

A LATE LA TÈNE GRAVE FROM TREVIGLIO (BERGAMO)

(Con le tavv. XVIII-XX f.t.)

ABSTRACT

This paper covers a Late La Tène tomb discovered in Treviglio (Bergamo, Lombardy) in 1980, famous due to its usefulness as a reference context for the relative and absolute chronology of the Late La Tène in Cisalpine Gaul, thanks to the rich grave goods both of La Tène type and of Italic tradition or provenance.

Chronologically, the grave corresponds to LT D 2 phase as it is defined in northern Italy, comparable with central European LT D 1b. In this period, Treviglio and the area between Adda and Serio were part of the territory belonging to the Insubres, as evidenced by the features of the burial rite and by the large number of drachmas of the Rikos type found in the tomb. The grave goods include some plates and one cup, some thin-walled ware, one “vaso a trottola” and two one-handled jugs, a Lamboglia 2 amphora, one bronze pitcher, two unguentaria and a pair of bronze strigils, one razor, one knife and sixteen coins. Particularly significant from a chronological point of view is the association between Nauheim, Cenisola fibulae and *Schüsselfibeln*.

This paper takes into consideration the archaeological findings, the architectural features of the tomb's structure and, finally, the results of the analyses carried out on the recovered anthropological and faunal remains.

Viene pubblicato integralmente il corredo di una importante tomba tardo La Tène scoperta a Treviglio (Bergamo) nel 1980. Grazie a un resoconto preliminare nel Notiziario Scavi di Studi Etruschi (L, 1982), questa tomba è diventata un contesto di riferimento per la cronologia relativa e assoluta del tardo La Tène nella Gallia Cisalpina.

La tomba di Treviglio è rappresentativa della fase LT D 2 così come è stata definita e viene utilizzata nell'Italia settentrionale, confrontabile con la fase LT D 1b dell'Europa centrale. Treviglio e l'area tra Adda e Serio facevano parte del territorio degli Insubri, come dimostrano le caratteristiche del rito funerario e il gran numero di dracme del tipo Rikos. Il corredo comprendeva un piccolo vaso a trottola, due olpai romane del tipo più antico, un'anfora Lamboglia 2, ceramiche a pareti sottili, patere e coppe a vernice nera e acrome, una brocca di bronzo del tipo Agde, due unguentari fusiformi, una coppia di strigili in bronzo, un rasoio e un coltello di ferro e fibule di tipo Nauheim, Cenisola e del tipo Schüsselfibel.

Infine, del corredo facevano parte sedici monete (quattro quinari, tre assi, nove dracme). L'analisi dei resti umani combusti indica un soggetto adulto giovane, mentre quella dei resti faunistici ha evidenziato resti di un Bos molto giovane e di Sus.

THE DISCOVERY

A Late La Tène grave was brought to light accidentally on February 14, 1980 in Treviglio, viale XXIV maggio, during excavation works for laying the sewerage system. A bulldozer unearthed it and destroyed its south-western corner; when it became clear that the tomb was an ancient structure and the archaeological exca-

vation started, an amphora had been already pushed away by the bulldozer: it was found externally, laying on the structure of the tomb¹.

The site is located at the southeastern side of Treviglio, a fully urbanized area². Another Late La Tène grave, of a much smaller size, had already been discovered in 1929 in Treviglio, Campo S. Maurizio, but it is a separate burial site, located about 1300 meters South-West (*fig. 1*)³.

The tomb, perfectly North-South oriented, was monumental for its size: 2.1 m long and 1.37 m wide⁴. The structure was made of bricks, tiles and barrel tiles. The rectangular burial chamber had a floor made up of eighteen bricks and walls made of five rows of bricks. The cover was ‘alla cappuccina’ (tile grave) with four tiles on the long side held by barrel tiles, the short side closed by a tile in the upright position and the top covered with four barrel tiles. The bricks are of sesquipedalian type, with a length ranging from 45.5 to 47.5 cm and a width ranging from 29.5 to 31.6 cm.

The soil penetrated inside the burial chamber and filled it completely. Along the east side the roof collapsed, damaged by the roots of a tree, with the partial collapse of the roof damaging the grave goods and crushing the bronze jug (*pl. XVIII a, c*).

The burial rite is cremation, with burnt bones scattered on the floor. Some cremated bones formed two little mounds, one close to the western and one close to the eastern wall. Anthropological analysis has identified a young adult subject, while sex determination is impossible. There were also animal bones from a young ox and a pig, found along the western wall near the strigils and the unguentaria (ointment vessels). In the Transpadana La Tène graves, meat offerings – generally pork – have been frequently found.

Outside, leaning on the west wall of the chamber, there were four iron rods that had to be part of the funerary bed with bone lining. The rods, 65-66 cm long, constituted the frame of the bed legs. The upper extremities were hammered to form a large circular head (*fig. 6 b 7-10*). Originally, some wooden rings should have been inserted on the rods to form the support for a decorative bone lining. Having been on the funeral pyre, all the parts made of wood, bone or other organic matter have not been preserved, except for some small bone fragments that must have been part of the lining of the *fulcrum* side. There are only eight preserved burnt bone fragments, but their limited dimensions do not allow the reconstruction of any decorative or figurative motives (*fig. 6 a 1-6*).

¹ The Authors wish to thank the Director, Dr. Riccardo Riganti, and the staff of the “Museo Civico di Treviglio Ernesto e Teresa Della Torre”, Dr. Sara Albergoni and Mr. Ernesto Belloli, for their kind help during documentation and study at the museum.

² Preliminary report on the discovery: DE MARINIS 1982, pp. 519-522, pl. LXXV.

³ TIZZONI 1981, pp. 25-26, pl. 17.

⁴ The excavation was carried out from 15 to 22 February 1980 under the direction of Raffaele C. de Marinis. The tomb began to appear at about 0.85 m from the road surface, while the bottom was just under 1.8 m deep.



fig. 1 - Map of the Treviglio area. 1. Via XXIV Maggio 17; 2. Campo S. Maurizio.

The bone-lined funeral beds spread in Italy from the 2nd century BC until the 1st century AD. The area with the greatest concentration of finds is central Italy. In Lombardy the discoveries were made in Brescia at the necropolis of S. Zeno street and in Cremona at the necropolis of S. Lorenzo and Marconi square. The reference study on this class of materials is Letta 1984, with a wide list of findings and previous bibliography. A general updated framework, especially for northern Italy, is provided by C. Bianchi (2000, 2010).

As said before, a Lamboglia 2 amphora (*fig. 2 b 1*) was laid at the south-western corner of the tomb. The other grave goods had been placed mainly along the inner wall of the West and East sides and towards the center of the floor in the northernmost part of the tomb (*fig. 2 a*).

Along the western side there was a black glazed Lamboglia 7 plate with the inscription *A* in Lepontic alphabet (*fig. 3 a 5*). Near the plate, there was a pair of strigils hanging on a bronze ring (*fig. 5 b*), two unguentaria (*fig. 3 b 3-4*), a slender one handled jug (olpe) (*fig. 2 b 3*); beside the jug there was a globular thin-walled ware beaker of Marabini I type (*fig. 3 a 8*).

Further on, at the center of the floor there were a small LT-type peg-top flask (“vaso a trottola”) (*fig. 3 b 1*), a globular coarse-ware strainer (*fig. 3 b 2*) and a

bronze mirror with bone handle, found close to the strainer (*fig. 5 a 1-2*). In the middlemost section of the northern wall, an iron knife was found (*fig. 6 a 1*).

A second group of vessels was located along the southern part of the eastern wall. It was a globular one handled jug (*olpe*) (*fig. 2 b 4*) that had been broken by the bulldozer and, below the jug, there were the fragments of two uncoated coarse ware vases: a Lamboglia 5/55 plate (*fig. 3 a 6*) and a Lamboglia 36 plate (*fig. 3 a 7*). Beside the jug and partly under it there were two fragmented Lamboglia 7 plates (*fig. 3 a 1-2*), stacked on top of each other. Next to the plates, towards the eastern wall, there were a Lamboglia 28 cup (*fig. 3 a 4*) and a globular thin-walled ware beaker (*fig. 3 a 9*). Further north a bronze pitcher, originally an Agde-type amphora (*fig. 3 b 5; pl. XVIII c-d*), was placed along the eastern side of the tomb with the detached handle on the floor between the vessel and the wall of the tomb.

Another thin-walled vessel of Marabini V/VI variety (*fig. 3 a 10*) was found broken along the southern wall; further on, towards the south-western corner, there was a Lamboglia 7 plate (*fig. 3 a 3*). In the south side again, there was also an iron razor with traces of the wood of the box (*fig. 6 a 2*).

Eleven bronze LT fibulae have been found (*fig. 4*). Six of them were towards the north-western corner: a bronze MLT scheme fibula (*figs. 2 a o; 4 b*), two Nauheim I fibulae (*figs. 2 a o, σ; 4 c, f*), two Cenisola fibulae (*figs. 2 a αγ, π; 4 g, i*) and a *Schüsselfibel* (*figs. 2 a ζ; 4 l*).

Five fibulae were along the eastern wall: two Nauheim (*figs. 2 a α; 4 d; figs. 2 a κ; 4 e*), one *Schüsselfibel* (*figs. 2 a μ; 4 m*), a LT D knotted fibula (*figs. 2 a ν; 4 a*), and an incomplete LT fibula lacking of the bow (*fig. 4 b*). These last three fibulae were associated with burnt human bones.

Near the middle of the eastern side, just north of the burnt bones and of the *Schüsselfibel*, fifteen coins were found, while a sixteenth coin was inside the cup Lamboglia 28. The coins include 4 silver quinarii, 3 Roman asses and 9 Cisalpine Gaul drachmas of the Rikos type (*pls. XIX-XX*).

Finally, the grave goods include a bronze rivet with a conical head (*fig. 5 a 3*), a bronze *specillum* (*fig. 5 a 6*) and some objects of difficult interpretation: two bronze disks (*fig. 5 a 4-5*) with indented (notched) edge, that could be part of a wooden pilgrim flask⁵ as well as four little bronze rings (*fig. 5 a 7-10*).

DISCUSSION

The transport amphora belongs to the Lamboglia 2 type, defined for the first time by N. Lamboglia on the basis of three amphorae from the Albenga wreck and of the finds from the excavations in the Ventimiglia *oppidum*. An overview of this type is due to M. T. Cipriano and M.-B. Carre (1989) and to C. Panella (1998). A study on the Lamboglia 2 amphorae found in Lombardy was published by B.

⁵ For a comparison see BUTTI RONCHETTI 2016; BUTTI *et al.* 2018.

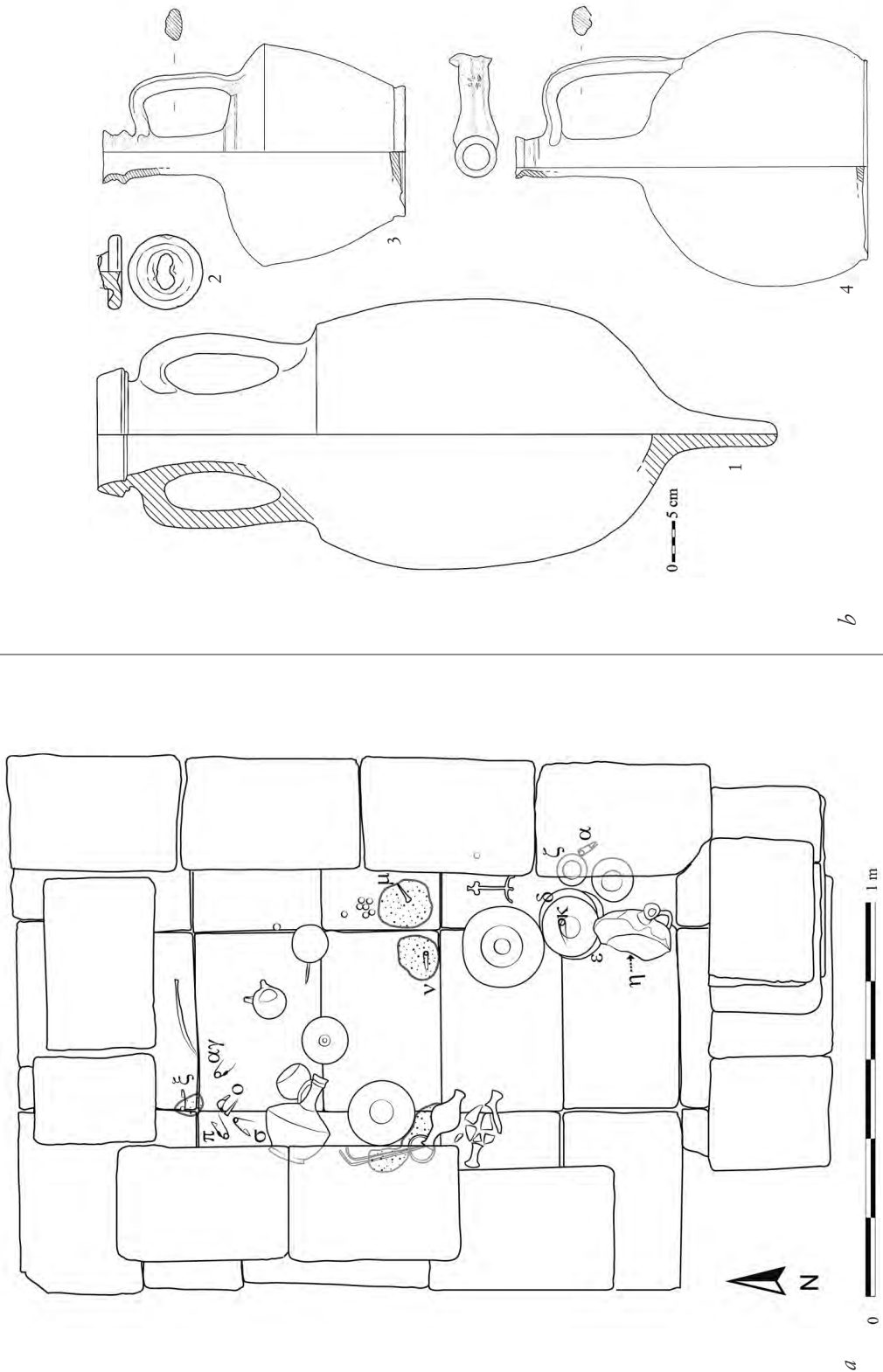


fig. 2 - a) Plan of the tomb with the grave-goods in the point in which they were found;
b) 1. Amphora of the Lamboglia 2 type; 2. Amphora stopper; 3-4. Olpai.

Bruno (1995). An updated version, especially regarding the production centers, is in M.-B. Carre, S. Pesavento Mattioli (2003), S. Menchelli (2011), M.-B. Carre, P. Monsieur, S. Pesavento Mattioli (2014). The Lamboglia 2 amphorae were initially considered oil amphorae, and their production was attributed to some centers of Apulia. Subsequently, the chemical analysis of residues and the presence of pitch showed that they were wine amphorae, while the production area has been identified along the Adriatic coast from the mouth of the Timavo to the Picenum.

A map showing the distribution of Lamboglia 2 amphorae published by M. T. Cipriano and M.-B. Carre in 1989 includes 126 finds, 38 wrecks among them. The greatest concentration of sites is in the Cisalpina, in the Venetia and along the Dalmatian coasts.

Within the Lamboglia 2 type there is a degree of morphological variability worthy of note with regard to the shape of the rim, the body and the toe. It is not clear whether the different varieties have a precise chronological meaning.

As far as the chronology is concerned, the Lamboglia 2 amphorae are dated from the last quarter of the 2nd to the third quarter of the 1st century BC. The amphora from Treviglio has precise comparisons in the wrecks of Vela Svitnja and Pernat II in Dalmatia, dated around 100 BC (Cambi 1989). In the context of a chronological-type seriation suggested by M. T. Cipriano (1994) and subdivided into three macro-groups, the first still close to the later Greek-Italic, the second considered as the classic variety and the third similar to Dressel 6A which will replace the Lamboglia 2, the amphora from Treviglio undoubtedly belongs to the more ancient variety.

Concerning the black glazed ware, it is from some local or regional manufacturing center: the slip is thin, not lustrous with brown shades and finger prints, sign of low quality products; the fabric is floury, reddish yellow or light red. There are one cup and four plates (*fig. 3 a 1-5*); the typologies are those widely spread in the contexts of the Cisalpine Gaul⁶ and in the Lepontic territory⁷.

The cup has an angular, quite rigid profile and therefore it can be assigned to the form Lamboglia 28/Morel 2654, which is very common in Lombardy, Piedmont and Ticino, and considered typical of the LT D 2 period⁸. The plates belong to the Lamboglia 7/Morel 2265, 2283 shapes, since they have a vertical or slightly everted rim and an angular profile. These types are well recorded in the Po valley contexts from the end of the 2nd century BC up to the third quarter of the 1st century BC⁹.

There are then two plates that imitate the shape of the black glazed ware, but they are uncoated: the so called “ceramica acroma o d’imitazione”, which usually outnumbers the black glazed ware in the LT D 2 Insubrian grave goods¹⁰: a *paterna*

⁶ DEODATO 1999a, p. 289 ff.

⁷ *Giubiasco* 2006, p. 183 ff.

⁸ FRONTINI 1985, p. 15; SFREDDA 1998, p. 26.

⁹ SFREDDA 1998, pp. 31-32.

¹⁰ For a good statistical sample see Oleggio: DEODATO 1999a, p. 289.

(*fig. 3 a 6*) which resembles the Lamboglia 5/55 form (Morel 2264b) and another, incomplete and lacking of the foot, which can be compared to the Lamboglia 36 form (*fig. 3 a 7*).

Three vessels are thin-walled ware, a production originally made in peninsular workshops, but well known in the Po valley during the second half of the 1st century BC, when manufacturing started in northern Italy too (*fig. 3 a 8-10*)¹¹. The globular beaker with the everted rim and the festooned dots motif *à la barbotine* (*fig. 3 a 8*) corresponds to form Marabini I, Ricci 1/1, widely spread in Lombardy as an import as well as a local product¹². It has a precise comparison at S. Maria di Zevio necropolis (Verona), where it is dated to LT D 1b by D. Božič¹³. The globular undecorated beaker (*fig. 3 a 9*) belongs to form Marabini IV, Ricci 1/89, which was in use during the 1st century BC until the Augustan age¹⁴.

Next to them, stands out the slender thin-walled ware vessel, decorated with an eyes-stamped motif (*fig. 3 a 10*), referable to the form Marabini V/VI or Angera 10/11¹⁵. It has morphological and technical features, i.e. the gray glossy coating, the gray refined texture, the decorations, which are typical of a production placed by A. Ricci in north-western Italy, the so called “Alpine Manufacture”¹⁶ well known in the Lepontic contexts as Giubiasco (grave 442: LT D 2)¹⁷ or Ornavasso S. Bernardo (grave 165: LT D 2)¹⁸. It has comparisons also in several LT sites in France and Switzerland, including Alesia, Bibracte-Mont Beuvray, Gergovia, Chateaufort, Bern-Enge, Yverdon, Geneva¹⁹.

The only really Gaulish-tradition-ware is the small “vaso a trottole” (*fig. 3 b 1*), a peg-top flask which shows all the features typical of the specimens spread during the LT D period: the narrow neck and the thickened and everted lip with triangular section and the angular shoulder. The peg-top flasks, frequent during the LT D 1, become rarer in the LT D 2, when Roman *olpai* appear in the grave-goods; in most cases they are small in size, with a height between 7.5 and 12 cm. This is the case of the tomb from Treviglio via XXIV Maggio²⁰, that depicts the transition between the two different traditions. Indeed, beside the peg-top flask, we have two Roman *olpai*

¹¹ TASSINARI 1998, pp. 38-39.

¹² TASSINARI 1998, p. 63, pl. XXI, 3.

¹³ Mirandola, grave 10 (SALZANI 1999, p. 28, pl. VIII C: 2); Božič 2008, p. 127, fig. 60, 5.

¹⁴ TASSINARI 1998, pp. 45, 55, pl. XIV, 6.

¹⁵ TASSINARI 1998, p. 57, pl. XV, 10-11.

¹⁶ RICCI 1985, p. 348.

¹⁷ *Giubiasco* 2006, pp. 227-228, figs. 6, 35; 6, 37.

¹⁸ GRAUE 1974, pl. 165, 4.

¹⁹ DÉCHELETTE 1914, p. 1486, fig. 680; BERGER 1974, p. 77, fig. 19, 6.

²⁰ Cf. Remedello grave V, Treviglio-S. Maurizio (TIZZONI 1981, pl. 17 d), Cascina Cacciabuoi (TIZZONI 1981, pl. 19 b), Valeggio sul Mincio grave 33 (SALZANI 1995, pl. XVI d3), Dormelletto graves 5, 6, 10 (SPAGNOLO GARZOLI 2009, figs. 233/6; 234/6; 243/3), Ornavasso S. Bernardo graves 15, 165 (GRAUE 1974, pls. 18, 5, 7; 41, 2).

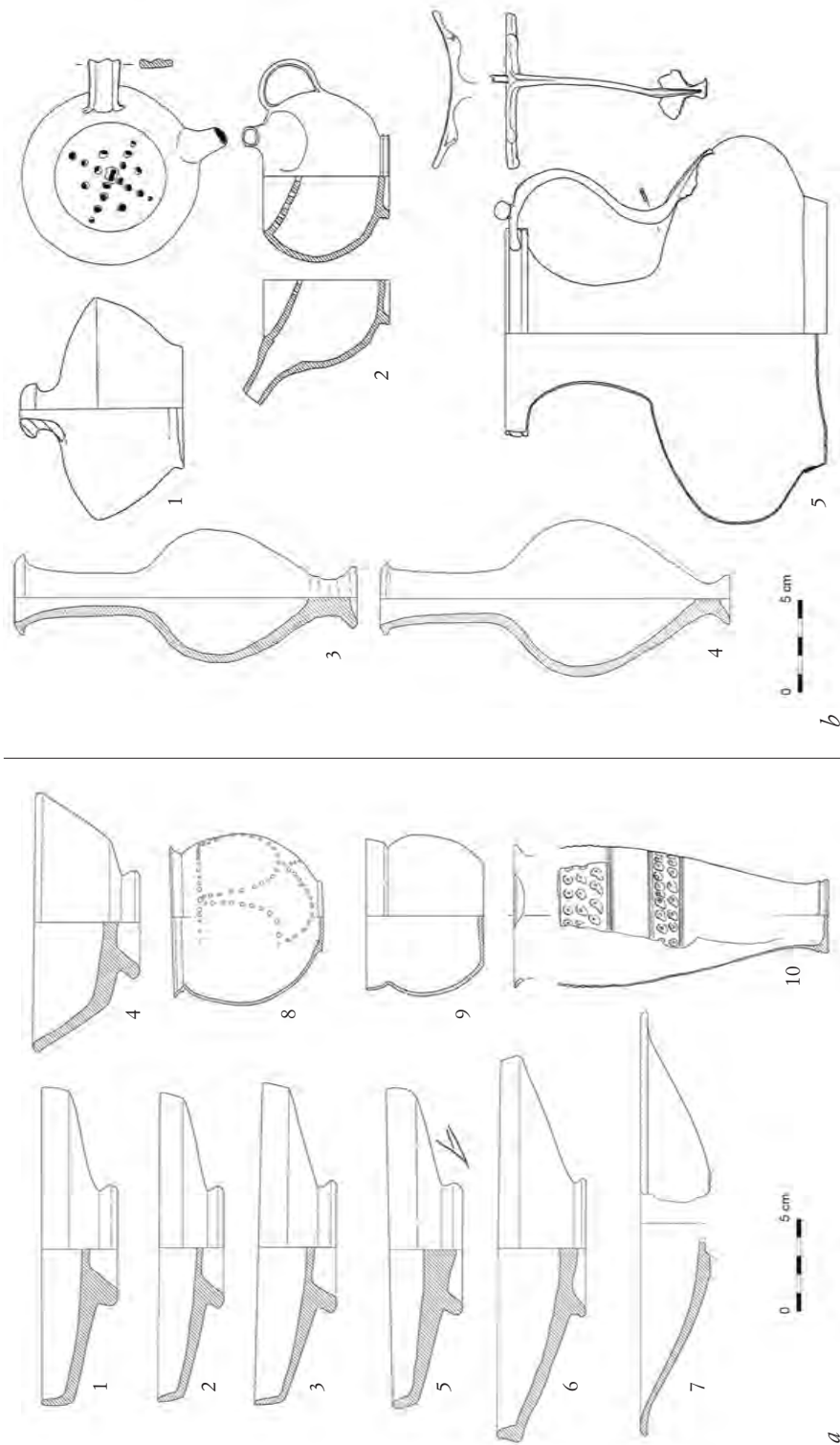


fig. 3 - a) 1-3, 5. Lamboglia 7 paterae; 4. Lamboglia 28 cup; 6. Coarse ware Lamboglia 5/55 patera; 7. Coarse ware Lamboglia 36 plate; 8-10. Thin-walled ware; b) 1. Peg-top flask (“vaso a trottole”); 2. Strainer; 3-4. Balsamaria; 5. Bronze pitcher.

of the earliest typologies: one belongs to the so-called “late-Republican” type (*fig. 2 b 3*), with a slender body and a sharpened shoulder, very common in Lombardy and Piedmont since the LT D 2 horizon²¹. The second one is bulging (*fig. 2 b 4*)²². Both are coarse ware, with a smoothed surface.

The peg-top flasks were probably used for wine, as it is inscribed in Lepontic letters (*uinos*) on the specimen from Ornavasso S. Bernardo, grave 84²³.

The vessel set for the consumption of wine includes also a bronze vessel and a globular coarse ware strainer (*fig. 3 b 2*), which is hand-made, with a handle and a pouring spout. Moreover, we could add a wooden pilgrim flask²⁴, if it is correct to consider the two bronze disks (*fig. 5 a 4-5*) as *appliques* fixed at the center of the two faces of the flask; a doubt arises since several metal parts such as those relating to the spout or the suspension system would be missing.

The bronze vessel of Agde type is new to Lombardy and Transpadana in general (*fig. 3 b 5*; *pl. XVIII c-d*). The two upper arms of the handle end with a duck head, while the lower plate for the attachment to the body has a heart shape. The bottom was worked separately and welded to the body, which indicates that the vessel must have been repaired, since the original top and bottom had to be uniform. The spreading area of the Agde type (Feugère 1991) shows a concentration of finds in Etruria and a scattering from the Iberian peninsula to Macedonia. The chronology of the type, after Feugère, dates back to the middle of the 2nd century BC until the first decades of the 1st century BC. The specimen from Treviglio seems to be the latest and this is in agreement with the fact that the bottom has been reworked and modified and the two handles remained one.

Agde-type bronze amphorae or pitchers are not widespread, to the list of finds published by Feugère we can add only three specimens discovered in the 19th century in the Verona territory²⁵.

The fibulae are all bronze La Tène types (*fig. 4*). They include a MLT scheme fibula, a knotted bow fibula²⁶, two pairs of Nauheim, a pair of Cenisola and a pair of *Schüsselfibeln*. This assemblage points to a dating of the tomb to a chronological phase after the LT D 1, well exemplified by the Misano of Gera d’Adda grave²⁷. The MLT fibula has a bilateral 16-coil spring and the foot bent back and wrapped around the bow by a profiled sleeve. It could be in relation with the Manching Group 22,

²¹ DELLA PORTA - SFREDDA - TASSINARI 1998, p. 187, “olpe n. 3” (*pl. CIX, 1-2*); SPAGNOLO GARZOLI 1999, p. 314; *Giubiasco* 2006, p. 216.

²² DELLA PORTA - SFREDDA - TASSINARI 1998, p. 188, *pl. CIX, 5*.

²³ GRAUE 1974, *pl. 30, 3*.

²⁴ BUTTI RONCHETTI 2016; BUTTI RONCHETTI *et al.* 2018.

²⁵ BOLLA - CASTOLDI 2016, pp. 144, 151, *fig. 23*; *pl. 4, XVIII.3*.

²⁶ Formerly defined as Almgren 65, before restoration (DE MARINIS 1982).

²⁷ TIZZONI 1981, *pls. 1-7*.

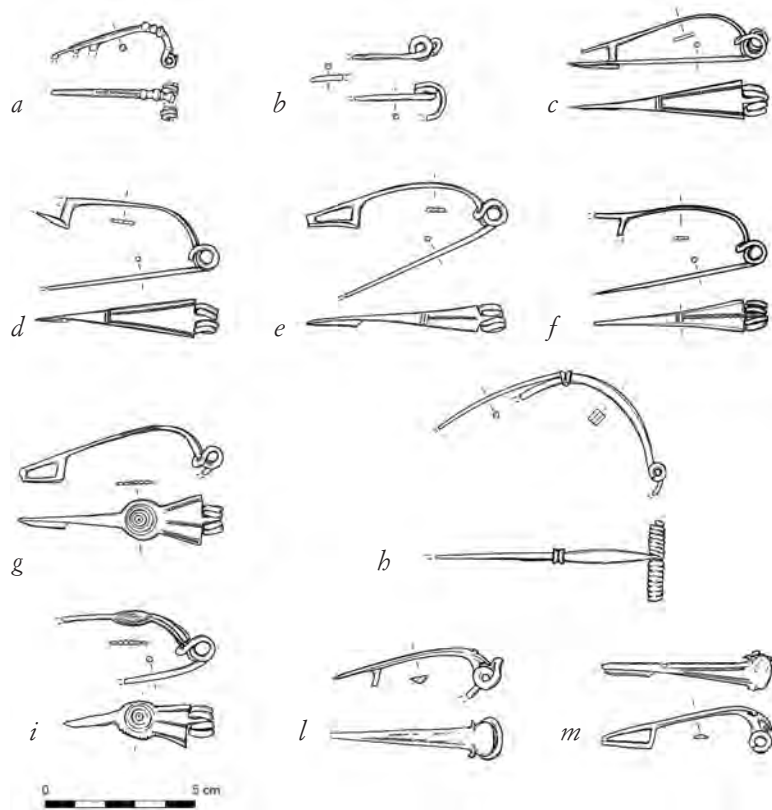


fig. 4 - a) Knotted fibula; b) External chord and bilateral four-coil spring, the bow and the catch are missing; c-f) Nauheim fibulae; g, i) Cenisola fibulae; h) Fibula of middle La Tène scheme; l-m) *Schüsselfibeln*.

whose peak is at the beginning of LT D²⁸, or with the Misano type, which dates to LT D 1²⁹, but it differs from the latter due to the quadrangular section of the bow.

The knotted fibula has a decorative ledge along the bow formed by a line of small dots. According to Demetz 1999, it is distinguishable from the Almgren 65 for the head, which is slightly enlarged and strongly curved, and was produced since the early Augustan period (ca 40-30 BC)³⁰. A good comparison can be found at Ornavasso Persona, grave 102³¹.

The Nauheim fibulae have a triangular band bow with roller-stamped and engraved decoration, which can be referred to the Manching group 7 after Gebhard

²⁸ GEBHARD 1991, pp. 84-85, pl. 43, 674.

²⁹ TIZZONI 1981, pl. 6, 1-3.

³⁰ DEMETZ 1999, pp. 38-42.

³¹ GRAUE 1974, pl. 46, 8.

1991, to the E Group after K. Striwe³² or to type I.1 after Demetz 1999. The horizon of the Nauheim I, formerly considered LT D 1 (Feugère 1985), has been extended from 120 to 40 BC (Striwe 1996).

The Cenisola fibulae have the bow decorated by three roller-stamped lines, a feature that allows to relate them to the Group 1 after Striwe³³ or the variety Ib1 after S. Demetz³⁴. This feature is well known in Ticino, in Lombardy and Piedmont within LT D 2 contexts³⁵.

The *Schüsselfibeln* belong to the Ia2 type after Demetz³⁶, exemplified by the specimens from the LT D 2 Verdello grave³⁷.

Several finds refer to a toilette set, which includes two coarse ware vessels for perfumed oil, an iron razor, strigils and a bronze mirror with a bone, ribbed handle. The razor (*fig. 6 a 2*) is badly preserved but, as far as the crescent-shaped blade, it finds comparisons in burials dating to the late 1st century BC and the Augustan age³⁸. The unguentaria (*fig. 3 b 3-4*) are smoothed, fine ware, very similar in shape: everted and thickened lip forming a triangular section, cylindrical neck, an ovoid body and a concave flared foot³⁹. Both retain a patina due to a blackish substance on the inner surface, with dripping on the outer side along the neck. It deals with a typical Roman production, made in coarse ware in late Republican age up to the first decades of the 1st century AD, when the glass series begun. The strigils (*fig. 5 b*) have a handle consisting of a rectangular, narrow and elongated ribbon ring (*capulus*), while the so called spoon (*ligula*) is initially almost straight and at the middle of the path it bends with a progressive curvature. The inner side of the handle is slightly narrower than the outer one, while the spoon widens towards the apex. The top of the handle is horizontal. On the inner face of the handle, down towards the beginning of the spoon, there are two stamps impressed between two engraved lines: a rosette and a legend of difficult reading, perhaps LU.

Systematic studies are not available on the strigils⁴⁰: however, some elements of morphological description and a chronological seriation have been proposed by E. Kotera-Feyer⁴¹. A typology for the specimens of the Tarquinia museum was for-

³² STRIEWE 1996, p. 63.

³³ STRIEWE 1996, p. 85.

³⁴ DEMETZ 1999, p. 64.

³⁵ Oleggio grave 92 (SPAGNOLO GARZOLI 1999, fig. 141); Verdello grave 1958-59 (TIZZONI 1981, pl. 18 g-h).

³⁶ DEMETZ 1999, p. 64.

³⁷ TIZZONI 1981, p. 27, pl. 15 a-b.

³⁸ DEODATO 1999b, p. 332.

³⁹ DELLA PORTA - SFREDDA - TASSINARI 1998, p. 225, pl. CLVIII, 1-3.

⁴⁰ In general see: DORIGNY 1919; THULLIER 1989; KOTERA-FEYER 1993; CARAMELLA 1995; JOLIVET 1995 and 2008; JURGEIT 1999.

⁴¹ KOTERA-FEYER 1993, pp. XIV-XV and 125-128.

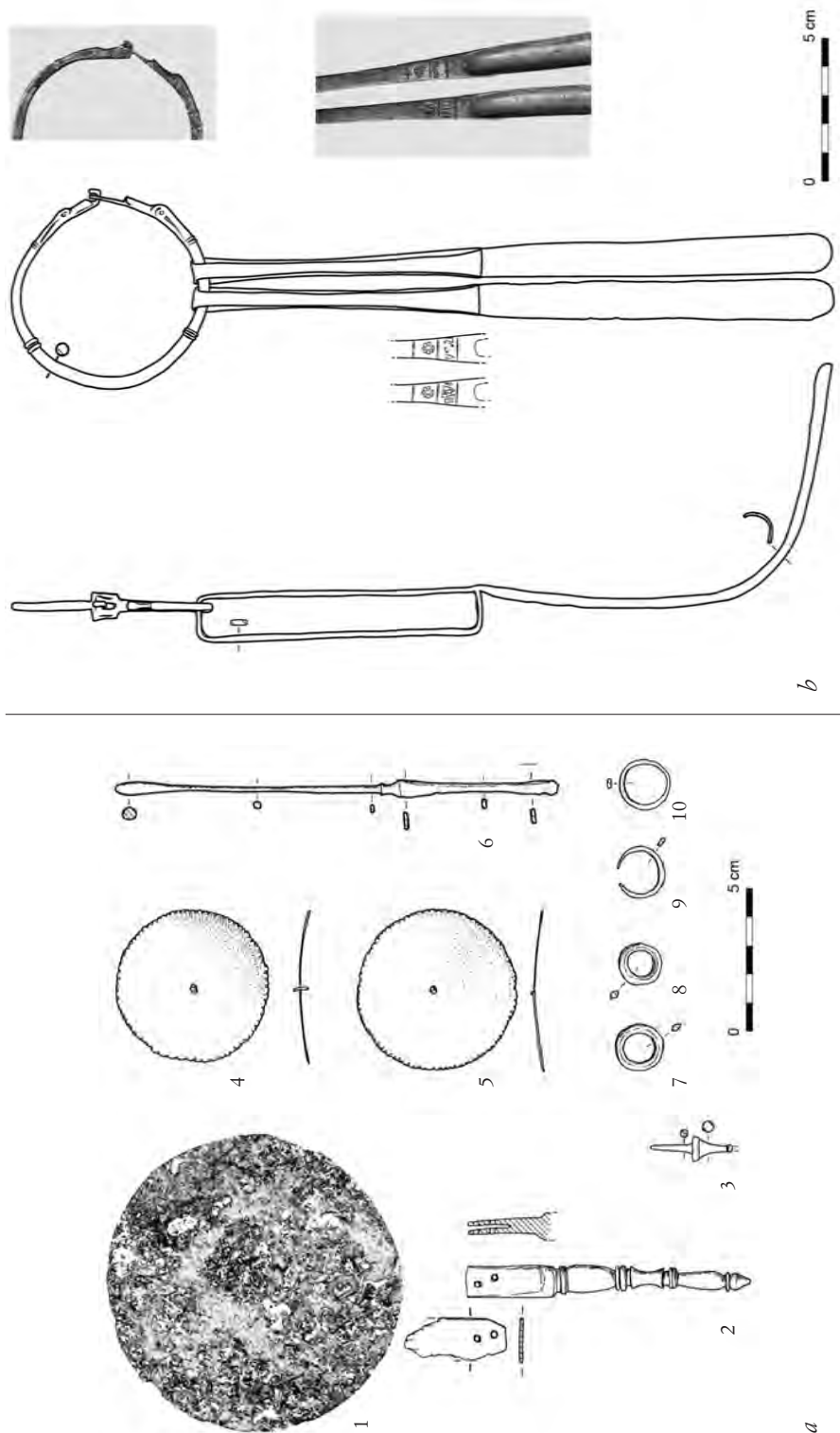


fig. 5 - a) 1. Mirror; 2. Bone handle of the mirror; 3. Bronze rivet; 4-5. Bronze disks with indented edges; 6. *Specillum*; 7-10. Rings;
 b) A pair of strigils hanging on a ring, on the right details of the duck head shaped endings of the ring and of the stamps impressed on the inner face of the strigils. Bronze.

mulated by G. Caramella⁴², who does not consider the Late-Republican age types. Jolivet 1995 and 2008 follows the typological classification proposed by Palmer for strigils from Corinth. Furthermore, in this case, the strigils taken into consideration are mainly dating back to the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. The Etruscan-Italic strigils of the 4th-3rd century BC have a handle that is mostly short and wide, with a rounded top, the outer side is narrower than the inside one, and the spoon is much wider than the handle. From the middle of the 2nd century BC the bronze strigils display the shape recorded in the Treviglio grave. As Kotera-Feyer writes (1993, p. 127), the vertical shape of the profile becomes more and more dominant, in part due to the shrinkage in the rectangular handle. Many examples can be cited and we remember some: Taranto-Corvisca district, grave 185, dated to the third quarter of the 2nd century BC⁴³; Taranto-via generale Messina, grave 20, dated to the first half of the 1st century BC⁴⁴; Povegliano-Ortaglia near Verona⁴⁵; Nîmes grave 225, dated to the second quarter of the 1st century BC⁴⁶; a grave from Boissières (Gard) dated to 30 BC, but probably a few decades older⁴⁷.

The suspension ring has two duck head shaped endings that hook each other. Many others are known in Transpadana, especially from Lombardy and Piedmont, as S. Bernardo di Ornavasso, grave 6⁴⁸, Misano di Gera d'Adda⁴⁹, Gottolengo località Cascina Riccio⁵⁰, Oleggio⁵¹. Here, strigils appear from the La Tène D 1 period⁵².

The sixteen coins include 4 silver quinarii, 3 Roman bronze asses and 9 Cisalpine Gaul silver drachmas. The Cisalpine Gaul drachmas are all of the Rikos type, with the head of Artemis Ephesia on the obverse and a gradient lion and a legend on the reverse (*pl.* XX). Their weight is for the most part above 2 g (2.45; 2.24; 2.16; 2, 13; 2.10; 2.05), with only one coin being just below (1.95 g), while two worn out specimens weigh 1.73 and 1.95 g. The spreading of the Rikos type is concentrated in the territory between the Sesia-Ticino and the Serio-Adda rivers, with a significant presence even in the territories just south of the Po river, from Casteggio up to Cortemaggiore. The discovery of at least 36 specimens in Milan clarifies that the

⁴² CARAMELLA 1995.

⁴³ DE JULIIS 1984, p. 488 ff., pl. CXXXIX, 9.

⁴⁴ DE JULIIS 1984, pp. 509-513, pl. CLVI, 2-4.

⁴⁵ BOLLA - BUONOPANE 2010, fig. 3.

⁴⁶ FEUGÈRE *et al.* 1995, fig. 13.

⁴⁷ PY 1972, figs. 5-6.

⁴⁸ La Tène D 1: GRAUE 1974, pl. 9, 1.

⁴⁹ La Tène D 1: TIZZONI 1981, p. 10, n. 23.

⁵⁰ RAPI 2009b, p. 696, note 106.

⁵¹ SPAGNOLO GARZOLI 1999: grave 212, fig. 258, 5 (LT D 1); grave 95, fig. 147, 2 (LT D 2).

⁵² Cfr. KNOBLOCH 2007, with previous bibliography; RAPI 2009a, pls. XIX, 144-145 (Caccivio); XXV, 188 (Casatenovo). For the use of the strigils in the first half of the 1st century BC see P. G. GUZZO, *Montefiascone (Viterbo), tomba del I sec. av. Cr.*, in *NSc* 1970, pp. 163-177.

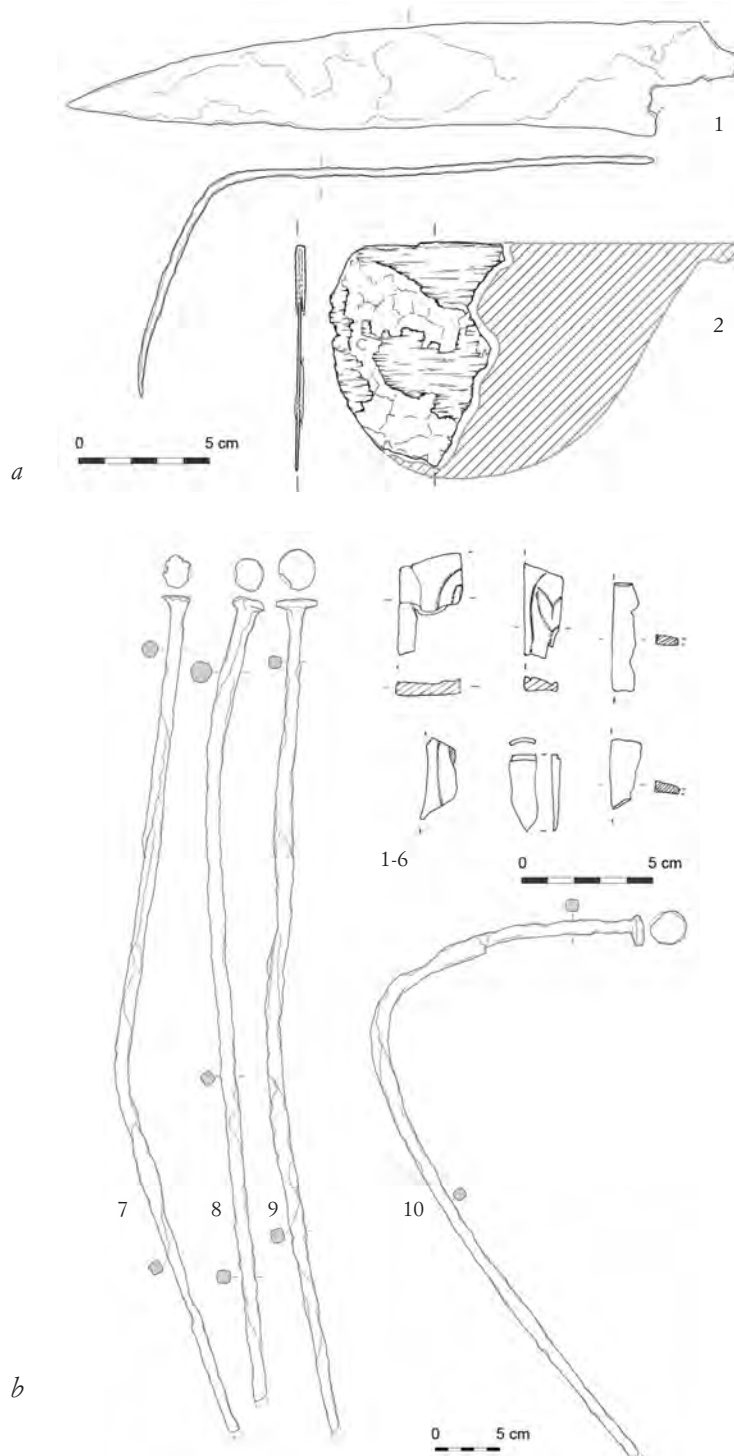


fig. 6 - a) 1. Iron knife; 2. Iron razor. Iron and wood; b) 1-6. Fragments of the worked bone lining of the funerary bed; 7-10. Four iron rods belonging to the funerary bed.

emission center was *Mediolanum*, the capital of the Insubres. To the east, the Rikos drachmas are almost completely absent in the territory of the Cenomani, while towards the west and south-west the finds are sporadic⁵³. All scholars agree that the Rikos drachmas represent the last phase of the emissions by the Insubres. Lastly, G. Gorini (2014) in an articulated update of the different phases of Celtic Po Valley emissions, marked by the progressive reduction of weight, defines three phases and assigns the Rikos type to the third and last phase, from 101 to 49 BC. The average weight calculated on 45 specimens (excluding the Treviglio grave) is 1.69 g, while the average of the nine coins from Treviglio is 2.06 g. In light of the weight's value, it is probable that the drachmas from Treviglio grave belong to the beginning of the Rikos type emissions. It must however be emphasized that the data of the excavations carried out in Milan allow rather generic and not very precise dating. The only closed contexts are the grave from Treviglio-via XXIV Maggio and three graves from Ornavasso⁵⁴.

The three Roman asses have two-faced Janus' head on the obverse and a ship prow on the reverse, in a case there is trace of the legend ROMA (*pl.* XIX e-g). The weights are 28.69, 21.82 and 21.09 g. These are old coins, minted a long time before the Treviglio grave. On the contrary, instead, the four silver quinarii look like they have just been minted and show nearly no trace of wear (*pl.* XIX a-d). The legend allows us to specify the date of issue: P. Vettius Sabinus Quaestor (100-97 BC), M. Porcius Cato Pro Praetor (89 BC), Q. Titius (88-87 BC), L. Rubrius Dossenus (87-86 BC). Therefore, the silver quinarius issue by L. Rubrius Dossenus in 86 BC constitutes a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the tomb, while the beginning of the Augustan age represents a reliable *terminus ante quem*.

CONCLUSIONS

The tomb discovered in Treviglio-via XXIV Maggio corresponds to LT D 1b after Dragan Božič, but in northern Italy it is preferable to maintain the label LT D 2, because the next chronological phase is called the “Augustan age” and it is no longer possible to use the La Tène label.

The area south of Bergamo between Adda and Serio was part of the Insubrian territory and the burial rite and all the characteristics of the grave goods from the tomb discovered in Treviglio confirm it, in particular the high number of drachmas of the Rikos type.

⁵³ ARSLAN 1986 and 1990. For the spread of the RIKOS type, see E. ARSLAN (ed.), *Saggio di repertorio dei ritrovamenti in Europa di moneta celtica padana e di moneta celtica non padana in Italia*, online <<http://ermannoarslan.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/RepertorioMonetaCelticaPadanaInItalia.pdf>> (last accessed 8 gen. 2019).

⁵⁴ S. Bernardo grave 84, Persona grave 35 and grave 57: GRAUE 1974, pp. 19, 228, 252, 255.

Lacking a clear result by anthropological analysis (see L. Lamanna, *infra*), the gender attribution is a complicated issue. The strigil is certainly a typically male object, symbol of the care of the body, of the physical exercises practiced in gyms and of athletic activities, but as it has been widely demonstrated by F. Colivicchi (2006) in the Etruscan and Italic world strigils are found both in male and in female graves. The mirror is instead a symbol of the female world, but there are numerous depictions on the Attic and Italiote pottery of males holding the mirror and in Magna Graecia, in Italic and Etruscan contexts there are certainly male tombs with the mirror among the grave-goods (Colivicchi 2006). «In the absence of other data, a tomb with both the mirror and the strigil can be either a male with a mirror or a female with a strigil»⁵⁵.

In the Transpadana, the late La Tène graves with strigils are all male (Misano di Gera d'Adda, Mezzano di Melegnano, Soldo di Alzate, Malpaga); the same is true at Ornavasso (S. Bernardo graves 6 and 11, Persona grave 100)⁵⁶. Moreover, there are certainly male graves such as Misano di Gera d'Adda and Mezzano di Melegnano, in which the mirror is present. Therefore, taking into account the cultural sphere to which the Treviglio tomb belongs, it is quite likely to be attributed to a male subject.

Other aspects of the grave-goods confirm this. The first is the iron razor, which is a characteristic element of male burials: female burials with razor, at least in the Transpadana region, are unknown⁵⁷. In addition, in the grave there is a service for the consumption of food (paterae, cups) and a service for drinking wine: a Lamboglia 2 wine amphora, an Agde-type bronze amphora, a clay sieve, a peg top flask and two Roman olpai, three thin-walled beakers and the two bronze discs that were probably part of a wooden pilgrim flask, a specific component of the male equipment. Wine services too are characteristic of male burials in Transpadana.

According to Demetz⁵⁸, even the features of the brooches set could be a key for understanding gender. The Cenisola type is considered a male object. As for the Nauheim I fibulae, in the northern Alpine region, in Valais and in Slovenia they seem to have a female connotation, but in the Gaulish Cisalpine area they are present both in the female and male tombs. At Valeggio sul Mincio, in a female inhumation tomb (tomb 21), two Nauheim I fibulae were placed paired at the height of the pelvis. The Treviglio grave is considered a male burial because of the strigils and the razor and, as we have said just before, also because of the wine service⁵⁹.

⁵⁵ COLIVICCHI 2006, p. 291.

⁵⁶ GRAUE 1974, pls. 9, 1; 15, 4; 75, 4.

⁵⁷ At the Oleggio cemetery (Novara), in the grave no. 95 – a male burial, determined by anthropological analysis – strigils are associated to a razor and a knife, exactly as at Treviglio-via XXIV Maggio. See SPAGNOLO GARZOLI 1999.

⁵⁸ DEMETZ 1999, pp. 63, 84-85.

⁵⁹ SALZANI 1995, p. 33, pl. XIV a. For another male tomb, see also Mariano al Brembo grave: DE MARINIS 1977, pl. 11.

As is known, the composition of the funeral equipment depends partly on the sex and the age of the deceased, but above all on their social rank. The Treviglio tomb does not belong to an urban center like *Mediolanum*, but evidently to a smaller center of the Insubrian territory. In spite of this fact, the monumental structure of the tomb, the articulated composition of the rich grave goods including a service for drinking wine and consuming food, thin-walled ware, personal toilet tools typical of the Roman world such as a pair of strigils, the large set of fibulae that served to tie up the garments, the substantial hoard of Roman and Celtic silver coins, indicate that the deceased had to enjoy a high social status and certainly belonged to the local élites.

In the period LT D 2, so well exemplified by the Treviglio tomb, the Insubrian territory was part of the *provincia Cisalpina*, of which Caesar was proconsul throughout the period of the Gallic Wars (58-52 BC). According to the *ius Latii* granted in 89 BC with the *lex Pompeia*, local magistrates were able to gain access to Roman citizenship. It is therefore probable that the man placed on the funeral pyre on a bone-lined bed – of which almost nothing has remained, if not small fragments mixed with the burnt human bones – was an Insuber who obtained the Roman citizenship. The disappearance of La Tène weapons from the funerary equipment in the LT D 2 period is significant in this regard.

CATALOGUE

Pottery

- Amphora. Lamboglia 2 type. Cat. no. 28282/a (*fig. 2 b 1*). Orange-pink clay (Munsell 7,5YR 7/8). Max. diam. 36.9 cm; max. ht. 88 cm.
- Amphora stopper. Cat. no. 28282/b (*fig. 2 b 2*). Broken at the socket. Non-micaceous orange-pink clay (Munsell 7,5YR 7/8). Max. diam. 9.7 cm; max. ht. 3 cm.
- Jug (olpe). Cat. no. 28289 (*fig. 2 b 3*). Coarse ware. Everted rim, edged shoulder, ribbed handle, concave ring foot. Micaceous reddish-yellow clay (Munsell 7,5YR 7/8). Max. diam. 17.3 cm; diam. of foot 10.3 cm; ht. 24 cm. Complete. Found along the western side.
- Jug (olpe). Cat. no. 28294 (*fig. 2 b 4*). Coarse ware. Everted rim, globular body, ribbed handle, ring foot. Eight-petal rosette stamped on the handle. Micaceous reddish-yellow clay (Munsell 7,5YR 7/8). Max. diam. 19.8 cm; diam. of foot 15.6 cm; ht. 27.5 cm. Found fragmented at the south eastern corner of the burial, pushing down pateras Inv. 28296 and 28297. Restored.
- Balsam vessel (balsamarium). Cat. no. 28290 (*fig. 3 b 3*). Fine ware. Everted and edged rim, molded concave foot. Micaceous yellow clay (Munsell 10YR 7/6). Max. diam. 7.1 cm; diam. of foot 3.2 cm; ht. 18.4 cm. Complete. Found along the eastern side of the burial.
- Balsam vessel (balsamarium). Cat. no. 28291 (*fig. 3 b 4*). Fine ware. Everted and edged rim, molded concave foot. Micaceous yellow clay (Munsell 10YR 7/6).

- Max. diam. 8.5 cm; diam. of foot 2.7 cm; ht. 19 cm. Restored. Found along the eastern side of the burial, near the previous one.
- Black-glazed patera. Cat. no. 28283 (*fig. 3 a 1*). Similar to Lamboglia 7 (Morel 2265). Brownish-black, not lustrous slip, unglazed finger prints. Non-micaceous reddish yellow clay (Munsell 5YR 6/8). Diam. of mouth 17 cm; diam. of foot 6.5 cm; ht. 4.1 cm. Found fragmented (two sherds) at the south-eastern corner of the burial, stacked on patera inv. 28284 (see plan *fig. 2 a ε*). Restored.
- Black-glazed patera. Cat. no. 28284 (*fig. 3 a 2*). Similar to Lamboglia 7 (Morel 2283). Brownish-black, not lustrous slip, unglazed finger prints. Non-micaceous reddish yellow clay (Munsell 5YR 6/8). Diam. of mouth 16.7 cm; diam. of foot 6.6 cm; ht. 3.6 cm. Found complete at the south-eastern corner of the burial, stacked with patera Inv. 28283 (see plan *fig. 2 a δ*).
- Black-glazed patera. Cat. no. 28298 (*fig. 3 a 3*). Similar to Lamboglia 7 (Morel 2283). Brownish-gray, thin and diluted slip, now ruined. Non-micaceous reddish yellow clay (Munsell 5YR 6/8). Diam. of mouth 17.3 cm; diam. of foot 7.1 cm; ht. 4.3 cm. Found fragmented towards the south-western corner of the burial. Restored, incomplete.
- Black-glazed cup. Cat. no. 28285 (*fig. 3 a 4*). Similar to Lamboglia 28 (Morel 2654). Thickened rim, carinated shaped basin, flared foot. Brownish-black, not lustrous slip, unglazed finger prints. Non-micaceous reddish yellow clay (Munsell 5YR 6/8). Diam. of mouth 14 cm; diam. of foot 5.8 cm; ht. 5.8 cm. Found complete at the south-eastern corner of the burial, contained the bronze coin Inv. 28329.
- Black-glazed patera. Cat. no. 28286 (*fig. 3 a 5*). Similar to Lamboglia 7 (Morel 2283). Letter *A* engraved on the outer surface, just above the foot. Brownish-black, thin and diluted slip, now ruined. Non-micaceous reddish yellow clay (Munsell 5YR 6/8). Diam. of mouth 17.2 cm; diam. of foot 7.1 cm; ht. 4.3 cm. Found at the middle of the eastern side, near the strigils. Restored.
- Coarse ware patera. Cat. no. 28296 (*fig. 3 a 6*). Similar to Lamboglia 5/55 (Morel 2264b). In-turned lip, carinated basin. Smoothed surface. Micaceous reddish-yellow clay (Munsell 7.5YR 7/8). Diam. of mouth 20.3 cm; diam. of foot 7.5 cm; ht. 4.7 cm. Found fragmented, partly under the jug cat. no. 28294, partly at the south-eastern corner of the burial. Restored.
- Coarse ware patera. Cat. no. 28297 (*fig. 3 a 7*). Similar to Lamboglia 36 (Morel 1271). Flanged, slightly curved lip. Micaceous reddish-yellow clay (Munsell 7.5YR 7/8). Diam. of mouth 22 cm; diam. of foot 6 cm; ht. 4 cm. Found fragmented partly under the jug cat no. 28294 (see plan *fig. 2 a η*). Restored, uncomplete.
- Thin-walled ware beaker. Cat. no. 28292 (*fig. 3 a 8*). Form V after Marabini 1973. Everted lip, globular body, ring foot; festoon motif made by dots in relief. Micaceous reddish-yellow clay (Munsell 7.5YR 7/8). Max. diam. 9.2 cm; diam. of foot 3.8 cm; ht. 8.3 cm. Found along the western side, near the jug cat. no. 28289.

- Thin-walled ware beaker. Cat. no. 28293 (*fig. 3 a 9*). Form VI after Marabini 1973. Everted lip, globular body, concave base. Smoothed surface, black engobe coating on lip and shoulder. Micaceous reddish-yellow clay (Munsell 7.5YR 7/8). Max. diam. 8.7 cm; diam. of foot 5.5 cm; ht. 6.3 cm. Found fragmented at the south-eastern corner of the burial (see plan *fig. 2 a ζ*). Restored.
- Thin-walled ware vessel. Cat. no. 28295 (*fig. 3 a 10*). Form I after Marabini 1973. Everted lip, slender body, moulded foot. Two bands decorated by thin grooves and little cup-marks in the shape of *oculi*. Smoothed surface with a gray glossy coating. Micaceous light brownish gray clay (Munsell 10YR 6/2). Max. diam. 8 cm; diam. of foot 4 cm; reconstructed max. ht. 14.9 cm. Found fragmented along the southern side of the burial. Restored (the connection between lip-shoulder is missing).
- Strainer. Cat. no. 28287 (*fig. 3 b 2*). Hand-formed, sandy coarse ware. Short cylindrical spout, ribbon handle, the upper face is concave and has holes arranged in rays. Micaceous reddish-yellow clay (Munsell 7.5YR 7/8). Max. diam. 9.3 cm; diam. of foot 4.3 cm; ht. 8 cm. Found approximately towards the north, in the middle.
- “Vaso a trottola” (peg top flask). Cat. no. 28288 (*fig. 3 b 1*). Smoothed coarse ware. Externally thickened rim, angulated shoulder, ring foot. Micaceous reddish-yellow clay (7.5YR 7/8). Max. diam. 12 cm; diam. of foot 6.7 cm; ht. 8.8 cm. Complete. Found towards the center of the burial.

Metal and bone objects

- Pitcher. Cat. no. 28296 (*fig. 3 b 5; pl. XVIII c-d*). Bronze. Obtained by an Agde-type amphora. Profiled vertical lip with two horizontal engravings, bulging body. The concave base consists of a separate sheet, added *ab antiquo* and interlocked to repair it. Cast bronze handle with upper attachment in the shape of duck-beak and lower one in the shape of stylized heart-shaped leaf. Diam. of mouth 11.4 cm; max. diam. 21 cm; ht. 18.1 cm. Found broken and crushed; the handle was detached, near the eastern side of the burial. Restored.
- Knotted LT III scheme fibula. Cat. no. 28345 (*fig. 4 a; plan, fig. 2 a v*). Bronze. Ribbed bow decorated by a ledge formed by a line of little dots. Max. length 4.2 cm; max. width 0.7 cm. Incomplete, restored.
- Incomplete La Tène fibula. Cat. no. 28352 (*fig. 4 b*). Bronze. External chord and bilateral four-coil spring. Length 5.1 cm; max. width 0.8 cm. Restored.
- MLT scheme fibula. Cat. no. 28349 (*fig. 4 b; plan, fig. 2 a o*). Bronze. Max. length 7.8 cm; max. width 2.9 cm. Restored.
- Nauheim fibula. Cat. no. 28343 (*fig. 4 c; plan, fig. 2 a α*). Bronze. Triangular band bow with engraved decoration. Length 6.7 cm; max. width 1.3 cm. Restored.

- Nauheim fibula. Cat. no. 28342 (*fig. 4 d*; plan, *fig. 2 a κ*). Bronze. Triangular band bow with engraved decoration. Max. length 6.3 cm; max. width 1.3 cm. Restored.
- Nauheim fibula. Cat. no. 28347 (*fig. 4 e*; plan, *fig. 2 a σ*). Bronze. Triangular band bow with engraved decoration. Length 6.8 cm; max. width 0.9 cm. Restored.
- Nauheim fibula. Cat. no. 28348 (*fig. 4 f*; plan, *fig. 2 a ο*). Bronze. Triangular band bow with engraved decoration. Max. length 5.75 cm; max. width 1.1 cm. Restored.
- Cenisola fibula. Cat. no. 28346 (*fig. 4 i*; plan, *fig. 2 a π*). Bronze. Max. length 6.8 cm; max. width 1.2 cm. Restored.
- Cenisola fibula. Cat. no. 28350 (*fig. 4 g*; plan, *fig. 2 a αγ*). Bronze. Max. length 5.1 cm; max. width 1.5 cm. Restored.
- Schüsselfibel*. Cat. no. 28344 (*fig. 4 l*; plan, *fig. 2 a ζ*). Bronze. Band bow with engraved decoration and raised edges by the foot. Max. length 5.8 cm; max. width 1.4 cm. Restored.
- Schüsselfibel*. Cat. no. 28351 (*fig. 4 m*; plan, *fig. 2 a μ*). Bronze. Band bow with engraved decoration and raised edges by the foot. Max. length 5.8 cm; max. width 1.4 cm. Restored.
- Disk of a hand mirror. Cat. no. 40692 (*fig. 5 a 1*). Bronze. Reconstructed diam. about 11 cm. Restored, with many integrations. Found in many little fragments near the handle.
- Mirror handle. Cat. no. 28301 (*fig. 5 a 2*). Bone. Ribbed, at the upper end there is a fork and two holes for fixing. Length 9.9 cm; max. width 1 cm. Besides it, there is a small fragmentary ivory plaquette with two holes; as regards to thickness and holes, it fits exactly in the fork of the previous artefact. Max. length 3.5 cm; max. width 1.4 cm. Restored.
- Ring. Cat. no. 28354 (*fig. 5 a 7*). Bronze. Lenticular section. Outer diam. 1.2 cm. Restored.
- Ring. Cat. no. 28353 (*fig. 5 a 8*). Bronze. Lenticular section. Outer diam. 1.1 cm. Restored.
- Ring. Cat. no. 28355 (*fig. 5 a 9*). Bronze. Lenticular section. Outer diam. 1.8 cm. Restored.
- Ring. Cat. no. 28356 (*fig. 5 a 10*). Bronze. Lenticular section. Outer diam. 1.8 cm. Restored.
- Rivet. Cat. no. 28357 (*fig. 5 a 3*). Bronze. Conical head with engraved decoration, squared section shaft. Max. length 3.6 cm; max. diam. 1.1 cm. Restored.
- Disk. Cat. no. 28358 (*fig. 5 a 4*). Bronze. Convex profile, hole and a rivet in the middle, notched edge. Diam. 5.3 cm. Restored.
- Disk. Cat. no. 28359 (*fig. 5 a 5*). Bronze. Convex profile, hole in the middle, notched edge. Diam. 5.7 cm. Restored.

- Specillum*. Cat. no. 40693 (*fig. 5 a 6*). Bronze. Length 15.4 cm; max. width 0.6 cm.
- Knife. Cat. no. 28360 (*fig. 6 a 1*). Iron. Triangular blade with sinuous profile, distinct tang (incomplete). Length 26.1 cm. Found folded (defunctionalized) along the northern side of the burial. Restored.
- Razor. Cat. no. 28300 (*fig. 6 a 2*). Iron. Semicircular blade. There are only three fragments of the tip. On both sides wood fibers mineralized stucked together, probably from the case. Max. length 6 cm; max. ht. 8.5 cm. Found in the south-eastern part of the tomb, already disturbed at the time of discovery. Restored.
- Pair of strigils and ring for hanging them. Cat. no. 28341 a, b (*fig. 5 b*). Bronze. Two stamps impressed (a rosette and a *pseudo*-legend) on the inner face of each handle. Max. length 21.9 cm (a) and 22 cm (b). Ring with ornithomorphic-shaped endings that hook each other. Inner diam. of the ring 6 cm. Found along the western side, near the balsamaria. Restored.
- Four long rods. Cat. no. 28302 a-d (*fig. 6 b 7-10*). Iron. Used for the legs of a funerary bed with bone lining. Round shaped head, squared section shafts, the lower endings are all incomplete. Max. length 66 cm (a); 62.5 cm (b); 64 cm (c); 63.5 cm (d). Found in a bundle, laid neatly arranged on the bricks outside the tomb. Restored.
- Six fragments of worked bones, part of the lining of the funerary bed, identified as artifacts by A. Amato during bone analysis (*fig. 6 b 1-6*).

Coins (pls. XIX-XX)

- Silver quinarius. Cat. no. 28325 (*pl. XIX a*). Obv.: Jupiter's head and letter A. Rev.: Winged Victory and military trophy, letter A and legend: P. SABIN; in exergue Q. (P. Vetitus Sabinus Quaestor). Date of issue between 100 and 97 BC. Weight 1.88 g. Found together with coins cat. no. 28326, 28328, 28330, 28340.
- Silver quinarius. Cat. no. 28326 (*pl. XIX b*). Obv.: Ivy crowned head and legend M. CATO. Rev.: Winged Victory seating, legend VICTRIX. Date of issue 89 BC (M. Porcius Cato Pro Praetor, not to be confused with M. Porcius Cato Uticensis). Weight 2.7 g.
- Silver quinarius. Cat. no. 28327 (*pl. XIX c*). Obv.: Bust of winged Victory. Rev.: Pegasus and legend: Q. TITI. Date of issue 88-87 BC (Q. Titius). Weight 2.02 g.
- Silver quinarius. Cat. no. 28328 (*pl. XIX d*). Obv.: Nectunus's head and legend: DOSEN. Rev.: Winged Victory and a snake wrapped around an altar, legend: R. RVBRI. Date of issue 87-86 BC. Weight 1,82 g.
- Bronze as of sestantal system. Cat. no. 28329 (*pl. XIX e*). Obv.: Two-faced Janus' head. Rev.: Ship prow and in exergue legend ROMA. Date of issue between 240 and 229 BC or 187-155 BC. Weight 21.82 g. Found inside the cup cat. no. 28285.

- Bronze as of the ounce system / low weight sestantal system. Cat. no. 28330 (*pl. XIX f*). Obv.: Two-faced Janus' head. Rev.: Ship prow. Weight 28.69 g.
- Bronze as of the ounce system / low weight sestantal system. Cat. no. 28331 (*pl. XIX g*). Obv.: Two-faced Janus' head. Rev.: Ship prow. Weight 21.0 g.
- Silver Cisalpine Rikos drachma. Cat. no. 28332 (*pl. XX c*). Obv.: Ephesian Artemis' olive-crowned head. Rev.: Gradient lion to the right, legend: RIKOI. Weight 2.05 g.
- Silver Cisalpine Rikos drachma. Cat. no. 28333 (*pl. XX d*). Similar to the previous. Weight 2.24 g.
- Silver Cisalpine Rikos drachma. Cat. no. 28334 (*pl. XX g*). Similar to the previous. Weight 2.78 g.
- Silver Cisalpine Rikos drachma. Cat. no. 28335 (*pl. XX f*). Similar to the previous. Weight 1.73 g.
- Silver Cisalpine Rikos drachma. Cat. no. 28336. Similar to the previous. Weight 2.10 g.
- Silver Cisalpine Rikos drachma. Cat. no. 28337. Similar to the previous. Weight 2.16 g.
- Silver Cisalpine Rikos drachma. Cat. no. 28338. Similar to the previous. Weight 2.45 g.
- Silver Cisalpine Rikos drachme. Cat. no. 28339. Similar to the previous. Weight 2.13 g.
- Silver Cisalpine Rikos drachme. Cat. no. 28340 (*pl. XX i*). Similar to the previous. Incomplete and worn. Weight 1.95 g.

RAFFAELLE CARLO DE MARINIS - MARTA RAPI

ADDENDUM 1

THE TOMB STRUCTURE

The Treviglio tomb is a rectangular structure (2.1 m long; 1.37 m wide), made of sesquipedalian bricks, with a double pitched roof surmounted by barrel tiles. The interior floor is made up of bricks (eighteen in all), which are regularly put together, while the walls are made up of four rows of overlapping sesquipedalian bricks and the roof with four tiles on each side (at present, recomposed and partially integrated), with three barrel tiles on each side (whole or recomposed) to cover the joints and four to seal the top. Finally, a tile in a vertical position closes the northern short side. The other short side was damaged by the bulldozer excavation at the time of discovery, but it is likely that it mirrored the parallel northern short side (de Marinis 1982, p. 519).

From the metrological point of view, all the bricks, tiles and barrel tiles used in the tomb are perfectly in line with the production standards of the Roman period in the northern Italian area. For the tiles, always provided with the flanges along the longer sides, the length ranges between 58-59 cm and the width between 45-46 cm – corresponding to the classical proportion of two feet by a foot and a half – with a thickness of 3-3.5 cm (Brodrigg 1987, pp. 5-22). The barrel tiles, with a characteristic tapered shape at one end whose width varies between 15-16 and 19-20 cm, are between 58 and 60 cm long. Finally, the bricks show a length ranging from a minimum of 45.5 to a maximum of 47.5 cm, with a width between 29.5 and 31.5 cm. As verifiable in the current conditions, no artifact seems to present the characteristic and widespread marks of manufacturing (circles, spirals, waves, etc.) or other type of signs, engravings, graffiti or stamps. On many bricks, however, residues are visible – of rather considerable span, although usually faded to the point of being reduced to mere traces of color – both on the flat surface and on the sides of a whitish mortar, which would lead to hypothesize a secondary reuse of these artifacts, originally perhaps used inside wall structures. It is less likely that these traces bear witness to the original use of mortar as a binder of the same tomb structure: from the excavation photos, the elements would appear to have been laid dry.

The brick products have two different types of fabric: one of reddish-orange color and the other of yellow-beige color. The former is largely prevalent among the barrel tiles (seven out of ten specimens), the second is instead prevalent among the bricks (out of about sixty artifacts, only thirteen in fact have a dark color) and completely exclusive for the tiles.

In the absence of an analysis of the clays, it is however difficult to attribute any particular meaning to this kind of evidence, tending to identify, for example, different workshops or origins of the artefacts. The same fabric also presents rather marked differences between the various types of bricks: the tiles have been made with a well-refined clay, with small inclusions, bricks and especially barrel tiles show a much coarser clay than the tiles, with inclusions even of medium size, clearly visible on the inner surface not smoothed.

In general, all the specimens appear to be of good quality, although such a judgment may make sense in relation to artifacts of this kind, expression of a production process that is standardized and carried out on an 'industrial' scale. Nevertheless, a certain attention to detail can be noted, such as, for example, the regularity in the shape of the tiles' flanges and the slat finishing of the external surface of the barrel tiles.

As we have seen, in the Treviglio tomb it is widely used what is generally considered the construction brick typical of the Cisalpine region in Roman times: the so-called provincial or northern-Italic *sesquipedalis*⁶⁰. Of rectangular shape, it is generally brought back – on the basis of authors such as Vitruvius (II 3, 1) and Pliny the Elder (*nat.* XXXV 171) – to the module of the 'Lydium' brick and of the Ionic-Attic foot (about 45 × 30 cm, i.e. one foot by one foot and a half, hence the name of *sesquipedalis*). The use of the *sesquipedalis* spreads in northern Italy at least from the beginning of the 2nd century BC, in close relation therefore with the affirmation of the process of Romanization⁶¹, even if its remote ancestry must be sought, with all likelihood, in the Etruscan world⁶².

The Treviglio tomb belongs to a relatively uncommon sepulchral typology, which in fact comes from the combination of two different constructive 'models': the common 'chamber' brick tomb and the proper tile grave ('*alla cappuccina*'). In general, the chamber tombs have a flat roof, consisting of simple lithic slabs or, alternatively, from brick artifacts (usually tiles, more rarely bricks)⁶³, whereas the tile grave type is used in its most elementary way, with the tiles covering a simple laying plan, usually formed by a row of juxtaposed bricks (which may sometimes also be missing, thus leaving the bare earth as the support surface of the buried).

Therefore, the typology attested by our tomb appears to be much less common, finding evidence mainly from the late imperial age (3rd-4th century AD)⁶⁴ and for inhumation burials; quite exceptional, however, is its use in such an early age⁶⁵.

⁶⁰ For an overview of the origin of bricks in northern Italy as a consequence of Romanization and its early diffusion, see BACCHETTA 2003, pp. 35-42.

⁶¹ The earliest known examples in northern Italy are the bricks of the walls of Piacenza (beginning of the 2nd century BC) and of some structures found in Reggio Emilia during the excavations carried out under the headquarters of Credito Emiliano, dating back to the 2nd century BC (MALNATI 1988, p. 146; RIGHINI 1999, p. 139).

⁶² RIGHINI 1970, pp. 98-99; RIGHINI 1990, p. 280; RIGHINI 1999, p. 150.

⁶³ M. T. Grassi argues for an economic motivation behind the choice of the material, considering bricks less expensive in comparison to stone; her interpretation, however, raises some doubts (GRASSI 1995, p. 78).

⁶⁴ Among the best known examples in Lombardy, see, for instance: CERESA MORI 2004 (Milano, Carrobbio and piazza Vetra); SANNAZARO - CATTANEO - RAVEDONI 1997 (Milano, Università Cattolica); BOLLA 2011 (Casteggio, area Pleba).

⁶⁵ Even GRASSI 1995, p. 78 considers in every respect the tomb discovered in Treviglio a *unicum* in the whole Insubrian territory.

It is difficult to establish with certainty the reasons for such a choice. One may think – and it is the simplest and most obvious consideration – that it was dictated by the intention of underlining the prestige and social status of the deceased, through a tomb that had to appear characterized by a certain degree of ‘monumentality’, especially compared to most contemporary graves, characterized by a much more modest structure, when not completely non-existent⁶⁶.

In fact, in the late Republican age there are two main types of burials in this territory (Poggiani Keller 1992, p. 107): the pit grave in bare earth for inhumation burials, and the structures built with tiles, bricks and barrel-tiles (‘alla cappuccina’ or chamber tombs), referable mostly to cremations⁶⁷. Besides this interpretation – and not necessarily an alternative to it – it seems logical to hypothesize that this choice could be dictated, in a fully conscious way, also by a desire for concrete and tangible adhesion, by the family and/or social group to which the deceased belonged, to the ‘new’ cultural instances brought by the still recent process of Romanization: a confirmation in this sense could also come from some elements of the same grave goods – we think, in particular, to the strigils, showing a now complete acquisition of tastes and fashions of ‘external’ origin⁶⁸.

Whatever the most correct interpretation, the exceptionality of the Treviglio tomb is still unquestionable, in comparison with other contemporary tombs also built with brick structures, mostly tiles and barrel tiles. Even in the – relatively rare – case of sepulchral monuments of this period which have a ‘cappuccina’ roof, the structure of the chamber is in fact made of tiles, whole or in large fragments, vertically embedded in the ground, and not in bricks. This is the case, for example, of three graves excavated in Ghedi (Brescia), datable to the end of the 1st century BC, which – similarly – have a tiled roof juxtaposed with barrel tiles overhanging the ridge and joints of the slopes (Breda 1984). Identical structure (tiled chamber and ‘a cappuccina’ roof) shows a tomb of Verdello (Bergamo), dated to the third quarter of the 1st century BC (Poggiani Keller 1992).

⁶⁶ A similar interpretation could perhaps be made for another ‘exceptional’ burial, like that of Gallarate, piazza Ponti (LT D 1), consisting of a cist made of large lithic slabs (2.30 × 1.60 m) which represents, in its turn, a *unicum* in the Insubrian area (GRASSI 1995, pp. 55-56).

⁶⁷ This is a situation widely found also outside the Bergamo area: just consider, e.g., the modest ‘structural’ features of the coeval burials in the Novara territory – see, to mention only two contexts object of recent and extensive excavation, Oleggio (SPAGNOLO GARZOLI 1999) and Dormelletto (SPAGNOLO GARZOLI 2009) – or in Lomellina (INVERNIZZI - DIANI - VECCHI 2002, p. 154). In this regard, also GRASSI 1995, pp. 75-78 reiterates how, in the context of the Insubri, the most widespread tomb structure (when present) is the quadrangular chamber in stone slabs – of Golasecca civilization ancestry – or in flat roof tiles. Exceptionally attested is also the ‘mixed’ structure, in lithic slabs and tiles, as in the case of tomb 22 of the Mandana di Intimiano necropolis (Como), consisting of a base in stone slabs and walls and roofing in tiles (*Mandana* 1983, p. 138).

⁶⁸ For this kind of interpretation we refer to POGGIANI KELLER 1992, p. 108. For a parallel with the Como context see NOBILE DE AGOSTINI 1997, p. 245.

The tomb of Treviglio could perhaps be approached by a 'late-Gaulish tomb with brick structure' found (and unfortunately immediately destroyed) in 1987 in Ghisalba località Santuario (*Bergamo* 1992, p. 88, no. 335), but the lack of certain data about the type of coverage does not allow any certainty in this regard.

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(translation: R. C. de Marinis - M. Rapi)

ADDENDUM 2

CREMATED HUMAN BONES FROM A LT D 2 GRAVE EXCAVATED IN TREVIGLIO, VIA XXIV MAGGIO. ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

According to macroscopic observation, part of the cremated bones collected in the "A" bag⁶⁹ could be tentatively assigned to a human individual. Nevertheless, a reliable identification proved to be problematic due to the reduced dimension of many fragments, the absence of diagnostic traits clearly attributable to *Homo sapiens*, and the ascertained presence of animal bones inside the burial.

About fifty fragments were included in the analysis, for the most part very small (the biggest one measuring 7 × 2 cm). More than half the fragments belong to the long bones diaphysis; about ten vertebral and four cranial fragments are preserved. Experimental studies have shown that in human cremations the largest amount of burnt remains belongs to the upper and lower limbs (Lowrance - Latimer 1957).

To tell whether the collected fragments have a human origin or not, several histologic specimens were realized and observed under an optical microscope at 100×. Identification of species is based on morphology and distribution patterns of osteons in a section of cortical bone. Microscopic observation has shown that at least part of the fragments can be assigned to a human individual. Size, density and distribution of primary and secondary osteons and haversian canals suggest that the individual died at a young age, possibly between 20 and 35 years (Cuijpers - Schutkowski 1993; Kerley - Ubelaker 1978). Unfortunately, histology cannot provide us with any information about the sex of the deceased.

Finally, white-yellow coloration of the bone tissue shows that the funerary pyre reached a temperature greater than 600 °C (about 1112 °F), which is a clear evidence of a good technique of cremation and that the death ritual was probably carried out by skilled professionals (Mays 1998).

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⁶⁹ The bones were collected and stored in four bags at the time of excavation; see p. 137.

ADDENDUM 3

THE FAUNAL REMAINS FROM A LT D 2 GRAVE EXCAVATED IN TREVIGLIO,
VIA XXIV MAGGIO

In addition to grave goods, also some bone fragments have been recovered from four different spots in the grave; they have been collected into four bags named with letters A, B, C, D corresponding to the different finding spots.

Methods. Once each fragment was restored, species determination was performed in order to verify if two or more fragments could be recomposed, according to specific atlases such as by Schmid (1972) and the reference collection. Age estimation was performed on the base of teeth eruption for fragments belonging to *Bos taurus* according to indications by Silver (1969); for *Sus domesticus* epiphyses merging lines were followed according to Silver (1969).

Discussion. The faunal assemblage analyzed is composed of 212 fragments. Of these, only 17 fragments were identified, namely 8.1% of the entire assemblage; while the remaining 91.9% were classified as unidentifiable (*table 1*). On the total amount of 212 fragments, 13 remains (14.7%), show processing traces in order to obtain artefacts (*fig. 6 b 1-6*).

BAG	No.	WEIGHT (g)	NO. DETERMINED (%)	NO. NOT DETERMINED (%)
A	102	67.02	0 (0.0)	102 (48.1)
B	91	93.65	4 (1.9)	87 (41.2)
C	2	32.44	2 (1.0)	0 (0.0)
D	17	46.47	11 (5.2)	6 (2.84)
Total	212	239.58	17 (8.1)	194 (91.9)

table 1 - Table with numbers and percentage of determined and not determined bones.

The average weight of each fragment is only 1.13 g, that explains such a low percentage of determinable fragments.

Among the fragments, 20 diaphyseal elements (19 from bag A and 1 from bag B) are deformed because of heat. They are layers with a smooth side and the other one affected by very slight grooves. The longest layer is 53.1 mm in length and 16.1 mm in breadth, with a 1 mm thickness. Length and breadth vary because of fragmented characteristics of elements, while the thickness ranged between 1 and 1.2 mm.

The macroscopic morphological analysis shows the presence of at least one subject for species from *Bos taurus* and *Sus domesticus*. *Sus domesticus* was represented by four fragments. In bag B we could find a fragment of the right side of the mandible, a distal portion of the right tibia. The tibia shows a not-fused distal epiphysis,

indicating a subject aged under two years (Silver 1969). In bag C a fragment of medial diaphysis and a distal fragment of the right femur were found. The latter one shows a not fused distal epiphysis, and therefore belongs to a subject aged under 3.5 years (Silver 1969). *Bos taurus* is represented by thirteen fragments (all from bag D). They are the second and fourth premolar (Pd₄) and the first superior and inferior molar (M₁). Pd₄ can be a M₁ element without signs of wear in a not yet erupted tooth. M¹ is affected by wear classified as 0 e +/- . The teeth may belong to the same individual. Moreover, two phalanges suggest a young age, confirmed by the lack of fusion in their proximal part, and refer to a subject aged under one year (Silver 1969).

Conclusions. Remains from not-human subjects found in the grave show the choice to use young individuals. The cattle, aged between few weeks and 5-6 months, because of their young age and the relative scarce amount of meat, can be seen as a votive offering with a high symbolic significance.

The tradition of celebrating the deceased with a meat offering has been already reported in other sites in Northern Italy dating back to the late La Tène period. An example is given by the inhumation necropolis of Valeggio sul Mincio (Verona), and by the necropolis of Casalandri in Isola Rizza (Riedel 1987), which produced 113 cremations and inhumations. Main species are the pig and the hen; goat is present, but rare, whereas *Bos taurus* is missing and fish was observed only in the tomb of a child. The presence of the pig represents a trait in common with the Treviglio tomb.

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Munsell Munsell Soil Color Chart, Revised Edition, New York 1994.

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PHOTO CREDIT

Pl. XVIII *a-b*: R. C. de Marinis; *c-d*: E. Belloli; *Pls.* XIX-XX and photo in fig. 5 *b*: E. Belloli.

DRAWING CREDIT

Figs. 2 *a* and *b* 1; 6 *b* 1-6: R. C. de Marinis; *Figs.* 2 *b* 2-5; 3 *a-b*; 4; 5 *a-b*; 6 *a*, *b* 7-10: M. Rapi.



a



b

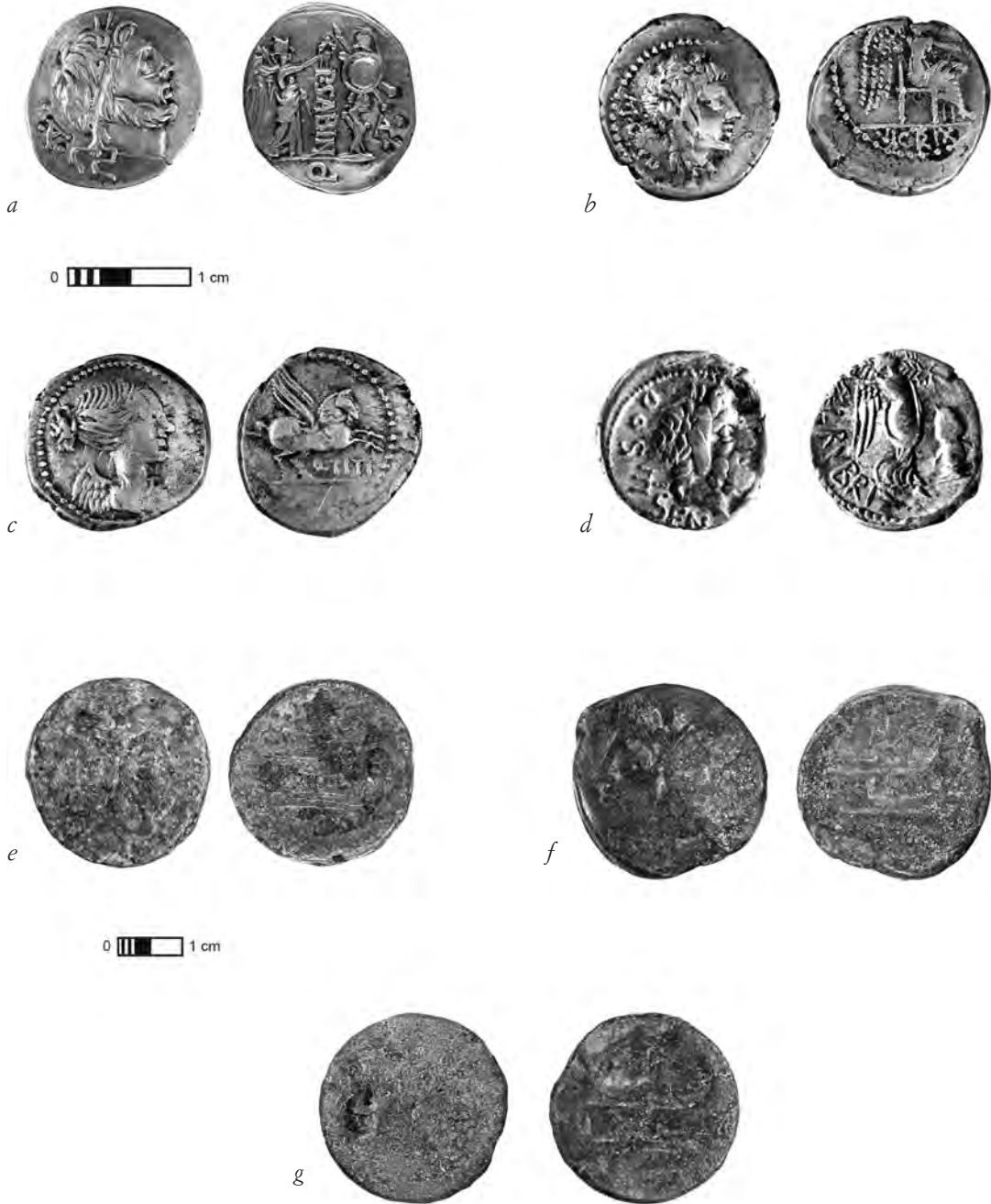


c



d

a) View of the tomb from the West; *b)* The tomb seen from the South;
c) The bronze pitcher; *d)* Detail of the upper arms of the handle.



a-d) Silver Roman quinarii; *e-g*) Bronze Roman asses.



a-i) Silver drachmas of Rikos type.