Dependency and Social Inequality in Pre-Roman Italy

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Jeannine Bischoff and Stephan Conermann

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Dependency and Social Inequality in Pre-Roman Italy

Edited by
Martin Bentz and Patrick Zeidler

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Martin Bentz, Patrick Zeidler

Introduction

In the past, most studies on Pre-Roman societies of the first millennium BCE on the Italian Peninsula focused on the social elites, their self-representation and cultural contacts. Recently, however, research on dependency and social inequality in pre-modern societies of various regions has considerably increased. During the last years, there have been several conferences and edited volumes about this topic that adopted either a more historical, anthropological, sociological or archaeological point of view, which opened a new scientific discourse on *non-elite*, *marginalized* or *subaltern* social groups.[1]

The approach of this volume, which is the result of a conference held at the *Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies* (*BCDSS*) on 16–18 June 2022, is based on the newly developed theoretical concept of '(strong) asymmetrical dependency'.[2] This

1 See, for example, Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa, eds., *Burial and Social Change in First Millennium BC Italy: Approaching Social Agents: Gender, Personhood and Marginality* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2016), which concentrated on the funerary evidence; Richard Bussmann and Tobias Helms, eds., *Poverty and Inequality in Early Civilizations*, Studien zur Wirtschaftsarchäologie 4 (Bonn: Habelt, 2021), with a broad, worldwide view; Orlando Cerasuolo, ed., *The Archaeology of Inequality: Tracing the Archaeological Record* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2021), with case studies from America and the Mediterranean, including Greece and Rome; Cyril Courrier and Julio Cesar Magalhaes de Oliveira, eds., *Ancient History from Below: Subaltern Experiences and Actions in Context* (London: Routledge, 2022), which focused mainly on written sources; Ute Kelp and Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen, eds., *Wealthy and Healthy? Methodological Approaches to Non-Elite Burials, Panel 1.2, Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Cologne and Bonn 2018*, vol. 1 (Heidelberg: Propyläum, 2022), https://books.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeum/catalog/book/926 [accessed 25.07.2024]; Petra Amann and Luciana Aigner-Foresti, eds., *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2016*, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018).

2 A comprehensive and generally accepted theory of (strong) asymmetrical dependency does not yet exist in sociology and social theory. For some preliminary works, see Richard M. Emerson, "Power-Dependence Relations," *American Sociological Review* 27, no. 1 (1962): 31–41; James S. Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990); Tiziana Casciaro and Mikolaj J. Piskorski, "Power Imbalance, Mutual Dependence, and Constraint Absorption: A Closer Look at Resource Dependence Theory," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 50, 2 (2005): 167–99. The theoretical concept used in this volume is based on the working definition provided by the *Bonn Center for Depen-*

Acknowledgments: We would like to thank the *BCDSS* for funding both the conference and this publication. Before and during the conference, Jan Hörber, Astrid Lehmberg and several student assistants at the *BCDSS* were of great help in all organizational matters. Our colleagues in the Department of Classical Archaeology and the Academic Art Museum of the University of Bonn supported the conference in many ways. Furthermore, our thanks go to Janico Albrecht for taking care of the publication process, our anonymous peer reviewers for providing valuable comments, Imogen Herrad and Kathryn Abaño for the language editing of the manuscripts and the publishing house De Gruyter for the uncomplicated cooperation.

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seems to be beneficial as it allows us to overcome the outdated dichotomy of 'slavery' and 'freedom',[3] which is not only too simplistic, but also ideologically charged as it is closely connected to Eurocentric views and the events associated with the transatlantic slave trade.[4] According to this definition, the emergence of asymmetrical dependency is based on the ability of one actor to control the actions and the access to resources of another actor. By doing so, one of the actors loses his autonomy and an unequal distribution of power is established. Usually, such dependency relationships are permanent and supported by an institutional background, which prevents a dependent actor from changing his or her situation by either going away ('exit') or articulating protest ('voice'). Asymmetrical dependencies do not arise by chance, but rather have to be considered as constitutional elements that shape the respective society. Moreover, the concept can be applied to some scenarios that do not directly refer to human relationships but condition them, such as resource dependency or dependency on other non-human factors like divine beings or climate conditions (droughts, natural disasters).

We use the concept of 'asymmetrical dependency' in this volume as an umbrella term for a relatively broad range of phenomena that has been studied in archaeological and historical research under various key terms, such as power imbalance (for example, slavery, captivity, patron-client relationships), social inequality (expressed by poverty or marginality) as well as social inclusion or exclusion as seen through the concept of 'otherness' or alterity (for example, strangers, 'barbarians', persons with short stature, physical deformities, etc.). Our aim is to look at social groups such as servants, peasants, mercenaries, captives, 'foreigners', women and children, who are less visible in the archaeological, epigraphical and literary records of societies from Iron age and later Pre-Roman or Early Roman Italy. We also aim to discuss the methodological challenges connected to this quite new field of research: Is the evidence representative enough for the definition of different forms of dependency and inequality? Can we rely on written and pictorial sources, or do they only reflect the external Greek and Roman points of view and their respective iconographic conventions? Which social groups can be traced in the literary and archaeological record, and is it possible to denominate them specifically (slaves, freedpeople, clients)?

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dency and Slavery Studies, which has recently been formulated in two papers: Julia Winnebeck et al., "The Analytical Concept of Asymmetrical Dependency," *Journal of Global Slavery* 8, no. 1 (2023): 1–59; Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependence, Dependency, and a Dependency Turn: An Essay with Systematic Intent," *BCDSS Discussion Paper* 1 (2022), https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/discussion-papers/dp-1-antweiler.pdf [accessed 25.07.2024].

3 For the opposition between 'slavery' and 'freedom' in previous research, see, for example, Tom Brass, "Introduction: Free and Unfree Labour: The Debate Continues," in *Free and Unfree Labor: The Debate Continues*, ed. Tom Brass and Marcel van der Linden (Bern: Peter Lang, 1997): 11–42 for the field of labour history.

4 Christian G. De Vito et al., "From Bondage to Precariousness? New Perspectives on Labor and Social History," *Journal of Social History* 54, no. 2 (2020): 1–19.

The period we are dealing with – roughly the first millennium BCE – is a period of profound social and economic changes in Italy, which was inhabited by a heterogeneous mix of different population groups. We can observe colonization, population growth and urbanization processes in many regions as well as their integration into the Mediterranean economy, which brought about globalization phenomena and different local responses. With the growing Roman hegemony on the Italian Peninsula since the fourth century BCE, the situation changed again.

Needless to say, it is impossible to cover all aspects of such a vast topic, but we tried to look at it from complementary perspectives using different methods, relying on written as well as various material sources coming from a broad range of contexts. Most phenomena dealt with in this volume are situated on a relatively microscale level and are therefore less concerned with a macro-orientated dependency theory and global phenomena. Consequently, our approach is based on the insight that 'microhistory can provide the epistemological foundations for a renewed social history'.[5] This is also due to the fact that there are such few older studies to rely on that we first have to create a new basis in order to be able to start the discussion. It has become very clear that there are no simple answers, but that we have to consider many regional patterns which change over time.

In the following part, we have focused on a few fields which are mostly defined by the different kinds of sources or contexts that they deal with: historical and epigraphical studies, images, material culture from sanctuaries and necropoleis. Within these fields, the authors of the individual contributions adopted very different methods to be able to detect indicators for measuring different degrees of social inequality and dependency.

1 Historical and Epigraphical Sources

When studying early societies, one challenge is the lack of written sources. For the history of Pre-Roman Italy, there are almost no Etruscan/Italic literary sources, but at least some Greek and Roman ones are available. However, the latter provide us only with a perspective from outside, which is not always reliable due to the chronological distance, cultural misunderstandings as well as the specific ideological intentions of the respective authors. Connected with this is the common practice in research to adapt the well-known Greek and Latin terminology for dependency (*patronus*, *servus*, *cliens*, *penestai*, etc.) to the situation in Etruscan/Italic societies. As *Petra Amman* shows in her contribution, this has led to a biased and too simplistic concept of an Etruscan society consisting only of free masters and unfree servants. This outdated

5 Winnebeck et al., "Dependency": 6.

dichotomy has to be modified through rigorous source criticism and by including evidence from material culture.

Slaves and manumitted slaves can be traced in the numerous epigraphical record in Etruria, which is one of the main sources for the reconstruction of Etruscan social history.[6] *Enrico Benelli* argues against a presumed standardized typology of name forms in all of Etruria that gives information on unfree birth. He argues in favour of a more differentiated regional and chronological view. Using funerary inscriptions, he notes the occurrence of social change in the territory of Chiusi around the middle of the second century BCE: the disappearance of large estates owned by elite families and their transformation into smaller plots assigned to freedpeople and other non-elite families.

2 The Iconography of Dependency in Visual Art

We have a large corpus of images from the eighth century BCE onwards – paintings, sculpture, reliefs, etc. – depicting scenes from ritual, everyday-life and mythological contexts, which include dependent and marginalized persons. These images, most of them from Etruria, can be analyzed with the well-proven iconographic method.[7] This analysis was performed systematically for Etruscan art by *Patrick Zeidler* in his recently concluded PhD thesis.[8] In general, physiognomic characteristics, size, hairstyle, clothing, attributes and other iconographic markers in combination with the narrative context of the image can provide us with information about the social status, ethnic origin, social relationships and labour conditions of the depicted persons.[9] However, as images are

6 Enrico Benelli, “La società etrusca: Il contributo dell’epigrafia,” in *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2016*, ed. Luciana Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018) 219–26.

7 The iconographic method was originally developed in art history; see, for example, Erwin Panofsky, “Zum Problem der Beschreibung und Inhaltsdeutung von Werken der bildenden Kunst,” in *Ikonographie und Ikonologie: Theorien – Entwicklung – Probleme*, ed. Ekkehard Kaemmerling, Bildende Kunst als Zeichensystem 1 (Cologne: DuMont, 1979): 185–206; Erwin Panofsky, “Ikonographie und Ikonologie,” in *Ikonographie und Ikonologie: Theorien – Entwicklung – Probleme*, ed. Ekkehard Kaemmerling, Bildende Kunst als Zeichensystem 1 (Cologne: DuMont, 1979): 207–25.

8 Patrick Zeidler, “Sklaverei und soziale Ungleichheiten in Etrurien: Eine Studie zur Ikonographie der Abhängigkeit in der etruskischen Bildkunst” (PhD diss., University of Bonn, 2023, publication in preparation).

9 For the adaption of the iconographic method for the analysis of ancient images of slaves, see Nikolaus Himmelmann, *Archäologisches zum Problem der griechischen Sklaverei*, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 13 (Mainz: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1971).

intentionally constructed by the artists and their customers,[10] we have to consider how reliable and 'realistic' these depictions are. Since most of the images seem to have been commissioned by members of the elite, the numerous representations of slaves and other dependent individuals have to be considered as an expression of status and wealth. Moreover, it has to be analyzed, which Greek (or other) iconographic conventions were imitated in Etruscan art and in how far they were adapted to local cultural habits. Finally, the context of the images and the function of the objects have to be considered for their interpretation.

These methodological challenges are discussed in two case studies. *Cornelia Weber-Lehmann* was able to recognize power imbalances and status differences between different types of figures (for example, cupbearers, athletes) in Tarquinian wall painting. However, without inscriptions, we cannot be sure about their concrete legal (and social) status. The influence of Greek mythology and iconography on Etruscan imagery is discussed by *Patrick Zeidler*, who studies numerous representations of captives. Most of them, of course, depict scenes of extreme dependency, but in the course of time, some examples of bound persons also appear in religious or magical contexts with quite a different (metaphorical) meaning and function.

During the conference, *Bouke van der Meer* presented a paper (which could unfortunately not be included in this volume) about urn reliefs from Hellenistic Volterra and their relation to certain social groups, while also considering inscriptions and grave contexts.

3 Dependencies and Status Differences in Urban and Sacral Spaces

Urban spaces as well as city and house planning are not represented properly in this volume, partly due to a lack of current research in this field. There are many recent studies on early urbanization in central Italy that reflect social changes.[11] In archaeological evidence, this process is often reflected more in the associated graves than in the urban structures themselves, which are rarely excavated in an extensive area. However, a recently published PhD thesis comprising a catalogue of all preserved house structures in Central and Northern Italy from the late sixth to the early second century BCE serves as a new basis for further studies in the future, which, up to now, have

10 For theoretical and methodological considerations on the construction of images, see Ralf von den Hoff and Stefan Schmidt, "Bilder und Konstruktion: Ein interdisziplinäres Konzept für die Altertumswissenschaften," in *Konstruktionen von Wirklichkeit: Bilder im Griechenland des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, ed. Ralf von den Hoff and Stefan Schmidt (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001): 1–25.
11 See the contribution by Francesca Fulminante in this volume, with further references.

mainly focused on architecture and less on social-historical arguments.[12] In the Archaic period, we can distinguish between 'palaces' and smaller standardized houses, and we can see growing functional differentiations of space within each house. In the relatively large and well-known Etruscan settlement of Marzabotto (sixth–fifth century BCE), along the main street, we can identify large plots and houses of the elite containing elaborate spaces for different social functions, whereas the other houses seem to be rather uniform in size and might be labelled as 'middle-class'. Spaces or dwellings for subaltern social groups, however, cannot be recognized in the urban archaeological record.[13]

The transformation of elite structures can offer strong arguments for the changes in the power balance of a community and the participation of subaltern groups. The de-monumentalization and ritual obliteration of late Archaic elite buildings and the related cults at Monte Iato (Sicily) are studied by *Erich Kistler*. Comparably, *Robinson P. Krämer* analyzes the transformation of the Etruscan sacred landscape in the same period: the old 'palaces' are replaced by monumentalized sanctuaries and spaces for public meetings; the smaller finds show that larger parts of the population could now participate in cult activities.

The conference contribution of *Stephan Steingräber* on anatomical votive terracottas in sub-urban and extra-urban sanctuaries, which he interpreted as typical for lower social classes, could unfortunately not be included in this volume.

Elisa Perego and *Rafael Scopacasa* present in their collaborative contribution two case studies on burial contexts and settlement dynamics in different times and regions (Iron Age Veneto and Hellenistic Apulia), which allow for a reflection on the impact of environmental stress and climate shifts on social developments and inequalities.

4 Dependencies, Status Differences and Funerary Archaeology

Burials constitute the largest field of research in the study of Pre-Roman Italy as they yield an enormous amount of evidence: different grave types and architecture, the spatial distribution of burials within the necropolis, great quantities of grave goods as well

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12 Silva Katherina Bruder, *Man lebt, wie man wohnt: Untersuchungen zur Wohnhausarchitektur Mittel- und Norditaliens vom ausgehenden 6. Bis zum beginnenden 2. Jh. V. Chr.* (Heidelberg: Propylaeum, 2022), https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.1044, with detailed analyses and references.

13 For the houses in Marzabotto, see Martin Bentz and Christoph Reusser, eds., *Marzabotto: Planstadt der Etrusker* (Mainz: Zabern, 2008): 40–47. For some general considerations, see also Petra Amann, "Wer wohnt im Haus? Familienstruktur und Hausarchitektur als sich ergänzende Forschungsberichte," in *Etruskisch-italische und römisch-republikanische Häuser: Kolloquium Bonn 2009*, ed. Martin Bentz and Christoph Reusser, Studien zur antiken Stadt 9 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2010): 29–42.

as human remains. Considering all of these together provides us with multiple levels of information about society, ideology and religious beliefs. The contributions in this volume cover a very broad geographical and chronological range (see Fig. 1), with case studies encompassing regions from Northern to Southern Italy (Veneto, Romagna, Etruria, Latium, Samnium, Apulia), extending chronologically from the Early Iron age to the Hellenistic period and using very different methodological approaches.

It is easy to recognize the outstanding *princely graves* of the leading families in the earlier periods, but it is extremely difficult to distinguish between the graves of other social groups. Therefore, it seems crucial to find the correct indicators: We know that graves cannot be regarded as 'mirrors' of the respective societies,[14] but is a large grave and/or a high quantity of grave goods nevertheless an indication of an elevated social status? Are some of the grave types linked to a specific social status? Is it not so much the quantity, but rather the quality and rarity of goods (for example, valuable imported objects) that are decisive for defining the status? Is it possible to measure and compare the material as well as the symbolic value of the objects? What significance does a central or more marginal position of a grave within the necropolis have? Can all these elements be inserted into one or more patterns, using, for example, a wealth index?[15] Certainly, there is also a huge difference between studying one or a few graves and a complete necropolis with many graves that can provide the possibility to use statistical analyses. Some examples for this kind of research are the contributions by *Francesca Fulminante* and *Rafael Scopacasa* in this volume, both of which use a micro-historical approach and contextual spatial analyses in order to calculate a wealth index, which is also related to criteria such as age and gender.

The hierarchy and status differences within wealthy Etruscan *gentes* are analyzed by *Laura Nazim*, who investigates sarcophagus burials within chamber tombs and

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14 'As it is well-known, for over 30 years the question of whether funerary practices can provide an "accurate" image of society, its stratification and its complexity, has been the central issue in the archaeological study of funerary sites'; see Mariassunta Cuozzo, "Theoretical Issues in the Interpretation of Cemeteries and Case Studies from Etruria to Campania," in *Burial and Social Change in First Millennium BC Italy: Approaching Social Agents: Gender, Personhood and Marginality*, ed. Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa (Oxford: Oxbow, 2016): 3. For a summary of the long-lasting discussion in research about processual and post-processual approaches as well as the 'Ideologia funeraria', see Orlando Cerasuolo, "Archaeological Perspectives on Inequality," in *The Archaeology of Inequality: Tracing the Archaeological Record*, ed. Orlando Cerasuolo (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2021): 1–20; Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa, "Introduction: Burial and Social Change in First Millennium BC Italy: An Agent-Focused Approach," in *Burial and Social Change in First Millennium BC Italy: Approaching Social Agents: Gender, Personhood and Marginality*, ed. Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa (Oxford: Oxbow, 2016): xi–xxxiv; Cuozzo, "Theoretical Issues," with references.

15 See, for example, the discussion about the Gini coefficient, used in modern economic research and adapted for archaeology: Timothy A. Kohler and Michael E. Smith, eds., *Ten Thousand Years of Inequality: The Archaeology of Wealth Differences: Symposium at the 81st Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Orlando, Florida, 2016*, Amerind Studies in Anthropology (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2019), with different uses and references.

Fig. 1: Map of the Italian Peninsula showing the most important sites mentioned in the essays.

takes inscriptions and spatial arguments into account for her interpretation. A further example for the contextual analysis of tombs is the study by *Massimiliano Di Fazio* on the graves of pastoral societies in Central Italy.

The two case studies by *Marina Micozzi* and *Claudio Negrini* demonstrate that infants and children were, in some periods, not considered as an equal part of the adult society and were therefore excluded from formal burials or buried elsewhere.

Anthropological and bioarchaeological methods, which have developed very fast in the last years, have become more and more important as they can provide us with information in regard to age, sex, origin, family relations, diet, health status but also burial rituals – important arguments for interpreting grave contexts. A peculiar single burial with a shackle-bound skeleton from Etruscan Populonia is studied by *Giorgio Baratti et al.* in a comprehensive way, taking bioarchaeological and spatial arguments into account. The authors propose that the male individual was of foreign origin and belonged to a marginal social group, possibly a slave who had to wear shackles as a punishment. *Mauro Rubini* uses a larger dataset of skeletons from Sicily and discusses markers of inequality comparing colonial Greek and indigenous individuals of different sex, also in comparison with data from Central Italy. The contribution by *John Robb* on “Inequality, the Skeleton, and Treatment of the Dead: Basic Principles and Some Case Studies from Prehistoric Italy” and *Andrea Acosta*’s “In Search of the Roman *Gens*: A Bioarchaeological Study of Family Structure and Social Change in Iron Age Italy (900–700 BCE),” both of which were presented at the conference, could unfortunately not be included in this volume.

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Fig. 1 Map created by Till Müller; dataset: Tinitaly DEM (© Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica e Vulcanologia), https://doi.org/10.13127/tinitaly/1.1

I Historical and Epigraphical Sources

Petra Amann

The Etruscans – a Society of Masters and Servants? A Modern *Topos* and its Origins

Abstract: *Ever since early scholarly works on the Etruscans were published, scholars have assumed that their social order was characterised by rigid class divisions and a strong separation between ruling elites and largely subjugated, dependent strata of the population. This article examines the development of this modern two-class topos from the nineteenth century – starting with classical works on the Etruscans such as those by Karl Otfried Müller and George Dennis – through important stages of the twentieth century, with the studies by the French Etruscologist Jacques Heurgon among others, to the present day. By doing so, the reasons and arguments for such a reconstruction will be laid out and critically questioned in their actual meaning. It is clear that the various ideas about the 'origins' of the Etruscans and their supposed immigration played an important role in early scholarship, supported by only a few, short passages in ancient Graeco-Roman literary sources, which are, however, problematic.*

In order to detach the discussion of the (undoubtedly) hierarchical structures of Etruscan societies from these less productive contexts and focus more on the actual Etruscan source material, some further considerations based on the late Etruscan necropolis at Fondo Scataglini in Tarquinia – as one possible example among others – will be briefly presented in the conclusion.

> *'La società etrusca era dominata dalla polarità,*
> *nettamente precisata, di domini da una parte, servi dall'altra.'*
> (Santo Mazzarino, 1957)

From early on, scholars have assumed a social order with rigid class divisions for the Etruscans, where ruling elites were strongly separated from largely subjugated, dependent strata of the population. A two-class *topos* emerged, which is still often presented today as a distincive Etruscan trait, and hardly ever critically questioned or modified in accordance with new research. By tracing the history of this concept, I will provide a brief overview of the views put forward by earlier scholars,[1] discuss their arguments, their central conclusions and the stages of the traditional image of the two-class society,[2] and finally offer some critical observations that allow a different picture to emerge.

1 I will not deal with the reception of Etruscan society in modern art and literature.

2 For a more detailed overview of the research history on Etruscan society (including also the role of women), see Petra Amann, "Etruskische Sozialgeschichte – von alten Vorurteilen zu neuen Ufern," in *Gesellschaft und Familie bei Etruskern und Italikern: Akten des 18. Treffens der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Etrusker & Italiker, Wien, Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und Epigraphik,*

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1 The Early Research: The Birth of an Idea

Leaving aside the very early works on the Etruscans,[3] let us begin with the nineteenth century and the pioneering work *Die Etrusker* by the German scholar Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840). Published in 1828, the work deals with the internal structure of Etruscan society. In it, the basic lines of argumentation that would become typical in later periods are already clearly set out; however, Müller is less drastic than many later scholars. In spite of the scantiness of source material in general, Müller believed he could establish that in Etruria 'the nobility owned large plots of land, which were cultivated by a sort of serfs/bondmen' ('Nur soviel, daß der Adel große Grundstücke besaß, welche von einer Art von Leibeignen bebaut wurden').[4] In doing so, he drew on ideas that had been developed in the context of Roman history by Barthold Georg Niebuhr, whom Müller admired. In his *Römische Geschichte*, Niebuhr was eager to stress the strong contrast between the Roman state, which was able to gradually integrate the *plebs*, and the allegedly strict feudal system of the urban Etruscan nobility.[5] In his chapter on the constitutional system, Müller explained his ideas regarding the hierarchical structure of the Etruscans in more detail.[6] Assuming strict gentilicial rule ('Geschlechterherrschaft') and a priestly aristocracy, Müller nevertheless believed in the existence of some kind of free, non-dependent people albeit with completely unclear rights[7] – an assumption based on Livy's report of the conflicts between the *gens*

6.–7. März 2020, ed. Petra Amann, Raffaella Da Vela and Robinson P. Krämer, Wiener Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte online (WBAGon) 4 (Vienna: n.p., 2022): 9–55, https://doi.org/10.25365/wbagon-2022-4-1.

3 On the assessment of Etruscan art since Johann Joachim Winckelmann (especially on the assumed interaction between art and the political system) and Luigi Lanzi taking into consideration also Müller and Niebuhr, see Corinna Riva, "The Freedom of the Etruscans: Etruria Between Hellenization and Orientalization," *International Journal of Classical Tradition* 25 (2018): 101–26.

4 Karl Otfried Müller, *Die Etrusker*, 2 vols. (I–IV) (Breslau: Josef Max und Komp., 1828): book II, chapter 4, 1–4, 400–406 ("Von dem Familienleben der Etrusker"), esp. 405 [translations are mine]. On Müller's view of the Etruscans in general see Cornelia Isler-Kerényi, "K.O. Müllers Etrusker," in *Zwischen Rationalismus und Romantik: Karl Otfried Müller und die antike Kultur*, ed. William Musgrave Calder III and Renate Schlesier (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1998): 239–81.

5 Barthold Georg Niebuhr, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. I–III (Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung Reimer, 1811–32): esp. I, 79–80 (already with reference to the Thessalian *penéstai* system); 389–90.

6 Müller, *Die Etrusker*: book II, chapter 2, 359–89 ("Von der Verfassung der einzelnen Staaten"), esp. 375–80; cfr. Karl Otfried Müller and Wilhelm Deecke, *Die Etrusker*, 2 vols. (I–IV) (Stuttgart: A. Heitz, 1877, repr.: Graz, 1965): 334–63, esp. 350–51. On the *penéstai*-ideas in Müller, cf. Enrico Benelli, "Slavery and Manumission," in *The Etruscan World*, ed. Jean MacIntosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013): 447–48 and Enrico Benelli, "La società etrusca e le utopie postbelliche: Alcune note sulla storiografia etruscologica nell'Italia del dopoguerra," in *L'étruscologie dans l'Europe d'après-guerre: Actes des journées d'études internationales, 14–16 septembre 2015*, ed. Marie-Laurence Haack and Martin Miller (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2017): 107–8.

7 Müller, *Die Etrusker*: 376: 'Daß es ein freies, dem Adel nicht persönlich unterthäniges, Volk gab, ist wohl anzunehmen, wie viel Rechte diesem zustanden, völlig ungewiß.'

Cilnia and 'the people' in Arezzo, described as '*plebs*' (X.5.13). Hierarchically clearly below this kind of middle class he saw the large mass of the subjugated, indigenous population. Müller, like Niebuhr, followed the descriptions of early Italy in ancient literary sources, and identified this group with the 'Siculians and Umbrians', who he described as living without rights as serfs and clients of the *principes*.[8] This indigenous population was believed to have been subjugated by the immigrant Tyrrhenians, identified by Müller as 'Pelasgians' with eastern origins and old inhabitants of large parts of Greece.[9] He compared the position of the former with that of the Thessalian *penéstai* and the helots of Laconia and Messenia in Greece – an oppressed pre-population that had been kept as serfs/bondmen ('Leibeigne'). Decisive for this comparison were the Etruscan πενέσται, mentioned only briefly by the Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus (IX.5.4, see below): the passage is about the war of 480 BC between Veii and Rome and mentions auxiliary forces consisting of δυνατώτατοι (the powerful) from all Etruria with their πενέσται, with the latter being interpreted as some kind of serfs or bondmen. For Müller, author of *Die Dorier* (1824), such a comparison was naturally obvious; but before him, in 1811, Niebuhr had already brought into play the *penéstai*-institution for Etruria. This reconstruction was intended to explain the lack of a strong infantry in Etruria, which was simply assumed as a fact. Müller also identified the *penéstai* with the *agrestium Etruscorum cohortes*, the small emergency units manned by the rural population which the *principes* hastly organised in 310 BC to face an invading Roman army, mentioned by Livy (IX.36.12); and also with the rebels of the revolt of Volsinii vetere*s* in 265/4 BC, even though there was no mention of *penéstai* in these contexts.[10] In addition, Müller assumed the existence of real (chattel) slavery in Etruria (he used the German word 'Knechte').

Müller thus suggested an immigrant class of masters and a subjugated indigenous population. Dionysius' πενέσται represented the main piece of evidence, despite the fact that it was precisely Dionysius who argued against immigration and for the autochthony of the Etruscans. However, the misconcept had entered scholarship and was to remain. Enrico Benelli has already critically examined the πενέσται passage and its lack of significance:[11] the word does indeed give a pejorative connotation to

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8 Müller, *Die Etrusker*: 376–77.

9 Müller, *Die Etrusker*: "Einleitung," 2, 1–12, 71–104. Müller believed that the immigrant Tyrrhenians had mixed with the 'Ras(e)na', who came from the Rhaetian Alps and settled in the northern part of Etruria (Müller thus integrated Niebuhr's 'northern theory'), and that together they ruled over the aboriginal population.

10 Müller, *Die Etrusker*: 378–79. Based on ideas about early patronage in Rome that are no longer current today, Müller compared his alleged Etruscan system of *principes – penéstai/clientes – plebs* with the supposedly early Roman division into *patricii – clientes – plebs*.

11 Enrico Benelli, "Sui cosidetti penesti etruschi," *Parola del Passato* 51 (1996): esp. 338–44. Cf. also Benelli, "Slavery and Manumission": 447–48 and, with similar opinion, Petra Amann, "Society, 450–250 BCE," in *Etruscology*, vol. 2, ed. Alessandro Naso (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017): 1106–7. See here below section 4, "Pillar number 1."

members of subaltern classes that are dependent on an upper class, but does not constitute a precise legal characterisation. Interestingly, Müller assumed the existence of a free class of people between aristocrats and serfs; unlike Niebuhr he thought it likely that this Etruscan '*plebs*' had struggled for its emancipation (drawing a comparison with the Roman Conflict of the Orders).

The revision of Müller's classic work, published by the linguist Wilhelm Deecke some 50 years later in 1877, brought no changes to the assumptions discussed above.[12] On the contrary, the *penéstai* model with its implied large groups of semi-free people found fertile ground. Some years later, in 1884, it led Deecke to connect the contentious Etruscan word *etera* – the meaning of which was already controversial at the time and still is today – with these *penéstai* in the sense of 'dependent'.[13] For anyone eager to find a class of subjugated serfs in Etruria, this interpretation was to become an important support.

Turning to the English-speaking world, the remarks put forward by the British explorer George Dennis (1814–1898) are clearly more extreme, and very revealing of the views circulating in the nineteenth century. As a widely-read reference work that was translated into various languages and reprinted several times, the wide impact of *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (London 1848) should not be underestimated. Dennis gave a brief historical outline in his 'Introduction.' He assumed an Eastern-inspired theocracy with an all-dominant hierarchy for the Etruscans:[14] 'Political freedom was a plant which flourished not in Etruria.'[15] The achievements of the Roman Conflict of the Orders could not have happened in Etruria. Society consisted of 'the ruling class and their dependents.' For Dennis, it was a 'feudal system' with some traits comparable to the middle ages: 'the mass of the community was enthralled' and 'the commons must have been a conquered people, the descendants of the early inhabitants of the land'.[16] According to the British explorer, these conquerors were mainly Tyrrhenians who had come from the Orient and had quickly become domi-

12 Müller and Deecke, *Die Etrusker.* Actual revisions and progress were confined mainly to the supplements, so for example in *Beilage* II, which treated the onomastic material ("Über die etruskischen Sepulcralinschriften," 435–509), where Deecke corrected Müller's old view that the custom of the *tria nomina* was foreign to Etruria.

13 Cf. initially Müller and Deecke, *Die Etrusker*: 505–6: *lautni*, 'Freigelassener' (freedperson) and *etera*, 'Knabe, Sclave' (*puer*, slave); 511: *etera, -raia*, 'Sclave, -vin'. Later he changed his opinion: Wilhelm Deecke, *Etruskische Forschungen und Studien*, vol. 6, *Die etruskischen Beamten- und Priester-Titel* (Stuttgart: Heitz, 1884): 35–36: *etera*, 'Abhängiger' (dependent person, condition of dependency). For a discussion see below section 4, 'Pillar number 3.'

14 George Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (London: John Murray, 1848): xxxix.

15 Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*: xlvii.

16 Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*: xlvii.

nant in Etruria.[17] Because of the military duties of the 'serfs' in the Etruscan armies, Dennis compared their position with that of the *perioeci* of Laconia 'to their Dorian lords'. Interestingly, he did not compare them with the helots like Niebuhr and Müller did, but with the free and in terms of personal rights better-positioned *perioeci* of the Spartan *polis*. For the rest, the (meagre) basic arguments for all these speculations on the existence of a large class of serfs in Etruria are the usual ones: the πενέσται in Dionysius (IX.5.4), the cohorts of Etruscan peasants in Livy (IX.36.12), and the rebellion at Volsinii veteres in 265/4 BC. In addition to these 'serfs', Dennis assumed that the institution of real slavery existed, as well.

Here again we have some sort of immigrants, a subjugated indigenous population, and the strict feudal system proposed by Niebuhr. Summing up, Dennis stated: '[I]t is difficult to conceive of a system of government more calculated to enslave both mind and body.'[18] Unsurprisingly, this civilization 'under despotic rule' was not progressive: It was purely material and therefore luxury oriented, assimilated to the civilizations of the east, far removed from the free spirit of the Greeks, and without 'the earnest germ of development.'[19] However, Dennis was able to find some positive features in Etruscan mentality, such as a certain interest in technological progress (for example in the sewer system), and the social role of women, which he considered exceptional and prominent compared to Greek society, albeit of unclear origin.

In general, it is easy to see here and later how the very contentious question of Etruscan origins, and especially the assumption that an indigenous population had been subjugated by a group of immigrants with partly oriental or 'eastern' roots, also massively influenced thinking about the Etruscans' social structures. Views, resentments and clichés of 'the Orient' were often simply transferred to Etruria. The famous Swiss scholar Johann Jakob Bachofen (1815–1887) also pursued this course with his 'oriental' Tanaquil and the supposed 'Mutterrecht' ('Mother Right') of the Etruscans.[20] Even though his ideas on ancient matriarchy were quickly rejected by pragmatic research, they clearly contributed to the widespread idea of the 'otherness' of the Etruscans, who were subsequently believed to be capable of anything – including a deeply divided civilization of masters and servants.

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17 Dennis assumed a society made up of subjugated indigenous peoples, immigrant Greek Pelasgians and Tyrrhenians, the last to immigrate, but culturally and politically dominant: Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*: xxxi, for the 'oriental' character of Etruscan culture see esp. xlii.

18 Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*: xlviii.

19 Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*: xlvii–lxix.

20 Johann Jakob Bachofen, *Die Sage von Tanaquil: Eine Untersuchung über den Orientalismus in Rom und Italien* (Heidelberg: J.C.B. Mohr, 1870). For his view of the Etruscans, see Petra Amann, "Johann Jakob Bachofen, il concetto del 'Mutterrecht' e gli Etruschi," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 24 (2017): 35–53.

2 The Twentieth Century: An Idea Conquers the World

In the early twentieth century, scholars continued to hold on to the ideas developed in the nineteenth century to a certain degree.[21] There was not much interest in investigating social aspects. Scholarly research was increasingly influenced by current political developments. It seems, however, that there was a general freedom to interpret Etruscan society as one pleased.[22] For nationalistic reasons, etruscology in Italy was, at least in part, more interested in an autochthonous, 'Italic' view of the Etruscans.[23]

For reasons of space, I can only briefly mention two Italian scholars as representative of this period: Pericle Ducati (1880–1944) devoted a few remarks to the social problem in his *Etruria antica*:[24] In earlier times, he wrote, the subjugated 'Umbrian' πενέσται ('servi') were completly dependent on the political elite, the 'famiglie lucumoniche'. Like Müller, he considered the development of a 'middle class' ('borghesia') probable, which in his view accompanied the transformation from monarchy to republic, followed by an increasing antagonism between the nobility and the 'borghesia.' Arturo Solari (1874–1951) in his 1931 *Vita pubblica e privata degli Etruschi* gives a smiliar account, with some modifications.[25] The Etruscan *penéstai* (Dion. Hal. IX.5.4) as 'servi della gleba' (serfs) were now considered a fact that could not be disregarded. Following Solari, these agricultural serfs represented the *plebs* who would, 'naturalmente' (*sic*), go on to develop into the middle class ('la classe borghese'). This 'borghesia' gained much authority in the state to the detriment of the old *nobiles*, and after its triumph, Solari's Etruria had republican, rather democratic governments. In his account the 'democratic bourgeois class' ('ceto democratico borghese') was slowly replaced by another, the 'popular class' ('ceto popolare') which had evolved from the same *plebs*.[26] In the late Etruscan period, the 'ceto democratico-borghese' and the 'ceto democratico-popolare' fought each other, and Solari saw the revolts of Arezzo and Volsinii as examples of these conflicts between 'borghesia e proletariato'. Pointing to a short passage in Diodorus (V.40.4, see below), he postulated the existence of real

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21 For example by Søren Peter Cortsen, *Die etruskischen Standes- und Beamtentitel, durch die Inschriften beleuchtet* (Kopenhagen: Andr. Fred. Høst & Søn, 1925): with the meaning 'dependent' for Etruscan *etera*.

22 I will not go into the romantic-effusive and anti-modern views of the British novelist David H. Lawrence in his work *Etruscan Places* (posthumously published in 1932), nor into the excesses of Fascist and Nazi historical 'research'.

23 For the debate on the Etruscans' origin in early-twentieth–century Italy, see Maurizio Harari, "Etruscologia e fascismo," *Athenaeum* 100 (2012): 405–18, esp. 408–9.

24 Pericle Ducati, *Etruria antica*, vol. I-II (Turin: G.B. Paravia, 1925, 2nd ed. 1927): chapter V ("La vita pubblica e privata degli Etruschi"): 131–74, esp. 140–43.

25 Arturo Solari, *Vita pubblica e privata degli Etruschi* (Florence: Rinascimento Del Libro, 1931): chapter III ("Nazioni e classi"): 27–31, esp. 29–31. He is better known for his *Topografia storica dell'Etruria*.

26 Ducati, *Etruria antica*: 29–30.

(chattel) slavery. Apart from his flawed terminology, which bears strong influences from his own time, it is interesting to note that Solari arrived at some very different conclusions to his predecessors, albeit on the basis of the same scanty literary evidence. An aspect he has in common with the earlier tradition is his lack of concern in making such sweeping generalisations about Etruscan society on such a slender basis.

After these troubled decades, the 1950s and 1960s were an important phase for Etruscan studies as a whole. The Etruscans benefited from the anti-Roman current in postwar popular culture; the great European travelling exhibition on their art and life in 1955 and 1956 put them into the spotlight. It was a formative stage also in our context, and Santo Mazzarino and Jacques Heugon were crucial figures.

In 1957, the important Italian ancient historian (but not Etruscologist) Santo Mazzarino published his views in the very influential paper 'Sociologia del mondo etrusco e della tarda etruscità.' To this day, this article is an obligatory text in any discussion about Etruscan society. Mazzarino thus cemented Etruscan 'two-class society,' albeit based on information that was already antiquated at that time: 'Etruscan society was dominated by the clearly defined polarity between *domini* on one side, *servi* on the other.'[27] Significantly, there is not a single reference to Solari in the entire article. The study is based on incorrect translations of important Etruscan terms,[28] the use of very questionable etymologies and an arbitrary interpretation of literary and epigraphic sources. Mazzarino believed he could subsume various gradations of dependency under one supposedly particular Etruscan 'concept of *servi*': for him, Etruscan *lautni* corresponded to Roman *cliens* (with good life conditions), *lautn eteri* to *libertus* and *etera* to *servus*. Such a reconstruction is completely wrong not only from today's point of view, but even at that time: *lautni* corresponds to *libertus* and the meaning of *etera* (and therefore *lautn etera*) is unclear, but the term refers to free Etruscan individuals (see section 4 below, "Pillar number 3"). The method used is remarkable, however. First, Mazzarino equated Etruscan words with Latin terms, without any real basis (and incorrectly). He then grouped these Etruscan terms under a single 'concept'. As this association makes no sense from a legal point of view, he then inferred the peculiar nature of the Etruscan system.

Mazzarino was a supporter of the Oriental immigration theory and distinguished between eastern/Asian 'etruscità tirsenica' and 'etruscità d'Italia,'[29] which he considered enough to explain the alleged differences from the Roman system.

The Etruscan *penéstai* of Dionysius (whom he mentioned without citation) became 'coloni etrusco-italici', peasants who were tied to the soil and therefore classi-

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27 Santo Mazzarino, "Sociologia del mondo etrusco e della tarda etruscità," *Historia* 6 (1957): 113–14: "un ordinamento sociale di tipo arcaico." On Mazzarino, Heurgon and their time see Benelli, "La società etrusca e le utopie postbelliche": 106–10.

28 Cf. also Mazzarino, "Sociologia del mondo etrusco": 100, and equally wrong 107: *spur* = '*publicum*, cosa pubblica, *populus*', *meθlum* = 'federazione'.

29 Mazzarino, "Sociologia del mondo etrusco": 114.

fied as belonging to the *servi*.[30] They did not play a major role in Mazzarino's concept. However, he put a lot of emphasis on the Latin text of the so-called Prophecy of Vegoia, which mentioned *domini* and especially *servi* (whom he identified with Etruscan *etera*) being able to move boundary stones of landholdings at the end of the eighth *saeculum*, something that should confirm Mazzarino's assumptions about a class of semi-free persons who had certain property rights to land.[31] In fact, this interpretation is highly questionable and not necessary to understand the prophecy, even if later scholars repeated it again and again. In addition, Mazzarino found further evidence in a short passage in Diodorus Siculus (V.40.4) that mentions the houses of θεράποντες (?) in Etruria, already controversial at the time, which he interpreted as houses of the 'servants.' However, the reading of the word θεράποντες in the manuscripts is doubtful (see section 4 below, "Pillar number 2"). Nevertheless, this half-sentence is an important support of the *domini*-and-*servi* theory and for Mazzarino, 'nulla c'è da correggere' in this source.[32] He therefore postulated the existence of *servi-clientes* who lived a good life alongside their masters, a kind of 'piccola borghesia etrusca.'

At the same time as this very influential but misleading article, the French Latinist and Etruscologist Jacques Heurgon published his views on the Etruscan state and its structures.[33] As can be seen from a whole series of contributions, Heurgon was one of the first scholars to show real interest in the social and economic structures of the Etruscans, but he, too, was not independent of the current *zeitgeist*. His monograph, *La vie quotidienne chez les Étrusques*, published in 1961 and intended for a general audience, was very successful: reprinted several times and translated into other languages,[34] it finally spread the misconception about Etruscan society into the academic and non-academic worlds.

Heurgon was better informed about the facts than Mazzarino (for example the progress made by research in Etruscan onomastics, amongst others concerning the patrilineal transmission of the gentile name), but seems to have been influenced by

30 Mazzarino, "Sociologia del mondo etrusco": 110: 'colonato etrusco', 'contadini'. According to Mazzarino, by the time of the elder Graccchus, they were in part already extinct and had been replaced by 'coloni stranieri'.

31 *Corpus Scriptorum Gromaticorum*, Lachmann I, 350. Mazzarino, "Sociologia del mondo etrusco": 114.

32 Mazzarino, "Sociologia del mondo etrusco": 114–15.

33 Jacques Heurgon, "L'État étrusque," *Historia* 6 (1957): 63–83; Jacques Heurgon, "Les Pénestes étrusques chez Denys d'Halicarnasse (IX, 5, 4)," *Latomus* 18 (1959): 713–23; Jacques Heurgon, "Valeurs féminines et masculines dans la civilisation étrusque," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité* 73 (1961): 139–60; Jacques Heurgon, "Posidonius et les Étrusques," in *Hommagee à Albert Grenier*, ed. Marcel Renard, Collection Latomus 58 (Brüssel: Berchem, 1962): 799–808; Jacques Heurgon, "Classes et ordres chez les Étrusques," in *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'Antiquité Classique* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la *recherche* scientifique, 1970): 29–41.

34 Jacques Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne chez les Étrusques* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1961) (translated into Italian: 1963, English: 1964, German: 1971).

Bachofen's crude ideas. He states that Etruscan society had matriarchal characteristics, speaks of Etruscan feminism and 'mother worship', the Etruscans' inclination towards cruelty, their great freedom of morals, and wonders whether they have remained 'une humanité d'avant la raison et d'avant la sages'.[35] The chapter devoted to society (III) is divided into two sub-chapters titled 'La classe des maîtres' and 'La classe des serviteurs', which clearly indicate the direction of his interpretation. Heurgon depicts the Etruscan two-class society as archaic, rigid, conservative, feudal, and composed, until its final disappearance, of only *domini* and *servi*.[36] The sub-chapter on 'The class of servants' opens with the statement that in Etruria, below the class of masters there were only slaves ('esclaves'), 'une immense population servile.'[37] Heurgon then distinguishes between different levels of dependency among the 'serfs', whom he defines as such based on a rather free interpretation of the extant, sparse source material and a very one-sided interpretation of important Latin terms such as *familia*.[38] In his view, the Etruscan peasants ('les paysans') were 'les serfs des campagnes', 'aptly' described by Dionysius (IX.5.4) as *penéstai*. They were free, but treated like slaves, and therefore labelled by him as 'serfs-clients;' in fact, according to Heurgon their status was very close to that of the Thessalian *penéstai*. He described them as having formed an extensive class of semi-free persons without civil rights (as usual, here follows the reference to Liv. IX.36.12). A mass of classic urban slaves, 'la foule des domestiques,' and the group of the freedmen, correctly labelled as *laut(u)ni*,[39] are described as having coexisted alongside them. According to Heurgon, the highest level of social advancement possible for the broad 'classe des serviteurs' was as members of a privileged class of dependents associated with the Etruscan term *etera*. It occurs in inscriptions in connection with personal names containing the *nomen gentilicium*. For him, *etera* derived from the Greek ἑταῖρος, and should have been translated as client[40] (but cf. section 4 below).

The most striking point is that, according to Mazzarino and Heurgon, no free 'middle classes' in an economical and socio-political sense existed in the Etruscan city-states (something Müller had at least assumed and Solari had strongly emphasised).

Subsequent generations of scholars retained these sand castles of Etruscan social hierarchy, and the existence of great masses of semi-free persons with a particular status was generally accepted. At the same time, the discussion of other posssible so-

35 Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne*: 55. Cf. Heurgon, "Valeurs féminines et masculines": esp. 140, 160. For the similarities with Bachofen see Amann, "Bachofen": 46–47.

36 Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne*: 56.

37 Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne*: 74.

38 Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne*: 74–94, see 83–84 for his incomplete definition of Latin *familia*. For this term cf. Helmut Rix, *Die Termini der Unfreiheit in den Sprachen Alt-Italiens* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994): 41–47.

39 Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne*: 82–83.

40 Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne*: 93–94 (*etera*); cf. Heurgon, "L'État étrusque": 96; Heurgon, "Les Pénestes étrusques"; Heurgon, "Posidonius"; Heurgon, "Classes et ordres chez les Étrusques."

cial groups remained completely in the background. Among others, Thérèse Frankfort, Ambros Josef Pfiffig, Alain Hus (who entirely followed Heurgon) and even Attilio Mastrocinque in the 1990s[41] should be mentioned here.

In his important book on *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* published in 1971, the British ancient historian William Vernon Harris devoted a chapter to the Etruscans' social structure and identified a deep divide between 'the ruling classes and slaves or people of slave-like status' in Etruria.[42] The inevitable *penéstai* were seen as evidence for a social class 'between free and slaves', but these '*servi* are not ordinary *servi* in the Roman sense, for they seem to have some property-rights.'[43] Harris thought that some kind of free classes in addition to the upper class were conceivable,[44] but they ultimately played no part in his discussion of the events.

Even the eminent German linguist Helmut Rix followed the trend. He tried to explain the onomastic phenomenon of what he called 'Vornamengentilizia' (*gentilicia* formally identical with *praenomina* such as *cae* or *tite*) on historic grounds: According to him, they were the result of the social advancement of the unfree serfs (the *penéstai*) in Hellenistic inner Etruria, shown by their legal inclusion among the Etruscan citizen body; thus forming the nucleus of the *plebs*.[45] The archaeological basis of this conclusion can now be regarded as flawed.

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41 Thérèse Frankfort, "Les classes serviles en Étrurie," *Latomus* 18 (1959): 3–22; Ambros Josef Pfiffig, "Die Namen ehemals unfreier Personen bei den Römern und in Etrurien," *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 11 (1960): 256–59; Alain Hus, *Les Étrusques et leur destin* (Paris: Picard, 1980); cf. also Maria Capozza, *Movimenti servili nel mondo romano in età repubblicana*, vol. 1, *Dal 501 a 184 a.C.* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1966): 123–41 (on the conflict in Volsinii). Attilio Mastrocinque, "Servitus publica a Roma e nella società etrusca," *Studi Etruschi* 62 (1996 [1998]): 249–70 on *etera*: 'natura pubblica dei servi Penesti d'Etruria'. *Servus publicus* is a term commonly used in ancient Rome for a (chattel) slave who performed useful activities for the state and thereby held certain privileges, see Walter Eder, *Servitus publica: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung, Entwicklung und Funktion der öffentlichen Sklaverei in Rom* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980).

42 William Vernon Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971): 114 and 119. See esp. chapters IV.1 "The Structure of Etruscan Society" (114–29) and VI.1 "Etruscan Society in 91" (202–12).

43 Harris, *Rome in Etruria*: 119–23. Harris did not want to call them *clientes*, as Heurgon did.

44 See Harris, *Rome in Etruria*: 115 supporting his view with the revolt of the *plebs* in Arezzo, 302 BC, and the *cetera multitudo* in the city of *Troilum*; 116: 'If there was a βουλή at Volsinii, as is stated, there may have been some gradations among the freemen [. . .]'.

45 Helmut Rix, *Das etruskische Cognomen: Untersuchungen zu System, Morphologie und Verwendung der Personennamen auf den jüngeren Inschriften Nordetruriens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963): 372–76 and Helmut Rix, "L'apporto dell'onomastica personale alla conoscenza della storia sociale," in *Caratteri dell'ellenismo nelle urne etrusche: Atti dell'incontro di studi, Siena, 28–30 aprile 1976*, ed. Marina Cristofani Martelli and Mauro Cristofani (Florence: Centro Di, 1977): esp. 67–68 (with reference to Dionysius of Hal. IX.5.4). Contra, see already Harris, *Rome in Etruria*: 208–12 and more recently Enrico Benelli, "'Vornamengentilizia': Anatomia di una chimera," in *Corollari: Scritti di antichità etrusche e italiche in omaggio all'opera di Giovanni Colonna*, ed. Daniele F. Maras (Pisa and Rome: Fabrizio Serra

Of course, there were also scholars who adopted a more cautious position, integrating new research findings and generally working much more with actual Etruscan evidence, such as Massimo Pallottino, considered the 'father of modern Etruscology.' In his *Etruscologia*, published in several editions and languages, Pallottino reconstructed a quite different and more balanced society. In the chapter on the political-social organisation in the 1955 edition, Pallottino briefly states about the early Villanova period that 'originally there were no major social inequalities.' The high number of gentile names in the early period 'rules out the hypothesis of an original opposition between a narrow oligarchy of members of the *gentes* and a population outside the gentile system.' Instead, the real lower class was represented by 'servants, actors and acrobats, foreigners etc.', bearing only one single name in inscriptions.[46] He assumed the existence of minor and plebeian *gentes* and 'classi proletarie e servili', but regarded them as difficult to define. The important circle of Italian scholars around Pallottino shared these positions, of course, but an explicit and decisive rejection of the old *penéstai*-ideas was not to be found here. It is impossible and beyond the scope of this article to mention all the different positions. In search of a representative example, I consulted the *Dizionario illustrato della civiltà etrusca* published by the highly deserved Etruscologist Mauro Cristofani in 1985. While there is no entry on 'società, struttura, ordinamento sociale', 'ceti, classi sociali' or the like, the 'principi' and the inevitable 'servi' feature, each with their own lemma. The latter contains a reference to the semi-free *penéstai* and a description strongly influenced by Heurgon.[47] In general, when dealing with the topic of social hierarchisation, we often find a strange mixture between the old idea of a feudal two-class society (now described as typical of rural areas) and new scholarly insights, especially with regard to the rapid urbanisation process in Etruria. Its inevitable social consequences had to be taken into account, so that the existence of free intermediate groups within the population had to be discussed. Mauro Cristofani's comprehensive 1978 work *Etruschi. Cultura e società* is a good example of these difficulties.[48] Contrary to earlier research, the Etruscan cities of the second half of the sixth century were now given the title of *poleis* without hesitation, and described as having a timocratic order with *census*-based *comitia,* mirroring the Roman model. However, it remained unclear how this could have developed at all against

Editore, 2011): 193–98. Over the course of the discussion, a distinction between 'Vornamengentilizia' and 'Individualnamengentilizia' became necessary.

46 First edition Milan: Hoepli 1942; further revised editions 1947, 1955, 1957, 1963, 1968, 1985. References above are to Massimo Pallottino, *Etruscologia* (Milan: Hoepli, 1955): chapter VI ("L'organizzazione politico-sociale"): 167–97, on society 192–97. On Pallottino and the 1950s, cf. Benelli, "La società etrusca e le utopie postbelliche": 104–5.

47 Mauro Cristofani, *Dizionario illustrato della civiltà etrusca*, ed. Mauro Cristofani (Florence: Giunti Martello, 1985): 232–33, s. v. *principi* (Mauro Cristofani); 270, s. v. *servi* (Mauro Cristofani).

48 Mauro Cristofani, *Etruschi: Cultura e società* (Novara: De Agostini, 1978): 27–43, esp. 37–43. The book was published in several editions and languages, interestingly losing the term 'society' in its translated title (*The Etruscans: A New Investigation*, 1979; *Die Etrusker: Geschichte, Glaube und Kultur*, 1983).

the background of the pronounced two-class society thought to have reemerged after the so-called crisis of the fifth century BC. In 1986, the edited volume *Rasenna. Storia e civiltà degli Etruschi* appeared, which illustrated the state of research at the time. Cristofani wrote the section on 'Economia e società', in which he focused mainly on the interactions between production methods and social structures in the early stages of Etruscan history. He made interesting remarks, but only briefly repeated the usual *penéstai-servi* hypotheses for the periods from the fifth century onwards.[49]

It was above all Mario Torelli who took up the subject in more detail and left his mark on it to this day. Typical of this period was a conscious distancing from the troublesome issue of 'origin', a subject that became much less important. In *Storia degli Etruschi*, published in 1981, Torelli innovatively adopted a consistent socio-economic perspective in outlining his views of the social system from the beginning to the end of Etruscan history. This was followed by the volume *La società etrusca* in 1987, one of the very few works of Etruscology that focused on social history, even if it was only a compilation of older articles by Torelli (for example 'Per una storia dello schiavismo in Etruria' was first published in 1975).[50] Following in the footsteps of Müller, Deecke, Heurgon, and Harris, Torelli in turn took up the irresistible *penéstai* label from Dionysius.[51] He described the two-class society based on extensive wage labour, dominated by an aristocracy and characterised by a sharp contrast between *domini* and *servi* as typical of Etruria: '*[P]enéstai* e *tryphé* sono i termini che in sostanza vengono a descrivere i caratteri distintivi di un'intera formazione economico-sociale.'[52] As late as 1987 (1975), he erroneously wanted to recognise these *servi-penéstai* in Etruscan *etera/eteri*.[53] He believed that they had resulted from the subordination of local groups of people in the eigth century BC, who had previously lived outside the great Villanovan communities.[54] As individuals with a status 'tra liberi e schiavi', the *servi* in this

49 Mauro Cristofani, "Economia e società," in *Rasenna: Storia e civiltà degli Etruschi*, Collana Antica Madre 9 (Milan: Scheiwiller, 1986): 145–46.

50 Mario Torelli, *La società etrusca: L'età arcaica, l'età classica* (Rome: La Nuova Italia Scientifica, 1987): 87–95. This chapter has the term 'schiavo/slave' in its title, even though it is mainly about the alleged Etruscan institution of 'serfs' ('classe servile').

51 Mario Torelli, *Storia degli Etruschi* (Bari: Laterza, 1981, repr. 1997): esp. 79–81. On p. 79, the wrong passage is quoted from Dionysius ('II.44.7', cf. also Mario Torelli, "Gesellschaft und Staat: Klassen und Wandlungen der Gesellschaft," in *Die Etrusker: Geheimnisvolle Kultur im antiken Italien*, ed. Mauro Cristofani [Stuttgart: Belser, 1995]: 104); the correct reference is IX.5.4. This is probably a case of confusion with the parallel passage in Livy (II.44.6–8), which, however, is completely neutral in this respect. Less pressure is placed on the Dionysius passage (correctly quoted this time) in Torelli, *La società etrusca*: 89–92, note 35. Cf. more recently Mario Torelli, "La servitus etrusca tra storia e archeologia," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 87 (2014–2015): 169–87.

52 Torelli, *Storia degli Etruschi*: 83.

53 Torelli, *La società etrusca*: 90.

54 Torelli, *Storia degli Etruschi*: 55. Cf. also Mario Torelli, "Intorno ai servi d'Etruria," in *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2016*, ed. Luciana

model would have made up a large part of the rural population and a good part of the urban one.[55] The scanty evidence for this alleged 'class of serfs' is, as usual, Diodorus V.40.4, the revolt in Volsinii veteres, the *bellum servile* in Arezzo mentioned by one of the *Elogia Tarquiniensa*, and the prophecy of Vegoia. The serfs are tied to the soil, have some civic rights – such as the possibilty of owning their own dwellings – but no political rights (and would thus be an easy prey for tyrants):[56] So far, there is nothing new. New and significant aspects in Torelli's work were above all a full appreciation of the consequences of the urbanisation process and a generally stronger integration of Etruscan archaeological sources into the discourse. Thus, in his view, urbanisation in the sixth century, especially in the south of Etruria, had produced considerable urban strata, including those independent of the old aristocratic mechanisms of production, and different from the subordinated *penéstai*. To remain true to his ideas, Torelli posited that these new strata were mainly of non-Etruscan, foreign, and especially Italic, origin.[57] In his account, these new plebeian intermediate groups, active in crafts and trade, served in the urban armies of the southern Etruscan city-states, adopting the hoplite style of fighting. Torelli refers to these city-states quite naturally as *poleis* in an economic and political sense, but assumes different degrees of 'democratic' tendencies in the south of Etruria, with 'ceti urbani e "plebei"' especially in Veii and Caere.[58] He argued that the fifth-century economic 'crisis' of the south hit the prosperous middle strata especially hard and in turn provoked social changes, including some kind of oligarchical setback ('involuzione oligarchica').[59] Torelli assumed

Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018): 299, where he assumes that non-Etruscan populations were enslaved during the Villanovan expansions in the Po Valley and in Campania, and argues that in Etruria proper, dependency came about when the smaller centres were integrated into the emerging central settlements. These seem to be very problematic assumptions to me.

55 Torelli, *Storia degli Etruschi*: 80; Torelli, *La società etrusca*: 88–89, 92, 94–95.

56 He argued that only in the southernmost cities, Veii and Caere, could members of the lower strata have achieved a better social position, similar to the Roman *plebs*: Torelli, *La società etrusca*: 91.

57 Torelli, *Storia degli Etruschi*: 147–64, esp. 157; Torelli, *La società etrusca*: 50, 52; Mario Torelli, "La società etrusca della crisi: Quali trasformazioni sociali?" in *Crise et transformation des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au Ve siècle av. J.-C.: Actes de la table ronde, Rome, 19–21 novembre 1987* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1990): 194: '[C]eti produttivi intermedi, [. . .] in Etruria in vario modo interni e consustanziali alla polis.' Cf. Torelli, "Gesellschaft und Staat": 112–13: new foreign elements of Latin, Sabin, Umbrian origin.

58 Torelli, *Storia degli Etruschi*: 160, 200–203. Supporting arguments in the case of Veii are the great *thesmophorion* in the heart of the city, the cult of Ceres at the Campetti sanctuary (Torelli, *La società etrusca*: 128–29: 'la grande dea presidio della plebe'), and the literary tradition of 'kings' in the second half of the fifth century; in the case of Caere the *týrannos* Thefarie Velianas. Tarquinia, Vulci and Volsinii veteres would have remained more oligarchical.

59 Torelli, *Storia degli Etruschi*: 184. Cf. Torelli, "La società etrusca della crisi": 197. Meanwhile, the upper class continued with their 'conspicuous consumption.' For the fifth century see *Crise et transformation des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au Ve siècle av. J.-C.: Actes de la table ronde, Rome, 19–21 novembre 1987* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1990).

than from then on, southern and northern Etruria developed differently.[60] The so-called 'internal colonisation' in the south (Tarquinia, Vulci) would have given new economic opportunities to the 'classe semi-servile' and remaining marginal groups of the '*démos* urbano,' leading to the end of the archaic *servitus* system and producing a 'middle class' of land owners with small to medium-sized properties, which, however, dissolved again in the third century BC under the pressure of the Roman land confiscations. In contrast, the old system of *servitus* of the *penéstai* would have remained active in northern and inner Etruria, leading with some delay to the revolts of Arezzo and Volsinii veteres. Adopting Rix's 'Vornamengentilizia' hypothesis, Torelli also saw a late integration of the formerly unfree *servi-penéstai* in the second century BC, resulting in peasants holding small plots of their own land (for example in Chiusi).[61]

Chronologically and geographically, Torelli offers a much more nuanced picture of Etruscan societies than scholars before him. Although he undoubtedly represents an important stage in the development of our ideas (for example by including archaeological evidence such as sanctuaries and their cults in the discussion), he was unwilling to give up the old *penéstai*-model of *domini* and *servi*. He therefore did not pursue any further the idea of the existence of large intermediate groups of 'genuine' Etruscans. The later Torelli seems to have become even stricter, accepting only the two dependency relationships of *servitus* and *clientela* below the nobility for the Etruscans.[62] However, in my opinion the epigraphic material from the sanctuary of Gravisca (Tarquinia) that he used as evidence cannot support this assumption.[63]

A slightly more sceptical attitude towards the serfs-*penéstai* model seems to be found in the work of Giovanni Colonna, although this is difficult to assess because the information is scattered over many articles, and there is no overview work by him.[64] His

60 Torelli, *Storia degli Etruschi*: 217–37. In the production processes in southern Etruria, classical chattel slavery would now have offered a substitute for the 'serfs', cf. Torelli, "Gesellschaft und Staat": 115–16.

61 Torelli, *La società etrusca*: 93–95; Torelli, "Gesellschaft und Staat": 118.

62 Torelli, "La servitus etrusca"; Torelli, "Intorno ai servi d'Etruria": 297; Mario Torelli, "Le radici dello sviluppo: Riflessioni sulla nascità delle aristocrazie nel Lazio e nell'Etruria meridionale," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 27 (2020): 16–17.

63 Following Torelli, the personal names found in fourteen inscriptions from Gravisca would belong to 'serfs', because they all had only a single name. The fragmentary character of many of the Etruscan inscriptions from Gravisca does not allow us to draw this conclusion with certainty, and in some cases alternative interpretations are possible to explain the name structure. For example, *ramθa venatres* (ET^2 Ta 3.4) could also be a freeborn woman (and not 'Ramtha, slave/serf of Venatre'). For votive inscriptions by women, see Petra Amann, "Women and Votive Inscriptions in Etruscan Epigraphy," *Etruscan and Italic Studies: Journal of the Etruscan Foundation* 22 (2019): esp. 11–12.

64 I refer to articles such as Giovanni Colonna, "Società e cultura a Volsinii," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 2 (1985): 101–31, Giovanni Colonna, "Urbanistica e architettura," in *Rasenna: Storia e civiltà degli Etruschi,* Collana Antica Madre 9 (Milan: Scheiwiller, 1986): 369–530 and Giovanni Colonna, "Città e territorio nell'Etruria meridionale del V secolo a.C.," in *Crise e transformation des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au Ve siècle av. J.C.: Actes de la table ronde, Rome, 19–21 novem-*

chapter on 'Urbanistica e architettura' in the volume *Rasenna. Storia e civiltà degli Etruschi* contains many interesting remarks on society. For him, the Etruscan city(-state) became increasingly similar to the Greek *polis* in the first half of the sixth century BC, with growing strata of 'middle class' ('ceto medio') rising from the mass of the free population, who imitated the aristocratic way of life, 'ma in campo politico sono i più strenui garanti del nuovo ordine basato sul censo e sulla isonomia da esso garantita, in contrasto col potere gentilizio fondato sulla clientela e sui legami di sangue.'[65] Colonna argued that the uniform cube-shaped tombs of the necropolises at Orvieto and their inscriptions testify to the socially intermediate status of their owners, 'privi di qualsiasi logica gentilizia o clientelare.'[66] He argued that over the course of the fifth century BC, the old *áristoi* had been integrated by the rising fringes of the 'middle class.'[67] However, between the second half of the fifth and the early fourth century, the economic crisis of southern Etruria and outside military threats pushed these middle classes to the margins of society, which was now again dominated politically by a narrow circle of *principes*, not without social conflicts.[68] He described the fourth century BC as a prosperous period for the medium-sized and smaller settlements in the hinterland of the large cities (for example Musarna). Less detailed and less integrated into the framework of socio-historical development are the following remarks on the late Etruscan period.[69] In his article "Città e territorio nell'Etruria meridionale del V secolo a.C.", Colonna accepted the already canonical contrast between *domini* and *servi* and the associated production mode in Etruria for the archaic and hellenistic periods, which in his opinion had soon been mitigated by the development of solid middle classes that 'lived in the shadow of the *domini*.'[70] Even if Colonna does not address this directly, one gets the impression that his understanding of the socio-historical processes does not depend on the assumption of the existence of large masses of half-free *penéstai* in Etruria, and his focus is clearly more on the (free) middle strata of the society.

bre 1987 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1990): 7–21. Cf. also the section "Lingua e società," in *Giovanni Colonna. Italia ante Romanum imperium, Scritti di antichità etrusche, italiche e romane*, vol. I–VI (Pisa, Rome: Ist. Editoriali e Poligrafici, 2004–2005 and 2016), esp. vol. III. Still important today is Giovanni Colonna, "Nome gentilizio e società," in *Studi Etruschi* 45 (1977): 175–92, on the beginnings of the gentile name system.

65 Colonna, "Urbanistica e architettura": 431.

66 Colonna, "Urbanistica e architettura": 448. Cf. Colonna, "Società e cultura a Volsinii": esp. 101–10 and, more recently, Giovanni Colonna, "La scrittura e la tomba: Il caso dell'Etruria arcaica," in *L'écriture et l'espace de la mort: Épigraphie et nécropoles à l'époque préromaine*, ed. Marie-Laurence Haack (Rome: École française *de* Rome, 2015): 136–37. For Caere, see Colonna, "Urbanistica e architettura": 493.

67 Colonna, "Urbanistica e architettura": 461.

68 Colonna, "Urbanistica e architettura": 495.

69 For the late periods see Colonna, "Urbanistica e architettura": 495–526, esp. 495: in the second century BC, the northern part of Etruria saw an increasingly widespread promotion of subaltern classes.

70 Colonna, "Città e territorio": 13–14, see also 17.

Let us take one final look at another very influential Italian 'grand old man', Bruno D'Agostino, to whom we owe valuable contributions on Etruscan subjects. My interest here is in showing how far the alleged existence of a large class of semi-free 'servants' or 'serfs' as a peculiarity of the Etruscan social system more or less directly influenced (and still influences) any attempt to reconstruct their world – I call it 'the long arm of the *penéstai*.' In a 1990 analysis of the military structures of the Etruscan city-states,[71] D'Agostino rightly drew attention to a problem that scholars had either not taken into account or explained only vaguely. He took up a 'perplessità' raised by the great Arnaldo Momigliano in 1963:[72] 'How the Etruscans ever managed to combine an army of hoplites with their social structure founded upon a sharp distinction between nobles and clientes, I cannot imagine.' The background to this is the discussion of that time about the foundations of the Greek *polis* and the question of how the Etruscans, with their alleged two-class society (and no free farmers), could have formed a community of 'equals' in the sense of a community of citizens; that is, whether the term *polis* can be used for Etruria at all. This was a justified question, because the uncritical mainstream research of the time, such as Christiane Saulnier's in 1980, followed the traditional sharp division of Etruscan society, which did not assume the existence of any intermediate classes and therefore concluded that the hoplite citizen did not exist in Etruria.[73] I am aware that modern research on the Greek *polis* and the hoplite warrior has evolved in a variety of ways, and that there is a well-founded modern critique of the supposedly large role that hoplite warfare played in shaping the Greek *polis*. One example is Hans van Wees, who rejects the traditional image of the middle-class hoplite army as composed of a single social group[74] – it would probably be very fruitful for both sides to include the Etruscan situation in

71 Bruno D'Agostino, "Military Organization and Social Structure in Archaic Etruria," in *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, ed. Oswyn Murray and Simon Price (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990): 59–82; cf. Bruno D'Agostino, "La non-polis degli Etruschi," in *Venticinque secoli dopo l'invenzione della democrazia*, ed. Emanuele Greco (Rome: Donzelli, 1998): 125–31.

72 Arnaldo Momigliano, "An Interim Report on the Origins of Rome," *Journal of Roman Studies* 53 (1963): 95–121, esp. 119.

73 Christiane Saulnier, *L'armée et la guerre dans le monde étrusco-romain (VIIIe–IVe s.)* (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1980): 119–20: '[L]a société étrusque ne semble pas avoir eu une véritable classe intermédiaire.' Karl-Wilhelm Weeber's review of her work already critiqued this aspect, see *Gnomon* 54 (1982): 46–50. Cfr. recently David B. George, "Technology, Ideology, Warfare and the Etruscans Before the Roman Conquest," in *The Etruscan World*, ed. Jean MacIntosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013): 738–46, who argues for only two classes of fighters (aristocrats and '*penéstai*').

74 For the discussion, see Donald Kagan and Gregory F. Viggiano, eds., *Men of Bronze: Hoplite Warfare in Ancient Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013): esp. Donald Kagan and Gregory F. Viggiano, "The Hoplite Debate" (1–56) and Hans van Wees, "Farmers and Hoplites: Models of Historical Development" (222–55); Hans van Wees, ed., *War and Violence in Ancient Greece* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2000), esp. Hans van Wees, "The Development of the Hoplite Phalanx: Iconography and Reality in the Seventh Century" (125–66); Hans van Wees, "The Myth of the Middle Class Army: Military and Social Status in Ancient Athens," in *War as a Cultural and Social Force: Essays on*

these considerations. D'Agostino's analysis of the military structure is more complex than Saulnier's and concludes, on the basis of the iconographic evidence, that something similar to the Greek hoplite citizen class, and therefore some sort of Etruscan *polis* structure, had developed in inner and northern Etruria (especially in Orvieto, Chiusi, Fiesole) from the late sixth century onwards.[75] He argues that the timocratic developments in coastal south Etruria however did not lead to this type of structures, because the strong gentilicial system and the strict social hierarchy had 'restricted these *novi homines* to the condition of *etera*, an Etruscan word which has been thought to convey the same meaning as the Latin *clientes*; it does at least indicate a condition of subjection, even if not so strongly as the Etruscan *lautni.* This social hierarchy bore heavily upon the structure of the army, and prevented the birth of a hoplite *ethos* based on the premiss that everyone had the same political standing [. . .].'[76] His arguments rest, once again, on Dionysius's *penéstai*, called by their masters to face the Romans and a well equipped and organised 'gentilicial army,' albeit without hoplite warriors. D'Agostino therefore tried to explain his conclusion that the south Etruscan city-states had not been *poleis* with an urbanist and institutional development of the Etruscan city that lacked a political community beyond the gentilicial one (no 'city of citizens').[77] This reconstruction is in contrast to assumptions put forward by his contemporaries, scholars such as Torelli, Cristofani, and Colonna (see above), and should be regarded with scepticism in view of the undoubtedly progressive role of the economically highly developed Etruscan south. One might also add the somewhat astonishing fact that scholars find it difficult to accept the existence of the Etruscan *polis*, but have no problem in talking about Greek Sparta as a *polis*, even though it was the homeland of a subjected pre- and a discriminated co-population (helots and *perioeci*).

Sure, D'Agostino had more arrows in his quiver. He believed that he could also provide archaeological evidence for the absence of a hoplite ideology in southern Etruria, mainly due to the absence of hoplite depictions and battle scenes in the late

Warfare in Antiquity, ed. Tonnes Bekker-Nielsen and Lise Hannestad, Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 22 (Copenhagen: Reitzels Forlag, 2001): 33–47.

75 For Fiesole and its territory cf. Petra Amann, "Le 'pietre fiesolane': repertorio iconografico e strutture sociali," in *Cippi, stele, statue-stele e semata: Testimonianze in Etruria, nel mondo italico e in Magna Grecia dalla Prima Età del Ferro fino all'Ellenismo: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Sutri, 24–25 aprile 2015*, ed. Stephan Steingräber (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2018), esp. 66, where the author of the present paper sees clear evidence for the emergence of a hoplite and landowning free middle class. Cf. also Tina Mitterlechner, "Kriegerbild und Militärorganisation," in *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2016*, ed. Luciana Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018): 159–73, esp. 166.

76 D'Agostino, "Military Organization and Social Structure": 80–81; cf. also D'Agostino, "La non-polis degli Etruschi": 130.

77 D'Agostino, "Military Organization and Social Structure": 82: 'In comparison with Greek poleis, the Etruscan city remained only partially realized.'

archaic tomb paintings of Tarquinia. But iconographic references to battles and the martial sphere are generally absent in Tarquinian tomb painting in this period,[78] including any kind of heroic duel, mounted warriors or references to a 'gentilicial army'; it is the softer side of upper class ideology that is clearly the focus in these late archaic funerary images (and even mythological scenes are very rare). It could just as well be argued (as I do) that depictions of warriors did not meet the ideological messages that these paintings were intended to express in the private (!) context of the family tombs of the (now broader) upper class in late sixth-century Tarquinia, perhaps also because hoplite citizen warriors had already become a broader phenomenon.[79] This does not mean that the military element was unimportant. Most of the chamber tombs have been looted, so that it is diffcult to say whether hoplite equipment as part of the grave goods of a male deceased was usually included. The possibility cannot be ruled out given, for example, the relative frequency of fifth-century BC helmet appliques in Tarquinia.[80] I therefore think that D'Agostino's conclusions regarding the south Etruscan city-states cannot be supported. The warrior motif does not even play a role in the repertoire of painted images of the chamber tombs in Chiusi, where D'Agostino assumed a hoplite ideology (the only exception being, significantly, a depiction of mounted combat with lances in the Tomba Paolozzi).

In general, there is a shortage of recent, systematic studies on Etruscan warfare, military tactics and equipment,[81] which needs to take into account recent debates on the Greek hoplite system, as well as Roman military structures.

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78 Apart from a few armed dancers, and the fighting warriors in the painted miniature frieze of the 'tent-like pavilion' in the 'Tomba del Cacciatore'.

79 Anne-Marie Adam and Agnès Rouveret, "Les cités étrusques et la guerre au Ve siècle avant notre ère," in *Crise e transformation des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au Ve siècle av. J.C.: Actes de la table ronde, Rome, 19–21 novembre 1987* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1990): 327–56, 337 try to explain the absence of references to citizen-soldiers in Tarquinia and Caere with the complete fusion between 'des valeurs aristocratiques et des valeurs civiques', whereby the aristocracy would have referred only indirectly to military values. The use of militarily trained mercenaries must also be included as a possibility in the whole discusssion.

80 Giacomo Bardelli, "Minima cascologica: A proposito di alcune appliques bronzee figurate di elmi etruschi ed italici," in *Hallstatt und Italien: Festschrift für Markus Egg*, ed. Holger Baitinger and Martin Schönfelder, Monographien des Römisch Germanischen Zentralmuseums 154 (Mainz: Schnell & Steiner, 2019): 505–21, 512.

81 The 1981 monograph by Peter F. Stary, *Zur eisenzeitlichen Bewaffnung und Kampfesweise in Mittelitalien (ca. 9. bis 6. Jh. v. Chr.)* (Mainz: Zabern, 1981) is fundamental, but outdated. Cf. for the earlier periods, Maurizio Martinelli, *La lancia, la spada, il cavallo* (Florence: Regione Toscana, 2004). Tina Mitterlechner, "Kriegerbild und Militärorganisation" (with older literature).

3 The Last Twenty Years – Mostly More of the Same

The 1990s were the last phase of intense socio-historical discussions in Etruscology; after that, the critical debate on social issues flagged. There are exceptions that try to find new approaches with a declared focus on society, such as the works by Vedia Izzet,[82] Enrico Benelli[83] or my own,[84] but they are rare. As far as social hierarchisation is concerned, the focus continues to be on the elites,[85] and, as a rule, the old positions are repeated, accompanied by an apparent lack of interest in systematic approaches. This is particularly evident in recent anthologies and general introductory or overview works on the Etruscans,[86] which often treat the social subject rather superficially by focusing on partial aspects without giving even a rudimentary overview of the social history and the associated research problems.[87] There is, however, an interesting article by Geoffrey Kron about the very much underinvestigated demography

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82 Vedia Izzet, *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) discusses several topics based on material culture, for example changes in funerary architecture. Gilda Bartoloni, *Le società dell'Italia primitiva: Lo studio delle necropoli e la nascita delle aristocrazie* (Rome: Carocci, 2003, repr. 2009) focuses on the early periods down to the seventh century.

83 Benelli, "Penesti etruschi"; Enrico Benelli, "Una misconosciuta nota di Gustav Herbig e l'etrusco *etera*," in *Miscellanea etrusco-italica*, vol. 3, ed. Adriano Maggiani and Enrico Benelli (Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 2003): 209–21; Benelli, "'Vornamengentilizia'"; Benelli, "Slavery and Manumission"; Benelli, "La società etrusca e le utopie postbelliche"; Enrico Benelli, "La società etrusca: il contributo dell'epigrafia," in *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2016*, ed. Luciana Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018): 219–26; Vincenzo Bellelli and Enrico Benelli, *Gli Etruschi. La scrittura, la lingua, la società* (Rome: Carocci, 2018).

84 See Petra Amann, *Die Etruskerin: Geschlechterverhältnis und Stellung der Frau im frühen Etrurien (9.–5. Jh. v. Chr.)* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000) on the role of the female element; Amann, "Bachofen"; Amann, "Le 'pietre fiesolane'"; Amann, "Women and Votive Inscriptions." The Viennese conference proceedings edited by Luciana Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann address various social-historical topics, see *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker*. For a recent overview of the scholarship on this subject see Amann, "Etruskische Sozialgeschichte – von alten Vorurteilen zu neuen Ufern."

85 See recently Giuseppe M. Della Fina, ed., *Ascesa e crisi delle aristocrazie arcaiche in Etruria e nell'Italia preromana*: *Atti del XXVII Convegno Internazionale di Studi sulla Storia e l'Archeologia dell'Etruria, Orvieto, 13–15 December 2019*, *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 27 (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 2020).

86 Welcome exceptions are Dirk Steuernagel, *Die Etrusker: Ursprünge – Geschichte – Zivilisation* (Wiesbaden: marixverlag, 2020) with a short, but critical chapter on Etruscan society (125–144/150), and Enrico Benelli, *Etruschi: breve introduzione storica* (Milan: Idea Libri, 2021).

87 See for example Jean Mac Intosh Turfa, ed., *The Etruscan World* (London: Routledge, 2013), part IV: "Etruscan Society and Economy"; Sinclair Bell and Alexandra A. Carpino, *A Companion to the Etruscans* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), part III: "Etruscan Wealth and Decadence" and part IV: "Art, Society, and Culture." Even previously the problem of social stratification had not received much attention from Giovannangelo Camporeale, *Gli Etruschi: Storia e Civiltà* (Turin: UTET, 2000).

of Etruria. On the basis of anthropological evidence, he argues that Etruscan society with a significant middle class was much more egalitarian than previously assumed.[88]

In another case, the topic of social hierarchy is briefly dealt within the chapter on economic and political structures.[89] Here, Luca Cerchiai takes up the positions of Bruno D'Agostino and argues strongly for the alleged 'non-*polis*' of the Etruscans with all its consequences: 'Non si produce un ceto cittadino di uomini liberi.'[90] Despite a clear archaeological awareness of the consequences of the urbanisation processes in Etruria and the probable emergence of a class of small landowners, Cerchiai argues elsewhere in more detail that the political system of the two-class society would have produced 'the lack of freedom of an army that – unlike the Roman army – consisted of noncitizens in the service of a limited ruling class.'[91] He writes, 'The achievement of a wider community than that of the *gens*, however, did not produce a citizen class of free men, and a limited number of people with full political rights continued to contrast with a more extended social body that remained excluded.' He describes the result as an 'unsuccessful construction of a political community' that in the fourth century 'continued to sustain itself on the Archaic opposition between *domini* and *servi*', losing its ability to defend itself against external enemies.[92]

The monumental work *Etruscology*, conceived and edited by Alessandro Naso in 2017, stands in contrast to the previous examples. In addition to a general overview article on society, Naso took care to include a separate contribution on society for each of the major historical phases of the Etruscans, in the clear awareness that a history of about one thousand years is naturally also characterised by social changes.[93] In detail, the various articles show divergent views and interpretations, including on

88 Geoffrey Kron, "Fleshing Out the Demography of Etruria," in *The Etruscan World*, ed. Jean MacIntosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013): 56–78, somewhat hidden in part I: "Environment, Background, and the Study of Etruscan Culture."

89 Gilda Bartoloni, ed., *Introduzione all'Etruscologia* (Milan: Hoepli, 2012, 4th ed. 2016). The condition and role of women are discussed in a few pages in the chapter on early history (115–18). The chapter on "Romanizzazione" by Paolo Liverani (227–52, esp. 234–37) is very similar to the thinking of Mario Torelli (discussing Arezzo and Orvieto).

90 Luca Cerchiai, "La struttura economica e politica," in *Introduzione all'Etruscologia*, ed. Gilda Bartoloni (Milan: Hoepli, 2012, 4th ed. 2016): 127–59, quote at 143. See also esp. 128–33 ("società gentilizia") and 142–51 ("non-*polis*"). Cf. Luca Cerchiai, "Lo sviluppo dell'immagine oplitica nell'Etruria arcaica," in *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2016*, ed. Luciana Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018): 145–57, esp. 154: '[S]econdo la straordinaria definizione di Dionigi di Alicarnasso (IX.5.4–5), in Etruria gli opliti restano per sempre penéstai'.

91 Luca Cerchiai, "Urban Civilization," in *Etruscology*, vol. 2, ed. Alessandro Naso (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017): 617–44, 619; and see also 635–40 ("The 'isonomic' city").

92 Cerchiai, "Urban Civilization": 635, 640.

93 Alessandro Naso, ed. *Etruscology*, 2 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017): for a general overview see Petra Amann, "Society" (179–93), then Marco Pacciarelli, "Society, 10th cent.–730 BCE" (759–77); Alessandro Naso, "Society, 730–580 BCE" (869–84); Petra Amann, "Society, 580–450 BCE" (985–99); Petra

the question of the two-class society,[94] thus illustrating the unsatisfactory research situation concerning socio-historical issues in Etruscology as a whole.

4 An Idea Built on Sand

The old idea of a typical Etruscan system of *domini* and *servi* – i.e. semi-free persons with a special status – already developed by early scholars has prevailed today. This idea is based on an extremely weak foundation, mainly two very short references in Greek historiography and a very unclear Etruscan word. For the sake of clarity, let me summarise my position on these three arguments.

As we have seen, the first central pillar is the passage about *penéstai* in Dionysius of Halicarnassus IX.5.4 (relating to the year 480 BC), which even William Vernon Harris called 'a merely decorative element.'[95] It briefly states that the most influential men (δυνατώτατοι) from all Tyrrhenia had joined the army of Veii with their dependents (πενέσται) to support the city-state against Rome. Private armies of clients and subordinates accompanying their nobles are formations that fit well into the context of central Italy in the early fifth century BC, and are certainly not specific to the Etruscans. We may remember the Roman *gens* Fabia with its army of clients in 479/477 BC against Veii, and the inscription on the famous Lapis Satricanus which speaks of *suodales*, followers of a (war)lord named Poplios Valesios.[96] At the same time, of course,

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Amann, "Society, 450–250 BCE" (1101–15); Arnaldo Marcone, "Society 250–89 BCE" (1191–1201); cf. also Luca Cerchiai, "Urban Civilization" (617–44).

94 See for example the different positions of Petra Amann and Luca Cerchiai.

95 Harris, *Rome in Etruria*: 115 and 119–21: 'anachronistic'. Nevertheless, he argued with it at the crucial point, cf. above note 43. For the canonical two-class society interpretation see now George, "Technology, Ideology, Warfare," who holds the opinion that there never was a true hoplite class. For a discussion, see Benelli, "Penesti etruschi"; Benelli, "Slavery and Manumission": 447–48 and Benelli, "La società etrusca e le utopie postbelliche": 107–8.

96 For the episode of the Fabii see Dionysius, who uses the Greek term πελάται to describe the Roman clients: 4000 men went into battle: 306 Fabians with their friends and clients (IX.15.2–3), as well as a regular army under the consul K. Fabius, which then had to leave (Dion. Hal. IX.15.2–18.5; Liv. II.48–50). Less clear is the role of the Fabii in Diod. XI.53.6. On the phenomenon of private armies see Mario Torelli, "*Bellum in privatam curam* (Liv. II.49.1): Eserciti gentilizi, sodalitates e isonomia aristocratica in Etruria e Lazio arcaici," in *Miti di guerra, riti di pace: La guerra e la pace: Un confronto interdisciplinare: Atti del convegno, 4–6 maggio 2009*, ed. Concetta Masseria and Donato Loscalzo (Bari: Edipuglia, 2011): 225–34; Daniele F. Maras, "Kings and Tablemates: The Political Role of Comrade Associations in Archaic Rome and Etruria," in *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2016*, ed. Luciana Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018): 91–108; Adriano Maggiani, "Das Helmdepot von Arce, Vetulonia," in *Waffen für die Götter: Krieger – Trophäen – Heiligtümer*, ed. Wolfgang Meighörner (Innsbruck: Tiroler Landesmuseum, 2012): 63–67 (on the famous deposit of bronze helmets at Vetulonia). In general, see Armando Cherici, "Etruria – Roma: per una storia del rapporto tra impegno

there were regular Etruscan city-state troops ready to go to war, in our case the (probably heavily armed) troops of Veii, who, after consultations in the *concilium Etruriae*, had received support from volunteers – neither Dionysius nor the parallel passage in Livy claim the opposite. Livy remains neutral in his account anyway: 'The [Roman] army then set out for a war with the Veientes, to whose help forces had rallied from every quarter of Etruria' (Liv. II.44.6–7, translation Benjamin O. Foster). According to Dionysius, the Etruscan army was large, valiant, and harmonious; therefore, it would have met the military equipment requirements of the time. As in other ancient communities, the emergence of some kind of state monopoly on warfare in the Etruscan city-states was probably a long, non-linear process, oscillating between traditional aristocratic family power and new state authority in response to changing interests.

In another passage, Dionysius (II.9.2.) mentions *penéstai* in connection with the introduction of the patronage system in Rome by Romulus, usually employing the Greek word πελάται ('neighbours, dependents') for Latin *clientes*. He compares this custom with the Thessalians in Greece who called their *pelátai* by the pejorative term *penéstai* or 'toilers' (in German 'Tagelöhner') and the (early) Athenians who called their clients *thêtes*, meaning 'hirelings'. This is interesting, because the *thêtes* are Athenian citizens with voting rights in the People's Assembly (*ekklesía*) – poor and mostly dependent, but legally certainly not a semi-free class. So in my view, the Dionysian passage IX.5.4, written about 450 years after the event it described, can in no way be taken as evidence for the existence of a specific type of servile, semi-free class in Etruria. The word *penéstai* seems to have a rather pejorative connotation here, which might be due to an anti-Etruscan source – but this is pure speculation. And I am just as unimpressed by the hastily assembled emergency contingent of poorly armed farmers, easy prey for the Roman army that Livy (IX.36.12) describes for the year 310 BC (*tumultuariae agrestium Etruscorum cohortes repente a principibus regionis eius concitatae*).

The second central pillar is a similarly short passage in Diodorus V.40.4, which speaks of the 'houses of the θεράποντες' in connection with Etruscan *tryphé*.[97] We will probably never know for sure whether it actually refers to well-off servant-clients[98] (in some kind of dependency on the elite) or whether there is simply a transcription

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militare e capienza politica nelle comunità antiche," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 16 (2009): 155–75.

97 In addition to Poseidonius, Felix Jacoby also considered Timaios to be a possible source for Diodorus. For a critique of the assumption of complete traceability back to Poseidonius see Giulio Firpo, "Posidonio, Diodoro e gli Etruschi," *Aevum* 71, no. 1 (1997): 103–11, esp. 106–7, who notes modifications by Diodorus in V.40.3–4, namely in comparison with Poseidonius *apud* Athen. IV, 153d (FrGrHist 87 F 1). Paragraph 4 seems to reflect an anti-Etruscan tendency.

98 Originally, the Greek term θεράπων had a more positive meaning as '(armour-bearing) companion, assistant, servant, squire', a subordinate of elevated personal status; cf. Maras, "Kings and Tablemates": 95. On the word and similar expressions see Pollux, *onomomastikon* III.83 (with reference to the Thessalian *penéstai* as persons between freemen and slaves).

error in the manuscripts. Since Vogel and Jacoby, most editions emend with the word ἄρχοντες for magistrates.[99]

> οἰκήσεις τε παντοδαπὰς ἰδιαζούσας ἔχουσι παρ´ αὐτοῖς οὐ μόνον οἱ θεράποντες [or ἄρχοντες?], ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ πλείους
>
> Their dwellings are of every description and of individuality, those not only of their servant-clients [or magistrates?], but of the majority of the free men as well.

Both versions are possible, so our literary source does not provide a reliable basis to work with. In my opinion, the immediately following remark by Diodorus (and/or Poseidonius) is much more interesting, namely that in Etruria the majority of free men (ἐλεύθεροι) also called such individual houses their own, a clear indication of the existence of free intermediate classes in Etruria.[100] But since research was and mostly is busy chasing fantasies of semi-free serf classes, this beautiful evidence of Etruscan middle classes remains little noticed in the discussion.

I will only briefly touch on the long discussion about the Etruscan term *etera*, the third central pillar of the argument. The last two hundred years have seen many different interpretations of it,[101] such as *filius minor*, *servus* (Deecke 1875, 1877), *libertus*, *adoptatus* or *heres*, 'dependent' (referring to the Etruscan *penéstai:* Deecke 1884; Cortsen 1925), 'belonging to the mother's family', '*nobile*', plebeian (Cortsen 1935), *peregrinus*, *cliens* (Heurgon), *puer*, *iuvenis*, member of the *iuventus* (Rosenberg, Olzscha, Rix, Maggiani) and, more recently, 'classe inferiore di semiliberi [. . .] dotati di una (seppur limitata) capacità giuridica' (Facchetti[102]). Some of the earlier interpretations have now been rejected (including *filius minor*, *servus*, '*nobile*', and *peregrinus*), but the term remains a linguistic problem (even if maybe not a serious one). We know it mainly from late Etruscan funerary inscriptions from Perugia and, rarely, from Chiusi, in combination with male and, occasionaly, female names bearing a *nomen gentilicium*, i.e. connected with free persons of probable citizen status. The term

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99 See for example the Loeb Classical Library Edition (1939). For a critique see also Harris, *Rome in Etruria*: 120, who thought the houses of the 'servants' to be a 'paradoxical statement', a 'quite impossible remark for Diodorus.'

100 Cf. Yves Liébert, *Regards sur la truphè étrusque* (Limoges: Pulim, 2006): 166–70 who translates *therápontes* as *clientes*, but on p. 170 also speaks of 'classes moyennes ou moyennemet élevées.'

101 All interpretations are collected in Benelli, "L'etrusco *etera*": 211–17. Rix, *Das etruskische Cognomen*: 371, note 165 and 1977: 65–66, considered the term to be problematic. Given the lack of better alternatives, he finally tended towards 'membro della *iuventus*'.

102 Giulio M. Facchetti, "L'appellativo etrusco etera," *Studi Etruschi* 65–68 (2002): 226–27. His list of '"plebeo" o "cliente" o "vasallo" o, eventualmente, "servo pubblico"' is of little help, because of the legal differences between these categories. Cf. Giulio M. Facchetti, "Note etrusche (II)," *AION* 31 (2009 [2011]): 223–67, esp. 240–52.

seems also to have been used in the titulature of sacral-public (?) offices.[103] It is currently read either as a reference to a specific age group, indicating a member of the *iuventus*, or, more frequently, as meaning 'dependent' or 'client', a favoured interpretation. For logical reasons, however, we would in the latter case also expect a mention of the person on whom someone is dependent. In short, we are unable to give a secure translation. It may even be a descriptor of a person that has nothing to do with social status. Yet another interpretation has been suggested by Enrico Benelli, namely that **eter* refers to some sort of sacral status of the grave or burial, and not to the person.[104] The problem is complicated by the occurrence of the term *lautn eteri* attested with variants mainly in Perugia and Chiusi.

5 Towards New Shores

As has hopefully become clear, the traditional reconstructions are based on an extremely and dangerously thin foundation. When discussing Etruscan societies, we should finally leave behind these old patterns of interpretation and stop forcibly searching for and reading 'Etruscan peculiarities' into the scattered literary sources. They will not help us. We should concentrate on the various kinds of Etruscan sources (archaeological, iconographic, epigraphic), but in a much more systematic and much less prejudiced way. There can be no doubt that Etruscan civilization was built upon a social hierarchy, that a wide range of dependency relationships existed, that there were powerful family groups, clients, poor persons such as tenants and servants, as well as slaves and, surely, social tensions – my point is that there was *more than a rigid two-class system*. But we need to look for this more complex structure and open our eyes to the free and economically largely independent urban middle classes, the poor but freeborn citizens, and the rural free and landholding population with small or medium-sized farms, in addition to the landowning aristocrats. In short, we should pay more attention to the non-elites. And we should begin to integrate our reflections about the social structures of the Etruscan city-states into the general picture of the Graeco-Roman world, instead of separating them from it with reference to a supposed 'rigid two-class society.' The recent hoplite debate, for example, with its hypothesis of a socially non-homogeneous hoplite 'class,' offers good opportunities in this direction.

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103 The inscriptions that feature women are ET² Pe 1.934 and 1.1277. For *zila(t) eter(av)* (ET² Vc 1.56: mentioning a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age) and *camthi eterau* (ET² Ta 1.115: mentioning a girl), see Adriano Maggiani, "Appunti sulle magistrature etrusche," *Studi Etruschi* 62 (1996 [1998]): 117–23, who interpreted them as hereditary sacred offices.

104 Benelli, "L'etrusco *etera*": 220 ('denominazione di un qualche tipo di spazio consacrato'). As supporting evidence, he lists the inscription *śuθi etera* (ET² Pe 1.328), two passages in the *Liber Linteus*, the sometimes discernible spatial or temporal separation of the word *etera* from the rest of the inscription, and the formula *lautn eteri ein śenis* with negating character.

It is beyond the scope of this article to mention all the valuable research that has been done over the last decades on Etruscan archaeological contexts of all kinds – large and small urban centres, rural sites, sanctuaries and cult places,[105] necropolises of all phases and sizes – that allow insights into social hierarchisation. To move away from the 'master and servant' dichotomy and to give at least one concrete example, I would like to take a (brief) look at the Hellenistic necropolis of Fondo Scataglini in the north-western Monterozzi area at Tarquinia.[106] It is an interesting place to search for urban 'middle classes,' even if the poor documentation of the excavations carried out in the 1960s causes problems. After sporadic use in the last quarter of the fourth century BC, the vast majority of the rock-dug tombs were constructed over the course of one or two generations (325–280 BC), and intensely used until the late third to first half of the second century BC. In the following period, until the first century AD, the structures were mostly re-used by persons who were probably not related (at least agnatically) to the former families. The epigraphic material amounts to little more than one hundred inscriptions in Etruscan and Latin.[107] The Etruscan names regularly show a *praenomen* and a *nomen gentile,* as do the later Latin inscriptions of mostly *ingenui*, whose *gentilicia* recall Etruscan ones (not those of the eminent *gentes* of Tarquinia),[108] but also of *liberti*, some of whom have Greek-sounding *cognomina*. Even though a good proportion of the graves had already been looted at the time of excavation, the remaining grave goods (mostly pottery and some metallic objects such as vessels, mirrors and spear or lance heads[109]) are instructive, as they often constitute standardized grave assemblages of an average level of wealth.

We know of a total of 175 graves, which differ greatly in type and size (see Fig. 1).[110] Inhumation is clearly predominant, but with a significant frequency of incremations.

105 For a systematic study of Etruscan sanctuaries as indicators of socio-political structures and processes, see now Robinson Krämer, *Etruskische Heiligtümer des 8.–5. Jhs. v. Chr. als Wirtschaftsräume und Konsumptionsorte von Keramik*, Italiká 8 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2022).

106 See Richard E. Linington and Francesca R. Serra Ridgway, *Lo scavo nel Fondo Scataglini di Tarquinia: Scavi della Fondazione Ing. Carlo M. Lerici del Politecnico di Milano per la Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Etruria meridionale*, vol. I–II (Milan: Comune di Milano, 1997); Federica Chiesa, *Tarquinia: Archeologia e Prosopografia tra Ellenismo e Romanizzazione* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2005): 89–187.

107 Maristella Pandolfini, "Le iscrizioni," in Linington and Serra Ridgway, *Lo scavo nel Fondo Scataglini*: 165–67. For the cippus inscriptions of the necropolis, see Jorma Kaimio, *The South Etruscan Cippus Inscriptions* (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2017): 152–61 no. 246–91.

108 According to Kaimio, *Cippus Inscriptions*: 31 and 117–18, the *gentilicia* show a considerable continuity between Etruscan and Latin inscriptions in Hellenistic Tarquinia, flanked by Latin *gentilicia* known from other Etruscan cities, from Rome and other areas of Italy.

109 Francesca R. Serra Ridgway, *I Corredi del Fondo Scataglini a Tarquinia: Scavi della Fondazione Ing. Carlo M. Lerici del Politecnico di Milano per la Soprintendenza dell'Etruria Meridionale*, vol. I–II (Milan: Comune di Milano, 1996): 287–99 for the metalls (bronze and iron).

110 Linington and Serra Ridgway, *Lo scavo nel Fondo Scataglini*: esp. 133–47 and 174–75 (counting 178, in reality probably 175 graves because graves 158–161 form one single complex).

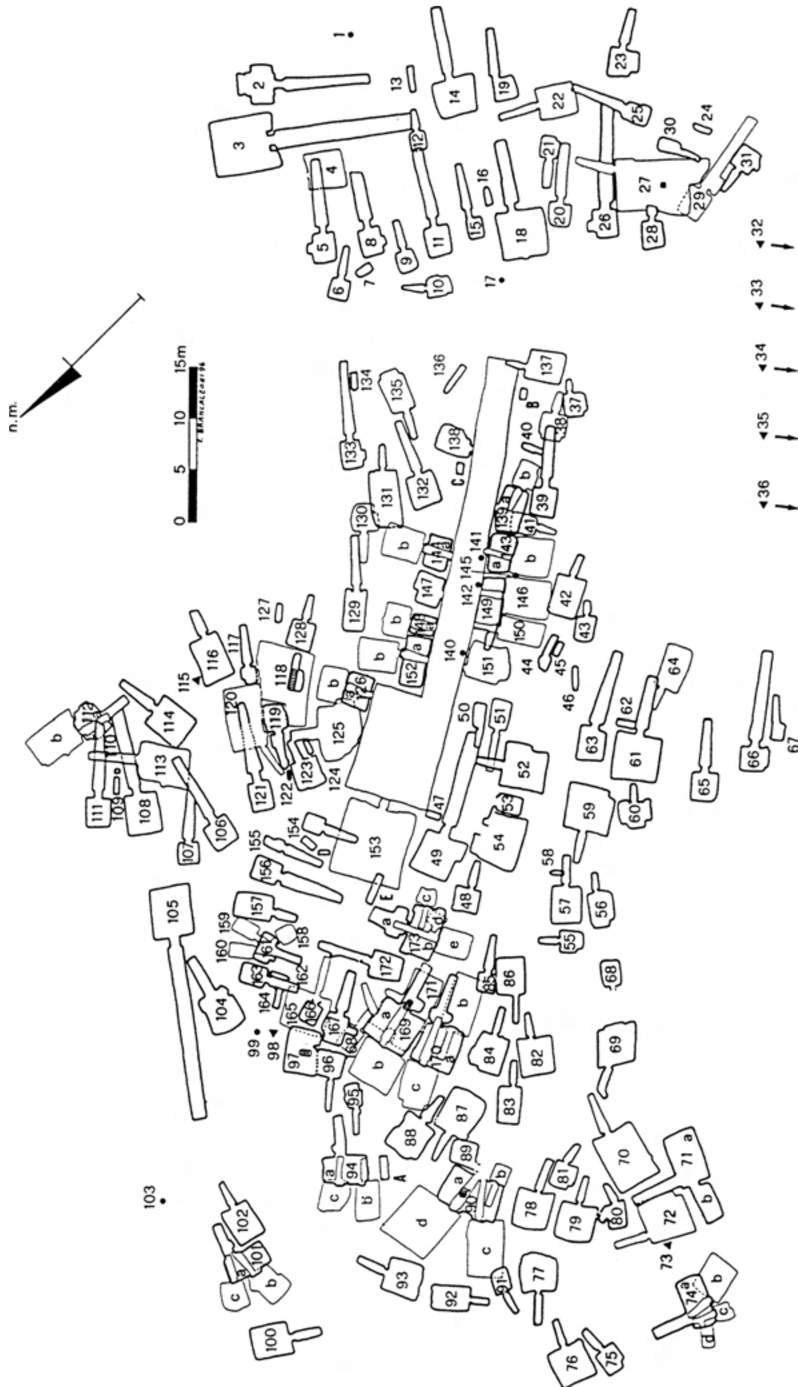

Fig. 1: Tarquinia, Fondo Scataglini necropolis: planimetric distribution of tombs.

There are 125 chamber tombs with only a single chamber which vary greatly in size (containing one, two, three or numerous depositions), and sixteen tombs with between two and four chambers for numerous burials ('camere multiple'). Tomb 153 (5051) in the center of the necropolis has one big chamber: This is the famous painted tomb of the *Anina* family, which was in continuous use for at least three generations, until the first century BC.[111] It is the largest tomb (7.50 m by 6.80 m), but there are a few others that are not much smaller, especially tomb 27 of the *Paprsina* family (7.00 m by 4.80–5.40 m) in the southeastern sector. Tomb 3 is a little smaller (5.60 m by 5.40 m). The well-to-do *Spitu* family owned two neighbouring tombs, chamber graves 70 (5.50 m by 4.30 m) and 72 (4.40 m by 4.70 m) in the western part of the necropolis. The various Etruscan inscriptions in the tombs testify to different links by marriage with northern Etruria.

Thirty-four simpler tombs were also found in the necropolis, mainly fossa tombs (about twenty), but also the so-called 'dromoi non finiti' (unfinished *dromos* tombs) and three isolated cremations (with ossuaries, and very poorly furnished[112]). The small size and presence of miniature ceramics found in some fossa graves suggest that they belonged to children, but others contained adults. Some fossa graves are rather isolated in the cemetery, while others were dug close and parallel to the *dromo*s of a chamber tomb.[113] The phenomenon of the intentional spatial proximity between simple and more elaborate tomb types is known from other necropolises in Etruria, such as Orvieto or Caere. There may be various reasons for this, one of which could be a personal dependency relationship (a loyal servant, a wetnurse etc.). Studies of ancient DNA will certainly be helpful in determining possible consanguinity.

The Scataglini necropolis does not appear to be the cemetery of a strict two-class system of masters and servants. On the contrary, it reflects a society with a solid, economically prosperous middle segment with internal levels of wealth in the fourth and third centuries,[114] in good part consisting of freeborn persons who were linked by legal marriage to other parts of Etruria, therefore in possession of some kind of *conubium* with other Etruscan city-states. The spear or lance heads, found with a certain but limited frequency, do not refer to hunting activity (as Francesca Serra Ridgway

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111 Linington and Serra Ridgway, *Lo scavo nel Fondo Scataglini*: 95–104 with at least 23 depositions. For the inscriptions, see ET² Ta 1.151–163, 1.126, 1.282–284.

112 These are graves 141, 142, and 110 (?): Linington and Serra Ridgway, *Lo scavo nel Fondo Scataglini*: 133–34.

113 For example: fossa grave 45 (1.50 m by 0.50 m, perhaps for a pre-adult person) and the small, unfinished chamber tomb 44; fossa grave 134 (quite large with a cremation burial in an *olla*, probably of an adult female, modest toilet articles, including a much-used bronze mirror) and the small chamber tomb 133; fossa grave 162 (1.90 m by 0.50 m, which contained an adult skeleton with a modest assemblage of pottery, early third century) and the small chamber tomb 163 (with three inhumations and three ossuaries).

114 Cf. Linington and Serra Ridgway, *Lo scavo nel Fondo Scataglini*: 177: 'una classe libera borghese media o medio–alta.'

assumes[115]) in an urban context, but could instead be read as a sign of the deceased's military duties in the service of the city-state (to fulfill, for example, obligations arising from the *foedus* with Rome) and as a sort of status indicator. Some of the more prosperous families even had the opportunity to rise up the social ladder: The *gens Anina* probably was not a family of old nobility, but of social advancement. It seems to have joined the elite only after a member of the family, Larth Anina, belonging to the third generation, completed his *cursus honorum* and became *zilath* in the late third century (ET^2 Ta 1.162). This is probably a case of a real *homo novus* in the Roman sense. Military service in a leading position played a role as well, if the *macst(r) zilc* mentioned in his *cursus* was indeed a military office.[116] Among other grave goods contained in the *Anina* tomb were two spearheads, one sword blade and a long knife.[117]

The existence of some sort of patronage system in the cemetery in relation to the *Anina gens* is generally assumed,[118] with reference to the spatial organisation of the necroplis, in which smaller graves are arranged around the *Anina* tomb. In reality, this possible cluster is not easy to identify precisely, as the 'central square' and the 'street' in front of the tomb give a false impression today. They never fulfilled a sepulchral function, but are remnants of the earlier quarry on the site. Nevertheless, the assumption of a (legally unclear) patronage system may be correct, but it needs to be more precisely defined, because in addition to a possible *Anina* cluster we have other probable clusters around other chamber tombs, especially in the southeastern sector (around chamber tomb 3), but also in the northern area (Fig. 1). Therefore, if we want to find archaeological hints to some sort of clientage, we need to assume several parallel patronage groups in a predominantly middle-class milieu, revealing, in fact, a socially complex situation and a multi-level society for Hellenistic Etruria.

115 Serra Ridgway, *I Corredi del Fondo Scataglini*: 298, states that there are no pieces of defensive weaponry such as helmets or shields, but a few instances of swords or knives. She links the 'cuspidi di lancia o giavellotto' with 'attività di caccia piuttosto che di guerra.'

116 The inscription was painted onto the sarcofagus and the stone bench below and is badly damaged: Linington and Serra Ridgway, *Lo scavo nel Fondo Scataglini*: 102 (no. 153–112), 166; Giovanni Colonna, *Rivista di Epigrafia Etrusca* 52 (1984): 284–86, no. 10: 'una determinazione di *zilc* (in senso militare?).' For the family, see Massimo Morandi Tarabella, *Prosopographia etrusca*, vol. I.1, *Etruria meridionale* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2004): 62–67 (esp. no. 6) and Chiesa, *Tarquinia*: 254–57.

117 Serra Ridgway, *I Corredi del Fondo Scataglini, I*: 181, no. 126 ('cuspide di lancia foliata', length 32 cm, width 4 cm), 127–28 (sword), 129.

118 Torelli, *Storia degli Etruschi*: 234. Cf. Vera Zanoni, "Beyond the Graves: Crisis and Continuity in the Hellenistic Funerary Contexts from the Calvario Cemetery (Tarquinia)," in *Collapse or Survival: Micro-Dynamics of Crisis and Endurance in the Ancient Central Mediterranean*, ed. Elisa Perego et al. (Oxford: Oxbow, 2019): 84 and 91.

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Fig. 1 Reproduction after Linington and Serra Ridgway, *Lo scavo nel Fondo Scataglini*, vol. II: pl. IV

Enrico Benelli

Slaves, Freedpeople and Non-Citizens in the Etruscan World: Evidence from Epigraphy

Abstract: *In Etruscan epigraphy, the identification of non-citizens usually relies on name forms, although their interpretation is not always straightforward. The first section of the present paper offers a brief overview of the most common ambiguities in the name forms employed in inscriptions. The only way to try to understand Etruscan personal names is by studying evidence from each city on its own terms. The second part of the paper is devoted to the study of the social standing and behavior of freedpeople in Clusium through epigraphic evidence. The study also makes use of comparisons with data gathered from Perusia; they can sometimes be more informative than Clusine evidence, thanks to the availability of a more accurate body of knowledge on the tomb assemblages, which may prove crucial for the understanding of the inscriptions found in them. A review of some tomb groups shows that in a specific area of the Clusine territory, around the middle of the second century BC, an elite family that owned large estates in that area had disappeared; its estates were not acquired by another family of comparable status, but were divided into smaller plots, which gave lesser families, some even of unfree origin, the opportunity to become smallholders and, with time, even to climb the social ladder.*

In Etruscan epigraphy, the identification of non-citizens – or individuals of non-citizen origin, whether foreign or unfree – usually relies on name forms. This method, albeit largely employed in literature, raises several issues; the most relevant among them is that Etruscan inscriptions were usually composed as if they were meant to address qualified readers. In fact, the Etruscan epigraphic culture never attained the high degree of formalization that is characteristic of other epigraphic cultures of Italy (especially, but not exclusively, the Latin one). Each series of inscriptions can only be understood according to its own code, provided that the evidence available is large enough for us to be able to interpret that code. Only in funerary inscriptions on cippi from Caere, Tarquinii and Volsinii, between the mid-fourth and the mid-first centuries BC, personal names were often written using a standard name formula; this is quite an exceptional feature by Etruscan standards and probably had something to do with their being placed outside the tombs, which made them the most "public" type of inscriptions ever conceived in the Etruscan world.[1] This is why the unusual name formula *tasma satnas* on a cippus

1 See especially Enrico Benelli, "*Breve in exiguo marmore nomen ero:* l'iscrizione funeraria etrusca tra esposizione pubblica e spazio privato," in *L'écriture et l'espace de la mort: Épigraphie et nécropoles à*

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from Bagnoregio (*ET* Vs 1.257) can be confidently interpreted as belonging to a slave, as proposed by its first editor, Giovanni Colonna,[2] and is universally accepted in Etruscological literature. *Tasma* is the Etruscan transcription of the Messapian female name *Dazima*; since the stock of late-Etruscan praenomina is limited, the formula employed in this inscription should be interpreted as comprising a female slave's individual name, followed by the gentilic of her master in the genitive case. This was the normal way of naming slaves in the Roman world, but we can be reasonably sure that it was usual in the Etruscan world as well, especially because the servants depicted in the tomb Golini I are identified by captions employing this type of name formula, alongside other ones.[3]

This inscription from Bagnoregio is remarkable because South Etruscan funerary epigraphy is otherwise completely impervious to individuals of unfree birth; freedpersons appeared only when the inscriptions on South Etruscan cippi began to make use of the Latin language. This is a stark reminder of the weight of epigraphic habit in the shaping of evidence. In any case, despite the fact that funerary epigraphy from Southern Etruria was a preserve of freeborn individuals, freedpeople have been documented in three (or four) votive inscriptions from this same region.[4] One further votive inscription from Tarquinii (*CIE* 10007 = *ET* Ta 3.6) is usually interpreted as mentioning a slave.[5] Nevertheless, new studies about Etruscan derivative suffixes[6] show that the name *Murila* is perfectly understandable as an Etruscan gentilic, and the formula *murila hercnas* can be interpreted as comprising a gentilic and a cogno-

l'époque pré-romaine, ed. Marie-Laurence Haack, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 502 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2016): 401–11, and Jorma Kaimio, *The South Etruscan Cippus Inscriptions*, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 44 (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2017). Kaimio's paleographical datings of the inscriptions are sometimes far too high.

2 *Rivista di Epigrafia Etrusca*, in *Studi Etruschi* 35, 1967: 546–47.

3 *CIE* 5078–5088 = *ET* Vs 7.2–12. On Etruscan slave names, see Helmut Rix, *Die Termini der Unfreiheit in den Sprachen Alt-Italiens*, Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 25 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994): 66–67, and Enrico Benelli, "Slavery and Manumission," in *The Etruscan World*, ed. Jean MacIntosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013): 451–52.

4 *ET* Vs 3.12; *CIE* 11155 = *ET* Vc 3.15; *ET* Cr 3.62 (the text is not correctly transcribed; it reads: *cn turce tite utaves v. l. hercles alpan*). The integration of *ET* OA 3.11 proposed by Adriano Maggiani, "Lautni," in *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2017*, ed. Luciana Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018): 308, is not easily acceptable since it essentially rests on a low-quality picture of the inscribed statuette. Only an autoptic reading may settle the question.

5 See Daniele Federico Maras, *Il dono votivo: Gli dei e il sacro nelle iscrizioni etrusche di culto*, Biblioteca di Studi Etruschi 46 (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra, 2009): 387–88, with literature.

6 Valentina Belfiore, *La morfologia derivativa in etrusco: formazioni di parole in* -na *e in* -ra, "Mediterranea" – Supplemento 13 (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra, 2014): 77–79.

men, like the individual named *Petru Scevas* on the Cortona Tablet.[7] Both interpretations are equally possible because this type of name formula is not very common. If we move to inland Northern Etruria, specifically to Clusium and Perusia, the epigraphic habit changes dramatically; freedpersons, and occasionally even slaves, are relatively well-documented in funerary inscriptions.

The identification of unfree birth (or unfree ancestry) through name forms is not always straightforward. The use of gentilics derived from Greek names is probably the most uncontroversial marker. In late Etruscan epigraphy, Greek names are always associated with freedpeople because they were usually employed to name slaves.[8] This is a feature shared by the Etruscan and Roman worlds, and it was probably a consequence of the provenance of most slaves, which were the same Eastern Mediterranean markets. This is why the Etruscanized Greek name employed as a gentilic by an individual like *Vel Antilχu Fulu*, son of a *Pepnei* (*REE* 78, 10), can be confidently interpreted as a proof of unfree ancestry. The gentilic of the mother of this individual is a further clue of his low social standing, because the family *Pepna* is otherwise unknown at Clusium. Therefore, it is likely that the mother of this individual did not belong to a major elite family, as can be reasonably expected of a freedman's wife. The same cannot be said of another individual – *Vel Tiples*, the author of a votive gift at Tarquinii (*CIE* 10012 = *ET* Ta 3.5). He has been identified as the descendant of a freedman,[9] especially because the Etruscanized Greek name *Tiφile* is actually known as a freedman's gentilic from a roughly coeval inscription from Clusium (*CIE* 2096 = *ET* Cl 1.1645). But *Tiples* can be interpreted otherwise, because the suffix *-le* is widely attested in Etruscan gentilics, and the name **tipe* is known from a seventh-century inscription from Veii,[10] where it was employed as a gentilic. Therefore, *Tiples* may be the late form of a perfectly plausible Archaic gentilic **tipe-le-s*; its connection with the Etruscanized Greek name *Tiφile* is, of course, possible, but it is by no means the only explanation available.

If Greek names can be significant, unusual name formulae are not. Late Etruscan funerary epigraphy at Clusium and Perusia never attained the high degree of formal-

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7 On *Petru Scevas* from Cortona and his relationship with the various branches of the *Petru* family, see especially Mario Torelli, "La 'Tanella Angori', i *Cusu* e la *Tabula Cortonensis*," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia* 77 (2004–2005): 186–87 (dating too low, untenable genealogy); Adriano Maggiani, "I *Petru* di San Quirico e di Trequanda e i *Cusu* di Cortona," *Annuario dell'Accademia Etrusca di Cortona* 35 (2016): 369–89 (dating too high, possibly wrong connections); Enrico Benelli, "I *Cacni*, famiglia perugina," *Römische Mitteilungen* 121 (2015): 192–93.

8 This is not the case in Archaic Etruscan epigraphy, of course. The tiny number of individuals bearing names with apparently Greek roots mentioned in Orientalizing- and Archaic-age inscriptions belonged to the social elite; they are usually considered to be immigrant aristocrats (although the Greek origin of some of the name roots can be seriously questioned, and their number is probably overstated).

9 See Maras, *Il dono votivo*: 390–91, with literature.

10 *CIE* 6325 = *ET* Ve 2.8; *tipeia* is the feminine form of **tipe* inflected in the genitive case.

ization that is characteristic of South Etruscan cippi. Family trees and family links show that the choice of one or another of the many name formulae employed in funerary epigraphy had absolutely nothing to do with the social standing of the individuals. Some uncommon formulae, such as the use of the mother's praenomen instead of her gentilic in metronymics, may more likely have a chronological meaning than a social one – provided they have meaning at all. Moreover, at Clusium, the use of uncommon praenomina and name formulae seems to have often been the preserve of those in the highest echelon of the local elites. A good example of this kind of odd naming practice is the inscription *CIE* 2960 = *ET* Cl 1.2549, the epitaph of one *patacs tlesna petrual*. Without the knowledge of Clusine families, we could easily misinterpret it as a record of the name of a freedman, with (1) *patacs* as his slave name, transformed into a gentilic after his enfranchisement, (2) *tlesna* as a cognomen and (3) *petrual* as his mistress's gentilic in the genitive case. However, it is in fact the other way round: *patacs* is the cognomen, *tlesna* is the gentilic, *petrual* is a metronymic and the praenomen is not recorded; the individual belonged to the distinguished family branch *Tlesna Patacs*, linked by marriage to the most important families of the Clusine aristocracy.[11] Some other inscriptions from Clusium employ this kind of name formula, and they can usually be ascribed to individuals belonging to elite families.

The evidence shows clearly enough that in the late funerary inscriptions from Clusium and Perusia, all kinds of unusual names and name formulae had no outright social meaning; the social standing of the individuals can only be understood by reconstructing, if possible, the history of their family and the network of their family links. If this proves not possible, the name type alone does not help.

If we move to even less formalized epigraphic series, such as the inscriptions on pottery, their decoding is even more problematic and often all but impossible to achieve. Thorough studies on a single series of vase inscriptions (from a single city and from a short period of time) may help us to understand the significance of the names inscribed on vases, because knowledge of the onomastic tradition of a specific city is the only way to be able to distinguish praenomina, gentilics and other types of names. Even studies of this kind, however, can leave at least part of the evidence unexplained.

One particularly striking example consists in the three inscriptions from Spina that read *usticne tatis*.[12] *Usticne* has been considered an Etruscan transcription of the Venetic word *Ostikno*, a type of patronymic adjective used in eastern Venetia. Since *tatis* may be identified as a name inflected in the genitive case, *usticne tatis* sounds exactly like the type of name formula one would expect to be used for a slave in the Etruscan world: a foreign name followed by another name in the genitive case. But

11 *CIE* 1047 = *ET* Cl 1.956; *CIE* 895 = *ET* Cl 1.2150; *CIE* 835 = *ET* Cl 1.2548.

12 Annalisa Pozzi, "Le tombe di Spina con iscrizioni etrusche" (PhD diss., Università di Padova, 2011): 325, 341, 379.

the archaeological evidence casts some doubts on this apparently plain interpretation. The inscriptions belonging to this individual have been found in three different tombs. The distribution of inscriptions on pottery that bear the same personal name in more than one grave assemblage is usually connected with the socially exclusive practice of gift exchange. So, it is possible that *usticne tatis* was not a slave after all; maybe he was simply a foreigner – but his full name finds no parallels in Venetic onomastics. Maybe the names employed in these inscriptions do not correspond with the full, official name of this individual. We have no clear solution for this puzzling item of evidence. This is a further warning against the acritical use of name typology. Typologies may have sense only when referring to specific contexts – ones where they are supported by adequate evidence. Otherwise, they are potentially misleading. Above all, no such thing as a general pan-Etruscan name typology has ever existed.

The only group of people of lesser social standing that is relatively well-distinguishable in Etruscan epigraphy is comprised of freedpeople. Exactly as it happened in the Roman world, the Etruscan slaves, once manumitted, received a gentilic, which they passed on to their offspring. But similarities between Etruscan and Roman enfranchisement practices stop here. In the Roman world, a freed slave received his (or her) master's (or mistress's) gentilic; this meant that further generations would bear a gentilic which made them not easily identifiable as the offspring of a former slave. In the Etruscan world, on the contrary, a freedperson's gentilic coincided with his/her slave's name; descendants of freedmen were thus always potentially recognizable through their family name.[13]

On the other hand, the Roman practice also meant that freedpeople were conceived as being new members of their former master's *gens*; we know that Roman manumission did not sever all bonds between a former slave and a former master, and that law and custom defined a number of ways in which some kind of dependency survived even after a slave had become free.[14] Etruscan laws are, of course, completely unknown to us; we can only note that the Etruscan practice resulted in the creation of entirely new *gentes*. Since Etruscan freedpersons were not usually buried in their former master's family tombs, it seems that the creation of a new family name brought with it, at least in theory, the complete independence of former slaves, although it is impossible to draw any straightforward conclusion on this topic.

The Etruscan word for "freedman" is *lautni*; *lautniθa* is its female form, which means "freedwoman". It has traditionally been connected with the word *lautn*, meaning "family". Since the *-i* suffix is usually believed to have been used in the forming of adjectives, the original meaning of *lautni* is intended as something akin to "belonging

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13 Helmut Rix, *Das etruskische Cognomen* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1963): 356–72; Rix, *Die Termini der Unfreiheit*: 96–111.

14 On this topic, see the classical study by Georges Fabre, *Libertus: recherches sur les rapports patron-affranchi à la fin de la république romaine*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 50 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1981).

to the family". Even if this reconstruction seems reasonable enough and has been widely accepted,[15] a new find may cast doubts on it. The most ancient inscription known to date that mentions a freedperson (*ET* Vs 3.12) was discovered at Orvieto in 2009; its author was a freedwoman, who dedicated a bronze statuette originally fastened onto a large stone base. The inscription belongs to the late Archaic period (probably the first decades of the fifth century BC); the Archaic form of the word *lautniθa* appears here as *lauteniθa*. This seems to suggest that no direct relation existed with the word for "family", whose Archaic form was *lavtun*.[16] This word, as with many other Etruscan ones, has also served as a base for a gentilic, formed with the derivative suffix *-ie*; the Archaic form, *lavtunie*, is documented in an inscription from Marzabotto, which was carved onto a large pebble, usually identified as a scale weight.[17] Archaic gentilics with the ending *-nie* normally evolved into *-ni* in the late period, but since *lautni* might be confused with the word for "freedman", the late form used for the Archaic *lavtunie* was *lautne* instead (*-ne* was actually a possible evolution of the Archaic *-nie*, but it is far less common than *-ni*).[18] This is how things normally went; but at Volaterrae, another course was followed. The late form of the gentilic *lavtunie* in the Volaterran inscriptions is written as *lautni* (*CIE* 129 = *ET* Vt 1.124), sometimes possibly with an anaptyctic *-u-*, which gives it an Archaic appearance (*ET* Vt 1.125). The word for "freedman" is known only once at Volaterrae (*CIE* 49 = *ET* Vt 1.45); it employs the anaptyctic form, *lautuni*.[19] This inscription is usually dated to the late third century BC, mainly through paleography, which is a notoriously tricky criterion. If its dating is correct, then it is the most ancient funerary inscription mentioning a freedman known to us; the name *muceti* is usually credited as one of Ligurian origin, which speaks of a supply of slaves from immediately outside the boundaries of the Etruscan world, not far from Volaterrae itself.[20]

This evidence from Volaterrae is a useful reminder of a fundamental feature of Etruscan anthroponymy: namely, that each city had its own traditions, its own name forms, its own ways to reproduce them in epigraphy. This is what ultimately under-

15 See especially Rix, *Die Termini der Unfreiheit*: 111–16.

16 *ET*, TC, lines 22–24 and 61; see also Rix, *Die Termini der Unfreiheit*: 112.

17 *ET* Fe 1.13 (misinterpreted as a funerary inscription); Giuseppe Sassatelli, ed., *Iscrizioni e graffiti della città etrusca di Marzabotto* (Imola: University Press Bologna, 1994): 15–18.

18 Attested as a cognomen (*CIE* 1855 = *ET* Cr 1.184) and in its genitive form in gamonymics (*CIE* 3613 = *ET* Pe 1.275; *CIE* 4622 = *ET* AS 1.49).

19 A second inscription (*ET CIE* 4613 = *ET* Vt 4.6) with the more common form *lautni* can be reasonably identified as a forgery: see Riccardo Massarelli, *I testi etruschi su piombo*, Biblioteca di Studi Etruschi 53 (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra, 2014): 195–96.

20 See, for instance, Adriano Maggiani, "I Liguri della Versilia e della Toscana settentrionale," in *Ligures celeberrimi: La Liguria interna nella seconda età del Ferro: Atti del convegno internazionale Mondovì 26–28 aprile 2002*, ed. Marika Venturino Gambari and Daniela Gandolfi (Bordighera: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2004): 201, footnote 66.

mines any attempt at a general typology of Etruscan name forms. The only way to try to understand Etruscan personal names is by studying evidence from each city on its own terms. This will prove to be impossible in some cities where epigraphic evidence is too scanty. But even in cities where inscriptions number in the hundreds or even in the thousands, there will always be some names which will remain unexplained.

In the final part of this paper, I will try to put together some information about the social standing and behavior of freedpeople in Clusium. I have been able to identify 126 individuals who can be safely – or almost safely – recognized as freedpersons; all but one are mentioned in funerary inscriptions dated to the second and first centuries BC. The only exception is a votive inscription on a bronze statuette, which was lost a couple of centuries ago.[21] I will make some reference, when necessary, to evidence from Perusia, which is roughly comparable with that from Clusium in terms of chronology and type.[22]

The name formulae of Etruscan freedpersons were first classified into a number of types by Helmut Rix in 1994;[23] these types were partially revised by Adriano Maggiani in 2018.[24] Both typologies are highly unsatisfactory because they are unnecessarily complicated and at the same time miss the real issue concerning the names of freedpersons as they appear in the Etruscan inscriptions. The main issue stands as follows.

Since the Etruscan freedpersons employed their former slave name as a gentilic, they needed to add a new praenomen, which was often not recorded in inscriptions. The name formula was always completed by the former master's or mistress's gentilic in the genitive case, sometimes comprising his/her praenomen and/or cognomen. The word *lautni* or *lautniθa*, sometimes written in abbreviated form, was usually placed at the end; its presence was mandatory because the name could otherwise be misinterpreted as belonging to a slave: a confusion freedpeople were obviously eager to avoid. This is what occurred in about three-quarters of the Etruscan inscriptions mentioning freedpersons. But a quite different formula appears in the remaining quarter of these inscriptions; it includes a praenomen, a gentilic (which can be in the genitive

21 *CIE* 2340 = *ET* Cl 3.6; see also Maras, *Il dono votivo*: 243–44.

22 Evidence from Perusia has recently been examined by Jorma Kaimio, *The Funerary Inscriptions of Hellenistic Perusia*, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 50 (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2022): 179–81. Kaimio identified forty-eight freedpersons; this means that the evidence from both Clusium and Perusia reached a total number of 174 individuals, dwarfing what is known from all other cities put together, with no more than eight individuals who can be safely recognized as freedpersons.

23 Rix, *Die Termini der Unfreiheit*: 96–111.

24 Maggiani, "Lautni." This latter contribution, moreover, employs a highly questionable chronology for Clusine funerary inscriptions that heavily affects its conclusions; on this topic, see Enrico Benelli, "Da Etruschi a Romani: scelte linguistiche, epigrafiche e identitarie nell'Etruria del II–I secolo a.C.," in *Sprachen – Schriftkulturen – Identitäten der Antike: Beiträge des XV. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik: Fest- und Plenarvorträge*, ed. Petra Amann et al., Tyche Supplementband 10 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2019): 31 and footnote 7; 38 and footnote 28.

or the nominative case) and the word *lautni* (or *lautniθa*). The presence of a single gentilic (instead of two, the freedperson's and the master's ones) raises some questions; if it is inflected in the genitive case, we can understand it as a record of the former master's name. But, if this is the case, where is the freedperson's new gentilic, which is probably the most important component of his/her name formula because it witnessed his/her manumission? It cannot be identified with the praenomen preceding the gentilic because, as far as we know, names that were regularly employed as praenomina in one city never occurred as gentilics in that same city (the stocks of praenomina employed in late Etruscan onomastic practice differed from city to city). Exceptions to this rule (for instance, *Aule* at Clusium) are extremely uncommon. This means that in inscriptions of this kind, the first component of the name formula can only be the freedperson's new praenomen. If the gentilic is written in the nominative case, this name formula becomes even more puzzling: if we understand it as the freedperson's gentilic, the former master's name would be missing, which would be bizarre, to say the least.

The only explanation for these apparently abnormal name formulae would be that the freedperson's gentilic was identical to that of the master/mistress; hence, their enfranchisements must have taken place after 90 BC, when the Etruscan laws were replaced by Roman ones, following the incorporation of Etruscan city-states by Rome.[25]

Evidence from Perusian tomb groups can underpin this conclusion; in this case, Perusian evidence is more informative than Clusine data, because knowledge of the tomb assemblages may prove crucial for the understanding of the inscriptions found in them. The nineteenth-century law of the Papal States, which remained in vigor until 1902, provided for some kind of governmental control on archaeological discoveries; this is why it is possible to have at least some information about the finding of most Etruscan inscriptions from Perusia. In the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, on the contrary, the cultural heritage did not enjoy any kind of legal protection; excavations in the Clusine territory were mostly undertaken for profit by entrepreneurs who fueled a flourishing antiquarian market. Information about the discovery of most Clusine Etruscan inscriptions is therefore lacking, and only thorough – and often boring – research work in the family archives, in the ancient land registries and on the history of local collections, together with some good luck, may help to understand something about their contexts.

The first relevant item of evidence is a bilingual inscription, found in the tomb of the *Vlesi* family, discovered in 1878 in the necropolis of Ponticello di Campo.[26] The

25 See Enrico Benelli, "La società chiusina fra la guerra annibalica e l'età di Augusto: osservazioni archeologiche ed epigrafiche," *Ostraka* 18 (2009): 309–10 and footnote 21, for a list of the evidence from Clusium. The Perusine inscriptions have now been revised by Jorma Kaimio, who shares this conclusion; see Kaimio, *The Funerary Inscriptions*: 181.

26 Kaimio, *The Funerary Inscriptions*: 28–29, with literature.

tomb contained thirteen urns – ten of them inscribed (eight in Etruscan, one in Latin and one bilingual) – and five uninscribed cinerary ollae. The freedman mentioned in the bilingual inscription *CIE* 3692 = *ET* Pe 1.211 was buried in this family tomb because he married one *Vlesi* woman, as is made clear by the inscription carved on her urn (*CIE* 3691 = *ET* Pe 1.210). Both the Latin section of the bilingual inscription and the gamonymic of the freedman's wife allow us to understand the significance of the formula: praenomen + gentilic + *lautni*. In this case, it is evident that *scarpe* is the gentilic of both the freedman and his former mistress.

A second item of evidence comes from a tomb discovered in the Palazzone necropolis in 1843.[27] Six inscribed urns were recorded, which identify this tomb as a collective burial space employed by people of unfree birth and their immediate relatives. Shared tombs of this kind are known from both Clusium and Perusia; they seem to have emerged relatively late, probably not earlier than the mid-second century BC, and may contain burials of people from all social levels, including even elite individuals. The Etruscan custom of not usually allowing freedpeople to make use of the burial spaces belonging to their master's families made this kind of tomb particularly attractive to them.

One of the (at least) three freedmen buried in this collective tomb (*CIE* 3868 = *ET* Pe 1.417) was characterized with the following name formula: a praenomen + a praenomen in the genitive case + a gentilic that can be equally read as a nominative or as a genitive (*tinś* had both functions) + *lautni*. The correct understanding of this name was enabled by his wife's gamonymic (*CIE* 3869 = *ET* Pe 1.418), which made it clear that the gentilic of the *lautni* was identical to that of his master. The *Tinś* family owned a tomb in the Piscille necropolis;[28] its main line seems to have employed only two male praenomina, *Vel* and *Arnθ*. Since the freedman had been the slave of one *Vel* but was named *Larθ* (or *Laris*), his praenomen was probably intended to signify that he had not been born a *Tinś*. This was probably a way in which Etruscan elite families – after the adoption of Roman law made freedpeople's gentilics undistinguishable from those of their former masters – attempted to preserve some kind of naming gap between freeborn people and their former slaves.

The contexts of these Perusian inscriptions confirm that the formula praenomen + gentilic + *lautni* should be applied to enfranchisements that occurred under Roman law, which resulted in a change in the way freedpeople received a gentilic. Consequently, this should be the prime criterion in classifying the various name formulae employed by freedpeople in Etruscan inscriptions. Further subdivisions are of course possible, but they are merely a matter of epigraphic habit and individual choices.

It is not always possible to discern if a freedperson belongs to the "Etruscan" or the "Roman" type; some inscriptions remain unclassified. This is the case, for in-

27 Kaimio, *The Funerary inscriptions*: 46–47, with literature.
28 Kaimio, *The Funerary Inscriptions*: 57–58, with literature.

stance, of poorly preserved or poorly documented inscriptions. But even texts that can be read with certainty and completely can be problematic. This especially happens when it is not clear whether the first component of the name formula is a praenomen or a gentilic. Although most praenomina can be clearly identified thanks to our knowledge of the onomastic traditions of Etruscan cities, some names can be intrinsically ambiguous, if their function is not made clear beyond any doubt by the name formula in which they are included, which is unfortunately often the case. This especially happens with hypocoristics such as *Θanicu* or *Velicu* or *Larziu*, among others. It cannot be excluded that the choice of employing hypocoristics, which may have mirrored the way an individual was usually identified in his/her social environment, concealed the full "official" name of the deceased. Evidence from Perusia can again be extremely useful in understanding these ambiguities. A freedman named *velu aniś lautni* (*CIE* 3936 = *ET* Pe 1.482) was the progenitor of a family buried in a tomb found in the Palazzone necropolis in 1846; his genealogical position was made clear by the placement of his urn in the middle of the rear bench of the chamber.[29] The gentilic used for his descendants, however, was always *Veli*. This means that the name of the former slave, and his "official" gentilic after his enfranchisement, was probably *Veli* – not the hypocoristic *Velu* preferred for his epitaph.

Alongside hypocoristics, other names employed by freedpersons may be equally ambiguous. An interesting case is represented by an inscription written on a Clusine terracotta urn in the Museum of Torino (*ET* Cl 1.2206): *licni · śatles · lautni*. A formula of this kind may be easily interpreted as typically "Etruscan", with *Licni* as the name of the former slave transformed into a gentilic after his enfranchisement, and *Satles* (in the genitive case) as his master's gentilic. But the same museum also preserves the urn of his wife (*ET* Cl 1.2207), *aplunia licnis satles*; the gentilic *Aplunia* makes it clear that she was the offspring of a freedman (if she was not a freedwoman herself, which is in any case not explicitly stated in her inscription because she preferred to mention her gamonymic instead, which filled all the available space on the urn's rim). This means that *Satle* was both the gentilic of the freedman's former master and one of the names of the freedman himself. How should we interpret this?

Both urns, which have so far remained unpublished (Fig. 1–2), belong to a very uncommon type; the mold bearing the scene of the so-called "hero fighting with the plough" is so terminally worn that the surface is almost flat, and the figures are barely recognizable were it not for the painting; the upper part of the mold was probably broken off, and the original dentil cornice replaced by a crude festoon.[30] One urn of

29 Kaimio, *The Funerary Inscriptions*: 48, with literature.

30 Type B Id in the classification by Marina Sclafani, *Urne fittili chiusine e perugine di età medio e tardo ellenistica*, Tyrrhenica 7 (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 2010): 69. Another urn of this uncommon type is preserved in the University Museum at Bonn: see Martin Bentz, ed., *Rasna: Die Etrusker: eine Ausstellung im Akademischen Kunstmuseum; Antikensammlung der Universität Bonn* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2008): 159–61, n. 239. The inscription is too badly preserved to be recognized; since most

this kind was employed by an individual whose death can be dated, for genealogical reasons, to the second quarter of the first century BC.[31] This means that the freedman *Licni Śatles* may well have been manumitted under Roman law. If this was the case, he chose to conceal his real name by employing a pure Etruscan freedman's name formula (slave name + gentilic of the former master in the genitive case + *lautni*). Only the gamonymic inscribed on the urn of his wife made it possible for us to dispute his intent: following Roman practice, the slave name *Licni* had become his cognomen, and should have been placed after his gentilic.

Fig. 1: Terracotta urn with inscription ET Cl 1.2206.

Clusine artifacts in the Bonn Museum seem to have been purchased from the Bargagli collection, it is possible that this urn has the same provenance. One more urn of this type is preserved in the National Archaeological Museum of Tarquinia, where it arrived as part of the Bruschi Falgari collection. The marriage connections between this family and another family of prominent collectors (the Giorgi from Città della Pieve) can possibly explain the small number of Clusine artifacts in the Museum of Tarquinia, as well as some Tarquinian artifacts once preserved at Città della Pieve: Sabrina Batino, "Epifanie dal mercato antiquario: Oinochoai apule dalla collezione Giorgi Taccini di Città della Pieve," *Archeologia Classica* 72 (2021): 740–41 and footnote 18.

31 Sclafani, *Urne fittili*: 217, Cl 136 (*CIE* 1077 = *ET* Cl 1.918); on this tomb, see Enrico Benelli, "Epigrafia etrusca dell'Etruria romana," in *Epigrafia e società dell'Etruria romana: Atti del Convegno di Firenze, 23–24 ottobre 2015*, ed. Giovanni Alberto Cecconi et al. (Rome: Quasar, 2017): 213–14.

Fig. 2: Terracotta urn with inscription ET Cl 1.2207.

The case of *licni satles* and his wife reveals that, while names of the "Roman" type refer to enfranchisements that took place after 90 BC, names of the "Etruscan" type have no chronological significance because they may have been conceived as part of a "tradition", which at least some people sought to preserve after the absorption of Etruscan city-states into the Roman state. A bilingual inscription belonging to a freedman (*CIE* 1288 = *ET* Cl 1.219) may also be a demonstration of this ambiguity, as the two parts were apparently written according to the two different onomastic practices; unfortunately, this urn is lost, and its reading is a reconstruction based on a sketch.

The gentilic *Satle* is otherwise unknown in Etruscan inscriptions from Clusium, although its base and its suffix are both safely recognizable as Etruscan. It is highly likely that its Latin form is *Satellius*; one *C. Satellius*, his sister and his freedwoman were part of a group of families linked through the descendants of two freedmen of the *Papirii* who had arrived at Clusium at the beginning of the first century BC.[32] The freedwoman was accompanied by an exceptional set of grave goods, including some

32 On this group of families and their tombs, see Enrico Benelli, "Matrimoni misti e identità in cambiamento: Chiusi da città etrusca a municipio romano," in *Atti del Convegno: Matrimoni misti: una via per l'integrazione tra i popoli*, ed. Simona Marchesini (Trento: Provincia Autonoma di Trento, 2012): 107–8, with references.

mosaic glass bowls, which can be dated to the age of Augustus.[33] Unsurprisingly, most of these people were former slaves, which makes it possible for some connection to have existed between this group of *Śatellii* and the freedman *Licni Śatles*. This group of *Papirii* seems to have been particularly successful in building up family connections with local people; the distribution of their burials suggests that they were able to put together a significant amount of landed property in three different parts of the Clusine territory. At least some of these estates seem to have been connected to an area immediately to the west and northwest of the city of Clusium.

The name of the wife of *Licni Śatles*, *Aplunia*, points towards this same area. We know two freedmen named *Apluni*; one of them (*CIE* 4794 = *ET* Cl 1.26), who was a slave of one *Vipi Leiχu*, was buried in a tomb found at Val d'Acqua, very far from where most members of his former master's family had been buried.[34] The Val d'Acqua tomb seems to have been employed by freedpeople only; the inscriptions mention three individuals, two freedwomen and the *Apluni* freedman.[35] A further inscription on a tile in the museum of Chiusi (*ET* Cl 1.2787) can probably be associated with this same individual and consequently to this same grave assemblage.[36] The second *Apluni* was the freedman of one (*Seiante*) *Cumere* and was buried in the tomb of the *Remzna Sepie* family at Macciano (*CIE* 1081–1082 = *ET* Cl 1.920–921). The inscriptions found in the latter tomb are remarkable in that they bear witness to the social ascent of a family of unfree origin;[37] the last *Remzna Sepie* married a *Cezirtli*, the daughter of a freedwoman of an immigrant, who was named *Pontia*, and of a *Cezartle*. The *Cezartle* family was probably of low social standing because it is only known through three individuals, two of them buried in the same tomb; one of them is a freedman, while the Latin inscription mentioning his kinsman is susceptible to more diverse interpretations. This tomb (*CIE* 708–718) was probably another collective burial, although most of the inscriptions refer to members of the *Spitu* family; since this Tarquinian gentilic is otherwise unknown at Clusium, these people may have been immigrants who reached the city in relatively recent times. The inscriptions in this tomb are mostly in Latin, or in a kind of mixed language, which points to the first century BC; the only item from its grave assemblage known to us is an Arretine cup bearing a stamp dated between 20 and 10 BC.[38] This tomb was probably found somewhere around Chianciano.[39]

33 Gian Francesco Gamurrini, "Macciano (frazione del comune di Chianciano)," *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (1900): 8–10.

34 *CIE* 633–641 (Lago di Chiusi).

35 *CIE* 4790–4794 = *ET* Cl 1.22–26.

36 It is not uncommon that inscriptions on tiles went unnoticed immediately after the excavation, and that they would only be discovered later, when the tiles were finally cleaned up.

37 Benelli, "Epigrafia etrusca": 213–14.

38 *CVArr* 1581.

39 Information about the discovery of this tomb can be found in an anonymous entry in the *Mémoires pour l'histoire des sciences & des beaux arts* 1729: 1905–7 (dated October 1729). The text says: *On a découvert depuis peu à trois milles & demi de Montepulciano un ancien Sepulcre, long de cinq pieds &*

In this same western section of the Clusine territory, there was another collective tomb[40] employed by six freedpeople, two apparently freeborn women and another female individual whose name formula is ambiguous. Its whereabouts can be estimated through the inscriptions presented to the Museum of Chiusi in 1873 by Pietro della Ciaia, whose estates were located near Macciano. There were three freedmen who had been slaves of the *Alfni* family; a freedwoman had been the slave of one of them, *Venzile*. All the gentilics refer to a group of families associated with the *Alfni*, whose family burial seems to have been at Dolciano.[41] The *Alfni* were not an elite family; they appear relatively late in epigraphy and seem to have links to families of similar rank, but also to the last scions of ancient elite families such as the *Hele* or the *Purni*, who experienced a severe decline in status during the first half of the second century BC.

The offspring of the freedman *Venzile* (*CIE* 3076 = *ET* Cl 1.1146) – who had probably lived around the beginning of the first century BC because one freedwoman of his (*CIE* 3078 = *ET* Cl 1.1148) was enfranchised under Roman law – enjoyed remarkable success. One son of his married a woman belonging to the *Alfni* family. Since this marriage brought with it a considerable advancement in status, I assume that she could have been a freeborn woman from his former master's family, and not a freedwoman. Their son (*CIE* 1437 = *ET* Cl 1.356) made the unusual choice of using a bilingual inscription, which was a mark of status in early imperial Clusium; he was buried together with his son and other apparently unrelated people in a tomb at Poggio al Moro (*CIE* 1437–1441).[42] Another grandnephew of his was twice a *quattuorvir iure dicundo* of the *municipium* of Clusium, and he was buried in a remarkable marble cinerary urn that had probably been imported from Rome and dates to the early age of Tiberius; his tomb was, not unsurprisingly, very near to the tomb of the *Alfni*, whence this story had begun some 150 years earlier.[43]

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demi sur un pied & demi de largeur . . . The description can be referred to a tomb of the so-called "*dromos* type", with no chamber; on this type, see especially Elisa Salvadori, "Le tombe con nicchiotti di Chiusi e del territorio chiusino," in *Etruschi e Romani a San Casciano dei Bagni: le stanze cassianensi*, ed. Monica Salvini (Rome: Quasar, 2014): 68–69, 73–74. Its distance from Montepulciano (3.5 miles – not leagues, as mistakenly reported in the *CIE* entry) shows that the findspot is situated somewhere eastwards to southwards, because the westernmost instance of a *dromos* tomb has been possibly identified in the small necropolis at Pianoia, a couple of kilometers south of Montepulciano (Salvadori, "Le tombe": 74, with references). The area of Chianciano is therefore the most probable location of this tomb.

40 *CIE* 3074–3085 = *ET* Cl 1.1144–1155.

41 *CIE* 4795–4798 = *ET* Cl 1.9–12.

42 The name *Stanze Dei* identified the painted tomb found at Poggio al Moro in 1826, in the estates of Giuseppe Dei; on this discovery, see Enrico Barni, *La tomba dipinta di Poggio al Moro a Chiusi* (self-published, 2013), with literature.

43 *CIL* XI, 7122; on this inscription and its related marble urn, see Edgar Pack and Giulio Paolucci. "Tituli Clusini: nuove iscrizioni e correzioni all'epigrafia latina di Chiusi," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie*

Research on Clusine epigraphy may be a labyrinth, but it is sometimes possible to find Ariadne's thread. The evidence collected so far shows that there was a remarkable agglomeration of burials of freedpeople and non-elite families, often interconnected to each other, in a specific section of the Clusine territory. It is evident that something must have happened there around the middle of the second century BC. It is very likely that an elite family that had owned large estates in that area had disappeared; for some reason, its estates were not acquired by another family of comparable status but were instead divided into smaller plots, which gave the opportunity to lesser families, some even of unfree origin, to become smallholders, and, with time, even to climb the social ladder. It is possible to tentatively identify the original landowners as the Umrana family, one of the most distinguished lineages of the early and middle Hellenistic period.[44]

Another feature that will require further study is the social standing of the former masters who enfranchised their slaves, because it seems that only a small part of the freedpeople known to us had been slaves of elite families. This is not what we would expect, especially in comparison to what happened later in the Roman world. This seems to suggest that slave owning in late Etruscan society was a relatively common feature, involving non-elite families alongside elite ones, and that many people were able to purchase slaves from the same Eastern Mediterranean markets that supplied the Roman world. Epigraphic evidence seems to suggest that second-century Etruscan society was very different from what it is usually assumed to be, and that it promptly seized the opportunities offered by the onset of the "classical" Roman slave economy. This point deserves further research.

I think that the only way to understand the role that people of unfree birth may have played in Etruscan society is by conducting a thorough analysis of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence. If our ultimate goal is to reconstruct a social history of the Etruscan world, pure speculation on the forms of names will lead nowhere.

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CIE = *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, Leipzig, 1893–.

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, 1861–.

CVArr = August Oxé and Howard Comfort, *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum: A Catalogue of the Signatures, Shapes and Chronology of Italian Sigillata*, 2nd ed. (Bonn: Habelt, 2000).

ET = Gerhard Meiser, ed., *Etruskische Texte: Editio minor* (Hamburg: Narr, 2014).

REE = *Rivista di Epigrafia Etrusca*, in *Studi Etruschi.*

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und Epigraphik 68 (1987): 169 and footnote 44; Friederike Sinn, *Stadtrömische Marmorurnen* (Mainz: Zabern, 1987): 100–101.

44 See Enrico Benelli, "Chiusi: dalla città etrusca al municipio romano," *Mediterranea* 20 (2023): 129–33.

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II The Iconography of Dependency in Visual Art

Cornelia Weber-Lehmann

Dependencies and Inequalities in Etruscan Funerary Painting

Abstract: *Die etruskische Grabmalerei dient in erster Linie der Selbstdarstellung einer Elite. Daher ist es fast nicht möglich, innerhalb ihrer Bildprogramme die vielen Sklaven und anderen Abhängigen zu erkennen, ohne die eine solche Gesellschaft nicht funktionieren konnte. Andererseits berichten die spärlichen Schriftquellen aus Griechenland gelegentlich, dass die Etrusker sich durch eine besonders hohe Zahl an Sklaven auszeichneten. Daher werden die zahlreichen „Nebenfiguren", die bei Tanzszenen, akrobatischen Aufführungen, Sportwettkämpfen, beim Gelage oder in Beamtenaufzügen auftreten, in der bisherigen Literatur zumeist ohne nähere Begründung als Sklaven angesprochen. Der Beitrag versucht aufzuzeigen, dass diese Einordnung vorschnell ist. Kleidung, Haartracht, Nacktheit, Namensbeischriften, Figurentypen sowie Unterschiede in den Figurengrößen („Bedeutungsgröße") werden danach befragt, ob sie die genauere Erfassung und Beschreibung sozialer Schichtung erlauben.*

It is well known that Etruscan epigraphy has been dominated for a very long time not by a (social) historical, but mainly by a linguistic approach, by linguistic enquiries and methods. Enrico Benelli recently called this approach "un errore tragico" and even accused these studies of their "garrula vacuità," adding that they had degenerated into a "sterile palude neoetimologista."[1] Fortunately, as a classical archaeologist, I can leave open the question of whether this characterization is appropriate or perhaps exaggerated. But there should be no doubt that a more "historical" epigraphy can still contribute a lot to the reconstruction of Etruscan social history and the study of Etruscan society. In view of the total loss of Etruscan literature, this cannot be overstated. The same applies – *mutatis mutandis* – to the interpretation of the Etruscan wall painting. It is important to bear this methodological connection in mind in the following attempt to use Etruscan tomb paintings as a source for dependency, in the course of which I will occasionally even combine the epigraphic and pictorial traditions.

Since funerary painting in Tarquinia came to an end around the late third century BC – its main flowering was in the late archaic and late classical periods – my study will focus on the earlier monuments, which give no direct indication of the status of the figures depicted in them. One can only try to find a key for deciphering them in the paintings themselves. In doing so, one must keep in mind the wide variety of images

1 Enrico Benelli, "La società etrusca: il contributo dell'epigrafia," in *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2017*, ed. Luciana Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018): 219.

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and their respective contexts. Then one must always consult and collate the very different historical documentations that have been produced over the past three centuries. And finally, when looking at an original painting, a drawing, or a photograph, one cannot always rely on what one sees, because the painted tombs are often damaged and the paintings fragmentary; in many cases large areas are covered by white salt layers (calcium carbonate) or even by the roots of plants that grow above the tomb. In addition, one should also always be aware of the sections of a painting on which restorations may have been carried out over many decades.[2] So trying to read the images is always a risky undertaking.

Let me illustrate this with an example: During the 2016 *Studi Etruschi (Austria)* conference, organized in Vienna by Petra Amann, I undertook to determine whether the depictions of small figures next to large ones were meant to represent the slaves or the children – i.e. descendants – of the gens.[3] In the *Tomba degli Scudi*, there is a fragmentary inscription of which only two letters remain. They are very close to the back of the young girl who holds a fan for the noblewoman, Velia Seithiti, who is shown at a banquet with her husband Larth Velcha. The two letters, which turned out to be a lambda and a chi, had been overlooked in the CIE. I suggested that they were part of the name of the gens Velcha, and therefore part of the girl's name. Because she is shown wearing a fine, diaphanous dress, a mantle, and the same type of shoes as the lady Velia Seitithi, and is adorned with a golden necklace and golden earrings as well as an elaborate fashionable hairstyle, I argued that she ought to be read as a relative or a daughter of the family of Larth Velcha, and not a slave girl.[4]

Only a few months later, the paintings in the tomb were restored completely and the white salt layers removed, so that additional letters came to light.[5] I had been right that the lambda and the chi belonged to the name of the gens Velcha, but the first name was revealed not to be the expected name of the girl, but the name of Larth Velcha.[6] So, to cut a long story short, the girl remains nameless.

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2 Adele Cecchini, "Le tombe tarquiniesi riprodotte nelle copie della collezione Morani: conservazione e restauri," in *L'Etruria di Alessandro Morani: Riproduzioni di pitture etrusche dalle collezioni dell'Istituto Svedese di Studi Classici a Roma*, ed. Astrid Capoferro and Stefania Renzetti (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2017): 179–95.

3 Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, "Kinder oder Sklaven? Zur Darstellung kleiner Menschen in der etruskischen Kunst," in *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2017*, ed. Luciana Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018): 267–77.

4 Weber-Lehmann, "Kinder oder Sklaven?": 269–71.

5 For the inscription after restoration see Maria Donatella Gentili and Lorella Maneschi, eds., *Tarquinia: La Tomba degli Scudi* (Arcidosso: Effigi Editori, 2019): 39, fig. 6, and https://domenicoventura.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/004_DSC6645-1080x1440.jpg [accessed 13.05.2024].

6 Massimo Morandi Tarabella, "Novità sui Velcha di Tarquinia," *Archeologia Classica* 47 (1995): 287, fig. 22–24, had instead guessed correctly that the letters should be considered part of the name of Larth Velcha, since the inscriptions on the window frames would always refer to the "titolare della

There are other unnamed persons in the Velcha Tomb paintings: all of the musicians – the players of kithara, aulos, cornu and lituus –, the *apparitores/lictores* and the boy carrying the stool (*sella curulis*), as well as the two naked boys with a jug and a strainer, the cupbearers for the two banqueting couples. All other adult persons have their names inscribed beside or above their heads. Some of the women are given only their family name, like Velchai, Aninai, or Alvethnai.[7] It is not clear why their first names are missing. Maybe they were still unmarried daughters, or perhaps only the protagonists – the adult men and married women – were interesting enough to be fully named.[8]

Although we are as yet not in a position to decide whether namelessness was an indication of – lower or dependent – social status, one gets the impression that different grades of dependency can be discerned within the group of nameless personages: i.e. between slaves and freelance artists, or between slaves of the household and men working for the state or community. Can we identify any further distinctions? Which kind of criteria could be applied to address the problem?[9]

I already mentioned that apparel and hairstyle can be informative – at least one can notice some differences, especially in terms of footwear.

Larth Velcha's brother and nephew, Arnth and Vel, on the left-hand side of the rear wall, and the father of Larth and Vel, Velthur, who is sitting on the stool, are wearing sandals, as are the two nameless musicians on the right-hand wall and most probably also the cupbearers. By contrast, the man who walks behind Velchai on the right-hand wall, whose inscribed name is no longer legible, has no shoes at all. It is also quite astonishing that on the adjacent entrance wall one of the *apparitores* wears the same high, black boots as Larth Velcha in his role as magistrate, while the second *apparitor* is barefoot just like the small bearer of the *sella*. Both *apparitores* and the

cella su cui la finestra si apre." For the several inscriptions naming Larth Velcha and the genealogy of the family see Massimo Morandi Tarabella, *Prosopographia Etrusca*, vol. 1, *Corpus 1: Etruria Meridionale* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2004): 180, 3.

7 CIE II, 1:3, 230 no. 5396, 5397, 5399.

8 Olav Danielsson in CIE, II, 1:3m, 223 no. 5381 (Velchai) interpreted this inscription as follows: "Hanc mulierem, quae aetate iunior videtur et gentilici solo nuncupata est, priorum filiam virique tit. 5395 commemorati sororem fuisse ver similie est. cf. etiam tit. 5397." Danielsson and others identified her as the daughter of Larth Velcha and Velia Seithiti, and the man walking behind her as her brother. But she could just as well be the daughter of Velthur I and Ravnthu Aprthnai, i.e. Larth Velcha's sister. Since I am inclined to interpret the scene on the right-hand wall and the adjacent entrance wall as a wedding scene, Velchai – as Velia's sister-in-law – would play the role of the bridal attendant.

9 Matthias Grawehr, "Of Toddlers and Donkeys," in *Ubi servi erant? Die Ikonographie von Sklaven und Freigelassenen in der römischen Kunst*, ed. Andrea Binsfeld and Marcello Ghetta (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2022): 121, gives the following iconographical markers (most of which were already described by Nikolaus Himmelmann, *Archäologisches zum Problem der griechischen Sklaverei* [Mainz: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1971]: 5–49): "reduced scale to indicate inferior status, indecorous posture, hairstyle and attire, scenes of servile labor, ethnically differentiated appearance and an isolated position in the picture."

small bearer of the *sella* are dressed in a completely white himation – unlike the one worn by the magistrate, which has a red border.[10]

It seems that the painter of the tomb wanted to be very precise about the different statuses of the individuals he depicted. We know from some Roman republican authors that the dress of the Roman lictors corresponded to that of the magistrate himself.[11] In the *Tomba degli Scudi* this is obviously not the case. Only the man walking ahead wears the same type of black boots as the magistrate. We must admit that literary tradition about the Roman republic does not correspond to what is painted in the Etruscan tomb. It is certainly possible that the differences in costume between the individual *apparitores* might reflect their various different dependencies on a magistrate,[12] and most probably they had a special significance. However, there are only five Tarquinian tomb paintings that show processions of magistrates, and most of them are missing important details because of their poor condition. It is therefore problematic to build extensive hypotheses at this point. While the Romans emphasized the uniform appearance of the lictors of Roman officials, in Etruria greater variations seem to have been tolerated or even deliberately used to indicate differentiation in rank.

Instead, I want to go back to earlier periods for which the same question has been discussed, namely if the apparel of a figure can tell us something about social status. So the young cupbearers, who are never absent from any of the numerous banqueting scenes, are always naked except for their sandals and a wreath on their head, which indicates that they are taking part in the feast. They have always been considered as slaves, mainly because of their nudity and their serving activities.

This type of cupbearer appears on Attic vases only from about 530 BC onwards, and one may assume that it came to Etruria via Athens. By contrast, the cupbearers on archaic monuments in Ionia are mostly dressed in a short chiton.[13] In Athens they were referred to as *paides* ("boys"), as they were children and served not only during

10 In the scholarship, the mantles were mostly referred to as togas or *togae praetextae*, and before the restauration the details were also described wrongly: the garment worn by the *sella* bearer was seen as a tunic, and Larth *Velcha* was thought to wear a tunic beneath his mantle. The authors obviously had the Roman dress code in mind. But the apparently rounded hem, which could give the impression of a toga, is due to the way the cloth is draped.

11 Theodor Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, vol. 1, 3rd ed. (Tübingen: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, repr. Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt Graz, 1952): 358–59; Karl Kübler, "Lictor," in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 13.1, ed. Wilhelm Kroll (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1926): 507–18.

12 Antonio M. Colini, *Il fascio littorio di Roma* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1932): 23, no. 4: for example, in Rome the principal lictor (*lictor proximus*) exercised a supervisory function and therefore had a higher status than his companions. He was expected to wear the same garb as the magistrate.

13 Burkhard Fehr, *Orientalische und griechische Gelage* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1971): 38–39, 44. The earliest nude cupbearers can be found already in the second quarter of the sixth century on some Laconian drinking cups, but as a fixed component of symposium scenes they appear

banquets, but also in the palaestra or the stables. They are drawn idealized as beautiful boys without any barbarian traits, typical for early slave iconography in Athens, and they resemble their athletic masters, so that we cannot tell if they were intended to be slaves or possibly *eromenoi* from middle-class or even upper-class families. Perhaps these families assigned auxiliary and service tasks at the symposium or in the palaestra, the wrestling ground, to their sons to familiarize them early on with those situations in which they would later have to prove themselves as young men or adult citizens. For such ambivalent representations Nikolaus Himmelmann has emphasized slavish activity as a distinguishing feature.[14]

In any case, in the Tarquinian paintings the nude boys at banquets are surely meant to be servants, but their depictions cannot tell us more about their exact social status. They are never shown with barbarian traits or in humiliating or indecent situations, or engaged in clearly slavish activities.

In addition to the boy servants, there are also adult or at least taller servants at the banquet, such as in the sixth-century *Tomba del Frontoncino*[15] and *Tomba delle Iscrizioni*,[16] where they are not naked but dressed in short chitons. The tombs of the fifth and earlier fourth centuries, such as the *Tomba della Scrofa nera* (Fig. 1), *Tomba del Letto funebre* (Fig. 2), Tomb No. 5513,[17] *Tomba della Nave* (Fig. 3) and *Tomba del Guerriero* (Fig. 4), show the taller young men wearing a waistcloth or with their mantle wound around their hips, which may also be due to their older age, and perhaps also their different function. We know this kind of waistcloth from the depictions of men of the working class on some Attic vases, where they are distinguished from the Athenian citizens who are always shown in a long himation.[18] In the Tarquinian paintings, by contrast, the men with the himation around their waists are always taking part in the banqueting scenes. They seem to have had a more important function than the boy servants, as they appear twice in the centre of the banqueting scene, (Fig. 1, 4) and

regularly only after 530 BC on Attic vases, which were used in large quantities by and well known to the Etruscans.

14 Himmelmann, *Archäologisches zum Problem der griechischen Sklaverei*: 25.

15 Mario Moretti, *Nuovi monumenti della pittura Etrusca* (Milan: Lerici Editori, 1966): 84–85.

16 Stephan Steingräber, ed. *Catalogo ragionato della pittura etrusca* (Milan: Jaca Book SpA, 1985): no. 74.

17 Steingräber, *pittura etrusca*: 373, fig. 175: The two young men on the right-hand wall of Tomb No. 5513 as well as the boy following the aulos player on the left-hand wall all wear scanty waistcloths painted in red, which are therefore hard to distinguish from the colour of their skin. In the other cases a himation of normal size is folded and draped around the hips. In the *Tomba del Letto funebre* the only female servant also wears it like this, but with her chiton underneath; as does the lyre player in the *Tomba della Scrofa nera* who sits on the *kline* in the center of the rear wall. This seems to support the interpretation as a garment of people at work.

18 Himmelmann, *Archäologisches zum Problem der griechischen Sklaverei*: 36–38, fig. 59, 62a; Annika Backe-Dahme et al., eds., *Von Göttern und Menschen: Bilder auf griechischen Vasen* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 2010): 88, fig. 45.

in the *Tomba della Nave* the adult servant seems to be supervising the wine vessels on the buffet table. (Fig. 3) What we can learn from these observations is that the nudity of the boy cupbearers is an important indication of their childhood – no more and no less.

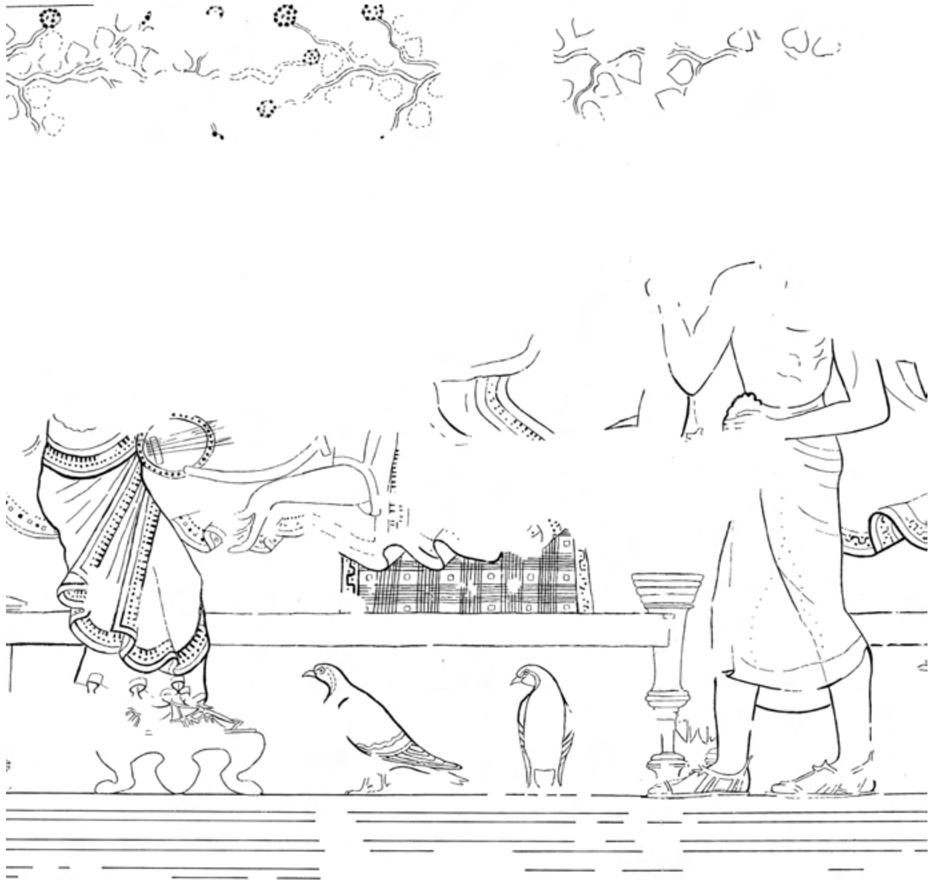

Fig. 1: Tomba della Scrofa nera, rear wall, detail.

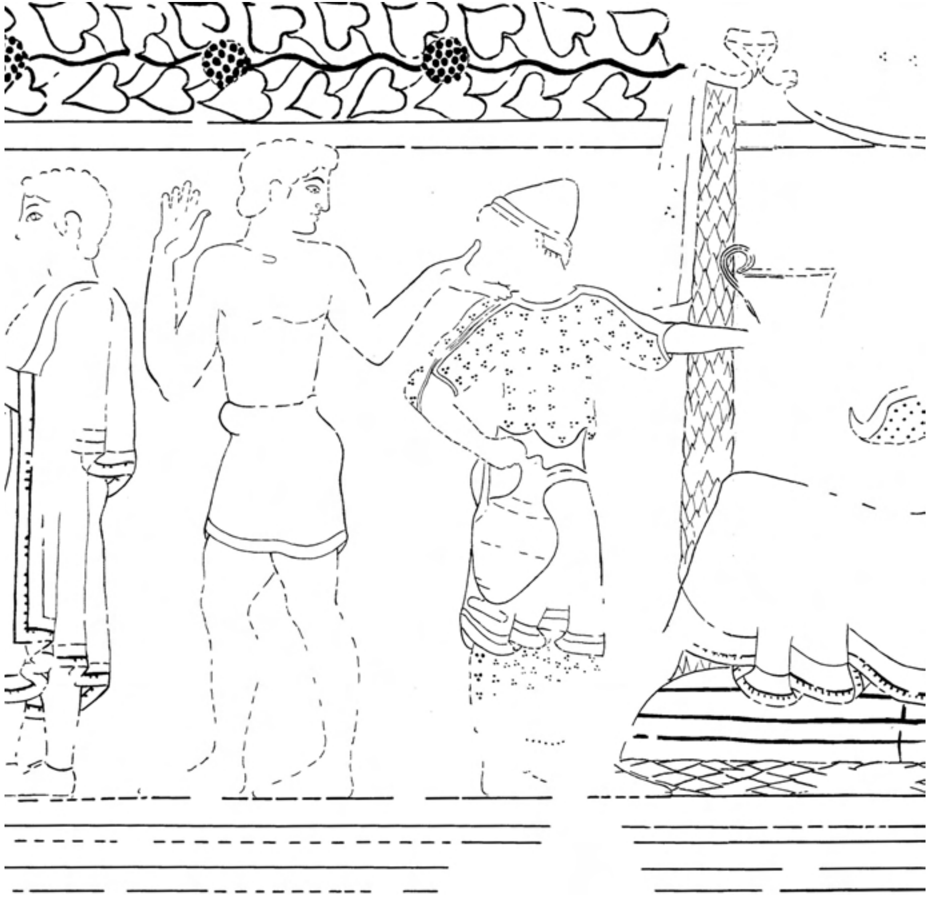

Fig. 2: Tomba del Letto funebre, left wall.

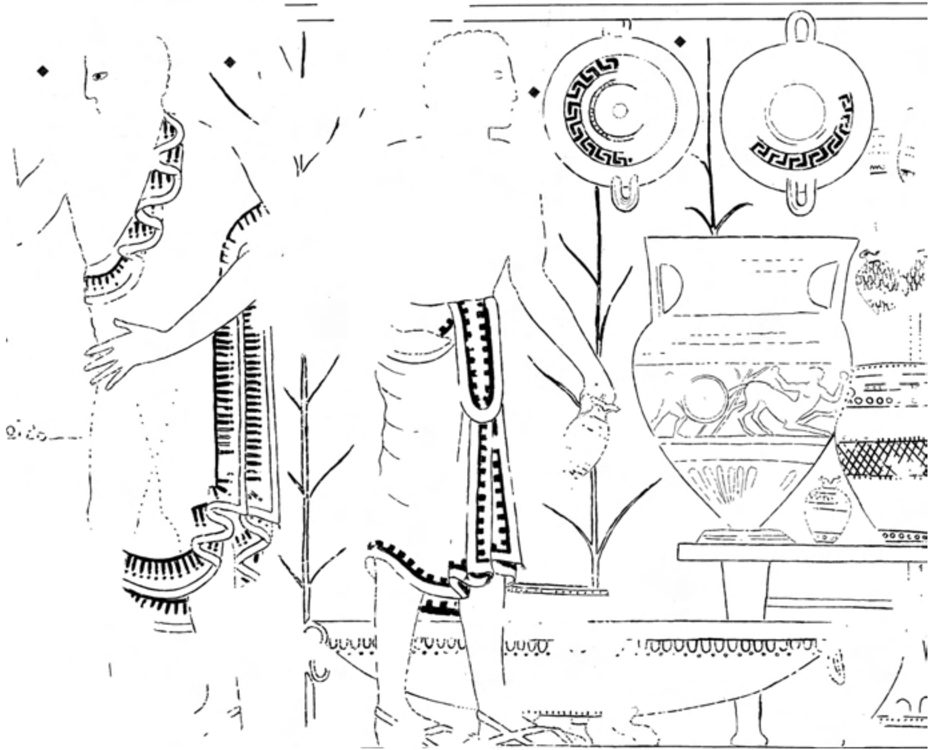

Fig. 3: Tomba della Nave left wall.

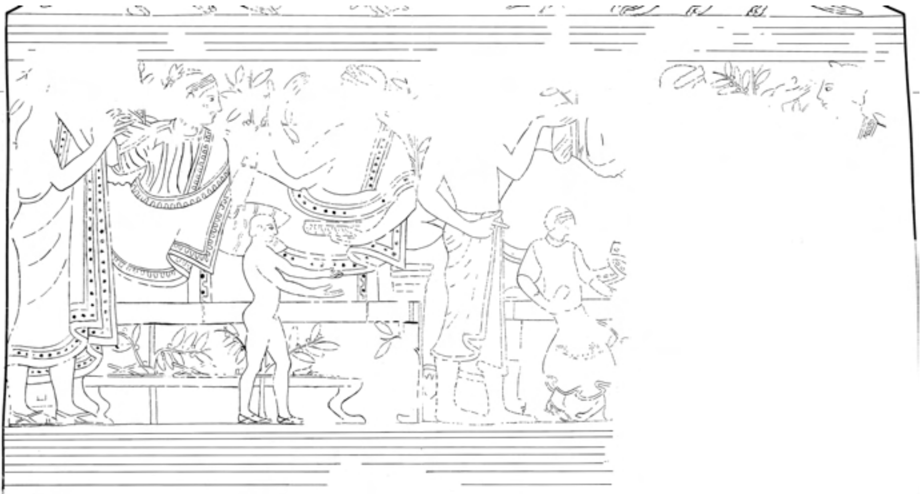

Fig. 4: Tomba del Guerriero, rear wall.

In the *Tomba del Guerriero*, which shows one of the latest examples of the traditional banquet scenes in Tarquinian painting, we can observe a further phenomenon: on the rear wall, there are four attendants: the canonical flute player at the foot of the couch (*kline*) to the left, then a very small, naked boy stretching out his hands as if to offer something to the banqueters, who however seem to ignore him; on his right there is an adult man with the himation wrapped around his waist who holds an alabastron in the right hand. At the foot of the right-hand *kline*, we can discern a very small dancing woman in the traditional costume of the crotalist[19] (Fig. 4). Is her smallness intended to signal the dancer's immaturity and childishness? Is she therefore a very young girl? Or should she not rather be classified – despite her smallness – as one of the other, elaborately dressed adult crotalists?[20] A similar phenomenon occurs in Tomb no. 808, where the flute player is even smaller in relation to the banqueting figures.[21]

Such a difference in size may be intended to indicate hierarchic scale (*Bedeutungsgröße*), whereby personages of a lower social status or less importance were depicted on a smaller scale than the protagonists. As Nikolaus Himmelmann pointed out in his pioneering work about the depiction of slaves in ancient visual art, this could be a way to indicate the social difference between master and servant, as can be seen, for example, on Attic grave stelae such as between the freeborn girl Kallistion and her unnamed slave playmate, who is shown at third the size of her mistress; or the boy Deinias, shown as a large baby, und his half-sized *pais* (boy slave).[22] Differentiation by scale became increasingly important in Greek art as a status marker from the fourth century onward, and I think that the appearance of hierarchic scale in Tarquinian paintings cannot be explained without some Greek influence.

So far we have seen that it is very difficult and complex to distinguish social inequality by the choice of clothing, the relative size or proportions of the figures, and by the use of name inscriptions which were added to some figures but not to others.

If we look back in time – to the archaic and late archaic periods – we see the same practice already in the *Tomba delle Iscrizioni*, where the *hetairoi* – the friends and family of the dead – are depicted moving towards the false door on the rear wall in a *komos*. Their names are written next to them, except for the aulos player and the

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19 Moretti, *pittura Etrusca*: 240–41.

20 The crotalist appears almost regularly – as far as we can tell in view of the many destroyed wall sections in the tombs – from the second quarter of the fifth century onwards. As a rule, she is wearing the garb of the professionals performing at an event, i.e. a chiton and a red *ependytes* (sleeveless overgarment), the same as the acrobat women balancing a *thymiaterion* (incense burner) on their head, and some of the musician. For the status of the performers see also below.

21 Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, "Zur Datierung der tarquinischen Grabmalerei des 5. und 4. Jhs. v. Chr.," in *Die Aufnahme fremder Kultureinflüsse in Etrurien und das Problem des Retardierens in der Etruskischen Kunst: Referate vom Symposion des Deutschen Archäologen-Verbandes, Mannheim, 8.–10.2.1980* (Mannheim: Deutscher Archäologen-Verband, 1981): 169, fig. 9: drawing after Moretti, *pittura Etrusca*: 89.

22 Himmelmann, *Archäologisches zum Problem der griechischen Sklaverei*: 40–41, fig. 65–66.

cupbearers. The latter are not small boys in this case, but adult men dressed in short chitons and barefoot; they carry the drinking vessels and a big krater. Only a single name is given for each, presumably their first names.[23]

Surprisingly, the two nude revellers in the *komos*, in the corner where the rear and right-hand walls meet, show full first and last names. This would contradict the assumption that males depicted nude are slaves. The figures were reproduced as nude immediately after their discovery in drawings made by Joseph Thürmer in 1827[24] and by Carlo Ruspi in 1835,[25] but the area around their hips had obviously already been disturbed in both cases. In the Copenhagen copies – made some seventy years later with the aid of "Zauberwasser" (i.e. a mixture of turpentine oil and water, used by the restorers of the 19th century)[26] – these areas are a little blurred, probably because the facsimile painters were not entirely sure whether or not there may have been red *perizomae* (waistcloths).[27] We might even think so when we look at Moscioni's black-and-white photograph.[28]

In a related tomb, the *Tomba del Morto*, Carlo Ruspi also drew the revellers as naked, but the first drawing by Gottfried Semper, made three years earlier,[29] shows extensive damage both to the rear wall and to the right-hand wall down and around the men's waists. (Fig. 5) So they most probably also wore a *perizoma*. In the same

23 For the inscriptions of the *Tomba delle Iscrizioni* (CIE II,1,3 nos. 5336–5353) see Gerhard Meiser, ed. *Etruskische Texte: Editio minor* (Hamburg: Baar, 2014): 473 Ta 7.13–29. It is quite astonishing that the aulos player, who is wearing the same boots and *perizoma* as the *komasts* (revellers), is nameless, while at least one name was given for the aulos player on the left-hand wall of the tomb, who plays for the boxing competition (ET, Ta 7.28).

24 Horst Blanck and Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, *Malerei der Etrusker in Zeichnungen des 19. Jahrhunderts: Dokumentation vor der Photographie aus dem Archiv des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Rom* (Mainz: Zabern, 1987): 70, fig. 12–13. Copy from these drawings by Georg Friedrich Ziebland: https://mediatum.ub.tum.de/image/936469 [accessed 13.05.2024].

25 Blanck and Weber-Lehmann, *Malerei der Etrusker in Zeichnungen*: 62–63, fig. 3–4.

26 Mette Moltesen and Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, *Etruskische Grabmalerei: Faksimiles und Aquarelle: Dokumentation aus der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek und dem Schwedischen Institut in Rom* (Mainz: Zabern, 1992): 8.

27 Moltesen and Weber-Lehmann, *Faksimiles und Aquarelle*: 63 no 1.56 and 65 no. 1.59.

28 Fritz Weege, *Etruskische Malerei* (Halle an der Saale: M. Niemeyer, 1921): pl. 74. As the inscriptions above the heads of the two naked men identify them as Laris Farunus and Larth Matves (the latter was probably the founder of the tomb), it seems quite implausible that they were depicted in this way. The figures on the other side of the tomb, a boy named Velthur – obviously a child – and the winner of the horse race, Laris Larthia – the son of Larth Matves – as well as the other participants in the horse race are naked. Unlike the bearded men on the opposite wall sections, they are all beardless, i.e. younger. For the name of Laris Larthia see Giovanni Colonna, "Discussion," in *L'écriture et l'espace de la mort: Épigraphie et nécropoles à l'époque préromaine*, ed. Marie-Laurence Haack (Rome: École française de Rome, 2016): 199.

29 Blanck and Weber-Lehmann, *Malerei der Etrusker in Zeichnungen*: 70–71, fig. 12–13; see also http://isv.digitalcollection.org/islandora/object/MORANI-SKETCHES%3A333?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=0cef179e673fc67b56a6&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=3&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=2 [accessed 13.05.2024].

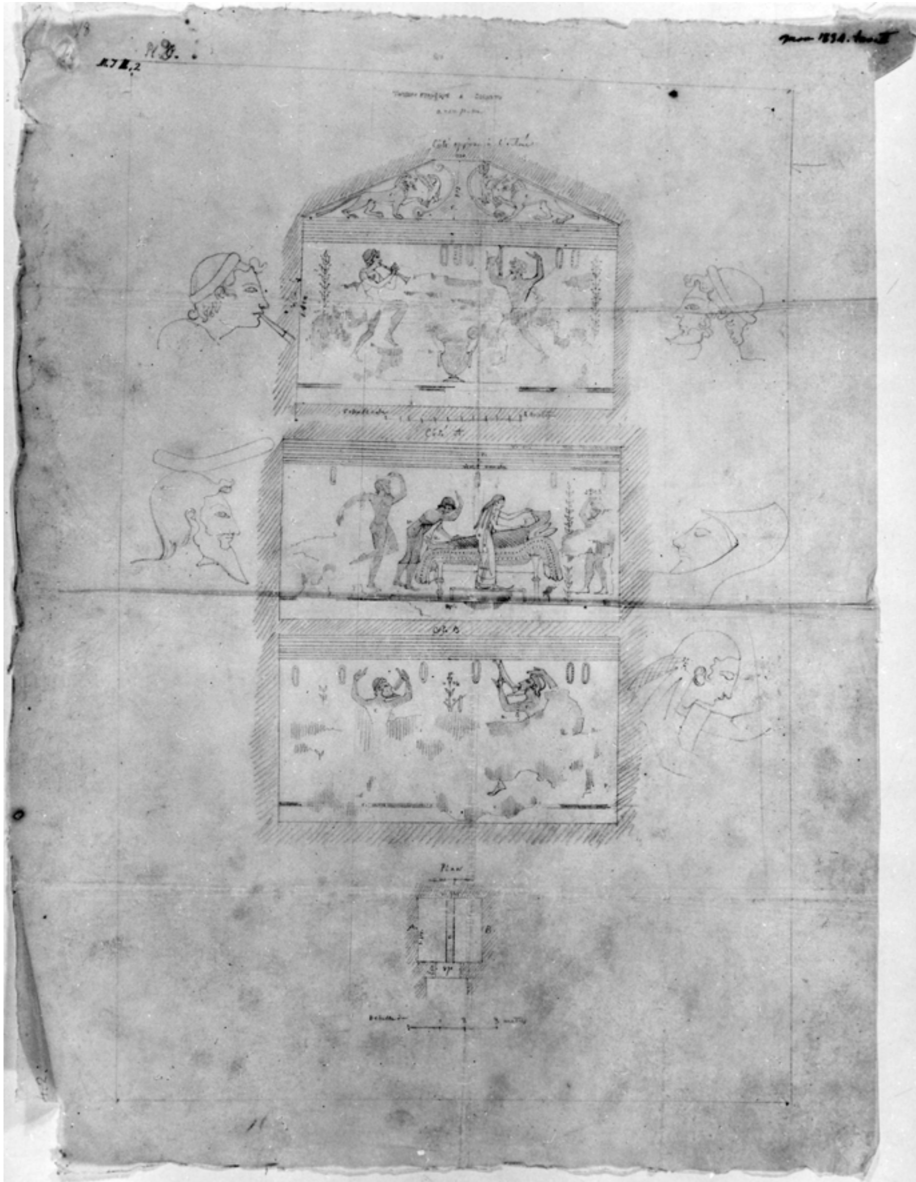

Fig. 5: Tomba del Morto.

tomb, only the dancing man at the foot of the deathbed on the left-hand wall seems to have been naked. He had been reproduced as such already in the drawings made by Gottfried Semper soon after the discovery of the tomb. As Semper drew an intact figure without any damage, it may be possible that the figure was really shown naked. But sixty-five years later, when the tomb paintings were copied again, Oreste Marozzi saw the figure as damaged, as the Copenhagen facsimile and the corresponding sketch show.[30] Maybe this was why Carlo Ruspi also depicted the revellers as damaged. But in 1835, when Carlo Ruspi completed his *lucidi* for the facsimiles for the *Alte Pinakothek* in Munich and the *Museo Gregoriano Etrusco* in the Vatican, he was already familiar with numerous Attic red-figure vases showing naked revellers in a *komos*. So, Attic vase painting could have provided the model here as well. Again, one cannot simply claim that nudity in adult men is a sign of their inferior status: different criteria are required depending on the case.

In the numerous athletic scenes nudity appears quite natural to us, as we are familiar with athletic nudity from ancient Greece, especially from the countless Attic vases imported into Etruria, but of course also from the many Greek monuments which were everywhere in the public eye, such as dedications in sanctuaries, honorary monuments in public squares and grave stelai in cemeteries.

The earliest example of naked athletes in Tarquinian tomb paintings is the well-known pair of wrestlers on the right-hand wall of the *Tomba degli Auguri*. They have short inscriptions next to them: the word "teitu" on the left, the word "latithe" on the right. The words have been taken for proper names, as the name Latithe allegedly also occurs in Chiusi and Perugia.[31]

The boxers on the opposite wall are so badly damaged that the inscriptions, which must certainly have been there, have been lost forever. In the reconstruction drawing, which I developed together with the painter Renato Roscani for the exhibition in Hamburg in 2004, we decided to use imaginary names to indicate what the original might have looked like. The well-placed inscriptions in the *Tomba degli Auguri* certainly also had a decorative function.[32]

30 Blanck and Weber-Lehmann, *Malerei der Etrusker in Zeichnungen*: 75, fig. 19; 79, fig. 26. Carlo Ruspi's *lucido* (tracing) of 1835 also shows a completely intact and naked man. But as we already saw, his *lucidi* of this tomb show additions in the final facsimile for sale, and therefore do not correctly reflect the state of preservation at that time. Moltesen and Weber-Lehmann, *Faksimiles und Aquarelle*: 43 no. 1.35; for Marozzi's sketches of the *Tomba del Morto* see http://isv.digitalcollection.org/islandora/object/MORANI-SKETCHES%3A497/datastream/OBJ/viewn [accessed 13.05.2024].

31 Today the inscriptions on the original are barely legible: Steingräber, *pittura etrusca*: pl. 18; ET^2 Pe 1.1090; Cl 1.772, 1.2830, 1.1867; 1.11868; Jean-Paul Thuillier, "Un pugiliste Serviteur de deux Maîtres: Inscriptions 'sportives' d'Etrurie," in *Etruria e Italia preromana: studi in onore di Giovannangelo Camporeale*, ed. Stefano Bruni and Luciano Agostiniani, Studia erudita 4 (Pisa: Serra Editore, 2009): 877, has proposed translating Latithe as Latinus, 'man from Latium'.

32 Bernard Andreae et al., eds., *Die Etrusker: Luxus für das Jenseits: Bilder vom Diesseits – Bilder vom Tod* (Munich: Hirmer, 2004): 132, fig. 1–2.

It is quite interesting to observe that the names of the wrestlers were given, considering the fact that all the other figures in the tomb have inscriptions that refer to their functions. That functions, not names are intended can be deduced by the fact that each term appears twice. In my opinion, it is obvious that the inscriptions next to the wrestlers refer to individuals who were evidently famous and known by the people of Tarquinia, comparable to today's football stars or tennis champions. This was certainly the case with the boxers on the wall opposite.

Looking at the further evolution of athletic scenes in the paintings, one gets the impression that wrestling became less important than boxing, which was apparently one of the most popular competitive disciplines in Tarquinia – and not only there. Even in later tombs, down to the beginning of the fourth century, boxing is never absent wherever sporting competitions are depicted.[33]

Nevertheless, it was certainly an exciting discovery when in 1990, during a second restoration of the *Tomba Cardarelli*, inscriptions were made out on the entrance wall above the heads of the two boxers, which had been overlooked until then.[34] No wonder, since all the other figures in this tomb are nameless, as is the case in the great majority of tombs of the late archaic period.

For my long-term documentation project of Tarquinian tomb paintings in tracings, funded by the DFG, we were able to trace these inscriptions in 1993 directly from the wall, but without really being able to understand them. (Fig. 6) Then, in 1995, Massimo Morandi presented them to the public in *Studi Etruschi*; his transcription differed from ours in a few minor details, but as it seemed plausible his reading was never questioned. Morandi himself repeated his interpretation of the letters in his opus magnum, *Prosopographia Etrusca* in 2004, and he explained it as follows: The inscription gives three names in different cases: on the left is "Velchasnas," a genitive (i.e. "of" or "belonging to the Gens Velcha"), and on the right-hand wall two names in the nominative: the family names (*gentilicia*) Petui and Nanisiei, both with feminine endings.[35]

Simona Marchesini, who also discussed the *Tomba Cardarelli* in the same year, 2004, in her *Prosopographia II*,[36] rejected the idea that the names referred to the boxers themselves, as they were all of "status servile." In view of the genitive "Velchasnas," Morandi also suggested that the boxer was a slave of the house of Velcha,

33 As far as we can say at the current time, the latest example is the one on the left-hand wall of the *Tomba del Guerriero*. See also Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, "Tomba degli Auguri," in *Die Etrusker: Luxus für das Jenseits: Bilder vom Diesseits – Bilder vom Tod*, ed. Bernard Andreae et al. (Munich: Hirmer, 2004): 134–35.

34 Moretti, *pittura Etrusca*: 98.

35 Massimo Morandi Tarabella, "Rivista di Epigrafia etrusca, Tarquinii 14.–15.," *Studi Etruschi* 63 (1997): 383–85; Morandi Tarabella, *Prosopographia Etrusca*: 188, 327–28, 372.

36 Simona Marchesini, *Prosopographia Etrusca*, vol. 1, *Studia II: Gentium Mobilitas* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2004): 67–68.

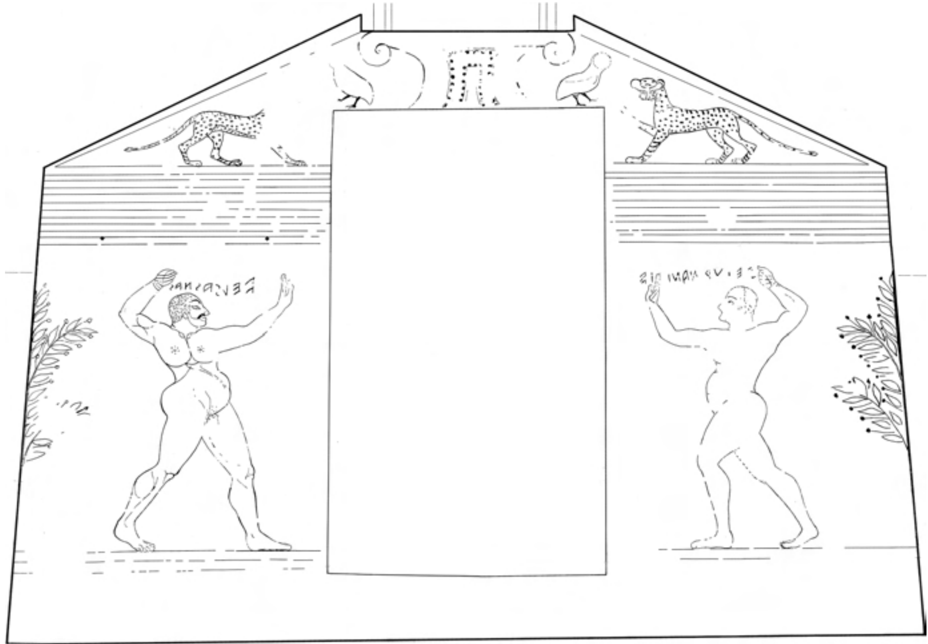

Fig. 6: Tomba Cardarelli, entrance wall.

but rightly argued that then it would have been written Velchasnas**a**.[37] I do not know why Simona Marchesini, Massimo Morandi and most recently Jean-Paul Thuillier and Catherine Cousin assume that the boxers were slaves. The only argument given to support this statement is their coarse appearance.

However, the rugged look is part of the boxers' profession; on Greek vases or other Greek monuments they are frequently depicted like that too.[38] On the other hand, we know from the Greek *poleis* that athletics were the prerogative of men who could afford it financially, i.e. either aristocrats or otherwise wealthy citizens. Boxers who returned victorious from competitions were even honoured with public statues or honorary inscriptions, and their prizes belonged to them, of course to no one else.[39]

37 Thuillier, "Inscriptions 'sportives' d'Etrurie": 878–79, postulates that Velchasnas should also be read as a nominative and so the three names would refer to the master or mistresses of the athletes. This hypothesis seems to me rather random. Catherine Cousin, "Typologie et fonction des didascalies dans l'imagerie funéraire étrusque," in *L'écriture et l'espace de la mort: Épigraphie et nécropoles à l'époque préromaine*, ed. Marie-Laurence Haack (Rome: École française de Rome, 2016): 182–85, however, accepts this reading.

38 Jean-Paul Thuillier, *Les Jeux Athléthiques dans la civilisation Étrusque* (Rome: Scuola Tipografica S. Pio X, 1985): 561.

39 Christian Mann, *Athlet und Polis im archaischen und frühklassischen Griechenland* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001): 28–29, 292–95. As some of the Etruscan representations show the prizes

Why should it have been different in the Etruscan cities? In his 1985 monograph on athletic games, Jean-Paul Thuillier also assumed that the ruling classes in Etruria – in contrast to Greece – did not practise athletics or competitive sports, arguing that this could be seen, among other things, in the fact that in Etruria – unlike in Taranto – no tombs of athletes have been found.[40]

But what would the painted tomb of a Tarquinian athlete look like if he had been a member of the elite? What would we expect? Would the athlete be recognizable as such, in the centre of the scene, i.e. in the middle of the rear wall, perhaps as the winner of a competition? That would seem quite strange to us. More probable is that he would not be recognized in an ordinary banquet or a *komos* scene. But it is equally conceivable that athletes were buried in some of the numerous unpainted chamber tombs.

So we must look for another explanation for the inscriptions in the *Tomba Cardarelli*. Is it not surprising that in the particularly elaborate and precise paintings of this tomb, which most likely depict the tomb owner together with his wife, only the slaves should have accompanying inscriptions?

I think it is also possible that the genitive of Velchasna and the names Petui and Nanisiei are not meant to express ownership *of*, but partisanship *for* the boxer, in the sense of “favourite of Velcha” and “favourite of Petui and Nanisiei”. Be that as it may, there is in any case no hint in the wall paintings for the hypothesis that boxers and other athletes should be classified as slaves.

Even the only literary source for this assumption, Livy 5.1.4, is ambiguous: in the year 403 BC the king of Veii, a very wealthy and presumptuous person, interrupted the sacred games at the *fanum Voltumnae* – which was a sacrilege – and withdrew the performers, most of whom were his own slaves.[41] But “most” (*magna pars*) are not all: there were obviously other performers. Secondly: can we transfer what Livy relates about one extraordinary scandal to ordinary cases? Thirdly and generally: can we really trust Livy, who tells exciting stories but does not report historical facts, at least not for the fifth century BC? Finally, Livy uses the term “artists” (*artifices*), but did athletes also count as artists? Benjamin Oliver Foster in the old Loeb Classical Library Edition chose the English word “actor” for *artifex*, which in my opinion

to win very prominently, as in the Tombs degli Auguri, delle Olimpiadi and delle Iscrizioni, we should consider also what would have to happen with these prizes with dependence of the athletes on their masters.

40 Thuillier, *Les Jeux Athléthiques*: 363.

41 Thuillier, *Les Jeux Athléthiques*: 522–29, in note 92 compiled the older scholarship and therefore assumed that Liv. 5.1.4–5 related a historical event. All subsequent authors followed him in this. Yet the fact that the name of the king of Veii is nowhere mentioned reveals the fairy-tale character of this narrative, something we encounter quite often when Livy talks about the earlier periods. So the only argument for the slave status of athletes is a priori very debatable.

is more convincing.[42] This would raise the question of whether the athletes merely displayed their art in a dance or play,[43] or whether they competed in a real, serious competition.

Jean-Paul Thuillier attempted to resolve the problem by suggesting that the terms *artifices* and *servi* should not be taken too literally, and that at least the boxers might be *artifices*; just as the term *servi* should not be taken to mean that they led a miserable life, but that they were not free.[44]

However, what *artifices* performing and playing looked like can be seen in the appropriately named *Tomba dei Giocolieri* ("Tomb of the Jugglers"). The central figure, the first to be seen as upon entering the tomb, is an acrobat performing a complicated feat.[45] She performs together with a flute player and boy juggler who apparently are members of her company. The same applies to the camel driver on the entrance wall, of whom unfortunately only parts of the legs have been preserved.[46] The figure seated on a folding stool (*diphros okladias*), most often referred to as the tomb's owner, can be identified as a person of a higher rank by his seating furniture and his long staff.

More remarkable is the fact that an acrobat and her performance were made the main feature in the decoration of an elite chamber tomb. Does this tell us something about the social status of performers? We know this type of circus act from at least two other tomb paintings, one from the Tarquinian *Tomba delle Bighe* and the other from the *Tomba della Scimmia* in Chiusi. However, in these tombs the spectacle was not marked out by being put prominently on the main wall, but placed alongside other sporting and performing activities. In one respect, however, the *Tomba della Scimmia* is comparable to the *Tomba dei Giocolieri*, in that there, too, the tomb owner observes the performance from close by.[47] But none of the others is as focussed on the jugglers' performance as in the *Tomba dei Giocolieri*. One wonders why an obviously dependent actor is highlighted in this way.

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42 Benjamin Oliver Foster, *Livy*, vol. 3, *Books V, VI and VII*, The Loeb Classical Library, 4th ed. (London: William Heinemann, 1960): 5.

43 Kyle A. Jazwa, "A Late Archaic Boxing-Dance in Etruria: Identification, Comparison, and Function," *Etruscan Studies* 23 (2020): 29–61.

44 Thuillier, *Les Jeux Athléthiques*: 522–26, 690–91.

45 Thuillier, *Les Jeux Athléthiques*: 463–64; Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, "Tomba delle Bighe," in *Malerei der Etrusker in Zeichnungen des 19. Jahrhunderts: Dokumentation vor der Photographie aus dem Archiv des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Rom*, ed. Horst Blanck and Cornelia Weber-Lehmann (Mainz: Zabern, 1987): 115–17, fig. 68–71.

46 Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, "Stil, Chronologie und Ikonographie der etruskischen Grabmalerei: Die archaische Periode," in *Catalogo ragionato della pittura etrusca*, ed. Stephan Steingräber (Milan: Jaca Book SpA, 1985): 52–53, 55; Francesco Roncalli, "La Tomba dei Giocolieri di Tarquinia: una proposta di lettura," in *Aeimnestos: Miscellanea di Studi per Mauro Cristofani*, vol. 1, ed. Benedetta Adembri (Florence: Centro Dì, 2006): 418, suggested that the woman was engaged in some kind of Dionysian divination.

47 Blanck and Weber-Lehmann, *Malerei der Etrusker in Zeichnungen*: 202, fig. 191.

Francesco Roncalli, discussing this scene, assumed that the woman might have died before ("la defunta") and that her feet were therefore on the water, as though she was already *en route* to the Isles of the Blessed, whereas in the other tombs we see her performing on a platform as if acting on a small stage.[48]

But let us return to the question of social status. From classical Greece we know that actors and jugglers travelled around, often organized in troupes with a director or manager who took care of the performances to be given on various occasions.[49] This is perhaps to be expected for late archaic and early classical Etruria as well. So the jugglers may have been dependent, but did they therefore have the status of slaves? If an acrobat such as the woman in the *Tomba dei Giocolieri* is displayed in such a prominent manner, there must have been something special about her and her companions.

It has been suggested that the jugglers belonged to the tomb owner's household, which was doubtless extensive. But the fact that this troupe travelled with a camel suggests otherwise. This is something extraordinarily exotic in the last quarter of the sixth century BC,[50] so that the figures depicted on the left-hand side wall rush up to the amazing, two-humped beast. Their reactions reveal that they have never seen such an animal: the boy on the far left stops in amazement, at a safe distance, while the second one hurries over curiously in large strides, carrying his curved staff (*lagobolon*) as a safety measure. The third, timidly hesitating, must be virtually pulled along by his pedagogue.[51] If the camel and its driver belonged to the household of the tomb owner, the reaction of the boys and their pedagogue on the left-hand wall would make no sense. In that case, the only way to explain the presence of the woman in the centre of the rear wall must be her fame and the size of her fee, increasing the prestige of the tomb's owner who by engaging her and her troupe demonstrated his economic prosperity. But even so, we are unable to learn more about the exact status of jugglers and performers.

As we have seen, there are again more questions than answers. Instead of solving problems, I wanted to look again at some of the wall paintings in order to show how open the spectrum of possible interpretations from a socio-historical point of view actually is. It is certainly much wider than the usual – in my opinion premature – iden-

48 Francesco Roncalli, "L'Aldilà: dall'idea al paesaggio," in *Il viaggio oltre la vita: Gli Etruschi e l'aldilà tra capolavori e realtà virtuale*, ed. Giuseppe Sassatelli and Alfonsina Russo Tagliente (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2014): 58–59; Francesco Roncalli, "Tra dimora e viaggio: La fascia policroma nelle tombe dipinte tarquiniesi di VI sec. a.C.," in *Kithon Lydios: studi di storia e archeologia con Giovanna Greco*, ed. Giovanna Greco et al. (Pozzuoli: Naus editoria, 2017): 570–71.

49 Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, "Zwerge," *in Handwörterbuch der antiken Sklaverei*, vol. 3, ed. Heinz Heinen (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2017): 3279–82.

50 Konrad Schauenburg, "Die Cameliden im Altertum," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 155 (1955/56): 64–67, pl. 1, fig. 2; pl. 2, fig. 1–2; pl. 3, fig. 1; J.M. Cook, "Old Smyrna: Ionic Black Figure and Other Sixth-Century Figured Wares," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 60 (1965): 123 no. 45, pl. 30.

51 Weber-Lehmann, "Die archaische Periode": 52–53.

tifications of actors, athletes, and big and small servants as slaves would suggest. Of course, I am aware that this is probably not an answer, not even a preliminary one. But based on this “interim” result, we can perhaps revisit the question of the status of the people depicted in Etruscan paintings, and this time more openly. In that case we would, of course, have to include especially the representations of “real” slaves, and contrast them with those figures whose status, in my opinion, cannot be clearly determined. For there is no question that slaves must have existed in ancient Etruria – and they might have been also depicted in the paintings: think, for example, of the people under the spectators’ stands in the *Tomba delle Bighe*.

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Fig. 5 Drawing by Gottfried Semper

Patrick Zeidler

(Not Only) Defeated and Enslaved. The Iconography of Captives in Etruscan Art and their Ambivalent Meaning

Abstract: *Bildliche Darstellungen von Gefangenen – erkennbar an der Fesselung bzw. dem Motiv der vor oder hinter dem Körper überkreuzten Arme – treten in Etrurien im Zeitraum vom späten 8. bis zum 1. Jh. v. Chr. in zahlreichen unterschiedlichen Objektgattungen auf und sind überwiegend im sepulkralen Kontext zu verorten. Das Ziel dieses Beitrags besteht darin, das äußerst heterogene Quellenmaterial erstmals in einem übergreifenden Zusammenhang vergleichend zu analysieren und dabei die unterschiedlichen Bedeutungskontexte der Bilder sowie die Ikonographie der Abhängigkeit zu untersuchen. Während Gefesselte in der Frühzeit meist sinnbildlich für Macht, sexuelle Potenz und einen hohen sozialen Status stehen, dominieren ab der Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. Darstellungen von Gefangenen, die in Szenen aus der (meist griechischen) Mythologie eingebettet sind. Letztere können bisweilen als moralische Handlungsempfehlung oder als Trost für die Angehörigen der Verstorbenen gedeutet werden. Davon abzugrenzen sind einige Objekte aus dem magisch-religiösen Kontext, bei denen das Fesselungsmotiv nicht in Verbindung zu Sklaverei oder Gefangenschaft steht, sondern eine metaphorische Bedeutung besitzt. Bei der sozialhistorischen Interpretation der Bildwerke sind die Intentionen der Auftraggeber sowie der Einfluss der griechischen Ikonographie und Mythologie zu berücksichtigen.*

1 Introduction

Slavery, captivity and other permanent and institutionalized forms of (strong) asymmetrical dependency were an integral part of Etruscan society.[1] Evidence from ancient Greek and Roman literary sources indicates that in Etruria, prisoners of war were often killed by the vanquishers. This is the case not only for some Greek warriors who were immolated after the Etruscan success in the naval battle of Alalia (ca. 540 BCE), but also for the 307 Roman captives who were sacrificed at Tarquinia in

1 On the newly developed theoretical concept of '(strong) asymmetrical dependency,' see Julia Winnebeck et al., "The Analytical Concept of Asymmetrical Dependency," *Journal of Global Slavery* 8, no. 1 (2023): 1–59. Concerning its application to archaeological research, see the remarks in the introduction to this volume.

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358 BCE.[2] However, due to the scarcity of written sources, it is not known if this was the common treatment for prisoners of war in Etruria or if there were other possibilities, too. The Roman historian Livy, for instance, reported that captives were often not killed, but either manumitted against payment or sold into slavery.[3] It is also probable that in Etruria, a lot of captives lost their personal freedom and were forced to labour just as slaves were.[4]

Pictorial representations of captives have appeared in Etruscan art in the period between the late eighth and the first centuries BCE, with more than fifty examples recorded. These images occur in a broad spectrum of object categories, which range from urns and sarcophagi to wall and vase paintings, up to relief plates, mirrors and figurines. Probably due to the above-mentioned thematic connection between captivity and death, most of these images derive from funerary contexts and were therefore part of the funerary ideology of the respective gens. While scenes of 'daily life' are very scarce, the majority of the depictions feature different narratives from (mostly Greek) mythology.

In the past, research on the iconography of captivity in Etruria had a strong focus on depictions of the Greek hero Achilleus sacrificing some wounded and defeated Trojan soldiers.[5] One of the main interests was to investigate how far the images had

2 The events after the battle of Alalia were reported by the Greek Historian Herodotus (1.167.1–3). For the sacrifice of Roman soldiers at Tarquinia, see Livy (7.15.9). A couple of years later, according to Livy (7.19.3) and Diodorus of Sicily (26.45.8–9), the Romans took revenge on this by decapitating 358 inhabitants of Tarquinia at the Forum Romanum in Rome. In addition, Callimachus (late fourth–third century BCE) mentioned in his *Aetia* (fragment 93 Pfeiffer) that Theodotus, the bravest man from the island of Lipari, had been sacrificed by Etruscans after being captured; for this, see Marie-Laurence Haack, "Apollon meurtrier en Etrurie," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 118 (2006): 241.

3 Livy 5.22.2; 10.31.3–4; 20.32.44–45; see also Karl-Wilhelm Welwei, *Sub corona vendere: Quellenkritische Studien zu Kriegsgefangenschaft und Sklaverei in Rom bis zum Ende des Hannibalkrieges* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000): 39.

4 Petra Amann, "Society, 580–450," in *Etruscology*, vol. 2, ed. Alessandro Naso (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017): 995. Another indication for this is provided by the Roman-Carthaginian treaties, in which, according to Polybius (3.22.1–13; 3.24.1–16), the enslavement of the inhabitants of conquered coastal settlements in Central Italy was mentioned. Similar arrangements can be assumed for the Etruscan-Carthaginian treaties, which were addressed by Aristotle (pol. 3.9.6; 1280a 38) without explaining further details; for this, see Barbara Scardigli, *I trattati romano-cartaginesi* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1991).

5 See, for example, Adriano Maggiani, ed., *Artigianato artistico: L'Etruria settentrionale interna in età ellenistica* (Milan: Electa, 1985): 208–12; Fausto Zevi, "Prigionieri Troiani," in *Studi in memoria di Lucia Guerrini: Vicino Oriente, Egeo – Grecia, Roma e mondo romano – Tradizione dell'antico e collezionismo di antichità*, ed. Maria G. Picozzi and Filippo Carinci, Studi Miscellanei 30 (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1996): 115–27; Dirk Steuernagel, *Menschenopfer und Mord am Altar: Griechische Mythen in etruskischen Gräbern*, Palilia 3 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998) 19–28; Massimiliano Di Fazio, "Sacrifici umani e uccisioni rituali nel mondo etrusco," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 9, no. 12, 3 (2001): 435–99; Bernard Andreae, "Die Tomba François:

been influenced by Greek mythology and if there had been some kind of (Greek) archetype that served as a role model for the Etruscan artists. In contrast to this, the scope of the study presented here includes a comprehensive overview of the pictorial evidence for different types of captives in Etruscan art.[6] As the title of this contribution implies, shackles are not only attested in the case of defeated and enslaved victims, but can also be found (with a different meaning and function) in other contexts (for example, curse figurines). Another aim of this contribution is to analyse the iconographic conventions which have been used in the images to depict the dependency and inferiority of the captives.[7] Last but not least, the socio-historical aspect of the topic – in particular, the question as to whether the images reflect, in a realistic way, the social status and the living conditions of captives in Etruria – will be considered.

Anspruch und historische Wirklichkeit eines etruskischen Familiengrabes," in *Die Etrusker: Luxus für das Jenseits: Bilder vom Diesseits – Bilder vom Tod*, ed. Bernard Andreae et al. (Munich: Hirmer, 2004): 176–207; Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, "Überlegungen zum Bildprogramm der Tomba François," in *Pittura parietale, pittura vascolare: Ricerche in corso tra Etruria e Campania: Atti della Giornata di studio, Santa Maria Capua Vetere, 28 maggio 2003*, ed. Fernando Gilotta (Naples: Arte Tipografica Editrice, 2005): 103–14; Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, "Das Trojaneropfer in Etrurien: Ein griechischer Mythos und seine Inszenierung in der etruskischen Sepulkralkunst," in *Inszenierung des Todes: Hinrichtung, Martyrium, Schändung*, ed. Linda-Marie Günther and Michael Oberweis (Berlin: Europäischer Universitätsverlag, 2006): 19–32; Massimiliano Di Fazio, "Nuove riflessioni su sacrifici umani e omicidi religiosi nel mondo etrusco," *Scienze dell'antichità. Storia, archeologia, antropologia* 23, no. 3 (2017): 449–64.

6 This manuscript is a shortened and modified version of a chapter from my PhD thesis, see Patrick Zeidler, "Sklaverei und soziale Ungleichheiten in Etrurien: Eine Studie zur Ikonographie der Abhängigkeit in der etruskischen Bildkunst" (PhD diss., University of Bonn, 2023, publication in preparation). For a short overview on this research project, see Patrick Zeidler, "Starke asymmetrische Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse und soziale Ungleichheiten in Etrurien: Ein ikonographischer Ansatz," in *Gesellschaft und Familie bei Etruskern und Italikern: Akten des 18. Treffens der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Etrusker & Italiker (Wien, Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 6.–7. März 2020)*, ed. Petra Amann et al., WBAGon 4 (Vienna: 2022): 149–67, https://doi.org/10.25365/wbagon-2022-4-7.

7 There are also depictions in Etruscan art where prisoners are not explicitly characterized by shackles and/or the motif of the crossed arms, but can only be identified through the context and knowledge of the corresponding (Greek) myths. For some examples, see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 28–36 (Iphigenia), 42–44 (Polyxena), 44–47 (Cassandra, Helena). On an Etruscan sarcophagus from Tuscania that is often (probably incorrectly) interpreted as depicting the sacrifice of two Gallic captives, see Reinhard Herbig, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage*, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 7 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1952): 48–49 no. 85, pl. 31; L. Bouke van der Meer, *Myths and More on Etruscan Stone Sarcophagi (c. 350–c. 200 BC)* (Louvain: Peeters, 2004): 54–57 fig. 27. Another example is the so-called Phersu game, which is documented on Late Archaic wall paintings in Tarquinia. These images depict a male person (probably a captive) who is forced to fight for his survival, presumably in the context of funerary rituals. On this, see Amalia Avramidou, "The Phersu Game Revisited," Etruscan Studies 12 (2009): 73–88.

2 The Iconography and Ambivalent Significance of Captives in Etruscan Art

2.1 Orientalizing Period

The earliest iconographic testimonies for prisoners of war in Etruria date back to the late eighth and early seventh centuries BCE, and they are strongly influenced by ideas of death, afterlife and sexual potency, which go back to the Villanovan period.[8] Two bronze figurines (Fig. 1), which were originally part of a vessel, were found near a circular tomb in the necropolis of Costiaccia Bambagini (Vetulonia).[9] One of them portrays a naked ithyphallic man whose arms have been replaced by two chains connected to the back of the neck of another naked but female figure standing in front of him. This can be interpreted as being the depiction of a warrior carrying off a woman as his booty after a successful raid.[10] Rather similar to this is a bronze pendant, which was found in a fossa grave in the necropolis of Poggio Gallinaro in Tarquinia; it shows a naked female figure wearing a chain around her neck.[11]

The famous bronze urn from the necropolis of Olmo Bello in Bisenzio can be considered as the earliest pictorial evidence of male captives.[12] On the vessel's shoulder, a naked ithyphallic figure who has his arms crossed in front of his body – a gesture that in later times developed into a common iconographic convention for the depiction of captivity – is standing in a circle together with several warriors armed with shields and spears. On the lid of the urn, numerous ithyphallic warriors are dancing in a circle around a demonic creature lying in chains.

Altogether, the use of ithyphallic figures (mainly warriors) and naked women with chains around their necks leads to the assumption that during the Orientalizing period, the depiction of captives was considered, amongst others, as a way to express the sexual potency of powerful male persons.

8 Petra Amann, *Die Etruskerin: Geschlechterverhältnis und Stellung der Frau im frühen Etrurien (9.–5. Jh. v. Chr.)* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000): 123.

9 On the figurines from Vetulonia, see Isidoro Falchi, *Vetulonia e la sua necropoli antichissima* (Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1891): 194–97 pl. 17, 33; Emeline Hill Richardson, "The Recurrent Geometric in the Sculpture of Central Italy and its Bearing on the Problem of the Origin of the Etruscans," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 27 (1962): 153–98, 172–73 pl. 7, 25.

10 Maurizio Martinelli, *Religione e riti in Etruria* (Rome: Arbor Sapientiae, 2017): 315.

11 On the figurine from Tarquinia, see Hill Richardson, "Sculpture of Central Italy": 172–73 pls. 3, 7; 3, 8; Luciana Aigner-Foresti, *Der Ostalpenraum und Italien: Ihre kulturellen Beziehungen im Spiegel der anthropomorphen Kleinplastik aus Bronze des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Florence: Olschki, 1980): 52–53 no. 12, pl. 12, 2.

12 On the urn from the necropolis of Olmo Bello in Bisenzio, see Aigner-Foresti, "anthropomorphe Kleinplastik": 48 no. 9, pls. 9, 3–5; Amann, *Die Etruskerin*: 123 pl. 9 e.

Fig. 1: Two bronze figurines from the surroundings of a circular tomb in the necropolis of Costiaccia Bambagini (Vetulonia): ithyphallic warrior leading an enchained woman.

2.2 Archaic Period

2.2.1 An Early Example of Captives in the Context of Greek Mythology

After a hiatus of about a century, the next pictorial evidence of captives in Etruscan art is provided by a fragment of a partially graded *nenfro* slab with relief-decorated metopes (Fig. 2), which was found together with two other pieces in tomb L in the Monterozzi necropolis of Tarquinia and can be dated back to the first quarter of the sixth century BCE.[13] The two preserved metopes on the left side of the fragment show:

13 See Stefano Bruni, *I lastroni a scala*, Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia 9 (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1986): 46–53 no. 13, pl. 17. Different hypotheses are being discussed in research for the function of those slabs: revetment plaques of the dromos in the area next to and above the tomb entrance, closure of the entrance to the chamber tomb, ceiling element of the grave

Fig. 2: *Nenfro* plate from Tarquinia, decorated in relief with a naked prisoner being led by a rope.

(above) a centaur moving toward the right, holding a branch in its right hand, and (below) a naked male person walking toward the right, with his hands bound by a rope behind his back. Behind him is another naked man holding the end of the rope with his right hand, while his left appears to be holding the prisoner's left arm. The interpretation of the scene is not entirely clear and its attribution to a particular

or part of stairs leading from outside to the top of the tumulus; on this, see Bruni, *I lastroni a scala*: 5–9 (with further bibliography).

Greek myth is very difficult to make as the image shows only a small section of a larger narrative and lacks specific attributes that could serve to identify the figures.[14]

The other four metopes are decorated with depictions of a panther, a winged human figure in the Archaic *Knielaufschema* pose, a billy goat and another centaur with a branch. The frieze running below the metopes shows a row of different figures – a standing naked person (the one on the left is not preserved due to spalling), a griffin, a horse with a naked male rider and a sphinx; these figures are mirrored symmetrically on each side from the middle of the frieze.

Thus, the picture program adopts different figures from Greek mythology and at the same time shows clear influences from Corinthian art.[15] It is the first time that the motif of a prisoner bound by a rope, which is explicitly depicted within the image, emerges in Etruscan art. Depictions of prisoners in the context of narratives taken from Greek mythology only reappear during the period from the fourth to the first century BCE.

2.2.2 Prisoners of War as a Prestigious Loot

Another pictorial representation of captives in Archaic Etruscan art can be found on the relief of a limestone sarcophagus (Fig. 3 a–b) from a workshop in Chiusi, which dates from around 510–500 BCE.[16] The sarcophagus derives from a warrior's chamber tomb in the necropolis of Sperandio in Perugia and contained several weapons. The relief on the front side shows what is probably the triumphal procession of warriors returning from a successful raid, and it is an isolated example of a depiction of high-ranking prisoners of war being carried away as a prestigious loot.[17] However, whether the image is to be understood as a scene from 'daily life' or as the representation of a local myth is still an open and debated question.[18] The captives are shown as bearded

14 For a summary of the different interpretations – Herakles and Cacus (Mengarelli), capture of Melampus by Iphiklos (von Brunn), Herakles and the bound herold of Erginos (Pottier), Apollo and the captured Hermes (Yalouris) – and references to the relevant literature, see Ingrid Krauskopf, *Der thebanische Sagenkreis und andere griechische Sagen in der etruskischen Kunst*, Schriften zur antiken Mythologie 2 (Mainz: Zabern, 1974): 21.

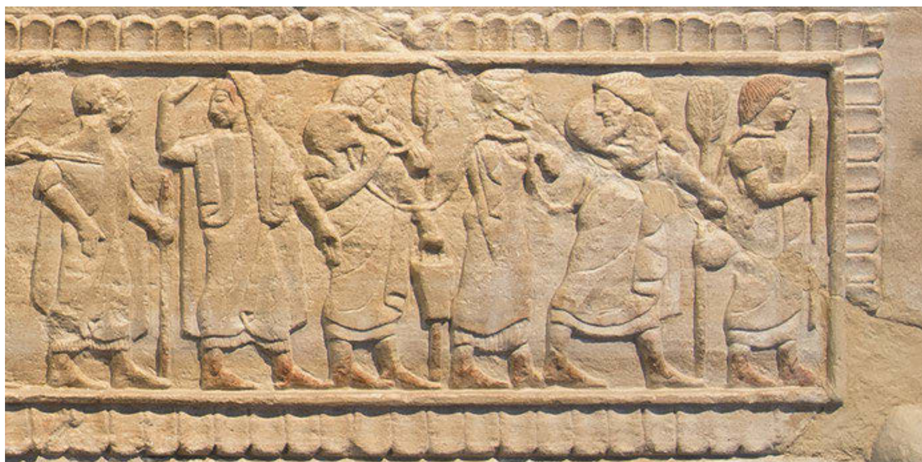
15 Bruni, *I lastroni a scala*: 52.

16 On the Sperandio sarcophagus, see Jean-René Jannot, *Les reliefs archaiques de Chiusi* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1984): 42–44, 284 fig. 155–159; Armando Cherici, "Per una lettura del sarcofago dello Sperandio," *Xenia antiqua* 2 (1993): 13–22 fig. 1–4.

17 This basic and very convincing interpretation goes back to George Dennis, but it has also recently been advocated by Armando Cherici.

18 There are many different interpretations, for example, as a *ver sacrum* (Giuseppe Melchiorri), as a festive procession in a funeral context (Heinrich Brunn), as a departure scene, which is thematically connected to the colonization of *Etruria padana* by some heroic persons from Perugia (Mario Torelli; Giovanni Colonna), or as the triumphal return of a member of Perugia's aristocracy from a successful

(a)



(b)

Fig. 3 a–b: Relief of limestone sarcophagus from the necropolis of Sperandio (Perugia): warriors returning from a successful raid with enchained captives of high rank and other kinds of prey (cattle, furniture, vessels).

raid in Umbrian territory (Francesco Roncalli). For a summary of the different hypotheses and the corresponding bibliography, see Cherici, "sarcofago dello Sperandio": 13; Petra Amann, *Die antiken Umbrer zwischen Tiber und Apennin unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Einflüsse aus Etrurien* (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2011): 151, 416.

and dressed in long garments and are wearing neck rings connected with iron chains. They are carrying vessels and pieces of furniture and appear next to some warriors as well as a herd of stolen cattle and goats and two donkeys loaded with prey. The captives' bearded appearance is rather untypical for late Archaic reliefs from Chiusi, which indicates that they might represent prisoners of war with a high social status.[19]

The two narrow sides of the sarcophagus are decorated with banquet scenes. Each of them shows three figures resting on clines, who are attended to by a small and naked male person with short hair, holding a jug in the right hand and a sieve or another object in the left. The choice of the topics of war and banquet for the pictorial decoration of the sarcophagus, as well as the weapons found within the sepulture, shows that the deceased wanted to portray himself as militarily successful and wealthy.[20] The depiction of domestic servants and military followers, and the display of prey, cattle and prisoners were intended to increase the prestige of the deceased and emphasize his position of power.

2.3 Late Classical and Hellenistic Period (Fourth–First Century BCE)

After a hiatus in the fifth century BCE, when no depiction of bound captives is known to have emerged in Etruscan art, the motif becomes relatively popular in the period from the fourth to the first century BCE. Most of these images do not show scenes from 'daily life', but are rather embedded in mythological narratives, which are often of Greek origin.

2.3.1 The Liberation of Caelius Vibenna by Mastarna

Probably some of the best-known examples are the wall paintings from the Tomba François in Vulci, which date back to 330–310 BCE.[21] One of the paintings (Fig. 4 a–b)

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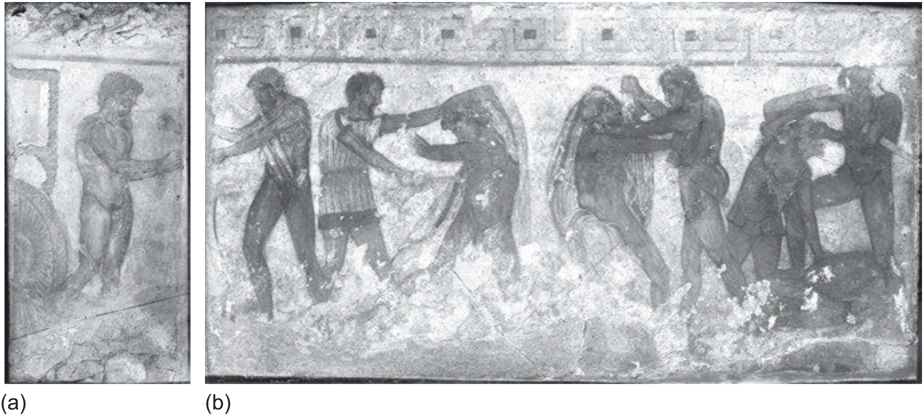
19 Cherici, "sarcofago dello Sperandio": 14.

20 Cherici, "sarcofago dello Sperandio": 16; Tina Mitterlechner, *Das Bankett: Ein Bildmotiv zwischen Diesseits und Jenseits im vorrömischen Italien (8.–2./1. Jh. v. Chr.)*, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 2 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2020): 118.

21 On the Tomba François, see Filippo Coarelli, "Le pitture della Tomba François a Vulci: Una proposta di lettura," *Dialoghi di archeologia* 1/2 (1983): 43–69; Francesco Buranelli, *La tomba François di Vulci* (Rome: Quasar, 1987); Dirk Steuernagel, "Der Freskenzyklus der Tomba François: Versuch einer Deutung," *Das Altertum* 44 (1998): 31–46; Andreae, "Tomba François"; Francesco Buranelli, "Die Kopien des Gemäldezyklus der Tomba François von Carlo Ruspi im Museo Gregoriano Etrusco des Vatikan," in *Die Etrusker: Luxus für das Jenseits: Bilder vom Diesseits – Bilder vom Tod*, ed. Bernard Andreae et al. (Munich: Hirmer, 2004): 168–75. On the inscriptions, see ET^2 Vc 7.8–35. The tomb walls are decorated with large-scale figurative paintings, predominantly depicting mythological scenes: Ajax the



(a) (b)

Fig. 4 a–b: Tomba François, Vulci, wall painting: liberation of the captured Caelius Vibenna by Mastarna.

shows a naked, bearded man with his hands tied in front of his body; he is denominated epigraphically as *Caile Vipina* (Caelius Vibenna) from Vulci. The person is being freed from his shackles by another naked, bearded man, who bears the inscription *Macstrna* (Mastarna) and can therefore be identified as Servius Tullius, one of the mythological kings of early Rome.[22] The rest of the frieze depicts a battle scene in which warriors, apparently from Vulci, kill their unarmed enemies in a surprise attack; according to the inscriptions, those enemies come from Volsinii, Sovana and Rome.[23]

The paintings obviously refer to the struggles for supremacy in Rome, which are supposed to have taken place in the middle of the sixth century BCE between the later Roman king Servius Tullius, supported by the brothers Vibenna from Vulci, and the previously dominant Tarquinians and their Etruscan allies.[24] The choice of this topic for the decoration of a family tomb was presumably intended to enhance the tradition and status of the grave owner's gens.

Lesser threatening Cassandra; the fight between the two brothers Eteocles and Polynices; the threat of Gneve Tarchunies Rumach (from Rome) by the Etruscan Marce Camitlnas; the wise men Nestor and Phoenix as well as the tomb founder Vel Saties with his son Arnza; see Andreae, "Tomba François": 188–203.

22 The equation of Mastarna to Servius Tullius is based on a speech of the Roman emperor Claudius, which is fragmentarily known through two bronze plaques from Lyon (CIL XIII 1668 = ILS 212); on this, see Vittorio E. Vernole, *Servius Tullius* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2002): 167–69. Another indirect record of the speech can be found in the work of Tacitus (Tac. ann. 2.23–25); see Andreae, "Tomba François": 203–5.

23 Stephan Steingräber, ed., *Etruskische Wandmalerei* (Stuttgart: Belser, 1985): 386. The translation of the term *plsaxs* into *Falerii* is not certain; see Andreae, "Tomba François": 197–98.

24 Steingräber, *Wandmalerei*: 386.

2.3.2 The Sacrifice of Trojan Prisoners by Achilleus

The paintings on the opposite wall of the Tomba François show the sacrifice of Trojan prisoners. According to the description in Homer's Iliad, the Trojans were captured along the river Xanthos by the Greek hero Achilleus in order to take revenge on the death of his comrade Patroclus.[25] In the centre of the frieze, we can see the youthful, beardless Achilleus wearing a short chiton, a cuirass and greaves. His upper body is bent slightly forward, and his left hand is holding a Trojan prisoner by the hair while his right is thrusting the sword into the prisoner's carotid artery. The beardless[26] and naked Trojan is sitting on the ground and is bleeding from the wounds on his leg and neck.[27] In the background stands the Etruscan underworld demon Charun. Next to him are two Greek warriors. Each of them is leading a naked, beardless prisoner, who is bleeding from a wound on his leg and whose hands are tied behind his back. The left part of the frieze shows Agamemnon, the shadow of Patroclus – a young male person with a blue coat and a white bandage covering the wound on the upper part of his body[28] – as well as the Etruscan death demon Vanth, who is observing the sacrifice.

The reason for depicting not only the sacrifice of Trojan prisoners, whom the Romans regarded as their mythological ancestors, but also the liberation of Caelius Vibenna by Mastarna within the same tomb has often been claimed to be anti-Roman propaganda as a result of the increase in military conflicts between Rome and Etruria in the fourth and third centuries BCE.[29] Following other opinions, the liberation scene should not be understood as a historical picture connected to specific incidences, but as a mythological narrative that refers to the Trojan sacrifice and other episodes from

25 Hom. Il. 21.26–32; 23.22–23; 23.114–176.

26 The copies of the frieze made by Carlo Ruspi mistakenly show the Trojan captive with a beard; on this, see Buranelli, "Tomba François": 169.

27 The injuries are probably meant to prevent the captives from escaping or to mark them as persons doomed to die; see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 20 no. 54. The motif of the bleeding wound on the thigh is also known from Paestum's tomb paintings; on this, see Bernard Andreae, "Katalog der Gräber und Grabbeigaben aus dem Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Paestum," in *Malerei für die Ewigkeit: Die Gräber von Paestum*, ed. Bernard Andreae (Munich: Hirmer, 2007): 60–75 with figs.

28 The iconographic convention of depicting deceased persons with mortal wounds was introduced in Etruscan art in the fourth century BCE, probably due to the influences of Apulian red-figure vase painting; see Larissa Bonfante and Nancy Th. de Grummond, "Wounded Souls: Etruscan Ghosts and Michelangelo's 'Slaves'," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 17/18 (1989): 103.

29 See Coarelli, "Tomba François": 55–57, 68–69; Andreae, "Tomba François": 196. There is also the attempt to connect the emergence of the motif with literary evidence by *Livy* (7.5.10), which indicated that in 358 BCE, several Roman prisoners of war were sacrificed at the forum of Tarquinia. For a critical assessment of this approach, see Weber-Lehmann, "Tomba François": 108; Weber-Lehmann, "Trojaneropfer": 25–26.

Greek mythology, which are continued with a local legend.[30] However, a sharp distinction between myth and history is not possible in such cases.

The wall paintings in the Tomba François are part of a series of monuments depicting the sacrifice of the Trojans by Achilleus. The motif emerged in the middle of the fourth century BCE, rather simultaneously in Etruria,[31] Latium,[32] the Faliscan

30 Weber-Lehmann, "Tomba François": 108; Weber-Lehmann, "Trojaneropfer": 25–26. For comparisons between the different friezes in the Tomba François, see also Francesco Roncalli, "Caile vipinas in vinculis: Una uccisione rituale mancata?" *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 20 (Orvieto: Quasar, 2013): 339–42.

31 Apart from the wall paintings in the Tomba François, another complete depiction of the scene is represented on the painted marble sarcophagus of Laris Part(i)unus (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia, inv. RC 9871, 350–330 BCE; see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 19 pl. 2, 1–3). A *peperino* sarcophagus from Torre San Severo (Museo Claudio Faina di Orvieto, second half of the fourth century BCE; see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 19 pl. 1, 2–3; 3, 2–4) shows the sacrifice of the Trojans in front of a cube-shaped tomb, which is typical for the funerary architecture of the nearby city of Orvieto. At the feet of Achilleus, one deceased captive is lying on the ground with his intestines bursting out of his stomach. A similar motif with two naked, dead Trojans lying on the ground can be found on an ash urn from Volterra (Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, inv. 202, late third or early second century BCE; see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 19 pl. 3, 1, and here, Fig. 5). However, there are also some representations where the sacrifice of the Trojans by Achilleus is not depicted in a complete version, but only in small excerpts, which are slightly modified and in some cases also included in various other mythological scenes. Examples for this are a *nenfro* sarcophagus from the Tomba delle Bighe in Tarquinia (British Museum, London, inv. D 21, ca. 300 BCE; see Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: 36–37 no. 63, pl. 29), a limestone sarcophagus from Massa Martana (mured into the church of S. Maria, Pantano, second century BCE; see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 22 no. 6; Monika Verzár, "Archäologische Zeugnisse aus Umbrien," in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien: Kolloquium in Göttingen vom 5. bis 9. Juni 1974*, ed. Paul Zanker [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1976]: 137 fig. 9) and a red-figure calyx crater from Vulci (Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, inv. 920, last quarter of the fourth century BCE; see John D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947]: 136 pl. 31, 1–2).

32 In the Latin city of Praeneste, two bronze *ciste* were found, which can be dated to the second half of the fourth century BCE. The so–called *Cista Révil* (British Museum, London, inv. 59 8–16 1; see Gabriella Bordenache Battaglia, *Corpus delle ciste Prenestine*, vol. 1 [Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1979]: 112–15 no. 29, pls. 135–39) comprises a funeral pyre on which weapons and military equipment are laid out. Achilleus cut his hair short as a symbol of mourning. Six Trojans (two of them with beards) are waiting for their fate: three are sitting on the ground, one is tied to a tree, two are being led by Greek warriors by a rope. The so-called *Cista Napoléon* (Louvre, Paris, inv. 1663) was, in the past, sometimes suspected of being a falsification due to the existence of several modern revisions of the object (addition of missing parts and some new engravings). However, an invoice from 1861 proves that these traces are the result of a modern restoration and that the object itself is antique; on this, see Gabriella Bordenache Battaglia and Adriana Emiliozzi, *Corpus delle ciste Prenestine*, vol. 1, 2 (Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1990): 181–86 no. 59, pls. 257–66; Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 19 no. 50. The frieze does not depict the sacrifice itself, but a scene, which takes place at a slightly earlier moment and shows Achilleus sitting, while two Trojan captives, guarded by several Greek warriors, are awaiting their fate. A bronze *cista* at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (inv. 93. 1439 a–b), which is decorated with a relatively mazy version of the sacrifice of the Trojans by Achilleus, is suspected by many researchers to be a falsification; on this, see Bordenache Battaglia, *ciste*

area[33] and southern Italy;[34] this led to the establishing of an iconographic tradition that remained prevalent in Etruria until about 200 BCE. The centre of all complete depictions is the Greek hero Achilleus, who is about to kill a captured Trojan sitting on the ground in front of him. Depending on the dimensions of the object and the availability of space, several other figures – like Patroclus and Agamemnon, or groups of Trojan prisoners guarded by Greek warriors – are also depicted. The Trojan captives are all portrayed naked, sitting or standing, as they await their fate. Prisoners that have already been killed appear in only two Etruscan representations (see, for example, Fig. 5).

The inspiration for the topic as well as some iconographic conventions – such as the depiction of the souls of the deceased as wearing bandages, the representation of the dead with an open abdominal cavity or injured persons with heavily bleeding wounds – can be traced back to influences from Greek visual art. In contrast, the inclusion of the underworld demons Charun and Vanth can be regarded as a genuine Etruscan creation. Funeral pyres, such as the ones portrayed on the Praenestinian *cista* in the British Museum and on the Apulian red-figure volute crater from Canosa, do not appear in the Etruscan depictions. In two cases, due to local influences, the pyre was replaced by a cube-shaped tomb or a tumulus. Consequently, the Etruscan images cannot be seen as exact copies of a hypothetical (Greek?) archetype, but have to be regarded as an adaption of the subject to Etruscan preferences and customs.[35]

The emergence and dissemination of the motif in Central Italy from the middle of the fourth century BCE onwards can probably be explained by the increase in military

Prenestine: 66–68 no. 10, pls. 74–77; Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 19 no. 15. In contrast to this, Mary B. Comstock and Cornelius Vermeule regard the object as authentic, see Mary B. Comstock and Cornelius C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1971): 376 fig. 523.

33 On a Faliscan red-figure stamnos from Sovana (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. V. I 5825; Marcioni painter; ca. 340 BCE), the funeral pyre for Patroclus is replaced by a tomb pillar and a tumulus. The Trojan killed by Achilleus is bearded. On this, see Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*: 87–92 pl. 20, 2; Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, "Die Tomba François: Anspruch und historische Wirklichkeit eines etruskischen Familiengrabes: Katalogtexte," in *Die Etrusker: Luxus für das Jenseits: Bilder vom Diesseits – Bilder vom Tod*, ed. Bernard Andreae, Andreas Hoffmann and Cornelia Weber-Lehmann (Munich: Hirmer, 2004): 208 cat. no. II/45, figs. on the left and in the middle.

34 On an Apulian red-figure volute crater from Canosa (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. H 3254; Darius painter, 340/330 BCE), see Arthur D. Trendall and Alexander Cambitoglou, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* 2: *Late Apulian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982): 495 no. 39; Weber-Lehmann, "Die Tomba François: Anspruch und historische Wirklichkeit eines etruskischen Familiengrabes: Katalogtexte": 208–9 cat. no. 2/46. The focus is on a pyre, on which Patroclus' weapons and cuirass are laid out. The Trojan prisoners are not depicted naked, but are characterized as strange barbarians by their colorful oriental costumes. The Trojan victim in the central group receives the fatal sword thrust on his knees (and not sitting or standing like in the Etruscan images).

35 A large-sized Greek panel painting or some kind of Etruscan 'national monument' has been proposed to be the hypothetical archetype for Etruscan representations of the sacrifice of the Trojans by Achilleus; on this, see Maggiani, *Artigianato artistico*: 211; Francesco Roncalli, "La decorazione pittorica," in *La tomba François di Vulci*, ed. Francesco Buranelli (Rome: Quasar, 1987): 86–89; Andreae,

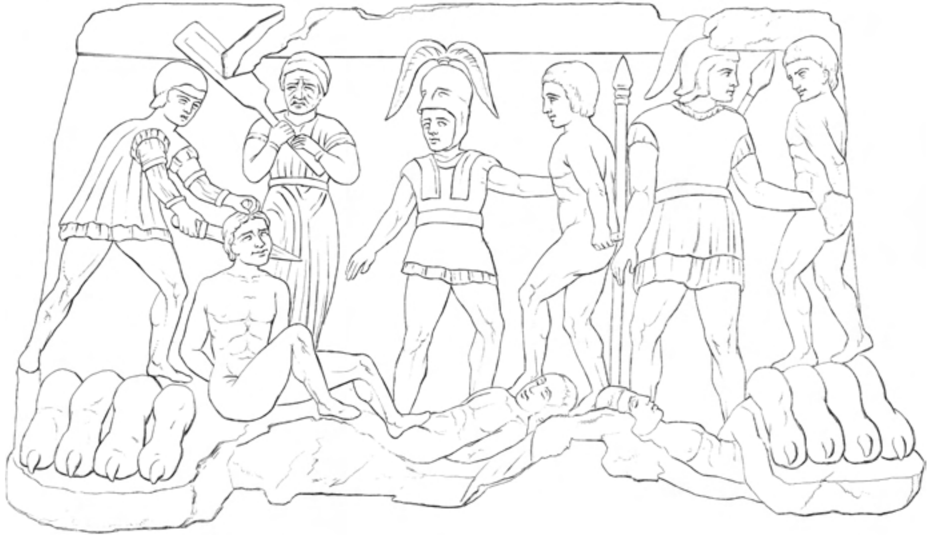


Fig. 5: Relief of an alabaster urn from Volterra: sacrifice of Trojan prisoners by Achilleus, the bodies of two killed captives are lying on the ground.

conflicts between Rome and Etruria, the common interest in depicting topics connected to death (such as demons or the journey into the underworld) and the popularity that episodes from the Trojan legend generally had during this time. The latter hypothesis is supported by the observation that pictorial representations of the sacrifice of Trojan captives are often combined with other scenes from Trojan mythology, such as the threat of Cassandra by Ajax the Lesser, the two wise men Nestor and Phoenix, the sacrifice of Polyxena, Odysseus and Circe as well as the Amazonomachy.[36]

2.3.3 Marsyas Bound to a Tree

Aside from the depictions of Trojan prisoners of war, there are numerous other examples in Etruscan art where captives are portrayed in different episodes of Greek mythology. One theme, which is documented in Etruscan and also Praenestinian art from the fourth to the first century BCE, shows Marsyas in the role of a prisoner after losing his musical duel against the god Apollo. The earliest example is a bronze thymiaterion in New York, which can be dated to the late fourth or early third century BCE and has a manifold figurative decoration, including a naked Marsyas, who is

"Tomba François": 196. For a critical perspective on these proposals, see Weber-Lehmann, "Tomba François": 108.

36 See Weber-Lehmann, "Tomba François": 107.

shown to be youthful and beardless and can only be recognized as a Silenus by the horns on his head.[37] The figure is wearing boots, a cloak is slung over one shoulder, the head is turned sharply to the right and the hands are tied behind the back. The stand of the thymiaterion is designed in the shape of a tree trunk with a snake coiled around it. Several flutes hang about Marsyas. The Etruscan inscription *suthina* indicates that the object was used as a grave good.[38]

A rather late iconographic evidence for the captured Marsyas can be seen on a travertine urn found in Perugia (Fig. 6).[39] It bears a Latin inscription and can be dated to the first half of the first century BCE.[40] The centre of the relief shows the naked, beardless Marsyas sitting on a rock in front of a tree, with his arms crossed behind his back. Behind him stands a young man with a short garment, probably Apollo, who is holding the captive with his right hand. To the left of Marsyas, a person wearing a long chiton and a himation drawn over the head is holding the left hand in front of the face in a gesture of mourning. Beside this person, relatively poorly preserved, there is a man with a Phrygian (?) cap sitting on the ground. With his outstretched hands, he is sharpening a knife and thus seems to be preparing to peel off Marsyas' skin.

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37 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 1972.118.87; see Laura Ambrosini, *Thymiateria etruschi in bronzo di età tardo classica, alto e medio ellenistica* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2002): 276 no. 319; 437 fig. 13, pl. 85, 319; Richard D. De Puma, *Etruscan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Yale University Press, 2013): 22 fig. 24.4.

38 Ambrosini, *Thymiateria etruschi:* 433.

39 The urn was found in Perugia (S. Maria Maddalena, Strada di Montevile) and derives from the Ipogeo dei Velchei. Today, it is located in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, inv. 54; see Matilde Cante et al., *Perugia: Museo Archeologico Nazionale Dell'Umbria: Chiostro maggiore, Lapidario* (Perugia: Volumnia, 2004): 31 fig. 54. A partially damaged urn in Chiusi (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Chiusi) from the second century BCE might provide further evidence. It shows a naked, bearded man seated at the foot of a tree or rock, with his hands tied behind his back. In front of him are a large crater and a male figure, probably a satyr, pointing in the direction of the prisoner with his outstretched left arm. However, the interpretation is not clear as the captive was identified by Gustav Körte as Amykos, but by L. Marchese as Marsyas; see Gustav Körte, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Reimer, 1916): 241–42; L. Marchese, "Il mito di Àmico nell'arte figurate: Fortuna di un mito greco nell'arte etrusca," *Studi Etruschi* 18 (1944): 58, 60 no. 21; Guntram Beckel, "Amykos," in *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, vol. 1, ed. L. Kahil (Zurich: Artemis, 1981): 741 no. 18. Due to the crater, the latter interpretation seems to be more plausible, even though the image does not have many iconographical parallels to other depictions of the captured Marsyas and could therefore also represent another mythological figure; on this, see Anne Weis, "The Motif of the Adligatus and Tree: A Study in the Sources of Pre-Roman Iconography," *American Journal of Archaeology* 86, no. 1 (1982): 36 no. 33.

40 On the inscription, see Giulio Buonamici, "Rivista di epigrafia etrusca," *Studi Etruschi* 8 (1934): 355 no. f.

Fig. 6: Relief of a travertine urn from the Ipogeo dei Velchei near Perugia: Marsyas sitting on a rock in front of a tree, with his arms crossed behind his back.

From the field of Praenestinian art, several bronze mirrors depicting the captured Marsyas have been preserved.[41] One of them is located in the Villa Giulia in Rome and can be dated to the third quarter of the fourth century BCE.[42] A naked male figure – clearly

41 There is also a Praenestinian bronze mirror from Monterotondo (current repository not known, formerly part of the collection *Casali*, 400–350 BCE), see Eduard Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, vol. 4 (Rome: Edizioni Ardita, 1866): 28–29 pl. 295; Weis, "Adligatus and Tree": 35 no. 18. Another example is in Rome (Museo Nazionale Romano, 325–300 BCE), see Mariella Maxia, "Gli specchi etruschi e romani del Museo Nazionale Romano," in *Roma repubblicana fra il 509 e il 270 a.C.*, ed. Lucrezia Campus et al. (Rome: Quasar, 1982): 130–31 no. 51, pl. 51, 1.

42 Villa Giulia, Rome, inv. 12983, 350–325 BCE; see Maria P. Baglione and Fernando Gilotta, eds., *Corpus speculorum Etruscorum, Italia* 6: *Roma – Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia*, vol. 1 (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2007): 61–64 no. 20, pls. 20 a–b.

recognizable as a Silenus owing to his lengthy beard, long and mazy hair, bald head, elongated and pointed ears and his tail – is sitting on a small elevation with his hands tied in front of his body. His arms as well as his sight are directed toward Apollo, who is standing in front of him and is holding a large knife in his right hand. At the latter's feet sits a small satyr with long locks of hair and a tail. At Marsyas' feet lie a flute and the straps used to attach an aulos to the head (*phorbeia*), which, like the oversized kithara depicted next to Apollo, have to be understood as a reference to the preceding events. To the right of Marsyas stands a luxuriously dressed and adorned female figure, which can probably be interpreted as being Minerva or a muse.[43]

In general, the captured Marsyas is shown naked or wearing only a cloak and is usually tied to a tree trunk, either sitting or standing, with his upper body bent slightly forward and his arms crossed behind his back. Etruscan images normally depict Marsyas as being youthful and beardless, and they do not express his character as a Silenus at all or only do so in a very restrained way. In contrast to this, Praenestinian objects represent Marsyas with a long beard and long hair and clearly characterize him as a Silenus with a tail or, more rarely, a bald head and long, pointed ears. Marsyas' dependency and inferiority is expressed in the images through his nudity, the motif of his arms crossed behind his back as well as the depiction of Apollo or the Scythian threatening him with a knife. The depiction of Marsyas in the role of a prisoner, who faces a horrible death by being skinned alive, clearly indicates the punishment that awaits those persons who possess the hubris to challenge a deity.

2.3.4 Andromeda Chained to the Rock Face

A scene from Greek mythology depicting Andromeda, the princess of Aethiopia, bound to a rock can be found on three alabaster urns from Volterra, which date back to the second half of the second century BCE.[44] Apart from the aforementioned bronze figurines from the Orientalizing period, these representations are the only known evidence for enchained female captives in Etruscan pictorial art.[45] Remarkably, the

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43 Baglione and Gilotta, *Villa Giulia*: 62.

44 One of them is still in Volterra (Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, inv. 330; see Gustav Körte, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche*, vol. 2, 1 [Rome: Reimer, 1890]: 102 pl. 39, 1; Gabriele Cateni et al., *Urne volterrane* 2: *Il Museo Guarnacci: Parte seconda*, *Corpus delle urne etrusche di età ellenistica*, vol. 2, 2 [Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1986]: 20–21 no. 15, fig. above right). The other two urns are now located in Florence – Palazzo Aldobrandini: Körte, *rilievi 2, 1*: 103 pl. 39, 2; Mauro Cristofani et al., eds., *Urne volterrane* 1. *I complessi tombali*, *Corpus delle urne etrusche di età ellenistica*, vol. 1 (Florence: Centro Di, 1975): 30–31 no. 11, fig. below left; Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 78486: Körte, *rilievi 2, 1*: 103 no. 1 a; Cristofani et al., *Urne volterrane*: 92–93 no. 128, fig. below left.

45 On a Faliscan pedimental sculpture (Villa Giulia, Rome, inv. 26776) from Falerii Veteres (today Civita Castellana), which dates back to the third century BCE, see Arvid Andrén, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*, *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Rom: Opuscula archaeologica* 6

motif does not appear to have been used in a gender-specific manner, as two of the urns bear male name inscriptions and all of the lids are decorated with plastic male figures.[46] The urn reliefs (see Fig. 7 as an example) show Andromeda as a woman of high rank with rich clothing (long and belted chiton, chlamys, boots) and jewellery (diadem or torque). She is standing or sitting within a cave, and her arms are chained by iron clamps to the rock face. To the right, we can see the female Etruscan death demon Vanth and a seated male person wearing a cloak, probably Cepheus, the father of Andromeda.[47] From below, *ketos*, a sea monster, is approaching. The left part of the frieze contains the Greek hero Perseus, who is naked apart from a cloak and winged shoes and is holding the severed head of Medusa in his hands as well as a sword or a vessel attached to a strap.

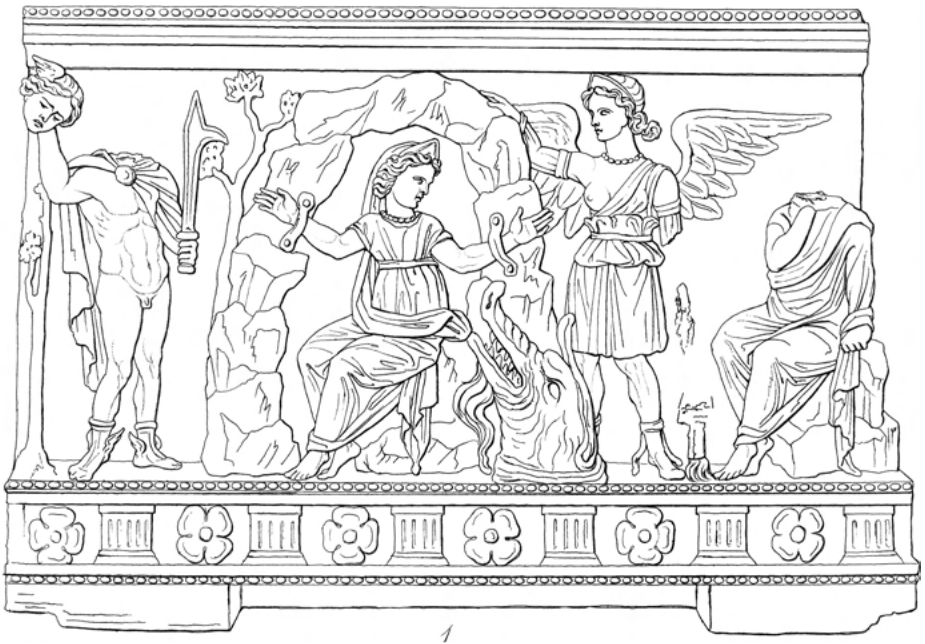

Fig. 7: Relief of an alabaster urn from Volterra: Andromeda sitting in a cave with her arms chained to the rock face.

(Lund: Gleerup, 1940): 147–48 pl. 56, 184; L. Bouke van der Meer, "Etruscan Urns from Volterra: Studies on Mythological Representations," vol. 1–2 (PhD diss., University of Groningen, 1978): 28. The figure is seated, wearing only a torque and a cloak, while her arms are chained to the rock face with iron clamps.

46 On the inscriptions, see CIE 65 = ET^2 Vt 1.101; CIE 154.

47 Cateni et al., *Urne volterrane*: 20.

Its differences from the images of captives discussed so far are extremely striking as Andromeda is not presented as an inferior, helpless victim doomed to die, but as a person of high social status who only temporarily fell into captivity due to adverse circumstances. In contrast to other cases like the Trojans or Marsyas, who have to face a violent death, Andromeda's situation is threatening but not hopeless, as Perseus is about to kill the creature.

2.3.5 The (Attempted) Sacrifice of Orestes and Pylades

Another example from the context of Greek mythology that depicts prisoners as having a high social rank and not as inferior victims in a hopeless situation contains the two companions Orestes and Pylades. The two were captured after their arrival on the island of Tauris and were supposed to be sacrificed to the goddess Artemis. Only due to the intervention of Iphigenia were they able to escape. The myth is represented on a large series of urns from Volterra, which dates back to the period from the second quarter of the second century to the first quarter of the first century BCE (see, for example, Fig. 8).[48] An *aedicula*, which locates the event in a sacred space, is usually placed at the centre of the relief. In some cases, the *aedicula* contains an *omphalos* with a snake weaving around it, which probably has an eschatological meaning.[49] There is a group of two persons on each side. The first person is a beardless youth, with his body turned to the left but his head looking to the right. He is sitting on a *diphros* and wearing a chiton, a chlamys held together by a fibula as well as boots. His hands are tied together in front of the body and are resting on his lap, while his feet are slightly raised on a rock. The second person, who can be identified as a priestess, is wearing a long, belted chiton with a flap (*kolpos*) and often also a himation. She is holding a phiale with her right hand over the head of the prisoner and, in the course of a libation, is pouring wine or another liquid from it, while the other hand is holding a sword with a scabbard.

The two comrades, who cannot be distinguished from each other in the images, are clearly characterized as prisoners by means of the motif of the arms crossed in front of the body. However, in comparison to other types of captives, like the Trojans or Marsyas, they are not devalued by negatively connoted iconographic features such as nudity, bleeding wounds, a reduced body size or the motif of sitting on the ground. Instead, the two youths are richly clothed, they are seated on a *diphros* instead of a simple stool and they are shown with a significantly larger body size than the two priestesses, who are actually in a position of superior power. Here, too, we can see prisoners of high rank who only temporarily fell into captivity due to unfortunate cir-

48 The series from Volterra is attested by 17 examples, see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 40. In addition, there are two smaller and slightly earlier series of urns coming from Chiusi, which show the myth in a different way; on this, see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 37–40.
49 Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 40.

Fig. 8: Relief of an alabaster urn from Volterra: Orestes and Pylades sitting on a *diphros*, with their hands tied together in front of their bodies.

cumstances and do not have much in common with the naked, wounded and humiliated Trojan captives.

2.3.6 Shackles in Religious and Magical Contexts

Finally, it has to be considered that shackles do not only appear in the context of captivity in the common sense, but they can also be charged with a metaphorical magical or religious meaning. A well-known example for this are two lead figurines from Sovana (Fig. 9 a–d), which were found at the entrance of an Archaic chamber tomb and can be dated from 330 to 270 BCE.[50] They depict a couple, with each person being naked and with their arms crossed behind their backs. Both figurines bear name in-

50 Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence, see Lucio Mariani, "Osservazioni intorno alle statuette plumbee sovanesi," *Ausonia* 4 (1910): 39–47; Bartolomeo Nogara, "Due statuette etrusche di piombo trovate recentemente a Sovana," *Ausonia* 4 (1910): 31–35 fig. 1–4; Riccardo Massarelli, "Le defixiones nel mondo etrusco," in *Forme e strutture della religione nell'Italia mediana antica: 3. Convegno internazionale dell'Istituto di ricerche e documentazione sugli antichi Umbri, 21–25 settembre 2011, Perugia – Gubbio*, ed. Augusto Ancillotti et al. (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2016): 526–27 fig. 13–18.

scriptions on the right leg.[51] Due to the specific type of material, the find context and the name inscriptions, these objects have to be seen in the context of *defixiones*.[52] In such cursing practices, the concerned persons are depicted plastically in the form of a doll.[53] As the two figurines represent a man and a woman, a love curse can be supposed.[54] The deposition of the two figurines in a funerary context may have even included a magical intent to kill.[55] Thus, the motif of the crossed arms behind the back, which is a common iconographic convention indicating captivity, has in this case a magical denotation and probably represents, in a metaphorical way, in how far the free will of the cursed person is constrained.[56]

A rather similar case can be found in a small series of relatively simple terracotta urns from Chiusi dating back to the second century BCE.[57] Two of the reliefs show a naked man whose hands are tied behind his back and who is standing in front of a monumental gate, which probably represents the entrance to the underworld (Fig. 10). Another person wearing a short chiton is holding the captive's arm or is leading him with a rope.[58] Thus, the image reflects the moment in which the deceased is accompanied by the Etruscan demon Charun into the underworld.[59] In this specific context, the motif of the arms crossed behind the back probably takes on a metaphorical meaning to symbolize that there is no chance of escape from death.

51 The male person bears the name *zertur cecnas*, while the female is named *velia satnea*; see ET[2] AV 4.3; 4.4 = CIE 5234; 5235.

52 Mariani, "statuette plumbee"; Ambros J. Pfiffig, *Religio etrusca* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1975): 365–66. In contrast to this, Bartolomeo Nogara interpreted the figurines as relicts of archaic practices of human sacrifices; see Nogara, "statuette etrusche di piombo": 34.

53 On cursing practices in antiquity, see Christopher A. Faraone, "Binding and Burying the Forces of the Evil: The Defensive Use of 'Voodoo Dolls' in Ancient Greece," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 10 (1991); John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Fritz Graf, "Fluch und Verwünschung," in *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, vol. 3, ed. Jean C. Balty (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2005).

54 Massarelli, "defixiones": 528.

55 Pfiffig, *Religio etrusca*: 366.

56 Gager, *Curse Tablets*: 14–15.

57 Anna Rastrelli, "La produzione in terracotta a Chiusi," in *Artigianato artistico: L'Etruria settentrionale interna in età ellenistica*, ed. Adriano Maggiani (Milan: Electa, 1985): 100–101, 112.

58 On the two urns in Chiusi (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Chiusi, inv. 1065) and Florence (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 5525), see Körte, *rilievi 3*: 118 pls. 99, 15; 99, 15 a; Rastrelli, "La produzione in terracotta": 112–13 fig. 130, 131; Marina Sclafani, *Urne fittili chiusine e perugine di età medio tardo ellenistica* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2010): 205 pl. 31 F IIId/H I. Cl 100; 229 pl. 31 F IIIb/H I. Fl 25. Another urn in Chiusi (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Chiusi, inv. 92) depicts the captured man not naked, but vested with a short chiton and a cloak. At the entrance to the underworld stands a horse. The left part of the frieze contains Charun, who is wearing a short chiton and holding his characteristic hammer, as well as a stool, which probably represents the elevated social status of the deceased; see Körte, *rilievi 3*: 115 pl. 96, 9.

59 Körte, *rilievi 3*: 115, 118.

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

Fig. 9 a–d: Two lead figurines from Sovana: naked couple with name inscriptions on their legs and their arms crossed behind their backs.

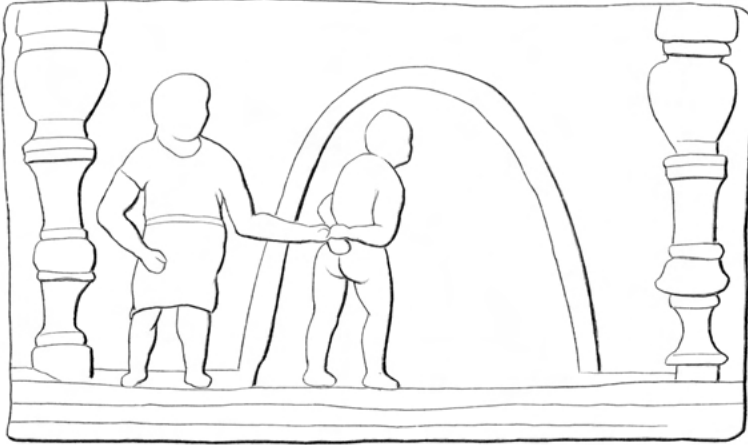

Fig. 10: Relief of a terracotta urn from Chiusi: a deceased person with his arms crossed behind his back is being led by Charun to the symbolical entrance into the underworld.

3 Conclusion

After a few isolated examples from the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods as well as several epochs (for example, the fifth century BCE), which have been proven to have a lack of any iconographical evidence, pictorial representations of captives became relatively numerous in Etruscan art from the middle of the fourth century BCE onwards. This phenomenon coincided with a period of increasing military conflicts between Rome and Etruria as well as a rising interest in depicting topics connected to death, such as demons or the journey into the underworld.[60] Images of captives can be found in many different object categories, ranging from urns, sarcophagi, wall and vase paintings, to relief plates, mirrors and figurines. These predominantly come from funerary contexts and thus have to be considered as an integral part of the grave ideology of the respective gens.

In the beginning, the bondage was usually illustrated through iron neck rings and chains. Since the middle of the fourth century BCE, the tying of hands crossed in front of or behind the body with the use of a rope, a means that is not always shown explicitly, became the common convention for depicting captives. Prisoners were visualized naked unless they were mythological heroes like Andromeda or Orestes and Pylades. Apart

60 Dirk Steuernagel, "Die Geburt der Dämonen: Zum Wandel der etruskischen Grabikonographie im 5./4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," in *Metamorphosen des Todes: Bestattungskulturen und Jenseitsvorstellungen im Wandel der Zeit: vom alten Ägypten bis zum Friedwald der Gegenwart*, ed. Andreas Merkt (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2016): 23–43.

from some specific exceptions (for example, Marsyas), captives were usually rendered beardless and youthful. The addition of bleeding wounds, the motif of a prisoner being led by a rope or held by the arm as well as being threatened with a weapon even more clearly demonstrate the dependency relationship between the different actors.

As Etruscan imagery is often constructed as a non-violent space in which negative aspects of slavery and other forms of dependency are deliberately hidden,[61] scenes with captives who are explicitly threatened, violated or killed have to be considered as exceptional cases, which then provides valuable insights into the social norms at the time. The question concerning how far the capture and punishment of specific persons are justifiable is not given attention in the images.

Pictures showing the 'daily life' of the aristocratic elite (at least in an idealized, emblematic way) occur relatively seldom in Etruscan art. It can be assumed that prisoners of war were only found to be worth depicting because of their attributive value – similar to other kinds of prestigious loot, such as luxury goods or livestock, they increased the prestige of socially high-ranking people and symbolized their wealth and power.

The vast majority of the images is embedded in narratives from (mainly Greek) mythology. These narratives reflect certain historical and social processes on an abstract level and thus provide valuable information about social norms and hierarchies as well as gender-related role models in Etruria.[62] Depictions of the captured Trojans and Marsyas,[63] who are shown in a rather pejorative way as naked and partially wounded victims about to be killed in a cruel way without any chance of escape, refer, on a metaphorical level, to the possible negative consequences of challenging social norms and/or the divine order.[64] Accordingly, these images can be seen as an implicit advice to adhere to the prevailing norms. On the other hand, there are some examples, mainly deriving from the second and the first centuries BCE, which neglect

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61 Similar patterns can be detected in Greek art; on this, see Susanne Moraw, "Bilder, die lügen: Hochzeit, Tieropfer und Sklaverei in der klassischen Kunst," in *Die andere Seite der Klassik: Gewalt im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, ed. Günter Fischer and Susanne Moraw (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005): 79, 85, 88.

62 A similar research discourse exists with regard to the representation of Greek myths in Roman art; on this, see the summary by Ruth Bielfeldt, *Orestes auf römischen Sarkophagen* (Berlin: Reimer, 2005): 13–25 (with further literature). Accordingly, these images do not simply re-narrate episodes from Greek mythology, but they also symbolize virtuous behaviour and outstanding achievements and thereby contribute to the self-representation of the social elite. Apart from this, mythological scenes can also serve to express emotions such as mourning or pain.

63 Rather similar to the iconography of Marsyas are representations of the captured Amykos. For some examples, see Marchese, "Il mito di Àmico": 54–55 pl. 9, 3 (bronze mirror from Tarquinia; last quarter of the fourth century BCE): 55–56 pl. 10, 2 (travertine urn from Perugia; first quarter of the second century BCE).

64 The punishment of persons who had the hubris to violate the divine order is a popular motif in ancient art; on this, see Frank Rumscheid et al., eds., *Göttliche Ungerechtigkeit? Strafen und Glaubensprüfungen als Themen antiker und frühchristlicher Kunst* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2018).

the harsh and cruel conditions of captivity in favour of conveying an idealized, almost romanticized view. Andromeda, or Orestes and Pylades, for example,[65] are characterized by noble clothing, jewellery and other symbols of high social status; in the end, they are able to escape a life-threatening situation unviolated due to the intervention of protagonists such as Perseus or Iphigenia. As these depictions almost exclusively occur on urn reliefs, they could have served as a kind of metaphorical consolation to the relatives of the deceased persons. One of the very rare cases of prisoners in the context of local myths can be seen in the wall paintings in the Tomba François, which depict the liberation of Caelius Vibenna from Vulci by Mastarna and refer to the struggles for supremacy in Rome in the middle of the sixth century BCE – a motif probably meant to indicate the allegedly long tradition and elevated social status of the grave owner's gens.

Finally, it has to be mentioned that during the late fourth and early third centuries BCE, in some cases which are connected to magical or religious contexts (for example, curse figurines), the use of the shackle motif is not linked to slavery or captivity, but rather has to be understood in a metaphorical way.

In terms of the socio-historical interpretation, it is important to note that images of captives do not convey the perspective of the dependent persons themselves and cannot be regarded as 'realistic' and unbiased reproductions of 'daily life'. Instead, they have to be considered as idealized and ideologically distorted constructions reflecting the point of view of (predominantly male) members of the Etruscan upper class, who commissioned most of the objects and had the aim of visualizing their wealth and power.[66] The conscious selection of specific (Greek or local) myths based on the preferences and intentions of the clients and/or artists, as well as the artistic adaption of foreign motifs and iconographic conventions to the cultural peculiarities of Etruria, allows for interesting insights into the self-perception and self-representation of the Etruscan elite and the marginalization of (dependent) members of the lower class.

65 Comparable to this group are depictions of Daidalos as a captive. On two alabaster urns from Volterra (Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, inv. 434, 435; late second–early first century BCE), see Adriano Maggiani, ed., *Urne volterrane* 2: *Il Museo Guarnacci*: *Parte terza*, *Corpus delle urne etrusche di età ellenistica*, vol. 2, 3 (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2012): 52–53 no. 45, fig. at the bottom; 54–55 no. 46, fig. above left.

66 On the construction of images, see Ralf von den Hoff and Stefan Schmidt, "Bilder und Konstruktion: Ein interdisziplinäres Konzept für die Altertumswissenschaften," in *Konstruktionen von Wirklichkeit: Bilder im Griechenland des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, ed. Ralf von den Hoff and Stefan Schmidt (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001): 1–25.

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III Dependencies and Status Differences in Urban and Sacral Spaces

Robinson Peter Krämer

Plebeian Rituals and Peasant Cults? Religious Transformations in Etruria during the Sixth and Early Fifth Centuries BCE and their Socio-Political Context

Abstract: *The Etruscan sacred landscape changed profoundly in Central Etruria during the sixth and early fifth centuries BCE. In this period, the number of attested sanctuaries and votive findings increased significantly, votive practices seem to have become less prestigious and exclusive, while dedicatory inscriptions changed from long, formulaic texts to short consecrations and indications of property. Additionally, some cults associated with social underclasses became popular toward the end of the sixth century BCE. Scholars have observed these religious transformations for a long time and often interpreted them as signs of some kind of peasant religion (culto plebeo) in Etruria.*

This article discusses religious transformations in Etruria in the sixth century BCE and their broader socio-political implications by analysing three contexts of the Etruscan sacred landscape. The first chapter gives an overview of elite practices in cult places in the seventh and early sixth centuries BCE through three case studies. The second part of this article studies long-term and gradual changes in Etruscan sanctuaries during the sixth century BCE, particularly in regard to architecture, pottery assemblages and votive inscriptions. Finally, this article deals with radical shifts in Etruscan religion around 500 BCE that could have been part of broader political changes and whether these might have been connected to 'peasant cults'. The result is an evaluation of the socio-political reasons behind changes in Etruscan religion during the sixth century BCE as well as if the paradigm of plebeian cults might be an explanation for these developments.

1 The Etruscan Sacred Landscape and Social Elite Practices during the Seventh and early Sixth Centuries BCE

During the seventh and early sixth centuries BCE, Central Italy and Etruria (Fig. 1) saw the emergence of a social elite that represented itself through various media and resources and formed a new 'aristocratic culture'. The ownership and display of key resources, in particular livestock, land and metal, as well as of exotic commodities

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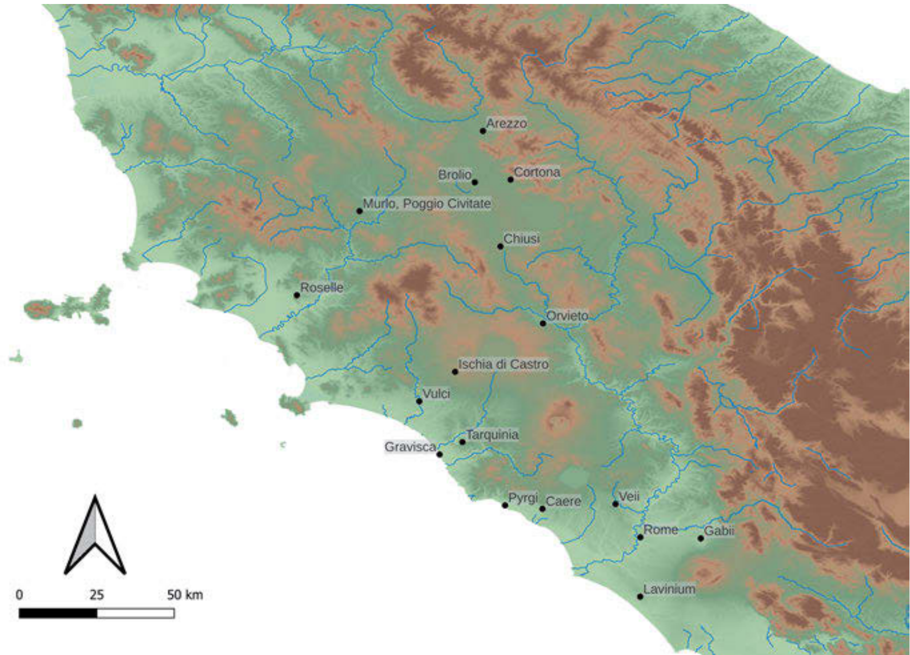

Fig. 1: Map of key sites mentioned in this article.

(for example, ivory, Baltic amber,[1] ostrich eggs,[2] purple[3] and incense) and Mediterranean imports were important parts of elite representation strategies. Other means and media that elite members used to accumulate social capital were literacy (and its limited diffusion or the limited access to it at that time) and the appropriation of 'Orientalizing imagery' such as griffins, sphinxes, lions and other felines, hybrid creatures (*Mischwesen*) and animal friezes.[4] Finally, Etruscan elite members of the seventh and early sixth centuries BCE would engage in various forms of conspicuous consumption,

1 Laura Maria Michetti, "L'Etruria e l'area laziale," in *Ambre: Trasparenze dall'antico*, ed. Maria Luisa Nava and Antonio Salerno (Milan: Mondadori Electa S.p.A., 2007): 160–67; Maria Letizia Arancio and Simonetta Massimi, eds., *Ambra: dalle rive del Baltico all'Etruria* (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2012).

2 Annette Rathje, "Five Ostrich Eggs from Vulci," in *Italian Iron Age Artefacts in the British Museum: Papers of the Sixth British Museum Classical Colloquium*, ed. Judith Swaddling (London: British Museum Publications, 1986): 397–404; Tamar Hodos et al., "The Origins of Decorated Ostrich Eggs in the Ancient Mediterranean and Middle East," *Antiquity* 94 (2020): 381–400.

3 Hartmut Blum, *Purpur als Statussymbol in der griechischen Welt* (Bonn: Habelt, 1998); Beatriz Marín-Aguilera et al., "Colouring the Mediterranean: Production and Consumption of Purple-Dyed Textiles in Pre-Roman Times," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (2018): 127–54.

4 Maria Cristina Biella et al., eds., *Il bestiario fantastico di età orientalizzante nella penisola italiana* (Trento: Tangram Edizioni Scientifiche, 2012); Lorenz Winkler-Horaček, *Monster in der frühgriechischen Kunst: Die Überwindung des Unfassbaren*, Image & Context 4 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015);

in particular the use of wine, feasting and banqueting,[5] the possession of prestigious objects and the distribution of those through gift exchanges.[6]

The result of these diacritical practices and 'codes of power' was the development of a specific aristocratic habitus and lifestyle for a leisure class, which had three main purposes: (I) the formation of an interconnected, cross-cultural and international community of practice with a high degree of communication, exchange and mobility as well as access to wide-ranging and dense networks, relationships and alliances across the Mediterranean;[7] (II) the naturalization and legitimation of status differences and of a ruling political position over lower social classes; and finally, (III) as a means of facilitating competition, power struggles and 'bloodless conflicts' through the conspicuous consumption of precious objects and commodities among social elite members and families within the Etruscan city-states.

The habitus, lifestyle and practices of Etruscan social elite members of the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, which can only be briefly mentioned here, took place in representative institutions and social spaces, particularly in *tumuli* and prestigious family tombs with lavish burials as well as in prestigious courtyard buildings and seats of power, sometimes referred to as 'palaces' (Ancient Greek: *anaktora*, Latin: *regiae*). However, sanctuaries played a particularly important role as key spaces for the socio-political representation of Etruscan social elite members and families.[8] The different aspects of elite agency, habitus and practices in Etruscan sanctuaries during the seventh and early sixth centuries BCE shall be discussed here briefly through three case studies, each of them representing a different topographical context: Brolio, a rural cult place in the hinterland of Cortona; the 'Casa con Recinto' at the socio-political centre of Roselle; and the suburban Portonaccio sanctuary directly outside the city gate of Veii.

Maria Cristina Biella and Enrico Giovanelli, eds., *Nuovi studi sul bestiario fantastico di età orientalizzante nella penisola italiana* (Trento: Tangram Edizioni Scientifiche, 2016).

5 Annette Rathje, "The Banquet through Etruscan History," in *The Etruscan World*, ed. Jean MacIntosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013): 823–30.

6 Alessandro Naso, "The Etruscan Aristocracy in the Orientalizing Period: Culture, Economy, Relations," in *The Etruscans*, ed. Mario Torelli (Milan: Bompiani, 2000): 111–29; Maurizio Sannibale, "Orientalizing Etruria," in *The Etruscan World*, ed. Jean MacIntosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013): 99–133.

7 Erich Kistler, "Die Mediterranée im 6. und frühen 5. Jh. v. Chr. – eine Welt in Bewegung," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (2014): 181–204.

8 Robinson Peter Krämer, "Places of Gods and Men: Socio-Political Interactions and Ritual Practice in the Etruscan Sacred Landscape (Eight to Fifth Centuries BC)," in *Urban Practices: Repopulating the Ancient City*, ed. Annette Haug and Stephanie Merten (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2020): especially 126–30; Robinson Peter Krämer, *Etruskische Heiligtümer des 8.–5. Jhs. v. Chr. als Wirtschaftsräume und Konsumptionsorte von Keramik,* Italiká 8 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2022): 146–48.

1.1 Elite Imagery and Social Ideals: The Cult Place of Brolio

The cult place of Brolio was situated at the foot of a hill directly on the river Chiana (Etruscan: *Clanis*) and on the western border of the territory of the Etruscan city-state Cortona. The site of Brolio is often referred to as a votive deposit, but finds of poles and wooden materials as well as the chronological distribution of the findings indicate the probable existence of architectural structures and of a permanent cult place at least from ca. 580/570 to the early fifth century BCE. The topography of Brolio is of importance for the interpretation of its function as a sanctuary. On the one hand, it was positioned in the rural countryside and at a geographical and political border; on the other hand, it was located on the river Chiana, which was a significant gateway and a communication, trade and travel route that connected Cortona with Arezzo and the Arno Valley to the north; with Chiusi and Lake Trasimeno to the south; and possibly even with Murlo, the Ombrone Valley and the Tyrrhenian Sea to the west (Fig. 2).[9]

Because of its important topographical position, Brolio has been interpreted as a *sacrum gentilicium*, a sanctuary under the direct control of an elite clan of the *ager Cortonensis*.[10] The many precious bronze objects that were offered at Brolio confirm its interpretation as the sanctuary and meeting place of an Etruscan social elite circle in the sixth century BCE, and illustrate the ideals, norms and values of those actors within a key institution and social space. In this sense, the imagery of the bronze votives represents an elite habitus and allows us to decipher some of the aristocratic codes of power at Cortona and its hinterland.

One important group of bronze objects consists of male and female figurines from the sixth and early fifth centuries BCE. The female figures are wearing jewellery and lavish clothes, such as *tutuli*, long woolen mantles, *himatia* and fine tunics with geometric decorations. In three cases, the women are holding the garments with their left hand, just like Greek *korai* statues from that period. The male figurines are characterized as cult participants or as warriors with shields and raised spears. The warrior figurines are wearing Corinthian, Cretan or Illyrian-type helmets, breastplates, greaves and other types of armour. In some cases, the warriors are shown with an aggressive *promachos* gesture, their left leg is extended far forward, the right hand is holding a spear and is raised above the head, while the left hand is covering the body

9 On the Etruscan cult place of Brolio, see Mauro Cristofani, *I bronzi degli Etruschi* (Novara: Istituto Geografico De Agostini S.p.A., 1985): 78–87, 247–50; Antonella Romualdi, "Il deposito di Brolio," in *Santuari d'Etruria*, ed. Giovanni Colonna (Milan: Electa editrice, 1985): 162–64; Antonella Romualdi, "Il 'deposito' di Brolio," in *Castiglion Fiorentino: un nuovo centro etrusco*, ed. Paola Zamarchi Grassi (Cortona: Calosci, 1995): 85–109; Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000): 128–29; Lucio Fiorini, "I santuari del territorio," in *Il Museo della città etrusca e romana di Cortona: catalogo delle collezioni*, ed. Simona Fortunelli (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2005): 300–309; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 182–83 ch. VI.1.3.1, with several references.

10 Romualdi, "Il 'deposito' di Brolio": 87–88; Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization*: 129; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 182–83.

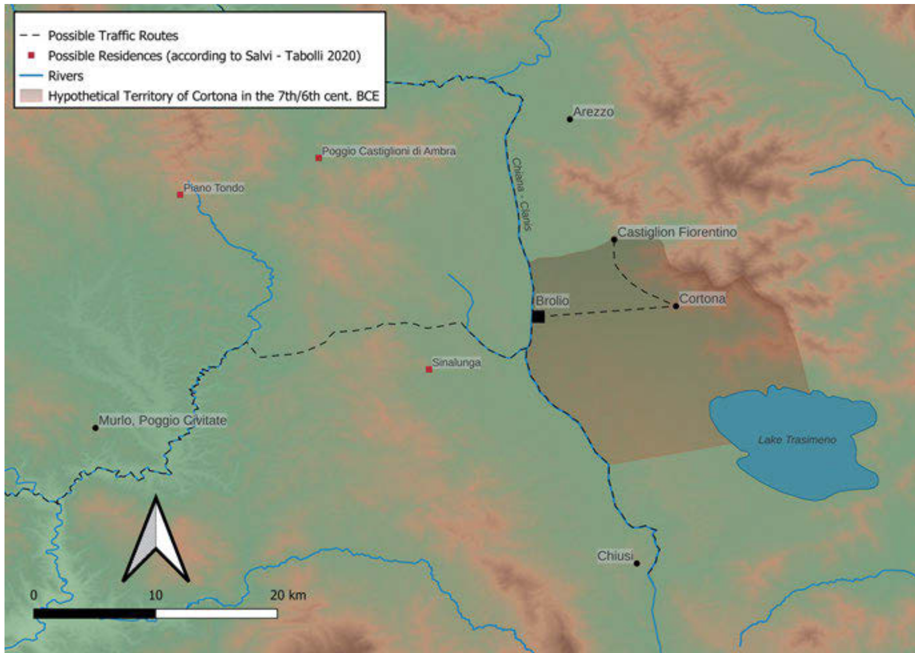

Fig. 2: Map of the position of Brolio at the river Chiana (Etruscan *Clanis*) and the political borderline of the city-state of Cortona. Possible traffic and transportation routes indicate significant gateway and communication functions of the site.

with a shield.[11] These votives show the social ideals and habitus of the Etruscan elite in the sixth century BCE: the precious clothes and jewellery worn by the beautiful women, representing grace (*charis*) and finding close parallels in the *korai* in Greek sanctuaries, as well as the warrior status, virtue and valour (*aretḗ*) of the men. At the same time, it is also possible that the bronze figurines were meant to perpetuate ritual practices and commemorate the visits and participations of specific elite members in the cult place of Brolio.

Bronze figurines of deer, roes and hares from the second quarter of the sixth century BCE depict another important elite theme and probably served as rim decorations of large mixing bowls or similar bronze vessels.[12] These animals did not necessarily serve as substitutes for sacrificed animals, but rather they can be interpreted as symbols of hunting activities, as deer and hares are frequently shown in Etruscan hunting

11 Cristofani, *I bronzi*: 78–85, 248–50 nos. 2.1–2.13; Romualdi, "Il 'deposito' di Brolio": 96–104 nos. 14–26; Fiorini, "I santuari del territorio": 303–7 nos. VII.33–45.

12 Cristofani, *I bronzi*: 86–87, 250 nos. 2.15–2.21; Romualdi, "Il 'deposito' di Brolio": 92–95 nos. 4–8, 10–11; Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization*: 128 fig. 107–9; Fiorini, "I santuari del territorio": 301–2 nos. VII.22–VII.26, VII.28–VII.29.

scenes from the Orientalizing and Archaic periods.[13] In such case, the social context of hunting was not the obtainment of food, nor was it a display of dangerous and heroic fights against lions and wild beasts. Instead, the deer and hares represent the pastimes and the relaxed lifestyle of an Etruscan leisure class; Greek aristocrats of that time used hunting imagery in a similar manner as a diacritical tool for social representation and the creation of an aristocratic habitus.[14] Likewise, a figurine of a horse and a rod with a bull protome[15] can be connected with the possession of livestock, in particular horses and cattle, and thus with prosperity and economic capital.[16]

Aside from pottery,[17] there are also some bronze vessels attested at Brolio: one ladle with a long handle (*simpulum*), two *omphalos* bowls and three large basins, one of which is decorated with an embossed rim (*Perlrandbecken*).[18] The presence of these metal vessels may be linked to libations and the ritual pouring of liquids, or, more likely, to the banqueting practices of elite members in the cult place of Brolio. Banqueting and the conspicuous consumption of wine were important parts of Etruscan elite habitus and are the key motifs of terracotta frieze plaques that decorated residences and courtyard buildings (*anaktora*, *regiae*), such as Poggio Civitate in Murlo.[19]

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13 Giovannangelo Camporeale, *La caccia in Etruria* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1984): 35–43, 64–68, 93–105, 116–27. Hunting scenes are a theme in Etruscan wall paintings from the late sixth century BCE, e.g., that in the Tomba della Caccia (Tomb of the Hunting; now lost; end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century BCE) in Chiusi as well as in the Tomba della Caccia e Pesca (Tomb of the Hunting and Fishing; ca. 510 BCE) and in the Tomba del Cacciatore (Tomb of the Huntsman; ca. 510/500 BCE) in Tarquinia (Stephan Steingräber, ed., *Etruskische Wandmalerei* (Stuttgart: Belser, 1985): 274 no. 14; 301–4 nos. 50–51).

14 Judith M. Barringer, *The Hunt in Ancient Greece* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001): 10–124; Matteo D'Acunto, *Il mondo del vaso Chigi: Pittura, guerra e società a Corinto alla metà del VII secolo a.C.*, Image & Context 12 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013): 48–52. In Archaic Greece, the hunting activities of the social elite were also associated with athletics, warfare and the *ephebeia*, the rite of passage to adulthood.

15 Cristofani, *I bronzi*: 86, 250 no. 2.14; Romualdi, "Il 'deposito' di Brolio": 94 no. 9; 104 no. 27; Fiorini, "I santuari del territorio": 302–3 nos. VII.27, VII.30.

16 Horse husbandry and ownership were, in a similar way, important status symbols for Greek aristocrats of the Archaic period, as the aristocratic titles *hippeis* (horsemen or riders) and *hippobotai* (horse rearers or nourishers of horses) show. For the extensive imagery of horse husbandry and its elite context in Attic vase painting, see Wolfgang Filser, *Die Elite Athens auf der attischen Luxuskeramik*, Image & Context 16 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017): 398–565.

17 Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 183 with footnotes, 1177–82.

18 Romualdi, "Il 'deposito' di Brolio": 104–6 nos. 28–32, 34; Fiorini, "I santuari del territorio": 307–8 nos. VII.46–VII.50, VII.53.

19 Mario Torelli, "I fregi figurati delle *regiae* latine ed etrusche: immaginario del potere arcaico," *Ostraka* 1 (1992): especially 251–52 with fig. 2 a–b = Mario Torelli, *Il rango, il rito e l'immagine: alle origini della rappresentazione storica romana* (Milan: Electa, 1997): 87–121, especially 89–90 fig. 62–63; Mario Torelli, "*Regiae* d'Etruria e del Lazio e immaginario figurativo del potere," in *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown*, ed. Russell T. Scott and Ann Reynolds Scott (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1993): 85–121; Rathje, "Banquet": 825–26.

Furthermore, Etruscan basins with embossed rims, such as the one from Brolio, have been interpreted by Erich Kistler as being prestigious icons (*symbola*) that circulated in trans-Mediterranean elite networks and formed part of aristocratic gift-exchange, mobility and gatherings, with banqueting as a key practice.[20] Two griffin protomes were part of a large cauldron of Etruscan production (ca. 580–550 BCE, maybe from a workshop in Chiusi),[21] an object that may not only be connected to banqueting, but may also be interpreted as a *symbolon* of a cross-cultural community of practice since griffin cauldrons were part of the Orientalizing (or rather trans-Mediterranean) imagery and iconic objects that had been shared, gifted, dedicated and exchanged among elite members across the entire Mediterranean.[22]

In this sense, the bronze objects from the cult place of Brolio paint a picture, kaleidoscope-like, of a proper and complex 'idea-scape' or 'consumptionscape' of ideals, values and norms for the Etruscan social elite in the sixth century BCE, thus turning it into symbolic imagery of elite habitus and lifestyle that was represented and perpetuated in sanctuaries and institutions. The important themes at Brolio were the elevated social position and warrior status of cult participants, hunting, ownership of livestock (horses and cattle), banqueting, as well as Orientalizing imagery and iconic, symbolic objects that had been shared across the Mediterranean.

1.2 Conspicuous Consumption and Banqueting: The 'Casa con Recinto' at Roselle

The second case study, the 'Casa con Recinto' (House with Enclosure), is situated at the political centre and the public space of the city-state of Roselle, which would later become the Forum of the Roman settlement. The central and northern parts of this area were occupied by several buildings from the Orientalizing and Archaic period, the largest structure being the 'Casa con Recinto'. This structure consisted of a large enclosure with a rectangular floor plan (ca. 7.5 x 25.8 m) and a room at its centre that incorporated the perimeter walls and divided the enclosure into two open courtyards of approximately the same size. Both the enclosure and the room at its centre were built with unfired clay bricks. While the exterior walls of this edifice indicate an almost square floor plan of ca. 5.0 x 5.0 m, the inside room was oval in shape (diameter: ca. 4.5 m) and had a vaulted ceiling.[23]

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20 Kistler, "Mediterranée": 184–88 in particular.

21 Romualdi, "Il 'deposito' di Brolio": 91–92 nos. 2–3; Fiorini, "I santuari del territorio": 300–301 nos. VII.20–VII.21.

22 On griffin cauldrons in their cross-Mediterranean contexts, see the recent work of Nassos Papalexandrou, *Bronze Monsters and the Cultures of Wonder: Griffin Cauldrons in the Preclassical Mediterranean* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2021).

23 On the 'Casa con Recinto' and the Forum area at Roselle, see Soprintendenza archeologica della Toscana, *Roselle: gli scavi e la mostra* (Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1975): 21–33; Piera Bocci Pacini, "Una casa

The ‘Casa con Recinto’ was probably erected around the middle of the seventh century BCE and was frequented until ca. 600 BCE, when the building was obliterated and covered by a public square. The site features some interesting characteristics: its central and dominant position at the core of Roselle, the monumental size of this context compared to the other buildings in its surroundings and at that time, as well as its unique architecture with a square floor plan and an oval, vaulted interior. The ‘Casa con Recinto’ and its unusual design have been interpreted as being a *tholos*-like sacred building, or as a reminiscence and reference towards a kind of ancestral and traditional hut architecture, with its enclosure serving as a *temenos* wall.[24] The reading of an inscription on a dolium rim from the ‘Casa con Recinto’ from the late seventh century BCE is not entirely clear, but it seems to support the interpretation of this context as an early cult place in the heart of Roselle.[25]

The rear courtyard to the west of the central *tholos* contained the remains of an open hearth, animal bones and pottery, which makes the ‘Casa con Recinto’ a particularly interesting case of Etruscan elite agency and means of representation in a sanctuary from the seventh and early sixth centuries BCE. The pottery assemblage is chronologically very homogenous and can be dated to the second half of the seventh century BCE. Based on the vessel shapes (Diagram 1), their use in textile production as well as the storage, preparation and especially the bearing of food and beverages for consumption were essential functions of the pottery at the ‘Casa con Recinto’. Additionally, imported Greek pottery and Etruscan imitations of Greek vessel shapes, in particular banqueting vessels such as kraters, *holmoi* and *cotylai*, were important at this cult place.[26]

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nell’età orientalizzante a Roselle,” in *Santuari d’Etruria*, ed. Giovanni Colonna (Milan: Electa editrice, 1985): 53–57; Giovanni Colonna, “Urbanistica e architettura,” in *Rasenna: Storia e civiltà degli Etruschi* (Milan: Libri Scheiwiller, 1986): 401–2; Mariagrazia Celuzza, ed., *Signori di Maremma: Elites etrusche fra Populonia e il Vulcente* (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2009): 112–13; Mario Cygielman, “Roselle fra tarda età del ferro e periodo orientalizzante,” in *Signori di Maremma: Elites etrusche fra Populonia e il Vulcente*, ed. Mariagrazia Celuzza (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2009): 56–57; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 212–17, ch. VI.1.9.2, with several references.

24 Colonna, “Urbanistica e architettura”: 401–2; Cygielman, “Roselle”: 56–57; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 212–14.

25 The most probable reading is: *min*[*i*] *mulvanik*[*e*] *venel rapaleś laiven*[*alaś*] – Venel Rapale, son of Laivena, dedicated me. In this case, the dolium would be a dedication in a sanctuary. However, possible alternatives are: *min*[*i*] *mulvanik*[*e*] *venel rapaleś laiven*[*asi*] – Venel Rapale donated me to Laivena; *min*[*i*] *mulvanik*[*e*] *venel rapaleś laive m/n*[---] – Venel Rapale and Laive M/N . . . (name of a *gens*) donated/dedicated me. In these cases, the dolium could have been a donation that circulated in the context of aristocratic gift exchange instead of a dedication in a sacred context. On the inscription, see Bocci Pacini, “Una casa nell’età orientalizzante”: 56 no. A7; Celuzza, *Signori di Maremma*: 112 no. 3.1; Cygielman, “Roselle”: 56–57 fig. 2; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 294 no. RO01, with references; ET Ru 3.1.

26 Soprintendenza, *Roselle*: 21–33; Celuzza, *Signori di Maremma*: 112–13; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 213 diagram 67; 214–17 with tab. 52.

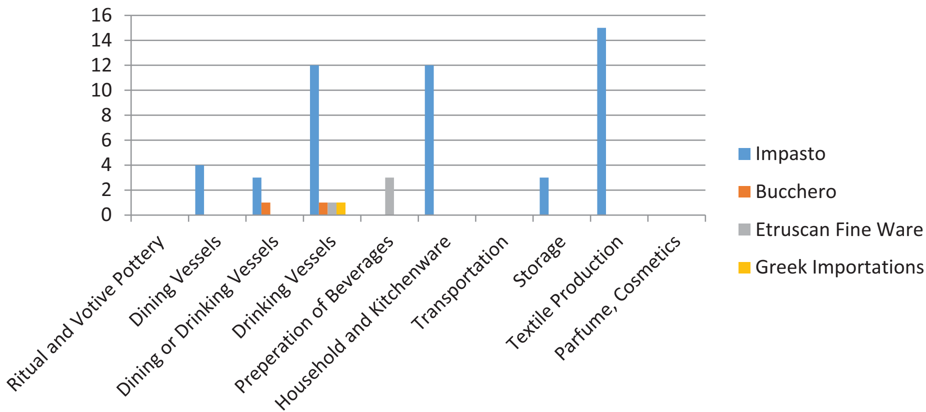

Diagram 1: Roselle, 'Casa con Recinto': Pottery Assemblage according to Functional Groups.

The 'Casa con Recinto' and the vase findings in its rear courtyard allow for the reconstruction of a monumental building that served as a political nexus and as a central social space for the early community of Roselle. The pottery assemblage suggests that banqueting and the conspicuous consumption of wine were important activities of the social elite members, who used the sanctuary in the second half of the seventh century BCE for gatherings and regular meetings. Imported Greek objects and their regional imitations generated prestige within the community of Roselle and at the same time linked the local participants to the trans-Mediterranean and cross-cultural elite community of the Orientalizing and Archaic periods. Finally, the dolium with the inscription represents an early manifestation of Etruscan literacy that commemorated the prestigious dedication by Venel Rapale in the sanctuary.

In this sense, the 'Casa con Recinto' can be interpreted as a key institution or even as a stage, a prominent location where social elite members could gather, represent themselves and convert resources and economic capital into prestige and social capital. Banqueting, wine consumption, imported objects and literacy thus became beneficial practices and diacritical tools that served to maintain an elevated political rank and legitimate an elite status and the social differences within the community.

1.3 Literacy, Gift Exchange and Interregional Elite Networks: The Portonaccio Sanctuary of Veii

In Etruria in the seventh and early sixth centuries BCE, literacy was a scarce cultural resource and mainly limited to public institutions and elite contexts. Literacy and inscriptions were primarily used to highlight property and gift exchange as well as to commemorate status, kinship (in particular through the names of clans and *gentes*) or social bonds, friendships and alliances. Therefore, similarly to banqueting and other

practices, literacy became an important diacritical tool for Etruscan elite members, used to facilitate communication, to accumulate prestige and to enforce status differences and social segmentation.

Important examples of these complex cultural practices and mechanisms are property markers containing the word '*mi . . .*' (I belong to . . .) followed by a personal name, and formulaic inscriptions with the expression '*mini muluvanice . . .*' (. . . gave me as a gift) or similar forms of the verb *mul-*, which commemorate the donation of an inscribed object.[27] Among the inscribed objects that circulated through gift exchange in Etruscan elite contexts were precious metal objects or jewellery,[28] and in particular ceramic vessels such as aryballoi with perfumes[29] and giant kyathoi, both produced in bucchero.[30] Finally, Etruscan elite members and families commemorated and perpetuated friendships and alliances with *tesserae hospitales*, carved bone and ivory plaques that seem to have served as tokens of agreed friendship contracts (*hospitium*). Etruscan *tesserae hospitales* were found at the residence at Poggio Civitate in Murlo,[31] but even as far as Carthage and the Sant'Omobono sanctuary in Rome, thus highlighting the cross-cultural and international contexts and institutions in which they circulated.[32]

27 On *muluvanice*-inscriptions and the gift exchange between elite members and families in Etruria and Central Italy, see Mauro Cristofani, "Il 'dono' nell'Etruria arcaica" *La Parola del Passato* 30 (1975): 132–52; Anthony Tuck and Rex Wallace, *First Words: The Archaeology of Language at Poggio Civitate* (Hanover, PA: The Sheridan Press, 2013): 11–15; Petra Amann, "Gaben unter Eliten: Zu den etruskischen *mulu/muluvanice*-Inschriften," in *Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption: Networking and the Formation of Elites in the Archaic Western Mediterranean World: Proceedings of the International Conference in Innsbruck, 20th–23rd March 2012*, ed. Erich Kistler et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015): 63–81.

28 Amann, "Gaben unter Eliten": 67–68, with references.

29 Christian Briesack, "Etruskische Bucchero-Aryballoi," *Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica* 3 (2013): 9–39. The fact that 14 of the 80 known bucchero aryballoi contain inscriptions highlights the distinctive function of these vessels as prestigious donations in the context of aristocratic gift exchange.

30 Luca Cappuccini, "I kyathoi etruschi di Santa Teresa di Gavorrano e il ceramista dei Paiθina," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung* 113 (2007): 217–40; Luca Cappuccini, "Un kyathos di bucchero da Poggio Pelliccia: la 'bottega vetuloniese' e il suo ruolo nella trasmissione della scrittura in Etruria," *Studi Etruschi* 80 (2017): 61–82.

31 Adriano Maggiani, "Dinamiche del commercio arcaico: le *tesserae hospitales*," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 13 (2006): 321–25 nos. 3a–7; Rex Wallace, "Etruscan Inscriptions on Ivory Objects Recovered from the Orientalizing Period Residence at Poggio Civitate (Murlo)," *Etruscan and Italic Studies: Journal of the Etruscan Foundation* 11 (2008): 67–80; Tuck and Wallace, *First Words*: 16–20, 31–36 nos. 3–8.

32 On *tesserae hospitales* and their role in Central Italy and in the Western Mediterranean, see Maggiani, "Dinamiche del commercio"; Giovanni Colonna, "A proposito del primo trattato romano-cartaginese (e della donazione pyrgense ad Astarte)," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 17 (2010): 287–89; Robinson Peter Krämer, "Trading Goods – Trading Gods: Greek Sanctuaries in the Mediterranean and their Role as *emporia* and 'Ports of Trade' (7th–6th Century BCE)," *Distant Worlds Journal* 1 (2016): 85–86 fig. 8; https://doi.org/10.11588/dwj.2016.1.30154.

Lavish burials and *tumuli* as well as monumental courtyard buildings and residences (*anaktora, regiae*), such as the one at Poggio Civitate,[33] were the main sociopolitical spaces and meeting places, where inscribed gifts and prestige objects would circulate and where literacy would have been used by the interconnected elite members of Central Italy in the seventh–sixth century BCE. However, literacy also played an important role in Etruscan sanctuaries, serving as a limited cultural resource used in elite representation and networking.[34]

The Portonaccio Sanctuary of Veii, with its exceptionally high number of inscribed dedications, is a particularly interesting case study on the use of literacy as well as for the reconstruction of intercultural gatherings, social networking and diplomatic contacts of social elite members at Etruscan cult places between the end of the seventh and the middle of the sixth centuries BCE.[35] The suburban sanctuary was located on top of a natural terrace on the west side of the settlement plateau of Veii, and it was built directly at one important city gate. Ritual activities have been attested from at least the first half of the seventh century BCE, when the cult was performed in the open air, until ca. 540/530 BCE. During this phase, votive offerings (many of them vessels with long, formulaic inscriptions) were deposited next to a small shrine or *aedicula* in the eastern part of the sanctuary. In the western part of the cult place stood a trapezoid building that has been interpreted to be a banquet hall for visitors; in addition, the presence of a *scriptorium*, a writing school or a writing place with scribes that was embedded into the cult place, has been suggested. The main goddess of the sanctuary was Menerva, while the deities Aritimi/Artumes, Turan, Vena(i), Rath and Hercle were venerated as well.[36]

At Portonaccio, votives usually describe the dedicating person to the reader in one formulaic sentence written in the first person, such as '*mini muluvanice* . . .' (. . . dedicated me) or a similar expression. The dedicating person is mentioned with his name and the name of his *gens*, sometimes the name of the receiving deity is documented as well. The inscriptions on the votive offerings from this phase in the Portonaccio Sanctuary highlight the presence of a vast interregional and cross-cultural network of elite members that seemed to have a high degree of personal mobility and regularly gathered at

33 On literacy at the Etruscan residence at Poggio Civitate in Murlo, see Wallace, "Etruscan Inscriptions"; Rex Wallace, "*Muluvanice* Inscriptions at Poggio Civitate (Murlo)," *American Journal of Archaeology* 112 (2008): 449–58; Tuck and Wallace, *First Words*.

34 On the role of literacy and inscriptions in Etruscan sanctuaries, see Krämer, "Places of Gods": 122–24; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 117–20 ch. III.4; 132–40 ch. IV.3, with further references.

35 At the Portonaccio Sanctuary of Veii, 60 pottery inscriptions with at least three letters from the late seventh century to the first half of the sixth century BCE have been documented (Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 297–301 nos. VP01–VP60, with references).

36 On the Portonaccio Sanctuary of Veii, see Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini, ed., *Veio, Cerveteri, Vulci: città d'Etruria a confronto* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2001): 37–88; Giovanni Colonna, "The Sanctuary of Portonaccio," in *Veii*, ed. Jacopo Tabolli (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2019): 117–25; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 260–65 ch. VI.1.13.6, all with many further references.

this cult place, engaged in gift-exchange, attended funerals of fellow elite families and migrated to other cities.[37]

The *gens Velkasna* (Tab. 1, no. 1) was likely a local clan from Veii, but it is also attested in the Cardarelli Tomb at the Monterozzi necropolis in Tarquinia. Therefore, this *gens* probably resided in Veii and attended the funeral of a member of a fellow *gens* in Tarquinia. The *gens Teiθurna* (Tab. 1, no. 2) is represented only once at Portonaccio, but appears on several objects from the seventh–sixth century BCE that can be attributed to Caere; it is likely that this family was mainly active in Caere, while one member of the *gens* visited the Portonaccio Sanctuary. Similarly, Larice Vestricinas (Tab. 1, no. 3) and his *gens* were probably from Caere, where the family member Ramuθasi Vestiricinai was buried at the end of the seventh century BCE, while the *gens Amana* (Tab. 1, no. 4) is attested in Orvieto by a chamber tomb for Larθ Amanas in the Crocifisso del Tufo Necropolis.

The dedication of Avile Vipiienas (Tab. 1, no. 5) might establish a plausible historicity for the tale of the brothers Avle and Caile Vibenna from Vulci, who were comrades (*sodales*) of Servius Tullius and helped him to become king of Rome in the early sixth century BCE. If one accepts the historicity of Avle Vibenna and identifies him as the Avile Vipiienas from the dedication at Portonaccio, then this person was from Vulci and played an important role in the regal period of Rome. Aville Acvilnaś (Tab. 1, no. 6) is known from two bucchero oinochoes that he gifted in a funerary context at Ischia di Castro in the territory of Vulci (ET Vc 3.4–5). However, the *gens Acvilna* is certainly connected to the Roman *gens Aquilia*, and one of its members, Caius Aquilius Tuscus, was a consul of Rome in 487 BCE.[38] Unfortunately, the direction of the transmission between the Latin *Aquilius* and the Etruscan *Acvilnaś* remains unclear. The Etruscan *Acvilnaś* could be a loan word from the Latin *Aquilius*, and Aville Acvilnaś might have been a Roman aristocrat (probably Aulus Aquilius) who then became an integrated member of the southern Etruscan elite, used the Etruscan language and participated in rituals at the Portonaccio Sanctuary, as well as in gift exchanges with members of the social elite in Vulci. Finally, Mamarce Apuniie (Tab. 1, no. 7) is also known from an inscribed bucchero amphora that he dedicated in a rich funerary context at Lavinium during the second quarter of the sixth century BCE.

The pottery inscriptions from the Portonaccio Sanctuary of Veii demonstrate the connectivity and mobility of social elite members in Central Italy between Veii, Rome and Latium vetus, as well as the Etruscan city-states of Tarquinia, Caere, Vulci and

37 On the intercultural elite network at the Portonaccio Sanctuary, see also Robinson Peter Krämer, “Interregional and Cross-Cultural Networks as Economic Resources in Sanctuaries of Central Italy (7th to 5th Centuries BCE),” in *Networks as Resources for Ancient Communities*, Ressourcenkulturen 22, ed. Raffaella Da Vela et al. (Tübingen: Tübingen University Press, 2023): in particular 208–12 with tab. 1 and fig. 2; 221–23 appendix I.

38 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Antiquitates Romanae 8.64–67; Livy 2.40.14.

Tab. 1: Overview of individuals and *gentes* at Veii, Portonaccio and their personal mobility.

No.	Name of *gens* or Person	Text and Translation	Connection	Type of Personal Mobility	References
1	*gens Velkasna*	*laris velkasna*[*s* ---] *menervas* – Laris Velkasna[s dedicated me] to Menerva	Veii – Tarquinia	attendance of funeral in Tarquinia, gift exchange	Briquel, "inscriptions": 49–50; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 299 no. VP20; Krämer, "Networks": 222 no. I.12; ET Ve 3.10.
2	*gens Teiθurna*	[---? *lari*]*s teiθurn*[*a*(*s*) ---?] – . . . [Lari]s Teiθurn[as] . . .	Caere – Veii	visit to Veii, dedication	Briquel, "inscriptions": 61–62; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 301 no. VP46; Krämer, "Networks": 223 no. I.18; ET Ve 3.37.
3	*gens Vestricina*	*mine mulvanice larice ves.tricin*[*as* ---?] – Larice Vestricin[as] dedicated me; [---? *l*]*arice vest*[*iricina* (*s*) --- ?] – [L]arice Vest(iricina) . . .	Caere – Veii	visit to Veii, dedication	Briquel, "inscriptions": 51–52; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 300 nos. VP34; VP43; Krämer, "Networks": 223 nos. I.14; I.16; ET Ve 3.3; Ve 3.15 = Ve 3.40.
4	*gens Amana*	[---]*amanas*:[---?] – from/of (the *gens*) Amana	Volsinii – Veii	visit to Veii, dedication	Briquel, "inscriptions": 47; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 300–301 no. VP44; Krämer, "Networks": 223 no. I.17; ET Ve 3.4.
5	*Avile Vipiienas*	*mine muluv*[*an*]*ece a:vile vipiien:nas* – Avile Vipiienas dedicated me	Vulci – Veii – Rome	visit to Veii, dedication; warfare in Rome	Briquel, "inscriptions": 52; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 298 no. VP17; Krämer, "Networks": 222 no. I.10; ET Ve 3.11.
6	*Aville Acvilnas* (**Aulus Aquilius*?)	[*min*]*e muluvenice a:ville a:cvil:naś:* – Aville Acvilnaś dedicated me	Rome – Veii – Vulci	attendance of funeral in Ischia di Castro (Vulci), gift exchange; dedication at Veii; migration from or to Rome?	Briquel, "inscriptions": 46–47; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 298 no. VP10; Krämer, "Networks": 222 no. I.5; ET Ve 3.7.

Tab. 1 (continued)

No.	Name of *gens* or Person	Text and Translation	Connection	Type of Personal Mobility	References
7	*Mamarce Apuniie*	*mini muluvanice mamar:ce a:puniie venala* – Mamarce Apuniie dedicated me to (the goddess) Vena(i)	Veii – Lavinium	visit to Veii, dedication; attendance of funeral in Lavinium, gift exchange	Briquel, "inscriptions": 48–49; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 297 no. VP06; Krämer, "Networks": 221 no. I.3; ET Ve 3.5.

Volsinii (Fig. 3). Among the activities were migrations, attendance of funerals, engagement in gift exchange, dedications in sanctuaries and even participation in combat as comrades (*sodales*). In this dynamic context, the Portonaccio Sanctuary of Veii seems to have been a particularly prestigious interregional gathering place for social elites, who might have used this institution to represent themselves, create alliances, discuss politics, negotiate economic agreements and create powerful interregional networks.

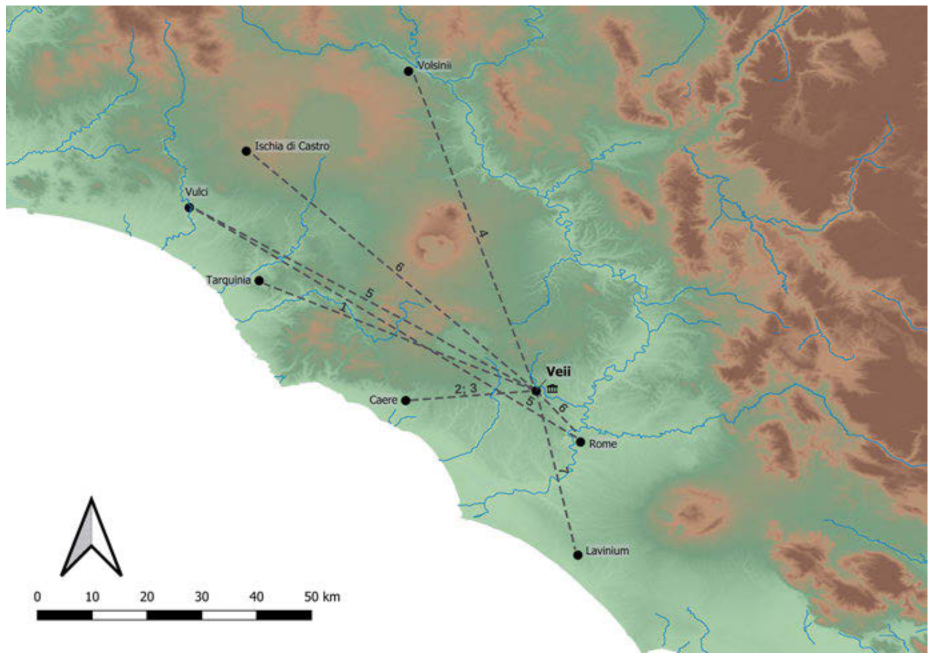

Fig. 3: Map of the interregional elite network at the Portonaccio Sanctuary of Veii. The numbers refer to individuals and *gentes* in Tab. 1.

2 Developments during the Sixth Century BCE: (1) Religious Architecture

The three aforementioned case studies stand for various aspects of social elite agency and representation in Etruscan sanctuaries in the seventh and early sixth centuries BCE: the display of socio-political ideals and the habitus of a leisure class (Brolio); conspicuous consumption, banqueting and diacritical practices (Roselle, 'Casa con Recinto'); and finally, literacy and elite networking (Veii, Portonaccio).

Against this background, the Etruscan sacred landscape changed gradually but profoundly in the course of the sixth century BCE, and during this process, the religious field seemed to become more integrative and accessible to large parts of the Etruscan city-states' inhabitants. The complex developments during this period and their socio-political implications will be discussed here through three types of archaeological evidence: religious architecture, pottery assemblages in sanctuaries and votive inscriptions.

The sixth century BCE saw a twofold radical transformation of religious architecture in the city-states and settlements of Central Italy: the standardization of temple buildings that followed canonical layouts and typologies (particularly in the form of *peripteroi* and temples of the Tuscan order), and at the same time the emergence of monumental religious architecture that shaped Etruscan, Faliscan and Latin cityscapes during the sixth century BCE.[39] These representative and colossal buildings were lavishly adorned with painted plaques, pedimental sculpture, antefixes, acroteria and other elements in terracotta.[40] At the same time, the sheer number of sanctuaries is notable as their construction exploded throughout Etruria during this period.[41]

The dimensions and floor areas of temples and cult buildings in Etruria and Latium vetus demonstrate the profound change that took place in the sixth century BCE, and in particular from ca. 570 BCE onwards. Diagram 2 shows the chronological distri-

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39 Vedia Izzet, "Tuscan Order: The Development of Etruscan Sanctuary Architecture," in *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy: Evidence and Experience*, ed. Edward Bispham and Christopher Smith (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000): 34–53; Vedia Izzet, *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 130–41.

40 Nancy A. Winter, "Gods Walking on the Roof: The Evolution of Terracotta Statuary in Archaic Etruscan Architecture in Light of the Kings of Rome," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18 (2005): 241–51; Nancy A. Winter, *Symbols of Wealth and Power: Architectural Terracotta Decoration in Etruria and Central Italy, 640–510 B.C.*, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome Suppl. 9 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2009); Nancy A. Winter, "Monumentalization of the Etruscan Round Moulding in Sixth-Century BCE Central Italy," in *Monumentality in Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture: Ideology and Innovation*, ed. Michael L. Thomas and Gretchen E. Meyers (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012): 61–81; Nancy A. Winter, "Architectural Terracottas of Central Italy within Their Wider Mediterranean Context," in *Architecture in Ancient Central Italy: Connections in Etruscan and Early Roman Building*, ed. Charlotte R. Potts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022): 62–94.

41 Krämer, "Places of Gods": 117–18 fig. 8.2; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 126–27 diagram 47.

bution of religious architecture in Etruria and Latium vetus by floor area (in sq m), with three overlapping groups (I: 200 sq m or less; II: ca. 200–600 sq m; III: more than 600 sq m).[42] The dataset in Diagram 2 illustrates the extensive monumentalization process in Central Italy between ca. 570 and 450 BCE, which took place in two waves (groups II–III) and led to increasingly larger buildings (grey marked area in Diagram 2). It is important to note that this process can also be observed in both Etruria (Diagram 2, triangles) and Latium vetus (Diagram 2, rectangles), where it occurred at the same time, and that the chronological distribution and the building measurements in both regions

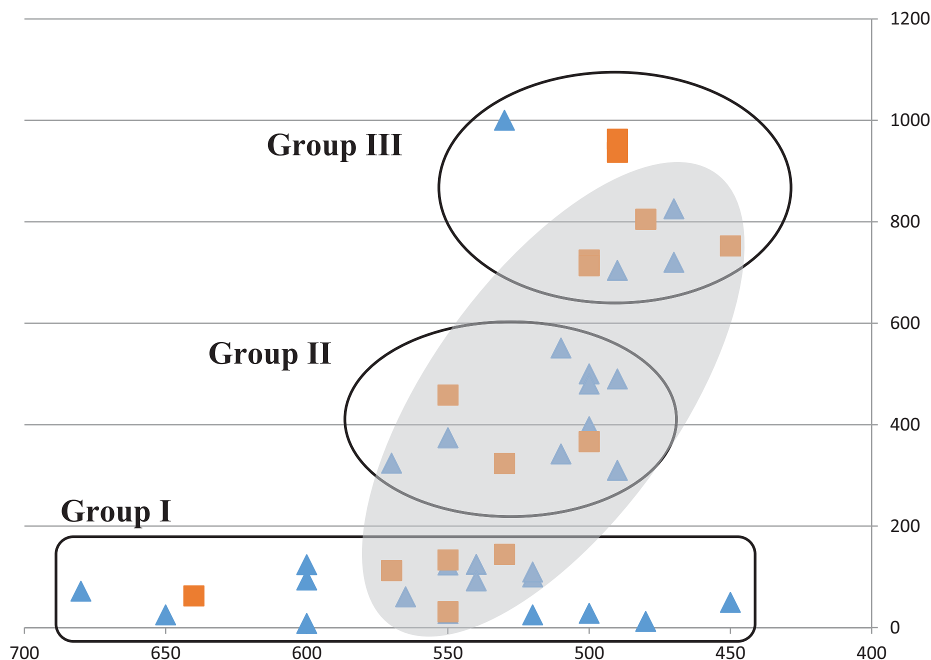

Diagram 2: Chronological distribution of cult buildings (horizontal axis – dating in BCE) in Etruria (triangles) and Latium vetus (rectangles) by floor area (vertical axis – floor area in sq m) (taken from Krämer, "Places of Gods": 119–20 fig. 8.3–8.4; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 129–30 tab. 45 and diagram 48).

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42 For the dataset, see Krämer, "Places of Gods": 118–21 fig. 8.3–8.4; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 127–31 tab. 45 and diagram 48. Only temples and cult buildings are considered here, while podiums, terraces, *temenos* walls and other architectural features are not taken into account. See also Marco Rendeli, "'Muratori, ho fretta di erigere questa casa' (Ant. Pal. 14.136): Concorrenza tra formazioni urbane dell'Italia centrale tirrenica nella costruzione di edifici di culto arcaici," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 12 (1989): 49–68; Maria Bonghi Jovino, "Tarquinio il Superbo e Tarquinia: un rapporto intricato e complesso," in *The Age of Tarquinius Superbus: Central Italy in the Late 6th Century BC: Proceedings of the Conference 'The Age of Tarquinius Superbus: A Paradigm Shift?' Rome, 7–9 November 2013*, ed. Patricia S. Lulof and Christopher J. Smith (Leuven: Peeters, 2017): 145–57, with compilations and analyses of cult buildings and their floor areas in Archaic Central Italy.

are very similar and seem to follow the same patterns. After the middle of the fifth century BCE, there seems to be an abrupt halt in building activities that could be linked to economic or political crises in Central Italy.

The above-documented monumentalization process was part of extensive socio-political developments that occurred during the emergence of city-states in Central Italy in the sixth century BCE. These include the implementation of an urban infrastructure, in particular cisterns, drainage and water management facilities, the layout of public spaces and road networks, and the erection of city walls.[43] Etruscan, Latial and Faliscan city-states seem to have organized, coordinated and invested a considerable amount of labour force into the execution of ambitious and costly building programs that changed urban layouts permanently; this can be determined through the increased amount of specialized craftspeople, architects and workers as well as in standardized measures, in particular those used for building materials such as squared stone blocks.[44] In this context, the erection of monumental temples and the foundation of new sanctuaries in Central Italy are expressions of wider phenomena: large building programs, the formation of an 'urbanity' and city-states with interregional influence and power, as well as the 'rise of monumental urban landscapes during the sixth century'[45] that included public institutions and spaces. The monumentalizations and building programs that altered the cityscapes of the sixth century BCE were probably directly connected to the profound interregional socio-political developments and changes that took place in Etruria as well as in Rome and in *Latium vetus*.

On the one hand, the religious architecture from the sixth century BCE and its elements could represent political power shifts – from social elite groups and aristocratic clans (*gentes*) to central authorities such as tyrants, kings or similar rulers, who could authorise and coordinate the implementation of ambitious building programs and encourage the religious participation of large parts of city-state communities.[46]

43 Gabriele Cifani, *Architettura romana arcaica: edilizia e società tra monarchia e repubblica* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2008): 255–320; Gabriele Cifani, *The Origins of the Roman Economy: From the Iron Age to the Early Republic in a Mediterranean Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021): 83–91.

44 Gabriele Cifani, "Aspects of Urbanism and Political Ideology in Archaic Rome," in *Papers on Italian Urbanism in the First Millenium B.C.*, ed. Elizabeth C. Robinson, Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. 97 (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2014): 18–24; Cifani, *The Origins*": 134–37; Seth Bernard, "A *Chaîne Operatoire* Approach to the Development of Early Ashlar Masonry at Rome," in *Tracing Technology: Forty Years of Archaeological Research at Satricum*, ed. Marijke Gnade and Martina Revello Lami (Leuven: Peeters, 2021): 85–96; Gabriele Cifani, "Techniche edilizie e società nel Lazio Arcaico," in *Tracing Technology: Forty Years of Archaeological Research at Satricum*, ed. Marijke Gnade and Martina Revello Lami (Leuven: Peeters, 2021): 41–50, in particular 43–46 fig. 4.

45 Cifani, "Aspects of Urbanism": 15.

46 Izzet, *Etruscan Society*: 123; Cifani, "Aspects of Urbanism": 18–24; Krämer, "Places of Gods": 129; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 127–31, 146–49. But see also John Hopkins, "Tarquins, Romans and Architecture at the Threshold of Republic," in *The Age of Tarquinius Superbus: Central Italy in the Late 6th Century BC: Proceedings of the Conference 'The Age of Tarquinius Superbus: A Paradigm Shift?' Rome,*

Several religious buildings in Etruria and Latium vetus have been interpreted in this sense as having been commissioned by a central authority, such as the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill in Rome commissioned by the Tarquins,[47] or the temples of Sant'Antonio and Pyrgi in Caere by Thefarie Velianas.[48] The monumentalization of the Portonaccio Sanctuary of Veii – in its third building phase at the end of the sixth century BCE, with its large Tuscan temple, architectural terracotta decoration and life-size clay statues on top of the roof – has been similarly read by Giovanni Colonna as being a representative project by a tyrant or monarch.[49] Finally, architectural terracotta elements of the Veii-Rome-Velletri decorative system, with acroteria showing Athena/Menerva and Heracles/Hercle, have been connected to symbolic imagery of 'tyrannical power' in Central Italy.[50] Political power shifts in Central Italy, from aristocracies to monarchies and central authorities, may have been an important factor for the significant building programs and the widespread erections of monumental temples.

On the other hand, monumental temples represented permanent religious institutions with established priesthoods, which certainly played important roles in the public spaces of the city-states. The religious field was increasingly defined and shaped by the ritual actions and performances of the city-state communities instead of being a restricted sphere for the distinctive representations of social elites. In this sense, com-

7–9 November 2013, ed. Patricia S. Lulof and Christopher J. Smith (Leuven: Peeters, 2017): 135–42, on the case of Rome in the sixth and early fifth centuries BCE, where he refers to the intense building activities in Rome after the regal period and calls for caution in connecting every monumental building project to the Tarquins and a central authority.

47 John North Hopkins, *The Genesis of Roman Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016): 97–125; Gabriele Cifani, "Small, Medium or Extra-Long? Prolegomena to any Future Metaphysics on the Reconstructions of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus," in *The Age of Tarquinius Superbus: Central Italy in the Late 6th Century BC: Proceedings of the Conference 'The Age of Tarquinius Superbus: A Paradigm Shift?' Rome, 7–9 November 2013*, ed. Patricia S. Lulof and Christopher J. Smith (Leuven: Peeters, 2017): 113–22.

48 Vincenzo Bellelli, "Caere nell'età dei 'tiranni'," in *The Age of Tarquinius Superbus: Central Italy in the Late 6th Century BC: Proceedings of the Conference 'The Age of Tarquinius Superbus: A Paradigm Shift?' Rome, 7–9 November 2013*, ed. Patricia S. Lulof and Christopher J. Smith (Leuven: Peeters, 2017): 167–75; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 169–70, 173–78 ch. VI.1.2.1; VI.1.2.4; VI.1.2.5.

49 Giovanni Colonna, "Portonaccio," in *Veio, Cerveteri, Vulci: città d'Etruria a confronto*, ed. Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2001): 40–43; Colonna, "The Sanctuary of Portonaccio": 120–23.

50 Winter, "Gods Walking on the Roof"; Winter, *Symbols of Wealth*: 311–93; Daniele F. Maras, "Miti e riti di divinizzazione in Italia Centrale nell'età tirannica," in *Le lamine d'oro a cinquant'anni dalla scoperta: dati archeologici su Pyrgi nell'epoca di Thefarie Velianas e rapporti con altre realtà del Mediterraneo*, ed. Maria Paola Baglione and Laura Maria Michetti [= *Scienze dell'Antichità* 21, no. 2 (2015)]: 75–99; Patricia S. Lulof, "New Perspectives on the Acroteria of Caeretan Temples," in *Caere*, ed. Nancy Thomson de Grummond and Lisa C. Pieraccini (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016): 131–40. See also Hopkins, *Genesis*: 66–84 on the case of Sant'Omobono in Rome, who is against the political interpretation of the acroteria with Menerva and Hercle as symbolic imagery of tyrants or monarchs.

munity members may have been more involved and integrated into cult activities and into the sacred landscape of city-states in Etruria and Central Italy during the sixth century BCE.

3 Developments during the Sixth Century BCE: (2) Pottery Consumption and Ritual Practice

As has been mentioned before, large portions of Etruscan city-state populations seem to have been increasingly involved in cult practices and integrated into the religious field. The pottery assemblages from sixth-century Etruscan sanctuaries may reflect this development as well and will be discussed here briefly through the case of the forum area in Roselle.

The conspicuous consumption by social elite members and the pottery assemblage from the 'Casa con Recinto' in the forum area of Roselle during the second half of the seventh century BCE have already been examined above (Diagram 1). After the obliteration of the 'Casa con Recinto' and its substitution by a public square around 600 BCE, a temple (ca. 11.1 x 11.2 m) was built only a few meters north in ca. 540–530 BCE. At least two votive deposits lying next to each other were located in the temples' immediate surroundings; both deposits can be dated to the second half of the sixth century BCE and were probably ritually connected to the temple area.

The pottery assemblage (Diagram 3)[51] of the votive deposits in the forum area of Roselle is entirely different from the one found in the 'Casa con Recinto' about two or three generations prior, and it consists mainly of small bowls, plates and miniature vessels in bucchero. Some vessels show short inscriptions (for example, *X*, *XII*, *ka*, *se*, *ni*, *kp*) that could be markings and numbers as well as onomastic abbreviations. Additionally, at least one oinochoe in bucchero and one impasto dolium fragment with the sacred inscription *aiser*[---?] ('[of?] the gods')[52] were found in the deposits.

The communal distribution and consumption of food and beverages seem to have been the main activities at the cult place; the ritual practice may have involved: (1) the storage of wine or another beverage in the dolium with the *aiser* inscription, (2) the beverage's public distribution using the oinochoe and (3) its consumption by cult visitors in small vessels and their deposition afterwards.

This pottery set and the ritual actions proposed here do not seem to be connected to the aforementioned diacritical tools used by a social elite that aspired for prestige accumulation and the legitimation of status differences. Unlike at the 'Casa con Recinto',

51 For the vessel shapes and productions of the pottery found in the votive deposits, see Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 215 tab. 51; 217; 218–20 tab. 53.

52 Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 294 no. RO02; ET Ru 4.1.

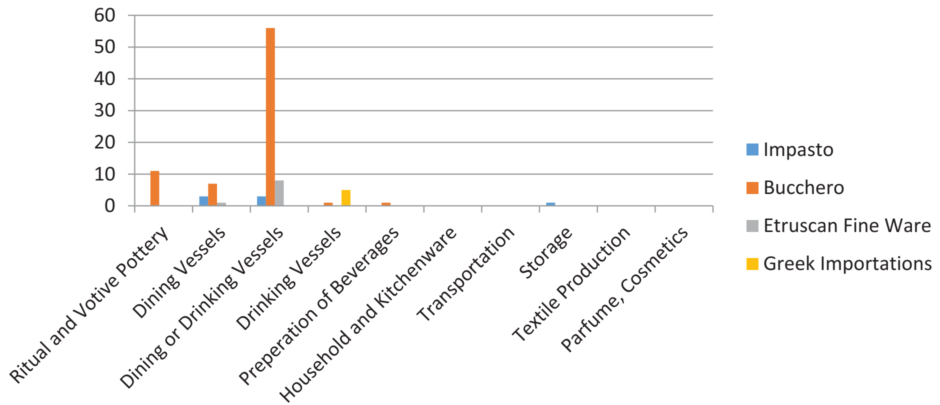

Diagram 3: Roselle, Votive Deposits. Pottery Assemblage according to Functional Groups.

the conspicuous investment of economic capital, the consumption and display of exotic and valuable resources, the banqueting practices as well as the use of formulaic dedicatory inscriptions seem to be missing in this context. Instead, the pottery found among the votive deposits seems to have been mass-produced, without high value or exclusivity, and could reflect the practices of a larger group of equal social standing (at least represented as such in this ritual context and during sacred performances), with little representative motivations. The socio-political context and functions of this sanctuary might have been inclusion and collective identity-formation rather than the display of the elite status of particular groups and the demonstration of social differences.

In this sense, the pottery assemblage and the use of short inscriptions in the forum area of Roselle stand for a larger interregional development of pottery consumption in Etruscan sanctuaries during the sixth century BCE: the shift from the prestigious and distinctive, banquet-like consumption of pottery of a small elite towards the mass consumption of large numbers of participants. This trend is tangible in the increasing number of pottery findings in sanctuary contexts from the sixth century BCE, in the gradual disappearance of prestigious banqueting sets in favour of simple dining and drinking vessels of mass production, as well as in the non-representative and simple pottery inscriptions, as shall be discussed briefly below.[53]

53 For the development of pottery consumption in Etruscan sanctuaries in the sixth–fifth century BCE as described here, see Krämer, “Places of Gods”: 121–22; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 76–81.

4 Developments during the Sixth Century BCE: (3) Votive Inscriptions and Ritual Practice

The case study on the Portonaccio Sanctuary of Veii, as discussed above, has shown how friendship networks and alliances (*hospitia*), gift exchange and literacy were interconnected and embedded into Etruscan elite representation during the seventh and early sixth centuries BCE. Important practices were donations and the dedication of objects with long, formulaic *muluvanice*-inscriptions or similar texts, and with commemorated names of *gentes* and clan members. In this context, votive inscriptions and their presence in sanctuaries played a central role since literacy could almost only be accessed by elite members, who used it as a diacritical tool to accumulate prestige and highlight a privileged social position.

This would change in the course of the sixth century BCE, when the majority of votive inscriptions in sacred contexts became brief consecrations to deities, often without mentioning the dedicants at all. Giovanni Colonna and Daniele Federico Maras noticed this development in votive inscriptions and ritual behaviour; Colonna argued that this was an expression of a dichotomy in the religious field, an opposition between urban areas and the *emporion*, between the centre and the periphery, as well as between aristocratic and plebeian cults;[54] Maras, on the other hand, interpreted this shift as one that went from the aristocratic practices of the Orientalizing period towards the use of 'Hellenized' ritual texts, similar to those from Greece in the Classical period.[55]

The inscriptions at the Portonaccio Sanctuary of Veii as well as those at Pyrgi and Gravisca were an essential base for these interpretations and the recognition of the changed social status of Etruscan cult visitors; particularly important in this regard were the personal names of the dedicants at Gravisca during the first half of the fifth century BCE. The votive inscriptions at this cult place feature visitors with names such as Arnza (little Arnθ), Paiθe, Tit[e] or Tit[a], and [L]arza (little Larθ), among others; the short and simple name form as well as the diminutive form, with the *-za*

54 Giovanni Colonna, "Le iscrizioni etrusche," *Scienze dell'Antichità* 3/4 (1989/1990): 879: "Non è certo casuale né artificiosa la contrapposizione tra Veio da un lato (e Vulci e Orvieto, donde vengono le uniche dediche lapidarie finora note), e Gravisca, S. Marinella e Pyrgi dall'altro, che è contrapposizione tra santuari urbani e santuari emporici, tra culto 'aristocratico' e culto 'plebeo', tra centro e periferia. Non v'è dubbio infatti che proprio nell'ambito emporico si sviluppino nuove forme di devozione, destinate rapidamente a grande fortuna, con riflessi sul regime delle offerte e del formulario votivo."

55 Daniele Federico Maras, *Il dono votivo: Gli dei e il sacro nelle iscrizioni etrusche di culto*, Biblioteca di Studi Etruschi 46 (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2009): 31: "Si assiste nel corso del periodo arcaico ad una evoluzione del sistema epigrafico votivo, a partire dal sistema aristocratico orientalizzante verso forme affini a quelle della Grecia classica, cui fa riscontro nel mondo etrusco una sensibile diminuzione dei testi funerari di dono con l'arrivo dell'eta recente."

in Arnza and Larza, could point to a particularly low social status, such as a poor person, slave, servant or freed slave (Latin: *libertus*, Etruscan: *lautni*).[56] For this reason, these individuals have been interpreted as being servants or slaves who had worked at Gravisca, or as recently freed slaves, or even as refugees who had sought asylum in the sacred institution of the sanctuary (ἀσυλία).[57] Moreover, Mario Torelli interpreted the inscriptions at Gravisca as an expression of a radical and fundamental social upheaval (or better: a revolution) in the fifth century BCE, when a dependent and oppressed social class of slaves, serfs and servants became liberated.[58]

This article argues that there was indeed a fundamental shift in ritual practice and the use of votive inscriptions during the sixth century BCE, but this was not rooted in a dichotomy of urban centres and the periphery, or in the Hellenization of Etruscan ritual practices, or in an Etruscan class conflict between slaves/servants and the aristocracy in a Marxist sense. In order to understand the change in the role of literacy and its socio-political context, it is necessary to examine the Etruscan votive inscriptions as a quantitative dataset.

There are at least 334 documented pottery inscriptions in 51 sanctuaries from the Etruscan core region between the eighth and fifth centuries BCE (Diagram 4 shows the chronological distribution of the inscriptions).[59] Most of the inscriptions are from Southern Etruria, particularly from the Portonacccio Sanctuary of Veii, Gravisca and the Southern Sanctuary of Pyrgi, which is why these three cult places have a great impact on all statistical analyses of the data. The text class of a votive inscription in a

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56 Mario Torelli, "Quali greci a Gravisca?" *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 11 (2004): 130; Lucio Fiorini and Mario Torelli, "Quarant'anni di ricerche a Gravisca," in *Material Aspects of Etruscan Religion: Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leiden, May 29 and 30, 2008*, ed. L. Bouke van der Meer (Leuven: Peeters, 2010): 45 with footnotes, 110–16; Mario Torelli, "La rinascita del santuario (420–400 a.C.)," in *Il mare che univa: Gravisca santuario mediterraneo*, ed. Luca Mercuri and Lucio Fiorini (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2014): 44; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 281 no. GR07; 282 no. GR11, GR14, GR16; Krämer, "Networks": 214–15, 223–24 nos. II.3, II.5, II.6, II.7; ET Ta 0.17, Ta 0.31, Ta 2.44, Ta 3.3. For the diminutive suffix *-za* in the Etruscan language, see Luciano Agostiniani, "Aspetti formali e semantici del suffisso di diminutivo *-za* in Etrusco," *Studi Etruschi* 69 (2003): 183–93.

57 Torelli, "Gravisca": 129–30; Fiorini and Torelli, "Gravisca": 44–45; Torelli, "La rinascita": 43–45.

58 "Nelle testimonianze epigrafiche di Gravisca si cela dunque la storia della grande trasformazione sociale avvenuta allo scadere del V secolo a.C.: la nuova fase del santuario riflette una tappa cruciale nel processo di progressiva liberazione dei *servi*, questa singolare classe subalterna, di cui le aristocrazie etrusche si sono servite largamente in tutte le attività produttive e nel lavoro domestico, e del contemporaneo emergere della schiavitù classica attestato nella prima metà del IV secolo a.C. dalla dedica a *Turan* di *Ramtha Venatres*." (Torelli, "La rinascita": 44).

59 The collection of these 334 inscriptions includes those found on pottery from 51 sanctuaries in the Etruscan core region of the eighth–fifth century BCE. The inscriptions contain at least three readable letters; non-Etruscan inscriptions are taken into account, while single letters, fragmentary inscriptions of 1–2 letters, images, signs and symbols are not considered here. For the dataset of the inscriptions and its analysis, see Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 132–45, 279–302 ch. VI.2.

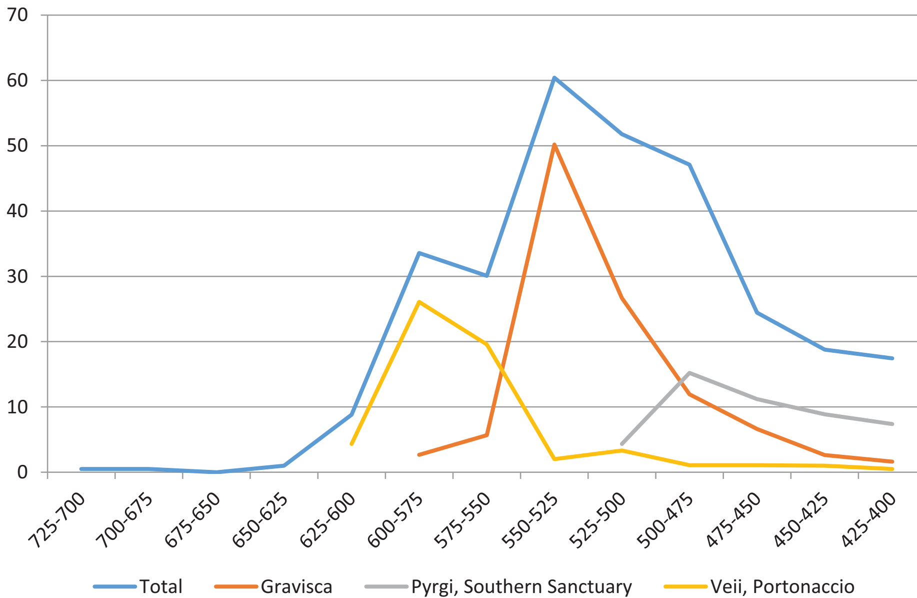

Diagram 4: Chronological Distribution of Pottery Inscriptions in Etruscan Sanctuaries (eighth–fifth century BCE).

sanctuary is an important aspect of every study and highlights changes in the function of the ritual texts. Three main functions or text classes appear regularly in pottery inscriptions:

(1) Dedications: inscriptions with a verb indicating the dedication or donation of an object to a deity (*verba donandi*), as discussed above for the Portonaccio Sanctuary of Veii; for example: *mini muluvanice mamar:ce a:puniie venala* – Mamarce Apuniie dedicated me to (the goddess) Vena(i);[60]

(2) Consecrations: votive texts that only mention the object belonging to a deity, while dedicants or dedicatory verbs are missing; for example: *mi turuns* – I belong to Turan;[61]

(3) Property inscriptions: texts mentioning a person or *gens* without deities or the use of *verba donandi*; for example: *mi fasθiia alśiia* – I am of (coming from; dedicated by) Fasθia Alśi.[62] In sanctuaries, these inscriptions do not necessarily have to be understood as indications of possession, but rather as information about the dedicant. In this sense, property inscriptions are the exact counterpart of consecrations (which provide information about the recipient/receiving deity).

60 See above Tab. 1, no. 7, with further references.
61 Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 281 nos. GR01, GR03–GR05; ET Ta 4.1, Ta 4.5–Ta 4.7.
62 Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 295 no. SB07; ET AT 2.41.

Diagram 5 shows the chronological distribution of pottery inscriptions in Etruscan sanctuaries according to text classes and functions. It is clear that the practices of writing votive inscriptions on pottery started out in the late seventh century BCE, became very popular throughout the sixth and early fifth centuries BCE and declined suddenly in the second quarter of the fifth century BCE (see Diagram 4). According to the chronological distribution of the text classes, votive inscriptions from the period of ca. 630–550 BCE were written for the most part as dedications with *verba donandi*; these inscriptions often mentioned the names of *gentes* and can be attributed to social elite members, as in the case of the Portonaccio Sanctuary. Around the middle or in the third quarter of the sixth century BCE, a profound shift occurred when dedications were gradually replaced by consecrations and property inscriptions. As mentioned before, the dataset is heavily biased towards Pyrgi, Gravisca and the Portonaccio Sanctuary of Veii, but pottery inscriptions from other cult places seem to confirm that this shift was indeed a general trend in urban, suburban and rural sacred contexts in Northern and Southern Etruria. Therefore, the shift can be assumed to have taken place in the entirety of the Etruscan sacred landscape during the sixth century BCE.[63]

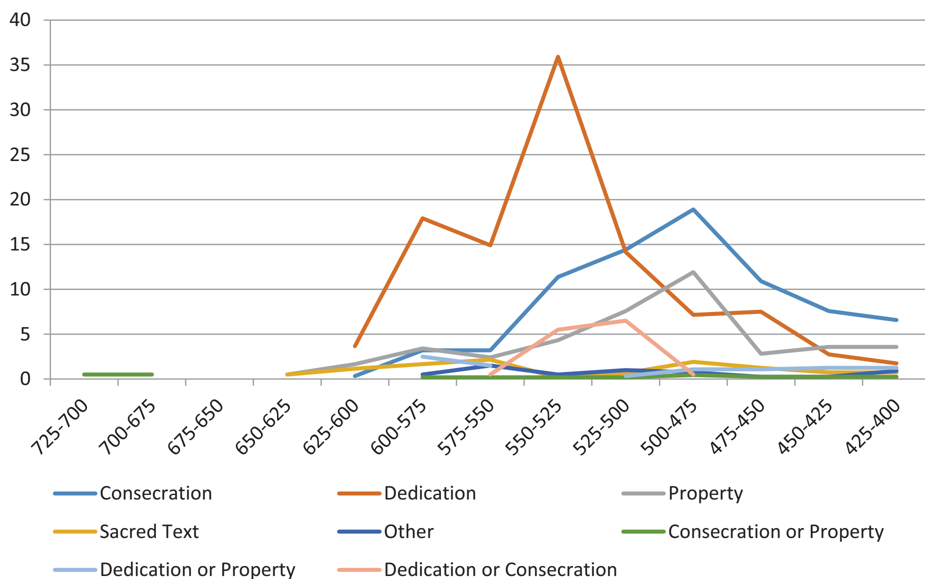

Diagram 5: Chronological Distribution of Pottery Inscriptions in Etruscan Sanctuaries (eighth–fifth century BCE) according to Functions and Text Classes.

What could have been the reasons and the socio-political context behind such a radical and fundamental change in the use of votive inscriptions? It is argued here that similar

63 Krämer, "Places of Gods": 122–24; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 133–40.

developments, as in the case of pottery consumption discussed above, took place: the shift from the prestigious, restrictive and diacritical practices of a small elite towards a more open, inclusive and collective use of votive inscriptions by a larger group of visitors from a greater and more diverse social spectrum. This does not indicate a dichotomy of centre and periphery, a Hellenization of the religious field or a fundamental social revolution and the upheaval of an oppressed servant class; rather, it seems to suggest the higher accessibility to literacy in Etruscan communities, with the effect that votive inscriptions became shorter and non-representative since they were no longer effective tools for the accumulation of prestige and the display of an elite social status. This development fits well with the erection of monumental temples and sanctuaries in the sixth century BCE, which served as communal religious institutions that replaced former elite spaces and were open to a larger audience. In this sense, the short and non-representative votive texts were probably not part of 'plebeian' rituals, nor were they expressions of a peasant cult from a social underclass. Instead, they were general, widespread practices of a broad religious collective within the Etruscan city-states.

5 Radical Shifts in the Etruscan Sacred Landscape around 500 BCE and 'Plebeian Cults'

The previous chapters on architecture, pottery consumption and votive inscriptions reconstructed the gradual and long-term change in the Etruscan sacred landscape of the sixth century BCE – a change that moved from elite-centred, prestigious and restrictive gathering places towards monumental sanctuaries and city-state institutions open to the entirety of society and ritual communities. However, the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth century BCE seem to mark the radical shifts that occurred in (at least some) Etruscan city-states, in their political systems and in their respective religious fields.

The plateau of Piazza d'Armi in Veii is an interesting case study in this regard. At the end of the seventh century BCE, a courtyard building and an *oikos*, both decorated with architectural terracotta of exceptional quality, were erected right at the centre of the plateau (Fig. 4). The *oikos* has been interpreted as a cult building belonging to the residential complex of an aristocratic *gens* that controlled the plateau of Piazza d'Armi and could have been responsible for the monumentalization and urban transformation of the area. In the second half of the sixth century BCE, the residence was completely dismantled, and the terracotta decoration was deposited into a hollow carved into the bedrock, which indicate the possible ritual obliteration of the building complex. Additionally, the road system, infrastructure and buildings of Piazza d'Armi were rebuilt and restored in the same period, indicating a profound and radical

change in the social and political system in Veii that was connected to the dismantling of a sanctuary and an elite residence.[64]

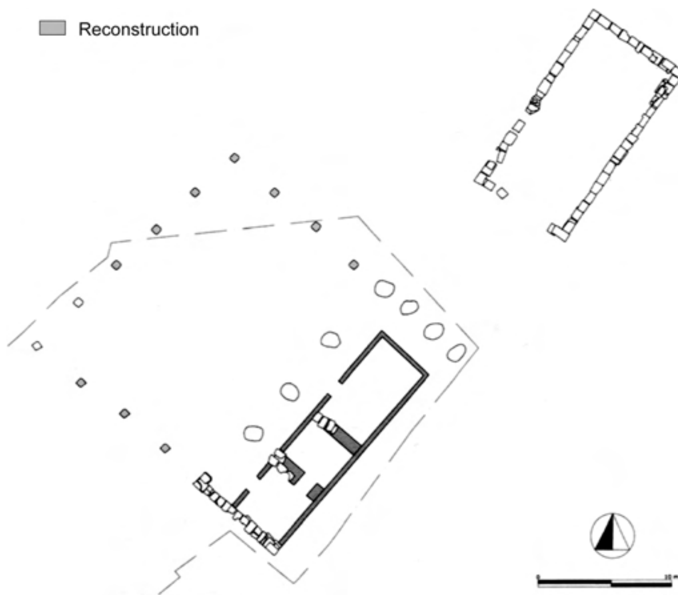

Fig. 4: Veii, Piazza d'Armi. Reconstruction of the Residential Building in front of the *oikos.*

The case of the city-state of Caere at the end of the sixth century BCE, with Thefarie Velianas as its ruler, marks the best-documented example of a radical political shift that can be traced in the Etruscan sacred landscape. Thefarie Velianas is known for his dedication of Temple B and the eastern part of the northern/monumental sanctuary of Pyrgi around 510 BCE, which were commemorated in three inscribed golden sheets that may have been affixed onto the door frame of Temple B. After the end of the reign of Thefarie Velianas around 470/460 BCE, Temple A – a new cult building – was built, and the size of the northern sanctuary of Pyrgi was nearly doubled. Since the pediment relief depicted two episodes of the myth of the Seven against Thebes, which involved Tydeus and Capaneus being punished by Zeus and Athena for their *hybris* and blasphemous acts, the common theme has been interpreted as a warning and a message sent by the new political system to aspiring tyrants and strongmen, suggesting that arrogance and brutality will be punished. If this is the case, then the

64 Gilda Bartoloni et al., "Veio, Piazza d'Armi: la fossa del cane," *Archeologia Classica* 63 (2012): 55–126; Valeria Acconcia, "Veii, the Stratigraphy of an Ancient Town: A Case Study of Piazza d'Armi," in *Veii*, ed. Jacopo Tabolli (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2019): 12–14 with fig. 1.6, 1.8; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 258–60 ch. VI.1.13.4, with further references.

expansion of the northern sanctuary of Pyrgi and the decoration of Temple A could have been commissioned by a new and probably republican government.[65]

In this context, the site of Vigna Parrocchiale in the centre of the city plateau of Caere is of interest. In the first two building phases during the sixth century BCE, a residence complex (*residenza arcaica*) that may have belonged to the aforementioned Thefarie Velianas was built (Fig. 5–6). A pot sherd with the inscription '*mi calaturus*' (I belong to the herald), which was found at the residence, suggests that it had official and public functions involving the regular presence of heralds. However, the residence was destroyed at the end of the sixth century/beginning of the fifth century BCE, and the rubble (*scarico arcaico*) was dumped into a cistern. Shortly afterwards, the area was replaced and 'sacralised' by a monumental temple of the Tuscan order, which was built directly on top of the former residence complex (Fig. 7). At the same time, around 490–480 BCE, a large building with an elliptic shape (*edificio elittico*) was constructed nearby, which has been interpreted as an *ekklesiasterion*, a public building for meetings, similar to a town hall.[66]

The sanctuary of Sant'Antonio on the southeastern margin of the city plateau and at a main gate of Caere offers interesting parallels. The first architectural structures were built during the sixth century BCE, and among them was a cistern that was carved into a rock, a temenos wall, a building with three chambers and the first cult building (Temple proto A). However, around 500 BCE and therefore shortly before the transformation of Vigna Parrocchiale from a residence area into a sanctuary, the edifices of Sant'Antonio were dismantled, covered and replaced by two monumental temples (Temple A and B) and an altar.[67] It seems that the restructuration at Sant'An-

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65 On the northern/monumental sanctuary of Pyrgi, the dedication by Thefarie Velianas and the pediment relief of Temple A, see, for example: Maria Paola Baglione, "Pyrgi, un santuario nel cuore del Mediterraneo," in *Gli Etruschi e il Mediterraneo: La città di Cerveteri*, ed. Françoise Gaultier et al. (Rome: Azienda Speciale Palaexpo, 2014): 205–11; Laura Maria Michetti, "Ports: Trade, Cultural Connections, Sanctuaries, and Emporia," in *Caere*, ed. Nancy Thomson de Grummond and Lisa C. Pieraccini (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016): in particular 79; Laura Maria Michetti, "Caere e Pyrgi: la città arcaica nelle sue forme sociali e politiche e la nascita degli empori," in *Etruschi: viaggio nelle terre dei Rasna*, ed. Laura Bentini et al. (Milan: Electa, 2020): 163–64; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 173–74, with several references.

66 Mauro Cristofani, ed., *Lo scarico arcaico della Vigna Parrocchiale*, vol. 1, *Caere 3.1* (Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 1992); Mauro Cristofani, ed., *Lo scarico arcaico della Vigna Parrocchiale*, vol. 2, *Caere 3.2* (Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 1993); Robinson Peter Krämer, "The Cleansing of a Political System: Obliterations, Burials and 'Reuse' of Palaces and Seats of Power in Central Italy (Seventh–Fifth centuries BCE)," in *Cleaning and Value: Interdisciplinary Investigations*, ed. Isabel Bredenbröker et al. (Leiden: Sidestone, 2020): 202–3 fig. 3 a–c.

67 On the sanctuary of Sant'Antonio at Caere, see Adriano Maggiani, "Il santuario in località Sant'Antonio: la fase arcaica," in *Gli Etruschi e il Mediterraneo: La città di Cerveteri*, ed. Françoise Gaultier et al. (Rome: Azienda Speciale Palaexpo, 2014): 176–78; Maria Antonietta Rizzo, "Cerveteri (Roma), il santuario di *Hercle* in località Sant'Antonio," in *Etruschi: Viaggio nelle terre dei Rasna*, ed. Laura Bentini et al. (Milan: Electa, 2020): 168; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 169–70 ch. VI.1.2.1, with further references.

Fig. 5: Caere, Vigna Parrocchiale. Phase 1 of the Archaic 'Residence Building'.

tonio, the radical transformation of Vigna Parrocchiale and the construction of Temple A at Pyrgi might have been part of one large building program after the fall of Thefarie Velianas, meant to shape the cityscape and the sacred landscape of Caere at the beginning of a new political system (a republican form of government?).[68] In this sense, the introduction of new deities at Caere, such as the goddess Vei at Vigna Parrocchiale[69] or the Tlusχva at Sant'Antonio,[70] has been interpreted by Adriano Mag-

68 "La fondazione del nuovo tempio A si colloca in un momento di grandi trasformazioni degli edifici pubblici di Cerveteri; esso sembra precedere di poco la fondazione del tempio (consacrato a Vei?) nel cuore della città, nell'area della Vigna Parrocchiale." (Maggiani, "Il santuario": 177).

69 Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 281 cat. CA01, with references.

70 Adriano Maggiani, "*Tluschva*, divinità ctonie," in *Corollari: Scritti in antichità etrusche e italiche in omaggio all'opera di Giovanni Colonna*, ed. Daniele F. Maras (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2011): 138–49; Krämer, *Heiligtümer*: 280 cat. CB03, with references.

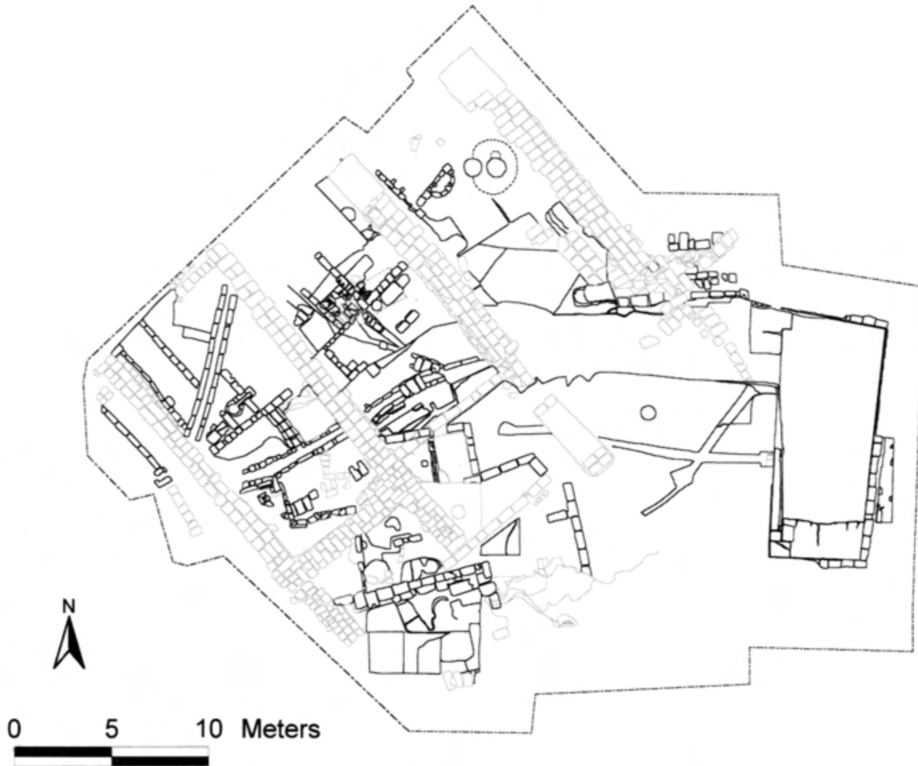

Fig. 6: Caere, Vigna Parrocchiale. Phase 2 of the Archaic 'Residence Building'.

giani as being a part of new plebeian cults that conspicuously replaced those of the former monarchy in terms of architecture, rituality and ideology.[71]

The shifts in the Etruscan sacred landscape are not isolated phenomena, but part of larger socio-political upheavals. The author of this article has argued elsewhere that the time between the end of the sixth century and the early fifth century BCE marks a period in Central Italy in which seats of power and residences were frequently destroyed and autocratic regimes overthrown in favour of republican forms of government. The city-state communities and societies of Central Italy chose different strategies in dealing with

71 "Ci sono indizi per sostenere che il periodo tra la fine del VI e l'inizio del V sec. sia stato anche per questa città un momento di grandi trasformazioni sociali e politiche. Può essere il momento della caduta della "monarchia" di *Thefarie Velianas* e di un forte rivolgimento sociale, con pesanti ricadute anche sul piano urbanistico e architettonico, che vide nella zona della Vigna Parrocchiale, nel cuore dell'abitato, l'abbattimento di un intero quartiere aristocratico, per far posto a un santuario dal possibile carattere plebeo (vedi la dedica a *Vei = Demetra*), mentre nel santuario in località S. Antonio si verifica una radicale trasformazione in senso più monumentale degli apparati di culto dell'area sacra." (Maggiani, "*Tluschva*": 147).

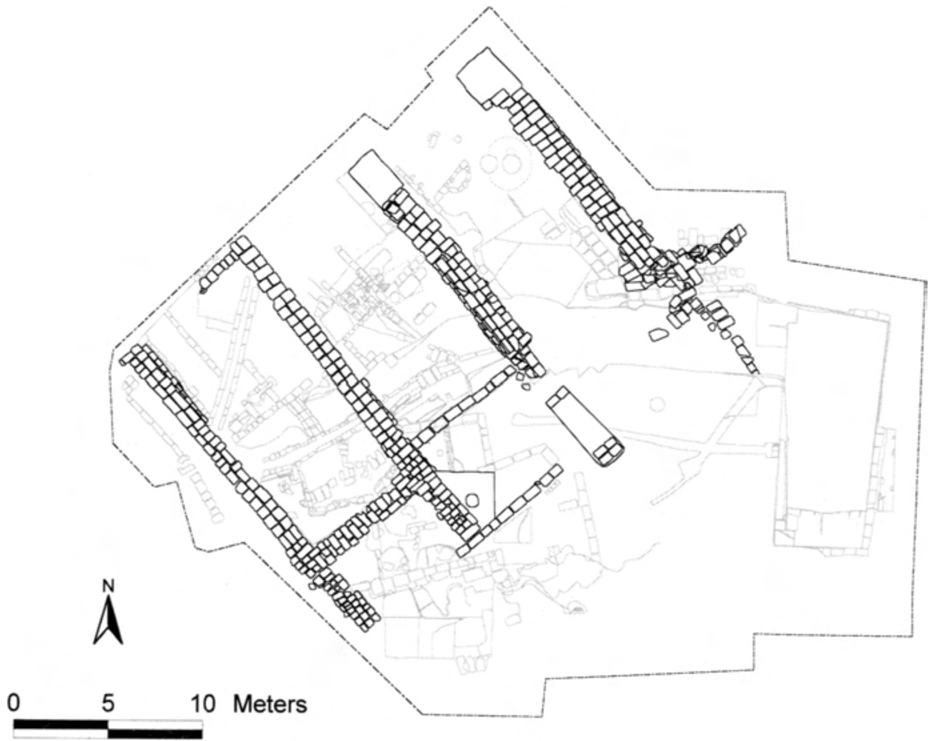

Fig. 7: Caere, Vigna Parrocchiale. Temple of the Tuscan order that was built on top of the Archaic 'Residence Building'.

these seats of power and spaces of former regimes and in cleansing the public memory of the unwelcome past. These were accomplished through destruction, obliteration rites, curses and desecrations, as well as through the re-use of buildings. Among the examples of such measures are the *regiae* of Gabii and Rome, Poggio Civitate and the aforementioned site of Vigna Parrocchiale in Caere.[72] Furthermore, the entire imagery and ideology of aristocratic culture vanished during this period: courtyard buildings (*anaktora*, *regiae*), *tumuli* and exotic commodities disappeared. The rich architectural terracottas with life-size acroterial figures and plaques containing powerful elite scenes, and especially the Veii-Rome-Velletri decorative system with its imagery possibly symbolic of tyrannical power, were all replaced by simple ornamental plaques and terracottas.

72 Krämer, "The Cleansing."

6 Towards an Interpretation of Religious Transformations in Etruria during the Sixth and Early Fifth Centuries BCE

This article discussed and interpreted three socio-political contexts: (1) sanctuaries in the seventh and early sixth centuries BCE as spaces for aristocratic representation and elite practices; (2) long-term developments in the Etruscan sacred landscape during the sixth century BCE based on three datasets (architecture and monumentalizations, pottery assemblages and votive inscriptions); (3) the 'radical' shift in the Etruscan sacred landscape around 500 BCE, during a period of social upheavals and political changes.

All of the three contexts show how the sanctuaries and the religious field were embedded into the socio-political structures of the Etruscan city-states and how they reflected the developments and changes within Etruscan society. The early cult places evidenced the various representational strategies and mechanisms used by elite members in the sanctuaries: the creation of 'idea-scapes' with imagery depicting social values, codes of power and elite habitus; conspicuous consumption, banqueting and the showcase of trans-Mediterranean luxury objects or commodities; as well as gatherings, gift exchange and the use of literacy as a diacritical practice.

In the course of the sixth century BCE, long-term developments can be traced in Etruscan sanctuaries. Standardized, monumental cult buildings were erected within the city-states, and at the same time institutions with priesthoods replaced private cult places. The pottery assemblages and votive inscriptions indicate that sanctuaries became more open, inclusive and accessible to a large part of society, and that even mass consumption and non-representative ritual activities took place. This gradual increase in representation and access that the middle class had in the religious field can be found similarly in funerary contexts, where large *tumuli* were replaced by smaller ones and by *tombe a dado* arranged along rectilinear and orthogonal streets in the necropoleis. In this sense, the change in the Etruscan sacred landscape in the sixth century BCE seems to stand for the new-found religion of the city-state (one might think of the concept of 'polis religion' in Greece), but it cannot be interpreted as being a peasant cult or the plebeian rituals of a social underclass, since a large portion of society seems to have been involved.

Finally, the time around 500 BCE represents the end of the aristocratic culture, and in particular a wave of socio-political upheavals and shifts in Central Italy that can be traced in sanctuaries and in the religious field. The toppling of an autocratic regime and the successful instating of a republican form of government during this period was celebrated with the erection of monumental cult buildings, commemorated with symbolic imagery and the creation of new plebeian cults as well as with the replacement and covering of seats of power with sanctuaries. These measures must have been of great symbolic and ideological value, and they certainly provided a visible documentation of the political change to everyone. However, these developments were less part of plebeian

cults or an underclass religion since the goal seems to have been to clearly mark the political shifts within the city-states and to distance society from past regimes and autocrats.

The Etruscan sacred landscape changed profoundly from the seventh to the fifth centuries BCE, and it gives many insights about socio-political structures, developments and even radical shifts. However, this article has hopefully demonstrated that the religious fields of Etruscan city-states and their social contexts should not be prematurely framed as expressions of peasants, plebeians and lower social classes in Etruria in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. For the moment, it seems difficult to determine the existence of peasant cults in Central Italy during the Archaic period.

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List of Figures

Fig. 1–3 Raffaella Da Vela and Robinson Peter Krämer, with QGIS 3.16.1, http://www.qgis.org; SRTM Data: A. Jarvis, H.I. Reuter, A. Nelson, E. Guevara, 2008, Hole-filled seamless SRTM data V4, International Centre for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT), available on http://srtm.csi.cgiar.org
Fig. 4 Reproduction after Acconcia 2019, 13 fig. 1.6. © Valeria Acconcia; with kind permission from Valeria Acconcia and Jacopo Tabolli
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Tab. 1 Created by Robinson Peter Krämer
Diagram 1–5 Created by Robinson Peter Krämer

Erich Kistler

De-Monumentalisation and Disempowerment of the Chiefly House in Late Archaic Monte Iato (Western Sicily, 460/50 BCE)

Abstract: *Zwischen 460 und 450 v. Chr. erfuhr der ca. 30 km südwestlich von Palermo gelegene Monte Iato eine umfassende De-Monumentalisierung seines kolonialen Zentrums beim ‚Aphrodite-Tempel'. Das spätarchaische Haus wurde als Residenz des regionalen Chiefs rituell zerstört, die hydrotechnischen Anlagen als Manifestationen kolonialen Wissens de-funktionalisiert und das Kultbild im ‚Aphrodite-Tempel' als Ausdruck kolonial-religiösen Synkretismus zerschlagen. Statt Anzeichen eines gewaltsamen Aufstandes deutet alles auf ein zeremonielles Großereignis hin. Dieses feierte das Ende des spätarchaischen Hauses und betonte durch archaistische Riten die Rückkehr zu einer vorkolonialen Lebensweise. Dieser Vorgang symbolisierte einen Bruch mit der kolonialen Vergangenheit. Die Ruine des zerstörten spätarchaischen Hauses wurde in der folgenden postkolonialen Ära selbst zu einem Monument, das sowohl den Niedergang des kolonialen Chiefs als auch das Wiedererstarken der traditionellen Identität der lokalen Bevölkerung symbolisierte.*

1 Introduction

Monte Iato is located in the western interior of Sicily, around 30 km southwest of Palermo, and it marks the end of a mountain range that extends into a valley basin between the Iato River and the Belice River (Fig. 1). The settlement on the hilltop dates back to the seventh century BCE, situated on the edge between Phoenician migration

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I also express my gratitude to Birgit Öhlinger, Christian Heitz, and Robinson Peter Krämer for their help, insightful comments, and suggestions during the preparation of this manuscript. Additionally, I would like to extend special thanks to Jessika Armbrüster, Thomas Dauth, Marianne Erber, Valentin Hadlauer, Ruth Irovec, Clarissa Spahr, and Benjamin Wimmer for their trench supervision, analogue and digital documentation of the findings, processing of finds, including the inventory, photography, and drawing of all relevant and significant finds. Some of the ideas and arguments presented in this paper crystallised during my discussions with them.

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and Greek colonisation, which made it a vital location for transport routes and trans-regional exchanges. It played a crucial role in the process of 'Mediterraneanization', both in terms of colonial power-building and the subsequent re-indigenisation.[1]

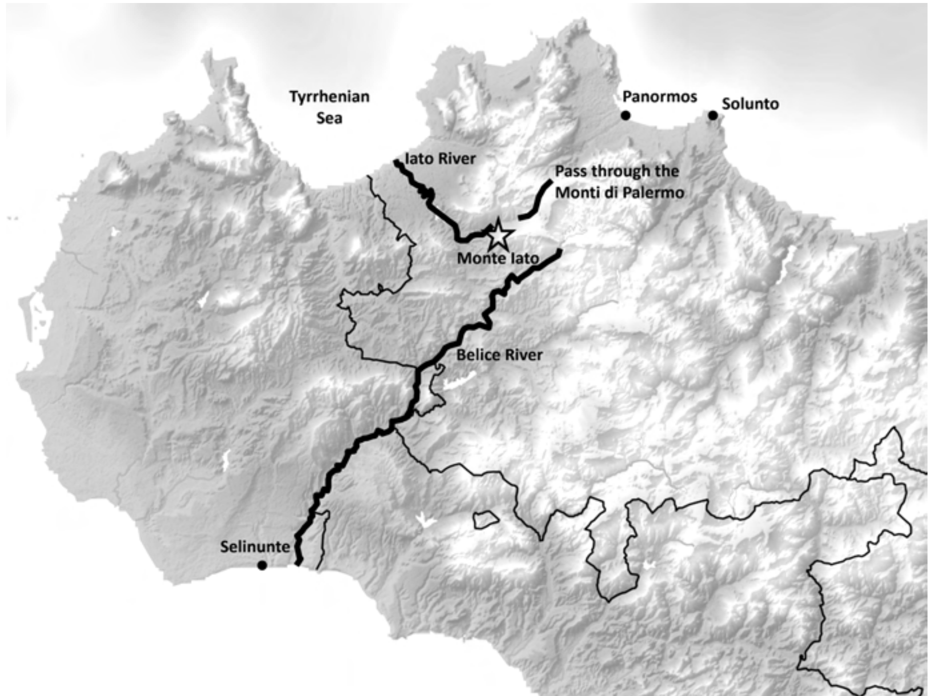

Fig. 1: Ancient Western Sicily, with referenced sites.

During the early sixth century BCE, the open-air cult site in the middle of the mountain's high plateau became increasingly central to the lives of the Iaitines and the sur-

1 Ian Morris, "Mediterraneanization," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18, no. 2 (2003): 30–55; Erich Kistler, "Lokal divergierende Antworten auf die Krater-isierung West- und Mittelsiziliens (6./5. Jh. v. Chr.) – Perspektiven des Binnenlandes," in *Fragmenta Mediterranea – Contatti, tradizioni e innovazioni in Grecia, Magna Grecia, Etruria e Roma: Studi di onore di Christoph Reusser*, ed. Luca Cappuccini et al. (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2017): 111–31; Tamar Hodos, *The Archaeology of the Mediterranean Iron Age: a Globalising World, c. 1100–600 BCE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Erich Kistler, "The Archaeology of Globalisation Bottom up – Focusing on the Local End of the Scale," *Ancient West & East* 22 (2023); Carla M. Antonaccio and Timothy Shea, "Colonial Moments: the Locality of Morgantina," in *The Production of Locality and Empowerment in the Iron Age and Archaic Western Mediterranean*, ed. Erich Kistler et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, in press).

rounding villages, leading to a socio-religious synoecism.[2] This process of centralisation reached its first monumental stage around 525 BCE with the first phase of the construction of the Aphrodite Temple, which functioned as a meeting and feasting house for the heads of the prominent households. In the first two decades of the fifth century BCE, the temple was transformed into a proper cult shrine, with an adytum encompassing the cult statue as a divine epiphany, and sacrifices were offered on a newly built altar in the forecourt.[3]

The transformation of the former meeting house into a proper cult shrine necessitated the construction of a banqueting hall, thus leading to the creation of a monumental building known as the Late Archaic house (LA house), which was erected to the west of the Aphrodite Temple. This palace-like residence in Greek architectural style featured banquet rooms upstairs that were decorated with red and white coloured plaster and furnished with elegant reclining couches (Fig. 2). Together with its spatial facilities and furnishings on the ground floor, this mansion exhibited facets of economic surplus, sumptuous living, diacritical feasting, and patron-client relationships. The LA house physically embodied the new power and authority of the person or household that built it, and symbolised regional leadership. By directing and orchestrating the ceremonies and rituals at the Aphrodite Temple, the new Iaitinian chiefly House was able to demonstrate its power to include or exclude people from participating in the chiefly cult, thus becoming the new central arena for the fabrication of social positions within and between the regional communities.

The act of building monuments to establish a colonial power structure and create a hierarchical imbalance among the Iaitines has previously been reported.[4] This arti-

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2 Birgit Öhlinger et al., "Monte Iato: Negotiating Indigeneity in an Archaic Contact Zone in the Interior of Western Sicily," in *Sicily: Heritage of the World*, ed. Dirks Booms and Peter John Higgs, British Museum Research Publication 222 (London: British Museum Press, 2019): 9–12; Thomas Dauth and Erich Kistler, "'Einheimisch'-Werden auf dem Monte Iato (Westsizilien): Die frühe Phase des Heiligtums beim 'Aphrodite-Tempel' (575/50–460/50 v. Chr.)," in *Montafoner Gipfeltreffen 5: Religion in den Bergen*, ed. Michael Kasper et al. (Vienna: Böhlau, 2023): 193–222.

3 Erich Kistler et al., "Zwischen Aphrodite-Tempel und spätarchaischem Haus II: Die Innsbrucker Kampagnen 2015 und 2016 auf dem Monte Iato (Sizilien)," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 87 (2018): 282–87; Öhlinger et al., "Negotiating Indigeneity in an Archaic Contact Zone": 12–14; Birgit Öhlinger et al., "Lifting the Lid: Cooking Pots and Ritual Consumption Practices at Monte Iato (Western Sicily, Sixth–Mid-Fifth Century BC)," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 34, no. 2 (2021): 165–92; Erich Kistler et al., "Feasting on the Edge – Cosmopolitan Versus Traditional Consumptionscapes in Archaic Monte Iato (Sixth to Fifth Century BC)," in *Feasting with the Greeks: Towards a Social Archaeology of Ritual Consumption in the Greek World*, ed. Xenia Charalambidou et al. (Oxford: University Press, in press).

4 Erich Kistler and Martin Mohr, "Monte Iato: Two Late Archaic Feasting Places between the Local and the Global," in *Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption: Networking and the Formation of Elites in the Archaic Western Mediterranean World: Proceedings of the International Conference in Innsbruck, 20th–23rd March 2012*, ed. Erich Kistler et al., Philippika 92 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015): 385–415; Erich Kistler and Martin Mohr, "The Archaic Monte Iato: Between Coloniality and

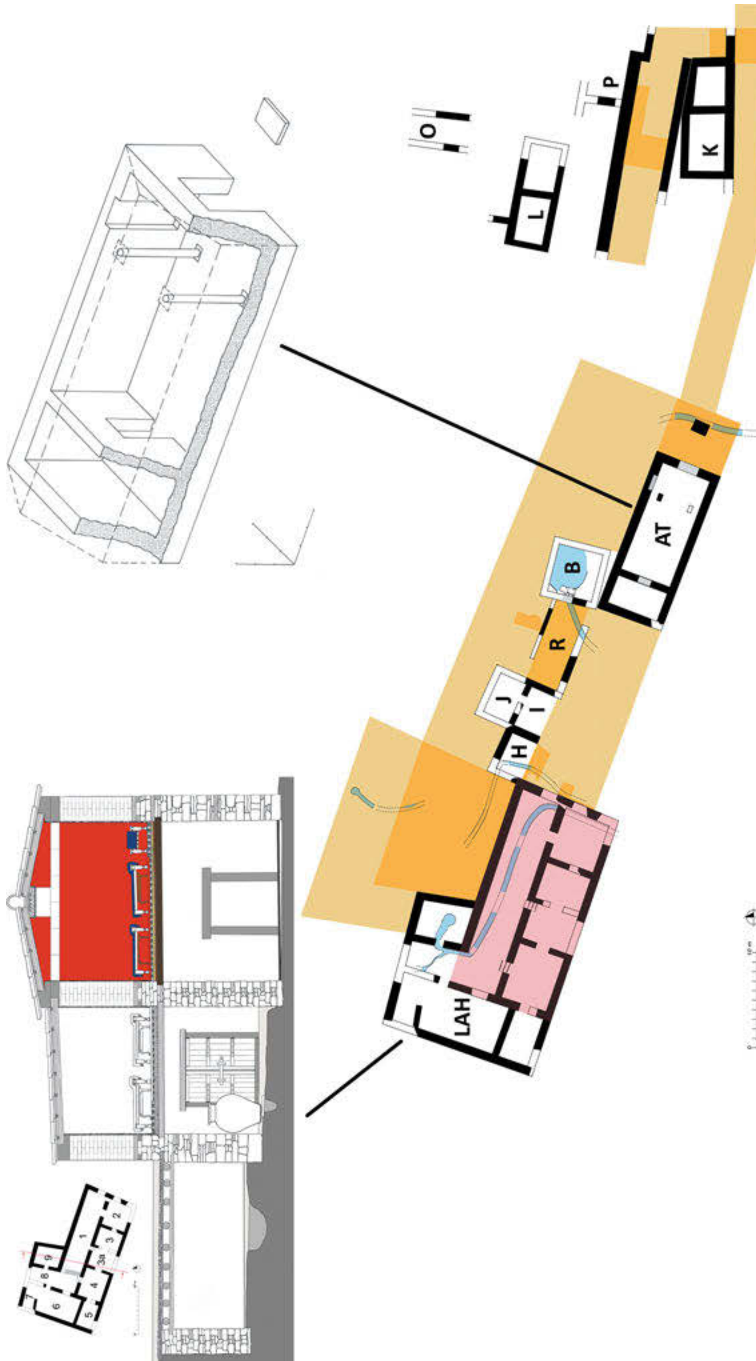

Fig. 2: Plan of the monumentalised area surrounding the Aphrodite Temple (500/480 BCE–470/460 BCE).

cle will not focus on the Greek-influenced empowerment of the LA house[5] as a chiefly House, however.[6] Instead, its aim is to discuss how the deconstruction of the LA house through punitive rituals reveals a return to traditional authorities and a seemingly precolonial and more equal social order. This paper will examine the rituals that ended the chiefly power of the LA house by destroying its physical structures around 460 BCE. These rituals involved the use of old and old-fashioned items that reclaimed a precolonial past without central authorities. Thus, this article proposes to consider the ritual closure of the LA house and its surrounding monuments as a pseudo-return to ancestral authority and precolonial segmentarity. This contribution will also survey the archaeological and literary evidence of ritually demolished houses in archaic Latium and Etruria to emphasise the importance of terminating chiefly households in order to return to former, more equal social orders.

In the field of post-colonial studies, scholars have examined the destruction of power structures – whether in literature, art, sculpture, or architecture – as a means of demonumentalisation, or the dismantling of monuments as focal points around which power seekers create and legitimise their foundational myths, identities, and claims to power, land, and resources.[7] Finally, drawing on this concept, I will argue that the demol-

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Locality," in *Materielle Kultur und Identität im Spannungsfeld zwischen mediterraner Welt und Mitteleuropa / Material Culture and Identity between the Mediterranean World and Central Europe: Akten der Internationalen Tagung am Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz, 22.–24. Oktober 2014*, ed. Holger Baitinger, Römisch Germanisches Zentralmuseum (RGZM) – Tagungen 27 (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2016): 81–98; Erich Kistler, "The Late Archaic House at Monte Iato: Greek Style Architecture, Ritual Abandonment, and the Politics of Indigeneity in Western Sicily (500–460/50 BC)," *Ancient West & East* 19 (2020): 43–78; Birgit Öhlinger et al., "Lifting the Lid": 165–92; Erich Kistler, "The Late Archaic House on Monte Iato: Structuring a New Political Identity in Western Sicily's Interior (ca. 500 BC)," in *Mistaken Identity: Identitäten als Ressourcen im Zentralen Mittelmeerraum*, ed. Veronika Sossau and Kai Riehle, RessourcenKulturen 19 (Tübingen: University Press, 2022): 137–56.

5 The term "house" beginning with a lower case letter is always used here to refer to the built environment as the physical setting of a household. Therefore, the "Late Archaic" house will henceforth be abbreviated as "LA house."

6 The term "House" beginning with a capital letter refers to the household as a social unit living in a specific physical dwelling. Therefore, the household residing in the "LA house" is called the "chiefly House." In social architecture theory, the concept of "the house" embodies the social structure of a household (here, "the House"). As a type of actant, it provides a physical space that serves as a "home" for specific action patterns and consequently influences the reactions within its social environment. To delve deeper into this topic, see Bruno Latour, *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 123–24, 180–90 and Theodor Schatzki, "Society as Material Phenomenon," in *Sociality – Materiality – Practice: Sozialität – Materialität – Praxis*, ed. Tobias Kienlin and Richard Bußmann, Cologne Contributions to Archaeology and Cultural Studies 3 (Bonn: Habelt, 2022): 55–70 on the subject in general, and Kistler, "Structuring a New Political Identity": 148 on the LA house in Monte Iato in particular.

7 George Steinmetz, "Colonial Melancholy and Fordist Nostalgia: The Ruinscapes of Namibia and Detroit," in *Ruins of Modernity*, ed. Julia Hell and Andreas Schoenle (Durham, NC: Duke University Press,

ished LA house itself created a new kind of monument, one that transformed the experience of its ruination into a memorialisation of the return and re-empowerment of a supposed precolonial era. This new post-colonial way of life, which emerged after 460 BCE, is characterised by dispersed settlements, shared resources, and political segmentation.

2 The Ritual Termination of the Monumental Power Matrix in Monte Iato (460/50 BCE)

The central aspect of the monumentalisation of the colonial power system, which was projected and implemented through the LA house as the new chiefly House (Fig. 2: LAH), included the construction of the mansion itself and its annex with Rooms H, I, and J (Fig. 2). It also involved the rebuilding of the Aphrodite Temple as a cult shrine with an adytum and open-air altar, and the ramp to the retention basin (Fig. 2: R and B). The retention basin was located northwest of the Aphrodite Temple (Fig. 2: AT), and it collected stormwater runoff, which was then gradually released to prevent landslides and damage to the rebuilt Aphrodite Temple.

The construction of the spillway had occurred before other structures, such as the ramp and the Aphrodite Temple, were built, making it the first step in the monumentalisation of the power complex between the precursor of the LA house and the Aphrodite Temple's initial phase of construction in the early fifth century BCE.[8] Around 460 BCE, the decommissioning of the drainage channel, which functioned as an outlet of the retention basin, was a crucial moment in the dismantling of the monumentalised structures of the colonial power matrix. This involved closing off the mouth of the drainage channel with stones (Fig. 3 a–b) and a ritual act that entailed smashing a matt-painted amphora (I-K 6666: Fig. 3 c) made in a regional style (*ceramica dipinta*).

Sherds of the amphora were found on the channel bed by the spillway of the retention basin and between the stones used to close off the outlet structure (Fig. 3 a). Additionally, sherds of a matt-painted jug (I-K 5024: Fig. 3 d) were also discovered, which fit together with another sherd from the same jar that was unearthed in the backfill used in the ritual for covering and closing the ramp (Fig. 3 e: no. 4). The de-

2010): 294–320; Daniel Herwitz, "Monument, Ruin, and Redress in South African Heritage," *The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory* 86, no. 4 (2011): 232–48; Daniel Herwitz, *Heritage, Culture, and Politics in the Postcolony* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); Manuela Badilla and Carolina Aguileira, "The 2019–2020 Chilean Anti-Neoliberal Uprising: A Catalyst for Decolonial De-Monumentalization," *Memory Studies* 14, no. 6 (2021): 1226–40.

8 Erich Kistler et al., *Risultati della settima campagna di scavi dell'Università di Innsbruck sul Monte Iato (2018)* (Innsbruck: Institut für Archäologien, 2018): 7–8, https://www.uibk.ac.at/projects/monte-iato/working-papers/downloads/grabungsergebnisse.2018_italienisch.pdf [accessed 24.04.2023].

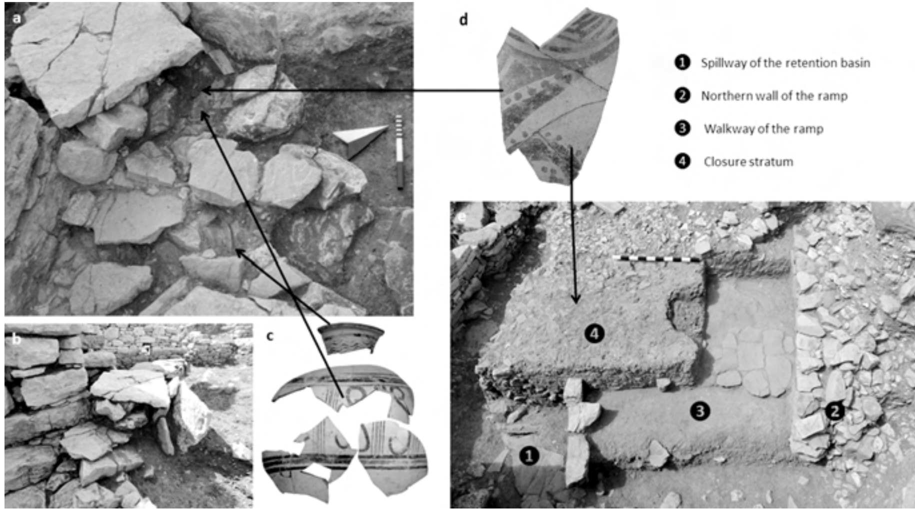

Fig. 3: a) Sherds on the channel bed at the spillway of the retention basin; **b)** Stones closing the mouth of the drainage channel; **c)** Matt-painted amphora IK-6666; **d)** Matt-painted jug I-K 5024; **e)** The ramp built over the drainage channel of the retention basin.

commissioning of the retention basin, the drainage channel, and the ramp involved a ritual in which the amphora and the jug played a central role.[9]

The round clay hearth (Fig. 4 a: no. 2) that was placed on the ramp's walkway was likely connected to the ritual for closing the ramp. In the layer of ash resulting from a ritual meal prepared on the hearth, fragments of a local ceremonial drinking and pouring vessel called *attingitoio* (I-K 2405, Fig. 4 b) were found, crushed by the weight of the backfill used to close off the ramp (Fig. 4 a: no. 3).[10] In the same closure stratum,[11] a fragment of a miniature clay hut with an incised decoration (I-K 5151, Fig. 4 c) was discovered, intentionally broken as part of the ritual for burying the ramp. After the shattering of the hut model, the left end of the lintel was removed from the pile of sherds; it was subsequently placed in the earth fill covering the ramp as part of the entire hut model (Fig. 4 a: no.3, and Fig. 4 c). The final act of ritually closing the ramp involved displaying and shattering a *dinos* (I-K 3737) and a bowl (I-K 3738), both matt-painted in a regional style, along with a North Aegean transport amphora (I-K 3739).

9 Kistler et al., *Risultati della settima campagna di scavi*: 13–15.

10 Erich Kistler et al., "Zwischen Aphrodite-Tempel und spätarchaischem Haus II: Die Innsbrucker Kampagne 2014 auf dem Monte Iato (Sizilien)," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 84 (2015): 132, 141–42.

11 In Kistler et al., "Die Innsbrucker Kampagne 2014": 135–36, still misunderstood as part of the backfill beneath the walkway of the ramp.

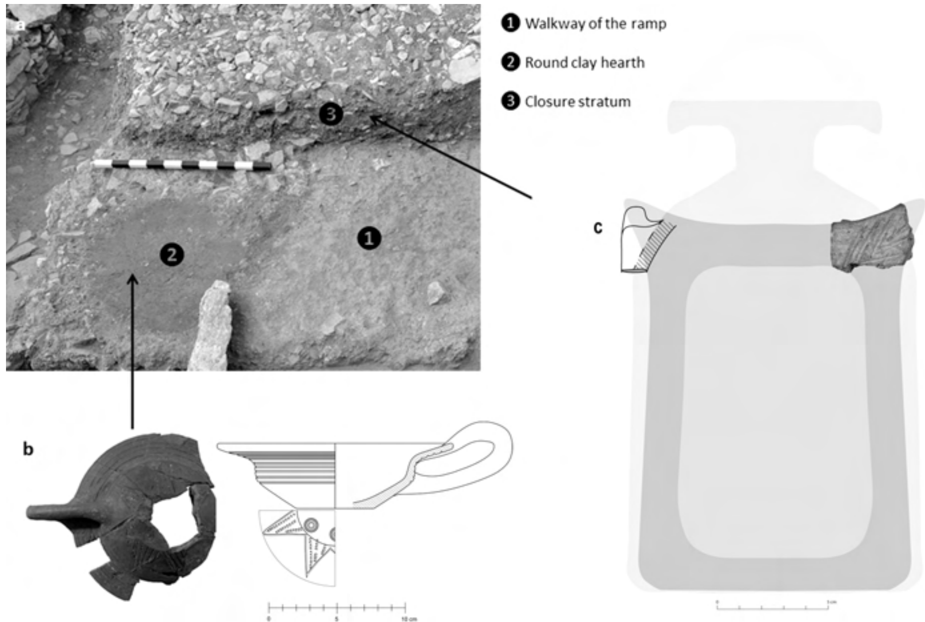

Fig. 4: a) The circular clay hearth on the ramp covered by the closing stratum; **b)** *Attingitoio* I-K 2405; **c)** Fragment of a miniature clay hut I-K 5151; **d)** Reconstruction drawing of hut model I-K 5151.

The pile of sherds appeared on the surface of the closure layer (Fig. 5 a–d).[12] Within an alluvium layer (Fig. 5 a) immediately above the backfill used to close off the ramp, sherds of an Attic black-gloss mug (I-K 1157, Fig. 5 e)[13] were discovered, dating the ritual for closing the ramp to the period before 450 BCE.[14]

At about the same time, around 460/50 BCE, the annex of the LA house, which included Rooms H, I, and J, was equally ritually demolished (Fig. 2). This is confirmed by the discovery of fragments of the *attingitoio* (I-K 7331; Fig. 6 a–b) in Room I. These fragments had been unearthed, shattered, and pressed upside down into the floor, indicating that the collapsing walls had crushed them. It appears that the incised and

12 Kistler et al., "Die Innsbrucker Kampagne 2014": 135.

13 Height: 2.8 cm; base diameter: 8.1 cm; made of orange clay, with black glaze both inside and outside. A clay-ground strip grooved over the clay ground base. On the latter, a central black-glazed dot as well as two black-glazed concentric circles. Similar mugs of Oinochoe Form 8B can be compared with those in: Copenhagen, Musée National Inv. Chr. VIII519: CVA Copenhagen (4) 123 with pl. 185, 10; in Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie inv. 63: CVA Adolphseck (1) 28 with pl. 41, 7; in Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. F2608 and F2609: CVA Berlin, Antikensammlung (1) 64 with pl. 40, 4–5; in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.339.

14 Kistler et al., "Die Innsbrucker Kampagne 2014": 137.

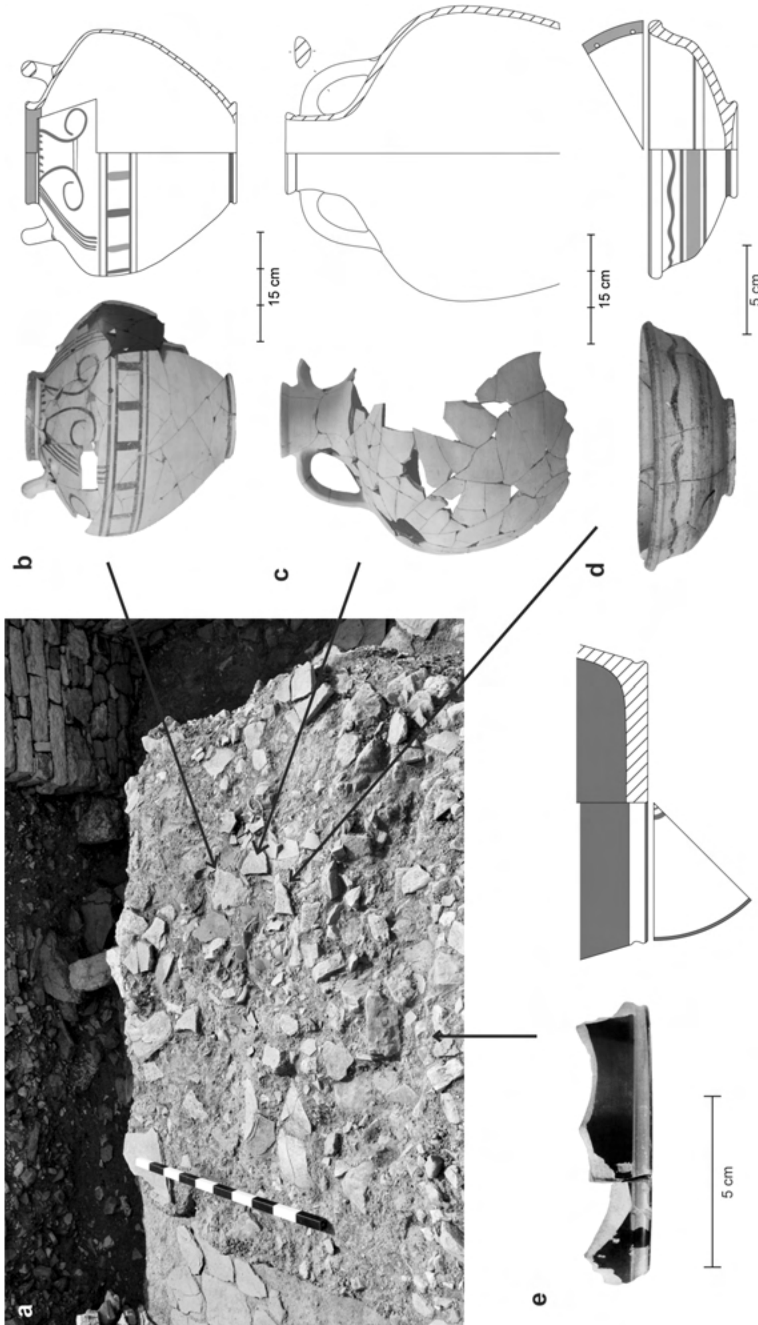

Fig. 5: a) Piles of sherds appeared on the surface of the closure layer; **b)** The matt-painted *dinos* I-K 3737; **c)** The north Aegean transport amphora I-K 3740; **d)** The matt-painted bowl I-K 3738; **e)** The Attic black-gloss mug I-K 1157.

stamped cup was used in a ceremonial performance and then placed headfirst on the ground shortly before Room I was ritually closed.[15]

A small group of single sherds of deliberately broken ceramics was also discovered on the floor of Room H (Fig. 2) in close proximity to each other, consisting of the fragments of an incised *attingitoio* (I-K 7375; Fig. 6 f), a so-called *tazze-attingitoio* with incised decoration (I-K 7470), two sherds from two matt-painted bowls in a regional style (I-K 7378 and I-K 7465), and the lintel of a hut model (I-T 40; Fig. 6 e). These findings suggest the performance of a termination ritual in which the vessels and hut model were used and intentionally broken. Later, as Room H was ritually abandoned, individual fragments were removed from the piles of broken pieces and placed in Room H as representative pieces of the whole.[16] After the ritual abandonment, the not-quite-rectangular stone construction inside Room H was built, as evidenced by the pars pro toto pieces mentioned earlier (I-K 7375, I-K 7378, I-K 7465, and I-K 7470), which were discovered beneath the southern row of stones on the quasi-rectangular platform (Fig. 6 c–d). Among these fragments, one notable find was a piece of the red-coloured floor from the upper storey of the LA house. This finding suggests that the platform was erected only after the LA house had been destroyed.

The intentional destruction of the LA house around 460 BCE has been discussed extensively elsewhere.[17] Overall, the ritual closure of the LA house involved three primary acts. First, after systematically dismantling all reusable materials, valuable Greek and regional ceramics were used to represent the house's life and glamour; these were placed on the floors of the upstairs banquet rooms. Additionally, fragments of a deliberately broken terracotta statue of a female deity in the *kore* type (T 252) and a female terracotta bust (T 292) were deposited in the upper rooms.

The second act involved the deliberate breaking of the vessels used in the abandonment festivities, ranging from prestigious drinking cups from Athens to locally handmade cooking pots. These fragments were then selected as representative pieces and distributed across the mortar pavements of the upstairs rooms. From these smashed vessels, a freshly broken sherd of each was selected and distributed across the mortar pavements of the upstairs rooms after a lavish feast to mark the termination of the LA house.

Finally, in the third act, the actual demolition of the house itself was carried out. In one of the three ritual acts, an incised *attingitoio* (K 26018/I-K 418) was also used.[18] This calls to mind the corresponding rituals involving the use of such old-fashioned

15 Erich Kistler et al., *Risultati dell'ottavo campagna di scavi dell'Università di Innsbruck sul Monte Iato (2019)* (Innsbruck: Institut für Archäologien, 2019): 5–10, https://www.uibk.ac.at/projects/monte-iato/working-papers/downloads/grabungsergebnisse.2019_italienisch.pdf [accessed 29.04.2023].

16 Kistler et al., *Risultati dell'ottavo campagna di scavi*: 5–10.

17 Kistler, "Greek Style Architecture, Ritual Abandonment": 63–68.

18 Kistler, "Greek Style Architecture, Ritual Abandonment": 71.

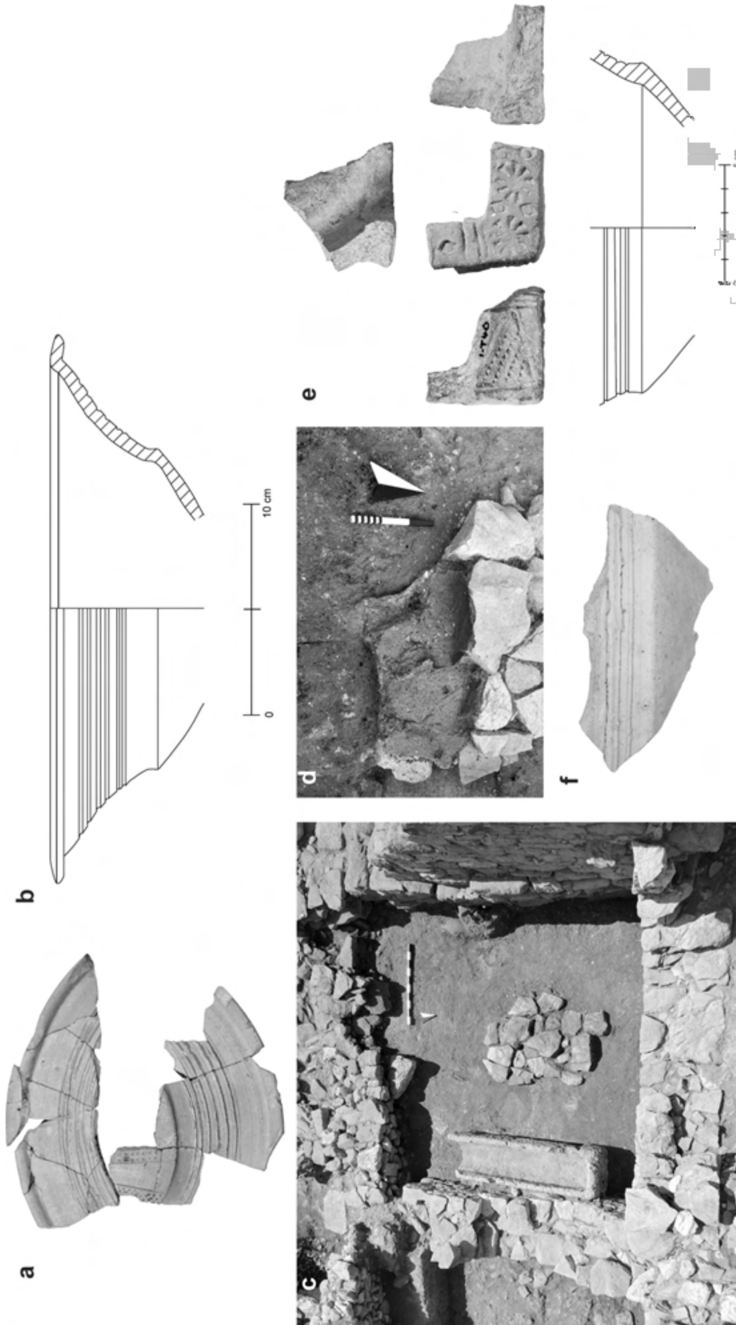

Fig. 6: a) *Attingitoio* (I-K 7331); **b)** *Attingitoio* (I-K 7331); **c)** The quasi-rectangular platform of stones in Room H; **d)** The quasi-rectangular platform after removal of the first row of stones; **e)** The lintel of a hut model; **f)** *Attingitoio* (I-K 7375).

ladling and drinking vessels, performed during the closing off of Rooms H and I as well as the ramp.

Given the grand Greek-style architecture of the LA house and the accompanying haute cuisine with Greek influences (featuring seafood, fish, and sophisticated dipping sauces), it is surprising that the use of old and old-fashioned *attingitoi* as well as hut models played such a significant role in the ritual termination of this cosmopolitan living space.[19] This apparent contradiction between colonial cosmopolitanism and local traditionalism requires explanation. Therefore, in the next section, I will discuss to what extent these antique(d) items and the performances associated with them represent the reclaiming of a precolonial past, which gives a particular meaning to the de-monumentalisation that occurred in Monte Iato around 460 BCE.

3 Reclaiming a Precolonial Past – *Attingitoi* and Hut Models as *Archaika* (Fig. 7)

By the time *attingitoi* were used as ladling, pouring, and drinking vessels in the rites of abandonment around 460/50 BCE, they had already been replaced a century before by the more ‘modern’ *ceramica dipinta* as the typical tableware of the protohistoric western Sicilians. This new *dipinta* ware had painted decoration and was influenced by Greek and Phoenician culture in its shapes and range of vessel styles, but it still adhered to local taste preferences.[20] Therefore, by the middle of the fifth century BCE, the incised and stamped *attingitoi*, with their old-style decoration, were seen as a cultural inheritance from an ancestral pre-Greek world, whether they were genuine heirlooms or reproductions (Fig. 7 b-e). These old-fashioned objects were called *archaika* and, when used in rituals, evoked the idea of a precolonial past through their prehistoric appearance, creating a feeling of being pre-Greek or Indigenous.[21] This feeling

19 Öhlinger et al., “Cooking Pots and Ritual Consumption Practices”; Kistler, “The Archaeology of Globalisation”; Kistler et al., “Feasting on the Edge.”

20 Catarina Trombi, *La ceramica indigena decorata delle Sicilia occidentale: Tipologia e produzione* (Mantova: Universitas Studiorum, 2015); Alfonsa Serra, *La ceramica a decorazione geometrica dipinta da Segesta nel quadro delle produzioni della Sicilia occidentale*, BAR International Series 2770 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2016); William Balco, “Thinking Beyond Imitation: Mixed-Style Pottery in Ancient Western Sicily,” *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (2018): 180–202.

21 Erich Kistler et al., “Archaika as a Resource: The Production of Locality and Colonial Empowerment on Monte Iato (Western Sicily) around 500 BC,” in *ResourceCultures: Sociocultural Dynamics and the Use of Resources – Theories, Methods, Perspectives*, ed. Anke K. Scholz et al., RessourcenKulturen 5 (Tübingen: Universität Tübingen, 2017): 159–78; see also Christian Mühlenbock, “Expanding the Circle of Trust: Tradition and Change in Iron Age Communities in Western Sicily,” in *Tradition: Transmission of Culture in the Ancient World*, ed. Jennifer Fejfer et al., Acta Hyperborea 14 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2015): 239–68; Emma Buckingham and Carla M. Antonaccio, “Incised and Stamped

of indigeneity was essential to the people of Western Sicily due to their need for self-authentication as Indigenous in a cultural contact zone that was becoming increasingly colonial during the sixth and fifth centuries BCE.[22]

The hut models likewise objectified an ancestral pre-Greek world: they represent huts for feasting and gathering, which were at the centre of social interaction within and between the extended households and villages of pre-Greek western Sicily. Remains of such original intra- and interfamily meeting huts have been discovered at various sites such as Thapsos, La Muculufa, Monte Pollizzello, Monte Maranfusa, Colle Madore, and Montangolia di Menfi.[23] The miniature clay replica V 2618 (Fig. 7 a) found in Monte Iato[24] gives an idea of the once richly decorated wattle and daub architecture of the original huts.[25]

In the strongly Greek-influenced and cosmopolitan world of the first half of the fifth century BCE, the use of such indigenous-looking items like hut models in performances during ceremonies gave the feeling of having shared customs with the past. This feeling created a sense of identity among the established inhabitants of western Sicily, keeping alive the quality of indigeneity despite the increasing influence of colonial powers and their promise of a more cosmopolitan lifestyle.[26]

In the context of re-indigenisation as a means of building local identity, the use of hut models in ritual acts can be interpreted as a way of reclaiming a precolonial past. By representing 'wattle and daub' architecture, self-sufficient subsistence, and decentralisation as the fundamental principle of social organisation, the display of hut models recalls aspects of an egalitarian ethos, or what J.D. Hill called 'societies with

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Ceramics from Morgantina: Taking the Long View," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 63/64 (2018/2019): 1–34; William Balco, "Negotiating Social Entanglements through Feasting in Iron Age and Archaic Western Sicily," *Layers* 8 (2023): 24–27.

22 Kistler et al., "Archaika as a Resource"; Öhlinger et al., "Negotiating Indigeneity in an Archaic Contact Zone"; Kistler, "Greek Style Architecture, Ritual Abandonment": 71–72; Erich Kistler et al., "The Multiple Productions of Locality at Archaic Monte Iato (Western Sicily, Sixth to Fifth Centuries BCE)," in *The Production of Locality and Empowerment in the Iron Age and Archaic Western Mediterranean*, ed. Erich Kistler et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, in press).

23 Francesca Spatafora, "Modellini di capanna/sacello nella Sicilia occidentale," in *Studi in onore di Stefano Vassallo*, ed. Monica Chiovaro and Riccardo Sapia (Palermo: Regione Siciliana, Assessorato dei Beni Culturali e dell'identità siciliana, Dipartimento dei Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana, 2020): 46–55; Birgit Öhlinger, "Architectural Terracotta Models as Cultic and Ritual Identity Creators in Archaic Sicily?" in *Mistaken Identity: Identitäten als Ressourcen im Zentralen Mittelmeerraum*, ed. Veronika Sossau and Kai Riehle, RessourcenKulturen 19 (Tübingen: University Press, 2022): 179–200.

24 Archaic house E 1600, see Hans Peter Isler, "Die Siedlung auf dem Monte Iato in archaischer Zeit," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 124 (2009): 158–59.

25 Öhlinger, "Architectural Terracotta Models": 182 Fig. 1 a.

26 Öhlinger, "Architectural Terracotta Models": 185–92; Kistler, "The Archaeology of Globalisation."

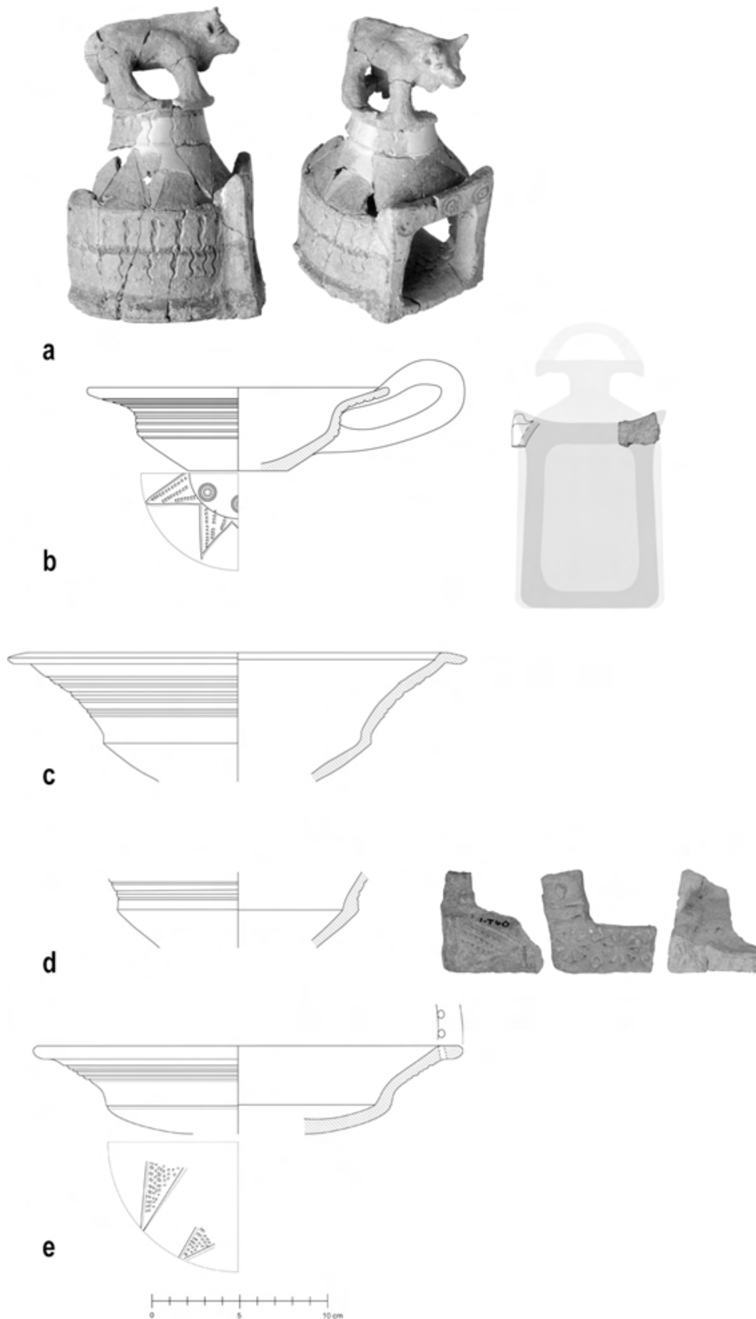

Fig. 7: Synopsis of *archaika* discovered in abandonment debris in Monte Iato.

leaders but not rulers'.[27] It is an essential question whether this idea of egalitarianism and indigenising traditionalism led to the ritual termination of the chiefly House in Late Archaic Monte Iato. The discussion around de-monumentalisation as a tool for empowering indigenous communities by dismantling colonial structures, as it has recently emerged in postcolonial studies, provides valuable insights and a deeper understanding of the demolition of the LA house in Monte Iato, which I will explore in the following two sections.

4 The De-Monumentalisation of the LA House as Punitive House Demolition

Recent articles in post-colonial studies have examined the process of dismantling colonial power structures through the concept of de-monumentalisation. This involves undoing monuments in literary, pictorial, sculptural, or architectural forms, which act as focal points for ambitious individuals and power-seeking groups who aim to establish their identities and legitimise their claims to power, land, and resources. The latter goal is especially relevant for monuments designed to embed new power structures that arose with the arrival of settlers in areas already occupied by indigenous inhabitants. In such colonial contexts, monumentalisation means the structuring of power and domination in the hard currency of stone, whether it be in the cities of the settlers or the indigenous landscapes of the hinterland. By contrast, de-monumentalisation is the reverse process that liberates individuals and groups from colonial supremacy by unmaking its monuments. Thus, de-monumentalisation empowers decolonial forces and movements, creating new post-colonial identities that break away from the colonial past and alter the way cultural heritage and origin narratives are reconstructed.[28]

The concept of de-monumentalisation as a means of restoring old political authorities and pseudo-traditional orders has not been exclusively discussed in recent post-colonial studies; in fact, ancient Greek and Roman authors from the late Republican and Imperial periods wrote of memories of draconian measures taken to disempower

27 Jeremy D. Hill, "The Dynamics of Social Change in Later Iron Age Eastern and South-Eastern England c. 300 BC–AD 43," in *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, ed. Colin Haselgrove and Tom Moore (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007): 21; concerning Late Bronze and Early Iron Age western Sicily, see Erich Kistler, "Wohnen in Compounds: Haus-Gesellschaften und soziale Gruppenbildung im frühen West- und Mittelsizilien (12.–6. Jh. v. Chr.)," in *Communicating Identity in Italic Iron Age Communities*, ed. Margarita Gleba and Helle W. Horsnæs (Oxford: University Press, 2011): 130–54.

28 Steinmetz, "Colonial Melancholy"; Herwitz, "Monument, Ruin, and Redress"; Herwitz, *Heritage, Culture, and Politics*; Felix Levenson and Heike Delitz, "The Social Meaning of Big Architecture or the Sociology of the Monumental," in *Size Matters – Understanding Monumentality Across Ancient Civilizations*, ed. Federico Buccellati et al. (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2019): 115–20; Badilla and Aguileira, "Chilean Anti-Neoliberal Uprising."

leading households that had been on their way to becoming ruling Houses and condensed them into the literary topos of the ‘demolished house’.

M.B. Roller has demonstrated how this topos reflects an archaic rite that punished aspirants to kingship in early Rome if they enlarged their houses into power centres for an expanding household and clientele. The obliteration of the houses of such would-be rulers also dismantled the basis of their political networks, thereby preventing a transformation into autocracy. This topos argues that the demolition of such oversized Houses not only restored the endangered heterarchical order of the Republic, but also created a deterrent that would bind ambitious aristocrats to the heterarchy of their senatorial colleagues in the future.[29]

It is, of course, a matter of debate as to what extent the topos of the ‘demolished house’, which was particularly prevalent in the age of Cicero and Augustus, was based on actual memories of punitive house-razing in the early Republic of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. However, the discovery of the ‘regia’ on the *arx* in Gabii, the home of a powerful household that was ritually obliterated around 530 BCE, has recently provided archaeological evidence dating back to the late sixth century BCE in support of the late Republican and early Imperial topos of the ‘demolished house’.[30] Walls measuring 20–34 metres in length enclosed the razed ‘regia’ remains, and a massive tumulus of stones was erected on top, turning the momentum of the punitive house demolition into a monumental memorial that was visible from afar. Another example of the commemoration of the dismantling of a house as a punishment is the tumulus that once covered the remains of the ‘palazzo’ in Poggio Civitate (Murlo), which was ritually destroyed around 525 BCE.[31]

Both archaeological examples, especially when considered in the light of the literary references to ‘demolished houses’ in late Republican and early Imperial Rome, clearly demonstrate the significance and purpose of this ancient form of punishment:

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29 Matthew B. Roller, “Demolished Houses, Monumentality, and Memory in Roman Culture,” *Classical Antiquity* 29, no. 1 (2010): 117–80; see also Hans Beck, “From Poplicola to Augustus: Senatorial Houses in Roman Political Culture,” *Phoenix* 63, no. 3/4 (2009): 361–84.

30 Marco Fabbri. “A Seat of Power in Latium Vetus: The Archaic Building Complex on the Arx of Gabii,” in *Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption: Networking and the Formation of Elites in the Archaic Western Mediterranean World: Proceedings of the International Conference in Innsbruck, 20th–23rd March 2012*, ed. Erich Kistler et al. (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 2015): 187–203; Marco Fabbri, “La regia di Gabii nell’età dei Tarquini,” in *The Age of Tarquinius Superbus: Central Italy in the Late 6th Century: Proceedings of the Conference ‘The Age of Tarquinius Superbus, A Paradigm Shift?’ Rome, 7–9 November 2013*, ed. Patricia S. Lulof and Christopher S. Smith, Babesch Supplement 29 (Leuven: Peeters, 2017): 225–39.

31 Kyle M. Jr. Phillips, *In the Hills of Tuscany: Recent Excavations at the Etruscan Site of Poggio Civitate (Murlo, Siena)* (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1993): 48–49; Ingrid E.M. Edlund-Berry, “Ritual Destruction of Cities and Sanctuaries: The ‘Un-Founding’ of the Archaic Monumental Building at Poggio Civitate (Murlo),” in *Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*, ed. Richard Daniel De Puma and Joyceline Penny Small (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994): 16–28; Anthony Tuck, *Poggio Civitate (Murlo)* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2021): 135–42.

the destruction of powerful and overambitious houses was a 'public' act that eliminated the threat of autocracy. Imposing this sanction dismantled not only the house of the would-be *rex* as his residence, but also as the physical centre of his power and network. The public display of such deprivation of a House's power on its way to rule did not only restore the endangered heterarchical order by dispersing central power among different powerful Houses, but it also commemorated the inflicting of punishment by house demolition and the restoration of the traditional (republican) concept of order as monumental events in the history of the local community.

In order to preserve this memory, the ruins of the punished Houses in Gabii and Poggio Civitate were transformed into topographical landmarks by burying them under mounds, thus creating monuments that would warn future generations against their excessive ambitions for power.

Robinson Krämer shows that the archaeological evidence from central Italy during the sixth and early fifth centuries BCE reveals several other instances of powerful houses being dismantled through the obliteration of their residences. What is noteworthy about these other examples is that their ruination was not commemorated by the erection of a monumental topographical marker, as was the case at Gabii and Poggio Civitate. Instead, communal buildings such as temples and public squares were built on the sites of the demolished houses. These became focal points around which rival clans were united as a segmented but shared political community, promoting and legitimizing the restoration of a traditional (heterarchical) order that had been updated to a republican form of government.[32]

Overall, the dismantling of power structures converted into the hard currency of stone, as documented in Archaic Latium, Etruria, and Sicily up to recent times, can be seen as the razing of the colonial power matrix, mainly occurring in conjunction with an epochal shift towards re-indigenisation as a gesture of decolonisation. The ruins of the former colonial era themselves then become a monumental representation of 'reconceptualizing the precolonial past as a heritage, finding a way to claim that past as the origin of one's future'.[33] Consequently, the precolonial is turned into a fiction that reinserts customary elements into a new, re-indigenised setting and through which the feeling of being Indigenous is re-enacted. In doing so, the de-monumentalisation of the colonial would mean (re)-monumentalising this being Indigenous as a strategy for claiming the locals' own rights.[34]

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32 Robinson Peter Krämer, "The Cleansing of a Political System: Obliterations, Burials and 'Reuse' of Palaces and Seats of Power in Central Italy (Seventh–Fifth Centuries BCE)," in *Cleaning and Value: Interdisciplinary Investigations*, ed. Isabel Bredenbröker et al. (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2020): 195–211, and Krämer in this volume.

33 Herwitz, *Heritage, Culture, and Politics*: 21.

34 Herwitz, *Heritage, Culture, and Politics*: 10; Chamila T. Attanapola and Ragnhild Lund, "Contested Identities of Indigenous People: Indigenization or Integration of the Veddas in Sri Lanka," *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 34 (2013): 173–75.

In the light of such decolonial de-monumentalisations, the *archaika* used in the ritual termination of the colonial power matrix in Monte Iato around 460/50 BCE appear as the material expressions of a kind of re-indigenisation through the re-imagination of a precolonial world. As re-enactments in miniature of a purportedly shared pre-Greek past, the *attingitoi* and hut models mythologise the claimed precolonial as the driving force behind the re-inauguration of ancestral heritage and the revival of indigenous values and segmentarity, which reinstalls the living in dispersed hamlets and the family elders as old political authorities.

5 The Demolished LA House and the Aftermath of the Iaitines

In the second quarter of the fifth century BCE, de-monumentalisation processes, such as the razing of the LA house, could be observed elsewhere in western Sicily. This is often explained as a decline of indigenous settlements after the Battle of Himera (480 BCE). According to this narrative, the victory of Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, and Theron, tyrant of Akragas, upset the balance of power between the western Sicilian Greeks, the Phoenicians, and the Indigenous, thus causing the economic and cultural collapse of the inland communities.[35] However, in contrast to this narrative, recent surveys suggest a homogeneous dynamic in the settlements in the Iato and Belice valleys during the sixth and fifth centuries BCE.[36] Therefore, the demolition of the LA house was not the result of the collapse of indigenous communities that led to economic isolation and cultural impoverishment. Rather, the de-monumentalisation of the LA house was caused by the communal decision and effort to dismantle the colonial power centre on the mountain and to return to a precolonial way of life.

Following the ritual destruction of the LA house, which served as the heart of the colonial matrix, a domino effect occurred in the 460s. This included, in addition to the razing of the LA house, the ritual closure of the retention basin as a hydro-technical measure to protect the Aphrodite Temple from stormwater. Therefore, the Aphrodite Temple itself, as a shrine for the divine power protecting the LA house as the chiefly

35 Concerning this narrative, see the very important paper of Stefano Vassallo, “Abitati indigeni ellenizzati della Sicilia centro-occidentale dalla vitalità tardoarcaica alla crisi del V sec. a. C.,” in *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull’Area Elima: Gibellina, Erice, Contessa, Entellina, 23–26 ottobre 1997: atti* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2000): 983–1008.

36 Jeremy Johns, “Monreale Survey: L’insediamento umano nell’alto Belice dall’età Paleolitica al 1250 D.C.,” in *Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull’area Elima: Gibellina, 19–22 Settembre 1991, Atti* (Pisa: Scuola Superiore di Pisa, 1992): 407–20 and Sebastiano Muratore, “Settlement’s Dynamics in Western Sicily between VIII E IV Sec. B.C.: A Geographic Information System to Research,” *International Journal of Heritage in the Digital Era* 2, no. 4 (2013): 570–84.

House, was destroyed. However, no traces of its suggested razing around 460 BCE survived due to the re-erection and re-inauguration of the temple around 300 BCE.[37] As I will argue, the deliberate physical breakage of the above-mentioned terracotta statue in the type of a standing *kore* (T 252 A–K), most likely once set up as a cult image in the adytum, might indirectly indicate the erasure of the Aphrodite Temple as part of the monumentalised colonial matrix.

Fragments of a two-thirds life-size *kore*, including parts of the head, left shoulder, right hand, and forearm, were discovered amidst the debris of the banquet rooms of the LA house, scattered across an area of 90 square metres (Fig. 8).[38] This indicates that the clay statue was shattered before the ritual demolition of the LA house, making it unlikely that the sculpture was part of the upper banquet room's inventory. The *kore* is also the only large-scale sculpture from the Archaic period discovered in Monte Iato. The much less careful elaboration of the reverse side of the terracotta statue suggests its placement in front of a wall. Such a set-up of the *kore* supports the assumption that the sculpture was originally placed in the adytum as an image of a female deity.[39]

Assuming this suggestion is correct, with the termination of the temple and the worship of the female deity, which was later syncretised with Aphrodite,[40] the Monte Iato *kore* was intentionally broken to nullify the earthenware representation of the goddess. Fragments of the shattered *kore* statue would have been deposited in the banquet rooms of the LA house, representing partes pro toto of the broken divine power. The deliberate breaking of the *kore* and the destruction of the Aphrodite Temple were obviously part of the ritual closing of the LA house as a primary residence, which was intended to undo the power of the protective deity and pave the way for a return to the ancestral way of life and the beginning of a new era without a colonial power matrix.

In 460/50 BCE, a new structure was built right after the destruction of the LA house. Its east wall was reused as the west wall, and Room H of the former annexe was incorporated. Initial investigations suggest that the building had at least two rooms, accessible through the paved entrance to Northern Room 1 (Fig. 9 a). Therefore, there is no doubt that this new building was erected after the dismantling of the LA house. After a brief period of occupation of ten to twenty years, this dwelling, or at

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37 Hans Peter Isler, *Der Tempel der Aphrodite: La ceramica proveniente dall'insediamento medievale: Cenni e osservazioni preliminary*, Studia Ietina 2 (Zurich: Eugen Rentsch, 1984): 11–14; Kistler et al., "Die Innsbrucker Kampagne 2014": 154–59; Kistler et al., "Die Innsbrucker Kampagnen 2015 und 2016": 291–92.

38 Verena Schumacher, "Die großformatigen Terrakotten des spätarchaischen Hauses vom Monte Iato," in *Akten des 15. Österreichischen Archäologentages in Innsbruck 27. Februar–1. März 2014*, ed. Gerald Grabherr and Barbara Kainrath, Ikarus 9 (Innsbruck: University Press, 2016): 372–77.

39 See also Schumacher, "Die großformatigen Terrakotten": 376.

40 Dauth and Kistler, "'Einheimisch'-Werden auf dem Monte Iato."

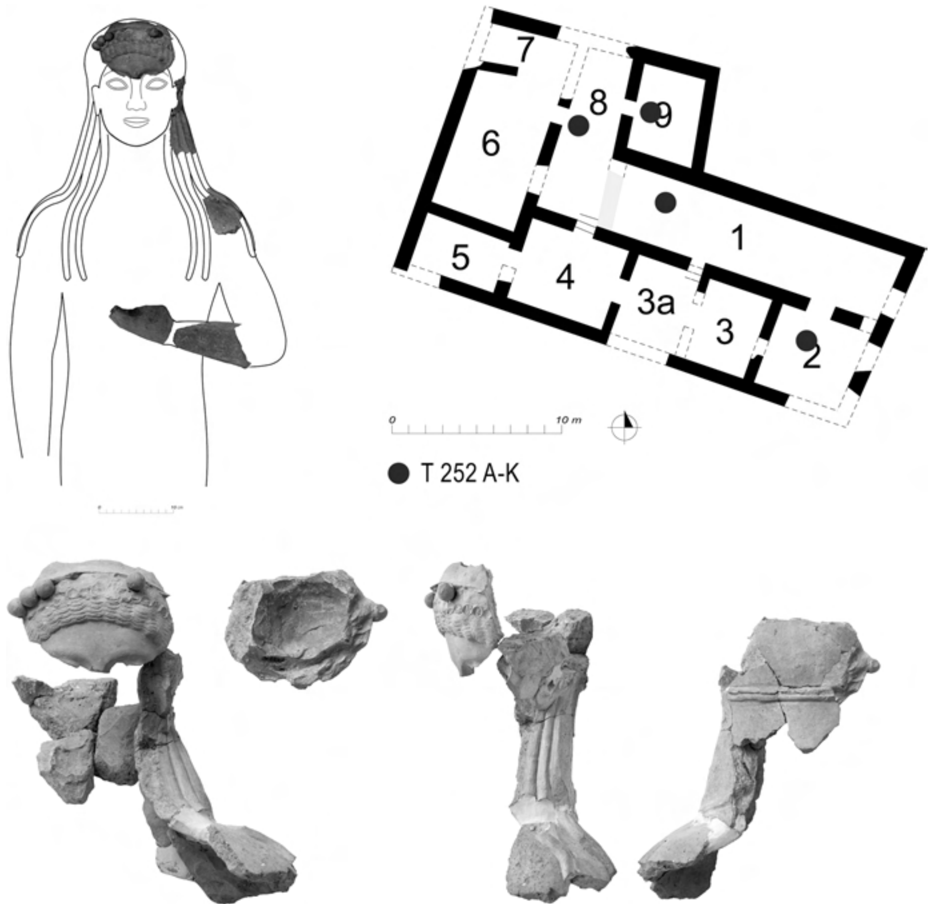

Fig. 8: Distribution of fragments of the terracotta statue T 252 in the type of a standing kore. Bottom: Front and rear head.

least its Northern Room 1, was ritually abandoned in three stages, similar to the LA house. At the first stage, the northern room was subjected to a curate behaviour, as evidenced by the missing record of the collapse of the tiled roof, although it is likely that the roof was covered with clay tiles, as suggested by the discovery of individual tile fragments in the debris of Northern Room 1 (I-Z 151, I-Z 152, I-Z 153, I-Z 175, Fig. 9 b–f).

The second stage, which involved the deposition of objects related to the post-LA house's biography, is attested to by the well-preserved flat tile laid on the floor (Fig. 9 b) and the limestone tub placed along the east wall as elements of the house's furnishings. Moreover, twenty almost intact vessels of various shapes, including transport ampho-

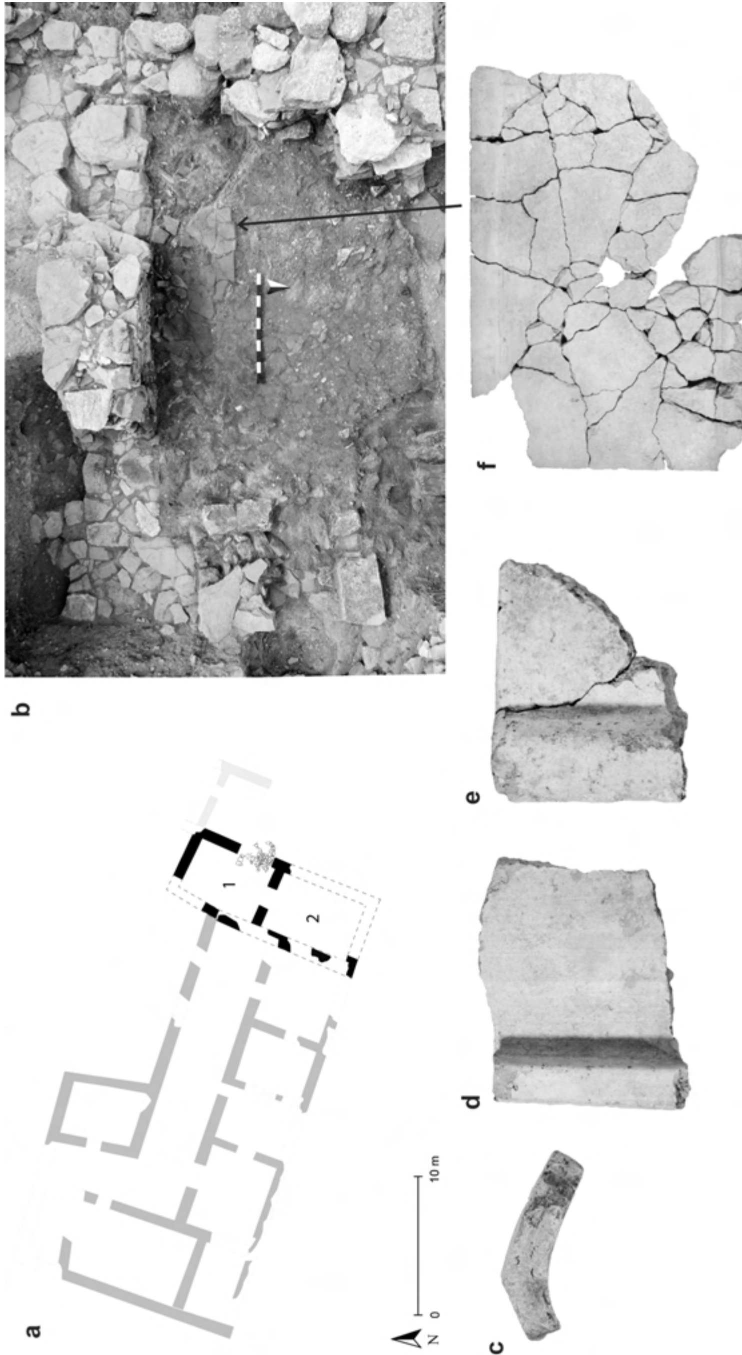

Fig. 9: a) Ground plan of the post-LA house, 470/60 BCE – 430 BCE; **b)** Northern Room 1, occupational layer with pan tile I-Z 175 in situ; **c)** Cover tile I-Z 151; **d)** Pan tile I-Z 152; **e)** Pan tile I-Z 153; **f)** Pan tile I-Z 175.

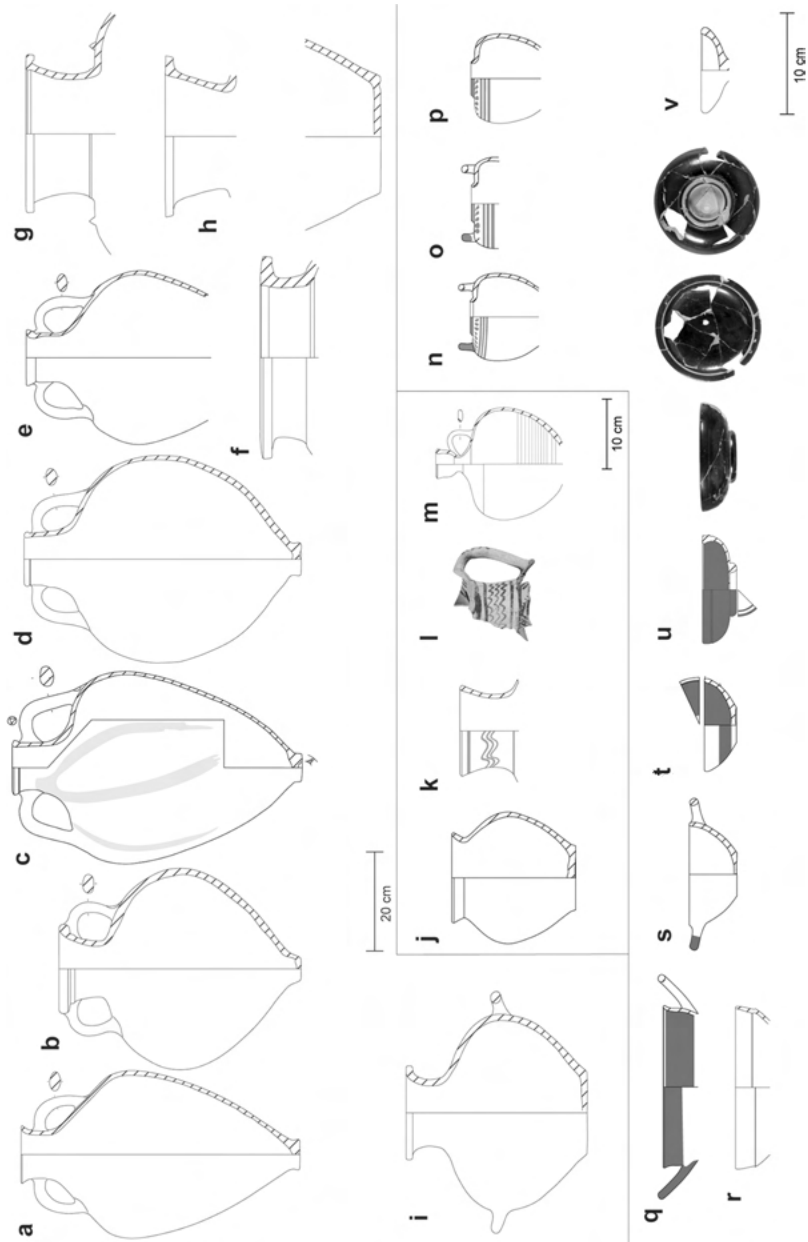

Fig. 10: a) – e) Greek transport amphorae (I-K 5446, I-K 5458, I-K 7626, I-K 5457; I-K 7625); **f) – h)** Greek type storage vessels (I-K 7624, I-K 5456, I-K 7623); **i)** Monochrome table amphora (I-K 5459); **j)** Monochrome pot (I-K 7629); **k) – l)** Matt-painted jugs (I-K7630, I-K 8503); **m)** Monochrome jug (I-K5454); **n) – p)** Banded pyxides with vertical loop handles (I-K 8502, I-K 8545, I-K 8546); **q)** Black-glazed band cup (I-K 8591); **r)** Attic black gloss cup (I-K 8589); **s)** and **t)** Banded one-handlers (I-K 5453, I-K 7627); **u)** Attic black gloss dish (or small bowl, I-K 5579); **v)** Attic stemmed dish (I-K 5464).

rae, pithoi, jugs, drinking vessels, dishes, and pyxides (Fig. 10), were deposited in Northern Room 1 before its walls were demolished during the third stage (Fig. 9 a).[41]

When dealing with single ceramic sherds found on the floor or trodden into it, it becomes more challenging to distinguish between pottery discarded during cleaning and those that were intentionally deposited as pars pro toto selections. Rim sherd I-K 8532 seems to belong to the latter category. It is the only fragment found in Northern Room 1 from the sherd pile of the associated incised bowl, a typical diagnostic clue for a pars pro toto selection (Fig. 11). This rim sherd features a unique painted exterior decoration of vertical lines, a modernising novelty in *ceramica incisa*, revealing the pseudo-traditional appearance of the latest generation of *archaika* used and broken during the abandonment rituals in Monte Iato.

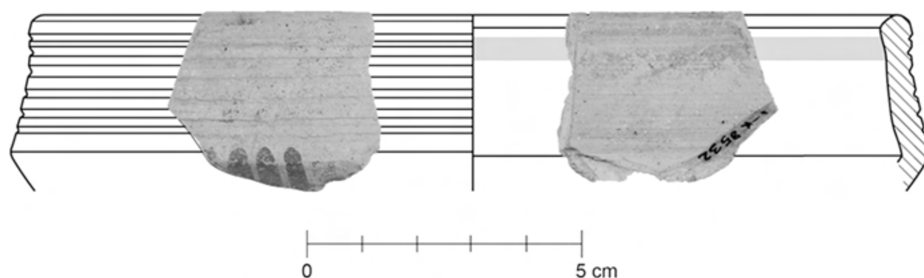

Fig. 11: Incised and matt-painted bowl I-K 8532, abandonment debris of the post-LA house, Northern Room 1.

The reuse of the east wall of the LA house as the west wall of the post-LA house establishes a clear connection between the two houses (Fig. 9 a). However, due to the incomplete excavation of the post-LA house, any further conclusions would be preliminary. Overall, it is unlikely that the post-LA house served as the new residence of the former chiefly House, reduced to a 'normal' size that would have been acceptable to the Iaitinian community as a more modest dwelling. Instead, we can draw a parallel with the demolished houses in Etruria and Latium[42] and assume that the post-LA house was a

41 The existence of the post-LA house is a new finding from the 2022 field campaign. As a result, all ceramic artifacts that were found in previous years on the youngest floor in Room H can no longer be attributed to the abandonment of Room H (470/60 BC). Instead, the dozen or so better-preserved vessels are now considered to belong to the context of the use and/or abandonment of Room H as part of Northern Room 1 of the post-LA house. Referring to Room H as *thesauros* during its phase of use as part of the annex belonging to the LA house, as suggested in recent publications, is therefore inaccurate (Kistler et al., "Die Innsbrucker Kampagnen 2015 und 2016": 267–70; Kistler et al., "The Multiple Productions of Locality").

42 See Krämer, "The Cleansing of a Political System" and Krämer in this volume.

communal building that succeeded the de-monumentalised chiefly House, indicating a shift towards a more heterarchical social fabric in which it played a prominent role.

Overall, the findings in Northern Room 1 indicate that the post-LA house was at least partially utilised as a meeting and banquet hall. During the periods when festivals were not taking place, communal stocks of wine, oil, and probably grain (Fig. 10 a–i)[43] were stored safely there, along with prestigious banquet equipment from bygone days (Fig. 10 k–v).[44] Maintaining a certain appreciation for the cosmopolitan world that characterised the former colonial era is a common feature of post-colonial identity-building.[45] The latter is achieved by constructing the precolonial past out of a mélange of old forms of life and contemporary 'modern' styles and habits, with the aim of adapting the process of re-indigenisation to the changed post-colonial time.[46]

In order to trace the chain of events that began with the deconstruction of the LA house, it is crucial to determine the exact chronological relationship between the construction and habitation of the post-LA house and the abandonment of the Archaic houses I and II, located at the southern edge of the Hellenistic-Roman agora. However, there is a significant obstacle in attempting to do so. With the exception of the attic dish I-K 5579, which dates from around 430 BCE (Fig. 10 u), all the other sherds discovered from the post-LA house date from before the mid-fifth century BCE.[47]

It is apparent that after the destruction of the LA house as the chiefly House around 460 BCE, very few new pottery imports reached Monte Iato. Moreover, despite more than 50 years of excavations in Monte Iato, there have been few finds of imported pottery from the second and third thirds of the fifth century BCE. Only after

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43 On the use of pithoi to store grain in protohistoric Sicily, see Maria Rosa Albanese Procelli, "Sistemi di stoccaggio delle derrate nella Sicilia indigena in età arcaica," *Sicilia antiqua. International Journal of Archaeology* 18 (2021): 29–36.

44 There is a striking resemblance to the 'delayed' presentation of ancient Athenian vessels during the peaceful abandonment of a settlement in the latter half of the fifth century BC that can be observed at El Puig de la Nau. For further details, see Rodríguez Pérez, "Old Cups Die Hard: The Appropriation of Athenian Pottery in the Iberian Peninsula," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 141 (2021): 100–101.

45 François G. Richard, "Thinking through 'Vernacular Cosmopolitanisms': Historical Archaeology in Senegal and the Material Contours of the African Atlantic," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 17, no. 1 (2013): especially 42–44.

46 Herwitz, *Heritage, Culture, and Politics*: 10; Attanapola and Lund, "Contested Identities of Indigenous People": 173–75.

47 Height: 3.5 cm; Rim diameter: 10.7 cm; Base diameter: 5.3 cm. Ring foot with clay ground base, edge of foot and underside with glazed band, convex wall on inner face with incurving, thickened rim, offset from the lower part of the wall by a shallow ridge on the exterior. See the small bowl in Brian A. Sparkes and Lucy Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.*, The Athenian Agora 12 (Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1970): 295 no. 825, Fig. 8, dating 430/420 BCE.

the hilltop plateau's stable re-settlement in the late fourth century BCE did colonial imports reappear in Monte Iato.[48]

Given the near-total cessation of imports after 460 BCE, the youngest sherds found in the rubble of Agora Houses I and II (Fig. 12 a), dating back to the second quarter of the fifth century BCE, provide a *terminus a quo* but not a *terminus ad quem* for their abandonment.[49] Therefore, their abandonment may have occurred as late as 430 BCE, similar to the post-LA house. The intentional abandonment of Agora Houses I and II is supported by the destruction of the walls, which buried the ceramic inventory beneath the toppled stones of the razed walls (Fig. 12 b).[50] Possibly due to the departure of this equally powerful Iaitinian household, the neighbouring building, an oikos-like structure (Fig. 12 a: Oikos E), experienced a cessation of use for over a century.[51]

In summary, the destruction of the LA house triggered a chain reaction that led to the large-scale de-monumentalisation of the colonial matrix in Monte Iato. This process of dismantling and disempowerment, which probably lasted two or three decades, was first heralded by the chiefly House's diminished power to prevent the obliteration of its palace-like residence, the LA house, and its socio-religious centre, the Aphrodite Temple. The deprivation of power and the economic decline of the sanctioned chiefly House coincided with the collapse of its social network, which included strong ties to foreign guest-friends in western Sicilian *apoikiai*. Consequently, the import of ceramics broke down after the middle of the fifth century BCE. At the same time, between 460 and 430 BCE, the club and treasure houses east of the Aphrodite Temple, such as the two-room building K – and possibly also the oikos-like building L (Fig. 2: K and L) – that had functioned as dependencies of external alliance partners were destroyed, and their inventories were buried under the collapsed roofs and walls.[52] Interestingly, after more than fifty years of fieldwork, there is no evidence of in situ settlement layers or wall remains

48 Of the 1073 inventoried sherds of black glossed pottery from the first ten years of the Zurich Ietas excavation, no sherd dates to the second half of the fifth century BCE and only nine sherds date to the first two-thirds of the fourth century BCE. See Roman Beat Caflisch, *Die Firniskeramik vom Monte Iato: Die Funde 1971–1982*, Studia Ietina 4 (Zurich: Eugen Rentsch, 1991): 75–83.

49 Isler, "Die Siedlung auf dem Monte Iato": 153–57; Kistler and Mohr, "Between Coloniality and Locality": 83–87.

50 Personal communication, Martin Mohr (09.05.2023), who argues for the destruction of Agora Houses I and II around 460/50 BCE.

51 Isler, "Die Siedlung auf dem Monte Iato": 174–75.

52 Christoph Reusser, "The Research Project Led by the University of Zurich on Monte Iato: the Last 10 Years," in *Trinacria, 'An Island Outside Time': International Archaeology in Sicily*, ed. Christopher Prescott et al. (Oxford: Oxbows Books, 2021): 123–24 and Martin Mohr, "Das Zweiraum-Gebäude K," in *Neue Forschungen zum vorhellenistischen Monte Iato*, ed. Martin Mohr et al. (Zurich, forthcoming). For arguments in favor of the interpretation of the two-room building K and the oikos-like building L as club and festival houses, see Kistler et al., "Die Innsbrucker Kampagnen 2015 und 2016": 261. On the other hand, an interpretation of building K as a residence is considered by Reusser, "Monte Iato: the Last 10 Years": 124.

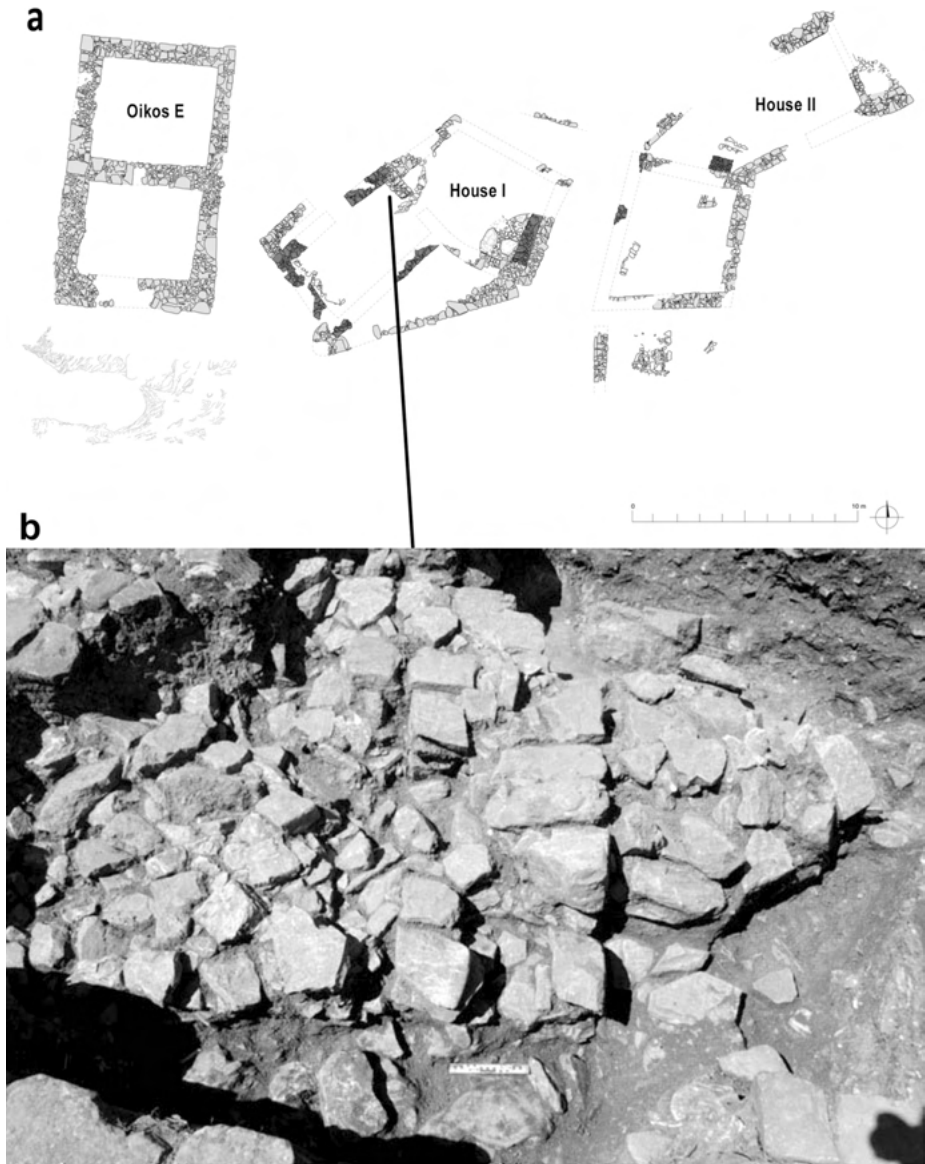

Fig. 12: a) Late Archaic structures at the southern edge of the later Hellenistic-Roman agora; **b)** The toppled stones of the razed walls of House I.

in the excavated areas from the period between 430 BCE and 330 BCE. This suggests that the Iaitines likely left the area during the third quarter of the fifth century BCE and relocated to existing or newly founded hamlets and villages in the Belice and Iato river valleys as a result of the de-monumentalisation and disempowerment of the colonial matrix.[53]

6 The Wider Historical Context: Major Political Events and Local Conflicts (*staseis*)

The big question as to what caused the downfall of the chiefly House and the resulting punitive demolition of its physical environment is difficult to answer. There is no evidence of a war against foreign enemies that led to the defeat of the ruling houses.[54] Similarly, there are no indications of a violent uprising by the Iaitines against the ruling House as a means of decolonisation, which would have led to the dismantling of the colonial matrix.[55] It is possible that the Iaitinian chief died around 460 BCE and that his successor lacked the power to maintain control, resulting in the demolition of the LA house by the Iaitinian community. Whatever the results of the loss of the chiefly House's power after only three or two decades, the relatively brief period of its rule indicates a time of instability characterised by fiercely contested power dynamics and rapidly changing political landscapes.

53 Hans Peter Isler (Hans Peter Isler, "Glandes: Schleudergeschosse aus den Grabungen auf dem Monte Iato," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1994): 252–54), on the other hand, argues for a continuity of the settlement, mainly on the basis of the first Iaitinian coinage, which is dated to the end of the fifth/ early fourth century BCE according to its stylistic, typological, and production-technical features (see also Suzanne Frey-Kupper, *Die antiken Fundmünzen vom Monte Iato 1971–1990: Ein Beitrag zur Geldgeschichte Westsiziliens*, Studia Ietina 10 [Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2013]: 80–96). Of course, such a first series of Iaitinian coins from 409 BC implies the continuity of the ethnic *koinon* of the Iaitines. But, this *koinon* could also have settled in the valleys of the rivers Iato and Belice at that time, and therefore this earliest coinage does not necessarily presuppose a continuous settlement on the mountain, which has not yet been proven stratigraphically.

54 As already pointed out by Isler, "Die Siedlung auf dem Monte Iato": 219.

55 Contra Isler, "Die Siedlung auf dem Monte Iato": 219: "Gegen 500 v. Chr. wird für einen Griechen, möglicherweise für einen emigrierten Athener, das grosse spätarchaische Hofhaus errichtet. Dessen Bewohner integrierte sich in den lokalen Kontext, behielt aber, soweit möglich, den Lebensstil eines Polisbürgers des kulturellen Zentrums bei. Seine soziale Funktion in der Gemeinschaft bleibt unbekannt. Nicht auszuschliessen ist, wenn man die gewalttätige Zerstörung des Importguts bedenkt, dass er eine dominierende Stellung einnahm oder einzunehmen versuchte." The deliberate breakage of the vessels during the ceremonies marking the abandonment and destruction of the Late Archaic house is still interpreted by Isler as the violent destruction of imported goods, to be read in the context of the violent expulsion of an Athenian emigrant who had attempted to rise to tyranny.

During the first half of the fifth century BCE, western Sicily became the primary battleground for the power struggle between Carthage and the Syracuse-Akragas alliance. The latter emerged victorious in the Battle of Himera in 480 BCE, temporarily placing Himera under the control of Acragas. Selinous, on the other hand, formed an alliance with Carthage after its *apoikia* of Heraclea Minoa was captured by Akragas. Following Carthage's defeat, Selinous found itself taking part in armed conflicts with neighbouring indigenous peoples, such as the Segestans, fighting over land and resources in 454/3 BCE (Diod. 5.9; Paus. 10.11.3) despite previously arranged intermarriage alliances (Thucydides 6.6.2). All major players took advantage of the fluid political situation to increase or protect their power, but none of the parties succeeded in achieving long-term political centralisation and establishing rule over western Sicily. On the contrary, various power-holders or tyrants who sought to promote such centralisation were overthrown by 465 BCE. These major political events were inextricably linked to local settings and domestic political disputes and conflicts (*staseis*).[56]

Regarding the city of Himera, Herodotus tells us that the deposed tyrant Terillos, in his attempt to regain power, utilised his guest-friendship with Hamilkar to incite Carthage's intervention in Sicily, which led to the famous Battle of Himera (Herodotus 7.165). Another example of the intertwining of local conflicts with larger political events is epitomised by the Spartan Euryleon, who was one of the few survivors of the failed mercenary enterprise of the Spartan king's son Dorieus. Euryleon successfully drove out the Selinous tyrant Peithagoras, but when he himself turned to tyranny, he fell out of favour with the Selinuntines and was killed by them at the altar of Zeus in the Agora.[57] The purification rituals in the *lex sacra*, enacted around 450 BCE in Selinous to reintegrate 'suppliants' into the community, also refer to the defilement caused by the blood debt resulting from local conflicts. Apparently, in Selinous, killing

56 See Franco De Angelis, *Archaic and Classical Greek Sicily: A Social and Economic History*, Greek Overseas (Oxford: University Press, 2016): 101–10, 180–93; Stefano Vassallo, "Guerra e conflitti in Sicilia centro-occidentale tra la metà del VI e la fine del V sec. a.C.: una prospettiva archeologica," in *The Fight for Greek Sicily: Society, Politics, and Landscape*, ed. Melanie Jonasch (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2020): 1–17; Jason Harris, "The Power of Movement: Mercenary Mobility and Empire Building in Sicily during the Classical Period," in *The Fight for Greek Sicily: Society, Politics, and Landscape*, ed. Melanie Jonasch (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2020): 130–53; Rhys Johnson, "The Curse Tablets of Selinous: Evidenve of Social Strifes?" in *The Fight for Greek Sicily: Society, Politics, and Landscape*, ed. Melanie Jonasch (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2020): 107–17.
57 Franco De Angelis, *Megara Hyblaia and Selinous: The Development of Two Greek City-States in Archaic Sicily*, Oxford University School of Archaeology Monograph 57 (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2003): 159–60.

or even massacring opposing gentilicial groups or clans as a result of *staseis* was a common occurrence.[58]

Given the highly dynamic nature that political power plays on the local, regional, and interregional levels, the short period of the LA house's rule in Monte Iato from 490/80 to 460 does not seem to be exceptional. In any case, the Iaitinian chiefly House appears to have pursued a multi-vector policy, as evidenced by the remarkable discovery of some silver coins. For example, two coin finds from the debris of the LA house's destruction, including a didrachm with an eagle and crab from Akragas (M 2787) and an Akragantine didrachm from Himera (M 2540), suggest an interweaving with the coinage policies of the so-called Emmenid – tyrants of Akragas ruling over Himera – as indicated by the freshwater crabs, the symbol of Akragas, on the reverse of the Himerian didrachm.[59] This particular historical position of power of Akragas, which dominated most of central Sicily from the south coast to Himera on the north coast, began with Theron's conquest of Himera in 483 BCE as tyrant of Akragas and ended with his death around 472 BCE.[60] In addition, a silver litra from Syracuse, featuring the head of Arethusa on the obverse and an octopus on the reverse (M 3391),[61] hints at the Syracuse-Akragas alliance between Theron and his son-in-law, Gelon of Syracuse. The coin is dated between 485 and 465 BC and was discovered in a younger layer in context to the early Hellenistic reuse of the LA house.

During the 480s/470s, while the Akragantine didrachms were circulating, there was another strong currency in circulation in Monte Iato: two silver *oboloi* from Selinous (M 4373 and M 4374) found in the excavation rubble of the two-room building K.[62] It appears that Monte Iato was also involved in Selinous' monetary and economic policies as they competed for territorial and political dominance in western Sicily. In this 'currency war', however, the Iaitines, even under the aegis of their chiefly House, were unable to achieve currency independence as a means of gaining political autonomy. In contrast to the Iaitines, the indigenous community of the Segestans was able to put their claim to territorial and political integrity into circulation from the 470s onwards by minting their own coins.[63] As early as 460, with the construction of the first *peri-*

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58 Stefania De Vido, "I travagli della aristocrazia," in *La città inquieta: Selinunte tra lex sacra e defixiones*, ed. Alessandro Ianucci et al. (Milan: Mimesis edizioni, 2015): 45–78; Johnson, "The Curse Tablets of Selinous."

59 Isler, "Die Siedlung auf dem Monte Iato": 180, with further references; see also Frey-Kupper, *Die antiken Fundmünzen vom Monte Iato*: 62; Ulla Westermark, *The Coinage of Akragas c. 510–c. 406 B.C*, Studia Numismatica Upsaliensia 6 (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2018): 41–66.

60 De Angelis, *Archaic and Classical Greek Sicily*: 280–82; Roberto Sammartano, "Himera negli anni della dominazione akragantina: la documentazione archeologica," *Kokalos* 59 (2022): 41–61.

61 Frey-Kupper, *Die antiken Fundmünzen vom Monte Iato*: 62.

62 Martin Mohr and Christoph Reusser, "Forschungen auf dem Monte Iato 2016," *Antike Kunst* 60 (2017): 100.

63 Silvia Mani Hurter, *Die Didrachmenprägung von Segesta mit einem Anhang der Hybriden, Teilstücke und Tetradrachmen sowie mit einem Überblick über die Bronzeprägung*, Schweizer Studien zur Numis-

pteros in the Contrada Magno, this claim was converted into the hard currency of stone.[64] As is well known, Segesta became a major player in the geopolitical conflict and fight for supremacy in western Sicily,[65] while the Iaitines, with their renaissance of a (pseudo-)precolonial past, returned to purely local political importance.

The West Sicilian coinage and coin finds reveal how deeply the Iaitinian chiefly House was involved in the intricate web of local and large-scale politics that involved Greek, Phoenician, and indigenous power seekers and power holders. On its way to power, the chiefly House implemented a multi-vectoral policy that allowed it to compartmentalise its dependence on external partners into various alliances by supporting several guest-friends in different western Sicilian *apoikiai* with aid in the form of the procurement of warriors,[66] labour for large construction projects,[67] storable food, and resources (Thucydides 6.20.4), including natural resources such as wood for building or as a primary fuel for crafting.[68] In return, the LA house received cosmopolitan goods, such as black gloss pottery, monumental architecture, haute cuisine, and technological knowledge, which they used to reward their local and regional supporters. This role as a mediator likely contributed to the chiefly House's prominent position in Monte Iato and made the sanctuary around the Aphrodite Temple a central hub for a burgeoning regional power within the interior of Western Sicily.[69] The effects of this mediating role reinforced the authority of the Iaitinian chiefly House to help Greek

matik 1 (Bern: Schweizerische Numismatische Gesellschaft, 2008); Monica De Cesare, "Building a New Identity in Segesta between Tradition and Innovation: What the Sacred Contexts of the 6th and 5th Centuries BC Tell Us," in *The Production of Locality and Empowerment in the Iron Age and Archaic Western Mediterranean*, ed. Erich Kistler et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, in press).

64 Serra, *La ceramica a decorazione geometrica*: 19–21; De Cesare, "Building a New Identity in Segesta."

65 Monica De Cesare and Hedvig Landenius Enegren, "L'Atleta' di Segesta: una statuetta di discobolo dal santuario di Contrada Mango," *Prospettiva* 167/168 (2017): 103–5; De Cesare, "Building a New Identity in Segesta."

66 For warlordism in western Sicily, starting in the fifth century BCE, see Louis Rawlings, "Warlords, Carthage and the Limits of Hegemony," in *War, Warlords, and Interstate Relations in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Toni Naco del Hoyo and Fernando Lopez Sanchez, Impact of Empire 28 (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 152.

67 Erich Kistler, "Die Phönizier sind Händler, die Griechen aber Kolonisatoren – Zwei alte Klischees: Ulfs Kulturkontaktmodell und das archaische Westsizilien," in *Kulturkontakte in antiken Welten: Vom Denkmodell zum Fallbeispiel: Proceedings des internationalen Kolloquiums aus Anlass des 60. Geburtstages von Christoph Ulf, 26.–30. Jänner 2009, Innsbruck*, ed. Robert Rollinger and Kordula Schnegg, Colloquia Antiqua 10 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014): 91–99.

68 For the necessary procurement of firewood for the classical pottery kilns at Selinous, see the important observations and calculations of Martin Bentz, "Zur Rolle der Keramikproduktion in der griechischen Stadt klassischer Zeit: Ein quantitativer Ansatz am Beispiel von Selinunt," *Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica* 7 (2017): 29–30.

69 Kistler and Mohr, "Late Archaic Feasting Places": 394–96. On limited access to Athenian pottery as an index of social privilege and powerful connections in ancient Iberia, see Rodrígez Peréz, "Old Cups Die Hard": 94–95.

(and Phoenician?) power-holders to mobilise warriors and labour for wars and tyrannical economies. Therefore, the chiefly House was clearly a creation of this colonial situation, little supported in the traditional forms of indigenous organisation.[70] Consequently, if the chiefly House were to lose its Greek and Phoenician alliance partners due to dynamic changes in the larger-scale power game, brought about by shifts in interregional affairs and the resulting local conflicts, it would also lose its political dominance in the regional environment. In this scenario, the family would no longer be able to offer colonial goods as social valuables, thus reducing its attractiveness as a provider and redistributor of such goods. Such a scenario would then result in the loss of political capital and the dwindling of assistance from local and regional supporters.

Since the Iaitinian chiefly House aimed to establish a 'modern' position of power, it sought, from the outset, to traditionalise its new power and present it as deriving from the local forms of authority. For example, the LA house was built on the ruins of a protohistoric dwelling, which had been ritually abandoned to make way for the construction of the LA house in 490/80 BCE and was therefore rooted in local history.[71] In order to prevent any potential for resilience or armed resistance, a cult niche for the worship of a natural divine power was incorporated into the second Greek-style phase of the Aphrodite Temple.[72] Furthermore, the outdoor area immediately north of the LA house was used for identity-related gatherings and festivals, where the quality of being Indigenous was re-experienced and passed on to future generations by excluding anything Greek.[73] All this, of course, took place under the aegis of the chiefly House, which controlled these re-enactments of the locals as indigenous people.[74] However, after the chiefly House was deprived of power, all these loci, as hubs of indigenousness, became the propelling force behind the reclaiming of a pseudo-precolonial past that aimed to restore ancestral authorities and cults, to liberate the political elders from the patronage of the Iaitinian chiefly family, and to re-establish decentralising segmentarity as the basic principle of a re-indigenised organisation.

70 Concerning this ambivalence creating hybridity, see Antonaccio and Shea, "Colonial Moments."

71 Erich Kistler, "The MEDIterranean Sea: Mediterranean Object Histories and Their Counter-Histories," in *New Horizons: Mediterranean Research in the 21st Century*, ed. Mirham Dabag et al., Mittelmeerstudien 10 (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2016): 250–57; Kistler et al., "Archaika as a Resource."

72 Dauth and Kistler, "'Einheimisch'-Werden auf dem Monte Iato."

73 Kistler and Mohr, "Between Coloniality and Locality": 89–92; Kistler et al., "The Multiple Productions of Locality."

74 Kistler, "The MEDIterranean Sea": 255–56.

7 Conclusion

The de-monumentalisation process that occurred in Monte Iato in the second third of the 5th century BCE went beyond the dismantling of colonial structures and buildings. It represented a complete undoing of the monumental setting of colonial power, including the obliteration of the LA house as a chiefly residence, the decommissioning of hydro-technical structures as a manifestation of colonial expertise,[75] and the shattering of the cult image of the protective deity in the adytum as an expression of colonial-religious syncretism.[76] The process likely also involved the abandonment of foreign guest-friend clubhouses to the east of the Aphrodite Temple and other houses on the southern edge of the later Hellenistic-Roman agora.

Unlike recent efforts to de-monumentalise colonial monuments, the dismantling of the colonial matrix in Monte Iato did not involve any violent liberation by an indigenous armed movement. Instead, the rule of the LA house was ritually terminated and celebrated with opulent sacrificial feasts, thus re-inaugurating the world of their ancestors as the basis for a re-indigenised post-colonial era. This pseudo-return to a precolonial past after 460/50 BCE liberated the locals from their patronage relationship with the chiefly House and encouraged a decentralised and segmented form of organisation.

Overall, the de-monumentalisation process in the post-Late Archaic Monte Iato marked a break from its own colonial past. Both its ruination and the ruins of the LA house itself became a monument in the post-colonial era, encompassing and musealizing the historical lesson on the fate of their failed colonial chief. This idea of the de-monumentalised chiefly House as a heritage-creating memorial – of both the colonial matrix's collapse and the reawakening of indigenousness as an emancipatory political force – remained powerful until the early Hellenistic age and will be a point of focus in our future research.

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75 For instance, for a detailed examination of the advanced hydrotechnical engineering utilised in Selinous during the sixth and fifth centuries BC, see Alba Mazza, "Waterscape and Floods Management of Greek Selinus: The Cottone River Valley," *Open Archaeology* 7 (2021): 1066–90.

76 Sarah P. Morris, "Close Encounters on Sicily: Molech, Meilichios, and Religious Convergence at Selinus," in *Religious Convergence in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Sandra Blakely and Billie Jean Collins, Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Religions 2 (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2019): 77–100.

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Elisa Perego, Rafael Scopacasa

Natural Disaster, Climate Change, and Marginalized Social Agents in Pre-Roman Italy: Case Studies from Veneto and Puglia

Abstract: *The study of social marginality in pre-Roman Italy has only recently become a major area of study in archaeology. Similarly, discussions about crisis and collapse in the ancient Mediterranean have tended to focus on major centres of power and the élites, with relatively less attention given to how marginalized social segments were affected by accelerated, abrupt, or disruptive transformation. By focusing on the non-élites and their experience of socio-political and/or environmental instability, it has become apparent that our understanding of "crisis" in the ancient Mediterranean requires some rethinking. Here, we present two case studies on different historical and geographical contexts from first millennium BCE Italy: Veneto in the Iron Age, c. 650–575 BCE, and Daunia in the Hellenistic period, c. 350–200 BCE. We centre our analysis on social agents that were removed to different degrees from the main centres of political and economic power in these areas, or who might have achieved a change in their social status concomitantly with environmental shifts. Our case studies involve episodes of climatic and environmental stress, namely flooding in Veneto, and potential climatic oscillations affecting agriculturally marginal, drought-sensitive lands in Daunia. By building on evidence from these two different ecosystems and their social dynamics, we present questions about theoretical and methodological approaches to crisis, environmental shifts, and inequality in archaeology. Ultimately, we aim to contribute to a framework for the study of marginality and environmental challenges in different historical contexts.*

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1 Introduction

Research on late prehistoric and first millennium BCE Italy has long focused on élite social groups, their funerary rituals, material culture, and socio-cultural interactions.[1] More recently, however, research on marginalized and non-élite community segments has significantly increased, including by focusing on individuals such as infants and disabled people, who might not have achieved full social integration.[2] A research

1 Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa, "Introduction: Burial and Social Change in First-Millennium BC Italy: An Agent-Focused Approach," in *Burial and Social Change in First-Millennium BC Italy: Approaching Social Agents. Gender, Personhood and Marginality*, ed. Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016): ix–xxxiv.

2 Elisa Perego, "Anomalous Mortuary Behaviour and Social Exclusion in Iron Age Italy: A Case Study From the Veneto Region," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 27, no. 2 (2014): 161–86; Elisa Perego, "Ideological Constructions of Childhood in Bronze and Early Iron Age Italy: Personhood Between Marginality and Social Inclusion," in *Children in Antiquity: Perspectives and Experiences of Childhood in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Lesley A. Beaumont et al. (London: Routledge, 2020): 42–59; Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa, *Burial and Social Change in First-Millennium BC Italy: Approaching Social Agents: Gender, Personhood and Marginality* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016); Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa, "Children and Marginality in Pre-Roman Samnium: A Personhood-Focused Approach," in *From Invisible to Visible: New Data and Methods for the Archaeology of Infant and Child Burials in Pre-Roman Italy*, ed. Jacopo Tabolli (Stockholm: Astrom Editions, 2018): 167–76; Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa, "The Agency of the Displaced? Roman Expansion, Environmental Forces, and the Occupation of Marginal Landscapes in Ancient Italy," *Humanities* 7, no. 4 (2018): 116; Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa, "Finale: Micro-Collapse and Marginality: Looking to the Future," in *Collapse or Survival? Crisis and Social Change in the Ancient Central Mediterranean*, ed. Elisa Perego et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2019): 155–70; Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa, "Micro-Dynamics of Crisis Following Disaster Events in Late Bronze and Iron Age Northern Italy," in *Collapse or Survival: Micro-Dynamics of Crisis and Endurance in the Ancient Central Mediterranean*, ed. Elisa Perego et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2019): 1–28; Massimo Saracino et al., "Funerary Deviancy and Social Inequality in Protohistoric Italy: What the Dead Can Tell," *Preistoria Alpina* 49 (2017): 73–83; Francesca Fulminante, "Intersecting Age and Social Boundaries in Sub-Adult Burials of Central Italy During the First Millennium BC," in *From Invisible to Visible: New Data and Methods for the Archaeology of Infant and Child Burials in Pre-Roman Italy*, ed. Jacopo Tabolli (Stockholm: Astrom Editions, 2018): 29–40; Mariolina Gamba and Diego Voltolini, "L'inumazione presso i Veneti Antichi: Il caso della necropoli patavina di Palazzo Emo Capodilista-Tabacchi," *Arimnestos* 1 (2018): 209–26; Jacopo Tabolli, ed., *From Invisible to Visible: New Data and Methods for the Archaeology of Infant and Child Burials in Pre-Roman Italy* (Stockholm: Astrom Editions, 2018); Alba Pasini, "New Evidence of Prehistoric Neurosurgery in Italy: The Case of Castello Del Tartaro," *World Neurosurgery* 128 (2019): 556–61; Veronica Tamorri, "Taphonomic Approaches to Funerary Evidence in Times of Collapse and Crisis," in *Collapse or Survival? Crisis and Social Change in the Ancient Central Mediterranean*, ed. Elisa Perego et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2019): 29–56; Elisa Perego et al., "Marginal Identities in Iron Age Veneto: A Case Study Based on Micro-Scale Contextual Analysis and Burial Taphonomy," in *Multiple Identities in Prehistory, Early History and Presence*, ed. Alena Bistáková et al. (Nitra: Archeologický ústav SAV, 2020): 81–96; Elisa Perego et al., "Child Personhood in Iron Age Veneto: Insights from Micro-Scale Contextual Analysis and Burial Taphonomy," in *Ages and Abilities: The Stages of Childhood and Their Social Recognition in Prehistoric Europe and Beyond*, ed. Katharina Rebay-Salisbury and Doris Pany-Kucera (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2020): 174–92; Valeria Acconcia, "Superare il Guado: Rifles-

focus that deserves further attention is the complex interplay between social dynamics involving non-élite groups and environmental shifts or events, like climate change and natural disasters.

This chapter is an outcome of our long-term work on collapse, climate events, and marginality in the second and first millennia BCE central Mediterranean. We present two case studies that focus on different historical and geographical contexts from first millennium BCE Italy: Veneto in the Iron Age, c. 650–575 BCE, and Daunia – roughly the northern end of present-day Puglia – in the Hellenistic period, c. 350–200 BCE. We centre our analysis on social agents that were removed to different degrees from the main hubs of political and economic power in these areas, or those who might have achieved a change in their social status concomitantly with environmental shifts. Our case studies involve episodes of climatic and environmental stress, namely flooding in Veneto, and potential climatic oscillations affecting agriculturally marginal, drought-sensitive lands in Daunia.

Micro-scale analysis, which we employ in this study, allows for a high-resolution evaluation of the consequences of natural disasters and climate-related events. It also affords a re-evaluation of causative factors while exploring crises and their consequences on potentially vulnerable social segments – such as some women and infants, people with disabilities, and lower-status individuals – as these social segments might bear the brunt of crises to a greater extent than the dominant élite sectors. Here, we focus on two arid-prone plateaus in Daunia and flood-damaged burial areas in Veneto. By doing so, we can study how the affected individuals reacted to environmental challenges in contexts of growing social inequality. We address questions about different types of (bio)archaeological evidence and what they can convey about the agency of non-élite people in potentially transformative contexts. Ultimately, our analysis will contribute towards a framework for the archaeological study of the link between social and environmental stress, while addressing potential limitations in evidence and methods.

2 Background

Our research on collapse, climate, and marginality is a multiphase project exploring different levels of scale. We achieve this by moving between the macro- and the micro-scale, both in a temporal and a spatial sense.[3] We employ different analytical methods to examine the nature of collapse and crisis episodes in the late prehistoric

sioni su archeologia, storia sociale e modelli di autorappresentazione delle disparità: alcuni esempi dalle comunità antiche e moderne," *Ex Novo: Journal of Archaeology* 6 (2021): 125–57; Lorenzo Zamboni, "The Urbanization of Northern Italy: Contextualizing Early Settlement Nucleation in the Po Valley," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 29, no. 3 (2021): 387–430.

3 Perego and Scopacasa, "Finale: Micro-Collapse and Marginality."

and early Roman central Mediterranean,[4] as well as in smaller geographical areas in ancient and modern Italy.[5] To date, the sampled data mainly include information collated from available publications or datasets, comprising taphonomic, bioarchaeological, climate proxy, epigraphic, historical, and archaeological data. New isotope and osteological data on Veneto have been produced in the context of the CoPOWER project by Perego. Our most recent work focuses on the environmental and social impacts on health, including those related to infectious diseases and epidemics. These themes are increasingly at the forefront of many disciplines, such as medicine, anthropology, the medical humanities, and archaeology, particularly in view of the Covid pandemic, which is itself being addressed within the framework of disaster studies.[6]

The data collected and analysed so far have allowed us to individuate and explore diverse types of crisis episodes, according to factors such as the intensity, rate, and direction of change. They have also allowed us to investigate human responses to natural disasters, climate oscillation, and accelerated socio-political change. In our work, we study the effects of such phenomena on marginalized people, who are the key focus of our research. We explore, in particular, the consequences of crisis on the social agents that operated in the affected systems and fought to cope and survive. As regards natural disasters, like flooding, we examine how such events may have determined or influenced different trajectories of socio-political development, such as with the creation of different identities, including non-élite social statuses.[7] We are also interested in the different coping strategies that people adopted to survive and adapt to either abrupt or more prolonged environmental transformations.[8]

With particular regard to this chapter, we highlight the strengths and potential limitations of an integrated approach to inequality and environmental change in the distant past, with a focus on two very different ecosystems: riverine Veneto in north Italy and the more arid-prone Daunia in the south.

4 Elisa Perego et al., eds., *Collapse or Survival? Crisis and Social Change in the Ancient Central Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2019).

5 Perego and Scopacasa, "The Agency of the Displaced?"; Perego and Scopacasa, "Micro-Dynamics of Crisis"; Perego et al., "Marginal Identities in Iron Age Veneto"; Perego et al., "Child Personhood in Iron Age Veneto."

6 Robert Soden et al., "Accounting for Care in Times of Crisis," *Items: Social Science Research Council* (2022), https://items.ssrc.org [accessed 23.10.2023]. Elisa Perego carries out research within the pandemic-disaster framework.

7 Perego et al., "Marginal Identities in Iron Age Veneto"; Perego et al., "Child Personhood in Iron Age Veneto."

8 Perego and Scopacasa, "The Agency of the Displaced?"; Perego and Scopacasa, "Micro-Dynamics of Crisis."

3 Case study I: Iron Age Veneto

Our first case study explores the consequences of environmental instability as expressed through ritual practice. Our focus is on the settlements of Este and Padua in Iron Age Veneto, which were periodically affected by flooding episodes. These appear to have peaked in frequency and/or intensity around 650–575 BCE. These floods were not destructive enough to threaten survival and inhabitation, but they nevertheless affected the development of the sites involved and left proxies in the archaeological record. The floods of c. 650–575 BCE also coincided with a phase of innovation in ritual, technology, settlement organization, trade links, and consumption patterns, which seem to have been accompanied by an increase in social inequality and novel forms of hierarchy.[9]

Northeast Italy is prone to extreme hydrological events. In antiquity, water was already perceived as a dominant feature of the landscape, according, for example, to Roman sources.[10] In Veneto, both catastrophic floods and minor flooding episodes have been documented in prehistoric and historical times up until the present.[11] Another example is the recurrent flooding documented at the key Final Bronze Age site of Frattesina – a focus of the CoPOWER project – in connection to the paleoriver known as Po di Adria.[12]

Flooding has also been recorded at the Iron Age centres of Padua and Este.[13] A stratigraphic sequence obtained from the Ricovero cemetery at Este revealed a severe flooding episode that affected the site around the mid- or late seventh century BCE. This flooding episode was named flood FL 66b by the excavators of Ricovero in the 1980–1990s. This flood seems to coincide with significant changes in the cemetery, namely the construction of new pear-shaped burial mounds, which differed from previous mounds in shape, size, building techniques, and spatial arrangement (Fig. 1).

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9 Elisa Perego, "Inequality, Abuse and Increased Socio-Political Complexity in Iron Age Veneto, c. 800–500 BC," in *Burial and Social Change in First-Millennium BC Italy: Approaching Social Agents: Gender, Personhood and Marginality*, ed. Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016): 273–309; Perego and Scopacasa, "Micro-Dynamics of Crisis."

10 Livy 10, 5; Pliny *NH* 3, 119–21, 126–31; Strabo 5, 1, 5; Vitruvius 1, 4, 11.

11 Nino Cenni, *La Verona di ieri* (Verona: Cassa di Risparmio di Verona, Vincenza e Belluno, 1973); Perego and Scopacasa, "Micro-Dynamics of Crisis", with bibliography.

12 Armando De Guio et al., "Tele-Frattesina: alla ricerca della firma spettrale della complessità," *Padusa* 45 (2009): 133–68.

13 Elodia Bianchin Citton et al., eds., *Presso l'Adige Ridente . . . recenti rinvenimenti archeologici da Este a Montagnana: Catalogo della mostra, Este, Museo Nazionale Atestino, 21 Febbraio 1998–21 Febbraio 1999* (Padua: Adle, 1998); Mariolina Gamba et al., eds., *La Prima Padova: Le Necropoli di Palazzo Capodilista-Tabacchi e di Via Tiepolo-Via S. Massimo tra il IX e l'VIII Secolo a.C.* (Basaldella di Campoformido, UD: La Tipografica, 2014).

Fig. 1: Reconstruction of burial mounds from the Este Ricovero cemetery in Veneto (1: Tumulus L; 2: Tomb 19/1987; 3: Tomb 80; 4: Tomb 99; 5: Tomb 102).

One interesting case involves the construction of Tumulus L, a pear-shaped burial mound delimited by limestone slabs, which was built after flood FL 66b.[14] Tumulus L is one of the first tumuli of its kind to appear at the Este Ricovero cemetery. It contained a single central tomb of good standing that was made of stone slabs: a so-called *cassetta*, accessible through a central corridor – Tomb 19/1987.

Tomb 19/1987 contained two ceramic urns, which held the cremated remains of three individuals. According to the osteological analysis available, these include a thir-

14 Data analysis in Bianchin Citton et al., *Presso l'Adige Ridente* by Michelini and Bagolan, and in Perego and Scopacasa, "Micro-Dynamics of Crisis."

teen- to nineteen-year-old pair whose remains were placed together in the same vase. This practice – defined as "bone mingling" – is more often seen in wealthy tombs in Iron Age Veneto.[15] There was also a child in a second, more recent urn. The relatively rich personal adornments, and the tools found in the first and older urn, are usually associated with adult male and female individuals in this phase. Ceramic vessels were also found in the vicinity of the tomb or inside. These vessels might have been part of a dining and drinking set meant for the dead, or they might have been used by mourners during the rite.

Three additional cremation tombs, with less wealthy assemblages, were found on the edge of the tumulus, beyond the limestone boundary. These three graves have remained largely unpublished. However, preliminary evidence indicates that they were constructed after the first phase of use of the tomb inside Tumulus L.

– Tomb 99 was a smaller *cassetta* containing three urns, with the remains of an adult, a child, and a neonate; the latter was found with no surviving grave goods.
– Tomb 80 was a poorly built, small *cassetta*, with the remains of a neonate and no visible grave goods.
– Tomb 102 was a simple pit grave, with the remains of an adult estimated to be a woman.

Several elements suggest the lower social status of these deceased individuals in comparison to the ones buried inside Tumulus L. These include the more marginal location of the graves; the simpler tomb structures and grave goods; the burial of two neonates denied any discernible funerary provision; and possibly, the lack of bone-mingling occurrences. In addition, the individuals in Tombs 80 and 102 were buried alone: élite individuals often shared a grave with other individuals, presumably family members, in this phase in Este.[16]

What is especially significant is that Tumulus L was built over an earlier burial mound, predating flood FL 66b, which has been denominated Tumulus Tr. D by the excavators of the site. This was an altogether different structure – an earthen, collective burial mound containing at least three graves, one of which included multiple individuals. The boundary of Tumulus Tr. D was marked by trachyte stones instead of limestone, as in the later Tumulus L. An earlier *cassetta*, whose existence was demonstrated stratigraphically, was initially part of Tumulus Tr. D – "Tomb 143". Completely rebuilt after the flood, "Tomb 143" was to become the surviving central tomb in Tumulus L mentioned above, namely Tomb 19/1987. In view of stratigraphic and archaeological data, "Tomb 143" must have contained only one individual, probably the woman later placed in Tomb 19/1987, and some "feminine" grave goods, later left inside and around Tomb 19/1987. When flood FL 66b took place, around the mid- or late seventh

15 Perego, "Inequality, Abuse and Increased Socio-Political Complexity."
16 Perego, "Inequality, Abuse and Increased Socio-Political Complexity."

century BCE, Tumulus Tr. D was covered by silt and thin sand that had been drawn in by the waters. After the flood, a major restructuring of this burial area took place: Tumulus Tr. D was replaced by the pear-shaped and limestone-bound Tumulus L, "Tomb 143" was replaced by Tomb 19/1987, and the deceased from the earlier "Tomb 143" appears to have been re-buried in the new grave. Two new burials were also deposited in Tomb 19/1987, which became the central and only *cassetta* inside Tumulus L. Some stone slabs from the earlier "Tomb 143" were found near and under Tomb 19/1987, testifying to the existence and partial re-use of the earlier tomb container.[17]

Compared to the earlier Tumulus Tr. D, Tumulus L suggests a more hierarchical approach to the funerary space, which also possessed a temporal dimension; the tomb inside the mound, namely Tomb 19/1987, was also the most ancient, while the less wealthy tombs, which were not centrally positioned, were generally more recent according to the archaeological and stratigraphic data available. This seems to indicate a potential shift in the social organization of the community with respect to the earlier phase of Tumulus Tr. D. This shift is also reflected in multiple archaeological indicators, both from the Ricovero cemetery and from other Venetic sites like Padua. Our analysis underlines that at the micro-scale, change followed the first flood stratigraphically documented at Ricovero in this phase (FL 66b). Other innovations characterize the new pear-shaped tumuli in this excavated segment of Este Ricovero. These include the use of limestone slabs from the nearby Euganian hills and the appearance of a new pottery type, the so-called "red-and-black ware". Taken together, this evidence shows that flooding was intertwined with changes in pottery production, stone procurement, ritual practice, and even social hierarchies in the Este community. The burial group that initially used Tumulus Tr. D and might have built the later Tumulus L was part of this change.

How the floods contributed to these changes is a complex issue still under investigation. For one thing, instability in the hydrological regime may have affected the local economy and inhabitation, possibly contributing to social disruption and the redefinition of social relations. In Padua and in other Este cemeteries, this phase was also marked by the deposition of a number of abnormal inhumations, some of which included individuals buried prone and disarticulated or dismembered (Fig. 2). The preliminary osteological analysis of some of these individuals revealed pathologies and potential disabilities. Other individuals, like infants, could also receive differential burial treatments, such as inhumation instead of the much more common cremation rite, or deposition outside a burial mound or the formal cemetery – often with no visible grave goods. This evidence suggests that not all individuals enjoyed the same status and degree of social inclusion in death, and probably in life as well.[18]

17 For the detailed micro-stratigraphic analysis: Bianchin Citton et al., *Presso l'Adige Ridente*; Perego and Scopacasa, "Micro-Dynamics of Crisis."

18 Perego, "Anomalous Mortuary Behaviour and Social Exclusion"; Perego, "Inequality, Abuse and Increased Socio-Political Complexity"; Perego, "Ideological Constructions of Childhood"; Gamba and Vol-

These dynamics became more archaeologically evident from the seventh to the sixth century BCE, roughly at the same time or even in stratigraphic conjunction with flooding events. The deposition of one abnormal human inhumation and two horses, for example, was stratigraphically linked to flooding of Tumulus A in Padua c. 600 BCE. One of the two horses seems to have been killed via skull fracturing. Only after these external depositions did cremations begin to be deposited inside or on the border of Tumulus A.[19]

Fig. 2: Adult inhumation burial from the settlement of Oppeano La Montara, Verona area, Veneto.

In more recent periods, flooding in north Italy has been linked to episodes of famine, high disease burden, mass migration, and socio-political unrest. A case in point in the modern era is the nineteenth-century Boje movement in Veneto. Apparently precipitated by a catastrophic flood of the Adige in 1882 (reportedly caused by a convergence of climate and anthropic factors), this farmer movement was inscribed within a context of poverty and extensive disease in the area, where conditions, including those triggered by poor nutrition, like pellagra, were endemic.[20] The high incidence of physical trauma and disease in the context of famine, epidemics, and riverine instability in northern Italy has also been detected in cemetery populations from the seventeenth

tolini, "L'inumazione presso i Veneti"; Perego et al., "Marginal Identities in Iron Age Veneto"; Perego et al., "Child Personhood in Iron Age Veneto."

19 Perego and Scopacasa, "Micro-Dynamics of Crisis", with bibliography.

20 Luigi Preti, *Le Lotte Agrarie nella Val Padana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1973); Cenni, *Verona*.

and eighteenth centuries, such as in Ravenna, Emilia-Romagna, south of the Po river.[21] Therefore, one key question pertains to the apparent intensification of inequality in Veneto from the seventh to the sixth century BCE and to what extent it was catalysed by broader climatic and environmental changes, which may have contributed to new challenges, including the floods and poorer health in the population, with some notable child mortality. A critical issue is whether the floods in Iron Age Veneto resulted mainly from human interference such as deforestation, which may have increased the runoff of rainwater into the plain, or if it was instead a consequence of climate forcing, such as the so-called "eighth century BC cooling event": this was an apparently severe decrease in solar activity, which would have led to colder and wetter weather across the Mediterranean basin.[22]

4 Case study II: Hellenistic Daunia

Our second case study moves us further south into Daunia and ahead in time to the Hellenistic period, when the region housed a number of large, nucleated centres, including the site of Canusium in the Ofanto river valley.[23]

Field surveys conducted during the last few decades documented an apparent sharp increase in the number of rural sites around Canusium, beginning around the late fourth century BCE. A total of 119 sites dating c. 325–200 BCE were identified, as opposed to 33 sites from the preceding period (c. 600–325 BCE). Most of the sites from the fourth to the third century were characterized by the survey team as "houses" (*case*) or "small farms" (*fattorie*) in view of their size, location, and surface finds; these generally consisted of building materials (for example, large *tufo* or limestone blocks, plaster, brick, tile, and occasionally marble slabs), tools (loom weights and artefacts identified as millstones), and pottery fragments covering areas of around 300–1000 sq m. The conspicuous presence of tableware among the pottery suggests that these sites were permanently settled. Most of these sites apparently continued to be frequented into the second century BCE and later, as indicated by datable pottery such as sigillata wares.[24]

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21 De Luca et al., "Heal the Sick: Health Status and Caregiving During the 17th–18th Century in Northern Italy (St. Biagio Cemetery, Ravenna)," *American Journal of Biological Archaeology* 182 (2023): 1–16.

22 Sturt W. Manning, "The Roman World and Climate: Context, Relevance of Climate Change, and Some Issues," in *The Ancient Mediterranean Environment between Science and History*, ed. William V. Harris (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 105–70.

23 Perego and Scopacasa, "The Agency of the Displaced?", with bibliography.

24 Data in Roberto Goffredo, "Persistence and Change in Settlement Patterns in the Ofanto Valley Near Canusium and Cannae (Apulia) (late 4th c. B.C.–1st c. A.D.)," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 23 (2010): 7–33; Perego and Scopacasa, "The Agency of the Displaced?", with figures.

There are indications that at least some of these small rural sites were associated with lower-status social groups with respect to the highest echelons in urban or proto-urban settlements such as Canusium; an example would be the size and structure of the "farms". While few of the surveyed rural sites have thus far been excavated, traces of built structures are simpler and more austere than the élite urban structures in Canusium, although not on the same level as the wattle-and-daub huts from earlier periods. A good example is the excavated house at Madonna di Costantinopoli, which was a one-room, stone-built house with a simple layout, tiled roof, paved floors, and an external beaten-earth courtyard. As regards the surface finds, artefacts identified as millstones, loom weights, and spindle whorls indicate the presence of labourers, settlers, or families engaged in farming and textile production, probably in connection with sheep rearing.[25]

The rapid infilling of the countryside around Canusium can be seen as a local manifestation of the global trend of rural infill that involved Italy during the same period, leading to what scholars have termed the "Hellenistic rural site boom".[26] However, once the available environmental data are factored in, a potentially different side to this process seems to emerge in Daunia. This is because the infilling of the countryside around Canusium apparently involved arid-prone areas that were especially sensitive to climate shifts and might have been challenging to agriculture: the northern slopes of the Murge plateau and the southern terrace of the Tavoliere plateau. The Tavoliere is one of the driest areas in Italy, with an average yearly rainfall of under 500 mm, and it is currently at high risk of desertification. In summer, the plateau becomes a suntrap, with temperatures occasionally rising over 40 °C. This tendency towards extremes does not appear to be entirely the result of recent climate change: over the last ten millennia, the Tavoliere seems to have periodically deteriorated into a dustbowl.[27] The Murge, on the other hand, is a karst plateau where the soil layer can be relatively thin. While rainfall in recent decades has been moderate, surface water is extremely scarce by current Italian standards – a feature that has affected agriculture in the Murge for centuries. A 2004 study of droughts in twentieth-century Apulia suggested that the Murge and Tavoliere were the two areas where the underground water table was most sensitive to decreases in rainfall, since both areas displayed the greatest drops in the water table in times of drought.[28] Although it is not yet clear to what extent these finds also apply to antiquity, the karst

25 Goffredo, "Persistence and Change in Settlement Patterns"; Perego and Scopacasa, "The Agency of the Displaced?".

26 Nicola Terrenato, *The Early Roman Expansion into Italy: Elite Negotiation and Family Agendas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

27 Cyprian Broodbank, *The Making of the Middle Sea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

28 Maurizio Polemio and Vittoria Dragone, "La siccità e la disponibilità di acque sotterranee in Puglia," in *La siccità in Italia*, ed. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Atti dei convegni lincei 204 (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2004): 187–93.

terrain of the Murge may have made it a more challenging place for agriculture than the neighbouring Ofanto river valley. Communities seeking to settle in the Murge would have needed to develop strategies to reach the underground water table, which might have been contaminated to some degree by seawater infiltration.

As regards our period of interest, the late third and second centuries BCE roughly coincide with the onset of the so-called *Roman Warm Period* (RWP), also known as the *Roman Climate Optimum* (RCO). This is recognized as a phase of warmer temperatures in Italy and many parts of the Mediterranean.[29] The climate data for Hellenistic Italy remain fragmentary, largely because of the low chronological resolution of the available climate records. Nevertheless, the onset of the RWP has been identified in a number of proxy climate records, including the GISP2 ice cores from Greenland, lake level oscillations in central Italy, marine sediment cores from the Adriatic, stalagmite records from north Italy, and Alpine glacier movements. Specialists in ancient Mediterranean climate, such as Robert Sallares and Carlo Giraudi, have argued that temperatures in Italy during the RWP may not have been too different from those of recent decades.[30] If accurate, this could mean that the Tavoliere might have been facing a desertification threat when the rural site boom occurred. While arable farming would still have been possible, communities wishing to settle there may have had to rely on a very fine margin of climatic stability. Additionally, the karst nature of the Murge plateau may have aggravated the effects of warmer temperatures. Yet, it was in this overall potentially challenging climatic context that these two drought-sensitive plateaus seem to have attracted an unprecedented number of small rural sites.

Any attempt to integrate the environmental and climate data with the archaeological record needs to deal with methodological obstacles. As already mentioned, one major issue with the climate data is the low chronological resolution. Nevertheless, it is not implausible that the incomers to the Tavoliere and Murge included non-élite families that had been compelled to move into, and remain in, lands that might have been previously regarded as sub-prime. From this angle, the increase in rural sites may to some extent indicate the intensification of social inequality and hierarchy, as a sector of the population may have been pushed out of the city and the well-watered river valley, perhaps to make way for larger, élite-controlled estates. Alternatively, people may have moved into the arid-prone lands because they were motivated, or forced, to exploit a wider range of the local ecosystem, possibly to satisfy growing surplus demands from the urban élites. There is some indication that the rural infilling from the late fourth to the third century BCE took place in a context of high social inequality. By the late third century, Canusium was home to some exceptionally well-

29 Manning, "The Roman World and Climate": 134–35.

30 Robert Sallares, "Ecology," in *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Walter Scheidel et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 13–37; Carlo Giraudi, "Coarse Sediments in Northern Apennine Peat Bogs and Lakes: New Data for the Record of Holocene Alluvial Phases in Peninsular Italy," *The Holocene* 24 (2014): 932–43.

off families, such as that of the noblewoman Busa, who reportedly fed, clothed, and paid ten thousand survivors from the Roman ranks after the battle of Cannae in 216 BCE.[31] Élite families such as Busa's seem to have adopted the city as their main area of activity, given the high level of investment in urban development and display during the Hellenistic period. These same élites probably derived their wealth from the use, or exploitation, of resources and labour in the local countryside, where the small rural sites were increasing in number. If that was the case, some of the small rural sites around Canusium could have been occupied by tenant farmers and sharecroppers – although we should not rule out the possibility that more independent smallholding peasants were also present. As a comparison, an excavation of small farms in the countryside around Metaponto suggested a prosperous and independent economic profile for these units; the future excavation of the rural sites around Canusium might yield a similar scenario.[32]

Therefore, rather than indicating a breakdown of rural society, the data in our case study potentially indicate a scenario where non-élite people might have borne the brunt of climatic instabilities, possibly developing new strategies to tackle the less-than-ideal environments which they had been compelled to occupy in increasing numbers. They may have done so by resorting to farming strategies that were better suited to warmer and potentially drier environmental conditions, which appears to have been the case in earlier periods in Italy. For example, towards the end of the Late Bronze Age, the Terramare civilization in the Po plain saw an increase in goat faunal remains at the expense of pigs in a context of increasing aridity.[33]

5 Discussion

The proposed case studies highlight that a better understanding of the complex interplay between climate change, environmental stress, and inequality is possible, but a number of challenges need to be addressed:

1. First, *chronology is key to determining the existence of a connection between social developments and specific climate/environmental events*. It remains to be better defined to what extent climatic and environmental stress is contemporaneous with or directly linked to the evidence for inequality and increased hierarchization in our case studies. Certainly, the floods in Veneto were stratigraphically linked, at the

31 Livy 22, 52, 7.

32 We owe this suggestion to an anonymous reviewer.

33 Andrea Cardarelli, "The Collapse of the Terramare Culture and Growth of New Economic and Social System during the Late Bronze Age in Italy," in *Le Ragioni del Cambiamento: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma 2006*, ed. Alberto Cazzella, Andrea Cardarelli, Marcella Frangipane and Renato Peroni (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 2010): 469.

micro-scale, to specific events in the sites of Este and Padua. Yet, the broader climatic picture of Iron Age Veneto remains to be better understood. In general, the climate data available for ancient Italy vary considerably in terms of chronological resolution: new and more refined methods develop at a quick pace, such that published data may rapidly become obsolete. Proxies such as lake and marine sediment cores tend to have a lower chronological resolution, making them more difficult to correlate with known archaeological and historical events. On the other hand, key archaeological evidence from both contexts discussed in this chapter is dated on the basis of object typologies like pottery types. It is unclear to what extent the pottery-based dates are in tune with recent breakthroughs in dendrochronology and the most recent radiocarbon calibration curve. Therefore, the gathering of any newly available climate evidence from the study areas is a first step towards understanding the wider chronological relationship between environmental stress and inequality – along with any potential links to wider historical events and dynamics beyond the regions under study.

2. Second, we need *a clearer understanding of the climate forcing factors and environmental stress at work in the study areas*. The evaluation of past climate and environmental change is complicated by the fragmentary proxy evidence available:

a. Different proxy records may provide different and sometimes conflicting information on climate and environmental events in a given area, depending on the methods used in individual studies;
b. Some of the proxy data for the study areas originate from outside Europe. This problem also affects studies of climatic and environmental stresses in the Roman Empire[34] and other contexts worldwide;[35]
c. Scholars studying the social impact of climate change often need to combine proxy records from different areas by setting up "multi-proxy" datasets. Even if a given temperature oscillation in Greenland, for example, can be seen to occur in Europe or the Mediterranean as well, the local effects of such a broad climate trend can vary considerably – depending on factors like regional climate, vegetation, and local hydrological budgets. A key step, therefore, is to put together a multi-proxy climate dataset that will serve as a background framework of climate and environmental stresses for a study area.

3. Third, *more clarity is needed regarding the nature of the environmental challenges in the study areas, and their possible causes (for example, climate forcing vs. human interfer-*

34 Michael McCormick et al., "Climate Change During and After the Roman Empire: Reconstructing the Past From Scientific and Historical Evidence," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 43 (2012): 169–220.
35 For example, Pingzhong Zhang et al., "A Test of Climate, Sun, and Culture Relationships from an 1810-Year Chinese Cave Record," *Science* 322 (2008): 940–42, http://dx.doi.org/10.1126/science.1163965; Douglas Kennett et al., "Development and Disintegration of Maya Political Systems in Response to Climate Change," *Science* 338 (2012): 788–91, http://dx.doi.org/10.1126/science.1226299.

ence). As a case in point, increased flooding recorded in the stratigraphy of Iron Age Veneto sites seems to coincide roughly with accelerated changes – including the reorganization of funerary spaces. Yet, it remains unclear whether the floods resulted from climate forcing (for example, the "eighth century BC cooling event") or from human activities such as deforestation or building activity, which may have increased rainwater runoff into the plain or a settlement. The complex interplay between anthropic and climate factors seems evident in historically documented floods in modern Veneto, like the 1882 Adige event. Therefore, a detailed assessment of climate forcing vs. human interference is crucial for understanding how the turning points in the study areas may have, or not, resulted from *climatic* change.

4. Fourth, *we need to assess the social and environmental vulnerability of communities in the study areas, including any relation to power dynamics.* This involves considering the complex interplay between environmental and social stress, beyond any simple cause-and-effect scheme. Human societies respond differently to climatic and environmental events, depending on pre-existing socio-political structures, cultural values, economic systems, and even the general health status of a population.[36] It may be tempting, for example, to regard droughts and flooding as events that lead to economic and social breakdown; in practice, however, much depends on localized environmental vulnerability and the coping mechanisms in place. In both Veneto and Daunia, potentially destructive environmental phenomena, like fluvial instability, climate oscillations, and natural disaster at the micro-scale, contributed to social dynamics where less prominent social groups could have played different, complex roles: from marginalized individuals pushed into conditions of severe dependency and subordination, to resourceful social agents who took advantage of changing climate conditions and specific environmental events in order to re-arrange social hierarchies and ameliorate their socio-economic position. This could be the case, for example, with the better-off deceased from Este Ricovero Tumulus L in Veneto, particularly with respect to other individuals from the same period who had been denied more elaborate burial rituals – or who even present evidence of marginalization. The same could be said of some – or even many – settlers in the Daunia rural sites, assuming they were able to make the most of the apparently hostile environment they occupied: for example, through innovative farming techniques or by achieving a more independent lifestyle in a less densely populated landscape, which was geographically detached from the city.

5. Lastly, *we need a sophisticated approach to identifying the link between health, environmental stress, and social dynamics, including extreme marginalization, while accounting for confounding factors.* Bioarchaeological evidence from Veneto, for example,

36 For example, Bruce M.S. Campbell, *The Great Transition: Climate, Disease and Society in the Late-Medieval World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

points to cases of poor health, premature death in infancy to childhood, and potential disability among those who received unusual or anomalous deposition rites at the time of the floods.[37] Recent biomedical and epidemiological research has drawn attention to key links between environmental events – including climate change, floods, and drought – and general health, immune system function, and epidemics. For example, climate instability has been suggested to affect susceptibility to infectious and noncommunicable diseases in both humans and animals.[38] Poor nutrition in more challenging ecosystems affected by inequalities could also have been a factor at play, just as it was in north Italy in the nineteenth century of the modern era, as discussed above with regard to pellagra in Veneto; similarly complex dynamics between health, famine, and riverine instability were documented in Ravenna in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. More fine-grained bioarchaeological datasets would be necessary, therefore, to investigate whether the environmental events documented in our case studies could have affected health dynamics, with downstream effects on socio-economic change, instability, and more overt inequalities in the ritual sphere of Veneto. Topics of interest would include – but not be limited to – an increase or decrease in the disease burden, childhood mortality, and disability across different segments of the population, as well as livestock health and productivity.

6 Conclusion

Inequality and marginality are complex social phenomena. Environmental factors and climate shifts are known to have a significant impact on such social phenomena, especially in crisis periods. This interaction, however, remains comparatively less studied for late prehistoric and early Roman Italy – with particular regard to the micro-scale, health, and non-élite social groups. In this chapter, we used two case studies from Iron Age Veneto and Hellenistic Daunia to address some key questions as regards the complex interplay between environmental dynamics and social inequality. We showed that in 650–575 BCE Veneto, flooding was connected to social transformations and forms of social exclusion, which can be traced to the micro-scale of single burial groups. In Hellenistic Daunia, on the other hand, environmentally challenging, arid-prone areas in the Tavoliere and Murge seem to have witnessed an

37 Perego, "Inequality, Abuse and Increased Socio-Political Complexity"; Gamba and Voltolini, "L'inumazione presso i Veneti"; Tamorri, "Taphonomic Approaches"; Perego et al., "Marginal Identities in Iron Age Veneto"; Perego et al., "Child Personhood in Iron Age Veneto", with bibliography; burial data remain scantier for the Daunia case.

38 For example, Joel F. Filipe et al., "Floods, Hurricanes, and Other Catastrophes: A Challenge for the Immune System of Livestock and Other Animals," *Frontiers in Veterinary Science* 7 (2020): 16; Camilo Mora et al., "Over Half of Known Human Pathogenic Diseases Can Be Aggravated by Climate Change," *Nature Climate Change* 12 (2022): 869–75.

infilling of new rural sites during a phase of warming. This infilling was potentially driven by non-élite groups. Environmental stress events, as we showed, can lead to unexpected outcomes, such as the occupation, use, or exploitation of challenging ecosystems, rather than to the breakdown of society. A better understanding of such phenomena, however, cannot disregard a number of key questions about methods, data collection, and the use of environmental proxies, as we outlined in our discussion of the case studies.

We therefore hope that our work will contribute to further research on the interplay between social and environmental dynamics in the ancient Mediterranean, with a focus on non-élite and marginalized communities.

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IV Dependencies, Status Differences and Funerary Archaeology

Francesca Fulminante

Dependency and Social Inequality in Central Italy (Osteria dell'Osa, 950–580 BC)

Abstract: *Per lo più neglette nelle fonti antiche, dominate da una prospettiva maschile e aristocratica, le classi inferiori e dipendenti dell'antichità sono rimaste a lungo silenziose e trascurate nella narrazione storica e storiografica. Con l'avvento dell'archeologia e l'attenzione alla cultura materiale, questi attori invisibili della storia sono diventati più visibili, anche se l'attenzione maggiore è rimasta rivolta alle classi superiori e aristocratiche.*

Questo articolo propone di colmare questa lacuna, focalizzando l'attenzione sulle classi inferiori e dipendenti deposte nella comunità di Osteria dell'Osa, una delle necropoli del centro dell'età del Ferro di Gabii, la rivale di Roma, situata a sud-est della città eterna, lungo la via Prenestina nel Latium vetus. Questo contesto, infatti, è stato investigato e pubblicato secondo metodologie di scavo e standard scientifici moderni, ed è pertanto adatto ad un'analisi statistica contestuale. Per identificare le classi inferiori è stato usato un indice di ricchezza. Sono stati creati diagrammi di distribuzione che hanno permesso di individuare soglie di differenziazione, in base alla quale una classe superiore ed una inferiore sono state riconosciute e poi analizzate.

Sono state effettuate diverse statistiche, in Excel e analisi spaziali in un ambiente GIS (by Esri under educational licence), e sono stati identificati trend di gender e di demografia per i due distinti gruppi identificati, che hanno permesso di comprendere se i due gruppi erano percepiti e rappresentati in modo simile o diverso. Questo approccio comparativo è risultato utile nel valutare e comprendere meglio il gruppo della classe inferiore in se stessa.

Note: This work is a result of the research, initiated many years ago in Rome, for my MA Thesis "The Princely Burials in Latium vetus" (1998, published by "L'Erma" in 2003). In that work, I focused on higher-status individuals. I am grateful to Martin Bentz and Patrick Zeidler for organizing the conference on "Dependency and Social Inequality in Pre-Roman Italy" and for inviting me, which have allowed me to focus on the less considered and less studied subordinate and/or lower classes. The original database has been updated through the years, owing to the support received through the Bristol University project/conference "Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Lives of Infant and Children in Past and Present Urban Communities: Promoting Debate to Shape Current Policies in Health and Education", held at Bristol University in 2019, and to the funding provided by the Bioethics, Biolaw and Biosociety Research Strand of the Elizabeth Blackwell Institute, the Institute of Greece, Rome, and the Classical Tradition as well as the Arts Faculty Seeds Research Funds. Now, thanks to my participation in a fellowship at the Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg in Delmhorst, Germany, in 2021–2023 with the project "'Warriors' and 'Weavers': Gender Stereotypes, Identity, and Demographic Dynamics from Italy (1000–300 BC ca) to Face Modern Challenges and Impact Current Policies", the database is being expanded to include several sites from other regions in Central and Southern Italy. I am grateful to all these institutions for their support.

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1 Introduction

As correctly emphasized by the organizers of this conference, dependency and the lower classes have long been silenced and overlooked in historical and historiographical discourse. They were mainly overlooked by ancient authors – also the primary source of historiographical discourse – in the last couple of centuries. With the birth and growing importance of archaeology, those invisible actors of history have become more visible, but the main focus has still remained on the higher classes. I myself am guilty of this sin, having published a book on *Princely Graves in Latium vetus'* a few years ago (2003). Therefore, I am grateful to the organizers of this conference, who encouraged me to rethink my old work and take a novel perspective. The focus of this paper, however, will be limited to the cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa rather than deal with all of Latium vetus. This is because this context has been investigated with the use of modern archaeological techniques and high standards,[1] making it more suitable for a contextual analysis. In most publications and excavation reports, including those published in more recent years, poorer tombs, which contain fewer objects and/or no grave goods at all, have generally been overlooked, also because they are often more difficult or sometimes impossible to date. This is also true for the publication on the cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa, where little space was devoted to this category of evidence.

Hence, to identify lower classes in this report, a richness index has been adopted, which was already used by the author in the volume *Princely Burials*[2] and was originally developed by Alessandro Guidi for the Iron Age cemetery of Quattro Fontanili at Veio.[3] By building distribution diagrams, a numerical threshold between higher and lower classes is identified, after which the two groups are analyzed. Several statistics are employed, and gender and demographic trends for the different groups are evaluated to assess if the two groups are perceived and represented in similar or rather contrasting ways. Finally, the data are imported into a GIS, and gender and status dynamics are visualized and analyzed spatially to again verify the similarities or differences among the two groups, which will help us to better understand the lower classes.

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1 Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri, ed., *La necropoli laziale di Osteria dell'Osa* (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1992).

2 Francesca Fulminante, *Le sepolture principesche nel Latium vetus fra la fine della prima etá del Ferro e l'inizio dell'etá Orientalizzante* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2003).

3 Alessandro Guidi, *La necropoli Veiente dei Quattro Fontanili nel quadro della fase recente della prima età del Ferro italiana* (Florence: Olschki Editore, 1993).

2 Early Iron Age, Orientalizing and Archaic Periods in Central Italy

Thanks to the work of many scholars over the last few decades, our knowledge of urbanization processes in southern Etruria and Latium vetus (Fig. 1) from the Final Bronze Age to the Archaic Period is nowadays much more advanced. In this section, I am going to revise the many different dimensions and/or trajectories of social evolution that scholars have studied in relation to the development of cities in Central Italy in the Early Iron Age.[4] The absolute chronology of Bronze and Iron Age Italy is still a much debated question, which has changed from traditional approaches based on pottery typology, to modern scientific radio-carbon dates and dendro-chronologies. For a brief discussion of the state of the art, I refer the reader to my previous work.[5]

Fig. 1: Central Italy with the position of Gabii to the southeast of Rome in Latium vetus.

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4 This section also appears in my recently published book, *The Rise of Early Rome: Transportation Networks and Domination in Central Italy (1000–500 BC*) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023).

5 Francesca Fulminante, *The Urbanization of Rome and Latium Vetus from the Bronze Age to the Archaic Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014): Appendix 1.

This paper contains a synthetic and updated summary table that visualizes the main relative and absolute comparative chronologies in Central and Southern Italy. A very recent contribution, which I did not include in the previous discussion, contains works by Toffolo and other authors and Fantalkin and other authors; it is based mainly on radio-carbon dates and correlations of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean, which seems to confirm the traditional low chronology by Coldstream.[6] This would obviously also affect discussions on the Western Mediterranean. However, the debate is still open (Tab. 1).

2.1 Settlement Dynamics

When considering settlement dynamics in particular (Tab. 2), it is well-known that between the Final Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age, southern Etruria and Latium vetus witnessed a process of centralization and nucleation, transforming from small, dispersed villages during the Bronze Age to large settlements during the Early Iron Age in the same areas that later would be occupied by the cities of the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods.[7]

6 Michael B. Toffolo et al., "Towards an Absolute Chronology for the Aegean Iron Age: New Radiocarbon Dates from Lefkandi, Kalapodi and Corinth," *PLOS ONE* 8, no. 12 (2013): e83117, https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0083117; Alexander Fantalkin et al., "Late Helladic to Middle Geometric Aegean and Contemporary Cypriot Chronologies: A Radiocarbon View from the Levant," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 373 (2015): 25–48, https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.5615/bullamerschoorie.373.0025 [accessed 30.08.2023].

7 Francesco Di Gennaro and Renato Peroni, "Aspetti regionali dello sviluppo dell'insediamento protostorico nell'Italia centro-meridionale alla luce dei dati archeologici e ambientali," *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 3 (1986): 193–200; Simon Stoddart and Nigel Spivey, *Etruscan Italy: An Archaeological History* (London: Batsford, 1990); Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri, "Italy in Europe in the Early Iron Age," *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 63 (1997): 371–402; Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri, "*L'Italia nell'età del Bronzo e del Ferro: dalle palafitte a Romolo (2200–700 a.C.)* (Rome: NIS, 2010); Graeme Barker and Tom Rasmussen, *The Etruscans* (Oxford: Blackwell Publisher, 1998); Tom Rasmussen, "Urbanization in Etruria," in *Mediterranean Urbanization (800–600 B.C.)*, ed. Robin Osborne and Barry W. Cunliffe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 91–113; Renato Peroni, *Protostoria dell'Italia continentale: la penisola italiana nelle età del Bronzo e del Ferro,* Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica 9 (Rome: Spazio Tre, 1989); Renato Peroni, *Introduzione alla protostoria italiana* (Rome: Editori Laterza, 1994); Renato Peroni, *L'Italia alle soglie della storia* (Bari: La Terza, 1996); Renato Peroni, "Formazione e sviluppi dei centri protourbani medio-tirrenici," in *Roma, Romolo, Remo e la fondazione della città*, ed. Andrea Carandini and Rosanna Cappelli (Milano: Electa, 2000): 26–30; Marco Pacciarelli, *Dal villaggio alla città: la svolta proto-urbana del 1000 a.C. nell'Italia tirrenica* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2001): 119–36; Alessandro Vanzetti, "Some Current Approaches to Protohistoric Centralization and Urbanization in Italy," in *New Developments in Italian Landscape Archaeology: Theory and Methodology of Field Survey Land Evaluation and Landscape Perception, Pottery Production and Distribution: Proceedings of a Three-Day Conference Held at the University of Groningen, April 13–15, 2000,* ed. Peter A.J. Attema et al. (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002): 36–51; Alessandro Vanzetti, "Risultati e problemi di alcune attuali prospettive di studio della central-

Tab. 1: Comparative relative and absolute chronologies in Central and Southern Italy.

Pontecagnano	Pithekoussai	Aegean	Veio	Tarquinia	Latium	Fossa	**Trad Chronology** (Colonna, G. 1976; Ampolo, C., *et al.,* 1980)	Phase	**Dendro-chronology** (Peroni, R. 1994; Bettelli, M. 1994)	**C14 Chronology** (Bietti Sestieri, A.M., *et al.,* 1999-2000)	**New Absolute Chronology 1** (Pacciarelli, M. 2001, 2005; Nijboer, A. 2005)	**New Absolute Chronology 2** (Van der Plicht, J., *et al.*, 2009)	**New Absolute Chronology 3** (Nizzo 2013)	**New Absolute Chronology 4** (Toffolo et al. 2013; Fantalkin et al. 2015)
Proto-Appennine			Grotta Nuova	Grotta Nuova	Grotta Nuova /		1600	Middle Bronze Age 1-	1700		1700	1700		
Apennine			Apennine	Apennine	Apennine		1400	Middle Bronze Age 3	1500		1400	1400		
Subapennine			Subapennine	Subapennine	Subapennine		1300	Recent Bronze Age	1365/1350	1350	1325/1300	1325/1300		
Protovillanovan		LHIII	Protovillanovan	Protovillanovan	Protovillanovan		1150	Final Bronze Age 1	1200	1200	1175/1150	1200		1200
		SM					1100	Final Bronze Age 2	1150					1100
Protovillanovan		PG	Protovillanovan	Protovillanovan	I		1000	Final Bronze Age 3	1085		1050/1025	1050		1000
IA		EG	IA	IA	IIA		900	Early Iron Age 1 Early	1020	1020	950/925	950		900
IB			IB- IC	IB	IIB		830	Early Iron Age 1 Late	950	900 ca.	900 ca.	900 ca.		
IIA		MG	IIA- IIB	II	IIIA	1A	770	Early Iron Age 2	880	850/825	850/825	825/800		850
IIB	first settlement		IIC	II	IIIB	1B	750	Early Iron Age 2 Final	810					
EOA	LG1 LG2	LG	IIIA	IIIA	IVA1	2A	730/720	Early Orientalizing	750	780	750	725	750	750
MOA	MPC1-MPC2		IIIB	IIIB	IVA2	Middle Orientalizing	670/660	Middle Orientalizing					680/675	700
ROA	LPC- CA		IV	IV	IVB	Recent Orientalizing	640/630	Recent Orientalizing			630/620	630/620	650/630	
AP	CM		AP	AP	AP	Archaic Age	580	Archaic Age			580	580	580	
ERP	ERP		ERP	ERP	ERP		509	Early Republican		509				
MRA	MRA		MRP	MRP	MRP		400	Middle Republican		400				
LRA	LRA		LRP	LRP	LRP		200	Late Republican		200				
							31/27			31/27				

Tab. 2: Settlement patterns in southern Etruria and Latium vetus, from the Final Bronze Age to the Archaic Period.

Pre-urban/Proto-urban	**Proto-urban**		**Proto-urban/urban**	**Urban**	
Final Bronze Age 3 (Latial Period I)	Early Iron Age 1 Early (Latial Period IIA)	Early Iron Age 1 Late (Latial Period IIB)	Early Iron Age 2 (Latial Period IIIA–IIIB)	Early and Middle Orientalizing Age (Latial Period IVA)	Recent Orientalizing Age (Latial Period IVB) & Archaic Period
1050/1025–950/925	950/925–900	900–850/825	850/825–750/725	750/725–640/630	640/630–509
Nucleation and centralization of settlements	Large proto-urban centres		Definition of limits or emerging urban centres and internal organization	Urban consolidation	Urban monumentalization
		Foundation of secondary centres	Capillary colonization of the countryside		
Settlement hierarchy 1/2 tiers	Settlement hierarchy 2/3 tiers		Settlement hierarchy 3/4 tiers		

This process is generally considered to be more sudden and revolutionary in Southern Etruria, where, mainly during the Final Bronze Age 3 (between the second half of the eleventh and the first half of the tenth century BC), small and dispersed villages from the previous Bronze Age (with an average of 5–6 ha, but sometimes up to 20–25 ha) were abandoned. At the same time, huge areas (between about 100 and 200 ha) of future historical cities (Veii, Tarquinia, Caere, Vulci, Bisenzio and Orvieto) were settled extensively, with a patchwork occupation of hut compounds interspersed with gardens and allotments. Scholars have calculated that for every large and developing proto-urban centre, about 15–20 villages had been abandoned.[8] In Latium vetus, the process was more gradual and slightly delayed. In this region, the formation of large proto-urban centres occurred mainly during the Latial Periods IIA and IIB (between the second half of the tenth and the first half of the ninth century BC), with the occupation of large plateaus often linked to small Acropoleis that had already been occupied during the Bronze Age.[9] Recent studies, however, have emphasized that in both regions, there were more varied as well as specific cases and exceptions to the gen-

izzazione e urbanizzazione di fase protostorica in Italia," in *Centralization, Early Urbanization and Colonization in First Millennium BC Greece and Italy, Part 1: Italy*, ed. Peter A.J. Attema, Babesch Supplement 9 (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2004): 1–28; Francesco Di Gennaro and Alessandro Guidi, "Il Bronzo finale dell'Italia centrale: considerazioni e prospettive di indagine," in *Il Protovillanoviano al di qua e al di là dell'Appennino: Atti della giornata di studio, Pavia, Collegio Ghislieri, 17 Giugno 1995, Como 2000*, ed. Maurizio Harari and Mark Pearce, Biblioteca di Athenaeum 18 (Como: New Press, 2000): 99–132; Francesco Di Gennaro and Alessandro Guidi, "Ragioni e regioni di un cambiamento culturale: modi e tempi della formazione dei centri protourbani nella Valle del Tevere e nel Lazio meridionale," *Scienze dell'Antichità: Storia, Archeologia, Antropologia* 15 (2009): 429–45; Maria Bonghi Jovino, "Città e territorio: Veio, Tarquinia, Cerveteri e Vulci: appunti e riconsiderazioni," in *Dinamiche di sviluppo delle città nell'Etruria meridionale: Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci: Atti del XXIII Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici, Roma, Veio, Cerveteri/Pyrgi, Tarquinia, Tuscania, Vulci, Viterbo, 1–6 Ottobre 2001*, ed. Orazio Paoletti and Giovannangelo Camporeale (Rome: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 2005): 27–58; Alessandro Guidi, "The Archaeology of the Early State in Italy," *Social Evolution and History* 5, no. 2 (2006): 55–90; Alessandro Guidi, "Archeologia dell'early state: il caso di studio italiano," *Ocnus* 16 (2008): 175–92; Alessandro Guidi, "Archaeology of the Early State in Italy: New Data and Acquisition," *Social Evolution and History* 9, no. 2 (2010): 1–26; Fulminante, *The Urbanization of Rome and Latium Vetus*: 44–47; Teresa Marino, "Aspetti e fasi del processo formativo delle città in Etruria meridionale costiera," in *Le città visibili: archeologia dei processi di formazione urbana*, vol. 1, *Penisola italiana e Sardegna*, ed. Marco Rendeli (Rome: Officina Etruscologia, 2015): 97–141; Simon Stoddart, *Power and Place in Etruria: The Spatial Dynamics of a Mediterranean Civilisation, 1200–500 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Simon Stoddart et al., "Patterns of Etruscan Urbanism," *Frontiers in Digital Humanities: Section Digital Archaeology* 7, no. 1 (2020).

8 Di Gennaro and Peroni, "Aspetti regionali"; Di Gennaro and Guidi, "Il Bronzo finale"; Guidi, "Archeologia dell'early state: il caso di studio italiano": 176–77; Pacciarelli, *Dal villaggio alla città*: 128–36.

9 Di Gennaro and Guidi, "Il Bronzo finale"; Pacciarelli, *Dal villaggio alla città*: 119–28; Guidi, "Archeologia dell'early state: il caso di studio italiano."

eral trends than previously thought, and therefore the two regions are probably more similar than previously assumed.[10]

Later, during an advanced stage of the Early Iron Age (Early Iron Age 1 Late, around the first half of the ninth century BC), both in southern Etruria and in Latium vetus satellites, secondary centres emerged from proto-urban centres. This created a settlement hierarchy of 2–3 tiers, with primary settlements generally being larger than 100 ha in Etruria and larger than 40–50 ha in Latium vetus, but sometimes also between 25 and 50 ha; small secondary settlements were always smaller than 15–20 ha.[11] Following this, during the Early Iron Age 2 (second half of the ninth and first half of eighth century BC), a progressively more precise definition of the limits and internal organization of the large proto-urban centres can be observed. At this point, these centres had already been developing towards urbanization, which involved a series of markedly visible changes from around the middle of the eighth century BC.

1. A demographic growth in the emerging urban centres, proven by the increased density of the sites on the surveyed plateaux.[12]
2. A sharp definition of the boundaries of the inhabited area of the settlements, with the concentration of the sites being rigorously within the limits of the plateaux and the abandonment of the sites previously located along the external slopes of the plateaux.[13]
3. The formalization of these boundaries with the realization of symbolic[14] or more functional fortifications.[15]

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10 Francesca Fulminante and Simon Stoddart, "Indigenous Political Dynamics and Identity from a Comparative Perspective: Etruria and Latium Vetus," in *Exchange Networks and Local Transformations: Interactions and Local Changes in Europe and the Mediterranean from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age*, ed. Maria E. Alberti and Serena Sabatini (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013): 117–33.

11 Pacciarelli, *Dal villaggio alla città*: 115–36, and Fulminante, *The Urbanization of Rome and Latium Vetus*.

12 As an example, this was noticed on the plateau of Cerveteri (Cristiano Iaia and Alessandro Mandolesi, "Comunità e territori nel Villanoviano evoluto dell'Etruria meridionale," in *L'alba dell'Etruria: fenomeni di continuità e trasformazione tra XII e VIII secolo a.C.: ricerche e scavi, atti del nono incontro di studi Valentano (Vt) – Pitigliano (Gr), 12–14 Settembre 2008*, ed. Nuccia Negroni Catacchio [Milan: Centro studi di preistoria e archeologia, 2010]: 61–78); Veio (Roberta Cascino et al., eds., *Veii: The Historical Topography of the Ancient City: A Restudy of John Ward Perkins's Survey*, Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 19 [Rome: The British School at Rome, 2012]: in particular, 15–16); and Gabii (Maria T. Guaitoli, "Gabii," *Parola del Passato* 36 [1981]: 152–73, and Maria T. Guaitoli, "Gabii: osservazioni sulle fasi di sviluppo dell'abitato," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di topografia antica dell'Università di Roma* 9 [1981]: 23–57).

13 As attested in the case of Gabii (Guaitoli, "Gabii" and Guaitoli, "Gabii: osservazioni").

14 Andrea Carandini and Paolo Carafa, eds., *Palatium e Sacra Via*, vol. 1, Bollettino di archeologia 31–34 (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2000).

15 Paul Fontaine, "Le fortificazioni etrusche: nuove scoperte archeologiche (1997–2003)," *Etruscan Studies* 9 (2002–2003): 77–84; Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini, "Alle origini di Vulci," in *Archeologia in Etruria meridionale: Atti delle giornate di studio in ricordo di Mario Moretti, Civita Castellana, 14–15 Novembre 2003*, ed.

4. The internal organization of these centres with the creation of public spaces and official buildings for assemblies and communal activities, cult places and special larger residencies, probably occupied by royal families or aristocratic elites.[16]

At this time, around the middle of the eighth century BC, there was also a more dense and diffuse occupation of the territory by 'urban' elites,[17] with small aristocratic settlements dispersed around the countryside. This brought about a settlement hierarchy of 3–4 tiers, with primary settlements (various orders, generally larger than 100 ha but sometimes between 25 and 100 ha), secondary settlements (always smaller than 15–20 ha) and small high-status settlements in the countryside generally indicated by small burial grounds.[18] At this stage, by the mid/late eighth century BC, the proto-urban centres could be considered as being properly urban, although they were to reach a mature, consolidated urban stage in a fully monumentalized form only in the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods (from the seventh to the sixth century BC).[19]

Mario Moretti and Maristella Pandolfini Angeletti (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2006): 317–60; Francesca Boitani et al., "Nuove indagini sulle mura di Veio nei pressi di Porta Nord-Ovest," in *La città murata in Etruria: Atti del XXV Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici, Chianciano Terme, Sarteano, Chiusi, 30 Marzo–3 Aprile 2005, in memoria di Massimo Pallottino*, ed. Giovannangelo Camporeale (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2008): 135–54; Anna Maria Cataldi et al., "La cinta fortificata di Tarquinia alla luce della nuova documentazione," in *La città murata in Etruria: Atti del XXV Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici, Chianciano Terme, Sarteano, Chiusi, 30 Marzo–3 Aprile 2005, in memoria di Massimo Pallottino* (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2008): 155–70; Paul Fontaine and Sophie Helas, eds., *Fortificazioni arcaiche del Latium vetus e dell'Etruria meridionale (IX–VI sec. a.C.): stratigrafia, cronologia e urbanizzazione, Atti delle giornate di studio, Roma, Accademia Belgica, 19–20 Settembre 2013* (Brussels: Institut Historique Belge de Rome – Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, 2016), with bibliography.

16 See, for example, Tarquinia (Maria Bonghi Jovino, "The Tarquinia Project: A Summary of 25 Years of Excavation," *American Journal of Archaeology* 114 [2010]: 161–80, with references) and Rome (Andrea Carandini, *Roma: Il primo giorno* [Rome: Editori La Terza, 2007]); Andrea Carandini, *La nascita di Roma: dèi, lari, eroi e uomini all'alba di una civiltà* [Turin: Einaudi, 2003] and Andrea Carandini et al., *Santuario di Vesta, pendice del Palatino e Via Sacra: scavi 1985–2016* [Rome: Quasar, 2017]).

17 Since the countryside is generally void of evidence from the earlier periods, it is generally believed that these new aristocratic settlements were generated by elites who originated from urban agglomerations. However, further research and attention are needed to reassess and have a new understanding of the degree of real occupation, or lack thereof, of rural landscapes in pre- and proto-historic times.

18 Anna De Santis, "Alcune considerazioni sul territorio Veiente in età Orientalizzante e Arcaica," in *Le necropoli arcaiche di Veio: giornata di studio in memoria di Massimo Pallottino*, ed. Gilda Bartoloni (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1997): 101–44; Iaia and Mandolesi, "Comunità e territori"; Fulminante, *The Urbanization of Rome and Latium Vetus*: 47.

19 Carandini, *Roma: Il primo giorno*; Carandini, *La nascita di Roma*; Fulminante, *The Urbanization of Rome and Latium Vetus*: 249–60; Gabriele Cifani, "Aspects of Urbanism and Political Ideology in Archaic Rome," in *Papers on Italian Urbanism in the First Millennium B.C.*, ed. Elizabeth C. Robinson, Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series no. 97 (Porthsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2014): 15–28.

2.2 Social Hierarchy and Community Identity

When considering the development of social hierarchies and the construction of community identity as mirrored in funerary evidence (Tab. 3), it is generally agreed by most scholars that princely burials during the late eighth century BC and the beginning of the seventh century BC have an important precedent in the warrior burials and rich female burials from the entire eighth century BC, and that they represent only the final point of a long process of social differentiation, whose early stages would have to be placed at least in the Final Bronze Age.[20] In fact, important studies carried out by Anna De Santis and Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri were able to identify the figures of religious and political leaders in a few exceptional male burials from the Latial Period I, found in the territory of Rome (for example, Quadrato di Torre Spaccata and Santa Palomba). These burials contained a full suit of armour, including round shields, double shields (identified with the Salii shields by Giovanni Colonna), grieves, spears and swords, numerous pottery items and cult and prestige objects such as a knife, an incense burner, possibly a holmos (vase stand) and a cart; according to Bietti Sestieri and De Santis, these indicated the political (sword and weapons) and religious (knife and incense burner) roles of the buried individuals.[21]

Similarly, it is now generally agreed that the scarce funerary variability during the Latial Periods IIA and IIB and in earlier Villanovan cemeteries (from the second half of the tenth to the first half of the ninth century BC) is not due to the lack or absence of social stratification but a result of the egalitarian ideology of the newly formed proto-urban communities, which tended to mask or hide internal inequalities.[22] Further evidence in this sense again comes from a discovery made by Anna De

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20 Fulminante, *Le sepolture principesche*; Jorn Seubern, "The Dead and the Wealthy" (master's thesis, University of Groningen, 2005); Anna De Santis, "Da capi guerrieri a principi: la strutturazione del potere politico nell'Etruria protourbana," in *Dinamiche di sviluppo delle città nell'Etruria meridionale: Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci: Atti del XXIII Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici, Roma, Veio, Cerveteri/Pyrgi, Tarquinia, Tuscania, Vulci, Viterbo, 1–6 Ottobre 2001*, ed. Orazio Paoletti and Giovannangelo Camporeale (Rome: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 2005): 615–31; Alessandro Guidi and Paola Santoro, "The Role of the Greeks in the Formation of the New Urban Aristocratic Ideology," in *Urbanization and State Formation in Italy during the 1st Millennium BC: Session Organised at the XVII International Congress of Classical Archaeology: Meetings Between Cultures in the Ancient Mediterranean, Rome, FAO, 22nd–26th September 2008*, ed. Francesca Fulminante and Alessandro Guidi, Bollettino di archeologia: edizione speciale – Congresso di archeologia AIAC 2008 (Rome: International Association for Classical Archeology, 2008): 36–40; Fulminante and Stoddart, "Indigenous Political Dynamics and Identity."

21 Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri and Anna De Santis, "Il processo formativo della cultura Laziale," in *Atti della XXXV riunione scientifica: le comunità della Preistoria Italiana: studi e ricerche sul Neolitico e le età dei Metalli, Castello Di Lipari 2–7 Giugno 2000, in memoria di Luigi Bernabò Brea* (Florence: Istituto italiano di preistoria e protostoria, 2003): 745–63; Anna De Santis, ed., *Politica e leader nel Lazio ai tempi di Enea* (Rome: Microcosmi, 2011).

22 Pacciarelli, *Dal villaggio alla città*; Fulminante, *Le sepolture principesche*; for more nuanced discussions, see Alessandro Vanzetti, "Evidenze funerarie e figure sociali nel Bronzo e primo Ferro italiani"

Tab. 3: Social differentiation as reflected in the burial customs of southern Etruria and Latium vetus, from the Final Bronze Age to the Archaic Period.

Pre-urban/Proto-urban	Proto-urban		Proto-urban/urban	Urban	
Final Bronze Age 3 (Lazial Period I)	Early Iron Age 1 Early (Latial Period IIA)	Early Iron Age 1 Late (Latial Period IIB)	Early Iron Age 2 (Latial Period IIIA–IIIB)	Early and Middle Orientalizing Age (Latial Period IVA)	Recent Orientalizing Age (Latial Period IVB) & Archaic Period
1050/1025–950/925	950/925–900	900–850/825	850/825–750/725	750/725–640/630	640/630–509
EMERGING BURIALS	SHARED SYMBOLS OF POWER		MALE WITH COMPLETE ARMOUR AND RICH FEMALE BURIALS	PRINCELY BURIALS	REDUCTION AND DISAPPEARANCE OF GRAVE GOODS
Political and religious leaders (complete suit of armour, knife, cart, incense-burner, holmos (stand)?).	Prestige and power symbols (weapons for male burials, spinning and weaving tools for female burials, hut-urn, statuettes, knife) distributed among various individuals.		Male graves with complete suit of armour and prestige goods (flabellum, incense-burner, metal vases, etc.).	Princely burials with hundreds of pottery vases, precious material vases and ornaments (gold, silver, amber, ivory), drinking sets, oriental power symbols (flabellum or fan, footrest and sceptre).	Drastic reduction until complete absence of grave goods; family chamber tombs.
Rich infant burial (Le Caprine tomb 5, Latium vetus) with spinning and weaving instruments and knife.	Exceptional tomb 6 from Tenuta Cancelliera (Santa Palomba): offensive and defensive weapons, cart, statuettes, working tools, knife, gold, many vases.		Rich female burials with many ornaments, bronze cist, spinning and weaving tools.		

Santis, who excavated tomb 6 from Tenuta Cancelliera at Santa Palomba, a burial dated to the Latial Period IIB (first half of the ninth century BC) and equipped with amazing objects such as a complete suit of armour (including round shields, double shields, greaves, spears and swords), an axe, working tools, a cart, a small human figure and a gold nail.[23] In an analogous way, the populist and egalitarian ideology of the city, fully formed under the tyrannical regime of the Tarquins, imposed a drastic reduction in the number of grave goods until they eventually fully disappeared from Latin burials during the Recent Orientalizing Age and the Archaic Period (from the end of the seventh to the sixth century BC).[24]

Linked to the development of social stratification and urban and state institutions is the problem which derives from the birth of the 'gens' – identified as a specific institution of the Roman Republican state but often linked to 'clan', 'lineage' and 'family' organizations; these can be clearly identified in the archaeological record, such as the 'gentilician central group' at the Iron Age cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa,[25] or the aristocratic 'family group tumuli' of the Orientalizing period, which was related to secondary and local settlements at the periphery of the territory of Rome.[26] Cristopher Smith offered a detailed discussion of the origin of the 'gens' by debating and comparing both literary sources and available archaeological evidence. He rather cautiously suggested that it is very difficult to link the Roman institution, as known from literary sources and classical archaeological evidence, to its predecessors, as indicated by Iron Age and Orientalizing material culture.[27]

(PhD diss., University La Sapienza, 1996): 175, and Alessandro Vanzetti, "Indagini sulle strutture sociali dell'Italia protostorica mediante diagrammi di tipo rank-size," in *Studi di protostoria in onore di Renato Peroni* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2006): 609–23.

23 De Santis, *Politica e leader nel Lazio*: 44–51.

24 Giovanni Colonna, "Un aspetto oscuro del Lazio antico: le tombe di VI–V secolo a.C.," *La Parola del Passato* 32 (1977): 131–65; Gilda Bartoloni et al., "Dall'esibizione al rigore: analisi dei sepolcreti laziali fra VII e VI sec. a.C.," in *Tra Etruria, Lazio e Magna Grecia: indagini sulle necropoli, atti dell'incontro di studio Fisciano 5–6 Marzo 2009*, ed. Raffaella Bonaudo et al. (Paestum: Pandemos, 2009): 65–86.

25 Bietti Sestieri, *La necropoli laziale*.

26 Alessandro Bedini, "Abitato protostorico in località Acqua Acetosa Laurentina," *Archeologia Laziale* 3, Quaderni del centro di studio per l'archeologia Etrusco-Italica 4 (1980): 54–58; Alessandro Bedini, "Tre corredi protostorici del Torrino: osservazioni sulla affermarsi e la funzione delle aristocrazie terriere nell'VIII sec. a.C. nel Lazio," *Archeologia Laziale* 7, Quaderni del centro di studio per l'archeologia Etrusco-Italica 11 (1985): 44–64; Alessandro Bedini, "Abitato protostorico in località Acqua Acetosa Laurentina," in *Archeologia a Roma: la materia e la tecnica nell'arte antica*, ed. Maria Rita Di Mino and Marina Bertinetti (Rome: De Luca, 1990): 48–58; Alessandro Bedini, "L'insediamento della Laurentina Acqua Acetosa," in *Roma: 1000 anni di civiltà*, ed. Adriano La Regina (Verona: Leonardo-De Luca editori, 1992): 83–96; Alessandro Bedini, "Laurentina Acqua Acetosa," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1994): 300–302.

27 Christopher J. Smith, *The Roman Clan: The Gens from Ancient Ideology to Modern Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

While combining literary narratives and pre-historical material evidence is always risky and must be done carefully, merit must be given to Nicola Terrenato, who lay the foundations for a constructive debate, which is also open to the inclusion of the growing archaeological evidence. He emphasised the key role of the 'family' and the 'gens' (especially, but not only, 'aristocratic' ones) as active agents and connecting links in the delicate and somehow still-obscure passage from pre-urban village communities to urban societies, and later on through the whole development of Roman expansion and dominance.[28]

3 Data: Osteria dell'Osa, Cemetery of Gabii, from the Latium Vetus Database

This paper focuses on the contextual analysis of burial assemblages in Osteria dell'Osa at Gabii, in Latium vetus, between the beginning of the Early Iron Age and the end of the Orientalizing Period (Latial Periods IIA–IVB, ca. 950–580 BCE). The digital source is a database compiled at the end of the 1990s, based on Bietti Sestieri's[29] publication and other excavation reports, intended for the contextual study of Orientalizing princely burials in Latium vetus (Latin burials database, compiled for my MA Thesis in Italian).[30] The database has been updated through the years with the addition of more recent discoveries and publications. To date, it includes about 1253 records from the sites shown in Tab. 4.

The database consists principally of two tables: Tombs (1253 records) and Grave Goods (9267 records). Each record in the tomb table generally corresponds to one single burial, but some multiple burials are included in the same record if it was not possible to distinguish the different grave good assemblages. In addition, some single depositions within chamber tombs were considered separately in different records where it was possible to distinguish the different individuals and their accompanying grave goods. This is the case for chamber tomb 62 at Osteria dell'Osa, for instance; hence, there were 608 records rather than 602, as in the original publication. Each record in the tomb database is linked to the table of grave goods by one up to many different relations, with each

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28 Laura Motta and Nicola Terrenato, "The Origins of the State Par Excellance: Power and Society in Iron Age Rome," in *Celtes et Galois: l'archéologie face à l'histoire, colloque de synthese, Paris, College de France, du 3 au 7 Juillet 2006*, ed. Christian Goudineau et al. (Glux-en-Glenne: Bibracte, 2006): 225–34; Nicola Terrenato, "Early Rome," in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies*, ed. Alessandro Barchiesi and Walter Scheidel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010): 507–18; Norman Yoffee and Nicola Terrenato, "Introduction: A History of the Study of Early Cities," in *Early Cities in Comparative Perspective 4000 BCE–1200 CE*, ed. Norman Yoffee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015): 1–24; Matthew Naglak and Nicola Terrenato, "A House Society in Iron Age Latium? Kinship and State Formation in the Context of New Discoveries at Gabii," in *La società gentilizia nell'Italia antica tra realtà e mito storiografico*, ed. Massimiliano Di Fazio and Silvia Paltineri, Biblioteca di Athenaeum 61 (Bari: Edipuglia, 2019): 99–118.

29 Bietti Sestieri, *La necropoli laziale*.

30 Fulminante, *Le sepolture principesche*.

Tab. 4: Latin sites with number of burials included in the database.

Site	Total number of tombs	Site	Total number of tombs
Ardea	11	Le Caprine	5
Caracupa	87	Marino	32
Castel Gandolfo	5	Nomentum	5
Colli Albani	1	Palestrina	10
Colonna	12	Pratica di Mare	8
Crustumerium	31	Quadrato di Torre Spaccata	2
Decima	41	Rocca di Papa	2
Ficana	47	Roma	195
Fidenae	5	Santa Palomba	4
Gabii	611	Satricum	74
Grottaferrata	12	Tivoli	21
La Rustica	4	Tor de Cenci	11
Lanuvio	1	Torrino	3
Laurentina	9	Velletri	4

record corresponding to one object or sometimes more objects of the same type. Tab. 7–8 in the Appendix shows a list of the fields included in the Tombs and Grave Goods tables, respectively, along with the type of information collected and recorded in them.

Osteria dell'Osa, one of several necropoleis in the Iron Age settlement of Gabii (Fig. 2), is one of the most important contexts in the database because it was excavated and recorded with the use of modern techniques and provides excellent information for a detailed contextual analysis.[31] Gabii is one of the many large proto-urban centres of Latium vetus, which probably began by the end of the Final Bronze Age but more certainly by the beginning of the Early Iron Age. It started developing into an urban centre by the middle of the eighth century BC and became a fully monumentalized city during the Archaic Period.[32]

The cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa contains what is probably the oldest existing Greek inscription known so far, and literary tradition suggests that Romulus and Remus were sent there to learn literacy.[33] Recent excavations have revealed the presence of a possible regal building from the Archaic Period[34] and a monumental public

31 Bietti Sestieri, *La necropoli laziale*.

32 See synthesis in Fulminante, *Le sepolture principesche*: 51–57, with previous references.

33 See, e.g., Carmine Ampolo, "L'interpretazione storica della più antica iscrizione del Lazio (dalla necropoli di Osteria dell'Osa, Tomba 482)," in *Le necropoli arcaiche di Veio: giornata di studio in memoria di Massimo Pallottino*, ed. Gilda Bartoloni (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1997): 211–18.

34 Marco Fabbri, "La regia di Gabii nell'età dei Tarquini," in *The Age of Tarquinius Superbus: Central Italy in the Late 6th Century, Proceedings of the Conference 'The Age of Tarquinius Superbus: A Paradigm Shift?' Rome, 7–9 November 2013*, ed. Patricia S. Lulof and Christopher J. Smith (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017): 225–40.

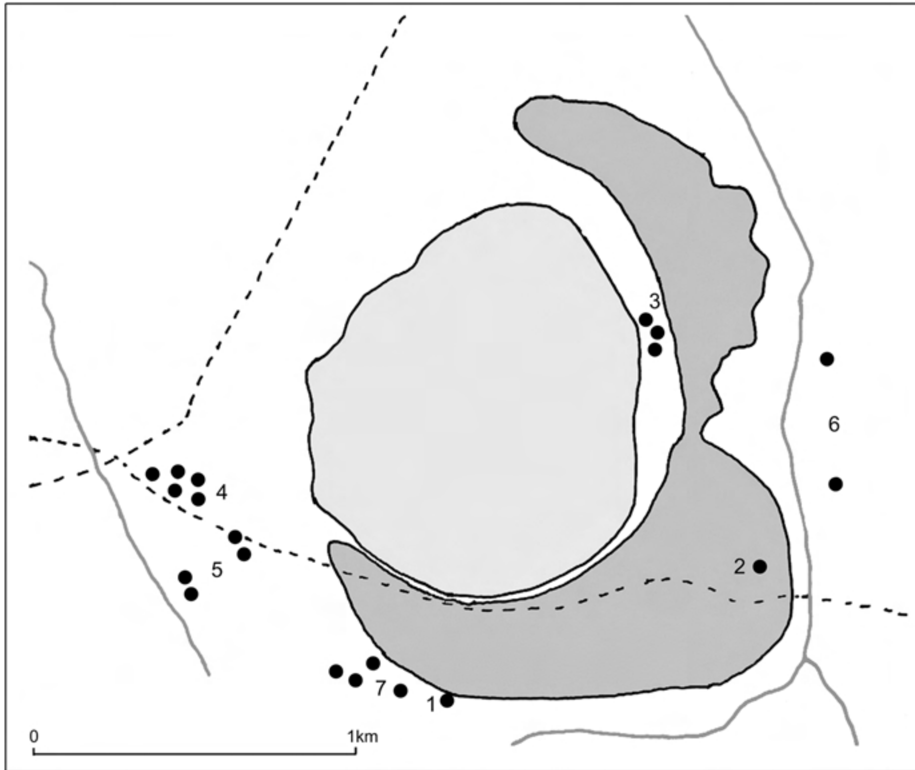

Fig. 2: Osteria dell'Osa at Gabii.

Tab. 5: Cemeteries around Gabii.

Type of burial	Location	Map Number	Latial Phase II (950–850 BC ca)	Latial Phase III (850–750 BC ca)	Latial Phase IV (750–580 BC ca)
Cemetery	Castiglione	3	x		
Cemetery	Osteria dell'Osa	4	x	x	x
Cemetery	Prenestina vecchia-nuova	5	x	x	x
Cemetery	Fosso S. Giuliano	6	x	x	x
Cemetery	Pantano Borghese	7	x	x	x
Intra-mural burials	S. Primo Church	2			x
Intra-mural burials (Sub-adults)	South-West Margin	1	x		

Tab. 6: Burials at Osterial dell'Osa.

Osteria dell'Osa	Dating	Number of individuals
Latial Period IIA	950/925 – 900 ca. BC	156
Latial Period IIB/IIIA	900–800 ca. BC	287
Latial Period IIIB/IV	800–580 ca. BC	88

Mid-Republican building, located at the important intersection of the roads from Tibur, Praeneste and Rome;[35] meanwhile, the use of geo-magnetometry allowed for the detection of a regular plan of the urban centres, which can certainly be dated to the Republican period, but possibly existing even earlier (Archaic Period?).[36]

The Osteria dell'Osa burials from the Iron Age (between Latial Phase IIA and the Latial Phase IVB: c. 950–580 BCE) are mostly single-trench inhumation burials and pit cremation burials in hut-urn or vase-urn, mainly reserved for adult males; however, there are also a few multiple-trench inhumations (mostly couples) and a chamber tomb. Collectively, there are 605 grave assemblages,[37] which include the remains of 611 individuals.[38] The cemetery publication provides a comprehensive interpretation of the relationship between palaeo-demographic data, archaeological data and ritual elements.[39] The size of the assemblage and the methods of excavation and analysis render Osteria dell'Osa one of the most complete records available to us at the moment, for contextual and demographic studies along with a comparative perspective.

As mentioned earlier, the database of Latium vetus burials created by the author has been used for the present analysis. This was based upon the information provided in the final publication of the cemetery.[40] This included detailed information about each tomb, its structure and ritual elements; associated grave goods; as well as associated osteological information, including age and sex determination, bone preservation, dental health and stature. Anthropological examinations and analyses of the bone remains were conducted by Loretana Salvadei and Marshall John Becker, who found that the preservation of bone remains at Osteria dell'Osa was rather poor. The determination of age and gender was mainly based on the evaluation of dentition and long bones, which were more likely to survive.

35 Andrew C. Johnston et al., "A Monumental Mid-Republican Building Complex at Gabii," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 86 (2018): 1–35.

36 Jeffrey A. Becker et al., "A New Plan for an Ancient Italian City: Gabii Revealed," *American Journal of Archaeology* 113, no. 4 (2009): 629–42.

37 Bietti Sestieri, *La necropoli laziale*: 219–438, 551–878.

38 Marshall John Becker and Loretana Salvadei in Bietti Sestieri, *La necropoli laziale*; see also Roberto Macchiarelli and Loretana Salvadei, "Paleodemography and Selective Funerary Practices at Latium Vetus, Middle-Tyrrhenian Italy," *Anthropologischer Anzeiger* 52, no. 1 (1994): 37–52.

39 Bietti Sestieri, *La necropoli laziale*; Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri, *The Iron Age Necropolis of Osteria dell'Osa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 119–220.

40 Bietti Sestieri, *La necropoli laziale*.

As declared by the anthropologists, 'given the extent of damage of these remains, and the wide variation in surviving material (sometimes teeth, sometimes long bones, rarely both) no single analytical procedure could be used to determine either age or gender. The analyst, therefore, used "multiple independent techniques" employing whatever material was available to evaluate these skeletons.'[41] In the report, the anthropologist provided in detail the data and methods on which the determination was based; the greater or lower degree of certainty of the determination was reflected in the database with a grade of 1 (for certain), 2 (for possible) and 3 (for uncertain).

Tab. 7: Age classes used for the database and the case study.

CLASS	DEFINITION	AGE
INF	INFANTS	0–5
CHI	CHILDREN	5–11
ADO	ADOLESCENTS	12–20
ADU	ADULTS	20–40
ADUM	ADULTS MATURE	40–60
SEN	ELDERLY	ABOVE 60

According to a classification by H. Vallois (1960) that was followed by the anthropologists as well as in this paper, the age classes indicated in Tab. 5 were considered significant. In fact, as already noted by Bietti Sestieri and also confirmed by some of our own analyses, an infant (below five years of age) seems to be distinguished from children (from five to eleven years) and mature adults (from forty to sixty years), while the elderly (above sixty years) seems to be differentiated from adults (from twenty to forty years), at least in some aspect of the rituality, such as with the presence/absence of certain objects and or the use of certain rituals. In particular, gender/role categories – such as bow *fibulae* and textile tools for females and weapons and *serpeggiante/drago fibulae* for males – are generally absent from individuals below five years of age, apart from the case of richer/high-status burials.[42] Similarly, cremation seems to be reserved for male adults in the age class between twenty and forty years.[43]

41 Bietti Sestieri, *La necropoli laziale*: 58 (translation of the quote by the author).

42 Francesca Fulminante, "Intersecting Age and Social Boundaries in Sub-Adult Burials of Central Italy During the 1st Millennium BC," in *From Invisible to Visible: New Data and Methods for the Archaeology of Infant and Child Burials in Pre-Roman and Beyond*, ed. Jacopo Tabolli (Nicosia: Astrom Editions, 2018): 29–38; Francesca Fulminante, "Infancy and Urbanization in Central Italy During the Early Iron Age and Beyond," in *Papers in Italian Archaeology VII: The Archaeology of Death, Proceedings of the Seventh Conference of Italian Archaeology Held at the National University of Ireland, Galway, April 16–18, 2016*, ed. Edward Herring and Eoin O'Donoghue (Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing, 2018): 197–207.

43 Bietti Sestieri, *La necropoli laziale*: 203; Bietti Sestieri, *The Iron Age Necropolis*: 128.

4 Presentation of the Analyses and Discussion of the Results

4.1 Defining, Quantifying and Visualizing Lower-Status Individuals and Evaluating Gender and Demographic Trends

As mentioned in the introduction, the first step in the analysis of lower-class individuals is the identification of these individuals according to a quantifiable method that is replicable and can be assessed objectively. The concept of wealth and richness is complex in itself and intrinsically relative; it is also well-known that burials are not direct mirrors of society, and the interface of ritual and ideology has to be taken into account.[44] However, a contextual analysis of burials in Latium vetus, already discussed several times, seems to confirm that grave goods from Iron Age cemeteries in Latium vetus are fairly representative of the wealth of the deceased, especially if we contrast this custom with the later diminution and disappearance of grave goods in the late Orientalizing and Archaic Periods. The latter was probably due to egalitarian ideology as well as limitations imposed by sumptuary laws, which were most likely introduced by the Tarquins.[45]

Therefore, to identify lower classes, a richness index has been adopted in this work. As previously mentioned, this index was already used in the volume *Le sepolture principesche,*[46] by the author and was developed by Alessandro Guidi for the Iron Age cemetery of Quattro Fontanili at Veio.[47] With this index, some value equivalences were used to proportionally appraise different types of objects found among Iron Age grave goods. Evidently, beads that are normally found in necklaces or in big numbers cannot be assigned the same value as that given to pottery or other complex objects. The equivalences elaborated by Guidi and adopted in this work are presented in Tab. 6. By adopting these equivalences, a wealth index was calculated for each tomb or individual.

Several trends were also investigated and analyzed against gender and sex variables. Again, we are aware that there is a huge debate on this topic, particularly relative to Pre- and Protohistory.[48] In this work, the assignment of gender refers to the identification of male, female or undetermined (neither male nor female) individuals

44 Michael Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial* (Sprakford: Sutton Publishing, 1999).
45 For this, see discussion in Fulminante, *Le sepolture principesche*; Francesca Fulminante, “Early Iron Age and Orientalizing Mediterranean Networks from Funerary Contexts in Latium Vetus: Identifying Gender and Spatial Patterns of Interaction,” *Memoires of the American Academy in Rome* 63–64 (2018–2019): 35–85.
46 Fulminante, *Le sepolture principesche.*
47 Guidi, *La necropoli Veiente dei Quattro Fontanili.*
48 Bisserka Gaydarska et al., “To Gender or Not to Gender? Exploring Gender Variations through Time and Space,” *European Journal of Archaeology* (2023): 1–28; see also Tamar Hodos and Francesca Fulminante, “Sex and Gender between Society and Biology” (forthcoming).

Tab. 8: Value equivalences used in the calculation of wealth diagrams.

1=1	Pottery, male fibulae, female belts, female fibulae (gold, silver, bone and amber), weapons, utensils, objects and vases of precious material (gold, silver, bone, ivory, faience, glass), imported objects, writing
2=1	Bronze female fibulae, pins, large and flat suspension rings, rare spindle whorl (smooth)
5=1	Pendants, suspension rings, hair, bracelets, rare beads (e.g., amber allumiere type), common spindle whorl, spools
50=1	Beads, small metal decorations (plaques, small rings, etc.)

according to the grave goods, while a sex of male or female or undetermined (in the case of uncertainty) is indicated based on anthropological determination. Things are actually more complicated than this, as I have recently found in my research for a new project called 'Warriors and Weavers. Gender stereotypes in Pre-Roman Italy', but for the sake of this work, the definition and distinction described above will be sufficient.

Fig. 3 a–b are wealth distribution diagrams for the community of Osteria dell'Osa, elaborated according to gender and sex for two different sets of periods: Latial Periods IIA and IIB (from the tenth to the ninth century BC) and Latial Periods III and IV (from the eighth to the sixth century BC); bin intervals with a value of 5 were used for these diagrams. As can be seen in the figure, all diagrams show a distinctive threshold at around level 5. In order to assess its significance, I tried different scenarios. I counted the individuals in each group at the threshold of either 5 or 10. The threshold of 5 – more precisely 4.5 – resulted in more credible compositions and groups, with the assumption that the lower class was at least slightly larger than the higher class However, this would not be true if we had to assume a bias towards richer individuals, as is the case for Latial Period I, the very beginning of Latin culture, when only members of high society were buried. The graphs also show a higher tendency for individuals from the lower classes to be characterized as male when analyzed according to sex, and an even higher tendency when the analysis was based on gender. On the other hand, the burials of higher-status individuals tended to be characterized as female according to both gender and sex.

Demographic trends among the different class groups were also investigated according to both gender and sex. To evaluate if some demographic bias was in place, the two class groups were jointly considered. As shown in Fig. 4, there is a bias towards female individuals, especially in the earliest phases of the cemetery. This trait of Osteria dell'Osa had already been noted by the directors of the excavation and by the anthropologist who performed the analysis of the remains, but no clear explanation was found. When the different wealth classes (Fig. 5) were taken into account, we noticed that in the higher class, the females are more explicitly characterized, while males are more characterized in the lower class.

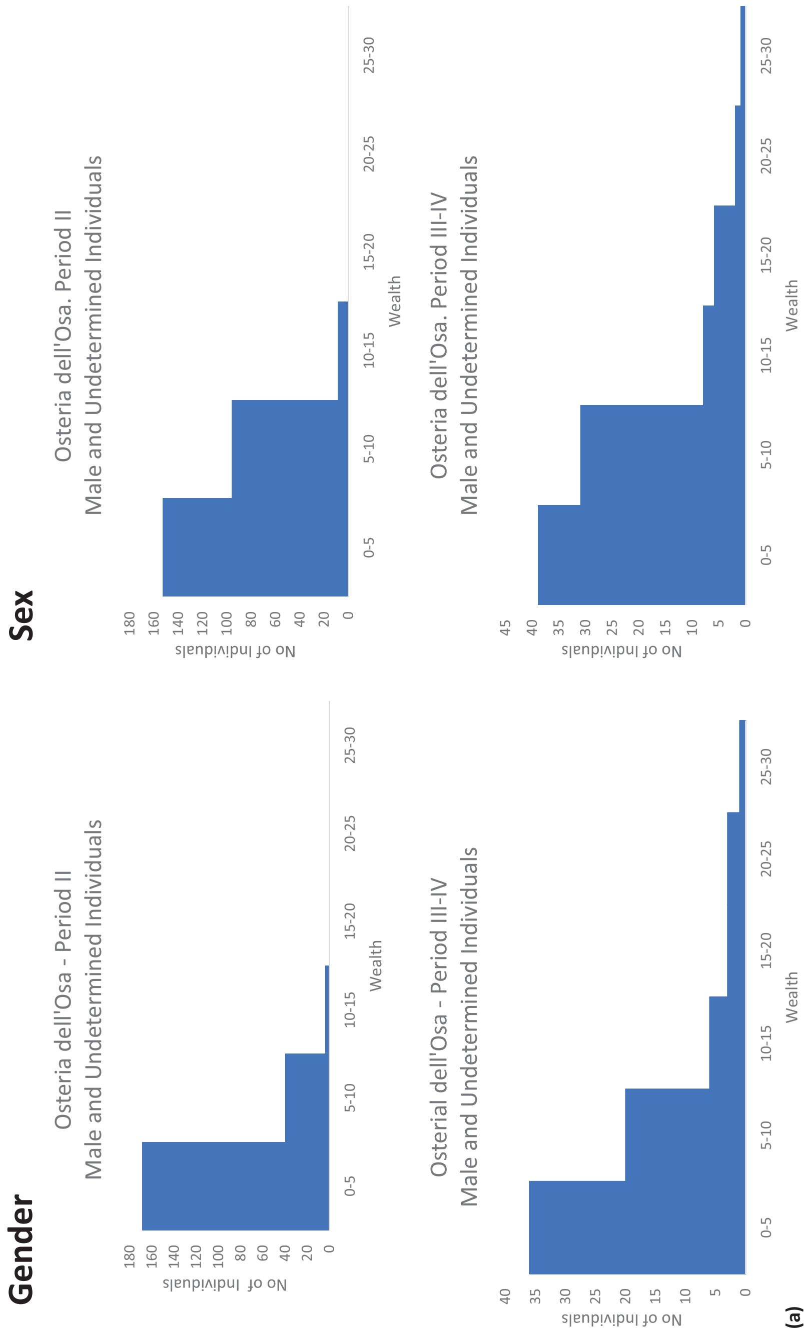

Fig. 3 a–b: Osteria dell'Osa: wealth distribution diagrams according to gender and sex using bin intervals with a value of 5; **a:** Male and undetermined burials; **b:** Female burials.

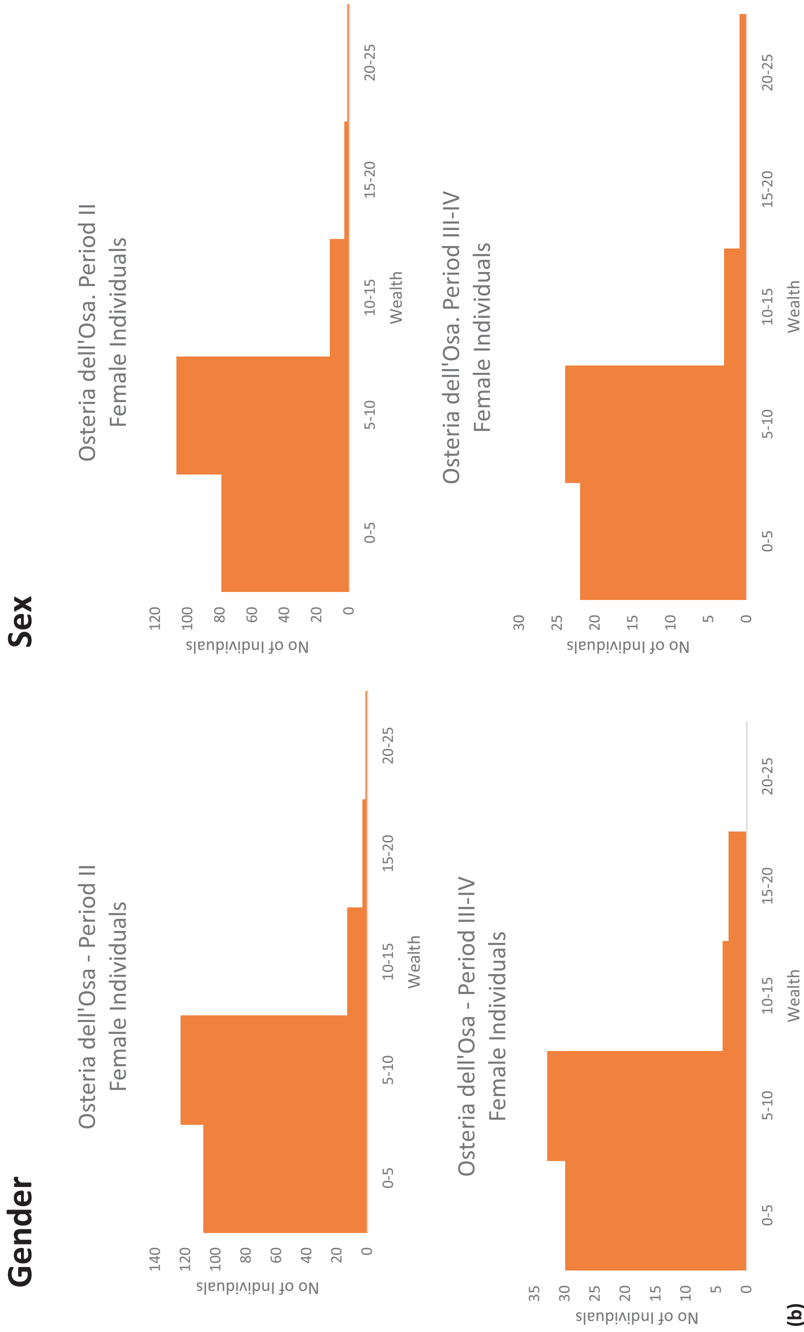

Fig. 3 a–b (continued)

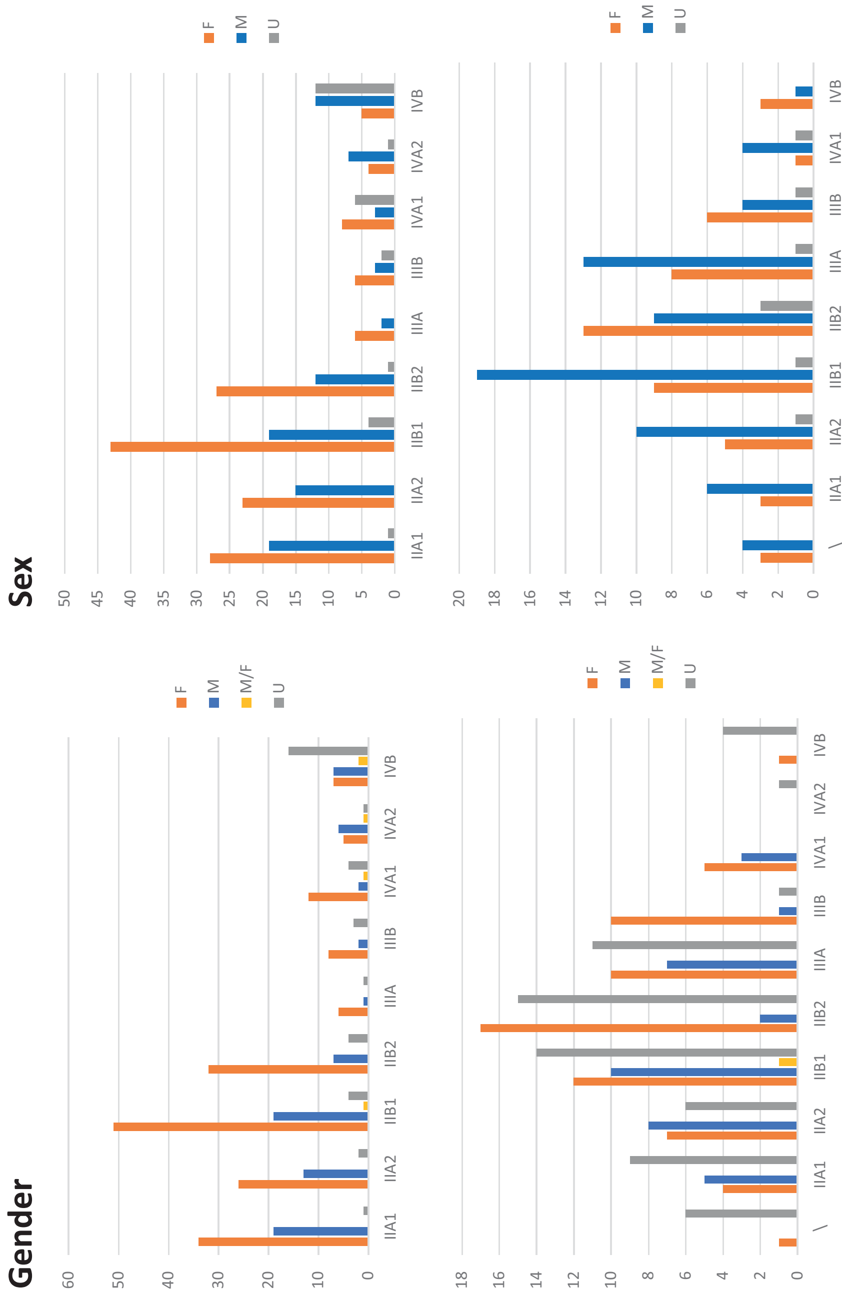

Fig. 4: Osteria dell'Osa: demographic distribution diagrams according to gender and sex; **a:** Gender, Higher Class: Wealth index > 4.5; **b:** Gender, Lower Class: Wealth index < 4.5; **c:** Sex, Higher Class: Wealth index > 4.5; **d:** Sex, Lower Class: Wealth index < 4.5.

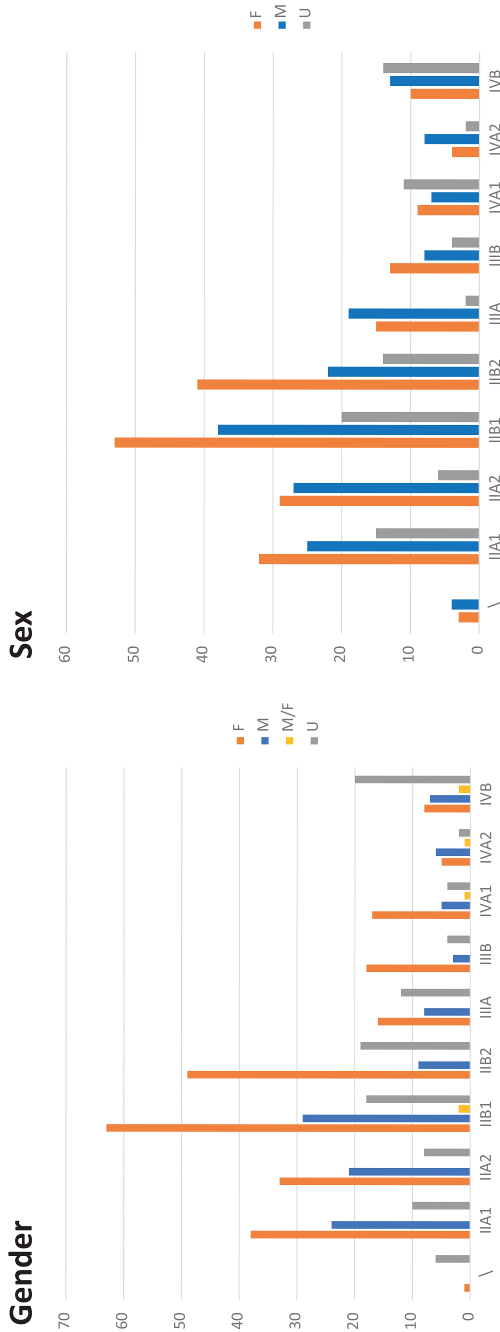

Fig. 5: Osteria dell'Osa: demographic distribution diagrams according to class, gender and sex; **a:** Gender; **b:** Sex.

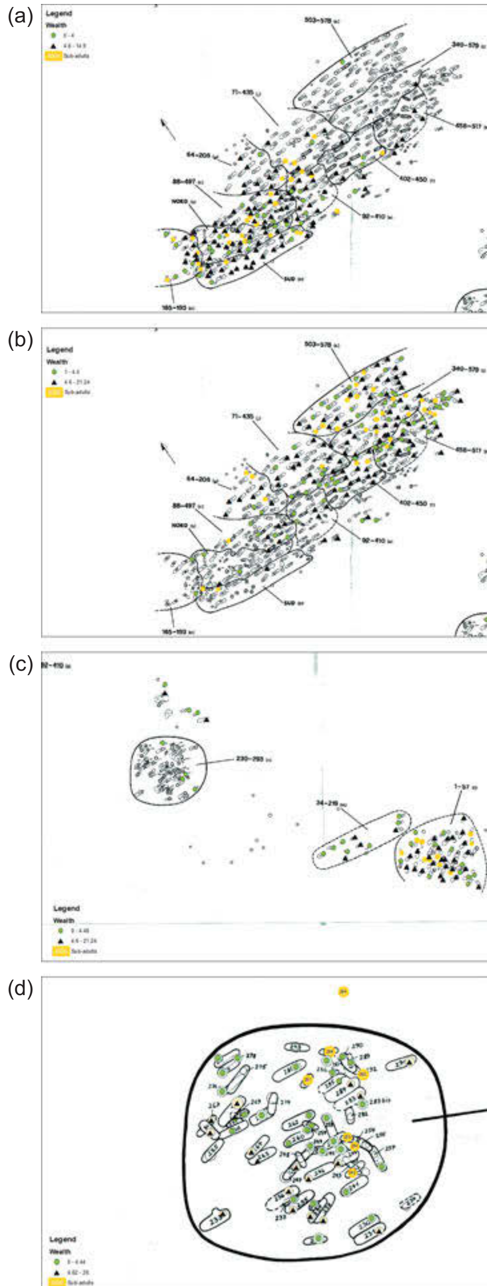

Fig. 6 a–d: Osteria dell'Osa: spatial distribution according to class and age; **a:** Latial Period IIA; **b:** Latial Period IIB1; **c:** Latial Period IIB2; **d:** Latial Period III–IV.

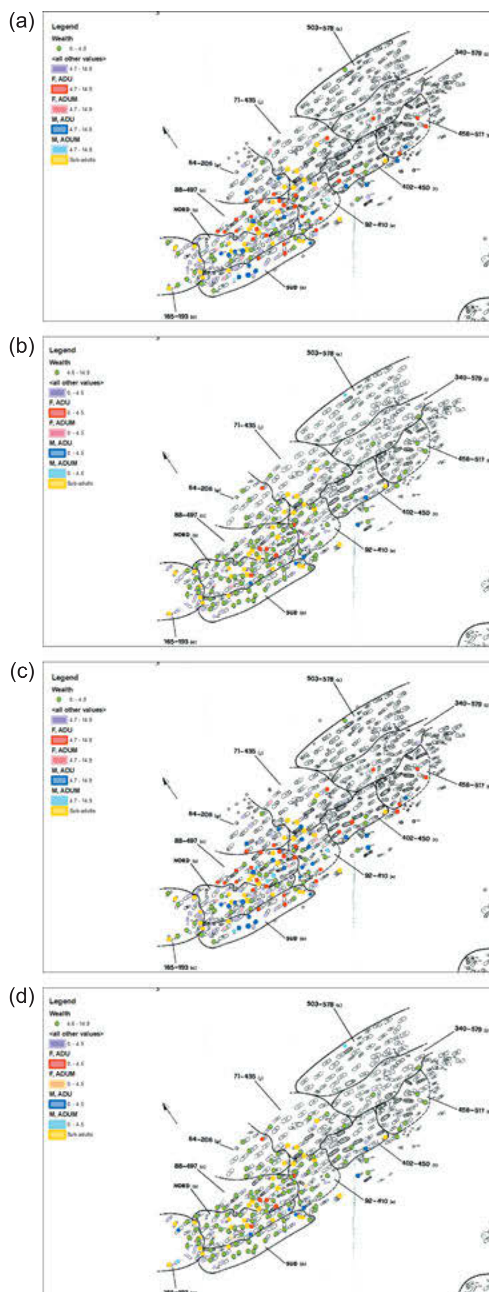

Fig. 7 a-d: Osteria dell'Osa, Latial Period IIA: spatial distribution according to class, gender, sex and age; **a:** Gender, Higher Class: Wealth index > 4.5; **b:** Gender, Lower Class: Wealth index < 4.5; **c:** Sex, Higher Class: Wealth index > 4.5; **d:** Sex, Lower Class: Wealth index < 4.5.

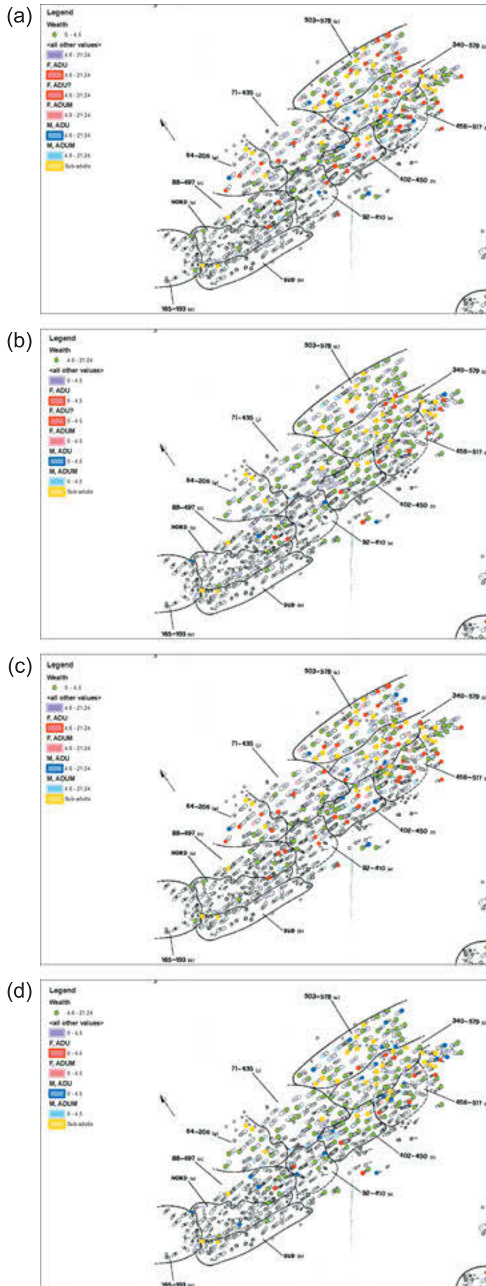

Fig. 8 a-d: Osteria dell'Osa, Latial Period IIB1: spatial distribution according to class, gender, sex and age; **a:** Gender, Higher Class: Wealth index > 4.5; **b:** Gender, Lower Class: Wealth index < 4.5; **c:** Sex, Higher Class: Wealth index > 4.5; **d:** Sex, Lower Class: Wealth index < 4.5.

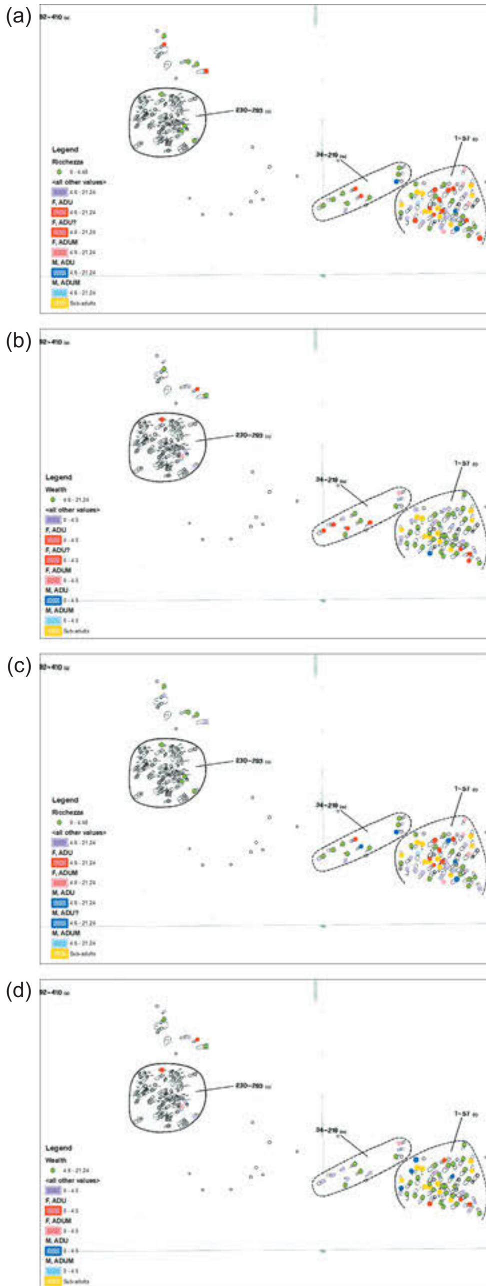

Fig. 9 a-d: Osteria dell'Osa, Latial Period IIB2: spatial distribution according to class, gender, sex and age; **a:** Gender, Higher Class: Wealth index > 4.5; **b:** Gender, Lower Class: Wealth index < 4.5; **c:** Sex, Higher Class: Wealth index > 4.5; **d:** Sex, Lower Class: Wealth index < 4.5.

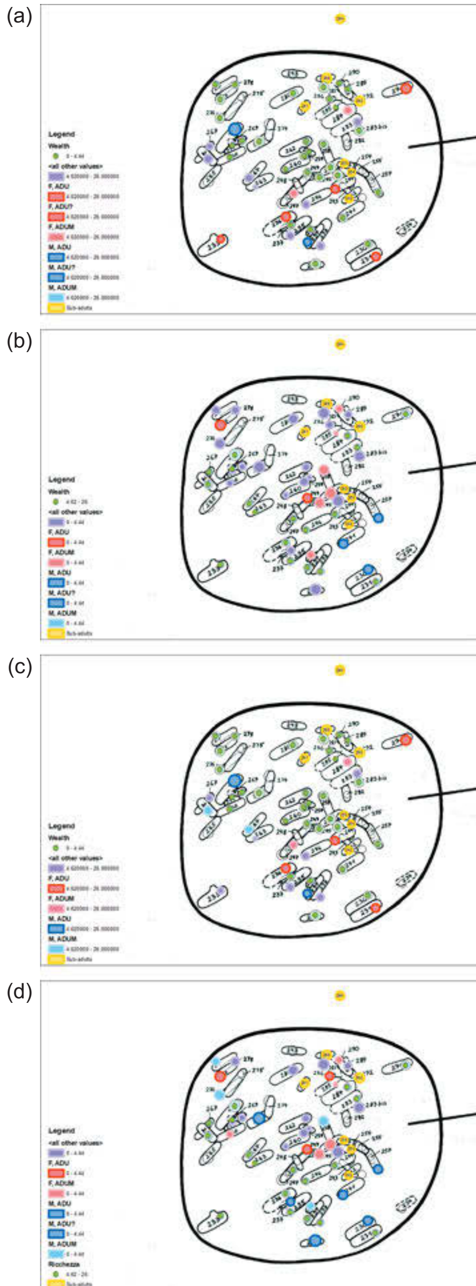

Fig. 10 a-d: Osteria dell'Osa, Latial Periods III–IV: spatial distribution according to class, gender, sex and age; **a:** Gender, Higher Class: Wealth index > 4.5; **b:** Gender, Lower Class: Wealth index < 4.5; **c:** Sex, Higher Class: Wealth index > 4.5; **d:** Sex, Lower Class: Wealth index < 4.5.

4.2 Visualizing Lower-Status Individuals Spatially and Evaluating Gender and Demographic Trends

Finally, the data were imported into a GIS; gender, sex and status dynamics were visualized and analyzed spatially, to further verify the similarities or differences among the two groups and to gain further insights into class, gender, sex and demographic trends and their various combinations. Fig. 6 shows the spatial distribution of individuals according to class. Individuals with a wealth index lower than 4.6 are generally located at the margins of the group – identified by Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri as lineage groups – and are distributed all around the burials with a higher wealth index. This seems to be a trend that is present in all periods from earlier and later phases, especially in the group of Latial Periods III and IV, identified by Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri as the beginning of the 'gens' at Osteria dell'Osa.[49]

Fig. 7–10 show the spatial distribution of individuals according to class, gender, sex and age, used to investigate if couples and/or family groups are present in the cemetery in either or both of the class groups. The maps show that couples and family groups tend to be more neatly defined in the higher class, especially in the later phases of the cemetery. In particular, in the group identified as a gens in Latial Phase III and IV, there seem to be two or three prominent male and female figures, with a few other male associates, children and a significant number of individuals from the lower class. Thus, the diachronic distribution of the maps, with the spatial location of tombs according to sex, gender and age, offers a visual representation of what seems to be the emergence of the gens, which complements and corroborates the picture already offered by Cristopher Smith a few years ago.[50]

5 Conclusion

While there were many issues, biases and complications (due to funerary rituals and the inclusion and exclusion burial practices) that have to be taken into account, it was possible to use distribution diagrams and contextual spatial analyses to identify lower and higher-status classes at Osteria dell'Osa. In this particular context, by adopting Guidi's index of wealth, a value of 4.5 proved to be a good threshold between lower and higher-class individuals. In other contexts, some adjustments might be necessary or a different index of wealth might have to be used. Another widespread indicator of wealth is the Ghini coefficient, which will also be used in further studies for this and other contexts.

49 See discussion section above.
50 Smith, *The Roman Clan*.

The analysis also showed that females of higher classes tended to be better characterized by gender; in contrast, wealthier males could not be characterized as well by gender. It could be possible that this represents an ideological bias, according to which males might have wanted to present themselves more as a group rather than as individuals, and that they all might have wanted to be perceived as having equal status.

At Osteria dell'Osa, lower-class individuals are generally spatially distributed around higher-class individuals and at the periphery of the groups. In this case study, there seems to be less interest in the definition of gender and/or family ties in lower status classes. Combining this element with an observation made in another study – that infants and children of higher status tended to be more neatly identified by sex and gender – seems to indicate that there is a concentration of gender and sex indicators among higher classes, possibly explained by an interest in emphasizing the continuity of the family and/or gens group and the inheritance of status and privileges. Thus, as already mentioned, this paper augments and corroborates the picture of the evolution of the gens, already provided by Smith a few years ago, based on literary, archaeological and iconographic evidence.

Further analyses of the distribution of wealth in relation to gender and age classes, also in comparison with family ties as identified by DNA studies, will complement and augment these preliminary results. In fact, there is probably still more work to do in relation to the definition and characterization of lower classes in literary and iconographic evidence, although these sources might be biased towards a mainly aristocratic and male point of view. For my new project on Gender Stereotypes at the Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg in Delmhorst, I am increasing the amount of data in the Latium vetus database, which is now becoming the Italy database, with the addition of several other sites from Central and Southern Italy. It would be interesting to compare different sites and regions that are also present in the work of other scholars.

Appendix: Information from the Latin burial database

Tab. 9: Fields of the tomb table in the Latin burials database.

Field	Data Type	Description
Sito	Short Text	Site
Tomba	Short Text	Tomb ID: Abbreviation of site and number of tomb
Fase	Short Text	Cultural dating of the tomb if different from Bietti Sestieri
Fase Bietti	Short Text	Cultural dating of the tomb according to Bietti Sestieri
Datazione	Short Text	Absolute dating of the tomb
Contesto	Short Text	Context of the tomb (intra or extra-mural)

Tab. 9 (continued)

Field	Data Type	Description
Sepolcreto	Short Text	Name of the cemetery/area
Gruppo	Short Text	Name of the group
Posizione	Short Text	Position within the group
Sesso	Short Text	Sex (anthropological and/or by grave goods)
Eta’	Short Text	Age
Classe eta’	Short Text	Age class (INF; CHI; ADO; ADU; ADUM; SEN)
A/B	Short Text	Adults (ADO; ADU; ADUM, SEN) or Children (INF; CHI)
Rito	Short Text	Type of rite: cremation inhumation, enchytrismos, etc.
Tipo Cremazione	Short Text	Type of cremation
Orientamento	Short Text	Orientation of the tomb
Struttura	Short Text	Type of tomb structure (Trench, Pit, etc.)
Dimensioni	Short Text	Dimensions of the tomb
Copertura	Short Text	Type of coverage of the tomb
Riempimento	Short Text	Type of filling of the tomb
Sema	Short Text	Presence of element signaling the tomb
Circolo	Short Text	Precinct
Tumulo	Short Text	Tumulus
Dim Circolo/Tumulo	Short Text	Dimensions of the precinct/tumulus
Testa	Short Text	Position/Orientation of the head
Pos corpo	Short Text	Position of the body
Pos braccia	Short Text	Position of the arms
Pos gambe	Short Text	Position of the legs
Dep secondaria	Short Text	Secondary deposition
Letto/bara	Short Text	Presence of stone bed and/or wooden coffin
Pos corredo	Short Text	Position of the grave goods
Urna	Short Text	Type of urn in the cremations
Coperchio	Short Text	Type of urn lid in the cremations
Tomba multipla	Short Text	Multiple tomb
Vasi rituali	Short Text	Presence of ritual vases
Forma vasi rituali	Short Text	Shape of ritual vases
Pos vasi rituali	Short Text	Position of ritual vases
Vasetto votivo	Short Text	Presence of miniature votive vessel
Forma vasetto votivo	Short Text	Shape of miniature votive vessel
Pos vasetto votivo	Short Text	Position of miniature votive vessel
Offerta/dep votivo	Short Text	Presence of offer/votive deposit
Forma offerta/dep votivo	Short Text	Type of offer/votive deposit
Pos offerta/dep votivo	Short Text	Position of offer/votive deposit
Statuette	Short Text	Presence of human figure statuette
Pos statuette	Short Text	Position of human figure statuette
Ciottoli travertino	Short Text	Presence of travertine pebbles
Pos ciottoli travertino	Short Text	Position of travertine pebbles
Ossa umane	Short Text	Human bones
Pos ossa umane	Short Text	Position of human bones
Offerta animale	Short Text	Presence and type of animal offer
Pos offerta animale	Short Text	Position of animal offer
Offerta vegetale	Short Text	Presence and type of vegetal offer

Tab. 9 (continued)

Field	Data Type	Description
Pos offerta vegetale	Short Text	Position of vegetal offer
Edizione	Short Text	Published or unpublished
Bibliografia	Long Text	Bibliography
Museum	Short Text	Museum or storage place
Notes	Long Text	Notes
Danni	Short Text	Ancient damages (tombs intersecting one another)
Dati Parziali	Short Text	Incomplete grave goods

Tab. 10: Fields of the grave goods table in the Latin burials database.

Field	Data Type	Description
Tomba	Short Text	Tomb ID: Abbreviation of site and number of tomb
Cn	Short Text	Connotation: cc = pottery grave goods; cm = metal grave goods; ogf = female object; ogm = male object; orf = ornament etc.
Cl/m	Short Text	Object class or material
Forma	Short Text	General shape, mainly based on function (e.g., 'Vaso biansato' – 'two-handled vase')
Tipo	Short Text	Details about the Shape, based on functional and/or formal attribute (e.g., 'Su piede' – 'with foot')
Miniature	Short Text	Miniaturized object
N Es	Number	Number of objects
Import	Short Text	Origin of imports
Pos oggetto	Short Text	Position of the object
Notes	Long Text	Notes

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Rafael Scopacasa

The Negotiation of Social Hierarchies in a Mountain Community of Pre-Roman Samnium, Central Italy

Abstract: *The upland region of Samnium in central Italy, in the time of the early Roman expansion (c. 400–200 BCE), is a historical context of the ancient world where distinctions between elite and subaltern social agents might have been less clear-cut than in neighbouring and more urbanized areas. Greek and Roman writers characterised pre-Roman Samnium as a backwards zone, describing its inhabitants as rough highlanders (montani atque agrestes), village dwellers (komedon zontes), and even as akin to wild beasts. In this chapter, I approach Samnium to shed light on the negotiation of social hierarchies in contexts of first millennium BCE Italy that were removed from the main avenues of social and political power, and of which there are virtually no contemporaneous written accounts. Through an in-depth examination of published and contextualized archaeological and osteological data from the site of Gildone (Molise), I identify variations in mortuary treatment in a small rural community where health and living standards were apparently precarious across the board; I also draw a comparison of the funerary data with material from a nearby and roughly contemporaneous farmhouse. Results suggest that forms of hierarchy and intersectionality were present within communities that were economically and politically marginalized. Further exploration of these dynamics can improve our understanding of inequality and dependence in pre-Roman Italy.*

1 Introduction

Historian Kostas Vlassopoulos has proposed two distinct models for conceptualising social inequality in antiquity. One might be termed the “different worlds” model, which posits a fundamental gap between elite and nonelite cultures, lifestyles, worldviews, and experiences – as was arguably the case, for example, in early modern European society. The “continuum” model, on the other hand, presents a more fluid scenario where certain activities are more readily available to people with wealth and power, but are not necessarily closed off on the basis of birth, descent, or status. Vlassopoulos describes the implications of this second type of situation in the following terms: “If there was no distinctive elite culture, lifestyles or values, then we must

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think very carefully about what constitutes subaltern individuals and communities in such circumstances."[1]

The mountainous region of Samnium in central Italy, in the time of the early Roman expansion (c. 400–200 BCE), is one context where distinctions between elite and subaltern social agents were probably less clear-cut than in neighbouring and more urbanized areas. Greek and Roman writers characterised pre-Roman Samnium as a backwards zone, describing its inhabitants as rough highlanders (*montani atque agrestes*), village dwellers (*komedon zontes*), and even as akin to wild beasts.[2] These stereotypes reflect the prejudices of Greco-Roman elite authors.[3] Even so, archaeological research seems to confirm that pre-Roman Samnium was devoid of the more spectacular forms of elite display that are found across first millennium BCE Italy. The region's material record from the Iron Age (c. 1000–400 BCE) reveals some degree of social complexity: The spatial organization of cemeteries suggests the possible segmentation of communities along familial lines; tomb architecture and furnishings suggest some differentiated access to resources, with a minority of tombs featuring distinctive items such as bronze armour, worked amber jewellery, finer pottery (for example, bucchero and black gloss), and/or bronze cinerary urns, depending on the period.[4] Yet, there is nothing that matches the so-called princely graves of Tyrrhenian Italy and their lavish contents, not to mention the monumental chamber tombs with painted interiors, prestigious painted pottery such as refined Attic or Apulian vases, as well as substantial elite housing such as the third century BCE multi-story structure that was excavated in Gabii.[5] Indeed, the absence of large urban centres before the first century BCE has been seen as a particularly important mark of Samnium's isolation and rusticity (although this view has been giving way to more nuanced approaches).

Pre-Roman Samnium can be seen as a region inhabited by people who possessed relatively less political and economic power in the context of pre-Roman Italy. Such a view is apparent in Nicola Terrenato's study on the early Roman expansion, which describes Samnium as "a large, intractable, and raid-generating enclave" that stood in

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1 Kostas Vlassopoulos, "Subaltern Community Formation in Antiquity: Some Methodological Reflections," in *Ancient History from Below: Subaltern Experiences and Actions in Context*, ed. Cyril Courrier and Julio C.M. de Oliveira (London: Routledge, 2021): 35–54.

2 Livy 9, 13, 6–8 (rough highlanders); Strabo 5, 4, 11 (villagers), 5, 4, 2 (savages).

3 Emma Dench, *From Barbarians to New Men: Greek, Roman and Modern Perceptions of the Central Apennines* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

4 Overview of trends in the funerary record: Angela Di Niro, "Le Necropoli dell'Area Interna: Le Necropoli della Zona Costiera," in *Samnium: Archeologia del Molise*, ed. Stefania Capini and Angela Di Niro (Rome: Quasar, 1991): 61–71; Amalia Faustoferri, "Prima dei Sanniti: Le necropoli dell'Abruzzo meridionale," *Melanges de l'Ecole Francaise de Rome* 115, no. 1 (2003): 85–107.

5 Andrew C. Johnston et al., "A Monumental Mid-Republican Building Complex at Gabii," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 86 (2018): 1–35.

the way of the Roman imperialist project in the fourth and third centuries BCE[6] From this perspective, the long series of conflicts known as the Samnite Wars of c. 343–290 BCE can be understood as confrontations between mountain communities that relied on a pastoral-raiding economy, and the rich, urbanized communities of central Italy. Ancient accounts mention Samnite political and military leaders in the context of the wars, but it is not clear if there is enough of them to speak of a hereditary aristocracy or state-level administration in Samnium at that stage. It is only towards the second century BCE, after the Roman conquest, that we start to have inscriptions mentioning formal magistracies, which were occupied by individuals that seem to come from a select pool of families.[7] It is also towards the late second century BCE that monumentalization began to be visible in sanctuaries such as Campochiaro and Pietrabbondante, the latter with its limestone temple and theatre built in the lead-up to the Social War of 91–87 BCE.[8]

In this chapter, I approach pre-Roman Samnium to shed light on the negotiation of social hierarchies in the less urbanized contexts of first millennium BCE Italy that were removed from the main avenues of social and political power, and of which there are virtually no contemporaneous written accounts. I focus on a specific archaeological context that was active from the fourth to the second century BCE – the site of Gildone in modern-day Molise; it is one of the few archaeological complexes from pre-Roman Samnium combining funerary and settlement areas that have been systematically excavated and published, and where the funerary data include the results of osteological and bio-archaeological analyses.[9] Through a contextual examination of the published data, I identify differences in the mortuary treatment given to members of a small rural community where access to luxury goods was apparently absent, socioeconomic disparities were not expressive, and health standards were apparently precarious across the board. These differences suggest that forms of hierarchy and intersectionality were present among marginalized people in late-first millennium BCE Italy.

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6 Nicola Terrenato, *The Early Roman Expansion into Italy: Elite Negotiation and Family Agendas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

7 Edward Bispham, "The Samnites," in *Ancient Italy: Regions without Boundaries*, ed. Guy Jolyon Bradley et al. (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007): 179–223.

8 Bispham, "The Samnites."

9 Angela Di Niro, "Cercemaggiore-Gildone: la Casa, le Tombe e il Sacello," in *Samnium: Archeologia del Molise*, ed. Stefania Capini and Angela Di Niro (Rome: Quasar, 1991): 121–26; Angela Di Niro and Pier Paolo Petrone, "Gildone: mortalità, stress nutrizionali e da attività lavorativa in un campione di Sanniti del V–IV sec. a.C.," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 59 (1993): 33–49; Rafael Scopacasa, "Gender and Ritual in Ancient Italy: A Quantitative Approach to Grave Goods and Skeletal Evidence in Pre-Roman Samnium," *American Journal of Archaeology* 118, no. 2 (2014): 241–66; Isabella Muccili et al., "Il sito di Pesco Morelli a Cercemaggiore (CB): riesame dei dati di scavo e considerazioni generali sul rapporto spazio pubblico e spazio privato nel mondo sannitico," in *The State of the Samnites*, ed. Tesse Dieder Stek, Papers of the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome 69 (Rome: Quasar, 2021): 103–10.

2 Dataset

The study area consists of a stretch of hilly uplands situated between two mountains, Monte Saraceno and Montagna di Gildone, close to the modern town of Gildone in Molise. The area has been described in antiquity as isolated because of its distance from the main transhumance routes that connected the central Apennine mountains to Apulia in the south.[10] Previous research has tended to focus on the two fortified centres located on each of the two mountains. The nature of these hillforts remains open to debate, as it is uncertain if they were permanently settled or mainly used as temporary places of refuge. Tableware recovered at Monte Saraceno suggests a stable occupation of some sort, while the surveys conducted at Montagna di Gildone suggest that most of the area enclosed by the fortification walls (33.7 ha) was occupied in the Hellenistic period (fourth–first century BCE).[11] Ongoing work at both sites will surely add to our understanding of settlement forms and dynamics in the region.

Within the area located between the two hillforts, archaeological surveys have identified various surface finds from the Hellenistic period, but only a few of the sites have been systematically excavated and published. These comprise the funerary site at Gildone and the nearby (300 m) rural settlement at the locality of Pesco Morelli, which includes a stone-built structure that is interpreted as a farmhouse or *fattoria*.

2.1 The Cemetery

A total of twenty-three tombs were excavated at Gildone (Fig. 1), a hilltop location c. 800 m above sea level. Reports mention additional tombs that were destroyed in the course of building work prior to the excavations, indicating that the cemetery was larger than the known sample of tombs.[12] At the southern end of the site, a small, quadrangular stone structure was interpreted as a shrine or *sacello*. No funerary remains were identified in association with this structure, which yielded instead a few ceramic finds, including an Eros-type figurine datable to the Hellenistic period.[13]

The excavated tombs are simple rectangular trenches or pits that do not seem to have been particularly expensive or difficult to build, except for only a few cases, as we shall later see. The tombs appear to be spatially divided into three distinct clusters, which may correspond to small familial units. All the burials in question seem to

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10 Di Niro, "Cercemaggiore-Gildone."

11 Tesse Dieder Stek et al., "A Non-Invasive Archaeological Approach to the Study of Mountain-Top Settlements: First Results from the Hill-Fort of Montagna di Gildone in Ancient Samnium (CB, Italy)," in *The State of the Samnites*, ed. Tesse Dieder Stek, Papers of the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome 69 (Rome: Quasar, 2021): 141–50.

12 Di Niro, "Cercemaggiore-Gildone."

13 Di Niro, "Cercemaggiore-Gildone."

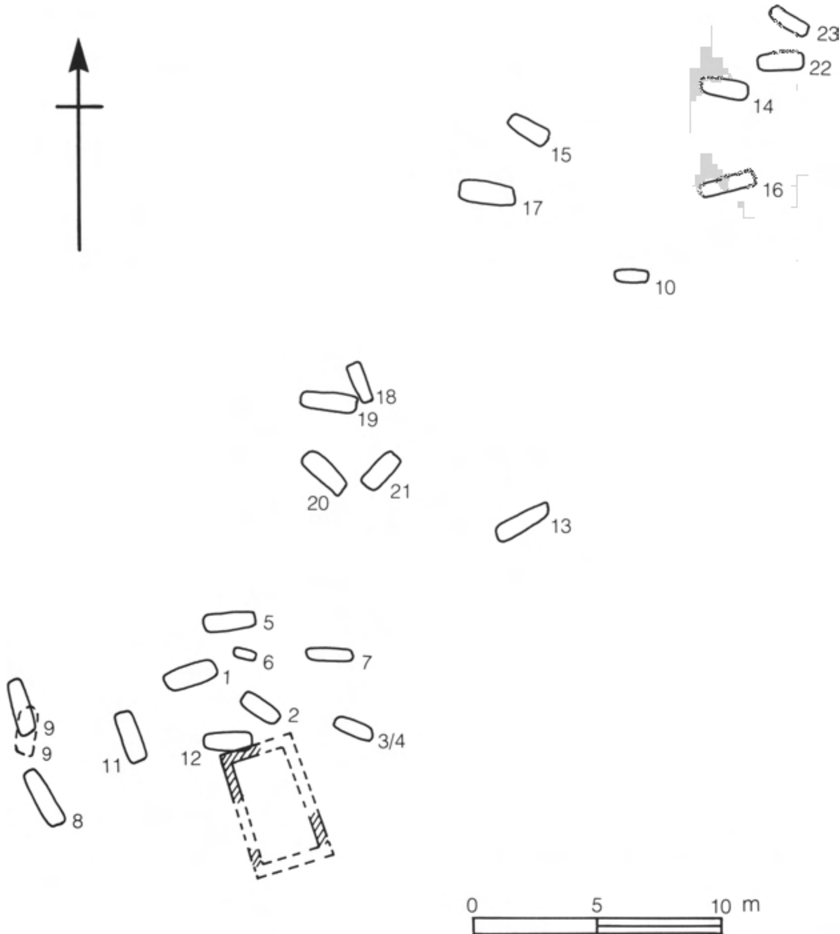

Fig. 1: Plan of funerary site at Gildone.

have been individual supine inhumations, which is normal as regards the published funerary evidence from pre-Roman Samnium as a whole.[14]

In terms of chronology, most of the excavated tombs have been dated between the late fifth and late fourth centuries BCE, roughly a 100–125-year timespan that covers a few generations.[15] Whereas some tombs have been dated specifically to the turn of the fifth/fourth century BCE (Tombs 12, 20) or to the last quarter of the fourth century (Tombs 22, 23), others have been given a more generic fourth century BCE date

14 See, e.g., Rafael Scopacasa, *Ancient Samnium: Settlement, Culture and Identity Between History and Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), with bibliography.

15 Dating: Angela Di Niro, "Il sepolcreto sannitico di Gildone," *Conoscenze* 5 (1989): 27–36; Ida Macchiarola, "I corredi del sepolcreto di Gildone," *Conoscenze* 5 (1989): 37–79.

(for example, Tomb 19). A future re-examination of the material may generate a higher-resolution picture of diachronic change at the site.

Most of the inhumed individuals have been classed in terms of biological sex and age, on the basis of osteological analyses of the human remains carried out in the early 1990s.[16] These data would need to be tested and refined with the aid of more updated techniques, such as ancient DNA analysis. In what follows, I will refer to the existing sex and age classifications in a preliminary sense that should not be given too much weight, except when otherwise stated.

2.2 Tomb Architecture and Furnishings

The grave furnishings tend to be streamlined, with most tombs containing from two to four items (Tab. 1).[17] The most recurrent grave good types include small personal ornaments, such as bronze and iron brooches and rings, and small pottery vessels (black gloss cups and bowls). Despite this general appearance of uniformity, however, a more in-depth examination of the grave furnishings reveals variations in funerary treatment. As a preliminary step, I have classed the tombs in view of their material culture features according to the following analytical criteria:

1. Tombs that contain larger-than-average assemblages (five items or more: Tab. 1) and/or feature object types that can be considered unique or rare in the present sample (Tab. 2); many of these tombs also display relatively elaborate construction or architecture;
2. Tombs with average or smaller-sized assemblages (from one to four items), which do not include artefact types that can be considered unique or rare in the sample, and which do not show signs of relatively elaborate construction or architecture;
3. Lastly, tombs that are devoid of surviving furnishings, some of which may display signs of relatively careless/effortless construction or treatment.

It is important to note that the first two groups of tombs (Groups 1 and 2) are present in all the above-mentioned chronological phases identified at the site (from the late fifth to the early fourth century; fourth century generic; late fourth century). While the three unfurnished tombs cannot be securely dated, their overall formal and structural similarities with the furnished tombs suggest that they are not radically distant in time.

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16 Di Niro and Petrone, “Gildone.”

17 The data in this section, including the gender and age estimates for the buried individuals, were taken from Di Niro, “Il sepolcreto sannitico” and Macchiarola, “sepolcreto di Gildone.”

Group 1: Tombs with larger-than-average assemblages, and/or unique or rare objects, and/or relatively elaborate architecture. Many of the "rare/unique" objects in question are also elaborate in formal and technical terms, and some may be imports.

– Tomb 12 is possibly one of the earliest in the sample, dated to the late fifth/early fourth century BCE; it contained an individual identified as a middle adult of "40–48 years" and of unspecified gender; the grave-good assemblage stands out for including a bulla-shaped bronze pendant, the only one found in the sample;
– Tombs 2 and 14 both contain individuals identified as young adult males, with the one in Tomb 2 identified tentatively as an adolescent. Both were buried with bronze belts of the so-called Samnite type, which, in the case of Tomb 2, was accompanied by a spear and a bronze basin, and in Tomb 14 by an iron razor. The bronze basin may be an Etruscan import, whereas the source of the so-called Samnite bronze belts is debated;
– A third "Samnite" bronze belt was found in Tomb 8, which also uniquely featured a silver coin from the Campanian town of Allifae, datable to c. 400–350 BCE; its occupant was identified as a male of unspecified age;
– Tomb 6 may have belonged to a sub-adult, considering the reduced dimensions of the pit; it is one of the most fully furnished tombs in the sample, with two pottery vessels (one of which is an amphora, a unique form in the present sample), and three items of personal adornment (including a glass bead, also unique among the sampled tombs);
– Finally, Tomb 10 contained an individual identified as an adult female (the only one in Group 1) of "50–60 years." There are many signs that this person was the focus of special funerary treatment: There is an unusually large quantity of personal ornaments in the form of rings and brooches; it is also the only tomb in the sample where faunal remains were identified; there is no information as to the type of animal, only that a "piece of meat" (*pezzo di carne*) was placed at the feet of the inhumed individual. This is potentially significant, since an analysis of the human remains suggests a low protein diet among the sampled cemetery population overall, and particularly among individuals identified as female (see below). Lastly, the person in Tomb 10 is the only one whose body was clearly placed in a pit that had been carefully lined and covered with large ceramic tiles, arranged in the *a cappuccina* fashion which appears in central/southern Italy from the late fifth century BCE onwards.

Separate mention must be made of four tombs, which display assemblages that are not large by the standards of the sample but feature unique or rare items; and/or that display relatively elaborate construction:

– Tombs 1 and 4 each contained a small iron axe, a rare object among the sampled tombs; another unusual aspect of these tombs is their extreme (recorded) depth of 3 and 2.20 m, respectively; the human remains have not been given sex or age estimates, probably owing to the poor preservation of the skeletons;

- Tombs 17 and 23 each contained an iron spear, which is also rare among the excavated tombs; the spear in Tomb 23 was uniquely placed in an upright position. Tomb 23 is dated to the last quarter of the fourth century BCE and is therefore possibly one of the latest in the sample; like Tombs 1 and 4, it is also unusually deep (2.20 m according to published reports); the inhumed individuals have been identified as males of "30–40 years" (Tomb 17) and "58–67 years" (Tomb 23).

Group 2: Tombs with average or smaller-sized furnishings, with no unique or rare items, and no signs of relatively elaborate construction or architecture. This group includes three of the four individuals osteologically identified as females (Tombs 13, 20, 22); at least one of the tombs in this group may have belonged to a sub-adult (Tomb 21, in light of the reduced dimensions of the pit). The grave furnishings generally conform to one of the following configurations:

- One to two small pottery cups (Tombs 5, 16, 21);
- One small pottery cup and one to two metal personal ornaments, namely rings and/or brooches (Tombs 9 b, 13, 18, 20, 22; note that Tomb 20 is one of the earliest dated tombs in the sample and 22 is one of the latest; Tomb 9 b included an additional iron knife);
- Tomb 11 included no pottery but three metal brooches;
- Tomb 19 contained no personal ornaments but only a pottery cup and an iron razor.

Lastly, we have *Group 3: Tombs apparently devoid of any surviving grave goods, some of which display signs of careless construction and/or later destruction*.

- Tomb 7 contained an individual identified as an adult male of "48–57 years";
- Tomb 15 included an individual identified as an adult male of "22–30 years"; this tomb stands out for its recorded depth of only 80 cm, whereas the average reported tomb depth at the site is 1–1.5 m; the apparent shallowness of the pit could indicate its careless or makeshift construction;
- The case of Tomb 9 is complex: this tomb, whose occupant was identified as a young adult male, was apparently partially destroyed by the building of Tomb 9 b (above). It is not clear if the disturbance was part of a more elaborate attempt to transform Tomb 9 into a collective grave, or whether Tomb 9 was simply obliterated. At any rate, the fact that there was some disturbance could account for the absence of furnishings that could safely be assigned to Tomb 9.

2.3 Human Remains

The human remains contained in seventeen of the twenty-three excavated tombs were subjected to osteological analyses conducted in the 1990s.[18] The analysed remains pertain to Tombs 7–23, which together span the three chronological phases at the site, and all the three classes of tombs outlined here on the basis of material culture (above).[19] No detailed osteological information is currently available for each of the seventeen sampled individuals. Instead, the published data pertain to trends concerning the sample as a whole, so that only a low-resolution picture is possible. With that in mind, the most significant findings include the following:

- *Enamel hypoplasia* was detected in all seventeen sampled individuals and in almost 50% of the entire dental sample.[20] Enamel hypoplasia is considered a good indicator of the health and lifestyle conditions of people in the past; it is a defect in the formation of tooth enamel that can be caused by stress in utero and/or during childhood, including stress resulting from (infectious) disease and nutritional deficiency.[21] It would appear, therefore, that all the seventeen sampled individuals from Gildone experienced developmental stress to some degree. The incidence of enamel hypoplasia per teeth was reported to be higher among the individuals identified as females. Considering the potential uncertainties of the gender categorisations available (above), the information needs to be treated with caution;
- *Cavities* were reported for 93.3% of the seventeen sampled individuals, again with the observation of a somewhat higher incidence among the individuals identified as females.[22] Overall, the results suggest the prevalence of a low-protein, high-carbohydrate diet across the board, which may have been particularly severe for women;
- Lastly, the data regarding *lesions and trauma* seem to be less homogenous. Osteoarthritis was reported for c. 80% of the sampled individuals, mostly affecting the shoulders, hips, and elbows; enthesitis and lesions were reported for most of the sampled individuals, but without any specific data that can allow for precise quantification.[23]

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18 Di Niro and Petrone, “Gildone.”

19 Di Niro and Petrone, “Gildone”: 20.

20 Di Niro and Petrone, “Gildone”: 39.

21 Simona Minozzi et al., “Enamel Hypoplasia and Health Conditions through Status in the Roman Imperial Age (First to Third Centuries, Rome, Italy),” *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 30 (2020): 53–64.

22 Di Niro and Petrone, “Gildone”: 39.

23 Di Niro and Petrone, “Gildone”: 41–45. The authors discuss additional potential dental issues identified in the sample, which will not be considered here in depth.

2.4 The Farmhouse

At a distance of only 300 m from the cemetery, situated on lower ground close to a nearby stream, a small rural site was identified (Fig. 2). The excavated remains constitute a stone-built, squarish structure measuring c. 17 x 19 m – the so-called Pesco Morelli farmhouse. The building consisted of a central courtyard surrounded by a series of rooms and extensions, similar to other known farmhouses of Hellenistic Italy.[24] The house featured paved floors and a tiled roof; there were adjacent quadrangular spaces attached to the northeast corner of the house, whose spatial configuration is less clear based on the published evidence. According to the excavators, these adjacent spaces seem to have had beaten earth floors and may have been used as stables.

Fig. 2: Plan of Pesco Morelli farmhouse.

24 Di Niro, "Cercemaggiore-Gildone"; Di Niro and Petrone, "Gildone"; Muccili et al., "Il sito di Pesco Morelli."

The building appears to have served both residential and productive purposes. Elements suggestive of inhabitation include sooted pottery vessels, paved floors, a fireplace, a plastered washbasin, and several iron nails indicative of furniture and possibly of a wooden upper storey. With regard to productive activities, these seem to have been both agricultural and artisanal, given the presence of food storage jars (*dolia*) and loom weights. We have here material signs of some degree of comfort and agricultural surplus. There are no references to imported fine ware pottery or other potential "luxury items" in the published reports, although the presence of black gloss wares is noted.

The absence of a clear stratigraphy makes it difficult to determine the farmhouse's chronology and the extent to which it may have been contemporaneous with the nearby cemetery. Coin finds pertain to the second century BCE, but the excavators acknowledge the likelihood that the structure was in use previously, given the presence of black gloss pottery that potentially dates to the fourth–third century BCE, and traces of renovations that partially altered the spatial configuration of the house, probably completed at some point before the second century BCE. There may have been a period, therefore, when the two contexts – house and cemetery – were used simultaneously.

3 Discussion

On a general level, the observable disparities in grave furnishings and tomb architecture at Gildone are not extreme. This might indicate a limited degree of socioeconomic stratification, at least among the people connected with the sampled burials – not necessarily the inhumed individuals themselves, but also/rather those responsible for organizing and funding the funerary rites.

In this regard, it seems significant that all the pottery items placed in the tombs appear to be black gloss wares, without exception. They were identified as being mostly of Campanian manufacture, according to typological analyses carried out at the time of the site's excavation.[25] At the Pesco Morelli farmhouse, both black gloss and common wares were present, suggesting that the apparently exclusive deposition of black gloss in the nearby tombs was the result of deliberate choice. In addition, the fact that the farmhouse did not contain more sophisticated ceramics, such as Attic or Apulian painted wares, could indicate that black gloss may have been the most refined pottery technology accessible locally. The exclusivity potentially given to these wares for ritual deposition suggests that a certain degree of value was assigned to them; and yet, black gloss wares can hardly be considered prestige items in the con-

25 Campanian provenance: Macchiarola, "sepolcreto di Gildone": 74–76. Subsequent developments in the study of black gloss production in Italy might alter this picture.

text of Hellenistic Italy, as their production and circulation would have arguably reached global proportions by that point in time. Such a scenario could therefore underline the economic and commercial marginalization of the Gildone community, since it might not have had easy access even to relatively widespread pottery technologies. On the whole, therefore, the Pesco Morelli farmhouse suggests a scenario of a small peasant household of moderate means.

Osteological data from the cemetery add to this picture by suggesting that local inhabitants did not have very discrepant lifestyles, at least as regards the sampled buried individuals. As noted above, the osteological data appear to indicate a somewhat "democratic" vulnerability to physical stress, illness, and/or malnutrition among the sampled cemetery population. The reported incidences of osteoarthritis, enthesitis, and trauma, for example, would indicate that susceptibility to heavy manual labour was not the preserve of a separate group from among the sampled individuals – although the nature of these heavy physical activities may have varied, depending on factors such as gender, age, and occupation (for example, agricultural, domestic, warfare-related, etc.). A more detailed assessment of this issue would only be possible through a re-examination of the osteological evidence.

The lack of published data on each of the seventeen individuals osteologically analysed makes it difficult to assess the intensity of health problems per individual, and whether it correlates with material culture differences among the tombs. Even so, it seems significant that all seventeen individuals were reportedly affected by enamel hypoplasia, which, as noted above, is a reliable indicator of disease and malnutrition suffered in utero and/or during childhood. The significance of the Gildone data seems especially salient when a comparison is made with other cemetery populations from ancient Italy. A study of two Imperial-era cemeteries near Rome – Collatina and Casal Bertone – concluded that, of the 174 sampled individuals, 15% were unaffected by enamel hypoplasia, whereas among the wealthier graves the figure reportedly rose to 30%.[26] This brief comparison suggests a more equalized susceptibility to disease, nutritional deficiency, and/or food insecurity among the sampled cemetery population at Gildone, although the differences in sample size and chronological context need to be highlighted. The sites of Collatina and Casal Bertone developed when Roman power was already consolidated in Italy, and they were furthermore situated in a region with longstanding urbanisation.

In line with the data on enamel hypoplasia, the reported incidence of cavities affecting c. 93% of the sampled individuals from Gildone suggests the prevalence of a low-protein, high-carbohydrate diet across the board. These results should not be totally surprising, as we are dealing with an ancient agricultural community. Even so, the scholars responsible for analysing the Gildone sample drew comparisons with other pre-Roman cemeteries of Italy, arguing that the average incidence of cavities

26 Minozzi et al., "Health Conditions through Status": 59.

per teeth at Gildone was around four times greater than that in samples taken from the cemeteries of Campovalano and Pontecagnano.[27]

Yet, whereas the skeletal data in particular suggest an overall preliminary picture of socioeconomic homogeneity, a closer analysis of the material culture elements at Gildone reveals some non-negligible differences among the tombs in terms of furnishings, energy expenditure, and architecture. The granting of comparatively more elaborate and/or expensive mortuary treatments to certain individuals – namely those in Group 1 – suggests the negotiation of social distinctions and hierarchies in the funerary sphere to some degree. The possible criteria behind these differences in funerary treatment seem to involve a combination of age, gender, and other sociocultural categories that remain to be better understood.

Warriorhood may have been a relevant criterion behind some of the differences in funerary treatment detected above. This is because tombs containing potential weapons (iron spears/javelins, axes, and daggers) tend to be distinguished by other markers of special funerary treatment in the context of the cemetery, namely unusual depth (Tombs 1, 4, 23), and/or grave goods that are unique/rare in the sample and which might in some cases be imports (bronze basin in Tomb 1; bronze belts in Tombs 2 and 8; silver coin in Tomb 8; iron razor in Tomb 17). We could be witnessing the social valorisation of individuals who were somehow associated with the idea of military prowess, possibly irrespective of age (for example, the "adolescent" in Tomb 2 and the individual of "58–67 years" in Tomb 23, both with iron spears). This would be understandable in the context of the endemic warfare in fourth–third century BCE Italy, which seems to have hit Samnium particularly hard according to literary sources.[28]

Yet, while warriorhood may have been an important criterion for social distinction and hierarchy at Gildone, it apparently intersected and/or competed with other criteria. To begin with, some of the artefacts that can be interpreted as weapons may also/otherwise have been used in non-military activities such as ritual sacrifice, namely the iron axes in Tombs 1 and 4 and the iron dagger in Tomb 8. These individuals' distinctive funerary treatments may therefore be due to their association with ritual activities that may or may not have involved the sphere of warfare. Another significant case in this regard is Tomb 10, which contained an individual identified as an adult female of "50–60 years." As noted above, this tomb is the only instance at the site that was clearly shown to have *a cappucina* architecture with terracotta tile lining and covering. It is also the only tomb in the sample reported to include faunal remains, namely the "piece of meat" at the feet of the inhumed individual. If the deceased person's classification as female is correct, the meat deposition would be

27 Di Niro and Petrone, "Gildone": 40–41.

28 Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa, "Children and Marginality in Pre-Roman Samnium: A Personhood-Focused Approach," in *From Invisible to Visible: New Data and Methods for the Archaeology of Infant and Child Burials in Pre-Roman Italy*, ed. Jacopo Tabolli (Stockholm: Astrom Editions, 2018): 167–76.

especially significant, considering the excavators' hypothesis that women at Gildone were particularly vulnerable to malnutrition and protein deficiency.[29] The special funerary treatment given to this "female of 50–60 years" may have been connected with the person's relatively mature age. Yet, intersecting variables would also have been at play: this is because individuals identified as being in the same age range as the person in Tomb 10 received less well-provisioned funerary treatments, most notably the individual in Tomb 7 ("48–57 years"), which was apparently unfurnished.

It is worth mentioning that seemingly unfurnished tombs appear to be more numerous in Samnite cemeteries that are known to have been active in the Hellenistic period, such as Gildone, in comparison with cemeteries that were used mainly or exclusively in earlier periods. As regards the present sample, it has been proposed that the individuals buried in the three unfurnished tombs were of servile or enslaved status (it might be significant that all three were osteologically identified as adult males).[30] These individuals' possibly marginalised condition is further suggested by the fact that in two out of three cases, their tombs display potential signs of careless construction and/or treatment. As noted above, Tomb 15 was recorded as being only 80 cm deep, whereas the average reported depth of the sampled tombs seems to be c. 1.5 m; Tomb 9 was partially destroyed owing to the construction of Tomb 9 b. Archaeothanatological analysis could shed crucial light on the issue, by helping to determine the extent to which these individuals' bodies were disposed in a more careless manner as compared to the ones in the furnished tombs.[31] The fact that two of the unfurnished tombs were placed on the edge of their respective clusters (Tombs 9, 15) could also be seen as indication of their occupants' subaltern status; yet, similarly peripheral positions were apparently given to the better furnished Tombs 8 and 10.

It therefore seems that the burying community at Gildone recognised varied and intersecting criteria for the expression of social distinctions through funerary ritual. The rationale behind these hierarchies and the kinds of intersectionality involved remain to be better understood. Age and gender most likely played a part, but in conjunction with other factors. For example, differences in sophistication and/or expenditure in the burials of young adult males (for example, Tombs 2, 23 vs. Tombs 7, 15), and the

29 "Nell'insieme, il campione femminile risulta più colpito," ("In all, the female sample is more affected"), see Di Niro and Petrone, "Gildone": 40.

30 Di Niro and Petrone, "Gildone."

31 See, e.g., Veronica Tamorri, "Taphonomic Approaches to Funerary Evidence in Times of Collapse and Crisis," in *Collapse or Survival? Crisis and Social Change in the Ancient Central Mediterranean*, ed. Elisa Perego et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2019): 29–56; Elisa Perego et al., "Marginal Identities in Iron Age Veneto: A Case Study Based on Micro-Scale Contextual Analysis and Burial Taphonomy," in *Multiple Identities in Prehistory, Early History and Presence*, ed. Alena Bistáková et al. (Nitra: Archeologický ústav SAV, 2020): 81–96; Elisa Perego et al., "Child Personhood in Iron Age Veneto: Insights from Micro-Scale Contextual Analysis and Burial Taphonomy," in *Ages and Abilities: The Stages of Childhood and Their Social Recognition in Prehistoric Europe and Beyond*, ed. Katharina Rebay-Salisbury and Doris Pany-Kucera (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2020): 174–92, on the archaeothanatological analysis of potentially marginalised individuals in Iron Age Veneto.

granting of relatively more lavish burials to both adults and (potential) subadults (Tomb 6), suggest that biological sex and age were not the sole or key criteria behind “wealthier” and “poorer” burials – in contrast with Etruscan funerary contexts, where age has been identified as key in this regard.[32]

4 Concluding Remarks

The foregoing analysis of fourth–second century BCE Gildone in Samnium can yield insights into the negotiation of social hierarchies in a less urbanised context of first millennium BCE Italy inhabited by people with relatively little political and/or economic power. If the Pesco Morelli farmhouse is representative of the local socioeconomic profile, it would suggest that the relative austerity of the sampled tombs at Gildone was more a product of necessity than choice, as the farmhouse data do not reveal access to anything more ostentatious than what was found in the tombs.

Although there are no extreme differences among the sampled tombs at Gildone, closer analysis reveals variations in material culture, energy expenditure, and tomb architecture. These variations should not be overstated, especially in light of the broadly similar lifestyles outlined by the osteological data available. Yet, the differences in funerary treatment arguably suggest complex and nuanced negotiations of social hierarchies at work in a relatively impoverished and remote context of late first millennium BCE Italy, where susceptibility to physical stress, trauma, and malnutrition seems to have been more equally distributed among the sampled cemetery population, particularly in comparison with other contexts of (pre-)Roman Italy. A fuller understanding of these dynamics would be possible through a re-examination of both the osteological and archaeological data, as indicated in the foregoing discussion.

Recalling Kostas Vlassopoulos’s models of ancient social inequality mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the present analysis suggests that a stark divide between elite and nonelite worlds may have been alien to certain Italic communities before the consolidation of Roman power over the peninsula – even if these communities were plagued by precarious living conditions that may have been especially severe for women. Whether and how the Roman conquest and related historical processes affected such social realities is another complex issue, deserving of further exploration. For now, I hope to have shown the potential of an in-depth approach to less urbanized and economically marginalized contexts for our understanding of inequality and dependence in pre-Roman Italy.[33]

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32 Marina Micozzi, “I bambini perduti di Cerveteri: primi appunti per la ricostruzione della ritualità funerária infantile nelle necropoli di Monte Abatone e della Banditaccia,” in *Birth: Archeologia dell’infanzia nell’Italia preromana*, ed. Elisabetta Govi (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2021): 395–416.

33 See Elisa Perego et al., “Introduction: Collapse or Survival? Crisis and Social Change in the Ancient Central Mediterranean,” in *Collapse or Survival? Crisis and Social Change in the Ancient Central Medi-*

Appendix

Tab. 1: Grave good quantities (per tomb).

Tomb no.	Total grave goods	Tomb no.	Total grave goods
Tomb 10	7	Tomb 20	3
Tomb 2	6	Tomb 3/4	2
Tomb 6	6	Tomb 18	2
Tomb 8	5	Tomb 19	2
Tomb 14	5	Tomb 21	2
Tomb 9 b	4	Tomb 22	2
Tomb 12	4	Tomb 23	2
Tomb 13	4	Tomb 16	1
Tomb 1	3	Tomb 7	0
Tomb 5	3	Tomb 9	0
Tomb 11	3	Tomb 15	0
Tomb 17	3		

Tab. 2: Grave good quantities (per object type).

Artefact (grave goods)	Quantity (overall)	Status in sampled tombs
bead (glass)	1	Unique (occurs only once)
pendant (bronze)	1	
dagger (iron)	1	
coin (silver)	1	
small amphora (black gloss)	1	
lekythos (black gloss)	1	
basin (bronze)	2	Rare (occurs 2–3 times)
small axe (iron)	2	
belt (bronze)	3	
javelin/spear (iron)	3	
razor (iron)	3	
ring (iron/bronze)	6	Common (occurs 6 times or more)
knife (iron)	7	
cup/bowl (black gloss)	15	
brooch (iron/bronze)	18	

terranean, ed. Elisa Perego et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2019): xix–xxx, for further discussion on the potential of a microscale approach to first millennium BCE Italy/central Mediterranean, with special attention given to the issue of marginalization. The kind of microscale analysis developed in the present chapter draws on the contributions of Elisa Perego et al., “Marginal Identities in Iron Age Veneto”; Perego et al., “Child Personhood in Iron Age Veneto”; Perego and Scopacasa, this volume.

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Tab. 1–2 Made by Rafael Scopacasa

Laura Nazim

Birds of a Feather Flock Together? Etruscan Sarcophagi as an Expression of Social Differences and Hierarchies within a Gens

Abstract: *The so-called jüngeretruskische Steinsarkophage have mainly been treated in earlier research regarding their significance in art history and their craftsmanship. Consequently, there are many decontextualized sarcophagi surviving today which can be studied chronologically, typologically, and iconographically, but in their isolation hardly allow for any further conclusions on a social level. The (re)examination of preserved or reconstructed contexts with sarcophagus burials has allowed us to outline possible social differences and hierarchies among members of a gens who had been buried together. It has thus become clear that the status which individuals possessed during their lifetime is not manifested in the arrangement of their respective sarcophagi in the chamber. Rather, hierarchical distinctions were created by the association of sarcophagi of outstanding quality and singular iconography with much simpler or entirely undecorated pieces within the tomb. An extensive series of sarcophagi with female lid figures testifies that an elevated social or hierarchical distinction from other family members is not found only in the male sphere, but that women were also able to make their former status in the family clear using appropriate sarcophagi. In strong contrast to the differences within a gens are the finds from the Tomba Bruschi, which is an example of singular uniformity and possibly also gives evidence of the social structures of the Etruscans in the fourth century BC.*

This paper deals with possible visible differences in status and hierarchies among members of a common gens buried together in one tomb. Thanks to numerous depictions and inscriptions on urns, sarcophagi, and tomb paintings, it is known that there were personalities of high rank, such as priests or magistrates, within Etruscan society. It can be assumed that these men enjoyed great prestige and stood out from the crowd in a certain way during their lifetime, through clothing, wealth, or public appearances. How far the differences and hierarchies within the same gens were lived out is unclear due to missing sources concerning the social networks of Etruscan families. If we start from the assumption that the tombs of the great Etruscan gentes reflect their lives, we should be able to find clues about internal family structures in them.

Note: Parts of this article are related to my current PhD project on Etruscan stone sarcophagi from the Hellenistic period, which is based in the Institute of Archaeological Sciences at the Ruhr-Universität Bochum and is funded by the Gerda Henkel Foundation, to whom I would like to express my deep gratitude.

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The stone sarcophagi of the Hellenistic period are particularly well-suited for the investigation of this question since, as personalized burial containers, they represent the individual himself and thus his associated status during his lifetime.

The beginnings of these so-called *jüngeretruskische Steinsarkophage*[1] date back to the middle of the fourth century BC. They were produced for about 200 years, mainly in southern Etruria, and are characterized by their chests decorated with figural reliefs and/or paintings which deal with different topics. Their lids can also take different forms: in addition to the rather simple lids, the life-size figures – either lying flat on their backs or propped up on an elbow on their side, as in a banquet – are the rule. These figures represent the deceased, as can be deduced from numerous inscriptions of their names on the lids or the chests.

The main problem in the study of Etruscan sarcophagi has always been the approach used in early excavations. Their contexts were largely neglected because the main aim was to obtain interesting finds for museums at home and abroad. Thus, even at earlier stages, such as when deciding which sarcophagi should be documented at all, the categories of "important" and "unimportant" were already used and the undecorated specimens were listed but not considered further. The richly sculpted sarcophagi, on the other hand, were described as art objects, sometimes very precisely, which was of course due to the interest at that time in mythological representations, in those that thematized the afterlife, or even those that showed scenes from life and could thus provide information about the Etruscans, including their relationship to Rome. The consequence of this approach is characterized by the high number of isolated sarcophagi that, through their decontextualization, became objects of art and were thus no longer considered as a part of a large complex in which, in communion with the other pieces, they had a wider expressive significance. Representative of this practice of excavation documentation may be the reports, briefly presented in this paper, on the contexts of the gentes Partunu, Apuna, and, with reservations, Vipinana.

In the further course of this article, several graves with sarcophagi are presented, based on which hierarchies and separations, but also unions, among the family members can be recognized in different ways, which in turn leads to further questions and considerations regarding the intra-family structures of the Etruscans and the position of individual persons in society.

1 General literature about Etruscan stone sarcophagi: Reinhard Herbig, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage*, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 7 (Berlin: Mann, 1952); Klaus-Peter Goethert, *Typologie und Chronologie der jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage* (Altendorf: Gräbner, 1974); Lammert Bouke van der Meer, *Myths and More on Etruscan Stone Sarcophagi (350–200 BC)*, Monographs on Antiquity 3 (Louvain: Peeters, 2004).

1 The Problems of Early Documentation

In the case of the Tomba dei Partunu, discovered in Tarquinia in 1876, we can understand the method used based on a sketch published shortly after its discovery: The three sarcophagi classified as important, known today as those of the priest, the magnate, and the obeso, are indicated in the plan with solid lines, while the others were drawn using dotted lines[2] (Fig. 1). Also, in the subsequent description, these three pieces are clearly in focus, while of the remaining twelve sarcophagi, only six others are mentioned, with an indication of the gender or with one or two concise features. The remaining sarcophagi, which had no decoration, even though some had inscriptions, were apparently not of interest.[3] Thanks to this sketch, which served both as summary and documentation, it is known where the sarcophagi were located in the chamber and in which place each of the "significant" pieces was found,[4] but the exact identity of each chest in the plan remains uncertain due to the lack of information.[5]

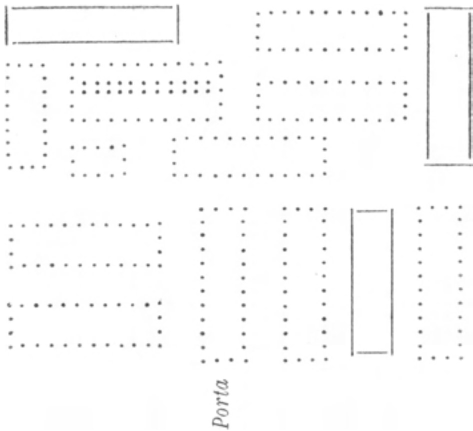

Fig. 1: Sketch of the Tomba Partunu.

The documentations of Gregorio Mariani for the Tomba Bruschi in Tarquinia and of Otto Jahn for the Tomba Vipinana in Tuscania are also comparable with such a one-sided approach. Mariani reported in a letter that the sarcophagi in the Tomba Bruschi found in 1864 were of such little artistic importance that he did not devote more effort

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2 Wolfgang Helbig, "Scavi di Corneto," *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* (1876): 70.

3 Helbig, "Scavi di Corneto": 71.

4 On the thesis that the place of honor is along the back wall of the chamber: Jürgen Thimme, "Chiusinische Aschenkisten und Sarkophage der hellenistischen Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie der etruskischen Kunst," *Studi Etruschi* 23 (1954): 44–46; 52 note 29.

5 An exception is the only urn in the context, which can probably be seen in the small, dotted rectangle in the upper left area of the chamber and stands out from the sarcophagi due to its size and shape.

than a quick drawing of them;[6] however, Jahn, in his description of the Vipinana context, limited his attention to the sarcophagi that he himself considered as important: "ora parlerò solamente delle più importanti delle suddette 27 casse mortuarie" ("I will now only discuss the most important of the 27 sarcophagi mentioned above").[7]

This focus on artistic value without questioning the method has been instrumental in manifesting the objects as significant pieces in art history, which were automatically equated with the rank and status of the individuals buried within them – an idea that is still present today and is reflected, for example, in the selection of items for exhibits in museums and in the repeatedly decontextualized presentation and treatment of individual sarcophagi.[8] In addition to quality and iconography, the positioning of individual sarcophagi in context also plays a major role in the question of visible social differences.

2 Hierarchical Structures in the Tomba Giglioli

The Tomba Giglioli (from the end of the fourth to the third century BC) in Tarquinia can be considered as an example par excellence of a superior arrangement as compared to the other sarcophagi in the tomb, which has made clear that the person buried in it can be classified as the most important and therefore the highest-ranking.[9] The grave, discovered in 1959, has been written about mainly because of the well-preserved grave paintings and the remains of their inscriptions; it had already been looted when it was found, and the inventory, which is no longer complete, has also not (yet) been published.[10]

The fact that the main burial in the centre of the back wall is within the field of vision of the entering viewer is obvious. The tomb with a large, almost-square chamber – which, according to the inscriptions, belonged to the Pinie family – has pseudo-

6 Valentina Vincenti, *La tomba Bruschi di Tarquinia*, Archaeologica 150, Materiali del Museo archeologico nazionale di Tarquinia 17 (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 2009): 3 note 13.

7 Otto Jahn, "Scavi Etruschi," *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* (1839): 25.

8 A comprehensible reason is certainly the lack of space. An example of a fully exhibited context, which includes smooth sarcophagi, is that of the gens Alvethna in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia.

9 Carlo Maurilio Lerici, *Nuove testimonianze dell'arte e della civiltà etrusca* (Milan: Lerici Editori, 1960): 74–75 fig. 140–43; Mario Moretti, *New Monuments of Etruscan Painting*, trans. Dawson Kiang (Milan: Lerici Editori, 1970): 307–16; Giovanni Colonna, "Per una cronologia della pittura etrusca di età ellenistica," in *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 2 (Milan: Saggiatore, 1984): 139–42; Stephan Steingräber, *Etruskische Wandmalerei* (Stuttgart: Besler, 1985): 317 no. 69.

10 The wall painting is in good condition, while that on the chests is only fragmentarily preserved. Three heads of figural sarcophagus lids were found in the chamber, as well as a lid with a female reclining figure without a head, erroneously described as male by Moretti (Moretti, *Etruscan Painting*: 311).

sarcophagi on three sides:[11] three on each of the side walls and a single one on the back wall. They belong to the so-called *Holztruhentypus*, characterized by an indication of chest feet and a narrow rectangular impression on the sides of the chest, known as the *Spiegel*.[12] All the sarcophagi are painted figuratively or ornamentally on their front part.[13] The central one at the back wall, apart from its isolated and pointed position, stands out from the others especially because of its size and the insignia of a magistrate painted on the back wall.[14] In keeping with the theme of the painting, three of the eight inscriptions refer to the high offices held (according to the genealogical succession of generations proposed by Giovanni Colonna) by the head of the family, Vel Pinie himself, and by two of his sons, Larth and Laris.[15]

Thanks to this epigraphic evidence, an intra-family hierarchy can be discerned in the Tomba Giglioli: Vel Pinie was buried as the tomb leader and paterfamilias in an emphatically large sarcophagus at the back wall of the chamber, which highlights his status. To his right, with the narrow side placed facing the back wall, is the sarcophagus of his wife Thanachvil – the only female burial in the pseudo-sarcophagi; next to it, by the left wall, is that of their common son Larth, who was married to a woman from the gens Apuna.[16] On the other side of the chamber lies, to the left of Vel, his second son, Laris. In the two sarcophagi closer to the entrance, to its left and right, the sons of Larth were buried. For them, no office can be identified in the inscriptions. Who exactly was buried in the central sarcophagus on the right side must remain unknown because of the destruction.[17]

In addition to this obviously hierarchical family structure of father, mother, eldest son, and eldest grandchildren, there is the question of the wives of the two sons: Ac-

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11 The so-called pseudo-sarcophagi are chests that are not mobile but have been carved out of the rock of the chamber or from the stone benches. They were common in Tarquinia in the second half of the third century BC but could be dated to as early as the end of the fourth century BC (Gilda Bartoloni and Maria Paola Baglione, "Elementi scultorei decorativi nelle tombe tarquiniesi del primo ellenismo," in *Tarquinia: ricerche, scavi e prospettive: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi La Lombardia per gli Etruschi, Milano, 24–25 Giugno 1986*, ed. Maria Bonghi Jovino and Cristina Chiaramnonte Treré [Milan: Edizioni ET, 1987]: 234 note 9).

12 Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: 101–2; Goethert, *Typologie und Chronologie*: 235; Colonna, "pittura etrusca": 140.

13 Lucia Cavagnaro Vanoni, "Tarquinii: Rivista di Epigrafia Etrusca," *Studi Etruschi* 30 (1962): 285.

14 Colonna, "pittura etrusca": 140; Steingräber, *Wandmalerei*: 317 no. 69.

A similar type of representation, but without (pseudo-)sarcophagi, can be seen in the Tomba dei Rilievi in Cerveteri (Horst Blanck, *La Tomba dei Rilievi di Cerveteri*, Studi di Archeologia 1 [Rome: De Luca, 1986]).

15 Cavagnaro Vanoni, "Epigrafia Etrusca": 285–91; Massimo Pallottino, "Postilla alla nuove iscrizioni di Tarquinia e di Cerveteri," *Studi Etruschi* 30 (1962): 301–3.

16 The gens is known from the Tomba Bruschi.

17 Pallottino refers to the possibility of a third son of Larth. Although the inscription on the chest can no longer be reconstructed, should it be the same person mentioned in the inscription on the wall above, the recognizable matronym Apunai points to a connection with the wife of Larth.

cording to the common Etruscan burial custom, they should also be expected in this grave. However, there is a possibility that they were buried in mobile stone sarcophagi, remains of which have been found in the chamber.[18] Alternatively, they could have been buried in the hypogea of their fathers or in those of their possible second husbands, should they have survived the first.[19]

Marina Sclafani expressed a comparable thesis, one concerning a second marriage, for the burial context of the gens Matausni in Chiusi (from the end of the fourth to the third century BC).[20] Here, the only sarcophagus with a lid figure was buried in a niche of the dromos, while a plain example and two urns were found in the main chamber – a situation that was surprising due to the elaboration and detail of the female figure. Perhaps the woman who had been buried in the sarcophagus was the first wife of the tomb leader, who remarried after her death, and so her place next to him had to be cleared for his new wife.[21]

It should be noted that the pre-installed pseudo-sarcophagi in the Tomba Giglioli were apparently reserved exclusively for Vel as the head of the family and maybe the tomb leader, for his wife, and for his direct descendants; meanwhile, the wives of their sons and other relatives were buried either in mobile sarcophagi or elsewhere.

A comparable emphasis on the paterfamilias and his wife can be inferred from the archaeological record of Tomba I of the gens Curuna in Tuscania (from the middle of the fourth to the end of the third century BC). Four generations of the family seem to have been buried in the tomb, of which the oldest – the builders of the tomb or those first buried there – also have their place in the centre of the back wall of the chamber. At the time of discovery, the back wall was free of inhumations, but rectangular impressions indicate the locations of two former burials – perhaps in urns or sarcophagi made of perishable material that did not survive.[22]

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18 According to Colonna, the mobile sarcophagi were interred in the chamber after all the pseudo-sarcophagi were occupied (Colonna, "pittura etrusca": 140 fig. 1, 141 fig. 2 no. 3d, 142).

19 That the other men of the gens Pinie were also married can be assumed based on their age. On the problem of female burials outside their husbands' tombs, see: Marjatta Nielsen, "Etruscan Women: A Cross-Cultural Perspective," in *Aspects of Women in Antiquity: Proceedings of the First Nordic Symposium on Women's Lives in Antiquity, Göteborg 12–15 June 1997*, ed. Lena Larsson Lovén and Agneta Strömberg (Jonsered: P. Åströms Förlag, 1998): 69–84; Petra Amann, "Verwandtschaft, Familie und Heirat in Etrurien: Überlegungen zu Terminologie und Struktur," in *Italo-Tusco-Romana: Festschrift für Luciana Aigner-Foresti zum 70. Geburtstag am 30. Juli 2006*, ed. Luciana Aigner-Foresti et al. (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2006): esp. 10–11.

20 The three-chamber tomb was excavated in Chiusi in 1882 and contained thirteen burials, eleven in urns and two in sarcophagi (Marina Sclafani, "La Tomba dei Matausni: analisi di un contesto chiusino di età alto-ellenistica," *Studi Etruschi* 65 [2002]: 121–61).

21 Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: no. 161; Sclafani, "Tomba Matausni": 129 M9, 135–36.

22 Mario Moretti and Anna Maria Sgubini Moretti, *I Curunas di Tuscania* (Rome: De Luca, 1983): 15 note 2 pl. 5.

Indeed, based on the contexts of the Pinie and the Curunas, it is not yet possible to establish a firm rule that would state that the tomb leader or the main burial is always found in a pointed position within the burial chamber. This thesis, however, seems to have gained acceptance in research based on some contexts, which include those of the gens Vipinana in Tuscania and those of the Alvethna family in Tarquinia.

3 The Documentary Problem of the Tomba dei Vipinana

The tomb of the Vipinana family (from the middle of the fourth to the end of the third century BC), discovered by the Campanari family in 1839, and its context are considered to be well-documented,[23] in particular due to the drawings by S.J. Ainsely and George Dennis.[24] One of the illustrations shows the reconstruction of the burial chamber in the garden of the Campanari in Tuscania; according to the Campanaris themselves and the statements of Elizabeth Caroline Hamilton Gray and George Dennis, who visited the reconstruction between 1840 and 1842, it is true to scale and based to a considerable extent on the circumstances of the discovery.[25]

In the centre of the grave stands a sarcophagus without a lid, around which nine other pieces are positioned along the three walls. The central sarcophagus is decorated with reliefs on all four sides. This arrangement is still considered to be authentic today.[26] Thus, the Tomba Vipinana would be an excellent example of the clear highlighting of a single burial, and the location of the sarcophagus in the centre of the burial chamber would additionally be made reasonable by the reliefs featuring multi-figure narrative scenes placed on all four sides of the chest. Unfortunately, these have not been completely or satisfactorily interpreted to date.[27] Especially the long sides prove difficult to read since iconographic or literary parallels are missing. But, even without the exact

23 Jahn, "Scavi": 23–28; Giovanni Colonna, "Archeologia nell'età romantica in Etruria: i Campanari di Toscanella e la Tomba dei Vipinana," *Studi Etruschi* 46 (1978): 81–117; Anna Maria Sgubini Moretti, *Tuscania: Il Museo Archeologico* (Rome: Quasar, 1991).

24 Colonna, "Archeologia nell'età romantica in Etruria": pl. 21, 23.

25 The reports of Dennis and Gray do not serve as scientific evidence at this point. They are, however, important contemporary witnesses who confirm that the Campanari described their reconstruction as accurate (Elizabeth C.J. Gray, *Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria, in 1839* [London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1840]: 302; George Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. 1 [London: J. Murray, 1848]: 443–48).

26 Van der Meer, *Myths and More*: 54.

27 Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: 48–49 no. 85 pl. 31–32 a–b; van der Meer, *Myths and More*: 54–57 fig. 27.

knowledge of the content of the representations, the sarcophagus can be clearly distinguished from the others around it since they mostly have smooth chests or purely ornamental reliefs.[28]

Several arguments, a detailed discussion of which would go beyond the scope of this paper, clearly speak against the authenticity of the Campanari reconstruction and thus against the possibility to use it for a scientific contextual analysis. The following obvious doubts are applicable:

1. Otto Jahn, representative of the Istituto di Corrispondenza, in his enumeration of the most important sarcophagi, does not mention this piece at all.[29]
2. It is impossible to equate the reconstruction of the tomb, although it is considered to be true to scale,[30] with the actual situation of the find, as already evidenced by the fact that out of the over twenty sarcophagi it originally contained, only ten can be seen in the chamber.[31]

It is much more likely that the sarcophagus was placed in the centre by the Campanari as it was the most representative piece. Since the specimen is the only one with decorations on four sides, it represents a highlight that was so well-staged. According to the report of Elizabeth Caroline Hamilton Gray, inside were the mortal remains of a man with a helmet, spears, and greaves, which were intended to portray the deceased as a warrior and relate him to the martial scenes on the chest.[32]

In connection with this report, it is interesting to note that the sarcophagus had an inscription, which is no longer legible today.[33] According to Giovanni Colonna, it should refer to a female burial.[34] Thus, the conspicuous position in the centre of the chamber would have been reserved for a woman, who would have received marital endowment, which in turn would raise quite different questions regarding Etruscan society and its funerary rites.

In this respect, I would rather consider the alleged context of the sarcophagi from the Tomba Vipinana as a staging, as it was also realized by the Campanaris in a very

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28 Identification of sarcophagi according to Colonna: sarcophagi with smooth chests: nos. 15–19, 21; sarcophagi with relief: J 4 (ketoi and patera), J 6 (farewell or welcome scene), no. 20 (rider on hippocamps and mask) (Colonna, "Archeologia nell'età romantica in Etruria": 106, 108).

29 Jahn, "Scavi": 25.

30 Gray, *Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria*: 302; Sgubini Moretti, *Tuscania*: 71.

31 The architecture of the chamber described by Jahn is also not visible in Ainsley's drawing.

32 Gray, *Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria*: 304–5.

33 The inscription is not mentioned in every publication on the sarcophagus and has already been documented by Colonna, but only in fragments. For this reason, all interpretations are highly hypothetical.

34 Herbig takes note of the inscription but does not indicate whether it mentions a woman or a man (Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: 120 no. 85); Colonna, "Archeologia nell'età romantica in Etruria": 108 note 108; Sgubini Moretti, *Tuscania*: 73; van der Meer, *Myths and More*: 54.

similar form in the exhibition in London, which opened in 1837.[35] This applies to the positioning as well as to the armour and the human remains that were placed in this sarcophagus.

4 The Documentary Problem of the Tomba dei Alvethna

The burial chamber of the gens Alvethna in Tarquinia (from the end of the fourth to the third century BC) is also considered to be a context with a representative central burial, thus distinguishing itself from the rest; here, too, the corresponding sarcophagus has reliefs on all four sides. The tomb (discovered in 1933), although previously plagued by looters, is nevertheless distinguished by the complete preservation of its sarcophagi.[36] Of the total of six sarcophagi, five stood on a low step that ran around the chamber interior in a u-shape, while one stood directly on the floor.[37] Two of these sarcophagi were decorated with lid figures and reliefs or *Spiegel* on the chests;[38] the rest were smooth, with simple lids.[39] Furthermore, there are inscriptions on the relief and two smooth sarcophagi, which also mention the name of the Alvethna family.[40]

In his report, Pietro Romanelli describes the sarcophagi according to the order in which they were placed in the grave, starting on the left wall. The first one is at the same time the one with the highest quality of craftsmanship: The chest, made of Nenfro, is both relieved and painted on all four sides. On both long sides, there is a wide,

35 Judith Swaddling, “Exhibiting the Etruscans in Bloomsbury and Pall Mall,” in *An Etruscan Affair: The Impact of Early Etruscan Discoveries on European Culture*, ed. Judith Swaddling (London: British Museum, 2018): 42–62. The room where the Tomba delle Bighe was exhibited is particularly suitable for comparison: In the centre of the chamber was also a sarcophagus with reliefs on all sides. The themes were interpreted as human sacrifice, and inside the chest lay a skeleton and weapons, as in the Vipinana context. That the sarcophagus, however, cannot come from this painted chamber tomb and is therefore no proof of a central positioning has already been proven (Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, “Die sogenannte Vanth von Tuscania: Seirene-Anasyromene,” *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 112 [1997]: 194, no. 16).

36 Pietro Romanelli, “Tarquinia – rinvenimenti fortuiti nella necropoli e nel territorio (1930–1938),” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (1944): 225–30.

37 “[Un] sesto era nel mezzo della stanza, sul piano stesso di essa verso destra.” (Romanelli, “Tarquinia”: 225–26).

38 The lids of these sarcophagi were pushed off by a grave robber and left in the centre of the chamber. “[A]lcuni dei coperchi delle casse erano rovesciati fra la terra: tutto dava indizio di una larga opera di violazione e di rovistamento subita dalle deposizioni.” (Romanelli, “Tarquinia”: 225–26).

39 Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: 64–65 no. 126; 65 no. 127.

40 Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: 64–65 no. 126 pl. 17 a; Tarquinia Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 1900, 1901.

profiled *Spiegel*, which served as a picture field for the painting and is now almost completely gone. On the left long side, the red background with the outlines of several human figures has been preserved to such an extent that a battle or a hunt, perhaps even an Amazonomachy, can be assumed to be depicted in this scene. Below the *Spiegel*, on each side, is a relief showing an animal fight (Fig. 2). The narrow sides also have a *Spiegel*, but without any reliefs or paintings.

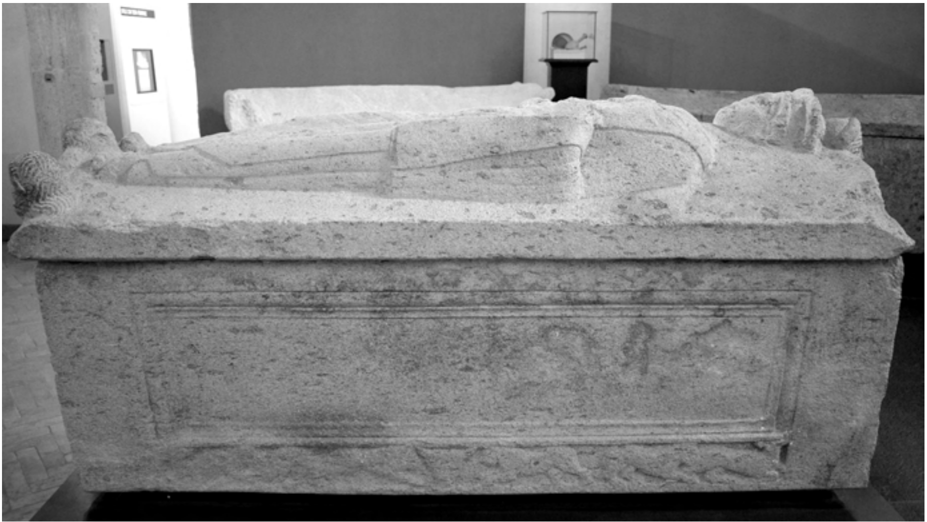

Fig. 2: Sarcophagus of Larth Alvethna (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia, RC 1898).

On the roof-shaped lid, originally with three gable acroteria in the form of female and satyr heads as well as two dolphins in each gable field, there lies a male figure representing the deceased. It lies flat on its back, as if embedded on the ridge of the lid.[41] The legs are parallel and close together, with the right one being minimally bent. The conspicuous clothing of the man – consisting of shoes, a chiton, a long cloak held together on the chest with a large, round brooch, and a hat with a far-protruding brim and a central conical elevation – has already been interpreted by Adriano Maggiani

41 For an initial compilation of these lids and an observation of the phenomenon, see: Nike Meissner, "Die Inszenierung des Jenseits: Die Reaktion in Etrurien auf den sogenannten Priestersarkophag in Tarquinia," in *Sepulkral- und Votivdenkmäler östlicher Mittelmeergebiete (7. Jh. v. Chr.–1. Jh. n. Chr.): Kulturbegegnungen im Spannungsfeld von Akzeptanz und Resistenz: Akten des internationalen Symposiums Mainz, 01.–03.11.2001*, ed. Renate Bol and Detlev Kreikenbom (Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 2004): 183–92.

as the costume of a Haruspex.[42] The mentioned inscription in the rightmost area of the long right side names the deceased as Larth Alvethnas.[43]

The second sarcophagus with a figure on the lid is much simpler and does not appear to have been fully worked out. Nevertheless, it can be seen from the figure lying flat on its back that the deceased person was a woman.[44] The remaining sarcophagi consist of simple and smooth chests with pediment lids, which were roughly hewn from Nenfro[45] and local limestone.[46]

The arrangement of the sarcophagi in the context is additionally clarified by two sketches of the archaeological discovery. In connection with the written report of Romanelli, they generally suggest that the sarcophagus of Larth Alvethna once stood in the centre[47] of the chamber, which would make good sense of its representative elaboration[48] (Fig. 3–4). Thus, this sarcophagus is also considered as the oldest and the main burial, having been reserved the most significant place in the middle of the chamber and with the four sides in relief also remaining visible.[49]

However, a look at the sectional drawing of the burial chamber shows that this was not the case (Fig. 5): It is clear that no complete sarcophagus stood in the centre; instead, the two figural lids of the open chests lay there on top of each other, namely the lids of the sarcophagi on the left side and the back wall.[50] Romanelli's slightly misleading description, in which he mentions the sixth sarcophagus as standing on the right side and at the same time in the centre of the chamber, has led to a misunderstanding that seems to have prevailed in the literature. What was meant was not the actual centre of the room, but the floor next to the circumferential step.[51] So, the sar-

42 Adriano Maggiani, "Immagini di aruspici," in *Secondo Congresso Internazionale Etrusco: Firenze 26 Maggio–2 Giugno 1985* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1989): 1159–61.

43 Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: 65; Maggiani "Immagini di aruspici": fig. 1; Helmut Rix, *Etruskische Texte: Editio minor* (Tübingen: Narr, 1991): Ta 1.142.

44 Romanelli, "Tarquinia": 228–29 no. 2, fig. 12; Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: 66 no. 127.

45 Museo Archeologico di Tarquinia Inv. 1900, 1901.

46 Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: no. 129, 130.

47 Maria Cataldi, *Tarquinia*, Guide territoriali dell'Etruria meridionale 8 (Rome: Quasar, 1993): 106; Maria Donatella Gentili, "I sarcofagi dall'area di Villa Tarantola: esemplari inediti e nuove osservazioni," *Mediterranea: Quaderni Annuali dell'Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico* 11 (2014): 90; van der Meer, *Myths and More*: 15.

48 Cataldi, *Tarquinia*: 106. In the Archaeological Museum of Tarquinia, the sarcophagi have been placed in such a way that their positions more or less reflect the placement in the burial chamber. In this case, the sarcophagus of Larth Alvethnas is in the centre, while the others are grouped around it on three sides.

49 Gentili, "Villa Tarantola": 90–91.

50 Romanelli, "Tarquinia": 227, fig. 10 b.

51 Romanelli, "Tarquinia": 225–26.

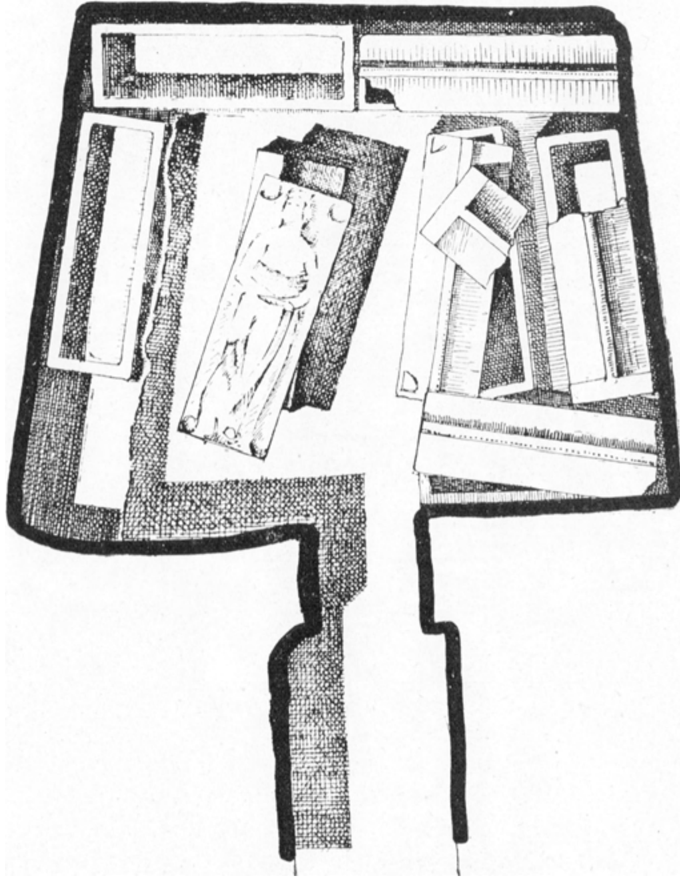

Fig. 3: Sketch of the Tomba Alvethna.

cophagus of Larth Alvethna did not stand in the middle of the burial chamber, but in a row with the others by the wall.[52]

Even if his burial's distinctive positioning is not correct, the conspicuously large discrepancy between its craftsmanship and that of the other sarcophagi remains, which does not invalidate the question of a possible social inequality during his lifetime. Since Larth held a high-ranking office, which was presumably rather rare and did not occur in every family nor several times within one and the same family, it could be assumed in this case that showing an inequality in the sense of rank differ-

52 It can be assumed that it is the sarcophagus on the left wall since Romanelli apparently describes the pieces in order, from left to right.

Fig. 4: General view of room 8 in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia with the sarcophagi from the Tomba Alvethna.

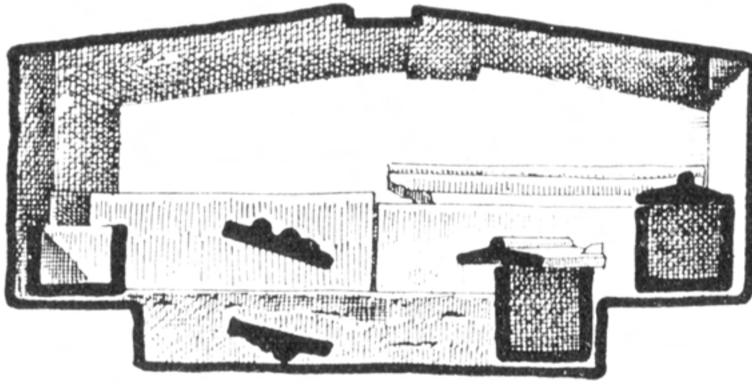

Fig. 5: Sketch of the Tomba Alvethna.

ences within the gens was the intention of these visible differences in the technical execution of the sarcophagi, ranging from the sarcophagus of Larth, to the less elaborate one of the woman with the lidded figure, to the simple pieces with and without inscriptions.

5 Various Tombs

A comparable discrepancy between artistic execution and iconography and the positioning in the tomb can be recognized in the sarcophagus of the woman from the dromos niche, in the already-mentioned tomb of the gens Matausni.[53] Since the lid figure holds a *krateriskos* in her hands, she is counted by Giovanni Colonna among the initiates of the cult of Dionysus.[54] He sees this as a criterion for a higher status as compared to the others.[55] However, her higher reputation, expressed by her attributes or her higher social position – as with Larth Alvethna – seems to have had no influence on assigning her sarcophagus to a prominent location in the burial chamber.

This assumption is supported by examples in which the so-called *posto d'onore* of the paterfamilias is "occupied" by a female burial. Representative of this is a context found in Chiusi in 1877. It shows a very similar situation with different sarcophagi, as we know from the Altvethna tomb: In a small chamber, there were an urn with reliefs and three sarcophagi – two left smooth and one with a chest in relief and a lid figure.[56] The relief sarcophagus is dated to around 300 BC and belongs to the rather rare *Klinentypus*.[57] The female figure on the lid is lying on her back, slightly inclined to the left side, and is completely wrapped in a cloak that also covers the back of her head. A round object can be seen in her hand. The bed is upholstered with animal skin and two pillows. Thanks to an inscription on the edge of the lid, the deceased has been named Ravnthu Vetanei.[58]

Relevant to the question of social differentiation within the tomb is the fact that the sarcophagus of Ravnthu was the only one placed on the back wall of the chamber, the so-called *posto d'onore*. The context may serve as evidence that the space at the back wall of the burial chamber was not exclusively for the burial of the tomb leader or the head of the family. Perhaps Ravnthu was a beloved daughter who died before her parents, who were therefore able to provide her with this elaborate sarcophagus and prominent placement. It is also conceivable that Ravnthu was given the sarcophagus by her husband as a predeceased wife.

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53 Sclafani, "La Tomba dei Matausni": 19.

54 Sclafani, "Tomba Matausni": 129 note 34.

55 Giovanni Colonna, "Riflessioni sul dionisismo in Etruria: appendice: le tombe tarquiniesi dei Camna," in *Dionysos: mito e mistero: Atti del Convegno Internazionale Comacchio 3–5 novembre 1989*, ed. Fede Berti (Ferrara: Liberty House, 1991): 117–55.

56 Giuseppe Fiorelli, "Chiusi," *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (1877): 141; Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: 12, no. 4 pl. 45 a; Giovanni Colonna, "I sarcofagi chiusini di età ellenistica," in *La civiltà di Chiusi e del suo Territorio: Atti del 17 Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici, Chianciano Terme, 28 Maggio–1 Giugno 1989*, ed. Luisa Tamagno Perna and Guglielmo Maetzke (Florence: Olschki, 1993): 342–44.

57 For a detailed description, see Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: 12, 102–3.

58 Rix, *Etruskische Texte*: Cl 1.107.

The other burials also have inscriptions. On the basis of these, however, no family connections can be identified with certainty. For a hypothetical genealogy, see: Colonna, "sarcofagi chiusini": 343.

The phenomenon that single, conspicuously high-quality sarcophagi were associated with plainer or completely smooth pieces in relatively small chambers can also be illustrated by several examples in Tarquinia:

A sarcophagus sculpted from Nenfro (325–300 BC) comes from a small grave that contained three other burials in simple, undecorated chests made of local limestone with flat lids. The sarcophagi were placed in pairs along the left and right walls.[59] The chest of the Nenfro sarcophagus is sculptured on all four sides. On the two long sides, an animal fight scene can be seen, in which two lions and a griffin are respectively tearing apart a boar and a deer. On each of the narrow sides is a Gorgon head.

On the lid, between two volute pediments (each containing a palmette), lies a female figure turned almost completely to the left side. Her head rests on a pillow and is adorned with a wide wreath tied at the back of her head. The hair peeks out from under it and covers her forehead. To the side, it falls in twisted curls, almost to her shoulders. She is dressed in a short-sleeved chiton and a himation, into which she reaches with her left hand, while in her right she holds an omphalos bowl that rests on her thigh. On her left ring finger, she wears a ring.[60] The sarcophagus of the woman is among the exceptionally high-quality pieces of the genre and thus stands out just as much from its burial context as the previous examples. In addition to the sculptural decoration, the different stone material in this case also points to a social differentiation among the burials.

The second case is also a particularly high-quality piece from a small burial chamber, which was associated with only one other less elaborate sarcophagus (325–300 BC).[61] This, again, concerns a female burial.[62] The iconography on its long and narrow sides is strikingly identical with that of the preceding sarcophagus, but a winged demoness is added on both sides of the animal fights. In each of the pediment fields of the lid, three rosettes can be seen, and in the middle of each one, a Gorgon head is set.[63] The lid figure

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59 Wolfgang Helbig, "Scavi di Corneto," *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* (1881): 45–46.

60 Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: 53 no. 98, pl. 13 a–b, 14 a; van der Meer, *Myths and More*: 139, with literature; Flavia Morandini, *Iconografia del leone in Etruria tra la fine dell'età arcaica e l'età ellenistica*, Studi Etruschi 61 (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 2018): 328 no. 7.

61 Giuseppe Fiorelli, "Corneto-Tarquinia," *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (1879): 9. The second sarcophagus from the chamber cannot be identified with any known piece so far. According to the description, it seems to be one with a reclining lid figure on a smooth chest.

62 Together with the context from which the so-called Amazon sarcophagus comes (Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: no. 27), these two examples represent the only female tombs documented at Tarquinia. On this subject, see: Marjatta Nielsen, "Common Tombs for Women in Etruria: Buried Matriarchies?" in *Female Networks and the Public Sphere in Roman Society*, ed. Liisa Savunen and Päivi Setälä (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 1999): 65–136, esp. 78.

63 The assumption that both sarcophagi, together with two others, come from the context of the Vestarcanias is probably due to their iconographic and stylistic similarities (van der Meer, *Myths and More*: 15, 139; Morandini, *Iconografia del Leone*: 325). The documentation attests to burials in individual chambers (for Herbig no. 100, see: Giuseppe Fiorelli, "Corneto-Tarquinia," *Notizie degli Scavi di*

lies flat on her back with her right leg slightly bent. She wears a long-sleeved chiton, a himation, and sandals. Her hair is parted in the middle and rests in waves on either side of her head – as is the case with numerous lid figures who wear buns at the napes of their necks. On top of her head, she wears a broad, textured tiara. Other jewellery pieces include large earrings, a choker, and a necklace with large triangular and crescent-shaped pendants. In her left hand she holds a bird.[64]

If one assumes that a common burial for members of a family is intended to maintain the connections among them and at the same time serve as a representation of the family association, it seems astonishing that these two specimens of outstanding craftsmanship, made for two women who certainly belonged to a wealthy gens, were found in relatively small chambers with only one and three other burials, respectively.[65] The question of why these women in particular were not buried in the hypogea of their nuclear families cannot be pursued within the framework of this article.[66] Nevertheless, it can be stated that in the mentioned contexts, clear differences between the sarcophagi can be recognized, and that with them, rank differences may have also been meant. Likewise, it can be assumed that a social differentiation, which can be interpreted in any way, could also and precisely have accounted for these women being buried separately from the family.

6 An Example of Uniformity in the Grave: Tomba Bruschi

In addition to such tombs in which the differences in material and iconography are particularly striking, a context is known in Tarquinia which, in contrast, stands out for its homogeneity. In the tomb of the gens Apuna (from the end of the fourth to the third century BC), more commonly known as Tomba Bruschi, numerous sarcophagi were found in 1864 and 1964.[67] The chamber was not fully measured in either excava-

Antichità [1876]: 19–20; Massimo Morandi, “Rivista di Epigrafia Etrusca,” *Studi Etruschi* 63 [1999]: 395–97; for Herbig no. 97, see: Wolfgang Helbig, “Scavi di Corneto,” *Bullettino dell’Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* [1875]: 176).

64 Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: 54 no. 99, pl. 14 b–c; van der Meer, *Myths and More*: 129 H99, with lit.

65 The tomb with the single burial of Arnth Paipnas proves that there were also male burials in Tarquinia in sarcophagi of striking quality, buried outside large family groups (Fiorelli, “Corneto-Tarquinia”: 19; Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: no. 96; Cataldi, *Tarquinia*: 107–8 fig. 145–46; van der Meer, *Myths and More*: 138 H96).

66 This problem is part of my current dissertation project on Etruscan Hellenistic stone sarcophagi.

67 The tomb was backfilled after the first excavation for conservation reasons and was forgotten for a century. For a detailed treatment of the entire context and its problems, see Vincenti, *Tomba Bruschi*.

tion, but it had a square floor plan, two asymmetrically placed pilaster, and two niches in the right wall. This corresponds to the funerary architecture of Hellenistic Tarquinia, but the tomb is significantly larger than the chambers that have been described so far.[68] It was used for several generations and contained different types of sarcophagi. These include smooth-leaved sarcophagi[69] and one with a painted garland frieze.[70] There are examples with lidded figures[71] and reliefs on the chests[72] as well as two strikingly small examples with roof lids.[73] This heterogeneous group is distinguished by the presence of five figural lids made of grey Nenfro, which are conspicuous due to their uniformity.

First, these lid figures are also exclusively female. They lie stretched out on their backs with their right leg slightly bent, and all show a slight tilt to the left side. Their heads are pillowed on cushions, and the flat bearings are framed at either end by simple pediments. All the women wear a chiton and a himation. Two have conspicuously large necklaces. Otherwise, it is mainly the attributes in the women's hands that distinguish them from one another.[74] This observation may be decisive for a differentiation within the group, but it does not explain why this common distinction from the other sarcophagus burials exists at all (Figs. 6–10).

Fig. 6: Sarcophagus from Tomba Bruschi (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia, inv. 137299).

68 The size of the Tomba Bruschi corresponds to the hypogea of the gentes Giglioli, Meracareccia and Scudi (Vincenti, *Tomba Bruschi*: 11–12, 14).

69 Vincenti, *Tomba Bruschi*: 94 no. 13, note 99, no. 14.

70 Vincenti, *Tomba Bruschi*: 94 no. 12, note 97.

71 Vincenti, *Tomba Bruschi*: 84–86 no. 6, note 59, pl. 20 a.

72 Vincenti, *Tomba Bruschi*: 90–93 no. 9, note 84, pl. 21 a.

73 Vincenti, *Tomba Bruschi*: 86–89 no. 7, pl. 20 b, 89–90.

74 Inv. 137299 crateriskos; inv. 137300 dove; inv. 137302 patera; inv. 137301 patera; inv. 137303 none.

Fig. 7: Sarcophagus from Tomba Bruschi (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia, inv. 137300).

Fig. 8: Sarcophagus from Tomba Bruschi (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia, inv. 137301).

Fig. 9: Sarcophagus from Tomba Bruschi (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia, inv. 137302).

Fig. 10: Sarcophagus from Tomba Bruschi (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia, inv. 137303).

Of particular interest are the so-called head pads, which all the lid figures wear.[75] That they are literally pads that fill the area between the head and the sarcophagus gable is something I consider questionable.[76] It is also countered by their exclusive occurrence on the lids from the Tomba Bruschi. Likewise, their practical use is invalid for a stone sculpture. Rather, the elaboration, with bulging thickened edges, refers to actual headgear that was worn by women "in real life."[77] Two of the headdresses appear to have something like an image field, perhaps originally adorned by painting.[78] This is also conceivable for the others, though without any corresponding elaboration. It can be thought of, for example, as having a similar structure to that seen in the diadem of the previously discussed cover figure with the bird – only that this was painted on.

A final feature that unites these lids and at the same time distinguishes them from the others is their size. The standard length of sarcophagi for women is about 2.00 meters. All the pieces from the Tomba Bruschi clearly exceed this length.[79] Two

75 As for the hairstyle, the suggestion that they should be *seni crines*, which was intended for *novae nuptae,* seems to be *communis opinio* (Valentina Vincenti, "I sarcofagi della Tomba Bruschi di Tarquinia," in *Sepulkral- und Votivdenkmäler östlicher Mittelmeergebiete (7. Jh. v. Chr.–1. Jh. n. Chr.): Kulturbegegnungen im Spannungsfeld von Akzeptanz und Resistenz: Akten des internationalen Symposiums Mainz, 01.–03.11.2001*, ed. Renate Bol and Detlev Kreikenbom [Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 2004]: 194; Vincenti, *Tomba Bruschi*: 76; on this, see also: Mario Torelli, *Lavinio e Roma: riti iniziatici e matrimonio tra archeologia e storia*, Lectiones Planetariae [Rome: Quasar, 1984]).

76 Marijatta Nielsen earlier suggested, for other examples with conspicuously wide diadems, that the volume is due to the sculptor's attempt to bridge the space between the headdress and the pediment (Marjatta Nielsen, "Sacerdotesse e associazioni cultuali femminili in Etruria: testimonianze epigrafiche ed iconografiche," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 19 [1990]: 59).

77 Vincenti, *Tomba Bruschi*: 80, 83–84, 93.

78 inv. 137299; inv. 137303.

79 Valentina Vincenti, "La Tomba Bruschi di Tarquinia: recupero di un contesto," in *Scavo nello scavo: gli Etruschi non visti: ricerche e riscoperte nei depositi dei musei archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale: catalogo della mostra, 5 marzo–30 giugno 2004,* ed. Anna Maria Sgubini Moretti (Rome: Ministero per i

of the lids are at 2.33 m,[80] a measurement that even exceeds the average length of male sarcophagi.[81] Only one sarcophagus with a lying female lid figure from Tarquinia reaches comparable monumental dimensions.[82]

Complementary to these observations, reference must be made to the gender ratio in the grave. Of the burials, five can be identified as female and four as male. The remaining four sarcophagi must be considered neutral due to the lack of inscriptions and meaningful iconography. Still, even if these contained exclusively male burials, there is a relatively high proportion of women documented here.

This is a situation remotely reminiscent of the Tomba delle Iscrizioni in Vulci, which also recorded a large percentage of female burials. The women from that tomb were partially related to each other by the designation *hatrencu.* Marjatta Nielsen assumes it to be the title of a female office, which, until now, is known exclusively through funerary inscriptions from Vulci.[83] She speculates that the *hatrencu*, whose inscriptions were found on the walls of the individual chambers, could be a cultic collective.[84] Unfortunately, with the exception of only one without a lid, no sarcophagi or urns survived from the tomb, which has already been looted, and so an iconographic analysis is not possible.

To consider the women from the Tomba Bruschi also as a kind of cultic collective may seem too daring at this stage of the research. But that it is exclusively in the style of a workshop is something I would like to question, particularly with regard to the listed aspects and peculiarities that isolate these five lids in a unique way from the rest of the burials. Perhaps we are dealing with a socially higher-ranking group here, or at least a group with a different social status that allowed for the burials to stand out from the other members of the same family through their iconography and size.

7 Conclusion

This brief and first overview of selected contexts containing sarcophagus burials does not yet allow us to formulate an overarching and generally valid answer to the question of visible hierarchies and social differences among the collectively buried mem-

Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici per l'Etruria Meridionale, 2004): 194–98 no. 2–6: 2.33 m; 2.33 m; 2.10 m; 2.18 m; 1.80 m. Lid no. 6 is broken, but the original length of this piece would also have been over 2 meters.

80 Inv. 137299; inv. 137300.

81 Among the sarcophagi with lying male lid figures, there is only one that comes close to the two largest Bruschi examples: Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: no. 100 (2.22 m).

For the dimensions of the sarcophagi, see: van der Meer, *Myths and More*: 27–28.

82 Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: no. 64 (2.21 m).

83 Nielsen: "Sacerdotesse": 45.

84 Nielsen, "Sacerdotesse": 45.

bers of a gens. The problem, which involves numerous decontextualized sarcophagi and barely documented contexts, complicates this area of research to a large extent and does not enable a comprehensive analysis. Nevertheless, a reprocessing of some extant excavation documentation has led to several observations in this field.

In accordance with the assumption that the status and standing of individuals are reflected in the tomb, the thesis that the particular position of the tomb builder or head of the family is at the back wall or in the centre of the chamber has manifested itself. Exemplary of this is the tomb of the gens Pinie in Tarquinia. The arrangement of the pseudo-sarcophagi, which can be assigned to the individual family members thanks to the preserved inscriptions, points to a clearly hierarchical structure: Vel Pinie is represented by his large and isolated sarcophagus on the back wall, while the others buried in the tomb follow on the side walls, depending on their status within the family. However, the fact that this pattern cannot be applied as a fixed rule to all tombs is illustrated by numerous contexts in which, for example, the sarcophagi of women are positioned in the supposed place of the paterfamilias, as is the case with the sarcophagus of Ravnthu Vetanei in Chiusi. Also, the rectification of the contexts of the gentes Alvethna in Tarquinia and the Vipinana in Tuscania has shown that one cannot assume the sarcophagus placement in the centre of the burial chamber to be representative. Rather, it must be taken into account that the notion of a central burial arose from erroneously interpreted documentation or incorrectly reconstructed contexts and should not be given any further weight in research. Furthermore, the assumption that sarcophagi decorated on all sides were intended for such a central position is obsolete. It is possible that a representative placement of the main burial was irrelevant in many cases since tombs were not public but rather private structures. Only members of the family had access to the chambers during (re)burials, up until they were full and closed. The only public presentation was through the funeral ceremonies, during which the individual sarcophagi may have been on public view, as well as through the above-ground architectural development of the tombs. Any highlighting of the burials in the tomb would have been made in reference to the members of the gens, who would also have been the only ones capable of perceiving this.[85]

It has become much clearer that status differences among the members of a gens were conveyed by means of the sarcophagi. These differed in the type of stone used and/or in their workmanship. In the case of the context of the gens Alvethna, a hierarchization of individuals can be seen in a stylistic way. Larth Alvethna, a haruspex during his lifetime, was buried in a sarcophagus with a figural lid and relief decoration as well as with paintings of the highest quality. Meanwhile, the other members of the family were buried in sarcophagi ranging from lesser sculptural work to simple and

85 Marjatta Nielsen, "'. . . stemmate quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis . . .' (Persius Sat. 3.28): Family Tombs and Genealogical Memory among the Etruscans," in *Images of Ancestors*, ed. Jakob Munk Højte, Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 5 (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2002): 91.

nameless stone chests. A comparable situation is evident in several other tombs in Tarquinia, where high-quality sarcophagi of women were associated with only one to three others, less elaborate or entirely unworked examples.

In addition to the visibility of social differences, these contexts raise the question of why those women, who obviously came from wealthy families, were not buried together with their relatives in the large hypogea. Perhaps, based on these isolated burials, their socially conditioned difference from the members of the nuclear family can be discerned, the reasons for which are still uncertain for us.

A clear divergence from this heterogeneity is represented by the five lids from the Tomba Bruschi. Their uniformity has made them stand out, together as a group, from the rest of the burials. That the reasons for this are chronological or due to the style of the workshop seems unlikely, given the singularity of this phenomenon. At this stage, there is no sufficient explanation for this homogeneous group and for its social and societal significance. However, the context testifies that, in addition to differences in the funerary field, there were also intentionally chosen uniformities, whose meaning and significance regarding social structures, differences as well as dependencies, still need to be explained.

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Massimiliano Di Fazio

Herdsmen into Warriors. An Overview on Pastoralism and War in Ancient Central Italy

Abstract: *Il contributo è incentrato sull'Italia centrale in età preromana, e prende in considerazione in particolare due sfere che erano cruciali per le comunità antiche: pastorizia e guerra. L'attività pastorale e quella bellica sono elementi cruciali per una definizione degli assetti sociali e politici, anche perché si intersecano con questioni di tipo economico e religioso: ciò fa sì che una analisi di questi temi diventi basilare per avere una migliore comprensione delle comunità dell'Italia antica e della complessa dialettica tra egemonia e subalternità che era in atto al loro interno. Nel contributo si propone innanzitutto di dimostrare come in entrambi i casi l'immagine che deriva dalle fonti letterarie sia piuttosto distorta (anche se non sempre del tutto falsa) rispetto al quadro che si può tratteggiare basandosi sulla cultura materiale. Tra i temi più specifici di cui si tratta, per quanto riguarda la pastorizia, vi sono le effettive tracce (archeologiche e archeozoologiche) di queste attività nelle aree appenniniche e il loro collegamento con la transumanza. Sul piano della guerra invece si approfondisce l'aspetto simbolico dell'arma come indicatore di status sociale e di genere, soprattutto per quanto riguarda casi apparentemente anomali di sepolture femminili con armi.*

My contribution concerns the peoples of central Apennine Italy, of which we still have a rather confused picture, starting with their cultural definitions.[1] The effort to label them is ancient, linked on the one hand to what we might call Greek 'ethnography', and on the other to Roman imperialism's desire to 'nail' these communities to a territory. Today, given a closer look, it is increasingly evident that the picture we are able to draw from literary sources and the one we can sketch based on material culture do not always coincide; indeed, they sometimes seem to tell two different stories.[2] A long tradition of studies has tried to overcome this problem, especially in regard to the Samnites, who obviously have a privileged place by virtue of their role – at least during the fourth century BC – as enemies par excellence, and due to the part they played in historiography and Roman memory.[3] A memory in which these populations are connected to two characteristics: pastoralism and war.

1 See the recent work of Gary D. Farney and Guy J. Bradley, eds., *The Peoples of Ancient Italy* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

2 See Michel Aberson et al., eds., *Entre archéologie et histoire: dialogues sur divers peuples de l'Italie préromaine* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2014).

3 Emma Dench, *From Barbarians to New Men* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Gianluca Tagliamonte, *I Sanniti* (Milan: Longanesi, 1996); Rafael Scopacasa, *Ancient Samnium: Settlement, Culture and Identity between History and Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

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To what extent does this image correspond to reality? We could describe the cultures of this area as 'subaltern', following Gramsci's speculation:[4] that they share a history which is 'fragmented and episodic' and have the characteristic of being voiceless. Furthermore, we may say that they have been victims of a double subalternity: in history, where they ended up being subjugated and assimilated by Rome, and in the history of studies, where they have often been regarded from a 'classico-centric' perspective. Today, this perspective is largely outdated, at least on paper: in the practice of historical and archaeological interpretation, classico-centrism does not infrequently resurface. Another order of subordination is the internal one, which concerns the internal structuring of communities, their articulations, power relations and ultimately, how these cultures chose to represent themselves. We must therefore talk about economics and power: topics that have been relatively neglected in recent years (at least in the field of pre-Roman Italy) in favour of what we may call a 'religious turn', and which have led to a significant delay in the study of social and economic issues.[5]

1 Pastoralism

Let us begin with pastoralism.[6] The pastoral world, already in classical sources, is often considered a marker that is both chronological and cultural. Shepherding is perceived as a primordial stage of human evolution, preceding agriculture and the development of urban settlements.[7] A further complication comes from the fact that when we think of these communities and their economic and subsistence activities, the image that is formed in our minds often tends to be conditioned by literary sources: Livy contrasted the Samnites, *montani atque agrestes*, to the peoples of the plains.[8] As if that were not enough, the scientific literature of the twentieth century also contributed to creating a particular image. I am thinking of the powerful suggestion made by

4 Antonio Gramsci, "Quaderni del carcere 25 (XXIII) (1934)": "La storia dei gruppi sociali subalterni è necessariamente disgregata ed episodica"; see Antonio Gramsci, *Subaltern Social Groups: A Critical Edition of Prison Notebook 25*, trans. Joseph Buttigieg and Marcus Green (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021): 6–7.
5 A recent welcome exception is Jeremy Armstrong and Sheira Cohen, eds., *Production, Trade, and Connectivity in Pre-Roman Italy* (London: Routledge, 2022).
6 The literature on the topic is enormous. Philip C. Salzman, *Pastoralists: Equality, Hierarchy, and the State* (London: Routledge, 2004) is fundamental; for the Mediterranean picture, see Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000): 549–52, and on Italy, Edoardo Vanni, *Economie senza gloria* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2021).
7 Cristiano Viglietti, *Il limite del bisogno: antropologia economica di Roma arcaica* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011): 81–88.
8 See Dench, *From Barbarians*.

Arnold J. Toynbee's *Hannibal's Legacy*[9] and his well-known thesis: after the terrible period of Hannibal's presence in southern Italy, conditions for a significant economic depression were created, ones that, in the long run, would substantially affect the region up to the present day. Today, the picture sketched by Toynbee has been revised,[10] yet it still exerts an influence that makes us unconsciously imagine ancient central-southern Italy as a context of almost-empty spaces, in which flocks led by groups of shepherds/warriors move lazily. In contrast, projects such as Biferno and Sangro clearly (and not unexpectedly) show that these territories also experienced significant agricultural exploitation.[11]

The problem once again is historiographical, with the complex narrative of the so-called Samnite Wars at the centre. According to Cornell,[12] rather than speaking of three different wars, we should recognise a long period of continuous belligerence made up of battles and skirmishes interspersed with moments of truce. In fact, in ancient sources and then again in modern literature, there has already been a temptation to describe the Samnite Wars as a 'clash of civilisations' with two different and irreducible ways of seeing the world: the Roman outlook, made up of cities and agriculture, and the Samnite view of scattered villages and sheep farming. More recent investigations, freed from this interpretative burden, have been able to highlight how, in reality, this 'Manichean' view has no reason to exist. However, it is perhaps appropriate not to fall into the temptation of going too far in the opposite direction. The Samnite world has come to be described as not being dissimilar to the Tyrrhenian ones, with relatively early urban form, magistracies, laws and monetary systems. In the end, this, too, can be seen speculatively as the result of a classico-centric attitude, as if the Samnites had to be redeemed from the allegation of being 'barbarians', and to do so, they had to be credited as having acquaintance with classical forms such as the city, among others. In fact, it is possible to admit that the Samnite world (like other cultures of Apennine Italy) had a late knowledge of urban forms, writing and state systems without implying that this made them inferior to the Romans and Etruscans. It is instead a matter of different responses to different cultural, and also environmental, situations. The spectre of 'environmental determinism' often leads to an

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9 Arnold J. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy: The Hannibalic War's Effects on Roman Life* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).

10 See, e.g., Emilio Gabba, Gino Bandelli and Francesco Grelle, "Hannibal's Legacy. Trent'anni dopo," in *Modalità insediative e strutture agrarie nell'Italia meridionale in età romana*, ed. Elio Lo Cascio and Alfredina Storchi Marino (Bari: Edipuglia, 2001): 13–32.

11 See Daniel Hoyer, "Samnite Economy and the Competitive Environment of Italy in the Fifth to Third Centuries BC," *Processes of Integration and Identity Formation in the Roman Republic*, ed. Saskia Roselaar (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 179–96; Scopacasa, *Ancient Samnium*: 165–66.

12 Tim Cornell, "Deconstructing the Samnite Wars: An Essay in Historiography," in *Samnium: Settlement and Cultural Change*, ed. Howard Jones (Providence: Brown University, 2004): 115–31; see also Lukas Grossmann, *Roms Samnitenkriege: Historische und historiographische Untersuchungen zu den Jahren 327–290 v. Chr.* (Düsseldorf: Wellem Verlag, 2009).

underestimation of the importance of the environment, the availability of resources and even the climate.[13]

In any case, one of the consequences of the traditional approach linking these communities to pastoralism is that it gives rise to a primitivist view, which would make them tendentially egalitarian societies. In old-fashioned anthropological terms, the so-called 'primitive societies' can be distinguished from the developed ones through their lack of a state, which consequently entails a lack of internal social articulation.[14] It is worth stressing, nevertheless, that the idea of the 'egalitarian society' has been challenged in the last years.[15] On the other hand, more adequate perspectives on the anthropological level allow us to understand that there are no purely agricultural or purely pastoral societies. There may be a prevalence of one form over the other, but they are two economic activities that do not only coexist but are necessary for each other's flourishing.[16] It is true that compared to other areas of the peninsula, the Apennine regions are clearly more bound to livestock because of the scarcity of vast, cultivable plains; nevertheless, the economic and productive contexts of ancient Italy are made up of both agriculture and pastoralism. Other activities must not be underestimated as well, such as handicraft, metalworking or wood and stone exploitation.[17] In the end, even before considering economic aspects or lifestyles and the like, it is a matter of discerning power and power relations. It is then worth trying to better understand what we are talking about when we refer to pastoralism in the Apennine world.

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13 See Tymon De Haas, "The Geography of Roman Italy and Its Implications for the Development of Rural Economies," in *The Economic Integration of Roman Italy: Rural Communities in a Globalizing World*, ed. Tymon de Haas and Gijs Tol (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 51–82, for a picture of the geographic setting of Roman Italy that is at least partially useful for pre-Roman Italy as well, and Seth Bernard et al., "An Environmental and Climate History of the Roman Expansion in Italy," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 44 (2023): 1–42, for climatic variations in Ancient Italy.

14 Kent V. Flannery and Joyce Marcus, *The Creation of Inequality: How Our Prehistoric Ancestors Set the Stage for Monarchy, Slavery, and Empire* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2012). The sharp comments in Pierre Clastres, *La société contre l'État* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1974): 161, are also worth reading.

15 See the recent book of Brais X. Currás and Inés Sastre, eds., *Alternative Iron Ages* (London: Routledge, 2020). A useful overview of the problem is Megan Laws, "Egalitarianism," in *The Open Encyclopedia of Anthropology* 2022, http://doi.org/10.29164/22egalitarianism.

16 See recent scholarship by Christian Heitz, "A Mobile Model of Cultural Transfer in Pre-Roman Southern Italy," in *Production, Trade, and Connectivity in Pre-Roman Italy*, ed. Jeremy Armstrong and Sheira Cohen (London: Routledge, 2022): 223; Sheira Cohen, "Mechanisms of Community Formation in Pre-Roman Italy: A Latticework of Connectivity and Interaction," in *Production, Trade, and Connectivity in Pre-Roman Italy*, ed. Jeremy Armstrong and Sheira Cohen (London: Routledge, 2022): 237; Valeria Acconcia, "L'Abruzzo: sedi e percorsi degli uomini in armi," in *Le città visibili. Archeologia dei processi di formazione urbana*, vol. 1, *Penisola italiana e Sardegna*, ed. Marco Rendeli (Rome: Officina Edizioni, 2015): 150–51.

17 See de Haas, "The Geography": 75.

Where can we see indications of pastoralism? The first thing we can look at is the funerary evidence, simply because it provides the most consistent data repository. In the funerary sphere, pastoralism is not evident unless we want to emphasise the presence of objects related to spinning and weaving in female tombs: but this is a phenomenon that also characterises cultures with a strongly agrarian matrix, as in the Tyrrhenian area,[18] so it is not significant per se. For instance, we might speculate on the glass paste distaff from two rich female tombs (119, late seventh century BC; and 415, late seventh–early sixth century BC) in Campovalano, and the ivory spool from Tomb 2 in Capestrano,[19] both located in modern Abruzzo. These are cases in which we may have the desire to assign a particular symbolic value to these objects (and to the associated activity); moreover, in these contexts, the artefacts related to the actions of spinning and weaving are only present in a few selected tombs, which has led to the supposition that they had the function of marking the special role that the deceased had within her community. On the other hand, glass distaffs have also been found in tombs in Cerveteri, Tolfa, Cales and other places with rather agrarian characteristics, so a connection with the pastoral sphere cannot be established.[20] It is also interesting to consider the presence of loom weights in sanctuaries in the Samnite area, as in the cases of Schiavi d'Abruzzo, Vacri and Fonte San Nicola: the presence of these objects in sacred places suggests their role as votive dedications.[21] At the very least, these demonstrate the importance of textile activity in the context of Apennine communities.

Another possible indicator is the archaeozoological data, which reveal the strong presence of sheep in various contexts in the central Italic area. In particular, studies have pointed out that between the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age, there was an increase in the presence of sheep; moreover, from the beginning of the Iron Age, the increasing average age of sheep may be related to an intensi-

18 Margarita Gleba, *Textile Production in Pre-Roman Italy* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2008).

19 On both, see Amalia Faustoferri, "Women in a Warriors' Society," in *Burial and Social Change in First Millennium BC Italy*, ed. Elisa Perego and Rafael Scopacasa (Oxford: Oxbow, 2016): 107, with references.

20 Gleba, *Textile Production*: 119–21. Joachim Weidig, "Früheisenzeitliche etruskische und italische Zepter," *Jahrbuch RGZM* 62 (2015): 1–46, interprets these objects as female sceptres, an interpretation that is not necessarily in contrast to the one that places emphasis on the textile aspect. In fact, in essence, there may be a wish to stress the importance of the female's role as a supervisor of the phases through which pastoralism produces its outcome: tanning of hides, use of fur for weaving, etc. In a social structure based on family/clan groups, such a role acquires a primary value. See, e.g., Margarita Gleba, "The 'Distaff Side' of Early Iron Age: Aristocratic Identity in Italy," in *Communicating Identity in Italic Iron Age Communities*, ed. M. Gleba and H.W. Horsnæs (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011): 26–32.

21 Alexandra Sofroniew, "Women's Work: the Dedication of Loom Weights in the Sanctuaries of Southern Italy," *Pallas* 86 (2011): 191–209.

fication of the exploitation of livestock in order to obtain wool.[22] But even this picture does not differ much from the contexts of the Tyrrhenian world, and so it would seem that sheep do not play a distinct role in the Samnite context. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that animal remains on a site are not the best indicator of pastoral activities: in fact, dung and manure are more indicative.[23] But, of course, detecting these kinds of traces is much more difficult, and relies particularly on careful excavations, which are quite rare for the considered area.

The epigraphic evidence seems to go in the same direction.[24] One of the most important epigraphic documents of ancient Italy is the *Tavola di Agnone*, a bronze tablet discovered in the Agnone area in Molise in 1848.[25] It is a text of extreme interest for the reconstruction of the religious and social world of the community that produced it. The 'pantheon' (not an entirely appropriate term, but I use it for convenience) of the *Tavola di Agnone* seems to reflect the concerns of the local community. The main deity appears to be Ceres, to the extent that other deities also take on 'cererii' aspects;[26] even Hercules, who is often seen as representative of the pastoral world (see below), is referred to as 'Cererius'. It is clearly challenging to separate the figure of Ceres from agrarian activities. Obviously, it must be considered that the *Tavola* is dated to the first decades of the second century BC, and that cultural elements from Magna Graecia may have infiltrated the religious system represented in the text.[27] However, if we could trace a background of indigenous religiosity, this background would have agrarian characteristics.

22 Jacopo De Grossi Mazzorin, "Some Considerations about the Evolution of the Animal Exploitation in Central Italy from the Bronze Age to the Classical Period," in *Pecus: Man and Animal in Antiquity*, ed. Barbro Santillo Frizell, The Swedish Institute in Rome: Projects and Seminars 1 (Rome: The Swedish Institute in Rome, 2004): 38–49; Angela Trentacoste, "Fodder for Change: Animals, Urbanisation, and Socio-Economic Transformation in Protohistoric Italy," *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* 3, no. 1 (2020): 1–17.

23 Christian Heitz, "Mobile Pastoralists in Archaic Southern Italy? – The Use of Social and Material Evidence for the Detection of an Ancient Economy," *Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift* 56 (2015): 140.

24 Suggestive, but essentially isolated, is Alessandro Morandi's proposal (*Epigrafia Italica 2* [Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2017]: 123) to interpret the word *iorkes* from the Crecchio stele (province of Chieti, Frentanian area) as being equivalent to the Latin *hircus*. This serves as a reference to goat herds and, consequently, the passage as a text regulating the access of flocks to water. Such interpretation, all in all, seems more plausible than the one proposed by Crawford (who dubiously interpreted *iorkes* as *Orcus*: ImIt Frentani/ANXANVM/ORTONA 1), but it still remains problematic.

25 ImIt Pentri/TERVENTVM 34. On the context, see Bruno Sardella, *Archeologia di Agnone* (Rome: Scienze e Lettere, 2021).

26 Federico Santangelo, "Italic Ceres?" in *Gods and Goddesses in Ancient Italy*, ed. Edward Bispham and Daniele Miano (London: Routledge, 2019): 9–22.

27 See Paolo Poccetti, "Culti delle acque e stadi della vita muliebre," in *La Tavola di Agnone nel contesto italico*, ed. L. Del Tutto Palma (Florence: Olschki, 1996): 219–41.

A crucial topic is the alleged link between pastoralism in the Apennine area and the figure of Hercules. The profusion of bronze statuettes depicting the god from at least the fifth century BC onwards unequivocally shows the importance that Hercules had in the Italic context.[28] The iconographies of these bronzes seem to suggest that we are dealing with a god of different characteristics as compared to the Greek version. A well-established tradition sees a particular link between transhumance routes and pastoral activity in this divine figure.[29] In recent years, this connection has been questioned. Tesse Stek rightly noted that often, the shrines attributed to Hercules have no definite connotation, and indeed in some cases, the link to Hercules is deduced from the location, thus creating a vicious circle.[30] Bradley emphasised that the cult of Hercules in the Apennine area is ancient, while long-distance transhumance routes are evident in the last two centuries BC, and that Samnite shepherds would hardly have been able to finance the sanctuaries that had been monumentalised during that period.[31] On the other hand, sanctuaries in the Samnite area are presumed to be the outcome of the monumentalisation of older cult areas, whose connection with the transhumance routes is rather evident. The importance of the cult of Hercules is apparent even without recognising an exclusive link to sheep-farming, which would indeed be limiting, or even a role as the principal deity of the Apennine peoples, which would be at odds with the god's secondary position in important cult sites such as Pietrabbondante and Agnone.

Here, another historiographical problem arises. In the past decades, there has been a debate on the possibility that long-distance transhumance routes existed even before the unification of the Roman era, when moving from one region to another was not a political problem. In contrast, in earlier periods, this free passage would have been hindered by political-administrative fragmentation. Other scholars have argued that the free movement of flocks must have been possible even in more ancient times, within the framework of mutual recognition systems or of tolls; as Emilio Gabba well observed, 'transhumance is a pre-political system'.[32] This is a theme that

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28 Giovanni Colonna, *Bronzi votivi umbro-sabellici a figura umana*, vol. 1, *Periodo arcaico* (Florence: Sansoni, 1970).

29 Frank van Wonterghem, "Il culto di Ercole e la pastorizia nell'Italia centrale," in *La civiltà della transumanza*, ed. Edilio Petrocelli (Isernia: Cosmo Iannone Editore, 1999): 413–28.

30 Tesse D. Stek, *Cult Places and Cultural Change in Republican Italy* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009): 55–58.

31 Guy J. Bradley, "Aspects of the Cult of Hercules in Central Italy," in *Herakles and Hercules: Exploring a Graeco-Roman Divinity*, ed. Louis Rawlings and Hugh Bowden (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2005).

32 On the topic, see Arnaldo Marcone, "Il rapporto tra agricoltura e pastorizia nel mondo romano nella storiografia recente," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 128 (2016): 287–95, with references. An interesting scientific approach to the problem is Angela Trentacoste et al., "Heading for the Hills? A Multi-Isotope Study of Sheep Management in First-Millennium BC Italy," *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 29 (2020): 1–17.

should be discussed together with the political systems of the Apennine world. In this area, the fragmentation we noted at the beginning could be seen in less rigid terms, as an occupation of territories that were not precisely well-delimited but rather a succession of occupied and generally controlled areas: a system in which, consequently, the mobility of peoples or groups would be natural. A recurring element in the ancient historiography of the Italic peoples is related to the movement of peoples: I refer to the fascinating and enigmatic tradition of the *ver sacrum*, that is, the custom whereby, in times of crisis due to overpopulation, part of a community would break away to seek fortune and land elsewhere, effectively becoming another people, often under the leadership of an animal representing the will of a god.[33] This complex tradition serves well as an introduction to my second point.

2 Warfare

The other fundamental social and economic activity traditionally associated with the Apennine peoples is warfare. In the last decades, the relevance of this sphere to social and anthropological developments has been widely exploited.[34] One of the most important achievements is the awareness that it would be misleading to neatly separate ancient warfare from other spheres, such as social structure and economy. This separation, often seen in past studies, is the outcome of a vision that regarded ancient societies as a pendulum swinging between states of war and peace. However, the most recent developments in anthropology and sociology show that there was instead a continuous state of fluctuation.[35] Similar to what happened in the ancient Mediterranean, where the boundary between merchants and pirates was very thin,[36] even in the Apennine mountains, the distinction between shepherd and warrior was mostly

33 See Massimiliano Di Fazio, "Religions of Ancient Italy," in *The Peoples of Ancient Italy*, ed. Gary Farney and Guy Bradley (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017): 151. Salvatore M. Puglisi, *La civiltà appenninica* (Florence: Sansoni, 1959): 97, already hinted at connections between the *ver sacrum* tradition and pastoralism.

34 See recent scholarship by Michael Parker Pearson and I.J. Nick Thorpe, eds., *Warfare, Violence and Slavery in Prehistory*, BAR International Series 1374 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005); Ton Otto, Henrik Thrane and Helle Vandkilde, ed., *Warfare and Society: Archaeological and Social Anthropological Perspectives* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2006). See also Peter Turchin, "Warfare and the Evolution of Social Complexity: A Multilevel-Selection Approach," *Structure and Dynamics* 4 (2010): 1–37.

35 Michael Parker Pearson, "Warfare, Violence and Slavery in Later Prehistory: An Introduction," in *Warfare, Violence and Slavery in Prehistory*, ed. Michael Parker Pearson and I.J. Nick Thorpe, BAR International Series 1374 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005): 21, describes it as a 'third way' between war and peace, 'characterized by casual but sustained violence which operates at many different levels, from feuding and vendetta to larger scale skirmishing and fighting between clans and kin groups.'

36 David Tandy, *Warriors into Traders: The Power of the Market in Early Greece* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

situational. It is thus not surprising to find, for instance, in a rural sanctuary in the inland area of southern Latium – a territory connected by transhumance routes – small votives representing both animals (in clay) and warriors (in bronze).[37] Ultimately, the connection between war and pastoralism is hunting, an activity of crucial importance to Ancient Italy; but not by chance as among the most present weapons found in Apennine area burials is the spear, which is the proper weapon used by hunters.

War in the Italic world is a theme that has been explored at length since it is the feature that has emerged most from literary sources (understandably, as warlike events constitute the backbone of the annalistic narrative), which seems to be related to the perception that these same communities had of themselves.[38] On the other hand, iconographic and archaeological documentation confirms the importance of war for many of these communities.[39] The ecological context goes in the same direction because the scarcity of resources leads to an endemic state of conflict.[40] The importance of weapons is fully revealed by their presence in places of worship, where the weapon was regarded as an offering, especially when of foreign manufacture.[41] Furthermore, weapons can of course be found in funerary contexts. An interesting question arising from funerary data concerns if and how the communities in the Apennine world used weapons as an indicator of one's status (that is, social, identity, gender and even 'ethnic').[42] Shepherding issues concern communities as a whole, giving an indistinct image that is akin to a 'group photo'. Conversely, the question of weapons allows us to go into detail, almost into the personal lives of the members of these communities, through funerary documentation. This kind of documentation, as

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37 Casale Pescarola, near Atina: Elena Marazzi, "Acque curative e percorsi di transumanza nel Lazio preromano: le dediche dal santuario di Casale Pescarola a Casalvieri (FR)," *Scienze dell'Antichità* 28, no. 2 (2022): 503–13.

38 Even if, in some cases, the perception seems to be 'heterodirected': Dench, *From Barbarians*.

39 See, e.g., Gianluca Tagliamonte, *I figli di Marte* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1994); and more recently, Marlene Suano, "Armi nelle tombe: che fine hanno fatto i guerrieri?" in *The State of the Samnites*, ed. Tesse D. Stek, Papers of the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome 69 (Rome: Quasar, 2021): 91–102.

40 Robert Layton, "Sociobiology, Cultural Anthropology and the Causes of Warfare," in *Warfare, Violence and Slavery in Prehistory*, ed. Michael Parker Pearson and I.J. Nick Thorpe, BAR International Series 1374 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005): 44; for the Vestine area, see recent scholarship by Elena Scarsella, "War and Warriors in the Archaic Aterno Valley (Central-Italy)," *World Archaeology* 51, no. 5 (2019): 673–88.

41 Gianluca Tagliamonte, "Dediche di armi nei santuari sannitici," *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología* 28–29 (2002–2003): 95–125; Adriano La Regina, "Armi nel santuario di Pietrabbondante," in *Armi votive in Magna Grecia*, ed. Raimon Graells i Fabregat and Fausto Longo, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Tagungen 36 (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2018): 241–60.

42 For a more general discussion, see Cristiano Iaia, "Bronzesmiths and the Construction of Material Identity in Central Italy (1000–700 BCE)," in *Production, Trade and Connectivity in Pre-Roman Italy*, ed. Jeremy Armstrong and Sheira Cohen (London: Routledge, 2022): 129–51.

is well-known, has several complexities. One aspect that has become increasingly evident in recent years is that it is difficult to identify precise rules: as space and time vary, so do customs. We know of necropolises in central Italy in which almost every burial of an adult is marked by the presence – and sometimes even abundance – of weapons (Fossa and Caporciano in Abruzzo, Atina in inland Latium).[43] In others, weapons are rare and do not regularly mark the male grave (for example, Alfedena and Satricum). The chronological aspect is relevant because, in many cases, a dramatic decrease in the presence of weapons has been observed in tombs dated to the fifth century BC.[44] A question arises here: If Apennine societies are characterised in the sources as warlike, we would expect a warlike self-representation at the funerary level. A case can be made about a community that has been described as aggressive in the historical narrative, namely the Volscians, who flowed from the Apennine areas towards the Pontine Plain in the fifth century BC, until they occupied Satricum. The Satrican necropolis has yielded few weapons: 16 examples from almost 200 burials. This apparent contradiction has been explained in various ways,[45] from the least convincing (that weapons could not have been preserved in the burials due to the chemical composition of the soil) to arguments that, in some ways, reverse the perspective. That is to say, weapons would have been particularly important, to the point of discouraging their 'sacrifice'; especially in areas where mineral resources were more distant and inaccessible, which obviously would have increased the intrinsic value of the metal and thus of the weapons. Accordingly, the presence of weapons in a tomb might mark the burial of prominent individuals within the community. It is also worth emphasising that the weapons in Satricum were mostly placed in tombs of non-young individuals: this seems to reinforce the symbolic value of weapons, that of being a sign of social status. Such interpretation is likewise confirmed by the presence of lead miniature examples of weapons, one of which (a small axe) is extremely important because it bears the only inscription that can be traced back to the Volscian language.[46] More generally, recent chemical analyses show that in the Samnite area, some metal objects (particularly belts) were produced not for actual use but rather

43 Notably, tomb 310 at Caporciano with twelve spearheads: Alberta Martellone, "La necropoli di Cinturelli a Caporciano (L'Aquila)," *Sui due versanti dell'Appennino: necropoli e distretti culturali tra VII e VI secolo a.C.*, ed. Fernando Gilotta and Gianluca Tagliamonte, Biblioteca di Studi Etruschi 55 (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 2015): 99. For the Samnite area, see Rafael Scopacasa, "Gender and Ritual in Ancient Italy: A Quantitative Approach to Grave Goods and Skeletal Data in Pre-Roman Samnium," *American Journal of Archaeology* 118, no. 2 (2014): 241–66.

44 Valeria Acconcia and Serafino L. Ferreri, "Crisis and Transformation: the 5th and 4th century BC in Pre-Roman Abruzzo as a Turning Point for Local Communities," in *L'età delle trasformazioni: L'Italia medio-adriatica tra il V e il IV secolo a.C.*, ed. Valeria Acconcia (Rome: Quasar, 2020): 330–34.

45 See Massimiliano Di Fazio, *I Volsci: Un 'popolo liquido' nel Lazio antico* (Rome: Quasar, 2020): 134.

46 Di Fazio, *I Volsci*: 123–25.

for ceremonial functions[47] – a further hint that these objects had a strong symbolic function. The fact remains that the presence of weapons, be it widespread or rare, is an important indicator that refers to an activity crucial to survival and also serves to qualify the deceased and his role within the community. Just like other artifacts, weapons were selected to be part of the grave goods, which means that their symbolic value was considered to be high.[48] However, this also has a potentially misleading consequence: often, the presence of a weapon in a tomb is considered to be a sufficient indication that the tomb's owner is male. Reaching such a conclusion, nevertheless, is not as simple as it seems.[49]

Only recently have we begun to overcome the mechanical equivalence that most researchers make – that if there is a weapon in a grave, the deceased must be male. The problem is that there are still very few inhumation necropolises in pre-Roman Italy that can provide us with reliable anthropological data, which complicates our analysis possibilities. Nevertheless, to be able to expound on this question, we first need to clarify the definition of a weapon. While objects such as spears and swords unquestionably belong to this category, more problems arise with other objects, such as knives, axes, and belts. With regard to knives, their dimension and shape should guide us in distinguishing them from a sword, but this distinction is not always easy; in any case, we do not consider knives as weapons when they are not associated with another weapon.[50] Belts are a relevant piece of ancient Italic clothing, often as part of the armour, but their frequent presence in female tombs shows that they are not exclusively associated with warfare.[51] More problems arise with the axe, an object of important symbolic relevance in the ancient world. A good example (although still not adequately published) is Tomb 183 in Opi, which has been dated between the sixth and fifth centuries BC; in this tomb, a female individual over 35 years of age was

47 Cristina Riccucci et al., "Micro-Chemical and Metallurgical Study of Samnite Bronze Belts from Ancient Abruzzo (Central Italy, VIII–IV BC)," *Applied Physics A* 113 (2013): 959–70.

48 Joachim Weidig, *Bazzano – ein Gräberfeld bei L'Aquila (Abruzzen): Die Bestattungen des 8.–5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Monographien des RGZM 112 (Heidelberg: Propylaeum, 2014): 662, see also Amy Richardson, "'Montani Atque Agrestes' or Women of Substance? Dichotomies of Gender and Role in Ancient Samnium," *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* (2008): 134.

49 On gender and archaeology in ancient Italy, see Ruth D. Whitehouse, ed., *Gender and Italian Archaeology*, Accordia Specialist Studies on Italy 7 (London: Routledge, 1988). See also Corinna Riva, "Keeping up with the Etruscans? Picene Élites in Central Italy during the Orientalising Period," *The Accordia Research Papers* 9 (2001–2003): 78–80. More generally, important considerations can be found in Valeria Acconcia, "Superare il guado: Riflessioni su archeologia, storia sociale e modelli di autorappresentazione delle disparità: alcuni esempi dalle comunità antiche e moderne," *EX NOVO Journal of Archaeology* 6 (2021): 125–56.

50 See Franca Parise Badoni and Maria Ruggeri Giove, *Alfedena, la necropoli di Campo Consolino: scavi 1974–1979* (Chieti: Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Abruzzo, 1980): XX.

51 See, e.g., Acconcia and Ferreri, "Crisis and Transformation": 333.

buried with a massive axe on her side.[52] This case, of course, has raised doubts in its interpretation. The comparison with the Capestrano Warrior suggests an interpretation of the axe in the 'political' sense, as a symbol of power. But an axe is a tool that can also be part of a sacrificial discourse, like the knives that are frequently found in female burials.[53]

As a matter of fact, there are some (very few known to me) sure cases of weapons discovered in female tombs in central Italy. A few examples are found in the Picene area. Recent excavations at Montedinove (AP) revealed a tomb (13) belonging to the second half of the seventh century BC that has two depositions, one above the other. The lower deposition is considered to be female due to the quantity and type of grave goods; a spearhead was found near the head.[54] In the same area, at Belmonte Piceno, old excavations brought to light two tombs (10 and 19) with rich grave goods, among which are some spearheads and (perhaps) a chariot.[55] Other interesting cases have recently come to light in the necropolises of Alife, in northern inland Campania,[56] which have been dated between the sixth and fifth centuries. Tomb 1 in loc. Serra Santa Croce, 'probably' belonging to a female, contains, besides pottery, typical elements of high-ranking male rituals: two skewers, a basin, a spear point and a knife. Tombs 39 and 48 in loc. Cimitero belong to females as well (more clearly is 39), each containing a few grave goods and a spearhead. The determination of sex was conducted on the basis of the morphology and size of the bone remains,[57] a procedure that has acquired a good degree of reliability, although it still cannot be considered absolute.

There are two issues arising from these cases. The first is more specific, the other more general. The first obviously concerns the possible interpretations of such an anomalous presence. I would tend to rule out an 'Amazonian' indication: that is, to think that there were women who fought in battle. It is true that in some cases, the

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52 Faustoferri, "Women in a Warriors' Society": 104–5. It is worth mentioning that in some female tombs at Campovalano, pendants with lithic axes were placed, which could reinforce the interpretation of the object as pertaining to a symbolic (religious?) universe rather than to the sphere of war.

53 Faustoferri, "Women in a Warriors' Society": 105. Axes in female tombs have been found in the Orientalizing age: see, for instance, Cassino (t. 13) and the Sarno Valley (San Valentino Torio): Francesco Maria Cifarelli and Sandra Gatti, "Necropoli orientalizzanti e arcaiche dell'area ernica e volsca: contributi per un confronto tra l'Abruzzo e il Lazio meridionale interno," *Quaderni di Archeologia d'Abruzzo* 2 (2010): 362.

54 Nora Lucentini, "Status e ruoli femminili nei corredi del Piceno meridionale," in *Sui due versanti dell'Appennino: necropoli e distretti culturali tra VII e VI secolo a.C.*, ed. Fernando Gilotta and Gianluca Tagliamonte, Biblioteca di Studi Etruschi 55 (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 2015): 15.

55 Lucentini, "Status e ruoli femminili": 15–16. The two women were referred to as 'Amazons' at the time of the discovery.

56 Studied by Antonella Natali in her doctoral thesis (I would like to thank the author for allowing me to refer to them here). See Gianluca Tagliamonte et al., "La necropoli sannitica di San Gregorio Matese (CE), loc. Serra Santa Croce," *Orizzonti: Rassegna di archeologia* 24 (2023): 109–10.

57 Tagliamonte et al., "La necropoli sannitica": 114.

male image is so predominant that we tend to forget that we also know of cases of female figures with a significant role in their society.[58] However, there are more plausible alternatives that fall into a symbolic sphere, identifying such grave goods as an expression of the bond between the deceased and a male, whether father or husband. A somewhat analogous context is that of La Tène communities in Central Europe, where female graves with weapons have been found. It has been suggested that such women were 'honorary males', heirs of the role and leadership of a related man who died in war or moved away:[59] the presence of weapons would merely be a short-lived response to a specific set of circumstances during a time of social flux. As a matter of fact, mobility was a consistent aspect of the lives of Apennine societies, as we have already mentioned. What happens in a community after a group of warriors has left for some reason (for example, war or the search for new land) is an issue that has been relatively neglected.[60] It is worth considering that some women could have undertaken the roles left by males. This, of course, implies that the weapon mainly had a symbolic meaning. From the same perspective, weapons in infant burials may have a similar value:[61] the idea that infants and children in their early years actually used these weapons is unlikely, so the symbolic aspect has to be considered the most reasonable. A possible clue in this sense could come from the placement of the objects. The spears found in graves are often positioned in a functional manner, suggesting that the entire weapon was deposited, including the wooden pole: the remains of the wood are in fact often found in the handle, and not infrequently, the tip corresponds to the point (Fig. 1).[62] Contrarily, in Tomb 39 of Alife, the position of the spearhead inside the humerus seems to rule out the possibility of the deposition of the entire weapon and suggests that the symbolic aspect of the object was prevailing. Similarly, in other cases, the spearhead is placed in a non-functional position outside the tomb,

58 For example, the Capestrano Warrior is not unique, because we also know of a 'Lady of Capestrano', whose relationship with the Warrior we know little of; but she does exist, even if there are no clues that connote her warrior nature. See Alessandro Naso, "Clan e *gentes* nell'Italia medio-adriatica in epoca preromana," in *La società gentilizia nell'Italia antica tra realtà e mito storiografico*, ed. Massimiliano Di Fazio and Silvia Paltineri, Biblioteca di Athenaeum 61 (Bari: Edipuglia, 2019): 155–90.

59 Bettina Arnold, "'Honorary Males' or Women of Substance? Gender, Status and Power in Iron Age Europe," *Journal of European Archaeology* 3, no. 2 (1995): 153–68; see Scopacasa, "Gender and Ritual": 92. A possible example in northern Italy is also known, in the La Tène necropolis of Oleggio (NO), where a female burial with a complete Celtic panoply was found: Giuseppina Spagnolo Garzoli, ed., *Conubia Gentium: la necropoli di Oleggio e la romanizzazione dei Vertamocori* (Turin: Omega Edizioni, 1999): 112–15.

60 On the topic, see Richardson, "'Montani Atque Agrestes'": 136–37.

61 See the list in Weidig, *Bazzano*: 665–67.

62 See, e.g., for the necropolis of Fossa, tbb. 16, 18, 38, 43 and others (often with the head towards the bottom of the body): Vincenzo d'Ercole and Enrico Benelli, *La necropoli di Fossa*, vol. 2, *I corredi orientalizzanti e arcaici* (Pescara: Edizioni Carsa, 2004).

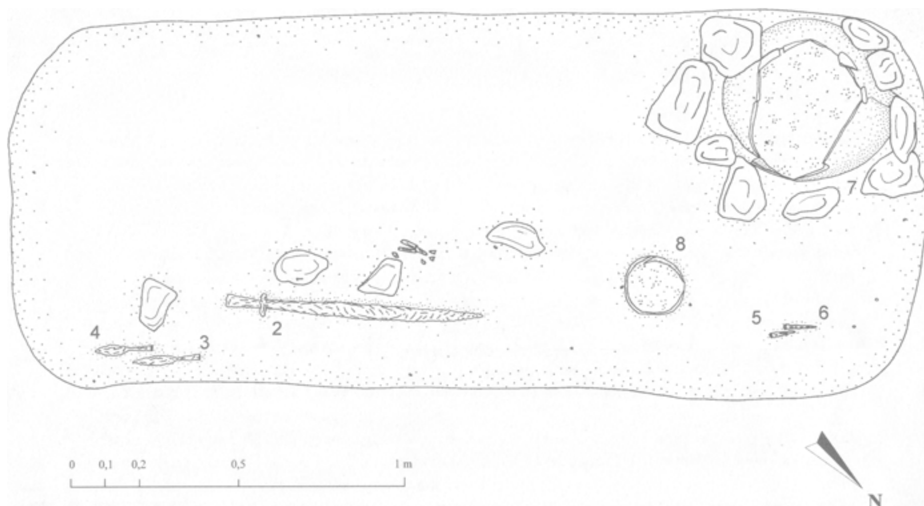

Fig. 1: Necropolis of Fossa, tb. 16, heads (nn. 3–4) and tips (5–6).

on the side or on top of the lid (Fig. 2).[63] In these cases, therefore, it is possible to catch a glimpse of the predominance of the symbolic aspect over the functional one: it is not an armed woman, but a woman buried with a weapon, which is different.

This is the more specific point. But perhaps even more important is the general point. For if we had only relied on the traditional weapon – male association, Tomb 39 in Alife would also have been labelled as male. Thus, we need to consider that other burials labelled as male because of their association with weapons might in fact have been female. The doubt is even stronger in cases of sub-adult graves, for which anthropological analyses are more difficult. This consideration has possible major consequences in our studies, if only as a matter of statistics: we often find in a given necropolis the preponderance of male burials over female ones. The doubt is that the picture of these communities is not conditioned by choices made in antiquity, but rather by inaccurate analyses made by us in the present.

If this were the case, we would have another example of the subalternity that characterises these populations, which not only concerns their historical events, but also, in some ways, their destiny over the centuries. If we could do nothing about the historical subalternity, we can at least try to redeem them through investigations and studies that would lead to a better understanding of their social structures and the economic structures that constituted the substance of these systems.

63 See, e.g., Parise Badoni and Ruggeri Giove, *Alfedena*, for tombs 67, 91, 105, where the spear was placed outside. These three burials are considered male according to the morphological analysis performed on the skeletal remains.

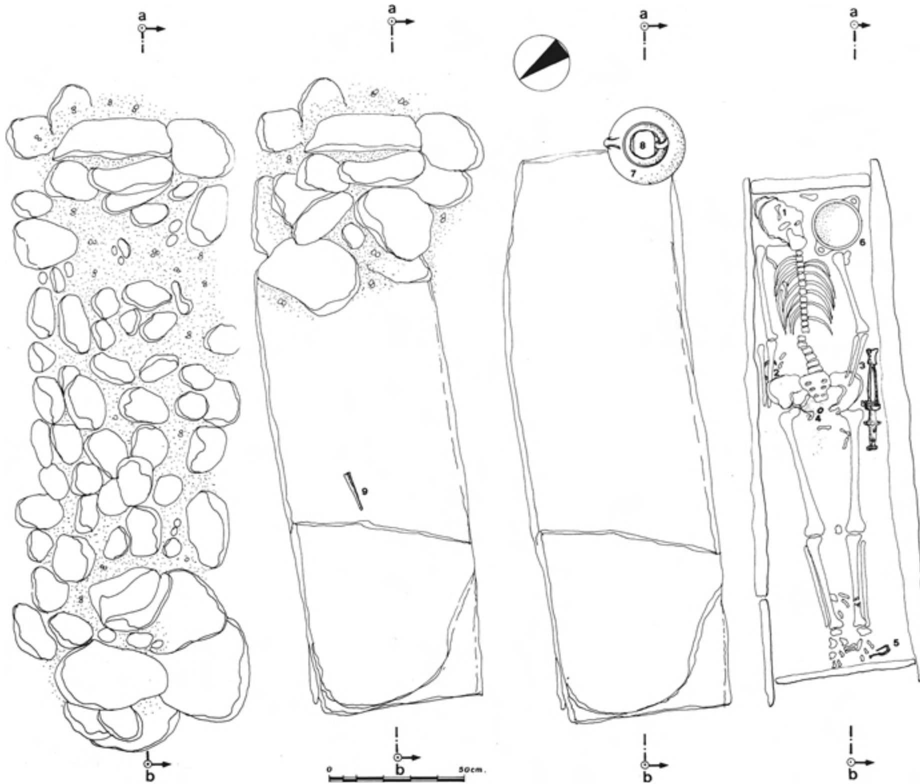

Fig. 2: Necropolis of Alfedena, tb. 91.

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Marina Micozzi

Age and Class Discrimination in Etruscan Necropoleis? Some Evidence from Cerveteri

Abstract: *Il fatto che in alcune necropoli etrusche esistano tombe singole disposte all'esterno di quelle familiari a camera è stato spesso ritenuto prova dell'esistenza di individui in posizione di subalternità all'interno del corpo sociale, per età o per rango. L'analisi della distribuzione crono-topografica delle tombe a fossa e a cremazione presenti nell'area del Vecchio Recinto della Banditaccia a Cerveteri evidenzia come nessuna delle spiegazioni finora proposte sia in grado di spiegare il fenomeno in maniera convincente. Se si abbandona l'idea che questo tipo di sepoltura rappresenti una diminuzione per chi la riceve e si considerano le tombe esterne una maniera di occupare lo spazio funerario diversa, ma di pari livello rispetto alla deposizione nelle camere, le prospettive si allargano. Le sepolture singole si addensano in coincidenza con periodi di rinnovamento dell'assetto urbanistico e architettonico della necropoli, quando si rende necessario definire i confini dell'area di pertinenza delle nuove tombe – non più isolate mediante i fossati. Spesso fosse e pozzetti sfruttano proprio i tagli di cava derivati dagli sbancamenti effettuati per l'inserimento di nuove tombe fra i tumuli orientalizzanti e sembrano perseguire anche una sorta di sistemazione scenografica del paesaggio sepolcrale che ne risulta.*

1 Introduction

Despite the many limitations related to both the time of excavation and the events which accompanied its publication, the sector of the Banditaccia necropolis called "Vecchio Recinto", which was excavated by Mengarelli in the early decades of the 1900s and whose related documentation was edited by Goffredo Ricci in 1955,[1] is still one of the very rare examples of an extensive Etruscan necropolis that has been fully published. The documentation is complete with excavation data (most of it can be recovered from Mengarelli's accurate indications) and a description of all the grave goods, albeit unfortunately containing few pictures. For this reason, this material has often been used as a documentary basis for formulating assumptions on Cerveteri's social structure. As with all Etruscan cities, the following reconstruction must be based exclusively on archaeological materials: at least for now, this means making use of data that are almost solely concerned with burials.

1 Goffredo Ricci, "Caere: la necropoli della Banditaccia, zona A del Recinto," *Monumenti Antichi* 42 (1955): 202–1047.

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From among the most recent works, I would like to mention the one published by Raffaella Ciuccarelli and Enrico Benelli on the inscribed cippi[2] and Ellen Thiermann's important study on funerary architecture in the late Etruscan period.[3] In my case, I used this documentation for a recent work on the children of Cerveteri, which left me with more doubts than certainties to offer.[4] Therefore, I decided to use this conference as an opportunity to deepen my research and expand it to encompass all tombs found outside chamber tombs, dating back to all periods, of all sizes, and all rituals.

The fact that some people were buried outside monumental tombs is often mentioned as evidence of the existence of a class of subordinated subjects within the social body: a position which was allegedly due to these subjects' age, social class, or both. Concerning children, childhood itself was a reason for subordination, while in regard to adults, it allegedly derived from their relationship with the families owning the chamber tombs, such as a closeness which did not entail complete membership in the family group. This asymmetry may have been based on economic considerations or be related to the enjoyment of citizenship rights or the marital status of the deceased, who may have been of marriageable age but not yet married.[5]

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2 Enrico Benelli and Maria Raffaella Ciuccarelli, "I cippi di Cerveteri: una messa a punto, fra archeologia ed epigrafia," in *Cippi, stele, statue-stele e semata: Testimonianze in Etruria, nel mondo italico e in Magna Grecia dalla Prima Età del Ferro fino all'Ellenismo: Atti del Convegno* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2018): 149–59.

3 Ellen Thiermann, "Cerveteri nach dem 5. Jh. v. Chr.: Architektur und soziale Struktur in der Banditaccia-Nekropole," in *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2016*, ed. Luciana Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018): 191–201.

4 Marina Micozzi, "I bambini perduti di Cerveteri: primi appunti per la ricostruzione della ritualità funeraria infantile nelle necropoli di Monte Abatone e della Banditaccia," in *Birth. Archeologia dell'infanzia nell'Italia preromana*, ed. Elisabetta Govi (Bologna: University Press, 2021): 395–416.

5 To cite only the most recent hypotheses, Alessandro Palmieri in his "Vasi-cinerario etruschi a figure nere dall'Etruria meridionale," *Mediterranea* 8 (2011): 83–150, suggested that, as was the case in Tarquinia, these may either be young people who died before marriage or socially subordinate figures. Ellen Thiermann ("Cerveteri nach dem 5. Jh. v. Chr.") hypothesized that these individuals did not enjoy full citizenship rights; Mario Torelli ("Intorno ai servi d'Etruria," in *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2016*, ed. Luciana Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1 [Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018]: 295–302) sees in the accumulation of minor burials around larger tumuli "a faithful picture of the articulation of social subordination."

2 Archaeological Evidence: Figures

Out of the total of 440 tombs in the Vecchio Recinto area listed by Ricci, 260 are individual tombs, including incinerations (43) and inhumations of different types (fossa, sarcophagus, cassa, *cappuccina,* loculus tombs).[6]

In Cerveteri, this phenomenon seems to have taken on greater proportions in comparison to other locations for which a calculation has been attempted: in Tarquinia, investigations performed by the Lerici Foundation at Calvario have allowed for the identification of 1300 tombs, including only 158 fossa tombs and 9 pit graves;[7] in Orvieto, the ratio is 72 to 245 at the Crocefisso del Tufo necropolis and 53 to 218 at the Cannicella necropolis.[8] However, it is difficult to determine the extent to which these figures can be deemed as representative because an accurate correlation with the number of deceased people buried in chamber tombs is difficult to establish. In fact, the almost total absence of anthropological data and the chaotic state in which the grave goods were usually found in such tombs do not allow for the quantification of the actual number of deceased persons, making it difficult to establish a realistic numerical proportion between the two burial types.

The length of the fossa tombs fall within the range of 51–230 centimetres; however, more than half of them (118) are small, not exceeding 120 centimetres, a size that can safely be considered as an indicator of tombs that were meant for children, aged around three years or four to five years maximum.[9] Thus, more than half of the outer fossa tombs were definitely used for children (Fig. 1). For larger graves, it is not possible to formulate reliable assumptions about the age of the deceased due to the absence of anthropological analyses, which are hardly ever available for Cerveteri.

We are not certain that children were buried solely in small fossa tombs.[10] However, by examining the proportions of these tombs, we can see that a relatively small amount of tombs measure between 120 and 150 centimetres, while several tombs exceeding 160 centimetres have been found (Fig. 1). This might indicate a distinction between a first, larger group of tombs meant for young children and a second group of tombs meant for adults. However, it is clear that this is a fragile argument, whose weakness is also related to the randomness of the finds.

6 For more information on typology, see Raniero Mengarelli, "La necropoli di Caere: nuove osservazioni su speciali usi e riti funerari," *Studi Etruschi* 11 (1937): 77–94; Ricci, "Caere": 201.

7 Lucia Cavagnaro Vanoni, "Tarquinia (Viterbo), Necropoli dei Monterozzi: Tombe a buca e a fossa in località Calvario," *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, ns. 11 (2000–2001): 374.

8 Simonetta Stopponi, "Note sulla topografia della necropoli," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 3 (1987): 64 no. 8.

9 Micozzi, "I bambini perduti": 402; Thiermann, "Cerveteri nach dem 5. Jh. v. Chr.": 197.

10 Micozzi, "I bambini perduti": 407.

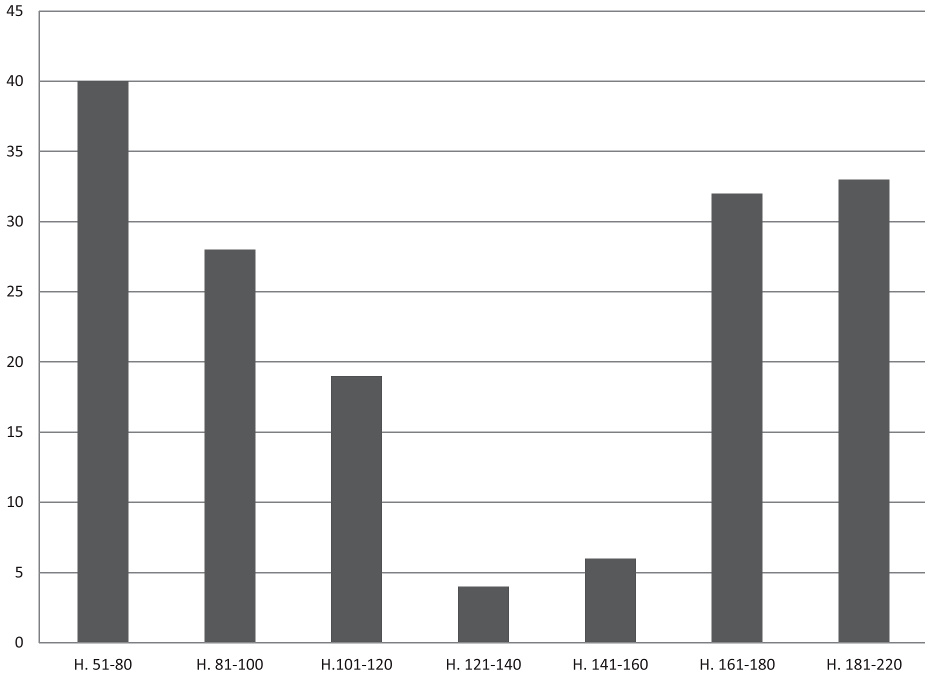

Fig. 1: Cerveteri, Banditaccia, Vecchio Recinto, inhumation tombs: sizes.

What is certain is that the sarcophagi are always small,[11] which indicates special care for the protection of the small bodies. This is in line with the custom, already attested in Villanovan times, of burying children in small lithic cases – a proportion that is often associated with female tombs in Cerveteri.[12]

Infant incineration burials cannot be ruled out, although there is no conclusive evidence suggesting their existence. In only one case does Ricci report the hypothesis that a very small cinerary urn, covered by the same slab as that used for a larger one, may have been meant for an infant buried with its mother.[13] A newborn's bones were definitely found in two of the three "tile-graves" (*tombe ad embrici*) (204, 252, 401),

11 We are talking about 28 burials, about a quarter of the total number of small tombs (Micozzi, "I bambini perduti": fig. 10); only the sarcophagus of tomb 74 measures more than 2 meters (Ricci, "Caere": 484). The presence of large sarcophagi at Laghetto has also been reported (Maria Antonietta Rizzo, "La necropoli del Laghetto tra vecchi e nuovi scavi," in *Le vite degli altri: ideologia funeraria in Italia centrale tra l'età del Ferro e l'Orientalizzante: Atti della giornata di studio in ricordo di Luciana Drago Troccoli*, ed. Laura M. Michetti et al., Scienze dell'Antichità 24, no. 2 [Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza", 2018]: 59, fig. 14).

12 Mengarelli, "La necropoli di Caere": 59.

13 Ricci, "Caere": 684–85, tombs 207–8.

which consist of two vertically juxtaposed tiles: this is a variation of infant burials between tiles that has already been accounted for in other areas of the peninsula.[14]

Because infant mortality was high in ancient societies, it is very unlikely that the number of children buried in individual tombs can be considered representative of all burials of children under three or five years of age, as can be hypothesized based on the number of chamber tombs (which hosted entire families) in the area being examined. Therefore, it must be assumed that only a few children were buried in this way and that most were buried elsewhere. It is likely that at least part of them were buried within chamber tombs, in graves which are less easy to identify than those of their peers buried outside.[15]

Regarding adults, we are certain that an alternation of inhumation and incineration took place. Out of the 73 fossa tombs whose length exceeds 150 centimetres, 45 are simple fossa tombs, 16 are covered with tuff slabs, 3 are loculus tombs, and only 1 is a sarcophagus tomb (Tab. 1).

The forty-three cremations (Tab. 2) consist of cinerary vases contained in small pits, which were dug directly into the tufa or made up of block cases; however, two cases of cremations (194 and 276) inserted into wall loculus niches have also been documented.

Although gender indicators have rarely been found among grave goods, the typology of the cippi makes it possible to conclude that people of both sexes, both children and adults, could be buried outside.[16]

3 Chronological distribution

When did these subjects, who were all apparently entitled a formal burial within the same necropolis, begin to receive this asymmetrical treatment? Establishing the chronology of the tombs in Recinto della Banditaccia is not always easy. More than half the tombs are empty, and even when they do contain grave goods, the dating, with a few exceptions, is based merely on the descriptions in *Monumenti Antichi*, which often leave significant room for doubt. A truly thorough examination would require the re-checking of all grave goods, an operation which is not feasible at the moment

14 Ricci, "Caere": 680, 914; Deneb T. Cesana and Vincenzo D'Ercole, "Infant Burials in the Middle Adriatic Area (Abruzzo, Central Italy) from the Final Bronze Age to the Archaic Period: New Data Through a Bio-archaeological Approach," in *From Visible to Invisible: New Methods and Data for the Archaeology of Infant and Child Burials in Pre-Roman Italy and Beyond*, ed. Jacopo Tabolli (Uppsala: Astrom Editions, 2018): 159.
15 Micozzi "I bambini perduti": 409–10.
16 As for infant burials, see Micozzi "I bambini perduti": 410–11; as for adult tombs, fossa tombs 69, 71, 85, 87, 93, 95, which can be dated back to the Early Orientalizing period, contain weaving tools, and so do tombs 280 (where 2 spindles are associated with a cylindrical cippus), 281, 389, and incineration 123, which date back to the 6th–5th century BC. Weapons are only contained in incineration tombs 137 and 431 and in fossa tomb 138, which is probably an infant burial.

and would in any case be outside the scope of this work. In this work, dating was hypothesized only when the available elements were sufficient to formulate hypotheses: based on the described grave goods or, in the case of empty tombs, on their position in areas that had been attended only during a well-defined period. Of course, the possibility of error remains high.

The oldest fossa tombs, which can be dated back to a period between the end of the eighth century BC and the Middle Orientalizing period, are mostly located in a sector called *dei tumuletti arcaici*[17] – a sort of relict in the horizontal stratigraphy of the necropolis. This situation is similar to the one in the Laghetto area,[18] now also observable at Monte Abatone after the new excavations conducted by the Universities of Campania, Tuscia, Urbino, and Bonn.[19] Tumulus XI, in its enlarged version of the second half of the seventh century BC,[20] is probably one of the earliest cases of a funerary space being used by several generations of the same family group. Inside, there are semi-constructed chamber tombs dating back to the time between the Early (78, 79, 81[21]) and Middle (84[22]) Orientalizing periods, and some fossa tombs, both small (76?, 77, 80, 82, 83)[23] and large (85, 85A, 86, 87?)[24], which can be dated back to the period between the early seventh century and the early decades of the sixth century BC.[25] A particularly close topographical bond seems to connect the female chamber tombs 79 and 81, which were originally included in the minor tumulus XI bis, and the small fossa tombs 80 and 82, which, unfor-

17 Ricci, "Caere": 474–515 pl. VII fig. 117; Orlando Cerasuolo, "Aspetti funerari di Cerveteri tra Orientalizzante Antico e Medio," in *Caere orientalizzante: nuove ricerche su città e necropoli*, ed. Alessandro Naso and Massimo Botto, Studia Caeretana 1 (Rome: CNR Edizioni, 2018): 43–46, fig. 8–9.

18 Richard E. Linington, "Lo scavo della zona Laghetto della necropoli della Banditaccia a Cerveteri," *Notizie dal Chiostro del Monastero Maggiore: Rassegna di studi del Civico Museo Archeologico e del Civico Gabinetto Numismatico di Milano* 25–26, no. 1 (1980): 1–79.

19 Alessandra Coen et al., "Continuità e discontinuità delle aristocrazie a Cerveteri in età orientalizzante: la documentazione della necropoli di Monte Abatone," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 27 (2020): 713–36; Martin Bentz et al., "I nuovi scavi nella necropoli di Monte Abatone – Cerveteri," in *Leggere il Passato, costruire il Futuro: Gli Etruschi e gli altri popoli del Mediterraneo: Scritti in onore di Gilda Bartoloni*, Mediterranea 18 (Rome: Quasar, 2021): 113–21; Fernando Gilotta et al., "Indagini nell'area a sud del tumulo Campana," in *Caere* 7 (forthcoming).

20 Cerasuolo, "Aspetti funerari": 43, fig. 9 A; Alessandro Naso, *Architetture dipinte: Decorazioni parietali non figurate nelle tombe a camera dell'Etruria meridionale, VII–V secolo a.C.* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1996): 46, I.2.18.

21 Ricci, "Caere": 498–507, fig. 117–24.

22 Ricci, "Caere": 508, fig. 125.

23 Ricci, "Caere": 494–509.

24 For bibliographical references on adult fossa and pit graves, see Tab. 1–2 in this contribution. For a list of infant tombs (until 120 cm), see Micozzi, "I bambini perduti": fig. 12.

25 Tombs 76, 85, and 87 seem to be coeval with the more ancient chamber tombs; tombs 83 and 86 can be dated back to the end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 6th century, due to the presence of imported Corinthian goods (Ricci, "Caere": 508, 511); for tombs 77, 80, 82, the absence of grave goods does allow for specific dating.

tunately, cannot be dated based on the grave goods they contained.[26] A similar situation has recently emerged at Monte Abatone, where infant fossa tombs located near semi-constructed chamber tombs enclosed within small tumuli have been found.[27]

However, this was still a transitional period, when even the semi-constructed tombs were probably mostly individual ones.[28] Therefore, these tombs may have been designed for deceased persons who had a bilateral relationship, such as an adult and a child, similar to the aforementioned cases dating back to the early Iron Age.[29]

On the contrary, the small fossa tomb 643, found on the tumulus of tomb 73 in the Monte Abatone necropolis in 2019, can be related to this underground family chamber tomb. This is probably the burial of a little girl, at most between two and three years old, buried outside the family tomb for unknown reasons, likely because of her age.[30]

We are currently not aware of similar situations in Banditaccia at the same chronological level.

Except for the cases of ambiguity that we have already mentioned and other similar ones from the area *dei tumuletti arcaici*, the earliest evidence certainly connected to the object of our investigation dates back to the time between the late seventh century BC and the first half of the sixth century BC. Tombs 83 and 86 in the area *dei tumuletti arcaici* and infant tombs 108 and 125 in sector B of the "Tumulo dei Capitelli" date back to this period. The latter two are located along sepulchral streets V and VII, respectively, and are clearly related to chamber tombs 110 and 126.[31]

However, according to records, individual tombs first began to spread significantly between the last decades of the sixth century and the mid-fifth century BC. Some thirty or so inhumations of both adults and children, and a little more than twenty pit tombs, i.e., almost all of the datable cremations, can probably be dated back to this period. As in other Etruscan centres, in Cerveteri, incineration in pit tombs appears to have prevailed from the sixth to the fifth century BC. Out of the tombs being analysed here, only tomb 228 can certainly be dated back to the end of the fourth century BC based on related grave goods, and a few tombs probably belong to the same period, considering their relation to late classical or Hellenistic chamber tombs. The other tombs are either empty or described too generally.

An increase in external burials occurred between the late fourth century and the third century BC; there were about eighty-two depositions, almost all of them inhuma-

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26 These tombs were attributed to the Early Orientalizing by Cerasuolo, "Aspetti funerari": 35, no. 10, fig. 8, and to the end of the 7th century BC by Naso, *Architetture Dipinte*: 46, I.2.18.

27 More precisely, tombs 674 and 677 in area K, investigated by the University of Campania "L. Vanvitelli", and tombs 678 and 676 in area L, investigated by the University of Bonn (Yannick Becker et al., "Die Monte Abatone-Nekropole von Cerveteri: Vorbericht zur Grabungskampagne 2022," *Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica* 11/12 [2021/22]: 95–112).

28 Cerasuolo, "Aspetti funerari": 35–36.

29 Rizzo, "La necropoli del Laghetto": 59.

30 Micozzi "I bambini perduti": 395–401.

31 Ricci, "Caere": 541–42, 565.

tions, and about half of them of infants. Thus, most fossa tombs, which were meant for both adults and infants, are to be dated back to a late phase.

These two focal points should be used as a reference for the tombs whose elements do not allow for precise dating.

4 The Topographic Distribution

As Ellen Thiermann also noted,[32] individual tombs tend to follow two main topographic distribution patterns. In the areas of new expansion, which date back to both the sixth and the fourth centuries BC and are organized in a regular fashion, the tombs are neatly arranged, usually alongside the entrances to new chamber tombs, sometimes around them. The presence of Hellenistic individual tombs in the areas near the chamber tombs of archaic age is normally related to the later reuse of the tombs. The tombs located along sepulchral streets II, V and VII,[33] XI, XII, XIII,[34] and those in front of tombs 155–173, which run along the southern stretch of the Via Sepolcrale Principale,[35] exemplify this distribution pattern. Along street VII, for example, infant tombs 108 and 109 and adult tomb 111 correspond to the two main phases of tomb 110, which was built in the sixth century and reused at the end of the fourth century BC;[36] those in front of tombs 155–173, of type G Thiermann, all date back to a late phase.[37]

The distribution of individual tombs placed around tumuli dating back to the Orientalizing period seems to be less regular and randomly grouped; however, a closer analysis shows that these tombs are also mostly related to new chamber tombs, placed between tumuli, or to reused chambers covered by the tumuli themselves.[38]

Fossa and pit tombs were often placed into the very quarry trenches that had been created by the earthworks, aimed at inserting new tombs among the Orientalizing tumuli; moreover, this placement also seems to have been aimed at rearranging the resulting new burial landscape. The scenic impact of this new arrangement must have been considerable, if we keep in mind that several tombs were visible and marked by cippi.[39]

32 Thiermann, “Cerveteri nach dem 5. Jh. v. Chr.”: 197.
33 Ricci, “Caere”: pls. II. VII.
34 Ricci, “Caere”: pl. XI; Thiermann, “Cerveteri nach dem 5. Jh. v. Chr.”: 196–98, fig. 4–6.
35 Ricci, “Caere”: pl. VIII.
36 Ricci, “Caere”: 541–42.
37 Thiermann, “Cerveteri nach dem 5. Jh. v. Chr.”: fig. 8.
38 A similar distribution was observed for the inscribed cippus: Benelli and Ciuccarelli, “I cippi di Cerveteri”: 153.
39 Cippi have been reported for 50% of cremations; they are rarer in fossa graves. It has never been possible to establish a correspondence between the cippi cited by Ricci and the typology of Markus Blumhofer, *Etruskische Cippi: Untersuchungen am Beispiel von Cerveteri* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993).

Take, for example, the area between Via Sepolcrale Principale and Via dei Tumuli della Cornice (via IX) (Fig. 2): four semi-constructed chamber tombs[40] (176, 177, 181, 182), arranged at regular intervals and with the same orientation, have allowed for the identification of another residual area of the early arrangement of the funerary space (dating back to the Orientalizing period), similar to the one at Laghetto, and now Monte Abatone.[41] In the sixth century, massive earthworks were carried out in the area, creating a clearing (via VIII) overlooked by *caditoia*-type tombs, which were later reused in the Hellenistic period. At the same time, a tomb of the *caditoia* type, tomb 180, fits partially below the *dromos* of tomb 181, located on the side of Via Sepolcrale Principale.[42] In both areas, we can find numerous individual tombs dating back to both the Late Archaic and Hellenistic ages; they are placed at the entrances of the new underground chambers and in the cut-out trenches, which deformed the circumference of tumuli XVII A and XIX (Fig. 3). In the first half of the fifth century BC, loculus tomb 194, one of the richest incinerations in the Vecchio Recinto della Banditaccia, was placed in a dominant position – at the top of the ladder, leaning against the west side of tumulus XVII; by the end of the following century, tomb 186, the most notable of all the infant tombs, was leaning against the base of the same tumulus.[43] Similar situations can also be found in other areas of the Recinto; however, the chronological correlation with the nearest chamber tombs is not always linear. Sometimes, late-phase tombs are set against Orientalizing tumuli, but it does not seem possible to relate them to coeval burials, at least apparently. For example, tombs 247–252, which lean against tumulus *dei Due Ingressi* (XXII) to the SE (Fig. 2), are to be dated back to a late phase (when dating is possible). The late-period tombs located between the two tumuli *della Cornice* (Fig. 2) also do not correspond to Hellenistic chamber tombs, unless the copious fourth-century materials found in tomb 236 of tumulus II are related to the tomb's actual reuse for funerary purposes and not to the action of illegal grave robbers, as claimed in *Monumenti Antichi*.[44]

Several other similar cases could be cited, both within the Recinto itself and in areas outside of it. In the *Onde Marine* sector, for example, individual tombs are often chronologically compatible with the tumuli on which they are leaning.[45] However, in some cases, Hellenistic tombs have been dug into the ditches of the tumuli: indeed, it has been documented that some of the latter were reused in the fourth century B.C.[46]

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40 Ricci, "Caere": 642 ss. pl. X. Tombs 176 and 177 were reused until the beginning of the 6th century BC.

41 See footnote 20.

42 Ricci, "Caere": 647.

43 Micozzi "I bambini perduti": 410.

44 Ricci, "Caere": 718 ff. fig. 161–63.

45 Massimo Pallottino, ed., "Caere, necropoli della Banditaccia: scavo eseguito a cura dell'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Roma," *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (1955): 95–97; M. Gilda Benedettini et al., "La necropoli della Banditaccia: rapporto preliminare su un nuovo quartiere funerario sull'altipiano delle Onde Marine," in *Caere orientalizzante: nuove ricerche su città e necropoli*, ed. Alessandro Naso and Massimo Botto, Studia Caeretana 1 (Rome: CNR Edizioni, 2018): 117, fig. 7.

46 Benedettini et al., "La necropoli della Banditaccia": 112, no. 12; 114, 119.

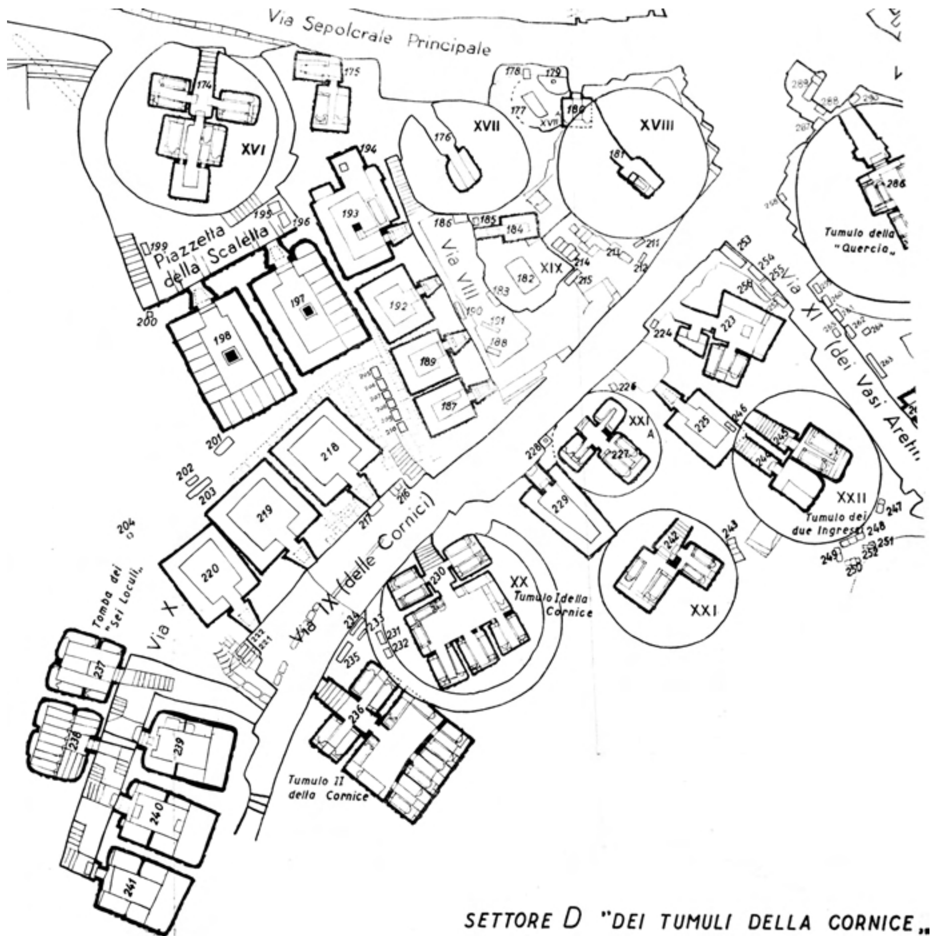

Fig. 2: Cerveteri, Banditaccia, Vecchio Recinto, settore D “dei Tumuli della Cornice”.

At Monte Abatone, the less crowded area allows for a clear view – and thus an understanding – of the various phases, which, in a multi-layered necropolis like Banditaccia, contrarily form a complex system that has yet to be interpreted. Here, too, the cube-shaped, E Prayon-type tombs 659 and 660 (which, at the end of the sixth century, were lined up in a scenic position next to the Campana tumulus) feature infant fossa tombs (661–664) that are regularly arranged on the terrace facing the tomb. Another infant fossa tomb (657) was found in the area facing tomb 656, which, at the end of the fourth century, was dug close to the Campana tumulus.[47] The situation now looks completely

47 Martin Bentz, “Tipologie tombali tra il ciglio del pianoro e il Tumulo Campana,” in *Caere* 7 (forthcoming).

Fig. 3: Cerveteri, Banditaccia, Vecchio Recinto, vie VIII and IX with tumuli XVII, XVIII, XIX and individual tombs 211, 212, 215.

different from what had been discovered during the Lerici Foundation's excavations, which, for reasons linked to the type of investigation performed, have only allowed to unearth two pit tombs and six fossa tombs.

Since we are not aware of the layout of the internal road system of the necropolis, we cannot verify whether individual tombs at Monte Abatone also tended to be arranged along the sepulchral streets,[48] as in Banditaccia, and form alignments that seem to mark the property boundaries of the burial areas.

Beginning in the Archaic period, at Banditaccia the areas pertaining to the tombs, which are no longer visibly delimited by the ditches of the tumuli, seem to have once been delimited by the numerous enclosure walls of the cube-shaped tombs, brought to light by Mengarelli. Some individual tombs lean against these walls, as shown by incinerations 205–209 (Fig. 2, 4), sandwiched between the enclosures of tombs 218–220 on one side, and tombs 187, 189, 192, and 193 on the other.[49] Similarly, tombs 384–385 are sandwiched between the enclosures of tombs 382 and 386 on Via dei Vasi Greci. The staircase between tombs 323 and 329 on Via delle Serpi, at the top of which we can find pit tomb 324,[50] seems to have had no specific function and has also been interpreted as a delimitation of property. The presence of individual tombs in the space

48 In addition to the alignment of tombs on sepulchral streets V and VII, which have already been mentioned, rows along street XI: "via dei Vasi Aretini", street XII: "via delle Serpi", and street XIII: "via dei Vasi Greci", have been found; they, too, are chronologically aligned to the phases of the chamber tombs located nearby.

49 Ricci, "Caere": pl. 10.

50 Ricci, "Caere": 882, 775, pl. 10.

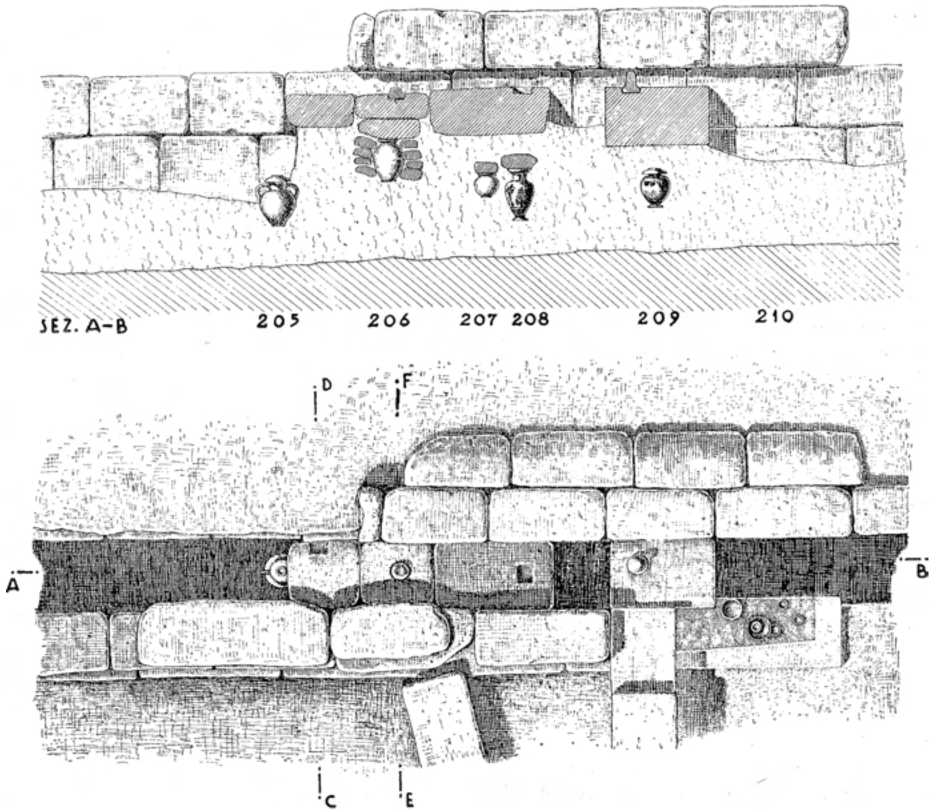

Fig. 4: Cerveteri, Banditaccia, Vecchio Recinto, individual tombs between the enclosures of tombs 187, 189 and 218–220.

behind the monumental tombs, sometimes in areas encompassing several groups of tombs which cannot be seen from the road, could also have played the same role.

The great care taken in defining the boundaries of the tomb areas and the tendency to fill them with "underground tombs" have also often been pointed out for the necropolis of Crocefisso del Tufo in Orvieto, which is often compared with Banditaccia in terms of space organization. In the case of Crocefisso del Tufo, "underground tombs" were certainly meant for members of the same *gentes* who were buried in the chamber tombs, according to the evidence provided by the epigraphy.[51]

51 Stopponi, "Note sulla topografia della necropoli": 75–77, 80–83.

5 The Grave Goods

As noted elsewhere,[52] the grave goods found in infant tombs are quite modest. Most include up to five objects, and only in very few cases artefacts clearly related to the social role and rank that the young deceased was expected to hold as an adult have been found. Since we are unable to distinguish the grave goods of children buried inside chamber tombs,[53] we do not know whether all child burials were as modest or only the external ones. In all ages, however, there are exceptions. Tomb 76, for example, dates back to the early seventh century BC,[54] or the aforementioned tomb 186, which dates back to the fourth century BC; both stand out among coeval burials for the quality of their materials, including imported ones.

Adult burials were also quite modest. Out of 76 fossa tombs whose length exceeds 150 centimetres, 27 contain up to 5 objects, and only 4 contain more than 20 (Tab. 1). There is a marked difference between the Orientalizing fossa tombs, which are relatively well-stocked with furnishings and frequently contain indicators of the deceased person's gender, and those dating back to the end of the sixth century BC onward. Again, there are exceptions: the archaic fossa 281 includes East Greek and Attic pottery besides amber and glass beads; loculus 306 and *cappuccina* tomb 356, both dating back to the end of the fourth century BC., include in addition to the more common achromatic and black-painted vessels also imported pottery, Etruscan red-figure and overpainted vessels. In the loculus tomb, both a man and a woman were buried (and maybe a child, as the presence of a feeding bottle seems to indicate); the other is a rare case of a double-ritual tomb, including both cremation and inhumation,[55] since it also contained a cinerary (defined by Ricci as tomb 357) placed in a gap of the tile coverage.

It should not be forgotten, however, that most of the tombs have been tampered with by illegal grave robbers; therefore, we do not know for certain whether the tombs originally contained a larger number of mid/high-level grave goods.

As for incineration tombs, there are other considerations to be made. Here, even if a set of grave goods usually consists of a small amount of objects, the quality of the cineraria – both Attic (11) and Etruscan, black-figure (7)[56] and bucchero (2) – would indicate good-level standards, an impression often reinforced by the presence of other valuable materials (Tab 2). The only bronze vessels found in the outer tombs were discovered in pit tombs (20, 123, 137, 194, 276, 324, 357); in tomb 194, bronze studs and the feet of what might have been burned furniture (a kline or diphros?) or utensils (a kottabos?)[57] were

52 Micozzi "I bambini perduti": 410–12.

53 Micozzi "I bambini perduti": 409–10.

54 Ricci "Caere": 494–97. The tomb contains one of the rare Vogelperlen known from Cerveteri (Rizzo, "La necropoli del Laghetto": 72).

55 Cavagnaro Vanoni, "Tarquinia": tomb 6079.

56 Palmieri, "Vasi-cinerario etruschi a figure nere."

57 Some bronze studs have also been found in tomb 7.

found. As in Tarquinia, the preferred shape for the cinerarium was the amphora, which was used for both men and women. A total of eight Attic (plus some imitations) and seven Etruscan amphora-shaped cineraria have been found.

Incineration tombs 194 and 276 seem to be particularly noteworthy. In the first tomb, the cinerary consists of a red-figure amphora made by the Flying Angel Painter;[58] the other comprises an Etruscan-Corinthian crater by the Rosoni Painter.[59] Both have been inserted in wall niches, that provide room for a copious amount of grave goods, including imported ones.

6 Conclusion

As this review comes to an end, the data allowing for the formulation of a synthesis, albeit tentative, are neither numerous nor conclusive. Chronological analysis has shown that the habit of burying single individuals outside monumental tombs began with the advent of chamber tombs themselves and continued until at least the third or the second century BC. No grave goods seem to be later, except for those found in tomb 168, the only one with thin-walled pottery. The related evidence can mainly be placed between the late sixth century and the first half of the fifth century BC, and then at the end of the fourth century BC or the beginning of the third century BC: both these moments were turning points in Caere's political and social history. The former was closely connected with the supposed end of tyranny and the transition to different forms of government, while the latter was crucial in defining the still ambiguous relationship with Rome.[60] In both cases, new forms of social organization emerged, involving new stakeholders on the scene[61] and bringing about innovative solutions in both the settlements and the necropolis, which profoundly changed the aspect of the Banditaccia and contributed to the design of its road network.[62]

The outer tombs are usually topographically related to coeval chamber tombs, or to ones with coeval phases of use. Next to the monumental tomb we can find both fossa and

58 ARV^2: 280, n. 13.

59 János G. Szilagy, *Ceramica etrusco-corinzia figurata*, vol. 2 (Florence: Olschki, 1993): 335, 5 bis; Palmieri, "Vasi-cinerario etruschi a figure nere": 86–87.

60 Vincenzo Bellelli, "La città arcaica," in *Gli Etruschi e il Mediterraneo* (Rome: Somogy, 2014): 142–48.

61 According to Torelli, "Intorno ai servi d'Etruria": 299–300, the period between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century BC allegedly saw the affirmation of the *servitus* as a consequence of the conquest of new territories. According to Thiermann, "Cerveteri nach dem 5. Jh. v. Chr.", in the mid-fourth century BC, funerary facilities started to include a sort of "two-class" system for the first time in the history of the Banditaccia necropolis.

62 For a more recent work, see Alessandro Naso, "Opere funerarie di committenza privata e pubblica in Etruria meridionale nel VII–VI sec. a.C.," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 21 (2014): 468.

incineration tombs. As in Orvieto, they were probably meant for members of the same family group who had been buried outside the family tomb but within its pertaining boundaries.

In each age, the selection has involved a few individuals, mostly children – a category for which, in many areas of the ancient Mediterranean world, there was a known tendency to resort to forms of burial that were distinct from those meant for adults. In Cerveteri, this tendency seems to concern mainly children under three or five years old; however, it does not seem possible to establish the criteria that regulated the choice based on available data. With regard to Orvieto, Simonetta Stopponi has suggested that the selection criteria may have involved being the firstborn[63] or not, a hypothesis certainly applicable to Cerveteri as well but not verifiable in archaeological terms.

For all age groups and rituals, it is possible to identify tombs containing rich grave goods, whose amount and material quality were probably not inferior to those of the deceased buried in chamber tombs. Therefore, it cannot be stated that outer burials are always poorer than the inner ones. In addition, some types of burials, especially infant sarcophagi and incinerations in lithic cases, were quite expensive and seem to point at a special concern for the preservation of the remains. Christian Briesack's recent in-depth analysis of the Orvieto necropolis confirmed the existence of a rather negligible difference between the two types of burials, thus ruling out the hypothesis of a choice dictated by the deceased person's wealth.[64] The same conclusion was reached for Tarquinia.[65]

Although this phenomenon appears to have been especially significant in Cerveteri, the number of individual tombs is not such that they can fully represent any of the categories normally forming the social body, in particular those considered to explain the said phenomenon. Certainly, individual tombs were not meant for all children under the age of three, and hardly for all young people who died before marriage; as for foreigners, we know too little about the rules that regulated the granting of citizenship in Etruscan cities, but everything we know points to a scenario based more on inclusion than marginalization, especially at the upper levels of society and in all periods.[66]

Ultimately, none of the suggested hypotheses fully coincides with a category of people; they all imply the carrying out of further internal selection, dictated by ritual norms which will never be clear to us. Clearly, the categories applied so far, all of which are plausible, do not lead to an unambiguous conclusion. They all share the

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63 Stopponi, "Note sulla topografia della necropoli": 80.

64 Christian Briesack, "Grab und Gesellschaft im archaischen Orvieto (Etrurien): Eine Untersuchung verschiedener Grabformen," in *Wealthy and Healthy? Methodological Approaches to Non-Élite Burials*, ed. Ute Kelp and Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen (Heidelberg: Propylaeum, 2022): 33–51. Stopponi expressed the same opinion in "Note sulla topografia della necropoli": 79.

65 Maria Cataldi, "Sulle 'tombe a buca' di Tarquinia," in *Dinamiche di sviluppo delle città nell'Etruria meridionale: Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci: Atti del XXIII. Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici* (Pisa: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 2001): 376.

66 For more information on the Greeks, see Jean Hadas-Lebel, "Essere greco in Etruria," in *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2016*, ed. Luciana Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018): 370–81.

more or less pronounced belief that being buried outside was seen as a *diminutio* for those who were subjected to it, a form of discrimination reserved for people who, at the time of death, were not entitled to admission inside the family tomb, albeit due to transient reasons such as age.

If we try to set aside this point of view and consider the outer tombs as a way of using the funerary space that was different from yet equal to being buried in chamber tombs, a new, broader perspective opens up. The fact that the greatest concentration of individual tombs occurred during periods of intense renewal of the architectural layout of the necropolis suggests motives other than systematic discrimination against a category of people. During these periods, it became necessary to define the boundaries between the new tombs, which were no longer isolated by ditches, as well as those between new tombs and old properties, which, in some cases, were still being used (or re-used). Defining the boundaries was also required for the shared areas of the new roads, which had been dug into the area already used for the tumuli. The allocated plots[67] were populated with burials that allowed for a visual representation of their size, and in some cases, they may have been forms of compensation for the damage caused to old burial tumuli, whose burial chambers were usually preserved.

This explanation does not solve the problem of determining the identity of the deceased chosen for such burials, nor does it clear the doubts regarding the alternating rituals. However, it eliminates the need to assume a generalized ideological choice having been made for a specific category of people and instead opens up the likelihood of individuals being selected based, among other reasons, on contingent motives. The possibility of diversified choices was also taken into consideration for other centres. For Tarquinia, Palmieri had to formulate different hypotheses for rich and modest incinerations;[68] for Orvieto, Stopponi[69] also hypothesized that choice was based, among other factors, on random events such as the death of somebody before the construction of the family tomb or after its saturation.

We probably have to accept the idea that reality was not subject to such strict rules, or that the rules were different from what we would expect: perhaps, there was a margin left for specific cases and a diversity of orientations among different families. It should not be taken for granted, for example, that adult inhumation was chosen according to the same criteria regulating incineration. It is a very diverse case history, which will inevitably remain mostly unclear for us.

67 For the hypothesis on tombs constructed and assigned according to a centralized system, see Naso, “Opere funerarie”: 467–68.

68 Palmieri, “Vasi-cinerario etruschi a figure nere.”

69 Stopponi, “Note sulla topografia della necropoli”: 77–78.

Tab. 1: Cerveteri, Banditaccia, Vecchio Recinto, inhumation tombs exceeding 120 cm.

Tomb	Type	M F	Size	Grave goods		Cippus	Date (century BC)	Ricci 1955,
				N.	Description			
Settore A "dei Grandi Tumuli"								**Tab. II**
4	Cassone		165 x 43		Terracotta bowl		Late (?)	229
5	Fossa		210 x 57	11	Coarse and black-glazed pottery; bronze fragments		Late	229–230
6	Fossa		230 x 107	0				230
13	Fossa			0				361
Settore B "del Tumulo dei Capitelli"								**Tab. VII**
51	Fossa		185 x 70	0				445
64	Fossa		180 x 50	12	Genucilia plates; Etruscan overpainted and black-glazed vases; coarse pottery		4	473–474
67	Fossa with loculus	F	270 x 130	70 +	Gold and amber jewellery		8	479–480
68	Fossa		150 x 41	0			8 (?)	480–481
69	Fossa	F	141 x 82	9	Brown impasto, Italo-Geometric and Proto-Corinthian-type pottery; bronze fibula; bronze distaff; spindle whorl		8–7	481
71	Fossa	F	160 x 80	20	Brown and red impasto; Italo-Geometric pottery; Proto-Corinthian aryballos bucchero kylikes; spool		7	482–484
72	Fossa			0				484
73	Fossa		143 x 52	0				484

(continued)

Tab. 1 (continued)

Tomb	Type	M F	Size	Grave goods		Cippus	Date (century BC)	Ricci 1955,
				N.	Description			
74	Fossa and sarcophagus		215 x 115	0				484
85	Fossa	F	172 x 87	26	Brown and red impasto vases; Italo-Geometric pottery; bronze and iron fibulae; spindle whorl		1st half 7	509–510
86	Fossa		175 x 67	7	Brown impasto vases; Italo-Geometric pottery; Corinthian alabastron, Etrusco-Corinthian aryballos		1st half 6	511
87	Fossa	F	Grande	2	2 impasto spools		7	511
89	Fossa	F	163 x 45	7	Bronze fibulae and rings		1st half 7	513
90	Fossa	F	206 x 72	8	Bronze fibulae and rings		1st half 7	514
91	Fossa		170 x 48	1	Brown impasto kyathos		1st half 7	514–515
93	Fossa	F	230 x 80	11	Brown impasto; bronze fibulae; silver brackets; impasto spindle whorl		1st half 7	515
95	Fossa	F	160 x 85	6	Bucchero vases and spindle whorl; bronze fibulae		7	516
101	Cassa		223 x 54	0				
107	Fossa		160 x 45	0			4 (?)	539
111	Fossa		210 x 87	9	Black-glazed and coarse pottery		4–3	542–543
112	Fossa			0				543

Settore C del "Tumulo della Tavola"								Tab. VII
135	Fossa		187 x 54	1	Terracotta *poculum*			577
136	Fossa		129 x 39	0				677
139 140	Fossa Cappuccina		163 x 49	3 0	Black-figure Attic olpe; impasto oinochoe; bucchero cup			579
159	Fossa		174 x 38	0				613
168	Tile tomb			2	*Pareti sottili* bowl; terracotta lagynos		2–1	620–621
173A	Fossa		197 x 52	0				636
Settore D "dei Tumuli della Cornice"								**Tab. X**
178	Fossa		tagliata	0				645
201	Cassa		177 x 56	16	Attic glaux; black-glazed vases; coarse pottery		2nd half 5	677–678
202	Tile tomb		158 x 60	6	Black-glazed and coarse pottery		4	679
214	Fossa	M		0		Ogival		689
221	Cassa		183 x 50	4	Arrowhead in flint; terracotta jug and dishes			694
222	Cassa		174 x 51	3	Terracotta jug and bowls			694
234	Fossa		178 x 46	0				711
235	Fossa		178 x 47	3	Black-glazed vases; coarse bowl		4–3	712
243	Cassone		167 x 97	0				733
246	Fossa		200 x 52	0				735–736
247	Fossa		170 x 47	16	Genucilia plates; black-glazed and coarse pottery		4/3	737–738

(continued)

Tab. 1 (continued)

Tomb	Type	M F	Size	Grave goods		Cippus	Date (century BC)	Ricci 1955,
				N.	Description			
248	Fossa		166 x 40	9	Red-figure Etruscan oinochoai; black-glazed bowls and dishes		4–3	738
253	Fossa		170 x 40	5	Bronze mirros; 2 black-glazed oinochoai, bowls		4–3	741
Settore E "del Tumulo della Quercia"								**Tab. XI**
263	Fossa and cassa		179 x 43	13	Genucilia plate; overpainted oinochoai; black-glazed kylikes and bowls		4	744
268	Fossa		186 x 49	0				753
269	Fossa			0				753
270	Fossa		165 x 50	0				753
274	Fossa		184 x 44	12	Black-glazed vases		4–3	754
275	Fossa			0				c. 755
277	Fossa and cassa		150 x 40	1	Bucchero oinochoe		6	756–757
280	Fossa	F	196 x 50	6	Bucchero vases; Etrusco-Corinthian alabastron; 2 spindle whorls	Cylindrical	6	759–760
281	Fossa	F	180 x 44	18	Bucchero vases; Etrusco-Corinthian aryballos; 2 lydia; Samian lekythos; black-figure Attic kylix; amber and glass beads; 1 glass paste scarab; 2 impasto spindle whorls		6	760 ff.
282	Fossa		138 x 40	1	Bucchero kylix		6	762

283	Fossa and cassa		200 x 52	0				762
284	Cassa		200 x 66	3	Red impasto olla; Etrusco-Corinthian bowl; bucchero skyphos		6	763
289	Fossa		195 x 48	2	Coarse jug; black-glaze bowl		4–3	**774 ff.**
VIA DELLE SERPI								
293	Fossa		177 x 48	11	Genucilia plate; black-glazed oinochoai and bowls; aes rude		4–3	781–781
306	Loculus (2 skeletons)	M F	200 x 80	33	Genucilia plates; overpainted and black-glazes vases; coarse ware vases; black-glazed feeding bottle; embossed bronze sheet; bronze ring; aes rude		4–3	791ff.
312	Fossa		172 x 45	0				804
VIA SEPOLCRALE PRINCIPALE FROM VIA XII (DELLE SERPI) TO VIA XIII (DEI VASI GRECI) S								**816 ff.**
337	Cassa		223 x 42	8	Black and red-glazed vases	House-shaped	4–3	823
338	Cassa		132 x 39	0				823
339	Cassa		180 x 34	8	Genucilia plates, black glazed jug and bowls		4–3	823
340	Fossa		134 x 58	5	Genucilia plate; black-glazed oinochoe and bowls	Column-shaped	4–3	824
341	Cappuccina		175 x 85	3	Coarse ware miniature jugs and bowl			824–825
342	Loculus		218 x 35	0		Column-shaped		825–826
VIA XIII “DEI VASI GRECI”								
352	Cappuccina		162	11	Black-glazed and coarse pottery; aes rude, bronze fibula	Column-shaped (?)	4–3	

(continued)

Tab. 1 (continued)

TOMB	TYPE	M F	SIZE	GRAVE GOODS		CIPPUS	Date (century BC)	RICCI 1955,
				N.	DESCRIPTION			
356	Cappuccina		193 x 42	17	Red-figure Etruscan vases; Genucilia plates; overpainted (Phantom Group and Gnathia-type) vases; black-glazed vases (bowl with overpainted inscription); net-lekythos		4–3	844 ff., fig. 191
358	Cappuccina		212 x 53	10	Etruscan red-figure vases; Genucilia plates; overpainted (Phantom Group) vases; black-glazed vases; coarse ware		4–3	847
360	Fossa		170 x 42	1	Terracotta bowl			848
377	Cassone	M?	220 x 90	1	Aes rude			867 (“male skeleton”)
385	Fossa		189 x 59	11	Black-grazed bowl with overpainted inscription; coarse ware vases		4–3	882–883
387	Fossa		169 x 64	2	Terracotta bowl; aes rude,			884–885
388	Cappuccina		263 x 52	0				885
389	Cassa	F	167 x 50	11	Spindle whorl	House-shaped (?)		885–886
390	Fossa			1	Terracotta jug			886
391	Fossa		152 x 29	1	Black-glazed jug		4–3	886
392	Fossa		170 x 53	22	Genucilia plates; overpainted vases; black-glazed vases; coarse ware; aes rude		4–3	886–887
393	Fossa		174 x 72	9	Genucilia plates; black-glazed vases		4–3	887
394	Fossa		175 x 41	2	Black-glazed bowls		4–3	888

395	Fossa		181 x 45	3	Black-glazed bowls		4–3	888
396	Fossa		184 x 42	3	Black-glazed bowl; aes rude		4–3	888
398	Fossa		186 x 60	3	Attic black-glazed kylix; terracotta oinochoai		5–4	889
Settore G "della Tomba di Munise" – La "Piazzetta Incassata" e le sue tombe								**Fig. 230, tab. XV**
429	Fossa			2	Coarse ware jugs			1008
436	Fossa			0				1033
437	Cassa		186 x 62	5	Attic black-figure cup; terracotta vases (olla, oinochoe form VII Beazley; jug)		5–4 (?)	1033
438	Cassa and fossa		200 x 55	4	Black-glazed kylix; bronze ring; terracotta spool			1033–1034
439	Cassa	F		8	Black-figure Attic lekythos; bucchero bowls; aes rude	House-shaped	6–5	1034–1035
440	Fossa			4	Bronze mirror; coarse ware			1035

Tab. 2: Cerveteri, Banditaccia, Vecchio Recinto, cremation tombs.

Tomb	Pit type	M/F	Grave goods		Cippus	Date (century BC)	Ricci 1955
			N.	Description			
Settore A "dei Grandi Tumuli"							**Tab. II**
7	Rock-cut		4	Cinerary urn: "ossuario di rozza terracotta scura". 3 bronze studs; aes rude			231–232
17	Block case	M	2	Cinerary urn: terracotta amphora with lid	Column-shaped		364
18	Block case	M	0		Conical		304–305
19	Block case			Cinerary urn: amphora with palmettes (Attic?); lid		6–5	365 fig. 19
20	Block case (the same as 21)		5	Cinerary urn: red-figure Attic pelike; bronze vases; gold ring; bone vase; bird bones		5	366–367
21	Block case (the same as 20)	M	0		Column-shaped	5	366–367
37	Block case	M	0		Column-shaped	Late (?)	426
39	Block case		0			Late (?)	427
Settore B "del Tumulo dei Capitelli"							**Tab. VII**
62	Block case	M	0		Column-shaped	Late (?)	469
97	Block case		0			6–5 (?)	518
122	Block case	M	2	Cinerary urn: black-figure Attic amphora with lid; bronze fragments	Column-shaped	6–5	562 ff. fig. 131

123	Cinerary urn only?	F	25 +	Cinerary urn: bucchero krater (?) with lid; Attic lekythoi; bronze vase; bronze ring; glass beds; spindle whorl		6–5	562 s.
129	Block case		1	Cinerary urn: Attic black-figure krater		6–5	567
130A	Block case	M	2	Cinerary urn: Attic black-figure amphora; lid	"a calotta"	6–5	567
Settore C "Tumulo della Tavola"							**Tab. VIII**
137	Rock-cut	M	7 +	Cinerary urn: Attic black-figure amphora; bronze vessels; weapons (spear, sword, shield? belt?)	Column-shaped	6–5	577–578
160	Block case		0			Late (?)	613
Settore D "dei Tumuli della Cornice"							**Tab. X**
179	Cinerary urn only	F	7	Cinerary urn: Attic black-figure amphora; Attic vases; bone studs and plaques; bronze mirror	House-shaped	6–5	645 ff.
194	Loculus tomb		20 +	Cinerary urn: Attic red-figure amphora with lid, Attic black-glaze kylix; Greek and Etruscan vases; bronze vases; bronze studs and feet; aes rude; glass paste scarab		1st half 5	670 ff. fig. 152A
204 A	Uncertain		6	Cinerary urn: Attic imitation amphora, Attic glaux; terracotta jug; aes rude		6–5	683–684
205	Urn found between two walls	F	3	Cinerary urn: terracotta amphora with lid; aes rude	House-shaped		684
206	Urn found between two walls		5	Cinerary urn: red impasto olla; plate; iron nails; aes rude	Pebble (?)		684
207	Urn found between two walls	F	1	Cinerary urn: red impasto olla			684
208	Urn found between two walls		1	Cinerary urn: Etruscan black-figure amphora		6–5	684–685 Palmieri 4

(continued)

Tab. 2 (continued)

Tomb	Pit type	M/F	Grave goods		Cippus	Date (century BC)	Ricci 1955
			N.	Description			
209	Urn found between two walls	M	2	Cinerary urn: Etruscan black-figure stamnos with lid	Column-shaped	6–5	685 Palmieri 5
228	Rock-cut	F	5	Cinerary urn: terracotta amphora with adult bones; Genucilia plate; achromatic bowls	House-shaped	4–3	701
251	Rock-cut		1	Cinerary urn: terracotta olla			739
Settore E "del Tumulo della Quercia"							**Tab. XI**
276	Loculus tomb	F	18	Cinerary urn: Etrusco-Corinthian krater; bucchero (amphora, oinochoe, kantharos, lid), Attic black-figure (2 amphorae, 1 olpe, 2 skyphoi) and impasto vases; bronze ring; iron rods (fragments); spindle whorl		6	755–756
278	Block case	F	1	Cinerary urn: terracotta amphora *di forma goffa*	House-shaped		757–758
279	Rock-cut	F	2	Cinerary urn: Bucchero amphora with lid	House-shaped	6 (?)	758–759
316	Uncertain		0				805
322	Block case		0				805
324	Rock-cut	F	4	Cinerary urn: Attic imitation amphora with lid; bronze fire poker; bronze fragments	House-shaped	6–5	806
348	Block case	M	1	Cinerary urn: Etruscan black-figure amphora	Cilinder-conical	6–5	837 fig. 188

349	Block case	M	4	Cinerary urn: Etruscan black-figure amphora; black-figure Attic lekythos; aes rude	“a obice”	6–5	838–839 fig. 189
353	Urn directly in the earth		3	Cinerary urn: Etruscan black-figure amphora with lid; aes rude		6–5	841–842 fig. 190
354	Urn directly in the earth		2	Cinerary urn: black-figure Etruscan amphora; red impasto olla (fragment)		6–5	843
357	Cinerary urn in tomb 356		2	Cinerary urn: terracotta amphora; bronze vase (fragments)		6–5	847
362	Rock-cut	M	1	Cinerary urn: coarse terracotta amphora	Conical	6–5	850
363	Rock-cut	M	2	Cinerary urn: coarse terracotta amphora; bucchero plate	Ogival	6–5	850
366	Block case	F	1	Cinerary urn: black-figure Attic amphora	House-shaped	6–5	853
378	Urn in the earth		1	Cinerary urn: coarse terracotta olla			875
399	Block case		0				889–890
Settore G “della Tomba di Munise”							Tab. XV
417	Rock-cut	M	1	Cinerary urn: Attic red-figure pelike	Column-shaped	6–5	948
431	Block case	d. 27	2	Cinerary urn: coarse terracotta amphora; lid; spear			1017–1018 fig. 258

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Claudio Negrini

Ultimus inter pares. Inequality within the Italic Communities in Romagna (Italy) between the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BC

Abstract: *Questo lavoro indaga le disuguaglianze all'interno delle comunità cosiddette "umbro-romagnole", attraverso il confronto tra le fonti antropologiche e quelle archeologiche. L'analisi si concentrerà sulla rappresentazione simbolica del defunto, ovvero il complesso sistema comunicativo di auto-rappresentazione utilizzato dalle società antiche durante il rituale funebre, per sottolineare proprio le disuguaglianze esistenti e riaffermare, in questo modo, i rapporti di potere. Le sepolture delle due principali necropoli "umbro-romagnole" di Montericco di Imola (BO) e di San Martino in Gattara (RA) evidenziano come, tra il VI secolo a.C. ed il V secolo a.C., venisse esaltata l'identità guerriera dei maschi adulti in età per combattere, mettendo in secondo piano tutto il resto. Sia le tombe femminili che, soprattutto, quelle infantili si presentano infatti più povere e prive di markers di rango. Per questo motivo, a partire dallo studio delle deposizioni che sono state antropologicamente attribuite a individui pre-adulti, questo lavoro si concentra in particolare sulle sepolture dei bambini che, sotto l'aspetto della rappresentazione simbolica del defunto, sembrano relegati ai margini della comunità, data l'estrema povertà dei loro corredi funerari.*

The lack of ancient literary sources and inscriptions makes it very difficult to investigate inequality within the communities of the pre-Roman Italic peoples of Romagna. In order to understand the social structure of the so-called 'Umbrians' of Romagna and gain insights into possible inequalities within the group hierarchy, research must rely on archaeological remains. Since settlements and sanctuaries yield only a limited amount of data, the main sources chosen for this study are the two main necropoleis of the 'Umbrians' of Romagna found at Imola-Montericco[1] and San Martino in Gattara.[2] On the basis of the strong correlation between ancient society and necropoleis, and through the comparison of archaeological and anthropological data, this study aims at

1 Patrizia von Eles, "Imola, via Montericco: Necropoli," in *La Romagna tra VI e IV secolo a.C.: La necropoli di Montericco e la protostoria romagnola*, ed. Patrizia von Eles (Imola: Santerno Edizioni, 1981): 25–141.

2 Maria Giovanna Bermond Montanari, "Elementi sabini in Romagna," in *Identità e civiltà dei Sabini*, ed. Guglielmo Maetzke (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1996): 375–79; Maria Giovanna Bermond Montanari, "Nuovi dati sulla cronologia della necropoli di San Martino in Gattara (RA)," in *XLIII Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, ed. Raffaella Farioli Campanati (Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 1998): 75–84.

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understanding the hierarchical social structure that was behind the organisation of the necropoleis and identifying the less prominent categories. It analyses the arrangement of the tombs in the burial grounds, the composition of the grave goods and, above all, it focuses on the symbolic representation of the deceased – that is, the funerary practices employed by an ancient population to restore an image of itself, through which the roles and hierarchies existing within the social group were stressed and reaffirmed.[3]

Evidence from the 'Umbrian' necropoleis in Romagna shows that gender and, above all, age were the main discriminators, with pre-adult individuals and children strongly marginalised within the cemetery as compared to adults. However, considering that child burials in pre-Roman Italy were susceptible to strong ideological and ritual conditioning,[4] the marginalisation that can now be observed in the necropoleis is largely attributable to ideological and religious reasons.[5] The exclusion and/or marginalisation within the necropoleis indicates on the whole that certain groups of individuals were not considered full members of the community.

From a historical point of view, the 'Umbrians' of Romagna are an Italic population that settled in the upper Tiber valley at the end of the seventh century BC.[6] They occupied a large part of inland Romagna, from the Apennine Mountains down to the plain, inhabiting a territory surrounded by Etruscans. This population, defined by scholars as 'Umbrian' on the basis of later historical sources,[7] is characterised as being an Italic enclave within Padanian Etruria (Fig. 1).[8]

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3 Mariassunta Cuozzo, "Rappresentazione e interpretazione: obiettivi e prospettive nella lettura delle necropoli," in *L'écriture et l'espace de la mort: Épigraphie et nécropoles à l'époque préromaine*, ed. Marie-Laurence Haack (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2016): 36–42; Katharina Rebay-Salisbury, *The Human Body in Early Iron Age Central Europe: Burial Practices and Images of the Hallstatt World* (London: Routledge, 2016): 14–21.

4 This aspect is stressed, for example, in Jacopo Tabolli, ed., *From Invisible to Visible: New Methods and Data for the Archaeology of Infant and Child Burials in Pre-Roman Italy and Beyond* (Nicosia: Astrom Edition, 2018) and Elisabetta Govi, ed., *Birth: Archeologia dell'infanzia nell'Italia preromana* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2022).

5 Valentino Nizzo, "'Antenati bambini': Visibilità e invisibilità dell'infanzia nei sepolcreti dell'Italia tirrenica dalla prima età del Ferro all'Orientalizzante: dalla discriminazione funeraria alla costruzione dell'identità," in *Dalla nascita alla morte: antropologia e archeologia a confronto*, ed. Valentino Nizzo (Rome: E.S.S. Editorial Service System, 2011): 51–56.

6 Cristiano Iaia and Marco Pacciarelli, "Trebbio (Sansepolcro, AR): An Italic Settlement in the Borderland between Northern Etruria and Umbria," *Archeologia Classica* 72 (2021): 21–22; Claudio Negrini, "Dalla valle del Marecchia a San Martino in Gattara: Influenze etrusche ed alto-tiberine nelle produzioni ceramiche umbro-padane di VI sec. a.C.," in *Officine e artigianato ceramico nei siti dell'Appennino tosco-emiliano tra VII e IV sec. a.C.*, ed. Luca Cappuccini and Andrea Gaucci, Biblioteca di Studi Etruschi 66 (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 2022): 231–32.

7 Pseudo-Scylax, *per*. 16–18; Polybius 2.17–18; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 7.3; Livy 5.35.2 and Strabo 5.2.10. See Giovanni Colonna, "Ricerche sugli Etruschi e sugli Umbri a nord degli Appennini," *Studi Etruschi* 42 (1974): 11–19.

8 Luigi Malnati, "La Romagna tra VII e III secolo a.C.," in *Primi insediamenti sul Monte Titano: Scavi e Ricerche (1997–2004)*, ed. Gianluca Bottazzi and Paola Bigi (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2008):

Fig. 1: Map of Romagna and surrounding areas between the sixth and fourth centuries BC.

220–26; Petra Amann, *Die antiken Umbrer zwischen Tiber und Apennin unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Einflüsse aus Etrurien* (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2011): 71–76; Claudio Negrini, "Zwischen Umbrern, Etruskern und Kelten: Zur Frage des Identitätsgefühls vorrömischer Siedlungsgemeinschaften der Romagna (Italien)," in *16. Österreichischer Archäologentag in Wien*, ed. Günther Schörner and Katharina Meinecke (Vienna: Phoibos, 2018): 338–41. On pre-Roman Po Valley, see Giuseppe Sassatelli, "Gli Etruschi nella valle del Po: Riflessioni, problemi e prospettive di ricerca," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 15 (2008): 71–114; Alessandro Naso, "Etrusker an der Adria: Verucchio und seine externen Beziehungen," in *Gegenwart und Altertum: 125 Jahre Alte Geschichte in Innsbruck*, ed. Robert Rollinger et al., Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft N. F. 3 (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck, Bereich Sprachwissenschaft, 2011): 115–46; Andrea Gaucci, "Gli Etruschi dell'Adriatico dalla prima Età del ferro alla Romanizzazione," in *Salso mar: Ἁλμυρὸς Πόντος*, ed. Antonio Panaino and Paolo Ognibene (Sesto San Giovanni: Mimesis, 2017): 63–96; Lorenzo Zamboni, "The Urbanization of Northern Italy: Contextualizing Early Settlement Nucleation in the Po Valley," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 29, no. (2021): 387–430.

Such a peculiarity indicates a constant relationship with the Etruscans, from whom the 'Umbrians' of Romagna borrowed cultural models. They were a non-urbanised population that occupied the territory through a dense network of small settlements.[9] In terms of funerary arrangements, two different types of burial grounds are known. Alongside small burial groups, sometimes consisting of only one or two graves distributed throughout the territory and probably connected to small settlements, larger necropoleis have been accounted for between the second half of the sixth and the beginning of the fourth centuries BC. The necropoleis at Imola-Montericco (Fig. 2) and San Martino in Gattara (Fig. 3) in the upper Lamone valley are the better preserved ones, consisting of several dozen tombs grouped in funerary circles.[10] The deceased was inhumated and laid supine in a pit, while the grave goods were placed on the sides and at the feet of the body.[11] The arrangement of the burials in closed circles and side by side suggests that the necropolis was organised through the juxtaposition of groups, who were bound by some sort of bond – perhaps a family one – and shared a given circle. This layout is reminiscent of pre-urban models and is very different from those recorded in coeval Felsinean necropoleis, which instead reflect an urbanised society.[12] In the case of Imola-Montericco, no traces of settlements were found near the necropolis, suggesting that the cemetery was used by more than one community located in the environs.

The necropoleis show that male warriors played a central role in the society they pertained to. Male individuals are always characterised as warriors by the deposition of weapons. Javelins and spears are placed in the tomb in two different positions. Usually, one or more spears are placed next to the body with the spear heads next to the skull, highlighting the warrior role of the deceased. At the same time, a broken spear is typically placed next to the feet, carrying the symbolic value of the weapon that would accompany the owner in the afterlife. Grave goods also generally included pottery vessels, while burials of higher-rank individuals contained imported bronze vessels, rich defensive panoplies alongside tools for preparing and cooking meat (Fig. 4).[13]

9 Claudio Negrini, "L'età del Ferro," in *Archeologia nell'Appennino romagnolo: il territorio di Riolo Terme*, ed. Chiara Guarnieri (Imola: Bacchilega, 2007): 40–42; Luigi Malnati and Valerio Manfredi, *Gli Etruschi in Val Padana* (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 1991): 209–13; Negrini, "Zwischen Umbrern": 339–40.

10 Colonna, "Ricerche sugli Etruschi": 15; Malnati and Manfredi, *Gli Etruschi in Val Padana*: 210–12; Malnati, "Romagna tra VII e III": 224–25; Bermond Montanari, "Elementi sabini": 378–79; Monica Miari, "Nuovi rinvenimenti riguardo alla presenza umbra in Romagna," in *Gli Umbri in età preromana*, ed. Giovannangelo Camporeale (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra, 2014): 215–17.

11 Von Eles, "Imola": 25–29.

12 Giuseppe Sassatelli, "Topografia e 'sistemazione monumentale' delle necropoli felsinee," in *La Formazione della città preromana in Emilia-Romagna* (Bologna: Istituto per la Storia di Bologna, 1988): 197–259.

13 Claudio Negrini, "Weapons and the Symbolic Representation of Warriors in the Necropoleis of Romagna (Italy) between the 10th and the 5th Century BC," in *Ancient Weapons: New Research Perspectives on Weapons and Warfare*, ed. Giacomo Bardelli and Raimon Graells i Fabregat, RGZM – Tagungen 44 (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2021): 41–42.

Fig. 2: Necropolis of Montericco (Imola – province of Bologna/I) – General plan.

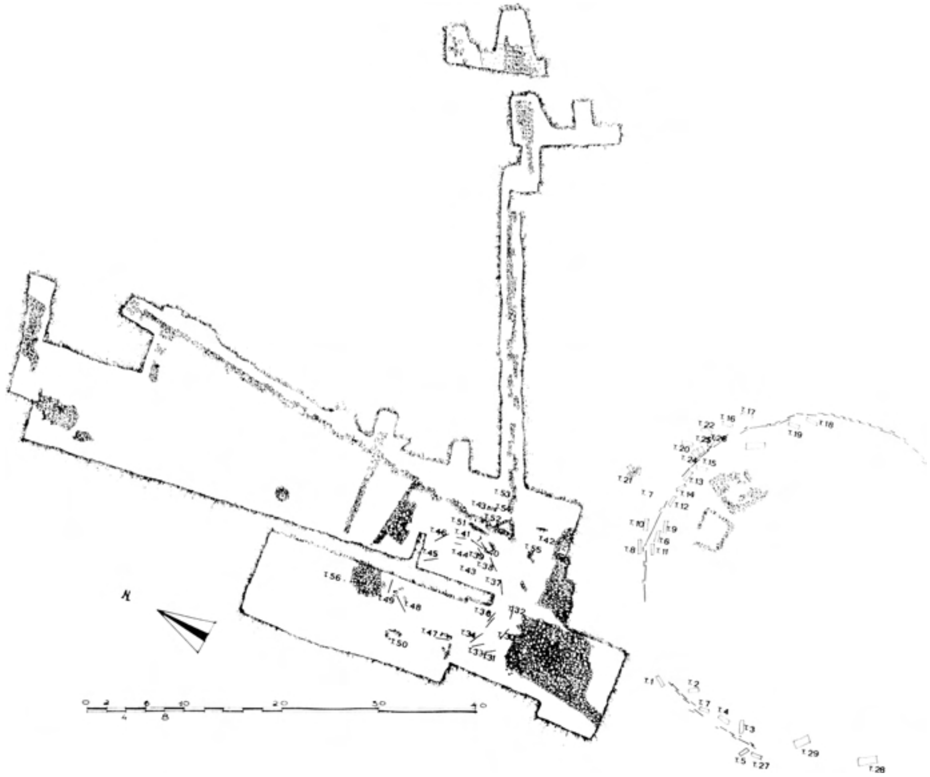

Fig. 3: Necropolis of San Martino in Gattara (Brisighella – province of Ravenna/I) – Plan of the funerary circle.

Female burials, on the other hand, despite containing rich ceramic sets, sometimes even richer than those found in men's graves, never include typical rank indicators such as tools for preparing meat, metal vessels nor imported Greek vases, which remain the exclusive prerogative of deceased males of higher rank. Female indicators, such as spinning and weaving tools, are not found as regularly as male markers, and they often do not accompany women in the grave.[14] Therefore, the symbolic representation of the dead and the funerary practices suggest that women had a subordinate status within the community. In fact, the status of women in Romagna appears to be very different from that recorded in Picenum, where extremely rich female tombs have been documented.[15]

14 Von Eles, "Imola": 26–29; Patrizia von Eles, "La ceramica buccheroide della Romagna: Prime considerazioni," in *Produzione artigianale ed esportazione nel mondo antico: Il bucchero etrusco*, ed. Maria Bonghi Jovino (Milan: Edizioni ET, 1993): 88–89.

15 See, for example, the case of the so-called "Tomba della regina" at Sirolo: Giacomo Bardelli and Inga Anne Vollmer, "Prunk, Ritual und Tradition im Picenum: Zwei Prachtfibeln mit Bein- und Bern-

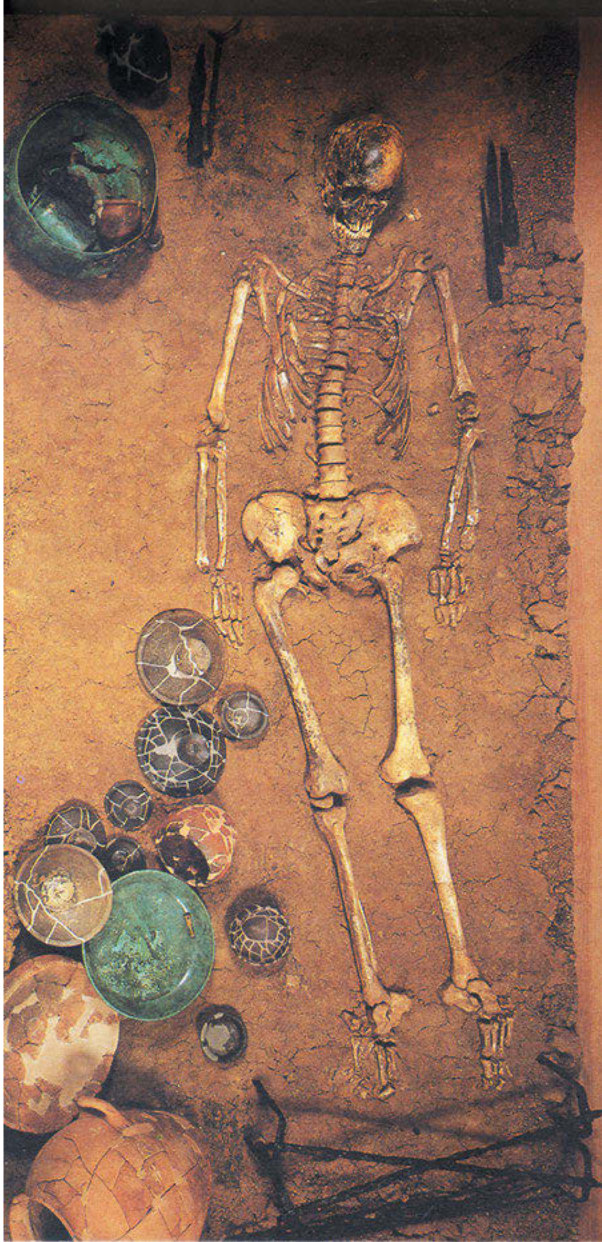

Fig. 4: Necropolis of Montericco (Imola – province of Bologna/I) – Tomb 4.

steinverkleidung aus der 'Tomba della Regina' von Sirolo-Numana (Prov. Ancona, Italien)," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung* 126 (2020): 39–44, with further references.

Between the sixth and fifth centuries BC, the centrality of high-rank warriors is stressed by the presence of tools for preparing and distributing meat in a banquet (cauldrons, knives, skewers, andirons and *kreagra*), which appear in grave goods alongside rich armoury elements – such as spears, helmets, greaves and shields – as well as bronze and imported vessels. These objects are of exclusive male and elitist pertinence, and are sometimes directly associated with weapons, as in the case of Tomb 72 at Imola-Montericco (Fig. 5).[16] They possibly suggest the existence of *Speisegemeinschaften*; that is, warrior brotherhoods in which sharing meat represented a significant ritual. The lack of these objects in female burials may suggest a *Männerbund*, a practice exclusively reserved for men.[17] From this perspective, it would be tempting to assume that the funerary circles were reserved for warriors who were members of these brotherhoods and their relatives, although this is a suggestion that cannot be proven at the moment.

As far as evidence is concerned, the necropolis of Imola yielded seventy-seven tombs arranged in four circles, while fifty-seven tombs arranged in two circles were uncovered at San Martino in Gattara. Imola has been the subject of modern archaeological investigations and a full publication, while information on San Martino in Gattara is only known through a few published burials. Both cemeteries were used during the same time period and can be divided into the same three phases: the first dating to the second half of the sixth century, the second to the first half of the fifth century and the third to the second half of the fifth century BC.[18]

Anthropological studies are available for both necropoleis: forty-eight individuals have been investigated at Imola, while only twelve burials have been analysed at San Martino in Gattara,[19] with generic information on age and gender having been recorded by the former director of the excavations, Maria Giovanna Bermond Montanari. Of all the necropoleis of the ‘Umbrians’ of Romagna, these two cemeteries are the only ones where individual child burials have been accounted for so far: remains of children have never been found in the isolated burials scattered throughout the

16 Von Eles, “Imola”: 128–34; Negrini, “Weapons”: 41–42.

17 Cristopher Kohler and Alessando Naso, “Appunti sulla funzione di alari e spiedi nella società arcaiche dell’Italia centro-meridionale,” in *Papers of the Fourth Conference of Italian Archaeology: The Archaeology of Power*, vol. 2, ed. Edward Herring, Ruth Whitehouse and John Wilkins (London: Accordia Research Centre, 1991): 45–46; Negrini, “Weapons”: 43.

18 Giovanna Bergonzi and Patrizia von Eles, “Archaeological and Anthropological Evidence from the Iron Age Necropolis at Montericco, Imola (Emilia-Romagna, Italy): A Comparison,” *Rivista di Antropologia: Supplemento* 66 (1988): 340–45; Maria Giovanna Bermond Montanari, “L’abitato di San Martino in Gattara: Nuove considerazioni,” *Hesperia* 18 (2004): 316.

19 Fiorenzo Facchini, “I resti scheletrici del sepolcreto gallico di San Martino in Gattara (Ravenna),” *Studi Etruschi* 36 (1968): 73–97; Patricia Brasili Gualandi and Maria Giovanna Belcastro, “Una necropoli dell’età del Ferro in Emilia-Romagna: Montericco (Imola) (VI–IV sec. a.C.),” *Rivista di Antropologia* 63 (1984–1985): 213–30.

Fig. 5: Necropolis of Montericco (Imola – province of Bologna/I) – Tomb 72.

territory. The scantiness of pre-adult burials in a society in which infant mortality must have been extremely high should not be overlooked.

Even if women seem to hold a subordinate position in the rigid warrior society of the 'Umbrians' of Romagna, they still fully belonged to the community and had the right to be buried in the necropolis. This does not apply to children and pre-adult individuals, who seem to have been excluded or at least strongly marginalised. The larger amount of data available for the Imola-Montericco necropolis made it a sound choice as the main source for the following analyses. The dynamics that will be highlighted here, however, also seem to be relevant to San Martino in Gattara.

At Imola-Montericco, 63% of the burials belonged to adults, 17% were of children and only 2% were of adolescents. Fourteen burials belonged to children up to the age of ten, two graves belonged to adolescents aged between eleven and nineteen. These data were refined by skeletal analyses, leading to the identification of eight individuals under the age of five among the children.[20] As far as San Martino in Gattara is concerned, only four child graves were identified. This number might have inevitably been influenced by the fact that a large part of the necropolis is still unpublished.[21] The scantiness of attestations is remarkable: the number of pre-adults is just over 20% of the total, well below the percentage that, according to modern estimates, must have characterised infant mortality in ancient societies (between 30% and 50%) (Fig. 6).[22]

The data become even more significant if we focus only on Imola-Montericco, the better-known context: here, the graves are not evenly distributed across all three phases. Sixteen pre-adult burials were identified in the four circles, which are named South, East, West and North. Only one burial (Tomb 33) could not be assigned to a specific phase, even if the presence of a fibula of the 'Certosa' type among the grave goods suggests a date within the first two phases; that is, until the mid-fifth century BC.[23] The other fifteen tombs can be dated precisely.

20 Brasili Gualandi and Belcastro, "Una necropoli dell'età del Ferro": 214–15. The pre-adult graves at Montericco are: T. 18, 25, 33, 40–42, 46–47, 56–57, 59, 61–63; see von Eles, "Imola": 49, 59, 70, 81, 83–84, 90–95, 105–10, 115.

21 The per-adult graves at San Martino in Gattara are: T. 8, 12 (Facchini, "I resti scheletrici": 81, 83–84), 21 (Maria Giovanna Bermond Montanari, "San Martino in Gattara: Lo scavo del 1968," *Atti e Memorie di Storia Patria per le Province di Bologna*, n.s. XLV (1995): 110–11; Maria Giovanna Bermond Montanari, "San Martino in Gattara (Ra): Scavi 1969–1970," *Padusa* 41 (2005): 196).

22 Diego Elia, "Sepolture di pre-adulti nelle necropoli greche dell'Italia meridionale: osservazioni sulle strategie di rappresentazione tra periodo tardo-arcaico ed età classica," in *L'enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité III: Le matériel associé aux tombes d'enfants*, ed. Antoine Hermary and Céline Dubois (Aix-en-Provence: Centre Camille Jullian, 2012): 98–99; Rebay-Salisbury, *The Human Body*: 176; Giulia Morpurgo, "Le sepolture di defunti in età subadulta nei sepolcreti etruschi di Bologna di 'fase Certosa': un primo bilancio tra questioni di metodo ed aspetti rituali," in *Birth: Archeologia dell'infanzia nell'Italia preromana*, ed. Elisabetta Govi (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2022): 160.

23 Von Eles, "Imola": 70.

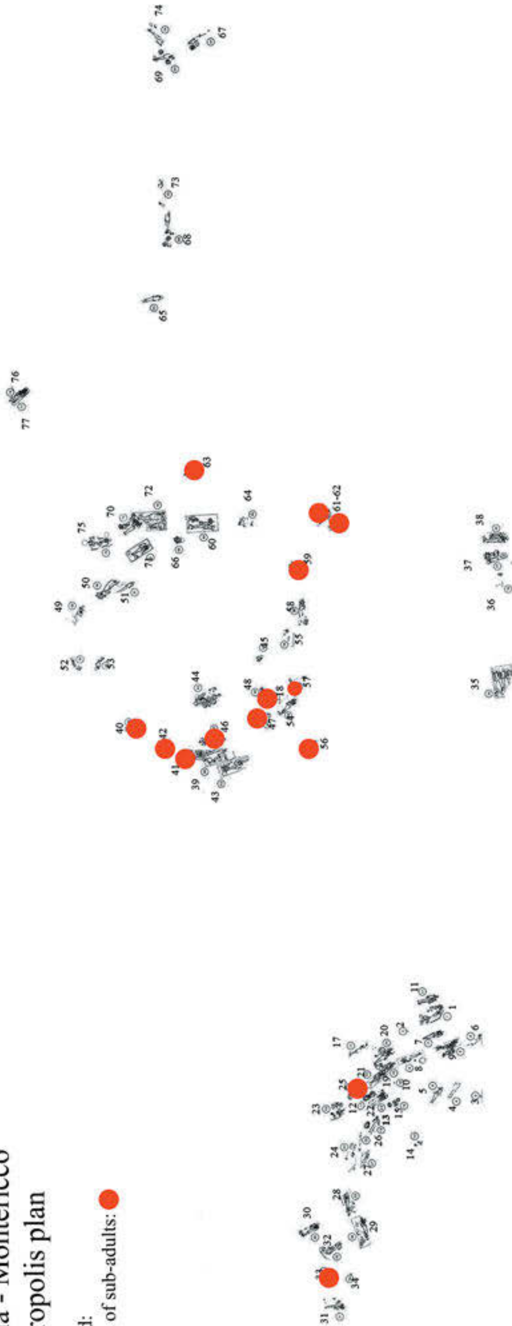

Fig. 6: Necropolis of Montericco (Imola – province of Bologna/I) – General plan with sub-adult burials.

Only one burial dates to the first phase (that is, the second half of the sixth century BC), to which twenty-nine adult tombs also belong. Eight pre-adult burials and eighteen adult graves have been accounted for in the second phase (the first half of the fifth century BC). Four pre-adult burials and twenty-six adult graves belong to the third phase (the second half of the fifth century BC). Therefore, it seems that the exclusion of infant tombs from the necropolis did not affect the entire period of use, but only the first phase. Such peculiarity can also be observed at San Martino in Gattara, where child burials were found to be lacking in the first phase. Therefore, up until the fifth century BC, necropoleis seem to have been reserved only for adults. It is likely that in this period, pre-adult individuals, from infancy to adolescence, were not considered as full members of the community and for this reason were buried elsewhere. The only burial dating to the first phase is one of the poorest in the whole necropolis and contained only two *fibulae*.

Observing the distribution of pre-adult burials within the necropolis, one notices that fourteen out of sixteen depositions are located in the West circle – the only one entirely investigated. The infant burials in this circle are not distributed regularly along the perimeter like those of adults, but are mainly concentrated along the southern border of the circle. In addition, considering the widespread practice in central Italy of grouping children's graves in certain sectors of the necropolis,[24] the concentration of infant graves in the West circle possibly suggests the existence of areas reserved for infants, which have not been identified in the other incomplete circles. If we assume that a circle was the burial ground for a specific group of people, possibly connected by family ties, we see that the completeness of the West circle provides significant evidence for understanding the chronological development of funerary practices. While the tendency to exclude children from the necropolis during the first phase is confirmed, with only one occurrence (Tomb 18) out of nine tombs, there is a noticeable increase in the number of child graves from the fifth century BC onwards, with as many as eight burials (Tombs 40–41, 46, 56, 57, 61–63) out of seventeen, corresponding to about 50% of the total. In the second half of the fifth century, that is, during the third phase of use, the percentage of children remains quite high and corresponds to 30% of the total, with three children's graves (Tombs 42, 47, 59) out of a total of ten burials. During the fifth century BC, that is, during the second and third phases, the percentages of child graves are close to those estimated by modern studies for ancient mortality (Fig. 7).

The increase might suggest that starting from the second phase, all members of the community were allowed to be buried in the circle, regardless of age. The transition from the first phase to the second one clearly reflects deep changes in funerary practi-

24 Joachim Weidig, "Lutto, rito funebre e status sociale: Considerazioni sulle sepolture infantili in Umbria e nelle aree limitrofe dalla prima età del Ferro all'epoca arcaica," in *Birth: Archeologia dell'infanzia nell'Italia preromana*, ed. Elisabetta Govi (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2022): 572–73.

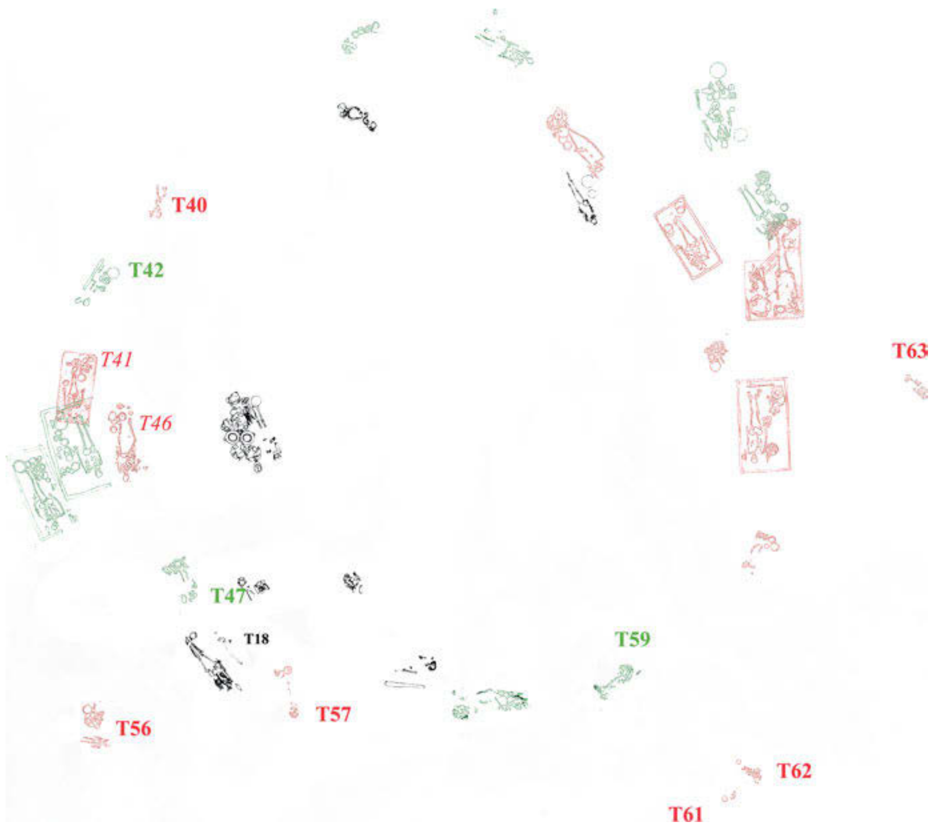

Fig. 7: Necropolis of Montericco (Imola – province of Bologna/I) – the so-called West circle. The tombs of the first phase are marked in black, those of the second phase in red, those of the third phase in green. Child graves are marked with a number.

ces. A sort of 'democratisation process' of the afterlife seems to have occurred: the necropolis became accessible to those categories that had been excluded until then.

The progressive emancipation of children as reflected in funerary practices can also be noticed when looking at the grave goods. If the only burial from the first phase stands out as one of the poorest in the entire necropolis, in the next phase, the grave goods are found to be richer, with those of younger children being poorer than those of older children and adolescents. The only three graves classified as being very poor belong to infants under the age of five; they were buried outside the outer perimeter of the circle, and their graves contain only a small bowl placed at the feet.[25] The location outside the circle possibly indicates a partial exclusion of the younger children from the rest of the social group. On the other hand, the burials of the older children

25 Graves T. 61–63.

show more substantial grave goods, albeit characterised by infant features. The composition of the ceramic set and the type of vessels are similar to those of the adults,[26] but the vases are smaller in size – not miniatures, just smaller. Only male children show a gender characterisation: they are buried with weapons such as javelin heads, which could be interpreted as reduced-size spears, similar to what can be observed for the vases. In Tomb 57, which belongs to a child under the age of ten, the two javelin heads were placed at the feet of the deceased and were laid without the shafts, while intact weapons, such as those usually placed on the sides of the body in adult tombs, were missing. This possibly suggests that the javelin heads had a symbolic meaning, emphasising the role that the child would have played once he had become an adult.[27] In this respect, the case the of the adolescent of Tomb 41 is also elucidating. The ceramic set was smaller than its actual size, but the weapons were similar to the ones found in adult burials, with a defunctionalised spear laid at the feet, clearly indicating that the child was already considered to be part of the warrior community (Fig. 8).[28]

In the third phase, that is, from the mid-fifth century BC onwards, the difference between children and adolescents disappears. The three burials that can be dated to this period belong to boys buried with grave goods similar to those of adult individuals. The objects are smaller, but entire javelins are placed next to the bodies, in the same exact position as in adult graves. This suggests that children were no longer considered as future warriors: this time, they were characterised as actual warriors, even if young, and were probably fully integrated into the community.[29]

This reconstruction has also been confirmed by the evidence from San Martino in Gattara, although published data from this necropolis are limited. Children burials have only been accounted for in the larger and smaller circles from the fifth century BC: three date to the first half of the century and one to the second half. Compared to those found at Imola, the tombs at San Martino in Gattara are generally richer (Fig. 9). One of the inhumations in the larger circle, Tomb 21, is located marginally outside of the circle, showing a similarity with the three poorer tombs of very young children found outside the West circle at Imola. The small size of the skeleton, as reported by Maria Giovanna Bermond Montanari, suggests that the deceased was a very young child. The few grave goods, consisting in an armilla and glass paste beads, confirm the general poverty of infant tombs. However, one of the oinochoe-shaped glass paste beads is an import from the East. It is a precious object that possibly reveals the wealth of the family of the deceased, albeit wealth that is limited by the age of the child, which evidently did not allow for any other exception to the ritual (Fig. 10).[30]

26 See Tomb 40.

27 Von Eles, "Imola": 106–7.

28 Von Eles, "Imola": 82–83.

29 Von Eles, "La ceramica": 89.

30 A length of only 60 cm; see Bermond Montanari, "San Martino in Gattara: Lo scavo del 1968": 110–11.

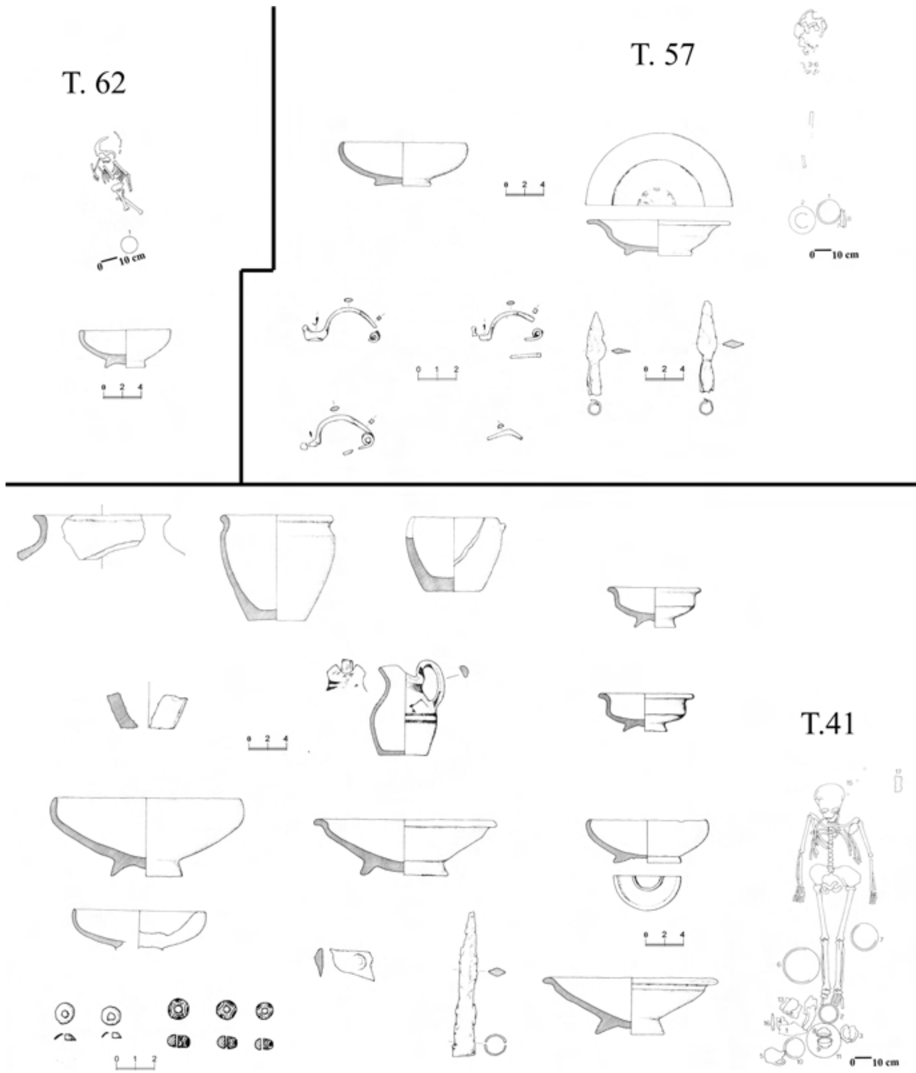

Fig. 8: Necropolis of Montericco (Imola – province of Bologna/I) – Tombs 41, 57 and 62.

The other two tombs dating to the first half of the fifth century (Tomb 8[31] and Tomb 31[32]) belong to two males, only one of whom was an adolescent aged between ten and twelve, as anthropological investigations have shown. Anthropological data are, however, lack-

31 Maria Giovanna Bermond Montanari, "La necropoli protostorica di S. Martino in Gattara (Ravenna)," *Studi Etruschi* 37 (1969): 213–28.

32 Bermond Montanari, "San Martino in Gattara (Ra): Scavi 1969": 196.

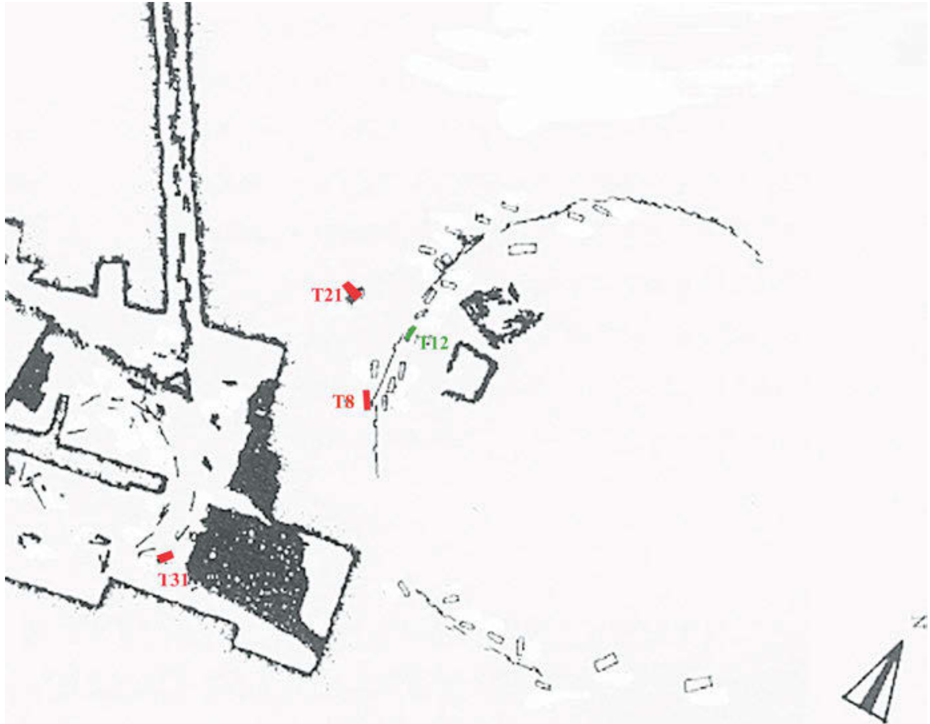

Fig. 9: Necropolis of San Martino in Gattara (Brisighella – province of Ravenna/I) – General plan with sub-adult burials.

ing for the second individual.[33] The grave goods share common features with those found at Imola: their composition is similar and the objects are smaller (Fig. 11). In both cases, javelin heads were found next to the head of the deceased, possibly indicating that the weapons had a representative function as they were not intentionally broken. In this respect, the adolescent burial is comparable to the other adolescent burial at Imola, where the deceased was characterised as a warrior.

In the third phase of the necropolis, that is, in the second half of the fifth century BC, the integration already noticed at Imola is even clearer at San Martino in Gattara. The only known child burial, Tomb 12, refers to an individual of about eight years of age[34] and is one of the richest of the entire necropolis. The grave goods, consisting of small vases, were enriched by an Attic crater (the only one currently known from an 'Umbrian' tomb in Romagna), an Attic skyphos, a kyathos, a bronze pan, several spearheads, a knife and andirons. Although belonging to a young child, the burial

33 Facchini, "I resti scheletrici": 81.
34 Facchini, "I resti scheletrici": 83–84.

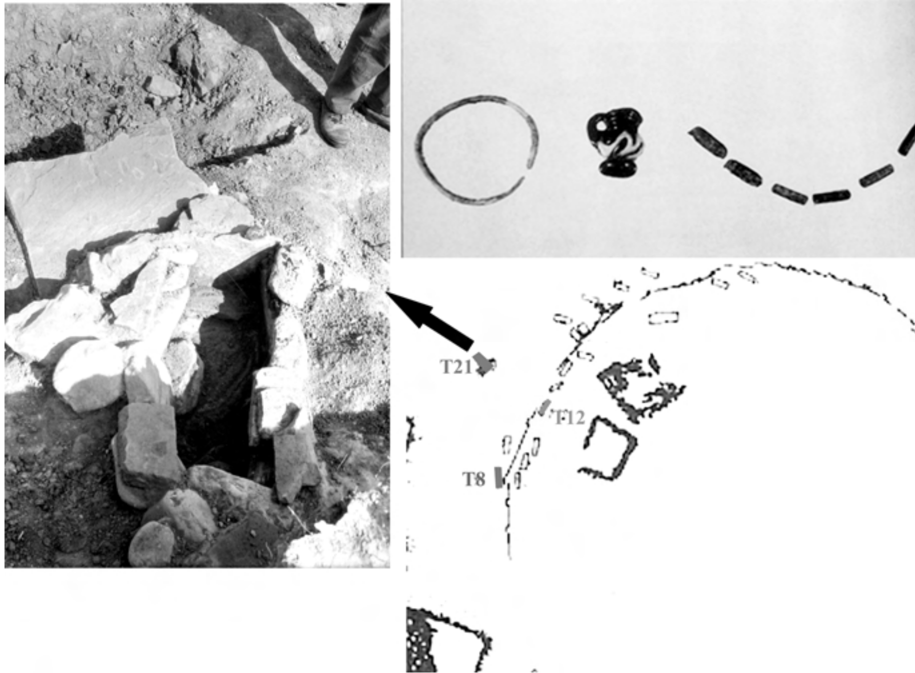

Fig. 10: Necropolis of San Martino in Gattara (Brisighella – province of Ravenna/I) – Tomb 21 during excavation and its grave goods.

displayed all the indicators of rank that had been the prerogative of adult males of high lineage until then (Fig. 12).[35] This suggests that the child had the right to receive the same privileges.

The integration of children into the necropolis at Imola and, above all, at San Martino in Gattara possibly suggests that the society in those areas slowly absorbed a model in which, after infancy, children entered the community on the basis of lineage and not actual capability. The son of a warrior and the son of a warrior chief were considered as such and were as such characterised in the burials. This reconstruction lacks the female counterpart, as girl burials are not evidenced in the last phase of the necropoleis. The reason possibly lies in the limited amount of information available, but one cannot rule out the possibility that given the central role played by warriors in society, only boys were allowed a privileged status.

Other contexts outside of Romagna show that the funerary practices of the 'Umbrians' of Romagna convey a cultural stiffness, with children burials characterised by a certain degree of backwardness. In Bologna, in the necropolis of Via Belle Arti, two tombs date to the last phase of the necropolis, that is, to the beginning of the second

35 Bermond Montanari, "La necropoli protostorica": 224–25.

Fig. 11: Necropolis of San Martino in Gattara (Brisighella – province of Ravenna/I) – Tomb 8, grave goods.

half of the sixth century BC, roughly contemporary with the first phase of the necropoleis in Romagna. The burials in Bologna yielded 'Italic' fibulae, which are very rare in the Bolognese area and probably indicate the presence of 'Umbrians' of Romagna who had moved to the Etruscan centre. One of these tombs, Tomb 105, belongs to a small child. The grave goods were not particularly rich, but not too different from those of other child burials documented in the same necropolis. In contrast to the situation in Romagna, where child graves are almost absent, in Bologna, children are buried together with the adults, albeit accompanied by fairly poor grave goods. Tomb 105 is located near Tomb 91, which possibly belongs to an individual of 'Umbrian' origin, thus showing how the graves followed the Bolognese custom that saw children placed near an adult with whom they must have had a certain bond.[36]

The child grave in Bologna underlines the cultural difference between the two areas in spite of having the same ethnic origin. In fact, the child in Bologna had the right to be buried with the adults and was in some way perceived as an integral part

36 Patrizia von Eles, Marta Mazzoli and Claudio Negrini, "La necropoli villanoviana e orientalizzante di via Belle Arti a Bologna," in *Preistoria e protostoria dell'Emilia-Romagna*, vol. 2, ed. Maria Bernabò Brea (Florence: Edizioni Firenze, 2018): 307. Tomb 91 is still unpublished.

Fig. 12: Necropolis of San Martino in Gattara (Brisighella – province of Ravenna/I) – Tomb 12, grave goods.

of the social group that used the necropolis; the same was not true in Romagna in this period.

The delay with which infants were integrated into the social body among the 'Umbrians' of Romagna is also shown by the composition of the grave goods. From the late Iron Age onwards, evidence from areas contiguous to Italic Romagna, such as Verucchio, Umbria or Picenum, shows that children in the necropoleis were characterised by rank indicators that underlined their aristocratic lineage. This feature suggests a society in which children inherited privileges at birth. This is the case, for example, with the princely tombs at Spoleto or Verucchio in the seventh century BC, where even hierarchical relationships between children of high lineage have been documented. The children were evidently destined to hold different positions at the top of the social pyramid from the day they were born.[37] In Romagna, their integration into society occurred

37 Maria Laura Manca and Joachim Weidig, eds., *Spoleto 2700 anni fa – Spoleto vor 2700 Jahren: Sepolture principesche dalla necropoli di Piazza d'Armi – Zepter und Königskinder aus der Nekropole von Piazza d'Armi* (Spoleto: Gruppo Editoriale Locale, 2014); Giorgia Di Lorenzo et al., "Verucchio: The Social Status of Children: a Methodological Question Concerning Funerary Symbolism and the Use of

very late (only in the fifth century BC), and only in the second half of the century was the integration complete. The reasons for this delay are difficult to explain. The social structure that is evident from the necropoleis in the sixth century BC still appears very rigid. The social role of the deceased is directly linked to their actual role in the community. This is clear from the earliest phase of the Imola necropolis, where the richest tombs belong to adult males of fighting age, while older males over sixty years and no longer fit for war are still characterised as warriors by the presence of spears but are buried in the poorest graves; on the other hand, children were not allowed in the necropolis at all. In this context, children were evidently not yet perceived as effective members of the adult community. Only from the fifth century onwards does this aspect seem to change.

It is perhaps no coincidence that the rigid funerary practices loosen up during the transition between the sixth and fifth centuries BC, when Italic Romagna, following intensive frequentation by people from Etruria, starts adopting its neighbour's models and customs. In this period, the material culture of Romagna was also affected by significant changes: earlier customs and ceramic productions typical of central Italy were discontinued, and new models deriving from Padanian Etruria were absorbed. In the funeral ritual, the introduction of the banquet can be observed, as well as the progressive separation between lineage and the actual role of the deceased. It is likely that these transformations reflect the social changes experienced by the 'Umbrians' of Romagna and have been influenced by their contact with their urbanised neighbours, the Etruscans.[38]

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38 Petra Amann and Claudio Negrini, "San Martino in Gattara (Ra) e le sue relazioni con gli Etruschi," in *Gli Etruschi nella Valle del Po, Atti del XXX Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, forthcoming).

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Mauro Rubini

The Greek Colonies of Sicily During the First Millennium BCE: Status of Health as an Indicator of Social Inequality

Abstract: *Investigating the past represents a fascinating challenge, but one full of pitfalls. Often our vision of the past is altered by our attempt to read cultural, biological and social events that occurred a long time ago. Inequality has probably accompanied humanity since it came into existence. In order to be able to partially understand this phenomenon, I used an anthropological approach and applied it to two populations of eastern Sicily that are chronologically attributable to the first millennium BCE: Ortigia and Contrada Fusco in Syracuse. The results highlight a probable equality between the two sexes in the older sample in terms of workload and access to food sources, and a homogeneity of occupational stigmata for each sex. The more recent sample shows similar results, although it is easier to hypothesize the presence of a greater social stratigraphy because of the growth of the phenomenon of urbanization.*

1 Introduction

History is always a challenge. It presents many questions, among which the most important is – who tells it! The use of an interdisciplinary approach has certainly breathed life into the decoding and interpretation of past times. An analysis of situations like dependency and inequality during the first millennium BCE can be carried out and written by decoding the work of the various disciplines that interpreted it differently, and all with the same goal: the reconstruction of a truth as reliably as possible. The first millennium BCE represented the emergence of a great phenomenon in the Mediterranean basin, which involved not only the birth of developed cultures, but also the first affirmation of new cultural, social, commercial and genetic patterns, including, unfortunately, pathologies. All of these were related, mostly for simple reasons, to three methods of investigation: the historical, the archaeological and the anthropological. The conquest of the Mediterranean Sea during the first millennium BCE represents the greatest commercial expansion known from the past. Greeks and Phoenicians, before the advent of the Roman fleets, knew the commercial routes well and had consequently spread their coastal commercial centres throughout the Mediterranean basin. What did this mean? Not only did they make an impact through the transportation of goods, culture and social norms, but they also left behind genes and pathologies. During that period, important cultures emerged in peninsular Italy, the most important of which was perhaps the Etruscan one, as well as in the two regions

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of insular Italy – Sicily and Sardinia. This confirmed the seafarers as the masters of the Mediterranean Sea: more specifically, the Greeks and the Phoenicians. The goal of this study was to focus on Sicily, in particular the eastern part, a destination for traders, adventurers and seafarers.

Some of the questions that arose were related to how the individuals in that society lived, and whether they had equal roles or hierarchies. Several investigative methods were available, but the approach chosen for this study is one that focuses on health status. This choice stemmed from the fact that illness affected both the rich and poor members of a community and could therefore reveal whether inequality was solely a social phenomenon or also cultural. As a scholar specializing in paleopathology and genetics, I chose to examine those factors to be able to interpret past events. This study analysed second-generation individuals of Greek origin who had inhabited Ortigia (an eighth-century BCE Greek trade centre) as well as the Hellenistic-period citizens of Syracuse (fourth–third century BCE). Additionally, I extrapolated the findings to better understand hierarchical power dynamics throughout the Mediterranean region.

2 The Basis of Inequality

Inequality has presented itself in many ways in the human world – in physical, cultural and social events in the past (but perhaps even today), and between losers and winners. Inequality has always been a reason for the careful analysis of populations of the past.[1] Those born with severe physical defects (for example, trisomy 21, quadriplegia, mental retardation) had great difficulty in weaving themselves into the social fabric, as did those suffering from diseases that could cause deformity and disability, such as leprosy; they were all considered to be marked by the gods, or by God.[2] An unborn child with severe disabilities was not capable of warfare, was not capable of cultivating fields, and was probably not capable of the nascent political life in what would become important cities of the Italian Peninsula and islands in the first millennium BCE. Despite this, and in some cases, the community took care of them and ensured their survival. In eastern Sicily during the second and especially the first millennium BCE, it was not only the Greek social pattern that was transmitted, but

1 Walter Scheidel, *The Great Leveler: Violence and the History of Inequality from the Stone Age to the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 2018); Pim De Zwart, “The Global History of Inequality,” *International Review of Social History* 64, no. 2 (2019): 309–23.

2 Mauro Rubini and Paola Zaio, “Lepromatous Leprosy in an Early Mediaeval Cemetery in Central Italy (Morrione, Campochiaro, Molise, 6th–8th century AD),” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36, no. 12 (2009): 2771–79; Mauro Rubini and Paola Zaio, “Miseria e nobiltà nell’area extraurbana a sud-est di Roma in età imperiale,” in *Lazio e Sabina*, vol. 9, *Atti del Convegno, Roma, 27–28 marzo 2012*, ed. Giuseppina Ghini (Rome: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio, 2013): 261–65.

also a much more important factor that would later determine differentiations among the Italian peninsular populations – the cult of physical health. There were various causes behind this. The Greek colonists who arrived in Sicily (but also on the southern Tyrrhenian coast, for example, in the colony of Cumae or Naples during the first millennium BCE) had already seen examples of social inequality in their homeland, such as in the situation of the Spartans. But these were not social inequalities based on economic disparities; they were solely based on being useful or not to the community.[3] One of the main peninsular cultures that first assimilated these concepts was probably the Etruscan one. This was surely because of its intense contact with the Greek world. Moreover, one of the main and neglected problems can certainly be linked to slavery (the vanquished), which automatically establishes a hierarchy, and thus inequality. In colonized Sicily, such a practice had left no traces until the fifth century BCE, although the Greeks had already known this in their homeland, for example, through the Spartan 'helots'. Why?

3 What is inequality for?

From a biological point of view, inequality can be interpreted as variability, a fundamental requirement in the genesis of a species. In terms of the social aspect, it is what determines the hierarchies within a human community. In some cases, socio-cultural inequality has even come to represent a value that is to be protected, especially in relation to the social status that has been achieved. In the first millennium BCE, maintaining an acquired status became a sort of guarantee for not losing what one had acquired. At that point, a very dangerous parameter came into play: *endogamy*. In the colonial Hellenic world of seventh-century Sicily, this appeared to be of little importance. On the other hand, on the Italian Peninsula, especially within the Apennine Cultures, it represented an instrument for maintaining acquired 'power'. This practice would condition the population of peninsular Italy until the advent of Roman times, on both the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic sides.

In this way, the social inequality that had structured peninsular sites during the first millennium BCE became hereditary. But the real problem was the inequality generated by an endogamy that had been implemented for the maintenance of some prestigious social statuses.

In the Greek colonies of eastern Sicily in the seventh century BCE, there were scarce traces of endogamy.[4] Indirectly, these provided us with an important datum:

3 Walter D. Penrose Jr., "The Discourse of Disability in Ancient Greece," *The Classical World* 108, no. 4 (2015): 499–523.

4 Mauro Rubini and Silvia Mogliazza, *Storia delle popolazioni italiane dal neolitico ad oggi: i nuovi orientamenti dell'antropologia* (Rome: Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici del Lazio, 2005); Mauro

that the Greek populations probably already knew the risks of inbreeding. In Syracuse during the third century BCE, the differences in the manifestation of social inequality were significant and evident, and they revealed the presence of endogamy. In addition, it is noteworthy that protohistory cannot be understood as a linear and continuous evolutionary process leading to the appearance of the state; it is fraught with conflict, crises and reactionary movements against social stratification. Thus, this analysis draws attention to those studies that highlight the existence of non-hierarchical forms of social relationship or, as they have been defined recently, 'non-triangular societies'. These societies were probably the result of a productive system that was contrary to surplus production, combined with exclusive communal identities and strategies for intercommunity relations. These strategies would have been conditioned by the search for isolation and an egalitarian ethos, which could be accountable for its success. Some researchers studying inequality in past populations have based their research on burial rituals, which they used to assess the range of mortuary offerings and related practices, and to which they applied the Gini coefficient.[5] This is a method that the statistician Gini devised in the last century to evaluate social inequalities based on economic income. In reality, the formula represents a useful and versatile algorithm that can also be utilised for evaluating past scenarios. Perhaps only limit is its applicability in the analysis of the purely economic or dominance aspect within a community.

4 Material and Methods

One of the skeletal samples under study comes from the second-generation Greek necropolis of Viale Ermocrate in Ortigia (Syracuse), which can be dated back to the eighth century BCE, and the other is from the Hellenistic necropolis of Contrada Fusco (Syracuse), which dates from the fourth century BCE. The burial typology in Ortigia consists of rectangular pit tombs approximately 2 m long, 80 cm wide and 60 cm deep. The inhumed person was buried supine, with the ceramic grave goods at head height consisting mostly of Orientalising pottery. There were also metal pins, clasps and spear points positioned on the body and along its sides. The necropolis from Syracuse (Contrada Fusco, Tor di Conte) presents a more varied sepulchral typology. There were both cremations and inhumations, which were of many types, including pit tombs with an urn, pit tombs, lead sarcophagi placed in the pit, 'cappuccino' tombs, box-tile tombs and hypogea with pit access. The grave goods were imported

Rubini, "The Mediterranean Population from the Past Up Today," Conference Talk, Tampa University USF, 10 November 2019.

5 Mattia Fochesatoa et al., "Changing Social Inequality from First Farmers to Early States in Southeast Asia," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118, no. 47 (2021): 1–6.

Greek pottery, bronzes, gold, ivories and glass balsam jars.[6] It is probable that the population of the Greek necropolis in Viale Ermocrate was mixed, in which the females had probably mostly been autochthonous.[7] This is because the settlement was established as an *emporion*, founded solely by men from Greece; only later did it become a colony and a city (*polis*). The site included 72 adult individuals; non-adults were not recovered. A total of 42 individuals were male and 30 female. The necropolis of Contrada Fusco yielded 364 individuals, of which 61 were infants, 162 were males and 141 were females. The morphological examination of the skeletal material was carried out using standard methods. Three indicators were used to establish the age at death for sub-adults: the stage of dental mineralization and eruption,[8] the length of the long bones[9] and the extent of the epiphyseal fusion of the long bones and the hip bone.[10] All three methods were used simultaneously whenever the state of preservation allowed for it as this enabled more precise estimates to be obtained. The determination of age at death in adults was initially based on the degree of fusion of the sphenooccipital suture (*sutura sphenooccipitalis*), which indicates the stage of adulthood. As a further step, age was assessed according to the standards of Buikstra and Ubelaker,[11] with special reference to the morphological changes in the pubic symphyseal face and the auricular surface of the *os coxae*. These two features are the most commonly used, both in the anthropological analysis of ancient populations and in forensic analysis, and they allow for accurate age determination. When possible, the fourth rib was also considered.[12] Sex diagnosis was based on the morphological traits of the skull and pelvis, when preserved, and the suggested standards in Buikstra and

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6 Maria Musumeci, *Le necropoli di Siracusa* (Syracuse: Museo Archeologico Regionale "Paolo Orsi" Siracusa, 2006).

7 Mauro Rubini et al., "The Population of East Sicily during the Second and First millennium BC: The Problem of the Greek Colonies," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 9, no. 1 (1999): 8–17.

8 Douglas H. Ubelaker, *Human Skeletal Remains: Excavation, Analysis, Interpretation*, Manuals on Archeology 2 (Washington, D.C.: Taraxacum, 1989).

9 Pascal Adalian et al., "Nouvelle formule de détermination de l'âge d'un foetus," *Comptes Rendus Biologies* 325, no. 3 (2002): 261–69.

10 Hugo F.V. Cardoso, "Age Estimation of Adolescent and Young Adult Male and Female Skeletons II, Epiphyseal Union at the Upper Limb and Scapular Girdle in a Modern Portuguese Skeletal Sample," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 137, no. 1 (2008): 97–105; Hélène Coqueugniot et al., "Brief Communication: A Probabilistic Approach to Age Estimation from Infracranial Sequences of Maturation," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 142, no. 4 (2010): 655–64; Hugo F.V. Cardoso et al., "Age Estimation of Immature Human Skeletal Remains from the Diaphyseal Length of the Long Bones in the Postnatal Period," *International Journal of Legal Medicine* 128, no. 5 (2014): 809–24.

11 Jane E. Buikstra and Douglas H. Ubelacker, *Standards of Data Collection from Human Skeletal Remains*, Arkansas Archaeological Survey Research Series 44 (Fayetteville: Arkansas Archaeological Survey, 1994).

12 Jessica I. Cerezo-Román and Patricia O. Espinoza, "Estimating Age at Death Using the Sternal End of the Fourth Ribs from Mexican Males," *Forensic Science International* 236 (2014): 196.

Ubelaker were used.[13] Otherwise, sex diagnosis was based on the observation of other dimorphic anatomical traits.[14] The measurements were obtained using the Martin and Saller method.[15] Stature was calculated according to the methods of Trotter and Gleser for whites.[16] The health status and quality of life of the individuals were determined through their skeletal and dental attributes. The scoring of occupational stress (MOS, see Tab. 1) was performed according to the recommendations of Capasso et al. and Mariotti et al.,[17] who proposed to consider five levels of development for each enthesis. Dental features, for the reconstruction of oral health, were also recorded. Caries was scored according to Powell's suggestions.[18] Abscesses were assessed only through the presence of perforations in the bone in the apical region of the tooth.[19] Antemortem tooth loss (AMTL) was observed according to Lukacs,[20] and linear enamel hypoplasia (LEH) was scored according to the criteria of the Federation Dentaire Internationale.[21] The age of individuals at the time of LEH was assessed with reference to the chronology of enamel development,[22] and a chart was used to convert the distance from the cementoenamel junction to developmental age.[23] Furthermore, a palaeopathological survey was conducted to explore the general health of the populations.[24]

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13 Buikstra and Ubelacker, *Human Skeletal Remains*.

14 Mehmet Y. İşcan, "Forensic Anthropology of Sex and Body Size," *Forensic Science International* 147, no. 2–3 (2005): 107–12.

15 Rudolf Martin and Karl Saller, *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie* (Stuttgart: Fischer, 1956–1966).

16 Mildred Trotter and Goldine C. Gleser, "A Re-Evaluation of Estimation of Stature Based on Measurements of Stature Taken During Life and of Long Bones After Death," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 16, no. 1 (1958): 79–123.

17 Luigi Capasso et al., *Atlas of Occupational Markers on Human Remains*, Journal of Paleopathology: Monographic Publication 3 (Teramo: Edigrafial, 1999); Valentina Mariotti et al., "The Study of Entheses: Proposal of a Standardised Scoring Method for Twenty-three Entheses of the Postcranial Skeleton," *Collegium Antropologicum* 31, no. 1 (2007): 291–313.

18 Mary L. Powell, "The Analysis of Dental Wear and Caries for Dietary Reconstruction," in *The Analysis of Prehistoric Diets*, ed. Robert I. Gilbert and James H. Mielke (Orlando: Academic Press, 1985): 307–38.

19 Don R. Brothwell, *Digging Up Bones* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

20 John R. Lukacs, "Dental Paleopathology: Methods for Reconstructing Dietary Patterns," in *Reconstruction of Life from the Skeleton*, ed. Mehmet Y. Iscan and Kenneth A.R. Kennedy (New York: A. Liss, 1989): 261–86.

21 Federation Dentaire Internationale, "A Review of the Developmental Defects of Enamel Index (DDE Index): Commission on Oral Health, Research and Epidemiology: Report of an FDI Working Group," *International Dental Journal* 42, no. 6 (1992): 411–26.

22 Maury Massler et al., "Developmental Patterns of the Child as Reflected in the Calcification Pattern of the Teeth," *American Journal of Diseases of Children* 62 (1941): 33–67.

23 Torsten Swardstedt, *Odontological Aspects of a Medieval Population in the Province of Jämtland, Mid-Sweden* (Stockholm: Tiden-Barnangen AB, 1966); Alan H. Goodman et al., "Enamel Hypoplasias as Indicators of Stress in Three Prehistoric Populations from Illinois," *Human Biology* 52, no. 3 (1980): 515–28.

24 Mauro Rubini and Paola Zaio, *Elementi di Paleopatologia: Atlante* (Rome: Cisu Editore, 2008); Jane E. Buikstra, ed., *Ortner's Identification of Pathological Conditions in Human Skeletal Remains* (Saint Louis: Academic Press, 2019).

5 Results and Discussion

The results obtained are certainly interesting. Height does not represent a direct inequality discriminant, but it can provide us with a series of indications in the time trend (see Tab. 2). The population of the second-generation Greek 'colonizers' of Ortigia (eighth century BCE), made up of allochthonous males and autochthonous females, highlights a stature dimorphism that is favourable to females. This result could be coincidental, but there is another possible answer: a difference in genetic background between Greek males and Sicilian females. The time between two generations is too short to produce genetic adjustment phenomena, which could explain the height inequality between the two sexes. The question often asked is whether this skeletal inequality also had repercussions in social hierarchies. A comparison with other populations of peninsular Italy shows that dimorphism is the prerogative of males, probably because they lived within strictly autochthonous dynamics. During the eighth century BCE, this development was still premature, as indicated by the MOS, since the skeletal markers in males and females show a roughly similar range of stresses. In particular, the presence of osteophytosis of the spinal column and humeral hypertrophy in almost similar proportions (47.3% males, 46.2% females in Ortigia; 38.6% males, 36.1% females in Syracuse) in young subjects highlights work stress that was of equal intensity in terms of musculoskeletal impact, although this would have been differentiated by the type of work. This represents an equal index for their access to jobs and thus, indirectly, to food sources. This latter aspect was highlighted by a recent study on the nutrition of these two populations, the results of which showed the same levels of protein and carbohydrate intake in both sexes.[25] There was probably an internal hierarchy, but one that was a result of prestige within the community, not social inequality. This is evidenced by the LEH values close to 100% in both Sicilian populations (99.6% males, 99.8% females in Ortigia; 98.3% males, 99.1% females in Syracuse), which testify to a weaning period and the exposition to pathological and environmental stresses that were equal for all males and females. In comparison with almost-contemporary Italian peninsular populations, a discrepancy between males and females is highlighted only in the MOS. In the Etruscan populations of Latium or Tuscany, or the southern ones of Pontecagnano or Sala Consilina, the values for musculoskeletal stress are greater in the male individuals. On the other hand, the females show statural and nutritional deficiencies. As it is well known that stature is strictly linked to nutrition,[26] and based on an analysis of intersex inequality, this indicates that males and females did not have the same access to food sources in adolescence and in adulthood. Here, too, a weaning index such as the LEH appears to be similar between the two sexes, probably because newborns during this period did

25 Mauro Rubini et al., "Patterns of Human Diet in Eastern Sicily (Italy) during the First Millennium BCE," *Austin Anthropology* 4, no. 2 (2020): 1018.

26 Vittorio Maglietta, *Valori normali, richiami diagnostici e dati clinici utili in pediatria* (Rome: Carlo Erba, 2022); Vinay Kumar et al., *Robbins Basic Pathology* (Philadelphia: Elsevier, 2018).

not yet have the privilege of being adequately nourished as they were partially edentulous. It is during adolescence that males in parental structures were better nourished as they were probably seen to be more useful for various causes: above all, work and war. Four centuries later, in Hellenistic Syracuse, many changes took place. The most important was the transition to an organized, cosmopolitan and modern society. Inbreeding increased with the centripetal function of the city. In a comparable situation on the peninsula, this would become the fundamental reason for populating ‘modern’ Italy with the major force that Rome had during the period of its territorial hegemony. This involved some fundamental changes: demographic increase, a need for roles, politics, economy and little consideration for the availability of resources. These are often underestimated, but nature has taught us that a species can only survive if it has the necessary resources for the entire population. If these are insufficient, then a hierarchy of inequality will be established. Food is necessary, and if this is scarce, then products will come about that are not necessary for survival but assume a purchase value. Today, money is the means by which wealth is measured (Gini coefficient), but back then, owning assets to defend oneself and one’s property did not only serve to ‘get rich’ materially, but also to have access to more useful products for living, such as food. Social inequality, yesterday as much as today, was not only limited to the accumulation of useless goods, but it also depended on the possibility of obtaining easy access to what was needed to live: food. All this may seem simplistic for a period like the first millennium BCE, but let us never forget that inequalities arise not from power, but from necessity.

Tab. 1: List of markers of occupational stress (MOS) used in this study (R= right; L= left).

Poirier’s facet femur (L)	Syndesmosis femur (L)
Schmorl’s disc herniation – vertebrae	Syndesmosis femur (R) 3.70
Schmorl’s disc herniation – lumbar vertebrae	Syndesmosis of cruciate ligaments tibia (L)
Schmorl’s disc herniation – sacral vertebrae	Syndesmosis of cruciate ligaments tibia (R)
Vertebral column osteophytosis	Facets of the femoral condyles (L) 3.70
Clavicular fracture (R)	Messeri’s patella (L)
Clavicular syndesmosis (R)	Messeri’s patella (R)
Humeral hyperthrophy (L)	Squatting facets tibia (L)
Humeral hyperthrophy (R)	Squatting facets tibia (R)
Humeral asymmetry (L)	Squatting facets talus (L)
Humeral asymmetry (R)	Squatting facets talus (R)
Ulna: Woodcatter’s lesion/gout (R)	Platycnemia tibia (L)
Platymeria femur (L)	Platycnemia tibia (R)
Platymeria femur (R)	Fibular bowing (L)
Enthesopathies femur (L)	Phalanx flexor hypertrophy (L)
Exostosis of the trochanteric fossa (R)	Phalanx flexor hypertrophy (R)
Enthesopathies tibia (L)	Muscle-skeletal stress of hand palm side (L)
Enthesopathies tibia (R)	Articular extension of first metatarsal (L)
Pilasterism (L)	

Tab. 2: Comparison of mean statures among various populations from the Italian Peninsula (in meters).

Sites	Males	Females
Iron Age		
Viale Ermocrate	**1.62**	**1.64**
Caracupa	1.64	1.70
Ardea	1.70	1.61
Camerano	1.67	1.54
Ceretolo	1.67	1.56
Etruscans Latium	1.67	1.53
Etruscans Tuscany	1.67	1.55
Osteria dell'Osa	1.66	1.54
Pontecagnano	1.66	1.54
Pozzilli	1.68	1.55
Riofreddo	1.67	1.58
Hellenistic Period (and Roman Period)		
Contrada Fusco	**1.69**	**1.61**
Palestrina	1.66	1.51
Minturnae	1.60	1.49
Cures	1.61	1.51
Gargano	1.63	1.48
Romans (third century BCE)	1.59	1.50
Gallicano	1.68	1.52
Basiliano	1.65	1.51
Lucrezia Romana	1.65	1.53
Lucus Feroniae	1.64	1.52
Quadrella	1.64	1.49
Suasa	1.65	1.53

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List of Tables

Tab. 1–2 Made by Mauro Rubini

Giorgio Baratti, Cristina Cattaneo, Martina Sciortino, Laura Magnano, Mirko Mattia, Valentina Caruso

The Fettered Man from Populonia, Centro Velico

Abstract: *The aim of this contribution is to describe the burial context of the Fettered Man, which was found in the Gulf of Baratti near Populonia in the early days of November 2016 by a team from the Università degli Studi di Milano, under the scientific direction of Giorgio Baratti. Findings of means of constraint in formal burials are rare in ancient necropolises and have been unique to Etruscan culture until now. The (late) Archaic burial in Populonia is comparable to some graves within Greek necropolises, which have mostly been interpreted as slave burials. As for the fetters, the same type was found in the necropolis of Akanthos, in an isolated burial in Martigues, and also in votive contexts. A broader reflection on the use of such tools of constriction in antiquity – with the use of both iconographical and historiographical sources – can help to understand what the Fettered Man was subjected to.*

Fetters around the ankles generally reflect a form of punishment which can be interpreted as being equivalent to strong subordination in ancient times. Shackles led to the further loss of freedom and movement of an individual probably already belonging to the margins of society. To be buried with shackles could either reflect a lack of care, or more likely the need and will to manifest the condition of subordination, even in the afterlife.

1 The Discovery

The surveys, conducted from 2008 to 2016, involved a peripheral portion of the Casone and San Cerbone necropolis (Fig. 1), the main funeral area of the ancient city of Populonia; the areas of excavation were located in between the pinewood and the beach, right in front of Centro Velico Piombinese.[1]

1 Giorgio Baratti, "Un sito per la produzione del sale sulla spiaggia di Baratti (area Centro Velico) alla fine dell'Età del Bronzo," in *Materiali per Populonia*, vol. 9, ed. Giorgio Baratti and Fabio Fabiani (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2010): 234–60; Cristina Chiaramonte Trerè, "Golfo di Baratti, Area Centro Velico: scavi 2008," in *Materiali per Populonia*, vol. 9, ed. Giorgio Baratti and Fabio Fabiani (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2010): 216–28; Lucia Mordeglia and Lia La Terra, "Gli scavi del 2009 dell'Università di Milano nel Golfo di Baratti, area Centro Velico," in *Materiali per Populonia*, vol. 10, ed. Giulia Facchin and Matteo Milletti (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2011): 185–200; Giorgio Baratti, "Nuovi dati dagli scavi nella pineta del Casone e considerazioni sull'evoluzione dell'area tra età del bronzo ed età romana," in *Materiali per Populonia*, vol. 11, ed. Valeria Di Cola and Federica Pitzalis (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2015): 211–26; Giorgio Baratti and Martina Sciortino, "Piombino (LI), Golfo di Baratti, Pineta del Casone: Area del Centro Velico

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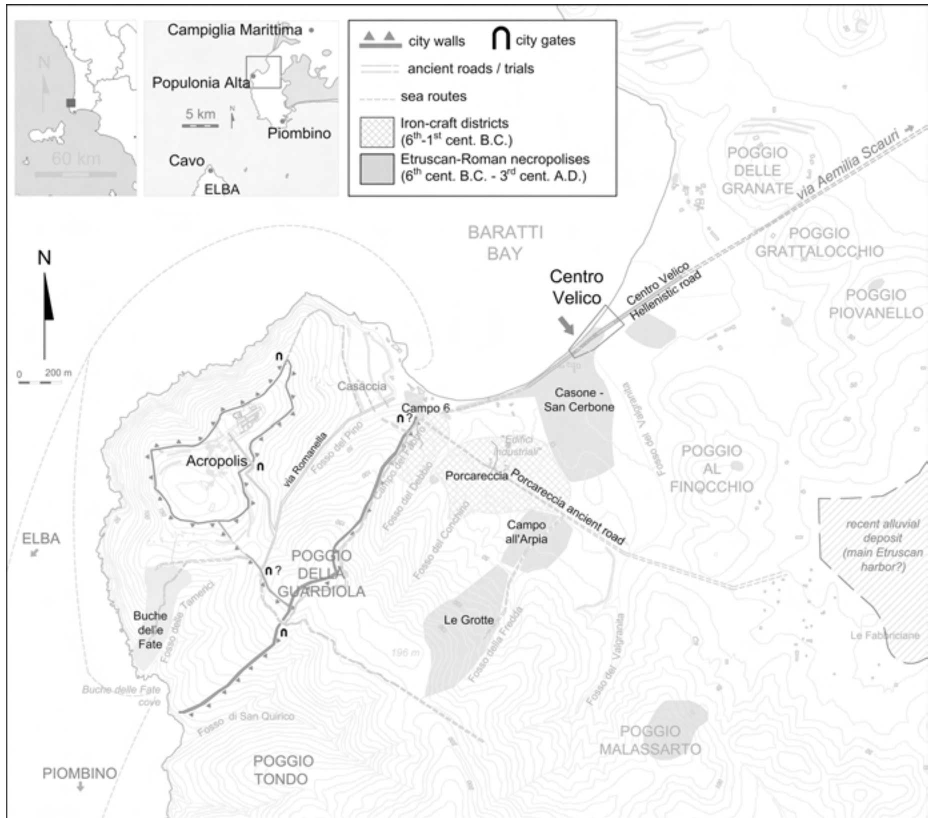

Fig. 1: Map of the Populonia-Baratti area showing Etruscan burial sites (Casone – San Cerbone, Le Grotte, Poggio Malassarto, Buche delle Fate).

piombinese (campagne 2014–2015)," *Notiziario SBAT 2015* (2016): 329–31. Specific bibliography about the finding of the Fettered Man: Giorgio Baratti, "Sepolto incatenato tra le dune di Baratti: Dallo scavo alla mostra," in *Costruire il passato in Etruria: Il senso dell'archeologia nella società contemporanea* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2018): 95–101. Giorgio Baratti, "Milano a Populonia: le ricerche delle università milanesi," in *Il viaggio della chimera: Gli Etruschi a Milano tra archeologia e collezionismo*, ed. Giulio Paolucci and Anna Provenzali (Milano: Johan & Levi editore, 2018): 143–47, 286 (Scheda di catalogo 126. Corredo della tomba 73). Giorgio Baratti, "Uno sguardo su Populonia alla luce delle ricerche nel golfo di Baratti e le nuove ricerche a Campo Sei," in *Ricerca, valorizzazione e management: tra passato e futuro del Parco archeologico di Baratti e Populonia*, ed. Marta Coccoluto (Firenze: Edifir, 2021): 113–22. Fundamental bibliography for analysis and comparison: Frederick Hugh Thompson, "Iron Age and Roman Slave-Shackles," *The Archaeological Journal* 150, no. 1 (1993): 57–168; Frederick Hugh Thompson, "Fetters on the Wall," *The Antiquaries Journal* 74 (1994): 12–15; Frederick Hugh Thompson, *The Archaeology of Greek and Roman Slavery* (London: Duckworth, 2003); Pier Giovanni Guzzo, "Ceppi in ferro da sepolture e da santuari (VIII–I sec. a.C.): Problemi di interpretazione," *Aristonothos* 16 (2020): 127–202.

The shackle-bound skeleton, buried in Tomb 76, had a southwest/northeast orientation, with the cranium placed at the southwest end (Fig. 2). Around the ankles of the man were two thick, heavy iron rings; in the burial fill, another curved, semi-circular, and hook-shaped iron element with a square section was found. This item, found in the southwest superficial portion of the grave, could possibly be another part of the constraint system applied to the Fettered Man. Finally, on the man's left hand, there was a thin iron ring (for a catalogue of the findings from Tomb 76, see Appendix 1).

Fig. 2: Centro Velico, Tomb 76.

2 The Context and its History

Tomb 76 can be securely dated to the time before the middle of the fourth century BC. The first archaeological evidence known from this area can be dated to the period between the thirteenth and the tenth centuries BC (Late Bronze Age), and it consists of traces of a furnace meant for the production of salt loaves.[2] The area was then abandoned, and the environment changed; the plain, which had previously contained lagoons, was covered by a dune system.[3] Then, at least from the first decades of the

2 Baratti, "Un sito per la produzione del sale": 237–54.

3 Baratti, "Nuovi dati dagli scavi": 211–26. Giorgio Baratti, "Nuovi spunti per una ricostruzione del contesto della città bassa di Populonia alla luce dei nuovi scavi," in *Paesaggi urbani e rurali in trasformazione: Contesti e dinamiche insediative alla luce del dato archeologico, Atti della Giornata di Studi dei Dottorandi in Archeologia (Pisa, 22 novembre 2019)*, ed. Fabio Fabiani and Gabriele Gattiglia (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2021): 12–24.

seventh century BC, the yellow sand dunes started to be used as a funeral area. The oldest traces of burials comprise one or maybe two groups of cremation pit-graves (Phase 1, Orientalizing period); afterwards (sixth century BC), the land was incorporated into the Casone and San Cerbone necropolis (Fig. 3).

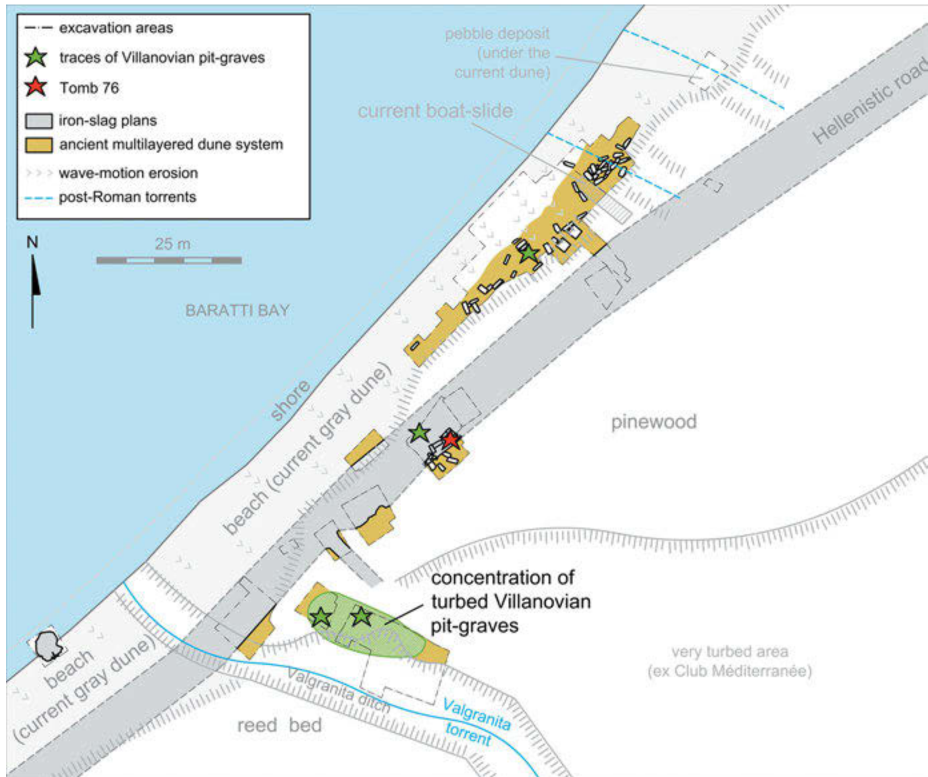

Fig. 3: Plant of the site of Centro Velico (Etruscan – Roman period).

From that moment on, three different chronological phases are clearly distinguishable in this funeral complex: Phase 2 (circa sixth–mid-fifth century BC), Phase 3 (circa mid-fifth–mid-/late third century BC), and Phase 4 (from the mid-/late third century BC to the second century AD at least).

In Phase 3, which is from the High Hellenistic period, the previous tomb orientation is no longer respected, and we can use the burial direction as a possible dating tool in combination with the findings of grave goods. The last phase of the necropolis is the late Hellenistic and Roman period, and the dividing line between these last two phases is the presence of an impressive road structure, which has been identified in different surveys. This road was built at the beginning of the Romanisation, around the middle or in the second half of the third century BC, and was probably meant to

link Populonia with the *Via Aemilia Scauri*.[4] The particular building technique for the massive road consisted of the reuse of the metallurgical waste, which was easy to find in such an industrial place.

3 The Chronology of Tomb 76

The Fettered Man had clearly been buried before the building of the road: Tomb 76 was found under the southern edge of the roadway. Even if there are no other dating elements, as no grave goods have been found in his tomb, the stratigraphy helps us best to rebuild the chronology of this finding, thanks to another burial (Tomb 73) that cuts the earlier Tomb 76 (Fig. 4).[5]

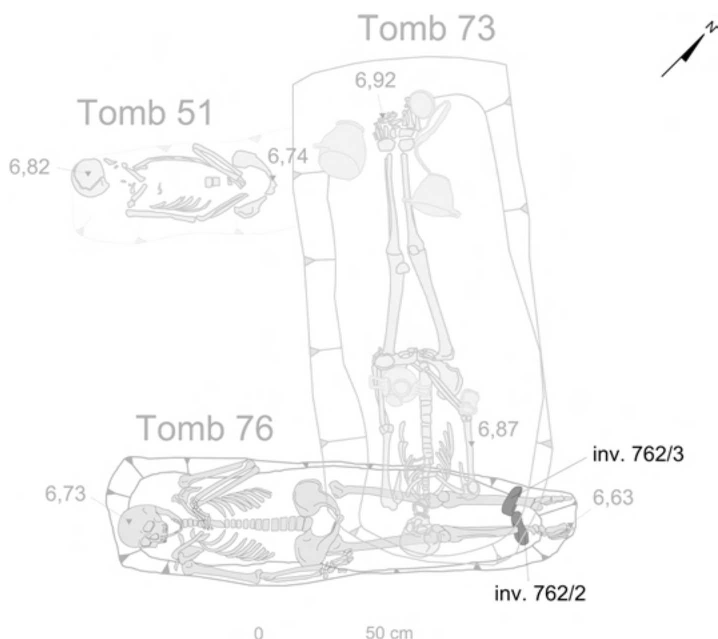

Fig. 4: Plant of Tombs 51, 73, 76.

The funerary kit found in Tomb 73 provides us with a reliable *terminus ante quem* for Tomb 76, which is around the middle of the fourth century BC. According to the burial orientation, we can probably date Tomb 76 more accurately to the Archaic or Late Archaic period (Phase 2).

4 Baratti, "Nuovi dati dagli scavi": 221–26; Baratti, "Uno sguardo su Populonia": 117–20.
5 Baratti, "Milano a Populonia": 286.

4 Anthropological Analysis

After the cleaning and restoration of the skeletal remains, the biological profile was reconstructed according to methods commonly suggested by the literature. Sexing was performed by applying both morphological and metric methods,[6] whereas age at death was assessed by evaluating the state of fusion of the epiphyses and the dental eruption and formation, as well as the morphological changes in the pubic symphysis.[7] Stature was estimated by measuring the maximum length of the long bones and applying the formulae described by Trotter and Gleser.[8] Finally, ancestry was analysed by considering both anthroposcopic (using the OSSA and HefneR applications)[9] and anthropometric methods, and also through the software Fordisc in the second case.[10]

Skeletal remains were further examined carefully at a macroscopic level in order to identify signs of possible pathology and/or trauma which occurred in a period before, after, or at the moment of death.[11]

The bone elements showing paleopathological and/or traumatic signs were compared with findings in the modern literature, especially those in clinical and epidemiological studies[12] and forensic anthropological data,[13] in order to describe the scenario more accurately and in detail.

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6 Angi M. Christensen et al., *Forensic Anthropology: Current Methods and Practice* (London: Academic Press, 2014); Phillip L. Walker, "Sexing Skulls Using Discriminant Function Analysis of Visually Assessed Traits," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 136, no. 1 (2008): 39–50; Phillip L. Walker, "Greater Sciatic Notch Morphology: Sex, Age, and Population Differences," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 127, no. 4 (2005): 385–91.

7 Erin H. Kimmerle et al., "Analysis of Age-at-Death Estimation through the Use of Pubic Symphyseal Data," *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 53, no. 3 (2008): 558–68; C. Owen Lovejoy et al. "Chronological Metamorphosis of the Auricular Surface of the Ilium: A New Method for the Determination of Adult Skeletal Age at Death," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 68 (1985): 15–28.

8 Mildred Trotter and Goldine C. Gleser, "A Re-Evaluation of Estimation of Stature Based on Measurements of Stature Taken during Life and of Long Bones after Death," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 16, no. 1 (1958): 79–123.

9 Joseph T. Hefner and Stephen D. Ousley, "Statistical Classification Methods for Estimating Ancestry Using Morphoscopic Traits," *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 59, no. 4 (2014): 883–90; Joseph T. Hefner, "Cranial Nonmetric Variation and Estimating Ancestry," *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 54, no. 5 (2009): 985–95.

10 Richard L. Jantz and Stephen D. Ousley, *FORDISC 3.0: Personal Computer Forensic Discriminant Functions* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 2015).

11 Charlotte Roberts and Keith Manchester, *The Archaeology of Disease*, 3rd ed. (Cheltenham: History Press, 2010); Jane E. Buikstra, ed., *Ortner's Identification of Pathological Conditions in Human Skeletal Remains* (London: Academic Press, 2019).

12 Dan L. Longo et al., *Harrison's Principles of Internal Medicine*, vol. 2 (London: McGraw-Hill, 2011).

13 Norman J. Sauer, "The Timing of Injuries and Manner of Death: Distinguishing among Antemortem, Perimortem and Postmortem Trauma," in *Forensic Osteology: Advances in the Identification of*

After the analyses, it was seen that the bones belonged to an adult male (based on skull and pelvis characteristics), age at death was between 35 and 44 years (based on the auricular surface and pubic symphysis morphology), and that he was 173 cm tall and of African ancestry. The results obtained through the OSSA[14] and HefneR[15] applications were used for this diagnosis. There were signs of occupational stress on the arms, shoulders, and back, as well as healed fractures on the fingers that had been produced several years before death, which indicate the heavy use of the upper limbs.

The iron rings must have been applied to the ankles not too long before the man's death, since the bones did not present signs of alteration due to the long-term presence of shackles or of infection due to lesions produced by their presence.

5 The Necropolis, the Area of Centro Velico, and Similar Contexts

As already mentioned, the area of Centro Velico was meant to be the offshoot of a major necropolis, called Casone and San Cerbone, and most tombs in it can be dated to the Hellenistic phase. Among the nine Archaic or Late Archaic burials contemporary to that of the Fettered Man, only four offer items of clothing and accessories of non-perishable material as grave goods.

In this phase, the low number of tombs, the total lack of remarkable grave goods, and the peripheral position could allow us to consider geographical marginality as a possible reflection of social factors. Since the tombs are in a peripheral sector of the necropolis, they may be occupied by people who were on the margins of Populonian society.

There are no other examples – at least for now – of burials from Etruscan necropolises with such means of constraint, and that is why it represents a unique case. However, similar findings (formal burials of fettered men) from almost the same period have been attested in some Greek necropolises, both in Greece and Southern Italy. In the Buonfornello necropolis in Himera, three different graves with shackled bodies were found: a man, a boy, and a woman with fetters around the ankles dating back from the end of the sixth to the end of the fifth century BC (Tombs W2831, W2832, and

Human Remains, ed. Kathleen J. Reichs and William M. Bass (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1998): 321–31.

14 Hefner and Ousley, "Estimating Ancestry Using Morphoscopic Traits."

15 Hefner, "Estimating Ancestry"; application developed by João d'Oliveira Coelho and David Navega.

W2466).[16] According to the interpretation of the other burials in the necropolis, this could actually be an area reserved for the lowest social classes. No grave goods were found, and the three individuals were recognized as slaves by the authors.

Another example comes from Passo Marinaro in Camarina (Tomb 839), a funeral context where an adult male was buried with fetters around the ankles.[17] The feet were close to each other, and that could testify that the movement of this individual was really limited. A black painted cup dates the burial to the middle of the fifth century BC, and it is the only element contained in the funerary kit.

In Phthiotic Thebes, Tomb 3 from the Hellenistic necropolis contained a man with shackles around his ankles.[18] The two rings were connected to a third smaller one through two linking elements.

The most extraordinary context comes from the necropolis of Akanthos in Ierissos.[19] Here, twelve tombs of people with fetters around their ankles were found. The tombs did not contain any grave goods, and the burials were apparently not connected to each other. The shackles were of different types: The best-preserved specimen has rings joined by a link or multiple metal links; the others are ankle rings composed of round-section bars or flat strips with their ends overlapping or simply butt-jointed, with no metal link between the two round elements. These individuals were identified by the authors as prisoners who had been sent to labour, the ones caught by Alexander the Great during the Battle of the Granicus (334 BC).

It is necessary to admit here that individuals who are buried with means of constriction may have been identified as the burials of slaves or prisoners in an arbitrary manner, leaving room for reasonable doubt. It is also clear, however, that the hypothesis that they are slaves, although sometimes a priori, seems to be the best interpretation to date, as supported by iconographic and historiographical sources (see here subchapters 7 and 8).

16 Stefano Vassallo, “Himera: Indagini nella necropoli (con appendice di Matteo Valentino),” in *Tra Etruria, Lazio e Magna Grecia: indagini sulle necropoli*, ed. Raffaella Bonaudo et al. (Paestum: Pandemus, 2009): 233–60; Stefano Vassallo, “Indigeni ad Himera? Il ruolo dei Sicani nelle vicende della colonia,” in *Segni di appartenenza e identità di comunità nel mondo indigeno*, ed. Bianca Ferrara and Giovanna Greco (Napoli: Naus Editoria, 2014): 355–68; Guzzo, “Ceppi in ferro”: 151–52.

17 Giovanni Di Stefano and Giorgia Tulumello, “Dati preliminari sulle sepolture infantili della necropoli di Camarina – Passo Marinaro (RG, Sicilia): Scavi 1980–1983,” in *Una favola breve: archeologia e antropologia per la storia dell’infanzia*, ed. Claudia Lambrugo (Sesto Fiorentino: All’insegno del Giglio, 2019): 87–90; Guzzo, “Ceppi in ferro”: 152.

18 Evanghélia Deilaki, “Epiphoreia Klassikou archaiotitou Bolou,” *Archaiologikon Deltion* 29, no. 2, 2 (1973–1974): 548–49; Thompson, *Greek and Roman Slavery*: 222; Guzzo, “Ceppi in ferro”: 152–53.

19 Panagiotis Faklaris, “The Fettered Men of Acanthus,” *Archaiologika analekta ex Athenon* 19 (1986): 178–84; Thompson, *Greek and Roman Slavery*: 222; Guzzo, “Ceppi in ferro”: 154–57.

A more recent case (dated to the second–first century BC) is the burial of a woman with shackles around the ankles, attested in the Vallon du Fou in Martigues, France.[20] She was not found in a necropolis, but in an isolated context far from the known inhabited area, so it cannot be considered as a formal burial as the other examples.

More findings of fetters in burials have in fact been confirmed for the pre-Roman period, but in those cases, there are some interpretation problems or a lack of stratigraphical information, and the exact position of the shackles is unknown.[21]

6 The Constraint System

The type of shackles from Populonia (Fig. 5, 6, 8) appears to be technically simpler than the ones later and better attested from the Roman period, and even in comparison to the technically more complex examples from the Iron Age (all catalogued by Frederick Hugh Thompson in 1993).[22]

They consist of two iron bars that are "O"-shaped, open, and with overlapping and flattened ends. After the restoration, little holes were found at the ends of the bars; the part of the shackles joining the two rings was not conserved – or rather, it had not been buried with the body. Either it was made of perishable material, or the connecting element was re-used on other people and had been removed before the burial. Yet, it could be possible that the two fetters were used alone, without any linking element, to make it difficult to walk, or even to run.

The only resemblance with the specimens from Thompson's catalogue may be the "without parallel" shackle from Sanzeno (92) no. 1289, which has perforated, flattened, zoomorphic heads and looks similar to the following comparisons.[23]

The fetters from Populonia are resemblant to the above-mentioned type β of the classification made by Panagiotis Faklaris for the shackles found on the fettered men in the necropolis of Akanthos.[24]

The "Akanthos β" type has mainly been found in burials from Classic and Hellenistic times. However, some findings have been documented in sacred areas as well. For example, a pair of iron ankle rings of the same kind and dated to the early fourth

20 Sandrine Duval, "La défunte aux entraves: L'inhumation d'une esclave de la fin de l'âge du Fer," in *Préhistoires Méditerranéennes* 14 (2008): 19–27; Guzzo, "Ceppi in ferro": 169.

21 For these further examples, see Guzzo, "Ceppi in ferro" and Thompson, *Greek and Roman Slavery*: 217–38.

22 Thompson "Slave-Shackles": 151–64.

23 Thompson "Slave-Shackles": 88–97.

24 Faklaris, "The Fettered Men of Acanthus": 179, see fig. 1.

century BC has been found in a pit in the Shrine of Demeter in Policoro.[25] They were open and are interpreted as an offer to the goodness by a freed man to celebrate his release.

Fig. 5: Fetters from Tomb 76, after restoration (c–d. inv. 762.2 and inv. 762.3; see Fig. 8) – view from above.

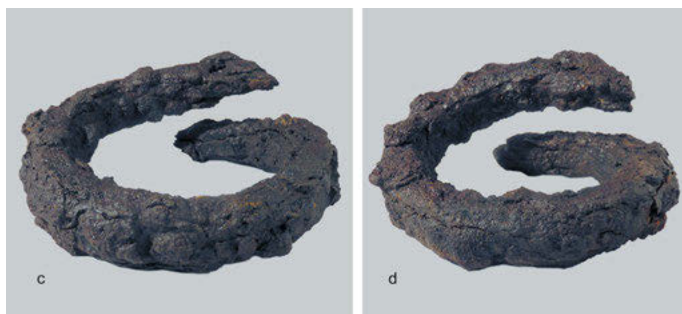

Fig. 6: Fetters from Tomb 76, after restoration (c–d. inv. 762.2 and inv. 762.3; see Fig. 8) – lateral view.

Another resemblance with the fetters from Populonia can be seen in the shackles documented in Gallo-Roman contexts, between Late La Tène and the second–first century BC;[26] an example would be the finding from Martigues, where the ends of one shackle appear to be jointed and bonded hot by riveting on the ankle of the individual.

The constraint system found in Tomb 76 could be composed by other items. Indeed, a dark and limited spot was documented on the sand right behind the neck of

25 Guzzo, “Ceppi in ferro”: 162–64, with further bibliography; see page 201, fig. 26–27. These fetters are meant as manacles in Frederick Hugh Thompson’s interpretation: Thompson, “Slave-Shackles”: 152 (catalogued as no. 11).
26 Duval, “La défunte aux entraves”: 19–27; see fig. 7–9.

the man, which may be a sign of a decomposed wooden object, such as a collar or even a sort of pillory.[27] In fact, the hook-shaped iron fragment (Fig. 7, 8), found just above the cranium, could be comparable with the pointed-ended metal cramps used in Phaleros, Athens (circa 650–625 BC), to hang the bodies of the waiting-the-death convicts onto wooden planks.[28] This form of brutal capital punishment was recognised as the custom of *apotympanismos.*[29]

All the iron findings from Tomb 76, including the iron ring (Fig. 7, 8), were analysed using ED-XRF techniques (see table in Appendix 2). The results have shown compatibility with regionally sourced material (such as those from Rio Marina mines on Elba Island or the Campiglia Marittima and Massa Marittima mines). Despite this, since some of the trace elements clearly referable to this mineralization are missing, more in-depth analysis is required.[30]

Fig. 7: Iron fragment (of a collar or a pillory? a. inv. 753.1) and digital ring (b. inv. 762.1) from Tomb 76 (see Fig. 8).

27 A sort of ancient pillory could be attested by a black painted figuration on a crater from Cerveteri attributed to Ophelandros Painter (Pier Giovanni Guzzo, "Rappresentazione di ceppi su vasi corinzi e attici," *Aristonothos* 17 (2021): 131–49).

28 Thompson, "Slave-Shackles": 140; Thompson, *Greek and Roman Slavery*: 122; Guzzo, "Ceppi in ferro": 133–35.

29 Eva Cantarella, *I supplizi capitali: Origine e funzioni delle pene di morte in Grecia e Roma* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2011): 124–32, with previous bibliography.

30 Giulia Ruschioni, "Termografia IR e analisi XRF per la caratterizzazione del corredo dell'uomo in ceppi di Baratti" (bachelor's thesis, Università degli studi di Milano, 2018/2019). Further information about signatures of iron ores from Elba Island: Marco Benvenuti et al., "The Tungsten and Tin Signature of Iron Ores from Elba Island (Italy): A Tool for Provenance Studies of Iron Production in the Mediterranean Region," *Archaeometry* 55, no. 3 (2013): 479–506.

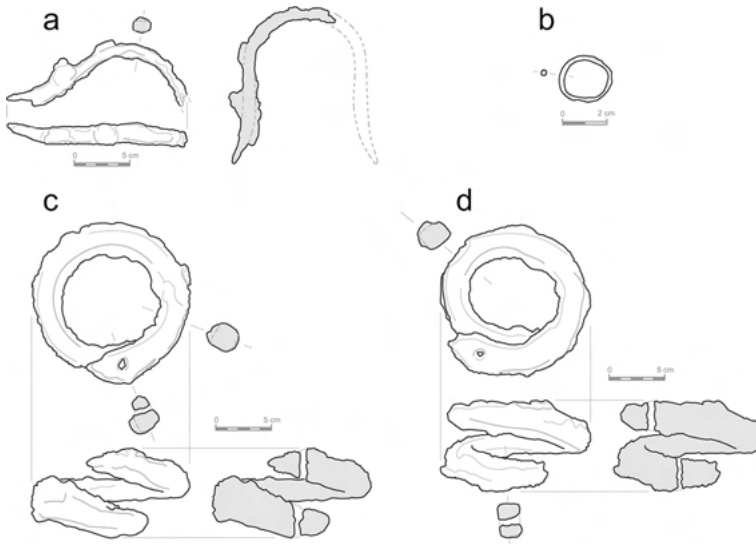

Fig. 8: The findings from Tomb 76: a. inv. 753.1 (fragment of a collar or a pillory?); b. inv. 762.1 (digital ring); c–d. inv. 762.2 and inv. 762.3 (fetters).

7 The Use of Means of Constraint in Antiquity

What we know about the use of shackles comes from both iconographical and written sources, which are informative, especially about Greek and Roman society in the Classical period. Nevertheless, they can also help to counter the lack of information about the Etruscan world and provide us with a wider point of view.[31] Apart from the written sources, which are inevitably lacking for Etruscan society, iconography helps us to understand more effectively the aim of the different means of constraint. Both its material and the part of the body tied by the constraint can define a different kind of constriction. First, the use of perishable materials, such as ropes or leather elements, may suggest a short-term constriction due to their durability. The best example is the rope represented in most of the figurative scenes about war prisoners on Roman monuments. Indeed, war captivity never represents a long-lasting condition because it is not a cost-effective solution.[32] Rather, the prisoners were killed (to show strength), used as bargaining chips with the enemies (to get something back), or – more fre-

31 Thompson, *Greek and Roman Slavery*: 217–25.

32 Alain Testart, *L'institution de l'esclavage: Une approche mondiale: Édition révisée et complétée par Valérie Lécrivain* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2018): 58–72.

quently – enslaved (a lot of prisoners, enslaved after a war, guaranteed economic and social enrichment to the society that held them).

In contrast, when iron chains are represented, such as those at the base of a column from a monument in Mainz[33] and on the grave relief from Nickenich,[34] the constraint condition of the chained men appears to be final. Even if this is not a strict rule, because there can be parts of a permanent means of constraint that are made of perishable material, iron chains still better suggest a permanent condition. Also, for this reason, the iron rings around the Fettered Man's ankles can signify at least a mid- or long-term constraint.

The kind of bond says much about the condition of the bounding, too. Again, iconography helps us to define the function and the aim of the different constraint tools. When the wrists are bound, the man is usually a prisoner that has just been caught, should probably be taken somewhere else, and, especially, must walk on his own legs. War prisoners, when caught, were represented with their wrists bound, both in front of the body or behind their backs.

When more people were bound and had to be moved together, then they were bound by the neck using collars or by their wrists, but they were usually linked to one another to prevent them from escaping. Several captured enemies or slaves (for example, during the sale) were presented in a row, one attached to the other, and they would usually move under the guide of a man that kept the rope or the chain in his hands. An example of this use can be found in the lowest register of the stele from Amphipolis, now at the Kavala Museum, where a row of bound people, tied at the neck, is represented going towards the right, led by a man that has the rope in his hands.[35]

The third type of bond, the one of interest to us here, concerns the feet: it is the one that most limited the movements. Iron fetters were probably some of the strongest constraint tools, allowing someone to use their body but preventing them from fleeing. Furthermore, more than one system could be used at the same time to ensure greater constraint, and this happened specifically under the condition of imprisonment.

Iconographic sources seem to attribute fetters to people recognized as slaves or the condemned. Fetters prevented the wearer from walking away and were probably used for several reasons, which we could better understand through written sources,

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33 Thompson, *Greek and Roman Slavery*: 34–39, see page 38, fig. 8; Michele George, "Slavery and Roman Material Culture," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 1, *The Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 399–400, see page 401, fig. 18, 5.

34 Jeanne-Nora Andrikopoulou-Strack, *Grabbauten des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. im Rheingebiet: Untersuchungen zu Chronologie und Typologie* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1986): 179; Thompson, *Greek and Roman Slavery*: 40, fig. 9.

35 Jacques Roger, "Inscriptions de la région du Strymon," *Revue Archéologique* 24 (1945): 49, fig. 8; Giuseppe Pucci, "Detrahis vestimenta venalibus," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18 (2005): 235–40.

too. Limiting the movement of the ankles, as far as the Classical period is concerned, is normally a form of punishment associated with the lower members of society. They are in fact often mentioned as a form of punishment for slaves, especially ex-war prisoners who were subsequently enslaved. The use of shackles as a means of constraint for the ankles and legs, apart from their use on slaves, has been attested as a punishment for free men both in Athens and in Rome. It has also been established as a punishment for thieves in Attica by Lysias and Demosthenes, but it seems to be a harsher penalty and was only imposed when agreed to by the Heliaia (the supreme court of ancient Athens). In this case, the bond would have been limited in time (five days and nights).[36] One of the earliest Latin mentions of *compedes* (shackles) should probably be dated to the Twelve Tables, in Gellius's reconstruction:[37] there, the practice of chaining the ankles was reserved for debtors that could not pay the money back. As a matter of fact, such a constraint seems to be the worsening of a punishment.

In the ancient times, being bound and in imprisoned was rarely the penalty itself; it was rather a moment of transition between the catch and the actual sentence. One could be sentenced to death, to hard labour, to the payment of a fine, or to slavery, but the only moment in which a man was imprisoned was a short phase in the process that took place before the actual sentence; it was not the penalty itself. According to ancient written sources, especially in the Roman tradition, slaves who had tried to flee were punished by obligating them to wear fetters during daily activities. Also, prisoners of war, when enslaved, could be chained and limited in their movement in order to prevent them from fleeing.[38]

8 Conclusion

We can assume that the constrained status of the Fettered Man was a mid- or long-term condition because the shackles were buried with him, even if he probably had not worn them long before he died, as the anthropological analysis suggests.

The man could have been part of the lower class of society, since – as far as we are informed – it appears that this kind of punishment was not applied to the upper classes (who were instead obliged to pay a fine or to go into exile); being obliged to wear such means of constraint was for sure considered demeaning for the upper members of society and for this reason could have been reserved for the lower members.

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36 See Lys. 10, 16 and Dem. 24, 105.

37 See Gell. 20, 1, 42–44 (*Tabula* III, 1–6).

38 An analysis of these sources is in Thompson, *Greek and Roman Slavery*: 78–102, with further bibliography.

In the Greek world, constraint was strictly connected to punishment, both for the free and the unfree. We can then assume that whoever the man was, a slave or a freeman, he was under some sort of punishment. Since he does not present signs of occupational stress on the legs, he may not have been used as a part of the workforce for the heavier activities, at least not for a long time before his death.

So, the constraint system used on the man consisted of the two preserved shackles and something missing – the linking element that would have effectively prevented the movement of the man. Since it was not preserved in the Fettered Man's grave, we shall presume that it was either made of perishable material, or it was removed before the burial.

The aim of the study was to define the possible condition of a man that had been bound with shackles before death, rather than why he had been buried with them, because it would be difficult to prove it as a voluntary action or as an act of negligence. For sure the man had been buried with the means of constraint because he had them, at least for a short period before his death. As already said, shackles are a means of constraint used as a punishment for the lower classes of society: for slaves or, for example, for debtors (in the Roman Twelve Tables), or even for thieves (in Classical Athens).

The Fettered Man was either (1) a free man serving his sentence or, less probably, with a pending sentence, (2) an enslaved man or ex-war prisoner sentenced to hard labour, or (3) a slave under some sort of punishment. Moreover, if the shackles had been applied to a free man, it would have to be discussed if the means of constraint was just an imprisonment awaiting a sentence (1) or the punishment itself (2).

Since iron fetters are usually – if not always – associated with mid- or long-term punishment, the second option may be better; although, as already said, anthropological analysis suggests that the fetters were put on his body not too long before his death. If the shackles were the punishment, they should have been associated with a physical activity to which the man had been condemned, or rather the man should have kept doing his own job with the fetters on, which would have made it harder. They were in fact a way to prevent people from fleeing and to oblige them to work. If the man was already a non-free person (3) – that is, a slave – still putting the fetters to his ankles must have served as a sort of punishment, and again as a sentence to a harder form of slavery.

Even if it is not possible to find an unequivocal solution, a man buried in such a peripheral area, in a formal context, and with such means of constraint is to be seen as marginal to society, probably subjected to some sort of punishment for something he had done during his life as a freeman or as a slave. In the Latin *damnatio ad metalla*, the condemned people became *ipso facto* slaves of their own *poena*. Being buried with fetters suggests that the man was, if not a slave himself, in a condition like slavery, and that he must have been perceived by society in that way, even after his death.

Yet he had the right to have a formal burial and was not found, for example, in a mass grave (such as the ones in Pydna, in which fetters and chains were found among several skeletons).[39] Even if from a completely different context, Latin and Greek sources show us that a formal burial was not denied to slaves or to condemned people.[40]

The fact that anthropological analyses have returned probable African ancestry allows us take a step forward and think of the man as an outsider in anthropological terms. In social anthropology, slaves are normally considered as outsiders,[41] brought to a new society to perform activities that the members of that society find demeaning or too heavy. Even if we cannot verify the statements about the life of this individual in the absence of further evidence, the suggestion is clear. The man could possibly be perceived as – and could actually be – an outsider to the society, at least at the moment of his death, as he appears to have been subjected to some sort of punishment for the actions he had committed, as testified by the presence of the fetters.

Appendix 1

Catalogue of the findings from Centro Velico, Tomb 76

1. Fragment of an unidentified object (Fig. 7 a)
   Iron fragment (of a collar or a pillory?), with a curved, hooked shape and a square section. Extensive traces of oxidation and corrosion.
   Inventory number: 753.1. Thickness: 1.0–1.6 cm.
2. Digital ring (Fig. 7 b)
   Iron digital ring with a square section. Extensive traces of oxidation and corrosion.
   Inventory number: 762.1. Maximum diameter: 2.3 cm. Thickness: 2.0 mm.
3. Fetter (Fig. 5 c; Fig. 6 c)
   Open-ended iron fetter, with a square section bar; overlapped and quite flattened ends; a through-hole is located on each termination. Extensive traces of oxidation and corrosion.
   Inventory number: 762.2.
   Maximum diameter: 14.0 cm. Thickness: 2.1–2.3 cm. Weight: circa 1.5 kg.

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39 For the burials in Pydna: see Matthaios Bessios and Sevi Triantophyllou, “A Mass Grave in the North Cemetery of Ancient Pydna,” *To archaiologiko ergo ste Makedonia kai Thrake* 14 (2000): 393; Duval, “La défunte aux entraves”: 10; Guzzo, “Ceppi in ferro”: 157–60, with further bibliography. For the burials in Athens: Louis Gernet, *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* (Paris: Maspéro, 1968): 302–29; Guzzo, “Ceppi in ferro”: 133–35, with further bibliography.

40 See Dem. 43, 58; Jean Christian Dumont, “La mort de l’esclave,” in *La mort, les morts et l’au-delà dans le monde romain*, ed. François Hinard (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 1987): 184–85 and Duval, “La défunte aux entraves”: 24–26.

41 Alain Testart, *L’institution de l’esclavage*: 58–72; Fabio Viti, *Schiavi, servi e dipendenti: Antropologia delle forme di dipendenza personale in Africa* (Milano: Raffaello Cortina Editore, 2007): 1–35.

4. Fetter (Fig. 5 d; Fig. 6 d)
   Open-ended iron fetter, with a square section bar; overlapped and quite flattened ends; a through-hole is located on each termination. Extensive traces of oxidation and corrosion.
   Inventory number: 762.3.
   Maximum diameter: 13.6 cm. Thickness: 2.0–2.5 cm. Weight: circa 1.5 kg.

Appendix 2

Tab. 1: Table of XRF analysis results.[42] The values are expressed in percentages; the Fe/Zn ratio is provided in the last column.

		Ca	Fe	W	Zn	Pb	Fe/Zn
Fetter 762.2	a	6.58	21.70	trace	1.04		20.89
	b	3.06	50.27	trace	0.93		54.16
	c		51.21				/
	d		63.70				/
	e	13.29	22.62	trace	3.58		6.33
	f	6.90	24.99	trace	1.97		12.71
	g	7.34	19.45		2.28		8.52
	h	1.72	27.55		0.15		189.64
	i	12.29	9.63		0.79		12.18
Fetter 762.3	a		63.16	0.08	0.81		78.31
	b		57.21	trace	1.00		57.15
Digital ring 762.1	a	1.03	11.58				/
Fragment 753.1	a	12.55	28.16	trace	0.81	0.05	34.87
	b	12.07	26.80	1.31	trace		/

42 Data from Ruschioni, *Termografia IR e analisi XRF*.

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Notes on Contributors

Petra Amann, Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Lehrstuhl für Etruskologie und Italische Altertumskunde, Universität Wien. E-mail: petra.amann@univie.ac

Giorgio Baratti, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano. E-mail: giorgio.baratti@unicatt.it

Enrico Benelli, Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università degli Studi Roma Tre.
E-mail: enrico.benelli@uniroma3.it

Martin Bentz, Institut für Archäologie und Kulturanthropologie, Abteilung für Klassische Archäologie, Universität Bonn; Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS), Universität Bonn.
E-mail: m.bentz@uni-bonn.de

Valentina Caruso, LABANOF – Laboratorio di Antropologia e Odontologia Forense, Università degli Studi di Milano. E-mail: caruso.valentina87@gmail.com

Cristina Cattaneo, LABANOF – Laboratorio di Antropologia e Odontologia Forense, Università degli Studi di Milano. E-mail: cristina.cattaneo@unimi.it

Massimiliano Di Fazio, Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici – Sezione di Antichità, Università di Pavia.
E-mail: massimiliano.difazio@unipv.it

Francesca Fulminante, Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst (2022–23); Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Bristol; Institute of Continuing Education, Oxford and Cambridge; Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università degli Studi Roma Tre. E-mail: Francesca.fulminante@bristol.ac.uk

Erich Kistler, Institut für Archäologien, Universität Innsbruck. E-mail: Erich.Kistler@uibk.ac.at

Robinson Peter Krämer, Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Lehrstuhl für Etruskologie und Italische Altertumskunde, Universität Wien.
E-Mail: robinson.peter.kraemer@univie.ac.at; kraemer.antiquity@gmail.com

Laura Magnano, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano. E-mail: laura.magnano11@gmail.com

Mirko Mattia, LABANOF – Laboratorio di Antropologia e Odontologia Forense, Università degli Studi di Milano. E-mail: mirko.mattia@unimi.it

Marina Micozzi, Dipartimento di Scienze Umanistiche, della Comunicazione e del Turismo, Università degli Studi della Tuscia, Viterbo. E-mail: marinamicozzi@unitus.it

Laura Nazim, Institut für Archäologische Wissenschaften, Ruhr-Universität Bochum.
E-mail: Laura.Nazim@ruhr-uni-bochum.de

Claudio Negrini, Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Lehrstuhl für Etruskologie und Italische Altertumskunde, Universität Wien. E-mail: claudio.negrini@univie.ac.at

Elisa Perego, Institute of Archaeology, University College London. E-mail: e.perego@ucl.ac.uk

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Mauro Rubini, Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le Province di Frosinone e Latina, Servizio di Antropologia, Roma. E-mail: mauro.rubini@cultura.gov.it

Martina Sciortino, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano. E-mail: martina.sciortino@unicatt.it

Rafael Scopacasa, Departamento de História, Universidade de São Paulo; Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Exeter. E-mail: rscopacasa@usp.br

Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, Institut für Archäologische Wissenschaften, Ruhr-Universität Bochum. E-mail: cornelia.weber-lehmann@ruhr-uni-bochum.de

Patrick Zeidler, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS), Universität Bonn; Institut für Archäologie und Kulturanthropologie, Abteilung für Klassische Archäologie, Universität Bonn. E-mail: pzeidler@uni-bonn.de