

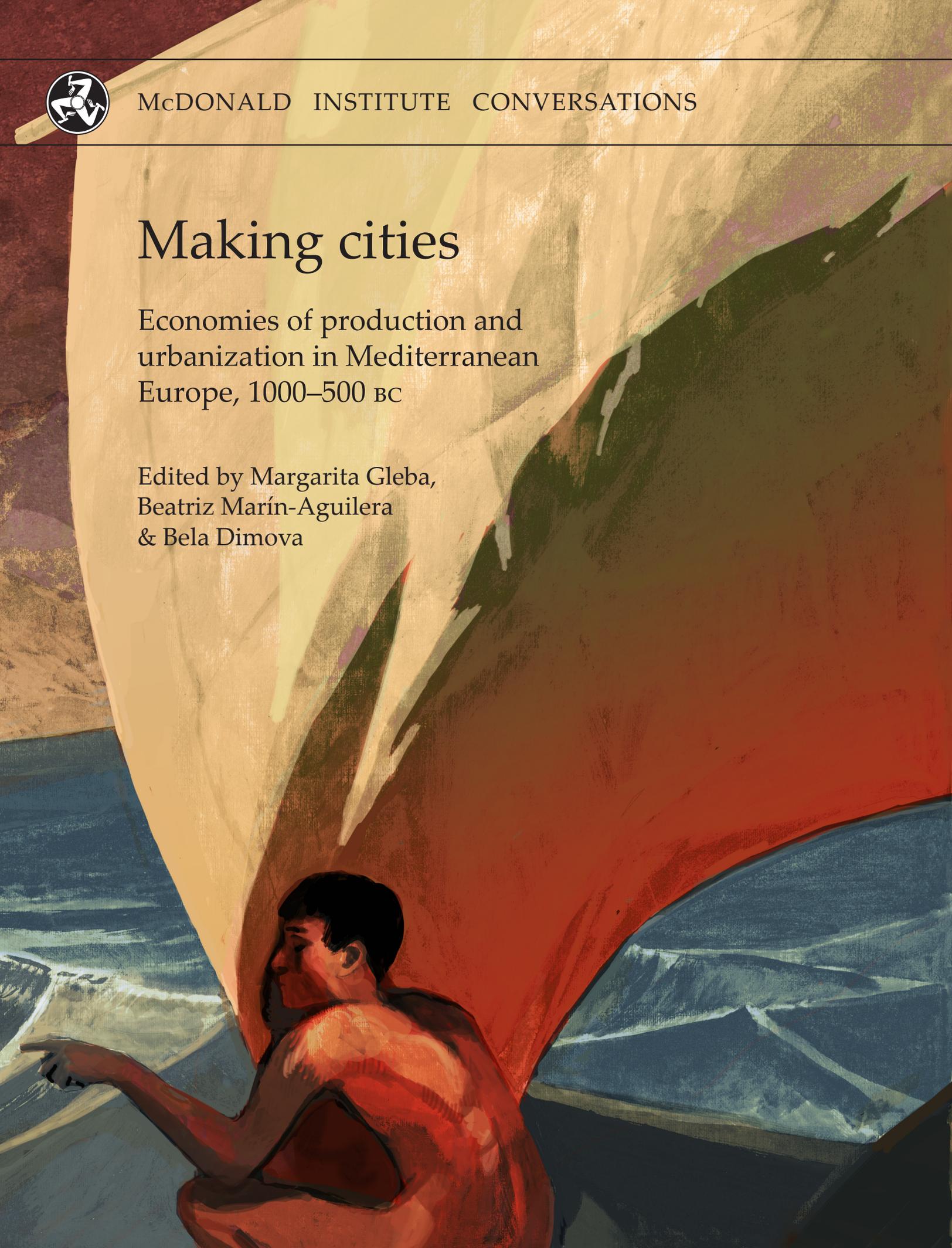


McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

# Making cities

Economies of production and  
urbanization in Mediterranean  
Europe, 1000–500 BC

Edited by Margarita Gleba,  
Beatriz Marín-Aguilera  
& Bela Dimova



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Edited by Margarita Gleba,  
Beatriz Marín-Aguilera & Bela Dimova

*with contributions from*

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## Chapter 13

# Tarquinia: themes of urbanization on the Civita and the Monterozzi Plateaus

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### Approaching themes of urbanization at Tarquinia (GBG)

We approach the theme of urbanization at the time when three major research projects of the University of Milan are in progress at Tarquinia within the broader ‘Tarquinia Project’, and after circumspection of a number of relevant results (Bagnasco Gianni 2012; Bagnasco Gianni *et al.* 2017; 2018a). They concern the excavation of the ‘monumental complex’ and of the sanctuary of the Ara della Regina (Tarchna 1997; 1999; 2001; 2012) on the Civita Plateau, the topographic exploration of the area of the ancient city (Marzullo 2018), and phases of its necropoleis (Marzullo 2016; 2017). In this framework, we focus on the relationship between the Villanovan settlement of the Calvario ‘village’ on the Monterozzi Plateau and the settlement on the Civita Plateau, along with the spread of the city’s necropoleis. This is a reliable starting point for shedding light on the Tarquinian community’s choices in space organization at the city’s very beginnings, before the fortifications were built in masonry and the chamber tombs of the necropolis started to be painted during the Orientalizing period.

This stage of the history of Tarquinia corresponds to the very ‘making of the city’ and the ‘monumental complex’ represents its real core since the beginning of the Villanovan period (from the late tenth to the eighth century BC). People gathered around a natural cavity, a sinkhole produced by the calcareous rocks of the Civita Plateau, and intensively frequented the area probably at its wider extent (Bagnasco Gianni 2018). The quality of the offerings around the cavity indicates an unnamed divinity of nature, who started as a natural force and was endowed over time with new characteristics, partly through contact with other populations of the Mediterranean. She became increasingly recognizable as a divinity of the life cycle

of the animal and plant realms (Bonghi Jovino 2010c; Bagnasco Gianni 2014c). The centrality of the cavity in ritual is confirmed by the deposition of a child with unusual features in a quadrangular area close to it. Palaeoanthropological analyses revealed that the child was about eight years old, encephalopathic and epileptic; he was not sacrificed and clearly remained the object of prolonged subsequent veneration. An Etruscan inscription dating three centuries later (end of the sixth century BC), found by the cavity, demonstrates that the memory of his ritual deposition by the cavity was maintained over the centuries. *Terela* is the Etruscan word corresponding to Latin *prodigium* and Greek *teras* (Bagnasco Gianni *et al.* 2019), which are both terms indicating an exceptional phenomenon, immediately recalling the story of Tages. According to a number of literary sources, Tages was a wise boy born already old, who all of a sudden sprang from earth and, singing, taught Tarchon the basic principles of the *Etrusca disciplina*, the religion of the Etruscans. Tarchon, the legendary hero founder of Tarquinia, was thought to be responsible for both the foundation of the city and for the Etruscan religion, through the legend of his miraculous meeting with Tages (Bagnasco Gianni *et al.* 2019).

The history of this sacred area is crucial for understanding the social and institutional changes that took place within the Tarquinian community over time. The building of a temple-altar constructed at the beginning of the seventh century BC marked an important turning point in the layout of the natural cavity and in its related cultic practices. Its technical features are inspired by eastern Mediterranean masonry, *murs a piliers* or pilaster walls, used to build the ‘monumental complex’. It represents the built version of the cultic area of the Villanovan period. The constellation of bronze objects (*lituus*, axe, shield), discovered in front of the temple-altar, points to the political and religious role of the

individual, a king-priest. He dedicated the renovated 'monumental complex' to the great goddess, whose veneration began in that very spot as the natural force of the cavity. She is a 'polysemic deity', who surfaces through different levels of her anthropomorphization. Her gifts show that she was influenced by multifaceted contact with Mediterranean goddesses such as Uni – Ilizia – Ishtar, as documented in the sanctuary at Pyrgi, where she is supported by the presence of Herakles. It is likely in this form that she received the dedication of the temple-altar by the king-priest (Bonghi Jovino 2010c). Shortly after, the goddess is referred to as *Uni* in the inscription *mi uni*, dated at the end of the seventh century BC. She continues safeguarding this crucial site where various elements address the principles of the *Etrusca Disciplina*: the recent discovery of the inscription *xiiati*, on an *impasto* jar (of sixth–fifth century BC), meaning 'related to *Xia*', '*Xia* mother', or '*Xia* and a goddess "Mother"', indicates her chthonic side, which had already appeared at Cerveteri and Pyrgi (Bagnasco Gianni 2014c).

One of her multifaceted aspects is probably connected to the effective and symbolic meaning of textile production, since the 'monumental complex' yielded spindle whorls and loom weights ranging quite widely in their weight indicating a range of thread and cloth quality. Among them, there is an interesting Archaic loom weight inscribed with the word *θanu*, a nominal form of the verb (i.e. a past participle) stemming from the root *θan-*, which could evoke actions such as 'to separate, to cut, to distinguish'. This inscription highlights that the loom weight was considered as an element of activity, textile production, which involved a number of actions that were complementary to one another and only apparently conflicting (unifying, linking but also separating, discerning, distinguishing, etc.). If this explanation is correct, we could extend the semantic sphere of *θan-* to a bulk of typically female actions such as those linked to carefully cutting/separating. These activities were part of the complex and articulated role of the female component of the Etruscan society – actions that might most probably be expected to be carried out also by women evocatively called with names like *θaneχvilus/Tanaquil* (Bagnasco Gianni *et al.* 2018b). Literary sources describe the weaving of ceremonial garments as one of the prerogatives of *Tanaquil*, Tarquinius Priscus's wife, along with prophecy and queenship (Meyers 2016).

The case of Tarquinia is thus extraordinary, because we are in the position to understand the point of view of the city itself, which was the only one of the Etruscan cities to perceive its chronological dimension and to claim the glory of its own past until the Roman Imperial times (Sordi 2003, 717–19).

This is also a particular feature of the 'making' of the Etruscan cities in general. They have their own story and are tightly connected to their geological and geographic conditions. The study of their limits, space organization choices, relationship with the territory and the sea, has to consider symbolic and religious beliefs connected to the perception of the very nature of their environment.

### **On the positioning of the protostoric site of Calvario and its road links (MM)**

The recent creation of the GIS of the Archaeological Map of the Civita di Tarquinia allows for a more defined contextualization of the discoveries made in the territory around the town. Among these, is the so-called 'protohistoric village' of Calvario. The topographical positioning of the evidence is based on published material and what has been conserved in the archives of the excavations conducted by the Lerici Foundation and directed by Robert E. Lington (see below), as well as the collection of cartographic and archival data assembled for the Archaeological Map of the Civita and the *corpus* of painted tombs (Marzullo 2018, 1–47). This material provided the topographical cornerstones to contextualize the burial mounds and the buried formations with respect to the 'protohistoric village' structures identified by Robert E. Lington (1982a,b). It should be noted that the Foundation's material, before being used had to be balanced by the magnetic north and the distortions connected to the geomorphology of the ground (Bagnasco Gianni *et al.* 2017). Recently, in order to solve these problems and reconstruct the original extent, shape and stratigraphy of the necropolis over the village, a new project has been launched in cooperation with the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio for the Metropolitan Area of Rome, the Province of Viterbo and Southern Etruria. The work is in progress, but already allows us to reconstruct the location of the protohistoric village on the basis of the data set drawn by Lington at the end of his excavations (Fig. 13.1). The structures and the trenches excavated between 1975 and 1978 were positioned on today's satellite orthophoto, where the entrances to the later painted tombs open to the public are clearly visible. The map shows that the settlement extended to the central-southern part of the hill, following its topographical contours and avoiding the summit which was perhaps too exposed. Traces of huts extended to the modern road and the eastern and the especially western boundaries of the site, where they were extremely dense. This led Lington to suggest that the centre of the 'village' was there. To the north, the traces of huts as well as the tombs terminated

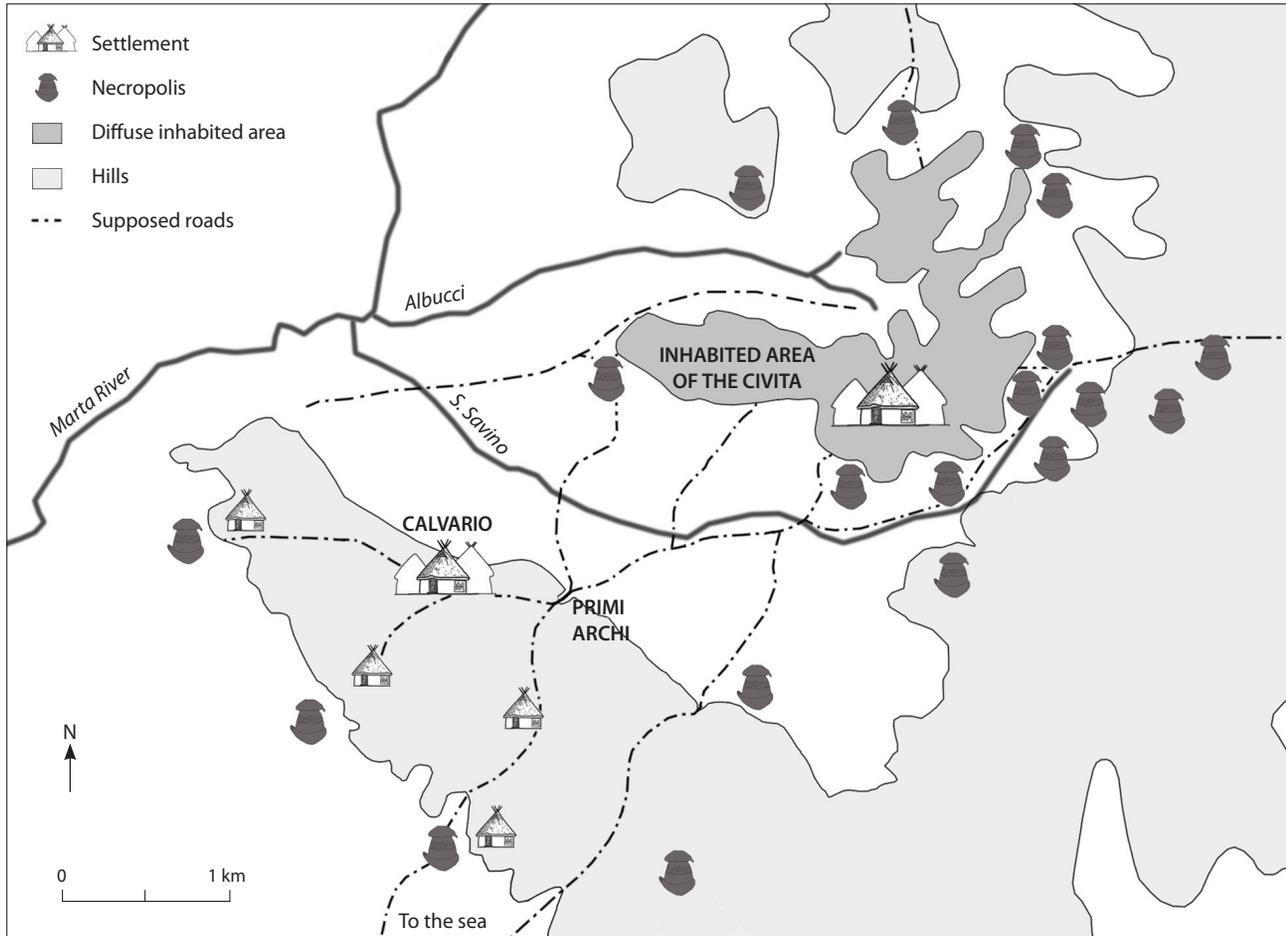


**Figure 13.1.** Positioning of the structures of the Calvario on the Google Earth orthophoto 2018 in combination with Carta Tecnica Regione Lazio 2002: Top – structures found by R.E. Linington between 1975 and 1978; bottom – structures found by Soprintendenza between 1985 and 1997 near the Tomb of the Blue Demons (M. Marzullo).

long before reaching the edge of the plateau, leaving a large part of the territory seemingly empty. This was explained by the geomorphological conditions in this area, which are characterized by some depressions and rocks, not suitable for buildings (Lerici 1959, 8–13; Linington 1982b, 118–19; Cavagnaro Vanoni 1997, 119–20). These discoveries demonstrated the continuation of the built-up areas towards the west, south and east, with a certain surface area of  $200 \times 100$  m, even though the impression remains of a greater extension. Although there has been no more opportunity to clarify the limits of the settlement through excavations, today, it is possible to add some further information. The excavation along the old Provincial Road by the Soprintendenza between 1985–1997, after the discovery of the Tomb of the Blue Demons, brought to light some postholes and channels related to protohistoric huts, which likely

belonged to the Calvario settlement (Fig. 13.1 bottom; Cataldi *et al.* 2005, 431). This proves Linington's initial hunch, demonstrating the extension of the 'village' to the south, and allowing us to extend the occupied area by a further quarter of a hectare. Overall, the settlement now measures about 29,000 sq. m, but this is certainly likely to increase with further investigations.

We can conclude that Calvario is located in a strategic area for the defence and control of the territory of the Civita Plateau (Mandolesi 1999, 198–9; Bonghi Jovino 2014): not only does it look out over the entire coastal plain, but it is also in an intentionally crucial position in the contemporary road network, as shown in Figure 13.2 and explained below. The roads leading from the sea and from the surrounding minor settlements<sup>1</sup> united at the gorge called Primi Archi, thereby passing under Calvario settlement, and from



**Figure 13.2.** Tarquinia and its territory around the middle of the eighth century BC (M. Marzullo).

there they headed to the Civita. It is not surprising, therefore, to find some vessels for transporting salt (see below), the exploitation of which had been crucial for Tarquinia since its beginnings (Mandolesi 1999, 200–3; Bonghi Jovino 2002).

### The Calvario village on the Monterozzi Plateau and its economic activities during the eighth century BC (CP)

The study of domestic architecture and dwellings, their internal organization and positioning in the settlement has in recent decades received attention in numerous areas of archaeo-historical reconstruction, thanks to the influence of disciplines like sociology, ethnology and environmental psychology. Domestic architecture can supply us with much data regarding material culture and, in particular, provide links to socio-cultural and economic aspects of the societies that produced it.<sup>2</sup>

Here, we highlight some of these aspects by focusing on the evidence that has emerged from the

Monterozzi-Calvario area of Tarquinia, where a large village of huts inhabited in the Villanovan period (ninth–eighth century BC) and later abandoned was excavated. Above it was later built the great Etruscan necropolis with the celebrated painted tombs, as can be seen from the work of the GIS topographic positioning, which allowed us to reconstruct the location of the structures in their spatial context (Fig. 13.1; see above).

The re-examination of both the village plan and the material found there, previously only partially published, has allowed us to re-evaluate some aspects of the structure of the village, adding new information to its historical reconstruction (Piazzi 2016), especially with regard to its relationship with Civita and other settlements in the area. Firstly, the individual structures have been analysed and contextualized within a more complete picture of Villanovan architecture, which over the years has been enriched by new data. We then investigated the activities that took place within the village, and in which structures, so as to obtain data on the use of space by the inhabitants, a factor, as pointed

out in the beginning, closely depending on the social, cultural and economic choices of the community.

The hut village of Calvario was discovered in the mid-1970s, thanks to the excavations made by the Lerici Foundation and directed by R.E. Linington. The research was intended to clarify satrtigraphy relating to the construction of the burial mounds over the tombs in the necropolis (Linington *et al.* 1978, 4). The first excavation, in 1975, reaching bedrock in some places, revealed some negative traces, post-holes and channels, relating to a series of structures defined as huts, and immediately identified as the remains of a protohistoric Villanovan village. After this, the excavation, which continued in campaigns of a few months until 1978, aimed at exploring this protohistoric village, traces of which were followed by enlarging the excavation trenches to reveal the complete plan of the structures. At the end of the investigation, the data allowed for the reconstruction of various oval and rectangular huts, nine of which were completely preserved (Huts 3, 3a, 7, 13, 14, 33, 42, 48, 55), another two could be partially reconstructed (38+39, 40+27), while at least twenty other traces, including channels and post holes, can probably

be associated with other structures or boundaries and partitions of spaces created using fences (Fig. 13.3).

Linington initially subdivided the huts into four different types, based on their shape, to which he attributed different functions (Linington 1982): he interpreted the square or rectangular structures as dwellings; oval structures as stables or warehouses; while the narrower rectangular structures could have been domestic but not dwelling places. The attribution of different functions to the structures was based on architectural considerations, later shown to be incorrect,<sup>3</sup> and based on the quantity of material found in each hut, especially in the case of the rectangular structures. His interpretations were based on the idea that the structures referred to a single phase of habitation, so the difference in shape had to be explained in terms of function rather than chronology. There were, in fact, no clear signs of superposition between the different traces that were revealed, nor did the analysis of the material culture indicate a prolonged life of the settlement.

From a sociohistorical point of view, the discovery supported the theory that proposed, for the process of

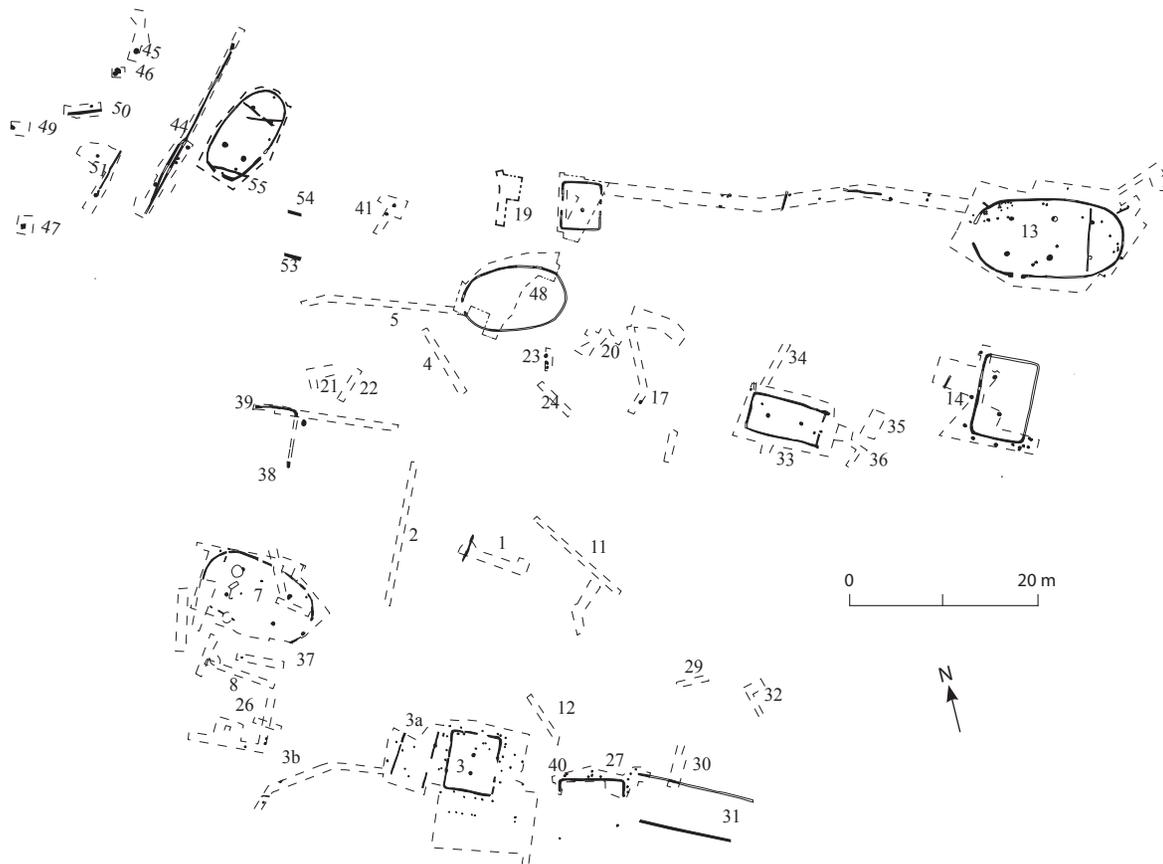


Figure 13.3. Plan of the Villanovan village on the Monterozzi Plateau (C. Piazzzi, after Linington 1982).

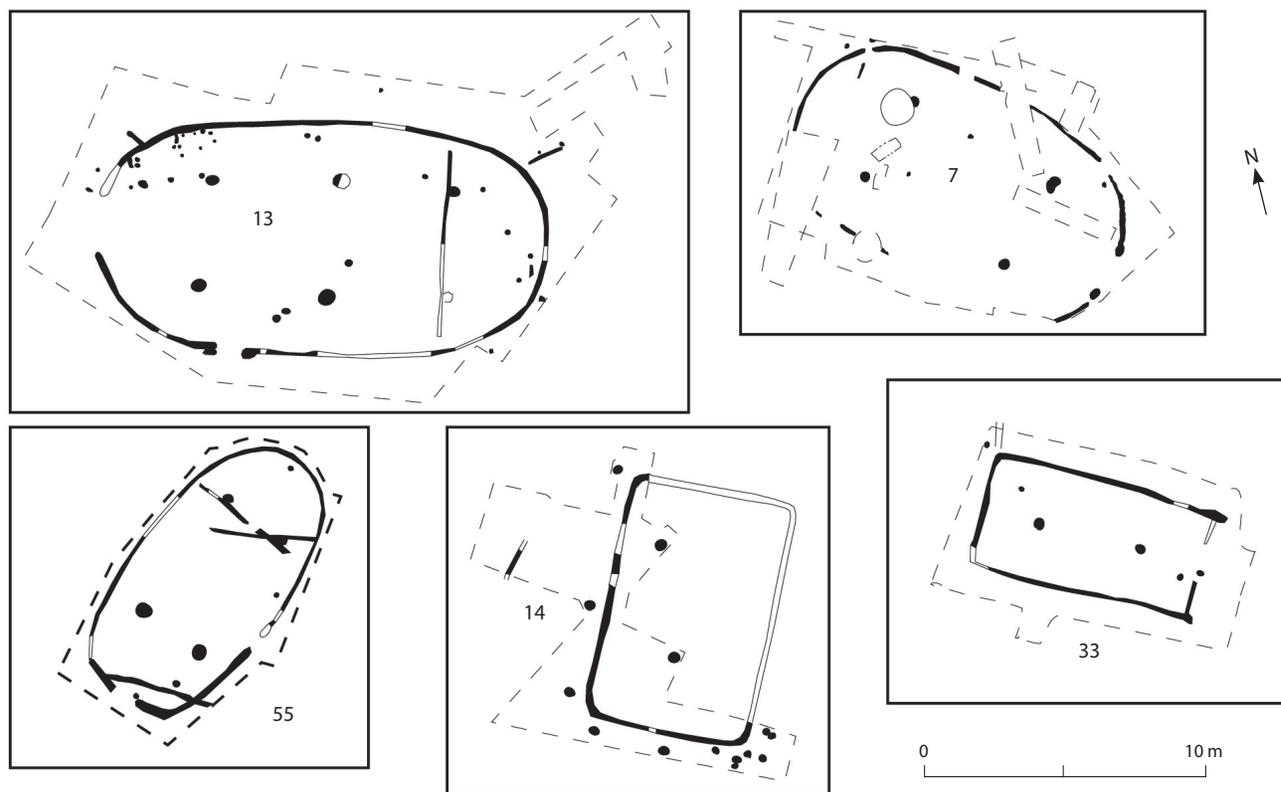
Etruscan urban formation, a model based on the existence of distinctly separate and independent groups of villages, positioned in contiguous and strategic areas, which at a certain point of their history became united, giving rise to the nucleus of the future city. The case of Calvario was particularly emblematic, because the village stood on the hill facing the Civita Plateau, where in the protohistoric period the first Tarquinian settlement was developing contemporaneously: the village was located too close to be completely unrelated, but it was unquestionably 'different'. The abandonment of Calvario as a habitation area by the end of the Villanovan phase could, moreover, be read as a consequence of a social and economic strengthening of the Civita settlement.

The progress of studies and the evidence that has emerged in other Etruscan cities demonstrate that this historical reading can no longer be considered correct. The current theory is that different villages, even if they were effectively separate, must be read as a voluntary and organic occupation of all the available space by the first inhabitants through a collective choice and, thus, could already correspond to what we can define as a 'proto-urban structure'.<sup>4</sup> For Tarquinia, this meant not only the full occupation of the Civita Plateau, but also the strategic Calvario settlement on the opposite Monterozzi hill, which allowed for a more direct control of the coast (Fig. 13.2; Mandolesi 1999; Bonghi Jovino 2001; 2005a).

As expected, the revision of the documentation allowed to clarify certain aspects of Tarquinia's protohistory. It should be noted that, already some time ago, some of Linington's proposed interpretations were revised. For example, the rigid functional separation of the structures that he had identified summarized above were abandoned, since this was not supported by any other known examples. In particular, the comparison with other sites has shown that it is still not possible to establish a direct relationship between the structures' form and function, as there are cases of different types of plans coexisting and performing the same function, or rather, they are complementary to one another, as seen in particular in the Protovillanovan village of Sorgenti della Nova (Negroni Catacchio 1995), or also in Veii (Acconcia & Bartoloni 2014). Against Linington's hypothesis, there is no evidence for example that the oval huts were not dwellings. The oval Structure 13, in fact, had some typical characteristics and a complex structuring of space: there are clear signs of a subdivision of the internal space by a channel that cuts the apsidal end crosswise, and must have supported a partition wall; inside, the structure shows further articulation of space due to the presence of pairs of posts used to support the roof, creating a sort of nave

or aisle; there are also a series of other post holes placed in the central space, particularly near the northwest corner, possibly evincing the presence of internal furniture (shelves, beds, etc.). Structure 55, smaller in size than Structure 13, showed a similar separation, as did Structure 7, although the latter was more disturbed by subsequent interventions. The rectangular huts, on the other hand, seem less complex and do not have any internal subdivisions, apart from the presence of the central posts supporting the roof (Fig. 13.4). However, this apparent characteristic is not sufficient to assert that differences in the architectural features of the structures can completely rule out that the same domestic activities performed in the oval huts were also performed in the rectangular ones.<sup>5</sup> Data and evidence in the Calvario village are too scarce to exclude other hypotheses. As mentioned before, one solution could be to not consider each hut as an individual dwelling but as part of a compound, a group of structures in which similar, different, and also complementary activities might involve different areas and buildings.<sup>6</sup>

The study of the excavation diaries has made it possible to recover also the information regarding the position of some of the material culture inside the structures that, with due caution, can help us understand the activities carried out near or inside them.<sup>7</sup> In the case of the oval Structure 13, two fragments of large reddish-brown clay storage jars with cable decoration were found in the separate, apsidal area of the hut, together with a spindle whorl and numerous other non-diagnostic pottery fragments. Fragments of finer and better made tableware, such as a decorated cup and bowl, come from the wider area. The positions of a glass paste bead, a cowrie shell and a bronze ring are more difficult to identify although they were found in an area near the long northern side of the structure (Fig. 13.5.1). The distribution of these materials, considering their ephemeral situation, is reflected in the analysis of a very similar structure from the site of Sorgenti della Nova (Dolfini 2002), where the quantity of remains was decidedly more numerous. Noteworthy is the similarity between the distribution of different types of collected material: the storage jars, large containers and tools for the fire were found mostly in the area separated by a channel and thus 'hidden' from the view; weaving and spinning tools were just outside this boundary; whilst the finest or decorated dining table vessels are present along the wall of the central area, in connection with traces that could be related to shelves or benches. The analysis of the materials from the oval Structure 7 at Calvario shows a rather similar set of materials, with a cable-decorated storage jar, fragments of engraved wall decorations, a bowl with bulge decoration, and a decorated spindle whorl



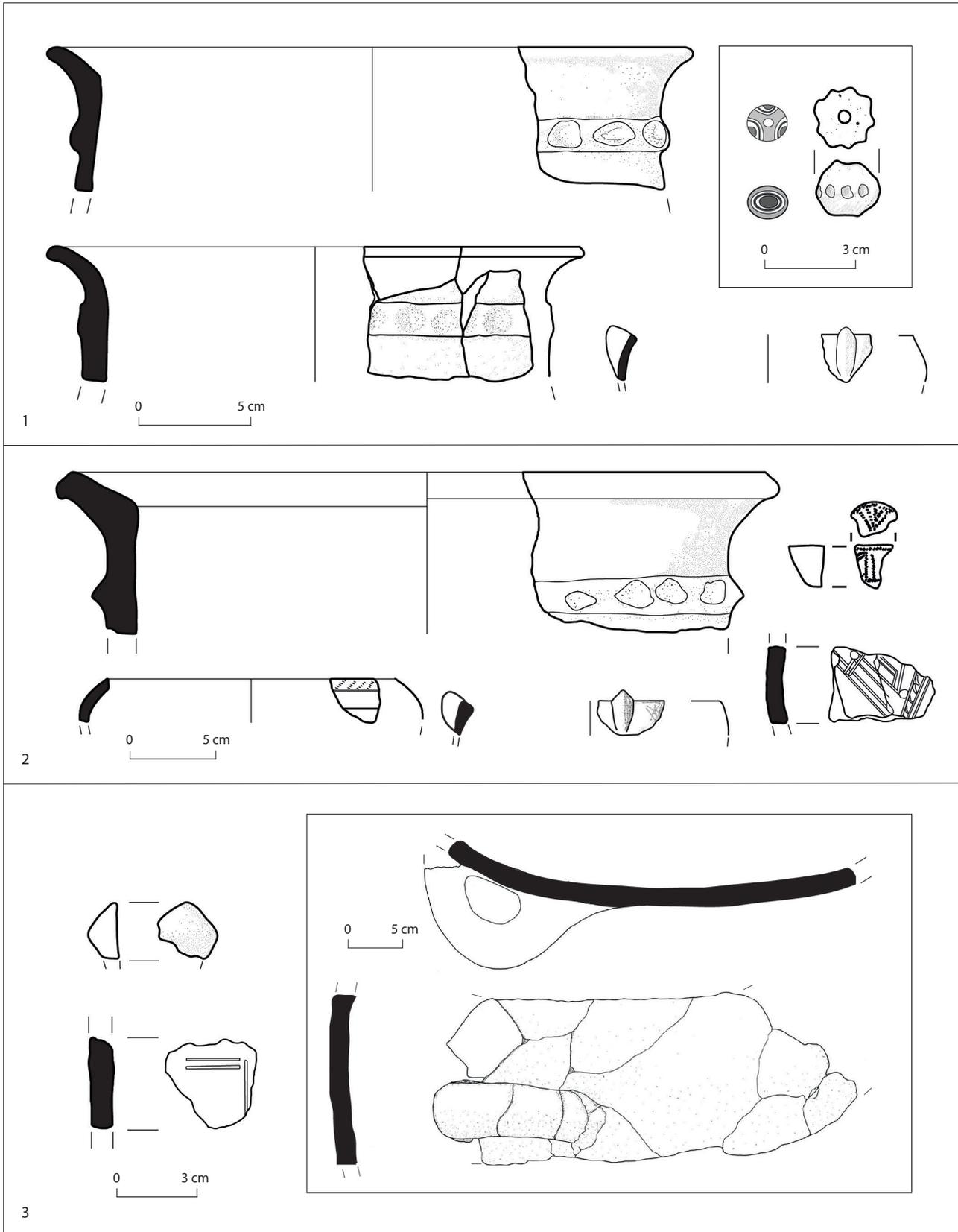
**Figure 13.4.** Plans of some of the Villanovan huts: traces that have been found are in black, reconstructed traces are in white (C. Piazzzi, after Linington 1982).

(Fig. 13.5.2). It was not possible to reconstruct the exact original location of these pieces.

An interesting case is that of the rectangular Structure 14. The repositioning of some wall fragments from a large container has allowed us to reinterpret the excavation plan of the structure, identifying as a possible pit for the conservation of food what had been previously interpreted as a post hole for a roof support, which however was strangely out of position with respect to the room's central axis. The only other two significant fragments in the structure belong to a decorated vessel wall and a spindle whorl (Fig. 13.5.3). It is not known whether the materials recovered, as a whole, are the direct reflection of the daily human activity in the structures, interrupted by unidentifiable causes, or if they are the result of a probable 'selection' and therefore of a residual legacy of less usable material left within the structures after their abandonment, in positions that may not reflect those of their actual use. Furthermore, for Calvario we should also keep in mind the disturbance caused by the subsequent building of the necropolis. However, given the similarities to structures found elsewhere, it may be significant to highlight the repetition, within the larger structures,

of the presence of the materials related to the same activities connected to the domestic sphere. They seem to be located in the same spaces as elsewhere: the central areas of the structures may have been used for convivial activities, demonstrated by the finest pottery, whilst material related to cooking and storage, as well as tools used for textile production, were relegated to the innermost spaces. Reasoning in terms of shared versus hidden from view or private spaces, this reading is quite suggestive, especially considering the possible social implications of the interactions between different household members (e.g. at Sorgenti della Nova; Negrone Catacchio & Domanico 2001). Actions and their timing in dwellings could be linked to what could be defined 'public' and 'private' types of activities, which would have affected their visibility and meaning to both the members of the household and the outsiders. However, too little is known about the proto-Etruscan socio-cultural organization, making it difficult to infer these aspects, especially since we are also conditioned by our modern ideas on what 'privacy' is (Nevett 2011, 6, 24).

As far as the economic activities, which can only be partially recognized, the fragments of the



**Figure 13.5.** Finds from the huts: 1) Hut 13; 2) Hut 7; 3) Hut 14 (C. Piazzi).

aforementioned storage jars in reddish-brown *impasto* are very interesting for their functional implications. They have a rim measuring between 25 and 40 cm in diameter, with an internal ledge, a probably cylindrical or cylindrical-oval body, and cable decoration between rim and body. These storage jars find comparisons with materials from the Final Bronze Age (Sorgenti della Nova, San Giovenale) and Early Iron Age sites (Gran Carro), but in particular we note the comparisons with finds from some well-known coastal sites, such as La Mattonara, Torre Valdalisa or Le Saline di Tarquinia.<sup>8</sup> In fact, they are similar to vessels generally related to specialized activities of production and conservation of food derived from the sea or lakes that can also be found in inland settlements (Pacciarelli 2001; also see Perkins in this volume). It is notable that, in the ceramic assemblage from the Civita settlement of the same period, this type of storage jar is not currently attested, perhaps indicating a differentiation in the activities at the two sites (Bonghi Jovino 2001). These finds are significant when considering the privileged position of Calvario on the crossroads between the coast and the Civita Plateau, in terms of control of the

area and maybe also as a step in the distribution of marine resources, mediated via the above-mentioned jars (Fig. 13.2). The settlement remained important only until the time when, during the eighth century BC, the Civita settlement of Tarquinia became sufficiently strong and structured to take over its activities (Bonghi Jovino 2001).<sup>9</sup>

### The process of urbanization based on the evidence for the fortifications (MM)

The recent reconsiderations of the Tarquinian fortifications (Marzullo 2018) make it possible to observe the urbanization process of the site, the subject of much heated debate, from yet another point of view. Research has shown that the entire perimeter of the city, at least in historical times, was surrounded by walls. The fortifications encircled an area of about 126 ha, enclosing the Pian di Civita, the Pian della Regina and the Castellina (Fig. 13.6). The latter, topographically independent from the rest, appears to have been frequented since the beginning of the urban formation. In fact, surface surveys have revealed

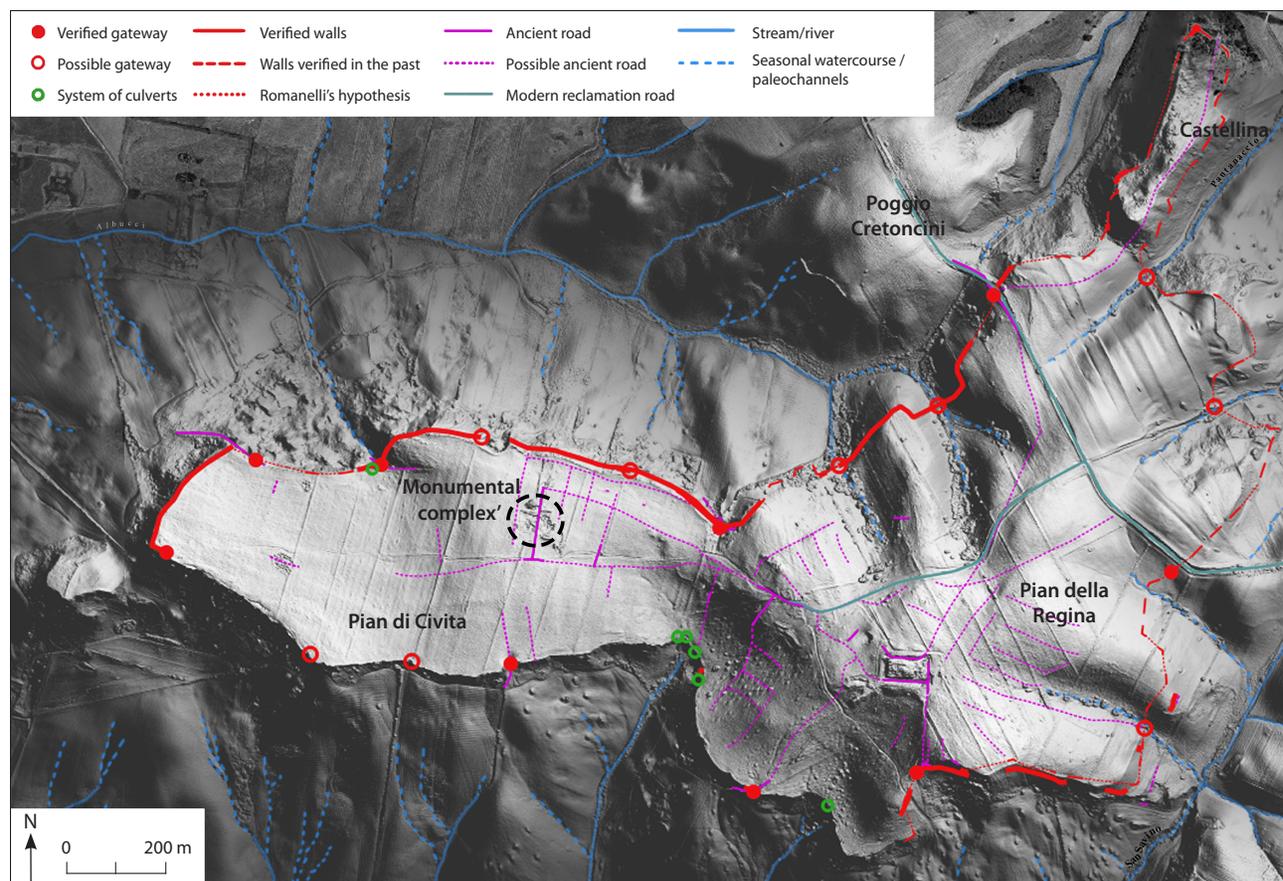


Figure 13.6. Thematic map of the walls, gateways and roads of ancient Tarquinia (M. Marzullo).

that the top of the hill had been inhabited since the Middle Bronze Age, with a marked expansion in the Late Bronze Age, and a clear *caesura* at the beginning of the Iron Age (Mandolesi 1999, 100–12, 138–40). The hill was re-occupied in the later Early Iron Age, as if it had been absorbed by the urban nucleation, which had meanwhile developed on the rest of the plateau. The 30 years of research by Maria Bonghi Jovino and the team from the University of Milan, now directed by Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni, have clearly demonstrated that these scattered settlements united for cultic activities at the natural cavity of the ‘sacred-institutional complex’ – later ‘monumental complex’ – from the tenth century BC (see above). In this sense, the actions that took place at the site, remembered and continued for generations, had played a major role in the initial agglutination of individuals or groups, which quickly developed into a political phenomenon, difficult to separate from the act of foundation/definition of the town (Bonghi Jovino in *Tarchna* 1997, 151–9, 218; Bonghi Jovino 2005a, 40–5; Bagnasco Gianni 2012, 26–7).

At the beginning of the Iron Age, other settlements flourished around the Civita Plateau, including Calvario discussed above, but the centrality of the one on the plateau is clearly demonstrated by the continued rituals around the ‘cavity’ and the distribution of the necropoleis, which continued to radiate out from it (Bonghi Jovino in *Tarchna* 1997, 218; Mandolesi 1999, 146–54; Marzullo 2018, 89). The rapid acceleration of economic activities is witnessed by the ever-increasing quantity of finds and structures, which demonstrate the formation of a client base for whom innovative artisans created prestige objects (Bonghi Jovino 2005a, 32). Indeed, the development of the tombs demonstrates a rapid process of differentiation within the society, and a more precise definition of the individuals’ roles within the funerary nucleus from early times (Trucco 2007, 313). It is, therefore, reasonable to assume an organization based on various family groups distributed in primigenial territorial groupings, definable as living areas of the same community in evolution, which end up consolidating into something similar to a *curia* in ancient Rome – one of the original groupings of the citizenry (Bonghi Jovino 2001, 23). The use of the territory also reveals considerable contacts between the various villages and specific communal choices, synonymous with progressive forms of centralized control (Bonghi Jovino 2005a, 32).

These considerations have important consequences for the urbanization process: first of all, the possibility that the limits of the new centre were structured already with the transition to the second phase of the Early Iron Age, and then maintained

in the historical period (Marzullo 2018, 87–93). This seems to be proven not only by the reoccupation of the Castellina, but also by the sudden abandonment of the peripheral inhabited area at Poggio Cretoncini, close to Pian della Regina, which took place in the same period (Mandolesi 1999, 112–22). If the western perimeter of the settlement was already sufficiently defined by the marked slopes of the Pian di Civita, the same cannot be said for the Pian della Regina, where there were no clear separation between the hills and valleys. Despite the fact that today there is still no reliable evidence of fortifications in this period, we can certainly imagine that the pre-eminent group of individuals who gathered at the ‘sacred-institutional complex’ were involved in defining the borders of the inhabited area, just as the most important structures around the cavity at the sacred area were marked with stone. In this way, the entire area was consolidated as a social, religious, and political space in the context of an increasingly broader, more dynamic, and structured society, which was thus affirming its identity (Bonghi Jovino in *Tarchna* 1997, 157–9, 164, 166–7; Bonghi Jovino 2005b, 309–18; Bagnasco Gianni 2012, 26–7). We can also imagine that the repetition of the ceremonies, carried out for decades through specific actions (Bagnasco Gianni 2005, 91–7; 2013, 594–612; Bagnasco Gianni *et al.* 2018a), would have led to an ever-increasing awareness and, therefore, to human control of the surrounding environment. This generated a ‘planned landscape’, within which we can now frame the early inhabited area, as it went on to develop during the later centuries, as noted by Bonghi Jovino (2014, 271–3).

This interpretation is supported by the location of the necropoleis, which continued to grow around this perimeter, respecting it since the Early Bronze Age. Recent discoveries allow for a better understanding of the relationship between the community and the territory. Among these is the burial mound recently discovered at the Morre necropolis (*Tarchna* 2017). The monument owes its exceptionality to the combination of an early date and the location along the ridge, a situation so far unknown in Tarquinia, that poses the question regarding the use of territory and the organization of the settlement system at the beginning of the Archaic period. Although such a monument would not be surprising on the Montezozzi Plateau, or on the many other burial grounds disseminated on the hills surrounding the inhabited area, it is unique on the slopes of the Civita Plateau. In this respect, of relevance here is its close link with the fortified perimeter. The burial mound was built in the central decades of the first half of the sixth century BC (Marzullo 2017b, 33–40), a few metres below

the stone-built walls, which were probably constructed around the same period. On the one hand, *tumulus* location confirms the validity of the limit established centuries earlier, while on the other, it establishes a unity of intent and planning between the walls and the mound implying, perhaps, some dependence by the latter on the former. What is certain is that, as noted before, the monument appears today as an isolated case in the landscape of Archaic Tarquinia, and other forms of funerary deposition along the city's walls do not appear until almost two centuries later: only in the full fourth century BC will the slopes of the plateau be newly and intensely used for funerary purposes.

All these considerations taken together allow us to establish that the borders of the settlement can be considered solid and persistent even in the absence of monumental walls from the protohistoric to Hellenistic period. Despite this, the case of the artisanal structures, obliterated by the construction of the stone walls a few metres east of Porta Romanelli (Marzullo 2018, 59–63), demonstrates that the boundary identified by the fortifications was moved to a different place than the preceding limits of the city, in some of the most fragile and sensitive areas of the territory. Tactical reasons may have also influenced the shape of the settlement to the east, whose structuring, beside defence, also took into account water supply (Marzullo 2018, 91–2).

Finally, the established synchronism in Rome (see Becker in this volume) and in other Etruscan cities of large public enterprises connected to sacred buildings and the fortified walls,<sup>10</sup> appears to coincide perfectly with Tarquinia, not only for what was previously stated regarding the relationship between the proto-urban limits and the 'monumental complex', but also for successive developments. As the physical definition of the 'sacred-institutional complex' coincided with the structuring of the settlement's limits in protohistoric times, similarly, at the beginning of the Archaic period there was a comparable, and certainly not casual, development. Whilst major changes were made to the 'complex' with the construction of new spaces and structures connected to a change in ritual practice, echoed in the deposition of a newborn baby at the northern wall of the temple-altar as a new foundation rite (Chiaramonte Trerè in *Tarchna* 1997, 198–9, 222; Bonghi Jovino 2017), a large polyadic temple was built on Pian della Regina. It soon substituted the 'complex's' building, symbol of the ancestral religious traditions connected to the power during the Protovillanovan, Villanovan and Orientalizing periods (Chiaramonte Trerè in *Tarchna* 1997, 201, 204–6; Bonghi Jovino 2008, 24–8). We are, therefore, witnessing the passage from a

temple-altar connected exclusively to the offering of sacrifices in the context of a cult with both public and private features, to a temple-divine house at the Ara della Regina, as an expression of the entire city community's devotion, that perhaps served not only for the Tarquinians (Bonghi Jovino in *Tarchna* 2012, 55–6, 62–5; Bonghi Jovino 2012, 7–8; Bagnasco Gianni 2012, 29–30). These changes specifically relate to the construction of the walls built at the same time and using techniques similar to those used for the erection of the great temple (Marzullo 2018, 81–6).

These substantial changes at an urban level, especially in the sacred context, seem to imply new religious practices, that would overshadow an emerging ruling class that had its own important political, economic and social weight (Marzullo 2018, 81–6). This seems confirmed by events in the Monterozzi necropolis, where a contemporaneous first peak in painted tombs took place. These monuments demonstrate a new social structure, now made up of citizens eager to legitimize their achieved status (Marzullo 2017a, 143–4). These changes, however, do not constitute a fracture with the past, but a reasoned and gradual fusion: just like the new cultic structures fit harmoniously within the temple-altar enclosure without substituting it, in the same way and from the very beginning, the exceptional architecture of Temple I of the Ara della Regina sanctuary was provided with an open space in front of it, suitable for accommodating the notable chest, probably a cenotaph, of the city's founder (Bonghi Jovino in *Tarchna* 2012, 64). These elements thus provide monumental evidence of the rigor which characterized the sacred culture of Tarquinia, effectively defined by the words of Bonghi Jovino (2008, 28): 'Immutability of substance', compared to the renewal of the 'form'.

In the process, the role of the community seems to become much clearer, and even if it was not fully involved in the decision process,<sup>11</sup> it actively contributed to configuring the appearance of the city and its surrounding areas in this fervent historical period. However, it would be a mistake to establish a direct relationship between the size of the inhabited area and its population, given for instance the significant lack of ceramic material on the top of the most peripheral, especially eastern, hills. While awaiting new data, the hypothesis that the boundary also included these sparsely inhabited areas continues to stand. The explanation would seem to lie in the aforementioned reasons, which, as we have seen, range from infrastructural necessities to cultic aspects, without neglecting the need to set up a fortified perimeter in areas that, due to land morphology, would make defence more effective.

### The limits of Tarquinia before its fortification, a theoretical approach (GBG)

The wide set of problems related to the question of settlement limits in ancient Italy and their meaning with respect to space occupation by the different communities was examined in a dedicated conference over ten years ago (Camporeale 2008). Since the 1980s, Giovanni Colonna has dealt with these issues from the point of view of the Etruscan institutional vocabulary, alongside the Latin one, used to define the various divisions of the ancient Roman city within the walls: the city space, the buffer zone, the *pomerium* (Colonna 1988).

Since 2009, we challenged ourselves to question the extent of the limits of the city space and how these limits could have been created over time, on whose needs they depended and what they were actually used for (Bagnasco Gianni 2014a). What were the actual limits of the city? How did they relate to the type of terrain and the provisions that the citizens required for their coexistence with both the internal and external environment? Do we have sufficient information to understand how this relationship was lived within the same community, by an enlarged community or from elements outside it? In order for answers to emerge from concrete facts, in addition to the material aspects of the structures, the exploration has extended to the types of relationships with the territory through methods of historical topography, which aims at identifying the access roads, the ports and the internal and external road networks (Fig. 13.6).

In the case of Tarquinia, the fact that the walls and the strategic border of the city match for most of the Archaic period makes it difficult to find the existence of any embankments or 'earthen walls' dating back to the Villanovan period without undertaking an archaeological excavation. However, some clues, including the arrangement of the necropoleis and the confirmation of the eastern border, lead us to believe that the city border was already well visible in ancient times. This is why, today, the only concrete evidence of the relationship between the city and its limits before the walls were built comes from the so-called Bocchoris Tomb. This is a high-ranking female burial in a tomb with a double sloping roof and a bench along the left wall, whose lowest date proposed so far is within the first quarter of the seventh century BC. At the right-hand side of the tomb, still *in situ*, was found an *impasto* pottery set made up of a storage jar on a support and with a lid that had a plastic anthropomorphic handle (Medori 2010, 104–5; Bagnasco Gianni 2014b, 433–5). Looking at the jar from the front, the register decorating its maximum expansion has two concentric bands. On the outermost, in the foreground, is a depiction

of seven warriors alternating with seven triangles surmounted by rayed elements; on the innermost, in the background and corresponding to the triangles, are seven towers.

Observing all this from above, the decorative register of the jar encloses the circumference of the lid decorated with filled and empty spaces. Spaces are divided into sectors whilst across the middle there is a person in a back bridge acrobatic position (Fig. 13.7). The concept of a figure who divides a space into two recurs on a number of elaborate bronze and clay vertical cup and vase handles. Recent studies, based on contexts from Verucchio, attribute the cups to a category of women 'priestesses', according to a hypothesis formulated by Patrizia von Eles, who were probably responsible for rites and cultic practices that evoked the relationship between the individual and the *cosmos*, according to Annette Rathje (Bagnasco Gianni 2014b, 437–9). The two perspectives, vertical for the cups and horizontal for the lid, are reconciled in the partitions on the background divided in half by the central figure, according to the basic principle of the subdivision of the cosmic space divided into sectors (Bagnasco Gianni 2008).

The almost contemporary bronze vase and cart from Bisenzio also suggest a three-dimensional reading of the images on the support of the Tarquinian set (Torelli 1997, 33–46). Starting from the most external sequence on the jar, the triangular elements surmounted by the rayed circles have been interpreted as border markers, either as representations of burial mounds (Colonna 2013), or altars marked by an allusion to the cosmic element (Bagnasco Gianni 2014b, 443). In both interpretations, the reference would be to the sacred belt which, together with the warriors, protects the built space of the city represented in the background by the circuit of towers. This circuit, in turn, delimits the space divided into sectors on the lid that reflects the *cosmos* on earth, divided into the two parts that we expect to find in Etruscan cosmology (Bagnasco Gianni 2019). It follows that the two concentric circuits enclose a space in which the expanse of the inhabited area can be recognized.

The recurrence of the number seven on the jar immediately evokes the Theban saga 'Seven-gated Thebes' (Colonna 2013). However, the precedent for this can be found throughout the Aegean-Anatolian region. Thus, the netherworld in Mesopotamia and Egypt is at times represented by seven doors; a seven-terraced building is related to the labyrinth which, in turn, suggests the city of Troy; the ritual procession of the pharaoh around his city of the dead at Memphis evoked what will happen to Theseus in the labyrinth with the twice-times-seven youths (Singor 1992, 409).



**Figure 13.7.** Tarquinia, Bocchoris Tomb, lid (F. Fiocchi, University of Milan, Etruscology, archive).

In the context of the wide range of relationships recognized for Tarquinia during the Orientalizing period, the number seven could have been grafted onto the local tradition from various sources.

From the Greek tradition perspective, in order to match the city on the jar to ‘Seven-gated Thebes’, it would be necessary to look back to the Theban saga, which would confirm for the former a cosmological reading. However, we would need to use the metaphoric meaning of the passage from life to death, expressed by the figure of the acrobat in the Homeric epic, to explain the presence of the acrobat on the lid of the Bocchoris vase (Medori 2010, 57–9), thereby changing our reading perspective.

As has been extensively noted, ‘Seven-gated Thebes’ is part of a long process and actualizes a Mesopotamian and then Biblical concept, whereby the number seven plays a central role in the idea of the city, in the number of walls, doors, etc., which correspond in the heavens to the ‘seven planets’ and the arithmetical intervals on which music is based. The myth of the foundation of the Theban walls, after Cadmus, is in fact, by Amphion, the inspired singer who, according to Pausanias (IX.5.2–7), built the walls to the sound of the seven-stringed lyre, which he invented (Chiarini 2002, 15, 17–18, 21; Berlinzani 2004, 77–81). Therefore,

the most recent literary sources would seem to give shape to the much older reality, where Thebes would seem to draw more substantially on a conceptual level than on the material reality of archaeology (Osanna 2008, 255–7).

The connection between the musical aspects and the delimitation of the city returns us to the Bocchoris Tomb through the acrobatic figure, who recalls the division of space and the dimension of dance, as on the contemporary Würzburg *amphora* and the later *oinochoe* from Tragliatella (Menichetti 1992, 1998). On the latter, the armed warriors exit in the position of the ritual *geranos* dance from the city called Truia, shown as a labyrinth wrapped in its partitions, similar to those that are present on the bronze and clay vertical handles from the Orientalizing period. If this reading is correct, the set of the Bocchoris Tomb can be seen as unique evidence of the three-dimensional concept of the city, dating back to the beginning of the Orientalizing period and preserved in Tarquinia in a high-ranking tomb.

A city reflected in the *cosmos* and that reflects the *cosmos*, is implicit in the tradition that identifies it in the symbology of the labyrinth with its partitions, later imagined on the Tragliatella *oinochoe*. Protecting this sacred space, identified with the city, is the circuit

with towers and, further outside, the sacral belt of the triangular borders surmounted by the cosmic symbol, alternating with the warriors, namely the bronze walls. The city is a reflection of the *cosmos*, emanating from a sacral nucleus that constitutes its nerve centre (Briquel 2008, 130–3).

The central hub of the inhabited site was the above mentioned ‘monumental complex’, where the local community gathered from the end of the tenth century BC around the natural cavity, which was the connection with underground forces. The prominence of the natural cavity lasted until the end of the sixth century BC, when other surrounding areas of the ‘monumental complex’ took over its role until mid-second century BC. Given that the Tarquinian community originated from the natural phenomenon of the cavity, it continued to spread its political influence as well as its distinctive cultural traits across the Civita Plateau, the surrounding territory and the adjacent seashore (Bagnasco Gianni & Fiorini 2018).

## Notes

- 1 For a recent survey of the road system see Marzullo 2018, 79–80.
- 2 For the links between ‘human and space’ in different cultures and centuries see, e.g.: Rapoport 1969; Kent 1990; Samson 1990; Parker Pearson & Richards 1994; Steadman 2015. Some studies on the same topic in Classical archaeology: Mazarakis Ainian 1997; Brandt & Karlsson 2001; Izzet 2007; Nevett 2011.
- 3 As for example, the oval huts were considered stables because Linington was convinced that they were too wide to support a fairly high roof and a low roof was not suitable for a house.
- 4 For the different positions, see: Ward Perkins 1961; Ampolo 1988; Peroni 1994; 2000; Pacciarelli 2001; d’Agostino 2005. For a recent summary, see Marino 2015.
- 5 This cautious attitude is mainly due to the comparison with the sites already mentioned.
- 6 This interpretation is encouraged by many examples also from ethnographic studies, already applied to archaeological evidence, for example: Negroni Catacchio & Domanico 2001; Mazarakis Ainian 2012; Colantoni 2012. Still, too many factors with fundamental implications for our understanding of dwelling spaces, such as social, political, economic and cultural issues, are substantially unknown for the Etruscan protohistory.
- 7 The first analysis of the finds was carried out by Filippo Delpino just after the excavations, in order to determine the chronology of the site; only some, significant sherds were considered (Linington *et al.* 1978). Some other finds were presented by Marco Pacciarelli in his book on the settlement dynamics of the Italian Early Iron Age (Pacciarelli 2001, 169).
- 8 Pohl 1977, tab. 4 AOHI-128; Tamburini 1995, 51 no. 138 and fig. 30; 147 nos. 1707 and 1712, fig. 47; Negroni Catacchio 1995, 49 no. 55, pl. 8; Mandolesi 1999, fig. 77.6, 176; Pacciarelli 2001, 172 fig. 104.2, and 174 fig. 106.4.
- 9 For a summary of the relationship between Tarquinia and its territory, especially with settlements on the coast, Bonghi Jovino 2006.
- 10 See Maggiani 2005; Torelli 2008; Bonghi Jovino 2010a; Bellelli 2014, 49–50, 52; Bagnasco Gianni 2014b, 431–46.
- 11 On the possibility of a tyrannical figure in Tarquinia, see Bonghi Jovino 2005b, 321.

## Abbreviations

- Tarchna* 1997. Bonghi Jovino, M. & C. Chiamonte Treré (eds.), *Tarquinia. Testimonianze archeologiche e ricostruzione storica. Scavi sistematici nell’abitato. Campagne 1982–1988*. Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider.
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## Making cities

Large and complex settlements appeared across the north Mediterranean during the period 1000–500 BC, from the Aegean basin to Iberia, as well as north of the Alps. The region also became considerably more interconnected. Urban life and networks fostered new consumption practices, requiring different economic and social structures to sustain them. This book considers the emergence of cities in Mediterranean Europe, with a focus on the economy. What was distinctive about urban lifeways across the Mediterranean? How did different economic activities interact, and how did they transform power hierarchies? How was urbanism sustained by economic structures, social relations and mobility? The authors bring to the debate recently excavated sites and regions that may be unfamiliar to wider (especially Anglophone) scholarship, alongside fresh reappraisals of well-known cities. The variety of urban life, economy and local dynamics prompts us to reconsider ancient urbanism through a comparative perspective.

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