

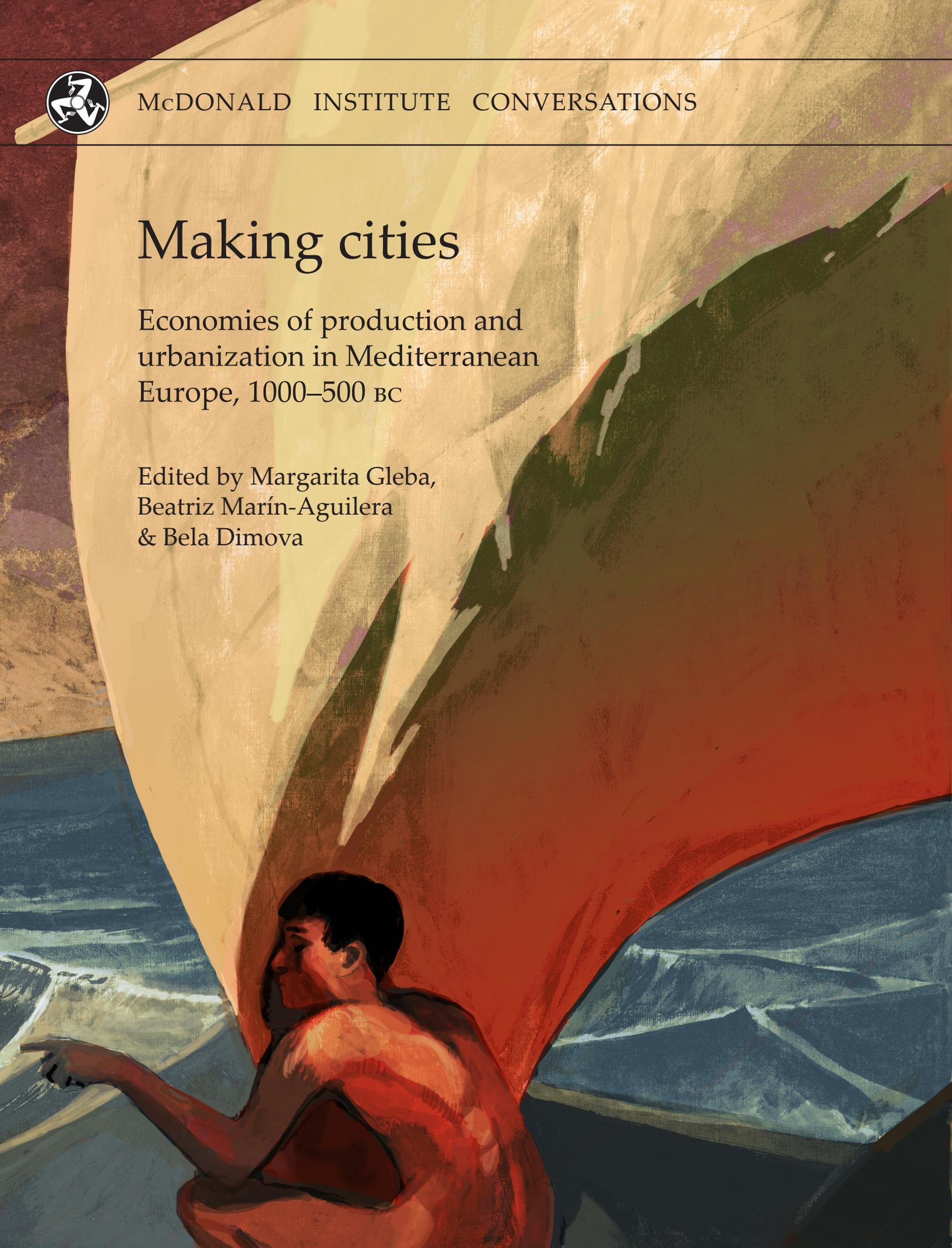


McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

# Making cities

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

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



Making cities





McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

---

# Making cities

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

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

*with contributions from*

David Alensio, Laura Álvarez, Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni, William Balco,  
Lesley Beaumont, Jeffrey Becker, Zisis Bonias, Simona Carosi, Letizia  
Ceccarelli, Manuel Fernández-Götz, Eric Gailledrat, Giovanna Gambacurta,  
David Garcia i Rubert, Karina Grömer, Javier Jiménez Ávila, Rafel Journet,  
Michael Kolb, Antonis Kotsonas, Emanuele Madrigali, Matilde Marzullo,  
Francesco Meo, Paolo Michelini, Albert Nijboer, Robin Osborne, Phil  
Perkins, Jacques Perreault, Claudia Piazzzi, Karl Reber, Carlo Regoli,  
Corinna Riva, Andrea Roppa, Marisa Ruiz-Gálvez, Joan Sanmartí Grego,  
Christopher Smith, Simon Stoddart, Despoina Tsifaki, Anthony Tuck,  
Ioulia Tzonou, Massimo Vidale & Jaime Vives-Ferrándiz Sanchez

*Published by:*

McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research  
University of Cambridge  
Downing Street  
Cambridge, UK  
CB2 3ER  
(0)(1223) 339327  
eaj31@cam.ac.uk  
www.mcdonald.cam.ac.uk



McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2021

© 2021 McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.  
*Making cities* is made available under a Creative Commons  
Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 (International)  
Licence: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

ISBN: 978-1-913344-06-1

On the cover: *Urbanization of Mediterranean Europe powered by sails*, by Kelvin Wilson.

Cover design by Dora Kemp and Ben Plumridge.  
Typesetting and layout by Ben Plumridge.

Edited for the Institute by Cyprian Broodbank (*Acting Series Editor*).

---

---

# CONTENTS

Contributors	ix
Figures	xiii
Tables	xvii
<i>Chapter 1</i> Making cities: economies of production and urbanization in Mediterranean Europe, 1000–500 BC	1
BELA DIMOVA, MARGARITA GLEBA & BEATRIZ MARÍN-AGUILERA	
Definitions of urbanism	2
Urbanism and textiles	2
Contributions to this volume	3
Cover illustration	4
<b>Part I Eastern Mediterranean</b>	
<i>Chapter 2</i> Argilos: the booming economy of a silent city	9
JACQUES PERREAULT & ZISIS BONIAS	
<i>Chapter 3</i> Regional economies and productions in the Thermaic Gulf area	21
DESPOINA TSIAFAKI	
Thermaic Gulf economies and production	22
Ancient Therme and its harbour	26
Conclusion	34
<i>Chapter 4</i> Production activities and consumption of textiles in Early Iron Age Eretria	39
KARL REBER	
Eretria in the Early Iron Age	39
Eretria's economic situation	41
The production and consumption of textiles	41
Conclusion	45
<i>Chapter 5</i> Productive economy and society at Zagora	47
LESLEY A. BEAUMONT	
<i>Chapter 6</i> Making Cretan cities: urbanization, demography and economies of production in the Early Iron Age and the Archaic period	57
ANTONIS KOTSONAS	
Urbanization	58
Demography	66
Economies of production	69
Conclusion	71
<i>Chapter 7</i> Production, urbanization, and the rise of Athens in the Archaic period	77
ROBIN OSBORNE	
<i>Chapter 8</i> Making Corinth, 800–500 BC: production and consumption in Archaic Corinth	89
IOULIA TZONOU	
Eighth century, to the end of the Geometric period and the transition into the Early Protocorinthian, 720 BC	95
Seventh century, the Protocorinthian and Transitional period into Early Corinthian, 720–620 BC	97
Sixth century, the Corinthian period, 620–500 BC	98
Conclusion	100

<b>Part II</b>	<b>Central Mediterranean</b>	
<i>Chapter 9</i>	Making cities in Veneto between the tenth and the sixth century BC	107
	GIOVANNA GAMBACURTA	
	Urbanization criteria	107
	Landscape and population	109
	Settlements	110
	Necropoleis	111
	Borders and shrines	112
	Inscriptions	114
	Myths	115
	Conclusion	116
<i>Chapter 10</i>	Attached versus independent craft production in the formation of the early city-state of Padova (northeastern Italy, first millennium BC)	123
	MASSIMO VIDALE & PAOLO MICHELINI	
	Materials and methods	124
	General patterns of industrial location	126
	Methodological issues	128
	The craft industries through time	130
	New craft locations: size and size variations through time	131
	Duration of urban craft workshops	132
	Ceramic, copper and iron processing sites: size versus duration of activities	133
	Discussion	134
	A historical reconstruction	138
	Onset of proto-currency and the issue of remuneration	141
	Conclusion	142
<i>Chapter 11</i>	Resource and ritual: manufacturing and production at Poggio Civitate	147
	ANTHONY TUCK	
<i>Chapter 12</i>	Perugia: the frontier city	161
	LETIZIA CECCARELLI & SIMON STODDART	
	Geology and culture	161
	History of research	163
	The emerging city from the rural landscape	165
	The topographical development of the city	166
	The city and its hinterland	168
	The rural settlements associated with the city	169
	Conclusion	172
<i>Chapter 13</i>	Tarquinia: themes of urbanization on the Civita and the Monterozzi Plateaus	177
	GIOVANNA BAGNASCO GIANNI, MATILDE MARZULLO & CLAUDIA PIAZZI	
	Approaching themes of urbanization at Tarquinia	177
	On the positioning of the protostoric site of Calvario and its road links	178
	The Calvario village on the Monterozzi Plateau and its economic activities during the eighth century BC	180
	The process of urbanization based on the evidence for the fortifications	185
	The limits of Tarquinia before its fortification, a theoretical approach	188
<i>Chapter 14</i>	Prolegomena to the material culture of Vulci during the Orientalizing period in the light of new discoveries	195
	SIMONA CAROSI & CARLO REGOLI	
	New data from Poggio Mengarelli Necropolis	195
	Conclusion	202

<i>Chapter 15</i>	Defining space, making the city: urbanism in Archaic Rome	205
	JEFFREY A. BECKER	
	Making civic space – the <i>Forum Romanum</i> and its environs	206
	Monumentality	210
	Peri-urban evidence	211
	Discussion	214
<i>Chapter 16</i>	Commodities, the instability of the gift, and the codification of cultural encounters in Archaic southern Etruria	219
	CORINNA RIVA	
	Agricultural surplus and a new funerary ideology	220
	Oversize vessels and fixing the gift	221
	Codification in the encounter	222
	Conclusion	226
<i>Chapter 17</i>	The Etruscan <i>pithos</i> revolution	231
	PHIL PERKINS	
	The <i>pithos</i> as artefact	232
	Making <i>pithoi</i>	236
	Using <i>pithoi</i>	240
	Socio-economic agency of <i>pithoi</i>	243
	<i>Pithoi</i> , economic development, and inequality	245
	<i>Pithoi</i> , economic growth and cities	248
	Conclusion	250
<i>Chapter 18</i>	Birth and transformation of a Messapian settlement from the Iron Age to the Classical period: Muro Leccese	259
	FRANCESCO MEO	
	The Iron Age village	259
	The Archaic and Classical settlement	266
	The Hellenistic period and the end of the town	276
<i>Chapter 19</i>	Indigenous urbanism in Iron Age western Sicily	281
	MICHAEL J. KOLB & WILLIAM M. BALCO	
	Settlement layout	282
	Demographic changes	286
	Production, consumption and exchange	288
	Ritual and cultic activity	290
	Conclusion	291
<b>Part III</b>	<b>Western Mediterranean</b>	
<i>Chapter 20</i>	Colonial production and urbanization in Iron Age to early Punic Sardinia (eighth–fifth century BC)	299
	ANDREA ROPPA & EMANUELE MADRIGALI	
	Colonial production and <i>amphora</i> distribution in Iron Age Sardinia	299
	Case studies: Nora and S'Urachi	301
	Discussion	305
	Colonial economies and urbanization	309
<i>Chapter 21</i>	Entanglements and the elusive transfer of technological know-how, 1000–700 BC: elite prerogatives and migratory swallows in the western Mediterranean	313
	ALBERT J. NIJBOER	
	Movement of peoples and goods	314
	Iron	316
	The alphabet	319
	Early monumental architecture	321
	Discussion and epilogue	323

<i>Chapter 22</i>	Making cities, producing textiles: the Late Hallstatt <i>Fürstensitze</i>	329
	MANUEL FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ & KARINA GRÖMER	
	Monumentality, production and consumption: the settlement evidence	330
	Textile use and display in funerary contexts	336
	Conclusion	340
<i>Chapter 23</i>	From household to cities: habitats and societies in southern France during the Early Iron Age	345
	ÉRIC GAILLED RAT	
	A question of time	346
	A contrasted image	347
	From one Mediterranean to another	348
	The evanescent settlement	349
	The emergence of the fortified group settlement	351
	The <i>oppida</i> of the sixth–fifth centuries BC	354
	The house in the context of the group settlement	358
	Craftspeople, crafts and workshops	361
	Conclusion	363
<i>Chapter 24</i>	Urbanization and early state formation: elite control over manufacture in Iberia (seventh to third century BC)	367
	JOAN SANMARTÍ, DAVID ASENSIO & RAFEL JORNET	
	The historical process	367
	Craft in its social context	369
	Conclusion	380
<i>Chapter 25</i>	Productive power during the Early Iron Age (c. 650–575 BC) at the Sant Jaume Complex (Alcanar, Catalonia, Spain)	385
	LAURA ÁLVAREZ, MARIONA ARNÓ, JORGE A. BOTERO, LAIA FONT, DAVID GARCIA I RUBERT, MARTA MATEU, MARGARITA RODÉS, MARIA TORTRAS, CARME SAORIN & ANA SERRANO	
	The Sant Jaume Complex	385
	Production in the Sant Jaume Complex chiefdom	388
	Conclusion	392
<i>Chapter 26</i>	Not all that glitters is gold: urbanism and craftspeople in non-class or non-state run societies	395
	MARISA RUIZ-GÁLVEZ	
	Craftspeople and workshops in Iberia	395
	Workshops in Iberia	398
	The Iberians as a House Society	400
	Conclusion	404
<i>Chapter 27</i>	Urbanization and social change in southeast Iberia during the Early Iron Age	409
	JAIME VIVES-FERRÁNDIZ SÁNCHEZ	
	Iberian urbanization: connectivity and dispersed territories	409
	Local economies into broader networks	411
	Agricultural intensification	412
	Urbanization, institutions and political authority	415
	Conclusion	420
<i>Chapter 28</i>	‘Building palaces in Spain’: rural economy and cities in post-Orientalizing Extremadura	425
	JAVIER JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA	
	Cancho Roano as a phenomenon	429
	The ‘post-Orientalizing’ world	432
	Post-Orientalizing economies	432
	Countryside and cities	438
	Final remarks	440
<b>Part IV</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	
<i>Chapter 29</i>	Craft and the urban community: industriousness and socio-economic development	447
	CHRISTOPHER SMITH	

---

## CONTRIBUTORS

DAVID ALENSIO

Departament de Prehistòria, Història Antiga  
i Arqueologia, Universitat de Barcelona, C/  
Montalegre 6-8, 08001 Barcelona, Spain  
Email: davidasensio@ub.edu

LAURA ÁLVAREZ ESTAPÉ

Independent scholar  
Email: laura.alvarezestape@gmail.com

GIOVANNA BAGNASCO GIANNI

Dipartimento di Beni Culturali e Ambientali,  
Università degli Studi di Milano, via Festa del  
Perdono 7, 20122 Milano, Italy  
Email: giovanna.bagnasco@unimi.it

WILLIAM BALCO

Department of History, Anthropology, and  
Philosophy, University of North Georgia, Barnes  
Hall 327, Dahlonega, GA 30597, USA  
Email: william.balco@ung.edu

LESLEY BEAUMONT

Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts & Social  
Sciences, The University of Sydney, A18, Sydney,  
NSW 2006, Australia  
Email: lesley.beaumont@sydney.edu.au

JEFFREY BECKER

Department of Middle Eastern and Ancient  
Mediterranean Studies, Binghamton University –  
State University of New York, 4400 Vestal Parkway  
East, PO Box 6000, Binghamton, NY 13902-6000,  
USA  
Email: beckerj@binghamton.edu

ZISIS BONIAS

Ephorate of Antiquities of Kavala-Thasos, Erythrou  
Stavrou 17, Kavala 65110, Greece  
Email: zbonias@yahoo.gr

SIMONA CAROSI

Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio  
per l'area metropolitana di Roma, la provincia di  
Viterbo e l'Etruria meridionale, Palazzo Patrizi  
Clementi, via Cavalletti n.2, 00186 Roma, Italy  
Email: simona.carosi@beniculturali.it

LETIZIA CECCARELLI

Department of Chemistry, Materials and Chemical  
Engineering 'G.Natta', Politecnico di Milano, Piazza  
Leonardo da Vinci 32, 20133 Milano, Italy  
Email: letizia.ceccarelli@polimi.it

BELA DIMOVA

British School at Athens, Souidias 52, Athens 10676,  
Greece  
Email: bela.dimova@bsa.ac.uk

MANUEL FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ

School of History, Classics and Archaeology,  
University of Edinburgh, William Robertson Wing,  
Old Medical School, Teviot Place, Edinburgh,  
EH8 9AG, UK  
Email: M.Fernandez-Gotz@ed.ac.uk

ERIC GAILLED RAT

CNRS, Archéologie des Sociétés Méditerranéennes,  
UMR 5140, Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier 3,  
F-34199, Montpellier cedex 5, France  
Email: eric.gailledrat@cnrs.fr

GIOVANNA GAMBACURTA

Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università Ca'  
Foscari Venezia, Palazzo Malcanton Marcorà,  
Dorsoduro 3484/D, 30123 Venezia, Italy  
Email: giovanna.gambacurta@unive.it

DAVID GARCIA I RUBERT

Departament de Prehistòria, Història Antiga i  
Arqueologia, Universitat de Barcelona, Carrer  
Montalegre 6, 08001 Barcelona, Spain  
Email: dgarcia@ub.edu

MARGARITA GLEBA

Dipartimento dei Beni Culturali, Università degli  
Studi di Padova, Piazza Capitaniato 7, Palazzo  
Liviano, 35139 Padova, Italy  
Email: margarita.gleba@unipd.it

KARINA GRÖMER

Natural History Museum Vienna, Department of  
Prehistory, Burgring 7, 1010 Vienna, Austria  
Email: karina.groemer@nhm-wien.ac.at

---

JAVIER JIMÉNEZ ÁVILA  
Consejería de Cultura, Turismo y Deporte – Junta  
de Extremadura, Edificio Tercer Milenio, Módulo 4,  
Avda. de Valhondo s/n, 06800 Mérida, Spain  
Email: jjimavila@hotmail.com

RAFEL JOURNET  
Departament de Prehistòria, Història Antiga  
i Arqueologia, Universitat de Barcelona, C/  
Montalegre 6-8, 08001 Barcelona, Spain  
Email: rafeljornet@ub.edu

MICHAEL KOLB  
Department of Sociology and Anthropology,  
Metropolitan State University of Denver, Campus  
Box 19, P.O. Box 173362, Denver, CO 80217-3362,  
USA  
Email: mkolb5@msudenver.edu

ANTONIS KOTSONAS  
Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New  
York University, 15 East 84th St., New York, NY  
10028, USA  
Email: ak7509@nyu.edu

EMANUELE MADRIGALI  
Independent scholar  
Email: e.madrigali@gmail.com

BEATRIZ MARÍN-AGUILERA  
McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research,  
University of Cambridge, Downing Street,  
Cambridge CB2 3DZ, UK  
Email: bm499@cam.ac.uk

MATILDE MARZULLO  
Coordinating Research Centre ‘Tarquinia Project’,  
Dipartimento di Beni Culturali e Ambientali,  
Università degli Studi di Milano, via Festa del  
Perdono 7, 20122 Milano, Italy  
Email: matilde.marzullo@unimi.it

FRANCESCO MEO  
Dipartimento di Beni Culturali, Università del  
Salento, Via D. Birago, 64, 73100 Lecce, Italy  
Email: francesco.meo@unisalento.it

PAOLO MICHELINI  
P.ET.R.A., Società Cooperativa ARL, Via Matera, 7  
a/b, 35143 Padova, Italy  
Email: paolo.mik@libero.it

ALBERT NIJBOER  
Groningen Institute of Archaeology, Poststraat 6,  
9712 ER Groningen, The Netherlands  
Email: a.j.nijboer@rug.nl

ROBIN OSBORNE  
University of Cambridge, Faculty of Classics,  
Sidgwick Avenue, Cambridge CB3 9DA, UK  
Email: ro225@cam.ac.uk

PHIL PERKINS  
Classical Studies, School of Arts & Humanities,  
The Open University, Perry C Second Floor, 25,  
Walton Hall, Milton Keynes MK7 6AA, UK  
Email: Phil.Perkins@open.ac.uk

JACQUES PERREAULT  
Université de Montréal C.P. 6128, Succursale  
Centre-Ville Montréal, QC, H3C 3J7, Canada  
Email: jacques.y.perreault@umontreal.ca

CLAUDIA PIAZZI  
Coordinating Research Centre ‘Tarquinia Project’,  
Dipartimento di Beni Culturali e Ambientali,  
Università degli Studi di Milano, via Festa del  
Perdono 7, 20122 Milano, Italy  
Email: claudia.piazz2@gmail.com

KARL REBER  
Université de Lausanne, Anthropole 4011, 1015  
Lausanne, Switzerland  
Email: karl.reber@unil.ch

CARLO REGOLI  
Fondazione Vulci, Parco Naturalistico Archeologico  
di Vulci, 01014 Montalto di Castro (Viterbo), Italy  
Email: caregoli@gmail.com

CORINNA RIVA  
Institute of Archaeology, University College  
London, 31–34 Gordon Square, London  
WC1H 0PY, UK  
Email: c.riva@ucl.ac.uk

ANDREA ROPPA  
Independent scholar  
Email: roppaandrea@gmail.com

MARISA RUIZ-GÁLVEZ  
Departamento de Prehistoria, Historia Antigua y  
Arqueología, Universidad Complutense de Madrid,  
Edificio B C/ Profesor Aranguren, s/n Ciudad  
Universitaria, 28040 Madrid, Spain  
Email: marisar.gp@ghis.ucm.es

---

---

JOAN SANMARTÍ GREGO  
Departament de Prehistòria, Història Antiga i  
Arqueologia, Universitat de Barcelona, Carrer  
Montalegre 6, 08001 Barcelona, Spain  
Email: sanmarti@ub.edu

CHRISTOPHER SMITH  
School of Classics, University of St Andrews, Fife  
KY16 9AL, UK  
Email: cjs6@st-and.ac.uk

SIMON STODDART  
Department of Archaeology, University of  
Cambridge, Downing Street, Cambridge  
CB2 3DZ, UK  
Email: ss16@cam.ac.uk

DESPOINA TSIAFAKI  
Culture & Creative Industries Department, 'Athena':  
Research & Innovation Center in Information,  
Communication & Knowledge Technologies.  
Building of 'Athena' R.C., University Campus of  
Kimmeria, P.O. Box 159, Xanthi 67100, Greece  
Email: tsiafaki@ipet.gr

ANTHONY TUCK  
Department of Classics, University of Massachusetts  
Amherst, 524 Herter Hall, 161 Presidents Drive  
Amherst, MA 01003, USA  
Email: atuck@classics.umass.edu

IOULIA TZONOU  
Corinth Excavations, American School of Classical  
Studies at Athens, Ancient Corinth 20007, Greece  
Email: itzonou.corinth@ascsa.edu.gr

MASSIMO VIDALE  
Dipartimento dei Beni Culturali, Università degli  
Studi di Padova, Piazza Capitaniato 7, Palazzo  
Liviano, 35139 Padova, Italy  
Email: massimo.vidale@unipd.it

JAIME VIVES-FERRÁNDIZ SANCHEZ  
Museu de Prehistòria de València  
Email: jaime.vivesferrandiz@dival.es



---

---

## Figures

1.1	<i>Map indicating the volume coverage.</i>	4
2.1	<i>Argilos, aerial view.</i>	10
2.2	<i>Argilos, general plan.</i>	10
2.3	<i>Small furnace in building E.</i>	11
2.4	<i>View of building L.</i>	12
2.5	<i>Plan of Koutloudis area with buildings H, L, P, and Q.</i>	13
2.6	<i>Building L, press-bed in room 4.</i>	13
2.7	<i>Building Q, room 1.</i>	14
2.8	<i>Building L, room 11, crushed amphorae.</i>	16
2.9	<i>Dividing wall between L7–L8 with remains of clay over the lower courses of stone.</i>	17
2.10	<i>Building L, facades of L2–L3.</i>	18
3.1	<i>Thermaic Gulf region.</i>	22
3.2	<i>Iron sword, grave offering, Nea Philadelphia cemetery, late sixth century BC.</i>	24
3.3	<i>Miniature iron wagon, grave offering, Sindos cemetery, late sixth century BC.</i>	25
3.4	<i>Methone. Pottery kilns in Building A at Sector B.</i>	26
3.5	<i>Ancient settlement at Karabournaki, aerial view.</i>	27
3.6	<i>Ancient settlement at Karabournaki, storeroom with pithoi.</i>	28
3.7	<i>'Eggshell' type vases made at the pottery workshop at Karabournaki.</i>	29
3.8	<i>Karabournaki settlement metal workshop.</i>	30
3.9	<i>Weaving tools from the Karabournaki settlement.</i>	31
3.10	<i>Loom weight with stamp depicting a satyr, Karabournaki settlement.</i>	32
3.11	<i>Karabournaki: distribution of textile production tools within the excavated area.</i>	33
4.1	<i>Map of Geometric Eretria.</i>	40
4.2	<i>Plan of the Sanctuary of Apollo in the eighth century BC.</i>	40
4.3	<i>Spindle whorl with dedication, from the Sanctuary of Apollo.</i>	42
4.4	<i>Cruche à haut col C41 (tankard) from the Aire sacrificielle.</i>	42
4.5	<i>Cruche à haut col C37 (tankard) from the Aire sacrificielle.</i>	43
4.6	<i>Fragment of linen from Grave 10 in the Heroon Necropolis.</i>	44
4.7	<i>Close-ups of wool weft-faced textiles from the Heroon Necropolis.</i>	45
5.1	<i>View of Zagora promontory from the northeast.</i>	48
5.2	<i>Plan of Zagora.</i>	49
5.3	<i>Aerial view of Trench 11, partially excavated.</i>	52
6.1	<i>Map of Crete showing sites mentioned in the text.</i>	58
6.2	<i>Plan of Karphi.</i>	59
6.3	<i>Plan of the Knossos valley.</i>	62
6.4	<i>Plan of Prinias.</i>	64
6.5	<i>Plan of Azoria.</i>	65
6.6	<i>Knossos North Cemetery: maximum and minimum number of cremation urns over time.</i>	68
6.7	<i>Knossos North Cemetery: number of cremation urns per year.</i>	68
6.8	<i>Fortetsa Cemetery: number of burials over time.</i>	68
6.9	<i>Fortetsa Cemetery: number of burials per year.</i>	68
6.10	<i>Reconstruction of the pottery workshop at Mandra di Gipari, near Prinias.</i>	70
7.1	<i>Attica, 1050–900 BC.</i>	80
7.2	<i>Attica, 900–800 BC.</i>	80
7.3	<i>Attica, 800–700 BC.</i>	81
7.4	<i>Attica, 700–600 BC.</i>	81
7.5	<i>Attica, 600–500 BC.</i>	85
8.1	<i>Map of the northeast Peloponnese showing sites mentioned in the text.</i>	90
8.2	<i>Corinth: Geometric Period multiphase plan (900–720 BC).</i>	91
8.3	<i>Corinth: Protocorinthian to Transitional Period multiphase plan (720–620 BC).</i>	91
8.4	<i>Corinth: Corinthian Period multiphase plan (620–500 BC).</i>	92
8.5	<i>Corinth: fifth century BC multiphase plan.</i>	93

8.6	<i>Corinth: multiphase plan up to 400 BC.</i>	93
8.7	<i>Corinth: Forum, all periods.</i>	94
8.8	<i>South Stoa, Tavern of Aphrodite Foundry.</i>	99
8.9	<i>Late Corinthian kraters from the sixth-century BC floor.</i>	101
8.10	<i>The Arachne aryballos, Late Early Corinthian or Middle Corinthian (600 BC).</i>	102
9.1	<i>Maps of Veneto.</i>	108
9.2	<i>Maps of cities with different orientations: a) Oderzo; b) Padova.</i>	110
9.3	<i>Este, clay andirons with ram's heads.</i>	112
9.4	<i>Padova, funerary stone monuments: a) Camin; b) Albignasego.</i>	112
9.5	<i>Padova, via Tadi, boundary stone with Venetic inscription on two sides.</i>	114
9.6	<i>Padova, via C. Battisti, boundary stone with Venetic inscription on four sides.</i>	114
9.7	<i>Padova, via Tiepolo–via San Massimo 1991, Grave 159, bronze figured belt-hook.</i>	115
9.8	<i>Este, Casa di Ricovero, Grave 23/1993 or Nerka's grave.</i>	116
9.9	<i>Isola Vicentina, stele with Venetic inscription.</i>	117
10.1	<i>Location of Padova and the study area in northeastern Italy.</i>	124
10.2	<i>Padova, general cumulative map of the craft locations, c. 825–50 BC.</i>	125
10.3	<i>Padova, location of the craft areas and workshops in the early urban core.</i>	127
10.4	<i>Padova, the extra-urban location of craft industries in Roman times.</i>	129
10.5	<i>New manufacturing areas per different craft.</i>	131
10.6	<i>Maximum total area occupied by craft production sites.</i>	132
10.7	<i>New craft areas activated in each period.</i>	132
10.8	<i>Frequency distribution of dimensional class of craft areas per period.</i>	132
10.9	<i>Padova, Questura, site 2, northeast sector.</i>	133
10.10	<i>Workshop size and duration of activity.</i>	134
10.11	<i>Padova, Questura, site 2. Ceramic tuyère.</i>	136
10.12	<i>Padova, Questura, site 2. Cluster of fine feasting pottery.</i>	137
10.13	<i>Padova, Questura, site 2. Antler combs from the metallurgical workshop.</i>	137
10.14	<i>Sherds of Attic pottery from workshop areas in Padova.</i>	138
10.15	<i>Padova, Piazza Castello, site 3: vertical kiln and modular perforated grid.</i>	139
10.16	<i>Part of an elite grave's furnishings from Padova, end of the eighth century BC.</i>	140
10.17	<i>Vessels from the cemetery of Piovego, Padova, fifth century BC.</i>	141
11.1	<i>Map of central Italy.</i>	148
11.2	<i>Early Phase Orientalizing Complex Building 4 (c. 725–675 BC) reconstruction.</i>	148
11.3	<i>Orientalizing Complex (c. 675–600 BC) reconstruction.</i>	149
11.4	<i>Archaic Phase Structure (c. 600–530 BC) reconstruction.</i>	149
11.5	<i>Orientalizing Complex roofing elements.</i>	150
11.6	<i>Partially worked and complete bone, antler and ivory.</i>	150
11.7	<i>Unfired cover tiles with human footprints.</i>	151
11.8	<i>Distribution of variable sized spindle whorls.</i>	152
11.9	<i>Carbonized seeds from Orientalizing Complex Building 2/Workshop.</i>	153
11.10	<i>Fragment of statuette from Orientalizing Complex Building 2/Workshop.</i>	153
11.11	<i>Frieze plaque depicting banqueting scene, Archaic Phase Structure.</i>	155
11.12	<i>Elements of a banquet service from the Orientalizing Complex.</i>	155
11.13	<i>Compote with incised khi.</i>	156
11.14	<i>Map of Poggio Civitate and surrounding traces of settlements or other human activity.</i>	157
12.1	<i>Location of Perugia.</i>	162
12.2	<i>The immediate environs of Perugia with key sites.</i>	162
12.3	<i>The geological context of Perugia.</i>	163
12.4	<i>Plan of the city of Perugia.</i>	166
12.5	<i>Hierarchical relationship of Perugia to its territory.</i>	169
12.6	<i>Civitella d'Arna survey area.</i>	171
12.7	<i>Montelabate survey area.</i>	172
13.1	<i>Positioning of the structures of the Calvario.</i>	179
13.2	<i>Tarquinia and its territory around the middle of the eighth century BC.</i>	180

13.3	<i>Plan of the Villanovan village on the Monterozzi Plateau.</i>	181
13.4	<i>Plans of some of the Villanovan huts.</i>	183
13.5	<i>Finds from the huts.</i>	184
13.6	<i>Walls, gateways and roads of ancient Tarquinia.</i>	185
13.7	<i>Tarquinia, Bocchoris Tomb, lid.</i>	189
14.1	<i>Location of the excavation area at Vulci.</i>	196
14.2	<i>Aerial photograph of the excavation (2016–2018).</i>	197
14.3	<i>General plan of the excavation (2016–2018).</i>	197
14.4	<i>Textile fragment from the ‘Tomb of the Golden Scarab’.</i>	198
14.5	<i>Detail of the grave goods from Tomb 35 during excavation.</i>	199
14.6	<i>Tomb 29 during excavation.</i>	200
14.7	<i>Tomb 29: detail of the traces of cloth on the lid of the sheet bronze stamnos.</i>	201
14.8	<i>Tomb 72: a textile with colour pattern of small red and white checks.</i>	202
15.1	<i>Plan of Rome’s territory in the Archaic period.</i>	206
15.2	<i>Area of the Volcanal and the Comitium in the seventh and sixth centuries BC.</i>	207
15.3	<i>Reconstructed plan of Rome within the so-called ‘Servian Wall’.</i>	208
15.4	<i>Sketch plan of the area of the Forum Boarium and Velabrum in the seventh century BC.</i>	210
15.5	<i>Phase 1 of the so-called ‘Auditorium site’ villa.</i>	212
15.6	<i>Phase 2 of the so-called ‘Auditorium site’ villa.</i>	212
15.7	<i>The Republican ‘Villa delle Grotte’ at Grottarossa.</i>	213
16.1	<i>White-on-red pithos with lid, Cerveteri.</i>	223
16.2	<i>Figurative decoration of the Gobbi krater.</i>	224
16.3	<i>Black-figure amphora, Vulci, side A.</i>	226
16.4	<i>Black-figure amphora, Vulci, side B.</i>	226
17.1	<i>Pithos types 1–6.</i>	233
17.2	<i>Distribution map of Etruscan pithoi within the study area in Etruria.</i>	240
17.3	<i>Comparison between the altitude of pithos find spots and the range of altitude.</i>	241
17.4	<i>Map of sample area.</i>	242
17.5	<i>Distribution of architectural terracottas, pithoi, amphorae, and tiles.</i>	249
18.1	<i>Muro Leccese and the other Iron Age settlements in the Salento peninsula.</i>	260
18.2	<i>Muro Leccese, find spots of Early Iron Age and Archaic ceramics and structures.</i>	261
18.3	<i>Muro Leccese, Cunella district, traces of two huts.</i>	262
18.4	<i>Muro Leccese, DTM with location of the Iron Age ceramics and structures.</i>	263
18.5	<i>Vases and decorative motifs characteristic of matt-painted ware from Muro Leccese.</i>	264
18.6	<i>Vases imported from Greece and Greek apoikiai.</i>	265
18.7	<i>The Messapian era road network in the Salento peninsula.</i>	267
18.8	<i>Muro Leccese, Palombara district.</i>	268
18.9	<i>Muro Leccese, Palombara district. Vases.</i>	270
18.10	<i>Muro Leccese, Cunella district. Plan of the residential building.</i>	272
18.11	<i>Diorama of the place of worship in the archaeological area of Cunella.</i>	273
18.12	<i>Muro Leccese, Masseria Cunella district. Tombs 1 and 2.</i>	274
18.13	<i>Muro Leccese, fourth century BC walls.</i>	275
19.1	<i>Map of Sicily, showing the Bronze Age sites mentioned in the text.</i>	282
19.2	<i>The defensive wall at Bronze Age site of Mursia, Pantelleria.</i>	283
19.3	<i>The Late Bronze Age excavations at Mokarta.</i>	283
19.4	<i>Monte Bonifato, showing its steep approaches.</i>	284
19.5	<i>Map of western Sicily showing the Iron Age sites mentioned in the text.</i>	284
19.6	<i>The urban layout of Eryx.</i>	285
19.7	<i>The urban layout of Segesta.</i>	286
19.8	<i>The orthogonal grid and Iron Age/Classical/Hellenistic finds of Salemi.</i>	287
19.9	<i>The archaeological sites of Salemi territory.</i>	287
19.10	<i>The temple of Segesta, facing west.</i>	291
20.1	<i>Map of Sardinia showing sites mentioned in the text.</i>	300
20.2	<i>Plan of Nora and the Punic quarter under the forum.</i>	301

20.3	<i>Main amphora types discussed.</i>	302
20.4	<i>Dating profiles of amphora types.</i>	303
20.5	<i>Plan of nuraghe S'Urachi and cross-section of the ditch in area E.</i>	304
20.6	<i>Dating profile of the amphora types from the case study at nuraghe S'Urachi.</i>	305
20.7	<i>Dating profiles of Phoenician amphora types.</i>	306
21.1	<i>Early iron and the distribution of Huelva-Achziv type fibulae on the Iberian Peninsula.</i>	317
21.2	<i>Three copper alloy bowls dated to the decades around 800 BC.</i>	319
21.3	<i>The Phoenician, Euboean, Etruscan and Latin alphabetic letters.</i>	320
21.4	<i>Early monumental architecture in Italy and Spain.</i>	322
21.5	<i>Provenance of ceramics from the ninth century BC, pre-Carthage Utica (Tunis).</i>	324
22.1	<i>Fürstensitze north of the Alps and selected sites in Mediterranean Europe.</i>	330
22.2	<i>The Heuneburg agglomeration during the mudbrick wall phase.</i>	331
22.3	<i>Indicative lifespans of selected Fürstensitze sites.</i>	331
22.4	<i>Aerial view of the gatehouse of the Heuneburg lower town during the excavation.</i>	332
22.5	<i>Large ditch at the south foot of wall 3 at Mont Lassois.</i>	333
22.6	<i>Reconstructed monumental building in the Heuneburg Open-Air Museum.</i>	334
22.7	<i>Fired clay loom weight and spindle whorls from the Heuneburg.</i>	335
22.8	<i>Comparison between grave textiles and other textiles.</i>	337
22.9	<i>Tablet-woven band, reproduced after a textile from Hochdorf.</i>	338
22.10	<i>Functions of textiles in graves.</i>	339
23.1	<i>Map of the south of France showing the main settlements of the Early Iron Age.</i>	346
23.2	<i>Mailhac (Aude).</i>	350
23.3	<i>Examples of apsidal floorplans of wattle-and-daub (a) or cob houses (b–d).</i>	352
23.4	<i>Examples of rectangular floorplans of houses with one or more rooms.</i>	353
23.5	<i>Pech Maho (Sigean, Aude).</i>	355
23.6	<i>Examples of functional combinations of apsidal and rectangular floorplans.</i>	356
23.7	<i>Early examples of urban planning combining blocks of houses with a system of streets.</i>	357
23.8	<i>a–c) Examples of rectangular floorplans; d–e) houses of La Liquière.</i>	359
23.9	<i>Montlaurès (Narbonne, Aude).</i>	360
24.1	<i>Map of northern Iberia showing the sites mentioned in the text.</i>	368
24.2	<i>Pottery workshop of Hortes de Cal Pons.</i>	371
24.3	<i>Bases of Iberian amphorae.</i>	372
24.4	<i>Les Guàrdies (El Vendrell).</i>	373
24.5	<i>Castellet de Banyoles.</i>	375
24.6	<i>Mas Castellar de Pontós.</i>	376
24.7	<i>Coll del Moro de Gandesa.</i>	378
24.8	<i>Sant Antoni de Calaceit.</i>	379
24.9	<i>Els Estinçells.</i>	380
25.1	<i>General location of the area under study.</i>	386
25.2	<i>View of Sant Jaume.</i>	387
25.3	<i>Plan of Sant Jaume.</i>	387
25.4	<i>Aerial view of La Moleta del Remei.</i>	389
25.5	<i>Aerial view of La Ferradura.</i>	389
26.1	<i>Tumulus 'A' at Setefilla.</i>	396
26.2	<i>Sample of matrices and tools from the so-called goldsmith's graves at Cabezo Lucero.</i>	397
26.3	<i>Iberian tombs with grave goods connected with weighing metal.</i>	398
26.4	<i>Spatial distribution of tools in rooms of Iberian oppida.</i>	400
26.5	<i>Iberian funerary pillars crowned by heraldic beasts.</i>	402
26.6	<i>Enthroned Iberian ladies: a) Cerro de los Santos; b) Baza.</i>	403
26.7	<i>Reconstructions: a) La Bastida de les Alcusses; b) El Castellet de Banyoles.</i>	403
26.8	<i>Bronze horseman from La Bastida de Les Alcusses and reconstruction as a sceptre.</i>	404
27.1	<i>Map of the study area showing the main sites mentioned in the text.</i>	410
27.2	<i>Metallurgical workshop at La Fonteta.</i>	412
27.3	<i>Plan of Alt de Benimaquia and local amphorae.</i>	413

27.4	<i>Plan of El Oral.</i>	414
27.5	<i>The territory of El Puig d'Alcoi and the secondary rural settlements.</i>	416
27.6	<i>Different furnaces for iron metalwork from La Cervera.</i>	416
27.7	<i>Plans of walled settlements: a) Covalta; b) Puig d'Alcoi; c) La Bastida de les Alcusses.</i>	417
27.8	<i>Aerial view of the storerooms at La Bastida de les Alcusses.</i>	418
27.9	<i>Plan of Block 5 at La Bastida de les Alcusses.</i>	419
27.10	<i>Weapons ritually 'killed' in the West Gate, La Bastida de les Alcusses.</i>	419
28.1	<i>Cancho Roano: a) general plan; b–c) reconstructions of the external rooms.</i>	426
28.2	<i>Map of sites considered as post-Orientalizing palatial complexes.</i>	427
28.3	<i>La Mata.</i>	428
28.4	<i>Post-Orientalizing settlements: a,d) El Chaparral; b) La Carbonera; c) Los Caños.</i>	431
28.5	<i>Millstones and amphorae from post-Orientalizing sites in Middle Guadiana.</i>	433
28.6	<i>Storage building at the Orientalizing site of El Palomar, Oliva de Mérida.</i>	434
28.7	<i>Greek pottery from Cancho Roano, late fifth century BC.</i>	436
28.8	<i>Antique (sixth-century BC) goods in post-Orientalizing contexts.</i>	437
28.9	<i>The Orientalizing site of Medellín.</i>	439
28.10	<i>Ancient toponymy in southwestern Iberia.</i>	440

## Tables

7.1	<i>Sites in Attica, late eleventh to seventh century BC.</i>	78
8.1	<i>Dates: abbreviations and chronology.</i>	90
9.1	<i>List of criteria for defining cities.</i>	108
9.2	<i>Inventory of houses and buildings with their shape, dimensions and chronology.</i>	111
10.1	<i>Variations through time of principal type of craft occupation.</i>	128
10.2	<i>Variations through time of the maximum area of all craft occupations.</i>	129
10.3	<i>Padova, average duration in years of the main craft occupations for each period.</i>	129
10.4	<i>Padova, the development of craft industries as monitored in 29 craft workshops.</i>	130
10.5	<i>Positive correlation between size and duration of activity of craft workshops.</i>	134
10.6	<i>The composition of funerary vessels in the earliest graves from Padova.</i>	140
14.1	<i>Types of tombs excavated at Poggio Mengarelli, Vulci (2016–2018).</i>	196
17.1	<i>Type 1.</i>	234
17.2	<i>Type 2.</i>	234
17.3	<i>Type 3.</i>	235
17.4	<i>Type 3A.</i>	235
17.5	<i>Type 3B.</i>	235
17.6	<i>Type 3C.</i>	236
17.7	<i>Type 4.</i>	236
17.8	<i>Type 5.</i>	237
17.9	<i>Type 6.</i>	237
17.10	<i>Chaîne opératoire of Etruscan pithos manufacture.</i>	238
21.1	<i>Number of iron artefacts per phase at Torre Galli (c. 950–850 BC).</i>	318



---

---

## Chapter 13

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

Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni, Matilde Marzullo & Claudia Piazzì

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

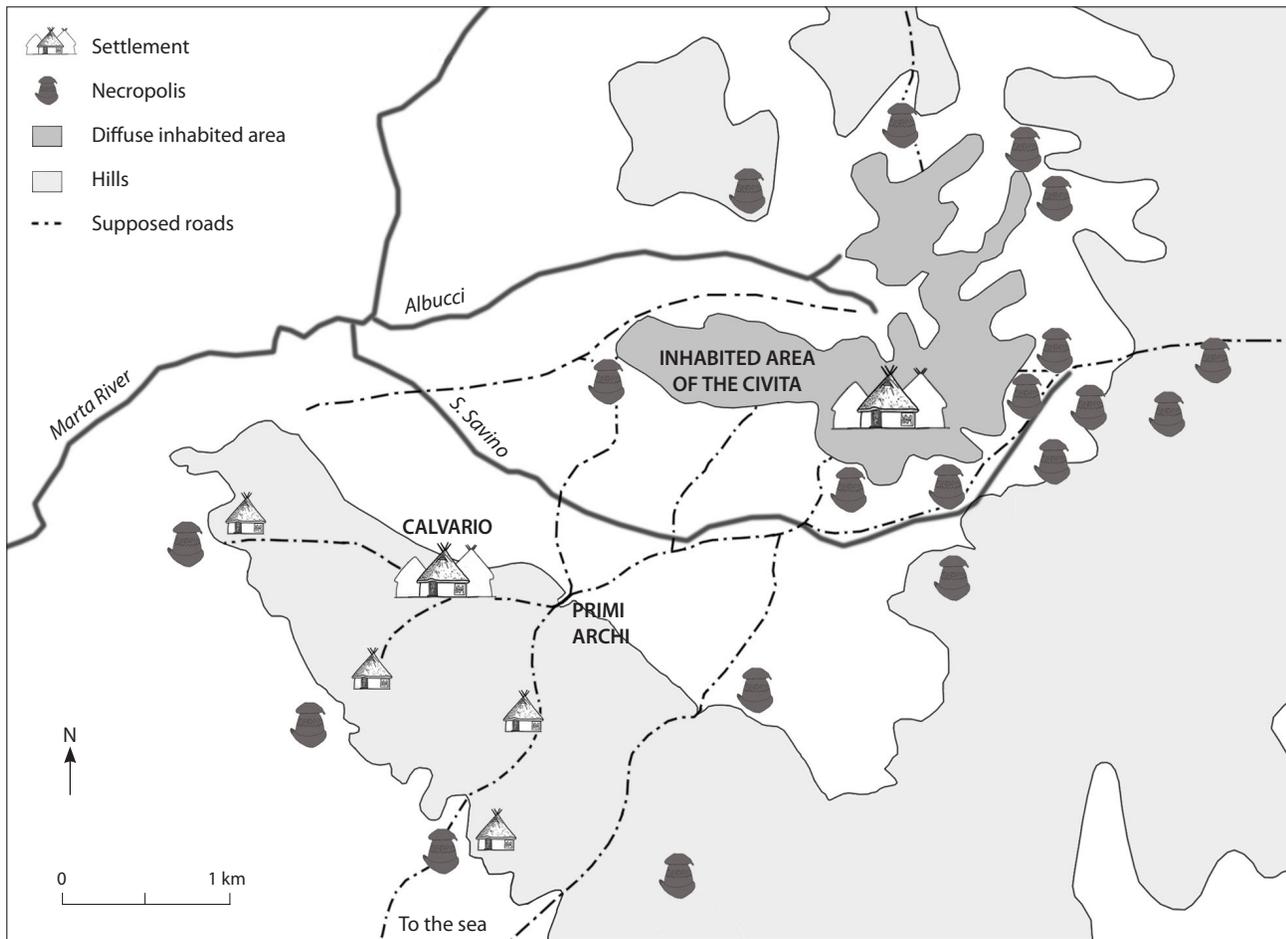


**Figure 13.1.** Positioning of the structures of the Calvario on the Google Earth orthophoto 2018 in combination with Carta Tecnica Regione Lazio 2002: Top – structures found by R.E. Linington between 1975 and 1978; bottom – structures found by Soprintendenza between 1985 and 1997 near the Tomb of the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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

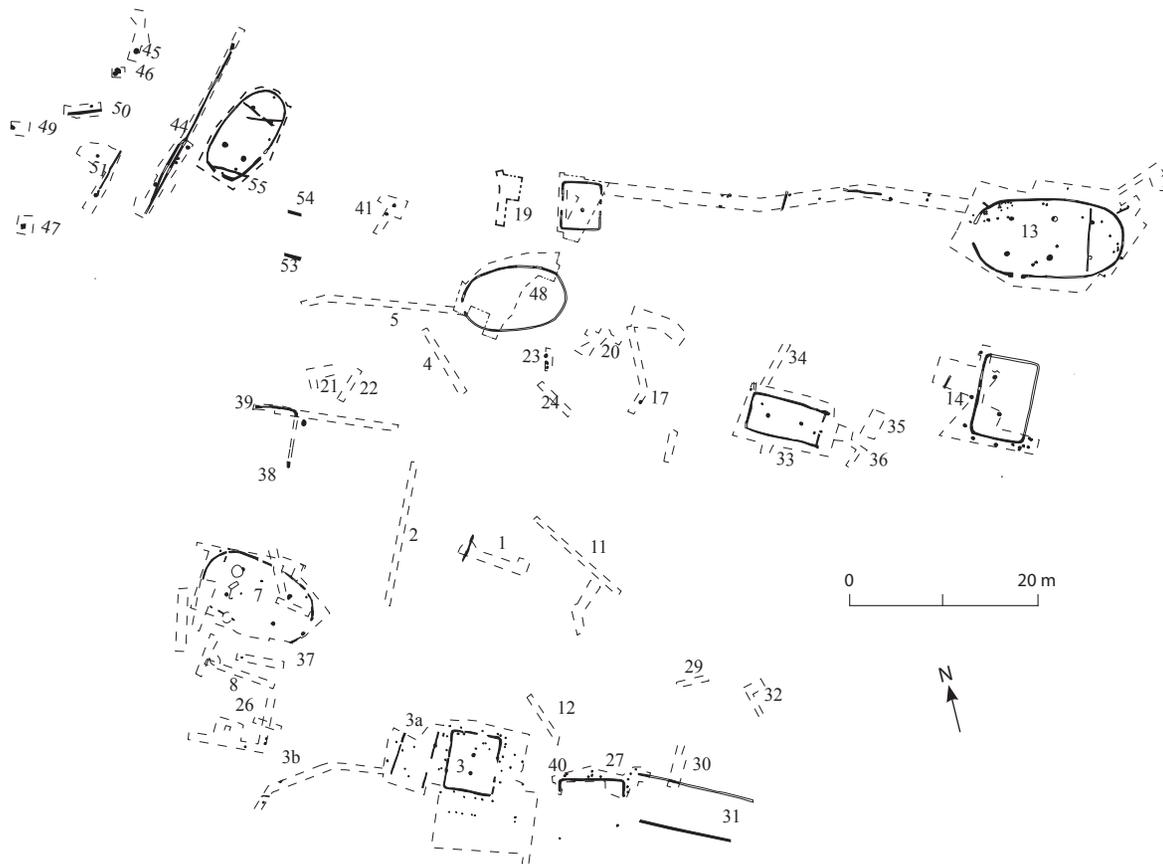


Figure 13.3. Plan of the Villanovan village on the Monterozzi Plateau (C. Piazzzi, after Linington 1982).

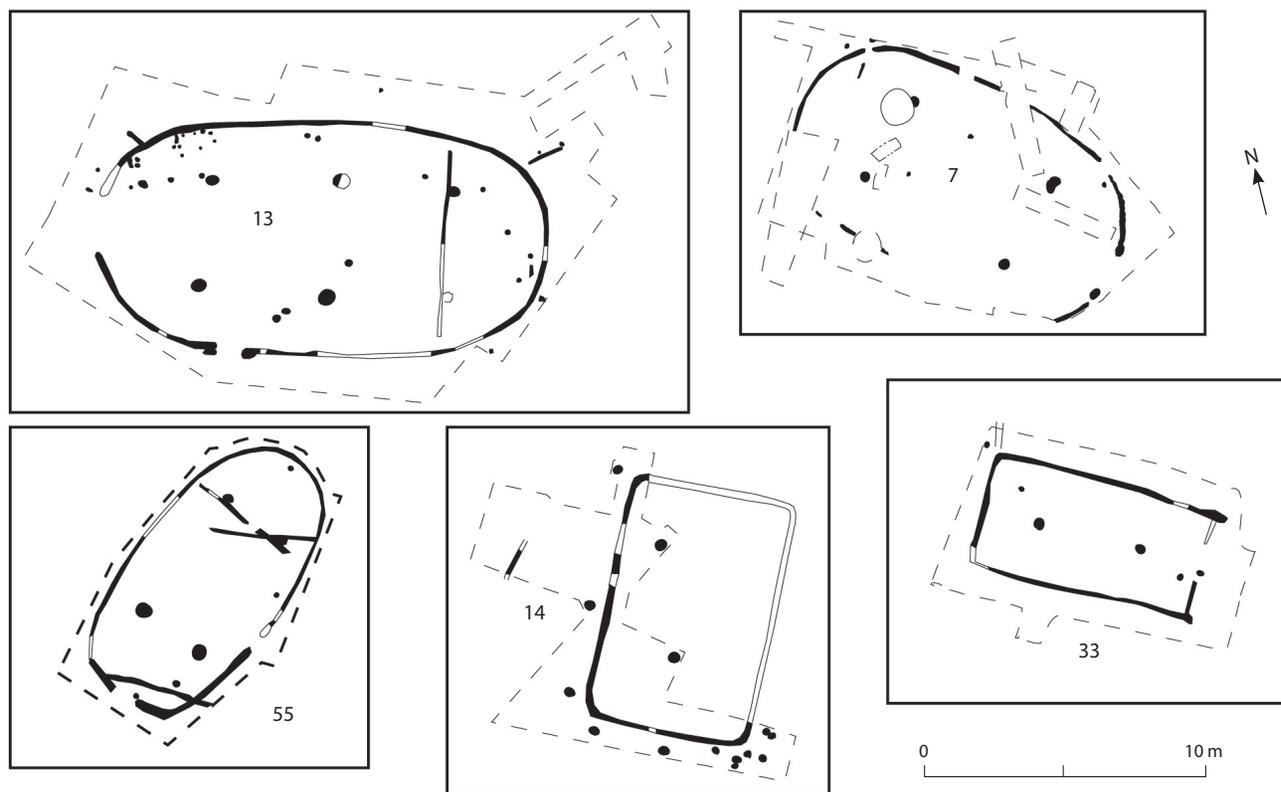
Etruscan urban formation, a model based on the existence of distinctly separate and independent groups of villages, positioned in contiguous and strategic areas, which at a certain point of their history became united, giving rise to the nucleus of the future city. The case of Calvario was particularly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

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

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

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

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



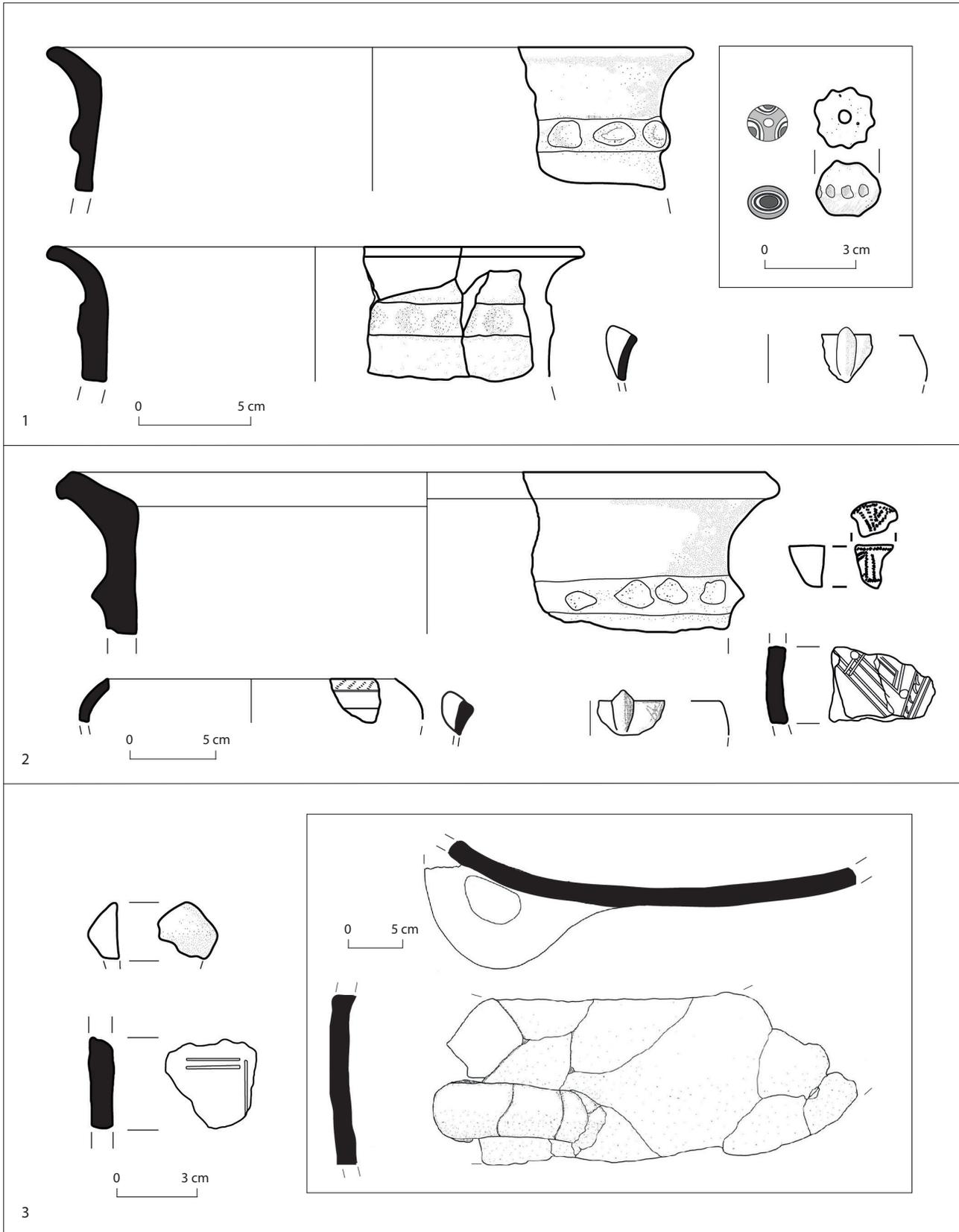
**Figure 13.4.** Plans of some of the Villanovan huts: traces that have been found are in black, reconstructed traces are in white (C. Piazzzi, after Linington 1982).

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

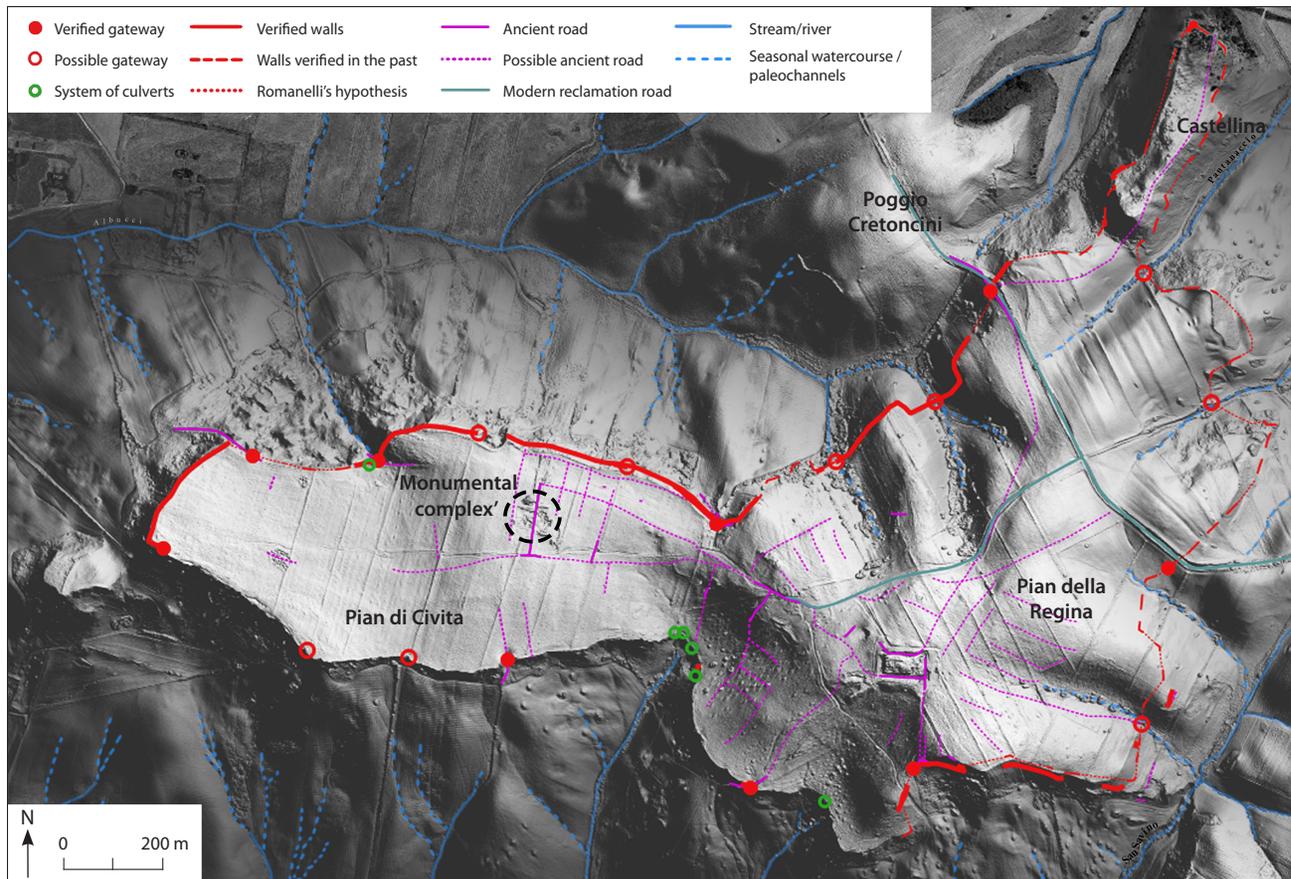


Figure 13.6. Thematic map of the walls, gateways and roads of ancient Tarquinia (M. Marzullo).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Notes

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

## Abbreviations

- Tarchna* 1997. Bonghi Jovino, M. & C. Chiamonte Treré (eds.), *Tarquinia. Testimonianze archeologiche e ricostruzione storica. Scavi sistematici nell’abitato. Campagne 1982–1988*. Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider.
- Tarchna* 1999. Chiamonte Treré, C. (ed.), *Tarquinia. Testimonianze archeologiche e ricostruzione storica. Scavi sistematici nell’abitato. Campagne 1982–1988. I materiali 1*. Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider.
- Tarchna* 2001. Bonghi Jovino, M. (ed.), *Tarquinia. Testimonianze archeologiche e ricostruzione storica. Scavi sistematici nell’abitato. Campagne 1982–1988. I materiali 2*. Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider.
- Tarchna* 2012. Bonghi Jovino, M. & G. Bagnasco Gianni (eds.), *Tarquinia. Il santuario dell’Ara della Regina. I templi arcaici*. Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider.
- Tarchna* 2017. Perego, L. (ed.), *Sotto le mura di Tarquinia: indagini nella necropoli delle Morre a Pian di Civita*. (*Tarchna* suppl. 4) Trento: Tangram Edizioni Scientifiche.

## References

- Acconcia, V. & G. Bartoloni, 2014. La cittadella di Piazza d’Armi, in *Le ricerche dell’Università degli Studi di Roma ‘La Sapienza’ a Veio*, ed. G. Bartoloni. (*Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 86, a.a. 2013–2014.) Città del Vaticano: Tipografia Vaticana, 273–96.
- Ampolo, C., 1988. La nascita della città, in *Storia di Roma. Roma in Italia*, eds. A. Momigliano & A. Schiavone. Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 153–80.
- Bagnasco Gianni, G., 2012. Tarquinia, tra spazio e tempo. Appunti da una ricerca in corso, in *Interpretando l’antico. Scritti di archeologia offerti a Maria Bonghi Jovino*, eds. C. Chiamonte Treré, G. Bagnasco Gianni & F. Chiesa. Milano: Cisalpino, 23–34.
- Bagnasco Gianni, G., 2013. Tarquinia, sacred areas and sanctuaries on the Civita Plateau and on the coast: ‘Monumental complex’, Ara della Regina, Gravisca, in *The Etruscan World*, ed. J.M. Turfa. London & New York (NY): Routledge, 594–612.
- Bagnasco Gianni, G., 2014a. Gli scavi dell’Università degli Studi di Milano a Tarquinia, in *Etruria in progress. La ricerca archeologica in Etruria meridionale*, eds. L. Mercuri & R. Zaccagnini. Roma: Gangemi, 130–3.
- Bagnasco Gianni, G., 2014b. Presenza/Assenza di Mura: implicazioni storico-culturali. Il caso di Tarquinia, in *Mura di legno, mura di terra, mura di pietra: fortificazioni nel Mediterraneo antico*, *Atti del convegno internazionale*

- (Roma 7–9 maggio 2012), eds. G. Bartoloni & L.M. Michetti. *Scienze dell'antichità* 19(2/3 – 2013), 429–53.
- Bagnasco Gianni, G., 2014c. Una nuova iscrizione dal 'complesso monumentale' della Civita di Tarquinia, in *Cēn zic zixuxē. Per Maristella Pandolfini*, ed. E. Benelli. Pisa & Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 21–6.
- Bagnasco Gianni, G., 2018. Tarquinia, principi e forme della città. Una proposta di lettura, in *Mura Tarquiniesi. Riflessioni in margine alla città*, ed. G. Bagnasco Gianni. *Aristonothos* 14, 17–66.
- Bagnasco Gianni, G., 2019. Notes on Etruscan cosmology: the case of the Tumulus of the Crosses at Cerveteri, in *Archaeoastronomy in the Roman World, Historical & Cultural Astronomy*, eds. G. Magli, A. González-García, J. Belmonte Aviles & E. Antonello. Cham: Springer, 17–32. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-97007-3\_2.
- Bagnasco Gianni, G., forthcoming. Etruscan women and social polarity: two case studies for approaching inequality, in *Inequality in Antiquity. Tracing the Archaeological Record*, ed. O. Cerasuolo. New York (NY): Suny Press.
- Bagnasco Gianni, G. & L. Fiorini, 2018. Between Tarquinia and Gravisca, in *The Emporium in the Ancient Western Mediterranean. Trade and Colonial Encounters from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period*, eds. E. Gailledrat, R. Plana-Mallart & M. Dietler. Montpellier: Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 155–66.
- Bagnasco Gianni, G., M. Cataldi & G.M. Facchetti, 2018. Inscribed objects associated with textile production: news from Tarquinia, in *Contextualising Textile Production in Italy in the 1st Millennium BC*, eds. M. Gleba & R. Laurito. *Origini* XL, 277–92.
- Bagnasco Gianni, G., G.M. Facchetti, C. Cattaneo, E. Maderna & V. Ricciardi, 2019. Il caso del 'bambino della Civita' di Tarquinia, in *Una favola breve. Archeologia e antropologia per la storia dell'infanzia*, ed. C. Lambrugo. Sesto Fiorentino: All'Insegna del Giglio, 211–24.
- Bagnasco Gianni, G., A. Garzulino & M. Marzullo, 2017. The last ten years of research at Tarquinia, in *Knowledge, Analysis and Innovative Methods for the Study and the Dissemination of Ancient Urban Areas, Proceedings of the KAINUA 2017 International Conference in Honour of Professor Giuseppe Sassatelli's 70th Birthday (Bologna, 18–21 Aprile 2017)*, eds. S. Garagnani & A. Gaucci. *Archeologia e Calcolatori* 28(2), 211–21.
- Bagnasco Gianni, G., M. Marzullo, C. Piazzi & A. Garzulino, 2018. Ricerche nell'area urbana di Tarquinia. *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* XXV, 281–341.
- Bellelli, V., 2014. Le mura di Caere: una introduzione, in *Caere – 6. Caere e Pyrgi: il territorio, la viabilità e le fortificazioni, Atti della giornata di studio, Roma (1 marzo 2012)*, ed. V. Bellelli. (Mediterranea, supp. 11.) Pisa & Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 35–62.
- Berlinzani, F., 2004. *La musica a Tebe di Beozia. Tra storia e mito*. Milano: CUEM.
- Bonghi Jovino, M., 2001. Produzioni in impasto. Ceramica, utensili e oggetti di uso dall'orizzonte protovillanoviano alla fase Orientalizzante, in *Tarchna* 2001, 1–136.
- Bonghi Jovino, M., 2002. Tarquinia, sale e saline, in *Lógiós anér, Studi di antichità in memoria di Mario Attilio Levi*, ed. P.G. Michelotto. *Quaderni di Acme* 55, 27–37.
- Bonghi Jovino, M., 2005a. Città e territorio. Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci: appunti e riconsiderazioni, in *Dinamiche di sviluppo delle città dell'Etruria Meridionale: Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci, Atti del XXIII Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici (Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci 2001)*, ed. O. Paoletti. Roma: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 27–58.
- Bonghi Jovino, M., 2005b. Tarquinia. Monumenti urbani, in *Dinamiche di sviluppo delle città dell'Etruria Meridionale: Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci, Atti del XXIII Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici (Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci 2001)*, ed. O. Paoletti. Roma: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 309–22.
- Bonghi Jovino, M., 2006. Contesti, modelli e scambi di manufatti. Spunti per un'analisi culturale e socio-economica. La testimonianza Tarquinia-Gravisca, in *Gli Etruschi da Genova ad Ampurias. Atti del XXIV Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici*. Pisa & Roma: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 679–89.
- Bonghi Jovino, M., 2008. *Tarquinia Etrusca. Tarconte e il primato della città*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Bonghi Jovino, M., 2010a. Affinità e differenze nelle esperienze architettoniche tra Roma e Tarquinia. Qualche riflessione. *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 17, 31–65.
- Bonghi Jovino, M., 2010b. The Tarquinia Project: a summary of 25 years of excavation. *American Journal of Archaeology* 114, 161–80.
- Bonghi Jovino, M., 2010c. Tarquinia. Types of offerings, Etruscan divinities and attributes in the archaeological record, in *Material Aspects of Etruscan Religion, Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leiden (May 29 and 30 2008)*, ed. L.B. van der Meer. *BABesch Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology*, Supplement 16, 5–16.
- Bonghi Jovino, M., 2014. Sui rapporti Tarquinia – Tuscania. Spunti di ricerca e implicazioni culturali. *Mediterranea* 11, 97–122.
- Bonghi Jovino, M., 2018. 'L'uomo di mare' di Tarquinia. Un sacrificio umano nel contesto abitativo tra riflessione teorica e documentazione archeologica. (Tarchna suppl. 5.) Milano: Ledizioni.
- Brandt, J.R. & L. Karlsson (eds.), 2001. *From Huts to Houses. Transformation of Ancient Societies. Proceedings of an International Seminar Organized by the Norwegian and Swedish Institutes in Rome, 21–24 September 1997*. Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Briquel, D., 2008. La città murata. Aspetti religiosi, in *La città murata in Etruria, Atti del XXV Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici (Chianciano Terme-Sarteano-Chiusi, 30 marzo – 3 aprile 2005)*, ed. G. Camporeale. Pisa & Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 121–33.
- Camporeale, G., (ed.), 2008. *La città murata in Etruria, Atti del XXV Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici (Chianciano Terme-Sarteano-Chiusi, 30 marzo – 3 aprile 2005)*. Pisa & Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore.
- Cataldi, M., G. Adinolfi & R. Carmagnola, 2005. La tomba dei Demoni Azzurri. Lo scavo di una tomba violata, in *Dinamiche di sviluppo delle città dell'Etruria Meridionale: Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci, Atti del XXIII Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici (Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci 2001)*,

- ed. O. Paoletti. Roma: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 430–47.
- Cavagnaro Vanoni, L., 1997. La prospezione geofisica, in *Tarquinia. Testimonianze archeologiche e ricostruzione storica. Scavi sistematici nell'abitato. Campagne 1982–1988*, eds. M. Bonghi Jovino & C. Chiaramonte Trerè. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 3–4.
- Chiarini, G., 2002. Il ritorno della Sfinge. Immagini e simboli nei Sette a Tebe di Eschilo, in *I Sette a Tebe. Dal mito alla letteratura, Atti del Seminario Internazionale (Torino 2001)*, eds. A. Aloni, E. Berardi, G. Besso & S. Cecchin. Bologna: Pàtron, 11–25.
- Colantoni, E., 2012. Straw to stone, huts to houses. Transitions in building practices and society in protohistoric Latium, in *Monumentality in Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture. Ideology and Innovation*, eds. M.L. Thomas & G.E. Meyers. Austin (TX): University of Texas Press, 21–40.
- Colonna, G., 1988. Il lessico istituzionale etrusco e la formazione della città, specialmente in Emilia Romagna, in *La formazione della città preromana in Emilia Romagna. Atti del convegno di studi (Bologna-Marzabotto 7–8 dicembre 1985)*, ed. G.A. Mansuelli. Bologna: Università di Bologna, 15–36.
- Colonna, G., 2013. Prima di Demarato. Un'eco della Tebaide epica nella tomba tarquiniese detta di Bocchoris, in *Dall'Italia. Omaggio a Barbro Santillo Frizell*, eds. A. Capoferro, L. D'Amelio & S. Renzetti. Roma: Polistampa, 3–18.
- d'Agostino, B., 2005. La città, in *Dinamiche di sviluppo delle città dell'Etruria Meridionale: Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci, Atti del XXIII Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici (Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci 2001)*, ed. O. Paoletti. Roma: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 21–5.
- Dolfini, A., 2002. *Sorgenti della Nova. Le abitazioni a pianta ellittica del settore III*. Milano: Centro Studi di Preistoria e Archeologia.
- Izzet, V., 2007. *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kent, S., 1990. *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space. An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lerici, C.M., 1959. *Prospezioni archeologiche a Tarquinia*. Milano: Lerici editori.
- Linington, R.E., 1982a. Il villaggio protostorico nella località Calvario sui Monterozzi a Tarquinia, in *Studi in onore di Ferrante Rittatore Vonwiller, parte prima, preistoria e protostoria*, ed. F. Rittatore Vonwiller. Como: Malinverno 245–56.
- Linington, R.E., 1982b. Tarquinia, Località Calvario: recenti interventi nella zona dell'abitato protostorico, in *Archeologia nella Tuscia, Atti del primo incontro di studio (Viterbo 1980)*, ed. G. Bonucci Caporali. Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 117–23.
- Linington, R.E., F. Delpino & M. Pallottino, 1978. Alle origini di Tarquinia: scoperta di un abitato villanoviano sui Monterozzi. Indagini nella zona dei tumuli del Calvario. *Studi Etruschi* XLVI, 3–23.
- Maggiani, A., 2005. Da Veio a Vulci: le istituzioni politiche, in *Dinamiche di sviluppo delle città dell'Etruria Meridionale: Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci, Atti del XXIII Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici (Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci 2001)*, ed. O. Paoletti. Roma: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 61–9.
- Mandolesi, A., 1999. *La prima Tarquinia. L'insediamento protostorico sulla Civita e nel territorio circostante*. Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio.
- Mandolesi, A., 1999. *La prima Tarquinia*. Sesto Fiorentino: All'Insegna del Giglio.
- Marino, T., 2015. Aspetti e fasi del processo formativo delle città in Etruria meridionale costiera, in *Le città visibili. Archeologia dei processi di formazione urbana. Penisola Italiana e Sardegna*, ed. M. Rendeli. Roma: Officina Etruscologia 11, 97–141.
- Marzullo, M., 2016. *Grotte Cornetane: Materiali e apparato critico per lo studio delle tombe dipinte di Tarquinia*. (Tarchna suppl. 6.) Milano: Ledizioni.
- Marzullo, M., 2017a. *Spazi sepolti e dimensioni dipinte nelle tombe etrusche di Tarquinia*. (Tarchna suppl. 7.) Milano: Ledizioni.
- Marzullo, M., 2017b. I caratteri costruttivi e architettonici del monumento, in *Tarchna 2017*, 33–40.
- Marzullo, M., 2018. *Tarquinia. L'abitato e le sue mura: indagini di topografia storica*. (Tarchna suppl. 8.) Milano: Ledizioni.
- Mazarakis Ainian, A., 1997. *From Ruler's Dwelling to Temples. Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Age Greece (1100 – 700 BCE)*. (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 121.) Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Mazarakis Ainian, A., 2012. The domestic and sacred space of Zagora in the context of the South Euboean Gulf, in *Zagora in Context*, eds. J.-P. Descoeudres & S. Paspalas. (Mediterranean Archaeology 25.) Sidney: Meditarch Publishing, 119–36.
- Medori, M.L., 2010. *La ceramica 'white-on-red' della media Etruria interna*. Bolsena: Città di Bolsena.
- Menichetti, M., 1992. L'oinochóe di Tragliatella. Mito e rito tra Grecia ed Etruria. *Ostraka* 1, 7–30.
- Menichetti, M., 1998. La pyrriche degli eroi. A proposito di un'anfora del Pittore dell'Eptacordo. *Ostraka* 7, 71–84.
- Negroni Catacchio, N. & L. Domanico, 2001. L'abitato protourbano di Sorgenti della Nova: dagli spazi dell'abitare all'organizzazione sociale, in *From Huts to Houses. Transformation of Ancient Societies. Proceedings of an International Seminar Organized by the Norwegian and Swedish Institutes in Rome*, eds. J.R. Brandt & L. Karlsson 2001. Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag, 337–59.
- Negroni Catacchio, N., 1995. *Sorgenti della Nova. L'abitato del Bronzo Finale*. Firenze: Istituto italiano di preistoria e protostoria.
- Nevett, L., 2011. *Domestic Space in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge & New York (NY): Cambridge University Press.
- Osanna, M., 2008. EPTAPYLOITHEBAI. Le mura tebane da Omero a Pausania, in *Le perle e il filo. A Mario Torelli per i suoi settanta anni*, eds. S. Angiolillo, S. Boldrini & P. Braconi. Venosa: Osanna, 243–60.
- Pacciarelli, M., 2001. *Dal villaggio alla città, la svolta protourbana del 1000 a. C. nell'Italia Tirrenica*. Sesto Fiorentino: All'Insegna del Giglio.
- Parker Pearson, M. & C. Richards (eds.), 1994. *Architecture and Order. Approaches to Social Space*. London & New York (NY): Routledge.

- Peroni, R., 1994. *Introduzione alla protostoria italiana*. Bari: Laterza.
- Peroni, R., 2000. Formazione e sviluppi dei centri protourbani medio-tirrenici, in *Roma. Romolo, Remo e la fondazione della città*, eds. A. Carandini & R. Cappelli. Milano: Electa, 26–30.
- Piazzzi, C., 2016. Considerazioni sulle strutture in abitato di epoca villanoviana in Etruria, con particolare riferimento all'abitato del Calvario-Monterozzi di Tarquinia. *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina XXIII*, 43–72.
- Pohl, I., 1977. *San Giovenale III:3, The Iron Age Habitations in Area E*. Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Rapoport, A., 1969. *House Form and Culture*. Englewood Cliffs (NJ): Prentice-Hall.
- Samson, R. (ed.), 1990. *The Social Archaeology of Houses*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Singor, H.W., 1992. The Achaean wall and the seven gates of Thebes. *Hermes* 120, 401–11.
- Sordi, M., 2003. I *saecula* degli Etruschi e gli *ostenta*. *Rivista Storica Italiana* CXIV (2002), 3, 715–25.
- Steadman, S.R., 2015. *Archaeology of Domestic Architecture and the Human Use of Space*. Walnut Creek (CA): Left Coast Press.
- Tamburini, P., 1995. *Un abitato villanoviano per ilacustre. Il Gran Carro sul lago di Bolsena (1959–1985)*. Roma: G. Bretschneider.
- Torelli, M., 1997. *Il rango, il rito e l'immagine. Alle origini della rappresentazione storica romana*. Milano: Electa.
- Torelli, M., 2008. *Urbs ipsa moenia sunt* (Isid. XV 2, 1). Ideologia e polioretica nelle fortificazioni etrusche di IV-II sec. a.C., in *La Città Murata in Etruria, Atti del XXV Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici (Chianciano Terme-Sarteano-Chiusi, 30 marzo – 3 aprile 2005)*, ed. G. Camporeale. Pisa & Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 265–77.
- Trucco, F., 2007. Comune di Tarquinia, in *Repertorio dei Siti Protostorici del Lazio, Province di Roma, Viterbo e Frosinone*, eds. C. Belardelli, M. Angle, F. di Gennaro & F. Trucco. Sesto Fiorentino: All'Insegna del Giglio.
- Ward Perkins, J.B., 1961. *Veii. The Historical Topography of the Ancient City*. (BSR 29.) London: British School at Rome.



## Making cities

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

### Editors:

*Margarita Gleba* is a Professor at the University of Padua and Honorary Senior Lecturer at University College London.

*Beatriz Marín-Aguilera* is a Renfrew Fellow at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge.

*Bela Dimova* is a A. G. Leventis Fellow in Hellenic Studies at the British School at Athens.

*Published by the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research,  
University of Cambridge, Downing Street, Cambridge, CB2 3ER, UK.*

The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research exists to further research by Cambridge archaeologists and their collaborators into all aspects of the human past, across time and space. It supports archaeological fieldwork, archaeological science, material culture studies, and archaeological theory in an interdisciplinary framework. The Institute is committed to supporting new perspectives and ground-breaking research in archaeology and publishes peer-reviewed books of the highest quality across a range of subjects in the form of fieldwork monographs and thematic edited volumes.

Cover artwork by Kelvin Wilson.  
Cover design by Dora Kemp and Ben Plumridge.

ISBN: 978-1-913344-06-1

 UNIVERSITY OF  
CAMBRIDGE

ISBN 978-1-913344-06-1



9 781913 344061