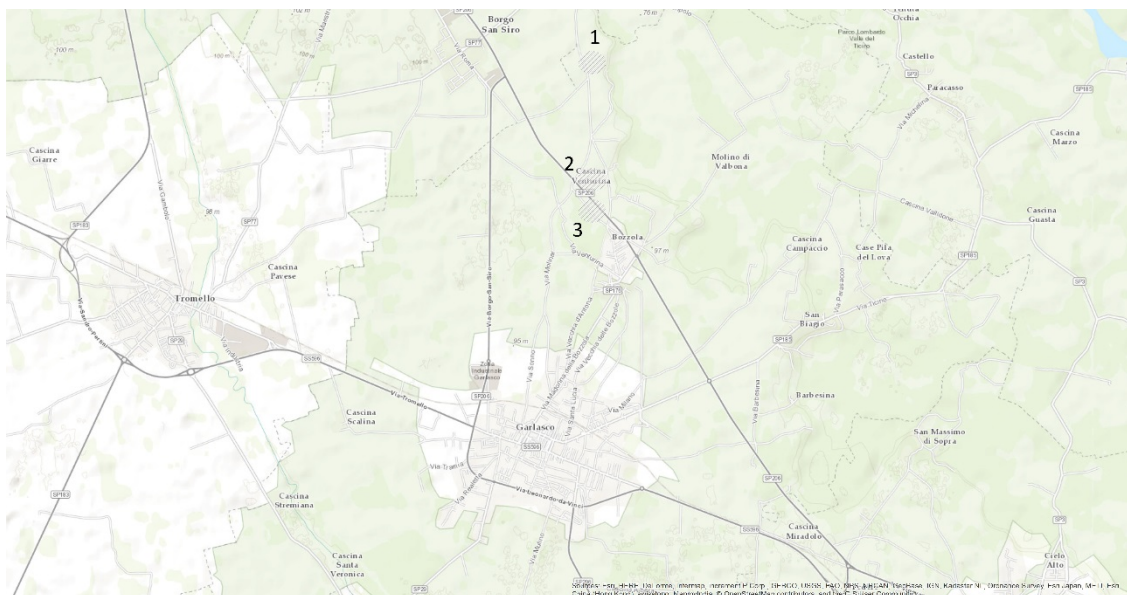
Fig. 23 Surroundings of Garlasco and its *frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole.
The map includes the cemetery sites of *località* Cascina Solferina (1), Cascina Baraggia (2) and Cascina Cazzanina (3) triangulated between Tromello, *località* Cascina Stremiana and Gropello Cairoli, *località* Cascina Miradolo.

1.1.3.1. Garlasco, *frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole

The archaeological investigation of the area began in 1967, when 800 ha land in the course of road construction work for the *provinciale* Vigevano – Pavia were excavated between February and June. The investigated area, situated on a *dosso*, revealed 35 burials arranged in three slightly separated groups (PV_GAR_MdB_001-035. Arslan 1971). A rare systematic analysis of the assemblages was published by Trucco (1983) and distinguishes Madonna delle Bozzole from other sites. Trucco's spatial analysis revealed several groups that coincide with her chronology (Trucco 1983: 70, pl. LXII fig. 4). The southernmost graves belong to her phases I and II. The central group aligned in a narrow north—south direction comprises burials of all three phases with a distinct peak during phase II. The northernmost group is less clear, without any internal structure and had burials belonging to all three phases. According to Trucco it is thus possible to interpret the earlier burials as founder tombs with later burials being arranged around them. This spatial hierarchy is well known from LT cemeteries of transalpine Gaul, south-western Germany and Switzerland as well as the Boian cemetery of Monte Bibele (BO; Vitali 1991; Vitali and Verger 2008).

Arslan (1984: 123) identified three chronological phases based on the combination of mortuary assemblages. With 26 of the 35 assemblages classified as 'complete' (and a further two as 'probably complete'), he could rely on an exceptionally good data basis.

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His first phase, 'prima fase', encompassed the second half of the 3rd century BC (i.e. LT C1) although two tombs are dated even earlier. Wedged between this initial phase and his subsequent 'seconda fase', which did not persist beyond the mid-2nd century, he identified a 'fase di transizione'. The final phase of LT C2 is missing from the material record (Arslan 1978b: 109-110; 1984: 123-127; 2012).

The spring of 1974 saw the excavation of a Roman cemetery dated to the 1st century AD by the Associazione Archeologica Lomellina. The location of the cemetery comprising 27 cremation burials ranging from the Augustan to the Domitian period (PV_GAR_MdB_036-062) shows that the pre- and protohistoric settlement could have moved over time from the Ticino terraces towards modern Garlasco (Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a).

The second half of the 1970s and the following decade were characterised by a series of smaller discoveries: in May 1976 five cremation burials '*a fossa*' were excavated in via Nievo (property of a Mr Gino Pittana; PV_GAR_MdB_093-097). A single LT burial (PV_GAR_MdB_063) dated to a transitional stage between LT C2 and D and excavated in August 1976 or 1977 widened the chronological horizon of the LT phase of the cemetery. A further single grave (PV_GAR_MdB_064) was discovered on November 20/21, 1978 or 1979, followed by three Golasecca burials, dated to the beginning of the 6th century BC on August 9-10, 1980 (Vannacci Lunazzi 1982c; Diani *et al.* 2014: 65 n. 1).

An area of 20 x 40 m comprising 23 burials was excavated between June 14 and December 1981 (PV_GAR_MdB_065-087). The contexts were situated about 15 m from the area investigated in 1974 and chronologically range primarily between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD with numerous burials difficult to date. The inhumation burials of the 2nd and 3rd centuries were characterised by distinctly poorer mortuary assemblages (Vannacci Lunazzi 1982c).

A single grave was found in via Ca'Bassa in June 1981 (PV_GAR_MdB_088), followed by two sporadic cremation burials excavated in via Baraggia 36 (property of a Mr G. Lucca) on April 16-18, and August 9-10, 1982 (PV_GAR_MdB_098 and 099). In June of the same year a single Lombard burial was found approximately 10 m from the

Golasecca burials and revealed the exceptionally long activity of the area as burial site (Vannacci Lunazzi 1983a: 388-389). The following year brought another LT C1 burial excavated on February 20 in the vicinity of the 1967 excavations (PV_GAR_MdB_090) and a further Golasecca burial with GIII A brooch (5th-4th century BC) on April 9-10 (Vannacci Lunazzi 1983a). Finally, on May 22, 1985 another single grave was discovered (PV_GAR_MdB_091. Trucco 1983: 66-73; Vannacci Lunazzi 1983-84; 1985a; Arslan 1995a).

1.1.3.2. Garlasco, *località* Cascina Baraggia

Cascina Baraggia is located to the north-east of Garlasco, about 9 km from Madonna delle Bozzole along the modern road from Pavia towards Vigevano. The burials summarised as Cascina Baraggia were found both at the site of the actual farmstead and in the surrounding vicinity. Excavations had been conducted by members of the Associazione Archeologica Lomellina over a long period following agricultural and levelling work. The nucleus of the site was unsystematically investigated between March 1976 and March 1991. A second nucleus of eight tombs was recorded in 1989, comprising largely damaged late antique inhumations (Allini 1981; Simone 1988-1989).

IA and Roman burials were located north-west of the farmstead on the edge of a Ticino terrace with the oldest burials in the west and later ones spreading towards east. They were found at 50-150 cm depth with some of the *macchie carboniose* only a few centimetres below the modern ground surface. A precise delimitation of the *macchia carboniosa* was thus not always possible. The area of Cascina Baraggia was divided into various sectors that gave name to the tombs: BAV = campi Vighi, Vacchelli and Comelli; BV = campo Vighi; BAO = campo Orsi (also published as settore Orsi); and BA = campi Grotti and Vighi. Burials from campo Vighi (BA, BAV and BV) could be dated to a short chronological range between a late LT D and the Augustan period. A similar date – up to the mid-1st century AD – was given to burials from campo Grotti (BA).Over 50 burials with an Augustan-Tiberian date were recorded for campo/settore Orsi (BAO). Although the mortuary record has been intensively studied for several master theses, published information is scarce and largely available only through annotations. It is of particular note that whereas LIA mortuary activity at Madonna delle Bozzole began mainly in LT C (not to forget the singular graves dated to the Golasecca period),

burials at Cascina Baraggia only appeared during LT D (i.e. with the Roman conquest. Maccabruni 1999: 46).

1.1.3.3. Garlasco, *località* Cascina Solferina

One of the most recent excavations has been conducted at Cascina Solferina in March 2003 east of Garlasco. The 20 burials investigated were part of a larger cemetery that had been excavated unsystematically over many years. Found 40-70 cm below the modern ground surface, all cremations had been more or less damaged. Ploughing, in particular, had left visible cuts and breaks on many artefacts. The recovered material culture allows us to date all burials to the 1st century AD.

The cemetery had been laid out in a south-east – north-west direction and probably continued towards the north-west presumably in the direction of the modern settlement. Invernizzi (2003-2004b) distinguishes between four topographical groups without going into further detail.

1.1.3.4. Garlasco, *località* Cazzanina

Excavations in the spring of 1973 and 1975 revealed an unknown number of burials including several cremations at 'boschetto dei fratelli Pezzoli' dated to the Principate.
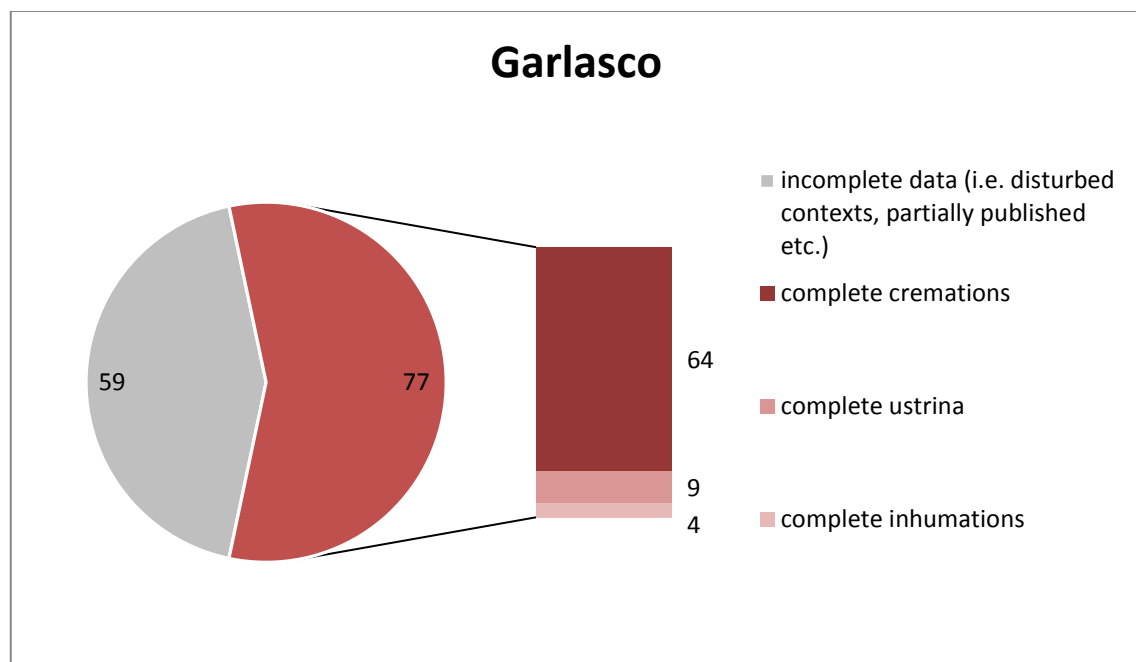
Fig. 24 Mortuary data from Garlasco. Two complete contexts are undefinable.
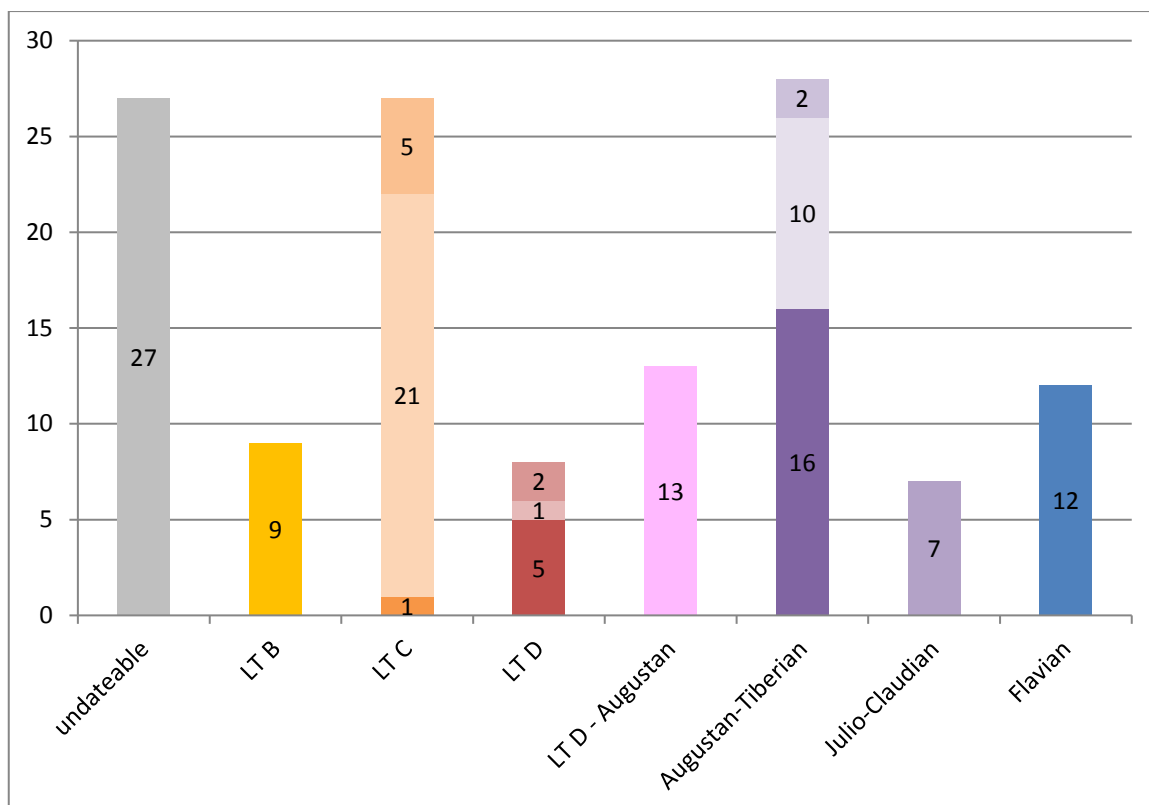
Fig. 25 Chronology of mortuary contexts from Garlasco.

1.1.4. Valeggio Lomellina and Ottobiano

1.1.4.1. Valeggio Lomellina, *località* Cascina Tessera

During the winter of 1976/1977 and the following spring one of the most extensive excavations of the Lomellina took place. No less than 232 mortuary contexts ranging between the second half of the 2nd century BC and the 2nd century AD were excavated in six neighbouring sectors along the road connecting Dorno via Cascina Tessera with Valeggio Lomellina.

First finds in the area were made in the course of levelling work using heavy machinery. The subsequent excavations were conducted by the Associazione Archeologica Lomellina. Although the cemetery of Cascina Tessera was largely excavated and recorded, the vast majority of finds remained unpublished. With a peak during the late Republic and early Principate completed by older burials dating to LT C2 and D1 the cemetery covers an important stage in the cultural transformation of the Lomellina in the wake of the Roman conquest (Vannacci Lunazzi 1979a; Frontini 1985: 49; Piana Agostinetti 1987; Vannacci Lunazzi 1992; Panzeri 1999: 16-17).

1.1.4.2. Ottobiano, *località* Cascina Rotorta

The whole area around Cascina Rotorta, north-west of Ottobiano, had long been known for its archaeological finds: around 1964 about 30 Roman burials had been found; in the area of a *dosso* in cavo Angeleri, parallel to the road leading towards Cascina Rotorta, pottery fragments dated to the 1st century BC and nearby destroyed burials had been recorded. A bronze type Pavese brooch stored at the Musei Civici di Pavia has been catalogued as originating from Ottobiano and adds to the pre-Roman period of the area. Earlier finds date to the BA, and two Roman coin hoards round up the picture (Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a; Papetti 1987).

In 1976 a Roman cemetery was discovered along the modern road between Ottobiano and San Giorgio Lomellina in the area of *località* Cascina Rotorta, zona San Antonio. Following levelling work in the vicinity unsystematic excavations were executed by the Associazione Archeologica Lomellina between October 31 and November 11. Due to the nature of excavations, burials may have been missed and the cemetery cannot be classified as complete (Papetti 1987: 19).

38 cremation burials '*a fossa*' were found at 45-90 cm depth. In some cases the *macchia carboniosa* mixed with some fragments of pottery was all that had remained from the burial as tombs had been affected previously when stumps of poplars had been removed (Papetti 1987: 19-21). The contexts were dated to the Augustan-Tiberian period with a distinct peak during the first half of the 1st century AD. The youngest burials dating to the second half of the century (PV_OTT_cRot_009, 012 and 019) were located towards the north-eastern and north-western edge of the investigated areas (A and A'; Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b; 1986a). Vannacci Lunazzi (1986a: 91) stresses the significance of the location of the cemetery and associated presumed settlement very close to the important trade route from Pavia-*Ticinum* to Gaul. The *mansio* at nearby Lomello-*Laumellum* could have played an important role in the trade and exchange patterns of the area and facilitated the acquirement of stamped and glazed pottery as evidenced at Cascina Rotorta.

Valeggio Lomellina and Ottobiano

51   65

43   complete cremations

22   complete ustrina

incomplete data (i.e. disturbed contexts, partially published etc.)
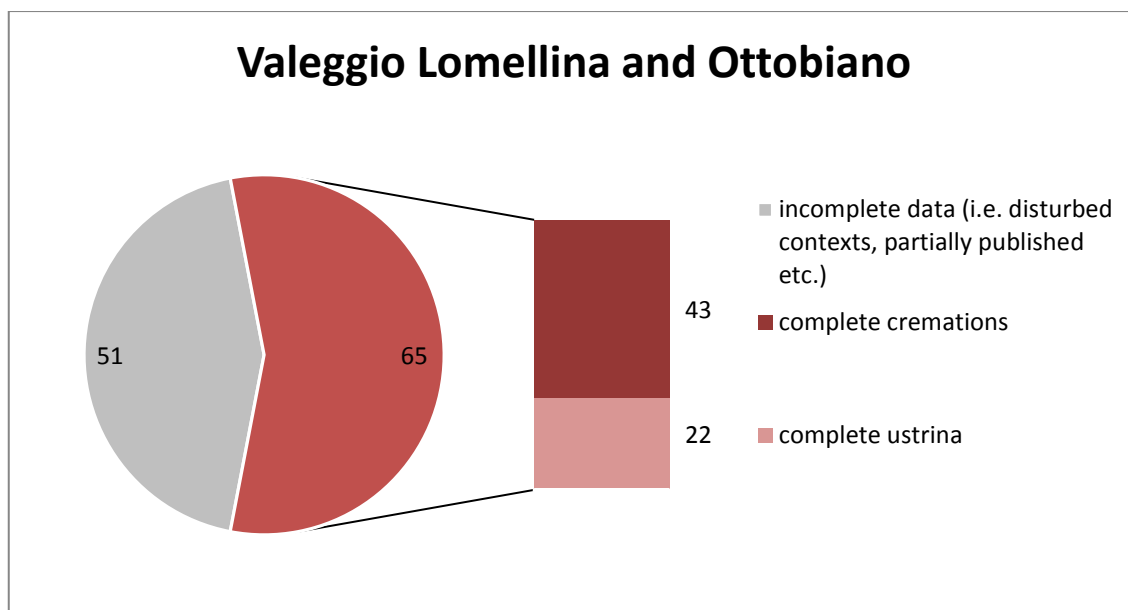
Fig. 26 Mortuary data from Valeggio Lomellina and Ottobiano.

2. Character of contexts

Since prehistoric times, the Lomellina has been a farmed landscape subject to anthropogenic changes (see chapter II). Agricultural activity such as ploughing, subsequent erosion and (more recently) large-scale levelling work in preparation for development projects and rice cultivation have made it difficult to identify the ancient land surface (Panzeri 1999: 15). A majority of mortuary contexts were found only a few centimetres under the modern ground surface, and informative investigation of burial customs appears to have been hardly possible. However, most burials are described as being '*a fossa*', thus as pit burials.

Intercutting of burials has not been reported for the Lomellina, but seven cases of disturbance (probably) already in antiquity from Madonna delle Bozzole (PV_GAR_MdB_001a; 011; 018a/b; 024a/b, a disturbed double context dated to different periods; 025; 031 and 097) may be the result of such. Due to the unreliable character of some excavation reports, double contexts such as PV_VAL_cTes_116a/b and 141a/b, which have been reported as probable double burials and/or double depositions, may also be the misunderstood result of intercutting, in particular in such cases as PV_GAR_MdB_018a/b and 022a/b, where the two assemblages have been dated to different periods. PV_ALA_cGuz_011a/b and PV_VAL_cTes_125b are undefinable without further information but their publication as 'a and b' suggest that

they may be of similar character. Of similar ambiguity are PV_GAR_cBar_013a/b, PV_GAR_MdB_013a/b and PV_GRC_lMar_024a; PV_GAM_fBel_027a/b, on the other hand, probably belonged to just one disturbed burial.

2.1. Cremation burials

The prevailing funerary rite during the entire IA and up to the 2nd century AD was cremation. Cremation burials are characterised by either (i) a layer of cremated remains (*macchia carboniosa*) on the surface or within the backfill of the grave-pit, (ii) the presence of a mortuary container with cremated bone material or (iii) traces of burning on items of the assemblage. According to these criteria, 403 out of 488 catalogued contexts have been classified as cremation burials (Fig. 27; two possible cremation burials have not been included). 12 contexts have been clearly identified as *ustrinum* complexes, with another 44 being possible *ustrina*. The distinction between *bustum* burials, direct cremation burials with the pyre set up over the burial pit (Hurschmann 2006), and *ustrina* (Höcker 2006), as the site of a funerary pyre for a single or multiple indirect cremations, was drawn as early as the 2nd century AD by Sextus Pompeius Festus (*De Verborum Significatione* 32.7-11 and 339.65). The *ustrina's* possible multiple usage complicates their archaeological investigation with regard to chronology and individual burials.
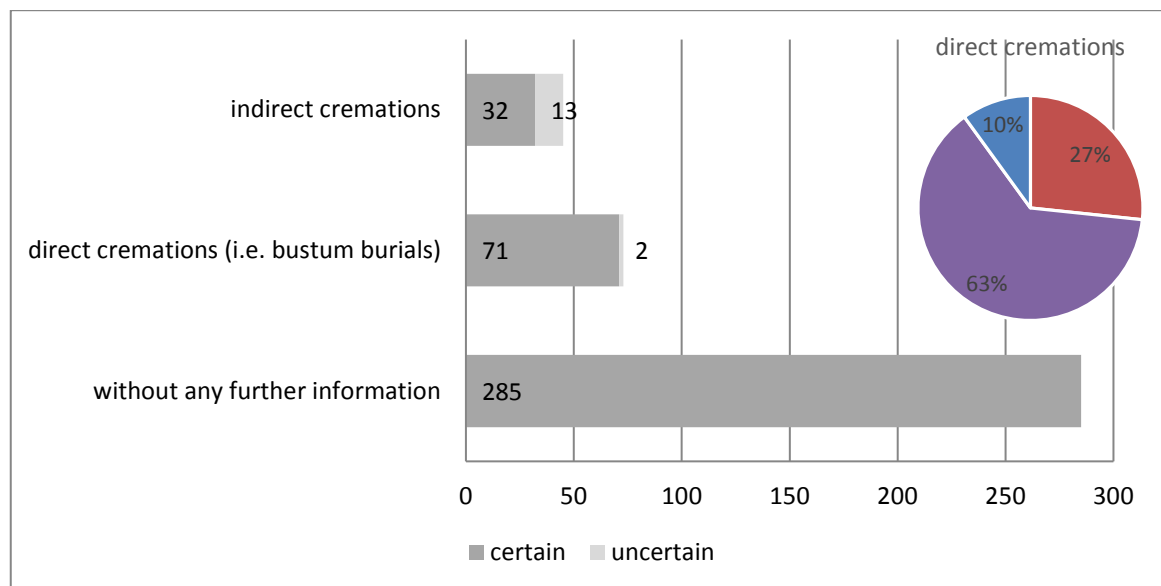
Fig. 27 Cremation types observed in the Lomellina.
The general lack of detailed data renders a classification of cremation types difficult. A chronological analysis of direct cremation burials shows a clear peak during the Julio-Claudian period (38 burials, including 29 Augusto-Tiberian burials); the small number of identified indirect cremations show no distinct picture. ■ LT D ■ Julio-Claudian ■ Flavian.

In contrast to other cemeteries such as Oleggio (NO; see VI.1.1), where traces of carbonised wood represent the lowest layers of a funerary pyre, the identification of *bustum* burials in the Lomellina is exclusively based on a larger grave-pit of about 1.50-2 m side length and/or the presence of either a particularly thick layer of cremated remains (e.g. PV_DOR_lSMa_001 and 004, PV_GRC_lMen_049). The presence of so-called *Brandschüttungsgräber* has to be considered, especially in the latter case. These graves were the result of indirect cremations but contain a larger amount of unsorted pyre debris, cremated bone material and artefacts deposited on the bottom of the pit (Pearce 2015: 227). With only 39 out of the 73 supposed direct cremations (53%), being completely documented and published, investigation into the burial customs of the Lomellina is complicated.

2.1.1. Cremating the body

In an effort to highlight the futility of social inequality, the proverbial "Death is no respecter of persons" is frequently cited. The subsequent treatment of the deceased, however, opens a whole range of traditions and rituals displaying social status. In contrast to inhumation burials and other traditions of the disposal of a corpse, cremations require a significant amount of preparation – from the collection of suitable wood to the construction of an efficient pyre. Thus, cremation clearly counts as a high-energy ritual with highly sensory performative aspects, including the visual impact of flames and smoke, the noise and smell of burning wood and flesh (Downes 1999; Cerezo-Román and Williams 2014: 250; Nilsson Stutz and Kujit 2014: 143; cf. Pliny NH 7.54 – see III.1.1). With regard to ritual theory and the concept of the liminal state of the corpse between death and funeral, cremation allows people to witness the transformation of the deceased within a clear timeframe, or as Ahrens phrased it in his analysis of rare cremations in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor: "[cremation] offered an abrupt separation from the deceased and an omission of the putrefaction process" (Ahrens 2015: 207).

Although cremations were highly visible mortuary rituals, they can be elusive in the archaeological context when searching for the actual site of the pyre used for indirect cremation burials. Experimental setups have demonstrated that even incinerations with temperatures between 800 and 1000°C barely leave any archaeologically

detectable traces. After the collection of cremated bone material, artefacts, and pyre debris, only a superficial carbonised stain (the frequently described *macchia carboniosa* of the Lomellina cemeteries) and up to 2 cm of visibly burned soil remained (Nilsson Stutz and Kujit 2014: 144-146). Therefore, only ideal archaeological conditions with a preservation of the ancient ground surface (and micro-excavations with attention to details) allow us to clearly trace the site of a pyre – conditions whose rarity is apparently not limited to the Lomellina (Ortalli 1998: 64-65 for the lack of *ustrina* in the archaeological record of the Emilia Romagna).

2.1.2. *Collecting the cremated remains of body and pyre goods*

In contrast to the preceding *prima Età del Ferro*, during which the cremated remains of the body had been collected in slightly larger vessels, urns, and covered with a bowl, during the late LIA burial customs became more varied. After the cremation of the corpse and accompanying pyre goods, larger fragments were separated from the carbonised material and collected in a bowl, sometimes covered by another bowl functioning as lid (PV_GAM_fBel_006 and 011) and/or deposited in a small adjacent pit next to the actual grave-pit. A small number of burials made use of a different type of vessel for the deposition of cremated remains (Tab. 4). Cremated remains may have been deposited in some kind of organic 'container' in those graves without any indication for a mortuary vessel (Arslan 1984: 121).

Experimental studies of European BA and IA cremations have demonstrated that the average size of vessels used as mortuary containers, especially when these were serving vessels or storage containers in secondary use, would have been too small to contain all the cremated bone material, an observation that has also been made for the Lomellina (if published measurements are representative, the rim diameter of bowls – the most frequent mortuary container – ranged between 12.5 and 28.5 cm, the average is 20.2 cm; in combination with an average height of 8.2 cm this results in an estimated average volume of 1.6 litres and 880-1360 g of cremated remains [based on the mean bulk density of dry ashes and bone meal; www.mollet.de]. Modern cremation techniques result in 1540-3150 g of ashes per individual; Grosskopf 2013: 163). Pursuant to projections, only 10-20% of the cremated body was collected for interment (Oestigaard 2013; Nilsson Stutz and Kujit 2014: 145). It thus remains to ask

what happened to the remainder (up to 90%) and whether any criteria were applied in the selection of bones.

Unfortunately, the archaeological record of the Lomellina provides little information about the character of recovered bone material. PV_DOR_lSMa_002 is the only context where bone preservation (two larger fragments with bone marrow) has been reported. The context with a circular *macchia carboniosa* of c. 20 cm diameter had been excavated in 45 cm depth. All artefacts and the cremated remains were found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa* and thus it is uncertain whether they belong exclusively to one burial or whether the context can, despite the smaller size of the *macchia carboniosa*, be identified as *ustrinum*. Large amounts of bone material have been documented at PV_DOR_lSMa_006, an indirect cremation, and PV_GRC_lMen_060. The latter context is outstanding for the preservation of an only slightly burned left talus bone, suggesting that the left foot of the corpse was dangling from the funerary pyre and thus hardly cremated.

2.1.3. Interment of cremated remains

The archaeological observation of the cremation funerals of the Lomellina finishes with the interment of the cremated remains, either collected and transferred from the site of the pyre, the *ustrinum*, or *in situ*. There is no apparent evidence of post-interment rituals such as an architectural monumentalisation and/or continued visits of the grave. The rare cases of intercutting between burials (see p. 125), however, suggest that burials were marked and remained visible over an extended period. Bone material and smaller items such as pieces of jewellery and coins were frequently collected in a container or placed in a separate pit adjacent to the main pit (see also IV.2.3). Returning to Ahrens' conclusions about the discrepant characters of cremation and inhumation burials, the process of cremation did not only result in a rapid separation from the deceased but also minimised the potential for prolonged post-interment rituals – neither larger mortuary containers (i.e. *sarcophagi* or coffins) were required nor did longer periods of putrefaction have to be observed (Ahrens 2015: 207). Although this hypothesis is counter to contemporary elaborate cremations tombs as such of northern Etruria (e.g. *Tomba dei Volumni*, Perugia), or the simplicity

of many modern inhumation tombs in Britain, it resonates with the apparent uniformity of the mortuary culture of the Lomellina.

2.2.   Inhumation burials

North-west Italy has been characterised by a variety of burial customs during the latest Iron Age and early Principate (see chapter VI.2). In regions where cremation prevailed, the inhumation rite was only gradually introduced during the middle Principate (Ortalli 2007: 201). Therefore, it is little surprising that inhumations are very rare for the LIA and 1st century AD Lomellina. Only three burials falling within this chronological range have been identified with certainty as inhumation burials: PV_GRC_SSp_001 was a singular inhumation found in the area of the sand mining pit at Santo Spirito, Gropello Cairoli. The context dates to the 1st century BC, and the individual was buried with two brooches and two finger rings. A crouched LT D1 inhumation (PV_GRC_SSp_002) was excavated at Cascina Becca. The two unusual burials outside any recognized cemetery site suggests some kind of deviant interment. PV_VAL_cTes_068 can be dated to the first decades of the 1st century AD, based on a glass *olpe*. The context is also the only certain infant burial in the Lomellina and could thus explain the choice of funerary rite.

Four inhumation burials date after AD 100: PV_GAR_MdB_078 and 079, and PV_GRC_lMar_032 can be dated with a *terminus post quem* of AD 170, 241 and 104-110 respectively; PV_GAR_MdB_080 is generally dated to the 2nd century AD. PV_GAR_MdB_083 has to remain without a date. Only the four burials at Madonna delle Bozzole, Garlasco, can be identified with certainty as inhumation burials with skeletal remains, whereas in the case of *località* Marone-Voghera, Gropello Cairoli, the identification relies on the late date and the lack of traces of burning on the grave goods. Skeletal remains were not recorded.

2.3.   Architectural remains and grave furnishings

Most burials of the Lomellina were laid out *in nuda terra*, i.e. without any grave furnishings or protective measurements. Only in one case (PV_GAR_MdB_085), dating to the first half of the 1st century AD, is a wooden box protecting the burial evidenced (through four iron hinges and six nails).

15 cremation assemblages were buried in a tile cist (*a cassetta*). With one undated exception (PV_VAL_cTes_187), they all date between LT D2 and the end of the Julio-Claudian period (i.e. c. 70 BC – AD 68). One burial '*a cassetta*' has been identified as an inhumation burial (PV_GAR_MdB_078). Seven further cremations and inhumations dating between LT C and the 2nd century AD were described as probable burials '*a cassetta*' due to the presence of tiles or tile fragments. Three further burials dating to LT D1 (PV_GAM_fBel_012) and D2 (PV_VAL_cTes_080 and 087) had been interred with a tile bedding or tile protection such as two tiles separating the grave goods from the *macchia carboniosa* (PV_GAM_fBel_012). An Augustan burial from *località* Menabrea, Gropello Cairoli (PV_GRC_lMen_055), was protected by half a brick.

	a cassetta	tiles	*amphorae*	varia
Lomellina	**22** LT C/D – Julio-Claudian & 2nd century AD	**3** LT D	**3** LT D2 – Aug.-Tib.	---
Gambolò		1 LT D1	2 LT D2 – Aug.-Tib.	
Gropello Cairoli	4 LT C/D – Augustan		1 Augustan	1 Brick protection: Augustan
Garlasco, Madonna delle Bozzole	5 2nd century AD (inhumations)			2 Basin: LT C1 Wooden box: Julio-Claudian
Valeggio	8 LT D2 – Julio-Claudian	2 LT D2		

Tab. 3 Geographic and chronological distribution of grave furnishings.
The analysis shows no clear patterns. The sites of Dorno and Ottobiano are not listed for lack of evidence; in Garlasco grave furnishings have only been reported for Madonna delle Bozzole (4 out of 5 cists are only reported as 'probable' cists).

Three cremation burials ranging between LT D2 (PV_GAM_fBel_016) and the Augustan-Tiberian period (PV_GAM_fBel_035 and PV_GRC_lMar_046) were characterised by the usage of *amphorae* as a means of protection for the burial assemblage. A closer inspection, however, reveals that the individual burials vary: in the case of PV_GAM_fBel_016, the modest grave goods, two jars and a spindle whorl,

were separated from the *macchia carboniosa*, mixed with brooches and other vessels, with a vertically positioned large *amphora* fragment. PV_GAM_fBel_035 was identified as the youngest grave of the cemetery excavated at Gambolò-Belcreda and described as provided with a rich mortuary assemblage. The artefacts – including the only glass item (a perfume bottle) and oil lamp found at Gambolò-Belcreda – were assembled in and around an *amphora*, cut into two halves. PV_GRC_lMar_046, dating between the end of the 1st century BC and the first decades of the 1st century AD, verified by a *t.p.q.* of 7 BC (an as with portrait of Augustus), has only been described as 'cremation buried in an *amphora*'. This low number of burials with or in *amphorae* stands in stark contrast to their wide distribution in the Alto Milanese and Comasco (see VI.4). A LT C1 burial from Madonna delle Bozzole (PV_GAR_MdB_090), which was covered by a large basin, demonstrates that the protective covering of an assemblage with a large container may have been a long-established tradition.

Ceramic mortuary containers were used in 95 cremation burials. The analysis of mortuary containers from the four case study areas shows that there is no distinct chronological peak for the use of mortuary containers.
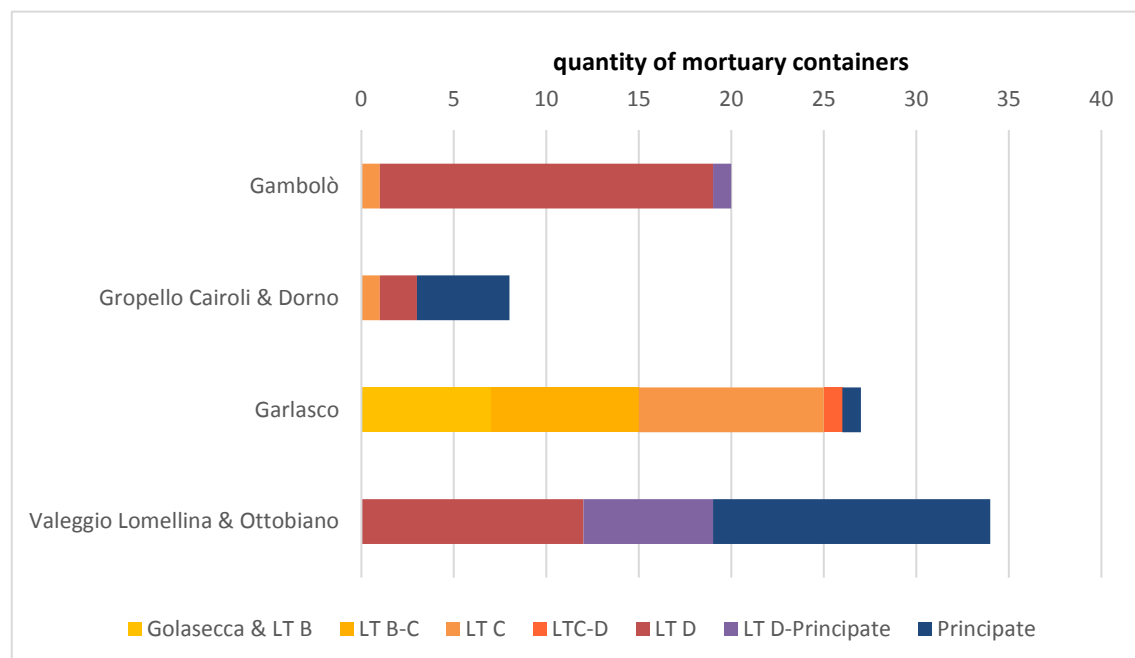
Fig. 28 Quantitative-chronological analysis of mortuary containers from the case study areas.
The 20 mortuary containers from Gambolò comprise 19 bowls and one jar (LT C); the eight examples from Gropello Cairoli (seven) and Dorno (one) include four bowls and four unspecified containers; all 27 mortuary containers from Garlasco were bowls; Valeggio and Ottobiano brought the widest variety of mortuary containers with 28 bowls, two jars, one plate, two urns and the face-urn from PV_VAL_cTes_024.

	Quantity of burials with mortuary container	Complete contexts	
Bowl	**80**	62	Tab. 4 Mortuary containers from the Lomellina ranging from a period before LT C1 (PV_GAR_MdB_016 and 020) to the Flavian period (PV_VAL_cTes_075).
Jar	**4**	2	
Plate & 'cooking vessel'	**2**	2	
Urn	**3**	3	
Face-urn	**1**		
unspecified	**5**	3	

2.4. Deposition rites

The rite of cremation, even if it is conducted as direct cremation, is very much a bipartite ritual. The initial deposition of the body and artefacts to accompany the deceased on the pyre (i.e. pyre goods referred to as primary offering/assemblage – e.g. '*corredo primario*' – or external deposition) can be subsequently completed by a second deposition of unburnt items ('*corredo secondario*' or internal deposition). In the case of indirect cremation on an *ustrinum*, cremated bone material and burnt artefact fragments may be collected and transferred to the grave-pit. The fragmentary state of pyre goods renders it difficult to establish the character of this primary deposition. Comparison with recently excavated sites and a focused documentation of traces of exposure to heat (e.g. Dormelletto; see VI.2.2), however, suggests that person-related items (e.g. jewellery and items of dress) but also ritual coins were deposited on the pyre as they fastened the shroud and/or were placed on the corpse. An analysis of 103 *macchie carboniose* that had been documented as mixed with fragments of the mortuary assemblage demonstrates that pottery (including ceramic *balsamaria*) accounted for the majority of items placed on the pyre (Appendix Tab. I). The fragmented state of these vessels frequently led to a rather summary description, but where details have been recorded it is apparent that black-gloss tableware was placed on the pyre. This suggests that the cremation process was either accompanied by ritual feasting or that food and drink suitable for a banquet were deposited on the pyre. A ritual purpose can also be assumed for the deposition of glass items. Although

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molten fragments cannot be explicitly identified as tableware or *balsamaria*, it is more likely that they can be attributed primarily to the latter as no recognisable glass vessels have been found as part of a pyre assemblage.

Balsamaria, however, have been identified through both fused glass and complete vessels (e.g. PV_ALA_cGuz_003). In the absence of detailed descriptions regarding the state of preservation of these complete *balsamaria*, it remains unclear whether these perfume bottles had been placed on the pyre but survived the combustion process comparatively undamaged or whether their contents had been used during or after the cremation process and the empty bottles were subsequently mixed with the carbonised remains of the pyre. A double deposition of glass *balsamaria* and, hence, perfume has also been observed at early Roman cemeteries throughout the north-west provinces (e.g. Trier; Goethert 2013: 157). The close connection between *balsamaria* and the (cremated remains of the) deceased is also indicated through the shared deposition inside mortuary containers (e.g. PV_GRC_lMar_046 and PV_ZIN_tLMa_001).

Brooches and other items of dress and jewellery such as bracelets or belt buckles are generally scarce (see V.2). Although they have only been reported for less than 20% of the documented *macchie carboniose* they may have been placed on the pyre more frequently. Brooches and ring jewellery have been reported as part of the deposition of cremated bone material contained in bowls (e.g. PV_ALA_cGuz_004 [Fig. XXXI]**,** PV_DOR_cGra_186 [Fig. 29]**,** PV_GAM_fBel_003, 005-006, 011, 021 and 023, PV_GAR_MdB_022 and 063, PV_OTT_cRot_030 [Fig. LXIII], PV_VAL_cTes_100 [Fig. LXVII], 126 [Fig. LXVIII], 139, 141a and b). Corrosion products of textile adherent to a brooch from PV_OTT_cRot_030 further strengthen the hypothesis that personal adornment was generally worn by the deceased and thus placed on the pyre. Fairly comparable is the deposition of coins that appear to have always been found either mixed with the *macchia carboniosa* or inside the mortuary container (see V.5.1). Rare cases of coins found in other locations are most probably the result of translocation either through animals or agricultural work (e.g. PV_ALA_cGuz_004).

Fig. 29 Exceptionally rich brooch assemblage – PV_DOR_cGra_186. Second half 1st century BC. Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

No other tools but spindle whorls have been found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa* suggesting not only that the size of items determined whether they were collected from the cremated remains of the pyre but also that these typically female gendered objects had been of great personal importance and were thus placed with the corpse, probably attached to the deceased's belt on a string. Only grave PV_VAL_cTes_116b included a pair of shears that had been deposited on the layer of carbonised remains. PV_GAM_fBel_020 had a pair of shears deposited together with the cremated remains inside a bowl.

Unusual is the case of grave PV_GAR_MdB_022 a particularly pottery-rich assemblage belonging to a double burial of different periods. Whilst bowl b contained brooches and cremated remains, a sword, a shield boss and a knife appear to have been placed in bowl a (Arslan 1984: 124-125, however, notes that the assemblage has been completely mixed up and is thus impossible to separate).

Oil lamps and small terracotta statuettes have only rarely been found as part of the *macchia carboniosa,* suggesting that they had either been separated from the carbonised remains of the pyre or were part of the grave good assemblage. A similar hypothesis has been posed by Butti Ronchetti (2009/2010: 19) for the few oil lamps found at Rovello Porro (see VI.3.5). Although Butti Ronchetti concludes that oil lamps had, therefore, been less of a ritual function but merely a technological innovation

worthy of accompanying the deceased, it is possible that they were part of a post-cremation ritual. Whilst items deposited on the pyre may have been part of *rites de passage*, those that provided for the afterlife were directly placed in the grave.

Nails, if not further described regarding their size, can originate from either shoes (particularly if found in large numbers – e.g. PV_GRC_lMen_062 and 066, PV_OTT_cRot_001 and 002), organic containers such as wooden boxes or funerary beds. Although funerary beds are usually identified through terracotta appliqués, comparison with contexts from Ostia, Angera and the Comasco point to large nails deriving from simple undecorated beds or litters (see VI.3.5).

2.4.1. *Double depositions*

The analysis of 103 pyre good assemblages deposited with carbonised cremation residue has demonstrated that these items comprised primarily ceramics and smaller objects of personal significance. Compared with grave good assemblages it becomes evident that pottery and *balsamaria* exclusively account for items that were part of both assemblages. Following the terminology of various authors (e.g. Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 57), these assemblages of different objects that probably had varying ritual significances are single depositions split into two or more parts described as '*corredo primario*' and '*corredo secondario*' for the pyre and grave assemblage respectively or 'external ' and 'internal assemblage'.

The ritual of placing equivalent items into the burial pit in addition to those that had accompanied the deceased on the funerary pyre is described as double deposition or '*duplice deposizione*' (Tab. II). In addition to a clear duplication of objects, discernible traces of exposure to heat should be the required criteria to verify a double deposition. The latter, however, have been hardly reported, and thus PV_ZIN_lMa_001 is one of the rare contexts, where certain elements of the assemblage clearly were doubled, but the lack of traces of exposure to heat on most items allows also for an interpretation as double burial. Two glass *olpai* were accompanied by two black-glossed plates and two fine tableware cups. Five jars and four ceramic *olpai*, four glass cups and a bowl complete the assemblage of vessels. Two glass stirring rods as well as the molten fragments of one or two further examples, two mirrors and seven spherical and pear- to tube-shaped glass *balsamaria* as well as two oil lamps and six spindle

whorls had obviously been selected as 'sets of twos'. Plausible is, therefore, also an identification as a double burial of two women (see below), a hypothesis weakened but not necessarily falsified by the presence of only one terracotta figurine of an embracing couple and only one bronze coin (Invernizzi 2002c: 67 fig. 9).

Indication for double deposition (*doppie/duplice deposizione*) has also been noted for the 43 contexts excavated at Podere Panzarasa within the boundaries of Gropello Cairoli, *località* Marone-Voghera (PV_GRC_lMar_001-043; Diani 1999: 163 n. 6).

The concept of 'double depositions' is not to be confused with double burials, '*deposizioni doppie*' – the deposition of two (cremated) bodies in one grave (Tab. III). Therefore, the interpretation of references made to '*deposizioni doppie*' or '*duplici deposizioni*' can be difficult when no further context is given (e.g. Invernizzi 2002c: 62 for an unspecified number of '*duplici deposizioni*' at Madonna delle Bozzole. 67 fig. 9 for the female '*duplice deposizione*' from Zinasco that tentatively allows both interpretations).

For the Lomellina nine cases of double assemblage deposition and seven double burials have been described. Compared to 403 cremation burials, however, it has to be assumed that this figure should be much higher. The lack of completely excavated and published burial contexts as well as little attention to smaller fragments mixed with the *macchia carboniosa* during the excavation contributes to this low figure.

3. Methodology

3.1. Evaluation of data

The fragmentary state of the published mortuary record of the Lomellina renders statistical and combination analyses of the data almost impossible. The number of completely excavated and published contexts for each period is insufficient (Fig. 30; see IV.1). Notwithstanding the impracticality of quantitative analysis, the qualitative investigation in combination with the discussed theoretical concepts can reveal aspects of individual and shared identities.
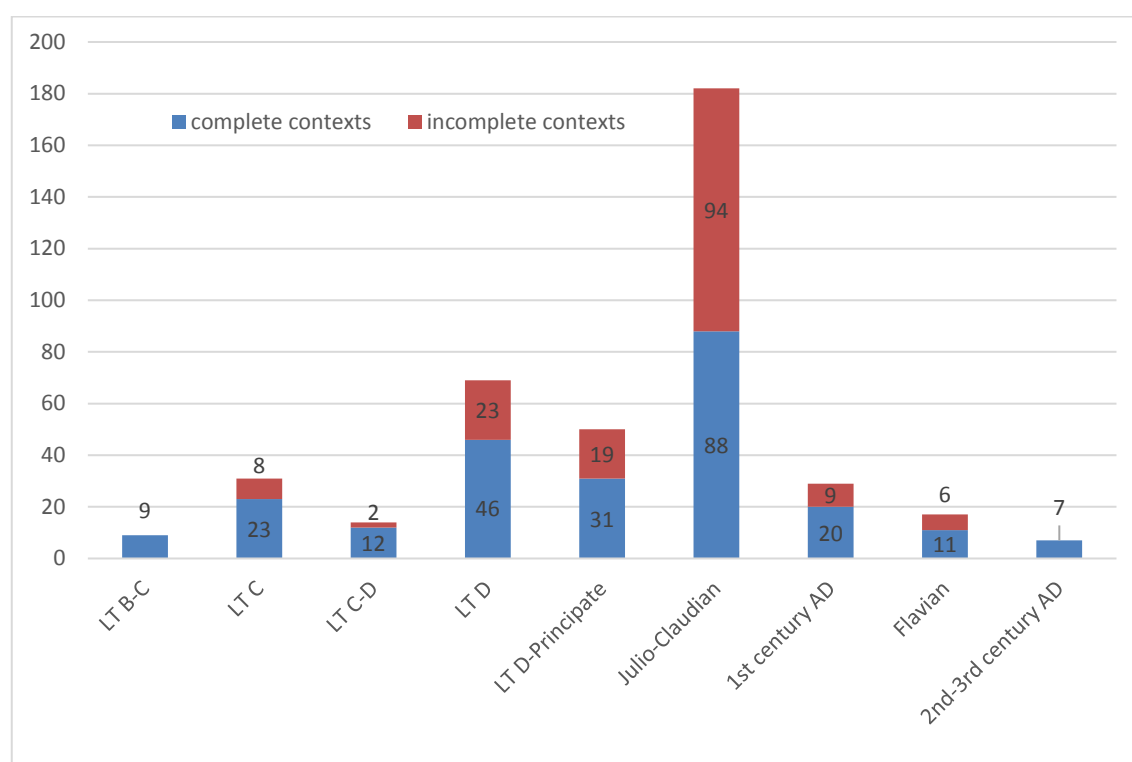
Fig. 30 Quantitative-chronological analysis of complete and incomplete contexts.
The figures for complete contexts per chronological period are partially too limited to allow reasonable statistical analysis.

The data selected for this study derives entirely from the published archaeological record. Thus, a majority of mortuary contexts cannot be deemed as complete: 50% of the catalogued contexts has only been published incompletely or in reference to other finds and, hence, list only selected material categories (e.g. burials PV_DOR_cGra_047, 127, 164 and 198 from the 1st centuries BC/AD cemetery at Cascina Grande, Dorno have only been published in reference to their terracotta appliqués rendering this important site with more than 200 burials largely inaccessible).

3.2. Qualitative analysis

At the 1995 colloquium "*Römische Gräber des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. in Italien und den Nordwestprovinzen*" a paper dedicated to the assessment of Roman-ness in burials of Central and Northern Italy was presented (Fasold and Witteyer 1998). The chosen approach combined an assessment of Roman-ness for late Republican and early Imperial burials in Rome and a comparison with c. 500 burials from 22 sites in Central and Northern Italy.

Notwithstanding some methodological shortcomings (see below), Fasold and Witteyer gave a regrettably accurate summary of methodological issues in the investigation of 'Roman' mortuary culture: typical criteria for the verification of 'Roman-ness' are grave architecture and mortuary assemblages, especially oil lamps, coins and *balsamaria*. Funerary rituals – despite their importance as cultural agents – frequently play only a secondary role as they have rarely been documented (*ibid.* 181).

Characteristic elements of metropolitan Roman burials, particularly those classified as less wealthy, are *amphorae* used for post-interment libations or as grave markers and tombs '*a cassetta*' using tiles (*ibid.* 182-183). Such finds were subsequently compared with those from selected sites from non-Roman contexts dated to the 1st centuries BC/AD. Regarding Northern Italy, the authors stressed the importance of acknowledging the variability of geographical and cultural landscapes and possible ethnic backgrounds, in particular for areas that were presumably affected by the Gallic migrations. The nature of the published data only allowed them to analyse rural settlements, whereas those of urban contexts had to be neglected. Of particular interest to this study are their results regarding Dorno, *località* San Materno and Gropello Cairoli, *località* Marone-Voghera (Podere Panzarasa). Data was analysed chronologically and with regard to certain material categories. However, neither primary and secondary assemblages were distinguished (see IV.2.4) nor did a differentiation between burials of an advanced LT D1 and D2 take place (1st century BC burials prior to the Augustan period are generally classified as Republican). This decision had been made for the sake of comparability. The recorded material culture comprised oil lamps, *balsamaria* and coins as main indicators of 'Roman-ness', together with pottery, TS and indigenous pottery, glass vessels, brooches and

jewellery, toilet utensils, tools and spindle whorls (*ibid.* 183-185). It is to some extent regrettable that a quantitative analysis (as far as feasible) has not been pursued (for a review and evaluation of their results see chapter V.6). A similar approach has been employed below in categorising the material record.

3.2.1. Material categories

The material culture selected for this study has been drawn from mortuary assemblages excavated as grave finds and at pyre sites (i.e. *ustrina*). Where possible, they have been categorised as either pyre or grave goods (for a definition see IV.2.4). According to their function in daily life and during the funeral, as well as in their significance for individual identities, items have been categorised as

- 'vessels and containers' including pottery, glass and rare bronze vessels but also ceramics in a secondary use as mortuary containers,
- 'items of dress and jewellery',
- 'weapons and tools',
- 'personal belongings' comprising primarily items of grooming and
- 'varia' including also items of a ritual connotation.

This categorisation encompasses all aspects of funerary rituals as well as expressions of shared and individual identities ranging from the communal use of pottery during the funeral via personal adornment and items communicating personal identities back to shared but individual-related concepts such as eschatological beliefs. It goes without saying that any kind of material labelling is based on the understanding and perception of objects. Hence, it is unavoidable that certain objects fall within different categories and decisions are based on the available information.

Pottery is probably the most self-contained sub-category. As a basic commodity, kitchen and tableware may have been joint possessions within a family. During the funeral, they were probably used for feasting and – bordering the sphere of ritual items – for the offering of food as well as an expression of wealth. Dishes of precious material such as fine tableware, glass and bronze emphasise their agency in the expression of status. In contrast to Fasold and Witteyer (*ibid.*), I have chosen an approach that initially summarises all kitchen and tableware. In a second step, local

and non-local fine wares are distinguished whereby BGW and TS are equally important due to the wider chronological scope. With regard to their production and distribution, *balsamaria* (i.e. perfume bottles of ceramic and glass) coincide with fine tableware and it is therefore appropriate to discuss certain aspects of their materiality together.

'Items of dress and jewellery' as well as 'weapons and tools' both comprise items of ambiguous 'object identity'. Whilst finger rings or necklaces (evidenced through beads) were probably more a matter of personal taste and have been reported only rarely, brooches and bracelets communicated more than just individual style. They are distinguished in their archaeological significance for the dating and cultural identification of an assemblage (see VI.3.2 for the focus on non-local brooches as evidence of cross-cultural intermarriage at Dormelletto). The adoption of Romano-Italic fashion or the survival of local traditions can thus highlight aspects of changing cultural identity. Within the community, dress and jewellery can also communicate aspects of social identity such as gender, age and status. Hence, they act as an agent between their bearer and society, express shared cultural identities and individual placement within the social hierarchy. Weapons and tools are embedded in a similar network of individual and shared identities. They characterise the role of the individual within their community as protector and provider. In their function as status symbol, weapons gain a ritual significance and can be bestowed upon wives or prematurely deceased children, hence losing their quality as gender or age markers (pers. comm. J. Weidig). In addition, certain items such as knives can be used both as weapons and tools, thus complicating their categorisation. Shears, spindle whorls and rare sickles appear to be unambiguous in their identification as tools. Spindle whorls, however, are distinguished in their close relationship with the individual as indicated by their frequent placement on the pyre, suggesting that they had probably been part of the deceased's clothing (see IV.2.4.); a separation of spindle whorls from other tools has also been adopted by Fasold and Witteyer (1998).

The category of 'personal belongings' may be the most conflictual material group comprising highly individual and person-related items. Although a category of 'personal belongings' can be found in many publications, the definition can be widely varied (e.g. Goethert 2013: 157 lists brooches, mirrors and knives as "persönlich

angesehene Gegenstände" that had been deposited together with the cremated remains of the corpse, whereas burned pottery fragments were collected in an adjacent ash pit; Montevecchi 2013: 205 distinguishes between "oggetti di carattere più personale" such as mirrors and collective offerings [i.e. vessels and containers but also the content of libations] as well as ritual offerings that include not only oil lamps, perfume [bottles] and vessels for libations but also the prayers accompanying them). In their function as commodities of personal grooming, I have ascribed mirrors, stirring rods or probes and *balsamaria* to this category. Although only one *strigil* has been found in a mortuary context of the Lomellina (PV_GAM_fBel_041; see Fig. 60 for a stray find from Vigevano) dated to an advanced LT D1, the adoption of Romano-Italic traditions of personal hygiene expresses changed concepts of self-awareness. Highly personal, *balsamaria* can thus be perceived as a marker of increased individualisation; large quantities of *balsamaria* are also frequently understood as an indicator of female gender. On the other hand, it is undeniable that perfume played an important role during the various mortuary rituals (see p. 65). It may have been used in embalming the corpse and sprinkled on the pyre or in the grave. *Balsamaria* may have been deposited with contents intact as an offering to the dead (and an acknowledgement of the deceased's individual taste) or depleted following a concept that everything used during a funeral belongs to the deceased. In this context, not only *balsamaria* but also drinking vessels used during libation rituals are ritual items (Montevecchi 2013: 205-206). A separation of *balsamaria* from other mortuary offerings can also be based on their perception as marker for 'Roman-ness' (Fasold and Witteyer 1998) – an approach that will not be followed in this thesis as a particular 'Roman-ness' of perfume bottles is rejected. Although organic residue of aromatic essences has not been documented, we can assume that their use had been an element of ritual practices prior to the Roman conquest. The appearance of glass *balsamaria* contemporary to the peak period of material changes, however, is owed to the chronological coincidence.

Therefore, 'ritual items' – catalogued under the umbrella term 'varia' – include only coins, oil lamps and the imperishable remains of funerary beds (i.e. nails, clasps and terracotta appliqués). The production of the latter coincides with that of small figurines, which, in the absence of further information about their function within the grave, have also been grouped under 'varia'. Notwithstanding the widely accepted

characterisation of coins and oil lamps as an expression of eschatological beliefs (e.g. Macchioro 1991: 355; Arslan 1999: 69), only funerary beds can be unambiguously described as material evidence of burial customs. Coins have also been interpreted merely as expression of wealth or dowry for a prematurely deceased daughter (Polenz 1982: 163-168; Fitzpatrick 1997: 89), whereas oil lamps have been categorised as technical innovation and thus placed on a similar level such as tools (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 19).

3.3. Chronology

The north-west of Italy has been witness to a long history of conflicting chronological debates. Their roots lie in not only the region's academic history but also its geography and political past.

With the Alps being more easily traversed than the Apennines, inter-cultural contacts between north-west Italy and the Alpine and transalpine areas have always been close. This led to obvious stylistic similarities and, particularly prior to scientific dating, to parallel typologies (Pearce 1994: 56-57; Pearce 1995). The weaknesses of paralleling typologies and thus chronologies have already been pointed out by Arslan (1971-1974: 7-8). As a possible solution he presents a correlation between historic events and LIA periods. Despite his reservations, he follows transalpine LT terminology and identifies three phases of a LT Padano. LT Padano A-B corresponds to the period between the Gallic migrations at the end of the 5th and beginning 4th century BC, and the Roman conquest of Northern Italy (LT Padano A: c. 400 BC-268 BC [foundation of Rimini-*Ariminum*]; LT Padano B: 268-189 BC [deduction of Bologna-*Bononia*]). The period until Augustus is classified as LT Padano C. Of particular note is Arslan's observation that a progressive cultural 'Romanisation' only took place after 89 BC (*ibid*. 4-8).

The material and classificatory parallels between transalpine and Northern Italian IA cultures have been the topic of a number of doctoral theses and studies especially during the 1970s (e.g. Piana Agostinetti 1972; Ettlinger and Alföldi 1973; Graue 1974 and Stöckli 1975). Ancient and modern cultural links between the Transpadane IA cultures and the Lepontii, as well as between Northern Italian, Swiss and German scholarship, additionally facilitated the dependency of Transpadane dating concepts upon transalpine chronologies.

A recent discussion of both this phenomenon and the LIA and early Augustan chronology of north-west Italy (Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch 2010) challenges this transalpine perspective. Before reviewing their concept, however, three older concepts merit consideration: Graue (1974) developed his chronological concept for the cemeteries of Ornavasso (VB). Despite ongoing developments, his results are still frequently referred to. Trucco (1983) and Arslan (1984), on the other hand, both focused on a sector of mortuary contexts excavated at Garlasco, *frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole. A lack of comparable markers has restricted the relevance of their concepts to Garlasco and, consequently, they are rarely cited.

3.3.1. *Chronological debates*

relative periods	*Ornavasso* Graue 1974	Tizzoni 1981 (after Reinecke and Krämer)	Tizzoni 1984 subsequently Haeussler 2013	*Oleggio* Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 47
LT A/GIII A		475-375	400-375	
LT B1		375-250	375-300	
LT B2			300-250	
LT C1		250-100	250-200	
LT C2	*Ornavasso I*		200-100	125-100 [LT C2-D1]
LT D1	*Ornavasso II* 90-50	100-30	120-70	100-70
LT D2	*Ornavasso III* 50-15		70-27	70-30
Principate	*Ornavasso IV* 15 BC-AD 20 *Ornavasso V* 20-55 *Ornavasso VI* 55-90		27 BC-AD 300	29 BC – AD 14 [Augustan]

Previous page: Tab. 5 Correlation of absolute and relative chronologies used for Transpadane Italy.
The deviations are minimal. Historically the LIA, *la seconda Età del Ferro* has been deemed to begin in 388 BC, the presumed date of the Gallic migrations (Tizzoni 1981: 211). For the sake of simplicity and in order to demonstrate a chronological independence of archaeology from historical dates, however, LT B is regarded as having begun around 375 BC. This thesis follows the concept developed by Tizzoni in 1984.

Graue's 1974 thesis set the chronological baseline for Cisalpine contexts of southern Switzerland and Northern Italy based on the detailed chronology of Ornavasso, *località* San Bernardo and Persona – two cemeteries of the LIA and early Principate. Using a combination of finds, Graue established six phases for Ornavasso: phase I = late LT C2; phases II-III = LT D; phases IV-VI = early Principate (Graue 1974: 161-167; see Previous page: Tab. 5). These relative chronological phases have been connected to absolute dates through an analysis of the 356 coins discovered (*ibid.* 135-144). With regard to his methodological approach it is of particular interest that Graue deliberately refrained from distinguishing between female and male assemblages but opted for a differentiation into weapon-bearing graves and those without weapons. Although he followed the traditional gender identification of 'weapons equal men' and 'jewellery equals women', he emphasised that weapon-less burials cannot necessarily be limited to women and thus a clear gender identification is not possible (*ibid.* 102).

Graue identified a spectrum of objects characteristic for each phase, in part well-comparable with the material culture of the Lomellina (see chapter V). Of particular interest for a comparison with the Lomellina are Graue's phase III and IV. Although the distinction between phase II and III relies primarily on the spatial hierarchy between the cemeteries of San Bernardo and Persona, the transition is also characterised by the disappearance of *vasi a trottola*. Emerging materials include g*ladii* (short swords characteristic for Roman soldiers) and spearheads. Both continued in phase IV highlighting the local continuation of weapon burials into the Augustan period. Brooches – one of the type fossils for LIA contexts – largely disappeared with the beginning of phase V except for a local type of LT II brooches with high bow and oversized spring. Graue's final phase, Ornavasso VI, is primarily characterised by a relative poverty of assemblages (*ibid.* 103-113).

	Phase	Characteristic material culture	*t.p.q.* of correlated coins
LT C2	I	Early *vasi a trottola*	
		Helmkopffibel	
LT D	II	Italic bronze vessels	195-71 BC
		BGW incl. Lamboglia 28 bowls and Lamboglia 5, 6 and 7 plates	
		Brooches incl. types Almgren 65, Nauheim and local LT II brooches with distinctly oversized spring	
		Jewellery incl. silver ring jewellery, arm rings and beads in glass	
		Weaponry and tools incl. axes, knives, shears and spindle whorls	
		Personal belongings incl. razors and *strigiles*	
	III	Brooches incl. *Knotenfibeln*	167-37 BC
		Weaponry incl. *gladii* and spearheads	
Principate	IV	Augustan bronze vessels	18-2 BC
		Late variations of BGW, achromatic imitation ware and first examples of TS	
		Brooch incl. type Aucissa	
		Weaponry incl. *gladii* and spearheads	
		Personal belongings incl. glass *balsamaria*	
	V		18 BC-AD 54
	VI		AD 41-81

Tab. 6 Graue's phasing of the material culture excavated at Ornavasso, *località* San Bernardo and Persona (Graue 1974: 103-113).

The first and, so far, only comprehensive qualitative-quantitative analysis published for a cemetery of the Lomellina was produced by Trucco (1983). In her comparison study she investigated the 31 3rd-2nd century BC burials from Garlasco, *frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole (excavated in 1967), and identified 44 chronological markers (Tab. 8), representing three phases (I-III) and those of continued or long duration. Trucco organised the material in four material groups (Tab. 7; *ibid.* 71 pl. LXIII), correlating in a slightly offset mode with the three chronological phases and reflecting both gendered assemblages and – in contrast to Fasold and Witteyer (1998; see p. 140) – also differing pottery wealth. Based on her combination analysis, Trucco was able to relatively date

28 contexts and observe a horizontal stratigraphy within the excavated sector, which implies groupings of concentrically expanding burials (Trucco 1983: 71 pl. LVI).

Despite her vital work, the missing correlation with the general LT periodisation complicates an adaption of Trucco's model for other sites. This is aggravated by the non-standardised description of mortuary goods in various publications and often further complicated by a lack of illustrations.

Group	Combination	Present in phases:
A	One or more brooches only	I-III
B	Brooch, spindle whorl and/or bracelet as well as other certainly female items – this group is the only one with bronze items	I-II
C	Assemblage with weaponry	I-III
D	Pottery only	II-III

Tab. 7 Assemblage groups according to Trucco 1983: 71-72.

Like Graue, (and contemporaneously to Trucco) Arslan also developed a chronological (albeit less comprehensive) system for the LT II-III burials from Madonna delle Bozzole (Arslan 1984: 122-127 and 2012). He classified 22 out of 37 investigated burials as complete. His chronology – an initial and a later phase separated by a transitional phase (here referred to as 'Arslan phase 1-3') – is based on iron LT II brooch types distinguished by an increasingly shorter foot. Whilst those of phase 1 feature a low bow and long recurved foot, those of phase 2, the transitional phase, have a medium-length foot fixed to the high bow with two clasps. Brooches of the final phase 3 return to a low bow but are distinguished by a short foot. Similar patterns have been observed for the burials of Solduno (CH. Stöckli 1975).

The concept is characterised by a fluidity resulting from the introduction of a transitional phase and the identification of transitional items and those of long duration (Tab. 9). For the analysis of standard combinations in each phase, Arslan distinguishes between male warrior assemblages and those without weapons, identified as female, non-armed men (i.e. without female attire) or children (i.e. modest assemblages).

	Object	ID
Exclusive to phase I	Bowl with sharply incurved rim, high & narrow body	1
	Jar, pear-shaped with cordoned neck, var. A & B	2
	Bowl, truncated conical, open	3
	Spindle whorl, truncated conical with polished surface	4
	Arm ring with circular cross section, bronze	5
	Bowl, truncated conical with angular profile	6
	Jar, ovoid with high distinctly articulated neck	7
	Spearhead with wide blade	8
	Arm ring with heart-shaped cross section, iron	9
	Sword with long double-blade, sharp-edged hilt, long handle with lentil-shaped terminal, iron	10
Phase I continued into II	Bowl, hemispherical with foot, var. B	11
	Röhrenkanne with slanted spout, variations A & B	12
	Jar, situla-shaped with high shoulder, var. A, B & C	13
	Bowl, truncated conical with straight profile	14
	Small jar, biconical with concave shoulder	15
	Bowl, truncated conical with articulated bottom, var. A & B	16
	Bowl, carinated with slightly incurved profile & dropped, cordoned rim	17
	Bowl, truncated conical with impressed decoration, var. A & B	18
	Spindle whorl, truncated conical with polished surface & impressed decoration	19
	Bowl, hemispherical with foot, var. A	20
	Bowl, truncated conical with foot	21
	Bowl, truncated conical with s-shaped profile & slightly incurved rim	22
	Jar, truncated ovoid with thickened rim	23

	Object	ID
Exclusive to phase II	Jar, globular with short distinct cylindrical neck, var. A & B	24
	Bowl with prominent shoulder & high foot, variation B	25
	Bowl, truncated conical with distinctly s-shaped profile	26
	Bowl, hemispherical without foot, var. B	27
	Small jar, truncated conical with incurved rim	28
	Bowl, carinated with incurved profile & non-distinct rim, var. A	29
	Brooch with long & recurving foot, attached with sphere	30
Phase II continued into III	Bowl, carinated with distinctly incurved profile, var. A	31
	Bowl, carinated with slightly incurved profile & thickened rim	32
	Bowl, carinated with cordoned rim	33
	Vaso a trottola with wide & round body & dropped rim, type & variations	34
	Bowl with distinctly incurved rim & wide, squad body	35
Exclusive to phase III	Shield boss, ribbon-shaped with lateral wings	36
	Jar, biconical with distinctly curved rim	37
	Bowl, carinated with incurved profile & non-distinct rim, var. C	38
	Bowl with accentuated s-shaped profile	39
	Bowl, truncated conical with concave profile	40
	Bowl, carinated with distinctly incurved profile	41
	Vaso a trottola with rounded body & narrow base, var. B	42
Long duration	Jar, biconical with high, distinct neck, type & variations	43
	Bowl with omphalos	44

Tab. 8 Chronological markers according to Trucco 1983: 68-69. Pl. LVII-LXI.

	Male assemblages	Female assemblages
Phase 1 *initial phase*	Pear-shaped and biconical jars (predominantly in assemblages without weapons), only little further pottery; pair of iron brooches; weaponry (spears, swords with suspension chain and <u>not</u> ritually fragmented, shields). Deposition of cremated remains in adjacent pit.	Pear-shaped and biconical jars, set of *Röhrenkanne* and cups, further pottery; penannular bronze bracelets, iron brooches. Deposition of cremated remains in bowl
Phase 2 *transitional phase*	Continued from phase 1 with a slight tendency towards phase 3	
Phase 3 *final phase*	Closed and wide open forms decrease, *vasi a trottola* appear; weaponry (spears, ritually fragmented swords [deposited on top of cremated remains]), knives, sporadic razors	Closed and wide open forms decrease, *vasi a trottola* appear; scarce jewellery with traces of exposure to heat, iron brooches

Tab. 9 (Gendered) chronological markers for LT C/D burials from Madonna delle Bozzole according to Arslan 1984 and 2012.
Like Trucco, Arslan refrains from parallelising his chronology with the general LT periodisation.

Brooches have always played an important role in IA chronological concepts. LIA brooches in particular allow us to trace a chronological development along a morphological evolution from LT I brooches with a recurved foot via LT II types characterised by a small (frequently decorative) clasp that attached the foot to the bow to LT III types that were cast in one piece with a distinct catch-plate in its form reminiscent of the recurved foot. Finally, hinge brooches have been identified as an early Roman development and 'apex' in the evolution of brooches for our study area. The significance of small technical details becomes obvious in the review of *Fibelfeinchronologien*, concepts developed for a refined chronological analysis of primarily Swiss and Southern German LT II-III contexts (Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch 2010).

	Brooch types		
Group A:	A1:	type Manching 22	
	A2:	iron LT II brooch of small dimensions	
	A3:	type Misano	
	A4:	type para-Misano	
	A5:	type Feugère 1b1	
	A6:	type Pavese	
Group B:	B1:	iron LT III brooch with trapezoid profile	
	B2:	iron LT III brooch with leaf-shaped bow and long spring	
Group C:	C1:	type Nauheim with leaf-shaped bow	
	C2:	iron/bronze type Nauheim with wire bow	
	C3:	type Nauheim with decorative plate	
	C4:	type Nauheim with crest	
	C5:	type Cenisola	
	C6:	type Nauheim with closed but perforated catch-plate	
Group D:	D1:	iron brooch with covered head	
	D2:	*Schüsselfibel* with open catch-plate	
	D3:	*Schüsselfibel* with perforated catch-plate	
	D4:	*Schüsselfibel* with closed catch-plate	
Group E:	E1:	harp brooch	
	E2:	harp brooch with crest	
Group F:	F1:	iron LT III brooch with angulated bow	
	F2:	type Gorica	
	F3:	type Jezerine	
Group G:	G1:	*Knotenfibel*	
Group H:	H1:	type Alesia	
	H2:	type Aucissa	

Tab. 10 Brooch types of the second half 2nd century BC – Augustan period and their groups according to Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch 2010: 5 fig. 2.

Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch (*ibid.*) followed the same line of argument and based their chronological concept for LT III in north-west Italy on brooches due to their role as 'type fossils', their clear technological evolution and their link to brooches from (well-dated) transalpine contexts. They established nine chronological groups based on brooches recovered from burials at Oleggio, *località* Loreto (Tab. 10 and XI). A combination analysis of these visualised six chronological horizons that were paralleled with pottery assemblages (Tab. 11).

Chronological horizons	Brooches	Pottery
Horizon 1	A1, 4 (only iron)	Reduced pottery assemblages with *vasi a trottola* with rounded shoulder and ring-shaped or truncated conical rim, bowls and mortars, open, ovoid and truncated conical jars, ovoid small jars/beakers with vertical neck, lids. No BGW.
Horizon 2	A1, 3-4 (iron & bronze), 5; D1; F1	Considerably more complex pottery assemblages with *vasi a trottola* with carinated shoulder and truncated conical rim, jugs, (small) jars/beakers. Cups, plates and *pyxides* of BGW, thin-walled beakers.
Horizon 3	A3-4 (iron & bronze), 5; iron para-Nauheim with long spring, C1-2; F1	Rare *vasi a trottola*, globular jars with high and straight neck, BGW.
Horizon 4	A3-5; C1, 4-5; D2-4; E1-2;	Various *olpai* with high shoulder, plates of BGW, large and low jars with wide rim.
Horizon 5	C5-6; iron brooches with recurved foot and open catch-plate; H1	Fine tableware.
Horizon 6	iron brooches with recurved foot and open catch-plate; H1-2	Globular *olpai*, cups in TS and thin-walled beakers

Tab. 11 Chronological comparison of brooch types and pottery assemblages from Oleggio according to Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch 2010: 10-11 fig. 5b.

The nine brooch groups are also well-represented in the Lomellina. Group A 'LT II brooches with a short foot' include brooches type Pavese and Misano, the former clearly dominates the Lomellina and was present until the Tiberian period. 'Iron LT III brooches with trapezoid profile or leaf-shaped bow and long spiral' (group B) have been identified in at least one context (PV_VAL_cTes_207 [Fig. LXIX]), although inconsistent description of brooches complicates their classification. Group C is represented by types Nauheim and Cenisola, which account for c. 16% of brooches found in mortuary contexts of the Lomellina. Morphologically related are 'brooches with covered head' (group D) represented by *Schüsselfibeln* (crescentic brooches). 'Harp-shaped brooches' (group E), including type Almgren 65 brooches and 'angulated and high-arched types' (group F), including types Gorica and Jezerine, account for c. 19%. One possible *Knotenfibel* (knotted brooch; group G) has been reported for

PV_GRC_lMar_024a. Hinge brooches (group H) comprising types Alesia and Aucissa ascribe for c. 14% of brooches (see V.2.1).

3.3.2. Dated contexts of the Lomellina

The state of documentation of the archaeological record of the Lomellina clearly impacts not only the feasibility of quantitative analyses of burial customs and material culture placed in the graves, but also on the chronological analysis. Following the chronology of Tizzoni (1984, also adopted by Haeussler 2013: 77 tab. 2.2), the pre-Roman period of my chronological scope has been structured in LT C1-2 and LT D1-2. The chronological term 'Republican' has only been used in the context of coins. 'Roman' is here primarily used as a chronological term (Fasold and Witteyer 1998) and refers to the Principate or early Imperial period structured along the Imperial years of reign. As a large portion of published contexts had been released without any date, I have attempted to date these in a broader way – for example contexts with funerary beds have been classified as Augustan-Tiberian, given that this was the prime period of their use in the Lomellina (where possible, I have differentiated between Augustan BC and Augustan AD contexts).

Nevertheless, 8% of all burials of mortuary contexts of the Lomellina falling within the chronological scope of this research remain undated due to the lack of information. A broad classification of the remaining 447 contexts into seven periods (Fig. 31) reveals a distinct increase in human activity over LT D and the Julio-Claudian period.

A more detailed look at the two Iron Age periods and the Julio-Claudian period (Fig. 32) shows a clear peak between LT D (average per annum 0.95 burials) and the Augustan period (average per annum 1.41 burials). The low total number of dated contexts, however, makes meaningful conclusions difficult.
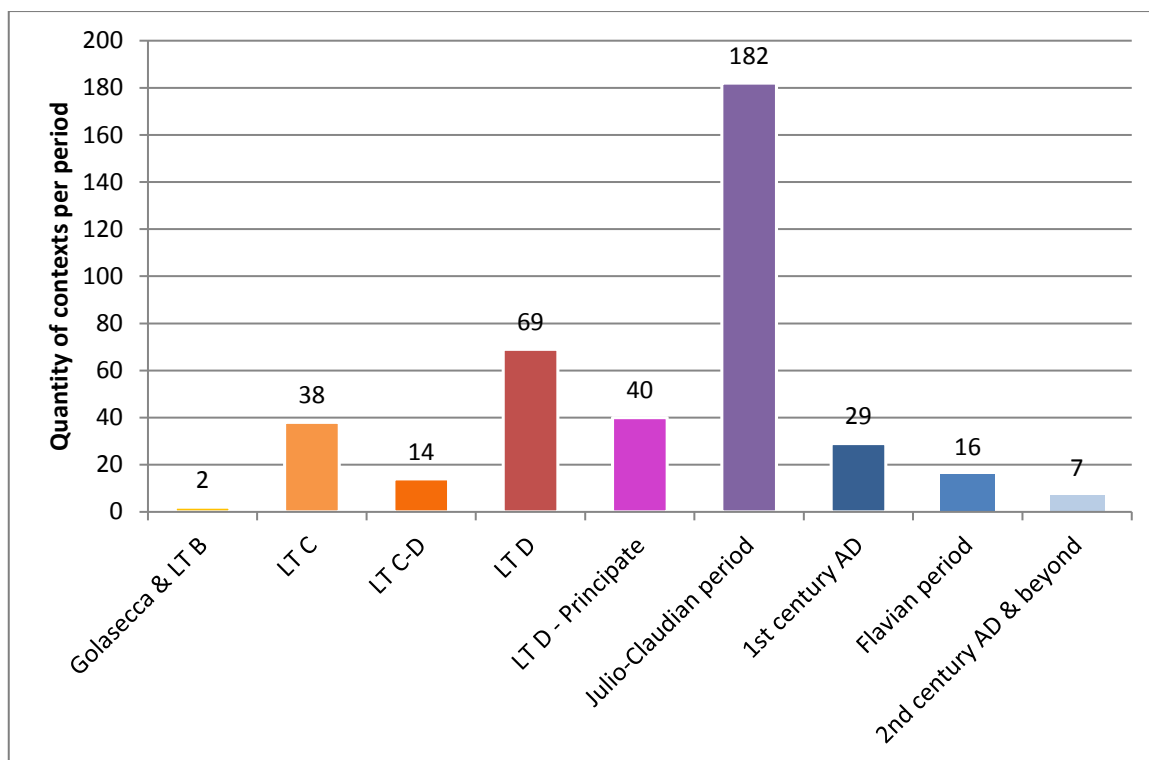
Fig. 31 Quantitative-chronological analysis of mortuary contexts of the Lomellina.
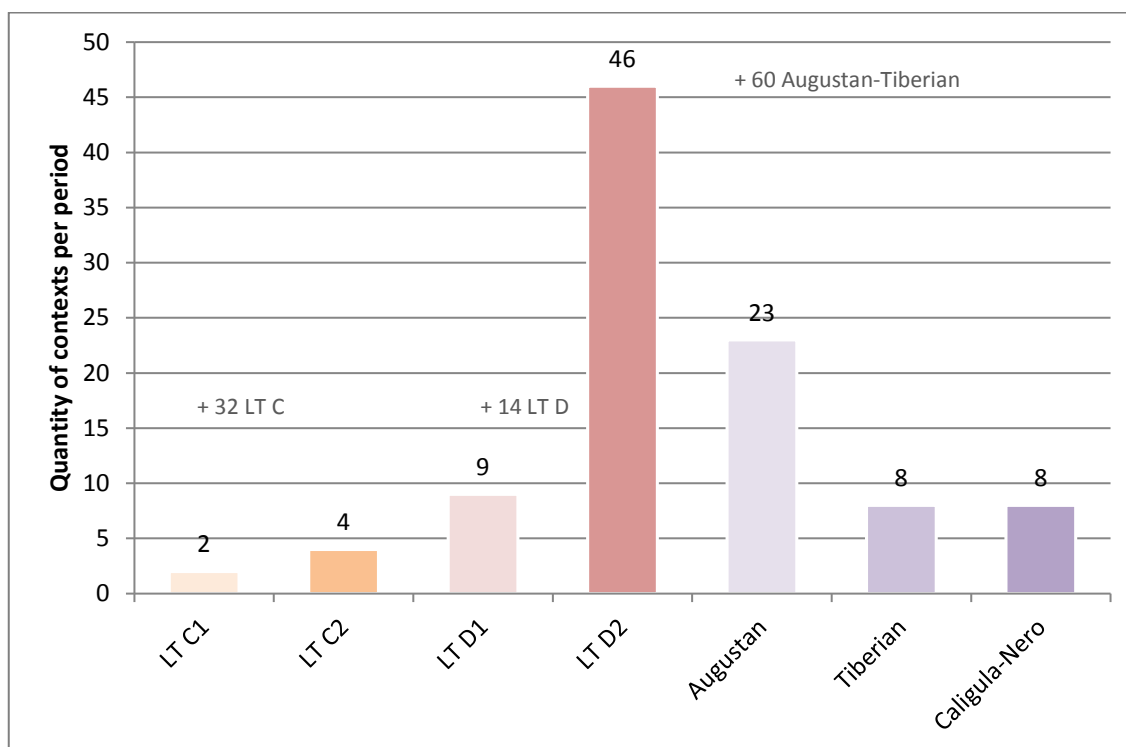
Fig. 32 Quantitative-chronological analysis of contexts dated to the LIA and Julio-Claudian period showing a distinct increase towards LT D2 and a distinct decrease following the Augustan period.

3.4.   The individual: sex, gender and age

An analysis of past identities is very much a study of populations, of communities and their individual members. Choosing a geographic and historic landscape, where preservation and publication are as fragmentary as the Lomellina presents methodological pitfalls such as an incomplete demographic picture. Even the better documented archaeological record of less fragmentary preserved communities hardly reflects the complete social width including individuals of all classes and ages (Steuer 1982: 59-73; Nikulka 2016: 79).

Due to almost exclusive practice of cremation, a study of demographic units such as sex and age is hardly possible and prevents an analysis of wider population changes. Whether the Roman conquest had a beneficial impact on the life expectancy and health of local communities and whether violent conflicts of the late 3nd and 2nd centuries BC are reflected in the sex ratio of the cemeteries of the Lomellina remains unanswerable. The hypothesised alliance between the Lomellina and Rome during the Second Punic War (see II.2.1) renders a discernible lack of men (as it might have been observed in Dormelletto; see VI.3.3 and VI.4) unlikely. The chronological analysis of the present dataset, however, has demonstrated a distinct increase in mortuary activity during the latest IA and the Augustan-Tiberian period (see Fig. 65). This increasing visibility of human activity during the IA and early Principate is not just a regional or north-west Italian phenomenon. In his research into the archaeological demographics of European prehistory up to the Middle Ages, Nikulka could show that visible population growth is a widespread European phenomenon for these periods. He demonstrates that despite a generally low density of population during the IA (average 23 persons per km^2), the transitional period was characterised by an exceptionally high density of population with up to 200 persons per km^2 (average 28 persons per km^2). Caution, however, is advised in assessing the archaeological evidence as these two periods are the only ones that provided reliable mortuary and settlement data for his research including the well-studied and published *oppida* of the LIA (*ibid.* 187).

Commonly two hypotheses are being brought forward to explain increase in human activity: endogenous population growth or exogenous population increment through immigration (*ibid.* 173. 180). Both an endogenous population growth caused by a

higher life expectancy and lower infant death rates and the immigration of non-locals seem improbable as sole explanations for the distinct increase in human activity visible in the Lomellina. Although earlier publications regarded a settlement of veterans in the Lomellina as assured (e.g. Vannacci Lunazzi 1979a: 97), neither the material culture nor the funerary rituals show enough evidence for change due to immigration of veterans. However, this argument ignores the possibility of immigration of regional groups such as individuals or communities whose lands had been expropriated during the *centuriation* of areas surrounding the Lomellina; moreover, a comparative analysis of burials around Como (Sena Chiesa 2014b: 42-43) suggests that a differentiation between the established population of Como and new arrivals (i.e. colonists) is impossible (see VI.1.4). In addition, we should bear in mind that increasing mortuary evidence might simply reflect an equally increasing participation of individuals in burial customs. It has been generally accepted (Steuer 1982: 59-73; Nikulka 2016: 79) that some prehistoric societies reserved the right of burial in a communal cemetery to an exclusive part of their communities. Häussler (Haeussler 2013: 308-309) suggests that the administrative and political changes of the 1st century AD, above all the granting of Roman citizenship, facilitated access to these exclusive customs and thus led to an increasing mortuary activity.

3.4.1. Sex and gender

In contrast to 'sex', a biological unit that is generally only ascribed to human beings and animals in the binary division of 'female' and 'male', gender is a more fluid concept (Whitehouse 2001: 50 for the possibility of third and multiple genders). Gender identity can be based on either biological sex or chosen by the individual according to their self-identification. In addition, individuals but also objects such as weapons, tools or specific items of dress and even landscapes can be gendered by society (e.g. the association of nature, in particular rivers with female deities).

In archaeological landscapes where sexing of skeletal remains is as difficult as in the Lomellina where only very few cremated remains have been anthropologically investigated, the evolution of gender identities plays an even more important role in the study of individual identities and the analysis of society. Herring and Lomas (2009) have emphasised the lack of studies into gender identities in the context of Roman

expansionism and the roles women may have played in the entailed cultural changes (*ibid.* 1-5). The legal and administrative changes (Haeussler 2013: 217-231; see II.2.2.4.1) following the Roman conquest transformed local communities from a society led by a probably aristocratic elite towards the Republican ideal where every male member, provided they were Roman citizens and had suitable financial means, was eligible for a political career. Whilst women may have had substantial influence within kinship-based political systems, the Roman concept made them invisible. Although the traditional concept of gendering public space as male and its private counterpart as female has long been contested, the volitional exclusion of women from politics and thus from the 'official integration' into a 'Romanised' society may explain why women held up traditional identities expressed through dress longer than their husbands, as represented by mortuary depictions (e.g. the monument of Menimane and Blussus in Mainz-*Mogontiacum*; Böhme-Schönberger 2003. Lomas 2013: 115-116). With a majority of studies, however, focussing on the impact of the Roman armies and/or Roman colonisation on local communities, a dominant visibility of men is only natural as they would have formed the core of both military movements and groups of colonists (Herring and Lomas 2009: 4).

Notwithstanding that gender theories and thus gender archaeology have not yet gained foothold in Italy as they have in Anglo-American academia (Vida 1998; Whitehouse 1998: 2; 2001: 49-50; 2009; Perego 2011b: 17 n. 2; Whitehouse 2012: 480-481 for a summary of recent work including and highlighting Italian scholars; Cuozzo and Guidi 2013: 17), mortuary archaeology has been the exception to the rule. Here Italian scholarship followed the common trend of establishing a female picture within the mortuary record, applying the generally accepted rules set out for pre- and protohistoric Italy (Robb 1994; 1997; Martin-Kilcher 1998: 196; Herring and Lomas 2009: 2). In the Lomellina, male burials are identified through weapons – albeit rare – or more frequently the lack of female attire; the latter is classified as comprising spindle whorls and toilet utensils such as mirrors as well as glass and ceramic perfume bottles (Macchioro 1991: 354; cf. Whitehouse 2001: 51-55. 77 for the role of weapons as "symbol of maleness" since the Remedello culture). This gender identification is largely based on conservative gender stereotypes of the 20th century, and more recent

discoveries in global archaeology raise the question whether we still gender primarily according to *Zeitgeist* (e.g. the Viking warrior Bj 581, who in mid-2017 made headlines as being female and thus challenged conservative gender stereotypes; Hedenstierna-Jonson *et al.* 2017). On the other hand, our female image of IA and Roman societies has also been backed up by ancient written and iconographic sources, which primarily depict women in a domestic context preoccupied with the manufacturing of textiles (Poletti Ecclesia 1997b: 51; Costin 2012: 183. 187). In the absence of weapons, Northern Italian and southern Alpine assemblages are also gendered male based on the presence of certain tools such as shears and sickles or razors (Martin-Kilcher 1998: 196; Whitehouse 2001: 55. 79). The gendering focus is clearly on the female element, its absence declared as presumably male. Although areas with predominant cremation rites such as the Lomellina must rely primarily on such gender rules, anthropological analyses of skeletal remains contrasted by mortuary assemblages have produced some interesting result. Whitehouse (2001; 2012) advocates gender analyses also in the case of landscapes with a less than ideal archaeological record. Following the binary approach of the respective editors of the material and without certain evidence for fluid gender identities, the present analysis is comparatively conservative.

Fig. 33 *Guttus* and spoon - PV_DOR_cGra_193. Augustan-Tiberian. Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

Only one out of 104 gendered individuals in the Lomellina has been anthropologically sexed: the individual buried in PV_GRC_lMen_060 had been identified as adult female based on a left talus bone fragment that had escaped the cremation process – whether sexing an individual based on the presence of a single foot bone fragment is feasible, remains to be seen. On the basis of associated artefacts 76 individuals have been catalogued as female with an additional six probable females. This identification relies exclusively on the

character of grave goods, particularly spindle whorls (39 cases) and a combination of *balsamaria* (17 cases) with other 'female items' such as mirrors (7 cases) or brooches (11 cases). Of particular interest is the case of funerary beds. Assemblages including such furniture as evidenced through terracotta appliqués have been generally classified as female (see V.5.3.3). Therefore, 29 burials can be gendered as female based on the presence of terracotta appliqués. Of further interest is the assemblage from PV_DOR_cGra_193. The burial has not only been gendered female based on the presence of a *guttus* and a small spoon, the combination of this small spouted pouring vessel and the spoon may point to the deceased's identity as a young mother who may have died in childbirth as *gutti* were also used to feed babies and similar spoons in the preparation of medicine (Invernizzi 1998b: 21-23. Fig. 33; see also VI.3.4 for two *gutti* from Angera found in infant inhumations)**.**

Only 21 individuals have been gendered as male or probably male. In the absence of weapons, this identification is based particularly on the additional absence of 'female items' (explicitly mentioned in two cases). Nine burials were identified as male, based on the weapon assemblage, four on the presence of knives and/or shears. The case of a supposedly female weapon burial at Oleggio (NO), however, proves that an exclusively archaeological concept of gender can be deceptive and supernumerary gender identities are plausible. Tomb 53 of the Loretto cemetery at Oleggio contained a complete weapon panoply including sword and scabbard, a shield, a spearhead, a skewer (*spiedo*), shears, a knife and 12 ceramic vessels including five plates and one *vaso a trottola*. The anthropological analysis implies a mature female. This verdict is supported by an inscription found on a plate in achromatic imitation ware reading *rikanas*, a possible local derivation of *regina.* Dating to the initial phase of the cemetery the burial appears to have been the founding tomb for the cemetery site and thus strengthens the concept of a warrior elite, however, it is also proof for the non-exclusively male character of this group (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999a: 17-19. 51. 112-115; Whitehouse 2001: 78 for the long tradition of Northern Italian female burials with weaponry since the Chalcolithic Remedello culture). An almost reverse case to Oleggio tomb 53 is represented by the assemblage of tomb 228 from the same site. The grave has been dated to an early LT D1 and anthropologically sexed as mature male. With six

ceramic vessels, a bronze bracelet and a various other items of dress and jewellery including five brooches in bronze and iron, the burial would have probably been gendered female had an anthropological analysis not been conducted demonstrating the unreliability of archaeological gendering (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999a: 51).

At the same time, alleged razors associated with 'female' assemblages containing, for example, small finger rings and brooches, mirrors and spindle whorls indicate that these blades may have equally been tools of the female sphere (Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 188; cf. Whitehouse 2001: 79). Two further burials of the Lomellina have been identified as possibly male based on the presence of belts.

Seven burials were catalogued as possible double burials (see Tab. III) based on the amount of artefacts, their apparent 'gender diversity' or their chronology suggesting a secondary burial supplemented an older cremation. The case of PV_GAM_fBel_024 – identified as possible male/female double burial based on the association of shears and one spindle whorl, however, is reminiscent of the above mentioned tomb 53 from Oleggio and burials from Rovello Porro (see VI.3.3) where shears are not necessarily a male item. The reluctance in archaeology to reconsider these gender markers shines through also in more recent publications such as Grossi and Iuliano's analysis of brooches in Transpadane contexts when a weapon-bearing burial with mirror is described as a possible double burial of man and woman (Grossi and Iuliano 2010: 23).

3.4.2. Age

The identification of markers for age is even more complicated than gendering the dead of the Lomellina. Infant burials are largely absent from the cemeteries and only twelve burials – exclusively from Gropello Cairoli and Garlasco – had been classified by their editors as infant cremations primarily based on the modesty or poverty of the assemblage (PV_GAR_MdB_006, 013a, 030 and 035, PV_GRC_lMar_045 [Fig. XXXIX], 056, 058, 060 and 070, PV_GRC_lMen_029, 035 and 040). PV_GRC_lMen_037 is a controversial case. Arslan listed the burial as male infant based on its modest assemblage (Arslan 1984: 143 n. 252); the combination of spindle whorls and funerary bed, however, suggests a female individual (Invernizzi 2005a). Child-typical items such as rattles or feeding bottles as they were regularly found in Roman cemeteries of the

north-west provinces (van Enckevort and Heirbaut 2013: 117) are missing entirely except for PV_DOR_cGra_193, a female burial ascribed to a young mother.

In addition to PV_GRC_lMen_060, three further burials were investigated anthropologically: PV_GRC_lMen_065 and PV_VAL_cTes_068 both contained skeletal remains of children ranging between infans I and II dating to the Augustan-Tiberian period. The inhumation of PV_GAR_MdB_078 (*terminus post quem* of AD 170) was classified as mature individual of 50-60 years based on the abrasion of teeth.

infans I	**0-6 years**	Tab. 12 Classification of anthropological age categories (Grosskopf 2013: 166 n. *).
infans II	7-12 years	
juvenile	13-18/20 years	
adult	20-40 years	
mature	40-60 years	
senile	> 60 years	

Chapter V – Material culture

The material culture of the Lomellina reflects the changes this area experienced during and after the Roman conquest, between the late 3rd century BC and the end of the 1st century AD. The disappearance of some artefact categories (e.g. weapons and *vasi a trottola*) and the emergence of new ones (e.g. supra-regional pottery types and funerary beds) show that the Lomellina was part of a wider network affected by cultural, political and economic changes facilitated by the Roman conquest.

The fragmentary character of the archaeological record of the Lomellina complicates quantitative analyses of mortuary assemblages (see IV.3.2). Nevertheless, the comparison of total quantities of object categories in particular with their average amount per context (complete contexts only) sheds light on some interesting patterns that raise questions regarding the impact of the Lomellina's integration into the Roman empire as measured by material and mortuary culture. Meanwhile, the quantitative summary of assemblages from complete contexts (Fig. 35 and Tabs IV-V) highlights also the restrictions of such a quantitative comparison. This can be observed, for example, in the case of average vessel quantities: although an in-/decrease in vessels during LT C/D and the Augustan period is undeniable, the sharp peak during LT C2 with an average of 19 vessels per context has to be viewed against this period being represented by four published contexts only. Therefore, the peak might rather reflect an editorial selection of pottery-rich contexts for publishing than a true quantitative increase – especially as a distinct increase in pottery as part of mortuary assemblages has only been ascribed to LT D (Tizzoni 1981: 216).

Without going into detail regarding individual categories, some observations can be summed up:

i) Although vessels from LT D and the Julio-Claudian period clearly dominate the finds assemblage with about one third each, the average number of vessels per context peaks in LT C due to extraordinary quantities in LT C2 (see above). The abatement of quantities per context corresponds with an increase in vessel types, shapes and materials emphasising aspects of the economic capital of the Lomellina (for vessels see V.1.).

ii) The majority of items of dress and jewellery, especially brooches, date to LT D. On average, however, items of dress and jewellery slightly peak during LT C, brooches during LT C2. At the latest by the Flavian period they were no longer part of the local costume, implying that fashion was fully 'Romanised' (for items of dress and jewellery see V.2.).

iii) The unexpected peak of weapons and tools during the Julio-Claudian and Augustan-Tiberian period, in particular, is caused by several spindle whorl-rich contexts falling within this period (see V.3.2). Emphasising the limitations of summarising quantitative analyses, these contexts also allow us to speculate whether spindle whorls gained a significance beyond being tools of the female sphere (for tools see V.3).

iv) Just over half of all coins come from Julio-Claudian contexts, where they frequently served as chronological markers, but their average peaked in LT C with 2.5 coins per context leading to questions about a change of significance from economic marker to ritual object (for coins see V.5.1.).

v) A common denominator of these quick observations is the discrepancy between total and average quantities. Whilst the former suggests an increase in mortuary activity particularly between LT D2 and the Augustan period (see IV.3.3.2), the latter appears to reflect an economic level that declined after the Roman conquest in 222 BC and continued to do so with the progressing integration into the Roman empire.

a

Vessels

b

Items of dress & jewellery
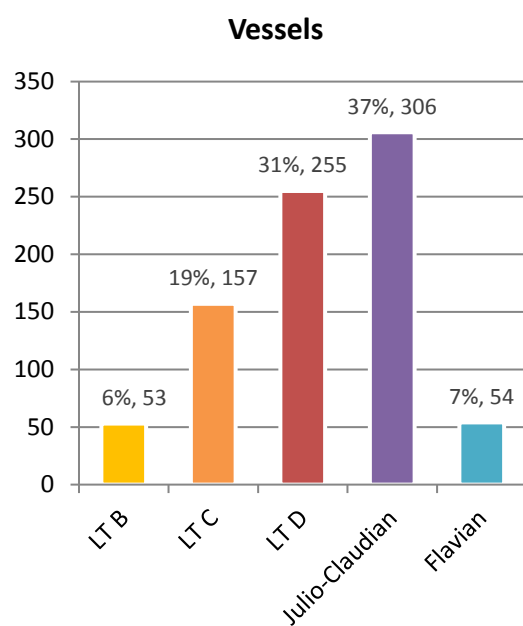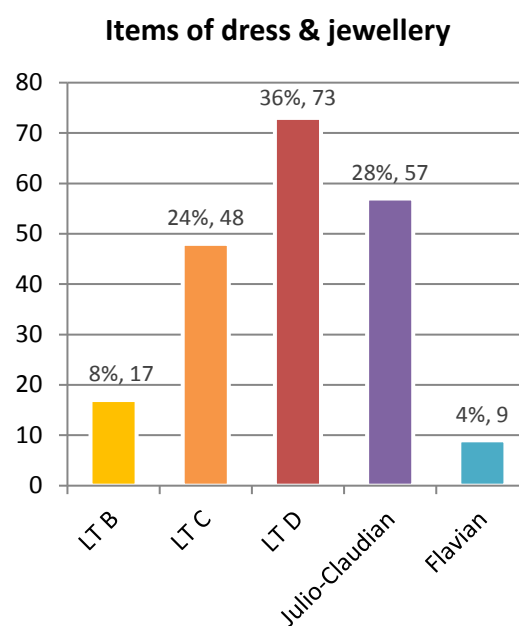
Fig. 34 Chronological distribution (percentage and total number) of vessels, items of dress and jewellery, weapons and tools, and coins. The selection represents the three main categories that have been found in all five periods, and additionally coins (present from LT C to the Flavian period) as significant chronological marker

c

Weapons & tools

d

Coins
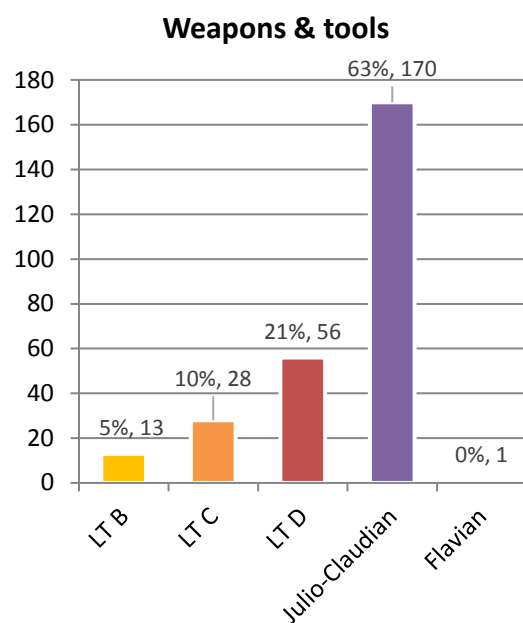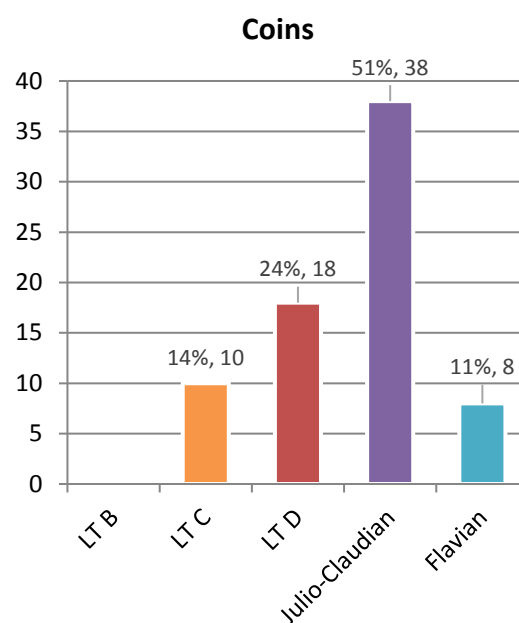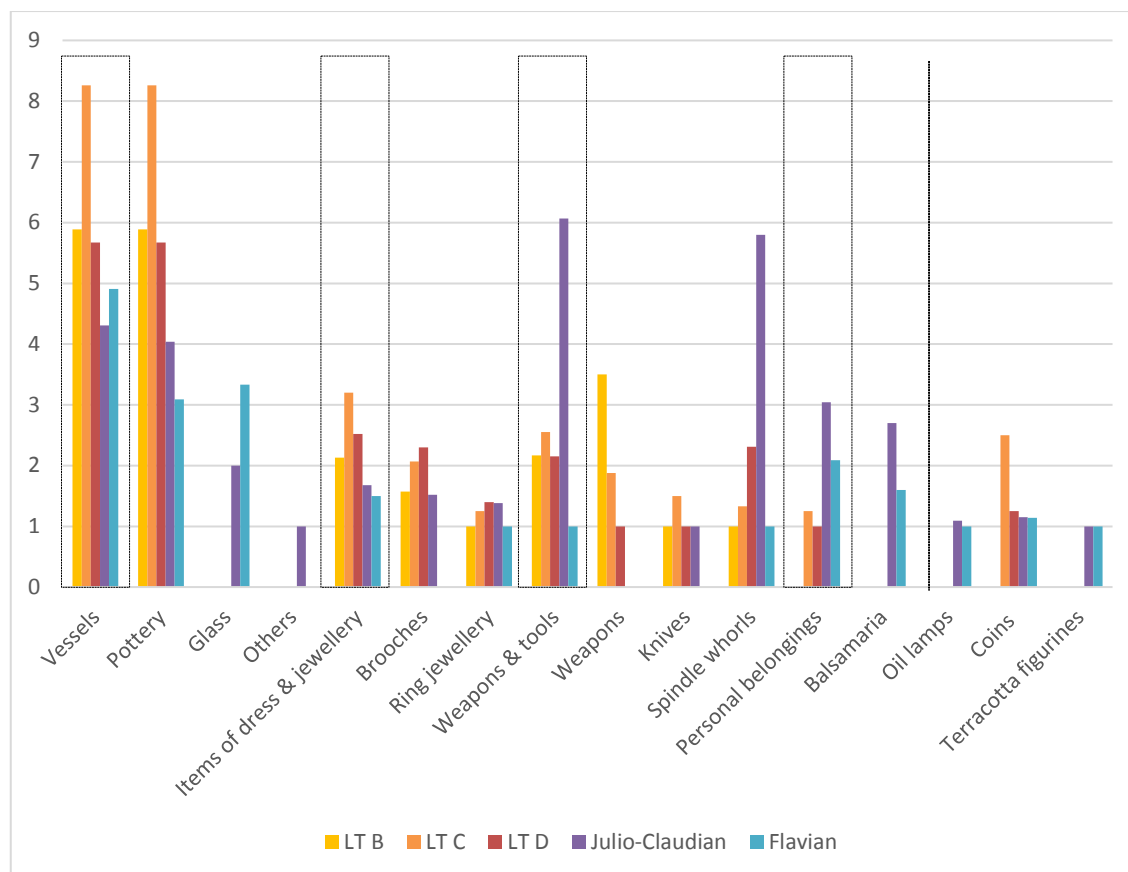
Fig. 35 Quantitative-chronological analysis of average amounts of object categories per period.
The bordered columns represent the overall category demonstrating a clear focus on vessels and tools, in particular spindle whorls.

1. Vessels for storing, serving and consuming food and drink

Ceramics and other vessels account for the majority of items found in contexts of the Lomellina (see Tabs IV-V).

A survey of the 290 (possibly) complete mortuary contexts of the Lomellina has revealed that 205 complete and 42 possibly complete contexts contain one or more vessels; whereas only 40 complete and 3 possibly complete contexts had no vessels.

Vessels for the storage of food have been deposited in graves throughout the entire IA. They comprise jars and bowls of various sizes (frequently serving also as mortuary container) as well as a range of bottle and jug shapes such as the regionally (i.e. north-west Italy including Canton Ticino) unique *vasi a trottola* and the succeeding *olpai* of Romano-Italic tradition. Liquid containers in particular were probably the 'linchpin' in a change of meaning regarding vessel depositions in burials – from a provision for the afterlife to a symbolic representation of feasting and the symposium. This assumption is based on a quantitative analysis of *vasi a trottola* and other liquid containers that

shows a clear peak for serving and pouring vessels in LT C2-D1 (Tab. VIII). Meanwhile the combined analysis of complete drinking and dining sets consisting of at least one liquid container, drinking vessel (i.e. small bowl/cup or beaker) and open dish (i.e. plate or large bowl) indicates that although these have been observed across all periods, they became popular only during the Augustan period (Fig. 36). This implies that a notion of banquets gained a real foothold only during the Principate. On the other hand, Farfaneti and Scalari (1999:249) have suggested to interpret the association of *vasi a trottola* with drinking vessels (i.e. *vasi a rocchetto* in Insubrian areas, egg-cup-shaped beakers in areas of the former Golasecca culture and small jars in the Lomellina) as an earlier allusion to Hellenistic symposia.
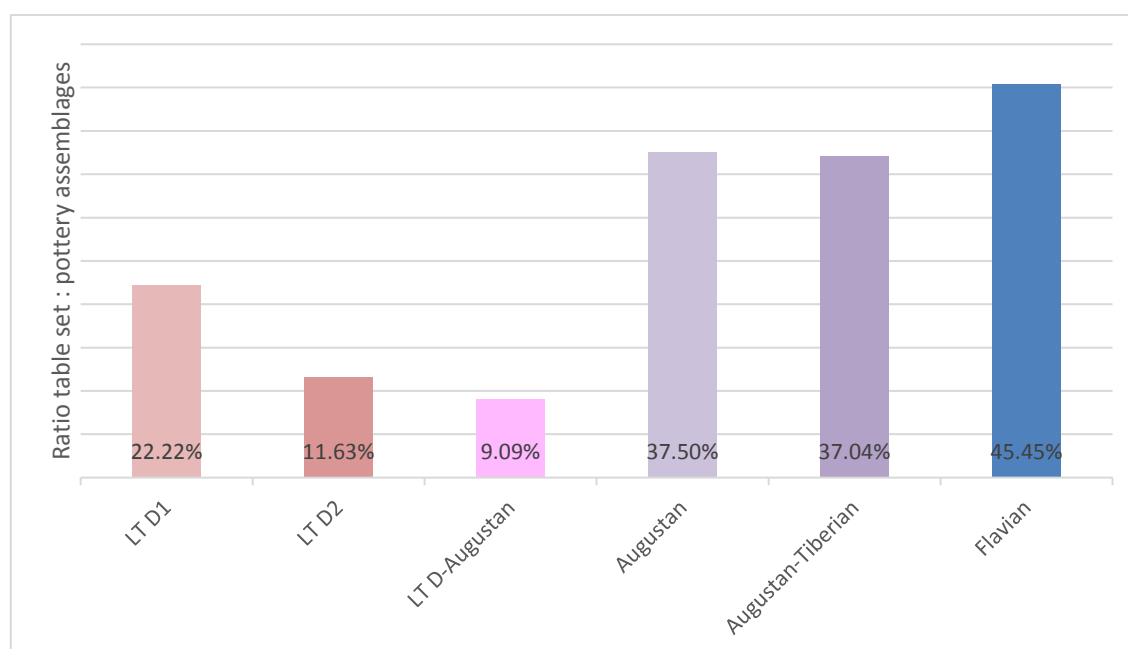
Fig. 36 Percentage of table sets in graves with pottery assemblages.
Table sets (i.e. combination of liquid containers including *vasi a trottola*, plates and small bowls/cups or beakers) have a distinct peak during the Principate.

As far as I am aware no animal bones that could imply a deposition of food in the grave have been documented for any of the mortuary contexts of the Lomellina; food, however, as observed at Oleggio, Dormelletto and Angera, may have been placed on the pyre with burned animal bones and carbonised seeds not being identified in the *macchia carboniosa.* The acidity of the local soil could have also contributed to a disintegration of non-calcined bone material. Exceptional is PV_GAR_MdB_063, a male cremation that had been interred with (hazel)nuts both mixed with the *macchia carboniosa* and deposited in the mortuary container.

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The following paragraphs present the archaeological record of vessels for the presentation and storage of food including both open and closed shapes, followed by a description of fine tableware.

1.1. Jars

Within north-west Italian archaeology, the terms '*olla*' and '*olletta*' refer to a wide range of jars. Both describe open (e.g. situla shapes), semi-open (i.e. open shapes with a distinct shoulder and short neck) and closed shapes, distinguished only in their size. Whilst wide-open jars resemble cooking pots and were probably used for this very purpose, closed jars probably served for the storage and/or serving of liquids. Small jars with a closed profile, some with handle have also been described as jugs. Open *ollette*, especially those of a distinct height, were also identified as beakers. In the absence of illustrations for many mortuary contexts and/or a fragmentary state of the vessels in question, the terminology used by the respective editor has been adopted for the catalogue. Where possible, open, semi-open or closed shapes have been recorded, and some items were re-classified according to their size (Tab. VI).

Jars have been made in coarse ware (*ceramica grossolana*) as well as refined ceramics (*ceramica depurata*) including fine grey ware (*ceramica depurata grezza*; cf. Calandra *et al.* 1997 and 1998). Coarse ware examples – especially those with a wide opening, which have been widely distributed throughout Northern Italy – have clearly been produced for cooking and storage as evidenced by macroscopic use-wear analysis of kitchenware from Dormelletto (Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 179. 186).

Situla-shaped jars are frequently found throughout the Insubrian territory and the Lomellina in contexts ranging from LT C1 to D2. Semi-open shapes with a short concave neck were widely distributed all over LT Europe during the 3rd-1st centuries BC; in Insubrian contexts they have been found as late as the Augustan-Tiberian period. The squat variations of the form were often prominently decorated with dense knobs, fingernail impressions and a variety of incised line decorations (e.g. fishbone pattern, netting or undulations). Closed shapes can range in their profiles from those fairly similar to semi-open variations to jars with a distinct shoulder, comparatively narrow neck and protruding rim (*ibid.* 179-182).

Fig. 37 *Bicchiere a tulipano* – PV_DOR_cGra_094. End of 1st century BC – beginning 1st century AD. Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

Jars of refined clay comprise primarily semi-open and closed shapes. They range from shapes reminiscent of *situlae* via those with globular bodies, a high shoulder and short truncated conic neck to almost pear-shaped variations with a distinctly straight neck. Jars with one or two handles had been influenced by contemporary Romano-Italic productions. Slender small jars (also classified as beakers) and small globular jars or *poculi* have also been interpreted as drinking vessels and were widely distributed in Canton Ticino and the Insubrian areas (Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 186-189). The use of refined clay supports their identification as tableware.

Such fine tableware of local tradition comprises primarily thin-walled ceramics – *ceramica a pareti sottili* – often with a sanded decoration. One of the most common types are beakers '*a tulipano*' (Fig. 37). Made in *ceramica depurata*, they were widely distributed in Canton Ticino but have also been found in Dormelletto (t. 68; LT C1). In the Lomellina 18 examples (PV_DOR_lSMa_001 contained two examples) have been documented either as '*bicchiere*' or '*poculum*' in contexts dating from the mid-1st century BC to the mid-1st century AD with a clear peak during the Augustan-Tiberian period.

1.2. Plates, 'cooking vessels' and bowls

A differentiation between plates (*piatti* and *patere*) or shallow bowls and *tegami* is difficult. In contrast to plates, *tegami*, which became a *leitfossil* of north-west Italian contexts (e.g. Oleggio; Poletti Ecclesia 2005: 30) during the 3rd-4th centuries AD, are described as pans and thus classify as cooking vessels. Plates and *tegami* have, therefore, only been analysed under an umbrella classification as 'open flat shapes' or dishes; of these 154 have been found in 95 complete contexts. Open flat shapes only

came into use in the Lomellina during LT D contemporary with the introduction of BGW to the region (see V.1.4.1). Although average quantities imply that they had a distinct peak during the Tiberian period (Tab. VII), this result is biased because four Tiberian contexts contained nine dishes (PV_GAR_cBar_036, PV_GRC_lMar_056, PV_GRC_lMen_035 and PV_OTT_cRot_001). The association of open flat shapes with liquid containers (i.e. *vasi a trottola* and *olpai*) has been observed in 18 complete contexts equally distributed over the respective periods. Bowls and small bowls/cups appear in a variety of shapes and sizes. Their frequent summarisation as '*ciotole*' complicates a differentiation between variations used as kitchenware and those that served for drinking. As far as possible, they have been classified and catalogued according to their size (see Tab. VI).

Small bowls of coarse ware with a convex profile and slightly protruding rim and those of a truncated conic shape were frequently deposited in burials of the Lomellina during the 3rd-1st centuries BC. High truncated conic bowls with a protruding rim and with or without a foot were widely distributed in particular along the Ticino and in the Ligurian areas. Two variations – with and without a foot – were also produced as middle-sized bowls with inverted rim. They were continuously present from the Golasecca period to LT D2. Those with a distinct carination were also thrown on the fast wheel. Their distribution covers not only all of north-west Italy but also transalpine contexts. Large variations of more globular shape were particularly popular in their secondary use as mortuary containers (Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 183-185).

Bowls of *impasto depurato* were also used as tableware for the presentation and serving of food. Medium-sized bowls with a sharply accentuated profile were widely spread during LT D1 and the first half of the 1st century BC from Canton Ticino to the Lomellina and have also been found in the urban contexts of Milan (*ibid.*: 189-190).

Bowls and jars are a generic vessel type that underwent only little typological change. Thus, they are generally unsuitable for chronological analyses. Specific decorations, however, have been chronologically classified. Nevertheless, in the absence of such information for a majority of contexts from the Lomellina, it has been decided to leave

decoration aside. Recent publications of entire cemeteries such as Oleggio and Dormelletto or those of the Comasco, however, demonstrate the chronological possibilities of stylistic coarse ware analyses.

1.3. *Vasi a trottola, olpai* and other shapes

Spagnolo Garzoli emphasises the role liquid containers play in the identification of cultural-chronological phases along the Ticino. From *fiaschi pre-trottola* via *vasi a trottola* to *olpai*, these specialised containers, she continues, allow us to trace the La Tènisation (i.e. the increasing cultural influence of transalpine LT [material] culture) of the region and its subsequent inclusion in "una *koinè* culturale italica" (*ibid.* 167; cf. Vannacci Lunazzi 1979a: 92-93; Farfaneti and Scalari 1999: 247) that culminated in Augustus' reorganisation of Italy. Although the direct impact of the region's integration into the Roman empire on the development and distribution of liquid containers remains disputable, it is obvious that the evolution, rise and decline of *vasi a trottola* yields a variety of information about economic and cultural identity.

Vasi a trottola evolved during LT II either from small closed jars of Golasecca tradition or small pear-shaped variations known both from transalpine LT contexts and the Lomellina (e.g. Cassolnovo and Vigevano, *frazione* La Sforzesca). The Lomellina has yielded a remarkable quantity of *vasi a trottola* with several contexts containing more than one example (10 complete contexts with on average 3.8 *vasi a trottola*). Arslan (1984: 129-130) argues that the area may have been one of the main production centres for *vasi a trottola* and suggests, based on this hypothesis and the discovery of a small terracotta figurine carrying a bundle of grapes (PV_GRC_lMar_026: Augustan-Tiberian), that viticulture was one of the prime economic bases of the Lomellina. Whilst some scholars (e.g. Tizzoni 1981) have even argued that *vasi a trottola* originated along the western banks of the Ticino between Po and the Novarese, Piana Agostinetti (2004: 334) emphasises that the shape of the containers points at an origin in Canton Ticino. The profile changed over time from globular (PV_LOM_cSGD_001 [Fig. XXXVIII]) towards lower, lenticular shapes with a distinct shoulder (Fig. 38). A rich band-decoration in white and dark brown, in rare cases accompanied by elaborate geometric patterns (e.g. PV_GAR_MdB_064 [Fig. XXXVII]; PV_GRC_Mar_077 [Fig. XLII]), distinguish the examples dated to the late 2nd and beginning 1st century BC

from earlier ones of the mid-3rd – mid-2nd century as well as the latest variations of the mid-1st century, which frequently remained undecorated (Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 168). Farfaneti and Scalari (1999: 247-248), however, point out that neither decoration nor the evolution of the vessel foot can be used for dating as their appearance is too varied. Therefore, and because they observed burials containing up to three different types (e.g. PV_GAR_MdB_064), they conclude that *vasi a trottola* are not sufficiently suitable for dating (cf. Arslan 1972).
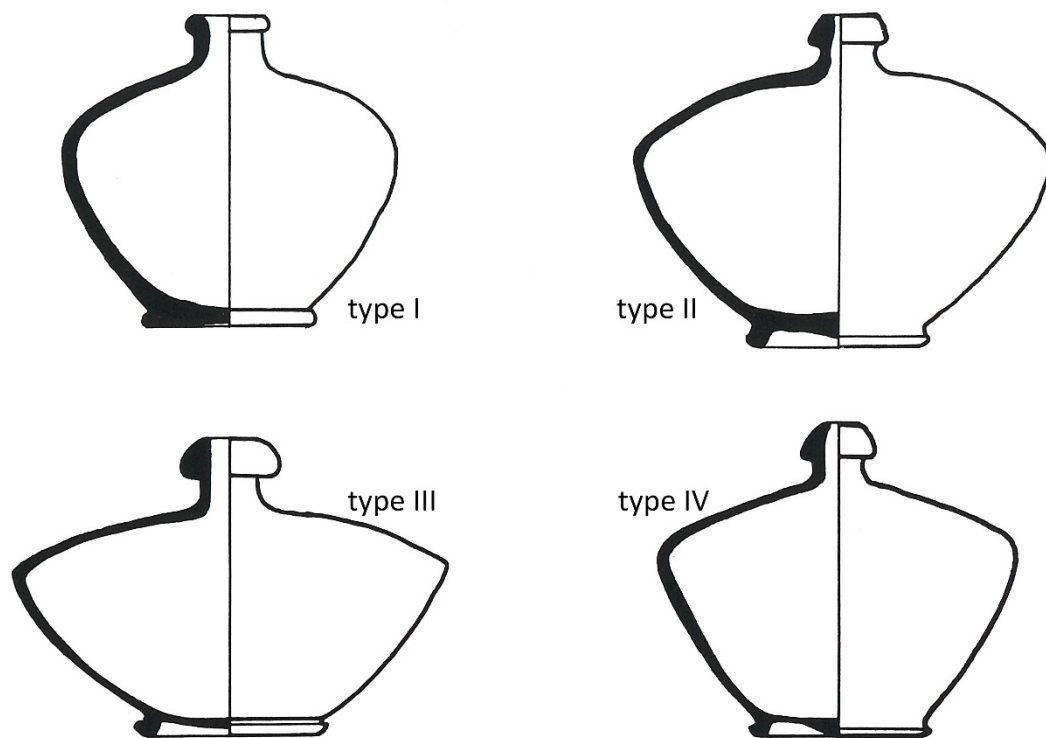
Fig. 38 Typology of *vasi a trottola* after Farfaneti and Scalari 1999: pl. LXI.1.

The function of *vasi a trottola* becomes obvious through both their shape similar to *amphorae* and a Lepontian graffito found on the shoulder of one example from Ornavasso (t. 84) mentioning its use for wine: "*Latumarui: Sapsutai: pe: uinom: natom*" ("to Latumaros and to Sapsuta, wine from the valley" [Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 167] or "… wine from Nasso" [Arslan 1984: 128, with the transcription *našom* instead of *natom*, based on De Simone 1978: 266]). Shorter but nevertheless of even more importance to the present thesis is the inscription VINI on a *vaso a trottola* from a LT D cremation *'a cassetta'* at Valeggio Lomellina (PV_VAL_cTes_203; Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 206; 1992: 71). The narrow, but easily plugged opening of *vasi a trottola* was a

new development, hitherto unknown from local pottery; together with the squat globular pear-shape it is ideal for the storage of a fermenting liquid.
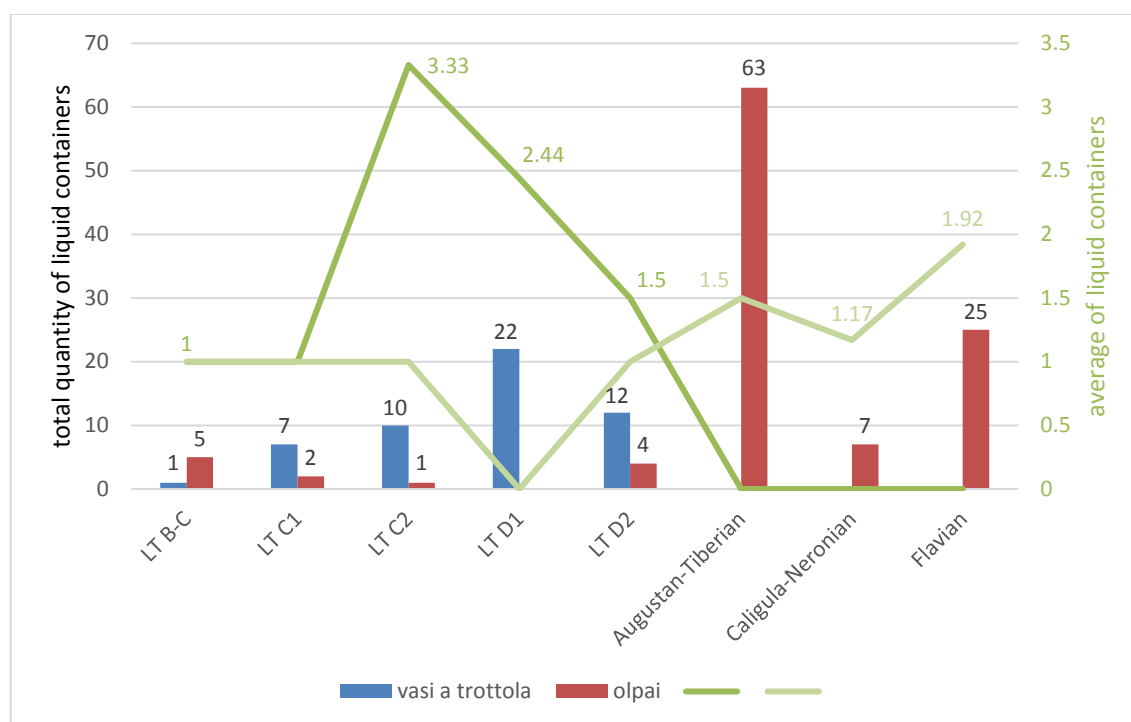
Fig. 39 Quantitative distribution of *vasi a trottola* and *olpai*.
Although *vasi a trottola* predominate quantitatively during LT D1 their actual peak is in LT C2 with an average of 3.33 *vasi a trottola* per complete context. *Olpai* and other forms of jugs, however, are present throughout LT B and C, temporarily disappear in LT D1 and have their peak during the Augustan-Tiberian and Flavian period.

1.4. Fine tableware of ceramic, glass and bronze

1.4.1. Ceramica a vernice nera *and achromatic imitation ware*

Ceramica a vernice nera, commonly referred to as black-glaze or black-gloss ware (BGW), was first produced in 5th century BC Greece. The application of a ferrous clay-slip and the reduction firing process result in a black and – depending on the clay's quality – glossy surface. The term 'black-glaze' is misleading as 'glaze' refers to a lead- or silicon-oxide-containing flux (for lead-glazed pottery in the Lomellina see V.1.4.4). From the Greek mainland, production spread to Southern Italy and was subsequently adopted by Central Italian workshops from where BGW was also traded to the Po valley (Docter 2006a; 2006b).

Examples of imported BGW from Lombard contexts of the 4th-3rd centuries are rare. A *kylix* and a *kantharos*, donated to the Museo Civico di Novara in 1878, are supposed to have been excavated at Vigevano, *frazione* La Sforzesca (Frontini 1983; Arslan 1984:

122). Excavations at Milan, Calvatone-*Bedriacum* and in urban contexts from Cremona have added imports from Volterra and Arezzo dated as late as the 2nd century BC to the spectrum of finds (Frontini 1986; 1991; Deodato 1999).

During LT D, however, even these rare examples of import were superseded by regional products especially from Milan, Cremona but also Angera and probably the Lomellina. In comparison to Central and Southern Italian workshops, this regional BGW was produced with a limited range of shapes and in lesser quality characterised by a thin and opaque gloss (Frontini 1985: 21; Frontini *et al.* 1992/1993; Deodato 1999: 290; Grassi 2008). Grassi states that this change to a local or regional production of reduced variation and declining quality is "certamente uno degli indicatori più interessante della trasformazione culturale" (2008: 22). The material evidence suggests that this 'cultural transformation' occurred in three stages from (i) import via (ii) local production in urbanised areas to (iii) local production in rural and culturally more remote areas such as the Lomellina. However, to this date no local kiln site producing BGW has been identified, and the number of such sites throughout the entire northern Transpadana is limited (Breda 1996; Olcese and Picon 1998: 34 for the general lack for archaeological evidence for local production sites; cf. Arlsan 1971: 60. 62-74 for the possible but very cautious identification of a kiln for the production of domestic pottery of local tradition).

One of the most interesting features of Padane BGW is the 'affiliated' production of *ceramica acroma di imitazione della vernice nera*, less frequently also referred to as *ceramica comune depurata tardoceltica* or *ceramica depurata tardoceltica di imitazione della vernice nera*. These terms describe a class of locally produced fine tableware that copies or imitates the shapes distinct to BGW but lacks the eponymous black gloss (Knobloch 2013: 175, also for a discussion of the suitability of the various terms used). Achromatic imitation ware was produced alongside BGW and thin-walled fine wares in the same workshops as evidenced by the use of identical clay sources. The surface of the vessels was carefully smoothed and slipped using techniques of local tradition. In contrast to achromatic imitation ware from Southern Italian contexts, the Transpadane finds from the Lomellina and neighbouring areas (e.g. Oleggio and Dormelletto) are exclusively known from mortuary contexts (Deodato

1999: 289) – an observation possibly attributable to the general lack of settlement evidence in the Lomellina and other areas for these periods.

Although Knobloch (2013: 175-178) argues convincingly that BGW and achromatic imitation ware should be treated as two separate classes, morphological similarities and shared clay sources complicate a differentiation as highlighted by Deodato's analyses of BGW and achromatic imitation ware from Oleggio and Dormelletto (Deodato 1999; Deodato in Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 159-166). With regard to the Lomellina, low quantities of achromatic imitation ware (a total of 38 vessels in 24 contexts) not only prevent a detailed and separate examination of this class but the nature of publications also suggests a frequent mingling of BGW and achromatic imitation ware due to a lack of differentiation.

Based on the documentation from Oleggio and Dormelletto, Knobloch (2013) distinguishes three distinct characteristics for achromatic imitation ware: (i) the shapes follow those known from BGW, (ii) the quality of clay, shaping and firing equals that from other local fine tableware including BGW and (iii) the decoration of some of these vessels with coloured bands follows indigenous pottery traditions. Similarities can be detected especially within the spectrum of *vasi a trottola*. Not only do these share the same pottery technology and decoration, but they also have fairly the same distribution area – the central Transpadane regions between the river Sesia in the west and the area between the Oglio and Adige in the east (*ibid.* 181-185). Whether these similarities between achromatic imitation ware and other local fine ware justify a treatment of the first as a separate pottery class remains debatable.
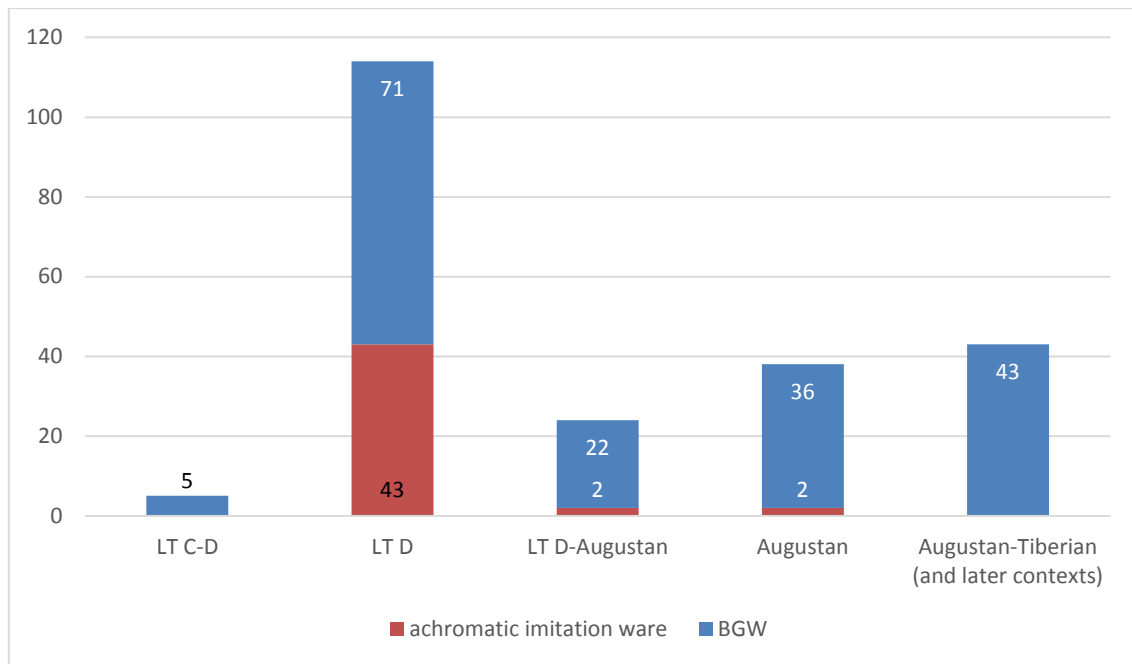
Fig. 40 Quantitative analysis of achromatic imitation ware and BGW from complete mortuary contexts.
The analysis shows a distinct domination of the latter over the former. It also highlights that achromatic imitation ware was only produced after a local production of BGW had started in LT C-D. After a peak during LT D achromatic imitation ware declined towards the Augustan period. BGW, on the other hand, was included in mortuary contexts of the Lomellina up to the Tiberian period and probably beyond.

A quantitative analysis of mortuary contexts from the four case study areas reveals distinctly varied quantities of both classes (Tab. 13 and Fig. 41):

Site	Total of mortuary contexts falling within the range of LT C-Tiberian period	Mortuary contexts with **achromatic imitation ware**	AVG	Mortuary contexts with **BGW**	AVG
Dorno	9	1	n/a	6	1.33
Gambolò	26	10	1.2	12	2.33
Garlasco	42	1	n/a	16	2
Gropello Cairoli	63	1	n/a	33	1.24
Ottobiano	19	1	n/a	9	1.44
Valeggio	24	3	3.33	22	1.86

Tab. 13 Distribution of achromatic imitation ware and BGW.
The six individual communes comprising the four case study areas show a distinctly low number in achromatic imitation ware. Although the average amount of BGW between them is fairly equal a detailed look at the percentage per site reveals wide discrepancies (Fig. 41).
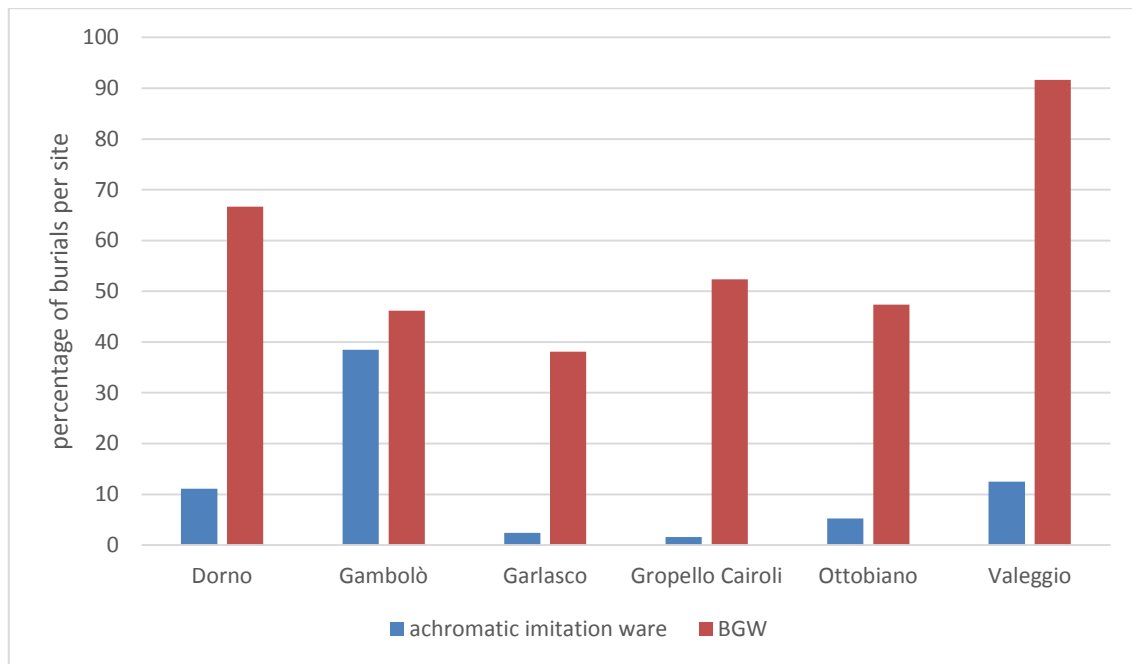
Fig. 41 Quantitative analysis of complete mortuary contexts with BGW and achromatic imitation ware. The number of contexts with both ranges 0-2 due to the generally low number of achromatic imitation ware. The comparison shows that Dorno and Valeggio distinctly outrank the rest regarding the quantity of BGW. In the case of Valeggio this may be due to the partial publication of the cemetery favouring contexts with BGW; Dorno, *località* San Materno (67%), Gambolò, *frazione* Belcreda (46%) and Ottobiano, *località* Cascina Rotorta (47%), however, have all been completely published and thus imply a genuine imbalance of BGW between sites.

The typology of Transpadane BGW and its contemporary imitations has been thoroughly edited by Frontini (1985) and Deodato. Deodato updated the state of research in the course of her analyses of the material found at Oleggio (Deodato 1999) and Dormelletto (Deodato in Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 159-166). Therefore, I did not undertake a typological discussion of the material from contexts of the Lomellina; nevertheless, a few typological observations are of interest in the study of changing funerary customs (see chapter VI for comparative case studies).

Type Lamboglia 5, 6, 7 and 36 plates as well as their variations, both of BGW and as imitation ware, supplemented the spectrum of pottery in north-west Italy with the beginning of LT D. They account for most of the BGW and its imitation. Small bowls and cups often range typologically between larger rounded bowls and plates with their distinct sharp bend. Deep cups with *omphalos* of type Lamboglia 33 and 30/33 became widely distributed during LT D1. The latter continued in Lombardy throughout LT D2 but dominated in their sloppily executed version. Type Lamboglia 27 and 8/27 footed cups, partially more angular and thus closer to both plates and contemporary vessels in bronze, comprise some of the earliest examples appearing since the mid-2nd century

BC and were buried predominantly in their achromatic version (Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 162-163. 165).

1.4.2. Terra Sigillata

This is one of the first examples of globalisation. This is the Roman brand. Through its roads and sea routes, the Roman brand spread throughout the empire. This wasn't only the movement of goods, but people too.

Beard 2016a

Terra sigillata italica (TS), also known as *ceramica a vernice rossa* began to replace BGW throughout Northern Italy during the second half of the 1st century BC and dominated the dining table until the 2nd century AD (Saletti 1984: 239). TS had its origin in workshops at Arezzo, where it evolved around 40 BC combining various elements known from BGW but also from other fictile sectors such as the production of terracotta appliqués and statuettes (see IV.5.3.). The potters used a combination of throwing and moulding to achieve the uniform and sharp-edged shape characteristic for TS. Decoration was added with stamps and especially by pressing the soft blank shape into a mould with inverted relief decoration. These techniques allowed for a uniformity and standardisation not only in shapes but also decoration that exceeded even the level achieved in BGW (Docter 2006c).

The initial production at Arezzo was soon succeeded by other Italian sites, probably initiated by branching-out manufacturers that searched for new markets or improved trade networks. By the late 1st century BC emigrating craftsmen had established workshops in colonies and contributed to the quick spread and prolonged production of TS. The characteristic brand stamps provide an invaluable contribution to the study of workshops and their commercial networks, allowing us to trace the origin of individual items and establish a refined chronology. In this context it is noteworthy that some individual and influential workshops, such as that of *L. Rasinius Pisanus*, could exist for a considerable time (Docter 2006c).

Two workshops and/or styles are prominently represented in the archaeological record not only of the Lomellina (Tab. IX) but the entire province of Pavia and neighbouring areas: (i) so-called *Acoware* (including the widely distributed *Acobecher*), which comprises also items stamped HILARVS, and (ii) vessels made by the workshop

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of *L. Sarius Surus*. Pottery stamped ACO and ACO ACASTVS has been discovered at Angera (see VI.3.1) as well as along the Ticino from the Oltrepò at Casteggio up to Locarno and Bellinzona (CH), at Domodossola and between Lake Maggiore and Lake Como; in the Comasco, however, it is notably rare (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 381; Sena Chiesa 2014b: 40). Whilst the distribution especially of vessels stamped SARIVS SVRVS (and variations) with a distinct emphasis on the Lomellina suggests a local production (Saletti 1984: 239-240), the workshop of *Aco Acastus* may have produced around Lake Maggiore, where *Acoware* was particularly present (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 381; Sena Chiesa 2014c: 157, however, suggests a Venetian provenance for the *Acoware* from Angera). Moulds for *Acobecher* from Cremona, via Mainardi, however, imply that here they were produced by the workshop of *Norbanus* highlighting the wide distribution of *Acoware* producing workshops across the Cisalpina (Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1998: 353), meanwhile Papetti (1987: 29) proposes that the workshop, which had produced vessels stamped HILARVS and ACO found in Ottobiano, might be located between Asti (AT) and Alba (CN) in south-west Piedmont. Lavizzari Pedrazzini (1998: 360-362) emphasises the significance of *Acoware* as 'fusion of Celtic traditions and Hellenistic culture'.

TS has only been found in 26 out of 118 complete contexts dating to the latest IA (Ritterling 12 in GAM_fBel_024 dated to LT D2) and early Principate. This low quantity of TS had already been noticed by Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini (1985b: 337) in their comparative analysis of pottery assemblages from Angera. With the exception of three burials (PV_ALA_cGuz_001, PV_GRC_lMar_056 and PV_OTT_cRot_011 [Fig. L]) all burials contained only one piece in TS. Small bowls or cups account for the majority, followed by plates (Fig. 43). The predominant combination of plates with cups – in particular shapes Drag. 24/25 and 27, of which three (PV_GAR_lCaz_012, PV_GAR_MdB_074 and PV_OTT_cRot_008) and one (PV_GRC_lMar_056) respectively have been found in the Lomellina as well as Ritterling 5 (PV_GAR_cBar_013b and PV_OTT_cRot_011) – has also been noted for Transpadane Italy in general. Of particular note is the comparative absence of plates Drag. 17/17B, of which only seven have been found in the Lomellina (PV_ALA_cGuz_001, 002, 004 [17A], PV_GAR_cBar_036, PV_GAR_MdB_066, PV_GRC_lMen_056 [17A] and PV_VAL_cTes_023), whereas they have been reported as one of the most numerous

shapes in Transpadane Italy (Poletti Ecclesia 1997a: 42. 51). This results in an unusual absence of sets of plates Drag. 17 – including 17A and B – with above mentioned cups (*ibid.* 51 for the predominance of this combination). Nevertheless, plates have been found combined with *olpai* in fine *ceramica comune* (PV_ALA_cGuz_001?, 002, PV_GAR_cBar_036) and in sets extended by drinking cups and beakers (PV_ALA_cGuz_004 [Fig. XXXI], PV_GAR_MdB_066 with two *olpai* of which one is made of glass and PV_VAL_cTes_023 with three *olpai* and one cup of which the latter and one of the former are of glass), proving that these classic combinations were also prevalent in the Lomellina.
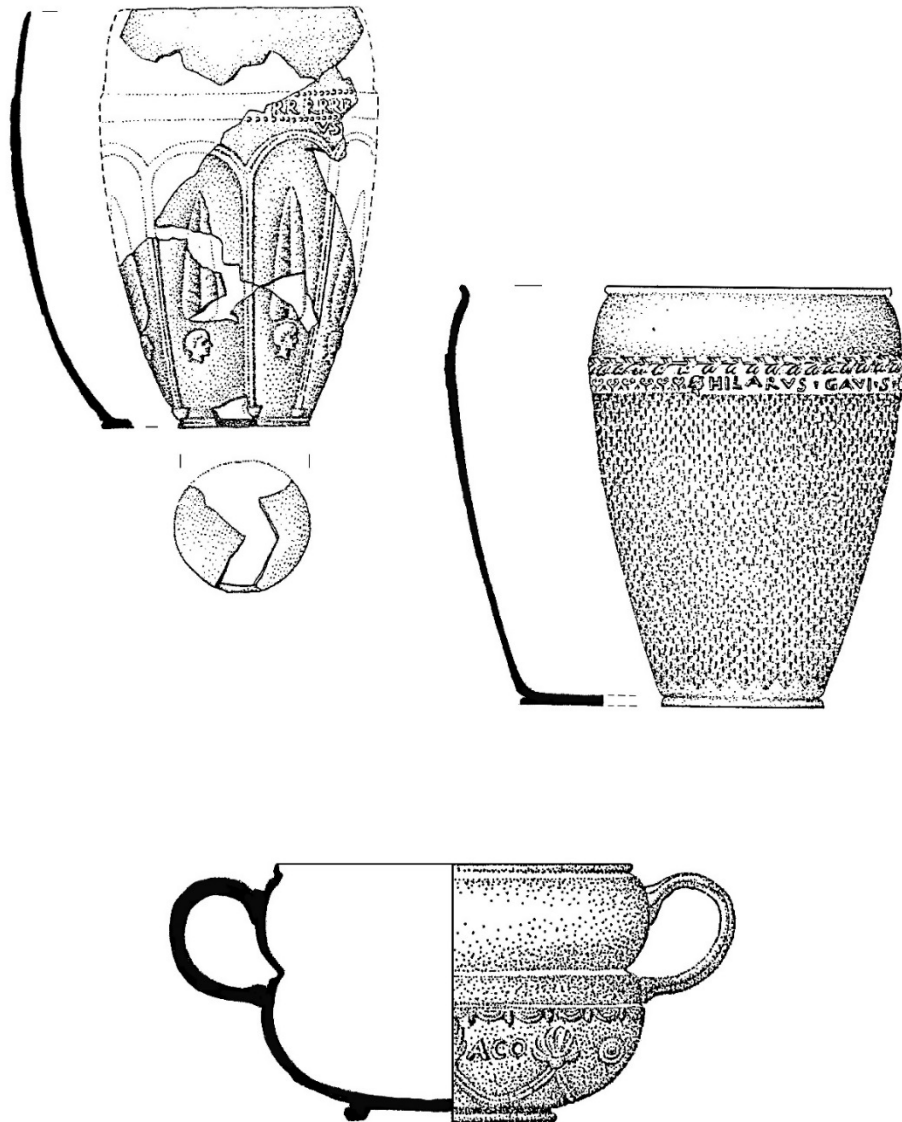
Fig. 42 *Acoware* from Ottobiano, *località* Cascina Rotorta: PV_OTT_cRot_028, 037 and 011.
The beaker stamped HILARIVS is covered in *Kommaregen* decoration, small 'comma-shaped' indentations, a decoration commonly found on *Acobechern*. Papetti 1987: 28 fig. 4.
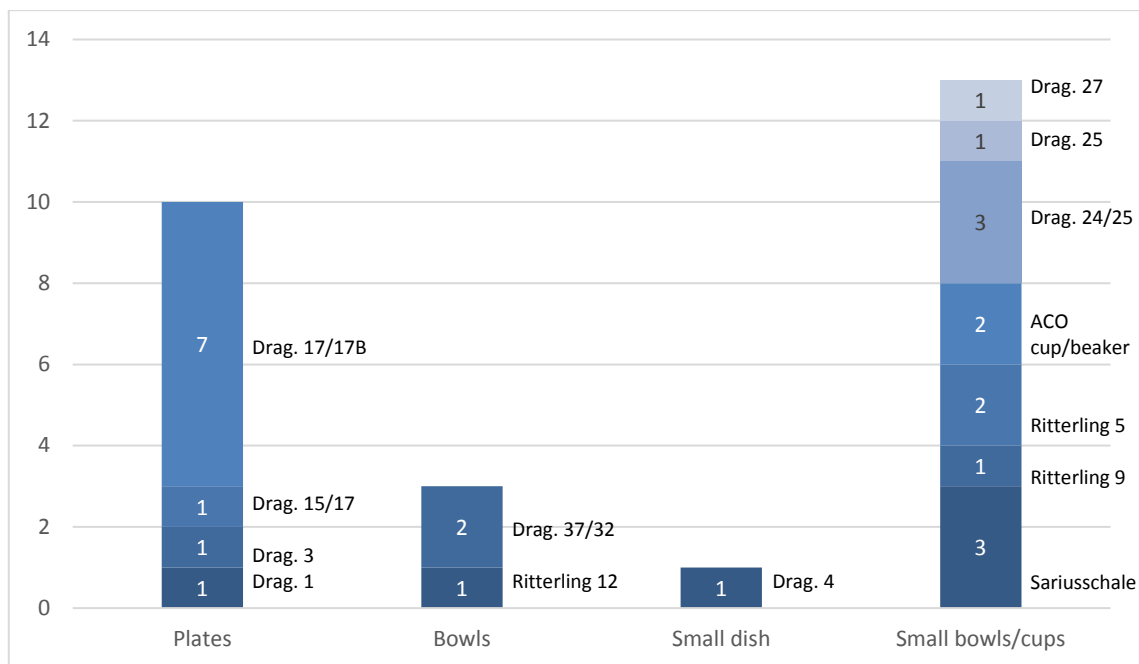
Fig. 43 Quantitative analysis of TS types.
Twenty-nine TS vessels were found in complete mortuary contexts. A clear preference for drinking vessels such as cups, and plates is obvious.

1.4.3. Glass vessels

Glass items have long played an important role in the study of knowledge and material exchange and technology transfer, as well as concepts of identity expression and the perception of aesthetics. In antiquity glass has been used for producing various kinds of containers such as tableware and perfume bottles (i.e. *balsamaria* and *unguentaria*), for which the material quality of glass as non-porous, neutral in odour and taste and practically chemically inert was of revolutionary advantage. Moreover, glass brought a hitherto unknown colour variety into fashion. A precious material particularly in its early phases, glass and enamel quickly substituted for other materials such as corals in IA jewellery to name only one. Although other studies only distinguish between two categories – items of "*uso comune*" (i.e. cups, jugs, bottles, *balsamaria*, phials and *ampullae*) and those that were not part of the common "*instrumentum domesticum*" (e.g. dove-shaped perfume bottles. Saletti 1984: 330-331) – this thesis distinguishes between three different object categories: (i) glass vessels falling under 'containers and vessels', (ii) *balsamaria* of simple and figurative shapes that have been classified as 'personal belongings' and (iii) glass jewellery such as arm rings and beads that belong to 'jewellery and items of dress'. The following section discusses glass vessels as an important class of tableware.

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Glass-blowing was still a fairly new technique when presumably local workshops in the Lomellina adopted this new branch of extra-urban industry. The earliest evidence for glass-blowing comes from Jerusalem and dates to the second quarter of the 1st century BC. The blowpipe revolutionised the production of glass vessels and within less than a century freehand and mould-blown glass flooded the Roman Empire (Platz-Horster 2006).

The spectrum of Roman glass vessels found in mortuary contexts from the Lomellina conforms largely to the catalogue of types found throughout the Empire. The province of Pavia is represented through a variety of forms and shapes that often derive from contemporary metal vessels, TS and even local pottery (e.g. the characteristic pear-shaped and globular *olpai* of the Lomellina). Cups and plates predominate together with *olpai* and small *amphorae*. Thin-walled monochromatic vessels in a variety of colours from shades of brown and yellow via blue and dark green to purple have been characteristic for the glass production along the Ticino, albeit hues of green and blue account for the majority of both mould-blown tableware and freehand crafted *balsamaria* reflecting the natural predominance of these colours (Maccabruni 1983).

The Museo di Antichità di Torino and the Musei Civici di Pavia retain substantial collections of glass vessels ascribed to unsystematic and sporadic discoveries from Garlasco, Lomello and other sites in the Lomellina. Although their contexts are rarely known, they emphasise that the Lomellina has long been recognised as outstanding for its quantity of glass finds. In combination with technological characteristics, which are special to the Lomellina such as speckled and feathered decorations, pear-shaped and squat *olpai* and mould-blown ribbed bowls from four-partite moulds, this suggests a local production. A possible glass workshop has been identified at Gropello Cairoli, *località* Cascina Guala; moreover, within the Lomellina the burials of Gropello Cairoli are remarkable for the variety of glass items (Macchioro 1991: 354). The local glass production had its beginning and peak during the 1st century AD. Knowledge exchange and a shift of production places contributed to the rapid decline of local glass production at the end of the 1st century, especially as the expansion of the Roman Empire was accompanied by a shift of transalpine trade routes that circumvented the Pianura Padana (*ibid.* 9-12. 16-17; Saletti 1984: 330-331; Scansetti 2017: 141).

Fig. 44 Assortment of glass finds from the Lomellina. Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.
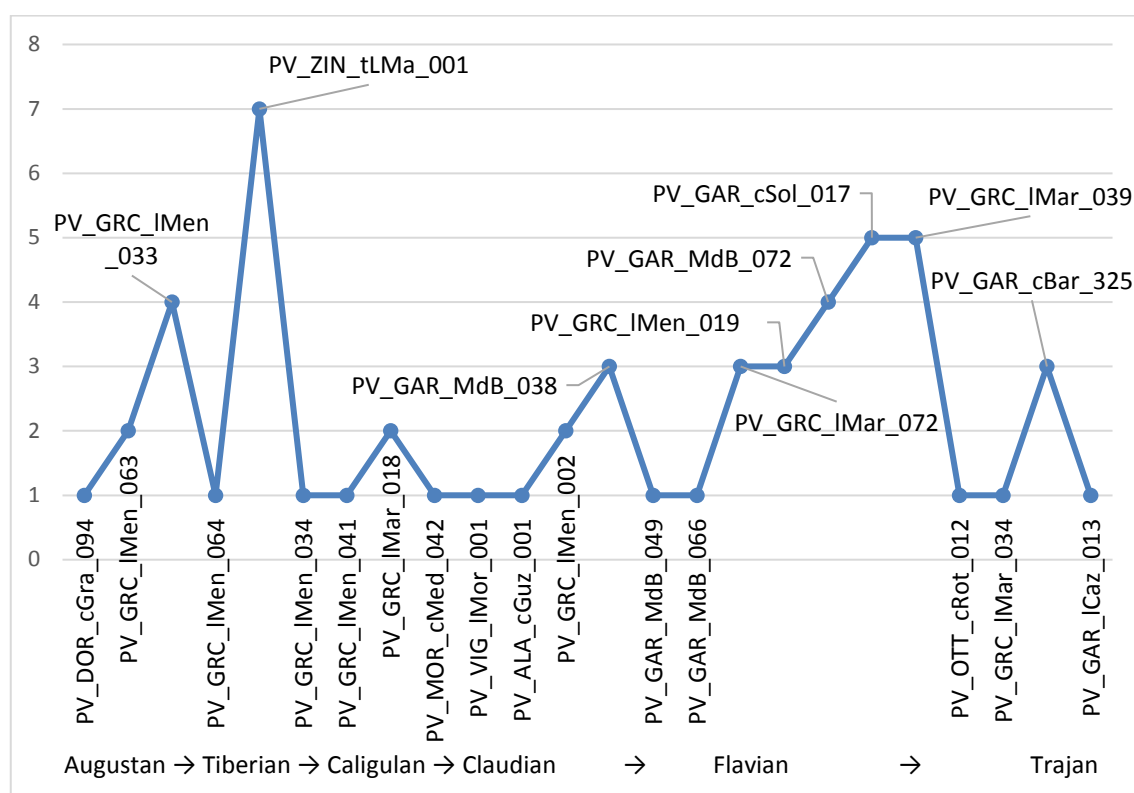
Fig. 45 Chronological distribution of glass vessels between the Augustan and Trajanic period.

The analysis shows no recognisable pattern. This is caused primarily by the small figure of only 22 complete glass containing contexts.

1.4.4. **Bronze vessels and** ceramica invetriata – *lead-glazed pottery*

Northern Italy and in particular the Pianura Padana held a predominant position in the spread of Italic bronze vessels to Central Europe (Piana Agostinetti 1972; Graue 1974). Four fragments of bronze vessels dated between LT D and the Augustan period have been found in context PV_ALA_cGuz_006 (Fig. XXXIV). Whilst published as a grave, it is more probable that this had been the site of a pyre. It has been suggested that this uncommon evidence for bronze vessels may imply that they were exclusively deposited on the pyre but not into graves (Diani 1999: 164). The absence of bronze vessel fragments from other *ustrina*, however, renders this hypothesis improbable. A LT D burial from Garlasco, Cascina Baraggia (PV_GAR_cBar_112) had been interred with an Idria jug and an Aylesford pan or casserole as well as a skewer (*spiedo*). Bronze ladles (*simpula*) have been found in an Augustan tomb from the same site (PV_GAR_cBar_113) and a remarkably rich female burial at Cascina Solferina (PV_GAR_cSol_009) dated to the first half of the 1st century AD. Arslan (1978c: 465) highlights that although bronze vessels were generally rare during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, they became more common during the 1st century BC. It is striking that LT III and early Imperial bronze vessels concentrate in the surroundings of Garlasco whereas other sites seem to have been devoid of them. The status of these prestigious late Republican items in transalpine contexts becomes obvious through their deposition in only the wealthiest burials (Feugère 1991). Therefore, it is probably less surprising that in contrast to other regions such as the area around Lake Maggiore (e.g. Ornavasso, VB) and the Swiss Canton Ticino (e.g. Giubiasco; see VI.3.3) bronze vessels are rare in mortuary contexts of the Lomellina.

Fig. 46 Chalice and *skyphos* in *ceramica invetriata* – PV_GRC_lMar_039. Flavian. Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

In this context ten vessels in *ceramica invetriata* are of particular interest (Tab. X). Lead-glazed pottery can be found throughout the Roman Empire

from the 1st century BC, when examples were found in Anatolian contexts. The most common vessel shape is represented by two-handled *skyphoi*, probably in imitation of metal vessels. The characteristic green exterior and yellow interior – resulting from the application of a lead oxide or other lead compound and added colorants such as copper oxide – resemble the patina of copper alloy vessels and their polished inner surface (Walton and Tite 2010: 733-734. 744).

During the Augustan period a small scale production developed in Italy and Central Gaul. The popularity of lead-glazed pottery has been ascribed to the demand for more economic imitations of highly valued bronze vessels (*ibid.* 734. 752). According to Saletti (1984: 240), the archaeological record of the Lomellina denotes a particular 'abundance' within the province of Pavia. Lead-glazed pottery has been found especially in burials rich in glass and terracotta objects (Macchioro 1991: 355). In combination with the noticeable lack of bronze vessels, this observation might provide further information about the economic identity of the Lomellina, suggesting that the communities of independent peasants were placed at an economic divide between stable prosperity and affluence.

An Augustan-Tiberian bronze spoon from a female burial (PV_DOR_cGra_193; Fig. XVII) was probably a tool for the preparation of cosmetics or medicine similar to the small bronze spoon or stirring rod from PV_GRC_lMar_024a and has thus been classified as 'personal belonging'.

1.5. Mortuary containers

With the exception of three cremations from Valeggio Lomellina, *località* Cascina Tessera, the Lomellina knows no specialised mortuary containers. The majority of cremated remains were deposited in either jars or bowls (see IV.2.1.2). Two urns from PV_VAL_cTes_202 (undateable) and 205 (LT D2) could probably also be classified as jars. Unique is the case of an Augustan face-urn from PV_VAL_cTes_024.

2. Jewellery and items of dress

Although objects for personal adornment are well represented in mortuary contexts of the Lomellina throughout all periods (see Fig. 34), a general poverty in metal objects is also reflected in the quantity and variety of jewellery and items of dress. This study

dispensed with a differentiation between the two categories as exclusive jewellery such as necklaces or earrings are rare (Tab. XIII). Brooches account for the majority of finds, followed by ring jewellery. Unique would be one neck ring, found according to Demetz (1999: 222) in an early Augustan cremation '*a fossa*' (PV_VAL_cTes_104). The item, however, has not been mentioned by any other editor. With the exception of brooches, decorative items of dress such as belts are rare. Belts have been identified through iron belt fittings in only nine contexts ranging between the Golasecca and Augustan period (e.g. PV_lMar_077 [Fig. XLII]). Shoes, on the other hand, have been attested for 16 contexts (15 complete contexts) with quantities ranging between one and one hundred nails. The complexes have been exclusively dated to the Principate and range between the Augustan and Domitian period.

2.1. Brooches

Brooches are remarkably rare in mortuary contexts of the Lomellina. With 256 brooches found in 137 contexts (81 complete contexts), only about a third of the contexts contained one or more brooches (Fig. 47; e.g. PV_GAM_fBel_023 [Fig. XXXVI]).
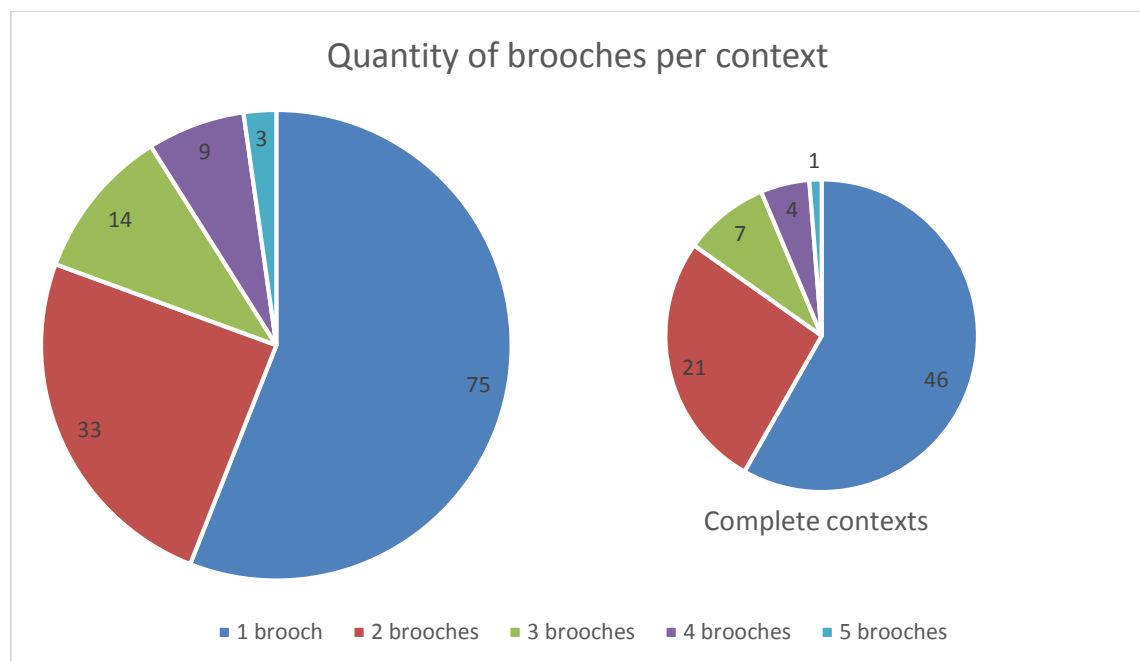
Fig. 47 Quantitative distribution of brooches per context.
The majority of contexts have only one or two brooches. Six brooches were found in two contexts, eight and nine brooches in one context each. The distribution within the 81 complete contexts resembles the general result, indicating that the predominance of contexts with one or two brooches cannot be reduced to deficient excavation or recording.

Fig. 48a Quantitative-chronological analysis of contexts with brooches.
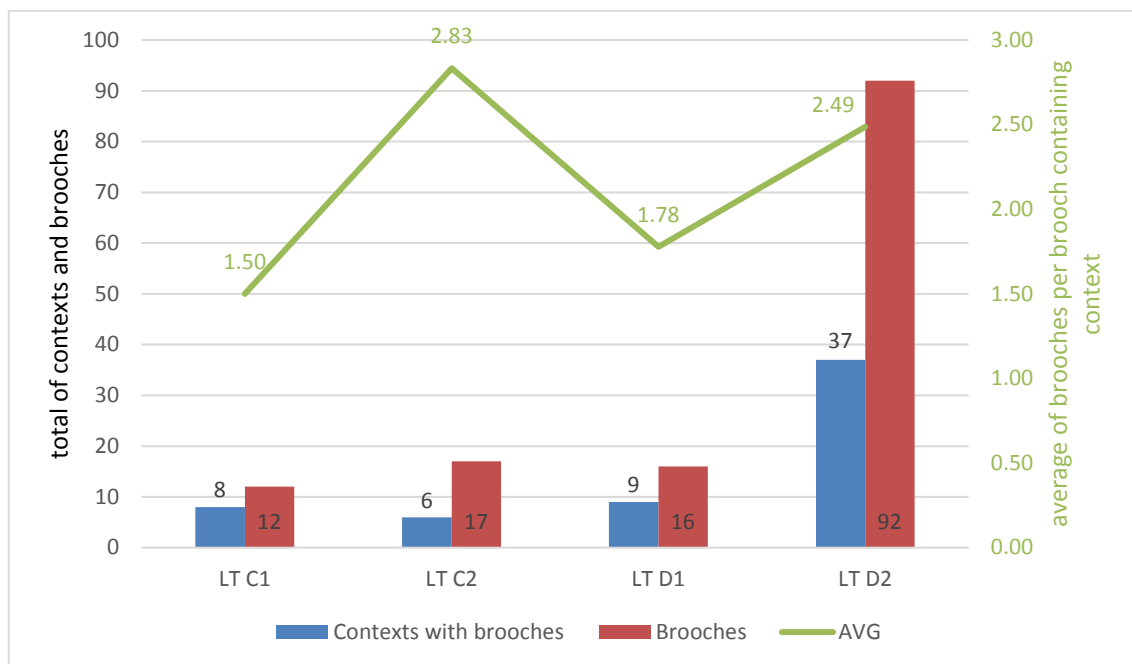
Fig. 48b Quantitative-chronological analysis of contexts with brooches between LT C1 and D2.
The small figure of contexts dating to LT C and D1 complicate the comparison. However, it is obvious that brooch quantities had a peak during LT D2.

Regarding the typology of brooches, the material culture of the Lomellina is characterised by a variety of types. Little surprising the majority of brooches have been identified as Pavese type, a local bronze LT II brooch with high, rounded bow, narrow crossbow construction and triangular catch-plate. The type has been found in contexts ranging between LT D and the Tiberian period (peak: LT D2-Augustan). Vannacci Lunazzi (1979a: 96) already noted the wide distribution of this type not only in the

Pavese but also the surroundings of Tortona and Vercelli. Morphologically they are close to LT II type Ornavasso brooches, which have been regarded as the most common type in western Lombardy and southern Switzerland with a continuity well into the Principate (Demetz 1999: 169).

Further LT II brooches are represented by type Misano and unspecified *Drahtfibeln* of LT II and LT III variations. Brooches type Misano appeared at Oleggio (see VI.3.2) in LT D1, whereas the examples from the Lomellina cover an advanced LT D1-2. They have been found throughout the Insubrian territory and were obviously worn by both women and men (Grossi and Iuliano 2010: 23).

Type Nauheim, a simple, low-arched LT III brooch in iron and bronze, has been found in contexts from LT D to the Tiberian period (peak: LT D2). Emerging in transalpine Europe during an early LT D1, they appeared in Transpadane Italy towards the LT D1/2 transition. Only one context – the unique inhumation from Santo Spirito (PV_GRC_SSp_002; LT D1) contained a pair of type Nauheim brooches; one context had a miniaturised version of the type (PV_VAL_cTes_132; *t.p.q.* 38-37 BC). This is counter to an analysis of the wider central-western Transpadana, which noted a preference for paired type Nauheim brooches, often linked via a small chain – a fashion only observed for type Almgren 65 brooches in the Lomellina (*ibid.* 23). Type Nauheim brooches were generally worn by both men and women – a notion neither verified nor falsified for the Lomellina as only one correlating burial had been gendered male based on the presence of shears and a bronze ring (PV_VAL_cTes_105. Demetz 1999: 211).

According to Grossi and Iuliano (2010: 23), LT D2 was characterised by an increase in both quantity and variety of brooches – an observation also reflected in the contexts of the Lomellina. Tizzoni (1981: 216) dated this increase in brooches earlier and ascribed the phenomenon to intensified contacts with transalpine groups that had migrated to Northern Italy during LT D1 – the Cimbri, defeated in 101 BC near Vercelli (NO). For want of further evidence proving a dependence of brooch fashion upon direct transalpine contacts and in light of regional derivatives, such a migration theory-dependent explanation for material change should be discarded. Moreover, preceding types such as type Pavese and other LT II brooches as well as type Nauheim continue.

Of similar shape to type Nauheim are *Schüsselfibeln*, which are distinguished by a lip or 'bowl' covering the spring – hence the name. *Schüsselfibeln* have been found exclusively in LT D contexts (peak: LT D2). Whilst type Nauheim and *Schüsselfibeln* are characterised by their simplicity and lack of additional adornment, type Cenisola, a further derivate of type Nauheim, is distinguished by a disc decoration dividing the brooch's bow from the foot. The type has been described as generally "inhomogeneous" (Demetz 1999: 210) and appears to have its origin in Northern Italy, especially Lombardy and the neighbouring Alpine areas. Found both in singles and pairs, the type has been worn predominantly by men and is thus further distinguished from type Nauheim and *Schüsselfibeln* (*ibid.* 169. 210; Grossi and Iuliano 2010: 23).

As with type Nauheim brooches, type Almgren 65 was widely distributed. The cast brooches are characterised by an angulated bow with distinct bow knot and an often open, triangular foot. According to Demetz (1999: 208-209), type Almgren 65 probably emerged first in Northern Italy with type 65c1 having its origin in Lombardy and the Canton Ticino during the early 1st century BC. The contexts of the Lomellina date primarily to LT D2 with one late exception dated to the Augustan period (PV_GRC_lMen_035; *t.p.q.* AD 22) and thus fit into the wider North Italian pattern.

A single *Knotenfibel* found in a female burial dated to the first half of the 1st century AD (PV_GRC_lMar_024a) is slightly exceptional as *Knotenfibeln* have been generally ascribed to male burials (*ibid.* 209). The assemblage, however, shows signs of a post-excavation mix-up and the brooch may therefore belong to a different context.

Augustan and Augustan-Tiberian *fibula* fashion is represented by type Aucissa and its predecessor type Alesia. These hinge brooches are characterised by a high ribbon-shaped bow and a foot terminating in a sphere as well as a triangular or trapezoid catch-plate and have been found across the Roman empire with a clear focus on the Augustan-Tiberian period (*ibid.* 168. 215). Whilst the oldest types of hinge brooches are generally rare in female contexts, the analysis of type Aucissa brooches from northern Italian mortuary contexts has demonstrated that they were equally interred with women (Martin-Kilcher 2011: 34).
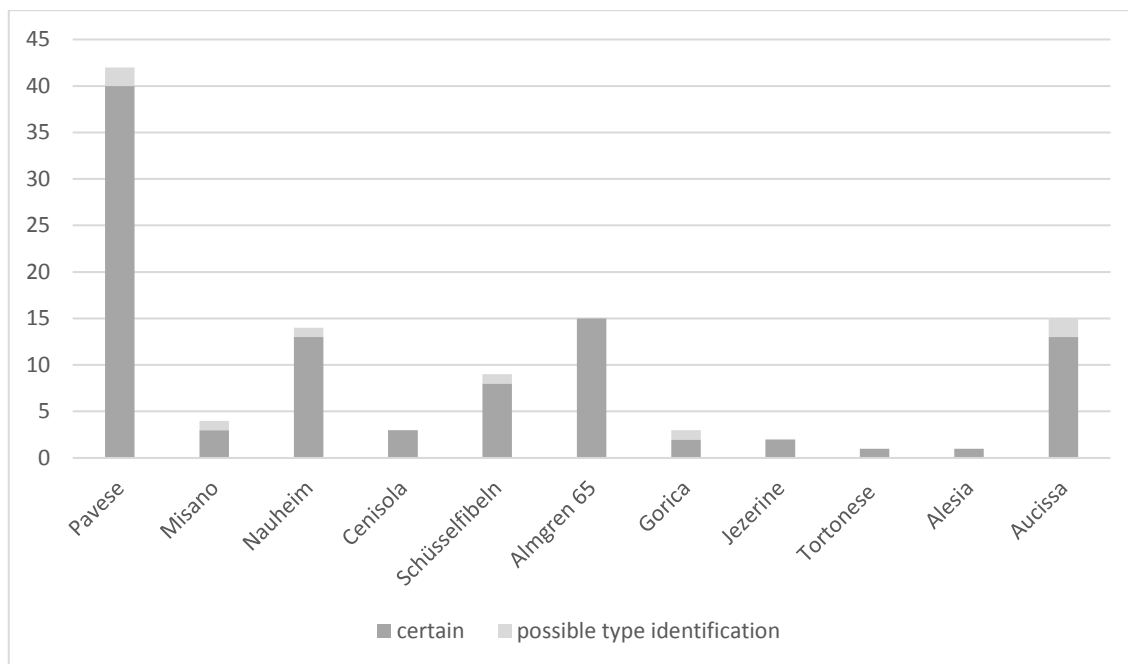
Fig. 49 Quantitative-typological analysis of brooches (complete and incomplete contexts).
The predominance of type Pavese brooches may result from their long existence from LT D1 to the Tiberian period.

	Complete contexts	AVG	Non-complete contexts	AVG
Female	15 contexts with 33 brooches	2.2	7 contexts with 12 brooches	1.71
Female?	2 contexts with 2 brooches	1	--	--
Male	14 contexts with 23 brooches	1.64	2 contexts with 3 brooches	1.5
Male?	1 context with 1 brooch	1	1 context with 1 brooch	1
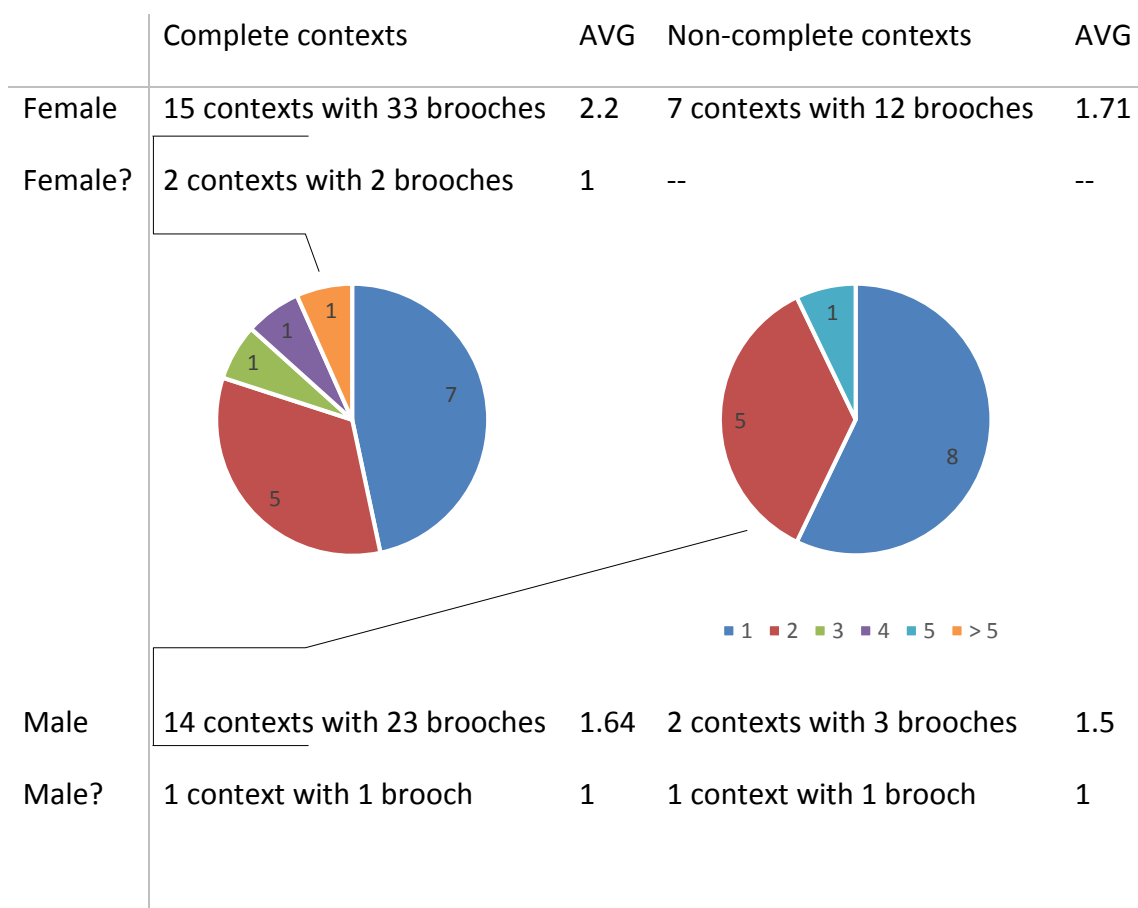
Tab. 14 Quantitative analysis of brooches per gender
The charts represent the total quantity of brooches per context highlighting that burials with two or more brooches are more likely to be classified as female.

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Less equivocal than a classification of brooches as ethnic or cultural marker, is their significance in ascribing gender as contemporary inhumations and iconographic representations (e.g. on funerary monuments) can provide reliable data about the relation between dress and gender/sex. Therefore, brooches play a significant role in the gender identification of cremation burials such as those of the Lomellina. Nevertheless, only 32 complete contexts with brooches have been gendered based on the combination of mortuary goods (Tab. 14). As far as information about materiality is provided, brooches from female gendered assemblages were equally of bronze and iron (each with 11 brooches). Male assemblages contain brooches predominantly made of iron (20 brooches; 3 brooches in bronze) and thus follow patterns known from other IA sites and regions.

PV_GAM_fBel_006, a LT D2 cremation with four brooches, had been dated based on their typology – a combination of two bronze LT II *Drahtfibeln* of type Misano and two large iron brooches with angulated bow ('*arco a gomito*'). The double pair suggests a paired position of the brooches on the dress as attested through inhumation burials such as the unique inhumation from Santo Spirito (PV_GRC_SSp_001) with a pair of iron type Guiraud 1b or 1c brooches placed on the deceased's shoulders, probably attached to the dress. Such pairing has been attested for 12 complete cremation contexts (Fig. 50); eight complete contexts contained two brooches that probably formed a pair, two contained a trio of brooches of the same type. Five incomplete contexts indicate a pairing of at least two brooches; 11 incomplete contexts contained at least two brooches of different types. Chronologically no distinct pattern emerged. Brooch pairs have been discovered in contexts from LT B2 to the Augustan period with a clear focus on LT D. With only five of the complete contexts being gender identified (three female and two male assemblages) no gender prevalence becomes visible.

Fig. 50 Quantitative-typological analysis of paired brooches.
The predominance of type Pavese brooches reflects their popularity in the Lomellina in general; not further specified m-LT shapes rank second, followed by pairs of type Almgren 65 brooches – a type commonly found in pairs (often linked with a small chain) throughout its distribution area.
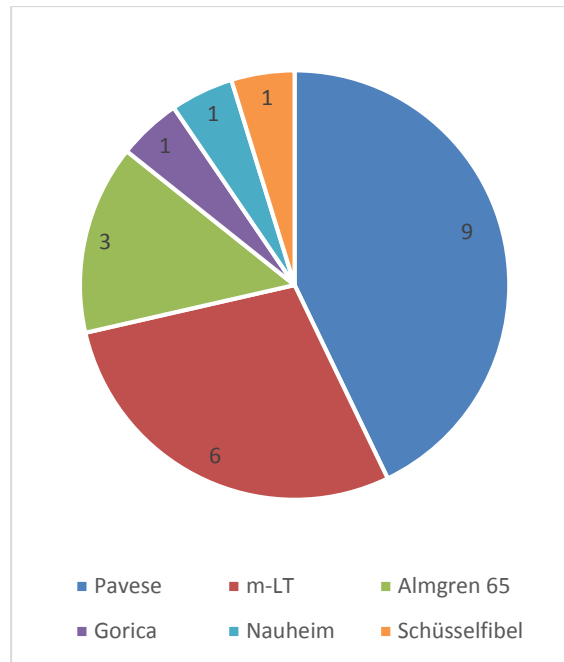
Gender specificity, however, combined with an apparent representation of wealth can also be identified in the offering of shoes. Assemblages comprising shoes have been of a generally remarkable wealth with on average 5.6 vessels (PV_ALA_cGuz_001 with ≥ 17 ceramic vessels outranks the other contexts). As brooches are generally rare during this period, these shoes usually account for the only detectable item of dress. Although spindle whorls have only been found in two contexts (with one example each), eight contexts had been identified as (possibly) female, none of them as male. This is supported by on average 2.5 *balsamaria* (PV_ALA_cGuz_004 with ≥ 12 *balsamaria* outranks the other contexts [Fig. XXXII]; see also V.4.2.1.) and two, possibly four contexts with a funerary bed (see also V.5.3.).

2.2. Jewellery

Second in quantity after brooches is ring jewellery, in particular arm jewellery comprising arm rings and bracelets (i.e. open forms, often made of sheet metal), as well as unspecified rings (with diameters above 2.2 cm unlikely to be classified as finger rings). A combination of various ring types has only been observed four times (Tab. XII). In 25 contexts, arm jewellery was associated with brooches.

Although 21 glass arm rings found in contexts of the Lomellina account for two thirds of all finds from the province of Pavia (30; Diani et al. 2014: 55), only five come from certain mortuary contexts, three were found within cemetery sites but cannot be

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associated with a specific context any longer. Settlement finds of glass arm rings come from Gropello Cairoli, *località* Santo Spirito, and Lomello, *località* Villa Maria (*ibid*.).

Twenty-five finger rings have been found in 21 contexts (13 complete contexts) ranging between Golasecca and the Claudian period. The material analysis of those examples, where information is available, shows that finger rings were almost equally made of iron and bronze (Fig. 52) with only one Tiberian example of silver (PV_GRC_lMar_056). With 10 examples almost half of the finger rings had been designed with a setting for stone or glass paste inlays, which have often been lost.
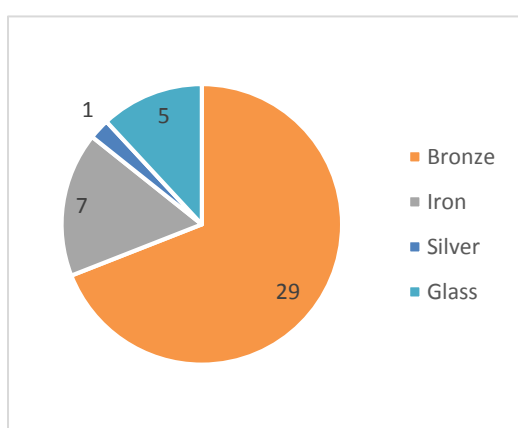
Fig. 51 Materiality of ring jewellery excluding finger rings.
The majority were made of bronze (all 12 bracelets with material indication are of bronze). The five glass arm rings fall between LT C2 and D2.
PV_GAR_MdB_063 is the only context with a silver arm ring associated with a glass arm ring.
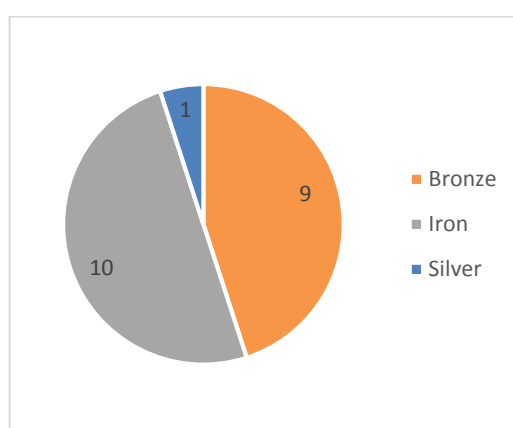
Fig. 52 Materiality of finger rings.

Nine assemblages (eight complete contexts) included necklaces that are exclusively evidenced through single or multiple beads (see Tab. XIII). Further nine assemblages (eight complete contexts) contained a variety of other jewellery, primarily buttons (e.g. PV_OTT_cRot_017 [Fig. LII]; Tab. XIV). The latter date to LT C2-D1 and have been described as a typical Ligurian element of female attire (Gambari and Venturini Gambari 1987; Arslan 1995a; 2007). An Augustan silver earring supplements the small quantity of items in precious metal found in the Lomellina. This relative scarcity of precious metal finds from the Lomellina fits well into the wider picture of north-west Italy, for which Arslan (1978a: 82) observed a general scarcity of precious materials particularly during the 2nd century BC.

3. Weapons and tools

3.1. Swords, knives and daggers

3.1.1. Weapons or tools? A definition

Although the catalogue lists only 14 tombs with weapons and 24 with knives (exceptional is PV_GAR_MdB_008 with four knives. Tab. XV), a substantial amount of weapons have been found in the Lomellina – many of them from undocumented contexts. A large (yet unknown) number of weapons including swords, spearheads and suspension chains – all of iron – had been found at Vigevano, *frazione* La Sforzesca (Trucco 1979: pl. I-XIV; Arslan 1984: 122) and *località* Monte Oliveto (Figs 54-55). Of the catalogued contexts, six contexts had been equipped with only one weapon, three cases contained a complete panoply of sword, spear and shield (Fig. 53; Rapin 1996 for a discussion of the classic Celtic or Gallic panoply). Such a prevalence of partial panoplies has already been noted for the Golasecca period, during which a combination of sword and spear accounted for the most common panoply (Egg 2001: 37).
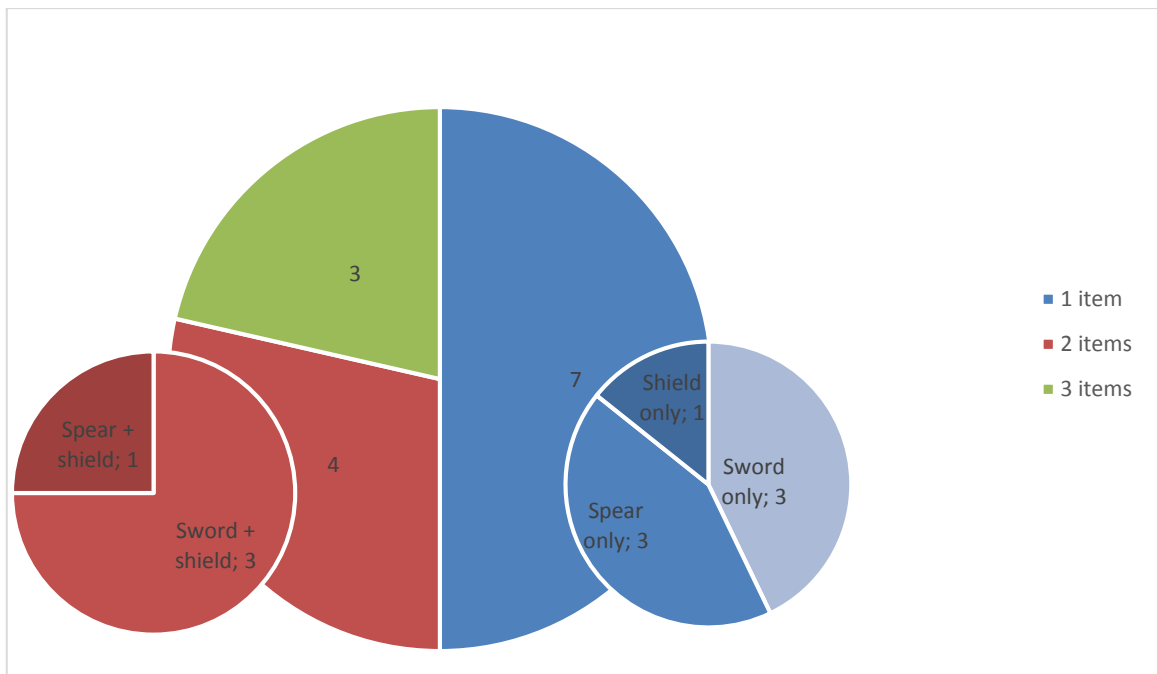
Fig. 53 Quantitative analysis of weapon combinations.
Unique is the case of PV_GAR_MdB_008, containing two spearheads but no other distinct weaponry, and four knives. A combination of sword and spear has not been observed in the Lomellina.
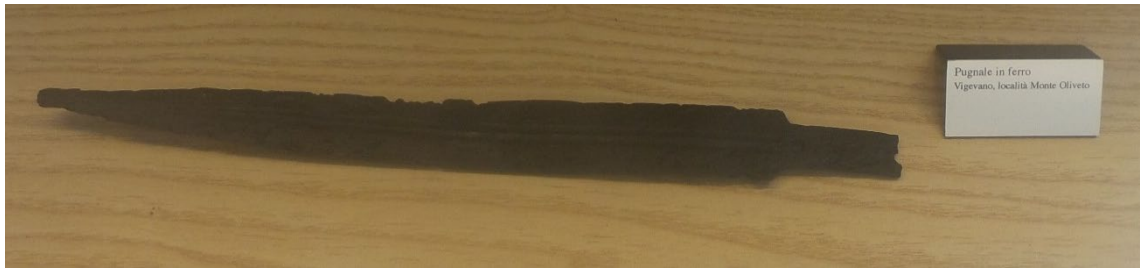
Fig. 54 Dagger – Stray find from Vigevano, *località* Monte Oliveto. Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

Fig. 55 Two large knives – Stray finds from Vigevano, *località* Monte Oliveto. Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

Defensive weaponry, which increased in Central Italy since the EIA (Iaia 2009-2012: 75), has only been attested through shields. Helmets are completely missing. The Lomellina thus follows a general trend of LT C/D, during which helmets – apart from single examples from Trier-Olewig (DE), Verna Boé and the 'Forêt de Rouvray' (all FR) – continue largely only in Slovenia and were absent even from high-ranking burials (pers. comm. M. Schönfelder; Arslan 1978c: 467).

The bivalent character of knives as weapons and/or tools is distinct. In contrast to *balsamaria*, oil lamps or coins, which are unified by their possible difference in function and significance between *biocenosis* and *thanatocenosis*, the interpretation of knives is generally ambiguous. Without any further information, it remains
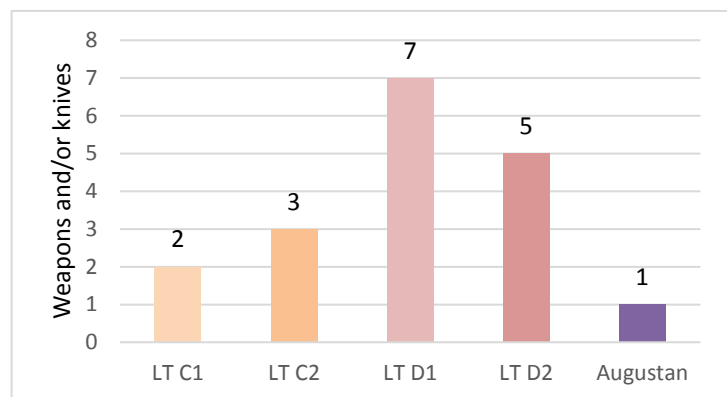
Fig. 56 Quantitative-chronological analysis of assemblages with weapons and/or knives.
The distinct peak during LT D1 (125-70 BC) mirrors the presence of weaponry in other areas of north-west Italy. The rapid decline during LT D2 coincides with the Roman legislation of granting Latin and Roman (civil)rights.

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difficult to distinguish between the various possible functions. Where technical details are provided it is possible to differentiate between daggers (*pugnali*) with a two-edged blade and knives (*coltelli*) with a single edged blade (Pearce 2007: 30). The latter are sometimes further distinguished by their size. Large knives found in burials of the Golasecca period, for example, have been classified as weapons (Egg 2001: 39), whereas those of the 1st century BC are described as carving and working knives (Biaggio Simona 2001: 84). Tizzoni (1981: 215) already pointed out that knives with blades of 40-50 cm length could have been used either in battle or for hunting or even served both purposes. Thus *coltellacci* have been classified as battle knives (Vannacci Lunazzi 1981d about the knives from Gambolò, *frazione* Belcreda), however a purpose as carving or hunting knife seems more probable. Both – daggers and knives – can be identified as tools and weapons (Bianco Peroni 1994: 73). Smaller knives may have also been used in agricultural activity and the manufacturing of textiles (i.e. '*coltellini*') as highlighted by Corti (2016).

Chronologically weaponry covers only a very short period (Fig. 56). With PV_GAR_MdB_089 and 092 only two assemblages dated to LT C1. By the end of LT D1, and thus even before the granting of Latin citizenship in 49 BC (see II.2.2.4.1) weaponry was already excluded from the burial customs and discernible funerary rituals of the Lomellina. Knives, on the other hand, continued into the Augustan period of the early 1st century AD. Although only five contexts date to LT D2 and the Augustan period (counter to 14 contexts ranging across LT C and D1), Häussler's observation that "knives as grave goods became rare after 80 BC as they probably were no longer meaningful to be associated with people of status" (Haeussler 2013: 136) cannot remain unchallenged.

3.1.2. *Weapons and tools as part of the mortuary assemblage*

Due to the small number of weaponry in LIA contexts of the Lomellina, it is hardly possible to detect any pattern in the treatment of weapons and their possible function during the funerary ritual. As far as determinable, weapons, and in particular swords, had been intentionally destroyed and thus defunctionalised before their interment (Fig. 57). The same has been reported for the majority of weaponry found at Vigevano, *frazione* La Sforzesca. Of particular interest, however, are two swords with fragments

of suspension chains that were dated to a late LT C1 and showed no traces of destruction, suggesting that this tradition might have only been adopted during LT C2 (Arslan 1984: 122).

Fig. 57a Weapon assemblage with sword, spearhead, shield boss and knife – PV_VAL_cTes_189. LT C2. Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.
The sword and scabbard show clear traces of bending; a similar treatment seems plausible for the spearhead. The fragmentation of the shield boss, however, may be a result of exposure to heat.

Fig. 57b Detail of spearhead with net-decoration and mineralised remains of the wooden shaft – PV_VAL_cTes_189. LT C2. Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

The intentional destruction of weapons before interment has been widely observed for the LIA of temperate Europe (Müller 2002: 111-121 emphasises the role of ritual fragmentation of weaponry not only in burial contexts but also sanctuaries such as Gournay-sur-Aronde [Picardy, FR], Manching [Lkr. Pfaffenhofen, DE] and Bern, Tiefenau [CH]. For Oleggio, tomb 106 see VI.3.3 and Fig. 72). Iaia (2009-2012: 73-74), however, highlights the unique tradition of destructive rituals involving weapons in the wider mortuary context of Northern Italian sites during the LBA. The concept of defunctionalising objects and symbols of such great significance as weapons, appears

to have already been of long tradition when the classic LT warrior identity emerged in the region probably in consequence of the Gallic migrations (see II.2.2.3.1).

The intentional fragmentation of grave goods (i.e. not exclusively weapons but also pottery; in the case of some Ha elite burials, status symbols and other precious items – e.g. the golden brooches at Hochdorf – were also subject of violence) reflects a variety of ritual aspects such as the parallel destruction of the corpse through cremation or decomposition, notions of a reversed netherworld (i.e. the item needs to be defunctionalised in order to function beyond death) and apotropaic defensive measurements.

In contrast to other sites such as Oleggio, the weapon burials of the Lomellina are characterised by a certain material wealth. Although the low figure of complete contexts (12; Tab. XVI) does not justify a detailed statistical quantitative analysis, an increasing wealth within the pottery assemblages during LT C-D is obvious.

3.2.   Spindle whorls

Small items but of disproportionate significance in mortuary archaeology – spindle whorls have gained the status of almost unmistrusted and undisputed gender markers equal to weaponry in male burials due to their representation in depictions of the female sphere (e.g. on Greek vases or tomb reliefs) and their presence in female sexed graves. The cremations of the Lomellina have been largely gendered female based on a combination of spindle whorls with other female attire (see IV.3.4.1); the lack of anthropological data complicates challenging this approach.

Over 400 spindle whorls have been found in mortuary contexts of the Lomellina, with on average 3-4 examples per context despite the vast majority of
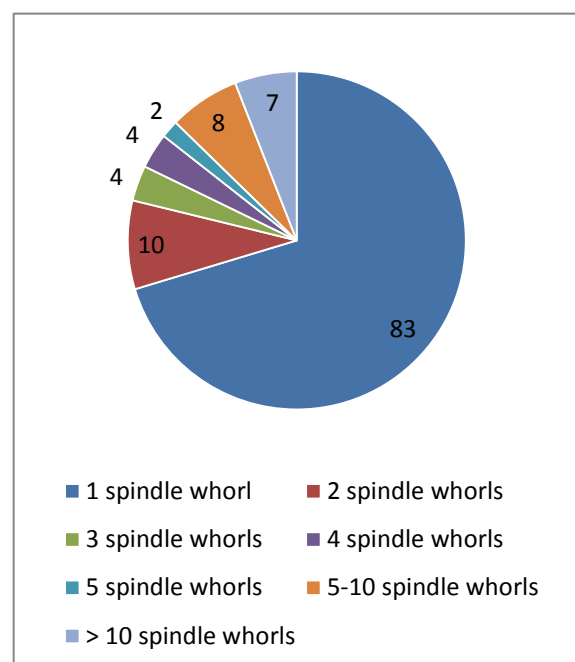
Fig. 58 Quantitative distribution of spindle whorls. The small group of contexts with more than 10 spindle whorls accounts for almost 50% of all spindle whorls found in the Lomellina.

contexts containing only one (Fig. 58). This discrepancy is caused by four Augustan-Tiberian contexts. Each had been buried with an extraordinary amount of spindle whorls (PV_GAR_cBar_308b: 26; PV_GAM_fGar_019: 38; PV_GAR_cBar_307: 47 and PV_GAR_cBar_034: 67), meanwhile contemporary graves contained on average not more than three examples. It is noteworthy that each of these four outstanding graves had been interred with terracotta appliqués indicating that the presumably female deceased had been cremated on a funerary bed. Although their gender identification has been largely based on the presence of spindle whorls (see V.5.3), the quantity of the latter suggests that in high ranking burials – an assumption based on the uniqueness of funerary beds – spindle whorls were considered more than just tools. It appears that during the Augustan-Tiberian period spindle whorls also signified status, probably virtue in accordance with the Roman praise of the textile manufacturing wife (Poletti Ecclesia 1997b; Busana and Rossi 2016), and distinguished certain female members of the community from the rest. The outstanding character of these female assemblages finds support in the observation that other contemporary cemeteries yielded total amounts lower than some of these individual burials (e.g. Ornavasso: 57 spindle whorls; Gravellona Toce: 35. Poletti Ecclesia 1997b: 53). Martin-Kilcher (1998: 197) points out that rich 2nd-1st century BC female assemblages at Ornavasso are lacking spindle whorls in general, implying that these tools were only an element of the subaltern female sphere. In the absence of further information about the four Augustan-Tiberian assemblages from the Lomellina (they have only been published in reference to their funerary beds so far), it is impossible to say whether they were of any quantitative or qualitative wealth in addition to the funerary bed, and whether the presumed high-status symbolic significance of spindle whorls is a geographic or chronological phenomenon.

With the exception of three spindle whorls made of lead (PV_GAR_MdB_091, PV_GRC_lMar_079 and PV_VAL_cTes_115), all examples from the Lomellina were made in terracotta. This is counter to observations from other regions such as the Val d'Ossola where a majority of spindle whorls had been made in soapstone (Poletti Ecclesia 1997b: 54), highlighting that spindle whorls were locally manufactured using easily available materials that were already used in local industries – thus emphasising the importance of pottering crafts in the Lomellina.

The symbolic meaning of spindle whorls and thus spinning could also be reflected in rare cases of spindles and distaffs in bone or metal and precious materials like ivory. Poletti Ecclesia (*ibid.* 56) interprets the glass rods found in numerous Roman burials as symbolic distaffs (cf. Invernizzi 1999: 59 n. 6). However, their frequent association with *balsamaria* and the absence of direct combinations with spindle whorls renders this interpretation improbable for burials of the Lomellina where they have been addressed as stirring rods or probes for the use with cosmetics and/or medicines (see V.4.2.1) – an interpretation acknowledged but rejected by Poletti Ecclesia based on their similarity to distaffs made in bone/ivory. Three elements of spindles may have been discovered at PV_ZIN_tLMA_001 (Fig. XXIX); these, however, were made of iron.

4. Personal belongings and items for grooming

4.1. Definition

The definition of personal belongings within mortuary assemblages is complicated. Not only can we hardly prove a personal connection between certain items and the deceased as they were ultimately selected by the mourning community, but we also need to define what we perceive as 'personal'. Following a categorisation for grave goods in EIA and LIA transalpine elite burials (e.g. Hochdorf, Lkr. Ludwigsburg, DE; Hansen 2010: 19. 66-67), personal belongings comprise any item used by the deceased in relation to their person such as toilet sets and other items of grooming but also specialised tools like writing equipment or spoons and probes for the preparation of cosmetics and medicine.

In the context of early Imperial burials of north-west Italy and those of the Lomellina in particular we must face the difficulty of classifying and categorising an abundance of perfume bottles both in glass and ceramics. Thanks to ancient descriptions of high-status burials in Rome we know that aromatic essences played an important role during the various mortuary rituals (Hesberg 1998: 23-24). A similar function is indicated by the abundance of *balsamaria* found in both pyre and grave good assemblages in the Lomellina. On the other hand, *balsamaria* have also been grouped with glass stirring rods and mirrors in female burials where they are particularly numerous. This implies that they were also of personal significance and reflect the

female sphere of grooming. Therefore, and despite their undeniable ritual function they have been included within the category of personal belongings.

4.2. Grooming

4.2.1. Balsamaria

Perfume bottles have been found in burials long before glass-blowing resulted in a mass production of small cosmetic containers. They were made of fine ceramic, soft stone such as alabaster and glass paste (Anderson-Stojanović 1987). The appearance of glass vessels at the beginning of the 1st century AD led to a gradual replacement of ceramic *balsamaria* in north-west Italy. Initially probably of higher value than ceramic containers, glass *balsamaria* soon became a competitive mass product (*ibid.* 113). Thin-walled perfume bottles of greenish-blue and coloured glass comprising globular and pear-shapes have been excavated at Gropello Cairoli, where they have been found in two thirds of all tombs dating between the 1st and the first decades of the 2nd century, at Alagna Lomellina, Dorno, Gambolò, Garlasco, Ottobiano, Tromello, Valeggio Lomellina, Vigevano and Zinasco (and thus at every site that includes contexts from the early Principate) but also in cemeteries of the Locarnese and at Ornavasso. In contrast to the Locarnese, however, the Lomellina retained ceramic *balsamaria* until the mid-1st century AD (Maccabruni 1983: 13 notes 16-18).

The glass *balsamaria* of the Lomellina were most probably produced in the same workshops that also made glass tableware (see V.1.4.3) as evidenced by the shared spectrum of colours. In an analysis of Hellenistic perfume production and trade, Reger (2005: 273-274; cf. Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 115. 117-119) stresses that ceramic perfume bottles were improbably produced for the transport or retail of perfume due to their less ideal adequacy in preserving perfume and their variable volume. Although the former does not apply to glass containers, their fragility prevented any longer transport. Therefore and due to their sheer quantities, it has to be assumed that they were produced locally and filled with perfume of an unknown source acquired in larger, more durable containers.

A minimum of 204 *balsamaria* have been found in mortuary contexts of the Lomellina (due to their fragility, many have only been preserved as fragments resulting in an

uncertain quantity); a minimum of 147 *balsamaria* were recovered from 61 complete contexts dating between the Augustan and Domitian period. The Julio-Claudian period (127 *balsamaria* in total, of which 95 date Augustan-Tiberian) clearly dominates.

The chronological comparison of assemblages with and without *balsamaria* shows some patterns that imply a certain significance of *balsamaria* in the representation of status and gender.
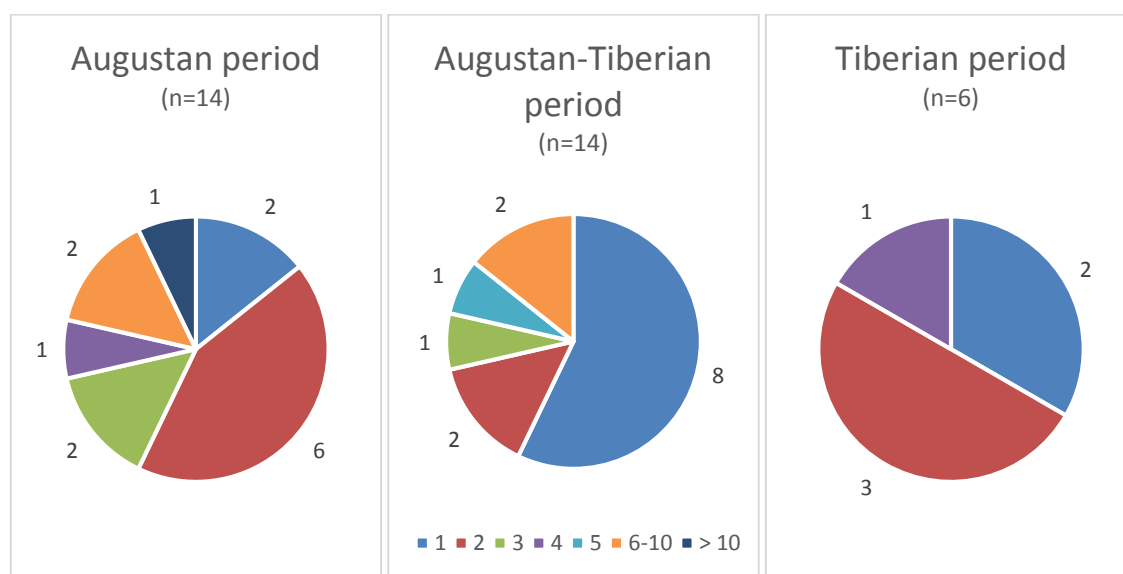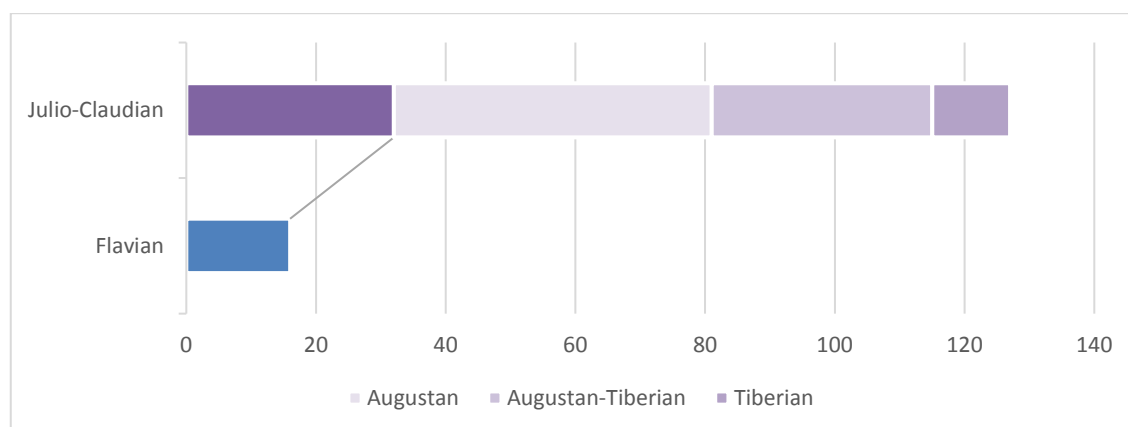
Fig. 59 Quantitative summary of *balsamaria* per context.
The comparison demonstrates that 1-2 perfume bottles per assemblage clearly dominate over contexts with three or more examples.

During the Augustan period, *balsamaria* were rarely associated with other glass vessels but contexts with *balsamaria* were generally richer in pottery. The same applies to brooches, although items of dress and jewellery dominate in contexts without *balsamaria* contradicting their general association with material wealth. The recognisable predominance of spindle whorls and funerary beds in association with

balsamaria supports the hypothesis that large quantities of either or both material groups indicate a female identity (Macchioro 1991: 354). A similar comparison for Tiberian contexts is hardly possible due to the low figure of only six contexts with *balsamaria* compared to one without perfume bottles. Flavian contexts generally follow the same pattern. Glass vessels have only been found in those contexts that also contained *balsamaria* (20 vessels in six contexts). Oil lamps and coins, however, appear to dominate in burials without perfume bottles.

4.2.2. Razors

Only 14 burials of the Lomellina contained a razor (PV_GAM_fBel_017, 026 and 033, PV_GAR_MdB_008 and 089, PV_GRC_lMar_027, PV_TRO_cNeg_041 [Fig. 61] and PV_VAL_cTes_139-141a, 187, 189, 197 and 203). In 11 contexts they were associated with shears or scissors, thus strengthening hypotheses that these small knives were less of a grooming purpose but rather a tool used in the manufacturing of textiles (Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 188; Niccolo 2009/2010: 360; Corti 2016; see VI.3.3-4); although there is no association with spindle whorls and six assemblages combined razors with weaponry. Nevertheless, the "widely accepted interpretation (Treherne 1995; Kristiansen and Larsson 2005: 228) [that] razors are included in the category of body care tools which, from the European Late Bronze Age, were intended to enhance the appearance of warriors, not only in everyday life but also in death" (Iaia 2009-2012: 81) cannot be subscribed to without hesitation.

Fig. 60 Strigil – Stray find from Vigevano, *località* Monte Oliveto.
Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.
The find is one of only two reported for the Lomellina, with
PV_GAM_fBel_041 representing the only mortuary context with
strigil.

Fig. 61 Razor and brooch joined through
corrosion – PV_TRO_cNeg_041. Second half
1st century BC. Museo Nazionale
Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

5. Varia and items of ritual connotation

5.1. Coins

Coins are a regular part of mortuary assemblages in the Lomellina. 138 contexts
contained 165 coins with 16% of all graves having multiple coins (Fig. 63). Asses have
generally been classified as funerary coins *par excellence* (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010:
37) – an observation also valid for the Lomellina with a total of 92 asses (Fig. 64).

Chronologically they cover a wide range beginning as early as *t.p.q.* 217-197 BC and as
late as a denomination coined under Constantine (PV_DOR_lSMa_013; although
probably a mix-up of the assemblage), which proves the long frequentation of the site
at Dorno, *località* San Materno (Fig. 65; for the monetisation of north-west Italy Arslan
1973; 1992-1993; 1993; 1995b, 1998a-b; 2000; 2001a-b and 2003).

Fig. 62 Three bronze asses (obverse with Janus' head; reverse with ship's bow and legend ROMA) and a silver
vittoriato (obverse with Jupiter's head; revers with Victoria crowning a trophy and legend ROMA) –
PV_VAL_cTes_189. LT C2. Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.
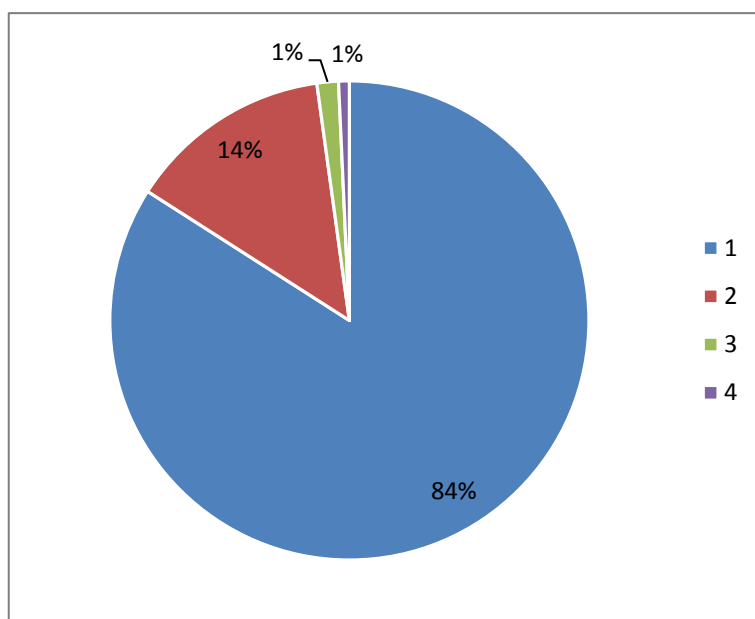
Fig. 63 Quantity of coins per context.

The overwhelming majority of 84% contexts with only one coin renders the interpretation as provision for the crossing into the netherworld more probable. PV_VAL_cTes_189, a weapon burial with rich assemblage contained four coins including a silver *vittoriato* (Fig. 62). Two asses with Janus' head and ship's bow minted under L. Sempronius provide a *t.p.q.* of 172-151 BC, identifying the tomb as the oldest of the sector and thus probably the particularly wealthy founder grave of the cemetery.
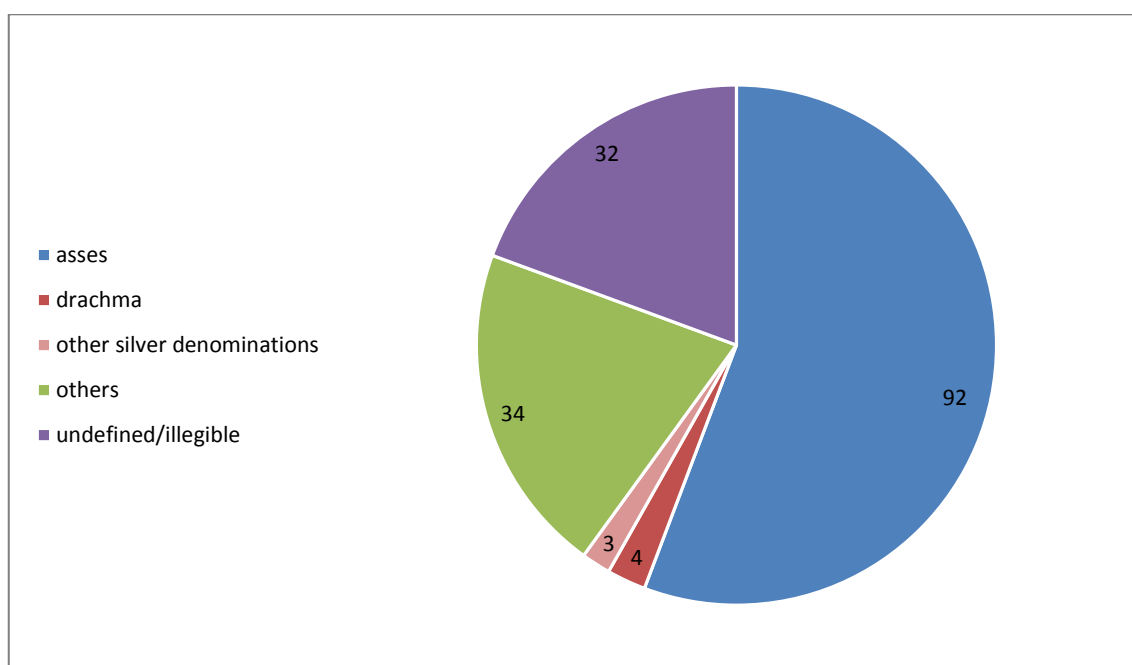
Fig. 64 Total quantities of coins per type.
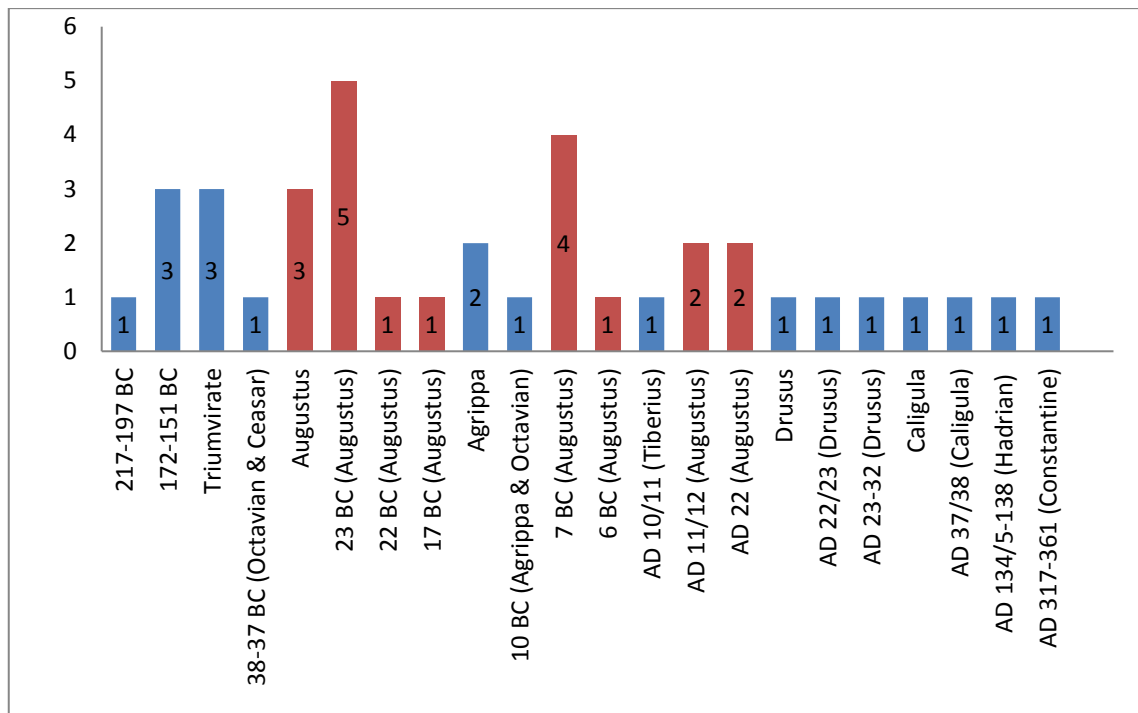
Fig. 65 Quantitative-chronological analysis of coin denominations.
The distribution shows a distinct peak of Augustan denominations (highlighted in red) coinciding with the LTD-Augustan population increase.

It is generally assumed that coins had a ritual function within the mortuary assemblage (e.g. van Enckevort and Heirbaut 2013: 118; Arslan 1999). The deceased received money to pay for the crossing into the netherworld. This chthonic tradition had its origin in Archaic Greece, where coins were often old, without value or even "fake" (Mlasowsky 2006) highlighting the symbolic significance. Arslan (1999: 70-71), however, highlights that in particular LT C and early LT D contexts of the Lomellina and beyond received either more than one coin (see Fig. 62) or more valuable denominations, which render an interpretation as Charon's fare improbable. In addition, he continues, those coins he had analysed showed no traces of exposure to heat and had thus not been placed with the corpse. Therefore, an interpretation as status symbol or marker of economic identity would be more plausible.

The double faced figure of Janus accounts for the most popular depiction on denominations found in the Lomellina (70% of all definable asses). It is possible to interpret this selection as a reflection of understanding Janus (or any double-headed figure) as a mediator between *biocenosis* and *thanatocenosis* – the world of the living and that of the dead – and thus an agency of the object. The combination of Janus with a ship's bow may have rendered this denomination particularly suitable for funerary

rituals – supposing the indigenous communities of the Lomellina adopted the ritual of providing the deceased with the charges for crossing together with the Graeco-Roman chthonic landscape, where the river Styx divided the *biocenosis* and *thanatocenosis* and had to be crossed by means of a ferry. An as with Janus' head from Orsenigo (CO) is deemed as extraordinary for its symbolic meaning as lucky charm given at New Year's (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 37).

5.2. Oil lamps

Of a similar significance within the graves were probably oil lamps. Like coins, oil lamps had a practical function in daily life but received a ritual connotation as part of the funerary ritual. Even without any supporting data, it is probably fair to say that oil lamps have generally been classified as ritual items, lighting the darkness of the afterlife and travelling there (van Enckevort and Heirbaut: 118). The comparison of death to extinguishing the light of life, however, appears to be a comparatively modern notion reflected in art and poetry. Contrasting the ritual interpretation, Butti Ronchetti (2009/2010: 19) suggests that oil lamps had been merely a technological innovation worthy of accompanying the deceased.

Only 75 oil lamps have been found in mortuary contexts of the Lomellina (in comparison, in 140 burials of Via Annia, Scofà, UD, Verzár-Bass 1998: 169 documented 100 oil lamps); 13 have been identified as *Firmalampen* – lamps stamped with the name of their workshop (Fig. 66). It is of particular note that almost half of them had been produced in the workshop of FORTIS (Fig. XLVIII and Tab. XVIII), indicating that the distribution of oil lamps was comparatively channelled.

The documented oil lamps range between LT D1 (PV_GRC_lMar_044) and the 2nd-3rd century AD (PV_GAR_MdB_071) with over 60% dating to the Julio-Claudian period. During this period, oil lamps were evenly distributed throughout the Lomellina, with the remarkable exception of Dorno, *località* San Materno.

Fig. 66 *Firmalampe* with stamp COMMVNIS – PV_GRC_lMar_039. Flavian. Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano

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Although the small cemetery of 15 contexts has been completely excavated and contexts have been largely classified as complete, no oil lamps have been reported for the site – a phenomenon also marked upon by Fasold and Witteyer (1998: 184-185 tab. 2).

5.3. Funerary beds

Within the mortuary assemblages of the Lomellina, one group of items has been recognised as exceptional and outstanding: terracotta appliqués, fragments of carbonised wood as well as iron clasps and nails attest the presence of wooden funerary beds (*lecti funebres*) as part of early Imperial funerary customs. The decorative elements in terracotta clearly imitated more expensive versions made of bronze and ivory or bone.

Funerary beds have been documented in the Mediterranean since the 7th century BC (e.g. Tomba Regolini Galassi, Cerveteri [RM]). Highly decorated beds from Greek workshops have not only been found at Athens' Kerameikos (6th century BC) or the royal tombs of Vergina in Macedonia (4th century) but also in transalpine Europe (e.g. Grafenbühl, Baden-Württemberg, Germany; c. 500 BC. Biel and Balzer 2012: 141), highlighting their significance as status symbol far beyond the Mediterranean. With the spread of Hellenism, funerary beds became increasingly standardised in their decoration (Colivicchi 2002: 273; Invernizzi 2005a: 131; 2005b: 13; Bellini and Trigona 2013: 35) and widely distributed – within Italy especially in Central and Southern Italy with a distinct focus on eastern Etruria (Bianchi 2010: 80 fig. 7; Berke 2013: 83).

5.3.1. Construction and technical details

Although one can assume that funerary beds often had been domestic beds in secondary use, finds from settlement contexts provided evidence for slight technical differences between them. Whilst domestic beds were probably made in bronze or with bronze appliqués, the decorations of funerary beds found in Central Italy have been primarily made of bone (Colivicchi 2002: 274-275; Invernizzi 2005b: 21-22; Bellini and Trigona 2013: 35).

Beds with ivory or bronze decoration had a long tradition in the Mediterranean and in particular the Greek world. During the 4th century BC numbers and distribution peaked

thanks to the adoption of funerary beds by the Macedonian elite. Between the 2nd century BC and the 1st century AD they became fashionable throughout the Roman world. In 187 BC, Gnaeus Manlius Vulso celebrated his triumph over the Galati and presented Rome with richly adorned parade beds made of bronze (*lecti aerate*; Pliny NH 34.14). As element of a Hellenistic elite lifestyle, these elaborate pieces of furniture quickly became popular with the Roman elite and subsequently spread with the expansion of Roman influence. Although examples with bronze decoration have been found throughout the Italian peninsula from Modena via Spoleto (PG) and L'Aquila (AQ) to Boscoreale and Pompeii (both NA), ivory and bone decoration predominates in Central Italy. From the Augustan period, the latter also appeared in Northern Italy (Cremona, Brescia, Acqui Termi [AL], Bra [CN] and Aosta) and subsequently north of the Alps. In the Lomellina, however, only one context with a bone decorated bed has been documented at Mortara. Equally rare are examples from Southern Italy (Colivicchi 2002: 274; Invernizzi 2005b: 13-16. 18; Bianchi 2010: 42-43. For a detailed description of the composition of Roman beds or couches and their correlation with Greek and Etruscan furniture: Richter 1966: 105-109).

Excavations at Cascina Medaglia near Mortara in 1991 (see p. 311) focused on an area interpreted as an *ustrinum*. About a hundred small bone fragments, many of them with signs of carving, were found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*. Despite their severe fragmentation through combustion, it was obvious that they had once been part of one or more funerary beds. Larger decorative fragments for the legs in particular and various undefinable fragments had survived. Whilst some fragments appear to have belonged to the same bed, three female busts were most probably part of medallions adorning several *fulcra* and indicate that more than one bed had been incinerated (Bianchi 2004 with detailed descriptions and drawings of all fragments from Mortara; 2010: 48). At the time of its discovery the fragments increased the evidence for funerary beds in bone from Northern Italian contexts immensely as only at the Roman colony of Cremona similar fragments had been found. The burials at Cremona, S. Lorenzo have been dated to the 1st century BC, a similar date can be assumed for the *ustrinum* of Mortara (Simone 1991), thus dating prior to the terracotta appliqués. Over the past decades testimony for funerary beds in bone has

improved and beds at Aosta, Brescia, Piacenza and Cremona, to name only a few, have been added to the list of finds from Northern Italy (Invernizzi 2005b: 23-25).

The bed(s) from Mortara followed the standard pattern for beds decorated in bronze or ivory and those that used the cheaper material of bone. They were primarily constructed of wood with iron mounts. The decorative plaques were fixed to legs, base and *fulcra*. Those of bone can be divided into two groups: delicate decoration in high relief and three-dimensional elements such as winged female figures and/or mythical couples imitating contemporary ivory beds on the one hand, and bas-reliefs based on bronze decoration on the other (Letta 1984: 82-94; for a concise and updated typology Ghedini 2008).

Terracotta appliqués were used to adorn wooden funerary beds at comparatively low cost (Fig. 67). Faust (1989: 147) emphasises that the fragility of the material prevented multiple use and a dedicated production for each cremation must be assumed. Their distribution has a distinct emphasis in the Lomellina during the 1st century AD, although examples have also been found in the Pavese and Lodigiano, the area around Lake Maggiore and the Novarese (see below; *ibid*. map 2 listing Angera, Vigevano and *frazione* Morsella, Mortara, Gambolò, Pavia, Olevano di Lomellina, Garlasco, Ottobiano, Gropello Cairoli, Dorno, *località* San Materno, Lomello, *località* Brelle, Scaldasole and Pieve del Cairo). Stenico (1954; 1972-1973) was the first to recognise the small terracotta appliqués found in mortuary contexts as the remains of funerary beds. Like glass vessels with their concentrated distribution in the Lomellina, a local production of terracotta appliqués during the Augustan-Tiberian period of the 1st century AD has been assumed despite the lack of definitive proof of workshops (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 333; Faust 1989: 145; Invernizzi 2005a: 131-132; 2005b: 5. 13).
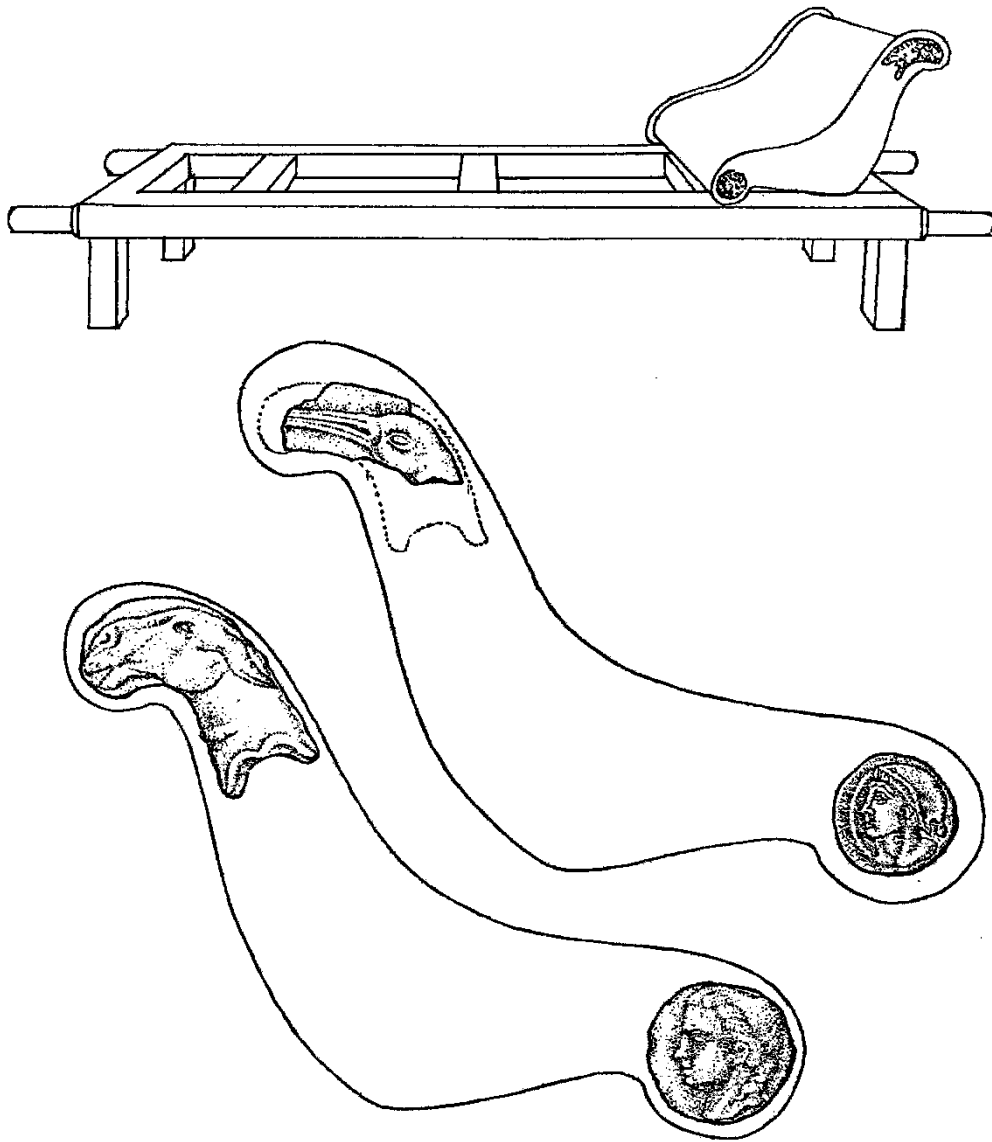
Fig. 67 Reconstruction of a wooden funerary bed with appliqués in bas-relief decorating the *fulcra* (see Fig. 68). Papetti 1987: 31 fig. 5.

The appliqués were made of fine clay. Pressed into moulds, fingerprints, flashes and other traces of the production process are often still visible. Details were added or refined by hand using a variety of tools. Appliqués in high relief such as protruding busts were worked almost three-dimensionally (Fig. 68 right), their general shape following the shape of the furniture. After firing at comparatively low temperatures, some of the appliqués received a white slip that may have been thought to enhance the effect of imitating ivory. Others remained free of any varnish or only received white details. Hues of red and blue were used for further highlights. However, due to their deposition on the pyre an apparent absence of such surface treatment may be secondarily caused by the combustion process (Invernizzi 2005b: 5. 7. 20. 25-27).
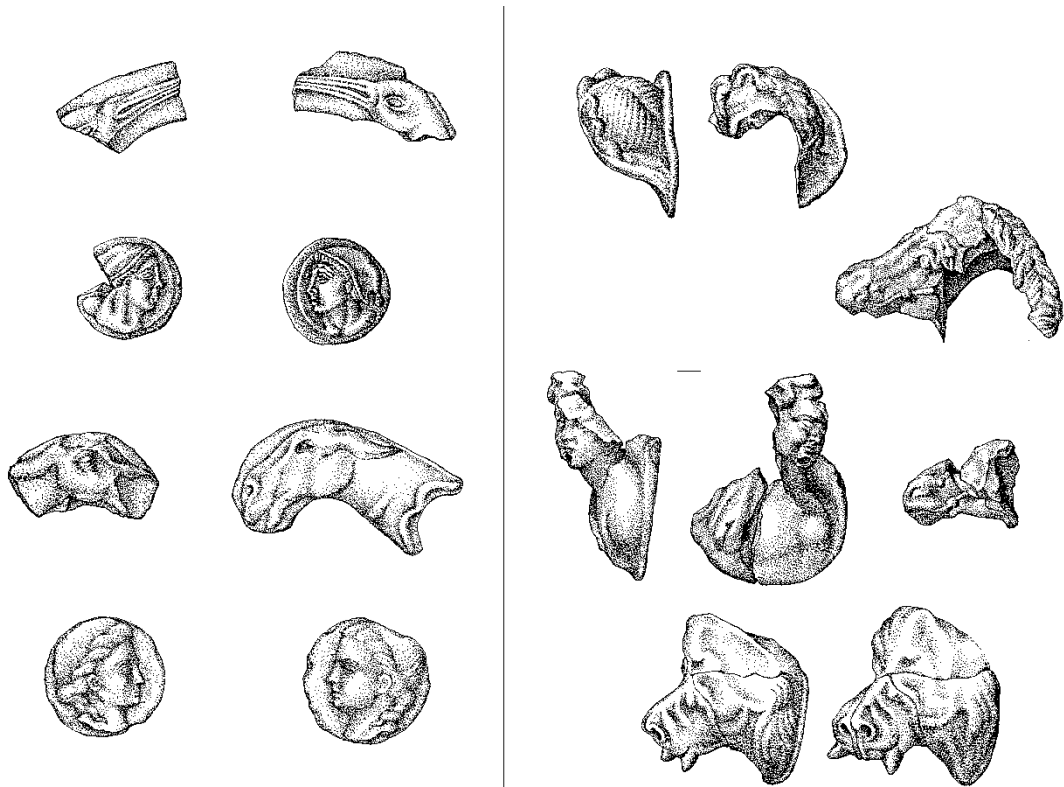
Fig. 68 Terracotta appliqués from Ottobiano, *località* Cascina Rotorta. Papetti 1987: 32-33 figs 6-7.
The selection shows decorations for the *fulcra* and medallions in bas-relief (left) as well as animal and human busts
in high relief (right). A selection of colour photographs of appliqués mainly from Ottobiano, *località* Cascina Rotorta
has been published in Invernizzi *et al.* 2006.

5.3.2. Iconographic spectrum

Within the iconographic spectrum, horses and lions predominate the fulcra followed

by storks or cranes, griffins and mules (Faust 1989: 71-84. 88-91. 116-121 – including

examples from Garlasco, Gropello Cairoli and Ottobiano). Busts of Dionysus and Satyrs

prevail for the smaller circular ornaments completed by generic male and female busts

as well as rare *gorgoneia* (*ibid.* 96-99. 107-108. 114-115. 121-122. 127-129 – including

examples from Gropello Cairoli, Ottobiano and Vigevano]). Except for generic human

busts, all motifs have a distinct chthonic connotation and usually refer to the Dionysian

sphere of drinking and the god's victory over death (Invernizzi 2005b: 7. 20-21). These

adorned both domestic and funerary beds, linking the banquet of the living with the

symposium of the dead. A similar link was reflected in the choice of storks and other

water birds (e.g. swans and ducks), documented for numerous beds of ivory and bone.

They had a long-standing association with death and the afterlife. As the sole animal

that commands all elements – water, earth and air – they have been perceived as a

transmitter between *thanatocenosis* and *biocenosis* (e.g. in Etruscan funerary art:

Tomba delle Anatre, Veii [RM], second quarter 7th century BC; Hänsel 2003). Thus, it is

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hardly surprising that they also found their ways into the iconography of terracotta appliqués found in the Lomellina (Bianchi 2010: 56).

5.3.3. Distribution in the Lomellina

A minimum of 159 terracotta appliqués have been published for 59 burials (Tab. XIX) of the Lomellina; these are completed by stray finds from cemeteries that can be ascribed neither to a burial nor an *ustrinum*. A re-examination of published and unpublished terracotta appliqués from the Lomellina listed 265 objects (Invernizzi 2005a); and their number was believed to increase with new excavations and a re-organisation of museum stores and those of the Soprintendenza (*ibid.*; 2005b: 5). This indicates that numerous tombs with funerary beds have not been published yet (e.g. tombs PV_GRC_lCas_002 and PV_GRC_lMen_110 have only been published in Invernizzi's 2005b catalogue of terracotta appliqués). According to Invernizzi (Invernizzi 2005b: 8. 31; Invernizzi et al. 2006: n. 9 emphasise that although some contexts provided no material for a certain gender identification, none contained distinctly male items) all assemblages were gendered female, rendering funerary beds an important item for the discussion of female status.

Faust's catalogue from 1989 included unspecified finds and mortuary contexts from Dorno, *località* Cascina Grande, Garlasco, *località* Cascina Baraggia, Ottobiano, *località* Cascina Rotorta, Gropello Cairoli, Dorno, *località* Battera, Mortara, Vigevano, *frazione* Morsella, Gambolò, Pieve del Cairo, Lomello and Lomello, *località* Brelle and Zerbolò (Faust 1989: 170-173 cat. 94-101. 103-119; 197 cat. 289-291; 211-212 cat. 388-393; 214-215 cat. 413. 422-423; 216 cat. 434-452; 225-226 cat. 510. 521. 525).

Although figure 69 appears to imply funerary beds were prevalent in the eastern Lomellina (i.e. closer to the urbanised areas of Pavia and Milan), the mapped cemeteries cover all known Augustan-Tiberian mortuary sites except for Valeggio and Zinasco.
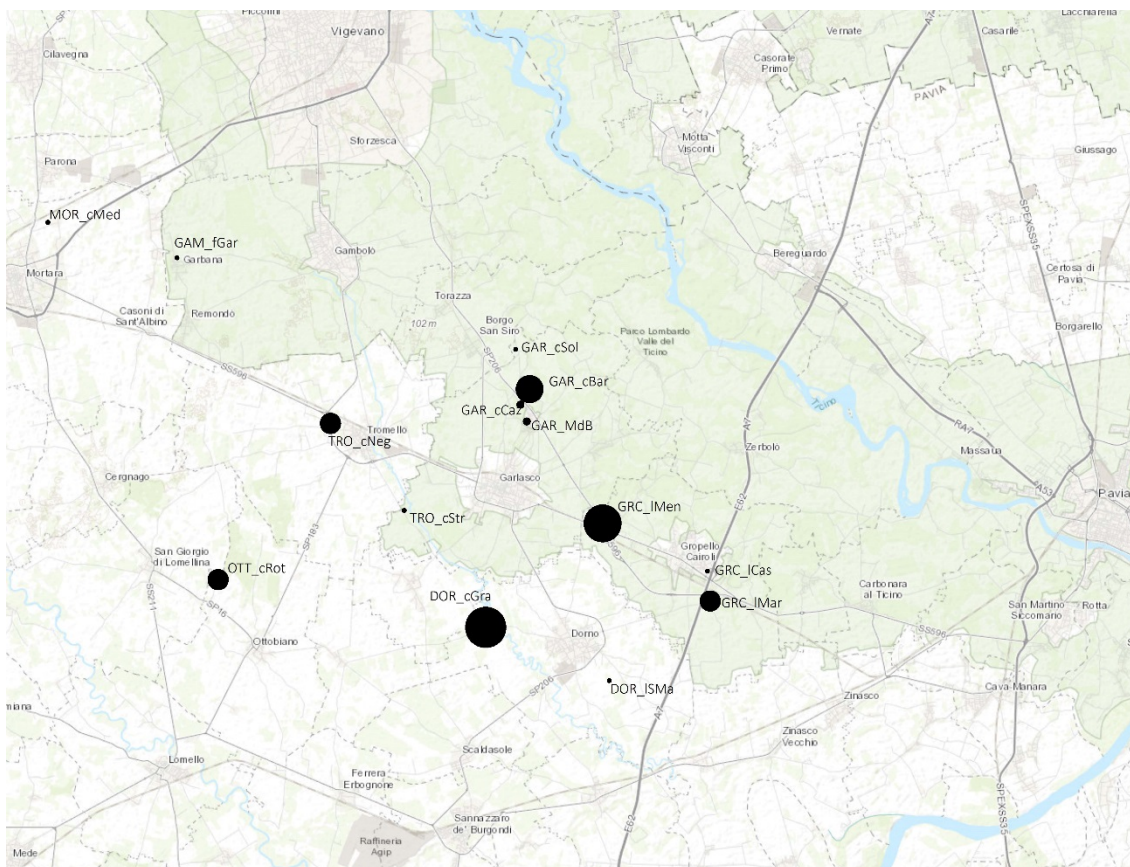
Fig. 69 Distribution of funerary beds in the Lomellina.
The size of the circles refers to the quantity of beds with terracotta appliqués (see Tab. XIX). The absence of funerary beds at Gambolò, *frazione* Belcreda and Valeggio, *località* Cascina Tessera is most probably a result of the sites largely earlier date (two Augustan-Tiberian assemblages at Belcreda, three at Cascina Tessera).

Nineteen mortuary contexts with terracotta appliqués have been classified as complete. These include two contexts identified as *ustrina* and two possible *ustrina*. The 15 burials comprise seven not further specified contexts as well as possible direct and indirect cremations with and without mortuary container and thus cover almost the entire variety of burial customs observed during the early 1st century AD of the Lomellina including one assemblage that had been protected by an *amphora*. Three assemblages have been described as possible double deposition of pyre and grave goods.

The statistical analysis of 30 complete and fairly complete contexts and a comparison with contemporary contexts without terracotta appliqués (51 contexts; Tab. XX) demonstrated that those burials with a funerary bed did not diverge markedly from burials without this item.

Contemplating the status significance of funerary beds, one would assume that these assemblages could be distinguished by significantly higher quantities of tableware and drinking as well as table sets in particular. A quantitative comparison with contemporary contexts without funerary beds, however, shows no significant differences in the association of funerary beds with tableware. Two explanations are plausible: (i) burials including funerary beds were hardly different from those without this status symbol, thus both emphasising the distinctiveness of funerary beds and questioning whether their owners were actually of particularly high status; (ii) the supposedly female gender of assemblages including funerary beds excluded particularly abundant sets of tableware. A comparison with contemporary male burials and a possible relationship between the obviously female item 'funerary bed' and drinking and table sets reflecting the male sphere of the symposium, however, remains impossible, as a gender analysis of the 51 burials without funerary beds reveals that none has been classified as male (with the exception of one possible male infant based on the modest character of the assemblage; eight have been gendered female, one possibly female and one as female infant). A breakdown of the materials used in the production of the tableware, however, demonstrates that burials with funerary beds had a significantly higher percentage of TS and glass – possibly indicating a further openness to 'Roman' material culture (i.e. the adoption of TS) and a particular qualitative wealth (i.e. glass vessels).

Although terracotta appliqués have also been found at other Transpadane sites (e.g. Angera), their predominance in the Lomellina is remarkable. Finds from the nearby Pavese (Marzano, S. Zenone Po and probably Pavia) and Lodigiano (Graffignana) have even been interpreted as inspired by the traditions of the Lomellina (Invernizzi 2005a: 131). Beyond north-west Italy terracotta appliqués associated with funerary beds have been hardly documented: tomb 1 of Norcia, *località* Popoli contained a bed decorated in terracotta. It had been buried with the last, female individual interred in this family tomb during the second quarter of the 1st century BC. The 16 appliqués were found *in situ* allowing us to identify their original position on the frame. The appliqués had been formed with relatively old moulds and were thus lacking in fine detail, emphasising both their character as cheaper imitations – also highlighted by the white slip probably in imitation of bone and ivory – and the unusualness of the technique in this area

(Sisani 2013: 169-170 cat. 112). Further Terracotta appliqués from Umbria and Latium have only been found at Leonessa (RI) and Castrocielo-*Aquinum* (FR; Alvino 2004: 121-122 fig. 13; Costamagna 2004: 29-32 figs 29-30; Invernizzi 2005b: 5; Bellini and Trigona 2013: 53)

Remarkable parallels with the Lomellina can also be found in late Republican burials from Ostia (RM; mid-2nd – mid-1st century BC). Cremations were buried '*a fossa*' in or without mortuary containers, sometimes with tile or wooden cists for additional protection. In contrast to later and generally more 'Roman' traditions, the burials did not strictly align with roads leading to and from Ostia. Dedicated funerary architecture or visible grave markers have not been detected. Artefacts included drinking vessels and other pottery, single oil lamps and fragments of funerary beds. These fragments revealed a variety of wooden beds that may help to understand some of the finds from the Lomellina: the decoration ranged from simple iron and bronze studs adorning beds of plain wood via elaborate bone appliqués to beds where the entire inner structure was encased with bone ornaments depicting Dionysian scenes. This material and technological hierarchy, in addition to burials without evidence for any funerary beds, perhaps reflected a certain social hierarchy. In contrast to Rome, where funerary beds are primarily attested through ancient sources and thus primarily for elite burials, the burials of Ostia demonstrate that funerary beds were probably acquired by people of varied social standing according to affordability (Heinzelmann 1998: 41-43).

5.3.4. *Terracotta figurines*

Due to their initial contemporaneity and same process of manufacturing, the small terracotta figurines found in 34 burials of the Lomellina have been grouped with the appliqués (Fig. 70. The grouping of terracotta figurines and appliqués for publication has also been accepted by Stenico, who first published them in 1954). Whilst most of the burials only contained one statuette, for PV_GRC_lMar_024a (cockerel and dove) and PV_GRC_lMen_110 (female figure and cockerel) two statuettes have been documented, and PV_GRC_lMar_067 is listed with four examples.

In contrast to terracotta appliqués, which had been exclusive to the Augustan-Tiberian period of the 1st century AD, terracotta figurines continued into the second half of the century. It is notable, that only 12 burials combined appliqués and figurines (Tab. XXI).

Due to morphological parallels, the figurines in terracotta have been ascribed to the same workshops, which produced appliqués. Five categories have been documented: generic human figures (e.g. couples, mother with child and single figures), scenes of daily life (e.g. a grape-bearing *cucullatus* from PV_GRC_lMar_026) and domestic animals (e.g. doves and chickens), *grotesques* and mythical figures (e.g. Minerva, Europa, Venus and erotes). Within the group of deities, Minerva appears to have been of a certain popularity (e.g. PV_MOR_cMed_042 with an exceptionally well-preserved example; PV_MOR_cMed_066 and a sporadic find from Garlasco, *località* Cascina Cazzanina. Invernizzi 1999). Traces of exposure to heat show that they had been placed on the pyre; their significance within the funeral remains unclear. Nor does a comparison with finds of other Northern Italian areas where terracotta figurines are abundant (e.g. Piedmont, Canton Ticino and the Ligurian Ventimiglia) or the Campanian finds, which clearly served as a template for the depiction of deities and *grotesques*, offer any satisfactory suggestions (Invernizzi 1999). Of particular note are terracotta statuettes found at Capiago Intimiano, *località* Mandana (CO), that have been attributed to Lomellina workshops (Sena Chiesa 2014b: 45). Luraschi (1977) described the rural cemetery as exceptional for its many parallels with the urban tombs of Como including the presence of *Acoware*, which is notably rare in the Comasco.

Whereas a cultic function similar to that of coins has been suggested (i.e. the figurine as facilitator and protector during the journey into the afterlife; van Enckevort and Heirbaut: 118), it is probably more plausible that they were to symbolically link *biocenosis* and *thanatocenosis* (Invernizzi 2005b: 29), and thus an agent in transmitting a specific social identity of the deceased (e.g. mother or spouse) or their economic identity (e.g. vintner or farmer) to the afterlife.

Fig. 70 Assortment of terracotta figurines from the Lomellina. Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

6. The value of mortuary goods

Ambitio et luxus […] scaenam desiderant.

Seneca, Epistulae morales ad Lucilium 97. 70-71.

The evaluation of mortuary goods has a lot in common with the ascription of properties signifying identity. "Values are those invisible chains that link relations between things to relations between people" (Gregory 1997: 12). This observation implies that value derives from the interplay between a variety of complex factors: material and human agency, the consciousness of relationships between material culture and humans, and the role of ancestors, deities and other entities that are perceived as significant in material exchange. Whilst Marx (1867: 15-20) understood value as an aspect inherent in objects insofar as it reflects the invested human labour, Gregory stresses that value is exclusively based on human perception and the significance of production, circulation and consumption of material culture (i.e. the object biography).

This situation confronts us with similar – if not the same – difficulties faced in establishing identity markers: finding the fine balance between our knowledge and the current *Zeitgeist*; what is valuable to us may not have been valuable in the past, and a rareness or abundance in the archaeological record may not reflect the ancient

perception. In addition, we have to distinguish between the value of mortuary goods in archaeology (for establishing identity etc.) and their original value.

In the assessment of value, the production history is particularly relevant, especially in the case of commodities of non-local or particularly labour-intensive production. This applies, for example, to the rare imports of early BGW and probably the first items made in TS but also possible local productions such as glass or *ceramica invetriata*, two industries that required particular knowledge and, most probably, imported raw materials. Nevertheless, the majority of items found within the mortuary assemblages of the Lomellina appear to have been produced regionally (if not locally) and continued existing industries. The fragility of a concept that attributes value based on provenance becomes evident in the textual analysis of 'import'. Two relevant studies that also included material from the Lomellina (Fasold and Witteyer 1998; Haeussler 2013) discuss and evaluate the Northern Italian culture change in the wake of the Roman conquest. Häussler appears to generally assume a Central or Southern Italian provenance of BGW and identifies only achromatic imitation ware as a product of Transpadane workshops. Thus he observes a growing imbalance between ceramics of local tradition and production, and increasing imports of fine tableware during LT D. Fasold and Witteyer simply distinguish between 'ceramics' and 'indigenous ceramics' without detailing the criteria for these categories. TS is the only individually listed category of fine tableware; neither BGW nor achromatic imitation ware are mentioned specifically. It is, therefore, unverifiable whether BGW accounts for indigenous pottery within their analysis; their conclusions, however, suggest otherwise: "Gleichzeitig [i.e. contemporary with other changes during the Augustan period] geht die einheimische Keramik in den Inventaren stark zurück" (Fasold and Witteyer 1998: 188). Both studies attribute a higher value to imported ceramics – a generally agreeable concept – but due to their classification of BGW as an import, they perceive the character of the material change of pottery assemblages profoundly differently (see below).

Additional appreciation value may have existed in items that were purpose-made for burials. Such pottery has a long tradition, for example in 5th century BC Greece with white ground *lekythoi* as one of the best-known examples from antiquity (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 212). Although modes of production were probably the same or even

entailed decreased quality (e.g. in the case of achromatic imitations of BGW, which may have been reserved for burials), it remains possible that the exclusive purpose of manufacture increased their value. Likewise, the abundance of simple *balsamaria* in burials has been attributed to their function as purpose-made mortuary items (Anderson-Stojanović 1987: 120).

Regarding the concept of social *habitus*, the production of material culture reflects aspects of cultural capital (i.e. the knowledge requirements for certain industries) and economic capital (i.e. the availability of material sources). Objects of non-local production entail aspects of social capital and combine production with circulation.

The circulation of material culture can be two-fold: trade and exchange in a first stage and circulation within or between communities in a second stage – both can augment the value of an item. The material record of the Lomellina, unfortunately, provides only a few insights into this aspect of object biographies. Traces of wear and tear or repair that could indicate a particularly long period of use, and possibly increased appreciation, have not been reported. Conclusions about the lifespan of objects are thus limited. On the other hand, certain mortuary goods may be identifiable as heirlooms. This applies particularly to brooches but also *vasi a trottola* (see below). Whilst, with regard to brooches, this hypothesis is based on the long survival of certain local brooch types (e.g. type Pavese) in early Imperial graves, an heirloom character of *vasi a trottola* has been suggested to explain the contemporary presence of presumably older and younger variations (Farfaneti and Scalari 1999: 248). With most items probably manufactured locally, material circulation, however, appears to have been limited.

The consumption of material culture is primarily reflected in their use as mortuary goods. Specific attention is always paid when consumption deviates from the norm. With regard to mortuary culture, these could be contexts with unusual items or indications of uncommon treatment. Whilst the production and circulation stage of the 'biography' of the Lomellina's material record has provided scant information: a small number of mortuary contexts are notable from uncommon consumption patterns – the "relations between things":

- Common but rarely interred tools have been discovered in a small number of LT III contexts. A clay tablet with rounded sides and grooves on the surface from PV_DOR_lSMa_009 (second half 1st century BC) is probably a whetstone used in combination with the associated shears, which have been found with textile adherence. The sickle from PV_GAM_fBel_031 (LT D2) would also be regarded as having an agricultural purpose.

  Though not a tool, but more a status symbol, a spur interred with a particularly rich advanced LT D1 cremation context (PV_GAM_fBel_021) could be the only evidence of horsemanship in the Lomellina. This burial (possibly the double burial of a man and a woman) is also distinguished through 17 ceramic vessels and a hunting or carving knife amongst other items (Fig. XXXV).

  The common denominator of these contexts may be the evidence that in a period that also saw the disappearance of weapons from the funerary ritual, other male 'professions' gained in importance and were thus represented during the funeral.

- PV_ALA_cGuz_006 (LT D-Augustan): all artefacts had been found within an area classified as 'grave'; according to Diani (1999) the description from the excavation diary, however, suggests that this square-shaped area had been an *ustrinum* with fragments of grave goods belonging to several burials. Unusual are the fragments of three bronze vessels, a *situla*, a jug and a basin. Bronze vessels have rarely been documented in the Lomellina, which suggests that they may have played a role only during the cremation ritual (Fig. XXXIV). Falling within the same chronological period, PV_GAR_cBar_112 (LT D2: Aylesford pan and skewer – both the only examples documented for the Lomellina) as well as PV_GAR_cBar_113 (Augustan: bronze ladle) further highlight the uniqueness of bronze vessels within the consumption patterns of the Lomellina.

- PV_DOR_cGra_193 (Augustan-Tiberian): this complete indirect cremation was distinguished by a bronze spoon and ceramic *guttus*. The spoon was probably used for the preparation of cosmetics or medical treatments; the latter might be referring to the deceased being a young mother who died in or shortly after childbirth (see p. 158). The combination of these two unusual items within the

assemblage thus enables us not only to identify the deceased as probably female, but also to hypothesise a further social identity (i.e. that of a mother) and a cause of death (Fig. XVII).

Likewise dated to the 1st century AD and assigned to presumably female burials are a small piece of wax (*pane di cera*. PV_GRC_lCas_001; first half 1st century AD) and an unspecified pink substance from PV_GRC_lMen_071 (Augustan-Tiberian). The latter was found together with a mirror and ceramic *balsamarium* amongst other items and has therefore been interpreted as a cosmetic substance (Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 189-191).

- A single nail of dark green glass discovered in the Flavian-Trajan context PV_GAR_cBar_078 has been interpreted as probably apotropaic. Although apotropaic items are generally not unusual in mortuary contexts, the Lomellina has not yielded many, distinguishing this context.

  Possibly apotropaic and similarly dating from a 1st century AD context is a *tintinnabulum*, associated, amongst other items, with an unspecified coin minted under Domitian (PV_GAR_lCaz_004).

- An iron stylus, found together with a sesterce (*t.p.q.* AD 104-110) and an oil lamp with brand stamp at Gropello Cairoli (PV_GRC_lMar_032), is the only evidence of literacy in the Lomellina, distinguishing this possible inhumation (none of the items shows traces of exposure to heat).

Finally – and this returns us to Seneca's warning (see p. 216) – we have to consider the value of certain items as status representation during the funerary ritual. His sharp critique of luxury was directed at the excessive love of status symbols in Roman society; it is, however, universal: ostentation of identity requires a stage and an audience. This applies to daily life and funerals, equally, and thus profoundly impacted the selection of mortuary assemblages (see III.1.1). Particularly in the ritual context, the actual value of an item can differ from the value it had or has for the deceased or the community. Pottery assemblages, for example, may have been of comparatively low material value, but a particularly large assemblage may have been representative of the social capital of the deceased and their family, the extent of their social relationships and interconnectivity. A similar value would have been attributed to

funerary beds. Made of wood and terracotta appliqués, their production was probably comparatively cheap. Their value, however, originates from their association with a non-local provenance (even if they were ultimately manufactured locally) and their apparent agency as status symbols reserved to women (see V.6.1). During the funerary ritual they created an actual stage for the presentation of the corpse and thus represented wealth and status (i.e. economic and social capital) not only of the deceased but their entire family.

In the absence of settlement finds from the Lomellina or any ancient sources describing the use of funerary beds in north-west Italy, we must rely on evidence from Central Italy to understand their biographies as a whole. Although sources suggest that some funerary beds had already been in the personal possession of the deceased or were assembled from elements of various beds prior to the funeral, one must assume that some, particularly those with terracotta appliqués, were manufactured and purchased exclusively for the funeral. Ancient sources suggest that the beds were used for public display of the corpse prior to the transport to the pyre (Hesberg 1998: 23-25; Obmann 1998).

In the Lomellina all terracotta appliqués were retrieved from the cremation layer of the burials or *ustrina*; most of them showing traces of exposure to heat (Invernizzi 2005a: 131). As it is difficult to establish whether graves classify as *Brandschüttungsgräber* or *bustum* burials (i.e. indirect or direct cremations), we cannot tell whether the comparatively low number of appliqués retrieved from burials in the Lomellina is an artefact of not all of them having been recovered from the *ustrinum* or, alternatively, suggests that specific ornaments had been removed from the bed prior to cremation. The case of Norcia (see p. 213) indicates that more than 10 decorative elements could be expected. The contexts of the Lomellina, however, contain on average only three appliqués (see Tab. XIX). Similarly, Gasparetto observed that different fragments of the same appliqué showed different colourations pointing to their fragmentation during the incineration and thus various degrees of exposure to heat (Gasparetto in Invernizzi 2005b: 27).

Funerary beds with their terracotta appliqués – and possibly the technologically related terracotta figurines – account for the only element of Lomellina mortuary

assemblages that appears to have been acquired and used exclusively for the funeral. A second tier of items is represented by those that played a special role within the funeral but were also part of daily life. These objects include oil lamps and coins, which were probably placed in the burial for their ritual function of facilitating the deceased's journey into the afterlife. Coins, however, might have also been a symbol of economic identity. Fasold and Witteyer (1998) point out that coins, contrary to their classification as 'Roman' mortuary offerings, have been observed as early as the 2nd century BC and tend to outnumber later depositions, which usually only contained one coin. Exemplary for the earlier custom of multiple coins is burial PV_VAL_cTes_189 with four coins, including a rare silver vittoriato. In a similar way, perfume and perfume bottles might have been included in the assemblage not only to represent a certain economic or social identity but also as a residue of the funerary ritual.

Although perfume bottles have not been attested in the Lomellina before the Augustan period, it cannot be ruled out that perfume or other aromatic essences were used during funerary rituals prior to the appearance of *balsamaria*. Written reports about the significance of perfume during the 'Roman' funeral (see III.1.1.) and the association of *balsamaria* with other smaller items of the mortuary assemblage – and also with fragments and carbonised material from the pyre (see IV.2.4) – imply that perfume was both used during the cremation process and subsequently deposited in the grave. It is possible that perfume used for the *profusio* during the cremation had a more ritual function similar to *libations* or food offerings, whereas complete *balsamaria* placed in the grave-pit were supposed to accompany the deceased as personal belongings. Such twofold function and significance has also been suggested for the Veneto of north-east Italy, where ceramic and glass *balsamaria* have been observed both as part of the cremated assemblage and as a secondary offering (Rossi 2016: 167). Similar questions have been raised by Anderson-Stojanović (1987: 116), who proposes that ceramic *balsamaria* may also have been filled with other substances offered during the funeral. As with purpose-made pottery, certain ceramic *balsamaria* may have been produced exclusively for funeral rites, widening the semantic gap between perfume used in life and its significance for the funerary ritual.

In conclusion, the value of mortuary goods enables us to observe communal and individual *habitus*. The economic capital of the Lomellina as an archaeological landscape has been characterised by stability. The production of mortuary commodities – and probably, by inference, those of daily use as well – has been firmly anchored locally; the area displayed no particular signs of either increased material value (through exploitation or influx of precious materials) or of decreased material value (from Roman taxation and resource discharge). At the same time, the analysis of average quantities has demonstrated that the quantity of individual objects (e.g. liquid containers) within assemblages continuously decreased, whereas the range of object types and materials grew. Individual burials are outstanding for their material wealth and certain object categories such as weapons or funerary beds appear to distinguish a group of people. Nevertheless, the formation (or continued existence) of a local elite cannot be identified. This mirrors the observation made by various authors (Vannacci Lunazzi 1979a: 97; Arslan 1984: 117 for the EIA; Savoia *et al.* 1991-1992: 22; Invernizzi 1998b: 7; Arslan 2004: 153) that the Lomellina was inhabited by people organised in a markedly egalitarian society rooted in agriculture and increasingly significant local industries.

The economic capital of the Lomellina rested firmly on its social and cultural capital. Although mortuary goods may have overwhelmingly been produced locally, they reflect the Lomellina's embeddedness in an interconnected Mediterranean with important contacts to transalpine Europe. Contacts with the wider Mediterranean, and especially the east, are evident in the knowledge exchange and raw material import required for the local production of glass (and, probably, that of *ceramica invetriata* as well). Technological observations of morphological similarities to Adriatic productions suggest such knowledge exchange with Aquileia, the Veneto and thus the wider Mediterranean (Maccabruni 1983: 13-15; Saletti 1984: 330-331). In this context, Maccabruni emphasises the aspect of knowledge exchange through mobility. She proposes that technological evolutions such as mould-blowing and the technically related production of *ceramica invetriata*, which required both highly skilled craftsmen and specialised tools, were spread through migrants from the Hellenised Mediterranean. Therefore, she continues, it is probable that the earliest glass *balsamaria* found in Augustan burials along the Ticino had been imported from north-

east Italy, whereas a local production was only introduced in Tiberian times by craftsmen from Aquileia (Maccabruni 1983: 15-16).

Contacts with Central and Southern Italy had existed from the EIA (as attested by Etruscan objects) and throughout the period of the Roman conquest. BGW, TS and funerary beds initially originated in peninsular Italy and were quickly adopted by regional and local workshops. As such, these changes reflect a cultural Italianisation and Mediterraneanisation of north-west Italy. The adaptation to local demands emphasises the cognitive flexibility of local craftsmen between tradition (i.e. 'silent resistance') and opportunistic integration. This observation justifies the value placed on mortuary assemblages within archaeology, and their role in the identification of cultural change. Of particular interest here, are questions of an integration and adaptation of Romano-Italic cultural elements and the survival of local traditions, especially with regard to changes arising as a direct result of the Roman conquest and the subsequent incorporation of the Lomellina into the Roman empire.

6.1.   A 'Romanisation' of material culture?

The material culture of the Lomellina during LT D and the Augustan-Tiberian period seems to facilitate an identification of markers for a cultural 'Romanisation'. Although certain classic examples of a 'Roman lifestyle' such as *strigiles* are largely missing from the archaeological record, two ceramic classes provide an abundance of finds, frequently classified as 'Roman': TS and BGW.

The sudden rise of BGW immediately after the Roman conquest of north-west Italy renders the interpretation of BGW as a marker for cultural 'Romanisation' comprehensible. BGW still counts as one of the "indicatori privilegiati della romanizzazione" (Grassi 2008: 20); or following Deodato, it is now a shared concept that its appearance constitutes "un innegabile segno del processo di acculturazione romana" (Deodato in Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 159). A study of the material culture of north-west Italy and the implications of its change for the evolution of local identities should, therefore, begin with an analysis of the local finds of BGW.

Attribution of this increase in BGW exclusively to importation from the Italian peninsula can be excluded as clay analyses ascribe the vast majority of vessels to

regional workshops – the same that produced ceramics of local tradition as implied by morphological and technological links – especially within the spectrum of *vasi a trottola* (Knobloch 2013). This also renders an affiliation of these workshops with migrants (cf. Haeussler 2013: 86. 126-127) less probable. Furthermore, we must take into account that BGW had already been known since the 4th century BC and imports (albeit rare) followed well-established exchange networks between the Lomellina and the central Po valley (and thus the wider Mediterranean. Frontini 1983).

Although a certain importance of Roman colonies for the uptake of new technologies must be considered (Stek 2017: 10-11), the significance of these east-west networks might even be reflected in an object as Roman as TS, the 'Roman brand' as Beard described it (see p. 176). With its origin in Central Italy, TS appears to account for a true Romano-Italic product (see III.2.1. for the slightly flawed 'Roman-ness' of TS) that rapidly spread across the Roman Empire in the wake of military expansion, traceable in its routes thanks to brand stamps (see Tab. IX). The workshops of *L. Gellius* (PV_GRC_lMar_056) and *C. Murrius* (PV_GRC_lMar_057) have been located in Arezzo; their products would thus account for some of the rare true imports found in the Lomellina. The focused distribution in Transpadane Italy, however, implies that these potters were two of those, who were economically forced to branch out and open affiliated workshops in the Po valley, thus rendering the origin of their vessels regional (for *L. Gellius* a workshop location in the northern Adriatic has been suggested as most probable) if not local (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 353; Poletti Ecclesia 1997a: 29. 42).

Finds of an *Acobecher* stamped HILARIVS and of a *Sariusschale* in a suburban villa along modern Corso Italia in Milan, the ancient route towards Pavia-*Ticinum*, emphasise the interconnectivity between the crossroads of Ticino and Po, and thus also the Lomellina, on the one hand, and the provincial capital at the other hand (Sena Chiesa 2014d: 291). The Lomellina was firmly embedded in a network of continuing importance that had been established during the EIA, as reflected in the distribution of BGW, TS but also in examples of knowledge exchange (see above).

The apparent preference for traditional east-west exchanges challenges the role of the Roman conquest in material change. The progressing Roman expansionism

undoubtedly stimulated a cultural unification of Italy through the uptake of new objects, technologies and ideas, but in north-west Italy this development appears to have been more a continuation of a Mediterranean-wide process of material standardisation that accelerated in particular since the 4th century BC and was key to the intensified globalisation of a cultural Hellenisation. At the same time, economic changes triggered by the relentless Roman expansionism impacted the availability of certain products such as TS and pushed them into the catchment area of the Lomellina's economic networks – rendering their appearance an indirect or secondary link with the Romano-Italic peninsula.

A direct link with the material and ritual culture of Central and Southern Italy, on the other hand, is provided by funerary beds. A case study from Castrocielo-*Aquinum* (FR) provides some noteworthy parallels to the archaeological record of the Lomellina. *Aquinum* had been located both at an important crossroads and in a cultural frontier zone – a geographic situation very similar to that of the Lomellina (Bellini and Trigona 2013: 35-37; cf. Sapelli Ragni 2008). In Latium, funerary beds cover a wide chronological arc from the 2nd century BC to the Julio-Claudian period. Used by an urban elite, the beds have been interpreted as the most visual element of an adoption of Hellenistic funerary customs in times of political changes due to the establishment of the triumvirate and the foundation of colonies (Bellini and Trigona 2013: 52-55).

At *Aquinum* funerary beds had been primarily used in cremation burials – with the exception of the ultimate burial in tomb 6, a female inhumation interred during the second half of the 1st century BC. The associated assemblage included an Augustan-Tiberian oil lamp, six pear-shaped *balsamaria* complete with a glass stirring rod, a small iron knife and an Augustan coin. The bed was richly decorated with bone appliqués, covered in gold and has been ascribed to a Central Italian workshop. Thus the tomb reflects an interplay between new funerary aspects with older Italic traditions, which has been identified as an expression of political-religious conservatism by the autochthon elites (Bellini 2008; Carcieri and Montanelli 2008; Pracchia and Carcieri 2008; Bellini and Trigona 2013).

Likewise, the funerary bed(s) from Mortara, which would have been produced in Central Italian workshops and subsequently assembled *in situ*, have been ascribed to

the elite of a community with very strong links to the Roman territories (Simone 1991: 70). As the bone ornaments slightly predate terracotta appliqués, it is possible that the inspiration for these 'cheaper imitations' derived from such imports. In this case, the adoption of this new mortuary custom would largely resemble the adaptation process of other material categories such as BGW: an initial import was very well received, adapted to local demands and quickly integrated into local production. Thus, the majority of finds barely reflects wide economic networks (i.e. the social capital of a community) but rather a strong local industry characterised by flexibility combined with an open-minded quick comprehension and implementation capability (i.e. strong economic and cultural capital).

The other option assigns the local production of terracotta appliqués a direct link to workshops in Central and Southern Italy. In this case, import would have continued or non-local craftsmen brought the tradition with them. This hypothesis could be supported by the iconography of funerary beds. It followed a strict pattern derived from Hellenistic models, although it remains disputable whether these were adopted alongside religious concepts or just followed a new and 'exotic' fashion that became available due to broadening exchange networks.

Slightly more information is revealed regarding their agency within the expression and communication of social identity. The emergence of terracotta appliqués during the Augustan-Tiberian period and probably few consecutive years is clearly linked to a representation of status (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 333 classify them as a marker for prosperity) – the status of women as it seems. Although funerary beds with bone and ivory decoration have been found in burials of both genders, female assemblages dominate (Sapelli Ragni 2008: 13; e.g. the terracotta adorned bed from Norcia and the extraordinary bed from *Aquinum*; a stark contrast is represented by the imported funerary beds from German military settlements such as Haltern, where funerary beds seem to have been reserved for men: Berke 2013: 77). The examples from the Lomellina, however, have always been associated with either female gendered assemblages or assemblages that did not permit any gender conclusions (Invernizzi 2005b: 8. 31) – thus also refuting any assumptions that the selection of either female or male busts would mirror the gender of the deceased (Faust 1989:

147). Invernizzi attributes this peculiarity not only to the status women had within their communities but also their open-mindedness towards new cultural elements as also expressed in fashion. This conclusion is a marked contrast to studies on female identity in the context of a cultural 'Romanisation', as these argue that women as representatives of private sphere, family and traditions have been more conservative as also demonstrated in funerary reliefs (Haeussler 2013: 133 for a discussion of female conservatism with reference to various case studies; see also III.3.2.1.).

Invernizzi's argument of an increased cultural 'Romanisation' may be strengthened by the small detail of the hairstyles represented through the decorative busts. The generic female and male busts reflect contemporary Roman fashions: male busts follow either a Hellenistic or Julio-Claudian hairstyle, their female counterparts resemble portraits of Octavia and Livia (e.g. PV_OTT_cRot_028 [Fig. LXI]. Invernizzi 2005b: 16-17. 20-21). The depiction of classic Roman fashions made popular by the elite of Rome reveals an interesting link between the Lomellina and Rome. Considering the number of appliqués found in the Lomellina we can assume that the appliqués were produced locally. Thus they reflect not only an adaptation of Hellenistic funerary customs and iconography, but also an intensive knowledge exchange with the Roman centres of the Padana and a design process *au courant* with Roman fashion.

DeMarrais *et al.* (1996: 17-18) propose that objects used in rituals (i.e. burials and other scenarios of "negotiating power relationships") reflect a materialisation of ideology. This applies in particular to those objects that been exchanged with other competitive groups – an option that has to be considered for the bed's initial means of distribution. The ceremonial character of funerary beds, the stage they created for the cremation of the corpse, is undeniable. "Ceremonial paraphernalia or status symbols are often paraded and displayed in ritual contexts" (*ibid*. 18), and thus create a narrative representation of power. Whether this narrative representation included the tradition of chthonic ideologies remains open. At any rate, the beds account for a direct link, a relation between the Lomellina and Rome, or at least 'Roman' Central Italy. This unique feature renders their disregard in other relevant studies (Haeussler 2013 does not mention funerary beds at all) unfortunate. Fasold and Witteyer (1998) briefly mention the evidence for funerary beds in the Lomellina in their study of

'Roman-ness' in Northern Italian burials, their significance, however, remains neglected. Therefore, a short critical review of the material analysis undertaken by Fasold and Witteyer is appropriate here.

Fasold and Witteyer investigated whether a uniform Romano-Italic burial custom developed across Northern and Central Italy as a result of the political unification of Italy during the late Republic and early Principate. From 22 rural sites and a total of approximately 500 burials they chose four cemeteries for their 1995 conference presentation, including the sites of Dorno, *località* San Materno (based on Antico Gallina 1985) and Gropello Cairoli, *località* Marone-Voghera (based on Fortunati Zuccala 1979b and Arata 1984). Garlasco, *frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole, Ottobiano, *località* Cascina Rotorta and Gambolò, *frazione* Belcreda were also incorporated in the study, which is a perfect illustration for a widely different perspective on the cultural change of Northern Italy, including the Lomellina. Fasold and Witteyer observe a significant change within the mortuary assemblages during the Augustan period, which they identify as "Romanisierungsprozeß" (Fasold and Witteyer 1998: 189). This process of cultural 'Romanisation' includes the appearance of *balsamaria* (first in ceramic, later in glass), TS and glass tableware, as well as oil lamps, funerary beds and *amphorae* as grave 'furnishing' (these three, however, only at some sites), but also the decrease of local or indigenous ceramics and the disappearance of brooches by the mid-1st century AD. Coins that had been part of many assemblages since the 2nd century BC, pottery and tools, in particular spindle whorls, persisted. The authors express their astonishment about the late date of these changes that cannot be linked to the granting of Latin rights and Roman citizenship but might be a result of Augustus' reform to re-establish morale and the settlement of veterans after Actium (31 BC).

Against this background, some of the considerations regarding the material culture of the Lomellina concede a summarising iteration. The risk of an undervaluation of indigenous pottery due to a misconception of its origin has already been discussed (see V.6). An equivalent overvaluation can be noticed for TS and glass tableware. Both material classes are considered to be an example for a shift towards 'Roman' material culture during the Augustan period (*ibid.* 188), disregarding the chronological correspondence of their first appearance in Northern Italy with their initial production.

Despite the incorporation of LIA burials from Madonna delle Bozzole in the underlying study (*ibid.* 183 n. 21), no reference is made to the disappearance of weaponry from the mortuary assemblages not only in the Lomellina during LT D2, and thus contemporary with the administrative changes of the 1st century BC. Although this thesis refrains from specifically linking this phenomenon to the granting of Latin rights and Roman citizenship for lack of evidence for a direct correlation (cf. Haeussler 2013), it has become obvious that the communities of the Lomellina experienced profound social changes during the 1st century BC. The increase in mortuary activity suggests improved living standards and/or a wider participation in burial customs (see IV.3.4); following Häussler's considerations (Haeussler 2013: 308-309) this improved access to previously exclusive customs could reflect a profound change within society triggered by the granting of Roman citizenship and the loss of significance of local elites. A trend towards a more inclusive society might also be observable in an increasing popularity of drinking and dining sets towards the Principate. This has primarily been explained as a reflection of afterlife concepts. Similar phenomena at other sites (see chapter VI), however, have been interpreted as evidence for a shift within funerary rituals. Had containers with food previously been offered for sustenance in the afterlife and as a demonstration of economic wealth, fine tableware might now have been used during shared dining at the grave and in expression of a communal identity.

The changes observed by Fasold and Witteyer for the Augustan period, on the other hand, are rather reflections of general developments across Italy. The examples of BGW and TS have demonstrated that although the 'relations' between local and non-local items, technologies and concepts widened during and after the Roman conquest, these represented continued 'relations between people and regions'. With such little evidence for a cultural 'Romanisation' it has to be discussed whether cultural conservatism was an intentional choice or even a reflection of resistance.

6.2. Material change and cultural conservatism – a marker for discrepant identities?

The small size of the cemetery at Dorno, *località* San Materno and its well-published contexts allows us (as well as Fasold and Witteyer 1998) to draw some conclusions, which find their reflections in other sites of the Lomellina.

None of the burials at San Materno had been interred with particularly precious objects, but all (apart from PV_DOR_lSMa_010) contained an assemblage. These comprised no oil lamps or TS – as particularly emphasised by Fasold and Witteyer (*ibid.* 184). Local pottery was used for food and drink – highlighted by a distinct association of drinking vessels and plates as also observed in other cemeteries of the Lomellina; BGW was found in numerous burials. Although PV_DOR_lSMa_015 provided evidence for a funerary bed through the presence of terracotta appliqués, the mortuary assemblages are generally described as overall rather poor. Coins had not been deposited regularly and had only been found in about half of the tombs (PV_DOR_lSMa_004, 005, 007, 009, 011, 014 and 015); the coins catalogued with PV_DOR_lSMa_002 and 013 most probably do not belong to these mortuary assemblages but show that the cemetery site was also used in later periods (denominations minted under Hadrian and Constantine. Antico Gallina 1985: 150). The analysis of the mortuary assemblages highlighted some details characteristic for burials of the 'Romanisation period':

PV_DOR_lSMa_008 is the only context with *vaso a trottola* (given a *t.a.q.* of 40-30 BC), whereas in all other burials *vasi a trottola* were already replaced by *olpai* of 'Roman' tradition. The context is therefore described as the one closest to 'Celtic' traditions. PV_DOR_lSMa_001, on the other hand, has been identified as typically 'Roman' with *olpai*, *balsamarium* and mirror. Although brooches were scarce, the few fragments identified cover a wide range from type Nauheim and type Pavese brooches to a type Aucissa brooch resulting in gendering most of the assemblages as female (Antico Gallina 1985: 148-149). Fasold and Witteyer (1998: 184) describe the cemetery as strikingly rooted in local traditions.

Brooches generally play an important role in the assessment of a certain adherence to local traditions, although they are comparatively rare in mortuary contexts of the Lomellina, where only about a third of the contexts contained one or more brooches (Fig. 47). This observation is counter to the analysis of contexts from other Transpadane sites including Giubiasco (CH), where brooches have been found in more than half of the burials. Over 75% of these contained more than one example, about a quarter were found with three examples – a pattern also observed in Solduno (CH) and

suggested for Oleggio (Grossi and Iuliano 2010: 24). The generally lower quantity of brooches in the Lomellina might be interpreted as a marker for an early 'Romanisation' of local dress in areas closer to Roman colonies – a hypothesis clearly supported by Demetz (1999: 269), who states that brooches cease to be part of female and male attire during the Augustan period in western Lombardy and the southern Alpine areas, persisting only in high-Alpine valleys (cf. Fasold and Witteyer 1998: 188). This interpretation, however, is in turn counter to numerous Augustan-Tiberian and Tiberian contexts from the Lomellina (Fig. 48a). The local Pavese type was present from LT D to the Tiberian period. Whilst this may indicate a certain local conservatism or even cultural resistance, it is also plausible that such types of long local tradition may not have been part of daily fashion any longer but were given to the deceased as an heirloom in expression of a shared cultural identity in a moment of strain (see III.1.1 for death as a threat to communal stability and III.1 for the communal stress experienced due to the process of integration into the Roman territory). To this day, the giving of heirlooms plays an important role in the expression of associative identities (one need only think about the generally positive coverage of the British royal engagement in 2010 and the media perception of the engagement ring, an heirloom from the late Princess of Wales that 'ennobled' the commoner Catherine Middleton even before she was granted the title of a duchess; less obvious but more common is the contemporary trend towards 'invented heirlooms' as part of the hipster subculture – the term itself a reference to the 1940s and a reflection of a desire for a shared identity based on the social cohesion of previous generations).

Returning to the Lomellina during the Roman conquest, a similar conservatism and/or a custom of interring a deceased with apparent heirlooms has also been observed for the LIA before the Principate with regard to *vasi a trottola*. As an explanation for the presence of up to three different types of these liquid containers in the same grave, Farfaneti and Scalari (1999: 248) have suggested that either older variations were still produced alongside newer shapes – a hypothesis that seems to be in irreconcilable opposition to the abrupt abandonment of *vasi a trottola* at the end of LT D and their replacement with *olpai* – or that older objects were handed down through generations and well-regarded as indicated by an example from Como with traces of repair (no such examples, however, have been recorded from the Lomellina).

In conclusion, the Lomellina displays no traces of an intentional resistance to 'Roman' culture. The adherence to local traditions, as seen in the late depositions of brooches, is rooted in an appreciation of a shared cultural identity, also reflected in the presumed passing on of *vasi a trottola*.

Contexts that might reflect a forced change are a different matter. A material change of distinct cultural significance has been observed in the disappearance of weaponry from the mortuary assemblages of the Lomellina. Within the archaeological record of Italy the distinct role of warriors within society emerged during the Copper Age; weapon depositions, however, were largely restricted to hoards. This only changed during the EIA, when the distinct representation of the warrior became common for burials throughout Central Italy and also north of the Apennines (Pearce 2007: 34; Iaia 2009-2012: 72. 79). Across the Lomellina, weapons disappeared from the mortuary record towards the end of LT D1 and thus coincided with the period marked by the granting of Latin rights (89 BC) and Roman citizenship (49 BC). This remarkable change in funerary customs has repeatedly been explained as evidence for a "[reinvention of] élite identities" (Haeussler 2013: 134) and the emergence of a new shared male identity – from Celtic or Gallic warrior to Roman citizen.

As such, the vanishing of weaponry from burials and the associated social changes would have the capacity to be a prime example of material code-switching. Lomas (2013: 116-117) observes that despite strong local identities the communities of Naples, Ancona and Padua adopted Roman elements such as dress (e.g. the *toga*) and language (i.e. Latin) primarily for aspects of status expression, implying that a Roman culture was indeed perceived as superior. The possibly enforced abandonment of weapon offerings, however, and the loss of the warrior status, appear to have rendered the communities of the Lomellina 'speechless'. Despite material additions to the mortuary assemblages of the 1st century BC, no new 'language' of male status emerged, nor any distinct expression of Roman citizenship. *Strigiles* that have been observed, for example, at Oleggio (see VI. 3.4), were not readily adopted and in the absence of mortuary monuments we have no visual representation of a male 'Roman-ness'. A few generations later, however, a case of code-switching seems to be discernible in the appearance of funerary beds. Although the published data suggests

that they were associated with a female status of high rank, the current lack of published complete contexts with terracotta appliqués only opens a range of questions without providing answers:

- Were funerary beds restricted to female burials or even required – i.e. do we capture a case of positive or negative gender differentiation?
- Were there equivalent rituals for male burials that have left no traces?
- Do funerary beds reflect a higher status of women in life or did they represent family status?

These questions highlight that without further information about these contexts we can only 'hear the echo' of a message about code-switching. Indeed, one can play devil's advocate and hypothesise that these beds (albeit contrary to material observations; see V.5.3.1) had been in the possession of high-ranking men. Following their death the beds remained with the widow to be only incinerated after the woman's death – a narrative representation of the patriarch's power. This highly speculative scenario could explain why assemblages with terracotta appliqués were hardly different from those without – and emphasises the need for further studies.

The interplay between changes and traditions in material culture has revealed an equally discrepant interplay of identities with a loss of social roles and an apparent elevation of women within society. In order to understand this and to verify whether the cause of these changes lies in the Roman conquest, in the next chapter I shall compare the Lomellina to other areas of north-west Italy.

Chapter VI – Comparative case studies

During the latest IA and the early Imperial period, the Lomellina was an archaeologically and cultural-historically well-defined area. The analysis of its archaeological record has demonstrated that various aspects set the Lomellina apart from other areas of north-west Italy. To fully understand the implication of these differences it is important to compare case studies not only within one area, but also with other archaeologically relevant landscapes (Fig. 71).

The Lomellina's peripheral status within the Golasecca culture despite its superior location at the crossroads of Ticino and Po was distinctive during the EIA. Therefore, the area lends itself to a comparison with the two core areas of the Golasecca culture: the southern shores of Lake Maggiore and Lake Como.

Following the Ticino northwards, Oleggio (NO) lies on a western river terrace about 30 km north of Vigevano (PV). Dormelletto (NO) and Angera (VA) flank Lake Maggiore at its southern end. Almost in a southbound arch, the Comasco links Lake Maggiore and Lake Como with the Milanese and the Po valley. The area stretches along the western half of Lake Como and has been characterised by a pattern of small settlement *nuclei* scattered loosely between Como and Milan. This geographic situation, flanked by two Roman colonies, distinguishes the Comasco from the Lomellina, and the southern shores of Lake Maggiore to its west (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 10 fig. 2; Grassi 2009/2010: 5-6).

The discussion of these three individual sites and the Comasco as comparative case study completes the picture drawn of the north-west Italian LIA and early Roman period. Cultural similarities help to fill the gaps in the archaeological record of the Lomellina, whereas differences and discrepancies highlight aspects of social and cultural identity unique to the respective communities.
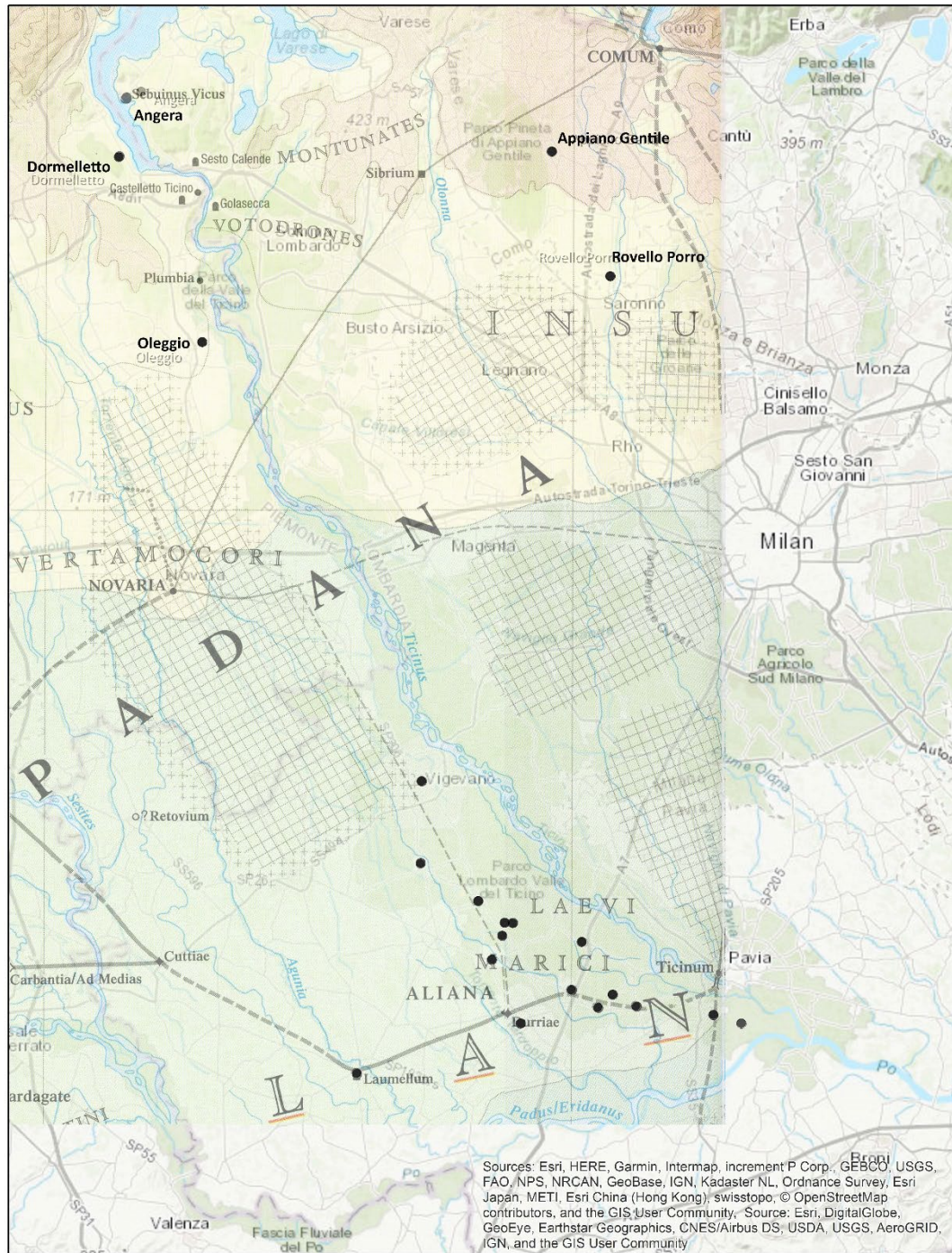
Fig. 71 The Lomellina and the selected comparison sites. The sites of Angera, Dormelletto and Oleggio (from north to south) are situated along the Verbano-Ticino route. None of them were directly surrounded by centuriated land. GIS basemap with superimposed map Pearce and Tozzi 2000: map 39.

1. The sites

1.1. Oleggio (NO)

Between 1988 and 1995, the Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte excavated a substantial cemetery of 268 burials in Oleggio, *frazione* Loreto, along the modern via Strera. It has been suggested that this site had been situated alongside an ancient road leading from Vigevano (PV) to Marano Ticino (NO. Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 15. 17. 47).

The associated settlement has not been discovered, its general location along the terraces of the Ticino with the Agogna only a few kilometres to the west, however, follows the pattern of settlement locations known from the Lomellina. Despite the original size of the cemetery not being established and an unknown number of burials probably irretrievably destroyed through levelling and agricultural work, the investigated area and length of use allowed the editors to assume that the community comprised 5-6 families and had its beginning as early as the late 3rd and beginning 2nd century BC as indicated by LT C2 inhumations. Burial activity continued until the 4th century AD (*ibid.* 15. 17. 22. 47. 49-50).

1.2. Dormelletto (NO)

Archaeological investigations in Dormelletto, a commune along the western shores of Lake Maggiore, were initiated in 1987 under the auspices of the Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte following construction works in via S. Rocco. These and further excavations in 2006 revealed 122 LIA burials dated to the 3rd-1st centuries BC, covering the LIA and period of 'Romanisation'. The extent of the cemetery, partially hidden underneath buildings, as well as the associated settlement are unknown. The investigated contexts comprise 79 inhumations, 42 cremations and a unique cult complex, probably a *heroon* or cenotaph (structure 120. Spagnolo Garzoli 1990-1991; 2009: 19.23. 41-48; a counting of the catalogue results in 78 inhumations and 43 cremations).

The IA community from Dormelletto had been directly affected by the decline of the Golasecca culture. The area impoverished economically as well as demographically from the mid-6th century BC. The water-level rise of Lake Maggiore at the beginning of the 5th century caused trade networks to shift eastwards and benefitted the rise of

Como and, in consequence, probably the development of Milan-*Mediolanum* as the focal place of the Insubrian territory (Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 15-16). Between the mid-5th and 2nd century, the area around the southern half of Lake Maggiore was characterised by an almost total lack of archaeological evidence with only small settlement *nuclei* along the river terraces. Slightly removed from the fluvial trade channels, central places re-developed during the last two centuries BC (Spagnolo Garzoli 1990-1991: 293). This temporary remoteness of the lakeshores may also be reflected in the material conservatism observed at Dormelletto.

1.3. Angera (VA)

On the eastern shore of Lake Maggiore, the *vicus* of Angera was founded at the site of an indigenous settlement during the 1st century BC. Close to the lake-river junction, this location on the south-eastern shore proved excellent for trade and exchange. The cemetery in *località* Bocca dei Cavalli evolved just east of the *vicus*; about 300 tombs and some further smaller burial sites in the vicinity were excavated by the universities of Milan and Pavia in 1970-1979 (1971-1974: Associazione Storica ed Archeologica M. Bertolone). Excavations in 1980-1986 focused primarily on the settlement – located beneath the modern town – and emphasised Angera's regional importance with evidence for administrative buildings as well as pottery (e.g. BGW; Frontini *et al.* 1992-1993: 381-383) and metallurgical workshops (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985a: VII. 7-9. 11; Grassi and Frontini 2009: 185. 248-249; for a concise report on the vicus: Sena Chiesa 2014c).

The absence of substantial mortuary evidence prior to the Augustan-Tiberian period has been explained by the site's horizontal stratigraphy: the earliest burials were located closest to the settlement and subsequently destroyed with the expansion of the *vicus* (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985a: 15).

1.4. The Comasco (CO)

The Comasco provides an extensive range of finds for the LIA and early Roman period. Following the 2nd century BC, the area underwent an official integration process due to the *foedus* of 196 BC. Local men served in the Roman armies, the ore deposits of the Alpine valleys became a valuable economic asset and new infrastructure 'materialised' the Roman conquest (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 10. 14-16).

Located between these mineral resources and the Insubrian capital, the Comasco regained new significance after a long period of decline. This revival was reflected in the region's mortuary culture and the rise of Como, which became a nominal colony in 89 BC and was enlarged by one of the Scipios in 83 or 77 BC. Its cemeteries (Ca'Morta and Camerlata) were the first two burial grounds that were established along the road from Como to Milan following Roman fashion. Burials in the Convalle were added during the second half of the 1st century BC and set the foundation for the "lunga 'fascia cimiteriale' extraurbana" (*ibid.* 9-10). It is of particular note that even those burials contemporary with the Caesarean foundation of *Novum Comum* (59 BC) allow no differentiation between locals and non-local "*novi coloni*" (Sena Chiesa 2014b: 42-43). Although this chapter focuses on rural mortuary contexts of the southern Comasco, it remains to be noted that (i) the provenance of these non-local settlers might have to be located in the wider Transpadana (*ibid.* 43) and the attribution of non-local customs (e.g. the appearance of funerary beds in the Lomellina) to Central Italian veterans should be challenged.

The most recent and comprehensive discussion of the rural Comasco during the LIA and period of Roman conquest focuses on two cemetery sites: Appiano Gentile and Rovello Porro. Together they cover about two centuries and thus the entire period of 'Romanisation'. Whilst the site at Appiano Gentile came into use at the end of the 2nd century BC, mortuary activity at Rovello Porro began during the Augustan period and continued until the early second half of the 1st century AD. Chronologically overlapping, they are two exemplary sites for the study of the impact of the Roman presence on two smaller settlements and for the phenomenon of adaptation and resistance (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 7; Grassi 2009/2010: 5).

The small cemetery of Appiano Gentile, *località* Montezzuccolo was investigated by the Società Archeologica Comense under the auspices of the Soprintendenza in 1980. Located at the northern edge of the modern town, 13 graves and numerous sporadic finds had been discovered following construction work. A large area of the cemetery, however, remained without investigation, restricting the total number of mortuary contexts and leaving a possible spatial hierarchy unknown (Niccoli 2009/2010).

Excavations at Rovello Porro in 1977-1978 investigated an area to the west of the modern settlement following residential building activity. Located on a western terrace of the river Lura, the graves had been dug in sandy soil. Despite unfavourable geological characteristics as well as natural weathering and human activity, the majority of the 41 excavated graves remained undisturbed (Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010).

2. Mortuary rites and funerary custom

	Oleggio	Dormelletto (inhumations/ cremations)	Angera (inhumations/ cremations)	Appiano Gentile	Rovello Porro
LT C		6 (6/---)			
LT C1		19 (19/---)			
LT C2		8 (8/---)		1	
LT C/D	26	19 (17/2)			
LT D		3 (1/2)		5	
LT D1	27	36 (18/18)		1	
LT D2	39	18 (---/18)			
LT D/Augustan		1 (---/1)		2	1
Augustan	41				
Augustan-Tiberian			17 (5/12)		13
Claudian-Neronian	32		29 (7/22)		16
Flavian			21 (3/18)		11
Trajan-Hadrianic			45 (7/38)		
Antonine	50		52 (11/41)		
3rd century AD			8 (6/2)		
3rd-4th centuries AD	10				
undated	30	11 (9/2)		3	

Tab. 15 Chronological distribution of burials at the five individual comparison sites.
Oleggio (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 47). – Dormelletto (Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 23-25 – a counting of the catalogue [as represented here] deviates from the quantities given in the text). – Angera. Of interest are primarily the burials up to and including the Flavian period (Ortalli 2007: 258 tab. 1). – Appiano Gentile (Niccoli 2009/2010 esp. 360-361). – Rovello Porro. About 25 % of all burials had to be generally dated to the 1st century AD in absence of items allowing a more detailed chronology (Giorgi et al 2009/2010).

2.1. Oleggio

The excavated 268 burials were scattered over an area of 1200 m^2 on a terrace along the Ticino. Despite the partial destruction of the cemetery, a certain spatial hierarchy is discernible: the oldest burials were arranged in two groups along a north-west—south-east axis. Burials of subsequent periods filled the gaps between them and enlarged the occupied area concentrically. The scarcity of intercutting structures suggests that grave markers had been in use (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 47-48. pl. XIII).

Whilst the two oldest burials (t. 103 and 181; late LT C2) had been interred as inhumations (*ibid.*; Grossi *et al.* 2010: 29), since the beginning of LT D1 these were rapidly replaced by primarily indirect cremations. Traces of exposure to heat on bone fragments indicate that cremations at Oleggio reached high temperatures, suggesting a long duration of the cremation process and probably a variety of accompanying rituals. The evidence of three carbonised loaves of bread (t. 229) indicates that food offerings were placed on the pyre – a hypothesis strengthened by the presence of skewers, which are very common in Central Italian contexts, but rare throughout north-west Italy (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 19. The Lomellina has provided only one skewer: PV_GAR_cBar_112, LT D1/2). Larger bone fragments were subsequently collected and deposited in the grave, meanwhile smaller fragments and other carbonised material were mixed with the backfill of the grave-pit. The modes of deposition range from *Brandschüttungsgräber* to urn burials using an assumed organic or a ceramic container (*ibid.* 47. 50-52).

The contexts represent a variety of funerary customs. Whilst the earliest burials had usually been interred in irregular ovoid grave-pits, later cremations of the Roman period were partially found in large rectangular pits with neatly cut sides. Most pits had been of an economic size suited to the nature of assemblages with only a few being substantially larger. These had offerings arranged along the sides of the pit, as also observed with some well-documented contexts in the Lomellina (e.g. PV_DOR_lSMa_001 and PV_GAR_cBar_066). A clear spatial separation between the deposition of cremated human remains and the assemblage, with the latter either deposited on a higher or lower level or adjacent to the former, has been observed

frequently. In particular burials dated to the earliest phase had their assemblage placed in the centre of a nest of bowls in an otherwise empty grave-pit (*ibid.* 48).

Direct cremations appeared first during the 1st century AD as evidenced through the amount of carbonised material and distinct traces of exposure to heat on the inner surface of the grave-pit (*ibid.* 52-53). This is in stark contrast to the Lomellina, where direct cremations start as early as LT C2 (e.g. PV_DOR_cGra_186) and cover the entire 1st centuries BC/AD.

As with the cemeteries of the Lomellina only a small number of burials had been 'furnished' with tiles or a slab of stone to support the assemblage or halved *amphorae* to protect the cremated remains and some of the offerings (*ibid.* 48. 52). This custom of recycling *amphorae* evolved in Lombardy during LT D1 (e.g. Viadana, MN, and S. Cristina e Bissone t. 5, PV). Burials of the urban area of Como and at Capiago Intimiano, *località* Mandana but also in the Lomellina (PV_GAM_fBel_016) were furnished with *amphorae* from the second half of the 1st century BC/LT D2, whereas at Oleggio they only appeared at the beginning of the Augustan period (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 27). A similarly late date has been given for Milan-*Mediolanum*, where the tradition continued until the 2nd century AD (Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 58-60. 70 pl. 1).

During the last phase of the site, 10 burials dated to the 4th century were concentrated around the centre of the cemetery (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 52).

2.2. Dormelletto

The first mortuary activities at Dormelletto, via S. Rocco, date to LT C1. Nineteen burials, largely laid out in a north-west—south-east direction, form the foundation group. The even distribution of eight female inhumations with particularly rich assemblages of bronze ring jewellery suggests that these graves provided a template for subsequent family burial groups. Filling the gaps between them, the inhumations of the second phase followed the same alignment and extended the cemetery towards the east. Evidence for small *tumuli* and large bowls used individually or in groups as grave markers (*ciottoli-segnacolo*) explain the absence of intercutting structures. The inclusion of stones in the refill of grave-pits during LT C recalls contemporary burial

customs in the Champagne region (Spagnolo Garzoli 1990-1991: 294-295; 2009: 23-25 fig. 8).

During LT C/D various changes occurred. The period is characterised by bi-ritualism with contemporary inhumation and cremation. In an elongated area to the east of the central sector structure 120 was constructed. In addition, a trench was dug along the western boundary of the cemetery. Although largely still aligned in a north-west—south-east direction, this period also saw the first accidental or intentional intercutting. A distinct increase in human activity during LT D1 mirrors the population growth in the Lomellina. LT D2 was characterised by the abandonment of the inhumation rite and frequent intercutting with previous structures (Spagnolo Garzoli 1990-1991: 300-301; 2009: 24-26 fig. 8).

Whereas the inhumations at Dormelletto are represented through a variety of different grave types, the indirect cremations were more homogenous. Simple irregular circular or ovoid pits of 40-50 cm diameter contained the assemblages, usually protected by a layer of stones or bowls that may have also served as grave marker. Such '*pozzetti di ciottoli*' form a direct link to the Comasco, where they have been documented at Appiano Gentile and are generally frequent. Other grave markers have not been observed. Only two individuals received slightly more elaborate cist graves (t. 14: '*a cassetta litica*'; t. 3: '*a cassetta laterizia*'). In about 61% of all cremations, the cremated remains were deposited in a ceramic container (predominantly bowls), frequently accompanied by personal belongings, jewellery, items of dress and sometimes even smaller tools (Spagnolo Garzoli 1990-1991: 302; 2009: 26-31. 34-35).

Although traces of exposure to heat were hardly discernible on either pottery or metal items, fragments found in the cremation layer suggest that double depositions of pyre and grave goods were part of the funerary ritual at Dormelletto. Those ceramics that had clearly been placed on the pyre usually comprised large bowls used for the presentation of food as also implied by carbonised animal bones, grain and bread. Smaller bowls with traces of exposure to heat have been interpreted as evidence for libation rituals during the cremation process. It is of particular note, that rare coins, which had been almost exclusively found inside mortuary containers, always showed

distinct traces of exposure to heat and thus may have been placed either in the mouth or a hand of the dead as also observed for inhumations (Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 36-37). A preference for the placement of coins in the hands of the deceased has also been observed in 1st century AD inhumations from Via Annia, Scofà (UD), demonstrating that this was a widespread custom (Verzár-Bass 1998: 169).

2.3. Angera

Throughout north-west Italy in areas with prevailing cremation, inhumation was only adopted during the 2nd century AD. The same applies to Angera, where inhumation prior to this change was almost exclusively reserved for infant burials.

Despite its generally later date, the cemetery of Angera reflects patterns also observed in the Lomellina and at the other comparison sites. Funerary *stelae*, for example, have been attested at smaller mortuary sites around Angera, meanwhile they are missing at the large cemetery of Angera, where burials were only marked with *amphorae* or large bowls as with Dormelletto (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985a: 14).

Rare evidence of carbonised seed and cereals point to a deposition of food as part of the mortuary assemblages and/or ritual feasting at the grave site (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 594).

2.4. The Comasco

The preferred burial rite of the Comasco was cremation. Differentiation between direct and indirect cremation has been complicated. At Appiano Gentile, where both customs were used contemporarily, *ustrina* and pyre pits have been identified. Meanwhile at Rovello Porro only indirect cremations without evidence for *ustrina* have been observed (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 27-31).

Three types of burials are predominant for the area. Burials '*a cassetta*' with tiles and/or flat stones and burials '*in pozzetto di ciottoli*', which were interred in a pit reinforced with bowls and/or stones, reflect a distinct continuation of Golasecca rites (Grassi 1995: 77. Sena Chiesa 2014b: 38 for the analogy of burials '*a cassetta*' with those of the Lomellina). They account for the majority of burials, only followed by graves '*in nuda terra*'. This pattern was also observed at Appiano Gentile. At the end of the 1st century BC cremations in *amphorae* supplemented the spectrum. At Rovello

Porro these account for 40% of all burials (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 27; Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 63).

With one exception all burials of Appiano Gentile (sector A: three tombs; B: 10 tombs; C: no tombs; Niccoli 2009/2010: 294 pl. 1 with spatial distribution) had been interred as *Brandschüttungsgräber* following indirect cremation. *Ustrina* have probably been identified in (undocumented) lentil-shaped *macchie carboniose* adjacent to some burials. Tomb 3 has been identified as the only direct cremation. In contrast to the later graves at Rovello Porro, the incinerations appear to have reached high temperatures resulting in a complete fragmentation of bone material and rendering a differentiation between human and animal bones impossible. Grave markers or any other protective measurements have been lost (Niccoli 2009/2010: 291-294. 357).

Spread over an area of 140 m^2, all 41 burials of Rovello Porro have been identified as indirect cremations (Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 67 fig. 1 with spatial distribution). Possible evidence for *ustrina* as well as grave markers has been lost due to erosion. The absence of intercutting structures even in densely used sectors, however, renders them plausible. As with Appiano Gentile, the cremation process can be partially reconstructed: deformed but not entirely fused glass *balsamaria* and the light grey colour of bone material indicate that cremation temperatures reached 625-1000°C, and thus were only of medium efficiency. Giorgi *et al.* identified most burials with mortuary container as '*Urnengrab ohne Brandschutt*', urn burials without an intentional deposition of carbonised pyre material. '*Brandschüttungsgräber*', such as tomb 39 with a mortuary container and an *amphora* both partially filled with cremated remains and a further scattering of those over the assemblage, are an exception at Rovello Porro (*ibid.* 55-58. 63. 66-67. 70 pl. 1. 183).

Of particular note compared to the Lomellina and the area around the southern half of Lake Maggiore are 16 burials using *amphorae* as mortuary containers and for the protection of the burial (see also VI.2.1). Grave and pyre goods have been found both inside and outside the a*mphorae*. With a focus of such burials in the Alto Milanese between the rivers Ticino and Lura, it is obvious that the proximity to Milan may have played a significant role in the adaptation of transport vessels for funerals. Meanwhile in areas with local viticulture such as the Lomellina (see. II.2.2.3) and around Lake

Maggiore wine import must have been superfluous and thus *amphorae* only seldom reached the communities.

The use of *amphorae* is of double significance because they are not only a manifestation of economic networks but also stand in stark contrast to the general lack of mortuary containers. At Dormelletto more than half of the cremated remains had been deposited in a ceramic vessel; and similar proportions have to be assumed for the Lomellina. Meanwhile in the Comasco the cremated remains usually had been deposited without or in organic containers.

About a quarter of all burials documented at Rovello Porro had been laid out as classic *Brandgrubengräber* without mortuary container. Cremated remains mixed with carbonised material from the pyre were scattered on the bottom of the grave-pit. Five or six burials may provide evidence for an organic container as cremated bones were found concentrated in one area. Within this group, tomb 10 is of particular interest as the documentation allowed us to trace the process of filling the grave: on top of a layer of carbonised remains a layer of mixed cremated remains including bone material had been compactly packed; this was topped by a third layer comprising items of dress and jewellery as well as personal belongings. Finally, an incomplete *olpe* was placed upside-down on the deposition probably in an act of ritual fragmentation (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 31; Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 61).

Cremations at Rovello Porro remained 'container-less' until the late Tiberian period, and only eight burials have been discovered with a deposition of the cremated remains in an open-shaped jar. A secondary use of bowls as mortuary container has not been documented, although the shallow jar of tomb 22 may have been classified as large bowl in contexts of the Lomellina (Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 60).

The deposition of cremations in simple burials '*a nuda terra*' has been observed throughout north-west Italy particularly in rural areas. Whilst it has been interpreted as a sign of poverty, Martinelli (*ibid.* 62) argues that the funerary custom may have simply been of localised indigenous tradition. The LIA burials at Oleggio have been characterised by simple depositions without mortuary container during LT D1, whereas 'urns' only became common during LT D2 and the early Roman period. Likewise, the

publications about the Lomellina report mortuary containers in less than a quarter of all cremation burials. The late date of these *Brandgrubengräber* in the Comasco, which in their majority date to the late LT and early Roman period, could therefore imply an intentional persistence of local indigenous traditions.

While the general averseness to inorganic mortuary containers reflects a clear break with Golasecca traditions despite their continuity in the construction of cist burials, the few documented mortuary containers also speak for an extreme selection of bone material (i.e. *ossilegium*). The only 'urn' reported from Appiano Gentile is a small vase of 7 cm height. Mortuary containers of small dimensions have been documented at various cemeteries of the region, indicating a careful selection of bone material. As with other sites with gravimetric bone analysis (e.g. Dormelletto), it is obvious that the community from Rovello Porro selected only a small amount of bone material from the pyre (< 100 g out of 1500-2500 g for an adult). This custom, which is also reflected in the diminutiveness of bone fragments, suggests a careful process that may have included elutriation and has been observed throughout the Comasco in particular at LT D cemeteries. An examination of the various layers within mortuary containers but also burials '*in nuda terra*' revealed that smaller items had always been placed on top of the cremated bones; where carbonised material from the pyre had been included, it accounted for the bottom layer (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 30-31; Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 183-184).

The material culture placed in the graves of the Comasco was as varied as the funerary customs. Although the state of documentation did not always allow a differentiation between pyre and grave goods, there is sufficient evidence to show that items of the same category such as bronze bracelets and mirrors had been placed either on the pyre or directly into the grave, although cremations from Rovello Porro buried in *amphora* or jar showed traces of exposure to heat only on personal objects, jewellery and coins. Exceptional is tomb 10 of Appiano Gentile, which had been interred with a triple assemblage of ceramic and metal objects placed as grave goods on the bottom of the pit and two layers of fragmented external depositions mixed with cremated and carbonised remains (Niccoli 2009/2010: 291. 293. 357-358).

At Appiano Gentile, deformed and fragmented pottery indicates that pyre offerings comprised primarily fine tableware, but also other ceramics including *balsamaria*. It can be assumed that food was included, although archaeobotanical evidence has not been documented at Appiano Gentile or Rovello Porro. Other sites of the Comasco, however, revealed evidence for offerings of eggs, various birds and fowl, prepared dishes and in the extramural areas of Como primarily pig, cattle and goat or sheep, but also fruit and nuts, including those varieties that had only been introduced after the Roman conquest such as chestnuts or peach. Some of these may have been part of the *silicernium*, the ritual feasting at the grave side. Thus, a carving knife found in tomb A of Introbio had probably been used during the funeral – an interpretation that could also apply to carving knives found in the Lomellina (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 28. 32-35).

Although traces left by mid-temperature combustion can be difficult to determine particularly in the case of pottery (the published documentation of the Lomellina hardly reports those), the evidence for an obvious pyre deposition of glass and metal objects from Rovello Porro implies that neither ceramic tableware nor – with the exception of some lidded bowls and jars – containers for storage or food presentation had been placed on the pyre, and thus probably also no food. Mineralised adhesions of textiles on a razor suggest either that some items of metal may have been collected in a cloth or small bag before deposition or that post-depositional disturbance brought these items in contact with the deceased's shroud (Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 57. 60. 64. 184-185).

Whilst there exists no evidence for ritual fragmentations from Rovello Porro, incomplete pottery at Appiano Gentile (e.g. t. 3 and 8) suggests that intentional fragmentation had here been an element of the cremation ritual. An obviously intentionally snapped brooch (t. 6) indicates that such fragmentation also affected other material categories. Similarly, out-of-the-norm placements of single items have been observed at other sites. Despite the lack of systematic documentation it is thus evident that some items had been deposited in a certain way probably according to their function within the funeral (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 29-30. 34-35).

3. Material culture

3.1. Pottery and glass

The pottery assemblages documented at the five comparison sites revealed a broad range of characteristics that distinguish them from each other and provide links with the Lomellina.

Dormelletto, with its LT C burials, paints an interesting picture for the early LT. The pottery assemblages were relatively homogenous with one or two vessels, usually bowls, *vasi a trottola* and coarse ware jars. An obvious serving and dining set has only been documented for one burial (t. 72: beaker of Golasecca tradition, a *vaso a trottola* and a bowl; Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 34). *Vasi a trottola*, however, have been found in numerous burials – almost equally interred with inhumations (21%) and cremations (27%). Therefore, Spagnolo Garzoli argues for an intentional break with the deposition of complete drinking sets. She observes that rich female inhumations of the second half of the 3rd century BC in particular contained a single *vaso a trottola* as an exclusive element of feasting equipment. In addition, it appears that the top of the bottles had been intentionally snapped off, indicating that they played a different role in female burials (Spagnolo Garzoli 1990-1991: 295. 301; 2009: 168-169).

During LT C, pottery had been predominantly of local production, hand-made or thrown on the slow wheel. Although the absence of pottery with links to either the previous Golasecca culture or contemporary areas ascribed to indigenous populations seems to imply a non-local descent of the community, the quantity of *vasi a trottola* sees Dormelletto embedded in the wider material culture of north-west Italy (Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 19).

Of particular interest are those dishes that had been used as grave markers. They testify not only respect for the location of burials but also suggest that post-interment rituals of food offerings probably followed over a long period. Whilst these s*egnacoli* are missing from cremations, burnt pottery and carbonised food point at the significance of such offerings also during the cremation funeral. Intentional or natural fragmentation facilitated by combustion distinguishes pottery, which was either part

of the pyre good assemblage and/or had a further function during the ritual, from vessels selected for deposition in the grave (*ibid.* 34. 37. 39).

At Oleggio and Dormelletto, pottery assemblages of the LIA are comparatively modest. With the exception of Oleggio tomb 53, an anthropologically sexed female with a complete weapon panoply and 11 vessels, even warrior graves at Oleggio contained on average only four vessels (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 51). This modest scale of ceramics is counter to the abundance of ceramic containers in weapon burials of the Lomellina (see V.3), but also Appiano Gentile, where 50% of the burials had been interred with ten or more ceramics (Niccoli 2009/2010: 358-360). The subsequent Augustan burials at Oleggio, however, have been characterised by a notable increase in pottery. This trend appears to have culminated during the 1st century AD (t. 168 and 199) and is distinctly contrasted by the modesty of ceramic assemblages in graves of later phases (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 52-53) but also 1st century AD burials from Rovello Porro with more than half of all burials being interred with only five or less vessels (Niccoli 2009/2010: 358-360).

The shared modesty of Oleggio's and Dormelletto's LIA pottery assemblages is mirrored in a shared cultural conservatism, also described as cultural independence. At Oleggio the variety of local pottery styles and decorations as late as the mid-1st century BC is probably also the result of a distinct geographic hierarchy between the Insubrian capital and its *hinterland*. Generic Romano-Italic forms such as BGW appeared comparatively late during the first decades of the 1st century BC. At the same time, access to Padane BGW from urban workshops seems to have been restricted, resulting in a predominance of local imitation ware (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 20. 51-52).

The same pattern has been observed at Dormelletto, where the interplay between pottery of local tradition and BGW highlights the differences between the area around the southern half of Lake Maggiore and the Lomellina. Although fine ware of local tradition and BGW as well as imitation ware supplemented the pottery spectrum from LT C/D throughout LT D, BGW and its contemporary imitations are distinctly rare and comprise only 5% of all pottery, with imitation ware four times the amount of BGW. This preference for local fine wares has been interpreted as an indicator of a strong conservatism regarding the material culture of dining – an interpretation also

strengthened by the scarcity of drinking vessels (Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 34. 159-163 figs 332. 335).

This picture is distinctly counter to the selection process for the pottery assemblages of Appiano Gentile. *Vasi a trottola* and jugs were frequently associated with egg-cup-shaped beakers (*bicchieri a portauovo*) and other drinking vessels clearly forming a drinking set. This pattern can be observed from the end of the 2nd century BC (LT C2) throughout LT D. Whilst beakers '*a portauovo*' derived from Golasecca traditions and were characteristic for the contemporary Comensian production of local pottery, BGW and its achromatic imitations of Romano-Italic tradition completed the assemblages. Both BGW as well as local pottery have been described as of comparatively poor quality, common for the late LT Comasco (Niccoli 2009/2010: 358-360).

Qualitative differences have also been observed at Dormelletto and Oleggio. BGW from both cemeteries has been identified as regionally produced in Transpadane workshops, an analysis of BGW plates, however, revealed notable differences. Whilst examples from Dormelletto were of high quality, those from Oleggio had obviously been produced exclusively for a mortuary function as indicated by poor execution and surface treatment (Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 159-160. 163-165 fig. 335; Knobloch 2013). As the same observation regarding Oleggio had been made at Gravellona Toce and Ornavasso, it is possible that the custom of purpose-made funerary pottery was particular to those areas closer to the Roman colonies and economic centres. Without a macroscopic analysis of pottery from the Lomellina, it is impossible to say whether similar patterns could be observed.

Acoware is notably rare in the Comasco (Sena Chiesa 2014b: 40), strengthening the hypothesis that it was produced around Lake Maggiore and transported primarily along the Ticino. Although *ceramica comune* still accounted for 82% of the Julio-Claudian pottery assemblage at Angera, those of the Tiberian period were already characterised by a predominance of fine ware, in particular TS (161 examples). Stamps are rare (25 stamps in total including only eight legible examples from documented excavation). Of particular interest are two vessels from the workshop of L. GELLIVS and C. MVRRIUS, whose produce is also attested in the Lomellina (PV_GRC_lMar_056 and 057; first half of the 1st century AD. This early date is counter to the later date for the

contexts from Angera classified as Claudian-Neronian) and the brand stamp CTS (PV_VAL_cTes_023; second half 1st century AD). Three beakers with the brand stamp C. ACO and ACO ACASTVS respectively have been discovered at Angera and dated to the first years of the 1st century AD (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 15. 341. 351-353. 373. 377). Further examples of *Acoware* were discovered in contexts of the *vicus*. Contrary to suggestions of a local production (see V.1.4.2), these are supposed to be evidence for continued east-west exchanges from the Veneto along the Po and Ticino (Sena Chiesa 2014c: 157).

Although the later date of the cemetery at Angera is clearly reflected in the pottery assemblages and their lack of ceramics in local tradition such as *vasi a trottola*, *olpai*, which initially had been of generic Romano-Italic shape, increasingly assumed a local character and point to a cultural independence of Angera's potteries. This trend impacted especially TS, which was produced locally without any Central Italian influence since the Flavian period (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985a: 15; 1985b: 334. 389. 391).

Towards the Flavian period, TS, thin-walled ware but also *olpai* and jars experienced a decline, which continued until the Trajan-Hadrianic period, when assemblages were characterised by a general quantitative decrease and dominated by items of daily use as well as oil lamps. The decrease in variation was accompanied by a qualitative decline particularly visible in a rushed treatment of the clay before throwing, which continued into the Antonine period. With the beginning of the 2nd century fine tableware became almost absent from mortuary assemblages and pottery was almost exclusively represented through oil lamps (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 333-336), meanwhile at Oleggio small jars and 'cooking vessels' became the only items to be deposited in graves during the 4th century (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 52-53).

The pottery analysis at Rovello Porro revealed significant information regarding burial customs and rituals during the funeral. The comparison of pyre and grave goods suggests that open shapes such as plates and shallow bowls, which accounted for the majority of BGW and TS, probably contained food offerings placed on the pyre. Thin-walled ceramics were represented primarily by cups and other drinking vessels, indicating that libations were part of both burial rituals – the cremation and the

subsequent interment. Unusual are small Aegean *amphorae* found in two burials (t. 34 and 37). Traces of exposure to heat suggest their deposition on the pyre, probably as part of food and drink offerings. Their identification as import goods classifies them as rare luxury items in a cemetery where traces of wear and tear on some pottery as well as the secondary use of *amphorae* as mortuary container have been interpreted as a possible marker for status playing only an inferior role (Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 184-187. 189. 191 fig. 1).

The decoration of local pottery firmly embeds Rovello Porro in the cultural landscape between Milan and Como. Similarities to the areas of Angera and Sesto Calende are rare. Despite its cultural conservatism and a preference for indigenous traditions, this material uniformity indicates that the geographic situation along the axis between two major Roman towns distinguished the southern Comasco from other areas of north-west Italy (*ibid.* 188).

In contrast to the Lomellina, glass tableware was a rarity at Angera and was completely absent from the assemblages at Rovello Porro despite a presence of glass *balsamaria* (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 552-553; Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 189. 191. 249).

3.2. Jewellery and items of dress

Jewellery and items of dress, in particular arm rings and brooches, play an important role in the identification of cultural and ethnic identities in the area around the southern half of Lake Maggiore and the Comasco. The assemblages from Dormelletto are characterised by the abundance of ring jewellery in female burials, typical for the Insubrian culture and represented through a variety of types. Bronze anklets with ovoid bulges, so-called *Hohlbuckelringe*, feature prominently in female burials of the second half of the 3rd century BC. The comparatively simple and plain 'Bettola' type found at Dormelletto has also been documented for two unpublished burials from Garlasco, *frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole (t. 13 and 18B) and is one of many variations found from France to Bohemia during LT B2/C1 (Megaw and Megaw 1989: 139; Müller 2009: 108-109. Within Northern Italy, *Hohlbuckelringe* have only been documented in Insubrian contexts: Grassi 1998: 88). Seven pairs of anklets and two single arm rings from Dormelletto are completed by only two further examples from the wider area,

emphasising their local significance. The distinct association with Celtic art but also the association with *Helmkopffibeln* at Dormelletto lends itself to hypothesise a non-indigenous origin for the LIA inhabitants of the area specifically in the absence of links with previous Golasecca jewellery (Spagnolo Garzoli 1990-1991: 296-300; 2009: 193-197).

Although the predominant cremation rite and fragmentary state of preservation and documentation complicates an investigation of dress customs in the Comasco, burials with two brooches have been classified as presumably female and of 'Celtic' tradition. These hypotheses are based on parallels especially with the Lecchese, where brooch depositions are assumed to yield important information about the cultural identity of the deceased and their respective community. As with the case of arm rings of non-local tradition, various burials of the Comasco and Lecchese dated to the last decades of the 1st century BC and the first decades of the consecutive one have been classified as those of foreign women. At the same time, brooches largely disappear from female burials with the adoption of Romano-Italic fashions (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 23-26), although according to Demetz (1999: 169), crossbow brooches of middle and late LT tradition not only show the longest continuity but had some revival during the Augustan period and persisted until the 2nd century.

The brooches of Appiano Gentile, in particular two Almgren 65 (t. 3) and two iron brooches of LT II tradition (t. 5), reveal a local costume that had been traditional for the LIA of Lombardy and persisted until the end of the 1st century BC, the LT D2/Augustan transition.

Items of dress and jewellery are generally scarce in Angera and precious metals are completely missing. Brooches primarily of type Aucissa or in crossbow construction have been found both in iron and bronze. Other rare examples of jewellery that have been reported have been dated primarily to the second half of the 1st and the beginning 2nd century, the period of economic boom. A unique bronze bracelet (t. III,3) has been dated to LT D (end of 1st century BC). Of a similar date is a spherical bronze pendant (t. IV,10). This small range of jewellery is completed by a variety of finds that have to be considered as remains of necklaces such as beads made of glass paste (t. IV,9/2. Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985a: 15-16; 1985b: 555-557).

Shoes have been evidenced through small iron nails in contexts ranging from the Augustan period until as late as the Severian period. Thus present in both cremations and inhumations it is of particular interest that they always formed part of the grave good assemblage and were not incinerated on the pyre (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 571).

3.3. Weapons and tools

Towards the end of LT C2 and beginning LT D1, and thus after the 'Battle of *Ticinus*', depositions of weapons emerged across Canton Ticino, Piedmont and Lombardy. According to Ratto (Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 39-40) this can be read as either a simple evolution of funerary customs or as a militarisation of the communities of north-west Italy during the LIA. Despite reservations about a correlation between archaeological record and historical event, a focus on shared identities evolving around the armed members of a community seems plausible.

The offering of weaponry as mortuary goods and their disappearance from the funerary ritual during the 1st century BC has traditionally been tied to various aspects of male identities and their change in the wake of the Roman conquest. In order to investigate the role of armed men during the integration of the lacustrine areas into the Roman empire, Butti Ronchetti (2009/2010: 20-22) compared the areas around Lake Como and Lake Maggiore. In the absence of sufficient weapon depositions at Dormelletto (see below), the area is represented by the two sites of Giubiasco and Ornavasso with their combination of rich grave good assemblages with bronze vessels and weaponry.

First appearing in LT C, weapon burials have been ascribed to local populations. Their panoply shows distinct variations over time that allows identifying chronological phases. Between LT C and C2/D1, they were primarily characterised by swords, which were largely replaced by spears during LT D – a transformation interpreted as a 'Romanisation' of weaponry. As far as it is possible, these phases have been aligned with historical events: the Gallic migrations, the granting of Latin rights in 89 BC (appearance of spearheads of LT tradition) and Caesar's recruitment for his Gallic wars (swords and spearheads of 'Roman' tradition. *ibid.* 20-22).

In the distribution of weapon burials, the Alpine valleys to the north of Lake Maggiore and the Valsassina clearly dominate over the southern shores of the lakes and the Bassa Pianura Padana. Butti Ronchetti discusses two possible explanations: Roman recruitment of auxiliary troops in these areas or the protection of neuralgic traffic routes. In the case of Lake Maggiore, local communities would have been militarised against the Lepontii of the Alps (Pernet 2006). Confirmation for this hypothesis has been identified in the exceptional quantity of bronze vessels in the area and their obvious links to armed men. Whilst the entire north of Italy has yielded only 58 burials with bronze vessels, 26 can be gendered as male. More than 18 of these assemblages also comprised one or more weapons (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 20-22. For a detailed discussion of 'Roman' auxiliary troops among the Insubres, Cenomani and smaller groups such as the Vertamocori of Novara and Oleggio, the Orumbovii but also the Laevi and Libici: Pernet 2010: 80. 126-133).

The importance of weaponry in male burials of the Alpine and lacustrine areas renders their late appearance in Dormelletto suspicious. The earliest weapons and tools can only be dated to the advanced 2nd century BC. Whilst Spagnolo Garzoli suggests that men of high-status had been buried in an area of the cemetery so far unexcavated, it is equally plausible that this absence of early weapon burials reflects the loss of armed men during the period of military conflicts (see below). Consequently, the small quantity of spear- and javelin heads as well as one shield boss with distinct traces of intentional damage (t. 18) found in burials of the late 2nd and 1st centuries BC would not reflect a delayed appearance of weapons within a period that is generally classified as a period of increasing 'cultural Romanisation' but rather the slow decline of warrior burials that has also been observed for the Lomellina (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 295-296. 301; 2009: 19). The association of almost all weapon depositions with tools (four sickles and one carving knife) further diminishes any elitist character of the scarce warrior burials (*ibid.* 39-40).

Fig. 72 Oleggio, t. 106: the weaponry shows distinct traces of ritual fragmentation/destruction, whereas the damage on the pottery was caused by heat (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: pl. IV).

Of distinctly different character are the weapon burials at Oleggio, where weaponry shows distinct traces of ritual fragmentation or defunctionalisation during LT D1. Two burials are outstanding: tomb 53 contained a complete weapon panoply, but has been ascribed to a female individual; tomb 112 has been identified as the burial of a new-born who was buried with a javelin. During the first decades of the 1st century BC the tradition ceased to exist (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 51). Weaponry is complemented by knives including large carving knives with blades of 20-30 cm length that find their parallels at Giubiasco (*ibid.* 341-344; Pernet 2006: 87).

Due to their later dates covering primarily the early Imperial period, weapons have not been attested at Angera and Rovello Porro. They are, however, also missing from the LT D cemetery at Appiano Gentile. Tools, on the other hand, reflect a local economy based on agriculture and textile production. Giorgi emphasises the predominance of tools but also razors in rural cemeteries, highlighting a survival of indigenous burial rites (Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 188) as represented through the depositions of shears, sickles, knives and spindle whorls at Appiano Gentile (Niccolo 2009/2010: 360).

At Angera knives account for the majority of tools. Absent from the earliest burials, they were found both in direct cremations and (although more rarely) also in

inhumations ranging between the Flavian and Severian period. Small knives with a handle ending in a ring dominate the spectrum. Medium sized knives have been documented for contexts from the Flavian and Antonine period proving the continuation of LT traditions. Whilst smaller knives have been classified as domestic tools – a category that also comprised sewing needles (present since the Augustan-Tiberian period but with a distinct peak during the Trajan-Hadrianic and Antonine period) and rare *styli* –, larger knives have probably been used in butchering. Sickles only appeared during the Trajan-Hadrianic period and suggest an economic reorganisation of Angera (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 565-569).

Spindle whorls were part of both pyre and grave good assemblages at Rovello Porro. Their deposition on the pyre suggests that as with razors they were of personal importance. Traces of exposure to heat have also been observed on shears. Their smaller dimensions imply that they had been women's tools, probably carried in a small bag on a belt (Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 188. 192 tab. 1; cf. Whitehouse 2001: 55 and Costin 2012 for the controversy around the gendering of tools and labour, in particular the production of textiles).

3.4.   Personal belongings

The burials of Oleggio are distinctly varied in items that have a certain personal connotation as they imply a range of individual identities and/or reflect an aspect of personal grooming. Following the late 2nd century BC rich male assemblages frequently included toilet utensils such as razors, tweezers and small scissors. Based on their smaller size, these are distinguished from shears, which would be categorised as tools (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 19). Whilst new objects such as *strigiles* were introduced during the early 1st century BC, glass *balsamaria* and mirrors have only been found in one tomb each (t. 146 and 126. *Ibid.* 51-52). Similarly, less than 50% of the burials at Rovello Porro had been interred with glass *balsamaria*. With one exception of a perfume bottle as part of the '*corredo secondario*', the poor preservation of *balsamaria* indicates that they were primarily part of the cremation ritual (Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 189. 191. 249).

Quite different, but also similar, is the picture at Angera. Although glass vessels were generally rare, *balsamaria* are comparatively well represented. As has been observed

for glass tableware, the range of colours, however, was limited. Simple spherical and pear-shapes (Is. 6 and 10) in green and greenish-blue are predominant both at Rovello Porro and Angera, where amber coloured examples were added to the spectrum at the beginning of the 1st century AD; other colours are less frequent as has been generally observed for the Tiberian and Claudian period. The limited polychromy of glass and some unusual shapes raise the question where Angera's glass had been produced. Contrary to the editors' suggestion of the Lomellina in addition to Canton Ticino as possible places of production, these morphological observations render the Lomellina an improbable origin. Items of particularly high quality have been identified as possible imports or the produce of immigrated craftsmen (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 552-553).

Unusual are miniaturised dove-shaped *balsamaria* (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985a: 15; 1985b: 543. 547). Such miniatures are unknown from the Lomellina. In Angera they were primarily found in infant burials (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 547) and thus raise questions about the significance of perfume during the burial ritual. If *balsamaria* and their content were more of cultic connotation and purely of ritual significance, did the inhumation of a small child simply require less perfume? Or can we ascribe *balsamaria* a personal significance that reflects aspects of personhood?

Similarly, two pottery vessels, although clearly drinking vessels if not tableware, were more of a personal character. Two feeding bottles or *gutti* have been discovered with two infant inhumations (t. IV,2 and 33) and resemble the example found at Dorno (PV_DOR_cGra_193; Fig. XVII). As with the latter, the assemblages have been dated as Tiberian and Augustan respectively (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 537). Their association with infant burials strengthens the hypothesis that the deceased of PV_DOR_cGra_193 may have been a young mother, who died in childbirth. Of particular note regarding the identification of gender identities are also razors found at Appiano Gentile (t. 5 and 10), where personal belongings are generally scarce, and Rovello Porro. Their association with female items such as jewellery and spindle whorls suggests that as with small shears they may have been women's tools (Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 188; Niccolo 2009/2010: 360).

3.5.   Ritual items

Items of purely ritual significance were rare amongst the burials around the southern half of Lake Maggiore and those of the Comasco. Although pottery assemblages imply depositions of food or libation rituals and thus suggest concepts of an afterlife, an adoption of Central Italian beliefs can hardly be observed. Whilst increased coin depositions have been interpreted as evidence for new eschatological ideologies, such a hypothesis has been rejected for the presence of oil lamps. Although oil lamps appeared in the Comasco during the 1st century BC, they were absent from assemblages at Appiano Gentile. Butti Ronchetti, therefore, concludes that illumination with oil was probably only introduced at that time, and those found in burials represent a mere technological innovation but are of no religious significance (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 19).

At Rovello Porro, only a few oil lamps have been discovered, always as part of the grave good assemblage. It is plausible to interpret this selection of oil lamps as part of the '*corredo secondario*' as an indicator of their status as non-ritual items. A similar scarcity of oil lamps has been observed in other peripheral areas during the Augustan-Tiberian and Julio-Claudian period but also at Angera, where two burials of the early 1st century AD included oil lamps. They became slightly more abundant by the mid-1st century, with a subsequent peak during the Flavian period. In combination with the scarcity of *olpai* and other elements of a 'Roman' or Central Italian lifestyle such as specific jewellery (e.g. signet rings) but also the deposition of coins in burials this phenomenon has been interpreted as delayed 'cultural Romanisation'. Whilst coins first appeared during the first decades of the 1st century BC at Oleggio, in the Comasco they only became frequent during the Augustan period and thus have only been documented at Rovello Porro. A ritual function for these has also been assumed on grounds of a preference for asses, which have been classified as funerary coins *par excellence* (*ibid.* 37; Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 187. 189. See V.5.1). At Oleggio a few more items supplement the spectrum of ritual items over the course of the 1st-3rd centuries such as a presumably apotropaic nail made of glass (t. 229), small bronze bells (*tintinnabula*) in two infant inhumations (t. 167 and 191) and a small bronze *phallus* that had been recovered without context (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 51-52).

At Angera the general decline of mortuary goods during the Trajan-Hadrianic period of the late 1st and 2nd centuries resulted in a distinct predominance of oil lamps in mortuary assemblages (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985a: 15; 1985b: 333-335. 487).

The majority of oil lamps can be ascribed to the class of *Firmalampen*. Examples stamped FORTIS and COMVNI have been found together with TS in an assemblage dated not later than the Neronian period (t. IV,7). Oil lamps produced at the workshop of FORTIS have been found in contexts as late as the Antonine period and thus support the observation made for the Lomellina that this workshop was active for probably more than a century (Sena Chiesa and Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1985b: 505. 510).

Terracotta figurines and appliqués are very rare at Angera. A small female head had been found during early (unsystematic) excavations, four appliqués were discovered in 1977 (t. IV,1). The two protomes of a donkey or horse and two medallions must have decorated the *fulcrum* of a wooden funerary bed, which presumably had been burned on the pyre (*ibid.* 337. 519-521). Iron nails and clasps that have been found in some of the direct cremation burials could be interpreted as preserved remains of undecorated funerary beds or litters, although this interpretation has not been considered by the editors of the material, who describe them as undefinable (*ibid.* 561-562).

4. Identities and the Roman conquest

The impact the Roman conquest had on the landscape along the Ticino appears to have been varied. In all likelihood the variations have their roots in the areas' different starting points after the 'Gallic migrations'.

Whilst the Lomellina has been described as a landscape remaining in the hands of indigenous groups, the material and ritual culture of Oleggio and Dormelletto suggests that the transalpine LT culture had a profound impact on the local populations. Both communities have been described as Gallic or Insubrian. At Dormelletto burials point to a conscious break with previous Golasecca traditions – neither the material culture nor the funerary customs appear to have retained elements of the EIA. These different cultural if not ethnic identities might be the cause of variations observed within the social structures of the communities. The mortuary contexts of the Lomellina have yet

to reveal evidence for a distinct social hierarchy. Although weapon burials suggest that the communities might have been ruled by a small warrior elite, these contexts are – if at all – only distinguished in their quantitative wealth. Completely different are the pictures painted at Oleggio and Dormelletto. Both sites have provided evidence for elite status expressed through weapon offerings. Such burials appear to have made the founding core of the cemetery at Oleggio, strengthening the hypothesis of a local warrior elite leading the community (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 19. 47-48). An infant burial with javelin head (t. 112) implies that this could have been a hereditary status (*ibid.* 51. 169-170 fig. 164). This hypothesis is strengthened by the burial of a mature female (t. 53). She had been interred with an achromatic plate bearing the inscription *rikanas*, which can be read as a local derivation of *regina*, implying that the deceased had been of high rank. The latter is also evidenced by the wealth of the assemblage comprising 12 ceramic vessels (including five plates and one *vaso a trottola*), a skewer-s*piedo*, shears and a knife as well as a complete weapon panoply with sword and scabbard, shield and spearhead (*ibid.* 17. 19. 51. 112-115). This extraordinary burial fits well with a group of rich female burials at Dormelletto that appear to have been the founder graves for subsequent family groups (cf. Hutson *et al.* 2012: 60).

Due to incomplete investigation, it remains unknown whether these female 'elite burials' at Dormelletto were accompanied by contemporary male burials presumably distinguished through their assemblages and an isolated location. Whilst Spagnolo Garzoli (2009: 19; cf. 1990-1991: 296 n. 8 for comparative observations of a spatial segregation of female and male burials at transalpine sites) suggests such an undiscovered location as explanation for the absence of high-ranking warrior burials during LT C, it is also possible that these men had died in the violent conflicts with Rome and were subsequently buried elsewhere. Structure 120, possibly a cenotaph set up between LT C and D, could even be a reflection of this loss to the community. Thus a large agglomeration of 14 LT D cremations grouped around one of the female founder graves could be interpreted as an attempt to restore associative identities and family or kinship relations. Within this group, six burials with spearheads had been grouped together. None of them included a particularly rich assemblage; personal adornment only comprised one or two iron brooches. Two burials (t. 26 and 28) have been identified as those of a 13-14-years old adolescent and a 3-5-years old infant

suggesting that weapons represented a hereditary status also at Dormelletto. Ratto, however, identifies the deceased as soldiers that had been serving in Roman auxiliary troops, a hypothesis developed for weapon burials at Giubiasco (Canton Ticino, CH). Weapons would thus represent less status but merely a profession similarly to the tools with which they had been associated (Spagnolo Garzoli 1990-1991: 303-304; 2009: 38-40 fig. 24).

During the 1st century BC the display of weapons during the funerary ritual appears to have been abandoned throughout north-west Italy. The disappearance of the warrior status, however, has been less ascribed to Roman law enforcement or the granting of Latin rights, but rather the pacification of the region after a long period of military conflicts. Spagnolo Garzoli suggests the emergence of a small group of families or individuals, who became *possessores* within the new Roman social order. The remaining members of the community conversely would have strengthened their economic and cultural capital as farmers or craftsmen, reflected in the deposition of tools in their graves (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999: 50-51).

The editors of the archaeological record at Oleggio and Dormelletto have mapped out a certain economic-social dependence between these areas and Rome, represented through the provincial capital Milan-*Mediolanum*. Wallace-Hadrill describes how in the "sleepy market town" (2008: 73) of Oleggio 'Celtic' and 'Roman' commodities were used alongside each other preparing the ideal breeding ground for material code-switching (cf. Lomas 2013: 98).

Nevertheless, both sites have also revealed signs of a certain cultural conservatism. This is counter to the open-mindedness or material flexibility of the communities of the Lomellina as highlighted by their preference for BGW over achromatic imitation ware with its strong link to local traditions. Deodato (Deodato in Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 159) emphasises that throughout the Insubrian territory except for Milan, achromatic imitation dominates quantitatively as well as with regard to the variety of shapes over BGW – for example at Oleggio with 130 : 98 (achromatic imitation ware : BGW) and Dormelletto with 37 : 7 (in the absence of settlement sites, it remains speculative to postulate whether this preference for imitation ware was exclusive to burials or also applied to settlements). The Lomellina, however, shows the opposite

pattern (Fig. 40). Provided that this predominance of BGW reflects the actual archaeological record and less a selective publication, three conclusions are conceivable: (i) the Lomellina followed the pattern of Milan and local workshops provided the communities with sufficient BGW; (ii) due to its location close to the confluence of Ticino and Po, the Lomellina was in a favourable position for the trade of BGW from Padane workshops, meanwhile Oleggio and Dormelletto were forced to make do with imitation ware; (iii) the choice of either BGW or achromatic imitation was made irrespective of availability and reflects a certain cultural resistance along the upper Ticino; in the Lomellina, however, such conservatism would have been unknown.

The archaeological record of the Comasco between Milan-*Mediolanum* and Como, paints a different picture of the late EIA and LIA compared to the areas along the Ticino. During the 5th century BC, Como and Milan had benefitted from the decline of the area to the south of Lake Maggiore. The following two centuries saw a similar degeneration for the EIA settlement of Como presumably resulting in a further boost of the Insubrian capital. This implies that post-Golasecca urbanism was not necessarily stimulated by the Roman conquest and the monumentalisation of Como before the Caesarean colony only (Stek 2017: 10 for a discussion of the impact of Roman expansionism on urbanism). Although the 3rd-2nd centuries are characterised by a fragmentary record with gaps, the period of 'Romanisation' and primarily the 1st century BC seem to have experienced a distinct demographic increase and economic development. Due to the Orumbovii's special relationship with the new Roman power, *centuriation* may have been enforced in the Comasco comparatively late, only after 77 BC or even in Augustan times. In contrast to the Cispadane territories where *centuriation* and land confiscation went hand-in-hand, the surveying appears to have had a less drastic effect on the area between Milan and Como and the settlement landscape shows a consistent pattern for LT D. The 'geometrisation' of the landscape is still visible today but originates not necessarily in early Roman parcelling (i.e. *centuriation*; Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 11).

Notwithstanding these differences, the graves from Appiano Gentile and Rovello Porro as well as other sites mirror the social stratigraphy that has been observed for the

Lomellina and the area around the southern half of Lake Maggiore. The communities'
hierarchy appears to have been comparatively flat without a distinct elite. Sena Chiesa
(2014b: 45) describes the deceased from Appiano Gentile as indigenous *possessores,*
who employed items of Romano-Italic tradition as a means of distinction within the
funerary tradition. At Rovello Porro, on the other hand, the display of status appears to
have played only a minor role. With the exception of imported a*mphorae,* luxury items
or any outstanding objects are missing. A differentiation between poor and rich
assemblages is not possible. Distinguishing observations appear to relate only to burial
rituals and funerary customs without any marker for social identity (Butti Ronchetti
2009/2010: 12; Giorgi *et al.* 2009/2010: 187. 189). The Augustan-Tiberian period
witnessed the final integration of the Comasco into the material culture of the
peninsula, the "*koinè* culturale italica" (Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 167).

Evidence for agriculture, husbandry and probably pottery production becomes visible
through the tools placed in the burials of the Comasco. The impact of the Roman
conquest on local industries has been described as typically bilateral with 'continuity,
innovation and experimentation' (Grassi 2009/2010: 6; Niccoli 2009/2010: 360 for
Appiano Gentile). In this context of the indigenous communities' economic assets, a
view beyond the two sites of Appiano Gentile and Rovello Porro at the wider Comasco
and Lecchese, whose mountainous areas experienced intensified metal exploitation
between the 2nd century BC and the end of the 1st century AD, is of particular interest.
Pliny (NH 34.41.144) praised his hometown Como for its metalworking industry (Butti
Ronchetti 2009/2010: 15-16).

Although during the 3rd century BC – and thus the beginning of an increasing 'cultural
Romanisation' – imports were still rare, finds point to expanding trade and exchange
networks. Rich burials of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC yielded a fair number of late
Republican bronze vessels, mainly ascribed to Central Italian (i.e. former Etruscan)
workshops, *balsamaria* and since LT D *strigiles*. Female assemblages discovered at
Capiago Intimiano, *località* Mandana comprised a large quantity of ceramic and later
glass *balsamaria*, mirrors, cosmetic sets and small boxes (*ibid.* 12-13).

The *foedus* of 196 BC stated that the Insubrian communities and their allies had to
provide soldiers for Rome (Luraschi 1979). Warrior graves of the 2nd and 1st centuries

BC east of Lake Como (Lecco Acquate, Barzio, Casargo, Esino, Introbio, Pasturo and Perledo) with spears but seldom swords have been interpreted as a result of this peace treaty. The soldiers would first serve in auxiliary troops under indigenous command and following Caesar's recruitment as normal members of his legions. This forced integration into a Roman institution has frequently been presented as a catalyst also of the cultural integration process (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 14).

The peace treaty, however, did not only render indigenous populations Roman allies, but also turned their land into a frontier zone – a similar picture as that suggested for the Lomellina after the 'Battle of *Ticinus*'. Thus, Butti Ronchetti sees a direct link between the exceptional quantity of warrior graves in the Valsassina and the ore deposits of the area. Instead of fighting Rome, the armed elite of the north would have safeguarded these resources for the new power. The last known warrior graves (e.g. Introbio, *fondo* Magni; Esino, *proprietà* Nasazzi and Barsazio, *località* Valicello) date to LT D2. Their disappearance with the Augustan campaigns to subject the Alpine communities fits this hypothesis (*ibid.* 15-16).

5. Cultural identity between adaptation and conservatism

Oleggio, the area around the southern half of Lake Maggiore and the Comasco as much as the Lomellina and other areas of north-west Italy had been profoundly affected by the decline of the Golasecca culture that resulted in a distinct population decrease. At Oleggio, however, the impact of the Gallic migrations has been equally discernible in a new population increase since at least the mid-3rd century BC and a new material influence. During the 3rd century a clear (cultural) picture of a complex ethnic and cultural group emerges for the region, the Insubres.

Based primarily on the preference for inhumation that stands in contrast to the previous Golasecca rite of cremation and other aspects of the funerary customs such as the placement of stones as grave markers, Spagnolo Garzoli (2009: 16-18) proposes a non-indigenous but transalpine origin for the community that buried their deceased at Dormelletto. The abundance of bronze *Hohlbuckelringe*, an element of the contemporary transalpine female costume, supports her argument. Female tombs with LT III *Kopffibeln* or *Helmkopffibeln* were identified as those of foreign women, who must have married into the community of Dormelletto (*ibid.* 19. 33-40; for the

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main distribution of *Helmkopffibeln* in the Trentino-Alto Adige between Solduno and Mesocco: Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 17-19 fig. 8). At Ornavasso (VB), *Helmkopffibeln* are the chronological marker for phase I in combination with early *vasi a trottola* (Graue 1974: 103). Given the geographic vicinity between Ornavasso and Dormelletto, we might be able to identify the former as the origin of these non-local women.

Funerary customs and the female costume in particular imply an Insubrian cultural identity. Prior to the Roman conquest and a 'cultural Romanisation' of the area, Dormelletto was thus well embedded in the wider La Tènised north-west of Italy. Even the uncommon cultic structure at Dormelletto might not have been that unique. Excavations at Bernate Ticino (MI), *località* Cascina Roma, revealed a semi-circular structure of possibly cultic function within a cemetery used between LT C and Late Antiquity (Simone Zopfi and Terenzi 2012). Within the Insubrian territory settlement structures remained stable during the 'Romanisation' period despite the fact that the Transpadane regions were essentially a frontier zone throughout the 2nd century BC. Many communities retained their autonomy and local socioeconomic organisation which may be reflected in their exclusion from the system of consular roads. Spagnolo Garzoli (1999: 15-17) draws a picture of a certain hierarchy between Milan-*Mediolanum* as the Insubrian capital and the surrounding territory on both sides of the Ticino. This pre-Roman geographic hierarchy may explain why cultural and material changes appear to have been delayed in the capital-dependant *hinterland* as reflected in a certain conservatism regarding funerary customs and burial rites.

At Dormelletto, pottery assemblages combining BGW, achromatic imitation ware and local productions indicate an acceptance of new cultural elements, contrasted by the extraordinarily long survival of the inhumation rite (Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 19-20). A similar conservatism has been observed regarding the material culture of dining. Distinct tableware only appeared during LT D, and thus the last quarter of the 2nd century BC, parallel to the adoption of BGW and its contemporary imitations as well as the evolution of local fine tableware. Almost three generations after the final defeat of the Cenomani and Insubres in 197/196 BC, the association of symposium and burial was still alien and not readily adopted. Although Deodato (Deodato in Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 161) attributed the cisalpine appearance of BGW and its contemporary

imitations to the "piena integrazione degli ethnoi celtici nella koinè culturale italica" and an undeniable process of Roman acculturation, the community of Dormelletto overwhelmingly preferred local fine wares of 'Celtic tradition' such as grey ware. Where BGW and imitation ware were adopted, they comprised predominantly plates and bowls for dining or the presentation of food, whereas the drinking element of the symposium remained secondary and was primarily represented through *vasi a trottola*. This general lack of drinking vessels (i.e. the symposium concept) from burials suggests that, although contacts with the Roman territories of Northern Italy existed, the area around the southern half of Lake Maggiore had fallen off the main trade routes that provided for Oleggio, but also Ornavasso, Gravellona Toce (VB) and Giubiasco (*ibid.* 159).

The 'material Romanisation' of the Comasco resembles the pattern observed for the areas along the Ticino. Pottery assemblages reflect a standardisation of ceramics with the introduction of BGW and subsequently TS since LT D2. *Vasi a trottola* also disappeared in the Comasco and were replaced by *olpai.* The continued use of jars, however, is indicative of at least a certain survival of local traditions. Changes in dress are primarily represented through the addition of nailed shoes and the abandonment of female dress being worn with two brooches (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 19).

Butti Ronchetti (*ibid.* 20) recognises a certain originality and independence in the production of local pottery shapes and the continued belief in indigenous deities, combined with a certain traditionalism and provincialism exhibited in the late abandonment of BGW. Social concepts changed with the change of cultural identities: the men of the Lecchese did not identify as warriors any longer, but citizens and soldiers; women adopted 'Roman' fashion in clothing, jewellery and grooming.

Similarly, interpretations of ethnic and cultural identities in the Comasco mirror the observations made for Oleggio and its wider surroundings. Pliny (NH 3.124) ascribed the Comasco to the Orobii or Orumbovii. Markers for various indigenous cultural or ethnic identities have been established through an examination of female dress. Although the Comasco yielded only a small number of brooches, cross-cultural intermarriage has been assumed for various burial assemblages with brooches of non-local tradition such as seven *Helmkopffibeln* from the area of Como. Large quantities of

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brooches have been discovered in burials of the Valsassina. Together with other elements of the assemblages they reflect the transition between indigenous and 'Roman' fashion. This cumulation of assumed non-local women in the Valsassina or at Dormelletto, and thus an increased 'female mobility', has been observed primarily for the last decades of the 1st century BC and the first of the 1st century AD. Coinciding with the Augustan campaigns to conquer the Alps, the development can be explained with the communities' role in the wider landscape and ties in with the previous militarisation of local men. The Insubrian *foedus* placed the economically thriving mining communities of the Lecchese in a frontier zone. Women (i.e. daughters and sisters) played an important role in the political and economic negotiations between communities (Butti Ronchetti 2009/2010: 17-19. 22-26). Whilst Butti Ronchetti (*ibid.* 24) interprets their persistent wearing of jewellery and probably dresses traditional to their home as nostalgia, it is important to differentiate between dress worn in life and that chosen by the mourners for the burial. Death in particular with its desire for reaffirmation of intra- and intercommunal relationships may have required the adornment of the deceased with the jewellery they wore at their arrival to remind of and emphasise alliances.

6. Conclusions

The variety of burial rites between inhumation and cremation with areas of bi-ritualism offers a valuable insight into the spread of Romano-Italic traditions and concepts in north-west Italy. The Insubres in the tradition of the Golasecca culture generally preferred cremation – with the exception of Dormelletto, where inhumations of the 3rd and the 2nd centuries BC are described as evidence for a Gallic influence on the Insubrian community's burial customs. Inhumation, however, prevailed throughout the Lepontian territories, where cremation only spread with the expansion of the Roman influence. Thus, by the second half of the 2nd century the cemetery of Oleggio located in a boundary zone between the Insubres and Lepontii was characterised by cremation – probably as a result of the *foedus* of 196 BC. An exceptional inhumation dated to the first half of the same century (t. 181) has been classified as the burial of a migrant. Cremation can thus be either a marker for cultural continuity – an interpretation brought forward also for the Lomellina – only sporadically 'interrupted'

by non-local members of the respective communities or a marker for an advancing 'cultural Romanisation'. With the transition from cremation to inhumation in the Romano-Italic core territory, the latter became 'fashionable' again. However, throughout north-west Italy in areas with prevailing cremations, inhumation was only adopted during the 2nd century AD and dominated only by the end of the 3rd century (e.g. at Angera. Biaggio Simona and Butti Ronchetti 2007: 255-259).

The general conservatism or survival of local mortuary traditions at Dormelletto but also in the Comasco, flanked by two Roman colonies, contravenes observations of an adoption of Roman burial custom in early Imperial Northern Italy (Fasold *et al.* 1998: 11). Whilst these propose that the urbanised landscape of Northern Italy and its periphery readily adopted customs popular in Rome such as funerary beds we can only observe a widespread of these in the Lomellina and partially in Roman colonies such as Cremona.

Chapter VII – Discussion

The mortuary culture of the Lomellina – despite its fragmentary state of preservation and publication – has revealed a variety of aspects regarding cultural change in the wake of the Roman conquest. The comparison with the previous Golasecca core areas indicates that the Lomellina was well-embedded in the wider region whilst remaining unique in many ways: genuine BGW and glass tableware were unusually abundant for a rural landscape suggesting close economic and social links with the urban centres of the Transpadana and a certain prosperity; at the same time, the Lomellina paints a picture of cultural independence. Burial customs, at first glance, appear to have remained remarkably unchanged: a continuous preference for cremation since the EIA, an early appearance of direct cremation during LT C2 that continued throughout the LIA and early Principate, and little change in the construction of graves. A detailed study of the apparent funerary rituals and a comparison with other areas of Northern Italy, however, reveals evidence of social changes of profound significance: the disappearance of the warrior identity and the emergence of an unusual female status reflected in funerary beds. The following chapter will, therefore, discuss the significance of ritual and material change before 'zooming in' on the Lomellina and its inhabitants, in the context of the wider Italian and Mediterranean network.

1. The funerary ritual and its significance for social coherence in times of change

The mortuary record of the Lomellina offers possible evidence of various, different elements of funerary ritual including the offering and possible consumption of food and drink at the grave. Although the investigated sites provide no evidence of the latter, the presence of storage vessels, tableware and a set of skewers (PV_GAR_cBar_112; following Perego 2012: 68, skewers and roasting spits allude to the presence of meat offerings) within the assemblages and comparison with other sites permit speculation about the deposition of food in the graves, and thus point to its significance during the funeral. The composition of pottery and glass assemblages suggests that during the 1st century BC, in particular, a shift from simple 'sustenance' provision for the afterlife towards active drinking and dining, most probably feasting at the grave-site, took place. This hypothesis is supported by the evidence for fine

tableware, in particular BGW, placed on the pyre as part of the primary assemblage (see IV.2.4). Although this might have been solely rooted in new eschatological beliefs (i.e. an afterlife envisioned as a blissful state of banqueting), it cannot be ruled out that this small compositional change provides a rare reflection of social change following the Roman conquest. DeMarrais *et al.* (1996: 18) emphasise that "competition for prestige and power often takes the form of feasting". Although the context of their study on the an event of ideology cannot be comprehensively mapped onto the Lomellina, we must agree with their notion that such materialisation "[created] solidarity, social cohesion, or group identity" (*ibid*. 31; cf. Apparudai 1981; Iaia 2006 and Perego 2010 for the significance of ritual feasting in EIA Northern Italy; Laneri 2007: 3-5). The importance of ritual change for the renegotiation of social relationships during periods of stress (Brandt *et al.* 2015: xii; Nilsson Stutz 2015: 5-6. 14-15) has already been discussed (see III.1.1) and appears to become discernible in this context. In the face of wider social adjustments, triggered by administrative changes, and each individual's loss of a community member through death, the unifying significance of feasting should not be underestimated.

The increased importance of communal feasting during the 1st century BC has also been recognized by Perego (2011a) in her study of food consumption at Venetic cult places. Two sites, in particular, provide interregional comparative examples for our understanding of the role feasting may have played as part of funerals during the 1st century BC. Traces of ritual feasting as part of the erection of a boundary pole at Asolo (TV; *ibid.* 246) seem to be of particular relevance to the study of funerary rites – the symbolic demarcation between *biocenosis* and *thanatocenosis*. The offering pit contained pottery, food remains including animal bones with short inscriptions and coins. The sanctuary of Cadore (BL), a place of supra-regional worship throughout the period of 'Romanisation', provides evidence for a survival of local traditions and the significance of communal drinking as "an important medium for the negotiation of the social and personal identities" (*ibid.* 252) of both locals and non-locals (confirmed by their name inscriptions). Whilst these examples from sanctuary sites and the interment of tableware in burials of the Lomellina are only partially comparable, they are nevertheless indicative of the significance of feasting in the celebration of *rites de passage*.

Prior to the funeral, these *rites de passage* probably began with the preparation of the corpse. The numerous fragments of *balsamaria* might be identified as material remains of an application of perfumes and other ointments either during such a ritual or the cremation (or, indeed, both). Possible evidence for pre-interment rituals can also be found in the small terracotta appliqués that have been found in 59 Augustan-Tiberian graves. In all likelihood, they belonged to wooden funerary beds that had been used to lay out the deceased, transport them to the cremation site and accompanied them onto the pyre. Such a procession must have provided a highly visible stage for the display of individual and associative status. In Rome, the *pompa funebris* was orchestrated as a public spectacle (see III.1.1). Even though they are incommensurable, the cremations of the Lomellina must have been 'performances' in their own right – performances that cast the audience as active agents in the negotiation of very specific aspects of their identity and social position, while the incorporated funerary beds became passive 'scenic' agents (cf. Laneri 2007: 3). In addition, they denote a monumentalisation of the funerary pyre, a ritual concept that could reflect the social identity of the deceased within the community. The role of monumentalisation within the different levels of meaning of funerary pyres during the early Principate also becomes evident in several lithic depictions of pyres found in contexts of 1st century AD Veneto (Rossi 2018). In spite of – or indeed due to – their uniqueness to the Veneto, these material representations of mortuary culture are indicative of how the significance of the cremation ritual finds its expression in the perception of the local communities across Northern Italy.

The Veneto, the region at the opposite end of the Po valley, provides more archaeological parallels with the Lomellina, in particular for a variety of rituals that marked the conclusion of the primary funeral (the extent of possible secondary mortuary rituals in the Lomellina remains speculative). Ritual manipulation of both cremated corpse and mortuary goods played an important role during the funeral (Perego 2011b). Likewise, the material record of the Lomellina has provided evidence for a selection of cremated remains for the interment and, until the 1st century BC, a ritual destruction of weaponry; intentional fragmentation of pottery cannot be excluded and a selective removal of single terracotta appliqués prior to the cremation

of a funerary bed has been suggested as an explanation of the limited number of appliqués found in each grave (pers. comm. M. Pearce).

Perego emphasises the significance of manipulating the cremated corpse during the funeral. Following Chapman's concept of "enchainment through fragmentation", the tangible valediction and negotiation of a new relationship with the deceased member of the community (Chapman 2000), Perego suggests that these rituals reflect a negotiation of associative identities, in particular kinship (Perego 2011b: 33-36). The spatial hierarchy at Dormelletto with its grouped graves could indicate a 'spatial enchainment' (see VI.4); regarding the Lomellina such considerations become plausible in the possible evidence for secondary double burials (i.e. the opening of an existing grave for the interment of an additional burial) at Garlasco, *frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole (see III.1.1). Without anthropological analyses, however, it remains unverifiable whether manipulation of the cremated remains was part of such time transcending rituals.

The demarcating significance of defunctionalising burial items extends beyond weaponry and places a broader emphasis on the 'otherness' of the deceased individual and their identity (Iaia 2009-2012). In times of social changes, this 'otherness' may have threatened the social coherence and called for countermeasures. The ritual materialised social identity and expressed the personhood of each community member and the community as an entity and agent (see III.1.3; Fowler 2004: 85; Nilsson Stutz 2015: 5-6). Thus, the shift from storage vessels to tableware and the inclusion of funerary beds in the funerary ritual appear to reflect such a search for new forms to express shared identities. The ritual distinction of the local elites through the presentation, ritual fragmentation and interment of weapons had become impossible. The appearance of funerary beds at the beginning of the 1st century AD is indicative of the celebration of an associative identity expressed in female burials. In the transition between the abandonment of one tradition and the creation of this new funerary ritual – probably linked to a reinvigoration of the old or the emergence of a new elite – the shared meal at the grave-site seems to have filled a behavioural gap.

2. Material culture and identity

DeMarrais *et al.* (1996: 16) describe the link between ritual and identity, the materialisation of "each human being['s …] individualised reality". Identity, as much as ideologies and power strategies, needs to be expressed in order to be communicated and negotiated. Beyond the spoken and written word, material culture serves as a medium for this exchange of information. Its function is amplified by the process of selecting specific items for mortuary assemblages and thus the implied perception as status symbol – often enhanced by "particular raw materials, labour input, organisation, and skills" (*ibid.* 17). Applying Bourdieu's concept of social *habitus* to the archaeological record, one can conclude that *habitus* influences and shapes this selection process as much as the acquisition and adoption of material culture – let alone 'immaterial' culture – impacts *habitus*.

2.1. Material culture and the concept of social *habitus*

The social *habitus* of each individual mirrors their identity. "Identity is what is draped over a person by the groups of which he or she is part" (Meskell 1999: 32) – and thus the *habitus* reflected in the relevant material culture mirrors the associative identities of an individual embedded in their community. Funerary beds appear to be an excellent example of such associative identities, assuming that they did not (only) represent an invigorated female identity (see below).

With this in mind, scholarly caution would limit the discussion to an analysis of shared or communal identities reflected through and based on Bourdieu's three fundamental assets: the economic, the social and the cultural capital. Disentangling the interplay between these and forms of individual identity, however, is more complicated.

The economic capital describes the wealth and apparent affluence of the communities along the Ticino. The comparison with other sites has highlighted that the burials of the Lomellina were generally wealthier – quantitatively but also qualitatively, for example in the abundance of glass items. The assemblages reflect a stable economy that appears to have not suffered in the wake of the Roman conquest. On the contrary, the period of 'Romanisation' and in particular the 1st centuries BC/AD were distinguished by an economic boom. Local industries, which previously had mainly consisted of agriculture, textile manufacturing and pottery, benefitted from the access

to refined pottery technologies and new technological developments such as glass-blowing. The smooth economic transition and the continuously growing economy have been described as characteristic for north-west Italy, where the Roman conquest, despite its profound administrative and legal impact, appears to have been hardly detrimental to local industries. Sena Chiesa (2014c: 156-157) emphasises the significance of this local economic boom for the wider region in singling out the Lomellina as a prime example of growing industries and markets along the Ticino that left their stamp on the material record of 1st century BC Angera.

Individual wealth, however, is difficult to investigate. Throughout the LIA distinctly rich assemblages were interred alongside modest ones. Whilst some LT C2 assemblages represent exceptionally wealthy burials (and presumably individuals) of the 2nd century BC (e.g. PV_VAL_cTes_189 with its nine ceramic containers, five weapons and/or tools and four coins including a rare silver *vittoriato*, PV_GAM_fBel_021 with its extraordinarily rich double deposition or PV_GAR_MdB_063 with another silver coin as well as 28 vessels and nine items of dress and jewellery), their successors are indicative of a continued prosperity during the 1st century BC (e.g. PV_GRC_lMar_077 [Fig. XLII] and 078 with 30 and more than 20 ceramic containers as well as a knife and spearhead, and a sword respectively). The fragmented character of the present data and, in particular, the possibility of cognitive bias informing the selection of material for publication from more comprehensive assemblages, however, precludes an informative review of the data. The selective perception of indigenous communities before periods of exogenous change can result in a preference for particularly illustrative contexts (as often seen in exhibitions, museums and their publications).

In the analysis of archaeological material, the economic capital of an individual and their community is closely linked to social relationships and communication networks. Once again, funerary beds could be ideal material to exemplify social distinctions, such as that between men and women, had we more information about the furniture's possible role in expressing a female identity. In their chronological and technological dependence upon those beds with bone decorations, they could reveal relationships both between the communities of the Lomellina but also with the Roman colonies of the Po valley and Central Italy.

Supplementing the perspective gained through funerary beds, BGW not only reflects aspects of social capital but also allows for a comparison with sites outside the Lomellina, where funerary beds are unlikely to be found. The adoption and adaptation of such non-local goods represents an excellent visualisation of wider social relationships. The macroscopic homogeneity of clay used in Padane workshops – taken with the retention of local shapes and decorations of local tradition – renders the production of BGW exclusively by immigrants (i.e. veterans) unlikely (or required at least a close collaboration with local potters). Nevertheless, these technical observations reflect a range of relationships (effectively, the region's social capital) between the Italian peninsula and the Transpadana, between urbanised centres and rural workshops, and probably between local craftsmen and individual potters who might have immigrated in search of new markets. The array of technical skills involved in the adoption and adaptation of BGW to local tastes speaks of a strong cultural capital, and probably a demanding local market – i.e. a complex interplay between economic capital and the industry's identity.

The adaptation of classic BGW shapes for the production of presumably cheaper variations (the so-called 'imitation ware') is indicative of both a technological flexibility and a certain material conservatism which preferred local decorations. Similarly, Pitts (2015) demonstrates how the import and adaptation of TS led to a "resurgence of local expression" (Hodos 2015: 247; cf. Thurston 2009: 391) when local traditions and requirements regarding tableware outweighed the 'exoticness' of the import. A similar cultural conservatism has been observed in remote areas such as Dormelletto, where the local community, despite their adoption of 'Hellenistic' or 'pan-Italic' ceramics, continued to prefer pottery of local tradition.

In addition, the discussion and comparative examination of fine tableware from the Lomellina and other sites highlighted various aspects of cultural transformation, pointing to the close link between social and cultural capital. The initial appearance of ceramics in BGW has been attested in Lombardy for the 4th century BC, suggesting that their later concentrated presence especially in the Lomellina is attributable to a continuation of trade contacts with Central Italy (i.e. the Etruscan culture) established long before the Roman conquest. Therefore, the subsequent knowledge exchange

through which local pottery workshops adopted the technology behind BGW is hard to justify solely as a consequence of a cultural – or technological – 'Romanisation' of north-west Italy following the Roman conquest. Such considerations accentuate some of the issues with the traditional concept of Romanisation. In this vein, Torelli (1999: 89) notes that "[if] we accept this definition [i.e. that Romanisation is detectable only in its final stages, when productive, cultural, and political integration appears to be complete], then the Romanisation of the Italian peninsula occurred [...] during the half-century following 90 BC, the year Roman citizenship was granted to the *socii Italici*... In reality, of course, the process of Romanisation was a phenomenon of much longer duration and began at the moment of conquest, and in some cases [...] even earlier." If we, however, agree that a material and cultural change started before the Roman conquest, it becomes increasingly questionable whether 'Romanisation' as a concept of cultural change even in its 'weaker' or 'evolving' form – e.g. Versluys' (2014) call for considering a 'Romanisation 2.0' that makes "material culture, with its agency and materiality, central to the analyses" and focuses on aspects of globalisation – is applicable to the archaeological record of the Lomellina.

2.2. Hybrid culture? Mediterraneanisation? ... and the significance of funerary beds

Recently the importance of concepts of hybridity has been re-emphasised because they are a key element in studies of Roman imperialism and frontier zones (see III.2.2.1.1.) as well as of globalisation theories (III.3.3.1.). As with Woolf's (2011) observations for Gaul, the Lomellina can be described as a "barely-governed [landscape] where locals and outsiders were free to communicate, translate, and produce new knowledge in order to synchronise discrepant values and worldviews" (Mata 2017: 12-13) – the ideal landscape to set the stage for the emergence of a hybrid culture. The industrial development of achromatic imitation ware with its amalgamation of non-local shapes and local decoration, in particular, implies levels of hybridisation and thus a strong local identity with a preference for traditional decorations. Cultural hybridity as an expression of a distinct own identity within the context of a dominant culture (van Dommelen 1997: 309) derives from deliberate selection. Despite an assumed local viticulture, sickles are strikingly underrepresented in mortuary contexts of the Lomellina (only one example has been reported for the

LT D2 burial of PV_GAM_fBel_031) compared to those of Dormelletto and Appiano Gentile. The same applies to strigiles (one example from the advanced LT D1 burial of PV_GAM_fBel_041), provided that these would have been generally available. These exlusions from mortuary assemblages suggest a conscious choice of items for the representation of individual identity.

At the same time BGW, glass *balsamaria* (and other toilet utensils), funerary beds, oil lamps and coins speak of a Mediterraneanisation of material culture and eschatological beliefs. These materials appear to have been incorporated into the local canon without undergoing any significant changes (except for the possible manipulation of funerary beds before the cremation; see p. 274). Notwithstanding their significance for local *habitus* by supplementing the spectrum of economic capital (i.e. their presumed function in a demonstration of status and wealth) as well as social and cultural capital (i.e. their representation of pan-Italian networks and the assumed knowledge of Graeco-Roman mythology), the symbolic capital suggests a low 'cultural self-esteem' combined with a desire for new and 'exotic' goods. Considering Häussler's analysis of elite behaviour and the way in which the Roman conquest changed the patterns of social negotiations between the classes (Haeussler 2013: 217-231), these material changes, particularly during the late 1st century BC and early 1st century AD, suggest a disruptive impact of the Roman conquest on the *habitus* of the material-cultural landscape.

In contrast to BGW and its achromatic imitations, the incorporation of funerary beds into the burial customs of the Lomellina seems to lack one key element of hybridisation – the adaptation to local demands. Due to their high fragmentation through combustion it is impossible to judge whether these beds had been used as domestic beds prior to the funeral, and without written sources an adoption and/or adaptation of the equation afterlife = symposium remains speculative. Thus, funerary beds fall within a certain category of hybrid culture – a category, about which Hodos (2015: 242) writes: "although the mix of origins may still be visible, this does not necessarily infer that the social meanings remained the same." The social meaning behind funerary beds and their significance in the context of the burial ritual might have been profoundly discrepant from that of their Central and Southern Italian

predecessors and contemporaries. However, they demonstrate the embeddedness of the Lomellina into the Mediterranean network that facilitated and contributed to the 'Roman globalisation'. The beds represent the three key contributors for globalisation: (a) the agency of (people or) objects via their significance for (b) social competition and the communication of (c) identities during the funeral.

3. *Centuriation,* globalisation and the impact of being different

These indicators of a cultural Mediterraneanisation of the Lomellina lead into a discussion of the appropriateness of globalisation theories to understand the cultural change observed. Pitts and Versluys (2015: 11; see III.3.1.) emphasise three key aspects of globalisation: increased (i) interconnectivity and (ii) interdependence as well as (iii) de-territorialisation. In an approach to detect these three phenomena in an interpreted archaeological record of the Lomellina, one will inevitably encounter (i) a "yes", (ii) a "maybe" and (iii) a "no".

The increased interconnectivity between the Lomellina as part of a pan-Mediterranean economic, cultural and social network and the 'Roman' world is obvious in its material culture and cultural changes. The improved and expanded trade network of the Roman Empire connected the Lomellina to Central and Southern Italy and beyond. With our vast archaeological knowledge regarding artefact distribution, questions of an "ancient consciousness of connectivity in the Roman world" (TRAC 2018, session 3e) are increasingly discussed. Pitts (2018) notes that an ascertainment of a globalisation of the Roman world requires archaeological evidence of a consciousness of interconnectivity. This modification partly follows the critique that the Roman world was not truly global or all-encompassing (e.g. Naerebout 2006/2007: 154; Greene 2008: 79-80; Morley 2015: 52); for our purposes, however, the Roman perspective was indeed global because it covered most of the world as known (Hodos 2015: 240-243). Within this parameter, Pitts (2018) continues, a consciousness or knowledge of global connectivity becomes archaeologically most apparent "when people encounter innovative moving objects, or when moving people find themselves in new object-environments". Such a case can be made for the incorporation of funerary beds (i.e. innovative moving objects that may have been accompanied by new religious ideas) into local burial customs. The small detail of continued 'updates' on Roman female

fashion represented in some of the terracotta busts, suggests that they were the product of ongoing knowledge exchange. Nevertheless, it remains speculative, whether this process and the range of this interconnectivity, the expanse of the 'Roman' economy, were apparent to the individuals embedded in it – and we might have to overcome our own perception of a globalised individual that is born from the *Zeitgeist* of being aware of our exact place in an extremely interconnected and knowledgeable world.

Similarly, the interdependence between the Lomellina (as a marginal or peripheral zone) and the Roman colonies and central places remains a matter of speculation. Although we can detect an 'in-flow' of knowledge exchanged via import goods and we assume a reception of certain social or cultural concepts alongside this trade (e.g. of funerary beds), we have little evidence of reciprocal movement or transactions. We have to assume that the communities of the Lomellina were subjected to taxation and probably had to provide human resources for Rome's armies but this 'out-flow' of resources or a trade of local products has left no trace in the archaeological record (the suggested origin of Angera's glass *balsamaria* from workshops in the Lomellina seems unlikely considering the morphological differences; see VI.3.4). Furthermore, the Lomellina appears to have remained culturally independent, thrived economically, kept local traditions and adopted new ones that only gained foothold here. Whilst this blossoming of the area might well have depended on the material demand of the urban classes of Milan and Pavia, the discreteness of the Lomellina is largely based on its status as a non-centuriated zone and thus probably arose from a deliberate decision of Roman surveyors and administrators: neither the Lomellina's dependency on 'Rome', nor a reciprocal appreciation of the Lomellina, can be proved.

The Lomellina's discreteness and the lack of *centuriation* and presumably land expropriation contradict the notion of a de-territorialisation. "The Lomellina is geographically and cultural-historically well-defined in its boundaries" – my opening sentence to the archaeological overview of the Lomellina is valid throughout the IA and early Roman period. Despite the uptake of numerous influences and the changes wrought upon the landscapes around the Lomellina through *centuriation*, the area itself appears to have remained distinctly individual.

4. The identity of a landscape

Can a landscape have an identity? The Lomellina certainly does. Over the course of this research, its pre-Roman and early Roman character emerged and it started to almost resemble an individual. The Lomellina was profoundly characterised by its geological landscape: the rivers and *dossi* that spared it from *centuriation*, the rivers and natural resources that facilitated and boosted its industries and exchange networks. As such, the Lomellina as a landscape has active agency and impacts the lives of its inhabitants (Perego 2011b: 24-25 for similar considerations regarding the Veneto).

The mortuary landscape of the Lomellina lacks evidence of a distinct society-leading elite, a group of chieftains or warlords that would have ruled the communities prior to and during the Roman conquest. Outstanding burials emphasised by mounds or architectural monumentalisation have not been observed; the mortuary assemblages across the LIA are fairly balanced in their qualitative value – their differences only discernible in terms of their relative quantities. Due to the geographic history of the Lomellina it is improbable that exceptional burials have remained undiscovered. The cemeteries mirror contemporary mortuary sites from transalpine LT regions (the German term *Gräberfeld* hints at the uniformity and vastness of LT cemeteries). Evidence of individuals that might have ranked higher than most (see below) is typically limited to indicators of exceptional wealth as displayed in the quantity and/or combination of some mortuary assemblages (suggesting that Parker Pearson's critique of such a functionalist interpretation of mortuary assemblages does not apply to the Lomellina – e.g. Parker Pearson 1993: 224). Epigraphic evidence of high ranking individuals is absent. The closest example of how such rank might have been expressed is the burial of Oleggio's 'queen' (tomb 53; see VI.4), an adult female buried with a complete weapon panoply and a plate bearing the inscription *rikanas*, read as a local deviation from *regina*.

Considering this absence of evidence of a local elite, the IA population of the Lomellina has frequently been described as egalitarian and shaped by the local trades of shepherding, textile manufacturing and viticulture (Vannacci Lunazzi 1979a: 97; Arslan 1984: 117 for the EIA; Savoia *et al.* 1991-1992: 22; Invernizzi 1998b: 7; Arslan 2004: 153). Assuming that such a 'Binfordian' correlation of the mortuary landscape and

society can be drawn (see III.1) and the communities possessed indeed a comparatively flat hierarchy at the moment of Roman conquest, the profoundness of its impact and influence has to be viewed differently. Häussler (Haeussler 2013: 281-282) argues that the Roman conquest completely changed the rules of social negotiations between elites and subaltern classes. *Centuriation* and land-redistribution re-organised the economic capital of the elite. Political ties and kinship relations, the social capital, were interrupted and a new Rome-centred political network was established in central places and the urbanised areas. The presence of the Roman army, together with legislative changes such as the granting of Roman citizenship, opened new pathways to wealth and status and caused a shift within the cultural capital from inherited status to new opportunities for skill-based careers. Finally, status symbols lost their significance, requiring the elite to re-shape their symbolic capital in order to maintain their position. With the exception of the disappearance of weaponry, none of these changes are apparent in the archaeological record of the Lomellina. In an egalitarian landscape, the capital underlying social *habitus* would have largely remained the same.

5. The individual in the times of change

The period of the Roman conquest was, to those involved, primarily a time of change. Change that must have profoundly impacted daily life – from military conflicts (and probably the loss of male members of the community) to administrative and legislative changes, from a loss of economic independence and the burden of taxation to a continued opening of markets and the arrival of a variety of new material and immaterial goods (e.g. new eschatological beliefs). Although we could detect a certain independence of the Lomellina, we have observed how these cultural developments changed material and ritual culture; it remains to discuss whether they changed the identity of the individual within this process.

5.1. The male elite

5.1.1. *From warriors…*

Up to this day, our perception of the Roman conquest is still inextricably linked to the image of the indigenous warrior. The image of the fierce native defending his land dominated my history books as much as it features in film and documentaries. Rustoiu

and Berecki (2015: 127) have demonstrated how warrior identity exceeds individual or communal identity and has a pan-European dimension. Therefore, it is hardly astonishing that a pan-European event such as the Roman conquest, which eventually spanned almost the entire known world, had such a profound impact on the social identity of the warrior elite.

It is, however, impossible to establish unequivocally whether the communities of the Lomellina were ruled by a warrior elite during the LIA between LT C1 and about the mid-1st century BC, but even the initial appearance of weaponry as part of the funerary assemblages may have been linked to Rome's expansionism. Some of the earliest examples have been dated to LT C2 and thus after the 218 BC 'Battle of *Ticinus*', which would have turned the Lomellina (provided its communities sided with Rome; see II.2.1) into a frontier zone. Single graves such as PV_VAL_cTes_189 clearly stand out from the mortuary record. The wealth and combination of the assemblage – including a complete panoply (i.e. sword, shield and spear) – reveals sufficient information to speculate on the deceased's high rank within society. The panoply is completed by a large iron knife with an s-shaped blade and a pair of shears, indicating that the warrior identity did not interfere with the most common local trade – the manufacturing of textiles. A pair of bronze tweezers and a razor with handle are more exceptional. Although razors (or small knives identified as such) have been found in 14 contexts, only two burials from the Lomellina contained toilet utensils like tweezers. Iaia (2009-2012: 81) sees a strong link between the "'aestheticisation of masculinity' and warrior power" stating that "the general concepts of masculinity and the warrior's beauty, […] if not universal, are at least widespread in traditional societies". Thus, it is not so much the weapons themselves but rather the inconspicuous pair of tweezers (in combination with the weapons) that support the identification of an elite member in this burial. Nevertheless, due to its visibility, the weaponry must have represented the deceased's high status during the funeral. His economic wealth might be represented by the inclusion of four coins. Three asses with a depiction of Janus' head and ship's bow might still be explained as ritual coins for the journey into the afterlife (though one should have been sufficient), but the silver vittoriato is exceptional and most probably an indication of the deceased's economic capital. In addition, the grave has

been identified as the probably oldest burial at Cascina Tessera, and thus the possible founder's grave of this communal burial ground.

Towards the end of LT D1 during the first half of the 1st century BC, weaponry disappears from the funerary ritual. Without any further information beyond the mortuary record, we cannot establish whether the warrior also 'disappeared' from society. Nevertheless, the change in mortuary customs is profound. Laneri (2007: 6) points to the emphasis placed on the political and ideological aspect of funerals. These become "clear [in] the analysis of [...] high-ranked individuals' burial customs as an exercise of political authority" (see p. 271). Notwithstanding our identification of the social hierarchy of the Lomellina as comparatively flat and led by only a small warrior elite, the fading of this material expression of power suggests that the personhood of the elite was challenged and thus the status of the warrior declined and eventually vanished. This development coincides with two major changes of Roman legislation – the granting of Latin rights and Roman citizenship.

5.1.2. *… to Roman citizens*

The Roman citizen of the Lomellina, however, remains invisible. Nothing indicates that the leading men of the communities 'reinvented' themselves as Roman citizens. This is all the more conspicuous as "the importance of the political dimension of burial practices in ancient societies is even stronger when the social structure of a given community encounters dramatic social, economic, and cultural transformations. In these moments, a society in the throes of change has the need to ground its new social, cultural, and economic structure upon new ideological resources" (Laneri 2007: 6). On the one hand, the Lomellina thus fits into a picture Häussler paints for the rural communities of north-west Italy, where the granting of Roman citizenship might have been of less importance to the male individual than it was the case in urban settings (Haeussler 2013: 47-48; see II.2.2.4.1); on the other hand, the leading class of the Lomellina undoubtedly experienced a period of social change parallel to this administrative change. Nevertheless, for the remainder of the last century BC, no new form of elite status expression appears – up until the emergence of distinct burials obviously reserved for women.

5.2. Female status

As Cuozzo and Guidi (2013: 21) note, female status in burials is usually associated with male status symbols or an obvious divination of the deceased. An independent high social status reserved for women appears to be still inconceivable in prehistoric and Roman archaeology. Nonetheless, it is obvious that in the Lomellina the reverse obtained. Although the attribution of gender identity has been shaped by a certain 'positive discrimination' or cognitive bias that classifies the absence of female attire as 'male' by default, the funerary beds of the Lomellina suggest that Augustan-Tiberian women retained a high social standing, which has no equivalent in contemporary male burials. Notwithstanding this powerful message, tomb 53 from Oleggio implies that prior to this phenomenon female rank might have been expressed through generic male status symbols (i.e. weaponry) during LT D1.

The ambiguity of these contexts with funerary beds is emphasised in their variability regarding the quantity of mortuary goods. PV_GAR_cSol_009 (first half 1st century AD), a cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* and an unburned assemblage of grave goods has been described as remarkably rich with abundant glass objects (11 *balsamaria*) and female items (e.g. 15 spindle whorls and a bronze mirror) as well as a rare bronze ladle, deposited in a small adjacent niche. Similarly, PV_GRC_lMar_046 (*t.p.q.*: 7 BC), an indirect cremation in *amphora* with a deposition of the cremated remains and *balsamaria* in a bowl contained more than 6 ceramic vessels and shoes amongst other items. PV_GRC_lMar_048 and 049 (both first decades 1st century AD), two undefined *ustrinum* contexts from the same cemetery, on the other hand, contained only two glass *balsamaria* and two bracelets respectively in addition to the appliqués from the funerary bed.

Controversial is also PV_GRC_lMen_037. Arslan listed the burial as male infans based on its modest assemblage (Arslan 1984: 143 n. 252); the combination of spindle whorls and funerary bed, however, suggests a female individual (Invernizzi 2005a). The modesty of the assemblage is obviously in contrast to the deceased's status as expressed through the funerary bed, but possible explanations range from a rich deposition of organic (and, consequently, now undetectable) mortuary goods, an incomplete nature of the context due to disturbance or unsystematic excavation, to

the unavoidable hypothesis that funerary beds, after all, had been less of a status symbol than hitherto assumed.

The analysis of funerary beds and their significance for a female identity (see V.6.2) has raised a variety of questions. Without a data contribution of unpublished material, it remains unverifiable whether or not terracotta appliqués had indeed been exclusive to female assemblages, and whether these are indeed not distinguishable in their quality and quantity from those without funerary beds. Detailed data regarding the spatial hierarchy within cemeteries could provide answers to the question whether these burials served as focal burials for the (re-)establishment of social relationships as it may have been the case in Dormelletto. Scholarly caution notwithstanding, it is evident that the women of the Lomellina played an important role in the negotiation of new associative identities during the Augustan-Tiberian period. Perego (2011b: 34-35) was able to demonstrate how female burials may have been of particular significance to the negotiation of kinship within IA Veneto. However, she reminds us that despite this key function in society such elevation during the funeral "need not to have resulted in a real empowerment of women [as] it is possible that grave goods were acquired, selected, and manipulated by men, who may have exploited the objects buried in the grave and the funerary ritual practice for their own purposes" (*ibid*. 35).

Before I end this thesis with my conclusions, I need to raise a topic that has been neglected so far – the question of ethnic identity. Although ancient sources mention the Laevi, Marici and Libici as inhabitants of the area between Ticino and Po (see II.2.1), I have refrained from using these ethnonyms with regard to the communities of the Lomellina. Perspective distinguishes ethnic identity from cultural identity. Whilst the latter is based on our archaeological knowledge (the recording and mapping of material and immaterial features), ethnic identity draws upon a shared "we-feeling" of those concerned (Jones 1996: 66). Against this, Wilkins (1990: 59) – in his analysis of linguistic evidence of an early urban or nation state in Italy – notes "[t]he Oscans never call themselves Oscan, the Umbrians Umbrian, or, most surprisingly, the Etruscans Etruscan. We simply do not know for certain what names they used, if any." The same applies to the IA cultures of the Transpadana (Fitzpatrick 1996: 242; Renfrew 1996:

131-133), and as this research tried to gain insight into how the communities and individuals would have identified themselves, the use of Latin or Greek ethnonyms cannot be justified.

Chapter VIII – Conclusions

This thesis opened with two main questions: in which ways did the Roman conquest and the subsequent integration into the Roman empire impact the rural communities of the Lomellina? How did the expression of identity through material culture and funerary rituals change – and ultimately: can I provide new answers to the old question of 'becoming Roman'?

Although the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record complicated the identification of patterns, and in some cases more questions were raised than answered (e.g. regarding funerary beds), the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the mortuary data distilled aspects of change as a direct or indirect consequence of the Roman conquest. From the archaeological perspective, the Roman conquest clearly resulted in increased evidence of mortuary activity either through population growth (endogenous or exogenous through immigration) or through a wider participation in communal funerary rituals. This implies that the integration into the Roman empire triggered social changes, which required new forms of expressing individual and shared identities. Although, by and large, the mortuary landscape remained the same – rituals with a focus on mortuary assemblages, little evidence for grave architecture and no (preserved) funerary art – the composition of mortuary assemblages reveals patterns of change. In particular, the administrative and legal changes to society appear to have also affected the rural communities of the Lomellina – above all their small warrior elite. This group subsequently became invisible in the mortuary record, as weaponry was no longer offered into graves. The impact of this coerced change appears to become also discernible in the composition of pottery assemblages. A shift towards tableware may have been the result of increased communal feasting as part of the funerary ritual, and thus indirectly of experiencing a threat to the social texture. A few generations later, however, a new status, inexplicably tied to female burials, seems to emerge. Without more information about these contexts it remains open, however, whether this new status expression was one of an elevated female identity or an emphasis of family ties.

With no visible elite, the Lomellina was economically stable but obviously of little interest to Rome. Nevertheless, the Roman conquest also clearly impacted the economic foundation of the area, leading to a boost to local industries. Whilst many relationships appear to have remained the same (e.g. the east-west exchange along the Po and to some extent the trade along the Ticino), new connections were added. The traditions around funerary beds most probably arrived from Central Italy, where they seem to have been anchored in a status expression of local elites during periods of social changes. In addition, the Lomellina participated very actively in certain trades and industries that had only been developed after the Roman conquest: above all, in the production of glass vessels. Although it would be fatuous to speculate whether the Lomellina would have experienced this increased productivity without the Roman conquest anyway, it is not unreasonable to assert that the integration into the Roman empire probably increased opportunities for participation in wider Mediterranean networks. Against all reservations (i.e. our academic bias towards a positive evaluation of the Roman conquest born out of postcolonial scholarship and our knowledge of the 'ugliness' of Roman imperialism [Mattingly 2011: 22-26], as well as a scrutiny towards concepts of globalisation fostered by current *Zeitgeist*), we have to conclude that the published archaeological record of the Lomellina suggests that its communities – despite a slight loss of local identities – experienced a positive globalisation of their social and economic relationships.

A material visualisation of the Roman impact on the cultural capital of the Lomellina, however, remains largely elusive. The expansion of the Lomellina's economic networks and communication routes undoubtedly boosted knowledge exchange, and it is possible that the first imported funerary beds also communicated beliefs and ritual concepts: in particular, a notion of the afterlife as a blissful state reminiscent of a banquet or symposium – a concept that may have been already established in the Italian north-west as implied by dining and drinking sets as part of the mortuary assemblages. The interplay between regionally produced BGW and achromatic imitation ware with its retention of local traditions has highlighted an interdependence of cultural conservatism and economic proximity. This 'material bilingualism' expresses both an openness and flexibility but also a demand for new goods and a slight self-consciousness regarding local traditions (especially in comparison to the material

conservatism of the area around the southern half of Lake Maggiore). Despite this, the cultural identity of the Lomellina appears to have remained exceptionally stable – a strong sense of social cohesion and a maintenance of traditions characterise the funerary ritual. From the EIA and the period of Gallic migrations, when the incoming LT culture seemingly only brushed the Lomellina, to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, when the military conflicts of the Roman conquest (above all the 218 BC 'Battle of *Ticinus*') left no visible traces in the archaeological record, the communities of the Lomellina have provided a picture of cultural persistence.

Does this imply that nothing has happened? On the contrary. We have observed a variety of changes but as Häussler (Haeussler 2013) concludes in his study of north-west Italy, the Roman conquest caused no discontinuities in the cultural development of the respective regions. Changes were often endogenous developments that had started prior to the conquest but were accelerated in particular by the opening of economic and social markets through the globalising effect of Rome's expansionism. The communities largely embraced the new material culture made available, and we can thus observe a cultural Italianisation and Mediterraneanisation of the Lomellina. Whether this resulted in an Italian or even Roman identity remains questionable. Traditions were kept (e.g. the continuous preference for cremations) and new traditions were created. 'Becoming Roman' does not appear to have been one of them.

Nothing has happened? Almost three decades after the monuments in my neighbourhood sparked my fascination for the Romans, my love for archaeology remains. My identities, however, have changed – they evolved and matured, they were questioned and certainly show traces of discrepancy. They are based on my personal experiences, the heritage of my family, the decisions I made – my coming of age and my moving abroad. My identities have made me, and if anything I have become more Roman – Roman as I perceive it: open-minded and tolerant, determined and headstrong, opportunistic and with a love for good food, structure and concrete.

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General maps

Fig. I Map of *Ticinum* and the area north towards the Milanese. The small section of the south-western territory of the province of Pavia, clearly shows the contrast between the non-centuriated Lomellina along the right banks of the Ticino and the centuriated areas of the Pavese along the left banks (Storia di Pavia I 1984: 372-373 pl. II).
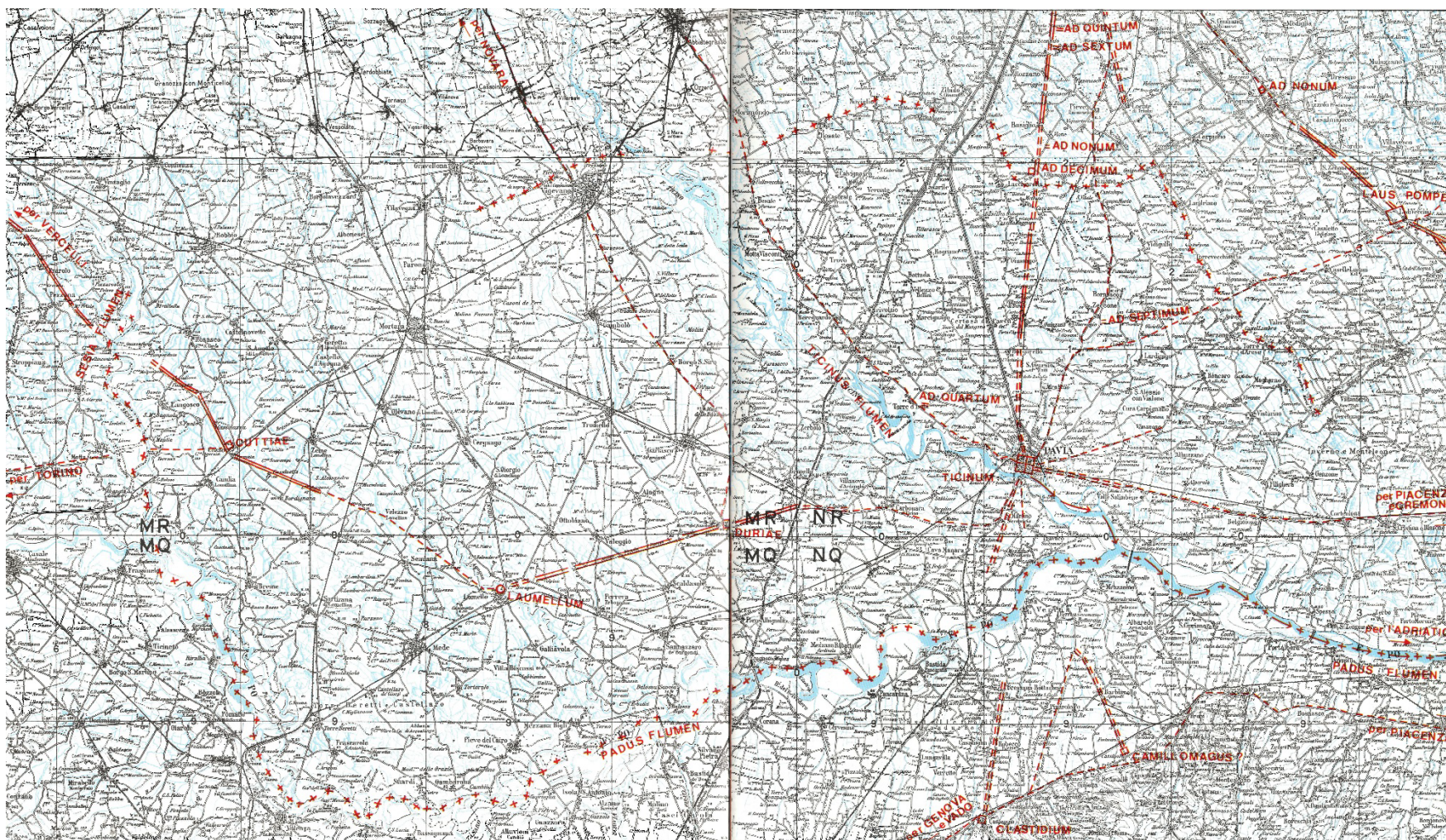
Fig. II Map of the ancient territory of *Ticinum*. The boundary is marked with a line of + and shows that the northern extent immediately north of Vigevano was further south than the modern northern boundary of the Lomellina. The map also shows the course of the Roman roads in and around the Lomellina including the crossroads at Cozzo-*Cuttiae* (Storia di Pavia I 1984: 370-371 pl. I).

Sites

Alagna Lomellina

Alagna Lomellina is situated close to the ancient road between Dorno-*Durriae* and Garlasco on the right bank of the river Ticino. The necropolis of *località* Cascina Guzza sat on the knoll of Dosso dei Fagioli/Dosso del Prete about 600 m west of the river. Until 1989 the *dosso* was planted with poplars; their removal probably damaged some of the burials in the area. Investigations by the Soprintendenza took place in May 1990 and recorded 10 mortuary contexts; only two of these were in a state worthy of excavation (Caporusso 1990). Therefore, the supplementary burials mentioned by Diani (1999 – contexts are numbered as GU-1 to GU-11) must have been excavated at a later date between 1990 and 1999. According to her debrief of the excavation diary, traces of 11 burials had been found. They had been largely destroyed, although a reconstruction of some assemblages was possible.

The necropolis seems to have spread in a north-south direction, with the peripheral tombs in 0.60-1 m depth below surface ground, and the central graves – due to their location on the hilltop – being significantly shallower and thus more endangered. A spatial analysis revealed that graves PV_ALA_cGuz_001-003 in the northern part of the necropolis formed a group. The burials were complemented by stray finds – remains of pre- or post-interment rituals around the graves or objects dislocated either in antiquity or modern times – comprising mainly various pottery and glass fragments as well as large nails that could have belonged to funerary beds. PV_ALA_cGuz_005 (south-west of aforementioned group) and 006 (from the northern part of the investigated area) appear to have been the oldest burials of the necropolis. Without a plan of the necropolis, a spatial hierarchy, however, remains speculative.

All contexts were classified as cremation contexts with some of them identified as *ustrina* (e.g. PV_ALA_cGuz_009-010). Diani notes that according to Caporusso's preliminary report the layers of burned material were relatively compact. Therefore, it seems likely that cremations were conducted *in situ* (i.e. direct cremation); the surrounding soil, however, showed no traces of heat impact – a phenomenon common for cremations as modern experiments demonstrated (see IV.2.1.1.). The grave-pits of roughly rectangular and comparatively large shape yielded no evidence of intercutting nor grave markers. Two, maybe three, tombs appear to have been indirect cremations. The assemblages were deposited in a tile box (*'a cassetta'*; PV_ALA_cGuz_003-004 and 008; see IV.2.3.).

Following page: Fig. III Map of Alagna Lomellina, *località* Cascina Guzza. GIS basemap with superimposed map Diani 1999: pl. XXXV fig. 1. The basemap includes the north-west corner of Dorno (bottom right).
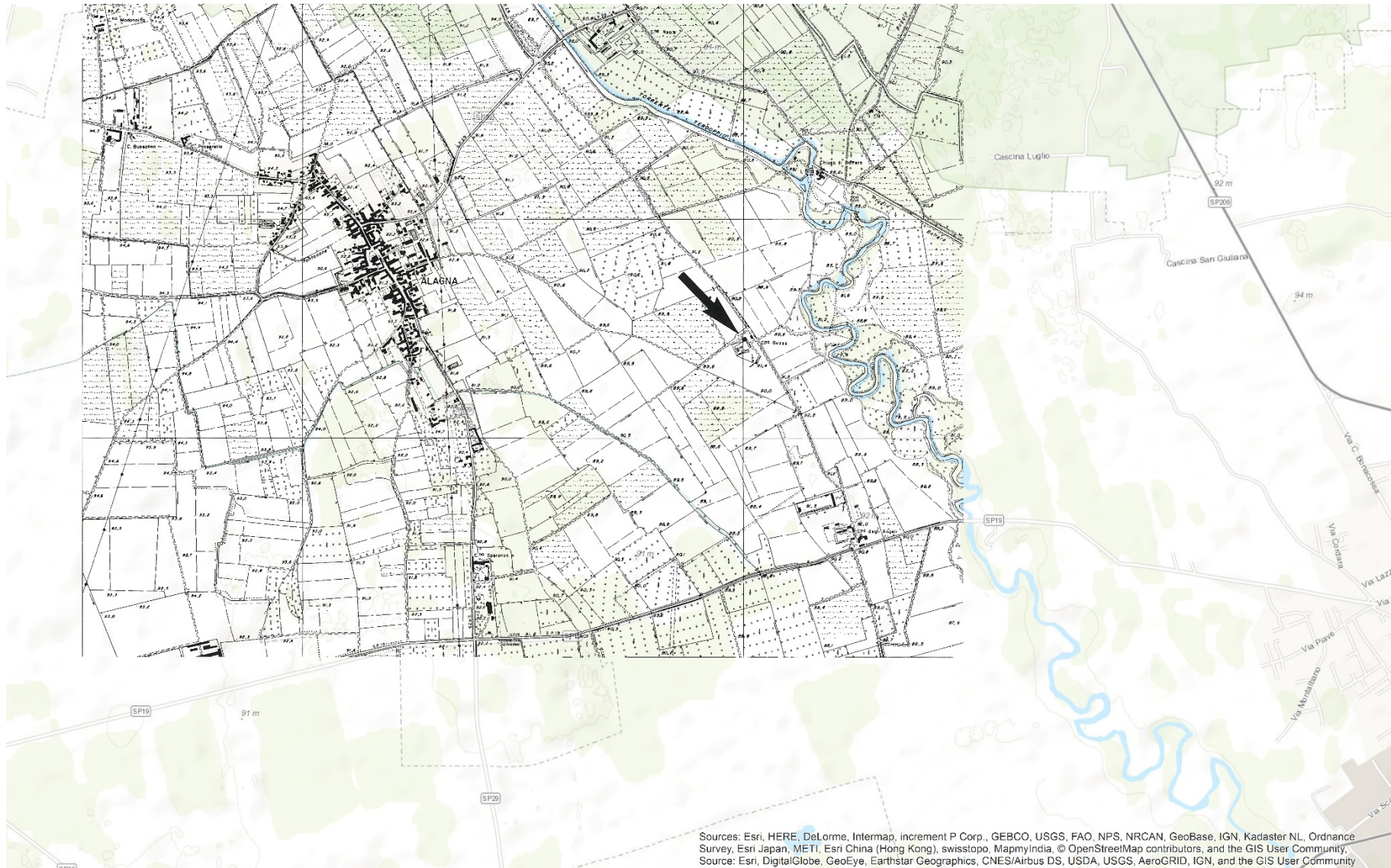
The burial rites are characterised by frequent evidence of double deposition with a primary deposition of artefacts on the pyre (evidenced by traces of exposure to heat) and a secondary deposition in the grave-pit. Diani's debrief of the excavation diary highlights the significance of systematic excavations and recording – in contrast to the majority of archaeological investigations that had been carried out in the Lomellina, those of Cascina Guzza did not only provide evidence for double depositions, but Diani could also show that those items that had not been deposited on the pyre were those of greater value.

In an area corresponding with PV_ALA_cGuz_006 an abundance of mainly fragmented objects was found, thus strengthening the identification of the context as *ustrinum.* The recovered artefacts, including two handles of very rare bronze vessels, were dated between the end of LT D and the Augustan period, and point towards a relatively short period or even an one-off use for the *ustrinum*. The most outstanding and undisturbed assemblage, however, belongs to PV_ ALA_cGuz_004 (Caporusso 1990 – without grave number; Diani 1999).

The grave good assemblages were characterised by chronological homogeneity. Although additional contemporary or chronologically differing sectors of the necropolis, which have not been excavated yet, cannot be excluded, Diani notes that the chronological frame (Augustan period to beginning 2nd century AD) is well documented throughout the Lomellina. Regarding the 'cultural character' of the material represented at Cascina Guzza, she argues that some of the burials – although already 'Romanised' (i.e. with TS and blown glass vessels) – still included items of 'Celtic tradition' such as *vasi a trottola*, small globular jars and carinated bowls (Diani 1999).

Dorno

See IV.1.1.2.

Gambolò

See IV.1.1.1.

Garlasco

See IV.1.1.3.
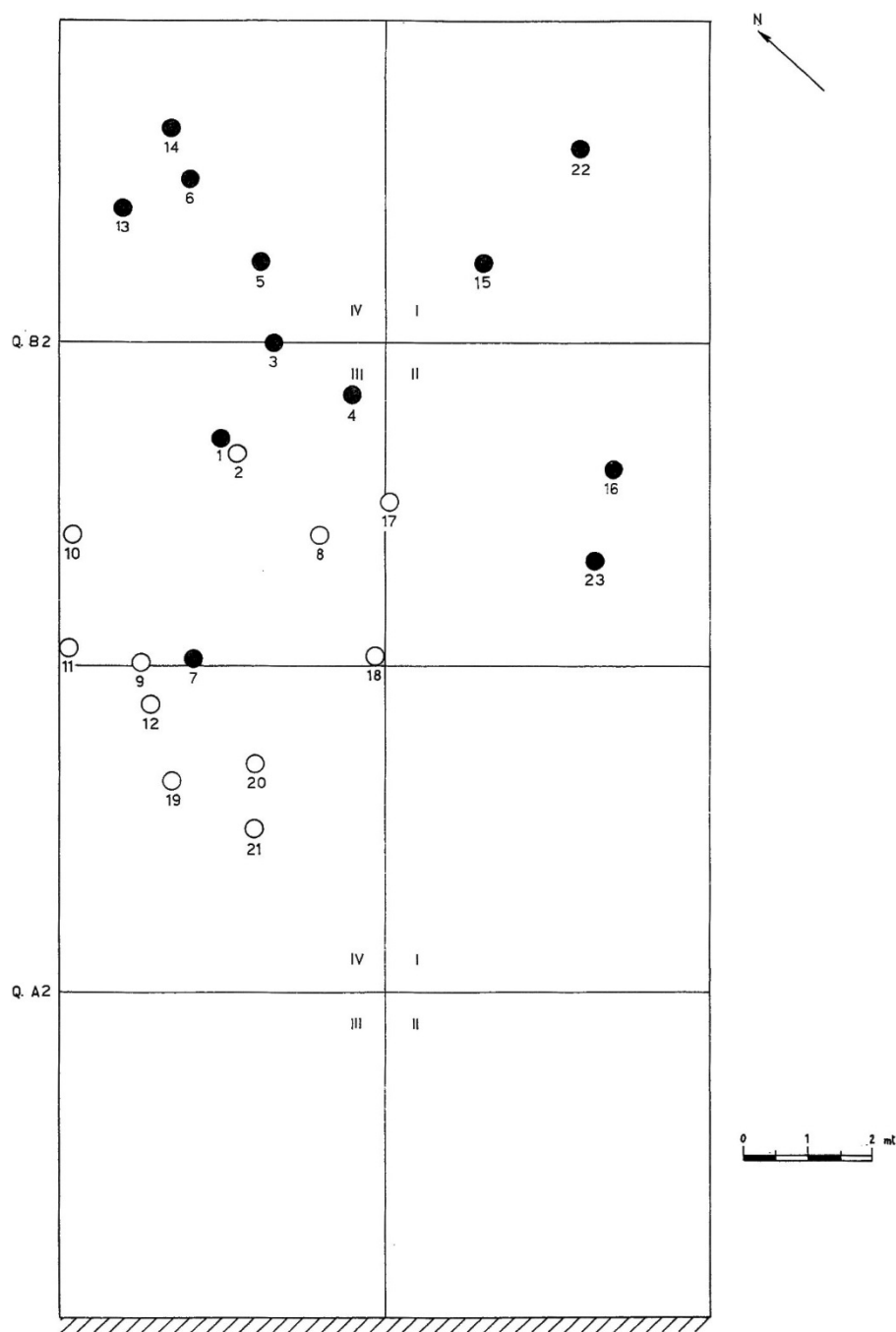
Fig. IV Contexts PV_GAR_MdB_036-062 excavated in 1974 at Garlasco, *frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole. ○ contexts of the 1st century AD; ● contexts of the 2nd century AD. Vannacci Lunazzi 1983d: 33 pl. I.

Gropello Cairoli

See IV.1.1.2.
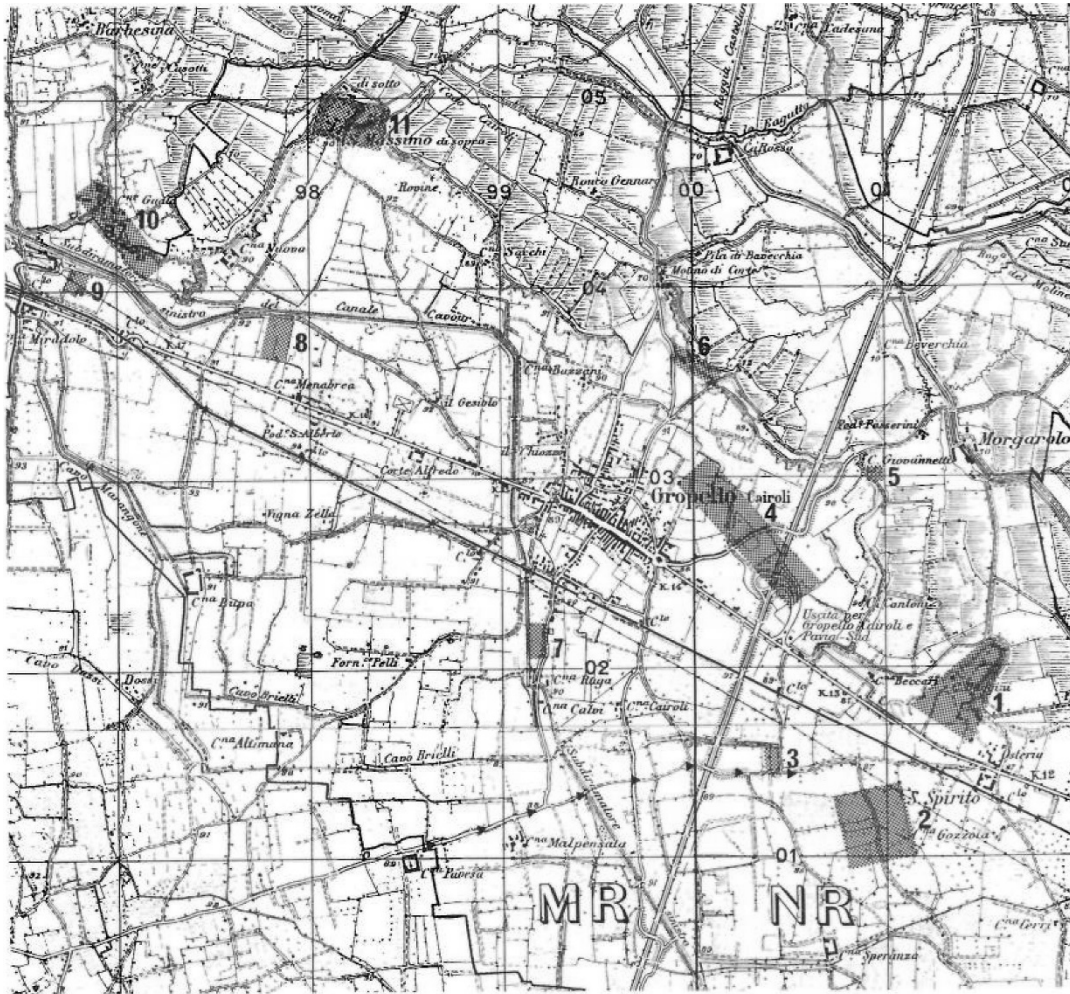
Fig. V Map of the archaeological sites around Gropello Cairoli published in Macchioro 1991: 360 fig. 1 and Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 138 fig. 1. The numbers correspond to those used in IV.1.1.2 fig. 18.

1) *località* Santo Spirito; see Fig. VIII
2) *località* Marone-Voghera; see Fig. XFig. *XI*
3) *dosso* del Maronin, proprietà Panzarasa
4) *località* Castagnevo, vigna Sassi/Garaldi/Cristiani
5) Podere Panzarasa with kiln site
6) Costone, vigna Gilardoni with BA material
7) *dosso* close to Canale Cavour with remains of a settlement
8) *località* Cascina Menabrea, vigna Marabelli; see Figs Fig. XIIFig. XIV
9) *località* Cascina Miradolo
10) *località* Cascina Guala
11) *località* S. Massimo
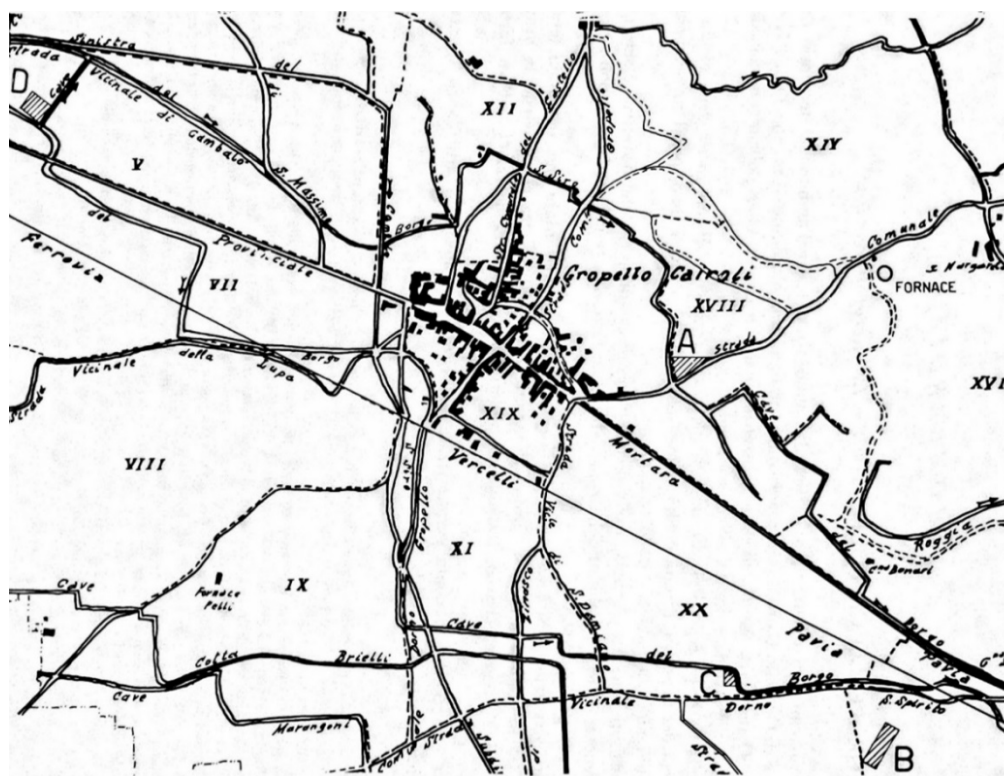
Fig. VI Archaeological zones A-B as published in Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 6 fig. 1.
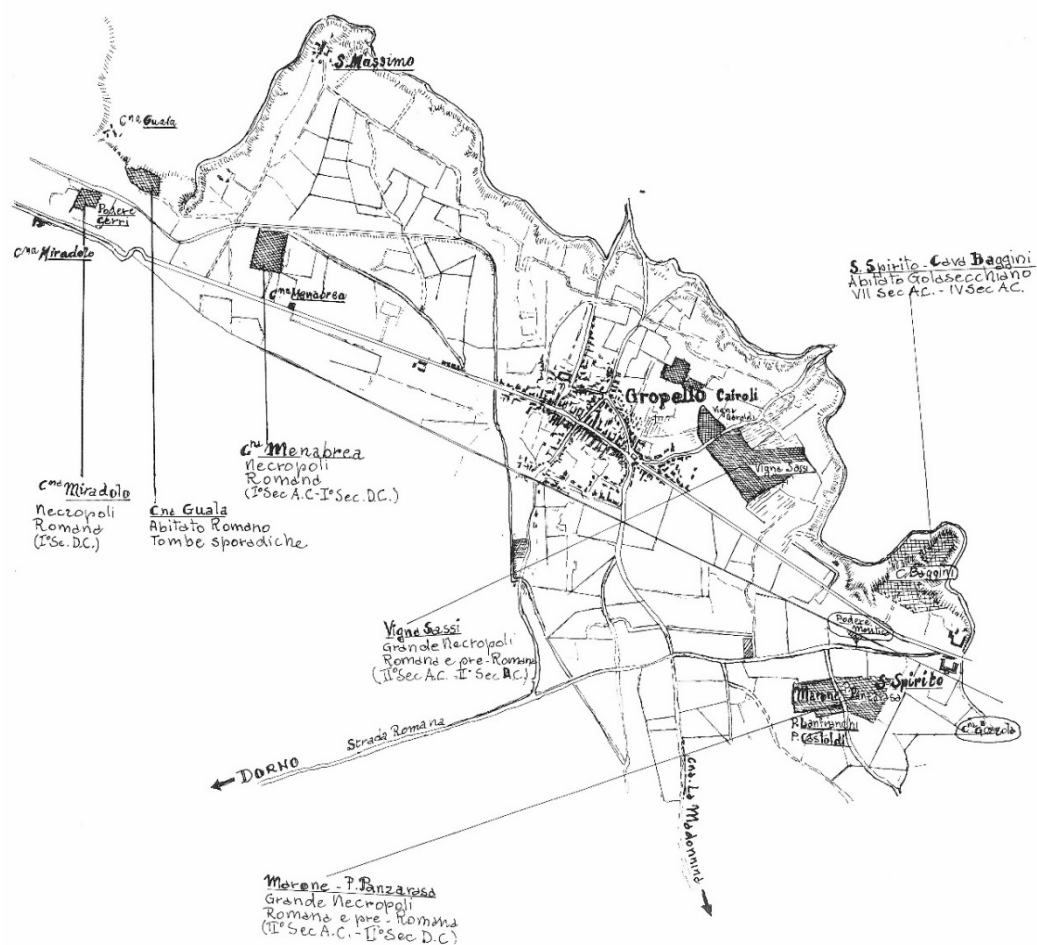
Fig. VII Map of the archaeological sites around Gropello Cairoli published in Repetto and Repetto 1980: 2.

Fig. VIII Map of Gropello Cairoli, *località* Santo Spirito with index of proprietors (Ruffa 2008: 121 pl. 2). The location of Podere Panzarasa and Vigna Castoldi does not coincide with the mortuary sites of the same names.
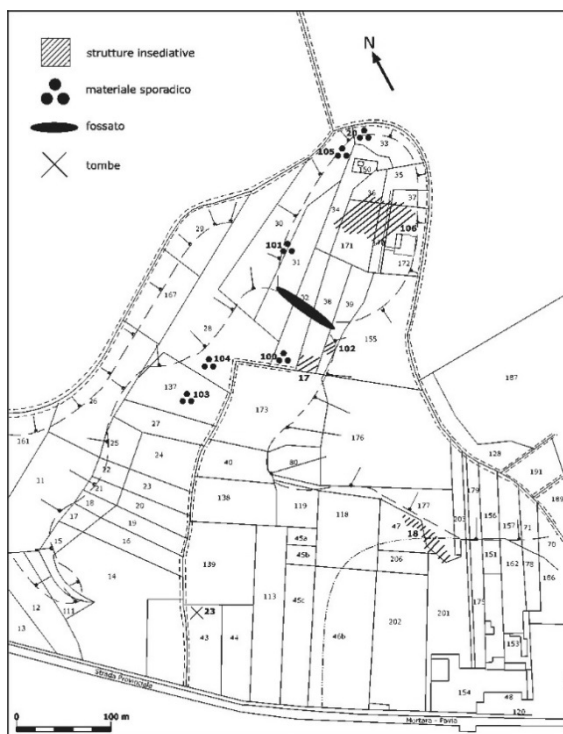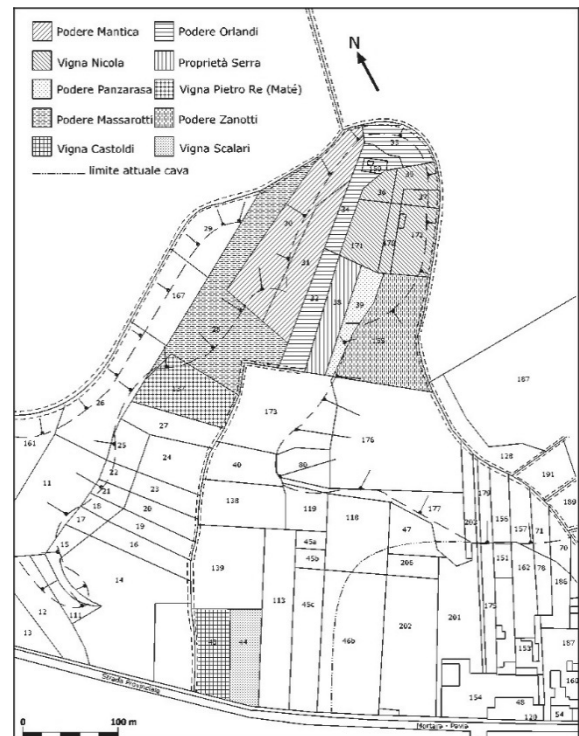
Fig. IX Map of Gropello Cairoli, *località* Santo Spirito with index of main finds and features (Ruffa 2008: 122 pl. 4).

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Fig. X Area excavated at at Gropello Cairoli, *località* Marone-Voghera. The numbers refer to *boschetto* Panzarasa (1), *dosso* Lanfranchi (2), the sites Podere Lanfranchi and Podere Castoldi (3) as well as Podere Panzarasa/Pagani (4. Macchioro 1991: fig. 5).
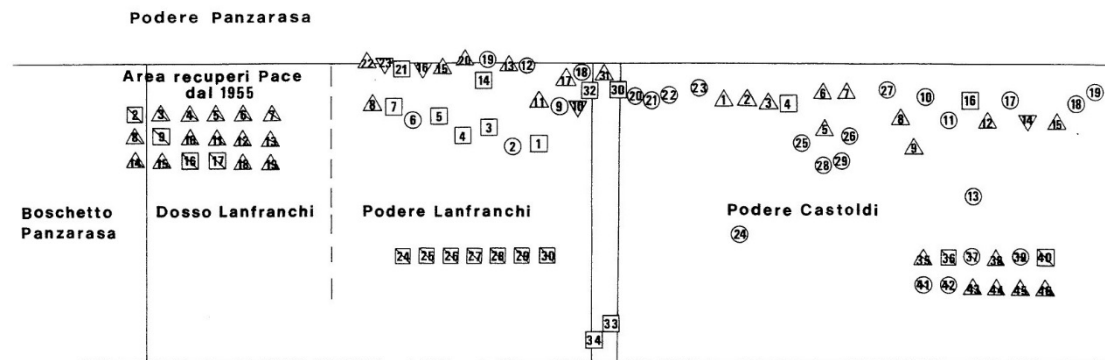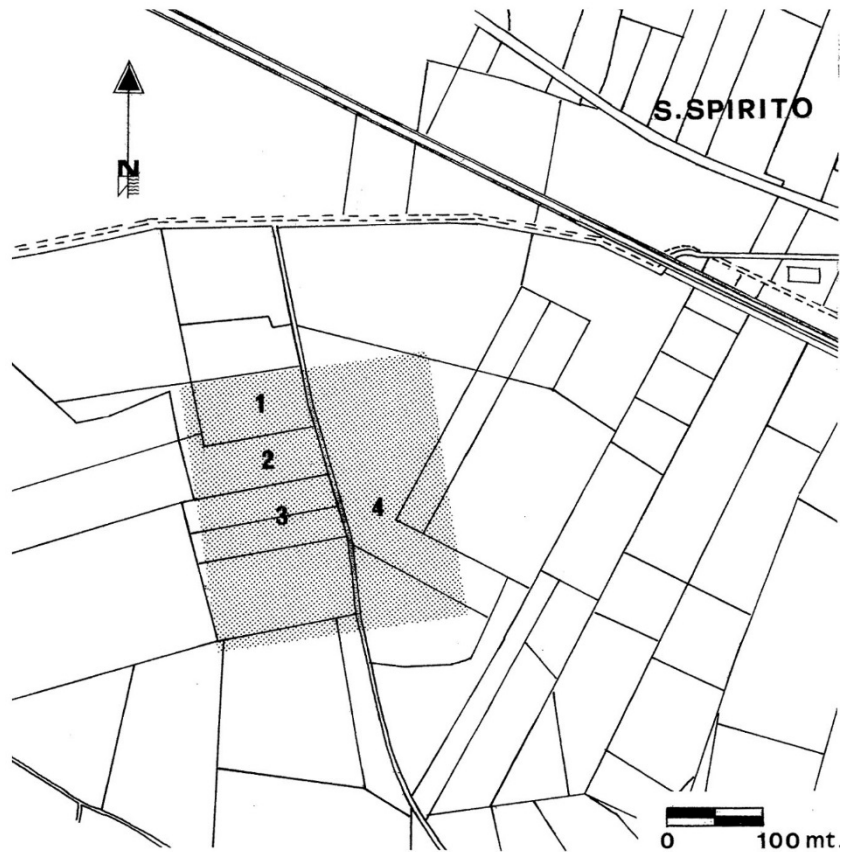
Fig. XI Reconstructed spatial hierarchy of Gropello Cairoli, *località* Marone-Voghera. Machioro Malnati's considerations are based on archivial material and Fortunati Zuccala 1979. The numbers correspond with the tomb's initial inventory number. The diagonal line indicates contexts, which were impossible to locate (Macchioro Malnati 1991: fig. 6).

○   uncertain chronology or no assemblage
□   LT burials
△   Augustan-Tiberian burials
▽   Claudian-Neronian and Flavian burials

AREA DEI RINVENIMENTI 1978-79

AREA DEI RINVENIMENTI ANNI '50 E 1966

GROPELLO CAIROLI
FG. 5

0   40mt.
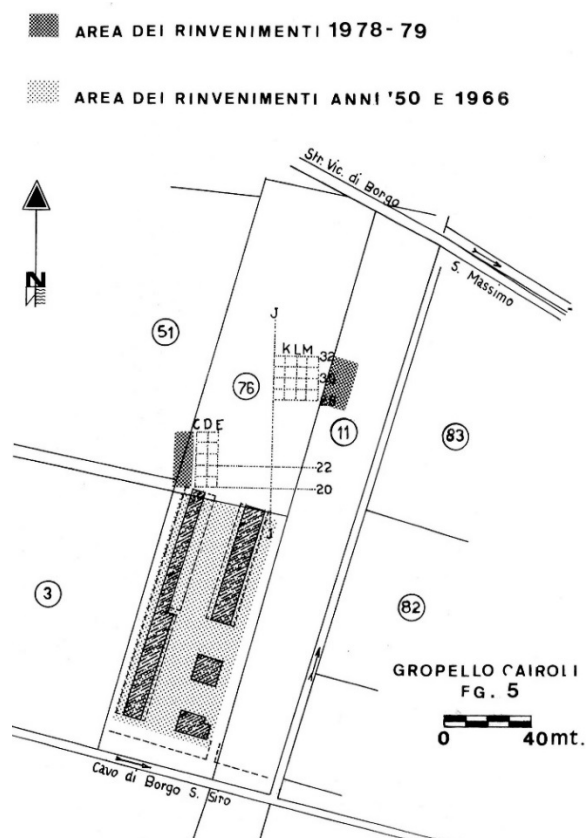
Fig. XII Areas excavated during the 1950s up to 1966 and in 1978-1979 at Gropello Cairoli, *località* Cascina Menabrea. Areas CDE and KLM in the centre were excavated in 1981 and correspond with PV_GRC_lMen_042-083 (see Fig. XIV. Macchioro 1991: fig. 9).

0   2 mt.
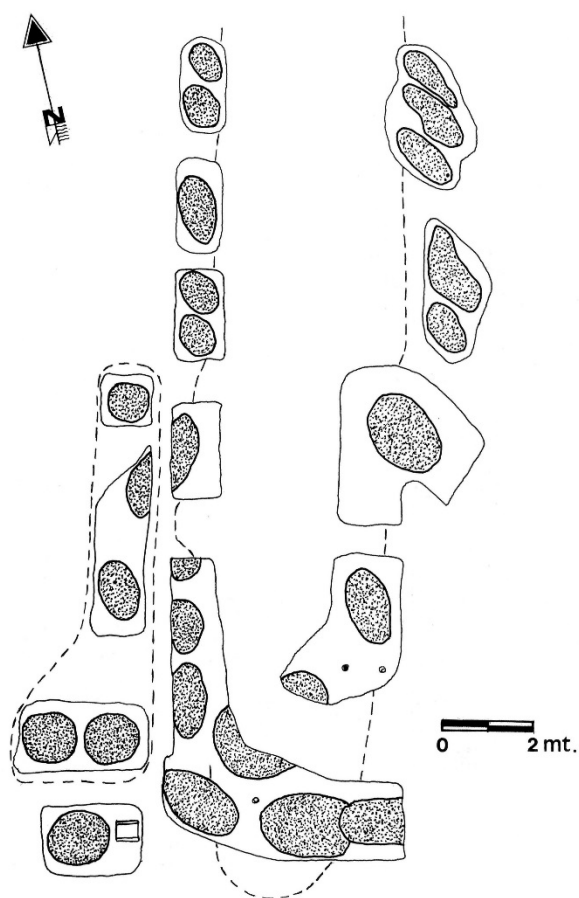
Fig. XIII Contexts excavated in 1978 Gropello Cairoli, *località* Cascina Menabrea, to west of area CDE (see Fig. XII. Macchioro 1991: fig. 8 after a drawing by Repetto).
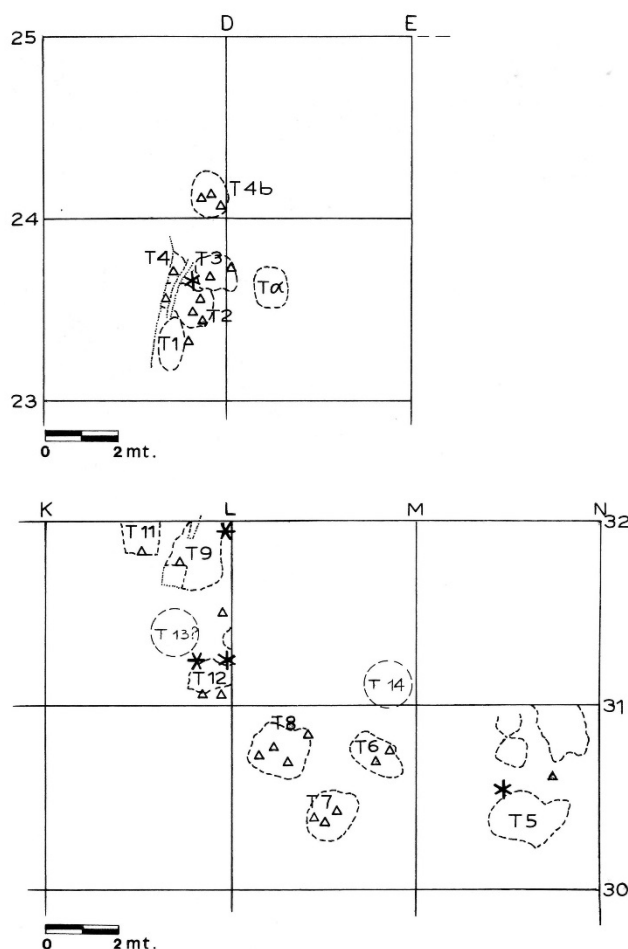
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Lomello

Lomello is situated on an elliptical *dosso* rising 4-5 m above the course of the Agogna. The river was navigable at least up to Lomello during the Roman period and allowed direct access to the fluvial trade network of north-west Italy (Tozzi 2002: 21). Settlement activity – as evidenced by sporadic finds and recent excavations – may have commenced as early as the 6th century BC (Paltineri 2014: 31).

Although, Lomello has been mentioned in various ancient itineraries (e.g. the *Tabula Peutingeriana*), it is doubtful that the settlement was classified as a town or *civitas.* The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* classified Lomello-*Laumellum* as *mansio*. Its importance is highlighted by the indecision whether the name 'Lomello' derives from 'Lomellina' or whether the district was named after the settlement (Tozzi 2002: 17-21. 23; cf. Vannacci Lunazzi 1975a: 61). Gabba (1984a: 20) discussed the possibility of tracing the name back to '*Laevo-mellum*' and thus the indigenous population of the Lomellina.

The necropolis of *località* Cascina S. Giovanni Doria was discovered during the 1950s. Only a small group of contexts, however, could be recovered thanks to the intervention of Antonio Strada (published in Strada 1957). Further finds were made in

1973 and 1976; systematic recovery, however, hardly took place, for example in September 1976 (PV_LOM_cSGD_001), emphasising the significance of this cemetery dated to the LIA (Vannacci Lunnazzi 1979a: 91; 1981a: 272-273; Invernizzi 2002: 65).

Mortara

The area around Mortara is generally rich in mortuary archaeology. Its record, however, is largely lost. Thus, the results of the comparatively recent excavations at *località* Cascina Medaglia between 1991 and 1992 could play an important role in the investigation of the northern Lomellina. Regrettably, the excavations remained largely unpublished. Thus, a LT III burial with modest grave goods comprising two plates (*patere*) and a jar mentioned by Simone (1991) without further references cannot be catalogued here as concurrence with other graves cannot be ruled out. Invernizzi (1992-1993b; 1999) alludes to 90 cremation contexts that had been found in 1991-1992. These were found in addition to previous discoveries; the total number of LT and early Roman burials found in Mortara, however, remains unclear.

The rescue excavations at Cascina Medaglia by the Associazione Archeologica Lomellina had to adhere to the agricultural schedule. Furthermore, contexts were only be partially recovered as many had already been lost due to their shallow depth of only 20-60 cm below modern ground surface. A spatial hierarchy of chronological groups appears to have emerged; detailed information, however, is missing.

All burials have been classified as cremations, laid out either in *nuda terra* with the assemblage deposited along the edges of or next to the *macchia carboniosa* or '*a cassetta*'. About one quarter of these were classified as completely preserved. LT D pottery points towards an initial use as burial ground during the second half of the 1st century BC, stretching until the mid-2nd century AD. A peak period was identified between the Augustan period and the second half of the 1st century AD. The material spectrum of mortuary goods is described as common for the Lomellina, with none of the burials classified as particularly rich. An analysis of the surrounding area revealed numerous bone fragments of at least two funerary beds (see V.5.3.1). The fragments showed clear traces of burning, and thus strengthen the assumption that funerary beds were used to lay out the corpse on the pyre. In addition, such funerary beds are interpreted as evidence of closer cultural links between the local elite and the Roman dominated territories (Simone 1991; Invernizzi 1992-1993b; 1999).

Ottobiano

See IV.1.1.4.
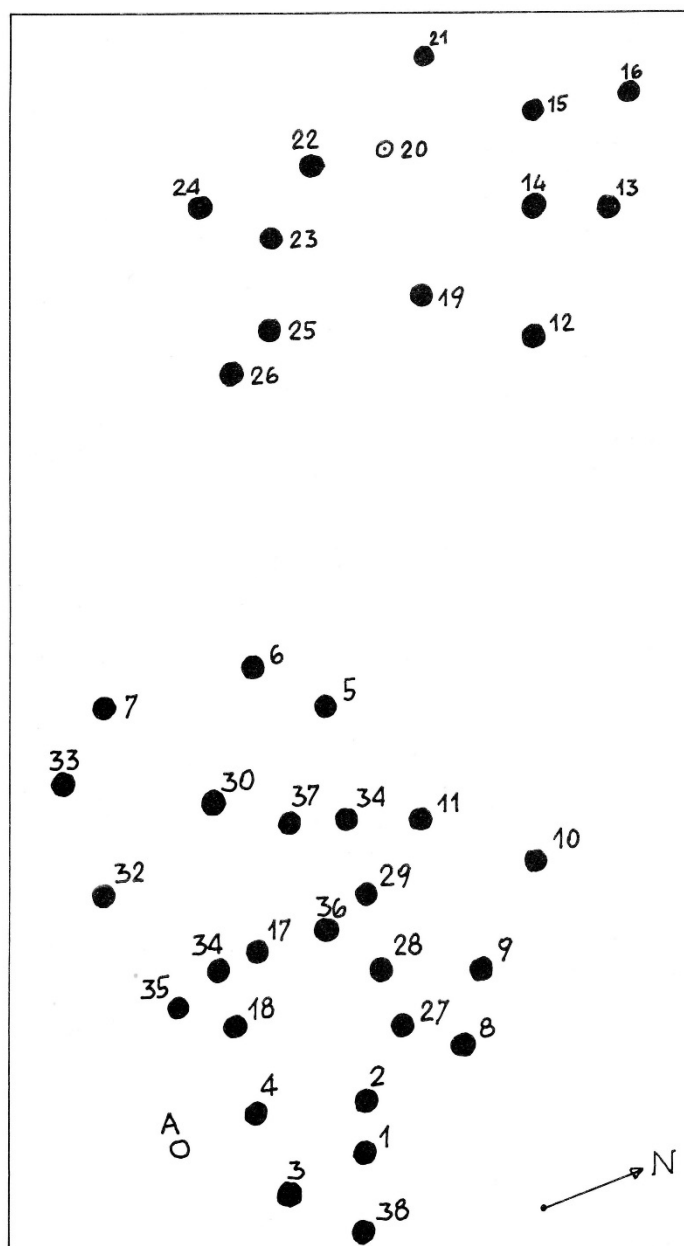
Fig. XV Spatial distribution of mortuary contexts at Ottobiano, *località* Cascina Rotorta (Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: pl. III).

Tromello

The commune of Tromello, between Garlasco and Mortara, has been flanked by two cemetery sites: *località* Cascina Negrina to the west of the modern settlement and *località* Stremiana to its south-west. Comparable to Mortara, investigations into the mortuary evidence were conducted relatively late.

Twenty-one burials had been excavated at Cascina Negrina in 1992-1993, followed by another 25 in 1997-1998. They range between LT III and the mid-1st century AD. Investigations in 1992-1993 followed poplar plantation works and revealed 21 burials with rectangular or ovoid *macchia carboniosa.* Although no damage due to agricultural work was recorded, burials showed evidence of looting. The documented assemblages and cremated remains had been buried in *nuda terra*, with all artefacts revealing traces of exposure to heat and thus fragmented. The modest assemblages comprised a range of objects typical for the Lomellina between LT D and the mid-1st century AD including terracotta appliqués from funerary beds and one northern Italian TS bowl.

Excavations in 1997-1998 followed agricultural work and revealed a small group of 25 contexts largely damaged through agricultural work or looting only 0.5-1 m below modern ground surface. The burials were classified as direct and indirect cremations of primarily the early Principate. Only one burial was dated to LT III, the remaining ones to either the Augustan or Julio-Claudian period. Dating was complicated by the scarceness of artefacts with only a small number of assemblages deposited in or next to the *macchia carboniosa.* 3rd-4th century AD coins indicate later frequentation of the site (Invernizzi 1992-1993c; 1998a and 1998b).

Burials from *località* Cascina Stremiana were first published in 1983 (Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 242); Frontini (1985: 142) located the site erroneously within the boundaries of the commune of Garlasco. The exact date of excavation and number of investigated contexts has not been published.

As far as the excavations can be reconstructed, the cemetery had been found south-west of Tromello and comprised several burials. The highly dispersed and fragmented grave goods such as BGW, glass and ceramic *balsamaria* (e.g. Haltern 31) as well as figurines and appliqués in terracotta date to the early Principate as attested by a probably Augustan coin (Frontini 1985: 142).

Vannacci Lunazzi (1983b: 242) lists finds of BGW, Lamboglia 7/16 for tombs 1, 2 and 3. Her subsequent publication mentions a tomb ST-3; it remains, however, uncertain whether this tomb ST-3 is equal to tomb 3 from the previous reference (Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 55 n. 16; 60 n. 27).

Valeggio Lomellina

See IV.1.1.4.
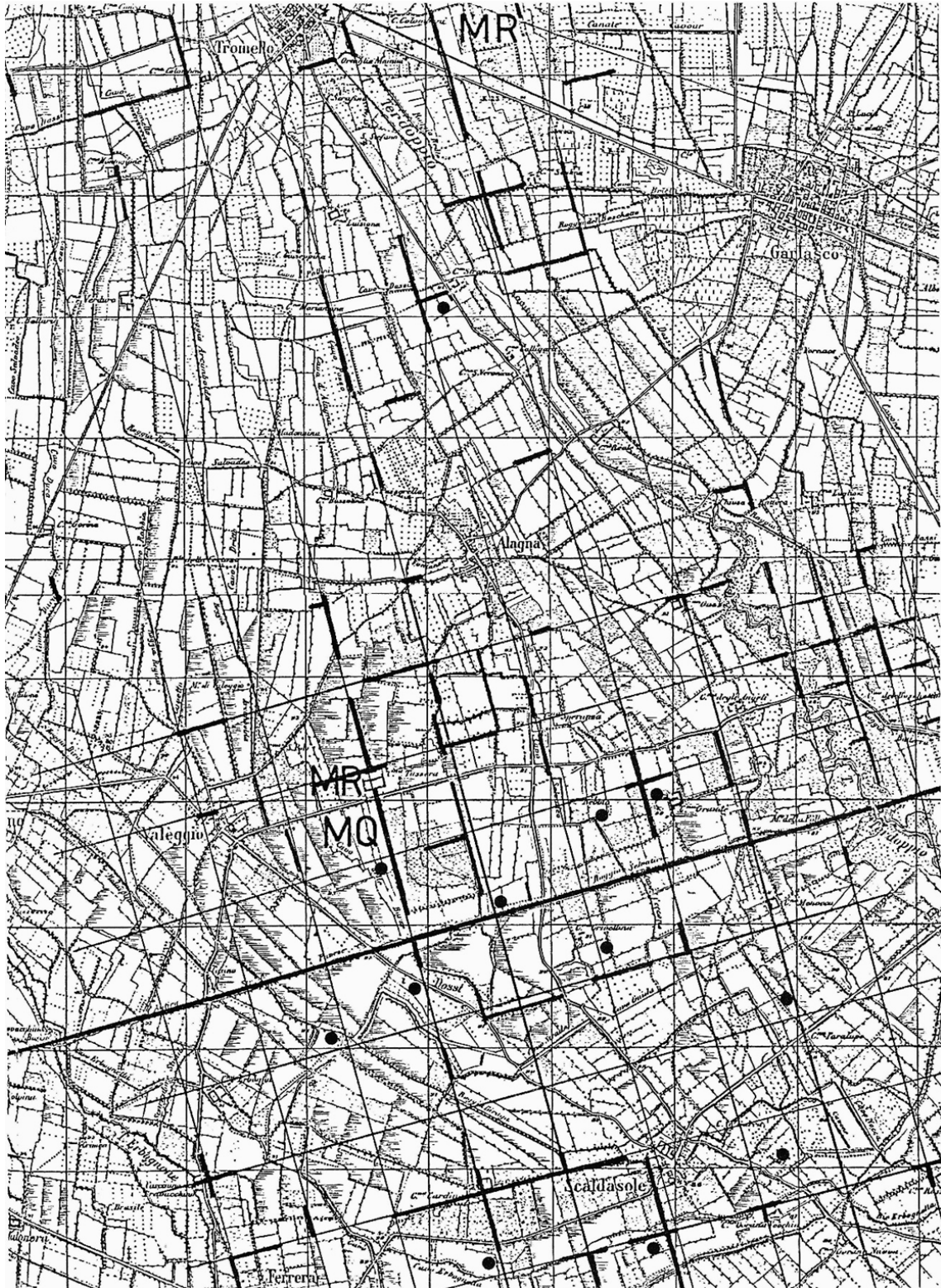
Fig. XVI Surroundings of Valeggio Lomellina, Scaldasole and Alagna Lomellina. Papetti (1987: 55 fig. 14) suggests that some of the visible field structures are traces left by *centuriation*.

Vigevano

The finds from *frazione* Morsella close to Vigevano comprise an unspecified number of Julio-Claudian tombs (> 12) that belonged to a necropolis, which prior to its excavation in 1972 had been damaged through ploughing. The site was discovered due to agricultural levelling work but the following excavations were hindered by grave robbers who partially plundered the graves. The excavators noticed a preference of cremation tombs '*a cassetta*' following indirect cremation and direct cremations in *nuda terra* (Roffia 1979: 110; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986c; Diani 1992; Invernizzi 2002: 68)*. According to Diani (1999: 163 n. 6) the site yielded evidence for double deposition (*duplice deposizione*). Only one burial with a *t.p.q.* of AD 42 has been published (Invernizzi 1998b: 26-27; 2002: 68).

Material from *località* La Sforzesca had been donated to the Museo di Novara in 1878; records of the excavation or regarding the mortuary contexts, however, do not exist (Frontini 1985: 33 for a BGW *kylix* Lamboglia 28; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986c).

Zinasco

A rich Tiberian assemblage and several probably Late Antique inhumations '*a cassetta*' were excavated at Cascina Madonnina during the 1950s (Invernizzi 2002: 65).

II.   Catalogue of mortuary contexts in alphabetical order

The catalogue of mortuary contexts has been compiled in alphabetical order; each context has a unique ID consisting of the province's registration code_the first three letters of the commune's name_an abbreviated site name_a consecutive number. Where possible this number reflects the inventory number of the context given by its first publisher: e.g. PV_ALA_cGuz_001 (province of Pavia_Alagna Lomellina_*località* Cascina Guzza_001) has been published as GU-1. Where known, this (or all) original inventory number/reference is included in []. Grave IDs marked with an asterisk (e.g. *PV_ALA_cGuz_001) indicate that the mortuary record has been classified as complete.

Mortuary goods are grouped according to the entities used for the database: vessels and containers, items of dress and jewellery, personal belongings, weapons and tools, varia. Coins, oil lamps and evidence for funerary beds are listed as varia. In a hierarchical order these categories reflect various stages of social significance. Vessels and containers are the most common and quantitatively most significant artefacts; a direct ownership of the deceased cannot be verified, however, they are generally interpreted as a representation of individual wealth. Items of dress and jewellery were probably attached to the shroud or positioned on the corpse; they are probably the most personal objects in the grave and could even reflect personal taste. Personal belongings comprise largely of toilet utensils such as mirrors and perfume bottles, *balsamaria*. Although the latter might have been used during the funerary rituals (i.e. of similar significance as coins, oil lamps or funerary beds), they are linked to the sphere of personal appearance and grooming. Thus it cannot be excluded that they represented the individual tastes of the deceased. A distinction between weapons and tools can be complicated, especially in the case of knives that are frequently also classified as 'battle knives'. Shears, especially those of smaller size (i.e. scissors), could also have been part of a toilet set. Both, weaponry and tools, reflect a social identity between private and public: in their function as status symbols they represent the individual's place within society; as a means of defence and/or production they were utilised for the common good. Thus, the display of weapons and tools in the course of the funerary would have communicated a strong message about who the deceased was, and what they did for the community. According to numerous studies on IA and provincial Roman mortuary assemblages, coins and oil lamps were of ritual significance, facilitating the *chthonic* journey, and thus of similar function as funerary beds (see V.5.1 and 2). As these hypotheses cannot be entirely verified, they are here listed as varia.

Where museum inventory numbers for the artefacts are known, these are given in (). The same applies to the material and typological classification of an object: e.g. plate (Inv. 93563: TS, Drag. 17). Vessels were grouped into ceramics, glass and other materials; within each material class they were ordered from liquid containers, flat

open shapes (i.e. plates and pans), raised open shapes (i.e. bowls and cups, also beakers if distinguishable) to open and closed jars (i.e. *olle* and *ollette*). A detailed material classification is only given for vessels of fine ware (e.g. BGW [= Black-gloss ware], TS [= Terra Sigillata] and *ceramica depurata/semi-depurata*).

Figures in the catalogue are listed with Roman numbers and highlighted: e.g. *Fig. I*.

Alagna Lomellina, *località* Cascina Guzza

- Documented contexts: 21?; excavated contexts: 11; published contexts: 11
- Contexts classified as complete: 6; contexts classified as incomplete: 5
- Chronological range: end of 1st century BC to beginning 2nd century AD
- Indirect cremations and undefinable mortuary contexts; ALA_cGuz_006 has been identified as probably the site of a pyre used for several cremations.

*PV_ALA_cGuz_001 [GU-1]: indirect cremation with *ustrinum*; possible double deposition.

Artefacts were found in three areas of the grave: in the pit (Inv. 93563), mixed with the *macchia carboniosa* of the *ustrinum* (nails, fragments of glass and pottery), and in an area west of the grave (TS, BGW and other ceramics). **1st century AD**/Tiberian (TS plate); no gender identification.

≥ 17 vessels: 1 *olpe*?, 8-9 plates (Inv. 93563: TS Drag. 17?; 93575 TS Ritterling 1; various forms of BGW including Lamboglia 5 or 5/7, 6 and 7/16), ≥ 3 pans (red-centred BGW Goudineau 3; grey ware/*ceramica semi-depurata*), 1 bowl (grey ware/*ceramica semi-depurata*), 3-4 *olle* and/or *ollette* (grey ware/*ceramica semi-depurata*), further undefinable ceramics; fragments of blue glass (undefined).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 decorative nail most likely from shoes.

≥ 2 personal belongings: ≥ 2 *balsamaria* (glass, blue, globular; further *balsamaria* undefinable due to deposition on pyre).

Varia: 1 nail (iron, probably from funerary bed).

Diani 1999: 166-167 figs 10-11.

*PV_ALA_cGuz_002 [GU-2]: cremation.

All artefacts were found within the grave. **Mid-1st century AD** (TS plate); no gender identification.

2 vessels: 1 *olpe* (*ceramica depurata*), 1 plate (Inv. 93565: TS Drag. 17B).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 finger ring with setting (Inv. 93564: iron and glass paste, Guiraud 2b var).

1 personal belonging: 1 *balsamaria* or stirring rod (glass, undefinable due to deposition on pyre).

Varia: 1 oil lamp, 2 large nails (iron, probably from funerary bed), 1 clasp (iron, L-shaped, probably from a small wooden box).

Diani 1999: 167 figs 12-13.

*PV_ALA_cGuz_003 [GU-3]: indirect cremation '*a cassetta*' (?) with *ustrinum*, deposition of cremated remains in *olla*; possible double deposition with duplication of *olpai* and oil lamps.

Artefacts were found in two areas of the grave: in the pit (Inv. 93553-93560) and mixed with the *macchia carboniosa* of the *ustrinum* (Inv. 93561, 93562, 93576, clasp and *tegame*). **Mid-1ˢᵗ century AD**/Tiberian; *t.p.q.* **15-16 AD**; no gender identification.

7 vessels: 2 *olpai* (Inv. 93559-93560: *ceramica depurata*, Angera 1), 3 cups (Inv. 93558: *ceramica depurata*, Ricci 2/409; 93562, 93576: *ceramica depurata*, Mayet XXXVII/Ricci 2/216), 1 *olla* (Inv. 93553: grey ware, Angera A var.), fragments from further *olla* or pan-*tegame* (*ceramica depurata*).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 fragmented nail most likely from shoes.

≥ 3 personal belongings: ≥ 2 *balsamaria* (Inv. 93561: glass, pear-shaped – Isings 6?; further fragments undefinable due to deposition on pyre), 1 mirror (Inv. 93555: silver plated bronze).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 93554: Tiberian/15-16 AD), 2 oil lamps (Inv. 93556: pear-shaped; 93557: '*a volute*'), 1 clasp (iron).

Diani 1999: 168-170 figs 14-22. *– Fig. XXX*

*PV_ALA_cGuz_004 [GU-4]: indirect cremation '*a cassetta*' with *ustrinum*, deposition of cremated remains and finger ring in bowl (the coin was found very close to the bowl and might have been originally placed inside); possible double deposition. The grave seems to be one of two that could already have been excavated in 1990 (see p. 301) in the southern part of the investigated area; undamaged with complete grave good assemblage.

Artefacts were found in two areas of the grave: in the pit/inside the tile box (Inv. 93529, 93531-93550), mixed with the *macchia carboniosa* of the *ustrinum* (Inv. 93551-93552 and clasps). **End of 1ˢᵗ century BC – beginning 1ˢᵗ century AD** / Augustan; female (finger ring and large number of glass *balsamaria*).

8 vessels: 2 *olpai* (Inv. 93533: *ceramica depurata*, Angera 2B var.; 93552: *ceramica depurata*), 2 plates (Inv. 93531: red-centred BGW, Lamboglia 7/16; 93532: TS Drag.

17A), 1 bowl (Inv. 93529: grey ware), 1 cup (Inv. 93530: TS; *Sariusschale*/Atlante 13D, var. A), 1 beaker (Inv. 93536: fine ware, '*a tulipano*', Mayet VIII/Ricci 1/186), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 93534: *ceramica depurata*, Angera A).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 finger ring (Inv. 93537: iron and glass paste, Guiraud 1b var.), numerous small iron nails most likely from shoes.

≥ 12 personal belongings: ≥ 12 glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 93539-93550: Is. 6 and Is. 6 var.; numerous further fragments of Is. 6, fused and molten due to deposition on pyre).

Varia: 1 as (Augustan/19 BC – AD 12; probably 17 BC), 1 oil lamp (Inv. 93535: *Herzblattlampe*/Buchi B.I.a.3), 2 clasps (iron).

Diani 1999: 165. 170-173 figs 7-8. 23-33. *– Fig. XXXI-XXXII*

*PV_ALA_cGuz_005 [GU-5]: indirect cremation with *ustrinum*; located slightly to the south-west of the previous grave.

All artefacts were found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa* of the *ustrinum*. **Second half 1st century BC – beginning 1st century AD**/LT III – Augustan; no gender identification.

7-8 vessels: 1 *olpe*?, 3-4 plates (BGW, Lamboglia 5; further plates in BGW, some red-centred, undefinable), 1 pan-*tegame* (red-centred BGW), 1 bowl (Inv. 93566: BGW, Lamboglia 28-Morel 2654), 1 *olla*.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch? (bronze, Pavese?).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 93567).

Diani 1999: 165. 174 figs 4. 34-35. *– Fig. XXXIII*

*PV_ALA_cGuz_006 [GU-6]: excavated within the northern zone of the investigated area.

All artefacts were found within an area classified as grave; according to Diani the description from the excavation diary, however, suggests that this square-shaped area had been an *ustrinum* with fragments of grave goods belonging to several burials. **Second half 1st century BC – beginning 1st century AD**/LT III – Augustan; no gender identification.

≥ 12 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (*ceramica depurata*), ≥ 3 plates (*ceramica depurata*/achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 5; BGW, undefinable due to fragmentation), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 93568: grey ware), 2 *olle* (grey ware), 1 *pyxis*?[1] (BGW), further fragments

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[1] It seems unlikely that this vessel can be identified as *pyxis* because Deodato 1999 lists only two comparable *pyxides* for her example from Oleggio (PV_VAL_cTes_139 and PV_GAR_cBar_272); the two

of pottery; fragments of 3 bronze vessels (Inv. 93570: fitting from situla; 93571-93572: 2 fittings from jug; 93574: part of handle? from basin).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 93569).

Varia: 1 small handle (Inv. 93573: probably from wooden box), >1 large iron nails.

Diani 1999: 164. 174-176 figs 2-3. 36-42. *– Fig. XXXIV*

PV_ALA_cGuz_007 [GU-7]: undefinable mortuary context.

2 vessels: 2 handles of *olpai* (*depurata*).

Diani 1999: 176.

PV_ALA_cGuz_008 [GU-8]: undefinable context; tiles point towards a grave '*a cassetta*', no artefact assemblage or cremated bone material.

Diani 1999: 164.

PV_ALA_cGuz_010 [GU-10]: undefinable mortuary context.

≥1 vessels: fragments of undefinable vessels including grey ware.

Varia: fragments of iron nails.

Diani 1999: 176.

PV_ALA_cGuz_011a [GU-11]: undefinable mortuary context.

≥1 vessels: fragments of undefinable vessels including *olle*.

Diani 1999: 176.

PV_ALA_cGuz_011b [GU-11bis]: undefinable mortuary context.

≥1 vessels: fragments of undefinable vessels including brown-glazed ware (*ceramica invetriata*).

Varia: fragments of iron nails.

Diani 1999: 176.

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publications are, however, contemporary and Deodato could, thus, have missed the example from Alagna Lomellina.

Dorno, *località* Cascina Grande

- Documented contexts: >200; excavated contexts: >200; published contexts: 15
- Contexts classified as complete: 3; contexts classified as incomplete: 12
  12 contexts only been published in reference to the presence of a funerary bed
- Chronological range: 1st century BC to Tiberian period
- The three complete contexts comprise of two indirect cremations in *nuda terra* and one direct cremation.

PV_DOR_cGra_037 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed*.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl).

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 3 appliqués (terracotta, 1 griffin and 2 male busts → funerary bed type I), 1 statuette (terracotta).

Invernizzi 2005a: 138-139 ns 50. 54; 141 tab. B.

PV_DOR_cGra_047 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed*.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (*balsamarium*).

≥ 1 personal belongings: ≥ 1 *balsamarium*.

Varia: 1 appliqué (Inv. 143536: terracotta with traces of white colour, pair of stilt protomes → funerary bed type I).

Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 52; 141 tab. B, cat. 26; 2005b: 42 cat. 30.

PV_DOR_cGra_048 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed*.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (*balsamarium*).

≥ 1 personal belongings: ≥ 1 *balsamarium*.

Varia: ≥ 1 appliqué (terracotta), 1 statuette (terracotta, cockerel).

Invernizzi 2005a: 138-139 ns 52. 54.

PV_DOR_cGra_050 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed*.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed).

Varia: 3 appliqués (terracotta, 2 mules and 1 female bust → funerary bed type I).

Invernizzi 2005a: 141 tab. B.

PV_DOR_cGra_069 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed*.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl).

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: ≥ 1 appliqué (terracotta), 1 statuette (terracotta).

Invernizzi 2005a: 138-139 ns 50. 54.

PV_DOR_cGra_076 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed*.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed).

Varia: 2 appliqués (terracotta, 1 mule and 1 male bust → funerary bed type I).

Invernizzi 2005a: 141 tab. B.

PV_DOR_cGra_090 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed*.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed).

Varia: 4 appliqués (terracotta, 2 mules and 2 male busts → funerary bed type I).

Invernizzi 2005a: 141 tab. B.

***PV_DOR_cGra_094**: indirect cremation in *nuda terra*.

End of 1st century BC – beginning of 1st century AD; female (toilette utensils).

8 vessels: 2 *olpai*, 1 plate (red-centred BGW), 2 bowls, 1 cup (glass), 1 beaker (thin walled, '*a tulipano*'), 1 further undefinable vessel.

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches.

3 personal belongings: 2 *balsamaria* (glass and ceramic), mirror (bronze).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 1 undefined coin.

Invernizzi 1998b: 21-22 incl. figs.

Fig. XVII PV_DOR_cGra_094 and 193 as displayed at the Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

PV_DOR_cGra_127 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed*.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed).

Varia: 1 terracotta appliqué (Inv. 143549).

Invernizzi 2005a: cat. 39; 2005b: 40 cat. 26.

PV_DOR_cGra_163 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed*.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl).

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 4 appliqués (terracotta, 2 mules and 2 male busts → funerary bed type I).

Invernizzi 2005a: 141 tab. B.

PV_DOR_cGra_164 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed*.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl).

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 3 appliqués (2 mules and 1 male bust → funerary bed type I: Inv. 143553: terracotta with traces of red colour; 143555: terracotta).

Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50; 141 tab. B, cat. 44. 46; 2005b: 39 cat. 18; 42 cat. 31.

*PV_DOR_cGra_186: direct cremation in rectangular pit, partial deposition of cremated remains and smaller artefacts in bowl.

Second half 1st century BC; female (arm-ring, necklace and spindle whorl).

14 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (black-glossed decoration), 1 plate, 4 bowls, 1 small bowl, 1 beaker ('*a tulipano*'), 2 *olle* (closed; semi-open), 3 *ollette* (closed; partially in grey ware), 1 sieve/colander.

≥ 11 items of jewellery/dress: ≥ 9 brooches (iron and bronze; including 2 large brooches '*a corpo fogliato*'), 1 arm-ring (ST 94619: glass, blue, Haevernick 3a), [necklace? evidenced by]1 bead (glass/faïence).

1 tools: 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 1 as (Republican), >1 smaller undefinable metal objects.

Invernizzi 1998b: 17-18; 2010: 33 fig. 11; Diani et al. 2014: 56. 58-59, pl. 1,3; 62 fig. 7.

Fig. XVIII PV_DOR_cGra_186 as displayed at the Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

PV_DOR_cGra_187 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed*.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (*balsamarium*).

≥ 1 personal belongings: ≥ 1 *balsamarium*.

Varia: 4 appliqués (terracotta, 2 mules and 2 male busts → funerary bed type I).

Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 52; 141 tab. B.

*PV_DOR_cGra_193: indirect cremation in *nuda terra.*

Augustan-Tiberian; female (spoon and *guttus*; the latter could be referring to the deceased being a young mother who died in or shortly after childbirth).

6 vessels: 1 cup, 1 olla (closed), 3 *ollette* (closed [2]; semi-open?[1]), 1 *guttus*.

1 personal belonging: 1 spoon (bronze; probably for the preparation of cosmetics or medical treatments).

Varia: 1 undefined coin, 1 undefinable object (iron?).

Invernizzi 1998b: 21-23 incl. fig. *– Fig. XVII*

PV_DOR_cGra_198 *– published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl).

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 4 appliqué (Inv. 143559, 144560-144562: terracotta with traces of white colour, 2 lions and 2 Dionysius medallions → funerary bed type II).

Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50, cat. 51-54; 141 tab. B; 2005b: 42 cat. 32.

Dorno, *località* San Materno

- Documented contexts: 15; excavated contexts: 15; published contexts: 15
- Contexts classified as complete: 9; contexts classified as incomplete: 6
- Chronological range: 1st century BC to 1st century AD
- All contexts were classified as indirect cremations; DOR_lSMa_002 could have been the site of a pyre used for several cremations.

*PV_DOR_lSMa_001: excavated in 60 cm depth; indirect cremation with only little bone material, large rectangular *macchia carboniosa* (130 x 100 cm; 30 cm thick).

Artefacts were found along one short side of the *macchia carboniosa* (1 plate and spindle whorls found a bit separated from other artefacts); 4 spindle whorls and the coin remained with the land owner. **First decades of 1st century AD** (*olpai*, plate *vernice nerastra* and *balsamarium*); female (mirror).

7 vessels: 2 *olpai* (Inv. 50089-50090), 2 plates (Inv. 50088: BGW, Lamboglia 7/16; 50094: BGW), 2 beaker-*pocula* (Inv. 50091-50092: '*a tulipano*'), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 50087: situla-shaped, open).

2 personal belongings: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 50095), 1 mirror (Inv. 50093: bronze-silver alloy).

6 tools: 6 spindle whorls (Inv. 50096-50097).

Varia: 1 undefined coin.

Antico Gallina 1985: 127-131, pl. VII; Sfredda 1998: 31.

PV_DOR_lSMa_002: excavated in 45 cm depth; cremation context with circular *macchia carboniosa* of c. 20 cm dm. and bone preservation (two larger fragments with bone marrow); probable disturbance.

All artefacts and the cremated remains were found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*; it is uncertain whether all artefacts belong to exclusively one burial (chronology of *olle*: LT D - 1st century AD; flint was also found at PV_GAM_fBel_029 and PV_OTT_cRot_017 – two similarly dated contexts; the as, however, was minted under Hadrian, AD 134/5-138) – the context can probably be identified as *ustrinum* similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006; no gender identification.

≥ 1 vessels: 7 fragments from *olle*.

Varia: 1 as (Hadrian), ≥ 1 flakes from flint.

Antico Gallina 1985: 144-146, pl. IX.

*****PV_DOR_lSMa_003**: excavated in 40 cm depth; indirect cremation.

Artefacts and large amount of cremated bone material were found next to the *ustrinum*. Fragments of iron were found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*. **Beginning 1st century AD**; no gender identification – probably female (*balsamaria* and spindle whorls?).

4 vessels: 2 *olle* (Inv. 50077: open; 50078: closed), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 50079: open), 1 plate (Inv. 50080: BGW, Lamboglia 5).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 50081: bronze).

2 personal belongings: 2 *balsamaria* (Inv. 50085-50086: glass).

3 tools: 3 spindle whorls (Inv. 50082-50084).

Antico Gallina 1985: 125-127, pl. VI; Sfredda 1998: 28.

*****PV_DOR_lSMa_004**: excavated in 60 cm depth; indirect cremation with large rectangular *macchia carboniosa* (140 x 110 cm; 30 cm thick).

Artefacts were found next to the *macchia carboniosa.* **First decades of 1st century AD** (plate, beaker and *balsamarium*, in association with other artefacts); no gender identification.

3 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 50106: BGW, Lamboglia 7/16), 1 bowl (Inv. 50105), 1 beaker-*poculum* (Inv. 50107: '*a tulipano*').

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 50104).

5 tools: 5 spindle whorls (Inv. 50099-50103).

Varia: 1 undefinable as.

Antico Gallina 1985: 131-133, pl. VII; Sfredda 1998: 31.

*PV_DOR_ISMa_005: excavated in 60 cm depth; indirect cremation '*a cassetta*' with large *macchia carboniosa* (140 x 120 cm).

Artefacts were found in two areas of the grave: to the right of the *macchia carboniosa* in a tile cist (knife, one spindle whorl and fragmented mirror), mixed with *macchia carboniosa* (*balsamarium* in BGW). **Early 1st century AD** (glass *balsamarium* and mirror); female (mirror and *balsamaria*).

3 personal belongings: 2 *balsamaria* (Inv. 50116: BGW; 50115: glass), 1 mirror (Inv. 50114: bronze-silver alloy).

6 tools: 5 spindle whorls (Inv. 50108-50112), 1 knife.

Varia: 1 as (Republican).

Antico Gallina 1985: 133-135, pl. VIII.

*PV_DOR_ISMa_006: indirect cremation with large amount of bone material.

The artefacts were found 55 cm from the *macchia carboniosa.* **First half of 1st century AD** (*balsamarium*).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 50117).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 50118).

Antico Gallina 1985: 135-136, pl. VIII.

PV_DOR_ISMa_007: indirect cremation context disturbed through agricultural work.

Various fragments of pottery, undefinable iron and glass were found in the surroundings of the grave. **First years of 1st century AD** (glass and TS); *t.p.q.* Augustan (as and TS); no gender identification.

≥ 3 vessels: 1 lid (Inv. 50073), ≥ 2 further fragmented vessels (Inv. 50074: probably bowl; 50075: TS).

1 personal belonging: glass *balsamarium*? (Inv. 50076).

Varia: 1 undefinable as (Inv. 50072).

Antico Gallina 1985: 124-125, pl. VI.

*PV_DOR_lSMa_008: excavated in c. 60 cm depth; indirect cremation with two clusters of cremated bones (c. 28 cm high).

First half of 1st century BC (*vaso a trottola*; other pottery and brooches support the date); no gender identification.

4 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (Inv. 50045), 2 cups (Inv. 50046-50047), 1 *olla* (closed).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (Inv. 50049-50050: bronze with triangular, perforated catch-plate), 1 button (Inv. 50060).

Antico Gallina 1985: 114-117, pl. V.

*PV_DOR_lSMa_009: excavated in 50 cm depth; indirect cremation with two clusters of carbonised soil and the assemblage placed between them; the second cluster was catalogued as PV_DOR_lSMa_010.

Second half of 1st century BC (single pair of shears); male (shears).

5 vessels: 2 bowls (Inv. 50054; 50055: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 27), 1 plate (Inv. 50059: BGW), 1 *olla* (Inv. 50053: closed), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 50058: closed).

1 personal belonging: 1 undefined oblong object (Inv. 50056: clay, tablet-shape with rounded sides and grooves on the surface, probably a whetstone).

1 tool: 1 pair of shears (Inv. 50057: iron; visible textile corrosion adherence).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 50052).

Antico Gallina 1985: 117-120, pl. V.

PV_DOR_lSMa_010: excavated in 50 cm depth; indirect cremation with two clusters of carbonised soil and the assemblage placed between them; the first cluster was catalogued as PV_DOR_lSMa_009.

Antico Gallina 1985: 120.

PV_DOR_lSMa_011: indirect cremation context disturbed through agricultural work.

1st century BC (as, Pavese brooch).

4 vessels: 3 plates (Inv. 50061: BGW, Lamboglia 7; 50063: BGW, Lamboglia 7/16; 50062: *vernice brunastra*, Lamboglia 5), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 50064: semi-open).

≥ 2 items of jewellery/dress: ≥ 2 brooches (Inv. 50065-50066: bronze, Pavese).

Varia: 1 as, undefinable iron fragments.

Antico Gallina 1985: 120-122, pl. VI; Sfredda 1998: 28. 30-31.

*PV_DOR_lSMa_012: excavated in 50 cm depth; indirect cremation.

The cremated bones and the *olletta* were found within one layer. The context cannot be dated as the only remaining *olletta* has a long period of use from LT D2 into the 1ˢᵗ century AD and beyond.

1 vessel: 1 *olletta* (Inv. 50143: closed).

Antico Gallina 1985: 143, pl. IX.

PV_DOR_lSMa_013: excavated in 60 cm depth; indirect cremation.

1ˢᵗ century BC – 1ˢᵗ century AD; female (spindle whorl).

1 vessel: 1 *olla/olletta* (Inv. 50145: Angera A, closed).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 50144).

Varia: 1 coin minted under Constantine (317-361 AD); the coin seems to not belong to the burial itself as the *olla* and spindle whorl date the burial between the 1ˢᵗ century BC and the 1ˢᵗ century AD.

Antico Gallina 1985: 143-144, pl. IX.

PV_DOR_lSMa_014: excavated in 50 cm depth; indirect cremation.

All artefacts were found between the cremated remains belonging to PV_DOR_lSMa_014 and 013. **End of 1ˢᵗ century BC – beginning of 1ˢᵗ century AD;** no gender identification.

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (Inv. 50070-50071: bronze, Nauheim and Aucissa).

2 tools: 2 spindle whorls (Inv. 50068-50069).

Varia: 1 as.

Antico Gallina 1985: 122-123, pl. VI.

*PV_DOR_lSMa_015: excavated in 50 cm depth; indirect cremation with the *macchia carboniosa* situated under the dosso (*localizzato al di sotto del dosso*).

Artefacts were found in two areas of the grave: mixed with the *macchia carboniosa* (appliqués) and close to the *macchia carboniosa*. **Early 1st century AD** (appliqués); female (*balsamaria* and spindle whorls).

6 vessels: 3 *olle* (Inv. 50136, 50138), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 50140), 1 small cup (Inv. 50142: BGW), 1 undefinable vessel (Inv. 50137: BGW).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 50134-50135: iron).

3 personal belongings: 3 *balsamaria* (Inv. 50139: *vernice bruna*; 50123-50124: glass).

2 tools: 2 spindle whorls (Inv. 50121-50122).

Varia: 1 as, 5, 6 or 8? appliqués (Inv. 50125, 50127-50133: terracotta, 2 or 3 lions, 2 stilts and 1 male bust with Phrygian hat – traces of secondary burning), 1 hinge (Inv. 50120: bronze).

Antico Gallina 1985: 136-142, pl. VIII; Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50; 141 tab. B, cat. 59-60; 2005b: 41 cat. 28.

Gambolò, *frazione* Belcreda
- Documented contexts: 43; excavated contexts: 43; published contexts: 43
- Contexts classified as complete: 34; contexts classified as possibly complete: 2; contexts classified as incomplete: 7
- Chronological range: 1st century BC to the first years of the 2nd century AD
- The contexts were classified as indirect and direct cremations as well as undefinable cremation contexts.

*? PV_GAM_fBel_001 [BE 1]

2 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 18722), 1 undefined vase (Inv. 18721).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 205.

*PV_GAM_fBel_002 [BE 2]: undefinable cremation context without artefact assemblage; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 205.

*PV_GAM_fBel_003 [BE 3]: cremation, deposition of cremated remains and brooch in bowl.

The shears were placed aside the knife which was leant against the bowl. **First half 1st century BC**/LT D1[2] (combination knife and shears); male (knife and shears).

4 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (Inv. 18723), 1 plate (Inv. 18726: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 36), 1 bowl (Inv. 18725: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 27), 1 small bowl (Inv. 18724).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 18728: iron, *Schüsselfibel*).

2 tools: 1 pair of shears (Inv. 18727), 1 knife (Inv. 18729).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1981d: fig. 18; 1982c: 73; 1983b: 205-206. 247, pls II,6-9. III,1-3.

*PV_GAM_fBel_004 [BE 4]

2 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 18731), 1 undefinable vessel (Inv. 18730).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 18732: bronze), 1 small disc (Inv. 18733: bronze , probably from necklace or brooch decoration).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 206-207, pl. III,4-5.

*PV_GAM_fBel_005 [BE 5]: cremation, deposition of cremated remains and brooches in bowl.

Advanced 1st century BC/LT D2[3] (brooches, decorated pottery); female (spindle whorl?).

6 vessels: 3 bowls (Inv. 18735, 18738-18739), 3 *olle* (Inv. 18734: closed; 18736-18737: open).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (Inv. 18741-18742: Almgren 65 with chain).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 18740).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1981d: fig. 17; 1982c: 73; 1983b: 207-208. 247, pls IV,1-6. V,1-3; Demetz 1999: 222.

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[2] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_003, 012, 020, 021 and 041 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_126 and 207.

[3] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

*PV_GAM_fBel_006 [BE 6]: cremation, deposition of cremated remains and brooches in bowl with lid/bowl.

LT D2[4] (brooches); female (spindle whorl?).

6 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (Inv. 18744), 1 plate (Inv. 18745: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 36), 2 bowls (Inv. 18743, 18746), 1 small bowl (Inv. 18748), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 18749).

4 items of jewellery/dress: 4 brooches (Inv. 18753-18754: bronze, LT II *Drahtfibeln*/Misano; 18751-18752: iron, large, angulated *'arco a gomito'*).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 18747).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1981d: fig. 19; 1982c: 73; 1983b: 208-209. 247, pls IV,7-10. V,4-8; Arslan 1984: 138 n. 208.

*? PV_GAM_fBel_007 [BE 7]

1 vessel: *olla* (Inv. 18750).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 209.

*PV_GAM_fBel_008 [BE 8]: undefinable cremation context without artefact assemblage; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 209.

*PV_GAM_fBel_009 [BE 9]

LT D2[5] (pottery).

3 vessels: 2 *vasi a trottola* (Inv. 18755, 18757), 1 plate (Inv. 18756).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 18758: iron, angulated).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 209. 247, pl. VI,1-4.

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[4] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.
[5] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

*PV_GAM_fBel_010 [BE 10]: excavated September 6, 1980; direct cremation '*a fossa*', deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Fragments of at least 3 BGW plates were recovered from the *ustrinum*. **LT D2**[6] (pottery, especially plate, and brooch); no gender identification.

10 vessels: 5 plates (Inv. 18768: BGW[7], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284), 2 bowls (Inv. 18762-18763), 1 small bowl (Inv. 18761), 1 *olla* (Inv. 18759), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 18760: open).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 18770: bronze, *Schüsselfibel*).

3 tools: 3 spindle whorl (Inv. 18764-18766).

Varia: 1 as (Republican), 1 small ring (Inv. 18767: ceramic).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 210-211. 247, pls VI,5-9. VII,1-5; Frontini 1985: 12. 75; Piana Agostinetti 1987: 507-508; Sfredda 1998: 28; Demetz 1999: 237.

*PV_GAM_fBel_011 [BE 11] deposition of cremated remains and at least one brooch (Inv. 18776) in bowl with lid/bowl.

Advanced 1st century BC/advanced LT D2[8] (brooch, pottery, esp. bowls).

4 vessels: 2 bowls (Inv. 18771 and 18774), 2 *ollette* (Inv. 18772-18773: closed).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (Inv. 18775: bronze, Nauheim; 18776: iron, LT III *Drahtfibel*/Feugère 4b).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1981d; 1982c: 73; 1983b: 211-213 fig. 2; 247, pls VII,6-9. VIII,1-3; Demetz 1999: 243; Ruffia 2010: 118 n. 147.

*PV_GAM_fBel_012 [BE 12]: indirect (?) cremation with circular *macchia carboniosa*; deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

The assemblage and *macchia carboniosa* mixed with fragments of four undefinable plates were separated by two vertical tiles in a right angle. **LT D1**[9] (combination knife and shears); male (name and artefact combination): the individual was classified as person of status based on the combination of *vaso a trottola* with shears and knife;

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[6] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

[7] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.

[8] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

[9] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_003, 012, 020, 021 and 041 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_126 and 207.

the graffito was identified as personal name of the deceased, with the root *vindo-* as Celtic (meaning white), and thus the deceased as of Celtic origin.

5 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (Inv. 18778), 1 plate (Inv. 18781: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284), 1 bowl (Inv. 18777: graffito VINDONIDIUS), 2 *ollette* (Inv. 18779: open; 18780 closed).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 18784: iron with trapezoid catch-plate), 1 ring (Inv. 18785: bronze, dm. 2.7 cm).

2 tools: 1 pair of shears (Inv. 18783), 1 knife (Inv. 18782: iron).

Varia: 1 as (Republican).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1981d: figs 14-15; 1982c: 72; 1983b: 204-205. 213-214. 247, pls VII,10-14. VIII,4-7; Piana Agostinetti 1987: 507-508; Sfredda 1998: 28.

*PV_GAM_fBel_013 [BE 13]

Advanced LT D2[10] (brooch).

2 vessels: 2 *olle* (Inv. 18787: closed; 18788: open).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (Inv. 18789, 00000: iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 214-215. 247, pl. IX,1-2.

*PV_GAM_fBel_014 [BE 14]: cremation, deposition of cremated remains in small pit in *nuda terra.*

The olla and one *olletta* were deposited next to the *macchia carboniosa* mixed with fragments of other pottery and brooches. **Advanced 1st century BC**/LT D2[11] (brooches).

6 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (Inv. 18793), 1 plate (Inv. 18794: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 5), 1 bowl (Inv. 18796), 1 *olla* (Inv. 18790: closed), 2 *ollette* (Inv. 18791: open; 18795: highly fragmented, classification only assumed).

4 items of jewellery/dress: 4 brooches (Inv. 18799: bronze, *Schüsselfibel* [2]; 18798: bronze, Nauheim; 18797: iron, LT III *Drahtfibel* with trapezoid catch-plate).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 18792).

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[10] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

[11] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1981d: fig. 20; 1982c: 73; 1983b: 215-216. 247, pl. IX,3-9[12]; Demetz 1999: 237. 243.

*PV_GAM_fBel_015 [BE 15]: excavated September 7, 1980; cremation *'a fossa'* in *'nuda terra'.*

Advanced 1st century BC/LT D2[13] (brooches).

3 vessels: 2 plates (Inv. 18802: BGW, Lamboglia 5; 18803: achromatic?[14] imitation, Lamboglia 5), 1 *olletta*[15] (Inv. 18801: closed).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 3 brooches (Inv. 18804-18805: Almgren 65, miniature-sized; 18806: iron, LT III *Drahtfibel* with trapezoid catch-plate).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 210. 216-217. 247, pls IX,10-11. X,1-3; Frontini 1985: 12. 76; Sfredda 1998: 29; Demetz 1999: 223.

*PV_GAM_fBel_016 [BE 16]: indirect (?) cremation with oval *macchia carboniosa*.

Assemblage (two *ollette*, spindle whorl) and *macchia carboniosa* mixed with brooches and other vessels were separated by a vertically positioned large *amphora* fragment (Inv. 18810). **LT D2**[16] (Cenisola).

4 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 18811: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 5), 2 *ollette* (Inv. 18807-18808: closed), 1 undefined fragment (Inv. 18812).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 3 brooches (Inv. 18813: iron, LT III *Drahtfibel*; 18814: bronze, LT II type; 18813: bronze, Cenisola).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 18809).

Varia: 1 as? (Republican).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1981d: fig. 20; 1982c: 73; 1983b: 205. 217-218. 247, pls IX,12-15. X,4-7; Piana Agostinetti 1987: 507-508; Demetz 1999: 235.

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[12] IX,7 could be Inv. 18802 from GAM_fBel_015.

[13] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

[14] According to Frontini 1985 both plates are BGW with clay and gloss classified as local L 31.

[15] Re-classified as *olletta* according to size-related terminology for pottery (STP) – see Tab. VI.

[16] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

*PV_GAM_fBel_017 [BE 17]: excavated September 8, 1980; cremation 'a fossa' with shears positioned next to small bowl with cremated remains.

LT D2 (combination of assemblage).

5 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (Inv. 18821), 1 plate (Inv. 18817: BGW[17], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284), 1 small bowl (Inv. 18820), 1 *olla*[18] (Inv. 18819: *ceramica depurata*, Angera A, closed), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 18818: open).

1 personal belonging: 1 razor blade (Inv. 18823: iron).

1 tool: 1 pair of shears (Inv. 18822: iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 210. 218-219, pl. IXI,1-7; Frontini 1985: 12. 76; Sfredda 1998: 29.

*PV_GAM_fBel_018 [BE 18]: deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Advanced 1st century BC/LT D2[19] (brooches).

4 vessels: 1 bowl (Inv. 18826), 2 plates (Inv. 18825-18826: BGW, Lamboglia 5), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 18828: *ceramica depurata*, Angera A, closed).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 3 brooches (Inv. 18829-18830: Almgren 65, miniature-sized; 18821: iron, LT III *Drahtfibel*).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 18827).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1981d: fig. 16; 1982c: 73; 1983b: 210. 219. 247, pls X,8-10. XI,8-11; Sfredda 1998: 28; Demetz 1999: 223.

*PV_GAM_fBel_019 [BE 19]: undefinable cremation context with only one fragment of pottery mixed with *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 219.

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[17] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 4.

[18] In Diani 1999: 172 re-classified as *olletta*, according to STP *olla* is correct.

[19] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

*PV_GAM_fBel_020 [BE 20]: cremation, deposition of cremation remains and shears in bowl.

LT D1[20].

4 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (Inv. 18834), 1 plate (Inv. 18835: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 36), 1 bowl (Inv. 18832), 1 *olla* (Inv. 18833: closed).

1 tool: 1 pair of shears (Inv. 18836: iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 220. 247, pl. XII,1-5.

*PV_GAM_fBel_021 [BE 21]: cremation, deposition of cremated remains and two LT II brooches in bowl.

Advanced LT D1[21] (combination of LT C2-D artefacts). As one of the oldest burials excavated at *frazione* Belcreda, this contexts might have been the foundation grave for the site. It is considered comparatively unique not only for the quantity but also the quality of objects. Piana Agostinetti points out that the burial could be identified as a female-male double burial due to the appearance of spindle whorl, spur and hunting/carving knife (*coltellaccio*).

Artefacts mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*:

6 vessels: 2 *vasi a trottola* (Inv. 18851-18852), 2 plates (Inv. 18854, 18857), 2 small bowls (Inv. 18853, 18855).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (Inv. 18858: bronze, Pavese or Misano; 18859: bronze), 1 finger ring (Inv. 18866).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 18856).

Varia: 3 asses (Inv. 18860-18862), 2 buttons (Inv. 18863-18864: bronze).

Assemblage:

11 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (Inv. 18837), 2 plates (Inv. 18840: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 36; 18843: BGW, Lamboglia 6), 2 bowls (Inv. 18841-18842), 2 small bowls (Inv. 18844-18845), 1 *olla* (Inv. 18838: closed), 3 *ollette* (Inv. 18839, 18846, 18850[22]: closed).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (Inv. 18848-18849: bronze, LT II type).

1 tool: 1 hunting or carving knife (Inv. 18867: *coltellaccio*).

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[20] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_003, 012, 020, 021 and 041 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_126 and 207.

[21] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_003, 012, 020, 021 and 041 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_126 and 207.

[22] Re-classified as *olletta* according to STP.

Varia: 1 spur-*sperone* (Inv. 18847: iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1981d: figs 12-13; 1982c: 72; 1983b: 220-224 fig. 3; 247, pls X,11-17. XII,6-12. XIII,1-10; Piana Agostinetti 1987: 507-508; Sfredda 1998: 30. *– Fig. XXXV*

*PV_GAM_fBel_022 [BE 22]: undefinable cremation context without artefact assemblage; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 224.

*PV_GAM_fBel_023 [BE 23]: excavated April 11-12, 1981; indirect cremation *'a fossa'*; deposition of cremated remains and two brooches in bowl.

Double deposition of artefacts: *macchia carboniosa* mixed with spindle whorls and two brooches; the other two brooches were deposited in the bowl. **LT D2**[23] (brooches).

10 vessels: 4 plates (Inv. 18876: *ceramica depurata*; 18881 (with inner stamp decoration) -18883: BGW[24] Lamboglia 5-Morel 2254 and 2284), 1 bowl (Inv. 18872), 1 cup (Inv. 18884: BGW[25], Lamboglia 28), 1 *olla* (Inv. 18873: closed), 3 *ollette* (Inv. 18874, 18880: open[26]; 18875: closed?).

4 items of jewellery/ dress: 4 brooches (Inv. 18879: iron, LT III *Drahtfibel*; 18886: bronze, *Schüsselfibel*; 18887: bronze, Nauheim; 18888: bronze, Almgren 65).

2 tools: 2 spindle whorls (Inv. 18877-18878).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 210. 224-227 fig. 4; 247 pls XIV,1-9. XV,1-6; Frontini 1985: 12. 15. 77; Sfredda 1998: 29. 33; Demetz 1999: 219. 237. 243. *– Fig. XXXVI*

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[23] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

[24] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.

[25] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 31 and L 4 respectively.

[26] One of them probably classified as beaker.

*PV_GAM_fBel_024 [BE 24]: excavated April 12, 1981; cremation '*a fossa*', deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Piana Agostinetti points out that the burial could be identified as a female-male double burial due to the appearance of spindle whorl and shears; the TS bowl Ritterling 12 could be one of the oldest TS vessels from the Lomellina. **LT D2**[27].

13 vessels: 6 plates (Inv. 18898-18899: BGW[28] Lamboglia 5-Morel 2283? and 2284); 1 bowl (Inv. 18896: TS, spouted, Ritterling 12), 3 *olle* (Inv. 18889-18890: closed; 18892[29]), 3 *ollette* (Inv. 18891, 18893: both open[30]; 18897[31]: *ceramica depurata*, Angera A, closed).

2 tools: 1 pair of shears (Inv. 18895: iron), 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 18900).

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow. Republican).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 210. 227-229 fig. 5, pls XIV,10-16. XV,7-9. 247; Piana Agostinetti 1987: 507-508; Frontini 1985: 12. 78; Sfredda 1998: 29.

*PV_GAM_fBel_025 [BE 25]: undefinable cremation context with bowls (not recovered) and a plate; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

LT D2.

> 2 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 18901: BGW[32] Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284), >1 bowls.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 210. 229, pl. XI,12; Frontini 1985: 12. 79; Sfredda 1998: 29.

*PV_GAM_fBel_026 [BE 26]: cremation, deposition of cremated remains in *olla*.

250-120 BC/LT C[33] (association *olla* in combination with other artefacts); the burial is the oldest burial in this area.

4 vessels: 1 bowl (Inv. 18717), 2 small bowls (Inv. 18718-18719), 1 *olla* (Inv. 18716: closed).

1 personal belonging: 1 razor blade/knife (Inv. 18720: iron).

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[27] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

[28] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.

[29] Re-classified as *olla* according to STP.

[30] One of them probably classified as beaker.

[31] Re-classified as olletta in Diani 1999: 172 and according STP.

[32] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 32.

[33] Chronologically parallel is PV_VAL_cTes_189.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 202. 204. 247, pl. II,1-5.

PV_GAM_fBel_027a [BEP 1]: excavated March 2, 1982; indirect (?) cremation with large circular *macchia carboniosa*.

Two *ollette*, the coin numerous plates and the *vasi a trottola* were found in the middle of the *macchia carboniosa* in 48-68 cm depth; the other artefacts were found to the east in 90 cm depth. **LT D2**[34] (achromatic imitation, brooches).

Artefacts mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*:

10 vessels: 2 *vasi a trottola* (Inv. 18629-18630), 5 plates (Inv. 18624, 18626, 18628: achromatic imitations of Lamboglia 5; 18625, 18627: one of them BGW[35]), 3 *ollette* (Inv. 18621-18623).

Varia: 1 as? (Republican).

Assemblage:

>4 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 18615: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 5), >1 bowls, 1 small vase/beaker (Inv. 18616), 1 *olla* (Inv. 18614).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (Inv. 18619: bronze, Nauheim; 18620: iron, LT III *Drahtfibel*), 1 ring (Inv. 18618: bronze; part of jewellery? dm. 4.7 cm).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 18617).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 230-232 fig. 7, pls XVI,1-13. XVII,1-4, 247; Frontini 1985: 79; Piana Agostinetti 1987: 507-508; Demetz 1999: 243.

PV_GAM_fBel_027b [BEP 1bis]: cremation context with *macchia carboniosa*.

The assemblage was found to the west of the *macchia carboniosa* of PV_GAM_fBel_027a and probably belongs to the same burial.

3 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 18631: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 5), 1 *olletta*[36] (Inv. 18632: open), 1 undefinable fragment (Inv. 18632? – same inventory number?).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 232, pl. XVI,14-15.

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[34] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

[35] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 31 and L 4-L 10.

[36] Re-classified as *olletta* according to STP.

*PV_GAM_fBel_028 [BEP 2]: cremation context with *macchia carboniosa*, immediately to the north of previous.

The assemblage was found in 38 cm depth; the *macchia carboniosa* was mixed with one fragment of BGW. **LT D2**[37] (decoration of *olla*).

5 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[38]), 2 small vases/beakers (Inv. 18635-18636), 1 *olla* (Inv. 18634: open), 1 undefinable fragment/plate? (Inv. 18637: fine grey ware).

Varia: 1 flake of flint.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 232-233. 247, pl. XVII,5-9; Frontini 1985: 80.

*PV_GAM_fBel_029 [BEP 3]: cremation context to the west of previous, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

The assemblage was found in 45 cm depth. **LT D?** (*olla* of long tradition in combination with Lamboglia 5).

5 vessels: 2 plates (Inv. 18639: *vernice bruna*, Lamboglia 5; 18640: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 5), 1 bowl (Inv. 18641), 1 *olla* (Inv. 18638: closed), 1 undefinable fragment/*olla*? (Inv. 18642).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 23, pl. XVIII,1-5; Sfredda 1998: 28.

*PV_GAM_fBel_030 [BEP 4]: indirect (?) cremation context with circular *macchia carboniosa* to the north of previous, deposition of cremated remains in bowl?

The assemblage was found in 46-54 cm depth at the south-east edge of the *macchia carboniosa*. **Second half 1st century BC**/LT D2[39] (decoration of *olla*).

5 vessels: 3 plates (Inv. 18643, 18645-18646: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 5/55), 1 *olla* (Inv. 18644: closed), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 18647: open).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 finger rings (Inv. 18649: dm. 2.2; 18649/2: dm. 2.4 cm).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 18648).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 234-235 fig. 8; 247, pls XVIII,6-10. XXII,1-3.

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[37] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

[38] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 31.

[39] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

*PV_GAM_fBel_031 [BEP 5]: cremation context immediately to the north-east of previous, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

The assemblage was found in 60 cm depth to the east. **LT D2**[40] (sickle).

2 vessels: 1 bowl (Inv. 18650), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 18651: open).

1 tool: 1 sickle (Inv. 18651?: iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 235-236. 247, pl. XVIII,11-13.

PV_GAM_fBel_032 [BEP 6]: cremation context north-east of PV_GAM_fBel_028; probably disturbed during earlier work, large amount of ceramics and tiles.

Augustan-Tiberian[41] (late Nauheim form, *olpe*; the *olpe* indicates a younger date than the previous graves, but it is too fragmented for classification).

≥ 17 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 18656), 6 plates (Inv. 18659, 18661, 18663-18664: BGW, Lamboglia 5; 18660: BGW; 18662: BGW, Lamboglia 6), 3 bowls (Inv. 18653-18654, 18665), 1 cup (Inv. 18858: BGW, Lamboglia 28), 2 *olle* (Inv. 18657, 18666), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 18655: open), ≥ 3 further vessels including ≥ 1 BGW plate, 1 *olla* and 1 fine ware beaker.

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 18667: bronze, Jezerine), 1 arm-ring (Inv. 18668: bronze).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 210. 236-238. 247, pls XX,1-12. XXII,4-6; Sfredda 1998: 28; Demetz 1999: 251.

*PV_GAM_fBel_033 [BEP 7]: cremation '*a fossa*' slightly to the south-east of PV_GAM_fBel_027a/b, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage was found under layers of turf, pebbles and sand in 85 cm depth; only tomb of this sector with razor blade and shears; **LT D2**[42] (similar assemblage and chronology also in PV_VAL_cTes_139).

5 vessels: 3 plates (Inv. 18672-18763: BGW, Lamboglia 5-Morel 2254; 8674: BGW[43], Lamboglia 6-Morel 1443), 1 bowl (Inv. 18671), 1 *olletta*[44] (Inv. 18670: closed).

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[40] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

[41] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_032 and 035 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_150.

[42] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

[43] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.

[44] Re-classified as *olletta* according to STP.

1 personal belonging: 1 razor blade (Inv. 18675: iron).

1 tool: 1 pair of shears (Inv. 18676: iron).

Varia: 1 as (traces of burning from the pyre. Republican).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 210. 238-239. 247, pl. XIX,1-7; Piana Agostinetti 1987: 507-508; Frontini 1985: 12. 80; Sfredda 1998: 28-30.

*PV_GAM_fBel_034 [BEP 8]: cremation context from the southern edge of the excavated area.

Assemblage classified as poor found in 115 cm depth. **LT D2**[45].

5 vessels: 1 cup (Inv. 18680: BGW[46], Lamboglia 28), 2 *ollette* (Inv. 18678-18679: both open), ≥ 2 undefinable vessels.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 239-240. 247, pl. XX,13-15; Frontini 1985: 15. 81; Sfredda 1998: 33.

*PV_GAM_fBel_035 [BEP 9]: cremation context located on the top of the *dosso*, north-east of PV_GAM_fBel_031.

The assemblage classified as rich and typically 'Roman' is the only one in Belcreda with glass and an oil lamp and was assembled in and around the two halves of an *amphora*. **Augustan-Tiberian**[47] (coin, oil lamp, cup) – it is thus the youngest grave of the excavated necropolis.

8 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 18694: *ceramica depurata*), 1 plate (Inv. 18681: BGW[48], Lamboglia 7/16), 2 beakers (Inv. 18682-18683: *ceramica depurata*, Mayet VIII '*a tulipano*'), 1 cup (Inv. 18687: red-centred BGW[49] Lamboglia 16-Morel 2864), 3 *ollette* (Inv. 18688, 18692: both open; 18693: *ceramica depurata*, Angera A, closed).

2 personal belongings: 2 *balsamaria* (Inv. 18690: glass[50]; 18691: impasto).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 18648).

Varia: 2 coins (Inv. 18685-18686: bronze. Augustan?), 1 oil lamp (Inv. 18689).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 240-242 fig. 9; 247, pls XIV,8. XIX,8-18. XXII,7; Frontini 1985: 14. 115; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 86 n. 68; Sfredda 1998: 31. 34; Diani 1999: 171.

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[45] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

[46] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 8 and L 9 respectively.

[47] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_032 and 035 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_150.

[48] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 6 and L 8 respectively.

[49] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 2 and L 4-L 9 respectively.

[50] According to Frontini 1985 both *balsamaria* are of glass.

*PV_GAM_fBel_036 [BEP 10]: excavated April 11-12, 1981 south of PV_GAM_fBel_038 and east of PV_GAM_fBel_033; cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with brooch, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage in 11 cm depth. **LT D2**[51] **– Augustan** (association of shears, iron fibula and bronze rings).

7 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 18704: red-centred BGW[52], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284), 1 bowl (Inv. 18695), 1 cup (Inv. 18705: *ceramica depurata*), 2 *olle* (Inv. 18699?: closed; 18701: open), 2 *ollette* (Inv. 18702[53]: closed; 18703: open).

4 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 18697: iron), 3 finger rings (Inv. 18698-18700: bronze).

1 tool: 1 pair of shears (Inv. 18696: iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 242-244 fig. 10; 247, pls XXI,1-7. XXII,8-10; Frontini 1985: 12. 81; Sfredda 1998: 29.

*PV_GAM_fBel_037 [BEP 15?]: cremation west of PV_GAM_fBel_030, deposition of cremated remains in small bowl.

LT D2[54] (beaker).

2 vessels: 1 small bowl (Inv. 18706), 1 beaker (Inv. 18707: *ceramica depurata*, Mayet III).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 244-245. 247, pl. XIX,19-20.

*PV_GAM_fBel_038 [BEP 12]: undefined context between PV_GAM_fBel_032 and PV_GAM_fBel_036.

LT D2[55].

2 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (Inv. 18709), 1 plate (Inv. 18708: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284 with cross incision on the outer surface of the base).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 245. 247, pl. XXI,10-11; Sfredda 1998: 28.

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[51] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.
[52] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 6 and L 4/L 9 respectively.
[53] Re-classified as *olletta* according to STP.
[54] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.
[55] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

PV_GAM_fBel_039 [BEP 13]: undefined context, heavily disturbed and destroyed through modern works.

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow. Republican).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 245; Piana Agostinetti 1987: 507-508.

PV_GAM_fBel_040 [BEP 14]: cremation, heavily disturbed and destroyed through modern works, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

LT D2[56].

2 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (Inv. 18712), 1 bowl (Inv. 18711).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 finger rings (Inv. 18714: bronze).

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow. Republican).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 245-247, pls XXI,8-9. XXII,11; Piana Agostinetti 1987: 507-508.

PV_GAM_fBel_041 [BEP 15?]: the burial was found by a grave robber on a promontory to the east of the tombs in via Pascoli; cremation, deposition of cremated remains in small bowl.

The assemblage might have comprised more objects that had not been recovered. **Advanced LT D1**[57].

4 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 1 plate (achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 36), 1 small bowl, 1 *olla*.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron).

1 personal belonging: *strigil*.

Varia: 1 as (bronze; damaged by heat. Republican).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 246-247, pls XXI,12-15. XXII,12-13; Piana Agostinetti 1987: 507-508.

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[56] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_005, 006, 009-011, 013-016, 018, 023, 024, 027, 028, 030, 031, 033, 034, 036-038 and 040 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_139 and 155.

[57] Chronologically parallel are PV_GAM_fBel_003, 012, 020, 021 and 041 as well as PV_VAL_cTes_126 and 207.

PV_GAM_fBel_042 [BE 26]

LT D2.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 belt buckle (Inv. 49450: iron, square-shaped with belt hook and decoration on the edges.

1 tool: 1 pair of shears.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 70-71 n. 44.

Gambolò, *frazione* Garbana

- Documented contexts: ≥ 19; excavated contexts: 2; published contexts: 2
- Contexts classified as complete: ---; contexts classified as incomplete: 2 both contexts have only been published in reference to the presence of a funerary bed
- Chronological range: Augustan-Tiberian.

PV_GAM_fGar_018 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed).

Varia: 4 appliqués (terracotta, 2 lions and 2 Dionysius medallions → funerary bed type II).

Invernizzi 2005a: 141 tab. B.

PV_GAM_fGar_019 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl).

38 tools: 38 spindle whorls.

Varia: 4 appliqués (terracotta, 2 lions and 2 Dionysius medallions → funerary bed type II – traces of exposure to heat are more pronounced on one set of appliqués indicating that one side of the bed was more exposed to fire), 1 statuette (terracotta, cockerel).

Invernizzi 2005a: 136 n. 36; 138-139 ns 50. 54; 141 tab. B.

Garlasco, *località* Cascina Baraggia

- Documented contexts: ?; excavated contexts: ≥ 124; published contexts: 47
- Contexts classified as complete: 7; contexts classified as possibly complete: 7; contexts classified as incomplete: 33
- Chronological range: LT D – Trajanic period.

PV_GAR_cBar_003 [BA-3]

Augustan (AD); female (spindle whorl).

2 vessels: 1 plate (TS, Goudineau 6c), 1 beaker (*Kommaregen* decoration, stamped AESCINVS).

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 4 appliqués (Inv. 49252-49255: terracotta, 2 stilts and 2 male busts with Phrygian hat → funerary bed type I).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 55 n. 16; 65 n. 36; 77; Bottinelli and Melley 1999: pl. XLVIII fig. 3,4; Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50; 141 tab. B.

*PV_GAR_cBar_008 [BA-8]: excavated June 15, 1979.

Augustan (Lamboglia 5/7).

4 vessels: 2 plates (BGW[58], Lamboglia 7/16 and 5/7), 2 *olle* (closed?).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium*.

Frontini 1985: 11. 13. 134; Sfredda 1998: 30-31.

PV_GAR_cBar_013a [BA-13]: excavated June 1979; undefined context.

Augustan (Lamboglia 5/7 and 7/16).

> 5 vessels: 4 plates (BGW[59], Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2273 [1] and Lamboglia 7/16 [3]), >1 further local vessels.

2 tools: 2 spindle whorls.

Frontini 1985: 13. 135; Sfredda 1998: 30-31.

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[58] The clay and gloss are classified as local C 13 and L 31/L 10 in the other case.
[59] The clay and *gloss* are classified as local belonging to the L group.

*PV_GAR_cBar_013b [BA-13bis]: excavated November 18, 1979; direct (?) cremation *'a fossa'* with a superficial *macchia carboniosa* mixed with heavily fragmented artefacts.

Augustan-Tiberian.

3 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[60], Lamboglia 7/16), 2? cups (TS, Ritterling 5).

Frontini 1985: 13. 135; Sfredda 1998: 31; Bottinelli and Melley 1999: pl. XLVIII fig. 3,5.

PV_GAR_cBar_020 [BA-20]

Second half 1st century BC.

≥ 8 vessels: ≥ 3 bowls, ≥ 2 cups with omphalos, ≥ 3 *olle*.

≥ 7 items of jewellery/dress: ≥ 5 brooches (≥ 3 bronze: Pavese [≥ 2] and LT II type [1]; ≥ 2 iron), 1 arm-ring (ST 49293: glass, purple, Haevernick 7d), 1 belt buckle (iron).

2 tools: 1spindle whorl, 1 knife (iron).

Bottinelli 1991-1992: 61 n. 9; 176, pl. XXX/1[61]; Bottinelli and Melley 1999: 194; Diani et al. 2014: 56. 62-63 fig. 12.

PV_GAR_cBar_022 [BA-22]: excavated February 20, 1980; cremation context with superficial *macchia carboniosa* mixed with fragments of three plates.

Augustan.

6 vessels: 4 plates (BGW[62], Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2277 [2]), 2 *olle* (open?).

1 personal belonging: 1 ceramic *balsamarium*.

Frontini 1985: 13. 136; Sfredda 1998: 31.

PV_GAR_cBar_028 [BA-28]

LT D.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 belt buckle (Inv. 49450: iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 70.

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[60] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 6.
[61] Unpublished thesis.
[62] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.

PV_GAR_cBar_031 [BA-31] – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl).

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: ≥ 1 terracotta appliqué.

Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50.

***PV_GAR_cBar_032** [BA-32]: excavated February 22, 1980; cremation '*a fossa*'.

Beginning 1st AD.

5 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 plate (BGW[63], Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2271), 1 cup (thin-walled with *Rädchenzier*), 2 *olle*.

2 personal belongings: 2 glass *balsamaria* (Is. 10 with feathered decoration; Is. 6).

12 tools: 12 spindle whorls.

Varia: 1 oil lamp.

Frontini 1985: 13. 136; Bottinelli 1991-1992: 79[64]; Sfredda 1998: 31; Bottinelli and Melley 1999: pls XLVIII fig. 3,1. 3. XLVIX fig. 4,1. 4-5.

PV_GAR_cBar_033 [BA-33]: excavated February 2, 1980; cremation '*a fossa*' with the assemblage largely fragmented.

Augustan (BGW, glass *balsamarium*).

5 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 plate (BGW[65], Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2271), 1 bowl, 1 cup (BGW[66], Lamboglia 16-Morel 2684), 1 *olla* (semi-open?).

2 personal belongings: 2 *balsamaria* (ceramic, Haltern 31; glass).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 1 illegible coin (bronze), undefinable iron fragments probably from brooch.

Frontini 1985: 13-14. 137; Bottinelli 1991-1992: 83; Sfredda 1998: 31.

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[63] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 6 and L 4 respectively.
[64] Unpublished thesis.
[65] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 4.
[66] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 9 and L4/L9 respectively.

*PV_GAR_cBar_034 [BA-34]: excavated February 22, 1980; cremation '*a fossa*'.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD); female (? – combination *balsamaria*, stirring rod, spindle whorl and funerary bed).

3 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[67], Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2277), 2 *olle*.

2/3 personal belongings: 1/2? ceramic *balsamaria*, 1 stirring rod (glass with decoration in glass paste, Is. 79).

67 tools: 67 spindle whorls.

Varia: 1 appliqué (Inv. 49346: terracotta, lion protome).

Frontini 1985: 137; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 55 n. 16; 58 n. 22; Faust 1989: 170 cat. 97; Sfredda 1998: 31; Bottinelli and Melley 1999: pl. XLVIX fig. 4,6; Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50, cat. 75; 2005b: 35 cat. 7.

*PV_GAR_cBar_036 [BA-36]: excavated February 23, 1980; cremation with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with fragments of BGW, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Tiberian.

6 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 4 plates (TS, Drag. 17B; BGW, Lamboglia 5/7; 7/16; n/a), 1 bowl.

4 personal belongings: 4 glass *balsamaria* (pear-shaped [3]; purple, dove-shaped [1]).

Varia: 1 oil lamp.

Frontini 1985: 13. 138; Sfredda 1998: 30-31; Bottinelli and Melley 1999: pls XLVIII fig. 3,2. 6. XLVIX fig. 4,11.

PV_GAR_cBar_058 [BA-58]: excavated October 2, 1980; cremation '*a fossa'* with distinct *macchia carboniosa* mixed with *ollette* and fragments of BGW; the assemblage was already dispersed at excavation.

1st century BC – 1st century AD (Lamboglia 5).

≥ 12 vessels: 8 plates (BGW[68], Lamboglia 5), 1 *olletta*, >2 further local vessels, probably bowls and *ollette*, ≥ 1 vessels in BGW[69] in 54 fragments.

1 tool: 1 pair of shears (iron).

Varia: 2 asses (Janus' head and ship's bow).

Frontini 1985: 11. 93; Sfredda 1998: 29.

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[67] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 9.
[68] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 1 and L 31.
[69] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 1 and L 3.

PV_GAR_cBar_066 [BA-66]: excavated and thoroughly documented in 1982, completely preserved indirect? cremation context without *macchia carboniosa* but area slightly darker than the surrounding soil; despite the presence of iron oxides (?) no iron objects could be recovered as they must have corroded completely, deposition of cremated remains mixed up with bronze objects (coin and brooches bundled together with some textile, preserved only as mineralized iron oxide) and a spindle whorl in a small pit in the north-west corner.

Assemblage placed along the northern edge in clean sandy soil of natural acidity. **LT D-Augustan** (brooch).

8 vessels, including plates, *olle* and bowls.

> 3 items of jewellery/dress: > 3 brooches (bronze, small dimensions; ≥ 1 Pavese; fragmented and partially fused together).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 1 undefined coin (bronze).

Molinari 1999: 239.

PV_GAR_cBar_070 [BA-70]

Flavian.

4 vessels: 2 cups (thin-walled), 2 *skyphoi* (*ceramica invetriata*).

1 personal belonging: 1 stirring rod (glass, Is. 79).

Varia: 1 oil lamp.

Bottinelli and Melley 1999: pl. XLVIX fig. 4,2-3. 7. 9-10. 12.

PV_GAR_cBar_071 [BA-71]

Flavian-Trajan.

1 vessel: 1 small bowl-*coppa/piatto* (TS, Drag 37/32).

Bottinelli and Melley 1999: pl. XLVIII fig. 3,7.

PV_GAR_cBar_072 [BA-72]

LT D-Augustan (Lamboglia 28).

1 vessel: 1 cup (BGW, Lamboglia 28).

Bottinelli 1991-1992: 123; Sfredda 1998: 34.

PV_GAR_cBar_078 [BA-78]

Flavian-Trajan.

Varia: 1 glass nail (dark green).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 283 fig. 2; Bottinelli and Melley 1999: pl. XLVIX fig. 4,8.

PV_GAR_cBar_112 [BAV-12]: excavated March 8, 1976 following levelling work using heavy machinery partly by workmen.

First half 1st century BC/LT D1/2 – according to Frontini LT D2 (*BGW*).

> 9 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 1 jug (bronze, Idria), 1 plate (BGW[70], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2282), >1 plate, >1 bowl, 1 pan/casserole (bronze, Aylesford), 1 beaker *'a rocchetto'*, >1 *olle*, 1 skewer-*spiedo* (bronze).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 belt buckle (Inv. 49635: iron, square-shaped with belt hook).

1 tool: 1 knife.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 282-284; 1982c: 239-240; Arslan 1984: 137; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 70-71 n. 44; Frontini 1985: 12. 94; Sfredda 1998: 29.

*? **PV_GAR_cBar_113** [BAV-13]: excavated March 8, 1976; cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with the majority of BGW fragments.

Augustan.

8 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 4 plates (BGW[71], Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2276 [2]), 1 cup, 1 further vessel in BGW[72], 1 ladle (bronze).

2 personal belongings: 2 glass *balsamaria* (blue; yellow).

1 tool: 1 needle (Inv. 49820: bronze).

Frontini 1985: 13. 139; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 60 n. 27; Sfredda 1998: 31.

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[70] The clay is classified as local L2, the gloss as Cremonese CR 21.
[71] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.
[72] The clay and gloss are classified as local L10.

PV_GAR_cBar_123 [BAV-23]: excavated between December 30, 1975 and January 1, 1976; cremation context '*a fossa*'.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2271).

2 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[73], Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2271), 1 *olla* (open?).

Frontini 1985: 13. 139; Sfredda 1998: 31.

PV_GAR_cBar_124 [BAV-24] – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl).

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 3 appliqués (Inv. 49884-49885, 143509: terracotta with traces of white colour, horse, mule and male bust → the appliqués clearly belonged to 2 beds types I and II).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 55 n. 16; Invernizzi 2005a: 137-138 n. 50; 141 tab. B, cat. 79; 2005b: 43 cat. 33.

PV_GAR_cBar_205 [BV-5]: excavated February 28, 1976; undefined cremation context.

LT D2.

> 6 vessels: 3 plates (BGW[74], Lamboglia 5), > 3 bowls.

1 tool: 1 pair of shears (iron).

Frontini 1985: 12. 94.

PV_GAR_cBar_211 [BV-11]

LT D.

9 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 4 plates, 3 bowls, 1 *olla*.

Bottinelli and Melley 1999: pl. XLVII fig. 2a-i.

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[73] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 6/L 8.
[74] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.

PV_GAR_cBar_230 [BV-30]: excavated March 27, 1980; cremation context '*a fossa*'.

≥ 3 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[75]), ≥ 1 further vessels a BGW[76], ≥ 1 further local ware pottery.

Frontini 1985: 95.

PV_GAR_cBar_240 [BV-40]: excavated March 27, 1980; cremation '*a fossa*'.

2 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[77]), 1 *olla* (closed?).

Frontini 1985: 95.

*? **PV_GAR_cBar_242** [BV-42]: excavated March 27, 1980; cremation '*a fossa*'.

LT D-Augustan (Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284).

3 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[78], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284), 1 bowl, 1 *olla* (semi-open?).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Frontini 1985: 12. 96; Sfredda 1998: 29.

*? **PV_GAR_cBar_245** [BV-45]: excavated March 29, 1980; cremation '*a fossa*' with *macchia carboniosa* rich with pottery fragments.

1st century BC – 1st century AD (Lamboglia 5).

> 11 vessels: 6 plates (BGW[79], Lamboglia 5 [3]; BGW[80] [2]; 1 undefined plate), 1 bowl, 1 *olla* (semi-open?), 1 *olletta* (closed?), >2 further BGW vessels in 11 fragments.

Frontini 1985: 12. 96; Sfredda 1998: 29.

*? **PV_GAR_cBar_268** [BV-68]: excavated April 2, 1980.

LT D-Augustan (Lamboglia 2).

≥ 2 vessels: 1 cup (BGW[81], Lamboglia 2), ≥ 1 further fragments of local pottery.

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

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[75] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 31.
[76] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 1.
[77] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 31.
[78] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 2.
[79] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 31.
[80] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 31 and L 5.
[81] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 1 and L 3 respectively.

Frontini 1985: 140; Sfredda 1998: 32.

*? **PV_GAR_cBar_271** [BV-71]: excavated March 1976; undefinable cremation context with artefacts mixed with *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

LT D2-Augustan (combination Lamboglia 5, brooch).

5 vessels: 3 plates (BGW[82], Lamboglia 5 [2]; undefined), 1 bowl, 1 *olla* (open?).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Pavese).

Frontini 1985: 12. 97.

***PV_GAR_cBar_272** [BV-72]: excavated April 5, 1980; cremation context with superficial *macchia carboniosa*.

1st century BC – 1st century AD (Lamboglia 5).

9 vessels: 6 plates (BGW[83], Lamboglia 5 [3]), 1 bowl, 1 pyxis (BGW[84], Lamboglia 3-Morel 7545?), 1 *olla* (open?).

Frontini 1985: 10. 12. 98; Sfredda 1998: 32.

PV_GAR_cBar_275 [BV-75]: excavated March 1976; cremation context.

1st century BC – 1st century AD (Lamboglia 5).

3 vessels: 2 plates (BGW[85], Lamboglia 5 [1]), 1 undefined vessel.

Frontini 1985: 99.

***PV_GAR_cBar_278** [BV-78]: excavated April 7, 1980; cremation context.

LT D.

2 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[86], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284), 1 *olla* (closed).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (bronze, Almgren 65; bronze, *Schüsselfibel*).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

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[82] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.
[83] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group, mainly L 31.
[84] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 2.
[85] The clay and gloss are classified as local C 12 and L 2 respectively.
[86] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 2.

Frontini 1985: 12. 99; Sfredda 1998: 29; Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 153 n. 22; Demetz 1999: 222. 237.

*? **PV_GAR_cBar_285** [BV-85]: excavated April 7, 1980; cremation '*a fossa*' with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with BGW.

LT D2-Augustan (combination Lamboglia 5, brooch).

7 vessels: 4 plates (BGW[87], Lamboglia 5 [2]; achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 5 [2]), 2 bowls, 1 *olla* (open?).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (bronze, Almgren 65; bronze, Pavese).

Frontini 1985: 12. 100; Sfredda 1998: 29; Demetz 1999: 222.

PV_GAR_cBar_307 [Campo Orsi 07/O-7]: excavated in sector Orsi.

The tomb is classified as one of two that had the most glass artefacts of those excavated within the necropolis, with the *olpe* one of only four attested for the whole Lomellina. **Augustan-Tiberian** (AD); female (combination of *balsamarium*, brooches and spindle whorls).

> 5 vessels: 1 *olpe* (glass, blue, ribbed), 1 cup (glass, amber, ribbed, Is. 3B), >1 *ollette*, >2 undefined vessel (*ceramica depurata*; glass).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 3 brooches (Pavese).

1 personal belongings: 1 glass *balsamarium*.

47 tools: 47 spindle whorls.

Varia: 1 oil lamp, 1 appliqué (Inv. 49026: terracotta), 1 statuette (terracotta).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 55 n. 16; Invernizzi 2005a: 138-139 ns 50. 54; Grossi 2014: 192 fig. 1.

PV_GAR_cBar_308b [Campo Orsi 08-bis/O-8 bis] – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorls).

26 tools: 26 spindle whorls.

Varia: 2 appliqués (Inv. 49038-49039: terracotta, horse and Satyr medallion → funerary bed type II).

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[87] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 55 n. 16; Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50; 141 tab. B.

PV_GAR_cBar_310 [Campo Orsi 10/O-10 = BAO 10?]: excavated October 2, 1977 in sector Orsi; cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with two terracotta appliqués.

Augustan (AD); female (spindle whorl).

8 vessels: 2 *olpai*, 3 plates (BGW[88], Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2276; Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2271 [2]), 1 beaker (*'a tulipano'*), 2 *ollette* (closed?).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (blue, globular).

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 1 oil lamp, 4 appliqués (Inv. 49060-49061, 49071[89]: terracotta, 2 lions and 2 Dionysius medallions → funerary bed type II), 1 statuette (terracotta).

Frontini 1985: 128. 138; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 55 n. 16; Sfredda 1998: 31; Invernizzi 2005a: 138-139 ns 50. 54; 141 tab. B; Grossi 2014: 189 n. 4.

PV_GAR_cBar_319 [O-19] – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl).

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 1 appliqué (Inv. 49071: terracotta).

Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50, cat. 88; 2005b: 36 cat. 10.

? **PV_GAR_cBar_325** [Campo Orsi 25]: excavated in sector Orsi.

The tomb is classified as one of two that had the most glass artefacts of those excavated within the necropolis. **Augustan-Tiberian**; female (*balsamarium* and brooches).

3 vessels: 1 *olpe* (glass, blue), 1 *amphoriskos-anforetta* (glass, purple with multi-coloured specks, Is. 15), 1 cup (glass, purple with white decoration, *zarte Rippenschale*).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch.

2 personal belongings: 1 glass *balsamarium*, 1 glass stirring rod.

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[88] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the C, L, M and N groups.
[89] Probably from a different tomb.

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Grossi 2014: 192 figs 2-3.

PV_GAR_cBar_326 [Campo Orsi 26]: excavated in sector Orsi.

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium.*

Varia: 1 oil lamp.

Grossi 2014: 189 n. 4.

PV_GAR_cBar_340 [Campo Orsi 40]: excavated in sector Orsi.

Varia: ≥ 1 glass items fused and molten on pyre.

Grossi 2014.

PV_GAR_cBar_341 [Campo Orsi 41]: excavated in sector Orsi.

Varia: ≥ 1 glass items fused and molten on pyre.

Grossi 2014.

PV_GAR_cBar_342 [Campo Orsi 42]: excavated in sector Orsi.

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium.*

Varia: 1 oil lamp.

Grossi 2014: 189 n. 4.

PV_GAR_cBar_353 [Campo Orsi 53]: excavated in sector Orsi.

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium.*

Varia: 1 oil lamp.

Grossi 2014: 189 n. 4.

PV_GAR_cBar_407

1st century BC (Lamboglia 5/55-Morel 2255).

1 vessel: 1 plate (BGW, Lamboglia 5/55-Morel 2255).

Bottinelli 1991-1992: 39; Sfredda 1998: 30.

PV_GAR_cBar_438

LT D2 (Lamboglia 3).

1 vessel: 1 pyxis (BGW, Lamboglia 3).

Bottinelli 1991-1992: 98; Sfredda 1998: 32.

PV_GAR_cBar_440

LT D-Augustan (Lamboglia 5).

1 vessel: 1 plate (BGW, Lamboglia 5).

Bottinelli 1991-1992: 100; Sfredda 1998: 29.

Garlasco, *località* Cascina Solferina

- Documented contexts: ?; excavated contexts: 20; published contexts: 8
- Contexts classified as complete: 2; contexts classified as incomplete: 6
- Chronological range: 1st century AD.

PV_GAR_cSol_004

Unburned assemblage deposited in a small adjacent niche. **1st century AD** (combination assemblage and construction of grave).

2 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 bowl.

Varia: 1 illegible coin.

Invernizzi 2003-2004b.

PV_GAR_cSol_008: the tomb could be the only one with some kind of grave markers as the amount of brick and pebble imply some kind of architectural structure.

Invernizzi 2003-2004b.

***PV_GAR_cSol_009**: cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with fragments from various artefacts (cf. varia).

Unburned assemblage, described as remarkably rich with abundant glass objects and female items, deposited in a small adjacent niche. **First half 1st century AD**; female.

4 vessels: 2 *ollette* (closed; open), 1 cup (thin-walled), 1 ladle-*simpulum* (bronze).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 small ring (bronze, not further classified).

12 personal belongings: 11 *balsamaria* (glass, colourless [4], yellow [4] and blue [3], pear-shaped, globular and dove-shaped, colourless [1]), 1 mirror (bronze).

15 tools: 15 spindle whorls. – 12 of them were found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa.*

Varia: 1 oil lamp ('*a volute*' with disc decoration of Pegasus), 1 appliqué, 1 statuette (terracotta, embracing couple), ≥ 2 nails (no further classification whether from shoes or other organic items), ≥ 1 glass items (molten fragments from the *macchia carboniosa*).

Invernizzi 2003-2004b; 2005b: 12. 46 cat. 39; Diani et al. 2009.

PV_GAR_cSol_011

Female (gendering artefacts not listed specifically; summarised only as 'necklaces, spindle whorls and glass probes').

Invernizzi 2003-2004b.

PV_GAR_cSol_013

Female (gendering artefacts not listed specifically; summarised only as 'necklaces, spindle whorls and glass probes').

Invernizzi 2003-2004b.

PV_GAR_cSol_015

Varia: 3 astragals (unburned).

Invernizzi 2003-2004b.

PV_GAR_cSol_016

Female (gendering artefacts not listed specifically; summarised only as 'necklaces, spindle whorls and glass probes').

Invernizzi 2003-2004b.

*PV_GAR_cSol_017

Unburned assemblage, described as remarkably rich with abundant glass objects and female items, deposited in a small adjacent niche. **Second half 1st century AD**; female.

≥ 8 vessels: 1 *olpe* (glass), 1 bottle (glass), 1 plate (TS), 1 bowl (glass, omphalos), 2 cups (*ceramica depurata*; glass), 1 beaker (*'a tulipano'*), ≥ 1 glass vessels (fragmented, from the *macchia carboniosa*).

5 personal belongings: 4 glass *balsamaria* (including 1 dove-shaped *balsamarium*), 1 mirror (bronze).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (*Firmalampe*), 1 statuette (terracotta), ≥ 1 nails (no further classification whether from shoes or other organic items).

Invernizzi 2003-2004b; Diani et al. 2009.

Fig. XIX PV_GAR_cSol_017 as displayed at the Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

Garlasco, *località* Cascina Cazzanina

- Documented contexts: ?; excavated contexts: ?; published contexts: 7
- Contexts classified as complete: ---; contexts classified as possibly complete: 1; contexts classified as incomplete: 6
- Chronological range: 1st century AD.

PV_GAR_lCaz_001 [tomba A]

Second half 1st century AD (combination *olpe*, oil lamp).

1 vessel: 1 *olpe* (glass, conical, Is. 65? or 55a).

1 personal belonging: 1 mirror with handle.

Varia: 1 oil lamp (*Firmalampe* Loeschke IX B, stamped FORTIS).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 106; 1986a: 58 n. 24.

PV_GAR_lCaz_003 [tomba C]

1st century AD (combination *olpe*, figurine).

1 vessel: 1 *olpe* (glass, conical, Is. 65? or 55a).

Varia: 1 statuette (terracotta, Europa).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 106; Invernizzi 1998b: 41.

PV_GAR_lCaz_004 [tomba D]

Second half 1st century AD (combination *olpe*, coin).

3 vessels: 1 *olpe* (glass, yellow, conical, Is. 65), 1 plate (glass, omphalos), 1 cup (glass, conical).

3 personal belongings: 3 glass *balsamaria* (dove-shaped; sphere-shaped; long pear-shaped).

Varia: 1 coin (Domitian), 1 bell-*tintinnabulum*, 2 buttons or glass beads?, 1 ring?

Roffia 1979: 117. 124 fig. 9; Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 284; Invernizzi 2002: 69 fig. 11.

PV_GAR_lCaz_008 [tomba H]

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 48917: *'a corpo laminare fogliato'*).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 77.

PV_GAR_lCaz_011 [tomba L] – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl).

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 8 appliqués (Inv. 48928-48932: terracotta, 2 lions, 2 Dionysius medallions, 1 griffin, 3 male busts → 2 funerary beds type I and II).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 55 n. 16; Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50; 141 tab. B.

PV_GAR_lCaz_012 [tomba M]: excavated May 31, 1975.

Tiberian; female (combination brooch and spindle whorl).

4 vessels: 2 *olpai*, 1 plate (BGW[90] Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2277), 1 cup (*vernice rossa* imitation, Drag. 24/25).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (bronze, hinged).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium*.

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 1 oil lamp, 1 terracotta appliqué (Inv. 48953).

Frontini 1985: 143; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 55 n. 16; Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50.

*? **PV_GAR_lCaz_013** [tomba N]

Flavian (oil lamp).

2 vessels: 1 small *amphora-anforetta* (glass, cordoned), 1 beaker.

3 personal belongings: 1 *balsamarium* (glass, *amphora*-shaped with horizontal ribbing)*,* 1 stirring rod, 1 mirror.

Varia: 1 oil lamp (*Firmalampe* Loeschke IX B, stamped FORTIS).

Roffia 1979: 114. 122 fig. 4; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 58 n. 24; Invernizzi 2002: 70 fig. 12.

Garlasco, *frazione* Madonna delle Bozzole

- Documented contexts: ?; excavated contexts: > 91; published contexts: 75
- Contexts classified as complete: 52; contexts classified as possibly complete: 9; contexts classified as incomplete: 14
- Chronological range: Golasecca – Langobardian period; the area of Madonna delle Bozzole has revealed mortuary evidence covering an extraordinarily long period.

***PV_GAR_MdB_001a** [t. 1a (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole outside the area excavated in 1967; cremation context seems to have been disturbed in antiquity, deposition of cremated remains in bowl?

Assemblage type B. Phase II (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 1; female (spindle whorl and brooch).

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[90] The clay and gloss are classified as local C 13 and C 12/C 13 respectively.

≥ 6 vessels: 1 bowl, 2 small bowls, 2 *olle* (situla-shaped, open; biconical, closed), ≥ 1 undefinable vessels.

3 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron), 1 arm-ring (bronze), 1 finger ring (iron).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Trucco 1983: 67. 69. 71, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 n. 124; 124.

*PV_GAR_MdB_001b [t. 1b (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole outside the area excavated in 1967.

Assemblage type A. Phase II (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 2.

3 vessels: 2 bowls, 1 small bowl.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron, LT II type with rectangular foot).

Trucco 1983: 67, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 2012.

*PV_GAR_MdB_002 [t. 2 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; cremation context, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage type C. Phase II (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 3; male (warrior grave).

3 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 1 *vaso a bottiglia*, 1 bowl.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron).

3 weapons and/or tools: 1 sword (iron), 1 shield boss (iron), 1 knife (iron).

Trucco 1983: 72, pls LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 124 n. 127; 128.

*PV_GAR_MdB_003 [t. 3 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; cremation context, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage type B. Phase I (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 1; female (spindle whorl).

4 vessels: 1 spouted jug (*Röhrenkanne*), 2 small bowls, 1 *olla* (biconical, closed).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Trucco 1983: 71, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 n. 124; 1995a: 179 fig. 1.

*PV_GAR_MdB_004 [t. 4 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; cremation context, deposition of cremated remains in both bowls.

Assemblage type B classified as one of the richest burials. **Second half 3rd-early 2nd century BC –** phase II (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 3; female (spindle whorl and brooch).

11? vessels: 3[91]? *vasi a (pre-)trottola*, 2 bowls, 4 small bowls, 1 beaker, 2 *ollette* [closed; semi-open with handle].

12 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (iron; bronze), 1 small chain (bronze), 8 buttons (bronze, 'Celto-Ligurian' set [Arslan 2012]), 1 bulla[92] (bronze).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 2 fittings (iron), ≥ 1 undefinable glass items (due to the date probably arm-ring or glass beads?).

Trucco 1983: 71-72, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 124 n. 127; 126; 1995a: 180 fig. 2; 181 fig. 3,11-21; Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 170; Arslan 2012.

*PV_GAR_MdB_005 [t. 5 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; cremation context, deposition of cremated remains in small pit underneath general pit level? in both bowls.

Assemblage type C. Phase III (Trucco 1983); male (warrior grave).

5 vessels: 2 bowls, 3 small bowls.

2 weapons: 1 sword (iron), 1 dagger.

Trucco 1983: 72, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15.

*PV_GAR_MdB_006 [t. 6 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; cremation context, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage type A. **Second half 3rd-early 2nd century BC** – phase III (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 3; infans? (poverty of grave according to Arslan 1984).

6 vessels: 1 *vaso a pre-trottola*, 2 bowls, 1 small bowl, 1[93] *olla* (biconical, closed), 1 *olletta* (open) [94].

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron).

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[91] Three *vasi a trottola* to be seen on drawing – according to Trucco only one.
[92] Not mentioned in Trucco's combination table.
[93] Three *olle* to be seen on drawing.
[94] Not mentioned in Trucco's combination table.

Trucco 1983: pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 124 n. 127; 126; 1995a: 181 fig. 3,22-26; 182 fig. 4; Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 170.

*PV_GAR_MdB_007 [t. 7 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; cremation context, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage type A. Phase III (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 3.

6 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 1 bowl, 1 small bowl (omphalos), 1 small bowl/beaker, 1 *olletta*, 1 microceramic.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron).

Trucco 1983: pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 124 n. 127.

*PV_GAR_MdB_008 [t. 8 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole, deposition of cremated remains in small pit underneath general pit level.

Assemblage type C. Phase III (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 3; male (warrior grave).

4 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 1 bowl, 1 *olla* (biconical, closed), 1 *olletta*.

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (iron).

1 personal belonging: 1 razor blade[95].

7 weapons and/or tools: 2 spearheads (iron), 4 carving knives (iron), 1 pair of shears[96].

Trucco 1983: 72, pls LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 124 ns 127-128; 126.

*PV_GAR_MdB_009 [t. 9 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole.

Non-datable.

Trucco 1983: pls LXII-LXIII figs 14-15.

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[95] Not mentioned in Trucco's combination table.
[96] Not mentioned in Trucco's combination table.

*PV_GAR_MdB_010 [t. 10 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole, deposition of cremated remains in adjacent pit.

Assemblage type C. Phase II (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 1; male (warrior grave; Arslan 1984 points out that the association of jug and weapons is rather unusual; he therefore suggests an interpretation as double burial of mother and son).

4 vessels: 1 spouted jug (*Röhrenkanne*), 1 bowl, 2 small bowls.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron).

2 weapons: 1 shield boss (iron), 1 javelin.

Trucco 1983: 71-72, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 ns 124-125; 124-125.

*PV_GAR_MdB_011 [t. 11 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; most likely disturbed in antiquity.

Assemblage type D. Phase III (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 1.

≥ 4 vessels: 1 bowl, 2 small bowls, ≥ 1 further undefinable vessels.

Trucco 1983: 72, pls LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 n. 124; 124.

*PV_GAR_MdB_012 [t. 12 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; cremation context, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage type D. Phase II (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 3.

4 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 2 bowls, 1 small bowl.

Trucco 1983: pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 124 n. 127.

*PV_GAR_MdB_013a [t. 13 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; cremation context, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage type B. Phase I (after Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 1; female infans (reduced Assemblage including spindle whorl).

4 vessels: 1 bowl, 2 (small) bowls, 1 *olla* (pear-shaped, closed).

4 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (iron), 1 arm-ring (bronze, *Hohlbuckelring*), 1 belt buckle (iron).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Trucco 1983: 71, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 n. 124; 124-125.

*? **PV_GAR_MdB_013b** [t. 13b (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole outside the area excavated in 1967.

Non-datable according to Trucco; Arslan phase 1.

Trucco 1983: 67, pls LXII-LXIII figs 14-15[97]; Arslan 1984: 123 n. 124.

*? **PV_GAR_MdB_014** [t. 14 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole outside the area excavated in 1967.

Trucco 1983: 67, pls LXII-LXIII figs 14-15[98].

***PV_GAR_MdB_015** [t. 15 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; cremation context, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage type A (Trucco 1983). Phase I (after Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 1 probably also phase 2.

7 vessels: 1 bowl, 2 (small) bowls, 2 *olle* (pear-shaped, closed; biconical, closed), 1 olletta, 1 microceramic.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron).

Trucco 1983: pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 n. 124; 124.

***PV_GAR_MdB_016** [t. 16 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; cremation context, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage type A (Trucco 1983). The burial dates before LT C1 (**LT B2**?) and is thus one of the oldest burials for LIA Lomellina**,** phase I (after Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 1; male (lack of classic female attire such as spindle whorls and/or a set of spouted jug and small bowl).

4 vessels: 1 bowl, 2 *olle* (pear-shaped, closed; biconical, closed), 1 *olletta* (semi-open).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (iron, LT II type).

Trucco 1983: 70, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 n. 124; 124; 2012.

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[97] Not listed in Trucco's combination table.
[98] Not listed in Trucco's combination table.

*PV_GAR_MdB_017 [t. 17 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; cremation context, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage type B. Phase I (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 1; female (classic female attire such as a single spindle whorl and a set of spouted jug and small omphalos bowl).

9/10? vessels: 1 spouted jug (*Röhrenkanne*), 1 bowl, 3/4? small bowls (one with omphalos), 2 *olle* (situla-shaped, closed; biconical, closed), 1 *olletta* (closed), 1 microceramic/miniature vessel.

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron), 1 arm-ring (bronze).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Trucco 1983: 71, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 n. 124; 124.

PV_GAR_MdB_018 [t. 18 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; cremation context, deposition of cremated remains in bowl; according to Arslan 1984 the tomb contained two cremations of different periods; burial 18b seems to have been disturbed already in antiquity.

Assemblage type B, classified as one of the richest burials of the necropolis. Phase II (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 1 (burial 18b) and 3 (burial 18a); female.

8 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 1 spouted jug (*Röhrenkanne*), 2 bowls, 3 small bowls, 1 *olla* (situla-shaped, open).

6 items of jewellery/dress: 4 brooches (iron [2]; bronze [2, at least one belongs to burial 18a]), 1 arm-ring[99] (bronze, *Hohlbuckelring*; belongs to burial 18a), 1 finger ring (iron).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: ≥ 1 undefinable glass items (due to the date probably arm-ring or glass beads?).

Trucco 1983: 71-72, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123-124 ns 124. 127; 126-127.

*PV_GAR_MdB_019 [t. 19 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; cremation context in c. 1 m depth, deposition of cremated remains and smaller items in bowl.

Assemblage type B (Trucco 1983) in 2 depositions: bowl with cremated remains and smaller items, *vaso a trottola* and small bowl to one side; jug, beaker, 3 small bowls and spindle whorl to the other side. Phase II (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 2; female (spindle whorl and brooch; Arslan 1984 notes that the burial might be that of a female

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[99] Not mentioned in Trucco's combination table.

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child due the scarcity of types; this appears rather strange given the richness of the burial).

11 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*[100] (Inv. 9727), 1 spouted jug (Inv. 9729: *Röhrenkanne*) [101], 1 bowl (Inv. 9726), 4 small bowls (Inv. 9728; 9732: omphalos; 9733-9734), 1 beaker-*poculum*[102](Inv. 9731), 2 *olle* (pear-shaped, closed), 1 microceramic.

5 items of jewellery/dress: 3 brooches (w/o Inv.: iron; 97235, 97235/1: bronze, LT II type), 1 ring[103] (Inv. 9736: iron, dm. max. 3.2 cm), [necklace evidenced by] fused beads[104] (glass, blue).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 979730).

Varia: 4 undefinable bronze fragments from brooches or bracelets[105].

Trucco 1983: 71, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 n. 126; 2012.

*PV_GAR_MdB_020 [t. 20 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; cremation context, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage type A. The burial dates before LT C1 (**LT B2**?) and is thus one of the oldest burials for LIA Lomellina**,** phase I (after Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 1; male (lack of classic female attire such as spindle whorls and/or a set of spouted jug and small bowl).

6 vessels: 2 bowls, 1 small bowl, 2 *olle* (pear-shaped, closed; biconical, closed), 1 further vessel (*vaso lenticolare*).

2? items of jewellery/dress: 2? brooches (iron, LT II type).

Trucco 1983: 70, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 n. 124; 124; 2012.

*PV_GAR_MdB_021 [t. 21 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; cremation context, deposition of cremated remains in (small) bowl in adjacent pit (classified as atypical for phase 3 and the only burial with this feature).

Assemblage type C (complex pottery assemblage; unusual is the combination of bronze brooch and weapons). Phase II (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 3; male (warrior grave).

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[100] Not mentioned in Trucco's combination table.
[101] Not mentioned in Trucco's combination table.
[102] Not mentioned in Trucco's combination table.
[103] Not mentioned in Trucco's combination table.
[104] Not mentioned in Trucco's combination table.
[105] Not mentioned in Trucco's combination table.

≥ 10 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 4 (small) bowls, 1 *olla* (biconical, closed), 2 *ollette* (both semi-open?), 1 microceramic, ≥ undefinable BGW vessels*.

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (bronze), 1 small ring (bronze).

1 weapon: 1 shield boss (iron).

Trucco 1983: 72, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 124 ns 127-128.

PV_GAR_MdB_022 [t. 22 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole.

The assemblage belongs to a double burial of different periods with weapons placed in 'bowl a', brooches and cremated remains in 'bowl b' (Arslan 1984 observes that the assemblages had been completely mixed up and are impossible to separate); Trucco 1983 notes a large quantity of pottery (and metal objects), whereas Arslan observes an absence of any pouring vessels such as spouted jugs and small bowls; 22a: assemblage type A. Phase II (Trucco 1983)/ Arslan phase 1; male (warrior burial); 22b: assemblage type C. Phase III (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 3; no gender identification.

≥ 21 vessels: 3 *vasi a trottola* (22a and 22b [2]), 3 bowls (22a and 22b [2]), 7 small bowls (22a [5] and 22b [2]), 1 beaker (22a), 3 *olle* (pear-shaped, closed [22a]; biconical, closed [22a and 22b]), 2 *ollette* (semi-open; n/a [22a]), ≥ 1 microceramics (22a), ≥ 1 undefinable BGW vessels (22a).

4 items of jewellery/dress: 4 brooches (iron: 22a).

3 weapons and/or tools (22b only): 1 sword (iron), 1 shield boss (iron), 1 knife (iron).

Trucco 1983: 69. 72, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 ns 124-125; 124 ns 127-128; 125.

***PV_GAR_MdB_023** [t. 23 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole along the edges of the area excavated in 1967; deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage type A (Trucco 1983); difficult to date according to Trucco 1983/phase II.

4 vessels: 1 bowl, 1 *olla* (closed), 2 *ollette* (closed).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (iron).

Trucco 1983: 70, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15.

PV_GAR_MdB_024a [t. 24a (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole along the edges of the area excavated in 1967, most likely disturbed already in antiquity; according to Arslan 1984 the tomb contained two cremations of different periods, Trucco must have already split the tomb in two burials (24a and 24b); deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage type B. Difficult to date according to Trucco 1983/phase II; Arslan phase 1; female (spindle whorl and brooch).

≥ 4 vessels: 1 spouted jug (*Röhrenkanne*), 1 bowl, 1 small bowl, ≥ 1 undefinable vessels.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Trucco 1983: 69-71, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 n. 124; 124.

PV_GAR_MdB_024b [t. 24b (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole along the edges of the area excavated in 1967, most likely disturbed already in antiquity; according to Arslan 1984 the tomb contained two cremations of different periods, Trucco must have already split the tomb in two burials (24a and 24b).

Assemblage type D. Phase III (Trucco 1983).

≥ 4 vessels: 1 bowl, 2 small bowls, ≥ 1 undefinable vessels.

Trucco 1983: 72, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15.

PV_GAR_MdB_025 [t. 25 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole along the edges of the area excavated in 1967, most likely disturbed already in antiquity.

Assemblage type D. Difficult to date according to Trucco 1983/phase II; Arslan phase 1.

≥ 6 vessels: 3 small bowls (one of them with omphalos), 1 *olla* (open), 1 *olletta*, ≥ 1 undefinable vessels.

Trucco 1983: 70. 72, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 n. 124.

***PV_GAR_MdB_026** [t. 26 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole; deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Phase I (Trucco 1983); Arslan phase 1.

11 vessels: 1 jug, 2 bowls, 7 (small) bowls, 1 *olla* (open).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 arm-ring (bronze).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Trucco 1983: 71, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 n. 124.

*PV_GAR_MdB_027 [t. 27 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole, deposition of cremated remains in adjacent pit beneath general pit level.

Arslan 1984, contradictorily notes the absence of any pouring vessels such as spouted jugs and small bowls, assemblage type C. Phase I (Trucco 1983); Arslan phase 1; male (warrior grave).

4 vessels: 2 small bowls, 1 *olla* (closed), 1 *olletta/olla* (open).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (iron), 1 arm-ring (iron).

4 weapons and/or tools: 1 sword (iron), 1 spearhead and ferrule? (iron), 1 shield boss (iron), 1 pair of shears (iron).

Varia: 2 fittings (iron, probably from sword suspension), 1 metal plate? [106] (shield boss?; only evidenced by drawing).

Trucco 1983: 71, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 ns 124-125; 124-125; 2012 [only through drawing].

*PV_GAR_MdB_028 [t. 28 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole, deposition of cremated remains in adjacent pit beneath general pit level.

Arslan 1984, contradictorily notes the absence of any pouring vessels such as spouted jugs and small bowls, assemblage type C. Phase I (Trucco 1983); Arslan phase 1; male (warrior grave).

4 vessels: 2 small bowls, 2 *olle* (closed; open).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron), 1 arm-ring (iron).

5 weapons and/or tools: 1 sword (iron), 1 suspension chain (iron), 1 spearhead and/or javelin? (iron), 1 shield boss (iron), 1 small knife-*coltellino*[107].

Varia: 2 fittings (iron, probably from sword suspension).

Trucco 1983: 71, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 ns 124-125; 124-125 n. 131; 1995a.

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[106] Not mentioned in Trucco's combination table.
[107] Not mentioned in Trucco's combination table.

*PV_GAR_MdB_029 [t. 29 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole, deposition of cremated remains in bowl in small pit underneath general pit level?

Assemblage type C. Phase III (Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 3; male (warrior grave).

5 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 1 bowl, 2 small bowls, 1 *olla* (closed).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron).

2 weapons: 1 sword (iron), 1 shield boss (iron).

Trucco 1983: 72, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 124 ns 127-128.

*PV_GAR_MdB_030 [t. 30 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole, deposition of cremated remains in small pit underneath general pit level.

Assemblage type A. **Second half 3rd-early 2nd century BC –** phase II (after Trucco 1983)/Arslan phase 3; infans? (poverty of grave according to Arslan 1984).

3 vessels: 1 *vaso a pre-trottola*, 1 beaker, 1 *olla* (closed).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron).

Trucco 1983: 72, pls LVI fig. 8. LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 124 n. 127; 1995a: 183 fig. 5; Spagnolo Garzoli 2009: 170.

PV_GAR_MdB_031 [t. 31 (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole along the edges of the area excavated in 1967, obviously disturbed already in antiquity.

Non-datable according to Trucco/Arslan phase 1.

Trucco 1983: pls LXII-LXIII figs 14-15; Arslan 1984: 123 n. 124; 124.

PV_GAR_MdB_035 [t. α (1967)]: excavated at the Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole.

Arslan phase 3; infans? (poverty of grave according to Arslan 1984).

Arslan 1984: 124 n. 127.

*PV_GAR_MdB_038 [t. 3 (1974)]: excavated at Boschetto, proprietà Lucca.

The assemblage was classified as the richest in glass objects. **Tiberian-Vespasian**? (glass bottle).

4 vessels: 1 bottle (glass, cubic), 2 cups (TS, Drag. 25; glass, *'a sacco'*), 1 beaker.

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium*.

Varia: 1 oil lamp '*a volute*'.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 94. 101 fig. 1,1.

*? **PV_GAR_MdB_039** [t. 4 (1974)]: excavated at Boschetto, proprietà Lucca.

1st century AD (oil lamp).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (*Firmalampe* Loeschke IX B, stamped ATIMETI), 1 statuette (terracotta, embracing couple).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 94-95. 101 fig. 1,2.

*? **PV_GAR_MdB_040** [t. 5 (1974)]: excavated at Boschetto, proprietà Lucca.

Domitian.

3 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 bowl/plate, cup (TS?).

Varia: 1 coin (Domitian), 1 oil lamp.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 95. 101 fig. 1,3.

PV_GAR_MdB_047 [t. 12 (1974)]: excavated at Boschetto, proprietà Lucca.

The burial was classified as one of the oldest of the necropolis (or only this sector?).
Augustan (coin).

Varia: 1 coin (minted under Sisenna).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 95.

*? **PV_GAR_MdB_049** [t. 14 (1974)]: excavated at Boschetto, proprietà Lucca.

Second half 1st century AD.

1 vessel: 1 *hydria* (glass, blue).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Loeschke IX B).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 95.

*PV_GAR_MdB_063 [MPR-0 or tomba 1]: excavated August 2 or 9, 1976[108] or August 1977; indirect cremation in *'piena/nuda terra'* in 1.70-1.80 m depth with *macchia carboniosa* in 1.20 m depth mixed with nuts, deposition of cremated remains, smaller items and nuts in bowl.

Assemblage aligned in several rows along the western and southern edge; both coins were originally placed on a wooden object within the mortuary container, including also the silver arm-ring, the brooches and buttons. **130-120 BC**/final LT C2-LT D (arm-ring); male (knife; despite arm-rings).

28 vessels: 3 *vasi a trottola* (Inv. 18065-18066, 18068), 4 bowls (Inv. 18069, 18077, 18079-18080), 14 small bowls (Inv. 18070-18072-18076, 18078, 18081-18082, 18088-18091), 1 *askos* (Inv. 18092: swan-shaped), 3 *olle* (Inv. 18067: closed; 18085: semi-open; 18086: open), 3 *ollette* (Inv. 18083, 18087: open; 18084: closed).

9 items of jewellery/dress: 5 brooches (Inv. 18100-18102: bronze, LT II type; 18097-18098: iron), 2 arm-rings (Inv. 18095: glass, purple, Haevernick 7a; 18096: silver, *Knotenring*, fragmented through fire), 2 buttons (bronze).

1 tools: 1 knife (Inv. 18097: iron, s-shaped; with textile and wood corrosion adherence).

Varia: 2 coins (Inv. 18093: silver, Padana VXII; 180942: silver, obolus), (hazel)nuts.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 282-283 fig. 1; 1980b: 231; Molinari 1981; Vannacci Lunazzi 1982d; Arslan 1984: 133; 1999: 70 n. 11; Molinari 1999: 236-238, pl. LVIII,3; Diani et al. 2014: 60-61 fig. 10.

*PV_GAR_MdB_064 [MPR-1]: excavated November 20/21, 1978 or 1979; cremation in *'piena/nuda terra'*, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage aligned in two rows; all coins were originally placed on a wooden object. **Third quarter 2nd century BC**/LT C2 (arm-ring); female.

18 vessels: 4 *vasi a trottola*; 11 bowls and small bowls, 2 *olle*, 1 *olletta*.

> 1 items of jewellery/dress: >1 brooches (iron).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 3 coins (silver, Padana VXI; Padana VXII; obolus. probably 150-130 BC), ≥ 1 undefinable bronze fragments.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980b: 230-241; Arslan 1984: 133; 1999: 69; Molinari 1999: 236. – *Fig. XXXVII*

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[108] According to Diani et al. 2014: 65 n. 1 quoting Vannacci Lunazzi 1982

*? PV_GAR_MdB_065 [t. 1 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/III; undefinable context in 65 cm depth.

Non-datable.

3 vessels: 1 *olla* (open), 1 bowl, 1 undefinable vessel.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 99 pl. IV,1; 105 fig. 2,1; 1982a: 96-97.

*PV_GAR_MdB_066 [t. 2 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/III; indirect cremation context in 105 cm depth with *macchia carboniosa* in 70-100 cm depth, mixed with cup, plate and the nails.

Second half 1st century AD.

5 vessels: 2 *olpai* (ceramics; glass, green, pear-shaped, Is. 14) 1 plate (TS, Drag. 17B/Goudienau 39), 1 cup (fine grey ware), 1 *olletta* (open).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (greenish, pear-shaped).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Loeschke IV), 3 nails (iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 99 pl. IV,2-8; 105 fig. 2,1-2; 1982a: 98. 100.

*? PV_GAR_MdB_067 [t. 3 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/III; undefinable context in 52 and 54 cm depth.

Non-datable/2nd – beginning 3rd century AD.

2 vessels: 1 cup (similar to Drag. 40), 1 beaker.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 99 pl. IV,11-12; 1982a: 100.

*? PV_GAR_MdB_068 [t. 4 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/III; undefinable context in 66 cm depth.

2nd – beginning 3rd century AD.

1 vessel: 1 *olle* (open).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 99 pl. IV,9-10; 1982a: 100.

*PV_GAR_MdB_069 [t. 5 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/IV; indirect (?) cremation context in 70 cm depth, probably *'a cassetta'* (fragmented tiles) with circular *macchia carboniosa* mixed with artefacts.

4 vessels: 1 bowl, 2 *ollette* (open; fragmented), 1 undefinable vessel.

Varia: 1 illegible coin.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 103 pl. V,1-3; 1982a: 102.

PV_GAR_MdB_070 [t. 6 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/IV; direct (?) cremation context with rectangular *ustrinum* mixed with undefined artefacts.

Varia: 2 small iron nails.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 102.

*PV_GAR_MdB_071** [t. 7 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/III bordering A2/IV; indirect (?) cremation context in 60 cm depth with circular *macchia carboniosa.*

2nd-3rd century AD.

1 vessel: 1 bowl.

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Loeschke X), 5 iron nails.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 103 pl. V,4; 1982a: 102. 104.

*PV_GAR_MdB_072** [t. 8 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2; indirect (?) cremation context in 85 cm depth with ovoid *macchia carboniosa.*

The assemblage was classified as the richest of the 1981 excavations. **Second half 1st century AD.**

8 vessels: 1 *olpe* (glass, light green, conical, Is. 65? or 55a), 1 plate (glass, dark green), 3 cups (TS, Drag. 4; glass, dark green, undefined; glass, light green, Modiolus), 2 *ollette* (closed; open[109]), 1 undefinable ceramic vessel.

3 items of jewellery/dress: [necklace evinced through] 15 beads (amber), 1 finger ring (bronze; dm. 1.8 cm), [shoes evidenced by] 3 small nails/fittings (iron).

3 personal belongings: 1 glass *balsamarium* (green, pear-shaped), stirring rod (glass, green with white, Is. 79), mirror (with handle and wood corrosion adherence).

Varia: 1 coin (Vespasian), 1 oil lamp, 12 nails (iron), 1 statuette (terracotta, woman with fruit basket resembling Flavian fashion).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 103 pl. V,5-17; 105 fig 2,3; 1982a: 104. 106.

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[109] Classified as *orciolo* (small jug) by Vannacci Lunazzi despite the lack of handle or spout.

*PV_GAR_MdB_073 [t. 9 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/III with *ustrinum* reaching into A2/IV; cremation context in 80 cm depth.

Second half 1st century AD.

Varia: 1 oil lamp (*Firmalampe* Loeschke IX B).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 107 pl. VI,1; 1982a: 106. 108.

*PV_GAR_MdB_074 [t. 10 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/III bordering B1/II; cremation context in 112 cm depth with rectangular *macchia carboniosa/ustrinum* of 68 cm.

T.p.q.: **Vespasian**.

5 vessels: 3 *olpai*, 1 cup (TS, Drag. 24/25; Goudineau 38), 1 beaker (fine grey ware).

1 item of jewellery/dress: [necklace evidenced by] 15 beads (glass paste, whitish).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (light green, pear-shaped).

Varia: 1 coin (Vespasian).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 107 pl. VI,2-7; 109 fig. 3,1; 1982a: 108; 1982c: 239.

*PV_GAR_MdB_075 [t. 11 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/III; *macchia carboniosa/ustrinum* mixed with undefinable pottery, coin and nail.

Non-datable.

Varia: 1 illegible coin, 1 nail (iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 108. 110.

*PV_GAR_MdB_076 [t. 12 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector A2/IV bordering B2/III.

1st century AD.

Undefined pottery fragments.

2 items of jewellery/dress: [shoes evidenced by] 19 small nails/fittings (iron), [necklace evidenced by] 4 beads (glass paste) and 13 small rings (bronze).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 107 pl. VI,8; 1982a: 110.

*? **PV_GAR_MdB_077** [t. 13 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/IV.

Non-datable.

1 vessel: 1 cup (imitation of Drag. 35).

Varia: 1 undefined iron fragment.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 107 pl. VI,9; 1982a: 110.

***PV_GAR_MdB_078** [t. 14 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/IV; inhumation context in 105 cm depth, east-west orientated with the head and assemblage placed on a tile and a second tile perpendicular to the other one.

T.p.q.: **170 AD**; no gender identification, 50-60 years (abrasion of teeth).

3 vessels: 1 plate-bowl, 1 cup, 1 *olla* (closed).

Varia: 2 coins (illegible; minted under Lucilla. 170 AD).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 107 pl. VI,10-12; 109 fig. 3,2-3; 1982a: 110. 112; 1982c: 239.

***PV_GAR_MdB_079** [t. 15 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/I; inhumation context in 72-89 cm depth, east-west orientated with two tiles.

T.p.q.: **241 AD**.

3 vessels: 1 plate-bowl, 1 *olla* (closed), 1 *olletta* (open).

Varia: 2 coins (minted under Gordian III. 241 AD)

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 111 pl. VII,1-3; 113 fig. 4,1; 1982a: 112; 1982c: 239.

***PV_GAR_MdB_080** [t. 16 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/II; inhumation context in 38-68 cm depth, east-west orientated with the short edges of grave-pit (220 x 30 x 43 cm) marked with tiles.

T.p.q.: **second half 2nd century AD**.

4 vessels: 1 plate-bowl, 1 cup, 1 *olla* (closed), 1 *olletta* (open).

Varia: 2 coins (illegible; sesterce minted under Faustina).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 111 pl. VII,4-7; 113 fig. 4,2-3; 1982a: 112, 114; 1982c: 239.

*PV_GAR_MdB_081 [t. 17 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/II; context in 58-82 cm depth.

Republican?

1 vessel: 1 undefined fragment.

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 114.

*PV_GAR_MdB_082 [t. 18 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/II towards A2/IV; undefinable cremation context; presence of *macchia carboniosa/ustrinum* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Non-datable.

2 vessels: 1 cup (fine grey ware), 1 undefinable vessel.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 114.

*PV_GAR_MdB_083 [t. 19 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector A2/IV; inhumation context with protective tile.

Non-datable.

6 vessels: 1 cup, 1 *olla* (open), 1 *olletta* (closed), 3 undefinable vessels.

Varia: 1 flake of flint.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 111 pl. VII,8-11; 115 pl. VIII,1; 117 fig. 5,1; 1982a: 114. 116.

*PV_GAR_MdB_084 [t. 20 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/II towards A2/IV; undefinable cremation context; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 116.

*PV_GAR_MdB_085 [t. 21 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector A2/IV; context in 111-137 cm depth; deposition in a wooden box evidenced by four hinges and six nails.

First half 1st century AD.

2 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 cup (fine grey ware).

2 personal belongings: 2 glass *balsamaria* (light green, pear-shaped; amber, spherical).

Varia: 4 hinges (iron), 6 nails (iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 115 pl. VIII,2-5; 117 fig. 5,2-3; 1982a: 116. 118.

*PV_GAR_MdB_086 [t. 22 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/II.

Non-datable.

2 vessels: 1 *olletta* (open), 1 undefinable vessel (fragment of large dimensions).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 115 pl. VIII,6-7; 1982a: 118.

*PV_GAR_MdB_087 [t. 23 (1981)]: excavated at proprietà F.lli Baselli – sector B2/II.

T.p.q.: c. **141 AD**.

2 vessels: 2 cups (derivate of Drag. 35).

Varia: 1 sesterce (Faustina. c. 141 AD).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1980a: 115 pl. VIII,8-9; 1982a: 118.

PV_GAR_MdB_088: excavated at via Ca'Bassa, 14 in 1981.

Advanced LT C2 (*vasi a trottola* and *olla*).

>7 vessels: 3 *vasi a trottola*, >3 bowls, 1 *olla*.

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (bronze; slightly leaf-shaped bow), 1 arm-ring (glass, blue).

Arslan 1984: 133; Vannacci Lunazzi 1982c: 238-239 fig. 3.

*PV_GAR_MdB_089 [n.° 1 (1983)]: excavated October 2, 1983 at via Ca' Bassa, deposition of cremated remains in bowl/*olla*.

LT C1.

6 vessels: 1 bowl/*olla*?, 4 small bowls, 1 *olla* (semi-open).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 3 brooches (iron, LT II type).

1 personal belonging: 1 razor blade.

2 weapons/tools: 1 spearhead, 1 carving knife.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983-1984: 235 pl. III. 238-240; 1984: 316-318.

*PV_GAR_MdB_090 [n.° 2 (1983)]: excavated February 20, 1983 at Santuario della Madonna delle Bozzole/via Ca' Bassa, deposition of cremated remains in small bowl with bowl/basin covering the assemblage upside down.

LT C1.

7 vessels: 1 bottle, 1 bowl/basin, 4 small bowls, 1 *olletta* (closed).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983a: 386-388 pl. II; 1983-1984: 237 pl. IV. 240-241.

PV_GAR_MdB_091 [MPR-3]: excavated May 22, 1985; cremation in '*piena terra*'.

Mid-2nd century BC/LT C2 (pottery); male (knife; despite spindle whorl).

27 vessels including ≥ 1 *vaso pre-trottola*, ≥ 1 *vaso a trottola*?, ≥ 1 undefined vessels with plastic decoration.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (bronze).

2 tools: 1 knife (iron), 1 spindle whorl (lead).

Varia: 1 drachma (silver, Padana XVI), 1 sesterce (Republican), 1 hook-*gancio* (iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1985: 118; Arslan 1996: 70; 1999: 70.

*PV_GAR_MdB_092 [C-tomba]: excavated at Osteria delle Bozzole, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Second half 2nd century BC.

11 vessels: 5 *vasi a trottola* (Inv. 9867-9870, 9879), 3 bowls (Inv. 9866, 9863, 9873), 1 plate (Inv. 9864: *vernice rossa-bruna*), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 9865: open), 1 undefined biconical vessel (Inv. 9873).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 9878: iron), 1 chain (Inv. 9875: iron, probably from belt or sword chain respectively).

3 tools and weapons: 1 sword with traces of scabbard and suspension chain (Inv. 9877), 1 knife (Inv. 9874: iron), 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 9872).

Varia: 1 metal sheet frgmt (Inv. 9876: iron, probably from shield boss).

Arslan 1971: 74-78. 75 fig. 5; 1984: 142.

PV_GAR_MdB_097 [MNO-5]: excavated May 2, 1976 in via Nievo (next to the property of a Mr. Gino Pittana), the context is one of five cremation burials *'a fossa'* with visible *macchia carboniosa*, all of them already disturbed in antiquity.

Augustan (*balsamaria*).

6 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Min C4), 2 plates (BGW[110], Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2276 and 2277), 1 small bowl/cup (thin-walled), 1 *olla* (semi-open?), 1 small vessel described as *urna-vasetto/olletta* (open).

2 personal belongings: 2 glass *balsamaria* (blue).

Varia: 1 oil lamp.

Frontini 1985: 140.

***PV_GAR_MdB_098** [MB 22]: excavated April 16-18, 1982 in via Baraggia 36 (property of a Mr. G. Lucca); indirect cremation context covered by a *macchia carboniosa*.

Augustan-Tiberian (Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2277).

5 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 plate (BGW[111], Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2277), 1 bowl, 1 beaker, 1 *olla* (open?).

19 tools: 19 spindle whorls.

Frontini 1985: 141.

***PV_GAR_MdB_099** [MB 23]: excavated April 16-18, 1982 in via Baraggia 36 (property of a Mr. G. Lucca); cremation context with a *macchia carboniosa*.

Augustan-Tiberian.

6 vessels: 1 bowl, 3 plates (BGW[112], Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2277 [2]; *ceramica comune* [1]), 1 beaker, 1 *olla* (closed?, incised inscription).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron, corroded).

3 tools: 3 spindle whorls.

Frontini 1985: 141.

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[110] The clay and gloss are classified as as Cremonese CR 23 and L 9 and local L 6 in the second case.

[111] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 9 and L8 respectively.

[112] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.

PV_GAR_MdB_100 [MB 21] – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (*balsamarium*).

≥ 1 personal belongings: ≥ 1 *balsamarium*.

Varia: 2 appliqués (Inv. 34493-34494: terracotta, couple of griffin protomes → funerary bed type I).

Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 52. 141 tab. B, cat. 89-90; 2005b: 40 cat. 24.

PV_GAR_MdB_101 [MN 14] – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl).

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 3 appliqués (Inv. 34775-34776: terracotta, lion, Dionysius medaillon and horse → funerary bed type II hybrid?).

Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50. 141 tab. B, cat. 92-93; 2005b: 35 cat. 8.

Gropello Cairoli, *località* Castagnevo

- Documented contexts: > 39; excavated contexts: > 39; published contexts: 2
- Contexts classified as complete: 1; contexts classified as incomplete: 1
- Chronological range: first half 1st century AD.

PV_GRC_lCas_001: excavated December 17, 1955 in zone A; cremation '*a fossa*' in 1 m depth with bone material spread over the bottom of pit.

First half 1st century AD; female (mirror, dove-shape *balsamarium*).

5 vessels: 2 *olpai* (Inv. 13300, 13308: Min C4), 1 plate (Inv. 15685: BGW[113], Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2276, brand stamp MCOELI), 2 cups (Inv. 13303, 13311: fine grey ware, sanded).

3 personal belongings: 2 *balsamaria* (Inv. 13304: yellow glass, dove-shaped, Is. 11; 13305: glass, greenish blue, pear-shaped, Is. 27), 1 mirror (Inv. 13312: silver-bronze alloy).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Inv. 13313: Dressel 9/Loeschke Ib), 1 statuette (Inv. 6884: terracotta, embracing couple), 1 small piece of wax? (Inv. 13414: *pane di cera*).

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[113] The clay and gloss are classified as local C 12.

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 11-13 fig. 2; 12 fig. 3; Roffia 1979: 116 n. 51; 124 fig. 8; Frontini 1985: 116; Sfredda 1998: 31.

PV_GRC_lCas_002: excavated at località Frascate; cremation *'a cassetta'*.

Beginning 1st century AD; female.

6 vessels: 3 *olpai*, 2 plates (BGW), 1 cup (thin-walled, sanded).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (bronze, Aucissa?).

5 personal belongings: 5 *balsamaria* (glass, yellow [2], colourless and purple, globular).

2 tools: 2 spindle whorls.

Varia: 2 coins (bronze, illegible), 4 appliqués (terracotta, 2 griffins and 2 male busts → funerary bed type I), 1 statuette (terracotta, dove).

Invernizzi 2005a: 138-139 ns 50. 54. 141 tab. B, cat. 136-139; 2005b: 46 cat. 38.

Gropello Cairoli, *località* Marone-Voghera

- Documented contexts: > 210, it is assumed that the necropolis could have comprised of > 1200 burials; excavated contexts: > 210; published contexts: 69
- Contexts classified as complete: 47; contexts classified as possibly complete: 1; contexts classified as incomplete: 21
- Chronological range: 2nd century BC- first years 2nd century AD.

*****PV_GRC_lMar_001** [podere Panzarasa t. 1]: excavated summer 1976.

Second half 1st century AD.

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 33430: blueish, Is. 8/28).

Arata 1984: 49-50.

*****PV_GRC_lMar_004** [podere Panzarasa t. 4]: excavated summer 1976.

Second half 1st century BC.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 33431: iron, Nauheim; traces of burning).

Arata 1984: 50.

*****PV_GRC_lMar_007** [podere Panzarasa t. 7]: excavated summer 1976; context probably *'a cassetta'* with a rectangular pit of 1.55 x 0.50 m with the bottom and cover laid out in tiles.

Assemblage (all pottery) completely fragmented. **2nd – 1st century BC**.

≥ 5 vessels: 1 cup (Inv. 33432: Arslan C 10), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 33433: open), ≥ 3 (un)specified vessels (Inv. 33434-33436).

Arata 1984: 45 n. 15[114]; 49-51, pl. I,1-3.

*PV_GRC_lMar_008 [podere Panzarasa t. 8]: excavated summer 1976; the burial was less damaged than others, situated in the middle of a drainage canal, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Second half 1st century BC (brooches and beaker); *t.p.q.*: 50 BC

5 vessels: 1 bowl (Arslan C 1), 1 beaker (Inv. 33443: thin-walled, Mayet Ia), 3 *ollette* (Inv. 33438-33439: closed; 33440: open).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 3 brooches (Inv. 33441: iron, LT II crossbow brooch; 33442: bronze, Cenisola; 33445: iron, Pavese with heavy traces of burning).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 33437: Janus' head and ship's bow. Republican).

Arata 1984: 52-55, pl. I,5-11.

*PV_GRC_lMar_009 [podere Panzarasa t. 9]: excavated summer 1976; the burial was less damaged than others with the *macchia carboniosa* intact, situated in the middle of a drainage canal.

2nd-1st century BC.

1 vessel: 1 bowl[115] (Inv. 33446: BGW, Lamboglia 28/29).

Arata 1984: 55, pl. XI,7.

*PV_GRC_lMar_012 [podere Panzarasa t. 12]: excavated summer 1976

Mid-1st century BC; *t.p.q.*: 50 BC.

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 ring (Inv. 33448: iron, interpreted as part of a belt etc. due to its dm of 7 cm), 1 arm-ring or element of buckle (Inv. 33449: iron).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 33447: Janus' head and ship's bow. Republican).

Arata 1984: 55-56, pl. II,5-6.

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[114] The footnote mentions tomb 6 as the second one with tile cover; this seems to be an error.
[115] Re-classified as bowl (instead of cup/coppa) according to STP.

*PV_GRC_lMar_016 [podere Panzarasa t. 16]: excavated summer 1976; probably 'a cassetta' with the bottom and cover of the pit laid out in tiles.

Assemblage (all pottery) completely fragmented.

2nd – 1st century BC.

vessels: 1 cup (Inv. 33450), 1 olletta (Inv. 33451: closed).

Arata 1984: 45 n. 15; 49. 56-57, pl. III,7.

*PV_GRC_lMar_017 [podere Panzarasa t. 17]: excavated summer 1976.

2nd-1st century BC.

1 vessel: 1 bowl[116]/lid (Inv. 33452: traces of burning).

Arata 1984: 57, pl. I,4.

*PV_GRC_lMar_018 [podere Panzarasa t. 18]: excavated summer 1977.

Second quarter 1st century AD.

≥ 10 vessels: 1 olpe (Inv. 33659: ceramica depurata, Angera 2B var.), 1 plate (Inv. 33661: BGW, Lamboglia 5/7), 4 cups (Inv. 33660: TS, Drag. 37/32; 33665: thin-walled, Mayet XXXIII; 33666: ceramica comune; 33658: glass, greenish, 'a sacco'), ≥ 4 undefined vessels (Inv. 33662-33664: ceramica comune; 33667: glass, brown; only evidenced by a drop of molten glass).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Loeschke I C), 10 nails (Inv. 33668-33673: iron; 4 big and 6 small nails, with strong traces of burning and remains of carbonated wood on the surface, most likely from funerary beds).

Repetto and Repetto 1980: 26; Arata 1984: 58-62 fig. 5,2, pl. II,1-10; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 60 n. 28; Sfredda 1998: 31; Diani 1999.

PV_GRC_lMar_019 [podere Panzarasa t. 19]: excavated summer 1977; undefinable cremation context without artefact assemblage due to previous destruction of the grave.

Arata 1984: 58.

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[116] Re-classified as bowl (instead of cup-coppa) according to STP.

PV_GRC_lMar_020 [podere Panzarasa t. 20]: excavated summer 1977; undefinable cremation context without artefact assemblage due to previous destruction of the grave.

Arata 1984: 58.

*__PV_GRC_lMar_021__ [podere Panzarasa t. 21]: excavated summer 1977.

Second half 1st – first years 2nd century AD.

> 4 vessels: 2 *olpai* (Inv. 33674), >2 vessels (Inv. 33678-33679).

Varia: 2 oil lamps (Inv. 33676: Loeschke X A, stamped FORTIS; 33677), 3 nails (Inv. 33680-33682: iron with strong traces of burning, most likely from funerary beds).

Arata 1984: 62-64, pl. II,1-4.

PV_GRC_lMar_022 [podere Panzarasa t. 22]: excavated summer 1977; undefinable cremation context without artefact assemblage due to previous destruction of the grave.

Arata 1984: 58.

PV_GRC_lMar_023 [podere Panzarasa t. 23]: excavated summer 1977; undefinable cremation context without artefact assemblage due to previous destruction of the grave.

Arata 1984: 58.

PV_GRC_lMar_024a [podere Panzarasa t. 24]: excavated summer 1977.

Artefacts catalogued under this grave number were most likely mixed up, as objects dating to the 1st century AD were mixed with much older objects and treasuring (*tesaurizzazione*) seems unlikely, the burial assemblage is nevertheless classified as particularly rich. **First half 1st century AD** (glazed and thin-walled pottery, confirmed by *Firmalampe*); the cameo could be an heirloom and thus its date is not out of place, the brooch, however, is very unlikely such, and it is, therefore, very likely that both objects or at least the brooch were accidentally catalogued for this tomb; female (items of female toilette).

3 vessels: 1 *amphoriskos* (Inv. 33693), 2 cups (Inv. 33694: *ceramica invetriata*, Mayet XIII; 33691: thin-walled, Mayet XXXVII).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 33687: bronze, probably *Knotenfibel*), 1 cameo (Inv. 33683: glass paste, most likely from finger ring with incised decoration).

2 personal belongings: 1 stirring rod or small spoon (Inv. 33685: bronze), 1 mirror (Inv. 33684: bronze, square-shaped).

1 tools: 1 needle or pin (Inv. 33686: evidenced by shaft fragment).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Inv. 33668: Loeschke X A, stamped FORTIS), 2 statuettes (Inv. 33689-33690: terracotta, cockerel and dove).

Roffia 1979: 119; Arata 1984: 44 n. 12; 64-69 figs 2,3. 4,3, pl. IV,1-8.

*PV_GRC_lMar_024b [podere Panzarasa t. 24bis]: excavated summer 1977.

The single coin was found mixed with the cremated remains and most likely does not belong to the burial. **Augustan-Tiberian**; *t.p.q.*: 23 BC.

1 vessel: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 33696).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 33697).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 33698: portrait of Augustus. 23 BC).

Arata 1984: 69-70, pl. IV,9-10.

*PV_GRC_lMar_025 [podere Panzarasa t. 25]: excavated summer 1977.

Second half 1st century BC.

3 vessels: 1 pan/*tegame* (Inv. 33699), 2 *ollette*[117] (Inv. 33700: *ceramica comune*, closed; 33701: BGW, Lamboglia 10/11).

Arata 1984: 70-71, pl. V,1-3; Sfredda 1998: 35.

*PV_GRC_lMar_026 [podere Panzarasa t. 26]: excavated summer 1977.

Augustan-Tiberian.

1 vessel: 1 plate[118] (Inv. 33702: TS, Drag. 15/17).

Varia: 1 statuette (Inv. 33703: terracotta, hooded male figure – *cucullatus* – with grapes in his hand).

Tozzi 1983; Arata 1984: 71-72 fig. 3,2, pl. V,4.

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[117] According to Sfredda and the classification according to Lamboglia Inv. 33701 is an *olletta* not an *olpetta*.
[118] The vessel is listed as *coppa* and *patera*; the latter one seems more likely.

PV_GRC_lMar_027 [podere Panzarasa t. 27]: excavated summer 1977.

Assemblage probably mixed up; unsure chronology: both oil lamp and jug date more likely to the second half of the 1st century AD, whereas the BGW dates distinctly earlier.

3 vessels: 1 jug (Inv. 33706), 1 cup (Inv. 33705: BGW, Lamboglia 16B), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 33707: *ceramica depurata*, Angera A).

1 personal belonging: razor? (Inv. 33708: iron).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Inv. 33704: Loeschke IX B).

Arata 1984: 72-74, pl. VI,1-5; Sfredda 1998: 34; Diani 1999.

*PV_GRC_lMar_028 [podere Panzarasa t. 28]: excavated summer 1977.

First half 1st century AD.

Varia: 1 small oil lamp (Inv. 33709: *lucernetta*), 1 statuette (Inv. 33710: terracotta, embracing couple).

Arata 1984: 74-75, pl. VI,6.

*PV_GRC_lMar_029 [podere Panzarasa t. 29]: excavated summer 1977.

Tiberian.

3 vessels: 2 *olpai* (Inv. 33711: *ceramica depurata*, Angera 2B var.; 33713: *ceramica comune*), 1 cup (Inv. 33712: fine grey ware, Mayet XXXI).

Arata 1984: 75-76, pl. VII,1-3; Diani 1999.

*PV_GRC_lMar_030 [podere Panzarasa t. 30]: excavated summer 1977.

Second half 1st century AD/Flavian.

2 personal belongings: 2 glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 33714: colourless; 33715 pale blue, both Is. 28 B).

Arata 1984: 76-77, pl. VII,4-5.

*PV_GRC_lMar_032 [podere Panzarasa t. 32]: excavated summer 1977; undefinable context, possibly the only inhumation grave at GRC_lMar as none of the items shows traces of cremation.

Trajan; *t.p.q.*: 104-110 AD.

Varia: 1 sesterce (Inv. 33717: bronze, portrait of Trajan. 104-110 AD), 1 oil lamp (Inv. 33716: *Firmalampe* Loeschke X, stamped FORTIS), stylus (Inv. 33718: iron).

Arata 1984: 77-78 fig. 4,1, pl. VII,6-7.

*PV_GRC_lMar_033 [podere Panzarasa t. 33]: excavated summer 1977.

1st century AD.

1 vessel: 1 urn (Inv. 33719).

Arata 1984: 78, pl. VIII,1.

*PV_GRC_lMar_034 [podere Panzarasa t. 34]: excavated summer 1977.

Flavian-Trajan.

4 vessels: 2 *olpai* (Inv. 33723-33724), 1 jug (Inv. 33721: glass, greenish with black varnished handles, Is. 56b), 1 cup (Inv. 33720: fine grey ware, Mayet XXXVII).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Inv. 33722: *Firmalampe* Loeschke X without handle, stamped IEGIDI).

Repetto and Repetto 1980: 26; Arata 1984: 79-81, pl. VIII,2-6.

*PV_GRC_lMar_036 [podere Panzarasa t. 36]: excavated summer 1977.

Second half 1st century AD; *t.p.q.*: 37/38 AD.

2 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 33728: *ceramica comune* in imitation of fine table ware), 1 cup (Inv. 33727: thin-walled, Mayet XXX).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 337251: portrait of Caligula. 37/38 AD), 1 oil lamp (Inv. 33726: *Firmalampe* Loeschke IX B, stamped LITOGENES).

Arata 1984: 81-82, pl. IX,1-3.

*PV_GRC_lMar_038 [podere Panzarasa t. 38]: excavated summer 1977.

Second half 1st AD.

3 vessels: pan-*tegame* (Inv. 33731), 1 bowl (Inv. 33730), 1 cup (Inv. 33729: thin-walled, Mayet XXXV).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 finger ring (Inv. 33733: bronze, dm. 1.9 cm).

Varia: 2 illegible coins (Inv. 33734-33735), 1 oil lamp (Inv. 33732: Loeschke X A).

Arata 1984: 83-84, pl. IX,4-7.

*PV_GRC_lMar_039 [podere Panzarasa t. 39]: excavated summer 1977.

Flavian.

8 vessels: 2 *olpai* (glass, pale blue, Inv. 33981: Is. 14; 33984: Is. 52 C), 2 small bottles (Inv. 33982-33983: glass, pale blue, cubic, Is. 50 a), 1 bowl (Inv. 339861: glass, purple with white 'flames', Is. 17/*Zarterippenschale*), 1 chalice (Inv. 33989: *ceramica invetriata*, Hochuli Gysel Kelche 3), 1 *skyphos* (Inv. 33990: *ceramica invetriata*, Hochuli Gysel 1a), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 33987: miniature sized).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 33985: yellow-brown, sphere-shaped, Is. 10).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Inv. 33988: *Firmalampe* Loeschke IX B, stamped COMMVNIS).

Maccabruni 1974-1975: 61-76; Roffia 1979: 113. 117-118. 125 fig 11; Repetto and Repetto 1980: 25; Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 100; Arata 1984: 85-89, pl. X,1-10; Invernizzi 1998b: 32-33.

Fig. XX PV_GRC_lMar_039 (right) and lMen_002 (left) as displayed at the Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

*PV_GRC_lMar_040 [podere Panzarasa t. 40]: excavated summer 1977; undefinable context without any grave goods.

Arata 1984: 90.

*PV_GRC_lMar_041 [podere Panzarasa t. 41]: excavated summer 1977; undefinable context without any grave goods.

Arata 1984: 90.

*PV_GRC_lMar_042 [podere Panzarasa t. 42]: excavated summer 1977.

1st century BC.

≥ 7 vessels: *vaso a trottola* (Inv. 33737), 4 cups (Inv. 33738: *poculum*, BGW, Lamboglia 10 B; 33739[119]: BGW, Lamboglia 7 B/C; 33740: BGW, Lamboglia 5 A/B-Morel 2820; 33746: BGW, Lamboglia 5/55-Morel 2234), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 33741: BGW, Lamboglia 10), ≥ 1 vessels (Inv. 33742-33745).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 33736: iron, Nauheim).

Arata 1984: 90-92, pl. XI,1-6; Sfredda 1998: 29-30, 35.

*PV_GRC_lMar_043 [podere Panzarasa t. 43]: excavated autumn 1977.

First half 1st century AD.

2 vessels: 1 beaker (Inv. 33747: '*a tulipano*'), 1 undefined vessel (Inv. 33749).

Varia: 1 coin (Inv. 33748).

Arata 1984: 92-93, pl. XI,8.

*PV_GRC_lMar_044 [tomba II (tomba 2)[120]]: excavated 1960 in zone B, sector I (proprietà/boschetto Panzarasa); undefined cremation context.

End of 2nd – beginning 1st century BC (first half 1st BC).

4 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (Inv. 12591), 1 small bowl (Inv. 12593: BGW?, Lamboglia 33), 2 cups (Inv. 12594: BGW?, Lamboglia 29; 12595: BGW?, Lamboglia 28).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Inv. 12592).

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[119] Here listed as cup but usually classified as plate-*patera*.
[120] There is no tomba I or tomba 1 for zone B as this number was asigned a single burial from zone A of Gropello Cairoli in Fortunati Zuccàla 1979b.

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 13-14 fig. 4; Arata 1984: 51; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 246.

*PV_GRC_lMar_045 [tomba III]; excavated April 3, 1960 in zone B, sector I (proprietà/boschetto Panzarasa); cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with fragments of a decorated ceramic.

Assemblage placed next to the *macchia carboniosa.* **End of 1st century BC – beginning 1st century AD**; according to Arslan the assemblage is rather modest and could therefore belong to a female infans.

3 vessels: 1 *olla*, 1 *olletta* (Inv. 7319: Arslan S3, open), 1 undefined decorated vessel.

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (bronze, Gorica).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 7320).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 15. 16 fig. 5; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 252; Demetz 1999: 253; Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch 2010: 16 fig. 10. *– Fig. XXXIX*

*PV_GRC_lMar_046 [tomba IV]; excavated April 15, 1960 in zone B, sector I (proprietà/boschetto Panzarasa); indirect cremation in *amphora* in 1 m depth, deposition of cremated remains and *balsamaria* in bowl.

The terracotta appliqué was found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa* next to the tomb.

(End of 1st century BC –) 1st decades 1st century AD (*olpai*, oil lamp, *balsamarium*, funerary bed); *t.p.q.*: 7 BC.

> 6 vessels: 2 *olpai* (Inv. 12569: BGW), 1 bowl (Inv. 12759), 1 cup (Inv. 12570: thin-walled), > 2 vessels (at least one BGW).

1 item of jewellery/dress: [shoes as most likely evidenced by] 20 small nails (Inv. 12573).

2 personal belongings: 2 glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 12572: blue, Is. 26; yellow).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 12574: portrait of Augustus. 7 BC), 1 oil lamp (Inv. 12571), 1 appliqué (terracotta).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 15-17 figs 6-7.

*PV_GRC_lMar_047 [tomba V]; excavated April 15, 1960 in zone B, sector I (proprietà/boschetto Panzarasa); cremation context.

Assemblage deposited in an east-west direction. **End of 1st century BC – beginning 1st century AD** (*olpai*, oil lamp, *balsamarium* [first half 1st century AD]); *t.p.q.*: 7 BC; female (abundance of glass).

1 vessel: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 7376).

3 personal belongings: 3 glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 7373: blue, dove-shaped – an analysis of the contents showed only post-depositional sandy content; 7374: brown with white glass, ribbed, bulb-shaped, Is. 10; 7375: brown with white spiral, spherical).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 7377: portrait of Augustus. 7 BC).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 17-19 fig. 8; Roffia 1979: 116 n. 51; 117 n. 64; fig. 8; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 249.

*PV_GRC_lMar_048 [tomba VI]; excavated June 22, 1958 in zone B, sector I (proprietà/boschetto Panzarasa); undefined *ustrinum* context.

First decades 1st century AD (*balsamarium* Is. 26); female (*balsamarium*).

2 personal belongings: 2 glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 14383: blue, Is. 26; n/a: colourless).

Varia: 3 appliqués (Inv. 14380-14382: terracotta, griffin and male bust → funerary bed type I).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 19-20 fig. 9; Faust 1989: 171 cat. 108; Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 52 . 141 tab. B, cat. 108, 110; Invernizzi 2005b: 40 cat. 23.

*PV_GRC_lMar_049 [tomba VII]; excavated October 18, 1958 in zone B, sector I (proprietà/boschetto Panzarasa); undefined *ustrinum* context.

 First decades 1st century AD.

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 bracelets (penannular with eye decoration, dm. 6.5 cm).

Varia: 4 terracotta appliqués (Inv. 14376-14379: terracotta, 2 stilts and 2 male busts with Phrygian hat → funerary bed type I).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 20-21 fig. 10; Arslan 1984: 138 n. 208; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 77 n. 56; Faust 1989: 171 cat. 107; Invernizzi 2005a: 141 tab. B, cat. 111-114; 2005b: 41 cat. 27.

*PV_GRC_lMar_050 [tomba VIII]; excavated June 22, 1958 or January 27, 1961 in zone B, sector (proprietà/dosso Lanfranchi); *ustrinum* context in 0.90 m depth with cremated remains.

Assemblage and some bone fragments deposited in a nearby pit, the fragments of a decorated *olla* have not been recovered. **Second half 2nd – beginning 1st century BC**; *t.p.q.*: 217-154 BC[121] – according to Frontini not before the Augustan period (Aucissa).

3 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 7335: BGW[122], Lamboglia 7/16), 1 *olla*, 1 *olletta* (Inv. 7336: closed).

4 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (Inv. 7339: bronze, Aucissa with trapezoid catch-plate terminating in sphere, n/a: bronze, Jezerine), 2 bracelets (Inv. 7337: bronze, penannular).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 7338).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 7340: Janus' head and ship's bow. 217-151 BC?).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 21-23. 22 fig. 11; Arslan 1984: 143 ns 247. 252. 254; Frontini 1985: 13. 116; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 80; Sfredda 1998: 31; Demetz 1999: 251; Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch 2010: 16 fig. 10. *– Fig. XL*

*PV_GRC_lMar_051 [tomba IX]: excavated March 6, 1960 in zone B, sector II (proprietà/dosso Lanfranchi); undefined *ustrinum* context (*tomba a fossa coperta da una macchia carboniosa*) in 0.50-0.80 m depth.

End 2nd – first half 1st century BC/beginning LT D (plate and *vaso a trottola*; other items fit into the time frame).

3 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (Inv. 7329), 1 bowl[123] (Inv. 7331: BGW[124], Lamboglia 30/33-Morel 2538), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 7330: Arslan 03, closed).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 7334: iron; corroded with other iron objects).

2 tools: 1 knife (Inv. 7332: iron), 1 pair of shears (Inv. 7333: iron).

Varia: undefined iron objects corroded with brooch.

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 23-25 fig. 12; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 246; Frontini 1985: 61.

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[121] In index Fortunati Zuccala (1979b: 86) listed as 172-151 BC (217=sic?).
[122] The clay and gloss are classified as local C 2 and C 2/C 12 respectively.
[123] Re-classified as bowl according STP.
[124] The clay is classified as Milanese MI 3, the gloss as local L 31.

*PV_GRC_lMar_052 [tomba X]: excavated April 15, 1960 in zone B, sector II (proprietà/dosso Lanfranchi) next to the *ustrinum*; undefinied, indirect cremation context.

First decades 1st century AD (plate and beaker).

3 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 12596: reddish BGW[125], Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2276), 1 beaker (Inv. 12597: thin-walled, '*a tulipano*', Mayet VIII), 1 *olletta*[126] (Inv. 12598: open).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 24 fig. 13; 25; Frontini 1985: 13. 117; Sfredda 1998: 31; Diani 1999.

*PV_GRC_lMar_053 [tomba XI]: excavated April 25, 1960 in zone B, sector II (proprietà/dosso Lanfranchi); undefinied cremation context.

End 1st century BC – 1st decades 1st century AD (plate and TS cup); *t.p.q.*: 23 BC.

4 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 13253: reddish BGW[127], Lamboglia 7/16B-Morel 2276), 2 cups (Inv. 13251: Arslan C10; 13276: TS, *Sariusschale*), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 13252: open).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 13935: bronze, portrait of Augustus. 23 BC).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 25-27 figs 14-15; Arata 1984: 51; Frontini 1985: 13. 117; Sfredda 1998: 31; Diani 1999.

*PV_GRC_lMar_054 [tomba XII]; excavated April 25, 1960 in zone B, sector II (proprietà/dosso Lanfranchi); undefined cremation context.

End of 1st century BC – beginning 1st century AD (cup, plate and brooch); *t.p.q.*: 22 BC.

4 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 13226: BGW[128], Lamboglia 7/16 B-Morel 2857), 1 bowl[129] (Inv. 13239: Arslan C 9), 1 small cup (Inv. 13228: *vernice rossastra*, Lamboglia 16), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 13222: open).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 13219: bronze, probably Aucissa[130] with incised fishbone pattern and trapezoid catch-plate).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 13231: portrait of Augustus. 22 BC), 2? bronze sheets with 3 holes (Inv. 13220: probably for nails; hinge?).

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[125] The clay is classified as Cremonese CR 23, the gloss as local C 12.
[126] Frontini classifies the *olletta* as beaker.
[127] The clay and gloss are classified as local C 12.
[128] The clay and gloss are classified as local C belonging to the L group.
[129] Re-classified as bowl (instead of coppa) according STP.
[130] According to Frontini the brooch has a spring construction.

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 27-29 fig. 16; Frontini 1985: 13. 118; Sfredda 1998: 31; Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch 2010: 16 fig. 10. – *Fig. XLI*

*PV_GRC_lMar_055 [tomba XIII]; excavated May 26, 1960 in zone B, sector II (proprietà/dosso Lanfranchi); undefined cremation context, the bowl contained the coin, but no indication about placement of cremated remains.

End of 1st century BC – beginning 1st century AD / first half 1st century AD; *t.p.q.*: 23 BC.

2[131] vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 13230: *ceramica depurata*, Angera 2B var.), 1 bowl (Inv. 13232: *mortarium* with spout).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 13258: portrait of Augustus. 23 BC).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 29-30 fig. 17; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 249; Diani 1999.

*PV_GRC_lMar_056 [tomba XIV/tomba 14]; excavated February 28, March 6 and 20, 1960 in the south-east corner of zone B, sector II (proprietà/dosso Lanfranchi); undefined cremation.

First decades 1st century AD (plate, *skyphos*, *balsamarium* and brooch); *t.p.q.*: 11-12 AD; according to Arslan the assemblage is rather modest and could therefore belong to a male infans.

4 vessels: 2 plates (Inv. 15645: TS *aretina*, Drag. 3/Goudineau 28 with brand stamp GELLI; w/o: BGW, Lamboglia 7/16), 1 cup (Inv. 15648: TS *aretina* Drag. 27/Goudineau 32), 1 *skyphos* (Inv. 15649: *ceramica invetriata*).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 16048: bronze, Aucissa with a triangular catch-plate terminating in a sphere), 1 finger ring (Inv. 15646: silver with brown cameo).

1 personal belongings: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 13951: blue, Is. 26).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 15686: portrait of Augustus. AD 11-12).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 30-32 fig. 18; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 253; Frontini 1985: 13; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 73 n. 48.

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[131] According to Sfredda 1998: 31 the tomb should also contain a plate: BGW (7/16; Morel 2276) – however this is most likely a typing mistake with confusing tomba XIII and tomba XXIII (PV_GRC_lMen_030); according to Arslan the tomb contains no BGW

PV_GRC_lMar_057 [tomba XV]; excavated July 23, 1959 in zone B, sector II (proprietà/dosso Lanfranchi); undefined cremation context.

First half 1st century AD; Tiberian; *t.p.q.*: 23-32 AD.

3? vessels: 1 cup (Inv. 12575: TS *aretina*, Ritterling 9 stamped CMUR), according to Arslan 1984: 143 n. 246: 1 *olpe*, 1 cup (BGW, Lamboglia 16).

1 personal belonging: 1 stirring rod (Inv. 12577: glass, greenish-blue with white spiral, Is. 79).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 12578: portrait of Drusus jr. AD 23-32), 1 oil lamp (Inv. 12576: *Herzblattlampe*).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 32-33 fig. 19; Diani 1999.

***PV_GRC_lMar_058** [tomba XVI]; excavated 1960 in zone B; undefined cremation context.

2nd – beginning 1st century BC; female infans (modest assemblage).

2 vessels: 1 bowl[132] (Inv. 8107: Arslan C 2), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 8108: open).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 8109).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 33-34 fig. 20; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 252.

***PV_GRC_lMar_059** [tomba XVII]; excavated 1960 in zone B; undefined cremation context.

Second half 2nd – beginning 1st century BC.

3 vessels[133]: 2 bowls[134] (Inv. 8110-8111), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 8112: *ceramica depurata*, Angera A, closed).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 34-35 fig. 21; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 254; Diani 1999.

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[132] Re-classified as bowl (instead of cup-*coppa*) according STP.
[133] According to Sfredda 1998: 31 the tomb should also contain a plate (BGW Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2276) – however this is most likely a typing mistake confusing tomba XVII and tomba XXVII (PV_GRC_lMen_034); according to Arslan 1984: 143 n. 247 it should contain a plate Lamboglia 7 in BGW.
[134] Both re-classified as bowl (instead of cup-*coppa*) according STP.

*PV_GRC_lMar_060 [tomba XVIII]; excavated 1960 in zone B; undefined cremation context.

End 1st century BC – first decades 1st century AD (cup and *balsamaria*); female infans (modest assemblage).

3 vessels: 1 cup (Inv. 13254: TS, *Sariusschale*), 2 *ollette* (Inv. 13260[135]: closed; 13263: Arslan 01, open).

3 personal belongings: 3 glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 13255: yellow, Is. 28; 13256: blue, pear-shaped; 13257: greenish-blue, pear-shaped).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 13259).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 35-37. 35 fig. 22; 36 fig. 23; Arata 1984: 51, 54; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 252; Diani 1999.

*PV_GRC_lMar_061 [tomba XIX]; excavated July 23, 1959 in zone B; undefined cremation context.

First decades 1st century AD (plate, thin-walled cup, oil lamp and *balsamarium*).

3 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 13947: *vernice nerastra*[136], Lamboglia 7/16B-Morel 2851), 2 cups (Inv. 13948-13949: fine grey ware, sanded).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 15647: blue, pear-shaped).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Inv. 13950), further fragments of glass and iron objects.

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 37-38 fig. 24; Frontini 1985: 118; Sfredda 1998: 31.

PV_GRC_lMar_062: excavated January 31 – February 7, 1960 in zone B; not listed as tomb or *ustrinum* with cat.nr. in Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: most likely incomplete, destroyed tomb.

End 1st century BC – beginning 1st century AD.

1 vessel: 1 cup (Inv. 15650).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 15651).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 62 fig. 46.

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[135] In Fortunati Zuccala 1979b classified as small jug (*brocca*).
[136] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 8 and L 8/L 4 respectively.

PV_GRC_lMar_063: excavated December 7, 1964 in zone B; not listed as tomb or *ustrinum* with cat.nr. in Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: most likely incomplete *ustrinum.*

End 1st century BC – beginning 1st century AD.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 ring (Inv. 15635: bronze, spiral-shaped, dm 2.5 cm).

2 personal belongings: [mirror evidenced by] 1 handle (Inv. 15634: bronze), 1 stirring rod (glass).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 67 fig. 51.

PV_GRC_lMar_064: excavated in zone B; not listed as tomb or *ustrinum* with cat.nr. in Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: most likely incomplete *ustrinum.*

First half 1st century AD.

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 15663).

Varia: 3 appliqués (Inv. 15662, 16052: terracotta, mule).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 68-69 fig. 54; Faust 1989: 171 cat. 103.

PV_GRC_lMar_065: excavated in zone B; not listed as tomb or *ustrinum* with cat.nr. in Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: most likely incomplete *ustrinum.*

First half 1st century AD.

Varia: 2 appliqués (Inv. 14384: terracotta, mule; 14386: terracotta, bust).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 69-70 fig. 56; Faust 1989: 171-172 cat. 103. 109.

PV_GRC_lMar_066: excavated April 14, 1960 in zone B; not listed as tomb or *ustrinum* with cat.nr. in Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: most likely incomplete, destroyed indirect cremation.

The *olla* and one of the undefined vessels originate from the *macchia carboniosa.* **First decades 1st century AD**.

5 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 beaker (Inv. 7501: thin-walled, '*a tulipano*'), 1 *olla* (Inv. 13250: closed), 2 undefined vessels.

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 15651).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 71 fig. 58.

PV_GRC_lMar_067: excavated May 26, 1960 in zone B (proprietà/boschetto Panzarasa); not listed as tomb or *ustrinum* with cat.nr. in Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: most likely incomplete *ustrinum.*

Beginning 1st century AD.

Varia: 4 statuettes (Inv. 8089-8090, 14387: terracotta).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 73 fig. 60.

PV_GRC_lMar_068: excavated June 17, 1960 in zone B (proprietà/boschetto Panzarasa); not listed as tomb or *ustrinum* with cat.nr. in Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: most likely incomplete *ustrinum.*

First half 1st century AD.

Varia: 2 appliqués (Inv. 15658, 16051: terracotta, male busts).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 74-75 fig. 61; Faust 1989: 171 cat. 111; Invernizzi 2005a: cat. 127; 2005b: 39 cat. 19.

PV_GRC_lMar_069: excavated September 28, 1960 in zone B (proprietà/boschetto Panzarasa) in 70-90 cm; not listed as tomb or *ustrinum* with cat.nr. in Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: most likely incomplete *ustrinum*.

First decades 1st century AD.

Varia: 1 statuette (Inv. 14388: terracotta).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 74-75 fig. 62,2.

*PV_GRC_lMar_070 [tomba XX]: excavated December 6, 1959 in zone C (podere Panzarasa/Barletta); undefined cremation context.

Second half 2nd – beginning 1st century BC (brooches); *t.p.q.*: 172-151 BC; female infans (modest assemblage).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 3 brooches (Inv. 7360-7361: bronze, Pavese; 7362: bronze, Almgren 65, miniature-sized).

2 tools: 2 spindle whorls (Inv. 7363-7364).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 7365: Janus' head).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 38-40. 39 fig. 25; 86; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 252; Demetz 1999: 223.

PV_GRC_lMar_071 [tomba 6-7]: excavated at podere Castoldi; cremation context probably with double burial, deposition of cremated remains in undefined vessels.

T.p.q.: **Augustan**.

10 vessels: 4 *olpai*, 2 large plates, 2 beakers (bell-shaped), 2 undefined vessels.

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (iron).

3 personal belongings: 2 glass *balsamaria* (*ampolline*), 1 pair of tweezers (bronze).

Varia: 2 coins (Augustan), 2 oil lamps '*a navicella*'.

Repetto and Repetto 1980: 19. 25.

*PV_GRC_lMar_072 [podere Castoldi tomba 14]

The recovered assemblage was most likely not deposited on the pyre as traces of burning are missing. **Second half 1st century AD**; probably female.

6 vessels: 1 *olpe*? or one-handled *olletta* (closed), 3 *olpai* (glass, dark blue, pear-shaped [2]; flattened globular, ribbed mould-blown [1]), 1 plate (TS), 1 cup (thin-walled).

4 personal belongings: 2 *balsamaria* (glass, tubular [1]; dove-shaped Is. 11 [1]), 1 mirror, 1 pair of tweezers?

Varia: 1 statuette (terracotta, embracing couple).

Roffia 1979: 113, 115 fig. 6,11; Invernizzi 1998b: 34-35; 2002: 65 fig. 7.

Fig. XXI PV_GRC_lMar_072 as displayed at the Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

PV_GRC_lMar_073 [podere Castoldi tomba 15]

First half 1st century AD.

2 vessels: 1 plate or *tegame*, 1 *olletta* (closed).

1 tool?: 1 spindle whorl?

Varia: 2 coins?

Repetto and Repetto 1980: 25 incl. fig.
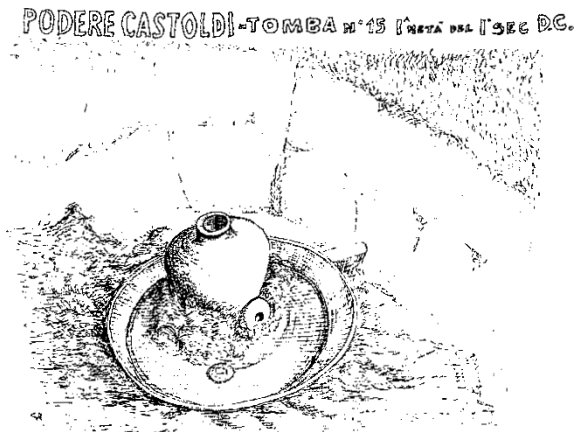
Fig. XXII PV_GRC_lMar_073 has only been published through a reconstruction drawing in Repetto and Repetto 1980: 25.

PV_GRC_lMar_074 [podere Lanfranchi tomba 6]

Second half 1st century AD (*olpe*); *t.p.q.*: 69 AD.

1 vessel: 1 *olpe* (glass, conical, Is. 65? or 55a).

Varia: 1 coin (Vespasian).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 106.

PV_GRC_lMar_075 [podere Lanfranchi tomba 16]

Second half 1st century AD (*olpe*); *t.p.q.*: 69 AD.

2 vessels: 1 bottle (glass, cubic with one handle), 1 *olpe* (glass, conical, Is. 65).

1 items of jewellery/dress: 1 bracelet?

2 personal belongings: 2 *balsamaria*? (long pear-shape [1]).

Varia: 1 coin (Vespasian), 1 undefined glass fragment?

Roffia 1979: 117-118. 124 fig. 10; Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 94.

PV_GRC_lMar_076 [podere Lanfranchi tomba 21]

Second half 1st century BC

1 vessel: 1 *olletta* (closed).

3? items of jewellery/dress: 3 brooches? (2 of them with chain, 1 possibly *Schüsselfibel*?).

4 tools?: 4 spindle whorls?

Varia: 1 coin.

Repetto and Repetto 1980: 25-26 incl. fig.
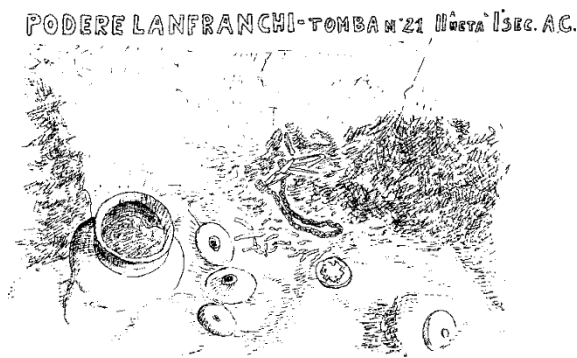
Fig. XXIII PV_GRC_lMar_076 has only been published through a reconstruction drawing in Repetto and Repetto 1980: 25.

*****PV_GRC_lMar_077** [dosso Lanfranchi tomba 1a]: excavated by GAL – no further data; Repetto and Repetto note the peculiar vast space left free of burials around the tomb ("larga zona di 'rispetto'"), whereas all other tombs are set up very close to each other.

1st century BC; beginning of LT D1; male (weapons and abundance of *vasi a trottola*).

30 vessels: 8 *vasi a trottola*, 20 small bowls (1 with lid), 2 *olle* (semi-open).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (iron, LT II type), 1 belt buckle (iron).

2 weapons and/or tools: 1 knife (iron), [spear evidenced by] 1 leaf-shaped spearhead and ferrule (iron).

Repetto and Repetto 1980: 14-15. 17; Vannacci Lunazzi 1983e: pls CXLII-CXLIV. – *Fig. XLII*

PV_GRC_lMar_078 [boschetto Panzarasa]: excavated by GAL – no further data; Repetto and Repetto note the peculiar vast space left free of burials around the tomb ("larga zona di 'rispetto'"), whereas all other tombs are set up very close to each other.

Deposition of brooches in undefined small vase. **Republican**/before mid-1st century BC (sword).

> 20 vessels: 3 *vasi a trottola*, >15 bowls, 1 *olla*, 1 undefined small vase.

> 2 items of jewellery/dress: > 2 brooches (iron; "diverse fibule").

1 weapon or tool: 1 sword[137] (iron, ritually bent).

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head).

Repetto and Repetto 1980: 17.

*PV_GRC_lMar_079: excavated April 1973 at boschetto Panzarasa; cremation in '*nuda terra*', deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Advanced LT C2. The tomb was classified as the oldest of the necropolis.

21 vessels: 3 *vasi a trottola* (Inv. 12429, 13179-13180), 1 bowl (Inv. 13190), 14 small bowls (Inv. 17076-17078, 13181-13184, 13186, 13188 [lid for *olla*], 13192, 13194, 13216, 13815, 12196), 1 *olla* (Inv. 13187: open), 2 *ollette* (Inv. 13189: closed; 13149: open).

> 9 items of jewellery/dress: > 8 brooches (iron, > 4 fragments; all LT II types as far as recognisable), 1 bracelet (bronze).

3 tools: 2 spindle whorls (w/o Inv.: ceramic; 131977: lead), 1 knife (Inv. 13191: iron; s-shaped blade).

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1981a: 269-272, pls II-IV,10-14; Arslan 1984: 142.

*? PV_GRC_lMar_080 [tomba 11]: excavated at podere Pagani.

Second half 1st century BC (combination brooch, glass armring).

1 vessel: 1 *olletta* (*ceramica semidepurata*).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (bronze, Pavese; undefined), 1 arm-ring (ST 170425: glass, purple, Haevernick 3a).

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[137] According to Vannacci Lunazzi 1981a: 275 Gropello Cairoli has no sword burials; this sword would, therefore, be more likely a knife and thus it is debatable whether this burial is identical with PV_GRC_lMar_079.

Diani et al. 2014: 59-60 fig. 4.

Gropello Cairoli, *località* Menabrea

- Documented contexts: ?; excavated contexts: > 125; published contexts: 61
- Contexts classified as complete: 38; contexts classified as incomplete: 23
- Chronological range: 3rd century BC – 1st century AD.

*PV_GRC_lMen_002: cremation in *nuda terra.*

Neronian-Flavian.

The burial is not particularly rich in the number of objects, but their individual quality is of high standards.

3 vessel: 2 *olpai* (glass), 1 cup (thin-walled, with sanded decoration).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium*.

Varia: 1 oil lamp with figurative disc decoration (Iupiter with eagle).

Invernizzi 1998b: 28-2. *– Fig. XX*

*PV_GRC_lMen_019: direct cremation with the grave goods deposited in a small pit.

Second half 1st century AD; female.

4 vessels: 1 jug/*oinochoe* (glass), 1 plate (glass), 1 bowl (glass, amber coloured with white glass paste decoration, ribbed), 1 *olla/olletta* (closed).

1 item of jewellery/dress: [shoes evidenced by a] multitude of small nails with iron oxide corrosion of leather.

3 personal belongings: 2 glass *balsamaria* (1 of them Is. 11), 1 stirring rod (glass with spiral decoration in glass paste).

Varia: 1 oil lamp with figurative disc decoration (Eros), 1 statuette of embracing couple.

Invernizzi 1998b: 28-29.

Fig. XXIV PV_GRC_ lMen_019 as displayed at the Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

*PV_GRC_lMen_028 [tomba XXI]: excavated June 30, 1957 in zone D (vigna Marabelli/porcilaia Negri); indirect cremation tomb with *ustrinum*.

The appliqués were found in the *ustrinum* next to the grave. **First half 1st century AD** – according to Frontini the tomb dates between the second half 1st century BC and the first years of the 1st century AD; the appliqués from a funerary bed indicate the 1st century AD.

4 vessels: 2 *olpai* (Inv. 13395, 13352: *ceramica depurata*), 1 plate (TS), 1 cup (Inv. 13349: fine grey ware, sanded).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Inv. 13351: Dressel 7 with laurel décor), 4 appliqués (Inv. 14372-14375: terracotta, 2 mules and 2 female busts → funerary bed type I – traces of exposure to heat are more pronounced on one set of appliqués indicating that one side of the funerary bed was more exposed to the fire).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 39-41 figs 26-27; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 249; Frontini 1985: 128; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 77 n. 52; Faust 1989: 171 cat. 106; Invernizzi 2005a: 136 n. 36, cat. 115-118; 2005b: 37 cat. 13.

*PV_GRC_lMen_029 [tomba XXII]: excavated 1957 in zone D (vigna Marabelli/porcilaia Negri); indirect cremation tomb with *ustrinum*.

A second coin was found in the *ustrinum* next to the grave. **Beginning 1st century AD** (plate, brooches and funerary bed); *t.p.q.*: 10/7 BC; female infans (modest assemblage with brooches and spindle whorl).

3 vessels: 1 plate (Inv.15621: BGW[138] Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2273), 1 cup (Inv. 15619: Arslan C2), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 15620: Arslan 03, closed).

4 items of jewellery/dress: 3 brooches (Inv. 15669-15671: bronze, Aucissa with triangular catch-plate), [necklace evidenced prob. through] 1 large glass bead (Inv. 15666: colourless with yellow spirals).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 15667).

Varia: 2 asses (Inv. 15622: portraits of Agrippa and Octavian; minted at Nemasus. 10 BC; 15687: portrait of Augustus. 7 BC), 1 appliqué (Inv. 15668).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 6-8. 43 fig. 28; Arslan 1984: 143 ns 247. 252. 254; Frontini 1985: 119; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 73 n. 48; Sfredda 1998: 31; Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50, cat. 119; 2005b: 44 cat. 36.

*PV_GRC_lMen_030 [tomba XXIII]: excavated June 30, 1957 in zone D (vigna Marabelli/porcilaia Negri); undefined cremation context.

First decades 1st century AD (*olpe*, beaker, *balsamarium* and plate).

5 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 13397: Min C4), 1 plate (Inv. 13354: *vernice nera*(*stra*)[139], Lamboglia 7/16 B-Morel 2276), 1 beaker (Inv. 13391: thin-walled, '*a tulipano*', Mayet VIII), 2 *ollette* (Inv. 13345: open; 13346: semi-open).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 13385: colourless, pear-shaped Is. 28).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 43-45 44 fig. 29; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 248; Frontini 1985: 13. 119; Sfredda 1998: 31; Diani 1999.

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[138] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 6 and L 2 respectively.
[139] The clay and gloss are classified as local C 12.

*PV_GRC_lMen_031 [tomba XXIV]: excavated July 7, 1957 in zone D (vigna Marabelli/porcilaia Negri); undefined cremation context; only one *balsamarium* retrieved.

First half 1st century AD.

2 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 13389: *ceramica depurata*), 1 beaker (Inv.13390: thin-walled, '*a tulipano*' with two handles).

2 personal belongings: 2 glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 13387: yellow Is. 27).

Varia: 1 oil lamp: cuneiform, prob. of local production in imitation of *Vogelkopflampen* (Inv. 13388).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 45-46 44 fig. 30; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 249.

*PV_GRC_lMen_032 [tomba XXV]: excavated July 7, 1957 in zone D (vigna Marabelli/porcilaia Negri); undefined cremation context; glass *balsamarium* not retrieved.

First decades 1st century AD.

3 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 13382: *ceramica depurata*, Min C4), 1 plate (Inv. 13384: *vernice nera*(*stra*)[140], Lamboglia 7/16 B-Morel 2277), 1 beaker (Inv. 13379: thin-walled, '*a tulipano*', Mayet VIII).

3 personal belongings: 3 *balsamaria* (Inv. 13380-13381: ceramic, *vernice bruna*, Haltern 31; glass).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Inv. 13378: cuneiform, prob. of local production in imitation of *Vogelkopflampen*).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 46-47 fig. 31; Frontini 1985: 13. 120; Sfredda 1998: 31; Diani 1999.

*PV_GRC_lMen_033 [tomba XXVI]: excavated August 25, 1957 in zone D (vigna Marabelli/porcilaia Negri); undefined cremation context; *olpai* not retrieved.

First half 1st century AD/according to Arslan advanced 1st century AD; female (abundance of glass and in particular Is. 10).

4 glass vessels: 2 *olpai*, 1 plate (Inv. 13407: green, Is. 47), 1 cup (Inv. 13409: dark yellow, '*a sacco*', Is. 12).

2 personal belongings: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 13408: yellow, sphare-shaped, Is. 10), 1 stirring rod (Inv. 13406: glass, green, Is. 79).

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[140] The clay is classified as Etruscan (?) AD 21.

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 47-48 fig. 32; Roffia 1979: 115 ns 37. 43. 117 n. 64; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 250.

*PV_GRC_lMen_034 [tomba XXVII]: excavated September 1, 1957 in zone D (vigna Marabelli/porcilaia Negri); undefined cremation context; glass *balsamaria* not retrieved.

Second quarter 1st century AD (oil lamp and Is. 15).

4 vessels: 1 small *amphora-anforetta* (Inv. 10804: purple glass with white specks, Is. 15), 1 plate (Inv. 13413: *vernice nerastra*[141], Lamboglia 7/16 B-Morel 2276), 1 cup (Inv. 13404: fine grey ware, sanded), 1 *skyphos* (Inv. 13405: *ceramica invetriata*, yellow interior, green exterior).

5 personal belongings: 5 glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 10801: blue, globular shape, Is. 26; 13411: blue, pear-shaped, Is. 6; 13412: dark yellow, sphere-shaped).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Inv. 13383: '*a volute*', Dressel 11, disc decoration with floral motive).

Maccabruni 1974-1975: 63-64 fig. 3; 71; Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 49-50 fig. 33; 120; Roffia 1979: 113 n. 22; Maccabruni 1983: 41-42. 46 cat. 18; 50 fig. 18; Frontini 1985: 120; Sfredda 1998: 31.

*PV_GRC_lMen_035 [tomba XXVIII]: excavated September 22, 1957 in zone D (vigna Marabelli/porcilaia Negri); undefined cremation context.

Deposition of the blue *balsamarium* in the *olletta*, no information about function as cinerary urn. **First half 1st century AD** (ceramic *balsamarium* and brooch); *t.p.q.*: 22 AD; male infans (modest assemblage).

2 vessels: 1 plate (BGW), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 12619: open).

2 personal belongings: 2 *balsamaria* (Inv. 15683: ceramic, pear-shaped, Vegas 13; 12620: glass, blue, globular, Is. 26).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 12621: bronze, crossbow brooch/Almgren 65? with trapezoid catch-plate).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 15672: Portrait of Augustus. Tiberian/22 AD), 1 (gem?) stone with strong traces of burning, 2 molten bronze fragments, bone fragments (with traces of burning?).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 50-51 fig. 34; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 253; Frontini 1985: 13.

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[141] The gloss is classified as local C 12.

*PV_GRC_lMen_036 [tomba XXIX]: excavated 1957 in zone D (vigna Marabelli/porcilaia Negri); undefined cremation context.

Deposition of *olla* on pyre (visible traces of burning). **Beginning 1st century AD** (beaker and coin).

3 vessels: 1 *olla* (Inv. 13392, closed), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 13393: Arslan 03, closed), 1 beaker (Inv. 13347: thin-walled, '*a tulipano*' Mayet VIII).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 15675: hardly legible. Augustan triumvirate).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 51-52 figs 35-36; Diani 1999.

*PV_GRC_lMen_037 [tomba XXX]: excavated December 1966 in zone D (vigna Marabelli/porcilaia Negri); deposition of cremated remains in undefined vessel[142].

The appliqué was found to the east of the pit in 0.85 m depth. **First half 1st century AD** (*balsamaria* and appliqué); male infans (modest assemblage; combination of spindle whorls and funerary bed suggests female – cf. Invernizzi 2005a).

2 vessels: 1 cup (Inv. 126227), 1 undefinable vessel used as mortuary container.

2 personal belongings: 2 ceramic *balsamaria* (Inv. 12624; 12625: *vernice bruna*).

3 tools: 3 spindle whorls (Inv. 12623, 12626).

Varia: 1 appliqué (Inv. 12627: terracotta, lion).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 50-51. 53 fig. 37; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 252; Faust 1989: 171 cat. 104; Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50.

*PV_GRC_lMen_038 [tomba XXXI]: excavated December 1966 in zone D (vigna Marabelli/porcilaia Negri); indirect cremation tomb with *ustrinum*, deposition of cremated remains in undefined vessel[143].

The appliqué and the fused glass were found in the close-by *ustrinum*. **First half 1st century AD** (*balsamarium*, coin); female (*balsamarium*).

3 vessels: 2 *ollette* (Inv. 12628-12629: one-handled, closed[144]), 1 undefined vessel used as mortuary container.

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 12635: yellow, sphare-shaped, Is. 6).

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[142] Listed only in appendix Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 59-60 t. XXXIV.
[143] Listed only in appendix Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 59-60 t. XXXIV.
[144] FZ 1979b classifies them as small jugs (*piccole broche*).

Varia: 2 coins (Inv. 15603: illegible; n/a: as (portrait of Augustus; hardly legible Augustan triumvirate coin), 1 appliqué (Inv. 12631: terracotta, female bust), ≥ 1 molten glass fragment, purple.

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 53-54 fig. 38; Arata 1984: 54; Faust 1989: 171 cat. 105.

*PV_GRC_lMen_039 [tomba XXXII]: excavated December 1966 in zone D (vigna Marabelli/porcilaia Negri); undefined cremation context.

First decades 1st century AD (*balsamaria*); *t.p.q.*: 11-12 AD; female (*balsamaria* and spindle whorls).

2 personal belongings: 2 glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 12633: blue, pear-shaped, Is. 27; 12634: blue, sphere-shaped, Is. 6).

3 tools: 3 spindle whorls (Inv. 12632).

Varia: 1 as (portrait of Augustus. AD 11-12).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 55-56 fig. 39.

*PV_GRC_lMen_040 [tomba XXXIII]: excavated December 1966 in zone D (vigna Marabelli/porcilaia Negri); deposition of cremated remains in undefined vessel[145].

First half 1st century AD (*balsamaria*); female infans (modest assemblage[146]).

1 vessel: 1 undefined vessel used as cinerary urn.

2 personal belongings: 2 glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 12639-12640: blue, pear-shaped, Is. 28a/Calvi 17 α).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 56 fig. 40; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 252.

*PV_GRC_lMen_041 [tomba XXXIV]: excavated December 1966 in zone D (vigna Marabelli/porcilaia Negri); indirect cremation context with *ustrinum*.

Olletta, statuette and appliqué were found in an area to the east of the burial, the *balsmarium* (Inv. 12645) was mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*. **Second quarter 1st cent AD** – *according to Arslan advanced 1st century AD*; female (? – combination *balsamaria*, mirror and funerary bed).

3 vessels: 1 bottle (Inv. 12646: glass, blue, Is. 13), 1 plate (Inv. 12638: TS *italica* Drag. 1), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 12643: fine grey ware, sanded, open).

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[145] Listed only in appendix Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 59-60 t. XXXIV.
[146] According to Arslan the burial also contained a spindle whorl.

6 personal belongings: 5 glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 12644: yellow, sphere-shaped, Is. 10; 12645: blue with white spiral, sphere-shaped, Is. 10; 12647: greenish-blue, sphere-shaped, Is. 6/Calvi 17 α; 12648: light green, pear-shaped, Is. 28/Calvi H2; 12649: greenish-blue, pear-shaped, Is. 27/Calvi H2), 1 mirror (Inv. 12642: silver-bronze alloy).

Varia: 1 appliqué (Inv. 12650: terracotta, horse), 1 statuette (Inv. 12651: terracotta, woman with veiled head).

Fortunati Zuccala 1979b: 56-59 figs 41-42; Roffia 1979: 117 n. 64; Arslan 1984: 143 n. 250; Faust 1989: 171 cat. 110; Invernizzi 2005a: 138-139 ns 51. 54 (listing only 4 *balsamaria*).

PV_GRC_lMen_042 [tomba 1 (1978/79, nr. 2G)]: excavated December 3, 1978; disturbed cremation in '*nuda terra*' with *macchia carboniosa* of c. 2.10 x 1 m in c. 60 cm depth.

7 spindle whorls and some pottery fragments were mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*, the other artefacts were found next to the *macchia carboniosa*. **Second half 1st century BC** (brooches).

≥ 1 vessel: various fragments.

3 items of jewellery/dress: 3 brooches (Inv. 34126-34127: bronze, Pavese; 34129: bronze, Almgren 65).

10 tools: 10 spindle whorls (Inv. 34130-34139).

Varia: 1 undefined bronze item (Inv. 34128: biconical, maybe from bobbin or pin).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 144-147 pls V,1-11; VI A,12-14.

PV_GRC_lMen_043 [tomba 2 (1978/79, nr. 1G)]: excavated November 26, 1978; disturbed cremation in '*nuda terra*' with *macchia carboniosa* of c. 1.60 x 0.8 m.

Second half 1st century BC.

≥ 6 vessels: ≥ 4 plates (Inv. 38063-38064: BGW), 1 *olla* (Inv. 38166), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 38065).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 38067: iron).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 148-149 pl. VI B,2-3. 5.

PV_GRC_lMen_044 [tomba 3 (1978/79, nr. 4G]: excavated December 17, 1978; disturbed cremation in '*nuda terra*' with *macchia carboniosa* of c. 1.80 x 0.2-0.3 m in c. 50-60 cm depth.

Third quarter 1st century BC; female (spindle whorls).

3 vessels: 2 plates (Inv. 38078-38079: BGW, Lamboglia 5), 1 bowl (Inv. 38080: BGW, Lamboglia 28).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 3 brooches (Inv. 38075: bronze, Pavese [2]; 38076: iron, LT III type).

11 tools: 11 spindlewhorls (Inv. 38070/1-7.38071-38074).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 38077: illegible. Republican).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 149-151 pl. VI,1-18.

****PV_GRC_lMen_045** [tomba 4 (1978/79, nr. 6G)]: excavated December 24, 1978 immediately next to *tomba 1978/79 4G*; cremation in *nuda terra* probably '*a cassetta*' with *macchia carboniosa* in c. 70-110 cm depth, the pit had small extensions.

The *macchia carboniosa* was mixed only with undefined pottery fragments (Inv. 38094), all other artefacts were found to the west of the *macchia carboniosa*; the assemblage might have been protected by a tile cist, but disturbance prevents certainty. **Second half 1st century BC**.

2 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 38093: BGW, Lamboglia 5 or 5/7), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 38095: closed).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 139. 152-153, pl. VII A,1-2.

PV_GRC_lMen_046 [tomba 5 (1978/79, nr. 29]: excavated January 7, 1979; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* in c. 50-80 cm depth.

The assemblage was mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*. **Second half 1st century BC** (pottery and coin).

2 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 38059: BGW, Lamboglia 5 or 5/7), 1 *olla*.

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 38056: Janus' head and ship's bow. Republican), 1 undefined iron fragment with wood corrosion adherence.

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 153, pl. VII C,1, 3.

*PV_GRC_lMen_047 [tomba 6 (1981, nr. 3)]: excavated 1981; cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of max. 120 cm dm.

Assemblage mixed with *macchia carboniosa*. **Second half 1st century BC**.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 29071: iron, LT III type).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 29070: Janus' head and ship's bow. Republican).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 154, pl. VII B,1-2.

*PV_GRC_lMen_048 [tomba 7 (1978/79, nr. 7G)]: excavated December 24, 1978; cremation with *macchia carboniosa* in c. 60 cm depth mixed with fragments of pottery.

Last years of Republic.

8 vessels: 5 plates (Inv. 38081-38084, 38097: BGW, Lamboglia 5 or 5/7), 1 cup (Inv. 38096), 2 *olle* (Inv. 38098; n/a).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 154-155, pl. VII D,1-7.

*PV_GRC_lMen_049 [tomba 8 (1978/79, nr. 11G)]: excavated February 18, 1979; cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of c. 110 x 120 cm in c. 40 cm depth, max. 20 cm thick.

The assemblage was mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*. **Second half 1st century BC**.

> 2 vessels: > 1 plates (BGW, Lamboglia 5 or 5/7), 1 *olla*.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (bronze, Pavese).

10 tools: 10 spindle whorls.

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 155-156.

*PV_GRC_lMen_050 [tomba 9 (1978/79 G, nr. 12)]: excavated March 4, 1979; undefined cremation context in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* only few centimetres under surface.

1st century BC.

Varia: 1 as (illegible. Republican).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 156.

*PV_GRC_lMen_051 [tomba 10 (1978/79, nr. 8G)]: excavated February 4, 1979; cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of c. 120 x 100 cm in 40-50 cm depth.

The assemblage was found in a small pit to the east in c. 100 cm depth (thus beneath the level of *macchia carboniosa*) with the coin and miniature jug probably deposited inside the plate. **Last years of Republic**; female (spindle whorls).

4 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 38103: BGW, Lamboglia 5/7), 1 beaker (Inv. 38101: thin-walled, Marabini VII), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 38099: closed), 1 miniature-sized jug (Inv. 38100).

10 tools: 10 spindle whorls (Inv. 38104-38106, 38107/1-7).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 38102: illegible. Republican).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 156-158, pl. VIII A, 1-15.

PV_GRC_lMen_052 [tomba 11 (1981, nr. 4 bis)]: excavated 1981; disturbed cremation in nuda terra with *macchia carboniosa* of max. 126 cm dm, c. 90-91 cm uNN.

The assemblage was mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*, a spindle whorl and pottery fragments are all that remains from the assemblage deposited next to the *macchia carboniosa*.

First years of Augustan period (brooch in association with ring and belt buckle); male? (belt).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 29074: bronze, hinged, Aucissa var. Ettlinger 28 or Feugère 21a/22a1), 1 finger ring (iron with setting (stone lost), dm. 1.7 cm), 1 belt buckle (Inv. 29075: iron).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 29073: illegible. Republican).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 158-159, pl. VIII B,1-4.

PV_GRC_lMen_053 [tomba 12 (1978/79, nr. 10G)]: excavated February 18, 1979; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* in c. 30/40 cm depth mixed with the assemblage; the *macchia carboniosa* touches PV_GRC_lMen_052.

First years of Augustan period.

> 1 vessel: >1 plates (BGW; one of these with graffito).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl – lost.

Varia: 1 undefined bronze item of rectangular shape (Inv. 38112: probably of brooch or belt).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 159-160 pl. X A,1-4.

*PV_GRC_lMen_054 [tomba 13 (1978/79, nr. 9G)]: excavated February 11-25, 1979; cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* in c. 40-50 cm depth, south-east–north-west aligned, deposition of cremated remains, three spindle whorls, and the iron brooch in pan-*tegame.*

The assemblage was partially mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*, and partially deposited next to it. **Augustan** (AD); female (spindle whorls).

6 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 plate (BGW, Lamboglia 5/7 or 7/16), 1 pan-*tegame*, 1 *olla*, 2 *ollette* (closed; open[147]).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (bronze: Aucissa; iron, LT III type).

> 4 personal belongings: > 4 *balsamaria* (ceramic, ovoid shape; glass [>3], yellowish-amber, globular, Is. 6 and blueish-green, tube-shaped, Is. 8).

8 tools: 8 spindle whorls.

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Loeschke I A), 2 appliqués (terracotta, pair of male busts → funerary bed type I), 1 nail (iron).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 160-164, pl. IX,1-24; Invernizzi 2005a: 141 tab. B; Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch 2010: 16 fig. 10. *– Fig. XLIII*

PV_GRC_lMen_055 [tomba 14 (1978/79, nr. 5G)]: excavated December 17, 1978; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* in c. 50 cm depth, protected by half a brick.

Augustan; *t.p.q.*: 23 BC; female?

4 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 38090: pear-shaped), 1 bowl (Inv. 38088: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 27), 1 *olla* (Inv. 38096: closed), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 38087: closed).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 38089).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 38092: semi-illegible, Augustan/23 BC), 1 oil lamp (Inv. 38085), 1 undefined bronze sheet (Inv. 38091: probably from brooch).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 165-168, pl. X B,1-8.

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[147] Macchioro Malnati notes that this type of open *olletta* is frequently also classified as beaker.

PV_GRC_lMen_056 [tomba 15 (1978/79, nr. 26)]: excavated December 31, 1978; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* in c. 40/50 cm depth mixed only with pottery fragments and a molten glass *balsamarium*.

All other artefacts were deposited in c. 30 cm depth next to the *macchia carboniosa* (thus higher than the bottom of the pit?). **Augustan**; *t.p.q.*: 6 BC.

2 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 38047: TS, Drag. 17A with illegible stamp), 1 undefined vase (Inv. 38055).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 38051: greenish, pear-shaped).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 38048: portrait of Augustus. 6 BC), 2 oil lamps (Inv. 38052: Loeschke I A, disc decoration with male nude; 38053), 2 rings (Inv. 38054: iron with wood corrosion adherence, most likely from a wooden box), 1 little bell (Inv. 38049: bronze), 1 small undefined item of bronze (Inv. 38050).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 168-170, pl. XI A,1-9.

PV_GRC_lMen_057 [tomba 16 (1978/79, nr. 14G)]: excavated March 11, 1979; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* mixed only with the two appliqués; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD).

Varia: 2 appliqués (terracotta, mule and female bust → funerary bed type I).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 170-171, pl. X C,1-2; Invernizzi 2005a: 141 tab. B.

PV_GRC_lMen_058 [tomba 17 (1978/79, nr. 33)]: excavated 1978/1979; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* mixed only with the two appliqués; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD).

Varia: 2 appliqués (Inv. 38068-38069: terracotta, pair of Satyr medaillons → funerary bed type II).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 171. fig. 9b; Invernizzi 2005a: 141 tab. B, cat. 144-145; 2005b: 35 cat. 5.

PV_GRC_lMen_059 [tomba 18 (1978/79, nr. 24)]: partially excavated November 11, 1978; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of c. 200 x 180 cm in 30 cm depth.

The assemblage was mixed with *macchia carboniosa*. **Augustan** (AD).

2 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 *olletta* (Inv. 34215?: open).

Varia: 2 appliqués (Inv. 34215-34216: terracotta, lion and Dionysius medaillon → funerary bed type II).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 171-172, pl. X D. fig. 9a; Invernizzi 2005a: 141 tab. B.

PV_GRC_lMen_060 [tomba 19 (1981, nr. 5)]: excavated 1981; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of max. 220 x 130 cm; the *macchia carboniosa* revealed an only slightly burned left talus bone, suggesting that the left foot of the corpse was dangling from the funerary pyre and thus hardly cremated.

Macchia carboniosa mixed with fused glass fragments of various colours, pottery fragments, a spindle whorl and a large amount of cremated remains; an iron finger ring with setting was found nearby and probably belonged to the grave, the assemblage was deposited to the north-east of the *macchia carboniosa*. **Augustan**; female adult (based on bone fragment).

> 7 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 29093-29096: *ceramica depurata*), >2 plates (Inv. 29086: >1 BGW; 29090: BGW, Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2276), 1 *olla* (Inv. 29087), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 29088: closed).

Various glass fragments of either glass vessels or *balsamaria*.

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 finger ring (iron with undefined setting, probably not part of the assemblage), 1 arm-ring (Inv. 29098), 1 pin? (Inv. 29097: iron).

2 tools: 2 spindle whorls (Inv. 29089, 29091*).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 173-174, pl. XI B,1-9.

PV_GRC_lMen_061 [tomba 20 (1978/79, nr. 31)]: excavated January 7 and February 4, 1979; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* in c. 50-80 cm depth.

Augustan.

≥ 1 vessels: undefined fragments of *vernice rosso-bruna*.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 38060: bronze, hinged).

2 personal belongings: 2 ceramic *balsamaria* (Inv. 38061-38062).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 174-175, pl. XI C,1-2.

*PV_GRC_lMen_062 [tomba 21 (1981, nr. 7)]: excavated 1981; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of max. 123 cm dm.

The assemblage was mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*. **Augustan** (*olpe*, oil lamp); female?

3 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 29116), 1 *olla* (Inv. 29112), 1 undefined BGW vessel (Inv. 29113).

1 item of jewellery/dress: [shoes evidenced by] 4 small nails (Inv. 29118: iron).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 29114).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Inv. 29115: *Herzblattlampe*), 1 nail (Inv. 29117: iron).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 175-176, pl. XII A,1-7.

*PV_GRC_lMen_063 [tomba 22 (1981, nr. 9)]: excavated 1981; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of max. 200 cm dm mixed with a large amount of fragmented molten and fused items; close to the burial a coin was found that might have belonged to the burial.

Augustan (pottery and oil lamp); *t.p.q.*: 23 BC.

6 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 29144: *ceramica depurata*), 1 plate (Inv. 29143: BGW), 1 bowl (Inv. 29141: glass, yellowish-amber, ribbed), 1 cup (Inv. 29145: thin-walled, Marabini 36), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 29149), 1 undefined glass vessel (Inv. 29141: blue with white specks).

2 items of jewellery/dress: [shoes evidenced by] 3 little nails (Inv. 29142: one of them with wood corrosion adherence), [necklace evidenced by] 7 beads (Inv. 29140: glass paste, white).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 29137: portrait of Augustus. 23 BC), 1 oil lamp (Inv. 29139, 29148: *'a volute'* with disc decoration of a human figure).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 176-177.

*PV_GRC_lMen_064 [tomba 23 (1981, nr. 12); in Invernizzi 2005b: 10 as tomba 10]: excavated 1981; cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of max. 150 x 120 cm dm.

Macchia carboniosa mixed with pottery and glass fragments as well as smaller items; all other artefacts were found next to the *macchia carboniosa* in a slightly raised position; the assemblage of PV_GRC_lMen_065 was found so close-by that these two might either belong to the same context or were deliberately arranged in this way, probably as mother and child.

First decades 1st century AD (brooch and pottery combination); *t.p.q.*: 7 BC; female (see also above; mirror and dove statuette).

6 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 29155: *ceramica depurata*), 1 small jug or one-handled *olletta* (Inv. 29162: closed), 1 plate (Inv. 29157: red-centred BGW, Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2276), 1 beaker (Inv. 29163: thin-walled, '*a tulipano*', Mayet VIII var.), 2 *ollette* (Inv. 29156: open; 29165: glass, blue, pear-shaped, closed).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 29174: bronze, Aucissa), [necklace evidenced by] 5 beads (Inv. 29183: glass paste, white).

8 personal belongings: 7 glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 29158: yellowish-amber, globular; 29159: colourless, pear-shaped, Is. 6/26a; 29160: colourless, globular, miniature-sized; 29176: blue, globular; 29177, 29179: yellowish-amber; 29178: blue), 1 mirror (Inv. 29173: bronze-silver alloy).

8 tools: 8 spindle whorls (Inv. 29166-29171, 29181-29182).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 29172: portrait of Augustus. 7 BC), 1 coin (Inv. 19161: bronze, illegible), 1 statuette (Inv. 29164: terracotta, dove).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 178-182, pls XII B,1-21. XIII,22-27.

*PV_GRC_lMen_065 [tomba 24 (1981, nr. 13)]: excavated 1981; cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* that was identified but not excavated.

Assemblage depositioned next to *macchia carboniosa.* **Augustan-Tiberian**; the cremated bone material was identified as belonging to an infant (see PV_GRC_lMen_064).

3 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 29185: *ceramica depurata*), 1 plate (Inv. 29186: BGW, Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2276), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 29184, closed).

1 personal belongings: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 29107?: pale yellow, globular, Is. 10).

Varia: 1 statuette (Inv. 29188: terracotta, embracing couple).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 182-184, pl. XIV A,1-5.

*PV_GRC_lMen_066 [tomba 25 (1981, nr. 6)]: excavated 1981; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of max. 190 x 130 cm mixed with the assemblage including pottery and glass fragments.

Augustan-Tiberian (BGW in association with beaker).

4 vessels: 2 plates (Inv. 29101, 29103: BGW, Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2276), 1 beaker (Inv. 29104: thin-walled, sanded, one-handled mug), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 29100: closed).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 finger ring (Inv. 29108: iron, with oval setting), [shoes evidenced by] > 60 little nails (Inv. 29107: iron).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 29106: dark coloured).

Varia: 1 nail (Inv. 29109?: iron), >1 clasps (Inv. 29107: iron, small size).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 184-185, pl. XIV B,2-8.

PV_GRC_lMen_067 [tomba 26 (1978/79, nr. 21)]: excavated October 29, 1978; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* only c. 10 cm beneath surface mixed with fragments of *olpe*, two plates and numerous glass fragments.

Augustan-Tiberian (BGW).

≥ 7 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 2 plates (Inv. 34211: BGW, Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2276, one of them stamped CALENI with stamp placed central as common for TS), 2 small bowls (Inv. 34210: glass, ribbed, *Zarterippenschale*; 34209: glass, turquois with white, green, red and pink feather decoration, ribbed), ≥ 2 glass vessels (Inv. 34209: blue).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 186, pl. XIV C.

PV_GRC_lMen_068 [tomba 27 (1978/79, nr. 18)]: excavated October 15, 1978; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* in c. 30 cm depth.

Augustan-Tiberian.

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 34207: portrait of Tiberius. AD 10-11), 1 oil lamp (Inv. 34206).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 186-187, pl. XIV D,1-2.

*PV_GRC_lMen_069 [tomba 28 (1981, nr. 8)]: excavated 1981; cremation in *nuda terra*.

Augustan-Tiberian; female?

1 vessel: 1 plate (Inv. 29124: BGW, Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2276).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 finger ring (Inv. 29123: iron, with oval setting for blue and green glass paste inlay), 1 arm-ring? (Inv. 29131: bronze).

5 personal belongings: 5 *balsamaria* (Inv. 29121: glass, pale green; 29127: glass, yellowish-amber; 29128: glass, colourless; 29130: glass, pale yellow, globular; 29126: ceramic, pear-shaped).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 29129).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 29120: portrait of Tiberius. AD 10-11), 4 small clasps (Inv. 29122: iron).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 187-188, pl. XV A,1-11.

PV_GRC_lMen_070 [tomba 29 (1978/79, nr. 27)]: excavated December 31, 1978; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with spindle whorl, oil lamp and BGW plate.

First half 1st century AD.

1 vessel: 1 plate (BGW).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Inv. 34452: '*a volute*', Loeschke IV).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 188, pl. XIV E.

PV_GRC_lMen_071 [tomba 30 (1981, nr. 2)]: excavated 1981; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of max. 120 x 100 cm.

Macchia carboniosa mixed with spindle whorls; the remaining assemblage was found next to the *macchia carboniosa*. **Augustan-Claudian** (items cover a wide chronological range); female (mirror and 'make-up').

1 vessel: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 29062: *ceramica depurata*).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 29083: bronze, hinged, Feugère 21 var.).

3 personal belongings: 1 mirror (Inv. 29064: bronze-silver alloy), 1 ceramic *balsamarium* (Inv. 29061), [cosmetic paste as probably evidenced by an] intensely pink material.

6 tools: 6 spindle whorls (Inv. 29055-29060).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 189-191**.** fig. 8, pl. XV B,1-10.

PV_GRC_lMen_072 [tomba 31 (1981, nr. 11)]: excavated 1981; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of max. 140 x 85 cm mixed with pottery and metal fragments and fragments of at least one glass *balsamarium*.

Tiberian-Claudian.

≥ 2 vessel: 1 cup (Inv. 29153: thin-walled, probably originally BGW Marabini 36), ≥ 1 undefined vessels.

> 1 personal belonging: >1 glass *balsmarium* (blue).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 29150: illegible. Augustan), 6 small clasps (Inv. 29152: iron), undefined metal fragments.

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 191.

PV_GRC_lMen_073 [tomba 32 (1978/79, nr. 7)]: excavated July 9, 1978; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* in c. 60-70 cm depth mixed with the assemblage.

Tiberian-Claudian (coin).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 finger ring (Inv. 34204: iron with oval setting and stone inlay).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 34205: blue, globular).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 34203: portrait of Augustus. Coined under Tiberius), 1 statuette (terracotta).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 192-193, pl. XV C,1, 3.

PV_GRC_lMen_074 [tomba 33 (1978/79, nr. 8)]: excavated July 9 and 16, 1978; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with assemblage.

Mid-1st century AD.

1 vessel: 1 cup (fine grey ware).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 38045: portrait of Claudius), 1 statuette (terracotta).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 193.

PV_GRC_lMen_075 [tomba 34 (1978/79, nr. 2]: excavated June 18, 1978; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* in c. 100-120 cm depth mixed with *balsamarium* and cup.

Assemblage partially mixed and deposited next to *macchia carboniosa* – Macchioro Malnati suggests double deposition "deposito evientemente in un momento successive alla cremazione". **Beginning second half 1ˢᵗ century AD** (oil lamp and cup in combination with glass *olpai*).

3 vessels: 2 jugs/*olpai* (Inv. 34189: glass, pale green; 34190: glass, green), 1 cup (Inv. 34188: fine grey ware, sanded, Marabini 36).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 34191, green, tube-shaped, Is. 8).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Inv. 34187: '*a volute*', Loeschke V with disc decoration, Jupiter's head).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 139. 193-196. fig. 10, pl. XVII A,1-5.

PV_GRC_lMen_076 [tomba 35 (1978/79, nr. 11)]: excavated September 9 and 17, 1978; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of large dimensions (c. 200 x200 cm, thus not completely excavated) in c. 50-60 cm depth mixed with assemblage.

1ˢᵗ century AD.

3 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 cup (fine grey ware), 1 spoon (Inv. 38046: bronze).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 196, pl. XVII E.

PV_GRC_lMen_077 [tomba 36 (1978/79, nr. 19)]: excavated October 22 and 29, 1978; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of large dimensions (c. 300 x 150 cm) in c. 80-90 cm depth mixed with nails, coroplastics, undefined pottery fragments as well as those of an *olpe* and plate in *vernice rossa*.

It is not certain whether the deposition belongs to PV_GRC_lMen_077 or 049, Macchioro Malnati suggests a double deposition "deposito evientemente in un momento successive alla cremazione". **Second half 1ˢᵗ century AD**; Flavian (oil lamp and glass vessels); female?

6 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 jug (Inv. 34197: glass, blue, Is. 56a/*Kleeblattkanne*), 2 plates (w/o Inv.: *vernice rossa*; 34194: glass, green, Is. 48), 1 cup (Inv. 34196: glass, yellowish-amber, ribbed, Is 17/*Zarterippenschale*), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 34192: closed).

1 item of jewellery/dress: [shoes evidenced by] >100 little nails (Inv. 34202).

3 personal belongings: 2 glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 34198: blue, dove-shaped; 34195: blue, pear-shaped), 1 stirring rod (Inv. 34201: glass, blue with white glass paste Is. 79).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Inv. 34193: *'a volute'*, Loeschke I C with disc decoration, Amor), ≥ 1 statuette (Inv. 34199-34200: terracotta), ≥ 1 nails (iron).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 139. 197-200, pl. XVI,4-11.

PV_GRC_lMen_078 [tomba 37 (1978/79, nr. 20)]: excavated October 22, 1978; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* only c. 10 cm beyond surface mixed with numerous fragments of terracotta figurines or appliqués.

Early Principate.

Varia: >1 terracotta figurine or appliqué.

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 200.

*PV_GRC_lMen_079 [tomba 38 (1981, nr. 1)]: excavated 1981; cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of max. 120 cm dm mixed with the assemblage.

Female (spindle whorl) – anthropologic investigation proved an adult age.

≥ 1 vessel: undefined fragments.

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 200, pl. XVII B.

*PV_GRC_lMen_080 [tomba 39 (1981, nr. 4)]: excavated 1981; cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of max. 70 cm dm preserved.

Varia: 1 coin (bronze, illegible).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 200.

PV_GRC_lMen_081 [tomba 40 (1978/79, nr. 22)]: excavated November 5, 1978; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* of large dimensions (c. 200 x 120 cm) in c. 40-50 cm depth mixed with various fragments and spindle whorls.

2 tools: 2 spindle whorls.

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 200, pl. XVII D.

PV_GRC_lMen_082 [tomba 41 (1978/79, nr. 23)]: excavated November 5 and 11, 1978; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* in c. 40-50 cm depth.

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 201, pl. XVII C.

PV_GRC_lMen_083 [tomba 42 (1978/79G, nr. 13)]: excavated March 4, 1978; disturbed cremation in *nuda terra*.

Varia: 1 coin (bronze, illegible).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 201.

PV_GRC_lMen_084 [Cascina Guala tomba 1]: excavated January 27, 1978.

LT D; the funerary bed argues for a date in the Augustan-Tiberian (AD) period.

1 vessel: 1 *olletta* (closed).

Varia: 4 appliqués (Inv. 104198, 104200-1042001, 143501: (terracotta, mule and female bust → funerary bed type I – traces of exposure to heat are more pronounced on one set of appliqués indicating that one side of the funerary bed was more exposed to the fire).

Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 157 n. 26; Invernizzi 2005a: 136 n. 36. 141 tab. B, cat. 103-106; 2005b: 38 cat. 15.

PV_GRC_lMen_085: excavated March 1978 at Cascina Guala in 1.70 m depth.

3rd-2nd century BC.

3 vessels: 1 pre-*vaso a trottola*, 1 bowl, 1 *olletta* (semi-open).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Repetto and Repetto 1980: 13. 16 fig. AM.

*__PV_GRC_lMen_110__ [tomba 25]: excavated at località Miradolo.

Beginning of 1st century AD; female.

3 vessels: 1 cup (BGW), 2 *ollette* (closed).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 earring (silver with glass paste pendant).

9 personal belongings: 7 *balsamaria* (glass, blue [2 – one of the *amphora*-shaped] and colour-less [3]; spherical), 1 stirring rod (glass), 1 mirror (bronze).

6 tools: 6 spindle whorls.

Varia: 1 coin, 1 oil lamp ('*a volute*' with disc decoration of a gladiator), 2 appliqués (terracotta: pair of lion heads → funerary bed type II), 2 statuettes (terracotta, woman in niche and cockerel), >1 clasps and fragments in iron.

Invernizzi 2005a: 138-139 ns 50. 54. 141 tab. B, cat. 148-149; 2005b: 44-45 cat. 37.

Gropello Cairoli, *località* Santo Spirito

- Documented IA mortuary contexts: 2; excavated contexts: 2; published contexts: 2
- Contexts classified as complete: 2
- Chronological range: LT D.
- The site yielded a crouched inhumation (PV_GRC_SSp_002) and skeletal remains in a prone position (PV_GRC_SSp_001).

***PV_GRC_SSp_001**: geographical data: De Caro 1999: nr. 14; inhumation burial in stretched position.

1st century BC.

4 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (iron, Guiraud 1b or 1c; positioned on the shoulders), 2 fingerrings (bronze and iron with fitted stone).

De Caro 1999: 135; Ruffa 2010a: 113. 117-118 fig. 11,1-4; 126.

***PV_GRC_SSp_002**: excavated at Cascina Becca; crouched inhumation.

LT D1 (BGW).

4 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 1 bowl, 2 plates (achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 36; Inv. 38319: BGW[148] Lamboglia 5-Morel 2822).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (iron, Nauheim).

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow).

Frontini 1985: 62.

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[148] The clay and gloss are classified as Adriatic/local AD 8 and AD 8/AD 17.

Lomello, *località* Cascina S. Giovanni Doria

- Documented contexts: ?; excavated contexts: ?; published contexts: 1
- Contexts classified as possibly complete: 1
- Chronological range: 2nd-1st century BC?.

*? **PV_LOM_cSGD_001**: excavated September 29, 1976.

Beginning of the 2nd century BC (*vaso a trottola*).

6 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (Inv. 17154), 1 bowl (Inv. 17152), 3 small bowls (Inv. 17149-17150, 17153), 1 beaker (Inv. 17151).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1981a: 272-273, pl. I, 1-6. *– Fig. XXXVIII*

Mortara, *località* Cascina Medaglia

- Documented contexts: > 90; excavated contexts: > 90; published contexts: 4
- Contexts classified as complete: 1; contexts classified as incomplete: 3
- Chronological range: second half 1st century BC – mid-2nd century AD.

PV_MOR_cMed_022 *– published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl).

Varia: 6 appliqués (Inv. 143511, 143513, 143515: terracotta, 2 horses, 1 Satyr medaillon, 2 mules and 1 female bust – the appliqués clearly belonged to 2 beds types I and II), 1 statuette (terracotta).

Invernizzi 2005a: 137-139 ns 50. 54. 141 tab. B, cat. 178, 181, 183; 2005b: 20. 36 cat. 12. 39 cat. 21.

***PV_MOR_cMed_042**: cremation context in *nuda terra* with *macchia carboniosa* mixed fragments of *ceramica comune* and spindle whorl.

The assemblage is classified as one of the most extraordinary ones from Cascina Medaglia; it was deposited at the northern edge of the associated *macchia carboniosa*. **Mid-1st century AD** (Is. 14); female (stirring rod and mirror).

≥ 4 vessels: 2 *olpai* (Inv. 114954: glass, blue-green, Is. 14; 114955), 1 beaker (Inv. 114957: fine ware, *Rädchenzier*), ≥ 1 undefinable vessels.

2 personal belongings: 1 mirror (Inv. 114956: bronze), 1 stirring rod (Inv. 114953: glass, blue, Is. 79).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 1 statuette (Inv. 114952: terracotta, Minerva).

Invernizzi 1992-93b: 88; Invernizzi 1999.

PV_MOR_cMed_054

Mid-1st century AD.

3 vessels: 2 bottles (glass, greenish, Is. 51a), 1 *skyphos* (*ceramica invetriata*).

Invernizzi 1992-93b: 88.

PV_MOR_cMed_066

around **mid-1st century AD**.

Varia: 1 statuette (ST 114952: terracotta, Minerva).

Invernizzi 1999 (in reference to statuette only).

Ottobiano, *località* Cascina Rotorta

- Documented contexts: 40; excavated contexts: 40; published contexts: 40
- Contexts classified as complete: 38; contexts classified as incomplete: 2 the drawings published by Papetti partially show items that had not been mentioned by Vannacci Lunazzi.
- Chronological range: 1st century BC-1st century AD.

***PV_OTT_cRot_001**: direct cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* of 150 cm dm. mixed with plates, *balsamarium*, nails and shoe fittings.

First half 1st century AD; *t.p.q.*: 22 AD (coin).

5 vessels: 2 plates (Inv. 34472-34473: BGW), 1 small bowl (Inv. 34329), 1 *olla* (Inv. 34328: semi-open), 1 undefined vessel (Inv. 34470).

1 item of jewellery/dress: [shoes evidenced by] 8 decorative fittings/nails: iron (Inv. 34475).

2 personal belongings: 1 *balsamarium* (Inv. 34474: probably sphere-shaped, amber coloured), 1 stirring rod (Inv. 34330: glass, twisted, blue with white).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 1 coin (Inv. 34331: Drusus portrait), 4 nails (Inv. 34476: iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 49-50 fig. 1; Papetti 1987: 77 pl. I. *– Fig. XLIV*

***PV_OTT_cRot_002**: excavated October 31, 1976; undefined context with small *macchia carboniosa* in only 20 cm distance from PV_OTT_cRot_002, probably definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006; all artefacts were mixed with the *macchia carboniosa.*

First half 1st century AD.

1 item of jewellery/dress: [shoes evidenced by] 26 decorative fittings/nails (Inv. 34479: iron).

>2 personal belongings: >2 *balsamaria* (Inv. 34477: fragments of various colours, fused).

Varia: 1 statuette (Inv. 34478: resembling depictions of Livia), 5 nails (Inv. 34480: iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 51-52 fig. 2.

***PV_OTT_cRot_003**: excavated October 31, 1976; undefinable cremation context with few fragmentsts of coarse ware pottery; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 52.

***PV_OTT_cRot_004**: excavated October 31/November 1, 1976, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

The assemblage of *olletta* and bowl was deposited to the north of a large *macchia carboniosa*; the remaining artefacts were mixed with the *macchia carboniosa.* **First half 1st century AD**.

3 vessels: 1 bowl (Inv. 34333: *mortarium*), 1 *olla* (Inv. 34481), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 34332: closed).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 34483: fused).

4 tools: 4 spindle whorls (Inv. 34482/1-4).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 52-53 fig. 3, pl. IV,1-2; Papetti 1987: 78 pl. II. *– Fig. XLV*

PV_OTT_cRot_00A: sporadic find or undefined context to the left of PV_OTT_cRot_003 and 004.

1 vessel: 1 large bowl (*bacile*).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 53, pl. IV,19; Papetti 1987: 105 pl. XXIX. *– Fig. LIX*

*PV_OTT_cRot_005: excavated November 1, 1976; undefinable cremation context mixed with few fragments of pottery; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 54.

*PV_OTT_cRot_006: excavated November 1, 1976; undefinable cremation context; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Assemblage was found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa.* **Augustan-Tiberian** (AD – brooch, funerary bed); female (combination of brooch, spindle whorls and funerary bed).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 34341: bronze, Aucissa).

1 personal belonging: 1 *balsmarium* (Inv. 34338: fine grey ware, pear-shaped).

2 tools: 2 spindle whorls (Inv. 34339-34340).

Varia: 3 appliqués (Inv. 34335-34337: terracotta, 2 horses and 1 Satyr medaillon → funerary bed type II).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 54-57, pl. V,1-6, 9; Papetti 1987: 79 pl. III; Faust 1989: 170-171 cat. 98; Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50. 141 tab. B, cat. 193-195; 2005b: 34 cat. 4. *– Fig. XLVI*

*PV_OTT_cRot_007: excavated November 1, 1976; undefinable cremation context; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Assemblage was found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa.* **Augustan-Tiberian** (AD – funerary bed).

1 vessel: 1 fragment of undefined vessel.

Varia: 2 appliqués (Inv. 34342-34343: terracotta, 1 lion and 1 Dionysius medaillon → funerary bed type II).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 57-58, pl. VI,3-4; Papetti 1987: 80 pl. IV; Invernizzi 2005a: 141 tab. B. *– Fig. XLVII*

*PV_OTT_cRot_008: excavated November 2, 1976; undefinable cremation context with fragments of pottery; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

1st century AD.

2 vessels: 1 bowl (Inv. 34370), 1 cup (Inv. 34371: TS, Drag. 24/25).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (*Firmalampe* Loeschke IX B, stamped FORTIS), 1 nail (Inv. 34373: iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 58-59, pl. VI,1; Papetti 1987: 87 pl. XI,7. *– Fig. XLVIII*

*PV_OTT_cRot_009**: excavated November 2, 1976; the assemblage was found at a distance of c. 1 m from the *macchia carboniosa.*

Second half 1st century AD; *t.p.q.*: 69-79 AD; probably female (arm-ring, needle and stirring rod).

3 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 34347: *ceramica depurata*, Angera 2B var.), 1 cup (Inv. 34346: TS, Drag. 37/32), 1 olla (Inv. 34344: two-handled, closed).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 arm-ring (Inv. 34345: iron), [shoes evidenced by] 3 decorative fittings/small nails (Inv. 34369: iron).

1 personal belonging: 1 stirring rod (Inv. 34369: glass).

1 tool: 1 needle (Inv. 34348: bronze).

Varia: 1 coin (Inv. 34349: portrait of Vespasian), 8 nails and 2 hooks/clamps (Inv. 343350: iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 59-60 fig. 5, pl. IV,3-12; Papetti 1987: 81-82 pls V-VI; Diani 1999: 173. *– Fig. XLIX*

*PV_OTT_cRot_010**: excavated November 2, 1976; undefinable cremation context mixed with few fragments of pottery; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 61.

*PV_OTT_cRot_011**: excavated November 2-3, 1976; the assemblage was found at a distance of c. 1.50 m from the *macchia carboniosa*, deposition of cremated remains, mirror, *balsamaria* and spindle whorl in bowl.

Augustan; female.

9 vessels: 2 *olpai* (Inv. 34356-34357), 2 plates (Inv. 34352, 34367: BGW[149], Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2277 with omphalos), 1 bowl (Inv. 34351), 2 cups (Inv. 34353: TS/*vernice rossa*, Ritterling 5/Goudienau 27; 343538: TS, *Sariusschale*, signed ACO), 1 beaker (Inv. 34354: '*a tulipano*'), 1 *olla*.

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[149] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 9 and L 8 respectively as well as L 9 and L 9.

7 personal belongings: 6 glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 34360-34365: amber coloured and green, Is. 6 and 8), 1 mirror (Inv. 34359: bronze).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 34366).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (Inv. 34358).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 244; Frontini 1985: 143; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 61-65 figs 6-9; Papetti 1987: 83-85 pls VII-X; Sfredda 1998: 31; Diani 1999: 171-173. *– Fig. L*

***PV_OTT_cRot_012**: excavated November 2, 1976; the tomb was found shallower than the other burials.

End of 1st century AD, probably early 2nd century AD; *t.p.q.*: 81-96 AD; the tomb is classified as one of the youngest of the necropolis, as also evidenced by the shallow location.

≥ 2 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 34374: glass), various pottery fragments.

1 item of jewellery/dress: [shoes evidenced by] 6 small nails/decorative fittings (Inv. 34377: iron).

1 personal belonging: 1 *balsamarium*.

Varia: 1 coin (Inv. 34380: portrait of Domitian), 6 nails (Inv. 34375: iron), ≥ 1 hooks/clasps (Inv. 34376: iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 65-66, pl. V,7-8, 10-13; Papetti 1987: 87 pl. XI,1-5. *– Fig. LI*

***PV_OTT_cRot_013**: excavated November 2, 1976; undefinable cremation context; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Augustan-Tiberian.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 34382: bronze, Aucissa).

Varia: 1 coin (Inv. 34381: portrait of Augustus), 4 nails (Inv. 34378: iron), 1 hook/clasp (Inv. 34379: iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 66, pl. VI,2 and 5; Papetti 1987: 87 pl. XI,6. *– Fig. LIV*

***PV_OTT_cRot_014**: excavated November 2, 1976; undefinable cremation context mixed with fragmented artefacts, especially fragments of glass and pottery (Inv. 34383); presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

1 personal belongings: 1 glass stirring rod.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 67.

*PV_OTT_cRot_015: excavated November 2, 1976; undefinable cremation context mixed with an iron nail (Inv. 34384); presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 67.

*PV_OTT_cRot_016: excavated November 2, 1976; undefinable cremation context without artefact assemblage; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006; to the north-east of the *macchia carboniosa* few pottery fragments were found, the *macchia carboniosa* was mixed with an iron nail (Inv. 34385) and a coin (Inv. 34386: portrait of Caligula).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 67.

*PV_OTT_cRot_017: excavated November 3, 1976.

The assemblage was partially mixed with the *macchia carboniosa* (brooch, buckle, buttons and flint), partially found to the south-west of the *macchia carboniosa* (bowl). **Mid-1st century BC – mid-1st century AD**.

2 vessels: 1 plate, 1 small bowl (Inv. 34387).

4 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 34388: bronze, Pavese), 1 buckle (Inv. 34389: bronze), 2 buttons (bronze).

Varia: 1 flake of flint.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 67-68, pl. VII, 1-5; Papetti 1987: 88 pl. XII. *– Fig. LII*

*PV_OTT_cRot_018: excavated November 3, 1976; undefinable cremation context mixed with pottery; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

LT D2.

2 vessels: 1 small bowl (Inv. 34390), 1 *olla* (open).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 68, pl. IV,13-14; Papetti 1987: 89 pl. XIII. *– Fig. LIII*

***PV_OTT_cRot_019**: excavated November 5, 1976; undefinable cremation context mixed with artefacts; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

T.p.q.: **81-96 AD**.

Varia: 1 coin (Inv. 34392: bronze, portrait of Domitian), 4 nails (Inv. 34391: iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 69, pl. IV,15-16; Papetti 1987: 90 pl. XIV,1-4. *– Fig. LV*

***PV_OTT_cRot_020**: excavated November 5, 1976; the excavation reports do not clarify whether the assemblage was found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa* or separate from the latter.

First half 1st century BC; LT D2.

2 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 39393), 1 *olla* (Inv. 34394).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 69.

***PV_OTT_cRot_021**: excavated November 5, 1976; deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

The assemblage was partially mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*, partially found next to the *macchia carboniosa* (*olla* and bowl). **1st cent AD** (bowl); *t.p.q.*: **41-54 AD**.

≥ 5 vessels: 1 *olpe*? (heavily fragmented), 1 plate (Inv. 34396: red-centred BGW), 1 bowl (Inv. 34397), 1 *olla* (Inv. 34398), ≥ 1 further undefinable ceramic vessel.

Varia: 1 coin (Inv. 34399: portrait of Claudius), 6 nails (Inv. 34395: iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 69-70, pl. IV,17; Papetti 1987: 90 pl. XIV,5-7. *– Fig. LVI*

***PV_OTT_cRot_022**: excavated November 5, 1976; undefinable cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* only suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 70.

***PV_OTT_cRot_023**: excavated November 5, 1976; cremation context probably '*a cassetta*' (1 brick [*mattone*], 1 tile [*coppo*])*.*

Assemblage was found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa.* **Augustan**; male? (the belt buckle is usually found in male burials).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (bronze, Pavese), 1 belt buckle (Inv. 34401: iron).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 34400: green, pear-shaped, Is. 8).

Varia: 2 coins (Inv. 34402-34403).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 70-71, pl. VI,6-8; Papetti 1987: 91 pl. XV,1-3. *– Fig. LVII*

PV_OTT_cRot_024: excavated November 5, 1976; undefinable cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with only one bowl suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006. However, the bowl might have contained cremated remains despite its small size (h. 9.2 cm, dm. 12.5 cm).

1st century AD.

1 vessel: 1 small bowl (Inv. 34404).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 71; Papetti 1987: 91 pl. XV,4. *– Fig. LVIII*

PV_OTT_cRot_025: excavated November 5, 1976; undefinable cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* only suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 71.

PV_OTT_cRot_026: excavated November 5, 1976; undefinable cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with only one *olletta* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

1st century AD.

1 vessel: 1 *olletta* (Inv. 34405).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 72.

PV_OTT_cRot_027: excavated November 5, 1976; deposition of cremated remains in small bowl.

Augustan (AD – e.g. thin-walled beaker); female (? – combination brooches, *balsamaria* and funerary bed).

4 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 34406), 1 plate (Inv. 34407: BGW[150], Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2277), 1 small bowl (Inv. 34409), 1 beaker (Inv. 34408: thin-walled, Marabini XI).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 34414: bronze, Aucissa), [shoes evidenced by] 28 small nails/decorative fittings (Inv. 34412).

2 personal belongings: 2 glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 34410-34411: blue, pear-shaped, Is. 6).

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[150] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 9.

Varia: 1 coin (Inv. 34413: portrait of Augustus), 1 terracotta appliqué[151].

Frontini 1985: 144; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 72-73, pls VII,7-9. VIII,8-11; Papetti 1987: 92 pl. XVI; Sfredda 1998: 31. *– Fig. LX*

PV_OTT_cRot_028: excavated November 5-6, 1976.

The majority of artefacts were found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*, it is not specified where two of the *olpai*, the beaker and the possible oil lamp were found. **Augustan-Tiberian** (AD – funerary bed); female (? – combination brooch and funerary bed).

6 vessels: 3 *olpai* (Inv. 34415-34416, 34418), 1 plate (Inv. 34421: BGW, Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2277), 1 bowl (Inv. 34422), 1 beaker ('*a tulipano*', Mayet VIII).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 34417: bronze).

Varia: 1 oil lamp? (Inv. 34420: fragment with partial inscription; stamp or incision?), 4 appliqués[152] (Inv. 34423-34425: terracotta, 2 mules and 2 female busts → funerary bed type I).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 73-75, pls VII,10-14. VIII,12-14; Papetti 1987: 93 pl. XVII; Faust 1989: 171 cat. 99; Sfredda 1998: 31; Diani 1999: 171; Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50, cat. 198. 200; 2005b: 37 cat. 14. *– Fig. LXI*

PV_OTT_cRot_029: excavated November 5-6, 1976.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (combination of brooch, spindle whorl and funerary bed).

5 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 34426), 1 beaker (Inv. 34428: TS; partial stamp VS could be either referring to Hilarus or Sarius Surus), 1 *olla* (Inv. 37427), 1 *vernice rossa* (TS?, fragment partially stamped HIL[arus]), further pottery fragment with partial stamp ITR […] NI.

1 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 3432: bronze).

1 personal belongings: 1 glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 34430: green).

1 tools: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 34429).

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow), 4 appliqués (Inv. 34433-34436: terracotta, 2 stilts and 2 male busts with 'Phrygian' hat → funerary bed type I).

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[151] The mirror equivalent to this appliqué was catalogued for PV_OTT_cRot_29; it is, therefore, quite likely that the objects were mixed up during excavation.
[152] The mirror equivalent to this appliqué was catalogued for PV_OTT_cRot_29; it is, therefore, quite likely that the objects were mixed up during excavation.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 75-77, pl. IX,1-8; Papetti 1987: 94 pl. XVIII[153]. 96 pl. XX; Faust 1989: 171 cat. 100; Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50. 141 tab. B. *– Fig. LXII*

*PV_OTT_cRot_030: excavated November 6, 1976 in 1 m depth; deposition of cremated remains, a piece of linen, brooch and coin in bowl, bits of cremated remains adhere to the brooch.

The assemblage was depositioned next to the *macchia carboniosa.* **Augustan**.

6 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 34441), 1 plate (Inv. 34442: red-centred BGW[154], Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2273 with two incised letters), 1 bowl (Inv. 34437: grey ware), 1 beaker (Inv. 34443: Mayet III-Marabini IV), 1 *olla* (Inv. 34444: closed), 1 *olletta*[155] (Inv. 34445: *ceramica depurata*, Angera A, closed).

1+ item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 34440: bronze, Aucissa; according to Frontini with spring construction, bronze sheet bow and trapezoid catch-plate), textile (Inv. 34438: linen; the textile fragment was preserved under the coin).

Varia: 1 as (Inv. 34449: Janus' head and ship's bow).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 245; Frontini 1985: 144; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 77-81 figs 12-13, pl. VIII,1-7; Sfredda 1998: 31; Diani 1999: 171-172. *– Fig. LXIII*

*PV_OTT_cRot_031: excavated November 6, 1976; undefinable cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* only suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 81.

*PV_OTT_cRot_032: excavated November 6, 1976.

First half 1st century AD.

4 vessels: 1 plate (Inv. 34447: red-centred BGW), 2? bowls (Inv. 34446, 34449), 1 *olletta* (Inv. 34448).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 81.

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[153] Erroneously as tomb 28.
[154] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 4 and L 4/C 12 respectively.
[155] *Olla* and *olletta* have both the same shape; both are catalogued as *olla* in VL 1986a, according to STP the smaller one has to be classified as *olletta*; this is confirmed by Diani, who lists one *olletta* for the burial.

*PV_OTT_cRot_033: excavated November 6, 1976; undefinable cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* only suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Assemblage was found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa.* **Augustan**.

2 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 34451: fine grey ware), 1 plate (Inv. 34450: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 36).

Varia: 1 as? (Inv. 34452: Janus' head).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 81-82.

*PV_OTT_cRot_034: excavated November 6, 1976; undefinable cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* only suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

Assemblage was found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa.* **LT D2 – Augustan** (? decoration on *olla*)

1 vessel: 1 *olla* (Inv. 34453: semi-open).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (Inv. 34454).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 82, pl. XI,1-2. *– Fig. LXIV*

*PV_OTT_cRot_035: excavated November 6, 1976; undefinable cremation context with small *macchia carboniosa* only suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 82.

*PV_OTT_cRot_036: excavated November 7, 1976, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

According to the photo (VL 1986a: 83 fig. 14) all finds apart from the *olla* and the bowl were found in the *macchia carboniosa*, the oil lamp was depositioned in the cup. **Augustan***.

7 vessels: 2 plates (Inv. 34458-34459: BGW[156] one of them red-centred Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2277), 2 bowls (Inv. 34455, 34464), 1 cup (Inv. 34461: *vernice rosso-bruna*), 1 beaker (ACO beaker stamped HILARIVS CAVI with *Kommaregen* decoration), 1 *olletta*[157] (Inv. 34460: closed).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 34456: iron, LT III *Drahtfibel* with trapezoid catch-plate).

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow), 1 oil lamp (Inv. 34462: *Herzblattlampe*).

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[156] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 4 and and L 9 in the second case.
[157] Re-classified according to STP.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 82-85 figs 14-15, pls X,1-4. XI, 3-7; Frontini 1985: 145; Sfredda 1998: 31; Diani 1999: 172; Ruffia 2010a: 118 n. 144. *– Fig. LXV*

*PV_OTT_cRot_037: excavated November 21, 1976; deposition of cremated remains in *olletta*.

Assemblage placed next to *macchia carboniosa.* **Augustan-Tiberian**.

4 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 34466), 1 plate (Inv. 34467: red-centred BGW[158], Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2276), 1 beaker (Inv. 34467: '*a tulipano*', Mayet VIII[159]), 1 *olletta*[160] (Inv. 34465: open).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 34468: iron, LT III *Drahtfibel* with trapezoid catch-plate).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 213, 242; Frontini 1985: 145; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 85-87, pls X,5, XI, 8-11; Sfredda 1998: 31; Diani 1999: 171; Ruffia 2010a: 118 n. 144. *– Fig. LXVI*

PV_OTT_cRot_00B: excavated November 21, 1976; undefined cremation context with large rectangular *macchia carboniosa* of 130 x 250 cm that contained chunks of carbonised wood, probably from funerary beds.

*PV_OTT_cRot_038: excavated November 23, 1976; undefined cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with pottery fragments.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed).

≥ 2 vessels: 1 *olpe*, ≥ 1 undefined vessels.

Varia: 2 appliqués (terracotta, male busts with 'Phrygian' hat).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 87; Faust 1989: 171 cat. 101.

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[158] The clay and gloss are classified as local C 12/L 6 and C 12 respectively.
[159] Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b lists the beaker as Mayet III (dated 1st century BC); the drawing in VL 1986a, however, confirms Diani's classification as beaker '*a tulipano*'.
[160] Re-classified according to STP.

Tromello, *località* Cascina Negrina

- Documented contexts: 46; excavated contexts: 46; published contexts: 7
- Contexts classified as complete: 1; contexts classified as incomplete: 6 the six incomplete contexts have only been published in reference to the presence of a funerary bed
- Chronological range: mid-1st century BC – mid-1st century AD.

PV_TRO_cNeg_002 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed).

Varia: 2 appliqués (terracotta, 1 mule and 1 female bust → funerary bed type I).

Invernizzi 2005a: 141 tab. B.

PV_TRO_cNeg_012 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl).

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 3 appliqués (Inv. 98280-98281: terracotta, 2 mules and 1 male bust → funerary bed type I).

Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50. 141 tab. B, cat. 210. 212; 2005b: 38 cat. 17.

PV_TRO_cNeg_023 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed).

Varia: 3 appliqués (terracotta, griffin and male bust → funerary bed type I).

Invernizzi 2005a: 141 tab. B.

PV_TRO_cNeg_024 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl and *balsamarium*).

≥ 1 personal belonging: ≥ 1 *balsamarium*.

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 5? appliqués (Inv. 138063: terracotta – the appliqués clearly belonged to 2 beds).

Invernizzi 2005a: 138 ns 50. 52, cat. 216; 2005b: 40 cat. 25.

*PV_TRO_cNeg_041: indirect cremation in rectangular pit.

The assemblage is classified as exceptional. **Second half 1st century BC**; male.

5 vessels: 1 plate-*patera*, 1 pan-*tegame*, 3 *ollette/olle* (closed [2]; semi-open? [1]).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron; textile rests adhering, the conglomerate is corroded to the razor blade).

2 weapons and/or tools: 1 knife-*coltellaccio* (iron), 1 pair of shears (iron).

1 personal belonging: 1 razor blade (iron; textile rests adhering, the conglomerate is corroded to the brooch).

Varia: 1 as (bronze. Republican).

Invernizzi 1998a; 1998b: 19-20.

Fig. XXV PV_ TRO_cNeg_041 as displayed at the Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

PV_TRO_cNeg_042 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl).

≥ 1 tool: ≥ 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 3 appliqués (Inv. 138103-138104: terracotta, 2 lions and 1 Dionysius medaillon → funerary bed type II).

Invernizzi 2005a: 138 n. 50. 141 tab. B, cat. 221. 223; 2005b: 33 cat. 2.

PV_TRO_cNeg_044 – *published only in reference to the presence of a funerary bed.*

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed).

Varia: 4 appliqués (Inv. 138108: terracotta with traces of white colour, 2 lions and 2 Dionysius medaillons → funerary bed type II).

Invernizzi 2005a: 141 tab. B, cat. 227; 2005b: 43 cat. 34.

Tromello, *località* Cascina Stremiana

- Documented contexts: ?; excavated contexts: ?; published contexts: 1
- Contexts classified as incomplete: 1
- Chronological range: Augustan-Tiberian?

PV_TRO_cStr_003 [ST-3]: cremation *'a cassetta'* with superficial *macchia carboniosa* that was particularly rich in fragments.

Four plates were found within the assemblage, the others mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*.

Augustan-Tiberian (AD – funerary bed); female (spindle whorl).

8 vessels: 8 plates (BGW[161], Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2271 and 2277 [5]; Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2276 [2]; n/a [1]).

3 personal belongings: 2 ceramic *balsamaria*, 1 mirror.

≥ 2 tools: ≥ 1 spindle whorl, 1 needle (Inv. 47843: bronze).

Varia: 3 appliqués (Inv. 47828; 143516-143517: terracotta with traces of white and red colour, 2 lions and 1 Dionysius medaillon → funerary bed type II), 1 statuette (terracotta).

Frontini 1985: 142; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 55 n. 16; 60 n. 27; Invernizzi 2005a: 138-139 ns 50. 54. 141 tab. B, cat. 228-230; 2005b: 43 cat. 35.

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[161] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the C and L groups.

Valeggio Lomellina, *località* Cascina Tessera

- Documented contexts: 232; excavated contexts: 232; published contexts: 84
- Contexts classified as complete: 3; contexts classified as possibly complete: 24; contexts classified as incomplete: 49
- Chronological range: 2nd century BC – 1st century AD.

*PV_VAL_cTes_023: cremation context; deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Second half 1st century AD (TS plate, glass vessel); female (personal belongings).

5 vessels: 3 *olpai* (ceramic [2]; glass, light blue, conical Is. 65?), 1 plate (TS, Drag. 17 stamped CTS), 1 cup (glass, '*a sacco*' with pointed omphalos).

4 personal belongings: 2 *balsamaria* (glass, tubular), 2 stirring rods (glass, dark blue with white glass paste spiral [1], molten), 1 mirror (silver bronze alloy).

Varia: 1 oil lamp ('*a volute*' with disc decoration of a shell?).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a; Roffia 1979: 114-115; Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 94. 106; 1992: 66; Invernizzi 2002: 73; Invernizzi et al. 2002: 143 fig. 4.

PV_VAL_cTes_024: cremation context.

Beginning 1st century AD (coin and beaker).

2 vessels: 1 face-urn, 1 beaker (BGW).

Varia: 1 coin (Augustan), 1 oil lamp ('*a volute*' with disc decoration with warrior on horse with sword and shield).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a.

PV_VAL_cTes_025

41-54 AD (glass vessels); *t.p.q.*: **15-16 AD**.

7 vessels: 1 small *amphora-anforetta* (glass, greenish-blue), 1 *olla*, 1 *olpe*, 1 plate (*vernice bruna*), 1 bowl (fine grey ware), 2 small bowls (glass, mould-blown, ribbed, '*a sacco*').

5 personal belongings: 1 glass *balsamarium*, 3 stirring rods (glass), 1 mirror.

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 1 as (Tiberius. AD 15-16), 1 coin (illegible).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a; Roffia 1979: 113. 121 fig. 2; Vannacci Lunazzi 1992: 66.

PV_VAL_cTes_030b: indirect? cremation '*a fossa*' with superficial *macchia carboniosa.*

The assemblage was completely fragmented; the museum retains also fragments of a glass *balsamarium* and an oil lamp that unlikely belong to the burial. **Augustan**; *t.p.q.:* 22-23 AD.

4 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 plate (BGW[162], Lamboglia 7/16), 1 (small) bowl (thin-walled), 1 *olla*.

Varia: 1 as (Drusus. 22-23 AD), ≥ 1 small fittings/nails (iron).

Frontini 1985: 13. 123.

PV_VAL_cTes_033: cremation '*a fossa*'.

The assemblage was completely fragmented. **Augustan** (cup and *balsamarium*).

> 5 vessels: 2 plates (BGW[163] Lamboglia 7/16), 1 (small) bowl (thin-walled), >2 BGW[164] vessels.

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium*.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 242; Frontini 1985: 13. 124.

PV_VAL_cTes_034

The assemblage was completely fragmented. **Augustan** (cup and *balsamarium*).

4 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 plate (BGW[165], Lamboglia 5/7), 2 *olle* (open?).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (colourless, spherical).

Frontini 1985: 13. 124. 124; Sfredda 1998: 31.

PV_VAL_cTes_047

1st century AD.

1 vessel: 1 *skyphos* (*ceramica invetriata*).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a.

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[162] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 6.
[163] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.
[164] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 2 and L 8 respectively.
[165] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 4.

PV_VAL_cTes_054: cremation context probably with double deposition as the museum retains two find complexes: 54 and 54 bis. Tomb 54: fragmented pottery and glass vessels, burned and incomplete; probably from the cremation deposit (*macchia carboniosa*).

Tomb 54 bis: **40-60 AD** (barbotine bowl and glass vessels).

6 vessels: 2 *olpai* (ceramic [1]; glass, amber with white speckles), 1 small bowl (fine grey ware with barbotine decoration and *Rädchenzier*), 2 beakers (glass, light blue), 1 *olletta* (glass).

2 personal belongings: 2 *balsamaria* (glass, light blue, pear-shaped).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (two open nozzles, small hole below the raised handle, probably for wearing the oil lamp as pendant, *Firmalampe* stamped MLII).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1992: 66-67; Invernizzi 2002: 73; Invernizzi et al. 2002: 148 fig. 13.

Fig. XXVI PV_ VAL_cTes_054b as displayed at the Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

PV_VAL_cTes_055

Neronian (coin).

> 3 glass vessels: 1 cup '*modiulus/modiolus*', >2 undefined vessels.

1 tool: 1 needle (bronze).

Varia: 1 coin (denomination by Agrippa).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a fig. 3; 1986a: 60 n. 27.

PV_VAL_cTes_060: cremation '*a cassetta*', east-west aligned.

Claudian-Neronian (41-68 AD).

2 vessels: 2 small *amphorae*.

Varia: ≥ 1 coins (Augustan and Claudian).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a fig. 4; 1992: 66.

PV_VAL_cTes_061

1 vessel: 1 *olpe* (glass, pear-shaped with feather decoration or speckles).

Roffia 1979: 113 n. 26.

PV_VAL_cTes_062: cremation '*a cassetta*'.

Tiberian-Claudian.

1 vessel: 1 cup (glass).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a: fig. 5.

PV_VAL_cTes_066

Augustan-Tiberian (combination ceramic invetriata, oil lamp).

1 vessel: 1 cup (*ceramica invetriata*).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (*Firmalampe* Loeschke IX B, stamped FORTIS).

Roffia 1979: 119; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 58 n. 24.

PV_VAL_cTes_068: inhumation '*a cassetta coperta alla cappuccina*'.

Tiberian (stamp); **first half 1st century AD** (*olpe*); infans II (6 yrs).

4 vessels: 1 *olpe* (glass), 1 pan-*tegame*, 1 plate (BGW[166], Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2851), 1 small bowl (TS, Goudineau stamped FESTI).

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (tubular shape).

1 item of jewellery/dress: [necklace evidenced by] 9 beads (glass paste, turquois coloured).

Frontini 1985: 13; Vannacci Lunazzi 1992: 67-68.

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[166] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 2 and L 9 respectively.

PV_VAL_cTes_069: deposition of cremated remains in *olla*.

Second – beginning third quarter 1st century AD.

5 vessels: 2 *olpai* (ceramic; glass), 1 small *amphora-anforetta* (glass), 1 plate (TS, Drag. 15/17 stamped ELVCIE), 1 *olla*.

2 personal belongings: 1 glass *balsamarium*, 1 stirring rod (glass).

Varia: 1 as (Agrippa), 1 oil lamp ('*a volute*' with disc decoration of rectangular altar topped by a cone-shaped flame).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1992: 68-69.

*PV_VAL_cTes_073

Flavian; female (mirror and *specillum*).

9 vessels: 2 *olpai*, 2 bowls (ceramic, glass), 5 cups and small bowls (fine grey ware [1], achromatic imitation? [1], glass [3 of various shapes]).

3 personal belonging: 1 *balsamarium* (glass, pear-shaped), 1 mirror (bronze, square-shaped), 1 probe-*specillum* (bronze).

Varia: 1 as, 1 oil lamp ('*a volute*' with disc decoration), 5 large nails (iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a: fig. 6; Roffia 1979: 111 n. 10; Vannacci Lunazzi 1992: 67; Invernizzi 2002: 71 fig. 14.

PV_VAL_cTes_075: deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Second half 1st century AD.

4 vessels: 1 small *amphora-anforetta* (glass, blue with white specks, Is. 15), 2 *olpai* (glass, pear-shaped, Is. 14), 1 bowl.

2 personal belongings: 1 glass *balsamarium*, 1 stirring rod (glass).

Varia: 1 statuette (terracotta, embracing couple with child).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a: figs 8-9; Roffia 1979: 113. 121 fig. 1; Vannacci Lunazzi 1982a: 100; 1986a: 64 n. 30.

PV_VAL_cTes_079: cremation '*a fossa*', deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

1st century BC.

> 7 vessels: 1 plate (achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 5), >1 bowls, > 3 small bowls/cups (achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 2; BGW[167], Lamboglia 28-Morel 2615; n/a), >1 *olle*, 1 *olletta* (closed).

5 items of jewellery/dress: 5 brooches (Pavese [3]; LT II type [2]).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 1 as? (Janus' head and ship's bow).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 211; Frontini 1985: 49-50; Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 157 n. 25; Sfredda 1998: 34.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_080**: cremation '*a fossa*' protected by a tile, the *macchia carboniosa* and assemblage to its east were separated by a vertical tile.

LT D2.

4 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 plate (BGW[168], Lamboglia 5/7), 1 beaker (thin-walled, Marabini IV), 1 *olla* (semi-open?).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 242; Frontini 1985: 12. 125; Sfredda 1998: 31.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_081**: cremation '*a fossa*'.

Assemblage to the east of *macchia carboniosa*. **Augustan-Tiberian** (Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2277).

3 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 plate (BGW[169], Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2277), 1 bowl.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (bronze, miniature-sized with a triangular bow).

Frontini 1985: 13. 126; Sfredda 1998: 31.

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[167] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 4.
[168] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 4 and L4/C 12 respectively.
[169] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 6 and L 4-C 12 respectively.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_084**: indirect? cremation '*a fossa*' with superficial *macchia carboniosa*.

Augustan.

4 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 plate (BGW[170], Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2273), 1 bowl, 1 *olletta* (closed?).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (bronze, miniature-sized with a triangular bow).

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 211; Frontini 1985: 13. 126; Sfredda 1998: 31.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_085**: indirect? cremation '*a fossa*' with superficial *macchia carboniosa*, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Second half 1st century BC.

3 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[171], Lamboglia 6-Morel 1446 with palmette decoration), 1 bowl, 1 *olletta* (closed?).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron, *Drahtfibel*? with triangular catch-plate).

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 238; Frontini 1985: 12. 127.

PV_VAL_cTes_086: cremation with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with numerous pottery fragments including those in BGW.

Augustan.

≥ 3 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[172], Lamboglia 5/7), 1 *olletta* (semi-open?), ≥ 1 undefined vessels.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 242; Frontini 1985: 13. 127; Sfredda 1998: 31.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_087**: cremation '*a fossa*' with *macchia carboniosa* separated by a vertical tile, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Fragments of a BGW plate were found in the *macchia carboniosa* next to the burial. **Second half 1st century BC** (ring).

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[170] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 4/C 11 respectively.
[171] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 9 and L 4 respectively.
[172] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 31.

4 vessels: 1 *olpe* (pear-shaped), 2 plates (BGW[173] Lamboglia 5/7), 1 bowl.

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 arm-ring (bronze), 1 ring (bronze, '*a gomito*'/ *Schaukelring*).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a: fig. 11a-b; Frontini 1985: 11-13. 128; Sfredda 1998: 31.

*? PV_VAL_cTes_090: cremation '*a fossa*', deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

LT D2.

3 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[174], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284), 1 bowl, 1 *olla* (closed?).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch? (iron).

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 211, 238; Frontini 1985: 12. 82; Sfredda 1998: 29.

*? PV_VAL_cTes_091: direct cremation with *macchia carboniosa.*

Assemblage deposited in the north-eastern corner of the *macchia carboniosa*. **LT D2**.

3 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[175], Lamboglia 5), 2 small vases.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 211; Frontini 1985: 12. 82; Sfredda 1998: 29.

PV_VAL_cTes_098

≥ 1 vessel (Inv. 47459).

Knobloch 2013: fig. 4.

PV_VAL_cTes_099: cremation '*a fossa'.*

1st century BC.

≥ 5 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 1 plate (BGW *a interna bruna*[176], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2283), 1 beaker, 1 *olletta* (closed), ≥ 1 BGW vessels.

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (bronze, LT II type/LT D, n/a: Pavese).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a: fig. 12; 1983b: 244; Arslan 1984: 141; Frontini 1985: 12. 50; Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 182 n. 93; Sfredda 1998: 29.

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[173] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 9 and L 31.
[174] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 4.
[175] The clay and gloss are classified as local L L 32/M 20 and L 32 respectively.
[176] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 57 and L 4 respectively.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_100**: cremation '*a cassetta*' with nine tiles; deposition of cremated remains and smaller bronze objects in bowl.

The assemblage was placed directly on the soil in 1-1.70 m depth. **LT D2** (brooches).

The tomb comprised 22 pottery objects, but no *vaso a trottola*; shapes and decorations (e.g. studs, incisions, fish bone pattern) common for 2nd-1st century BC: 1 bowl (Inv. 18121), 1 *olpe* (Inv. 18135), 5 *ollette* (Inv. 18136-18137, 18142, 18144: closed; 18153: undefinable shape), 7 small bowls or cups (Inv. 18138-18140, 18145, 18155; 18152: with handle; 18139: with spout), 5 plates (achromatic imitations of Lamboglia 5/55 [3]; achromatic imitaions of Lamboglia 6 [2]), 1 sieve/colander (Inv. 18143), ≥ 1 undefined vessels.

9/10 items of jewellery/dress: 5 brooches (Inv. 18122-18125: bronze, Pavese; destruction caused by fire [2]; 18126: bronze, Cenisola; 18127: bronze, LT II crossbow brooch); 2 arm-rings (Inv. 18128-18129: bronze, circular section), 2/3 bracelets (Inv. 18130-18133: bronze, penannular; destruction caused by fire).

Varia: 1 as (172-151 BC).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a: fig. 14; 1978b: 101-104; 1983b: 216, 218, 223; Arata 1984: 52. Piana Agostinetti 1987: 506-508; Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 184 n. 99; Demetz 1999: 235; Knobloch 2013: 205 n. 94. *– Fig. LXVII*

PV_VAL_cTes_102

1 vessel: 1 plate-*patera* (inv. St 47189: coarse ware).

Knobloch 2013: fig. I.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_104:** cremation '*a fossa*' with *macchia carboniosa*.

Early Augustan.

6 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 2 plates (BGW[177], Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2284; achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 5), 1 bowl, 2 *olle* (closed).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (bronze, Almgren 65; bronze, late variation of Nauheim with trapezoid catch-plate or Gorica 2a2?), 1 bracelet (bronze), according to Demetz fragments of a neck ring.

4 tools: 4 spindle whorls.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 211; Frontini 1985: 13. 128; Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 153 n. 22; Sfredda 1998: 31; Demetz 1999: 222. 253.

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[177] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 4.

PV_VAL_cTes_105: direct cremation with disturbed *macchia carboniosa* mixed with the fragments of at least four plates, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

End LT D1; male (shears and bronze ring).

≥ 11 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, ≥ 4 plates (BGW[178] Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284), 1 bowl, 1 small bowl, 3 *olle*, 1 *olletta*.

6 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (iron, Nauheim; n/a, Pavese), 2 bracelets (penannular, eye decoration), 2 rings (bronze; iron).

2 tools: 1 spindle whorl, 1 pair of shears (iron).

Varia: 1 as[179] (Republican), 1 iron sheet (bent with small hole to insert peg), fragments of terracotta.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 211; Frontini 1985: 12. 83; Vannacci Lunazzi 1992: 69; Sfredda 1998: 29.

*? PV_VAL_cTes_109

LT D-Augustan (Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284).

2 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 plate (BGW[180], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron with triangular catch-plate).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 211, 238; Frontini 1985: 12. 84; Sfredda 1998: 29.

PV_VAL_cTes_113: according to Frontini only *macchia carboniosa* mixed with fragments of plates and a (small) bowl; presence of *macchia carboniosa* suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

LT D2.

4 vessels: 3 plates (BGW[181], Lamboglia 5 [1]), 1 cup/bowl-*ciotola* (BGW, Lamboglia 28-Morel 2642).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Pavese), 1 bracelet (penannular).

Varia: 1 coin[182] (head of Saturn).

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[178] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 31 and L 4 respectively.
[179] The tomb is not listed in Piana Agostinetti 1987 as coin bearing tomb within her study group LT C2-D2.
[180] The clay and gloss of all fragments are classified as local L 4.
[181] The clay and gloss of all fragments are classified as local L 32.
[182] The tomb is not listed in Piana Agostinetti 1987 as coin bearing tomb within her study group LT C2-D2.

Frontini 1985: 12. 15. 84; Vannacci Lunazzi 1992: 70; Sfredda 1998: 34.

PV_VAL_cTes_115: direct cremation '*a fossa*' with a *macchia carboniosa* mixed with fragments of BGW, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

LT D-Augustan (brooch).

> 5 vessels: >2 plates (BGW[183] [1]), >2 bowls, >1 *olle*.

3 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (Pavese), 1 (finger) ring (bronze).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl (lead).

Varia: 1 as? (Janus' head and ship's bow).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1981a: 276; Frontini 1985: 51.

PV_VAL_cTes_116a: either a double burial or a double deposition as it is listed as 116A and 116B in Frontini 1985 and Sfredda 1998; Frontini describes the burial as vertically divided into two depositions with PV_VAL_cTes_116b being found underneath PV_VAL_cTes_116a.

The latter had a rectangular *macchia carboniosa* with two assemblages in the upper half and middle layer of the *ustrinum*; *macchia carboniosa* mixed with three BGW plate fragments. **LT D2**.

7 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola* (probably not belonging to the burial), 4 plates (BGW[184], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284), 1 bowl, 1 *olla* (closed).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Pavese; probably not belonging to the burial), 1 finger ring (iron with set stone, black).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 211, 238 Frontini 1985: 12. 85; Sfredda 1998: 29.

PV_VAL_cTes_116b: either a double burial or a double deposition as it is listed as 116A and 116B in Frontini 1985 and Sfredda 1998; Frontini describes the burial as vertically divided into two depositions with PV_VAL_cTes_116b being found underneath PV_VAL_cTes_116a.

The former had a rectangular pit with assemblage in two lines; the pair of shears were positioned on the *macchia carboniosa* which was mixed with the coin and nail. **LT D2**.

6 vessels: 2 plates, 2 bowls, 2 *olle* (closed).

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[183] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 31.
[184] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.

1 tool: 1 pair of shears (iron).

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow), 1 small nail.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 211, 238; Frontini 1985: 12. 85; Sfredda 1998: 29.

PV_VAL_cTes_125b: undefined context with BGW fragments.

Frontini 1985: 128.

PV_VAL_cTes_126: undefined cremation context, deposition of cremated remains and and smaller bronze objects in bowl.

LT D1 (*vasi a trottola* in combination with the assemblage).

>10 vessels: 2 *vasi a trottola*, plate (achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 36), 2 bowls (BGW[185], Lamboglia 28-Morel 2614 [1]), 1 sieve/colander?[186], 2 beakers (Inv. 18217: '*a rocchetto*' with red slip; 18252: '*a rocchetto*'), >1 *olle*, >1 undefined small vases, >1 BGW vessels especially Lamboglia 8.

> 3 items of jewellery/dress: >2 brooches (LT II brooch[es?]; Pavese), arm-ring/bracelet? (bronze, eye decoration).

1 weapon or tool: 1 knife.

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a: figs 16. 18; 1978b: 101; 1983b: 206, 226, 246; Arslan 1984: 140; Vannacci Lunazzi 1985b: 119 fig. 5; Frontini 1985: 15. 60; Piana Agostinetti 1987: 506-508; Sfredda 1998: 34; Knobloch 2013: 207 n. 108; figs I. IV. *– Fig. LXVIII*

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_128**: undefinable cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* only suggests definition as pyre similar to PV_ALA_cGuz_006.

1st century BC.

3 vessels: 2 plates (Inv. 1815: BGW[187], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284; 1816: BGW[188]), 1 cup (BGW[189], Lamboglia 28).

1 tool or weapon: 1 knife? (iron fragments of blade).

Varia: > 1 clasps (iron).

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[185] The clay is classified as Adriatic AD 10, the gloss as Cremonese CR 21.
[186] Only published through a drawing: Vannacci Lunazzi 1985b.
[187] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 31.
[188] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 31 and L 5 respectively.
[189] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 31 and L 5 respectively.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 211; Frontini 1985: 15. 51; Sfredda 1998: 29, 34.

PV_VAL_cTes_130: undefinable cremation context with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with all artefacts.

1st century BC – 1st century AD (Lamboglia 5).

4 vessels: 4 plates (BGW[190] Lamboglia 5).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 bracelet? (bronze fragment with incised decoration).

Frontini 1985: 12. 86; Sfredda 1998: 29.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_132**: cremation context with burial and *ustrinum* separated by a vertical tile, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Augustan; *t.p.q.*: **38-37 BC**.

5 vessels: 1 *olpe* (Inv. 47320), 2 plates (BGW[191], Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2277), 1 bowl, 1 beaker (TS, ACO beaker with *Kommaregen* decoration).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Nauheim; miniature sized).

Varia: 1 coin (bronze, portraits of Octavian and Caesar. 38-37 BC).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 242; Frontini 1985: 13. 129; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 79 n. 58. 86 fig. 16; Sfredda 1998: 31.

PV_VAL_cTes_134: cremation with a *macchia carboniosa* mixed with undefined fragments and those of one BGW plate situated to the east of the burial, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Augustan.

> 7 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 3 plates (BGW[192], Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2272 [2]), 1 bowl, >2 vessels (BGW in 15 fragments).

4 tools: 4 spindle whorls.

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow), 2 undefined fragments (bronze).

Frontini 1985: 13. 128-129; Sfredda 1998: 31.

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[190] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.
[191] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the C, L, M and N groups.
[192] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the C and L groups.

PV_VAL_cTes_137

LT D (brooch).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Misano).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1992: 70.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_138**: cremation '*a fossa*', deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

LT D2.

4 vessels: 2 plates (BGW[193], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284), 1 bowl, 1 *olla* (closed).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 3 brooches (Pavese [2]; *Schüsselfibel* [1]).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 211; Frontini 1985: 12. 86; Sfredda 1998: 29.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_139**: direct cremation '*a cassetta*', deposition of cremated remains and smaller objects (shears, razor and brooch; the brooch had gone unnoticed as it was corroded together with the shears and razor blade; the conglomerate shows traces of textile on one side) in bowl.

The assemblage was classified as abundant, with artefacts partially mixed with the *macchia carboniosa* (BGW fragments/vessels), and four BGW plates and the pyxis as part of the assemblage. **LT D2/Republican** (coin).

12 vessels: 7 plates (red-centred BGW[194], Lamboglia 5 [6]; Morel 2283 [1]; Morel 2284 [4]), 1 bowl, 1 small bowl (BGW[195], Lamboglia 28), 2 *olle* (open?), 1 *pyxis* (BGW[196], Lamboglia 3-Morel 7545).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron).

1 personal belonging: 1 razor blade (iron).

1 tool: 1 pair of shears (iron).

Varia: 1 as (star motif. Republican), 1 oil lamp (imitation of Hellenistic bronze lamp).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a figs 20-21; 1983b: 206, 211, 238-239, 244; Arslan 1984: 141; Frontini 1985: 10. 12. 15. 87; Piana Agostinetti 1987: 506-508; Sfredda 1998: 29, 32, 34; Molinari 1999: 238; Knobloch 2013.

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[193] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.
[194] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group and C 12.
[195] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 31.
[196] The clay and gloss are classified as local C 12.

PV_VAL_cTes_140: cremation context '*a cassetta*', deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Assemblage was classified as abundant. **End 1st century BC**/Augustan (?; *olpe*).

> 16 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 8 plates (BGW[197], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2254 [3]; Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284 [5]), 1 bowl, 4 cups (Inv. 47382: achromatic imitation Knobloch C2; thin-walled, Mayet X; BGW[198], Lamboglia 2-Morel 1235 [2]), >1 *olle*, 1 small vase with finger impression.

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (late variation Nauheim).

1 personal belonging: 1 razor blade.

1 tool: 1 pair of shears (iron with traces of textile adhesion).

Varia: 2 coins (as: Janus' head and ship's bow; bronze, illegible), 1 small clasp (bronze, with hinge).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a fig. 22; 1983b: 206; Arslan 1984: 141; Frontini 1985: 11. 130-131; Sfredda 1998: 29, 32; Molinari 1999: 238; Knobloch 2013: 209 n. 119.

PV_VAL_cTes_141a: indirect? cremation '*a fossa*' with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with fragments of BGW, the context seems to be either a double burial or a double deposition as it is listed as 141 and 141bis in Frontini 1985 and Sfredda 1998; burials 141 and 141bis were covered by the same *macchia carboniosa*; deposition of cremated remains, coin and brooch in bowl.

Double deposition of pottery. **LT D2**.

≥ 9 vessels: 5 plates (BGW[199], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284 [1]), 1 bowl, 1 small bowl (*vernice rossa-bruna*), 1 *olla* (closed), ≥ 1 BGW[200] vessels (6 fragments).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron, fragment with trapezoid catch-plate).

1 personal belonging: 1 razor blade (various traces on the blade suggest that it might have had a wooden handle).

1 tool: 1 pair of shears.

Varia: 1 hook-*gancio* (iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 206, 211, 238; Frontini 1985: 12. 52; Sfredda 1998: 29; Molinari 1999: 239.

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[197] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.
[198] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.
[199] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.
[200] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 5.

PV_VAL_cTes_141b: indirect? cremation *'a fossa'*, the context seems to be either a double burial or a double deposition as it is listed as 141 and 141bis in Frontini 1985 and Sfredda 1998; burials 141 and 141bis were covered by the same *macchia carboniosa*; deposition of cremated remains, coin and brooch in bowl.

LT D (closeness to 141a and coverage with same *macchia carboniosa*).

9 vessels: 4 plates (BGW[201], Lamboglia 5), 1 bowl, 2 cups (BGW[202], Lamboglia 2-Morel 1235), 2 *olle* (closed?).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (iron).

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow).

Frontini 1985: 10. 12. 88; Sfredda 1998: 29.

PV_VAL_cTes_142

LT D2.

2 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 1 plate (achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 5/55).

Knobloch 2013: 207 n. 107.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_146**: cremation; a piece of wood was inserted in the spring of the brooches.

LT D-Augustan (combination brooch, Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284).

1 vessel: 1 plate (BGW[203], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2284).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (Pavese).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 211, 238; Frontini 1985: 89; Sfredda 1998: 29; Molinari 1999: 236.

PV_VAL_cTes_149: cremation; the museum retains two find complexes ascribed to tomb 149: tomb 149 and tomb 149 bis. Most likely they are both belonging to the same complex and assemblage.

Assemblage 149:

3 vessels: 3 plates-*patere* (Inv. 47457: Knobloch A3).

2 weapons and/or tools: 1 knife, 1 axe.

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[201] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.
[202] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 2 and L 4 respectively.
[203] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 2 and L 4 respectively.

Assemblage 149 bis:

Varia: 1 nail (bronze).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a; Arslan 1984: 140; Vannacci Lunazzi 1992: 70; Knobloch 2013: fig. II.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_150**: cremation context with *macchia carboniosa*.

Assemblage situated along the long side of the *macchia carboniosa* split into two parts. **Augustan** (*olpe*).

5 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 1 plate (BGW[204], Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2276), 1 bowl, 1 beaker, 1 *olletta*.

2 personal belongings: 2 glass *balsamaria* (blue, pear-shaped; yellow pear-shaped).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 242; Frontini 1985: 13. 131.

PV_VAL_cTes_153: undefined cremation context; the museum retains two find complexes ascribed to tomb 153: tomb 153 and tomb 153 bis.

Assemblage 153 bis: **Augustan**.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1992: 70.

PV_VAL_cTes_155: cremation context.

c. 30 BC/LT D2 (Almgren 65).

1 vessel: 1 *olpe*.

5 items of jewellery/dress: 5 brooches (*Schüsselfibel*; Pavese [2]; Almgren 65; LT III brooch).

Varia: 1 as (anonymous).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a; 1983b: 216, 223; Piana Agostinetti 1987: 506-508; Demetz 1999: 222.

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[204] The clay is classified as local L 6.

PV_VAL_cTes_157: cremation context with small superficial *macchia carboniosa* mixed with the small bowl fragment in BGW.

LT D2 (Almgren 65).

3 vessels: 1 small bowl (BGW[205], Lamboglia 28), 1 *olletta* (open?), 1 small truncated vase.

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (iron, Nauheim; bronze, Almgren 65).

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow).

Frontini 1985: 15. 89.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_160**: cremation context with bone material deposited in *nuda terra.*

LT D2 – one of the latest burials in sector VI or Augustan?

4 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[206], Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2273), 1 cup (TS, stamped L. SARIUS SURUS), 2 *olle* (semi-open?; n/a).

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (bronze, Alesia with incised decoration and trapezoid catch-plate).

Varia: 1 as[207] (bronze, illegible).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a fig. 24; 1983b: 242; Frontini 1985: 13. 132; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 80; Piana Agostinetti 1987: 506-508; Sfredda 1998:31; Demetz 1999: 274.

PV_VAL_cTes_163b [tomba 163 bis]: cremation deposited on a 'nest' of grey ware potsherds to the north-west of a *macchia carboniosa*.

Beginning **Augustan** (beaker and plate in association with other artefacts).

5 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[208], Lamboglia 5/7-Morel 2277), 1 bowl, 1 beaker (fine grey ware, Marabini III), 2 *olle*.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 242; Frontini 1985: 13. 132; Sfredda 1998: 31.

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[205] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 32/L 2.
[206] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 4 and C 12/L 4 respectively.
[207] According to Piana Agostinetti 1987 tomb 160 has a single as!
[208] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 4 and L 9 respectively.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_165**: cremation context excavated at the western limit of the *macchia carboniosa*, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

Second half 1ˢᵗ century BC; LT D-Augustan (BGW).

5 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[209], Lamboglia 6-Morel 1443), 1 bowl, 1 cup (BGW[210], Lamboglia 2-Morel 1235), 2 *olle* (open?).

Varia: 1 as (Janus' head and ship's bow).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 238; Frontini 1985: 10. 12. 90; Sfredda 1998: 30.

PV_VAL_cTes_171b [tomba 171 bis]

1 item of jewellery/dress: 1 (finger) ring (*'a bocca di pesce'*).

Arslan 1984: 140.

PV_VAL_cTes_176: cremation context.

t.p.q.: **23 BC**.

Varia: 1 coin[211] celebrating the *triumviri monetales.*

Vannacci Lunazzi 1992: 70.

PV_VAL_cTes_178: cremation *'a fossa'.*

First half 1ˢᵗ century BC (plate).

3 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[212], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2283), 2 *olle* (closed?).

Frontini 1985: 12. 61; Sfredda 1998: 29.

PV_VAL_cTes_181: cremation *'a fossa'*.

The assemblage was deposited west of the *macchia carboniosa*; the *amphora* fragment was not listed with the assemblage and most likely comes from the *macchia carboniosa*. **LT D2-Augustan** (combination Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2272, Marabini IV).

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[209] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 4 and L 9 respectively.
[210] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 4 and L 9 respectively.
[211] The tomb is not listed in Piana Agostinetti 1987 as coin bearing tomb within her study group LT C2-D2.
[212] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 4 and L 2 respectively.

4 vessels: 1 *amphora* (only partial fragment), 1 *olpe*, 1 plate (BGW[213], Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2272), 1 beaker (thin-walled, Marabini IV).

1 tool: 1 spindle whorl.

Varia: 2 undefined coins (damaged on the pyre).

Frontini 1985: 13. 133; Sfredda 1998: 31-32.

PV_VAL_cTes_182

LT D2.

2 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 1 plate (Inv. 47603: achromatic imitation ware, Knobloch A7).

Knobloch 2013: 206 n. 101; 207 n. 107.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_187**: cremation *'a cassetta'*.

The knife shows traces of wood on various parts of the blade that might derive from a sheath or scabbard; shears and razor blade are corroded together, thus the former remained unnoticed by Vannacci Lunazzi; the conglomerate shows traces of textile adhesion.

2 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 1 plate (BGW[214]).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 2 brooches (iron).

1 personal belonging: 1 razor blade (iron).

2 weapons and/or tools: 1 knife (iron), 1 pair of shears (iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a; Molinari 1999: 238.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_188**: cremation *'a fossa'* with superficial *macchia carboniosa*, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

LT D2.

7 vessels: 1 *vaso a trottola*, 2 plates (BGW[215], Lamboglia 5-Morel 2265 [1]), 2 bowls, 2 *olle* (closed; semi-open?).

3 items of jewellery/dress: 3 brooches (bronze, Pavese [2]; bronze, LT III type [1]).

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[213] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 2 and L 9 respectively.
[214] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 5.
[215] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 5.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 211; Frontini 1985: 12. 91; Sfredda 1998: 29.

*PV_VAL_cTes_189: cremation in '*nuda terra*' in 0.80-1.70 m depth, damaged by water intrusion.

Assemblage deposited on bottom of pit, apart from one *olla* in only 0.80-1 m depth; the grave is classified as particularly rich with regard to iron weapons and tools. **LT C2**; *t.p.q.*: **172-151 BC**; the burial is thus the oldest burial within sector VI.

9 vessels: 1 bowl (Inv. 18162), 3 small bowls (Inv. 18158, 18161, 18163), 2 *olle* (Inv. 18156: open; n/a: semi-open), 3 *ollette* (Inv. 18157, 18159[216]-18160: closed).

2 items of jewellery/dress: 1 brooch (Inv. 18174: iron), 1 (finger?) ring (Inv. 18168: bronze; dm. 2.2-2.5 cm).

5 weapons and/or tools: 1 sword (Inv. 18170: iron with corrosion products and 2 nails from scabbard), 1 shield boss (Inv. 18172: iron), 1 spearhead (Inv. 18173: iron), 1 knife (Inv. 18171: iron, s-shaped blade), 1 pair of shears (Inv. 18176: iron).

2 personal belongings: 1 pair of tweezers (Inv. 18169: bronze), 1 razor blade (Inv. 18175: iron, handled [*peduncolato*]).

Varia: 3 asses (Inv. 18164-18166: Janus' head and ship's bow. 172-151 BC (Lucius Sempronius) and 217-197 BC), 1 vittoriato (Inv. 18167: silver)[217].

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a; 1978b: 105-108; 1980a: 284; 1981a: 267-269, pls I,7-14. IV,1-9; 206; Arslan 1984: 140; Piana Agostinetti 1987: 506-508; Invernizzi 1998b: 15-16; 2002: 70 fig. 13.

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[216] In Vannacci Lunazzi 1978b as Inv. 19159.
[217] According to Piana Agostinetti 1987 tomb 189 has two asses and a single vittoriato! It is thus the only burial at VAL_cTes with more than one coin!

Fig. XXVII PV_ VAL_cTes_189 as displayed at the Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

PV_VAL_cTes_197

LT D2.

1 personal belonging: 1 razor blade.

1 tool: 1 pair of shears.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 206.

PV_VAL_cTes_198: most likely disturbed by grave robbers; cremation '*a fossa*' with *macchia carboniosa* mixed with fragments of BGW, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

LT D2-Augustan (Marabini IV).

7 vessels: 1 *olpe*, 3 plates (BGW[218]), 1 bowl, 1 cup, 1 beaker (thin-walled, Marabini IV).

Varia: 1 illegible coin.

Frontini 1985: 133.

PV_VAL_cTes_199: partly excavated by grave robbers; cremation with cremation layer (*macchia carboniosa*) on bottom of pit, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

The assemblage is classified as complete. **Republican** (coin); no gender identification.

6 vessels: 1 bowl, 1 *olla*, 2 plates (BGW), 1 small bowl, 1 beaker.

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[218] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 5 and/or L 31.

1 tool: 1 pair of shears (iron).

Varia: 1 as[219] (Republican).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1992: 70-71.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_202**: cremation situated at the edge of *macchia carboniosa*, deposition of cremated remains in urn.

Fragments of BGW were mixed with *macchia carboniosa*. **LT D1-Augustan period** (BGW, Lamboglia 5).

5 vessels: 1 plate (BGW[220], Lamboglia 5), 2 (small) bowls (BGW[221], Lamboglia 28-Morel 2685), 1 urn, 1 small vase with ovoid body.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 211; Frontini 1985: 15. 91; Sfredda 1998: 29, 34.

PV_VAL_cTes_203: cremation *'a cassetta'* in 1.50 m depth, deposition of cremated remains in bowl.

LT D (association of *vaso a trottola* with knife, shears and razor blades is documented in LT D2).

8 vessels: 2 *vasi a trottola* (graffito on shoulder VINI), 1 plate (BGW), 1 bowl, 2 beakers (1 *'a rocchetto'*), 2 *olle*.

1 personal belonging: 1 razor blade (iron?).

2 tools: 1 pair of shears (iron?), 1 knife (iron).

Varia: 1 as[222] (Republican), 1 small clasp (bronze with hinge), 8 small rings (bronze), further 6 objects (not preserved in the museum any longer).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 206; 1992: 71.

PV_VAL_cTes_204: undefined cremation context.

Tiberian (coin).

Varia: 1 coin (Tiberian).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1992: 70.

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[219] The tomb is not listed in Piana Agostinetti 1987 as coin bearing tomb within her study group LT C2-D2.

[220] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 5 and L 31 respectively.

[221] The clay and gloss are classified as local belonging to the L group.

[222] The tomb is not listed in Piana Agostinetti 1987 as coin bearing tomb within her study group LT C2-D2.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_205**: cremation *'a fossa'*, deposition of cremated remains in urn.

Augustan-Tiberian.

6 vessels: 1 *olpe* (pear-shaped), 1 plate (BGW[223], Lamboglia 7/16-Morel 2276), 1 cup (thin-walled, hemispherical), 2 *olle* (closed; n/a) (Inv. 47700), 1 urn.

1 personal belonging: 1 glass *balsamarium* (globular).

Varia: 1 oil lamp (*Herzblattlampe*), ≥ 1 nails (iron), ≥ 1 clasps (iron).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 242; Frontini 1985: 13; Vannacci Lunazzi 1986a: 86 n. 68; Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999: 153 n. 22, 166 n. 50, 176 n. 72.

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[223] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 6 and L 8 respectively.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_206**: cremation *'a fossa'* south of *macchia carboniosa*, deposition of cremated remains in plate *'a ceramica comune'*.

All artefacts were found in the grave-pit with the exception of fragmentary BGW from the *macchia carboniosa*. **LT D2** (BGW, Lamboglia 5); no gender identification.

4 vessels: 2 plates (*ceramica comune*; BGW[224], Lamboglia 5), 2 *olle*.

Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b: 211; Frontini 1985: 12.

*? **PV_VAL_cTes_207**: undefined cremation context.

c. 45 BC (brooch 'Tortonese'); no gender identification.

≥ 10 vessels: 4 *vasi a trottola*, 2 plates (Inv. 47717-47718: achromatic imitation with coloured decoration), 2 cups (Inv. 18263, 47713: achromatic imitation, Lamboglia 28 with coloured decoration), 1 sieve/colander, ≥ 1 further BGW vessels?

5 items of jewellery/dress: 4 brooches (bronze, Tortonese [1]; bronze, LT II *Drahtfibel* [2]; bronze with rectangular catch-plate [1]), 1 bracelet (bronze, penannular with eye decoration).

Vannacci Lunazzi 1978a figs 26. 28-29; 1983b: 216, 226; 1983e: 37 fig. 3,13; Knobloch 2013: figs V-IX. *– Fig. LXIX*

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[224] The clay and gloss are classified as local L 31.

Vigevano, *frazione* Morsella

- Documented contexts: > 12; excavated contexts: > 12; published contexts: 1
- Contexts classified as complete: 1
- Chronological range: Julio-Claudian period.

*PV_ VIG_fMor_001: cremation with traces of damage through fire on one of the *balsamaria* and the mirror described as proof for double deposition.

t.p.q.: **42 AD**/Claudian; female.

2 vessels: 1 *olpe* (glass, greenish-blue, one-handled), 1 cup (thin walled with *Rädchenzier*).

7 personal belongings: 5 *balsamaria* (glass, amber-coloured, spherical; blue, tube-shaped; green with pointy end and spiral glass paste decoration; colourless, pear-shaped; purple, pear-shaped), 1 stirring rod (glass, light green), 1 mirror (silver bronze alloy).

Varia: 2 coins (1 as. Tiberian; 1 sesterce. Claudian, *t.p.q.* 42 AD), 1 oil lamp '*a volute*'.

Diani 1992; Invernizzi 1998b: 26-27. *– Fig. LXX*

Fig. XXVIII (top and bottom) PV_ VIG_fMor_001 as displayed at the Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

Zinasco, *tenuta* la Madonnina

- Documented contexts: 1; excavated contexts: 1; published contexts: 1
- Contexts classified as incomplete: 1
- Chronological range: Augustan-Tiberian?

PV_ ZIN_tLMa_001: direct cremation '*a cassetta*' built of six tiles; the box was placed on the *ustrinum*; deposition of cremated remains and four *balsamaria* in *olla*.

Parts of the assemblage (3 spindle whorls, the statuette as well as ceramic and glass fragments) were mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*, further objects (not specified) were found to the east and north of it, the brooches were probably deposited in a small bowl. **Augustan-Tiberian**; female.

≥ 22 vessels: 6 *olpai* (ceramic [4]; glass [2], one of them with spiral glass paste decoration), 2 plates (BGW), 1 bowl, 6 small bowls/cups (glass, various colours, one of them ribbed [4]; *terra nigra* or fine grey ware [2]), 3 *olle* (semi-closed), 2 *ollette* (closed, one-handled ; semi-open), further heavily fragmented (and fused) pottery and glass from the *macchia carboniosa.*

6 items of jewellery/dress: 6 brooches.

11 personal belongings: 7 glass *balsamaria*, 2 stirring rods (glass), 2 mirrors.

9 tools: 6 spindle whorls, 3 elements of a spindle?

Varia: 1 coin?, 2 oil lamps, 2 undefinable long elements (probably the mentioned spindle elements), 1 statuette (terracotta, embracing couple).

Repetto and Repetto 1980: 23-24; Invernizzi 1998b: 24-25.

Fig. XXIX PV_ ZIN_tLMa_001 as displayed at the Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Lomellina, Vigevano.

III.   Selected mortuary contexts
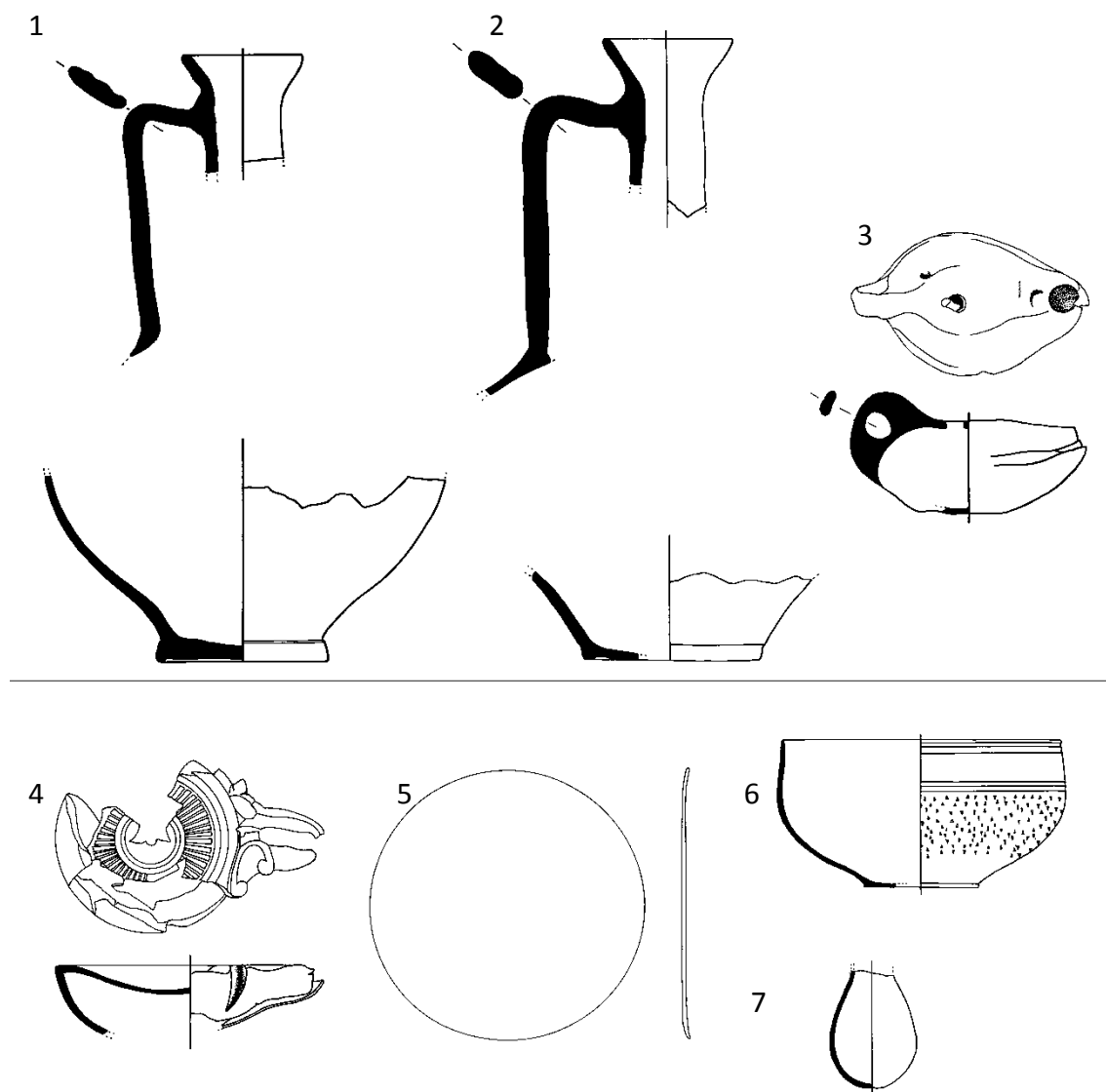
Fig. XXX **PV_ALA_Guz_003** – indirect cremation with *ustrinum*; possible double deposition with duplication of *olpai* (1-2: Inv. 93559-93560) and oil lamps (3: Inv. 93556; 4: Inv. 93557): mortuary assemblage (top); *ustrinum* (bottom) – mirror (5: Inv. 93555), bowl (6) and *balsamarium* (7: Inv. 93561). No scale. Combined plate after Diani 1999: pls XXXIX-XL.

Following page: Fig. XXXI **PV_ALA_cGuz_004** – indirect cremation with *ustrinum* mixed with two iron clasps (10-11), deposition of cremated remains and finger ring (9: Inv. 93537) in bowl (4: Inv. 93529); possible double deposition (1: Inv. 93531; 2: Inv. 93536; 3: Inv. 93532; 5: Inv. 93535; 6: Inv. 93534; 7: Inv. 93533; 8: Inv. 93530). No scale. Combined plate after Diani 1999: pls XLI-XLII.

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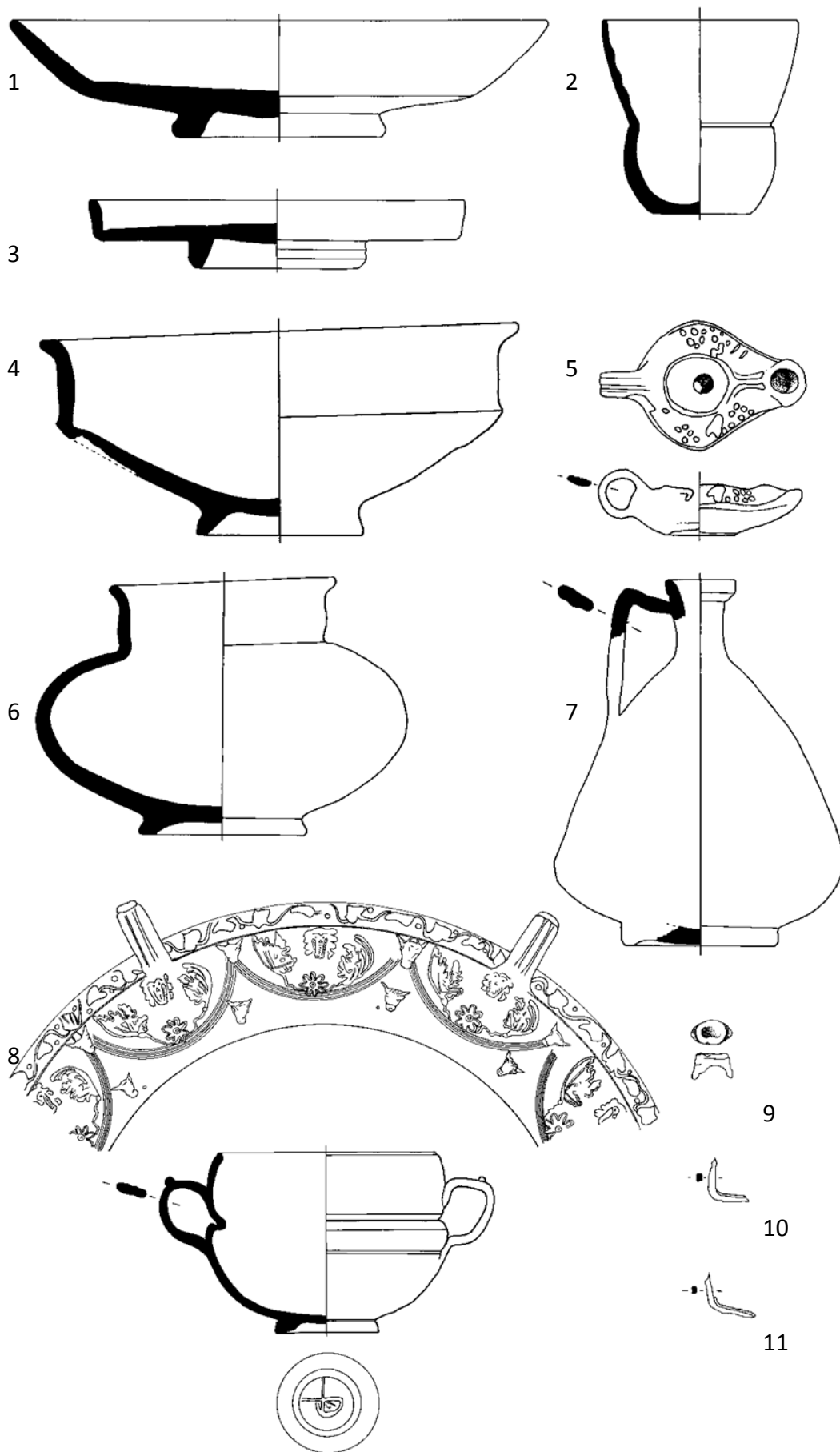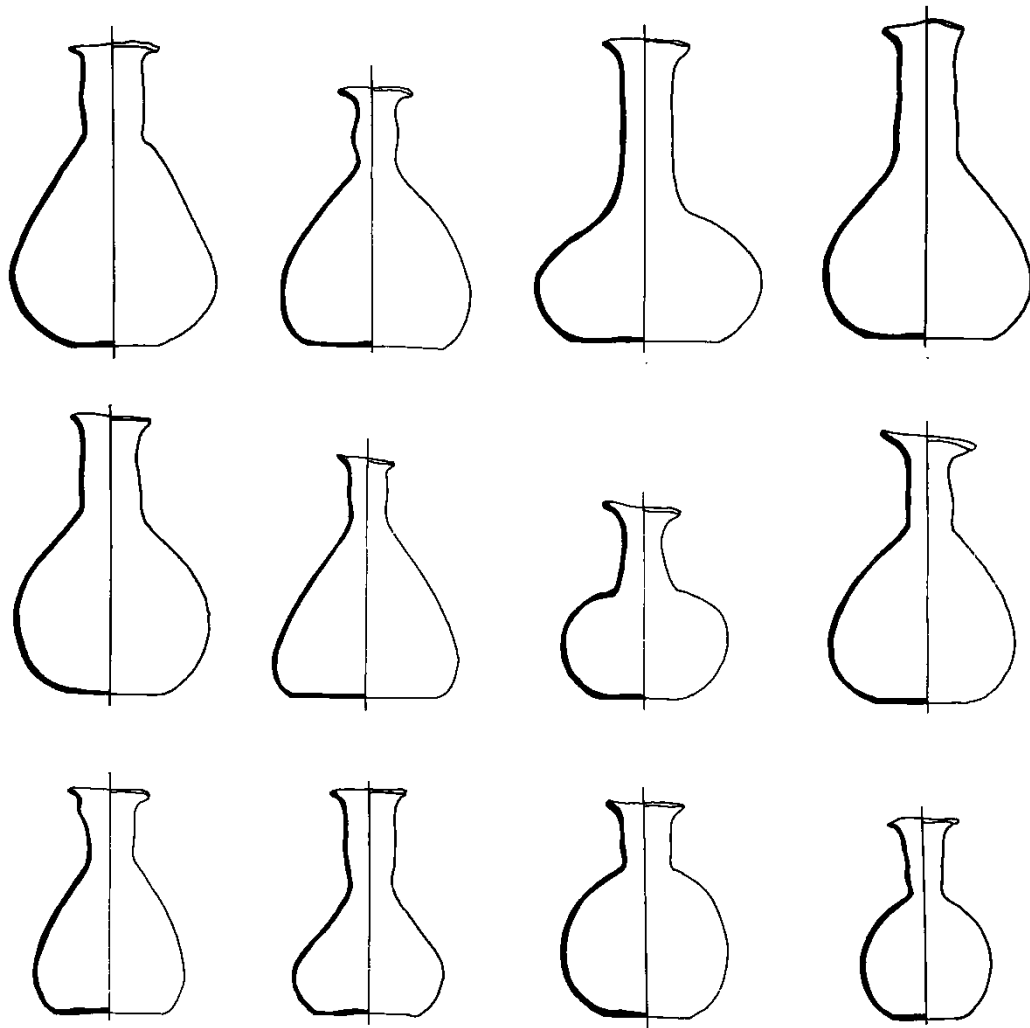
Fig. XXXII **PV_ALA_cGuz_004** – *balsamaria*. No scale. After Diani 1999: pl. XLIV.
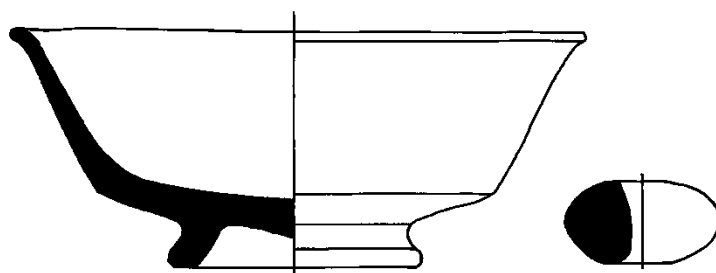
Fig. XXXIII **PV_ALA_cGuz_005** – indirect cremation with *ustrinum*, all artefacts, including the BGW bowl (Inv. 93566) and spindle whorl (Inv. 93567), were found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa*. No scale. After Diani 1999: pl. XLV.
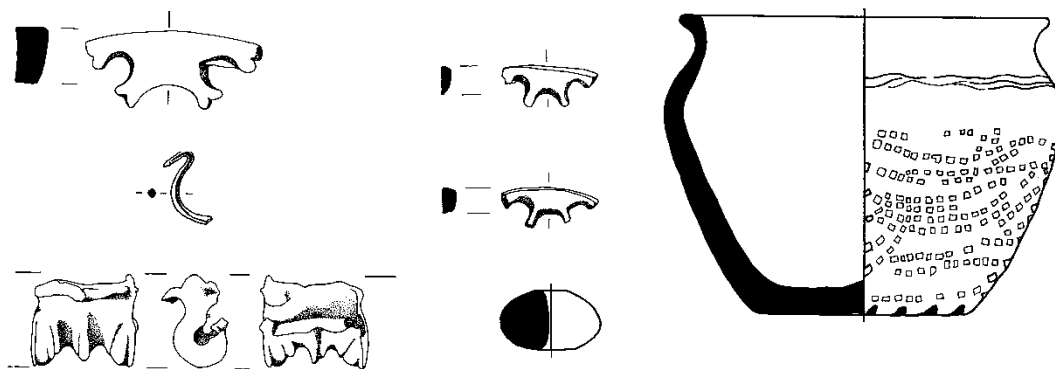
Fig. XXXIV **PV_ALA_cGuz_006** – all artefacts, including the BGW bowl (Inv. 93566) and spindle whorl (Inv. 93567), were found mixed with the *macchia carboniosa* within an area probably identified as an *ustrinum* with fragments of grave goods belonging to several burials (4 bronze fittings from a *situla*, a jug and a basin: Inv. 93570-93572; 93574, a small handle probably from wooden box: Inv. 93573 and a spindle whorl: Inv. 93569). No scale. After Diani 1999: pl. XLV.
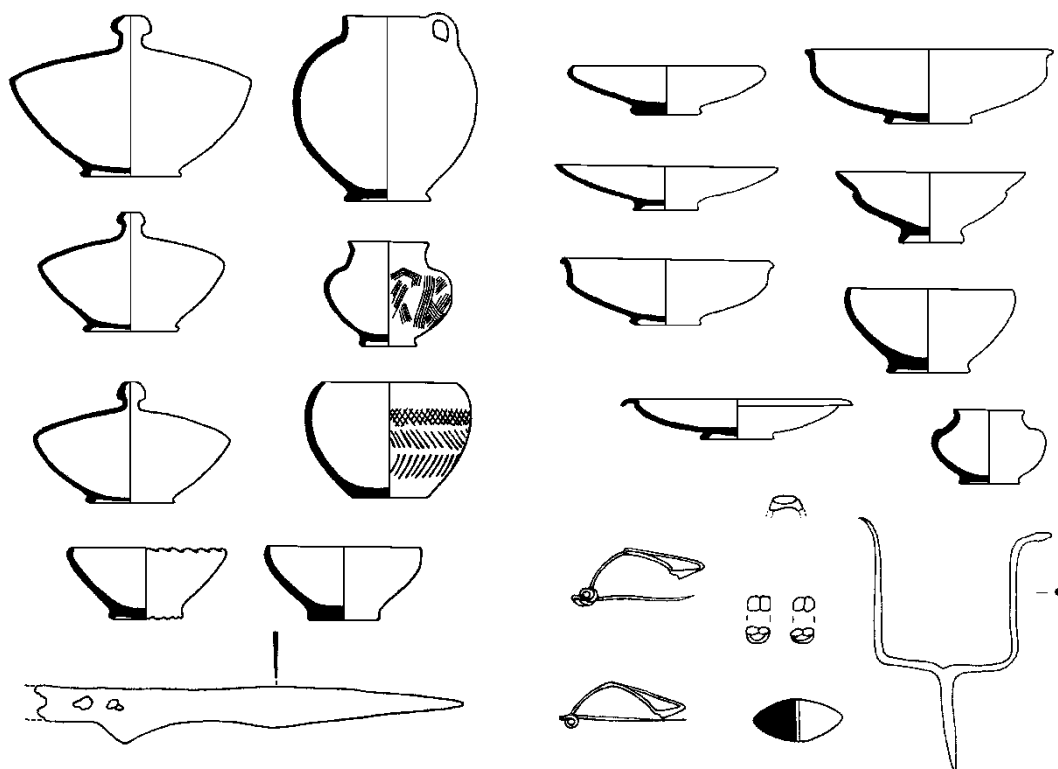
Fig. XXXV **PV_GAM_fBel_021** – three *vasi a trottola* (Inv. 18851-18852), closed *olla* (Inv. 18838), four plates (Inv. 18837, 18840, 18843, 18854, 18857), four small bowls (Inv. 18844-18845, 18853, 18855) and two bowls (Inv. 18841-18842), three *ollette* (Inv. 18839, 18846, 18850), two bronze brooches (Inv. 18848-18849), finger ring (Inv. 18866), two bronze buttons (Inv. 18863-18864), spindle whorl (Inv. 18856), hunting or carving knife (Inv. 18867).No scale. Combined plate after Vannacci Lunazzi 1985b: 121. 123 figs 6-7.
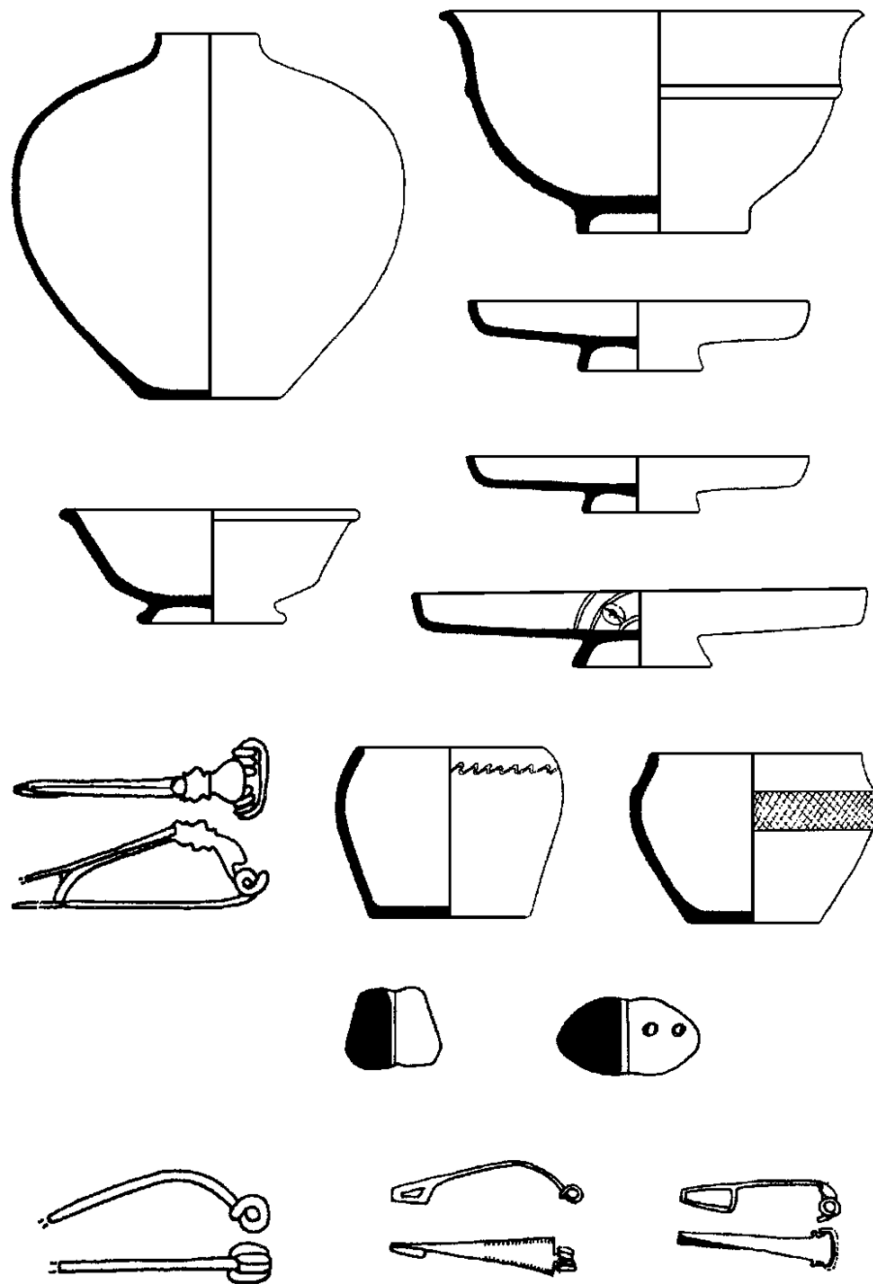
Fig. XXXVI **PV_GAM_fBel_023** – closed *olla* (Inv. 18873), bowl (Inv. 18872), cup (Inv. 18884), three of four plates (Inv. 18881 [with inner stamp decoration]-18883), two of three *ollette* (Inv. 18874, 18880), four brooches (Inv. 18888: bronze type Almgren 65; 18879: iron LT III *Drahtfibel*; 18887: bronze type Nauheim; 18886: bronze *Schüsselfibel*) and two spindle whorls (Inv. 18877-18878). No scale. After Vannacci Lunazzi 1985b: 124 fig. 8.
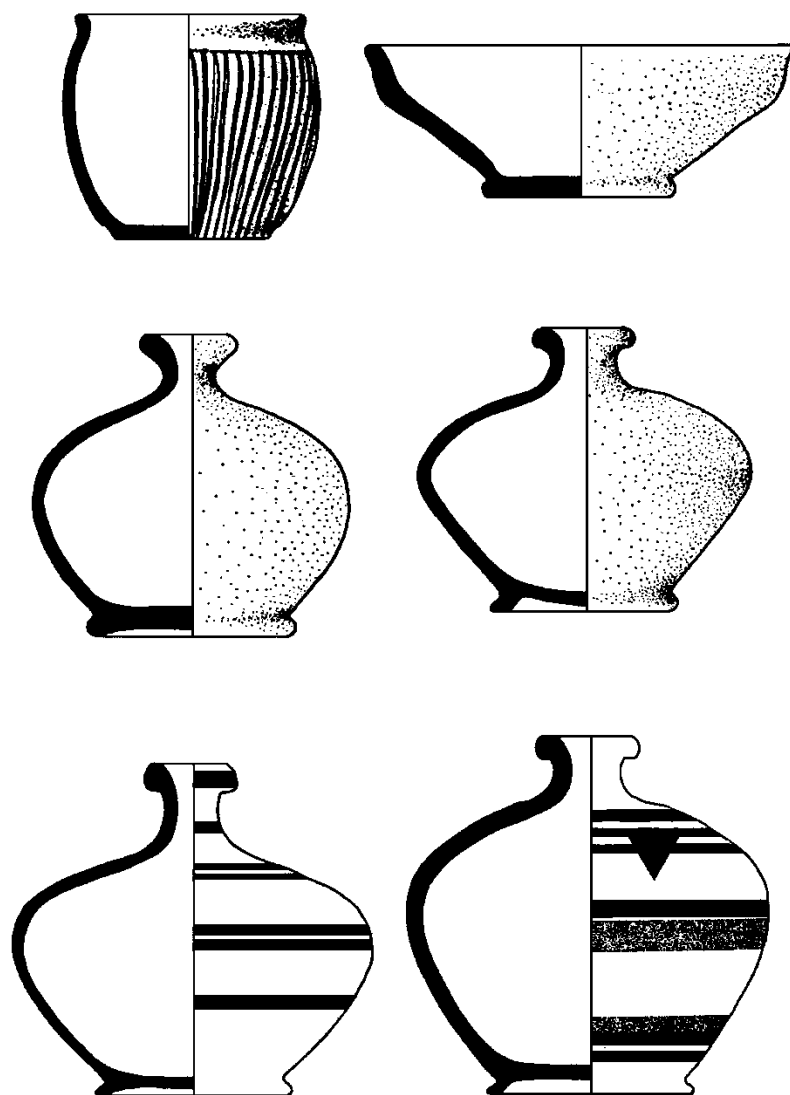
Fig. XXXVII **PV_GAR_MdB_064** – *olla*, bowl and four *vasi a trottola*. No scale. After Vannacci Lunazzi 1985b: 116 fig. 3.
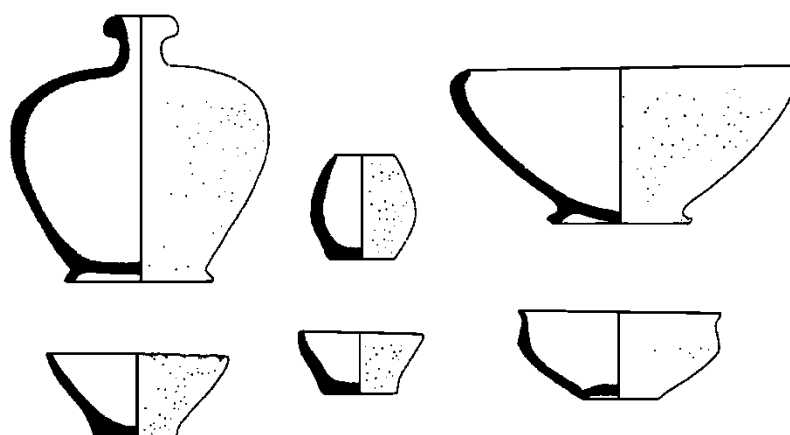
Fig. XXXVIII **PV_LOM_cSGD_001** – *vaso a trottola* (Inv. 17154), beaker (Inv. 17151), a large (Inv. 17152) and three small bowls (Inv. 17149-17150, 17153). No scale. After Vannacci Lunazzi 1981a: pl. I, 1-6.
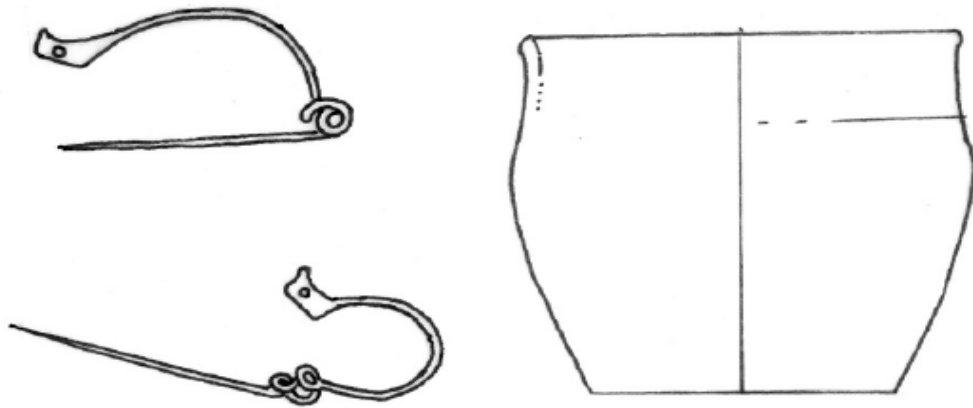
Fig. XXXIX **PV_GRC_lMar_045** – type Gorica brooches (Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch type F2) and open *olletta*. Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch 2010: 16 fig. 10.
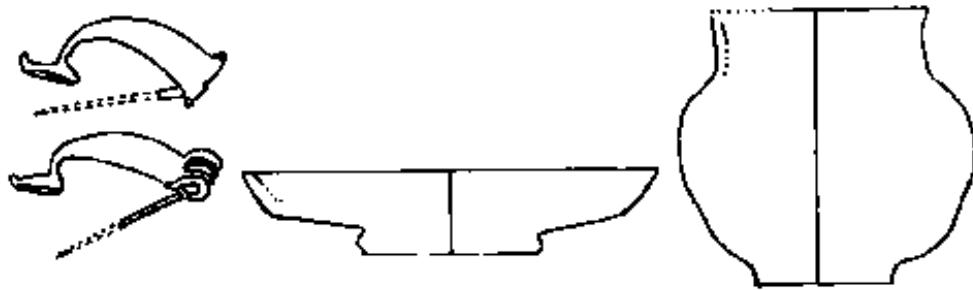
Fig. XL **PV_GRC_lMar_050** – type Aucissa (Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch type H2) and type Jezerine brooches (type F3), plate Lamboglia 7/16 and *olletta*. Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch 2010: 16 fig. 10.
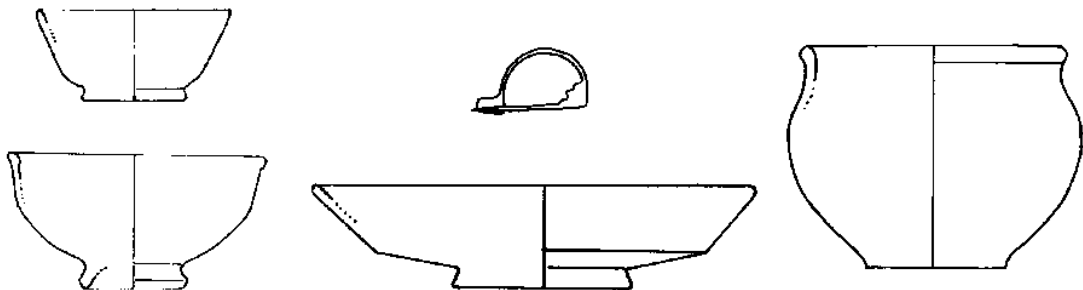
Fig. XLI **PV_GRC_lMar_054** – type Aucissa? brooch (Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch type H2), plate Lamboglia 7/16B, bowl, cup and open *olletta*. Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch 2010: 17 fig. 11.
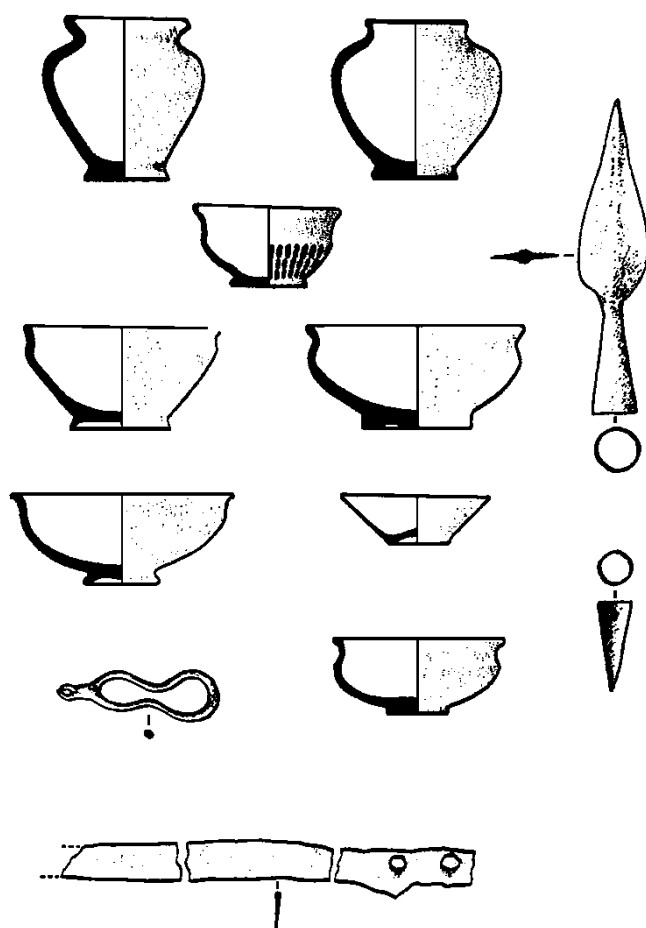
Fig. XLII **PV_GRC_lMar_077** –
two *olle* and six of 20 bowls,
leaf-shaped iron spearhead and
ferrule, knife and belt buckle
(top).
Eight *vasi a trottola* and the
remaining 14 small bowls (one
with lid. bottom). No scale.
After Vannacci Lunazzi 1983e:
35-27 figs 1-3.
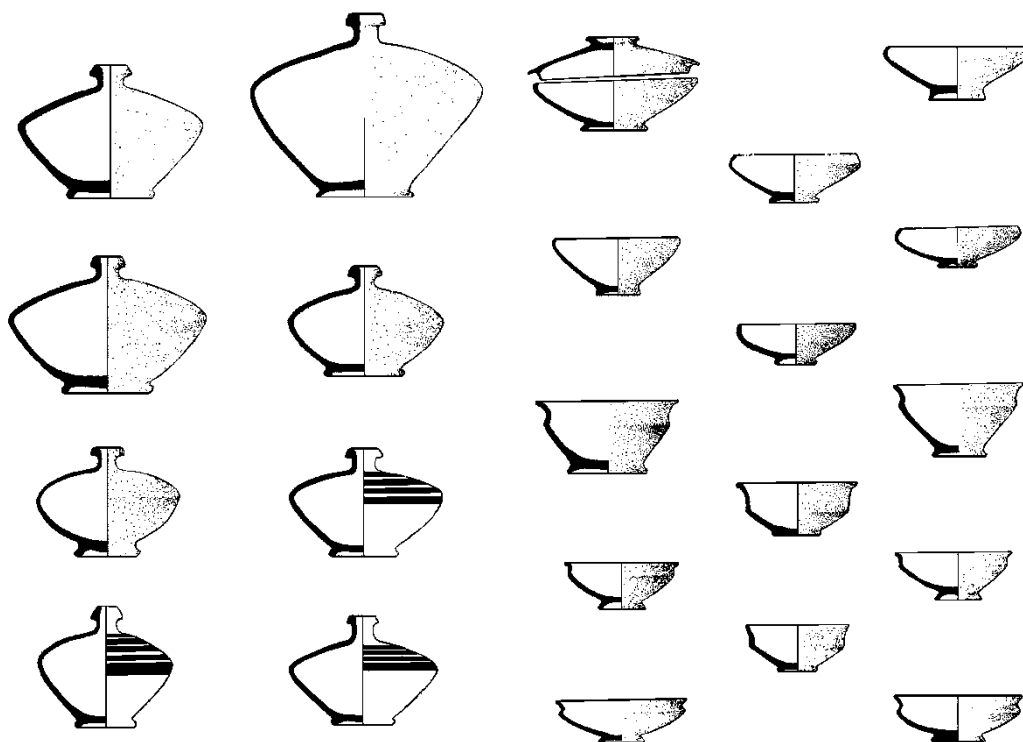
Following page: Fig. XLIII **PV_GRC_lMen_054** – type Aucissa brooch (Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch type H2) and undefined LT III type, open and closed *olletta*, three balsamaria, fragments of plate, *olla* and *tegame*. Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch 2010: 16 fig. 10.
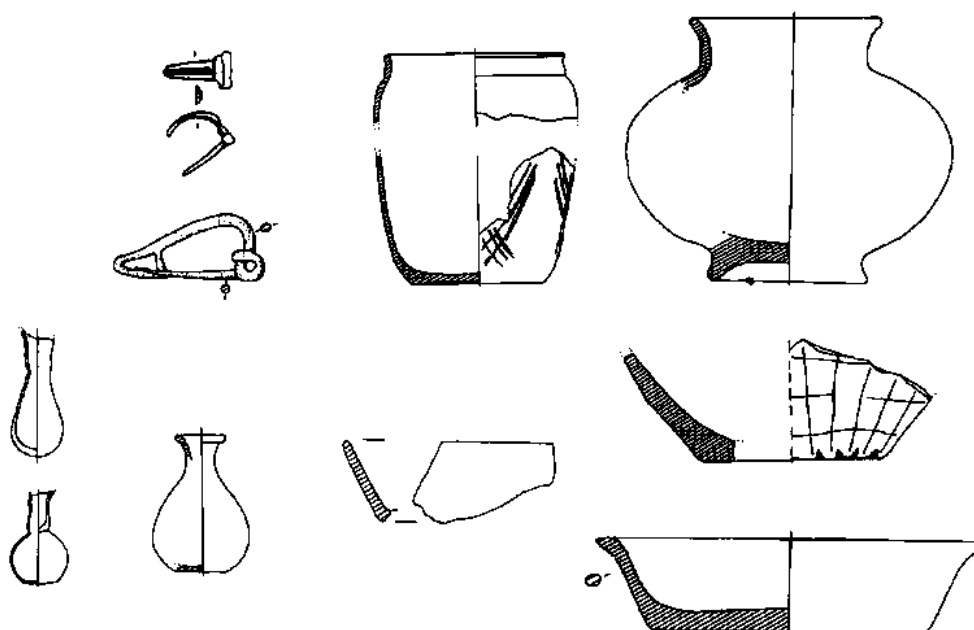
Fig. XLIV **PV_OTT_cRot_001** – semi-open *olla* (Inv. 34328) and spindle whorl. No scale. After Papetti 1987: 77 pl. I.
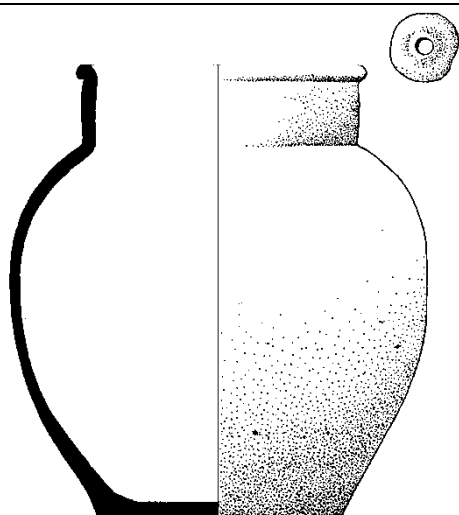
Fig. XLV **PV_OTT_cRot_004** – *mortarium* (Inv. 34333), *olletta* (Inv. 34332) and four spindle whorls (Inv. 34482/1-4). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 78 pl. II.
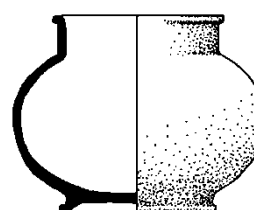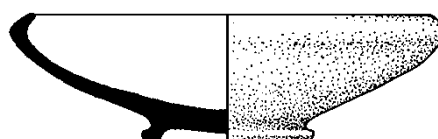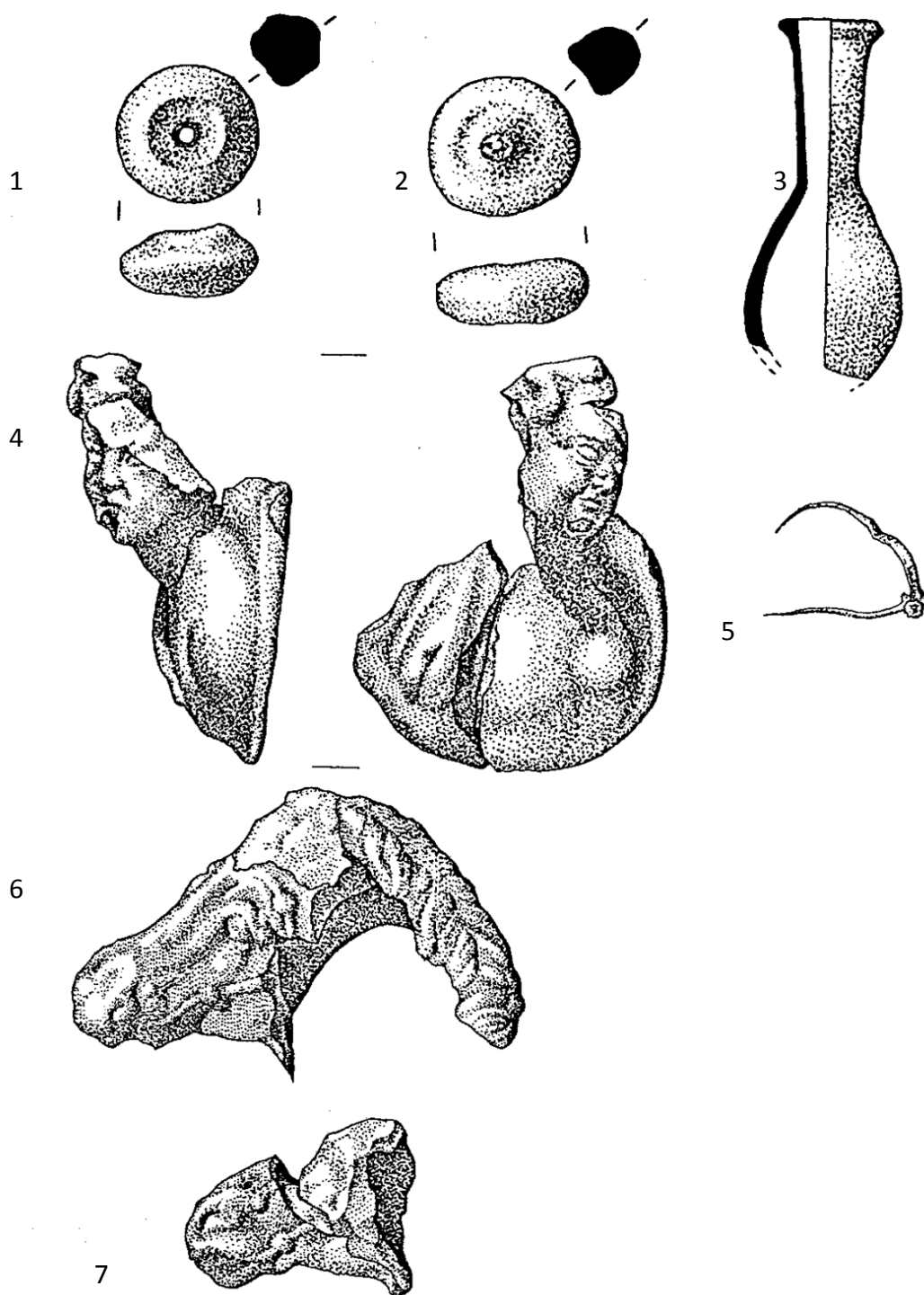
Fig. XLVI **PV_OTT_cRot_006** – undefinable cremation context with two spindle whorls (1-2: Inv. 34339-34340), a ceramic *balsamarium* (3: Inv. 34338), a type Aucissa brooch (5: Inv. 34341) and three terracotta appliqués (4. 6-7: Inv. 34335-34337). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 79 pl. III.

Following page top: Fig. XLVII **PV_OTT_cRot_007** – undefinable cremation context with vessel fragment and one of two terracotta appliqués. No scale. After Papetti 1987: 80 pl. IV.

Following page middle: Fig. XLVIII **PV_OTT_cRot_008** – undefinable cremation context with oil lamp. No scale. After Papetti 1987: 87 pl. XI,7.
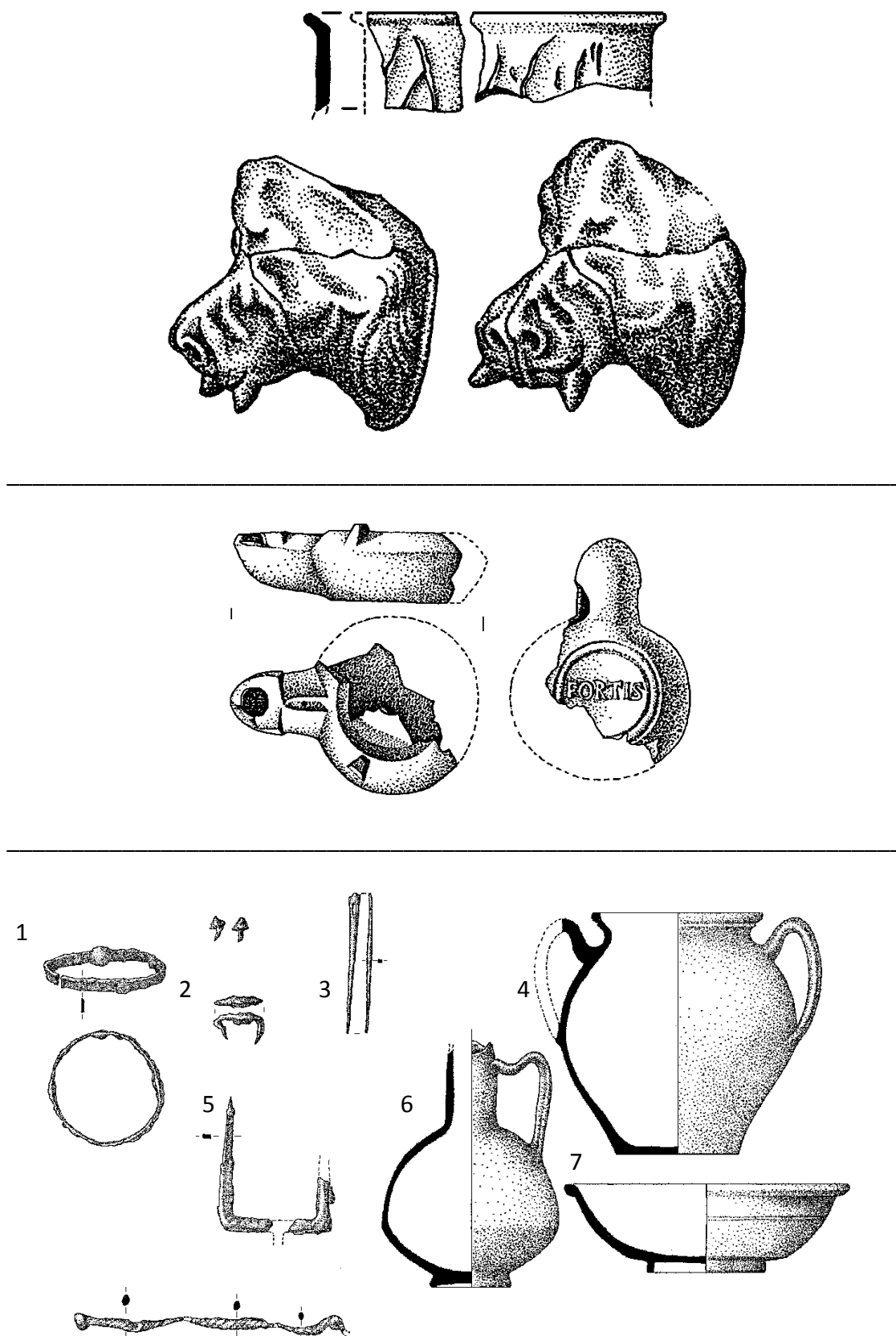
Fig. XLIX **PV_OTT_cRot_009** – assemblage with iron arm-ring (1: Inv. 34345), three decorative iron fittings/small nails (2: Inv. 34369), bronze needle (3: Inv. 34348), two-handled *olla* (4: Inv. 34344), iron nails and hooks/clamps (5: Inv. 343350), *olpe* (6: Inv. 34347), TS cup (7: Inv. 34346) and glass stirring rod (8: Inv. 34369). No scale. Combined plate after Papetti 1987: 81-82 pl. V-VI.
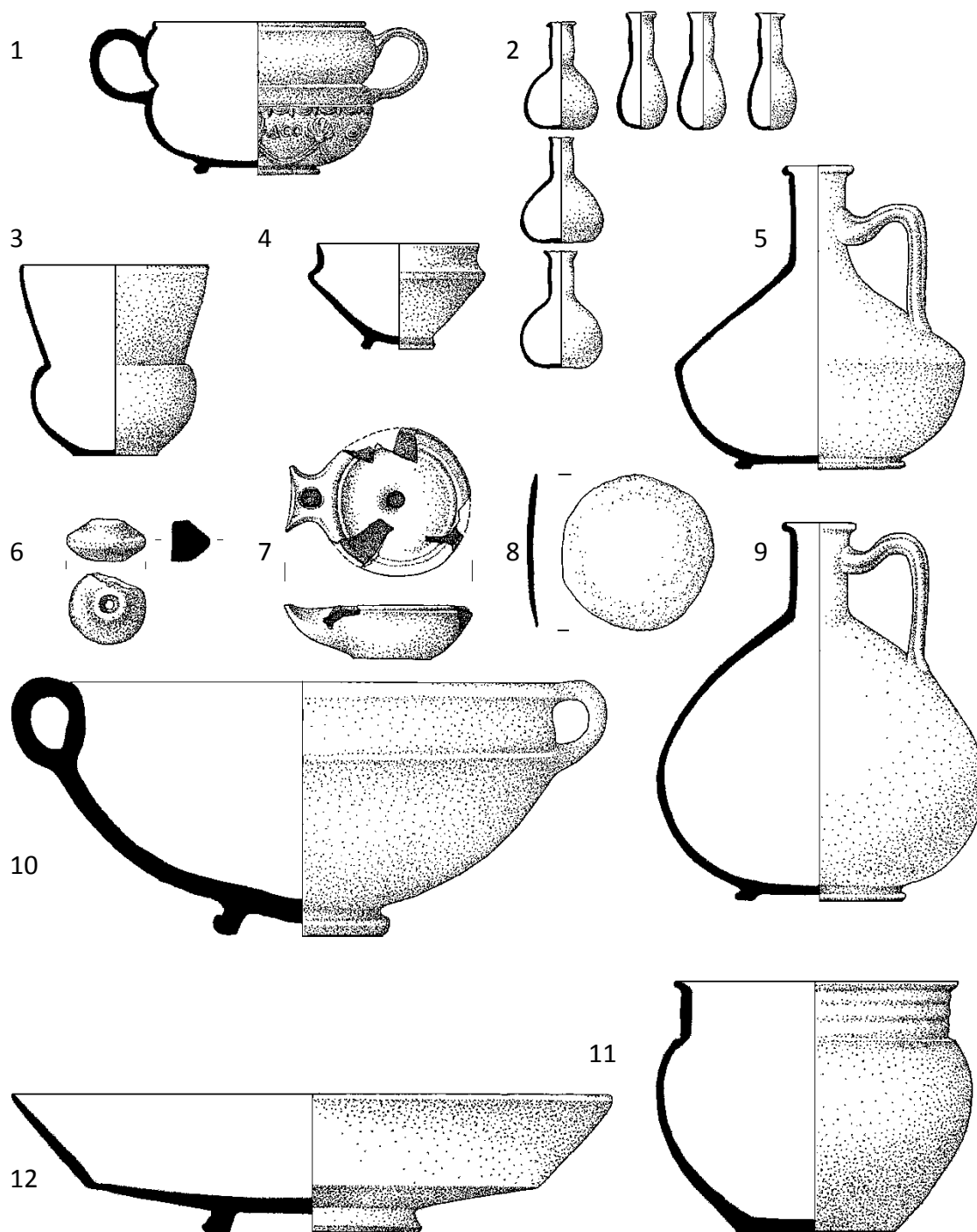
Fig. L **PV_OTT_cRot_011** – assemblage with *Sariusschale*, stamped ACO (1: Inv. 343538), five of six glass *balsamaria* (Inv. 34360-34365), beaker (3: Inv. 34354), cup (4: Inv. 34353), two *olpai* (5. 9: Inv. 34356-34357), spindle whorl (6: Inv. 34366), oil lamp (7: Inv. 34358), bronze mirror (8: Inv. 34359), bowl (10: Inv. 34351), *olla* (11) and one of two plates (Inv. 34352 or 34367). No scale. Combined plate after Papetti 1987: 83-85 pl. VII-X.

Following page top: Fig. LI **PV_OTT_cRot_012** – assemblage with iron hooks/clasps (1.3: Inv. 34376), two of six large iron nails (2: Inv. 34375), two of six small iron nails/decorative fittings (4: Inv. 34377) and fragment of a glass *olpe* (5: Inv. 34374). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 87 pl. XI,1-5.
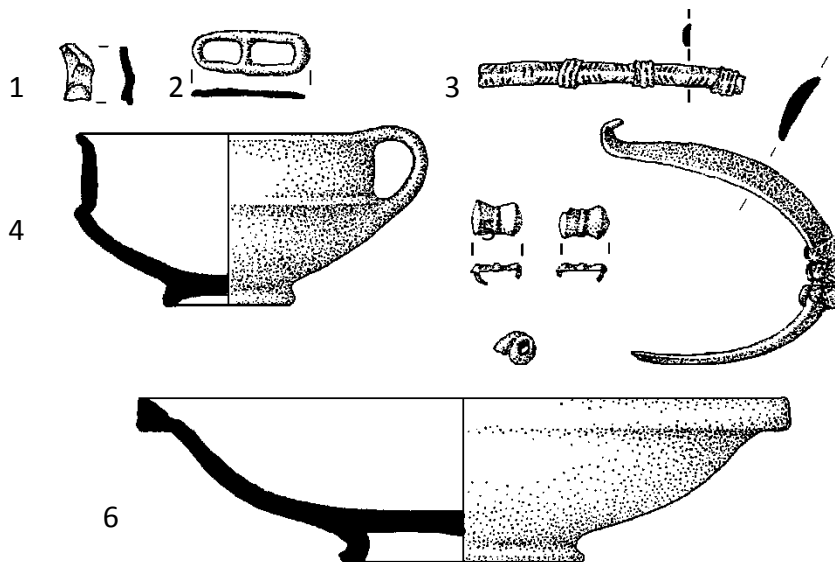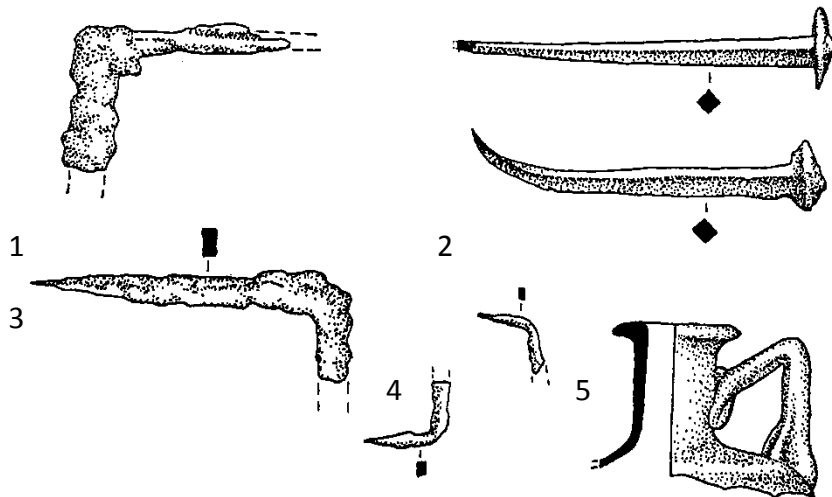
Fig. LII **PV_OTT_cRot_017** – flake of flint (1), bronze belt buckle (2: Inv. 34389), bronze type Pavese brooch (3: Inv. 34388), small bowl (4: Inv. 34387), two bronze buttons and a plate (6). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 88 pl. XII.
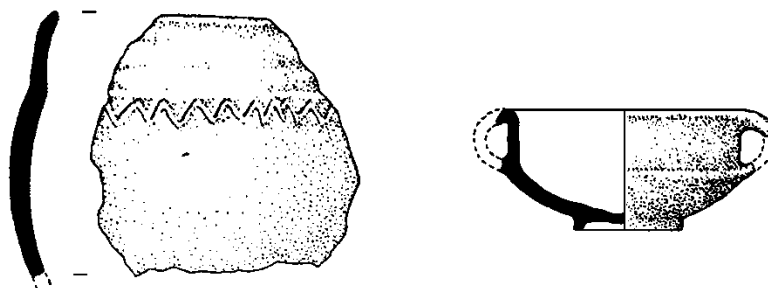
Fig. LIII **PV_OTT_cRot_018** – undefinable cremation context with *olla* and a small bowl (Inv. 34390). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 89 pl. XIII.
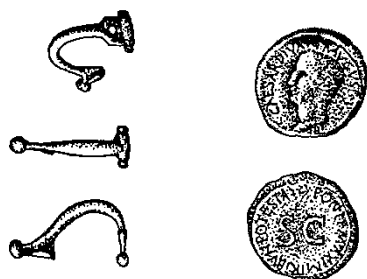
Fig. LIV **PV_OTT_cRot_013** – undefinable cremation context with bronze type Aucissa brooch (Inv. 34382) and a coin (Inv. Inv. 34381). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 87 pl. XI,6.
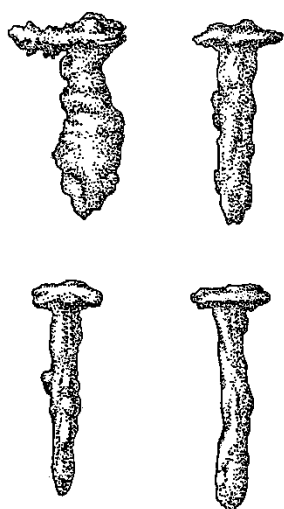
Fig. LV **PV_OTT_cRot_019** – undefinable cremation context with four iron nails (Inv. 34391). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 90 pl. XIV,1-4.
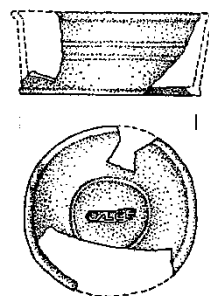
Fig. LVI **PV_OTT_cRot_021** – assemblage with bowl (Inv. 34397), further undefinable pottery and three of six iron nails (Inv. 34395). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 90 pl. XIV,5-7.
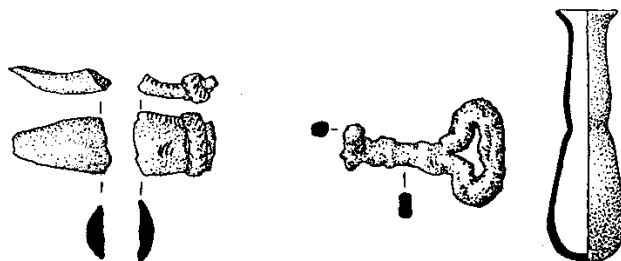
Fig. LVII **PV_OTT_cRot_023** – assemblage with bronze type Pavese brooch, iron belt buckle (Inv. 34401) and glass *balsamarium* (Inv. 34400). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 91 pl. XV,1-3.
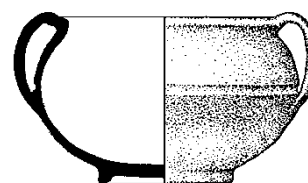
Fig. LVIII **PV_OTT_cRot_024** – undefinable cremation context with small bowl (Inv. 34404). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 91 pl. XV,4.
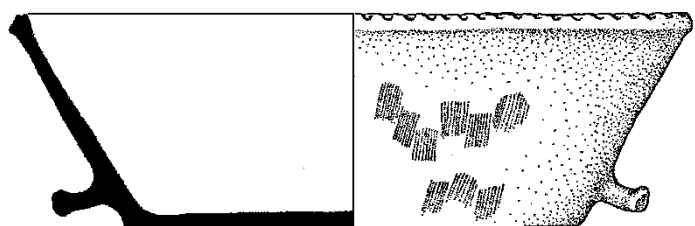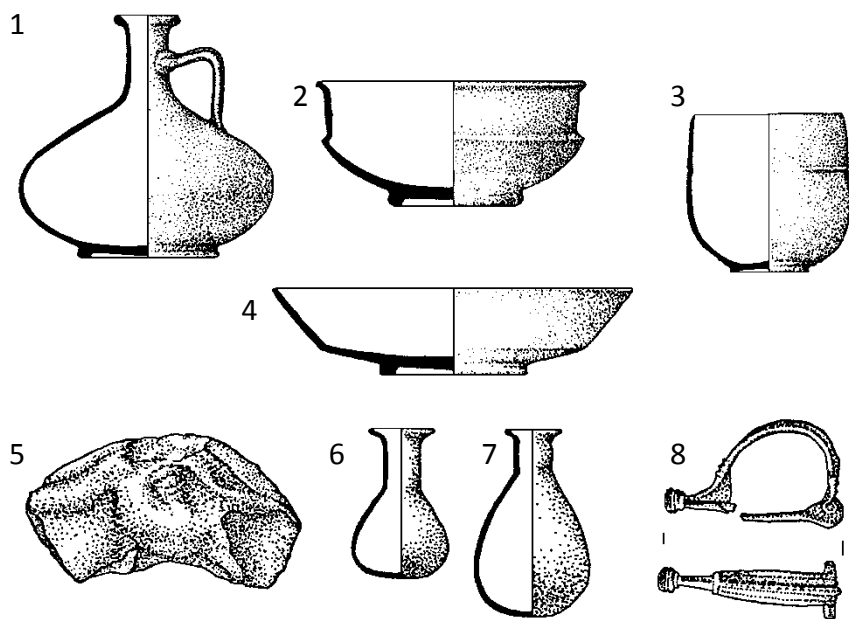
Fig. LX **PV_OTT_cRot_027** – assemblage with *olpe* (1: Inv. 34406), small bowl (2: Inv. 34409), beaker (3: Inv. 34408) and plate (4: Inv. 34407), terracotta appliqué, two glass *balsamaria* (6-7: Inv. 34410-34411) and bronze type Aucissa brooch (8: Inv. 34414). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 92 pl. XVI.
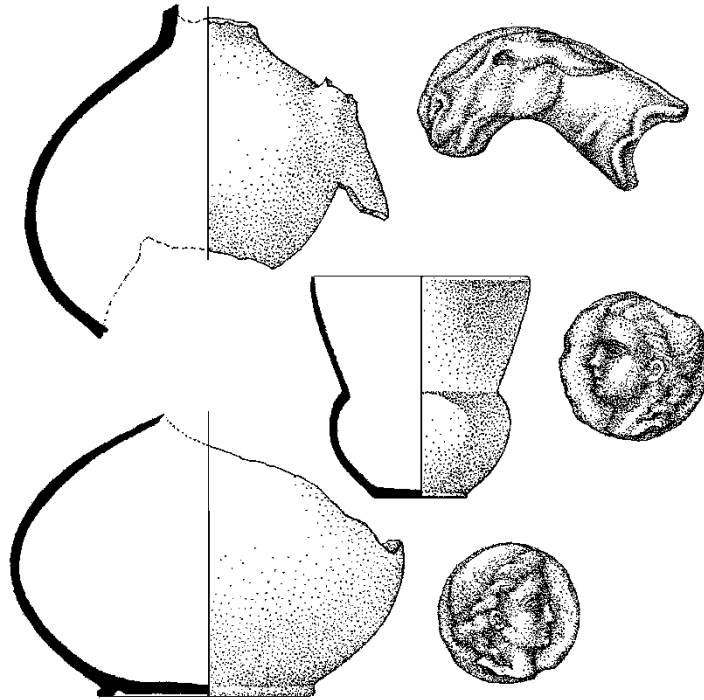
Fig. LXI **PV_OTT_cRot_028** – assemblage with two of three *olpai* (Inv. 34415-34416 or 34418), beaker '*a tulipano*' and three of four appliqués (Inv. 34423-34425). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 93 pl. XVII.
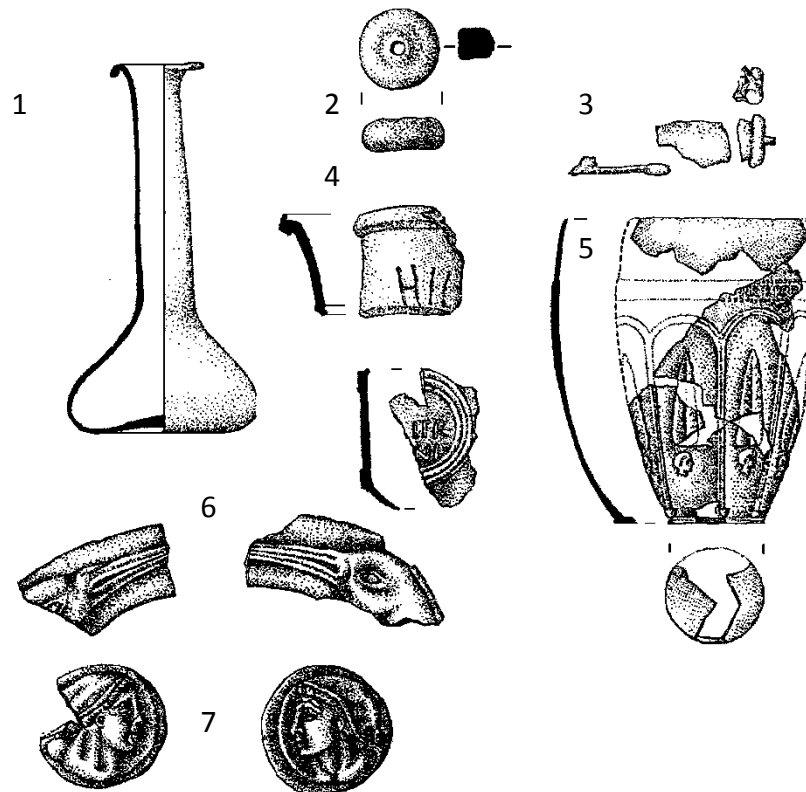
Fig. LXII **PV_OTT_cRot_029** – assemblage with glass *balsamarium* (1: Inv. 344304), spindle whorl (2: Inv. 34429), bronze brooch (3: Inv. 3432), fragment in *vernice rossa* partially stamped HIL[arus]) (4), TS beaker partially stamped VS (5: Inv. 34428), bottom sherd (6), four appliqués (Inv. 34433-34436). No scale. Combined plate after Papetti 1987: 94 pl. XVIII. 96 pl. XX.

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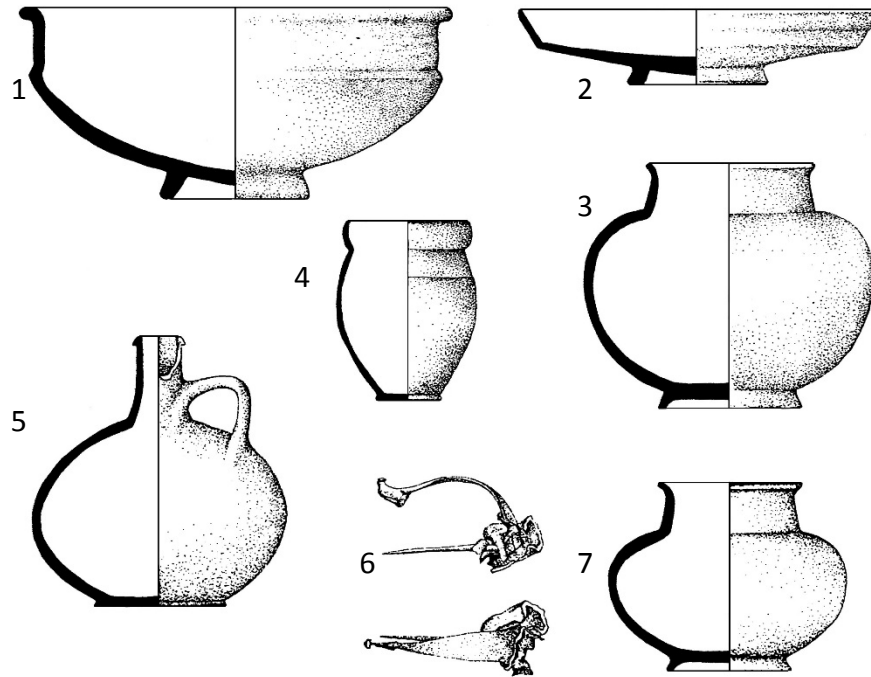
Fig. LXIII **PV_OTT_cRot_030** – assemblage with bowl (1: Inv. 34437), plate (2: Inv. 34442), *olla* (3: Inv. 34444), beaker (4: Inv. 34443), *olpe* (5: Inv. 34441), bronze type Aucissa? brooch (6: Inv. 34440) and *olletta* (7: Inv. 34445). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 97-99 pl. XXI-XXIII.
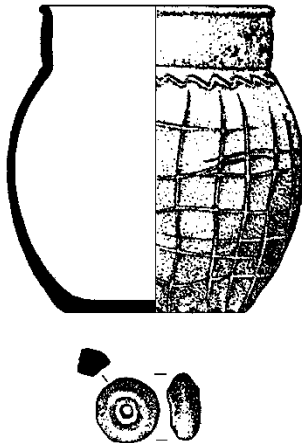
Fig. LXIV **PV_OTT_cRot_034** – assemblage with *olla* (Inv. 34453) and spindle whorl (Inv. 34454). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 100 pl. XXIV.

Following page: Fig. LXV **PV_OTT_cRot_036** – assemblage with *Acobecher* stamped HILARIVS CAVI with *Kommaregen* decoration (1), two plates (2-3: Inv. 34458-34459), *Herzblattlampe* (4: Inv. 34462), iron LT III *Drahtfibel* (5: Inv. 34456), bowl (6: Inv. 34455 or 34464), as (7), cup (8: Inv. 34461) and *olletta* (9: Inv. 34460). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 101-102 pl. XXV-XXVI.
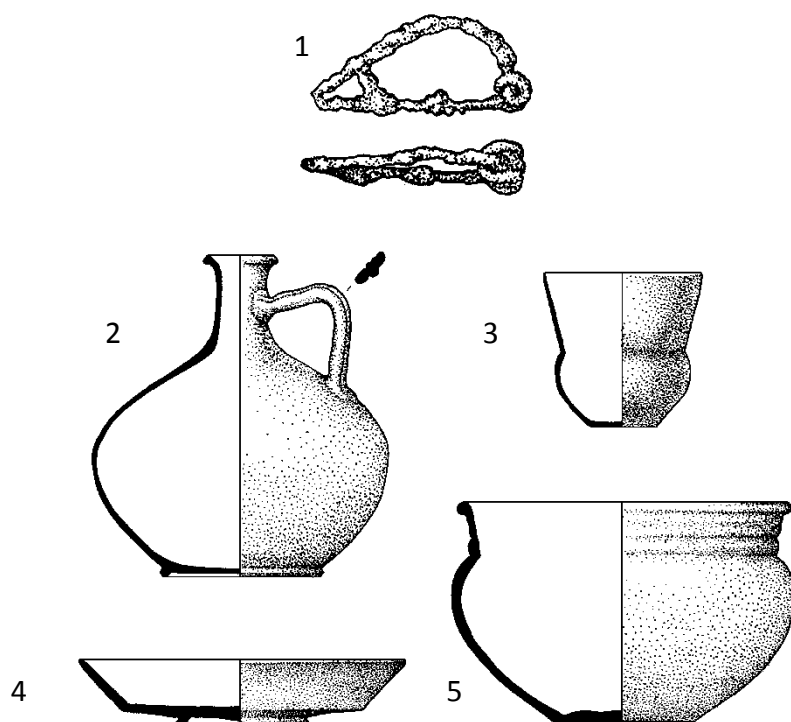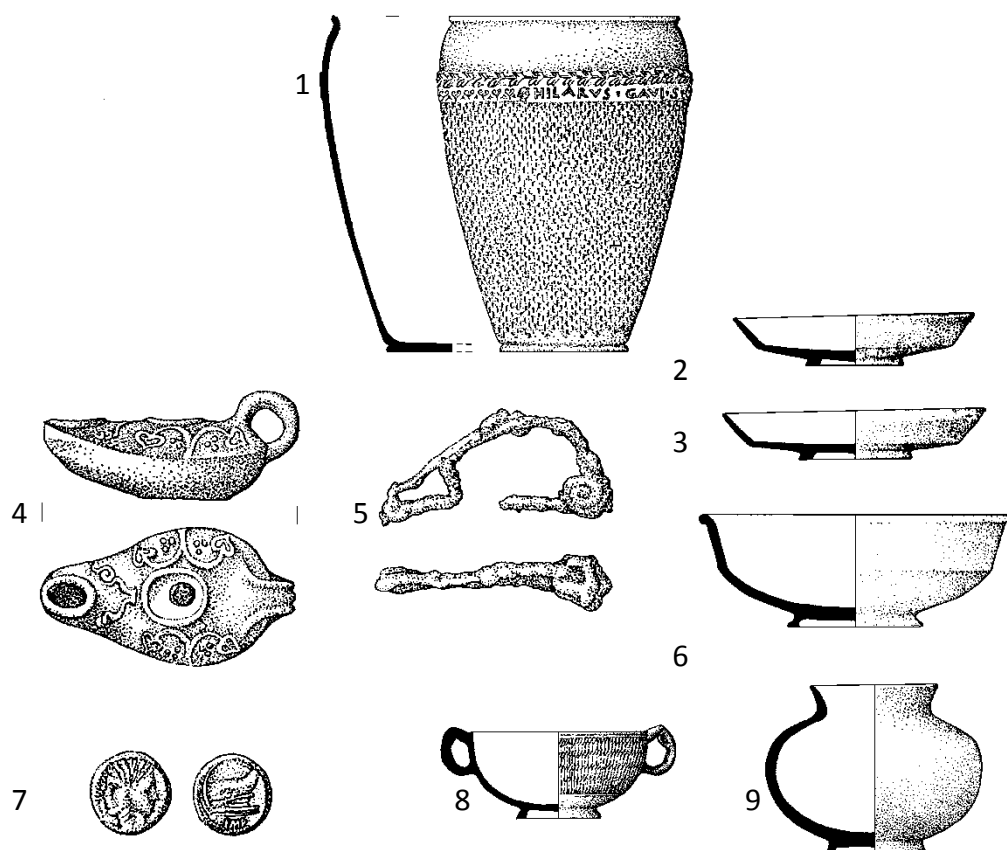
Fig. LXVI **PV_OTT_cRot_037** – assemblage with iron LT III *Drahtfibel* (1: Inv. 34468), *olpe* (2: Inv. 34466), beaker (3: Inv. 34467), plate (4: Inv. 34467) and *olla* (5: Inv. 34465). No scale. After Papetti 1987: 103-104 pl. XXVII-XXVIII.
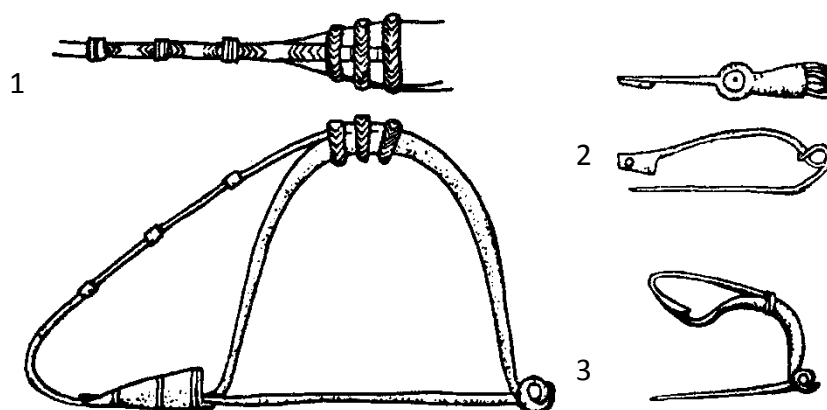
Fig. LXVII **PV_VAL_cTes_100** – three of five brooches: two bronze type Pavese brooches (1. 3: Inv. 18122-18125) and a bronze type Cenisola brooch (2: Inv. 18126). . After Vannacci Lunazzi 1985b: 117 fig. 4,6-8.
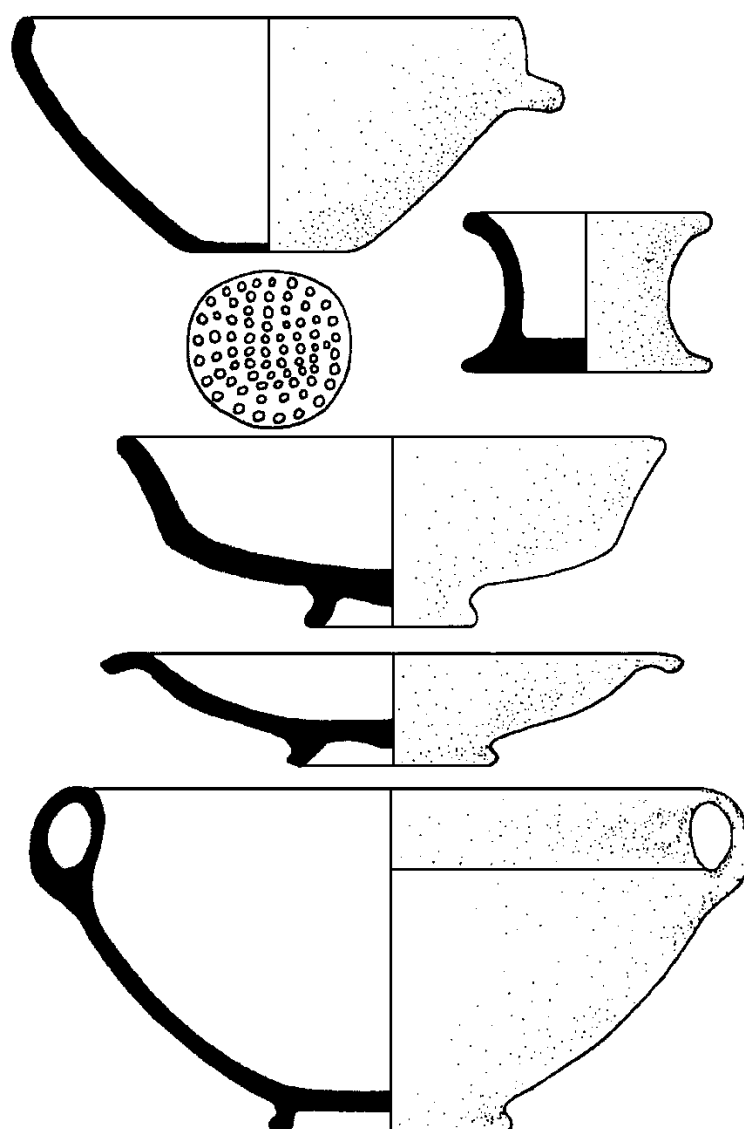
Fig. LXVIII **PV_VAL_cTes_126** – sieve/colander, one of two beakers '*a rocchetto*' (Inv. 18217 or 18252), bowl and plate in BGW and large bowl. No scale. After Vannacci Lunazzi 1985b: 119 fig. 5.
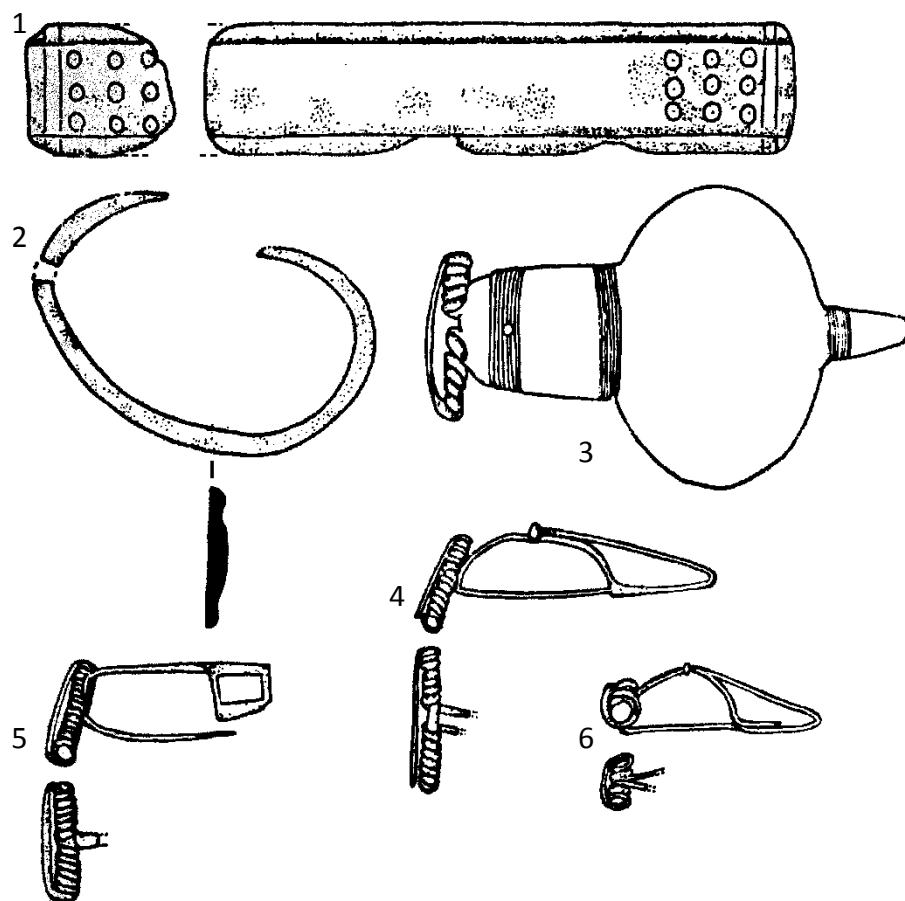
Fig. LXIX **PV_VAL_cTes_207** – bronze bracelet with eye decoration (1) and four bronze brooches (3: type Tortonese; 4. 6: LT II *Drahtfibel*; 5: with rectangular catch-plate). No scale. After Vannacci Lunazzi 1985b: 117 fig. 4,1-5.
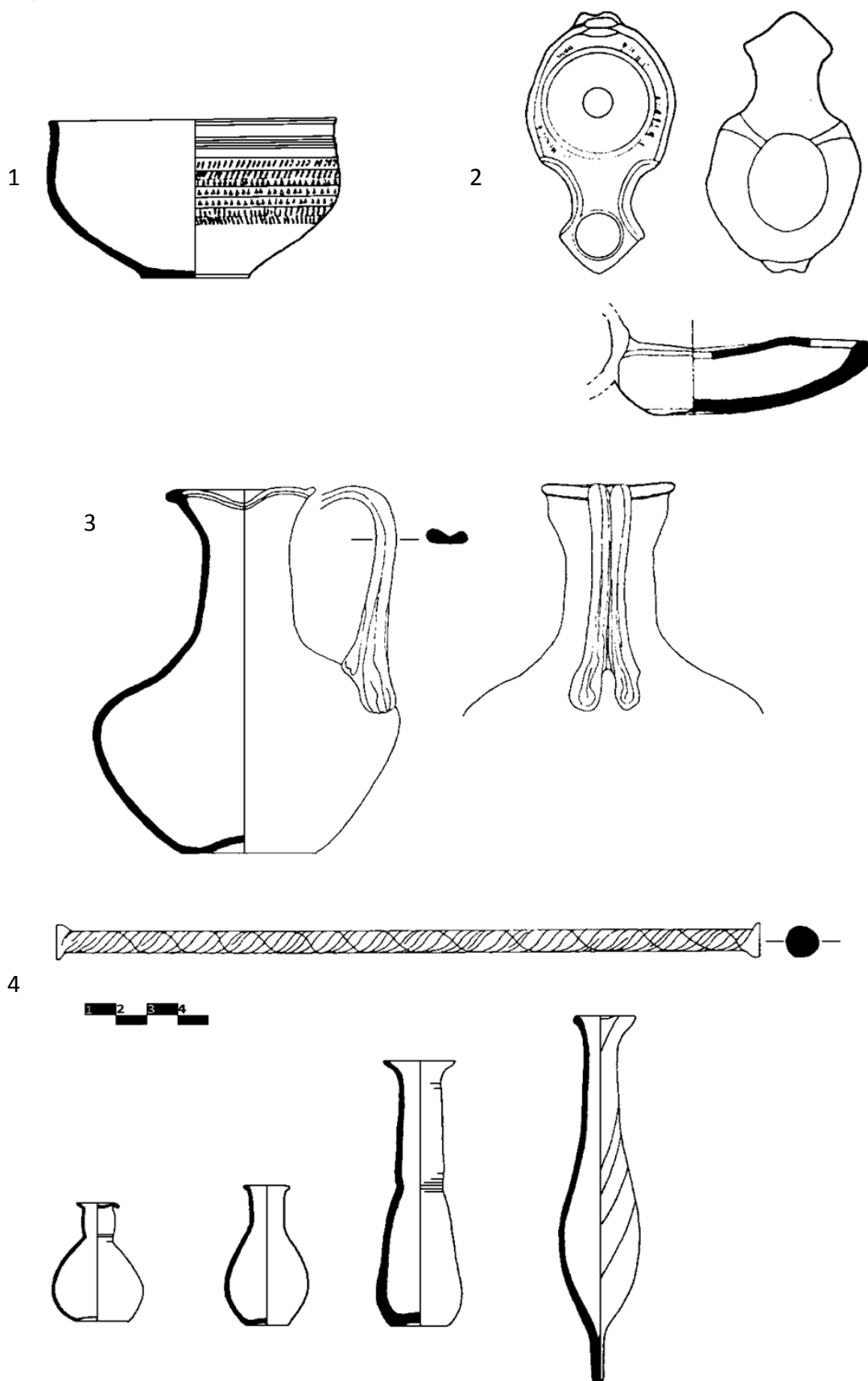
Fig. LXX **PV_ VIG_fMor_001** – assemblage with thin walled cup with *Rädchenzier* (1), oil lamp (2), glass *olpe* (3), stirring rod (4), glass *balsamaria* (5-8). After Diani 1992: pl. II.

IV. Tables

	Total of contexts	Grave ID
Pottery	74	PV_ALA_cGuz_001, 003-005, PV_DOR_lSMa_002, 005, PV_GAM_fBel_012, 014, 016, 019, 021, 027a, 028, PV_GAR_cBar_013b, 022, 036, 058, 113, 271, 285, PV_GAR_MdB_066, 069, 075, PV_GRC_lMar_045, PV_GRC_lMen_042, 045-046, 048-049, 053, 056, 059-060, 062, 064, 066-067, 070, 072, 074-077, 079, 081, PV_MOR_cMed_042, PV_OTT_cRot_001, 004-005, 010, 014, 018, 020-021, 024, 026, 028, 033-034, 038, PV_TRO_cStr_003, PV_VAL_cTes_086, 105, 113, 115, 116a, 130, 134, 139, 141a, 157, 198, 202 and PV_ ZIN_tLMa_001
Glass	21	PV_ALA_cGuz_001, 003-004, PV_GAR_cSol_009, PV_GRC_lMen_041, 056, 060, 063-064, 066-067, 072-073, 075, PV_OTT_cRot_001-002, 004, 006, 014, 023, PV_ VIG_fMor_001 and PV_ ZIN_tLMa_001
Brooches	16	PV_ALA_cGuz_005, PV_GAM_fBel_014, 016, 021, 023, 036, PV_GAR_cBar_066, 271, PV_GRC_lMen_047, 049, 052, 064, PV_OTT_cRot_006, 017, 023 and 028
Other adornment	7	PV_GAM_fBel_021, PV_GRC_lMen_052, 064, 066, 073, PV_OTT_cRot_017, 023 and PV_VAL_cTes_130
Spindle whorls	21	PV_ALA_cGuz_005, PV_GAM_fBel_021, 023, PV_GAR_cBar_066, PV_GAR_cSol_009, PV_GRC_lMen_042, 049, 053-054, 060, 062, 064, 070-071, 079, 081, PV_MOR_cMed_042, PV_OTT_cRot_004, 006, 034 and PV_ ZIN_tLMa_001
Coins	19	PV_DOR_lSMa_002, PV_GAM_fBel_021, 027a, PV_GAR_cBar_066, PV_GAR_MdB_069, 075, PV_GRC_lMar_024b, PV_GRC_lMen_046-047, 052, 064, 073-074, PV_OTT_cRot_016, 019, 021, 023, 033 and PV_VAL_cTes_116b
Oil lamps	2	PV_GRC_lMen_062 and 070
Nails and clasps	15	PV_ALA_cGuz_001, 003-004, PV_GAR_MdB_066, 075, PV_GRC_lMen_062, 066, 077, PV_OTT_cRot_001-002, 015-016, 019, 021 and PV_VAL_cTes_116b
Terracotta appliqués	9	PV_DOR_lSMa_015, PV_GAR_cBar_310, PV_GRC_lMar_046, PV_GRC_lMen_057-059, PV_OTT_cRot_006-007 and 028
Terracotta statuettes	6	PV_GRC_lMen_073-074, 077-078, PV_OTT_cRot_002 and PV_ ZIN_tLMa_001
Varia	10	PV_DOR_lSMa_002-003, PV_GAM_fBel_021, PV_GAR_MdB_063, PV_GAR_MdB_070, PV_GRC_lMen_046, 053, 072, PV_OTT_cRot_017 and PV_ VIG_fMor_001

Tab. I Quantitative and qualitative analysis of pyre goods.
Nails and clasps can originate from shoes (in the case of smaller nails), organic containers or funerary beds. The latter (and thus also terracotta appliqués) were always placed on the pyre. The same applies to coins, which presumably had a ritual function within chthonic beliefs.

	Marker	Date
PV_ALA_cGuz_001	• Three areas of deposition • Plenty of pottery	1st century AD
PV_ALA_cGuz_003	• Two areas of deposition • Doubling of *olpai* and oil lamps	Mid-1st century AD
PV_ALA_cGuz_004	• Two areas of deposition • Rich assemblage with doubling of *olpai* and oil lamps	End of 1st century BC - beginning 1st century AD
PV_GAM_fBel_023	• Doubling of plates, brooches and spindle whorls	LT D2
PV_GRC_lMen_075	• Double deposition suggested by Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999	Beginning second half of the 1st century AD
PV_GRC_lMen_077	• Double deposition suggested by Macchioro Malnati 1994-1999	Second half of the 1st century AD
PV_VAL_cTes_054a & b	• Two assemblages catalogued at the museum that probably originate from the grave and the *ustrinum* • Probable doubling of pottery and glass finds	40-60 AD
PV_VAL_cTes_116a & b	• Two assemblages catalogued at the museum that probably originate from either a double deposition or a double burial	LT D2
PV_VAL_cTes_141a & b	• Two assemblages catalogued at the museum that probably originate from either a double deposition or a double burial	LT D2
PV_VIG_lMor_001	• Double deposition suggested by Diani 1999: 163 n. 6 • Traces of burn on some items	Second half of the 1st century AD
PV_ZIN_tLMa_001	• Two areas of deposition • Rich assemblage with doubling of *olpai*, plates and (small) bowls as well as other vessels, spindle whorls and oil lamps	Augustan-Tiberian

Tab. II Nine cases of possible double deposition have been reported for the Lomellina.
Double depositions are characterised by a partial doubling of the assemblage and more than one area of deposition. It is notable that the custom of double depositions emerged only during LT D2 and found its peak during the 1st century AD.

	Character	Marker/combination of	Date
PV_GAM_fBel_021	Female + male	• Spindle whorl • Knife and spur	LT D1
PV_GAM_fBel_024	Female + male	• Spindle whorl • Shears	LT D2
PV_GAR_MdB_010	Female *(mother)* + male *(son)*	• *Röhrenkanne* • Weaponry	LT B2/C1?
PV_GAR_MdB_022	Different periods		LT B2/C1?
PV_GRC_lMar_071		• Listed as two assemblages • Doubling of coins, oil lamps and other objects	2nd-3rd century AD
PV_VAL_cTes_116a & b	*Unspecified*	• Two assemblages catalogued at the museum that probably originate from either a double deposition or a double burial	LT D2
PV_VAL_cTes_141a & b	*Unspecified*	• Two assemblages catalogued at the museum that probably originate from either a double deposition or a double burial	LT D2

Tab. III Seven cases of possible double burials have been reported for the Lomellina.
Double burials are characterised by two depositions that can be assigned to two individuals based on discrepant combinations (i.e. female and male) or chronologically divergence. Caution is required, especially in the former case, as the gendering of items remains speculative. It is notable that the custom of double burials has only been observed for the IA (with the exception of PV_GRC_lMar_071).

Tab. IV Total quantities from 168 complete contexts

| | Vessels | | | Items of dress & jewellery | | | | Weapons & tools | | | Personal belongings | Varia – incl. ritual items | | | |
		Pottery	Glass	Others		Brooches	Ring jewellery	Belts	Shoes		Weapons	Knives	Spindle whorls		Balsamaria	Funerary beds	Oil lamps	Coins	Terracotta figurines
LT B	**53**	53			**17**	11	5	1		**13**	7	1	4						
LT C1	**52**	52			**13**	12	1			**15**	8	6		**1**					
LT C	**157**	157			**48**	31	5			**28**	13	9	4	**5**				10	
LT C2	**76**	76			**21**	15	4			**10**	3	3	3	**2**				10	
LT D1	**83**	83			**18**	13	2	1		**12**	2	5	2					6	
LT D	**255**	255			**73**	62	7	1		**56**	2	7	37	**4**				18	
LT D2	**156**	156			**51**	45	5			**41**		1	34	**4**				11	
Augustan	**112**	109	3		**29**	17	3	1	5	**55**		1	54	**52**	47	5	7	19	1
Augustan-Tiberian	**245**	234	11		**54**	32	9	1	8	**172**		1	169	**107**	92	13	16	34	5
Tiberian	**27**	27			**5**	2	1		2					**14**	12		4	4	
Julio-Claudian	**306**	287	18	1	**57**	32	11	1	9	**170**		1	167	**146**	124	19	24	38	10
Flavian	**54**	34	20		**9**		3		4	**1**			1	**23**	16	2?	7	8	3

Tab. IV Total quantities from 168 complete contexts. The table excludes contexts covering more than one period (e.g. LT C-D or LT D-Augustan).

Tab. V Average quantities from 168 complete contexts

| | Vessels | | | Items of dress & jewellery | | | | Weapons & tools | | | Personal belongings | Varia – incl. ritual items | | | |
		Pottery	Glass	Others		Brooches	Ring jewellery	Belts	Shoes		Weapons	Knives	Spindle whorls		Balsamaria	Funerary beds	Oil lamps	Coins	Terracotta figurines
LT B	**5.89**	5.89			**2.13**	1.57	1			**2.17**	3.5	1	1						
LT C1	**5.2**	5.2			**1.63**	1.5	1			**3**	1.6	2		**1**					
LT C	**8.26**	8.26			**3.2**	2.07	1.25			**2.55**	1.88	1.5	1.33	**1.25**				2.5	
LT C2	**19**	19			**5.25**	3.75	1.33			**2.5**	3	1	1.5	**2**				2.5	
LT D1	**9.22**	9.22			**2.57**	1.86	1			**2**	1	1	1					1.5	
LT D	**5.67**	5.67			**2.52**	2.3	1.4			**2.15**	1	1	2.31	**1**				1.25	
LT D2	**4.88**	4.88			**2.68**	2.65	1.67			**2.78**			2.63	**1**				1	
Augustan	**4.48**	4.36	1.5		**1.81**	1.55	1.5			**4.23**		1	3.86	**4**	3.62	X(5)	1	1.12	1
Augustan-Tiberian	**4.64**	4.42	2.75		**1.74**	1.52	1.5			**6.37**		1	6.3	**3.24**	2.57	X(13)	1.11	1.13	1
Tiberian	**4.5**	4.5			**1.25**	1	1							**2.33**	1.86		1.33	1	
Julio-Claudian	**4.31**	4.04	2	1	**1.68**	1.52	1.38			**6.07**		1	5.8	**3.04**	2.7	X(19)	1.09	1.15	1
Flavian	**4.91**	3.09	3.33		**1.5**		1			**1**			1	**2.09**	1.6	X?(2)	1	1.14	1

Tab. V Average quantities from 168 complete contexts. The table excludes contexts covering more than one period (e.g. LT C-D or LT D-Augustan).

	Rim diameter	Max. diameter	Height	Ratio dm rim : max	Ratio dm rim : h
Jars – closed	5.6-11.5 cm	12.7-21.4 cm	12.3-25.3 cm	0.27-0.71	
open	9.8-24.0 cm	12.7-24.4 cm	13.8-15.8 cm	0.77-0.98	
Small jars – closed	4.0-9.5 cm	7.0-17.3 cm	6.6-12.8 cm	0.3-0.71	
open	7.2-14.3 cm	5.0-17.2 cm	7.8-12.2 cm	0.78-1.00	
Beakers				0.85-1.00	0.91-1.00
Small vases				0.52-0.68	1.00-1.55
Cups	13.6-17.5 cm		4.4-6.0 cm		2.6-3.5
Small bowls	12.5-17.5 cm		4.9-8.6 cm		1.79-3.57
Bowls	17.6-28.5 cm		6.0-12.5 cm		1.79-3.35
Plates	13.0-32.0 cm		2.7-7.8 cm		2.6-6.85

Tab. VI Size-related terminology of pottery based on the shapes and measurements of pottery documented for Gambolò, *frazione* Belcreda (Vannacci Lunazzi 1983b).

Of particular note are:
- Open jars-*olle* are generally lower than closed examples. The minimum height of jars – i.e. maximum height of small jars-*ollette* – ranges between 12 cm and 13 cm. The maximum ratio dm rim : max for closed shapes is 0.71.
- Beakers and small vases cannot be distinguished by height or diameter only. Small vases appear to be characterised by a generally smaller dm rim : max. ratio and a bigger dm rim : h ratio
- Small open shapes with a rim diameter below 17.5 cm and an outwards curving rim and profile are classified as *coppe* (i.e. cups) and thus probably drinking vessels. Similar sized small bowls with an inward turning rim are more difficult to distinguish from bowls. The latter have a rim diameter of 17.5 cm or more. In addition, where possible, the dm : h ratio has been established in order to distinguish (small) bowls and cups (≤ 3.57) from deep plates.

	Average quantity	Total quantities
LT D1	1.67	10 in 6 contexts
LT D	1.86	54 in 29 contexts
LT D2	1.95	41 in 21 contexts
Augustan	1.28	23 in 18 contexts
Augustan-Tiberian	1.37	56 in 41 contexts
Tiberian	2.25	9 in 4 contexts
Julio-Claudian	1.31	64 in 49 contexts
Flavian	1.17	7 in 6 contexts

Tab. VII Chronological summary of open flat shapes in their average and total quantities in complete contexts. Due to the small number of contexts for LT D1, the Tiberian and the Flavian period, the table includes periods on different chronological levels.

Period		Grave ID	*Vaso a Trottola*	Liquid container
Golasecca - LT B		PV_GAR_MdB_003		1
		PV_GAR_MdB_017		1
		PV_GAR_MdB_026		1
LT B-C		PV_GAR_MdB_010		1
		PV_GAR_MdB_019	1	1
LT C	C1	PV_GAR_MdB_002	1	1
		PV_GAR_MdB_007	1	
		PV_GAR_MdB_008	1	
		PV_GAR_MdB_012	1	
		PV_GAR_MdB_021	1	
		PV_GAR_MdB_029	1	
		PV_GAR_MdB_090		1
		PV_LOM_cSGD_001	1	
		PV_GAR_MdB_004	3	
		PV_GAR_MdB_006	1	
		PV_GAR_MdB_030	1	
	C2	PV_GAR_MdB_063	3	1
		PV_GAR_MdB_064	4	
		PV_GRC_lMar_079	3	
LT C-D		PV_GRC_lMar_078	3	
LT D	D1	PV_DOR_lSMa_008	1	
		PV_GAM_fBel_003	1	
		PV_GAM_fBel_012	1	
		PV_GAM_fBel_020	1	
		PV_GAM_fBel_021	3	
		PV_GAR_MdB_092	5	
		PV_GRC_lMar_044	1	
		PV_GRC_lMar_077	8	
		PV_GRC_SSp_002	1	
		PV_GRC_lMar_042	1	
		PV_GRC_lMar_051	1	
	D2	PV_DOR_cGra_186	1	
		PV_GAM_fBel_006	1	
		PV_GAM_fBel_009	2	
		PV_GAM_fBel_014	1	
		PV_GAM_fBel_017	1	
		PV_GAM_fBel_038	1	
		PV_GRC_lMar_025		1
		PV_VAL_cTes_080		1
		PV_VAL_cTes_087		1
		PV_VAL_cTes_100		1
		PV_VAL_cTes_188	1	
		PV_VAL_cTes_207	4	
LT D-Augustan		PV_ALA_cGuz_005		1
		PV_ALA_cGuz_006	1	1
		PV_VAL_cTes_109		1
Augustan		PV_ALA_cGuz_004		2
		PV_DOR_cGra_094		2
		PV_GAR_cBar_032		1
		PV_GRC_lMar_046		2
		PV_GRC_lMar_047		1
		PV_GRC_lMar_055		1
		PV_GRC_lMen_054		1
		PV_GRC_lMen_062		1

Period		Grave ID	*Vaso a Trottola*	Liquid container
Julio-Claudian	Augustan-Tiberian	PV_GRC_lMen_063		1
		PV_OTT_cRot_011		2
		PV_OTT_cRot_027		1
		PV_OTT_cRot_030		1
		PV_OTT_cRot_033		1
		PV_VAL_cTes_084		1
		PV_VAL_cTes_104		1
		PV_VAL_cTes_132		1
		PV_VAL_cTes_150		1
		PV_GAR_MdB_085		1
		PV_GRC_lCas_001		2
		PV_GRC_lMen_028		2
		PV_GRC_lMen_031		1
		PV_GRC_lMen_033		2
		PV_DOR_lSMa_001		2
		PV_GAM_fBel_035		1
		PV_GAR_MdB_098		1
		PV_GRC_lMar_024b		1
		PV_GRC_lMen_030		1
		PV_GRC_lMen_032		1
		PV_GRC_lMen_064		2
		PV_GRC_lMen_065		1
		PV_OTT_cRot_028		3
		PV_OTT_cRot_029		1
		PV_OTT_cRot_037		1
		PV_VAL_cTes_081		1
		PV_VAL_cTes_205		1
		PV_ZIN_tLMa_001		6
	Tiberian	PV_ALA_cGuz_003		3
		PV_GAR_cBar_036		1
		PV_GRC_lMar_029		2
		PV_GRC_lMar_018		1
		PV_GRC_lMen_034		1
		PV_GRC_lMen_041		1
		PV_ALA_cGuz_002		1
		PV_MOR_cMed_042		2
		PV_VIG_lMor_001		1
Julio-Claudian - Flavian		PV_ALA_cGuz_001		1
		PV_GAR_MdB_038		1
		PV_GRC_lMen_002		2
		PV_OTT_cRot_021		1
Flavian (and 2nd century AD)		PV_GAR_MdB_074		3
		PV_GAR_cSol_017		2
		PV_GAR_MdB_066		2
		PV_GAR_MdB_072		1
		PV_GRC_lMar_039		4
		PV_GRC_lMar_072		3
		PV_GRC_lMen_019		1
		PV_OTT_cRot_009		1
		PV_OTT_cRot_012		1
		PV_GRC_lMar_034		3
		PV_GRC_lMar_021		2

Tab. VIII *Vasi a trottola* and other liquid containers from complete and dated contexts.
The number of *vasi a trottola* clearly increased between LT C2 and D1. Later contexts dating to the Principate contained on average only 1.5 serving and pouring vessels.

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	Shape	Stamp	Dating
PV_GAR_cBar_003	Beaker	AESCINVS	Augustan (AD)
*PV_GRC_lMar_056	Plate	GELLI	First decades 1st century AD
*PV_GRC_lMar_057	Cup	CMVR	Tiberian/first half 1st century AD; *t.p.q.*: 23-32 AD
PV_GRC_lMen_056	Plate	illegible stamp	Augustan; *t.p.q.*: 6 BC
*PV_OTT_cRot_029	Beaker Fragment	VS *could be either referring to Hilarus or Sarius Surus* HIL[arus]	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)
*PV_OTT_cRot_036	Beaker type Aco	HILARIVS CAVI	Augustan
*PV_VAL_cTes_023	Plate	CTS	Second half 1st century AD
PV_VAL_cTes_068	Small bowl	FESTI	Tiberian/first half 1st century AD
PV_VAL_cTes_069	Plate	ELVCIE	Second – beginning third quarter 1st century AD
*? PV_VAL_cTes_160	Cup	L. SARIVS SVRVS	LT D2

Tab. IX Brand stamps on TS from complete (*) and non-complete mortuary contexts from the Lomellina. Eleven stamped items of TS have been discovered in 10 mortuary contexts with a clear peak during the Augustan-Tiberian period (AD).

	Quantity	Types	Date
PV_ALA_cGuz_011b	1?	Fragments	
PV_GAR_cBar_070	2	*Skyphoi*	Flavian
*PV_GRC_lMar_024a	1	Cup	Julio-Claudian (AD)
*PV_GRC_lMar_039	2	Chalice; *skyphos*	Flavian
*PV_GRC_lMar_056	1	*Skyphos*	Julio-Claudian (AD)
*PV_GRC_lMen_034	1	*Skyphos*	Julio-Claudian (AD)
PV_MOR_cMed_054	1	*Skyphos*	Julio-Claudian (AD)
PV_VAL_cTes_047	1	*Skyphos*	1st century AD
PV_VAL_cTes_066	1	Cup	Augustan-Tiberian

Tab. X Lead-glazed pottery from complete (*) and non-complete mortuary contexts from the Lomellina.
The preference for glazed *skyphoi* is obvious.
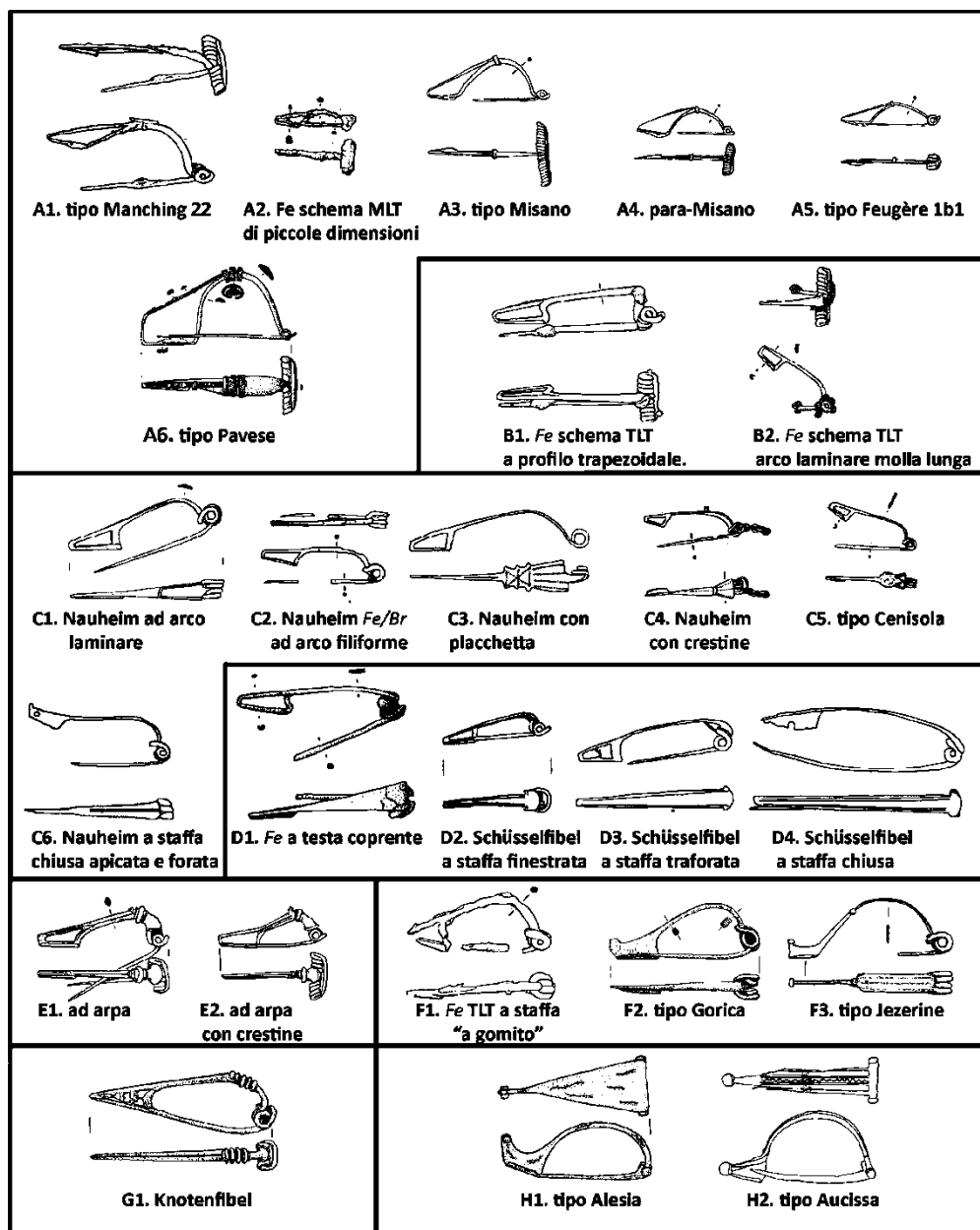
Tab. XI Schematic plate of types of north-west Italian brooches. Second half 2nd century BC – Augustan period. Piana Agostinetti and Knobloch 2010: 5 fig. 2.

Group A:
A1: type Manching 22
A2: iron LT II brooch of small dimensions
A3: type Misano
A4: type para-Misano
A5: type Feugère 1b1
A6: type Pavese
Group B:
B1: iron LT III brooch with trapezoid profile
B2: iron LT III brooch with leaf-shaped arch and long spring
Group C:
C1: type Nauheim with leaf-shaped arch

C2: iron/bronze type Nauheim with wire arch
C3: type Nauheim with decorative plate
C4: type Nauheim with crest
C5: type Cenisola
C6: type Nauheim with closed but perforated catchplate
Group D:
D1: iron brooch with covered head
D2: *Schüsselfibel* with open catchplate
D3: *Schüsselfibel* with perforated catchplate
D4: *Schüsselfibel* with closed catchplate

Group E:
E1: harp brooch
E2: harp brooch with crest
Group F:
F1: iron LT III brooch with angulated arch
F2: type Gorica
F3: type Jezerine
Group G:
G1: *Knotenfibel*
Group H:
H1: type Alesia
H2: type Aucissa.

Period	Grave ID	Arm rings	Bracelets	Rings
Golasecca – LT C	*PV_GAR_MdB_017	1		
	*PV_GAR_MdB_028	1		
	*PV_GAR_MdB_013a	1		
	*PV_GAR_MdB_027	1		
	*PV_GAR_MdB_026	1		
	*PV_GAR_MdB_001a	1		
	PV_GAR_MdB_018	1		
	*PV_GAR_MdB_019			1
LT C	*PV_GAR_MdB_021			1
	PV_GAR_MdB_088	1		
	*PV_GAR_MdB_063	2		
	*PV_GRC_lMar_079		1	
LT D	PV_VAL_cTes_126	1		
	*PV_GAM_fBel_012			1
	*PV_GRC_lMar_012	1		1
	*? PV_VAL_cTes_087	1		1
	*? PV_GRC_lMar_080	1		
	PV_GAR_cBar_020	1		
	*PV_DOR_cGra_186	1		

Period	Grave ID	Arm rings	Bracelets	Rings
- continued -	*? PV_VAL_cTes_100	2	2	
	PV_VAL_cTes_113		1	
	*? PV_VAL_cTes_207		1	
	PV_VAL_cTes_105		2	2
	PV_GAM_fBel_027a			1
	*PV_GAR_cSol_009			1
Augustan-Tiberian	PV_GRC_lMen_060	1		
	*? PV_VAL_cTes_104		1	
	*? PV_VAL_cTes_104		1	
	*? PV_VAL_cTes_104		1	
	*PV_GRC_lMar_050		2	
	PV_GRC_lMar_063			1
	PV_GAM_fBel_032	1		
	*PV_GRC_lMen_069	1		
	*PV_GRC_lMar_049		2	
	PV_VAL_cTes_204		1	
Flavian	*PV_OTT_cRot_009	1		
	PV_GRC_lMar_075		1	
	PV_VAL_cTes_130		1	

Tab. XII Quantitative analysis of arm jewellery and rings from complete (*) and non-complete contexts.
Highlighted are four rare cases of a combination of various ring types in one assemblage.

	Material	
*PV_DOR_cGra_186	1 glass bead	
*PV_GAR_MdB_019	1 glass bead	
*PV_GAR_MdB_072	15 amber beads	
*PV_GAR_MdB_074	15 glass beads	
*PV_GAR_MdB_076	4 glass beads; 13 small bronze rings	
*PV_GRC_lMen_029	1 large glass bead	
*PV_GRC_lMen_063	7 beads of white glass paste	
*PV_GRC_lMen_064	5 beads of white glass paste	
PV_VAL_cTes_068	9 glass beads	

Tab. XIII Necklaces from complete (*) and non-complete contexts as evidenced through beads of glass (paste) and amber.
Contexts PV_GAR_cSol_011, 013 and 016 have not been listed as items for these have only been summarised.

	Material
*PV_DOR_lSMa_008	1 bronze button
*PV_GAM_fBel_004	1 small bronze disc probably from necklace or brooch decoration
*PV_GAM_fBel_021	2 buttons
*PV_GAR_MdB_004	1 small bronze chain, 8 bronze buttons and 1 bronze bulla
*PV_GAR_MdB_063	2 bronze buttons
*PV_GRC_lMar_024a	1 glass cameo probably from finger ring
PV_GRC_lMen_060	1 iron pin?
*PV_GRC_lMen_110	1 silver earring
*PV_OTT_cRot_017	2 bronze buttons

Tab. XIV Various jewellery including one rare silver earring from complete (*) and non-complete contexts.

	Grave ID	Swords	Shields	Spearheads	Knives & daggers	Axes	Shears & scissors	Spindle whorls
Non-dateable	*? PV_VAL_cTes_187				1		1	
Golasecca – LT B	*PV_GAR_MdB_028	1	1	1	1			
	*PV_GAR_MdB_027	1	1	1			1	
LT B-C	PV_GAR_MdB_022	1	1		1			
	*PV_GAR_MdB_010		1	1				
LT C	*PV_GAR_MdB_002	1	1		1			
LT C1	*PV_GAR_MdB_029	1	1					
	*PV_GAR_MdB_021		1					
	*PV_GAR_MdB_089				1	1		
	*PV_GAR_MdB_008				2	4	1	
	*PV_GAR_MdB_005	1			1			
LT C2	*PV_VAL_cTes_189	1	1	1	1		1	
	*PV_GAR_MdB_063				1			
	PV_GAR_MdB_091				1			1
	*PV_GRC_lMar_079				1			2
LT C-D	*PV_GRC_lMar_078	1						
LT D	*PV_GAR_MdB_092	1			1			1
LT D1	*PV_GRC_lMar_077			1	1			
	*PV_GAM_fBel_003				1		1	
	*PV_GAM_fBel_012				1		1	
	*PV_GAM_fBel_021				1			1
	PV_VAL_cTes_126				1			
	PV_VAL_cTes_149a				1	1		
	*PV_GRC_lMar_051				1		1	
	*? PV_VAL_cTes_128				1			
LT D2	PV_GAR_cBar_020				1			1
	PV_GAR_cBar_112				1			
	*PV_TRO_cNeg_041				1		1	
	PV_VAL_cTes_203				1		1	
Augustan	*PV_DOR_lSMa_005				1			5

Tab. XV Weapons and knives from complete (*) and non-complete contexts.
PV_GAR_MdB_028 and PV_GAR_MdB_092 had been interred with a sword with suspension chain, and
PV_GAR_MdB_005 with a dagger – items that have otherwise not been reported. Highlighted are six cases
of associated spindle whorls and knives (in the case of PV_GAR_MdB_092 in association with a knife and a
sword).

	Grave ID	Weapons	Knives	Shears	Pottery	Brooches	Arm ring	Finger ring	Razor blade	Tweezers	Coins
LT B	PV_GAR_MdB_027	3		1	4	2	1				
	PV_GAR_MdB_028	4	1		4	1	1				
LT B/C	PV_GAR_MdB_010	2			4	1					
	PV_GAR_MdB_005	2			5						
	PV_GAR_MdB_002	2	1		3	1					
	PV_GAR_MdB_008	2	4	1	4	2				1	
LT C	PV_GAR_MdB_021	1			≥ 10	1	1?				
	PV_GAR_MdB_029	2			5	1					
	PV_GAR_MdB_089	1	1		6	3				1	
	PV_VAL_cTes_189	3	1	1	9	1		1	1	1	4
LT D1	PV_GAR_MdB_092	1	1		11	1					
	PV_GRC_lMar_077	1	1		30	2					

Tab. XVI Mortuary assemblages from complete weapon burials (selection of common items).
PV_GAR_MdB_092 also contained a single spindle whorl; PV_GRC_lMar_077 is the only complete weapon burial with a belt.

		Glass vessels	Brooches	Shoes	Spindle whorls	Funerary beds	Oil lamps	Coins	Terracotta figurines
Augustan	14 contexts with *balsamaria*	1	6	3	8	5	6	9	1
	13 contexts without *balsamaria*	1	6	2	5	1	3	10	--
Augustan-Tiberian	14 contexts with *balsamaria*	2	4	1	9	4	3	7	3
	13 contexts without *balsamaria*	--	4	--	4	3-4	2	3	1
Tiberian	6 contexts with *balsamaria*	--	2	2	--	--	3	4	--
	1 contexts without *balsamaria*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Flavian	15 contexts with *balsamaria*	6	--	3	--	1?	4	3	3
	3 contexts without *balsamaria*	--	--	1	1	1?	3	4	--

Tab. XVIIa Quantitative comparison of contexts with and without *balsamaria*.
The low figure of Tiberian and Flavian contexts without *balsamaria* complicates the analysis.

		Vessels	Items of dress & jewellery	Brooches	Spindle whorls
Augustan	Contexts with *balsamaria*	5.25	1.56	1.33	4.75
	Contexts without *balsamaria*	3.77	2	1.67	1
Augustan-Tiberian	Contexts with *balsamaria*	5.75	2.33	2.25	10.68
	Contexts without *balsamaria*	3.7	1.2	1	6
Tiberian	Contexts with *balsamaria*	4.8	1.25	1	--
	Contexts without *balsamaria*	3	--	--	--
Flavian	Contexts with *balsamaria*	5.75	1.5	--	--
	Contexts without *balsamaria*	2.67	1.5	--	1

Tab. XVIIb Quantitative comparison of means per contexts with and without *balsamaria*.
The low figure of Tiberian and Flavian contexts without *balsamaria* complicates the analysis.

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	Loeschke type	Stamp	Dating
PV_GAR_lCaz_001	IX B	FORTIS	Second half 1st century AD
*? PV_GAR_lCaz_013	IX B	FORTIS	Flavian
*? PV_GAR_MdB_039	IX B	ATIMETI	1st century AD
*PV_GRC_lMar_021	X A	FORTIS	Second half 1st – first years 2nd century AD
*PV_GRC_lMar_024a	X A	FORTIS	First half 1st century AD
*PV_GRC_lMar_032	X	FORTIS	Trajan; *t.p.q.*: 104-110 AD
*PV_GRC_lMar_034	X	IEGIDI	Flavian-Trajan
*PV_GRC_lMar_036	IX B	LITOGENES	Second half 1st century AD; *t.p.q.*: 37/38 AD
*PV_GRC_lMar_039	IX B	COMMVNIS	Flavian
*PV_OTT_cRot_008	IX B	FORTIS	1st century AD
*PV_OTT_cRot_028	fragment	partial inscription	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)
PV_VAL_cTes_054		MLII	40-60 AD
PV_VAL_cTes_066	IX B	FORTIS	Augustan-Tiberian

Tab. XVIII Thirteen *Firmalampen* have been found in complete (*) and non-complete mortuary contexts ranging primarily between the Augustan and Trajan period.
Seven lamps stamped FORTIS cover the same range and may date as late as the early 2nd century AD.

Following page: Tab. XIX Mortuary contexts of the Lomellina including terracotta appliqués. Dates marked with an asterisk derive from the presence of appliqués and are not backed up by other items. The typology of beds is based has been taken from Invernizzi 2005a. An X in column 'Publication' indicates contexts that were only published in reference to the funerary bed.

	Quantity	Type	Date	Publication
PV_DOR_cGra_037	3	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_DOR_cGra_069	?		Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_DOR_cGra_047	2	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_DOR_cGra_048	?		Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_DOR_cGra_050	3	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_DOR_cGra_076	2	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_DOR_cGra_090	4	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_DOR_cGra_127	1		Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_DOR_cGra_163	4	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_DOR_cGra_164	3	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_DOR_cGra_187	4	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_DOR_cGra_198	4	II	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
*PV_DOR_lSMa_015	5 or 6 or 8 ?	I & II	Early 1st century AD	
PV_GAM_fGar_019	4	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_GAR_cBar_003	4	I	Augustan (AD)	
PV_GAR_cBar_031	?		Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
*PV_GAR_cBar_034	1		Augustan-Tiberian (AD)	
PV_GAR_cBar_124	3	I & II	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_GAR_cBar_307	1		Augustan-Tiberian (AD)	
PV_GAR_cBar_308b	2	II	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_GAR_cBar_310	4	II	Augustan (AD)	
PV_GAR_cBar_319	1		Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
*PV_GAR_cSol_009	1		First half 1st century AD	
PV_GAR_lCaz_011	8	I & II	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_GAR_lCaz_012	1		Tiberian	
PV_GAR_MdB_100	2	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_GAR_MdB_101	3	II hybrid?	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X

--- table continues on the following page ---

	Quantity	Type	Date	Publication
PV_GRC_lCas_002	4	I	Beginning 1st century AD	
*PV_GRC_lMar_046	1		*t.p.q.* 7 BC	
*PV_GRC_lMar_048	3	I	First decades 1st century AD	
*PV_GRC_lMar_049	4	I	First decades 1st century AD	
PV_GRC_lMar_064	3		First half 1st century AD	
PV_GRC_lMar_065	2		First half 1st century AD	
PV_GRC_lMar_068	2		First half 1st century AD	
*PV_GRC_lMen_028	4	I	First half 1st century AD	
*PV_GRC_lMen_029	1		*t.p.q.* 7/10 BC	
*PV_GRC_lMen_037	1		First half 1st century AD	
*PV_GRC_lMen_038	1		First half 1st century AD	
*PV_GRC_lMen_041	1		Second quarter 1st century AD	
*PV_GRC_lMen_054	2	II	Augustan (AD)	
PV_GRC_lMen_057	2	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)	
PV_GRC_lMen_058	2	II	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)	
PV_GRC_lMen_059	2	II	Augustan (AD)	
PV_GRC_lMen_084	4	I	LT D?	
*PV_GRC_lMen_110	2	II	Beginning 1st century AD	
PV_MOR_cMed_022	6	I & II	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
*PV_OTT_cRot_006	3	II	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	
*PV_OTT_cRot_007	2	II	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	
*PV_OTT_cRot_027	1		Augustan (AD)	
*PV_OTT_cRot_028	4	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	
*PV_OTT_cRot_029	4	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	
*PV_OTT_cRot_038	2		Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	
PV_TRO_cNeg_002	2	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_TRO_cNeg_012	3	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X

	Quantity	Type	Date	Complete
PV_TRO_cNeg_023	3	I	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_TRO_cNeg_024	5	I & II	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_TRO_cNeg_042	3	II	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_TRO_cNeg_044	4	II	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	X
PV_TRO_cStr_003	3	II	Augustan-Tiberian (AD)*	

	Mortuary contexts with funerary beds - 30 comprising ceramics, glass and bronze vessels	Mortuary contexts without funerary beds - 51 comprising ceramics, glass and bronze vessels
Liquid containers (i.e. olpai, small amphorae etc.)	57% (17) average 1.75 per context max. 3 items	51% (26) average 1.46 per context max. 5 items
Small bowls/cups and/or beakers	67% (20)	69% (35)
→ drinking sets	43% (13)	37% (19)
Plates	63% (19) average 1.55 per context max. 8 items	69% (35) average 1.57 per context max. 4 items
→ table sets	37 % (11)	27% (149)
BGW	40% (12)	63% (32)
TS	20% (6)	12% (6)
Var. fine wares	33% (10)	41% (21)
Glass	23% (7)	10% (5)
Bronze	1 (ladle)	1 (ladle)

Tab. XX Quantitative-qualitative comparison of complete and fairly complete contexts dated to the Augustan-Tiberian period.

	Date	Motif
PV_DOR_cGra_037 ●	Augustan-Tiberian	
PV_DOR_cGra_048 ●	Augustan-Tiberian	Cockerel
PV_DOR_cGra_069 ●	Augustan-Tiberian	
PV_GAM_fGar_019 ●	Augustan-Tiberian	Cockerel
PV_GAR_cBar_307 ●	Augustan-Tiberian	
PV_GAR_cBar_310 ●	Augustan	
*PV_GAR_cSol_009 ●	First half 1st century AD	Embracing couple
*PV_GAR_cSol_017	Second half 1st century AD	
PV_GAR_lCaz_003	1st century AD	Europa
*? PV_GAR_MdB_039	1st century AD	Embracing couple
PV_GAR_MdB_072	Second half 1st century AD	Woman with fruit basket
*PV_GRC_lCas_001	First half 1st century AD	Embracing couple
PV_GRC_lCas_002 ●	Beginning 1st century AD	Dove
PV_GRC_lMar_024a	First half 1st century AD	Dove and cockerel
*PV_GRC_lMar_026	Augustan-Tiberian	Hooded male figure – cucullatus – with grapes in his hand
*PV_GRC_lMar_028	First half 1st century AD	Embracing couple
PV_GRC_lMar_067	Beginning 1st century AD	
PV_GRC_lMar_069	First decades 1st century AD	
*PV_GRC_lMar_072	Second half 1st century AD	Embracing couple (see Fig. LXXI)
*PV_GRC_lMen_019	Second half 1st century AD	Embracing couple
*PV_GRC_lMen_041 ●	Second quarter 1st century AD	Woman with veiled head
PV_GRC_lMen_064	First decades 1st century AD	Dove
*PV_GRC_lMen_065	Augustan-Tiberian	Embracing couple
PV_GRC_lMen_073	Tiberian-Claudian	
PV_GRC_lMen_074	Mid-1st century AD	
PV_GRC_lMen_077	Second half 1st century AD	
*PV_GRC_lMen_110 ●	Beginning 1st century AD	Woman in niche and cockerel
PV_MOR_cMed_022 ●	Augustan-Tiberian	
PV_MOR_cMed_042	Mid-1st century AD	Minerva
PV_MOR_cMed_066	Mid-1st century AD	Minerva
PV_OTT_cRot_002	First half 1st century AD	Woman
PV_TRO_cStr_003 ●	Augustan-Tiberian	
PV_VAL_cTes_075	Second half 1st century AD	Embracing couple
PV_ZIN_tLMa_001	Augustan-Tiberian	Embracing couple

Tab. XXI Chronology of terracotta figurines and association with funerary beds indicated by ●.
One figurine has also been found at Valeggio, *località* Cascina Tessera, a site that has not brought any evidence for funerary beds.

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