

Alessandro Naso (ed.)
Etruscology

Etruscology

Volume 1

Edited by
Alessandro Naso

DE GRUYTER

ISBN 978-1-934078-48-8
(PDF) 978-1-934078-49-5
(ePub) 978-1-61451-910-2

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available from the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2017 Walter de Gruyter Inc., Boston/Berlin

Cover image: Fresco from the tomb of the Augurs, Tarquinia: Running Phersu (masked man) on the left wall. Ca. 520 BCE; Photo: Courtesy DAI-Rome

Typesetting: Satzstudio Borngräber, Dessau

Printing and binding: Hubert & Co. GmbH und Co. KG, Berlin/Boston

♻️ Printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

Table of contents

Alessandro Naso

1 Introduction — 1

Part 1: I. Methods

Christoph Ulf

2 An ancient question: the origin of the Etruscans — 11

Martin Korenjak

3 The Etruscans in Ancient Literature — 35

Giuseppe M. Della Fina

4 History of Etruscology — 53

Maurizio Harari

5 Etruscan Art or Art of the Etruscans? — 69

Natacha Lubtchansky

**6 Iconography and iconology,
Nineteenth to Twenty-first centuries — 79**

Enrico Benelli

7 Approaches to the study of the language — 95

Philip Perkins

8 DNA and Etruscan identity — 109

II. Issues: Politic and society

Gianluca Tagliamonte

9 Political organization and magistrates — 121

Maria Cecilia D'Ercole

10 Economy and trade — 143

Markus Egg

11 War and Weaponry — 165

Petra Amann

12 Society — 179

Erich Kistler

13 Feasts, Wine and Society, eighth–sixth centuries BCE — 195

Fabio Colivicchi

14 Banqueting and food — 207

Jean-Paul Thuillier

15 Sports — 221

Armando Cherici

16 Dance — 233

Enrico Benelli

17 Alphabets and language — 245

II. Issues: Religion

Daniele F. Maras

18 Religion — 277

Alessandro Naso

19 Death and burial — 317

Robert Rollinger

20 Haruspicy from the Ancient Near East to Etruria — 341

Marie-Laurence Haack

21 Prophecy and divination — 357

II. Issues: Technique and technology

Patrice Pomey

22 Ships and Shipping — 371

Laura M. Michetti

23 Harbors — 391

Adriana Emiliozzi

24 Vehicles and roads — 407

Andrea Zifferero

25 Mines and Metal Working — 425

Alessandro Corretti

26 The mines on the island of Elba — 445

Fiorenzo Catalli

27 Coins and mints — 463

Adriano Maggiani

28 Weights and balances — 473

Margarita Gleba

29 Textiles and Dress — 485

Emiliano Li Castro

30 Musical instruments — 505

Marshall Joseph Becker

31 Etruscan gold dental appliances — 523

Part 2: III. History

Adriano Maggiani

32 The Historical Framework — 537

Marco Pacciarelli

33 The transition from village communities to protourban societies — 561

Massimo Botto

34 The diffusion of Near Eastern cultures — 581

Luca Cerchiali

35 Urban Civilization — 617

Laurent Haumesser

36 Hellenism in Central Italy — 645

Arnaldo Marcone

37 Romanization — 665

Mario Torelli

38 The Etruscan Legacy — 685

IV. Civilization: Early Iron Age

Lars Karlsson

39 Hut Architecture, 10th cent.-730 BCE — 723

Cristiano Iaia

40 Handicrafts, 10th cent.-730 BCE — 739

Marco Pacciarelli

41 Society, 10th cent.-730 BCE — 759

Tiziano Trocchi

42 Ritual and cults, 10th cent.-730 BCE — 779

Albert J. Nijboer

43 Economy, 10th cent.-730 BCE — 795

Cristiano Iaia

44 External Relationships, 10th cent.-730 BCE — 811

IV. Civilization: Orientalizing period

Mauro Menichetti

45 Art, 730–580 BCE — 831

Marina Micozzi

46 Handicraft, 730–580 BCE — 851

Alessandro Naso

47 Society, 730–580 BCE — 869

Tiziano Trocchi

48 Ritual and cults, 730–580 BCE — 885

Albert J. Nijboer

49 Economy, 730–580 BCE — 901

Marina Micozzi

50 External Relationships, 730–580 BCE — 921

IV. Civilization: Archaic and Classical periods

Nigel Spivey and Maurizio Harari

51 Archaic and Late Archaic Art, 580–450 BCE — 943

Martin Bentz

52 Handicrafts, 580–450 BCE — 971

Petra Amann

53 Society, 580–450 BCE — 985

Marie-Laurence Haack

54 Ritual and Cults, 580–450 BCE — 1001

Hilary Becker

55 Economy, 580–450 BCE — 1013

Christoph Reusser

56 External relationships, 580–450 BCE — 1031

IV. Civilization: Late Classical and Hellenistic periods

Fernando Gilotta

57 Late Classical and Hellenistic art, 450–250 BCE — 1049

Laura Ambrosini

58 Handicraft, 450–250 BCE — 1079

Petra Amann

59 Society, 450–250 BCE — 1101

Marie-Laurence Haack

60 Ritual and cults, 450–250 BCE — 1117

Hilary Becker

61 Economy, 450–250 BCE — 1129

Stefano Bruni

62 External Relationships, 450–250 BCE — 1141

IV. Civilization: Etruria and Rome

Fernando Gilotta

63 Art, 250–89 BCE — 1161

Francesco de Angelis

64 Handicraft, 250–89 BCE — 1173

Arnaldo Marcone

65 Society, 250–89 BCE — 1191

Marie-Laurence Haack

66 Ritual and Cults, 250–89 BCE — 1203

Hilary Becker

67 Economy, 250–89 BCE — 1215

Francesco de Angelis

68 External Relationships, 250–89 BCE — 1223

V. Topography of Etruria

Philip Perkins

69 The landscape and environment of Etruria — 1239

Andrea Zifferero

70 Southern Etruria — 1251

Erik O. Nielsen and P. Gregory Warden

71 Northern Etruria — 1299

Andrea Zifferero

72 Settlement Patterns and Land Use — 1339

VI. Etruscans outside Etruria: Southern Italy

Teresa Cinquantaquattro and Carmine Pellegrino

73 Southern Campania — 1359

Vincenzo Bellelli

74 Northern Campania — 1395

VI. Etruscans outside Etruria: Central and Northern Italy

Luigi Malnati

75 Emilia — 1437

Patrizia von Eles, Gabriele Baldelli

76–77 Romagna and the Marches — 1453

Raffaele Carlo de Marinis

78 Lombardy — 1501

VI. Etruscans outside Etruria: Etruscan Finds in Italy

Alessandro Naso

79 Central Italy and Rome — 1533

Gianluca Tagliamonte

80 Southern Italy — 1551

Martin Guggisberg

81 Northern Italy

(Piedmont, Veneto, Trentino–Alto Adige, Friuli–Venezia Giulia) — **1565**

VI. Etruscans outside Etruria: Etruscan Finds in Europe

Gerhard Tomedi

82 South and southeast Central Europe — 1585

Holger Baitinger

83 Transalpine Regions — 1607

VI. Etruscans outside Etruria: Etruscan Finds in the Mediterranean

Olivier Jehasse

84 Corsica — 1641

Rosa Maria Albanese Procelli

85 Sicily — 1653

Marco Rendeli

86 Sardinia — 1669

Alessandro Naso

87 Greece, Aegean islands and Levant — 1679

Alessandro Naso

88 North Africa — 1695

Claire Joncheray

89 Southern France — 1709

Raimon Graells i Fabregat

90 The Iberian Peninsula — 1721

Colour plates — 1737

Authors — 1761

Index — 1767

Alessandro Naso

47 Society, 730–580 BCE

Abstract: The Etruscan elite furnished their tombs with extraordinary sumptuousness, following a specifically “barbarian” custom—adopted throughout their civilization—that began in the second half of the eighth century BCE and reached its peak in the seventh. The three major arts—stone sculpture, architecture, and painting—developed in this period mostly for use in burials. The sets of grave goods include luxury items of Near Eastern and other provenances, which testify to the considerable capacity for assimilating outside influences and the role the Etruscans played in the Mediterranean and Europe. Archaeological evidence shows that the Etruscans received objects and ideas relating to a new way of life from the Near East, while their mythology came from Greece; they received cultural models from both. This original mixture determined a new type of culture, which allowed both men and women to play important roles in society.

Keywords: Orientalizing, elites, lower classes, competition, family name

Introduction

The Etruscan elite furnished their tombs with extraordinary sumptuousness, following a specifically “barbarian” custom—adopted throughout their civilization—that began in the second half of the eighth century BCE and reached its peak in the seventh.¹ The three major arts—stone sculpture, architecture, and wall painting—originated and developed in this period mostly for use in burials.² The sets of grave goods are our main source for Etruscan society. They include luxury items of Near Eastern and other provenances, which testify to the considerable capacity for assimilating outside influences and the role the Etruscans played in the Mediterranean and Europe.³ Archaeological evidence shows that the Etruscans received objects and ideas relating to a new way of life from the Near East, while mythology came from Greece; and from both they received cultural models. This original mixture determined a new type of culture, which allowed both men and women to play important roles in society.

1 Elites, lower classes and geographic mobility

In the Orientalizing period, the Etruscan elite adopted certain markers to demonstrate their power and high status. Three elements stand out, permitting the conclusion that

1 See chapter 18 Naso.

2 See chapters 45 Menichetti, 46 Micozzi.

3 See chapters 34 Botto, 50 Micozzi.

beginning in the second half of the eighth century, Etruscan elites become more conscious of their social status.

First, because excavations of domestic remains in Etruscan cities are still in progress, and general knowledge about the urban residences is limited,⁴ the burials are the commonest source of information. Huge tumuli with diameters reaching 50–60 m contained the chamber tombs. Often, these monumental graves accommodate only one chamber tomb for a man or woman, and subsequently they received further chamber tombs that probably belonged to the same family, as shown by the four tombs of Great Tumulus 2 in the Banditaccia cemetery at Caere (Fig. 471). From the beginning of the seventh century to the first half of the sixth, a new chamber tomb was built every thirty years or so in that barrow. In the burial landscape, tumuli became a visible marker of the power of the family that owned it and probably of its ancestors, following a model developed by Near Eastern societies.⁵ For the interiors of the chamber tombs, see Section 5 below.

Second, the tombs were full of luxury goods, which had already been displayed in the residences and in the funeral rites that came to Etruria from various overseas regions and Central Europe.⁶ Several items are closely connected to the diffusion of new modes and costumes, which cannot always be clearly interpreted or understood. Middle and Late Geometric Greek drinking cups testify, for instance, to the display of wine.⁷ Greek vases for use in symposia are likely to have been ceremonial gifts offered by Greeks to the local elite, not only to establish relations with them, but also to have access to the natural resources they controlled. This is supported by the geographical distribution of such items, which is not limited to the major centers such as Veii, Caere, and Tarquinia, but also includes peripheral districts, such as the huge Euboean krater found out its original context at Pescia Romana (Grosseto province, Tuscany), which dates to the last quarter of the eighth century, and the vases found in the coastal settlement of La Castellina del Marangone (Rome province, Latium), corresponding to the mine district of the Tolfa Hills in the hinterland.⁸ There is little information about the functional use of imported goods in Etruria. The huge Near Eastern bronze cauldrons with lion protomes and/or griffin protomes, for instance, may have been status symbols, pots for boilings meat, wine containers, and so on.⁹

Lastly, an important marker of the awareness reached by the Etruscan elite was the adoption of the family, or *gentilic*, name, which developed in Etruria as early

⁴ Prayon 2001.

⁵ Naso 2016.

⁶ See chapter 50 Micozzi.

⁷ See the contributions of d'Agostino 2014 (Pontecagnano) and Naso 2014 (southern Etruria).

⁸ Canciani 1987, 242–43, no. 3, for Pescia Romana; Mercuri 2004, 135, for the sherds from La Castellina, which have recently been attributed to an Etruscan geometric krater (Gran-Aymerich 2011, 412 nos. 1–6, fig. 156.7).

⁹ For the Samian imitations see Gehrig 2004.

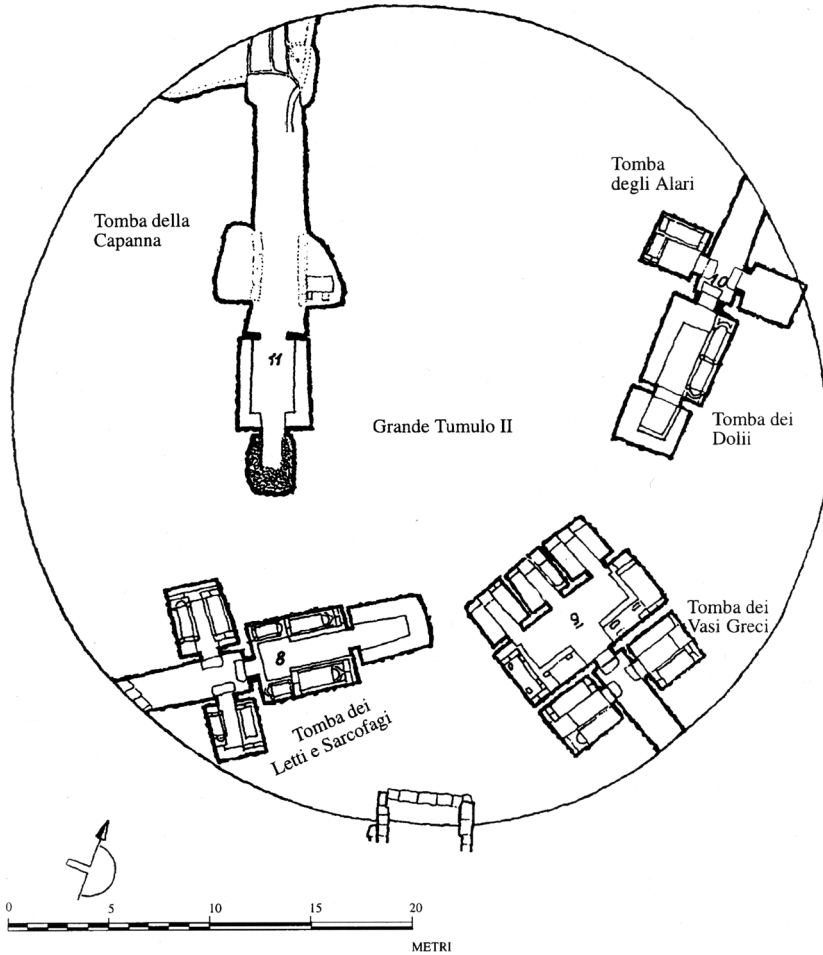


Fig. 47.1: Plan of Great Tumulus 2 in the Banditaccia cemetery at Caere (drawing A. Naso)

as the eighth century, as is known because it is widely documented in the earliest inscriptions, which date to the first half of the seventh century.¹⁰ It is necessary to stress this custom, because family names in this period are exclusive to Italy; in Greek and other Mediterranean societies, the custom was to use a name consisting of the personal name and the father's name.¹¹ Instead, for both men and women, the societies of pre-Roman Italy adopted a distinctive two-component name formed from the

¹⁰ Colonna 1977; see chapter 21 Benelli.

¹¹ See several contributions in Étienne 2010.

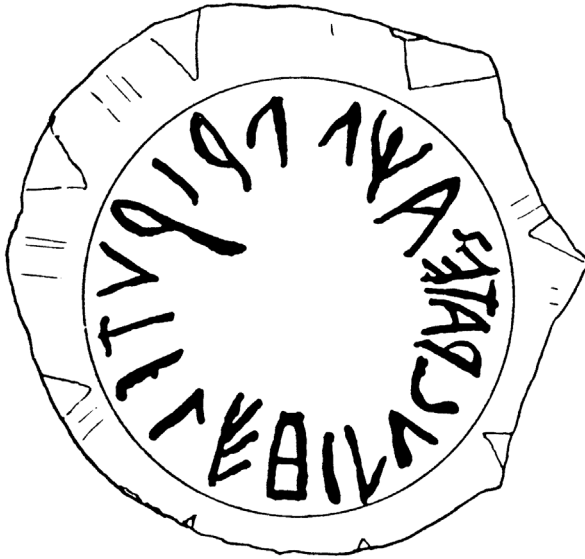


Fig. 47.2a: Line-drawing of the Etruscan inscription
 TLE 155 = ET, Ta 6.1 *aḡapri rutilē hipukrates*

personal name and the family name. The family name made it possible not only to declare one's proud loyalty to a group, which in the eighth and seventh centuries was of course identified with the elite, but also to state the right to the inheritance of that name and the family properties, namely land and livestock. Inheritance, however, cannot have been the main reason for the introduction of the family name, because it was used by societies that did not adopt the family name system. Not by chance did the Latin law tradition attributed to the age of Romulus (753–716 according to traditional chronology) state that the owner (Lat. *herus*) can bequeath to his descendants (Lat. *heredes*) a plot of land (Lat. *heredium*) of 2 *jugera* (ca. 0.5 ha).¹² An important role was played by self-awareness of one's own high role and social status, as the rich and exotic grave goods show. In this way, the earliest Etruscan inscriptions, which show a high number of such binomial names, further stress the importance of the family name, whose origins in pre-Roman Italy are still an open question for research.

If the coexistence of monumental graves, luxury goods, and family names helps to define the formation of elite Etruscans, other practices show that the aristocratic groups may have been interconnected in many ways to form a social network. These include gift exchanges, as attested in Etruria by inscriptions, and marriages, as in Homeric Greece. Several years ago, the late Mauro Cristofani pointed out that in Ori-

¹² Colonna 1977, 185–88.

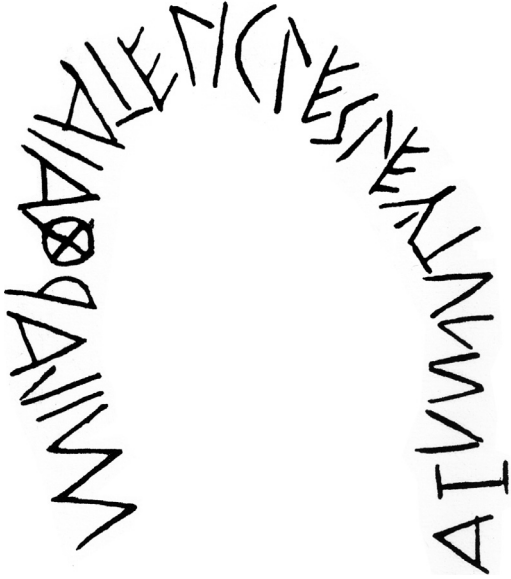


Fig. 47.2b: Line-drawing of the Etruscan inscription
TLE 761 = ET, OA 2.2 mi larθaia telicles lextumuza

entalizing Etruscan society, the practice of gift exchange between members of the elite, based on sumptuary goods, spread widely between 675–575. Precious gifts such as metal or clay vases with particular purposes show the donor’s name—usually a man, but occasionally a woman—and sometimes the recipient’s name.¹³ In contrast, marriage as a useful link between two aristocratic groups is a practice documented in pre-Roman Italy as early as the Early Iron Age, although specific research on Orientalizing Etruria is yet to be done.¹⁴

These practices seem quite typical of a dynamic society, which was open to strangers too. The literary tradition quotes the case of Damaratos, a Greek who came to Tarquinia from Corinth around the middle of the seventh century (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.46.3). Etruscan inscriptions dating to the seventh century quote male names such as *Rutile Hipukrates* and *Larth Telicles* (Fig. 47.2a–b). These genuine Etruscan binomial names are half Etruscan (Rutile from the Latin *Rutilus*; Larth) and half Greek (Hippokrates; Telikles). The bearers can therefore be identified either as Greeks (*Hippokrates*, *Telikles*) who came to Etruria and assumed Etruscan names—“Hippokrates the Red” in the first case—or as sons of mixed marriages between Etruscans and

¹³ Cristofani 1975, 1984.

¹⁴ Bartoloni 1988. Further literature in d’Agostino 2011, 38.

Greeks.¹⁵ In each case, such persons may be taken as examples of geographic mobility between members of the upper classes of Greece and Etruria.

Alongside so many elite markers, however, the archeological record of this period, which is based almost completely on funerary evidence, includes only a few traces of other classes; they are almost invisible. In the Banditaccia cemetery at Caere, the huge tumuli were surrounded by similar but smaller burial monuments, which, being contemporary, may correspond to lower social groups. These may be related to the elite group in a way similar to that of the patrician and *clientes* in archaic Rome.¹⁶

The late Richard Linington, who was for several years field director of the excavations in the Laghetto area of the Banditaccia cemetery, saw evidence of the existence of lower classes in the tomb architecture of that area. Linington divided the explored graves into seven periods, dating from the eighth to the third centuries. According to him, the dimensions of the graves in this area are quite similar to those in other cemeteries of Caere in the late eighth and early seventh centuries (his periods 1 and 2), a little bit smaller in the second half of the seventh century (period 3), and clearly smaller in the early sixth (period 4). If it is really the case that no more rich graves were built in this sector because the upper classes used other areas of the same cemetery, then from the sixth century onward it would have been available to the lower classes.¹⁷ To verify this intriguing suggestion, which is based exclusively on the study of tomb architecture, it would be necessary to correlate the architecture with the composition of the remains of the grave groups found in the same tombs, which is not possible at the moment given the fact that only a few tomb groups have been published.¹⁸ Social division within an Etruscan cemetery dating to the seventh century has been documented at Pontecagnano in southern Campania. Several clusters of tombs that reflect different statuses and different origins of the deceased—mostly Etruscans but also probably Daunians and Picenes—are placed in different sectors of the cemetery. Tomb groups of the Pontecagnano cemetery reveal a capacity for emulation and competition among the different elite groups; they include rich female graves.¹⁹

15 Respectively *TLE* 155 = *ET*, Ta 6.1 (from Tarquinii) and *TLE* 761 (provenance unknown, presumably Caere, now in the collection of New York University: Bonfante 2005). The mentioned interpretations are respectively by Mario Torelli, quoted in Torelli 2000, 146 and Jonathan Hall (2007, 257). For further examples of geographic mobility between Etruria and Latium vetus see chapter 79 Naso.

16 See the various aspects listed in Richard 1990, with previous bibliography.

17 Linington 1980, 19–25 (periods 2–4). According to Giovanni Colonna, Linington's period 2 corresponds to the Early Orientalizing (730–670), period 3 to the Middle Orientalizing (670–640/630), and period 4 to the Late Orientalizing (640/630–580): Colonna and von Hase 1984, 19–25.

18 Bagnasco Gianni 2002, 621–23 lists the published tomb groups from B(anditaccia) L(aghetto).

19 On the cemetery of Pontecagnano, still unpublished as whole (more than 10,000 graves!), see Cuzzo 2007, 230–39, with previous bibliography. For the Daunian and Picensian finds: Cinquantaquattro and Cuzzo 2002; 2003.

Toward the end of the eighth century, a woman was buried in Pontecagnano Grave 2465 not only with her gold jewels, but also with the markers of the rank she held in life: a bronze chariot; a bronze symposium service; a metal banquet service including andirons, spits, knife and axe for the meat—both for eating and for use in the sacrifice—and some large clay food containers (See chapter 74 Cinquantaquattro and Pellegrino). Similar very rich female depositions in other Etruscan cemeteries show that such burials are not unique. To stress the spatial distribution across Etruria, one may mention at least Banditella 2 at Marsiliana and Regolini Galassi at Caere, both of which date to some time later than Pontecagnano 2465, in the first and second quarters respectively of the seventh century.²⁰ The three female burials have several elements in common. Each includes either belongings of the deceased *dominae* in life (precious jewelry and metallic ornaments for clothing), or part of the burial ritual (metal bed frames, but only at Caere and Marsiliana), or the markers of their very high social rank (the metal chariot, the symposium service for wine, the banquet service for meat, and the large food storage vessels). Each set, which might have actually seen use, had a different function, showing the varied capacities of the woman in life as dispenser of wine and food, and as responsible for food preparation for the entire household and its inhabitants. The spindle and distaff, implements used in wool working, are bronze (Pontecagnano), glass paste (Marsiliana), or silver (Caere), and had exceptional value. Only the very rich female burials contain them, showing the importance of wool working in Etruscan society (see Section 2 below for further details).²¹ Rich female depositions are quite common in Etruscan cemeteries and reflect the important role played by the women in Etruscan society.

2 The female role

The great importance of women in Etruscan society, which is best known particularly from the fifth century onward,²² is already visible in the seventh century in both the epigraphic and the iconographic records, which allow us to speak of princesses and queens rather than wives of princes and of kings. The epigraphic record includes female names, which are often connected to specific functions. The inscriptions on the clay wine vessels—called *thina* by the Etruscans as a transliteration of the Greek term *dinos*—consistently declare that the containers are female property. Six vessels

²⁰ On the Regolini-Galassi chamber tomb, see Colonna and Di Paolo 1997, 154–63; about the Banditella 2 at Marsiliana: Cianferoni 1988.

²¹ Pontecagnano: Cuozzo 2003, 112 no. 25; Marsiliana: Cianferoni 1988, 103–4 nos. 19–20 (might no. 18 be a spatula for wool working?); Caere: Pareti 1947, 217 no. 150. On the importance of wool working in Etruscan society see Torelli 1997; on woolen items, see chapter 29 Gleba.

²² See chapters 53 Amann and 59 Amann.



Fig. 47.3a: Line-drawing of the Etruscan inscription ET, Cr 2.34 [mi] pupaias karkanas θina

(with seven inscriptions) from Caere and Veii dating to the seventh century confirm the suggestion for this period (Fig. 47.3a–b). A further inscription on a *chalice* dating to the seventh century that was used as a drinking cup bears a female name and confirms that in that century wine was served to men by women, further showing the importance of the female role in the banquet. In the sixth century, four inscriptions document a new meaning for the term *thina*, to designate wine containers of other shapes, such as amphorae, and no longer referring to women.²³ According to Giovanni Colonna, the Etruscan inscription on a large clay vessel (Gk. *pyxis*) from Caere with white-on-red decoration, dating to 630–620, permits the assumption that a woman was the owner of the potter’s workshop.²⁴

The shift from the Orientalizing to the Archaic period, which probably corresponded to a new role for women, is confirmed by iconographic representations. Concerning the iconographic record, one must begin in the Orientalizing period with the wooden throne found in Grave 89 of the Lippi cemetery in Verucchio, dating back to the very beginning of the seventh century.²⁵ The scenes engraved on the semicircular back, originally painted, show women at work, engaged in the processing of wool—washing, spinning, and weaving—and women participating together with men in some activities that are hard to define. According to Patrizia von Eles, these women are probably engaged as priestesses in ceremonies or cults.²⁶

Tomb 5 of the Arsenale Militare cemetery in Bologna, called Tomba del Tintinnabulo and dated to around 600, has yielded the cinerary urn of a thirty to forty year old woman and her jewelry, gold items including a fibula and two hair bands, an amber chain, and an exceptional bronze sheet rattle or *tintinnabulum*, a bell-shaped

²³ Colonna 2002, 354–55 with previous literature (eleven inscriptions at all, including one from Pontecagnano with the term *thina* not entirely preserved); Bruni 2007 (a further inscription on a trade amphora dating to the sixth century). See also Menichetti 2002 and chapter 13 Kistler.

²⁴ Colonna 1993. The inscription is not surely authentic.

²⁵ See chapters 29 Gleba and 48 Trocchi.

²⁶ von Eles 2002, 235–72, esp. 268–72.



Fig. 47.3b: Line-drawing of the Etruscan inscription ET, Cr 2.36 *mi velelias θina mlaχ mlakas*

pendant depicting several stages of processing wool, from spinning to weaving.²⁷ This exceptional find stresses once again the importance of wool working for high-ranking Etruscan women.

The friezes on the terra-cotta plaques decorating the second phase of the palace near Murlo, dated to the end of the Orientalizing period (around the year 580), still reflect the Orientalizing world and its symbols. Four scenes are depicted in all, each including a woman with the attributes of her rank, such as thrones and footstools, parasol, fans, and servants. I agree with Annette Rathje that “these women must be seen as more than just mothers, wives, daughters and sisters to the ruling men.”²⁸ A new phase probably began at the start of the sixth century (see chapter 53 Amann).

3 Kings and queens

Imported objects and their associated uses—if any—reflect the existence of a stratified society in Etruria, which for us is hard to articulate because the only information we have comes from burial remains. It must be remembered that the available documents have mostly been found in tomb groups, so it is not known exactly what role was played by burial customs and to what extent the luxury objects correspond to the social status of the deceased.²⁹ Specific criteria for categorizing tomb groups according to their richness are still lacking in modern-day research. Chariots and items such as helmets, shields, fans, and parasols (represented on the plaques from Murlo) are well documented by Etruscan finds as elite status symbols that derived, in the case of most of the objects, from Near Eastern, and in the case of helmet, Central European

²⁷ For a detailed description of the *tinnabulum* see chapter 29 Gleba.

²⁸ Rathje 2007, 177.

²⁹ See chapter 19 Naso.



Fig. 47.4: Etruscan Bronze Thron from the Barberini tomb at Praeneste (Rome, Museum of Villa Giulia). Photo SAR-Laz

models.³⁰ The richest graves we have allow us to look for the deceased's particular roles and functions, such as kings and priests (see section 4 below). According to the late literary tradition, in this period kings of Etruria had gold crowns, ivory thrones, scepters, and purple garments, all of which are symbols of power.³¹ Can it therefore be suggested that the few tomb groups containing thrones and scepters belonged to kings or queens?³² The archaeological evidence forces prudence; the general situ-

30 For the chariots see chapter 24 Emiliozzi; for helmets: Iaia 2005, 45–112; for shields, Bartoloni and De Santis 1995; for fans, Guldlager Bilde 1994; for parasols, Miller 1992 and Simpson 2014.

31 Delpino 2000 for the literary tradition and the archaeological finds. See chapter 9 Tagliamonte.

32 One scepter has been identified, which was found in the tomb Monte Michele 5 at Veii (Boitani 2001, 115–16 no. 15). The few bronze thrones from Etruria are listed by Naso (2006a, 362–63). The term “queen” has recently been suggested for the women interred in some rich burials, such as No. 2 of the cemetery of Banditella at Marsiliana d’Albegna (Martelli 2008, 134 footnote 5) and the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere (Colonna and Di Paolo 1997, 167; Martelli 2008, 135 footnote 16).

ation in Etruria might have been highly variable, depending on each location. The cemeteries of a very rich but relatively small center like Verucchio yielded eleven wooden thrones dating from 750 to 650, belonging to at least seven male and three female graves, with one not attributed. In the tombs of Chiusi, model bronze thrones belong to the funeral rites of rich male individuals dating to seventh and sixth centuries.³³ Thus the question posed above has no sure answer, although in few cases the attribution to kingly burials seems very probable. Only in the Barberini tomb group from Praeneste—a very rich inhumation outside Etruria in Latium Vetus dating to the second quarter of the seventh century (see chapter 79 Naso)—has a bronze throne (Fig. 47.4) been combined with a probable scepter of gold and silver and a bronze cult wagon, suggesting the possibility that the deceased was an individual of royal status with priestly knowledge.³⁴

4 Priests

Some specific finds from rich male and female burials allow us to assume for the deceased a probable role as priest. Bronze cult chariots, already documented in central Italic graves from the ninth century onward, attest to religious rites involving the use of water (Fig. 47.5). The deposition of such items in tomb groups—mostly belonging to males, but in two cases, Bisentium and Veii, to females—may be interpreted as relics of such ceremonies or else as objects referring to the possible role of the deceased as priest.³⁵ The scenes engraved on the wooden throne from Verucchio and their interpretation by von Eles have already been mentioned, in which women are acting as priestesses. Perhaps not by chance, the Etruscan Tanaquil, wife of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome (616–579 according to the historical tradition), was believed to have deep knowledge of haruspicy, the Etruscan science of the interpretation of the livers of sheep.³⁶

It is difficult to identify a female role in votive offerings of this time, which are rarely documented in the archaeological record of the Orientalizing period for two main reasons. First, votive offerings were less popular than they would become beginning in the early sixth century, and second, because only a few votive deposits—consisting of highly perishable materials—have survived and they are quite difficult to find and to explore.³⁷ In an Iron Age votive deposit explored at Banditella, near

³³ For Verucchio, see chapter 76 von Eles; for Chiusi: Minetti 2004, 446–49.

³⁴ Curtis 1925, 46 no. 82 (throne), 21 no. 18 pl. 4 nos. 3–4 (probable scepter), and 36–37 no. 72 (cult wagon). The tomb contained several ivory items (22 no. 20, 36 no. 71) as well.

³⁵ Naso 2006b, with previous literature.

³⁶ On haruspicy see chapter 20 Rollinger.

³⁷ See chapter 48 Trocchi.

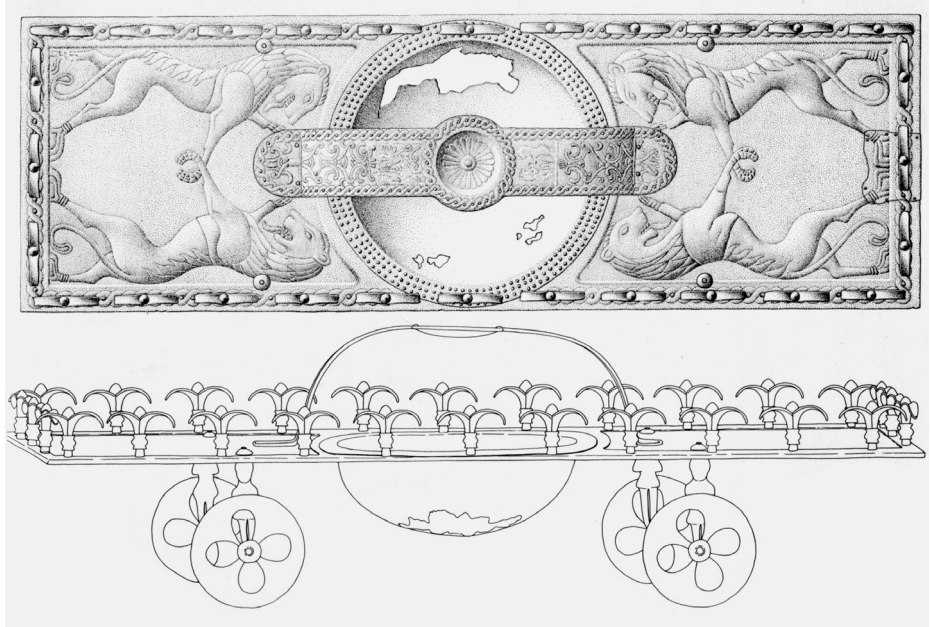


Fig. 47.5: Bronze cult-chariot from the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Caere (after Woytowitsch 1978, no. 123, pl. 121)

Vulci, a bronze group has been found, which as one of the latest votive offerings of that context, has been dated to the first half of the seventh century. It now includes two horses, but was originally more elaborate and probably decorated the lid of an amphora.³⁸

5 The family

The shift from the protohistoric “clan” to the historical “family” is attested in Orientalizing Etruria through the adoption of the family name, but the composition of a “typical” Etruscan family in the Orientalizing period, if there was such a thing, remains obscure. Bone analysis and other anthropological research, which are definitive, are actually too limited to be used on a large scale.³⁹ Inscriptions that show important phenomena like family names are scarce. The main sources for Etruscan society in general—the tombs—can be used in this context only in part. The development

³⁸ Naso 2012.

³⁹ See for instance Volterra 1997.

of the tomb architecture of the necropolis of Caere, as traced by Friedhelm Prayon, shows that the chamber tombs in the Orientalizing period do not have a unique form, but can include many chambers, and any one chamber can accommodate a varying number of individuals. By contrast, in the Archaic period, the chamber with two beds cut into the tuff was pervasive.⁴⁰ But caution is necessary: although chambers and beds can reflect the number of family members, we are not sure about the exact use of these structures. It is useful to compare our hypothesis with the few tombs that have been found intact. For instance, in the chamber with the ship painting in the Tomba della Nave at Caere, which contains only one bed dug into the tuff, Raniero Mengarelli found the remains of two individuals, a man on the bed and a woman in a wooden sarcophagus on the floor.⁴¹

It is difficult to compare this tendency with the information from dwellings, because it is undefined and often refers to later periods (see chapter 49 Nijboer). Taking into account the current state of the research, it can be interesting to ask some questions the answers to which will probably come in future years. For instance: how many people lived and worked in the palace of Murlo? According to a recent calculation, at least 350 individuals, including elite citizens, soldiers, craftsmen, and “service” personnel like butchers, dairymen, poultry farmers and gardeners, lived and worked in the Tartessian palace of Cancho Roano (Badajoz, Spain), which was smaller (24 × 24 m) than the Etruscan palace of Murlo (60 × 60 m).⁴² The estimate is based on the theoretical consumption of the elite and not on the capacity of the palace. Although it seems somewhat high, because it counts different roles for some functions that were carried out by one person elsewhere,⁴³ the suggestion is useful for estimating the order of magnitude of the number of individuals involved. Future research will answer such questions.

References

- Almagro Gorbea, M., M. Torres Santiz, A. Gómez Rincón, and S. Hernández Vivanco. 2011. “El personal del palacio tartésico de Cancho Roano (Badajoz, España).” *Zepirus* 68: 163–90.
- Bagnasco Gianni, G., ed. 2002. *Cerveteri. Importazioni e contesti nelle necropoli*. Milan: Cisalpino.
- Bartoloni, G. 1988. “Marriage, sale and gift. A proposito di alcuni corredi femminili dalle necropoli popolonesi della prima età del ferro.” In *Le donne in Etruria*, edited by A. Rallo, 35–58. Rome: L’Erma di Bretschneider.

⁴⁰ Prayon 1975.

⁴¹ Mengarelli 1927, 169.

⁴² Almagro Gorbea et al. 2011.

⁴³ According to the Old Testament (OT, 2 Chron. 2:13–14), at Tyre a single craftsman was able to work in several types of metals, timber, stone, textiles, and more (Pedrazzi 2011).

- Bartoloni, G., and A. De Santis. 1995. "La deposizione di scudi nelle tombe di VIII e VII secolo a.C. nell'Italia centrale tirrenica." In *Preistoria e protostoria in Etruria. Atti del Secondo Incontro di Studi*, edited by N. Negroni Catacchio, 277–90. Milan: Octavo.
- Boitani, F. 2001. "La tomba principesca n. 5 di Monte Michele." In *Veio, Cerveteri, Vulci. Città d'Etruria a confronto*, exhibition catalogue, edited by A. M. Moretti Sgubini, 113–18. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Bonfante, L. 2005. "Nunc ubi sit comperi. Lechtumuza." In *AEIMNESTOS. Miscellanea di studi per Mauro Cristofani*, edited by B. Adembri, 274–76. Florence: CentroDi.
- Bruni, S. 2007. "Ortaglia (Peccioli), 98." *StEtr* 73: 375–76.
- Canciani, F. 1987. "La ceramica geometrica." In *La ceramica degli Etruschi. La pittura vascolare*, edited by M. Martelli, 242–54. Novara: De Agostini.
- Cianferoni, G. C. 1988. "Marsiliana, Nekropole della Banditella, Grab II." In *Etrusker in der Toskana. Etruskische Gräber der Frühzeit*, 97–118. Florence: Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana.
- Cinquantquattro, T., and M. Cuozzo. 2002. "Relazione tra l'area daunia e medio-Ofantina e la Campania. Nuovi apporti archeologici." In *Sfornate immagini di bronzo. Il carrello di Lucera tra VIII e VII sec. a.C.*, edited by L. Pietropaolo, 128–38. Foggia: Claudio Renzi.
- . 2003. "Elementi medio-adriatici dalla necropoli di Pontecagnano (SA)." In *I Piceni e l'Italia medio-adriatica*. Atti del XXII Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etruschi ed Italici, Ascoli Piceno, Teramo, Ancona, 9–13.4.2000, 261–67. Pisa, Rome: IEPI.
- Colonna, G. 1977. "Nome gentilizio e società." *StEtr* 45: 175–92.
- . 1993. "Ceramisti e donne padrone di bottega nell'Etruria arcaica." In *Indogermanica et Italica, Festschrift für Helmut Rix zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by G. Meiser, 61–68. Innsbruck: Universität.
- . 2002. "Veii a) Piazza d'Armi." *StEtr* 65–68: 353–57.
- Colonna, G., and E. Di Paolo. 1997. "Il letto vuoto, la distribuzione del corredo e la 'finestra' della Tomba Regolini-Galassi." In *Etrusca et Italica. Scritti in ricordo di Massimo Pallottino*, 131–72. Pisa, Rome: IEPI.
- Colonna, G., and F. W. von Hase. 1984. "Alle origini della statuaria etrusca. La tomba delle Statue presso Ceri." *StEtr* 52: 13–59.
- Cristofani, M. 1975. "Il 'dono' nell'Etruria arcaica." *ParPass* 30: 132–52.
- . 1984. "Iscrizioni e beni suntuari." *Opus* 3(2): 319–24.
- Cuozzo, M. 2003. *Reinventando la tradizione. Immaginario sociale, ideologie e rappresentazione nelle necropoli orientalizzanti di Pontecagnano*. Paestum: Pandemos.
- . 2007. "Cultural Interaction, Political Boundaries and Geographical Boundaries: The People of Ancient Campania." In *Ancient Italy. Regions without Boundaries*, edited by G.J. Bradley, E. Isayev, and C. Riva, 225–67. Exeter: Exeter University Press.
- Curtis, C. D. 1925. "The Barberini Tomb." *MemAmAc* 5: 9–52.
- d'Agostino, B. 2011. "Pithecosa e Cuma nel quadro della Campania di età arcaica." *RM* 117: 35–53.
- . 2014. "The Archaeological Background of the Analysed Pendant Semicircle Skyphoi from Pontecagnano." In *Archaeometric Analyses of Euboean and Euboean Related Pottery. New Results and Their Interpretation*. Proceedings of the Round Table, Athens, 15–16.4.2011, edited by M. Kerschner and I.S. Lemos, 181–90. Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- Delpino, F. 2000. "Regalità e potere." In *Principi etruschi tra Mediterraneo ed Europa*, 223–25. Venice: Marsilio.
- ET Etruskische Texte. Editio Minor*, edited by H. Rix. Tübingen: Narr.
- Étienne, R., ed. 2010. *La Méditerranée au VII siècle av. J.-C. Essais d'analyses archéologiques*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Gehrig, U. 2004. *Die Greifenprotomen aus dem Heraion von Samos*. Samos 9. Bonn: Habelt.

- Gran-Aymerich, J. 2011. "Vases de style italo-géométrique et orientalisant." In *La Castellina a sud di Civitavecchia. Origini ed eredità. Origines protohistoriques et évolution d'un habitat étrusque*, edited by J. Gran-Aymerich and A. Dominguez-Arranz, 411–34. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Guldager Bilde, P. 1994. "Ritual and Power. The Fan as a Sign of Rank in Central Italian Society." *AnalRoma* 22: 7–34.
- Hall, J. M. 2007. *A History of the Archaic Greek World, c. 1200–479 BC*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- laia, C. 2005. *Produzioni toreutiche della prima età del ferro in Italia centro-settentrionale. Stili decorativi, circolazione, significato*. Pisa, Rome: IEPI.
- Linington, R. E. 1980. "Lo scavo nella zona Laghetto della necropoli della Banditaccia a Cerveteri." *NotMilano* 25–26: 3–80.
- Martelli, M. 2008. "Il fasto delle metropoli dell'Etruria meridionale. Importazioni, imitazioni e arte sontuaria." In *Etruschi. Le antiche metropoli del Lazio*, exhibition catalogue, edited by M. Torelli, A.M. Sgubini Moretti, 120–139. Verona: Electa.
- Mengarelli, R. 1927. "Caere e le recenti scoperte." *StEtr* 1: 145–71.
- Menichetti, M. 2002. "Il vino dei principes nel mondo etrusco-laziale. Note iconografiche." *Ostraka* 11: 75–99.
- Mercuri, L. 2004. *Eubéens en Calabrie à l'époque archaïque*. Rome: École française.
- Miller, M. C. 1992. "The Parasol. An Oriental Status Symbol in Late Archaic and Classical Athens." *JHS* 112: 91–105.
- Minetti, A. 2004. *L'orientalizzante a Chiusi e nel suo territorio*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Naso, A. 2006a. "Anathemata etruschi nel Mediterraneo orientale." *AnnMuseoFaina* 13: 351–416.
- . 2006b. "Un carrello culturale etrusco da Veio." In *Gli Etruschi da Genova ad Ampurias*, Atti del XXIV Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici, Marseille-Lattes, 26.09–1.10.2002, 357–70. Pisa: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali.
- . 2012. "Antichi bronzi vulcenti." In *Bronzes grecs et romains. Recherches récentes. Hommage à Claude Rolley, Paris, 16–17.09.2009* INHA (« Actes de colloques»), mis en ligne le 25.7.2012, consulté le 26.7.2012. URL: <http://inha.revues.org/4016>
- . 2014. "Pendent Semicircle Skyphoi from Central Italy in the Light of Archaeometric Results." In *Archaeometric Analyses of Euboean and Euboean Related Pottery. New Results and Their Interpretation*. Proceedings of the Round Table, Athens 15–16.4.2011, edited by M. Kerschner and I.S. Lemos, 169–80. Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- . 2016 "Tumuli in the Western Mediterranean, 800–500 BC: A Review before the Istanbul Conference." In *Tumulus as Sema. Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millennium BC*. Proceedings of the International Symposium, Istanbul, 1–4.6.2009, edited by O. Henry and U. Kelp, 9–32. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Pareti, L. 1947. *La tomba Regolini-Galassi del Museo Gregoriano Etrusco e la civiltà dell'Italia centrale nel VII sec. a.C.* Vatican City: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.
- Pedrazzi, T. 2011. "La lavorazione della porpora e dei tessuti." In *I Fenici in Algeria. Le vie del commercio tra il Mediterraneo e l'Africa nera*, edited by L.-I. Manfredi and A. Soltani, 116–22. Bologna: BraDypUS.
- Prayon, Fr. 1975. *Frühetruskische Grab- und Hausarchitektur*. RM, Ergänzungsheft 22. Heidelberg: Kerle.
- . 2001. "Near Eastern Influences in Early Etruscan Architecture?" In *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity, 1500–450 B.C.* Proceedings of an International Symposium, New York, November 16–18, 2000, edited by L. Bonfante and V. Karageorghis, 335–50. Nicosia: Severis Foundation.
- Rathje, A. 2007. "Murlo, Images and Archaeology." *Etruscan Studies* 10: 175–84.
- REE *Rivista di epigrafia etrusca* (in *StEtr*).

- Richard, J.-C. 1990. "Les Fabii à la Crémère." In *Crise et transformation des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au Ve siècle av. J.-C.* Actes de la table ronde, Rome 19–21.11.1987, 245–62. Rome: École française.
- Simpson, E. 2014. "A Parasol from Tumulus P at Gordion." In *Engin Özgen'e Armagan/ Studies in Honor of E. Özgen*, edited by A. Engin, B. Helwing, B. Uysal, 237-46. Çankaya-Ankara: Asitan.
- TLE Testimonia Linguae Etruscae*, edited by M. Pallottino. Florence: La Nuova Italia.
- Torelli, M. 1997. " 'Domiseda, lanifica, univira'. Il trono di Verucchio e il ruolo e l'immagine della donna tra arcaismo e repubblica." In M. Torelli, *Il rango, il mito e l'immagine. Alle origini della rappresentazione storica romana*, 52–85. Milan: Electa.
- . 2000. "The Hellenization of Etruria." In *The Etruscans*, exhibition catalogue, edited by M. Torelli, 141–55. Milan: Bompiani.
- Volterra 1997. *Aspetti della cultura di Volterra etrusca fra l'età del Ferro e l'età ellenistica e contributi della ricerca antropologica alla conoscenza del popolo etrusco*, Atti del XIX Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici, Volterra 15–19.10.1995. Florence: Olschki.
- von Eles, P., ed. 2002. *Guerriero e sacerdote. Autorità e comunità nell'età del Ferro a Verucchio. La Tomba del Trono*. Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio.
- Woytowitsch, E. 1978. *Die Wagen der Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit in Italien*. PBF XVII. 1. Munich: Beck.