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ORIGINI

PREHISTORY AND PROTOHISTORY
OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS

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DELLE CIVILTÀ ANTICHE

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ROME: OLD AND NEW DATA ON THE BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROTOURBAN CENTRE

Flavia Benedetti*, Rachele Bussaglia*, Francesca Fulminante**,
Alessandro Guidi*, Laura Stammera*

FINDS

Middle Bronze Age (fig. 1; tab. 1)
1700-1325/1300' B.C.

Bronze Age materials, especially from the Grotta Nuova facies, have been found in secondary depositions at the excavation of the Giardino Romano, on the south-western summit of the Capitoline hill, the *Capitolium*. Two sherds from the *Tabularium* provide further evidence of this phase. Although located in a 6th century BC backfill—a time when a huge amount of sediment was moved for the foundation trenches of the Temple of Jupiter—their location near one of the two access points to the hill could be meaningful.

Scholars generally agree on the interpretation of these remains as indicators of a settlement on the summit of the Capitoline Hill. However, the extent of this settlement is more difficult to define. Cazzella and his team prefer to consider it a settle-

ment of low demographic density, limited to the areas with attested material (Cazzella *et alii* 2007). Guidi, however, taking into account the secular damages and interventions to the original stratigraphy of the site, suggested that the whole Capitoline summit should be included, which would make it the largest settlement in *Latium Vetus* (Guidi 1985)².

From the proximity of the hill, specifically from the *Comitium*, comes a small sherd (fig. 8, 8) whose decorative motif is used in other Latial MBA contexts³. Abundant materials, mainly of Apennine facies, have been found in the fills of the foundation trenches for the construction of the Republican podium of the Sant'Omobono twin temples. Looking for the provenance of those fills, scholars suggested the nearby lower slopes of the Capitoline Hill, where it was assumed there would have been a greater availability of material/soil. (Gjerstad 1962: 103; Colini 1962, 1977: 9-10;

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¹ Dates from MBA to Latial Period IIA have been taken from Alessandri 2013 and from Fulminante 2014 for later periods.

² This settlement, considered large at about 10 ha, would be similar to southern Etrurian settlements dated to the same period (Guidi, Nomi 2013). See also Fulminante 2014: 68-69.

³ The decoration is not typical of the Latial culture and has good comparisons with MBA3 contexts like Colle dell'Asino (Angle, Guidi 1977, fig. 3.2, 3; Alessandri 2013, fig. 62.1.11), Pratica di Mare (Jaja 2007, fig. 159.3, fig. 160.1,2) and Colle Mattia (Angle 2007, fig. 81.5, 6, 8). For the provenance of the sherd, it is not possible to exclude its pertinence to the *Comitium* area, but the nearness to the Capitol and the absence of other MBA3 fragments from the Forum allow us to imagine a provenance from the hill.

Ioppolo 1972; Virgili 1977: 26, 7). However, an ongoing debate remains about the provenance of these sherds.

A close examination of their morphological features shows fully preserved well-polished and burnished surfaces with the presence of sharp fractures. This excludes the possibility that they had been washed down the valley from the summit of the hill and instead suggests a limited displacement (Damiani 2010: 108)⁴. This would indicate a direct presence in the area (Brocato, Terrenato 2019: 42), or even the existence of a distinct nucleus of the Capitoline settlement⁵. The nucleus could have been located in the floodplain exactly where the Sant'Omobono site stands (Peroni 1959-60; Angle, Guidi 2007), or on the lower slopes of the Capitoline Hill, potentially on the alluvial terrace protected from the action of the Tiber River immediately to the north of the Sant'Omobono sacred area⁶. In any case, the relation to the ford

and the river was the main reason for its existence⁷.

The evidence from the Giardino Romano excavation has recently led some scholars to advance a different hypothesis regarding the Sant'Omobono materials. This new interpretation takes into consideration the great soil movements for the construction of the Archaic Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Cazzella *et alii* 2007; Diffendale *et alii* 2016: 24-25). Both the chronology of the Sant'Omobono fragments—dated from the Bronze age to the 6th century BC—and the type of soil (Brock 2016: 4-6), are comparable with the disposed sediment removed from the Temple of Jupiter's foundation trenches on the *Capitolium*⁸. In this light, the material from Sant'Omobono would be residues transported with carts to the valley from the summit of the Capitoline Hill, which would remain the only settlement of this period.

⁴ In relation to this material, it has been suggested that the presence of the earthen substruction/fortification works discovered in the Giardino Romano area would not have favoured the washing away of the fragments (Carandini 2003: 113, n. 2). However, this construction is limited to the opposite side of the Capitoline Hill and is dated to the Final Bronze Age, therefore, it is later than the considered material (Alessandri 2013: 383).

⁵ Recent research on the *Velabrum* and *Forum Boarium* confirm that these two areas were not constantly damp in proto-historic times; therefore, a more or less stable occupation of the valley is plausible (Brock 2017).

⁶ At this time, the naturally occurring Pleistocene alluvial terrace was about 3 m above sea level (MASL) and about 1.5 m higher than the floodplain area of the Tiber. Therefore, it was only subjected to flooding when the Tiber reached the maximal height of 3-4 MASL; the presence of undisturbed anthropic layers also shows that this area was not exposed to regular erosion (Brock 2017).

⁷ The choice of a lowland position, close to humid environments, would fit well with southern Latium settlement history if we were to pre-date the beginning of this settlement to the Early Bronze Age (Angle, Guidi 2007). The specific climatic oscillation identified for the period between EBA2 and MBA1 would have also reduced the periodic flooding of the valley, making the area more suitable for occupation. A chronology between Early Bronze Age and Middle Bronze Age 1 was proposed for an elbow handle from the Giardino Romano excavation (Cazzella *et alii* 2007: 805) and for a fragment of a large container with a so-called elbow handle ("ansa a gomito") and a fragment of vase wall with an incised band in the Luni/Tre Erci style from Sant'Omobono (Angle, Guidi 2001: 151). In addition, the EBA phase is represented by three bronze axes (Angle, Guidi 2007) and a little troncoconical beaker with an elbow handle and a pointed decoration in the shape of an axe (Peroni 1971: 224-225, fig. 51/9) from the Esquiline.

⁸ According to Cazzella, if the Sant'Omobono material is assigned to the same settlement as the material from Giardino Romano, this would help identify a more continuous occupation and would help integrate the evidence of the Apennine facies, which remains scant and scarce on the summit (Cazzella *et alii* 2007: 807).



Fig. 1 - Middle Bronze Age findspots distribution map; cartographic base for figs. 1-7 provided by P. Carafa (Rome, Sapienza University).

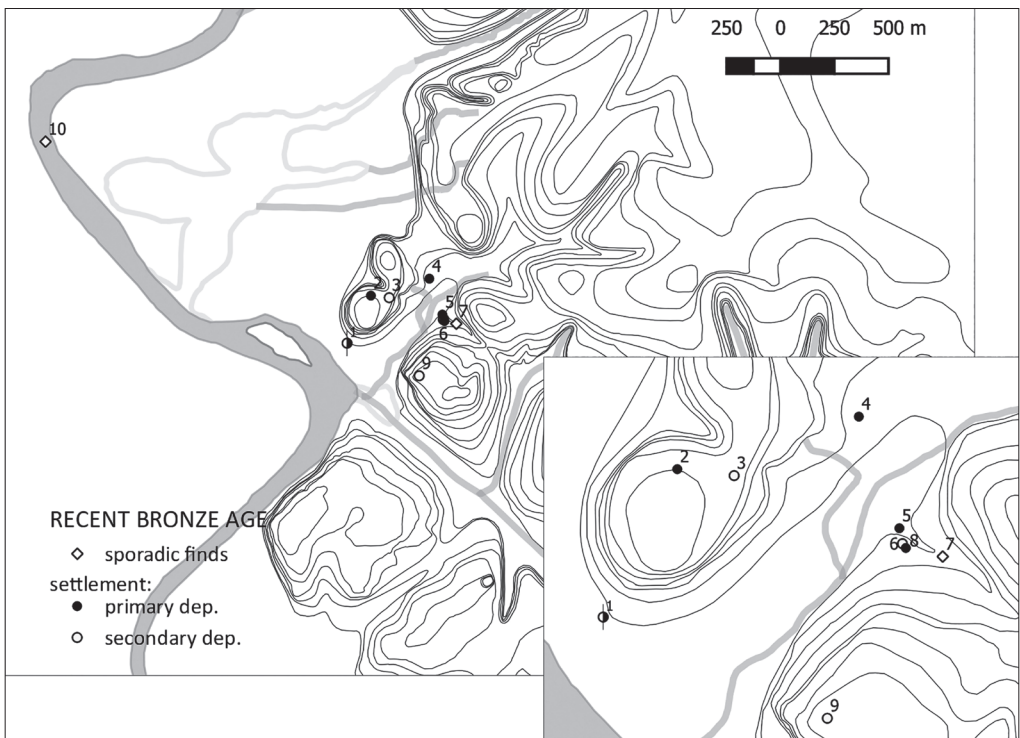


Fig. 2 - Recent Bronze Age findspots distribution map.

n.	Site	Deposition	Type of Evidence	Bibliography
	<i>FORUM BOARIUM</i>			
1	Sant'Omobono	Secondary: filling of the Republican podium	Settlement: mostly Apennine pottery	Peroni 1959-60; Ioppolo 1972; Fugazzola Delpino 1976: Tab. IIB, a-d; Daminato 1977: Tab. 6; Virgili 1977; 2016; Brock 2016; Diffendale <i>et alii</i> 2016; Persiani 2016; Regoli 2016
	CAPITOLINE HILL			
2	Giardino Romano	Secondary	Settlement: mostly Grotta Nuova facies BM1/2 pottery; presence of some Apennine pottery BM3	Cazzella <i>et alii</i> 2007; Albertoni, Damiani eds. 2008
3	<i>Tabularium</i> (Via del Campidoglio)	Secondary: backfill dated to the 6th century BC	Settlement: trapezoidal shaped handle and carinated bowl fragment	Guidi 1978; Mura Sommella 1978; Albertoni 1988
	ROMAN FORUM			
4	<i>Comitium</i>	Secondary	Settlement: fragment of Apennine pottery BM3	Fig. 8, n.8 Romanelli 1984: fig. 5, 4

Tab 1 - Middle Bronze Age findspots.

Recent Bronze Age (fig.2; tab. 2)
1325/1300 – 1175/1150 B.C.

Recent core samplings from within the cella of the Sant'Omobono west temple have revealed three undisturbed anthropogenic deposits⁹. These layers are the result of a fast accreting event, and domestic material has been identified within them that includes four carbonised seeds dated to between the 13th and the 9th century BC. While this material could be seen as a colluvial event washed down from the Capitoline Hill, Brock also suggests that this evidence could be interpreted as “direct human intervention in the valley”, such as fillings and/or dumps (Brock 2017: 102). However, given the absence of a clear correlation between the C14 dates and the stratigraphy, it seems prudent to wait for further studies for a final interpretation.

For the Capitoline Hill settlement—to which a handle fragment found in Via del Campidoglio has also been assigned—terraces dated to the beginning of the period have been found in the Giardino Romano excavation. These earthworks are sometimes interpreted as a way of enlarging the area available for settlement or as defensive structures. Similar earthworks have been identified in a lower area, in the region that became the Forum of Caesar; with particular reference to this evidence, the location along one of the access ways to the hill, in particular the one in the direction of the *Arx*, seems to reinforce the idea of an occupation of this summit as well.

Returning to the *Capitolium*, a series of working areas linked to everyday life are dated slightly later, but do testify to a prolonged, specific designation of the area. Toward the end of the Recent Bronze Age,

⁹ The layers, located between 3.03 and 6.1 MASL, are characterised by the presence of domestic activity remains, among them seeds that were found in SO22 (#1 from 5.79 to 5.62 MASL, dated 1225-1045 cal BCE; #2 from 5.20 to 4.98 MASL, dated 1205-1005 cal BCE) and SO24 (#3 from 3.28 to 3.19 MASL, dated 1115-930 cal BCE; #4 from 3.14 to 3.03 MASL, dated 1220-1020 cal BCE) core-samplings. (Brock 2016; Brock, Terrenato 2016; Brock 2017).



Fig. 3 - Final Bronze Age 1-2 findspots distribution map.

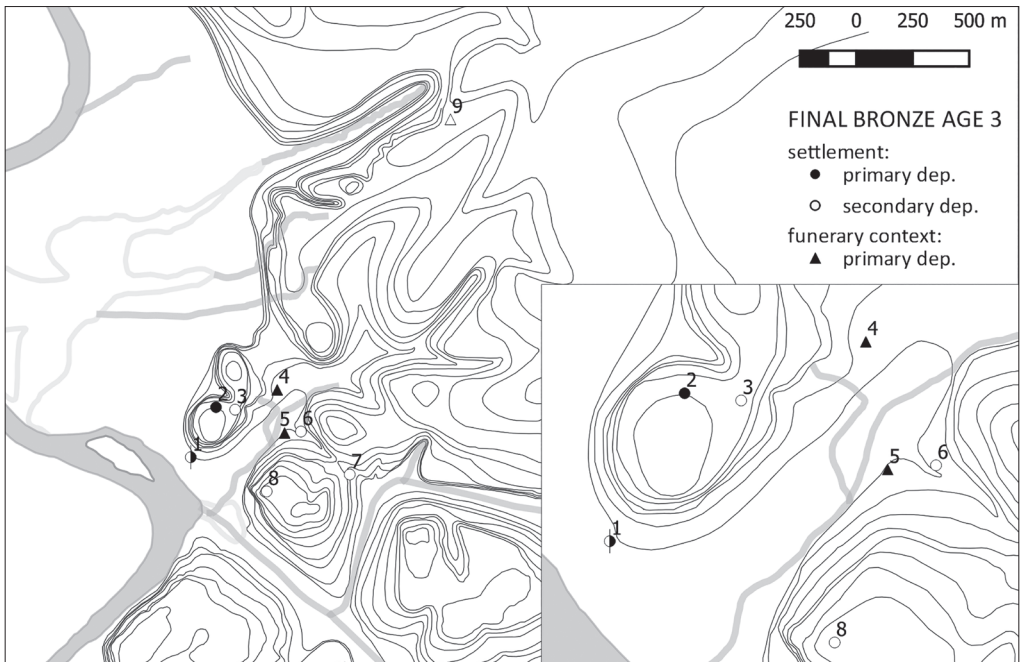


Fig. 4 - Final Bronze Age 3/Latial Phase I findspots distribution map and zoom level image of the Capitoline-Palatine area.

the settlement must have been subject to partial abandonment and/or relocation, as indicated by the less frequent presence of material in the higher layers. Another settlement area could be indicated by two handle fragments (fig. 8: 1-2) found on the southwestern summit of the Palatine Hill, the *Cermalus* (Carandini 1997: 238 ss.; Grandazzi 1997: 143-146; Alessandri 2013: 385; Fulminante 2014: 70; *contra* Cazzella 2001: 268)¹⁰.

In addition to the hilltop sites, which are perfectly consistent with settlement patterns of the time in the region, material

found at the Arch of Augustus and in the nearby area of Brown's Regia and of the *Vicus Vestae* testify a parallel occupation of the Forum valley¹¹. A peculiar finding is the fibula found in a sewer along the *Via Sacra* that could be interpreted as further evidence of a settlement area (Bartoloni 1986), or a remnant of a burial context (Carandini 1997: 126 nota 2; more recently Alessandri 2013: 373; Fulminante 2014: 69). To conclude this review of RBA data, we must mention a short sword of the "Arco" type found near the Fiorentini bridge and recently displayed at the Capitoline Museum's exhibition¹².

n.	Site	Deposition	Type of Evidence	Bibliography
	<i>FORUM BOARIUM</i>			
1	Sant'Omobono	Secondary: filling of the Republican podium	Settlement: sub-Apennine ceramic from the Republican podium	Damiani 2010: 24-25, fig. 56; Persiani 2016; Regoli 2016
		Percussion cores taken within the western temple's cella	Settlement: anthropic layers primarily composed of domestic waste dated between the 13 th and 9 th century BC with C14.	Brock 2016; Brock, Terrenato 2016
	<i>CAPITOLINE HILL</i>			
2	Giardino Romano	Primary	Settlement: earthen-work terraces in which were found two LH IIIC Italo-Mycenaean sherds; subsequent use of the area for domestic productive activities. Presence of an elliptic structure with a high concentration of ceramic fragments and osteological remains, and two cooking slabs with related pottery. In subsequent periods, lack of evidence likely indicates less activity at the site.	Baroni 2001; Cazzella 2001; Damiani 2010; Lugli, Rosa 2001; Albertoni, Damiani eds. 2008; Bettelli 2019; Damiani, Parisi Presicce eds. 2019: 268, fig. 1a, 1b, 3

¹⁰ On the basis of historic literary evidence, Carandini includes not only the Palatine but also the Aventine in the RBA settlement areas (Carandini 1997: 126-28).

¹¹ Given the presence of multiple types of objects, Damiani suggests it is plausible to consider this evidence as an indication of a settlement near the Regia or the Velia (Damiani 2010:110). Based on the low height, Brocato suggested a special function for this specific settlement area, such as water procurement and/or herding or agricultural activities (Brocato 2000).

¹² The sword was shown at the Capitoline Museum for the exhibition organised by I. Damiani, "The Rome of the Kings. The Archaeological Tale" (*La Roma dei Re. Il racconto dell'archeologia*) (26.7.2018/27.1.2019), whose catalogue has been recently published (Damiani, Parisi Presicce 2019).

3	<i>Tabularium</i> (Via del Campidoglio)	Secondary: backfill dated to the 6th century B.C.	Settlement: handle fragment with surmounting decoration in the shape of a bird	Damiani 2010: 106-7, fig. 55: 14
4	FORUM OF CAESAR	Primary	Settlement: earthen-work terraces and pottery fragments <i>in situ</i>	De Santis, Celant <i>et alii</i> 2010
	ROMAN FORUM			
5	Arch of Augustus	Primary: layer 12 or the excavation trench Gamberini-Mongenot; other fragments in secondary deposition in layer 11	Settlement: a few sub-Apenine fragments, among which is a handle with plastic decoration	Gjerstad 1954-55; Peroni 1959-60; 1979; Damiani 2010: 105-113, fig. 57
6	Brown's Regia	Secondary	Settlement: two handles, one with surmounting decoration shaped in the form of a bird	Peroni 1979: fig.1: 1-2; Damiani 2010: 112, fig. 57
7	<i>Via Sacra</i> , near the Divus Romulus temple	Sporadic: filling of a drainage channel of the 6th century BC	N.D.: fragment of a fibula bow decorated with nodules	Bartoloni 1986; Damiani 2010: 112, fig. 57
	PALATINE HILL			
8	Northern Slopes: <i>Vicus Vestae</i>	Primary ¹³ : filling of a pit	Settlement: carinated bowl fragment with surmounting decoration in the shape of a straight cylinder	Arvanitis 2004; Arvanitis ed. 2010: fig. 30; Filippi 2017
9	Summit: <i>Augurarium</i> / <i>Magna Mater</i>	Secondary: excavation area GJ	Settlement: two fragments, probably part of handles surmounting decoration in the form of a cylinder with side knobs	Fig. 8, nn. 1-2 Borrello, Colazingari 1998; Pensabene 1998: 148; Brocato 2000: n. 136; Carandini 2003: 126, n.2; Damiani 2010.
10	FIORENTINI BRIDGE	Sporadic	N.D.: Short bronze sword of "Arco" type	Damiani, Barbaro 2019: 425, fig. PVI

Tab 2 - Recent Bronze Age findspots.

Final Bronze Age 1-2¹⁴ (fig. 3; tab. 3) 1175/1150 – 1050 B.C.

The evidence from the *Forum Boarium* consists of proto-Villanovan fragments from the Republican podium of Sant'Omobono and the results of the aforementioned core

samplings¹⁵. Another element confirming the importance of this area for occupation could be the fibula from *Ponte Rotto* (the ancient *Pons Aemilius*, near the Tiberine Island), whose original form, however, is uncertain¹⁶ as well as the context of recovery¹⁷. After the partial abandonment of the *Capi-*

¹³ For the chronology of this feature, we agree with the first hypothesis by D. Filippi (Filippi 2017: 89-90), which is based on the presence of the RBA fragment in the filling.

¹⁴ For this phase we must also mention a sword of the Castellace type with a generic provenance "from Rome" (Bianco Peroni 1970: Tab. 24, n. 166).

¹⁵ Six ceramic fragments generically dated to a transition phase between Bronze and Iron Age were also found in the anthropic strata (Brock 2017: 74).

¹⁶ Montelius already doubted the original form of the final parts (Montelius 1895: 647).

¹⁷ Information about the context of recovery for the fibula are extremely vague. Due to the topographical information given by Montelius and the historical period, it is possible to hypothesise that the fibula was found during the excavations to build the Tiber River containment walls.

tolium, new earthworks to correct the slope of the hill found at the Giardino Romano excavation imply a continued settlement occupation. The same pattern is visible at the Forum of Caesar, where the presence of postholes can be linked to hut remains (De Santis, Celant *et alii* 2010: 262) or represent evidence of precincts and/or wooden fences (Alessandri 2013: 385). Whichever is the final interpretation of this evidence, the presence of a road between the *Capitolium* and the Quirinal, attested by later chariot marks, emphasises the importance of this area as connection route.

There is no evidence from the summit of the Palatine Hill in this period¹⁸. However, new material appears near the Elagabalus baths, located on the north-eastern slopes on a portion of the hill apparently inhabited in the earlier phases. A frequentation of the Forum valley is suggested by the materials from the *Equus Domitiani*, the *Comitium*,

the Arch of Augustus, and the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina; notwithstanding their secondary deposition, they indicate a continuation of the settlement in this area¹⁹. With reference to the lowland of the Forum, the hypothesis of a funerary destination has been advanced based on the C14 dating of two of the four skeletons found at the *Equus Domitiani*, dated respectively to 1250-990 and 1180-930. A re-examination of the stratigraphy, however,²⁰ seems to exclude that the burials were ritually re-deposited ancient graves. They should therefore be considered contemporary with the filling layers used to raise the floor area of the future Forum, which are dated on the basis of ceramic examination to late in Latial Phase IIIB or the beginning of IV²¹. Moreover, considering that scientific dating has been performed on burials excavated over a century ago, there is the possibility that contamination caused less reliable results²².

n.	Site	Deposition	Type of Evidence	Bibliography
<i>FORUM BOARIUM</i>				
1	Sant'Omobono	Secondary: filling of the Republican podium	Settlement: various proto-Villanovan fragments, both generically dated to the FBA and/or dated to specific sub-phases	Peroni 1959-1960; Persiani 2016; Regoli 2016
		Percussion cores taken within the western temple cella	Settlement: anthropic layers primarily composed of domestic waste dated to between the 13 th and 9 th century BC with C14.	Brock 2016; Brock, Terrenato 2016

¹⁸ Even so, some scholars proposed a hilltop occupation in this period (Fulminante 2014: 71); we must also stress the presence of heavy works on the Palatine from the Roman period that deeply modified the original morphology and, at the same time, erased the preceding stratigraphies.

¹⁹ Alessandri (2013: 385) considers this area as an extension of the Palatine settlement.

²⁰ For a new examination of the evidence and the dating to the Latial Phase III, see Filippi 2005a.

²¹ The contemporaneity with the filling layers, based on stratigraphic data, was explicitly proposed for graves of the woman and her child; this hypothesis was extended to the other two graves due to the similarities and the proximity of the bodies. Moreover, the second infant grave, notwithstanding the incomplete records, seems to have been deposited on a wooden table with a wheel-made piece of pottery, all data that fits well with the funerary customs of the 8th century BC.

²² Incongruencies between scientific absolute dating and pottery dating have also been identified for tomb I at the Arch of Augustus and tomb G from the Archaic funerary area (Filippi 2005a: 110 n.2).

CAPITOLINE HILL				
2	Giardino Romano	Primary	Settlement: earthen terraces made to correct the slope of the hill; a LHIIIC Italo-Mycenaean sherd could be considered as a residue from the Recent Bronze Age layers (Bettelli, oral communication)	Boccuccia 2001
3	FORUM OF CAESAR	Primary	Settlement: postholes probably related to a domestic structure; wheeled-cart impressions in the virgin soil, dated from a fragment with a larger boss (<i>bugna</i>) and decorated with parallel grooves and a row of small bosses (<i>cuppelle</i>), found in one of the impressions	De Santis, Celant <i>et alii</i> 2010; Alessandri 2013
ROMAN FORUM				
4	<i>Comitium</i>	Secondary: filling of the basin underneath the so called "monumento con porte a gomito" (" <i>monumento ad ante sagomate</i> ")	Settlement: three fragments, among which one is of a carinated bowl and two are decorated with parallel grooves and bosses (<i>cuppelle</i>)	Bietti Sestieri 1980: 66; Romanelli 1984: fig. 5:13, 8:38, 8:41; Carafa 1998
5	<i>Equus Domitiani</i>	Secondary: layers 26-27 of the excavation trench Boni-Gjerstad (fillings realised for the first Forum pavement in IIIB phase)	Settlement: Two fragments of carinated bowls, one of which is plain without ornament, the other with a flat rim decorated with impressions from a small dented wheel; and vertical handle with circular section and a small ball on the summit.	Gjerstad 1953: fig.32, a; Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 38:13, 38:18; Filippi 2004; Gusberty 2005a, fig. 1.11
6	Temple of Antoninus and Faustina	Secondary: group 39, layer with carbonised material and pottery fragments dated up to the Latial Period IIIA, near the so-called southern tumulus of Boni	Settlement: fragment of carinated bowl decorated with parallel grooves dated between BF2 and BF3	Van Kampen <i>et alii</i> 2005: fig. 2, f. 883
PALATINE HILL				
7	Northeastern Slopes – Elagabalus Baths	Secondary: historical levels of room 10	Settlement: pottery fragment of a carinated bowl, (diagonal fluting on the carination)	Quondam 2019: fig. 4A,1
8	PONTE ROTTO (Tiberine Island)	Sporadic	N.D: Swollen bow Fibula with " <i>cappi ad otto</i> ".	Montelius 1895: Tab. XVI.218

Tab. 3 - Final Bronze Age 1-2 findspots.

Final Bronze Age 3 (*Latial Phase I*) (fig. 4; tab. 4) 1050-950 B.C.

The occupation of the Sant'Omobono area is conceivably, on the ground of the same fragments mentioned above, generically dated to the Final Bronze Age. Within the Giardino Romano excavation area, the cooking slab and firing structure positioned on a base of fluvial stones tes-

tify a change in use of the area; from this point on, it is devoted to productive activities. However, the area was still within the settlement as implied by the persistence of material linked to domestic activity, similar to that found at the *Tabularium*. On the Palatine Hill, on the other hand, the settlement evidence becomes more abundant; in addition to a ceramic fragment found

in the Elagabalus baths, new material appears on the summit, at the *Magna Mater* area (fig. 8, 3).

Concerning the low areas, the less frequent evidence of settlement areas in the Roman Forum can be easily linked with the most salient feature of the period, which is the presence of a small burial ground at the Arch of Augustus. The four incineration burials—all dated within the Latial Phase I—can be considered the

beginning of the cemetery that would develop into the valley during Latial Phase IIA. Similarly, the few burials that appear towards the end of the period at the Forum of Caesar are the first in a funerary area that will also be used in the subsequent phase. An *askòs* from Santa Maria della Vittoria²³, probably residue from a funerary context²⁴, represents the first evidence of proto-historic occupation of the Quirinal Hill²⁵.

n.	Site	Deposition	Type of Evidence	Bibliography
FORUM BOARIUM				
1	Sant'Omobono	Secondary: filling of the Republican podium	Settlement: various proto-Villanovan fragments, generically dated to the FBA and/or dated to specific sub-phases	Peroni 1959-1960; Persiani 2016; Regoli 2016
		Primary: percussion cores taken within the western temple cella	Settlement: anthropic layers primarily composed of domestic waste dated to between the 13 th and 9 th century BC with C14.	Brock 2016; Brock, Terrenato 2016
CAPITOLINE HILL				
2	Giardino Romano	Primary	Settlement: Domestic pottery of Latial Period I; installation of productive structures: a cooking slab and a firing structure on a layer of fluvial stones	Boccuccia 2001; Albertoni, Damiani eds. 2008
3	<i>Tabularium</i> (Via del Campidoglio)	Secondary: backfill dated to the 6th century BC	Settlement: pottery fragments decorated with incised ridges and top fragments of cooking-stands	Guidi 1978
4	FORUM OF CAESAR	Primary	Funerary context: five incineration burials with miniature grave goods (tomb 1, 2, 3, 5, 8); three of which are also dated with C14	De Santis, Celant <i>et alii</i> 2010

²³ For the dating of the *askòs* to Latial Period I, see: Bietti Sestieri 1985: 146; Carandini 1997: 244, note 55; Magagnini, Micarelli 2019: 170; Alessandri 2013: 380. Magagnini 2005 suggests a date of Latial Phase IIA.

²⁴ This material, found in the nineteenth century under the monumental church steps, has been generally interpreted by scholars as a votive deposit in use since this early period (Carafa 1993: 136; Zeggio 2000: 332; Magagnini 2005: 20). However, the scarce proto-historic material resembles similar objects from funerary contexts. Therefore, given the proximity of the Quirinal cemetery, it seems plausible that the material, originally derived from funerary contexts, was probably disturbed during the 7th century BC creation of the Orientalising sanctuary (Guidi 1980: 151; Bartoloni 1989-1990; Arizza 2015: 68; De Cristofaro 2015: 150-151).

²⁵ A parallel early occupation of the Esquiline has been suggested by Damiani, who proposed a provenience from this hill for three sporadic finds from the Nardoni collection and the Capitoline *Antiquarium* (Damiani *et alii* 2019: 244; Damiani, Barbaro 2019: 423).

ROMAN FORUM				
5	Arch of Augustus	Primary: excavated in the layers 11-12 of the excavation trench Gamberini –Mongenot	Funerary context: four incineration tombs	Müller Karpe 1959: Tab. 4:6; Peroni 1979
		Primary: layer 11a of the excavation trench Gamberini –Mongenot	Funerary context: four pottery fragments, of which one of a small olla with a tall neck and everted rim, with comb incised decoration	Gjerstad 1954-55: 291, fig.11: 32; Peroni 1959-60: fig. 6: 10-12; Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 37: 26; Peroni 1979: 173-175
6	Temple of Antoninus and Faustina	Secondary: group 39, layer with carbonised material and pottery fragments dated to the Latial Period IIIA, near the so-called southern tumulus of Boni	Settlement: fragment of a carinated bowl decorated with parallel grooves dated between FBA2 and FBA3	Van Kampen <i>et alii</i> 2005: fig. 2f: 883
PALATINE HILL				
7	Northeastern Slopes – Elagabalus Baths	Secondary: historical levels of room 10	Settlement: pottery fragment of a closed articulated shape, decorated with parallel grooves and small bosses (<i>cuppelle</i>).	Quondam 2011: fig.6:5; Sagui <i>et alii</i> 2014
8	Summit <i>Auguratorium / Magna Mater</i>	Secondary: excavation trench “γ”	Settlement: pottery fragment decorated with grooves and small bosses (<i>cuppelle</i>)	Fig.8, n.3 Pensabene 1998: 148; Pensabene, Falzone 2001: 165, n.21
9	S. Maria della Vittoria	Secondary	Funerary context: <i>askòs</i> ; presence of osteological fragments, traces of carbons and ashes	De Rossi 1878; Guidi 1989/90; Magagnini 2005: fig. 9,d; Magagnini, Micarelli 2019

Tab 4 - Final Bronze Age 3 (Latial phase I) findspots.

Latial Phase IIA (fig. 5; tab. 5) 950-880 B.C.

With the beginning of the Early Iron Age, there is clearer evidence of changes in the organisation of the settlement areas. The most noteworthy change is in the use of the alluvial valleys below the hills; they are primarily used as funerary areas. In the Roman Forum, the cemetery of Antoninus

and Faustina, the grave goods' assemblage of Brown's Regia²⁶, and the material from the Arch of Augustus²⁷ indicate a model of gradual expansion of the cemetery, which expands east from the original core²⁸. At the same time, new burials appear at the Forum of Caesar (De Santis, Celant *et alii* 2010)²⁹ and at the Forum of Augustus (Colini 1940; Colini, Paroli 1978; Tortorici 1991; Tabò 1995, 1997; Magagnini 2005; Me-

²⁶ The Brown's Regia assemblage is probably a case of re-deposition that occurred during Republican-era construction works (Brocato, Terrenato eds. 2016: 153-154).

²⁷ As well as the already known fragments, material erroneously attributed by Gjerstad to *suggrundaria* has been recently interpreted by Anna de Santis as residue from Latial Phase IIA funerary contexts (De Santis *et alii* 2018).

²⁸ A cooking platform found near the *Vicus Vestae* might also be related to this cemetery. Due to its close spatial relationship to the burial areas and for the association with osteological remains, it has been interpreted as a cultic hearth functioning for funerary rituals.

²⁹ The evidence consists of five burials, one of which is an infant incineration and four are inhumations.

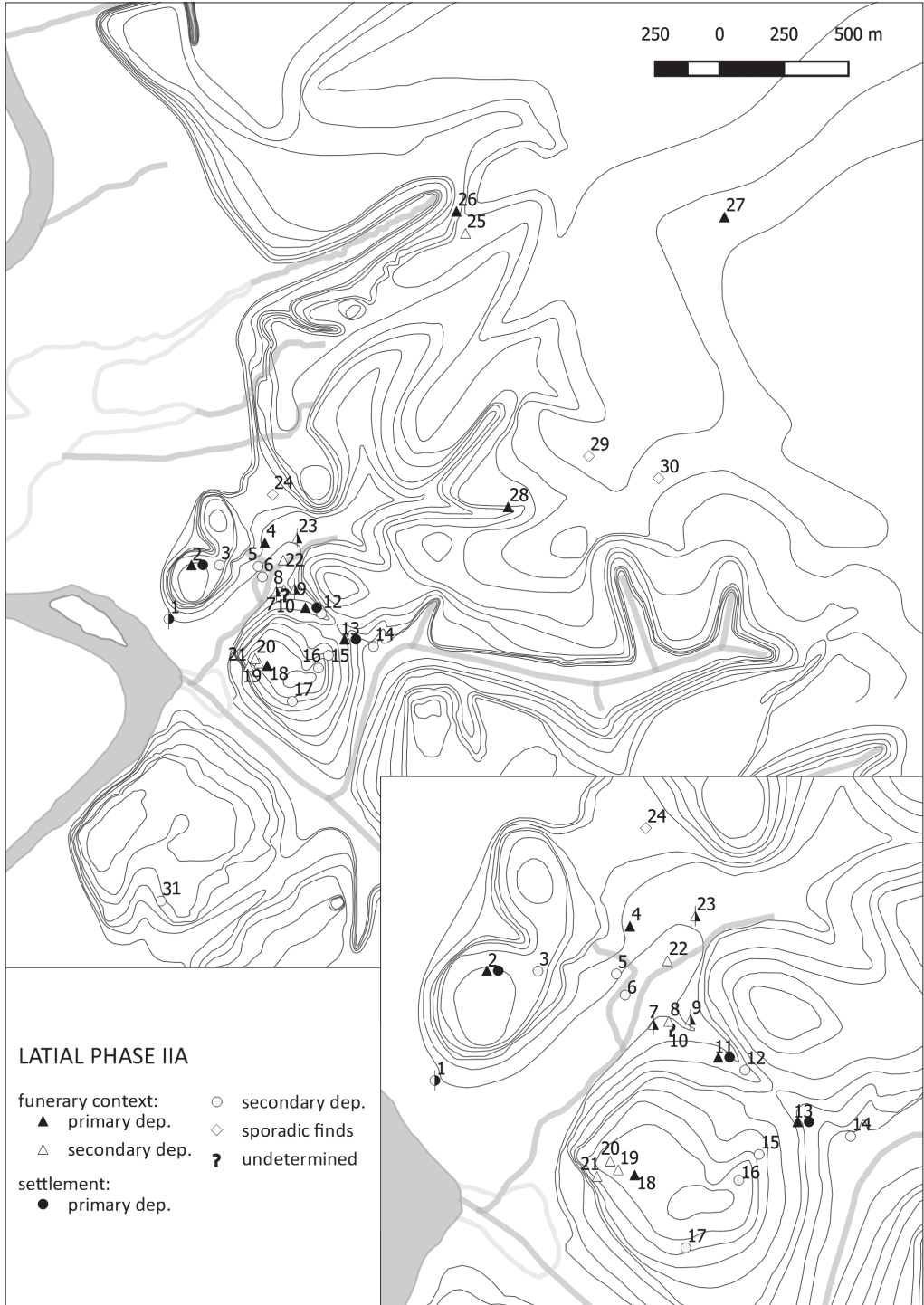


Fig. 5 - Latial Phase IIA findsspots distribution map and zoom level image of the Capitoline-Palatine area.

neghini, Santangeli Valenzani 2007)³⁰. It is uncertain if the ceramic fragment found in the Forum of Nerva, should be referred to these graveyards; or, on the contrary, should be interpreted as settlement evidence, similarly to the nearby sherds from the *Comitium* and from the *Equus Domitiani*.

The situation is complicated by the presence of burials on the summits of the two hills. Starting with the Palatine Hill, an incineration burial of a 20–22-year-old man with rich grave goods was found under the House of Livia. This evidence, combined with the few funerary-type fragments from the Victoria Temple and with the cavities at the *Scalae Caci*—interpreted as the remains of pit-graves—suggests the presence of a cemetery at the *Cermalus*. The other fragments from the *Magna Mater* and the Romulean huts are related to this³¹.

In contrast, De Santis argues that the cavities at the *Scalae Caci* are too undersized to be interpreted as burial contexts (De Santis 2001: 277, n. 25)³². From this perspective, the fragments from the *Cermalus* could be related to a settlement area and the burial under the House of Livia—located within the inhabited area—would be assumed to be an exceptional character (Bettelli 1997: 216–17; Fulminante 2003)³³. On the other hand, it is possible that almost the entire north-eastern portion of

the hill was occupied. In addition to the evidence on the summit, terrace earthworks have been excavated on the north-eastern slope on which new huts were later built. Other hut remains were recently found near the *Clivus Palatinus*, which may be associated with the fragments from the northern Palatine slopes. It is then possible to postulate the existence of various settlement foci, each with related burial areas, with minor differences in the composition of grave goods and the presence of various communities located near one another that, although different from each other, were connected by close reciprocal relationships (De Santis, Celant *et alii* 2010: 272)³⁴.

A peculiar combination of funerary and settlement evidence can be found on the Capitoline Hill, where five burials have been found among the scarce evidence of metallurgical and domestic activity (Lugli 2001)³⁵. According to the excavators, the special position of these burials within the settlement area might be justified by the exceptional status of the deceased and/or their young age. The new funerary use of the area could then be related to a relocation of the Capitoline settlement as suggested by the absence of the hill from the literary lists of the historical *Septimontium*. However, the clear evidence of domestic activity from the Giardino Romano excavation, and from the area of the *Comitium*,

³⁰ Two pit incinerations and fragments in a secondary deposition are also related to burial evidence. Alessandri (2013) and Fulminante (2014) propose to link the graves in the Forum of Caesar and in the Forum of Augustus with the Capitoline Hill settlement, while the cemetery of the Roman Forum would be related to the Palatine Hill.

³¹ This opinion is shared by: Guidi 1998; Carandini 2003: 304, n.92; Guidi, Salvatori 2014.

³² A similar opinion is found in Bartoloni 2009: 102, who suggests interpreting the cavities as the postholes of a wooden palisade.

³³ It is important to note that this burial contradicts burial customs affirmed in the Twelve Tables Law and possibly already in use at this time because it is not an infant burial and/or a special burial from a ritual point of view.

³⁴ Guidi suggests these are the *curiae* attested in literary sources (Guidi 2003: 46).

³⁵ Domestic material has been found in layers at Via del Campidoglio and at Giardino Romano, both in primary context and secondary deposition.

probably washed down from the *Arx*, suggests that the Capitolium was still inhabited.

Even if we suspend the interpretation of the burial evidence, the presence of craft activity within a settlement area suggests a patchwork occupation of the plateaux, a settlement pattern that recalls the traditional memory of land parcels (*bina iugera*) allocated to each *paterfamilias* (Guidi 1992: 455).

In addition to cemeteries and uncertain burials, it is important to note that from this period the first certain infant burials already occur within the settlement area (*suggrundaria*) at the *Clivus Capitolinus* and probably also at the Baths of Elagabalus. These are located near the huts or even below the hut floors.

It has been suggested that also the Quirinal hill might be occupied by a settlement area, connected to the graves found in the Forum of Augustus (Magagnoli 2005: 15-16; Tabò 1995; Colini 1940: 206; Carandini 1997: 238)³⁶. While there is no

certain evidence for an occupation of the Quirinal summit³⁷, a double-loop handle preserved in the storehouse of the Trajan Forum might hint in this direction. In any case, the occupation of the hill is supported by the emergence of burial evidence at the Ministero dell'Agricoltura and at Castro Pretorio, in addition to the evidence already mentioned found at Santa Maria della Vittoria. This evidence, together with the parallel finds from the Esquiline Hill³⁸, seems to confirm an early start to the centripetal movement of the funerary areas that would soon change dramatically with the re-organisation of the settlement areas in Rome. Finally, it ought to be mentioned the new material from the "Via Sant'Anselmo" excavation on the Aventine Hill, dated to the beginning of the Early Iron Age. In fact, while this material has been found in secondary depositions, it might indicate an occupation of this Hill already from such an early date (fig. 8, 4-7)³⁹.

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n.	Site	Deposition	Type of Evidence	Bibliography
	<i>FORUM BOARIUM</i>			
1	Sant'Omobono	Secondary: filling of the Republican podium	Settlement: pottery fragments from the Republican Podium	Brocato <i>et alii</i> 2012; Persiani 2016: Tab.II: 3; 6; 10; Regoli 2016
		Primary: percussion cores taken within the western temple cella	Settlement: anthropic layers primarily composed of domestic waste dated to between the 13 th and 9 th century BC with C14.	Brock 2016; Brock, Terrenato 2016

³⁶ *Contra* Cazzella 2001.

³⁷ Fragments generically dated to the Early Iron Age have been found in two trench pits excavated near "Torre delle Milizie", more precisely in "Via IV Novembre" and under the so-called "*Silicata degli Arcioni*" (Meneghini *et alii* 1995: 171-172).

³⁸ New material has been presented for the exhibition "*La Roma dei Re. Il racconto dell'archeologia*".

³⁹ The new examination of protohistoric materials, deposited in a storage room of the superintendency at Palazzo Altemps, has allowed the identification of a fragment of a bowl similar in shape to Early Iron Age material from the Fucino area, in particular Ialongo 2007, type 59 and Ialongo 2007, type 21b. Thanks are due to Dr Letizia Rustico for allowing the examination and drawing of the material.

CAPITOLINE HILL				
3	Giardino Romano	Primary	Funerary Context: five burials of Latial Phase IIA (four infants and one young male of approximately 13-17 years old)	Lugli 2001; Albertoni, Damiani eds. 2008
		Primary	Settlement: pottery fragments of Latial Phase IIA both in primary deposition and residual; presence of metallurgical slags in the layers related to the burials	
3	<i>Tabularium</i> (Via del Campidoglio)	Secondary: backfill dated to the 6th century BC.	Settlement: pottery fragments decorated with comb-incised ridges and top fragments of cooking stands	Guidi 1978
4	FORUM OF CAESAR	Primary	Funerary Context: five burials, of which one is an infant incineration and four are inhumations	De Santis, Celant <i>et alii</i> 2010
ROMAN FORUM				
5	<i>Comitium</i>	Secondary: filling of the Great Basin (floor 9) and exploration near the V ritual well to the N side, layer 6.	Settlement: various fragments decorated with comb-incised ridges or "a rotella"	Romanelli 1984: fig. 5:5; fig. 7:28; fig. 29:33; Carafa 1998: fig. 77: 1; 2
6	<i>Equus Domitiani</i>	Secondary: layers 26, 27 of the excavation trench Boni-Gjerstad	Settlement: two isolated ceramic fragments, one handle with trapezoidal profile and a double-loop handle with curved profile	Gjerstad 1953: fig. 31,b; fig. 33,b; Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 38: 12;16; Gusberti 2005a
7	Arch of Augustus	Secondary	Funerary context: a fragment with "metopa" decorations (trellis) on the body and incised band filled with oblique segments in the shape of a false cord (<i>falsa cordicella</i>) on the neck.	Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 36:20
		Primary	Funerary context: pottery material related to burials and grave goods	De Santis <i>et alii</i> 2018
8	Brown's Regia	Secondary: Layers related to the Republican organisation of the area	Funerary context: trench ditch with grave goods of Latial Period IIA re-deposited during a subsequent phase	Brocato, Terrenato eds. 2016, tav.1
9	Temple of Antoninus and Faustina	Primary	Funerary context: 28 incineration and inhumation burials	Boni 1903; 1905; 1906; 1911; Gjerstad 1953; Peroni 1960; Müller Karpe 1962; Bietti Sestieri 1980; De Santis 2001: 277
		Secondary: group 43, pertinent to the middle tumulus of Archaic Age; and group 23, from the area of the so-called courtyard, in layers connected with the Archaic Tumuli	Funerary Context: two fragments decorated with comb-incised ridges and one with grooves and incised points in secondary deposition, probably residues from the necropolis	Van Kampen <i>et alii</i> 2005: figs. 2a:903; 2b:928; 2h:728

PALATINE HILL Northern and Northeastern Slopes				
10	<i>Vicus Vestae</i>	Primary	N.D.: circular hearth in an open pit, composed of faunal remains, clay material and crushed pottery, 34 fragments of which pertinent to three dolia with plastic cord decoration, which might be the remains of domestic activity and/or a funerary ritual	Arvanitis ed. 2010; Filippi 2017
11	<i>Clivus Palatinus</i>	Primary	Settlement: series of huts, part of the Palatine/ <i>Velia</i> settlement	Arvanitis, Cupitò <i>et alii</i> , 2017
		Primary	Funerary context: presence of two burials associated with the domestic huts; a young individual and an infant deposited in two dolia.	
12	Area of the Republican domus/ <i>horrea Vespasiani</i>	Secondary	Settlement: domestic activity hinted only by two pieces of material dated to the end of the phase, one of which is probably part of a " <i>olletta a rete</i> "	Brocato <i>et alii</i> 2000: figs. 83; 89;5
13	Baths of Elagabalus	Primary	Settlement: terrace earthen-work on which at least three huts are built. Evidence remains consisting of postholes and a perimetral channel; various materials in primary and secondary deposition.	Quondam 2011: fig.6, 3;4; Sagui <i>et alii</i> 2014: fig.13; Quondam 2019
		Primary	Funerary context: infant burial near a hut, indicated by a small dolium found laid on a side on a layer rich of carbonised material and surrounded by big, tuff irregular blocks	
14	<i>Meta Sudans</i>	Secondary	Settlement: unpublished pottery	Guidi 1998: 30, n.59
PALATINE HILL Summit				
15	San Sebastiano	Secondary	Settlement: pottery fragment with incised decoration " <i>a rotella</i> "	Pinza 1905: fig.158; Guidi 1998; Guidi, Salvatori 2014
16	Vigna Barberini	Secondary	Settlement: pottery fragment with decoration " <i>a rotella</i> "	Giontella-Villedieu 2009: Tab.3: 14.
17	<i>Domus of Augustus</i>	Secondary	Settlement: two pottery fragments, one decorated with comb-incised ridges, the other " <i>a rotella</i> "	Boni 1914; Marella Vianello 1947; Puglisi 1951; Gjerstad 1960: fig.35;5; Müller Karpe 1962: Tab.4:7
18	House of Livia	Primary	Funerary context: adult male incineration burial in olla with lid in hut roof shape within a dolium and with grave goods	Carettoni 1956; Becker 1987

19	Victoria Temple	Secondary: filling of the cella under the temple	Funerary context: about 30 fragments dated to the Latial Period IIA; in particular, three fragments of miniature cups and a probable clay stand (<i>calefattoio</i>).	Falzone 1991; Angelelli, Falzone 1999; Pensabene, Falzone 2001
20	<i>Auguratorium/Magna Mater</i>	Secondary: excavation trench GJ	Funerary context: a few pottery fragments	Borrello, Colazingari 1998; Pensabene, Falzone 2001: 165
21	Area of Romulean Huts	Secondary: cistern's filling and the area south of the large Puglisi hut	Funerary context: some generic fragments of Latial Phase II and three more specific of Latial Phase IIA (a body part of a cup with incised decoration "a <i>rotella</i> "; a vertical handle from a globular amphora, decorated with "costolature"; a fragment with comb-incised decoration	Vaglieri 1907; Puglisi 1951; Guidi 1998, figs. 7:8, 8:1, 14:8
QUIRINAL HILL				
22	Nerva's Forum	Uncertain: from the "fossa Colini", in the south-east area of the Forum	Funerary context: fragment of a double-loop handle part of a cup	Damiani <i>et alii</i> 2019: 248, fig. IIA.11
23	Forum of Augustus	Primary: two pits in the virgin soil within the southern exedra of the Forum of Augustus	Funerary context: two incineration burials in a dolium with grave goods	Colini 1940; Colini, Paroli 1978; Tortorici 1991; Tabò 1995, Tabò 1997; Magagnini 2005; Meneghini, Santangeli 2007; Colonna 1974
		Secondary: Augustan-era layers found in two excavation trenches, one near the steps that access the porticos and the second along the temple podium	Funerary context: various ceramic material, among which the base of a dolium and various fragments with comb-incised decoration	
24	Trajan Forum	Sporadic: from the reorganization of a storage room	N.D.: fragment of a double-loop handle, probably part of part of a cup with articulated rim (" <i>a collo distinto</i> ")	Meneghini <i>et alii</i> 1995: fig.10.1
25	S. Maria della Vittoria	Secondary	Funerary context: some materials among which a swollen bow fibula with incised decoration in the shape of fish bones; presence of osteological remains, charcoal, and ashes	De Rossi 1878; Guidi 1989/90; Magagnini 2005: fig. 9,d; Magagnini, Micarelli 2019
26	Ministero dell'Agricoltura	Primary	Funerary context: some material, including two globular jugs with low necks, one of which is decorated with meander motifs within a band made of two horizontal lines realised with false cord motif (" <i>a falsa cordicella</i> ")	Vaglieri 1907; Pinza 1912; Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 33: 5:8;9:10; Pacciarelli 2001: 127, n. 57
27	Castro Pretorio Neighborhood	Primary	Funerary context: comb-incised impasto bowl	Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 35: 28; Damiani <i>et alii</i> 2019:249, fig. IIA.4
ESQUILINE HILL				
28	Via Lanza	Primary	Funerary context: Tomb XCII	Pinza 1905; Gjerstad 1956a; Bartoloni 1985a; Bettelli 1997: 136

29	Sant'Antonio Church	Sporadic	Funerary context: bronze fibula	Pinza 1905: Tab. 16: 15; Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 6: B6; Damiani <i>et alii</i> 2019:249, fig. IIA.12
30	Sant'Eusebio Church	Sporadic	Funerary context: vase in the shape of a boat	Damiani <i>et alii</i> 2019: 249, fig. IIA.7
31	AVENTINE HILL	Secondary: via di sant'Anselmo	Settlement: unpublished proto-historic fragments probably dated to the Latial Period IIA	Fig.8, nn.4-7 Ciarrocchi, Ricci 2017

Tab. 5 - Latial phase IIA findspots.

Latial Phase IIB (fig. 6; tab. 6) 875-850/825 B.C.

A radical change has been detected in the settlement organisation of the Roman area within the so-called Latial Phase IIB. The Capitoline Hill continues to provide domestic material and evidence of productive activity (Cazzella 2001: 268)⁴⁰, backed up with consistent evidence from both pottery fragments and complete structures of domestic activity on the Palatine Hill. The large hut on the *Cermalus* can be dated to this phase, which indicates a distinct change from the funerary use of the previous phase. Numerous new settlement foci, represented by groups of huts, are built on the northern slope of the Palatine Hill, not only near the Clivus Palatinus but also underneath the Republican houses. There are also fragments related to this settlement found in secondary depositions at the Domus Regia and the *Aedes Vestae* (Arvanitis ed. 2010: 65-66)⁴¹. The conspicuous ceramic fragments found extensively in the whole Forum area are particularly important. They indicate a progressive extension of the settlement area to the valley, including the Forum of Caesar, where some hut remains testify a

renewed domestic use of the area. In this new enlarged settlement, it is unsurprising to have new material, again in secondary deposition, from the Sant'Omobono area, which in this phase can be considered permanently settled and linked to the settlement area on the Capitoline Hill. Finally, in a spatially discrete area, far away from the burial ground of the Quirinal Hill, the fragment from Piazza della Pilotta might confirm the hypothesis of the presence of domestic activity on this hill⁴².

The most important phenomenon of this phase is the disappearance of burials not only from the summit but also, and most importantly, from the lowland areas (Forum of Augustus and Caesar), apart from a single infant burial found near the huts of the *Clivus Palatinus*. The funerary areas in this phase are located elsewhere, primarily on the Esquiline Hill, which takes the function of principal cemetery as indicated by conspicuous burial evidence along Via Giovanni Lanza and in the area of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele. However, the interpretation of the topographic development of this cemetery is debated among scholars and two principal theories exist. The first theory (Bar-

⁴⁰ Radiometric dating from the Sapienza University of Rome has allowed us to relate metallurgical activity to the phases of the Early Iron Age.

⁴¹ It has been suggested that they might have been treasured vases passed on by generations and potentially related to cult activity in the area. A similar interpretation is given for the fragment found at the *Domus Regia*.

⁴² See *supra* Latial phase IIA.



Fig. 6 - Latial Phase IIB findspots distribution map and zoom level image of the Capitoline-Palatine area.

toloni, 1985: 152-155; Bartoloni, 1985b: 1; Bettelli 1997: 155-157) posits a “polycentric development” model of the funerary areas, aggregated in parallel form during the Latial Phase IIB both in the western (Via G. Lanza and surroundings) and the eastern region (Piazza Vittorio Emanuele and nearby). On the contrary, the second theory (Peroni, 1960: 492-494; Gusberti 2005c: 169-172) posits a west-east development, by claiming that the most ancient burials (IIB) are found in the area of S. Martino ai Monti and the crossing between G. Lanza and Via delle Sette Sale, while the last and most recent (IIIB) are in the area between Piazza Vittorio and Via Carlo Alberto, where most of the burials have been found. Finally, it is also important to note the cessation of the cremation rite from this time onwards.

In addition, some burials and funerary assemblages from the area of S. Maria della

Vittoria and Ministero dell'Agricoltura indicate the beginning of burial grounds at the northern edge of the Quirinal at least since the Latial Period II B; and from the area of Castro Pretorio, which indicates another burial ground at the Viminal Hill. For the Latial Phase IIB, it is not possible to identify cult elements, although such a function has been suggested for the *Cermalus* hut (Carandini 1997: 60) and some findings from S. Maria della Vittoria (Carafa 1993: 119-43; Zeggio 2000: 332; Magagnini 2005: 20)⁴³ that could be interpreted simply as domestic activity in the first case, and as re-located mixed residues of older burials in the second (Guidi 1980: 151; De Cristofaro 2015: 150-151; Arizza 2015: 63-73)⁴⁴. From this phase onward, there is consistent evidence to demonstrate the creation of a unified, centralised proto-urban centre, with burial activity pushed towards the peripheral areas.

n.	Site	Deposition	Type of Evidence	Bibliography
FORUM BOARIUM				
1	Sant'Omobono	Secondary: filling of the Republican podium	Settlement: pottery fragment.	Gjerstad 1962; Colonna 1966; Virgili 1977; Pisani Sartorio 1977; Pisani Sartorio 1990; Terrenato <i>et alii</i> 2012; Brocato <i>et alii</i> 2012; Brocato, Terrenato eds. 2012; Persiani 2016: Tab. II: 5; 8; 9; 12; Regoli 2016
CAPITOLINE HILL				
2	Giardino Romano	Secondary	Settlement: pottery fragments and remains of metallurgical activity	Lugli 2001: fig.17:5; Giardino, Lugli 2001; Cazzella 2001: 313; Mazzei 2007: 152-153
3	FORUM OF CAESAR	Primary	Settlement: remains of a large quadrangular hut	De Santis, Celant <i>et alii</i> 2010
ROMAN FORUM				
4	<i>Comitium</i>	Secondary: excavation by Boni, Romanelli and Squarciapino	Settlement: pottery fragment found between the 7th and the 10th floor layers	Gjerstad 1960; Müller Karpe 1962; Carafa 1998

⁴³ Some scholars have identified evidence of cult activity from the 9th century BC in this material as part of a cult place related to the burial ground.

⁴⁴ According to Arizza (2015), cultic activity at S. Maria della Vittoria can be dated only from the Orientalising Age.

5	<i>Equus Domitiani</i>	Secondary: mainly, from layers 28-25 but also from layers above those	Settlement: pottery fragments	Gjerstad 1953; Müller Karpe 1962; Filippi 2005a; Gusberti 2005a
6	Arch of Augustus	Secondary: levels D8-9 and A+B 9-10a and layers above those	Settlement: pottery fragments	Gjerstad 1954-55; Gjerstad 1960: fig. 183; Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 37: A3/14; D8/28; Guidi 1982a; Carnabuci 1991; Bettelli 2003.
7	Antoninus and Faustina Temple	Secondary	Settlement: pottery fragments found in association with the so called "tumul" and in the nearby areas	Boni 1903; Gjerstad 1953; Gjerstad 1960: fig. 221; Guidi 1982a; Van Kampen <i>et alii</i> 2005.
8	Brown's Regia	Primary: area 4 (US25)	Settlement: impasto pottery fragments.	D'Acri, De Luca 2016: Tab. 1; Timpano 2016
PALATINE HILL Northern and Northeastern Slopes				
9	<i>Aedes Vestae</i>	Secondary	N.D.: pottery fragments; presence of high-quality vases	Arvanitis ed. 2010; Arvanitis, Argento <i>et alii</i> 2017
10	<i>Domus Regia</i>	Secondary	Settlement: ceramic fragments	Arvanitis ed. 2010; Filippi, Bianco <i>et alii</i> 2017
11	<i>Clivus Palatinus</i>	Primary	Settlement: area with pits for the deposition of waste material from surrounding areas; presence of huts at a slightly higher altitude along the side of the hill.	Arvanitis, Cupitò <i>et alii</i> 2017
		Primary	Funerary context: in an area free from huts, an infant burial deposited in a tree trunk and possibly another burial in a ditch with irregular tufa blocks aligned along the sides.	
12	Republican domus area/ <i>Horrea Vespasiani</i>	Primary	Settlement: a series of structures interpreted as huts and a pottery kiln; presence of abundant pottery	Brocato <i>et alii</i> 2000
13	Baths of Elagabalus	Primary	Settlement: huts and domestic material, among which is an olla with introverted rim (" <i>olla a orlo rientrante</i> ") with an incised geometric decoration, and fragments of a large and short drinking cup	Quondam 2011 2019
PALATINE HILL Summit				
14	Vigna Barberini	Primary	Settlement: material dated 9th-8th century BC from the southwest area.	Giontella, Villedieu 2009: Tab. 4: 18-22.
15	<i>Domus Flavia</i>	Secondary	Settlement: material dated to the early Iron Age from the areas of the <i>Atrium</i> and <i>Aula Regia</i> .	Boni 1914; Marella Vianello 1947; Puglisi 1951: fig. 5: 5,6,9,11,13,14; Gjerstad 1960: fig. 35:11,12,13,14,15,16; Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 41:17;18, Tab. 42: A 3/8
16	Victory Temple	Secondary	Settlement: pottery fragments	Falzone 1991; Angellelli, Falzone 1999: 19-20; Pensabene, Falzone 2001
17	Auguratorium/ <i>Magna Mater</i>	Secondary: GJ excavation area	Settlement: pottery fragment	Borrello, Colazingari 1998

18	"Romulean huts area"	Primary	Settlement: large elliptic oval hut (N-S orientation), with double row of central postholes and perimetral ditch; pottery fragments	Carandini 1997; Guidi 1998: fig.1; Angelelli, Falzone 1999; Pensabene, Falzone 2001, Coletti <i>et alii</i> 2006
QUIRINAL HILL				
19	Pilotta Square	Secondary	Settlement: cup fragment	Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 3:29; Magagnini 2005
20	S. Maria della Vittoria	Secondary: organisation of the area in the Orientalising phase	Funerary context: funerary material disturbed	De Rossi 1878; Gjerstad 1956a; Müller Karpe 1962; Guidi 1980; Zeggio 2000; Magagnini 2005: fig. 10 a,b,c; Alessandri 2012; De Cristofaro 2015; Magagnini, Micarelli 2019
21	Ministero dell'Agricoltura	Primary	Necropolis	Pinza 1905; Vaglieri 1907; Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 33; Tab. 35:27; Fulminante 2014
22	Castro Pretorio Neighborhood (Viale Castro Pretorio, Via Varese e Via Magenta)	Uncertain	Necropolis: material from funerary contexts	Pinza 1905; Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 35.28.18.1; Magagnini 2005; Fulminante 2014
ESQUILINE HILL				
23	Via G. Lanza and nearby areas (from the crossing between Via G. Lanza and Via delle Sette Sale at Largo Brancaccio); Piazza Vittorio Emanuele and nearby areas (Via C. Alberto, S. Antonio and S. Eusebio churches)	Primary	Necropolis: inhumation tombs, grave goods, and isolated objects	Lanciani 1875; Mariani 1896; Pinza 1905; Gjerstad 1956a; Müller Karpe 1962; La Rocca 1976; Bettelli 1997; Bettelli, 2003; Gusberti 2005c

Tab. 6 - Latial phase IIB findspots.

Latial Phase III (fig. 7; tab. 7)
850/825-750/725 B.C.

In Latial Phase III, it is possible to detect a marked demographic growth as demonstrated by funerary and domestic contexts.

More abundant evidence is found in this phase on the *Cermalus*, where three huts have been identified and domestic material excavated near the so-called *Casa Romuli*. The hut found to the west of the *Magna Mater* temple could be added to this collection, along with those recently excavated at the southwestern edge of the plateaux. Unfortunately, they are not

associated with dating material but are attributed by excavators to Latial Phase III (Angelelli, Falzone 2001: 66; Coletti *et alii* 2006). Abundant pottery has also been found at the nearby sites of the *Magna Mater* and Temple of Victory, and more to the east at the sites of the *Domus Flavia* and *Vigna Barberini*. Further evidence is also found near the *Clivus Palatinus*, where the settlement area continues up to Latial Period IIIB₁, when it is demolished for the construction of the fortified earthen works and a structure with hearth. Similarly, new huts and an oven/kiln for baking clay have been found in the area of the Republican

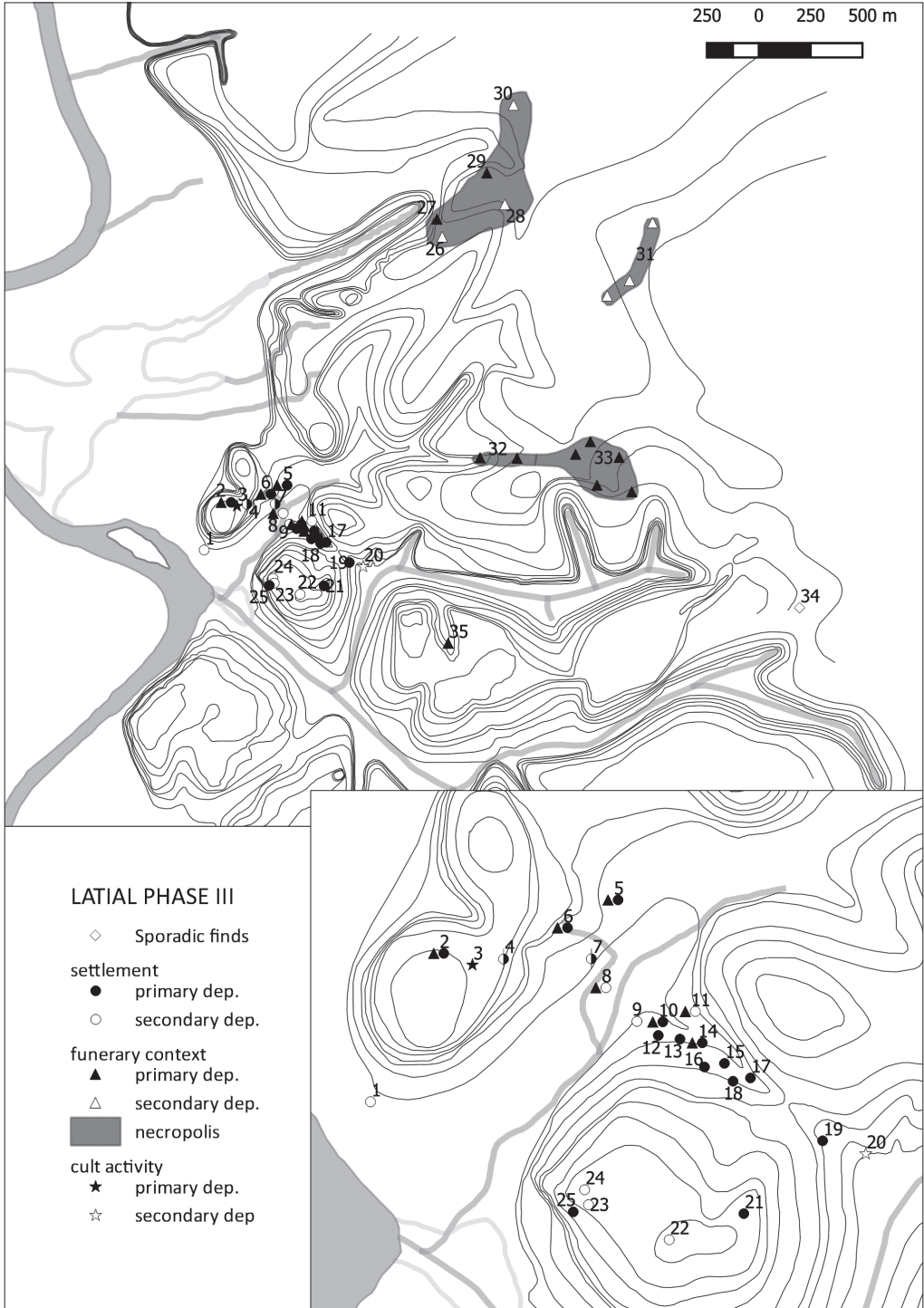


Fig. 7 - Latial Phase III finds spots distribution map and zoom level image of the Capitoline-Palatine area.

houses. The same occurs on the northeastern slopes of the hill, where new huts and some terraces/earth works are found.

In the Forum, typical domestic evidence, such as flattened earthen floors, hearths, and postholes, testifies to the presence of at least ten or eleven huts in the area of Brown's Regia⁴⁵, together with *suggrundaria* dated to a later stage of this phase. There are also non-domestic interpretations for this particular area, that see it as a place with animal pens, as suggested by the faunal and osteological evidence (Brown 1976: 5) or, alternatively, as a place with cultic functionality (Arvanitis ed. 2010: 36⁴⁶; Alessandri 2013: 386; Brocato, Terrenato eds. 2016: 157). Similar evidence has also been found near the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, where Boni identified some tumuli, interpreted as hut remains, associated with infant burials and faunal remains⁴⁷. Abundant additional material has also been found in the lowland area between the hills, which adds to the picture of increased occupation. For example, material from this phase has been found in the filling layers of the *Equus Domitiani*, which testifies to occupation and activity. Similar evidence is also found from the important area of the *Comitium*, in the *Forum Romanum*. Indeed, in this area Carafa identified what he defines as "a possible flat surface of an open area (Carafa 2005: 136, note 5), perhaps the most

ancient evidence of a public area in the city. This evidence consists of a flattened layer of sand and gravel, identified in layer SQ2-16 as dated to 750/700 BC, and of the traces of a hearth found on the surface (Carafa 1988: 75-88; Carafa 2005: 136-138)⁴⁸. From the storage place in Trajan's Forum, there is also a fragment of a late geometric kotyle (Aetos 666), dated to the second half of the 8th century BC and presumably from a domestic context. A combination of domestic, productive, and funerary activity is found in the Forum of Caesar and on the Capitoline Hill. In addition to the hut remains found in the *Tabularium* area, the Capitoline evidence for this phase consists of productive and domestic evidence, including two burials of Latial Phase IIIB of a young male and a female, both aged between 16 and 19 years old, found in the Giardino Romano excavation. These are the only burials on the hill after the ones from Phase IIA.

The age of the deceased is unusual in a period during which only infants and priestesses could be buried in the settlements. Moreover, the tombs are near a metallurgical production area; we can imagine a special role for these individuals and perhaps for this whole portion of the Capitoline Hill. On the other hand, in this phase the hill is occupied by a cult-place, indicated by the remains of a votive deposition. In fact, on the basis of the material

⁴⁵ According to Brown, this group of huts was destroyed and re-built between the middle of the 8th century BC and the third/fourth quarter of the 7th century BC, and the remains of the destroyed huts were placed within deposition pits. Two C14 tests on wooden post fragments indicate dates of 679 and 636 (Brown 1975; Brocato, Terrenato eds. 2016: 149-157).

⁴⁶ According to Arvanitis, these structures are related to the Vestal hut and are potentially reserved to the people connected with the service of the sanctuary.

⁴⁷ For these Boni excavations see Carnabuci 1991.

⁴⁸ These remains were excavated in the 1950s by Maria Floriani Squarciapino in the area southwest of the site. In his recent publication, Carafa dates layers 14 and 15 to the middle of the 8th century BC on the basis of brown impasto ollae within them, see n. 14. An article by the newspaper *Messaggero*, 13th April 2014, provides news of a still unpublished wall structure dated between the 9th and the beginning of the 8th century BC, discovered by Patrizia Fortini, whose team presented in a congress held in Rome on December 2019 remains of a rough wall dated to the Latial phase III. This structure would predate the first occupation of the area.

contained in it, some of which have a specifically votive character and function, the dating of this deposit might be raised to the middle of the 8th century B.C.⁴⁹.

The Capitoline Hill burials introduce another important aspect of the Roman settlement area, the presence of what can be considered “special” burials. There are two other cases in addition to the Capitoline ones: three at the *Carcer Tullianum* and four at the *Equus Domitiani*. The latter are interpreted by D. Filippi as contemporary to the first filling of the Forum⁵⁰. The similarity between the two cases (sex and age of the deceased, and the tied arms of the men), has led to the hypothesis of interpreting these burials as a punishment or, alternatively, as a ritual act, although at this time it is difficult to distinguish the two aspects. It is important to note that the hypothesis of a punishment would imply the existence of a law, and therefore would be another hint of a proper urban character for this settlement during Latial Period III⁵¹.

Another important element in this sense is the presence of fortifications. It is now beyond doubt that there is a fortification around the Palatine from this phase onwards, attested by the section with a small entrance at the *Lucus Vestae* and the gate/door to the east. This latter, identified by Carandini as the Mugonia door, probably had also an infant burial under the doorstep identified by an empty cen-

taph⁵². It is possible to hypothesise another wall circuit around the Capitoline Hill. Indeed, remains have been found under the *Carcer* of a stone foundation of red tufa blocks from the Capitoline Hill, dated to the 8th century BC⁵³. In relation to the Palatine walls, it is worth mentioning a system of routes that cross the Forum and lead to the Palatine Hill. Traces of these routes have been excavated near the Porta Mugonia, the postern, and the *Aedes Vestae* (Arvanitis 2017). These routes points to a local but also inter-regional system of transportation network, whose importance in the development of early proto-urban and urban-centres in central Italy has been suggested by various scholars, such as for example Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri (1992), and recently demonstrated by Fulminante (Fulminante 2012; Fulminante *et alii* 2017).

As far as burial contexts are concerned, funerary evidence is found on the Quirinal Hill at Ministero dell'Agricoltura, Ministero delle Finanze, and nearby at Via Goito, Villa Spithoever, the area of Porta Salaria, and Castro Pretorio. Similarly, the Esquiline cemetery is still in use at this time. There is also probable evidence of a cemetery in the area of the *Caelium*; this is based on a fragment of a Villanovan bronze belt related to an 8th century BC burial context (Colonna 1994: 448-467). Moreover, a new funerary context at this height was found in 2017 during the excavation conducted for line C of the subway (still unpublished)⁵⁴.

⁴⁹ Different proposals have been advanced for the identification of the deity of this cult, such as *Iuppiter Fereetrius* (Colonna 1984; Gusberti 2005d; Mazzei 2007: 162-166; Carafa 2014) or *Fortuna Primigenia* (Mazzei 2007: 166-170). In any case, the cultic function of this area makes it a special area within the settlement (Carafa 2014: 14-20), rather than one excluded from the settlement as suggested by Carandini (Carandini 1997: 332-335).

⁵⁰ For the discrepancy between C14 and stratigraphic dating, see the above section on Final Bronze Age 1-2; Filippi 2005a: 105-110; Filippi 2007-2008: 628-635; cfr. Gusberti 2005a.

⁵¹ On the features that define a settlement as an urban entity, cfr. Guidi 2008.

⁵² This burial has been interpreted as ritual by the excavators (Carandini *et alii* eds. 2017: 122-24).

⁵³ The dating of the tufa wall structure is referred to by P. Fortini in Fortini 2000; Catalano *et alii* 2001, while the burials are dated on the basis of personal communication by P. Catalano and P. Fortini in Carafa 2007-2008: 675.

⁵⁴ The dating to Latial Phase IIIA has been possible thanks to personal communications from A. De Santis.

In addition to the aforementioned votive deposit on the Capitoline Hill (*Favissa Capitolina*), there is also evidence from Latial Phase III that may be sacred in character. Within the cemetery of the Quirinal Hill at S. Maria della Vittoria, material has been found that some scholars interpret as a votive deposit. However, given the closeness to the burial grounds of Ministero dell'Agricoltura and Ministero delle Finanze, a funerary function for this material cannot be completely ruled out. It is possible the cult activity of the Velia sanctuary can be dated to earlier in the 8th century BC on account of a miniature cup and a jug-amphora (Panella, Zeggio 2017)⁵⁵. However, the interpretation of the sites on the northern slopes of the Palatine is still uncertain. Some huts within a precinct have been found underneath the buildings of the *Domus Regia* and *Aedes Vestae*, the first in association with infant burials and the second in association with a hearth⁵⁶. As already mentioned, a similar interpretation has also been suggested for the huts on the *Cermalus* (Carandini 1997: 60 ff.). In any case, the persistence of older evidence, in the same loca-

tion of later monumental cult structures, is worth noting because it might indicate the same destination of cultic use also for the older structures. In addition, this area on the slopes of the Palatine has provided another interesting element: the possible presence of imported Greek ceramics from the *Aedes Vestae* and the *Domus Regia*, which seems to further emphasise the importance of this area within the settlement. Similar observations can be drawn for Sant'Omobono, which has provided stronger evidence for imported pottery. In both cases, this evidence seems to indicate consolidated contacts with the outside world (Guidi 1982, La Rocca 1982).

To sum up, and as will be detailed in the following paragraph, by this phase the settlement of Rome can be considered as a proper urban centre, with a clear dichotomy between settlement area and funerary areas almost entirely surrounding the settlement; a proper internal organization with public spaces and cultic areas and also a system of internal and external routes.

F.B., R.B.

n.	Site	Deposition	Type of Evidence	Bibliography
FORUM BOARIUM				
1	Sant'Omobono	Secondary: filling of the Republican podium (excavation pits II, IV e A1)	Settlement: pottery fragments; presence of imported pottery.	Gjerstad 1962; Colonna 1966; Virgili 1977; Pisani Sartorio 1977; Guidi 1982a; La Rocca 1982; Pisani Sartorio 1990; Terrenato <i>et alii</i> 2012; Brocato <i>et alii</i> 2012; Brocato, Terrenato eds. 2012; Persiani 2016; Regoli 2016
CAPITOLINE HILL				
2	Giardino Romano	Primary	Settlement: pottery fragments and metallurgical activity remains from the layers of the burials and more recent ones.	Lugli 2001; Giardino, Lugli 2001; Cazzella 2001: 313; Lugli 2001; Mazzei 2007: 152-153; De Santis <i>et alii</i> 2007-2008: 730; Albertoni, Damiani eds. 2008; Carafa 2014

⁵⁵ The evidence from the *Velia's* slope was found in a *bothros* with sacrificial remains and other ritual material.

⁵⁶ These structures are not dissimilar from the hut settlement developed here. However, the so-called House of the Vestal has been built on virgin soil, with traces of agricultural channels, interpreted as evidence of ritual agricultural activity. The hearth found under the so-called Apsidal Lanciani room and the second monumental hearth, encircled by perimetral clay walls that obliterate the village near the *Clivus Palatinus*, have been interpreted by Carandini as the first evidence of the cult of *Iuppiter Stator* (Carandini *et alii* eds. 2017: 264-265, 591-621).

			Burials: inhumation rectangular “ <i>fossa</i> ” graves nn. 8 and 9 of a girl and a boy, both aged between 16 and 19 years old	
3	Capitoline Votive Deposit (“Favissa capitolina”)	Primary	Cult Activity: materials found in a pit between two <i>cappellaccio</i> tuff walls and outside	Colini 1928; Albertoni 2000; Gusberty 2005d; Mazzei 2007; Alessandri 2013; Carafa 2014
4	<i>Tabularium</i>	Primary	Settlement: hut-remains along Via del Campidoglio	Sommella Mura 1978; Guidi 1978;
		Secondary	Material from waste pits behind the foundation basement room (B).	Sommella Mura 1984; Albertoni 1988
5	FORUM OF CAESAR	Primary	Settlement: in Latial Phase IIIA, presence of a <i>dolium</i> partially interred with domestic material and a cooking area made of a burnt pressed clay slab; a furnace is built in Latial Phase IIIB	De Santis, Celant <i>et alii</i> , 2010; De Santis, Mieli <i>et alii</i> 2010
			Burials: two inhumation infant burials, in an <i>enchytrismòs</i> and in rectangular “ <i>fossa</i> ” grave with goods (tombs 11 and 9)	
ROMAN FORUM				
6	<i>Carcer Tullianum</i>	Primary	Settlement: remains of Capitoline Hill red tuff blocks wall dated to the 8th century BC	Fortini 2000; Catalano <i>et alii</i> 2001; Carafa 2007-2008: 675
			Burials: three inhumations in rectangular ditches including a man with tied arms, a woman, and a young adult of undetermined sex (770-725 BC)	
7	<i>Comitium</i>	Primary and Secondary	Settlement: layer SQ2-16 with material dated 750-700 BC (same dating as layers 14-15). Traces of a hearth on layer 16's surface. Pottery fragments in secondary deposition	Gjerstad 1960; Müller Karpe 1962; Carafa 1998; Carafa 2005; 136-138, n. 5; Gusberty 2005b: Tab. 1; Carafa 2014: 15-16
8	<i>Equus Domitiani</i>	Secondary: layers 28-25 and above	Settlement: pottery fragments	Gjerstad 1953; Müller Karpe 1962; Filippi 2005a; Gusberty 2005a; Gusberty 2005b: Tab. 1; Carafa 2007-2008; Gusberty 2007-2008; Filippi 2007-2008
		Primary	Burials: four inhumations in rectangular ditches including a woman with an infant, a man with tied arms, and a child on a wooden table	
9	Arch of Augustus	Secondary: layers D8-9 e A+B 9-10a and above	Settlement: pottery fragments	Gjerstad 1954-55; Gjerstad 1960: fig. 179:6; Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 37: D12/27; D12/22; Guidi 1982a; Carnabuci 1991; Bettelli 2003; Gusberty 2005b: Tab. 1, fig. 21
10	Brown's Regia	Primary	Settlement: hut remains and secondary deposition material found in two rubbish pits Burials: infant burials	Brown 1975; Brown 1976; Iacopi 1982; Guidi 1982b; Scott 1988; D'Acri, De Luca 2016; D'Acri 2016; Brocato 2016; Verzini 2016; Timpano 2016.

11	Temple of Antoninus and Faustina	Secondary	Settlement: pottery fragments found in association with so called "tumuli" and in the nearby areas. Faunal remains in pit III	Boni 1903; Boni 1905; Boni 1906; Boni 1911; Gjerstad 1953; fig. 80: f,g,h,m; Gjerstad 1956a; Gjerstad 1960: fig. 221:13; Müller Karpe 1962; Bedini, Cordano 1980; Guidi 1982a; Bettelli 1997; Van Kampen <i>et alii</i> 2005; fig. 2B:913, 2F:881
		Primary	Burials: three burials: M: infant in dolium with very rich grave goods, MM: infant, H: infant in dolium.	
PALATINE Northern and Northeastern Slopes				
12	<i>Aedes Vestae</i>	Primary	Settlement: on virgin soil worked with plough, within an area delimited by walls and palisades, a hut was built with interred excavated floor and hearth. Presence of imported pottery (Late Geometric I).	Arvanitis ed. 2010; Arvanitis, Argento <i>et alii</i> 2017
13	<i>Aula Absidata Lanciani</i>	Primary	N.D.: tuff block structure, maybe an elliptical hearth, located in a remote and hidden area cut in the virgin soil	Cupitò, Fanelli 2017
14	<i>Domus Regia</i>	Primary	Settlement: a hut with a precinct built on the natural soil in Latial Phase IIIB ₁ ; after its destruction in Latial Phase IIIB ₂ , another larger and more complex structure is built; presence of imported pottery (Late Geometric I amphora fragment).	Filippi 2004; Filippi 2005b; Filippi 2006b; Filippi 2007-2008; Gusberti 2007-2008; Filippi, Bianco <i>et alii</i> , 2017
		Primary	Funerary context: within the second hut, three infant <i>enchytrismòs</i> burials deposited in different phases: the first one with rich grave goods was interpreted as a foundation deposit; the third one as ritual deposition for the expiation of the destruction of the building	
15	<i>Clivus Palatinus</i>	Primary	Settlement: the walking level was raised, and new domestic structures were built. The village was destroyed during Latial Phase IIIB ₁ and, in its place, a new tuff block structure was built (<i>Promoerium</i>). A new structure was built to the east in Latial Phase IIIB ₂ , constituted by a hearth with a perimetral clay wall sustained by vertical wooden posts; the structure was destroyed in Latial Phase IIIB ₂ and re-built with a central monumental hearth.	Carafa <i>et alii</i> 2014; Arvanitis, Carafa, Quondam 2017; Arvanitis, Cupitò <i>et alii</i> 2017; Carafa 2017
16	<i>Clivus Palatinus</i> , area near <i>Lucus Vestae</i>	Primary	Settlement: wall remains from Latial Phase IIIB ₁ were found to the south of the village at a slightly higher altitude, with part of a road passing through a small entrance.	Carafa 2017

17	Republican domus area/ <i>Horrea Vespasiani</i>	Primary	Settlement: a series of structures interpreted as huts and an oven; presence of abundant pottery material. The domestic buildings are obliterated in Latial Phase IIIB1, with the creation of the walls	Brocato <i>et alii</i> 2000
18	<i>Horrea Vespasiani</i> / Porta Mugonia	Primary	Settlement: within the <i>horrea</i> , not too far from the previous structures, part of the functional wall circuit around the Palatine Hill has been found: it consisted in a door with a ritual foundation deposition under the doorstep	Ricci <i>et alii</i> 2000; Carafa 2017
19	Baths of Elagabalus	Primary: rooms 10 and 15	Settlement: further terrace work; presence of huts in part of the settlement area.	Quondam 2011; Sangui <i>et alii</i> 2014
20	<i>Velia</i> Sanctuary	Secondary: in a tuff cist dated to the end of the 6th century BC	Cult activity: a small amphora (Table III, 1) and a cup with vertical double-loop handle	Zeggio 2013: Tab.III: 1,2, Panella, Zeggio 2017; Zeggio 2019
PALATINE HILL Summit				
21	Vigna Barberini	Primary	Settlement: material dated to the 9th-8th century BC from the south-western area	Giontella, Villedieu 2009
22	<i>Domus Flavia</i>	Secondary	Settlement: material dated to the Early Iron Age from the area of the <i>Atrium</i> and <i>Aula Regia</i> .	Boni 1914; Marella, Vianello 1947; Puglisi 1951: fig. 5,1, 12, 16; Gjerstad 1960: fig. 35;2, 4, 8, 10; Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 41: 8; Tab. 42.A: 2, 3, 8,10, 13, 14, 15; Tab. 42.B: 3, 4
23	Victory Temple	Secondary	Settlement: pottery fragments	Falzone 1991; Angelelli, Falzone 1999: 19-20; Pensabene, Falzone 2001.
24	<i>Auguratorium</i> / <i>Magna Mater</i>	Secondary	Settlement: pottery fragments from the GJ excavation area	Borrello, Colazingari 1998
25	"Romulean huts area"	Primary	Settlement: 3 huts built within the perimeter of the previous hut; one, rectangular in plan, is dated to Latial Phase IIIA; the other two are dated between Latial Phase IIIB and IVA. Some pottery fragments were found slightly more to the east, near the so-called <i>Romuli</i> house.	Carandini 1997: 60 ss.; Guidi 1998: fig.1; Angelelli, Falzone 1999; Pensabene, Falzone 2001; Coletti <i>et alii</i> 2006
QUIRINAL HILL				
26	S. Maria della Vittoria	Secondary: organisation of the area in the Orientalising phase	Funerary Context: material from disturbed funerary burials.	De Rossi 1878; Gjerstad 1956a; Müller Karpe 1962; Guidi 1980; Zeggio 2000; Magagnini 2005: figs. 19, 20, 21; Magagnini, Micarelli 2019; Alessandri 2012; De Cristofaro 2015.
27	Ministero dell'Agricoltura	Primary	Necropolis	Pinza 1905; Vaglieri 1907; Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 34:7
28	Ministero Finanze	Secondary (incerta)	Necropolis: grave goods material	Pinza 1905: col 254, fig. 102, a; Magagnini 2005

29	Villa Spithoever	Primary	Necropolis: three burials: one simple rectangular "fossa" without grave goods (T. III), Tombs I and II with clay sarcophagus	De Rossi 1885: 297-298, Tab. K; Colonna 1988; Pinza 1905; Gjerstad 1956a; Gjerstad 1960; Colonna 1974; La Rocca 1976; Magagnini 2005: figs. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16
30	Porta Salaria area (between Corso Italia, via Tevere and S. Teresa church)	Secondary	Necropolis: grave goods materials	Gatti 1886; Müller Karpe 1962; Magagnini 2005: figs. 17, 18
31	Castro Pretorio Neighborhood (Viale Castro Pretorio, Via Varese and Via Magenta)	Secondary (uncertain)	Necropolis: grave goods material	Pinza 1905; Müller Karpe 1962: Tab. 35; Magagnini 2005
ESQUILINE HILL				
32	Via G. Lanza and nearby areas (crossing between Via G. Lanza and Via Sette Sale at L. go Brancaccio)	Primary	Necropolis: rectangular "fossa" and stone cist graves; rich funerary assemblages.	Lanciani 1875; Mariani 1896; Pinza 1905; Gjerstad 1956a; Müller Karpe 1962; La Rocca 1976; Bettelli 1997; Bettelli, 2003; Gusberty 2005c
33	Piazza Vittorio Emanuele and nearby areas (most consistent group near Via Carlo Alberto and the Square)	Primary	Necropolis: rectangular "fossa" and stone cist graves; rich funerary assemblages.	Lanciani 1875; Mariani 1896; Pinza 1905; Gjerstad 1956a; Müller Karpe 1962; La Rocca 1976; Bettelli 1997; Bettelli, 2003; Gusberty 2005c
COELIUS HILL				
34	S. Croce in Gerusalemme	Sporadic	Necropolis: grave good object (Vil-lanovan bronze belt)	Pinza 1905; Müller Karpe 1962; Colonna 1996: Tab 1, fig. 1, b
35	Metro C excavation (Celimontana Square)	Primary	Funerary assemblage dated to Latial Phase IIIA.	A. De Santis (personal communication).

Tab. 7 - Latial phase III findspots.

INTERPRETATION

The data described above are incomplete, often derived from excavations not conducted to modern standards, or heavily biased by buildings of historical and modern times that erased many of the traces of the pre- and proto-historic periods. However, it is still possible to suggest some trends for each period.

Middle Bronze Age (fig. 1)

No matter what interpretation is proposed as to the nature of the Sant'Omobono site

(n. 1), it is evident that the occupation of the Capitoline Hill (nn. 2-3) and of the nearby floodplain was to control an important ford on the river. This is indicated by the presence of an island, a situation also found in other major European capitals, such as Paris or Budapest. In any case, it would not be strange to backdate the occupation of this area to an advanced phase of the Early Bronze Age, given the presence of some sherds dated to this period on the Capitoline Hill and at Sant'Omobono, and the axes (perhaps pertaining to hoards) from the Esquiline hill. Given the

presence of the Comitium Apennine sherd (n. 4), probably a secondary deposition of material coming from the *Arx*, the extent of this settlement, corresponding to the entire defended area of the Capitoline Hill would be, at least from the advanced Middle Bronze Age, about 6-8 ha.

Recent Bronze Age (fig. 2)

The occupation of the Sant'Omobono site is surely attested during this phase, based on the core sampling conducted in this area (n. 1), over all on the ground of C14 dates. At the same time, the archaeological data indicates the presence of habitations and terracing works on the Capitoline Hill (n. 2). The terraces found in the Forum of Caesar (n. 4) are a further proof that the tops of both hills (*Arx* and *Capitolium*) were occupied by this time. In addition, the presence of Recent Bronze Age sherds in various spots of the Roman Forum (nn. 5, 6, 8) and the possible dating to this period of two fragments from the Palatine (n. 9) indicate a first enlargement of the settlement⁵⁷. The bronze fibula from the Roman Forum (n. 7) could be the remains of a grave assemblage; it is worth noting that this type of fibula is present in the two incineration graves of this period, found in Lazio, *Lucus Feroniae* (Cavazzuti *et alii* 2014: 26), and *Cavallo Morto* (Damiani 2010: 394-397, fig. 64:1-2). The presence of a bronze sword from the Fiorentini Bridge (n. 8), in an area located more than 1 km from the Capitoline Hill, can be interpreted as a votive offering⁵⁸.

A very recent discovery is the presence of three LH IIIC Italo-Mycenaean sherds in the Giardino Romano excavation (n. 2), possible proof of the integration of the Capitoline Hill settlement in the wider exchange network of this period.

It is difficult to suggest a size for the settlement in this phase. The occupation of the entirety of the Capitoline Hill, as said before, would measure about 6-8 ha; with the adjoining areas of the Forum we can reach at least 12 ha. However, a possible settlement on the Palatine Hill would be more difficult to estimate because all materials have been found in secondary deposits. If we counted the whole hill (*Cermalus* and *Palatium*), it would reach a maximum extent of 17-24 ha; if we consider only the summit of the Palatine (see Latial Phase IIA₁ below when the lower sides of the *Cermalus* are mainly occupied by funerary contexts), we would have about 6-7 ha, or a maximum of 10 ha.

Final Bronze Age 1-2 (fig. 3)

An important innovation in this phase is the first evidence of a terrestrial route along the northeastern slopes of the Capitoline Hill, in the Forum of Caesar, where postholes were also found (n. 3). The pottery fragments collected in the excavation at the *Comitium*, seem to also belong to the Capitoline Hill (n. 4). An uninterrupted sequence of finds in the Roman Forum (nn. 4-6) and a fragment of this period from the Baths of Elagabalus (n.7) are further proofs of the progressive enlargement of the settlement. Some scholars believe the fibula from the Ponte Rotto (n. 8) to be fake; at the same time, we must highlight the presence in the literature of a bronze sword of this period with a generic provenance from "Rome"⁵⁹. The potential esteem of the settlement size would not seem easy to calculate for this period (see the discussion above the Recent Bronze Age), also if we can expect a further enlargement toward the Elagabalus Baths.

⁵⁷ Compare Alessandri 2013 and Fulminante 2014.

⁵⁸ For the custom of offering weapons in rivers, lakes, and heights in the Late Bronze Age, see Guidi 2014: 641-642.

⁵⁹ Bianco Peroni 1970: Tab. 24: 166.

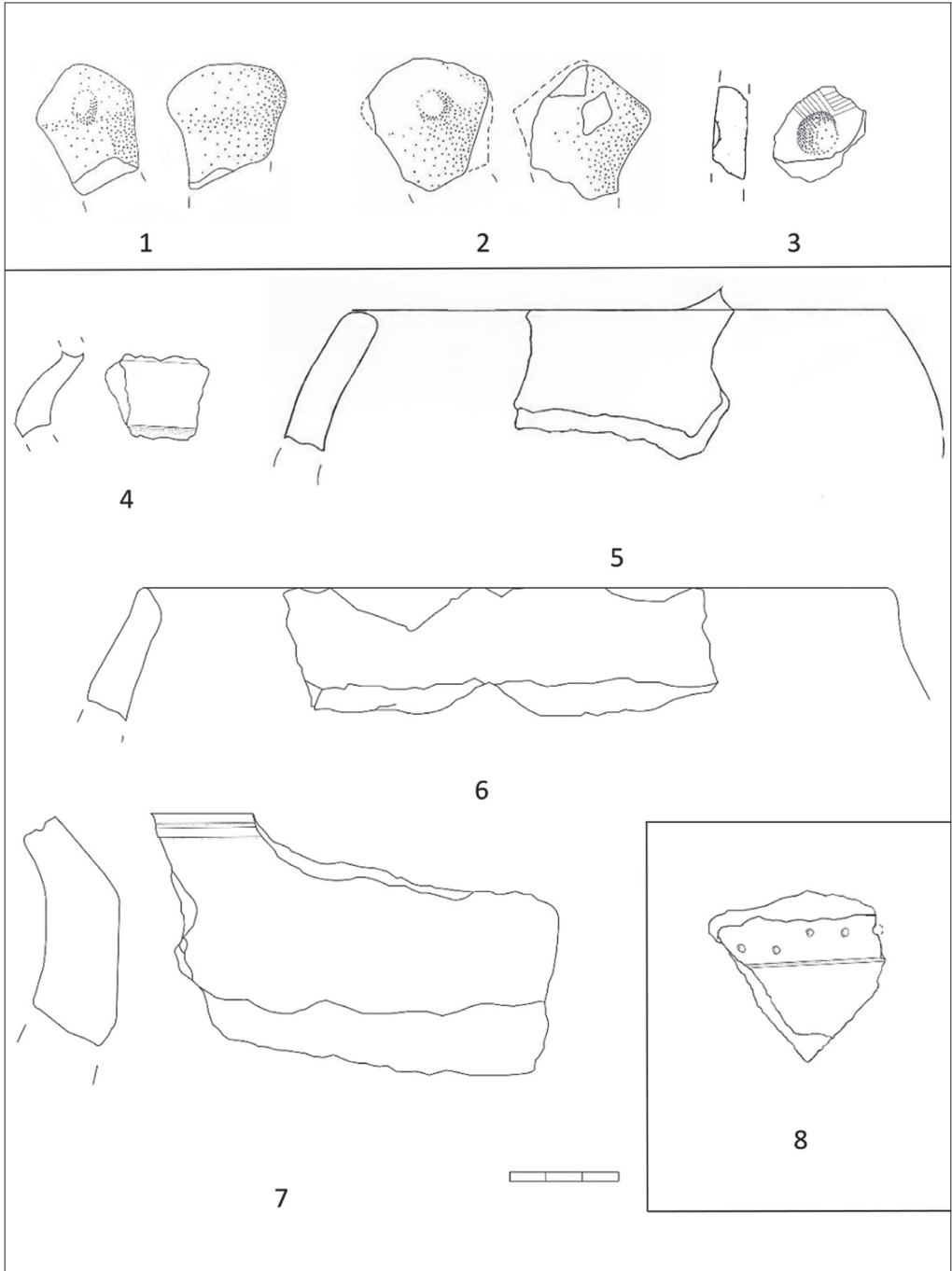


Fig. 8 - Materials from Palatine, southwestern area excavations (nn. 1-3), via Sant'Anselmo (nn. 4-7), *Comitium* (n. 8; from Romanelli 1984, fig. 5.4); figure composition Lisa Catalano.

Final Bronze Age 3 (or Latial Phase I; fig. 4)

The Capitoline Hill-Sant'Omobono settlement is now characterised by the first productive structures (workshops, or simply areas in which metals or pottery were processed) found at Rome (n. 2), and it is possible to attribute some of the burials found in the Forum of Caesar (n. 4) to this settlement. At the same time, burials and other ceramic fragments found at the Arch of Augustus (n. 5) can be linked with the few traces of settlement from the *Cerma-lus*, on the Palatine (n. 6), and from the Baths of Elagabalus (n. 7).

Less clear is the presence of an *askós* found at S. Maria della Vittoria (n. 8), probably part of a protohistoric necropolis destroyed by a votive deposit of the Orientalising period, linked to a further settlement on the Quirinal. An interesting new element is the publication of two sherds (unfortunately we don't know the exact localization) of this period, probably from the Esquiline (see *infra*, note 25).

On the ground of the interpretation of these data, we can now imagine the existence of two major settlements, one on the Capitol (including the S.Omobono area), of 8-9 ha., the other on the Palatine, of 12 ha.

Early Iron Age, Phase IIA (fig. 5)

The presence of 31 findspots indicates the potentially large size of the settlement in this period, and an increasing concentration that constitutes the prerequisite for the birth of the proto-urban centre. On the other hand, it's now possible to distinguish at least four different "foci" of settlements:

- a) *Capitoline Hill-Sant'Omobono* (and the ceramic fragments from the *Comitium*, n. 5) with the corresponding graveyard in the Forum of Caesar (n. 4; one grave also had ceramic fragments from the Capitol). While the

presence of four child burials on the Capitol (n. 3) fits Latial funerary customs, the grave of a juvenile male is harder to explain. At the same site, it is worth mentioning the presence of traces of iron manufacturing activity. As discussed in the previous phases, this settlement, including both the Capitol and the *Arx*, would measure about 8-9 ha.

- b) *Quirinal Hill*, indicated by the fragments found in Trajan Forum (n. 24) and the graves from Forum of Augustus (n. 23) and Forum of Nerva (n. 22). Other funerary contexts come from S. Maria della Vittoria (n. 25), the Ministero dell'Agricoltura (n. 2), and Castro Pretorio (n. 27). This settlement, occupying the first slope of the Quirinal Hill, the so-called *Collis Latiaris*, would measure about 5-6 ha.
- c) *Forum Valley-northern slopes of the Palatine* (probably including the *Velia*). It is possible to locate primary evidence (Arch of Augustus and the Temple of Antonino and Faustina, nn. 7 and 9) and secondary indications (nn. 6 and 8) of graveyards (distinguishable from other cemeteries due to the presence of a watercourse), together with a vast settlement area between the *Vicus Vestae* (n. 10) and the Baths of Elagabalus (n.13), with huts, terracing works, and a child's grave; the fragments collected in the *Meta Sudans* excavation (n. 14) probably also originated from here. There are huts at the Clivo Palatino site (n.11), and a child's grave has been found under one of these. Some additional pottery fragments come from the Republican age *Domus* (n. 12). The summit of the *Velia* was completely destroyed by the creation of the *Via dei Fori Imperiali*, but was likely oc-

cupied in antiquity⁶⁰; if it is included in this settlement, we would have an extent of 7-8 ha.

- d) *Palatine Hill*, with settlement evidence on the *Palatium* (nn. 15-17) and funerary contexts on the *Cermalus* (n. 18, Casa di Livia burial, nn. 19-21 secondary evidence). This settlement, limited to the summit of the *Palatium*, would measure about 9 ha.

A few settlement pottery fragments dated to this period come from an emergency excavation conducted on the Aventine (n. 31). It is important to note that one grave (n. 28) and other materials (nn. 29-31) from the Esquiline can be attributed to this phase (IIA2), suggesting an early beginning of the proto-urban centre cemetery, even if most of the development occurred in the subsequent IIB phase (Bettelli 1997; Pacciarelli 2001: 127, note 56; Alessandri 2013: 271; Fulminante 2014: 72)⁶¹.

If we compare this evidence with the high chronology (Phase IIA1) of the burials in the Forum of Caesar and in the Roman Forum⁶², we can imagine two different stages of evolution of the settlement:

- 1) The above described phase of various settlement foci of Latial Phase IIA1;
- 2) A first expansion of the Capitoline settlement toward the Quirinal and the formation of a second big set-

tlement including Palatine, Forum valley and *Velia* in Phase IIA2⁶³.

For the extent of the various settlements of Latial Phase IIA1, see the single cases above. The two enlarged settlements of Latial Phase IIA2 would measure about 39 ha for the Capitoline/Quirinal system and between and 36 and 60 ha for the Palatine/Forum Valley/*Velia* system (Fulminante 2014: 74).

Early Iron Age, Phase IIB (fig. 6)

In this period, we can finally recognize a unified and large proto-urban centre in the area between the Capitoline, Palatine, and Quirinal hills. It is possible to identify 18 settlement sites on the first two hills, while at least one find-spot (Piazza della Pilotta, n. 19) witnesses the occupation of the Quirinal⁶⁴. Huts are attested in the Forum of Caesar (n. 3), in Clivo Palatino (n. 11), in the Republican-age *Domus* area (n. 12, together with two child burials), in the Baths of Elagabalus (n. 13) and from the area of the “capanne romulee” on the Cermalus (Palatine, n. 18).

Metallurgical activities are attested on the Capitoline Hill (n. 2), while a pottery kiln was found in the Republican-age *Domus* area (n. 17). The more significant funerary contexts come from the Esquiline cemetery (n. 23). From this point onwards, this was the main Rome necropolis; two other graveyards are also found on the Quirinal (S. Maria della Vittoria, n. 20; Ministe-

⁶⁰ See also Carandini 2003, 239 note 38.

⁶¹ A very rough sketch by Lanciani of a *dolium* containing “little vases and some bronzes” was published by Isabella Damiani, who tentatively attributed this grave to phase IIA1 (Damiani, Parisi Presicce 2019, p. 202, fig. 4). As a matter of fact, a similar *dolium* is present in Esquiline t. 58, datable to phase IIA2 ((Gjerstad 1956, p. 187, fig. 164.1)

⁶² In this sense, Bettelli 1997 and Pacciarelli 2001.

⁶³ This process probably went on *during* this period, given the chronology of the Casa di Livia grave and of the Brown’s *Regia* context, both referring to Latial Phase IIA2. Compare also Fulminante 2014: 73, fig. 17.

⁶⁴ The only decorated ceramic fragment was dated in Bedini, Cordano 1980: 97 to phase III, but the type of cup fits well in Rome IIB typology of Marco Bettelli (Bettelli 1997, cups type 8, Tab. 67: 9).

ro dell'Agricoltura, n. 21) and in the Castro Pretorio neighborhood (n. 22).

As Giovanni Colonna wrote in an impressive paper on "Roma arcaica" (Colonna 1996), the Quirinal necropolis can be linked to an early route of the *Via Salaria*, while the Castro Pretorio one refers to a route toward the Tiburtine territory. Antonella Magagnini rightly observed, on the ground of the abovementioned findspots of phase IIA, that these ancient itineraries could already have been active in the 9th century BC (Magagnini 2005)⁶⁵. By this time the first large unified proto-urban settlement of Rome would measure at least 204 ha (Fulminante 2014: 79).

Early Iron Age, Phase III (fig. 7)

The 35 findspots of this period constitute the richest archaeological record of proto-historic Rome, to which the excavations on the northern slopes of the Palatine have added considerably (nn. 12-18) (Carandini *et alii* eds. 2017).

In addition to many sherds of this period found in secondary deposition, remains of huts and/or fireplaces have been found near the *Tabularium* on the Capitoline Hill (n. 4), in the Forum of Caesar (n. 5), in Brown's Regia (n. 10), at the *Aedes Vestae* (n. 12), in the *Domus Regia* (n. 14), on the Clivo Palatino (n. 15), in the Republican-age *Domus* area (n. 17), at the Baths of Elagabalus (n. n. 19), and across the southwestern sector of the Palatine (n. 25 - "area delle capanne romulee"). In this period on the Capitol (n. 2) we also have the remains of metallurgical activities, and a pottery kiln is found in Forum of Caesar (n. 5).

To the list of infant graves found in the settlement area (nn. 5,10, 11, 14), we can

now add some "special" tombs considered "foundation rites" by the archaeologists (under the *Domus Regia*, n. 14 and in the fortification wall at *Porta Mugonia*, n. 18). We can also point to the unusual presence of two juvenile graves found on the Capitoline Hill (n. 3), also if individual burials within the settlement area are known from many proto-urban centres (Guidi 2008 and Bonghi-Jovino 2008).

In this period, the main necropolis was again the Esquiline cemetery (nn. 22-23), while two other graveyards are attested in Castro Pretorio (n. 31) and on the Quirinal (nn. 26-27), where funerary findings are also attested at Villa Spithover [n. 29] and, significantly, at Porta Salaria (n.30). The presence of a third necropolis can be suggested by two findspots on the Caelian Hill (nn. 34-35); between these two areas, funerary assemblages datable to the Orientalising period were identified during renovation works at the Lateran Palace, near the Cathedral of St. John (Buranelli, Le Pera Buranelli 1997; Fulminante 2014: 80-82, fig. 21). Colonna rightly linked this evidence to the routes from Rome to the Alban Hills (Colonna 1996).

If we include the Caelian Hill in the inhabited area, the settlement of Rome in this phase would measure about 234 ha; without the Caelian Hill, it would be about 210 ha (Fulminante 2014: 81).

The most impressive data regarding the existence of a real "social stratification" are the well-documented rich warrior and female tombs of the Esquiline and the impressive children's graves in the Roman Forum (n.11) and in the *Domus Regia* (n.14)⁶⁶.

For two of the settlement sites, the *Domus Regia* and the *Aedes Vestae*, a reconstruction that emphasises the charac-

⁶⁵ On the continuity or significant discontinuity between paths and routes in pre-historic and proto-historic times and later historical times see also Fulminante, Witcher 2017.

⁶⁶ On the interpretation of funerary customs in Rome and Latium in relation to the development of social stratification, see also Fulminante 2003 and Fulminante, Stoddart 2012.

teristics of these buildings as public monuments, hearth of the political and religious power of the city, has been proposed (Carandini 2006: fig. 39-41). It must also be noted that Greek imported and imitation pottery is present in these two contexts, just as at Sant'Omobono (n.1), which by this phase was a proper "port of trade" (La Rocca 1982 and recently Filippi 2005 with previous references).

Finally, after 750 BC in Latial Phase IIIB, it is possible to detect several important innovations:

- 1) Remains of fortifications in two sites on the northern slopes of the Palatine, the *Clivo Palatino* (n. 16) and the portion identified as the archaic *Porta Mugonia* (n. 18) and under the Capitoline Hill in the *Carcer Tullianum* (n. 6); this is not surprising given the ever growing evidence of Latial defensive works in the Final Bronze Age and in the Early Iron Age (Fontaine, Helas 2016).
- 2) Votive deposits such as the *Favissa Capitolina* (n. 3), which together with some material coming from the *Meta Sudans* (n. 20) and the *Aedes Vestae*, demonstrate the presence of sanctuaries (in this phase, elaborate huts were used for ritual purposes).
- 3) Two cases of burials within the settlement area without grave furniture; each of them constitutes a group of three (*Carcer Mamertinus* n. 6) or four inhumations (*Equus Domitiani*, n. 8) pertaining to a family group. All of the men had their arms tied, a characteristic that, to-

gether with the anomalous context, may indicate a sort of punishment, possibly due to the transgression of a well-defined *corpus* of laws.

- 4) The presence of the first floor of the *Comitium* (Carafa 2005, 2014), the first "public space" of the city, dated to the second half of the 8th century BC.
- 5) Although there are no dated fragments from the excavation at the *Vicus Vestae*⁶⁷, Nikolaos Arvanitis has identified a road dating to phase IIIB (Arvanitis 2017: 181). Furthermore, he wrote that other parts of this road are detectable in parts of the Forum valley and between the Forum and the *Meta Sudans* (Zeggio 2006). We can suppose the existence in this phase of an intricate network of roads in the heart of Rome⁶⁸.

In conclusion, the archaeological record of phase III indicates that a sort of "heterarchy", typical of the pre-urban (phase IIA) and proto-urban (phase IIB) phases, is now permanently replaced by a true hierarchical system with the Palatine at the top of Rome settlement system. At the same time, we can perceive the existence of a proper urban centre that is much larger and complex in scale compared to other Latial centres (*Gabii* or *Ardea* do not exceed a size of 60-80 ha). Many ancient authors indicate the existence of a true monarchical government in Rome in the second half of the 8th century BC; we hope that future investigations can shed further light on the correlation between archaeological and historical sources.

F.F., A.G.

⁶⁷ For this reason, we decided not to insert this findspot in our list (this also applies to some other cases for the excavations on the northern slopes of the Palatine).

⁶⁸ For the significance of this network connecting settlement areas within the city and with other nearby communities in Etruria and Latium Vetus, and for its importance in the development of Rome and other Latin urban centres, see Fulminante 2012 and Fulminante, Witcher 2017.