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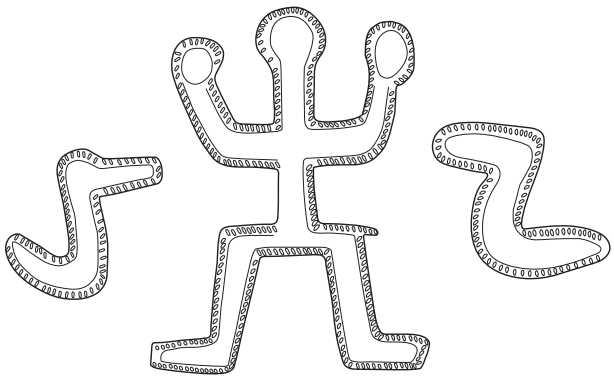
VOL. CXLIX

FROM INVISIBLE TO VISIBLE

New Methods and Data for the Archaeology of Infant and Child Burials in Pre-Roman Italy and Beyond

edited by

Jacopo Tabolli



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Cover image: Spoleto. Piazza d'Armi. Tomb 11 (infant, 2–4 years). Detail of a shoe-shaped askos of brown impasto with a depiction of the 'Mistress of animals' (after a drawing by J. Weidig)

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Editor's preface

Jacopo Tabolli

This volume is the outcome of the postdoctoral research fellowship '*Childhood and the Deathly Hallows: Investigating Infant and Child Burials in pre-Roman Italy (ca 1000–500 BC)*' carried out at the Department of Classics at Trinity College Dublin and funded by the Irish Research Council, under the scheme GOIPD/2016. When I first drafted the application for this project back in 2015, I thought that such a comprehensive and unprecedented analysis of sub-adult burials would have provided answers to some of the open questions coming from my previous research on the Faliscan and Etruscan Early Iron Age and Orientalising funerary record—trying to overcome the apparent elusive character of these burials while looking at new and interdisciplinary trends in funerary archaeology.

Then, between 2015 and 2018, while working on pre-Roman infant burials, my wife and I had two children and I found myself asking why on earth I had chosen to investigate such a sensitive topic. I found myself describing clusters of child tombs at Veii or drafting graphs about infant mortality rates while experiencing for the first time how ethical and emotional circumstances could strongly impact an objective analysis of data (if such an analysis exists). To reconcile myself with my research I chose to focus on the interdisciplinary component of the project; this has become primarily a way to escape from the pure archaeological data and to create new narratives. This process had a tremendous effect on the research itself because it forced me to build a real dialogue with scholars coming from other disciplines, such as paediatrics and social sciences.

This collaboration resulted in an international conference '*From Invisible to Visible. New Data and Methods for the Archaeology of Infant and Child Burials in Pre-Roman Italy*', which took place at Trinity College Dublin in April 2017 and brought together for the first time a large number of experts on pre-Roman Italy to present and discuss their current research. The Hoey Ideas Space in the Trinity Long Room Hub functioned as a methodological interdisciplinary incubator allowing archaeologists and anthropologists/bioarchaeologists to share their insights in an unconventional academic environment. I would like to thank here Professor Trevor Spratt, Director of the Trinity Centre in Childhood Studies, Professor Eleanor Molloy, Chair of the Department of Paediatrics of Trinity College Dublin and Dr Chatherine Lawless, Director of the Centre for Gender and Women's Studies, for having accepted the challenge of opening a dialogue with a world distant in space and time.

Some of the papers presented at the 2016 conference are published here in the form of chapters, together with other relevant contributions by colleagues who did not attend the conference but expressed their interest in contributing to this volume. All chapters discuss mainly previously unpublished data from pre-Roman Italy with the exception of the last chapter that presents a case study from Late Antique Greece. The reason for this anomalous *addendum* is related to the peculiarity of the archaeological record analysed, which, despite the cultural and chronological distance from pre-Roman Italy, sheds significant light on the conscious (and painful) process of burying an infant or a child.

The first part of the volume constitutes the premise to the others and focuses on methodologies and theorethical approaches to the study of sub-adult burials in pre-Roman Italy (see **Pl. 1**). The second part discusses the archaeology of infant and child burials in ancient Latium and Rome, with new data from Rome, Gabii and Satricum. The third part presents data from the two South Etruscan towns of Veii and Tarquinia. In the fourth part, the different chapters follow a journey towards the north; the sites of Tivoli, Spoleto, Novilara, Murlo, Forcello and Verona are discussed. The fifth part presents comprehensive overviews on infant and child burials in Abruzzo and Samnium and discusses a significant case study from Jazzo Fornasiello in Puglia. The final and sixth part is devoted to the archaeology of the Islands, from the necropoleis of eastern Sicily (Monte Finocchito, Cassibile and Pantalica) to the tofet of Motya and the necropoleis of Monte Sirai and Villamar in Sardinia.

Among the dozens of recently published books on ancient childhood (monographs, collective volumes, conference proceedings, etc.; the majority are mentioned and discussed in the *Introduction*),

I hope that by bringing a wide geographical and cultural range together with a truly interdisciplinary approach, this volume will write a new page in the archaeology of pre-Roman Italy.

I would like to thank the 47 peer reviewers who accepted the task of contributing significantly to the quality of this volume with their critical assessments of the chapters. To Jennifer Webb and David Frankel goes my sincere gratitude for having accepted this volume in *SIMA*, escaping from the Cypriot and Aegean world and *Going West* with this volume, and for their invaluable help in preparing the final version. My wife, Stella Diakou, has devoted patience and passion to the entire research project and has helped in forcing convoluted Italian sentences to follow the rules of the English language.

In addition to funding from the Irish Research Council, this research project received financial support from the following Irish and Italian institutions: Istituto di Cultura Italiana a Dublino, Fàilte Ireland, the School of History and Humanities of Trinity College Dublin and the Trinity Long Room Hub (Research Incentive Scheme 2017). To all these institutions goes my most sincere gratitude.

The outcome of this project would have not been possible without the support of my postdoctoral mentor, Dr Hazel Dodge, who has continuously provided guidance with her stimulating approach to the research questions. Colleagues in the Department of Classics, especially Dr Christine Morris and Professor Anna Chahoud, have been following with curiosity and support the development of the research, guaranteeing a truly unique friendly academic environment at Trinity College Dublin. I would like to thank also Professor Jane Olmeyer, Chair of the Irish Research Council and Director of the Trinity Long Room Hub, for her continuous support during my *Trinity Long Room Hub Visiting Fellowship* in 2015 and my postdoctoral fellowship in 2016 and 2017. My students have also significantly helped the progress of this project, mainly through their questions and debates during the 2017–2018 module '*Life, death and sacrifice: funerary archaeology in pre-Roman Italy*'.

Finally, to all the authors of this volume who generously accepted to present a synthesis of their current research goes my sincere gratitude, hoping that through the editing of this volume I might have done justice to the importance of their research.

Jacopo Tabolli
October 2018

Plate 1. Pre-Roman sites discussed in this volume (prepared by J. Tabolli)

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5.3
Peucetian babies. New data from the *enchytrismoi* at Jazzo Fornasiello (Gravina in Puglia-BA)

Claudia Lambrugo

Abstract

This chapter presents new data from the Peucetian site of Jazzo Fornasiello, a rich, fortified and rural settlement at the border between the territories of Gravina in Puglia and Poggiorsini (Italy-Bari). It was discovered in 2006 and since 2009 extensive research has been conducted by the Università degli Studi di Milano. The excavations have permitted us to clarify the different phases of the site, from the Archaic (6th century BC) to the Hellenistic periods (4th–3rd century BC). The archaeological campaigns have brought to light so far 17 well-preserved enchytrismoi, a burial custom that is well attested for infants among the Peucetians. Some of these enchytrismoi were placed vertically in the ground, and others horizontally, whether in large outdoor spaces close to houses or along the walls inside the rooms. Only two enchytrismoi (Tombs I and VII) were associated with grave goods. Bioarchaeological analysis of the best-preserved vertical enchytrismos (Tomb II) revealed the presence of a multiple infant burial, used at least two times, which seems to have no comparison in Peucetia, at least as far as the known osteological data. The chapter also presents new data on the pathological profile of the Peucetian babies from Jazzo Fornasiello and finally investigates whether these burials—whether of foetuses, stillborns or neonates who survived for a short while—might reflect a different funerary treatment, depending on whether they were alive or dead at birth.

5.3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the sub-adult burials recently unearthed in the Peucetian site of Jazzo Fornasiello, in the province of Bari (Apulia). In particular, we will show how the osteo-anthropological and archaeological analysis of these depositions not only offers important data strengthening previous interpretations of funerary practices in Peucetia, but also provides crucial new insights into child burial in the region.

Jazzo Fornasiello is a locality at the border between the territories of Gravina in Puglia and Poggiorsini in the Alta Murgia National Park. The site is named after the so-called *jazzo*, a rural structure for sheep farming typical of the Murge (the example from Jazzo Fornasiello dates to the 18th century). Placed at the base of the southeast side of Monte Fornasiello, Jazzo is on a modest elevation (512m above sea level) on the foothill that slopes gently away from the Murge upland towards the Fossa Bradanica.

In 2004, deep ploughing at Jazzo Fornasiello and some excavations for the construction of a barn revealed a large archaeological site, which had already been identified during the surveys carried out by the British School at Rome in 1968–1970 (Vinson 1972: 75, no. 75). Between 2006 and 2008 the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia excavated some test trenches. In addition, since 2009 annual excavation campaigns have been conducted by the Università degli Studi di Milano, which holds the excavation permit for the site. All these investigations have confirmed Jazzo's significant archaeological potential (Canosa 2014; Castoldi *et al.* 2014; Castoldi 2017a).

5.3.2 The settlement of Jazzo Fornasiello

Although evidence of human activity at Jazzo Fornasiello probably goes back to the Bronze Age, aerial photography anomalies suggest that between the 6th and the first decades of the 3rd centuries BC the site was occupied by a Peucetian settlement that might have reached an extension of about 10ha. A sub-circular wall possibly surrounded the settlement, although further evidence from excavation is needed to confirm this hypothesis. It is noteworthy that the settlement was not placed on a ridge on the higher Murge upland; rather, it was located at the base of a steep rock surface, in a sort of a '*cavea*' created by the slopes of the Murge plateau and nearby Monte Fornasiello (**Fig. 5.3.1**). Given its location, the site must have been very well protected against the strong winds of the Murge. It was also closer to the available water sources (Castoldi *et al.* 2014: 22) and

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Figure 5.3.1. Jazzo Fornasiello. Left: location of the Peucetian settlement at the base of the Murge, with the House of the Dolia (Saggio S) and the Alpha Complex (Saggio W). Right: aerial photograph of the site. The sub-circular anomalies probably indicate the presence of a wall surrounding the Peucetian settlement (prepared by the author)

well positioned for the farming activities that are still typical of the area between the Murge edge and the Fossa Bradanica (Bentivegna 2017; Pace 2017).

The available data indicate that agriculture (especially grain cultivation), goat and sheep farming, as well as cereals, milk and wool processing, were the main economic activities in the Peucetian settlement (see Leone 2014 for the large food containers from Jazzo). Pottery production is also attested (Lambrugo in press; Pace in press). In the Peucetian phase, therefore, Jazzo Fornasiello seems to have been a prosperous rural village, certainly connected to, and potentially dependent upon, the nearby and larger centre of Botromagno/*Silbíon*. Surveys in the area have also identified numerous other settlements, proving that Jazzo Fornasiello was not geographically isolated. Most of the sites were located in an area close to the Murge edge and near the karst springs line, as well as in key positions for the control of the so-called *lame*, namely small canyons and dried-up river beds providing a secondary 'viability system' in the region (Lanza Catti 2010; Small & Small 2010: 245–246; Pace 2017).

Overall, the archaeological excavations at Jazzo Fornasiello have brought to light some evidence relating to a settlement characterised by significant contiguity, and sometimes overlapping, between houses, open spaces and burial sites. Typical of Peucetia (Ciancio 2007–2008; Small 2014), this kind of settlement organisation does not display a strict functional distinction between different settlement areas, which were sometimes connected by symbolic and spatial relations that remain difficult to interpret.

The archaeological evidence from the Archaic period (6th century BC) includes some floors of huts, the remains of stone buildings, fireplaces, cobbled areas, platforms used as work surfaces and small groups of tombs (12 in total known to date). The 13 burials from this phase belong to adults buried in a crouched position. They were placed in pits excavated in the bedrock at depths varying between 2 and 2.50m. The graves had a *controfossa* (side chamber/pit) and were covered by a stone slab (Castoldi 2014b, 2017b).

In the second quarter of 5th century BC, the northeast sector of the Archaic village was occupied by a stone structure called the House of the Dolia ('Casa dei Dolii') in view of the high concentration of fragments belonging to large food containers found there (**Fig. 5.3.1**). The House was around 24x10m and had a heavy roof (Bentivegna 2014; Castoldi *et al.* 2014: 25–31). Between the second half of the 4th and the first decades of the 3rd century BC, the site was occupied by the so-called Alpha Complex ('*Complesso Alfa*'), which was also built on previous Archaic structures and located northwest of the House of the Dolia. The Alpha Complex appears to be a sort of 'chaotic' agglomeration of rooms; these rooms, however, had complementary functions and were characterised by similar phases of use, all attested stratigraphically in each room, and the repetition of selected ritual practices. The central building was a *megaron* composed of three rooms (A, B and E). Most likely, the *megaron* was not a mere residential structure but was used for 'gentilician' commensal practices by a clan or family group (**Figs 5.3.1–5.3.2**). Commensal activities are suggested by the presence of widespread burnt areas, impasto cooking pots, iron spits and ceramic sets probably used for ritual wine consumption (Lambrugo & Pace 2017). As for the funerary evidence, no formal cemetery burial dating to the 5th and 4th centuries BC has been found at Jazzo to date.

5.3.3 Sub-adult burials at Jazzo Fornasiello

Conversely, all the chronological phases of the Peucetian village are characterised by the presence of sub-adult burials in the settlement; 17 graves in total are known to date. While the adult burials from the Archaic period have been heavily damaged by modern looting, the sub-adult burials from the settlement are very well preserved. Their good state

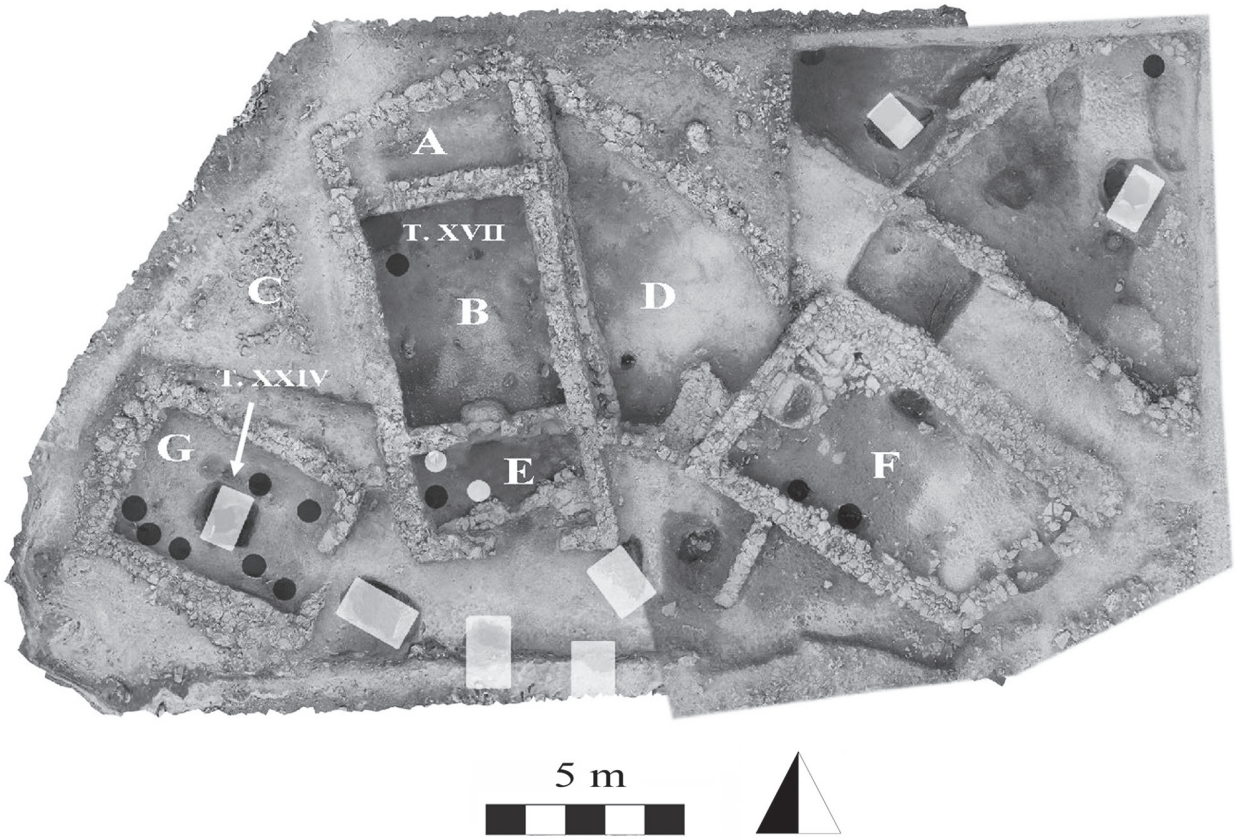

Figure 5.3.2. Jazzo Fornasiello. The Alpha Complex (second half 4th–beginning 3rd century BC); in black the 4th century enchytrismoi; in grey the 6th century enchytrismoi; grey squares correspond to the Archaic adult tombs (prepared by the author)

of preservation, and the need for more analysis of child burial among the Peucetians, have been key in motivating the present study (available data on child burials in Peucetia in Becker 1983; Depalo 1989: 95; Riccardi 1989: 71; 2013; Ciancio 2007–2008: 897–899; a recent synthesis in Greiner 2013: 155–162).

In particular, systematic osteological analysis providing high-quality data concerning the number of infants per tomb, age determination and infant health, has been rare in Peucetia (see Gruspier & Mullen 1992; Dobney 2000; Scattarella *et al*. 2006, 2010). Osteological data may contradict the hypotheses developed only on the basis of archaeological data about, for example, the body treatment of the dead, as well as the typology and location of both burials and grave assemblages. This makes it dangerous to draw inferences without the contribution of both osteological and archaeological analyses (Small 2014: 26–27). In view of these issues, micro-excavation in the laboratory was planned from the very beginning of the Jazzo excavation, and the infant burials were removed from the ground as intact blocks.

The data presented here (summarised in **Table 5.3.1**) derive from the laboratory analyses carried out up until April 2017 (for earlier results see Mazzucchi *et al.* 2014; Cattaneo *et al.* 2017b). Analysis focused on 14 of the 17 infant tombs mentioned above, with the exclusion of Tombs XXVI, XXVII and XXIX. The latter were discovered in autumn 2016 and micro-excavation of the tomb fill is planned for the future. Bioarchaeological analysis was carried out at the Labanof (Laboratorio di Antropologia e Odontologia Forense of Università degli Studi di Milano), led by Cristina Cattaneo.

Cattaneo and her team—whom we warmly thank for their prompt and careful co-operation—were responsible for the morphological analysis and identification of the skeletal remains, identification of the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), age determination and palaeopathological analysis. The recognition of macroscopic skeletal traits was based on specific reference books (Scheuer & Black 2000); age determination was based on three different methods, namely dental eruption (Ubelaker 1999), diaphyseal length of major long bones (Fazekas & Kosa 1978; Scheuer & Black 2000) and degree of fusion and ossification in relevant skeletal districts (Scheuer & Black 2000). Sex determination is instead extremely difficult for sub-adult individuals, as they are yet to develop secondary characters expressing sexual dimorphism (Cattaneo & Grandi 2004).

Given that most sub-adults from Jazzo Fornasiello are perinatal individuals (36–40 lunar weeks), histological analysis was conducted to verify the presence of the neonatal line in tooth enamel, a key indicator of childbirth survival. The neonatal line is a

Burial	MNI	Estimated age	Vase position	Pathology	Chronology BCE
I	1	38–40 lunar weeks	➔ Courtyard, House of the Dolia	stillborn	Second half 5th
II*	5	36–40 lunar weeks	↓ Courtyard, House of the Dolia	stillborns, 1 baby with non-specific infections signs	Second half 5th
VII	1	12–24 months	➔ burial area		Mid-6th
X*	1	36–40 lunar weeks	↓ Alpha Complex, room E	stillborn	Second half 4th
XIV	1	36–40 lunar weeks	↓ Alpha Complex, room G		Second half 4th
XV	1	3–9 months	➔ Alpha Complex, room G		Second half 4th
XVI	1	36–40 lunar weeks	➔ Alpha Complex, room G		Second half 4th
XVII*	1	38 lunar weeks	➔ Alpha Complex, room B	survived neonate, non-specific infections signs	Second half 4th
XVIII*	1	3–6 months	➔ Alpha Complex, room G		Second half 4th
XIX	1	30–32 lunar weeks	➔ Alpha Complex, room G	foetus	Second half 4th
XX	1	22–24 lunar weeks	↓ Alpha Complex, room G	foetus, non-specific infections signs	Second half 4th
XXI*	1	36–40 lunar weeks	➔ Alpha Complex, room G	stillborn	Second half 4th
XXII*	1	36–40 lunar weeks	➔ Alpha Complex, room E	sillborn, neoformation in the temporal bone area	6th
XXIII*	1	0–2 months	➔ Alpha Complex, room E	meningeal inflammation	6th

Table 5.3.1. Infant and child burials from Jazzo Fornasiello

band noted in the enamel of primary teeth; it is caused by occurrences of biological stress such as childbirth, which negatively affect enamel growth (Cattaneo & Grandi 2004). The presence of the line indicates live birth, and may approximate how long a child lived after birth. The absence of the line, on the other hand, indicates a stillbirth, or death occurring within a few minutes or a few hours. The line can be observed by means of optical and electron microscopes and is particularly visible in incisor tooth germs (obviously, when these are preserved in archaeological contexts). The neonates from Jazzo Fornasiello subjected to histological analysis for the identification of the dental line are noted in **Table 5.3.1**.

A first noteworthy feature of the sample is that all the 17 infant tombs from Jazzo Fornasiello are *enchytrismoi* in impasto pithoi or situlae. They were placed in the ground within circles of stones and pebbles, intended to protect the small tombs or support the vase used as a tomb container. At Jazzo, there is no evidence that other pottery types, such as *ollae* decorated with bands or sub-geometric patterns, were used as infant tombs, as occasionally happened in other Peucetian sites (Greiner 2013: 155; examples in Lambrugo 2014: 62, ns 11–12).

The *enchytrismoi* considered here date between the second half of the 6th century and the first decades of the 3rd century BC. A major concentration of occurrences is attested in the second half of the 4th century, a period in which both Jazzo Fornasiello and Peucetia more generally witnessed significant demographic growth (Lanza Catti 2010: 100). This evidence demonstrates that the *enchytrismos* burial rite, already documented in Apulia in the Bronze Age, was not replaced by the so-called 'Tegola Burials' in the late 5th century BC, as scholars maintained until a few years ago (e.g. Depalo 1989: 95; Lanza Catti 2010: 100). Rather, it was still practiced in the 3rd century BC (Greiner 2013: 155; a list of *enchytrismoi* dating to the 4th century BC in Lambrugo 2014: 61, no. 9).

All the infant tombs discussed here (with the exception of Tomb VII, see below) were located inside the settlement; they were placed in courtyards or along the walls of structures that were still in use at the time of burial. The rich bibliography concerning the so-called intramural infant graves shows that such burials were widespread among the Greeks (especially in the Protogeometric and Geometric periods) and among various cultural groups in Iron Age Italy. In such areas, this funerary practice seems widespread among communities characterised by a 'scattered'/ non-urban settlement organisation and a certain lack of distinction between the concepts of 'inside' and 'outside'. In addition, intramural burials in Italy and Greece generally pertain to very young sub-adults, from foetuses to children up to 3–4 years at death, with some variability in different areas regarding the specific age classes involved. In these cases, death might have occurred so early, both biologically and socially, as to involve individuals that failed to be recognised 'officially' by the wider community. These individuals, therefore, might have been deprived of full social integration and belonged only to their family (Lambrugo 2014: 66–67, with bibliography; see **Chapter 5.2** with bibliography).

5.3.4 The *enchytrismoi* inside room G in the Alpha Complex

Noteworthy, although not easy to explain, is the

location of seven *enchytrismoi* (Tombs XIV, XV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XX and XXI) along the perimeter walls inside room G in the Alpha Complex, dating to the second half of the 4th century BC (**Fig. 5.3.2**). The age at death of these sub-adults varies significantly from the foetal (22–24 lunar weeks for the subject in Tomb XX; 30–32 lunar weeks for the one in Tomb XIX) to the neonatal stage (Tombs XIV, XVI and XXI), with two individuals being around three to nine months at death (Tombs XV and XVIII). From this variability, it is clear that it is not the age of the deceased (within the infant age class), nor the fact of being born alive or dead that forms the key parameter to explain this 'collective' deposition. A comparison in Peucetia is offered by the six Archaic *enchytrismoi* from Monte Sannace, Room a, Insula II (Galeandro & Palmentola 2002–2003: 86–90; Gargano 2009: 84), while the anomalous upside-down deposition of four *enchytrismoi* in the corners of room E, House 3, Insula III, from the same site dates to the 3rd century BC (Galeandro & Palmentola 2002–2003: 101; Gargano 2009: 95).

Whatever the function of room G was, possibly a child burial plot, it is important to point out the location exactly above Tomb XXIV, dating to the second half of the 6th century BC. Tomb XXIV belonged to an adult woman, aged 40–44 years at death (Cattaneo *et al.* 2017a), and her grave might have acted as a 'catalyst' for the later infant graves, possibly placed in the same area to reinforce some family funerary ties. It is worth mentioning that in a region lacking (indigenous) urban centres and formal political institutions, such as Peucetia, families played a key role in social hierarchy, especially in the Archaic and Classic period.

5.3.5 Tomb VII

Tomb VII, dates to the mid-6th century BC and confirms the hypothesis advanced above about the prevalence of perinatal burials in the settlement area (**Fig. 5.3.3**). Tomb VII is the only infant burial at Jazzo which was placed in the formal cemetery. This tomb yielded the remains of an infant who was older than the other sub-adults discussed here (at least one year old at death and possibly two). It is therefore possible that the child of Tomb VII was already acknowledged as a valuable member of his or her family group, receiving a higher degree of social integration than the younger Jazzo infants. As such, he/she was buried with some grave goods and near the rest of the family, in a tomb group dating between the first half of the 6th and the early 5th century BC (Castoldi 2014b, 2017b).

It is important to note that the deposition of grave goods in relation to infant Peucetian *enchytrismoi* is rare. This is especially the case with the settlement burials belonging to neonates and the youngest infants. As grave goods probably represented a privileged means to affirm identity in burial and display formal mourning in front of the wider community, their general absence in infant settlement burials may be significant. Instead, grave goods are sometimes attested in relation to those *enchytrismoi* belonging to older sub-adults placed in small burial areas (Greiner 2013: 156–157, 159–161). In this regard, Tomb VII from Jazzo was accompanied by items that fit perfectly the burial practices of Peucetia (**Fig. 5.3.3**), namely an amber bead and a small kantharoid vessel with bichrome decoration ('*olletta cantaroide bicroma*') and an intentionally broken handle, dating to the second Peucetian period (Peucezio II: 575–525 BC) (Castoldi 2014b: 47, fig. 28). Previous research has shown that kantharoid vessels were especially widespread among the indigenous communities of Apulia, which used them both for wine consumption and libation practises (De Juliis 2002: 132–135, 148, n. 21; Colivicchi 2014: 214). Amber items were also very

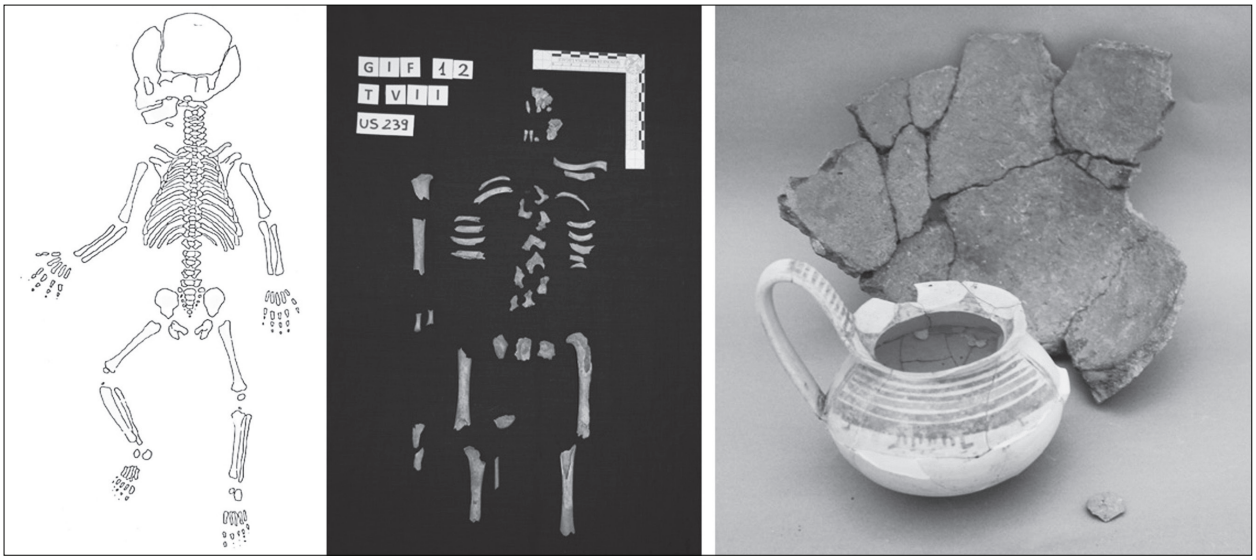

Figure 5.3.3. Jazzo Fornasiello. Tomb VII with the skeletal remains and grave goods (a small kantharoid vessel and an amber bead) (photo by the author)

common in central Apulia, and the material is known for its apotropaic function in a funerary context (Natali 2006: 601–605; Riccardi 2010; Montanaro 2012: 15, 32, 45; for some examples of infant tombs with amber see Damato 2001: Tomb 2/1994; Togninelli 2004: Tomb 25; De Juliis 2006: Tomb 82, Tomb 6 Didonna).

The only other Jazzo sub-adult burial with grave goods is Tomb I, dating to the second half of the 5th century BC. It belonged to a perinatal individual buried with two ovicaprine (goat or sheep) knucklebones (Lambrugo 2014: 65). These latter may suggest a strong Greek influence on the Peucetian groups living at Jazzo, as ovicaprine *astragali* were widely used as toys and markers of the childhood sphere in the Greek world (Lambrugo 2014: 65, with bibliography).

5.3.6 Faunal offerings

While the other sub-adult burials from Jazzo Fornasiello were not accompanied by grave goods, the zooarchaeological and botanical evidence indicates that these infants were not denied some grave offerings. Micro-excavation in the laboratory has revealed the presence of animal bones in all, or almost all, the infant graves analysed here. In some cases, such bones belonged to micro-mammals that might have infiltrated the tombs, potentially disturbing the sediment; this is the case for the two moles found in *enchytrismos* Tomb XXIII; a similar occurrence is the *enchytrismos* from the former convent of San Francesco della Scarpa in Bari (Andreassi & Radina 1988: 221). In other cases, however, the bones clearly belong to medium-large herbivores and display evidence of butchering. Significant data are also provided by botanical analysis, which is still on-going by Marco Caccianiga (Università degli Studi di Milano), but the burnt remains of *Abies alba* (silver fir) and juniper in Tombs XVII and XXIII have been preliminarily identified.

Overall, we cannot exclude that such remains might have been funerary offerings intentionally deposited with the dead. Notably, remains of this kind are never found in relation to the adult graves from Jazzo Fornasiello, which have been recently published by Cattaneo and colleagues (Cattaneo *et al*. 2017a). Moreover, the British team that excavated Site H at Botromagno noted the presence of legumes and cereals as 'grave offerings' in at least three infant funerary contexts (Colledge 2000: 60) and attributed a ritual meaning to the small mammal and bird bones often associated with sub-adult tombs (Dobney 2000: 228–229). Finally, plant remains seem to have been intentionally put inside some child burials in ancient Rome, probably in view of their symbolic value as evergreen trees (De Santis *et al.* 2007–2008: 728; see also the **Chapter 2.1**).

Although it cannot be proven beyond any doubt that the silver fir and juniper remains from Jazzo Fornasiello were intentional depositions, they still offer important insights into the ancient landscape of the Murge, which was dominated by large conifer woods (Fioriello 2003; Bentivegna 2017). In this regard, it is perhaps worth mentioning Mommsen's early suggestion that the etymology of the Greek word Πευκέτιοι derived from πεύκη (pine), with the ethnic term used to indicate 'the people living in the land of the pines' (Lanza Catti 2010: 96, with bibliography).

5.3.7 Burial customs: the case of Tomb II

The different arrangement of the burial vases in the ground, either vertical or horizontal (see ↓ or → respectively in **Table 5.3.1**), does not appear to have a specific ritual meaning. However, we can note that vertical *enchytrismoi* occurred less often than horizontal ones in Peucetia (Lambrugo 2014: 69). The vertical *enchytrismoi* from Jazzo (Tombs II, X, XIV and XX) were associated in three cases out of four with individuals that reached pregnancy term (36–40 lunar weeks), but did not survive for long after birth, or to miscarried foetuses unlikely to have survived without advanced medical care (Tomb XX). However, the only other cases of vertical *enchytrismoi* in Peucetia with osteological analysis belonged also to infants 'about two months old' (Botromagno, area H, T. 13, Dobney 2000: 223) or 'older than new-born' (Botromagno, site D, T. S14, Gruspier & Muller 1992: 81).

An exception at Jazzo Fornasiello is Tomb II, a vertical *enchytrismos* in an impasto situla, buried in the second half of the 5th century in the courtyard of the House of the Dolia (**Fig. 5.3.4**). It contained the remains of five perinatal individuals (36–40 lunar weeks), all stillborns, for which it has been possible to establish a taphonomic sequence: this tomb was used at least twice and its reuse might have been facilitated by the presence of some marker (*sema*) on the ground. Initially, the container was used for only two of the five neonates; their remains decomposed in a void. Later, the tomb was reopened for the deposition of the other three individuals; in this case, the remains were preserved in anatomical connection because of some soil infilling (Lambrugo 2014: 62–64, 69–70; Mazzucchi *et al.* 2014). While this sequence of burials remains unproven, it is possible that the five deaths occurred within a short time and the infants belonged to the same family nucleus; also unproven, but worth considering, is the possibility of an epidemic. It is important to stress that the 'multiple' nature of the burial and the reuse of the *enchytrismos* remain a unique occurrence in Peucetia, at least as far as the known osteological data are concerned. Ciancio (2007–2008: 897) notes that the *enchytrismoi* in Peucetia are generally single depositions, while the occurrence of multiple infant inhumations in sarcophagi or lithic containers was more common (Lambrugo 2014: 69, n. 49). A distant comparison for Jazzo Tomb II is perhaps offered by some Hellenistic 'wells of babies' from Greece, such as the famous Well G 5:3 from the

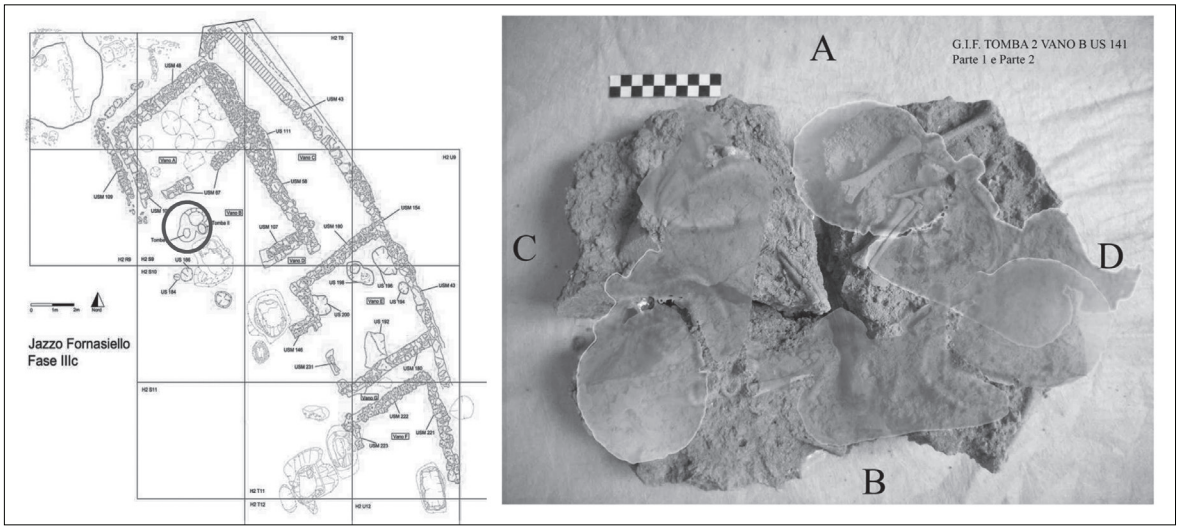

Figure 5.3.4. Jazzo Fornasiello. Left: the multiple infant enchytrismos Tomb II located in the courtyard within the House of the Dolia. Right: deposition of the three neonatal individuals when the burial was reopened (after Mazzucchi et al. 2014)

Athenian Agora (Liston & Rotroff 2013) and Well A 0.1 from the Agora of Messene (Fox 2012: 415–416).

5.3.8 Pathologies

Finally, we present some data regarding the pathological profile of the infant burials from Jazzo Fornasiello. Osteological analysis has revealed that the adult population had an average life expectancy of 35–40 years—similar to what is attested for the Peucetians of Rutigliano (Scattarella *et al.* 2006: 619)—and that they were in generally good health; the absence of skeletal indicators suggesting inadequate or abnormal nutritional intake may also be significant in this regard (Cattaneo *et al.* 2017a). By contrast, the osteological evidence of the infants has revealed the presence of some pathological traits, which are generally very difficult to identify in archaeological samples.

Particularly interesting are the perinatal subjects from Tombs XXII and XXIII. The first, who died immediately after birth according to histological

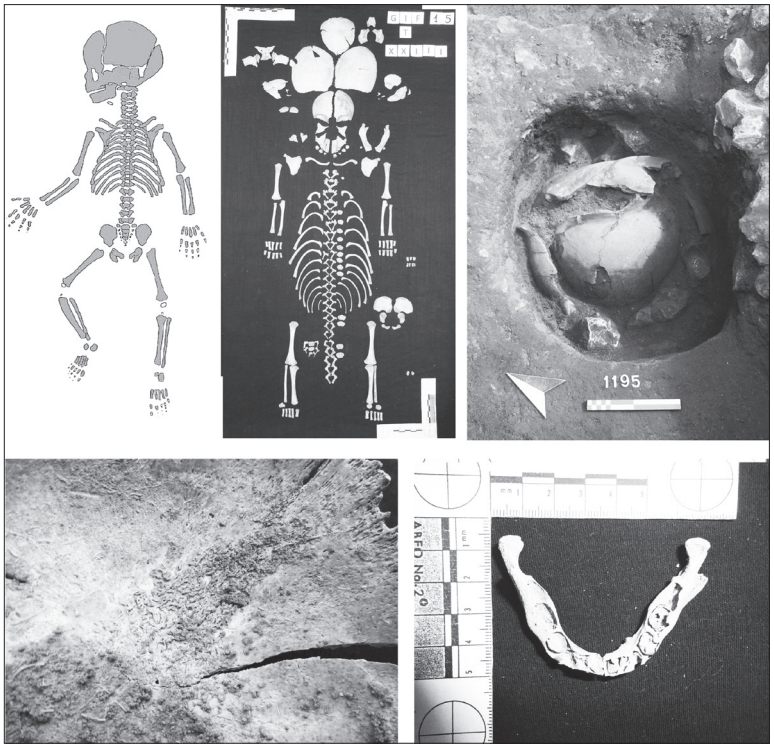

Figure 5.3.5. Jazzo Fornasiello. Enchytrismos Tomb XXIII. Left: alterations on the endocranial surface of the occipital bone (meningeal inflammation?). Right: mandible with primary teeth (prepared by the author)

analysis, had a mass (possibly a tumor) in the area of the temporal bone and the auditory apparatus. It remains unclear, however, whether this potential neoplasm had an impact on the subject's development (for a 9–11 aged child with a tumor from Corinth, see Fox 2005: 74, fig. 3.4). In the second case, the neonate from Tomb XXIII, who also died shortly after birth, presented some alterations on the endocranial surface of the occipital bone; these appear morphologically similar to *Serpens endocrania symmetrics* (SES), which in the literature is sometimes linked to meningeal inflammation (**Fig. 5.3.5**). It is noteworthy that there is extensive evidence of neonatal meningitis in the infant skeletons from the 'well of babies' in Hellenistic Athens mentioned above (Liston & Rotroff 2013: 73). Furthermore, it is worth asking if this case of meningeal inflammation is in any way linked to the presence of endemic treponemal infections in Metaponto and its countryside (Henneberg & Henneberg 1998: 527–537; 2001).

We also want to draw attention to the infant burial from Tomb XVII. He or she was the only neonate buried in the settlement to survive for a few days, or even a few weeks, despite an acute systemic infection that appears particularly widespread in the cranial area. While this remains unproven, we wonder if it was this strenuous resistance, perhaps together with ascribed rank, that determined the baby's deposition in a meaningful area near the walls of room B in the Alpha Complex (**Fig. 5.3.2**). Room B was indeed the most important segment of the Alpha Complex, where the clan or family group may have come together for periodical, collective ceremonies intended to strengthen their reciprocal bond.

5.3.9 Conclusions

Despite their short life, the Peucetian babies from Jazzo Fornasiello open up a large range of fascinating research fields, shedding light on the potential of a systematic interdisciplinary study of child burial in antiquity. In particular, we have verified by osteological analysis and dental age determination that all the sub-adults known to date at Jazzo received formal burial, including neonates who died shortly after birth, stillborns and foetuses, such as the ones from Tombs XIX and XX, who were seven and five months *in utero*, respectively. This provides crucial new evidence on the custom of granting the status and dignity of a 'person' not only to individuals who survived childbirth, but also to the ones who were born dead as well as to miscarried babies.