

## AS TIME GOES BY. PRE-ROMAN ETRURIA FROM PO VALLEY TO CAMPANIA:

AN ADDITION TO SIMON STODDART'S "POWER AND PLACE IN  
ETRURIA, VOL. 1. THE SPATIAL DYNAMICS OF A MEDITERRANEAN  
CIVILIZATION, 1200-500 BC", CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS 2020

### ABSTRACT

Questo contributo, partendo dal volume di Simon Stoddart, *Power and Place in Etruria*, fa il punto delle ricerche sul rapporto fra centri primari e loro territorio non fermandosi all'Etruria propria ma ampliando lo spettro dell'indagine all'Etruria padana e a quella campana. Dal punto di vista del metodo si pone una grande attenzione ai modelli sociali e a quelli geografici come pietra di paragone utile per le analisi nell'Italia del I millennio a.C. Per quel che riguarda i differenti comparti della penisola si pone una grande attenzione sulle scoperte più recenti e sulle diverse possibili letture e interpretazioni dei paesaggi che emergono nel corso del tempo. Il contributo si chiude con l'auspicio di una ripresa del confronto fra studiosi di diverse scuole e nazionalità perché solo attraverso di esso sarà possibile progredire in questo campo di ricerche.

*This paper aims to reconsider the interaction between primary and satellite centers in inland Etruria, Etruria Padana and Etruria Campana, moving beyond Simon Stoddart's recent volume Power and Place. In terms of methodology, the focus of this paper is on social and geographical models for the analysis of ancient Italy during the 1st millennium BCE. The most recent discoveries, together with their interpretations, are discussed stressing in particular the development of cultural landscape through time. This paper aims to contribute to the discussion between scholars from different nationalities and to bridging the gap between tradition of studies.*

The role of Etruria, including in this definition all the Tyrrhenian area from the Po Valley to Campania, is crucial in ancient pre-Roman Italy because, better than any other regions, it shows the transformations that occurred in the peninsula between the last two centuries of the 2nd and the first half of the 1st millennium BCE. Describing this role is the main goal of Simon Stoddart in his latest monograph *Power and Place in Etruria, vol. 1. The Spatial Dynamics of a Mediterranean Civilization, 1200-500 BC*, Cambridge University Press 2020<sup>1</sup>.

The Author represents an attempting narrative of Etruria trying to overcome its 'secondary classification' in the state formation process, when compared to other areas in the ancient world. Stoddart suggests the need to use primarily archaeological data and its interpretation in order to explain the dynamic of spatial organization

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<sup>1</sup> A. Guidi has dedicated a review to S. Stoddart's book in the *Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche* (GUIDI 2020) where he has analyzed and criticized (from a protohistoric point of view) many of the assumptions made by the Author. Some of the issues addressed by A. Guidi overlap with our ideas.

and compare it with other studies on state formation in the Mediterranean area, Mesopotamia and the New World. He considers the over-specialization of the tradition of studies of pre-Roman Italy as the major obstacle for the development of this field of analysis.

Stoddart explains that the basis for a correct reading of urban phenomena should always include theories and methods from the disciplines of anthropology, human geography and archaeology. Furthermore, he suggests that applying the XTent method<sup>2</sup> could be a possible solution to overcome a stasis in the studies of the past forty years. In the volume a long discussion is offered to explain the potentials of using XTent as simulator of political development of early state formation in the entire Etruria and North Umbria.

The Author focuses on geology and landscape; Etruria is divided into four zones according to their natural resources and human exploitation. He describes the «contrasting hierarchies of the settlements» where Stoddart assumes the presence of a heterarchical organization, possibly following Alessandro Guidi's ideas presented in two different contributions<sup>3</sup>. The Author recognizes the existence of primary centers since the Final Bronze Age in four areas, dependent or marginal sites, and stresses the importance of marginal sanctuaries<sup>4</sup>.

All these premises lead the Author to discuss the spatial dynamics of the settlements: the impact of the XTent method reveals how the spatial dynamics can be drawn from constants, each of them consisting of ten values of K, that are indeed the same for the whole area studied. The early states are mapped and defined in their extension, with a focus on the evolutions of boundaries through time.

Stoddart enucleates five regions of contrast and geographical expression, and dynamics of spatial development through time: he outlines the differences inside and between South Etruria, the Albegna Valley, the hinterland of Maremma, and to the east the area between Perugia and Gubbio. The presentation of “Networking and connectivity” is a tentative integration of Etruria in the wider Mediterranean context and interconnections: in the first part the Author «examines and rejects external influences as the underlying cause of the formative socio-political transformations of c. 1220-800 BC» (p. 186), while in the second, «it presents an analysis of the distribution of inscriptions through space and time» (p. 186).

This reconstruction of the archaeological record and of the interactions between different states in Etruria tries to define the existence of a supra-polity level, in other words something similar to a pan-Etruscan level of control by aristocracies.

Finally, in the “Conclusions”, the nature and the reasons of Stoddart's book become clear: «The volume was originally conceived in the late 1980s but although there have been a number of publications which have covered some of the ground,

<sup>2</sup> STODDART 2020, p. 24 ff.

<sup>3</sup> GUIDI 2006, 2008; see also GUIDI 2020, p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> See ZIFFERERO 1995.

they have been more restricted geographically and chronologically, so that the need for such a volume for the whole Tyrrhenian Etruria has remained unfilled for more than thirty years».

At first sight, rather than being a conclusion to the book, this is a (belated) introduction, and it provides the key to understanding the whole approach: the Author has had this book in mind since the 1980s, and remains rooted in the theoretical and methodological bibliography of the 1980s, the ideas of the 1980s, and most importantly presents to the readers an outdated picture of Italian studies, especially of Protohistory and Etruscology. In other words, this book looks backwards nor forwards. The core idea of the book is the use of the XTent analysis, carried out in the 1980s in Etruria and Umbria<sup>5</sup> following an important season of intensive surveys in central Italy carried out by many and important scholars. Moreover, the method followed a practical-theoretical use of a geographical tool, mainly the XTent, which above all provided more complex data when compared to Rank-Size Analysis<sup>6</sup>.

The first 208 pages provide a sort of 'vintage' archaeological narrative because the archaeological debate on proto-state formation seems to have been left by the Author in the 1980s and 1990s. Regarding the first quarter of the 21st century, we can point out a significant gap in the scientific literature, with the exception of mentioning a few new contributions, quotations of his own recent papers and other useful references to support his approach and ideas. For many of the more experienced readers, it may feel like a nice journey back to the times of youth, to what has been certainly a fundamental season of projects and research, mainly resulting from the Anglo-Saxon impact on pre-Roman studies, promoted by J. Ward-Perkins with the South Etruria Survey<sup>7</sup>, built on the tradition of the *Carta Archeologica d'Italia*<sup>8</sup> and the following legacy of the *Forma Italiae*<sup>9</sup>. With great regret we should stress that data, analyses and interpretations of the Italian landscape archaeology over the past 20 years of research has been cancelled by Stoddart<sup>10</sup>. The current studies on Etruria Padana<sup>11</sup> and Campania<sup>12</sup> should have been taken into account at the core of this volume because of their relevance in the archaeology and history of Etruria.

The approach of the Author can be situated in a sort of 'middle ground' between Archaeology (Protohistory) and Classics (as defined by Cambridge University). He theorizes the need to keep a strong archaeological background rejecting the use of

<sup>5</sup> STODDART 2020 with bibliography; SPIVEY - STODDART 1990.

<sup>6</sup> GUIDI 1985.

<sup>7</sup> KAHANE - MURRAY THREIPLAND - WARD PERKINS 1968; WARD PERKINS *et al.* 1972; POTTER 1979, 1986; CASCINO - DI GIUSEPPE - PATTERSON 2012.

<sup>8</sup> RENDELI 1993, p. 18 ff.

<sup>9</sup> MILIONI 2001, 2007; TARTARA 1999; ENEI 1993.

<sup>10</sup> TABOLLI - CERASUOLO 2019; contributions by T. Marino, M. Milletti, S. Santocchini Gerg, A. Gobbi in RENDELI 2015; ZIFFERERO 2017a, 2017b.

<sup>11</sup> *Scritti Sassatelli*; GOVI 2019.

<sup>12</sup> CERCHIAI 2017, 2019; PELLEGRINO - ROSSI 2011.

historical sources. In addition, he uses extensively Etruscan epigraphy, counting all the inscriptions, the words and even the letters<sup>13</sup>. In addition, the vast majority of references to the archaeological record is used by the Author to present the Italian research as a battlefield between Protohistory and Etruscology, where Stoddart tries to maintain an equidistance with the aim of promoting his hypothesis.

The aim is clear, but there are major problems<sup>14</sup>: entire chapters of research scholarship are missing, forgotten or put aside and this is entirely surprising, considering how much Stoddart has been linked to the tradition of excavations and research in central Italy. Just to provide one example: while the legacy of Renato Peroni is widely mentioned in the volume, very few papers by Peroni are actually referenced in the bibliography of the book. It is worth mentioning that, regardless of one's background, we have all learnt to appreciate Peroni's studies for the reconstruction of the archaeological and historical phenomena of the 2nd and 1st millennia BCE. Regardless of whether we agree or not with his hypothesis and conclusions, Peroni's archaeological reconstruction of the proto-state formation remains valid. Stoddart also forgets to mention many of Peroni's students who have continued his research with important projects and studies all over Italy on proto-urban centers<sup>15</sup>, urban formation<sup>16</sup>, heterarchy<sup>17</sup>, typological classification<sup>18</sup>, and more generally on the social, economic and political transformations between the 2nd and 1st millennia BCE<sup>19</sup>. Together with individual contributions, a number of important collective meetings and publications should be mentioned here: the proceedings of annual meetings of the Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria, the meetings organized by N. Negrini Catacchio on "Preistoria e Protostoria in Etruria", and especially the important contributions in *Scienze dell'Antichità* and *Origini*. The entirety of most recent studies on power and state and on the formation of the aristocracy are not considered by Stoddart; this has a strong impact on bibliography, often limited to papers in English or by Anglo-Saxon scholars. This results into a new type of a colonial approach, while especially most of the young Italian researchers have been extensively publishing also in English and as a result the language gap is not valid anymore and I assume that Stoddart's work could benefit from contributions written by Italians.

The same approach can be seen towards the scholars of Etruscology: many old and new projects are not taken in account. Current field projects and research in

<sup>13</sup> SPIVEY - STODDART 1990, p. 14 ff.

<sup>14</sup> The same problems were analyzed by GUIDI 2020, p. 126.

<sup>15</sup> BARTOLONI 2012, 2014; PACCIARELLI 2009; IAIA - MANDOLESI 2010.

<sup>16</sup> RENDELI 1993; PACCIARELLI 2001; GUIDI 2008; BARTOLONI 2012; DI GENNARO - RENDELI 2019; DI GENNARO - AMOROSO 2020.

<sup>17</sup> GUIDI 2006, 2008.

<sup>18</sup> DE ANGELIS 2001.

<sup>19</sup> BARBARO 2010; IAIA - MANDOLESI 2010; PACCIARELLI 2010; PEARCE 2020.

different districts of Latium and Tuscany have been ignored together with relevant analyses of the data. It is hard to understand if these studies are unknown to the Author or he simply did not consider them worthy of mention.

At this point, we should refer briefly to the most relevant contributions. Over the past twenty years numerous exhibition catalogues have been published, presenting the most recent ideas and interpretations<sup>20</sup>. In addition, there are at least two important series: the publication of the proceedings of the meetings of “Convegni di Studi Etruschi e Italici” (the most recent one on inland southern Etruria<sup>21</sup>), and the *Atti della Fondazione Faina*, where the subjects of Stoddart’s book have been extensively addressed. Finally, we should mention the Conference “Oriente e Occidente: metodi e discipline a confronto. Riflessioni sulla cronologia dell’età del ferro italiana”<sup>22</sup> and the small volume *Le città visibili*, which includes the proceedings of a workshop in which young researchers presented papers on the various processes of urban formation in different regions, in a dialogue with experienced scholars of Italian Protohistory and Etruscology<sup>23</sup>.

In Stoddart’s volume Italian archaeology is almost absent: if we must follow what the Author theorizes, one could say that Italian archaeologists appreciate ancient literary sources too much, are detached from modelling, from anthropological models, and are unaware of the Oaxaca early state model that showed a very similar development to Etruria. The insistence of the Author in mentioning the Oaxaca model is astonishing if we consider the vast bibliography on Mediterranean and Near East for the 2nd and 1st millennia BCE, where the theme of Power and Place has been one of the most important recurrent topics. Projects, research, hypotheses and interpretations of the phenomena in Western Mediterranean area follow now new reconstructions, systems, and models on the idea of state, economy, and organization<sup>24</sup>.

In S. Stoddart’s volume these new ideas are all missing, and everything seems to be related to a geographical application (following the Thiessen polygons) which offers an idea of the maximum territory that could be controlled between two settlements of equal weight; in this perspective the XTent applies a mathematical approach to describe settlements of different weights. The formula has a constant K which changes in each phase and so determines the progressive organization of Etruria and Umbria from the 10th to the 6th centuries BCE<sup>25</sup>. This could have been valid years

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<sup>20</sup> Since MENICHETTI 1994; D’AGOSTINO - CERCHIAI 1999, 2021, there have been many exhibition catalogues in which the themes of power and place and the social development in the cities of Etruria are discussed: *Bologna* 2019; *Bologna* 2000, TORELLI 2000; and books on Etruscan civilization: see ACCONCIA 2012; BARTOLONI 2012; RENDELI 2015; NASO 2017.

<sup>21</sup> *Atti Tuscania-Viterbo*.

<sup>22</sup> BARTOLONI - DELPINO 2005.

<sup>23</sup> RENDELI 2015, with contributions by S. Santocchini Gerg, M. Milletti, T. Marino, V. Acconcia, A. Gobbi, M. Mariani and important discussions between Protohistoric and Etruscan scholars.

<sup>24</sup> VAN DOMMELEN - ROPPA 2014; AUBET 2001; LÓPEZ CASTRO 2020.

<sup>25</sup> STODDART 2020, pp. 31 ff., 111 ff. with previous bibliography.

ago, in terms of analytical archaeology, spatial analysis or mathematics applied to archaeology. The mathematical formula resulting from Stoddart's narrative may help in the classification of a complex archaeological record built on a constant, but fails in the characterization of the human, political, social and economic reconstruction of the pre-Roman past. For these reasons we believe that XTent is not useful and methodologically outdated.

Theories from thirty years ago are repeated in this book. Even if the Author knows well that each center began its urban path during the second half of the 10th century BCE in a balance between peer polities, his work regards all of the cities of Etruria and some of Umbria and their satellites, without a real focus on each polity: productive and small sites (1 hectare) have not been considered in this volume<sup>26</sup>. This means that the agricultural productive sites are missing, although they were at the core of the foundation of the early states. As we have already stressed, other parts of ancient Etruria are entirely missing: the Po Valley, Fermo, Campania, with Capua and Pontecagnano, which are part of the same story and provide significant evidence for all our reconstructions.

If we look at the development of research in the last twenty years, we can observe that each central place has its own archaeological narrative, conceived autonomously its organization, and made its choices: we are stressing this point because the specific characteristics of each unit rather than the regional development was at the core of proto-state formation. Even when the *Fanun Voltumnae* functioned as a single entity representing the Etruscan league each city jealously maintained its political power and autonomy.

Understanding Power and Place implies the need to look at a city and its territory, and at the organization of satellite sites. Each city built its political, economic and social organization, created the facilities for the exploitation of resources and the accumulation of surplus. Any possible reconstruction needs to be based on archaeological data, and classification of material culture. Interpretation of all the data should follow this first step, focusing both on the society of living and the communities of death<sup>27</sup>, trying to detect the human mind beneath the data with a long and rigorous analysis.

This process is significantly different from Stoddart's method where the urban formation seems to follow predeterminate steps with equal expansions and contractions: the equal constant value K characterized all the central places in the analysis. Contractions and growing phases are considered valid for every site and for the entirety of Etruria.

In terms of method, Stoddart's account does not consider the reconstruction of an archaeological narrative from the data of each peer polity. If we look at the development of each center, with its territory, and satellite sites, we will face a multitude of narratives. We observe that their trajectories are not similar, when we compare

<sup>26</sup> STODDART 2020, p. 31.

<sup>27</sup> Following D'AGOSTINO 1985, p. 47 ff.

periods of growth and contraction: single states and cities, their formation and development constitute the core of our story, including all the mistakes occurred during an experimental experience.

The characterization of each state can be defined with or without the literary sources, but this needs necessarily to be based on an accurate exegesis of ancient texts, with the help of the epigraphy used mainly as a social tool that helps the reconstruction of society, organization, and power. In this perspective we should consider the organization of space<sup>28</sup>, the centripetal and centrifugal forces inside and outside each state<sup>29</sup>, the creation of the satellite sites in the areas inhabited during the Final Bronze Age<sup>30</sup>, the choice to live in the center or remain in the countryside, the idea of sharing the living on a plateau together with many other people. All these elements allow for a narrative without a predeterminate recipe, without the need to assume the role played by external factors (such as Oriental origins), who ruled the transition. Perhaps we may also assume the existence of some systems of power without a city in central Etruria, eventually conceiving Stoddart's 'buffer areas' as autonomous organizations.

Quoting an aphorism of T. Capote, cited by M. Frangipane in a contribution on the different trajectories for the creation of a state, «all of the future exists in the past»<sup>31</sup>. With Frangipane I share the method of building the steps for the construction of a state or a city state, starting from the archaeological data, their classification, and their characterization. The result is an endogenous history of a territory, that reveals the traces of individual choices made throughout many steps along a path: a city-state, a reign, and a state without a city. The power of data, in the space and during the time, creates synchronic maps and diachronic pictures which emphasize in each organization the contractions or the expansions<sup>32</sup>.

As Bruno d'Agostino and Luca Cerchiali have taught us in terms of 'reading ancient images'<sup>33</sup> the representation of reality is not the interpretation of nature and the reason of what we are studying: it entails hard work to reach the characterization of what happened, trying to point out the reasons and the meanings of each phenomenon. It also entails the interpretation of all possible data in order to describe a story without the need to refer to anthropological models (chiefdoms, early states, etc.)<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> DI GENNARO - RENDELI 2019.

<sup>29</sup> RENDELI 2019.

<sup>30</sup> DI GENNARO - RENDELI 2019.

<sup>31</sup> CAPOTE 1948, p. 113, cited by FRANGIPANE 2018, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> FRANGIPANE 2018, pp. 3-11.

<sup>33</sup> D'AGOSTINO - CERCHIALI 1999, pp. I-XXXV; D'AGOSTINO - CERCHIALI 2021, p. 77: «Tuttavia l'immagine, come il testo letterario, non riflette passivamente la realtà, che costituisce il suo referente. Essa è una costruzione che seleziona in maniera arbitraria i segni e i modi attraverso i quali prende forma l'oggetto della rappresentazione, definendo secondo un proprio canone le regole che presiedono al processo creativo».

<sup>34</sup> For a criticism of the anthropological model see also LIVERANI 2011, pp. 1-14.

The endogenous story of each Etruscan city, from Felsina to Pontecagnano, the partial history of Visentium or La Castellina, the development from each satellite site and of each peer polity has to be analyzed within the interactions among the city-states and the input coming from foreign civilizations. Only at this stage we will be able to suggest a comparison between archaeological data and models deriving from anthropology, with numbers and algorithms, from the Thiessen polygons to the Rank-Size Analysis, from the Site-Catchment to the XTent analysis. These tools may help us to read the territory and the relations inside a single central place and among all the city-states and to determine the absence of an urban center or the presence of a statal system.

We will discuss in this contribution the evidence form areas taken in account (or forgotten) by the book of Simon Stoddart starting from the Po Valley, passing through Tuscany, and arriving in Campania: the aim is positive and constructive, i.e., to show the extra-ordinary complexity of pre-Roman Italy during the first half of the 1st millennium BCE, moving beyond the traditional narratives that focus on South Etruria and that are echoed by Stoddart's volume.

[M. R.]

A progression from north to south will allow us to observe the phenomena of settlement pattern and of political, social and economic organization in the 'three Etruriae'; the comparison will allow us to highlight that the urban phenomenon is peculiar all along the Italian peninsula, where Etruscans played an important role, despite the differences between the different areas.

#### ETRURIA PADANA (*fig. 1*)

The volume *Power and Place in Etruria* by S. Stoddart gives no consideration whatsoever to the parts of Etruria that stretched into Campania and the Po Valley, a choice that is nowhere declared but nevertheless evident. Their inclusion would have offered an interesting opportunity to verify Stoddart's historical and topographical deductions. There is no space here to attempt to apply analyses based on the XTent and Rank-Size indices to the Po Valley territory, or to present a panoramic view of the phenomenon of urban formation of Bologna, even though it is precisely this main 'central place' in northern Italy that offers the most important innovations in this field. We will therefore limit ourselves to providing the main bibliographic references and verifying succinctly how some of the conclusions and historical reconstructions proposed by the Author for the metropolises of Etruria may be compared with the situation in Etruria Padana.

The first point to address is obviously the process of formation of the two main Villanovan towns of Bologna and Verucchio, also in light of the remark by Stoddart that only after the end of the 6th century BCE did the 'polities' of Etruria initiate policies of expansion towards the lands of the neighbouring peoples and that hence



fig. 1 - Etruria Padana.

the colonization of the Po Valley and Campania could have only taken place after the 6th century<sup>35</sup>. As it is widely reported in the literature, not only the idea of a ‘second colonization’ in the 6th century has been abandoned<sup>36</sup>, but also doubt has been recently cast over the fact that the central places in the Po Valley in the 10th-9th century BCE could have sprung directly from the large towns of Etruria. To provide the briefest version possible, and referring to the relevant bibliography for further reading<sup>37</sup>, with respect to the traditional interpretation that presumed a demographic vacuum in the whole of the Po Valley in the Final Bronze Age and consequently what was to all effects a colonization from Etruria during the 9th century BCE, it is now

<sup>35</sup> STODDART 2020, p. 218. This statement has already been criticized by A. Guidi in his review of Stoddart’s volume (GUIDI 2020). On this occasion the Author reiterates his interpretation (GUIDI 2006) regarding the formation of Bologna and Verucchio (and of the centers of Etruria Campana), considering them «as “outposts” of the Early State in the Iron Age», an interpretation on which there are different opinions (such as the one expressed here).

<sup>36</sup> See *Scritti Sassatelli*, sections I.3 and I.5 and GOVI 2019 with previous bibliography.

<sup>37</sup> The most recent summaries of this complex subject, to which the reader is referred, also for the earlier bibliography, can be found in ORTALLI 2013; *Scritti Sassatelli*, sections I.5 and I.7; S. SANTOCCHINI GERG, in RENDELI 2015; CARDARELLI 2018; VON ELES - PACCIARELLI 2018; VANZINI 2018, 2019; GOVI 2019.

possible to think of a more complex and nuanced situation in which the local population played a role that was perhaps not exclusive, but nevertheless fundamental.

While for Verucchio the continuity of settlement is by now widely accepted and was recently confirmed by evidence<sup>38</sup> from the territory and from the hill itself that was dated from the Final Bronze to the Iron Age, some uncertainty remains for Bologna. The knowledge we currently possess features some gaps concerning the settlements of the Late Bronze Age and the Final Bronze Age and a lack of homogeneity that is not yet clear in the population between the central and advanced phases of the Final Bronze Age. However, the new and relevant finding is that there is evidence for the settlement of the Po Valley also for the Final Bronze Age. The reinterpretation of old data<sup>39</sup> supported by new evidence<sup>40</sup> allows us to abandon the hypothesis of a dearth of settlement in the 10th century BCE also for Bologna. Amongst recent new findings, the most significant is that some of the villages founded around the future urban area displayed traces of settlement at least in the advanced phase of the Final Bronze Age, therefore aligning the start of the process of urban formation with the coeval situation in Tyrrhenian Etruria. As underlined by M. Rendeli in the introduction to this contribution, each of the large Etruscan towns brought about its own form of aggregation leading to the formation of large urban centers, after starting off from different environmental and socio-political preconditions and probably without a specific plan in mind. This was a slow and gradual process, one that is particularly clear in Felsina, which brought this about in various stages starting from some villages in the 10th century<sup>41</sup>, followed by others in the first half of the next century<sup>42</sup>, then merging due to synoecism over a couple of generations (between the end of the 9th and the mid-8th centuries) in the area between Aposa and Ravone<sup>43</sup>, in a process that recalls the one carried out by Tarquinia<sup>44</sup>, although with certain differences.

<sup>38</sup> HARARI - RONDINI - ZAMBONI 2017; VON ELES - PACCIARELLI 2018.

<sup>39</sup> *Scritti Sassatelli*, section I.5; S. SANTOCCHINI GERG, in RENDELI 2015.

<sup>40</sup> We refer to the publication of new contexts of the Final Bronze Age 3 (CAIRONI *et al.* 2018; VANZINI 2018, 2019), for which see below.

<sup>41</sup> We refer to the villages of San Donato (VANZINI 2019), Borgo Panigale (CAIRONI *et al.* 2018) and perhaps also the village of via Sante Vincenzi, corresponding to the necropolis of San Vitale (DORE 2005, p. 257; VANZINI - CAVAZZUTI 2021, p. 139).

<sup>42</sup> The villages that belong to the 9th century phase are the one of the Fiera (VANZINI 2018), the one of via Terracini and the village corresponding to the necropolis of via Benacci (see references in SANTOCCHINI GERG 2020; VANZINI 2019). As mentioned in the previous note, at the moment it is not yet completely clear whether the village of via Sante Vincenzi belongs to the 9th or already to the 10th century phase.

<sup>43</sup> For the question concerning the limits of the settlement see ORTALLI 2008; *Scritti Sassatelli*, section I.7.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. PACCIARELLI 2009; for a more detailed comparison with Bologna see S. SANTOCCHINI GERG, in RENDELI 2015, pp. 35-36.

It is important to take note of the fact that these six or seven villages laid out in a belt-like fashion around the future town, some at less than a kilometer away from each other, and some could have occupied an area of several hectares<sup>45</sup>. Furthermore, they appear to have been highly structured as early as the start of the 9th century<sup>46</sup>. What is more, they possessed the same material culture, which, significantly, displays evidence of contacts and relations towards the north, with the world of proto-Veneto and southwards with the proto-Villanovan culture of the Cetona-Chiusi group<sup>47</sup>. Another point is that strategic occupation of the territory has been registered as early as the second half of the 10th century with the establishment of new sites laid out along the routes towards the Modena area, with Borgo Panigale<sup>48</sup>, and along the Savena/Idice with projections towards the Polesine area, with sites such as Vigorso, Ca' dell'Orbo, Castenaso, and Prunaro di Budrio, reaching the most faraway sites around Ferrara, such as Boccagrande di Argenta and Valle del Mezzano<sup>49</sup>. Taken together, all these aspects would suggest that these villages must have enacted a co-ordinated policy. In our opinion they could already be considered a 'first Felsina' and constitute a transition phase in the process of urban genesis. This appears to be even more evident in the crucial moment in which they start being abandoned and constituting the main, but not exclusive<sup>50</sup>, demographic catchment area for the populating of the large new settlement center situated between the Aposa and Ravone rivers. This was a gradual process that necessarily would have had to comply with the decisions of a 'political entity' that was directing the complex process. Two important centers must have played a fundamental role. The first is the site of Villa Cassarini, a

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<sup>45</sup> None of these has been extensively investigated, due to the existence of the modern city, but the size of the respective necropoleis suggests that they were quite large (see MALNATI - CORNELIO - MENGOLI 2010, p. 392 and VANZINI 2019, p. 7).

<sup>46</sup> This is the case at least for the two most well-known villages, that of the Fiera (VANZINI 2018) and San Donato (VANZINI 2019), which indeed display regular internal organization (MALNATI - CORNELIO - MENGOLI 2010, p. 389; VANZINI 2018, p. 3; GUIDI - MARCHESI 2019, p. 377), fortifications (up to 15 m deep and composed of a series of ramparts, artificial canals and palisades with probable watchtowers), internal subdivision by way of canals into areas that were mainly used for production and others that were for domestic use, and huts of the 'evolved' type with a rectangular floorplan, some of which were also of large dimensions (up to 15×7 m) with internal subdivisions.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. VANZINI 2019, pp. 9-10.

<sup>48</sup> The site of Borgo Panigale probably constituted a precocious settlement of the territory projected towards the western route, towards sites such as Bismantova (Reggio Emilia) and Cognento (Modena), and was occupied from Final Bronze Age 3 to the Early Iron Age.

<sup>49</sup> For bibliographic references to all the sites mentioned, see S. SANTOCCHINI GERG, in RENDELI 2015, pp. 27-28 and VANZINI 2018, pp. 2-3.

<sup>50</sup> Sites in the territory that were abandoned at the same time as the villages of the belt around it must also have participated in the synoecistic process, i.e., settlements such as Vigorso, Ca' dell'Orbo and Castenaso. It is not to be excluded that even villages farther away in the Reggiano, Modenese and Bolognese areas took part, above all those in the Apennine sector (cf. CARDARELLI 2018) and in the Ferrarese area, as these were abandoned in the same period (for the situation between the end of the Late Bronze Age and the Final Bronze Age see S. SANTOCCHINI GERG, in RENDELI 2015).

landmark visible from all the villages of the plain. If archaeological evidence confirms that this was a sacred area<sup>51</sup>, it cannot have been but a reference point, even for decision making, for supporting the village units considering the transfer to the future urban area<sup>52</sup>. The second center is a village, yet undiscovered, which must have existed and been located not far from the Benacci necropolis (which has yielded grave goods dated to the 9th century<sup>53</sup>) and therefore already within, or in any case very close to the urban center. We may hypothetically attribute to this village the role of generating hub for the urbanization process that the synoecism model presupposes.

This development is deemed to have finished around the middle of the 8th century when the choice of the new 'proto-urban' center displays all its potential. In fact, several important public works date to this phase, such as the imposing fortifications unearthed in piazza Azzarita<sup>54</sup> and the large wooden structure covering more than 6000 m<sup>2</sup> in piazza VIII Agosto<sup>55</sup>. These structures could not have been built without the organized participation of a considerable workforce under the political-economic direction of a powerful upper class. This class is indeed self-represented in the princely tombs of the Early Orientalizing period<sup>56</sup>. These two exceptional finds have allowed us to completely rewrite the history of the first phases of Bologna. There are many points that, when put together and considered holistically, make it difficult not to define the settlement as a real city<sup>57</sup>, even in the middle of the 8th century: the presence of the walls and of other public buildings; the internal

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<sup>51</sup> With respect to the traditional interpretation as a Villanovan village, a sacred function has been proposed in ORTALLI 2013, pp. 8-9, and later accepted (albeit with some reservations, while waiting for a complete study in VANZINI 2020-21) in S. SANTOCCHINI GERG, in RENDELI 2015 and GUIDI - MARCHESI 2019. The analysis currently being conducted on the excavation materials by R. Vanzini (VANZINI 2020-21), whom I would like to thank for having shared the preliminary results, confirms the presence of pottery finds already belonging to a Final Bronze Age 3 horizon. Although proportionally far rarer than those of the 9th-8th c., they testify to an occupation phase of a sector (and significantly not all the area being excavated) of the future acropolis of Felsina. It is possible that the scarcity of Final Bronze Age materials indicates a first form of interest that is plausibly ritual in nature, confirmed by the typological and decorative characteristics, as well as the shape, of the materials of the Final Bronze Age.

<sup>52</sup> A role analogous to that played for the area of Verucchio by the cult site on Monte Titano, compared to that of *Mons Albanus* for the *populi Albenses* (cf. CARDARELLI 2018, p. 369).

<sup>53</sup> DORE 2005, pp. 261-262 and note 14.

<sup>54</sup> ORTALLI 2008. The walls have similar characteristics to the fortifications of the 9th c. villages of San Donato and Fiera (VANZINI 2018, 2019) and rather than postulating a model, or even craftsmen of Oriental origin (ORTALLI 2008, p. 502, note 3), it is simpler and more logical to refer to the tradition of the Terramare fortifications and the nearby experiences with complex defensive structures of the FBA, such as those of FBA 2 at Variano di Udine (CASSOLA GUIDA - CORAZZA 2009, p. 282, fig. 6) and Gradisca (Pordenone) in the 10th c. (*ibidem*, p. 283, fig. 7). Also, Verucchio seems to have had wooden fortifications at least from the 9th c. (RONDINI - ZAMBONI 2020).

<sup>55</sup> ORTALLI 2013; *Scritti Sassatelli*, section I.7.

<sup>56</sup> For the evolution of Bologna's aristocracies see most recently SANTOCCHINI GERG 2020 with previous bibliography.

<sup>57</sup> In the sense of SMITH 2016. For northern Italy see also PEARCE 2020.

structure, with separation of sacred, burial, domestic and productive areas; the high quality, variety and extremely high distribution of its pottery product<sup>58</sup>; the dense network of external relations that had been set up; the large dimensions of the town, with the presence of a territory controlled by settlements of various hierarchical levels<sup>59</sup>. Furthermore, the question of the fortification of Bologna is pivotal, because, as stated by Stoddart himself, it represents a distinctive element of the primary centers and defined the identity of a town<sup>60</sup>. The problem is that he holds the 7th century walls of Roselle to be the earliest, and dates those of Veii to the 5th century, while studies and excavations have by now demonstrated that the first phases of the fortifications of Veii<sup>61</sup>, like those of Bologna, Vulci<sup>62</sup> and Populonia<sup>63</sup>, date precisely to the 8th century, if not earlier.

During the 8th and 7th centuries, Bologna is seen to have controlled a territory that was even bigger than before<sup>64</sup>, by way of rural settlements structured on several hierarchical levels. This area extended once again towards the north-east, but now the occupation included above all the plain towards the west, to the area of Modena. Bologna controlled a very large area, as far as the Po to the north, the Apennine valleys to the south, and although the western border is more debatable and variable in time<sup>65</sup>, during this period it probably reached either the Panaro or the Secchia River. The territory under control hence ranged from 5000 to 8000 km<sup>2</sup>, therefore larger than the primary centers in southern Etruria. This can be expected given the importance and large dimensions of the town and the absence of other primary centers in the Po Valley, except for the trading center of Verucchio.

The site of Pontesanto in Imola<sup>66</sup> offers significant evidence concerning the east-ern border, as its material and funerary ideology is in alignment with that of Bologna. It was established during the Villanovan phase III B (750-720 BCE) and a large court-like rectangular structure of 40 m on each side was built in the successive Villanovan III C (720-680 BCE). This building, a palace typical of the Orientalizing princes, recalls the aristocratic residences of Murlo and Casale Marittimo, and like

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<sup>58</sup> See most recently SANTOCCHINI GERG 2021 with previous bibliography.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. LOCATELLI 2009; QUIRINO 2017; *Scritti Sassatelli*, sections I.3, 5-6.

<sup>60</sup> STODDART 2020, p. 95.

<sup>61</sup> For an overview see *Atti città murata*. Here F. Boitani, p. 139, dates the walls of Veii to the first half of the 8th c., but perhaps already laid down in the 10th-9th centuries in the Campetti area (BARTOLONI *et al.* 2013, p. 134).

<sup>62</sup> Rampart and ditch dated to the mid-second half of the 8th c. (MORETTI SGUBINI 2008, p. 171).

<sup>63</sup> The deposit of Falda della Guardiola would appear to testify to the ritual of foundation of the first walls of Populonia towards the mid-second half of the 8th c. (LO SCHIAVO - MILLETTI 2011, p. 341, with previous bibliography).

<sup>64</sup> For the “*chora*” of Bologna, see *Scritti Sassatelli*, section I.6 (with bibliography).

<sup>65</sup> For the settlement of western Emilia see LOCATELLI 2009.

<sup>66</sup> Most recently ESPOSITO 2019. For some interpretative hypotheses relating to the evidence of Pontesanto see also SANTOCCHINI GERG 2020.

these, it must have constituted a political and ceremonial center for the community<sup>67</sup>. Its strategic position on the road to Verucchio and the sea is sufficient to explain its role in trade and its function of controlling (even in a military way, as is demonstrated by the weapons among the grave goods of its small burial area) the border zone of the territory of Bologna.

From the 8th-7th centuries and above all in the 6th-4th centuries<sup>68</sup>, the presence not only of villages but also of isolated farms<sup>69</sup> displays that Bologna was a large metropolis with a strong centralized structure that was able to control the territory and guarantee the defense of even very small villages. These settlements can be defined as *tuthina*, i.e., clusters of the *pagus / vicus* type, without political autonomy and dependent on urban centers<sup>70</sup>. This characteristic of a territorial city-state is essential for the reflections prompted by Stoddart's volume<sup>71</sup>, which views the centralized form as belonging only to some metropolises in southern Etruria, while the Etruscan north is held to be dominated by multifocal "polities"<sup>72</sup>. Furthermore, he supposes that the XTent indices are claimed to predict that this well-developed urban form would have been reached only in the 6th century BCE<sup>73</sup>, while it appears to us to be quite clear that Bologna (and likewise many other primary centers) reached this centralized and mature stage considerably earlier, as is demonstrated by its walls and the strong control (even in a military sense) on production, trade and settlement dynamics.

[S. S. G.]

#### NORTHERN AND INLAND ETRURIA: ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA (*fig. 2*)

When compared to what Marco Pacciarelli suggested over twenty years ago<sup>74</sup>, our knowledge on the development of inland and northern Etruria, between the end of the Bronze Age and the Archaic period, has significantly increased thanks to field projects and current studies. Old and new data have been finally published into

<sup>67</sup> Cf. BARTOLONI 2017, pp. 12-13.

<sup>68</sup> Considering the criticism often made by Stoddart in all the chapters of the volume (STODDART 2020) about the presumed dearth of archaeological surveys in Etruria, we may now count on a tool in the GIS environment that records all the survey campaigns in the Etruria Padana in this phase (see QUIRINO 2017).

<sup>69</sup> Amongst the most recent discoveries with regard to this we also cite the small burial of Marano di Castenaso, for which the reader is referred to C. CORNELIO, in POLI - RIMONDINI - SINDACO 2014 and SANTOCCHINI GERG 2020.

<sup>70</sup> *Scritti Sassatelli*, section I.6, p. 111.

<sup>71</sup> STODDART 2020, chapters 4, 7-8.

<sup>72</sup> STODDART 2020, p. 208.

<sup>73</sup> STODDART 2020, p. 209.

<sup>74</sup> PACCIARELLI 2001.

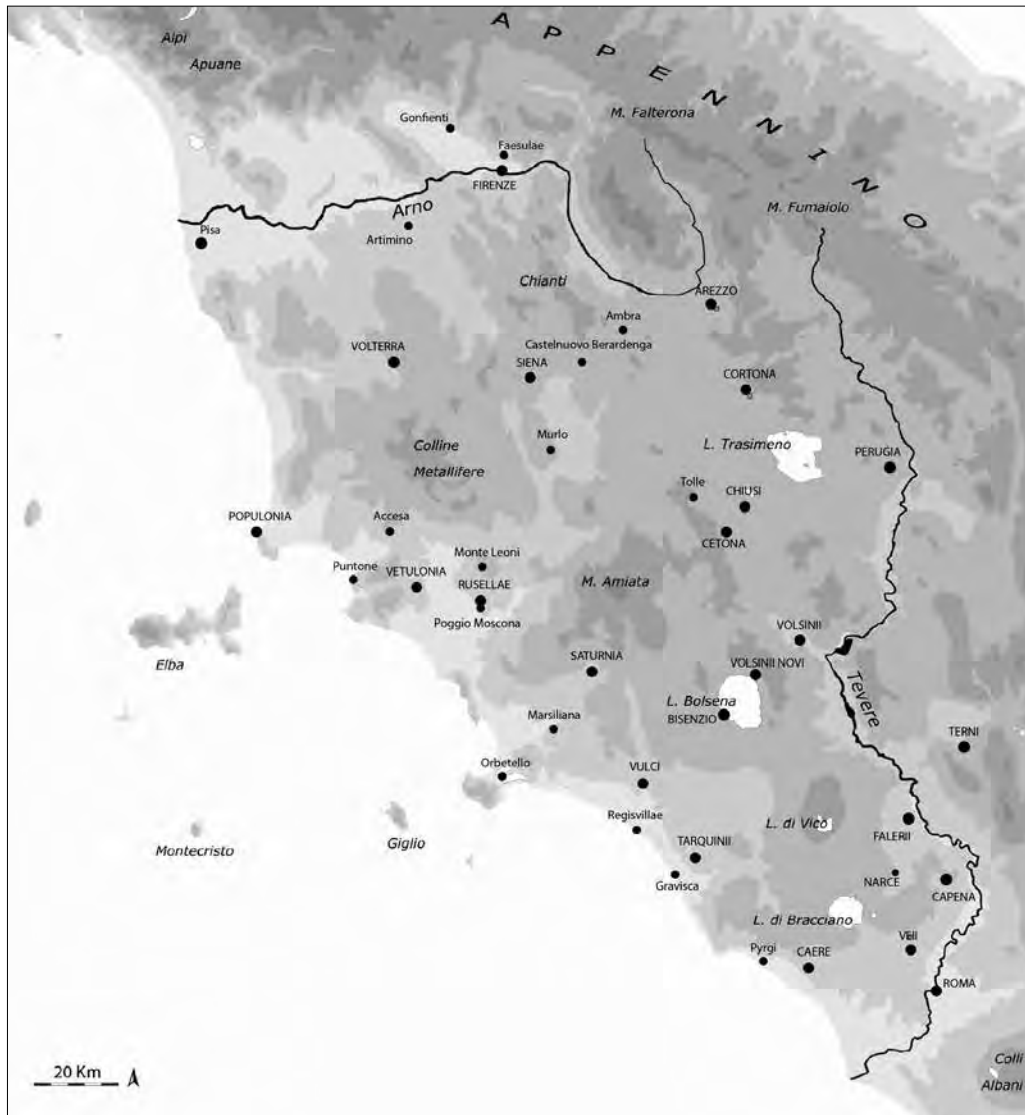


fig. 2 - Northern and southern Etruria.

papers and collective volumes, allowing us to define general trends, as well as to fill in significant gaps in the knowledge of specific territories. Despite these developments, we are still lacking large coverage of data (and projects) when compared to South Etruria. There are relevant exceptions such as, along the seacoast, the Albegna Valley, partially the Cornia Valley and the lower Ombrone Valley. Concerning inland Etruria, the publication of old excavations at Orvieto and Chiusi, together with new projects on the Paglia Valley and the *Clanis* Valley, are bringing to light a significant amount of new evidence on the characteristics of earliest towns and especially on their funerary evidence (for instance the extensive excavations at Tolle or at Camucia

in Cortona). Projects within these areas are providing significant new, although preliminary data. The picture resulting from this research is extremely complex and often it is impossible to model it according to simplified schemes. The application of theoretical models on the spatial organization in these areas is often risky, especially because of the lack of a consistent number of contexts where both chronological and spatial evolution has been precisely defined. At the same time, the attempt of defining social and settlement hierarchy is even harder in areas in which there is still no such dense archaeological record published and where comparative analyses must consider the consistency of data, provenance, and project coverage of areas<sup>75</sup>. Moving beyond processual myths, systematic comparisons must aim to point out differences rather than to force the very few available data into a single model.

Looking at northern and inland Etruria as a whole, it is even harder to offer a precise 'response' to Stoddart's attempts to provide a synthetic narrative of an extremely multifaceted area, where the differences overcome the analogies. We will try to limit our short contribution to the earliest development of proto-urban sites. In this regard, with the progress of research, inland and northern areas of Etruria appear much more similar to South Etruria, than what has been suggested so far in terms of centripetal dynamics linked to the formation of the earliest towns. Nevertheless, when and how these processes took place is yet to be precisely determined.

[M. M. - J. T.]

#### *Northern coastal Etruria: Rusellae, Vetulonia and Populonia*

It is objectively hard to define territorial interactions between Populonia, Vetulonia and Roselle, even when we look at the most recent periods of Etruscan history, long after the proto-urban formation that we are discussing in this contribution. In order to define interrelations between these districts it is fundamental to take into account the entire middle Tyrrhenian coast, including the islands of Tuscany. It is striking to observe Stoddart's decision to focus specifically on the Albegna Valley, without considering its surrounding geographical and cultural contexts as well as the exclusion of the Island of Elba from the study of the territory of Populonia. This decision resulted into a deep distortion of data. In particular, the area between the river Albegna and the river Ombrone, that has been traditionally considered as the passage between southern and northern Etruria, is crucial when defining transregional balances between districts. The system of settlements here is coherent and points to a systematic occupation of the coastal promontories and naturally defended sites along the main rivers that functioned as major vectors for the spatial organization of land. If we do not consider the dialogue between the coastal area and the hinterland, phenomena such as the genesis of specific sites cannot be understood. The

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<sup>75</sup> In terms of methodology see MOLINARI 2010, also for more recent periods.

lagoon of Orbetello for instance is a focal point of this system. Alongside data from the surveys carried out by Bronson and Uggeri<sup>76</sup>, the new results of the Paesaggi d'Acque Project have been available in literature for quite a while<sup>77</sup>. At the beginning of the first millennium BCE, with the closure of the tomboles of Giannella and Feniglia, many production and consumption activities connected to the sea are located around the lagoon, as it has been observed for the coastal southern Etruria and *Latium Vetus*<sup>78</sup>. The settlement of Duna Feniglia survives until the beginning of the Early Iron Age<sup>79</sup>, while Late Bronze Age data have been observed at Orbetello<sup>80</sup>. At the same time, it is very important to consider the role of the Island of Giglio as a projection of the coastal district on the Tyrrhenian Sea at the crossroads of the maritime routes between the Orientalizing and Archaic periods<sup>81</sup>. On the contrary, Stoddart mentions Giglio only when referring to the shipwreck at Pignocchi, located along one of the many maritime routes touching the Island<sup>82</sup>. Moving back to the peninsula, the river Albegna played a fundamental role as a major waterway to the interior; the mouth of the river is located just north of the Giannella. Current studies have revealed that starting from the Final Bronze Age 3 (or even earlier), the site of Poggio del Castello at Marsiliana emerges along the river Albegna<sup>83</sup>, at the junction with the Elsa Stream. From the Orientalizing period this site reached 45 ha and it was surrounded by a complex system of suburban farms. It is important to orient our research towards the interaction between Marsiliana and Doganella on the one side, that according to Stoddart's narrative functioned as the major hub, and Orbetello, on the other side, which Andrea Zifferero has identified as the *Oinarea* mentioned in the ancient sources<sup>84</sup>. Farther inland, a dense network of sites can be oriented towards two different centers: to the north, Saturnia<sup>85</sup>, with Montemerano and the necropolis of Poggio Pastorello<sup>86</sup>, and to the south, Scarceta<sup>87</sup>.

Moving north, along the seacoast, much evidence suggests the leading role of Poggio di Talamonaccio<sup>88</sup>, located north of the mouth of the Osa River, close to

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<sup>76</sup> BRONSON - UGGERI 1970.

<sup>77</sup> NEGRONI CATACCHIO - CARDOSA - DOLFINI 2017.

<sup>78</sup> On the coastal system in South Etruria see BARBARO 2010; on *Latium Vetus*, between Tiber and Garigliano, see ALESSANDRI 2013, with relevant bibliography.

<sup>79</sup> NEGRONI CATACCHIO - CARDOSA - ROSSI 2019 with previous bibliography.

<sup>80</sup> CIAMPOLTRINI 2019 with previous bibliography.

<sup>81</sup> ARANGUREN - PERAZZI 2000.

<sup>82</sup> BOUND 1991 with previous bibliography.

<sup>83</sup> ZIFFERERO *et al.* 2018 with bibliography.

<sup>84</sup> ZIFFERERO 2019.

<sup>85</sup> DE LAURENZI 2020, pp. 11-12 with bibliography.

<sup>86</sup> CASI 2008.

<sup>87</sup> POGGIANI KELLER - RONDINI 2019 and POGGIANI KELLER 2020 with bibliography.

<sup>88</sup> FEDELI 1993.

the Late Bronze Age site of Puntata di Fonteblanda<sup>89</sup>. In this area, before the mid-6th century BCE, an emporium emerged and survived for over a century, when the terrible consequences following the battle of Cuma and the incursions by Syracuse dramatically affected the area<sup>90</sup>.

At the end of the Bronze Age, in the proximity of the river Ombrone, a series of fortified hill sites emerged. We can mention the site of Poggio di Moscona, overlooking the hills where Rusellae<sup>91</sup> developed in the first millennium BCE, and the site of Monte Leoni, with its fortified hill-top<sup>92</sup>. In addition, the site of Grotta del Fontino<sup>93</sup> has been associated to this series of sites.

Several Final Bronze Age 3 biconical urns discovered within the Early Iron Age necropoleis of Colle Baroncio<sup>94</sup>, Poggio al Belvedere<sup>95</sup> and Poggio alla Guardia<sup>96</sup> testify to the earliest frequentation of the area, where Vetulonia developed during the first millennium BCE. A system of hill-top sites characterized the northern part of the territory of Vetulonia. In particular, Poggio Zenone, Castel di Pietra (Gavorrano) and Buca delle Fate (Caldana, Grosseto) date to the Final Bronze Age<sup>97</sup>. Contemporary settlements have been identified at Podere Torracchia to the west of Montepescali<sup>98</sup> and at Poggio Calvello<sup>99</sup>. A limited number of Final Bronze Age 3 groups of burials have been recognized at Sticciano Scalo<sup>100</sup> and at Poggio alle Vipere di Roccastrada<sup>101</sup>.

The border between the territory of Vetulonia and Populonia has been traditionally located at Puntone di Scarlino, an area with dense archaeological record. In addition to the Late Bronze Age evidence from the Rocca<sup>102</sup>, the majority of the finds comes from the southern part of the Gulf of Follonica. In the proximity of the Portiglione promontory, close to the ancient Lake of Scarlino, a large number of settlements were connected to salt production and lake plant fibers exploitation<sup>103</sup>. This system continues towards the Piombino promontory and the city of Populonia.

<sup>89</sup> CIAMPOLTRINI 1999.

<sup>90</sup> CIAMPOLTRINI 2016 with previous bibliography.

<sup>91</sup> DONATI 2012 with previous bibliography.

<sup>92</sup> CALASTRI - CAVANNA - NANNINI 2015 with previous bibliography.

<sup>93</sup> ZANINI 2018, pp. 743-746.

<sup>94</sup> MORANDI 2013, p. 4, fig. 3; DELPINO 1981, p. 270, note 10 (doubtfully attributable to Late Bronze Age). See also a Nuragic dagger in MILLETTI 2012, p. 110, n. 7, tav. LXXI, 1.

<sup>95</sup> DELPINO 1981, pp. 269-270, tav. LIII b.

<sup>96</sup> DELPINO 1981, pp. 269-270, tav. LIII a.

<sup>97</sup> ZANINI 1994b. On Castel di Pietra, ARANGUREN 2009.

<sup>98</sup> ZANINI 1994b.

<sup>99</sup> ARANGUREN 1985-86.

<sup>100</sup> ZANINI 1994b.

<sup>101</sup> ARANGUREN 2001, p. 500; ZANINI 2012, p. 94.

<sup>102</sup> BARTOLONI - ROSSETTI 1984.

<sup>103</sup> ARANGUREN *et al.* 2014 with previous bibliography.

The landscape between the Cecina River to the north and the Alma Stream to the south has been transformed during time<sup>104</sup>, while still in the 19th century numerous swamps and lagoons occupied this part of the coast<sup>105</sup>. Without considering the prominence of this landscape it is impossible to understand the development of Populonia which appeared as a peninsula located between a northern and a southern lagoon<sup>106</sup>: the Lake of Rimigliano and the Piombino lagoon. Towards the west, the area of the Colline Metallifere consisted of a series of hills and small flat plains and was crossed by a multitude of rivers, that occasionally were forming swamps. Among these rivers, the Cornia River functioned as a middle waterway for the connections from the hinterland to the sea.

Starting from the Final Bronze Age, the exploitation of the lagoon landscape in the district of Populonia followed similar patterns that can be observed elsewhere along the Tyrrhenian coast. Towards San Vincenzo to the north and Follonica<sup>107</sup> to the south, small settlements were located on the dunes<sup>108</sup>, on a tombolo<sup>109</sup> or simply in proximity to the sea<sup>110</sup>. This occupation system has been integrated by several small landings and it has been connected to the hinterland by navigable rivers such as the Pecora and Cornia (or even smaller ones). With a size of 3 hectares, the settlement at Poggio del Molino<sup>111</sup>, in the north-eastern part of the Gulf of Baratti, on top of a small hill (150 m above the sea level) stands out among the other evidence. This settlement, together with the necropolis at Villa del Barone<sup>112</sup>, was connected to one of the estuaries of the Lake of Rimigliano<sup>113</sup>. We have very few information on the inland sites that probably formed a system with the coastal sites. The discovery at Vallin del Mandorlo-S. Carlo of a settlement 5 km from San Vincenzo and

<sup>104</sup> DI PAOLA - PIANI 2012 with previous bibliography.

<sup>105</sup> ISOLA 2006 with previous bibliography. On the ports in the district of Populonia see CAMILLI 2005. On the lagoons in the area of Piombino, although not extensively discussed, see GIROLDINI 2015 and CAPPUCCINI 2015.

<sup>106</sup> FEDELI 1983, pp. 53-62; GALIBERTI 1997. For the most recent landscape analysis in the territory of Populonia see BOTARELLI - CAMBI 2004-2005 with previous bibliography.

<sup>107</sup> FEDELI 1983, pp. 67-76; BARTOLONI - ROSSETTI 1984, pp. 223-230; FEDELI - GALIBERTI - ROMUALDI 1997, pp. 64-75.

<sup>108</sup> For the Riva degli Etruschi (San Vincenzo) and the hoard discovered north-east of Poggio delle Granate see *Livorno* 1997; for Pineta del Casone in the Gulf of Baratti (Piombino) see BARATTI 2010.

<sup>109</sup> On La Torracchia (San Vincenzo) see *Livorno* 1997 with previous bibliography.

<sup>110</sup> On the finds at San Vincenzo and at Poggio del Molino (Piombino), see *Livorno* 1997, with previous bibliography. It is harder to evaluate the occurrence of the impasto fragments from Punta delle Tonnarelle, Baratti and from the north-eastern slopes of Poggio del Castello, see ACCONCIA - MILLETTI - PITZALIS 2004-2005, p. 59, fig. 25. In the Gulf of Follonica, on the site of Torre Mozza (Piombino), see *Livorno* 1997 and most recently DE MARCO - POESINI - GALIBERTI 2015-17.

<sup>111</sup> FEDELI 1983, p. 403, n. 297. Recent surveys suggest much larger dimensions of this settlement (courtesy of F. Biagi, personal communication).

<sup>112</sup> FEDELI 2004-2005 with previous bibliography.

<sup>113</sup> *Livorno* 1997 with previous bibliography.

the coast testify to the role of the Val di Gori for access into the metal district of Campiglia. The discovery of an axis-hammer suggested metal exploitation already since the Eneolithic, which continued until the end of the Bronze Age<sup>114</sup>.

At the beginning of the Early Iron Age, the Late and Final Bronze Age system of small settlements that we have just described was abandoned<sup>115</sup>. This phenomenon appears to be in contrast with what is documented in South Etruria, where lagoon and coastal settlements are attested and flourished at the very beginning of the Early Iron Age<sup>116</sup>, even if under the control of the proto-urban centers. Despite this difference, at this time in the entire Etruria the new rationalization of settlements occurred together with the synoecism of occupation of the hills and plateaus where the Etruscan cities developed.

In the case of Rusellae, it seems that the beginning of the synoecism occurred with a little delay, when compared to the other proto-urban sites. This phenomenon has been considered as the effect of an earlier dependence on Vetulonia<sup>117</sup>, although the proto-urban development of Vetulonia is extremely complicated and not entirely clear in its formation stages<sup>118</sup>. Very few Early Iron Age finds come from the northern and southern hills of Rusellae and the necropolis of Nomadelfia currently offers most of the evidence for this period. This necropolis has been linked to a nearby settlement<sup>119</sup>, although it is located at just 2.5 km from the city walls, and dates to the very beginning of the Early Iron Age<sup>120</sup>. Sporadic burials in the hinterland date to the second half of the 8th century BCE at Casoni del Terzo<sup>121</sup>, at Podere Pistoia in Poggetti Nuovi<sup>122</sup>, at Stertignano<sup>123</sup>, and at Podere Manzinello di Sotto<sup>124</sup>. These limited groups of burials testify to the process of reoccupation of land promoted by the proto-urban centers, documented elsewhere<sup>125</sup>, and should not be read as the surviving of preexisting settlements<sup>126</sup>. The case of Poggio di Moscona, located on the northern slopes of Grascetone is more problematic. At this site, which was occupied in the Bronze Age, Pasqui discovered a small Villanovan necropolis<sup>127</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> FEDELI - GALIBERTI 2016.

<sup>115</sup> BARTOLONI - ROSSETTI 1984, p. 230.

<sup>116</sup> PACCIARELLI 1994, pp. 233-235.

<sup>117</sup> Most recently see MILLETTI 2019 with previous bibliography.

<sup>118</sup> On the town formation COLOMBI 2018, pp. 33-34 with previous bibliography.

<sup>119</sup> BERGONZI 1973.

<sup>120</sup> Roberta Iardella is currently studying this necropolis.

<sup>121</sup> CHELINI - IARDELLA - POGGESI 2015, pp. 384-385, fig. 11 with bibliography.

<sup>122</sup> CHELINI - IARDELLA - POGGESI 2015, pp. 385-386, fig. 12.

<sup>123</sup> *Campagnatico* 2012, pp. 25-27, n. 3.2.

<sup>124</sup> *Campagnatico* 2012, pp. 22-25, n. 3.1.

<sup>125</sup> IAIA - MANDOLESI 2010.

<sup>126</sup> BARTOLONI - BOCCI PACINI 2002, pp. 188-190.

<sup>127</sup> PASQUI 1908.

During the Orientalizing period (especially towards the end of the period) a large amount of data come from the saddle between the northern and southern hills of Rusellae at the Casa del Recinto<sup>128</sup>, and on the northern hill at the Casa dell'Impluvium<sup>129</sup>, as well as from the western slopes<sup>130</sup>. The existence of a belt of Orientalizing necropoleis around the Archaic walls testifies to the extension of the city<sup>131</sup>.

In the case of Vetulonia, the position of the Early Iron Age necropoleis testifies to the formation of a well-defined proto-urban center and corresponds to the perimeter of the lower Hellenistic city walls (probably corresponding to the location of an earlier circuit). The most important burial grounds are at Poggio alla Guardia, Poggio al Bello, Colle Belvedere, and Poggio alle Birbe, to the north-east of the town; Colle Baroncio and the saddle of the Dupiane, to the north-west; and a series of tombs identified on the slopes of the acropolis of Vetulonia at Cestino, Le Piagge and Poggio Campetti marking the southern border of the settlement. Thanks to its dominant location the center of Vetulonia, currently occupied by the medieval village, controlled the surrounding hills and the plain where the ancient Lake Prilis was. The landfill of the lake resulted into its disappearance except for the lagoon of Diaccia Botrona, close to Castiglione della Pescaia. The lagoon offered open ports for traders sailing along the Tyrrhenian coast especially for the transportation of metal coming from the mines of the area of Massa, controlled by Vetulonia. A satellite settlement dependent on Vetulonia has been excavated at the Lake Accesa, located 7 km south of Massa Marittima, dating from the late 9th to the end of the 6th centuries BCE. The Villanovan necropoleis at Fosso di Sodacavalli and Podere del Lago testify to the existence of a system of small settlements on the northern edge of the lake basin. From the Late Orientalizing period onward the hills to the east are occupied and in the Archaic period residential quarters are built (A-E), in connection to the mining areas of Fenice Capanne, Serrabottini and Forni dell'Accesa. In parallel to Populonia, where abundant metal production occurred during the Etruscan and Roman times, through the exploitation of raw material from the Elba Island, at Vetulonia the primary working of the raw material took place close to the mining areas and at a second stage the refined material was transferred towards the coast along the river Bruna, linking directly the Accesa Lake with the edge of the Prilis Lake. In this perspective the settlement of Accesa functioned as a hub of this system, under the direct control of Vetulonia that organized a pattern of satellite settlements located at focal points to exploit the resources of the hinterland.

Moving to the synoecism of Populonia, if compared to Stoddart's reconstruction (pp. 154-158), that is mainly based on the outdated monograph by Fabio Fedeli<sup>132</sup>, it

<sup>128</sup> BARTOLONI - BOCCI PACINI 2002, pp. 193-202 with previous bibliography.

<sup>129</sup> DONATI 1998 with bibliography; for the hut underneath the Casa dell'Impluvium, see DONATI 2013.

<sup>130</sup> CANOCCHI 1980.

<sup>131</sup> POGGESI - CYGIELMAN 2013 with previous bibliography; see also CAMPANA 2017.

<sup>132</sup> FEDELI 1983.

is now clear that the unity of the proto-urban center resulted from the above-mentioned centripetal merging of the Late Bronze Age settlements<sup>133</sup>. During the Early Iron Age, the proto-urban center occupied Poggio del Castello and Poggio del Telegrafo and extended towards Poggio della Guardiola, descending into the Baratti Gulf<sup>134</sup>. At the beginning of the Orientalizing period, a metal hoard was deposited at Falda della Guardiola (close to the lower gate), thus probably representing a foundation ritual<sup>135</sup> marking the restructuring of the defensive city walls, in the form that the town will maintain until the Romanization. Sporadic and residual Orientalizing finds come from the saddle between Poggio del Telegrafo and Poggio del Castello<sup>136</sup> and from their slopes: evidence from Casa dei Semi, from Casaccia<sup>137</sup> and from Casa del Pescatore close to Baratti<sup>138</sup>.

Following a pattern that is observed in the rest of Etruria, at the passage between the 8th and the 7th centuries BCE, the redefinition of social balances took place in Populonia with the emergence of new leadership. On top of Poggio del Telegrafo an aristocratic residence was built. The discovery of a hundred cups inside one of the post-holes testifies to a ritual of refoundation that occurred during one of the restructuring phases and probably marked a change into the aristocratic control of the town<sup>139</sup>. The presence of a second aristocratic building on the northern side of the hill-top, overlooking the gulf suggests a dense occupation of the hill and its leading role in the urban landscape<sup>140</sup>. During the 7th century BCE, the power of this center allowed for the creation of a dense network of settlements in the territory that can be easily read in the plain of Piombino<sup>141</sup>. It is harder to define the occupation of the northern territory, although the small necropolis of Podere San Dazio, located in the hinterland of San Vincenzo, together with the sporadic evidence at Cafaggio in Campiglia Marittima and Forni at Suvereto suggests the existence of a network of sites controlling the mines of Campiglia, similarly to the Bronze Age<sup>142</sup>. During the Late Orientalizing period the system of fortifications promoted by Populonia took place at the same time in which on the acropolis of Poggio del Telegrafo we observe a deep rupture in the sequence of habitation. Further investigations are needed to clarify the urban development of the town during the Archaic period, and especially of the 6 meters wide *diateichisma* visible from the aerial photos. The military func-

<sup>133</sup> PACCIARELLI 2001.

<sup>134</sup> MILLETTI 2015, with bibliography; BIAGI - MILLETTI 2017.

<sup>135</sup> On this hoard see LO SCHIAVO - MILLETTI 2011 with bibliography.

<sup>136</sup> ROMUALDI 1994-95, pp. 333-335.

<sup>137</sup> CAMILLI - BARATTI - MEGALE 2017. On the architectural terracottas see BACCI 2019.

<sup>138</sup> See below.

<sup>139</sup> BARTOLONI - ACCONCIA 2007.

<sup>140</sup> ACCONCIA *et al.* 2004-2005, 2006.

<sup>141</sup> GIROLDINI 2015.

<sup>142</sup> BIAGI - CAMILLI - MILLETTI 2020.

tion prevails for the defense of the lower part of the town of Populonia, that could have easily been attacked from the sea both from the east and the west<sup>143</sup>. It has been suggested elsewhere that *diateichismata* marked the distinction between town quarters and especially in harbor towns they separate the port from the rest of the town<sup>144</sup>. In the case of Populonia the presence of a *diateichisma* probably separated two areas, both characterized by distinct harbors, based on the presence of the main harbor close to the lagoon at Poggio dell'Agnello<sup>145</sup>.

This brief synthesis points out to the complexity of the archaeological record in northern Tyrrhenian Etruria that can be only partially compared to what we observe in inland Etruria.

[M. M.]

### *Inland Etruria: Orvieto, Chiusi, Cortona and Arezzo*

Current archaeological studies of the geo-political balances in inland Etruria are bridging the gap with other areas (especially South Etruria and Etruria Padana) in terms of understanding the development of the proto-urban and urban city states<sup>146</sup>. It is well-known how different schools – mainly Florence vs Rome – have been narrating this archaeological landscape; this resulted in a fragmentary picture of inland Etruria, partially echoed by Stoddart's narrative, that on this matter does not move beyond the limits of traditional scholarship.

Along the ancient river *Clanis*, Orvieto, Chiusi, Cortona and Arezzo share definitely more similarities than what has been suggested by Stoddart. In fact, it is important to stress that, compared to the other regions discussed in this overview, this part of Etruria corresponds to the only area with no direct access to the sea, thus apparently not directly in relation with the vibrant Mediterranean interconnections that characterize coastal Etruria. Nevertheless, because of the major waterway(s) and of the powerful natural resources, this region plays a fundamental role in the dynamics of the first millennium BCE. When compared to other areas discussed by Stoddart in his monograph, the bibliography of these districts is apparently more updated, possibly linked to familiarity with the South Umbrian area, thanks to years of important research and excavations<sup>147</sup>. This is particularly evident in the numerous references to Perugia. Nevertheless, despite the continuous occurrences of Orvieto in Stoddart's

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<sup>143</sup> The function of *diateichismata* is discussed by SOKOLICEK 2009, with previous bibliography.

<sup>144</sup> BIAGI - CAMILLI - MILLETTI 2020.

<sup>145</sup> CAMILLI 2005.

<sup>146</sup> The beginning of this process in the territories between Chiusi and Vulci is discussed in fundamental studies by V. Acconcia (ACCONCIA 2012).

<sup>147</sup> In this respect Stoddart's volume adds a significant synthesis of the research carried out over years at this liminal part of ancient Etruria and provides a useful tool, especially for those who approach the subject for the first time.

volume, it is surprising to see how little of the current published studies on the proto-urban center has reached Stoddart's attention, both from the center and from its district<sup>148</sup>. For instance, despite the emphasis on the role of Umbria in dialogue with Etruria, there is no echo of all the current studies that have demonstrated how the phenomenon of having an Early Iron Age proto-urban center in Terni cannot be read without the leading role of Orvieto on the other bank of the Tiber along the Paglia in a combined reaction system to the Etruscan proto-state formation<sup>149</sup>. The large debate between the vertical continuity of sites between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age suggested primarily by Giovanni Colonna<sup>150</sup> and promoted most recently by Pietro Tamburini<sup>151</sup>, does not cancel the historical novelty of the emergence of proto-urban Orvieto at the beginning of the Early Iron Age, promoting the gradual control of its territory, especially starting from the 8th century BCE.

Specifically for the case of Chiusi, the description by Stoddart of a multifocal nucleation of population does not take into account the large amount of data that, starting from the Final Bronze Age and especially into the Early Iron Age, testifies especially to a consistent proto-state formation. Multiple studies<sup>152</sup> have revealed that at the end of the Final Bronze Age the inhabited nuclei around Chiusi, gravitating on the landmark of the Cetona Mountain<sup>153</sup>, attracted the entire system of villages that from the banks of the Lake Trasimeno to the river Ombrone suddenly disappeared, merging into the proto-urban center of Chiusi<sup>154</sup>. Both on top of the main hills of Chiusi (Monteverene, Monte San Paolo, and I Forti<sup>155</sup>) and in the valleys, the Early Iron Age proto-urban center of Chiusi reached almost 200 hectares (and definitely not 50 ha as is stated by Stoddart in p. 113), thus suggesting no difference when compared to most of the cases in South Etruria. The belt of necropoleis is yet to be fully understood, but we should expect continuity rather than separation between the

<sup>148</sup> For instance, see IAIA - PACCIARELLI 2012.

<sup>149</sup> Most recently DI GENNARO - BETTELLI - DI RENZONI 2022.

<sup>150</sup> COLONNA 1973.

<sup>151</sup> This theoretical model that derived from a deep understanding of the archaeological record of this region was firstly suggested by TAMBURINI 1990.

<sup>152</sup> It is especially thanks to the work of Maria Teresa Cuda, Alessandra Minetti and Giulio Paolucci that the fundamental process of 'unlocking' this territory, along with its archives and museum collections, is happening, that was stagnant for ages and often read into a provincial perspective (see RASTRELLI 2002 for instance). The three directors of the local museums have contributed more than anybody else in creating a vibrant local school of scholars to whom we owe much of our understanding of the territory of Chiusi.

<sup>153</sup> On the "Chiusi-Cetona" Late Bronze Age phase see ZANINI 1994a. Most recently see BETTINI 2021; TABOLLI 2021, pp. 34-36, with the relevant problem of not taking into account the material culture from the Tyrrhenian coast of Tuscany.

<sup>154</sup> The evidence points to a synoecism even stronger than what Pacciarelli (2001) suggested, especially when we look at the district west of the Mountain of Cetona, along the Orcia and Ombrone Valleys; see for instance TABOLLI 2021.

<sup>155</sup> Most recently BETTINI 2021.

well-known nuclei of Pilella, Poggio Renzo (and Volpaio), San Bartolomeo, Stazione, and Fornace Marcianella<sup>156</sup>. In addition, evidence from the necropoleis of Poggi Gialli<sup>157</sup>, Tolle<sup>158</sup>, Solaia, Macchia Piana and Sferracavalli<sup>159</sup>, Cancelli<sup>160</sup> and Poggio Cavaliere<sup>161</sup> demonstrates the consistent strategy operated by early Chiusi in delimitating the first *spura* with significant Early Iron Age necropoleis, while controlling the major natural passages (across the *Clanis* and the Mountain ridge of Cetona). These funerary nuclei definitely do not correspond to individual small settlements<sup>162</sup>. In this perspective it is striking to observe Stoddart's insistence in the absence of a leading role of Chiusi as "primary centre". Most recently, the leading role of Chiusi became even clearer in the recently published (2021) volume by Maria Chiara Bettini *Chiusi villanoviana* that has brought to light a significant amount of data from Chiusi that confirms the power of the dawn of Chiusi, especially in terms of material culture<sup>163</sup>.

The reoccupation of the land of Chiusi, following the well-known "pattern of memory"<sup>164</sup> evident in South Etruria, resulted in the second half of the 8th century BCE in the capillary control of the valleys of Chiana, Orcia, Paglia and Ombrone, while the system of major aristocratic residences across the Ombrone (such as Poggio Civitate at Murlo, Siena, Piano Tondo at Castelnuovo Berardenga and Poggio Castiglioni at Ambra<sup>165</sup>) should be understood as an osmotic frontier towards Volterra and the north, but politically originating and depending on Chiusi. In this perspective the 'dialogue' built by Stoddart between the narratives of Chiusi vs Murlo is based on the misconception of a duality between centers, while without Chiusi it would not be possible even to think of the existence of Murlo (as already Bianchi Bandinelli noted back in 1929)<sup>166</sup>. In this view, reading the western part of the territory of Chiusi as part of a 'buffer zone' (see for instance fig. 8.2) dismisses

<sup>156</sup> On Poggio Renzo see *Chiusi* 2015, pp. 158-160 and BETTINI 2021. Concerning Fornace Marcianella and Chiusi Stazione see BETTINI 2021.

<sup>157</sup> PAOLUCCI 1996, pp. 39-45; MINETTI 2004, p. 358; PAOLUCCI 2019, p. 162; TABOLLI 2021; TABOLLI - BISCHERI 2021.

<sup>158</sup> BALDUCCI - PAOLUCCI - LO SCHIAVO 2012, pp. 520-522. See also PAOLUCCI 2000, pp. 219-248 and PAOLUCCI 2015; PAOLUCCI 2018, pp. 421-449; MINETTI 2004, p. 536; PAOLUCCI 2007, p. 203; ACCONCIA 2012, pp. 170-171; PAOLUCCI 2019; TABOLLI 2021, p. 37.

<sup>159</sup> MINETTI 2004, pp. 536-537. See most recently TABOLLI 2021, with previous bibliography.

<sup>160</sup> PAOLUCCI 2020; TABOLLI 2021, pp. 37-38.

<sup>161</sup> PAOLUCCI 2020; TABOLLI 2021, pp. 37-38.

<sup>162</sup> This was the main theory still in MINETTI 2004.

<sup>163</sup> BETTINI 2021.

<sup>164</sup> The definition of this phenomenon is in DI GENNARO 1982.

<sup>165</sup> On the aristocratic residences depending politically on Chiusi see most recently SALVI - TABOLLI 2020.

<sup>166</sup> It is interesting to compare Stoddart's analyses on Murlo with the recent synthesis on this site by A. Tuck (2021). See TUCK 2021 for the complete bibliography on Poggio Civitate.

the entirety of material culture and funerary ideology evidence of the southern part of the province of Siena that consistently demonstrates its direct political dependence on Chiusi.

Moving farther to the north, in the case of Cortona, especially the excavation of the tomb-groups of Sodo (entirely absent from Stoddart's narrative) has brought to light the prominent characters of the Orientalizing Cortona<sup>167</sup>, thus suggesting that further research on the field will necessarily add significant evidence to an Early Iron Age proto-urban development<sup>168</sup>. Moreover, the absence of Arezzo in Stoddart's analysis is certainly striking. Defining the urbanization of Arezzo as «a late development that cannot be readily established before the 5th century, in terms of the internal organisation of the centre, or its impact on the territory» does not take into account the complexity of the data. Although the reading of proto- and urban evolution of Arezzo is one of the most important challenges that we will face in the archaeology of pre-Roman Italy, the presence of few but significant data around the medieval town (listed already by A. ChERICI<sup>169</sup>) testifies to an early development of the center.

[J. T.]

### *Etruscan Campania (fig. 3)*

Stoddart sees the Etruscan presence in Campania as resulting from a process of colonization that took place «after the sixth century» and concerned in a parallel fashion also the Po Valley (p. 218): this quite decisive claim does not take into account archaeological evidence and studies that have contributed to a description of the historical dimension and the nature of the 'Etruscaness' of the Campanian region.

When describing a dominant Etruscan presence in most of the region, the historical sources refer to the Archaic period. However, as we will see later on, this political control did not emerge from colonial expansion (the so-called "second colonization"), but from choices of an ideological and political nature made by the local communities, which led to emphasis of the Etruscan paradigm during the phase of urban consolidation. On the other hand, Etruscan characteristics in some areas of the region date back to a chronological horizon earlier than the 6th c. BCE. This is suggested, for example, by the epigraphic evidence, which documents the use of Etruscan writing in the 7th century in Pontecagnano and the adoption in the Campanian Plain of forms of writing derived from those used in southern Etruria no later than the first half of the 6th century<sup>170</sup>.

<sup>167</sup> See for instance FEDELI 2015; SALVI - TURCHETTI 2015.

<sup>168</sup> See SALVI 2019, with previous bibliography.

<sup>169</sup> CHERICI 2009, p. 151, with previous bibliography.

<sup>170</sup> PELLEGRINO 2017.

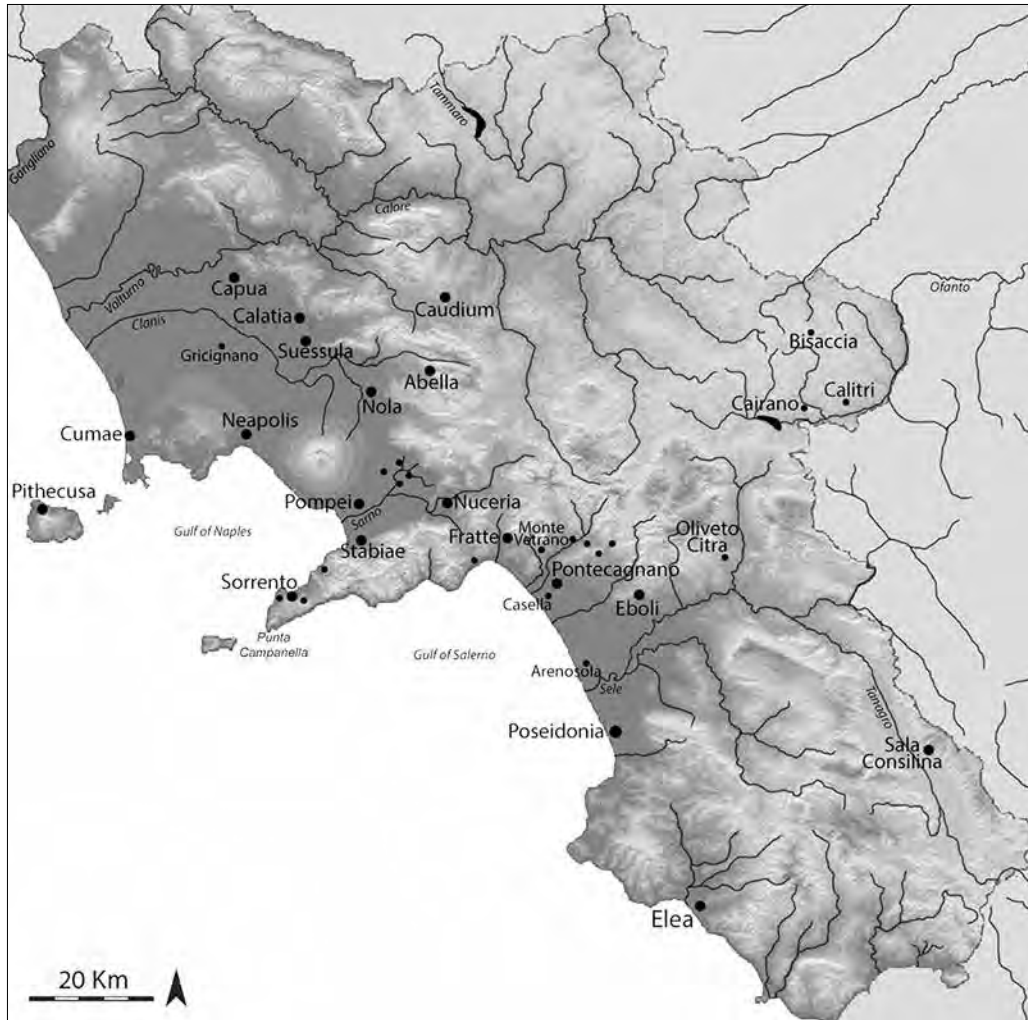


fig. 3 - Etruria Campana.

The origins of the Etruscan component in Campania are to be sought in the ‘Villanovan’ experience that characterized the settlement of the main plains in the region in the Early Iron Age. Research in recent decades has allowed scholars to overcome R. Peroni’s perplexity regarding the ethno-cultural significance of the Villanovan culture in Campania<sup>171</sup>. This may be correlated with the movement of groups from southern Etruria in the phase of formation of the cultural *facies* and in the context of reorganization of settlement patterns that distinguishes it between the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age. In the Campanian Plain (Capua), in the Picentino Valley (Pontecagnano) and in the Vallo di Diano

<sup>171</sup> PERONI 1994.

(Sala Consilina) the Villanovan groups would appear to have been a leading force in the process of renovation of the settlement system that also involved the other components of the population. This reorganization marks the start of a process of urban structuring, which followed a trajectory similar to that found in many areas occupied in the historical era by the Etruscans, with some specific features linked to the fact that the region was a frontier and to more immediate interaction with the Greek settlements on the coast. This process took place over a long period and was marked by ruptures and sudden transformations that were visible in the organization of the inhabited areas and territorial systems: these changes were the reflection of choices of a political nature, resulting from social interactions within the settlements and contact with the external realities. In Campania, as in a large part of Etruria and in the Po area, the archaeological record now permits greater understanding of these dynamics, which instead remain in the background in Stoddart's volume.

Regarding the initial phase of the process, evidence acquired in recent decades would appear to date the first appearances of the material culture that characterized Campania in the Early Iron Age (Fossa-Kultur and Villanovan) to the final phase of the Bronze Age<sup>172</sup>. These finds have made it necessary to reflect more deeply on the nature of the cultural *facies* documented in the region at the beginning of the Iron Age. The most satisfying interpretation would appear to be that proposed by B. d'Agostino with regard to the 'Villanovan', connected to «the arrival of groups from the coast of southern Etruria in an advanced period of the Final Bronze Age [...] These groups chose sites that were particularly favorable to the production of primary resources and trade, and acted as a 'binding element', stimulating the growth of the local communities» [my translation]<sup>173</sup>. The widespread distribution of the 'Villanovan' features is coherent with this interpretation, as they are also found in sites that did not have a later Etruscan development, such as that of Longola in the Sarno Valley and the very same Sala Consilina. The influence of the Fossa-Kultur in the formation of the pottery assemblage of the Villanovan settlements and the mobility and attraction in both senses are also in agreement with d'Agostino's interpretation.

As in Etruria, the Villanovan centers of Campania are characterized by a high level of political and cultural cohesion, which leads to the extension of the settlements and the territory under their control. Evidence pertaining to the inhabited area is yet scarce. In Pontecagnano, and perhaps Sala Consilina, the distribution of the necropoleis would suggest a model analogous to the towns of southern Etruria<sup>174</sup>:

<sup>172</sup> For the Fossa-Kultur the reader is referred to BIETTI SESTIERI 2010, pp. 301-303 and GASTALDI 2018, pp. 185-189. A proto-Villanovan phase, perhaps preceding that already registered in the Capua area (MELANDRI 2012, pp. 486-493, with bibliography), is documented by the group of tombs in Casamarciano near Nola: D'AGOSTINO 2011, p. 71, with bibliography.

<sup>173</sup> D'AGOSTINO 2011, p. 71.

<sup>174</sup> For Pontecagnano: PELLEGRINO - ROSSI 2011, pp. 209-210. For the possible localization of the inhabited area of Sala Consilina see RUBY 1995, pp. 30-38, and the debate between the current author and A. Guidi in RENDELI 2015, pp. 214-215.

a large central inhabited area, in a place that is slightly higher than the surrounding land and is defined at the sides by lowlands and streams. In the case of Pontecagnano it is flanked by a minor settlement in the locality of Pagliarone, which is recorded as being on a terrace that allows surveillance of the coastal lagoon and the relative docking points<sup>175</sup>. At Capua G. Melandri hypothesizes for the Early Iron Age a settlement system with distinct nuclei, each with its own necropolis, comparable, for example, with that of Bologna<sup>176</sup>. The question of the possible hierarchy between the various settlements remains open: the expansion of the Fornaci necropolis suggests that at least at the beginning of the 8th century the settlement that lay in the historical part of the town had taken on a pre-eminent role.

In the middle of the 8th century the settlement of the Greeks on the island of Ischia (Pithecura) and at Cumae determined the development of a new system of relations, apropos of which L. Cerchiai has mentioned the notion of Middle Ground, proposed by R. White for the Great Lakes region, and already adopted by I. Malkin to the context of archaic Campania<sup>177</sup>. The Greek coastal settlements, placed within the network of Mediterranean trade, became the fulcrum at a regional level of a complex system of exchanges, which included the local components, encouraged mobility, and determined changes also in the territorial framework. New settlements were born in the Campanian Plain (Gricignano) and in the Picentino Valley (Monte Vetrano, Casella, Arenosola), in crucial points for the routes of communication, along the coasts or the rivers that penetrated towards the interior. Their position, together with the imported materials found in the necropoleis, demonstrates how their creation is useful for the exploitation of opportunities offered by the trade system that grew around the Greek settlements<sup>178</sup>.

In light of this, it is necessary to expand our knowledge of the relationship between the new settlements and the Villanovan centers, which dominated the plains and were an integral part of this system of relations. The settlement of Gricignano, 10 km south of Capua, to the left bank of the *Clanis* and linked to a river route in connection with *Literna Palus*, would seem to have resulted from the reorganization of the population from the southern sector of the Campanian Plain rather than being a projection of the Villanovan center. However, we should keep in mind that the specific ethno-cultural features are far from distinct<sup>179</sup>.

Casella and Monte Vetrano are only 2 km from Pontecagnano, but they appear to have quite different features<sup>180</sup>. Casella kept watch over the landing places of Lago

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<sup>175</sup> For Pagliarone: GASTALDI 1998; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2001, pp. 89-91, 122-123.

<sup>176</sup> MELANDRI 2012.

<sup>177</sup> CERCHIAI 2017; WHITE 2010; MALKIN 2017, pp. 16-22, with further bibliography.

<sup>178</sup> Recent overview, with bibliography, in PELLEGRINO - RIZZO - GRIMALDI 2021.

<sup>179</sup> For the site see: LAFORGIA 2007, pp. 50-53; DE CARO 2011; GRECO 2014, pp. 76-78.

<sup>180</sup> The necropolis of Casella is published in CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2001. For the contexts of Monte Vetrano: CAMPANELLI 2011, pp. 148-195; CERCHIAI *et al.* 2012-13. For a recent overview and further bibliography see: PELLEGRINO - RIZZO - GRIMALDI 2021, pp. 207-213.

Piccolo on behalf of Pontecagnano, substituting Pagliarone. Monte Vetrano, on the other bank of the Picentino River, guarding the access points to the plain, seems to have become a sort of attraction point for the indigenous people who lived along the Apennine ridge and were drawn to the coast by the development of maritime trade: it was probably in competition with Pontecagnano and its port on Lago Piccolo. The function of Arenosola, on the coastal lagoon of Lago Grande, is less clear. It may have had relations with Eboli, a settlement at the mouth of the Sele Valley, which flourished in the Late Bronze Age, but its later phases are little known<sup>181</sup>. To the contrary of Monte Vetrano and Casella, the site of Arenosola continued to be inhabited throughout the 7th century, constituting one of the small settlements in which the people of the southern coastal strip of the Gulf of Salerno were settled, a phenomenon observed also to the south of the Sele until the foundation of Poseidonia at the beginning of the 6th century<sup>182</sup>.

The lively activity and trading with the outside world determined an acceleration of social dynamics in the Villanovan centers, provoking a crisis in the organization of the communities leading to the great transformations that marked the onset of the Orientalizing phase<sup>183</sup>. On a territorial level this change is marked by the decline of the settlements that had developed in the third quarter of the century in relation to coastal trading. In the Campanian Plain the end of the Middle Ground system corresponds with the colonial foundation of Cumae and the abandoning of the settlement of Gricignano: the indigenous population settled in a more inland position, in the centers of Calatia, Suessula and Nola<sup>184</sup>.

In the Picentino Valley the sudden desertion of Casella and Monte Vetrano seems to be connected to the radical reorganization of Pontecagnano. The most obvious sign of the restructuring is the abandoning of the necropoleis of the Early Iron Age, which were substituted by new burial areas placed closer to the inhabited area<sup>185</sup>. In the latter there was a space that was always left free of buildings, identified as the “town square”<sup>186</sup>.

The social and political debate underlying the reorganization of the settlements has left traces in the necropoleis, that reveal a growing emphasis on the role of the

<sup>181</sup> For Arenosola: CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2001, pp. 91-94. For Eboli: CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2001, pp. 112-115 and DI MICHELE 2008.

<sup>182</sup> CIPRIANI - PONTRANDOLFO 2012.

<sup>183</sup> For the final phase of the Early Iron Age in Pontecagnano see D'AGOSTINO - GASTALDI 2012, 2016.

<sup>184</sup> The violent act of acquisition, evoked by the oracle narrated by Phlegon of Tralles (*FGrHist* 257 F 36 X, 53-56) probably refers to the colonial foundation of Cumae. For the archaeological documentation, which testifies to the construction of the first houses with stone foundations and the first establishment of a road network, also with reclamation works, see GRECO 2014, pp. 66-67; D'ACUNTO 2017, p. 300. For the indigenous settlements, see PELLEGRINO 2021a, pp. 262-264, with bibliography.

<sup>185</sup> PELLEGRINO 2021a, pp. 256-262, with bibliography.

<sup>186</sup> PELLEGRINO - ROSSI 2011, pp. 211-212.

nuclear family – which can be recognized on the basis of the spatial organization of the burials and the inclusion of infants in the practice of formal burial – the more complex stratification, and the integration of Italic components that, while present in the preceding phase in Monte Vetrano, now became a fundamental part of the community<sup>187</sup>.

The creation of a new system of funerary representation, divided at the community level and markedly different from that of the final phase of the Early Iron Age, is the reflection of an ideological shift that accompanied the reorganization of the settlement. This construction also sees an emphasis being placed on ‘Etruscaness’, represented in an emblematic manner by the family name Rasunie, reminiscent of the autonomy of the Etruscans, probably belonging to the powerful family of the princely tombs 926-928. It is perhaps no mere coincidence that the family was buried at the foot of the public area of the town<sup>188</sup>.

Transformations on a similar scale also seem to have taken place in the last half of the 8th century in the other Villanovan centers in the region. The results were, however, varied.

In Capua the town was located in an area that was to remain an urban center for millennia to come. This is testified by the abandoning of the more distant burial grounds and the development of those closer to the town<sup>189</sup>. The abandonment of several funerary complexes that emerged in the final phase of the Early Iron Age and the renewal of the system of funerary representation recalls analogous processes to those seen in Pontecagnano, even though the scarcity of the documentation – only a few dozen tombs – does not allow further analysis.

At Sala Consilina the end of the Early Iron Age is characterized by the abandoning of one of the necropoleis and the change in the typologies of the tomb-groups assemblages present in the tombs, so much so that it was thought that a brief phase of desertion was followed by reoccupation by the Oenotrians<sup>190</sup>. In reality, the emergence of the Oenotrian characteristics in the settlement is the result of an ideological shift that affirmed a renewed identity, in this case, the opposite of the ‘Villanovan’ past<sup>191</sup>. From this moment onwards Sala Consilina was integrated into the Oenotrian world and was excluded from the urban developments that instead characterized coastal Campania.

Throughout the 6th century the region was involved in a process of urbanization<sup>192</sup>. The building of the sanctuaries, which defined sacredness in the communi-

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<sup>187</sup> CUOZZO 2003; CUOZZO - PELLEGRINO 2019; PELLEGRINO 2021a, pp. 259-262; PELLEGRINO 2021b, pp. 456-460; PELLEGRINO - RIZZO - GRIMALDI 2021, with further bibliography.

<sup>188</sup> For the context of the inscription see PELLEGRINO 2016, pp. 50-54, with bibliography.

<sup>189</sup> MELANDRI 2012, with discussion in PELLEGRINO 2021a, pp. 264-272.

<sup>190</sup> RUBY 1995, pp. 148-180.

<sup>191</sup> PELLEGRINO 2021a, pp. 276-277 with bibliography.

<sup>192</sup> CERCHIAI 1995, pp. 99-177; CERCHIAI 2010, pp. 55-92.

ty, is dated to the first decades of the 6th century. The Siepone quarter in Capua is dated to the same phase. This had stone-walled houses built along the street organized according to a regular plan, superimposed on the previous village of huts<sup>193</sup>; at Pontecagnano the building of a sanctuary of Apollo in the square of the town is realized in the context of a large-scale project of organization of the public space<sup>194</sup>.

The success of the urban model also led to the foundation of new towns. In the first decades of the 6th century in the Sarno Valley, Nuceria and Pompeii gathered population that had up to then lived in villages. The settlement of Fratte, probably the Etruscan *Marcina*<sup>195</sup>, lay in the northern corner of the Gulf of Salerno, in a position that allowed it to control the route that linked northern Campania with the plain of Paestum, and at the same time, constituted a reference point for coastal trade, in a system that included a series of settlements and landing places on the coast of the Sorrento Peninsula.

We are not willing to deny phenomena of mobility in Etruria that can be theorized based on specialized production of bucchero and Etrusco-Corinthian pottery as well as based on the names mentioned in Etruscan inscriptions<sup>196</sup>. Nevertheless, these can be considered as epiphenomena of the endogenous process of ‘becoming Etruscan’ and need to be read within the wider Archaic mobility and interactions between Campania and Etruria<sup>197</sup>.

The consolidation of the urban areas throughout the 6th century took place within the regional context characterized by an ever-greater influence of the Etruscan culture. The wave of ‘Etruscanization’ that washed over the plains facing the gulfs of Naples and Salerno, leaving untouched only the Greek *poleis*, did not derive from conquest or colonization on the part of the cities of Etruria, as Stoddart claims. To the contrary it defined an ideological and political framework within which the urban development took place, even in the zones which had no Villanovan tradition whatsoever, such as the Sarno Valley and the Sorrentine Peninsula<sup>198</sup>.

At an archaeological level the clearest sign of the Etruscan cultural hegemony in the region is the spread of the typical bucchero pottery and, above all, Etruscan writing. The inscriptions are concentrated in the decades just before and after the

<sup>193</sup> MINOJA 2011; MINOJA 2012, pp. 474-475; REGIS 2011.

<sup>194</sup> MASSANOVA 2016-17.

<sup>195</sup> STRAB. V 4, 13. For the identification of *Marcina* with Fratte, see for example, E. GRECO, in *Atti Salerno* 1984, p. 266; the alternative identification with Vietri sul Mare, proposed in D’AGOSTINO 1968, has more recently been revisited by DE MAGISTRIS 2012, in which the reader can find extensive bibliography. Still fundamental to the understanding of the site is GRECO - PONTRANDOLFO 1990, along with PONTRANDOLFO 2009 and PONTRANDOLFO - SANTORIELLO 2011.

<sup>196</sup> CERCHIAI 1995, pp. 111-114, 167-168; CERCHIAI 2010, p. 60.

<sup>197</sup> In this context see the inscriptions at the sanctuary of Fondo Iozzino at Pompei, attesting the presence in this shrine of families coming from central and southern Etruria and Latium which do not appear elsewhere in this region: OSANNA - PELLEGRINO 2017; AMPOLO 2021.

<sup>198</sup> CERCHIAI 2008.

start of the 6th century, qualifying the epigraphic practices as being an expression of the historical and social context in the Late Archaic town<sup>199</sup>. The few examples of epigraphic evidence in epichoric language and writing are expressions of resistance against the Etruscan political control, in a debate in which the ethno-cultural clashes are interrelated with those of a social and political nature, both within the individual communities and in the relations between different towns<sup>200</sup>. The Greek *poleis* would also have been part of this system, as they were linked to the Etruscan cities by way of institutional relations and forms of personal solidarity. An emblematic testimony to these relations, which took on positions that changed over time according to the internal dynamics of the single towns, may be seen in the temple architecture of Pompeii<sup>201</sup>: in the Late Archaic period the temple of Apollo, which was located in the public area, bore terracotta architectural elements made by artisans from Cumae; the temple of Athena in the triangular Forum, which faced the port, was a *peripteros* of the Greek type: the terracotta architectural elements were made in a local workshop with stimuli from the Achaean environment of Poseidonia.

The economic transformations within the Archaic town determined the development of new social groups, which animated social and political debate, promoting further restructuring of the settlements in the Late Archaic period. At Pontecagnano the transformations that occurred at the beginning of the 5th century turned out to be a sort of a re-foundation of the town<sup>202</sup>: the limits of the urban areas were redefined following the precepts of the *Etrusca disciplina* and the fortification walls were built; the town, part of which saw large-scale reclamation works, was organized on a regular *per strigas* plan, with building blocks that hosted two rows of houses; the farming land closest to the town was divided by a regular network of roads<sup>203</sup>. Similar restructuring was noted at Fratte<sup>204</sup>; on a more general note this phase of re-structuring is clear in the sanctuaries, where the construction or renewal of the temple buildings is clearly visible.

The Etruscan cities of Campania were therefore participants in processes that were shared in the most advanced areas of the central Tyrrhenian part of Italy, such as Etruria and Rome. In Campania, the closest reference point is Aristodemus of Cumae, the tyrant who based his power on being favored by the lower classes and consolidated it by way of a vast program of public commissions<sup>205</sup>. In Archaic

<sup>199</sup> PELLEGRINO 2017.

<sup>200</sup> See, for example, the epigraphic evidence in the “alfabeto nucerino” in RUSSO 2005 and RUSSO - SENATORE 2010, pp. 25-101. For the complexity of the linguistic situation of the region, see the most recently POCETTI 2018.

<sup>201</sup> OSANNA - RESCIGNO 2018, pp. 184-188, with bibliography.

<sup>202</sup> CERCHIAI 2008, pp. 404-407.

<sup>203</sup> PELLEGRINO - ROSSI 2011, pp. 214-218; PELLEGRINO - ROSSI 2020.

<sup>204</sup> CERCHIAI 2008, pp. 407-408.

<sup>205</sup> MELE 2014, pp. 89-135. For the archaeological evidence on Aristodemus' Cumae see D'ACUNTO 2015.

Campania, what truly counted was not so much ethnic, but rather, social divisions. The latter involved relations of solidarity between political groups in different towns. The documents relating to Aristodemus are emblematic also from this point of view: the aristocrats of Cumae who survived the tyrant's seizure of power sought refuge amongst the nobility of Etruscan Capua; similarly, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, a king with tyrannical inclinations, after being banished from Rome by the Republican oligarchy, was welcomed by Aristodemus.

The system of the Archaic town underwent a crisis after the first decades of the 5th century, as it was overwhelmed by social clashes within the individual communities. These were exacerbated by the radical nature of the processes and certain crucial historical events, such as the foundation of Neapolis, the fall of Aristodemus of Cumae (485/484 BCE), and the defeat of the Etruscans in the sea facing Cumae in 474 BCE<sup>206</sup>.

At Capua the banishment of the aristocracy produced a renewal of the institutions, registered by the Catonian tradition about the foundation of the town in 471 BCE<sup>207</sup>. In this case the paradigm of 'Etruscaness', which refers to the valorization of the Etruscan place name *Volturnum*, was used to justify a select dominating class, which refused openness and integration in the Late Archaic town<sup>208</sup>. This approach turned out to be pointless. The lower classes gathered, self-designating themselves in an ethnic sense as being "Campanians", with an operation that Diodorus Siculus records as taking place precisely in 438 BCE<sup>209</sup>.

[C. P.]

As we have tried to summarize, the numerous ongoing research projects in Italy, with excavations and surveys, and within archives and libraries, are continuing. In many different occasions, such as workshops and conferences, the debate between different scholars and research traditions is vibrant and alive. Through this continuous dialogue, the disciplines in Italian archaeology are constantly progressing, revealing how models of the past have been overcome. Among the authors of this short contribution significant differences exist; nevertheless, we have decided to present them here as a comprehensive response to the stimuli provided by Simon Stoddart's volume. In this perspective it is important to stress the importance of the work of foreign schools and scholars, that despite the difficult years we are facing, constitute a fundamental boost to the archaeology of ancient Italy. We truly hope, after the end

<sup>206</sup> PELLEGRINO 2020.

<sup>207</sup> CATO, *orig.* 69 (III F 1 Chassignet).

<sup>208</sup> CERCHIAI 2008, pp. 409-411; *contra* MINOJA 2012, pp. 475-478, who links the toponym *Volturnum* with the urban restructuring of the town marked by the establishment of the Siepone area at the beginning of the 6th c. BCE.

<sup>209</sup> DIOD. XII 31, 1.

of the pandemic, to intensify once again the interaction between Italian and foreign scholars, because we truly believe that for the sake of the long tradition of ‘two parallel literatures’ *time went by* and we need to look forward together.

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STEFANO SANTOCCHINI GERG - JACOPO TABOLLI

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## MAPS

Fig. 1: S. Santocchini Gerg; Fig. 2: M. Milletti, J. Tabolli; Fig. 3: C. Pellegrino.