

Dependency and Social Inequality in Pre-Roman Italy

Dependency and Slavery Studies



Edited by
Jeannine Bischoff and Stephan Conermann

Volume 13

Dependency and Social Inequality in Pre-Roman Italy

Edited by
Martin Bentz and Patrick Zeidler

DE GRUYTER

Gefördert durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) im Rahmen der Exzellenzstrategie des Bundes und der Länder – Exzellenzcluster Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Projektnummer: 390683433

Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – Cluster of Excellence Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Project No.: 390683433

The articles in this book have been subjected to a double-blind peer review process for the purpose of quality assurance.

ISBN 978-3-11-134408-9

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-155841-7

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-155893-6

ISSN 2701-1127

DOI <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111558417>



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Library of Congress Control Number: 2024912219

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

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

© 2024 the author(s), editing © 2024 Martin Bentz and Patrick Zeidler, published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston

The book is published open access at www.degruyter.com.

Cover image: © Akademisches Kunstmuseum Bonn, photo: Jutta Schubert

Typesetting: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

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Martin Bentz, Patrick Zeidler

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 Historical and Epigraphical Sources

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

⁵ Winnebeck et al., “Dependency”: 6.

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

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

2 The Iconography of Dependency in Visual Art

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 Dependencies and Status Differences in Urban and Sacral Spaces

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

¹⁰ For theoretical and methodological considerations on the construction of images, see Ralf von den Hoff and Stefan Schmidt, “Bilder und Konstruktion: Ein interdisziplinäres Konzept für die Altertumswissenschaften,” in *Konstruktionen von Wirklichkeit: Bilder im Griechenland des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, ed. Ralf von den Hoff and Stefan Schmidt (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001): 1–25.

¹¹ See the contribution by Francesca Fulminante in this volume, with further references.

Age and Class Discrimination in Etruscan Necropoleis? Some Evidence from Cerveteri

Abstract: *Il fatto che in alcune necropoli etrusche esistano tombe singole disposte all'esterno di quelle familiari a camera è stato spesso ritenuto prova dell'esistenza di individui in posizione di subalternità all'interno del corpo sociale, per età o per rango. L'analisi della distribuzione crono-topografica delle tombe a fossa e a cremazione presenti nell'area del Vecchio Recinto della Banditaccia a Cerveteri evidenzia come nessuna delle spiegazioni finora proposte sia in grado di spiegare il fenomeno in maniera convincente. Se si abbandona l'idea che questo tipo di sepoltura rappresenti una diminuzione per chi la riceve e si considerano le tombe esterne una maniera di occupare lo spazio funerario diversa, ma di pari livello rispetto alla deposizione nelle camere, le prospettive si allargano. Le sepolture singole si addensano in coincidenza con periodi di rinnovamento dell'assetto urbanistico e architettonico della necropoli, quando si rende necessario definire i confini dell'area di pertinenza delle nuove tombe – non più isolate mediante i fossati. Spesso fosse e pozzetti sfruttano proprio i tagli di cava derivati dagli sbancamenti effettuati per l'inserimento di nuove tombe fra i tumuli orientalizzanti e sembrano perseguire anche una sorta di sistemazione scenografica del paesaggio sepolcrale che ne risulta.*

1 Introduction

Despite the many limitations related to both the time of excavation and the events which accompanied its publication, the sector of the Banditaccia necropolis called “Vecchio Recinto”, which was excavated by Mengarelli in the early decades of the 1900s and whose related documentation was edited by Goffredo Ricci in 1955,¹ is still one of the very rare examples of an extensive Etruscan necropolis that has been fully published. The documentation is complete with excavation data (most of it can be recovered from Mengarelli's accurate indications) and a description of all the grave goods, albeit unfortunately containing few pictures. For this reason, this material has often been used as a documentary basis for formulating assumptions on Cerveteri's social structure. As with all Etruscan cities, the following reconstruction must be based exclusively on archaeological materials: at least for now, this means making use of data that are almost solely concerned with burials.

¹ Goffredo Ricci, “Caere: la necropoli della Banditaccia, zona A del Recinto,” *Monumenti Antichi* 42 (1955): 202–1047.

From among the most recent works, I would like to mention the one published by Raffaella Ciuccarelli and Enrico Benelli on the inscribed cippi² and Ellen Thiermann's important study on funerary architecture in the late Etruscan period.³ In my case, I used this documentation for a recent work on the children of Cerveteri, which left me with more doubts than certainties to offer.⁴ Therefore, I decided to use this conference as an opportunity to deepen my research and expand it to encompass all tombs found outside chamber tombs, dating back to all periods, of all sizes, and all rituals.

The fact that some people were buried outside monumental tombs is often mentioned as evidence of the existence of a class of subordinated subjects within the social body: a position which was allegedly due to these subjects' age, social class, or both. Concerning children, childhood itself was a reason for subordination, while in regard to adults, it allegedly derived from their relationship with the families owning the chamber tombs, such as a closeness which did not entail complete membership in the family group. This asymmetry may have been based on economic considerations or be related to the enjoyment of citizenship rights or the marital status of the deceased, who may have been of marriageable age but not yet married.⁵

2 Enrico Benelli and Maria Raffaella Ciuccarelli, "I cippi di Cerveteri: una messa a punto, fra archeologia ed epigrafia," in *Cippi, stele, statue-stele e semata: Testimonianze in Etruria, nel mondo italico e in Magna Grecia dalla Prima Età del Ferro fino all'Ellenismo: Atti del Convegno* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2018): 149–59.

3 Ellen Thiermann, "Cerveteri nach dem 5. Jh. v. Chr.: Architektur und soziale Struktur in der Banditaccia-Nekropole," in *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2016*, ed. Luciana Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann, *Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1* (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018): 191–201.

4 Marina Micozzi, "I bambini perduti di Cerveteri: primi appunti per la ricostruzione della ritualità funeraria infantile nelle necropoli di Monte Abatone e della Banditaccia," in *Birth. Archeologia dell'infanzia nell'Italia preromana*, ed. Elisabetta Govi (Bologna: University Press, 2021): 395–416.

5 To cite only the most recent hypotheses, Alessandro Palmieri in his "Vasi-cinerario etruschi a figure nere dall'Etruria meridionale," *Mediterranea* 8 (2011): 83–150, suggested that, as was the case in Tarquinia, these may either be young people who died before marriage or socially subordinate figures. Ellen Thiermann ("Cerveteri nach dem 5. Jh. v. Chr.") hypothesized that these individuals did not enjoy full citizenship rights; Mario Torelli ("Intorno ai servi d'Etruria," in *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2016*, ed. Luciana Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann, *Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1* [Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018]: 295–302) sees in the accumulation of minor burials around larger tumuli "a faithful picture of the articulation of social subordination."

2 Archaeological Evidence: Figures

Out of the total of 440 tombs in the Vecchio Recinto area listed by Ricci, 260 are individual tombs, including incinerations (43) and inhumations of different types (fossa, sarcophagus, cassa, *cappuccina*, loculus tombs).⁶

In Cerveteri, this phenomenon seems to have taken on greater proportions in comparison to other locations for which a calculation has been attempted: in Tarquinia, investigations performed by the Lerici Foundation at Calvario have allowed for the identification of 1300 tombs, including only 158 fossa tombs and 9 pit graves;⁷ in Orvieto, the ratio is 72 to 245 at the Crocefisso del Tufo necropolis and 53 to 218 at the Cannicella necropolis.⁸ However, it is difficult to determine the extent to which these figures can be deemed as representative because an accurate correlation with the number of deceased people buried in chamber tombs is difficult to establish. In fact, the almost total absence of anthropological data and the chaotic state in which the grave goods were usually found in such tombs do not allow for the quantification of the actual number of deceased persons, making it difficult to establish a realistic numerical proportion between the two burial types.

The length of the fossa tombs fall within the range of 51–230 centimetres; however, more than half of them (118) are small, not exceeding 120 centimetres, a size that can safely be considered as an indicator of tombs that were meant for children, aged around three years or four to five years maximum.⁹ Thus, more than half of the outer fossa tombs were definitely used for children (Fig. 1). For larger graves, it is not possible to formulate reliable assumptions about the age of the deceased due to the absence of anthropological analyses, which are hardly ever available for Cerveteri.

We are not certain that children were buried solely in small fossa tombs.¹⁰ However, by examining the proportions of these tombs, we can see that a relatively small amount of tombs measure between 120 and 150 centimetres, while several tombs exceeding 160 centimetres have been found (Fig. 1). This might indicate a distinction between a first, larger group of tombs meant for young children and a second group of tombs meant for adults. However, it is clear that this is a fragile argument, whose weakness is also related to the randomness of the finds.

⁶ For more information on typology, see Raniero Mengarelli, “La necropoli di Caere: nuove osservazioni su speciali usi e riti funerari,” *Studi Etruschi* 11 (1937): 77–94; Ricci, “Caere”: 201.

⁷ Lucia Cavagnaro Vanoni, “Tarquinia (Viterbo), Necropoli dei Monterozzi: Tombe a buca e a fossa in località Calvario,” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, ns. 11 (2000–2001): 374.

⁸ Simonetta Stopponi, “Note sulla topografia della necropoli,” *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 3 (1987): 64 no. 8.

⁹ Micozzi, “I bambini perduti”: 402; Thiermann, “Cerveteri nach dem 5. Jh. v. Chr.”: 197.

¹⁰ Micozzi, “I bambini perduti”: 407.

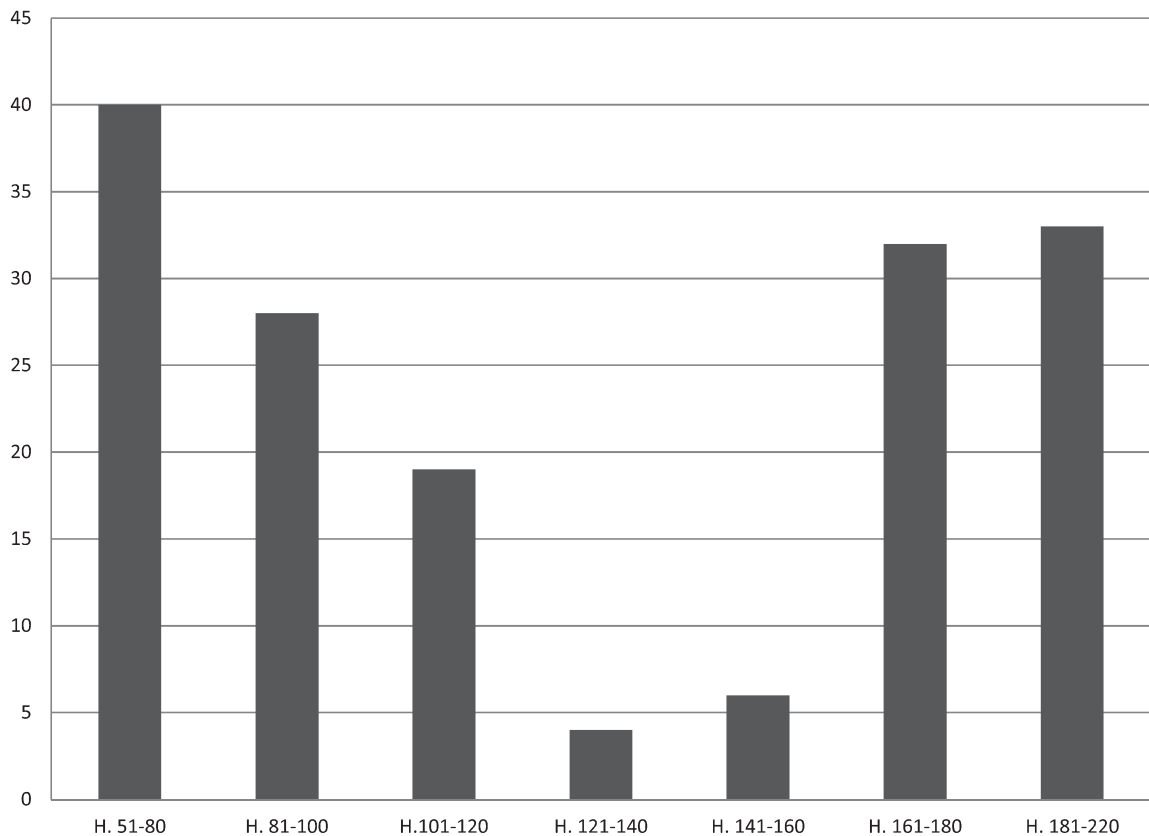


Fig. 1: Cerveteri, Banditaccia, Vecchio Recinto, inhumation tombs: sizes.

What is certain is that the sarcophagi are always small,¹¹ which indicates special care for the protection of the small bodies. This is in line with the custom, already attested in Villanovan times, of burying children in small lithic cases – a proportion that is often associated with female tombs in Cerveteri.¹²

Infant incineration burials cannot be ruled out, although there is no conclusive evidence suggesting their existence. In only one case does Ricci report the hypothesis that a very small cinerary urn, covered by the same slab as that used for a larger one, may have been meant for an infant buried with its mother.¹³ A newborn's bones were definitely found in two of the three "tile-graves" (*tombe ad embrici*) (204, 252, 401),

¹¹ We are talking about 28 burials, about a quarter of the total number of small tombs (Micozzi, "I bambini perduti": fig. 10); only the sarcophagus of tomb 74 measures more than 2 meters (Ricci, "Caere": 484). The presence of large sarcophagi at Laghetto has also been reported (Maria Antonietta Rizzo, "La necropoli del Laghetto tra vecchi e nuovi scavi," in *Le vite degli altri: ideologia funeraria in Italia centrale tra l'età del Ferro e l'Orientalizzante: Atti della giornata di studio in ricordo di Luciana Drago Troccoli*, ed. Laura M. Michetti et al., Scienze dell'Antichità 24, no. 2 [Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza", 2018]: 59, fig. 14).

¹² Mengarelli, "La necropoli di Caere": 59.

¹³ Ricci, "Caere": 684–85, tombs 207–8.

which consist of two vertically juxtaposed tiles: this is a variation of infant burials between tiles that has already been accounted for in other areas of the peninsula.¹⁴

Because infant mortality was high in ancient societies, it is very unlikely that the number of children buried in individual tombs can be considered representative of all burials of children under three or five years of age, as can be hypothesized based on the number of chamber tombs (which hosted entire families) in the area being examined. Therefore, it must be assumed that only a few children were buried in this way and that most were buried elsewhere. It is likely that at least part of them were buried within chamber tombs, in graves which are less easy to identify than those of their peers buried outside.¹⁵

Regarding adults, we are certain that an alternation of inhumation and incineration took place. Out of the 73 fossa tombs whose length exceeds 150 centimetres, 45 are simple fossa tombs, 16 are covered with tuff slabs, 3 are loculus tombs, and only 1 is a sarcophagus tomb (Tab. 1).

The forty-three cremations (Tab. 2) consist of cinerary vases contained in small pits, which were dug directly into the tufa or made up of block cases; however, two cases of cremations (194 and 276) inserted into wall loculus niches have also been documented.

Although gender indicators have rarely been found among grave goods, the typology of the cippi makes it possible to conclude that people of both sexes, both children and adults, could be buried outside.¹⁶

3 Chronological distribution

When did these subjects, who were all apparently entitled a formal burial within the same necropolis, begin to receive this asymmetrical treatment? Establishing the chronology of the tombs in Recinto della Banditaccia is not always easy. More than half the tombs are empty, and even when they do contain grave goods, the dating, with a few exceptions, is based merely on the descriptions in *Monumenti Antichi*, which often leave significant room for doubt. A truly thorough examination would require the re-checking of all grave goods, an operation which is not feasible at the moment

14 Ricci, "Caere": 680, 914; Deneb T. Cesana and Vincenzo D'Ercole, "Infant Burials in the Middle Adriatic Area (Abruzzo, Central Italy) from the Final Bronze Age to the Archaic Period: New Data Through a Bio-archaeological Approach," in *From Visible to Invisible: New Methods and Data for the Archaeology of Infant and Child Burials in Pre-Roman Italy and Beyond*, ed. Jacopo Tabolli (Uppsala: Astrom Editions, 2018): 159.

15 Micozzi "I bambini perduti": 409–10.

16 As for infant burials, see Micozzi "I bambini perduti": 410–11; as for adult tombs, fossa tombs 69, 71, 85, 87, 93, 95, which can be dated back to the Early Orientalizing period, contain weaving tools, and so do tombs 280 (where 2 spindles are associated with a cylindrical cippus), 281, 389, and incineration 123, which date back to the 6th–5th century BC. Weapons are only contained in incineration tombs 137 and 431 and in fossa tomb 138, which is probably an infant burial.

and would in any case be outside the scope of this work. In this work, dating was hypothesized only when the available elements were sufficient to formulate hypotheses: based on the described grave goods or, in the case of empty tombs, on their position in areas that had been attended only during a well-defined period. Of course, the possibility of error remains high.

The oldest fossa tombs, which can be dated back to a period between the end of the eighth century BC and the Middle Orientalizing period, are mostly located in a sector called *dei tumuletti arcaici*¹⁷ – a sort of relict in the horizontal stratigraphy of the necropolis. This situation is similar to the one in the Laghetto area,¹⁸ now also observable at Monte Abatone after the new excavations conducted by the Universities of Campania, Tuscia, Urbino, and Bonn.¹⁹ Tumulus XI, in its enlarged version of the second half of the seventh century BC,²⁰ is probably one of the earliest cases of a funerary space being used by several generations of the same family group. Inside, there are semi-constructed chamber tombs dating back to the time between the Early (78, 79, 81²¹) and Middle (84²²) Orientalizing periods, and some fossa tombs, both small (76?, 77, 80, 82, 83)²³ and large (85, 85A, 86, 87?)²⁴, which can be dated back to the period between the early seventh century and the early decades of the sixth century BC.²⁵ A particularly close topographical bond seems to connect the female chamber tombs 79 and 81, which were originally included in the minor tumulus XI bis, and the small fossa tombs 80 and 82, which, unfor-

17 Ricci, “Caere”: 474–515 pl. VII fig. 117; Orlando Cerasuolo, “Aspetti funerari di Cerveteri tra Orientalizzante Antico e Medio,” in *Caere orientalizzante: nuove ricerche su città e necropoli*, ed. Alessandro Naso and Massimo Botto, *Studia Caeretana* 1 (Rome: CNR Edizioni, 2018): 43–46, fig. 8–9.

18 Richard E. Linington, “Lo scavo della zona Laghetto della necropoli della Banditaccia a Cerveteri,” *Notizie dal Chiostro del Monastero Maggiore: Rassegna di studi del Civico Museo Archeologico e del Civico Gabinetto Numismatico di Milano* 25–26, no. 1 (1980): 1–79.

19 Alessandra Coen et al., “Continuità e discontinuità delle aristocrazie a Cerveteri in età orientalizzante: la documentazione della necropoli di Monte Abatone,” *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 27 (2020): 713–36; Martin Bentz et al., “I nuovi scavi nella necropoli di Monte Abatone – Cerveteri,” in *Leggere il Passato, costruire il Futuro: Gli Etruschi e gli altri popoli del Mediterraneo: Scritti in onore di Gilda Bartoloni*, *Mediterranea* 18 (Rome: Quasar, 2021): 113–21; Fernando Gilotta et al., “Indagini nell’area a sud del tumulo Campana,” in *Caere* 7 (forthcoming).

20 Cerasuolo, “Aspetti funerari”: 43, fig. 9 A; Alessandro Naso, *Architetture dipinte: Decorazioni parietali non figurate nelle tombe a camera dell’Etruria meridionale, VII–V secolo a.C.* (Rome: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 1996): 46, I.2.18.

21 Ricci, “Caere”: 498–507, fig. 117–24.

22 Ricci, “Caere”: 508, fig. 125.

23 Ricci, “Caere”: 494–509.

24 For bibliographical references on adult fossa and pit graves, see Tab. 1–2 in this contribution. For a list of infant tombs (until 120 cm), see Micozzi, “I bambini perduti”: fig. 12.

25 Tombs 76, 85, and 87 seem to be coeval with the more ancient chamber tombs; tombs 83 and 86 can be dated back to the end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 6th century, due to the presence of imported Corinthian goods (Ricci, “Caere”: 508, 511); for tombs 77, 80, 82, the absence of grave goods does allow for specific dating.

tunately, cannot be dated based on the grave goods they contained.²⁶ A similar situation has recently emerged at Monte Abatone, where infant fossa tombs located near semi-constructed chamber tombs enclosed within small tumuli have been found.²⁷

However, this was still a transitional period, when even the semi-constructed tombs were probably mostly individual ones.²⁸ Therefore, these tombs may have been designed for deceased persons who had a bilateral relationship, such as an adult and a child, similar to the aforementioned cases dating back to the early Iron Age.²⁹

On the contrary, the small fossa tomb 643, found on the tumulus of tomb 73 in the Monte Abatone necropolis in 2019, can be related to this underground family chamber tomb. This is probably the burial of a little girl, at most between two and three years old, buried outside the family tomb for unknown reasons, likely because of her age.³⁰

We are currently not aware of similar situations in Banditaccia at the same chronological level.

Except for the cases of ambiguity that we have already mentioned and other similar ones from the area *dei tumuletti arcaici*, the earliest evidence certainly connected to the object of our investigation dates back to the time between the late seventh century BC and the first half of the sixth century BC. Tombs 83 and 86 in the area *dei tumuletti arcaici* and infant tombs 108 and 125 in sector B of the “Tumulo dei Capitelli” date back to this period. The latter two are located along sepulchral streets V and VII, respectively, and are clearly related to chamber tombs 110 and 126.³¹

However, according to records, individual tombs first began to spread significantly between the last decades of the sixth century and the mid-fifth century BC. Some thirty or so inhumations of both adults and children, and a little more than twenty pit tombs, i.e., almost all of the datable cremations, can probably be dated back to this period. As in other Etruscan centres, in Cerveteri, incineration in pit tombs appears to have prevailed from the sixth to the fifth century BC. Out of the tombs being analysed here, only tomb 228 can certainly be dated back to the end of the fourth century BC based on related grave goods, and a few tombs probably belong to the same period, considering their relation to late classical or Hellenistic chamber tombs. The other tombs are either empty or described too generally.

An increase in external burials occurred between the late fourth century and the third century BC; there were about eighty-two depositions, almost all of them inhumations.

²⁶ These tombs were attributed to the Early Orientalizing by Cerasuolo, “Aspetti funerari”: 35, no. 10, fig. 8, and to the end of the 7th century BC by Naso, *Architetture Dipinte*: 46, I.2.18.

²⁷ More precisely, tombs 674 and 677 in area K, investigated by the University of Campania “L. Vanvitelli”, and tombs 678 and 676 in area L, investigated by the University of Bonn (Yannick Becker et al., “Die Monte Abatone-Nekropole von Cerveteri: Vorbericht zur Grabungskampagne 2022,” *Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica* 11/12 [2021/22]: 95–112).

²⁸ Cerasuolo, “Aspetti funerari”: 35–36.

²⁹ Rizzo, “La necropoli del Laghetto”: 59.

³⁰ Micozzi “I bambini perduti”: 395–401.

³¹ Ricci, “Caere”: 541–42, 565.

tions, and about half of them of infants. Thus, most fossa tombs, which were meant for both adults and infants, are to be dated back to a late phase.

These two focal points should be used as a reference for the tombs whose elements do not allow for precise dating.

4 The Topographic Distribution

As Ellen Thiermann also noted,³² individual tombs tend to follow two main topographic distribution patterns. In the areas of new expansion, which date back to both the sixth and the fourth centuries BC and are organized in a regular fashion, the tombs are neatly arranged, usually alongside the entrances to new chamber tombs, sometimes around them. The presence of Hellenistic individual tombs in the areas near the chamber tombs of archaic age is normally related to the later reuse of the tombs. The tombs located along sepulchral streets II, V and VII,³³ XI, XII, XIII,³⁴ and those in front of tombs 155–173, which run along the southern stretch of the Via Sepolcrale Principale,³⁵ exemplify this distribution pattern. Along street VII, for example, infant tombs 108 and 109 and adult tomb 111 correspond to the two main phases of tomb 110, which was built in the sixth century and reused at the end of the fourth century BC;³⁶ those in front of tombs 155–173, of type G Thiermann, all date back to a late phase.³⁷

The distribution of individual tombs placed around tumuli dating back to the Orientalizing period seems to be less regular and randomly grouped; however, a closer analysis shows that these tombs are also mostly related to new chamber tombs, placed between tumuli, or to reused chambers covered by the tumuli themselves.³⁸

Fossa and pit tombs were often placed into the very quarry trenches that had been created by the earthworks, aimed at inserting new tombs among the Orientalizing tumuli; moreover, this placement also seems to have been aimed at rearranging the resulting new burial landscape. The scenic impact of this new arrangement must have been considerable, if we keep in mind that several tombs were visible and marked by cippi.³⁹

³² Thiermann, “Cerveteri nach dem 5. Jh. v. Chr.”: 197.

³³ Ricci, “Caere”: pls. II. VII.

³⁴ Ricci, “Caere”: pl. XI; Thiermann, “Cerveteri nach dem 5. Jh. v. Chr.”: 196–98, fig. 4–6.

³⁵ Ricci, “Caere”: pl. VIII.

³⁶ Ricci, “Caere”: 541–42.

³⁷ Thiermann, “Cerveteri nach dem 5. Jh. v. Chr.”: fig. 8.

³⁸ A similar distribution was observed for the inscribed cippus: Benelli and Ciuccarelli, “I cippi di Cerveteri”: 153.

³⁹ Cippi have been reported for 50% of cremations; they are rarer in fossa graves. It has never been possible to establish a correspondence between the cippi cited by Ricci and the typology of Markus Blumhofer, *Etruskische Cippi: Untersuchungen am Beispiel von Cerveteri* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993).

Take, for example, the area between Via Sepolcrale Principale and Via dei Tumuli della Cornice (via IX) (Fig. 2): four semi-constructed chamber tombs⁴⁰ (176, 177, 181, 182), arranged at regular intervals and with the same orientation, have allowed for the identification of another residual area of the early arrangement of the funerary space (dating back to the Orientalizing period), similar to the one at Laghetto, and now Monte Abatone.⁴¹ In the sixth century, massive earthworks were carried out in the area, creating a clearing (via VIII) overlooked by *caditoia*-type tombs, which were later reused in the Hellenistic period. At the same time, a tomb of the *caditoia* type, tomb 180, fits partially below the *dromos* of tomb 181, located on the side of Via Sepolcrale Principale.⁴² In both areas, we can find numerous individual tombs dating back to both the Late Archaic and Hellenistic ages; they are placed at the entrances of the new underground chambers and in the cut-out trenches, which deformed the circumference of tumuli XVII A and XIX (Fig. 3). In the first half of the fifth century BC, locus tomb 194, one of the richest incinerations in the Vecchio Recinto della Banditaccia, was placed in a dominant position – at the top of the ladder, leaning against the west side of tumulus XVII; by the end of the following century, tomb 186, the most notable of all the infant tombs, was leaning against the base of the same tumulus.⁴³ Similar situations can also be found in other areas of the Recinto; however, the chronological correlation with the nearest chamber tombs is not always linear. Sometimes, late-phase tombs are set against Orientalizing tumuli, but it does not seem possible to relate them to coeval burials, at least apparently. For example, tombs 247–252, which lean against tumulus *dei Due Ingressi* (XXII) to the SE (Fig. 2), are to be dated back to a late phase (when dating is possible). The late-period tombs located between the two tumuli *della Cornice* (Fig. 2) also do not correspond to Hellenistic chamber tombs, unless the copious fourth-century materials found in tomb 236 of tumulus II are related to the tomb's actual reuse for funerary purposes and not to the action of illegal grave robbers, as claimed in *Monumenti Antichi*.⁴⁴

Several other similar cases could be cited, both within the Recinto itself and in areas outside of it. In the *Onde Marine* sector, for example, individual tombs are often chronologically compatible with the tumuli on which they are leaning.⁴⁵ However, in some cases, Hellenistic tombs have been dug into the ditches of the tumuli: indeed, it has been documented that some of the latter were reused in the fourth century B.C.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Ricci, "Caere": 642 ss. pl. X. Tombs 176 and 177 were reused until the beginning of the 6th century BC.

⁴¹ See footnote 20.

⁴² Ricci, "Caere": 647.

⁴³ Micozzi "I bambini perduti": 410.

⁴⁴ Ricci, "Caere": 718 ff. fig. 161–63.

⁴⁵ Massimo Pallottino, ed., "Caere, necropoli della Banditaccia: scavo eseguito a cura dell'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Roma," *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (1955): 95–97; M. Gilda Benedettini et al., "La necropoli della Banditaccia: rapporto preliminare su un nuovo quartiere funerario sull'altipiano delle Onde Marine," in *Caere orientalizzante: nuove ricerche su città e necropoli*, ed. Alessandro Naso and Massimo Botto, *Studia Caeretana* 1 (Rome: CNR Edizioni, 2018): 117, fig. 7.

⁴⁶ Benedettini et al., "La necropoli della Banditaccia": 112, no. 12; 114, 119.

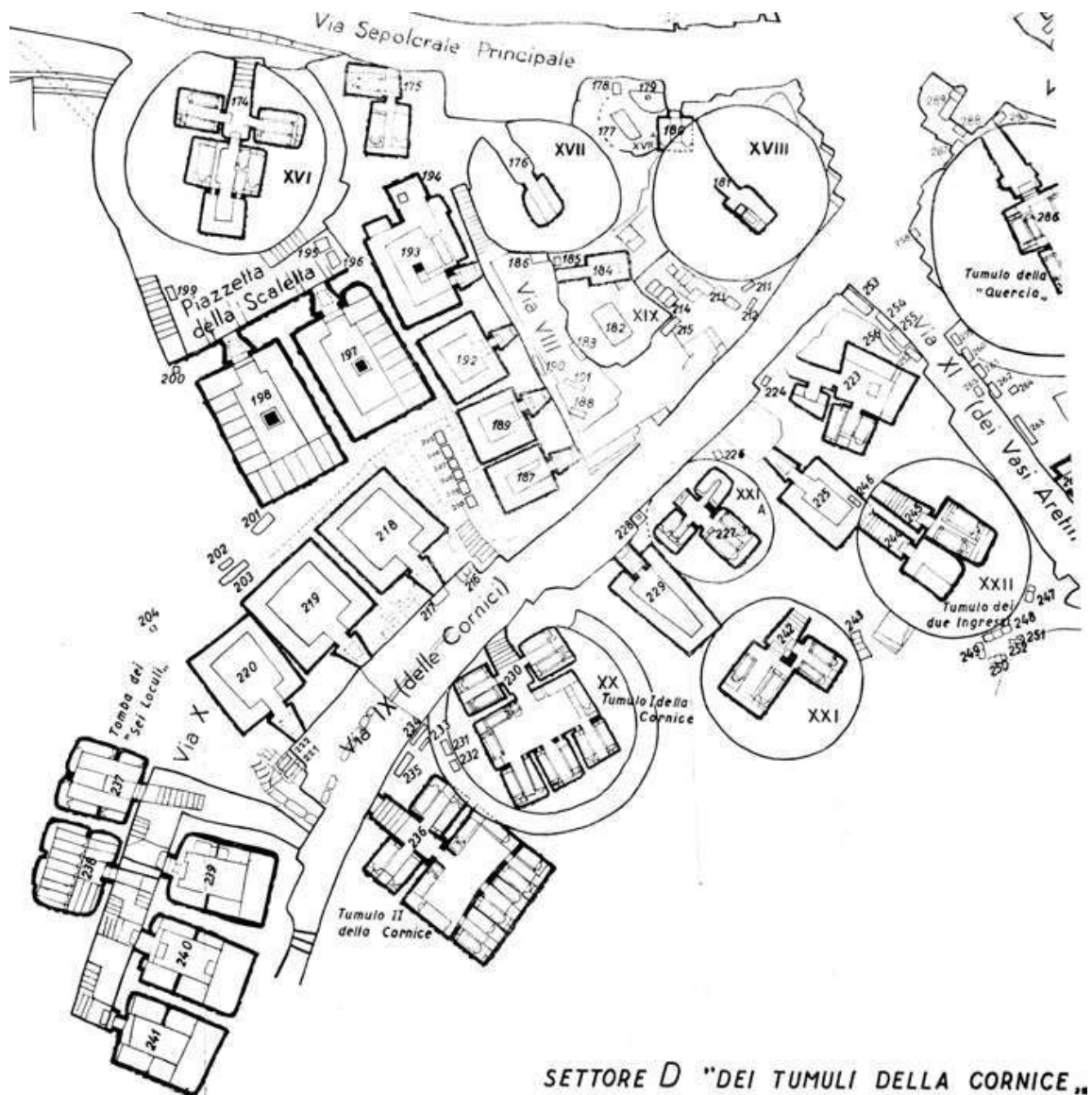


Fig. 2: Cerveteri, Banditaccia, Vecchio Recinto, settore D "dei Tumuli della Cornice".

At Monte Abatone, the less crowded area allows for a clear view – and thus an understanding – of the various phases, which, in a multi-layered necropolis like Banditaccia, contrarily form a complex system that has yet to be interpreted. Here, too, the cube-shaped, E Prayon-type tombs 659 and 660 (which, at the end of the sixth century, were lined up in a scenic position next to the Campana tumulus) feature infant fossa tombs (661–664) that are regularly arranged on the terrace facing the tomb. Another infant fossa tomb (657) was found in the area facing tomb 656, which, at the end of the fourth century, was dug close to the Campana tumulus.⁴⁷ The situation now looks completely

⁴⁷ Martin Bentz, "Tipologie tombali tra il ciglio del pianoro e il Tumulo Campana," in *Caere* 7 (forthcoming).



Fig. 3: Cerveteri, Banditaccia, Vecchio Recinto, vie VIII and IX with tumuli XVII, XVIII, XIX and individual tombs 211, 212, 215.

different from what had been discovered during the Lerici Foundation's excavations, which, for reasons linked to the type of investigation performed, have only allowed to unearth two pit tombs and six fossa tombs.

Since we are not aware of the layout of the internal road system of the necropolis, we cannot verify whether individual tombs at Monte Abatone also tended to be arranged along the sepulchral streets,⁴⁸ as in Banditaccia, and form alignments that seem to mark the property boundaries of the burial areas.

Beginning in the Archaic period, at Banditaccia the areas pertaining to the tombs, which are no longer visibly delimited by the ditches of the tumuli, seem to have once been delimited by the numerous enclosure walls of the cube-shaped tombs, brought to light by Mengarelli. Some individual tombs lean against these walls, as shown by incinerations 205–209 (Fig. 2, 4), sandwiched between the enclosures of tombs 218–220 on one side, and tombs 187, 189, 192, and 193 on the other.⁴⁹ Similarly, tombs 384–385 are sandwiched between the enclosures of tombs 382 and 386 on Via dei Vasi Greci. The staircase between tombs 323 and 329 on Via delle Serpi, at the top of which we can find pit tomb 324,⁵⁰ seems to have had no specific function and has also been interpreted as a delimitation of property. The presence of individual tombs in the space

⁴⁸ In addition to the alignment of tombs on sepulchral streets V and VII, which have already been mentioned, rows along street XI: “via dei Vasi Aretini”, street XII: “via delle Serpi”, and street XIII: “via dei Vasi Greci”, have been found; they, too, are chronologically aligned to the phases of the chamber tombs located nearby.

⁴⁹ Ricci, “Caere”: pl. 10.

⁵⁰ Ricci, “Caere”: 882, 775, pl. 10.

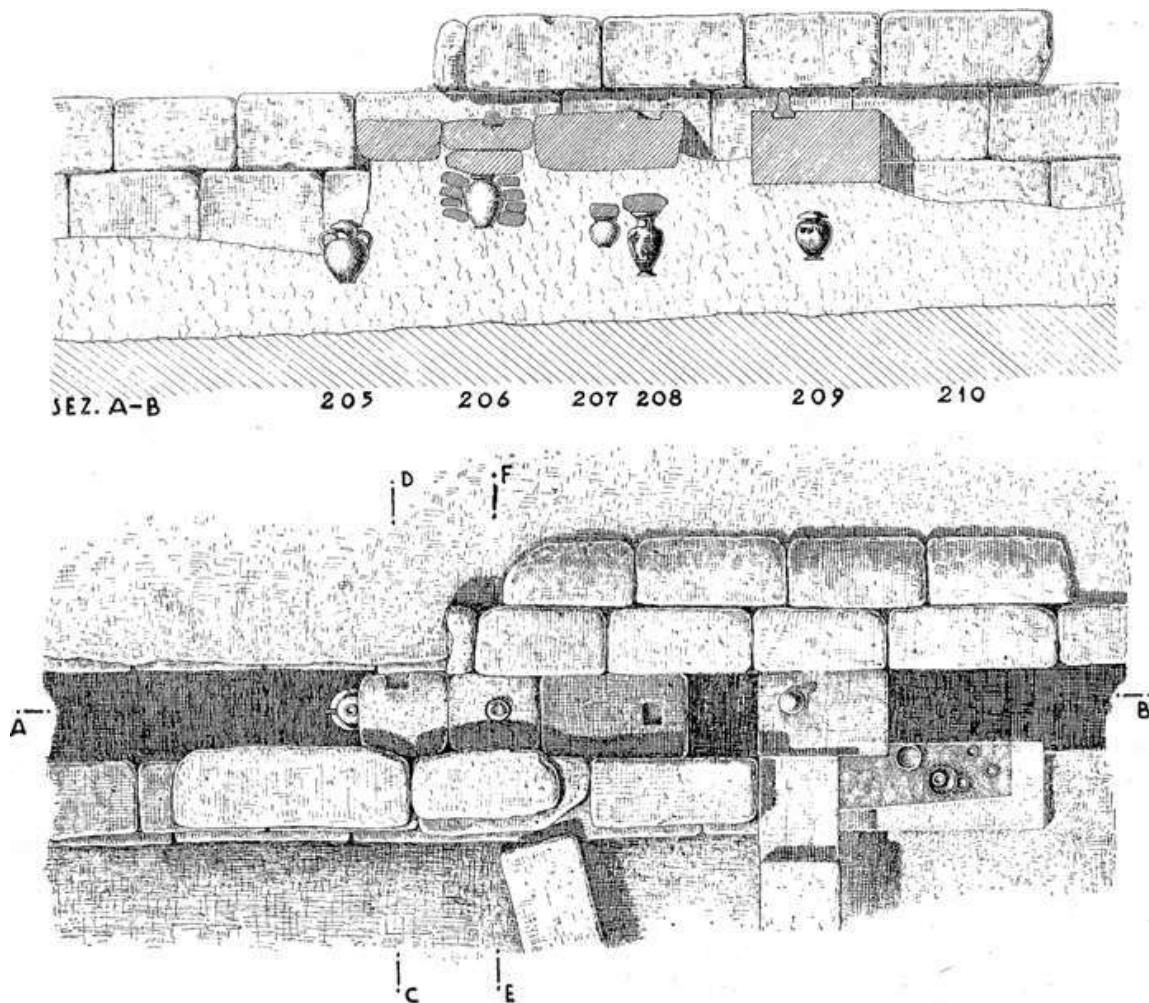


Fig. 4: Cerveteri, Banditaccia, Vecchio Recinto, individual tombs between the enclosures of tombs 187, 189 and 218–220.

behind the monumental tombs, sometimes in areas encompassing several groups of tombs which cannot be seen from the road, could also have played the same role.

The great care taken in defining the boundaries of the tomb areas and the tendency to fill them with “underground tombs” have also often been pointed out for the necropolis of Crocefisso del Tufo in Orvieto, which is often compared with Banditaccia in terms of space organization. In the case of Crocefisso del Tufo, “underground tombs” were certainly meant for members of the same *gentes* who were buried in the chamber tombs, according to the evidence provided by the epigraphy.⁵¹

⁵¹ Stopponi, “Note sulla topografia della necropoli”: 75–77, 80–83.

5 The Grave Goods

As noted elsewhere,⁵² the grave goods found in infant tombs are quite modest. Most include up to five objects, and only in very few cases artefacts clearly related to the social role and rank that the young deceased was expected to hold as an adult have been found. Since we are unable to distinguish the grave goods of children buried inside chamber tombs,⁵³ we do not know whether all child burials were as modest or only the external ones. In all ages, however, there are exceptions. Tomb 76, for example, dates back to the early seventh century BC,⁵⁴ or the aforementioned tomb 186, which dates back to the fourth century BC; both stand out among coeval burials for the quality of their materials, including imported ones.

Adult burials were also quite modest. Out of 76 fossa tombs whose length exceeds 150 centimetres, 27 contain up to 5 objects, and only 4 contain more than 20 (Tab. 1). There is a marked difference between the Orientalizing fossa tombs, which are relatively well-stocked with furnishings and frequently contain indicators of the deceased person's gender, and those dating back to the end of the sixth century BC onward. Again, there are exceptions: the archaic fossa 281 includes East Greek and Attic pottery besides amber and glass beads; loculus 306 and *cappuccina* tomb 356, both dating back to the end of the fourth century BC., include in addition to the more common achromatic and black-painted vessels also imported pottery, Etruscan red-figure and overpainted vessels. In the loculus tomb, both a man and a woman were buried (and maybe a child, as the presence of a feeding bottle seems to indicate); the other is a rare case of a double-ritual tomb, including both cremation and inhumation,⁵⁵ since it also contained a cinerary (defined by Ricci as tomb 357) placed in a gap of the tile coverage.

It should not be forgotten, however, that most of the tombs have been tampered with by illegal grave robbers; therefore, we do not know for certain whether the tombs originally contained a larger number of mid/high-level grave goods.

As for incineration tombs, there are other considerations to be made. Here, even if a set of grave goods usually consists of a small amount of objects, the quality of the cineraria – both Attic (11) and Etruscan, black-figure (7)⁵⁶ and bucchero (2) – would indicate good-level standards, an impression often reinforced by the presence of other valuable materials (Tab 2). The only bronze vessels found in the outer tombs were discovered in pit tombs (20, 123, 137, 194, 276, 324, 357); in tomb 194, bronze studs and the feet of what might have been burned furniture (a kline or diphros?) or utensils (a kottabos?)⁵⁷ were

⁵² Micozzi “I bambini perduti”: 410–12.

⁵³ Micozzi “I bambini perduti”: 409–10.

⁵⁴ Ricci “Caere”: 494–97. The tomb contains one of the rare Vogelperlen known from Cerveteri (Rizzo, “La necropoli del Laghetto”: 72).

⁵⁵ Cavagnaro Vanoni, “Tarquinia”: tomb 6079.

⁵⁶ Palmieri, “Vasi-cinerario etruschi a figure nere.”

⁵⁷ Some bronze studs have also been found in tomb 7.

found. As in Tarquinia, the preferred shape for the cinerarium was the amphora, which was used for both men and women. A total of eight Attic (plus some imitations) and seven Etruscan amphora-shaped cineraria have been found.

Incineration tombs 194 and 276 seem to be particularly noteworthy. In the first tomb, the cinerary consists of a red-figure amphora made by the Flying Angel Painter;⁵⁸ the other comprises an Etruscan-Corinthian crater by the Rosoni Painter.⁵⁹ Both have been inserted in wall niches, that provide room for a copious amount of grave goods, including imported ones.

6 Conclusion

As this review comes to an end, the data allowing for the formulation of a synthesis, albeit tentative, are neither numerous nor conclusive. Chronological analysis has shown that the habit of burying single individuals outside monumental tombs began with the advent of chamber tombs themselves and continued until at least the third or the second century BC. No grave goods seem to be later, except for those found in tomb 168, the only one with thin-walled pottery. The related evidence can mainly be placed between the late sixth century and the first half of the fifth century BC, and then at the end of the fourth century BC or the beginning of the third century BC: both these moments were turning points in Caere's political and social history. The former was closely connected with the supposed end of tyranny and the transition to different forms of government, while the latter was crucial in defining the still ambiguous relationship with Rome.⁶⁰ In both cases, new forms of social organization emerged, involving new stakeholders on the scene⁶¹ and bringing about innovative solutions in both the settlements and the necropolis, which profoundly changed the aspect of the Banditaccia and contributed to the design of its road network.⁶²

The outer tombs are usually topographically related to coeval chamber tombs, or to ones with coeval phases of use. Next to the monumental tomb we can find both fossa and

⁵⁸ ARV²: 280, n. 13.

⁵⁹ János G. Szilagy, *Ceramica etrusco-corinzia figurata*, vol. 2 (Florence: Olschki, 1993): 335, 5 bis; Palmieri, "Vasi-cinerario etruschi a figure nere": 86–87.

⁶⁰ Vincenzo Bellelli, "La città arcaica," in *Gli Etruschi e il Mediterraneo* (Rome: Somogy, 2014): 142–48.

⁶¹ According to Torelli, "Intorno ai servi d'Etruria": 299–300, the period between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century BC allegedly saw the affirmation of the *servitus* as a consequence of the conquest of new territories. According to Thiermann, "Cerveteri nach dem 5. Jh. v. Chr.," in the mid-fourth century BC, funerary facilities started to include a sort of "two-class" system for the first time in the history of the Banditaccia necropolis.

⁶² For a more recent work, see Alessandro Naso, "Opere funerarie di committenza privata e pubblica in Etruria meridionale nel VII–VI sec. a.C.," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 21 (2014): 468.

incineration tombs. As in Orvieto, they were probably meant for members of the same family group who had been buried outside the family tomb but within its pertaining boundaries.

In each age, the selection has involved a few individuals, mostly children – a category for which, in many areas of the ancient Mediterranean world, there was a known tendency to resort to forms of burial that were distinct from those meant for adults. In Cerveteri, this tendency seems to concern mainly children under three or five years old; however, it does not seem possible to establish the criteria that regulated the choice based on available data. With regard to Orvieto, Simonetta Stopponi has suggested that the selection criteria may have involved being the firstborn⁶³ or not, a hypothesis certainly applicable to Cerveteri as well but not verifiable in archaeological terms.

For all age groups and rituals, it is possible to identify tombs containing rich grave goods, whose amount and material quality were probably not inferior to those of the deceased buried in chamber tombs. Therefore, it cannot be stated that outer burials are always poorer than the inner ones. In addition, some types of burials, especially infant sarcophagi and incinerations in lithic cases, were quite expensive and seem to point at a special concern for the preservation of the remains. Christian Briesack's recent in-depth analysis of the Orvieto necropolis confirmed the existence of a rather negligible difference between the two types of burials, thus ruling out the hypothesis of a choice dictated by the deceased person's wealth.⁶⁴ The same conclusion was reached for Tarquinia.⁶⁵

Although this phenomenon appears to have been especially significant in Cerveteri, the number of individual tombs is not such that they can fully represent any of the categories normally forming the social body, in particular those considered to explain the said phenomenon. Certainly, individual tombs were not meant for all children under the age of three, and hardly for all young people who died before marriage; as for foreigners, we know too little about the rules that regulated the granting of citizenship in Etruscan cities, but everything we know points to a scenario based more on inclusion than marginalization, especially at the upper levels of society and in all periods.⁶⁶

Ultimately, none of the suggested hypotheses fully coincides with a category of people; they all imply the carrying out of further internal selection, dictated by ritual norms which will never be clear to us. Clearly, the categories applied so far, all of which are plausible, do not lead to an unambiguous conclusion. They all share the

⁶³ Stopponi, "Note sulla topografia della necropoli": 80.

⁶⁴ Christian Briesack, "Grab und Gesellschaft im archaischen Orvieto (Etrurien): Eine Untersuchung verschiedener Grabformen," in *Wealthy and Healthy? Methodological Approaches to Non-Élite Burials*, ed. Ute Kelp and Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen (Heidelberg: Propylaeum, 2022): 33–51. Stopponi expressed the same opinion in "Note sulla topografia della necropoli": 79.

⁶⁵ Maria Cataldi, "Sulle 'tombe a buca' di Tarquinia," in *Dinamiche di sviluppo delle città nell'Etruria meridionale: Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci: Atti del XXIII. Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici* (Pisa: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 2001): 376.

⁶⁶ For more information on the Greeks, see Jean Hadas-Lebel, "Essere greco in Etruria," in *Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Etrusker: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Wien, 8.–10.6.2016*, ed. Luciana Aigner-Foresti and Petra Amann, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2018): 370–81.

more or less pronounced belief that being buried outside was seen as a *diminutio* for those who were subjected to it, a form of discrimination reserved for people who, at the time of death, were not entitled to admission inside the family tomb, albeit due to transient reasons such as age.

If we try to set aside this point of view and consider the outer tombs as a way of using the funerary space that was different from yet equal to being buried in chamber tombs, a new, broader perspective opens up. The fact that the greatest concentration of individual tombs occurred during periods of intense renewal of the architectural layout of the necropolis suggests motives other than systematic discrimination against a category of people. During these periods, it became necessary to define the boundaries between the new tombs, which were no longer isolated by ditches, as well as those between new tombs and old properties, which, in some cases, were still being used (or re-used). Defining the boundaries was also required for the shared areas of the new roads, which had been dug into the area already used for the tumuli. The allocated plots⁶⁷ were populated with burials that allowed for a visual representation of their size, and in some cases, they may have been forms of compensation for the damage caused to old burial tumuli, whose burial chambers were usually preserved.

This explanation does not solve the problem of determining the identity of the deceased chosen for such burials, nor does it clear the doubts regarding the alternating rituals. However, it eliminates the need to assume a generalized ideological choice having been made for a specific category of people and instead opens up the likelihood of individuals being selected based, among other reasons, on contingent motives. The possibility of diversified choices was also taken into consideration for other centres. For Tarquinia, Palmieri had to formulate different hypotheses for rich and modest incinerations;⁶⁸ for Orvieto, Stopponi⁶⁹ also hypothesized that choice was based, among other factors, on random events such as the death of somebody before the construction of the family tomb or after its saturation.

We probably have to accept the idea that reality was not subject to such strict rules, or that the rules were different from what we would expect: perhaps, there was a margin left for specific cases and a diversity of orientations among different families. It should not be taken for granted, for example, that adult inhumation was chosen according to the same criteria regulating incineration. It is a very diverse case history, which will inevitably remain mostly unclear for us.

67 For the hypothesis on tombs constructed and assigned according to a centralized system, see Naso, "Opere funerarie": 467–68.

68 Palmieri, "Vasi-cinerario etruschi a figure nere."

69 Stopponi, "Note sulla topografia della necropoli": 77–78.

Tab. 1: Cerveteri, Banditaccia, Vecchio Recinto, inhumation tombs exceeding 120 cm.

TOMB TYPE	M F	SIZE	GRAVE GOODS		CIPPUS	Date (century BC)	RtCCI 1955,
			N.	DESCRIPTION			
SETTORE A “DEI GRANDI TUMULI”							
4	Cassone	165 x 43		Terracotta bowl		Late (?)	229
5	Fossa	210 x 57	11	Coarse and black-glazed pottery; bronze fragments		Late	229–230
6	Fossa	230 x 107	0				230
13	Fossa		0				361
SETTORE B “DEL TUMULO DEI CAPITELLI”							
51	Fossa	185 x 70	0				445
64	Fossa	180 x 50	12	Genucilia plates; Etruscan overpainted and black-glazed vases; coarse pottery		4	473–474
67	Fossa with loculus	F 270 x 130	70 +	Gold and amber jewellery		8	479–480
68	Fossa	150 x 41	0			8 (?)	480–481
69	Fossa	F 141 x 82	9	Brown impasto, Italo-Geometric and Proto-Corinthian-type pottery; bronze fibula; bronze distaff; spindle whorl		8–7	481
71	Fossa	F 160 x 80	20	Brown and red impasto; Italo-Geometric pottery; Proto-Corinthian aryballos bucchero kylikes; spool		7	482–484
72	Fossa		0				484
73	Fossa	143 x 52	0				484
(continued)							

(continued)

Tab. 1 (continued)

TOMB TYPE	M F	SIZE	GRAVE GOODS		CIPPUS	Date (century BC)	Ricci 1955,
			N.	DESCRIPTION			
74	Fossa and sarcophagus	215 x 115	0				484
85	Fossa	F 172 x 87	26	Brown and red impasto vases; Italo-Geometric pottery; bronze and iron fibulae; spindle whorl		1 st half 7	509–510
86	Fossa	175 x 67	7	Brown impasto vases; Italo-Geometric pottery; Corinthian alabastron, Etrusco-Corinthian aryballos		1 st half 6	511
87	Fossa	F Grande	2	2 impasto spoons		7	511
89	Fossa	F 163 x 45	7	Bronze fibulae and rings		1 st half 7	513
90	Fossa	F 206 x 72	8	Bronze fibulae and rings		1 st half 7	514
91	Fossa	170 x 48	1	Brown impasto kyathos		1 st half 7	514–515
93	Fossa	F 230 x 80	11	Brown impasto; bronze fibulae; silver brackets; impasto spindle whorl		1 st half 7	515
95	Fossa	F 160 x 85	6	Bucchero vases and spindle whorl; bronze fibulae		7	516
101	Cassa	223 x 54	0				
107	Fossa	160 x 45	0			4 (?)	539
111	Fossa	210 x 87	9	Black-glazed and coarse pottery		4–3	542–543
112	Fossa		0				543

SETTORE C DEL "TUMULO DELLA TAVOLA"						Tab. VII
135	Fossa	187 x 54	1	Terracotta <i>poculum</i>		577
136	Fossa	129 x 39	0			677
139	Fossa	163 x 49	3	Black-figure Attic olpe; impasto oinochoe; bucchero cup		579
140	Cappuccina		0			
159	Fossa	174 x 38	0			613
168	Tile tomb		2	<i>Pareti sottili</i> bowl; terracotta lagynos	2-1	620-621
173A	Fossa	197 x 52	0			636
SETTORE D "DEI TUMULI DELLA CORNICE"						Tab. X
178	Fossa	tagliata	0			645
201	Cassa	177 x 56	16	Attic glaux; black-glazed vases; coarse pottery	2 nd half 5	677-678
202	Tile tomb	158 x 60	6	Black-glazed and coarse pottery	4	679
214	Fossa	M	0		Ogival	689
221	Cassa	183 x 50	4	Arrowhead in flint; terracotta jug and dishes		694
222	Cassa	174 x 51	3	Terracotta jug and bowls		694
234	Fossa	178 x 46	0			711
235	Fossa	178 x 47	3	Black-glazed vases; coarse bowl	4-3	712
243	Cassone	167 x 97	0			733
246	Fossa	200 x 52	0			735-736
247	Fossa	170 x 47	16	Genucilia plates; black-glazed and coarse pottery	4/3	737-738

(continued)

Tab. 1 (continued)

TOMB TYPE	M F	SIZE	GRAVE GOODS		CIPPUS	Date (century BC)	Ricci 1955,
			N.	DESCRIPTION			
248	Fossa	166 x 40	9	Red-figure Etruscan oinochoai; black-glazed bowls and dishes		4-3	738
253	Fossa	170 x 40	5	Bronze mirros; 2 black-glazed oinochoai, bowls		4-3	741
SETTORE E "DEL TUMULO DELLA QUERCIA"							
263	Fossa and cassa	179 x 43	13	Genucilia plate; overpainted oinochoai; black-glazed kylikes and bowls		4	744
268	Fossa	186 x 49	0				753
269	Fossa		0				753
270	Fossa	165 x 50	0				753
274	Fossa	184 x 44	12	Black-glazed vases		4-3	754
275	Fossa		0				c. 755
277	Fossa and cassa	150 x 40	1	Bucchero oinochoe		6	756-757
280	Fossa	F 196 x 50	6	Bucchero vases; Etrusco-Corinthian alabastron; 2 spindle whorls	Cylindrical	6	759-760
281	Fossa	F 180 x 44	18	Bucchero vases; Etrusco-Corinthian aryballos; 2 lydia; Samian lekythos; black-figure Attic kylix; amber and glass beads; 1 glass paste scarab; 2 impasto spindle whorls		6	760 ff.
282	Fossa	138 x 40	1	Bucchero kylix		6	762

283	Fossa and cassa	200 x 52	0					762
284	Cassa	200 x 66	3	Red impasto olla; Etrusco-Corinthian bowl; bucchero skyphos		6		763
289	Fossa	195 x 48	2	Coarse jug; black-glaze bowl		4-3		774 ff.
VIA DELLE SERPI								
293	Fossa	177 x 48	11	Genucilia plate; black-glazed oinochoi and bowls; aes rude			4-3	781-781
306	Loculus (2 skeletons)	M F	33	Genucilia plates; overpainted and black-glazes vases; coarse ware vases; black-glazed feeding bottle; embossed bronze sheet; bronze ring; aes rude			4-3	791ff.
312	Fossa	172 x 45	0					804
VIA SEPOLCRALE PRINCIPALE FROM VIA XII (DELLE SERPI) TO VIA XIII (DEI VASI GRECI) S								
337	Cassa	223 x 42	8	Black and red-glazed vases		House-shaped	4-3	823
338	Cassa	132 x 39	0					823
339	Cassa	180 x 34	8	Genucilia plates, black glazed jug and bowls			4-3	823
340	Fossa	134 x 58	5	Genucilia plate; black-glazed oinochoe and bowls		Column-shaped	4-3	824
341	Cappuccina	175 x 85	3	Coarse ware miniature jugs and bowl				824-825
342	Loculus	218 x 35	0			Column-shaped		825-826
VIA XIII "DEI VASI GRECI"								
352	Cappuccina	162	11	Black-glazed and coarse pottery; aes rude, bronze fibula		Column-shaped (?)	4-3	

(continued)

Tab. 1 (continued)

TOMB	TYPE	M F	SIZE	GRAVE GOODS		CIPPUS	Date (century BC)	Ricci 1955,
				N.	DESCRIPTION			
356	Cappuccina		193 x 42	17	Red-figure Etruscan vases; Genuclia plates; overpainted (Phantom Group and Gnathia-type) vases; black-glazed vases (bowl with overpainted inscription); net-lekythos		4-3	844 ff., fig. 191
358	Cappuccina		212 x 53	10	Etruscan red-figure vases; Genuclia plates; overpainted (Phantom Group) vases; black-glazed vases; coarse ware		4-3	847
360	Fossa		170 x 42	1	Terracotta bowl			848
377	Cassone	M?	220 x 90	1	Aes rude			867 ("male skeleton")
385	Fossa		189 x 59	11	Black-glazed bowl with overpainted inscription; coarse ware vases		4-3	882-883
387	Fossa		169 x 64	2	Terracotta bowl; aes rude,			884-885
388	Cappuccina		263 x 52	0				885
389	Cassa	F	167 x 50	11	Spindle whorl	House-shaped (?)		885-886
390	Fossa			1	Terracotta jug			886
391	Fossa		152 x 29	1	Black-glazed jug		4-3	886
392	Fossa		170 x 53	22	Genuclia plates; overpainted vases; black-glazed vases; coarse ware; aes rude		4-3	886-887
393	Fossa		174 x 72	9	Genuclia plates; black-glazed vases		4-3	887
394	Fossa		175 x 41	2	Black-glazed bowls		4-3	888

395	Fossa	181 x 45	3	Black-glazed bowls	4-3	888
396	Fossa	184 x 42	3	Black-glazed bowl; aes rude	4-3	888
398	Fossa	186 x 60	3	Attic black-glazed kylix; terracotta oinochoai	5-4	889
SETTORE G "DELLA TOMBA DI MUNISE" – LA "PIAZZETTA INCASSATA" E LE SUE TOMBE						
429	Fossa		2	Coarse ware jugs		1008
436	Fossa		0			1033
437	Cassa	186 x 62	5	Attic black-figure cup; terracotta vases (olla, oinochoe form VII Beazley; jug)	5-4 (?)	1033
438	Cassa and fossa	200 x 55	4	Black-glazed kylix; bronze ring; terracotta spool		1033-1034
439	Cassa	F	8	Black-figure Attic lekythos; bucchero bowls; aes rude	House-shaped	1034-1035
440	Fossa		4	Bronze mirror; coarse ware		1035