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Beyond the grave: the funerary landscapes of the Italian peninsula, ca. 1-700 CE

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Abstract

Much of our understanding of the funerary archaeology of Roman, late antique, and early medieval Italy is based upon a restricted number of case study sites. Where regional syntheses have been undertaken, these typically focus on rural areas to the exclusion of urban data, examine only a small geographical area such as single city, or consider only a limited time span. This thesis moves beyond these shortcomings by considering larger areas over a longer period–the first seven centuries CE–to provide a fuller understanding of diachronic change in Italy's funerary landscapes.

Analysis centres on two case study regions, the densely urbanised landscape of Central Campania in the south and the less urbanised lands of Trentino in the north. I employ a range of spatial and statistical techniques within ArcGIS supplemented by individual site-level case studies to cast new light on burial within the wider landscape. It argues that in areas of denser urbanisation, the placement of burials can be distorted by the presence of important commemorative (and competitive) venues like cities. This may indicate that not everyone who lived and died in the countryside was buried nearby, though considerable variation in the density of suburban burials can also be observed through time and space, underlining that this was not a static phenomenon.

Many people, however, were certainly buried in the countryside, and this thesis also examines the placement of their graves relative to other landscape features like rural settlement, field boundaries and roads. It finds that assumptions about the proximity of burials to settlements and field boundaries are not tenable in all cases, though they should not be overlooked. In contrast, the placement of burials along roads remains relatively secure through time, suggesting that visibility and accessibility remained important factors in choosing of burial places. This assessment of Italy's funerary landscapes concludes by considering other key factors connected to memory: the differential longevity of funerary site use and the late antique practice of burial within repurposed earlier structures. Taken together, these themes have important implications for how ancient communities living within diverse landscapes thought about their past and expressed themselves in their present.

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1. Introduction

1.1 The state of the field

"No one is finally dead until the ripples they cause in the world die away, until the clock wound up winds down, until the wine she made has finished its ferment, until the crop they planted is harvested. The span of someone's life is only the core of their actual existence."

- Terry Pratchett, *Reaper Man*

Death and burial in the Roman Italy have been the subject of copious archaeological research, though scholarship has often focussed on small-scale studies of individual sites. More recently, a growing appreciation of the place of burials in the landscape, drawing on work undertaken in prehistory, has highlighted the role that a larger scale approach, often powered by Geographic Information Systems (GIS), can play in contributing to our understanding of how and where the dead were buried and commemorated. However, this existing work has typically focussed on either rural or urban areas alone, each to the exclusion of the other; burials in town and country are not typically studied together. In analysing burials in town and country separately, past scholars have created a false dichotomy between the two, which risks implying that there was no connection between the place of burials in the wider landscape and the broader settlement systems.

The last four decades have also seen an upswing of interest in exploring the political, religious, social, economic, and material changes that took place during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.[1] However, despite this, burials of the late antique and early medieval period have been almost entirely excluded from landscape studies focussing on the Italian Peninsula. Studying burials has significant potential to advance our knowledge of the period, especially when investigating non-elite milieus usually ignored by written sources. The funerary record of late antique and early medieval Italy is exceptionally rich and complex; Augenti has recently termed it "un importante serbatoio potenziale di significati, un veicolo di affermazione e trasmissione dell'identità dell'individuo e del gruppo."[2] The research undertaken into the mortuary archaeology of both the Roman period and what happened after it, however, has focussed largely on individual sites or themes; regional studies examining individual areas are less common, though not unknown. Little work has been done

[1] Recent syntheses of late antique Italian archaeology: Augenti 2016; Christie 2006; Wickham 1999. Historical syntheses incorporating archaeological evidence: La Rocca 2002; Wickham 2005; Arnaldi 2017; Wickham 1981.
[2] Augenti 2016, 210.

to synthesise these studies and place them within a framework through which to compare different regions of Italy.

1.2. Scope, aims and research questions

The research presented in this thesis began from an interest in examining burials inserted into Roman villas from the 4th century onwards from a landscape perspective. It was quickly realised that studying these burials in isolation from other graves sets them apart from their wider context, and it was therefore necessary to study the whole burial record of circumscribed regions during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. From here it was only a short step to realising that to understand developments during the end of the Roman period and beyond, we need to look at what went before. In other words, a landscape study of burials in Italy is best approached from a long-term perspective which compares different parts of the peninsula.

No thesis provides space to examine every facet of the burial record, and so this thesis concentrates primarily on four overlapping themes: (i) the overall distribution of burials and whether these are evenly spread across the landscape, or whether they cluster in particular areas, for example near cities or roads; (ii) the spatial relations between burials and specific types of settlements relating to different social milieus; (iii) relations of burials to paths of movement and boundaries; and (iv) the longevity and biographies of these sites and their relationship to pre-existing structures. A largescale landscape approach that examines burials in both town and country can shed new light on many aspects of death and burial In Italy connected to these themes. The research undertaken in this thesis will explore the following questions:

1. **Overall distribution of burials**:
    a. Is the distribution of burial sites influenced by overall levels of urbanisation in different regions?
    b. Does this distribution change through time?
    c. How are monumental funerary sites distributed between suburban and rural areas?
2. **Relations of burials to settlements and other sites in towns and country**:

a. Are there differences between the cemeteries in the suburbs of different cities? How does burial in the suburbs of different cities change through time?
b. What is the spatial relationship between burial sites and different types of rural settlement? Do these spatial relationships change over time?
c. What proportion of late antique and early medieval burials are located inside churches? How does burial in churches impact the visibility of burials?

3. **Relations of burial sites to paths of movements and boundaries:**
    a. Are burial sites consistently located near to roads or known boundaries? Can many burial sites be seen from roads?
    b. Does one or the other landscape feature exercise a greater influence over the site of burials?
    c. Does the relation of burial sites to roads and boundaries change through time?
4. **Memory, site biography and place:**
    a. How long are cemeteries used for burials? What can we say about the use of cemeteries after burials ceased to be made? Do cemeteries experience different biographies in areas with different levels of urbanisation?
    b. What proportion of burials are located within contexts of reuse? How many burials were located in these sites and what does this tell us about their use? How does burial inside earlier structures impact the visibility of graves?

These questions will be answered by studying the burial records from two different areas of Italy: Central Campania in the south and Trentino in the north (Figure 1). These areas were chosen for three reasons. First, both have been strong burial records which result from past research, part of which specifically examines burials, though much of it does not; where burials were the focus, they were usually not studied over the long term. Secondly, these different regions, with distinct natural landscapes, both had different political and land tenure histories, different levels of urbanism and rural settlement patterns. This diversity allows for greater exploration of a wider range of lived experiences in the past. Thirdly, since several areas – Rome, its port at Ostia, and the hinterland of Pompeii – have received considerably more scholarly attention than other parts of Italy, this choice of case studies will broaden our understanding of funerary landscapes across the peninsula.



Figure 1 The two case study regions of Italy, Trentino and Central Campania, investigated in this thesis

1.3. Thesis structure and a note on site nomenclature

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 reviews the importance of archaeological studies of landscape, before examining how landscape studies have largely been excluded from studies of death and burial in Italy. It then summarises existing research related to each of the key themes outlined above. Chapter 3 reviews methodological considerations and data sources, as well as outlining some limitations to this kind of study. Chapter 4 comprises the first case study. It interrogates the highly urbanised funerary landscape of Central Campania and argues that the density of urban settlements in that region had a distorting effect on where people were buried and commemorated, with urban centres playing an outsized role in commemoration. Chapter 5, the second case study, centres on the less urbanised landscape of Trentino, where it appears that rural burial played a more important role in commemoration due to the greater distance most people lived from cities. Chapter 6 discusses the findings of the case studies and contextualises them within wider research, while outlining the implications of this study for our understanding of Italy's funerary landscapes in the 1st to 7th centuries CE.

The text is accompanied by six appendices in Microsoft Excel sheets, which contain funerary site data from Central Campania (Appendix 1), non-funerary site data from Central Campania (Appendix 2), funerary site data from Trentino (Appendix 3) and non-funerary rural site data from Trentino (Appendix 4) respectively.[3] Lists of decontextualised inscriptions from the territory of *Aeclanum* and Trentino are provided in Appendices 5 and 6. For the sake of brevity and clarity, sites from the appendices are cited in the text in bold with an Appendix-Catalogue number: **1-1**, therefore, refers to Appendix 1, site 1.

[3] Supporting evidence for non-funerary activity in suburban and urban areas was not systematically mapped due to space and time constraints and is introduced as needed in the text.

2. Literature review: past work on funerary landscapes and on funerary archaeology in Italy

Studies of funerary archaeology in Roman, late antique, and early medieval Italy have traditionally been focussed on site-level analysis. While landscape studies provide an opportunity to move beyond individual sites to develop a broader analysis of the past, most attention has been paid to settlements and agricultural production sites, rather than burials. The first part of this chapter begins by reviewing the history of landscape studies in both rural and urban environments in Italy and demonstrating that burials have often been ignored or excluded from analyses, with some notable expectations. It then introduces the concept of funerary landscapes and outlines the benefits both processualprocessualismprocessualist approaches have brought to the field and underlines how these approaches have yet to be fully utilised in classical archaeology. In particular, it emphasises the importance of funerary sites as *foci* for the creation and curation of social memory. It then explores key themes which have emerged from funerary landscape studies in other periods and places and outlines how these insights can be brought to bear on the funerary landscapes of Italy over the *longue durée.*

The remainder of this chapter then explores existing work on the funerary archaeology of Roman, late antique, and early medieval Italy. It first looks at the place of burials in the suburbs and suggests that seemingly homogenous models of suburban funerary landscapes, which emphasise the importance of tomb streets as places for commemoration, may mask considerably variation in burial practices. It then examines the relationship between tombs and various types of settlement sites in the countryside, where previous scholarship on the Roman period has emphasised the study of villas above all else, leaving much work to be done to understand the relations between burials and other forms of settlement. Late antiquity and the early Middle Ages were marked by the emergence of new settlement types in the countryside and the growing importance of churches. The broader implications of these changes for Italy's funerary landscapes have yet to be analysed in any detail.

The following section shows that despite the emphasis on the connection between burials and roads in the suburbs, the study of the role of Roman roads shaping rural funerary landscapes over the *longue durée* is underdeveloped. Greater attention has been paid to the

role of boundaries as places for burials, though there remains room for further analysis in an increased number of study areas. The review of existing work in Italian funerary archaeology closes by looking at two important themes which are intimately connected with memory: the "biographies" of burial sites, and the reuse of earlier spaces for burial. The former is an emerging field which facilitates exploration of the lasting impact of extant burial sites in the landscape. The second has absorbed more scholarly energy, with the principal areas of interest centring on burial inside villas and in intramural contexts. While the appearance of burials in these spaces, which were previously the preserve of the living, can partially be explained by practical considerations, more symbolic motives have also been suggested. However, burials in both types of reused space have largely been considered in isolation in past research, and we can advance our understanding by studying them within the wider framework of regional funerary landscapes.

2.1. Landscape archaeology: a means to move beyond individual sites

Landscape archaeology—the study of past landscapes through material remains—provides a means to elucidate the relation between sites (or areas of a large site such as a town) in their natural and cultural contexts to facilitate broader understandings of past societies on a regional, sub-regional, micro-regional or even intra-site level. Landscape approaches can therefore be applied equally fruitfully to rural, urban, and peri- urban environs, as we shall see throughout this thesis.

The concept of a landscape as a palimpsest, with a range of features worthy of archaeological interrogation, has a history going back over half a century.[4] Recent theoretical work has debated the precise definition and mechanics of landscape, but there has been a growing appreciation of "two quite different understandings of the term 'landscape': as a territory that can be apprehended visually, and as a set of relationships between people and places which provides the context for everyday conduct."[5] Both of these understandings of landscape merit detailed consideration and will be examined in this thesis.

[4] Crawford 1953, 55.

[5] Thomas 2001, 207-208.

2.1.1 Landscape archaeology's development and the exclusion of burials

Landscape archaeology largely evolved through work undertaken in Italy. The primary focus has been on settlements and demography, with burials largely excluded from consideration. Potter has observed that interest in the topography of ancient landscapes in South Etruria dates back as far as the 16th century, with renewed interest in the 19th century.[6] A major advance came with Ashby's systematic recording of surface remains along roads leading out of Rome in the early 20th century.[7] This then formed the basis for speculation about the nature of the countryside in antiquity. Since Ashby's methodology was reliant on surface remains, he likely detected only above-ground funerary monuments, usually of an imposing nature and therefore relating only to elevated echelons of society that could afford expensive tombs.

More recent landscape approaches in Italy have championed non-invasive techniques of field survey as a means of detecting sites. Field survey was first applied in Italy in response to a 1950 land reform law, which led to massive swathes of land in central Italy coming under cultivation; rescue operations were launched to record the many sites that were to be ploughed. Although by no means the only survey to take place, the largest and most influential project was the South Etruria Survey which ran from 1955 until the 1970s. The project surveyed more than 850km^2 of the territory to the north of Rome, identifying over 2,000 sites of all periods from the Neolithic to the Middle Ages.[8] The new data generated allowed for the creation of a historical narrative about long-term human use of the landscape in the area north of Rome which was distinct from that provided by textual sources alone. Field survey has been viewed as an efficient method to identify enormous numbers of buried sites, without the need for time-consuming and costly excavations.

Landscapes undergo constant change, both because of natural processes and human actions. A key aspect of landscape archaeology is the creation of a series of snapshots within well-defined chronological intervals to distinguish changing spatial patterns. This typically means that landscape studies, especially those undertaken on a regional basis, cover the *longue durée*. This term, developed by the French *Annales* school of history, has come to refer to long term trends over centuries or millennia.[9] A long-term approach allows change to be

[6] Potter 1979, 1, discussing Della Volpaia 1914 [1547]; Gell 1834; Nibby 1837.

[7] Potter 1979; Hodges 2000, 35-36; Ashby 1906, 1907, 1927; Laurence 2012, 15-16.

[8] Potter 1979; Patterson & Millett 1998; Patterson et al. 2020.

[9] Braudel 1980. *Longue duree* in archaeology: Ames 1991.

tracked over time and to develop a broader historical approach to the ways that past populations interacted with the landscape. This aim remains almost constant, but methodologies, sampling, and material collection strategies used to assess these aims have been subject to considerable debate.[10] Most studies rely on identifying signs of activity, principally pottery scatters and remnants of architectural elements.

Artefact scatters and architectural elements are frequently interpreted as indicators of settlements, meaning that the place of burials in the wider landscape has been side-lined. A preoccupation with demographic questions has led to artefact scatters being identified almost universally as settlements, though subsequent excavation can sometimes demonstrates that this is an oversimplification: pottery scatters excavated by the Roman Peasant Project, for example, were found to relate to a late Republican/early Imperial tile-kiln, a granary, a possible cistern and an agro-processing site.[11] Cemeteries have been particularly neglected by survey archaeology.[12] Bones, one potential indicator of cemeteries, are not routinely collected during surface surveys. Additionally, Witcher has observed that Roman-period artefact scatters at the Etruscan cemeteries of Cerveteri have been interpreted as "farms," without considering the possibility that graves could have generated largely identical material remains.[13] As Bintliff writes, "cemeteries are difficult to distinguish from domestic occupation or rubbish dumping, since their gifts and ritual debris are predominantly comparable to ordinary domestic debris."[14] This ambiguity is reflected by the designation used for the smallest class of site in the Albegna Valley Survey: 'Farm/Tomb.'[15] As a result, cemetery remains are not readily identifiable in the survey record and are therefore underrepresented in published reports. In turn, this means that the placement of cemeteries within the broader landscapes studied by surveys has been under-examined.

Turning away from rural environs, landscape archaeology has been shown to be equally applicable to buried urban sites, especially if they are not overlain by later remains. Beginning with pioneering surveys undertaken by Bintliff and Snodgrass in the 1980s in Boeotia, urban

[10] Papers in Francovich & Patterson 1999.
[11] Bowes 2020.
[12] Witcher 2006, 55-57.
[13] Witcher 2006, 56.
[14] Bintliff 2012, 50.
[15] Fentress 2009, 141.

survey has become a "flourishing" sub-discipline of Mediterranean archaeology.[16] In Italy a large number of Roman urban sites have either already been surveyed or are currently undergoing survey, sometimes in conjunction with wider surveys of the surrounding countryside.[17] Methods include traditional field survey techniques of intensive artefact collection within defined spatial units, alongside non-invasive techniques of geophysical prospection, notably ground penetrating radar and magnetometry, sometimes accompanied by targeted keyhole excavation for "ground truthing." Scholars have stressed the potential for urban survey to elucidate the development, extent and layout of cities,[18] while Millett has even gone so far as to argue that keyhole excavation cannot provide qualitatively better data than non-invasive survey for understanding urban contexts.[19]

However, we must be aware that at least as far as burials are concerned, non-invasive survey has considerable limitations. When urban surveys employ traditional methods of artefact collection, they face the same difficulties in identifying graves (especially when graves are placed in earlier structures), which we have already discussed in relation to rural surveys. Additionally, the effectiveness of geophysical techniques varies considerably according to soil type, and the employment of these techniques must be carefully considered to achieve optimal results. Geophysics have not yet proved capable of consistently identifying or dating cemeteries across many sites. Geophysical survey has so far only proved successful in the identification of urban cemeteries in a limited number of cases, most notably at Silchester in Hampshire and at Falerii Novii (VT).[20]

If burials are underrepresented in landscape archaeology which is derived from field surveys and other non-invasive methods, we should not despair. Field survey has concentrated primarily, though not exclusively, on western central Italy.[21] However, huge amounts of excavation have taken place across much of the peninsula thanks both to research initiatives and rescue excavations undertaken in line with cultural heritage protection laws. The various *Carte Archeologiche* volumes alongside a host of regional archaeological journals

[16] Bintliff & Snodgrass 1988; De Ligt 2012, 183.

[17] Papers in Johnson & Millett 2012; Vermeulen et al. 2012.

[18] Johnson 2012; Millett 2012.

[19] Millett 2012.

[20] Creighton & Fry 2016, 369-387; Johnson & Millet 2012, 2-3; Millett 2012, 29.

[21] Christie 2006, 4.

provide large stores of data with which to explore past landscapes.[22] These data, though not without biases conditioned by the locations modern scholars want to research or developers want to build, provide an alternative means to explore past landscapes. For example, data derived from the *Carte Archeologiche* allowed Nicola Mancassola and Fabio Saggioro to trace the history of rural settlement in the provinces of Brescia, Verona and Mantua, between Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages by amalgamating data from more than one hundred sites.[23] Whilst this kind of work has focussed primarily on the history of settlement in the region, rather than on the potential value of funerary archaeology, their success demonstrates the feasibility of using excavation data to study landscape use. An analogous approach based on collation of data from all known excavations and chance finds therefore provides an opportunity to fill the gap in landscape studies of burials. When landscape approaches are combined with an emphasis on burial data from excavation, we can begin to restore the human dimension to the study of ancient landscapes. With this in mind, we will now examine how comparative work on the placement of burials within landscapes has informed the archaeology of other periods and regions.

2.1.2 What are funerary landscapes? Processualist and post-processualist approaches

Ethnographic, historical, and archaeological studies have demonstrated the importance of burial location, which is frequently driven by more than merely practical considerations.[24] In response to this observation, Laqueur coined the term "the work of the dead" to describe the ways in which the bodies of the deceased are used to create and sustain meaning in the present.[25] The treatment and disposal of human bodies creates a "community of memory,"[26] and the placement of graves and the corpses they contain – which he terms "necrogeographies" – are a key part of the way that societies understand and utilise the departed. Moreover, shifts in burial pattern create opportunities for the dead, allowing them to "do new work" and to be understood differently by the living.[27] Laqueur's conception of necrogeographies are intimately connected with "funerary" or "mortuary" landscapes – the

[22] *Carte Archeologia:* Laviosa Zambotti 1934; Roberti 1954, 1952; Lugli 1962; Capuis et al. 1988.
[23] Mancassola & Saggioro 2002.
[24] Parker Pearson 2003, 124-141.
[25] Laqueur 2015, 16-17.
[26] Laqueur 2015, 22.
[27] Laqueur 2015, 217.

study of the wider context of graves. Understanding the placement of graves in the landscape has long been viewed as a powerful tool for understanding both attitudes to death and the use of the dead as proxies for social structures and expressions of power in past societies. The concept of funerary landscapes has developed through the study of disparate places and periods, though most of the key early studies were concerned with prehistoric Europe.

Before progressing to a discussion of key themes and concepts examined by previous scholars, we must briefly outline the two primary schools of thought which have influenced the formation of the field: processualism and post-processualism. It is worth noting from the outset that perspectives drawn from both schools of thought will be employed throughout this thesis. Processualist approaches are concerned with reconstructing the past *as it was* through processes of change. In this tradition, studies of funerary landscapes explored the location of burials in relation to prominent places in the landscape, and how and why these patterns shifted over time.[28] Post-processualist schools of thought have sought to restore a human element to the landscape by investigating how individuals in the past were able to create, influence, and generate meaning through material culture – in this case, graves, and their placement within a wider context of natural and manmade remains.[29]

An interest in investigating meaning has led to a distinction between *space* as the objective physical setting within which human actions occur, and *place,* which refers to significant locations, ascribed importance due to their association with perceived past events, whether real or mythical.[30] This distinction is useful for helping us to understand how certain places within a landscape, including those of a funerary nature, are imbued with significance. Such perspectives are also useful because they remind us that graves are not necessarily one-time events, significant only at the time of a burial, and graves located in more topographically significant places and/or of a more monumental nature can sometimes endure in the landscape over an extended period.[31]

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[28] Stone & Stirling 2007, 13.

[29] On post-processualism: e.g. papers in Miller & Tilley 1994; Hodder 1982; Hodder 2012.

[30] E.g. Tilley 1994b; Coleman & Collins 2006; Van Dyke & Alcock 2003, 5. Place in archaeological landscapes: Blake 1997, 1998; Alcock 2002, 2001; Bradley 1998, 2000; Holtorf 1998; papers in Ashmore & Knapp 1999 Williams 1997.

[31] Daróczi 2012, criticising Vavouranakis 2007; Miller 2011.

This emphasis on the potential long-term implications of graves strongly interfaces with another key concept in recent research, that of social memory. This term can be broadly defined as the collectively constructed notion of "the way things were in the past."[32] Perceptions of social memory vary with gender, ethnicity, social status, and other facets of identity. Social memory is mutable over time as it reflects not a facsimile of past events but rather that which society *chooses* to remember "according to the needs of the present."[33] Moreover, the subjective nature of social memory can be used to reinforce elite power and control.[34] As Le Goff remarked: "Collective memory […] is one of the great stakes of developed and developing societies, of dominated and dominating classes, all of them struggling for power or for life, for survival and advancement."[35] Social memory need not always be pressed into the service of elites and may be utilised to further social cohesion within a community, as some scholars have argued is the case for the epigraphic and iconographic habits of freedmen in the city of Rome.[36] However, as Van Dyke and Alcock note, the nature of material evidence means that in practice elite efforts to control memory frequently have greater archaeological visibility than those of the non-elite.[37]

Indeed, not all types of memory are equally visible in the archaeological record. Important work by Connerton defines two key strands of social memory: *inscribed* memory, based on material evidence, including monuments and texts; and *embodied* memory, based on ritual and other human actions which may or may not leave an archaeological footprint.[38] Rowlands offers a different approach, drawing a dichotomy between the publicly *inscribed* memory, visible in places of public access and/or during regularly repeated rituals, and *incorporated* memory, which features a more private character and may be opaque to outsiders.[39] The approach adopted in this study is largely geared towards the study of inscribed memory as outlined by Connerton, as this kind of tradition is more easily accessible through analysis of the material record at a macro-scale. Where appropriate, however,

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[32] Van Dyke & Alcock 2003, 2. See also Connerton 1989; Halbwachs 1975 [1925], 1992 [1950]; Hutton 1993.

[33] Van Dyke & Alcock 2003, 3. See also Gosden & Lock 1998.

[34] papers in Alcock 2002; Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Jonker 1995.

[35] Le Goff 1992, 97–98.

[36] E.g. Mouritsen 2011. For criticism: Petersen 2006.

[37] Van Dyke & Alcock 2003, 3. See also Blake 1997, 1998; Basso 1996.

[38] Connerton 1989. See also Van Dyke & Alcock 2003, 3-5.

[39] Rowlands 1993.

insights will be included from the field of embodied memory, as this can sometimes be detected in carefully excavated and recorded sites with good levels of preservation.

Finally, post-processualist archaeologists have also introduced phenomenological methodologies to the study of funerary landscapes in an attempt to understand *how* societies, groups, and individuals experienced landscapes in the past.[40] As Witcher has noted, there is a tendency for archaeologists to reduce ancient landscapes to two-dimensional plans.[41] Phenomenological approaches restore a sense of the three-dimensional by appreciating the many spatial and experiential aspects of Roman, late antique, and early medieval funerary ritual. Johanson, working under the rubric of funerary *cityscapes,* has sketched the social aspects of elite Roman funerals, situating them within the physical landscape of the city of Rome and the tombs in its hinterland.[42] This approach, though partly reliant on diverse evidential forms to recreate elements of a funeral which may not have appeared together at one time, illustrates how the physical, sensory, and emotional setting of a funeral could contribute to a charged atmosphere for mourners. Similarly, Dimakis has called for the broader utilisation of the concept of "deathscapes."[43] Developed by social geographers, deathscapes "[…] invoke both the places associated with death and for the dead, and how these are imbued with meanings and associations."[44] The broader implications of "deathscapes" for our understanding of burial in the Roman through early medieval period will go far beyond the themes which can be explored in this thesis, but for our present purposes it suffices to note that the impact of death and burial in the landscape is not limited to the burial site itself and must be nested within the wider landscape context.

The study of funerary landscapes in Roman, late antique, and early medieval archaeology remains relatively underdeveloped, providing many opportunities for further research. Two divergent approaches to the employment of the term "funerary landscape" are visible in the extant scholarship, which may be distinguished by the scale at which they approach landscapes. The first is broadly concerned with small-scale analyses, and represents traditional reviews of funerary evidence, focused on ritual, human remains, and architecture,

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[40] Tilley 1994b; Gosden 1994; Thomas 1996.

[41] Witcher 2006, 58-59.

[42] Johanson 2011.

[43] Dimakis 2015.

[44] Maddrell & Sidaway 2010a, 4. See also Hartig & Dunn 1998; Teather 1998; Kong 1999 and now also papers in Maddrell & Sidaway 2010b.

instead of spatial analysis. Stone and Sterling, in the introduction to a volume suggestively titled *Mortuary Landscapes of North Africa,* stress the value of tombs as foci within a wider landscape, arguing that they are a "material representation of […] identities […] marking a physical presence in a territory."[45] Though this statement may be encouraging to find in an important edited volume, spatial concerns are not discussed in detail in the book.[46] This tendency is also on view in Borg's study of 3rd-century tombs in Rome and Ostia, which again largely adheres to established routes of data collection, consideration, and interpretation. Despite this, her conclusion begins: "[t]he funerary landscape […] turned out to be anything but a bleak, squalid space with run-down tombs of previous eras that were re-used at liberty, in an anarchic manner, and with rather dubious aesthetic results.[47] This use of the term 'landscape' is one explicitly grounded in the immediate areas of the tombs themselves and remains grounded in the established concerns of funerary archaeology.

The second type of study which uses the term "funerary landscapes" employs medium- and largescale analyses, sometimes employing GIS technologies and spatial analysis techniques. These types of study more fully embrace spatial approaches to "funerary landscapes," leading to substantial insights into the ancient Mediterranean and beyond. Major contributions have been made by two edited volumes, which set the agenda for the study of ancient funerary landscapes down to the present. The first, the result of a 1992 congress, focuses explicitly on the landscape setting of relations between the living and the dead in Gaul, as is signalled by its title*, Monde des morts, monde des vivants en Gaule rurale.*[48] The editor argues forcefully that archaeologists and historians investigating rural Roman landscapes have frequently excluded burials from their studies.[49] The resultant volume is in part a reaction against this and seeks to revaluate the place of burials within the rural landscape.

The second key volume, *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World,* focussed on holistic analysis of funerary archaeology, concentrating primarily on the early imperial period, though some papers do discuss late antique material.[50] Pearce's introductory chapter to this

[45] Stone & Stirling 2007, 21.
[46] Botturi 2016, 2017.
[47] Borg 2013, 271.
[48] Ferdière 1993b.
[49] Ferdière 1993a, 12.
[50] Pearce et al. 2000.

volume provides a number of important insights about burial topography in the ancient world, to which we will return in the sections that follow.[51] Most importantly, he draws attention to the ability of GIS-based studies to contribute to our knowledge of Roman funerary landscapes as has been done in studies of earlier periods. Despite this plea for further work, a more recent contribution by the same author notes that studies focusing on tombs in the landscape have yet to materialise in great quantities.[52] Since these books were published, several further studies of funerary landscapes have emerged, most notably those by Francisci and Botturi.[53] Analysis of early medieval funerary landscapes has been limited, with most work focusing on Anglo-Saxon contexts in Dorset, West Sussex, Kent and East Yorkshire.[54] To the best of the present author's knowledge, no studies of this kind have been undertaken in Italy. The insights drawn from these volumes and from others will be discussed next.

2.1.3 Funerary landscapes: key themes in existing research

Despite their broad geographical and chronological range, studies of funerary landscapes have primarily investigated a small range of core concerns, many, but not all, of which have been powered using GIS applications since the 1980s. It should be stressed from the outset that the study of funerary landscapes is deeply indebted to pre- and protohistory, and as we saw in the previous section, comparatively limited work has been undertaken on Roman through early medieval funerary landscapes; the work which has been in this area will be flagged wherever possible. The key strands of research can be summarised as shown below.[55]

The placement of tombs in relation to settlements: The importance of relations between settlements and burials as a means for understanding commemoration strategies has been underlined by a variety of studies dealing with prehistoric and protostoric Europe.[56] In Roman, late antique, and early medieval archaeology, the spatial relations between the

[51] Pearce 2000.

[52] Pearce 2017, 15.

[53] Botturi 2017; Francisci 2017a.

[54] E.g., Semple 2008; Semple 2003; Lucy 1992, 1991; Brookes 2007; Dickinson 2012; Dickinson et al. 2011; Mees 2019, 2014.

[55] Previous summary: Déderix 2014.

[56] Parker Pearson 2003, 124-130, 1993.

living and the dead have received extensive scholarly attention. This analysis has often at a site-level resolution and will be discussed in greater detail below (sections 2.2.3). For now, it suffices to acknowledge the widespread assumption that that the dead were kept in a state of "distant-proximity" in relation to the living.[57] However, this assumption remains open to fuller assessment, as we shall see below.

The study of burials and settlements is often caught up in wider demographic debates. Francisci, for example, has attempted to use burials to analyse demography in Trentino-Alto Adige through time.[58] This approach is problematic because an elevated number of burials in a given period does not necessarily imply population growth and could equally be the result of changing burial patterns leading to their greater or lesser visibility.[59] A more cautious view of the relation between burials and demography is proposed by Pearce, who analysed rural and urban burial populations in Roman Britain and noticed a greater disparity between the projected rural populations in life and those actually evidenced in the burial record.[60] While it is important to acknowledge the complexities of sampling biases, which can be influenced by a range of intrinsic and extrinsic factors this approach implicitly assumes that people were buried in the immediate vicinity of where they lived.[61] Evidence from other periods and places suggests that transport for burial can, in some societies, take place over relatively extended distances, and we might therefore expect that not everyone buried in suburban areas was resident in cities and vice versa for rural environments.[62] Cities across the Roman world are increasingly recognised by landscape archaeologists as having a distorting impact on wider settlement systems but little scrutiny has been applied to the impact of settlement patterns on Roman through to early medieval funerary landscapes.[63]

Visibility of funerary monuments in the wider landscape: Issues of visibility have been a major preoccupation of archaeologists working on funerary landscapes. Early studies focussed on the use of viewshed analyses to investigate the visibility or intervisibility of

[57] Francisci 2017a, 29-33, 37-38.
[58] Francisci 2017a, 27-42.
[59] Morris 1992, 1987. Population surges in Greece: Snodgrass 1980, 1977.
[60] Pearce 2013, 23-26.
[61] On these factors see also Pearce 2013.
[62] Weiss-Krejci 2010; Daniell 2005, 88.
[63] Mattingly & Witcher 2004; Morley 1996.

monumental tombs within the wider landscape.[64] Studying topography in isolation from the surrounding landscape limits our capacity to understand strategies of burial positioning. This realisation has generated a wider shift towards studying topographical prominence (i.e. the position of a particular site relative to its surroundings).[65] These studies have unanimously concluded that the visibility produced by monument placement was significant, deliberate and meaningful, though work elsewhere has also shown that tombs could be deliberately placed so as *not* to be visible, underlining the possibility of a sort of hierarchy of visibility in funerary landscapes.[66] In classical archaeology, studies of visibility have been less common, with notable exceptions. Beyond general local-scale acknowledgements that Roman monuments were placed near roads leading out of cities to maximise their audiences (sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.4.1), Tranoy has demonstrated that high and low visibility tombs can exist side-by-side in the suburbs of some Roman cities.[67] Similarly, work on archaic tombs around Nepi in central Italy, and on Roman-period tombs in Asia Minor have demonstrated that highly visible locations could sometimes be favoured over those which provided easy accessibility.[68] Research on the Bartlow Hills in Britain has also demonstrated that major Roman-period funerary monuments could be intended to be viewed by a local audience, and may not have been visible from afar.[69] This existing scholarship illustrates the range of visibility strategies encompassed within funerary landscapes and encourages further exploration of this topic in future.

Deployment of graves to express claims to land tenure: The notion that burials might be linked to claims to land tenure has a lengthy pedigree, stretching back to anthropological and ethnographical research carried out by Saxe and Goldstein in the 1970s.[70] This work has provided an important stimulus for the study of funerary landscapes.[71] Early work, starting with Renfrew's study of megalithic tombs on Arran during the Neolithic, has highlighted the

[64] Fisher et al. 1997; Lageras 2002; Wheatley 1995.
[65] Llobera 2001; De Reu et al. 2011; Roughley 2004b, 2004a.
[66] Montufo Martín et al. 2010.
[67] Tranoy 2000.
[68] Spanu 2000.
[69] Eckardt et al. 2009.
[70] Saxe 1970, 119-121; Goldstein 1976, 61; for Saxe's 'hypothesis 8,': Parker Pearson 2003, 136-137.
[71] Parker Pearson 2003, 137.

potential for monuments to mark territorial or political boundaries, though the precise parameters remain debated.[72] Subsequent research has drawn on a range of GIS-based methodologies and analytical tools to examine how elites or other groups can assert their status by excluding other parts of the population from burial grounds which were key ritual focal points or by staking a claim to the most visually impressive locations in the landscape.[73] This last point emphasises the nexus between claims to land tenure, boundaries, and land tenure; indeed, visibility has even been used as a proxy for the extent of territorial control.[74] In Roman archaeology studies of this kind have largely focused on burials near boundary lines, especially in centuriated landscapes (see also below, section 2.2.4).

The location of tombs in relation to paths of movement: Studies of prehistoric funerary landscapes have underlined that burial sites and funerary monuments could be placed along important transport routes and/or act as waypoints in the wider landscape.[75] However, as Déderix notes, this proposal is difficult "to explore in the context of prehistoric societies, as the latter did not produce built roads or maps that would inform us about ancient mobility systems."[76] This concept has been developed more fully in Roman archaeology. As already mentioned in relation to visibility (above, this section), and as well discussed further below (section 2.2.2), there is a strong tendency for tombs to be arranged along major roads in suburban contexts. However, more intricate, GIS-powered approaches have also been primarily applied to countryside settings. A major theme has been the location of graves, both with and without visible markers, near roads, whether major arteries or secondary paths leading to rural settlements.[77] Some evidence suggests a hierarchical relationship between different tomb and road types, with the most monumental tombs often attracted to major routes. However, this is not a constant rule, as Eckardt et al.'s viewshed analysis of the Bartlow Hills, already mentioned above, showed that monuments were more visible from local, secondary roads, rather than from the main Roman road network running through the

[72] Renfrew 1976; See more recently Parker Pearson 2003, 135-139; Chapman 1995.

[73] Gaffney et al. 1996, 136-143; Gaffney & Stančič 1991; Bongers et al. 2012; Wheatley et al. 2010, 393-397.

[74] Winter-Livneh et al. 2012; Lock & Harris 1996, 225.

[75] Tilley 1994b, 3443-3444, 1994a; Wheatley et al. 2010; De Reu et al. 2011.

[76] Déderix 2014, 25.

[77] E.g., Bayard 1993; Cüppers 1993; Galliou 1993; Fiches 1993.

area.[78] In Roman archaeology, work by Francisci, Botturi, and Amodio have stressed the importance of roads as exercising an attractive pull on burials, and also suggested that burials could be used as a proxy for the reconstruction of the road network (below, section 2.2.4.1).[79] These existing studies invite us to examine the role of roads and communication in the development of a hierarchy of locations and roadways.

The topographic and environmental placement of burials: Examination of the topographical and environmental characteristics of burial placement can provide important insights into human choices in the past.[80] However, this field of study relies on complex, multi-level modelling which attempts to understand land use in the past, establish a chronology for otherwise undated sites or assist Cultural Resource Management strategies to facilitate greater protection of archaeological remains in a context[81] While it is worth bearing in mind that the data collected and presented in this thesis could be used to develop a predictive model of this kind, this opportunity is left for other scholars to pursue in future.

This brief review of existing work on funerary landscapes demonstrates that a limited number of studies have been undertaken on Roman funerary landscapes in general, and those studies which do exist have only concerned a few areas. Italy is no exception to this broader rule. Some of the successful existing studies have adopted a largescale approach which allow for GIS and statistical methods to be brought to bear. Work on early medieval funerary landscapes is even less common and is largely confined to Anglo-Saxon Britain.[82] However, those studies which have taken place are often restricted in their chronological and geographical scope. This stands at odds with the *longue durée* approach adopted in wider landscape studies, and a longer-term view is necessary for us to understand changing attitudes to death and burial between the Roman and post-Roman periods. Moreover, work in landscape archaeology more generally has underlined the rich diversity encompassed by the Roman countryside, but little comparative work across the funerary landscapes of Italy

[78] Eckardt et al. 2009, 72-76.

[79] Francisci 2011, 2017a, 225-296; Botturi 2017, 2016; Amodio 2014, 48-49.

[80] Merkouri & Kouli 2011.

[81] For land use: Lysandrou & Agapiou 2016 Predictive modelling in dating: Francisci 2017a, 133; Löwenborg 2009. Predictive modelling in CRM: Burns et al. 2008; Lysandrou et al. 2018.

[82] Mees 2019, 2014; Semple 2003

has been undertaken. [83] There is ample scope, therefore, to undertaken largescale studies funerary landscapes over time and across different regions. We shall now examine some of the core themes which underpin Roman funerary studies more generally, and which will be tested in more detail in this thesis.

2.2 Funerary locations in town and country: the state of the field

Huge amounts of scholarly attention have been paid to burials across the Roman world and to their counterparts in Rome's various successor states. But as we have seen above (section 2.1.3), most of this attention has been focused on local-scale analysis. This existing work nevertheless provides important insights into the nature of funerary commemoration and the curation of memory over the *longue durée*, and will be reviewed in detail here. This section outlines previous scholarship on the funerary archaeology of Italy in the first seven centuries CE, whilst highlighting avenues for further research. It argues that burials are best understood through contextual analysis of their surroundings. Accordingly, particular attention will be paid to the ways in which scholars have addressed the diversity of grave types and the relations between burials and other features of the landscape. Although the primary focus is on Italy, reference to comparable approaches from other regions and/or periods will be made where appropriate.

This section begins by outlining ideologies of death and memory in the Roman world, noting that memory was implicitly linked with visibility. It then examines existing work on Roman and post-Roman city and country, before moving on to examine the relations between two important and overlapping types of paths of movement in the Roman and post-Roman world: roads and field boundaries. It closes by considering the emerging field of Roman funerary monument longevity and the reuse of space.

2.2.1 Roman ideologies of death and memory

Many graves, especially those on the more monumental end of the spectrum, sought to capture the attention of both casual and deliberate audiences as a means by which to perpetuate memories of the deceased and to advertise the status of survivors. As is widely acknowledged in burial studies, the dead do not bury themselves, and choices about where

[83] On variation in the Roman countryside see papers in Alcock & Cherry 2004.

the dead were buried in the Roman world were embedded in a web of competing and overlapping social, cultural, and economic considerations.[84] Burial was a focus of diverse, complex and meaningful ritual, though this cannot be explored in any detail in the present thesis.[85] Nevertheless, a host of studies have identified several core trends, which guide much existing work on Roman funerary ritual and landscapes.

Funerary monuments and graves in the Roman world could be a means for competitive social display. An emphasis on visibility played a key role in helping to perpetuate the memory of a household as well as appealing to the wider community and establishing an individual's, household's, or other group's place within the community through their design, monumentality, and iconographic and epigraphic embellishments.[86] The ideology of social display was deeply embedded in concerns about memory: in the Roman world, being seen meant being remembered.[87] While the tombs of social and economic elites are often the most visible in the archaeological record, Graham has also demonstrated that at least some further down the social ladder also sought lasting commemoration.[88]

The desire for social display meant that many tombs were meant to be seen and to be visited by a range of audiences, comprising both the immediate family and the wider community. Graham's work on tomb-side architecture at Ostia reminds us that Roman cemeteries were not just spaces for the dead, but also for the living, who might have commemorated their deceased loved ones through regular graveside feasting.[89] At the same time, the placing of these tombs along suburban armatures receiving high footfalls from people travelling to and from the urban environment capitalises on visibility and therefore helped to sustain memory of the deceased long after their deaths.[90] More recently, Carroll has expanded this concept to argue that these Roman necropoleis were "an extension of the public and private architecture displayed inside the town," which was visible to any and all visitors.[91] The well-acknowledged tendency of Roman tombs to appeal to, and sometimes

[84] Parker Pearson 1993.
[85] E.g. papers in Pearce et al. 2000; Pearce & Weekes 2017 with earlier references.
[86] Emmerson 2020a, 80-81; Zanker & Ewald 2012, 176; Carroll 2006, 16; Hope 2000.
[87] Graham 2006.
[88] Koortbojian 1995; Graham 2006.
[89] Graham 2005.
[90] Visibility: Carroll 2006, 1; Hope 2001, 176-178. Armatures: MacDonald 1982, 5-31.
[91] Carroll 2006, 3.

even directly address the "anonymous passer-by" whose attention funerary monuments sought to attract, is typical of these broader concerns for visible commemoration.[92] While funerary ideologies concerning memory did not remain static over time, an emphasis on visibility for individual tombs sometimes appears to have remained important into Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.[93] The strong association between commemoration and visibility is therefore of principal importance and has served as a frame for the investigation of the placement of burials into over the *longue durée,* as we shall see in the sections which follow.

2.2.2 Burials and settlements: the view from urban and rural environments

2.2.2.1 Suburban cemeteries

The exclusion of the dead from intramural spaces led to the development of suburban cemeteries along the roads in and out of many cities throughout Italy. The Roman Republican and Imperial periods were marked by rigid strictures on burial topography, which prohibited burial within the city limits. The 5th-century BCE *Twelve Tables* forbade burial within the *pomerium*, though exceptions are known for infants, some exceptional private persons, and emperors.[94] Toynbee suggests that this was a result of "sanitary precautions and fear of defilement," while other scholars link this exclusion to fear of "pollution" linked to death.[95] At least in Rome, this interpretation has long been considered to be supported by epigraphic evidence.[96] Bodel takes such evidence to mean that the management of areas where bodies were disposed was of sufficient concern to warrant official intervention.[97] More recently Emmerson has challenged interpretations that couch this topographical distinction in terms of fear of death pollution.[98] She notes that no link between death and "pollution" can be found in the textual sources. Regardless of Emmerson's reappraisal, for most of the Roman period, tombs *were* concentrated outside the city limits and burial *inside* only began to become more common from late Roman period onwards; even then, this seldom became a

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[92] Carroll 2008. The 3rd century: Borg 2013.

[93] Yasin 2009, 47-53.

[94] Stevens 2017, 13-60; Toynbee 1996, 48-50.

[95] Toynbee 1996, 48; North 1983, 169; Maurin 1984, 196–208; Hope 2017, 89-90. For a fuller list see Emmerson 2020b, 2.

[96] Carroll 2006, 76; CIL I^2. 8381/4; CIL VI. 31614; CIL I^2. 8391/4; CIL VI. 31615; CIL I^2 2981; I^2 591.

[97] Bodel 1994, 42-51.

[98] Emmerson 2020a, 10-13, 2020b.

majority practice. We shall now briefly outline key existing work on burial outside Italian cities between the Early Empire and the early Middle Ages.

2.2.2.2 From the Late Republic and the Early Empire

The exclusion of most tombs from the area within the *pomerium* lead to the accumulation of funerary monuments along suburban thoroughfares under the late Republic and until at least the early 4th century CE. These agglomerations, frequently described as *Gräberstrassen* (tomb-streets), create an effect reminiscent of the intramural urban fabric.[99] Many tombs in the suburbs were monumental in nature, and included stone-cut epitaphs and elaborate programmes of marble decoration (see Figure 2). Wider trends in the development of suburban areas led to the organic and gradual creation of a series of hybrid landscapes on the urban fringes of the cities of Roman Italy, with tombs appearing alongside domestic structures, cult sites, shops and productive facilities.[100] The development of such hybrid landscapes is clearly visible in the results of Heinzelmann's geophysical prospection of Ostia's *Porta Laurentina* cemetery, which found that the necropolis was gradually incorporated into the wider urban fabric.[101] We should therefore envisage the suburbs as complex peri-urban zones which fulfilled a range of needs for urban communities.

[99] See papers in Von Hesberg & Zanker 1987.

[100] Stevens 2017; Emmerson 2020a.

[101] Heinzelmann 2000, 38-48.



Figure 2. Funerary enclosures in the Via Annia Necropolis, Aquileia (From Graham and Hope 2016, 169. fig. 9.4)

Suburban cemeteries were "a show-piece façade for the social life of each community,"[102] as Purcell writes, as well as a constant reminder of the community of the dead. These burial sites became key venues for inter- and intracommunity competition, and as a result were highly localised phenomena, arising from the social dynamics of individual cities and their territories. Consequently, we can observe considerable variation between the cemeteries of individual cities, and even between various burial grounds belonging to the same city.[103] Some sites saw a complex intermingling of graves from across the social spectrum. An illustrative example is provided by the Isola Sacra cemetery between Ostia and Portus (Figure 3), where a mixture of monumental tombs were interspersed with poorer graves which were either unmarked or denoted only by an amphora placed above ground to indicate their location.[104] A similar pattern appears along the Via Triumphalis on the Vatican Hill outside Rome, with the rich and poor buried alongside one another.[105] This wide array of burials is suggestive of the need to use all available space, as well as the inability or the unwillingness of the more powerful in society to prevent the less affluent from becoming their neighbours in the grave. Other suburban cemeteries exhibit a rather more restricted range of tomb occupants, though this could be subject to change over time. The area outside Ostia's *Porta Romana* saw widespread

[102] Purcell 1987, 40-41.

[103] Scott 2013, 77-109.

[104] Calza 1940, particularly p. 44; Carroll 2006, 69-70.

[105] Liverani et al. 2010.

usage for the tombs of civic elites, imperial officials and members of the Praetorian Guard until the 2nd century.[106] In contrast, the town's *Porta Laurentina* cemetery seems to have provided the final resting place for a wider range of Ostia's inhabitants, including artisans and traders, both freeborn and freedmen, an admixture which Scott describes as representing the town's "everyday character."[107] This brief review suggests that we should not view suburban cemeteries as a homogenous phenomenon and should examine cemeteries in different parts of Italy to understand their diverse characters.

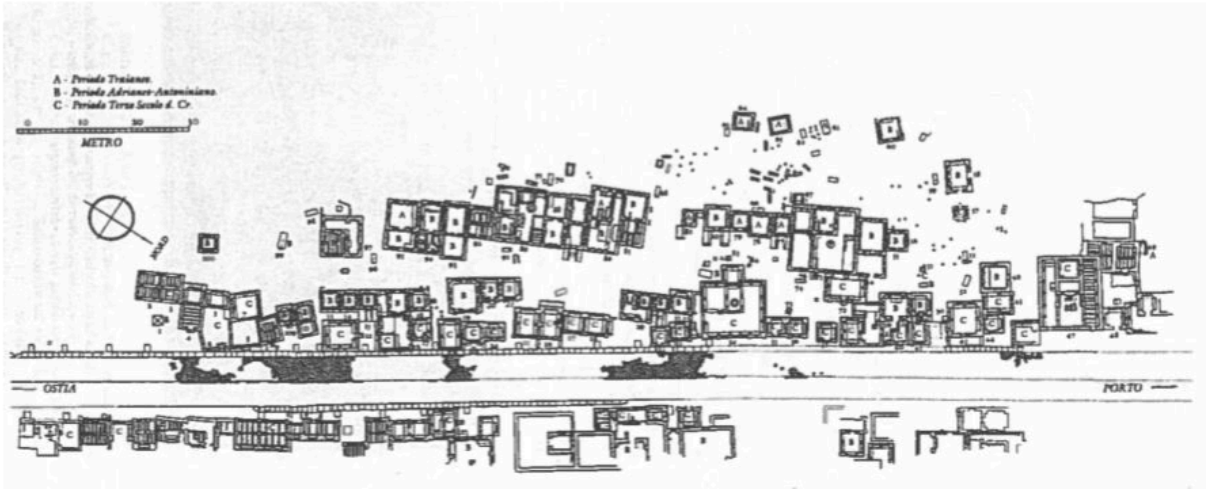


Figure 3 Plan of the Isola Sacra cemetery, Ostia Antica (from Baldassarre, 1987: 139)

It is worth dwelling for a moment on the occupants of the Roman funerary monuments, which sometimes house large number of burials. Collective burial began in earnest in Rome during the Augustan period with the rise of columbaria; prior to this group tombs, such as the tomb of the Scipiones, were intended to house members of a single, closed social group – often an extended family unit (*familia*).[108] The rise of columbaria, in Rome and some other cities in central-southern Italy, has been attributed to a dramatic increase in the population brought on by the Augustan peace and the related reconfiguration of the social structures brought on by this population influx.[109] The degree to which columbaria replaced the patron or family unit as the provider of funerary rites has been a subject of debate.[110] The continuity of the

[106] Scott 2013, 78-86. Ostia's cemeteries: Heinzelmann 2000.
[107] Scott 2013, 86.
[108] Bodel 2008, 179.
[109] Hopkins 1983, 215–217; Purcell 1987, 38–39; Patterson 1992a, 22-23.
[110] See, e.g., Patterson 1992a, 23; Hopkins 1983, 213–214; Hasegawa 2005a, 260; Van Nijf 1997.

nuclear family as the primary social unit represented in epitaphs is demonstrated by Saller and Shaw.[111] However, much like the later Christian catacombs, this type of collective funerary commemoration should not be viewed as replacements to traditional commemorative patterns, but instead as Bodel and Borbonus argue they represent, "overarching structures that enabled the family and individual patrons to perform their conventional roles within newly defined social and physical contexts."[112] Significantly for our present purposes, funerary monuments can indicate the presence not only of elites, but also those whom they patronised in death.

Despite this, suburban cemeteries often primarily provide a window into the burials of the more privileged members of Roman communities, though the original burial record was probably significantly more diverse. Recent excavation of several thousand 1st-4th-century, poorly-appointed graves outside Rome, perhaps belonging to the *plebs urbana*, have gone some way to demonstrating the quantity of modest burials which have either been lost or remain to be discovered.[113] While we might expect that the graves of the poor are frequently under-represented due to limited earlier scholarly interest in non-monumental tombs, it is important to appreciate that even impressive tombs are also sometimes relatively unknown. For instance, many 3rd-century senatorial mausolea around Rome are attested only through inscriptions, not through archaeological evidence.[114] With these examples in mind, it is therefore important to account for the kinds of tombs we might be missing in the study of suburban cemeteries.

2.2.2.3 Late antique and early medieval developments: churches, catacombs, and burial *ad sanctos*

Even as the tradition of tomb streets went into decline, extramural burial continued to play an important role in the disposal of the urban dead into Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, albeit often in new ways which reveal changing attitudes towards death and the dead. Rebillard has underlined that the Church hierarchy played a limited role in the direct provision of burial space for the faithful.[115] Yet this does not mean that new Christian developments

[111] Saller & Shaw 1984.
[112] Bodel 2008, 181; Borbonus 2014, 141.
[113] Scott 2013, 106; Catalano 2008; Catalano et al. 2017; Gowland & Garnsey 2010.
[114] Borg 2013, 32-34.
[115] Rebillard 2009, 13-56.

did not have a meaningful impact on how and where people chose to be buried, and this period saw diverse reactions to changing forms of urbanism which took place in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

The increasing socio-economic and political power of the church in Late Antiquity led to the development of new suburban burial grounds or the expansion of others through the construction of new Christian centres of worship. Spera's analysis of the Roman *Suburbium* demonstrated that the late antique reorganisation of Rome's immediate hinterland, especially along the Via Appia, met changing funerary needs by making significant alterations in land use as well as the physical landscape itself.[116] Funerary areas (such as the basilicas of Pope Marcus and of SS Marcus and Marcellinus) developed in what had previously been agricultural land. Major terracing works took place both for the construction of the former, as well as for the building of the *Basilica Apostolorum* (now dedicated to St Sebastian, Figure 4), occasioning changes in the landscape's physical fabric. The development of new cemeteries also reshaped patterns of movement, with tombs now accessed via new secondary roadways.[117] At the same time, catacombs developed out of earlier traditions of subterranean burial in collective tombs and supplied burial space for enormous numbers of people.[118] Late Antiquity therefore saw a major reshaping of burial topography outside Rome as indeed it did outside many Roman cities, though the exact mechanics of these changes merit further exploration in future.

[116] Spera 1998, 2003.

[117] Spera 2003, 35.

[118] Catacombs around Rome: Guyon 1987; Bodel 2008; Fiocchi Nicolai et al. 2002; Rutgers 2000. Around Naples: Amodio 2014, 62-77.

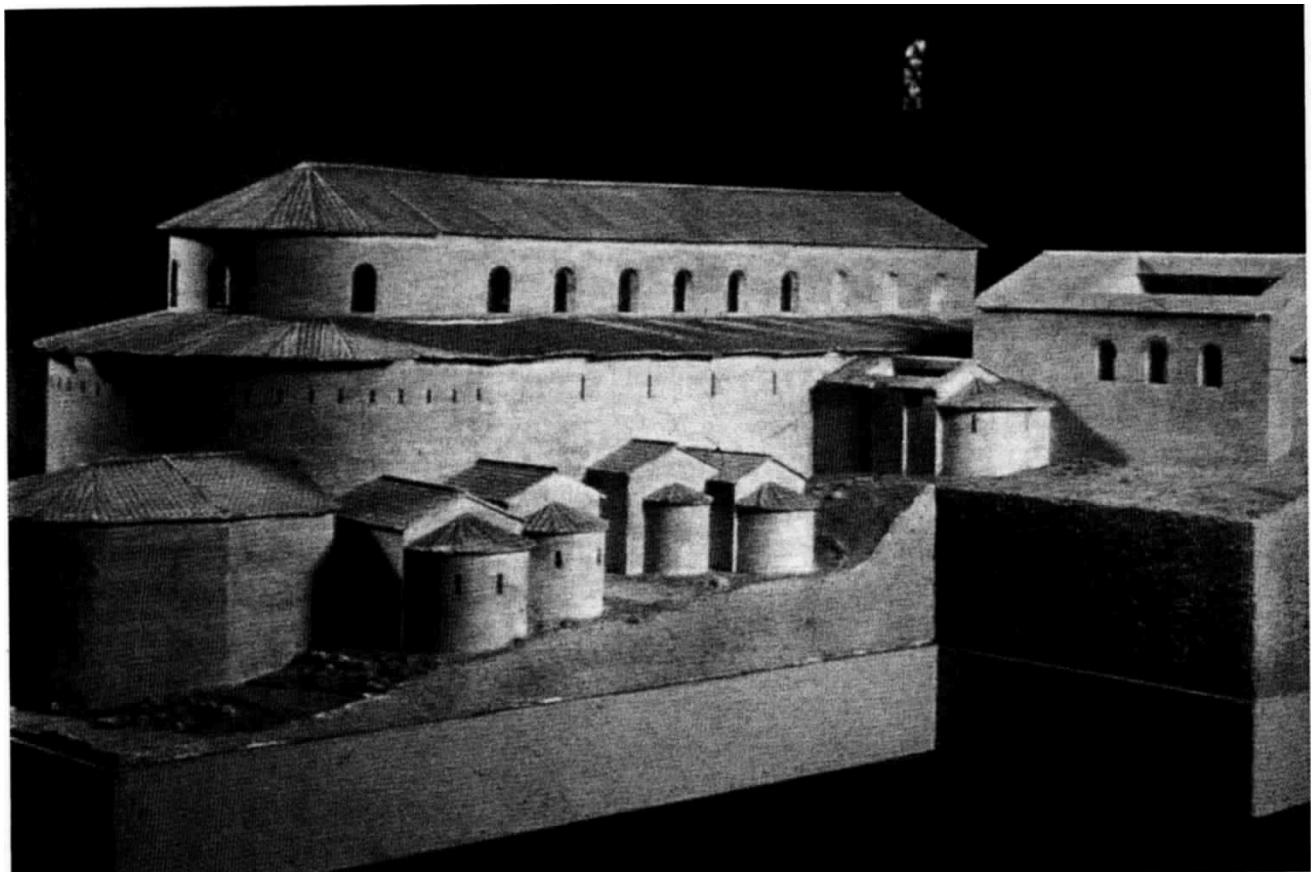


Figure 4 Plastic reconstruction of Basilica of San Sebastiano on the Via Appia (From Spera 2003, 35, fig. 15)

Elsewhere, suburban burial grounds were "updated" or expanded through the provision of larger burial spaces than had previous existed. Amodio has drawn attention to this process outside Naples.[119] From the 4th century, some areas already used for burial, especially in the northern suburbs, saw continuity of use for burial, albeit with a new, Christian emphasis in larger complexes. For example, the catacombs of SS Gennaro and Gaudioso, the final resting place of many Neapolitan bishops, required a substantial reconfiguration of the existing communication network, but replaced burial spaces intended to serve an individual household with burial spaces for thousands of individuals, though burial in other areas apparently became rarer. The new complexes both continued earlier traditions of burial in suburban places and marked new important focal points for commemoration in the suburban landscape, which continued to be used through the early Middle Ages. Similarly, in the suburbs of Nola, investment by bishop Paulinus would see a 3rd century burial ground monumentalised to form an important pilgrimage centre through the construction of a series

[119] Amodio 2014, 25-85.

of churches, several of which were used for burial, though again, other some areas in other parts of Nola's suburbs were abandoned.[120] Elsewhere, for example outside Aosta, all of the earlier funerary zones on the approaches to the city remained in use throughout Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, until at least the 8th century.[121] The examples reviewed here, though far from exhaustive, demonstrate the plurality of different models for the development of funerary landscapes in late antique and early medieval Italy: these diverse changes were often conditioned by local priorities, and need to be explored within a regional framework.

Much of this investment in new Christian centres concentrated on places associated with saints of local importance. These "very special dead," to use Brown's evocative phrase, were essentially the elite of the Christian deceased, who were believed to intercede in Heaven on the behalf of the living.[122] Since the saints served as a bridge between Heaven and Earth their earthly remains along with objects with which they came into contact during life-or sometimes after it–were believed to be endowed with salvific powers.[123] This process is best exemplified by a letter of St Augustine, written in reply to a query from Paulinus of Nola about whether burial near to the remains of a saint would benefit the Christian dead.[124] Augustine's ambivalent response has been taken by many scholars as reflecting an establishment view of religion, while other scholars, starting with Duval, have argued that burial near to the final resting place of saints was an important part of late antique funerary topography.[125] Wiśniewski's recent review of the rise of the cult of saints demonstrates that burial *ad sanctos* arises at some point after middle of the 4th century, and mentions of the practice in funerary epigraphy are highly localised, concentrating primarily in Rome.[126] Moreover, work by Wiśniewski in Rome and Yasin in North Africa has emphasised that visibility to churchgoers, rather than proximity to a saint may have been more important than the specifically salvific properties endowed by being buried near to a saint.[127] We should therefore exercise caution

[120] Ebanista 2003b, 2003a, 2006.
[121] Perinetti 1989.
[122] Brown 1980.
[123] Wisniewski 2019.
[124] Augustine, *De cura,* 1.
[125] Duval 1988.
[126] Wisniewski 2019, 92.
[127] Wisniewski 2019, 83-100; Yasin 2009, 61-100, 2005.

in using burial *ad sanctos* as a blanket explanation for the appearance of all late antique and early medieval burials within churches, especially in areas where explicit testimony for the practice is lacking, and instead attempt to explore a range of other factors which played into the development of suburban funerary landscapes in these periods.

2.2.2.4 Future directions

The suburban cemeteries of Roman Italy were neither homogenous nor static places of burial. As Borg notes, most research on early imperial tombs focusses on a small sample of cemeteries from Rome and Ostia which have been extensively analysed.[128] Similarly, disproportionate attention has been paid to the well-preserved cemeteries outside Pompeii. There is also a heavy emphasis on the development of suburban cemeteries in central-southern Italy under the late Republic and early Empire at the expense of the middle imperial and late antique periods.[129] More recent work has widened the net and analysed evidence from the suburbs of a wider range of cities.[130] Nevertheless, our knowledge of the diverse development of cemeteries away from a select few key case study sites is limited given the huge number of cities – more than 400 – in Roman Italy.[131] A regionally-focussed approach which considers multiple cities within a circumscribed geographical area provides a means to improve our understanding of the changing ways these cemeteries could provide venues for commemoration and memory over the *longue durée*.

2.2.3 Rural Burials and settlements

2.2.3.1 Rural burials in the Roman period

Rural burials in the Roman period are generally considered to display a loose but consistent topographical connection with settlements. Francisci has described this view as a state of "distant-proximity."[132] In other words, scholars hold that burials were excluded from settlement areas (apart from some infants, above, section 2.2.2.1), but were often found relatively close to them, marking an intimate link between the dwellings of the living and

[128] Borg 2013, 9. Central Italy: Pearce 2017, 15.
[129] Borg 2013, 123.
[130] E.g. Emmerson 2020a; Stevens 2017.
[131] Hanson 2016, 33.
[132] Francisci 2017a, 29-33, 37-38.

those of the dead. However, detailed studies of the place of the dead in relation to rural settlements have been relatively limited in number in Italy. This section summarises key work on the relations between burials and three main types of rural settlement in Roman Italy: villas, farmsteads, and *vici*. Further specifics of the settlement histories particular to each of the study regions discussed in this thesis will be provided as needed (below, sections 4.3.3, 5.3.3).

2.2.3.2 Burials and villas

Villas, the country houses of the (relatively) wealthy, are by far the best understood types of settlement in the Italian countryside throughout the Roman period. They have been subject to considerable scholarly attention, resulting in a general awareness of the variety of different structures encompassed by the term: these range through time and space from relatively compact, modest dwellings to sprawling palatial complexes.[133] Their owners could be equally varied, ranging from local elites through to members of the senatorial order or even emperors (and their families).

Existing scholarship assumes a strong connection between elite funerary commemoration and villas. Bodel argued that villa estates were a major venue for the construction of familial identity as embodied by mausolea.[134] The connection between mausolea and villas certainly appears to have been important in some periods and places. For example, Griesbach's work on funerary monuments in Rome's s*uburbium* highlights the close connection of 2nd- and 3rd-century mausolea with villas.[135] For example at Mola di Monte Gelato (RM) (Figure 5), the mausoleum is separated from the villa by the road onto which they both faced. Some villas and mausolea were even closer, and the two could even be physically connected, as at Cimitero Flaminio (RM) (Figure 6). This pattern has led to a general assumption, in Italy and beyond, that mausolea were almost always sited on villa estates, a trend which Bowes has termed a "ubiquitous practice."[136]

Not all members of Roman society were buried within or even near to funerary monuments. The majority of the population were buried in far more modest "field

[133] Sfameni 2006; Zarmakoupi 2014; Ellis 2000; Hales 2003; Marzano 2007; Marzano & Métraux 2018.

[134] Bodel 1997

[135] Griesbach 2005.

[136] Bowes 2018, 457 see also Lafon 1989; Graen 2008; Chioffi 2005; Bowes 2006; Chavarria Arnau 2007.

cemeteries" comprising graves cut into the ground, some of which may have been marked by epitaphs or other stone markers. For example, the tomb of the Lucretii Valentes in Scafati (SA) outside Pompeii comprised seven burials marked by stelai, some of which bore inscriptions attesting that some of the occupants were members of the town's *ordo decurionum*.[137] Further down the hierarchy of funerary sites, more modest burial grounds near villas have been interpreted as reflecting non-elite villa inhabitants, including the large staff necessary to maintain such facilities and contribute to agricultural production.[138] However, little work has been undertaken in Italy to assess the topographical relation between villas and burial sites, monumental and otherwise and it remains unclear whether patterns identified in Rome's immediate hinterland or around Pompeii, for example, are present in other parts of the Italian peninsula.



Figure 5 The Villa (right) and mausoleum (left) at Mola di Monte Gelato (From Gibson 1997, 76, Fig. 70)

[137] Mouritsen 2005, 50-51.

[138] E.g. Bodel 1997, 12 Central Campania: De Simone & Russell 2019, 368.

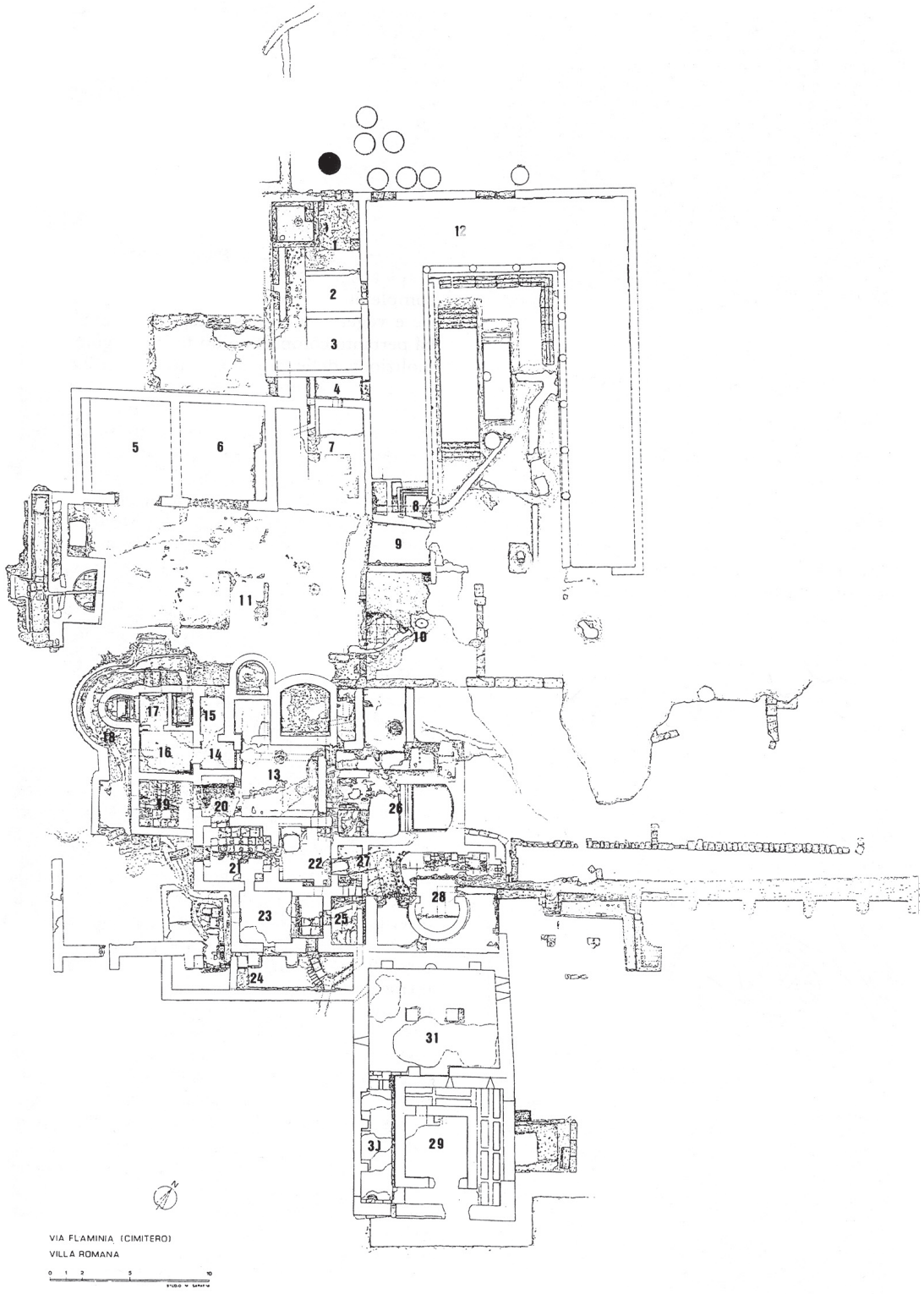


Figure 6 Flaminio Cimitero, Villa with mausoleum (rooms 29-31) (From Messineo et al. 1998, 331 fig. 105).

2.2.3.3 Burials and farmsteads

Smaller rural settlements are less well understood: until recently there was almost no scholarly appreciation of the types of site occupied by the Roman peasantry in Italy. Recent research has started to explore the complexity and diversity of the range of sites occupied by the Roman peasantry.[139] This has led to a growing appreciation that Roman peasants occupied a general environment which comprised not only farmhouses, but included, *inter alia*, a range of other associated sites including agricultural processing installations, industrial production sites and shepherding huts.

Given our limited understanding of the sites occupied by the Roman peasantry, it is unsurprising that we know correspondingly little of the connection between burial sites and farmhouses in Roman Italy. Bodel has suggested that a majority of non-elites were buried in field cemeteries.[140] However, this assumption has not been tested at any scale, nor does it grant us any detailed understanding of the burial strategies employed by rural peasants. Given the narrowness of our understanding of the relation between non-elite settlements and burial grounds at present, a landscape approach which tries to understand the relation between the two is a highly desirable means by which to try to improve our understanding of the way that death and burial was experienced by large parts of the ancient population excluded from traditional studies.

2.2.3.4 Burials and *vici*

Vici, or agglomerated villages, were common in the countryside of Roman Italy, but again remain relatively poorly understood. Studies of these settlements have largely concentrated on trying to understand their legal and economic status.[141] However, to date, we remain relatively ignorant of the material culture associated with these settlements, and no systematic study of them across the Italian peninsula has yet been undertaken. By extension, no systematic study has been undertaken of the relations between burials and *vici* in Italy either, but Francisci has shown that in Northern Italy graves sometimes appear on the roads or other paths of transport approaching/leaving such settlements.[142] At *Bedriacum* (CR), the

[139] Bowes 2020 see also Van Oyen 2019.

[140] Bodel 1997, 20.

[141] E.g. Iasiello 2007; Todisco 2011; Tarpin 2003.

[142] Francisci 2017a, 35-37.

cemeteries are poorly understood but are placed along the river Oglio, outside the inhabited area.[143] At San Pietro in Casale (BO), several groups of burials ring the historic centre, which may overlie a *vicus,* and the burials seem to define its limits.[144] This evidence appears to suggest a close spatial link between burials and *vici* in some instances. Moreover, the connection between burials and the roads in/out of *vici* could indicate a desire to mimic the patterns of burial which occurred outside cities (above, section 2.2.2), though this is far from certain.

The small number of comparable examples in the south may reflect the broader state of our knowledge in this part of Italy. However, it appears that in some cases *vici* and burials were at a slight topographical remove from one another. At Vagnari (BA), the excavated cemetery was primarily in use between the 1st and 3rd centuries, when it was separated from the contemporary inhabited area by a ravine (Figure 7).[145] In Late Antiquity the settlement shifted to the same side of the ravine as the cemetery, and occasional intrusive burials were dug, suggesting a closer relationship between the living and the dead in this later period. Studies of the funerary landscapes surrounding *vici* remain extremely limited, however, and further study of a larger range of these settlements will help to improve our appreciation of the ways in which *vici* occupants chose to commemorate their dead.

[143] Passi Pitcher 1996, 73.

[144] Ortalli 1997, 382.

[145] Small et al. 2007; Prowse & Small 2009; Brent & Prowse 2014.

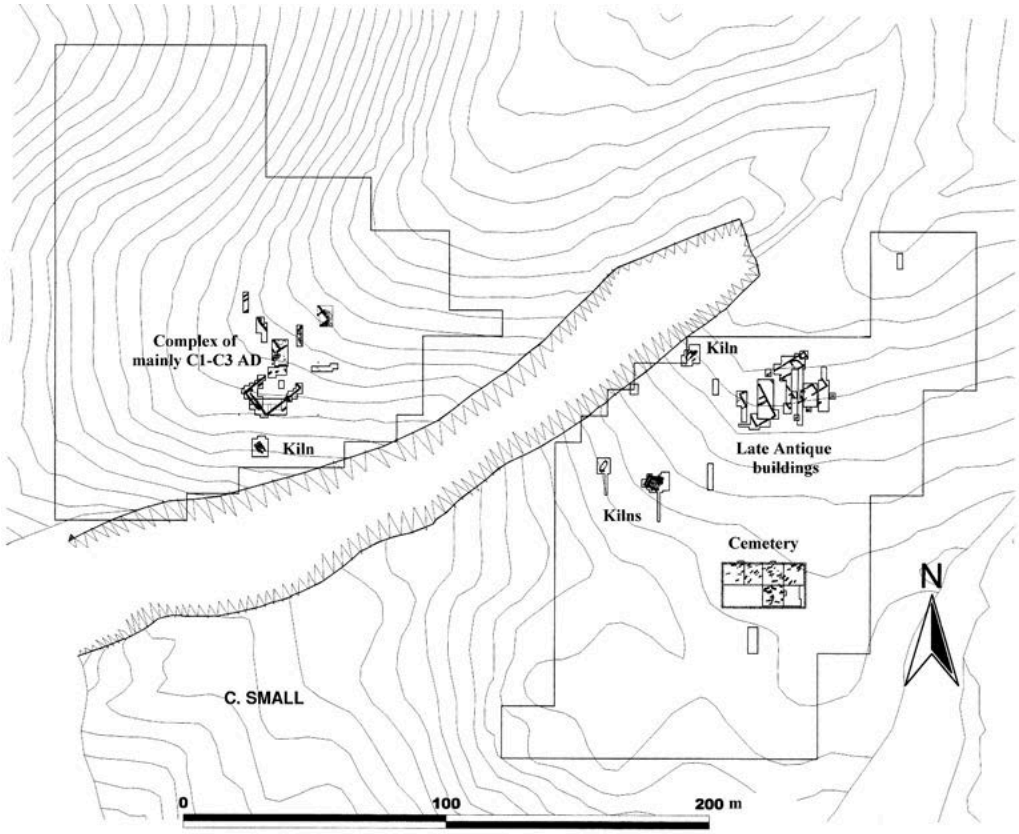


Figure 7 Plan of the vicus at Vagnari, showing the cemetery in relation to the settlement (from Brent and Prowse 2014, 100, fig. 1)

2.2.3.5 Late antique and early medieval developments in the countryside

Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages saw the development of new types of sites in the countryside of the Italian peninsula. The most studied of these in contemporary scholarship are the often-fortified villages, *castra* (or castles), which occupied prominent hilltops or islands, and rural churches, both of which became the site of burials in Late Antiquity and beyond. It should also be noted that the same period also saw the growth of villages in traditional non-hilltop locations, but the archaeology of these sites remains often poorly understood.[146] Similarly, the study of "Barbarian" graves has loomed large in studies of burial in the Italian countryside. Funerary sites containing new kinds of metalwork, including items of personal adornment, weapons, and armour, have been mapped to provide evidence for the settlement of barbarian group like the Goths and the Lombards attested in historical

[146] For overview: Francovich & Hodges 2003 and discussed further below in sections 4.3.3.8, 5.3.3.7.

narratives.[147] Other, more recent work has stressed the complexity of ethnicity in the past, which is increasingly recognised as a selectively constructed aspect of multifaceted identities.[148] These debates will not be reviewed further in this thesis, as their complexity cannot be covered in the space available. As was the case in the preceding Roman period, settlement developments were often intensely local in nature, and further details of the local trajectories will be supplied in the analysis chapters (below, sections 4.3.3, 5.3.3). We shall now review existing work around *castra* and burials, which will be followed by an examination of existing views on role of churches as places for funerary commemoration.

2.2.3.6 Castra and burials

Burials in and around *castra* have seldom been studied in past scholarship. It is clear from existing reports that in some cases, burials developed in or near to some *castra* like Castelseprio (VA), Sirmione (BS) or Bellinzona (Canton Ticino)*,* but few of these sites have been fully excavated, and little work has been done to try to understand the placement of burials in relation to them.[149] A rare exception is provided by Chavarria, who suggests that some smaller cemeteries associated within *castra*, like the one at Monselice (PD, Figure 8), represent armed, peripatetic garrisons, while larger cemeteries outside *castra* may have belonged to more fixed communities, when the roles played by *castra* eventually expanded to encompass more than defence.[150] In view of our limited knowledge of burial in *castra,* a regional view which collates evidence from a range of these sites and contextualises it within the wider funerary landscape has significant potential to increase our understanding of burial in and around these new forms of settlement.

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[147] Barbiera 2012, 82-89 Ostogoths: Bierbrauer 1975; Lombards: Brozzi 1986.

[148] Barbiera 2012; Halsall 2007, 2011.

[149] Castelseprio: Lusuardi Siena & Sesino 1987-88, 115-124 Sirmione: Sesino 1989, 65-781989, pp. 65-78. Bellinzona: Meyer 1976, 25-38; De Marchi 1997.

[150] Chavarria Arnau 2018, 171



Figure 8 Burials inside the Castrum at Monselice (PD), dating to the Lombard period (After Chavarria 2018, 172, fig. 14.6).

2.2.3.7 Burials in rural churches in Late Antiquity

Rural churches or chapels (*oratoria* or *oracula*) began to appear in Late Antiquity, but the precise chronology of these structures as well as who built them remains hotly debated. Bowes argued for the early development of churches with burials from the later 4th or early 5th centuries.[151] Other scholars, and particularly Chavarria and Briogolo, advocated a later chronology, beginning in the latter part of the 5th century.[152] The later chronology appears to

[151] In general: Bowes 2008, 125-188. Italian sites: Bowes 2008, 170-174.

[152] Brogiolo 2002; Chavarria Arnau 2007.

hold sway among scholars working in Italy at present, but it should be acknowledged that no comprehensive study of churches in the Italian countryside has taken place.

Debates around who built rural churches have been polarised between those who argue that they represent structures built by and for local elites, and those who see them as a centralised, ecclesiastical initiative. For Bowes, these churches provided for the needs of private religious practice in the lives of social elites, and acted as a force for "Christianisation" of the countryside when urban-focussed bishops were too preoccupied with establishing their authority in cities to enact effective campaigns of proselytization in the countryside.[153] On this view, funerary churches were a natural continuation in the evolving Christian milieu, of the private mausolea which some Roman aristocrats had constructed on their country estates during the early imperial period (above, section 2.2.3.2).[154]

Letters from several popes prohibit burial inside churches or the consecration of churches atop existing burials.[155] Yet, as Barbiera writes: "il prestigio rappresentato dall'essere sepolti in una cappella portava spesso e volentieri a ignorare le norme che gli ecclesiastici tentavano di imporre."[156] A less confrontational view is emphasised by Sessa, who has underlined that the preferred papal approach was to position the See of Rome as an advice broker on a range of issues relating to estate management, including burial in churches.[157] As a result, whilst textual evidence does seem to suggest that the Church was uncomfortable with private churches, like the one at Centallo (CN) in Piedmont (Figure 9), being used for elite burials, it seems that ecclesiastical authorities largely accepted this in practice. In contrast, Chavarría has forcefully argued that the shared architectural features of late antique mausolea and early medieval churches have led to an exaggerated view of the frequency of private churches, especially in cases where phasing is poorly understood or an earlier mausoleum subsequently became a church.[158] This picture is supported by Brogiolo's study of the conversion of pre-existing mausolea into churches in northern Italy in the 7th

[153] Local elites' religious lives: Bowes 2008, 125-188; Cantino Wataghin 2000, 245; Settia 1982.
[154] Bowes 2008, 36-37, 158. Earlier funerary monuments and villas: Bodel 1997.
[155] Gelasius, *Letter* 33; Pelagius, *Letters* 86 and 89; Gregory the Great, Letters, 2.11; 8.4; 9.181.
[156] Barbiera 2012, 198.
[157] Sessa 2011, 161-172.
[158] Chavarria Arnau 2009, 190, 2015.

century and beyond, where a period of abandonment or neglect of a mausoleum prior to the establishment of a church is sometimes detectable.[159]

The agency underpinning the construction of churches in the countryside, and their subsequent use for burial, therefore remains problematic. While it is sometimes acknowledged that burial in rural churches was not a majority practice, this assumption has not been tested on a regional basis.[160] It is therefore important to advance our understanding by examining what proportion of late antique and early medieval burials could have been associated with churches, to further our understanding of the role these structures played in the wider funerary landscapes. Additionally, the use of churches for burials marked some of the first times that burials were placed into structures which may not have been built *specifically* for funerary purposes, and examining the implications this had for visibility, which has been considered a core aspect governing the placement of many burials, has yet to be undertaken in detail.

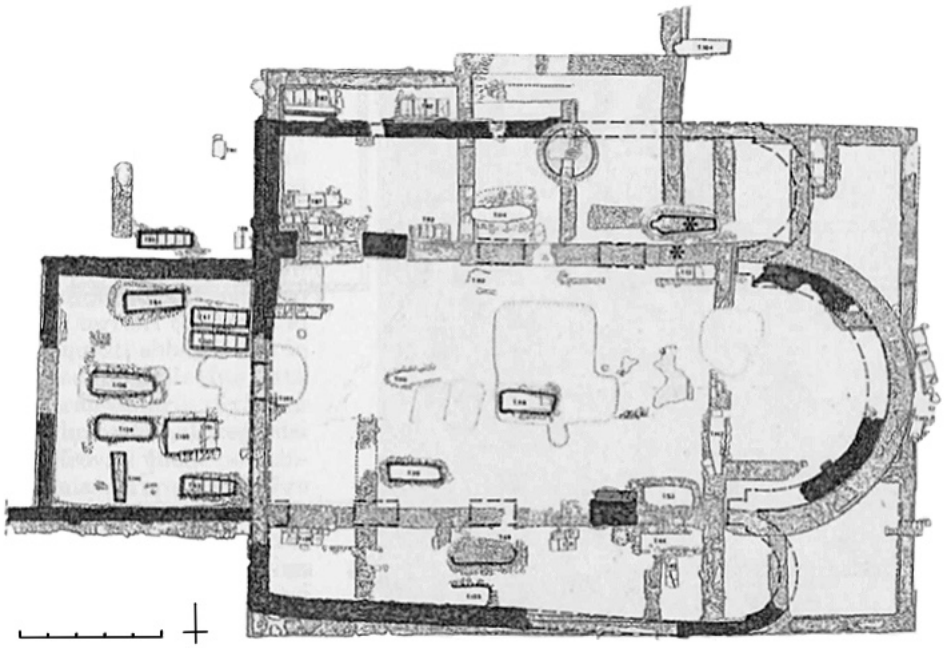


Figure 9 Centallo's (CN) 7th-century phase, with graves (From Pantò and Pejrani Baricco 2001 24, fig. 9)

[159] Brogiolo 2002. Periods of abandonment: Castrorao Barba 2014.

[160] E.g. Chavarria Arnau 2018, 171-172.

2.2.4 Burials, paths of movement, and boundaries

The relation between burials and paths of movement and boundaries is another important part of funerary landscape studies (above, section 2.1.3). Although some burials and funerary monuments in the Roman period were located so as to be visible from waterways, existing work on the relation to burials and paths of movement has focussed primarily on the relation between burials and roads and field boundaries.[161] However, greater attention has been paid to the study of field boundaries, particularly in landscapes which had undergone centuriation, because the relatively regular centuriated field systems have sometimes proven relatively easy to reconstruct. Despite this work, the study of the place of roads and burials within funerary landscapes has been restricted to a small number of cases, and it is far from clear that the patterns established in earlier research are representative of patterns across the whole of Italy during the Roman period. Further work is required to improve our understanding of how these landscape elements relate to the placement of burials in the post-Roman period.

2.2.4.1 Burials and roads

A strong connection between burials and roads has long been a mainstay of Roman funerary studies. Most existing work has emphasised the connection between burials and roads in suburban contexts, where the location close to roads served to make burials more visible and accessible for return visits (above, section 2.2.1). Less work has been carried out on the role of roads in shaping the funerary landscapes the Roman-period countryside in Italy. The most important study in this area was undertaken by Francisci in the Val di Non in Trentino, work which will be expanded in thesis (below, section 5.4). Francisci argued that a general tendency for burials to be located near to roads allows for burials to be combined with other information, like milestones and excavation records to reconstruct road networks, though the precise roads which were favoured changed over time.[162] Botturi and Amodio have advocated for a similar strategy to be employed elsewhere in Italy, though Botturi's own work concentrates primarily on landscapes which had been divided according to a centuriated grid

[161] For tombs visible from waterways: Borg 2013, 33; Hope 2007, 149.

[162] Francisci 2014, 2017a, 225-296.

(below, section 2.2.4.2).[163] As we already saw, however, Eckhardt et al. showed that not all tombs in Roman Britain were located where they could be seen from major roads, and sometimes prioritised visibility from secondary roads (section 2.1.3). Additionally, some rock-cut and standalone tombs in Asia Minor were positioned so as to be far from roads, but visible from them, indicating that visibility and accessibility are not always part and parcel of the same burial strategy.[164]

Even less work has been done to examine the relation between burials and settlements in the countryside of the early Middle Ages. Citter, Patacchini and Valdambrini's comparative analysis of the spatial relationship between burials, settlements and roads in England and Gaul found a varying relationship between the three types of landscape feature in time and space, but did not explore the implications of these differences.[165] Mees' work on early medieval burial in Britain found a hierarchical link between burials, droveways, and Roman roads, with elite burials more likely to be near longer-distance routes and lower status burials more frequently associated with shorter-distance, local routes.[166]

Scholarship on post-Roman Italy demonstrates that at least some Roman roads continued to be important during the early Middle Ages. This is best illustrated by the ongoing role of the via Appia as it passes through Campania and Apulia. This road was so important that the Roman city of *Aeclanum* became known as *Quintodecimo* after the number of miles (15) it was along this road from *Beneventum*.[167] Despite the ongoing importance of roads In Italy more generally, the study of roads in early medieval funerary landscapes is restricted to observations that churches are frequently close to roads, and/or occasional stray mentions that burials were near to roads in excavation reports.[168] In view of the limited number of regional studies on the relations between burials and settlements in Roman-period Italy, we must expand the number of regions where relations between burials and roads have been examined. The best means by which to accomplish this goal is to test the proximity of burials to known road systems instead of using burials to reconstruct roadways. Moreover, the dearth of studies of the relation between tombs and burials in the post-Roman period means

[163] Amodio 2014, 48-49; Botturi 2017, 2016.
[164] Spanu 2000.
[165] Citter et al. 2012.
[166] Mees 2019, 2014
[167] Lo Pilato 2017.
[168] Brogiolo & Chavarria Arnau 2005, 128-130.

that we have little appreciation of whether the role of roads as key places for sites of burial continued in the post-Roman period.

2.2.4.2 Burials and field boundaries

Past research has stressed the correlation between burials and field boundaries. This connection is attested in the *Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors*.[169] For example, Siculus Flaccus warned about mistaking tombs for boundary stones, "since men have customarily placed tombs on the edge of their land and set up marker stones."[170] Latinus and Mysrontius go further, informing us: "'instead of boundary stones, [we] established the monuments and tombs of veteran soldiers."[171] Fuller analysis of these sources has already been undertaken, for example, by Botturi and Francisci, and cannot be repeated here.[172] However, for our present purposes it is necessary to note that both general boundaries (*fines*) and property boundaries (*limites*) could also coincide with or serve as primary or secondary roads, meaning that tombs located near to boundaries were sometimes also visible because of the role these boundaries served as paths of movement.[173]

The connection between boundaries and burials has been explored through archaeological research across the Roman West. In Britain, Pearce argues that cemeteries were located near estate boundaries, but notes that that such boundaries are not always easily identifiable to us.[174] Esmonde Cleary found that placement of poor graves near boundaries might betoken the liminal place of the dead in the broader Romano-British landscape and make graves more easily locatable for future generations and Meffre used factor analysis to show that there is sometimes a spatial connection between graves and boundaries in Gaul.[175]

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[169] *The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors*, 78.31, 188.28, 194.4–5, 200.9–10.

[170] *The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors*, 107.14-15: "quoniam sepulchra in extremis finibus facere soliti sunt 15 et cippos ponere."

[171] *The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors*, 252.31–32: "pro terminibus monumenta sepulchrave veteranorum constituimus."

[172] Botturi 2017, 23-26, 2016; Francisci 2017a, 59-64.

[173] Botturi 2016, 48.

[174] Pearce 2000, 7.

[175] Esmonde Cleary 2000; Meffre 1993.

In Italy, small-scale studies have found connections between the placement of burials and the orthogonal centuration grids which characterise many Roman field systems across the peninsula.[176] Largescale approaches using GIS technologies have interrogated the archaeological record to improve our understanding of centuriation and burials. Foremost among these are Francisci's examination of the Basso Sarca (TN) and Oltradige (BZ) areas of Trentino-Alto Adige and Botturi's analysis of late Republican and early imperial tombs in the Lower Chiese River basin (BS).[177] Both scholars have argued for a strong topographic connection between burial sites and centuriated field boundaries, by examining landscapes with relatively well-known centuriated grids.[178] Both subsequently attempted to use graves as a heuristic tool to analyse the place of burials in other areas where centuriation is less securely attested. However, largescale analyses of centuriated landscapes remain relatively limited in number, and further investigation of the place of burials within centuriated landscapes in a wider of range of regions across Italy is desirable to establish whether these patterns are a universal or distinctly local trend.

It is unclear for how long centuriation could have had a lasting impact on the placement of burials in the centuries after the grids were first laid out. Many areas of Italy underwent several phases of centuriation, which resulted in grids being partially or fully superimposed over one another during successive phases of the field systems.[179] It can therefore be extremely challenging to establish whether burials, especially those with poorly understood chronologies, were deliberately placed to be near to field boundaries or other features. Despite these problems, Botturi's study of the Lower Chiese Basin found a degree of landscape fossilisation with, for example, medieval churches, placed on site of earlier boundaries, and some of these may have contained burials or monumentalised burial sites.[180] Chavarria has posited more generally that individual or small groups of burials made during Late Antiquity or the early Middle Ages in northern Italy may be placed so as to be near to

[176] Centuriation generally: Castagnoli 1958; Chouquer et al. 1987. Burials and boundaries: Furlanetto 1984, 180; Lampugnani 1984, 107-114; Longo 1985, 41, 43-44; Matteazzi 2014, 17-18, fig 6; Ciampoltrini 2009. For Gaul, see also Chouquer et al. 1987, 287.

[177] Francisci 2017a, 299-357, 2011; Botturi 2017, 2016.

[178] In the case of the Basso Sarca, the presence of a centuriated landscape is not undisputed (below, section 5.4.3).

[179] On the problem of studying successive phases of land division: Palet & Orengo 2011.

[180] Botturi 2017, 2016.

boundaries, and points to comparable evidence from elsewhere in the post-Roman world.[181] However, this possibility has not been tested in any detail, meaning that little is known of the lasting impact which these boundaries had on funerary landscapes after the end of Roman rule, and further analysis is required to develop our understanding in this area.

2.2.5 Memory, site biography and place: burial site longevity and reuse of space

Two further aspects of burial sites are intimately linked to the creation of social memory as outlined above (above, section 2.1.2):

(i) the broader biography of a site's use (including the amount of time it was used for burial, how long it remained visible before it was dismantled, and any subsequent reuse for burial or other purposes), which has implications for how the site was remembered and perceived by communities who either used it, or knew of its existence, through time.

(ii) The reuse of past structures of a non-funerary nature for funerary purposes, which has been interpreted in several overlapping ways. This existing work covers both the potential social identity of the occupants as well as ideological motives which may have driven burial inside earlier structures.

Both themes have been discussed from a site-level in past research but have seldom been examined through a landscape approach. The sections which follow summarise past work on these two themes and call for a larger-scale approach which contextualises these burials within wider regional burial patterns as well as considering them from a landscape perspective to understand the role of burial site context in the creation and curation of memory.

2.2.5.1 Monument biography and reuse of monuments

The continued use or reoccupation of Roman imperial period monuments and graves over the *longue dur*ée is an emerging area of study with important implications for how these sites

[181] Chavarria Arnau 2018, 171. Anglo-Saxon Britain: Petts 2002; Reynolds 2009; Gaul: Gleize 2017.

became focal points for memory. Roman authors including Horace and Propertius considered literary works to be significantly more durable than physical monuments, indicating that the limits of memory were apparent even in antiquity.[182] This view apparently endured through antiquity, since in the 4th century Ausonius could write: "Are we to be surprised that men are forgotten? The stones decay, and death comes to the stones and the names on them."[183]

Anthropologists and archaeologists have long recognized that objects can have "biographies" based on their accumulated histories of use and ownership, imbuing them with significance beyond that provided by their material characteristics.[184] This process of biography includes phases of "birth" (creation), "life" (use) and eventual "death" (by falling out of use). Pearce has called for the extension of this concept to funerary monuments.[185] This approach provides a means to explore the significance of these structures over time and can furthermore be applied both at the level of individual graves and at a site level to permit insights into the biographies of cemeteries.

Pearce also problematizes our knowledge of the average lifespan of imperial period funerary monuments and suggests that the "biography" of such monuments could have often been relatively short.[186] Despite legal protections which prohibited violation or dismantling of tombs, Pearce notes that although Bodel's epigraphy-centred study of tombs from Rome suggests an average lifespan for funerary monuments in the region of 150 years, archaeological evidence from the Porta Nocera cemetery at Pompeii indicates that many grave markers survived only 10-20 years before they disappeared below a rising ground level or were otherwise removed.[187] The latter, lower count for monument longevity may sound shockingly short to a modern audience but Sidonius Apollinaris' 5th-century account of grave diggers obliterating his grandfather's grave in Gaul similarly suggests that the lifespan of funerary monuments might sometimes have been rather limited.[188] Variability in monument lifespan should therefore be expected. Consideration of the longevity of earlier funerary monuments and their fate in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages is therefore useful for

[182] Horace, *Odes,* 3.10.-18; Propertius, 3.2.19-26; Graham 2006, 22.
[183] Ausonius, *Epitaphs,* 32.
[184] Key contributions: Kopytoff 1996; Gosden & Marshall 1999; Joy 2009.
[185] Pearce 2017, 15-16.
[186] Pearce 2017, 15-16.
[187] See also Bodel 2014; Van Andringa et al. 2013, 630.
[188] Sidonius Apollinaris, 3.12. Cf Reece 1977.

its potential to elucidate the way that pre-existing tombs shaped new and developing funerary landscapes.

Some funerary monuments could have been used for several centuries, while others might have been "abandoned" or otherwise fallen out of use and then reoccupied, as Borg has recently noted.[189] In the first of these instances, we might cite the Mausoleum of the Valerii in the Vatican necropolis, which saw 150 years of use extending well into the 3rd century with remains being well organised until the monument ceased to be used for funerary purposes.[190] Even if this example is rare for its level of preservation and the epigraphic documentation which allows us to trace its ongoing use, it does mean that we should consider the possibility that existing funerary monuments might see extended primary use by their intended occupants into Late Antiquity.[191] An excellent non-epigraphic example is provided by the so-called Tomba Aldobrandini in Ostia's Pianabella cemetery (Figure 10). Originally built in the first half of the 1st century, this mausoleum was continually filled with burials over several centuries until there was space for just one living person to enter the structure at a time. The recovery of 3rd- to 6th-century pottery implies the ongoing frequentation of the tomb, suggesting that descendants of the deceased or other individuals may have continued to celebrate graveside banquets or leave food offerings well into Late Antiquity.[192] Work from outside Rome and Ostia has also shown that monumental tombs could be appropriated by groups beyond the originally intended occupants.[193] On a less monumental scale, Brent has explored the role of reuse of individual graves in Roman Italy, and found that this could be a positive practice, intended to establish a connection with earlier tomb occupants.[194] We should therefore entertain the possibility that some tombs continued to be used for burial or at least frequented by a variety of groups; the impact this may have had on the funerary landscapes merits further consideration.

Other tombs may have been destroyed, removed from view, or spoliated for their materials. The latter two options may represent either an officially sanctioned act or a form

[189] Borg 2013, 123-160.

[190] Borg 2013, 135-139.

[191] Borg 2013, 138.

[192] Meinecke 2012, 85-86, 101-102. Continued traditions of *refrigeria* (graveside feasting): MacMullen 2009, 53-67, 89-94.

[193] Bodel 2014, 180-181; Graham 2006, 43.

[194] Brent 2020, 2017.

of "usurpation" of long-abandoned structures. Tombs could sometimes be destroyed by new developments. For example, the pre-existing funerary area outside Rome's *Porta Collina* was completely obliterated by some 7.5 meters of soil deposited during the reign of Trajan.[195] Similarly, reanalysis of Lanciani's excavations outside the *Porta Esquilina* shows that the large burial pits he termed *puticuli* and hypothesised to provide burial space for the poor, were sealed over during the late Republic, allowing for the development of the *horti* of Maecenas, though more recent scholarship has disputed the role of these pits as burial places.[196] At Ostia all pre-1st-century CE tombs outside the *Porta Romana* were destroyed in the construction of two *insulae* during the Trajanic or Hadrianic periods.[197] Similarly, in the absence of heirs to claim and protect a tomb plot, local authorities might reclaim tomb plots for resale, and a mounting body of evidence shows that precious marble revetments, inscriptions, statuary and sarcophagi which embellished many suburban tombs were dismantled and reused in public and domestic contexts throughout Italy.[198] These cases show that burials could be destroyed or manipulated over time and that the lifespan of a funerary monument could be distinctly finite.

This previous work highlights the possibility that Roman funerary monuments could have had a relatively limited lifespan. They could also have been subject to an afterlife which may have been quite different from the one envisaged by those who originally set them up. However, most of this existing research focuses on the lifecycle of more grandiose tombs and other funerary structures, while the life cycles of modest tombs in field cemeteries have received far less attention. Moreover, we still have little appreciation about how burial sites could have different "biographies" based on whether they were located in town or country, or whether they evolved as distinct places (above, section 2.1.2) in the broader landscape over the *longue durée.* These themes will be explored in greater detail in the analysis chapters of this thesis.

[195] Bodel 2014, 179-181; Stevens 2017, 238-239.

[196] Stevens 2017, 170-171; Bodel 2014 but see now Emmerson 2020a, 95-108.

[197] Heinzelmann 2000; see also Scott 2013, 83-85; *contra* Stevens 2017, 199.

[198] Resale hypothesis: Stevens 2017, 199. Spolia: Murer 2016, 2018.

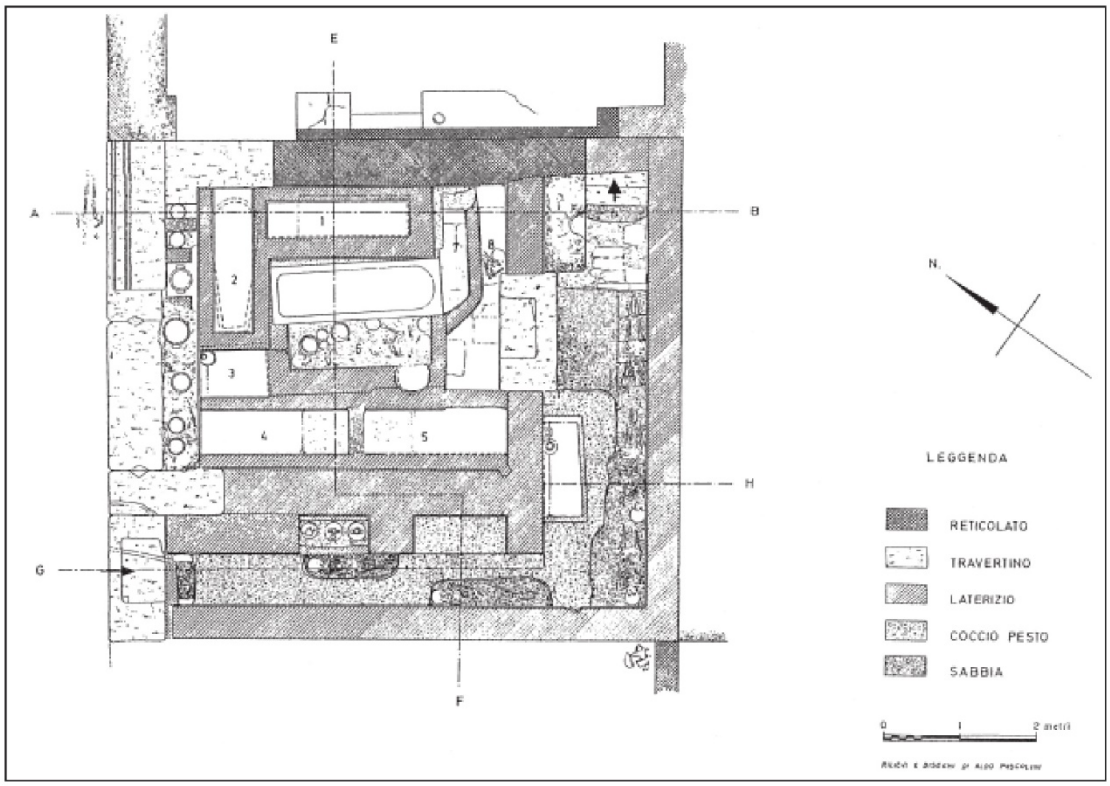


Figure 10 Ground plan of the Tomba Aldobrandini, Ostia Pianabella (from Meinecke 2012, 85, fig. 1).

2.2.5.2 Burials encroaching on pre-existing structures

Late antiquity and the early Middle Ages saw an increase in the re-use of pre-existing structures for burial. This is a theme which is intricately connected to memory because it demonstrates an active choice to manipulate the past – either by seeking association with it as it was understood by the community, or by wilfully re-creating it via insertion of new individuals and the memories associated with them. As this section will show, most of the scholarly attention devoted to this subject has focussed on burial in two types of reused space: in villas and in intramural areas. From the outset, it is important not to elide the fact that reuse of earlier spaces for burial is attested earlier in the Roman period. For example, Carroll highlights how traditional scholarship has previously viewed burials of children within settlements as denoting their status as "not really human beings."[199] Similarly, earlier monuments in, for example, Britain and Sardinia, saw burials cut into them during the Roman period.[200] At the same time, the choice to reuse a non-funerary space for burial appears to

[199] Carroll 2018, 3, quoting Wileman 2005, 77; 157-165.

[200] Blake 1997, 1998 Hutton 2011; Dark 1993; Williams 1998.

have become more common towards the end of the Roman Empire, and many of the spaces were more recently abandoned than those which had been reused in similar ways in the past. We shall now briefly review existing work on burials in villas and in intramural contexts, before identifying some directions for future research.

2.2.5.3 Reuse of space in villas

Some Republican and Imperial period rural structures became the sites of graves in the late antique and early medieval periods. Previous scholarship has largely viewed these graves through the paradigm of the end of the villa."[201] Whilst research has often been confined to regional or sub-regional studies,[202] Castrorao Barba has recently collated a corpus of all known villas in Italy, totalling 1860 sites, of which 767 have undergone some stratigraphic excavation.[203] This scholar's statistical study examined villa transformations during the 3rd-8th centuries by grouping sites under four non-mutually exclusive 'macrotypologies' of reuse: burials, habitation, productive activity, and cultic spaces. He found that villas were reused either for solely funerary purposes or for mortuary deposition alongside other activities from the 4th century onwards (Figure 11).[204] This phenomenon became increasingly common until the 6th century, when it peaked. A substantial decline in new sites reused for graves followed in the 7th century, though there was considerable continuity in sites already occupied by burials.

[201] As is illustrated by the title of Brogiolo's 1996 volume.

[202] Piedmont: Pantò & Pejrani Baricco 2001; Micheletto 1997;. Desenzano and Grotte di Catullo, Sirmione (Lombardy): Bolla 1996. The Ville Unite (south of Ravenna): Montevecchi 2000.

[203] Castrorao Barba 2014.

[204] A small number of villas were the sites of isolated graves during the 3rd century.

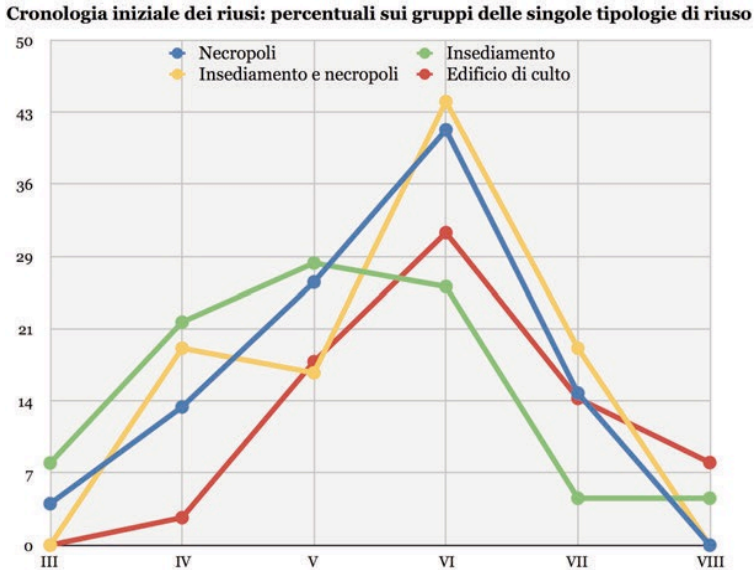


Figure 11 The chronology of initial villa reuse: individual typologies of reuse by percentage over time (From Castrorao Barba 2014, 269, fig. 6).

A plethora of competing interpretations have been proposed for burials within reused spaces. These interpretations can be summarised as follows:

i) **Squatters** of low social status or a transient nature.[205]

ii) **A continued elite presence**. Noting that the "squatter" interpretation, largely stemmed from limited interest in the later lives of Roman villa sites, Lewit argued for a radical reinterpretation of villa burials across the former Roman West as reflecting continued elite presence under changed cultural values (possibly combined with a degree of impoverishment), which no longer emphasised the rich material culture of the past.[206]

iii) **The cemeteries of early agglomerated villages**: Bowes and Gutteridge take a more flexible view, suggesting that changing ideas of what defined 'elites' may partially be reflected by the reconfiguration of villas, but in other cases, reuse of space in villas may reflect the development of villages, with burials related to the inhabitants of these new settlement forms.[207]

[205] "Squatters" as shepherds: Carandini 1993. See also Christie 2004.

[206] Lewit 2003, 2005.

[207] Bowes & Gutteridge 2005.

iv) **Conservation of agricultural land**: It has also been suggested that burials in villas could represent an effort to conserve fertile land for agricultural activities.[208] Strong evidence for conservation of land is exceptional, however, and it remains unclear how representative this is of broader patterns.

v) **Symbolic values**: Other explanations have focussed on the potential symbolic value of burial in former villas:

a. **A desire for a lasting burial place**: Gennaro and Griesbach argued that a pattern of burials abutting walls in villas marks a strong desire for association with earlier structures.[209] These scholars have hypothesised that this spatial arrangement reflects the creation of durable tombs.

b. **Territorial control:** several scholars working in Italy argue that buildings reused for burial could reflect a desire to forge links with the past to express territorial control.[210] This idea has seen greater consideration elsewhere in the Roman world, where burials in pre-existing structures have been viewed as representing markers in the landscape delineating rights to land.[211]

c. **Ritual foci:** Villas located at prominent points in the landscape, could play a role as reference points in space for local populations, including as a location for funerals and burials.[212]

These overlapping hypotheses are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The former three interpretations (i-iii) are concerned primarily with attempting to define the social standing of those buried in villas, but these could vary considerably in different sites and at different times, as developments in the Spanish provinces illustrate. Chavarría identifies three types of

[208] Percival 1976, 198-199.
[209] Di Gennaro & Griesbach 2003, 138-139.
[210] Augenti 2003, 290; Di Gennaro & Griesbach 2003, 138-139.
[211] E.g., Halsall 1995, 181; Williams 1997.
[212] Christie 2004, 20-21. Same point but in Britain: Williams 1997.

funerary activity on villas in this region.[213] First, during the 4th and 5th centuries, occasional burials were placed near still-used buildings, mostly in the northeast of the peninsula. Secondly, some structures, outside the main residential units which might have continued to be inhabited, were reused for funerary purposes from the 4th century onwards, particularly in north-eastern Tarraconensis. Lastly, villas on the Castilian plateau underwent complete 'invasions' by dozens of graves during the 6th-7th centuries. A similar, detailed spatial approach has also recently been suggested by Dodds, working on the north-western provinces, though his methodology is reliant on high-resolution publication of whole-site excavations that are seldom available in practice.[214] We should therefore envisage that burial inside villas was a diverse phenomenon, employed by different groups with different objectives. The latter explanations (iv-v) help to explain why decaying villas might be considered an appropriate place for burial. Rather than simply viewing the countryside in the past through the lens of distribution maps, these interpretations permit us to explore how earlier ruins were understood and experienced by late antique and early medieval societies. Many of these explanations overlap with existing work on intramural burials, as we shall now see.

2.2.5.4 Intramural burial

Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages saw the arrival of burials into the intramural space in far larger numbers than in preceding centuries. The appearance of graves inside city walls (so-called 'intramural burials') has been viewed as a break with past attitudes to the dead. By 381 CE, an edict issued by Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius I in Constantinople ordered the removal of graves blocking pavements and public spaces but permitted the placement of saints' relics and the faithful who wished to be buried near them, within the city limits.[215] Whilst this law largely reflects the situation in the East, mounting archaeological evidence suggests an increasing acceptance of intramural burials in the Western Empire, albeit at a slightly later date.

Intramural burials appeared do not appear at all sites, but Lambert's examination of cities in *Italia annonaria* shows that intramural burials began to appear in many cities during

[213] Chavarria Arnau 2004, 82.

[214] Dodd 2020, 2019, 2021.

[215] *Codex Theodosianus* 9.7.6 with Lambert 1997, 285-288, who also discusses other legal references to burial.

the 4th-5th centuries at some early outliers, such as Cremona and Modena, though most sites see their first intramural burials from the 6th century onwards.[216] A similar chronology emerges from Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani's study of intramural grave clusters within Rome's Aurelian walls (Figure 12).[217] Regional studies of intramural burials in southern Italy remain relatively rare, though Staffa's synthesis of urban graves in the Abruzzo highlights a similar chronology,[218] as do intramural burials in Naples,[219] and several cities elsewhere in Campania.[220] It should be noted, though, that intra- and extra-mural burials are not mutually exclusive. At many sites, both practices continued side-by-side, reflecting burial spaces for different groups employing distinct commemorative strategies, and others, like Aosta in Northern Italy, intramural burial does not seem to have taken place at all, perhaps due to the ongoing vitality of suburban burial sites around a vibrant urban core.[221]

[216] Lambert 1997, 290, table 2.

[217] Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani 1994, 2000; Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani 1993; see also Carboni 2013.

[218] Staffa 1998.

[219] Amodio 2014, 46-48; Arthur 2002, 58; Giampaola 2005, 299.

[220] Rotili 2017.

[221] Cantino Wataghin & Lambert 1998, 89-94.

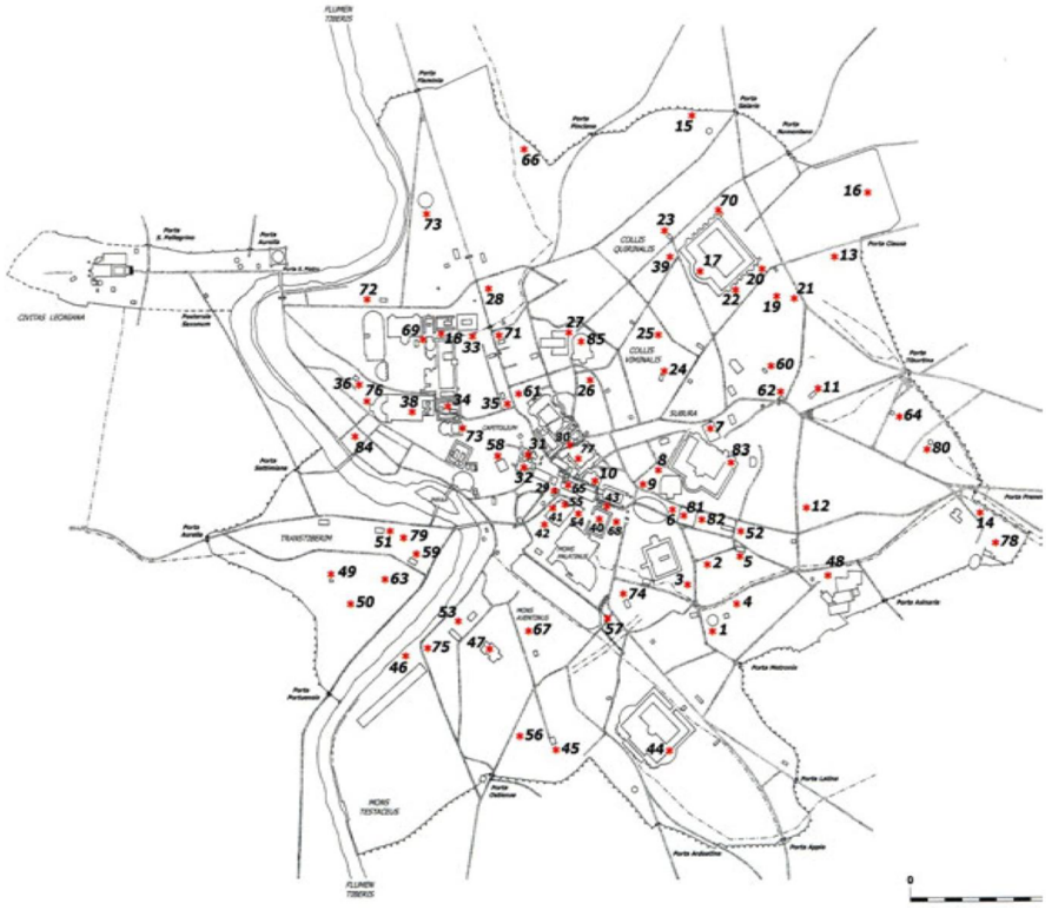


Figure 12 Schematic plan of intramural burial distribution in the 5th-7th centuries (From Carboni 2013, 183, fig. 5, after Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 108).

The appearance of intramural burials has been a major theme in wider debates about late antique and early medieval cities in Italy. The growing importance of churches as burial foci and military instability likely contributed to the rise of intramural burial, but this break with longstanding traditions is also as an important indicator of changing conceptions of urbanism. Heated polemics of the 1980s and 1990s, which focussed principally on northern Italy, centred principally on the relative merits of competing paradigms of transformation and decline ('continuitists vs catastrophists').[222] Scholars sought to explain the changes observed in this period, including the loss or repurposing of earlier monumental public spaces, the subdivision of imperial period *domus* into multiple housing units, and, of course, the introduction of burials within city limits. Against this background, analysing burials in urban

[222] Debates are reviewed by Wickham 2003. 'Catastropist' viewpoint: Ward-Perkins 1997, 2005; 'Continuitism': La Rocca Hudson 1986.

spaces provides a vehicle for understanding the new nature of urbanism. Interpretations of broadly the same data have produced strongly contrasting opinions: one, which views intramural burial as demonstrating an evolving attitude to the dead and their place in relation to the urban fabric, and another which views the appearance of graves inside the city limits as an index for urban decline. Within this broader scholarly context, numerous explanations for intramural burials have been advanced, including:

i) **Desired proximity to relics:** Past scholars explained intramural burials through a desire associate graves with cultic spaces.[223] For example, the *Liber Pontificalis* records Simplicius' (468-483) endowment of an intramural church to house the remains of St Bibiana, with late 5th- or early 6th-century burials identified in the vicinity.[224] However, this church is notable for its exceptionality and Indeed Osborne and others have noted extensive translation of relics inside Rome's Aurelian walls is primarily an 8th-century phenomenon, and therefore significantly postdates the first appearance of intramural burials.[225]

ii) **Generalised desire for burial in churches:** Burials may sometimes be attracted to churches which were not associated with relics, reflecting the ecclesiastical authorities' growing interest in cemetery provision in the 5th-6th centuries.[226] In Rome, for example, burials on the Esquiline have been connected with the *titulus Eusebii* church.[227] Across *Italia Annonaria,* Lambert identified a spatial proximity of burials to a church at 32 city sites or 76 per cent of her overall sample.[228] In southern Italy, mentions of burials in association with churches suggests a similar pattern, though no existing study provides a systematic view of the evidence.[229] However this explanation is insufficient because many intramural burials cannot

[223] First expressed by Dyggve 1978 [1953]; see now Wisniewski 2019, 186-187, with further references.
[224] *Liber Pontificalis*, I.249.
[225] Osborne 1984 Christie 2006, 253; Costambeys 2001.
[226] Costambeys 2001, 189.
[227] Pani Ermini 1999. See also Carboni 2013, 170-171.
[228] Lambert 1997, 289-290.
[229] Staffa 1998; Rotili 2004b.

be convincingly linked with churches and instead occupied former public spaces or *domus*.

iii) **External threats:** Osborne suggested a correlation between intramural graves and increasing insecurity, especially in Rome, where the Gothic (in 410) and Vandal (in 455) sacks of the city and the repeated sieges during the Gothic War (535-554) curtailed access to the countryside and prevented continued suburban burials.[230] Yet most archaeological data do not clearly correlate with known military incidents or other turbulent episodes, especially beyond Rome, where our knowledge of historical events is less detailed.[231] As a result, it seems probable that other explanations for extramural burial may be more appropriate.

iv) **Urban decline and depopulation:** a catastrophist view of late antique and early medieval urbanism, interprets burials primarily as a sign of urban decline, an inability to maintain monumental public spaces or domestic structures, and a loss of population. For Brogiolo and Gelichi and others, intramural burials serve as a proxy for the declining state of cities, and reflect the availability of space which had lost its previous functions.[232] Although this interpretation has largely focussed on northern Italy, it is worth noting that a similar interpretation has also been advanced by Staffa in his study of urban burials in Abruzzo.[233]

v) **Changing conceptions of urbanism:** Cantino Wataghin suggests that intramural burial represents a new "ideology" for burials in cities, and a form of continuity on urban life.[234] Another key contribution comes from La Rocca, whose work highlighted a correlation between uninhabited public lands designated by later textual evidence and archaeologically attested graves at Verona, which she interpreted as reflecting a new approach to the spatial organisation of cities.[235] On this view the aforementioned shifts in land usage and burial placement should be

[230] Osborne 1984, followed by Christie 2006, 252; Carboni 2013.
[231] Christie 2006, 252; Cantino Wataghin 1999.
[232] Brogiolo & Gelichi 1998, 98-101; Pani Ermini 1999, 43; Christie 2006, 252.
[233] Staffa 1998, 175.
[234] Cantino Wataghin 1999.
[235] La Rocca Hudson 1986.

seen as key evidence for the ongoing power of the lay and ecclesiastical authorities to control burial spaces.

As was the case with burials inside ruined villas (above, section 2.2.3.2), the term 'intramural burials' encompasses a considerable variety of grave types, arising from a similarly diverse range of causes. The heterogeneity of intramural graves has become increasingly apparent, as work from across late antique Mediterranean indicates.[236] Returning to Italy, at Brescia, for example, Brogiolo and Gelichi distinguish between:[237]

a) isolated graves;
b) burials associated with dwellings, often modest in nature, belonging to individual family units;
c) tombs associated with churches.

In order to understand intramural burials and their significance within the wider funerary landscapes, there is therefore a need to consider the different types of burial sites represented, within their particular urban context so that we can draw a greater appreciation of their meaning and significance. The choice to bury a single individual within an abandoned building is different to the choices made when multiple burials are buried within a single space. Likewise, the choice and ability to bury one's dead near a church represents an entirely different motive than the aforementioned re-use of space at either an individual or group level. Moreover, these burials cannot be studied divorced from the broader funerary trends at a given city: to analyse intramural burials, in other words, we must study them within a wholistic framework which examines the entire available burial record from a circumscribed territory or area.

2.2.5.5 Future directions: bridging the gap between spatial reuse in town and country

Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages saw reuse of space in city and country, and these trends display considerable overlap in terms of practice and implications for burial strategies.

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[236] North Africa: Leone 2006; Greece: e.g. Tzavella 2008, 353-358; Ivison 1996; Gaul: Boyer-Gardner 2010; Spain: Ruiz Bueno 2013.
[237] Brogiolo & Gelichi 1998, 98-101.

While Lewit has drawn some parallels between burials in (former) villas and in intramural spaces – chiefly that the reuse of earlier spaces could sometimes reflect an ongoing elite presence – the focus of her research primarily on rural areas.[238] As we have seen, villas and intramural spaces have received the bulk of the scholarly attention, especially in Italy, though other types of space were also reused for burial during the same periods. However, we have only a limited idea of what proportion of the burial record can be characterised as taking place in reused spaces: a large scale, regional approach with considers all known burial sites will allow us to understand the prevalence and broader significance of this practice. Additionally, in villas and in cities, there is a growing appreciation that reuse of space was not a monolithic process, and instead reflected a range of different practices conducted by different local groups, working within local considerations and traditions. While the foundations have been laid for this in existing research, much remains to be done to try to improve our understanding of the different dynamics at play at different types of sites in late and post-Roman Italy. Additionally, most of the studies described above have approached the reuse of structures from a site-level perspective. However, adopting a landscape approach will help us understand the experiential dimension by examining the role of burials in reused spaces had in the wider landscape and the impact this had on the creation and curation of the memory of the deceased.

2.3 Conclusion

This literature review has highlighted many gaps in the existing scholarship on the place, function, and purpose of burials in the landscapes of Roman, late antique, and early Medieval Italy. It has been stressed throughout that a largescale landscape approach which examines burials in both town and country can shed new light on many aspects of the burial record which have only previously been studied at a site level. In the sections which follow I outline the methodologies employed in this thesis and the data sources employed herein to address the research questions laid out at the beginning of this thesis (Section 1.2).

[238] Lewit 2003, 2005.

3. Methodology

This section outlies the selection criteria for the regions included in this thesis, how data was collected, the development of the geodatabase employed in the analysis proper, the groupings and categorizations used to organise the data as well as the statistical and digital techniques used herein. Greater detail regarding data categorizations and spatial analysis techniques will be provided in later chapters prior to their first usage to reduce the need for readers to refer back to this methodology section.

3.1 The geodatabase

The above data were collated in an ArcGIS geodatabase (ArcGIS Pro Version 2.8.3) which allows for the management of large quantities of vector and raster data and the ability to overlay large quantities of data from the two study regions under consideration. The project was created using the WGS 84 (EPSG 4326) coordinate reference system. Sites were categorized according to their date and type prior to analysis, and these categories are introduced as required in the relevant sections of the analysis to facilitate ease of reading.

3.2 Case study selection and data sources

The regions explored in this thesis, namely Central Campania and Trentino, were selected because of the large amount of funerary and settlement data available for each region (see sections 4.1 and 5.1). Pompeii, Herculaneum, and their territories were both excluded from the study of Central Campania because of the wealth of previous scholarship focusing on these sites, as well as their abrupt endings – which effectively removed the sites and their cemeteries from the natural processes of change over the *longue durée*. The study areas were delineated using modern administrative boundaries as defined by the Italian Ministry of the Environment (*Ministero dell'Ambiente e della Tutela del Territorio e del Mare)* as of 2016, and available as Open Access shape files via an online WFS Catalogue Service.[239]

Sites data was collated from existing published site catalogues and gazetteers, outlined in the relevant sections, and supplemented by systematic reviews of local journal

[239] URL = http://wms.pcn.minambiente.it/ogc?map=/ms_ogc/wfs/LimitiAmministrativi_2011.map [Last accessed 30 March 2020].

and conference proceeding publications. Sites were then georeferenced as point data within the ArcGIS geodatabase. Non-funerary sites in suburban areas were not collated in the dataset because of space and time constraints, but plans of these sites are reproduced in the analysis which follows. In total, 407 funerary sites and 255 non-funerary sites were identified and georeferenced in Central Campania. A similar number of 399 funerary sites and 217 non-funerary sites were identified and georeferenced in Trentino. Additionally, decontextualised epigraphic finds from the area around *Aeclanum* and from across Trentino were also georeferenced. As mentioned in the Introduction (section 1.3), these data are reproduced as Microsoft Excel files in Appendices 1-6. Roads, city walls and centuriation field boundaries were digitised by georeferencing orthorectified plans and creating vector files which traced their course. Details of the sources for these features are supplied as needed in the captions of the relevant in-text figures.

Vector data was supplied by the following basemaps:

- The cartography of the Istituto Geografico Militare (IGM tavolette) 1:25.000, 1890
- The cartography of the Istituto Geografico Militare (IGM tavolette) 1:25.000, 1958
- The cartography of the Istituto Geografico Militare, 1:100.000
- Tintaly 10m-resolution Digital Elevation Model[240]
- Google Satellite Imagery
- ESRI ArcMap Hillshade

3.3 Methods and tools

Geospatial analysis was undertaken using ArcGIS and Google Earth Pro as appropriate. The multiscalar analysis undertaken in this thesis blends largescale approaches which examine data at a regional or sub-regional level with local-, neighbourhood- and site-level analysis. The tools employed included a range of widely accepted and tested approaches which have seen extensive previous use as part of GIS applications in archaeology.[241] On the simplest level, GIS applications allowed the superposition of multiple different layers of raster and vector data in order to examine the spatial relations between different kinds of data types, and the

[240] Generously provided by the TINTALY team. For further details, see Tarquini et al. 2007; Tarquini et al. 2012; Tarquini & Nannipieri 2017.

[241] In general see: Conolly & Lake 2006

production of clear maps and figures. In addition to this, buffers were employed to express uncertainty where sites cannot be located precisely or sprawl over an extended area.

GIS was also used as a means to delineate rural, suburban and intramural burial sites. It must be acknowledged from the outset that establishing a clear idea of where the boundary between the suburbs and the countryside fell in antiquity is challenging; such distinctions are employed in this thesis primarily to allow us to talk about burials which are closer to towns and those which are further away from them, and by extension to establish whether there is any link between burial distribution and urbanism. As is well known, Rome was by far the largest city in early imperial, late antique, and possibly also early medieval Italy. The first three miles out from this city saw intense competition for burial space, though some people who lived in this metropolis probably also found their final resting place more than three miles beyond that distance. All of the cities considered in this thesis are significantly smaller than Rome and therefore I have worked on the assumption that their suburban zones would have been smaller than Rome's. Suburbs are defined as land falling within 1.5 km of the centre of a city, with the exception of Naples and Nola/Cimitile (3 km), which may have had larger suburbs, in the latter case because of the two, overlapping urban/quasi-urban poles present there, at least in late antiquity. Most of the city walls of towns belonging to the two cases studies discussed were built in the early imperial period and had not substantially changed thereafter; where the course of walls were changed, as at Naples and Tridentum, burials were only classed as intramural if they were within the late antique/early medieval wall circuits.

Viewshed analysis (see also above, section 2.1.3) was employed to assess accessibility, though as will be stressed repeatedly in this thesis, it is important to account for vegetation cover which may have been different in the past.[242] Two kinds of viewshed analysis were employed in this thesis: viewshed analysis from single sites undertaken in Google Earth Pro and cumulative viewshed analysis in ArcGIS. In both instances, observer height locations were set at 1.60 m to allow for broad comparisons to be drawn across different viewshed models. Viewshed analysis of single sites in Google Earth Pro was undertaken using the tool of the same name to assess the view from a given location and/or consider where it would be visible from the surrounding landscape. The cumulative viewshed analysis in ArcGIS was used to assess the visibility along roads by creating viewshed models at regular intervals (i.e. every 10

[242] Llobera 2007

m) using the Geodesic Viewshed tool in ArcGIS (to a maximum of 3 km). This tool creates a graded raster layer in ArcGIS which expresses the number of points from which any given location is visible. As a result, it provides a way to assess which places were most visible from the greatest number of locations and, by extension, for the longest period for people travelling through the landscapes discussed in this thesis.

Additionally, measuring tools such as Nearest Neighbour Analysis and the 'Near' function allow interrogation of the spatial relations between different types of site (e.g. burial sites and settlements, roads, or field boundaries). It should be stressed that the value of these analyses is determined by the quality of the input data, and the greatest care has been taken throughout to georeference sites as accurately as possible to facilitate meaningful geospatial analysis. Further details of these techniques will be introduced and discussed as needed in the analysis chapters of this thesis (sections 4 and 5).

At this juncture, it is necessary to say a few words about the approach to site dating adopted in this thesis. Developing a standardised way of dating the extremely heterogeneous burial records of Central Campania and Trentino to allow comparsions across and between these regions is complicated by both local variations in burial practice and by the detail available in existing publications. For example, grave goods are much more commonly found in burials in Trentino, and the burial record in that region is generally published in greater detail than that from (at least) some parts of Central Campania. In this thesis, burials are dated primarily on the basis of grave goods, tomb type (including tile stamps), and monument style. This means that chronology had to be assigned largely on a case-by-case basis. Where diagnostic grave goods are present in a small proportion of graves at a given site, this generally meant a wider chronology was proposed for the site, because of the possibility that some graves may have been earlier or later than the well-dated material. However, when chronological indicators were overwhelmingly in support of a more restricted date range, shorter time intervals were sometimes adopted. Inscriptions are dated according to internal details and/or details of their style in line with the earlier published record. Funerary rite – i.e. cremation or inhumation – was not generally used as tool for establishing chronology because cremation, particularly in Trentino, was probably practiced well into the 4th century but investigation of this tradition lies outside the scope of the present thesis.

It should also be noted that loosely used generic terms such as "Roman," "late antique" and "early medieval" (and Italian equivalents) are frequently employed by

colleagues working in Italy; this partly reflects the paucity of high-resolution dating evidence at many sites. In this study, for statistical purposes the sites described generically as "Roman" have been dated to 100 BCE – 499 CE; those dated generically to the late Republican or early imperial period to 100 BCE – 299 CE; generically late antique sites are dated to 300-499 CE and generically early medieval sites are dated to 500-699 CE. This approach was adopted in order to ensure that burials with relatively weak dating evidence would not be excluded entirely from the chronological analysis.

Two main statistical methods were employed throughout this thesis better to explore and understand the available data. Both were undertaken using Microsoft Excel. First, many of the sites analysed in this thesis cannot be dated to a period of less than one century, which makes it difficult to analyse diachronic changes. We can tackle these challenges in dating through the employment of a simple statistical method which has been used fruitfully in the study of shipwrecks and ceramic assemblages, and more recently applied to the Early Imperial burials of Trentino-Alto Adige.[243] This method assumes that a wreck, artefact, or burial assigned both a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem* has an equal probability of occurring in any of the years within the established date range. So, graves dated over a span of two centuries stand an equal probability of having been made in either of the two and can therefore be equally divided between them, graves dated over three centuries can be equally divided between the three and so on. In cases where burial sites are unevenly dated, for example, to 250-399, the site is divided according to the proportion of which falls into each century, with a value of 0.33 attributed to the 3rd century and 0.66 to the 4th. This technique, if handled carefully, helps to avoid midpoint distortion when we analyse the chronological developments in large datasets, though it is important to acknowledge that the fundamental issue remains the overall quality of the dating evidence from individual sites; where this is weak, it impacts the overall quality of our analysis.

Secondly, when handling largescale archaeological data, it is important to test whether apparent patterns in the data are statistically significant, as archaeologists have increasingly become aware in recent years.[244] In this thesis, the second main method of statistical testing

[243] For shipwrecks see Wilson 2011, 33-35; Russell 2011a, 144-145; Russell 2013b, 346-347. For ceramics see Bes 2007, 6-11. For burials in Trentino see Francisci 2017a, 84-87. N.B. the focus at this stage is on quantifying burials rather than the number of individuals buried, which is difficult in the case of multiple inhumations or in the many cases when the number of graves are unspecified.

[244] Shennan 1997.

employed is the chi-squared goodness-of-fit testing, which allows the testing of environmental testing of categorical data against a null hypothesis.[245] For example, if slopes account for 10 per cent of a study area, we would expect to see that if archaeological sites are randomly distributed across the area, then around 10 per cent of sites would be located on the slopes. Chi-squared testing that allows us to establish whether the different between expected values (i.e., the 10 per cent just outlined) and the observed values are statistically significant. Chi-square tests are calculated according to the formula:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

Where *O* is the observed value and *E* is the expected value. Shennan has demonstrated that the probability that any differences between expected and observed values are statistically significant can be evaluated by analysing *k*-1 degrees of freedom (where *k* is the number of categories employed).[246] In effect, this means that statistical significance can be determined using a second formula:

$$DF = k - 1 = 3 - 1 = 2\ (E_i) = n * pi$$

Where *DF* is the degrees of freedom, *k* is number of categories, n is the sample size, and E_i is the expected frequency. The value produced is termed a P-value. A P-value of less than 0.05 will indicate that a relationship is statistically significant, i.e., that it departs sufficiently from the norm that is improbable it results from chance. In this thesis, environmental categories will be examined using spatial categories, for example, the number of sites within the study areas falling within 1.5 km of a city or the number of burial sites falling within 500 m of a road, or within 100 m of a field boundary, compared against the total area of regions under consideration. By employing these methods, we shall be able to ascertain whether apparent patterns in the data are divergent from random site distributions. Now, having outlined the basic principles of the methodology employed in this thesis, we shall begin our first case study, that of Central Campania.

[245] Kvamme 2009.

[246] Shennan 1988.

4. Central Campania: Burials in a highly urbanised landscape

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Central Campania: outline

The modern province of Campania, lying in the heart of the Italian peninsula, featured a densely urbanised landscape in antiquity. In this chapter, I consider the funerary landscapes of the central part of modern Campania, much of which fell within the Augustan *regio* of Campania, though some parts from *Aeclanum* eastwards probably belonged to Apulia for much or all of antiquity.[247] On a modern map, the area under consideration comprises the Province of Naples north of Mt Vesuvius, as well as the Province of Avellino as far east as Conza della Campania. It encloses varied landscapes: rugged hills, plains, the towering slopes of Vesuvius, and the mountainous southern tail of the Apennines. Ancient Campania was peppered with urban centres (Figure 13), whether larger cities like Naples and Nola, or the smaller cities of *Suessula*, *Accerrae* (modern Acerra), *Abella* (modern Avella), *Abellinum* (modern Atripalda), *Aeclanum* (near modern Mirabella Eclano), *Frigentum* (modern Frigento) or *Compsa* (near modern Conza della Campania).[248] Cities were not evenly distributed over the territory, however, and *Hirpinia* was probably less urbanised than the more coastal zones. In this chapter, I examine how the density of urban settlements in Campania may have influenced the placement of the dead in the wider landscape by exerting a gravitational pull which attracted the graves of inhabitants of both rural and urban zones: being buried in the suburbs of a city may have offered greater visibility and longer lasting memory.

[247] Views are split between colleagues arguing that *Aeclanum* was part of *Apulia et Calabria* since the reforms of Augustus (Savino 2005, 18-26; Clemente 1965; Grelle & Volpe 1994; Volpe 1996, 25-37) and those who argue that it was first located within Campania before being reassigned to Apulia (Thomsen 1947; Sirago 1996).

[248] Other cities, notably *Atella* and *Herculaneum*, sit outside of the area considered in this thesis, and are not discussed herein.

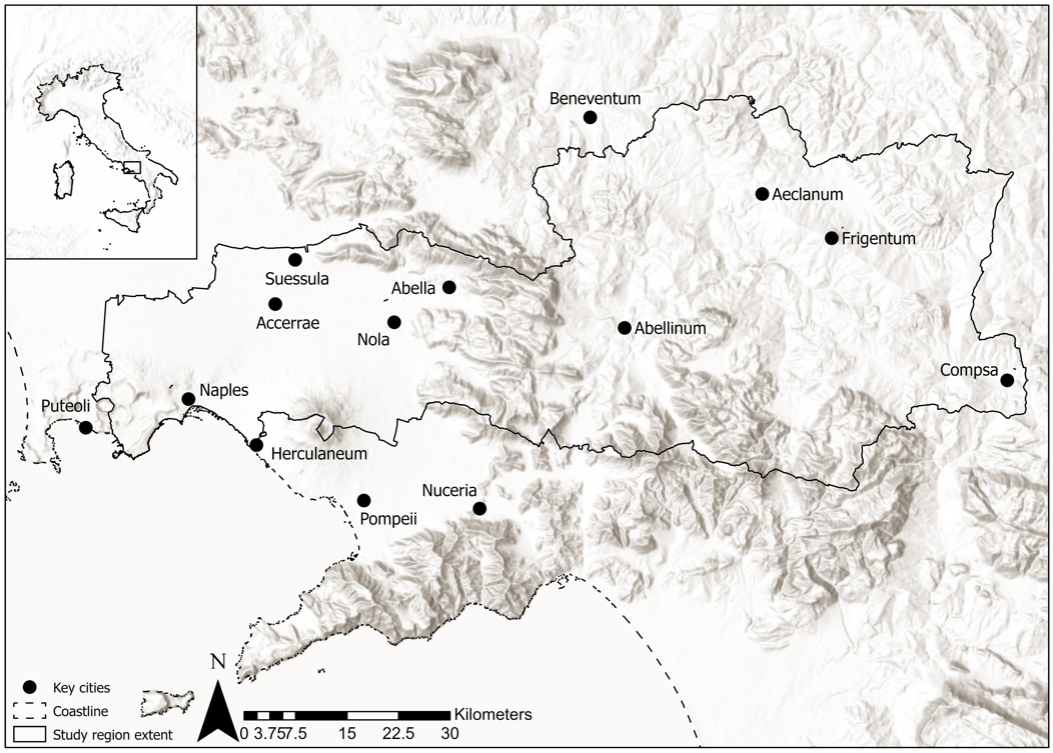


Figure 13 The study region of Central Campania with key cities discussed in the text.

The region of Campania is almost omnipresent in historical and archaeological studies of Roman Italy, thanks to the region's proximity to Rome and the immortalization of the Vesuvian cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, buried by the eruption of 79 CE, which have been a major source of fascination for generations of scholars. These latter sites, lying to the south of Mt Vesuvius, are deliberately excluded from the area considered here, in favour of a wider focus that will consider less-discussed sites, which were active over a greater part of the period under consideration.[249] The Roman and late antique landscapes of Campania have both undergone recent synthetic treatments, providing useful starting points for the data employed in the present thesis. De Simone collated evidence for archaeological activity between the 2nd-5th centuries CE in the area around Vesuvius,[250] while Amodio has catalogued the Roman and late antique burial sites of Naples and its immediate hinterland.[251] Cinquantaquattro has analysed unpublished data on Roman sites from the city of *Abella* and Donceel has done the same for the territory of Nola.[252] Ebanista has provided synthetic

[249] For post-79 CE burials south of Vesuvius: Pagano 1995; De Simone 2014. For the funerary landscapes of Pompeii:. Van Andringa et al. 2013.

[250] De Simone 2014; also Pagano 1995 for earlier work.

[251] Amodio 2014.

[252] *Abella*: Cinquantaquattro 2000. Nola: Donceel 2019.

studies of sites in the immediate surroundings of Nola and *Abella* in the late antique period.[253] Collucci Pescatori has written several significant overviews of the evidence in the Roman period across *Hirpinia*,[254] while studies of cities and their territories have been undertaken at *Aeclanum* by Lo Pilato,[255] at *Frigentum* by Ebanista and Rotili,[256] and at *Abellinum* by Fariello and Lambert.[257] Finally, Pratillo has studied the rural zone at the upper Calore valley.[258]

The current state of research largely focuses on site- or local-level analysis, covering for example, an individual city or its territory, and little work has been done to compare patterns across the wider region or examine divergent urban and rural burial patterns. For instance, Amodio focussed on tomb typologies and topographic reconstruction of burials in and around the city of Naples through time, with an emphasis on Early Christian archaeology (especially churches and catacombs), but this excellent work only informs us about one city and its immediate hinterland. Moreover, where regional-level work has been done, funerary landscapes are peripheral to the main discussion. De Simone's work takes a regional view on the economy, rather than the funerary sphere. Within this framework, burial sites were simply taken as a proxy for settlements in their vicinity. Neither of these important research initiatives were concerned with the experiential aspects of the funerary landscapes or the value of visibility-focussed studies, which will lie at the heart of the present study. Moreover, although the studies by De Simone and Amodio just cited are concerned with the *longue durée*, the analysis already undertaken has not focussed on the wider function of burial sites as a tool for the creation and curation of memory in the landscape.

Much work remains to be done, though some first steps have recently been undertaken by the Apolline Project and the University of Edinburgh as part of the ongoing project centred on *Aeclanum*; the present chapter aims in part to contextualise this work within wider trends. This chapter is divided into four main sections. Section 4.2 surveys the spatial and chronological distribution of geolocatable funerary sites in the region. It argues that the vibrant funerary landscapes of Central Campania are highly influenced by the

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[253] Nola and Cimitile: Ebanista 2003a, 2003b, 2004a. *Abella*: Ebanista 2004b; see also Cesarano 2018.

[254] Colucci Pescatori 1991; Colucci Pescatori 2005, 1986; Cinquantaquattro & Pescatori 2013; see also Rotili 2004b.

[255] Lo Pilato 2012b, 2005, 2012a.

[256] Rotili & Ebanista 2018.

[257] Fariello & Lambert 2009.

[258] Synthesised by Pratillo 2009.

urbanized nature of the region over the *longue durée*, with more funerary sites in and around cities than we might expect; not everyone was seemingly buried near where they lived, and inhabitants of the countryside were probably transported to cities for burial.

Section 4.3 examines the connection between burials and settlements in greater detail. It argues that urban centres functioned as nodes for funerary display, but in neither a static nor monolithic way. While tomb-lined streets developed in the Imperial period, these monumental ornaments on the approaches to cities are by no means universal, leaving open the possibility that not *every* city served as a major venue for burial. In Late Antiquity, a range of different trajectories took place in the suburban and intramural burial landscapes. In the countryside, the connection between settlements and burials appears relatively weak, and use of GIS applications helps us to establish that only a small proportion of funerary sites lie near to villas or farmsteads. These findings call into question models proposed elsewhere in Italy that stress the ubiquity of mausolea or other burial sites on countryside estates. *Vici,* agglomerated settlements in the Italian countryside, might have played a quasi-urban role for funerary display, but further study of this proposal is required.

Section 4.4 seeks to explore two other key elements of the human landscape which may have influenced the placement of burial sites, namely roads and centuriated field boundaries. The road network of Central Campania under the Romans is relatively well understood, and the available data reveal that substantial numbers of burial sites are close to roads; many more are visible from them. Centuriated boundaries appear less significant in this territory. Where burials do appear near centuriated boundaries, it is often on an axis running broadly perpendicular from known roads, suggesting that the significance of boundaries lay in their role as paths of movement, rather than as boundaries *per se.*

Section 4.5 examines two other key themes in the curation and creation of memory over the *longue durée:* the longevity of funerary sites and the reuse of earlier non-funerary space for burial. Longevity of funerary sites is difficult to quantify in the absence of high-resolution dating evidence, but the use of broad heuristic categories suggests that burial sites around cities may have been used, and therefore remembered, for longer than those in the countryside, with some notable exceptions. The reuse of space in town and country is a common theme in studies of late antique and early medieval Italy, but the two are seldom discussed together. In Central Campania, burial inside pre-existing structures in the countryside is relatively uncommon but could have sometimes reflected a desire to

monumentalise burials through association with pre-existing remains, or simply indicate partial abandonment of a larger complexes such as a villa or sanctuary. In cities, however, reuse of intramural space for burial is more common, and many intramural graves are located within monumental structures. Existing research focuses on how this type of reuse of space reflects a degradation of the classical built environment, but we might also posit that a community's decision to bury its dead within structures which were still grand and durable could reflect a way of ensuring that their graves were locatable and memorable in a slowly decaying cityscape. Before beginning this analysis, however, we shall briefly outline the historical trajectory of the region.

4.1.2 Central Campania: historical overview

4.1.2.1 Late Republic to Early Empire

Roman influence over Central Campania can be traced back to the 6th century but it was only fully brought under Roman control in the 80s BCE. [259] In 89 BCE, Sulla passed through *Hirpinia,* and sacked the city of *Aeclanum* after a short siege.[260] Between 82 and 80 BCE, Sulla sacked Naples and confiscated part of its territory, colonised Nola, and undertook a programme of centuriation around Nola and *Abella*.[261] The period between Sulla's interventions and the eruption of Mt Vesuvius in 79 CE was one of general prosperity, despite the upheavals surrounding the end of the Roman Republic. Under Augustus the territory of Nola saw a second round of centuriation and that of Naples underwent centuriation for the first time.[262] Parts of the region, especially near the coast, came into the ownership of the Roman aristocracy, who built elaborate villas.[263] Meanwhile, the civic orders of Campania's cities progressively enrolled more Roman citizens, though older local aristocratic families still retained some influence.[264] At the same time, the cities of Campania grew more monumentalised, with the addition of public buildings including baths and amphitheatres, continuing a trend started in the later 2nd century BC.

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[259] Syntheses of history: Arthur 2002, 1991; De Simone 2014; Savino 2005; Rotili 2017; Colucci Pescatori 1996; Papers in Colucci Pescatori 1996.

[260] Appian 1.51.

[261] CIL 10.6938-6940; Livy, *Per*. 47.89; Paterculus, 2.25.4. Appian 1.89.

[262] Castagnoli 1958; Chouquer et al. 1987; Soricelli 2002.

[263] D'Arms 1970; Zarmakoupi 2014.

[264] De Simone 2014, 29-33.

The eruption of Vesuvius in 79 had varying impacts on the landscapes around the volcano. While the cataclysmic fate of Pompeii and Herculaneum is well known, the effects on Nola and Naples were more limited, and the main impact came from violent earthquakes which preceded the eruption.[265] Inscriptions from both cities attest the reconstruction of public monuments between 82 and 95.[266] Though their territories were partially covered by volcanic deposits and the abandonment of the surrounding countryside lasted until the early 2nd century, recent research shows that the 2nd and 3rd centuries were a period of intensive settlement activity on the North slopes of Vesuvius and the adjacent plains.[267] Textual and epigraphic evidence suggests that the road network connecting Naples, *Nuceria* and *Stabiae* was renewed under Hadrian, and rural settlements continued to respect existing road networks into Late Antiquity.[268] Similarly, centuriation grids predating 79 remained important in the organisation of the landscape between the 2nd and the 5th centuries, though a partial re-centuriation also took place around Nola after the eruption.[269] North of the volcano, then, Vesuvius' most famous eruption did not completely disrupt pre-existing patterns in the human landscape.

4.1.2.2 The Late Empire

Little detailed study of Campania in the 3rd century has been undertaken, and the region next looms large following Diocletian's reforms which saw the subdivision of Italy into provinces. These reforms grouped territory to the west of the area considered in this chapter into the province of Campania, while much of *Hirpinia*, including *Aeclanum* and the areas to the east, of it were assigned to *Apulia et Calabria*.[270] Further boundary changes took place in 350, with the reassignment of some territory from *Campania* to the newly created province of *Samnium*.[271] An earthquake in 346 also caused major damage to cities, some of which saw limited repairs thereafter.[272]

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[265] De Simone & Russell 2019, 368.

[266] CIL 10.1481; Simonelli 1972, 386-387; Johannowsky 1986; Paci 1991; Storchi Marino 2009.

[267] Pagano 1995; De Simone 2014.

[268] Statius, *Silviae,* 3.5; Cassiodorius, *Variae*, 50; De Carolis & Soricelli 2005, 513-532; De Simone 2014, 188-193.

[269] De Simone 2014, 182-188.

[270] Campania: Savino 2005, 17-26; *Hirpinia*: Russell et al. Forthcoming

[271] De Simone 2014, 36; Savino 2005, 299-305.

[272] Galadini & Galli 2004; Jerome, *Chronicon,* 236.14-16; Theophanes Confessor, 1.37-32-4.

The 5th century was a turbulent time in Italy and especially so in Central Campania. Repeated hostile incursions were made by the Visigoths in 410, and then three times under the Vandals between 455 and 463.[273] In 467 a plague spread throughout *Latium* and Campania, though it is unclear whether this caused significant disruption to settlement patterns and population levels.[274] A massive sub-Plinian eruption of Vesuvius took place in 472, with tephra fall deposits linked to this eruption reaching *Aeclanum*, 55 km to the east.[275] This eruption destroyed settlements on the slopes of the volcano, as well as on the plains around Nola and *Accerrae* to its north, with debris deposits up to two meters deep, and also triggered heavy rains, generating secondary movements of volcanic deposits (lahars), landslides and floods, which resulted in substantial changes in the landscape.[276] De Simone and Russell have shown that while this eruption undoubtedly had a significant impact on the settlement patterns of the region, the earlier earthquakes and wider socio-economic developments meant that the volcanic event exacerbated existing downward trajectories, rather than directly causing them.[277]

4.1.2.3 The Gothic Kingdom

After the removal of the last Western Roman Emperor in 476, Italy was briefly ruled by Odoacer. The Ostrogoths quickly overran the peninsula in 488 and stationed garrisons in Naples and at *Cumae*, though there is no archaeological evidence for any Ostrogothic presence in Campania.[278] This occupation seems to have marked the beginning of a period of prosperity for the city of Naples. The Gothic king Theodoric actively promoted the renewal of urban centres and placed emphasis on landowners residing in cities.[279] Vesuvius erupted again in 505 and 512, but with less force than in 472.[280] During the Gothic Wars, Campania was a principal theatre of action.[281] Naples was captured by the Byzantines in 536, besieged

[273] Visigoths ref: Augustine, *City of God*, 1.10. Vandals: Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, 3.1; Paul the Deacon, 14.18.
[274] De Simone & Russell 2019, 365; Ruggini 1961; Gellasius, *PL* 59, coll. 113.
[275] Marcellinus Comes, 90; De Simone & Russell 2019, 365-368.
[276] Mastrolorenzo 2002.
[277] De Simone & Russell 2019.
[278] Prokopios, 5.10.37; Arthur 2002, 14; Savino 2005, 95-96.
[279] Rotili 2017, 715.
[280] Victor of Aquitaine, 330; De Simone & Russell 2019, 367.
[281] Savino 2005, 119.

by the Goths in 542, who took the city in the spring of 543, and again fell into Byzantine hands in 552.[282] Finally, in 552 Franco-Alemannic forces passed through the region for several weeks, before being defeated by a Byzantine army.[283] After the final collapse of Gothic military power, Justinian's Pragmatic Sanction of 554 heralded a brief restoration of Byzantine power across Italy.

4.1.2.4 Byzantine and Lombard Rule

Byzantine Italy was characterised by a gradual transfer of territory from Byzantine to Lombard hands, the growing militarisation of society, and the growth of new administrative structures with an increased emphasis on defence.[284] The Lombards entered Northern Italy in 569 and by 574 a Lombard duchy was installed at Spoleto in Umbria.[285] A further Lombard duchy at Benevento was established before 584.[286] From this time onwards the Italian peninsula experienced ongoing conflict between Byzantines and Lombards, lasting around thirty years, during which time Campania was one important focus of conflict.[287] A letter of Pope Gregory suggests that the Lombards took Nola in 596, and they probably conquered much of *Hirpinia* around the same time.[288] Peace was then established between 601 and 661/2, when Byzantine emperor Constans II launched a failed siege of Benevento, perhaps causing some disruption in *Hirpinia* and sacking *Aeclanum*, but ultimately failing to regain substantial territory.[289] These protracted conflicts led to an increased militarisation of society across Italy, though these changes may have been experienced differently in rural and urban environs.[290] Whilst local civilian aristocracy remained important at least until the end of the 6th century, power was increasingly concentrated in the hands of military (*duces*) and ecclesiastical leaders. Following this gallop through the history of Central Campania, we shall now our attention to consider the funerary evidence from this region over the *longue durée*.

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[282] Savino 2005, 103-118; Arthur 2002, 14-15.
[283] Savino 2005, 116-117.
[284] Zanini 1998, 53-54.
[285] Zanini 1998, 44-51.
[286] Gasparri 1989, 89.
[287] Savino 2005, 126-130; Zanini 1998, 44-80; Arthur 2002, 15
[288] Gregory the Great, *Letters,* 6.23.
[289] Paul the Deacon, 7-11; Zanini 1998, 90-91.
[290] Overview of militarisation in Italy: Christie 2006, 281-399.

4.2 The Funerary Data

4.2.1 Introduction

Funerary evidence is available for both the suburban and rural areas of Central Campania from the early imperial period through to Late Antiquity, though evidence for death and burial dwindles substantially during the early Middle Ages. This section contextualises these spatial and chronological trends within the wider historical background of the region, suggesting that the region's funerary landscapes remained vibrant throughout the Roman period and until the fall of the Empire in the West. After the 5th century, the evidence for burial gradually shrank, though churches in town and country, as well a small number of other sites, remained important. This section also argues that burial sites cluster around cities to a level that goes beyond that which we might expect if all inhabitants of the region were buried near where they lived. Demographic studies of ancient Italy suggest that the population was overwhelmingly rural in nature, and even if sampling biases mean that suburban cemeteries are overrepresented in the available data, this imbalance is unlikely to completely negate the imbalance in the data as it currently stands. This suggests that at least some rural dwellers were relocated to more suburban environs on the event of their death. This section concludes with an examination of epigraphic, legal, and other textual evidence which may suggest that bodies were sometimes moved considerable distances for burial.

4.2.2 Funerary evidence in Central Campania: an overview

4.2.2.1 Data overview

In this chapter I analyse the funerary landscapes of Campania using data from 407 funerary site with accurate spatial information. These sites include individual graves and groups of graves; funerary monuments/structures; and funerary inscriptions (Figure 14). Where good locational information is available, I have recorded single structures as individual sites, to facilitate detailed spatial analysis, as at Loc. Casale in Avella (**1-29, 1-30, 1-31, 1-32**, Figure 15), where standing remains make itemised recording feasible. However, at many sites the published data are vague or incomplete, meaning that several structures are recorded together. Sites with graves alone are by far the most common, accounting for 249 records (61.2 per cent), while sites with structures but without recorded evidence for separate graves account for 83 sites (20.4 per cent). The strong epigraphic tradition in Roman and post-Roman

Campania means that inscriptions alone account for 46 sites (11.3 per cent), while in 11 cases (2.7 per cent), inscriptions have been found in association with graves. On four occasions (c. 0.98 per cent) monuments were found with inscriptions intact, in 10 places (2.4 per cent), graves are described in the vicinity of structures and four sites (0.98 per cent) combine all three kinds of evidence. These totals are provided to underlie the need to handle the different datasets appropriately during the analysis that follows. Sculpture and inscriptions are particularly subject to spoliation in later periods, and many such elements are preserved in medieval structures, while their original locations remain unknown to us.[291] As a result, their original placement in the landscape is not always secure and this must be recognised accordingly during spatial analysis. As this thesis only records finds with relatively clear spatial information, this may have led to inscriptions being underrepresented in the dataset presented here, though a case study examining the current locations of relevant funerary inscriptions in the hinterland of *Aeclanum* attempts to mitigate this problem (below, section 4.2.2.5). Conversely, burials, though far less likely to be moved long distances after their deposition, were often less well-recorded by earlier generations of scholars, meaning that evidence of this kind could be underrepresented.

[291] An inscription now in Roccarainola (CIL IX 1169) originated in either Nola or *Abella*, each around 6km away: Parma 2011.

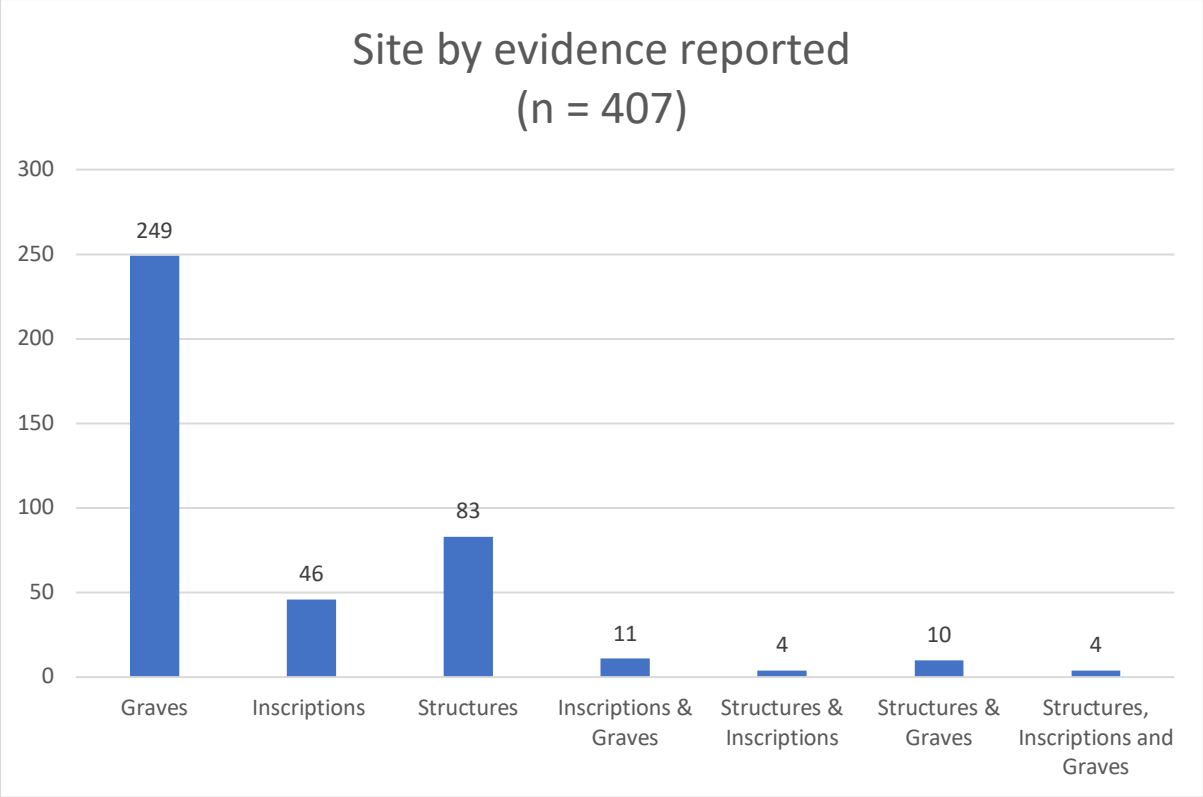


Figure 14 Funerary sites dated c. 1-700 CE in Campania according to types of evidence represented (Data from Appendix 1).



Figure 15 Standing remains of funerary monuments at Loc. Casale, Abella (1-29, 1-30, 1-31, 1-32), from Cinquantaquattro 2000, 81. Fig. 19).

The number of individuals represented within a single funerary area is often either impossible to ascertain, not recorded, or unspecified in publications. Additionally, not all types of evidence have been handled evenly by past scholars, and at some sites, the features

considered most significant at the time of excavation, usually structures and inscriptions, are described in more detail, while associated graves are considered in less detail. For example, at Masseria dei Poeti in Guardia dei Lombardi (**1-70)** and località Cerrete in Montella (**1-95)**, we are told of discoveries including a funerary monument at each site, but the number of graves found in the vicinity is not provided. As a result, the funerary evidence is only partly quantifiable. For sites with graves, 63.2 per cent have quantifiable evidence, for sites with structures the figure is 91.6 per cent, and at sites with epigraphic evidence, the number of inscriptions present is made clear in 95.4 per cent of cases. It is worth noting at this stage that urban sites are also proportionally better reported than rural sites, with, for example, grave counts are available for 56.8 per cent of urban sites but only 47.7 per cent of rural sites. Similar discrepancies also appear in the other categories of evidence, and these are attributable to the activity of archaeologists in modern urban environments leading to more detailed recording of these sites. Despite these challenges, an attempt has been made to quantify the number of known individual pieces of evidence from sites in Campania (Figure 16). A total of 2,263 quantifiable graves, 153 structures, and 325 inscriptions have been recorded. It must be stressed that these figures are likely to be substantial underestimates, especially given the lack of detailed burial counts for the catacombs of Naples (sites **1-128**, **1-129**, **1-130**, **1-131**, **1-132**, **1-236**) and for the sanctuary complexes of St Felix at Cimitile (**1-58**) and Capo La Torre at *Abellinum* (**1-18**), all of which likely hosted many hundreds, or indeed thousands, of burials. As a result, although the number of individual units of evidence present at a given site is sometimes used as a check on the raw number of records, the absence of quantifiable data of this kind at a large proportion of the sites from Campania means that the primary unit of analysis employed in this chapter is sites as opposed to grave or burial counts.

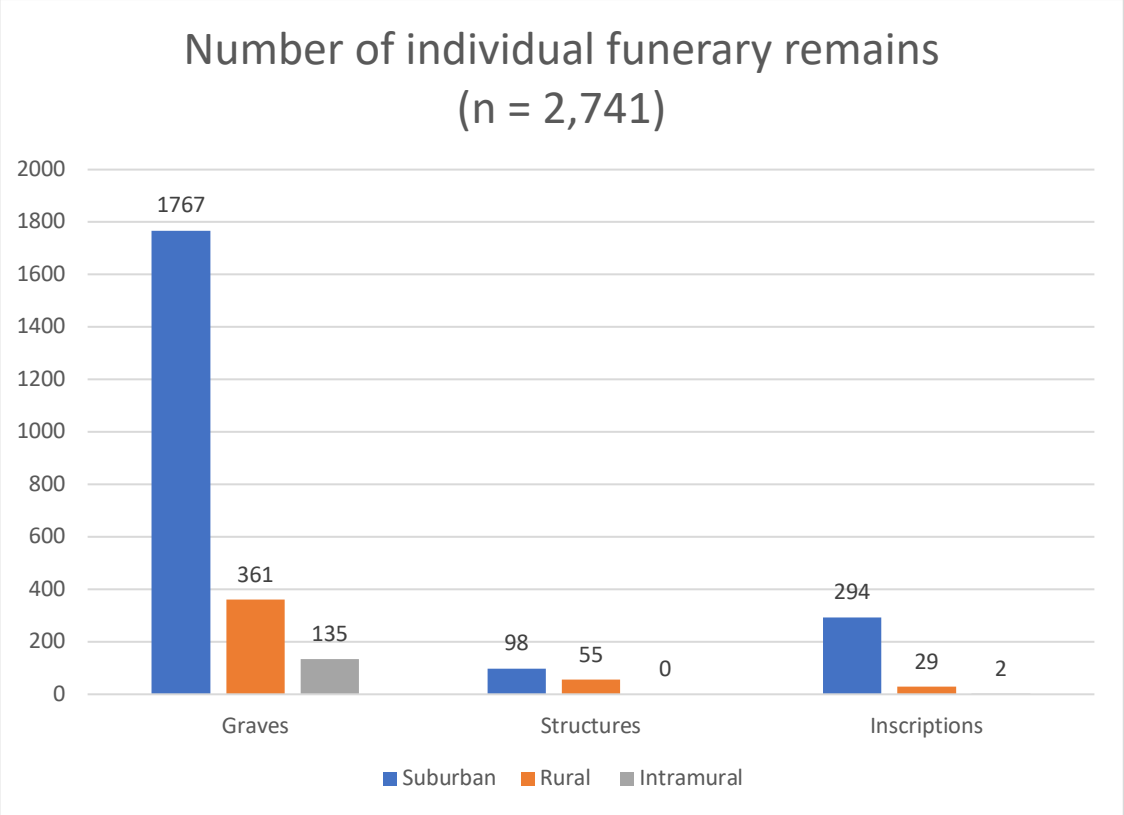


Figure 16 Individual funerary remains at sites in Campania (Data from Appendix 1).

In the sections that follow I will first quantify the sites represented and then analyse patterns in the distributions of funerary sites across Central Campania, according both to site type and by chronological period. In doing so, I aim to characterise patterns in funerary commemoration through both space and time. I will demonstrate that disparities in both the number of individuals buried, and the monumentalisation of funerary landscapes between urban and rural contexts, show that in highly urbanised areas cities served as key nodes in the funerary landscape. As such, suburban burial locations may have exerted a strong attractive force on some who dwelled in the countryside, who were not buried near where they lived but were instead buried close to focal points provided by cities, which held greater opportunities for high-visibility burial.

4.2.2.2 Funerary sites: site types and overall distributions

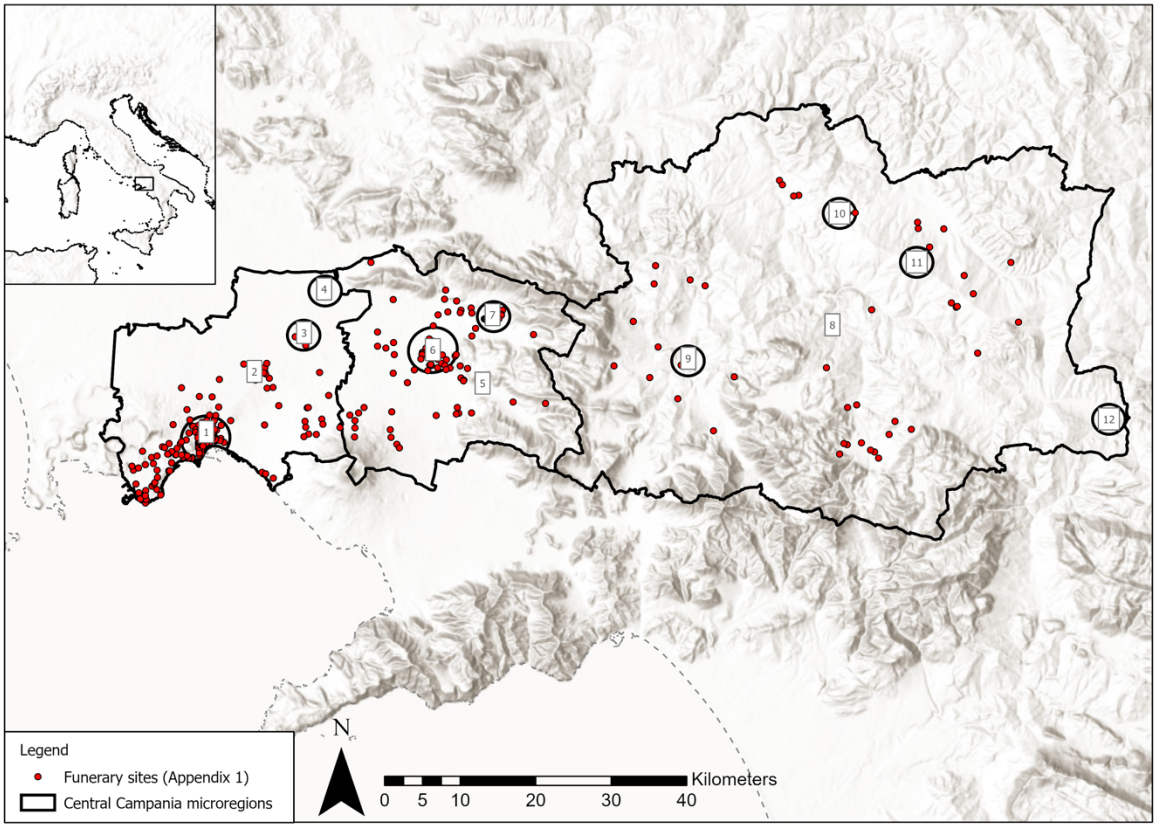


Figure 17. Distribution of all recorded sites funerary sites dated c. 1-700 CE across the study region. Surburban areas surrounding cities: 1 = Naples, 3 = Suessula, 4 = Accerrae, 6 = Nola, 7 = Abella, 9 = Abellinum, 10 = Aeclanum, 11 = Frigentum. 12 = Compsa (Data from Appendix 1)

The funerary sites in Campania are unevenly distributed over the territory under discussion. The bulk of the sites are in the coastal zones around Naples and to the east as far as Nola (Figure 17). Concentrations are notable around these two urban centres, along the hills to the west of Naples all the way to Bagnoli (at the western limit of the study area), and in the area around Afragola, to the northeast of Naples, where rescue excavations in advance of modern developments have uncovered a substantial number of sites. A thick tangle of sites is also recorded on the northern slopes of Mt. Vesuvius, particularly within the modern municipalities of Pollena Trocchia, Sant'Anastasia, Somma Vesuviana, and Ottaviano. The areas to the northwest are significantly less well attested in the archaeological record. This may, however, partly reflect the lower intensity of archaeological research, rather than a complete absence of funerary activity in antiquity.

To the east of Nola, passing into *Hirpinia*, funerary evidence is less thick on the ground, though significant clusters are recorded around urban areas and to a lesser extent in the countryside. Major concentrations of sites are attested in and around the city of *Abella,* in the foothills of the Apennines, and at the urban sites of *Abellinum* and *Aeclanum* in the mountainous interior. Other urban centres – *Frigentum* and *Compsa* – also provide some funerary evidence, though as we shall see later in this chapter, relatively little is known about burial in and around these cities. In addition, a general scatter of funerary sites is attested across the rural districts of *Hirpinia*, and though we lack securely *in situ* funerary evidence pertaining the area between *Aeclanum* and *Abellinum* some non-funerary sites, along with a scatter of funerary inscriptions, are known in this area, particularly around Taurasi (below, section 4.2.2.5). A notable concentration of evidence is attested in the Upper Calore Valley, now occupied by the municipalities of Montella, Bagnoli Irpino, and Cassano Irpino, an area of *Hirpinia* discussed in more detail at a local level later (sections 4.3.3.8, 4.4.6.2). Considering this brief review, it is important to stress that the available data are partial, and analysis of their distribution needs to be handled with care. However, the absence of recorded evidence from both rural and urban areas may act as a counterbalance to one another, and this observation permits us to interrogate the relative proportion of funerary evidence from urban and rural contexts in Campania.

4.2.2.3 Comparing rural and urban funerary site distributions

We have proportionally more evidence from suburban zones than from rural areas (Figure 18). When grouped according to the setting using the categories of intramural (26, or 6.4 per cent), suburban (199, 48.9 per cent) and rural (182, 44.7 per cent), most sites are clearly located either in, or near, urban centres. Moreover, when intramural burials are excluded due to their late date - exclusively late antique or medieval in these cases - the suburban funerary sites account for a slight majority of the evidence (52.2 per cent). This does not mean that people were not buried in the country; the 182 recorded rural burial sites reflect a substantial dataset, which will allow for detailed exploration of the topography of these burials and their role in commemoration later in this thesis. Continuity of occupation in most of the urban centres across the study area from antiquity to the present day has driven ongoing building activity in the same areas which saw the densest occupation in antiquity, and as a result burial

sites in modern urban and suburban areas are more likely to have been uncovered and recorded in detail, especially where modern cities are larger than the ancient ones they overlie. However, this picture is not just a product of excavation bias and how data has been collated. A Chi-Squared test of this suburban versus rural distribution returns a statistically significant result (p-value = <0.05). Indeed, if points were even distributed across the landscape, we should expect around 97 per cent of sites to be in rural areas, and just 3 per cent in the suburbs. In other words, the difference between an expected distribution and the available data is sufficiently large that we may posit that some people were transported for burial in suburban areas rather than being buried in the countryside, where they had lived (below, section 4.2.4.5).

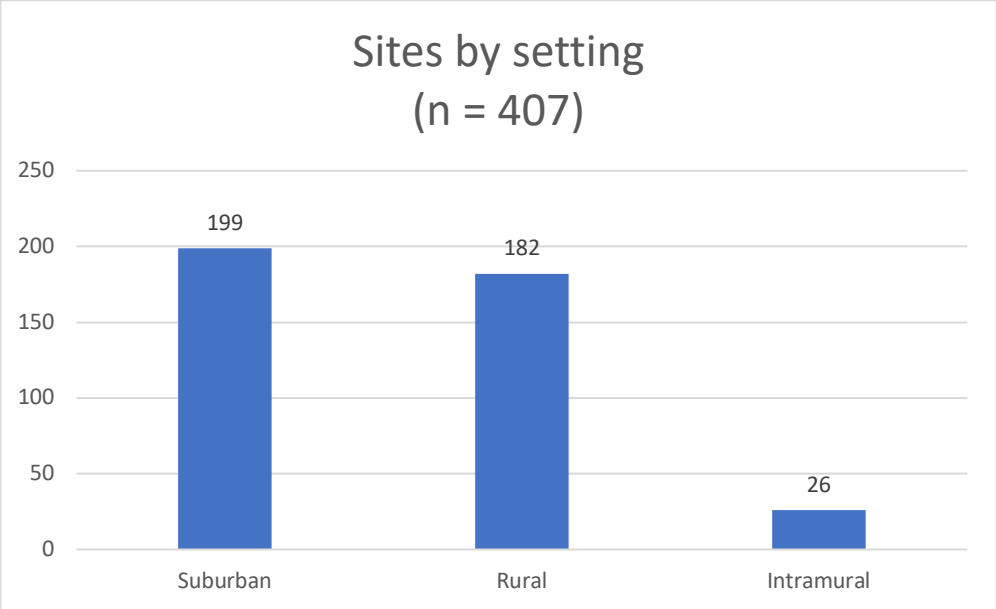


Figure 18 Funerary sites dated c. 1-700 CE in Campania according to site setting (Data from Appendix 1)

Site distribution has so far been discussed by looking at the *number of* sites not at the *number of individual remains* (whether graves, monuments or inscriptions), but when we analyse sites where the graves, structures or inscriptions are quantifiable, it is apparent that the evidence clusters in suburban areas. While at a substantial proportion of known sites it has not been possible to establish the number of burials or structures attested, where such information is available the predominance of suburban sites is confirmed (see above, Figure 16). Most of the funerary evidence, whether individual graves (78.1 per cent suburban), monuments (64.1 per cent suburban), or inscriptions (90.4 per cent suburban) can all be located within the

immediate vicinity of cities, with far less evidence coming from rural or intramural sites. It is worth noting that, in part, these high numbers arise from the well-recorded urban excavations which have been undertaken during redevelopment following the 1980 earthquake at *Aeclanum*, and which have been subject to detailed study by Lo Pilato,[292] but several larger complexes, whether catacombs or sanctuaries, all in suburban environments, at Naples, Cimitile and *Abellinum*, also contained extremely large numbers of graves, even if precise figures remain unavailable. Even having accounted for an urban bias in the evidence available to us at present, it still seems exceedingly likely that the large proportion of the evidence closely connected to cities reflects actual practice in antiquity; in other words, we might suppose that more people were buried around cities than lived in them.

The proportion of funerary evidence in Campania located in urban contexts is significant in light of population estimates for the ancient world which consistently stress the small size of many Roman cities (and by extension, their successors in the immediate post-Roman period).[293] Although projected figures for the population of the Roman Empire vary considerably, there is a general consensus among both historians and archaeologists that the vast majority of the inhabitants in the Roman world were resident in the countryside, with suggested urbanization rates varying between c.9 and 24 per cent.[294] Within this context, peninsular Italy was one of the most densely urbanised areas of the Empire.[295] While existing work stresses that rural Roman-period burial sites are often located near to settlements (sections 2.2.3.1-4), this does not mean that all those who lived in the countryside were buried there, and burying the deceased in cities would not be difficult in places where cities were usually only a few hours' travel away. We might therefore envisage that under certain circumstances, some but by no means all cities served as focal nodes in the funerary landscape, which attracted parts of the rural population to be buried in suburban contexts, and so functioned as burial grounds for wider catchment areas than the population of these cities alone.

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[292] Sites **1-84**, **1-87**, **1-88**, **1-89**,**1-90**. Cf. Lo Pilato 2012b.

[293] Hanson 2016, 66-70.

[294] Scheidel 2007; Hanson 2016, 70-72.

[295] Hanson 2016, 46-47.

4.2.2.4 The distribution of monumental funerary sites

The proportion of funerary evidence of a monumental nature is slightly higher in suburban contexts than in rural settings, though it is important to underline that substantial funerary structures, inscriptions and funerary sculpture appear both in the suburbs and in the countryside across Campania (Figure 19). Graves account for 99 (4.7 per cent) suburban sites, and 125 rural sites (68.6 per cent). Conversely, funerary structures account for 49 sites (24.6 per cent) in suburban contexts, but just 28 records (15.3 per cent) in rural contexts, and funerary inscriptions from the suburbs make up 32 sites (16 per cent) while inscriptions in the countryside account for 13 sites (c. 7.1 per cent). The less common categories, in which multiple types of evidence are combined, generally also adhere to this pattern, with the more monumental funerary markers being slightly more common in the areas closer to cities. Sarcophagi, though an important index of the monumentality of burial, are poorly recorded in Central Campania, with very few found *in situ*, and therefore it is unclear whether they are principally distributed in town or country (on sarcophagi in the countryside of Trentino, see below, section 5.2.2.4). The late date of many intramural burials, which were largely made when monumental funerary commemoration had become less commonplace, renders it unsurprising that almost all - 25 of 26 - intramural burial sites from Campania comprise burials, and just one comes in the form of an inscription. As a result, the analysis presented in this chapter comes with the caveat that sites which comprise graves alone, without any monumental structures, inscriptions, or sculpture might be numerically underrepresented, but it is probable that the greater prevalence of these latter types of evidence in urban contexts reflects the significance of suburban burial areas as foci for high-visibility funerary display.

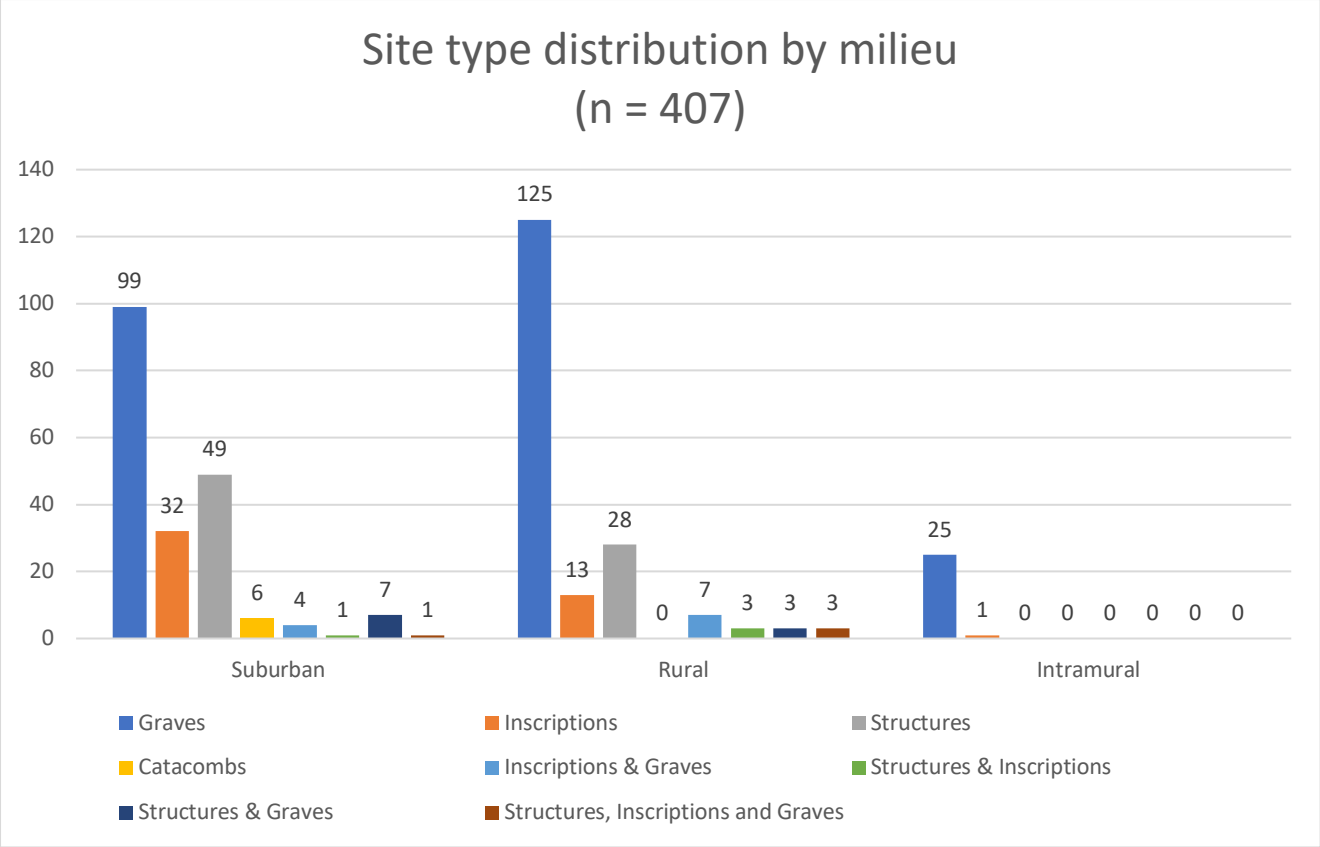


Figure 19 Funerary sites dated c. 1-700 CE in Campania according to site type and setting (Data from Appendix 1).

4.2.2.5 Mapping poorly located funerary inscriptions: a case study from the hinterland of *Aeclanum*

The funerary inscriptions discussed so far comprise only those for which we have a secure find-spot, meaning that poorly recorded epitaphs may be underrepresented. We may attempt to circumvent this shortcoming by considering the *current* locations of inscriptions collected within the *Ager inter Compsam et Aeclanum* section of the *Supplementa Italica*.[296] These data may in turn provide a further proxy for the relative density of funerary inscriptions in rural and suburban contexts in Central Campania, as some of these inscriptions are likely to remain near the place where they were originally set up. In a substantial number of cases, the precise places in which inscriptions were located during Mommsen's day, when they were included in the *CIL*, are not readily identifiable on modern maps, so inscriptions are first mapped by modern municipality (Figure 20). As this map demonstrates, a total of 102

[296] Evangelisti 2017.

funerary inscriptions of early imperial or late antique date are located in the municipality of Mirabella Eclano, where ancient *Aeclanum* itself was located, while 52 inscriptions are known in the surrounding municipalities which probably represented the territory of *Aeclanum* in antiquity, particularly in Grottaminarda (12 inscriptions) and Bonito (6 inscriptions), lying to the east and north of *Aeclanum* respectively*,* along the course of the Via Appia (Figure 20 and below, section 4.4.5). Conversely, in some municipalities (San Sossio Baronia, Sturno, Castel Baronia, Vallesaccarda, Vallata, Gesualdo) no funerary inscriptions are attested.[297] Some of these municipalities do, however, contain non-funerary inscriptions, indicating a Roman presence, although not necessarily any burial activity.[298]

The *Supplementa Italica* data tell us where inscriptions were during the 19th century and later, sometimes hinting at the original findspots of these inscriptions. There is ample evidence for the movement of inscriptions across Central Campania in the modern period, through the creation of museums, most notably the no-longer-extant Museo Cassitto in Bonito, which in the 19th century housed many inscriptions from *Aeclanum,* though according to Evangelisti's list none of the inscriptions associated with this antiquarian collection were funerary in nature.[299] These post-antique movements complicate our analysis of their distribution across the territory. Accordingly, I have mapped inscriptions according to whether they are reused in the walls or floors of churches, are securely in secondary deposition in a museum collection, or may be *in situ* or near to the place in which they were originally placed, with many of this last group found in gardens or on agricultural properties (Figure 21).

Most of the inscriptions which *may* be *in situ* are in suburban areas. The vast majority (9 of 10) sites where funerary inscriptions are now located within churches lie in rural areas. These inscriptions are typically reused in the churches' construction, indicating that they were moved specifically for the purpose of building, and the same is probably true of the inscriptions reused in a bridge at località Ponterotto: some these inscriptions may have come from the suburbs of cities*.* Similarly, the three funerary inscriptions held in the Castello

[297] No funerary inscriptions are noted in this dataset at *Frigentum* (Frigento) though funerary inscriptions are known from around the ancient town (see **1-63, 1-65, 1-67**).
[298] Evangelisti 2017, 72-76.
[299] Evangelisti 2017, 72-78. Movement of inscriptions from *Abella*/Nola to RoccaraiNola: CIL IX 1169; Parma 2011.

d'Aquino in Grottaminarda and the 21 outside the Castello Baronale in Mirabella Eclano, both in rural areas in antiquity, probably also partly represent finds from suburban areas which were moved during the early modern periods due to antiquarian interest. However, we may hypothesise that some of these epitaphs were found in Mirabella Eclano itself, as the modern town is located on a promontory some 2.5 km from the ancient *Aeclanum,* which could conceivably provide a visible burial venue both for occupants of the ancient city and its territory. The remaining possible *in situ* inscriptions (Figure 22) were predominantly located in *Aeclanum's* immediate suburbs. Far smaller concentrations are known to the north and east of *Aeclanum*, perhaps along the course of the ancient Via Appia, while a scatter of funerary inscriptions also appears in the rural area to the south of *the* town. These distributions suggest that most funerary inscriptions are in suburban areas, underlining either the greater rate of monumentalisation in suburban cemeteries, and/or the possibility that not everyone who lived in the countryside was buried there.

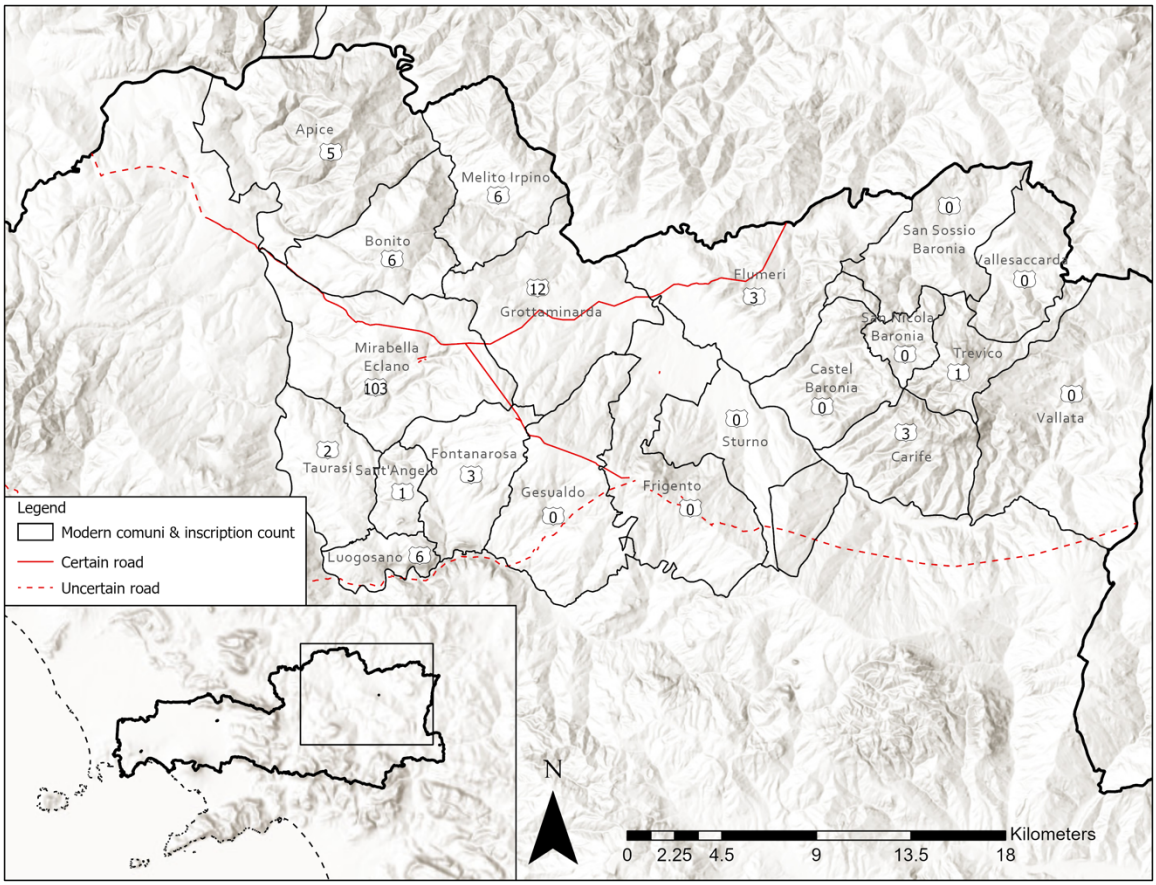


Figure 20 Funerary inscriptions in the Ager inter Compsam et Aeclanum section of the Supplementa Italica organised by modern municipalities. The numbers within squares indicate the number of inscriptions represented in a given municipality. (Data from Evangelisti 2017).

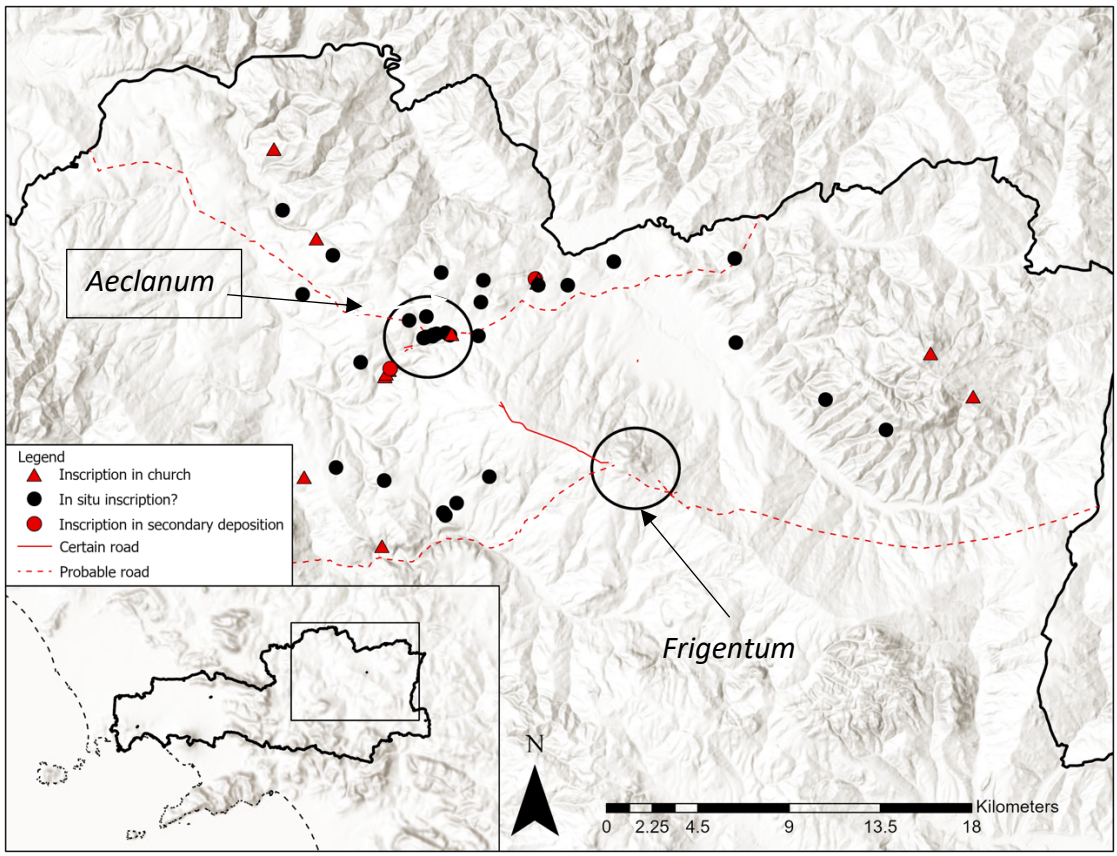


Figure 21 Funerary inscriptions in the Ager inter Compsam et Aeclanum section of the Supplementa Italica by current location type. (Data from Evangelisti 2017).

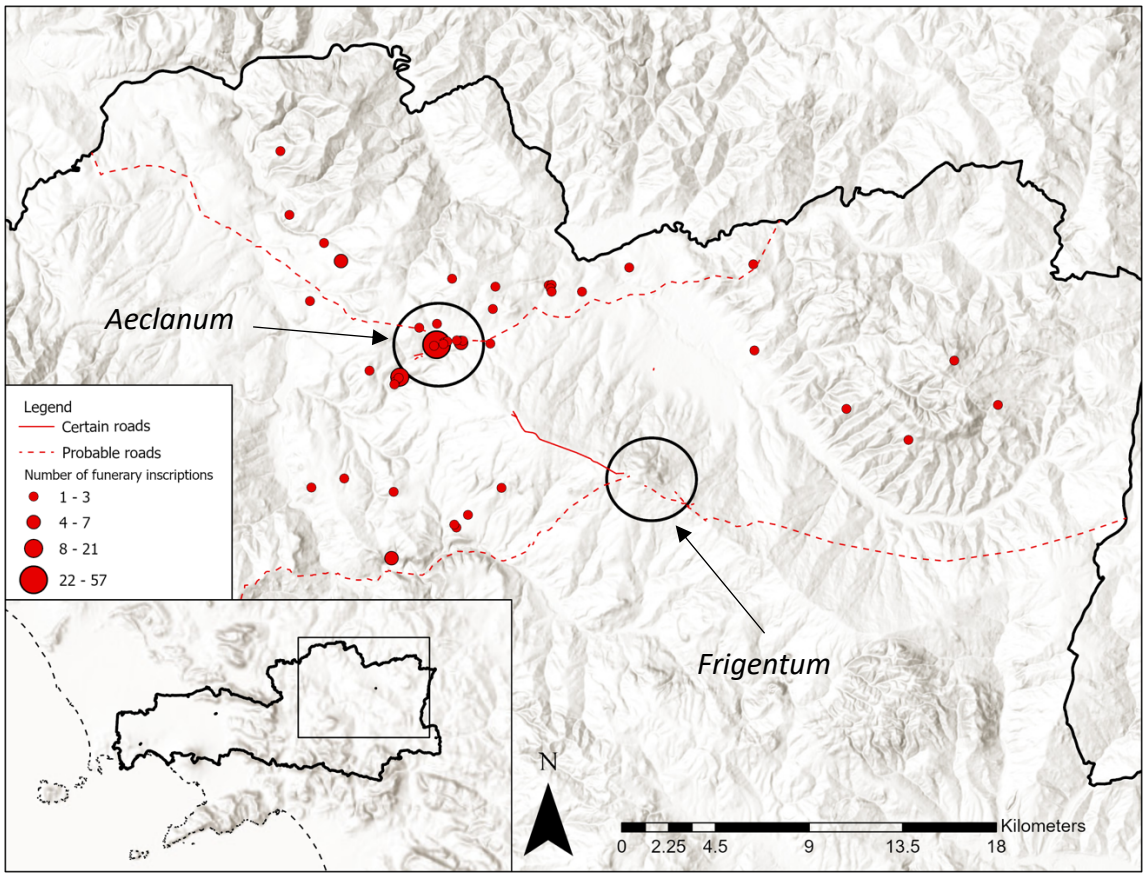


Figure 22 Funerary inscriptions in the Ager inter Compsam et Aeclanum section of the Supplementa Italica by number of inscriptions per site. (Data from Evangelisti 2017).

4.2.2.6 Chronology

Detailed chronological analysis represents one of the key challenges of handling large funerary datasets arising from multiple excavations and chance discoveries which did not take place under controlled conditions or were only summarily published. A smoothed chronological approach (above, section 3.3) was applied to the data in order to understand broader patterns in the data, the data examined here suggest that the funerary landscapes of Central Campania were at their most active in the early imperial period, though there is also considerable evidence for activity in the late Roman period. The 1st century provides the greatest proportion of the evidence, and is followed by a slight dip in the 2nd century, and a more marked decline in the 3rd and 4th centuries (Figure 23). In the 5th century, the number of sites increases slightly but never recovers to the levels observed during the first two centuries CE. Another decline in site numbers begins in the 6th century and the number of known sites more than halves in the 7th.

When a smoothed chronological approach is applied separately to the rural and urban datasets, we may note some slight divergences in the development of sites in different milieus over time (Figure 24). Suburban sites peak in the early imperial period, particularly the 1st century, and decline slightly thereafter, though the number of urban sites remains substantial in the 4th to 6th centuries before decreasing in the 7th. Rural sites also first peak in the 1st century before a slight decline and a second peak in the 4th century. Despite a slight decline in the 5th century, rural burial sites remain slightly more numerous than urban ones into the 5th century, before the figures go into a more pronounced decline. Intramural burials are a late antique and early medieval phenomenon, in line with evidence from elsewhere in the Roman and post-Roman world (above, section 2.2.5.4), first appearing in the later 4th century and growing ever more common until the end of our study period.

Several important trends emerge from the data just described. First, it is difficult to extract demographic figures from the analysis of burial sites due to limitations on the data, but the high figures for rural sites in the 4th and 5th centuries underline the vibrancy of the late antique countryside in Campania. Secondly, the declining number of suburban burial sites during the 4th century comes at a time when funerary sites become larger in terms of the number of individuals they contained, and when intramural burials began to become more common. In Late Antiquity, the increasing concentration of funerary activity in fewer, larger burial complexes in suburban contexts, often around catacombs and suburban basilicas, reflects the growing gravitational pull of these sites, which attracted increasing numbers of countryside dwellers towards these nodal points of the (sub)urban environment for burial. The continued vitality of extended burial sites in suburban areas past the 5th century may therefore help to explain the decline of known rural burial sites in Campania during the 6th and 7th centuries.

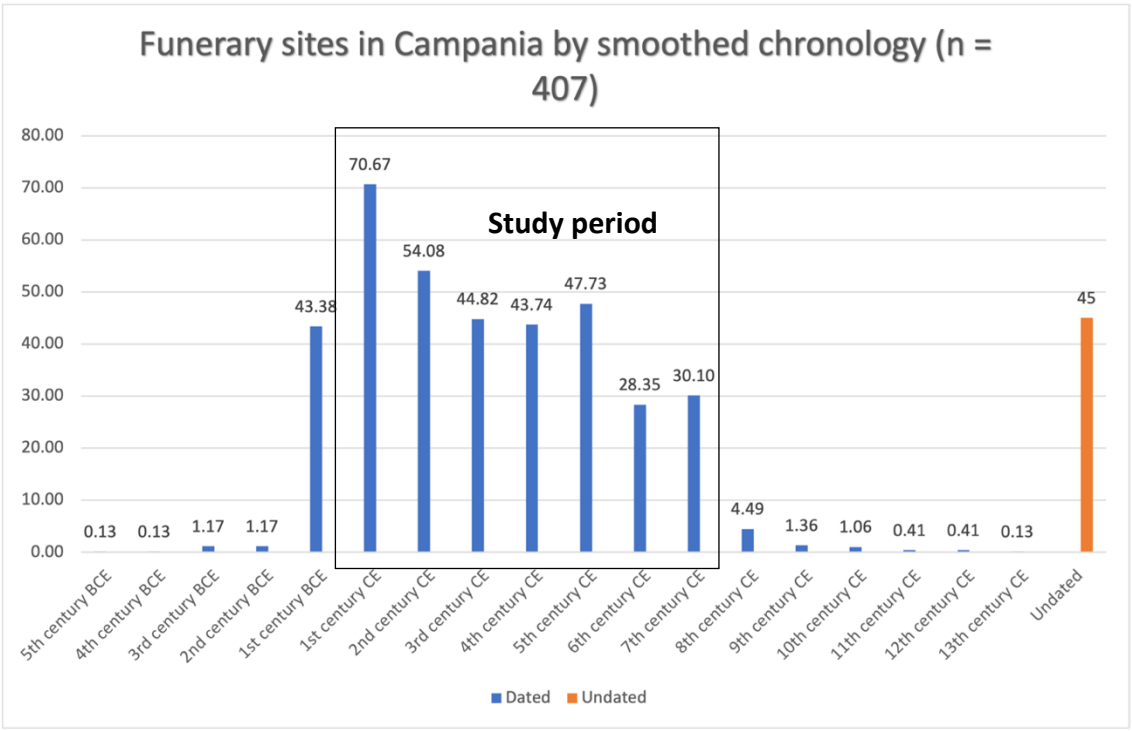


Figure 23 Smoothed chronology for funerary sites dated c. 1-700 CE in Campania (Data from Appendix 1).

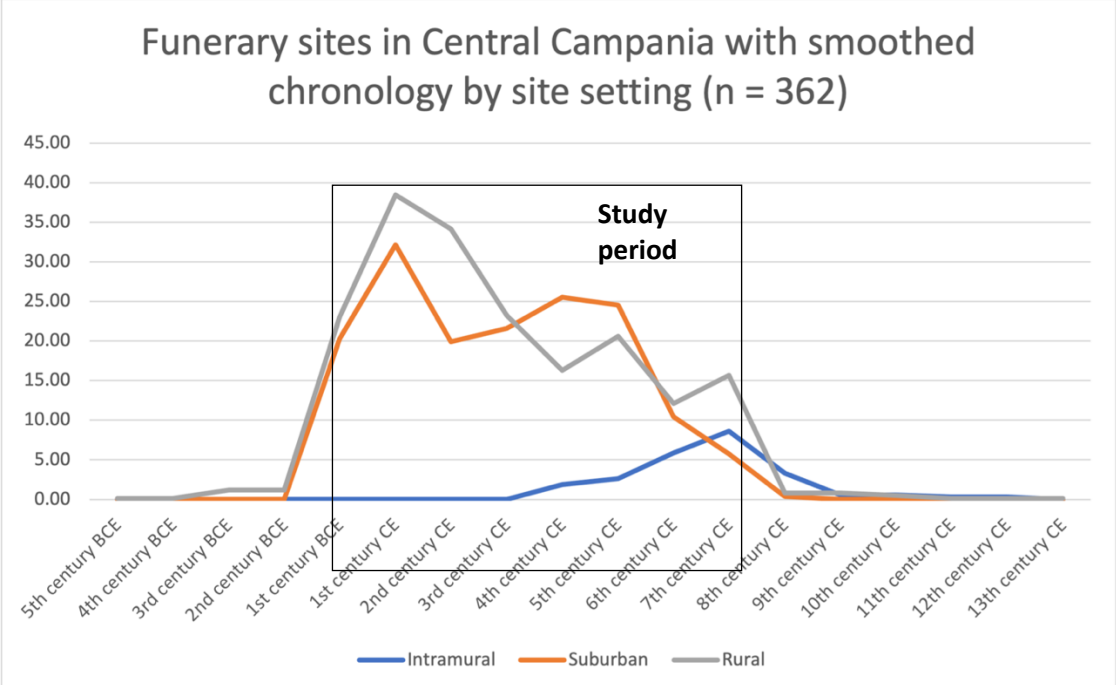


Figure 24 Smoothed chronology for funerary sites in rural, suburban, and intramural settings dated c. 1-700 CE in Campania (Data from Appendix 1).

4.2.3 Funerary site sizes: methodology

Funerary sites of different orders of magnitude reflect use by different social groups, with different commemorative purposes. To investigate the implications of burial sites of different orders of magnitude, sites with known numbers of graves have been grouped into categories according to size. These size categories, though by nature arbitrary, are intended as heuristic tools, rather than corresponding to precise social units used in the Roman and post-Roman periods. As such, it is worth clarifying the reasoning behind these classifications, before moving forward in our analysis. The site size categories employed in this chapters are as follows:

- **Individual burials** may sometimes reflects keyhole excavations, though other burials could have been deliberately isolated from other graves, due, for example, to social exclusion, financial constraints, fear of contagious disease, murder, or unexpected death while travelling.[300] Individual burials are often poor, either without grave goods, as at via Corsea, now near Piazza Carità, in Naples's ancient suburbs (**1-231**), or contain modest grave goods, like the grave at via M. Semmola (**1-250**) in the hinterland of ancient Naples, though a rich burial from de Siervo in Somma Vesuviana (**1-391**) shows this is not always the case (below, section 4.5.2).
- **Small burial clusters** (2-10 graves) represent the final resting places of a group equivalent to a single family or group of families. Small burial clusters are exemplified by sites like via Ponti Rossi (**1-257**) in the hinterland of Naples, where seven to ten masonry tombs contained inhumation burials.
- **Medium burial clusters** (11-20 graves) could arise from grave sites being used by a bigger family or group of families, an extended family, several unrelated small nuclear families or continued use of a cemetery over several generations by a small community, with good examples at via S. Brigida and via P.E. Imbriani outside Naples (**1-181**) or on via Pinna outside *Accerrae* (**1-2**).
- **Large burial clusters** (21-50 graves) often represent burial over a sustained period, as at località Jerola in Palma Campania (**1-339**), where 35 burials date to the 1st through

[300] E.g. Taylor 2008; Hope 2007, 162-163.

4th centuries, and/or by a wider community living in one or more associated settlements.

- **Extended burial grounds** (>50 burials) reflect ongoing funerary use of a space by a wider community, usually for an extended period. For example, at via Botteghelle in Ponticelli (**1-198**) where 52 intercutting burials on various orientations suggest long-term use of the site (discussed further section 4.3.3.6). Most extended burial grounds in Central Campania are late antique Christian sanctuaries like the sanctuary of St Felix at Cimitile (**1-58**) which overlies an earlier extended burial ground active from the 3rd century, or the catacombs of Naples (**1-128**, **1-129, 1-130**, **1-131, 1-132**, **1-236**).

4.2.3.1 Quantifying funerary site size categories

Small funerary sites are far more numerous than larger ones, but only account for a restricted proportion of the total number of graves known to us. Individual burials account for 76 sites (46.6 per cent of the total sites with known numbers of burials, Figure 25), small burial clusters for 51 sites (31.3 per cent), medium burial clusters for 11 sites (6.7 per cent), large burial clusters for 8 sites (4.9 per cent) and extended burial grounds for 17 sites (10.4 per cent).[301] For ten of these sites, an approximate number of excavated burials is known, but precise figures are unavailable for the six late antique and/or early catacomb complexes in the northern suburbs of Naples (**1-128**, **1-129, 1-130**, **1-131, 1-132**, **1-236**) and Sanctuary of St Felix at Cimitile (**1-58**), even if they clearly provided burial space for large numbers of people.

Most people were buried in larger burial grounds, even if this is partly a product of biases in data recovery or partial excavation of sites. When we consider the number of burials falling into each of these size categories (Figure 26), individual burials account for just 3.2 per cent of quantified burials, small burial clusters for just 9.3 per cent, and medium burial clusters for 7.4 per cent. In other words, large burial clusters and extended burial grounds, though relatively few, account for most known graves. For example, at Capo La Torre (**1-18**) outside ancient *Abellinum,* the more than 500 graves attested outnumber all the graves from individual burials, small burial clusters, and medium burial clusters combined. Moreover, the proportion of graves from such these larger sites are likely themselves to be substantially

[301] Three sites (**1-140**, **1-148**, **1-320**) are excluded from quantification because of the unclear number of burial spaces in the structures reported at the same sites.

underrepresented, since we have already seen that reliable figures for the number of burials in the catacomb sites are unavailable. As a result, even in view of the limitations of the available evidence, it seems that most of the dead in Central Campania were buried in larger burial sites, many of which are classed as extended burial grounds.

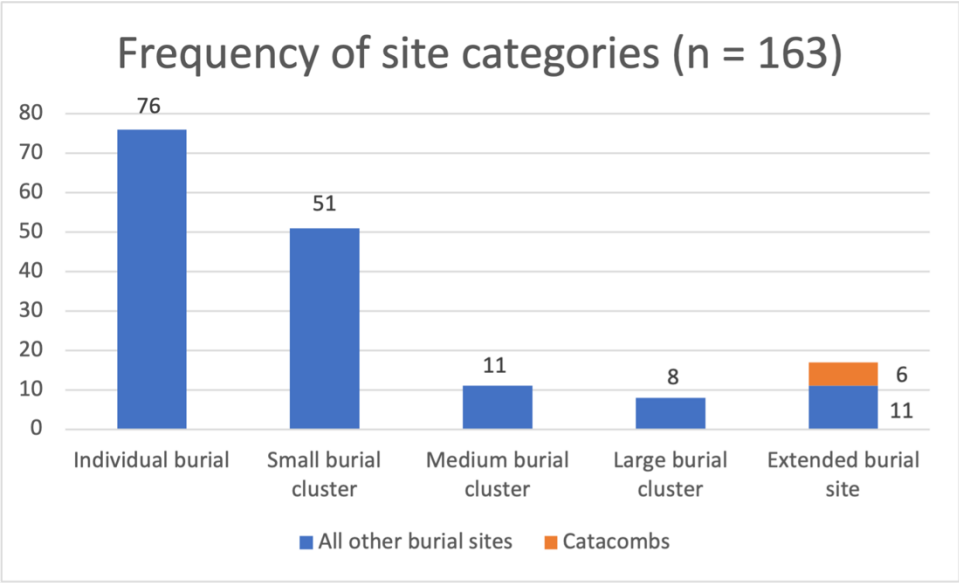


Figure 25 Frequency of site size categories at sites with quantified graves in Campania (Data from Appendix 1).

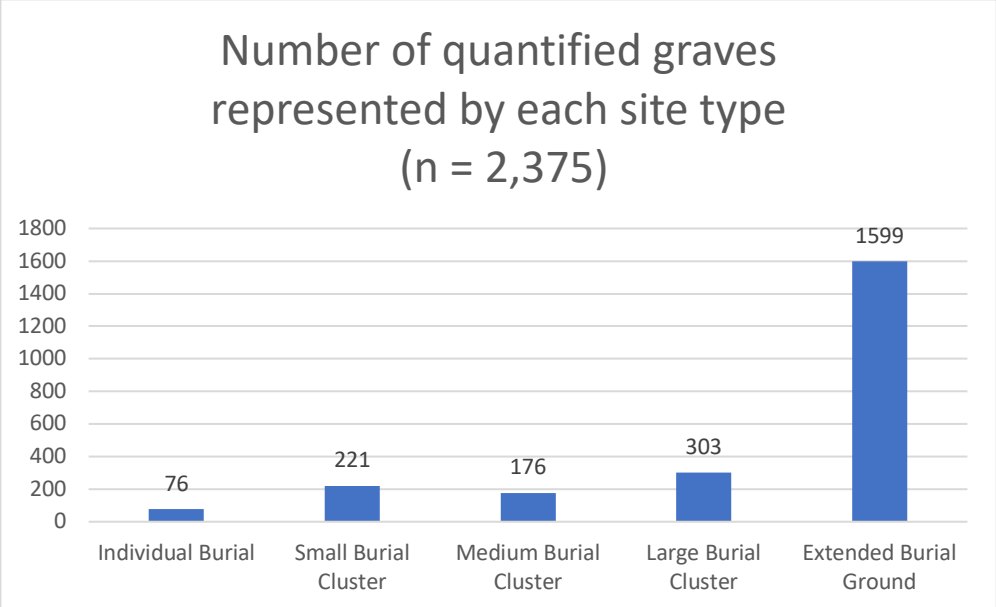


Figure 26 Number of quantified graves represented by each burial site category (Data from Appendix 1).

4.2.3.2 Comparing funerary site size categories in rural, suburban, and intramural contexts

Burial sites in the countryside are typically smaller than those around cities (Figure 27). Individual burials and small burial clusters are more common in the countryside than they are in urban settings, perhaps reflecting the higher likelihood of single-family or small community cemeteries, used only for a short period (below, section 4.5.5). In contrast, medium-sized burial clusters are more common in urban settings, possibly thanks to anomalous reporting of chance finds in areas covered by modern cities, or a propensity for earlier reports not to provide the number of graves unless the numbers involved are notably small or large. Large burial clusters are more common in rural settings, which may indicate that some burial sites in the countryside either experienced continued usage over an extended period by a limited community or over a shorter time span, becoming important focal points in the landscape able to attract burials from a those dwelling in the surrounding area. In contrast, extended burial grounds are largely found in suburban zones. This may partly be caused by more concentrated urban communities using a shared burial space for the deposition of their dead, but this explanation is insufficient to justify the sheer number of burials attested at some of these sites. As a result, we might also hypothesize that the mortal remains of some of the rural dead were transported not inconsiderable distances to find their final resting places nearer cities.

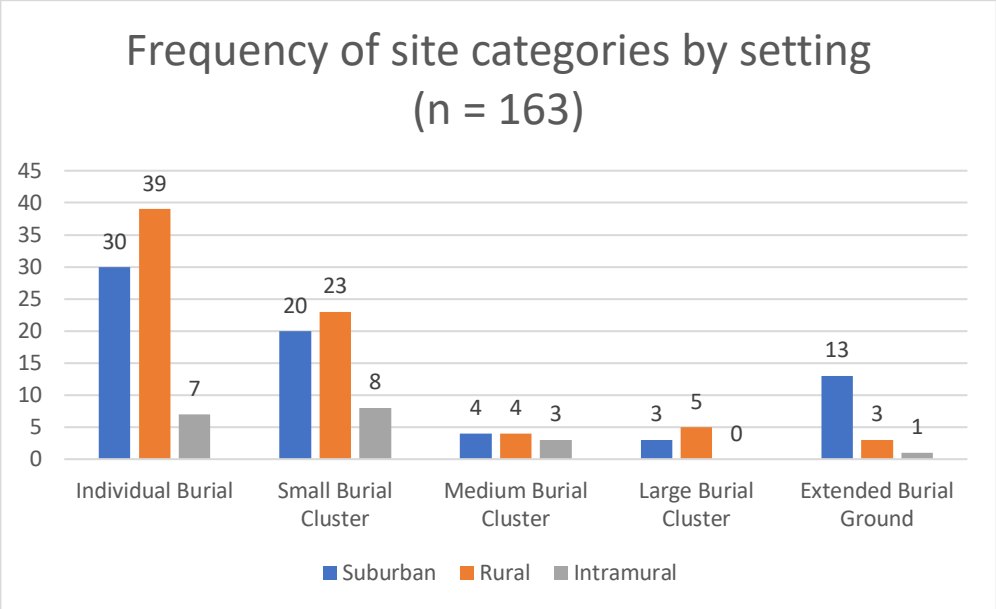


Figure 27 Frequency of site size categories at rural, suburban and intramural sites with quantified graves in Campania (Data from Appendix 1).

4.3.3.3 Quantifying burials in funerary structures in urban and rural contexts

The quantification of burials *within* funerary structures is considerably more difficult than counting burials found outside of structures because the publication record is poor and even when such details are provided, we cannot always tell whether all the burial niches or funerary beds present were used. A total of 153 funerary structures (mausolea, hypogea and catacombs) are attested in Central Campania, yet just 21 have published details about the number of burial niches (Figure 28). Most of these (16 structures total) are in suburbs, with only five found in rural areas. A brief glance at the number of funerary niches or burials within these sites shows that there is a greater range in the number of burial spaces attested in structures found in suburban contexts, with several apparently equipped with just one niche, while others contained far larger numbers of burial spaces: at least thirty in the case of a hypogeum at via Cristallini, no. 133, outside Naples (**1-233**). This diversity in burial capacity reflects the use of such structures by different groups ranging from individuals through to large, extended households or burial clubs. The range in the number of burial spaces (between eight and ten) within rural funerary structures appears to be more restricted, indicating that these were used by small family groups, perhaps over a couple of generations. In view of the fact that funerary structures in suburban contexts are substantially more numerous than those in rural settings, it therefore seems that urban funerary monuments account for a greater proportion of burial spaces over the *longue durée*.

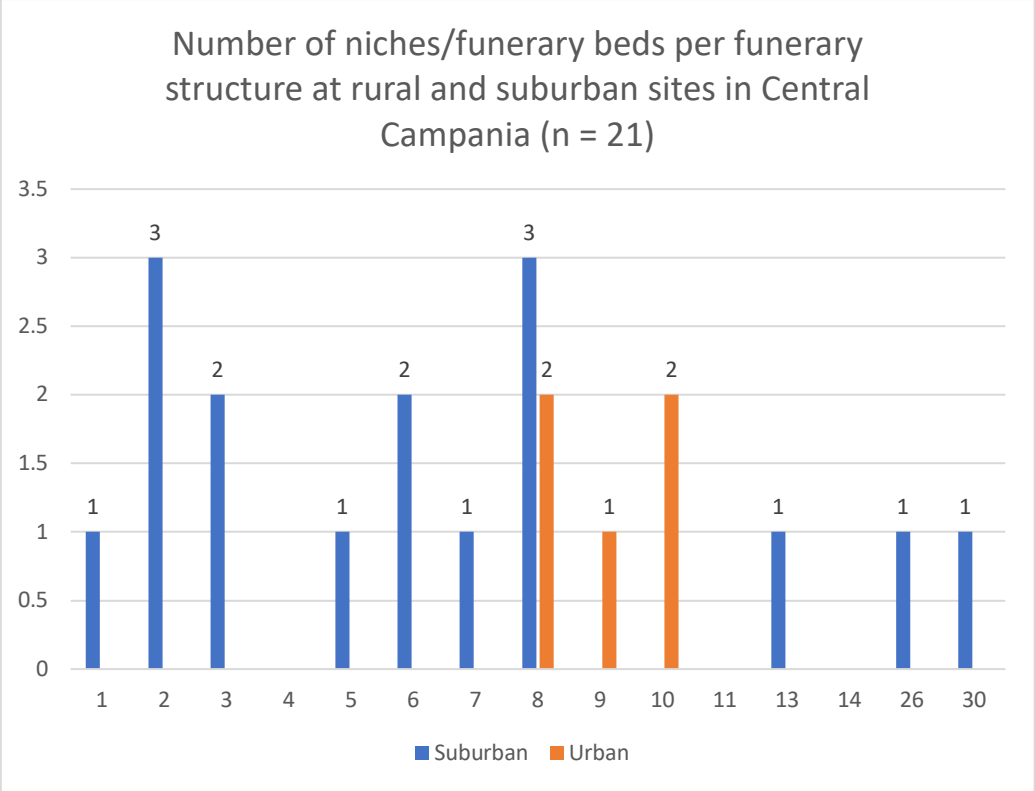


Figure 28 Number of niches/funerary beds within each funerary structure divided by rural and suburban sites in Central Campania (Data from Appendix 1).

4.2.3.4 Chronological trajectories in site size categories: towards larger funerary sites in Late Antiquity

The size of funerary sites in Central Campania is not static over time, reflecting changing funerary habits and strategies employed by the region's inhabitants. The largest burial sites – extended burial grounds – in fact become the dominant type in Late Antiquity (Figure 29). Large and medium burial clusters are evenly distributed over time, with some slight fluctuations, reflecting the importance of such sites in some rural settings (e.g. **1-12**, **1-49, 1-126**, **1-339**, **1-342**, **1-344**, **1-384**, **1-386**, **1-405**), where they presumably provided focal points for funerary commemoration in local communities but eventually fell out of use. Independent funerary structures such as mausolea, columbaria, and hypogea are well attested in the 1st century CE, peak in the 2nd, but gradually decline thereafter, though this may in part be the result of poor dating evidence.

Two significant changes in funerary site sizes characterise the funerary landscapes of Late Antiquity: extended burial grounds and small burial clusters along with individual burials are more numerous in this period than they were earlier. Evidence for extended burial grounds increases steadily until the 6th century, reflecting the development of major

sanctuary sites which provided room for many hundreds of burials from the 4th century onwards, as is the case at the sanctuary of St Felix outside Nola (**1-58**) and at Capo La Torre (**1-18**) outside *Abellinum.* The San Michele cemetery outside *Aeclanum* (**1-84**), in use from the 4th century, may similarly be associated with a suburban church, though this has not yet been confirmed archaeologically.[302] The catacombs of Naples also developed during Late Antiquity (**1-128, 1-129, 1-130, 1-131, 1-132, 1-236**) in zones used for burial from at least the early imperial period onwards, but on a far greater scale than before. These changes reflect the greater attractive pull of these sites, many of which are of an explicitly Christian nature. The early Middle Ages also saw the development of rural churches, some of which attracted quite substantial numbers of burials, as at località Pioppi in Pratola Serra (**1-353**), where at least 54 burials have been excavated, underlining that the substantial pull of churches as foci for burial was not restricted to suburban sites, but could sometimes occur in rural areas. The number of extended burial grounds in Central Campania declines only in the 7th century, reflecting the falling out of use of several large sites, most notably those outside *Aeclanum* (**1-81**, **1-84**, **1-88**, **1-89**) and *Abellinum* (**1-18**), as these urban centres, which had been slowly dwindling in vitality through the 5th century, continued to lose importance as focal points in the landscape.

As we have already noted, small burial clusters are less common in the early centuries CE and become more frequent over time, eventually peaking in the 6th century. We may propose two overlapping explanations for this upward trend in the number of small burial clusters: (i) the appearance of small burial clusters in intramural zones in Late Antiquity, which are often small and (ii) exclusion from or rejection of burial within the larger (Christian) burial grounds which account for most burials in this period. This concentration of burials into ever smaller spaces in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages reflects a considerable transformation of funerary landscapes, especially those in suburban areas (on suburbs see further 4.32.2-4).

[302] Ben Russell, *pers. comms*.

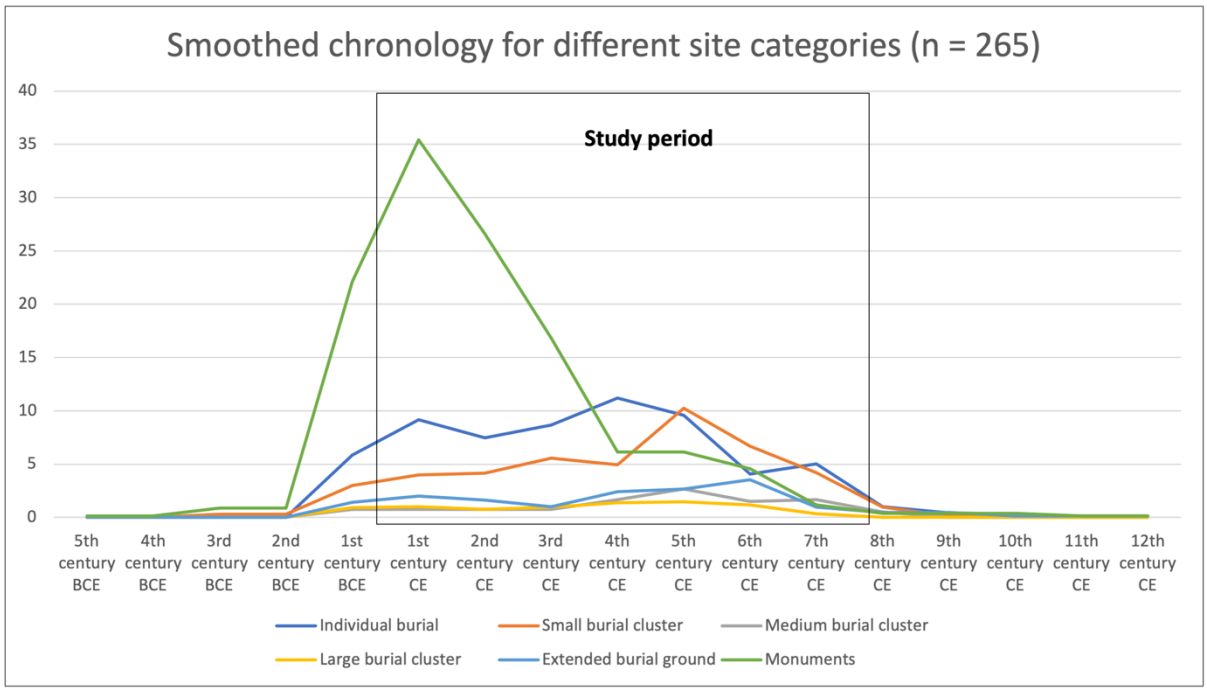


Figure 29 Smoothed chronology for funerary sites of different categories dated c. 1-700 CE in Campania (Data from Appendix 1)

4.2.4 Discussion

How do these data inform us about the development of funerary landscapes in Campania over the *longue durée*? It has been argued above that the evidence for funerary commemoration in Campania is more concentrated in urban than in rural settings, and that this is not simply a product of a town-centric bias in past research. Instead, this concentration of funerary evidence around cities may reflect the reality of burial strategies in the highly urbanised landscape of Campania during the first seven centuries CE. The key patterns to emerge from the regional-level diachronic analysis of sites can be summarised as follows:

i) The first two centuries CE see a proliferation of funerary sites, including many highly visible funerary monuments, in both urban and rural contexts. Monuments are considerably more common in some suburbs, where they sprawl over large areas.

ii) An apparent decrease in sites in the 3rd century CE is probably a product of dating biases due to the poorly understood material culture of this century

rather than reflecting a sign of crisis, though more research focussing on Central Campania is needed to confirm this.

iii) During the 4th and 5th centuries, the rural funerary landscapes of Central Campania are again vibrant, though the number of burial sites in suburban areas decreases from its peak in the early imperial period, probably because growing number of individuals were buried at extended burial grounds, including sanctuaries and catacombs.

iv) In the 6th and 7th centuries, the number of known funerary sites in Central Campania decreases substantially. This partly reflects the absence of grave goods in some burials but may also underline the growing importance of churches and other sanctuary sites, which played a major nodal role of nodes within the funerary landscape, capable of attracting burials from the surrounding areas.

We shall now discuss these trajectories in more detail.

4.2.4.1 The 1st and 2nd centuries: a floruit in suburban cemeteries

The high number of sites attributed to 1st and 2nd centuries CE is likely to reflect a combination of the familiarity of scholars with material culture from these periods, a proliferation of archaeologically visible sites during this time, and the general prosperity of the area during this early period. Vesuvius' eruption in 79 CE provides an excellent *terminus ante quem* for the large quantities of finds (artefactual, architectural, and epigraphic) from the sites buried by this volcanic eruption, which permits the high-resolution dating of many sites where comparable finds have been made. Moreover, the 2nd century, though slightly less well-attested than the 1st, has equally been subject to much sustained study, both in Campania and across the Italian peninsula more generally. As a result, sites with finds from these periods are more likely to be identified by scholars. Additionally, these two centuries saw a general proliferation of funerary practices which are highly visible to archaeologists: deposition of grave goods was widespread, though not universal; the use of epitaphs was relatively common; and many funerary monuments – particularly columbaria (in the 1st century) and mausolea – were constructed to this period, with more of these in suburban areas than in rural zones. Indeed, it is to this period that the tradition of *Gräberstrassen* (tomb-streets)

arranged along roads leading into cities was at its height in central-southern Italy (above, section 2.2.2.1).[303]

However, the first two centuries CE were also a period of exceptional prosperity in the Roman Empire, and not least in Campania.[304] While earlier generations of scholars argued that the devastation of the 79 CE eruption left a lasting mark on the landscapes in Campania throughout the 2nd century, recent work by De Simone has shown that the area north of the volcano took around four decades to recover and by the Hadrianic period, the occupation of the country had largely resumed, as cultivation of the extremely fertile volcanic soil was exploited by landowners.[305] Moreover, deposits from the eruption of 79 may have created deeper deposits in the areas of Campania in the immediate vicinity of Vesuvius, with more serious implications for the human settlement. On the other hand, sites further away, especially those in *Hirpinia*, probably experienced only slightly adverse impacts from this volcanic event. As a result, the figures for the substantial number of burial sites of the 1st and 2nd centuries, to some extent, reflect actual patterns of land use during this period, though not actual absolute figures.

4.2.4.2 The 3rd century: a decline in activity or a decrease in evidence?

The apparent reduction in sites during the 3rd century may reflect a downward demographic trend, but other factors also deserve consideration. The 3rd century has long been viewed among scholars as a period of apparent political, social and economic turmoil, characterised by a rapid turnover in emperors, whose short reigns often ended violently as the next soldier-emperor rose to prominence.[306] The turbulent events described in narrative histories sometimes become mapped onto the archaeological data, and it has been suggested that the same period saw major socioeconomic upheavals, though more recent research has questioned the severity of this phenomenon, as an examination of recent work on sarcophagi illustrates. Russell has highlighted the continued importance of sarcophagus production through the 3rd century. While this is not a viable measure for burials of lower social strata,

[303] Papers in Von Hesberg & Zanker 1987.
[304] Temin 2006
[305] De Simone 2014
[306] Hekster 2008; Potter 2004.

the ongoing production of sarcophagi suggests that substantial investment in private funerary commutation continued, or even intensified, in some parts of the Italian peninsula – most notably Rome – while lavish spending on public buildings became less widespread.[307] Away from Italy, sarcophagi continue to be made at a steady rate throughout the 3rd century, suggesting the crisis had a limited effect on funerary investments.[308] Sarcophagi were still produced in the 3rd century in Central Campania, as, for example, several examples with mythical relief scenes from Cimitile and two fragmentary strigillated sarcophagi reused in a fountain and a garden in Nola suggest, though it remains unclear how common they were.[309] A full survey of sarcophagi which are no longer *in situ* lies outside the bounds of this thesis, but this evidence should be taken as suggesting that the 3rd century still saw considerable funerary activity in Central Campania, even if this is not as archaeologically visible to us as remains from earlier centuries.

We might do well to consider other possible driving forces for the decline in sites during this time span. The Italian peninsula saw a marked decline in its adherence to the epigraphic habit during the 3rd century, and this pattern is reflected in the data from Campania.[310] The decline in sites could also be a product of our poor understanding of the material culture of the 3rd century. Borg has argued forcefully that scholarly preconceptions of decline have led to monuments built during this time period being assigned by scholars to earlier periods.[311] Problematic dating of evidence too heavily grounded in historical narratives of decline has also been highlighted, for example, by Swift in relation to settlements in Roman and post-Roman Britain, where 5th century evidence was erroneously attributed to the 4th century, a point echoed by Van Thienen's work on Northern Gaul.[312] Similar problems appear in the study of late antique mythical statuary, which Hannestad argues have often been misdated to the early imperial period.[313] While none of these cases are a parallel, they do reflect how preconceptions about decline in material culture can distort archaeological data.

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[307] Russell 2013a, 17-18.

[308] These points are already raised by Russell. On Tyre see: Chéhab 1968; Koch 1989 On Aphrodisias: Smith 2008, 347.

[309] Cimitile: Ebanista 2007, 64. Nola: author's own observation.

[310] MacMullen 1982

[311] Borg 2013.

[312] Swift 2000, 18-21; Van Thienen 2020.

[313] Hannestad 2007 with further references.

While detailed reconsideration of known funerary monuments from Campania lies beyond the scope of the present thesis, it is important to note that the case for 3rd-century decline may be somewhat exaggerated in the evidence as it is currently understood.

4.2.4.3 Prosperity and monumentalisation in the 4th and 5th centuries

The substantial number of sites datable to the 4th and 5th century therefore reflect not recovery but continuity, or even intensification, in landscape usage. This pattern reflects the vibrancy of activity in the later Roman countryside in Campania, especially in the 4th century, which should be unsurprising in an area which is generally considered to have seen its an agricultural boom during this century.[314] The 4th century saw the establishment of major catacomb complexes outside Naples (**1-128, 1-129, 1-130, 1-131, 1-132, 1-236**) and the later part of the same century the monumentalisation of the sanctuary of St Felix outside Nola (**1-58**) started on the site of an earlier burial ground active since the 3rd century. A comparable process also seems to have taken place at the basilica at Capo La Torre outside *Abellinum* in the 4th century (**1-18)**. Most of these sites continued to attract substantial numbers of burials for several centuries.

The major natural disasters which afflicted Central Campania in Late Antiquity disrupted the settlement patterns of the region and had a knock-on effect on the funerary landscapes. A major earthquake in 346 devastated the region (above, section 4.1.2.2), particularly the cities of *Hirpinia,* and may have contributed, in tandem with social and political processes, to the beginning of the end for some urban centres as key foci for political, economic, and social life (below, section 4.3.3.2-4). At the same time the Christian sanctuaries in the suburbs of cities like *Abellinum* and Nola – and the extended burial grounds around these sanctuaries – remained active, and still received new burials even after this major volcanic event, as well as after the lesser eruption of 506/512.[315] The continued use of these substantial sanctuaries after a period of major natural disaster represented a realignment of suburban funerary spaces, with burials increasingly concentrated at the most important parts of the landscape, while the wider suburban zones burial zones of the earlier period gradually fell out of use.

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[314] Savino 2005, 36-73.

[315] On the eruption see De Simone & Russell 2019, 367-368

4.2.4.4 War, political fragmentation, and funerary landscapes at the end of antiquity

After the major military events of the Gothic Wars, during which several important episodes centred on Campania, and the later instability arising from the installation of an aggressive Lombard duchy in Benevento just to the north, the number of known burial sites diminishes considerably. Significantly, in the mid-to-late 6th century extended burial grounds outside *Aeclanum* and *Abellinum* fell out of use and burials became far less common in the countryside in Campania than in earlier centuries. Sometimes early medieval graves in this region can be identified through the presence of ceramic vessels and dress accessories but were either not as widespread in this period or fewer burials were being made. If we accept the latter of these possibilities, it may be that the instability caused by conflict between Byzantine forces centred on Naples and the Lombard duchy of Benevento led to a general depopulation of the landscape in some areas as well as a reluctance to bury the dead in dispersed rural settings. Within this context, rural churches, like those at Masseria Pagano in Tufino (**1-405**), Prata di Principato Ultra (**1-352**) and località Pioppi in Pratola Serra (**1-353**) probably served to attract burials from the surrounding area and created new poles of attraction for rural burials. At the same time, the few large cemeteries in suburban contexts which continued to be active until least the 8th century and maybe also the 9th or 10th, including at Cimitile outside Nola (**1-58**) and the Catacombs of San Gennaro outside Naples (**1-129**), may have assumed even greater importance, absorbing burials from ever further afield.

4.2.4.5 Moving the dead

We have also seen throughout this chapter that there is an imbalance in the distribution of burial sites, which suggests that not all inhabitants of the countryside were buried near to where they lived, and some may have been transported to suburban areas for burial after they had died. We shall now consider the textual evidence for the movement of the dead in antiquity, to understand better how and why people might consider transporting the remains of the deceased and what role this played in the curation of memory.

Several mechanisms for moving bodies are described by the textual sources, depending on whether individuals had died recently or had died some time earlier. The evidence for the

latter need not be reviewed exhaustively here, especially as this practice applied to relatively few individuals. In the early imperial period (and the Late Republic), the legal rite of *translatio cadaveris*—which governed cases where individuals had been buried and then disinterred before being moved to a second grave—required permission from the *pontifices,* and clearly falls into the latter category.[316]

Direct evidence for the movement of bodies of the recent deceased is also available, though it largely relates to province-level journeys. Cracco Ruggini outlines textual evidence for the transportation of the bodies of individuals who had *recently* died, though these are often individuals of the highest social status, including magistrates, emperors, and members of the imperial house.[317] The practice of transporting the bodies of individuals between provinces and regions is also supported by inscriptions, from both the imperial period and from Late Antiquity.[318] The nature of this epigraphic evidence, as well as the titles of those whose remains were transported in this way, indicates that many were senior civil and military officials and their wives or those that were wealthy enough to be able to afford to have a relatively expensive memorial set up. Papyrus documents and mummy labels from Egypt refers to the movement of a corpses on a provincial level, with one, for example, transported from Alexandria to Oxyrhynchus.[319] The unusual nature of long-distance movement of human remains may, however, result in it being overrepresented in the textual and epigraphic record due its novelty.

At the sub-province level, a range of epigraphic evidence also suggests that place of burial is not a good indicator of place of death. In Italy, the movement of the bodies of the recently deceased is also evidenced by an inscription on a 4th-century sarcophagus now in the cathedral of Tolentino in the province of Macerata, which records that its occupant, Catervius, was interred within the sarcophagus forty days after his death.[320] Russell notes that this leaves open the possibility "that corpses intended for burial in a sarcophagus could be interred elsewhere first, perhaps in a wooden or lead coffin."[321] We cannot be sure, however,

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316 Estiez 1987, 101; see also Joncá 2016; Younger 1969. 10.68-69.

317 Cracco Ruggini 1987, 119-121.

318 Early empire: Cracco Ruggini 1987, 121, n.15; Late antiquity: Handley 2011, 53-55.

319 Kotsifou 2000, 58-59 with Grenfell 1898-, VII.1068; Drexhage 1994, 167; Boyaval 1987; For an inscription reporting transport of a body, perhaps mummified, from Alexandria to Ancyra: Bennett 2010.

320 Märki-Boehringer et al. 1966, 39; Koch 2000, 79.

321 Russell 2011b, 141.

whether this means that Catervius' body was moved over any great distance, or that it even moved further than, for example, the confines of a family mausoleum.

We are on firmer ground when we consider the *Lex Libitinae* governing a funerary contractor and executioner at Puteoli.[322] This inscription discusses payment rates for corpse carriers in miles, with different rates applied for specific zones, one of which comprised a distance of five miles (from the city?).[323] Another similar but fragmentary law from *Cumae* refers to travel to the first milestone.[324] Unfortunately the direction of travel discussed by these inscriptions is not clear, but they do indicate that bodies were expected to move, sometimes considerable distances. The *Lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae seu Ursonensis,* a Flavian copy of the Caesarian foundation law of the colony at *Urso* (modern Osuna) in Spain, deems that: "No-one is to bring a dead person within the boundaries of a town or a colony, where (a line) shall have been drawn around by a plough, nor is he to bury him there or burn him or build the tomb of a dead person."[325] This text is typically cited as evidence for the exclusion of the dead from intramural areas.[326] However, for our present purposes, it is important to underline that the law also prohibits the movement of a dead body *into* the city, suggesting that when people had died outside the city limits, moving them was considered to be a genuine possibility. In short then, the movement of the dead was a sufficiently regular and important practice that it necessitated regulation.

More broadly, associations (*collegia*), which were primarily urban in nature, may often have played a role in the burial of their members and this may have necessitated regular movement of bodies. The precise mechanics and commitments are likely to have varied from association to association but some associations certainly did own specific burial plots or monuments.[327] These may be reserved for members of the association or could be shared with other groups.[328] It is by no means certain that all associations had burial plots, nor that all members were buried in these plots and recent work also has underlined that *collegia* did

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[322] *Année Epigraphique* 1971, 88, I. 5, 23.

[323] *Année Epigraphique* 1971, 88, I. 14-16; Bodel 1994, 73, 2004, 159; cf Hinard & Dumont 2003.

[324] Bodel 2004, 159.

[325] CIL II, 2594, LXXIII, trans. in Crawford 1996, 424.

[326] E.g. Graham 2006, 42.

[327] Carroll 2006, 47-48; Liu 2013, 364-366; On funerary roles for *collegia:* Bodel 2008, 179-181.

[328] Liu 2013, 365-366; E.g. Dessau 1892-1916, 5246 = CIL VI 9405 = Dessau 1892-1916, 7238; AE = Cagnat 1888–, 1937. 161.

not replace families in providing care for the dead.[329] These observations notwithstanding, the provision of burial plots by urban-focussed *collegia* provided a destination for the mortal remains of some of their members. We unfortunately do not have a clear view of where these members resided but we should not necessarily assume that all of them dwelled in the city itself, even if the association was headquartered there. This suggests that at least some bodies of deceased members of *collegia* could be brought into suburban areas for burial.

A tantalising glimpse to the movement of the bodies of the recently deceased may be provided by the *lex* of the *collegium* of Diana and Antinous at *Lanuvium* in *Latium*. Dating to 136 CE this inscription states that: "whoever died more than twenty miles away from the *municipium* and his death has been reported, three people chosen from our body will be required to go there who shall take care of his *funus*" ("…quisquis a municipio ultra miliar(ium) XX decesserit et nuntianum fuerit eo exire debebunt electi ex corpore n(ostro) homines qui funeris eius curam agant").[330] The spatial precondition ("ultra miliar(ium) XX") implies different treatment for those members who died within 20 miles of *Lanuvium.* The *lex* is not explicit about what ought to happen to the remains of those who died *within* 20 miles of *Lanuvium,* other than that the amount of 300 sesterces ought to be disbursed to the deceased, with 50 of these sesterces to be shared out at the pyre.

Several scholars have viewed this inscription as indicating that transport for the deceased was guaranteed within this distance from the town. Cracco Ruggini, following Flambard, read the *lex* as implying a body could be returned to the city for burial at the *collegium's* expense when an individual had died within twenty miles.[331] Similarly, Hope viewed the inscription as indicating that the association "undertook to pay for bodies to be returned home if a member should die some distance from the town."[332] The ambiguity of the *lex* is problematic but does not necessarily exclude a model which saw the movement of some bodies from the countryside into suburban areas for burial, especially as Bendlin highlights the possibility that some of members of this *collegium* may have inhabited rural estates in *Lanuvium's* hinterland,

[329] Patterson 1992b, 23; Hopkins 1983, 213-214; Hasegawa 2005b, 260; burial associations in late antiquity: Rebillard 2009, 37-56.

[330] CIL XVI 2112.I.26-7, translated in Bendlin 2011, 123.

[331] Cracco Ruggini 1987, 122; cf Flambard 1987, 225-234. *Pace* Bendlin 2011.

[332] Hope 2009, 68; Graham 2006; also Graham 2006, 45.

though the possibility that these regulations aimed to offer coverage for those who died while travelling remains open.[333]

The precise fate of *collegia* in Late Antiquity in unclear, but it seems unlikely that they disappeared after the early imperial period. Recent research synthesized by Rebillard has shown that occasional glimpses of these associations may be gleaned down until at least the early 5th century, which indicates that the rise of Christianity did not mean an immediate end to the role of associations in wider society.[334] While certainty eludes us, the continued existence of *collegia* could also suggest that some of the practices in which they were involved, including the transportation of members' bodies to centralised locations could also have remained in force.

By the middle of the 4th century, the growing popularity of the Christian cult of the saints drove a trade in relics, whether whole bodies or disarticulated human remains, belonging to those perceived to belong among "the very special dead."[335] While this sort of movement of bodies is known across the late antique world, in Central Campania it suffices to draw attention to the translation of the body of St Januarius, beheaded at Puteoli under Diocletian in around 305 and buried nearby in the *ager Marcianus*, but later moved to the catacombs which bear his name in the northern suburbs of Naples (**1-129**) during the episcopate of St Severus (fl. 361-409).[336] The number of individual burials directly affected by the movement of the long dead was relatively small, but this evidence does go some way to suggest that the idea of being buried far from one's place of death was current. Moreover, several bishops of Nola are attested to have been buried in the basilica of St Felix in Cimitile (**1-58**), though they may have been resident elsewhere after much of the population of Nola itself was apparently moved to Nola to Naples by Belisarius and the city became progressively more depopulated in the 6th century.[337] This evidence again suggests that movement of bodies to more favourable or appropriate places of burial was practised by at least some strata of society throughout Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

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[333] Bendlin 2011, 283-284.

[334] Rebillard 2009, 53-56.

[335] Wisniewski 2019, 159-179.

[336] Arthur 2002, 10.

[337] Move to Naples: Arthur 2002, 23, 92 Burials at Cimitile: Ebanista 2015, 48-57.

4.2.4.6 Conclusion

While there in some fluctuation in funerary activity during Roman period across Central Campania, largely due to the paucity of sites attributable to the 3rd century, the pattern is overall one of continued activity for five centuries. Most of the standalone monuments date to the early imperial period and particularly the 1st and 2nd centuries, though monumental structures and complexes, especially catacombs, were also constructed in subsequent centuries. It is only after the fall of the Roman Empire in the west and the disintegration of Italy as a political unit from the 6th century onwards that there is a sea change in the funerary landscapes of Central Campania, with a substantial decline in the number of rural and suburban burial sites, and an increasing emphasis on a limited number of sites, frequently associated with churches or other Christian cult sites.

The distribution of available funerary evidence in Central Campania suggests that more people were buried in suburban areas than in the countryside. Even if this picture may in part derive from a sampling bias which could favour recovery of evidence in suburban areas, it remains unlikely that this accounts for the entirety of the distribution imbalance. In other words, more people probably were buried in suburbs rather than in areas further away from cities. Detecting the movement of bodies in the archaeological record without direct supporting references is problematic, but evidence from across the empire does suggest that this sometimes took place, even if the scale of this practice remains opaque to us. We should therefore seriously entertain the possibility that not everyone was buried near where they lived, and some people were probably moved relatively substantial distances to be buried around cities if these were thought to provide better places for a burial which would be remembered. We shall now examine the connection of burial sites with urban and rural burial sites in greater detail.

4.3: Settlements in Town and Country:

4.3.1 Introduction

The relationship between cemeteries and settlements is an important part of commemoration (above, section 2.2). This chapter analyses the spatial connection between burials and settlements in both urban and rural environs. It argues that during the early imperial period, cities played an important role as hubs for communal memory, though this

role was not universal, and the commemorative function of some cities may have been limited. In Late Antiquity, cities experienced a range of different trajectories, with concomitant effects on their roles as places of commemoration. These differing experiences are explored through a model-based approach drawing on insights from modern urban and urban planning studies.

Turning to the countryside of Central Campania, largescale GIS analysis allows us to explore the connection between burials and settlements. This analysis suggests that relatively few funerary sites lie near to villas or farmsteads, suggesting that rural communities did not necessarily bury their dead near to home. This could be because other landscape features, like roads, were more attractive, though we should also bear in mind the possibility raised in the previous section, that some people were transported nearer to cities for burial because these locations offered maximum visibility, increased viewership, and the possibility of lasting commemoration. Other rural settlements like *vici* in the Roman period, and later hilltop villages, are poorly understood at present but both seem to have sometimes had burials located nearby, reflecting a desire to commemorate the dead among the inhabitants of these sites.

4.3.2 Burials in and around cities

Burial outside cities provided an important means of preserving and curating memory but is also a far from static phenomenon. The funerary landscapes around the cities of Central Campania followed two main models during the early imperial period (c. 1st through 3rd centuries CE):

(i) **Tomb streets**: Burials cluster immediately outside many cities and particularly along roads, which provide a key venue for the commemoration of the dead, with these suburban burial sites serving as important foci for memory. Examples of this type of trajectory in our study area include Nola, Naples, *Abella*, *Abellinum,* and *Aeclanum*.

(ii) **Discrete burial sites**: Suburbs of other cities like *Suessula, Accerrae, Frigentum* and *Compsa* appear to have played a more sporadic role as burial grounds, though in some cases this this may be due to the limitations of our evidence.

These two differing models for early imperial suburban funerary landscape may indicate that past research has exaggerated the uniformity of burial outside cities in Roman Italy. By the 4th century at least three different types of funerary landscapes developed in and around the cities of Central Campania:

(i) **Continued occupation in the *città ad isole*:** cities constituted by a series of distinct "islands" of settlement, surrounded by unoccupied land, perhaps turned over to agricultural use.[338] The prime example of this trajectory in Central Campania is Naples.

(ii) **Shrinking cities**: where cities, usually already those which were at the smaller end of the scale, were reduced to a smaller, often fortified, core in Late Antiquity or the early Middle Ages. Examples in our study region include *Compsa*, *Suessuela,* and perhaps *Aeclanum*.

(iii) **Hollow cities**: where cities like Nola, *Abellinum* and perhaps *Frigentum*, dwindled, but substantial burial activity continued in the suburbs through the strong attractive pull exercised by new Christian focal points in suburban landscapes.

These three differing but interrelated paradigms, can be best explored utilising a model-based approach developed in recent research into late antique urbanism across the Mediterranean, which has stressed the value of moving beyond the foundations provided by site-specific microhistories.[339] The follow sections draw on theoretical insights from modern urban planning studies which offer heuristic tools for examining long-term changes in cities and associated funerary remains. This analysis will also allow for an investigation of the variable means by which memory was created and curated in suburban areas as they changed and transformed from the early imperial period to the early medieval period.

4.3.2.1 The early imperial period

[338] The concept is reviewed by Loseby 2020, 89-94.

[339] Papers in Carneiro et al. 2020; Fenwick 2018.

Burial around cities in Central Campania during the early imperial period conform to two principal patterns, as already outlined above – the first comprising large agglomerations of suburban burials, and the second where evidence for funerary landscapes of this kind is less prominent. In both cases the dead were excluded from the urban limits proper throughout this period.

The available evidence indicates that the development of tomb streets (*Gräberstraßen*) of greater or lesser size took place at many Campanian cities. These cities conform to a pattern which has been identified across many parts of the Italian peninsula, where suburban burials appeared alongside other forms of domestic, industrial and commercial activity, though the purpose of the present study is not to reconstruct the specific dynamics of individual suburbs in detail.[340] The accumulation of tombs in suburban areas served to create a form of extended architectural ornamentation, generating a sense of anticipation for those approaching cities, and creating a liminal escort for those leaving, thus ensuring that the memory of the deceased commemorated in these funerary sites lived on. For our present purposes, this effect is best explored through reference to the three cities of Central Campania with the strongest evidence, namely Naples, *Abella*, and *Aeclanum*, all of which have recently been subject to excellent surveys (for further discussion of these sites see section 4.3.2).

The suburbs of Naples attracted large number of burials from at least the Classical period onwards. Funerary activity in this town's suburbs may have intensified under the late Republic and early empire, with burials clustered around the roads connecting Naples with neighbouring cities (Figure 30).[341] *Abella's* suburbs also saw a boom in funerary activity during the late Republican and early Imperial periods.[342] The bulk of the evidence from this site comes from the monumental above-ground mausolea arranged along roads to the west, south and east of the city (Figure 31), though it appears that several hypogea, also located along roads, saw continued use during this period as well. A similar pattern emerges in

[340] Non-funerary activity: Emmerson 2020a; Goodman 2007; Stevens 2017; Annibaletto 2010. *Gräberstraßen*: above, section 2.2.2.1-2.
[341] Amodio 2014, 25-35.
[342] Cinquantaquattro 2000, 79-80.

Aeclanum's eastern suburbs, where graves and several substantial mausolea were placed along the course of the Via Appia during the early imperial period.[343]

Other cities like *Suessula*, *Acerrae, Frigentum* and *Compsa* do not provide substantial evidence for the development of tomb streets, and although this may in part be due to the limited number of burial sites known from the suburbs of these cities (above, section 4.2.2.1-2), it could also be that a less linear pattern in the arrangement of burial spaces was favoured at these sites. It is worth noting that these cities are among the smaller urban centres in Central Campania, and they may therefore have exercised limited attractive pull as a venue for burial when compared with major urban centres. We may conclude, then, that most suburbs around cities of Central Campania played some role as venues for burial and the commemoration of the dead in the early imperial period, though some centres seem to have been more important than others.

[343] Lo Pilato 2012b

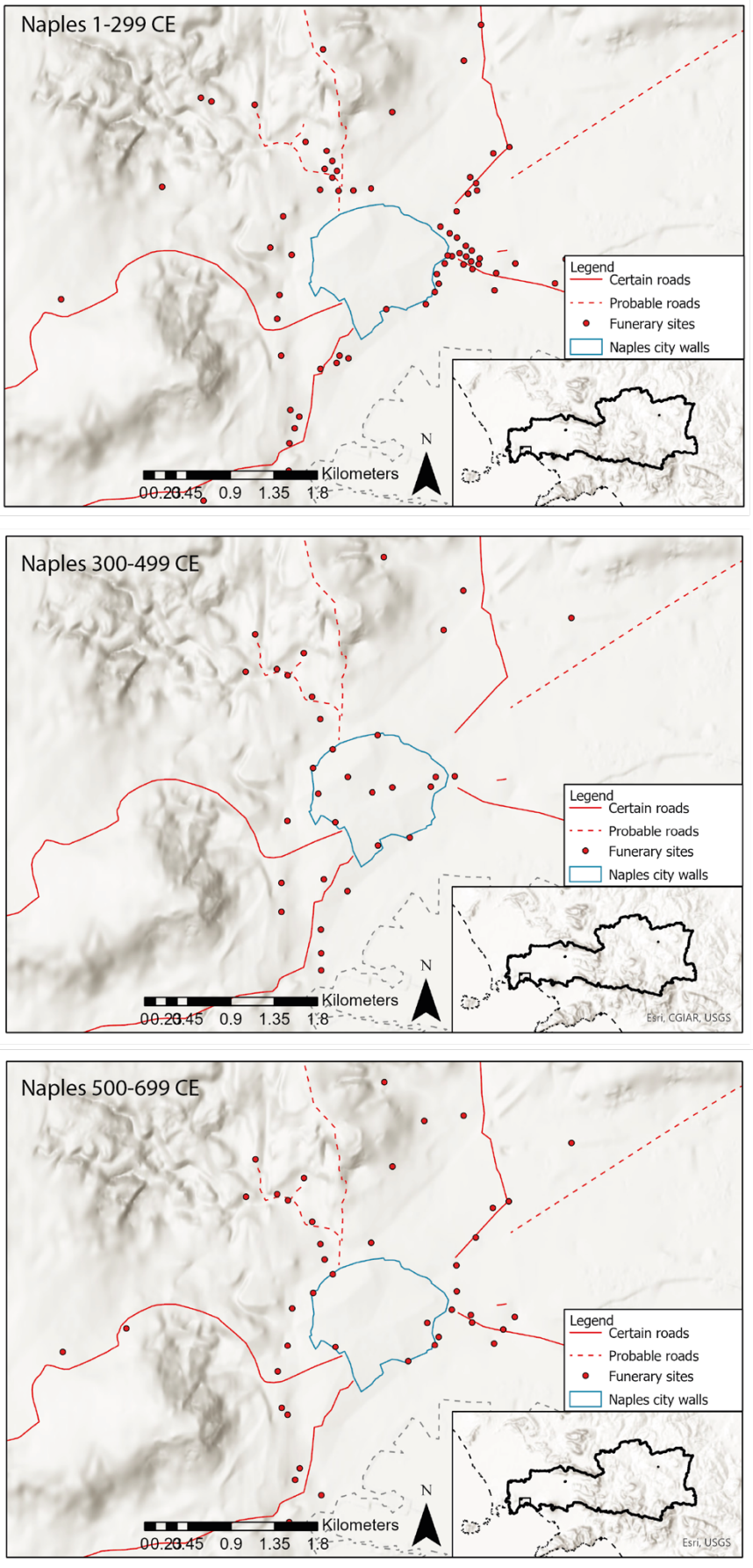


Figure 30 Funerary sites around Naples by period (Data from Appendix 1).

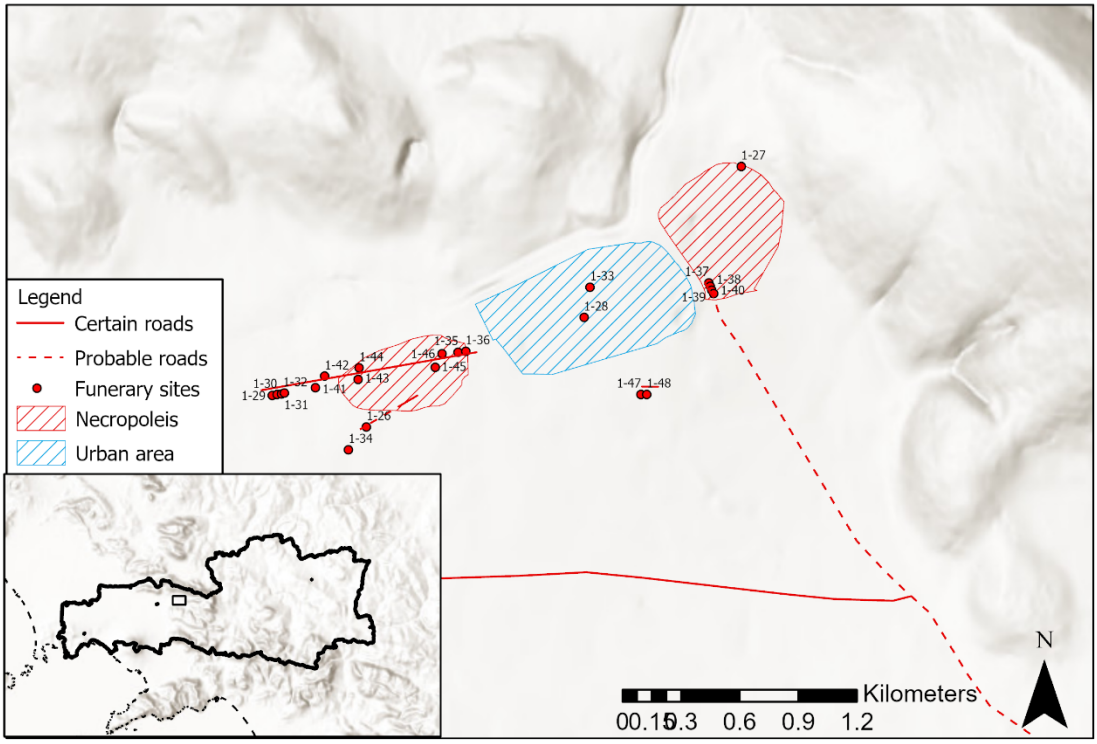


Figure 31 The urban funerary landscapes of Abella, with the extent of funerary areas marked following Cinquantaquattro (2000) (Data from Appendix 1)

4.3.2.2 Late antique urban trajectories I: continued occupation in the città ad isole

Some cities in Central Campania experienced continued urban vitality well into Late Antiquity, and sometimes also throughout the early Middle Ages. This ongoing vibrance was accompanied by the continued importance of (sub)urban funerary landscapes. In other words, since these urban sites remained major population centres as well as the seats of social, legal, economic, and political life in the region, their importance as sites for burials endured too.

This does not, however, mean that the urban centres remain unchanged during the same period. Some scholars have previously employed the term 'città ad isole' ("city of islands") to describe the non-contiguous nature of urbanism in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.[344] According to this model, some cities ceased to be a unitary urban body, and were instead formed from an archipelago of distinct settlements separated by unoccupied

[344] Loseby 2020, 89-94 with further references

land. Powell has suggested that the downward trajectory of the U.S. city of Detroit provides a modern parallel for this sort of urban shrinkage during Late Antiquity.[345] By 2010 Detroit's population had halved since its 1950 peak, leaving large swathes of the city derelict. Some of the abandoned spaces have been given over to arable agriculture or become urban prairies on sites where buildings have been demolished or collapsed (Figure 32). This concept should not be pushed too far, as we now know that many Roman cities also contained undeveloped or agricultural space within their urban limits.[346] Additionally, some cities which were previously considered to be *città ad isole* based on excavation of selected areas, like Sbeitla (ancient *Sufetula*) in North Africa, have recently undergone revaluation after new evidence shows more widespread activity was actually taking place.[347] Cities falling into this category can therefore only be identified when sufficient largescale excavation has taken place to allow us to establish with confidence that some areas were abandoned or repurposed.



Figure 32 The residential neighbourhood of Briggs, slightly over one mile from central Detroit, in 1961 (top) and 2007 (bottom. (After Powell, 2011, 11, fig. 2)

[345] Powell 2011. Crabtree briefly mentions Detroit in her exploration of urban centers in Roman Britain, but does not develop this analogy Crabtree 2018, 23-27. Detroit urban studies: Mallach et al. 2008.

[346] Jashemski 2008, 15.

[347] Fenwick 2020, 70.

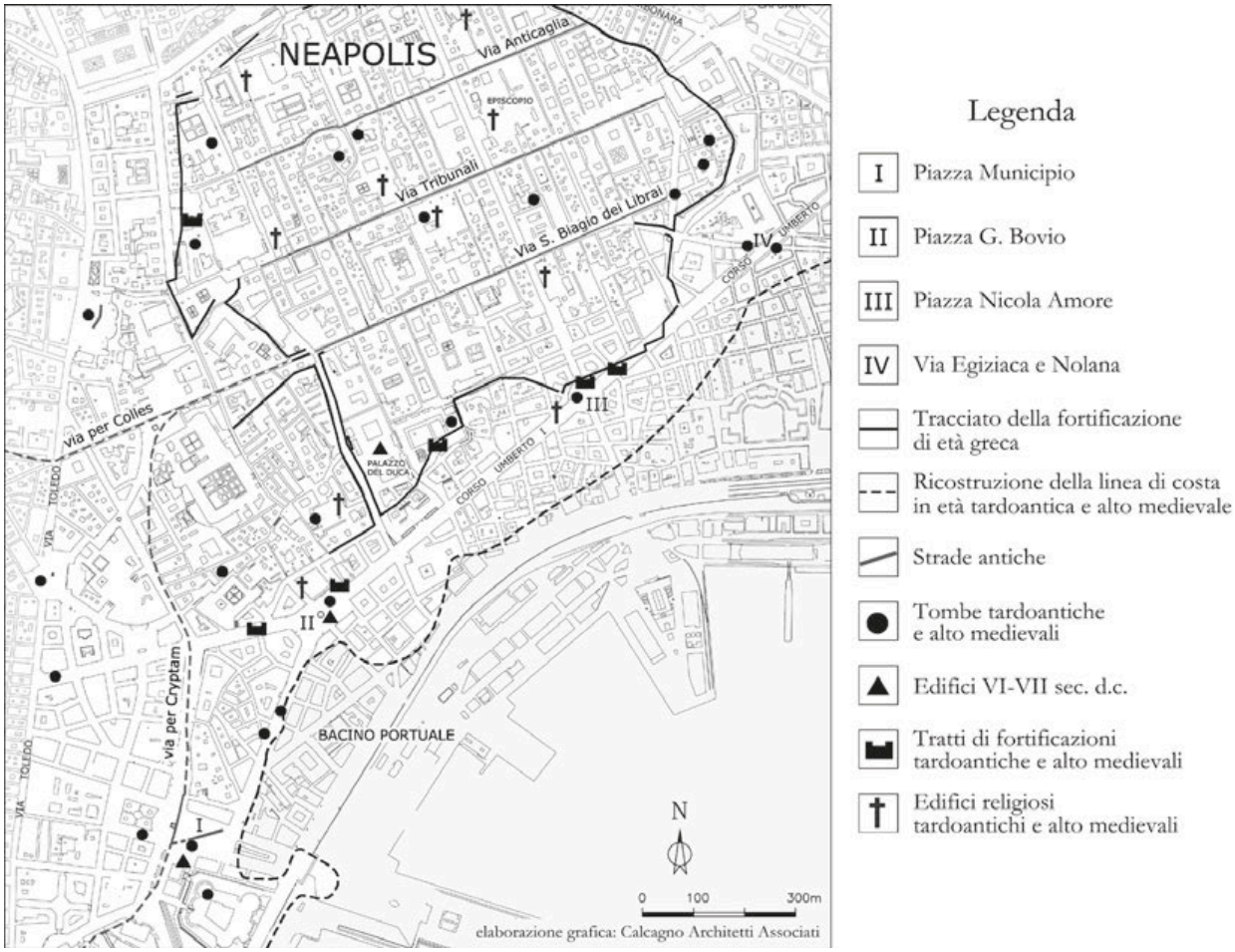


Figure 33 Urban remains in Naples and its coastal suburbs in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages (from Rotili 2017, 718, fig. 10)

Naples saw considerable urban continuity through Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, presenting a strong example of a 'città ad isole.' During the 4th and 5th centuries, burial continued in the city's suburbs, albeit at a reduced rate when compared with the early empire (Figure 33). This period also saw the emergence of catacomb complexes to the north of the city dedicated to Naples' Christian community (**1-128**, **1-129**, **1-130**, **1-131**, **1-132**, **1-236**). Naples' street plan persisted through the Middle Ages, though the streets narrowed considerably, some minor roads were blocked off, and floor levels raised considerably.[348] It is unclear when Naples' Roman-period water supply fell out of use, though the aqueduct was still functioning in the later 6th century.[349] At the same time, public buildings were abandoned, earlier urban *domus* hollowed out but were still occupied by posthole-built structures and industrial areas. Some abandoned structures within the intramural area, including the theatre

[348] Arthur 2002, 38-40, 50-52.

[349] Arthur 2002, 7-8.

(**1-275**), *odeion* (**1-276**) and *macellum* (**1-190**, **1-191**), as well as an *insula* (**1-226**) and a domus (**1-270**), were used for burial (see further below, section 4.5.7.2).

In the intramural area of Naples, from the 6th century onwards, activity centred around ecclesiastical establishments, including basilicas and convents (Figure 33).[350] Outside the city walls activity was focused in the littoral zone, where comingled industrial occupation and burials have recently been excavated (**1-182**, **1-185**), and around the catacomb complexes north of Naples, though only two (**1-129**, **1-132**) appear to have continued in use into the 7th century and beyond. These mixed burial strategies reflect differing types of memory curation. For some continued competition or association with the long dead of the suburban cemeteries claimed a priority, demonstrating a tie with ancestors, perceived or actual. Whilst others chose to associate their dead with Christian spaces, thereby proclaiming not only their religion but their aspirations for the deceased, namely a peaceful afterlife. Finally, intramural burials reutilising abandoned spaces offer a third perspective on memory – one focused on visual mnemonics which sought to associate the dead with a recognizable structure among the living.

Continued urban vitality and the ongoing vibrance of (sub)urban funerary landscapes like that experienced by Naples into Late Antiquity and beyond, appears to have been driven by the ongoing administrative and/or economic functions of specific cities. Naples, the most important city in Central Campania during this period, remained a port and shipping centre throughout Late Antiquity, as well as a major ecclesiastical centre and a key military asset, to judge by its many sieges experienced during the Gothic wars.[351] Naples is not alone in this continued importance, as evidence from elsewhere in southern Italy suggests. A classic example is presented by *Beneventum*. This city saw increased ruralisation of some parts of its intramural area after the eruption of 346 but was still described by Symmachus as 'flourishing' in 375.[352] It received a new urban circuit wall built using material stripped from its amphitheatre during Late Antiquity, and though these fortifications were slighted during the Gothic Wars, enough survived for *Beneventum* to become the seat of a Lombard duchy, centered on the cathedral, until the end of the early Middle Ages.[353] The continued

[350] Arthur 2002, 59-81.

[351] Above, section 4.1.2.3.

[352] Rotili et al. 2010; Symmachus, *Letters,* 1.3.3-4

[353] Rotili 2017, 723-727.

importance of these cities may have meant that their suburbs were still important venues for burial well into Late Antiquity and marked them as key points for commemoration which offered visibility to major audiences.

4.3.2.3 Late antique urban trajectories II: shrinking cities

A related but more radical reformulation of urban space is presented by other cities, which shrank to become little more than *castra* or fortified villages arranged around a *single* urban core, a transformation which had a considerable impact on the nature of the surrounding funerary landscapes. The concept of urban shrinkage has recently been popularized by urban geographers examining the decline in population and/or inhabited area currently affecting cities in the US rust belt and across Europe.[354] The term 'shrinkage' has been broadly applied by Christie in his discussion of the cities of late antique Italy, though he makes no reference to the modern scholarly literature on the topic.[355] This scholar highlights the development of citadels enclosing just part of the wider urban areas in larger cities but also notes the possibility that some smaller cities were reduced to a small, defended nucleus, with strong examples at *Interamnia,* modern Teramo (TE), in Abruzzo or *Misenum,* modern Miseno (NA) in Campania but outside the study area considered here.[356]

The comparison which Powell made between the fate of post-industrial Detroit and the cities of Late Antiquity (above, section 4.3.2.2) is worth returning to for a moment in connection to the cities which saw extreme urban shrinkage in Late Antiquity.[357] In particular, Powell highlighted comments from the Detroit's then-mayor, who advocated a reduction in the areas covered by administrative and utilities services in recognition of a changed urban reality.[358] This trajectory is not of course precisely the same as that of the cities of Late Antiquity, but we may envisage that in some places, the building of new walls covering a reduced area reflected not only a military endeavour but also an acknowledgement of the true size of reduced urban populations. This type of urban trajectory had substantial impacts on the funerary landscapes for affected cities. While similar phenomena are no doubt

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[354] Oswalt 2005; Pallagst 2008; Weichmann & Pallagst 2012; Beauregard 1993, 2009; Alves et al. 2016.
[355] Christie 2006, 202-206.
[356] *Interamnia:* Staffa 1998, 164-167; *Misenum*: Arthur 2002, 86-88.
[357] Powell 2011, 7.
[358] *Ibid;* MacDonald 2010.

applicable to many of the of the cities of late antique and early medieval Italy, they are most visible in those cities which transformed into little more than villages. In Central Campania, the process of extreme urban shrinkage saw the abandonment of public buildings, the appearance of burials within the intramural space, and sometimes the construction of new fortifications covering a reduced area. A model for this kind of trajectory is presented by clear evidence from *Calatia* (CE)*,* which lies outside of our study area, but still within Campania. At this town, recent work suggests that the extramural cemeteries were abandoned at some point after the 3rd century, and during the same timeframe burials began to appear within a restructured urban environment.[359]

Two cities within our study area, *Compsa* and *Suessula*, appear to conform to this urban trajectory. It should, however, be stressed that we remain relatively uninformed about the situation in the suburbs of these cities, and it cannot be excluded that they continued to be used in some capacity for funerary purposes into Late Antiquity. At *Compsa,* an *in-situ* inscription dedicated to Constantine I indicates that the forum remained functional until the 4th century, but excavations below the modern cathedral have uncovered remains of a substantial wall which Pescatori connects to the reduction of the urban space to a *castrum* when the city was under Byzantine control during the Gothic Wars.[360] *Compsa* was later seat of a Lombard *gastaldate,* and Lombard-period burials have been uncovered in the forum of *Compsa* (**1-61,** Figure 34) and in the surrounding area (**1-60**).[361] However, it is unclear at present whether these burials were enclosed by the fortification walls, or remained outside them. Around the same time, the nearby amphitheatre of *Compsa* appears to have been reused as houses.[362] At *Suessula* during the 3rd and 4th centuries, peripheral buildings were abandoned and turned over to agricultural use and the intercolumniations of the forum and basilica were walled up.[363] By the end of the 4th century, these public spaces had been abandoned and debris began to accumulate before they collapsed completely in the mid-5th century. Like *Compsa, Suessula* has been interpreted as the seat of a *castrum* from the time of the Gothic War onwards, though this hypothesis remains without archaeological

[359] Petacco & Rescigno 2005, 149, 153.
[360] Colucci Pescatori 2005, 294-295.
[361] Colucci Pescatori 2005, 295-298; Rotili 2004a, 830-850.
[362] Di Giovanni 2015, 130-131.
[363] Savino 2005, 211; Camardo et al. 2003; Camardo & Rossi 2005, 170-171.

confirmation.[364] Later, during the 7th or 8th century, at least twelve graves partially reuse structures of the forum (**1-402**). This reuse of space for burial reflects a reorganization of the urban landscape to reflect the new, shrunken urban realty, which in turn had a knock-on effect on the organization of funerary landscapes.



Figure 34 Burials (1-61) cut into the floor of the forum at Compsa (From G. Colucci Pescatori, 2005, 296, fig. 7).

The movement of burials into repurposed public spaces (below, section 4.5.7.1) is also observed at Naples, even though this city shows greater signs of urban vitality into the later part of the period under consideration in this thesis. However, the trajectories of cities like *Compsa* and *Suessula* are different because they occur at sites where few other signs of continued activity are available. Burials placed in the reused spaces of cities like *Compsa* and *Suessula* are therefore best viewed as arising from a recognition that these cities had changed dramatically in size and nature since their early imperial heydays. It is possible that these burials belonged to the troops charged with garrisoning these sites under Byzantine and later Lombard rule (or their families). But at the same time, they may simply reflect the broader communities continuing to occupy urban environments. Unfortunately, further comment on

[364] Zanini 1998, 273-274; Camardo et al. 2003, 174; Camardo & Rossi 2005, 366.

the nature of these depositions is impossible at present as our understanding of the precise areas within these cities which were still occupied is limited. It does, however, seem probable that the contraction of the urban space and the introduction of burials into these former public spaces belies a desire to keep the dead close to, but still excluded from, the abodes of the living.

The city of *Aeclanum* provides a bridge between these shrunken cities and the hollow cities discussed further below, even though this city did not play a role as a *castrum*. At this town, burial in the extramural area continued or even intensified during Late Antiquity (Figure 35). Most of the published evidence is of too low resolution to permit detailed chronological analysis of the development of the funerary landscapes outside this town, and many sites are generically dated to the Roman period. During the early imperial period, the Via Appia was lined with tombs as it passed out of the city towards the east, as we have already seen in the previous section. The available evidence does, however, seem to indicate that burials continued to be placed along the road during Late Antiquity, and in the late 4th century a new, extended burial ground developed below the area of the present-day via San Michele (**1-84**). The role of churches in the suburban landscapes of *Aeclanum* is far from clear, and at present no evidence for a church can be associated with the via San Michele cemetery. Two church establishments are mentioned in early medieval documents, dedicated to San Vito and San Pietro, the latter possibly coinciding with the present church of San Prisco, north of the city, which may relate to a partially excavated burial site (**1-85**) found in the vicinity.[365]

[365] Lo Pilato 2012a, 74, nn. 76-77 hypothesises the presence of a church in this location but no church has been identified archaeologically.

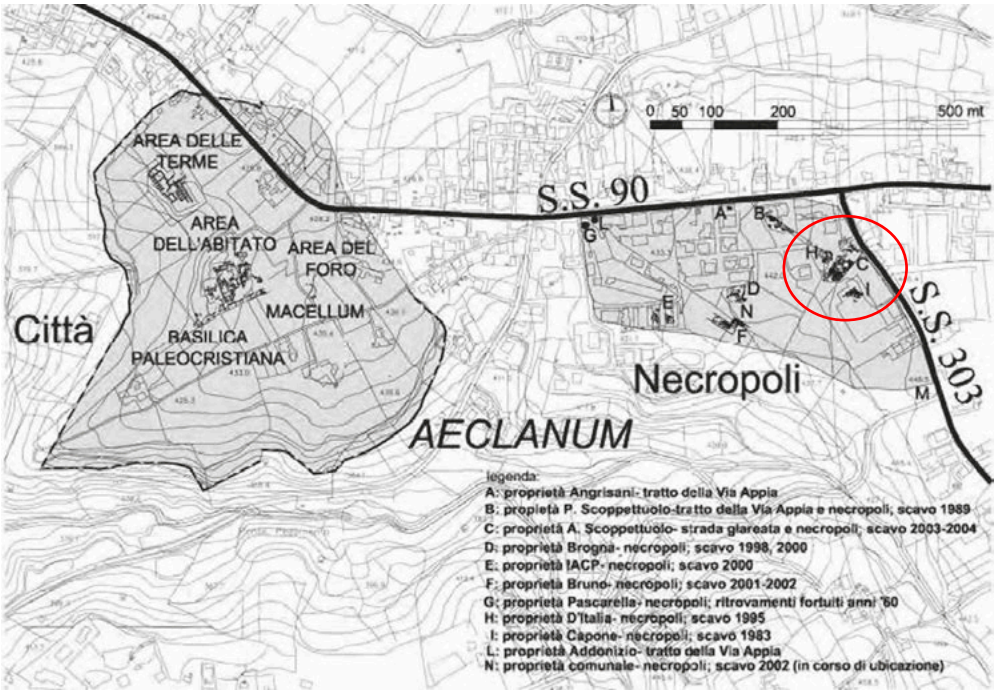


Figure 35 Plan of Aeclanum and its environs, with the late antique necropolis of Via San Michele (1-84) circled (Rotilli 2017, 721, fig. 16).

Recent excavations have shown that the urban core of *Aeclanum* continued to see considerable activity at the beginning of Late Antiquity.[366] This prominence was coupled with *Aeclanum's* position on the Via Appia, which remained a major thoroughfare throughout the period under consideration. The late antique epigraphic evidence from *Aeclanum* mentions the *corrector Apuliae et Calabriae* more frequently than other cities in the region, suggesting that it may have been an important gubernatorial seat.[367] Archaeological evidence for occupation took a variety of forms, including renovation works in a bath complex in the 4th century, and the partial spoliation of the theatre, which was then turned over to domestic habitation. A similar conversion to housing appears to have taken place in the *macellum*, but several grander *domus* were turned over to industrial purposes.[368] That this process reflected a reorientation of priorities rather than an outright decline is suggested by the fact that in the late 4th or early 5th century a substantial Christian basilica was built in the centre of the city.[369] However, evidence for activity across the rest of the city into the 6th century is far slimmer, and may indicate a slow hollowing out of the occupied area with renewed evidence

[366] De Simone & Russell 2019, 378-388; Russell et al. Forthcoming.

[367] Russell et al. Forthcoming.

[368] Onorato 1960, 21.

[369] Colucci Pescatori 2017, 172-174; Di Giovanni 1996, 241-250; Lo Pilato 2010, 353-356.

concentrating on the zone around this ecclesiastical edifice. Significantly, however, the major extramural burial ground at via San Michele (**1-84)** remained in use until around the middle of the 6th century, even as the city's urban core had decreased in importance. The first burials inside the city walls only belong to the early 7th century, when the basilica itself became the venue for graves (**1-79**). By this time, the city appears to have been in definitive decline, and there is limited archaeological evidence for any other activity there. Indeed, the name of *Aeclanum* had by this time probably fallen out of use, and the associated diocese became known as *Quintodecimo*, reflecting both its (15 miles) distance along the Via Appia from *Beneventum,* and the end of *Aeclanum*'s life as a major independent polity.[370]

Comparable processes took place elsewhere in Southern Italy during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. *Herdonia*, modern Ordona (FG), for example, enjoyed continued importance*,* albeit at a reduced level thanks in part to its position astride the *Via Traiana,* an extension of the *Via Appia*.[371] The area around the town's forum apparently saw some degree of decline with the collapse of the *macellum,* civil basilica and *palaestra,* during the earthquake of 346 but several new workshops or storehouses were built within the latter two of these structures, indicating some ongoing economic activity. Other areas, including two *domus* and a bath complex, saw intensive building activity and reconstruction, with these structures experiencing gradual destructuring and subdivision from the late 5th century their eventual abandonment in the 7th. The differing trajectories of different sectors of *Herdonia* suggest that the downgrading of the forum zone reflected a reorganization of the town, rather than straightforward decline, as the city slowly shrank in importance. In cases like these, the urban shrinkage was slow, and gradual but was apparently not matched by a similar decline in suburban burial, even as ever parts of the intramural area gradually fell out of use. This suggests that some shrunken cities continued to be important foci for burial until their shrinkage reached a critical mass and they were no longer cities at all, at which point they were no longer considered to be major venues for the creation and propagation of memory.

[370] Lo Pilato 2017.

[371] Volpe 2006, 560-573.

4.3.2.4 Late antique urban trajectories III: hollow cities

At cities like Nola and *Abellinum,* the old urban area gradually declined in importance, creating a hollow core, while funerary activity continued in the suburbs, where it centered around new Christian establishments. The term "hollow city" has been used by scholars of 21st-century urbanism to describe the displacement of low-earning inhabitants from urban centres by property developers targeting corporate customers. Solnit has theorized that this removal of previous inhabitants from the urban core to the suburbs led to a displacement of civic memory.[372] The precise mechanism at play in the case of the hollow cities of Central Campania is different, but this term remains a useful one for the way in which it highlights the importance of the suburban fringe over the urban core as a seat of memory. In hollow cities like Nola and *Abellinum,* this transformation can be linked to the development of new Christian poles of attraction in the suburbs, which acted as beacons for burial from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages. These new Christian poles of attraction were often heavily monumentalized at a time when earlier monumental structures in the urban core were undergoing severe degradation.[373]

[372] Solnit & Schwartzenberg 2000; reviewed within an urban planning context: Morris 2001.

[373] Suburban monumentalisation across Italy: Emmerson 2020a, 215-233. In Campania: De Simone & Russell 2019, 387; Ebanista 2003b, 563-564.

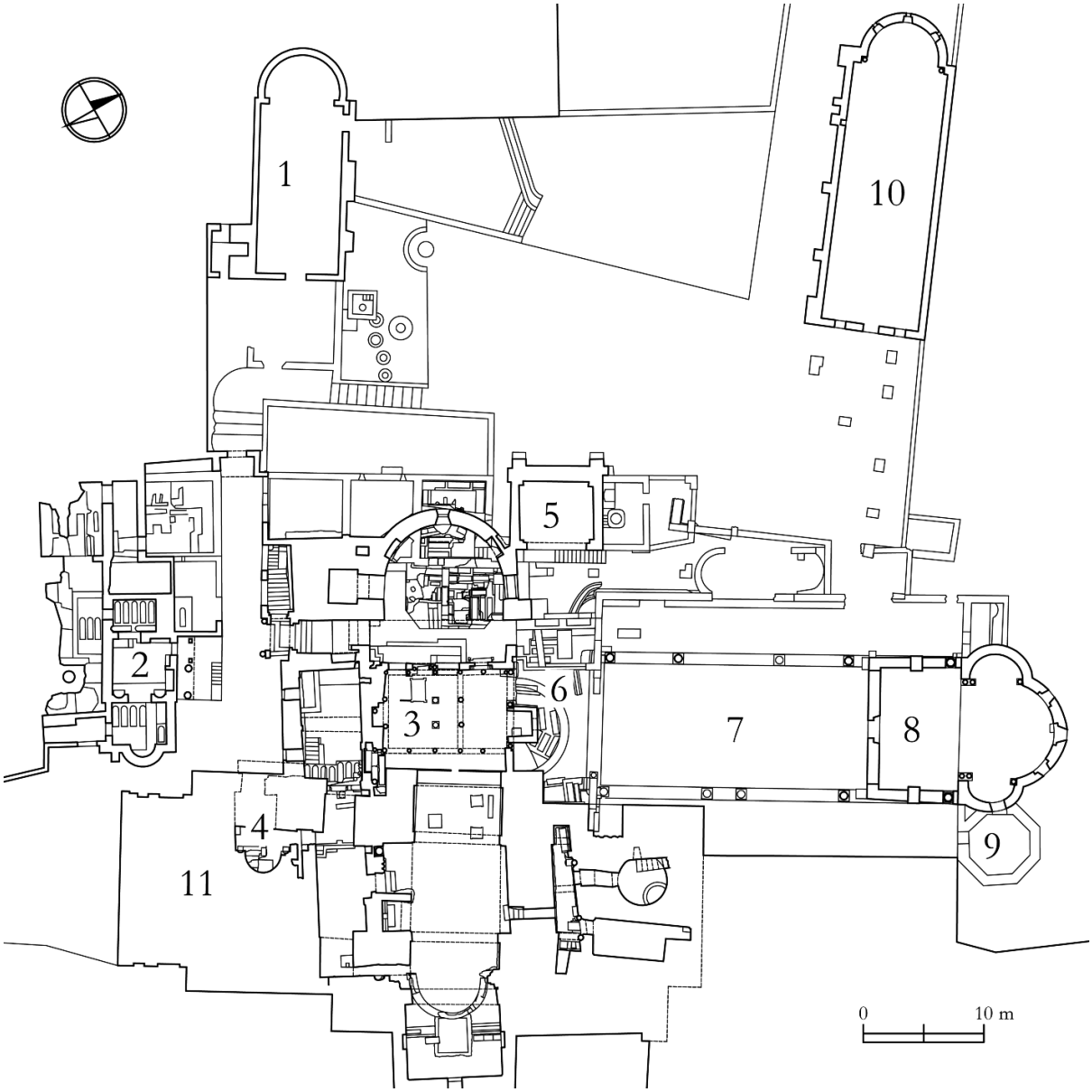


Figure 36 State plan of the sanctuary of St Felix at Cimitile (1-58). Nos. 6 and 7 denote the Basilica Nova (From Ebanista 2011, 397, fig. 6).

This trajectory is best exemplified by the sanctuary of St Felix outside Nola (**1-58**). The development of this site as a focus of Christian devotion was heavily promoted by Pontius Meropius Anicius Paulinus ("Paulinus of Nola"), who served as the city's bishop from around 410. During Paulinus' tenure as bishop of Nola, he invested heavily in the development of the cult site of St Felix at Cimitile, less than 2 km to the north of the town. Although the site of the sanctuary was already associated with the early Christian saint and was the site of burials since at least the 3rd century CE, Paulinus' interventions lead to a substantial monumentalisation of the space (Figure 36), with the building of the so-called *basilica nova*,

and the construction of elaborate courtyards ornamented with fountains.[374] During this building program, the site continued to act as a locus for burials, and gradually became a major funerary centre, for Paulinus' own burial. The wider complex saw continued building activity until the later medieval period, as well as ongoing use for burial down until the 10th century.

At the same time, the old urban core of Nola was in steep decline and was apparently largely abandoned by the time of the 472 eruption of Vesuvius. For example, the town's amphitheatre was being stripped of its marble cladding at the time of this volcanic event, and the structure's steps were covered with alluvial deposits, suggesting that it had fallen into disuse.[375] This picture appears to be replicated across the intramural area of Nola.[376] Alongside these changes, some of Nola's other extramural cemeteries had fallen out of use by the end of the 4th century, while others, like those in Proprietà De Sena on the junction of via Polviera and via S. Liberatore (**2-354**), on via Seminario (**1-332**), and on via S. Elena (**1-59**), as well as the sanctuary of St Felix itself (**1-58**) remained in use for funerary activity. While the first of these probably ceased to be used for new burials by the 6th century, the others apparently continued to be used into the early Middle Ages. The city of Nola itself limped on as an administrative centre through the early medieval period and is described in textual sources as the site of a female monastery in the later 6th century, around the same time as its bishop was given control over the neighbouring diocese of *Suessula.*[377] However, by this time much of Nola's importance as an urban administrative, political, and economic centre had dissipated, while its suburbs remained a key venue for burial.

[374] Ebanista 2003b, 2006, 1999; Trout 1999, 145-159; van den Hoek & Herrmann 2013.

[375] De Simone & Russell 2019, 375-376.

[376] Cesarano 2018; Albore Livadie et al. 1998.

[377] Arthur 2002, 91.



Figure 37 Plan of Abellinum during Late Antiquity (From Rotilli 2017, 721, fig. 15).

A similar situation appears at *Abellinum* (Figure 37). Excavations in the intramural area indicate that at least some parts of this city had been abandoned by the later 4th century, reflecting a generalised downturn exacerbated by the earthquake of 346.[378] The intramural bath complex had fallen out of use by the middle of the 4th century, while a *domus* underwent a process of subdivision.[379] The abandonment of the urban area was not total, however, and the city walls seem to have undergone repairs during Late Antiquity, even if this activity cannot be closely dated.[380] At the same time, a major Christian burial complex dedicated to S. Ippolito developed at Capo La Torre (**1-18**) in the suburbs of *Abellinum,* which epigraphic evidence attests as having seen intensive use between 347 and 558. Continued extramural burial activity also took place at Via Cesinali (**1-24)** and Contrada Spagnolo (**1-21**) in the period before the eruption of 472. At the same time, part of the *agger* which encircled the city walls also became the site of burials (**1-20**) and the baths of a *domus* within the intramural area was reused for burial (**1-19**). This activity indicates a reduction in the use of the intramural space for habitational purposes. The evidence from *Abellinum* seems to suggest that, like Nola, as the old urban core became less vibrant, the suburban fringes continued to attract substantial funerary activity.

[378] De Simone & Russell 2019, 363-364.

[379] Colucci Pescatori 1986, 126-132.

[380] Tocco Sciarelli 1999, 248.

It might also be tempting to place *Frigentum* among these hollow cities. As noted above, we remain largely ignorant of the funerary landscapes of this city in the early imperial period. However, a funerary stele was found at Pila dei Piani (**1-65**) and dates to the late Republican or early imperial period; this area was within *Frigentum's* suburbs in antiquity. Additionally, excavations below the Chiesa di S. Maria Assunta (**1-63**) have uncovered early imperial funerary inscriptions and *stelai*. The archaeology of the city of *Frigentum* itself is poorly understood, but it seems that the church corresponds with the edge of the urban environs in antiquity (Figure 38). These remains therefore reflect additional suburban burial activity, though some of them may also have been moved later.[381] No late antique burials are known from this site, but an early church was built there, perhaps in the 5th century. Late antique burials have been identified under the church of San Marciano (**1-62**), which was probably located on the fringes of the ancient urban centre. The present state of our knowledge does not allow us to ascertain whether these sites were actively used as churches during this time, or whether they simply reflect continued use of the suburban areas for burial, but they do seem to reflect the ongoing importance of the suburbs of this city on some level.

The most striking aspect of the development of these hollow cities is that while evidence for other kinds of activities apparently receded, the funerary activity in suburbs remained both intensive and highly visible. In particular, the appearance of burials around the new Christian pilgrimage sites at Cimitile outside Nola and at Capo La Torre outside *Abellinum* indicates that even as urban centres declined, they still served as important focal points for burial and commemoration in the wider landscape. In other words, even as the administrative importance and monumental grandeur of cities appears to wane, urban centres retained some degree of social significance as places to commemorate and remember the dead. The continued importance of some cities' suburbs for burial, even when the cities themselves seem to have seen a downturn in activity, may in part be due to the position of these cities at the nexus of major roads.

[381] Colucci Pescatori 1991; Ebanista 2009, 111-112.



Figure 38 Frigentum, plan of the historic centre. 1 = Chiesa di S. Maria Assunta (1-63), 2 = Chiesa di San Marciano (1-62), 3 = Roman and late antique structures below the Chiesa di San Pietro, 4 = Roman cisterns, 5 = water channels on V. S. Giovanni, 6 = Bath complex on via S. Pietro (From Ebanista 2009, 105, fig. 2).

4.3.3 Rural burial sites and settlements in Central Campania

Is there a relationship between burials and settlements in the countryside of Central Campania over the *longue durée*? In past research, a general connection between burials and settlements has been assumed across Italy but seldom proved or explored in detail. This section attempts to answer this question and deepen our understanding of these links through the analysis of selected site-level case studies. These case studies will be supplemented with overviews generated by large-scale mapping in ArcGIS to assess the place of burial sites within the wider landscape.

We should note from the outset that we are reliant on topography and chronology as proxies by which to determine a connection between burials and settlements. Given the incomplete nature of the archaeological record, however, the possibility often remains open that other dwellings once existed nearby but have yet to be discovered. We may nevertheless

make some observations about the relationships between burials and settlements. Examination of the types of burial sites associated with villas and farmsteads during the early/middle imperial periods and Late Antiquity show that in some cases, burial sites are located close to, but still separate from, inhabited spaces. However, the heterogeneity of ancient burial practices meant that in many other cases, different factors – like prioritising a location near roads or centuriated field boundaries – may have been important considerations when people were choosing where to bury their dead (section 2.2.4). In other words, the present evidence does not prove that between the 1st and the 5th centuries everyone who lived in the countryside was buried close to where they lived. This suggests that places near to settlements were not always considered appropriate or attractive locations for burials across all social groups. Conversely, the evidence for burial near agglomerated settlements or *vici* in the region, though limited, may suggest that these sites sometimes served a quasi-urban role as an attractive venue for commemoration, though further research is required to confirm this in future. Against this mixed background, the emergence of villages in the mountainous interior during the early Middle Ages, and the apparent shifting of grave sites to be close to these new settlements could reflect continuity of earlier practices which saw some, but not all, burials situated close to the abodes of the living.

4.3.3.1 Rural settlement in Central Campania

Earlier scholarship stressed two main trends in the countryside of Central Campania: the importance of monumental villas, especially in coastal areas, and the lasting impact of the major eruption of Mt Vesuvius in 79, once thought to have left much of the plain north of the mountain barren for several centuries.[382] More recent scholarship by Pagano, De Simone and Donceel, among others, has shown that neither of these paradigms are entirely accurate.[383] A period of up to four decades may have elapsed before the slopes of Vesuvius and the plains below them began to see substantial recovery from the eruption, but levels of settlement activity recovered relatively swiftly from the Hadrianic period onwards. This can be seen, for example, on the north slopes of Mt Vesuvius, and in the area north of Nola (Figure 39 and

[382] Taylor 2015.

[383] Pagano 1995; De Simone 2014; De Simone & Russell 2019; Donceel 2019.

Figure 40). During the post-eruption period, an expansive and complex network of settlements and human infrastructure developed. Alongside villas, we also now know about other sites including farmsteads, water supply and storage infrastructure, as well as roads, burial sites, and production sites. During the late Roman period, some villas were abandoned while others were turned over to new uses, like refuse disposal or agricultural production. In the early medieval period, settlement patterns in Campania's mountainous interior underwent significant changes. Valley floor settlements were abandoned, and, in some places, there was an increasing emphasis on upland villages, as will be discussed further below. The state of our knowledge about settlement in the rest of Central Campania during the early Middle Ages remains problematic, however, as the only known non-funerary sites that date to this period in the countryside are churches (section 4.4.5.2).

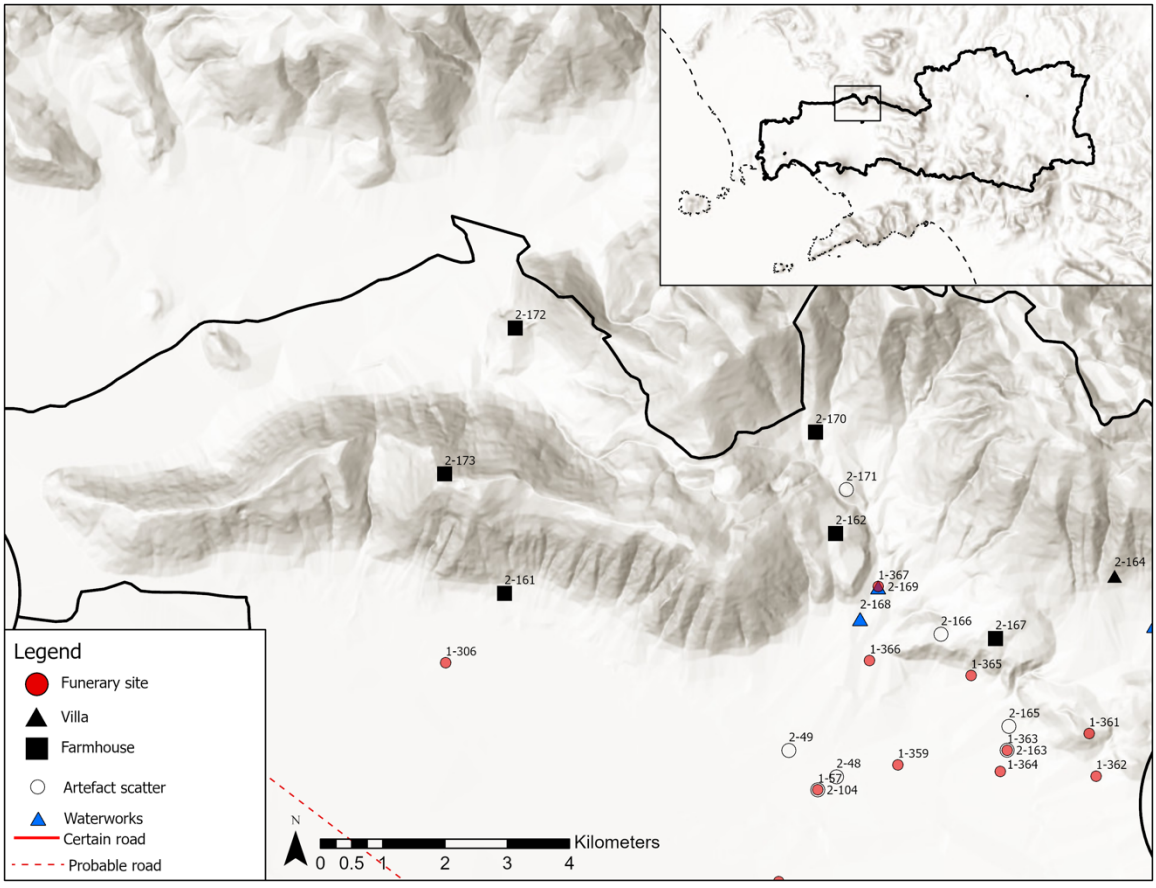


Figure 39 Roman-period burials and settlements around the modern town of RoccaraiNola to the north of Nola (Data from Appendices 1 and 2)

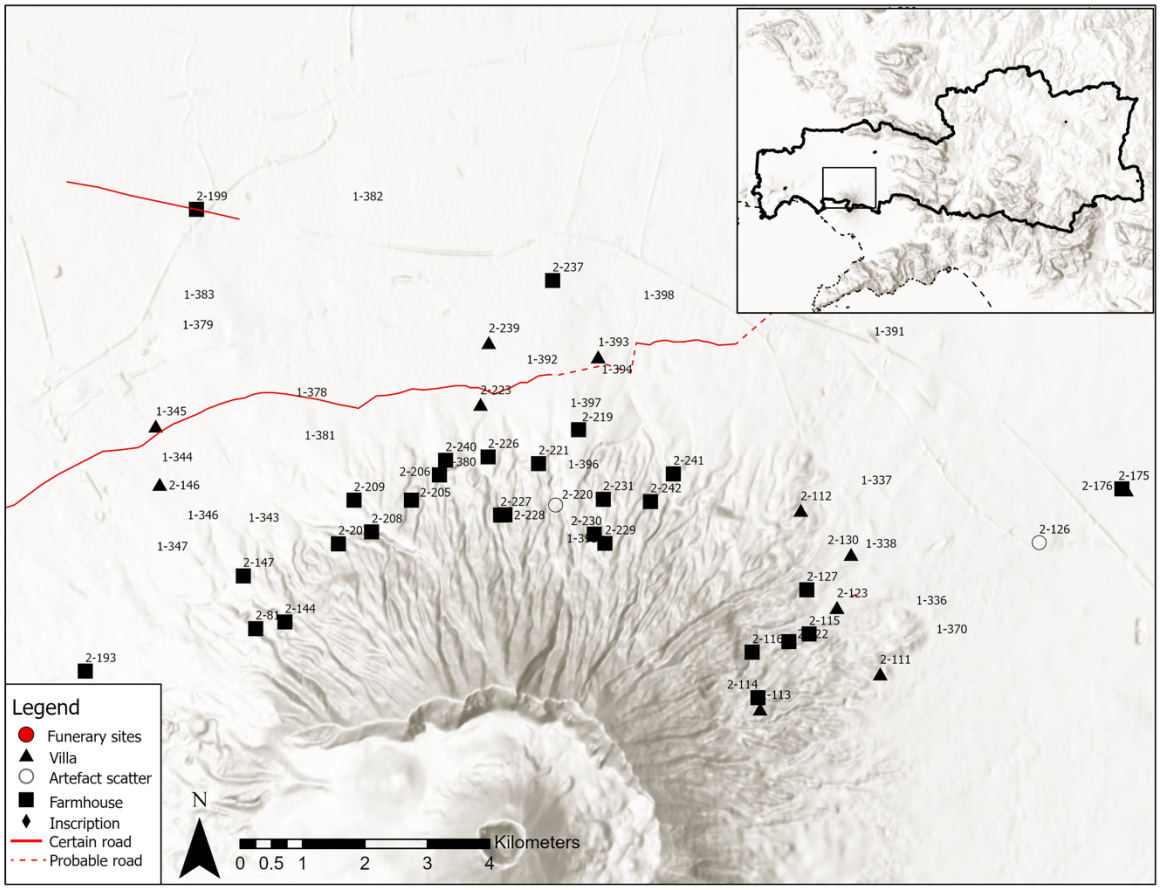


Figure 40 Roman-period burials and settlements on the slopes of Vesuvius (Data from Appendices 1 and 2)

4.3.3.2 Rural settings and the settlement hierarchy

Before analysing the relationship between the places of the living and of the dead, we must first briefly consider the types of sites represented in Central Campania. Settlement site typologies in the Roman and post-Roman countryside are difficult to define. Past archaeologists have been guided by the terms governing the cultural and/or legal statuses of settlements as found in textual sources; these sources reflect the preoccupations of elite writers and do not necessarily map directly onto the archaeological evidence. An in-depth discussion of settlement typologies and patterns in the Italian peninsula lies beyond the scope of this thesis, and the four main categories (Table 1) used here are employed as heuristic tools with which to explore relations between the living and the dead.[384] Sites of unclear

[384] These categories follow those previous employed in Campania (e.g. De Simone 2014, 173; Rotili 2019) and elsewhere in Italy: (e.g., Potter 1979, 120-123; Witcher 2021, 41-42, tables 2.6-2.7 who, however, distinguish between huts, small farms and several other site categories in a way not possible for the Central Campania data).

interpretation, like generic artefact scatters (e.g., pottery scatters, tiles) and walls of unclear function, will not be considered herein.

Table 1. Rural settlement site types in Central Campania	
Type	**Description**
Villa	A complex with a residential area of some architectural pretension, the *pars urbana,* featuring sumptuous decoration (e.g., mosaic tesserae, frescoes fragments), monumental architecture and/or leisure facilities (e.g., baths). Villas often also had production facilities, the *pars rustica.*
Farmsteads	Rural sites with evidence for agricultural or productive activity but without clear evidence for the monumental residential sector present in villas (i.e., a *pars urbana*). The presence of these sites has sometimes been assumed by past scholars based on the presence of agricultural installations (e.g., wine cellars, olive presses).
Vici	Nucleated settlements ranging in size from a few houses to quasi-urban environments formed from an agglomeration of structures. These settlements could appoint their own magistrates and/or be provided with public buildings, but this was not always the case.
Early Medieval villages	Small villages, which are usually made up of posthole-built structures. These are distinguished from the earlier *vici* through their hilltop locations. Unlike the proceeding categories, these settlements are primarily early Medieval in date.

Spatial analysis permits an assessment of trends in the relationship between burial sites and settlements. The gazetteer of 255 spatially located non-funerary sites analysed in this section and contained in Appendix 2 was gathered to contextualise the burial sites and to test the proximity between burials and settlements with which they *may* have been contemporary. Along with the 198 funerary sites in rural areas, the settlement data was georeferenced and mapped as a point layer in ArcGIS. The "Near" function in ArcGIS was then used to measure the distance of burial sites to either farmsteads or villas. Sites with post-Roman chronologies, and other settlement site types (*vici* and villages), were excluded from these tests because of the small sample sizes in the study area. These site types are discussed in more detail on a case-by-case basis below.

Testing was run for both funerary and settlement sites that were early imperial (c. 1–299 CE) and late Roman (c. 300–499 CE) in date to obtain an approximate understanding of contemporary site usage. Funerary and settlement sites with generically Roman dates were tested in the same manner.[385] The results of these analyses were then grouped according to whether they fell near to a farm or villa (within 500 m or 1000 m) and graphed in Figure 41.[386]

[385] Generically Roman sites are those identified as "Roman" in published reports without any further discussion.

[386] These spatial intervals allow for the uncertainty due to imperfect spatial data in published reports or distortions in georeferencing.

In total, across all periods, 23 funerary sites (or 11.6 per cent) fall within 500 m of a farmstead or villa in any period and 29 more fall within 1000m (for a total of 52 or 26.2 per cent). Additionally, two point layers were generated using the Random Points in Layer Bounds function, each of which contained the same number of objects as the observed datasets. The same "Near" function test was carried out on these data. Testing the results against this randomly generated sample makes it possible to ascertain if the results generated by testing the original dataset are significant. The difference between the random sample and the observed distance between burial sites is significant (p value = 0.000000288326008163222), indicating that there is a relationship between burials and settlement.

While it must be kept in mind that the percentage of burial sites near settlements is likely a low estimate due to the patchy nature of our data, the overall picture suggests that there is a link between the places of the living and the dead, though it may be weaker than suggested by previous scholars. In other words, some burial sites may have been situated to have been close to settlements, but this is certainly not true in all cases. The remainder of this section will examine the relationship between funerary sites and different types of settlements in Central Campania in greater detail, and it suggests that while some people were undoubtedly buried near to villas, farms or other rural settlements, this large-scale approach shows that greater nuance is needed than the categorical suggestions which have hitherto been offered about the place of the dead in the wider rural landscape.

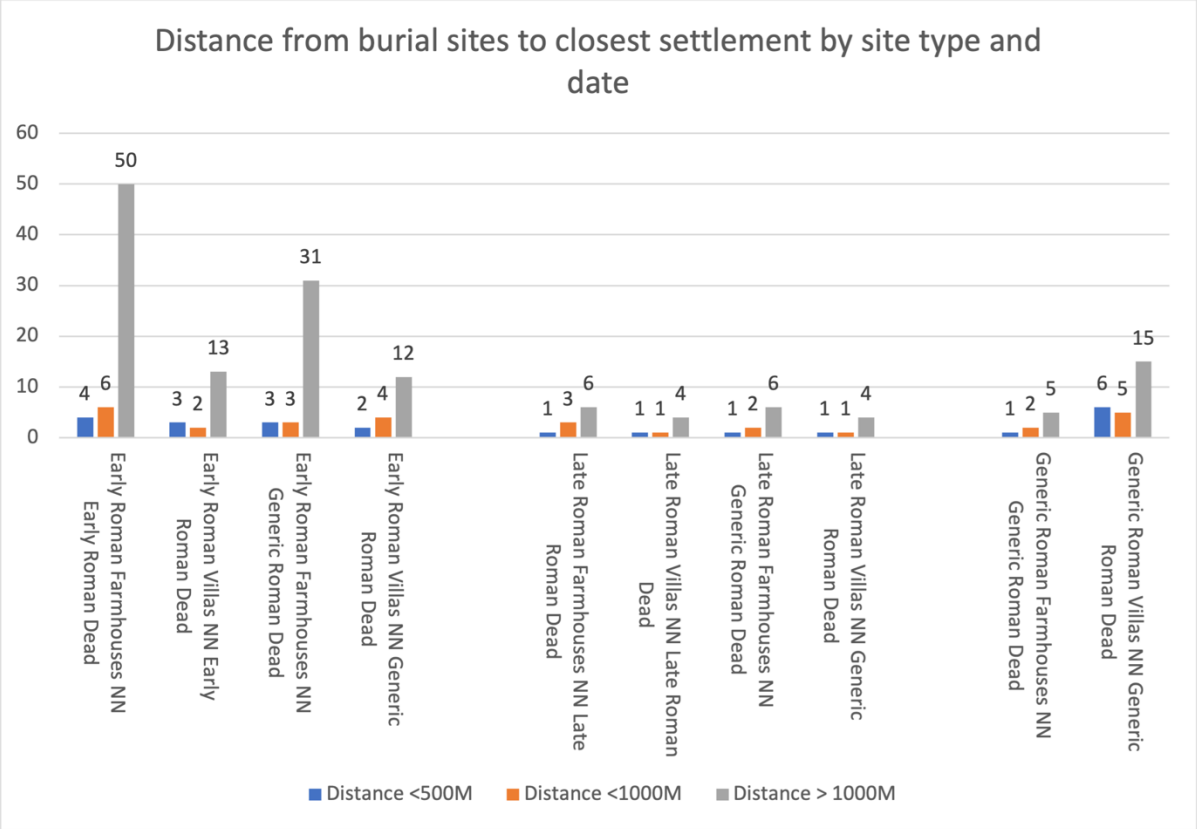


Figure 41 Bar chart summarising spatial relations between settlements and burial sites in Central Campania (Site data from Appendices 1 and 2, processed in ArcGIS)

4.3.3.3 Villas and funerary sites: an overview

Past research has argued for a strong topographical connection between villas and burial sites, particularly mausolea, in Roman Italy, as was outlined above (section 2.2.3.2). However, this view obscures considerable subregional variations across the peninsula. Funerary sites near villas appear across Central Campania, though they are by no means ubiquitous. In total, 15 burial sites (or 7.6 per cent) are located within 500 m of a villa and 13 more are within 1000 m (for a total of 26 or 13.1 per cent) are within 1000 m. This figure may partially reflect an underrepresentation of villa-linked cemeteries and funerary monuments as evidence from the so-called Villa of Augustus in Somma Vesuviana (**2-239,** Figure 42) illustrates. This residential villa, high on the slopes of Mt Vesuvius, was turned over to wine production during Late Antiquity. One of the wine treading vats was built with reused stone, including one with a fragmentary funerary inscription, which may have originally been set up in the vicinity of the site.[387] The recovery of further funerary sites nearby may also be obscured by the thick

[387] Aoyagi et al. 2018, 150.

volcanic deposits overlying the ancient stratigraphy around Vesuvius. These limitations notwithstanding, we may nevertheless be able to make some significant observations about the connections between villas and burial sites in antiquity. To do so, we shall distinguish between villa sites with graves nearby (at least 22 sites) and those which feature more monumental funerary remains, sometimes in addition to graves (at least four sites).

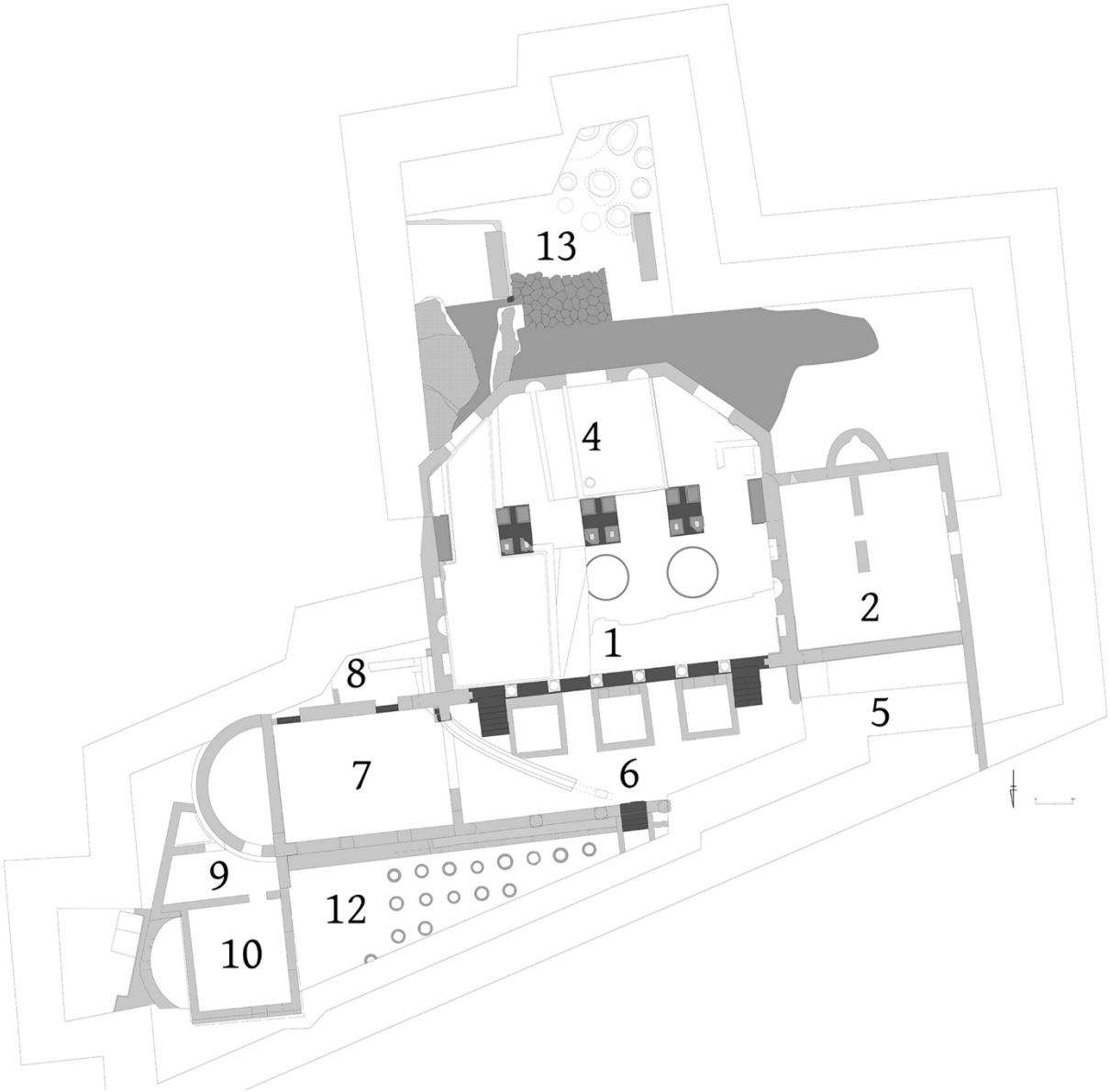


Figure 42 Somma Vesuviana, Villa "of Augustus," (2-239) site plan (From Aoyagi et al., 2018, 150, fig. 9.1).

4.3.3.4 Villas and graves

At least 22 burial sites comprising graves but without monumental funerary remains lie within 1000 m of a villa. Most of these sites are published summarily with little detailed information available. In many cases, such as SS. Iuorio and Potito in Bagnoli Irpino (**1-335**), Contrada Lavraiola (**1-101**), località Lavinella (**1-98**) in Montella, Migliano in Frigento (**1-66**) and others, the villas themselves have not been excavated, and their presence has been posited based on surface finds of artefacts or architectural elements. We are on firmer ground with the two burials excavated at Piazza Carmine in Somma Vesuviana (**1-393**) adjacent to a semi-circular structure which has been identified as reflecting part of a 2nd/3rd-century villa (**2-232**). At località Belvedere in Altavilla Irpina (**1-15**), a group of eight 4th- to 6th-century graves were cut near a Roman villa complex (**2-24**) which has been partially excavated, though it remains unclear whether the graves were cut while the villa was still in use. Finally, at Piazza Mercadante outside Naples (**1-392**), an unspecified number of tile-built tombs were found either near or within a Roman villa. Unfortunately, no site plan is available, and it is not possible to determine whether these burials are contemporary with the use of the villa. It is also worth noting that some villas on the rural-suburban fringe apparently had their own dedicated burial grounds. For instance, around Masseria Sperandeo (**1-305**), in the suburbs of Nola, tile scatters and pipes may indicate the presence of a villa near a poorly understood Roman-period burial ground.

4.3.3.5 Villas and funerary monuments

Rural villas with funerary structures or monuments are less common than those with graves alone, and just four have been identified to date. Just two sites with mausolea are near to known villas in Central Campania. At the Mostra D'Oltramare (**1-148**) in Fuorigrotta, a mausoleum and several burials were found near to a villa complex. Similarly, several mausolea were found outside the Grotta di Seiano (**1-156**) near the villa at Pausilypon (**2-100**). Few details are available about the Mostra D'Oltramare site, but at Pausilypon, Varriale has argued that the proximity of the mausolea to the monumental villa, its theatre and the baths seeks to create a city-in-miniature in which burials were excluded but easily accessible from

the inhabited area.[388] Yet these monumental structures only reflect a part of the funerary landscape surrounding the villa, and a distribution map of burial sites from the area shows that the complex was ringed by at least three other burial sites (**1-153**, **1-154**, **1-201,** Figure 43).[389] All three of these sites were excavated under non-stratigraphic conditions and are attested in vague reports which render their precise dating unclear, though they all appear to date from the Roman or late antique periods. From the available evidence it appears that two of them (**1-153, 1-201**) comprised individual burials, while the third (**1-154**) may have contained a greater, yet unspecified number of graves.

These burials do not amount to the large numbers we might expect to find associated with a substantial villa complex that was probably occupied by a regular staff over several centuries, even if it was not always subject to regular imperial visits. This small number of graves may be partially accounted for by the notion, suggested elsewhere in this thesis, that some of the deceased were transported to suburban environments for burial, though it remains possible that further graves remain to be found, or were destroyed by the bradyseism which has seen parts of the coastal villa disappear below the sea level since antiquity. At the same time, this spatial arrangement, composed of multiple foci for burial, may provide evidence for the relative impermanence of burial sites for individuals who were buried in and around villas, thus indicating that even in a relatively stable community, sustained use of a given site for burial was not always considered necessary or desirable.

At a less monumental level, at least two funerary inscriptions from the countryside can be connected to villas in their vicinity. At the Piano dell'Occhio in Guardia dei Lombardi, a funerary stele belonging to a certain M. Palius (**1-69**), which dates to between the 1st century BCE and the 2nd century CE, was set up near a villa that has yet to be published (**2-64**). Similarly, an inscription dated to 558 at the Monastero di S. Pietro a Cesarano in Mugnano del Cardinale (**1-104**) may suggest the later survival of a villa (**2-87**) in the area, or else it reflects the founding of a church which became a focus for funerary activity.

[388] Varriale 2007, 161.

[389] These burials are noted but not analysed by Amodio 2014, 40-41.

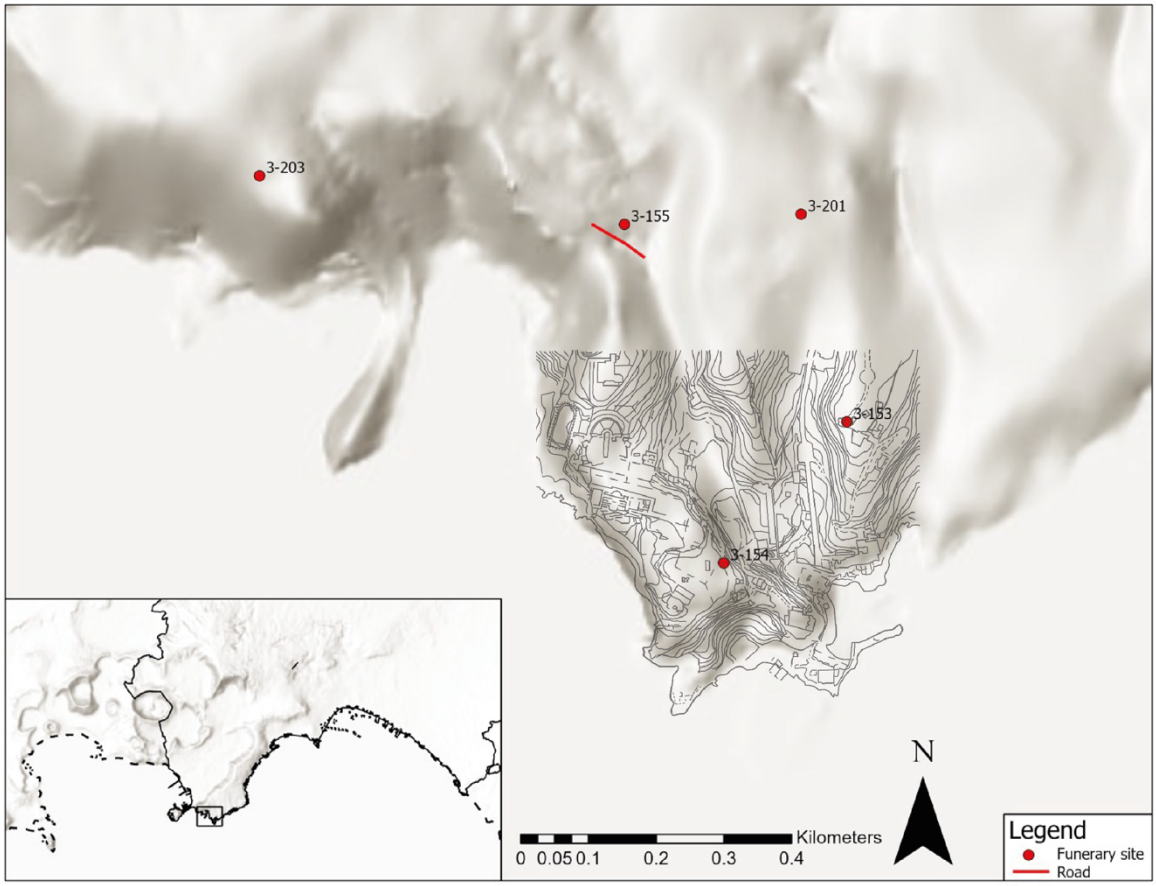


Figure 43 Burial sites around the villa at Pausilypon (Adapted from Varriale 2016, 298, fig. 1. Funerary data from Appendix 1)

4.3.3.6 Villas and burials: discussion

The number of known villas that have burial grounds in their vicinity should be viewed as a low estimate but nevertheless implies that we cannot assume that all villas were served by a burial site close at hand. Bodel has noted that "[m]any, perhaps most Romans [and] – certainly a majority of rural peasants – were buried in the fields," but this observation does not tell us much at all about the placement of burials *within* estates.[390] On the basis of the available figures, it seems that some but not all people were buried near to where they lived, as communal burial elsewhere or attraction to other landscape features might also have been important. It is also important to distinguish between sites with burials, which could reflect the final resting places of a range of villa inhabitants, including free farm workers, slaves

[390] Bodel 1997, 20.

and/or the villa owners themselves, and funerary monuments, which are likely to indicate an elite presence.

While in some areas of Roman Italy the relationship between funerary monuments and villas is clear, existing studies focus on central Italy, and particularly the area around Rome.[391] It cannot, however, be assumed that the pattern of commemoration translates directly onto the funerary landscapes of Central Campania. Differing land ownership patterns may help us to explain why funerary mausolea were seemingly less important in this part of Italy than elsewhere. Under the empire, vast swathes of Central Campania belonged to members of the senatorial order based in Rome or even to the emperor himself.[392] These senatorial owners may have seldom visited their properties in Central Campania, especially those located away from the prestigious littoral zone, and villas which were visited only for a short part of the year were probably not considered appropriate venues for commemoration.[393] Additionally, columbaria which provided communal burial sites for wider communities were sometimes built by wealthy landowners for their households. Their presence on estates around Rome is well known, but this reflects the more active role patrons played in providing burial spaces for their households on the estates near Rome which they more regularly frequented.[394] Moreover, Bodel notes that there is textual evidence for a brisk real estate trade in Campania during the late Republic and early Empire.[395] This trend may have discouraged the building of funerary monuments by supra-regional elites who did not intend to retain ownership of properties for a long time.

During the same period, local elites also owned considerable amounts of land, and we might envisage that most of the funerary monuments which *are* located close to villas reflect the final resting places of these local, rather than senatorial, elites. The possibility that rural mausolea in Campania could be connected to local elites draws some support from the epigraphic record, with a range of inscriptions from the area between *Aeclanum, Compsa*, and *Frigentum* referring to these regional notables, at least in the early imperial period.[396]

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[391] Griesbach 2007; Bodel 1997.

[392] Imperial property: Camodeca 2007; Senatorial elite: D'Arms 1970; D'Arms 1976; Savino 2005, 38-47.

[393] Seasonal/limited visits: D'Arms 1970, 57-59; Early imperial senatorial burials: Borg 2019, 1-76; 3rd century: Borg 2013, 32-39; Late antiquity: Machado 2019, 153-160.

[394] Columbaria around Rome: Borbonus 2014.

[395] Bodel 1997, 12. Cf. Tamm 1963, 28-33; Rawson 1976, 86.

[396] Evangelisti 2017; Russell et al. Forthcoming.

Similarly, D'Arms' work in neighbouring parts of Campania has shown that a substantial number of local landowners are attested in the epigraphic record from the early 2nd century CE onwards.[397] We should envisage that at least some of these individuals may have sought to be commemorated near to their villas, so as to be seen by local audiences – either estate workers, or else the owner's visiting peers and clients. Others, however, may have sought burial places near to other landscape features, such as roads or promontories, yet still on their estates. Burial near to settlements was only one of a wider range of burial strategies considered appropriate in Central Campania. These other options, which potentially offered greater visibility, may have sometimes been more attractive to individuals concerned with affirming their status among the wider regional community.

The limited numbers of funerary monuments near villas in Central Campania may also be paralleled across some parts of Southern Italy. Gualtieri envisages mausolea attached to all villas across southern Italy, but he only provides a small number of examples, namely at Rapolla/Albero in Piano near Venosa and in the countryside around Atella, though a villa at the latter has yet to be archaeologically identified.[398] While the rural funerary monuments of southern Italy undoubtedly deserve further interrogation in future research, for now it suffices to posit that sites with mausolea largely belonged to local magnates rather than the supra-regional elite represented by the senatorial order.

A strong spatial link between funerary monuments and villas should not therefore be taken as given for all regions of Roman Italy. Across the peninsula, many mausolea clearly *were* built near to villas, but this was not always the case, and the incidence of this practice varies in time and place. One key consideration in determining whether a villa estate became the site of a funerary monument appears to be whether it was considered an appropriate place for funerary commemoration, both in terms of the individuals commemorated and in terms of the desired viewer. In other words, senatorial elites, who owned large parts of Central Campania, probably had little or no desire to be buried on these far-flung lands. Instead, other commemorative opportunities, whether in Rome itself or on closer estates, which would have been seen and visited more regularly, may have proved more desirable. Yet for local elites, commemoration on their estates could mean increased visibility – and by

[397] D'Arms 1976.

[398] Gualtieri 2018, 164.

extension commemoration – but this does not mean that the most desirable location for burial always lay near villa structures themselves.

4.3.3.6 Farmhouses and burials

A spatial relationship between settlements and burials is also only occasionally visible further down the settlement hierarchy. De Simone refers to smaller countryside dwellings as farmsteads or farmhouses, and these sites are best attested in the coastal plains and the foothills of the Apennines.[399] However, these farmhouses have been uncovered during rescue excavations and most have only been published summarily, with few details concerning their date or spatial organisation.

Most of the farmsteads attested in Central Campania are not closely associated with burial sites. Six burial sites (3 per cent) are within 500 m of one of these sites and an additional 20 (10.1 per cent) are within 1000m (for a total of 26 sites or 13.1 per cent). The best evidence is available at via Botighelli in Ponticelli (Figure 44), where a post-79 farmhouse (**2-98**) was built just north of an earlier residential villa (**2-99**) that was buried by volcanic ash in 79. From the last quarter of 4th century CE an extended burial ground (**1-198**) developed due west of the farmhouse, and which may have remained active as late of the 6th century. The farmhouse itself remained active for much of the same period suggesting that the occupants of the farmhouse may have been the same community that were buried in this burial ground. Two further possible farmhouses with nearby burials are also known in the suburbs of Nola, on via Variante 7 bis in locality Ponte Ciccione (**1-309**) and on the road connecting the city with the suburb of Cimitile (**1-315**) respectively.[400]

A spatial correlation between burials and farmhouses occasionally appears both in earlier periods and outside of our study area. For example, two late Republican farmhouses at Calcara Pagliara and loc. Cammarano are both sited near burials which are probably contemporary.[401] Further afield, at loc. Civita near Pompeii, a pre-79 CE funerary monument

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[399] De Simone 2014, 173. This category overlaps with *Villae rusticae*: Marzano 2007, 82-124, with further references.

[400] These non-funerary sites were not catalogued in this thesis, as systematic gathering of non-funerary data from suburban areas lies outside the project remit.

[401] De Simone 2014, 111, sites RRN001-2 Donceel 2019, 317-318, nos. 228 and 245.

was found near a contemporary farmhouse.[402] Similarly, excavations south of the colony of S. Marta in the Tiber Valley have uncovered a farmhouse with an adjacent mausoleum.[403] Further examples of the placement of burials near farmhouses are likely to emerge as more of these sites see archaeological investigation.

This relative paucity of evidence may be because graves not in the immediate vicinity of the farmhouses remain to be found, but it may also reflect preferences for burying the deceased elsewhere: perhaps in cities or near to other key landscape features like roads or field boundaries. Moreover, the archaeology of this class of settlements is poorly understood at present, though it is possible that some of these sites were only in seasonal use, as is attested by palaeobotanical analysis at farmhouses in Southern Tuscany.[404] This possibility may help to explain the relative dearth of burials associated with farmsteads, especially if seasonal habitation for the target demographic(s) of rural labourers did not coincide with peaks in mortality. However, Shaw argues for peak mortality in late summer and early autumn, which is about the time of the harvest.[405] If this is the case, it may also be that these sites were not considered to be appropriate venues for burial and the remains of the deceased were removed to elsewhere.

[402] Casale & Bianco 1979, 35, n. 26.
[403] Savi Scarponi 2013.
[404] Rattighieri et al. 2013, 207.
[405] Shaw 1996, cf Scheidel 1994.

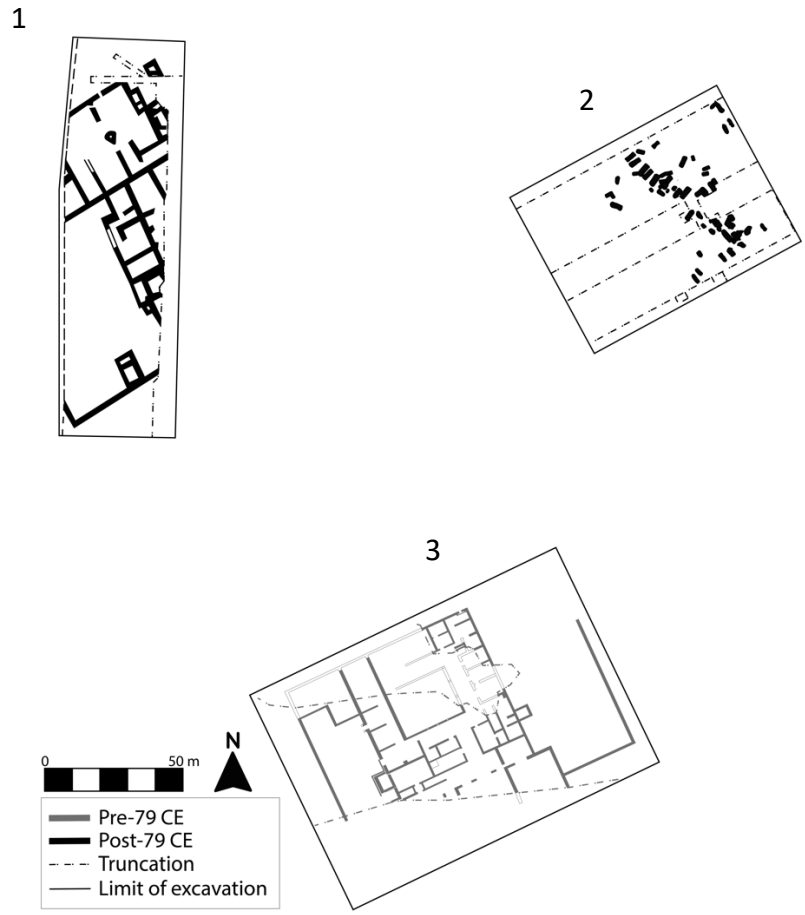


Figure 44 Sites at Ponticelli: 1. Post-79 farmhouse (2-98); 2. Late antique cemetery (1-198); 3. The pre-79 villa (2-99). (Redrawn after De Simone 2014, 356, fig. 113)

4.3.3.7 *Vici* and their burials

Burials are generally located outside but close to *vici* across Roman Italy, and the available evidence from Central Campania fits into this pattern. The meaning of the term *vicus* is highly regionalised and can refer variously to "urban neighbourhood, a type of village, or a civilian settlement outside a military fort."[406] In Central Campania, our knowledge of *vici* is patchy, but evidence from neighbouring areas indicates that this was a key form of agglomerated rural settlement across southern Italy, especially in the central-southern Apennines.[407] Camodeca has suggested that *vici* may have played an important role in the area around Nola on the basis of several inscriptions mentioning *pagi* (rural districts). De Simone rejects the existence of fully developed agro-towns on the coastal plain, while leaving open the

[406] Goodman 2012

[407] Iasiello 2007; Todisco 2011. *Vici* across the Western empire: Tarpin 2003.

possibility that smaller villages did exist as part of the wider settlement pattern in Late Antiquity.[408] Such sites, however, are not archaeologically attested in the area around Nola at present. Elsewhere in Central Campania, *vici* or other rural agglomerations like *fora* are known at Fuorigrotta (**2-94**) west of Naples, loc. Fioccaglia di Flumeri (**2-256**) and near loc. Sorgente della Pollentina in Cassano Irpino (**2-46**), as well as Santa Felicita (**2-159**) in *Hirpinia*. Other *vici* have been hypothesised, but no archaeological evidence has yet been adduced to support their existence.[409] There is little or no evidence for funerary commemoration at the first three of these named sites, and they will not be discussed further here.

The possible *vicus* at Santa Felicita is more informative.[410] A series of walls and floors relating to several domestic structures as well as a storehouse, a cistern and a possible temple have all been excavated in and around the church of Santa Felicita (**2-159**). Three clusters of graves may be associated with this settlement. One, located under the belltower of the church (**1-357**), comprises an unspecified number of graves, at least some of which contained coins of Nero, which places them in the later 1st century CE. This first burial group was located just outside the limits of the inhabited area (Figure 45). The second burial group (**1-358**), near the Croce di Santa Felicita around 100 m to the east, may also be of Roman date, though the published description is ambiguous. During Late Antiquity, a third burial group (**1-356**) developed several hundred meters downslope from the settlement, in the immediate vicinity of the earlier sanctuary of the goddess Mephitis (**2-158**); this burial area apparently remained in use until the Justinianic period (Figure 46). The presence of these burial groups suggests that a substantial series of cemeteries were built up around the *vicus* over an extended period. This perhaps reflects the potential quasi-urban role of this settlement, which may have acted as a magnetic pole that attracted people who lived in the surrounding countryside to bury their dead at the site.

The evidence from Santa Felicita seems to suggest that at least one alternative pole of attraction for burials developed later in the settlement's history. The available data unfortunately do not allow us to determine whether this reflects a total cessation of burials near the *vicus.* While the latest of the three burial sites linked with the *vicus* at Santa Felicita is located further away than its earlier counterpart, viewshed analysis undertaken in Google

[408] Camodeca 2001 De Simone 2014, 18-19.

[409] E.g. at Vado dei Morti northwest of *Aeclanum*: Lo Pilato 2012b, 524.

[410] Rainini 2008.

Earth suggests that the burial site within the sanctuary and the settlement were at least partially intervisible (Figure 47). A visual connection between the two sites suggests a link between them. This intervisibility may have served as a mnemonic device by which mourners in one cemetery could either accept or reject their link with the *vicus'* past population. Placing burials in or near the pre-existing sanctuary provided a means of monumentalising rural burials through association with grand, pre-existing buildings and may have been perceived as especially fitting in this case, since Mephitis was a goddess of death. This placement may have served not only as a visual reminder of where an individual burial was in the landscape, but also as a form of competition with the grand roadside tombs adorning urban cemeteries, though this competition would have taken place in the mind's eye.

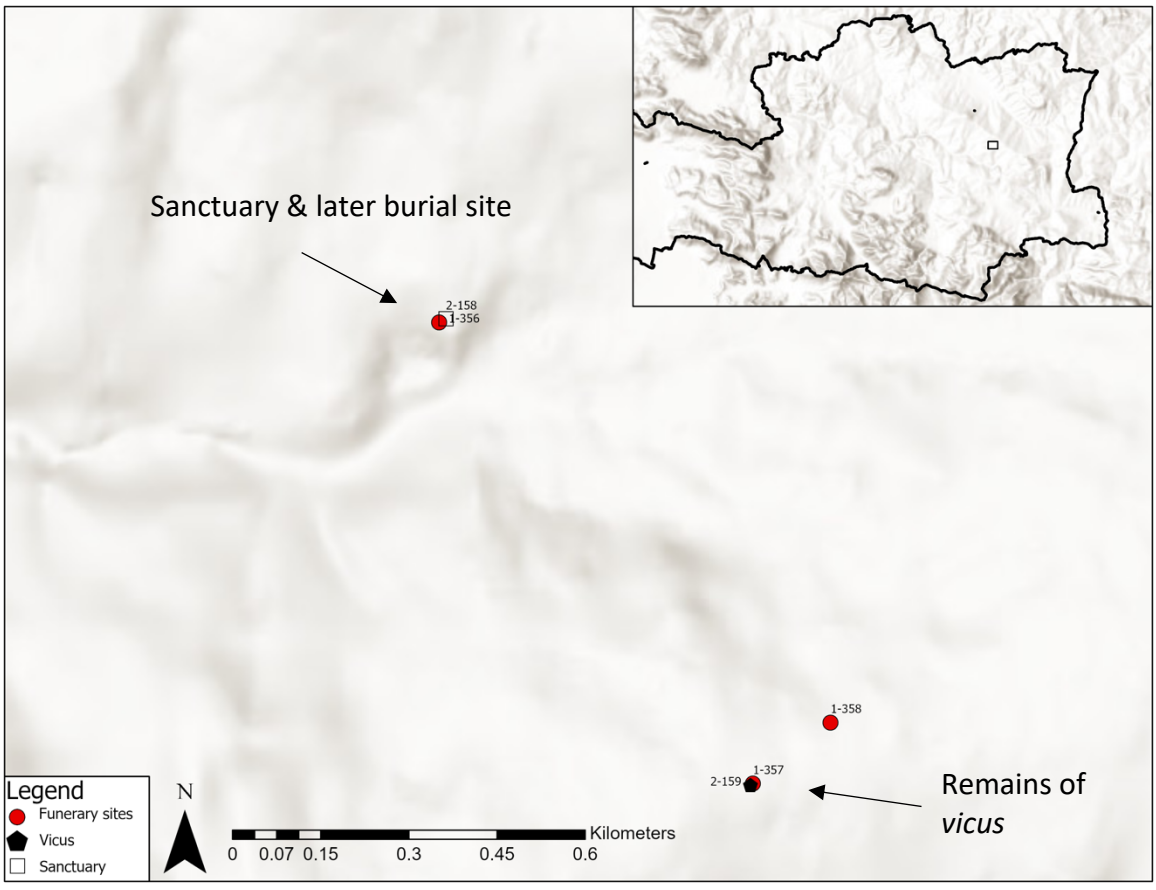


Figure 45 Funerary and settlement sites around the vicus at Santa Felicita (Data from Appendices 1 and 2)



Figure 46 Digital reconstructions of the Shrine of Mephitis (2-158) during the Classical through Roman periods (From Sisto et al. 2020, 29, fig. 7)

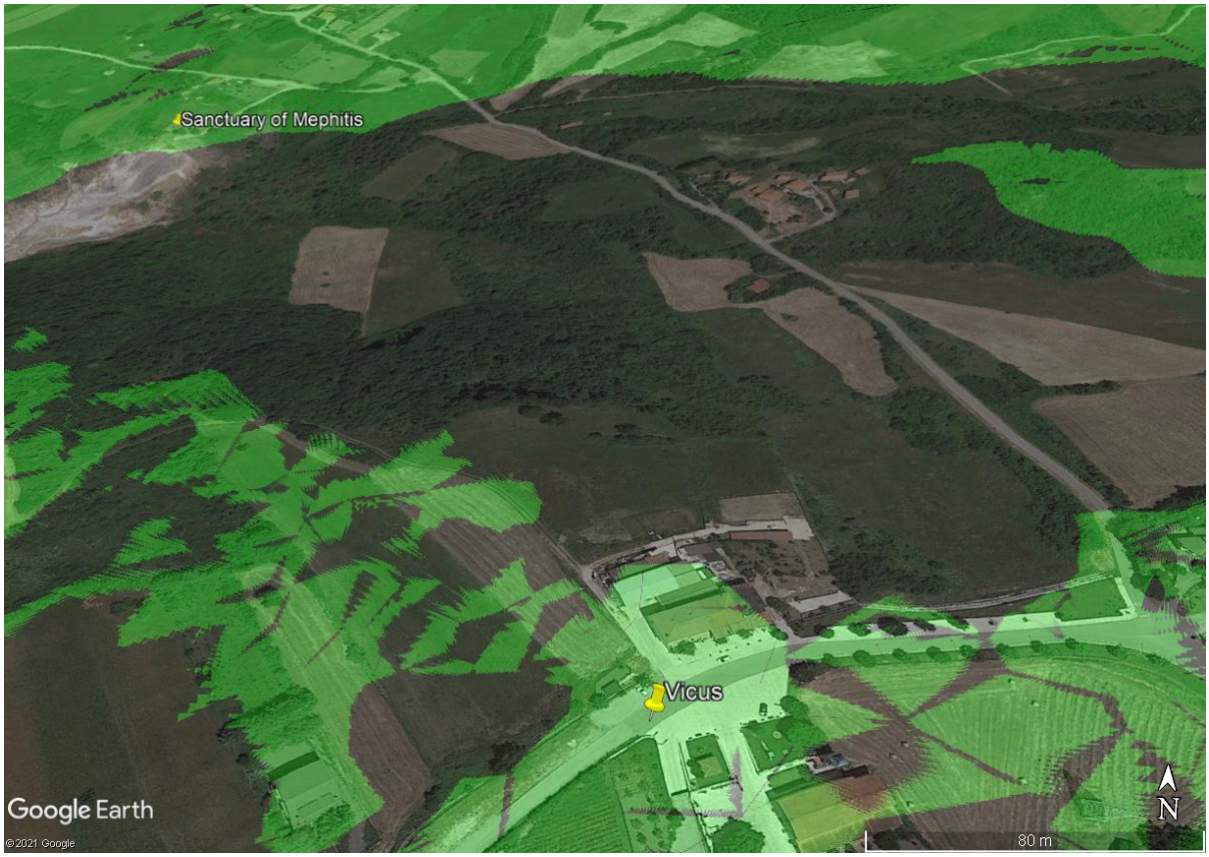


Figure 47 Google Earth viewshed showing intervisibility between the vicus at Santa Felicita (2-159) and sanctuary of Mephitis (2-158), subsequently the site of late Roman burials (1-356).

4.3.3.8 Burials and the hilltop villages of the early Middle Ages

The development of hilltop villages during the early Middle Ages marks an important spatial shift in the organisation of settlements and burials in some parts of Central Campania. In this period, settlements on valley floors appear to have been abandoned in favour of new dwelling

places that were founded at higher elevations. These new villages also appear to have become the seats of local authorities. Burial places sometimes seem to have followed the shift in settlement location. This is to say that the dead followed the living. This phenomenon represents a break with the past since older valley-floor cemeteries ceased to see new interments.

The trend towards hilltop villages occurs unevenly across the study area. These sites seem to have been more important in the mountainous interior of *Hirpinia* in the eastern part of our study area than on the coastal plains. Rotili has argued that such hilltop sites developed above all in the 6th and 7th centuries CE as valley floor settlements were abandoned across *Hirpinia* in response to growing military and political instability; they also provided a means for elites to exercise control, and at least some of the population became increasingly concentrated into these upland nucleated settlements.[411] The strongest evidence for the development of this phenomenon comes from Montella in the Upper Calore Valley (Figure 48). This area saw extensive centuriation in the late Republican period which left a lasting mark on the funerary landscape into Late Antiquity (section 4.4.6.2), as afterwards burials clustered for many centuries in areas close to centuriated boundaries and roads. Settlement on the valley floor during the Roman period is primarily attested by unexcavated ruins or associated scatters of architectural material, ceramics, and coins (**2-84**, **2-85**, **2-86**), which provide only broad 1st- to 5th-century dates. Funerary activity was not static, and several different *foci* of burial have been identified to date, with at least one new burial site coming into use during Late Antiquity (**1-97**). After the mid-6th century, this late antique burial site was abandoned. This chronology coincides with the appearance of a settlement underlying the hilltop now occupied by the Castello di Montella (Figure 49, **2-83**). The new village was comprised of posthole-built timber structures. Simultaneously, a small burial site (**1-93**) developed along the access road for the new settlement, indicating a close spatial link between the two.

The spatial link between hilltop villages and burials may also be attested elsewhere in Central Campania's mountainous interior. A similar pattern may also be observable below the Castello Medievale of Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi (**1-384**), where burials appear on a hilltop at around the same time at a site monumentalized with a church during the 9th century.

[411] Rotili 2007, 2019; Hilltop settlements across Italy: Francovich & Hodges 2003, 61-74; Balzaretti 2013, 53-59.

Unfortunately, our understanding of the Roman-period settlement pattern of this area is limited and only further excavation will clarify the development of the funerary landscapes in different parts of *Hirpinia.* On this basis, however, it appears that in the early Middle Ages, at least part of the population was buried close to where they had lived.

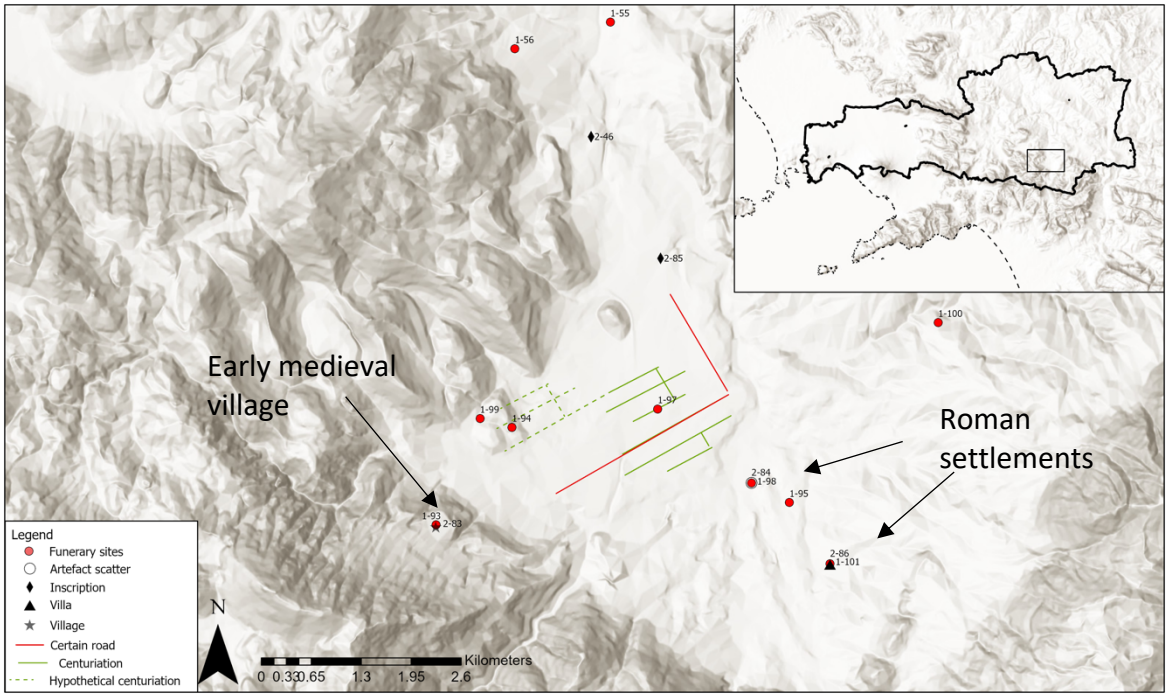


Figure 48 Funerary and settlement sites around Montella (Data from Appendices 1 and 2)

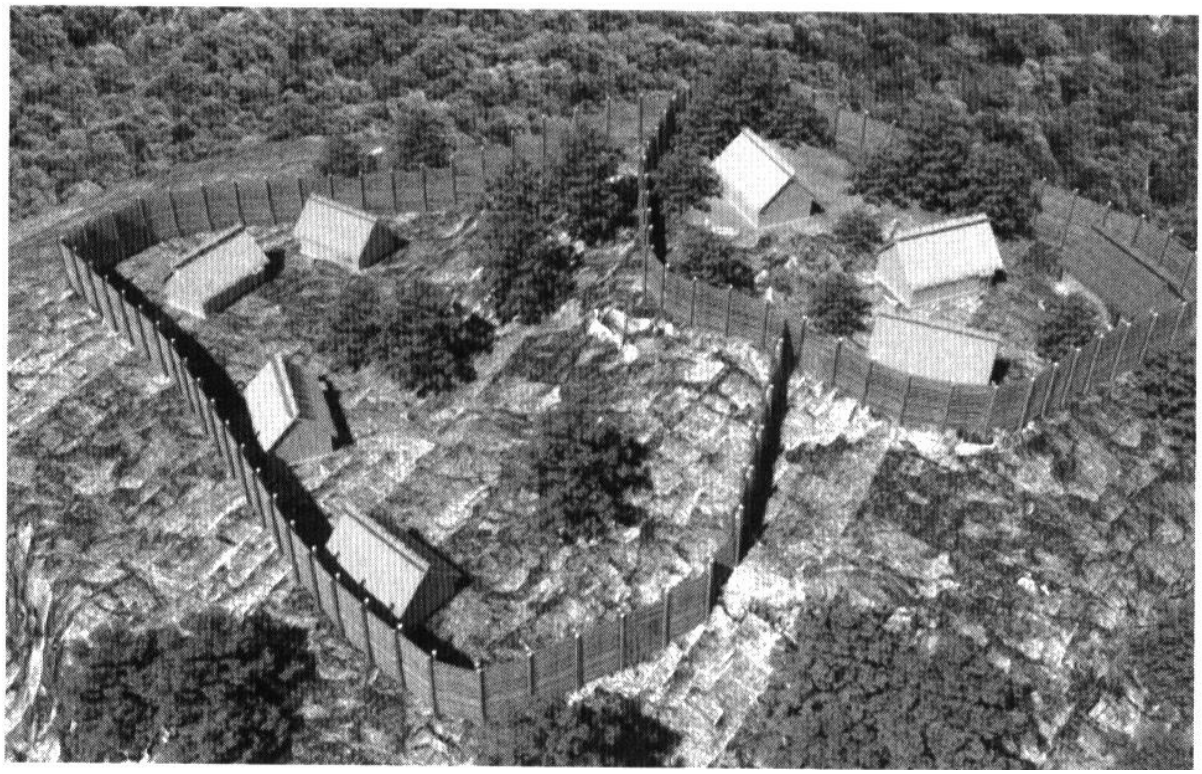


Figure 49 Reconstruction of the village on the Monte di Montella, below the later medieval castle (From Rotili 2019, 340, fig. 5)

4.3.4 Conclusions

Spatial relations between the living and the dead are an important part of the study of funerary landscapes. This section has shown that the spatial connection between the living and the dead is strongest around the cities of Central Campania, though the use of a model-based approach demonstrates that no single trajectory can explain the role that cities played as a hub for commemoration and memory. Conversely, the connection between burials and rural settlements in Central Campania is relatively weak, suggesting that prevailing scholarly views which assume that people were buried near where they had lived cannot be upheld in all areas. In other words, the evidence as it currently stands does not demonstrate that most people were buried near to where they had lived. In view of this, in the next section, we shall explore the role of other important aspects of the human landscape, including roads and field boundaries, in structuring the funerary landscapes of Central Campania.

Spatial relationships between the living and the dead are an important part of the study of funerary landscapes. The spatial connection between the living and the dead in the countryside of Central Campania was often weaker than has previously been suggested. The

available data suggests that prevailing scholarly views which assume that people were buried near where they had lived cannot be upheld in all areas. While some burial sites certainly were located near to settlements that they may have served, this was not a universal practice. In the case of villas, this may have been because many owners were not based locally and might have visited their properties only rarely if at all. As such, country estates in parts of Central Campania may not have been considered as appropriate or as attractive as other venues for competitive commemoration nearer Rome. Some farmhouses may have been occupied only on a seasonal basis, or they may have not been considered an appropriate venue for burial for other reasons. Some nucleated settlements like *vici* seem to be ringed by burials, and perhaps they functioned like mini-cities in as much as they provided a privileged and attractive venue for burial, though further investigation of this phenomenon is desirable in the future. The settlement patterns of the post-Roman period are frustratingly poorly evidenced, but it seems that in some cases, the movement of settlements uphill was followed by a similar movement of burials, which suggests that some local communities did wish to bury their dead close to where they lived. In short, the evidence as it currently stands suggests some people were buried near to where they lived but not as many as has been previously suggested. In view of this, in the next section we shall explore the role of other important aspects of the human landscape, including roads and field boundaries, in structuring the funerary landscapes of Central Campania.

4.4: Movement and Boundaries - burials and the human landscape

4.4.1 Introduction

The previous section explored the connection between burials and settlements. It found that while suburban burial grounds were important places for the commemoration of the dead, the connection between burial places and settlements in the countryside was considerably weaker. This section examines two other potential axes of attraction in the funerary landscape: roads and centuriated field boundaries. The study of roads in Central Campania has largely centred on tracing connections between cities and other settlements. The wider roles of roads within the funerary landscape have been little explored. Existing scholarship exploring funerary landscapes elsewhere in the Roman world has emphasised the attractive pull that established paths of movement could exercise on the placement of burials. In

suburban zones, the development of tomb streets along thoroughfares outside Italian cities is well known. Much less work has been paid to the role of roads in rural areas, however.

The first half of this section briefly outlines the known ancient road network of Central Campania before examining the connection between burials and paths of movement over the *longue durée* using GIS applications. I argue that proximity to major roads exercised an attractive force on the placement of burials both in suburban and in rural contexts, with many burials close to known stretches of principal roads. Many burial sites which are not in the immediate vicinity of primary roads would have been visible to people travelling along them, and others would have been near secondary unidentified tracks and paths. These routes played an important role in structuring the ancient funerary landscapes catering primarily to local audiences. The key factors at play are a combination of visibility to passers-by and immediacy of access, which helped to sustain memory both among local communities and in the minds of long-distance travellers.

Elsewhere in Italy, a connection has been adduced between burials and centuriated boundaries (section 2.4.4.2). This spatial connection has not been interrogated in detail in Central Campania, despite much intensive work on reconstructing a variety of centuriated grids in this part of the Italian peninsula. Spatial analysis indicates that only some sites are located near to centuriated grid boundaries, suggesting that while a location near to a field boundary was a factor in the position of some burial sites, this was only one of several factors taken into consideration. Burials within a given centuriation grid are placed near to a boundary, but these often cluster more commonly near to boundaries on one axis (e.g. north-south *cardines* or east-west *decumani*), which could reflect the secondary role of centuriated boundaries as paths of movement. Thus, it appears that roads and other paths of movement were more important in the curation of memory in Central Campania than field boundaries in function their function as territorial markers.

4.4.2 The roads of Central Campania

The road data used in this section are derived from detailed archaeological and epigraphic studies of the Campanian road network, with gaps tentatively filled using the *Barrington Atlas*

of the Ancient World and adjusted to account for physical topography.[412] Space does not permit a detailed description of the roads of Central Campania, and the network is summarised for our present purposes in pictorial form (Figure 50), and further details are provided in the text as necessary. The roads of coastal Central Campania are reconstructed using preserved stretches of ancient roads, tunnels and milestones, with most of them identified in the work of Napoli and Johannowsky.[413] More recent work conducted by Amodio, employing the placement of burials in the landscape, and De Simone has supplemented our knowledge of this road network through a combination of site distribution and historical map regression.[414] In the interior, our understanding of the road network becomes patchier, though important insights are provided for the area around *Abella* by Cinquantaquattro, in the valley of the Sabato by Ebanista, around *Abellinum* by Johannowsky and in the vicinity of *Aeclanum* by Lo Pilato.[415] Nevertheless, road courses are seldom known in their totality; accordingly, in the maps that follow, the paths of roads are sometimes depicted as broken lines, if the course is uncertain, and at other times may appear to break off suddenly if the precise course is unknown.

[412] Talbert 2000, digitised by the Ancient World Mapping Centre, URL = http://awmc.unc.edu/wordpress/research/barrington-atlas/ [Accessed 14 May, 2020].

[413] Napoli 1967, 449-452; Johannowsky 1953, 1985.

[414] Amodio 2014, 48-49; De Simone 2014, 188-192.

[415] Cinquantaquattro 2000; Lo Pilato 2012b; Johannowsky 1953; Amodio 2014, 25-49; Ebanista 2003b, 586, 2006, 111.

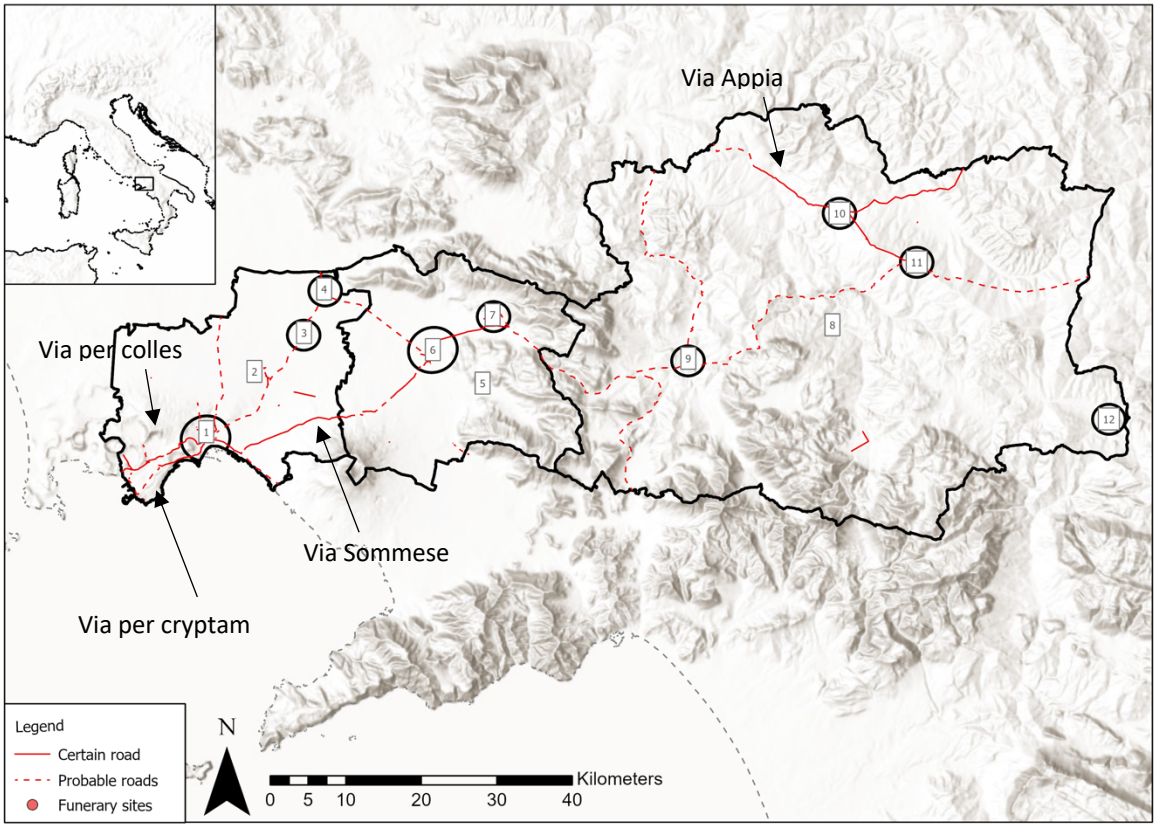


Figure 50 An overview of the known road network in Central Campania. (Cities: 1 = Naples, 3 = Suessula, 4 = Accerrae, 6 = Nola, 7 = Abella, 9 = Abellinum, 10 = Aeclanum, 11 = Frigentum. 12 = Compsa)

4.4.3 Roads and the funerary landscapes of Central Campania: an overview

Roads played an important role in the placement of many burial sites throughout Central Campania. This section provides a brief overview of the relation between funerary sites and roads across the region before moving to the examination of selected case studies. The analysis begins by summarising the distance between burial sites and known roads.[416] These measures are crude, because the location of burial sites and the course of roads is often known only in approximation. Despite this, such figures nevertheless provide a rough-and-ready guide to the relation between burials and roads, which will be explored in more detail through nested case studies later in this section.

[416] Distances were calculated using the ArcGIS "Near" too.

Many burial sites were located close to the probable course of roads, suggesting that they were intended to be seen by passers-by. Available estimates, based on road data which refer primarily to major thoroughfares and underrepresent secondary roads, probably give a substantial underestimate of the number of sites near roads. Nevertheless, the significance of roads in structuring the broader landscapes, including burial locations, is underlined by the fact that 302 of the 407 funerary sites considered in this thesis lie within 1 km of a known road (Figure 51), and in many cases where burials appear to be further from roads, this is because of the limited state of our knowledge of the road network in the area.[417] This is particularly striking because only approximately 20.4 per cent per cent of the land area in Central Campania lies within 1 km of a known road. Moreover, 74 funerary sites (18.18 per cent) are located within 50 m of a road and 106 sites (26.04 per cent) are within 100 m of a known or probable road.[418] A Chi-Squared test shows that these results are statically significant (p-value = <0.05). These figures suggest that roads were a major factor in the siting of burials. Proximity to roads provided multiple advantages. Even the placement of burial sites which were located further away from roads than those just discussed may have been influenced by the presence of these paths of movement.

This concentration of a greater than expected number of tombs near roadways suggests that the attractive pull of roads may be limited by line of sight or likelihood of passer-by interaction. The visibility and accessibility offered by proximity to roads helped to ensure that the memory of the individuals, groups, or communities, laid rest in these burial sites was preserved over an extended period, especially as the relatively short distance between funerary sites and roads made it possible to see them, and engage with any monumental features, including figurative art and/or inscriptions, without the viewer needing to leave the road itself. This proximity to roads may also have helped to minimise the chance of intentional damage to funerary monuments as any would-be vandals could be seen by passers-by.[419] The proximity to the roads also makes any commemorative return visits, on occasions, such as the

[417] The 26 intramural burial sites are excluded from discussion. Similarly, sites lying more than 10km from a road probably reflect our partial knowledge of road networks and are excluded from graphs to aid legibility.
[418] The 50 m and 100 m buffers allow for imprecisions in the location of roads or burial sites, as well as the probability that some burial sites sprawled over an area not easily characterised by points on a map.
[419] Carroll 2011.

Parentalia, *Rosalia* and the *dies natalis*, easier and more pleasant for those still among the living.[420]

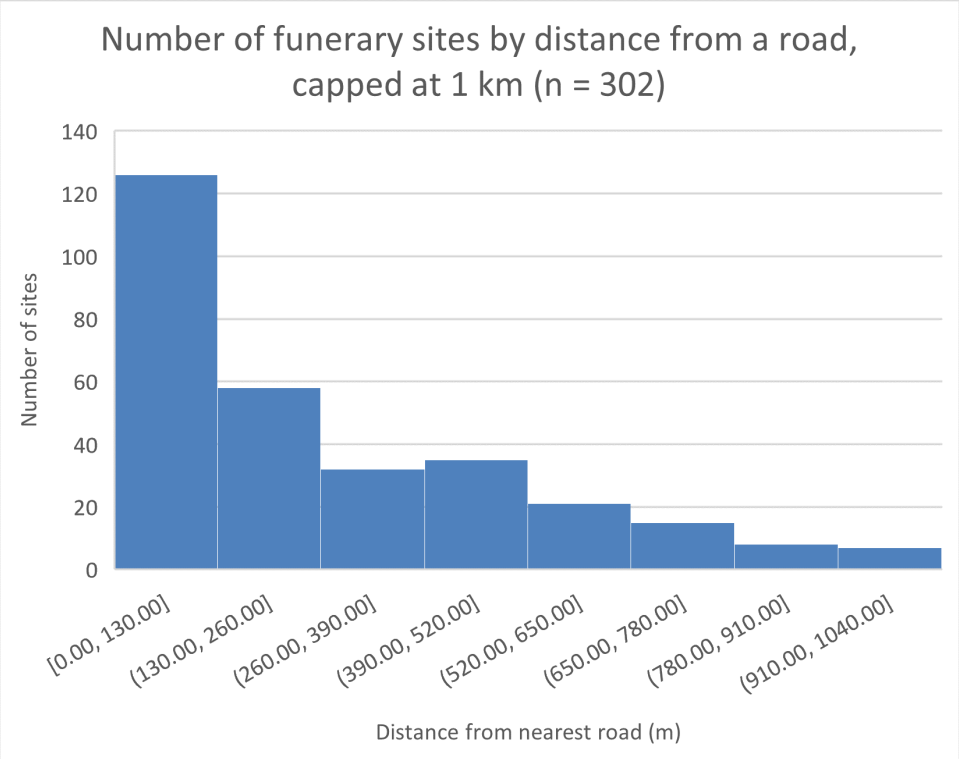


Figure 51 Number of funerary sites in Central Campania by distance from that road (Data from Appendix 1, limited to sites within 1km of a road).

The correlation between roads and burial sites appears strong in both suburban and rural zones. A total of 52 out of 189 (27.5 per cent) suburban burial sites which are within 1 km of roads lie under 50 m of one, while 77 (40.74 per cent) are within 100 m of a road (Figure 52). In contrast, 22 (14.2 per cent) of 155 rural burial sites that lie within 1 km of a road are located within 50 m, and 27 (20.6.6 per cent) are within 100 m (Figure 53). On one level, this reflects the importance of cities as nodes where several roads might converge, meaning that high proportions of the land within the suburbs was located near to at least one road. This convergence undoubtedly made cities important venues for burial, though it is also important to acknowledge that this pattern may also be a product of the poorer state of our knowledge of some rural roads, and the higher quality of data available for some suburban burials. We know far less about the rural road network of Central Campania than we do about the suburban road networks. Sometimes the spatial arrangement of burial sites may even hint at

[420] Hope 2009, 99-102.

the possibility of a road, but independent confirmation is lacking. For example, in at least two areas on the slopes of Vesuvius – in Ottaviano (**1-336**, **1-337**, **1-338**, **1-370**) and Somma Vesuviana (**1-395**, **1-396**, **1-397)** – linear arrangements of burials may reflect otherwise unidentified secondary paths of movement through the landscape (Figure 54). We can therefore assume that roads were also important in influencing the spatial arrangement of rural burial sites, though rural burial sites were more widely spaced and created a different visual effect compared with their suburban counterparts.

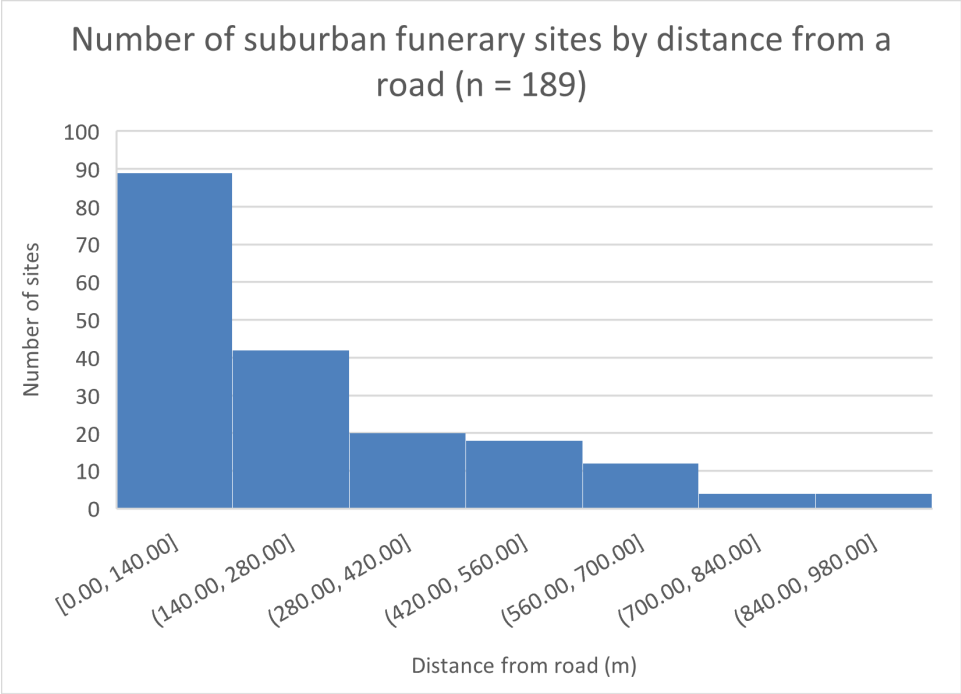


Figure 52 Number of suburban funerary sites in Central Campania by distance from that road (Data from Appendix 1, limited to sites within 1km of a road).

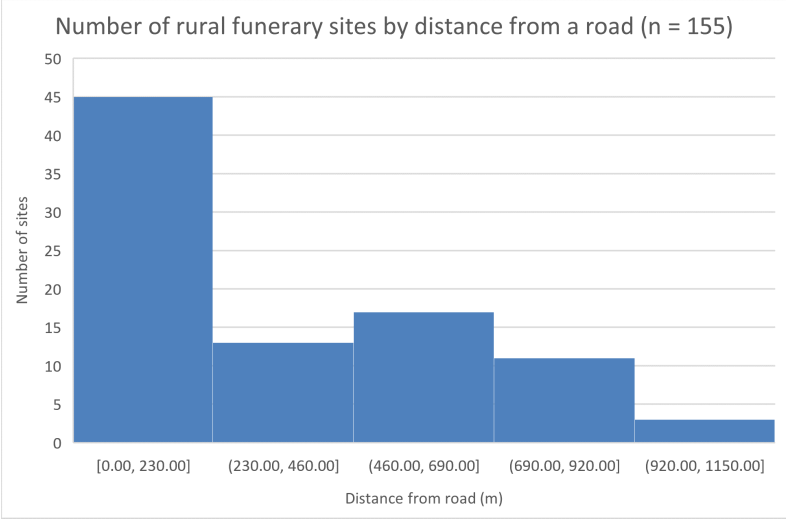


Figure 53 Number of rural funerary sites in Central Campania (Data from Appendix 1, limited to sites within 1km of a road).

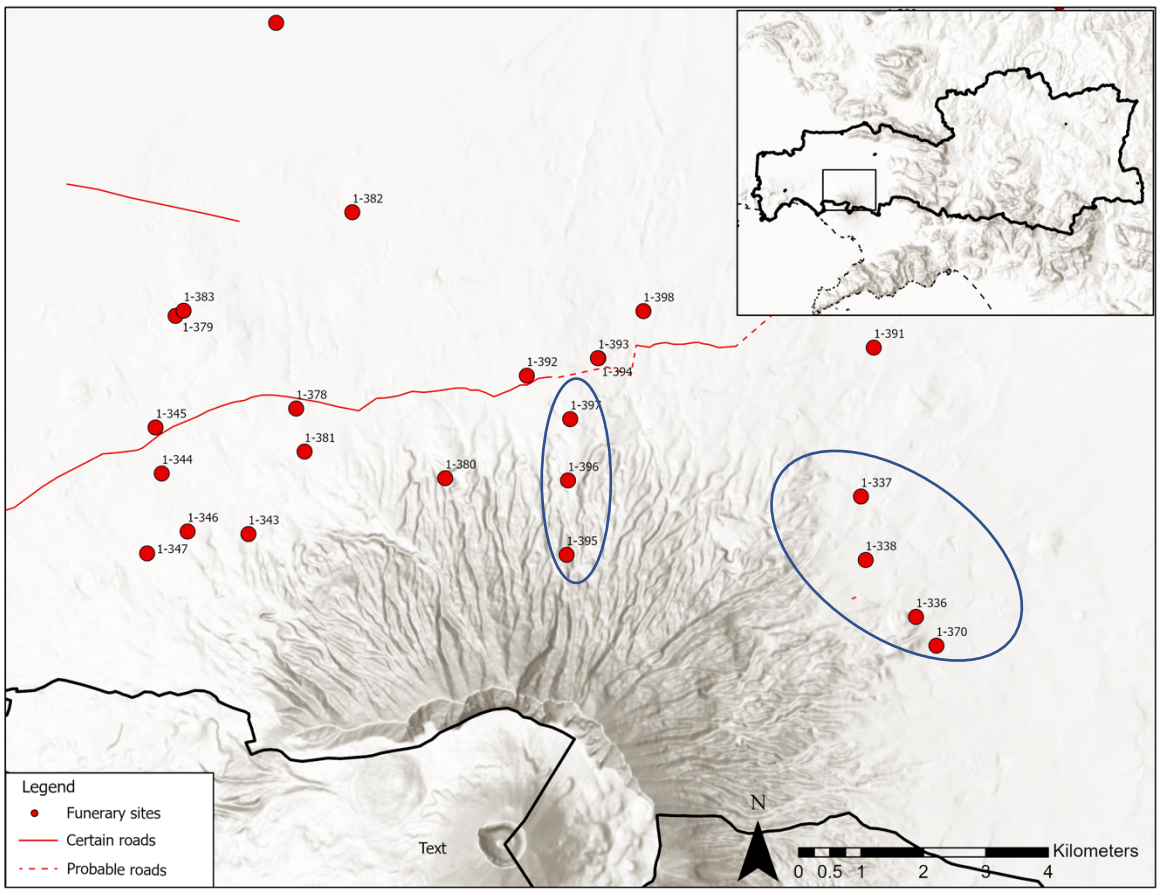


Figure 54 Alignment of burial sites in Ottaviano and Somma Vesuviana, which may indicate the presence of unidentified tracts of road (data from Appendix 1).

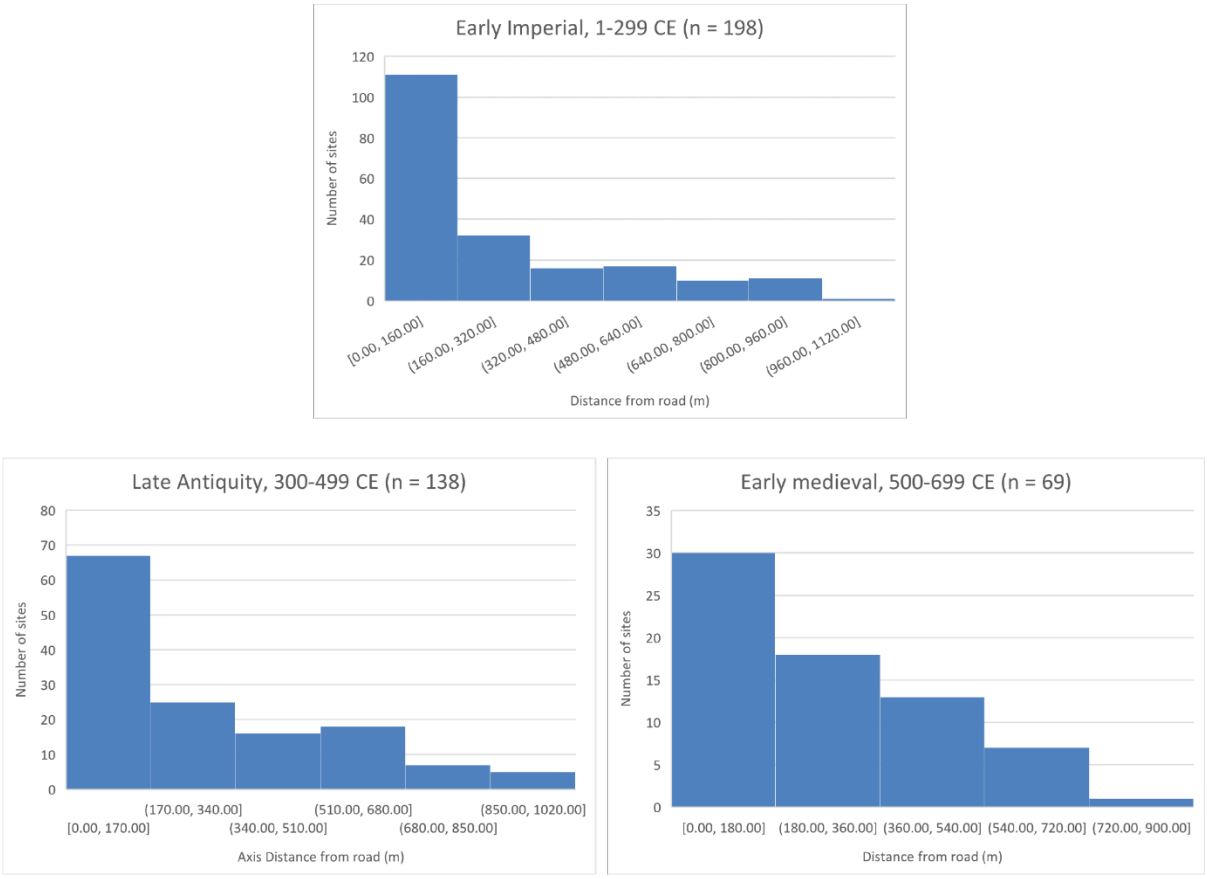


Figure 55 Distance of funerary sites in Central Campania from a known road by chronological period (Data from Appendix 1).

It should also be noted that the road maps as they are known to us are essentially late Republican and early imperial in date. Some of these roads, especially the Via Appia, appear to have endured over the *longue durée,* remaining important until at least the Lombard period.[421] An in-depth study of the fate of existing roads and the development of new ones in Late Antiquity and the early medieval period lies beyond the scope of the present study, but we may attempt to assess the continuing importance of roads first constructed early in Rome's rule over Campania. Burial sites of the early imperial period show a strong spatial correlation with roads (Figure 55), and sites generally remain close to roads in a loose sense over the *longue durée*. Under the Early Empire, 198 burial sites out of 261 (75.9 per cent) are within 1 km of a known road, in the late Roman period the figure is 138 out of 195 (70.8 per cent) and in the early medieval period all known sites are within 1 km of a road. However, the number, of sites which are *closely* related to a road, that is, within 50 m declines from in the

[421] Lo Pilato 2017.

early imperial period, 62 (31.3 per cent) out of 198 burial sites within 1 km of a road fall within 50 m of it, while in Late Antiquity this falls to 29 out of 138 (21 per cent), and in the early Middle Ages, dwindles to 12 out of 69 (17.4 per cent).

These figures seem to indicate that roads exercised a lesser effect on the placement of burials over time, though we must also be careful to stress that the ease with which we can identify early imperial remains may also contribute to this picture. Additionally, the greater number of burials made at some suburban burial sites in Late Antiquity (above, section 4.2.4.3-4) may suggest that roads remained important in the siting of burials, especially when combined churches began to be built alongside roads (see also, section 4.4.5.2). The early Middle Ages, from the later 6th century onwards, saw the emergence of new forms of settlement associated with castles which often occupied topographically prominent places atop hills, as opposed to the valley-floor locations favoured in earlier periods. In some places, like Montella and Guardia Lombardi (below, section 4.3.3.8), burial sites accompanied settlements uphill, removing them from access via the pre-existing road network.[422] It therefore seems that the role of pre-existing major roads gradually diminished during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, even if this role never entirely disappeared.

Viewshed analysis, which considers the impact of natural topography as well as sheer proximities to roads, indicates that most grave sites were highly visible from roads. Cumulative viewshed analysis was carried out using the Geodesic Viewshed tool in ArcGIS. Viewpoints were placed at 10-meter intervals along the courses of known roads and probable roads to determine whether travellers along these thoroughfares would have been able to see grave sites (at a maximum of 3 km). This approach requires several caveats, including differing levels of visibility for monumental and non-monumental burials, and does not compensate for vegetation cover or buildings which blocked lines of sight (a potentially significant factor in built-up suburban areas).[423] Viewshed analysis nevertheless provides some interesting insights. The results of these analyses demonstrate that most burial sites were visible from the course of roads (Figure 56), though it is harder to say how visible. In areas like *Hirpinia*, where substantial numbers of burial sites are not visible from roads, this is because the communications network is less well understood. When we turn to the wider

[422] Rotili 2009, 338-345.

[423] Llobera 2007.

dataset of roads, which includes places where the probable course of roads has been estimated by modern scholars, we can see that most burial sites were visible from a roadway (Figure 57).

In summary, many, though not all, burial sites in Central Campania are located near roads. Many such burial sites were sited to be visible from roads, and some were so close that road users could engage with them in depth without needing to leave the road. Burials seem to have been more likely to be located near to roads in suburban areas, though this trend is overstated by the nature of the extant data. Roads appear to have exercised the strongest attractive pull on burials during the early imperial period, and though the number of sites near to roads is never negligible, it does decrease in the later part of our period, perhaps due to the emergence of new settlement patterns away from roads. The sections which follow comprise nested case studies of the relations between roads and burial sites in selected urban and rural settings in Central Campania, which will allow us to explore the connection between roads and burials, and their ensuing implications for the preservation of memory in greater detail.

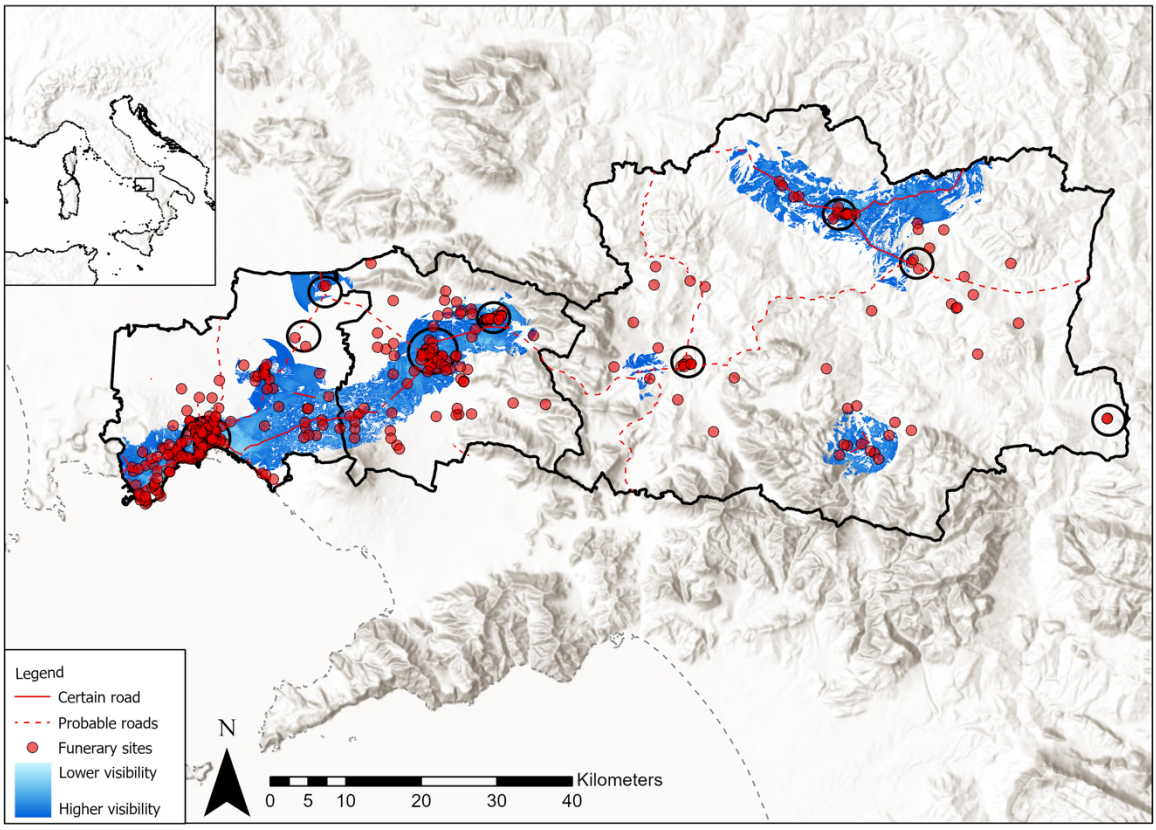


Figure 56 An overview of Central Campania marking the areas visible from roads known with certainty against funerary sites (Data from Appendix 1).

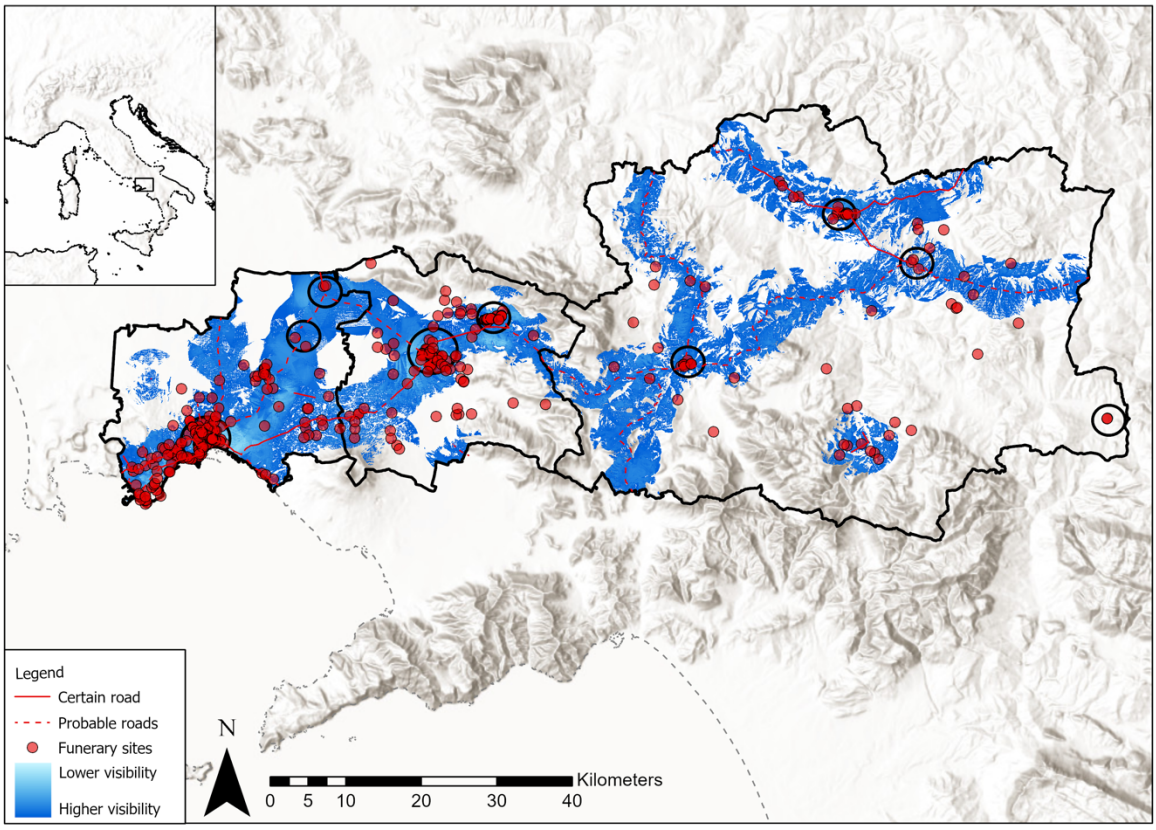


Figure 57 An overview of Central Campania marking the areas visible from all certain and probably roads against funerary sites (Data from Appendix 1).

4.4.4 Tombs in suburban road networks

Outside many cities in Central Campania roads played an important role in the placement of burial sites. This role was not static and could change through time, following a range of different trajectories. Sometimes roads themselves seemed to be less important than the destinations to which they led, especially during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. The phenomenon of tomb streets situated along major roads through the late Republican period and early Imperial periods is well known (above, sections 2.2.2.1-2). Tomb streets served as a venue for competitive display among local elites, a repository of community memory and an architectural adornment for the city which were viewed by those approaching the settlement along these principal roads. We have already seen that tomb streets were attested at cities across Central Campania including but not limited to Naples, Nola and *Abella*. As suburban burials have already been discussed in detail, one illustrative example will serve to provide a window on the impact of placing large number of burials along roads.

In the eastern suburb of *Aeclanum* (above, Figure 35), burials placed along the major thoroughfare of the Via Appia as it runs along a slight natural ridge within the Calore Valley were elevated above the surrounding landscape. The lining of the road with numerous funerary markers served to circumscribe the travellers' field of vision, concentrating their attention on funerary markers they were passing. This effect may have resulted in increased engagement with the town's suburban necropoleis, helping to ensure that the memory of those buried within was preserved over time. The large number of individuals buried in this funerary area suggests that not all of them were occupants of the city of *Aeclanum* itself, as argued above (section 4.4.4.2). The path of the Via Appia dovetailed with the attractive pull of the suburban environment, meaning that this area was particularly attractive as a place of burial in the early imperial period, because it was perceived to offered great potential for long-lasting commemoration of the dead.

By Late Antiquity, however, the construction of imposing but standalone funerary monuments became less common in Central Campania, and at some sites the emphasis was increasingly on interment in a limited number of funerary spaces, often connected to Christianity. However, these new Christian funerary foci were frequently, though not always, still placed along roads, marking their importance within a context in which memory was at least partly sustained through an iterative process of religious processions held at regular intervals. For example, at Naples Amodio has suggested that roads facilitated a devotional route between major Christian burial sites which provided final resting places for the very special dead to north of the city.[424] The lives of Nostrianus and Victor in the *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* refer to a porticus which monumentalised the route.[425] This evidence suggests that roads provided a spatial, architectural, and conceptual linked with the city in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

4.4.5 Tombs in rural road networks

Roads played a major role in the structuring of rural funerary landscapes, and the fact that the tombs placed in rural areas were less densely distributed sometimes allowed for striking visual effects. As in suburban areas, placing rural burials near roads may have been designed

[424] Amodio 2014, 70-71.

[425] Amodio 2014, 177-178.

to facilitate longer-term preservation of memory among local communities, and in the minds of non-local travellers. This section examines two case studies which case light on the interplay between roads and burials in rural areas:

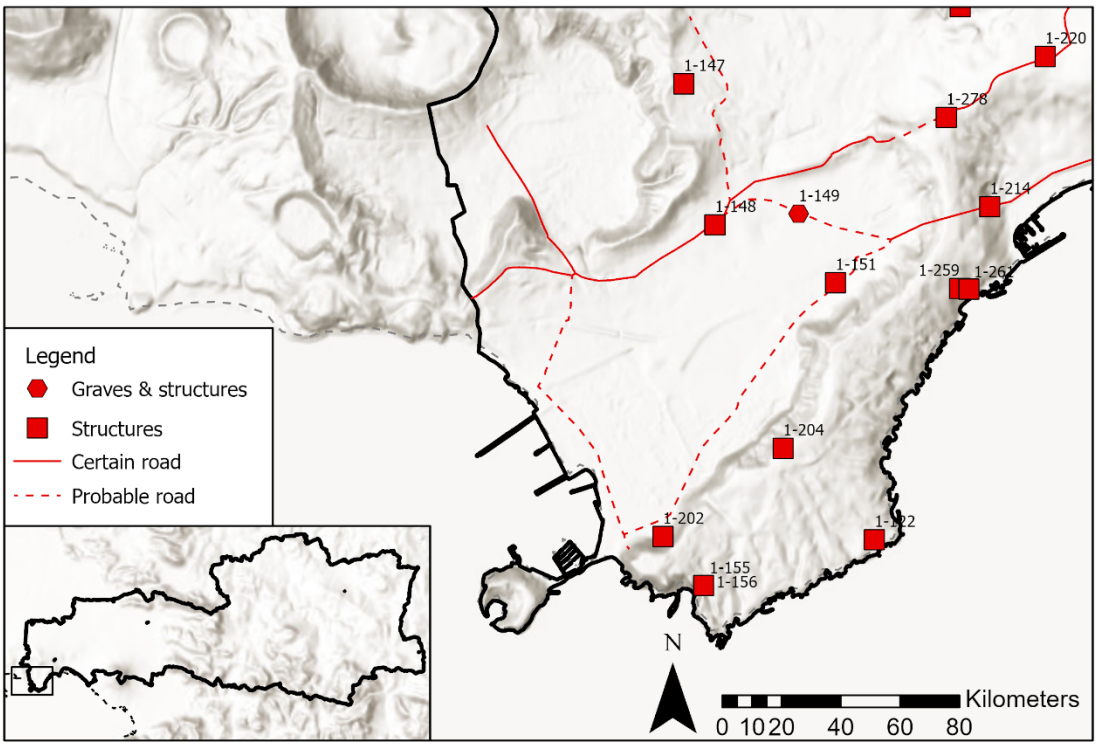
(i) The *via per colles* and *via per cryptam,* running west from Naples, where rugged topography sometimes constricts fields of vision, concentrating the minds of road users on burials and funerary monuments.

(ii) The so-called 'via santa,' an early medieval pilgrimage running from Cimitile through the Valley of the Sabato and passing several churches used for burial before passing onto Monte Gargano.

4.4.5.1 The road network west of Naples

Two roads running west from Naples provide an instructive example of the attractive power of roads to attract burials. The *via per colles* and the *via per cryptam,* both of which linked Naples with *Puteoli,* have been reconstructed in considerable detail by Johannowsky (Figure 58).[426] A detailed analysis of the course of these roads lies beyond the scope of the current study, but when plotted alongside the available funerary evidence, it is clear that most burials are located near to the two roads, or appear to align with them (

[426] Johannowsky 1953.



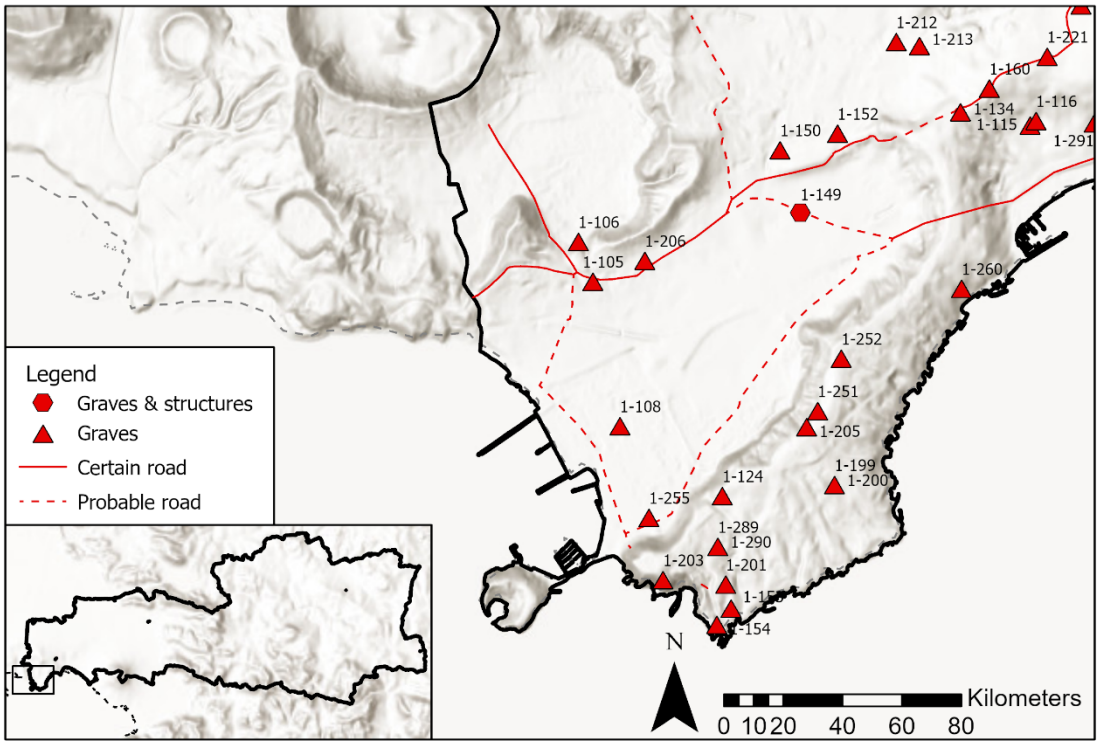


Figure 59), with the only exceptions being those along the coastal strip now known as Posillipo, which is separated from the course of the roads by a large rocky outcrop. Moreover, even more burials were visible from these roads than were located immediately next to them. These two roads therefore provide excellent examples of the way in which siting burials and funerary monuments near roads resulted in visibility for road-users. This pattern indicates

that many burial sites were intended to be seen to ensure that their occupants were remembered.

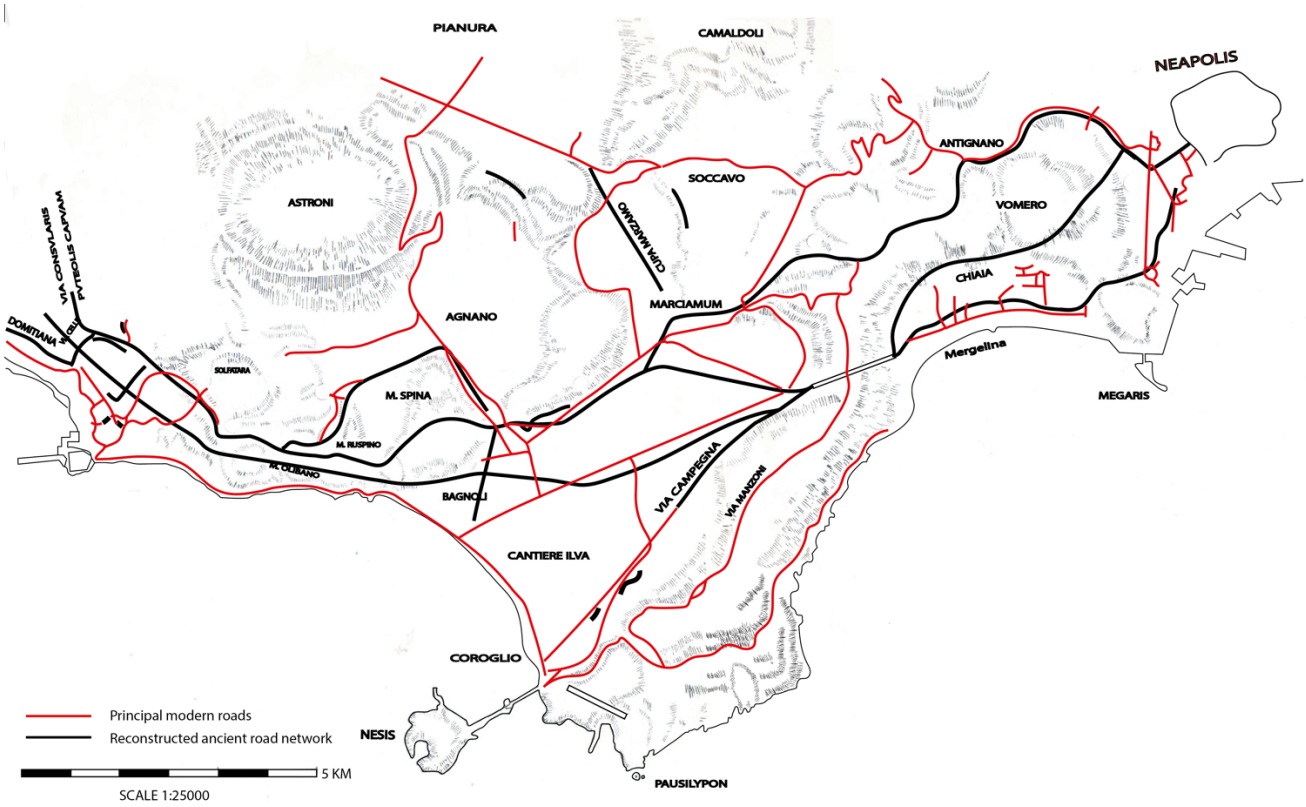


Figure 58 The ancient road network west of Naples (from Johannowsky 1952)

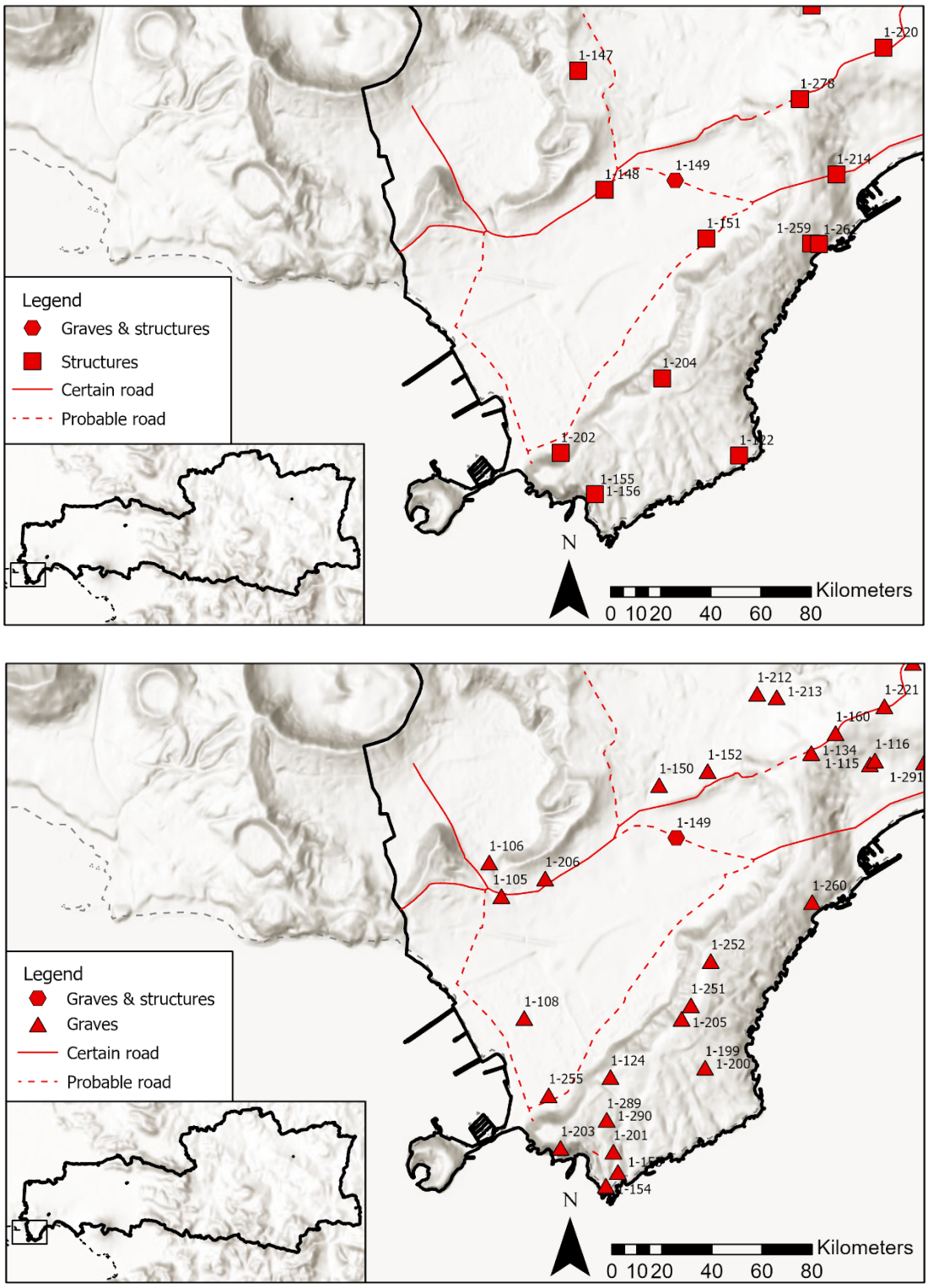


Figure 59 Maps showing monumental (above) and predominantly non-monumental (below) burial sites alongside roads west of Naples (Data from Appendix 1 and Johannowsky 1952)

Our knowledge of the secondary road network to the west of Naples is incomplete, though analysis of burials distribution may hint at the routes of some minor roads. The strongest evidence for this comes from the modern neighbourhood of Posillipo, where a steep hillside

rises from the sea, culminating in a sheer, rocky crag which separates this area from the flat plain to the north. Five burial sites **(1-124, 1-204, 1-205, 1-251, 1-252**) in this area are located along the course of the modern Via Manzoni, as it runs across the top of the hill (Figure 60). Amodio suggests this alignment could reflect the course of an ancient road, connecting settlements in this area with the urban centre of Naples, though no direct archaeological evidence is available to support this hypothesis.[427] Three further burial sites (**1-259, 1-260, 1-261**) are located along the coastline to the east, just before a place where the hill's gradient becomes more severe, which may have forced an ancient road to hug the shore, or else these sites could reflect burials along a second pathway. The seeming alignment of three other burial sites (**1-122, 1-199**, **1-200**) could also allude to the presence of a road or path running down from the crest of the hill, though this must remain hypothetical until direct archaeological evidence is uncovered. These burials can be dated to between the early Empire and Late Antiquity, suggesting that if there was a road or series of roads in this area, they continued to be used over the *longue durée*. However, reconstructing road networks solely based on burial distribution is methodologically unsound, as other landscape features may impact the placement of graves and other funerary monuments. Such suggestions must therefore be handled with caution in the absence of clear archaeological or epigraphic evidence.

[427] Amodio 2014, 40.

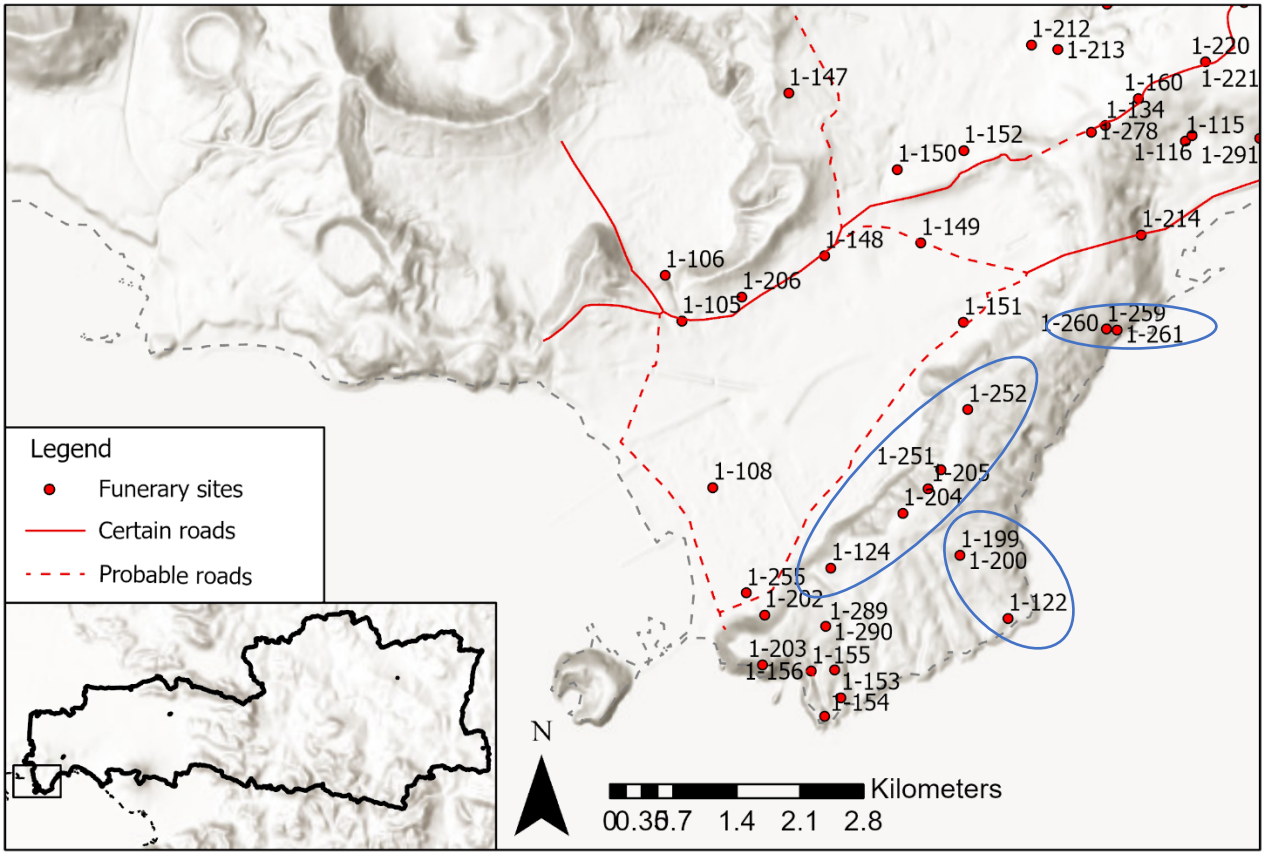


Figure 60 Alignment of burial sites at Posillipo which may indicate the presence of unidentified tracts of roads (data from Appendix 1).

4.4.5.2 The 'via santa' from Cimitile to Gargano

In Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, roads continued to play an important role in the siting of burials, often in connection with churches (Figure 61), as the 'via santa' connecting Cimitile with Gargano indicates. The precise course of this road is unclear, but Ebanista has suggested that it connected sites including the suburban cemeterial basilicas in the Sanctuary of St Felix at Cimitile (**1-58**), the rural churches at Masseria Pagan at Tufino (**1-405, 2-250**), and Località Pioppi in Pratola Serra (**1-353**, **2-153**) with the sanctuary of S. Michele sul Gargano, in a modern-day Apulia.[428] All of these churches saw funerary use during the 6th and 7th centuries. It is also possible, though not certain, that the church at Prata di Principato Ultra (**1-352, 2-152**), across the river Sabato from Pratola Serra, may also have formed part of this network of churches, as it was apparently used for burial during the 5th century, but

[428] Ebanista 2003b, 586, 2006, 111.

successive interventions have removed much of the late antique evidence, meaning we cannot be sure if this activity continued in later periods. During the Lombard period, the sanctuary at Gargano was the primary religious centre and pilgrimage destination of southern Italy, making the 'via santa' a potentially major thoroughfare.[429]

Whether the churches rather than the roads themselves were the main attractive force for burials is unclear, though it is probable that the easy accessibility and visibility offered by roads was also a contributing factor. Detailed discussion of the role of early medieval churches in rural Central Campania must remain tentative at present, as relatively little is known about churches in this part of Italy.[430] However, Brogiolo and Chavarría have already noted the widespread correlation between rural churches and road network elsewhere in Italy, where positions along major thoroughfares helped to make churches, including those with funerary functions, important nodes in the landscape, as the countryside gradually became more Christianised from Late Antiquity onwards.[431] It is probable that a similar process also took place in Central Campania as interment within churches offered a chance to make sure that one's tomb was seen and remembered, by the local community and any longer-distance travellers who stopped at these ecclesiastical establishments.

[429] Carletti & Otranto 1980; Derolez & Schwab 1983, 1984; Felle 2001.

[430] Ebanista 2011.

[431] Brogiolo & Chavarria Arnau 2005, 128-130.

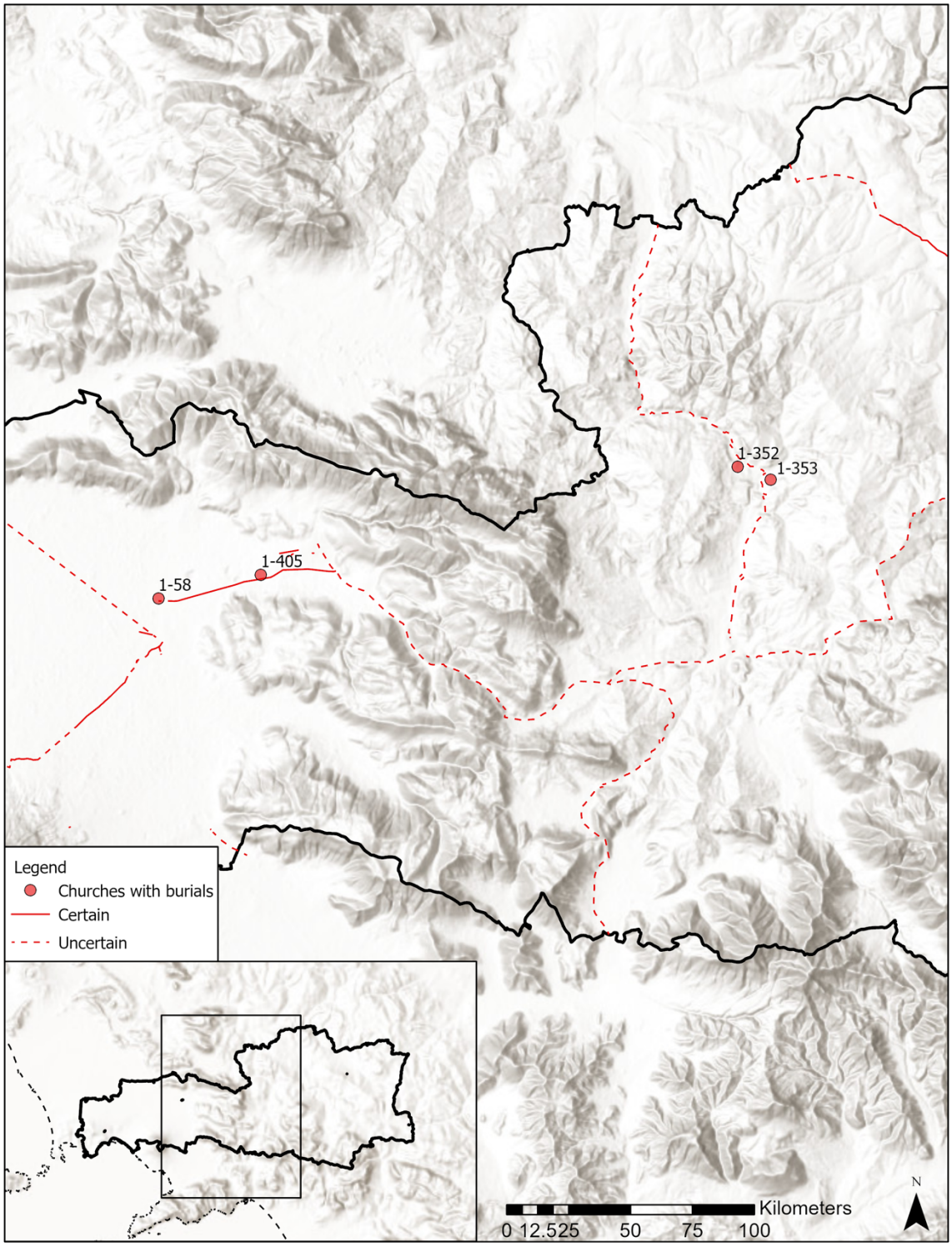


Figure 61 Funerary sites in and around churches which were active in the 6th and 7th centuries CE and their relationship to roads forming the so-called 'via santa.' (Site data from Appendix 1).

4.4.6 Centuriation

Centuriation represents another significant part of the human landscape. Like roads, there has been suggestions that burials cluster along centuriated boundaries (section 2.2.4.2). Elsewhere in Roman Italy, this connection has been at least partly explained through a desire to stake a claim to parcels of land, visibility through proximity to paths of movement, simply to make it easier to find modest burials during successive visits to the graveside, or a desire to maximise arable land. For our present purposes, it is important to stress that these boundaries could take a range of forms, including ditches, walls, embankments, or paths.[432] Such paths could form important secondary routes of movement through the landscape, and may have attracted burials in the same way that more major roads did. Unfortunately, the state of our knowledge about roads and field boundaries in Campania means that only in two places- in the *Neapolis* grid on the via Sommese that runs westward around the foothills of Vesuvius and along the same road in the Nola II grid - are we able to see that a major road aligns with a centurial grid. However, we may assume that many of the boundaries of centuriated grids discussed in this section coincided with roads. These boundaries sometimes attracted burials, but they appear to have been less important than roads or proximity to urban centres.

Numerous centuriation grids have been identified across Roman Campania, both inside and outside the area considered in this chapter.[433] This section concentrates on three areas with evidence for both centuriation and burials: the plains around Naples, Nola, and *Abella;* the hinterland of *Aeclanum;* and the Upper Calore Valley. These centuriation grids and others like them have been intensively studied from aerial photography, toponyms, the presence of *cippi* placed at intersections, and the occasional excavation of individual field boundaries since the middle of the 20th century. This present section aims to draw on this existing work to inform our understanding of burials in the landscape over time, rather than attempting to add new evidence for the layout of the centuriation grids themselves. Earlier scholars, including Castagnoli, Chouquer and his team, as well as Soricelli have laid the

[432] Palet & Orengo 2011, 386.

[433] *Accerrae* and *Atella:* Chouquer et al. 1987, 207-209; *Suessuela*: Libertini 2013; *Abellinum: The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors*, I, 229, 16-18; Colucci Pescatori 1996, 102; *Ager Campanus*: Franciosi 2002; *Nuceria*: Soricelli 2002, 2001.

foundations for the analysis of centuriation in the coastal plains.[434] Most recently, De Simone undertook historical landscape regression analysis, vastly expanding out the number of known field boundaries in this part of Campania.[435] Ditaranto has highlighted possible ancient field systems around *Aeclanum* and it remains possible that several phases of activity are represented by the evidence on the ground.[436] Finally, Pratillo has identified fleeting traces of centuriation in the rural landscape of the Upper Calore Valley, while further evidence is provided by the presence of several *cippi* set up to mark the intersections of roads within the centuriated grid.[437]

Before we progress to analysing the relation between centuriation grids and burial sites in Central Campania, several methodological limitations must be outlined. The most significant of these is the unknown extent of some of the grids in attested in Central Campania and difficulties in accurately situating them.[438] The centuriation grids employed here are only partially reconstructed, though we may reasonably assume that grids were laid out more or less contiguously, sometimes allowing us to plug gaps where modern roads and field boundaries follow different orientations to the ancient field systems. The foundational work carried out by Castagnoli, as well as Chouquer and his team, was presented on a blank background without any topographical markers linking them to the modern landscape (Figure 62).[439] This hinders efforts to accurately georeference the grids, leading to small potential errors in spatial analysis. Slight shifts in the placement of roads and boundaries during and after antiquity lead to minor displacements of otherwise fossilised boundary systems. Other hindering factors include the possibility of imprecisions in modern basemaps, accumulated error by ancient land surveyors, and minute inaccuracies in the orientation of reconstructed grids.[440] In order to mitigate these challenges, I used 10 m buffers applied in ArcGIS when locating the centuriation grids discussed here. Moreover, funerary sites will be considered "close" to boundaries if they fall within a 50 m buffer of a proposed or actual boundary. While

[434] Castagnoli 1958; Chouquer et al. 1987; Soricelli 2002.

[435] De Simone 2014.

[436] Ditaranto 2016, 7.

[437] Pratillo 2009, 76-79.

[438] On the difficulties of centuriation grids in Central Campania: De Simone 2014, 183-188.

[439] De Simone 2014, 183, n. 595.

[440] Methodological issues: Francisci 2017a, 310-316. Irregularity of ancient centuriation grids around Tarragona: Palet & Orengo 2011.

this may seem a considerable distance, it has been deliberately chosen to account for any uncertainties in obtaining precise locational data. Buffers will therefore allow us to reflect the occasional uncertainty of grid and site locations and help to underline the limited spatial information available.

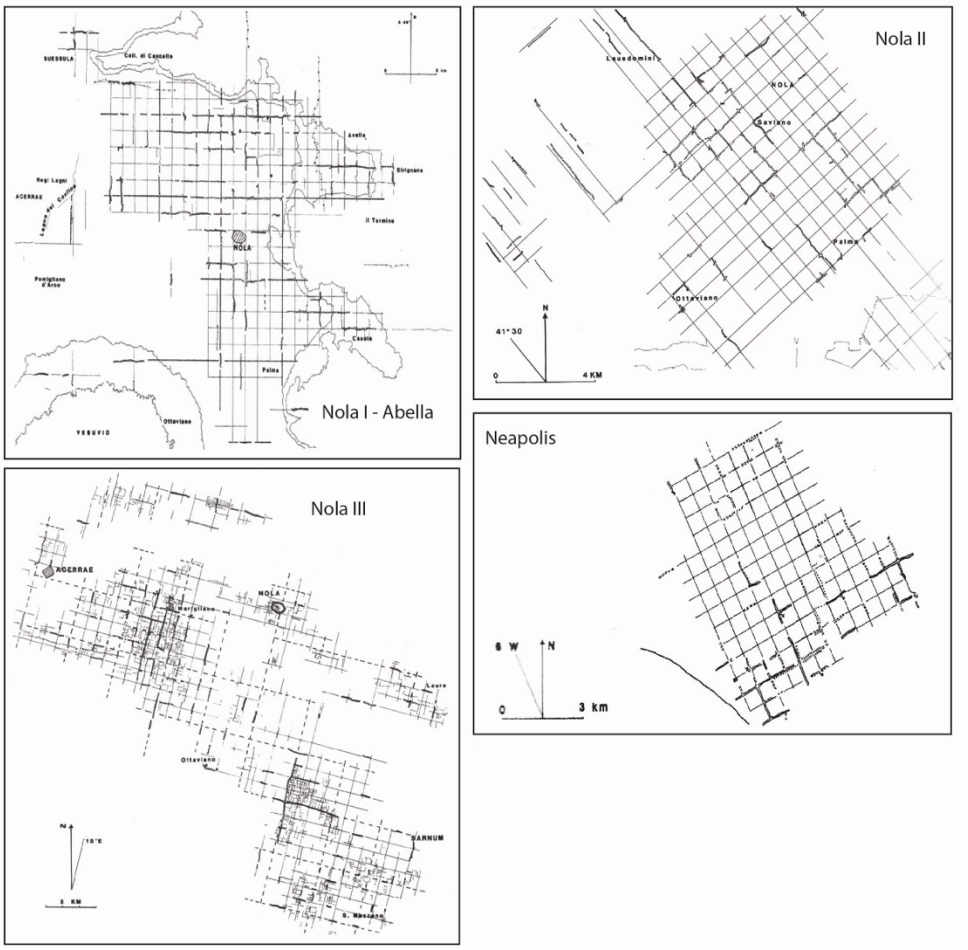


Figure 62 Summary of positional data for the Neapolis, and Nola I, III and III grids, as presented by Chouquer et al (1987, 208, fig. 70; 209, fig. 72; 210, fig, 73; 211, fig. 74)

4.4.6.1 The Coastal Plains

In areas of Central Campania, the evidence for a relation between burials and centuriation grids is sporadic and weak. The best evidence for centuriation grids in this part of Italy comes from the area to the east, north and west of Vesuvius, including parts of the territories of the cities of Naples, Nola, and *Abella*. The known grids were set out over the course of several centuries between the Late Republican and Early Imperial Periods, with the last land division probably taking place in the aftermath of Vesuvius' eruption of 79. Precise dating is problematic, but the area was perhaps originally centuriated under Augustus but may have

been reorganised after the eruption of 79.[441] Five distinct grids were laid out in the surroundings of Nola, four of which will be discussed here: Nola I (Sullan), Nola II (undated), Nola III (Vespasianic) and Nola D (after 79).[442] However, each of these grids should not be seen as entirely replacing their predecessors, since they only partly overlap.[443] Despite the difficulties in dating the centuriation grids in the coastal plain, it suffices to note that several such systems were active through the 1st century CE, while others were either laid out, or else their boundaries remained visible, after the cataclysmic events of 79 CE.

4.4.6.1.2 Naples

The field boundaries of the Naples centuriation grid appears to have exercised an attractive pull on the placement of some, but not all, funerary sites located within it. Some, but by no means most burial sites, within the Naples centuriation grid, are located close to a boundary. Eight funerary sites fall within the generally accepted area of this centuriation grid (Figure 63). Four (50 per cent) of these are located within 50 m of a field boundary within the centuriation grid, two of which predate the eruption of 79, while the others are both of late antique date, though it is probable one of these was sited to reuse a pre-existing structure.[444] Boundaries on a southwest-northeast axis (*decumani*) seem to attract more funerary sites (three sites) than the those on a northwest-southeast boundary (*cardines,* one site), reflecting the role for boundaries as subsidiary paths of movement, branching off from the major arteries which connected cities.

Several further sites located just outside of the hypothesized grid to the east (**1-379, 1-383**) and north (**1-4, 1-5**) appear to be located along its axes. This may suggest that the grid's generally accepted extent is an underestimate, and we should envision it originally covering a larger area. The chronology of the funerary evidence may indicate that these field boundaries were indeed active during the Augustan period, when they may have influenced the placement of some burial sites, and they may also have played a role in the choice of site

[441] Augustan date: Chouquer et al. 1987, 224-231. Restauration: Soricelli 2001, 457; De Simone 2014, 187-188.

[442] Nola I, II & III: Chouquer et al. 1987, 209-212. Nola D: Soricelli 2002.

[443] De Simone 2014, 185.

[444] At Masseria De Carolis in Pollena Trocchia (**1-345**), burials were found within the rooms of an abandoned villa bathhouse. It was probably this structure, not the presence of centuriation boundaries, which influenced the placement of these burials (On spatial reuse, see below, section 4.5.7).

for some other burial sites if they were restored after 79. Three of the four sites which are not near field boundaries postdate the 79 eruption of Vesuvius. This may indicate that if a reinstatement of the centuriated land boundaries took place after 79, this restoration was either partial or short-lived.

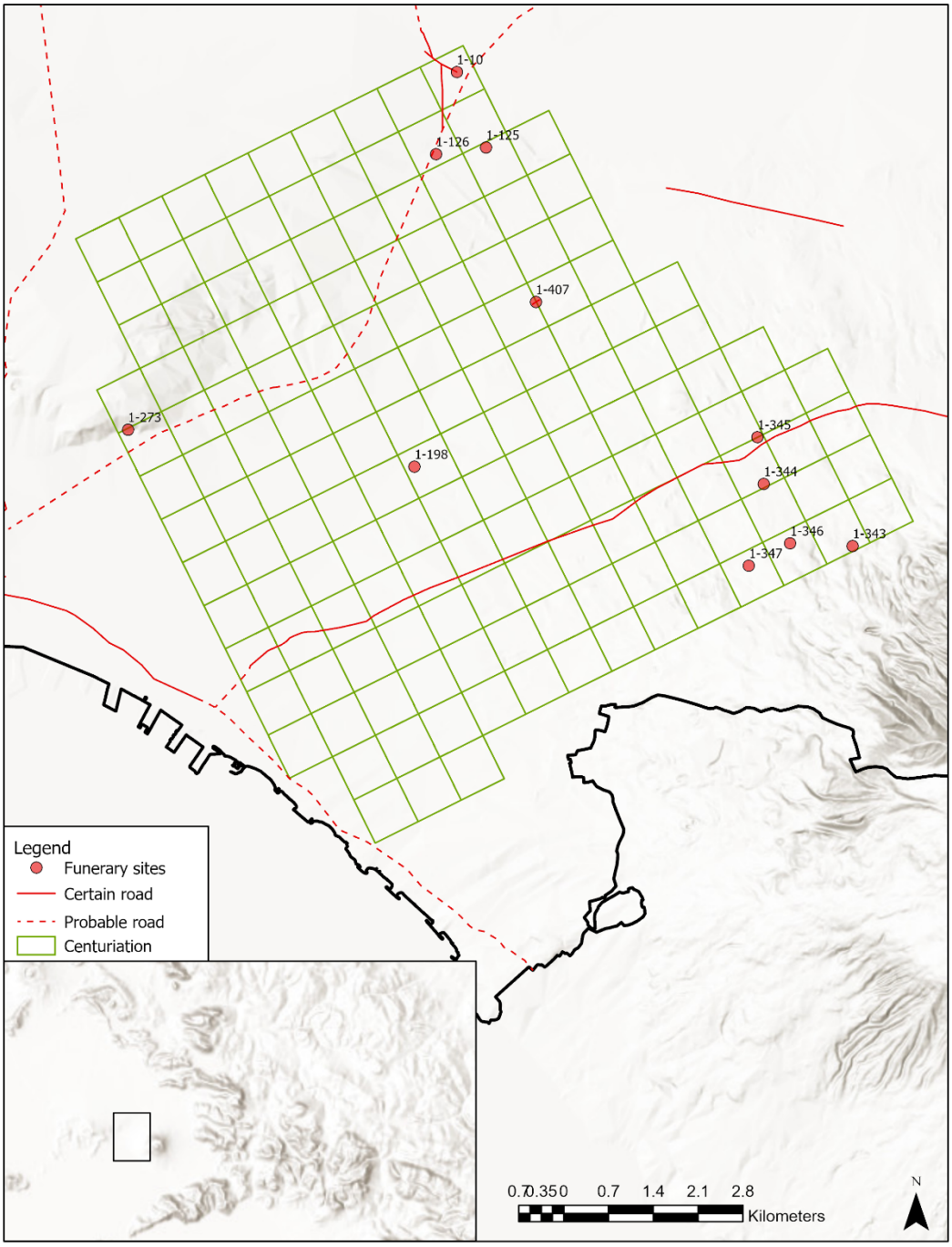


Figure 63 Funerary sites and the Naples centuriation grid (funerary site data from Appendix 1; grid from De Simone 2014 and Chouquer et al. 1987).

4.4.6.1.3 Nola and Abella

Analysis of the relationship between funerary sites and the numerous centuriation grids in the area around Nola (summarised in Table 2) is complicated by the overlapping nature of these grids. The placement of some of these burial sites may also occasionally be due to chance, as some sites appear to be near the boundaries of several overlapping grids. Additionally, the apparent correlation between field boundaries and burials in suburban areas closest to cities needs to be handled with caution as this distribution reflects the accumulation of burial sites in areas which may not have been fully centuriated. The discussion which follows will centre on areas further away from urban centres. We can nevertheless make some significant observations.

A comparison of the currently available archaeological data against expected values shows that in the cases of the Nola I, II and III grids, the pattern of actual burial placement in the does significantly differ from expected values (Table 2) at a statistically significant level (p-value = < 0.05), but do not in the Nola D grid. This finding suggests that centuriated boundaries played a limited role in the placement of burials in the area around Nola, though proximity to these landscape features clearly was not the only factor at play. The greatest proportion of burial sites placed near centuriated boundaries in rural areas can be observed within the Nola I and Nola III grids (Table 2, with Figure 64, Figure 65, Figure 66 and Figure 67). Burial sites sometimes appear to correlate more closely with boundaries on one axis rather than the other, as in the Nola III grid, where five out of seven such sites seem to be located close to *cardines* rather than to *decumani*, though the small number of numbers involved mean that it is difficult to place much weight on this observation.

	Table 2: Funerary sites within 50m of a centuriated field boundary in the Nola centuriation grids.					
	Observed (Appendix 1)			**Expected**		**Chi-square test**
Grid	**Total sites**	**Count**	**Percentage**	**Count**	**Percentage**	**P-Value**
Nola I	34	9	26.4	4.64	13.66	0.041043374
Nola II	32	5	15.6	4.37	13.64	0.027734718
Nola III	23	7	30.4	3.14	13.64	0.024733365
Nola D	16	3	18.8	2.2	13.76	0.590217742

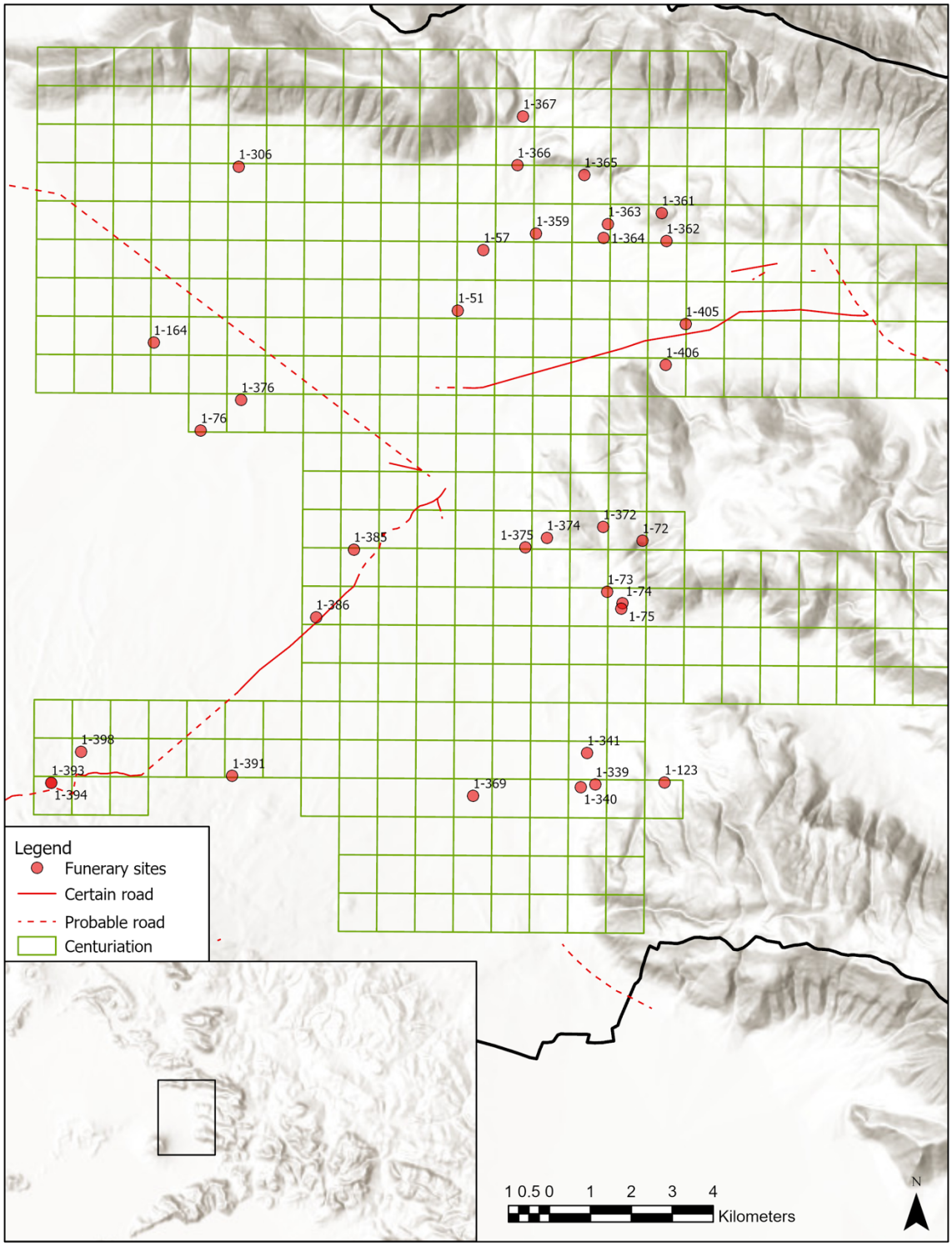


Figure 64 Funerary sites and the Nola I centuriation grid (funerary site data from Appendix 1; grid adapted from De Simone 2014 and Chouquer et al. 1987).

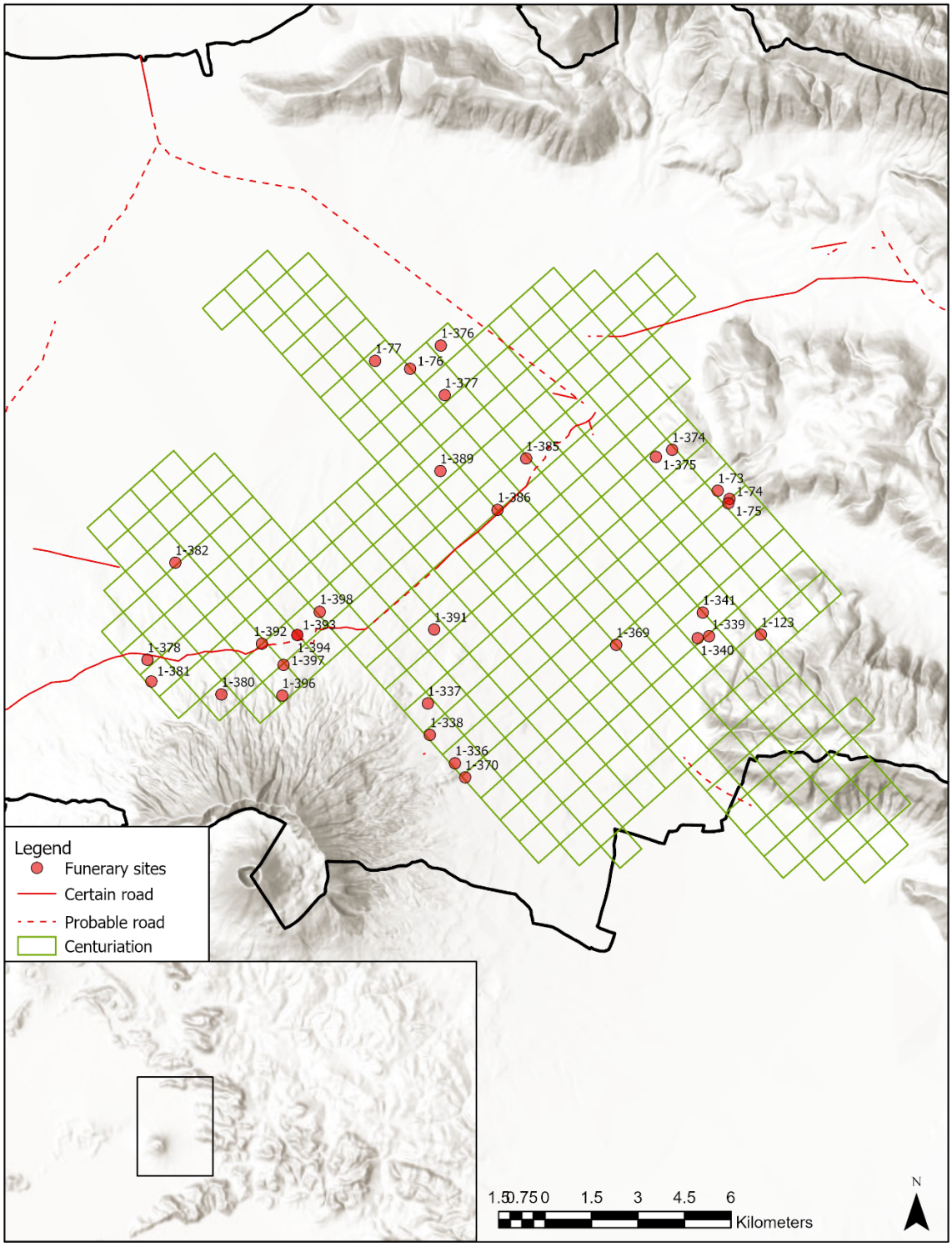


Figure 65 Funerary sites and the Nola II centuriation grid (funerary site data from Appendix 1; grid adapted from De Simone 2014 and Chouquer et al. 1987).

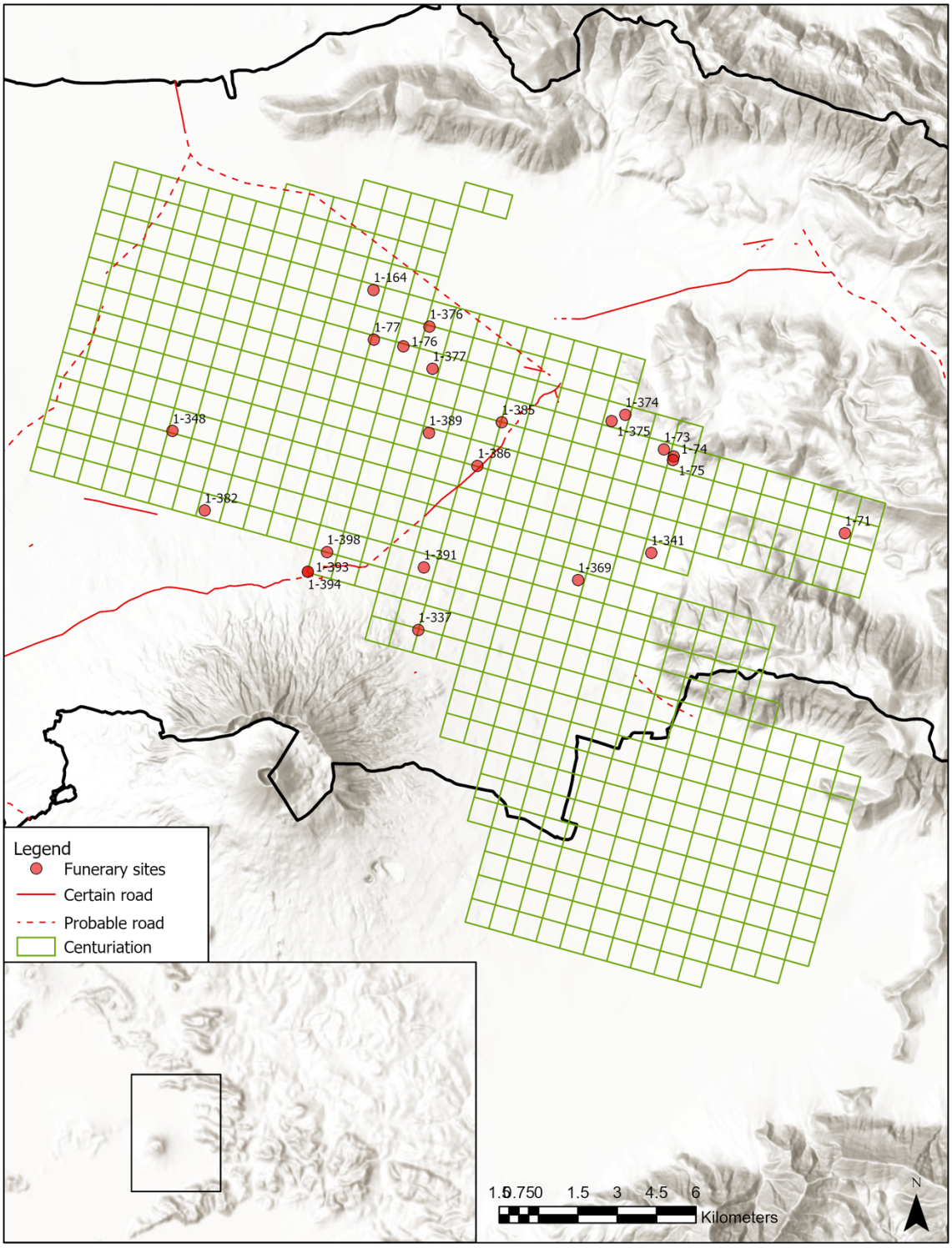


Figure 66 Funerary sites and the Nola III centuriation grid (funerary site data from Appendix 1; grid adapted from De Simone 2014 and Chouquer et al. 1987).

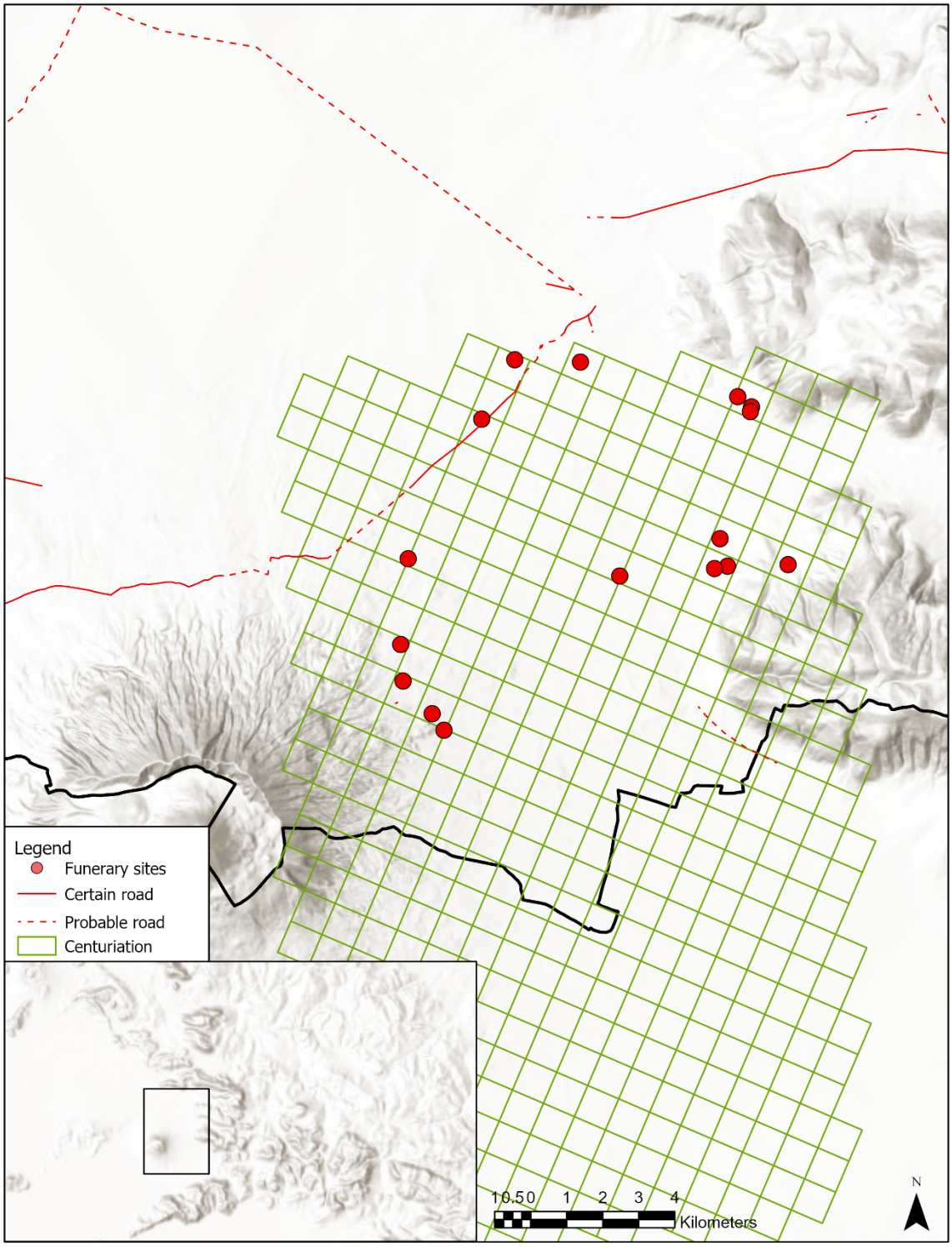


Figure 67 Funerary sites and the Nola D centuriation grid (funerary site data from Appendix 1; grid from De Simone 2014 and Soricelli 2002).

4.4.6.2 The Upper Calore Valley

Limited evidence for a correlation between burials and centuriated field boundaries over the longue durée is also provided by the case of the Upper Calore Valley, though it is important to stress that this may be better connected to the role of roads in marking the edge of land parcels, rather than because of the attractive power of boundaries *qua* boundaries. As we already saw in the introduction to this section, centuriation has been identified in the Upper Calore Valley, an area now occupied by the modern municipalities of Montella, Cassano Irpino, and Nusco. In antiquity, this area was more rural than most of the territory encompassed by this chapter, though a marketplace named *Forum Felix* has been identified (**2-46**), partially based on a 1st-century BCE inscription found near the Pollentina Spring which lists the *Forum's* various public amenities (for sites discussed in this section, Figure 68).[445]

Epigraphic evidence demonstrates that the plain of Montella was first centuriated during the Gracchan land reforms. A 2nd-century BCE *cippus,* set up to mark the junction of a *decumanus* and a *cardo* was found in località ChiaNola right at the north of the plain (Figure 69).[446] However, a second *cippus,* perhaps belonging to the 1st century BCE, seems to indicate either a second phase of centuriation or a renewal of the existing grid at a later date.[447] Analysis of aerial and satellite photography by Pratillo has also allowed for limited reconstruction of the centuriation grid in the area. Field boundaries are visible in località Folloni in Montella, but the grid's full extent is unclear, and this problem merits further exploration in future.[448] For example, the presence of one of the two boundary *cippi* at località Stratola, c. 3 km to the north, and the modern toponym Limiti*,* derived from the Latin *limites,* some 1.5 km beyond that, may suggest this land division occupied a large part of the Upper Calore Valley. In the absence of other evidence for subsequent phases of centuriation, we may assume this grid dates to the same period(s) as the *cippi*, that is to say, it was laid out in the late Republican period.[449]

The clearest evidence for a correlation between centuriation and funerary sites in the Upper Calore Valley is in località Folloni (Figure 70), where evidence seems to correlate

[445] Pratillo 2009, 80-81.
[446] Colucci Pescatori 1991, 90; Colucci Pescatori 1998, 41.
[447] Scandone 1911, 158-159, fig. 9; Colucci Pescatori 1998, 41.
[448] Pratillo 2009, 77.
[449] Pratillo 2009, 78. Toponyms: Castagnoli 1958, 11; Gentile 1975, 44.

primarily with ancient *cardines.* Here, three field tracks running parallel to the modern via Folloni and perpendicular to via Francesco, cover an area of 354 m, or c. 10 *actus*.[450] It is probable that these three field tracks, in combination with others visible in the area reflect the ancient centuriation grid, with the two modern roads just mentioned reflecting an ancient *cardo* and *decumanus* respectively. Unfortunately, the extent of the centuriation grid in the Upper Calore Valley remains unclear, but if we hypothesise that the grid evidenced on the ground continued on the same orientation towards the southwest, then it is probable that two generically late Republican or early Imperial funerary sites at the Chiesa di S. Pietro in località Cannavali (**1-94**) and Regione Prati (**1-99**) laid within 50 m of centuriated *cardines.* The centuriated boundaries of these fields appear to have had a lasting impact on the placement of burial, well into Late Antiquity. A cluster of nine burials within this field system (**1-97**) uncovered during recent rescue excavations was probably part of a larger cemetery. Burial goods including a follis of Constantine (319-324) as well as glass and ceramics suggest a date between the mid-4th and mid-6th centuries, implying use over an extended period. The site seems to sit near the edge of an ancient field, but this is probably not primarily because of its location close to a boundary, but instead reflects the power of roads to attract burial sites over the *longue durée*.

[450] Pratillo 2009, 77-78.



Figure 68 The Upper Calore Valley, marked with key locations discussed in the text.



Figure 69 A Gracchan boundary cippus marking the junction of a Cardo and Decumanus, from località ChiaNola, Nusco (from Pratillo 2008, 78, fig. 3).

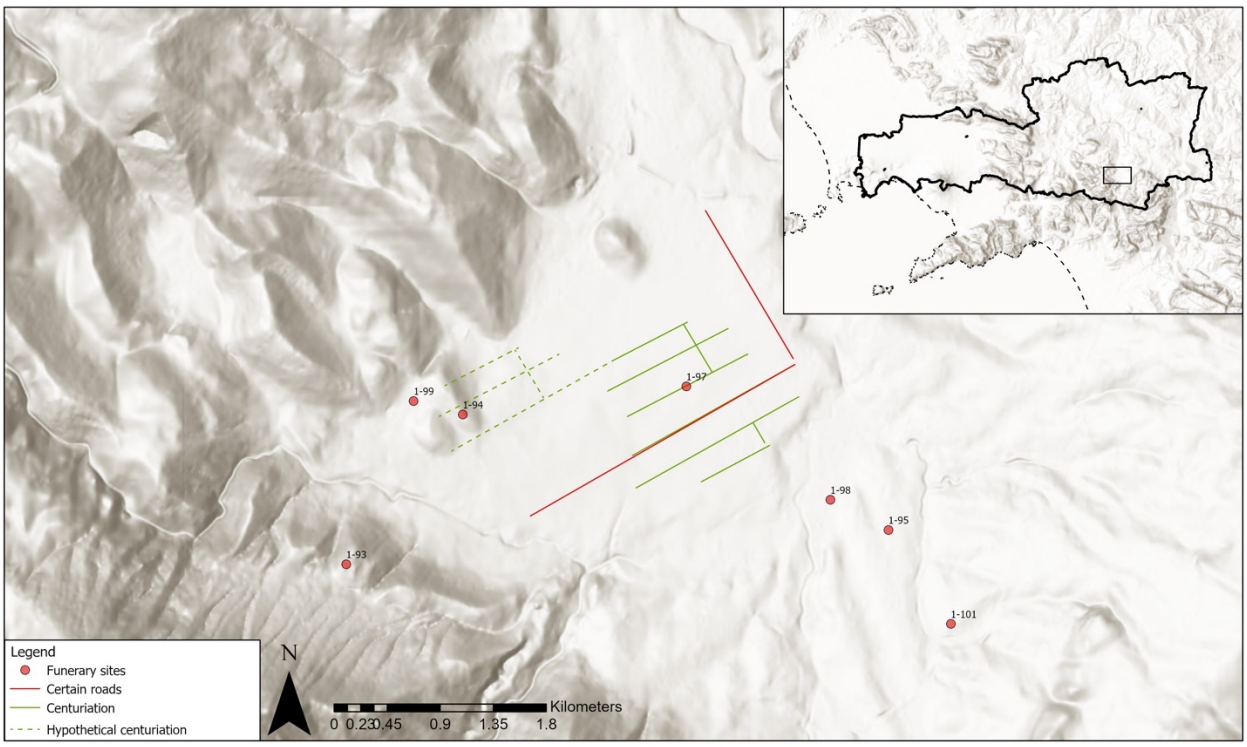


Figure 70 Centuriated field boundaries and funerary sites in Montella (funerary data from Appendix 1; grid adapted from Pratillo 2008).

4.4.6.3 *Aeclanum*

In other parts of Campania, the correlation between burial sites and field boundaries is rather more limited. Textual and epigraphic evidence indicates that parts of the landscape of *Hirpinia* underwent centuriation in the 2nd century BCE during the Gracchan land reforms. A further campaign of land division may have taken place as late as the Hadrianic or Antonine Periods in the immediate vicinity of *Aeclanum*.[451] Ditaranto has recently highlighted possible evidence for the layout of the ancient field system identified through a combined program of fieldwalking and aerial photographic analysis in the territory of this ancient city (Figure 71, above).[452] Ditaranto hypothesizes a grid with land parcels of 24 x 20 *actus* (853.49 m x 711.24 m) but notes that the information available at present for the area closest to *Aeclanum* does not allow us to date field boundaries any closer than the arc of time between the Late

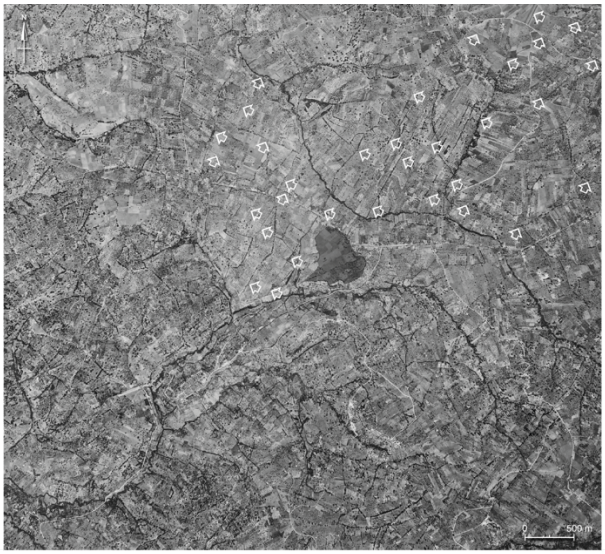
[451] Gracchan land reforms: *The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors*, I, 210, 7 L and II, 261, 1 L; CIL IX 1024-5; Ditaranto 2016, 7; Colucci Pescatori 1991, 89-90; Gallo 2015, 16-21; Isayev 2013, 19-25; Buonopane 2012, 326-329, 2013; Uggeri 2001. *Aeclanum: The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors,* II, 261, 5-8 with Compatangelo-Soussignan 1999.

[452] Ditaranto 2016.

Republic and the Early Imperial Period, and suggests that we may be looking at multiple phases of land division. Moreover, the mountainous topography around *Aeclanum* is not suited to a contiguous grid. Projection of a hypothetical grid over the area has therefore not been attempted, and the analysis presented here has been carried out on the basis of the boundaries identified by Ditaranto alone.

The available burial evidence from around *Aeclanum* suggests that roads played a more important role than centuriation in attracting burial sites (Figure 71, below), though some loosely located inscriptions also occasionally appear close to boundaries, sometimes when these are adjacent to roads. Burials sites around the city can be divided into two main clusters, with a single early imperial burial group of unspecified size at località Pianopantano (**1-83**) to the southwest of *Aeclanum*'s urban area*,* which Lo Pilato argues was located along a rural road.[453] All other sites are arranged along the path of the ancient Via Appia, so it is considerably more likely that this major thoroughfare was the true pole of attraction in this suburban landscape. Examining the distribution of decontextualised inscriptions from the *Supplementa Italica* (discussed above, section 4.2.2.5) suggests that there are only occasional coincidences between the location of burials and centuriation. Most of these sites are also located in the immediate vicinity of the approximately east-west course of the Appia, underlining the importance of this major trunk road in the situation of burial sites. However, several funerary inscriptions were located along field boundaries, suggesting that placement near a boundary did in some cases play a role in the siting of monuments. Based on this evidence, we may therefore suppose the Via Appia took priority over boundaries, though centuriated field boundaries in *Aeclanum* were sometimes of secondary importance in determining the placement of burials.

[453] Lo Pilato 2012b, 525.



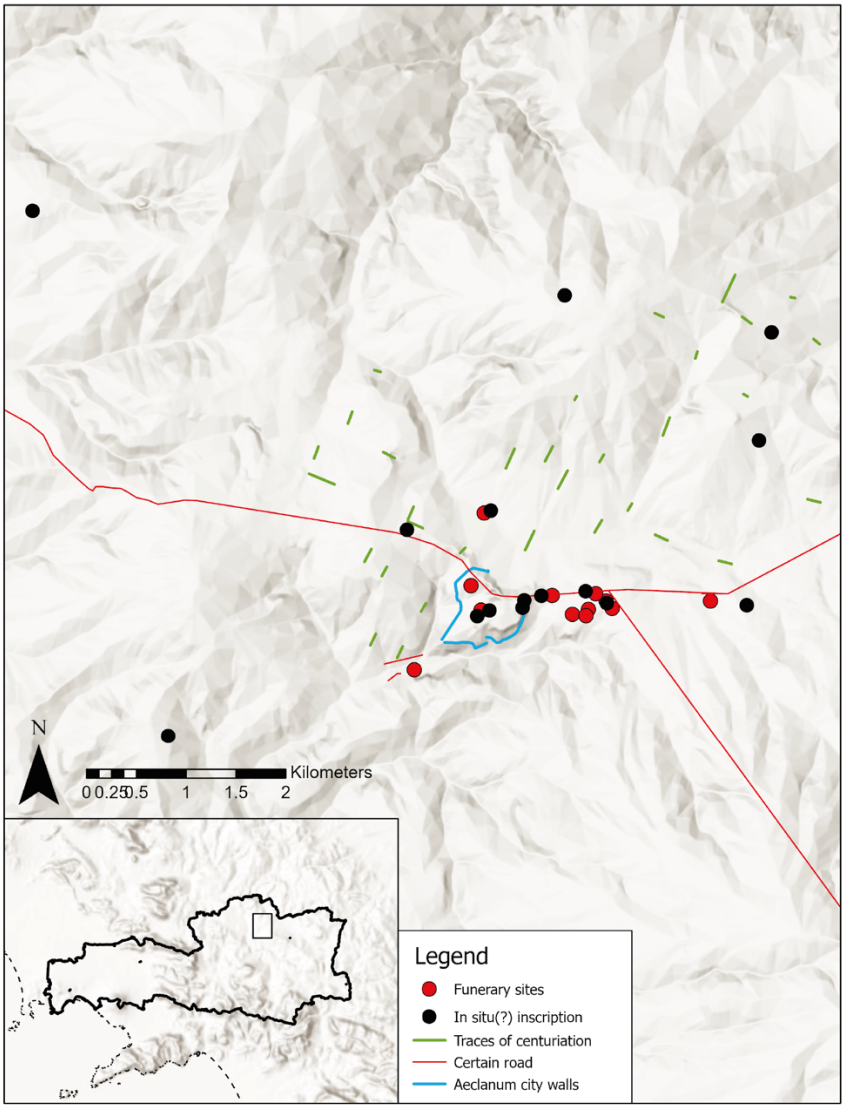


Figure 71 Above: traces of centuriation identified on aerial photography in the hinterland of Aeclanum (Adapted from Ditaranto 2014). Below: traces of centuriation plotted funerary sites, possible in situ funerary inscriptions and roads (Data from Appendices 3 and 6).

4.4.6.4 Discussion

The distribution of burials indicates that proximity to field boundaries was only one of the factors which influenced the choice of funerary site location in Central Campania. Burial near such boundaries was by no means a universal practice in the early imperial period or in Late Antiquity. Furthermore, it is likely that not all centuriation boundaries remained visible into Late Antiquity, following landscape transformations caused by the volcanic eruption of 79 or changes of property ownership in subsequent periods. These processes will have decreased the attractive pull of field boundaries over burials. It must be stressed that the field boundaries of this centuriation grid do not seem to have exercised an attractive pull on all funerary sites located across all Central Campania, and there seems to be a stronger connection between the placement of burials and the centuriation boundaries around Nola and *Abella* than in the territory of *Aeclanum.* The choice to be buried near a centuriation boundary may in part arise from the role of some field boundaries as paths of movement. This possibility is best evidenced in the territories of Naples and Nola, where burials near field boundaries are most commonly located along the north-south course of *cardines*, which may have served as secondary paths of movements within the landscape. This hypothesis suggests that the double attraction of field boundaries and paths of movement increased the potential visibility and by extension the audience for a burial or other funerary site located nearby. This choice of burial location increased the potential for the creation of memory through iterative viewing and/or return visits to the grave site.

4.4.7 Conclusion

Trunk roads played a major role in the siting of burials in Central Campania, both in suburban and rural areas, over the *longue durée*. The clustering of many burial sites along roads in the suburbs of cities in Central Campania suggests that proximity to a road was a desirable factor when choosing a place for burial. Being buried near a road conferred both accessibility and visibility to a tomb. These first of these factors allowed family members or the wider community to visit the graveside, while the second made a tomb visible to road users. This visibility might be thought to ensure enduring memory for the deceased. Burial near roads in the countryside during the Roman period also appears to have been an important factor, for

the same reasons. Assessing the role of roads in shaping the funerary landscapes of the study area during the early Middle Ages is more challenging. However, the so-called *via santa* between Cimitile and Gargano, which is hypothesized to connect a constellation of churches and their accompanying burial grounds, could suggest that the connection between roads and burials endured after the end of the Roman Empire.

The connection between burials and centuriated boundaries is, however, challenging to assess. Some funerary sites clearly were located near to field boundaries, but this does not appear to have been the sole factor at play in the siting of these burials. Moreover, the apparent preference for burial near one axis of some centuriated grids over the other could indicate that some centuriated boundaries played an important role as secondary paths of movement, and that burial near to these boundaries was in effect driven by a desire to be near to a road, in much the same way that burials correlate with the know course of trunk roads in much of Central Campania. In other words, burial near to boundaries could prove attractive because of the accessibility and visibility such a location provided, rather than for the sake of the boundary alone.

4.5: Site longevity and reuse

4.5.1 Introduction

The length of time for which a funerary site was used is closely linked to its role as a place for the curation of memory. This section seeks to categorise and analyse the different types of site longevity in view of the limited available evidence for dating at many poorly published burial sites. It argues that sites in the suburbs were often, though not always, longer-lived than their rural counterparts, reflecting the role of cities as an attractive pole for the curation and preservation of collective memory. Burial sites in the countryside could also be long-lived, but the evidence for extended use is more circumscribed, suggesting a more fleeting use for these sites, though this does not automatically mean that rural sites were forgotten after they had fallen out of use for burial.

The second half of this section examines the role of graves in reusing and interacting with the remains of the past. Reuse of space in town and country has received considerable attention in late antique archaeology, but the two are seldom discussed together. It is argued that in both cases, burials inside earlier structures provided a means by which to monumentalise and to *find* burials within a changing landscape. By choosing to bury their

dead in a reused space, survivors could also have been attempting to create a longer-lasting monument than was otherwise available to them. These strategies sought to ensure a lasting sense of memory, though the sporadic burials inside some earlier structures calls into question whether this aim was achieved.

4.5.2 Site longevity and categorisation

The longevity of burial sites has implications for their significance as a focus of memory, though we must distinguish between their ongoing use for new burials and continued non-funerary frequentation. The former, considered in the first part of this section, is complicated by the quality of the available evidence and is especially problematic when sites are only published in summary form. To quantify these data, they are graphed in Figure 72, according to the following categories:

- **Long-chronology sites**:
    - **Long-use:** sites (34) that remained continuously active for all or most of a date range of over two centuries, reflecting their significance as enduring foci for memory among the communities who used them.
    - **Long-dated:** sites (83) where stratigraphic, typological or other contextual information (e.g. grave goods or inscriptions) allow us to date the sites to within a circumscribed period of more than one century, but without certainty about whether this reflects (a) constant usage across the entire time-period; (b) use within a part of it; or (c) sporadic use with periods of hiatus.
- **Short-chronology sites:**
    - **Closely dated:** sites (47 total) which can be closely dated, usually by epigraphic means, to either a single year or a restricted range of years (less than 100), but where subsequent funerary activity is unattested.
    - **Single burial events:** sites (75) where only a single burial event is attested, even if the chronology is less precise, because by their nature they represent discrete burial events.
- **Undated** (and not discussed further below):

- **Undated**: In 36 cases, sites could not be closely dated and are placed in the "undated" category.
- **Generic dating**: those sites (142 total) dated within a broad chronological span (e.g. "Roman," "late antique," or "early medieval"), where the quality of the evidence renders it impossible to isolate a specific moment in which the sites were in use.

The cessation of new burials at a site does not preclude continued commemoration. So long as burial sites remained visible, they could be focal points of memory, even when land had come under new ownership. I will argue that although burials in both suburban and rural areas served as focal points for the commemoration of the dead, the greater longevity of burials in suburban zones means that they had a greater potential to serve as *foci* for memory over time. Within this context, it is possible that individual tombs, especially those of a less monumental nature, did not survive over the *longue durée*, but the gradual accumulation of graves in the suburbs of cities allowed for the development of a form of collective memory.

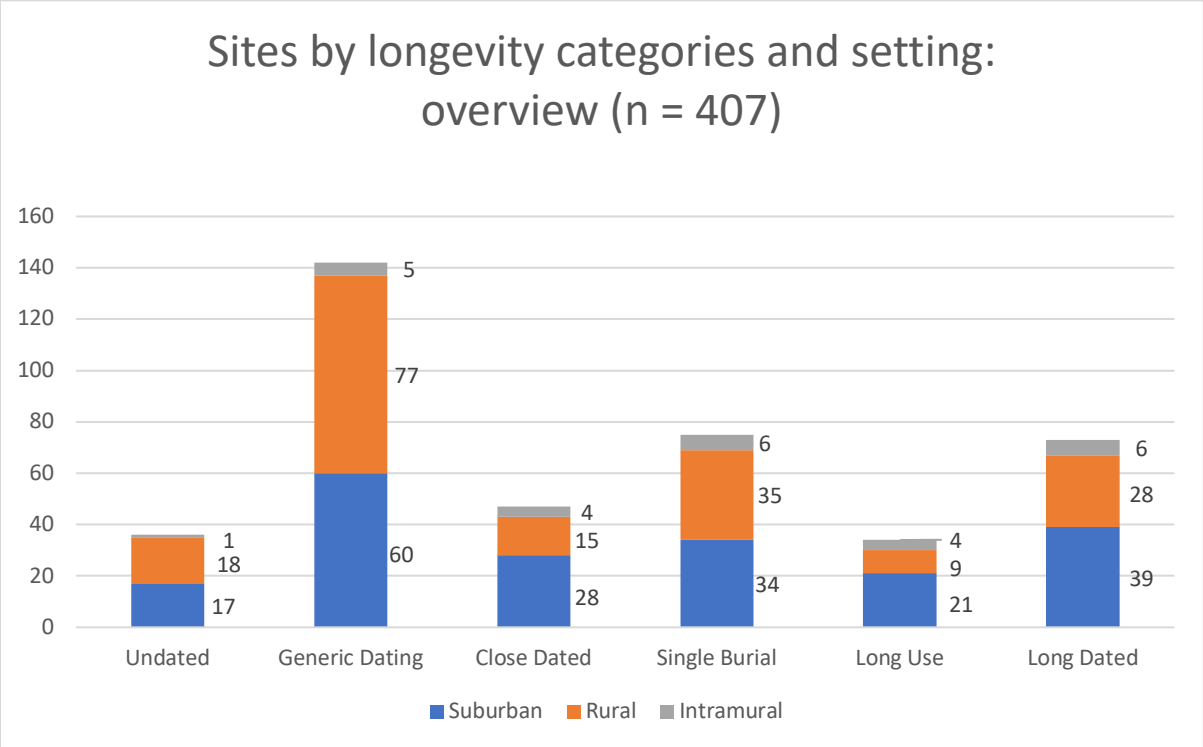


Figure 72 Funerary sites in Campania by longevity categories and setting: overview (Data from Appendix 1)

4.5.3 Longer-lived sites

A relatively restricted number of funerary sites in Central Campania, most of them located in suburban areas, were used over an extended period (>200 years). In total, 34 sites could be rated as seeing extended use, 21 of which were in suburban areas, with just nine located in rural settings. Sites placed within this group are underrepresented as this category can only be assigned when high-quality data is recorded. Sites investigated during early, non-stratigraphic excavations are particularly likely to be underrepresented in this group. The overwhelmingly urban centre of gravity for long-lived sites should be seen as reflecting the ongoing attractive pull of cities and their suburbs as visible venues for burial; while some rural sites also provided important burial grounds over an extended period, the failure of many to do so reflects their limited significance as venues for the development of collective memory.

Securely identifying sites used over the *longue durée* can be methodologically challenging and it is possible that some sites instead saw sporadic yet repeated occupation and reuse of specific plots. For example, at Castel Capuano outside Naples (**1-127**) at least three Latin funerary inscriptions dating to between the 2nd and the middle of the 3rd century CE were found within an area which was the site of >80 graves deposited between the 5th and 1st centuries BCE. Since the evidence available to us at present does not indicate whether this occupation continued unbroken through the 1st century CE, we might entertain the possibility that there was a hiatus in funerary activity before the site saw renewed use in the 2nd century.

4.5.3.1 The suburban evidence under the Early Empire

The suburbs of many cities in Central Campania see a high degree of continuity of use throughout antiquity. However, suburban landscapes were not static entities: some areas become more monumentalised over time, and may have distracted from earlier, and humbler funerary remains which occupied the same spaces. The repeated deposition of burials in the same place over an extended period created a form of collective or communal memory among the inhabitants of a city and its hinterland.

The suburban burial grounds of *Aeclanum* provide an instructive example of the spread of extensive burial sites through time and space. Numerous burial sites have been identified in *Aeclanum's* suburbs and these primarily cluster east of the town, following the ancient *Via Appia* (Figure 71 right, above). The precise phasing of these funerary spaces is unclear as much

of the dating evidence is generically Roman. However, the presence of a burial with a 1st/2nd-century epitaph beneath the Hotel Aeclanum (**1-82**) indicates that some of these funerary sites were in use from the Early Imperial period. Nearby, at least 475 graves were deposited at the via San Michele site (**1-84**, Figure 73) between the later 4th century and the middle of the 6th, reflecting sustained use of the suburbs for burial over an extended period. We should therefore envisage this suburban zone area as covered with a thick mesh of burial spaces throughout the life of the city. The cemeteries outside *Aeclanum* are extensively excavated and their patterns of use may be taken as emblematic of the lengthy trajectories of burial in some other suburban zones across Central Campania.

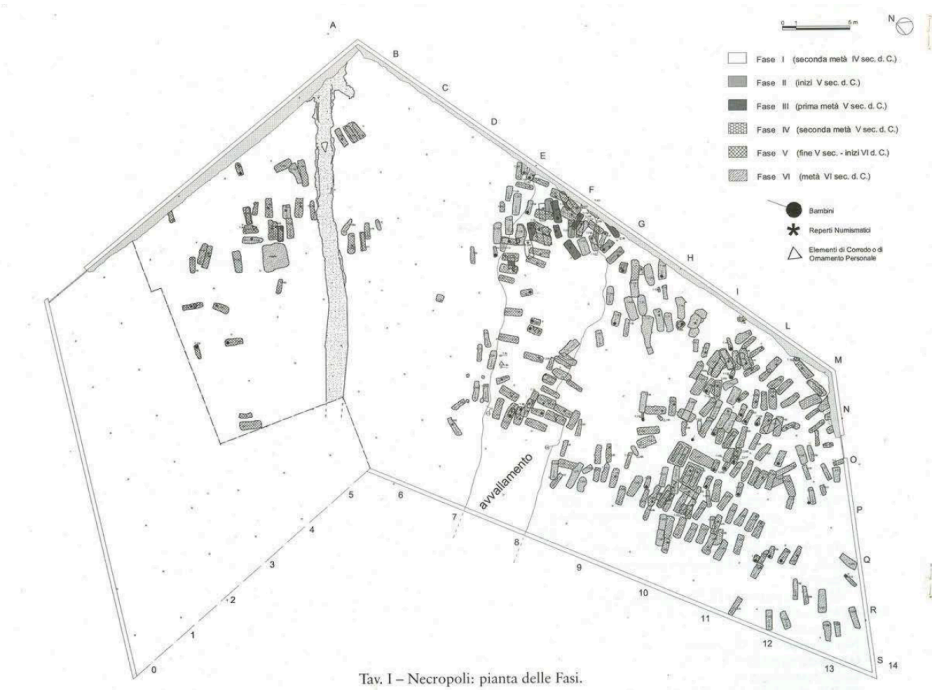


Figure 73 Plan of the San Michele necropolis in the suburbs of Aeclanum (1-79) in use for burial from the 2nd century to the middle of the 6th (From Lo Pilato 2005, 146, tav. 1).

Pre-existing monuments, especially those structures which took highly durable subterranean forms, had an enduring impact on later landscapes. Outside Naples, below via Cristallini, no. 133 (**1-233**)**,** four hypogea were in use between the Hellenistic and the Early Imperial period. Hypogeum D is noted to have contained at least thirty niches for cinerary urns, and if we assume that these were part of the original architectural design, we may infer that long-term use was expected from the beginning. Similarly, La Forgia writes that several of the 2nd-century BCE chamber tombs found within *Avella's* western necropolis were used until the 5th

century CE, but provides no further details.[454] These examples underline the possibility that some burial sites could have a long lifetime indeed, though little evidence for this is now available as most hypogea were excavated before the adoption of modern archaeological dating methods.

The Early Imperial period also saw the monumentalisation of pre-used funerary spaces. In Nola's eastern suburbs, at the modern via Torricelle (**1-317, 1-318**), two, or possibly three, tower tombs (see Figure 74) were constructed between the 1st century BCE and 1st century CE within an area which had seen funerary use since at least the 8th century BCE. More modest graves continued to be dug in the surroundings of these new monumental structures until the 3rd century. Similar processes are to be envisaged at the other cities in Central Campania, such as *Abella* (e.g. at Loc. Casale, **1-29**, **1-30**, **1-31**, **1-32**), though they have not been thoroughly investigated in prior research due to a tendency to cease excavating once a layer of burials or other funerary evidence has been uncovered, leaving earlier phases of site use undiscovered.



Figure 74 Tomb at via Torricelle, Nola (1-318), which was inserted into an area used for burial for at least seven centuries at the time of its construction during the 1st century CE or BCE (Photo credit: Mapio.net)

The development of large numbers of above-ground mausolea in suburban settings, like those just mentioned, and usually discussed under the rubric of tomb streets, has received extensive attention in the scholarly literature, but the longevity of such funerary sites

[454] La Forgia 1994, coll. 569.

challenges us to consider the disruption these developments could have on earlier funerary remains. Many of these new funerary structures were placed within a pre-existing suburban funerary landscape, and therefore had a transformative impact on earlier sites of commemoration: potentially leading to the destruction or displacement of earlier burials. Even if this were not the case, they could distract attention from less prominent burials or funerary structures. In doing so, the recent and wealthy dead might assume a preeminent place within the funerary landscape.

We can seldom see the precise moment when a funerary site falls out of use, but one exception is presented by a mausoleum on via Sant'Agata (**1-326**), in Nola's western suburbs, which was probably built between 20 BCE and 20 CE. This mausoleum was fitted with six niches for cinerary urns and three masonry-built funerary beds which may indicate that it was later used for inhumation. Significantly, the structure was spoliated during the 3rd century, which provides a clear endpoint for its use. The dismantling of the via Sant'Agata mausoleum seems to reflect a genuine decline in the site's use and a shift in emphasis towards new places as Christian foci for memory, as we shall now examine.

4.5.3.2 Christian monumentalisation

The rise of Christianity saw another wave of monumentalisation in burial spaces with existing histories of use, but also drove the abandonment of other sites, as just discussed. At Cimitile, north of Nola (**1-58)**, a 3rd-century burial ground arranged around a series of mausolea became known as the final resting place of St Felix.[455] The first phases of the site's Christian usage date to the early 4th century, but Paulinus of Nola was instrumental in the monumentalisation of the complex in the early 5th century, when he swept away the pre-existing structures and had the *Basilica Nova* constructed. The site was subsequently used for burial over an extended period, as additional basilicas gradually accrued at the site. After inundations by volcanic deposits in 472 and 506/512, the basilica of Santo Stefano was deliberately dug out to facilitate continued devotional and funerary use. An additional basilica, now dedicated to St Thomas, was also added in the 6th or 7th century, providing space for at least 84 further burials. The complex continued to be used for burial, especially for the

[455] Ebanista 1999, 2003a, 2006.

bishops of Nola, down to the 10th century, making it one of the longest uses of funerary space attested in Central Campania.[456] The creation of this Christian space also reflects a new funerary pole of attraction which partially displaced the long-running centres of burial around Nola itself.

Similar pictures appear around *Abellinum* and Naples. A major Christian basilica was built during the 4th century at Capo La Torre (**1-18**) outside *Abellinum* in an area which was previously the site of suburban burials during the imperial period (Figure 75). This new basilica remained in use until the second half of the 6th. Its development reflects the Christian community staking a claim to a space which was previously used by a broad swathe of the population of *Abellinum* and its territory. The basilica's construction provided a major new reference point in the suburban funerary landscape, able to continue to attract large numbers of burials, many of them marked by inscribed slabs. Outside Naples, Amodio hypothesises a Christian devotional itinerary which integrated a host of shrines and catacombs. The route probably began at the Porta San Gennaro, before passing the current via Vergini, via Arena della Sanità and via della Sanità, passing close to the basilica of S. Eufemia, which was closely associated with the Vico Lammatari catacombs (**1-131**), before turning north, past the church of S. Gaudiosus and the associated catacombs (**1-128**). Amodio then envisages the route continuing to the basilicas of S. Gennaro, S. Agrippino and S. Stefano, as well as the catacombs of S. Gennaro (**1-129**), while in the vicinity of Piazza S. Maria, a subsidiary path branched out to provide access to the basilica of S. Fortunato and the catacombs of S. Severo (**1-130**). This investment in a thick mesh of commemorative sites outside Naples substantially reshaped the landscape of memory in the town's suburbs.

The process of Christian monumentalisation undergone at these sites had a major impact on the funerary landscapes of the suburbs in which they were located, leading to the creation of spatial foci with an effect akin to a gravitational pull. Though other parts of the suburban landscape outside each city continued to be used for burial to a lesser extent, these sanctuaries became ever more important through time, as they became central points for the creation of collective memory for the communities using them for burial.

[456] Ebanista 2015, 57.



Figure 75 Site plan of the basilica at Capo La Torre (1-18) with extensive use for burial (From Pescatori 2013a, fig. 25.2)

4.5.3.3 The Rural Evidence

The rural evidence for burial sites which saw extended use is more limited, with just nine attested in the countryside. The evidence is often ambiguous, leaving us unable to establish whether the use over a long period reflects repeated episodic burial, or continued use over the *longue durée*. For example, at località Jerola in Palma Campania (**1-339**), a group of at least 35 graves were recovered, dating between the 1st and 4th centuries CE. Unfortunately, this cemetery has yet to be published in detail and it is difficult to establish whether it reflects sporadic or continual use (Figure 76), Similarly, at località Quattrograne near Avellino (**1-49**), approximately thirty burials are located along a road (**2-27**). These burials cover a chronological arc between "piena età imperiale" until at least the 6th century, but it is unclear whether this includes periods of hiatus.

By Late Antiquity, burial sites which saw extended use in the countryside were often associated with Christian churches, whether placed in earlier funerary spaces or developing in places not associated with burials. At Prata di Principato Ultra (**1-352, 2-152**), the development of a church involved the adaptation of a pre-existing catacomb.[457] The presence of a 2nd-or 3rd-century inscription seems to provide a *terminus post quem*, and the existence

[457] Cinquantaquattro & Pescatori 2013, 40-42.

of two Christian epitaphs of the 5th century has been taken to suggest that this funerary use continued, whether unbroken or intermittently, into Late Antiquity. The recovery of a coin of Baduela (593) in the apse could suggest that by the later 6th or early 7th century the site was transformed into a church (Figure 77), reflecting its ongoing resonance. Similar dynamics are visible at Pratola Serra (**1-353, 2-153,** Figure 78) and Masseria Pagano in Schiava di Tufino (**1-405, 2-250**) where churches hosted burials from the 6th century onwards. Critically, all three of these churches were located along roads, underlining that connections to wider transportation networks sometimes remained important in the development of long-lasting commemoration well after the end of the Roman Empire.



Figure 76 An adult or juvenile tomb (t.2) at località Jerola in Palma Campania (1-339) (From Sorrentino 2002)

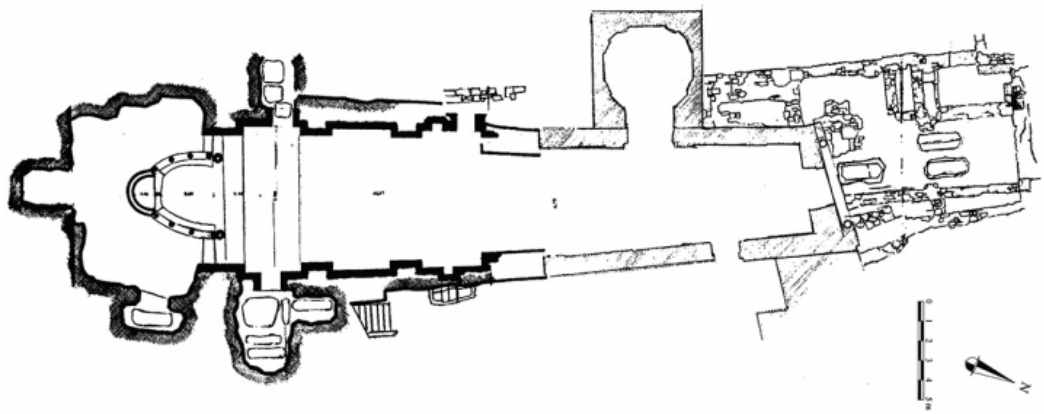


Figure 77 The basilica di SS. Anunziata, Prata di Principato Ultra (1-352, 2-152), subterranean church formed from a catacomb of 2nd/3rd-century origin (Pescatori 2013b, fig. 30)

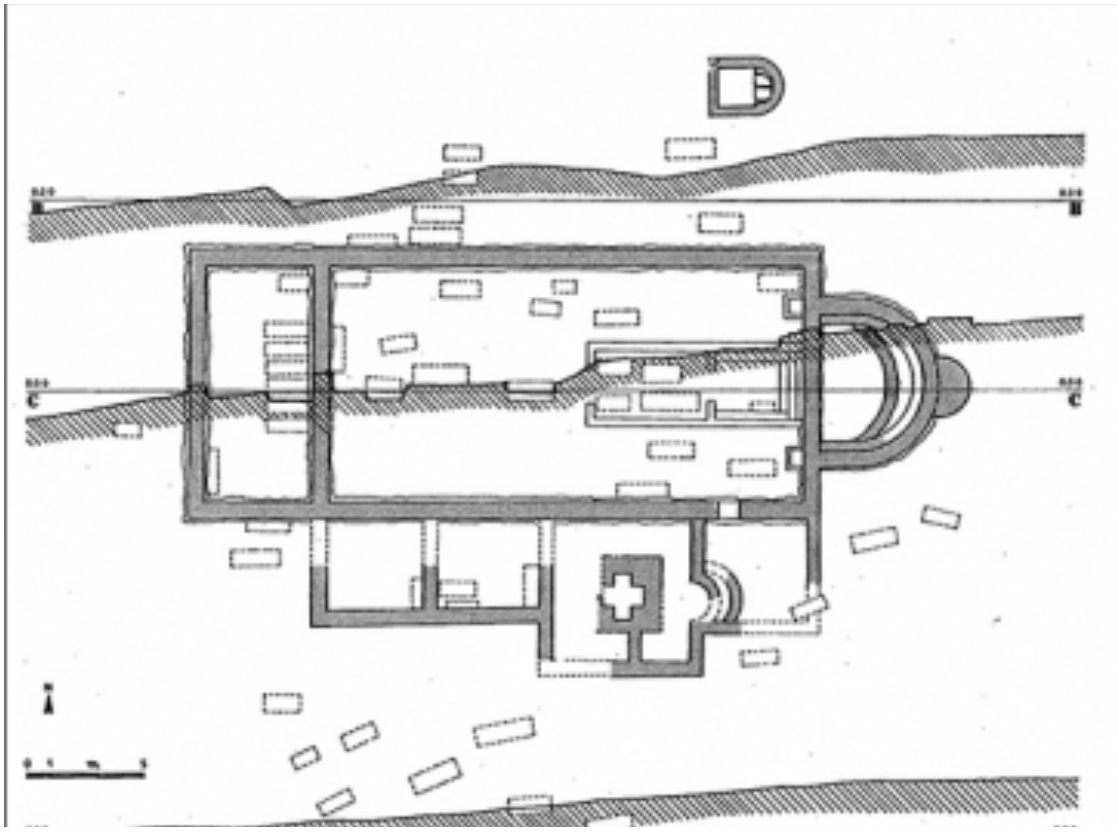


Figure 78 The basilica di S. Giovanni at località Pioppi in Pratola Serra (1-353, 2-153) (from Pescatori 2013c, 42, fig. 31)

4.5.4 Continued frequentation

Funerary sites do not lose their significance when they cease to be used for new burials. Continued frequentation indicates that earlier funerary spaces remained visible in the landscape and retained a degree of resonance with communities of later periods, as we saw above (section 2.2.5.1). Recognising post-burial activity at sites can be challenging, and as the identification of ongoing frequentation is often reliant on the recording and publication of portable material culture of later periods, such activity is securely identified at only two sites in the eastern suburbs of Naples. On Corso Umberto I (**1-142**), excavations uncovered a cluster of seven graves dating to the between last third of the 2nd century and the middle of the 3rd. Coins of Justinian were recovered nearby, which might reflect ongoing frequentation of the funerary space into the 6th century. In the same suburb, three columbaria were identified at via N. Mignona (**1-141**). Finds included 1st-century ceramics and a Greek-language inscription as well as coins of Justinian and a "Christian" glass vessel. These latter objects may indicate that these structures continued to be frequented into Late Antiquity, by

individuals with some connection, perceived or real, with the original occupants of these funerary structures, by potential reclaimants in Late Antiquity for funerary or religious purposes. Alternatively, sporadic habitation could reflect reuse by other, unconnected use of funerary monuments as domestic spaces, perhaps, but not necessarily, of a temporary nature. Indeed, Martial tells us that tramps, beggars, and prostitutes haunted abandoned tombs outside Rome.[458] Ongoing frequentation for many centuries after a site ceased to be used for new burials must therefore be entertained and deserves further exploration in future.

4.5.5 Short-lived sites

Short-lived funerary sites were those apparently *not* used over an extended period (<100 years and often less). Some of these sites may encompass only a single burial, while others may be more accurately categorized as relatively limited groups of burials which failed to become lasting centres of memory. We will now examine short-lived sites in detail according to the setting in which they were found.

4.5.5.1 Suburban evidence

Short-lived funerary sites in suburban zones are challenging to identify because of the generalised spatial continuity of burials outside cities over the *longue durée*. However, we may sometimes hypothesise that specific plots were used for burial only during a limited period. Epigraphic evidence for close-dated sites clusters primarily outside Naples, with examples dated to 59 (**1-232**), 71 (**1-143, 1-242**) and 409 CE (**1-243**). Close-dated groups of burials also occasionally appear in suburban zones, and these are typically late antique in date. For example, at Piazza Carità outside Naples (**1-175**), two graves "a cappuccina" were dated to the 6th century and five burials below the Chiesa di S. Marciano in *Frigentum* (**1-62**) can be placed in the 5th century.

Associating funerary monuments in suburban contexts with short-lived use is often problematic, and as a result few can be described as "short-lived." The published data are more frequently helpful for identifying the moment when a structure was constructed, rather

[458] Martial, *Epigrams*, I.34.8; III.93.15.

than when it fell out of use, as examples from Naples demonstrate. A notable exception to this rule is one of two hypogea in via Moiariello (**1-167**). This structure, perhaps created during the late Republic or early imperial period, contained a burial with a grave goods including an Arretine-ware cup marked with a stamp dating to the Augustan or Tiberian periods. In this rare case then, we might hypothesize that the space was not used for burial over a long time, though this does not exclude later commemorative visits.

Single burial event sites in the suburbs are likely to reflect limited areas of excavation but could also indicate short-lived use of plots or privileged placement within suburban landscapes. In Central Campania these sites are largely distributed around Naples. These burials are most commonly, simple, possibly low-status inhumations, dating to the 2nd century or later, but often without grave goods, prohibiting the establishment of detailed chronologies (e.g. **1-138**, **1-139**, **1-144**, **1-163**, **1-168**, **1-170**, **1-171**, **1-178**, **1-183**, **1-196**). However, single burial event sites were not reserved for those of modest social standing and could also contain those who possessed the economic wherewithal required for more monumental forms of commemoration, as individual sarcophagi (e.g. **1-168, 1-243, 1-266**) of both high imperial and late antique date indicate. Isolated funerary inscriptions are also prominent in suburban areas, primarily at Naples (**1-114, 1-137, 1-143, 1-157, 1-162, 1-172, 1-192, 1-195, 1-223, 1-235, 1-242, 1-247, 1-263, 1-265, 1-268, 1-296, 1-304**), but also in the outskirts of *Frigentum* (**1-65, 1-67**).

When found in suburban districts, it is undoubtable that some of these closely dated and single burial event sites arise from keyhole excavations within wider areas used for funerary purposes over an extended period. However, in other instances, the lack of evidence for subsequent burial events at a site could mean either that some individual funerary remains – especially those of a monumental nature – were accorded a prominent and respected place within a burial plot used for an extended period or that a given plot saw only short-lived use for burial, and by extension did not become an enduring focus for commemoration.

4.5.5.2 Rural evidence

Close-dated sites are also rare in the countryside of Central Campania, though they are more likely to reflect genuinely short-lived funerary use because they are not part of the wider

network of suburban burial grounds. Close-dated sites with graves probably relate to small, and relatively poor communities. An excellent example of this is attested at Masseria De Carolis in Pollena Trocchia (**1-345**), where eight mid-5th century burials were located within the abandoned bath complex of a villa, later covered by the 472 eruption of Vesuvius. Since no later funerary activity took place at the site, it may be that its funerary function was forgotten by any survivors of this dramatic volcanic event.

A total of 35 single-event burial sites are attested in the countryside. Some of these may have been part of wider funerary sites which have yet to be excavated. However, we may consider the possibility that some rural burials were indeed individual and isolated. Where single-event burial sites are present in the countryside, they are similar to single-event burial sites in suburban areas. To take but a few examples, lone graves at località Orti in Mercogliano (**1-78**) and at via San Domenico in Ottaviano (**1-337**) were both apparently without grave goods, while at Ponte di Soccavo (**1-213**), a single individual was buried with a coarseware vessel and other fragmentary ceramics. Some of these sites could reflect isolated burial of sites that failed to develop as foci for the memory of the wider community. Furthermore, not *all* individuals buried in these graves were necessarily poor or of low social status. For example, at de Siervo in Somma Vesuviana (**1-391**) an individual burial contained gold earrings, one or more finger rings and a substantial beaded necklace (Figure 79), which date to the late 4th or early 5th century. Epigraphic evidence in the countryside reinforces the presence of elites in both the Early Imperial period (e.g. **1-397**), and in Late Antiquity (**1-14**, **1-104**).

Assessing the longevity of rural funerary monuments is problematic, as outlined above. However, evidence from two monuments merit discussion here. At Campostella in San Paolo Bel Sito in the rural-suburban fringe outside Nola (**1-334**) a square monument with six niches has been dated to the 1st century based on masonry styles and associated sculpture. The site is only summarily published and though it is tempting to suppose it fell out of use following the eruption of 79, this cannot be confirmed. In contrast, the structure known as the "Tomb of Virgil" west of Naples (Figure 80, **1-214**) ceased to receive burials after a relatively short period but remained visible over an extended period. The columbarium features ten niches for cinerary urns in the interior and is conventionally dated to the Augustan period. Its excellent state of preservation combined with the absence of evidence for inhumation burials suggests that the structure had ceased to be used for fresh burials before cremation fell out

of fashion during the 2nd century AD. Nevertheless, it endured in the landscape and may have served as a focus for ongoing commemoration of the long dead.

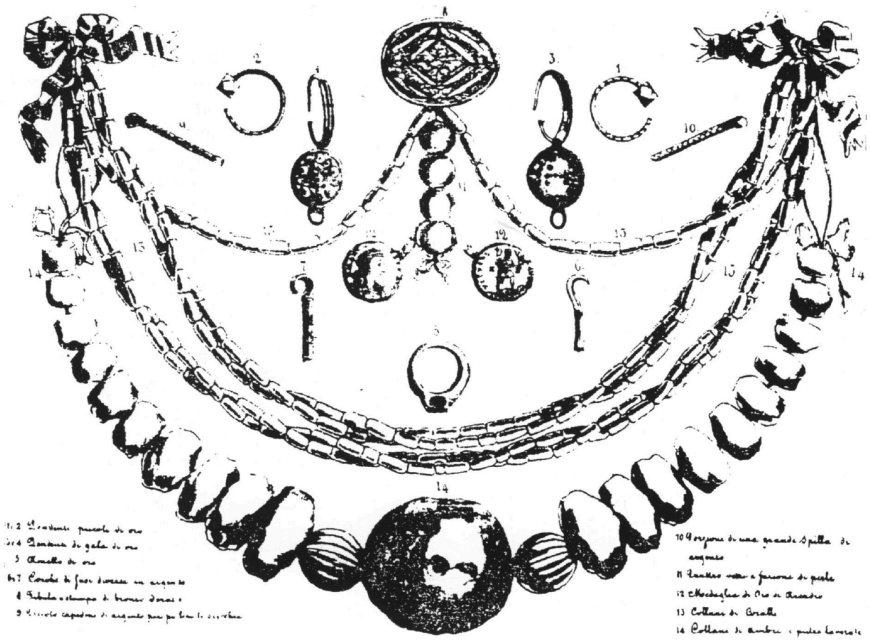


Figure 79 Rich 4th/5th-century dress accessories found in an isolated grave at Somma Vesuviana, Prop. De Siervo (1-391) (From Pagano 1995, 41, fig. 5).



Figure 80 The so-called Tomb of Virgil (1-214), a columbarium of the Augustan period (Credit: photograph by Miguel Hermoso Cuesta, distributed under a CC-BY-SA-4.0 license.)

4.5.5.3 Late antique developments: intramural burials

Discussion has hitherto focussed on rural and suburban burial sites, but during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, burials began to encroach in intramural areas. Traditional scholarship has focused on how this development marks a break with the past and a new conception of relations between the living and the dead, but it is also important to consider that not all these burials intended or managed to convey a lasting sense of memory. Some six intramural sites can only be loosely dated but at least four were used over an extended period, suggesting that some of these sites could become loci for memory. For example, the theatre of Naples (**1-275**) was used for multiple phases of burial between the second half of the 6th and the end of the 7th century, with some burials containing rich grave goods. Close-dated intramural sites (four total) or burial sites with one individual burials (six total) like the three 7th-century burials within the Early Christian Basilica at *Aeclanum* (**1-79**), or intramural burials in public spaces appear at Naples (e.g. **1-190**, **1-191**), *Suessula* (**1-402**) and *Compsa* (**1-61**) may reflect the fact that many such sites saw relatively fleeting use and some may not have been intended to provide lasting place of commemoration.

4.5.6 Discussion: differential longevities

Some graves grow old, others just fade away. In this section we have seen that many sites only saw use for burial for a relatively restricted period of less than a century (47 sites), and in fact often only for a single burial (75 sites). These short-lived sites make up a substantial proportion of sites in rural zones of Central Campania (50 sites or 27 per cent) as well as in suburban areas (62 sites or 31 per cent). In the countryside, short-lived sites are likely to represent burial places which did not see use over an extended period, while in the case of urban cemeteries we are looking at some sites only exposed by keyhole excavations, while others saw limited use of a specific plot within wider funerary zones which remained active centres of funerary deposition over many centuries. The evidence discussed has largely focussed on graves because they often provide greater opportunity to establish when a site was used for burial, but we should also envisage that many funerary monuments saw extended use over many centuries, particularly in urban areas, and even if they did not continue to receive further burials, they might see other kinds of activity of a more sporadic nature.

These differential trajectories of longevity largely tally with the evidence from elsewhere in Roman Italy. At Pompeii some funerary markers had lifespans of as little as two decades before disappearing below rising ground levels or removal, though a lifespan of a century-and-a-half has been hypothesised as typical for monuments outside Rome (above section 2.2.5.1). A comparable lifespan of several centuries of use emerges from analysis of funerary sculpture reused as spolia in Ostia.[459] We might, however, envisage that at least some sites in Central Campania did enjoy a long lifespan even if they were in areas which did not see intensive use for burial and there is no record of graves deposited or monuments erected near them. Evidence for this comes from Sidonius Apollinaris' report of grave diggers obliterating the grave of his ancestor in Gaul during the 5th century, due to the lack of a surviving marker. This incident suggests that tombs did not always remain visible over a long period, though memory could evidently still live on in the minds of family members.[460] In other words, commemorative duration was not necessarily determined by a tomb's nature.

While only a few close-dated examples are identified, they are sufficiently similar to the more numerous single-event burials in rural contexts to allow them to be discussed together. Past work in other parts of the Roman world sometimes viewed rural funerary remains as reflecting the deposition of non-elite populations who were not aiming to create long-lasting cemeteries.[461] This conclusion has been called into question by more recent scholarship, creating room for the possibility that even poor graves might sometimes dug in places which were easily locatable for future generations. Such an interpretation may be supported, for example, by the account of Sidonius, discussed above, which implies that graves did not need to be marked to be remembered over an extended period.

We must not, however, equate the aims of those who buried their dead in short-lived cemeteries with the eventual outcome. The limited number of graves in many rural cemeteries suggest that such sites lacked a sufficient attractive pull to them to be used by multiple generations over an extended period. As a result, some may have fallen out of use and promptly been forgotten, especially if obliterated by the major volcanic events of 79 or 472, both of which covered over some of the burial sites discussed in this section. On the other hand, anthropological work on small rural folk cemeteries in the southern United States

[459] Murer 2016, 2018.

[460] Sidonius Apollinaris 3.12.

[461] Martin-Kilcher 1993; Philpott & Reece 1993.

has shown that even when the occupants of land change hands, burial sites can continue to be maintained over multiple generations.[462] While the archaeological data available for Central Campania do not allow us to determine whether comparable long-term maintenance of burial sites occurred there, we might do well to envisage rural communities as using a constellation of small burial sites spread out across the countryside, some of which still actively received burials, while others were only occasionally frequented for commemorative purposes, but which together provided appropriate venues for the collective memory.

The large, long-running cemeteries which predominate in suburban contexts, especially during the early and middle imperial periods, represent an altogether different form of collective memory. As we have already seen in this chapter, suburban cemeteries in Central Campania are so large that they probably serviced both the populations of the cities which they surrounded as well as parts of the rural communities dwelling in their hinterlands. The magnetic attraction of suburban burial sites resulted in the greater likelihood that these sites were used over the *longue durée*, as they continued to attract successive generations of interments. The ongoing use of these cemeteries meant that they provided focal points for the collective memory of large swathes of the community of a city and its territory. Much work has been done on the commemorative functions of individual funerary monuments within these wider suburban contexts, but we should also bear in mind the collective power of continual burial in a space which members of the community knew had been used for burial for many generations before them. By choosing to bury their dead in places which had provided funerary venues for many centuries prior, contemporary generations could stake a claim to being part of the ancestral past, not just for themselves and their immediate family, but as a part of the fabric of memory of the whole urban community.

The advent of Christianity and the emergence of burial sites in catacombs and around basilicas outside cities caused both major disruption to some aspects of previous suburban burial patterns and preserved the importance of others. While some parts of suburban cemeteries began either to fall out of use in this period or were used as much-reduced levels, the areas around Christian sanctuaries north of Naples, at Cimitile outside Nola and at Capo La Torre outside *Abellinum,* saw an increased concentration of burials in single, well-defined areas. These spaces, always the sites of earlier cemeterial activity, and which can often be

[462] Jeane 1989.

associated with the memory of a specific martyr or group of martyrs, became renewed *foci* for the collective memory of the community which used them. In other words, new forms of Christian burial in holy places altered the topography of suburban burial in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, by leading to more nucleated approach to burial topography, but at the same time also drew on the construction of a collective memory which had been established through burial in similar, albeit more dispersed, funerary zones.

4.5.7 Reuse - burial in earlier structures

The reuse of the pre-existing structures in intramural, suburban and rural milieus across Central Campania was driven by differing strategies and priorities for the curation of memory. This section reviews the evidence for reuse of non-funerary spaces for burial in Central Campania. It takes a synoptic view which helps to move beyond traditional approaches to reuse, which concentrate on examining the transformation of space in a single context, with most work focussing either on intramural burials or on graves within pre-existing rural structures.[463] I argue that in rural areas the decision to bury within pre-existing structures reflects re-functionalization of an earlier space but may also indicate that habitation continued or developed in the vicinity, albeit at a reduced level. Continued habitation, despite a contraction in the occupied space, also underpins the appearance of intramural burials during Late Antiquity. In suburban areas, the abandonment of pre-existing complexes allowed them to be put to new uses, and this may sometimes have given rise to burial grounds subject to official sanction and organization.

[463] Intramural burials: La Rocca Hudson 1986; Cantino Wataghin 1999; Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani 2000, 1994; Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani 1993; Reuse in the countryside: Lewit 2003; Bowes & Gutteridge 2005; Castrorao Barba 2020, 2014; Lewit 2005.

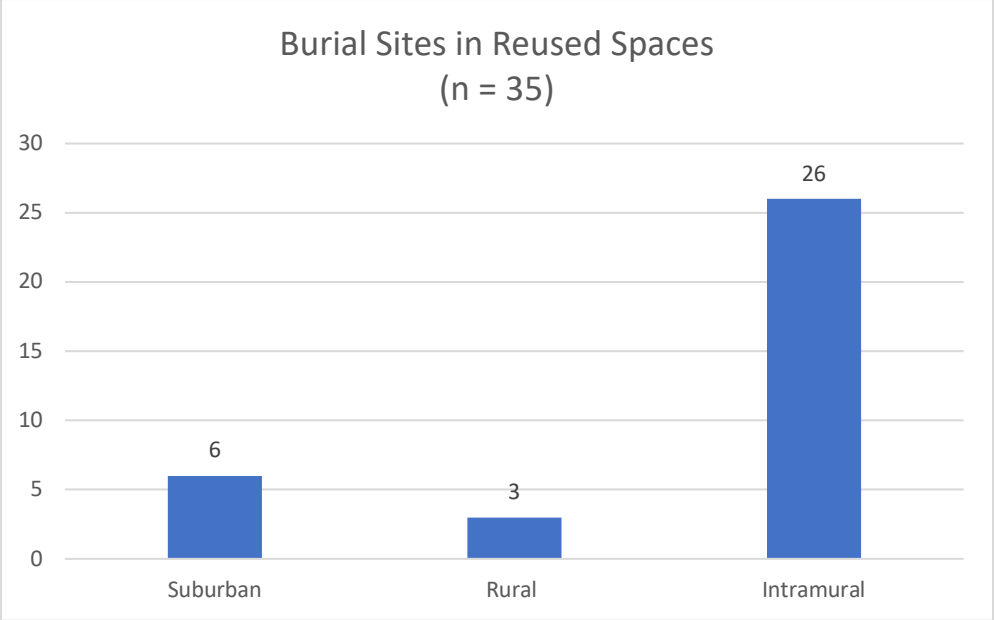


Figure 81 The number of late antique and early medieval burial sites located in earlier structures in Central Campania according to site setting (data from Appendix 1).

Most of the evidence for reuse of non-funerary spaces in Central Campania is intramural in nature, though evidence is also available for this practice in suburban and rural areas (Figure 81). A total of 26 such burial sites are located within intramural spaces, and most of these can be considered a form of reuse, as stratigraphic evidence consistently indicates that the structures were at least partially visible at the time when the burials were made. A further six sites are in extramural zones, with burials inserted into a range of pre-existing structures, including *domus,* baths and a temple.

The three rural burial sites reusing earlier structures represent a small fraction of the total number of burial sites of in the countryside in Late Antiquity (2.9 per cent) but do reflect a slightly higher proportion of rural burial sites dating to the early Middle Ages (9.4 per cent). These figures may reflect the limited number of rural structures which have seen extensive excavation.[464] However, some sites, like the so-called Villa of Augustus at Starza della Regina, Somma Vesuviana (**2-239**) and the San Giovanni in Palco in Lauro (**2-248**), which *have* seen extensive excavation, have not provided evidence for burials within the buildings themselves.[465] This suggests that funerary reuse of earlier structures was not a priority for many late antique and early medieval rural communities in Central Campania.

[464] Villa sites with funerary reuse: Castrorao Barba 2020.

[465] Starza della Regina: De Simone 2008, 331. Lauro: Johannowsky 1983.

A brief review of the chronological evidence shows that the reuse of space for burial is broadly a late antique and early medieval phenomenon, though there are some divergences between intramural, suburban and rural contexts (Figure 82). In Central Campania, intramural burial may begin as early as the 4th century, Largo Madonna delle Grazie (**1-159),** Piazza S. Domenico Maggiore, No. 11 **(1-188**), and via L. de Crecchio (**1-207**) in Naples though this early chronology may be a product of low-resolution dating at these sites and the only securely identified 4th-century intramural burial is at the cryptoporticus at loc. Santissimo in *Abella* (**1-33)**. Comparative evidence from elsewhere suggests it is likely that the phenomenon became more common in the 5th and continues to occur until at least the 7th or 8th century and beyond.[466] The limited number of sites which saw reuse of space in rural contexts are broadly late antique in date, with the possible exception of burials in or around a villa at Piazza Mercadante (**1-116**), where the evidence suggests a *terminus post quem* in the mid-1st century though the graves are probably later. Following this brief outline, we shall now move on to a discussion of different trends in burial in contexts of reuse in intramural, suburban and rural space.

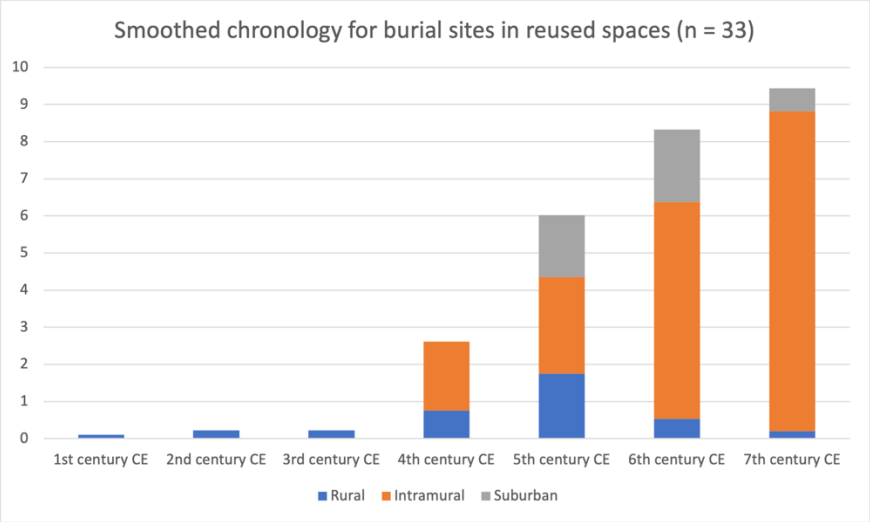


Figure 82 Smoothed chronology of late antique and early medieval burial sites in contexts of spatial reuse in Central Campania according to site setting (Data from Appendix 1).

[466] Above, section 2.2.5.2-4.

4.5.7.1 Funerary reuse of intramural spaces

The nature of the cemeteries concerned may indicate multiple competing burial strategies and priorities, based on the size and organization of the funerary sites:[467]

- **Single burial event:** Some burial sites were unlikely to represent an ongoing focus of memory over an extended period, due to their extremely circumscribed use for burial. For example, in loc. Santissimo at *Abella* a single infant burial was cut into the wall of the cryptoporticus that flanked what might have been the town's forum during the late 4th or early 5th century (**1-33**).[468] Similar strategies can be seen at the Odeion (**1-276**) at Naples, and a fountain room within the *insula* at Carminiello ai Mannesi (**1-226**). While the presence of single-event burials, and the memory of their deposition may have remained alive among those who were present for the occasion itself, or by those who were told about the burial, the fact that additional burials were not made in the vicinity suggests that these sites failed to become sustained foci for memorialization.
- **Sporadic groups of burials:** Sporadic burial within a range of public and private buildings may indicate the disposal of bodies without a desire for the creation of longer-lasting memory. Some groups of burials are small, reflecting short-lived use. Several small and separate groups of burials were found spread across three separate rooms as well as in the *tholos* courtyard of the *macellum* (**1-190, 1-191**), while a comparable situation is attested in the *domus* baths at loc. Civita in *Abellinum* (**1-19**) and in a *domus* on via S. Marcellino in Naples
- **Longer-term use:** Longer-term use of pre-existing space may be suggested by larger numbers of burials, which imply sustained usage, a picture which is sometimes supported by details of the site organization. For example, space was reused for at least 12 graves in the forum at *Suessula* (**1-402**) during the 7th or 8th centuries, and an unspecified but possibly substantial number of graves also appear in and around the forum at *Compsa* (**1-60, 1-61**). Similarly, the theatre of Naples (**1-275**) became a funerary space from the later 5th century through the 7th, with two distinct burial

[467] Insufficient data are available to interpret the intramural burials from the bath complex at *Aeclanum* (**1-80**).
[468] Cinquantaquattro (2017, p. 775) has hypothesised the presence of church in the vicinity based on a Christian graffito, but this has hypothesis has not archaeologically confirmed.

phases spread over at least two phases, first within a *vomitorium* and a corridor and later in the *summa cavea*.

- **Extended cemeteries:** Larger cemeteries reflect the sustained nature of burial in a reused space and may sometimes reflect an element of official organization. The best example of this in Central Campania is attested at via Settembrini/vico Donnaregina, Naples (**1-286**), where 64 burials over several superimposed levels have been excavated, encroaching on a partially investigated *domus.* Although no grave goods were found in association with these burials, stratigraphic evidence suggests a date beginning in the 6th or 7th centuries but possibly continuing into the early Middle Ages and beyond.

The diversity of intramural burial strategies indicates differing approaches to commemoration, even though intramural burial is a minority practice in Late Antiquity. The appearance of burials within city limits reflects a changing attitude towards the dead as well as the defunctionalization, or rather the refunctionalization, of a range of urban spaces, whether public or private.[469] One approach to intramural burial, exemplified by the compartmentalised burials in the theatre of Naples, may be the practice of claiming land ownership by burying one's dead in a prominent location. At other times intramural burials might arise from the practise of burying the dead near their dwelling(s), as at *Suessula* or *Compsa*, reflecting the contraction of urban areas during this period.[470] In short, intramural burial has long been viewed as a single, monolithic phenomenon, but in reality, reflects a range of different practices and objectives, united only by the availability of amount of space which was newly available for burial during Late Antiquity.

4.5.7.2 Funerary reuse of suburban spaces

Patterns of spatial reuse for burial in suburban areas displays considerable overlap with trends in the intramural zones. Sporadic burials are attested, for example, at San Antoniello delle Monache a Port'Alba (**1-208**), Naples, where a single tile-built grave abuts the late

[469] Cantino Wataghin 1999, and above, section 2.2.5.4.

[470] *Compsa*: Agathias 1975, II.13; Zanini 1998, 275, *Suessula*: Camardo et al. 2003, 366. Urban contractions in Italy: Christie 2006, 202-206; Brogiolo & Gelichi 1998, 55-67.

antique city wall and another single grave appears in a *domus* below via S. Maria La Nova, no. 27 (**1-274**). Slightly larger scale burial groups are also present, like the 5th-century group of 11 burials (**1-20**) which cut the *agger* encircling the city of *Abellinum*. The largest well-published suburban burial reusing a pre-existing structure is probably that at the Stazione Duomo in Piazza Nicola Amore (**1-186**) outside Naples, where a minimum of 48 graves dating to Late Antiquity or the early Middle Ages were partially inserted into the podium of the Augustan-period Temple of the Isolympic games, which remained standing until the 5th or 6th century (Figure 83).[471] Legal edicts indicate that temple premises remained public property even following their shuttering under Theodosius I, and this implies that official sanction was probably given for such burials to have been placed within the temple.[472] It is unclear whether we should envisage official interventions in the large burial grounds encroaching on private structures like the one at Castel Nuovo (**1-184**) outside Naples, where burials are arranged over several superimposed and sometimes intercutting levels, indicating extended but disordered use.

[471] Temple of the Isolympic games: Bragantini et al. 2010, 607-608.

[472] *Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.12. Fate of temples, centring on Rome: Schuddeboom 2017. Temples across late antique Italy: Ward-Perkins 1984, 85-91 Christie 2006, 91-94; across the ancient world: papers in Lavan & Mulryan 2011.



Figure 83 Plan of late antique burials and early medieval (1-186) in and around the Temple of the Isolympic Games at Stazione Duomo, Piazza Nicola Amore, Naples (From Giampaola et al. 2005, 242, fig. 13)

4.5.7.3 Funerary reuse of rural spaces

The evidence for reuse of buildings for burial in rural Central Campania is limited, and largely conforms to the patterns discussed in relation to intramural and suburban reused spaces. However, several aspects of the known sites featuring elements of reuse merit further discussion, as they cast light on strategies for the construction and curation of memory over the longue durée.

Reuse of earlier sites for burial was not purely a late antique phenomenon, though its occurrence in earlier periods often reflects the exceptional nature of the site concerned. The shrine of the chthonic goddess Mephitis, near Rocca San Felice in *Hirpinia* (**2-158**), became the site of burials which contained late Roman coins (**1-356**). The burials were located either close to, or within, the cult area of the goddess, which itself is situated adjacent to a sulphurous lake imbued with cultic connotations since at least the 5th century BCE.[473] These burials may reflect the gradual appropriation of the site by Christian groups, especially as local tradition associates the area with St Felicity, the cult of whom some scholars have argued became a direct replacement for the pagan cult at this site.[474] It has been hypothesized that a church developed in the vicinity as early as the 4th century, though this is not supported by any archaeological evidence.[475] Whether or not a Christian cult site was present here, this case suggests that unusual natural landscape features, long used for cultic purposes, could exercise an attractive pull over rural burials, creating a notable, evocative focal point for the burial of the dead in the landscape.

In rural areas, reuse of parts of villas for burial could also have reflected continued habitation of the site at a reduced level, though there remains some debate about the social status of the individuals to whom these graves belonged.[476] For our present purposes it suffices to note that the villa baths at Masseria De Carolis in Pollena Trocchia (**1-345, 2-145,** Figure 84) were occupied by eight 5th-century burials after the baths had ceased to function. Habitation may have continued in the residential areas of the villa, though unfortunately, these now lies below a modern apartment block, so our understanding of this continued habitation remains limited. An analogous situation may be apparent at Piazza Mercadante (**1-116**), outside Naples, where an unspecified number of burials were located within, or close to, a Roman villa. Similarly, burials inserted into non-residential structures may also indicate that they were partly turned over to habitation as well as to funerary use. The terraced walls of *palaestra* of the Roman baths at Agnano were cut by an unspecified number of graves (**1-106**) broadly to Late Antiquity or the early Middle Ages. The exact circumstances of these

[473] Papers in Mele 2008.

[474] Luongo 2004, 2008.

[475] Luongo 2004, 381-382. For more critical view: Rotili & Ebanista 2018, 52.

[476] Lewit 2003, 2005; Bowes & Gutteridge 2005; Castrorao Barba 2020, 2014 and above, section 2.2.5.3.

burials are unclear, though it seems possible that either the baths themselves, or some of the surrounding complex, were given over to habitation.

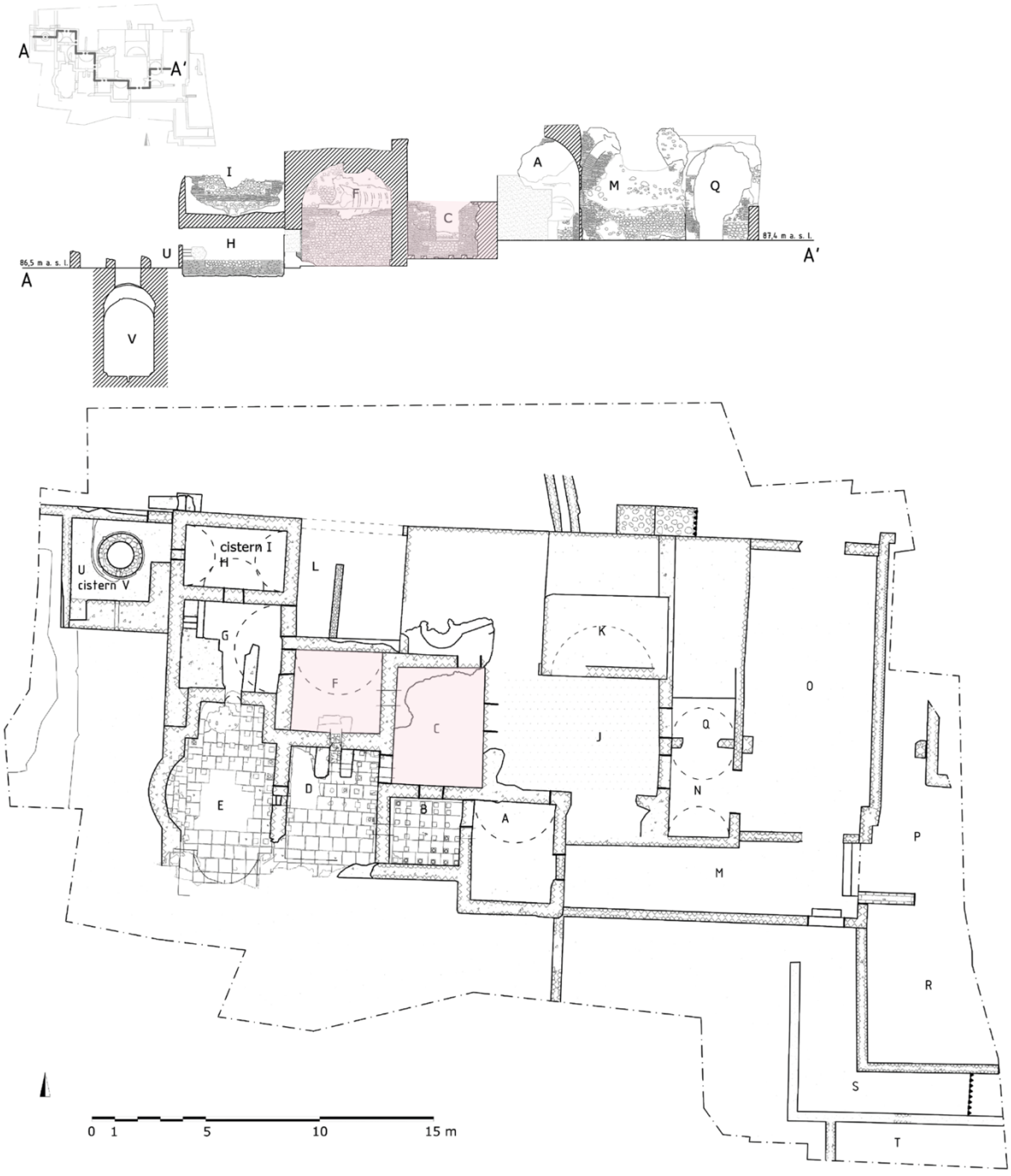


Figure 84 Cross-section and plan of the villa baths at Pollena Trocchia (1-345, 2-145). Pink boxes denote rooms containing burials. Adapted from De Simone and Russell 2019, 370, fig. 3.

4.5.7.4 Discussion

The reuse of space for burial encompasses a wide range of different practices united by new ideas governing the placement of the dead. In Central Campania, the available evidence suggests that this practice was always a minority one, though it seems to have been more common in intramural areas. For some groups, like those buried in the theatre at Naples, intramural burials did seem to form a commemorative focus for the burial of the dead. It is not clear that this characterisation reflects the experience of smaller and small sporadic grave groups in abandoned structures, and though burial within in a pre-defined space could facilitate locating a grave during return visits, allowing for the short-term preservation of memory, the small numbers of burials involved indicate this practice was not widely adopted, and such burial sites were forgotten after a relatively short period.

A similar trajectory appears in extramural areas, though some of these suburban sites did see longstanding use. In such cases it is possible that the choice to bury within an earlier structure initially began as repurposing or even a claim to space which was no longer used for its previous purpose. However, to much later generations who continued to use a site for burial, these places may simply have become "where we bury our dead," without consideration of the earlier context. Such sites may reflect a generalised, abstracted form of communal memory, which could act in a supplementary fashion to one focussed on the memory of specific individuals buried in them.

Burial within rural buildings in Central Campania appear to be relatively uncommon. Castrorao Barba has recently published a study of more than 700 villa sites from across Italy which saw reuse for burial during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.[477] It should be stressed, however, that rates of reuse for burial may not be uniform across the whole peninsula: many villas did not seem to become the site of later burials in Campania. The figures from Campania may suggest that burial inside pre-existing villas was not considered an effective place for commemoration of the dead across all of Italy. Moreover, not all the rural buildings which saw reuse in Central Campania were villas, and future work in this area should consider a wider range of non-residential structures when examining the transformation of space in Late Antiquity. However, these data seem to imply that, with a few

[477] Castrorao Barba 2014.

notable exceptions, burial in reused spaces was not considered an effective strategy for the curation of memory by most rural communities in this part of Italy.

Many of the buildings which were reused for burial were of a monumental nature and this may reflect a deliberate choice on the part of late antique and early medieval communities. Burials in intramural and suburban contexts cities are located within monumental structures including a temple, a theatre, an *odeion*, a temple, *fora,* baths, and several *domus*, while in the countryside, burials appear inside a villa, a temple, and a *palaestra* (Figure 85). The connecting factor for many of these burials is the monumentality of their surroundings. While past work elsewhere in the Roman world has stressed that in the countryside, villas and other Roman-period structures could remain important landmarks for subsequent generations, this idea has not been explored in relation to cities.[478] We have already explored the varied trajectories experienced by the cities of Central Campania in Late Antiquity and the early medieval period, but it is worth noting that even in cities like Naples with extremely well-preserved street plans, large parts of the urban infrastructure may have started to degrade and decay in the post-Roman period. As monumental structures like the ones reused for burial lost their original purposes, they too may have started to fall into a state of disrepair, but they could still have remained important waypoints in the urban landscapes, especially if other buildings had collapsed or were robbed out. Burial within (semi-)surviving monumental structures could mean that graves remained locatable or have even provided a sense of a grander grave than would otherwise have been possible. As such, burial and related rituals in reused space could have been intended to help ensure a lasting sense of memory among the survivors.

[478] Villas: above, section 2.2.5.3.

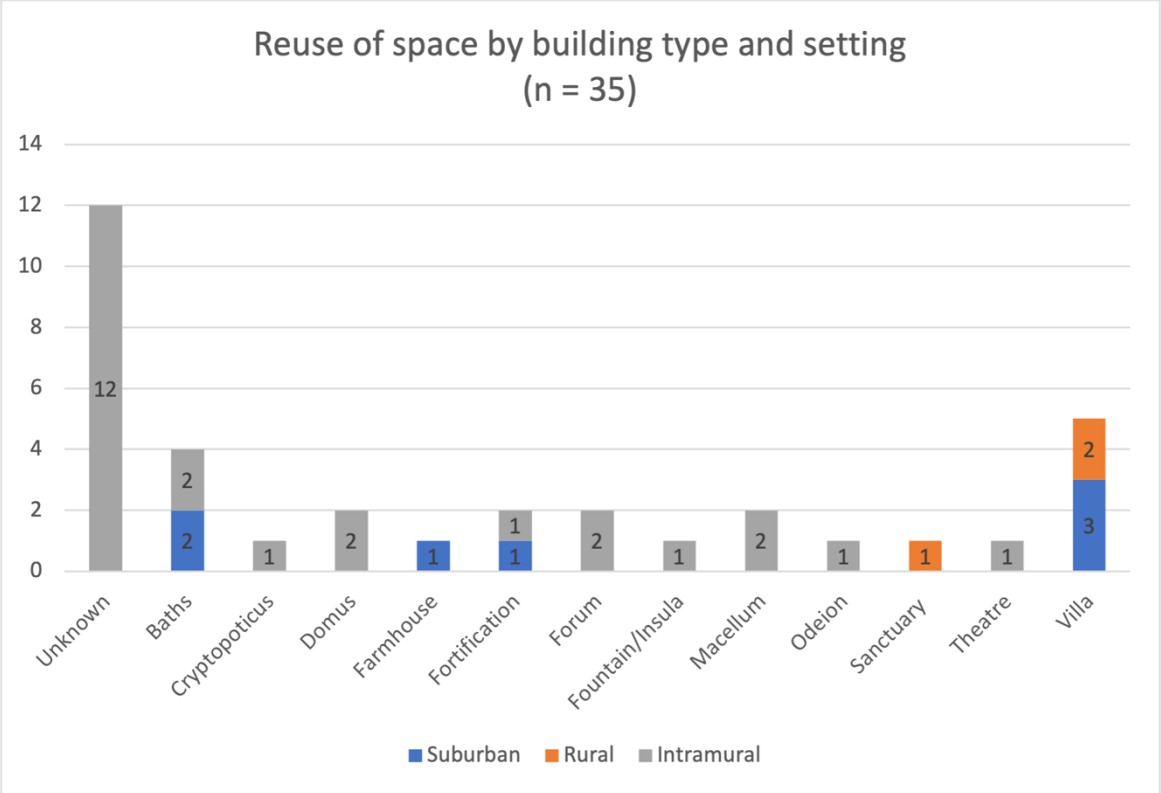


Figure 85 Reuse of pre-existing buildings for burial by site type (Data from Appendix 1).

4.5.8 Conclusion

Longevity of usage varies considerably across sites in Central Campania, with implications for how long a burial site saw new interments as well as for how long memories of the deceased endured in a given place. Some places only saw extremely short-lived use, sometimes even just for one burial. On the opposite end of the spectrum, some burial sites, especially those in the suburbs, saw use for an arc of several centuries, encompassing hundreds or even thousands of interments (especially in the case of the catacombs). Places falling into these categories would have accumulated memory over the course of repetitive use, and this memory would have had both an individual and a collective nature. Over time, the importance of these sites became self-perpetuating centres for burial, as communities continued to bury their dead alongside previous generations.

Reuse of space for burial reflects another way of connecting with the past through burial of the dead. Burials inside earlier structures was by no means a ubiquitous process in town or country during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, but burial within the grand remains of earlier periods could serve to provide a means to monumentalise otherwise modest graves. Burial in such places could reflect the intention to secure a lasting memory

for the deceased or ensure that graves could be located on later visits, but the small size of many burial sites within earlier structures indicates that the memory they embodied was short lived.

4.6 Conclusions: Cities as focal points for burial

The case study of Central Campania has demonstrated the effects of urbanisation on the wider funerary landscapes of the region. The high density of cities in this region meant that these urban centres became key venues for burial and commemoration because very few people lived far from one of the region's many cities. A range of burial and commemoration strategies were employed in the cities and suburbs of Central Campania as well as in the countryside. Significantly, some of these strategies appear to depart from those considered ubiquitous in earlier scholarship, especially with regards to the strength of the relationship between rural settlements and burial grounds, and the power of centuriated boundaries to attract burials. In the second case study in this thesis, we shall examine a very different kind of funerary landscape presented by the sparsely urbanised region of Trentino.

5: Trentino (Provincia di Trento): Burials in a predominantly rural landscape

5.1: Introduction

5.1.1 Trentino: outline

The landscape of Trentino, in the far north of the Italian peninsula, was only lightly urbanised in antiquity. Significantly, Trentino had but one city – ancient *Tridentum* – and in this chapter I will examine the way that the largely rural nature of the landscape impacted patterns of funerary commemoration over the *longue durée.* It will be argued throughout that the sparsely urbanised nature of the territory meant that much of the region's population chose to be buried in rural areas, rather than transporting their dead to cities for burial. The modern province of Trentino, otherwise known as the province of Trento, corresponds to the southern part of the autonomous region of Trentino-Alto Adige (Figure 86). Situated in the Eastern-Central Alps, the area borders the Lombard Valleys and Lake Garda to the southwest, the plains of the Veneto to the southeast, and the mountainous territory of the South Tyrol to the north. The province encompasses a range of different geographical contexts including the plain of the Basso Sarca, steep-sided valleys flanked by the dolomitic mountains, such as the Valle dell'Adige and the Valli Giudicarie, gentle, rolling valleys like the Val di Non, and upland plateaus such as those around Brentonico or Lomaso.



Figure 86 The location of Trentino within the Republic of Italy (From Wikicommons)

Trentino provides a suitable case study for the investigation of funerary landscapes over the *longue durée* because of an established tradition of research in the region and its highly ruralised settlement patterns. It is one of the few areas in Italy to have received detailed study of Roman funerary landscapes. Francisci gathered a large catalogue of funerary evidence from the region and analysed the funerary landscapes of the Early Imperial period (and continued down to the 5th century in the Val di Non).[479] This scholar's study is largely concerned with utilising burials to reconstruct rural Roman settlement patterns in the region, an approach which will not be reproduced here. However, this earlier research shows the viability of studies of this kind in Trentino and provides a background against which to explore some aspects of the findings of the present study. A range of relevant data sources are also available for Trentino. The CAMIS and NAULUM databases collect substantial amounts of burial data, which I have supplemented with a survey of scholarship covering more recently excavated sites.[480] The settlement data for Trentino, though not abundant, has recently been synthesised by the *Ambiente e Paesaggi dei Siti d'Altura Trentini* Project (henceforth APSAT), providing an invaluable framework within which to discuss the funerary remains. Together, these data allow for large-scale examination of the funerary landscapes of the region during our period. Additionally, Trentino is a suitable case study because it contained just one major urban centre, *Tridentum,* during the Roman period. Francisici viewed this fact as an advantage because it provided an opportunity to avoid the "background noise" of urban cemeteries and capitalise on the advantage of studying rural tombs.[481] However, the urban centre's presence also permits comparison between urban and rural burial strategies and serves as a counterpoint to the highly urbanised landscapes of Central Campania discussed in the previous chapter. Taken together, these factors make Trentino an excellent case study for the analysis of funerary landscapes between antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

This chapter opens with a summary of the territory's history and underlines key significance of the region between antiquity and the early Middle Ages. In particular, it is important to note Trentino's role as a route to and from Italy and resultant significance for

[479] Francisci 2014, 2017a, 2011.

[480] For CAMIS database see the project website, URL= https://www.beniculturali.unipd.it/www/ricerca/linee-di-ricerca/progetto-camis-cimiteri-altomedievali-dellItalia-settentrionali/ [Last accessed 15/8/19]. For NAULUM see http://www.beniculturali.unipd.it/download/locus_sepulturae.zip [Last accessed 15/8/19].

[481] Francisci 2017a, 99.

defence, as well as its importance to successive rulers of the Italian peninsula. Analysis proper begins with Section 5.2, which examines the overall distribution of geolocatable funerary evidence in Trentino, from both a spatial and chronological perspective. It argues that the funerary landscapes of the region were relatively little impacted by the presence of the only city, with both rural elites and non-elites buried in the countryside over the *longue durée*.

Section 5.3 explores the relationship between burials and settlements in Trentino. It argues that burial in the suburbs of *Tridentum* played an important role for some members of the town's community from its foundation onwards, but the sort of funerary streets which developed elsewhere in the peninsula do not seem to have appeared around *Tridentum*. In Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, burial outside the city continued, especially around churches, which provided new focuses for funerary activity. However, the evidence does not suggest that these new poles of attraction within the (sub)urban landscapes were the only places for burials and the addition of a *castrum* across the river from the town's earlier core led to a stretching of the urban fabric; burials filled in the gaps between the inhabited space. In the countryside of Trentino, the link between settlements and burials was not as strong as previous scholars have assumed, just as was the case in Central Campania, though our analysis is constrained by the limited settlements data which we have at our disposal. However, a closer look at the available evidence shows that people were often buried near to settlements. This might reflect the importance of localised commemoration in a sparsely urbanised landscape. In this context, we might suppose that longer distance travel was either impractical or unattractive. The relationship between *vici* and burials seems to follow the pattern established elsewhere. These agglomerations, often ringed by burials, seem to have fulfilled a quasi-urban role in commemoration, as visitors were forced to pass by these burial sites on their approach into the settlement.. The emergence of castles (*castra*) and churches in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages appears to have exercised a limited influence over the placement of burials in Trentino.

Section 5.4 discusses the relationship of burials to paths of movement. It begins by reviewing the proximity of burials to roads in two parts of Trentino with the best understood road networks, the Val di Non and the Basso Sarca, and argues that in both cases burials continued to be attracted to roadside locations because of the visibility and accessibility they offered. It then examines the position of churches which were used for burial from the 5th century onwards and argues that because some churches were deliberately sited near roads

for just these same reasons, they were able to become premier locations for burying the dead. However, other churches consciously rejected accessibility and/or visibility, and were still chosen as burial places, presumably because they served either local communities, or because select individuals valued an exclusive location over easy visibility and accessibility. This section closes by reviewing evidence for the spatial relation between burials and a possible centuriation grid in the Basso Sarca, which is probably weaker than some previous research has suggested.

Section 5.5 examines two themes intimately connected to memory: the lifespan of burial sites and the insertion of burials into pre-existing structures of a non-funerary nature. It argues that a substantial proportion of burial sites in Trentino can be characterised as seeing use over an extended period, which underlines the importance of communal commemoration and a sense of connection with the past among rural communities. It then explores the epigraphic and artefactual evidence for continued frequentation of burial sites after graves had ceased to be made. The section closes by interrogating the evidence for the reuse of non-funerary spaces for burial during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. It concludes that this practice could be a powerful tool for connecting with memories of the past but could also hinder the visibility of graves and reduce the potential for casual viewership, meaning that the deceased were remembered by a more circumscribed group. The influence of such memories of the past on the selection of burial space leads the discussion neatly into the historical overview of Trentino provided below.

5.1.2 Historical overview

5.1.2.1 From the Late Republic to the Early Empire

Roman interests in Northern Italy developed from the 3rd century BC. From this time onward, Trentino was an important corridor of movement, as was illustrated in 102 BCE when the Cimbri reached the Po Plain via the Val dell'Adige and routed a Roman army before being defeated at the Raudine Plain.[482] This early incursion highlights Trentino as a passage between Italy and the lands beyond the Alps, foreshadowing its later role as a military and economic thoroughfare. Trentino itself fell into Roman control under Augustus, who used it to access

[482] Rigotti 2007, 10-16; Marzatico & Migliario 2011, 125.

and conquer the other peoples of the Alps.[483] The Augustan annexation saw the imposition of a complex organizational structure within the *Regio X (Venetia and Histria*). Accordingly, the area today covered by Trentino was divided between the territories of four cities (Figure 87): *Brixia*, *Verona, Feltria* and *Tridentum*.[484] Epigraphic evidence attests to the ownership of rural estates by the aristocrats from these centres, suggesting a high degree of connectivity between urban and rural areas.[485] Throughout the early Empire, Trentino was also a key corridor connecting Italy with the North, as is demonstrated both by the material culture it shares with its northern neighbours and repeated references in historical narratives to southbound invasions by barbarian tribes passing through it.[486]

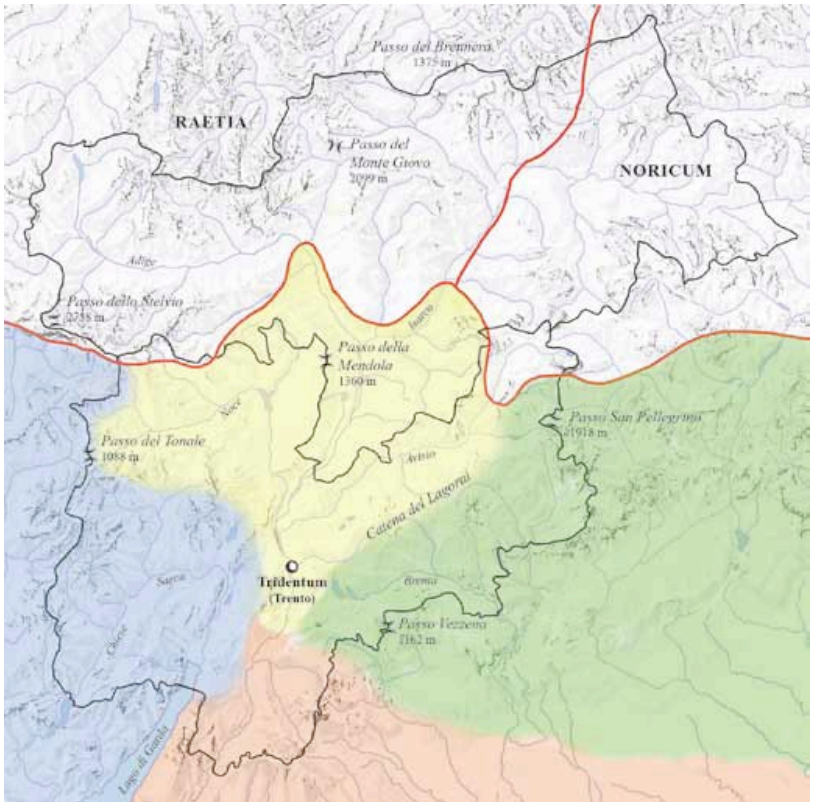


Figure 87 Approximate extents of the territories of Tridentum and its neighbours. Key: Yellow: Tridentum (Trento); Green: Feltria (Feltre); Blue: Brixia (Brescia); Red: Verona; Black lines:

[483] Francisci 2017a, 94.

[484] The limits of each city's territory are unclear: Francisci 2017a, 96. The area discussed here does not cover the entire territory of *Tridentum*, which extended northwards beyond the modern boundaries of Trentino into the modern province of Bolzano.

[485] Marzatico & Migliario 2011, 179.

[486] Material culture: Cavada 2000, 366-370. Barbarian invasions: Marzatico & Migliario 2011, 205-206; Buchi 2000, 81-87; Roncaglia 2018, 119-120; Bassi 2002, 41-43.

Present limits of Trentino and the province of Bolzano; Red lines: the borders of Raetia and Noricum with Regio X. (From Marzatico & Migliario, 2011, 155, tav. IX)

5.1.2.2 The Later Roman Empire

We have limited textual evidence for events in Trentino during the later Roman Empire, though two episodes inform us about the region's importance during the 4th and early 5th century. First, Ammianus Marcellinus records that Constantius II stayed in *Tridentum* in 357 on his way to *Illyricum*.[487] This marks the high status and enduring importance of the city along a route from Italy to the rest of the Empire. Second, the slaying of Sisinnius, Martyrius, and Alexander (the so-called martyrs of *Annaunia*), demonstrates the ongoing, but not always peaceful, links between *Tridentum* and its territory. These three priests, sent to *Annaunia* (modern Val di Non) as missionaries, were killed by local pagans in 397 and their bodies were then burned using the roofing beams earmarked for a church they had been constructing, underlining the continuity of non-Christian religious practices well into the later 4th century. Prominent in this story is Vigilius, bishop of *Tridentum,* who had sent these men on their mission. His letters to Simplicianus, bishop of Milan, and John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, inform us that their martyrs' relics were removed first to Milan and then to Constantinople.[488]

5.1.2 3 The Gothic Kingdom

Trentino remained important despite being in the far north of the Gothic Kingdom (493-553). The region played a significant role as a military theatre, a defensive barrier, and as a locus of wealth and production. Most of the main events of the Gothic conquest of Italy happened further south, and only one major battle took place in the Trentino, when Ferderuchus, king of the Rugi, defeated Tufa, Odovacer's *magister militum*.[489] The Franks made regular raids throughout the period, since from the mid-6th century their territories bordered *Tridentum's* to the north; Alamanni troops also passed through the Val dell'Adige to raid northern-central

[487] Ammianus Marcellinus, XVI, 10, 20.

[488] Vigilius., Epp. i-II, PL 13, 549 in Migne 1996; Wisniewski 2019, 51; Lizzi 1990; Vanderspoel 1986;

[489] Gasparri 2004, 19.

Italy before returning north after the collapse of the Gothic Kingdom.[490] Byzantine control was reasserted in 555 when Narses stationed Herule troops at unspecified locations within Trentino's Alpine passes.[491] These events clearly demonstrate that control of the region was vital to the defence of Italy.

The juridical and administrative letters of Cassiodorus' *Variae* underline the continuing significance of Trentino between c. 507 and 537. Letters suggest that the region retained a degree of administrative and economic importance. We hear of a Duke being instructed to restore order after a theft of slaves, while other letters mention tax exemptions for the clergy and the redistribution of grain from *Tridentum* to *Venetia* to alleviate famine.[492] However, Trentino's principal role may have been defensive. Another letter orders the founding of a new city in *Tridentum's* territory, and though this new foundation has not been identified in the archaeological record, it indicates the region's perceived importance to the government of the Gothic Kingdom.[493] Another letter referring to the region orders "all the Goths and the Romans" living near the *verucca castellum* to construct dwellings within its walls.[494] The precise identification of this site is disputed, though most scholars argue that the text refers to the Doss Trento, across the Adige from *Tridentum* (Figure 88).[495] Leaving this question aside, the letter underlines perceived importance of Trentino as a bastion of defence which controlled communications with the lands to the North. This picture is reinforced by another undated letter, which decrees peaceful conduct among soldiers*,* who may have been billeted in *Tridentum*.[496] One final letter stresses that the defensive role of the Alpine valleys which are described as "the bars and bolts of Italy. Wild and cruel nations ramp outside of them, and they, like nets, […] catch the Barbarian in their toils and hold him there till the hurled arrow can chastise his mad presumption."[497] Moving beyond these explicit textual references, Gasparri hypothesises that the Goths continued to maintain the defensive

[490] Franks: Prokopios, III.33; Agathias 1975, 2.1.4; Gasparri 2004, 29; Alamanni: Gasparri 2004, 17-19.

[491] Paul the Deacon, 2.3; Gasparri 2004, 29-30.

[492] Slaves: Cassiodorus, *Variae,* 1.11. Taxes: Cassiodorus, *Variae,* 2.17. Grain: Cassiodorus, *Variae,* 10.27.

[493] Cassiodorus, *Variae,* 5.9; Marzatico & Migliario 2011, 225; Gasparri 2004, 24-25.

[494] Cassiodorus, *Variae,* 3.48.1-4.

[495] Doss Trento: Christie 2006, 358; Ciurletti 2000, 326; Cavada 1994a, 224. For a dissenting identification at Castel Fragsburg: Settia 1993, 112-115.

[496] Cassiodorus, *Variae,* 7.4.

[497] Cassiodorus, *Variae,* 10.27.

network of the *Tractus Italiae circa Alpes* mentioned in the 5th-century *Notitia Dignitatum.*[498] Whether or not we accept this supposition, a broader conclusion that Trentino was an important defensive zone seems inescapable.



Figure 88 The southern side of Doss Trento (Matteo Ianeselli / Wikimedia Commons / CC-BY-SA-4.0 & GFDL)

5.1.2.4 The Lombard Kingdom

Trentino retained its administrative, defensive, and economic importance under Lombard control. The Lombard invasion of 568 quickly saw Trentino fall into the hands of the newcomers just a few years after Byzantine control was restored; a duchy was soon established at *Tridentum,* and the region remained an important militarised zone through the Lombard period.[499] A Frankish incursion in 575-7 saw several major engagements and even the capture of *Tridentum* before the Franks were repelled.[500] Further Frankish military actions in Trentino took place in 590, when a pact between the Frankish king Childebert and the

[498] Gasparri 2004, 25.

[499] Paul the Deacon, 2.32; Gasparri 2004, 31; Bognetti 1966, 136-140.

[500] Paul the Deacon, 3.9; Gasparri 2004, 39.

Byzantine emperor Maurice led to the capture of five castles in Trento and incursions as far south as Verona.[501] The Frankish invasion was, however, short-lived, ending in retreat after three months, and Evin, duke of *Tridentum,* was sent over the Alps to arrange a peace treaty with the Franks.[502] After this episode, little is known of Trentino for most of the 7th century, though its duke, Alahis, is attested as having fought the Bavarians and temporarily usurped the throne between the 670s and 680s.[503] Some fighting took place in Trentino itself, as during Alahis' first rebellion the "castle" of *Tridentum* was besieged*;* the city clearly therefore remained a significant stronghold.[504] These events demonstrate that Trentino remained a centre for political events during the later 6th and 7th centuries, acting as a critical route linking Lombard Italy with its northern neighbours, as well as a major military powerbase within the Italian peninsula.

5.2: The funerary data from Trentino

5.2.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the funerary landscapes of Trentino based on data from 399 funerary sites with accurate spatial information. These sites can be divided between individual graves, groups of graves and sites with funerary inscriptions (Figure 89). While at ten sites relatively monumental sarcophagi are present (below, section 5.2.2.4), unlike in Central Campania and much of the rest of Italy, no *in-situ* funerary monuments are attested in Trentino.[505] This lack of monuments is partly a result of building patterns since antiquity, as several fragments of funerary sculpture are reused in post-antique buildings in Trento and consequently cannot be associated with an *in situ* findspot.[506] However, the limited evidence for funerary structures like the mausolea or columbaria attested elsewhere in Italy suggests that funerary commemoration in Trentino was not primarily monumental in nature. Sites with graves alone are by far the most common in Trentino's funerary dataset, accounting for 376 records (94.2 per cent), while sites with *in situ* inscriptions account for three records (0.75 per cent) and

[501] Paul the Deacon, 3.29; 31
[502] Paul the Deacon, 4.1; Gasparri 2004, 43.
[503] Paul the Deacon, 5.36-41; Gasparri 2004, 47-50.
[504] Paul the Deacon, 5.36.
[505] Possible exceptions: Baroncioni 2012, 97-98, n. 15 and this thesis, **3-27**.
[506] Ciurletti 2000, 324.

inscriptions and graves appear together at the remaining 20 sites (5 per cent). Inscriptions were an important part of the funerary record in Trentino but are poorly represented in the closely geolocatable data as few are found *in situ.* Later in this chapter, analysis of known inscriptions across Trentino, even when these cannot be tied to a findspot, will demonstrate the importance of epigraphic markers for the deceased in both suburban areas and in the countryside in this highly rural part of Italy (below, section 5.2.2.3). However, for our present purposes it suffices to note that most people buried in Trentino during antiquity were laid to rest in simple graves, and while these might be marked by inscriptions, enclosures, or sarcophagi (below, sections 5.2.2.3-5.2.2.5), they generally were not differentiated from other social groups by especially monumental funerary structures.

The number of graves present at a given site is frequently unspecified in the published record. Burials are not quantifiable at 226 (56.6 per cent) sites. The reporting rate for inscriptions is better, and in all cases where inscriptions are reported in Trentino, we can establish an overall count, though in the case of the Basilica di San Vigilio (**3-345**) in the suburbs of *Tridentum,* the total number of inscriptions known is approximate due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence. In general, though, the state of the evidence means that in the analysis which follows, the sites, rather than the number of graves, will be used as the primary unit of discussion, apart from when we are examining the size of funerary sites in Trentino.

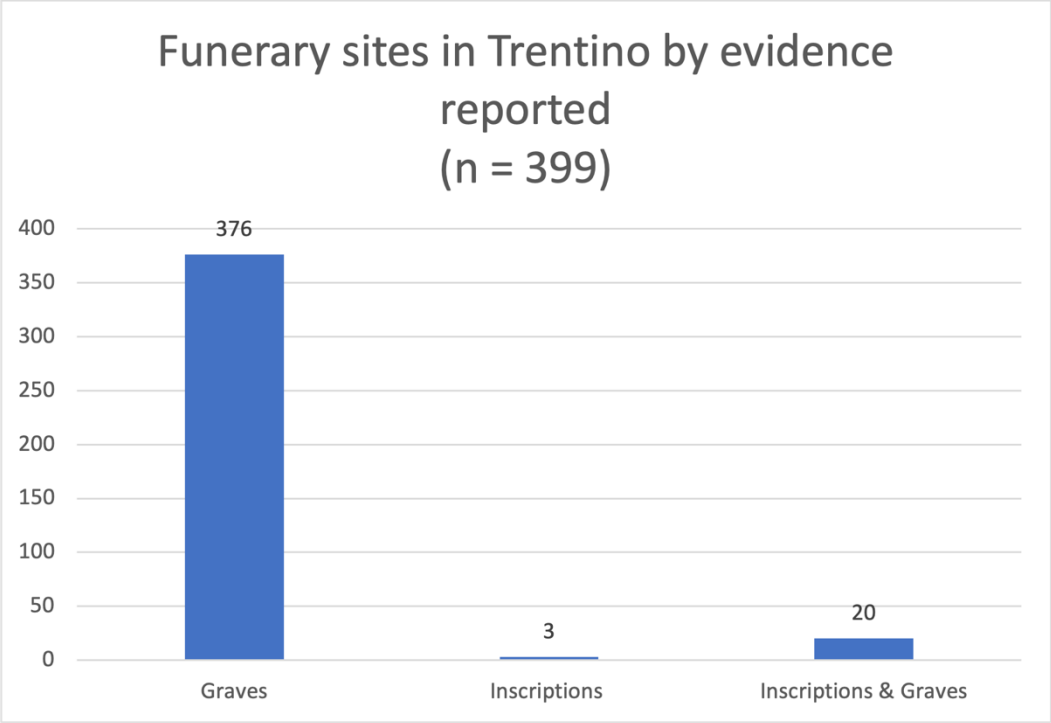


Figure 89 Funerary sites in Trentino by types of evidence reported (Data from Appendix 3)

5.2.2 Funerary sites: site types and overall distributions

Funerary sites in Trentino cluster in the central valleys of the region. The discussion of these sites considers them according to various microregions developed by Francisci and reused here as a heuristic tool to understand the organization of this highly compartmentalized, mountainous territory (Figure 90).[507] When the funerary sites across the region are graphed and mapped (Figure 91 and Figure 92), it is apparent that the largest concentration of burials can be found in the Val dell'Adige, which forms the main north-south axis running through Trentino. The Val dell'Adige is occupied by the microregions of Rotaliana in the north, *Tridentum* in the centre, and Vallagarina in the south, and taken together these three microregions account for 160 sites (40 per cent of the total). Other major concentrations of sites are known in the Val di Non (95 sites or 23.8 per cent) and the Basso Sarca (55 sites or 13.8 per cent), both of which run approximately north-south through the landscape, to the northwest of the Val dell'Adige and to its southwest at the head of Lake Garda, respectively. Together, these three main valley systems make up a substantial proportion of the best agricultural land in the region and were therefore densely occupied by farms, as well as providing important paths of movement through the mountainous landscape. The lateral valleys of the Valsugana (29 sites, 7.3 per cent), the Giudicarie (23 sites, 5.8 per cent), Valle dei Laghi (23 sites, 5.8 per cent) and the Valli Avisio (14 sites, 3.5 per cent) also provide smaller but still substantial datasets, suggesting that these areas were also densely occupied in antiquity, if somewhat less intensively than the Val dell'Adige, the Val di Non and the Basso Sarca. Significantly, all the microregions just discussed – except for the area around the city of *Tridentum* – are rural in nature, underlining the importance of funerary commemoration in the countryside of Trentino, a trend which we shall now consider in greater detail.

[507] The microregions follow ESRI shapefiles kindly provided by Denis Francisci with the sole change being the addition of the microregion of *Tridentum* which is defined as a circle with a radius of 1.5 km from the city.

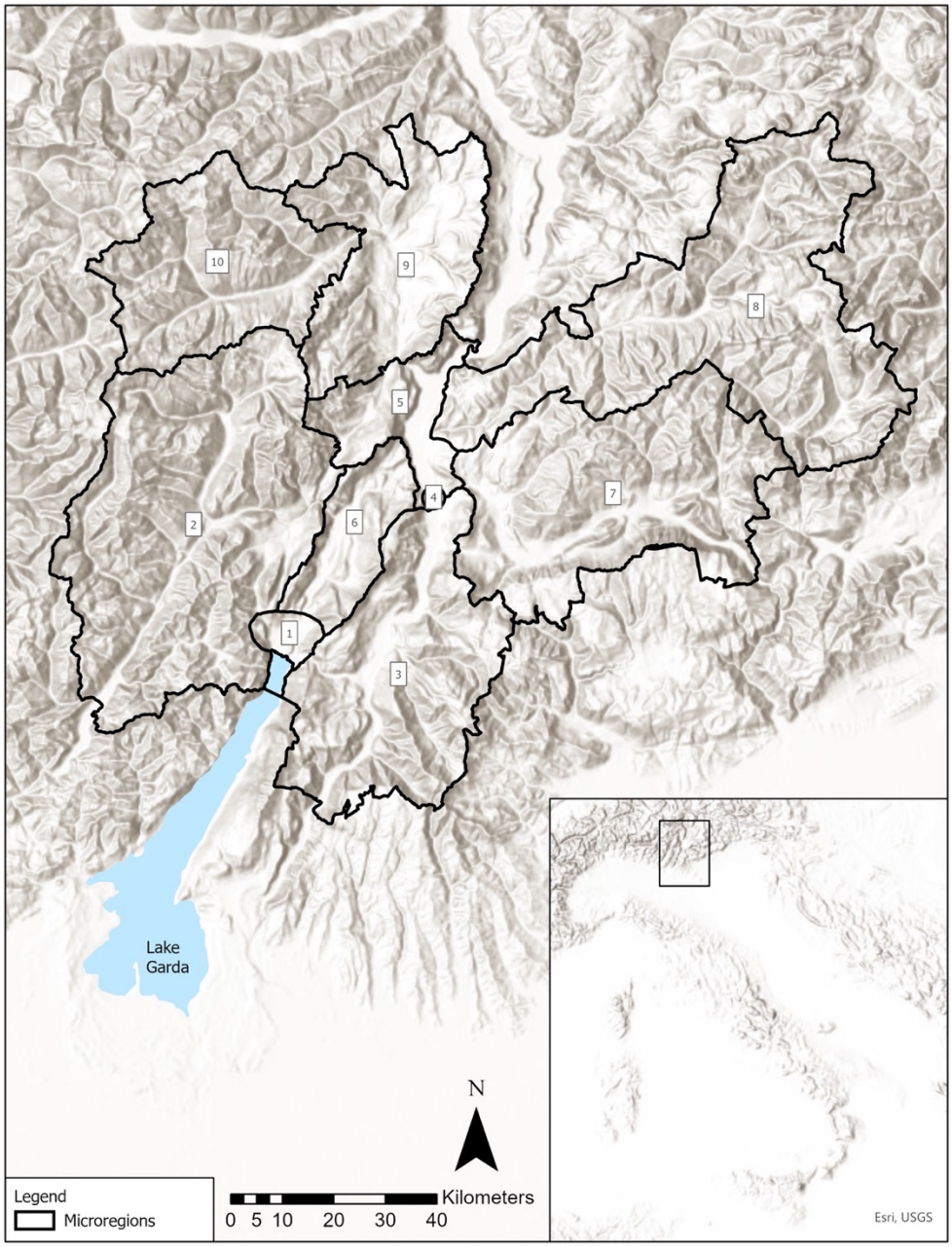


Figure 90 Microregions of Trentino. Micoregions: 1 = Basso Sarca, 2 = Giudicarie, 3 = Vallagarina, 4 = Tridentum, 5 = Rotaliana, 6 = Valle dei Laghi, 7 = Valsugana, 8 = Valli Avisio, 9 = Val di Non, 10 = Val di Sole (which is not discussed further due to lack of evidence) (Following Francisci, 2017a, 101, tab. 8)

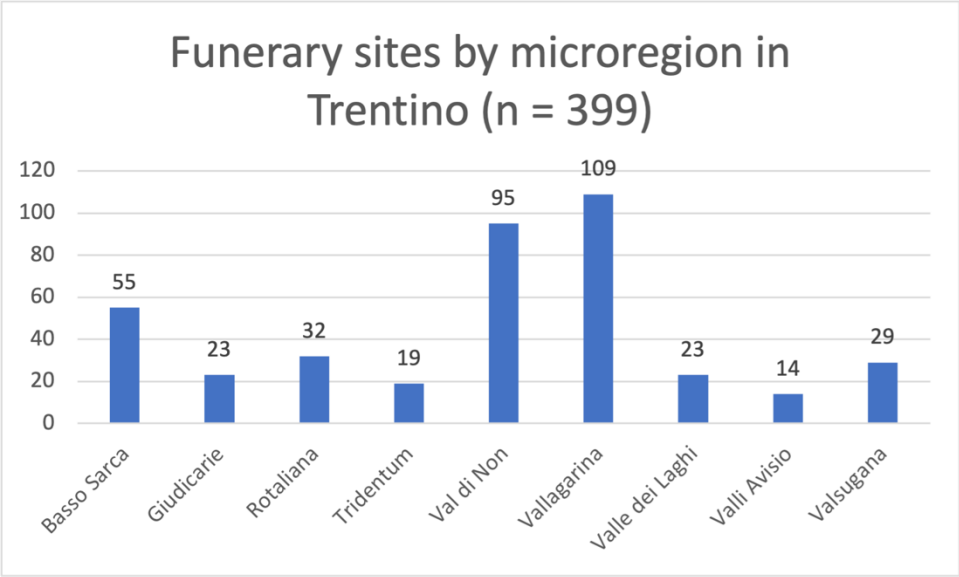


Figure 91 Burial sites in Trentino grouped by microregion (source: Appendix 3).

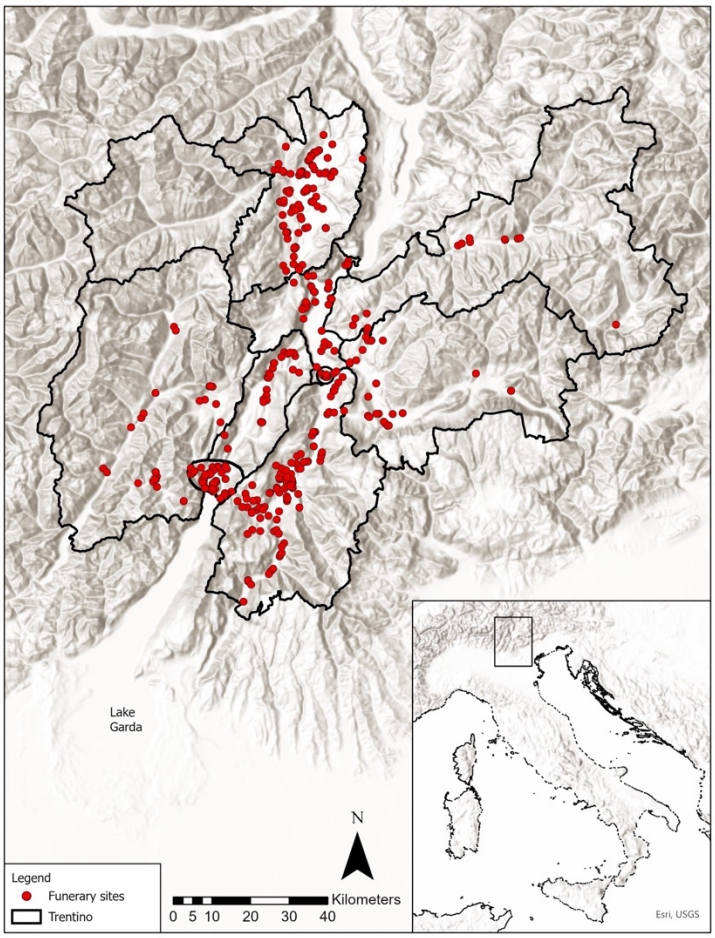


Figure 92 Funerary sites of Trentino against microregions (Data from Appendix 3)

5.2.2.1 Comparing rural and urban funerary site distributions

Most of the funerary evidence in Trentino comes from rural areas. In total, 380 sites (95.2 per cent) of all periods can be characterised as coming from rural sites (Figure 93), and just 13 sites lie within suburban areas (3.3 per cent). A further six late antique or early medieval burial sites (1.5 per cent) lie within the intramural area of the city of *Tridentum.* These figures may be slightly distorted by our relatively limited understanding of the suburbs of *Tridentum* in antiquity, caused by extensive later medieval and early modern development which has hindered archaeological investigation in most of the area surrounding the ancient town.[508] When the data is graphed according to number of individual graves, we again see that the evidence is predominantly rural in nature (Figure 94), though less so than if we look at the overall number of sites alone: 1,515 graves (85.4 per cent) are located in the countryside, and just 244 (13.7 per cent) in suburban areas (of which, however, 200 come from the late antique basilica of San Vigilio, **3-345**), and 14 in intramural contexts (0.78 per cent). However, the large number of sites – 224 or 56.1 per cent – without a clear number of graves means that the analysis which follows will concentrate primarily on the number of burial sites, not the number of individual graves. These figures seem to indicate that majority of the population was buried in the countryside as opposed to urban funerary centres.

The distribution of funerary sites in Trentino reflects the wider settlement patterns and the relative dearth of urban centres in this region throughout antiquity. This settlement pattern meant that most people lived far from a town, that is more than a day's walk and likely even further, making travel to a city a relatively major undertaking. Moreover, *Tridentum* was a small urban centre with a limited supra-regional elite presence, and though it played a significant administrative role for parts of the territory under consideration, we have already seen that other parts of modern Trentino were administered by other cities and their local elites including *Feltria*, *Brixia* and Verona, which lay considerable distances from these rural districts (above, section 5.1.2.1). Within this context, it is worth noting that a large proportion of the sites with epigraphic evidence was in the countryside, indicating that rural areas were considered appropriate for the more monumental, durable forms of commemoration available to those with the economic wherewithal to afford them (Figure 95). We might suppose, then, that burial in the countryside, near to where people lived,

[508] Ciurletti 2000, 324.

reflected a more appealing, and often practical, alternative to burial near cities for much of the population, especially in the absence of large competitive venues for commemoration. This trend may also indicate the presence of a literate elite or a body of individuals with 'limited literacy' capable of reading such inscriptions in the countryside.[509]

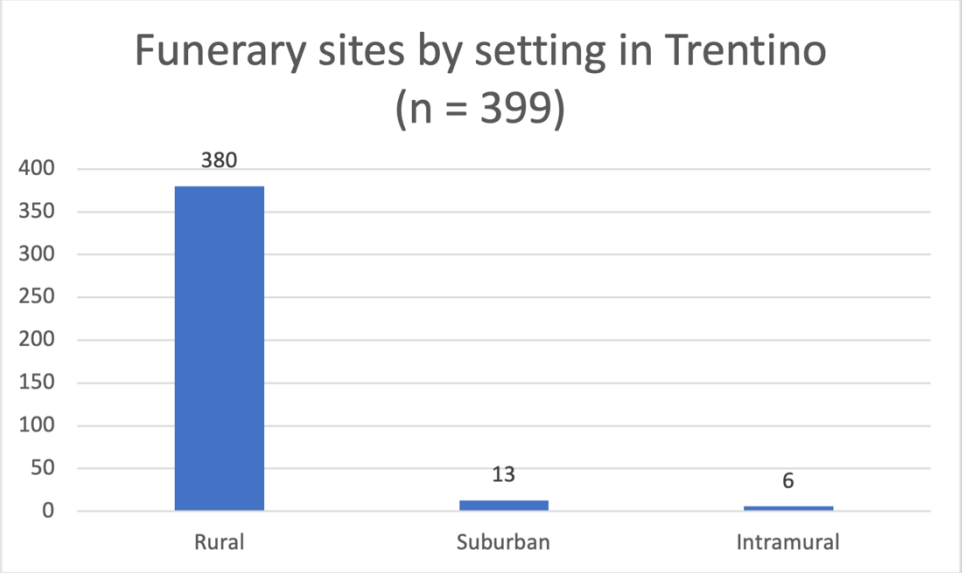


Figure 93 Funerary sites dated c. 1-700 CE in Trentino according to site setting (Data from Appendix 3)

[509] Limited literacy: Carroll 2008, 42-43.

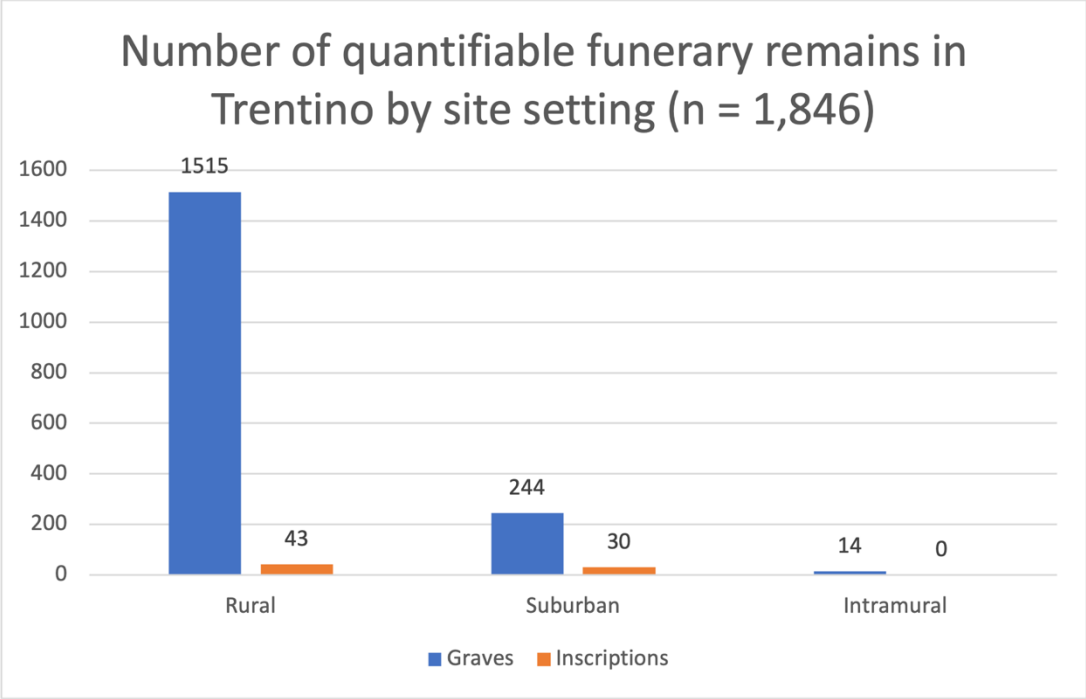


Figure 94 Individual funerary remains at funerary sites dated c. 1-700 CE in Trentino by site setting (Data from Appendix 3).

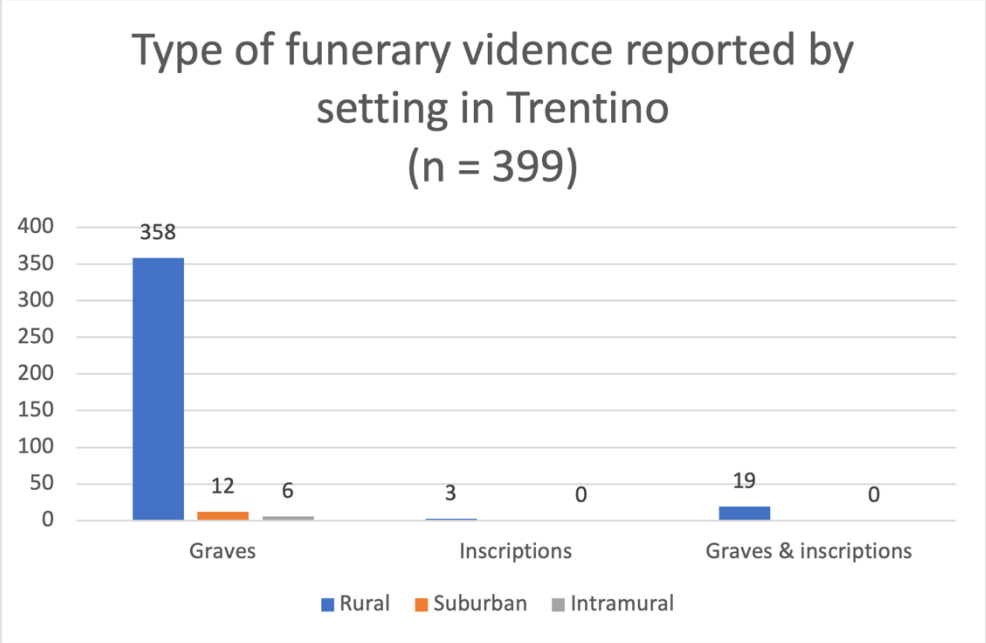


Figure 95 Funerary sites dated c. 1-700 CE in Trentino according to types of evidence represented (Data from Appendix 3).

5.2.2.2 Evidence for Monumentality: Rural and Urban

The absence of large funerary monuments like mausolea or columbaria in Trentino does not mean that there was a complete absence of monumentality in the funerary landscape. Three

primary forms of monumentality have survived in Trentino: inscriptions; sarcophagi, and funerary enclosures. The sections which follow will outline these types of monuments, explore their distribution and comment on the aims of those who commissioned them.

5.2.2.3 Mapping poorly-located funerary inscriptions: the evidence from Trentino

The funerary inscriptions discussed so far comprise only those with secure find-spots. As was the case in the discussion of Campania, it is important to explore data from less secure contexts. We can achieve this through examination of the Roman-period funerary inscriptions gathered by Chistè, and partially mapped by Francisci, supplemented by late antique inscriptions from elsewhere in the region.[510] Analysis of the spatial distribution of inscriptions confirms that a substantial proportion (42 inscriptions, 43.3 per cent) of the epigraphic evidence comes from rural locations, though a considerable number of inscriptions (55 sites, 56.7 per cent) are also known in the city of *Tridentum* (Figure 96).

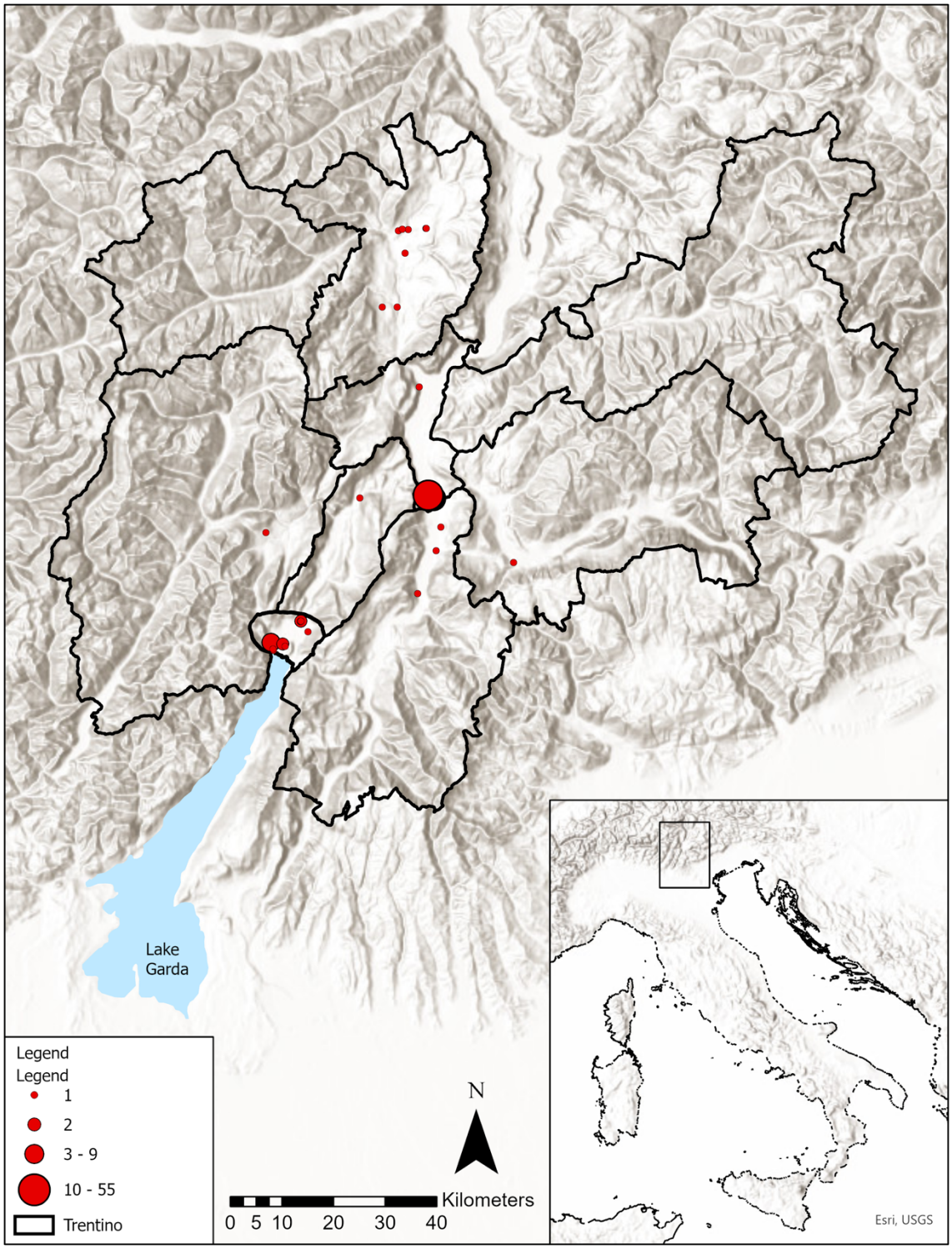
The distribution of funerary inscriptions suggests that in the lightly urbanised region of Trentino, setting more monumental burial markers in the countryside may have been viewed as an appropriate means for commemoration among local elites. This may have been aided by the formulaic nature of some of these funerary texts, which could be read by those who possessed only a limited sense of literacy (above, section 5.2.2.1). It could also indicate that a high proportion of people who lived in the countryside were buried nearby, regardless of their social status. The trend towards countryside burial is not static through time. Significantly, most of the funerary inscriptions from the countryside date to the early imperial period through to the 4th century, and mostly in the earlier part of this timespan (Figure 97).[511] However, around *Tridentum*, the pattern is reversed, due to the c. 30 late antique funerary epitaphs recovered at San Vigilio (**3-345**). This could suggest that the attraction of burial in suburban Christian venues like the one represented by this basilica increased in Late Antiquity (below, section 5.2.3.2). Occasionally, late antique epitaphs are attested in the countryside, as at the church of San Sisto at Caldonazzo (**6-96,** Figure 98)[512] and San Cassiano in Riva del

[510] Francisci 2017b, tav. epigrafi; Chisté 1971; Mazzoleni 2001.

[511] On rural chronologies: Francisci 2017a, 115-119.

[512] Rogger 2000, 505-506.

Garda (**3-244**), but these should be seen as exceptions to the overall decline in the number of inscriptions being cut after the 3rd century.[513]



[513] MacMullen 1982; Salway 2015.

Figure 96 Spatial distribution of funerary inscriptions in Trentino, including inscriptions which are not in situ (Data from Appendix 6)

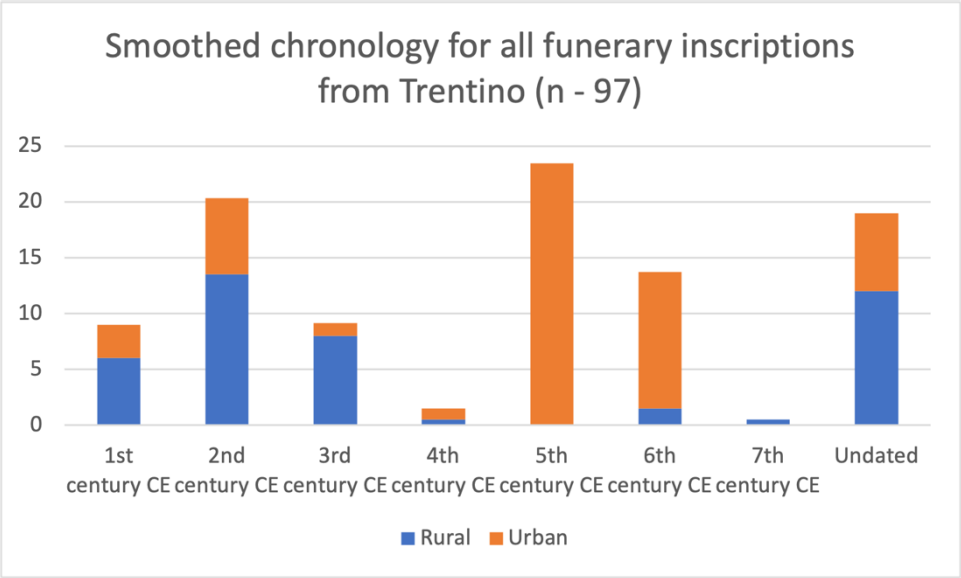


Figure 97 Funerary inscriptions in Trentino smoothed by century and grouped by milieu (Data from Appendix 6)



Figure 98 Inscribed funerary slab for Flaminus and Iusta dating to the 6th century, now in the church of San Sisto in Caldonazzo (Photo modified from www.archeoTrento.it)

5.2.2.4 Sarcophagi

The known sarcophagi from Trentino are largely also from rural areas. All ten sites with evidence for *in-situ* sarcophagi finds come from the countryside (Figure 99), although as Cavada notes, several sarcophagi now in Trento may also have been found within the suburbs of the city.[514] However, in the absence of secure find spots it cannot be excluded that they were found elsewhere and subsequently moved to the city after antiquity. Analysis of sarcophagi typologies in Trentino cannot be considered here. However, it suffices to note that some sarcophagi in Trentino featured substantial inscriptional and pictorial ornamentation, like the one from Flavon (**3-110,** Figure 100). Some others were also relatively large, as the one from Capitello di Prà in Levico Terme (**3-151,** Figure 101) exemplifies. This, combined with the lack of evidence for larger funerary monuments in which to set sarcophagi up suggests that sarcophagi served as standalone funerary monuments within wider field cemeteries, as has been suggested to sometimes be the case, for example, around Rome. On this model, we should see sarcophagi as playing a role which aggrandized the memory of the individual(s) able to afford them. On current evidence it is unclear how sarcophagi were displayed in Trentino though possibilities include on platforms or in enclosures, given the absence of free-standing funerary monuments. It is significant that many of them appear in the countryside, as this distribution appears to suggest that even relatively privileged members of society considered burial in rural cemeteries to be desirable.

[514] Ciurletti 2000, 323-324.

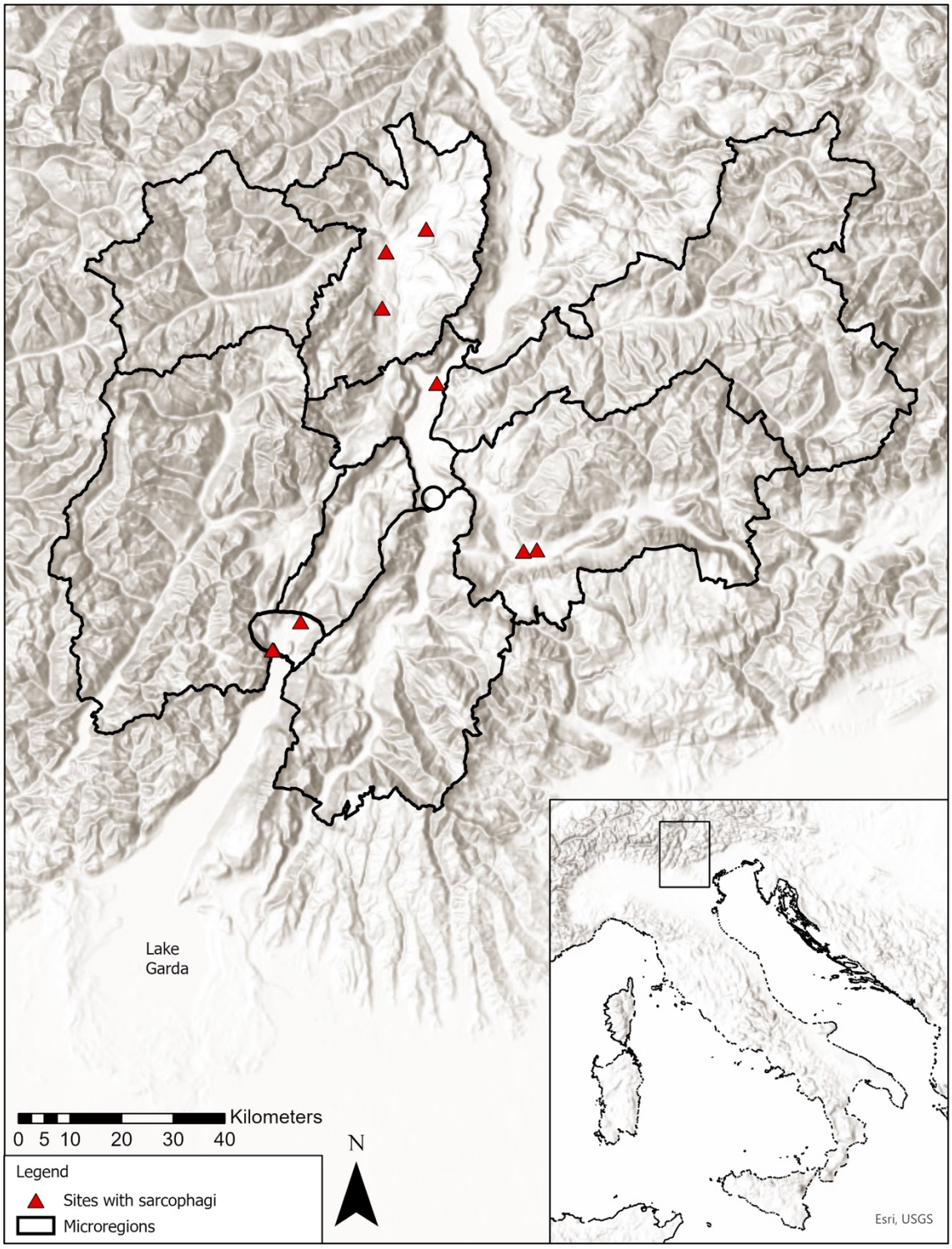


Figure 99 Spatial distribution of burial sites containing sarcophagi in Trentino (Data from Appendix 3)



Figure 100 Sarcophagus panel from Flavon (3-110) depicting winged erotes supporting an inscribed garland (From Francisci, 2015, 101, fig. 5).



Figure 101 A Roman sarcophagus from Prà in Levico Terme (3-151) now on display at a bus stop on Via Marconi in the town (Photo from tripadviser.com)

5.2.2.5 Funerary enclosures

The walled enclosures which surrounded some graves may have provided a form of monumentalism during the Roman period in a region where mausolea and columbaria were otherwise absent. At least 12 sites have some evidence for funerary enclosures in Trentino. All but one of these sites were in rural areas (Figure 102), though this is probably a product of our limited evidence for burial in suburban areas as an enclosure in use from the 2nd century has been excavated at Istituto Suore Canossiane (**3-353**) outside Trento. The evidence for enclosure walls is often slender. For example, at an unnamed locality in San Michele all'Adige (**3-301**) around 20 burials were found near to a wall approximately 5 m long, which could have been the remains of an enclosure. Similarly, a large wall was found near to burials at Menegoni in Caldonazzo (**3-70**), which could again represent an enclosure. This scant evidence may suggest that the number of enclosures are therefore underrepresented in our available dataset as these features are usually only uncovered through systematic excavation and recording. Enclosures may therefore have been a more important part of the funerary landscapes of Roman Trentino than we are otherwise aware.

Where strong evidence for funerary enclosures is available, it seems to indicate that they were used to define burial spaces used by individual households. This is best illustrated by evidence at sites like loc. Baltera in Riva del Garda (**3-227**), where a rectangular enclosure built from river stones enclosed a group of five graves (Figure 103) and the nearby San Cassiano (**3-244**) which may have been part of the same necropolis in antiquity. At San Cassiano (Figure 104), burials were arranged along a road and delineated by a series of distinct but adjacent funerary enclosures. Osteological analysis shows that adult female and male burials were intermingled within these enclosures, sometimes alongside the graves of children.[515] This organisation may suggest that these funerary enclosures delineated the burial plots of individual family groups within a wider cemetery space.

The significance of enclosures in the funerary archaeology of Roman Italy has received relatively little attention to date, with analysis limited to brief commentary. Elsewhere in the Roman world, Hope has argued that these enclosures are a mark of a status for the groups to which they belonged.[516] Delineating graves within a walled area certainly represents an

[515] Amoretti 2011.

[516] Hope 2001, 74-76. See also Chavarria Arnau 2018, 170.

economic investment in terms of land, labour, and materials. Enclosures would both have served to draw attention to the existence plot in general, but, as Rose MacLean has noted in her analysis of tombs outside Rome, they could also have removed specific graves and/or epitaphs from the view of passersby.[517] This last point must remain tentative where the original height of walls is unknown, but we might envisage that burial enclosures filled with graves served as a form of open-air funerary monument. Sites with funerary enclosures were visible to the wider community on one level, but the graves, and therefore the specific identities of those buried within, may have been obscured. This would have left individuals' identity – and the memory of these individuals – subsumed into the memorialization of the wider group which owned and set up the enclosure.

[517] MacLean 2018, 29.

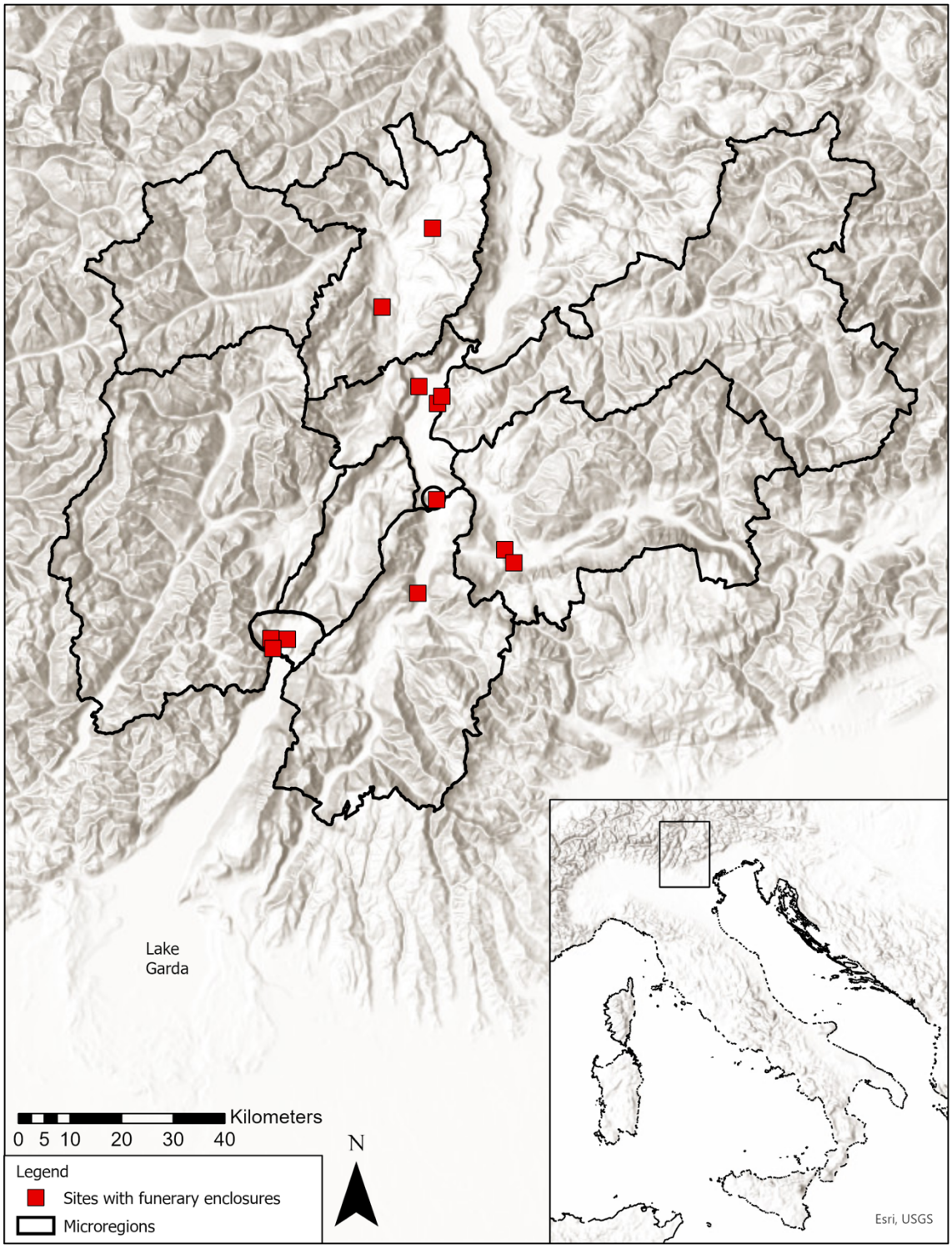


Figure 102 Distribution of sites with funerary enclosures (Data from Appendix 3)

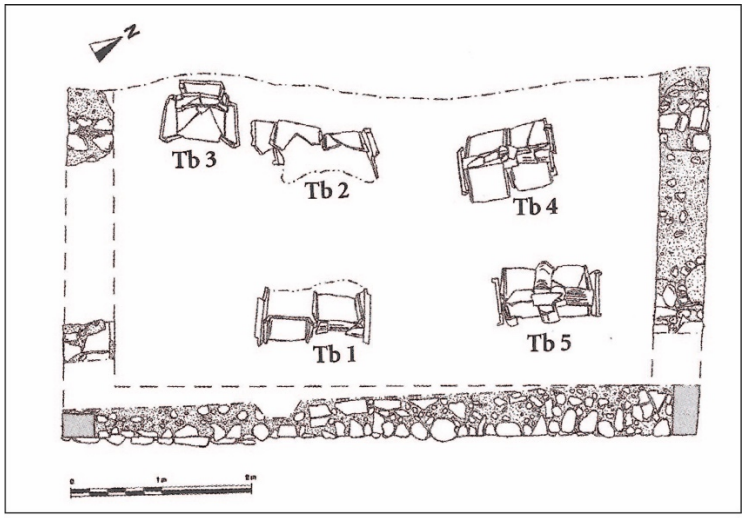


Figure 103 Burials within a funerary enclosure at loc. Baltera (3-227), Riva del Garda (From Bassi, Granata, & Oberosler, 2010, 44, fig. 1).



Figure 104 Part of the Roman cemetery at San Cassiano in Riva del Garda (3-244). Funerary enclosures are shown in black (After Chavarría 2018, 173, fig. 14.8)

5.2.2.6 Chronology

Detailed study of changes in burial patterns through time are a key component of the current study. This section explores the trajectories of funerary landscape in Trentino between the 1st and 7th centuries using the same method of chronological smoothing employed in the previous chapter on Central Campania (above, section 4.2.2.6). Although 101 sites, or around one quarter of the total, cannot be dated, the remaining 298 sites provide a general picture of long-term continuity in the funerary landscapes of Trentino (Figure 105). Substantial funerary evidence is attested in the 1st century, increasing in the 2nd century, and remaining relatively steady, with only minor fluctuations, down to the 4th century. There is then a dip in funerary sites which may be dated to the 5th century, with a continued downswing in the 6th century and a surge of activity in the 7th.

Our understanding of the chronological development of the funerary landscapes in Trentino is skewed by a reliance on grave goods for dating (Figure 106). A total of 167 sites (41.8 per cent) of the 399 burial sites contained in Appendix 1 are partly or entirely dated by their grave goods, and most of these are of late antique or early medieval date. A large proportion of generically Roman-period burial sites cannot be more closely dated as a result of the absence of highly diagnostic grave good assemblages, and this stands in contrast with the grave goods of Lombard date, which are relatively easy to recognise.[518] Additionally, as Barbiera notes, the intentional placement of artefacts in graves varies considerably according to period and region.[519] While a large proportion of these sites were found before the advent of modern archaeological excavation techniques or were published in a summary fashion, it is clear that a substantial part of this dataset is so loosely dated because, in the absence of grave goods, the only available dating evidence comes from tomb typologies, which provide a poor guide to chronology.[520] Further detailed investigation of the phenomenon of varying grave good deposition over time in Trentino lies outside the scope of the current project but it remains possible that late Roman burials in this part of Italy were less likely to include grave goods than their early medieval counterparts. Despite these possible biases in the available data, however, the funerary landscapes of Trentino remained vibrant throughout our period,

[518] Papers in Possenti 2014.
[519] Barbiera 2012, 25-41, 108-123.
[520] Francisci 2017a, 132-133.

with no sharp caesura in identifiable activity during the early medieval period, as we saw in our study of Campania.

The chronological trajectories of rural burial sites and their urban and suburban counterparts in Trentino show considerable divergences. The number of rural funerary sites increases from the 1st century into the 2nd, before slowly declining until the 6th century, when it spikes to its greatest peak (Figure 107). In contrast, suburban burial sites are less well attested for the 1st to 4th centuries, before becoming significantly more common between the 5th and 7th centuries (Figure 108). As outlined elsewhere in this thesis (section 2.2.5.4) intramural burials are largely a late antique and early medieval phenomenon, and *Tridentum* conforms to this pattern, with the first graves within the city walls appearing in the 5th century, after which they become more common until the 7th century, when intramural burial appears to reach its highest point. These data are problematic because of the fragmentary nature of the data from *Tridentum,* mentioned above, and we should not assume that the city did not play some role as a venue for funerary display during the early imperial period. Indeed, as we have already seen in the previous section, some decontextualised early imperial funerary inscriptions are known from the city and more are likely to appear in future. This evidence reflects the existence of extensive cemeteries which served *Tridentum*'s population under the early empire.

The division of Trentino into microregions has been used in past research to explore sub-regional chronologies in funerary commemoration. In particular, Francisci has shown that different parts of the region experienced intensification and abatement of activity at different times.[521] A detailed chronological assessment of each of the constituent parts of Trentino lies outside the scope of the present study, but it suffices to note that while rural areas in the principal valleys (Rotaliana, Vallagarina, Basso Sarca, and Val di Non) generally appear to have peaked in either the early imperial or late Roman periods, the lateral valleys (Giudicarie, Valle dei Laghi, Valli Avisio and Valsugana) appear to have seen more activity in the post-Roman periods (Figure 109). It is important not to place too much statistical weight on these patterns, given that fewer sites are attested in the lateral valleys overall. At the same time, however, these trends could suggest that the lateral valleys became more important during Late Antiquity, perhaps because they were removed from the main military events discussed

[521] Francisci 2017a, 163-189.

above, which affected the principal valleys. Alternatively, the preponderance of weapons and armour and the grave goods of early medieval date which date many of these sites could reflect the stationing of troops in these previously marginal areas to ensure control over them.

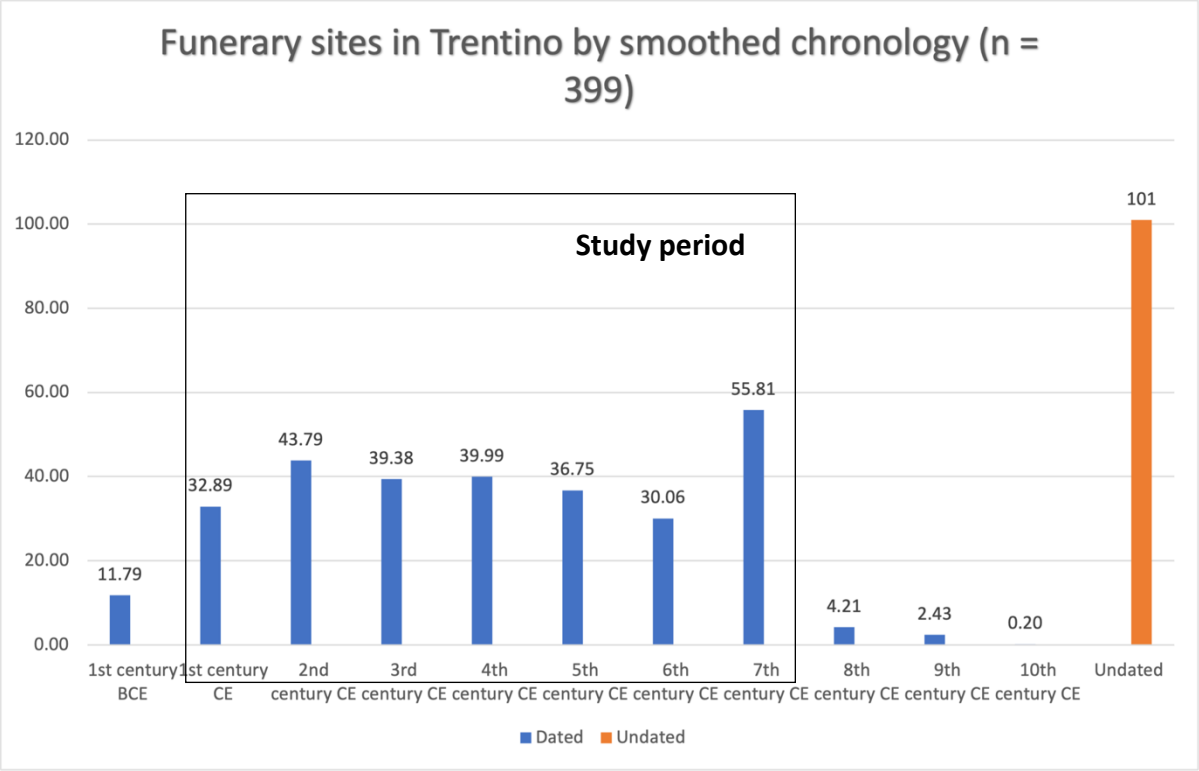


Figure 105 Smoothed chronology for funerary sites dated c. 1-700 CE in Trentino (Data from Appendix 3).

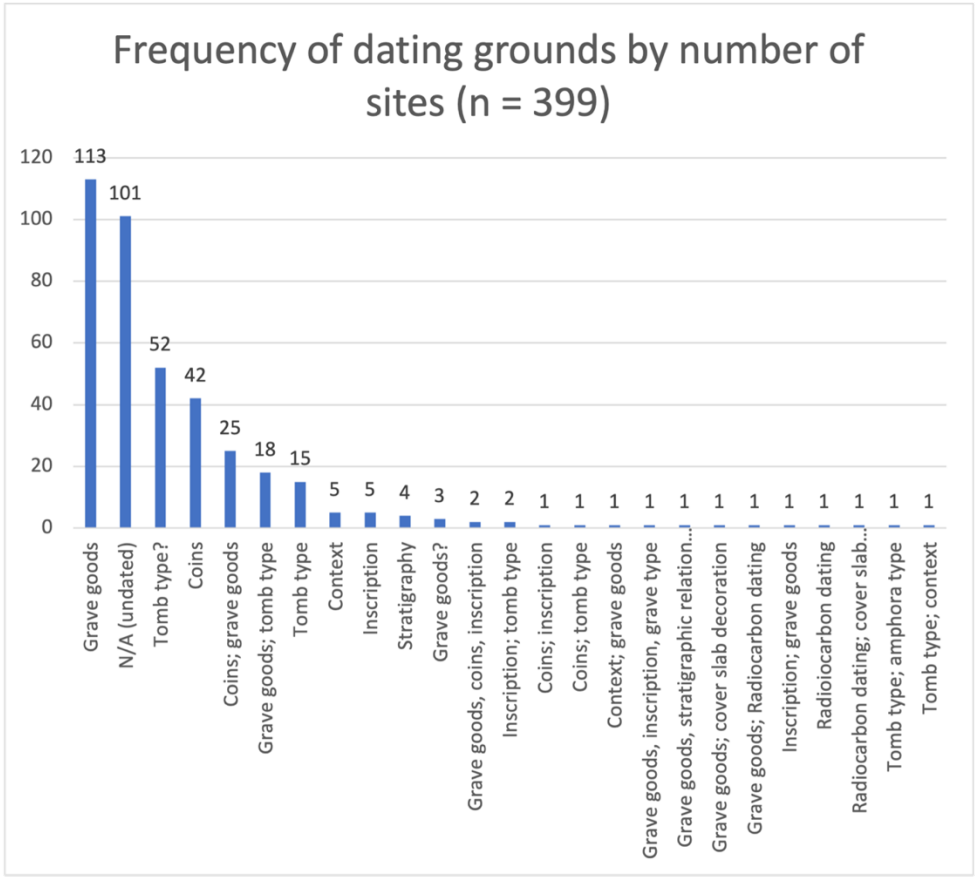


Figure 106 Dating grounds of funerary sites dated c. 1-700 CE in Trentino (Source: Appendix 3)

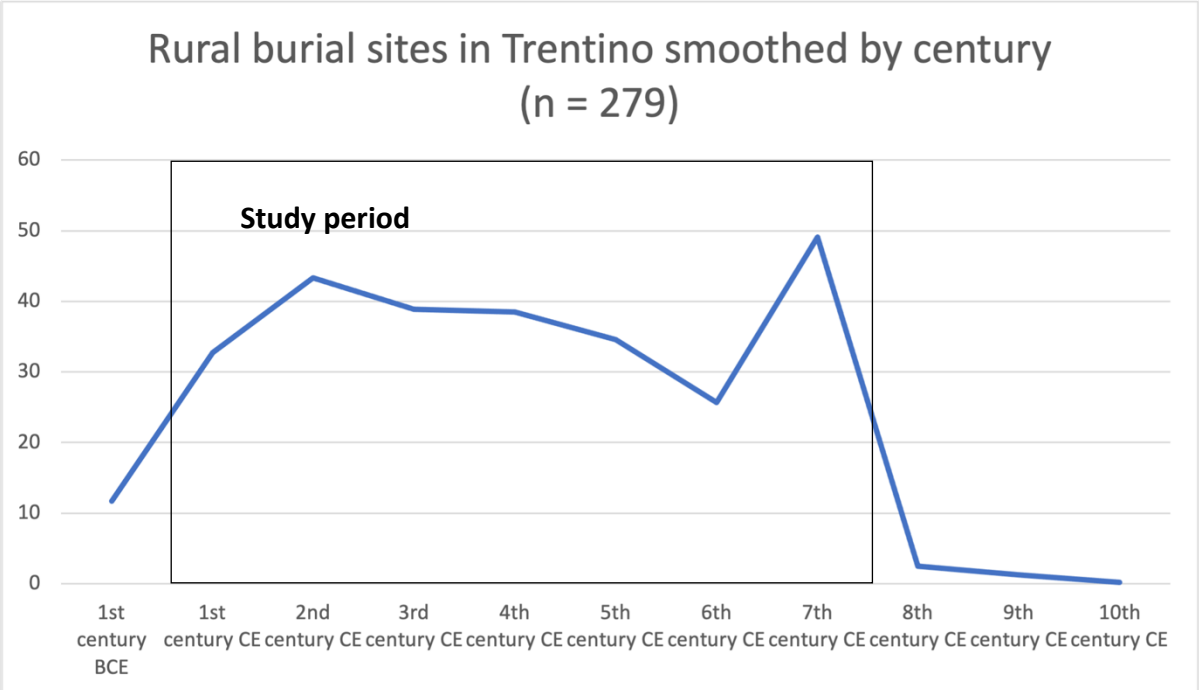


Figure 107 Smoothed chronology for funerary sites in rural areas dated c. 1-700 CE in Trentino (Data from Appendix 3).

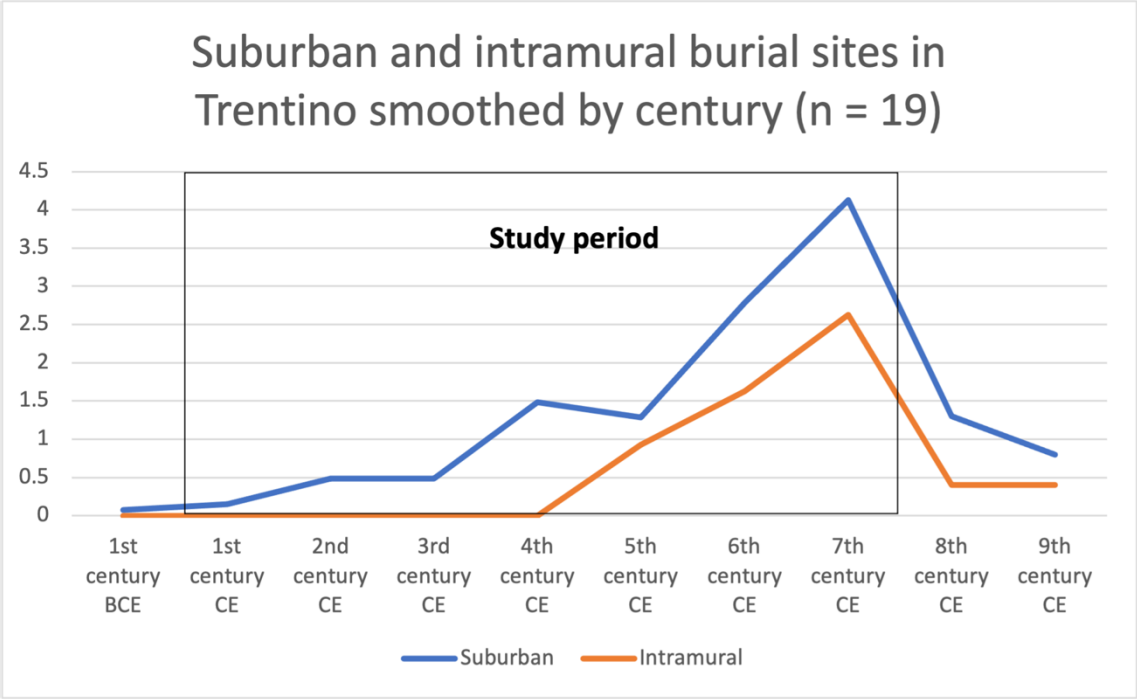


Figure 108 Smoothed chronology for funerary sites in suburban, and intramural settings dated c. 1-700 CE in Trentino (Data from Appendix 3).

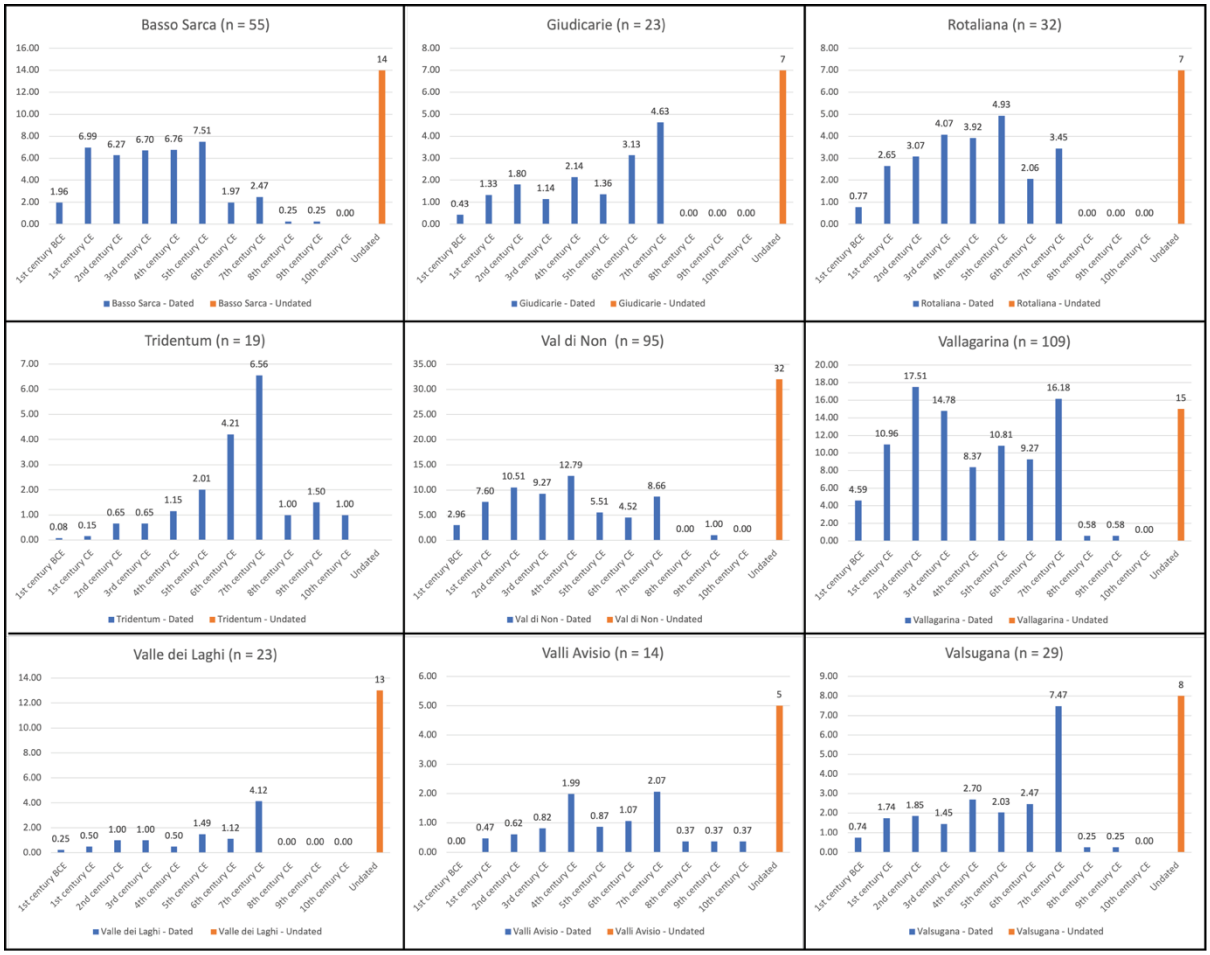


Figure 109 Smoothed chronology for funerary sites dated c. 1-700 CE in Trentino grouped by Microregion (Data from Appendix 3).

5.2.3 Funerary site sizes

Division of funerary sites in Trentino by site size permits investigation of the communities which used these sites. The section which follows discusses burial sites in Trentino according to the categories of individual burial, small burial clusters (2-10 graves), medium burial clusters (11-20 graves), large burial clusters (21-50 graves) and extended burial grounds (>50 burials) in line with the categories employed to analyse the remains from Central Campania (above, section 4.2.3.1). It argues that individual burial clusters and small burial clusters predominate in Trentino, reflecting the importance of family or household burial plots for commemoration of large parts of the population over a relatively short period, though some medium and large burial clusters, as well as extended burial grounds may relate to use by larger communities over longer periods.

5.2.3.1 Quantifying funerary site size categories

In Trentino smaller funerary sites are far more common than their larger counterparts. While the number of graves found at more than half the known burial sites from the region remains unclear (222 sites, or 55.6 per cent), in 176 cases we can quantify the graves present (Figure 110). Individual burial sites (34 sites, 19.3 per cent) and small burial clusters (102 sites, 58 per cent) account for over three quarters of all sites with quantifiable evidence, while medium burial clusters (20 sites, 11.3 per cent), large burial clusters (9 sites, 5.1 per cent) and extended burial grounds (12 sites, 6.8 per cent) make a smaller part of our dataset. When we turn to the number of individual graves in Trentino, while extended burial grounds still account for more graves than individual burials, the cumulative population of extended burial grounds and other burial clusters are broadly similar, with clusters counting for a slightly larger share overall (Figure 111). This suggests that extended burial grounds did not have an outsized, centralising role in funerary commemoration in Trentino and that a sizeable part of the population was buried in small, family or household burial plots.

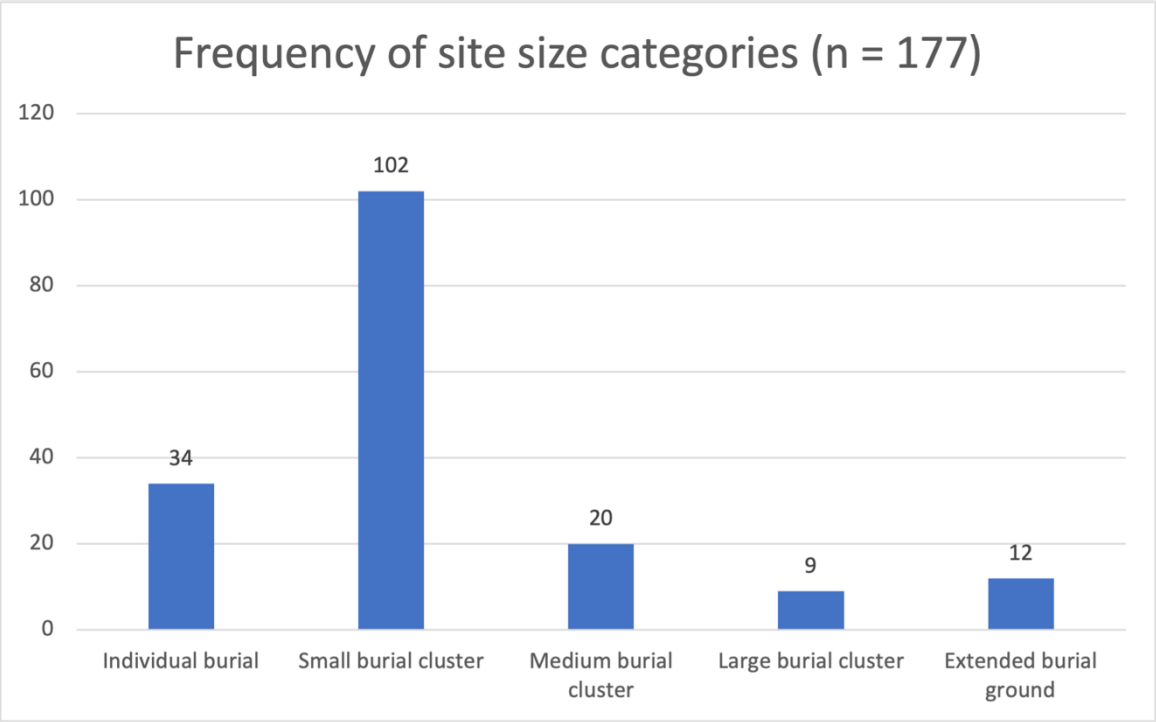


Figure 110 Frequency of site size categories at sites with quantified graves in Trentino (Data from Appendix 3).

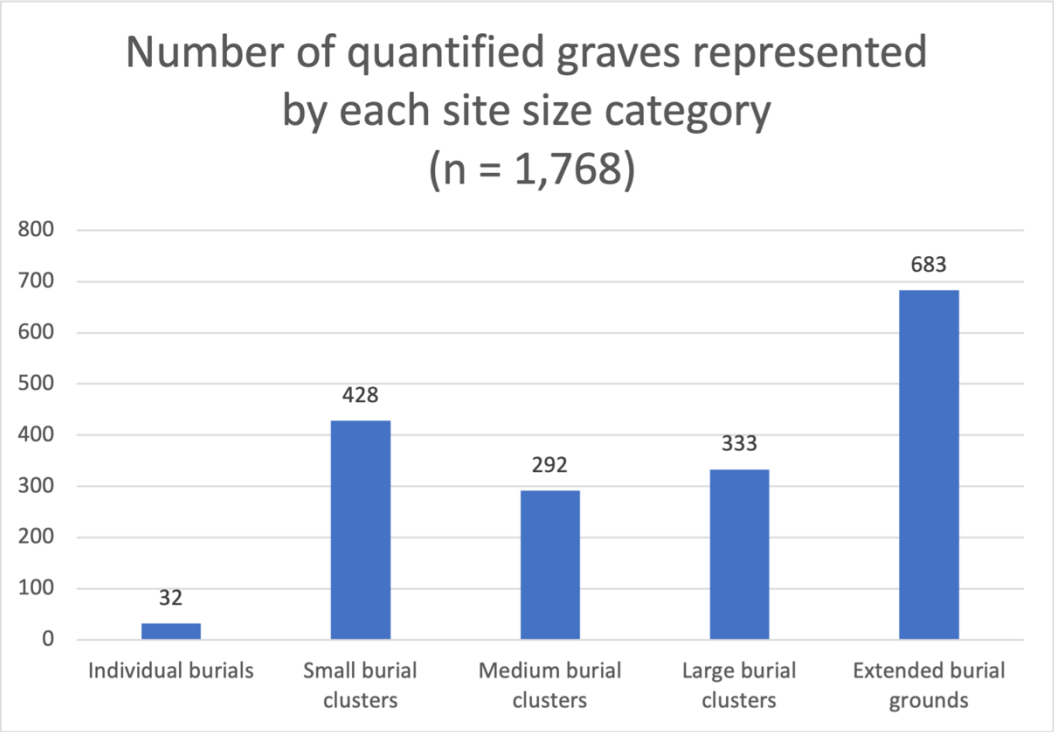


Figure 111 Number of quantified graves represented by each burial site category (Data from Appendix 3).

5.2.3.1 Comparing funerary site size categories in rural, suburban, and intramural contexts

The ancient funerary landscapes of Trentino are characterised by their diversity. Every burial site size category employed in this thesis is attested in the countryside of the region, with sites ranging from individual burials to extended burial grounds (Figure 112). Except for small burial clusters, which are by far the most common, burial site sizes are relatively evenly represented in rural areas. In the suburbs of *Tridentum,* we have already seen that that the available evidence is circumscribed due to the limited excavation which has taken place. Nevertheless, outside this city a variety of different site sizes are attested, ranging from individual burials to an extended burial ground, already mentioned in passing above, at the basilica of San Vigilio (**3-345**), where 80 burials of an estimated original 200-240 have been excavated (below, Figure 146). The absence of evidence for medium burial clusters is almost certainly a product of incomplete exploration. The intramural data from *Tridentum* are more limited, but all seem to relate to individual burials or small burial clusters. Taken together, these data suggest that while burial in larger, centralised places – both in the city and in the countryside – was practised by parts of the population, much of the population of Trentino was buried in small, dispersed burial sites. This may indicate that in these sparsely urbanised

landscapes, people were buried according to a range of other priorities, not necessarily connected to the curation of memory among wider communities.

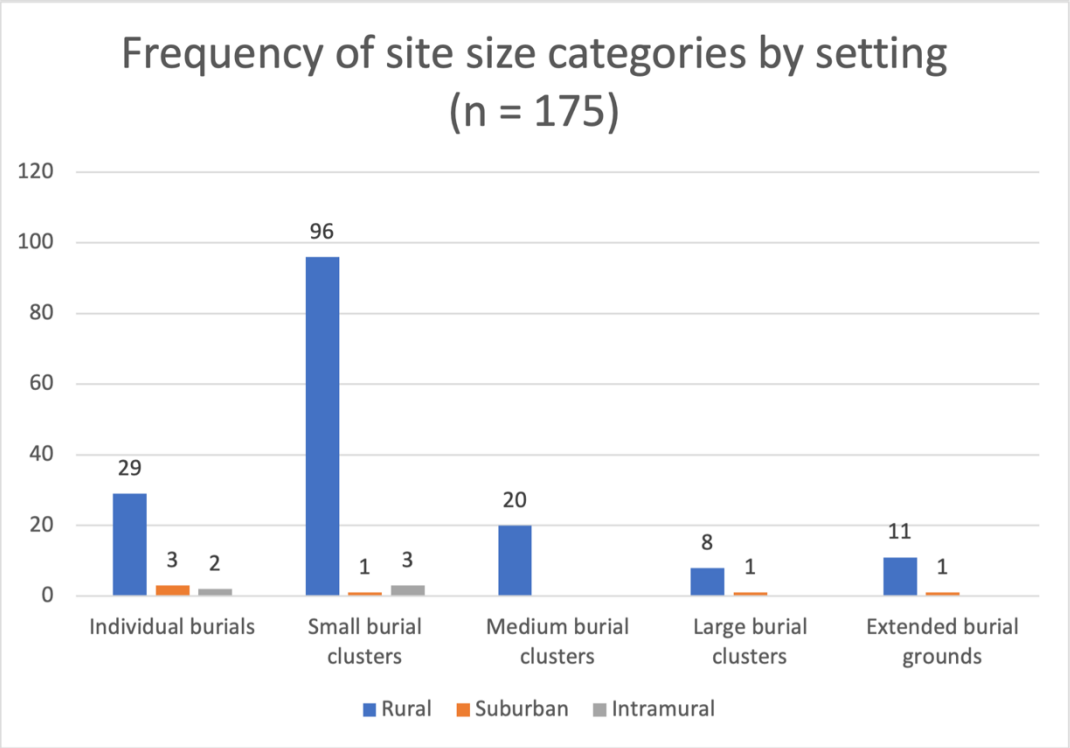


Figure 112 Frequency of site size categories at rural, suburban, and intramural sites with quantified graves in Trentino (Data from Appendix 3).

5.2.3.1 Chronological trajectories in site size categories: long term continuity?

Burial sites at the smaller end of the spectrum became more common at the end of antiquity and the early Middle Ages, while larger sites remained relatively stable throughout the period. Individual burials, small burial clusters and medium burial clusters become more common as our study period progresses, peaking in the 7th century, though there are slight fluctuations in the late Roman period (Figure 113). Large burial sites also peak in the 6th century, though the chronological spread for sites of this size is considerably more even. Extended burial grounds appear slightly less common in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages than they were in the early Roman period, but the variation is slight. While these data could reflect the increasing importance of small burial sites in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, they may also be a product of the bias produced by the high-resolution dating evidence provided by grave goods belonging to these periods. As a result, it is more appropriate to interpret this evidence as reflecting long-term continuity. In other words,

commemorative strategies, and especially the answers to the question of whether to bury or be buried in a centralised or a dispersed location in Trentino may have remained relatively stable over the *longue durée*.

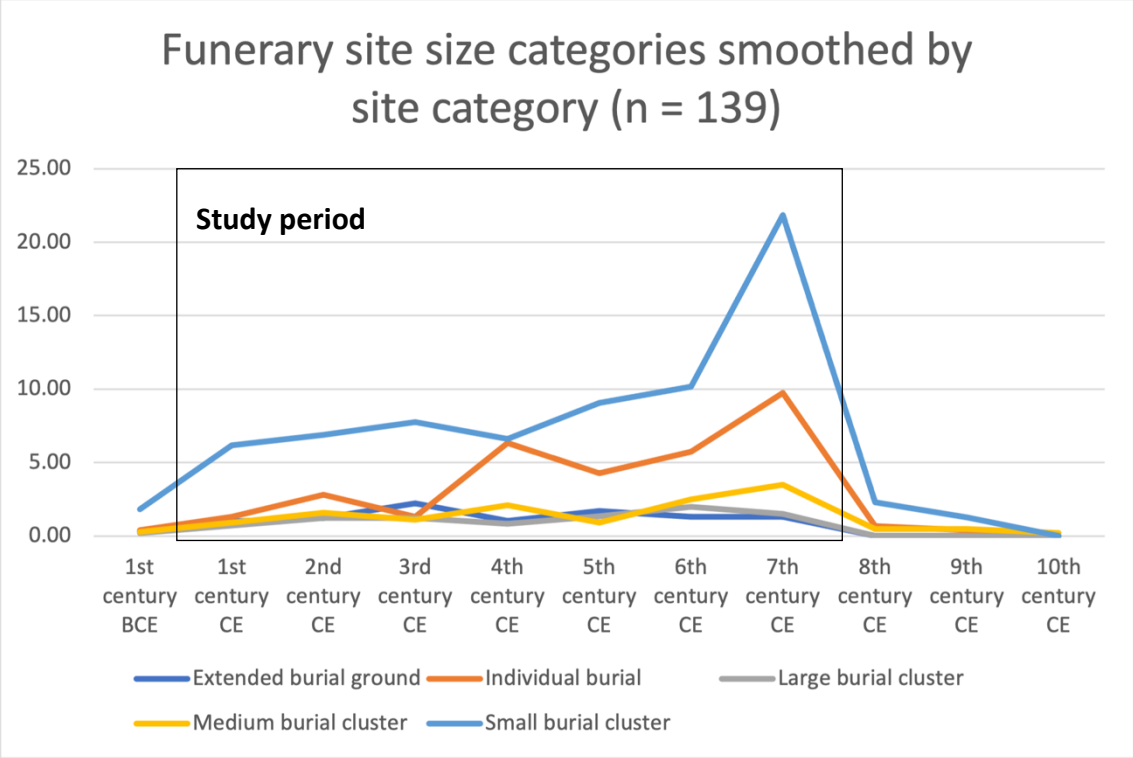


Figure 113 Smoothed chronology for funerary sites of different categories dated c. 1-700 CE in Trentino (Data from Appendix 3).

5.2.4 Discussion

The funerary evidence from Trentino is overwhelmingly rural in nature. This is unsurprising given the sparsely urbanised nature of this part of Italy. However, the rural skew in the distribution of burials is also significant because it suggests that in areas where many people did not live near cities, commemorating the dead in the countryside presented an attractive and more practical choice than transporting them for burial near a town. Comparative evidence from, for example, 19th-century rural Texas suggests that the logistical challenges of moving the dead from farmsteads in hill country drove the development of local family cemeteries.[522] According to this model, burial of the dead in the countryside provided a more compelling way to ensure meaningful commemoration through time. However, despite the long-term preferences for burial in rural areas in Trentino, the funerary landscapes are far

[522] Jordan 2010, 90.

from static. The key trends observable in the regional-level diachronic analysis of the funerary landscapes of Trentino can be summarised as follows:

(i) The first two centuries CE saw intensive funerary activity in the countryside of Trentino, though there is less burial evidence available from the suburbs of *Tridentum*. While this pattern partially reflects our limited knowledge about the suburban funerary landscapes of Trentino in this period, it also underlines the predominance of commemoration in rural areas in this part of Italy. There does not appear to have been a substantial dip in activity during the 3rd century, though this may partially reflect the number of sites dated across the whole of the Roman period.

(ii) During the 4th and 5th centuries, the rural funerary landscapes of Trentino remained vibrant despite a slight dip in the overall number of sites. The late 4th century saw the first use of churches for burial in the suburbs of *Tridentum*. Church burials began after the middle of the 5th century in the countryside, though most of the population seem to have been buried in or next to the fields, just as they were in past centuries.

(iii) A slight dip in the number of funerary sites datable to the 6th century is followed by the greatest peak of known sites in the 7th. This later peak is probably driven by the exceptional visibility of funerary remains with grave goods which belong to the Lombard period, but also reflects the continued use of many rural burial sites from the Roman period well into the early Middle Ages.

We shall now discuss these trends in greater detail.

5.2.4.1 The 1st to 3rd centuries: the rise of a Roman funerary landscape

The 1st and 2nd centuries CE were a busy time in the countryside of Trentino, reflecting the importance of burial in rural areas in this region. Earlier research underlines the diversity of settlement patterns in Trentino, a theme considered further below (section 5.3.3.1-2), but at this juncture it should be stressed that this diversity of settlements for the living was

accompanied by burial sites of a range of different magnitudes for the dead.[523] These burial sites, however, were overwhelmingly field cemeteries and despite the ornamentation provided by funerary inscriptions, enclosures and - occasionally - sarcophagi in some places, early imperial funerary commemoration in Trentino was a far less monumental affair than it was in some other parts of Italy. This does not mean, however, that treatment of the dead in Trentino skimped on cost. Francisci has highlighted the swift adoption of Roman material culture and the deposition of a wide range of artefacts in burials during this period.[524] While the in-depth analysis of grave goods lies outside the scope of the present study, it is worth noting that these assemblages reflect often substantial investment in funerary commemoration, even where grander funerary monuments are lacking.

Funerary activity seems to show strong continuity through the 3rd century. This trend may partly arise from a small number of sites which began to be used in this period, for example at Vela di Trento in the Rotaliana (**3-367**) or Condominio Piemonte outside Riva del Garda (**3-235**) but may also be due to the large number of sites which remained in use between the early imperial period and Late Antiquity (below, section 5.5.2). Previous scholars have drawn a connection between burnt layers on sites in the Val Pusteria, Val d'Isarco, and in *Tridentum* itself with the barbarian invasions of the 3rd century.[525] An apparent upswing in coins hoards datable to the same period, and an inscription from Vervò, dedicated to all the gods and goddesses in exchange for the salvation of the *castellanorun Vervassium,* have also been connected to the same period of perceived crisis.[526] The impact of the so-called 3rd-century crisis on Trentino cannot be re-evaluated in detail here, but it appears that the funerary data tell a rather different story to the prevailing historical narrative in the region. The evidence for continuity of funerary sites underlines that although the archaeological visibility of 3rd-century settlements remains problematic, the impact of the so-called crisis (above, section 4.2.4.2) was experienced unevenly across the empire, with settlement patterns and everyday life in some areas experiencing limited, if any, disruption, as is consistent with evidence from across the Roman West.[527] In other words, the balance of

[523] Francisci 2017a, 192-199.

[524] Francisci 2017a, 139-150.

[525] Francisci 2017a, 98; Ciurletti 1986, 390; Bassi 2002, 271-273, 2005, 271-273.

[526] Coins: *ibid.* Inscription: CIL V 5059; Francisci 2017a, 98; Chisté 1971, 21-22, no. 5.

[527] Papers in Auer & Hinker 2021; Esmonde Cleary 2013.

evidence from Trentino suggests that despite historical narratives which stress the region's role as a corridor into Italy for several barbarian peoples (above, sections 5.1.2.2-4), settlements as well as places of burial may have remained relatively undisturbed. Further research on topic in future would be highly desirable.

5.2.4.2 "Continuity with change" in the 4th and 5th centuries?

The 4th and 5th centuries appear to have been periods of general stability in patterns of funerary commemoration in the countryside of Trentino, though some sites did fall out of use and other new ones were founded. Cavada has observed that around half of sites show continuity of use from the Roman period through Late Antiquity.[528] In particular, extended burial sites like Dos Pagano in Brancolino (**3-201**), Romeno, San Bartolomeo in Romeno (**3-267**), Rovereto, Piazza delle Oche in Rovereto (**3-287**), and Taio (**3-320**) appear to have fallen out of use by the beginning of this period but the small sample size for these larger sites makes it prudent to avoid sweeping conclusions about these changes, especially as at least one major burial ground at San Cassiano in the Basso Sarca (**3-244**) appears to have remained in use into the 5th century and beyond. At the same time, new small or medium burial clusters also gradually came into being, such as that Sano in Mori (**3-189**) or at Vignale in Nogaredo (**3-205**). However, based on the available evidence it is unclear whether this truly reflects a meaningful reorientation away from larger burial sites towards smaller ones, and this may simply reflect a continuity of earlier practices or better dating evidence available for the later Roman burial sites than for those belonging to the early imperial period.

The later 5th century saw the building of the first rural churches, some of which were used for burial relatively soon afterwards. While the role of burial in churches for commemoration of the dead will be discussed further below (sections 5.3.3.8 and 5.4.4), it should be noted here that burials were placed in or around rural churches at only a relatively small number of sites, and most people continued to be buried in field cemeteries. The small number of burials which can be associated with churches therefore underlines the limited role of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the burial of large parts of the population in Late Antiquity and suggests that even as the church became an increasingly powerful institution in late antique society, burial spaces continued to be chosen much as before. This does not

[528] Cavada 2000, 379.

mean, however, that Christianity did not penetrate the countryside at all during this period, as is indicated by six stone sarcophagi from Mezzocorona (**3-167)**, some of which had crosses inscribed upon their cover slabs (Figure 114). Significantly, these burials do not so far appear to relate to any evidence for a church, indicating that burial within or near such a structure was not a prerequisite for those who sought to claim a link with the Christian faith.

Our understanding of the funerary landscapes in and around *Tridentum* remains circumscribed but two significant developments can be observed during this period. Before discussing these, however, it is important to stress that some people probably continued to be buried in traditional suburban cemeteries, though the evidence for this is relatively slim at present (below, section 5.2.4.2-3). The first major trend is the rise of church building on burial spaces, especially in urban contexts. As already outlined above, the basilica of San Vigilio (**3-345**) was built south of the city walls in the later 4th century and shortly thereafter began to be used for burial. The interior of the church was a major burial ground, providing burial space for an estimated 200-240 individuals, with more probably located outside. Inscriptions on some of the surviving cover slabs may indicate that the occupants of these tombs were members of the city's ecclesiastical apparatus, though other lay elites could have been buried nearby.[529] A further burial site appears to have developed in the around the church of S. Maria Maggiore inside the city walls (**3-360**) and this may too have been driven by the presence of the church itself. The rise of these structures and their use for burial exemplifies the role which ecclesiastical the authorities could play in furnishing – and controlling – highly desirable burial spaces. Such spaces exercised an attractive pull over the (sub)urban funerary landscape due to the visibility and prestige which they offered. The second major development is the rise of intramural burial, which emerged in the later 5th century. As shall be argued below (sections 5.2.4.2-3 and 5.5.3.1), the appearance of intramural burials reflects a wider reorganisation of the urban landscapes, as burials were inserted into the gaps of an increasingly stretched and fragmentary cityscape.

[529] Mazzoleni 2001, 383-384.

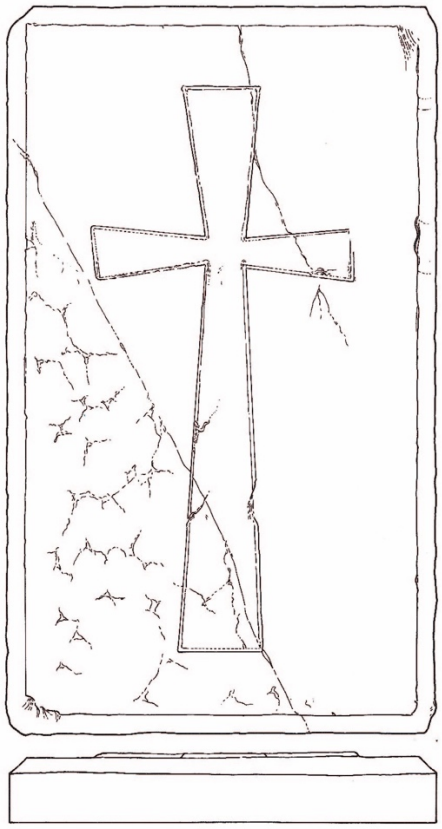


Figure 114 Sarcophagus slab with inscribed cross from Mezzocorona (3-167) (From Cavada, 1994b, 281, fig. 175)

5.2.4.3 Continuity after the end of antiquity

Despite the repeated military actions which rocked *Tridentum* throughout the later 6th and 7th centuries, the impact on the region's funerary landscapes appears to be relatively muted. Following a slightly dip in overall site numbers in the 6th century, the 7th century has the highest number of burial sites of any century considered in this chapter. This is undoubtedly due in part to the high-resolution chronology provided by the distinctive and closely dated Lombard-period grave goods, compared with the more generic chronologies for many burials of other periods. Most of the available data again pertain to the countryside, but in and around *Tridentum,* burial spaces appear to have largely continued the trajectory established during the 5th century. Graves primarily centred on churches and in smaller groups organised throughout the suburban and intramural space, though a larger burial ground may have continued in use outside the basilica of San Vigilio (**3-345**), even after the basilica's interior ceased to host new graves.

In the countryside, it should be stressed at the outset that there is little or no evidence for depopulation despite the vicissitudes of Gothic Wars or the Lombard invasion of Italy, even though our understanding of wider settlement patterns for the period is still limited.[530] In other words, even though we have for the most part yet to find the abodes of the living, we know where at least some of the dwellings of the dead were. Choices about burial places for the dead were extremely heterogenous. Some sites saw continuity of use from the Roman period through Late Antiquity and into the Lombard period (also below, section 5.5.2.1), but this is clearly not the whole story.[531] The proliferation of individual burials and small burial clusters in this the 6th century and 7th centuries may reflect an increased emphasis on commemoration in individual family or household groups, for example, in contrast to some of the larger burial grounds used in earlier periods. Cristina Bassi, focussing primarily on the Val di Non, has argued for a shift in the placement of both settlements and burial sites from valley floors in the Roman period to less accessible uphill locations in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.[532] While the extent of such a shift should not be exaggerated, such a process would have led to the founding of new, smaller cemeteries, and the forgetting of some – but not all – earlier burial sites which were no longer actively used for burial. We shall now examine the position of burials in the wider settlement patterns of Trentino in greater detail.

5.3: Burials and settlement in town and country

5.3.1 Introduction

The relationship between the living and the dead in Trentino was influenced by the nature of wider settlement patterns in the region. This section reviews the evidence for the place of the dead in the suburbs and later the intramural areas of *Tridentum* itself, and then interrogates the place of graves in wider rural settlement patterns. It argues that burial in the suburbs of *Tridentum* did play an important role for some members of the city's community, but tomb streets were largely absent. Late antiquity and the early Middle Ages saw continued burial outside the city, especially around churches, which provided new focuses for funerary

[530] Cavada 2004, 204-214; see also below, sections 5.5.3.1-2.

[531] Cavada 2000, 379.

[532] Bassi 1998.

activity. The addition of a *castrum* across the river from the city's earlier core led to a stretching of the urban fabric and burials filled in the gaps between the inhabited space, not all of which are associated with places of Christian worship.

In rural areas, the relationship between settlements and burials was not as strong as previous scholars have suggested, just as was the case in Central Campania. However, we can see from the available evidence that people were often buried near to settlements like villas or farmsteads, perhaps due to a trend towards more local commemoration in Trentino. The relation between *vici* and burials seems to follow the pattern established elsewhere, with these agglomerations, often ringed by burials, fulfilling a quasi-urban role in commemoration, as visitors were forced to pass by these burial sites on their approach into the settlement. In Late Antiquity, some people began to be buried in or near to *castra*, or inside churches, indicating a close spatial link between the living and the dead under some circumstances, but these sites only account for a minority of all funerary spaces active at this time, indicating broad continuity of relatively simple burial places in the fields over the long term.

5.3.2 Burials in and around the city of Tridentum

5.3.2.1 The urban background

Tridentum initially developed as a city under Julius Caesar before the region's formal annexation, but was monumentalised during the Augustan Period, receiving the following urban features: a regular street grid; a wall circuit, probably of Augustan date; an aqueduct and sewer system which apparently post-dated the city-walls, and other public building such as a forum, though the position of the latter remains unclear (Figure 115).[533] A thick network of extramural non-funerary structures developed in the suburbs and an amphitheatre was built to the east, outside of the city walls, in the Trajanic or Hadrianic periods.[534] *Tridentum's* transformation from a classical into a medieval city was slow and drawn-out.[535] The city walls were reinforced, and perhaps enlarged, to integrate the amphitheatre into the defensive circuit, in the later 3rd century.[536] The 3rd-4th centuries saw continuity of occupation inside the walls, albeit with new, smaller structures often constructed from spoliated materials and

[533] Synthesised by Baroncioni 2012, 65-74. See also Ciurletti 2000, 290.

[534] Baroncioni 2012, 74; Bassi 2006, 18; Cavada & Ciurletti 1983.

[535] Baroncioni 2012.

[536] Amphitheatre: Paissan 2007, 656; Bassi 2006, 15ff.

maintenance of the urban infrastructure continued, including the upkeep of sewers and the extension or resurfacing of roads.[537] In the extramural area, there was a reduction in active farmsteads, with many earlier agricultural structures falling into a state of disrepair or collapse and then buried by alluvial deposits.[538] Bassi has linked this reorganization to changing patterns of land ownership, though her hypothesis remains unproven.[539]

During the 5th century, *Tridentum* underwent reorganization of intramural spaces and road networks, with some roads covered in dark earth and perhaps turned over to cultivation.[540] This process marks a major reconfiguration of the road network, with implications for paths of movement. Destroyed buildings were no longer replaced with new masonry, and the few known habitations constructed during this period comprise single-room post-built structures fronting onto roads.[541] Industrial activity took place inside the city walls, for example, when a glass furnace was installed within an abandoned former *domus*.[542] In the suburbs, some former agricultural establishments were covered with 'dark earth' fills, indicating cultivation, while others were occupied by small-scale domestic structures intermingled with burials.[543] The digging of a small channel near the Fersina stream, and recutting of a runoff channel to the west of the city in the 6th century may reflect an attempt at water management.[544] This evidence underlines the ongoing capacity of civic institutions or individuals to organize works in the city.

Evidence for later 6th- and 7th-century activity is limited. However, the abandonment of some areas in the 3rd-4th centuries paved the way for radical reorganisation of the intramural space during the early Middle Ages, with open areas turned over to cultivation or use for burial on a model like that proposed by La Rocca at Verona**.**[545] This reorganisation of space also saw the abandonment of roads, and the emergence of fresh axes linking new centres of gravity within the city, primarily churches like the basilica of San Vigilio and the

[537] Habitation: Baroncioni 2012, 14-21. Sewer maintenance: Bassi 1997, 224; Ciurletti 2000, 306-308. Roads: Ciurletti 2003, 40-44.
[538] Baroncioni 2012, 75-79.
[539] Bassi 2009, 152.
[540] Ciurletti 2003, 40; Cavada 2005, 248.
[541] Baroncioni 2012, 82; Cavada & Ciurletti 1982.
[542] Baroncioni 2012, 82; Cavada & Endrizzi 1998, 178.
[543] Baroncioni 2012, 80-81.
[544] Baroncioni 2012, 81.
[545] Baroncioni 2012, 83-84; Paissan 2007, 632ff; La Rocca Hudson 1986.

church at Santa Maria Maggiore.[546] Baroncioni argues this process should to be attributed to church agency, with the bishop gradually accumulating control over public properties.[547] Whether or not this analysis is correct, the transformed urban landscape certainly reflects shifting priorities inside a relatively vibrant but increasingly ruralised cityscape made up of various islands of activity among a sea of agricultural lands.



Figure 115 Reconstruction of the ancient street layout of Tridentum overlaid on the modern street plan. N.b. the plan is rotated 90° anticlockwise. (From Marzatico & Migliario, 2011, 158)

5.3.2.2 Burial at *Tridentum* under the early empire

The early imperial period cemeteries in the suburbs of *Tridentum* are poorly understood, as we have already outlined above (section 5.2.2.1-2 and Figure 116). However, based on the available evidence, the burials in the suburbs do not appear to have been particularly monumental in nature, with the majority of funerary remains comprising burials or inscriptions, rather than mausolea or columbaria. This lack of evidence for monumental burial does not mean that the occasional funerary monument was not set up in antiquity, but they have either not survived or remain to be uncovered. The limited evidence for substantial funerary monuments could imply that the tomb street model of suburban burial advanced to

[546] Paissan 2007.

[547] Baroncioni 2012, 84.

describe burials outside cities in central Italy is not helpful here (above, section 2.2.2.2). We should therefore envisage that funerary monuments to the deceased of *Tridentum* did not so much form an architectural façade for the city, but instead commemorated the dead with a sea of more modest burials and funerary markers, with islands of non-funerary activity like the copperworking site below the modern Piazza Duomo or the suburban villas at via Tomaso Gar and below Villa Maestranze on via Rosmini and via Zanella.[548]

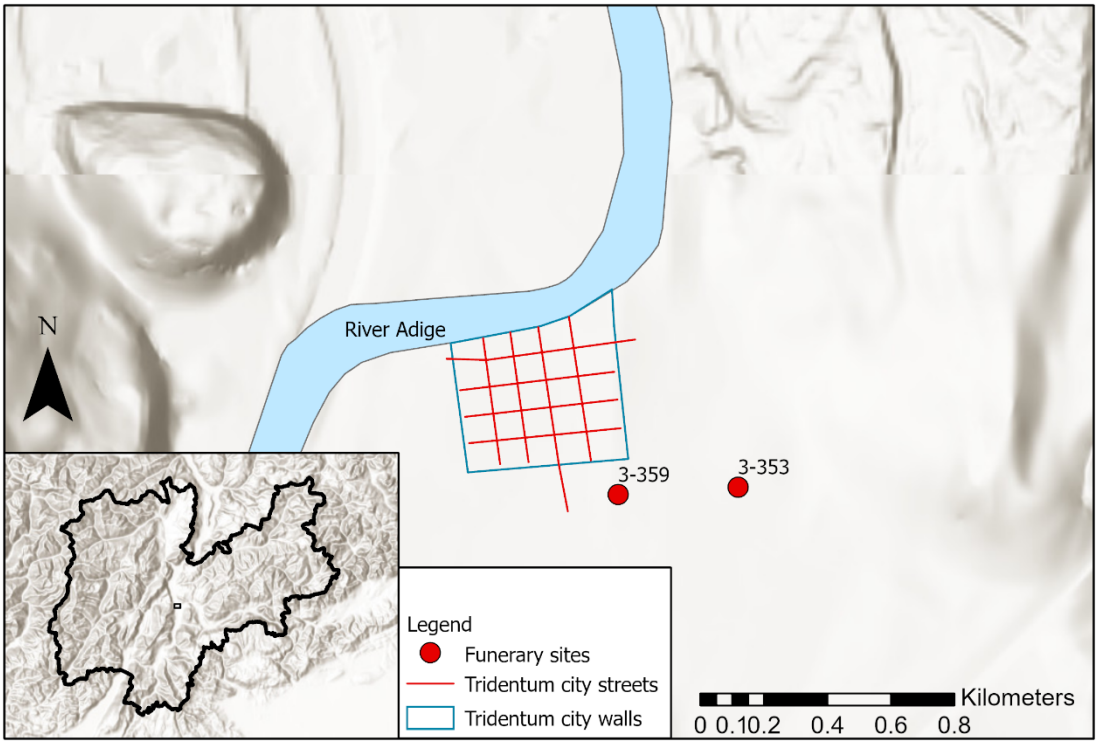


Figure 116 The suburbs of Tridentum in the early imperial period (Data from Appendix 3)

5.3.2.3 *Tridentum* in Late Antiquity: a case of urban sprawl?

Late antiquity saw a reshaping of the funerary landscapes in and around Tridentum (Figure 117). Sporadic burial continued in some parts of the suburbs which were already used for burial in the early imperial period (e.g. **3-353**, **3-359)**. At the same time new Christian poles of funerary attraction occurred in the suburbs, especially around the major basilica of San Vigilio (**3-245**) from the late 4th or early 5th century. In the 6th century burials were inserted into a church within the Piedicastello district (**3-362**) and another church on top of the Doss Trento (**3-349**), both of which were within the *Castrum Verucca*,[549] across the river Adige from

[548] Piazza Duomo: Baroncioni 2012, 24-25. Suburban villas: Baroncioni 2012, 21-24.

[549] Possenti et al. 2013b, 273-278; Brogiolo et al. 2013a, 143-146, 149-154.

the town. Similarly, as the urban fabric of *Tridentum* began to thin with public and private buildings slowly falling out of use or being turned over to new purposes, burials began to be inserted into the gaps between the still-occupied areas from the 5th century onwards. Some of these were simply small burials inside earlier buildings (below, 5.5.3.1), but at least one, at Santa Maria Maggiore (**3-360**) could be arranged around a church, further underlining the importance of Christian communities and actors in reshaping the urban fabric.

Tridentum does not fall neatly into any of the models of late antique urbanism already outlined in the discussion of cities in Central Campania (above, 4.3.2.2-4). The intramural area saw partial abandonment accompanied by activity of a different nature or at a reduced, and more sporadic level, suggesting some degree of ongoing habitation reorganised according to new priorities. At the same time, a *castrum* developed across the river from the earlier principal urban core, probably in the earlier 6th century. Textual evidence suggests an intimate link between the city and the *castrum.* The instruction in the *Variae* of Cassiodorus to build the castle is addressed to a *saio*, or Gothic officer, named Leodifrid stationed at *Tridentum* itself, and an inscription from the church at the top of the Doss Trento suggests this structure may have been built or at least embellished by Eugypius, bishop of the city, who may have served between c. 530 and 540.[550] The construction of the *castrum*, however, reflected a significant expansion of the area encompassed by the limit of the built-up area of the city of *Tridentum*, even if the abandonment of some areas meant that the overall density of settlement decreased.

We might envisage then that the installation of a *castrum* in the suburbs makes *Tridentum* an example of urban expansion, or even sprawl, in Late Antiquity. While urban sprawl is often associated in the popular imagination with densely populated modern cities, human geographies acknowledge that "the spatial footprints of major cities in the Midwest and the Northeast, such as Detroit, Michigan, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, grew approximately 30 percent even as the cities experienced declines in population over the same period."[551] In other words, urban sprawl can take place even as populations decline. The result is a kind of city, stretched over a wider area but with larger gaps in between the inhabited area, the likes of which we may be looking at in *Tridentum.* The stretching of the

[550] *Castle Verucca*: Cassiodorus, *Variae,* 3.48. Eugypius: Rogger 2000, 496.
[551] Rafferty 2020.

city had major implications for patterns of funerary commemoration, as the commemoration of the dead became increasingly decentralised and took place in the "gaps" between the inhabited area. The case of *Tridentum* also underlines that Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages did not only see urban contraction but also urban expansion. Comparable evidence is provided by a letter in the *Variae, which* orders the foundation of a new city somewhere to the east of *Tridentum* (above, section 5.1.2.3), and though this site has not been identified archaeologically it does evoke the possibility of urban growth even at this late date.

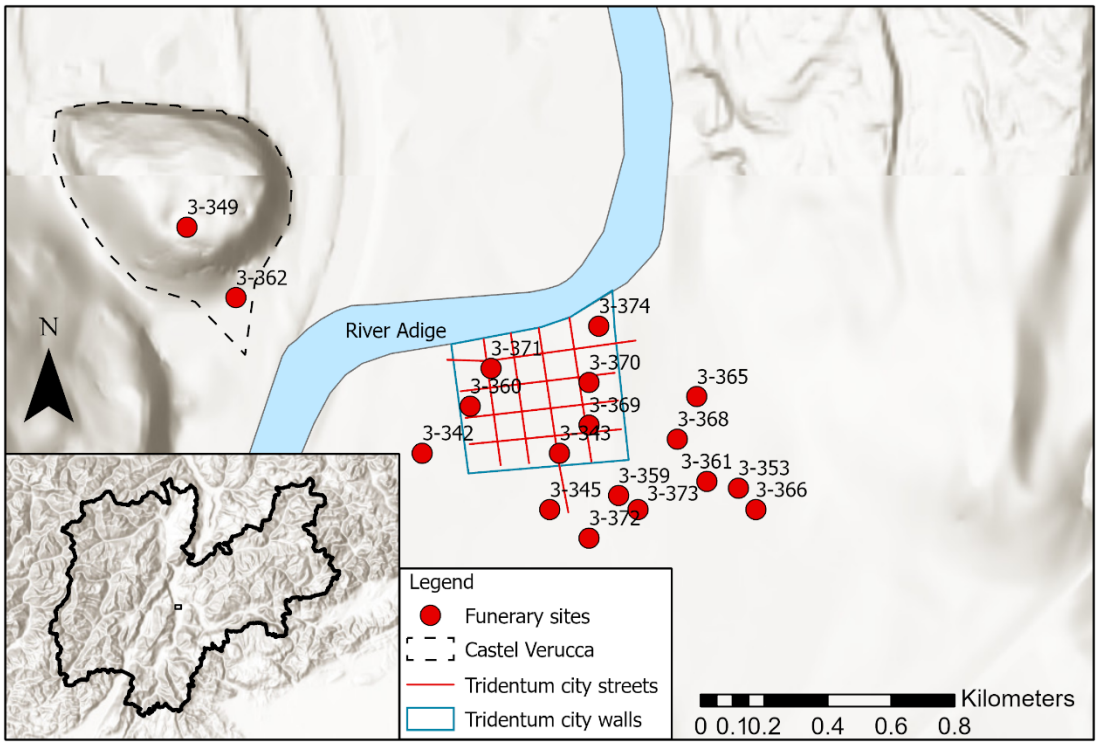


Figure 117 Burials in the suburbs of Tridentum in the late antique and early medieval period (Data from Appendix 3)

5.3.3 Rural burial sites and settlements in Trentino

Is there a relationship between burials and settlements in the countryside of Trentino over the *longue durée*? We have already seen the value of a GIS-driven approach to this question in the study of settlements and burials in Central Campania (above, section 4.3.3) and this section employs the same methodology to explore the relationship between the places of the living and the dead in the countryside of Trentino. It argues that there is a spatial link between burial places and settlements in at least some cases over the long term in Trentino, even though our knowledge of settlement patterns is relatively limited. This may be because the

essentially rural nature of much of Trentino led to an increased emphasis on commemoration for and by local communities. In other words, people were less concerned with transporting their dead for burial to the nearest town, because cities did not play as significant a centralising role in commemoration. This may be because other locations, particularly near to settlements or along roads, provided a more attractive places for burial sites. Before progressing to an analysis of relationships between settlement and funerary sites, it is first necessary to outline the settlement patterns of Trentino in the first seven centuries CE.

5.3.3.1 Rural settlement in Trentino

Settlement in the countryside of Trentino is characterised by its diversity, in accordance with the varied natural landscapes of the region. Less is known about the rural settlement of Trentino during the Roman period, Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages than is desirable, as little or no field survey has been undertaken across the region. We are therefore reliant on the less numerous data obtained through a combination of stray finds, rescue, and research excavations. Despite these shortcomings, we can still sketch an outline of the settlement patterns across the region, which comprised farmsteads, villas, and, agglomerated semi-urban *vici* in the Roman period, some of which later gave way to upland *castra* during Late Antiquity in the early Middle Ages (site types are summarized in Table 3 and quantified in Figure 118). It should be noted that the definitions used here include some overlap with Table 4:1 (section 4.3.2.2), which outlines settlement patterns in Central Campania, but distinctions, particularly in the form of late antique/early medieval *castra* render it preferable to repeat this information to guide the reader. It should also be stressed that due to the low number of identified sites in the region, artefact scatters and unidentified structures, both of which could relate to settlements, are also analysed in this section.

The Basso Sarca, the principal area of relatively level land in Trentino, had strong agricultural potential which seems to have given rise to a particular settlement pattern.[552] This microregion also featured at least one *vicus* at Riva del Garda on the northern shore of Lake Garda and a possible second at Arco, on the north end of the Basso Sarca plain.[553] In the areas outside these (possible) *vici*, the rural landscape was occupied by a series of dispersed,

[552] Briogolo 2013.

[553] Bassi 2013, 150-159.

small farmsteads and a few larger villas.[554] An area of micro-centuriation has also been hypothesised for this area, though this remains a matter of debate (below, section 5.4.3).[555] The nature of settlement in the rest of Trentino is rather different, though for the large part it seems to have been relatively dispersed. Unlike many other parts of Italy, the archetypal villa, divided between a *pars rustica* and *pars urbana*, was virtually unknown in much of our study region.[556] With the notable exception of the monumental villa excavated at Isera, most settlements appear to have been of a far simpler nature.[557] While further excavations of settlement contexts in Trentino is highly desirable, the evidence from these site suggests that habitation was articulated around a small number of larger settlements like the *vici* at Doss Zelór (**4-39**) in the Val di Fiemme, or Sanzeno (**4-168**) in the Val di Non, which accommodated extended communities and therefore might generate substantial cemeteries, and smaller farming establishments, perhaps to be ascribed to individual tenant farmers and small family groups, like well-excavated farmstead at the Mezzocorona Drei-Cané site (**4-89**) in the Rotaliana (see below, Figure 121).[558]

New forms of settlement also began to appear in Trentino during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, as they did elsewhere in Italy. Fortified sites, often occupying hard-to-access points in the natural landscape such as hill tops or islands and conventionally referred to in archaeological scholarship as *castra* appear from the later 4th and 5th centuries onwards.[559] The precise causes underlying the appearance of such settlements remains debated, with some scholars arguing that *castra* represent a local response to the growing social and military instability during the breakdown of order at the end of the Roman Empire, and others suggesting that these sites arose from a coordinated strategy enacted by the late Roman state and its successors.[560] While this debate continues, the development of *castra* should also be viewed as part of the wider militarisation of the landscapes of Trentino at the end of antiquity, as evidenced by the construction of other defensive structures designed to

[554] Francisci 2017a, 304-305; Cavada 2000, 370-377.

[555] . Contra Brogiolo 2013b.

[556] Cavada 2000, 2004.

[557] De Vos & Maurina 2011.

[558] *Vici*: Cavada 2000, 389-404. Farmhouses: Cavada 1994b Marzatico & Migliario 2011, 195-200; Cavada 2000, 370-386.

[559] Systematically catalogued by Possenti et al. 2013a, 2013b, 2013c.

[560] See Possenti 2013.

control access to key points in mountainous landscape, particularly along the Valle dell'Adige, which may have been connected to the *tractus Italiae circa Alpes,* a defensive system mentioned in the 5th-century *Notitia Dignitatum*.[561] However, the appearance of *castra* should not necessarily be taken to reflect a disappearance or a decline in settlement on the valley floor, as modest evidence for early medieval settlement below the church in Besenello (**4-22**) indicates.[562]

Late antiquity also saw the construction of churches across the countryside of Trentino. Rural church building may have started as early as the late 4th century, when the so-called martyrs of *Annaunia* were slain during their attempt to build a church in the Val di Non.[563] The first archaeological evidence for churches dates to the middle of the 5th century, from which point onwards these structures become an increasingly important set of nodes within the landscape.[564] We shall now examine the relation of burials with this wider settlement network over time.

Table 3: Rural settlement site types in Trentino	
Type	**Description**
Villa	A complex with a residential area of some architectural pretension, the *pars urbana,* featuring sumptuous decoration (e.g., mosaic tesserae, frescoes fragments), monumental architecture and/or leisure facilities (e.g., baths). Villas often also had production facilities, the *pars rustica.*
Farmsteads	Rural sites with evidence for agricultural or productive activity but without clear evidence for the monumental residential sector present in villas (i.e., a *pars urbana*). The presence of these sites has sometimes been assumed by past scholars based on the presence of agricultural installations (e.g., wine cellars, olive presses).
Vici	Nucleated settlements ranging in size from a few houses to quasi-urban environments formed from an agglomeration of structures. These settlements could appoint their own magistrates and/or be provided with public buildings, but this was not always the case.
Castra	Fortified settlements, usually on a hilltop or promontory, comprising stone or posthole-built structures enclosed by a substantial wall. These are distinguished from the earlier *vici* through their fortified nature. Typically, these sites appear from the 6th century onwards.
Artefact scatter	A scatter of artefacts (e.g. pottery, tiles, coins or stray artefact) which cannot be assigned to a specific type of site, but which could reflect the presence of a settlement.
Unidentified site	Remains of a building which relate to a structure of unclear type, typically due to poor recording, but which could reflect settlement activity.

[561] Brogiolo & Azzolini 2013. Tractus: Christie 1991.

[562] Pisu 2014.

[563] Above, section 5.1.2.2.

[564] Brogiolo et al. 2013a, 2013b.

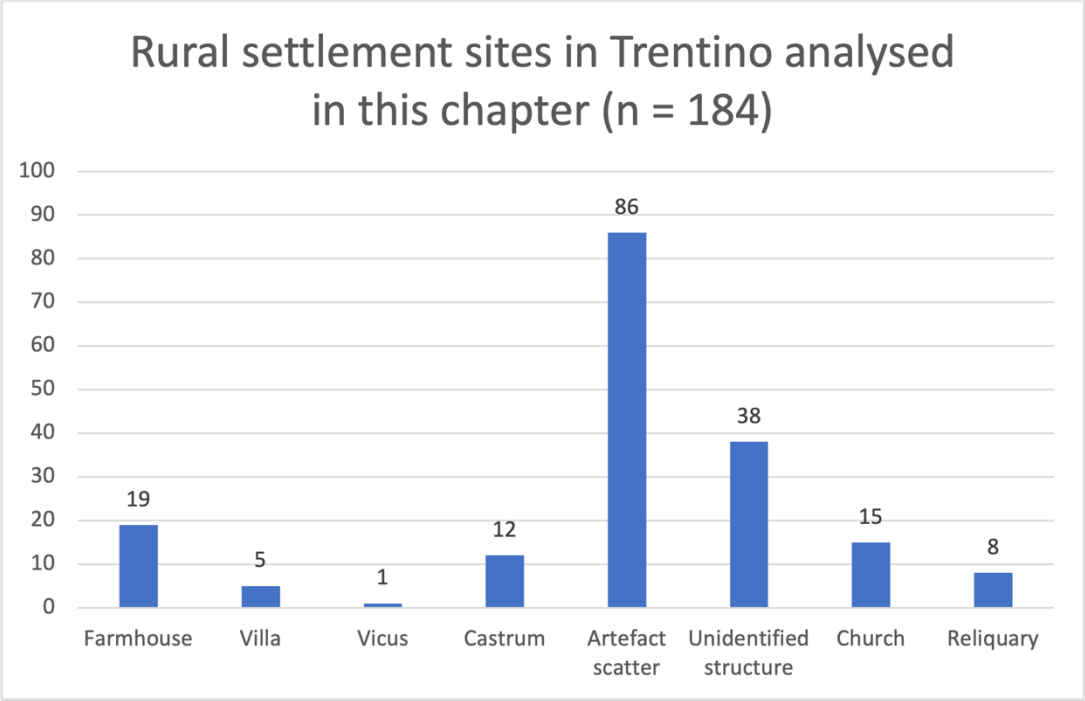


Figure 118 Settlement site types analysed in Trentino analysed in this chapter (Data from Appendix 4)

5.3.3.2 Rural settings and the settlement hierarchy

Turning to the relationship between burials and settlements in the countryside of Trentino, existing work assumes that there is a topographical link between the two. For example, Francisci has argued for a strong correlation between settlements and necropoleis in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, both of which he views as being located along roads (further below, section 5.4.2.1).[565] Moving into the later part of our period, Bassi and Cavada have attempted to reassess the nature of rural settlement in the Val di Non on the basis of funerary evidence during the Gothic and Lombard period, arguing that a movement of burial sites upslope in the early Middle Ages reflects a growing desire for more defensible settlement.[566] Both scholars have made similar arguments with regards to burials and settlements in the Basso Sarca, and interpret a decrease in site activity towards the end of our period as reflecting a similar move upslope.[567] Both scholars also hold that a shift in the placement of burial sites from valley floors in the Roman period to higher elevations in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages

[565] Francisci 2017a, 163-207, 239-296; see also Cavada 2000, 370-404.
[566] Bassi 1998; Cavada 2004.
[567] Bassi 2013; Cavada 2004.

mirrors a shift in the locations of settlements which otherwise remain archaeologically invisible to us.

As was the case in Central Campania, spatial analysis allows us to assess trends in the relationship between burial sites and settlement. This section uses evidence from a gazetteer of 164 spatially located non-funerary sites analysed in this section and contained in Appendix 2 to contextualise the burial sites and to test the proximity between burials and settlements with which they *may* have been contemporary. These settlement sites were georeferenced and mapped as a point layer in ArcGIS, and the "Near" function in the ArcGIS was then used to measure the distance of burial sites in Appendix 1 to the nearest farmstead, villa, artefact scatter and unidentified sites (on this methodology, see above, section 4.3.3.2). Testing was run for both funerary and settlement sites that were early imperial (c. 1–299 CE), late Roman (c. 300–499 CE), and early medieval (c. 500–699 CE) in date to obtain an approximate understanding of contemporary site usage (results summarised in Figure 119).[568] The distance of burial sites to *vici* was not tested, due to the small number of these sites, which are instead considered on an individual basis below.

In total, across all periods, 128 funerary sites (or 32.16 per cent) fall within 500 m of a farmstead, villa, artefact scatter or unidentified site in any period and 51 more fall within 1000 m (for a total of 179 or 44.9 per cent). The two point layers generated using the Random Points in Layer Bounds function, each containing the same number of objects as the observed datasets and the same "Near" function test was carried out on these data. Testing the results against this randomly generated sample provides a means to ascertain whether the results generated by testing the original dataset are significant. A chi-squared test shows that the difference between the random sample and the observed distance between burial sites is statistically significant (p-value = < 0.05), indicating that there is a relationship between burials and settlement. The rest of this section will delve into the details of the relationships between funerary sites and settlement sites in Trentino. It will argue that, as elsewhere, some people were buried near to villas, farms, or other rural settlements, but this was not always the case, and in making this point, it will set the scene for interrogation of the role of other

[568] The larger number of settlement sites which can be attributed to the post-Roman period in Trentino meant that this was testing was also carried out for sites dating to the period between 500-699.

important landscape features for the organization of the funerary landscape in subsequent sections.

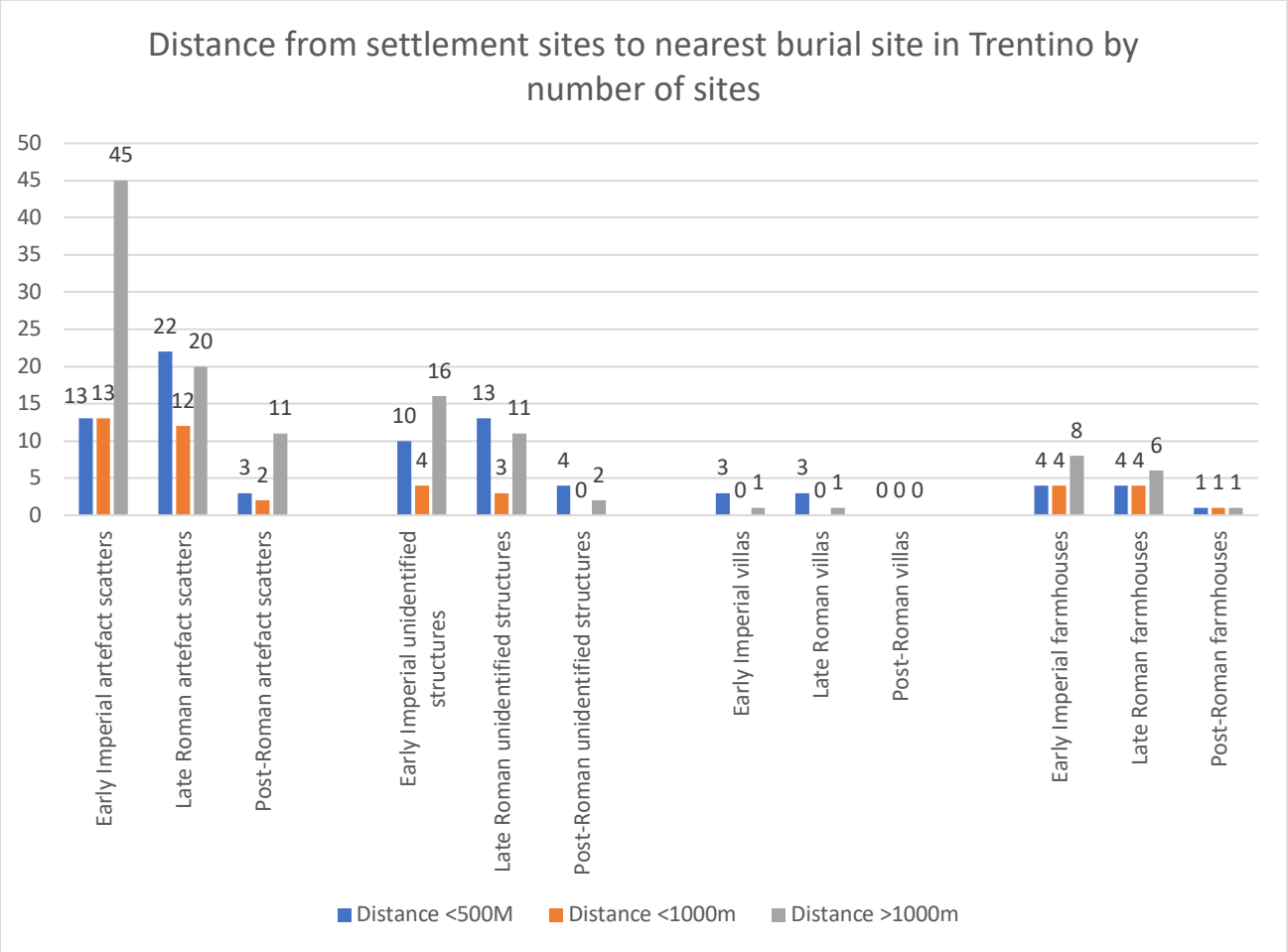


Figure 119 Burial sites by distance from settlement site by site type and date (Data from Appendices 3 and 4)

5.3.3.3 Artefact scatters, unidentified sites, and burials

Burial sites in the countryside of Trentino are sometimes located close to artefact scatters and unidentified structures, though this spatial relationship is far from universal. While the information relating to these sites is frustratingly slim, we may take them as indicating the presence of some sort of human activity, and a good number of them are likely to reflect the presence of settlements.[569] In the early imperial period (c. 1-299 CE), 13 artefact scatters (18.3 per cent) are within 500 m of at least one burial site, while a further 13 are within 1000 m,

[569] Though see above (section 2.1.1) on artefact scatters and other site types.

though the remaining 45 such sites (63.3 per cent) are not. The relationship appears to grow stronger in the late Roman period (c. 300-499 CE), when 22 artefact scatters (40.74 per cent) were located within 500 m of a burial ground and a further 12 (22.22 per cent) within 1000 m. In the post-Roman period (c. 500-699 CE), the proportion of artefact scatters lying within 500 m (three sites or 18.75 per cent) and 1000 m (two, 12.50 per cent) of a burial site appears to dip again, though this pattern may partly reflect the smaller number of known artefact scatters dating to this period (just 16 total compared with 71 for the early imperial period and 54 for the late Roman period).

A broadly comparable picture emerges from analysis of the relationship between unidentified structures and burial sites: in the early imperial period, slightly fewer unidentified structures fall within 500 m (10 sites, 33.3 per cent) and 1000 m (4 sites, 13.33 per cent) than in the late Roman period, when 13 sites (48.15 per cent) were located within 500 m of a building, and three sites (11.11 per cent) were within 1000 m. The greater proportion of unidentified structures (four, or 66 per cent) dating to the post-Roman period can be attributed to the small number of sites dating to this period.

Taken together, it appears that some, though not all, rural burial sites were situated to be relatively near to settlements. In general, the proportion of burial sites near to settlements in Trentino may be higher than in Central Campania (above, section 4.3.3.1-2), where around 11.6 per cent of burial sites fall within 500 m and 26.2 per cent with 1000 m of a settlement. It is important to stress that a strict comparison cannot be made between these two regions, because only a small number of artefact scatters or unidentified structures were recorded in Campania. However, it is still tempting to posit that there could have been a slightly stronger relationship between burials and settlement sites in the sparsely ruralised landscapes of Trentino between the early imperial period and Late Antiquity. In other words, the large distances which most of the rural population needed to travel to reach a city may have disincentivised transporting bodies for burial, and many people may have been buried relatively close to the places where they had lived. In doing so, communities fashioned a funerary landscape which centred on commemoration in a specific, local context. We shall now turn to a more detailed examination of the relationship between burials and specific types of rural settlements.

5.3.3.4 Villas and their burials

Few villas – just five – are known in Trentino, but these almost all have at least one contemporary burial site nearby. These villas are all concentrated in the Basso Sarca or the Vallagarina. Four villas were active during the early imperial period (**4-9, 4-13, 4-82, 4-130**), during which time three (75 per cent) were located within 500 m of a burial site and though a fourth was more than 1000 m away (**4-9)**. Three of these villas saw continued activity in the late Roman period and a new villa also appears to have been built at San Cassiano (**4-124**). The latter site may have been partially contemporary with burials (**3-244**) from which they were separated by a roadway, though some of these may relate to occupants of the nearby *vicus* at Riva (see below, sections 5.3.3.6.1). In three cases, there was a burial site within 500 m of these villa sites (**4-13, 4-124, 4-130**). No villas appear to have continued in use into the post-Roman period.

The spatial arrangement of villas and burials is exemplified by the case of Isera. Here, the early imperial villa (**4-82**) may have been served by the poorly recorded burial site on colle Pennino (**3-140**), located around 300 m away. At this site, finds have included items of personal adornment as well as tools and two (unpublished) inscriptions. Most of these cannot be closely dated, but coins of the 4th century could indicate that the site continued to be visited, or even used, after the villa had been abandoned in the 2nd century, following a fire (for its later history, below, section 5.5.3.3). The limited epigraphic evidence from Trentino suggests that the elites who owned land and exercised an influence in the region were predominantly local in character.[570] The evidence from Isera, and especially the presence of funerary inscriptions, may therefore suggest that for the limited number of elites dwelling in villas in the countryside of Trentino, burial near to their estates was considered an appropriate means of commemorating their dead.

5.3.3.5 Farmhouses and their burials

The evidence for farmhouses in Trentino is greater than that for villas, and burial sites also sometimes appear near these modest settlements. During the early imperial period, four farmhouses (25 per cent) have a burial site within 500 m, and another four have one within 1000 m. Similar figures are available for the late Roman period, when four sites each fall into

[570] Buonopane 2000, 137-139.

the 500 m and 1000 m intervals (28.57 per cent each). Just three farmhouses are attested in the post-Roman period, with one within 500 m of a burial site, and another within 1000 m. The relation between burial sites and farmhouses appears to be stronger than in Central Campania (above, section 4.3.3.6), where only around 3 per cent are located within 500 m of a burial site. These comparisons provide three significant insights. First, the connection between farmhouses and burial sites in Trentino appears to be relatively strong. This suggests that local conditions encouraged communities to bury their dead near to where they lived. Secondly, comparison with the data from Central Campania demonstrates that there is considerable variation in attitudes towards whether burial close to farmhouses was thought appropriate in different parts of Italy. Thirdly, these data could also indicate that the roles and use patterns of these farmhouses in the wider landscape, a theme which deserves further consideration in future research.

Not all farmhouses are near to burial sites, however. This may be due to gaps in the available data, or because not everyone was buried close to where they lived. It may be that other communities occupying individual farmhouses chose a range of meaningful points in the landscape to bury and commemorate their dead. These did not, however, need to remain in use for a long time. An instructive example of this kind of dynamic is visible in the upper Rotaliana, in the area now occupied by the municipalities of Mezzocorona and Mezzolombardo (Figure 120). In this area, three farmhouse sites have been identified, and at least one of these, at locality Giontec, contained several individual dwellings (**4-90**); a fourth such site may also be located nearby (**4-93**) but this cannot be confirmed due to the limited published details. The area also contained at least nine burial sites, though the dating evidence for these is poor, limiting our ability to track diachronic change. Five cannot be closely dated (**3-162**, **3-168**, **3-169**, **3-170**, **3-172**), and two in Mezzolombardo (**3-171**, **3-173)** were generically Roman in date, as was one site in Mezzocorona (**4-164**), where burials were located within the settled area itself (discussed later in this section). Some of these burial sites seem to have provided the final resting spaces of relatively small groups – in the five cases where graves are quantifiable, these number between three and 12. This could mean that the sites were relatively short-lived, despite the poor dating evidence, and only used by small groups for a couple of generations at most, reflecting small burial plots near to farmsteads, even if largescale evidence for such a trend across Trentino remains unavailable. However, the 5th century saw the emergence of a larger burial site between via IV Novembre and via

Cané (**3-167**). This site remained well into the 6th century, and at least 40 burials have been excavated here to date, including several stone slabs inscribed with crosses.[571] These burials could reflect the development of a church, as dal Ri has suggested, though no archaeological evidence for this has so far come to light.[572] Alternatively, the appearance of a larger burial site could simply reflect a reorientation of priorities, as it may have provided a focal point for commemoration among communities occupying the two known farmhouse sites in Mezzocorona, both of which remained active into the 6th century, as well as the occupants of other as yet still unidentified settlements in the area.

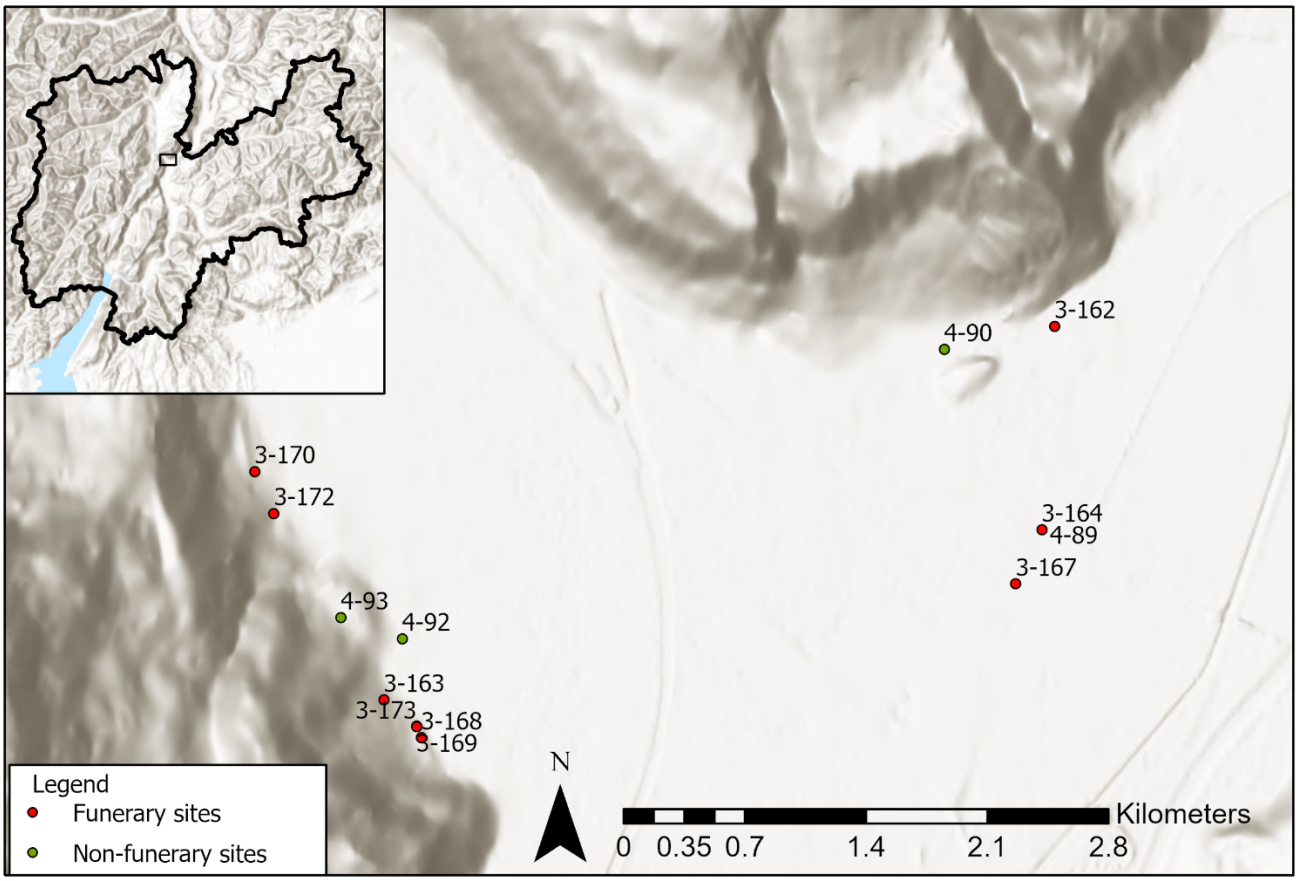


Figure 120 Burial sites and non-funerary sites in the Upper Rotaliana (Data from Appendices 3 and 4).

Infant burials within settlements may provide one possible exception to the generally loose connection between burials and farmhouses in Trentino. At Drei Cani in Mezzocorona, a

[571] As many as 40 slabs are mentioned in very early reports as being present at the site but only 6 are securely reported (see Cavada 1994b). In the absence of definitive numbers the lower figure is adopted here.
[572] Cavada 1994b, 275-276.

group of four infant burials (**3-164**) were made in the rooms or immediately adjacent to the rooms of a farmhouse (**4-89**) active from 1st through 6th centuries (Figure 121). Cavada argues that these are burials are contemporary with the occupation of the site.[573] Few other rural settlements in Trentino show evidence for infant burial of this kind though another possible exception, is attested in a villa at San Giorgo near Arco in the Basso Sarca (**3-27**, **4-13**) and at Sanzeno (**3-303,** and below, section 5.3.3.6.2). Gaio has demonstrated that the practice of burying infants within settlements was relatively common in Northern Italy, and attributes this to a native tradition stretching back to the 3rd century BC.[574] The dearth of evidence in Trentino itself is a result of the limited number of sites which have seen extensive excavation (though see below on infant burials in *castra*). Work from across the Roman world has shown that burials of infants within contemporary settlement contexts were an important part of Roman burial patterns, though many of the more theoretically informed discussions concentrate on the province of *Britannia.* Mays has suggested that intramural infant burials reflect infanticide practices, though this conclusion has been refuted by Gowland.[575] Moore, and others, have convincingly argued that intramural burials are an attempt to keep the infant close to the family and the social environment they experienced in life.[576] Scott and Struck have underlined the strong possibility that infant burials inside buildings in Britain should be identified with ritual foundation or termination deposits.[577]

[573] Cavada 1994b, 267-271.

[574] Burial in buildings in Northern Italy: Gaio 2004.

[575] Mays 1993; Mays & Eyers 2011, cf Gowland 2001; Gowland et al. 2014.

[576] Moore 2009, 48; Gowland 2001, 157.

[577] Scott 1990, 1991; Struck 1993. This theme is already identified by Pearce 2001, 217.

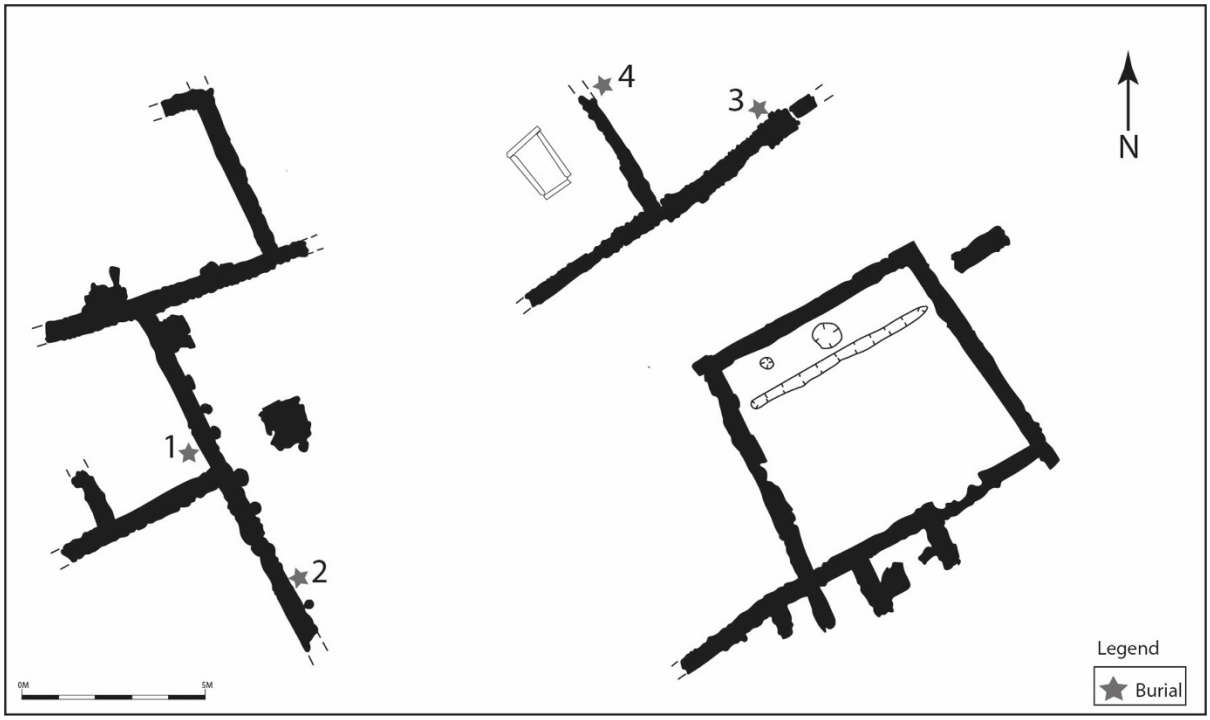


Figure 121 Infant burials (3-164) in and around the farmhouses at Loc. Drei-Cane in Mezzocorona (4-89) (Redrawn from Cavada, 1994b, 268, fig. 164).

5.3.3.6 *Vici*

Vici in Trentino are ringed by burials, and these semi-urbanised settlements may have sometimes played a role in attracting burials comparable to that of cities in more densely urbanised parts of Roman Italy. However, in other cases, the small number of burials and their shifting topography over the *longue dureé* may suggest a certain instability of memory in the communities that produced them. *Vici* are primarily attested in three main centres in Trentino - Doss Zelór (**4-39**) in the Val di Fiemme, at Riva del Garda in Basso Sarca,[578] and Sanzeno in Val di Non (**4-168**). While the first of these sites does not currently have any evidence for burial, the data from the latter two sites seem to suggest *vici* were ringed by burials like the urban centre of *Tridentum,* suggesting that the areas around these quasi-urban agglomerations played a role in commemoration which was like that of cities in more urbanised areas, albeit at a smaller scale.

[578] This vicus is made up of several separate records due to the high-quality geospatial data provided in the ArcheoRIVA database [URL = http://archeoriva.mpasol.it/progetto/, accessed May 20 2020].

5.3.3.6.1 Riva del Garda

The *vicus* at Riva del Garda was a significant settlement which developed from the 1st century CE thanks to its role as a port connecting the Basso Sarca with the southern shores of Lake Garda.[579] The *vicus'* ancient name remains unknown at present, and the settlement is currently attested through a range of various buildings, many of a domestic nature, but also including at least some public buildings, most notably the bath house on Via Pilati (**4-134**). This *vicus* developed around the nexus of the port with a thick mesh of roads (Figure 122), and in the early imperial period, the settled area was ringed with burial grounds arranged along the roads radiating out of the *vicus*. This distribution of funerary sites underlines both the importance of roads in the structuring of the funerary landscapes of the Basso Sarca (below, section 5.4.2.2) as well as indicating the role of the *vicus* at Riva as a particular focal point within the wider road network.

This focal role saw partial continuity into Late Antiquity when burials began to encroach on the inhabited area of the vicus: a small burial cluster was set into the baths (**3-240,** Figure 123) during the 5th or 6th century. This trajectory suggests a gradual abandonment of at least part of the *vicus* during Late Antiquity, though the presence of burials here, and not far away on via Filanda (**3-399**), indicates that parts of the surrounding area continued to be occupied. While Bassi argues that the vicus was abandoned at this point, we might also envisage that it continued to exist on a much-reduced scale, having devolved to the point of being a series of sporadic dwellings.[580] In view of the quasi-urban nature of *vici*, it might therefore be tempting to liken the fate of Riva in Late Antiquity to the shrinking cities identified in Central Campania (above, section 4.3.2.3).

[579] Bassi 2013, 150-157.

[580] Bassi 2013, 159.

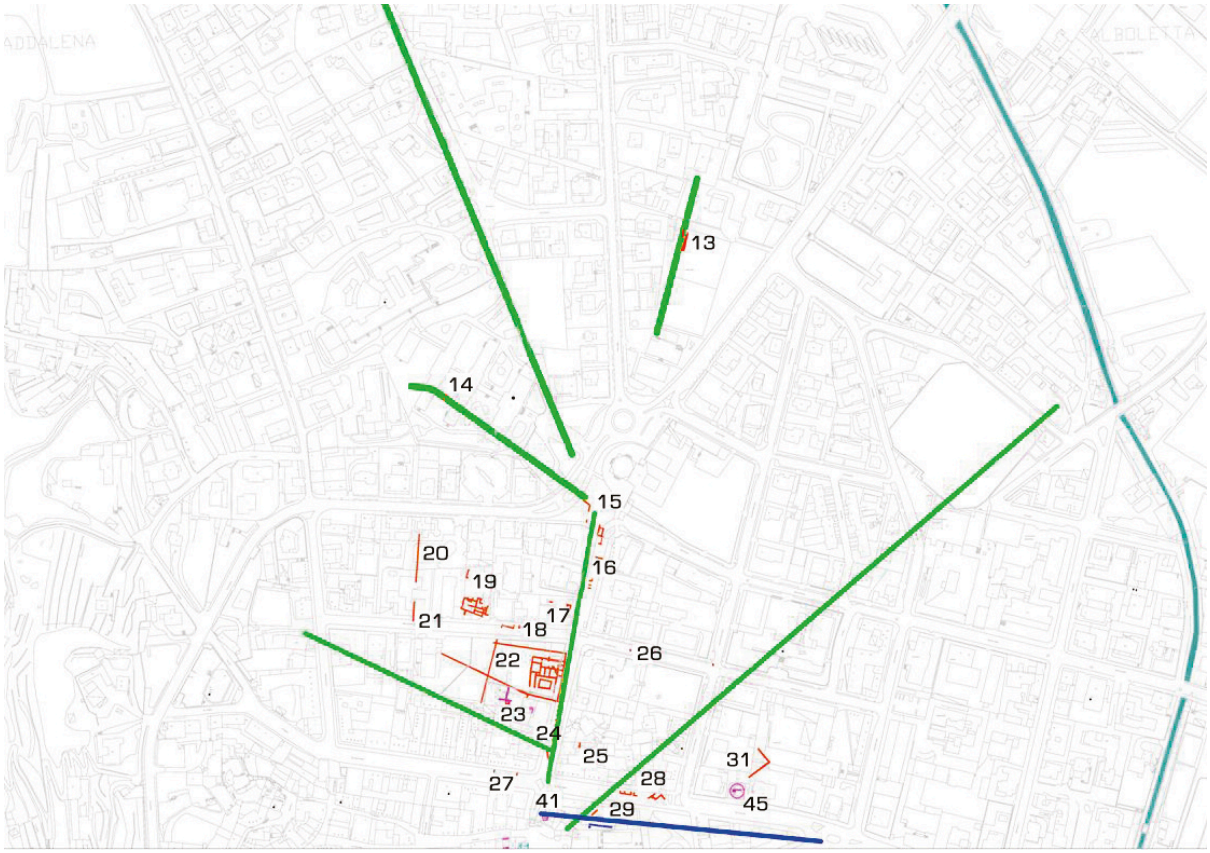


Figure 122 Riva del Garda. Plan of known remains. Structures are show in red; roads are in green and water courses are in blue (From Bassi, 2013, 151, fig. 8).



Figure 123 Riva del Garda, part of the 5th- or 6th-century burial ground on via Pilati (3-240) (From Bassi, 2013, 159, fig. 22).

5.3.3.6.2 Sanzeno

Sanzeno (**4-168**) in the Val di Non provides comparable evidence for the role of *vici* within the wider funerary landscapes. The *vicus* here is traditionally identified with the site of the killing of the martyrs of *Annaunia* in the late 4th century but has a far longer history stretching back to the pre-Roman Iron Age.[581] The inhabited area comprised several distinct nuclei of structures scattered across a large natural plateau, and apparently interspersed with vegetable gardens. Excavations have taken place in Sanzeno since at least the early 20th century, but no overall synthesis for this important site is available at present. While Cavada remarked twenty years ago that cemeteries relating to the *vicus* are poorly understood, we may nevertheless make some salient observations about the burial of the dead here over the *longue durée*.[582]

Four cemeteries are attested around Sanzeno, of which three can be accurately located. Generic references mention Roman period burials in the vicinity of the modern town (**3-305**), suggesting that these graves were found outside the limit of the ancient settlement, but unfortunately further quantitative and spatial data are not available at this time. Locatable Roman-period evidence concentrates to the southwest of the settlement, possibly along a road (Figure 124), running out of the settled area, but this hypothesis cannot be confirmed archaeologically. In loc. Casalini (**3-303**), burials of adults and infants dating to the first four centuries CE are located right at the edge of the settlement, and it is possible that some of these cut Iron Age domestic spaces, but this cannot be confirmed from the published evidence. Other burial evidence has been uncovered below the pews of the sacristy and the Basilica dei Santi Martiri Anauniensi (**3-302**). This arrangement mirrors the patterns of development of grave streets outside cities in other parts of Italy, albeit on a less monumental scale, suggesting that a location along roads, as well as close to settlements, were a key factor in the siting of burials outside this *vicus*.

Later periods appear to have seen a shift in the funerary landscapes of the site. We remain relatively uninformed about Late Antiquity, but the burial spaces in loc. Casalini do not appear to continue in use in the 5th century. By the early Middle Ages, a group of burials (**3-304**) were set up on the north-eastern fringes of the ancient *vicus*, towards the frazione di

[581] Lenzi 2012, 128-129; Cavada 2000, 391-392.
[582] Cavada 2000, 396.

Vicio, and were cut into the remains of several 3rd/4th-century houses (Figure 125), suggesting that the settlement had shrunk during the intervening centuries. Associated finds of belt buckles and bone combs imply a date in the first half of the 7th century. While we cannot establish with absolutely certainty whether the people buried here were occupants of Sanzeno or dwelled elsewhere it seems possible that these individuals did indeed live in the *vicus,* which may have remained as a shrunken shell. If this is the case, the shift away from burial areas used in the past reflects the creation of new *foci* for memory in the landscape surrounding the settlement.

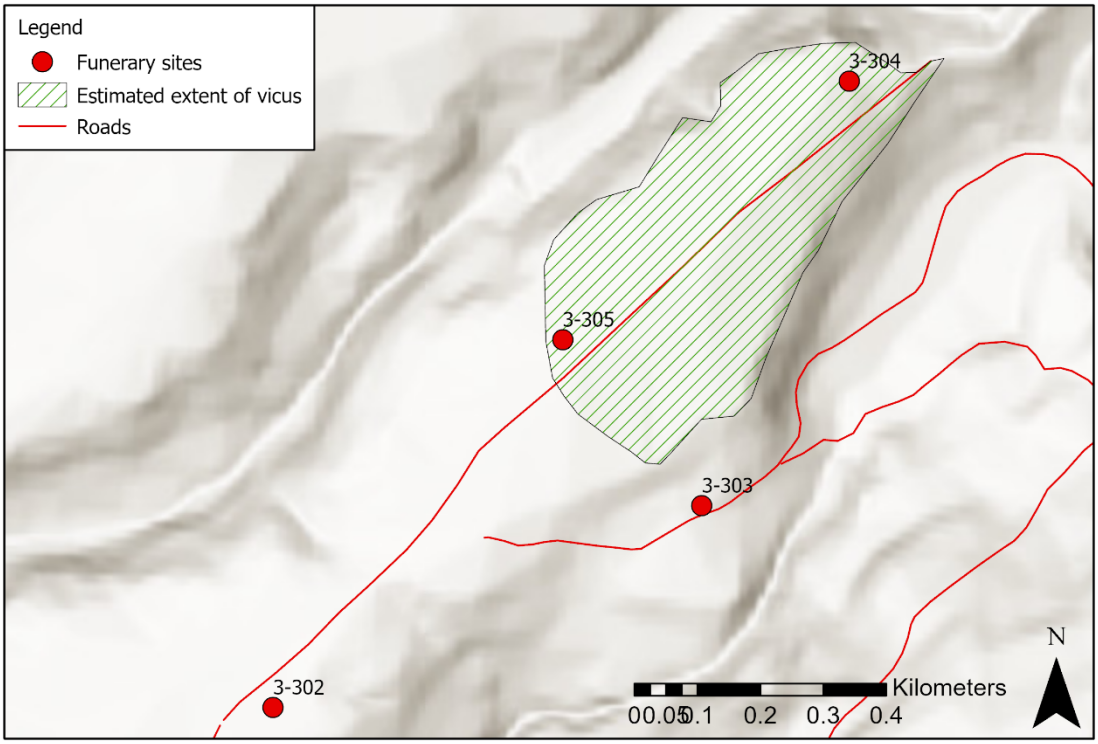


Figure 124 Overview of funerary sites around Sanzeno (Data from Appendix 3; settlement extent modified from Cavada 2000, 393, fig. 20; roads data provided by D. Francisci)

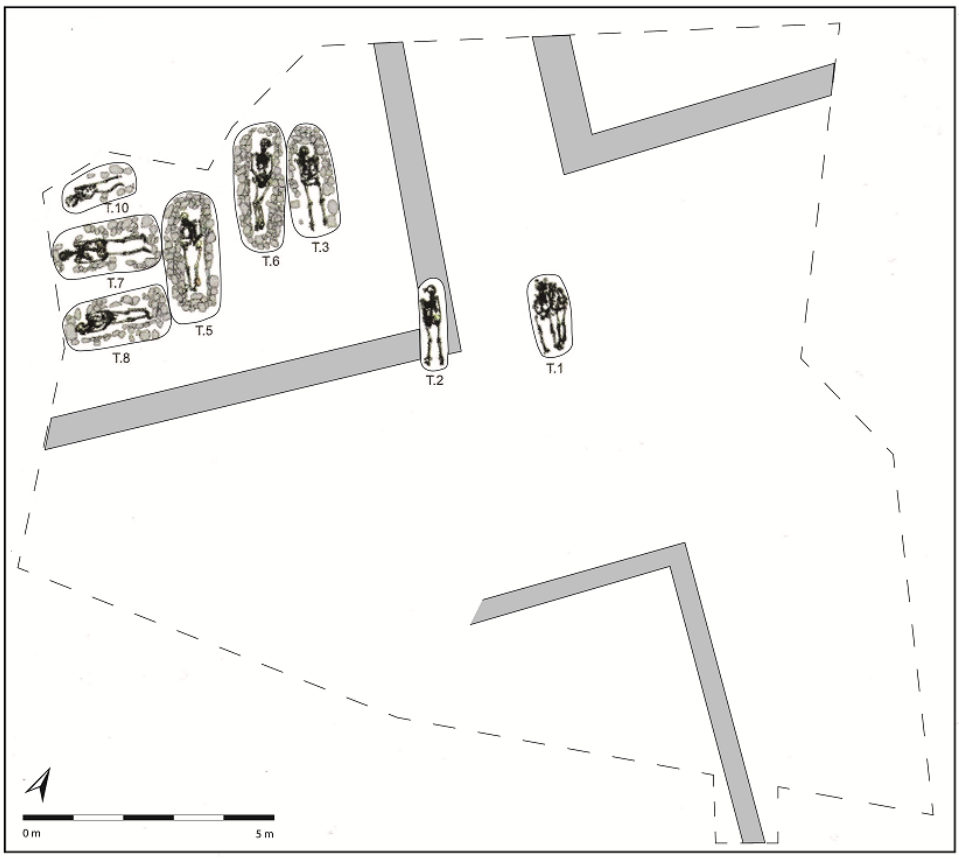


Figure 125 Lombard burials insider earlier structures in the northern part of the vicus Sanzeno (3-304, redrawn from Endrizzi 2018, 246, fig. 1)

5.3.3.7 Burials in *castra*

The role of *castra* in the wider funerary landscapes of Trentino remains relatively unclear because few have been excavated. However, the limited evidence from five burial sites within three distinct *castra* does suggest that after these fortified settlements began to develop from the 5th century onwards, some people were buried inside the occupied area. On the Island of S. Andrea in the Lago di Loppio (Figure 126), two burial clusters are attested. In Sector A (**3-187**) an infant was buried in an amphora of a type dating to the second half of the 6th century. The individual was placed immediately adjacent to one of the houses within the domestic area of the *castrum* (**4-97**)*,* reflecting a continuity of the kind of burial practices which often saw children buried nearer to inhabited spaces than adults customarily were during the Roman period (see above Setion 5.3.3.5).[583] A second group of two burials dated broadly to the 5th-7th were attested in Sector C (**3-188**), below the Romanesque church in an area which

[583] On this practice in Northern Italy: Gaio 2004.

was probably open ground at the time the graves were dug.[584] The evidence suggests that sporadic burials were positioned within the *castrum,* where they were interspersed with space used for other purposes, as part of a wider scheme like that which also governed the use of space in late antique cities like *Tridentum* itself (above, sections 5.3.2.3).

In other *castra* where evidence for funerary activity is available, burials are confined to churches within the wider settled area (on churches see below, sections 5.3.3.8 and 5.4.4). At Monte San Martino in Lundo-Lomaso (**3-158**) in the Giudicarie, seven burials were inserted into a church (**4-61**) within a hilltop *castrum* (**4-62**, Figure 127). Although not strictly in a rural area, a similar spatial organisation seems to govern the burials on top of the Doss Trento (**3-349**) and in the Piedicastello district (**3-362**) across the River Adige from *Tridentum.* Both burial sites were located within churches inside a wider late antique *castrum,* established by the early 6th century at the latest.[585] The evidence from these sites demonstrates that by the time *castra* came to be founded throughout Trentino, a shift in attitudes towards burial topography meant that it was considered appropriate to provide burial spaces for some members of the community within these wider settlements.

[584] Brogiolo et al. 2013b, 93-95.

[585] Possenti et al. 2013b, 273-278; Brogiolo et al. 2013a, 143-146, 149-154.

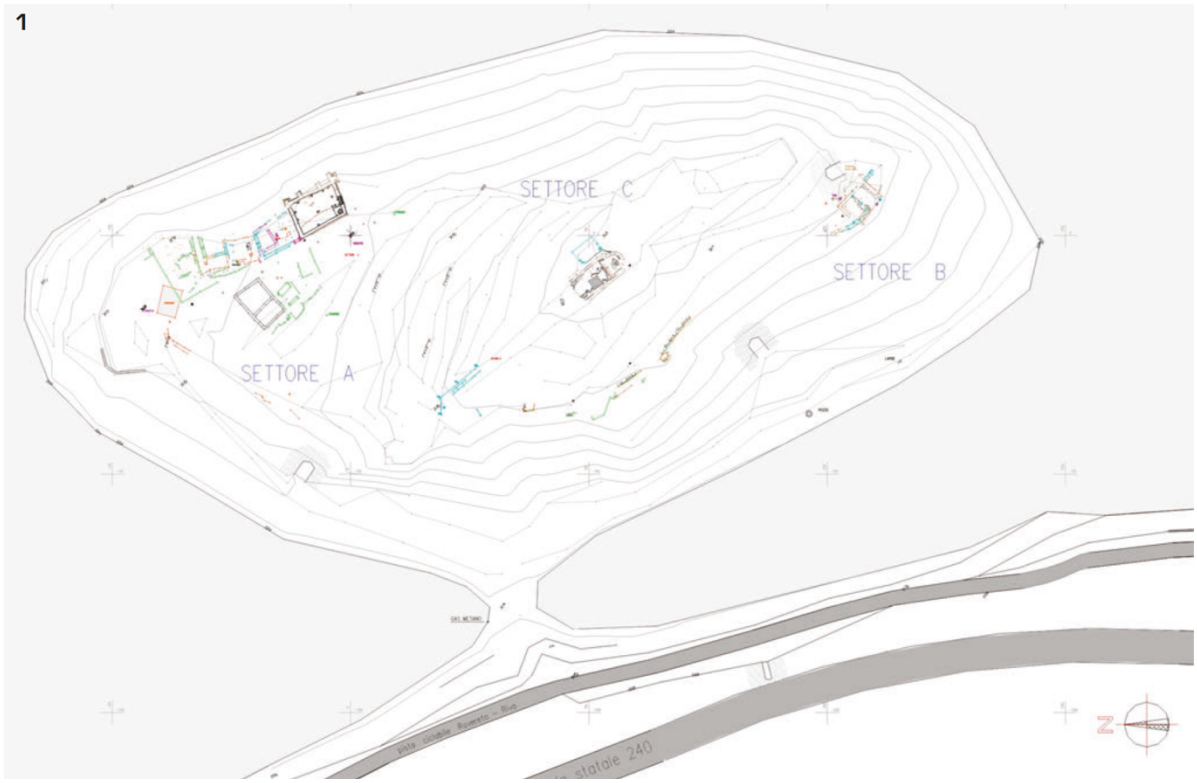


Figure 126 The castrum on the Isola di S. Andrea in the Lago di Loppio, Mori (4-97, 4-98) with burial sites in sector A (3-187) and C (3-188). (From Possenti et al., 2013b, 105, fig. 1).



Figure 127 Aerial view of the castrum at Monte San Martino in Lundo-Lomaso (4-62). The structures visible in the centre relate to the church (4-61) with burials (3-158) (From Possenti et al., 2013a, 311, fig. 1).

5.3.3.8 Burial in rural churches

Past scholarship has stressed the importance of burial in churches in the countryside of Trentino during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.[586] The reasons behind such a choice of burial place include a desire for proximity to saintly relics (when these were present); the visibility which church burial could provide the deceased, which might therefore ensure they were remembered by the living community; and a gradual fusion of the roles of elite mausolea and private places of worship as we saw earlier (above, section 2.2.3.7). However, we should not overstate the popularity of burial within churches and a largescale examination of the funerary landscapes of Trentino offers an opportunity to assess the prevalence of churches as a venue for burial in the region.

In up to eight cases these funerary sites appear may appear within or immediately adjacent to churches or sites which have produced late antique reliquaries (which have been interpreted by past scholars as evidence for early churches) (Figure 128).[587] This figure corresponds to 4.6 per cent of all rural burial sites active in the late Roman period and 8.2 per cent of burial sites dating to the early Middle Ages. However, we should note that this is a maximalist figure and in only three cases (Santo Stefano in Fornace (**3-136**), Monte San Martino di Lundo-Lomaso (**3-158**) and San Cassiano in Riva del Garda (**3-244**)) can we be sure that the church and burials were contemporary. Elsewhere, the evidence for a church's presence is ambiguous as at Isera (**3-144**), or Varone (**3-247**); the church's dating is not confirmed like at San Tommaso, Mori, Vignole (**3-192**); or the dating of the burials is unclear as at Orto Canonica in Riva del Garda (**3-239**) and San Valentino in Agro in Vezzano (**3-387**). The available evidence therefore seems to suggest that burial within churches was important but not universal.

The chronology of churches used for burial is largely consistent with trends across Northern Italy. Chavarría argues that firm evidence for rural churches before the 5th century Is limited, and the evidence from Trentino either conforms to this broader pattern or is dated even later, that is, into the 6th century (Figure 129).[588] The earliest evidence for burial in a church may be provided by Varone (**3-247**) or Monte San Martino di Lundo-Lomaso (**3-158**),

[586] Bassi 2011 Ciurletti 2001b.

[587] Reliquaries as late antique objects: Rogger 2000, 504; Noll 1973, 320-321; Francisci 2007, 53-58. For a less commonly-accepted Carolingian date: Pancheri 2006, 38.

[588] Chavarria Arnau 2009, 190, 2015

where the graves could be dated on internal evidence as early as the beginning of the 5th century, but the remaining sites are either later, or saw burial beginning in the 6th century.[589] At Al Pian in Montevaccino (**3-357**), the presence of a reliquary (**4-188**), though highly suggestive, does not permit us to establish definitively whether there was a church at this early date, and the evidence for a 1st to 3rd-century CE burial site beneath the modern church could reflect co-option of an earlier place of memory for Christian worship.

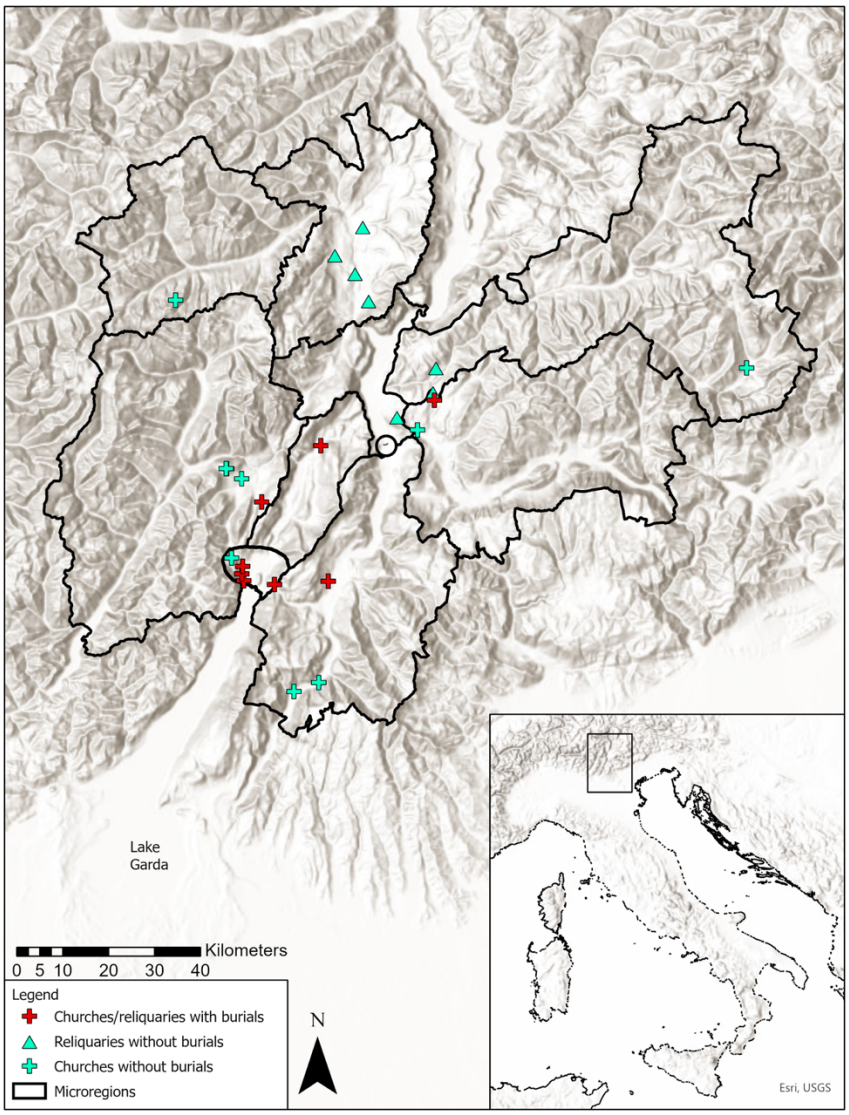


Figure 128 Distribution of rural churches with and without burials in Trentino (Data from Appendices 3 and 4)

[589] Earlier burial sites might sometimes be co-opted into becoming the site for churches in later periods

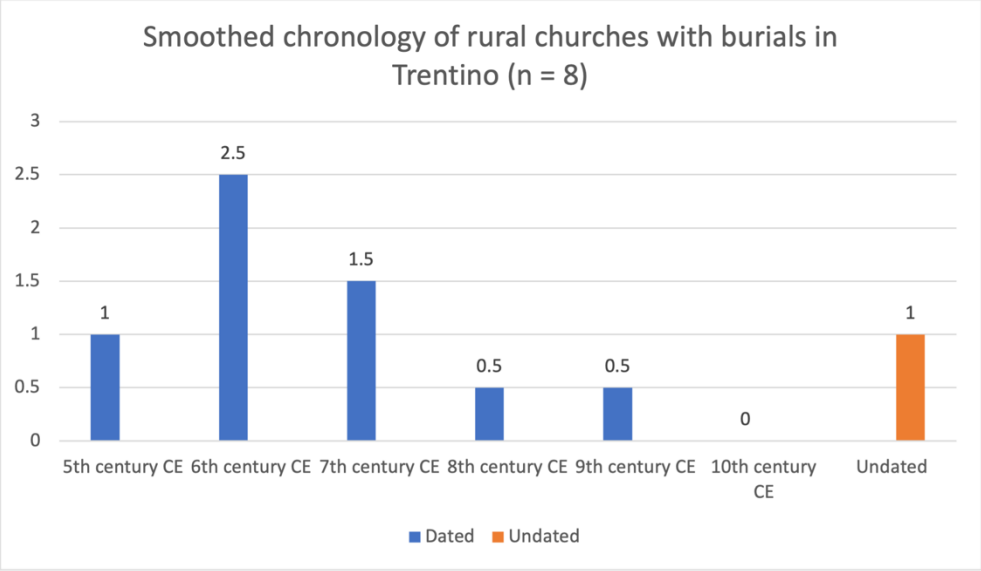


Figure 129 Smoothed chronology of burial in rural churches in Trentino (Data from Appendix 3)

Burial in churches in rural areas may reflect the need for local communities (or parts thereof) to create landmarks which served as foci for social memory within the wider landscape. The proliferation of such sites presumably reflects a need for burial to be rooted in places in proximity to the settlements which they served, suggesting a limited willingness or ability of the bereaved in rural communities to travel to bury their dead. There are considerable scholarly differences over who controlled rural funerary space in the Late Antique west. Bowes argues that the local elites were largely responsible for church building but Chavarría argues forcefully for tight ecclesiastical control of church buildings and the space within, which may have prohibited most individuals from being buried in such spaces.[590] A more pragmatic model is provided by Sessa, who underlines the ways that the ecclesiastical authorities attempted to accommodate limited burial in private churches as part of a broader strategy to establish themselves as figures of authority.[591] In practice, however, we might expect a mixed model which saw some control assumed by both church hierarches and the local aristocracy.

It is also important to stress, as noted above, that burials in churches represent only a small proportion of the overall burial record for late antique and early medieval Trentino, which reflects the exclusivity of church burial regardless of who controlled the space. This

[590] Bowes 2008, 125-188, particularly pp. 170-174; Chavarria Arnau 2009, 190, 2015.
[591] Sessa 2012, 161-172.

picture is supported by the number of burials which are located within each of these burial churches. Putting aside Varone (**3-247**), where the number of burials is unknown, the burial sites associated with churches comprise one individual burial, at San Tommaso, Mori, Vignole (**3-192**) and four small burial clusters at Isera (**3-144**), Monte San Martino di Lundo-Lomaso (**3-158**), Orto Canonica in Riva del Garda (**3-239**) and San Valentino in Agro in Vezzano (**3-387**) respectively. A medium-sized burial cluster – with 11 graves – is attested at Santo Stefano in Fornace (**3-136**), though the number of burials at this site is still relatively small.

The sole exception to this rule may be provided by San Cassiano in Riva del Garda (**3-244**), where at least 36 graves have been excavated (below, Figure 148 and section 5.2.2.5). However, as Chavarría notes, only a small number of these (just eight) were located within the church itself.[592] Although the excavators have posited that that these individuals comprise (part of) a family, of whom the patriarch might be the founder of the cult structure, no familial relation has yet been established.[593] We therefore cannot exclude Chavarría's alternative suggestion that these individuals instead represent a group of elite males from the wider community who were granted privileged burial within the structure.[594] More broadly, the limited number of burials inside the church suggests that the structure both exerted an attractive pull as a place of burial, and that its use as a burial space was carefully restricted.

Overall, it seems, then, that rural churches were the burial places of privileged individuals within their local communities, to the exclusion of others and larger burial sites associated with churches should in no way be assumed to be the norm in late antique and early medieval Trentino.[595] This pattern may indicate either a conscious choice not to be buried in churches, or the exclusion of proportionally larger parts of society from church burial even down to the 7th century.

5.3.4 Conclusions

Spatial relations between the living and the dead are an important part of the study of funerary landscapes. This section has shown than the early imperial funerary landscapes in

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[592] Chavarria Arnau 2015, 85.

[593] Founder grave: Brogiolo 2013a, 7; Bassi 2011; contra: Chavarria Arnau 2015, 85-86; Amoretti 2011.

[594] Chavarria Arnau 2015, 85. Osteological analysis: Amoretti 2011, 124-126.

[595] Similar points have also been raised in relation to northern Italy more generally by Chavarria Arnau 2018, 171-174.

the suburbs of *Tridentum* did not conform to a standardised tomb-street model observed elsewhere in Roman Italy but were nevertheless an important venue for burial for the population of the city. In Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, the funerary landscapes of the city became increasingly stretched, as the urban footprint both increased in area, and decreased in density. This led to continued use of some pre-existing areas for burial and the creation of some new ones: these were often, though by no means always, associated with churches.

In the countryside, it appears that there is a relation between the position of burials and settlements. This could suggest that many burial sites were situated to be near to settlements, reflecting an emphasis on local commemoration over the *longue durée*. As elsewhere, *vici* appear to have provided a focus for burial, akin to that sometimes played by cities, though we still know frustratingly little about the cemeteries of these agglomerated settlements. The emergence of new forms of settlement, and particularly *castra,* in the early Middle Ages may have had an impact on the places where people were buried, as limited available evidence suggests that burial *inside* these new settlements was common. This may have meant that some people were now commemorated close to home indeed. Finally, analysis of known late antique and early medieval churches shows that they account for only a small part of funerary sites from this period and most people were still buried in the fields, as they had been in preceding centuries. Taken together, this may indicate that some aspects of the funerary landscapes of Trentino remained relatively stable over the long term.

5.4: Movement and boundaries - burials and the human landscape

5.4.1 Introduction

This section examines the connection of burial sites in Trentino with the road network over the *longue durée*. It argues that roads played a major role in the structuring of funerary landscapes, but this role was not static and differed across time and place. The discussion centres on roads in two parts of Trentino with the strongest evidence for ancient road networks, the Val di Non and the Basso Sarca. The first of these saw strong continuity of the spatial link between burial sites and roads for the first five centuries CE, and a decline thereafter, perhaps a result of a wider shift in settlement patterns to higher elevations. In the Basso Sarca, the available evidence suggests that many funerary sites continued to be placed

near to roads into the 6th and 7th centuries, suggesting that the accessibility and visibility of burial near to some roads continued to provide a compelling choice for funerary sites well into the Middle Ages.

Evidence for field boundaries in Trentino is circumscribed and is limited solely to a centuriation grid of hotly debated status in the Basso Sarca. The analysis presented here suggests that whether or not this centuriation grid actually existed is less important than the correlation of most burial sites in the area with a single, central axis of the proposed grid, which underlines this axis' importance as a path of movement through the landscape. Burial near to this path of movement may therefore have been more attractive to the inhabitants of the Basso Sarca because of the visibility and accessibility it offered rather than because of any desires they may have had to set up graves near field boundaries *per se.*

This analysis is followed by an examination of the position of churches which were used for burial from the 5th century onwards and argues that because these were deliberately sited near roads for the same reasons that ordinary burial sites were, they became premier locations for burying the dead in the hope of sustaining the long-term memory of the deceased. However, other churches appear to have been sited to be neither particularly accessible nor visible, and these were sometimes still chosen as burial places, perhaps because they served either local communities, or those who were willing and able to visit these places of worship. This may indicate that maintaining the memory of the deceased among a circumscribed community was considered more important than their tomb(s) being seen by a wider audience of anonymous passers-by.

5.4.2 Roads

Roads played an important role in the structuring of the landscapes of Trentino because burials were sited near to roads to provide visibility and accessibility. The study of roads has a long history in the region, based primarily on evidence provided by milestones and itineraries.[596] The highly mountainous topography of much of Trentino along with the high degree of mutability which has taken place in valley floors since antiquity, however, mean

[596] Marzatico & Migliario 2011, 183-191; Tabarelli 1994, 157-185; Pesavento Mattioli 2000; Bassi Bassi 2021 has recently reviewed evidence for minor roads in the region but her contribution appeared too late to be included in this thesis.

that accurate spatial reconstruction has yet to be achieved throughout much of the study area. The best evidence is available from the Val di Non, where Francisci has reconstructed the road network in detail through a combination of historical map regression and field survey supplemented by epigraphic evidence.[597] A less detailed, but still useful account, of the road in the Basso Sarca has also been compiled by Bassi within the wider framework of the APSAT project.[598] We shall now consider the impact the road system on the wider patterns of funerary commemoration in these two parts of Trentino. The focus of the sections which follow will be on the role of roads in structuring rural funerary landscapes, as suburban areas outside *Tridentum* have been treated above (section 5.3.2).

5.4.2.1 Tombs in rural road networks: the case of the Val di Non

The Val di Non provides ample evidence for the dynamic attractive role which roads could exercise on burials over *longue durée*. Francisci's reconstruction of the road network in this microregion divides the roads into confirmed and hypothesised roads (Figure 130), based on exhaustive analysis of all available sources from the region.[599] The same scholar has already analysed the positioning of Roman period burial sites relative to the road network. Overall, a significant proportion (74 sites, or 78.7 per cent) of burial sites in the valley is located near to roads (that is, within 500 m), suggesting that these paths of movement played a major role in the choice of burial sites.

Cumulative viewshed analysis along the paths of the roads identified by Francisci suggests that many burial sites were visible to people travelling along these routes (Figure 131), though two caveats to this are necessary. First, although the environmental archaeology of the Val di Non remains undeveloped, palaeopalynological data from eastern Trentino may suggest that the area was heavily wooded in antiquity but may have seen some deforestation as more land was turned over to pasture from the later 6th century.[600] Secondly, the most visible places in the landscape – topographically prominent places at higher elevations – are largely at a considerable distance from the roads. Burials were therefore visible, but only from relatively short parts of the roads which snaked through this mountainous landscape. Road

[597] Francisci 2014, 2017a, 239-296.
[598] Bassi 2013, particularly p. 143, fig. 1.
[599] Francisci 2017a, 239-277.
[600] Forlin 2014b, 2014a.

users would have seen burials for a relatively limited period. This suggests that long-distance viewership and anticipatory reactions do not seem to have been a priority – or even a possibility in the highly wooded and mountainous landscape. This does not mean that visibility was not an important factor in the siting of burials but does suggest that it was limited to circumscribed areas.

The role of roads in the wider funerary landscapes was not unchanging through time. Throughout the five centuries of Roman rule over Trentino, the proportion of burial sites in Trentino located near to roads appears broadly steady (Figure 131, Figure 132, Figure 133 and Figure 134). In the early imperial period (1st-3rd century), of the 43 sites attested in the Val di Non, 16 (37 per cent) are located within 200m and 35 (81.4 per cent) fall within 500 m of a road. The figures for the late Roman period (4th-5th century) appear comparable: 39 sites are known, and 16 of these (41 per cent) were within 200m, while 32 of them (82 per cent) lay within 500 m of a road. However, Francisci has shown that the placement of burials between the early imperial (1st-3rd centuries AD) and late imperial (3rd-5th centuries AD) periods adhere to divergent distributions. The graves of the early imperial period are primarily associated with roads running east-west, while those of later date are more likely to correlate with roads on a north-south axis.[601] This change may reflect the Val di Non's shifting relations with other parts of the Alpine region over time: while in the earlier period it was primarily dependent on the neighbouring *Ager Tridentinus* on its eastern boundary, in the later period it became an important connecting route with the Val dell'Adige to the south.

The new supplementary data covering burials of the 6th and 7th centuries gathered in this thesis allows us to extend our understanding of the relationship between burials and roads during the post-Roman period. A total of 16 funerary sites in the Val di Non can be dated to this period, but just two (12.5 per cent) were within 200m and 11 (68.8 per cent) within 500 m of a road. These figures are lower than in previous periods, suggesting that immediacy of access was less important than it had once been. It is important to stress that this pattern may in part arise from the possibility that courses of roads had shifted or developed during the post-Roman period, but Francisci's research suggests that most of the major changes may have taken place after the 13th century.[602] It therefore seems that choices

[601] N.B. these overlapping date ranges are a result of little clear data for the 3rd century and because several sites are dated across multiple centuries: Francisci 2017a, 282.
[602] Francisci 2017a, 236-237.

about burial places of the early Middle Ages in Trentino no longer prioritised the road-side locations favoured in previous periods.

Unfortunately, at present we know frustratingly little about the wider settlement dynamics of the Val di Non during the early medieval period (see above, 5.3.3.1-2). However, the lower proportion of early medieval burial sites in areas very close (<200m) to roads than in earlier periods may be part of a wider shift in settlement sites uphill, and by extension away from earlier transport networks, as Bassi has hypothesized.[603] On this model, the movement of settlements uphill was accompanied by a similar movement of burials, suggesting that just as in the early medieval period in Central Campania, the dead followed the living as they began to occupy new sites at higher, less accessible, locations.

All but two out of 11 sites within 500 m of a road are arranged on North-South axis. This continues an early trend, originating in the late Roman period, which saw an intensification of the importance of roads heading north south, reflecting the ongoing importance of the Val di Non as a transport corridor connecting Italy and the north. Previous scholars attempted to draw a connection between early medieval burials containing weaponry and the stationing of military garrisons.[604] However, less than half (eight out of 18) of these early medieval burials in the Val di Non produced weapons and other military equipment (with the exceptions being Denno (**3-126**), Cloz (**3-104**), Flavon **(3-110**), Quetta **(3-75**), Rallo (**3-321**), Romallo (**3-263**), San Martino I in Vervo (**3-381**) and possibly Dosso di San Martino II (**3-382**) in the same municipality), meaning they do not provide unequivocal evidence for the stationing of militarised groups and their families along key road networks during the instability of the post-Roman period, which as we have seen, saw successive incursions from the Franks to the north.

[603] Bassi 1998.

[604] Bassi 1998; Cavada 2004, 204-215.

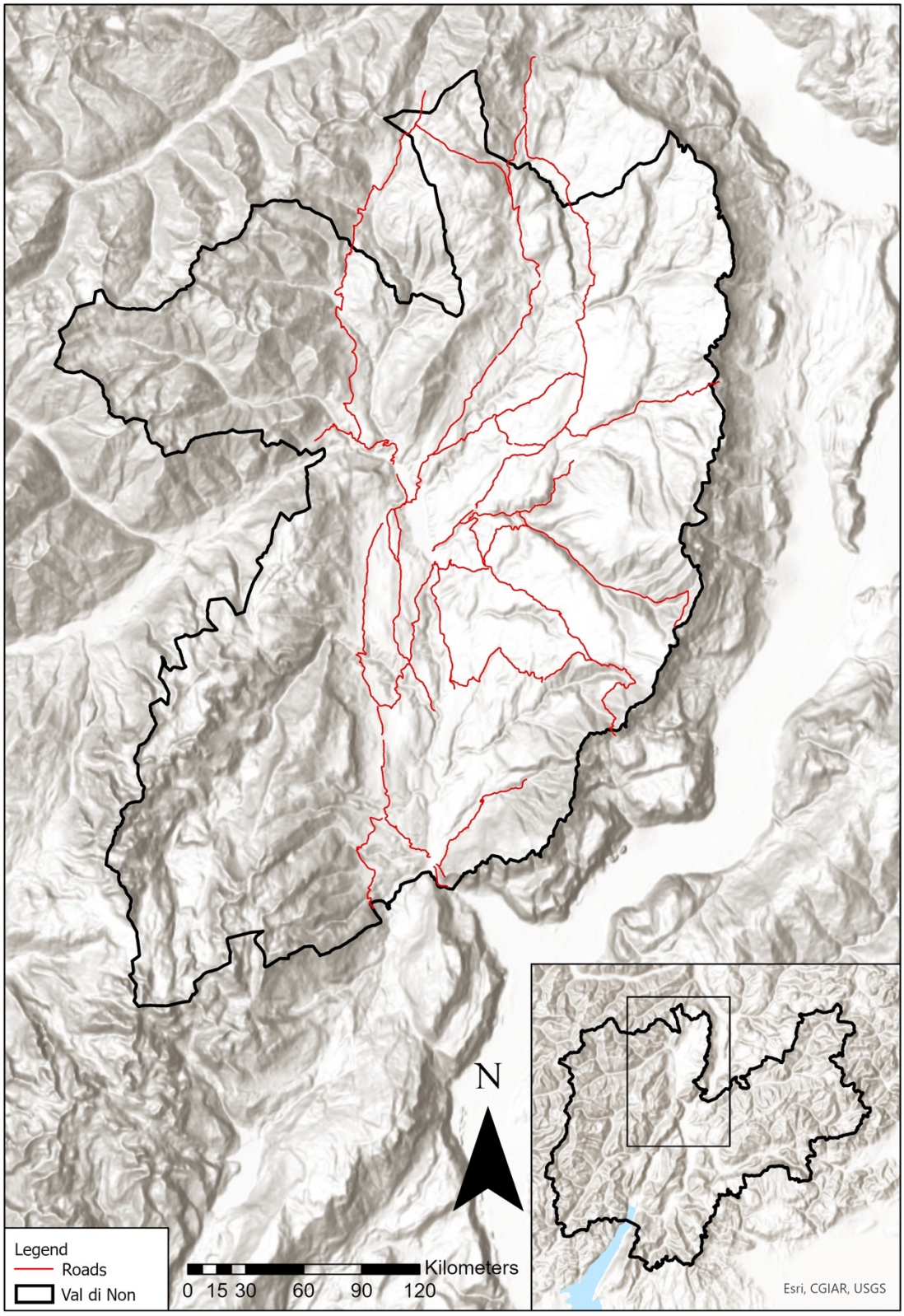


Figure 130 The road network of the Val di Non as reconstructed by Francisci (2017)

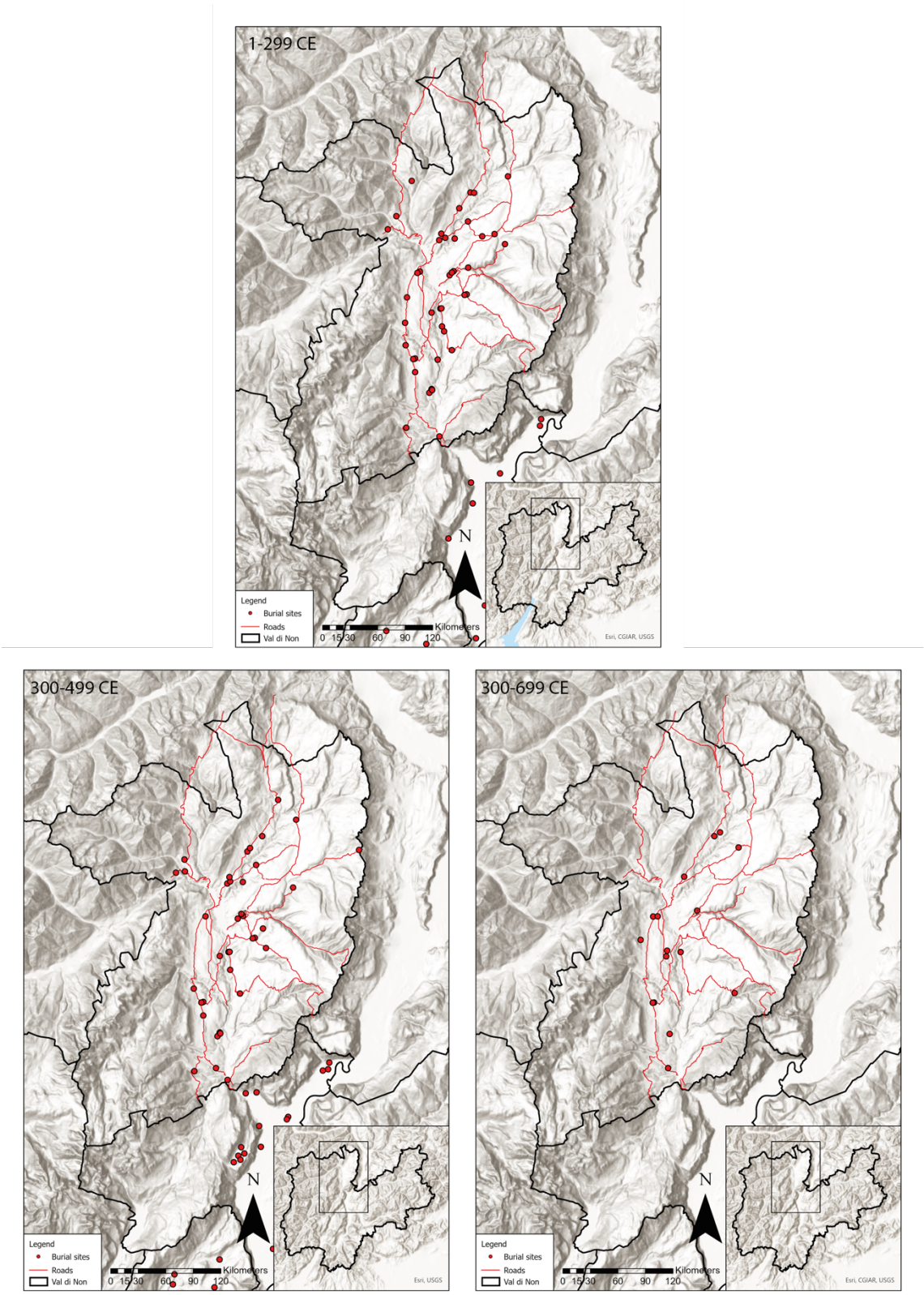


Figure 131 Burials and roads in the Val di Non through time (Data from Appendix 3 and road data from Francisci 2017)

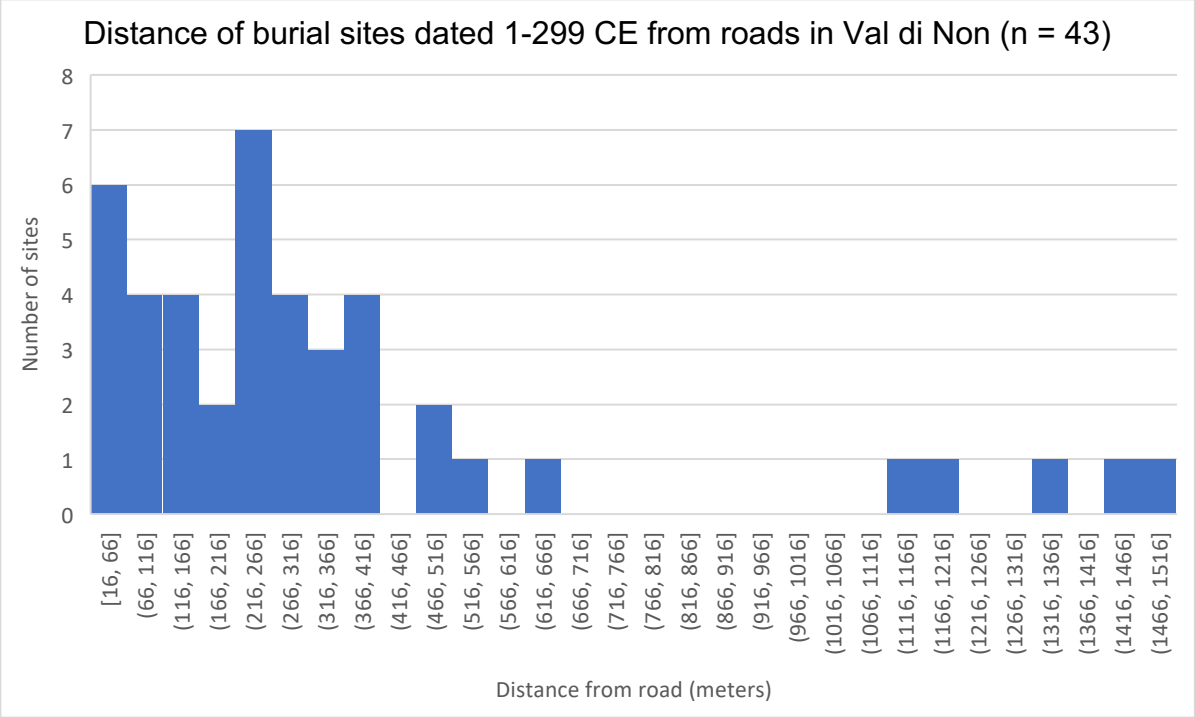


Figure 132 Burial sites dated 1-299 by distance to nearest road segment in the Val di Non (Data from Appendix 3 and road data from Francisci 2017).

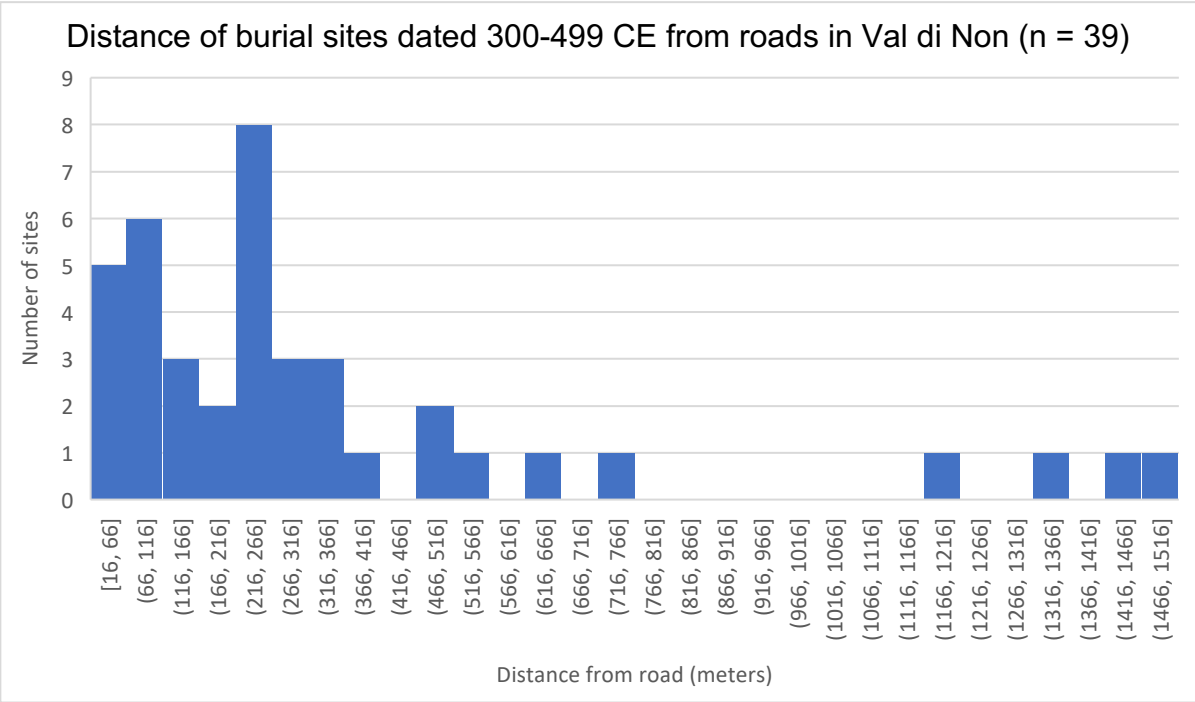


Figure 133 Burial sites dated 300-499 by distance to nearest road segment in the Val di Non (Data from Appendix 3 and road data from Francisci 2017).

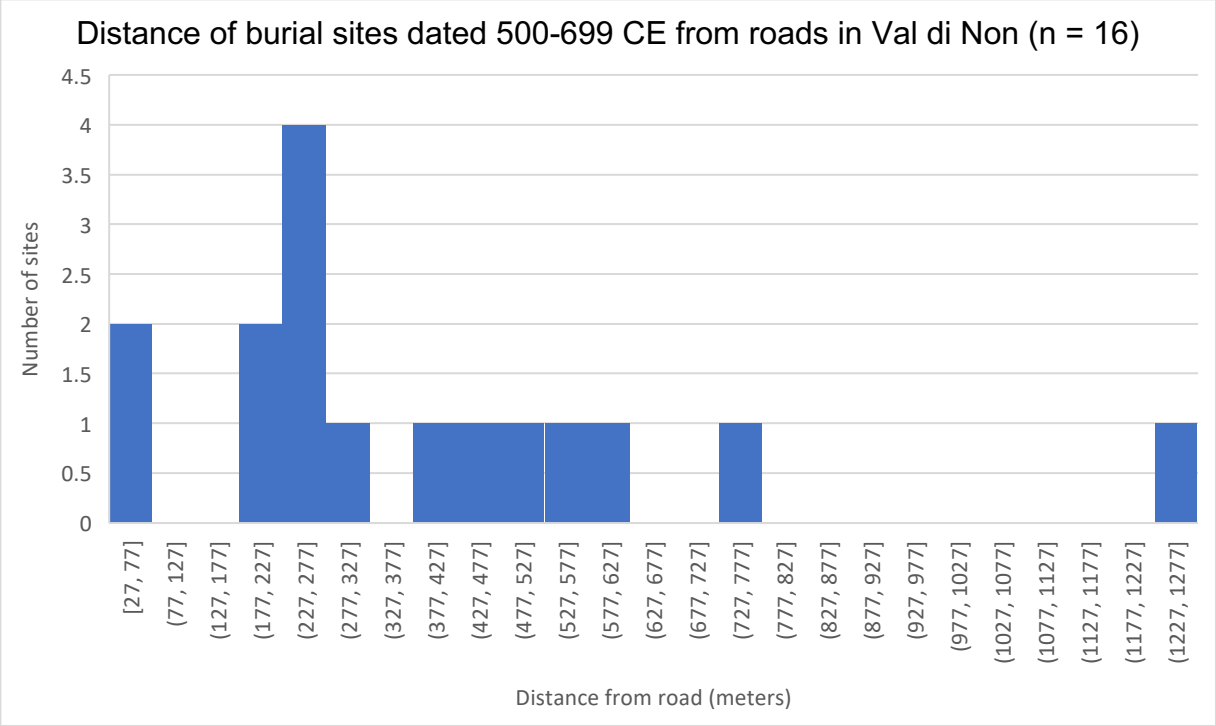


Figure 134 Burial sites dated 500-699 by distance to nearest road segment in the Val di Non (Data from Appendix 3 and road data from Francisci 2017).

5.4.2.2 Tombs in rural road networks: the Basso Sarca

Another excellent example of the role of roads in structuring the wider funerary landscape over the *longue durée* is provided by the Basso Sarca. Brogiolo and Bassi's partial reconstructions of the road network, based largely on stretches of road uncovered during pre-development rescue excavations, provides a high degree of certainty about the course of roads normally not available to landscape archaeologists (Figure 135).[605] As elsewhere, though, the picture remains fragmentary, and we can seldom trace the entire course of a given road. Mapping burial sites against roads by date suggests that roads were of comparable importance during the early imperial and the late Roman periods. In the first three centuries CE, 22 of 32 burial sites (or 68.8 per cent) were within 500 m of a road and there is only a slight decline in the 4th and 5th centuries, when 16 in 25 sites (or 64 per cent) were within 500 m of a road. There is a more marked decline in the early medieval period, when 3 out of 7 sites (or 42 per cent) were within 500 m of a road (Figure 136). This appears to reflect a slight decline in the importance of roads in the siting of burials during the early

[605] Bassi 2013, 143, fig. 1; Brogiolo 2013b, 166-170. Only certain, not possible, roads could be mapped in the Basso Sarca..

Middle Ages. Roadsides could, however, sometimes still play an important role as is exemplified by recent finds, still largely unpublished, from Via Filanda to the east of modern Riva del Garda (**3-399**). The sole published multiphase plan appears shows that the more than one hundred graves in this early medieval burial ground were aligned approximately perpendicular to the known road (Figure 137). A Roman-period villa complex (**4-135**) nearby does not seem to have been reused for burial, and the overall spatial arrangement in this area appears to indicate that the road continued to play a primary role in the arrangement of the local funerary landscape.

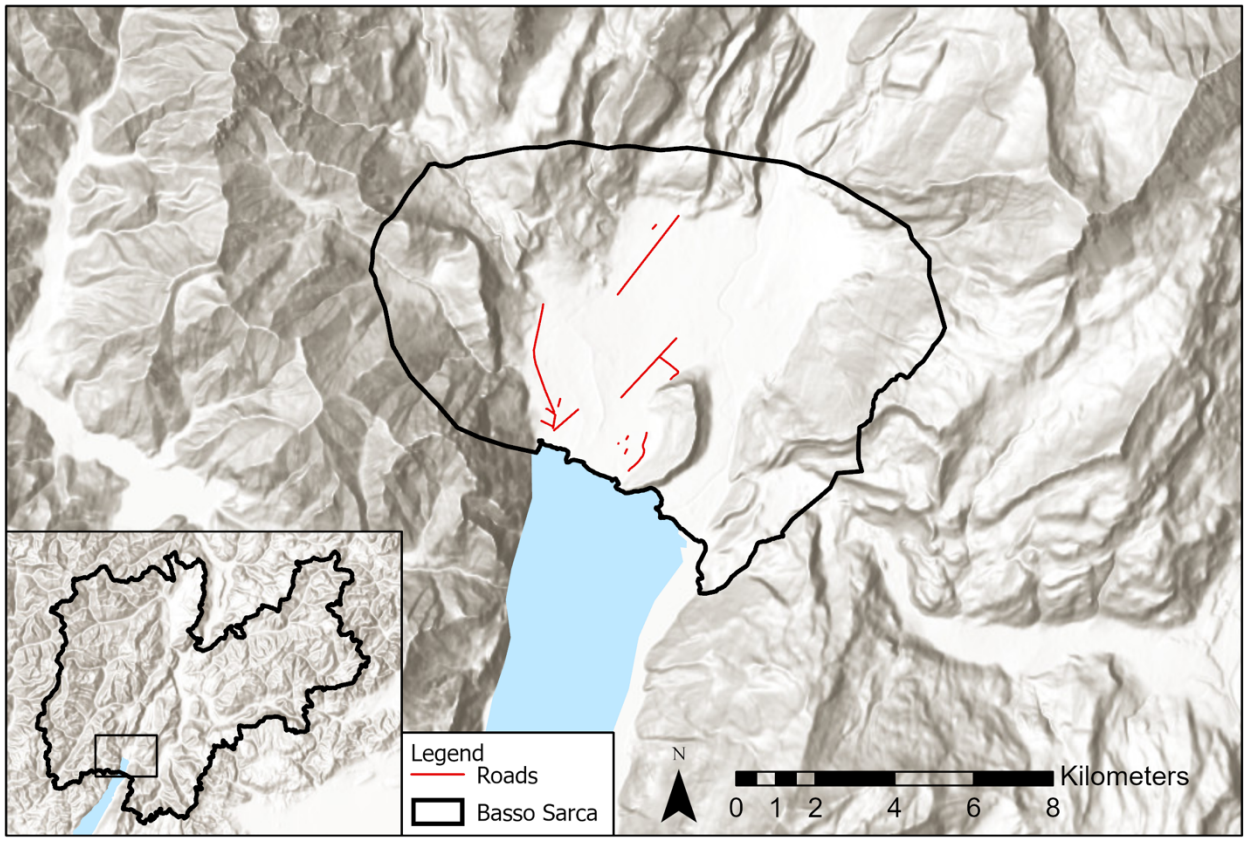


Figure 135 The road network of the Basso Sarca as reconstructed by Bassi (2013, 143, fig. 1)

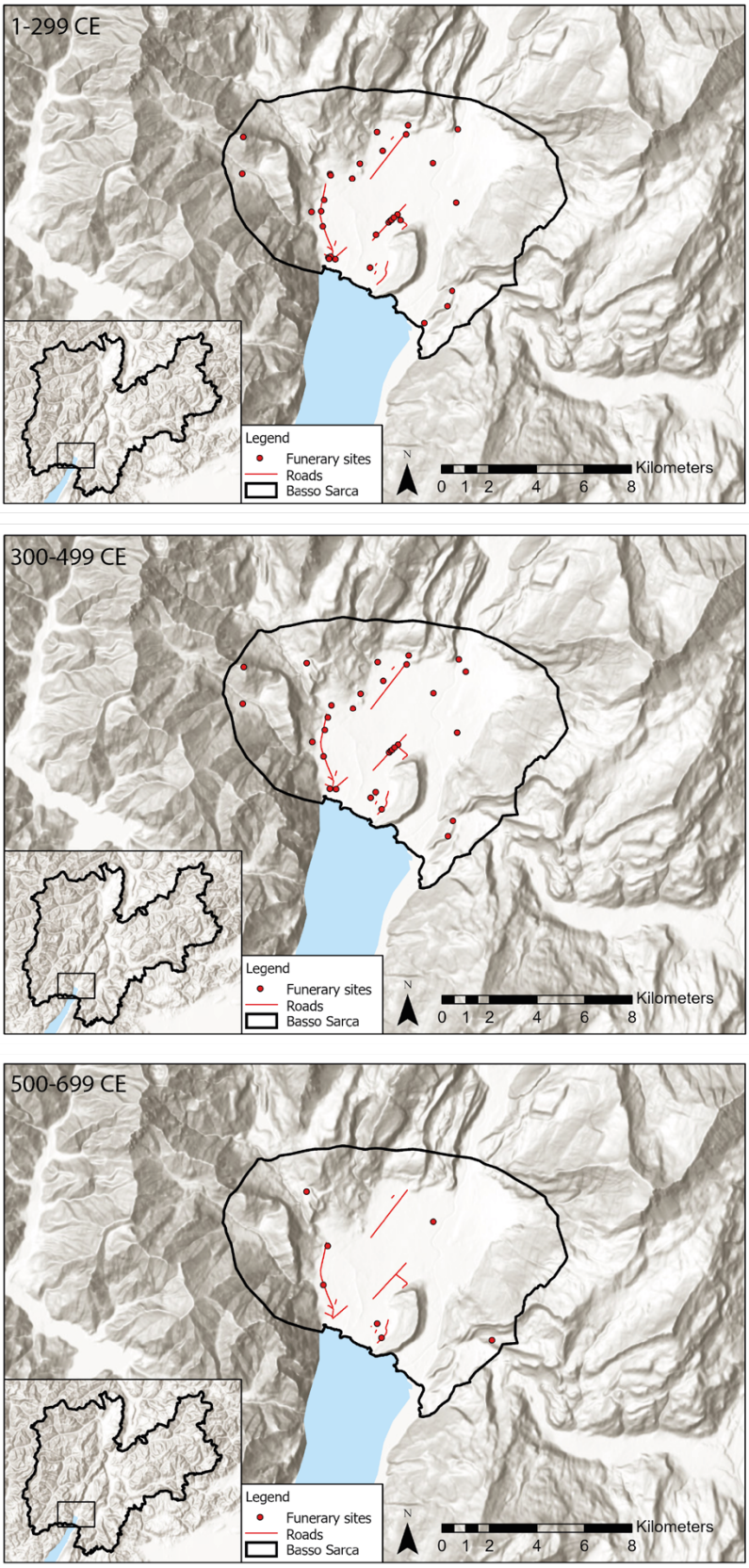


Figure 136 Burials through time and the road network of the Basso Sarca as reconstructed by Bassi, (2013, 143, fig. 1. Funerary data from Appendix 3).

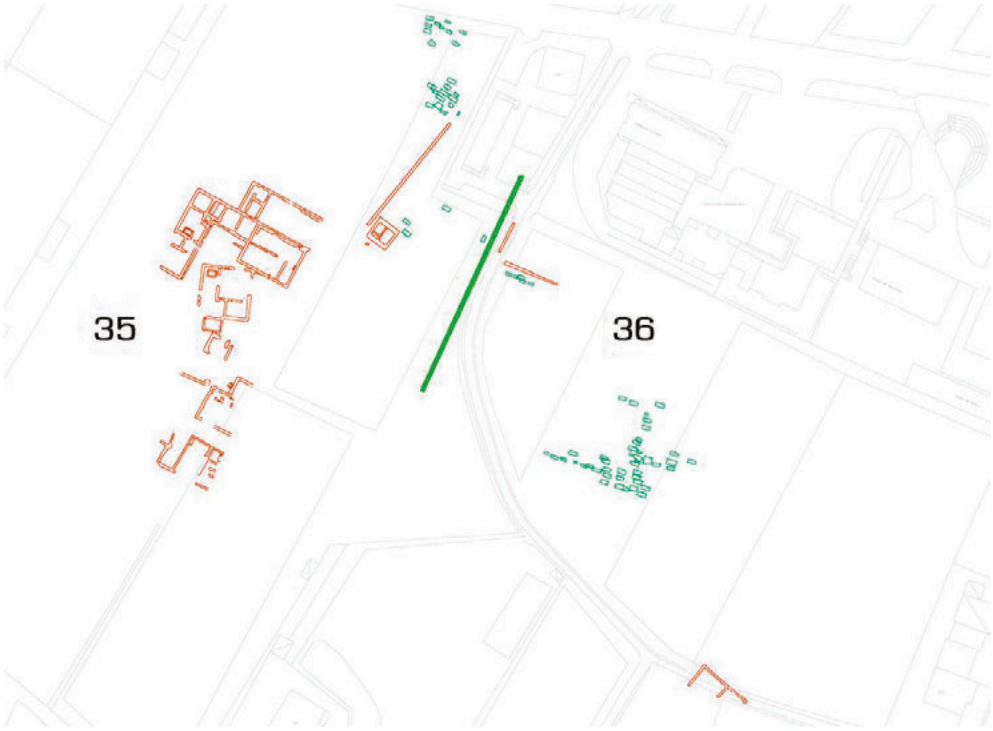


Figure 137 Early medieval burials at Riva, via Filanda (3-399), in turquoise, opposite an earlier Roman period villa (4-135), in orange. The metalled road is shown in green (From Bassi, 2013, 148, fig. 7)

5.4.3 Burials and centuriation in the plain of the Basso Sarca

Whether centuriation took place in any part of Trentino in antiquity is a matter of considerable scholarly debate. Controversy centres on the plain of the Basso Sarca at the head of Lake Garda, which is the principal area of level ground in the region. This section does not propose to repeat the exhaustive GIS-based analysis of the Basso Sarca which has already been undertaken, but will review this existing work and comment on the role of centuriation in structuring wider funerary landscapes.

Since the 1970s, work by scholars like Tozzi and Mosca has explored the orthogonal modern-day road lay out, elements of which they interpret as fossilizing the Roman centuriation grid with land parcels varying in width and length between 705 and 710m, rotated at an inclination of 34° (Figure 138).[606] In the view of these scholars, the centuriation grid was laid out in the later 1st century BCE, perhaps in connection with the elevation of the city of *Brixia* to the rank of colony. More recently, Brogiolo and Bassi both called into question this early imperial model of land division, in favour of a more gradual organization of the

[606] Tozzi 1985, 1972, 115, 1976, 41-42; Mosca 2003.

territory which began at the fringes of the Basso Sarca but only reached the central part of the plain in the later Middle Ages.[607] Francisci, however, has more recently attempted to rehabilitate the early Roman installation of the centuriation grid through a range of advanced statistical methods, and mapped these against the funerary evidence from the area (Figure 139).[608] His work leaves open the possibility that part or all of the Basso Sarca did undergo centuriation during antiquity. For the purposes of the present thesis, it suffices, however, to note that although burial sites are often placed near to the proposed land boundaries, most of these are located on the *cardo maximus* running northwest-southeast from the shores of the lake through Arco. This correlation may suggest that rather than the land boundaries themselves serving to attract burials, their role as a path of movement may have been more important.

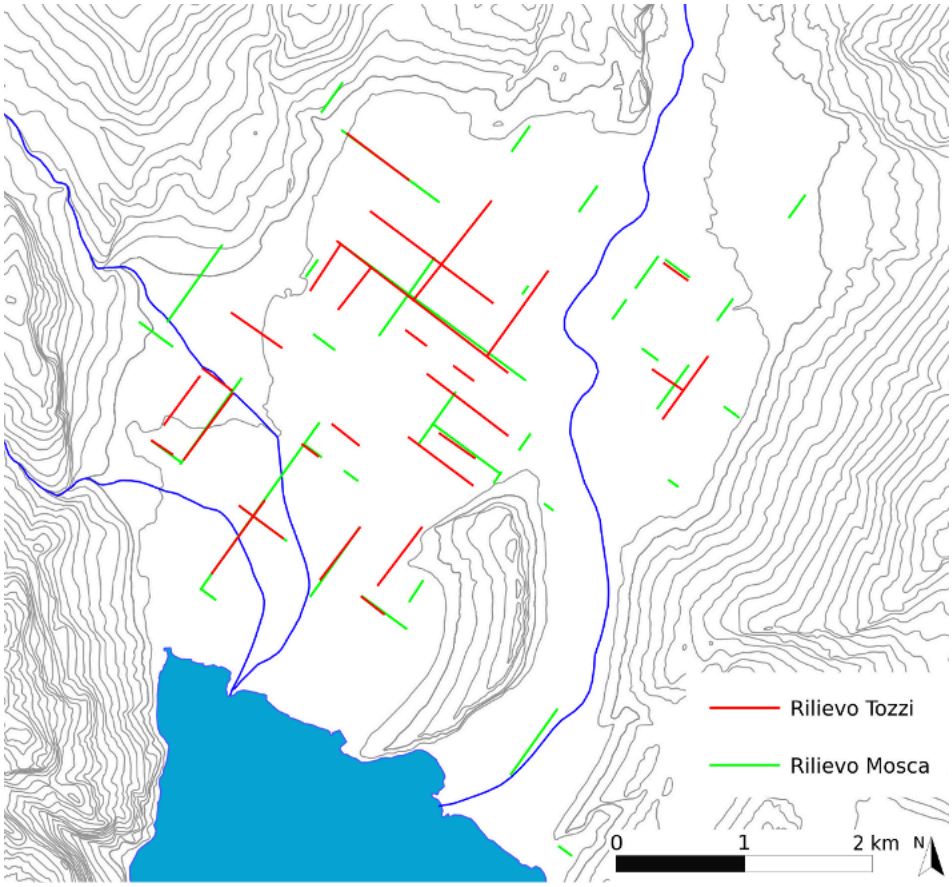


Figure 138 Traces of centuriation in the Basso Sarca as proposed by Tozzi (1985, 21) and Mosca (2003) (from Francisci 2010, 235, fig. 14.3)

[607] Brogiolo 2013b, 170-177; Bassi 2013, 150.

[608] Francisci 2011, 2017a, 306-336.

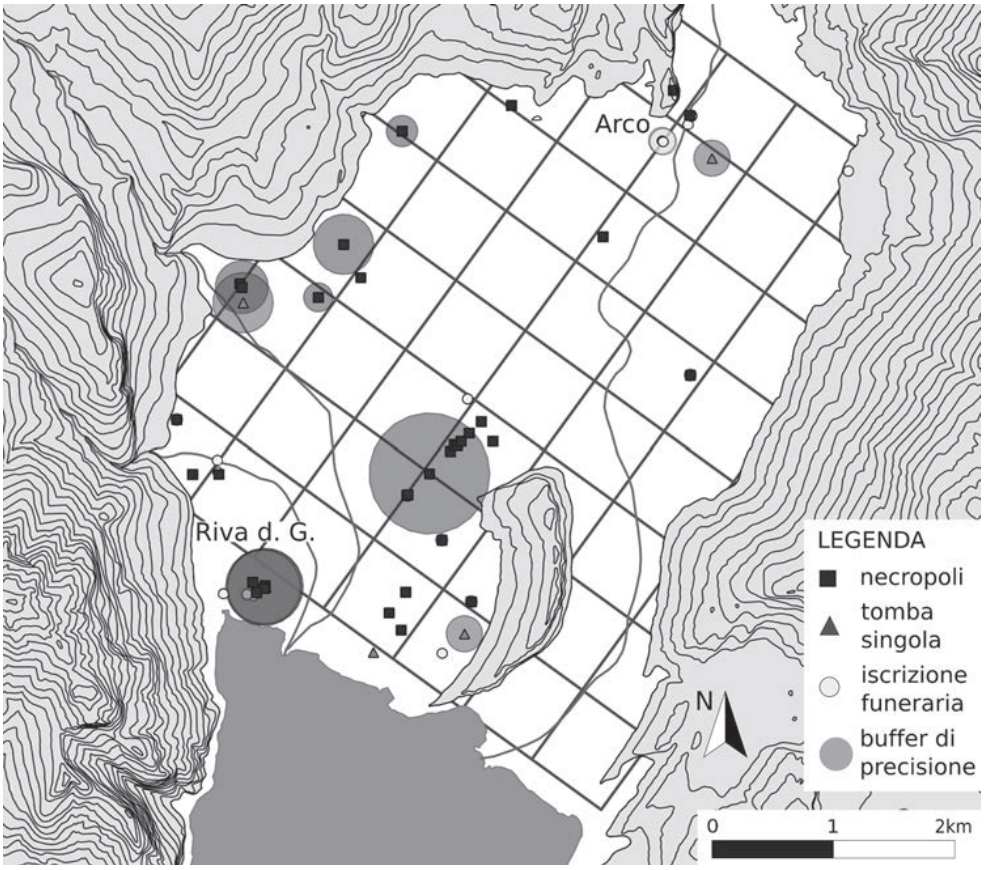


Figure 139 Funerary evidence plotted in relation to a hypothesized centuriation grid in the Basso Sarca (From Francisci, 2011, 285, fig. 2).

5.4.4 Churches, visibility, and accessibility

5.4.4.1 Introduction

We saw earlier in this thesis that churches used for burial in the countryside of Central Campania were often placed along roads (above, section 4.4.5.2), granting them both a high degree of visibility to travellers as well as making them physically accessible. In Trentino, the placement of churches containing burials appears to be considerably more varied, with some churches easy to see and to reach, others easy to see but hard to reach, and some neither particularly visible nor accessible. It should be noted that the analysis presented here is not exhaustive, and simply attempts to explore *some* different types of burial church placement in Trentino. Moreover, due to space constraints, detailed description of the relevant churches themselves it not provided here and further information about these can be found in Appendix 4.

Before moving to our analysis, we must acknowledge that one of the prime difficulties of analysing visibility within the landscape in Trentino, as in other Alpine zones, is the impact

of vegetation; in particular, the thick forests which predominate on many of the hill and mountain slopes considerably restrict the limits of vision. To partially circumvent this challenge, the methodology employed during this analysis draws on viewshed analysis undertaken using Google Earth Pro viewshed tool. We must exercise caution in employing this tool, as levels of vegetation will have differed in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages,[609] and because this tool can only be employed in rural areas with limited levels of modern development. Despite these limitations, this tool nevertheless provides an important check on our assumptions about the visibility of churches in the landscape.

5.4.4.2 Churches which are both relatively visible and accessible

The churches with burials at Varone (**3-147**) and San Cassiano (**3-244**), both in the Basso Sarca, were both probably located near to major roads at the time when they were constructed. In the former case, a section of this metalled road has even been uncovered during excavation (**4-123**). These sites were not as visible from afar as those churches, discussed below, which were situated on hills, though on flat land or gentle inclines, roadside churches could nevertheless be visible over a considerable distance. This choice of location suggests that such sites were closely connected to the political, social, and religious memories of the local inhabitants, as well as being physically accessible to passers-by, in ways that the more remotely located churches were not. We should therefore consider these burial sites and their organisation in terms of their connotations for short-, middle- and long-range audiences.

5.4.4.3 Churches which are visible but not accessible

Possible funerary churches at Santo Stefano in Fornace (**3-136**), San Tommaso in Vignolo (**3-192**) and at San Martino in Lundo-Lomaso (**3-158**) appear to have been located on hill slopes away from main roads. At Fornace, the church is placed on the left side of the Val di Cembra in an apparently isolated position on the slope of Monte Gorsa, probably some distance from a road connecting the Valsugana with the Valli di Fiemme and the Valle dell'Adige (Figure 140).[610] At Vignolo, the church is built on the steep edges of a vast natural terraced amphitheatre behind Nago-Torbole at an altitude of 700m and looks down onto Lake Garda

[609] Llobera 2007.
[610] Ciurletti 2001a, 163.

and an ancient road which leads towards the lake, passing through Garda, to the valle di Gresta and the valle dell'Adige (Figure 141). Such a siting suggests that the founders of this church were invested in creating as wide a catchment area as possible capturing the sight and influencing the memories of the locals who lived on the surrounding terraces, as well as those passing through Garda. At San Martino in Lundo-Lomaso (Figure 142) the late antique church is integrated into a *castrum*, located atop a hill separating the Basso Sarca and the Valli delle Giudicarie in southwestern Trentino. At an elevation of c. 985m, the site dominates the plain of Lomaso from a position immediately below the hill's summit and is protected by walls of sheer rock, which plummet 200m to the valley floor below. Its location within a *castrum* limited access.[611]

We can hypothesise that these locations were chosen for their visual pre-eminence over the surrounding landscape. At the same time, the placement of these sites within the wider landscape means that they are often difficult to access. In the simpler cases, not clearly associated with settlements, this may mean that to reach such structures required a time-consuming and challenging journey over difficult terrain. In the cases clearly associated with *castra,* however, the difficulties of access might be compounded by the imposition of physical boundaries in the form of fortifications. We might therefore view these kinds of sites as making statements about dominance or ownership over local landscapes as well as reinforcing this message through the restriction of access.

[611] However, it should be noted that the church's location combined with the fortifications of the *castrum* meant that while it could be seen from afar, it may not have been possible to see the church from within the wider context of the castrum.

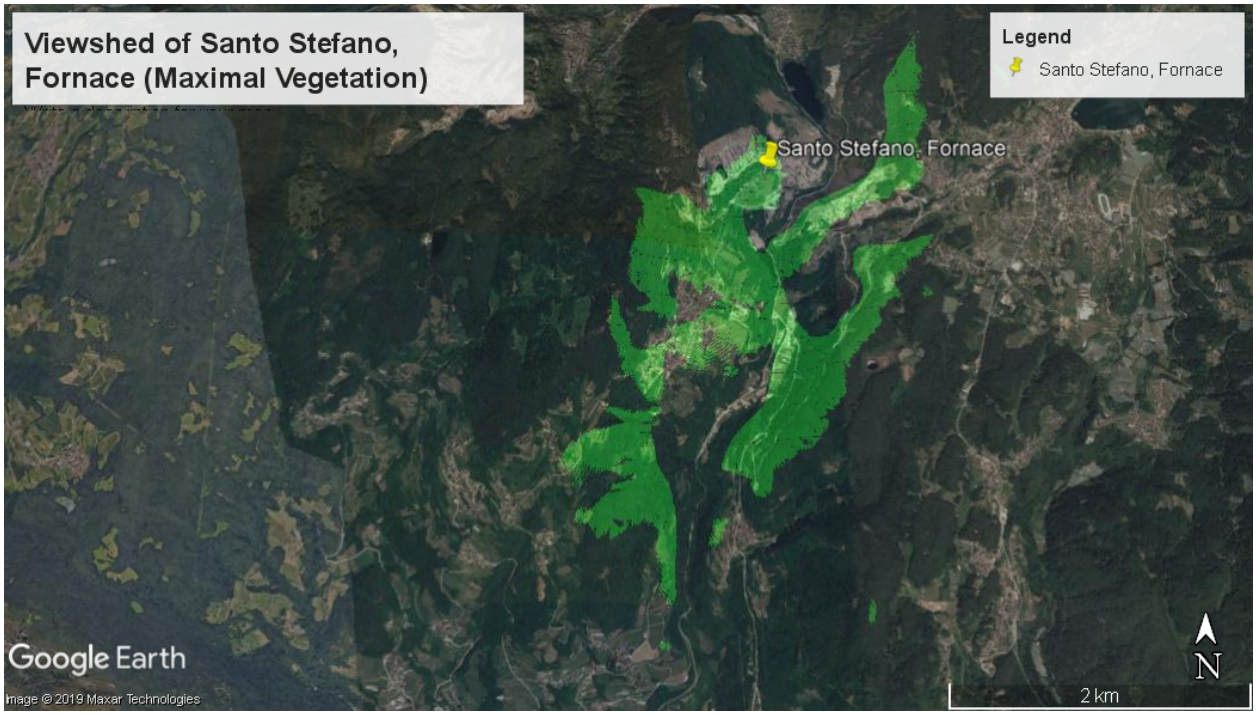


Figure 140 Google Earth Pro Viewshed of Santo Stefano, Fornace (3-136, 4-81) with maximal vegetation cover.

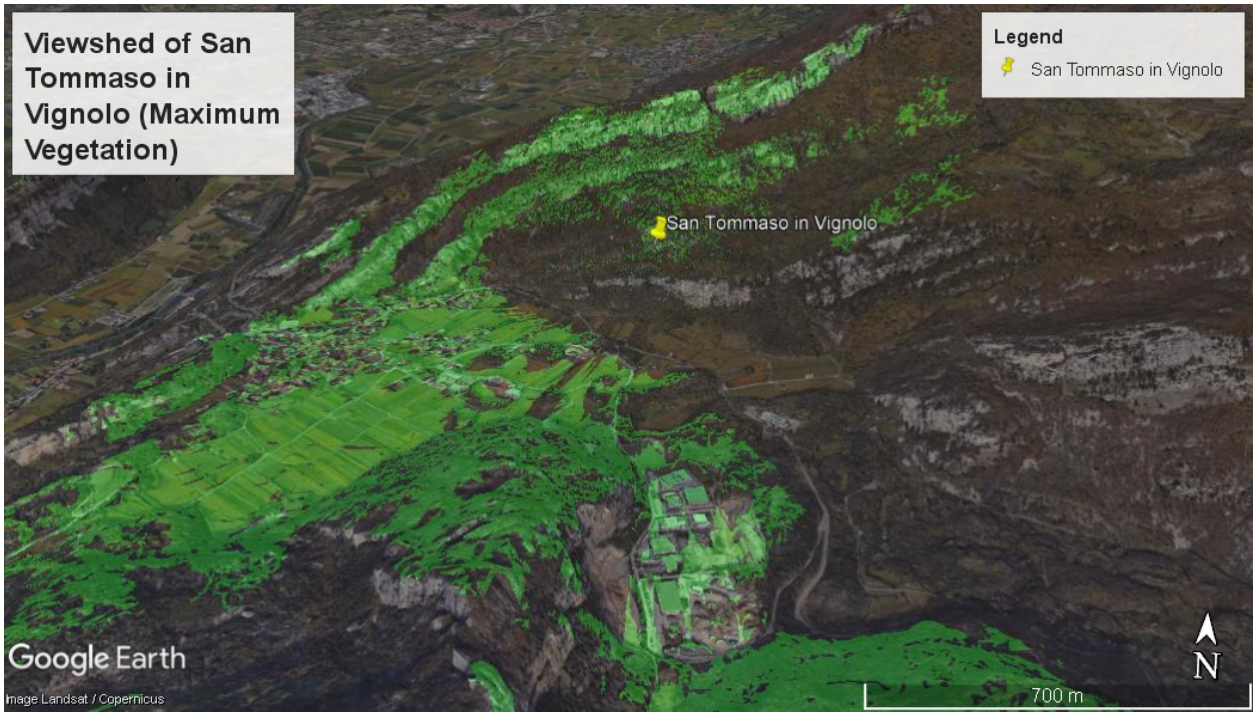


Figure 141 Google Earth Pro viewshed of San Tommaso in Vignole (3-192, 4-198) with maximal vegetation cover (close view).

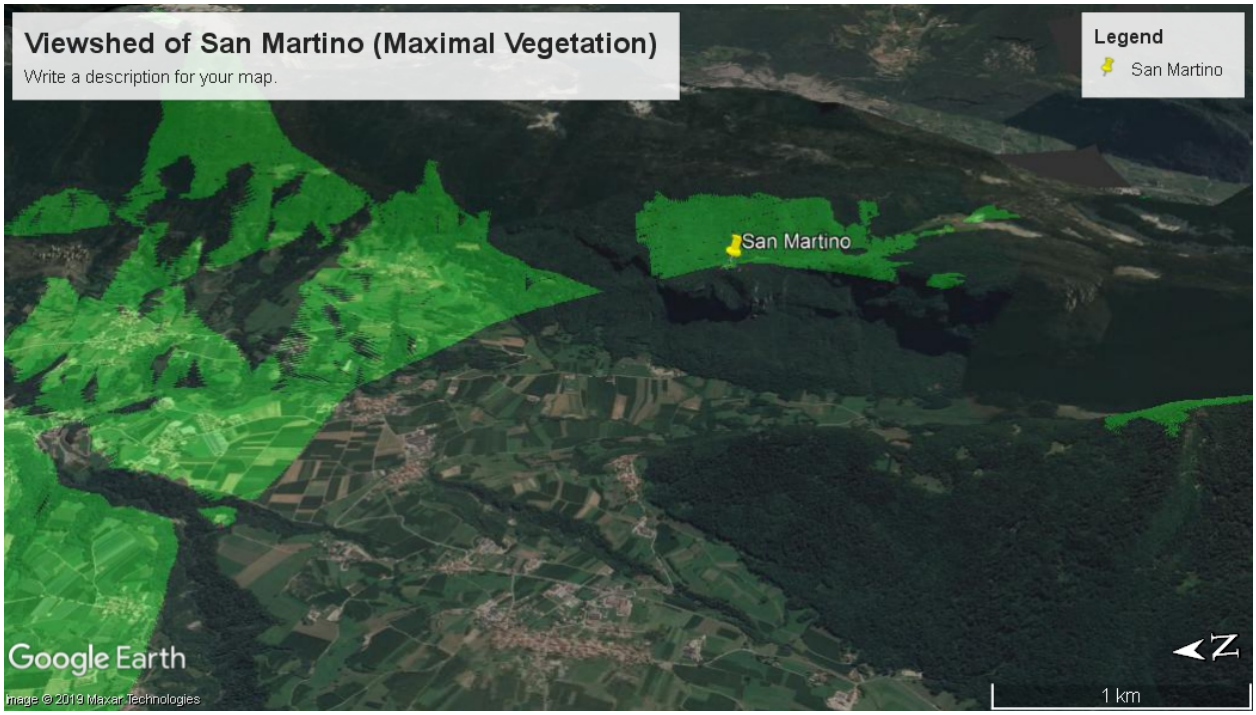


Figure 142 Google Earth Pro Viewshed of San Martino in Lundo-Lomaso (3-158, 4-61) with maximal vegetation cover (Extended View).

5.4.4.4 Churches which are neither very visible, nor accessible

The anonymous church on the Doss Trento (**3-349,** Figure 143) provides a powerful example of a church which appears to have been deliberately sited so as *not* to be visible from afar. The church, probably dating to the early 6th century, was located within the *castrum verucca,* across the river Adige from *Tridentum* but closely linked with it (see above, sections 5.1.2.3 and 5.3.2.3). A mosaic inside the church shows indicates that the complex was at least partially sponsored by one of the city's bishops (above, section 5.3.2.3).

In spite of the clear evidence of this church as a prestigious venue for burials, the structure sits near the centre of the relatively flat-topped hill of Doss Trento and was probably not visible over any great distance. The Google Earth Pro viewshed analysis suggests that, with the presence of trees, the church was subject to extremely limited visibility (Figure 144). According to this model, the structure was only easily visible within a small, wooded enclave in its immediate vicinity, though glimpses between the trees were possible for visitors already on the summit. In this scenario the church is sited to be effectively invisible from the valley floor, the wider paths of movement passing through the Valle dell'Adige, and in relation to the nearby city of *Tridentum.* Thus, it seems likely that this church was not meant to be widely

visible but was instead intended to serve as a focus for the local community in Late Antiquity – that is, either the occupants of the *castrum* narrowly defined, or people living across the river in *Tridentum* too.

The limited number of accessible paths to the Doss Trento could create a sense of anticipation for members of the local community visiting the church, especially during high traffic events such as mass, funerals or feast day celebrations.[612] A similar process which has recently been examined in relation to the shrine of St Thecla at Meryemlik in Asia Minor, where the restricted field of vision on approach to the shrine may contributed to the emotional response of visitors as they arrived at the site.[613] If we are to envisage that this church was frequented in part to sustain the memory of those buried within, and perhaps visited on the anniversaries of their deaths, then the process of arriving at the church could add to the emotional and spiritual experience of such a visit.

This choice has major implications for the experience of visitors, as the semi-concealed nature of such sites suggest that casual observation from afar, let alone visits to the sites themselves, was unlikely. In turn, we can surmise that to journey to such a church often implied some foreknowledge of what was to be found there – whether through word-of-mouth or through prior trips. Thus, we must conclude that burials within such sites might be intended as a "members only" memory cult aimed at a primary audience of those who had relations with the deceased in life, the wider family or community.

[612] On processions in late antiquity: Lavan 2021, 150–234.

[613] Jackson 1999, 77-83.

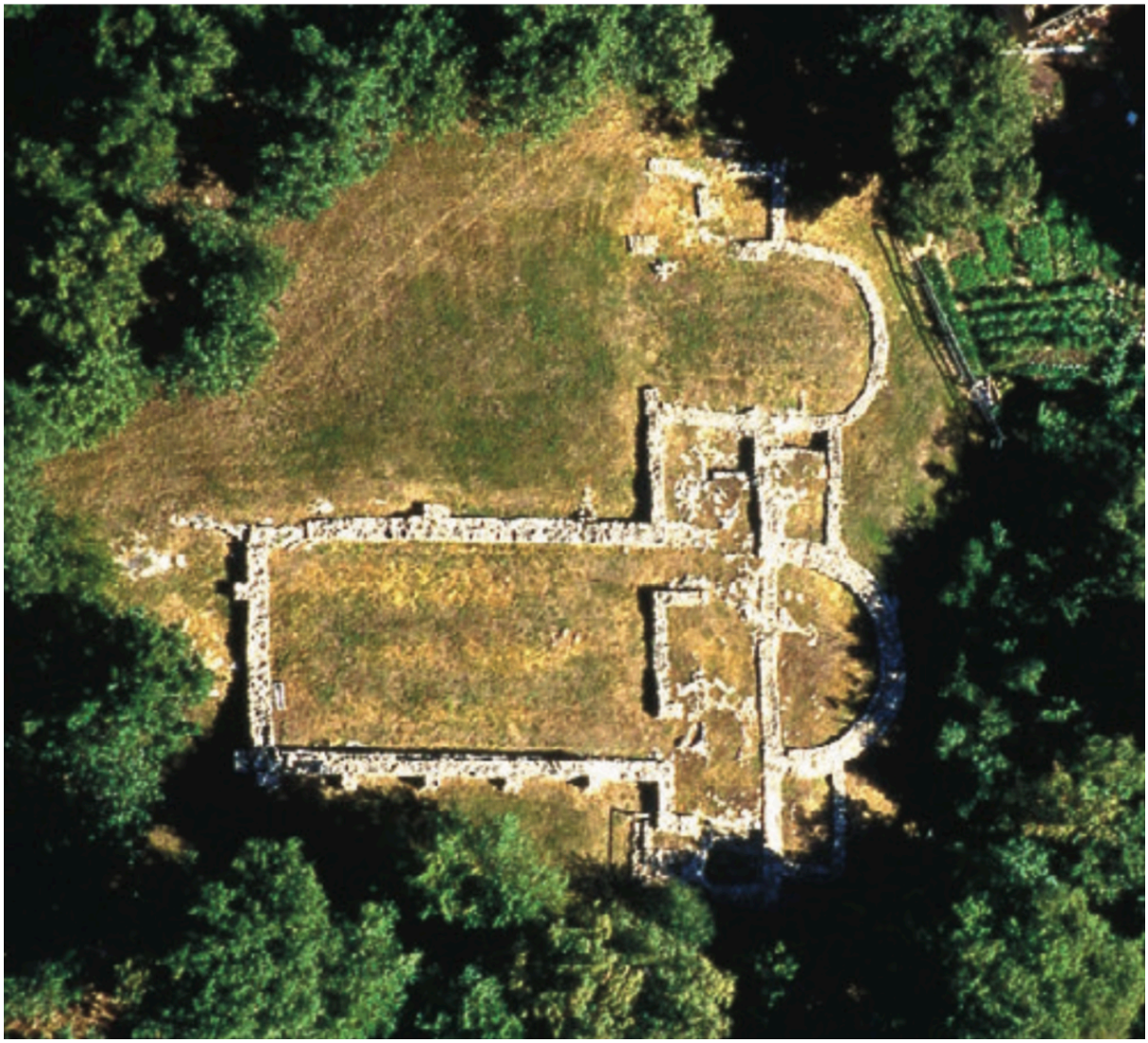


Figure 143 Overview of the Anonymous church on the Doss Trento (From APSAT Vol 11, 145, fig. 2).



Figure 144 Google Earth Pro Viewshed of the church on the Doss Trento (3-349) with maximal vegetation cover (Extended View).

5.4.4.5 Discussion

The siting of these churches has important implications for the visibility of these structures and therefore the message which they conveyed. Each of these locations affects the landscape, viewership, and function in different ways, with concurrent impacts on the type of memory these burial places helped to create. It must be noted that in contrast to mausolea, churches, chapels and other cult structures often had multiple functions, and are not only devoted to commemorating the deceased. While some churches, like those discussed in the previous sections, clearly did play an important role as burial spaces, others were unrelated to tombs (above, section 5.3.3.8). Thus, the function of churches as funerary memorials within the wider landscape is dependent on contemporary knowledge: the local community is likely to have been aware of whether a specific church had a funerary function or not, and this would have had connotations about the church played in the creation of social memory. At the same time, churches could also attract visitors – and therefore viewers for the graves they sometimes contained – who were travelling over longer distances and whose primary objective was not to visit graves but instead to pray or rest.

5.4.5 Conclusions

Roads played a major part in structuring the landscapes of Roman Trentino. Overall, just as we saw in Central Campania (above, section 4.4.3) burial near to roads may have offered greater accessibility and visibility for grave sites, though this cannot always be ascertained in a landscape which may have been highly wooded in antiquity. Nevertheless, the picture from the Roman period appears to be relatively uniform in the parts of the region where we have a clear view of the course of the principal roads: the Val di Non and the Basso Sarca. The evidence from these two regions during the first five centuries CE shows that roads played a near-constant role in the siting of many graves. Moreover, while some scholars have envisaged a centuriated grid in the latter of these two regions, the distribution of burials could simply reflect the importance of a limited number of roads through the landscape. At the same time, patterns of burial near to roads were not static, and evidence from the Val di Non seems to indicate a shift in *which* roads were the most attractive to be buried near between the early imperial and late Roman periods. This change may have been a result of the Val di Non's role as a transport corridor linking Italy with the lands to the North in contrast with the Basso Sarca, which saw greater continuity in burial placement through time.

When we move into the early medieval period, the significance of roads becomes more fragmented. In some cases, in both the Basso Sarca and the Val di Non, burial near to roads continued to remain an important and popular choice, but overall roadside burial apparently became less frequent, as part of a wider reconfiguration of settlement and burial patterns towards more uphill locations. This may indicate that in some parts of the region, the commemorative benefits of roadside burial may have been superseded by other considerations, like proximity to dwellings, in the early medieval period, though the state of our knowledge about settlement patterns in the later period does not allow us to definitively confirm this hypothesis. We shall close this part of the thesis with a discussion of two other important aspects relating to the creation and curation of memory: site longevity and the choice to bury the dead within earlier structures.

5.5: Site longevity and Reuse

5.5.1 Introduction

The longevity of a site is a key aspect of its role as a place of memory, as already argued above (section 2.2.5). Using the same methodology to the one employed to examine the curation of memory in Central Campania, this section demonstrates that a substantial number of burial sites in Trentino saw extended use spanning several centuries. This figure may partially be a product of our limited knowledge of urban sites from the region. Yet at the same time, it may also indicate that in the sparsely urbanised landscapes of Trentino, rural burial sites played a greater role as places of memory for local communities. In other words, in the absence of cities, a burial culture rooted in specific localised traditions may have been of greater significance. This hypothesis is supported by epigraphic and artefactual evidence for repeated visits to some rural cemeteries, even after burials at these sites may have come to an end.

The second half of the section reprises the theme of reuse of space. There are a range of different types of spaces for burial in Trentino. This reflects differing burial strategies, each intended to connect the deceased with the memories of the past in a distinct way. Sometimes, as in the case of burial in open air sanctuaries, the reuse of space may reflect a desire to be buried in prominent meeting places in the landscape, but at other times, burial within an earlier structure removed graves from view, in a manner which meant that the dead would only be remembered by a more circumscribed group.

5.5.2 Site longevity

The longevity of different funerary sites in Trentino varied considerably, with important implications for memory. This section explores how the interplay of longer-lived and shorter-lived burial sites in Trentino informs us about the dynamic nature of commemoration. This section uses the same longevity categories already employed in the discussion of longevity in Central Campania (above, section 4.5.2). The overall patterns can be summarised as follows (see also Figure 145):

- **Long-chronology sites**:
    - **Long-use:** sites (55) that remained continuously active for all or most of a date range of over two centuries, reflecting their significance as enduring foci for memory among the communities who used them.

    - **Long-dated:** sites (26) where stratigraphic, typological or other contextual information (e.g. grave goods or inscriptions) allow us to date the sites to within a circumscribed period of more than one century, but without certainty about whether this reflects (a) constant usage across the entire time-period; (b) use within a part of it; or (c) sporadic use with periods of hiatus.
- **Short-chronology sites:**
    - **Closely dated:** sites (41 total) which can be closely dated, usually by epigraphic means, to either a single year or a restricted range of years (less than 100), but where subsequent funerary activity is unattested.
    - **Single burial events:** sites (34) where only a single burial event is attested, even if the chronology is less precise, because by their nature they represent discrete burial events.
- **Undated** (and not discussed further below):
    - **Undated**: In 100 cases, sites could not be closely dated and are placed in the "undated" category.
    - **Generic dating**: those sites (143 total) dated within a broad chronological span (e.g. "Roman," "late antique," or "early medieval"), where the quality of the evidence renders it impossible to isolate a specific moment in which the sites were in use.

This section will argue that burials in both the suburbs and in rural areas were important focal points for memory, but the importance of rural cemeteries (above, sections 4.2.2.2-3) in the rural landscape meant that many of these saw considerable long-term continuity of use between the Roman period and the Lombard period. In the sparsely urbanised landscape of Trentino, these rural cemeteries, especially those which are relatively large, may played a centralising role as a place for burial and memorialisation, akin to that played by cities in more urbanised parts of Italy. Some burial sites which were not used over the longue durée continued to be frequented even when they no longer hosted new burials, indicating that communities dwelling in the surrounding landscape continued to know of the existence of these sites and considered them worth visiting. Not all sites, however, saw long term use or

subsequent visits, and there are also a substantial proportion of sites which saw relatively short-term use. We shall now discuss these different trajectories in greater detail.

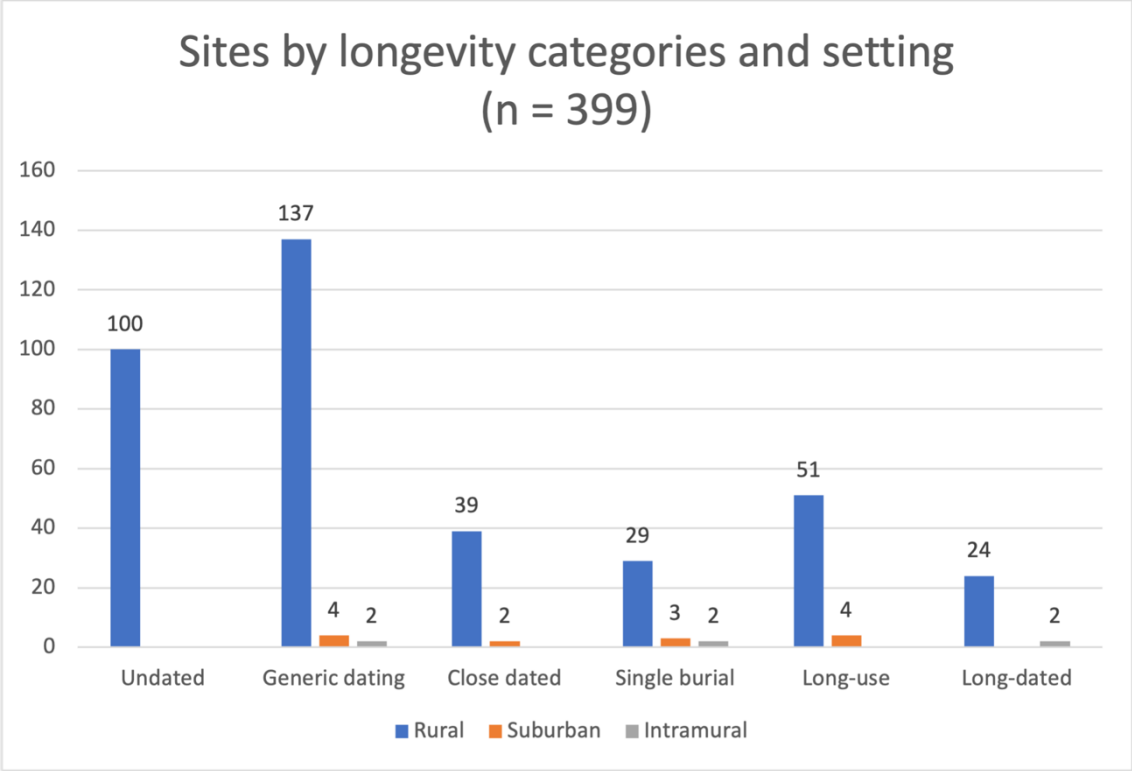


Figure 145 Funerary sites in Trentino by longevity categories and setting: overview (Data from Appendix 3)

5.5.2.1 Longer-lived sites

5.5.2.1.1 The suburban evidence

The evidence for long-lived use of funerary sites in the suburbs of *Tridentum* is relatively circumscribed. At the outset it should be noted that burial sites outside *Tridentum* are, like other cities, likely to reflect generalised continuity over an extended period through ongoing accumulation of burials by successive generations, though this cannot always be ascertained. The evidence from outside this city comprises four long-use sites. At the Istituto Suore Canossiane on Via Pilati (**3-353**), the largely unpublished burial site remained in use between the 2nd and 4th centuries despite successive inundations of the River Fersina which may have removed some graves from view. This repeated activity could suggest that burial at the site was simply considered appropriate or convenient over an extended period but may also reflect a desire to be associated with this specific area and an awareness that the space had previously been used for burial. At Piazza Alessandro Vittoria (**3-359**), generic reports refer to

Roman period tombs and burials which continued until at least the 6th-century phase, indicating long term use, though some of the later tombs appear to encroach on a masonry structure, suggesting that the area used for burial had shifted slightly over time.

Three of these suburban long-use sites were associated with late antique or early medieval churches, reflecting the role of Christian cult sites as places for commemoration, A substantial burial ground developed on the Doss Trento (**3-349**) in and around the anonymous 6th-century church excavated there.[614] As already outlined, this church was located within a late antique *castrum*. The site may have been used for burial as early as the 5th century, as the epitaph of Orontius, also found on the Doss, has been dated to the 5th or 6th centuries.[615] The total number of burials present is unclear from the published reports, but the prominent location in the centre of the hill may suggest that these were relatively prestigious burials. The burial ground likely extended to the west; where further 13 graves dated to the Lombard period were uncovered during the excavations to expand the Museo Storico Nazionale degli Alpini. These graves have not yet been published in detail, but a preliminary press release reveals that the graves comprised stone-lined cists containing individuals of all ages.[616] Some of these burials were accompanied by grave goods including weapons and dress accessories. Taken together, the evidence from the Doss seems to indicate long-term use, centred on but not necessarily originating in the presence of the church, given that Orontius' epitaph may predate the cult structure. A similar situation might also be envisaged for the poorly published burial site within a late antique phase of the church of Sant'Apollinare in the Piedicastello district at the foot of the Doss Trento (**3-362**), although this cannot be definitively confirmed based on the available evidence.[617]

While a burial site may remain in use over the long term, parts of it might be removed from use for further burial or even commemoration. An illuminating illustration of this possibility can be seen at the Basilica of St Vigilius outside *Tridentum*. This basilica (**3-345**) was probably built in the late 4th or early 5th century (phase 1) and was used for burial from the

[614] Brogiolo et al. 2013b, 143-146.

[615] Buonopane 1990, 177.

[616] As publication is still pending, these graves have not been included in Appendix 3. However, the details currently available suggest a view consistent with overall trends in terms of site size and dating. For the press release, URL = https://www.ufficiostampa.provincia.tn.it/Comunicati/Sul-Doss-Trento-una-necropoli-di-epoca-longobarda [Accessed 25 July 2019].

[617] Brogiolo et al. 2013a, 147-153.

5th century (phase 2). [618] The floor of the nave was filled with regularly-planned burial plots of uniform size (Figure 146 and also described in section 5.2.2.1) lined with *opus signinum,* many of which were covered with inscribed slabs.[619] However, in the third quarter of the 6th century (phase 3), these tombs were removed from view by the installation of an elaborate mosaic with geometric motifs which overlaid them (Figure 147); no further graves were deposited within in the church during our study period, though burials may have continued to be made in the area surrounding the building throughout the 7th century.[620] Many of the people buried within the church were members of the local elite, if we are to judge by the surviving epitaphs from the site. Removing them from view may also have removed them from memory. We might expect that surviving members of the wider community were aware of burials lying beneath the new mosaic, but with the passage of time this recollection would have been lost to successive generations. The installation of the mosaic therefore reflects a purposeful manipulation of the memory of those buried within this church. The date of these additions coincides with the short-lived reassertion of Byzantine control over Trentino.[621] We might therefore envisage the mosaic's creation as a punitive measure against the local elites. This case illustrates that some parts of cemeteries could either fall out of–or be deliberately removed from–use but new graves might continue to be deposited nearby.

[618] Brogiolo et al. 2013b, 122-125.
[619] Seebach 2001, 294-297, fig. 75; 304-305.
[620] Tavano 2001.
[621] Rogger 2000, 499.



Figure 146 Burials during phase 2 (5th-6th centuries) at the Basilica of San Vigilio (3-345), Tridentum (From Brogiolo et al. 2013b, 124, fig. 2)

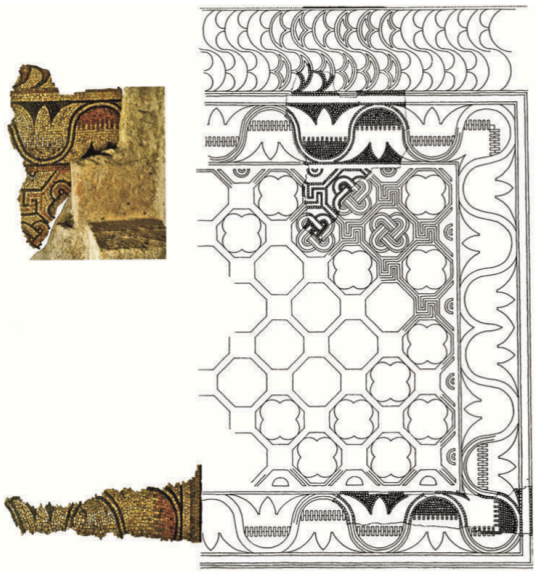


Figure 147 Geometric mosaic pavement belonging to phase 3 (mid-6th century) and overlying burials of phase 2 at the Basilica of San Vigilio (3-345), Tridentum (From Brogiolo et al., 2013b, 125, fig. 3)

5.5.2.1.2 The rural evidence

A substantial proportion of rural funerary sites in Trentino saw long-term use, indicating the enduring importance of burial in a fixed place. In total 51 rural sites (or 13.4 per cent of all sites in the countryside, and 40.8 per cent of those which are not generically dated or undated) display evidence for use of over two centuries in duration. Over half (32 sites, 62.7 per cent) of these provide evidence for continuity between the Roman and late Roman period, and 29.4 per cent (15 sites) also have evidence for ongoing use between the late Roman period and the early Middle Ages. Further evidence for long-term use could be provided by the 24 rural burial sites characterised as "long dated" and which may have seen repeated or sporadic use over time, though the evidence is too thin to allow us to establish this with certainty. These data confirm earlier observations by Cavada who noted the tendency for substantial numbers of rural cemeteries in Trentino to continue in use over the *longue durée*.[622] This trend seems to indicate that many sites continued to be seen as appropriate places for burial, a habit related to the physical space itself which served as a repository for memory and commemoration over multiple generations. There has been some debate as to whether an influx of weapons in burials at such long-term use sites during the Lombard period, for example at locality Frateselle in Lases in the Valli Avisio (**3-145**) or near Castel Dante in Lizzana (**3-284**) outside Rovereto in the Val dell'Adige, reflects a co-opting of these cemeteries, and the communal memories they embodied, by new populations. However, this does not need to be the case as these weapons burials could also indicate a shift in the burial customs employed by existing populations, who may have been influenced by new, high-status trends.

The site at San Cassiano (**3-244,** Figure 148) provides an strong example of long-term use of a funerary site. The site is situated along a metalled road (**4-123**) running northwest towards Arco outside the vicus at Riva del Garda. This area east of the road was occupied by Roman funerary remains from the 1st until the 5th century. These remains included several funerary enclosures with inscriptions which have been connected to the final resting places of local elite.[623] While this funerary space fell out of use in the 5th century, the surrounding area was not abandoned as a villa with ample agricultural processing facilities was built to the

[622] Cavada 2000, 379.

[623] Some of these tombs are presented in Bassi et al. 2010; others remain unpublished.

west of the road in the late 4th or early 5th century, and during the late 5th or early 6th century, a small single-nave church was constructed to the south of the villa. Between its construction and the end of the 7th century, this church provided space for at least 36 burials of various typologies (stone chests, brick chests and pit graves), with a further 26 graves deposited in the surrounding area, including in some rooms of the now-abandoned villa. The available evidence suggests that despite a slight topographical shift across the road, the site continued to be used for burial and commemoration over an extended period. It may consequently have played a role in the accumulation of memory over successive generations for the community living in the area.

Direct evidence for engagement of successive generations with earlier remains at the site is provided by the so-called Ianuarius inscription (Figure 149), a 6th-century epitaph originally used as the tomb covering for the eponymous occupant. The text of the inscription is as follows:

> *Hic in pac(e) re(equiescit) / Ianuarius q(ui) v(ixit) an(nos) / LVI r(e)c(e)s(sit) VIII k(a)l(endas) / Ianu(aria)s indi(ictione) III p(ost) c(onsulatum) / Iohannes v(iri) c(larissimi) c(on)s(ulis) / Pos(itus) super / Cabriolo.*[624]
>
> *"Here rests in peace Ianuarius, who lived 56 years and died eight days (before) the kalends of January in the third year of the indiction after the consulship of Iohannes [i.e. 24th December 539], vir clarissimus. [Ianuarius] was laid over [the remains] of Cabriolus."* (Trans: author)

This inscription provides fascinating insights into the control of memory and power politics of the late antique funerary landscapes. This inscription tells us that association with specific space was worth claiming, though unfortunately we cannot tell whether this means literally that Cabriolus' tomb was reused, as it could also mean that a new tomb was built atop the old one.[625] The identity of Cabriolus is unclear. It is possible that he may have been a local saint or holy man, and the inscription may therefore reflect a form of burial *ad sanctos* intended to provide salvation for Ianuarius in the next life. However, the text of this epitaph makes no mention of the sanctity of Cabriolus. Yasin has emphasized the role of visibility in burial within churches and shown that that the importance of ideologies of salvation in such

[624] Transcribed in Bassi et al. 2010, 221.

[625] Bassi et al. 2010, 221; Brogiolo et al. 2013b, 230.

contexts has been exaggerated.[626] Consequently, it remains possible that our Cabriolus was, in fact, a layman who was important within the memory of the community, and with whom Ianuarius and his family sought association for the prestige which it might generate.



Figure 148 Plan of burials in and around the church of San Cassiano (3-244), Riva del Garda (Bassi, 2011b, 116, fig. 16).

[626] Yasin 2005, 2009, 61-100.

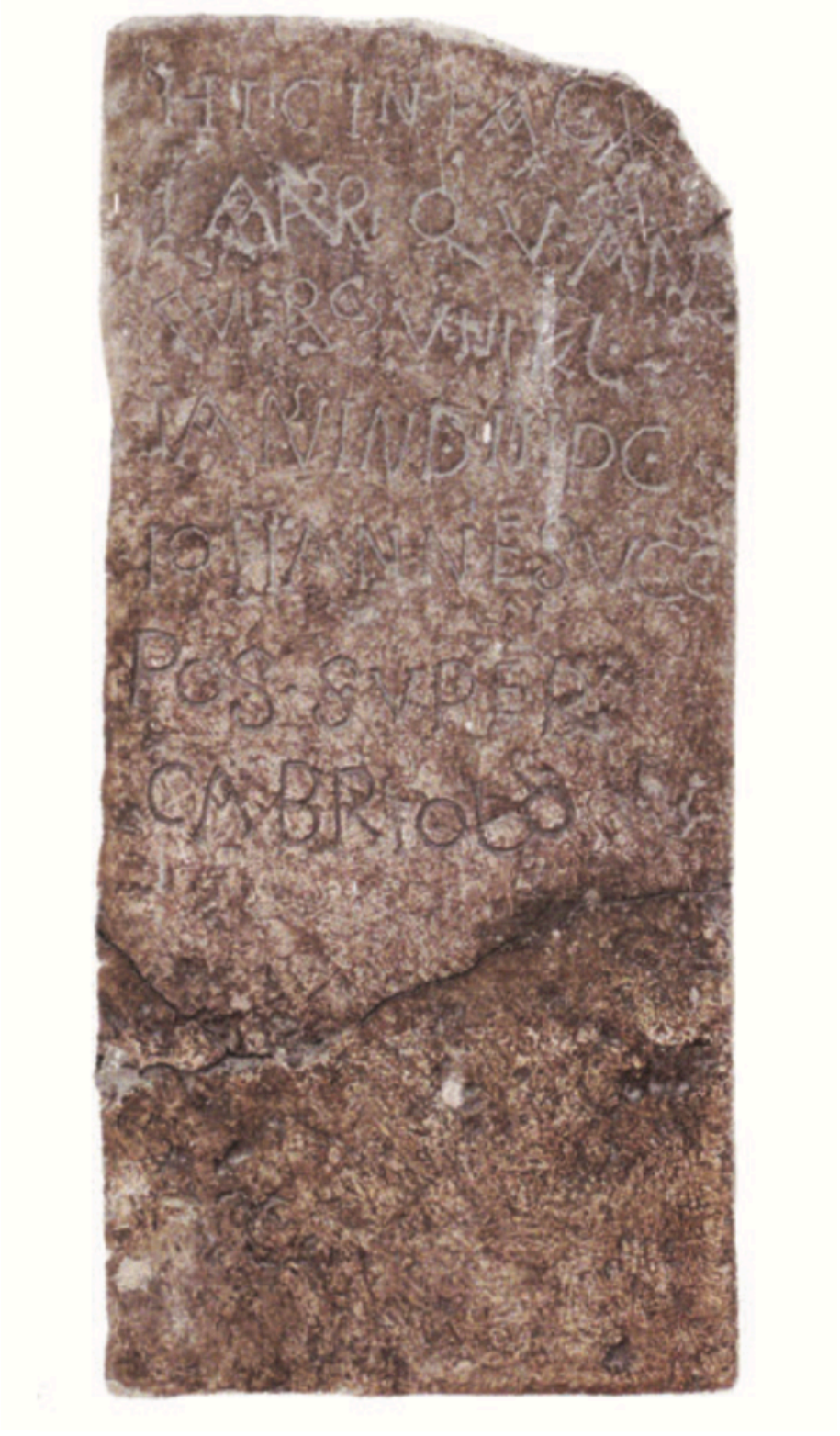


Figure 149 Epitaph of Ianuarius dated to 24th December 539 from San Cassiano (3-244. From Bassi, 2011b, 109, fig. 4).

5.5.2.1.3 Continued frequentation

Grave sites were intended to be visited for some time after they were created or their associated funerary monuments were set up. The clearest evidence for this comes from the San Cassiano burial ground outside Riva del Garda (**3-244**). At this site, a funerary altar for a certain Lucius Magius Magianus, set up by his wife Claudia Severa (CIL V, 4990) in the 2nd or 3rd century specified that the considerable sum of 60,000 sestertii was to be left to a local *collegium* of boatmen "so that they took care of the donation of roses and libations every year" ("ad rosas et pro/fusiones q(uot)a(nnis) fac(iendas atque curandas)"). While this inscription is exceptionally explicit in its desire to perpetuate visits to the graveside of a particularly important individual, we might expect that the same practices took place at a smaller scale further down the social hierarchy. Indeed, the excavators of the same site have interpreted traces of burned bone and artefacts either atop or adjacent to several burials from the same cemetery as reflecting return visits to the graveside.[627] This site was exceptionally well-preserved and excavated, and we may therefore envisage that evidence for subsequent visits at many other sites was not recorded.

Burial sites do not always fall out of the memory of the communities that created them as soon as new graves cease to be made in any given place. At 13 sites in Trentino, associated coin finds which are dated later than the grave goods contained within the burials themselves could reflect continuity of frequentation, even after new burials ceased to be made (Figure 150). At sites with evidence of this type the published reports do not always place the coin finds within the graves, and some, like loc. Alla Rustega in Aldeno (**3-14**) or San Pietro in Mezzolombardo (**3-173**) specify that the coins were found outside of them. In past scholarship, these sites have sometimes been seen as evidence for "continuity," that is, ongoing use for burial.[628] In some cases, this is likely to be case as disturbance of burials is a common phenomenon at many of these sites.

However, we might take another view. It is also possible that these artefacts reflect items either lost by or deliberately deposited by individuals who visited grave sites in subsequent generations. Similar evidence is presented by other artefactual classes at other sites. At Isera (**3-144**) an early medieval (6th- or 7th-century) burial ground developed within

[627] Bassi et al. 2010, 54-55, with p. 54 fig. 7. The kind of objects deposited are not specified in published reports.
[628] Aldeno: Francisci 2017b, site nc089. San Pietro: Francisci 2017b, site nc190.

and near a Roman villa (**4-82**) which had been abandoned since the early 2nd century. A single glass goblet (Figure 151) of a type attested between the 6th and 8th centuries was found near to a grave within the villa itself and has been interpreted by Ciotola as reflecting returning visits to the gravesite.[629] At Tuenno in the Val di Non (**3-393)**, the burial site was in use between the middle of the 1st century and the end of the 2nd. However, a 5th-century African red slip lamp with a moulded depiction of a cockerel may indicate continued frequentation rather than ongoing use for burial.

Burial sites could continue to play an important role in community memory and commemoration for considerable periods of time after they were used for burial. The evidence reviewed here comes from only a minority of sites from Trentino, and it is probable that some burial sites were no longer visited once they had ceased to be used for new burials. At the same time, however, we may envisage that evidence for continuity at many burial sites was not recorded due to the lack of systematic excavation and recording. Consequently, it remains unclear what proportion of sites saw ongoing frequentation after they had ceased to receive new burials, but it is safe to assume that at least some such sites remained meaningful parts of the wider cultural landscape.

[629] Ciotola 2011, 112.



Figure 150 1st- or 2nd-century funerary altar from San Cassiano (3-244) to Lucius Magius Magianus, set up by his wife Claudia Severa (CIL V, 4990, photograph from http://alpiantiche.unitn.it/mappa_epi.asp?id=9)

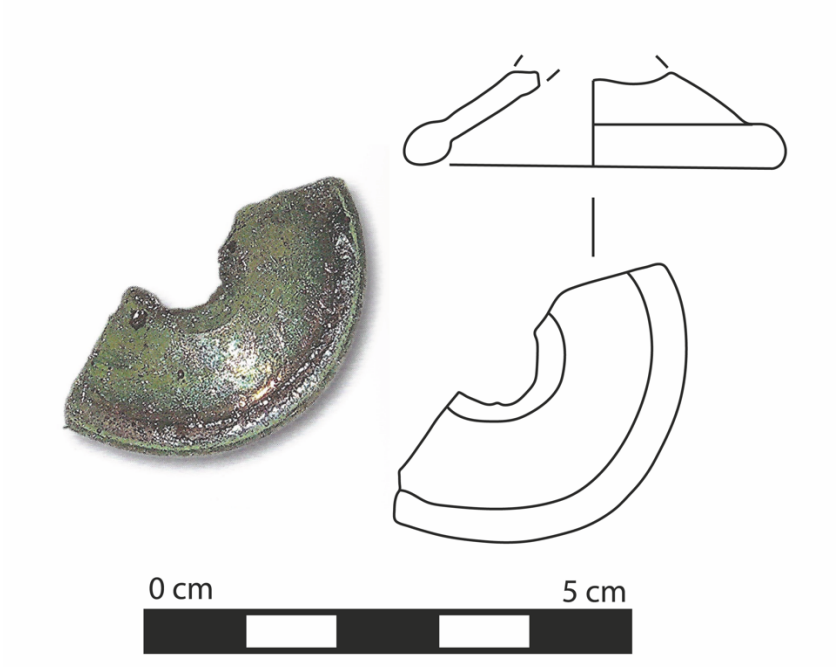


Figure 151 Base of a glass goblet from Isera (3-144. After De Vos and Maurina, 2011, 180, tav. XX, 192, fig. 18)

5.5.4.2 Short-use sites

5.5.4.2.1 Suburban evidence

The suburban evidence for burial sites which saw use over a short period is limited, comprising just three individual burials along with one close-dated site comprised of an unspecified number of graves. All the evidence is late antique or early medieval in date and we do not currently have any secure evidence for short-lived suburban burial sites in the early imperial period. This reflects the fragmentary state of our data rather than indicating suburban burial sites in the first centuries CE were especially long-lived. The three individual burials, including an early 4th-century grave between via Serafini and via Paradisi (**3-366**) and two which are loosely dated to Late Antiquity or the early Middle Ages at Piazza Venezia (**3-361**), and between vicolo del Liceo and vicolo Niccolini (**3-373**), all of which are close to *Tridentum*'s city walls. These burial sites could account for individual burials which did not gain traction as places of memory or may reflect stray finds that are part of the town's wider cemeteries. A 7th-century burial site of unspecified size at località San Donà in the frazione of CogNola immediately northeast of the city (**3-346**) may provide a final resting place for occupants of *Tridentum* itself or for people living in its suburbs.

5.5.4.2.2 Rural evidence

Not all funerary sites in the countryside were long-lived. At least 39 rural sites can be classed as 'close dated,' that is, dated to less than one century, suggesting relatively circumscribed use, and a limited attractive pull for subsequent burials. A further 29 are individual burials, which reflect single funerary events and this fact suggests that they also did not become foci for memory over an extended period. A smaller proportion of these sites can be dated to the early imperial period (eight close dated sites, eight individual burials) than to Late Antiquity (8 close dated sites, 16 individual burials) or the early Middle Ages (24 close dated sites, 15 individual burials). While this this could indicate that late antique or early medieval burial sites were more short-lived than burial sites of the early imperial period, it is more likely that the pattern results from the high-resolution dating provided by the well-understood grave goods of the previous period. These shorter-lived sites were an important component of the funerary landscapes of Trentino. Their existence indicates that while a substantial proportion

of rural funerary sites in this region were relatively long-lived, others saw only fleeting use and might have only remained in the memory of only a few generations.

5.5.4.2.3 Late antique developments: intramural burials

The longevity of burials in the intramural area of *Tridentum* in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages shows an array of different trajectories, though the available evidence is limited. Intramural burials at *Tridentum* are generally poorly dated (above, section 5.2.2.6). At least two intramural sites at Piazza Pasi (**3-343**) and below the Teatro Sociale in Via Oss Mazzurana (**3-370**) comprised individual burials. These graves may reflect sporadic use of sites that were not intended to serve for commemoration over an extended period. As with other individual burials discussed in this thesis, the places in which they were made may not have become foci for memory, though their apparent isolation could also result from the keyhole excavations which led to their recovery.

A small cluster of graves uncovered at Palazzo Tabarelli (**3-369**) near to contemporary posthole-built structure was broadly dated to between the 6th and 7th centuries by associated grave goods, but it is not clear whether this reflects sporadic burial over an extended period or concentrated use at some point within this timespan. An unspecified number of burials were found in Piazza S. Maria Maggiore (**3-360**). Two of the burials can be dated to between the later 5th through 7th century, and these may relate to the first phase of the eponymous 5th-century church's construction, underlining the importance of Christian cult sites in attracting burials. It might be tempting to suggest that this burial site was longer lived due to its association with a church. Unfortunately, however, the fragmentary state of the evidence renders it unclear whether this site was used continuously for burials during this timeframe or whether it was a more sporadic burial place.

Finally, small generically dated burial clusters are known at via Roma/via Manci (**3-371**), and vicolo dell'Adige (**3-374**), though we cannot say more about these sites due to the limited data that are available. The intramural evidence from *Tridentum* therefore seems to suggest that even within the combined space of a relatively small late antique and early medieval city burial sites might experience differential longevities. Despite these differing longevities the groups responsible for these burials sought to situate the deceased within urban places which allowed them to be easily located or revisited, and which may have held

special meaning, either as a monumental site, a cult connection, or something more personal in nature.

5.5.5 Discussion

Burial sites experience differential longevities, as we already saw in the discussion of Campania (above, section 4.5.6). Trentino is no exception to this wider pattern, but because the general thrust of short-lived and longer-lived sites has already been explored, they will not be re-examined in detail here. For our present purposes, it is enough to note that some burial sites in both town and country were used for long periods, but others saw relatively fleeting activity. In summary, 41 sites probably only saw use for burial for a short period of under a century, and 35 reflect single burial events It is important to note that these numbers are much smaller than those forming the comparative category in our Campania dataset (discussed further below section 6.4.1). A substantial number of long-use (55 total) and long-dated (26) sites were also identified, and most of these are in the countryside of Trentino. Although the factors governing site longevity cannot always been fully reconstructed, it is worth dwelling for a moment on the significance of long-lived rural burial sites in Trentino. The evidence suggests that a substantial number of burial sites in rural parts of this sparsely urbanised region saw relatively extended use. This continued long-term use may reflect the importance of some such sites as hubs for memory over the *longue durée*. Some rural cemeteries would have accrued significance as the places where successive generations of communities were buried, especially if there was less capacity, incentive, or desire to transport the dead for burial in or near a town. This may mean that the long-lived cemeteries in the countryside of Trentino owe their longevity to a sort of local memory, serving a relatively restricted audience, but in a way which meant that the same spaces continued to be used over an extended period. The evidence from Trentino, and above all from the exceptionally well-excavated sites outside Riva del Garda, shows that burial sites in the region continued to be visited after burials were made, and may even have still been frequented when burial had ceased altogether. If this is the case, it indicates that these places remained significant in the memories of those who lived in the surrounding area.

5.5.3 Reuse - burial in earlier structures

Late antiquity and the early Middle Ages saw the reuse of pre-existing buildings and other sites of a range of types in intramural, suburban and rural milieus for burial in Trentino, as in much of the rest of Italy (Figure 152). This section reviews evidence for the reuse of space from all three contexts. It argues that, like in Central Campania (above, section 4.5.7), the reuse of earlier buildings and sites reflects a range of differing priorities: sometimes the space was simply available for burial and in a desirable location, but at other times burials were deliberately sited in pre-existing sites for the advantages this placement could provide. Burial inside earlier spaces or at pre-existing sites could help to stake ownership over the land by association with places which held resonance with the local communities, and the masonry structures of past ages may serve to provide an architectural ornament for tombs, both of which might help to perpetuate the memory of the deceased. However, burial inside earlier structures could also remove cemeteries from view of passers-by and might sometimes bring an end the casual viewership facilitated by burials at roadsides which were popular during earlier periods (above, section 2.2.1).

The largest amount of evidence for the reuse of space is in the countryside (nine sites, summarised in Figure 153), but there is also substantial evidence for burial inside earlier buildings within the walls of *Tridentum* (six sites) and to a lesser extent in the suburbs of the same city (two sites). The 17 sites which reuse earlier spaces clearly reflect only a minority of the known burial sites (4.3 per cent of all sites and 7.6 per cent of those dated to Late Antiquity or the early Middle Ages), suggesting that this is a minority practice, but one which could nevertheless provide evocative avenues for the curation of memory. The chronological evidence confirms that the reuse of space is a late antique and early medieval phenomenon in Trentino as it largely is elsewhere in Italy, though not everywhere else (Figure 154, and above, section 4.5.7). The early dating of burial sites in the suburbs at Piazza Alessandro Vittoria (**3-359**) and in the countryside at San Cassiano (**3-244**) reflects the expansion of pre-existing burial sites to encroach upon buildings and the reuse of space for new burial sites only begins in all three settings from the 5th century. After this brief review, we shall now examine the reuse of space in intramural, suburban and rural space.

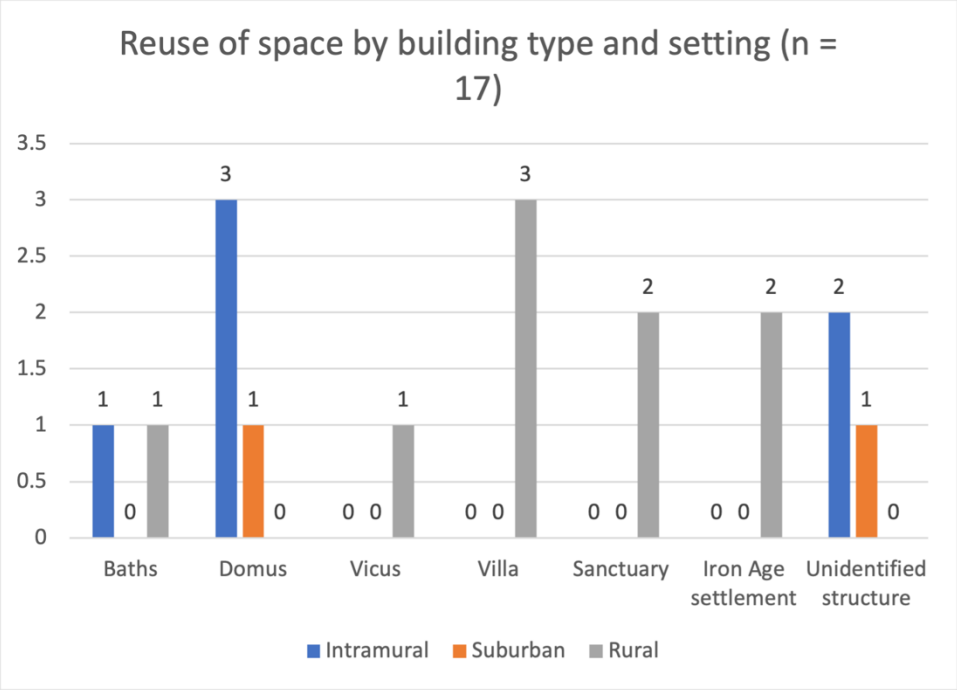


Figure 152 Reuse of pre-existing buildings for burial by site type and setting in Trentino (Data from Appendix 3).

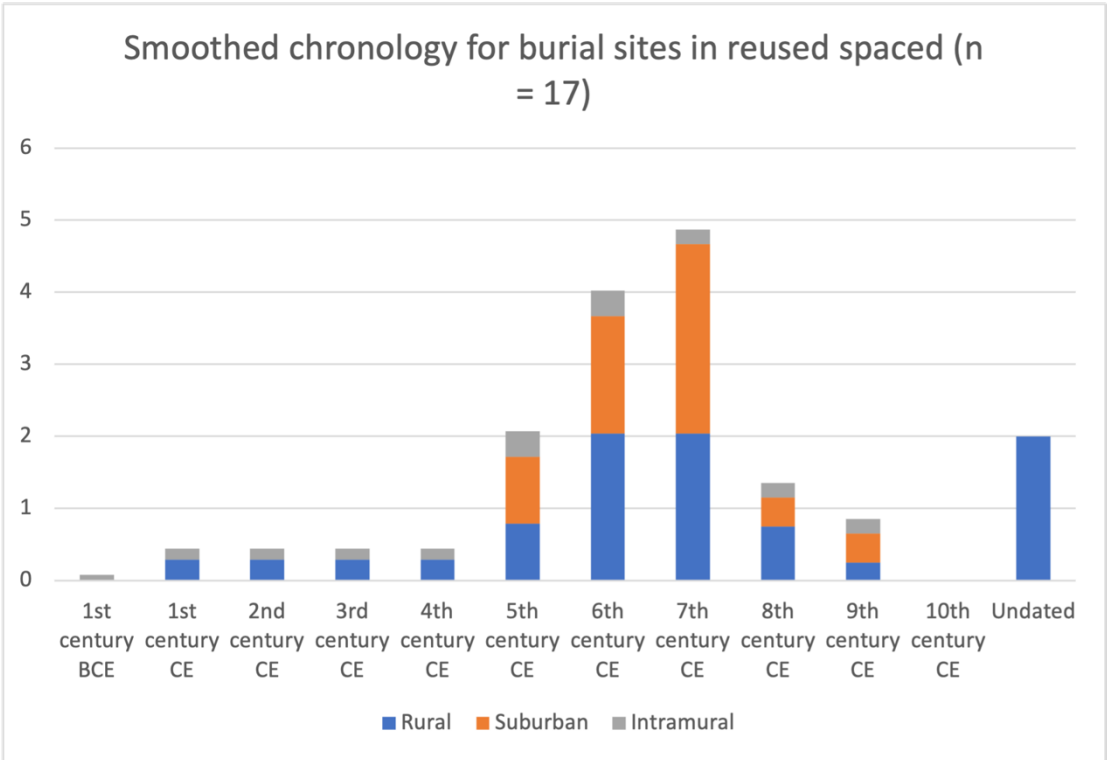


Figure 153 Smoothed chronology of burial sites in contexts of spatial reuse in Trentino according to site setting (Data from Appendix 3).

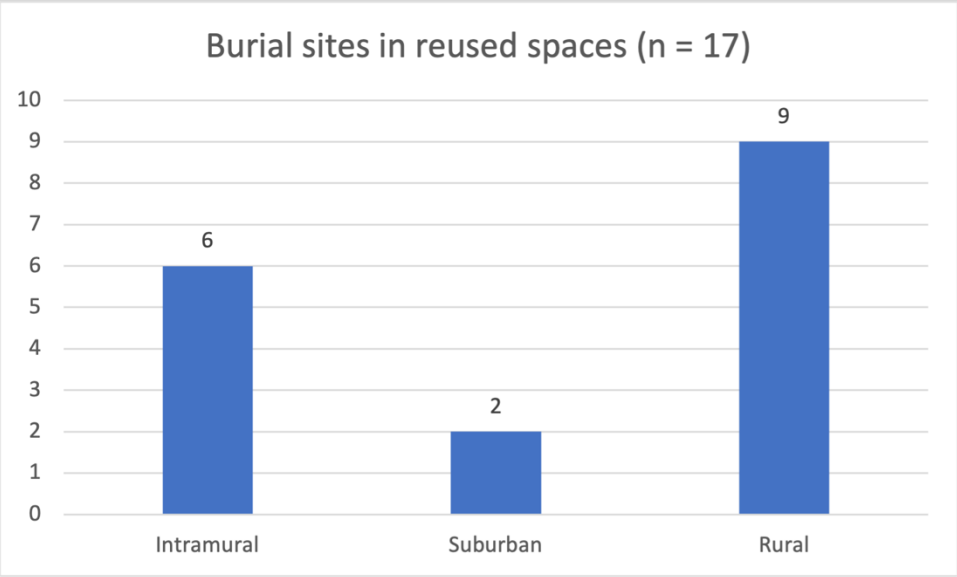


Figure 154 The number of burial sites located in earlier structures in Trentino according to site setting (data from Appendix 3).

5.5.3.1 Funerary reuse of intramural spaces

Evidence for intramural burial in *Tridentum* is relatively circumscribed, as we have already seen in this chapter (above, section 5.2.2.1). As in the cities of Central Campania, the size and organization of burial spaces which developed within the urban circuit of *Tridentum* displays some variation, which suggests competing burial strategies and priorities:

- **Single burial event:** Some burial sites represent only a fleeting attempt at commemoration, if only a single burial was deposited there, like at the domus below Piazza Pasi (**3-343**) and under the Teatro Sociale (**3-370**). As has already been argued, the memory of these single-event burials probably only remained in the minds of a few generations before they were forgotten – though it is also possible that these burials reflect only partial recovery of a larger burial ground.
- **Sporadic groups of burials or longer-term use?:** Larger groups of burials may represent longer-term reuse. One example of this may be attested within a domus at Palazzo Tabarelli (**3-369**), where they are adjacent to a posthole-built domestic structure, and likely represent some of the occupants of this structure. A similar case might also be seen in the area around Piazza S. Maria Maggiore (**3-360**), where the burials were cut into a 3rd-century bathhouse. In this case, they reflect an attempt to commemorate a circumscribed group of individuals rather than serving the wider

community. It is tempting to view the burials cutting the bathhouse at the latter site to reflect a more organised cemetery which acted as a repository for the memory of the wider community, though the fragmentary nature of the evidence renders this difficult to establish with certainty.

The spaces reused for burial within the intramural area of *Tridentum* appear predominantly domestic in nature, though in two cases (**3-371, 3-374**) the type of building being reused cannot be firmly identified. This partially reflects our still-limited knowledge of public buildings in *Tridentum* (above, section 5.3.2.1). However, the appearance of burials in the intramural area in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages probably reflects a form of ruralisation, in which parts of the previously inhabited area were abandoned and turned over to new uses. By repurposing (parts of) buildings like *domus* or baths, the urban landscape became more ruralised, though it still featured a thick network of settlements, industrial sites, churches and, of course, burial sites. At the same time, the position of burials within specific rooms of a *domus* meant that they were both easily locatable to people who were already aware of the burial's presence and would have been obscured from casual view by people travelling along the town's surviving road network.

5.5.3.2 Funerary reuse of extramural spaces

Evidence for extramural burials in reused buildings is slender. This reflects the limited available evidence from the suburbs of *Tridentum* more broadly. However, in the two cases when buildings were reused for burials in the suburbs, these appear follow similar practices to the burials within the city walls. At via Rosmini (**3-342**), a pair of burials located within a *domus* probably relate to a small family burial group, but the positioning within an earlier domestic structure may again have allowed for the graves to be easily relocated on subsequent visits, while simultaneously removing the burial site from view of the wider community. A slightly different trajectory, relating to a larger and more organised burial ground can be observed in Piazza Alessandro Vittoria (**3-359**). This area was already used for burial in early imperial period but during 6th century, graves began to encroach on an adjacent structure of unclear nature. This suggests a conscious decision to co-opt these earlier structures and repurpose them as landmarks within a wider funerary zone, rather than

continuing to bury the dead in the open spaces previously used for funerary purposes. It is possible that this decision reflects the use of buildings as secondary commemorative structures intended to enhance the status and/or longevity of memory for those buried within.

5.5.3.3 Funerary reuse of rural spaces

Only a small proportion of burial sites in the countryside of Trentino is in or near earlier spaces, but the range of sites reused for burial displays considerable variation, reflecting diverse commemorative strategies. Earlier spaces reused for burial during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages include:

- **Part of a *vicus***: At Sanzeno the SS. 42 burial site (**3-304**), dated to the Lombard period, encroaches on a series of Roman period structures belonging to the vicus (**4-168**), suggesting a sort of shrinkage of the agglomerated settlement. This site may reflect a sort of reuse for burial akin to that just explored in intramural and suburban environments which we saw took place in *Tridentum*, and further underlines the important quasi-urban role of *vici* in the countryside of the region. A similar situation may be observed at via Pilati site, part of the *vicus* at Riva del Garda, where burials encroached (**3-240**) upon a bath complex in the 5th or 6th century.
- **Villas**: Three funerary sites provide evidence for burial within Roman villas, though the specifics of burial at each of these may reflect differing priorities:
    - At San Cassiano (**3-244**), burials to the north of the church encroach on an earlier villa (above, Figure 148). The site appears to display a form of burial zoning, as these graves contained exclusively the remains of women and infants.[630] In this case, the villa effectively provides overspill for the burial ground of the church (**4-123**), which along with the nearby metalled road may have played the primary role in making this site a significant burial place. Moreover, the choice to build the church so close to an existing villa may reflect local elite involvement in the construction project, whether directly (by

[630] Chavarria Arnau 2018, 173.

commissioning and financing the church's building) or indirectly (by making land available to the ecclesiastical authorities for the building of a church).[631]

- At Isera (**3-144**), a 6th- or 7th-century burial was uncovered within the *triclinium* of a villa abandoned in the early imperial period (Figure 155). This grave is aligned with the walls of the *triclinium* and occupies a central place within the room. Ciotola suggests that this burial and others near it but outside the villa reflect settlement around an earlier iteration of the modern church of S. Vincenzo in Isera, though this is not confirmed by other archaeological evidence.[632] The decision to set up a grave within a room of the villa may have been driven by a desire for a discrete burial space akin to the funerary enclosures of the early imperial period. The earlier walls forming an architectural frame for the burial, serving to separate it for its neighbours elsewhere in the wider burial zone, and to define the space as relating to the individual buried within. An analogous situation may be visible at San Valentino in Agro in Vezzano (**3-387**) where two burials and a funerary inscription appear to have been found above a mosaic floor, though the fragmentary evidence available make this difficult to confirm. In these cases, a decaying villa provided a memorable place for burial within the wider landscape and could also stake an explicit claim to the territory, while removing the graves from view of casual passers-by.

- **Sanctuaries:** Two burial sites, at the Campi Neri in Cles (**3-93**) and on the Doss Caslir in Cembra (**3-85**), are attested in or close to open air sanctuaries with associated altars for offerings.[633] The decision to bury the dead in these locations may reflect a desire for association with culturally and or topographically prominent locations in the landscape, as a means through which to preserve memory or claim ownership of the surrounding territory.
- **Iron age settlements:** At two sites, Dosso di S. Martino in Vervò (**3-382**) and below the oratory in Cles (**3-98**), early medieval burials have been found be in or immediately adjacent to Iron Age domestic sites. This choice of burial site could reflect the desire

[631] Above, section 2.2.3.7.
[632] Ciotola 2011, 113.
[633] Cavada 2000, 391.

of survivors to associate their dead with the longer history of the landscape and form a connective chain of memory extending back into the past.

Burial in earlier structures in the countryside of Trentino could help to define the place of specific deceased individuals, make them more locatable for return visits, and/or help make claims to ownership of land. The small number of burial sites within earlier structures or sites suggest that this was a relatively uncommon choice but could occasionally provide a powerful means for perpetuating memory of the deceased.

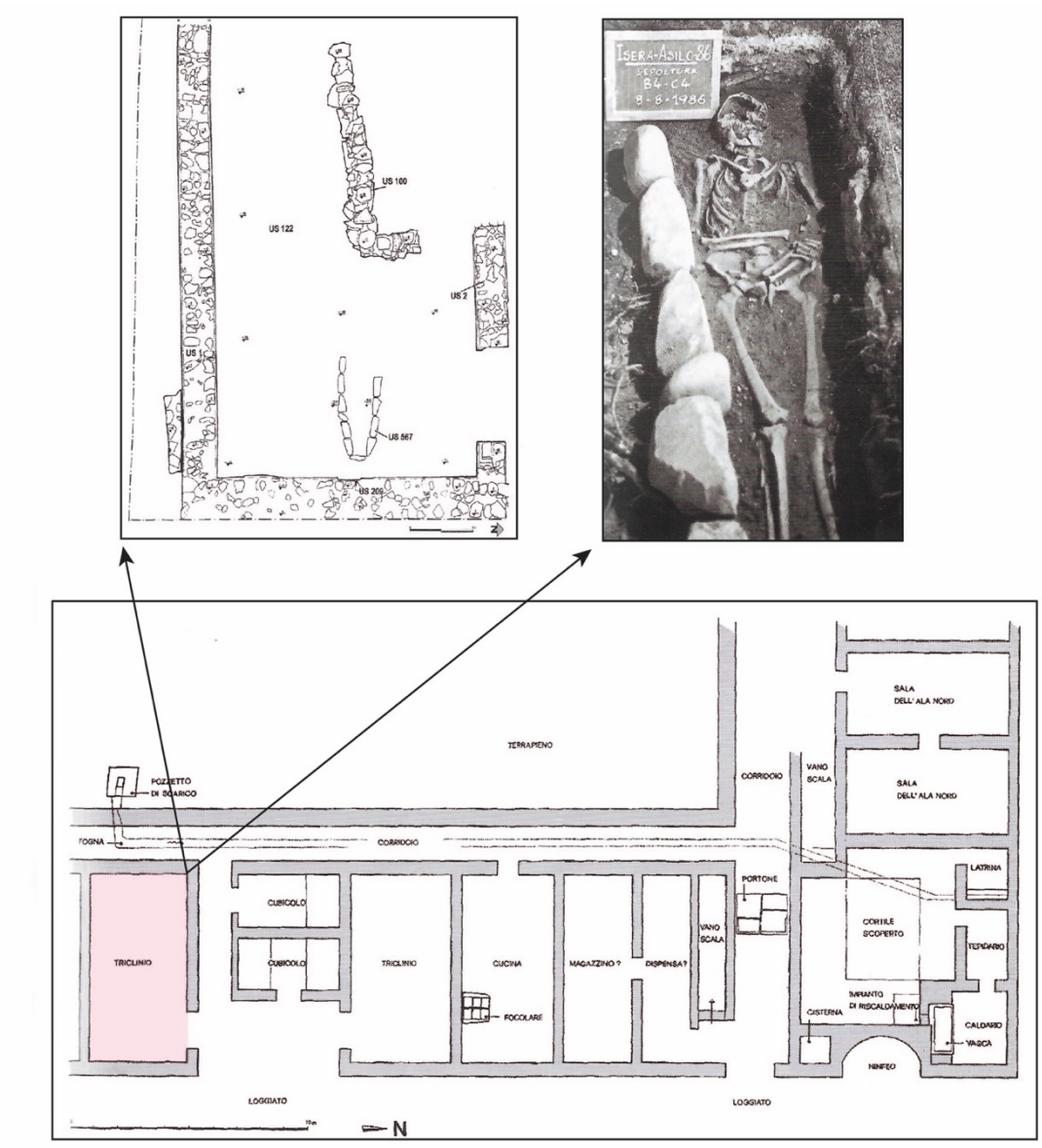


Figure 155 (Above) The burial (3-44) inside the Triclinium at the Isera villa (4-82) within the wider site context (below) (After De Vos and Maurina 2011, 101, figs. 123-124 and 121, fig. 138)

5.5.3.4 Discussion

Patterns of spatial reuse for burial across rural, suburban, and intramural contexts in Trentino appear broadly comparable with one another and with the patterns observed elsewhere in Italy, for example, in Central Campania (above, section 4.5.7). In short, the reuse of earlier structures as a place for graves was a minority practice, though certainly one which appealed to some groups in some places. This may have been due to a range of reasons. Some graves were inside earlier structures because the inhabited area had shrunken, but people were still living nearby. Burial in an earlier structure or space may also have allowed these groups to make links with the past through a claim to ancestry, perceived or real, or simply have meant that burials were located within visually prominent or culturally resonant parts of the landscape. Additionally, burial within a specific part of a building also meant that graves could be easily locatable: it might be much easier to find your relative's burial plot if it was through the first doorway on the left, so to speak, rather than trying to locate it in a relatively landmark-less field. In most cases, it is not possible to establish which of these considerations were of primary importance, but they are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, combined they had powerful implications for the memory of the individuals buried in these graves, but also suggested that this same memory could be curated in a way which allowed the survivors to construct meaning within their local communities.

Burial within earlier structures, however, would have impacted the visibility of graves. Burial within a pre-existing room would make it harder for passers-by to notice graves or even see them at all. Meyers' examination of the spatial mechanics of early Etruscan palaces considers the ease of accessibility as a key factor in understanding the public or private nature of monumental architecture.[634] In particular, Meyers's underpinning methodology uses the number of thresholds and changes of direction which it is necessary to cross to enter a given room as an important proxy for that room's privacy. While a full assessment of the comparative accessibility of roadside tombs and burials inside earlier structures lies outside the scope of this thesis, it is striking that those burials within some earlier structures, especially domus or villas with large numbers of rooms, would have been more difficult to access than roadside graves. This spatial distinction may indicate a degree of privacy or

[634] Meyers 2013.

exclusivity in the commemoration of the dead buried inside these buildings and would certainly have discouraged casual viewership.

5.6 Conclusion: burials for local communities in a rural landscape

In the previous chapter we saw how the densely urbanised landscape of Campania influenced its funerary landscape, with urban centres becoming focal points for commemoration over the *longue durée.* In this chapter we can see that the situation in Trentino was different, because of its largely rural settlement patterns. As a result, people had to travel further to visit a city, and this probably meant that urban centres played a lesser role in commemoration. In other words, it may be that burial in the countryside was more attractive because it allowed for the generation and curation of memory among local communities. This case study, then, demonstrates the value of studying the funerary landscapes of different parts of Italy, because their heterogeneity reflects as well as allowing us to explore broader social diversity across the peninsula.

6 Discussion

6.1 Introduction

Is there such a thing as a "typical" funerary landscape in Roman, late antique, and early medieval Italy? Scholarship to date on the funerary landscapes of the Italian peninsula has often assumed that there are "typical" features of a Roman landscape, particularly a concentration of burials around roads and centuriated boundaries.[635] Before we turn to the specifics of these claims, the concept of the "typical" is worth briefly exploring here. The study of ancient death and burial in Italy is dominated by a few sites, principally Rome, Ostia, and Pompeii, which between them receive an outsized share of scholarly attention. This thesis has sought to move beyond these classic type-sites to facilitate a long-term view of the considerable heterogeneity of funerary landscapes in Italy. While a full study of the entire peninsula was beyond the scope of this thesis largescale analysis of funerary landscapes in two parts of Italy – Central Campania and Trentino – revealed markedly different patterns in commemorative strategies and habits. Broader trends in scholarship, best exemplified by the evocatively named book *The Diversity of Classical Archaeology,* have underlined the increasing awareness of the rich variation encompassed by our discipline.[636] In line with this tendency, one of the key themes to emerge from the present study, and one which will be highlighted throughout this discussion chapter, is the diversity of funerary landscapes in Italy.

Some of this diversity can be attributed to the challenges and complexities of sampling. Recent work by landscape archaeologists working across Italy has highlighted the huge obstacles posed by sampling biases, especially when dealing with data derived from field surveys.[637] Other work, for example by Launaro, has emphasised the difficulties of comparing data across regions within Italy, especially when these data were gathered according to different research designs.[638] As Pearce has outlined in his discussion of burials in Britain, a range of factors, including differential burial practices, taphonomic processes as well as excavation and recording biases, stand between the actual original population and the published record.[639] The key lesson to be derived from this earlier work is the need to be

[635] Botturi 2017, 1; Francisci 2017a, 35-37.
[636] Lichtenberger & Raja 2017.
[637] Witcher 2021; Papers in Bowman & Wilson 2011.
[638] Launaro 2011, 53-100.
[639] Pearce 2013, 22-23.

cautious when comparing datasets from different areas which are reliant on varied, and often local, scholarly traditions and governed by different geological conditions. Yet to pull back entirely from drawing comparisons between different areas also means we are limited to writing individual local histories without being able to consider their wider implications for lived experience in the past. Lanauro's attempts to compare field survey data introduced the useful concept of "stock" data, which represents absolute numbers of people at a given time, versus "flow" data, which provides us with means to look at relative trends *through* time.[640] In the other words, by using flow data we can, however cautiously, compare different parts of the Italian peninsula to highlight the different lived experiences of past societies.

One of the stated aims of this thesis was to trace changes in the funerary landscapes of Italy over the long term. This is a problematic endeavour when working with legacy data, but it is hoped that a reasonable case has been made both for a degree of change and some long-term continuity, at least in the two regions studied intensively in this thesis. The Roman period itself was far from static, and there was substantial change in settlement patterns even during the early imperial period but these changes were often intensely localised.[641] Turning to the later part of the study period, historians and archaeologists interrogating the trajectories experienced across the late and post-Roman worlds have emphasised the range of different transformations experienced in different places, conditioned by an intersection of supra-regional, regional, and local factors.[642] This work has led to an increasing awareness that paradigms which pit continuity against change are an unsatisfactory way to approach the late Roman empire and its successors. This thesis has shown that specific changes could take place on a regional level, with a greater or lesser degrees of continuity and change visible, depending on which aspects of the evidence we choose to emphasise. Indeed, ongoing work at *Aeclanum,* for example, shows that patterns of change or decline vary considerably based on the types of evidence we choose to examine, even from an individual site.[643] In other words, we might do better to think about change and continuity as reflecting a range or a spectrum of processes, rather than a binary opposition. We shall now examine some of the

[640] Launaro 2011, 71.

[641] E.g. Patterson 1987.

[642] Archaeological studies: Ward-Perkins 2005, 1997; Lewit 2003; Bowes & Gutteridge 2005. Historical studies: Horden & Purcell 2000; McCormick 2001; Wickham 2005 with Shaw 2008.

[643] Russell et al. Forthcoming.

broader themes which have emerged from the study of funerary landscapes presented in this thesis.

Much of the work presented in this thesis has been concerned with how burials and burial location could be used to construct, create, and curate memory. As has been highlighted in this thesis, and in past literature, memory is an actively constructed facet of the human condition. Material culture has a tangible role in this activity, and this is particularly true of the funerary sphere, as monuments and graves, both permanent and temporary, became a memento and repository of the lived experiences of those they represent and their communities (section 2.1.2). The strength and longevity of this relationship between the deceased, their memory, and their tomb can be enhanced by the placement and scale of the grave and/or monument. Theoretical insights drawn from place theory highlight how the deposition of the dead in meaningful environs could help to create and sustain memory (section 2.1.3). However, as the case studies explored in this thesis demonstrate, the means and methods by which individuals and communities chose to create memory are diverse and conditioned by local considerations.

The remainder of this discussion chapter will highlight important insights generated in this these according to the key themes identified in the case studies above. First, and perhaps most important, is the diversity of Italy's funerary landscapes, which has until now been a neglected field of study. This diversity is manifested in the range of different ways that burials are placed relative to settlements in different parts of Italy and the ensuing effect this had for the commemoration of the dead. We will then discuss the varying impacts that roads and boundaries had on the creation of Campania and Trentino's funerary landscapes before moving onto a discussion of the importance of memory and site longevity in the evolution of funerary landscapes over the *longue durée*.

6.2 The diversity of Italy's funerary landscapes

The funerary landscapes of Roman, late antique, and early medieval Italy reflect a diverse set of responses to distinctly local socio-economic and geographical considerations. This diversity is best demonstrated by comparing two aspects of the funerary landscapes of Campania and Trentino, namely differing chronological trajectories and patterns of monumentality. On a chronological level (Figure 156), dated burial sites in Central Campania are predominantly

early imperial in date and, with some fluctuations, gradually decrease in number through the period under discussion (above, section 4.2.2.6). In contrast, dated burial sites in Trentino remain relatively steady through the early imperial period and into Late Antiquity, but peak in the 7th century (section 5.2.2.6). The causes for this are at least partially due to differential burial traditions, and specifically the widespread placing of closely datable grave goods in burials in Trentino. Grave goods were far less commonly deposited in Central Campania, which means that it is far more difficult for us to closely date graves of the early medieval period in that region. This disparity underlines the specific yet diverse burial traditions of the Italian peninsula.

Turning to monumentality, we can again see substantial divergences between the two regions. In Central Campania, the earlier imperial period was characterised by the construction of large numbers of grand funerary monuments, many of which were located outside cities, though others were built in the countryside (section 4.2.2.4). Other graves were ornamented by inscriptions (sections 4.2.2.4-5) or sarcophagi – though no dedicated study of sarcophagi in Central Campania could be undertaken here due to the limited publication record of in-situ examples. However, we saw that monumental funerary structures were almost entirely absent in Trentino (section 5.2.2.2), and the role of aggrandizing places of burial was partially fulfilled by other inscriptions, sarcophagi, or enclosures (sections 5.2.2.3-5). These distinctions represent substantial differences in how the funerary landscapes across Italy developed in reaction to local conditions.

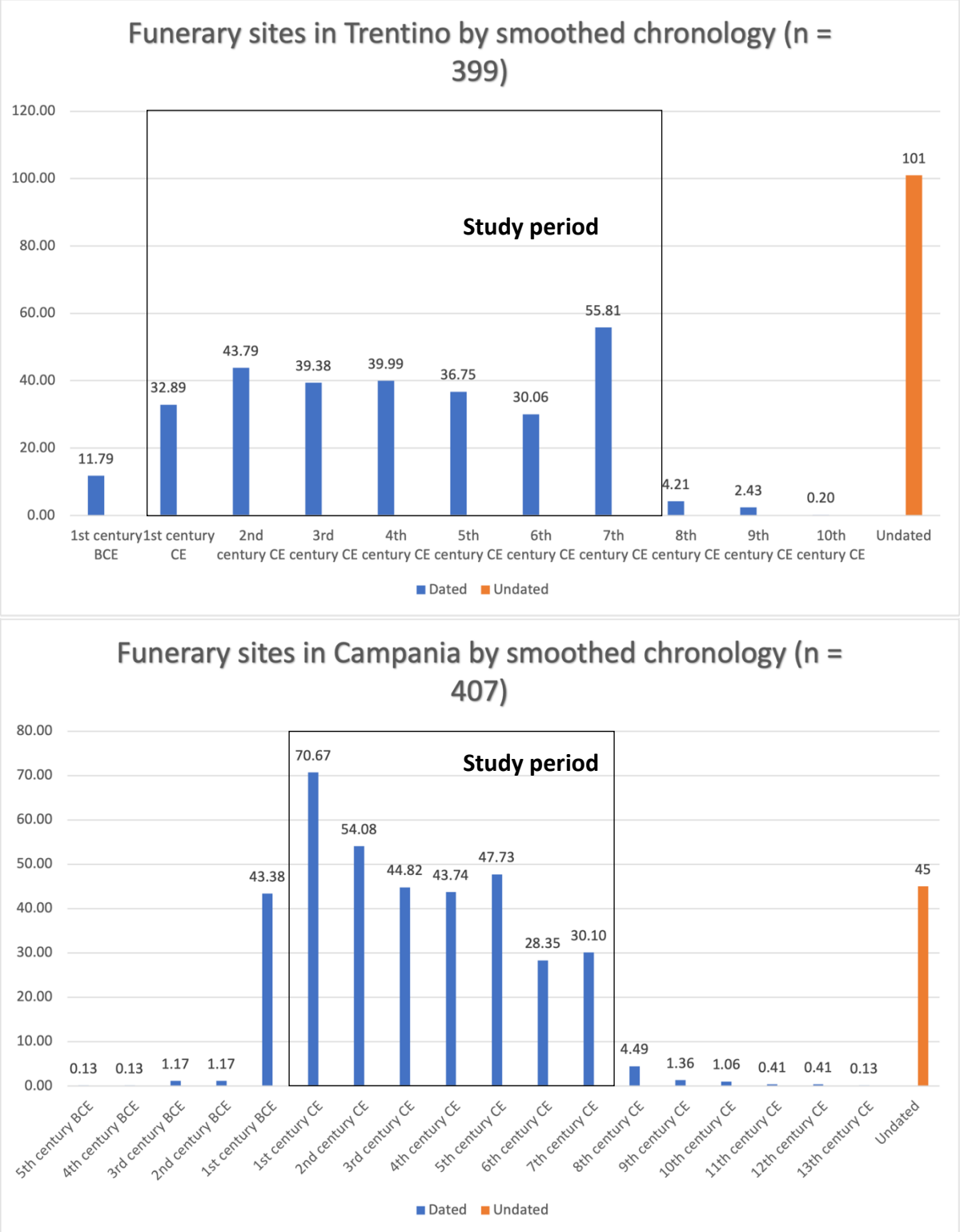


Figure 156 Comparison of chronological distributions of sites from Trentino and Campania (data from Appendices 1 and 3).

One of the key considerations to emerge from this thesis is the varying impact of ancient cities as focal points for commemoration in the wider landscape. Existing scholarship often relies on an implicit dichotomy between town and country when studying the ancient world.[644] This assumption is underlined by the fact that several earlier studies of ancient funerary landscapes in Italy have deliberately chosen to study areas which are explicitly "rural," to the exclusion of cities.[645] The role of cities as social, administrative, and economic centres is well known and should not be downplayed.[646] Scholars have also acknowledged that the economic opportunities offered by cities could have a considerable distorting effect on wider settlement patterns, which underlines the connectivity between the urban centres and their territories.[647] In this thesis, we have seen that patterns of burial could also be impacted by the presence or absence of cities, a possibility which suggests, once again, that we should step away from implicit dichotomies between rural and urban areas when studying the ancient world.

In this thesis, I have examined two different parts of the Italian peninsula, chosen in part because of the diversity of their settlement patterns and levels of urbanization. In Trentino (section 5.2.2), the sparsely urbanised landscape saw a far greater proportion of burial sites located in the countryside than in the suburbs of the sole town, *Tridentum*. The resulting patterns of commemoration emphasised burial in local venues, which were visible primarily to people living in surrounding communities. This situation can be contrasted with the evidence from Central Campania (section 4.2.2). In the latter region, the available data suggest that cities played an outsized role as venues for commemoration. Simply put, some people who dwelled in the countryside may have chosen to be buried in suburban areas, because this offered opportunities for greater visibility of tombs, and because cities provided important social meeting places in the wider landscape. The exact mechanics behind this trend, including the purchase of burial plots or construction of tombs by non-urban dwellers remain to be fully explored.

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[644] E.g. Zuiderhoek 2017, 37-55.

[645] Botturi 2017, 1; Francisci 2017a, 99.

[646] Consumer city: Finley 1977, 1985. Reactions against the consumer city: Wilson 2002; Erdkamp 2001; Engels 1990; Whittaker 1990. For late antiquity and the early Middle Ages: Brogiolo et al. 2000.

[647] Mattingly & Witcher 2004. More generally for settlement patterns and the city of Rome: Morley 1996.

The impact of citeis on the wider funerary landscapes of the Roman and post-Roman world demands further investigation in future research. Here, however, it suffices to highlight selected evidence from other places, which seems to support a clustering of burials around cities. Pearce has used the term "haloes" to describe the dense concentrations of the richest and most monumental funerary evidence around urban centres in Gaul, Germany, Britain, Epirus and elsewhere.[648] He connects the clustering of costly tombs to the proximity of wealthy individuals in and around cities, yet we have also seen that the moving of bodies for burial over some distance is indirectly supported by textual evidence (section 4.2.4.5). Indeed, the evidence presented in this thesis suggest that some areas with dense levels of urbanisation, like Central Campania, experienced clustering of burials more broadly – that is to say, not just those of the more monumental kind.

Potential evidence for comparable clustering of the deceased around cities within Italy might be seen in Arthur's mapping of known 1st-century burials in the area in the Massico around *Sinuessa* and *Suessa* (CE). Here, the analysis seems to show a clustering of burials in areas nearest to urban or quasi-urban centres, though this theme is not highlighted by the author himself.[649] This could be because part of Arthur's data arises from field survey, which is less likely to identify burial sites, but also reflects the importance of urban centres as places of burial within densely urbanised landscapes. In the eastern Mediterranean, the Aphrodisias Regional Survey in western Asia Minor has identified a greater concentration of sarcophagi on approach roads to the city.[650] While sarcophagi only provide a guide to burial places of those who were wealthy enough to afford them, this evidence could suggest that similar clustering took place in areas closer to Aphrodisias than in the more remote parts of its territory; the distribution of non-monumental burials remains to be explored. Similarly, de Jong acknowledges that only small numbers of burial sites can be associated with rural farms in Roman Syria and juxtaposes this with the enormous urban cemetery zones.[651] For example, she estimates that cemeteries around Tyre covered an area of 14 km^2, with tombs extending at least 1.4 km along one road out of the city, and at Bosra, the tombs extended some 2.5 km, until they reached a nearby hamlet.

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[648] Pearce 2013, 126-127.
[649] Arthur 1991, 79, fig. 19.
[650] Turnbow 2012, 310-312.
[651] de Jong 2018, 21-28.

None of these cases offers a direct comparison to the evidence for the Italian regions examined in this thesis, but the largescale approach adopted in this thesis can help to tease out a more nuanced understanding of localised trends in burial distribution. While levels of urbanisation are clearly an important factor in burial strategy, we must also consider a range of other factors such as land tenure patterns, composition of local or supra-regional elites, and levels of connectivity provided by the road network. We shall now examine a series of models of funerary commemoration which highlight the diversity of the funerary landscape in town and country.

6.2.1 Burials around (and in) cities

Burial in the suburbs of cities in Italy was far from monolithic, as has been stressed at several points in this thesis. While this work is far from the first to use concepts drawn from modern urban studies to explore ancient and early medieval cities, it is hoped that using some of these – such as urban sprawl, post-industrial configurations, or hollow cities – provides a useful framework through which to understand the place of burials within ancient urbanism.[652] The present study is also among the first to attempt to use these insights to explore funerary landscapes. Through use of these frameworks, we can explore the lived environments of Roman, late antique, and early medieval cities and the role that burials played within and around them over the longue durée.

The funerary landscapes of suburbs in the early imperial period saw a greater deal of diversity than has been hitherto acknowledged. Existing scholarship has highlighted the importance of tomb streets, which provided architectural facades along the roads approaching cities and cities.[653] Recent work has emphasised the extent to which suburban or peri-urban zones hosted a range of activities extending far beyond simply the final resting places of the dead: housing, industry, temples or sanctuaries and entertainment buildings all made up part of the suburban landscapes.[654] This scholarship has been accompanied by a greater awareness that tomb streets are largely a phenomenon of central-southern Italy.[655]

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[652] Papers in Carneiro et al. 2020; Dufton 2019.

[653] Eisner 1986; Von Hesberg 1992; Papers in Von Hesberg & Zanker 1987; Koortboojian 1996; Carroll 2006; Wallace-Hadrill 2008; Borg 2019; , papers in Heinzelmann et al. 2001; Emmerson 2020a, 68-81 N.B. examples of tomb streets outside central Italy are examined by Hope 2001.

[654] Emmerson 2020a; Goodman 2007; Stevens 2017; Annibaletto 2010.

[655] Pearce 2017, 15.

However, even Emmerson's important study of the Roman suburbs in Italy was based primarily on detailed analyses of just thirteen cities.[656] Although this is a considerable dataset and she does an admirable job of drawing supporting evidence from a broader range of other urban centres, the likelihood that there were four hundred or more cities of Roman Italy means that much remains to be done to tease out diversity of the suburban landscapes surrounding them.[657]

This thesis has provided a first step towards highlighting the diversity of suburban burial patterns in Roman Italy. We saw that in Central Campania (section 4.3.2.1), the suburbs of cities such as Naples, *Abella* and Nola, were furnished with vast necropoleis, which dominated the approaches to these cities. These may have been present in other cities, including *Abellinum* and *Aeclanum* from an early date, even if the strongest evidence from the second of these cities comes from the Late Roman period. Yet in other cases, like *Suessula* and *Accerrae,* the evidence for these funerary agglomerations is rather thinner, or even absent altogether. Two explanations for this can be advanced: either Roman-period funerary monuments nature remain to be uncovered at these sites, or else they were never present in the first place. The former cannot be discounted without substantial further fieldwork, but the latter also deserves serious consideration. On this model, even in central-southern Italy, the presence of tomb streets was far from universal: not all cities were considered equally appropriate places for setting up large numbers of monumental funerary markers. Indeed, Pearce has previously observed that suburban burials in the Northwest provinces, and especially Britain, might have taken a non-continuous form distinct from that of Italy, but we might add that this same model could also be relevant for some Italian cities.[658] Although the sparsely urbanised landscape of Trentino (section 5.3.2.12) only added one more city—*Tridentum*—to this mix, the limited evidence for monumental remains at this site also suggests that further work will identify a diverse range of different models of suburban cemeteries across the rest of early Imperial Italy.

In view of this evidence, we must consider the degree to and ways in which the presence or absence of tomb streets impacted the creation and curation of memorials for the deceased. One possibility is simply that tomb streets were present at some of the cities which

[656] Emmerson 2020a.
[657] Hanson 2016, 33.
[658] Pearce 2013, 115-118.

have not hitherto furnished evidence for them, but they were either dismantled at some point between Late Antiquity and the present or have not yet been uncovered.[659] If tomb streets were present but have largely been dismantled, especially during Late Antiquity – as was clearly the case with some tombs, for example outside Nola (section 4.5.3.1) – this led to the obliteration of the memory of those who were buried within. A second possibility is that cities without evidence for tomb streets simply were not important enough to become foci for monumental commemoration, or else that social competition between (local) elites centred on other spheres, like euergetism, or burial in other, more appealing venues. A third and final possibility, which is not mutually exclusive with the preceding suggestions, is that local communities inhabiting these cities simply did not find the monumental framing of tomb streets a relevant or appealing choice for the commemoration of their dead and may instead have chosen to emphasise burial within field cemeteries. Burial within these field cemeteries might sometimes have been framed by funerary enclosures or marked by individual funerary monuments, but the architectural effect was rather different to that provided by the serried ranks of tombs outside other cities and most vividly embodied by Ostia's Isola Sacra. We must, then, keep an open mind about the diversity of early imperial suburban funerary landscapes in Italy.

A multi-faceted model-based approach also highlights the diversity of urban developments in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. This period arguably saw an increasing fragmentation of different types of suburban funerary landscapes, as previous urban systems began to be transformed in response to changing economic and political realities. Each of these trajectories had concomitant impacts on the commemoration of the dead. The cities of Italy (sections 4.3.2.2-4) experienced at least three broad trajectories after the 4th century, though it is important not to completely elide individual site-level differences. Some cities became *città ad isole*, as best exemplified by Naples (section 4.3.2.2), and saw continued habitation within the old intramural area, albeit it at a slightly reduced level, concentrated around new centres linked to the church. These inhabited areas were interspersed with areas turned over for small burial zones as well as agricultural and industrial use. In the extramural area, new poles of attraction developed around ecclesiastical establishments, particularly the catacombs, which provided burial spaces for large numbers

[659] Post-antique spoliated remains in Campania: Palmentieri 2010.

of individuals. This mixed model of commemoration meant that while part of the urban population (as well as people from further afield) continued to be commemorated in large, communal cemeteries, others were buried in smaller, more intimate cemeteries. In other words, this form of late antique and early medieval funerary landscape created a dichotomy between burials which were seen by small groups, and others which had much larger audiences.

At *Tridentum* (section 5.3.2.3), the thinning and spreading of the urban fabric into a sort of *città ad isole* caused the city to expand into the transriverine Doss Trentino, which in turn became the focal point of a *castrum* in Late Antiquity. In many ways, this form of late antique and early medieval urbanism reflects the form of urbanism identified at Naples, with the crucial distinction that it appeared to be accompanied by a form of urban sprawl. The density of urban settlement undeniably decreased during this period, as some intramural structures were abandoned or turned over to new uses, and yet the overall footprint of the *Tridentum* increased. Within this context, the polyfocal funerary landscapes in and around the city comprised a range of smaller burial grounds, serving individual family groups, and also some larger burial sites centring on churches.

In Central Campania, other cities, such as *Compsa* and *Suessula* (section 4.3.2.3), appear to have shrunken to small, fortified nuclei, within a sea of ruins. These ruins themselves sometimes became the site of new burials, as graves followed the living deeper into the formerly inhabited area, yet remained excluded from those spaces which still *were* inhabited. In some ways, this reflects continued traditions of excluding the dead from settlements, in line with long-running traditions, but also belies a desire to keep the dead close at hand. In doing so, graves could be visited and viewed by the smaller communities which continued to live in parts of these cities.

Hollow cities developed at *Abellinum* and Nola (section 4.3.2.4), with limited evidence for activity in the intramural area, even while substantial funerary activity, often connected to new ecclesiastical centres, continued apace in the suburbs. Outside these cities, churches those at Capo la Torre or the sanctuary of St Felix at Cimitile, whether financed by the ecclesiastical authorities or individual aristocrats, became focal points for large number of burials. These sites may simply have provided burial spaces for the remaining inhabitants of the cities themselves or – as has been suggested in this thesis – for some people living in the surrounding territory too. These new burial places both provided a new focus for communal

memory and reflected the continued importance of cities, even as the urban cores lost some of their earlier economic and social functions.

While this thesis has focused primarily on the two main study areas, a preliminary comparison of evidence from some neighbouring parts of Italy also shows (sections 4.3.2.2-4) that these trajectories are at least partially replicated elsewhere in the peninsula. At the same time, there is clearly room for further work to investigate the diversity of late antique funerary landscapes across Italy, and further "types" of trajectory might be identified in future.

6.2.2 Burials and settlements in the countryside

The relationship between burials and settlements in rural areas is equally diverse. It should be noted from the outset that the study of settlements and burials in the countryside is beset with issues arising from uneven data quality: in particular, the data is simply far stronger in some places than in others, so we are generally better informed about settlements in Central Campania (section 4.3.3) than we are in Trentino (section 5.3.3). These challenges notwithstanding, we can still make some salient observations based on the data gathered and examined in this thesis. Past literature on death and burial in Roman Italy has focused on the outsize role of commemoration around villas (section 2.2.3.2), but the archaeological data provides a rather different picture. Villas were not the only form of rural settlement, and we need to do more to think about where the occupants of farms and *vici* were buried (sections 4.3.3.6-7 and 5.3.3.5-6). As has already been argued, this sometimes meant transporting the dead to urban centres for burial, but this was clearly not a universal practice, and many others were laid to rest in the countryside. With this in mind, we will now examine the responses of rural dwellers to death and commemoration in the countryside in light of the settlements in which they lived.

6.2.2.1 Burials and villas

The villas of Roman Italy have received the lion's share of scholarly attention expended on the study of domestic structures in the countryside. The architecture, decorative schemes, and production capabilities of villas both monumental and modest are relatively well

understood.[660] It is also clear that that these establishments could belong to owners ranging from the emperor himself to supra-regional senatorial elites, and their more local counterparts. It should be noted that alongside these elite owners, who may or may not have visited at regular intervals, villas were inhabited by a (perhaps permanent) staff of slaves, labourers and estate managers, some of whom would have died and been buried nearby. Burials and funerary monuments associated with villas have largely been scrutinized to better understand the role of these villas as places of self- and family- expression and commemoration. A general consensus has coalesced around the assumption that almost all villa estates were equipped with mausolea or burial sites, and these were *usually* near to the villa buildings (section 2.2.3.2).

The analysis presented in this thesis reveals a more complex picture of the spatial relationship between funerary sites and villas. In Central Campania (sections 4.3.3.3-6), this relationship appears relatively weak. Neither funerary monuments nor burials are as commonly located near to villas as earlier scholarship might seem to suggest. In both cases, this is because proximity to other landscapes features, especially roads belonging to the interregional road network, was considered more important than close association with a villa's buildings (discussed further below). It was suggested here (section 4.3.3.6) that this trend may arise from land ownership patterns in Central Campania, where many villas belonged to the supra-regional senatorial elite who had little interest in display on estates which they seldom visited. Those tombs which *were* close to villas may have instead belonged to local elites or estate foremen. Some of these groups, however, clearly sought burial near to other landscape features which they considered more attractive, like roads (discussed below), because visibility to a wider audience of road users was more important than visual and spatial association with the structures of a villa. This case study demonstrates the need to examine burial patterns within the wider landscape on a regional basis, rather than assuming blanket uniformity across Roman Italy.

In Trentino, the spatial relation between villas and burials appears to be stronger (section 5.3.3.4). This is undoubtedly in part due to the small number of villas known in this part of Italy, with the available evidence clustering in the south of the study region, and particularly in the Basso Sarca plain at the head of Lake Garda. Nevertheless, the

[660] Sfameni 2006; Zarmakoupi 2014; Ellis 2000; Hales 2003; Marzano 2007; Marzano & Métraux 2018.

probability that these villas belonged to local magnates meant that being buried close to one's estate offered a prestigious and attractive means for landowners in these areas to make statements about their own status, as well as providing a way to try to ensure lasting commemoration.[661] In summary, the connection between villas and burial spaces is much more varied than hitherto suggested, and further regionally-focussed studies are needed to deepen our understanding of how and where social elites commemorated their dead within local social contexts.

6.2.2.2 Burials and farmsteads

The archaeology of farmsteads and peasant dwellings in Italy is still in its infancy, which limits our understanding of death and burial among those from the lower classes who inhabited them.[662] The recent and extremely valuable contributions of the Roman Peasant Project have done much to broaden our understanding of the social and economic lives of ordinary inhabitants of the countryside in southern Tuscany.[663] However, this project very much remains an outlier, and even in intensively studied areas of Italy, such as the middle Tiber valley, we remain relatively uninformed about the archaeology of the rural poor.[664] Moreover, research in neither of these areas has yet been able to provide much information about where people belonging to some of the poorest strata of ancient rural society were buried.

The contribution of this thesis has shown that the relationship between farmsteads and burials varied by region. In Central Campania (section 4.3.3.6), the relationship between the living and the dead was relatively weak, and it was suggested that this could be explained by seasonal occupation of some farmstead sites, or else a general consensus that they were not considered to be an appropriate venue for burial.[665] In contrast, and though we must be careful not to push direct comparisons too far, the spatial link between burials and farmhouses was somewhat stronger in Trentino (section 5.3.3.5). This could reflect more permanent occupation of farmsteads in this region, in which they could have played a

[661] Buonopane 2000, 137-139.
[662] Early contribution on Roman peasant dwellings: Garnsey 1979.
[663] Bowes 2020.
[664] Patterson et al. 2020; Hodges 2021.
[665] On seasonal occupation: Rattighieri et al. 2013, 207.

different socio-economic role within the wider landscape. However, this possible difference could also simply belie the greater importance of funerary commemoration in the countryside of this sparsely urbanised landscape more broadly. Much remains to be done, then, for us to fully understand the place of funerary commemoration in the creation and curation of memory among the Roman rural poor.

6.2.2.3 Burials and *vici*

The archaeology of *vici* in Roman Italy is almost as embryonic as that of farmsteads. Studies of these settlements have primarily been driven by legal and epigraphic studies concerned with establishing the juridical status of these quasi-urban nucleated settlements and the social status of their benefactors.[666] While this is now changing thanks to a string of initiatives investigating individual sites, in Italy we still lack a synthetic study along the lines of the *Small Towns of Roman Britain.*[667] Nevertheless, the available evidence indicates that while some occupants of *vici* were likely members of the rural poor, others were members of regional elites, some of whom even held magistracies. We saw that the limited evidence from Central Campania (section 4.3.3.7) and Trentino (section 5.3.3.5) suggests that that burials in both regions were sited along the approach roads to the settlements. This spatial arrangement is consistent with trends across Italy, in those places where *vici* have received some attention.[668] The location of burials along roads entering *vici* means it is tempting to view these still poorly understood sites as mimicking the suburban patterns discussed above, which created an enduring sense of memory among both the local road users and longer distance travellers who saw them. The available evidence is too thin to allow us to consider whether the people buried outside *vici* were anyone other than the occupants of these settlements themselves.

6.2.2.4 Burials and new settlements in Late Antiquity

Late antiquity and the early Middle Ages saw the rise of new kinds of settlements in the countryside—*castra* and hilltop villages. The impact of these developments in the funerary landscapes merit further discussion here. Before progressing to a discussion of *castra* and

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[666] Iasiello 2007; Todisco 2011; Tarpin 2003.

[667] Recent studies on *vici*: Small et al. 2007; Favia et al. 2006; Ferrari 2020; Sebastiani et al. 2020; Passi Pitcher 1996. Small towns of Roman Britain: Burnham & Wacher 1990.

[668] Above, section 2.2.3.4.

other hilltop villages, however, we should note that settlement also continued in the form of villages on plains and the valley floors across much of Italy, but the archaeology of these settlements remains so slender across Italy that no meaningful discussion of them is possible here.

It remains unclear whether the typological division between *castra* and hilltop villages is a product of past scholarly traditions or the differing function of the settlements. The former term is used primarily to discuss hilltop settlements in Trentino, while the latter appears primarily in Central Campania.[669] To judge from the greater number of *castra* and the few hilltop villages which have been excavated to date, those sites described as *castra* tend to be more heavily fortified, often in stone, perhaps indicating a greater defensive role. However, further work is required to investigate this problem.

From a funerary perspective, the relations between the living and the dead in these new upland sites remains poorly understood, but it seems that burial within or near to these new settlements was a relatively restricted practice. In Central Campania (section 4.3.3.8), there is some limited evidence to suggest that the development of hilltop villages was accompanied by the siting of burials just outside the newly settled areas. In Trentino, burials occasionally appear within *castra,* sometimes in conjunction with churches (section 5.3.3.7), but the available burial data again remain sparse. Evidence from Monselice (PD), where tombs inside the *castrum* comprise only males and infants, seems to suggest that the women in the community were excluded from burial in this area, further underlining the selective nature of burial inside at least some *castra*.[670]

The small size and limited number of cemeteries associated with *castra* could be linked to the way that these settlements developed over time. Chavarría has suggested that the small cemeteries associated with these sites in Northern Italy could also reflect sporadic use by small garrisons, with *castra* only later transforming into more permanent settlements with larger populations.[671] She adds that larger, later cemeteries may be located outside of *castra*. This hypothesis could help to explain the limited size of cemeteries near new upland settlements in both of our case study regions. This developmental trajectory has important implications for memory as it suggests that earlier, smaller burial groups, especially if

[669] Trentino: Possenti et al. 2013a, 2013b, 2013c; Campania: Rotili 2019.
[670] Brogiolo 2017, 26-28; Marinato 2017, 72-75.
[671] Chavarria Arnau 2018, 171.

associated with churches, were essentially accorded a privileged, more intimate, and exclusive space within the wider funerary landscapes in and around individual *castra.*

6.2.2.4 Burials in rural churches

The rise of churches in the countryside in some ways reflected a watershed in the expansion of Christian influence over late antique society, though the impact on rural burial patterns was limited. Scholars remain divided about how to interpret these new structures (section 2.3.3.7), with the main point of contention still centring on whether we should see churches as built by private individuals or the church hierarchy. As already stressed, a mixture of both possibilities is likely. Few regional syntheses of rural churches in Italy specifically focus on churches as places for burial.[672] However, from the available evidence from elsewhere in Italy, it is clear that burial groups inside churches were small, with most people buried either outside the structures, or elsewhere altogether.[673] This underlines the exclusive nature of burial inside these ecclesiastical establishments, though it remains unclear whether the groups buried inside churches belonged to prominent lay families or else to the (local) clergy.

The analysis presented above allows us to draw several conclusions which build on this earlier work. First, the proportion of people buried in churches in the countryside was relatively small. In Central Campania (section 4.4.5.2), our knowledge of the late antique and early medieval church network remains slim, and in only three cases can burial grounds in the countryside be securely associated with churches. Future work may bring to light further cases of churches used for burial, and these data need to be set against the generally low visibility of burials dating to after the 6th century in this part of Italy. Nevertheless, only a small part of the rural population was buried in churches in this part of Italy. A clearer picture emerges from Trentino (section 5.3.3.8), where early churches have been subject to more sustained study. The data from this region show that a small proportion (eight sites) of late antique and early medieval rural burials were placed within or close to churches. They also indicate that only a few of early churches were used for funerary commemoration, while many others were not. Taken together, these data underline that while burial in churches played an important role in commemoration for some parts of the population, in many ways

[672] Notable exceptions include papers in Brogiolo 2003 and more recently Chavarria Arnau 2015.
[673] Chavarria Arnau 2018, 171-174.

it was an atypical practice, restricted to a people at the apex of rural communities, even as debates about their precise identity – lay or clergy – remain unresolved.

A second point arising from the study of rural churches as places of burial connects to the impact these structures had on the visibility of graves (section 5.4.4). The visibility of funerary display in the early imperial period was often underlined by the deployment of inscriptions, sarcophagi, enclosures, and monuments of a clear funerary nature. In other words, even if a passer-by glimpsed a tomb structure or an enclosure, the overall adornment of earlier structures made it explicit that they were looking at a tomb, without the viewer venturing inside. Indeed, sometimes in other parts of Italy, talking inscriptions even invited travellers to stop and stay a while, making a clear call to casual viewers.[674] In contrast, if, as the data suggest, rural churches were not always used for funerary purposes, their facades would not necessarily have alerted casual viewers that they were graves inside. This has considerable implications for the way that tombs in churches were viewed, as they were only visible to those who had both the time and inclination to enter a church – assuming that it was left unlocked. This change in accessibility reflects a different kind of viewership: a shift away from the casual and towards the deliberate, often coinciding with an appeal to local audiences. Simply put, the rise of churches meant some prestigious graves became less visible than they had been in the past, though this does not mean that these graves ceased to be important markers of social status and means for commemoration.

6.3 Visibility and accessibility: communication networks and paths of movement

Visibility and accessibility of burial sites are two other key variables which played a key role in the structuring of the funerary landscapes of Roman, late antique, and early medieval Italy. These two factors could influence who saw a given funerary site and how often they might do so. Previous work on the landscape placement of burials has identified a strong link with roads, especially the major ones which connected cities, as well as with centuriated land boundaries (sections 2.2.4.2). In particular, Francisci has theorised that funerary sites can act as heuristic tools for reconstructing paths of movement, including roads and centuriated boundaries in the Roman landscape.[675] However, this approach can be circular as we cannot

[674] Carroll 2008.

[675] Francisci 2017a, 52-53, 65-66; Botturi 2016, 45-46.

assume that burials coincided with boundaries in all areas. This thesis has tested the spatial relationship between burials and *known* roads and centuriated systems. It found a strong connection between roads and burials, but a weaker one between burials and centuriated boundaries. We shall now examine the implications of these findings in greater detail.

6.3.1 Roads

The Roman road network fundamentally reshaped the wider landscapes of Italy by enabling more direct connectivity between cities and their hinterlands as well as joining up separate regions of the peninsula.[676] The road network influenced where people chose to live, and this section argues that it also influenced where they chose to bury their dead. We know significantly more about the course of major intercity roads, partly because many of these survived in use after antiquity, and because we are aided in reconstructing them by evidence provided by milestones. The analysis undertaken in this thesis must therefore be read with the caveat that we often know little about the course of secondary roads.[677] The road data from Trentino is generally weaker, but in the parts of this region which could be examined in detail, both the early imperial and later Roman period saw a strong spatial correlation between roads and burial sites (section 5.4.2). In Central Campania (section 4.4.2-5), we have a slightly better idea of the general course of roads, and burials again cluster along these throughout the Roman period. We may ask, however, whether the visual impact of placing burials near roads was always the same.

In areas which were more heavily wooded in antiquity than they are today, such as the mountainous interior of Central Campania, or the Val di Non, some of these burials were not visible to road users. This seems to indicate that spatial proximity to roads, and the accessibility that this provided for return visits, was important. Some of these sites were still visible from the roadside, but we might wonder whether the priority lay with return visits among local communities, rather than being seen by longer distance travellers. This positioning strategy would have generated a more local sense of memory, which was kept alive in the minds of people who lived in the area or regularly visited it, rather than with long-

[676] Laurence 2002.

[677] Quilici Gigli & Quilici 2021, which discusses secondary roads, appeared too late for to use it included in this thesis.

distance, casual travellers. In other parts of Trentino, like the Basso Sarca and in the coastal plains of Central Campania, which appear to have been less densely wooded, burials were visible from afar. There are, of course, practical limits to this visibility imposed by human eyesight, but we can also expect that these different natural landscapes facilitated a broader sense of memory among both local communities and longer-distance travellers.

Divergent approaches to burials near roads emerge in the early medieval period. The discussion of the material discussed in this thesis can be divided between field cemeteries and burial sites in and around churches. Field cemeteries are themselves split between those cemeteries located near to roads and those which are further away from them. In Central Campania, we have seen that the number of rural burial sites which can be dated to the early medieval period is extremely circumscribed (section 4.2.2.6). This, it was argued, is at least partially the result of limited deposition of closely-datable grave goods in this part of Italy. Nevertheless, the available evidence indicates that some field cemeteries in both regions continued to be located near to major roads, indicating that these paths of movement remained important into the post-Roman period, for the same reasons that they had played an important role in the past: because being near a road made them more accessible and sometimes more visible too.

This continued importance of roads was not universal, and we saw that the emergence of new settlements in the Val di Non (Trentino) or the area around Montella (Central Campania), for example, seems to have been accompanied by shifts away from burial near to earlier roads, though this does not preclude, and may even support, the development of new roads in the early Middle Ages. The role of roads in post-Roman landscapes has been relatively little studied, but these divergent patterns appear to be generally consistent with patterns observed in Italy, Germany, and Britain, which also saw diverse approaches to roads in the early Middle Ages.[678] However, the evidence provided here suggests a much more mixed range of priorities than in previous periods.

The placement of churches relative to roads also show considerable variation. In Central Campania (sections 4.4.5.2), we saw that previous scholars had identified a pilgrimage itinerary dubbed a “via santa” linking sanctuaries at Cimitile and Monte Gargano through a constellation of lesser churches. Useful comparative evidence is provided by

[678] Citter et al. 2012.

Nixon's study of late antique and early medieval churches in the Sphakia on Crete.[679] These Cretan churches could serve as fossilized waypoints in the wider landscape, which served to guide travellers on longer-distance journeys.

A greater range of churches used for burial is visible in Trentino (section 5.4.4), though this could at least partially be because we simply know more about the late antique and early medieval churches of this region. Some churches were located along (relatively important) roads, making them both visible and accessible both to local communities and longer-distance travellers. But other churches were located in more remote locations, some of which may have been visible, while others were not. This spatial relationship with roads has important implications for the types of memory that these funerary spaces produced. For example, burials in churches which were harder to reach, because they were within a *castrum* or simply because they were removed from major roadways, were probably seen by smaller numbers of individuals and therefore ensured that only a circumscribed audience remembered those commemorated within. Conversely, burials within more accessible churches might have reached a wider commemorative audience, though as we saw above, was still restricted to individuals who were willing or able to enter the ecclesiastical structures. While more work remains to be done on this area in future, it is apparent that the relations between burials and roads is characterised by a diverse range of reactions and strategies, nested within local priorities and contexts.

6.3.2 Centuriation

The strong spatial relationship between burials and centuriated boundaries has been assumed across the Roman world. Research by Botturi notes a spatial relationship between centuriated field boundaries and burials in the hinterland of Brescia (ancient *Brixia*), and it has been suggested that a similar pattern may be observable elsewhere in Italy.[680] However, the diversity of funerary landscapes in Roman Italy is illustrated by the fact that the evidence for a similar spatial link between burials and boundaries is considerably weaker in the two regions considered in detail in this thesis. In other words, correlation between burials and centuriation is not a hard and fast rule. Each of these regions also provide food for thought

[679] Nixon 2006, 14-31.

[680] Botturi 2017 and above, section 2.4.2.2.

about the role of centuriated landscapes as ways for organising not just land tenure, but also for defining paths of movement.

In some cases, the central axis (*cardo* or *decumanus*) may have coincided with or developed into a major roadway, as the evidence from Trentino suggested. Considerable debate still rages around whether a centuriated grid can be reliably identified in the Basso Sarca plain (section 5.4.3), and this debate could not be resolved here. As we saw, the concentration of burials around a single axis of the proposed grid in this area could reflect the presence of a centuriated grid or could equally denote the presence of a single road linking the *vicus* at Riva del Garda with its proposed northerly neighbour at Arco. The simplest explanation, though, was that centuriation *was* present, but this central axis provided the most attractive venue for burials. Students of Roman urbanism are familiar with the importance of armatures which received high footfall from people travelling to and from the urban environment.[681] Monuments – funerary and otherwise – placed along these thoroughfares capitalised on visibility and therefore helped to sustain memory of the deceased long after their deaths. It seems that a similar principle made some axes of centuriated field systems more attractive for those seeking lasting commemoration in rural settings.

Burials are sometimes also located near to minor axes in centuriated landscapes. In Central Campania (section 4.4.5), the six grids investigated, around Naples, Nola, and *Aeclanum* each show different degrees of spatial correlation between burials and centuriated boundaries, but this connection was never strong: overall, roads appear to have been significantly more important in terms of their attractive pull on burials. Where burials *do* coincide with boundaries, these are often transverse axes which intersect major, inter-city roads, underlining the role of centuriated boundaries as secondary paths of movement through the landscape. Centuriated boundary lines were unlikely to be turned over to cultivation and therefore may have offered a natural thoroughfare through large swathes of land otherwise turned over to crop production or pasture. The issue at stake here is how we think about centuriated boundaries. Were they, like the hedge rows of medieval England, intended to enclose and divide land?[682] Or did they simply delineate paths of movement,

[681] MacDonald 1982, 5-31.

[682] Baudry et al. 2000.

intended to allow people (and animals) to move through the landscape? We might imagine, after all, that Roman farmers were no more pleased about people walking through their planted fields than their 20th-century British counterparts were about naughty children running through fields of wheat!

In either scenario, the use of the areas nearest to such centuriated boundaries was unlikely to be in productive use and was therefore more protected than land that was regularly ploughed or grazed. Furthermore, if we imagine these boundaries as roads or paths, they may have mimicked the attractive pull of more major thoroughfares and offered landmarks which made the graves of loved ones easier to locate on subsequent visits, even if grave markers had been destroyed or degraded.

6.4 Memory, site biographies, and reuse of earlier space

The meaning and significance of burial sites is intimately linked to their place in social memory—that is, the collective, shared memory which communities use to talk about their pasts, real or imagined (section 2.1.2). This discussion chapter has mentioned the impact of different burial strategies on audienceship and memory, and we shall conclude with a consideration of two final themes directly connected to this: the lifespan of sites and the reuse of earlier structures for burial.

6.4.1 Site longevity

Burial sites experienced differential longevities: some burial sites appear to have been used over an extended period, others saw sporadic activity with periods of hiatus, and others were used a mere handful of times, or even just once. The limited lifespan of tombs was acknowledged even in antiquity and has recently become an area of emerging scholarly interest (section 2.2.5.1). The different "biographies" of grave sites and funerary monuments are challenging to quantify and compare due to the limitations of archaeological evidence even from modern, well-recorded, and fully published excavations. The difficulties are magnified even further when we are reliant on legacy data sets, which often provide only vague details of phasing or artefactual assemblages. The theme of site longevity nevertheless merits further consideration, as it provides valuable insights into the kinds of social memory embodied by a particular burial site.

This thesis has attempted to assess differential longevities though a category-based approach, which looks at the different kinds of memory generated through sites which were used over different periods. It found that individual burial sites in Central Campania (section 4.5.2-6) were often relatively short-lived, though those in suburban areas could be used over substantially longer periods. These patterns in the length of time over which sites were used could reflect the importance of cities as hubs for burial and in turn for the commemoration of the dead, but it is important to stress that the memory generated at long-running sites was often communal in nature: the intercutting or superposition of graves meant that individual burials might be forgotten, while the significance of the place as one where the dead of a wider community was remembered endured. In Trentino (section 5.5.2), graves in the countryside sometimes seemed to see longer periods of use than in Central Campania, with a number in use from the early imperial period through to the early Middle Ages. While the publication record for these sites is often frustratingly thin, their apparent longevity suggests that these sites remained relevant focal points for memory in the rural landscape over the *longue durée.* This continuity of use can be explained by the importance of fixed burial places in the countryside in this sparsely urbanised landscape.

The biographies of funerary sites continued long after burials were made there. This continuity is often difficult to detect where we are reliant on legacy data from early excavations. Epigraphic evidence demonstrates that the occupants of ancient Italy were keen to ensure that their graves were visited after their death: the best evidence for this was provided by the San Cassiano site in Trentino, where we have explicit epigraphic evidence mandating return visits to the graveside for feasting (section 5.5.2.1.1). This inscription is not unique; another, apparently from Rome, sets out provisions for sacrifices in the deceased's memory on four occasions throughout the year, reflecting a wider cultural expectation that heirs and/or family members would make regular visits to tombs.[683] Artefactual evidence from a handful of sites in Campania (section 4.5.4) and a much larger number in Trentino (section 5.5.2.1.1) also suggests ongoing frequentation, possibly even after burial ceased. Indeed, comparative evidence from folk cemeteries in the southern United States suggests that sometimes burial grounds could remain significant focal points for communal memory

[683] Gee 2008, 64; ILS 8366.

for many generations after they ceased to host new burials (section 4.5.6).[684] By Late Antiquity, a desire to be associated with earlier burials, whether of lay individuals or saints, could sometimes influence the choice of burial sites made by contemporary generations. This process saw the pull of the cumulative memory of past generations, often combined with new Christian desires for salvation. Together, these forces could attract burials to an established burial ground and ensure its continuity over successive generations.

Evidence from Nola (section 4.5.3.1) hinted at how some early imperial funerary monuments could be dismantled relatively quickly after they were built, though others elsewhere, such as at *Abella,* apparently remained relatively untouched until the present day. Burials could also be deliberately and brutally removed from view to obliterate their memory, as was the case in the middle of the 6th century at the Basilica of San Vigilio outside *Tridentum* (section 5.5.2.1.1). In other words, the memory embodied in burial sites could be deliberately destroyed or removed, whether for pragmatic or ideological reasons.

6.4.2 Reusing early structures for burial

The reuse of earlier structures for burial, in rural, suburban, and intramural contexts across Italy is one of most visible and debated trends of the late antique and early medieval burial record. Previous scholars have seen this practice as reflecting the presence of squatters, as evidence for continued elite presence, or identified these burials as the cemeteries of agglomerated villages, or as claims to the land ownership (section 2.2.5.2). It should be noted that reuse of earlier structures for burial was not a late antique innovation, and evidence from elsewhere in the Roman world suggests that reuse of prehistoric structures was already sometimes taking place during the imperial period.[685] In the later period, the main distinction was that many of these new burial sites were structures which had been used relatively recently for other, non-funerary purposes: villas or temples in the country, and a range of public and domestic structures in and around cities. This suggests a greater willingness to repurpose spaces, the original uses of which may sometimes have still been held in living memory.

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[684] Jeane 1989.

[685] Sardinia: Blake 1997, 1998 and for Britain: Hutton 2011; Dark 1993; Williams 1998

Existing research on the reuse of space for burial has concentrated on exploring the phenomenon itself, without contextualising it within the wider burial record. Burial within earlier structures could certainly be evocative in the late antique imagination. The 5th-century bishop Germanus of Auxerre was called to exorcise an abandoned house because it was haunted by the ghosts of several individuals who lay unburied within it.[686] However, one of the key insights to emerge from this thesis, which considered all known burials across two regions of Italy, is that both intramural burials and burials which reused earlier structures in rural areas were relatively uncommon in Central Campania (section 4.5.7) and Trentino (section 5.5.3). Castrorao Barba's study of "the end of the villa" in Italy found that there is considerable variation in patterns of reuse across the peninsula.[687] The work presented here shows that these patterns of reuse can be better understood if they are studied within the context of the wider burial record in a circumscribed region. Turning to reuse of space in cities, we still lack an Italy-wide assessment of intramural burial patterns, but surveys of the evidence from Northern Italy by Lambert and Cantino Wataghin, and Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani, who examine the evidence from Rome, seem to suggest that the majority of people were buried in larger cemeteries in the suburbs rather than in reused, intramural spaces.[688] The low number of burials within earlier buildings indicates that burial in such contexts was not always an attractive choice for communities trying to decide where to bury their dead.

Burial inside earlier structures certainly provided some potential advantages. Large, public structures, like temples, theatres or *macella*, provided a good deal of oven-ready monumentality: reusing them meant that no substantial construction work was required to create a grandiose setting for otherwise modest graves. This sense of monumentality would only have been enhanced if these public structures continued to occupy prominent positions within rural and urban landscapes, even after they had lost their original uses. In other words, placing graves in earlier structures helped to create a longer-lasting sense of memory for those individuals buried within. Placement of a grave in a specific room of an identifiable

[686] Constantius, *Life of Germanus*, 10.

[687] Castrorao Barba 2020.

[688] Lambert 1997, 290, table 2 with Cantino Wataghin & Lambert 1998 and Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani 1994, 2000; Meneghini & Santangeli Valenzani 1993.

structure could also help to make burials locatable on return visits, facilitating the perpetuation of memory among the communities responsible for these burials.

One possible explanation for the relative paucity of graves inside earlier structures is that burial inside earlier structures could reduce the number of people who knew about the presence of burials. The lens provided by access analysis allows us to hypothesise that burials inside earlier structures were removed from casual viewership, effectively hiding them from the passerby (sections 5.5.3.4). If at least some earlier walls remained standing, burials within rooms of buildings like *domus* or villas were not as visible as earlier burials in the fields, especially those near to roads or other paths of movement in the wider landscape. Moreover, road users, unless they were of a particularly adventurous bent, might have been less likely to venture off the beaten track to explore these pre-existing structures.

As a result, burials within earlier structures were simply seen by fewer people on a regular basis than their counterparts in the open fields. Instead, the viewers of these graves were restricted to members of the (presumably often local) communities who buried them. At the same time, this effect would have resulted in the generation of a more intense sense of memory for people who were aware of the presence of burials inside an earlier structure. Members of these communities might have thought of the deceased every time they so much as glimpsed a ruined building they knew had been reused for burial. In other words, just as was the cases with churches, the reuse of earlier structures for burial made death less visible in the landscape, and in some cases cemented places of commemoration as specific destinations, rather than a sight to be casually glimpsed by travellers. The more private nature of commemoration presented by burial in earlier structures may simply not have been considered attractive by large parts of the population in late antique and early medieval Italy, as is underlined by their small numbers.

6.5 Conclusions

In Raymond Chandler's classic crime novel, *The Big Sleep,* the protagonist asks: "What does it matter where you lay once you were dead? In a dirty sump or in a marble tower on the top of a high hill? You were dead, you were sleeping the big sleep, you were not bothered by things like that." As this thesis hopes to have shown, however, for many people living in Italy during the first seven centuries CE, it *did*, in fact, matter where you lay after you died, even if

people had different perspectives on where was best. A largescale approach to funerary landscapes can no doubt be extended to other parts of Italy in the future, with the potential to identify other types of funerary landscape not observed here: the massive quantities of data required are out there, though substantial work will be needed to collate, systematise, and georeference much of them. Many other topics remain to be examined in future, including several barely touched here. These include, but are not limited to, the distribution of grave goods and tomb types through time and space or the role of different architectural styles and sculptural traditions in commemoration.

The two study regions examined here, along with the supporting evidence drawn from elsewhere, showcase the diversity of relations between the living and the dead in Roman, late antique, and early medieval Italy. The place of burials in the wider landscape was dynamic, and heavily influenced by wider settlement patterns, and so Italy's extremely varied funerary landscapes are best studied through a large-scale approach which collates all of the available archaeological evidence, though this must remain nested within in a specific area. This approach allows us to develop new insights into the way that memory was curated, through placement close to specific landscape features like urban centres, rural settlements, roads, field boundaries or earlier remains. We saw that some aspects of strategies for the curation of memory were transformed in response to the new realities of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, though others stayed the same. This approach also allowed us to examine how funerary sites experienced different "biographies"; some were short and soon forgotten, while others lasted for many centuries, and must have played an important role as centres of social memory.

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